

# Mediaeval sigillography in Catalonia and the territories of the Catalan-Aragonese Crown: An overview of scholarship and collecting (eighteenth to twenty-first centuries)

Xavier Barral i Altet\*  
Institut d'Estudis Catalans  
Université de Rennes 2

Received 19 May 2021 · Accepted 20 September 2021

## ABSTRACT

To celebrate the centennial of the publication of the second volume of Ferran de Sagarra's *Sigillografia catalana*, in 2022 the History-Archaeology Section of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans is organising an international colloquium on *Els segells medievals a Catalunya i a l'Europa mediterrània. Estudis comparatius*, with the intention of creating the first overview of these studies in Catalonia and the territories of the former Catalan-Aragonese Crown since the publication of Sagarra's book and to open up future prospects. Simultaneously in Naples, a second gathering organised by the Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II will be aimed at expanding the geographic framework of the relations of the Catalan-Aragonese Crown in the field of sigillography and to bring the study of mediaeval seals into dialogue with other related historical disciplines. This article was written within this context, in an aim to provide an initial provisional account of scholars, studies and collections, which should be completed with any further contributions that readers can add.

**KEYWORDS:** Antiquarians, Archives. Catalan-Aragonese Crown, Collecting, Ferran de Sagarra, Historiography, Museums, Numismatics, Sigillography

Sigillography studies seals from all historical periods and the different techniques used to manufacture them, which have evolved over time.<sup>1</sup> In the Middle Ages, seals (from the Latin *sigillum*) were something that imprinted images or signs engraved on hard metal or stone called a matrix onto a soft material that hardens quickly, like wax or lead, and they were used to signal ownership or authority. There are pendant seals and seals imprinted directly onto the document. In the Middle Ages, a seal identified a physical person or a legal entity, and a seal placed on a document validated and authenticated it.<sup>2</sup> Mediaeval seals help us to better understand the society of the period because of the importance of the decorations engraved on them, including royal or Church portraits, portraits of lords and ladies, coats-of-arms, emblems, religious emblems or hagiographies, architecture, cities and monuments. Studying seals and their images tells us about people and their social relations, physical appearance and clothing. The inscriptions engraved on seals document people, institutions and history. Therefore, the study of seals touches on many disciplines in mediaeval studies, from palaeography, epigraphy, diplomatics and numis-

tics to archaeology and heraldry, along with iconography and art history. Mediaeval seals are very chronologically reliable historical documents yet can also be classified as art history.<sup>3</sup> [Fig. 1]

As a historical discipline, sigillography emerged in the seventeenth century with Dom Jean Mabillon's critical study of mediaeval documents,<sup>4</sup> but it was not until the nineteenth century that systematic inventories of the seals conserved in European public collections blossomed.<sup>5</sup> At that time, sigillography as a science was quite widespread, primarily in France.<sup>6</sup> During the twentieth century, research into mediaeval seals inspired uneven interest in different places with distinct national traditions.<sup>7</sup> However, in France, it was still taught at the École Nationale des Chartes, and the archivists that emerged from it have analysed the corpus, such as the French mediaeval seals in the National Archives of France,<sup>8</sup> while the universities have gained experts who have written seminal works or published conference or meeting proceedings.

Sigillography studies on the Iberian Peninsula were quite uneven in the second half of the twentieth century.<sup>9</sup> Particularly noteworthy are the studies by Faustino Menéndez-Pidal de Navascués (1924-2019), a renowned expert on heraldry<sup>10</sup> who updated sigillography studies

\* Contact address: [xbarral@iec.cat](mailto:xbarral@iec.cat)



FIGURE 1. Pendant lead seal on a document from April 1168 granted by William VII of Montpellier (Arxiu de la Corona d' Aragó, Chancery, Parchments of Alphonse I, 56).

on the Iberian Peninsula<sup>11</sup> with extraordinarily useful syntheses<sup>12</sup> and general reflections.<sup>13</sup> The main corpuses in Spain are at the Archivo Histórico Nacional,<sup>14</sup> the Museo Cerralbo, the Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas and the Fundación Lázaro Galdiano.<sup>15</sup> Regionally, Navarra's corpus of mediaeval seals stands out.<sup>16</sup> Two colloquia were held that brought together different contributions, but they have not continued.<sup>17</sup> In 2016, Ernesto Fernández-Xesta published a brief handbook<sup>18</sup> which complements its 1996 counterpart by María Carmona de los Santos.<sup>19</sup>

Internationally, there is a noteworthy regional gathering on the southern Netherlands<sup>20</sup> and a meeting that proves that sigillography is opening to a wide range of fields of historical research today, especially art history.<sup>21</sup> In England, three collectively authored volumes have compiled the current avenues of research.<sup>22</sup> In Hungary, the royal seals from the Árpád dynasty were published in 2021.<sup>23</sup> In Italy, which has a museum of seals and their matrices,<sup>24</sup> catalogues of collections are continuously being published.<sup>25</sup> In France, the twenty-first century was ushered in by both general reflections<sup>26</sup> and documented works, up-to-date and very solid monographic studies that span sigillography and history. They include the doctoral thesis by Arnaud Baudin, one of the essential works in this field in recent times,<sup>27</sup> and another no less interesting thesis by Ambre Vilain on the seals of mediaeval cities, which shows everything that other disciplines like art

history can extract from studying mediaeval seals, in this case with regard to architectural representation.<sup>28</sup> The 2018 book by Laurent Macé on the seals of the counts of Toulouse in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is interesting because of its ties with mediaeval Catalonia.<sup>29</sup> Likewise, several recent guides to heraldry are also interesting as studies of mediaeval seals.<sup>30</sup>

What stands out in Catalonia from the first third of the twentieth century is the monumental work by Ferran de Sagarra, which I shall discuss at length below. After that, in the second half of the twentieth century, the handful of studies of Catalan sigillography published include the contributions of Martí de Riquer i Morera (1914-2013), especially in the field of heraldry, on whose Catalan variety he left an intense historiographic synthesis.<sup>31</sup>

Also worth noting are the studies by Manuel Bassa i Armengol, discussed below, and the initiatives of the genealogist and heraldry expert Armand de Fluvià i Escorsa, the author of several books<sup>32</sup> and numerous articles on heraldry in the *Gran Enciclopèdia catalana* and the veritable creator of a modern Catalan lexis for the field of heraldry.<sup>33</sup> In 1983, Fluvià founded the Societat Catalana de Genealogia, Heràldica, Sigillography, Vexil·lologia i Nobiliària (SCGHSVN), which he led until 2007, when he founded the Institució Catalana de Genealogia i Heràldica (ICGenHer), with its journal *Armoria*. The journal *Paratge* is the main publication of the SCGHSVN. Its first issue came out in 1990, and by 2019 it was on its thirty-sec-

ond. It contains some articles on Catalan sigillography. The journal *Acta numismàtica*, put out by the Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics, has always been sensitive to studies on sigillography and the relations between numismatics and sigillography. Archaeological excavations regularly yield finds that include seals or matrices, but there is no centralised compilation of these finds.<sup>34</sup>

Seals are austere materials for exhibitions. The nineteenth-century tradition was to present seals like coins in display cases, which merely exhibited the pieces as curiosities or an inventory. In contrast, during the twentieth century, seals were often used as complementary materials in exhibitions on historical and, more seldom, artistic themes.<sup>35</sup> However, some experiences show that seals can be the centrepiece of an exhibition and that a museographic and exhibition discourse worthy of a catalogue and public acclaim can be built around them.<sup>36</sup> In fact, in 2009, the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Max Planck Institute held an exclusively online exhibition based on the holdings of the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, its own photograph library and that of the Archivio di Stato di Firenze. This exhibition is still available on the Internet.

## SCHOLARSHIP AND STUDIES

### A sixteenth-century forerunner: Antoni Agustín (1517-1586)

Before the arrival of the Enlightened collectors from the eighteenth century and the so-called antiquarians; even before the first treatise on diplomatics and sigillography by Father Jean Mabillon (1632-1707)<sup>37</sup> in the seventeenth century; long before Scipione Maffei (1675-1755) in Italy<sup>38</sup> or Johann Heumann von Teutschbrunn (1711-1760), with his treatise on imperial diplomatics in Germany;<sup>39</sup> before, too, the compilation of engravings by the Marquise Anthelme-Michel-Laurent de Migieu (1723-1788),<sup>40</sup> Antoni Agustín (1517-1586) and Ambrosio de Morales (1513-1591) represented a new type of researcher who took an interest in the material vestiges of the past via epigraphy or numismatics.

Born in Zaragoza, the humanist Antoni Agustín<sup>41</sup> served as the bishop of Lleida (1561-1576) and the archbishop of Tarragona (1576-1586).<sup>42</sup> Trained in Italy<sup>43</sup> and a friend to Italian scholars<sup>44</sup> like Pirro Ligorio,<sup>45</sup> he promoted information exchanges with Italian numismatists<sup>46</sup> while also fostering relations among Catalan scholars.<sup>47</sup> Agustín was a collector of epigraphy<sup>48</sup> and numismatics,<sup>49</sup> sectors in which his role as a pioneer has been highly celebrated.<sup>50</sup> The treatise on numismatics that he published in Tarragona in 1587 was quickly translated into Italian and printed several times, the main edition in Rome in 1592. The work was reissued in Madrid in 1744. It is constructed as a three-person dialogue, an expository form which gives the work a didactic tone.<sup>51</sup> Agustí used the reverse of the coins to examine emblematics.<sup>52</sup> He also took an interest in genealogy.<sup>53</sup> He assem-

bled a vast library<sup>54</sup> which unfortunately was later scattered, as was his numismatic collection.<sup>55</sup>

Antoni Agustín's numismatic and antique collection must undoubtedly have contained mediaeval seals, given his interest in heraldry, genealogy and lineages,<sup>56</sup> as his biographer, the royal librarian Gregori Mayans i Siscar (1699-1781),<sup>57</sup> recalls: 'His love of history was complete, as clearly proven by his rare and exquisite erudition. It is true that perfect knowledge of history is not achieved without being fully informed of its four parts: narrative, subject-matter, chronological and genealogical. So highly educated in ancient and modern history, Antonio Agustín also had a fondness for this last part. And indeed, such was his passion for it that he collected the best in blazons and lineages. This is why he was so keen to acquire books on these matters [...]'.<sup>58</sup>

### The eighteenth century

#### *Francesc Xavier de Garma i de Duran (1708-1783):*

##### *The first treatise on Catalan sigillography*

Francesc Xavier de Garma i de Duran was the director of the Archive of the Crown of Aragon after 1740 and the person in charge of transferring the archive from the Palau Reial Major to the Palau de la Generalitat. He was made a Humanities scholar in 1747 and wrote a treatise on heraldry, *Adarga Catalana*, which has become a classic on the subject. It was a work planned in twelve volumes, only two of which were published.<sup>59</sup> According to the author himself, the originality of the *Adarga* lies in the fact that 'Even though the rules and precepts of this work are universal in the science of heraldry, I entitled it *Adarga Catalana* because I have painstakingly asked that the samples, when feasible, be from families originally from and living in the Principality of Catalonia'.<sup>60</sup>

Garma left an unpublished treatise on seals, some plates of which have been conserved. Regarding this manuscript, Antoni Elías de Molins wrote: 'The archivist of the Crown of Aragon, Francisco Javier Garma y Durán, devoted himself to studying the seals of Catalonia. It is said that he published a treatise whose whereabouts is unknown; there are only reports that he sent several seals of the monarchs of Aragon to be engraved. The proceedings of the Real Academia de Buenas Letras state that the Count of Creixell paid for several plates "from the treatise on seals" for the History of Catalonia that the Academia was to write.'<sup>61</sup> The Count of Creixell, Joan de Sagarriga i de Reard (1707-1768),<sup>62</sup> also a member of the academy since 1729 and its director after 1762, was a friend of Garma and devoted a sonnet to him in praise of *Adarga Catalana* that was printed at the beginning of the work.

According to Ferran de Sagarra, 'By the time Millin complained of the scant importance attached to the study of seals in 1811, the Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona had already conducted studies on sigillography, assembling materials for a treatise on seals to illustrate the history of Catalonia (a treatise which may be the one that Torres Amat attributes to the scholar Garma),

while another scholar, Joan de Çagarriga i Reart, Count of Creixell, defrayed the expenses of the plates which were to accompany it. This is reported in two proceedings of the Academy from 20 June and 11 July 1804.<sup>63</sup> Another manuscript by Garma that remained unpublished, a nobility register transcribed and annotated by Joaquim Icart (1910-1997),<sup>64</sup> was published in 1957.<sup>65</sup>

The Arxiu de la Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres conserves a manuscript (ms. 35) with no indication of the author. However, the plates are not conserved in the box with the manuscript, nor have they been found in the subsequent folder, and the Academy does not clearly state whether these plates were conserved there, although they do not appear to be there. In contrast, the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó conserves '18 plates and engraving plates of the seals of the monarchs of Aragon made from the drawings of Francisco de Garma y Durán and Próspero de Bofarull',<sup>66</sup> which begin with Peter I and end with Ferdinand VI<sup>67</sup> and are probably the ones that were traditionally thought to be at the Acadèmia de Bones Lletres.<sup>68</sup>

Prior to Garma's treatise, the two volumes of *Ciencia heroyca reducida a las leyes heraldicas del blasón* by Joseph de Avilés, which was very popular at schools and was later reissued in Madrid in 1780, had been printed at Joan Piferrer's press in Barcelona's Plaça de l'Àngel in 1725.<sup>69</sup> In the field of emblematics, worth noting is the work by Diego Saabedra Faxardo printed in Valencia in 1786, which can be considered the first treatise on emblems on the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>70</sup>

#### **Jaume Pasqual (1736-1804): A historian's collection**

Along with his peers Jaume Caresmar (1717-1791) and Josep Martí (1732-1806), under the instruction of Daniel Finestres (1702-1744), Jaume Pasqual was one of the leading historians of what was called the Avellanès School, which stood out in the fields of Church history, hagiography, archival science, epigraphy, numismatics, palaeography and especially diplomatics in general.<sup>71</sup> Pasqual was a Premonstratensian canon regular at the monastery of Santa Maria de Bellpuig de les Avellanès (Os de Balaguer, Noguera), where he served as the abbot between 1789 and 1792. As a historian, he is primarily known for his *Sacræ Antiquitatis Cathalonix Monumenta* (a 12-volume manuscript conserved at the Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 729).<sup>72</sup> He was also the historian of the convent of Vallbona de les Monges.<sup>73</sup>

Father Pasqual assembled an important library at the Bellpuig monastery, the best *monetarium* (coin and medal collection) in Catalonia, with many manuscripts and incunables, and a remarkable museum with antiques, inscriptions, archaeological materials and works of art.<sup>74</sup> The collection was scattered during the time of the Mendizábal disentailment in 1835.<sup>75</sup> Unfortunately, we are aware of no inventory, and many objects' whereabouts are unknown. Pasqual's numismatic cabinet was particularly important because, according to a brief personal description he made of it in a letter to the numismatic scholar Josep Salat dated

18 July 1804, we know that it contained 3,500 items, including Roman, Iberian and mediaeval coins and other series.<sup>76</sup> The collection must have contained some mediaeval seals, as was common in the numismatic cabinets of that period, and as would be fitting for a scholar like him who had read and drawn from Mabillon.<sup>77</sup>

In the early nineteenth century, during his journey around the Iberian Peninsula,<sup>78</sup> Father Jaume Villanueva (1763-1824) visited the monastery of Bellpuig and described it as follows: 'Mr Pasqual's accomplishment consists in having collected many precious items which would otherwise perish [...]. Today they are all housed in what used to be this gentleman's lodgings, the main part of which has been turned into a library [...]. In the room on the right side, which is where this priest passed away, and where I am lodged and writing this [...], there is a portion on codices, purchased or collected by other means from some collegiate and parish churches [...]. Three monetaria are housed in another small room next to this one [...], two of which contain a copious collection of all kinds of extraordinarily valuable coins esteemed by antiquarians; but the most incomparable one of all must be a small room, where the rarest and inedited medals are, some perhaps unique. There is also a good natural history collection, a part with cameos and a motley assortment of other antiques.'<sup>79</sup>

#### **The nineteenth century**

Antiquarians' taste for collections of mediaeval seals continued to expand during the nineteenth century.<sup>80</sup> Oftentimes, scholarship and collecting went hand in hand thanks to the seriousness and passion of the researchers-collectors.<sup>81</sup> In Catalonia, in addition to Father Pasqual's collection there were several coin collections that were either privately owned or held by religious communities in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They were described by Josep Salat (1762-1832) in his first major treatise on Catalan numismatics.<sup>82</sup> Of the ten collections he described, many must have contained mediaeval seals alongside coins, cameos or medals, although he only explicitly states this in the collection of Antoni Elias i Sicardo,<sup>83</sup> who was an honorary scholar of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de Madrid and a corresponding member of the Real Academia de la Historia.<sup>84</sup> In parallel, glyptic collecting was quite popular in Catalonia during this period, as it had been on the Iberian Peninsula and around Europe since the seventeenth century, and many of these collections also included mediaeval seals. In addition to the collections of Elias i Sicardo, it has also been documented in other public and private collections.<sup>85</sup>

Of all the archivists and directors of the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, the one who took the most interest in sigillography and heraldry was Próspero de Bofarull i Mascaró (1777-1859), who was the director of the archive from 1814 to 1840 and from 1844 to 1849.<sup>86</sup> His son, Manuel de Bofarull i de Sartorio (1816-1892), succeeded him in

1849. His grandson, Francesc d'Assís de Bofarull i Sans (Barcelona, 1843-1938), who was also the archivist of the Crown of Aragon between 1893 and 1911, had studied law and was able to benefit from studies at the Escuela Superior de Diplomática of Madrid, that prestigious school which operated independently between 1856 and 1900.<sup>87</sup> The last in the Bofarull line was also a scholar of heraldry<sup>88</sup> and contributed to the short-lived Acadèmia Paleogràfica de Barcelona.<sup>89</sup>

#### ***Francesc Piferrer i Montells (1813-1883?): Heraldry and genealogy***

Francesc Piferrer is one of those scholars who has yet to be studied. Born in Lloret de Mar, a member of different academies and a language teacher, he studied and lived most of his life in France and Madrid.<sup>90</sup> He was the author of a treatise on heraldry and a dictionary,<sup>91</sup> but he is primarily remembered for his work as a genealogist published in six volumes and an appendix between 1855 and 1861,<sup>92</sup> at a time when research on lineages was popular even outside the nobility, with an early representative in Valencia: the 'Nobiliari valencià' by Onofre Esquerdo i Sapena (1635-1699) in 1677.<sup>93</sup> Joaquim Maria Bover de Rosselló (1810-1865), a collector and erudite antiquarian who founded the Acadèmia Mallorquina de Literatura, Antiguitats i Belles Arts<sup>94</sup> in 1827, used old Mallorcan nobility registers to write and publish a 'Nobiliari mallorquí'<sup>95</sup> in 1850. I want to highlight that the nineteenth-century authors struggled to distance genealogical and dynastic research from the prejudices against the nobility at the time: 'There are different "Mallorcan noble register" manuscripts; some are collecting dust, others evade the digging of antiquarians and they are all difficult for aficionados of this kind of knowledge to acquire. So, why shouldn't a "Nobility register" be printed when everything is printed? Why shouldn't its errors be challenged, its gaps filled and its inaccuracies rectified?'<sup>96</sup>

#### ***Antoni Elías de Molins (1850-1909): Sigillography and history***

The director of the Museu Provincial d'Antiguitats de Barcelona and a member of the Acadèmia de Bones Lletres and the expert group of archivists, librarians and archaeologists, as an archivist and man of his time, Antoni Elías de Molins was always attentive to sigillography. Thus, in 1902, when he published a historical bibliography of Catalonia, he naturally devoted 14 entries to sigillography, four of them on Ferran de Sagarra. I believe it is important to reproduce Elías de Molins' historiographic introduction, as after evoking Garma's work, he documents the state of sigillography studies in Catalonia in the early twentieth century:

'Mr Tomás Muñoz y Romero devoted himself to studying sigillography with his customary intelligence and activity. In his journeys around Catalonia, he made reproductions of the most important seals he saw in its

archives, and he introduced his teachings to the Escuela de Diplomática in the critical palaeography programme printed in 1865. Lessons 67 to 70 were devoted to examining the "seals of Aragon, of Ramon Berenguer and of Kings Alphonse II and Peter II, the seals of James II (changes he made), the seals of Peter III and Alphonse III (their peculiar characters), the seals of James II (reasons for the changes he made in the royal seals), those of Alphonse IV, the seals of Peter IV (laws on seals enacted by this king), those of John I, Ferdinand I and his successors until the union of Aragon and Castile, and seals of the kings of Castile and Aragon (changes they introduced)." Mr Tastu studied the sigillographic series of Catalonia and gathered materials to write an opus on seals. According to the biography of that erudite Frenchman, Mr Amadeo Pagés had engraved a number of unpublished seal plates of the kings and kingdoms of Aragon, from Peter III to Charles III of Spain. He collected the rubbings of these seals on his several journeys around Spain. Fernando de Sagarra, a member of the Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona, has undertaken a profound study of the important series of seals of Catalonia, and the outcome of his investigations was the speech he delivered in that institution on 15 January 1890 and several studies published thereafter.<sup>97</sup>

Tomás Muñoz y Romero (1814-1867) has been considered the first person in Spain to take a systematic interest in sigillography with the idea of promoting inventories of the collections. He decided to establish a collection of imprints from the Archivo Histórico Nacional, which would become the foundation of the future sigillography section of the Madrid archive.<sup>98</sup>

#### ***Josep Tastu (1787-1849): Mediaeval seals at the service of France***

Born in Perpignan, Josep Tastu is better known as a printer and historian of literature in general and old Catalan literature in particular. Tastu travelled to Catalonia several times between March 1837 and June 1838 to collect materials for his study of Catalan philology. However, on these journeys he also collected antiques, some of them from the destroyed Sant Francesc and Santa Caterina convents in Barcelona, which he sent to France, the Ministry of Public Instruction and the academies. On 6 July 1837, he wrote a letter to the French Ministry of Public Instruction from Barcelona in which he stated: 'Les nombreux instruments renfermés dans les archives de la couronne d'Aragon contiennent pour la plupart leur sigillum appendu; rien n'est plus respectable à voir que ces reliques des siècles passés. Je les ai fait mouler en plâtre [...] Je pourrais les publier plus tard en France par le procédé de la glyptique [...] Chaque sigillum serait accompagné d'une courte notice rédigée en castillan et en français par MM. de Bofarull et Tastu. Aux 126 sigilla affectés aux actes émanés des princes de la couronne d'Aragon viend-

raient se grouper ceux de plusieurs contemporanis qui manquent au Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique édité en France.’ And he then continued with more political connotations: ‘M. de Bofarull, partisan empressé et éclairé d’une intervention française, verrait avec joie la Catalogne gouvernée et administrée d’après les inspirations et sous la tutelle de la France’. And after reaching Mallorca, in another letter dated 14 December 1837, he wrote: ‘J’ai repris à mon arrivée la continuation des *sigilla* de la couronne d’Aragon et des sceaux étrangers’. Later, Josep Tastu offered the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: ‘Quelques échantillons de *sigilla* de la couronne d’Aragon’.<sup>99</sup>

### **Joaquim Botet i Sisó (1846-1917): From numismatics to sigillography**

In addition to his political posts (town councillor of Girona, representative on the provincial council, member of the Unió Catalanista and founder of the Cercle Catalanista de Girona), Joaquim Botet i Sisó<sup>100</sup> was an archaeologist and numismatics scholar who published a monograph on Empúries in 1879 which won the award from the Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid in 1875.<sup>101</sup> Botet was the conservator of the Museu Provincial de Girona between 1896 and 1904.

Botet is the author of a monumental work, *Les monedes catalanes* (1908-1911), which won the Martorell Prize in 1907. The work is still an important reference in the fields of numismatics and sigillography, in addition to history in general. He was also in charge of pointing out the unpublished manuscript by Josep Salat on the Catalan coins conserved in the Acadèmia de Bones Lletres.<sup>102</sup> As a keen scholar of numismatics, he was always interested in sigillography<sup>103</sup> and collected old seals. For example, he acquired, identified and published the matrix of a copper seal found in the village presided over by the Cabrera family castle, La Cellera d’Anglès (Cellera de Ter).<sup>104</sup> He also wrote occasional other studies.<sup>105</sup>

The Arxiu Municipal de Girona conserves part of Botet i Sisó’s personal archives, catalogued and inventoried.<sup>106</sup> The collection is primarily comprised of correspondence, in addition to handwritten annotations and notes, essentially on history and archaeology, which include some drawings and maps. It also contains excerpts from books and publications. The collection is divided into four sections: correspondence, notes, public service posts and printed documentation. Other Botet holdings are housed in the Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona. The Biblioteca de Catalunya conserves 52 documents of correspondence he received, both personal and related to his numismatic work, between 1883 and 1915, alphabetically ordered by correspondents (ms. 1880).

### **Sigillography in the two major international exhibitions held in Barcelona (1888, 1929)**

Mediaeval seals, which had so keenly interested scholars and the general public in the nineteenth century, were of-

ten showcased in vitrines in major European, universal or international exhibitions or art retrospectives. This is one aspect that has yet to be studied, especially the presentation and selection criteria. Just to cite one example, as part of the 1900 Exhibition Universelle in Paris, a French art retrospective was held at the Petit Palais, where the sigillography collection was given ample space alongside textiles and medals, as well as miniatures, goldwork and enamelwork.<sup>107</sup>

At the 1888 Barcelona Universal Exhibition,<sup>108</sup> art and history works were displayed at the Palau de Belles Arts, which was destroyed in 1940.<sup>109</sup> Seals were shown along with manuscripts and other documents.<sup>110</sup> For example, the Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana de Mallorca participated in the exhibition with a series of mediaeval and modern seals that I shall discuss below in the section on collections. They were displayed on the ground floor of the Palau de Belles Arts. In this case, we know about the item of furniture used to present the objects from this group, including the seals: a pyramid-shaped vitrine divided into compartments.<sup>111</sup>

In 1929-1930, Barcelona hosted the Barcelona Universal Exhibition that served as the pretext for urbanising the hill of Montjuïc.<sup>112</sup> The artworks, objects, manuscripts and documents on history, art and culture from prehistory<sup>113</sup> to the Middle Ages and the modern age were displayed in the Palau Nacional under the general title *El arte en España*. It was a vast set of works that was essentially divided into two sections: art, and historical and bibliographic documents. The director of the Real Academia de la Historia, the Duke of Berwick and Alba, published a highly detailed catalogue of the latter in two volumes in 1931 and 1933, replete with explanations that were at times thoroughly erudite, with lengthy commentaries in both Spanish and French. Previously, there was an inventory-guide of the thousands of objects displayed at the exhibition.<sup>114</sup> The mediaeval section included prestigious objects with widely varying provenances. For the second time in a major exhibition in Catalonia, there was a strong showing of mediaeval seals, both originals and reproductions, accompanied by some illustrations for a total of 189 pieces, along with a notable presence of both reproductions and seals made of lead, wax imprints and a few matrices.<sup>115</sup> It is interesting to note that these objects were not shunted aside as minor objects but listed alongside altarpieces, tapestries, panel paintings, sculptures, textiles and other major works of mediaeval art.

The seals were accompanied by historical explanations of the figure they depicted, at least in the two volumes of the catalogue. There were many reproductions, as well as a large number of original seals, from those of Alphonse VI of Castile and León (1126-1157) and Alphonse IX of León (1188-1230) to different seals from the fifteenth century. Both the originals and the reproductions came from the Archivo Histórico Nacional of Madrid, along with a few from the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, also in Madrid. Even the handful of seals from Catalonia-

Aragon and their reproductions came from the same source, although the important collections in the institutions of Catalonia were neglected. The extraordinarily rare seals reproduced include the obverse and reverse of the seal of James I the Conqueror. The catalogue by Juan Menéndez Pidal, *Sellos espanyoles de la Edad Media*, was naturally used in the bibliographic references. Regarding Catalan historiography, we only find *Pere el Gran* by Ferran Soldevila (called Fernando Soldevilla!) from 1919; *Condes de Barcelona vindicados* (1836) and another work by Prosper de Bofarull; *Joan I* by Antoni Rubió i Lluch; the two works by Josep Maria Roca, both from 1929; and the *Centenari de Martí l'Humà* published by the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya (1910). In one case, *Historia de los Trovadores* by Victor Balaguer (1878-1879) is mentioned. However (and this does not seem like mere oversight), the first three volumes of the work by Ferran de Sagarra, which had recently been issued, was never mentioned, nor were any of his studies. For example, when referring to the seal of Guillem de Rocabertí, the archbishop of Tarragona from 1309 to 1315, the reference cited is the *Viaje literario* by Father Villanueva (1851), not the inventory by Ferran de Sagarra.<sup>116</sup>

### The heyday in the early twentieth century

Josep Gudiol i Cunill (1872-1931) organised and oversaw the Museu Episcopal de Vic from 1898 until his death. Starting that same year, Gudiol also taught Christian archaeology at the Seminary of Vic, and a textbook on religious archaeology based on his teachings was published in 1902. It had major repercussions and garnered many followers in Catalonia, to such an extent that it was reissued and expanded into two volumes in 1931-1933.<sup>117</sup> Following the French tradition closely associated with Jean-Auguste Brutails (1859-1926), when he was in Roussillon,<sup>118</sup> Gudiol added a section in chapter 36 on sigillography, specifically on 'literary archaeology', which included not only sigillography but also epigraphy, diplomatics, bibliography and numismatics.<sup>119</sup> Continuing with the teachings of Father Gudiol, his successor at the helm of the Church collections in Vic, Eduard Junyent (1901-1978),<sup>120</sup> an expert historian, diplomatist and archaeologist, also circumstantially studied mediaeval seals.<sup>121</sup>

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed a resurgence in the interest in heraldry and genealogy, seals and combinations of coats-of-arms that the mediaevalism of *Modernisme* had sparked.<sup>122</sup> The architect Lluís Domènech i Montaner (1850-1923) represents this fusion between new Modernist artistic expressions and research into mediaeval heraldry. In 1922, he won the Martorell Prize for a six-volume work entitled *Armorial històric de Catalunya*, which is conserved inedited in the city of Barcelona's Historical Archive.<sup>123</sup> Between 1923 and 1928, his son, Fèlix Domènech i Roura (1888-1977), published a *Nobiliari general català* in fascicles compiled in three monumental volumes<sup>124</sup> richly illustrated with

the coats-of-arms, which should by all rights be considered a part of art history.<sup>125</sup> This is the context of a work on *Ensenyes nacionals de Catalunya*<sup>126</sup> by Domènech i Montaner that his son Domènech i Roura finished. The prologue by the bookplate collector and erudite bibliophile from Reus, Pau Font de Rubinat (1860-1948),<sup>127</sup> perfectly describes the context leading to this heyday in heraldry: 'Domènech i Montaner had laid the primary groundwork, the outcome of long conversations and continuous outings during Catalonia's political renaissance, which has led to autonomy after a 50-year campaign [...] The political renaissance had been preceded by a literary renaissance, and together they led to the resurrection of the Catalan flag [...]. Quite a few works and monographs on insignia have been written both here and abroad, but they are more descriptive than historical in nature, and therefore they are not similar to this work, which has more historical foundations to be the insignia of Catalonia alone, from its appearance until our time'.<sup>128</sup> A single volume of what was supposed to be a periodical journal *Anuari Heràldic* appeared in 1917.

### Francesc Carreras i Candi (1862-1937): Heraldry and municipal sigillography

Francesc Carreras i Candi, an erudite historian, president of the Acadèmia de Bones Lletres (1918-1931, 1934-1937) and founder of the Societat Filatèlica Catalana in 1901, directed the six-volume *Geografia general de Catalunya* which was published between 1908 and 1918; Carreras himself wrote the one on the city of Barcelona.<sup>129</sup> The authors were prestigious: Cels Gomis i Mestres (1841-1915) for the province of Barcelona, Emili Morera i Llaudadó (1846-1918) for Tarragona, Ceferí Rocafort i Sansó (1872-1917) for Lleida and most notably for the topic at hand, Joaquim Botet i Sisó for Girona. One day, a sigillographic and heraldic study of this immense work should be undertaken, as it emphasised in-depth research on the coats-of-arms and seals of the cities and villages of Catalonia. One document in the letters of Botet i Sisó conserved at the Biblioteca de Catalunya hints at the care he took in his research on seals. The letter was written by the mayor of Viladrau to Albert Martín, the editor of *Geografia general*, on 28 November 1911: 'Some time ago, I sent you the seal that this town hall uses...'. The content of this letter indicates that Botet i Sisó's text was sent to the mayors of the villages so they could check the information.<sup>130</sup> In 1923, Carreras published a very interesting historiographic synthesis of heraldry in Catalonia, a veritable treatise, as part of a speech as the president of the Acadèmia de Bones Lletres, in which he mentions several unpublished texts and nobility registers.<sup>131</sup>

### The Catalan sigillography of Ferran de Sagarra (1916, 1922, 1932).

Ferran de Sagarra i de Siscar (1853-1939), a lawyer, politician, historian and member of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (History-Archaeology Section) since 1920, and of the

Reial Societat Arqueològica Tarraconense and the Reial Acadèmia de la Història, devoted much of his life to studying the mediaeval seals of Catalonia.<sup>132</sup> Sagarra was also an active archaeologist and is primarily remembered for financing, overseeing and publishing the excavations of the Iberian settlement of Puig Castellar in Santa Coloma de Gramenet during the summers of 1904 and 1906.<sup>133</sup> In 1916, he turned ownership of the site and its archaeological pieces over to the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, which in turn gave to the archaeology section of the Museu d'Art Decoratiu i Arqueològic, later the Museu Arqueològic de Montjuïc.<sup>134</sup> Sagarra's work in this field has been described as 'archaeological patriotism'.<sup>135</sup>

But Ferran de Sagarra has gone down in history primarily as a sigillographer. The five volumes in a fundamental work in Catalan historiography from the first third of the twentieth century, entitled *Sigillography catalana*, were published between 1916 and 1932.<sup>136</sup> The work won the Martorell Prize in 1912 and was published via a 1914 agreement with the Barcelona Town Hall. It was ultimately comprised of five large-format volumes with a notable number of illustrations, a catalogue of seals and a document appendix.

Sigillographic studies were non-existent in Catalonia when Sagarra was preparing his opus on Catalan seals.<sup>137</sup> Sagarra himself described this: 'When I saw the works on sigillography issued abroad and considered the interest shown by the historians and archaeologists from the most cultivated European nations, who requested data and information on our seals, it pained my soul that similar studies were still obscure and backwards in Spain. We should recall that in one of his letters, M. de Barthélemy bemoaned that fact that there are no works on Spanish sigillography in Paris, and we thought it wasn't strange that they had none when we don't have any here either, because much to our shame they have not yet been published. In this regard, we at least have the satisfaction that today Catalonia is the first and only region in Spain which does have an extensive sigillography, albeit unpublished, with extremely rare examples which reach the very respectable figure of three thousand different types, as the outcome of studies and investigations which we have been undertaking in the archives over the course of thirty years, where these monuments that are so useful and interesting for the progress of historical studies are still conserved'.<sup>138</sup>

In order to write this opus, Ferran de Sagarra worked in a large number of archives, libraries, museums and private collections. The press of the period avidly monitored the progress in Sagarra's studies and reported on the lectures and public speeches he made.<sup>139</sup> There are several references to Ferran de Sagarra in the correspondence between the archivist-canon of the Cathedral of Valencia, Roc Chabàs Llorens (1844-1912), and the archivist of the Archive of the Crown of Aragon, Manuel de Bofarull i de Sartorio (1816-1892), when Sagarra was photographing the seals in the archive: Chabàs asked Bofarull to ask Sagarra if he could take pictures of several documents in

which he was interested.<sup>140</sup> Sagarra himself reported on his study journeys:

'Our keen interest in archaeology and historical research means that when examining a large number of parchments in the archives, we noticed the seals placed on them, and when pondering their importance for historical and archaeological studies, we soon envisioned the project of undertaking a study on those from Catalonia, a study we have now been engaged in for many years. In order to bring this work to fruition, we undertook historical-archaeological research in all the archives where we believe there may be Catalan documentation and consequently seals from our land. And this is what we have done, as shown in the list we shall publish later. We have investigated the most important and extensive archives of Catalonia, those of the other kingdoms that were part of the Catalan-Aragonese federation (Aragon, Mallorca and Valencia), those of Castile and Navarre and those of southern France due to those lands' relations with Catalonia, and in Italy those in Rome and Naples, in addition to having seen and studied extensive catalogues and various notices from the archives of Sicily and Sardinia. We have conducted this research in person, that is, in the archives themselves, studying the seals and parchments where they were located, taking notes, gathering data and then reproducing those seals with casts.<sup>141</sup>

'When undertaking this work, in addition to the natural obstacles and difficulties entailed in penetrating some archives, we were soon faced with an impediment. It wasn't enough to untie the bundles of parchments and take notes on their seals and the documents to which they were attached; we had to have all of them in view, not only during the relatively brief periods when we could examine them in that archive but always and at all times, either to study them carefully and compare them with others, or to publish them with illustrations, so that they could be used in subsequent historical and artistic studies. In order to ensure all this, they had to be reproduced. With this purpose in mind, we decided to cast them using impressions or facsimiles of the originals and attempted to reproduce them with their true likeness.

'At first, following the method used by the Benedictines back in the seventeenth century, we chose the procedure of making the matrices with fine clay and the positives with wax or sulphur. This system had several drawbacks: a) it was very complicated and not very practical because of the series of steps it required; b) it wasn't always possible to have access to clay that could be used to make matrices everywhere and at all times; and c) some seals, such as those on plates or printed on paper, could not be reproduced because the moisture of the clay would damage them. Therefore, we rejected this method as imperfect and adopted a new procedure recommended by an ill-fated Belgian friend, Armand



d'Hezbomez, who belonged to the Group of Archivists of France, which consists in reproducing the originals with the tiniest details by shaping the matrix with a piece of tinfoil using the pressure of a little brush. Alabaster plaster was poured into this matrix, and if left to set it soon made an exact copy of either the original matrices or copies in wax, metal or plates, even for those with the shallowest relief. Another procedure we have adopted is the one we use to make negatives or matrices of plasticine or moulding wax from the Parisian company Lefranc.<sup>142</sup>

Sagarra's method of studying the seals followed a well-defined historical model:

'However, with regard to the plan we are going to develop, *Sigillografia catalana* includes descriptions of the seals that have been used in Catalonia from the twelfth to the early nineteenth centuries, including in Roussillon, as we are considering it a Catalan land during the period that it was politically part of Catalonia, that is, until the late seventeenth century. Our point of departure is the twelfth century, because thus far we are unaware of seals from earlier than that century either in Catalonia or in any other part of Spain. Signet seals, which may have been used, one of which is attributed to Countess Ermessindis, do not officially fall within sigillography as they are more like engraved stones or cameos, and they should be more properly studied with ancient glyptics than with mediaeval seals.<sup>143</sup>

'With regard to plate seals, from the very beginning we have found in the paper documents that our countings placed the imprint on the back, on a very thin layer of red wax, and to protect it they covered it with a round piece of paper the size and shape of the matrix, which adhered strongly because the wax was still hot or soft. This is also what Peter III deemed in his *Ordinacions*; when discussing the "calfador de la cera per als segells pendants" (wax heater for pendant seals), as one of the obligations he stipulated.'

In the fourteenth century, we find that some private individuals and corporations also had paper covers on their plate seals, and later, instead of imprinting them on the wax, they did so directly on the paper cover. And it is curious to note the detail that quite often, especially with the seals of Church dignitaries and religious communities, these pieces of paper used as covers were previously cut out in various shapes, some of which are quite original and are even interesting as a way to peer into the taste of the period.<sup>144</sup>

The archives of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans attest to the attention and interest with which the History-Archaeology Section tracked the development of Ferran de Sagarra's work, which Josep Puig i Cadafalch deemed 'yet another chapter in the great history of Catalonia's past' at the session held on 10 February 1928.<sup>145</sup> Sagarra was able

to complete the monumental publication thanks to the assistance of Rafael Patxot.<sup>146</sup> In Catalonia, Ferran de Sagarra's (1853-1939) magnum opus, just as other studies he wrote, stands tall in the field of sigillography and mediaevalism, yet it has had no scholarly successors; that is, no school was created, nor has it been continued in general studies. This does not detract from the value of this extraordinary milestone, which is still used by experts. Scholars of all sorts have perennially cited it, from Manuel Bassa i Armengol (1901-1977), a heraldist who was a member of the Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics,<sup>147</sup> to the philologist and historian of literature Martí de Riquer i Morera (1914-2013), just to mention two quite different yet well-known personalities in these fields. Riquer often applied sigillography in his literary and historical studies, and he used seals to understand and explain mediaeval clothing, reviving a lively nineteenth-century tradition:<sup>148</sup> 'This book is written by a person who has primarily devoted himself to studying mediaeval literature, and who has turned to this kind of research with the sole desire to see the texts more clearly and to open up yet another chink through which we can peer into mediaeval life and the temperament of its men'.<sup>149</sup> [Fig. 2]

However, thanks to Sagarra, historians in general and historians of art and numismatics in particular have drawn from sigillography in their studies and published specific articles on some aspect of this historical discipline.<sup>150</sup> Nonetheless, in Catalonia these studies have never been systematically resumed, nor have there been further in-depth monographic studies or attempts to systematically study the existing seal collections.<sup>151</sup>

Even though this cannot be further explored here, it is essential to recall that Ferran de Sagarra is to Catalan sigillography the equivalent of those towering erudite research-scholars from the early twentieth century, men who wanted to build the country's future by researching its past, research they had to conduct firsthand which entailed creating a corpus, catalogues and compilations to be used to write a synthesis. This is a pioneering and extraordinarily difficult undertaking that Josep Puig i Cadafalch (1867-1956) recalled in this way in 1909: 'No one who writes in the major European centres knows what scholarly research is like in the peripheral areas, with old libraries lacking the usually conveniences and often, just like in the Middle Ages, with exiled scholars having to embark on a pilgrimage and cross the frontiers to read the vernacular book. We could say that that ordinary book has come to Barcelona for the first time, and that we do not yet have a geographic map or a monumental catalogue or any corpus with which the official efforts lend a hand in these studies in other lands' (*L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, I, 1909 prologue).

Sagarra's work is equivalent to those of Joaquim Botet i Sisó (1846-1917) for Catalan numismatics (*Les monedes catalanes*, three volumes, 1908-1911, Martorell Prize in 1907); Josep Puig i Cadafalch's (1867-1956) work for mediaeval architecture, when he, Antoni Falguera and Josep



FIGURE 2. Use of seals for a comparative argument by Martí de Riquer, *L'arnès del cavaller*, (1968), p. 44.

Godoy published their *Arquitectura romànica a Catalunya* (Martorell Prize in 1907) in 1909-1918; and Antoni Rubió i Lluch's (1856-1937) opus, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-eva*, published by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans in two volumes (1908-1921), just to cite some of the figures with the closest affinity to our discipline.

## THE COLLECTIONS

In Catalonia just like elsewhere, mediaeval seals are primarily conserved as pendants or as plate seals in archives.<sup>152</sup> In the past and until quite recently, the seals have often been neglected in archives compared to the importance attached to the documents themselves. The preservation of seals conserved in archives is often an issue, a question of survival and a conservation problem, as few archives in the world have a specific conservator for seals or a specific seal restoration service, as the Archives Nationales of France and the Vatican Secret Archive do.<sup>153</sup>

Mediaeval seals are conserved in archives, museums and collections, both public and private, in Catalonia and the territories of the former Catalan-Aragonese Crown. However, beyond Ferran de Sagarra's catalogue and opus, there has never been a systematic inventory or attempts to write a historiographic survey. This article seeks to be an initial overview, which should clearly be subsequently improved and expanded.

## The nineteenth century: The first museums and private collecting

After the experiences from preceding centuries discussed above, namely those of Antoni Agustín in the sixteenth century and Father Jaume Pascual of Bellpuig in the eighteenth century; after Francesc Xavier de Garma's *Adarga catalana* and his actions at the helm of the Arxiu Reial de Catalunya; and after, too, the first initiatives in this field by the Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Catalunya, the nineteenth century witnessed a long outpouring of interest in mediaeval seals in Catalonia. Seals and their images, as well as their historical importance, were

fully a part of the reconsideration, recovery and restoration of the country's mediaeval past. Seals represent this past, the kings who forged it and the personalities who comprised the country's highest social echelons. We have already discussed the scholars who studied them, who often also collected them with aims spanning from personal curiosity to the desire to safeguard the heritage.

Just as in other countries, collecting mediaeval seals as antiques primarily developed in Catalonia in the nineteenth century with the desire to participate in filling the new museums, often via donations.<sup>154</sup> For example, in the catalogue of the Museu Provincial d'Antiguitats de Barcelona, the director Antoni Elias de Molins reported on two pendant wax seals in a poor state of conservation from the abbot and chapterhouse of Cardona which had been donated to the museum by Antoni Rigalt.<sup>155</sup> Antoni Rigalt i Blanch (1850-1914), a teacher at the Escola de Belles Arts de Barcelona, a stained-glass artist and a Modernista illustrator, is best known as the author of the ceiling of the Palau de la Música Catalana and the stained-glass windows in Lleó Morera house. He is a perfect example of a wider phenomenon. The catalogue also features five wax imprints of the mediaeval seals of kings Peter I, Peter II, James II and Alphonse III and Popes Paul II and Benedict XIII, indicating the location of the original in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon or in Tortosa. It says that these imprints were made and donated to the museum by Ferran de Sagarra.<sup>156</sup>

In 1911, Ferran de Sagarra mentioned the private seal collections of Juli Vintó<sup>157</sup> and the Marquise of Dou in Barcelona;<sup>158</sup> the Marquise of Vallgornera in Tarragona;<sup>159</sup> and the Muñoz y Romero collection in Madrid.<sup>160</sup> The museums with sigillographic collections that Sagarra consulted were the Museu Provincial d'Antiguitats i l'Arqueològic in Barcelona; the Museu Arqueològic in Girona; the Museu Arqueològic in Tarragona; the Museu Episcopal and Museu del Círculo Literario in Vic; the Archivo Histórico Nacional and Museo Arqueológico in Madrid; and the city of Pamplona. In a 1929 article on Church seals, Sagarra mentioned the lipsanotecas of the Museu Episcopal de Vic and the Museu de Solsona Diocesà i Comarcal, as well as the seals at the Museu Arqueològic de Tarragona, the Church archives in Vic, the chapterhouses of the cathedrals of Huesca and Tortosa, the archives of the Santa Clara and Sant Pere de les Puelles monasteries in Barcelona and the municipal archive of Valls.<sup>161</sup>

Ferran de Sagarra was himself a seal collector with a collection that was admired and visited during his day. In around June 1893, for example, the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya visited the collection and described it with admiring words. It included around 15,000 seals, between originals and reproductions, organised into series and sections (counts of Barcelona, kings of Aragon, kings of Castile, etc.) accompanied by catalogues, and it was visited by the archaeology luminaries of his day. Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer recalled the visits that Francesc Carreras i Candi made to it with his history of Catalonia students from the

Estudis Universitaris Catalans: 'One fine afternoon, at his ancestral home on Carrer de Mercaders— demolished after the urban reform—Mr Sagarra welcomed us, and with the plain language of a man who is a master of the subject, he told us about the essential points of sigillography and showed us the most interesting examples from his collection [...] and he bid us a simple, affable farewell by giving us his report "Importància de la sigillografia com a ciència auxiliar de la història" as a memento of that visit'.<sup>162</sup> The collection was often visited by the Associació Catalanista d'Excursions Científiques, founded in 1876, which in 1890 merged with the Associació d'Excursions Catalanes, giving rise to the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya, the entity located at number 10 Carrer de Paradís in Barcelona. Sagarra had been a member since 1884. Sagarra delivered different lectures on sigillography at the association in 1887 and 1888, in which he reported on his sigillographic discoveries at the Arxiu Episcopal de Vic, while the frequent visits to his collection were often enthusiastically reported in the press.<sup>163</sup> In fact, Sagarra's collection was so celebrated that one Barcelona newspaper, *Diario Mercantil*, suggested the following idea on 31 January 1892, after having recalled the collection's importance: 'This is why people who are keenly aware of the importance of Sagarra's collection sincerely believe that our Town Hall or state should propose to its owner that it be sold to house it in the museums that are currently being organised'.<sup>164</sup>

### Collecting plate or ink seals in the nineteenth century: Curiosity and erudition

One common practice in the nineteenth century was to create albums of plate or ink seals cut out from documents, a kind of forerunner of the later phenomenon of postage stamp albums. Intellectuals, historians and scholars perused and organised these collections in long, intimate evenings, even after the nineteenth century, as evoked by Manuel Bassa i Armengol (1901-1977) regarding the seals of the Museu Diocesà de Lleida, when he recalled that 'classifying and studying them has filled our long evening hours with satisfaction and delight'.<sup>165</sup>

Plate seals printed on wax or directly on a piece of cut-out paper which had previously been attached on top of the document with a thin layer of wax have barely been studied yet are often collected,<sup>166</sup> in a kind of double-edged sword: they are saved when they are collected, yet the original document is destroyed when they are cut out. The ink seal emerged in Spain in the wake of a Pragmatic issued by Philip IV dated 15 December 1636 which created the sealed paper tax as a way to authenticate texts and earn the state revenue.<sup>167</sup> During the nineteenth century, some scholar-collectors found pleasure in collecting these seals cut out from documents and conserving them pasted into albums. There are no studies examining this type of album, which are like a harbinger of the subsequent phenomenon of postage stamp albums, and many of them are now scattered.

The Archivo Histórico Nacional of Madrid has an important collection of ink seals cut from the documents that came from this type of compilation and album.<sup>168</sup> Ink seal collecting emerged in the mid-nineteenth century as a consequence of the initiative of Francisco González de Vera, the director of the Archivo Histórico Nacional, to create a Sigillography Section. He decided to gather copies of seals from the modern-era administrations in order to further the study of mediaeval seals. On 1 August 1876, he wrote to the Director General of Public Instruction to have a request for a copy of the seals used by the civil and Church corporations and the governmental bodies forwarded to the Minister of Development. The owner institutions were to send ink imprints of the seals currently in use and those used previously which were still conserved. Thus, the Archive assembled a collection of almost 15,000 ink seals which is currently in the Sigillography Section, including the seals of town halls, universities, academies, professional colleges, courts of justice, legations, consulates, bishoprics, parishes, military institutions, ministries and more. Today they are used as references, especially municipal seals when creating new coats-of-arms for villages and cities.

There has been not initiative of this kind, so characteristic of the nineteenth century, in the public archives of Catalonia. In contrast, some albums of plate seals have been conserved, which I have managed to locate in different contexts and wish to briefly present within this study. The *Álbum de sellos antiguos. Provincia de Gerona*, which the Monuments Commission purchased from Silverio García in 1905, is conserved in the Girona branch of the Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya.<sup>169</sup> It contains 599 municipal seals cut out from the original documents, most of them indicating the date. Some of them correspond to the matrices that the museum conserves. The album came with an index dated 27 April 1904 and a printed document entitled *Lista de los pueblos de la provincia de Gerona perteneciente al año 1803*, which served as the reference to find the seals.<sup>170</sup>

I have managed to locate one of these albums of plate and ink seals which is highly representative of erudite private collecting in the second half of the nineteenth century in a private collection in the Maresme. The seals assembled cover a period ranging from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. The most recent seal dates from 1867. It is painstakingly hand-annotated by the collector, who always indicates the date of the document from which the seal was removed and often the name of the person or institution corresponding to the seal. Some of them are wonderfully conserved and boast extraordinary quality, such as a royal Grand Seal of Philip IV in a document from Valladolid from 1618, along with a seal of Philip V from 1713.

The album was probably collected, given that it originally came from the family heirs, the Thos i Codina brothers from Mataró, at the start of a long subsequent journey. Terenci Thos i Codina (1841-1903) was a lawyer,

politician and writer in the Renaixença, one of those nineteenth-century scholars who took a keen interest in the country's past. He was a member of the Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona since 1863; with Josep Vinyardell he founded the Associació Artística i Arqueològica Mataronina; and in 1889 he organised an exhibition on ancient art and a local fine arts and archaeology retrospective, where extensive coin collections were displayed. Terenci Thos was a friend of the historian of Ripoll, his fellow Mataró native Josep Maria Pellicer i Pagés (1843-1903), and after 1864 he became a promoter of the restoration of the monastery of Ripoll along with the architect Elies Rogent i Amat (1821-1897), the writer Manuel Milà i Fontanals (1818-1884) and the writer and scholar Joan Mañé i Flaquer (1823-1901).<sup>171</sup> Terenci's younger brother, Silví Thos i Codina (1843-1911), a geologist, engineer and poet and a member of the Reial Acadèmia de Ciències i Arts de Barcelona since 1887 and its president from 1895 to 1904,<sup>172</sup> left interesting comments on the 1889 Paris Universal Exhibition, where he was invited by the French engineers and his Catalan colleagues, with an assignment from the *Diario de Barcelona*.<sup>173</sup> The album conserved cannot be attributed to either of the brothers with any certainty, nor can we claim that they were the ones who created it, given that lovers of antiques and historical documents in the nineteenth century often purchased this type of object pre-assembled.

The third collection, not an album *per se*, belonged to the heraldry scholar Manuel Bassa i Armengol (1901-1977), who as a sigillographer assembled a collection of more than half a million document seals, stamps, coats-of-arms and coins.<sup>174</sup> Bassa's studies signal the resumption of a discipline, heraldry,<sup>175</sup> in Catalonia in the twentieth century, as discussed above.

Ferran de Sagarra also owned an important collection of plate seals and stamped paper collected over the course of his travels and studies, as discussed above. When he joined the Associació Catalanista d'Excursions Científiques in 1884, Sagarra donated a collection of 211 stamped seals from different town halls in Catalonia to it.<sup>176</sup>

### Arxiu Reial de Barcelona / Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó

The Archive possesses countless pendant seals which were used directly by Ferran de Sagarra. The Archive's collection of seals from between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries is important and comes from diverse provenances. According to a notice on the Sigillography Section published in 1916, the Archives conserved almost 1,500 wax and lead pendant and loose seals, in addition to 77 imprints from Ferran de Sagarra.<sup>177</sup> In the 1920 guide, while this collection had 307 items or units in 1911, this number had risen to 1,447 units since then. According to the 1986 guide, 'currently there are almost 2,000 wax and lead seals and plate seals'. According to the 1997 guide, the number of units totalled 1,148.<sup>178</sup> Currently, around 1,200 plate seals (700 of them medieval), 571 pendant seals without

their corresponding documents (515 of them medieval) and 142 pendant seals with their corresponding documents (129 of them mediaeval) are catalogued in a working database in the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó. This is an open database where new seals are constantly being added. On the other hand, a detailed inventory of 477 plate seals based on the descriptions of Ferran de Sagarra is available to the public, along with information on the document where they were located. Most of the seals come from documents in the Archive's collection.

#### Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona

The archive of the Academy conserves major document holdings on seals and the work Ferran de Sagarra did on them, as mentioned above.<sup>179</sup>

#### Barcelona. Gabinet Numismàtic de Catalunya (Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya)

The Gabinet Numismàtic de Catalunya was created in 1932 by the Junta de Museus de Barcelona based on the coin collection from the Museu d'Art Decoratiu i Arqueològic. In 1990, it joined the new Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. Since January 1934, the Gabinet has been the home to the donation from the goldsmith, writer and politician Joaquim Cabot i Rovira (1861-1951) of a collection of metal and wax seals, most of them mediaeval from the Catalan-Aragonese Crown, yet also from elsewhere on the Iberian Peninsula and other territories. It includes, for example, a seal of Ferdinand I of Antequera, a lead bull from Peter I the Catholic and others from Peter II the Great and James II the Just, and the red wax seals of the second wife of James II, Blanche of Anjou, and of Alphonse the Liberal.<sup>180</sup> [Fig. 3]

#### Biblioteca de Catalunya

The parchment collection of the Biblioteca de Catalunya's historical archive conserves approximately 200 seals, around 40 of which were displayed in the exhibition it held in 2018.<sup>181</sup> They range from a royal seal of Peter I the Catholic from the thirteenth century to institutional seals from the nineteenth century. The library also conserves Ferran de Sagarra's collection of seal imprints.<sup>182</sup>

#### Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona

Another part of the Sagarra collection is housed in the Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona: "The personal documentation of Ferran de Sagarra is comprised of a total of 608 documents of two types: letters and manuscripts. The bulk of the collection is comprised of letters, which have been divided into four sections: letters on sigillography, family correspondence, Ferran de Sagarra's drafts from the period 1888-1925 and letters sent to other correspondents. [...] The four groups of working notes related to goldwork and sculpture and the twelve groups of files and working notes on sigillography have been described under the manuscript section, while respecting the existing classification and division."<sup>183</sup>



FIGURE 3. Red wax seal of Alphonse the Liberal (1327-1336) from the Cabot donation (MNAC Gabinet Numismàtic de Catalunya)

#### Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya

This archive also conserves documents on Ferran de Sagarra.<sup>184</sup>

#### Girona. Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya

The Girona branch of the Museu Arqueològic de Catalunya conserves the former collection of Joaquim Botet i Sisó (1846-1917).<sup>185</sup> On 31 December 1899, Joaquim Botet i Sisó donated to the museum a copper matrix of the seal of Ramon de Cabrera, the lord of the castles of Anglès and Brunyola, from the late thirteenth century. He had secured it years earlier in Celler de Ter, and in 1888 he published a detailed study of it in the July issue of *Revista de Girona*.<sup>186</sup>

This matrix is one of more than 50 in the museum's sigillography collection. The collection started to be assembled from donations and purchases in 1871, when the Comissió de Monuments asked the civil government for the old seals of the municipalities in the province to be given to or deposited at the museum. Copper, bronze, iron, wood and even stone matrices, along with wax and lead seals, imprints and reproductions with a wide time-frame spanning the thirteenth to nineteenth centuries, gradually reached the museum from the Comissió de Monuments. The majority of the matrices are municipal seals, mostly from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, yet some personal seals are also conserved—like Ramon de Cabrera's—along with institutional seals, including those of the Col·legi de Cirurgians de Girona from the eighteenth century, and the *Universitat Libre de Gerona* (1870-1874).<sup>187</sup> Completing the collection is the *Àlbum de sellos antiguos. Provincia de Gerona*, discussed above.<sup>188</sup>

### Girona, Museu d'Història de la Ciutat

The section on *Girona medieval, pedres de Girona* displays the pendant seal of King Peter III's absolution in favour of juries, prominent personages and authorities of the University of Girona in 1385.

### Diocesan museums

The notion of diocesan museum took shape in the nineteenth century as the need to preserve the Church heritage spread and donations were collected from parishes and individuals.<sup>189</sup> Manuel Bassa i Armengol attests to the state of the diocesan museums and the seal collections they held in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries: 'It was the spring of 1932 when we went to Lleida [...] with enough time to spend a few hours visiting what had tempted us so often: the Diocesan Museum [...]. We went back to the capital of the Segre with time for leisure just a few years after the war. The Diocesan Museum could not yet be seen. We pushed on every journey after that, and finally, one day, guided by a seminarian in charge of the Museum (whom we believe is now Father Tarragona), we were able to take a detailed tour of it. [...] But atop a piece of furniture in the centre of a gallery there was a large ancient plate stacked with many plaster copies of seals which immediately drew our attention. Some of them, which were somewhat unusual at first glance, immediately led us to become keenly interested in being able to study them. Many years went by as we requested this in vain. We could not stay in Lleida for as many days as needed. They couldn't let us have them. [...] Once again in Lleida, we were faced with a new series of seals, this time not authentic ones but copies made in plaster which could even more easily be lost or destroyed. But even though our desire to study them was soon confirmed, years went by without being able to do so. Finally, almost 25 years later, we secured permission to photograph them, and once that was done, classifying and studying them has filled our long evening hours with satisfaction and delight.'<sup>190</sup>

### Lleida

The Museu de Lleida Diocesà i Comarcal should have the imprints published by Manuel Bassa; however, they report that they do not conserve mediaeval seals *per se* but only a matrix to make *pellofes* that arrived from the Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs by ascription and appeared inside a sculpture of the Virgin Mary during the restoration process. Perhaps the *pellofa* (from the Seu Vella), which fell outside the mediaeval period, strictly speaking, was even found because *pellofes* began to be minted in Lleida in the sixteenth century. The Museu de la Noguera purchased a matrix of seals with the Urgell coat-of-arms at the request of Albert Velasco. There is another one at the Museu de Tàrraga with a Hebrew inscription.

Manuel Bassa i Armengol left a passionate evocation of the collection of the Municipal Archive: 'Our emotions were stirred as we recalled a visit made to the Paeria, dur-

ing the course of which the outstanding historian Rafael Gras i de Esteva dazzled us with magnificent sigillographic pieces, most of them still with their authentic documents, which were stored in a large cabinet with extremely deep drawers in one of the rooms of the Municipal Archive. Those were the days of our early forays into sigillography, and that visit and the warm regard of our wonderful guide meant that we have had a very pleasant memory of that collection our entire life'.<sup>191</sup> In addition to the Arxiu Municipal de Lleida,<sup>192</sup> seals are also conserved at the Arxiu Capítular de Lleida and the Arxiu Comarcal de Balaguer, where the seals of the counts of Urgell are. In Àger, the Arxiu Jaume Caresmar conserves several mediaeval wax seals.

### Tarragona. Historical archive

Among the document preservation and conservation tasks of the Arxiu Històric de Tarragona, it decided to protect the parchments from the Tarragona Town Hall that were identified as the most liable to deteriorate because they still bore a pendant seal or part of one on them. The restorer Anna Español treated 42 seals—most of them wax seals, two of lead, five of wax under paper and one with a tin box, in addition to one loose wax seal—among originals and transfers, dating from between 1232 and 1645, which were not only attached to a rigid foam core support but also covered with a protective polyethylene terephthalate sheet. The documents treated were issued by personalities like Popes Benedict XIII and Urban VIII; archbishops Aspàreg de la Barca and Arnau Sescomes; prince Ramon Berenguer, Count of Prades; King Peter III, his firstborn John as the prince and governor general and as the monarch—sometimes along with his wife Violant of Bar, as attested to by the two juxtaposed seals; Martin I; Ferdinand I; Alphonse IV, in 1416, when he was still the prince of Girona; Ferdinand II; Philip II, Philip III and Philip IV of Castile; lieutenants general or viceroys like Prince John, King of Navarra; John of Aragon; the bishop of Sigüenza and the grand prior of Castile; and the courts of the royal legal administrators and the viguery, the city and officialdom. The catalogue published by Isabel Companys states that out of a total of 460 parchments remaining without descriptions, 40 more with a seal were located, which will be treated in the next phase.<sup>193</sup>

### Vic

The Arxiu Episcopal de Vic, one of the most important sets of documents and books in Catalonia due to its history and the large number of documents it contains, conserves an important collection of documents with pendant seals. There is a collection of around 100 sheets of mediaeval and post-mediaeval seal imprints in the Museu Episcopal which have not been either dated or accurately recorded. The museum conserves the seals of closure of some lipsanothecas<sup>194</sup> and a plate seal on parchment of Sança, the Viscountess of Cabrera, from 1299, which is very interesting because of its rarity given its early date.<sup>195</sup>

## CATALAN-ARAGONESE CROWN

### Aragon

The municipal archives in Aragon, at least the ones in Zaragoza, Teruel and Huesca, conserve some seals. The archive of Teruel, now the Archivo Histórico Provincial, conserves a document with seals from the thirteenth century from the cities which signed an agreement in 1260.<sup>196</sup> The Church archives contain seals from the cathedral and El Pilar of Zaragoza, as well as the seal of the cathedral of Huesca.<sup>197</sup>

### Valencia

The Valencian politician and historian Josep Martínez Aloy (1855-1924),<sup>198</sup> the director of the Museu de Belles Arts, was the first modern researcher to take an interest in mediaeval Valencian seals.<sup>199</sup> In the early twentieth century, Antonio de la Torre y del Cerro (1878-1966) published the catalogue of the sigillographic collection of the Arxiu de la Catedral de València.<sup>200</sup> Antonio de la Torre was a member of the expert group of archivists since 1901 and was the archivist at the Arxiu del Regne de València and the Archivo Histórico Nacional of Madrid before he earned the post as the Professor of Spanish History at the Universitat de València in 1911, when he studied and published the seal collection from the cathedral's archive.<sup>201</sup> A professor in Barcelona between 1918 and 1939, he taught Jaume Vicens Vives.<sup>202</sup> He became a member of the *Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres* in 1923. The matrices that Antonio de la Torre used to study seals are still conserved at the archive of the Cathedral of Valencia.

### Arxiu del Regne de València

The 1960 creation of the International Committee on Sigillography of the International Council on Archives to safeguard and disseminate the sigillographic heritage and the increase in document collections assembled de facto for conservation purposes led to the systematic location of sigillographic documents in the late 1960s. Those of the Arxiu del Regne de València came from different sections within the archive, although some also came from collections added via deposits and donations. Unlike other state archives, the pendant seals on the parchments remained in their respective series, after they had been protected. The documents with plate seals, most of them on paper, and the pendant seals whose provenance is unknown because they had become detached from their original support, became part of the sigillography collection. The sealed documents represent different public and private bodies and institutions. They come from the different offices of the royal, municipal and Church administrations, but many of them belonged to the nobility and private individuals. Finally, we should cite the artistic reproductions of imprints from other archives which were acquired in order to disseminate and facilitate the study of the most significant seals. Since the 1980s, several monographic studies have been published which have ques-

tioned the seals of the Kingdom of Valencia<sup>203</sup> or have once again reflected on the rich collection of the Church Archive.<sup>204</sup>

### Mallorca

The two main collections of mediaeval seals are located in the Archive of the Kingdom of Mallorca<sup>205</sup> and the Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana. Some seals are also conserved in the Arxiu Capítular de Mallorca. The 39 wax seals of the Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana, in Can Aguiló, have never been inventoried and were cited at least partially by Ferran de Sagarra. In 1888, some of them were displayed at the Barcelona Universal Exhibition, as discussed above. The seals that went to Barcelona were compiled in the newsletter of the Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana and in a sketchbook by Rafael de Ysasi, indicating their provenance, and at the exhibition at the Museu Diocesà, with a matrix and the drawing of the display case, including a wonderful drawing of the seal of Martin the Humane.<sup>206</sup> In the Barcelona exhibition, in addition to the wax seal of King Martin (from the collection owned by a Mr Llabrés), a wax seal from Charles II owned by the director of the Institut Balear, Francisco M. De los Herreros, a seal of John Lladó and 33 seals from religious communities and corporations 'from the collection of lacquer imprints being assembled by the member Mr Pedro de A' were displayed. This is a seal that 'bears a fleur-de-lis surrounded by a Hebrew inscription (it was found in Palma's Jewish quarter); it belongs to D. P. de A. Peña Borrás'. These are interesting glimpses into the history of seal collecting on Mallorca during the nineteenth century.<sup>207</sup>

### Menorca

No mediaeval seals remain at the Arxiu Capítular de Menorca due to both the late creation of the bishopric and the destruction wrought by the Turks in July 1558, and because of the consequences of the war in July 1936. However, the matrix of a seal from the thirteenth century was found on the island and is now at the Museu Municipal de Ciutadella.<sup>208</sup>

### Perpignan

The Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales has made a list of the seal imprints conserved there, especially the modern ones. Among the 30 or so mediaeval lead or wax seals conserved, either pendants or plates, two seals of James of Mallorca in majesty (one from 1293), one equestrian seal of the same king from 1291 and one of the Bishop of Elna, Bernat de Berga, from 1244 stand out.

Josep Puig's Museu Numismàtic conserves eight Church, religious and private matrices from between the twelfth and nineteenth centuries<sup>209</sup> and wax imprints of seals, including those of the kings of Mallorca and a ring of the Comanda de Sant Vicenç de Bajoles, a former convent of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem near Castell Rosselló.<sup>210</sup>

## Sicily

I thought it would be germane to insert a few brief notes on the status of sigillography studies and collections in Sicily both because of its mediaeval ties to Catalonia and because it used to belong to the Catalan-Aragonese Crown, although Sicily does not have a recent tradition of sigillographic studies from the Middle Ages. There are mentions of seals conserved in the publications of documents from the Norman and Hohenstaufen chanceries. There is a more or less old diplomatic bibliography which covers the Royal Sicilian Chancery and incidentally or at times more directly cites or studies a few seals in particular.<sup>211</sup>

The collections of the Archivio di Stato di Palermo naturally conserve some seals which were displayed and published in an inventory list made by the deputy archivist Giuseppe Cosentino in 1892,<sup>212</sup> some of which are in the tabularium of San Martino. One note conserved in the Archivio di Stato, whose provenance is unknown, indicates that the seals conserved include a dozen from the time when Sicily was part of the Catalan-Aragonese Crown. Other archives on the island, including the Archivio Comunale di Palermo, conserve parchments with pendant seals.<sup>213</sup> The L'Archivio Diocesano di Palermo owns a celebrated seal of Alphonse V.<sup>214</sup> Professor Pietro Corrao has told me that the 'Medagliere' of the Museo Archeologico Regionale Antonino Salinas of Palermo conserves some mediaeval seals,<sup>215</sup> and that the Museo di Termini Imerese (province of Palermo) conserves some as well. Sicily's notary documentation also conserves seals.<sup>216</sup> The Arxiu de Caltagirone, a section of the Archivio di Stato (province of Catania), conserves the seal of Frederick III (1296-1337) on a parchment dating from 1299 (number 10/72).<sup>217</sup>

We should also mention the studies on Byzantine Sicily by Vivien Prigent,<sup>218</sup> who has also researched numismatics and currency circulation on the island during the Byzantine period.<sup>219</sup> Some recent studies have also taken an interest in seals within the framework of art history in relation to royal likenesses.<sup>220</sup>

## Seal matrices

The study of matrices, the instrument used to seal, has benefited from a considerable impetus in the past decade, the outcome of multidisciplinary studies and new surveys on collections, the artists who created them and the clients who commissioned them.<sup>221</sup> A notable synthesis on the Iberian Peninsula was published in 1987.<sup>222</sup>

In 1994, an inventory of the Iberian Peninsula responding to a request from the International Committee on Sigillography of the International Council on Archives<sup>223</sup> sent out a questionnaire from the Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Archivos.<sup>224</sup> With regard to Catalonia, the following collections with metal matrices were noted:<sup>225</sup> The Archive of the Crown of Aragon has five modern matrices, three of which correspond to the Junta Superior de Cataluña, one to the Real Intendencia and Baylia General de Cataluña and one from the archive itself. Within the religious context, the archive of the cathedral of Valencia

has some matrices, and other religious archives that have conserved their historical holdings have notable collections, such as the Arxiu Provincial de les Escoles Pies de Barcelona and the Arxiu Històric Provincial de Frares Menors de València, which encompasses the Franciscan provinces of Aragón, Valencia and the Balearic Islands. Many municipal archives conserve a metal matrix which was used to seal ordinary documents. The coin collections of some museums have conserved the matrices of seals alongside their coin and medal collections. According to the aforementioned inventory for the entire Iberian Peninsula, the most noteworthy series in Catalonia are found in the Museu Episcopal de Vic and the Museu Arqueològic de Catalunya in both its Girona and Barcelona branches, both of which have a notable collection of seals of Catalan cities and villages from the modern era.<sup>226</sup> Regarding the Middle Ages, matrices are found at the Museu Arqueològic de Girona, the Museu Episcopal de Vic, the Museu Diocesà i Comarcal de Solsona, the Museu Frederic Marès in Barcelona and some private archives and collections.<sup>227</sup>

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

- [1] Where possible or advisable, all the sources from the nineteenth and twentieth century have been transcribed and adapted to current spelling, punctuation and publishing in order to make the text more easy read.
- [2] Yves Metman. 'Sigillographie et marques postales'. *L'histoire et ses méthodes. Encyclopédie de la Pleiade*. Ed. Charles SAMARAN, Gallimard, Paris 1961, pp. 393-446; Michel PASTOUREAU. *Les sceaux*. Brepols, Turnhout 1981 (Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, 36),
- [3] Michel PASTOUREAU. 'Les graveurs de sceaux et la création emblématique'. *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Age. I. Les hommes*. Colloque International. Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Université de Rennes II-Haute-Bretagne, 2-6 May 1983. Ed. Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. Picard, Paris 1986, pp. 515-22.
- [4] Dom Jean MABILLON. *De re diplomatica libri sex*. Sumtibus L. Billaine, Paris 1681 (3rd edition, Naples, Typographia Vincentii Ursini, 1789). Regarding the earliest debates: Jean MABILLON. *Histoire des contestations sur la diplomatie*. Jean Gravier, Naples 1767.
- [5] Clément BLANC-RIEHL. 'Les prémices de la sigillographie française (1830-1880)'. *Bulletin de liaison des sociétés savantes*, 12 (2007), pp. 6-8.
- [6] Lecoy DE LA MARCHE. *Les sceaux*. Quantin, Paris 1889; Joseph Roman. *Manuel de sigillographie française*. Alphonse Picard, Paris 1912.
- [7] It is interesting to compare two bibliographies more than a half a century apart: Adrien BLANCHET. *Bibliographie critique de la Sigillographie française*. Alphonse Picard, Paris 1902; René GANDILHON, Michel PASTOUREAU. *Bib-*



- liographie de la sigillographie française*. Picard, Paris 1982. Later, Jean-Luc CHASSEL, Martine DALAS. 'Bibliographie de la sigillographie française (1982-1986)'. *Revue française d'héraldique et de sigillographie*, 54-59 (1984-1989), pp. 237-56, and from 1987-1991, *ibid.*, 60-61 (1990-1991), pp. 255-81. See, too, *Vocabulaire International de la sigillographie*. Ed. Robert-HENRI BAUTIER, Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Rome 1990.
- [8] *Corpus des sceaux français du Moyen Âge*: I, Brigitte BEDOS. *Les sceaux des villes*. Archives Nationales, Paris 1980; II, Martine DALAS. *Les sceaux des rois et de régence*. Archives Nationales, Paris 1991; III, Marie-Adélaïde NIELEN. *Les sceaux des reines et des enfants de France*. Archives Nationales, Paris 2011.
- [9] María CARMONA DE LOS SANTOS. *Bibliografía de Sigilografía española*. Subdirección General de los Archivos, Madrid 1999; *De sellos y blasones: miscelánea científica*. Ed. Juan Carlos GALENDE DÍAZ. Universidad Complutense, Asociación de diplomados en Genealogía, Heráldica y Nobiliaria, Madrid 2012; *A investigação sobre heráldica e sigilografia na Península Ibérica: entre a tradição e a inovação*. Ed. Maria do Rosário BARBOSA MORUJÃO and Manuel SALAMANCA LÓPEZ. Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra 2018.
- [10] Faustino MENÉNDEZ-PIDAL DE NAVASCUÉS. *Heráldica medieval espanyola. I. La casa real de León y Castilla*. Hidalguía, Madrid 1982. See, too, the compilation of texts in *Leones y castillos. Emblemas heráldicos en España*. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid 1999.
- [11] Mikel RAMOS AGUIRRE. 'La sigilografía en la producción científica de Faustino Menéndez Pidal de Navascués'. *Príncipe de Viana*, 241 (2007), pp. 359-363.
- [12] Among the countless studies by Faustino MENÉNDEZ-PIDAL DE NAVASCUÉS, I would like to highlight the synthesis *Apuntes de sigilografía espanyola*. Institución Provincial de Cultura Marqués de Santillana, Guadalajara 1988 (new edition: Aache Ediciones, Guadalajara 1992), as well as his latest publication, *Los sellos en nuestra historia*. Real Academia de la Historia, Boletín Oficial del Estado, Madrid 2018
- [13] Faustino MENÉNDEZ-PIDAL DE NAVASCUÉS. 'La sigilografía espanyola. Una revisión crítica'. *Hispania*, 175 (1990), pp. 987-1002.
- [14] Araceli GUGLIERI NAVARRO. *Catálogo de sellos de la sección de sigilografía del Archivo Histórico Nacional*. Dirección de Archivos y Bibliotecas, Madrid 1974 (3 vols.).
- [15] José María DE FRANCISCO OLMOS, Feliciano NOVOA PORTELA. *Historia y evolución del sello de plomo. La colección sigilográfica del Museo Cerralbo*. Real Academia Matritense de Heráldica y Genealogía, Madrid 2008.
- [16] Faustino MENÉNDEZ-PIDAL DE NAVASCUÉS, Mikel RAMOS AGUIRRE, Esperanza Ochoa DE OLZA EGUIRAUN. *Sellos medievales de Navarra. Estudio y corpus descriptivo*. Gobierno de Navarra, Pamplona 1995.
- [17] *Actas del primer coloquio de sigilografía* (Madrid, 2 to 4 April 1987). Dirección de los Archivos Estatales, Madrid 1990; *Actualidad de la heráldica y la sigilografía*. Quintas Jornadas Archivísticas (6 to 8 October 1999). Ed. Remedios Rey DE LAS PEÑAS. Servicio de Archivos de la Diputación de Huelva, Huelva 2000.
- [18] Ernesto FERNÁNDEZ-XESTA Y VÁZQUEZ. *La sigilografía. Apuntes para la mejor práctica de investigadores*. Confederación Española de Centros de Estudios Locales, Madrid 2016.
- [19] María CARMONA DE LOS SANTOS. *Manual de sigilografía*. Subdirección General de los Archivos Estatales, Madrid 1996.
- [20] *Le sceau dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux, X<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles. Entre contrainte sociale et affirmation de soi*. Actes du colloque de Bruxelles et Namur, 27-28 November 2014. Ed. Marc LIBERT and Jean-François NIEUS. Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels 2017 (Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique, 103).
- [21] *Pourquoi les sceaux? La sigillographie, nouvel enjeu de l'Histoire de l'art*. Actes du colloque (Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts, 23-25 October 2008). Ed. Marc GIL and Jean-Luc CHASSEL. Université de Lille 3, Lille 2011. See, too, the debate in Laurent HABLOT, Robert A. MAXWELL, Maria do Rosário MORUJÃO, Markus SPÄTH, Ambre VILAIN, 'L'héraldique, la sigillographie et l'emblématique au regard de l'histoire de l'art: nouvelles perspectives de recherches'. *Perspective*, (2014), 2, pp. 293-312.
- [22] *Medieval Coins and Seals. Constructing Identity, Signifying Power*. Ed. Susan SOLWAY. Brepols, Turnhout 2015; *Seals and their Context in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Philip R. SCHONFIELD. Oxbow, Oxford 2015; *A Companion to Seals in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Laura J. WHATLEY. Brill, Leiden-Boston 2019.
- [23] Imre TAKÁCS. *Royal Seals of the Árpád Dynasty*. Magyar Országos Letéltár, Budapest 2012.
- [24] *La Spezia. Civico Museo del Sigillo. Guida alla visita. Arte e cultura nella storia del sigillo*. Ed. Lilian GARY CAPELLINI and Anna ROZZI MAZZA. Istituzione per i Servizi Culturali, La Spezia 2000.
- [25] Andrea MUZZI, Bruna TOMASELLO, Attilio TORI. *Sigilli nel Museo nazionale del Bargello, 1. Sigilli ecclesiastici, 2-3. Sigilli privati, 4. Sigilli civili*. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence 1988-1989; Silvana BALBI DE CARO, Carla BENOCCI. *La Collezione sfragistica. Il Medagliere del Museo del Palazzo di Venezia. I sigilli della Collezione Corvisieri Romana*. Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia, Libreria dello Stato, Rome 1998. The collections recently published include: *Sigilli della collezione del Museo Civico di Siena secoli XIII-XV*. Ed. Veronica RANDON. Museo Civico, Siena 2018 (Quaderni del Museo Civico, 5).
- [26] Martine FABRE. *Sceau médiéval. Analyse d'une pratique culturelle*. L'Harmattan, Paris 2001.
- [27] Arnaud BAUDIN. *Emblématique et pouvoir en Champagne. Les sceaux des comtes de Champagne et de leur entourage (fin XI<sup>e</sup>-début XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*. Dominique Guéniot, Langres 2012.
- [28] Ambre VILAIN. *Imago urbis. Les sceaux de villes au Moyen Âge*. CTHS-INHA, Paris 2018. Prior to that, Toni DIEDERICH. *Rheinische Städtiesel*. Neusser Druckerei,

- GmbH, Neuss 1984 (Rheinischer Verein für Denkmalpflege und Landschaftsschutz, 1984-1985). See, too, *Micro-architectures médiévales. L'échelle à l'épreuve de la matière*. Ed. Jean-Marie GUILLOUËT and Ambre VILAIN. Picard-INHA, Paris 2018
- [29] Laurent MACÉ. *La majesté et la croix. Les sceaux de la maison des comtes de Toulouse (XII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*. Presses Universitaires du Midi, Toulouse 2018. Pages 361-63 show some examples of this author's bibliography devoted to seals from southern France.
- [30] However, it is always essential to cite the classic treatises by Michel PASTOUREAU. *Traité d'héraldique*. Picard, Paris 1979 (2nd edition: 1993); Michel PASTOUREAU. *L'art héraldique au Moyen Âge*. Seuil, Paris 2009. Now, the more recent ones include Laurent HABLLOT. *Héraldique et emblématique médiévale*. Brepols, Turnhout 2019 (L'atelier du médiéviste); and Laurent HABLLOT. *Manuel de héraldique emblématique médiévale*. Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais, Tours 2019, with a historiographic introduction by Michel Pastoureau, pp. 10-14.
- [31] Martí DE RIQUER. *Heràldica catalana des de l'any 1150 al 1550*. Quaderns Crema, Barcelona 1983, p. 68, note 26.
- [32] Such as Armand DE FLUVIÀ I ESCORSA. *Els quatre pals. L'escut dels comtes de Barcelona*. Rafael Dalmau, Barcelona 1994 (2nd edition, 1996); Armand DE FLUVIÀ I ESCORSA. *Manual d'heraldica i tècnica del blasó*. Galerada, Cabrera de Mar 2011.
- [33] Armand DE FLUVIÀ. *Diccionari general d'heraldica*. Edhasa, Barcelona 1982.
- [34] One example is Josep M. VILA I CARABASA, Marina MIQUEL I VIVES. 'Estudi d'una matriu de segell medieval procedent de l'església de Sant Ponç de Corbera'. *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia*, 16-17, (1996), 291-293.
- [35] One serious catalogue is *Oliba episcopus. Mil·lenari d'Oliba, bisbe de Vic*, Museu Episcopal de Vic, 27 October 2018 – 10 February 2019. Ed. Marc SUREDA. Museu Episcopal, Vic 2018.
- [36] Examples include *Il sigillo nella storia della civiltà attraverso i documenti dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano. Catalogo della mostra* (Rome, 19 February – 18 March 1985). Ed. Aldo MARTINI. Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, Rome 1985; *Il sigillo nella storia e nella cultura. Mostra documentaria. Catalogo della mostra* (Venice, Museo Correr 6 July-31 August 1985). Ed. Stefania RICCI. Jouvence, Rome 1985; *Sigilli e Potere. Sigilli medievali dell'Archivio di Stato di Bolzano. Catalogo della mostra* (Bolzano, 7 September – 16 October 2002). Ed. Armida Zaccaria. Nicolodi, Rovereto 2002; *Sceaux et usages de sceaux. Images de la Champagne médiévale. Catalogue de l'exposition* (Château du Grand Jardin de Joinville, June – July 2001, Musées d'Art et d'Histoire de Troyes, September – December 2003, Archives Départementales de la Marne, January – March 2004, Palais du Tau, Reims, September – December 2004). Ed. Jean-Luc CHASSEL (introduction by Michel BUR and Michel PASTOUREAU, Conseil Général de la Marne, Somogy, Paris 2003.
- [37] Dom Jean MABILLON. *De re diplomatica...* op. cit.; Maciej DORNA. *Mabillon und andere. Die Anfänge der Diplomatik*. Aus dem Polnischen übersetzt von Martin Faber. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2019 (Wolfenbuttelener Forschungen).
- [38] Scipione MAFFEI. *Istoria diplomatica che serve d'introduzione all'arte critica in tal materia*. Alberto Tumermani, Mantua 1727.
- [39] Johann HEUMANN VON TEUTSCHBRUNN (Io. HEUMANO). *Commentarii de Re Diplomatica imperatricum augustarum ac reginarum Germaniæ*. I. G. Lochneri, Nuremberg 1749.
- [40] Anthelme-Michel-Laurent DE MIGIEU. *Recueil des sceaux du Moyen Âge, dits sceaux gothiques*. Antoine Boudet, Paris 1779.
- [41] *Antonio Agustín between Renaissance and Counter-Reform*. Colloquium held at the Warburg Institute, University of London. Ed. Michael H. Crawford. The Warburg Institute, University of London, London 1993 (Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, XXIV).
- [42] Gregorio MAYANS I SISCAR. *Vida de D. Antonio Agustín arzobispo de Tarragona*. Juan de Zuñiga, Madrid 1734; Ricardo DEL ARCO Y GARAY. *El arzobispo Don Antonio Agustín. Nuevos datos para su biografía*. Imp. de F. Sugañes, Tarragona 1910.
- [43] Cándido FLORES SÉLLES, 'Antonio Agustín, estudiante en Italia'. *Studia Albornotiana*, 37 (1979), pp. 315-75
- [44] James Pyle WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD. 'Inedited Letters of Fulvio Orsini to Antonius Augustinus'. *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, 28 (1913), pp. 577-93; Francisco Miquel ROSELL. 'Epistolario de Antonio Agustín. Ms. 53 de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Barcelona'. *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, 13 (1940), pp. 113-202; J. CLOSA. 'Don Antonio Agustín y la tradición humanística italiana'. *Actas del VII Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos (Madrid, 1987)*. Universidad Complutense, Madrid 1989, pp. 447-452;
- [45] Erna MANDOWSKY, Charles MITCHELL. *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities. The Drawings in MS XIII. B. 7 in the National Library in Naples*. The Warburg Institute, University of London, London 1963; Patrizia SERAFIN. 'Ligorio e la moneta: fonte, riscontro o spunto per la storia? Di tutto un po' (dalle Antichità Romane)'. *Horti Hesperidum*, 1 (2011), pp. 37-51.
- [46] Federica MISSERE FONTANA. 'Raccolte numismatiche e scambi antiquari del secolo XVI. Enea Vico a Venezia'. *Quaderni Ticinesi di Numismatica e Antichità Classiche*, XXIII (1994), pp. 343-83.
- [47] Eulàlia DURÁN I GRAU. 'Antoni Agustín i els cercles humanístics catalans'. *Jornades d'Història: Antoni Agustín i el seu temps*. Universitat de Tarragona, Tarragona 1990, II, pp. 261-74; *Antoni Agustí, bisbe de Lleida i arquebisbe de Tarragona (1517-1586). Aportacions entorn el marc socio-cultural de Catalunya en la seva època*. M. Esther BALASCH. Publicacions dels Amics de la Seu Vella, Editorial Pagès, Lleida 1995, pp. 53-87; Martí DE RIQUER. *L'humanisme català*. Base, Barcelona 2016.

- [48] Marc MAYER. 'Antonio Agustín entre política y humanismo: reflexiones sobre su aportación a la Epigrafía'. *Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico. Homenaje al profesor Antonio Fontán*. Ed. José María MAESTRE, Joaquín PASCUAL and L. CHARLO. 3 vols. Universidad de Zaragoza, Alcañiz-Madrid 2002, III, pp. 359-73.
- [49] *Diálogos de medallas inscripciones y otras antigüedades. Ex bibliothecae Ant. Augustini Archiepiscopi Tarraconen.* Felipe Mey, Tarragona 1587; *I discorsi sopra le medaglie et altre anticaglie divisi in XI dialoghi.* (no number), Rome 1592; *Diálogos de medallas, inscripciones y otras antigüedades.* J. F. Martínez Abad, Madrid 1744. About these publications: A. Savio, 'Delle traduzioni ed edizioni italiane dei dialogos di Don Antonio Agustín'. *Homenaje al Dr. Leandre Villaronga*. Ed. Miquel CRUSAFONT I SABATER, Anna Maria BALAGUER and P. P. RIPOLLÉS, *Acta Numismatica*, 21-22-23 (1993), pp. 77-88; M. Paz GARCÍA-BELLIDO. 'Diálogo de medallas'. *Ex Roma Lux. La Roma Antigua en el Renacimiento y el Barroco*. Ed. Marta CARRASCO FERRER and Miguel Ángel ELVIRA BARBA. Biblioteca Nacional, Sociedad Editorial Electa España, Madrid 1997, pp. 43-51; Immaculada SOCÍAS. *Algunes consideracions entorn de l'edició prínceps dels Diálogos de medallas, inscripciones y otra antigüedades d'Antoni Agustí (1587) de la Hispanic Society of America*". *Pedralbes*, 23 (2004), 525-50.
- [50] Casto María DEL RIVERO, 'Don Antonio Agustín, príncipe de los numismáticos españoles'. *Archivos Españoles de Arte y Arqueología*, 59 (1945), pp. 97-123; Joan CARBONELL MANILS. 'Fulvio Orsini i Antonio Agustín, precursors de la moderna numismàtica'. *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, 32 (1993), pp. 169-186. Joan CARBONELL MANILS, Adela BARREDA PASCUAL. 'Filología, numismática y prosopografía: La síntesis de Antonio Agustín y Fulvio Orsini'. *XIII Congreso Internacional de Numismática, Madrid, 2003*. Ed. Carmen ALFARO ASINS, Carmen MARCOS ALONSO and Paloma OTERO MORÁN. Ministerio de Cultura, Madrid 2005, pp. 59-68.
- [51] Andreas SCHOTT. *Dialogos de Medallas, inscripciones y otras antigüedades de Don Antonio Agustín, Arzobispo de Tarragona con la interpretación latina de Don Andres Scotto*. Typis Joseph Rocchii, Lucae 1774, fol. 3. Agustín articulated the text in the guise of the three-person dialogue designated by the letters A, B and C. According to Andreas Schott, A refers to Agustí, B to Rodrigo Zapata, his sister's son, and C to his brother Joan Agustí.
- [52] Rafael LAMARCA RUIZ DE EGUILAZ. 'De la moneda al emblema. Un precedente iconográfico en el género de la literatura emblemática'. *Literatura emblemática Hispánica*. I Simposio Internacional, Universidad de la Coruña, La Coruña 1996; Immaculada SOCÍAS. 'El poder de las imágenes en los *Diálogos de Medallas, inscripciones y otras antigüedades* (1587) de Don Antonio Agustín'. Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona 2012.
- [53] José María de FRANCISCO OLMOS. *Las monedas genealógicas. El uso de la tipología monetaria como medio de propaganda dinástica en el Mediterráneo (ss. II aC. - XV dC)*. Real Academia Matritense de Heráldica y Genealogía, Madrid 2008.
- [54] Marc MAYER. 'Towards a History of the Library of Antonio Agustín'. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 60 (1997), pp. 261-72.
- [55] Juan F. ALCINA ROVIRA. 'La dispersión de los libros y monetario de Antonio Agustín (1586-1594)', *Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico. Homenaje al profesor Antonio Fontán*. Ed. José María MAESTRE, Joaquín PASCUAL and L. CHARLO. Vol. 3. Universidad de Zaragoza, Alcañiz-Madrid 2002, pp. 331-58.
- [56] Gregorio MAYANS I SISCAR. *Dialogos de las armas y linages de la nobleza de España, los escrivia D. Antonio Agustín, Arzobispo de Tarragona, cuya obra posthuma he cotejado con varios libros ...* Juan de Zúñiga, Madrid 1734 (reissue: Librerías París-Valencia, Valencia 2005).
- [57] Antonio MESTRE SANCHIS. *Don Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, entre la erudición y la política*. Institució Alfons el Magnànim, Diputació de València, Valencia 1999; *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre Gregorio Mayans y Siscar*. Ed. Antonio MESTRE SANCHIS. Ajuntament de Oliva, Oliva 1999; Antonio MESTRE SANCHIS. *Mayans, proyectos y frustracions*. Ajuntament de Oliva, Oliva 2003; Antonio MESTRE SANCHIS. *Mayans y Siscar y el pensamiento ilustrado español contra el absolutisme*. Universidad de León, León 2007.
- [58] Gregorio MAYANS I SISCAR, *Vida...* cit., p. 154.
- [59] Francisco Xavier DE GARMA Y DURÀN. *Adarga Catalana. Arte heráldica y prácticas reglas del Blasón, con ejemplos de las piezas, esmaltes y ornatos de que se compone un escudo, interior y exteriormente*. Mauro Martí, Barcelona 1753 (facsimiles: Orbis, Barcelona 1954, introduction by Joaquim ICART and Josep GRAMUNT; Euro-Liber, Barcelona 1967, introduction by Xavier CALICÓ; Librerías París-Valencia, Valencia 1997.) See, too, Armand DE FLUVIÀ. *Diccionari heràldic. Índex de les càrregues heràldiques dels escuts de l'Adarga catalana*. Virgili-Pagès, Lleida 1987; Sofia MATA DE LA CRUZ. 'Les planxes calcogràfiques de l'Adarga Catalana de Francesc Xavier de Garma i Duran (1753) a l'Arxiu Històric Arxidiocesà de Tarragona'. *Paratge. Quaderns d'Estudis de Genealogia, Heràldica, Sigil·lografia i Nobiliària*, 27 (2014), pp. 203-208. Regarding Garma, see, too, Jesús Ernesto MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO. *Historia y labor de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*. Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona, Barcelona 1955, pp. 86-88.
- [60] *Adarga Catalana*, prologue.
- [61] *Bibliografía histórica de Cataluña. Preliminares. Numismática. Epigrafía. Colecciones diplomáticas. Sigilografía, por don Antonio Elías de Molins, jefe de cuarto grado del Cuerpo de archiveros, bibliotecarios y archeólogos*. Librería de Victoriano Suarez, Madrid 1902, p. 64. On page 65, Elias gives the title of this treatise as 'Ensayo de una colección de sellos que han usado los antiguos monarcas de Aragón, principiado por el archivero D. Francisco Javier de Garma, y continuada por el actual,

- Don Próspero de Bofarull. Diez y ocho láminas gravadas en zinc, con portada e índice manuscrito'. Also, Mireia CAMPABADAL i BERTRAN, *La Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona en el segle XVIII*, Barcelona, 2006, p. 171-172.
- [62] Rafael TORRENT I ORRI. 'Genealogia y gestas de los condes de Crexell'. *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Empordanesos*, 5 (1964), pp. 95-127.
- [63] Ferran DE SAGARRA. *Sigillografia catalana. Inventari, descripció i estudi dels segells de Catalunya*, Barcelona, Estampa d'Henrich i C<sup>a</sup>, 1916, I, p. XIX. Note 1, after this paragraph, reads: 'Acta de 20 de junio de 1804. En atención a que el difunto don Juan de Zagarriga y Reart, conde de Creixell i socio de este cuerpo, costeó las laminas del tratado de sellos para la Historia de Cataluña que debe escribir la Academia y que paran en poder de su hijo, el Sr. Don Francisco Ramón de Zagarriga, conde de Creixell, se comisiona a los señores socios don Juan de Sans y Barutell y don R. de Sans y Rius a fin de que hagan presente a dicho señor que llegó el caso de necesitarse dichas laminas y que espera la Academia se servirá entregarlas'.
- [64] Joaquim Icart Leonilla. *Testimoni d'una època (1929-1936)*. Ed. Josep M. ESCOLÀ and Montse ICART. Arola Editors, Tarragona 2010.
- [65] Francisco Xavier DE GARMA Y DURAN, *Próceres y ciudadanos de honor del Principado de Cataluña*. Ed. Joaquín ICART. Stemmata, Barcelona 1957. Additional biographic information on Garma, pp. 13-16.
- [66] María CARMONA DE LOS SANTOS. *Bibliografía...* cit., p. 31
- [67] María CARMONA DE LOS SANTOS. *Bibliografía...* cit., p. 44, no. 128.
- [68] Miquel DE FÀBREGAS I SABATER. 'La classificació dels segells, una tasca rigorosa i científica'. *Paratge. Quaderns d'Estudis de genealogia, heràldica sigil·lografia i nobiliària*, 1 (1990), pp. 19-23. A bibliography on page 23 mentions 'Garma J. M. / Bofarull P., *Ensayo de una colección de sellos que han usado los antiguos monarcas de Aragón* (edición facsímil privada)'.
- [69] Marqués DE AVILÉS. *Ciencia heroyca, reducida a las leyes heráldicas del blasón...*, 2 volumes. Joachin Ibarra, Madrid 1780 (new facsimile editions: Círculo del bibliófilo, Madrid 1979; Bitácora, Madrid 1992).
- [70] Diego SAABEDRA FAXARDO. *Idea de un príncipe cristiano*. 2 vols., Salvador Faulí, Valencia 1786.
- [71] Jaime DE VILLANUEVA. *Viage literario a las Iglesias de España*. Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid 1850, XII, pp. 86-100; Francesc MARTORELL I TRABAL. 'Manuscrits del P. Caresmar, Pascual i Martí'. *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, 12 (1927), pp. 178-320; Eduardo CORREDERA. *La escuela histórica avellanense*. Ed. Balmes, Barcelona 1962, pp. 81-89 = *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, 35, 1963, pp. 49-66 (new edition: Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs, Lleida 1971).
- [72] Ernesto ZARAGOZA. 'Pasqual, Jaume'. *Diccionari d'Història Eclesiàstica de Catalunya*. Ed. Ramon CORTS I BLAY, Juan GALTÈS I PUJOL and Albert MANENT I SEGIMON. 3 vols., Claret, Barcelona 2001, pp. 31-32. See, too, *Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya*, 5 (1930), pp. 198-208.
- [73] Josep Maria SANS I TRAVÉ. *El Llibre Verd del pare Jaume Pasqual. Primera història del monestir de Vallbona*. Barcelona, Fundació Noguera, 2002; for Father Pasqual and his milieu, see pp. 9-69.
- [74] Alberto VELASCO GONZÀLEZ. *Jaume Pasqual, antiquari i col·leccionista a la Catalunya de la Il·lustració*. Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida, Lleida 2011.
- [75] According to Alberto Velasco, despite the fact that the objects, books and manuscripts were scattered, the *monetarium* remained intact until the mid-nineteenth century, when it 'va ser venut pel darrer dels canonges avellanencs exclaustrats al col·leccionista numismàtic Manuel Vidal-Quadras i Ramon (1818-1894). Malauradament, pocs anys després de la mort d'aquest darrer, el monetari va ser rebut al comerciant numismàtic parisenc Étienne Bourgey (1864-1943), que va adquirir-lo abans del 1913. Aquest va organitzar diverses vendes parcials de la Col·lecció Vidal-Quadras, però el 1951 una part encara era a la capital francesa en mans privades. A partir d'aquesta data, en desconeixem la sort': Alberto VELASCO GONZÀLEZ and Jaume PASQUAL, in *RCCAAC, Repertori de col·leccionistes i col·leccions d'art i arqueologia de Catalunya*. Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona (digital version from 26/2/2020: [https://taller.iec.cat/rcic/fitxa\\_una.asp?id\\_fitxa=6](https://taller.iec.cat/rcic/fitxa_una.asp?id_fitxa=6)).
- [76] Josef SALAT. *Tratado de las monedas labradas en el Principado de Cataluña con instrumentos justificativos*. Antonio Brusi, Barcelona 1818, p. XIII-XIV, note 1.
- [77] Remains of Pasqual's circular ex-libris are conserved, with a lamb (Pasqual) and the inscription '+EX BIB. B. JAC. PASQUAL', directly inspired by monetary and sigillographic models. An illustration of the ex-libris is found in the biography by Alberto Velasco cited in the above note, Figs. 6a and 6b.
- [78] Ana María SÁNCHEZ DIAZ. 'El viaje literario a las Iglesias de España: una empresa ilustrada de los hermanos Villanueva en la primera mitad del siglo'. *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Contemporánea*, 5 (1986), pp. 47-66; Germán RAMÍREZ ALEDÓN. 'El viaje literario de los hermanos Villanueva: trayectorio de un proyecto editorial'. *Placere instrucción. Viajeros valencianos por el siglo XVIII*. Ed. Emilio SOLER PASCUAL and Nicolás BAS MARTÍN. Real Sociedad de Amigos del País de Valencia, Valencia 2008, pp. 167-202.
- [79] Jaime VILLANUEVA, *Viage literario a las Iglesias de España*, 12, *Viage a Urgel y a Gerona*, Madrid, Real Academia de la historia, 1850, pp. 92, 97.
- [80] Alphonse Antoine Louis CHASSANT, Pierre-Jean DELBARRE. *Dictionnaire de sigillographie pratique*. J.-B. Dumoulin, Paris 1860; Oliver D. HARRIS. 'Fragments of the Past: The Early Antiquarian Perception and Study of Seals in England'. *A Companion to Seals in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Laura J. WHATLEY. Brill, Leiden-Boston 2019, pp. 129-154.

- [81] Isabel RODRÍGUEZ CASANOVA, Alberto J. CANTO GARCÍA, Jesús VICO MONTEOLIVA. *M. Gómez-Moreno y la moneda visigoda. Investigación i coleccionismo en España (siglos XIX-XX)*. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid 2014; for Catalan collections, see, pp. 163-181.
- [82] Josef SALAT. *Tratado... cit.*, pp. XI-XVI (Gabinetes existentes en el Principado de Cataluña).
- [83] The Archive of the Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres conserves one of his manuscripts (ms. 3-III-8) meant for volume three of the aforementioned book by Josep Salat, which was never published: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, MCEM Base de dades de manuscrits catalans de l'Edat Moderna, no. 2242.
- [84] Juan Manuel ABASCAL, Rosario CEBRIÁN. *Manuscritos sobre antigüedades de la Real Academia de la Historia*. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid 2005, p. 197.
- [85] Raimon GRAELLS I FABREGAT. 'Dactyliothecæ Cataloniae'. *El coleccionisme de glíptica a Catalunya abans de 1900*. Edicions de la Universitat, Lleida 2011, pp. 73, 94-95, 113-177 (for Elias and Sicardo, see pp. 134-135).
- [86] Borja QUEROL I DE QUADRAS. 'Pròsper de Bofarull, bibliòfil: Els manuscrits de genealogia i heràldica de Pròsper de Bofarull a la Biblioteca de Catalunya'. *Paratge. Quaderns d'Estudis de Genealogia, Heràldica, Sigillografia i Nobiliària*, 29 (2016), pp. 157-83.
- [87] M. DEL VAL GONZÁLEZ DE LA PEÑA. 'La enseñanza de la paleografía en España. Los orígenes y las primeras cátedras'. *Excavando papeles. Indagaciones arqueológicas en los archivos españoles*. Ed. Joaquín M. GÓMEZ-PANTOJA. Aache ediciones, Guadalajara 2004, pp. 43-71.
- [88] Francisco DE BOFARULL Y SANS. 'La heráldica en la filigrana del papel. Memoria leída en la sesión ordinaria celebrada por la Real Academia de Buenas Letras en el día 26 de mayo de 1899'. *Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 7 (1901), pp. 485-56.
- [89] Francisco DE BOFARULL Y SANS. *Apuntes paleográficos para uso de los alumnos de la Escuela especial del Notariado areglado por los profesores de la Academia Paleográfica de Barcelona*. Tipografía Española, Barcelona 1890.
- [90] Sebastià RUSCALLEDA I GALLART. *Francesc Piferrer i Montells: notícia d'un lloretenc al Madrid del segle XIX*. Ajuntament de Lloret de Mar, Lloret de Mar 1997.
- [91] Francisco PIFERRER. *Tratado de Heráldica y Blasón*. Imprenta de Repullés, Madrid 1853 (new edition: *El Libro de Oro*, Madrid 1858); Francisco PIFERRER. *Diccionario de la ciencia heráldica de armas y armaduras antiguas, de cruces y condecoraciones españolas y de las órdenes militares y de caballería españolas y extranjeras [sic]*. Impr. de Luis García, Madrid 1861.
- [92] Francisco PIFERRER. *Nobiliario de los reinos y señoríos de España*. 7 vols., Eusebio Aguado, Madrid 1856-1861.
- [93] Onofre ESQUERDO. *Nobiliario Valenciano*. Ed. José MARTÍNEZ ORTÍZ. Biblioteca Valenciana, Valencia 2001.
- [94] 'Bover de Rosselló, Joaquim Maria'. *Gran Enciclopèdia de Mallorca*. Ed. Miquel DOLÇ I DOLÇ. Promomallorca, Palma 1989-2005, II, pp. 240-241.
- [95] Joaquín María BOVER. *Nobiliario mallorquín dedicado a la Reina Nuestra Señora*. Pedro José Gelabert, Palma 1850.
- [96] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- [97] *Bibliografía histórica de Cataluña. Preliminares. Numismática. Epigrafía. Colecciones diplomáticas. Sigilografía, por don Antonio Elías de Molins, jefe de cuarto grado del Cuerpo de archiveros, bibliotecarios y archeólogos*. Librería de Victoriano Suarez, Madrid 1902, pp. 64-65.
- [98] Carmen CRESPO NOGUEIRA. 'Los primeros cien años del Archivo Histórico Nacional (1866-1966)'. *RABM*, 73 (1966), pp. 295-297; Luis García de Valdeavellano, 'Vida y obra de D. Tomás Muñoz y Romero (1814-1867)'. *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia (BRAH)*, 163 (1968), pp. 89-142 (reissued in *Seis semblanzas de historiadores españoles*. Universidad de Sevilla, Seville 1978, pp. 7-71, portrait); Rafael Gibert, 'Tomás Muñoz y Romero (1814-1867)'. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 6 (1969), pp. 563-574.
- [99] Amédée PAGÈS. 'Notice sur la vie et les travaux de Joseph Tastu'. *Revue des langues romanes*, 4th series, 2, no. 32 (1888), pp. 57-76 and 127-145. For the passages transcribed: pp. 73-75.
- [100] About Botet, see Joaquim NADAL I FARRERAS. 'Joaquim Botet i Sisó. Girona 1846-1917'. *Revista de Girona*, 75 (1976), pp. 197-201; Miquel CRUSAFONT I SABATER. 'Vida i obra de J. Botet i Sisó'. *Obra numismàtica esparsa i inèdita de Joaquim Botet i Sisó*. Ed. Miquel CRUSAFONT I SABATER. Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona 1997, pp. 11-48; Miquel CRUSAFONT I SABATER. 'Noves dades sobre J. Botet i Sisó i el seu entorn'. *Acta Numismàtica*, 28 (1998), pp. 7-28; Ramon ALBERCH I FUGUERAS and Josep QUER I CARBONELL. *Joaquim Botet i Sisó, del catalanisme al nacionalisme*. Columna, Barcelona 1998; Elvis MALLORQUÍ GARCIA. 'Joaquim Botet i Sisó, historiador, i la comarca de la Selva'. *Quaderns de la Selva*, 29 (2017), pp. 7-23.
- [101] Joaquim TREMOLEDA TRILLA. 'Botet i Sisó i Empúries'. *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, 58 (2017), pp. 45-70.
- [102] Joaquim BOTET I SISÓ. 'Notícia del volum tercer del *Tratado de las monedas labradas en el Principado de Cataluña* por el Dr Josep Salat'. *Bulletí de la Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona*, 7 (1914), pp. 1-22.
- [103] *Obra numismàtica esparsa i inèdita de Joaquim Botet i Sisó*. Ed. Miquel CRUSAFONT I SABATER, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona (1997), pp. 66-67.
- [104] Joaquim BOTET I SISÓ. 'Sello de D. Ramon de Cabrera'. *Obra numismàtica esparsa i inèdita de Joaquim Botet i Sisó*. Ed. Miquel CRUSAFONT I SABATER, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona 1997, pp. 411-14.
- [105] Joaquim BOTET I SISÓ. 'Nota sobre un segell de plom del convent de la Santíssima Trinitat de València'. *Obra numismàtica esparsa i inèdita de Joaquim Botet i Sisó*. Ed. Miquel CRUSAFONT I SABATER, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona 1997, pp. 415-17.
- [106] Arxiu Municipal de Girona, Fons Joaquim Botet i Sisó.
- [107] *Exhibition Universelle de 1900. Catalogue officiel illustré de l'Exhibition retrospective de l'art français des origines à*

1800. Lemerrier, Ludovic Baschet, Paris 1900, pp. 264, 308, and guide-map on the back cover.
- [108] Ramón GRAU, Marina LÓPEZ *et al.* *Exposició Universal de Barcelona. Llibre del centenari, 1888-1988*. Comissió Ciutadana per a la Commemoració del Centenari de l'Exposició Universal de Barcelona, l'Avenç, Barcelona 1988.
- [109] Joaquín Ciervo. *Historial del Palacio de Bellas Artes*. Viuda de R. Tobella, Barcelona 1943
- [110] FRANCISCO BOFARULL Y SANS. *Los códices, diplomas e impresos en la Exposición Universal de Barcelona de 1888*. Tipo Litografía de Busquets y Vidal, Barcelona 1890.
- [111] Bartolomé FERRÁ Y PERELLÓ. *Instalación del Museo arqueológico luliano en la Exposición Universal de Barcelona*. Pedro J. Gelabert, Palma de Mallorca 1888 (= *Boletín de la Sociedad arqueológica luliana*, 76-77, April 1888), pp. 5-8; *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana*, 10 January 1888, p. 194; *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana*, 10 May 1888, pp. 257-58. The vitrine is reproduced in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana*, II (10 July 1888), plate XLIX.
- [112] Ignasi DE SOLÀ-MORALES RUBIÓ. *L'Exposició Internacional de Barcelona 1914-1929: Arquitectura i ciutat*. Fira de Barcelona, Barcelona 1985; M. CARMEN GRANDAS. *L'Exposició internacional de Barcelona de 1929*. Els llibres de la frontera, Barcelona 1988.
- [113] Historically, it is interesting to recall that the prehistory section was prepared by Pere Bosch-Gimpera in conjunction with Josep de C. Serra i Ràfols: Pere BOSCH-GIMPERA. *Exposición internacional de Barcelona 1929. El arte en España. Guía de la sección España primitiva del Museo del Palacio Nacional*. Herma, Barcelona 1929.
- [114] *Exposición internacional de Barcelona 1929-1930. El arte en España. Palacio Nacional*. Barcelona 1929. That same year, this tentative 482-page guide, the third edition, was soon replaced by a 764-page volume revised by the eminent Manuel Gómez Moreno (for the seals: pp. 354-365, 471).
- [115] *Catálogo histórico y bibliográfico de la Exposición internacional de Barcelona*. Ed. Duque DE BERWICK Y ALBA. II, Tipografía de Archivos Olózaga, Madrid 1931, pp. 230-296, no. 464-645; II, Tipografía de Archivos Olózaga, Madrid, 1933, p. 1-4, no. 646-54.
- [116] Ferran DE SAGARRA. *Sigillografia...cit.*, III, 1932, p. 3, no. 2973.
- [117] Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. 'Catolicisme i nacionalisme. El primer manual català d'arqueologia'. *Quaderns d'Estudis Medievals*, VII (1988), pp. 7-21; Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. 'Reflexions sobre el context i la recepció de les *Nocions d'arqueologia sagrada catalana* de Josep Gudiol a inicis del segle XX'. *Josep Gudiol i Cunill, pioner en la Història de l'Art a Catalunya*, Jornada Museu Episcopal de Vic, 25 October 2013. *Quaderns del Museu Episcopal de Vic*, VII (2014), pp. 37-50.
- [118] Jean-Auguste Brutails. 'Textes réunis par Philippe ARAGUAS à la suite des journées d'étude des 17 et 18 juin 2011'. *Revue Archéologique de Bordeaux*, 105, 2014.
- [119] Joseph GUDIOL Y CUNILL. *Nocions de arqueologia sagrada catalana*. Vidua de R. Anglada, Vic 1902, pp. 312-313.
- [120] Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. 'Eduard Junyent i Subirà'. *Personenlexikon zur Christlichen Archäologie. Forscher und Persönlichkeiten vom 16. bis zum 21. Jahrhundert*. Ed. Stefan HEID and Martin DENNERT, Schnell und Steiner, Regensburg 2012, I, pp. 694-95.
- [121] Eduard JUNYENT. 'El sello inédito del conde Bernat Tal-laferro'. *Destino*, 1772 (18 September 1971), p. 19; taken up again in Catalan in *Estudis d'història i art (segles IX-XX)*. Patronat d'Estudis Osonencs, Vic 2001, pp. 145-47.
- [122] One example: Antoni DURAN I SANPERE. 'El segell municipal de Cervera'. *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, 10 (1917-1918), pp. 183-193.
- [123] Francesc CARRERAS I CANDI. 'Discurs presidencial del curs 1922-1923 [La Heràldica catalana]'. *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 11 (1923-1924), pp. 25-31, 49-61.
- [124] Fèlix DOMÈNECH I ROURA. *Nobiliari general català de llinatges. Catalunya, València, Mallorca, Rosselló*. 3 vols., Montaner y Simon, Barcelona 1923-1928.
- [125] Pere F. PUIGDERRAJOLS I JARQUE. 'Disseny heràldic. Observacions i suggeriments al Nobiliari general català de Fèlix Domènech i Roura', *Paratge. Quaderns d'Estudis de Genealogia, Heràldica, Sigillografia i Nobiliària*, 7 (1996), pp. 65-83.
- [126] *Ensenyes nacionals de Catalunya. Estudi històric per Lluís Domènech i Montaner i Fèlix Domènech i Roura*. Costa Brava, Barcelona 1936; new edition (with an introduction by Martí DE RIQUER. 'Observacions sobre heràldica catalana'). Generalitat de Catalunya, Editorial 92, Barcelona 1995 (Som i Serem Collection, 8).
- [127] *Pau Font de Rubinat: Reus, 1860-1948: vida i actuacions d'un bibliòfil catalanista*. Exhibition catalogue. Ed. Pere ANGUERA. Museu Comarcal Salvador Vilaseca, Reus 1997.
- [128] Fèlix DOMÈNECH I ROURA. *Nobiliari general... cit.*, prologue.
- [129] His personal graphic collection is conserved at the Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona and the Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona (AHCB3-260/5D.16).
- [130] Marià BAIG I ALEU. 'Joaquim Botet i Sisó i les il·lustracions del volum Província de Girona'. *Revista de Girona*, 210 (2002), pp. 42-47.
- [131] Francesc CARRERAS I CANDI. 'Discurs presidencial del curs 1922-1923 [La Heràldica catalana]'. *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 11 (1923-1924), pp. 25-31, 49-61.
- [132] The most comprehensive biography of him is the one by Eva SERRA I PUIG. *Ferran de Sagarra i de Siscar. Semblança biogràfica*. Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona, 2005. Ferran Soldevila published a brief essay on him in 1940, which has now been reissued: 'L'historiador i erudit Ferran de Sagarra i de Siscar'. Ferran SOLDEVILA. *Noms propis*. Barcelonesa d'Edicions, Barcelona 1994, pp. 115-21. One unpublished text by Ferran Soldevila on Ferran de Sagarra, read at the plenary session of the Insti-

- tut d'Estudis Catalans on 12 June 1954, on the centennial of Sagarra's birth, is conserved in the Archive of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans: Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. 'Un text inèdit de Ferran Soldevila sobre Ferran de Sagarra i la sigil·lografia catalana medieval (1954)'. *Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics*, 33, 2022, at press. For his family milieu, see Josep Maria DE SAGARRA. *Memòries*. Edicions 62, La Caixa, MOLC Collection, Barcelona 1981 (first edition: Aedos, Barcelona 1954).
- [133] Jordi VIDAL. 'La tasca arqueològica de Ferran de Sagarra i de Siscar'. *Revista d'Arqueologia de Ponent*, 26 (2016), pp. 97-109, with a bibliography of the archaeological works published by Ferran de Sagarra.
- [134] Pere BOSCH GIMPERA. 'El donatiu de Puig Castellar, per D. Ferran de Sagarra a l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans'. *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, (1915-1920), pp. 593-595.
- [135] *Ibid.*, p. 107.
- [136] Ferran DE SAGARRA. *Sigil·lografia catalana. Inventari, descripció i estudi dels segells de Catalunya* (3 vols. text, 2 vols. illustrations). Barcelona, Estampa d'Henrich i C<sup>a</sup>, 1916-1932.
- [137] See the bibliography that he published in 1910: Ferran DE SAGARRA Y SISCAR, 'Bibliografía sigilográfica espanyola'. *Revue Internationale de Sigillographie*, 1-2 (1910), pp. 45-48. See, too, Josep TRENCHS ODENA. 'Ferran de Sagarra. La colecció sigil·logràfica y la premsa espanyola (1888-1912) con un apéndice bibliográfico de Sigilografía'. *Cuadernos de Historia Económica de Catalunya*, 10 (1973), pp. 9-45.
- [138] *Importancia de la Sigilografía como ciencia auxiliar de la Historia. Memoria leída en la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona el día 15 de marzo de 1902 por el académico de número don Fernando de Sagarra y de Siscar*. Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de la Caridad, Barcelona 1902, excerpt from *Memories de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 8 (1901), pp. 177-94: p. 18.
- [139] The countless articles that appeared in the press in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have been compiled and transcribed by Josep TRENCHS ÒDENA, 'Ferran de Sagarra'... op. cit.
- [140] Rosa SESER PÉREZ. 'Roc Chabàs. Documentar i difondre la història (Dènia 1844-1912). I centenari de la mort'. *Aguaits* (IECMA Marina Alta), 31 (2012), pp. 9-41.
- [141] Ferran DE SAGARRA, *Sigil·lografia catalana*... cit., p. XIX-XX.
- [142] Ferran DE SAGARRA. *Sigil·lografia catalana*... cit., pp. XX-XXI.
- [143] Ferran DE SAGARRA. *Sigil·lografia catalana*... cit., p. XXII.
- [144] Ferran DE SAGARRA, *Sigil·lografia catalana*... cit., p. 15.
- [145] FRANCISCO GRACIA ALONSO. *La construcción de una identidad nacional. Arqueología, patrimonio y nacionalismo en Cataluña (1850-1939)*. Edicions Universitat, Barcelona 2018, p. 495.
- [146] Josep MASSOT I MUNTANER. 'Rafael Patxot, mecenes de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans'. *Rigor científic, catalanitat indefallent. Rafael Patxot i Jubert (1872-1964)*. Ed. Ma-
- nuel CASTELLET. Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona 2014, pp. 39-57: p. 52.
- [147] Manuel Bassa was a prominent heraldist who published many studies, including *Orígens de l'escut català* (1961) and *El veritable escut de la ciutat de Barcelona* (1964), in defence of the composition based on four royal pales, not two, in the second and third quadrants; *Els comtes-reis catalans. Història i heràldica de la casa de Barcelona* (1964), *L'escut de Tarragona* (1966), *Els escuts heràldics dels pobles de Catalunya* (1968) and *L'escut de Santa Coloma de Queralt* (1973). See, too, his *Tractat general d'heràldica* (1973), where he examines the history of coats-of-arms and provides rules for forming and interpreting them. He contributed to the newsletter of the Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics, participated in the inter-county assemblies of scholars and wrote articles on topics related to heraldry for numerous journals.
- [148] Germain DEMAY. *Le costume au Moyen Âge d'après les sceaux*. D. Dumoulin, Paris 1880 (new edition: Berger-Levrault, Paris 1978, with additions by Jean-Bernard de Vaivre).
- [149] Martí DE RIQUER. *L'arnès del cavaller. Armes i armadures catalanes medievals*. Ariel, Barcelona 1968, p. 14 (new edition: La Magrana, Barcelona 2011).
- [150] Some examples: Marta SERRANO COLL. 'Iconografía de genero: los sellos de las reinas de Aragón en la Edad Media (siglos XII-XVI)'. *Emblemata*, XII, 2006, pp. 15-52; Marta SERRANO COLL. 'Monedas y sellos como modelos figurativos. Ejemplos de transposición iconográfica en la Corona de Aragón'. *Arte y Memoria. XVII Congreso Nacional de Historia del Arte (Barcelona 2008)*. Ed. Mireia FREIXA. Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona 2017, pp. 898-911; Marta SERRANO COLL. 'Influencias artísticas europeas en la cancillería de la Corona de Aragón: algunos ejemplos de sigillografía'. *El intercambio artístico entre los reinos hispanos y las cortes europeas de la Baja Edad Media*. Universidad de León, León, 2009, pp. 295-308; Marta SERRANO COLL. *Effigies regis Aragonum. La imagen figurativa del rey de Aragón en la Edad Media*. Institución Fernando el Católico, Zaragoza 2015. See, too, Jordi CASANOVAS. 'Dues notes d'epigrafià hebraica medieval, Un nou segell amb inscripció hebraica procedent de Tàrrega'. *Tamid*, 2 (1998-1990), pp. 191-197 and 200.
- [151] One example among the different studies that Josep Trenchs Òdena has devoted to these topics: Josep TRENCHS. 'La aposición del sello real en los documentos de Jaime I: unes notes'. *Medievalia*, 10 (1992), pp. 437-449.
- [152] I would like to thank the following persons for their cooperation and assistance in answering my inquiries about the state of the sigillography collections in Catalonia and the Catalan Lands: Rosa Maria Aguiló Fiol (Museu de Mallorca), Ester Angulo (Biblioteca i Arxiu de l'Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona), Maria Barceló Crespi (Universitat de les Illes Balears), Carme Berlabé Jové (Museu de Lleida, Diocesa i Comarcal),

- Jusèp Boya Busquets (Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya), Àngels Casanovas Romeu (Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya), Aymat Catafau (Universitat de Perpinyà), Carme Colom Arenas (Societat Arqueològica Lulliana, Palma de Mallorca), Pietro Corrao (Università degli Studi di Palermo), Guillaume Darras (Museu Numismàtic Puig, Perpignan), Antoni Furió (Universitat de València), Carlos Laliena Corbera (Universidad de Zaragoza), Isabel Escandell Proust (Universitat de les Illes Balears), Marie Landelle (Directrice des Patrimoines, Perpignan), Antoni Planas Rosselló (Universitat de les Illes Balears, Societat Arqueològica Lulliana), M. Agnès Pons (Arxiu Capitular de Mallorca), Vicent Pons (Arxiu de la Catedral de València), Magali Rieu (Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales, Perpignan), Maria Gràcia Salvà Picó (Museu de Mallorca), Marta Serrano Coll (Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Tarragona), Marc Sureda i Jubany (Museu Episcopal de Vic), Albert Torra (Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Barcelona) and Albert Velasco (Universitat de Lleida).
- [153] Luca BECCHETTI. 'La politica di tutela del patrimonio sfragistico degli archivi italiani. Bilanci e prospettive'. *Archivi*, IX (2014), pp. 19-24. See, too, Andrea ROVIRA I BORDONAU. 'Els segells de cera i plom. Principals alteracions i tractaments des de la prevenció a la restauració'. *Paratge. Quaderns d'Estudis de Genealogia, Heràldica, Sigillografia i Nobiliària*, 23 (2010), pp. 163-175.
- [154] Bonaventura BASSEGODA I HUGAS. *Colleccionistes, colleccions i museus: episodis de la història del patrimoni artístic de Catalunya*. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Barcelona 2007.
- [155] Antonio Elias DE MOLINS. *Catálogo del Museo provincial de antigüedades de Barcelona*. Imprenta Barcelonesa, Barcelona 1888, p. 228, no. 1455-1456.
- [156] *Ibid.*, p. 438-439, no. 1494-1499.
- [157] Juli Vintró i Casallachs, Barcelona. Juli Vintró was born in Barcelona in around 1863. A fan of history, archaeology, photography, hiking (*excursionisme*), geology and cartography, he became a resident member of the Associació Catalanista d'Excursions Científiques (the forerunner of the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya) in December 1885. He held several posts at the centre, including treasurer after 1893. He died in Barcelona on 22 October 1911.
- [158] Marquise of Dou, Barcelona. Palau de Dou, at number 31, Sant Pere Més Baix, which belonged to the Marquises of Dou until the Civil War: Albert BALCELLS. *Ramon d'Alòs-Moner i de Dou. Semblança biogràfica*. Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona 2003.
- [159] Marqués DE VALLGORNERA. *Breve descripción del archivo de la Casa de Vallgornera*, I Assembla d'Estudis del seu Comtat. Amigos de Besalú y su Condado, Besalú 1968, pp. 149-166.
- [160] Tomás Muñoz y Romero (1814-1867), mentioned above, was an archivist, historian and scholar of the Real Academia de la Historia and the first director of the Archivo Histórico Nacional, created in 1866.
- [161] Ferran de SAGARRA. 'Antics segells dels arquebisbes de Tarragona'. *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensis*, V (1929), pp. 191-206.
- [162] Lluís NICOLAU D'OLWER. *Caliu. Records de mestres i amics*. Institut Català de Cultura, Mexico 1958, pp. 145 and forward.
- [163] 'Visita a les colleccions de D. Ferran de Sagarra y de Sis-car'. *Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de Catalunya*, (1893), pp. 99-100.
- [164] José TRENCHS ÓDENA. 'Ferran de Sagarra'... cit., p. 38.
- [165] Manuel BASSA I ARMENGOL. 'Bisbes de Lleida. La collecció sigillogràfica del Museu Diocesà de Lleida'. *Il·lerda*, 30 (1969/70), pp. 35-69; esp. pp. 35-36.
- [166] Filemón ARRIBAS ARRANZ. *Sellos de placa de las cancellerías regias castellanas*. Cuesta Valladolid 1941; Guillermo REDONDO VEINTEMILLAS, Alberto MONTANER FRUTOS. 'Sobre el modo de aposición de los sellos de placa: la tira de anclaje en documentos aragoneses del siglo XVI', *Emblemata*, 10 (2004), pp. 443-59; M. Victoria JARA GUERRERO. 'Los sellos de placa'. *Archivo Secreto*, 4 (2008), pp. 274-81.
- [167] S. A. (Angel ALLENDE). *Timbres españoles 1969*. Documentos antiguos, Barcelona 1968.
- [168] See the illustration of a page of ink seals of the colleges of scribes from the nineteenth century in María CARMONA DE LOS SANTOS. *Bibliografía...* cit., p. 109.
- [169] *La Comissió de Monuments Històrics i Artístics de la Província de Girona (1844-1981): catàleg del fons documental*. Ed. Josep MATAS I BALAGUER. Generalitat de Catalunya, Barcelona 2006.
- [170] *Som cultura. La peça del museu, museus, patrimoni*. 12 December 2017 (digital version), with an illustration of the album.
- [171] Joan MORA CASTELLÀ, Claudi OMAR I BARRERA, Josep PUIG I CADAFALCH. *Tríptic de biografies del mataroní illustre Dr. En Terenci Thos i Codina Mestre en Gai Saber*. Gràfiques Vilá, Mataró 1923; Jaume VELLVEHÍ I ALTIMIRA. *Terenci Thos i Codina (Mataró, 1841-1903) un home de la Renaixença*. Caixa d'Estalvis Laietana, Mataró 2003.
- [172] *Memorias de la Real Academia de Ciencias y Artes de Barcelona*. Third era, XIII, no. 10, p. 192-202, *Sesión pública extraordinaria del día 16 de diciembre de 1916 en Honor del Académico Difunto Excmo. Sr. D. Silvino Thos y Codina*, (Barcelona, Sobs. de López Robert, 1917), *Memoria necrológica por el académico Dr. D. Eugenio Mascareñas y Hernández; Manuel Cusachs i Corredor, Silví Thos i Codina* (Mataró, 16 May 1843, Barcelona, 15 July 1911). *Fulls del Museu Arxiu de Santa Maria*, 106 (2013), pp. 33-41.
- [173] Silvino THOS Y CODINA. *De Comillas a París (agosto a octubre de 1899)*. A. López Robert, Barcelona 1890 (2nd edition).
- [174] Enric Bertran, expanded text after the entry corresponding to the *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana* (vol. 3, p. 302), written by Agustí Duran i Sanpere, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Societat Catalana de Geografia, Directori de socis i sòcies, de col·laboradors i col·laboradores.



- [175] Joan SAMSÓ. *La cultura catalana: entre la clandestinitat i la represa pública (1939-1951)*. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona 1995, II, pp. 346-47.
- [176] Jordi VIDAL. 'La tasca arqueològica de Ferran de Sagarra'... op. cit., p. 101, note 17.
- [177] Francisco RODRIGUEZ MARIN. 'Guía histórica y descriptiva de los Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos Arqueológicos de España'. *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, (1916), pp. 649-55.
- [178] Ramon PLANES I ALBETS, Laura PAGAROLAS I SABATÉ; Pere PUIG I USTRELL. *L'Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó. Un nou perfil per a l'Arxiu Reial de Barcelona*. Associació d'Arxivers de Catalunya, Barcelona 2003, p. 73.
- [179] Jordi CASANOVAS I MIRÒ. *El Museu de l'Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona. Dades per a una història*. Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres, Barcelona 2010; notice by Francisco GRACIA ALONSO. *Pyrenae*, 41 (2010), pp. 253-256.
- [180] Ferran DE SAGARRA. 'Un donatiu de segells del senyor Joaquim Cabot i Rovira'. *Butlletí dels Museus d'Art de Barcelona*, IV, 36 (1934), pp. 145-153; Albert ESTRADA RIUS. 'Alfons el Liberal, segell de cera vermella, 1327-1336'. *Cinc segles de numismàtica catalana*. Exhibition commemorating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Gabinet Numismàtic de Catalunya, from 14 June to 4 May 2008. Ed. Marta CAMPO and Albert ESTRADA RIUS. Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona 2007, p. 137.
- [181] Pere SERRA, Leticia DARNA. *El fons de segells pendents de pergamins de la Biblioteca de Catalunya*. Exhibition at the Biblioteca de Catalunya, from 15 January to 14 February 2018, exhibition brochure-catalogue.
- [182] Jordi RUBIÓ I BALAGUER. 'Un llegat a l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans. El donatiu Sagarra a la Biblioteca de Catalunya'. *Sobre biblioteques i biblioteconomia, Obres de Rubió i Balaguer, XII*. Generalitat de Catalunya, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona 1995, p. 126.
- [183] Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona. Private collections. Personal collections. AHCB3-302/5D57. Collection catalogue. 5D57 Sagarra Siscar, Ferran de, Barcelona, 2003.
- [184] The bibliographic list by categories of the entries by author are found at both the Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres and the collective catalogue of the CCUC consortium: Sagarra i de Siscar, Ferran de, 1853-1939; by subject: sigillography.
- [185] On archaeological collecting in the Girona region in the early twentieth century: Isabel VALLBÉ ALBIOL. 'Manuel Cazorro Ruiz, pioner d'Empúries i col·leccionista'. *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, 46 (2005), pp. 367-405.
- [186] Joaquim BOTET I SISÓ. 'Sello de D. Ramon de Cabrera'. *Obra numismàtica esparsa i inèdita de Joaquim Botet i Sisó*. Ed. Miquel CRUSAFONT I SABATER, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona 1997, pp. 411-14.
- [187] Many of these moulds are reproduced, with the indication 'Girona, Museu Arqueològic', in Ferran de Sagarra's monumental *Sigillografia Catalana*.
- [188] *Som cultura. La peça del museu, museus, patrimoni*. 12 December 2017 (digital version).
- [189] *La formació de colleccions diocesanes a Catalunya. Lleida, Museu de Lleida, diocesà i comarcal*. Ed. Alberto VELASCO and Marc SUREDA. Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida 2017; Xavier BARRAL I ALTET. 'Els eclesiàstics arqueòlegs a Catalunya'. *Thesaurus. L'art als Bisbats de Catalunya 1000-1800. Estudis*. Fundació Caixa de Pensions, Barcelona 1985, pp. 77-103.
- [190] Manuel BASSA I ARMENGOL. 'Bisbes de Lleida'... cit., pp. 35-36.
- [191] Manuel BASSA I ARMENGOL. "Bisbes de Lleida"... cit., pp. 35-36.
- [192] Magdalena CANELLAS ANOZ. 'Contribución al estudio sigilográfico de la Paheria de Lerida (1410-1412)'. *Actas del primer coloquio de sigilografía...* cit., pp. 317-22. See, too, Agustín PRIM Y TARRAGÓ, *Datos i aclaraciones para la historia de los sellos municipales de la provincia de Lérida*. Tipografía de la Casa Provincial de Misericordia, Lleida 1978.
- [193] *Arxiu Històric de Tarragona. Butlletí informatiu*, 9, July 2006, p. 4; Isabel COMPANYS I FARRERONS. *Catàleg de la collecció de pergamins de l'Ajuntament de Tarragona dipositats a l'Arxiu Històric de Tarragona*. Arxiu Històric, Tarragona 2009.
- [194] Jaume BARRACHINA. 'Lipsanoteques de Sant Pere de Casserres, Santa Eugènia de Berga i Sant Julià de Vilatorrada'. *Museu Episcopal de Vic, guia de les colleccions*. Museu Episcopal, Vic 2007, pp. 250-53.
- [195] Ernesto FERNÁNDEZ-XESTA Y VÁZQUEZ. 'Dos sellos del linaje de Cabrera en el siglo XIII: El sello de Doña Sancha, Vizcondesa de Cabrera 1299. El sello de Don Fernando Fernández 1222'. *Actas del primer coloquio de sigilografía...* cit., pp. 329-340 (for the seal from Vic, pp. 329-36).
- [196] Jaime GOMEZ DE CASO Y ZURIAGA. 'Sellos reales en cera en el Archivo histórico provincial de Teruel'. *Teruel. Revista del Instituto de Estudios Turolenses*, 60 (1978), pp. 69-90.
- [197] The sigillography section of the Archivo Histórico Nacional conserves a series of manuscripts by L. Aroz Pascual on the seals of the Archivo de Santa Maria la Mayor (El Pilar), the cathedral of Zaragoza and other locations in Aragón: María CARMONA DE LOS SANTOS. *Bibliografía...* cit., pp. 24-25.
- [198] On this fascinating figure, see, for example, Miguel Ángel CATALÁ GORGUES, Susana VEGA BARBENA. *Valencia 1900, el legado fotográfico de J. Martínez Aloy*. Ajuntament de València, València 2008.
- [199] José MARTÍNEZ ALOY. *Los prelados de Valencia. Sigilografía*. F. Domènech, València 1887.
- [200] Antonio DE LA TORRE Y DEL CERRO. 'La colección sigilográfica de la catedral de Valencia'. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 1 (1915), pp. 103-110, 142-151; 2 (1916), pp. 19-29; 3 (1917), pp. 11-25; 4 (1918), pp. 81-115; 5 (1919), pp. 50-64; 6 (1920), pp. 52-64; 7 (1921), pp. 72-103; 8 (1922), pp. 112-152 (joint edition, València, Antonio López y Cía, 1925).

- [201] Antonio RUMEU DE ARMAS. 'In memoriam. Don Antonio de la Torre (1878-1966)'. *Hispania*, 26 (1966), pp. 485-96; Luis SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ, 'Don Antonio de la Torre y del Cerro (1878-1966)'. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 3 (1966), pp. 655-662; F. Federico UDINA MARTORELL. 'Un gran maestro que desaparece. Antonio de la Torre y del Cerro (1878-1966)'. *Miscellanea Barcinonensis*, 15 (1967), pp. 1-10; Emilio SÁEZ and Mercè ROSSELL. *Repertorio de Medievalismo Hispánico (1955-1975)*. El Albir, Barcelona 1978, II, pp. 381-82.
- [202] Josep Maria MUÑOZ LLORET. *Jaume Vicens i Vives (1910-1960). Una biografia intel·lectual*. Edicions 62, Barcelona 1997; Josep CLARA, Pere CORNELLÀ and Francesc MARINA. *Epistolari de Jaume Vicens Vives. II. Cercle d'Estudis Històrics i Socials*, Girona 1998, pp. 471-92.
- [203] María CARMONA DE LOS SANTOS. *Bibliografía... cit.*, pp. 31-32; María Dolores MATEU IBARS. 'Sigilografía valenciana'. *Primer congreso de historia del País Valenciano. Celebrado en Valencia del 14 al 18 de abril de 1971. 2. Prehistoria, Edades Antigua y Media*. Universitat de València, Valencia 1980, pp. 905-908; Felipe MATEU I LLOPIS. 'El "Rex Hungarie" y el "Rex Valencie": sincronismos monetarios y sigilográficos: en torno de doña Violante de Hungría'. *Jaime I y su época. X Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. 3-5: Economía y sociedad, Mundo cultural, Historiografía y Fuentes*. Universidad de Zaragoza, Zaragoza 1982, pp. 545-55; María Luisa CABANES CATALÁ, Ramón BALDAQUÍ ESCANDELL, Verónica MATEO RIPOLL. 'Sigilografía valenciana en la época de Alfonso el Magnánimo: estado de la cuestión'. *XVI Congresso Internazionale di Storia della Corona d'Aragona: la Corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo; i modelli politico-istituzionali, la circolazione degli uomini, delle idee, delle merci; gli influssi sulla società e sul costume (Naples, Caserta, Ischia, 18-24 September 1997)*. Paparo Edizioni, Naples 2001, II, pp. 99-110. I also want to recall María Luisa CABANES CATALÁ, Pilar DÍAZ. 'Papel y sigilografía'. *IV Congreso Nacional de Historia del Papel en España*, Asociación Hispánica de Historiadores del Papel, 2001, pp. 45-72.
- [204] María de los Desamparados CABANES PECOURT. 'Notas para el estudio de la sigilografía episcopal valentina de los siglos XIII y XIV'. *Saitabi*, XVII (1967), pp. 37-41; María de los Desamparados CABANES PECOURT. 'Sigilografía y hagiografía: los sellos y su aportación a la iconografía hagiográfica'. *Hagiografía y archivos de la iglesia santoral hispano-mozárabe en las diócesis de España*. Actas del XVIII congreso de la Asociación de Archiveros de la Iglesia en España (Orense, 9-13 September 2002). Ed. Agustín HEVIA BALLINA. *Memoria Ecclesiae*, 25 (2004), II, pp. 613-51; María Luisa CABANES CATALÁ. 'Sigilografía, heráldica y epigrafía como auxiliares de la biografía eclesiástica'. *Biografía eclesiástica y archivos de la iglesia santoral hispano-mozárabe en las diócesis de España*. Actas del XX congreso de la Asociación de Archiveros de la Iglesia en España (Málaga, 13-18 September 2004). Ed. Agustín HEVIA BALLINA. *Memoria Ecclesiae*, 29 (2006), pp. 471-94.
- [205] Ricard URGELL FERNÁNDEZ. *Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca. Guia*. Conselleria d'Educació i Cultura, Palma de Mallorca 2000.
- [206] *Museo Arqueológico Diocesano. Estudi de l'àlbum de Rafael Ysasi*. Ed. Rosa Maria AGUILÓ FIOL and Joana Maria PALOU SAMPOL. Museu de Mallorca, Conselleria Cultura, Palma 2018 (El Fons documental del Museu de Mallorca, III): I, pp. 36-37, II, pp. 31-34. Plate XXXII presents the list of seals displayed, nos. 1073-1109.
- [207] Bartolomé FERRÁ Y PERELLÓ. *Instalación del Museo arqueológico luliano en la Exposición Universal de Barcelona*. Pedro J. Gelabert, Palma de Mallorca 1888. *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana*, April 1888, p. 8; *La Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana: els primers 25 anys*. Exhibition (Palma de Mallorca, 19 November 2020 – 16 January 2021).
- [208] Joan C. DE NICOLÁS MASCARÓ. 'La matriu d'un segell perdut a Menorca a finals del segle XIII pel cavaller de nissaga empordanesa Pere Saverdera o un personatge homònim'. *Centre d'Estudis Locals d'Alaior, Menorca* 2015, pp. 1-7.
- [209] Albert SALSAS, *Revue historique du diocèse de Perpignan*, 3 (1924), p. 182.
- [210] Deposit of the Direction du Patrimoine of the city of Perpignan.
- [211] Antonino SALINAS. 'Sigilli dei Martini e della regina Maria'. *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, (1887), p. 262; Giuseppe LA MANTIA. 'Su l'uso della registrazione in cancelleria del regno di Sicilia dai Normanni a Federico d'Aragona (1130-1337)'. *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, (1906), pp. 197-219; Giuseppe LA MANTIA. 'Capitoli angioini sul diritto di sigillo per la Cancelleria regia per la Sicilia posteriori al 1272'. *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, (1907), pp. 421-52; Giuseppe LA MANTIA. 'Recensione a F. Sagarra, Notes referentes als sugells del rei Martí, Barcelona 1911'. *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, 35 (1910), pp. 477-81; *Real Cancelleria di Sicilia. Inventario sommario*. Archivio di Stato di Palermo, Palermo 1950; Paolo COLLURA. *La Cancelleria dei re aragonesi di Sicilia*. Officina di studi medievali. Palermo, no date [1983]; Pietro BURGARELLA. *Nozioni di diplomazia siciliana*, Palermo 1991; Salvatore FODALE. *I quaterni del Sigillo della Cancelleria del Regno di Sicilia (1394-1396)*. Associazione Mediterranea, Palermo 2008.
- [212] Giuseppe COSENTINO. *Elenco delle scritture e dei sigilli esposti nella bacheca della seconda stanza della biblioteca*. Boccone del Povero, Palermo 1892.
- [213] The images of the parchments in the Sicilian archives, including the chapterhouse archives, can be consulted in the Ursino-Recupero di Catania library, on the website of the ACTA project.
- [214] Aldo MARTINI. 'La raccolta dei sigilli dell'ASDPa'. *Storia & Arte nella scrittura. L'Archivio Storico Diocesano di Palermo a 10 anni dalla riapertura al pubblico (1997-2007)*. Ed. Giovanni TRAVAGLIATO. Edizioni Centro Studi Aurora Onlus, Palermo 2008, pp. 455-65; the seal is reproduced on the museum's website.

- [215] Antonino Salinas (1841-1914) was an illustrious archaeologist and historian, a main player in the cultural life of Palermo in the late nineteenth century and the director of the archaeology museum, where he organised the collections of medals and coins.
- [216] Marcello MOSCONE. *Notai e giudici cittadini dai documenti originali palermitani di età aragonese (1282-1291)*. Archivio di Stato di Palermo, Palermo 2008
- [217] Antonino SALINAS. 'Il sigillo d'oro di Federico III d'Aragona'. *Archivio storico siciliano*, 1883, pp. 248-50.
- [218] For example: Vivien PRIGENT. 'La Sicile de Constant II: l'apport des sources sigillographiques'. *La Sicile byzantine de Byzance à l'Islam*. Actes des journées d'études (Paris, October 2009). Ed. Annliese NEF and Vivien PRIGENT. De Boccard, Paris 2010, pp. 157-188; Vivien PRIGENT. 'L'usage du sceau de plomb dans les régions italiennes de tradition byzantine au haut Moyen Âge'. *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIIIe-XIIIe siècle)*. I. *La fabrique documentaire*. Ed. Jean-Marie MARTIN, Annick PETERS-CUSTOT and Vivien PRIGENT. École Française de Rome, Rome 2011, pp. 207-40.
- [219] Vivien PRIGENT. 'Des pères et des fils. Note de numismatique sicilienne pour servir à l'histoire du règne de Constantin IV'. *Le saint, le moine et le paysan. Mélanges d'histoire byzantine offerts à Michel Kaplan*. Ed. Olivier DELOUIS, Sophie MÉTIVIER and Paule PAGÈS. Paris 2016, pp. 589-616; Vivien PRIGENT. 'Nouvelle hypothèse à propos des monnaies de bronze à double marque de valeur de l'empereur Constantin IV'. 'Puer Apuliae'. *Mélanges offerts à Jean-Marie Martin*. Ed. Errico CUOZZO, Vincent DÉROCHE, Annick PETERS-CUSTOT and Vivien PRIGENT. Paris 2008, II, pp. 637-54.
- [220] Mirko VAGNONI. 'Dei gratia rex Sicilie'. *Scene d'incoronazione divina nell'iconografia regia normanna*. Federico II University Press, Naples 2017.
- [221] Ambre Vilain, *Matrices de sceaux du Moyen Age*. BnF, Paris, 2014; *Les matrices de sceaux*. Actes de la journée d'étude internationale de la Société française d'héraldique et de sigillographie le 14 octobre 2014. Ed. Jean-Luc CHASSEL and Dominique DELGRANGE. Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art = *Revue française d'héraldique et de sigillographie*, 86 (2016).
- [222] Faustino MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, Elena GÓMEZ PÉREZ. *Matrices de sellos españoles (siglos XII al XVI)*. Ministerio de Cultura, Madrid 1987. See the note by René Gandilhon, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 146 (1988), pp. 424-425.
- [223] Stefan K. KUCZYNSKI. 'Rapport concernant l'enquête sur les matrices de sceaux', *Janus*, 1 (1993), pp. 18-24.
- [224] María CARMONA DE LOS SANTOS. 'Censo de colecciones españolas de matrices de sellos'. *Boletín de la ANABAD (Asociación Nacional de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios, Arqueólogos y Documentalistas)*, 44 (1994), pp. 29-42.
- [225] Many of them were already covered in the opus written by Ferran de Sagarra, who located and described 267 matrices from different civil and Church institutions, most of them from the modern period. With regard to the mediaeval ones, see the work by Faustino MENÉNDEZ PIDAL and ELENA GÓMEZ PÉREZ, *Matrices de sellos...* cit., pp. 14-18.
- [226] María CARMONA DE LOS SANTOS. 'Censo'... cit., pp. 31-34.
- [227] Faustino MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, Elena GÓMEZ PÉREZ, *Matrices...* cit., p. 12. The information on the matrices from Catalan collections are: Museu Arqueològic de Girona, nos. 47, 255, 268; Museu Episcopal de Vic, nos. 26, 48, 78, 139, 162, 216, 257, 258; Museu Diocesà i Comarcal de Solsona, no. 295; Museu Frederic Marès, none; Arxiu Municipal de Cervera, no. 249. Echoing Ferran de Sagarra, the authors also cite some private collections, such as Manuel Andreu, from Barberà, no. 306; Font de Rubinat, from Reus, no. 251; Ramon Gramunt, from Balaguer, no. 254; Juli Vintró, nos. 31, 35, 60 and 80; Sagarra's own collection, no. 250; the Museu Arqueològic Jesuïta de Sant Vicenç de Sarrià, no. 252; and the archive of the cathedral (La Seo) in Zaragoza, no. 241. Two examples of the dispersion of these objects and the need to inventory them: 'Informe referent a la matriu d'un segell de l'Edat Mitjana propietat del Sr Josep Sàlvia'. *Paratge. Quaderns d'Estudis de genealogia, heràldica sigil·lografia i nobiliària*, 20-21 (2008), pp. 245-250; Jaume RIERA I SANS. 'Informe sobre la matriu de segell trobada a Puigverd de Lleida'. *Paratge. Quaderns d'Estudis de genealogia, heràldica sigil·lografia i nobiliària*, 16 (2003), pp. 31-32.

## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Xavier Barral i Altet is member of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, professor emeritus of Mediaeval Art History at the University of Rennes 2 and visiting professor at the University Ca'Foscari of Venice. He is researcher at the Bibliotheca Hertziana-Max Planck Institut für Kunstgeschichte in Rome and at the Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art in Paris. His bibliography has been collected in *Le plaisir de l'art du Moyen Age. Commande, production et réception de l'œuvre d'art. Mélanges en hommage à Xavier Barral i Altet*, Paris, Picard, 2012. Among his most recent works: *En souvenir du roi Guillaume. La broderie de Bayeux. Stratégies narratives et vision médiévale du monde*, Paris, Cerf, 2016; and *Il cantiere romanico di Sainte-Foy de Conques. La ricchezza, i miracoli e le contingenze materiali, dalle fonti testuali alla storia dell'arte* (Dissertationes et monographiae, 12), Zagreb-Motovun 2018.

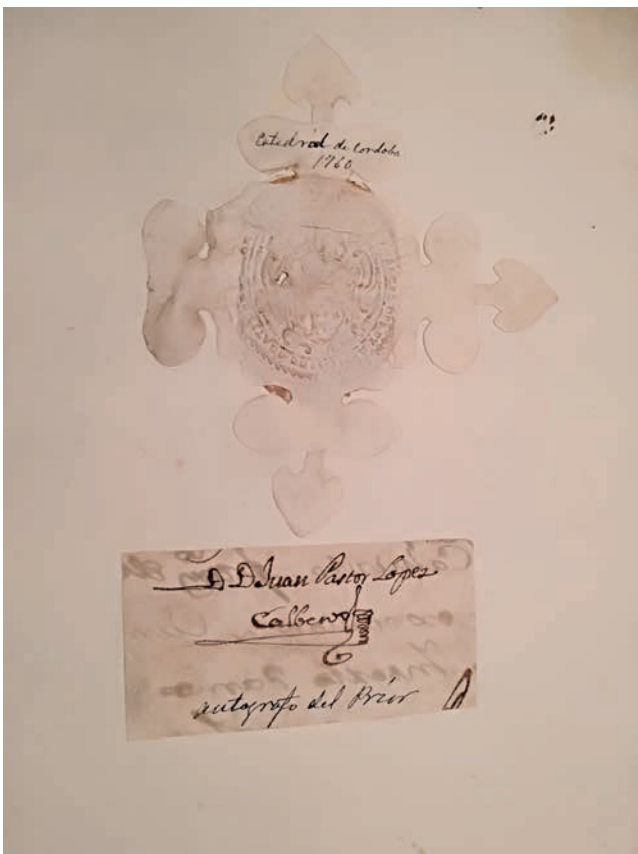
**ADDITIONAL FIGURES**



Barcelona Universal Exposition, 1888, display of the seals of the Societat Arqueològica Iuliana (Butlletí de la Societat, 1888) (p. 30)



Ferran de Sagarra in his office (p. 31)



Maresme, private collection. Nineteenth-century album of seals (p. 35)



Matrix of a seal and counter-seal of the chevalier Pere Saverdera (thirteenth century) found on Menorca (XI Jornades d'història local i patrimoni cultural de Menorca, 2015: Museu Municipal de Ciutadella) (p. 40)