

Jaime II (r. 1291–1327)

Considering the Presentation and Representation of the King of Aragón from Iconographic and Written Evidence

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The reign of the king of the Crown of Aragón Jaime II is one of the most politically and artistically interesting on the medieval Iberian Peninsula.¹ Scholars have in recent years highlighted how he used art as a tool of power, but there still remains much to be clarified, in particular the profound meaning of some of his commissions and their relevance beyond his own generation; the visual-cultural relevance of his kingship in Sicily, which overlapped with the first years of his kingship in Aragón; the reasons for the real aesthetic change that occurred during his reign and the role of queens – if any – in this change; and the important relationship between political events and his patronage of the arts.² Jaime II constructed his outward appearance and communicated it by means of a variety of rituals, object-types, and media, as some of his predecessors had, and he used art to create a concise image of power and authority. As I will show, his strategies in this arena were not merely the result of existing trends: Jaime II marked a milestone in the use of art for propaganda purposes, and, as history attests, he inspired the commissions of some of his successors, including Pedro IV the Ceremonious (r. 1336–1386), among others.

The surviving portrayals of Jaime II consist of 34 manuscript illuminations,³

1 The present study forms part of the research project *Edificis i escenaris religiosos medievals a la Corona d'Aragó* (code 2017 SGR 1724) financed by the Generalitat de Catalunya.

2 Marina Povill Salas is currently undertaking a doctoral thesis on this whole topic: “Escenarios y escenografías de un reinado: Jaime el Justo y la utilización del arte como herramienta de poder.

3 *Rolde de la confradia de Sant Martí de Valdonsera* (Archivo Diocesano de Huesca, sign. 5–4 XXVII/3, 14th century); *Usatici et constitutiones cataloniae*, fols. 167r, 212r, 219r, 233r, 133r (Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Lat. 4670, c. 1315–25); *Usatges i constitucions de Catalunya*, fols. 94r, 101r, 105r, 107r, 115r, 139r (Arxiu de la Paeria de Lleida, ms. 1345, c. 1320–1330); additions post. 1333: fols. 81r, 86r; *Usatges de Barcelona et ...*, fol. 49r (Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, ms. 32 de Ripoll, c. 1333); *Primer llibre verd*, fols. 97r and 115r (Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, ref. L 8, c. 1333); *Llibre dels usatges i constitucions de Lleida*, fols. 35r, 38v, 42v, 45r, 54r, 46r, 49r, 96r, 101v (Arxiu Capitular de Lleida, ms. 22, 1333–1336); *Tercer llibre*

sculptures,⁴ 14 seal variants,⁵ and images on 15 different typologies of coin. Of course, the depictions belonging to seals and coins can be reduced in number: only ten seals present any novelties,⁶ and just two coins are notable from an iconographic point of view.⁷ However, even with this reduced number of pieces, there are more than enough to analyse how the king wished to be portrayed. Particularly illuminating are those objects that had a high legal value and that thus acted as surrogates for the king's physical presence. The same is true of sculpture: though we have very few effigies, each of the surviving examples constitutes a clear manifestation of power with a deep meaning that extended far beyond Jaime II's own lifetime. Such depictions were directly associated with the king's patronage, in contrast to most of those found in manuscripts. In the latter case, it is interesting to consider what ends were served by the presence of his portrait – in a broad sense of the term – in their folios.

To carry out this study, I will set aside the large bibliography published about the king,⁸ instead focusing on primary sources, such as documents issued by the king and the royal chancellery, along with chronicles, including three of the so-called Four Great Catalan Chronicles. These materials, among others like the *Descendentia dominorum regum Siciliae*,⁹ elucidate in what forms and contexts, at what moments, and for what reasons the image of the king was used, whether by the king himself or by other institutions in the medieval Crown of Aragón.

verd, fols. 102v, 109v, 251r, 262v (Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, ref. L 8, 1342–1348); *Aureum Opus*, fol. 69r (Arxiu Municipal d'Alcira, cod. especials o.o./3, last third 14th century); *Rollo genealógico de Poblet* (Biblioteca de Santa Maria de Poblet, 1410).

- 4 Capital in the cloister of the monastery of Santa Maria de Santes Creus (1313–1341); recumbent effigy with his first wife in the same monastery (1313–1315); statues for the Palau Reial of Barcelona (1322, not preserved); and corbels in the Porta Reial of Santes Creus (1332–1336).
- 5 Indicated by: Ferran de Sagarra i de Siscar, *Sigil·lografia catalana. Inventari, descripció i estudi dels segells de Catalunya I* (Barcelona, 1916–32), p. 120.
- 6 Main seals from 1291–1327, 1295, and 1299; minor seals from 1292–94, 1302, and 1317–26; bulls dated 1293, 1296, and 1312; finally, a secret seal from 1312.
- 7 *Denaro* or *dinero* minted in Sicily in 1285–95 and *dinero* minted in Murcia in 1296.
- 8 For an updated review of these bibliographic references, see: Marina Povill Salas, *Escenaris i escenografies d'un regnat: Jaume II i la utilització de l'art com a eina de poder. Estat de la qüestió raonat*, research presented and defended at Universitat Rovira i Virgili for her Bachelor's degree, July 2018.
- 9 Biblioteca Universitària de València, ms. 394, *Olim*, 860, dated 1427. On folio 8v, Jaime II appears as one of the members of the genealogy that explains why Alfonso V must become the new king of Sicily: Amadeo Serra Desfilis, "8. Descendentia Regum Siciliae," in *Una arquitectura gòtica mediterrànea*, ed. Arturo Zaragozá, 2 (Valencia, 2003), pp. 185–88.

1 Legal Images: Beyond Authentication

Among all the genres in which we find royal images, coins and seals are the most interesting in that they are clear manifestations of monarchical authority. These two object-types draw from the same ideological and politico-symbolic corpus and are endowed with an identical sanctioning character. As has been argued, the royal image imprinted on a coin is what gives it its authenticity and value, just as the royal image stamped into a seal confirms the authenticity of the document on which it is fixed. The king was conscious of these objects' intrinsic power and capacity for disseminating his image, and, given that he oversaw their production, he carefully chose their iconographies and inscriptions. Indeed, these images and texts served the important purpose of making the king recognizable as the issuing authority. The iconographic motifs used on coins were static; while this meant that they were sometimes very distinct from contemporary aesthetics, their unchanging appearance allowed them to function as stable signs and ensured their acceptance.¹⁰

As scholars have shown, the authenticated charter was an iconic document in which several systems of signs – writing, image, heraldic emblem, and so forth – were operative.¹¹ The iconography fostered a symbolism of power and illustrated the organizing principles of society.¹² That is why, to give an (albeit non-royal) example slightly predating the period of Jaime II, in the *Libri Antiquitatum Sedis Barcinonensis* we find 12th-century *bullae* transferred to the following century and accompanied by drawings of the reverse of the papal seals of Paschal II (d. 1118) and Alexander III (d. 1181) (Figure. 13.1).¹³ Evidently, those who transferred the *bullae* considered it imperative to also include the issuers' seals, the same objects that had given validity to the original documents. But seals were not always seen as necessary for authentication: if desired by the interested parties, a legal document could be issued without seals, as can be seen in a document signed by Jaime II in 1322.¹⁴ Their validatory function

10 Teresa Marot Salsas, "La moneda medieval, moderna i contemporània. Els bitllets," *Ars Cataloniae* 12 (1997), 258.

11 Brigitte M. Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego Was Imago. Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2011), p. 27.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

13 Arxiu Capitular de la Catedral de Barcelona, 13th century; see Àngel Fàbrega i Grau and Josep Baucells i Reig, *Catàleg de l'Arxiu Capitular de la S. E. Catedral Basílica de Barcelona* 1 (Barcelona, 1969).

14 Document issued in favour of Viscount Ramón Folch VII de Cardona, who requested that this means of validation not be placed in the document. María Carmen Álvarez Márquez, "Las ordenanzas de Pedro IV: teoría y práctica en el sellado de documentos de la cancellería catalano-aragonesa," *Actas del Primer Coloquio de Sigilografía* (Madrid, 1991), 110.

was probably subsidiary to their capacity to imbue documents with solemnity or to act as social markers. We also know that, when people were absent from certain official situations, their seals could be used in their place to provide the necessary authority. This explains why some of the iconography of seals was transposed to other genres. The *capbreus* of the Rosselló (Figure. 13.2),¹⁵ whose parchment folios were illuminated at the end of the 13th century, clearly exemplifies this, showing King Jaime II of Mallorca as the source of justice alongside other iconographic types related to sigillary matrices from the time of the king's death. In this sense, it is important to remember that Jaime II, on the day that he died, 2 November 1327, ordered his notary to break his seals, rendering them useless, and to deliver them, destroyed, to his successor.¹⁶ This was carried out on an anvil at the foot of the catafalque on which the king's coffin was raised. Zurita relays that it was a public act that took place early in the funerary ceremony, just before the king's body was taken to the church, which would make it the final solemn act at which the king was present in his palace;¹⁷ in other words, the king's final departure from the palace was preceded by the breaking of his seal, an object featuring his image and symbolizing, above all, his command over his subjects and all other authorities. I will not go deeper into the anthropological implications of this kind of ceremony related to the king and his image, but before finishing with funereal matters I would like to point out that mourning was also demonstrated by the colour of seals: Elisenda de Montcada is recorded as adopting black wax for her seals after the death of Jaime II, one of which survives from 1357 on a document that she signed as "Serenissimi Principis Domni Jacobi recolende memorie Regis Aragonum relicte."¹⁸ Other queens would do the same throughout the Middle Ages in the Crown of Aragón, where, compared to other European courts, black was in fact not used as commonly to symbolize mourning.

Jaime II introduced some novelties to the sigillography of the kings of Aragón, differentiating his seals from those of his predecessors. Probably

15 These are the *capbreus* of Collioure, Argelès, Saint-Laurent-de-la-Salanque, Torrelles seigneurie de Tautavel and Toulonges (Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales, Perpignan, ms. B. 29, 30, 31, 33 and 34): *Les Capbreus du roi Jacques II de Majorque (1292–1294)*, 2 tomes, ed. Rodrigue Tréton (La Rochelle, 2011).

16 Faustino Menéndez Pidal de Navascues, *Apuntes de sigilografía española* (Guadalajara, 1988), p. 135. For other medieval examples, see John Cherry, "The breaking of seals", in Michael Andersen and Göran Tegnér eds., *Middelalderlige seglerstamper I Norden*, (Roskilde 2002), pp. 81–96.

17 Jerónimo Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón (1512–1580)*, ed. Ángel Canellas López (Zaragoza, 2003), lib. XX, cap. XXVII.

18 Sagarra, *Sigil-lografia*.

importing a custom dating from the time of Frederick II, Jaime II used red for his wax seals¹⁹ and gold to give his *bullae* greater dignity. As both materials were unknown in previous sigillography in the chancellery of Aragón, their use can only be explained by Jaime's preceding tenure as king of Sicily. Further analysis is needed to determine what cultural and visual elements Jaime came across in Sicily, elements that, in my opinion, explain most of the artistic choices he then made during his reign in Aragón. Here, lack of space prevents me from going into greater depth concerning his seals and their phases of development, however, it is useful to provide an overview of his sigillographic innovations, which went beyond the selection of materials, encompassing many details of iconographies and inscriptions.²⁰ First, he took up the traditional iconography of the seals of the Aragonese kings, characterized by the enthroned king on the obverse and the equestrian king on the reverse, which had been adopted by Alfonso III as a response to his problems with the Kingdom of Mallorca (Figure. 13.3).²¹ In his new enthroned images, Jaime II included heraldry on the inside back of his throne, a formula that had been employed by Rudolf of Habsburg, a close ally of the Aragonese.²² In this sense, Jaime did not adhere to the practice of using these sort of emblems in the throne's canopy but rather adopted a composition from Germany, which, through his seals and probably via Navarre, reached France and became incorporated into the seals of Louis X.²³ The inclusion of the heraldry on the obverse may have been intended to aid the viewer in visually identifying the depicted sovereign as king of Aragón. The information about his titles is given on the reverse, its legend "+ Diligite

19 A red-wax seal in which he appears as king of Sicily, duke of Apulia, and prince of Capua is preserved in Valencia: Sagarra, *Sigillografia*, pp. 240–41, n. 187.

20 To achieve the high artistic quality of his imprints, Jaime II called in artists from Italy, such as Mino de la Seta and Tutxio de Sens. The latter worked regularly for the king, creating sigillary matrices, monetary stamps, and devotional images: Francesca Español Bertrán, *El escultor Bartomeu de Robió y Lleida. Eco de la plástica toscana en Catalunya* (Lleida, 1995), pp. 161–63.

21 These changes would be a visual manifestation whose ultimate purpose was to present Alfonso III as the true sovereign of Mallorca, which he had annexed in 1289: Marta Serrano-Coll, *Effigies regis Aragonum. La imagen figurativa del rey de Aragón en la Edad Media* (Zaragoza, 2015), pp. 81–82.

22 This alliance ultimately supported another pre-existing one between Aragón and the Ghibelline part of Italy. Zurita, *Anales*, lib. IV, cap. LII.

23 Menéndez Pidal stated that the seals of Jaime II influenced the ones belonging to the French king, who likewise sought to show his dual status: on the obverse, enthroned as sovereign of France and Navarre and, on the reverse, mounted on horseback as count of Brie. Faustino Menéndez Pidal de Navascués et al., *Sellos medievales de Navarra. Estudio y corpus descriptivo* (Pamplona, 1995), p. 48.

iusticiam qui iudicatis terram et oculi vestri videant equitatem,”²⁴ quoting from the psalms with the aim of linking Jaime II to the Old Testament sovereigns Solomon and David, a strategy that would later be copied by Pedro IV not only on a textual but also an iconographical level.²⁵ These religious legends can also be understood in relation to the king’s own piety; we recall that Arnau de Vilanova, physician and spiritual mentor to the royal house, addressed many writings to Jaime II,²⁶ encouraging him to lead the humble life that was expected of kings.²⁷ With these seals, the king portrayed himself as wise and just like Solomon²⁸ and as a righteous warrior like David. The second part of the legend is an exordium that encourages the public to hear and learn more, terminating in a verse from Psalm 16, in which the innocent and just

24 Book of Wisdom 1:1 and Psalm 16:2, respectively. The first sentence appeared in his father’s seals, whereas the second sentence was introduced by Jaime II.

25 Jaime I compared himself with King David in his chronicle: *Libre dels feyts del rei en Jacme*, par. 562. Pedro IV would align himself with King David, for several reasons. For an interesting study on this, see: Marrison Cook, *A Tale of Two Kings: The Use of King David in the Chronicle of Peter III of Catalonia*, unpublished MA thesis, University of South Florida, 2011.

26 Among others: *Alphabetum catholicorum sive elementis catholicae fidei (Epistola nuncupatoria tractatus Philosophia catholica et divina ad Iacobum II* (letter included in his *Philosophia Catholica* when he sent this book to the king on 29 August 1302); *Alphabetum catholicorum ad inclitum dominum regem Aragonum pro filiis erudiendis in elementis catholicae fidei* (new edition of the first book but with 50 lines added between 1302 and 1304, which was intended to provide Christian training for the infantes in a school created for them in the palace, although this never actually occurred); *Interpretatio de visionibus in somniis dominorum Iacobi secundi regis Aragonum et Frederici tertii regis Siciliae eius fratris* (work written in the summer of 1309 in the form of a historical dialogue between Jaime II and Frederick III that interprets the dreams of both kings, who have been chosen by God to carry out a reform of Christianity. This work would form the core of the *Raonament d’Avinyó*). For details about these writings and others, see: Arnau DB. Corpus digital d’Arnau de Vilanova, <http://grupsdrecerca.uab.cat/arnau/es/cronologia>. Accessed 2020 Jan 28.

27 Jaime Hinojosa Montalvo, *Jaime II y el esplendor de la Corona de Aragón* (Barcelona, 2006), p. 126.

28 His wisdom was highlighted in the chronicles even when he was an infant: “lo senyor infant, qui era un dels pus savis prínceps del mon e mils parlant (e és encara e serà mentre viu sia)”; see: Muntaner, *Crònica*, in Ferran Soldevila, *Les quatre grans cròniques*, 3rd ed. (Barcelona, 1983), cap. CXIV. Many studies have also emphasized his diplomatic skills during times of conflict: Agustín Bermúdez Aznar, “Una perspectiva jurídica sobre la donación del reino de Murcia a Jaime II de Aragón,” in *Congreso Internacional Jaime II 700 años después*, eds. Juan Antonio Barrio Barrio et al. (Alicante, 1997), pp. 65–78. Zurita recalled: “y así andaba el rey en un mismo tiempo entreteniéndolo a los unos y a los otros para sacar el mejor partido que pudiese”; see Zurita, *Anales*, lib. 5, cap. 59. For his diplomacy, see: Esteban Sarasa Sánchez, “El reino de Aragón en la época de Jaime II (1291–1327),” in *Jaime II*, eds. Barrio et al., pp. 301–14.

supplicant begs for God's help in the face of powerful enemies.²⁹ Jaime was thus known during his lifetime as a valiant warrior,³⁰ whose similarity to King David, according to the chronicles, could be seen in his knowledge of weapons.³¹ His link to the Old Testament king was also deemed evident in the pleasure he took in writing. Jaime II was not the first in his family line to be a writer; the first figure to serve as both the king of Aragón and the count of Barcelona, Alfonso II, had been recognized for this, as stated in certain Provençal songbooks,³² and likewise Jaime I had wanted to be remembered as the writer of his own chronicle, the *Llibre dels feyts*. But most likely, Jaime II acquired his taste for poetry in Sicily, where he presided over a flourishing court of troubadours. He wrote a religious dance dedicated to the Virgin Mary³³ and, moreover, promoted the creation of the *Estudi General de Lleida*, an educational institution

29 Laurie Shepard, *Courting Power: Persuasion and Politics in the Early Thirteenth Century* (New York, 1999), p. 191.

30 These adjectives were applied after the ratification of the boundaries between Aragón and Catalonia in the courts in 1300. The Jewish community described him in the same manner when he helped its members to establish peace in the towns after making certain reforms. Hinojosa, *Jaime II*, p. 66. See also: Zurita, *Anales*, lib. VI, cap. LXXV.

31 For example, in the Battle of Alicante: Muntaner, *Crònica*, cap. CLXXXVIII. In the previous chapter, this chronicle reads: "és lo pus gracias senyor, e lo pus cortes, e lo pus ensenyat, e lo pus savi e mellor d'armes qui anc fos e dels bons crestians del mon." The culmination is the Battle of Falconara, where Jaime II "anà per lo camp ab la maça en la mà e lla on veía la major pressa, e féu tant d'armes aquell dia, que tothom pot conèixer que el fill era del molt bon rei En Pere e nèt del bon rei en Jacme. ... Així anava per lo camp, ab atent cavallers e a enderrocar cavallers, com fo lo lleon entre les bèsties": Ibid., cap. CXCI. His preparation for and skills in battle were recognized by the pope himself; the apostolic nuncios, when they were looking for someone to help Acre, looked to the king of Sicily: Zurita, *Anales*, lib. IV, cap. CXIV.

32 These songbooks were compiled to provide fans and bibliophiles with access to the songs of the most famous troubadours. Alfonso II is recorded in some of them, such as ms. fr. 854 and ms. 12473, both in the BnF (Paris), copied in Italy in the 13th century and with illuminations showing the king. The illumination of the first manuscript was likely executed in the last quarter of the 13th century, most probably *post quem* 1282, when Pedro III became king of Sicily. I base this conjecture on the presence of the Hohenstaufen eagle, which is not a crest, as has been stated: Martín de Riquer i Morera, *Vidas y retratos de Trovadores. Textos y miniaturas del siglo XIII* (Barcelona, 1995), p. xxx. The illuminations were intended to stress his chivalric rather than his royal qualities.

33 I am referring to the *Dancia Jacobi II*, written in Occitan, in which the king compared the church to a ship that exceeded all kinds of setbacks. However, some authors question this royal authorship and think it could be a deliberated falsification by Arnau de Vilanova, who wrote the *Dancia Jacobi II cum commento Arnaldi de Vilanova* around 1305. Nevertheless, the surviving collection of more than one thousand letters attests to his literary capacity, as observed by: Heinrich Finke, "Relacions dels reis d'Aragó ab la literatura, la ciencia y l'art," *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 4 (1910), 66–80, esp. 67.

and the only *Studium Generalis* in the Crown of Aragón throughout the 14th century, to which the king granted privileges in order to provide an education for the barons whom he needed to administer effectively.³⁴ Indeed, Jaime II was a legalist monarch:³⁵ with him, courts expanded and increased their power and reach, and the functions of public offices – such as *bailes*, *merinos*, and *sobrejunteros* – became institutionalized.³⁶

Due to the spatial constraints, the heraldry that accompanies the image of enthronement on the obverse of Jaime II's seals consists of only the pales of the Crown of Aragón. On the reverse, however, the covering of the horse and the shield of Jaime II are divided into quarters with the arms of Aragón and Sicily, similar to how Fernando III of Castilla and León divided his emblems into quarters.³⁷ By 1295, when the matrix of this seal was produced, Jaime II was sovereign of both territories. This type of heraldic organization, mixing emblems, imbued the image with an equilibrium fitting to a king who wanted to be fair to all the territories over which he reigned.³⁸ With the Treaty of Agnani (signed 12 June 1295), he would return to using exclusively the heraldry of Aragón, an emblematic simplicity countered by the complexity of his regalia. This intricacy must be understood in relation to his journey to Rome over three months in 1297³⁹ and the title given to him by the pope for his planned expedition to the Holy Land: Sancte Romane Ecclesie vexillarii, Admirati, et Capitanei Generalis.⁴⁰ The growing intricacy and decorativism of his *bullae*,

34 Founded on 1 September 1300. He stipulated that they could teach civil and canon law, medicine, philosophy, and arts, among other approved sciences. He prohibited these studies from being carried out elsewhere in his domains. Consequently, the *Estudi General* had a monopoly on university education in all the territories of the Crown of Aragón: Roser Gort Riera, *L'Estudi General de Lleida al segle XIV* (Lleida, 2016).

35 He demanded scrupulous observance of the laws, and he gave an example of this by swearing to uphold the *fueros* (rights and privileges) and the constitutions and by respecting the agreements signed between him and his subjects. Hinojosa, *Jaime II*, p. 48. The documentation reflects episodes in which the king decided to suspend trials until he arrived in the city: José Vicente Cabezuelo Pliego, "El poder real en la Murcia aragonesa a través del oficio de la procuración, 1296–1304," in *Jaime II*, eds. Barrio et al., p. 107.

36 Sarasa, "Reino de Aragón," p. 314.

37 Fernando III (r. 1230–1252) used this model when he finally unified the Kingdom of Castilla and León: Faustino Menéndez Pidal de Navascués, "Emblemas heráldicos de España," *Revista de Historia Militar* 30/60 (1986), 209–26, esp. 217.

38 Zurita pointed out that Jaime II had been the first Aragonese king to make this kind of division: Zurita, *Anales*, lib. IV, cap. LXXXI.

39 Juan M. del Estal Gutiérrez, "El itinerario de Jaime II de Aragón en la conquista del reino castellano de Murcia (1296–1301)," in *Jaime II*, eds. Barrio et al., pp. 157–59.

40 Sagarra, *Sigil-lografía*, p. 120. The Latin fragment comes from Marsili Chronicle, as stated in: Villanueva, *Viage literario*, vol. 18; it was studied by: Manuel de Montoliu i de Togores,

moreover, evidence his sensitivity to European trends, which, at the end of the 13th century, included the burgeoning use of architectural elements to decorate thrones and other furniture.

2 *Ornamentum and Sollemnitās: Beyond Reflecting the King's Artistic Sensibility*

It has long been pointed out that the return of Jaime II from Sicily marked a milestone in every respect related to the *decorum* of the king's residences and places of worship.⁴¹ Aware of art's capacity to serve as a tool of power through his knowledge of Hohenstaufen commissions, the sovereign took a special interest in his palaces as well as his chapels, which he restored or rebuilt and furnished with renewed liturgical fixtures to endow worship with the appropriate solemnity. In general, Jaime II provided a real palatial setting for royalty by making judicious use of ritual, *ornamenta*, and religious and lay architecture. The fact that his subjects were required to refer to him by the appellation *Vestra Maiestas Regia* and to "kiss the earth in front of his feet," a practice that began under his rule, are clear evidence of this,⁴² as are the specific *ordinacions* with which he governed his house after his time in Sicily.⁴³

Of course, he exchanged sumptuous gifts with Iberian kingdoms⁴⁴ and with Eastern Mediterranean courts, such as the rich fabrics sent by Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad on 13 March 1314,⁴⁵ among other "honorific clothes" with special

"La crònica de Marsili i el manuscrit de Poblet. Contribució a l'estudi de la Crònica de Jaume I," *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* 5 (1913–14), 277–310, esp. 280.

41 Francesca Español Bertrán, "Calendario litúrgico y usos áulicos en la Corona de Aragón bajomedieval: arquitectura y *ornamenta*," *Studium Medievale* 2 (2009), 185–212, esp. 185.

42 Ibid.

43 *Ordinacions* that were used as the basis for those of Jaime III of Mallorca and, later, Pedro IV, who adopted practices already in use at the time of Jaime II: Heinrich Finke, *Acta Aragonensia* 1 (Berlin, 1908), pp. 33–47, and 2 (Berlin, 1922), pp. 16–25. However, we must bear in mind that in Aragón there were certain ordinances from the times of Pedro II, Pedro III, and Alfonso IV.

44 Such as ".i. curтина de drap d or ab orles de sendat reyal e fo feta de .i. drap d or que l rey de Castela dona al senyor rey.i. curтина de drap d or ab orla de sendat reyal e fo feta de .i. drap que l rey de Castella dona al senyor rey": Francisco Martorell i Trabal, "Inventari dels béns de la Cambra reyal en temps de Jaume II," *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* 4 (1911–12), 553–67, esp. 560. Predictably, Castilla and León are also the place of origin of the "capell de sol cubert de drap d or ab leons e ab castells": *ibid.*, p. 557.

45 All his gifts are related in: Maximiliano A. Alarcón y Santón and Ramón García de Linares, *Los documentos árabes diplomáticos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* (Madrid, 1940), p. 95.

embroidery suitable to dress a king.⁴⁶ Jaime II and his family's interest in external manifestations of luxury such as clothing and opulent personal objects, which were precisely inventoried, is well known.⁴⁷ A regular practice of the king was to send all kinds of valuable gifts to members of his family and his most loyal servants,⁴⁸ and – leaving aside his appreciation for books,⁴⁹ which was clear early on⁵⁰ – many documents show his desire for sumptuous and splendid illuminated manuscripts, some of which he also gave to relatives, to others close to him, and to monasteries and royal chapels.⁵¹ In this respect, we recall that he donated books to the monastery of Santes Creus during the period when Guillem Baró, a monk at this institution, was royal chaplain.⁵² He also gave the monastery other objects, such as beautiful reliquaries decorated with images.⁵³ Some of these vessels are described as *ad opus capelle*

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- 46 Mercè Viladrich i Grau, “Noves dades sobre les relacions entre el soldà del Caire Al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Sayf al-Din Qalawun i el rei Jaume II,” in *Jaime II*, eds. Barrio et al., pp. 501–10, esp. 504–05.
- 47 Martorell, “Inventari,” pp. 553–67; Eduardo González Hurtebise, *Libros de la Tesorería de la Casa Real de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1911); Joan Ernst Martínez Ferrando, “Datos sobre el vestuario de Jaime II de Aragón,” *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona* 3 (1945), 5–16.
- 48 Joan Ernest Martínez Ferrando, “La Cámara Real en el reinado de Jaime II (1291–1327). Relación de entradas y salidas de objetos artísticos,” *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona* 11 (Barcelona, 1953–54).
- 49 Although the king cannot be regarded as a full bibliophile because he did not build a library located in a specific space, he nevertheless had a novel interest in books: Isabel Escandell Proust, “Libros en la documentación de la cancellería de Jaime II,” in *Imágenes y promotores en el arte medieval. Miscelánea en homenaje a Joaquín Yarza Luaces*, ed. Marisa Melero Moneo (Bellaterra, 2001), pp. 327–35, esp. 335. There are many documents that relate his desire to acquire books not only for himself but also for members of other courts and for educational institutions: Antoni Rubió i Lluch, *Documents per a la història de la cultura catalana mig-aval. Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, 2 vols (Barcelona, 1908–1921, repr. 2017), docs. I, II, III, IV, XIV, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXIV, XXVI, XXVII, XXXV, and LII. He also sent requests to ensure the return of books he had lent out: docs. VIII, XV, XXXII, and L. Other texts allude to their creation: docs. IX, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIX, LIII, and ap. II and IV. In some cases, the king stopped taxes from being applied to friars because of the books that they had in their custody: doc. XLIII.
- 50 As the Jewish physician from Barcelona Jafudà Bonselnyor described him in *Llibre de paralles e dits de savis e filosofos*; see: Manuel A. Rodríguez de la Peña, “Mecenas, trovadores, bibliófilos y cronistas: los reyes de Aragón del *Casal de Barcelona* y la sabiduría (1162–1410),” *Revista Chilena de Estudios Medievales* 2 (2012), 81–120, esp. 83, n. 6.
- 51 For a survey of this, see: Escandell, “Libros,” pp. 327–35.
- 52 Rubió, *Documents* 2, doc. XXXVIII; Jordi Rubió et al., “Inventaris inèdits de l'ordre del Temple a Catalunya,” *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* 1 (1907), pp. 358–407, esp. doc. XII. It was on 23 May 1297 that the king appointed the major chaplain of the Royal Chapel as abbot of Santes Creus: Reg. 108, fol. 34v. Del Estal, “Itinerario,” p. 159.
- 53 “unum reliquier operis de Limotges, in quo est in quolibet capite quedam ymago et fuit inventum ligatum et sigillatum cum sigillo Petri de Soleiro et, prout continebatur

*nostra*⁵⁴ and thus directly related to the space of worship reserved for him and his entourage.

Although for most of the year his palaces were characterized by modesty and simplicity – more a response to Franciscan teachings, as Jaime Hinojosa states,⁵⁵ than to economic realities⁵⁶ – on certain occasions the royal palace was decorated magnificently. Among the objects inventoried by Arnau Messeguer on 12 June 1323, and leaving aside other objects that the king distributed among his sons and daughters before this date,⁵⁷ we find the following: precious textiles (three of them purple,⁵⁸ to be used as clothing,⁵⁹ stage decorations,⁶⁰ and

in inventarium factum per nobilem Artaldum de Luna, erant in dicta caxia sex saquets de reliquiis et unus pannus de purpura in quo sunt aliqui ligalli qui ut dicitur sunt reliquie”: Rubió, *Documents 2*, doc. XXXVIII.

54 “tradidistis fratri Guillelmo Baro, monaco Sanctarum Crucum, capellano nostro, ad opus capelle nostre unam pitxena de xristallo cum quatuor leonibus argenti in pede deauratis”; Rubió, *Documents 2*, doc. XXXVII.

55 Hinojosa, *Jaime II*.

56 As pertains to the state of decay of the royal residences, at Barcelona there were leaks and possibly rats, given the king’s interest in acquiring hunting cats (*murilegui*): Joan Ernest Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar* (Barcelona, 1948), 1:32. Regarding Tarragona, see: Isabel Companys i Farrerons, *El Castell del rei en temps de Jaume II. Edició comentada dels llibres de comptes de l’obra 1313–1317* (Tarragona, 1994).

57 All of these are listed in: Rubió, *Documents*, doc. XXXIII (beautiful mattresses, silver cups, and bowls, ivory images, rich clothes); doc. XXXIV (precious clothes and knives decorated with coral and silver), doc. XXXVII (crucifixes with precious stones, crystal chandeliers, cameo “cum figura leonis,” goldsmith crosses, an altar frontal “cum unicum garlanda sive frontali altaris de folio argenti deaurata cum rosis et salamonibus floccatis de auro et de sirico”); doc. XXXVIII (reliquary of Limoges); doc. XL (precious hats, crucifixes, rich clothes, painted chests, jewellery as cameos, and precious stones); doc. XLI (gold rings, one of them with a sculpted sapphire “ad sigillandum aptus,” silver plates, hats with the royal arms, and other clothing accessories, rich knives); doc. XLV (very different precious stones, some of them to be hung, cameos – one of them “forme veteris insertum in auro –,” altar frontals); doc. XLVI (textiles, clothes as mantles, rings, reliquaries, precious swords). Other lists of gifts are preserved, but with dates subsequent to the inventory of June 1323: *ibid.*, docs. XLIX, LI, and LIV.

58 “.iii. pesses de porpra”: Martorell, “Inventari,” p. 558.

59 “escapolo de drap de seda ab scut a señal reyala e d aguiles”: Martorell, “Inventari,” p. 159. “.i. carner de sendat blau ab aguiles e ab obres de fil d or ab escuts de quarto reyala e d aguiles e no es cusit”: *ibid.*, p. 557; “.i. pessa de bort d Alexandria de seda listada ab camp vermell”: *ibid.*, p. 559; “.i. manil d estam listati. pessa de drap de seda vermella ab listes d or amples e menudes”: *ibid.*, p. 560. Regarding clothing, the series known as *Thesaurarie*, *Pecunie* and *Solucionum* is very well analysed by: Martínez Ferrando, “Datos,” pp. 5–17. Orders for clothing accumulated mainly when important ceremonies were approaching, such as meetings with other sovereigns, receptions of ambassadors, weddings, or liturgical festivities: *ibid.*, p. 8.

60 “.i. lingua d estor de seda vermeyla ab usayl d argent daurat e ha en la cavadura alguns corals e tenen segits obras de fil d or e d argent ab poques perlesi. lingua d estor

accessories);⁶¹splendidinsignia(i.e.crowns,⁶²garlands,⁶³pommels,⁶⁴sceptres,⁶⁵

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- obra de fil d or e de seda a señal rey ali. drap veyl de pintenar de seda blanca ab obres de seda vermella ab escut de quarto ab señal rey al e d aguiles forrat de sendat vermeyl": Martorell, "Inventari," p. 556. ".i. cortina de sendat a senyal rey al que ha .x. canes de lonch e .ii. e mige d ample e es forrada de drap de li verti. cobertor de sendat a senyal rey al e ha de loncgh .iiii. d ample e era forrat de drap de li blau": *ibid.*, p. 559. ".i. drap de seda listat ab senyera d or a la .i. cap": *ibid.*, p. 560. ".i. cortina de drap d or ab orles de sendat rey al e fo feta de .i. drap d or que l rey de Castela dona al senyor reyi. cortina de drap d or ab orla de sendat rey al e fo feta de .i. drap que l rey de Castella dona al senyor rey": *ibid.*, p. 560. Coming from the temple's properties, ".i. drap d or e de seda de Lucha": *ibid.*, p. 567.
- 61 "Corda de capell de seda vermella acabada ab crestaulyls e ab corals": Martorell, "Inventari," p. 556. ".iiii. benes de drap de li ab escudets reyalys de fil d or e de seda per fer capçanes de fre e i. frontal de fre de obra de laç de fil d or e de seda a señal reyallii. frontals de fre obras de fil d or e d argent e de seda e ha en cascun .i. escut de quarto reyall e d águila": *ibid.*, p. 557; ".i. corda de capell de seda vermella e groga": *ibid.*, p. 558. "cordons de seda groga cabats ab fil d or": *ibid.*, p. 559.
- 62 ".i. corona d or de .xi. pessas en la qual son encastats .vi. balaix grosses e .xxxiii. balaixs no tan grosses e .xi. balaix menors que aquells qui son encastats en mig de les aguiles e .v. balaix grosses encastats en los .v. murs de la dita corona e .v. safirs grosses e .xvi. saffirs no tan grosses com los altres e .xi. safirs .i. poch pus grosses, qui son encastats en los murs de la dita corona, e .v. maragdes poch e .v. maragdes un poch pus grosses, qui son encastats en los murs de la dita corona, e .xi. aguiles qui son en la dita corona ficades e son balaixets e maragdes e safirs encastats a ornament de les dites aguiles e .xliv. perles menudes encastades en les orles dels balaixs e .ii. saffirs grosses e .lxxii. perles grosses qui son enfilades en la orla de la dita corona." Martorell, "Inventari," pp. 561–62. In his testament, he refers to the insignia for the coronation ceremony: "Eidem etiam heredi nostro universali dimittimus totam capellam nostrum seu apparatus ipsius et etiam unam crucem nostrum magnam argenti. Item dimittimus ipsi heredi nostril universali ceptra nostra cum corona, quam volumus esse regie coronacione apropiata, quoniam dictam coronam et ceptra iamdicta excepimus ab ordinacione de qua supra dicitur per nos facta super vendendis certis localibus nostris pro dictis debitis et iniuriis exsolvendis." Antoni Udina i Abelló, *Els testaments dels comtes de Barcelona i dels reis de la Corona d'Aragó. De Guifré Borrell a Joan II* (Barcelona, 2001), doc 32, pp. 185–86.
- 63 ".i. estoig de fust en que ha .iii. garlandes de seda e i. ab poques perles": Martorell, "Inventari," p. 558.
- 64 ".i. Pom d or lo qual es dins tou e ha sobre lo pom .i. creu en la qual son .xii. perles grosses veres qui están entorn de la dita creu e .x. peres precioses, ço es a saber .v. safirs e .v. balaixs e esta lo dit pom en .i. estoig de cuyr vermell e pese .x. unçes": Martorell, "Inventari," p. 559. ".i. pom de jaspi lo qual fo del rey en Pere e era estat perdut el barreig de Torrela": *ibid.*, p. 560. ".i. pomet d or qui pesa .ii. marschs ensem ab .i. verga prima doblada": *ibid.*, p. 561.
- 65 ".i. verge d or qui es dins tova e ha a la .i. cap alguns esmalts e a l altre cap ha .i. pera semblant de crestayl e sobre la pera ha .i. creu de .iiii. perles veres e de .i. balaix e de .i. safir e la dita verga esta en .i. estoig de cuyr vermeyl e pesa .ii. marschs": Martorell, "Inventari," p. 559. ".i. cetra d argent tota plana ab .iii. escuts a senyal rey al e pesa la dita cetra .iii. marschs .iiii. onçes e mige a march de Valencia": *ibid.*, p. 560. ".i. bordonet poch ab manech

swords,⁶⁶ flags,⁶⁷ and gloves);⁶⁸ jewels (of different types,⁶⁹ with one that shone so brightly that it was referred to as “brilliant”);⁷⁰ everyday objects of great value (i.e. daggers,⁷¹ knives,⁷² cups,⁷³ towels,⁷⁴ combs,⁷⁵ cushions,⁷⁶

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- de jasi ab .ii. virolles d argent e ha en la .i. virola .ii caps de ca e en l altra .i. escudet esmaltat ab .i. leo e es la bahina de samit vert ligades de fil d or e en la guaspa ha .ii. viroles d argent e ha y .i. cordo de seda vert”: *ibid.*, p. 560.
- 66 “i. espaha appeilada Tiçon ... altra espaha appelada Girbeta”: *ibid.*, p. 556; “.iii. poms d espaha de jasi, p. 557.
- 67 “.i. senyera veylla d or batut e d argent a señal reyala e d aguiles negres”: *ibid.*, p. 556.
- 68 “.ii. guans de launes cuberts de sendat reyala”: *ibid.*, p. 557.
- 69 “.i. capmafeu poch, encastat en argent daurat ab .i. cordo de seda vermellai. flor d or ab .i. pera preciosa grossa appellada rubiç, qui es el cap de la dita flor, ab .i. perla qui es clavada sobre lo dit rubiç e pesa .iii. unçes”: Martorell, “Inventari,” p. 559. Coming from the properties attached to the temple: “.vi. anells d argent la .i. ab pera apellada agata ab cercles negres blancs e vermells e los .ii. ab sengles peres appellades grapaulines, lo quart e l .ve. ab peres cornelines, lo .vie. ab .i. pera blanca cornelinaii. anells d or la .i. ab pera turquesa lunada e l altre ab safiri. borssa ab .ii. anells d or ab sengles safirs grossesi. anell gran d or ab .i. gros safir escur penjant en .i. cordo”: *ibid.*, p. 564.
- 70 “pera grosa encastada en lauto, semblant de crestayl, que es appellada brillo e es en .i. stoig de cuyr”: Martorell, “Inventari,” p. 556.
- 71 Some really expensive: “.i. coltell ab manech de jaspia f foure de camut guarnit d argent ab .iii. escudets a senyals reyals e de aguilesi. coltell catalanesch granat ab foura pintat a señal reyala e d aguilesi. coltell catalanesch granat ab foura pintat a señal reyala e de aguiles e ha el manech casquetes d argent e coralls”: Martorell, “Inventari,” p. 556. “.i. coltell de Pamplalona ab gutia a senyal reyala”: *ibid.*, p. 558. “.i. verga d argent daurada qui es dins tova e pesa .vii. onçes e mige”: *ibid.*, p. 559.
- 72 “.i. ganivet ab manech de crestayll ab foure ...; manechs de ganivets de vori”: Martorell, “Inventari,” p. 556. “.i. coltell de taula e ha lo manech de cori en que es .i. dona qui te .i. bratxeti. manech de ganivet de vori e es hi entailada .i. dona ab .i. infant e te el bras .i. bratxet”: *ibid.*, p. 557. “.i. ganivet ab manech de roart en que ha .ii. virolas d argent daurades e .i. cordo de seda groch e lo foure de camut negre”: *ibid.*, p. 559.
- 73 “.i. tassa ab cubertor d argent daurat e empremtat dins ab .i. esmalt en la taça e altre al cobertor e tot esmaltat de fora e ha al mig del cobertor .i. gran pom tot blau e ha peu d argent daurat e ab .i. esmalt e ab .ii. figures d omens e pesa entre tot .xii. marches”: Martorell, “Inventari,” p. 562.
- 74 “de seda blanca obrada de seda ab oçellets de fil d or”: Martorell, “Inventari,” p. 556. “.i. tovayola cabada ab listes d or”i. tovayola de li obrada als caps de fil d or e de seda de color de foch e blava e negra d obra de laç qe es aytal d una part coom d altrai. tovayola de drap de li obrada de seda ab molts escudets reyals”: *ibid.*, p. 559.
- 75 “.i. pinte de vori”: *ibid.*, p. 558. Regarding these objects and the precious fabrics “balandronets” that were used when the king shaved “ad servicium radendi barbam” and that were decorated with gold thread and sometimes with royal emblems, see: Martínez Ferrando, “Datos,” p. 11.
- 76 “.i. cuixi obrat de seda a señal reyala e d aguiles.” Martorell, “Inventari,” p. 556. “cubertes de cuixins de drap d or”: *ibid.*, p. 557.

mattresses,⁷⁷ bedspreads,⁷⁸ and chests and other furniture);⁷⁹ and religious objects (i.e. crucifixes⁸⁰ and reliquaries,⁸¹ among others).⁸² He seems to have inherited some of these objects, including but not limited to certain swords and insignia, whereas others he commissioned himself. He very likely commissioned, for instance, the pieces featuring emblems combining the pales of Aragón and eagles, some of which are described as “escuts de quarto reyall e d agules” and have an *ante quem* of 1295. The documentation reflects a richness and a pageantry very similar to that reflected in the iconography of the time and, specifically, in certain illuminations where the king appears in lavish clothing surrounded by wall hangings (Figure. 13.4) – some of which feature the pales of Aragón, which are referred to as *barrats* in the documentation⁸³ and which also appeared in architecture⁸⁴ – and other visually splendid accents and accessories. Indicating that luxury was never absent from the court of Jaime II, texts and images alike attest to the presence of jewels, fabrics of various colours adorned with gold, pearls, and precious stones, along with a great number of hats and *chlamydes*, most of them patterned with the emblems of the king.⁸⁵

77 “ii. matalafs de fluxell qui solien esser cuberts de drap de seda listat vert e vermell e ara son cuberts de drap reyall de seda e de coto”: *ibid.*, p. 558.

78 “.i. cubertor de lit de cuyr ab .iiii. escuts a senyal reyalli. cobertor de godomasir obrat en los cantons ab escuts reyal”: *ibid.*, p. 560.

79 “.iiii. farells de coffres verts ab scuts a senyal reyalli. cadire de ferre sobreargentada.” *Ibid.*, p. 559; “.i. pitxer d argent tot pla per calfar aygua a ops de la barba del senyor rey qui pesa .vi. marschs .iiii. uncers e mige e .i. ternali. plater d’argentii. bacins d argent de dar aygua a mans e ha .i. escut a senyal reyall en la .i. baci e en l altre baci altre escut a senyal de flors e pesen .ii. marschs .v. onçes e .iii. vuytaves”: Martorell, “Inventari,” p. 560.

80 “.i. creu de crestell de jaspi ab crucifix d argent daurat”. It was given to Elisenda de Montcada on 13 June 1326: *ibid.*, p. 560.

81 “.i. estoig d argent ab reliquiesi. capsa de vori en que ha reliquiesi. capsa de fust en que ha reliquiesi. troç de drap de li en que ha embolcats alguns orçes e peres que paren reliquies.” Those relics were brought to his royal palace in Barcelona: “item fratri Raimundo Calvo, capellano nostro, reliquias involutas in quodam trocio panni lintei, quas posuit in altari beate Marie palacio nostri Barchinone cum dictum altare fuit consecratum”: Martorell, “Inventari,” n. 4, p. 560.

82 As the “.i. agnus Dei encastat en estany”: Martorell, “Inventari,” p. 566. This piece must be the one received from Peñíscola Castle, which appears in the inventory made on 22 April 1311 as: “unum Agnus Dei encastatum in stagno.” Published in: Martorell, “Inventari,” doc. iv. Quoted in: Lourdes de Sanjosé i Llongueras, *Elements d’orfebreria litúrgica en la documentació catalana (segles IX-XIV)*. *Recull provisional* (Vic, 2017), doc. 312.

83 “.viii. barrats de Tuniç”: Martorell, “Inventari,” p. 561. “.viii. barrats pochcs reyalnsi. barrats reyalns gransvi. barrats grans verts”: *ibid.*, p. 562. Coming from the temple’s property, “.i. barralet d argent fet a manera de glan en que creen que ha reliquies”: *ibid.*, p. 566.

84 As is the case of the chapel of Saint George in Poblet, from the time of the Magnanimous in the 15th century, where the vault was painted with the *barrats* of Aragón.

85 Martínez Ferrando, “Datos,” p. 16.

The grandeur of the king could also be observed in other spaces. Royal chapels were places where he could exhibit his piety through solemn liturgies and acts of charity, just as he was recommended to do by Arnau de Vilanova.⁸⁶ One way in which Jaime II did this was through the *mandatum*, whereby he re-enacted Christ's actions at the Last Supper and was thus the central figure in a celebrative anamnesis of Jesus's love through service.⁸⁷ Contrition, charity, and humility were exemplary qualities that he demonstrated through liturgies in his royal chapels. In my opinion, this was in fact a way of showing himself *in modo divino*. He was compared with the Magi and, specifically, with Melchior,⁸⁸ perhaps a textual reference to some act carried out by the king at Christmas.⁸⁹ The above-mentioned exemplary qualities were conveyed, as well, through architecture. Santa Àgata Chapel, annexed to the royal palace in Barcelona, is an example of Franciscan microarchitecture, which means that the king used buildings as a way of making visible the spiritual ideology that he and his most immediate circle espoused at that time.⁹⁰ Connections between this order and the monarchy had begun in the second half of the 13th century with Constance of Sicily, the wife of Pedro III. She started the tradition of royally endowed mendicant friaries on the Iberian Peninsula with her founding of the female convent of Santa Clara in Huesca,⁹¹ in addition to establishing the custom of monarchs choosing these kinds of religious institutions for their final resting place.⁹² Starting in 1299, for four decades the royal household would favour being entombed in Franciscan

86 "per ço en aquella semana los daretz aygaamans, e.l digioux de la Cena los lavarets los peus e exugarets, e, per recorda[r] l[a] humilitat de la pacijes de [Christ], los besarets": *Obres catalanes A. de Vilanova, I. Escrits religiosos*, ed. Miquel Batllori (Barcelona, 1947), p. 227. Quoted in: Español, "Calendario," p. 191.

87 Frantisek Kunetka, "The Ceremony of Foot-washing in the Liturgy of Holy (Maundy) Thursday: an Anamnesis or Mimesis?," *Studia Theologica* 20 (2018), 67–107. About *Mandatum*, see: James Monti, *A Sense of the Sacred: Roman Catholic Worship in the Middle Ages* (San Francisco, 2012).

88 "E ... Jacme podets comparar a Melquior ... lo pus just hom de justicia, e de cortesia e de veritat qui anc nasqués, sal Jesucrist": Muntaner, *Crònica*, cap. xcvi.

89 As he stated in his *ordinacions*: Anna M. Adroer i Tasis, "Algunes notes sobre la capella del Palau Major de Barcelona," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 19 (1989), 385–392, esp. 387.

90 Francesca Español Bertrán, "Formas artísticas y espiritualidad. El horizonte franciscano del círculo familiar de Jaime II y sus ecos funerarios," in *Poder, piedad y devoción. Castilla y su entorno. Siglos XII-XV*, ed. Isabel Beceiro (Madrid, 2014), pp. 383–418. On the Franciscan tendencies of the royal family, see: Martin Aurell Cardona, "Messianisme royal de la Couronne d'Aragon (14^e-15^e siècles)," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 52/1 (1997), 119–55, esp. 123.

91 Anna Castellano i Tresserra, "El paper religiós i social dels monestirs femenins. L'exemple del Reial Monestir de Santa Maria de Pedralbes," in *Petras Albas. El monestir de Pedralbes i els Montcada (1326–1673)*, ed. Anna Alarcón (Barcelona, 2001), 45–61, esp. 53.

92 Her will, dated 10 February 1299, states: "eligimus nobis sepulturam ... in domo fratrum minorum civitatis Barchinone": Frederic Udina i Martorell, "Los restos reales existentes

abbeys or convents, due to the family's special devotion to Saint Francis – with whose order they felt a connection through kinship, as some members of the family expressed through the iconographical devices of their insignia⁹³ and burial settings.⁹⁴ In 1340, Pedro IV broke this trend when he decided to establish the Cistercian monastery of Santa María de Poblet as the dynastic pantheon.⁹⁵ Notwithstanding this development, minor houses continued for a time to hold the bodies of sovereigns *in itinere*, while they were waiting to be moved to their final burial place. From Constance of Sicily to Eleonor of Castile, the last wife of Alfonso IV, all kings and queens were entombed in Franciscan friaries,⁹⁶ except for Pedro III, his son Jaime II, and the latter's wife Blanche d'Anjou. Pedro III continued the tradition of his predecessors, which explains his choice to be buried at Santes Creus. But why did Jaime II opt to be buried in a Cistercian monastery, with his first wife, if they were each religiously closer to the Franciscan world?⁹⁷ The reason is most likely that the king intended to use his own funereal image and that of his father for political purposes.

3 Funerary Settings for the Glory, the Memory, and the Legitimacy of the Dynasty

Among other artistic commissions, the aesthetic renovation of Santes Creus was designed to showcase Jaime II's kingly role, something he had seen in Sicily

en la catedral de Barcelona," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 23 (1950), 49–67, esp. n. 12.

- 93 Such as the abbess's chair belonging to Blanche of Sigena, Jaime II's daughter, which features a drawing of Saint Louis, Bishop of Toulouse canonized in 1317: Carmen Berlabé Jové, "Fundación y patronato real en el monasterio de Sigena (Huesca). De Alfonso el Casto a Jaime el Justo," in *Imágenes y promotores*, ed. Melero, pp. 255–68, esp. 261–67.
- 94 The tomb of Jaime II's son the archbishop Jaume d'Aragó (cathedral of Tarragona) and the double tomb (Pedralbes Monastery) of his fourth wife, Elisenda de Montcada, are illustrative.
- 95 The first document in which Pedro IV states his wish to be buried in Poblet dates to 13 August 1340, but its lines mention another previous document written on 1 March 1340. Frederic Marès Deulovol, *Las tumbas reales de los monarcas de Cataluña y Aragón del monasterio de Santa María de Poblet* (Barcelona, 1988), p. 90.
- 96 Constance of Sicily was entombed in Sant Francesc in Barcelona, as were Alfonso III and Maria of Cyprus, the second wife of Jaime II, *in itinere*. His third wife, Elisenda de Montcada, was buried in the Poor Clares Convent of Pedralbes. Alfonso IV was laid to rest in Sant Francesc in Lleida, as was his second wife, Leonor de Castilla. His first wife, Teresa de Entenza, was entombed in San Francisco in Zaragoza.
- 97 Among all inventoried by Arnau Messeguer on 12 June 1323 appears: ".i. cordo de coto de frare menor": Martorell, "Inventari," p. 559.

in the use of artistic projects to cultivate prestige.⁹⁸ Setting aside his images on the first capital of the east gallery of the cloister and on the console in the Porta Reial,⁹⁹ I wish to focus on the magnificent tomb that he commissioned for his father Pedro III,¹⁰⁰ a project that seems to have been started by his brother and predecessor Alfonso III,¹⁰¹ as well as the one he commissioned for himself and his first wife, Blanche d'Anjou (Figure. 13.5).¹⁰²

These tombs are artistically indebted to those of William I and Frederick II in Palermo, as Rosenman has stated.¹⁰³ This is particularly true of the tomb of Pedro III, in its use of porphyry and a baldachin, elements intimately associated with imperial iconography. Neither the *abveus* nor the canopy nor the lid of the reliquary-like object finds a precedent in the funerary world of the Crown of Aragón.¹⁰⁴ Meanwhile, the tomb of Jaime II and Blanche d'Anjou, under a similar canopy, offers the novelty of recumbent effigies, the first instance in royal funerary arts in Aragón. Can we perform a joint reading of the innovations that we observe in both tombs? Is it possible to explain them as part of a shared artistic project, namely a symbolic one aimed at promoting the institution of the monarchy? In my opinion, we can. But to do so, we have to look to the origin and nature of Jaime II's government.

When he was appointed king of Aragón, in 1291, Jaime II arrived at the courts of Zaragoza, but he was not solemnly crowned because he had already been anointed and crowned with his accession to the throne of Sicily. He became king of Aragón not by his brother's will but by his right of succession.¹⁰⁵ Thus,

98 As pointed out in: Francesca Español Bertrán, *El Gòtic català* (Manresa, 2002), p. 39.

99 Marta Serrano-Coll, "Imatges de la monarquia dins un espai monàstic: Santes Creus," in *El Cister. Poder i espiritualitat (1150–1250)* (Barcelona, 2006), pp. 181–92.

100 "Eligimus nobis sepulturam in monasterio Sanctarum Crucum, ordinis Cisterciensis ... et quod sepultura nostra fiat bene et honorifice": Udina, *Els testaments*, doc. 24, p. 163.

101 On 29 August 1285, the monarch granted a transfer to compensate the monastery for a quantity it had advanced: "in fabricatione sepulture dicti domini Regis Petri"; see: Ricardo del Arco Garay, *Sepulcros de la Casa de Aragón* (Madrid, 1945), p. 210.

102 "Volentes et mandantes quod corpus nostrum sepeliatur in altero illorum duorum tumulorum quos Nos ibi construi fecimus pro nobis et illustra domina Blanca ... nostra sepultura fiat bene et honorifice sicut decet": Udina, *Testaments*, p. 181.

103 These links with Italy are described in: Josep Vives i Miret, "Els sepulcres reials del monestir de Santes Creus," *Studia Monastica* 6/2 (1964), 359–79. However, it was Rosenman who pointed out that the Sicilian tombs provided the typological model; see: Barry Ch. Rosenman, *The Royal Tombs in the Monastery of Santes Creus* (Minnesota, 1991), p. 5.

104 Español, *El Gòtic*, p. 43.

105 Zurita, *Anales*, lib. IV, cap. CXXII, and CXXIII. See also: Bonifacio Palacios Martín, *La coronación de los reyes de Aragón. 1204–1410. Aportación al estudio de las estructuras políticas medievales* (Valencia, 1975), p. 191. In fact, the testament of Pedro III dated 13 June

in the wake of the actions of his father and brother, he made a formal protest and stressed his independence from other powers, i.e. the papacy.¹⁰⁶ He not only accepted the *fueros* but actually became their most staunch defender. They became the primary legal basis on which the Crown's authority rested and to which the king and his subjects submitted. In fact, as Sesma pointed out, the *fueros* obtained a mythical status, above that even of the king. Indeed, the king only became the sovereign once he had sworn on them, and he could be deposed if he did not comply with the laws. It is not by chance that this was the moment when the idea of adopting an emblem to represent the kingdom first emerged, namely the coat of arms of Aragón. The arms featured the tree of Sobrarbe, which was linked with the origin of the *fueros* and the Law of Aragón; the legendary cross of Íñigo Arista; the cross of Saint George, with the heads of four Moors in reference to the Battle of Alcoraz and the conquest of Huesca; and the royal pales of Aragón.¹⁰⁷ Immediately, the king moved to consolidate his own myth, making sacred his person, acts, and all that surrounded him so that he could strengthen the authority invested in him by the oath he had taken.¹⁰⁸ In my opinion, both tombs depict concepts that Jaime II sought to show through his *ministerium regis*. Through the tomb of his father, Pedro III, with its reliquary-like structure and iconography, he reaffirmed the divine origin of the power of the monarchical institution in opposition to the *dictatus papae* of Gregory VII and its theoretical formulation of the supremacy of papal authority. His own tomb, though completely different in composition due to the presence of the recumbent figure of his first wife, was located in the transept just on the other side of the entrance to the choir and maintained a further unity with his father's tomb thanks to its canopy. In this way, the tomb of

1282 specified that his heir was to be his son Alfonso, with Jaime and Pedro as substitutes: Udina, *Testaments*, doc. 24, p. 165. Jaime II was a king who rejected the politics of partitions, hoping to remain king of Sicily in addition to king of Aragón: Ferran Soldevila, *Història de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1963), p. 390.

106 Jerónimo Blancas, *Coronaciones de los serenísimos reyes de Aragón, con dos tratados del modo de celebrar cortes* (Zaragoza, 1641), p. 25.

107 José A. Sesma Muñoz, "El sentimiento nacionalista en la Corona de Aragón y el nacimiento de la España moderna," in *Realidad e imágenes del poder*, ed. Adeline Rucquoi (Valladolid, 1988), pp. 215–32, esp. 226.

108 Palacios, *Coronación*, pp. 196–200. In this sense, Arnau de Vilanova established a way of exalting the monarchy: Manuel A. Rodríguez de la Peña, "Hesper, el Vespro y el Vespertilio: elementos de continuidad entre el milenarismo stauíco y el ciclo profético del imperio aragonés," in *Jaime II*, eds. Barrio et al., pp. 685–97. Also: Pere Bohigas i Balaguer, "Profecies catalanes dels segles XIV i XV: assaig bibliogràfic," *Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya* VI (1920–22), 24–49.

Jaime II sought to root temporal power in a legal principle: power was hereditary; the king was king by right.¹⁰⁹

Of course, Jaime II's ideology cannot be separated from the Hohenstaufen political heritage.¹¹⁰ Indeed, for a generation, the House of Aragón had adopted allegorical figures typical of Hohenstaufen eschatological cycles, thus establishing lines of continuity between the imperial ambitions of these two *regiae stirpes*.¹¹¹ Historians have suggested that exiled Ghibellines who had served the Hohenstaufens were present at the court of the Aragonese king and that this had important consequences for the reception of political ideas from overseas.¹¹² It is precisely in this context that we must situate the tombs at Santes Creus. Jaime II was acquainted firsthand with the Hohenstaufens' artistic policies and, perhaps also, with the elements of Frederician sacrality that Mirko Vagnoni has studied so much.¹¹³ He was thus able to design an entire funerary programme that not only referred to the Palermitan tombs that had legitimized him as king¹¹⁴ but also condensed and made visible the principles of the monarchy. With Jaime II, the Kingdom of Aragón became consolidated: he ruled in a climate of co-existence, trust, and commitment hitherto unknown, after the union's legitimacy had been questioned throughout the second half

109 I discuss and develop this idea in the forthcoming publication: Marta Serrano-Coll, "Jaime II and his artistic patronage in Santes Creus: purposes, semantic content and the influence of Frederick II," *Imago Temporis Medium Aevum* 16 (2022), in press.

110 Rodríguez de la Peña, "Hesper," p. 685.

111 Ibid., p. 686.

112 Such as the dignitary Richard Filangeri, the jurist Henry of Isermia, and John of Procida, who was the personal physician of Frederick II and then chancellor to King Manfred and Pedro III; see: Steven Runciman, *Visperas Sicilianas. Una historia del mundo mediterráneo a finales del siglo XIII* [*The Sicilian Vespers: a history of the Mediterranean world in the later thirteenth century*], (Cambridge, Eng., 1958; repr. Madrid, 2009), pp. 200–03. And: Helene Wieruszowski, "La corte di Pietro d'Aragona e i precedenti dell'Impresa Siciliana," in *Politics and culture in medieval Spain and Italy* (Rome, 1971), pp. 185–222.

113 Mirko Vagnoni, *Federico II allo specchio. Analisi iconografica e politico-funzionale delle sue raffigurazioni*, unpublished MA thesis, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Siena, 2003–2004; Mirko Vagnoni, "Lex animata in terris. Sulla sacralità di Federico II di Svevia," *De Medio Aevo* 1 (2013), pp. 47–66; Mirko Vagnoni, "Il significato politico delle caratteristiche iconografiche di Federico II di Svevia," *Iconographica. Rivista di iconografia medievale e moderna* 5 (2006), 64–75; Mirko Vagnoni, "La legittimità e la sacralità imperiale di Federico II di Svevia," *Tabulae. Del Centro Studi Federiciani* 18/1 (2006), 127–69.

114 His mother was Constance of Sicily, whom Pedro III put forward as the legitimate heiress of the Italian Hohenstaufen, naming her *regina* for political reasons. On 19 April 1298, in Messina, Constance was proclaimed the legitimate queen: she assumed the regency, with her son Jaime, the future Jaime II, as her heir and co-regent. See Miguel Marzal García-Quismondo, "La perspectiva catalano-aragonesa de D. Jaime de Sicilia," in *Jaime II*, eds. Barrio et al., pp. 417–44, esp. 422–23.

of the 13th century.¹¹⁵ The internal contradictions would emerge in the time of Pedro IV, the next king to use art in the form of his own portraits to such effect as a tool of power.

4 Conclusion

This study builds on previous research on the use of royal statements – whether *in corpore* or *in imago* – as instruments of power by King Jaime II, whose commissions, rather than merely continuing the artistic trends of his time, clearly demonstrate innovations in the use of art as official propaganda. Some of his portraits were intended for various audiences, but most of them remained in the circles of power, whether within or beyond his kingdom. And though it is not possible to offer precise answers regarding where, when, why, and for whom his royal images were used, the examples analysed here show that all of them had clear and specific intentions, which, in most cases, related to his early phase as king of Sicily and, more specifically, to his knowledge and admiration of Frederick II.

Jaime II disseminated his royal image through a wide range of media. As was customary, its appearance on coins was executed carefully and accompanied by a legend, together giving the coin a sanctioning and legitimizing quality. In seals, the function of his royal image went beyond mere authentication, accruing social, cultural, and anthropological connotations. With his sigillographic innovations – encompassing not only materials but also iconographies and inscriptions – Jaime II sought to brand himself as a legalist monarch, a characterization that can be seen in his commissions in other media as well.

Moreover, his awareness of the use of art as a tool of power, undoubtedly learned from the Hohenstaufens during his Sicilian period, comes across in the *decorum* of his residences and royal chapels as well as his interest in the external manifestation of luxury (i.e. opulent objects, religious settings, precious clothes decorated with embroidery, jewels, and insignia). Textual sources from the period describe a richness and pageantry that is faithfully reflected in the surviving iconography. While Jaime II's artistic commissions certainly demonstrate his Franciscan spiritual leanings, his deep devotion never got in the way

115 The problems within the *Union* would coincide with the arrival of Pedro IV. See Esteban Sarasa and Carmen Orcástegui Gros, "El rechazo de la aventura mediterránea y la manifestación de las contradicciones internas: la consolidación del reino y los comienzos de la crisis (1276–1336)," *Historia de Aragón* 6 (1985), 11–46.

of political considerations. In this regard, the monastery of Santes Creus is highly illustrative. Among other aspects of the overall programme that show a similar Hohenstaufen inheritance, the tombs Jaime commissioned there served to consolidate the myth surrounding his kingship and to make visible two crucial ideological concepts: the divine origin and the juridical nature of his power.

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Illustrations

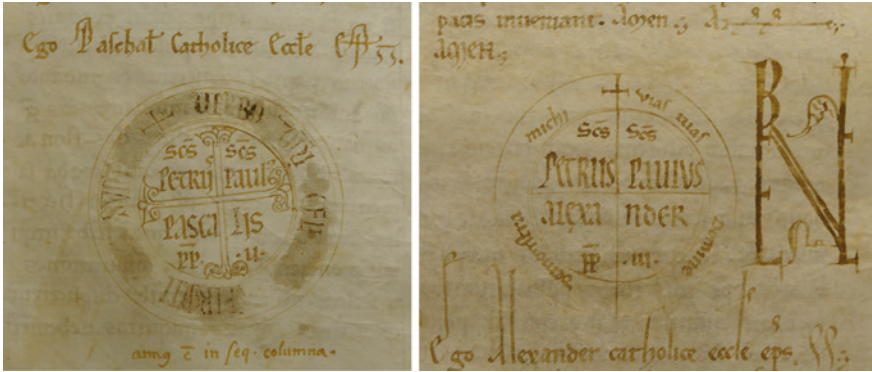


FIGURE 13.1 *Libri Antiquitatum Sedis Barcinonensis*: drawings of the seals belonging to Pascalis I and Alexander III (13th century).
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FIGURE 13.2 Left: *Capbreu de Colliure* (1292). Right: Bull of Jaime II (1293)
 A) © ARCHIVES DÉPARTEMENTALES DES PYRÉNÉES-ORIENTALES, 1B29 (WITH ITS KIND PERMISSION). B) PUBLISHED BY SAGARRA, *SIGIL·LOGRAFIA*, FIG. 39



FIGURE 13.3 Wax seal belonging to Jaime II (1295)
PUBLISHED BY SAGARRA, *SIGIL·LOGRAFIA*, FIG. 40



FIGURE 13.4 *Terçer Llibre Verd*, fols. 102v and 75r (c. 1333)
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FIGURE 13.5 Royal tombs at the Monastery of Santa Maria de Santes Creus (Aiguamúrcia, Tarragona)

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