



Pergamon

Journal of Medieval History 27 (2001) 1–22

Journal of
**Medieval
History**

www.elsevier.com/locate/jmedhist

The *Liber feudorum maior* of the counts of Barcelona: the cartulary as an expression of power

Adam J. Kosto

Department of History, Columbia University, 1180 Amsterdam Avenue, New York, NY 10027, USA

Abstract

The *Liber feudorum maior*, the late-twelfth-century cartulary of the counts of Barcelona, is at once one of the earliest surviving lay cartularies and a rare example of an illuminated cartulary. Although much of the original has been lost, its modern editor was able to use surviving single-sheet documents and early registers to reconstruct its contents: over nine hundred individual records in two volumes. Drawing on this reconstruction, this article considers the date of the cartulary, its composition, its organization, and its functions. For each of these questions the inclusion and placement of many blank folios in the original two volumes prove significant. Considered together, the organization of the cartulary and its distinctive pictorial programme, which includes some of the earliest depictions of the ceremony of homage in Europe, reveal the *Liber feudorum maior* as not simply an administrative tool, but as a written expression of power. © 2001 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved.

Keywords: *Liber feudorum maior*; Cartulary; Catalonia; Barcelona; Manuscript illumination

Among the sources for the institutional history of Catalonia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, pride of place goes to the great cartulary of the counts of Barcelona, now known as the *Liber feudorum maior* (*LFM*).¹ Though composed under Alfons

E-mail address: ajkosto@columbia.edu (A.J. Kosto).

¹ Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria reial [hereafter ACA], Registres 1; *Liber feudorum maior. Cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Francisco Miquel Rosell, 2 vols (Textos i estudis de la Corona de Aragón [1–]2, Barcelona, 1945[–47]) [hereafter *LFM*]. Documents in this edition are cited by number rather than volume and page. After the marriage of Ramon Berenguer IV to Petronilla of Aragón in 1150, the counts of Barcelona were also kings of Aragón, although Alfons I was the first to assume the title (as Alfonso II). It is customary to refer to him and later rulers with the awkward designation 'count-king', though here I generally use simply 'count' when not concerned specifically with royal status or authority.

I (1162–96), the significance of the *LFM* transcends this single reign. Its more than nine hundred documents include many of the treaties, oaths, and *convenientiae* – in some cases dating back to the tenth century – that lay bare the infrastructures of power in this society. But despite the capital importance of the cartulary for the history of this period and historians' frequent reference to the documents contained within it, few have devoted significant attention to the cartulary itself. This is surprising, since the *LFM* considered as a whole tells as much about the conceptions and organization of power in the late twelfth century as the documents that it contains do for earlier years.

Cartularies are organized collections of documents prepared by the individual or institution that possessed the documents. They offer access to a tremendous number of medieval records, most of which no longer survive in the original. But cartularies are not simply empty conduits for the documents they contain; they are historical artifacts in themselves. A focus on the organization and production of a cartulary may reveal the identity of the compiler and the date of compilation, but it also offers clues to contemporary archival and administrative practices, as well as to the historical circumstances in which the collection was prepared. Furthermore, cartularies had functions, such as administration of territory, protection of rights, commemoration of individuals or groups, or creation of an institutional historiography. These various functions often correspond to historical circumstances, as cartularies tend to appear at times of institutional crisis and reform.²

The *LFM* stands out among cartularies for three reasons. First, it is a lay cartulary. Most surviving cartularies from this period were produced for ecclesiastical institutions, while collections assembled for the benefit of lay lordships, private individuals, and even princely chanceries remain rare before the mid-thirteenth century. Two other early southern lay cartularies complete with the *LFM* an important trio: the cartularies of the Trencavels of Béziers (1186x88, 616 acts) and of the Guilhems of Montpellier (early thirteenth century, 570 acts).³ Second, the *LFM* is an illuminated cartulary: seventy-nine Romanesque miniatures break up the flow of the text. Decoration in utilitarian documents such as cartularies is, not surprisingly, a rarity.⁴

² Patrick Geary, 'Entre gestion et *gesta*', in: *Les cartulaires. Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'École nationale des chartes et le G.D.R. 121 du C.N.R.S. (Paris, 5–7 décembre 1991)*, ed. Olivier Guyotjeannin, Laurent Morelle, and Michel Parisse (Mémoires et documents de l'École des chartes 39, Paris, 1993), 13–26; Dominique Ionga-Prat, 'La confection des cartulaires et l'historiographie à Cluny (XI^e–XII^e siècles)', in: *Les cartulaires*, 27–44 at 36–40; Dietrich Lohrmann, 'Évolution et organisation interne des cartulaires rhénans du Moyen Âge', in: *Les cartulaires*, 79–90 at 85–86.

³ *Liber instrumentorum memorialium. Cartulaire des Guilhems de Montpellier*, [ed. A. Germain] (Montpellier, 1884–86); Hélène Débax, 'Le cartulaire des Trencavel (*Liber instrumentorum vicecomitalium*)', in: *Les cartulaires*, 291–99. To these might be added three early-thirteenth-century cartularies from Toulouse: *De Toulouse à Tripoli. La puissance toulousaine au XII^e siècle (1080–1208)*. Musée des Augustins, 6 janvier 1989–20 mars 1989 (Toulouse, 1988), 83–85, nos. 6–7. See Lucie Fossier and Olivier Guyotjeannin, 'Cartulaires français laïques. Seigneuries et particuliers', in: *Les cartulaires*, 379–410; Robert-Henri Bautier, 'Cartulaires de chancellerie et recueils d'actes des autorités laïques et ecclésiastiques', in: *Les cartulaires*, 363–77.

⁴ Below, nn. 60–62.

Finally, the *LFM* is a phantom; only 114 of its original 888 folios survive. While the present two-volume format is original – the prologue describes the work as divided into *duo volumina* – the current binding dates from the nineteenth century, and trimming of the surviving folios has destroyed the codicological evidence that might have allowed recovery of the cartulary's earlier physical states.⁵ Fortunately, however, its original contents are more accessible. The modern editor of the *LFM*, Francisco Miquel Rosell, working from a series of registers, the earliest of which dates from 1306, reconstituted the order and rubrics of the documents. The surviving folios, original single-sheet documents (nearly half of the total), and later copies supply texts for all but 93 of the 902 records known to have been transcribed in the original two volumes. The registers also provide dates and folio numbers for the documents, so despite the fact that only one-eighth of the original cartulary survives, informed conclusions about its production – and thus its function and meaning – remain possible.

In this study I address first the interrelated issues of the date of the *LFM*, its composition, and its organization. While the question of the date of the cartulary has been studied well, a previously unrecognized aspect of the internal organization of the cartulary – the placement of groups of blank folios – helps to clarify this issue even further. The blank folios also help to elucidate a second group of issues addressed here, namely, the functions of the cartulary – functions rather than function, for it is clear that there were a number of different principles behind the creation of the *LFM*. Finally, I look to the organization of the cartulary and its pictorial programme to illuminate one of these several functions, namely, the role of the *LFM* as an expression of power.

1. Date, composition, and organization

In proposing a date for the *LFM*, its editor observed only that since it is evident from the prologue that the work was presented to Alfons I, it must have been completed before 1196, the date of the count's death.⁶ Whether or not it was in fact complete in 1196, this suggestion says nothing about when work on the project started, and why. Thomas Bisson has argued convincingly that the *LFM* should be seen as part of the same reform of comital administration that produced the first fiscal accounts and paper registers. Two factors point to such a conclusion. First, the dedicatory preface to the *LFM* reveals that it was compiled under the direction of Ramon de Caldes, a key figure in the development of comital fiscal practice. Second, a work as complex as the *LFM* presupposed a systematic reorganization of the comital archives, and such a step could not have taken place before 1178. In

⁵ Lawrence J. McCrank, 'Documenting reconquest and reform. The growth of archives in the medieval Crown of Aragon', *American Archivist*, 56 (1993), 256–318 at 303–18 provides a codicological description of the cartulary in its current form. He raises the possibility that 'the transcriptions may not have been intended as a bound codex, but instead for a booklike casing and sheath for a loose portfolio' (303).

⁶ *LFM*, vol. 1, viii.

that year Guillem de Bassa, Alfons's notary, acknowledged receipt of more than 144 comital charters, many of which were later included in the *LFM*, from Ramon de Gironella, a comital vicar at Girona. The inclusion of a Hebrew subscription on the text suggests that the documents had been the subject of a pledge: 'I, Haninai Halevi, saw that Guillem de Bassa received these writings from the hand of Ramon Dironella.'⁷ If indeed the documents were pledged, then they would have been out of the control of comital officials and useless as an archive; any reorganization would require their recovery.⁸

Three episodes serve as likely impetuses, if not direct causes, of an archival reorganization. In 1178, Alfons reasserted his rights over the castle of Forès; two years later, he did the same with respect to the castles of Lluçà and Merlès. In both cases, the count was able to prove his claims by producing documents from the early eleventh century, documents drawn from his archive (*de suo archivo producta*); archival reforms would make possible success in other such cases.⁹ A review of charters in the period 1171–77 concerning the rights of the counts of Barcelona over the county of Carcassonne, charters that were eventually included in the *LFM*, may also have contributed to a push for archival reform; this review predates the recovery of the charters from Girona and the dispute over Forès in 1178, but might easily be considered a prelude to later work.¹⁰

Bisson has also argued that much of the work on the *LFM* must have been finished by August 1194, the date of a settlement between the count and the viscount Ponç (III) de Cabrera, which was subscribed by Ramon de Caldes. The assembly at which the count accepted the viscount's submission would have been a fitting time for Ramon de Caldes to read his dedicatory preface to the cartulary. That official's work on the fiscal accounts is last documented in April of that year, which 'gives added

⁷ ACA, Pergamins, Ramon Berenguer IV 258; *Fiscal accounts of Catalonia under the early count-kings (1151–1213)*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson, 2 vols (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984), vol. 1, 97. Elka Klein kindly provided this translation.

⁸ Thomas N. Bisson, 'Feudalism in twelfth-century Catalonia', in: Bisson, *Medieval France and her Pyrenean neighbours. Studies in early institutional history* (Studies presented to the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions 70, London, 1989), 153–78 at 168–70; Bisson, 'The rise of Catalonia. Identity, power, and ideology in a twelfth-century society', in: Bisson, *Medieval France*, 125–52 at 144–45; Bisson, 'Ramon de Caldes (c. 1135–1199). Dean of Barcelona and king's minister', in: Bisson, *Medieval France*, 187–98 at 192–96; Josep M. Salrach, 'El "Liber feudorum maior" i els comptes fiscals de Ramon de Caldes', in: *Documents jurídics de la història de Catalunya*, 2nd edn (Barcelona, 1992), 85–110.

⁹ *LFM* 222–25, 257–58.

¹⁰ Ramon d'Abadal i de Vinyals, 'A propos de la "domination" de la maison comtale de Barcelone sur le Midi français', *Annales du Midi*, 76 (1964), 315–45 at 320. The suggestion to review these documents is contained in a memorial, ACA, Pergamins, Alfons I 730 (Claude de Vic and Joseph Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc avec des notes et les pièces justificatives*, new edn [Privat], 16 vols [Toulouse, 1872–1904], vol. 5, cols 31–33, no. 6). The dossier of documents relating to Carcassonne was contained at *LFM* 812–53; most of this section of the *LFM* is now lost, but see ACA, Pergamins, Ramon Berenguer I 392, Ramon Berenguer I 393, and Alfons I 275. For datings, see Fredric L. Cheyette, 'The "sale" of Carcassonne to the counts of Barcelona (1067–1070) and the rise of the Trencavels', *Speculum*, 63 (1988), 826–64, especially 830 n. 1.

reason to think that he devoted full attention to the compilation during the months thereafter'.¹¹ Anscari Mundó has argued, however, that the work on the core of the cartulary was complete by late in 1192. No documents later than that date appear in the surviving folios of the *LFM* in the hand of the two principal scribes of the work. Furthermore, of the three datable documents surviving from the remainder of Alfons I's reign, the two contained in the surviving folios – documents associated with the capitulation of Ponç de Cabrera in 1194 – are in the same hand as the subsequent document in the *LFM*, an oath of Ponç de Cabrera to the future count, Pere I, in April 1196.¹² It is possible, though not certain, that these first two documents were added after Alfons's death, at the same time as the third document. If so, the *LFM* would bear no relationship to the assembly of 1194, in conception, execution, or dedication. In any case, the bulk of the work of archival organization and composition evidently took place between 1178 and 1194.

The *LFM* is clearly a comital/royal cartulary, and the vast majority of the documents included in it relate to comital/royal rights. But were all of the documents originally part of a comital archive, mentioned for the first time only in 1180?¹³ Ramon de Caldes's preface is far from clear, referring vaguely to 'all of your own documents and those drawn up between you and your ancestors and your men'.¹⁴ Might the documents have been dispersed among various locations? It has been assumed, for example, that the bundle of charters that Guillem de Bassa received from Ramon de Gironella had previously been in a central (if perhaps mobile) comital archive. It is equally possible, though, that Ramon, as vicar for Girona, maintained a subsidiary comital archive in that city; many of the charters recorded on the list concern lands and castles in the county of Girona. In this scenario, Ramon, not the count, pledged the charters, and Guillem de Bassa, acting for the count, redeemed Ramon's pledge.¹⁵ Other documents may have been collected or copied by an itinerant commission similar to the one charged with the inventory of the comital domain in 1151.¹⁶ There are two explicit indications that an original document was outside Barcelona at the time of the compilation. The rubric to a grant by Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona (1131–62) to Santa Maria de l'Estany in 1152

¹¹ *LFM* 412–14 and 403–11; *Fiscal accounts*, vol. 1, 118–19; Bisson, 'Ramon de Caldes', 195–96.

¹² Anscari M. Mundó, 'El pacte de Cazola del 1179 i el "Liber feudorum maior". Notes paleogràfiques i diplomàtiques', in: *X Congrés d'història de la Corona d'Aragó, Zaragoza, 1979. Jaime I y su época. Comunicaciones*, 2 vols (Zaragoza, 1980–82), vol. 1, 119–29. Compare McCrank, 'Documenting reconquest', 285–88.

¹³ For the 'pre-history' of the comital archive, see Adam J. Kosto, *Making agreements in medieval Catalonia. Power, order, and the written word, 1000–1200* (Cambridge, forthcoming), chap. 6.

¹⁴ *LFM* prologue: omnia instrumenta propria et inter vos vestrosque antecessores ac homines vestros confecta.

¹⁵ The document that has survived, it should be noted, is not itself a record of a pledge, but merely a description of a group of documents. Why Haninai Halevi, presumably the creditor, would have attested to the transfer of a pledged lot from Ramon to Guillem, is unclear. For a possible eighth-century analogue, see *Codice diplomatico Longobardo*, ed. Luigi Schiaparelli et al., 5 vols in 7 parts (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 62–66, Rome, 1929–86), vol. 2, 439–44, no. 295.

¹⁶ *Fiscal accounts*, vol. 1, 29–30.

notes that the *originale instrumentum* was in that monastery. Similarly, the *originale instrumentum* of a privilege of Charlemagne was said to be held by the monastery of Sant Llorenç del Munt. The rubric to a third document also describes the subsequent text as a transcript (*translatum*), rather than simply noting its content, though it does not give the location of the original.¹⁷ The existence of satellite archives or an itinerant commission would also help to explain the rapid integration of the largest single group of documents, 109 from Pallars Jussà, a county acquired by the counts of Barcelona only on 27 May 1192.¹⁸

Many of the rubrics introducing sections describe documents not as of a particular lineage, but as of an individual alive during the reign of Alfons I. This suggests one final possibility for the collection process: individuals may have been summoned to present or acknowledge documents before the count. They would, of course, have been reluctant to provide the count with evidence to support his claims, but this would help to explain the organization and the rubrication. A more detailed study of the originals and copies of documents later included in the *LFM*, especially their early annotation and endorsements, promises to shed light on such questions.¹⁹

The only immediately apparent organizing principle for the *LFM* is geographical: documents are grouped by county, or occasionally by viscounty or lineage, itself an increasingly geographical concept.²⁰ Rubrics articulate this organization by signalling the start of new sections, although not all sections have them. Two other patterns help to reveal the internal structure of the cartulary. It is evident from the reconstruction that there were a substantial number of blank folios included in the original work.²¹ These blank folios appeared not individually, but in groups separating geographical sections and subsections. Thus, for example, there were eight blank folios between the last document from the group concerning Castile and Aragón and the first document from the group concerning the county of Pallars; fifteen blank folios separated the section of documents from Pallars from the subsequent section devoted to Urgell. The gaps were even more substantial in the second volume: approximately thirty blank folios separated the sections of Empúries from Cerdanya, Cerdanya from

¹⁷ *LFM* 454 (rubric): *Translatum instrumenti...Est originale instrumentum in monasterio de Stagno. LFM* 514 (rubric): *Translatum privilegii Caroli Magni...Habet originale instrumentum abbas Sancti Laurentii de Monte in comitatu Bisuldunensi*; see *Catalunya carolíngia*, vol. 2, *Els diplomes carolíngis a Catalunya*, ed. Ramon d'Abadal i de Vinyals, 2 parts (Memòries de la Secció històrico-arqueològica 2, Barcelona, 1926–50), 175–78. *LFM* 453 (rubric): *Translatum illius cartae*. Compare *LFM* 219 (rubric): *Originale instrumentum*.

¹⁸ *LFM* 36–144; ACA, Pergamins, Alfons I 627 (Ferran Valls Taberner, 'Els comtats de Pallars i Ribagorça a partir del segle XI', in: Valls Taberner, *Obras selectas*, vol. 4, *Estudios de historia medieval* [Madrid, 1961], 125–205 at 158–59). See Martin Aurell, *Les noces du comte. Mariage et pouvoir en Catalogne (785–1213)* (Publications de la Sorbonne, Série histoire ancienne et médiévale, 32, Paris, 1995), 355.

¹⁹ *Fiscal accounts*, vol. 1, 296–300. I hope to undertake such a study in the future.

²⁰ Salrach, 'El "Liber feudorum maior"', 102 (Ramon de Caldes no va adoptar cap criteri cronològic en l'ordenació del material...era més útil una classificació de caire geogràfic combinada amb agrupacions de documents identificats pels seus agents: comtes, magnats o llinatges); compare Bisson, 'Feudalism', 170.

²¹ *LFM*, vol. 1, vii.

Rosselló, and Rosselló from the other trans-Pyrenean counties.²² Within these large geographical divisions, there are smaller sections, also marked off by blank folios. This may be seen in the organization of the beginning of the section of documents from Pallars Jussà (Table 1). This pattern does not apply universally. In some places where a gap would be expected none is found,²³ while in others, blank folios separate seemingly related groups of documents.²⁴ These are, however, exceptions to the rule. The second organizational pattern is chronological: within subgroups, the documents generally appear in chronological order. The chronological groups usually correspond to the groups divided by blank folios, but like the folios, the dates may indicate groups that might not otherwise be apparent. Assumption of this rule makes possible the closer dating of some undated documents.²⁵

Recognition of these patterns also offers confirmation of the dating proposed by Mundó for the *LFM* itself. Working backward in a chronological list of documents included in the cartulary, the latest documents, as would be expected, appear immediately before groups of blank folios. Scribes coming to the *LFM* after its initial completion took advantage of the blank spaces to add additional documents. Without access to the original folios (and thus palaeographical evidence), it is impossible to tell exactly where these additions began *when the documents are in chronological order*. But if a document at the end of a group is of an *earlier* date than the document immediately preceding it, it is likely that it was inscribed *after* the date of that

Table 1
The structure of the *LFM*, folios 42–71

Folios	Subject
42–46	documents concerning Barcelona
47	[1 blank]
48–50	documents concerning Pallars Sobirà
51–55	[5 blank]
56–57	documents concerning Urgell
58–63	[6 blank]
64–65	documents concerning the castle and lineage of Mur
66–68	[3 blank]
69–71	documents concerning the castle and lineage of Orcau

²² Before *LFM* 36, 145, 531, 697, and 808.

²³ For example, between *LFM* 119 and 120, where a section rubric is given, but there is no large gap.

²⁴ For example, between *LFM* 62 and 63, where there is a three-folio gap between the documents concerning Mur and those concerning Orcau, while there are none between the other non-comital subsections of the documents from Pallars.

²⁵ For example, *LFM* 448–50, oaths dated by Miquel Rosell to 1053x71, should be from before 29 April 1065, the date of *LFM* 451. If the chronological order is assumed to be consistent, the idea that from 1000 to 1180 Catalan scribes changed regnal years for the French kings on 24 June finds strong support in the *LFM*. See Anscari M. Mundó, 'El concili de Tarragona de 1180. Dels anys dels reis francs als de l'encarnació', *Analecta sacra Tarraconensia*, 67:1 (1994), xxiii–xliii; *LFM* 63, 230, 325–26, 409, 421.

preceding document. The first instance of this (working backward in a chronological list of documents) is *LFM* 169, dated November 1192. The last document in the surviving folios of the *LFM* on which the principal scribe, Ramon de Sitges, worked was dated June 1192, but Mundó suggested that *LFM* 169 was in fact the last document; *LFM* 170 is dated 1190.

There is then no single date for the *LFM*. The process of archival reorganization that necessarily preceded its compilation may have begun as early as the 1170s during a review of charters concerning Carcassonne. The recovery of 144 comital charters in 1178 may have been prompted by a project of reorganization that was already underway. Alternatively, the recovery of so many charters may have been the initial impetus of reform. Judicial actions in 1178 and 1180 would have proven the value of such a reorganization to comital administrators. Whatever the precise origins of the archival reform, the *LFM* itself must be a project of the 1180s. It involved the collection of dispersed originals and the preparation of working copies, both by as yet unknown means. We may imagine the look of surprise on Ramon de Caldes's face when a new batch of charters from Pallars Jussà was delivered in early 1192, but whether this disrupted merely the preliminary layout or the actual process of transcription, it is impossible to say. Similarly, palaeographical evidence calls into question the proposed presentation of the cartulary at a comital assembly in 1194. We are on firmer footing with respect to organization. The position of groups of blank folios highlights the geographical framework of the cartulary, while chronology serves as a consistent secondary organizational principle. These observations concerning the date, process of composition, and organization of the cartulary contribute to an understanding of why it was created.

2. Function

What was the function of the *LFM*? For its modern editor, it was simply a written record of the growth of the territory of the counts of Barcelona. Thus his analysis is limited to mentioning the historical circumstances under which the counts acquired the regions referred to in the documents of a given section of the cartulary.²⁶ Lawrence McCrank, focusing on the date of composition, argues that the *LFM* is connected to the relatively recent union of the territories of Aragón and Catalonia: the coincidence of the beginnings of the *LFM* with the Treaty of Cazola (1179) suggests that once secure in his rights to València, Alfons 'slowed the Reconquest' and turned his attention to the unification of his realms.²⁷ But while the *LFM* begins with a series of documents concerning Aragón – papal bulls, documents of the union, and treaties with the military orders – the relative lack of castle-holding agreements with Aragonese lords for Aragonese lands is striking. These agreements certainly existed; many are preserved as single-sheet documents, now interfiled with Catalan agree-

²⁶ *LFM*, vol. 1, xvii–xxviii.

²⁷ *LFM* 35; McCrank, 'Documenting reconquest', 281–82.

ments that were copied into the great cartulary.²⁸ The significance of the absence of these Aragonese texts from the *LFM* is heightened by the inclusion in the cartulary of oaths and conventions for trans-Pyrenean lands such as Provence. Symbolic unification may have been on the minds of the compilers, but the joining of Aragón and Catalonia was not the focus of this effort.

The structure and process of composition of the cartulary considered above indicate more about its function than does the date. The most important clues are offered once again by the blank folios. The editor thought that they were intended for earlier documents that could not be found during the first organization of the archive. It has also been proposed that the space was set aside for those new documents that would be deemed worthy of inclusion in the future.²⁹ Both of these things did, in fact, occur. Documents from before 1192 appearing out of chronological order at the end of groups, as argued above, were added after that date,³⁰ while at the end of the thirteenth century, the cartulary contained at least eight documents from the reign of Pere I (1196–1213) and at least three from the reign of Jaume I (1213–76).³¹ The later addition of documents helps to explain inconsistencies in the order and placement of documents in the cartulary. The sale of the castle of Forès by Berenguer de Fluvià to Alfons I in 1190 appears just before a number of blank folios, separated from other documents related to that castle by the preceding eight documents. The scribe evidently attempted to place this document as close as he could to the other documents concerning Forès.³² Two oaths concerning the castle of Arraona are included among the documents related to the Montcada family; the rubrics refer to the castle ‘that Guillem Ramon acquired previously from the count’. A group of documents concerning Tortosa follows, and then another group of documents concerning Arraona, immediately preceding a gap of blank folios. This order might similarly be explained by the later addition of the last group of documents, placed in the cartulary as close as possible to the two oaths for Arraona.³³

Although the blank folios were in fact used both for earlier documents found after the initial completion of the volumes and for new documents composed after that date, they were principally intended for the latter use. The blank folios make up approximately half of the original total number, leaving enough room for another

²⁸ For example, ACA, Pergamins, Alfons I 221 (Lumbierre), 224 (Tubo), 294 (Castellote), 559 (Grisén) (*Alfonso II Rey de Aragón, Conde de Barcelona y Marqués de Provenza. Documentos [1162–1196]*, ed. Ana Isabel Sánchez Casabón [Fuentes históricas aragonesas 23, Publicaciones de la Institución ‘Fernando el Católico’ 1691, Zaragoza, 1995], 321–22, 328–30, 403–5, 683–84, nos. 234, 238, 300, 519); compare *LFM* 23 (Azaila), 26 (Monzón, Tamarite, Zaidín), 27 (Carboneras).

²⁹ *LFM*, vol. 1, xii; Salrach, ‘El “Liber feudorum maior”’, 100.

³⁰ Also *LFM* 70 (1055x98), following *LFM* 69 (1111x12), both concerning Orcau.

³¹ *LFM* 226, 415–16, 797–801 (Pere); 164, 495, 518 (Jaume). For subsequent additions, see: *LFM*, vol. 2, 368 n. 2; *El archivo condal de Barcelona. Estudio crítico de sus fondos*, ed. Federico Udina Martorell (Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, Escuela de estudios medievales, Textos, 18, Publicaciones de la Sección de Barcelona, 15, Barcelona, 1951), 53–54; Mundó, ‘El concili de Tarragona’, 3 n. 12.

³² *LFM* 267.

³³ *LFM* 460–61 (460: super castro de Arraona quod, tempore precedente, Guillelmus Raimundi a comite adquisivit; rubric to 461 is defective), 468–71.

one thousand documents. Ramon de Caldes was certainly aware of the scope, if not the exact number, of documents available for inclusion, however disorganized they may have been. He could not have thought that he was missing one thousand relevant documents. Furthermore, space was not left *between* the documents (except for illuminations); a compiler committed to a scheme of chronological order who thought he was missing documents would have left spaces for them to be added later.

While proposing that the work was presented to the count (or at least that the dedicatory preface was composed) around the time of the 1194 assembly and the capitulation of Ponç de Cabrera, Bisson cautiously gives 1192 as the date of the ‘closing of the selection of instruments’, arguing that this should not be viewed as the ‘completion’ of the *LFM*, but rather a ‘beginning (or renewal) of continuous work’.³⁴ This is certainly correct. Whether in 1192, or 1194, or 1196, the cartulary was not a finished work. The volumes were meant not only to provide a record of the past, but also to keep that record up-to-date. The *LFM* may be, in the state that it has come down to us, ‘fundamentally a collection of the older conventions and oaths’, but this was not the reason for its compilation.³⁵

What exactly did the compilers of the *LFM* intend that their successors place on those blank folios? Ramon de Caldes, in his dedicatory preface, explains that the documents in the *LFM* were meant to fortify the position of the count in future legal disputes: ‘that, with these instruments recalled to mind, each person should receive his due, and that on account of the undying recollection of great matters, no dispute or conflict should arise between you and your men because of forgetfulness’.³⁶ To achieve this end, was it more useful to preserve individual documents demonstrating the count’s rights, or to construct more extensive records of past disputes? In other words, was the *LFM* a ‘land-book’ or a ‘case-book’? The compilers of the *LFM* seem to have been of two minds, as is most clearly shown by an examination of the records of judgement included in the first volume.

The record of judgement in the dispute between Pere de Lluçà and Alfons I concerning the control (*potestas*) of the castles of Lluçà and Merlès cites a number of documents, three of which also appear in the *LFM*, immediately preceding the record of judgement and in chronological order: 1) an oath of Guifré II of Cerdanya (990–1050) to the countess Ermessenda of Barcelona (d. 1058); 2) a pledge of castles by Ermessenda to Berenguer Ramon I of Barcelona (1017–35); and 3) an oath of Guisaldus, castellan of Lluçà, to Ramon Berenguer I of Barcelona (1035–76). A fourth document cited in the record, the testament of Bernat I of Besalú (988–1020), appears elsewhere in the cartulary.³⁷ The record of judgement relates that each of these documents had been presented at the *placitum* in support of the count’s claim. Only the oath of Guisaldus deals principally with the castles in question; in the others the

³⁴ *Fiscal accounts*, vol. 1, 119.

³⁵ Bisson, ‘Feudalism’, 170; compare McCrank, ‘Documenting reconquest’, 282.

³⁶ *LFM* prologue: ut, his instrumentis ad memoriam revocatis, unusquisque ius suum sortiatur, tum propter eternam magnarum rerum memoriam, ne inter vos et homines vestros, forte oblivionis occasione, aliqua questio vel discordia posset oriri.

³⁷ *LFM* 222–25, 497.

castles are only two among many. The rubrics to the documents, however, indicate that they were included because of their relevance to this particular dispute: ‘concerning many castles, among which is numbered the castle of Lluçà’; ‘very many castles, among which are numbered the castle of Lluçà and of Merlès’.³⁸ This group of documents does more than just verify the count’s rights; the judgement alone, or one of the probative documents, could have served that purpose. It is organized as a more complete record of the dispute – or at least of the count’s position. The one document presented at the *placitum* by Pere de Lluçà, the testament of his father, is not included in the *LFM*.

The compiler showed an interest in preserving a group of documents related to a case rather than just the decision in favour of the count in three other disputes. The conflict between Ramon Berenguer IV and the seneschal Guillem Ramon (II) de Montcada around 1155 concerning rights in the city of Tortosa produced two records, both lists of complaints (*querimoniae*) with the decisions of the tribunal. Here, too, only some of the documents cited in the record are included in the *LFM*: the grant of one-third of the city by the count to the seneschal in 1146 and the sale by the Genoans of their share back to the count in 1153. As in the case of the dispute over Lluçà and Merlès, however, both of these documents supported the count’s position.³⁹

But the additional documents were not always those presented in support of the count. The record of judgement between Ramon Berenguer IV and Pere de Puigverd in 1157 cites three documents presented by Pere in defence of his case: 1) a grant by Ramon Berenguer I to Arnau Pere (Pere’s uncle) of the castle of Prenafeta; 2) a grant by Berenguer Ramon II of Barcelona (1076–96) to Ermengol IV of Urgell (1066–92) of the castle of Pira, along with the castle of Barberà; and 3) a grant by Ermengol to Arnau Pere of the castle of Pira.⁴⁰ Even though the first two of these were rejected by the tribunal on diplomatic grounds – absence of an autograph signature and dating problems in one case, improper *intitulatio* in the other – they were included in the *LFM* along with the judgement. The rubric to the second document, referring to both, reads, ‘which agreements the venerable lord Ramon, count of Barcelona and prince of the Aragonese, did not admit [as evidence]; rather he impeached them on several grounds, as the subsequent judgement declares’.⁴¹ The third docu-

³⁸ *LFM* 222 (rubric): super multis castellis, inter quae connumeratur castrum de Luçano. *LFM* 223 (rubric): plurima castella, inter quae dinumerantur castrum de Luçano et de Merles.

³⁹ *LFM* 462–65. See John C. Shideler, *A medieval Catalan noble family. The Montcadas, 1000–1230* (Publications of the UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies 20, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983), 102–3; A.J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London, 1973), 25.

⁴⁰ *LFM* 251–53. ACA, Pergamins, Ramon Berenguer I 154 (*LFM* 251) survives in four exemplars – an unusually large number – the earliest of which may be the original examined by the tribunal. Ramon Berenguer I 375 (*LFM* 252) has also survived, in an exemplar that may also be the original. He may also have presented the testament of his father, by which he acquired the castles.

⁴¹ *LFM* 252 (rubric): Quas, vero, convenientias venerabilis dominus Raimundus, comes Barcinonensis ac princeps Aragonensium, non admittebat, immo eas multis rationibus infirmabat, ubi sequens iudicium declarat. The documents cited in a secondary dispute heard by the tribunal (a complaint of certain *militēs* against Pere) are also absent.

ment, the grant of Ermengol, declared invalid because it relied on the other documents, but not impeachable on internal grounds, was not included in the dossier. Finally, the record of judgement in a dispute between Alfons I and Bernat de Rocafort concerning the castle of Clarà in 1178 mentions ‘instruments and written agreements’ presented by Bernat. One of these was included in the *LFM*, placed two documents before the judgement; the rubric identifies it as a ‘transcript of the charter that Bernat de Rocafort presented in the case between him and the lord king’. The intervening document, a grant to Santa Maria de l’Estany of rights to hold a market and fair, contains a clause warning against abuses by the castellans of Clarà; this may have been introduced in the dispute, though neither the judgement nor the rubric indicate this.⁴²

In other cases, the compiler included documents related to a judgement despite the fact that the case did not directly affect the count. Here the records are not as coherent or complete, but they still show an interest in gathering dossiers rather than simply decisions or probative documents. Of the documents cited in the judgement of the dispute in 1151 between Archbishop Bernat of Tarragona and Robert Bordet over rights in Tarragona, only one appears in the *LFM*: the initial donation of the city by Ramon Berenguer III (1096–1131) to Oleguer, bishop of Barcelona and archbishop of Tarragona.⁴³ This judgement, however, does not directly concern the count of Barcelona. He appears only in a donation later in the month by the archbishop to the count.⁴⁴ The judgement is included in support of the archbishop’s rights to make this second donation, but the initial donation is included in support of the judgement. In another case, the compilers included two charters of donation along with the record of a settlement between the abbot of Ripoll, the bishop of Vic, and Ermengol Guillem de Mediona. These grants are related to the settlement proceedings, while the document that records the settlement itself supports the charters of sale by the bishop and the abbot of their interests in Mediona to Ramon Berenguer I; once again, it is secondary. The earlier documents are included to provide more information about the settlement.⁴⁵ In both of these examples, despite the fact that

⁴² *LFM* 455 (instrumenta et conveniencias scriptas), 453 (rubric: Translatum illius cartae quam Bernardus de Rocafort exhibuit in causa quae inter eum et dominum regem agitabatur), 454.

⁴³ *LFM* 245–46. The charter about which Robert complains (seduxerat eum ut faceret cartam per quam auferebat illi totam Tarrachonam) is probably the renewal of the donation of the city, dated 9 February 1149 (*Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña*, ed. José Maria Font Rius, 2 vols in 3 parts [Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, Escuela de estudios medievales, Textos, 36, Publicaciones de la Sección de Barcelona, 17 (vol. 1), Anuario de estudios medievales, Anejo 12 (vol. 2), Barcelona, 1969–83], vol. 1, 111–14, no. 69). The ‘scriptura inter beatum Oldegarium et Rodbertum facte’ is probably the original donation to the Norman lord, dated 14 March 1129 (*Cartas*, vol. 1, 87–89, no. 51). The *scriptura* ‘quam prefatus Guilelmus proferebat ab archiepiscopo subsignatam et subscriptam’ mentioned in the last section of the document may also refer to *Cartas*, vol. 1, 111–14, no. 69. Jaime Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, 22 vols (Madrid, 1803–52), vol. 19, 283–85, no. 24, is a record of sworn testimony connected to these proceedings.

⁴⁴ *LFM* 247.

⁴⁵ *LFM* 441–45.

the judgement was not the principal document concerning the count's rights, the compiler assembled a group of documents directly relevant to the judgement.

The countervailing tendency in the compilation of the *LFM* was to ignore entirely documents cited in judgements and to proceed on purely geographical grounds. In the course of their work, the compilers came across another item of relevance to the case of Lluçà and Merlès discussed above: the document recording the espousal of Ximena, daughter of Ramon Berenguer III, to Bernat II of Besalú (1066–1111) in 1107. It appears in proper chronological order in the section of documents from Besalú and is not even mentioned in the record of judgement. The principal historical importance of this grant is as the agreement that laid the foundations for the acquisition of the county of Besalú in 1111, the manoeuvre that began Ramon Berenguer III's programme of territorial expansion. For the rubricator of the *LFM*, however, it was important because it mentioned the castles of Lluçà and Merlès.⁴⁶ The fact that the rubric of a document not grouped with the documents concerning the case would single out these castles suggests two possibilities. The scribe who copied the documents from Besalú into the *LFM* may have recognized the relevance of the document to the matter recorded in the first volume and chosen to highlight this connection. If this were the case, he might have been expected to do something similar in the rubric to the testament of Bernat I of Besalú; but this document, only a few folios away and mentioned clearly in the record of judgement, received only the simplest of descriptions.⁴⁷ A second scenario is more likely: the marriage agreement was at one point grouped with the documents for the case. At some point after the preparation of the rubrics but before the final transcription, the compiler (with a keen sense of history!) decided that the document belonged with the group from Besalú, but the rubric was never changed. Here geographical consistency triumphed over the desire to construct a dossier related to a particular case.

The *LFM* contains two documents concerning the castle of Forès: the grant in 1058 by Ramon Berenguer I to Mir Foget, and the agreement between Alfons I and Berenguer de Fluvià from 1178. The latter is, as has been observed, a 'renegotiation' of Alfons's rights, clearly stated in the document from 1058, though presumably infringed upon in the intervening years. But unlike the record of the case concerning Lluçà and Merlès, the document from 1178 – the result of arbitration rather than a judgement – makes no explicit reference to the earlier document. It is not even

⁴⁶ *LFM* 505. See Aurell, *Les noces du comte*, 343; Gaspar Feliu, 'Existí el comte Bernat III de Besalú?' *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia*, 19 (1998), 391–402.

⁴⁷ *LFM* 497. The original folio (vol. 2, f. 9) containing *LFM* 505 is not among the surviving folios of the cartulary, but it is highly likely that the same scribe composed that folio and the folios containing *LFM* 497 (vol. 2, f. 3–5). According to Mundó's analysis ('El pacte de Cazola', 124 n. 15), Ramon de Sitges was responsible for all but three of the twenty-nine surviving folios from the second volume, including the first four of the five folios preserving documents from the county of Besalú (f. 61–65=orig. vol. 2, f. 3–5, 12–13). The missing folio containing *LFM* 505 (vol. 2, f. 9) would have been located between the third and fourth of those five folios. Conversely, the missing folios containing the documents concerning Lluçà and Merlès (*LFM* 222–25, orig. vol. 1, f. 246–47) would fall within a run of surviving folios composed by the other scribe, although the gaps in the first volume are too great to inspire confidence (f. 49=orig. vol. 1, f. 122; f. 50=orig. vol. 1, f. 321).

evident that the initial grant was available to the arbitrators or to the scribe, Guillem de Bassa: the agreement does not refer to accustomed or past rights and parallel passages show little resemblance.⁴⁸ The agreement of 1186x87 between Alfons I and the knights (*milites*) of the castle of Conesa, reached ‘after various disputes and controversies’, similarly makes no reference to and has no apparent relationship to the earlier document with which it is paired, a grant of Ramon Berenguer I from 1072.⁴⁹ In other cases, records of judgement stand alone. None of the documents cited in the judgement of 1183 between Alfons and Bernat de Perella appears in the *LFM*.⁵⁰ Only the opening of a judgement in 1113 between Berenguer Ramon de Castellet and Ramon Berenguer III has survived, so its relationship to the record of settlement between the two that precedes it in the cartulary is unclear.⁵¹ This second tendency prevailed in later years: no documents cited in the two settlements from the reign of Jaume I are included, nor do these records of judgement draw explicitly on other documents contained in the *LFM*.⁵²

It is true that the *LFM* does not indicate any ‘new principles of feudal organization’ and that it was ‘fundamentally a collection of the older conventions and oaths’.⁵³ But the compilers were certainly aware of the changes in the *convenientia* and the terms of castle holding occurring under Alfons I, and as argued above, they intended that the cartulary continue to be used. The folios they left blank for that future use do not impose any further structure on the cartulary other than a geographical one, which while it may have been old was nonetheless very practical. The compilers, who were themselves of two minds as to exactly how their creation should be used, left to later administrators room for flexibility. That the cartulary was quickly superseded as a record by a system of registers does not diminish the significance of that fact. The documents in it might be used to defend the claims of the count-king, and thus it was an instrument of comital/royal authority. But the *LFM* is more than a simple instrument of power. The individual conventions and oaths within the *LFM* define the powers of the count-king with respect to particular persons and castles. On occasion, he turned to these documents for use in legal proceedings, but, like the *Usatges de Barcelona* for Ramon Berenguer IV, the *LFM* was not a complete success in practical or bureaucratic terms.⁵⁴ The *LFM* also shares with the *Usatges*, however, the fact that, when considered as a whole, it expresses a more abstract notion of comital and royal power. The act of collection of oaths and conventions transcended administrative convenience. This may be seen on two levels: the territorial and the individual.

⁴⁸ *LFM* 257–58.

⁴⁹ *LFM* 265–66 (post varias contenciones et controversias).

⁵⁰ *LFM* 400.

⁵¹ *LFM* 382–83.

⁵² *LFM* 164, 495.

⁵³ Bisson, ‘Feudalism’, 170.

⁵⁴ See Adam J. Kosto, ‘The failure of the *Usatges de Barcelona*’ (forthcoming).

3. The *LFM* as an expression of power

The view of the cartulary as a record of the growth of the territory of the count-kings is only incomplete, not incorrect. With traditional documents, the cartulary describes a new territorial conception of power; all of these lands were part of a whole, a whole that was subject to the count-king.⁵⁵ For those who tie the appearance of the *LFM* to the union of Aragón and Catalonia, the territorial meaning of the *LFM* pertains to this integration of two once separate political units. A number of factors point away from this explanation. First, as noted, Aragonese charters are a distinct minority. Although the cartulary begins with these texts, there are only 35 (out of a total of 902), and the chronological imperative adopted by the compilers means that the actual documents of union are buried in positions 7–9. Nor do the rubrics serve to highlight the fact of the union; the rubric immediately following the prologue reads *Incipiunt instrumenta regni Aragonis*, and goes on to introduce an oath of 1063x64 from Sancho (IV) de Peñalen, king of Navarre (c. 1040–76), to Ramiro I of Aragón (1035–69).⁵⁶ Furthermore, by the time the finishing touches were being put on the cartulary, the dynastic union was half a century old. The union was a complicated process, operating at different rates in different segments of society. Ramon Berenguer IV styled himself only ‘prince’ (*princeps*) of Aragón, leaving it to his son to claim the title of king seventeen years later. Within a unified court, the count-king maintained distinct forms of relationships with his Catalan and Aragonese nobility. There was a single chancery, but two distinct diplomatic and palaeographical styles.⁵⁷ If the *LFM* symbolizes anything about the union, it is this complex, gradual nature.

The *LFM* is principally a Catalan document. The trans-Pyrenean regions that are the subject of the documents that fill the end of the cartulary (*LFM* 808–902) – Carcassonne, Razès, Béziers, Provence – had been linked to the county of Barcelona since at least the reign of Ramon Berenguer III (1096–1131). The core of the *LFM* comprises sections relating to the central territories: Pallars Jussà first, the most recently acquired, followed by Urgell, Barcelona (with Osona and Girona), Besalú, Empúries, Cerdanya, and Rosselló. Not all of these had been formally annexed – Urgell and Empúries remained independent into the fourteenth century – though in a way that was precisely the point. The count-king was no longer first among equals; he was now claiming ‘pan-comital’ authority.⁵⁸

As a retrospective record, however, the *LFM* was an awkward vehicle for express-

⁵⁵ ‘Feudal principles, applied to serve administrative...needs, remained subordinated to a conception of territorial sovereignty’ (Bisson, ‘Feudalism’, 163).

⁵⁶ *LFM* 1. The original is ACA, Pergamins, Berenguer Ramon I 121; see Antonio Ubieto Arteta, ‘Estudios en torno a la división del reino por Sancho el Mayor de Navarra’, *Príncipe de Viana*, 21 (1960), 5–56, 163–236, at 199–200.

⁵⁷ Bisson, ‘Rise of Catalonia’, 131, 141–42; Thomas N. Bisson, ‘The problem of feudal monarchy. Aragon, Catalonia, and France’, in: Bisson, *Medieval France*, 237–55 at 240–47; Antonio M. Aragón and José Trenchs, ‘Las escribanías reales catalano-aragonesas, de Ramón Berenguer IV a la minoría de Jaime I’, *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*, 80 (1977), 421–42 at 421–22, 426–27.

⁵⁸ Bisson, ‘Rise of Catalonia’, 152.

ing a new conception of authority. The court was slow to develop a language appropriate to the new situation, and the *LFM* offers evidence for this tension between old and new, mixing territorial and geographical references with references to lineage. This is clearest in the rubrics given to individual sections of the cartulary. The initial rubric introduces the charters of the realm (*regnum*) of Aragón; others label the charters of the city (*civitas*) of Tarragona, the charters of the counties (*comitatus*) of Cerdanya or Rosselló, and simply the charters of Melgueil or Provence. Elsewhere, and above all in the sections relating to the home counties, the rubrics refer to the charters of individuals: the counts of Pallars and Empúries; Raimond V, count of Toulouse; Ermengarda, viscountess of Narbonne; Bernard Ato V, viscount of Nîmes; and a host of lesser lords. Sometimes the geographical and personal combined, as in the ‘charters of the fief that Guillem de Pinós held for the count of Barcelona in the county of Barcelona’. Other rubrics offer historical references: ‘the agreements and grants made between Count Ramon Berenguer “the Old” and the above-named Raimond Bernard, viscount of Béziers, and by their descendants, by which the said county and other things were granted in fief’.⁵⁹ The identification of charters by individual may, as noted, be connected to archival practices or the process of recovery of documents in preparing the cartulary. It also reveals an older mindset that viewed comital power not in terms of territory, but in terms of relationships with lineages, defined in no small part by *convenientiae*.

The illuminations of the cartulary contribute a visual element to the expression of comital power while revealing these same ambiguities in its conception.⁶⁰ The *LFM* is a rare early example of an illuminated cartulary, though it is not alone. The Spanish Kingdoms produced four such collections in the first half of the twelfth century: the *Libro de los testamentos* of Oviedo, *Tumbo A* of Santiago de Compostela, the *Libro de las estampas* of León, and the *Becerro antiguo* of the monastery of Leire.⁶¹ The principal French analogues begin closer in time to the *LFM*: Vierzon

⁵⁹ Before *LFM* 171 (Incipiunt cartae ipsius feudi quod Guillelmus de Pinos tenet pro comite Barcinonensi in eius comitatu Barcinonae); before *LFM* 839 (Incipiunt convenientiae et donationes factae inter nobilem Raimundum Berengarii, veterem comitem, et Raimundum Bernardi, vicecomitem Biterrensem supranominatum, et ab eis descendentes, quibus supradictus comitatus et coetera in feudata fuerunt).

⁶⁰ Pedro Bohigas, *La ilustración y la decoración del libro manuscrito en Cataluña. Contribución al estudio de la historia de la miniatura catalana*, vol. 1, *Período románico* (Barcelona, 1960), 101–9; Núria de Dalmasas and Antoni José i Pitarch, *Història de l’art català*, vol. 2, *L’època del Cister. Segle XIII* (Barcelona, 1985), 205–7; *Catalunya romànica*, 27 vols (Barcelona, 1984–98), vol. 20, 196–204; M. Eugenia Ibarburu, ‘Los cartularios reales del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón’, *Lambard. Estudis d’art medieval*, 6 (1991–93), 197–213. The *LFM* is usually studied from an artistic standpoint together with the *Liber feudorum Cerritaniae*, currently ACA, Regístres 4. This was transcribed principally from the *LFM* in the first decade of the thirteenth century (*LFM*, vol. 1, xvi); only the *LFM* is considered here.

⁶¹ F.J. Fernández Conde, *El Libro de los testamentos de la catedral de Oviedo* (Publicaciones del Instituto español de estudios eclesiásticos, Monografías, 17, Rome, 1971), 83–85; Serafín Moralejo Álvarez, ‘La miniatura en los tumbo A y B’, in: Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, Fernando López Alsina, and Serafín Moralejo Álvarez, *Los tumbo de Compostela* (Madrid, 1985), 43–62; Fernando Galván Freile, *La decoración miniada en el Libro de las estampas* (León, 1977); Soledad de Silva y Veástegui, *La miniatura medieval en Navarra* (Arte 19, Pamplona, 1988), 15–22; Angel Sicart, *Pintura medieval. La miniatura* (Santiago de Compostela, 1981), 46–64. Other peninsular examples before 1300 include the cartularies of Valdeiglesias, Toxos Outos, Uclés (Tumbo menor de Castilla), and Coimbra, as well as

(c. 1150), Mont-Saint-Michel (c. 1160), and Marchiennes (c. 1195).⁶² But the *LFM* stands out even in this company. The surviving folios of the cartulary preserve seventy-nine illuminations in various stages of completion; the original must have contained many more. In many cases, the images can be associated with particular documents; the frontispiece showing Ramon de Caldes reading charters to Alfons I demonstrates the attentiveness of its artist to the content of the documents, as several of the charters are legible and may be matched to documents in the cartulary.⁶³ Two different artists appear to have worked on the *LFM*, one grounded in a conservative, local style and a second, more expert, who shows international influence. The illuminations have been dated to the first quarter of the thirteenth century, after the completion of the textual portion of the cartulary, but it seems likely that the programme of illustrations was determined at the time of the initial compilation.⁶⁴

The true distinctiveness of the *LFM* lies in the subject matter of its images. Aside from the occasional lightly illuminated initial, the decoration of the other cartularies mentioned consists of two principal motifs: portraits and donation scenes. For example, the cartulary of Marchiennes contains representations of three popes, two kings, ten bishops, seven counts, and a castellan. The illuminations appear in the cartulary adjacent to the documents in which the individuals portrayed donate land to the monastery or confirm donations. They thus fulfil one of the functions of a seal, adding the authority of an image to the authority of the text; in fact, one illumination in the Marchiennes cartulary matches a contemporary seal of the donor (p. 125), and all of the illuminations in the *Libro de las estampas* show donors holding

Navarre, Cámara de Cómptos, cartulary 3 (Jesus Domínguez Bordona, 'Miniatura', in: Jesus Domínguez Bordona and Juan Ainaud, *Miniatura. Grabado. Encuadernación* [Ars hispaniae 18, Madrid, 1958], 15–242 at 59, 77, 130 and plates 52, 156; Domínguez Bordona, *Spanish illumination*, 2 vols [Florence (1930)], plate 80; *Inventario dos códices iluminados até 1500*, vol. 1, *Distrito de Lisboa* [Lisbon, 1994], 277, no. 416; Ramón Fernández-Pousa, 'Las miniaturas del cartulario de Toxos-Outos del A.H.N.', *Verdad y Vida*, 2 [1944], 399–421; Sicart, *Pintura medieval*, 109–28).

⁶² *Le Cartulaire de Vierzon*, ed. Guy Devailly (Paris, 1963), 31–35 and plates between 40 and 41; Robert A. Maxwell, 'Sealing signs and the art of transcribing in the Vierzon cartulary', *Art Bulletin*, 81 (1999), 576–97; A. Boinet, 'L'illustration du cartulaire du Mont-Saint-Michel', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 70 (1909), 335–43; A. de Loisne, 'Les miniatures du cartulaire de Marchiennes', *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques* (1903), 476–89 and plates 38–42. A fragment has survived from the cartulary of Sant Martí del Canigó (Saint-Martin-du-Canigou), datable to 1195; see Patricia Stirnemann, 'L'illustration du cartulaire de Saint-Martin-du-Canigou', in: *Les cartulaires*, 171–78. See also the foundation charters of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, from 1079x86 (Erwin Panofsky, *Gothic architecture and scholasticism* [Latrobe, Penn., 1951], 41–42 and figures 4, 6), and above n. 3 (Toulouse). Early examples survive from elsewhere in Europe, as well, for example: *Codex Falkensteinensis. Die Rechtsaufzeichnungen der Grafen von Falkenstein*, ed. Elisabeth Noichel (Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen Geschichte, n.f., 29, Munich, 1978), especially 29*–36* and plates 1–26; *Liber instrumentorum seu chronicorum Monasterii Casauriensis. Codicem Parisinum Latinum 5411 quam simillime expressum edidimus* ([Aquila, 1982]), for example f. 177v–185v, 236v–248r; *Regesto della chiesa di Tivoli*, ed. Luigi Bruzza (Studi e documenti di storia e diritto, Rome, 1880), especially 6–8 and plates 1–5. Patricia Stirnemann generously supplied a copy of an unpublished article with a rich bibliography on the subject of illuminated cartularies.

⁶³ Mundó, 'El pacte de Cazola', 128–29 and figure 20.

⁶⁴ Compare the comments of Joan Ainaud at Ibarburu, 'Los cartularios', 211.

charters with pendant seals.⁶⁵ Most of the portraits, in this and other cartularies, show an isolated individual, seated, standing, or on horseback, carrying symbols of office. The first image of the Marchiennes cartulary is also a donation scene: Calixtus II, seated, hands over a bull of confirmation to a kneeling monk, with two monks looking on (p. 27). In the cartulary of Vierzon, the image is reversed, with a kneeling donor handing over a charter or volume to a standing abbot (f. 5v). The cartulary of Leire offers a similar scene, though with a seated pope handing his bull to a standing abbot. As these images also contain portraits, they fulfil the ‘sealing’ function noted above, but to this they add a narrative element. In the first illustration of the cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel, the narrative is quite detailed (f. 19v). The adjacent charter describes a donation of Richard II, duke of Normandy, and the return by his son, Count Robert, of lands he had unjustly seized; Maguer, bishop of Avranches, subscribed the charter. The image shows, in the upper register, a bishop (Maguer) flanked by a crowned figure with a sceptre (Richard II) and a second figure with a cap (Robert), all seated; a long charter descends from the hand of the figure with a cap down into the second register, where a monk (Abbot Almod) grasps it; a crowd inside the church looks on, while a doorkeeper keeps at bay three individuals watching the scene through an open door.⁶⁶

Most of the images in the *LFM*, while employing the same artistic vocabulary, depict the ritual of homage: an individual, kneeling, places his or her hands between the hands of a second individual, usually seated. These are among the earliest such depictions in Europe.⁶⁷ These scenes are easily distinguished from illustrations of agreements in the *LFM*, in which both parties are seated and join one or both hands; the image that corresponds to the Treaty of Zaragoza between Alfons I and Alfonso VIII of Castile in 1170, for example, shows two kings seated on a double throne with their inside hands joined.⁶⁸ Images accompanying testamentary or other types of oaths depict a different gesture: a raised right hand.⁶⁹ Many of the images depicting the ritual of homage appear in the cartulary next to a charter describing the undertaking. Charters recording homage itself (*hominium*) appear regularly only from the reign of Alfons I, so earlier illustrated documents describe promises of

⁶⁵ See de Loisne, ‘Les miniatures’, 487; Galván Freile, ‘La decoración’, 58–60; Maxwell, ‘Sealing signs’; Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, ‘Diplomatic sources and medieval documentary practices. An essay in interpretive methodology’, in: *The past and future of medieval studies*, ed. John van Engen (Notre Dame conferences in medieval studies 4, Notre Dame, 1994), 313–43 at 327–31, and her studies cited there.

⁶⁶ Boinet, ‘L’illustration’, 338 and figure 2; François Avril, ‘La décoration des manuscrits au Mont Saint-Michel (XI^e–XII^e siècles)’, in: *Vie montoise et rayonnement intellectuel du Mont Saint-Michel* (Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel 2, Paris, 1967), 203–38 at 231 and plate 31.

⁶⁷ *LFM*, vol. 1, plates 4, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17; vol. 2, plates 3, 4, 8, 10, 13, 14 (f. 12, 23, 36, 41, 44v, 45v, 46v, 54v, 63v, 67, 69, 82v, app. 2, app. 3). See François Garnier, *Le langage de l’image au Moyen Âge. Signification et symbolique*, 2 vols (Paris, 1982–89), vol. 1, 208. On nave capital 30 of Vézelay, cited there (figure 18), Jacob is shown feeling the hands of Isaac, which are covered with goatskin (Gen. 27:16, 22–23); Jacob’s hands are held together between Isaac’s hands. Also below, n. 73.

⁶⁸ *LFM*, vol. 1, plate 6 (doc. 32; f. 19); also vol. 1, plates 8, 10, 12 (docs. 85, 95, 110; f. 35, 37v, 42v). Compare vol. 2, plate 12 (doc. 895; f. 88v).

⁶⁹ *LFM*, vol. 1, plate 14 (doc. 118; f. 45v); vol. 2, plate 2 (doc. 497; f. 61).

fidelity, grants of fiefs in return for fidelity, and grants of fief *per manum*;⁷⁰ in documents from the second half of the twelfth century next to images of homage, the term does in fact appear.⁷¹ For the earlier texts, the images also document the ritual element missing from the written records, the *convenientia* and the oath of fidelity.⁷²

The *LFM* is not alone among the group of twelfth-century French and Iberian illuminated cartularies in depicting secular scenes. The portraits of secular lords in the Marchiennes cartulary show them riding on horseback, carrying swords or penants (pp. 104, 106, etc.), and a striking miniature from the *Libro de las estampas* depicts the assassination of Countess Sancha (f. 41v). But while the kneeling pose in the homage scenes borrows from the pose shown in donations, the only image remotely resembling the homage scenes from the *LFM* is the final image from the Mont-Saint-Michel cartulary: Duke Robert, kneeling, places an oversized glove on the altar of the Archangel Michael (f. 25v).⁷³ The unique scenes of homage in the *LFM* do serve the same basic functions as other illuminations in cartularies: because the images depict the individuals acting in the adjacent charter, they serve a sealing function, and because they depict action, they add a narrative element. Most narrative images simply describe the action of donation; in the *LFM*, however, the images reinforce visually the message of subordination inherent in the act of homage. The fact that all of the images do not depict homage to Alfons I does not dilute the cartulary's message of his power over individuals, for the constant repetition of the scene allows the abstraction of the idea of subordination from association with any particular lord; all lords represent in some sense the count-king. The message of subordination is only strengthened by those images that do not depict scenes of homage: the images accompanying high-level treaties show individuals literally on the same level.

But the artistic programme, like the organization of the cartulary, reflects more than one conception of comital and royal power. The standard image of the king in early illuminated cartularies is the isolated ruler, holding symbols of power, sitting on a throne that recalls the throne of heaven.⁷⁴ Some royal scenes are considerably more complex, such as those in the *Libro de los testamentos* of Oviedo. The first miniature depicts Alfonso II kneeling in the lower register, flanked by an arms-bearer

⁷⁰ *LFM*, vol. 1, plates 9, 11, 15, 17; vol. 2, plate 3 (docs. 90, 106, 119, 403, 498; f. 36, 41, 45v, 54v, 63v); Kosto, *Making agreements*, chap. 5.

⁷¹ *LFM*, vol. 1, plate 4; vol. 2, plates 8, 10 (docs. 19, 630, 793; f. 12, 69, 82v).

⁷² Kosto, *Making agreements*, chap. 3.

⁷³ Boinet, 'L'illustration', 340 and figure 4; Avril, 'La décoration', 232 and plate 54. On the glove as *Handlungssymbol*, see Jacques Le Goff, 'The symbolic ritual of vassalage', in: Le Goff, *Time, work, and culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1980), 237–87 at 276. The cartulary of Tivoli, composed perhaps two decades before the *LFM*, contains an image of an oath of fidelity by a group of inhabitants of the town to the bishop; all members of the group are standing, while the bishop sits, but the front juror has his hands placed between those of the bishop (*Regesto*, 6 and plate 4). Thomas Bisson brought this image to my attention.

⁷⁴ Ezek. 1:26; I Sam. 4:4; Dan. 7:9; Rev. 4:2–11; etc. See Galienne Francastel, *Le droit au trône. Un problème de prééminence dans l'art chrétien d'Occident du IV^e au XII^e siècle* (Collection le signe de l'art 9, Paris, 1973).

and Saints Mary and Michael. In the upper register, the image of a seated Christ provides the focus of the composition; he is flanked on either side by a grid of six saints (unnumbered folio facing f. 1r). Still, the rigid formalism and hierarchical composition in this and other images from this codex simply echo the style and theological message of the simpler portraits of the *Libro de las estampas* and *Tumbo A* of Santiago.

The *LFM* contains some of these formal images, particularly in the work of the first illuminator, but the two principal illuminations of the *LFM* offer a contrast. In the first, the count-king is seated on the left, with a group of courtiers slightly above and behind him; Ramon de Caldes sits just to the right of centre, reading a document to the count-king; a seated scribe works at a desk on the right (Fig. 1).⁷⁵ The image departs from the hierarchical composition of the other illuminated cartularies and from the scenes of homage in the *LFM* itself. The image in this first picture is not of the count-king as superior, but of the count-king as governor. The focal point of the document is not the count-king, nor is it Ramon de Caldes, but it is the document that the administrator is holding and toward which both he and the count-king gesture. Other kings in illuminated cartularies are shown with charters – all of the kings in the *Libro de las estampas*, for example – but these are all testaments or charters of donation. In the *LFM*, the count-king takes part in the process of administration.

In the second image, a circular composition, the count-king and queen, gesturing toward one another, are surrounded by seven pairs of laywomen engaged in conversation, emerging from the border and arrayed radially above the central figures.⁷⁶ The scene has been identified as Alfons I and Sancha of Castile presiding over their court, as they were prominent patrons of troubadour culture. This court scene finds echoes in other illuminated cartularies. Alfonso III in the Oviedo codex sits stiffly on his throne next to his queen and the bishop; a chamberlain (*cubicularius*) and an officer (*minister*) stand below the principals to either side; another chamberlain, another officer, and three arms-bearers occupy the bottom register; three of the attendants gesture toward the central figures, who are engaged in the act of donation (f. 18v). Alfons I and his queen are the central figures in the scene in the *LFM*, but their gestures *match* those of the courtiers; they are as much members of the court as they are its focus. In content as well as composition, this image, too, rejects hierarchical composition.

The *LFM* is more than the sum of its parts: more than the documents and illuminations that it now transmits – more, too, than the many more documents and illuminations that it once contained. The history of its composition, the timing of its appearance, the principles of its organization, the juxtaposition of texts and images: all of these offer clues to the original functions of the cartulary and thus to its place in the history of twelfth-century Catalonia. Its role was complex, for the *LFM* does not present a single, coherent message: divergent goals are apparent in the selection of

⁷⁵ *LFM*, vol. 1, plate 1 (f. 1).

⁷⁶ *LFM*, vol. 2, plate 15 (f. app. 1)



Fig. 1. Barcelona, *Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria reial, Registres 1*, f.1. By permission of the Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte.

documents for inclusion, in the conception and rubrication of subsections, and in the content of the illuminations. Each of these various aspects of the cartulary offers evidence for competing conceptions of comital and royal power, and analysis of them promotes a better understanding of the complex nature of both the administrative history of twelfth-century Catalonia and the history of power in the medieval Mediterranean. In addition, the amount of information that may be extracted from the *LFM* beyond the texts of the documents that it contains is an excellent reminder to historians of institutions that the means of transmission of their sources are often themselves useful sources, and not just fodder for the ‘auxiliary’ disciplines.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professors Theodore Evergates and Anne-Marie Bouché for helpful comments and conversations on the subject of this paper.

Adam Kosto is Assistant Professor of History at Columbia University (New York, USA). He has recently completed a monograph on written agreements in medieval Catalonia and is currently researching the subject of hostages in medieval Europe.