

THE MEDIEVAL AND MODERN INVESTIGATION CENTRE (CIMM). DOCUMENTARY CONTRIBUTIONS

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Date of receipt: 12th of September, 2013
Final date of acceptance: 4th of February, 2014

ABSTRACT

The present article is about the study of the medieval and modern painting in the Crown of Aragon with the documentation located for Centre Modern d'Investigació Medieval (CIMM) of the Universitat Politècnica of València and the Universitat de Lleida. This study includes a total of eighteen documents, ten of which are previously unpublished. The remaining eight were known, but have been revised and completed in the archives and perfectly transcribed again for this publication. Although the first documents date from before 1450, these documents are very important for a full understanding of the stylistic switch to the late Gothic of Flemish influence that began in Valencia in the mid-fifteenth century, and continued until the early decades of the sixteenth. Although many of the documents on Jacomart are very brief, they contribute to a better overall profile of this important artist, painter to King Alfonso V the Magnanimous².

KEY WORDS

Painting, Crown of Aragón, Valencian, Jacomart, Paleography.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Pictura, Corona Aragoniae, Valentia, Jacomart, Paleographia.

The Centre d'Investigació Medieval i Moderna (CIMM) consists of a team of researchers of the Universitat Politècnica de València ("Polytechnic University of Valencia") that collegiately works with the Consolidated Investigation Group of the Generalitat de Catalunya ("Catalan Government") Art i Cultura d'Època Moderna ("Art and Culture of the Modern Age" also known as ACEM) and with the Centre d'Art d'Època Moderna ("Centre of Art of the Modern Age", also known as CAEM) of the University of Lleida.

It's main focus is the study of documentary sources about painters and works of art from the medieval and modern age in the area of the Crown of Aragon. The investigation group consists of a multidisciplinary team composed of paleographers, documentalists, and art historians. This diversity guarantees a rigorous edition of the elaborated documents. In addition, the members have an extensive experience in research, localization and transcription of documents about painting in the mentioned time periods.

On the other hand, and simultaneously, they are not only completing, revising, photographing and comparing *in situ* all the documents that have been published until today (of which there are many incomplete, with transcription errors, confusing misprints and often the use of misguided chronologies). They also thoroughly revised a large part of the elusive bibliographic sources in the world of painting and documentation in general, from the end of the 19th until the 21st century, bearing in mind the new contributions of recent researchers in a special way. This makes it possible for the researcher to have complete and reliable information at his disposal thanks to the database of the CIMM. This information is up to date for the elaborated, discovered and published documents of the Valencian archives (or other archives of the Crown of Aragon) regarding the world of Valencian medieval and modern painting.

The CIMM does not only work in the historical archives, it also covers the cataloging of works of art (mainly paintings, but also miniatures, sculptures, textiles or silverware and goldware) that are now preserved in museums and public, private and religious collections. That's why our researchers are conducting important field work with the aim of obtaining photographs in high resolution and infrared

1. Universitat Politècnica de València: Joan Aliaga, Nuria Ramon, Lluïsa Tolosa; Universitat de Lleida: Ximo Company, Isidre Puig; Universitat de València: Borja Franco; Università degli Studi di Cagliari: Stefania Rusconi.

2. This study has been carried out in the framework of a Project of Investigation I+D+I of the Ministry of Education and Sciences and Innovation of Spain, entitled: *La consolidación de la pintura del Renacimiento en la Corona de Aragón: la extraordinaria influencia del paradigma de Joan de Joanes* (HAR2012-32199), whose main researcher is Dr. Ximo Company, Professor of Art History of the University of Lleida. He also had the support of the international scientific team of the *Centre d'Art d'Època Moderna* (CAEM) and of the *Grup de Recerca Consolidat* ("Consolidated Research Group") of the University of Lleida, recognized by the Departament d'Innovació, Universitats i Empresa de la Generalitat de Catalunya: *Art i Cultura d'Època Moderna* (ACEM) (2009 SGR 348), guided by Professor Company. All of the authors who signed this study belong to CIMM, CAEM and to ACEM; <<http://caem.udl.cat>> for more specific data about each author and each of the three centers. We would like to express our gratitude to Salvador Ferrando Palomares for his help with the revision of the documents that we provide in this study. Used abbreviations: AMV, Arxiu Municipal de València; ARV, Arxiu del Regne de València.



reflectographs with professional high-end cameras that allow obtaining exclusive digital images that have to be processed afterwards for its use in formal, stylistic and technical analysis of works. Regarding the mentioned tasks, the traverse cross of work techniques and methodologies that the CIMM shares with the Technical and Analytical Cabinet of the Centre d'Art d'Època Moderna (CAEM) of the University of Lleida seems to be extraordinarily fertile.

The research activity of the human team of the CIMM has been developing for 25 years in different areas. In 1989 the *Institut Valencià d'Estudis i Investigació*, IVEI ("Valencian Institute of Studies and Investigation"), of the Generalitat Valenciana lended assistance to the project entitled *Exhumación de documentos inéditos sobre el Arte Valenciano, s. XV-XVII* (1989-1992), led by Professor Ximo Company in which collaborated Luisa Tolosa and Maite Framis. This was the official start of a research group that has not stopped persevering the rigorous and profound study of medieval and modern painting since.

Shortly thereafter, the scientific team consolidated with a new project I+D+I entitled *Análisis de las fuentes, documentos y obras de la pintura valenciana Medieval y Moderna. Base de datos de referencias bibliográficas y documentales Pere Nicolau* (1996-1998), granted by the Dirección General de Enseñanzas Universitarias e Investigación de la Generalitat Valenciana ("Directorate-General of University Education and Investigation of the Valencian Government") to the Professors Felipe Vicente Garín (dir.), Joan Aliaga and Ximo Company. This help made it possible to establish exchanges with European researchers such as Mathieu Hériard-Dubreuil (†), Claudie Resson, Gennaro Toscano or Mauro Natale. With these facts the Departament d'Història de l'Art de la Universitat Politècnica de València ("Department of Art History of the Polytechnic University of Valencia"), currently the *Departamento de Comunicación Audiovisual, Documentación e Historia del Arte* ("Department of Audiovisual Communication, Documentation and History of Art") or DCADHA, took in the research group of the CIMM, providing it with the necessary technical equipment. In addition, the Department launched a doctoral Inter-University programme in the strictly academic field entitled *La Cultura Mediterránea en el Mundo Medieval y Moderno* ("The Mediterranean culture in the medieval and modern world"), led by Dr. Joan Aliaga.

The researchers of the CIMM often carry out many activities. Besides the ones mentioned, in collaboration with the ACEM and the CAEM, there is also scientific management, coordination and the commissioning of exhibitions. Especially this exhibition is noteworthy: *La Llum de les Imatges. Lux Mundi. Xàtiva 2007*, organized by the Generalitat Valenciana (with more than 625.000 visitors), or *San Francisco de Borja, Grande de España. Arte y espiritualidad en la cultura hispánica de los siglos XVI y XVII*, promoted by the local government of Gandia in 2010³.

3. Company, Ximo; Pons, Vicent; Aliaga, Joan. *La Llum de les Imatges. Lux Mundi. Xàtiva 2007*, 2 vols. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2007; Company, Ximo; Aliaga, Joan, dirs. "San Francisco de Borja Grande de España. Arte y espiritualidad en la cultura hispánica de los siglos XVI y XVII". *Catálogo de la exposición celebrada en Gandía del 4 de nov. de 2010 al 9 de enero de 2011*. Casa de la Cultura Marqués de González de Quirós. Catarroja: Afers, 2010: 51-66.





ILLUSTRATION 1. COLECTION: *DOCUMENTS DE LA PINTURA VALENCIANA MEDIEVAL I MODERNA*. VALENCIA: UNIVERSITAT DE VALÈNCIA, 2005-2013.

But most significant within the researcher profile of the group was the opening of an editorial line about Valencian painting documentation. Currently four volumes have been published, with the generic title *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna* in the collection *Fontes Documentals* of the University of Valencia that has a great acceptance in the international scientific context⁴.

The first book was published in 2004 and contains a complete corpus with documents from 1238, the date of the beginning of the conquest of Valencia, until the year 1400. It's a very extensive chronology that is more than 150 years old and of which in its time 987 documents were published. Nevertheless, the amount of the localized information of this has been increasing to reality and all the new data that are registered in the database *Documenta* of the CIMM.

The second volume was published in 2007 and, in this occasion, they chose a monographic work over an extensive and extraordinary document that can be found in the Municipal Archives of Valencia. We are talking about a ledger of expenses incurred between 1401 and 1402 to mark the first real entry of King Martin the Humane into Valencia, with his wife Maria de Luna and his daughter Blanca, Queen of Sicily. A spectacular event in which over 40 artists of the city took part, building ephemeral works: the "rocks" (decorated cars that were used later in the procession of the Corpus) that will have the lead role in the royal parade. Among the registered artists are many decorators but it is clearly stated which painters dedicate their work to altarpieces and which painters receive higher salaries, such as Gerardo Starnina, Marçal de Sas, Gonçal Peris, Gonçal Sarrià, Antoni Peris or Pere Nicolau.

The third volume, published in 2011, includes a chronology of 25 years and, again, we chose to publish a *corpus* of documents organized from 1401 until 1425. Despite being an inferior period to volume I, the number of data about painters increased considerably to a total of 1,304, which is evidence of the development of

4. Company, Ximo; Aliaga, Joan; Tolosa, Lluïsa; Framis, Maite (responsible for ed.); Nuria Ramon (contributor), *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna, I (1238-1400)*. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2005; Aliaga, Joan; Tolosa, Lluïsa; Company, Ximo, eds; Silvestre, Aureli (contributor). *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna, II. Llibre de l'entrada del rei Martí*. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2007; Tolosa, Lluïsa; Company, Ximo; Aliaga, Joan, dirs. *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna, III (1401-1425)*, Ferran Garcia-Oliver, coord. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2011; Cárceles, Milagros; García, Juan Vicente. *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna, IV*. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2013.

trade in the Valencian painting in a favorable socio-economic time. At the beginning of the 15th century the production of altarpieces increased significantly, driven by a demanding clientele that attracted painters from different origins in order to establish their work studios in the capital of the kingdom. Just like in previous volumes, the work in the archives carried out by our team for the last two years has increased the number of unpublished documents that are also registered in the database *Documenta del CIMM*.

In 2013 a fourth volume of the series was published, this time by M. Milagros Cárcel Ortí and Juan Vicente García Marsilla, professors of the University of Valencia. It's about a new entry or actual receipt, in this case one from the king Ferran d'Antequera, with his wife and Elionor de Albuquerque and firstborn the future Alfonso the Magnanimous in 1413.

Since the appearance of the first volume in 2004 until present day, many researchers used the books of the series *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna* as a reference in their publications as a documentary source. In this sense, it is remarkable that the volumes, published by CIMM, have had such a significant and positive impact on the development of several doctoral theses at the University of Valencia and the Polytechnic University of Valencia, such as the ones from doctors Núria Ramón (2005), Matilde Miquel (2006), Asunción Mocholí (2010), Carme Llanes (2011), Teresa Izquierdo (2011) and Encarna Montero (2013)⁵. On the other hand, the members of our research team have also delved into various aspects of some of the unpublished exhumed information, of which its results have been presented at conferences or published in journals such as the paper, "Documents on Valencian Late Gothic Painting. Contributions from the Centre for Medieval and Modern Research" submitted to the *International Medieval Meeting Lleida* in 2011⁶, in which revisions and enlargements about painters such as Lluís Dalmau, Lluís Alimbrot, Jaume Bacó, also known as Jacomart, Paolo da San Leocadio; Rodrigo and Francesc d'Osona or Jan Van Eyck himself were presented. In addition, recently an article appeared, entitled "Una *Flagel·lació* de Joan Reixach de col·lecció particular.

5. Ramon, Nuria. *La iluminación de manuscritos en la Valencia Gótica. Desde los inicios hasta la muerte de Alfonso V el Magnánimo (1290-1458)*. Valencia: Universitat de València (PhD Dissertation), 2005, published in: Ramón, Nuria. *La iluminación de manuscritos en la Valencia Gótica (1290-1458)*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2007; Miquel, Matilde. *Talleres y mercado de pintura en Valencia (1370-1430)*, Valencia: Universitat de València (PhD Dissertation), 2006, published in: Miquel, Matilde. *Retablos, prestigio y dinero. Talleres y mercado de pintura en la Valencia del gótico internacional*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2008; Mocholí, Asunción. *Estudi dels documents dels pintors i altres artífexs valencians. Segles XII, XIV i XV (1238-1450)*. Valencia: Universitat Politècnica (PhD Dissertation), 2010, published in: Mocholí, Asunción. *Pintors i Altres artífexs de la València Medieval*. Valencia: Universitat Politècnica, 2012; Llanes, Carme. *L'obrador de Pere Nicolau i la Segona Generació de Pintors del Gòtic Internacional a València*. Valencia: Universitat de València (PhD Dissertation), 2011; Izquierdo, Teresa M. *El Fuster, definició d'un ofici en la València medieval*. Valencia: Universitat de València (PhD Dissertation), 2011; Montero, Encarna. *La transmisión del conocimiento en los oficios artísticos. Valencia, 1370-1450*. Valencia: Universitat de València (PhD Dissertation), 2013.

6. Company, Ximo; Aliaga, Joan; Tolosa, Lluïsa; Puig, Isidre; Ramon, Nuria; Rusconi, Stefania. "Documents on Valencian Late Gothic Painting. Contributions from the Centre for Medieval and Modern Research", *Late Gothic Painting in the Crown of Aragon and the Hispanic Kingdoms*, Francesc Fité, Alberto Velasco, eds., forthcoming.



Nuevos documentos y consideraciones sobre el binomio Jacomart-Reixach", published in the magazine *Archivo Español de Arte*⁷. The result of this study has been the incorporation of a new painting in the catalog of attributions of the painter Joan Reixach and the contribution of an important unpublished document, exhumed in the Arxiu del Regne de València (ARV) during the summer of 2011. It's the first time the two painters Reixach and Jacomart —*magistros Iacobum Jacomart et Iohannem Rexach, pictores*— in 1449 are united in one document to arbitrate a work of another painter called Felip Porta⁸.

Other studies have allowed the affiliation of works that up until now maintained a code of unknown authorship, or in other words, that its existence was practically unknown. We find something similar in the article "Jaume Mateu y el *Retablo de San Sebastián* de Villar del Cobo (Teruel)", in which the remains of a magnificent altarpiece preserved in a small town in the interior of Teruel are rescued. In addition, we were able to relate this to a very valuable unpublished document that allowed us to link this work with the painter Jaume Mateu. We also want to draw attention to the article "Nuevas aportaciones a la pintura del Gótico Internacional, Berenguer Mateu y el *Retablo de San Jorge de Jérica* (Castellón)", in which the unprecedented contract by the painter Mateu Berenguer with the members of the brotherhood of San Jorge in 1430 is published, with the precise reason to paint the altarpiece that currently is being preserved in the Municipal Museum of Jérica⁹. Significant was also the discovery of the marriage contract between Jaume Llopis, a banker from Valencia, and the famous Italian painter Paolo da San Leocadio, wherein the bond between the mentioned painter and Isabel Llopis, sister of Jaume, is established. The banker offers a rather respectable dowry of 4,000 salaries and the painter adds another 2,000 salaries because of the virginity of the bride. The document is important because although the reality of this marriage has been cited more than once¹⁰, we did not possess the specific document that guaranteed and sanctioned it in a definitive way¹¹.

Among international publications there is the noteworthy study called "Bertomeu Coscollà and the main altarpiece of the cathedral of Valencia. New documents", next to appear in the North American magazine *La Corónica*. The study is about the

7. Company, Ximo; Franco, Borja; Puig, Isidro; Aliaga, Joan; Rusconi, Stefania. "Una *Flagelación* de Joan Reixach de colección particular. Nuevos documentos y consideraciones sobre el binomio Jacomart-Reixach". *Archivo Español de Arte*, 340 (2013): 363-373.

8. ARV. Protocolo de Marti Doto, 10.422.

9. Aliaga, Joan; Llanes, Carme. "Jaume Mateu y el *Retablo de San Sebastián* de Villar del Cobo (Teruel)". *Ars Longa: cuadernos de arte*, 23 (2014): forthcoming; Aliaga, Joan; Rusconi, Stefania. "Nuevas aportaciones a la pintura del Gótico Internacional, Berenguer Mateu y el *Retablo de San Jorge de Jérica* (Castellón)", forthcoming.

10. Tramoyeres, Luis. "Los cuatrocentistas valencianos, el Maestro Rodrigo de Osona y su hijo del mismo nombre". *Cultura Española*, 9 (1908): 143 (n. 1). Tramoyeres cites that Paolo da San Leocadio entered into marriage in September 1493 with Isabel López or Llopis, but the consulted documentary source was never known.

11. ARV. Protocolo de Vicente Artés, 20.068; Rusconi, Stefania; Company, Ximo. "Nuevos datos documentales sobre Paolo da San Leocadio". *Ars Longa, cuadernos de arte*, 22 (2013): 87-92.



biggest primitive altar of the cathedral of Valencia that was destroyed in 1464. The research includes information about the activity of the silversmiths Pere Bernés and Bertomeu Coscollà Pere, thanks to payment orders that have been documented¹².

At the moment, the research team is delving into the analysis of documentation about Joan Reixach and Jacomart, of which the results will appear in a monographic volume. And on the other hand they are working on the analysis of the documentation and the works related to Miquel Alcanyís. To study the latter painter the research team spent time at the *Hispanic Society of America* and the *Metropolitan Museum of Art de New York* as well as the Museu de Mallorca, Museu Diocesà de Palma and Museu Capitular, Museu Parroquial d'Alcúdia (Mallorca), Convent de la Concepció de Palma, and also in the Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca, the Arxiu de la Catedral de Mallorca and the Diocesà de Mallorca. At the same time it is about to complete the full review of all the documents relating to Joan de Joanes, one of the most important painters of the Spanish Renaissance, with very important and unpublished documentary novelties. An important work that has been complemented with obtaining valuable high-definition images and absolutely unprecedented infrared reflectographs, belonging to many of the preserved works of Joan de Joanes, his son Vicente Joanes, and his father Vicente Macip¹³.

All documentary work that has been developed in recent years has the support of the *Documenta* database that currently contains about 3,500 records with digital photographs of the documents and more than 10,000 photographs of works. Therefore numerous protocols, notes, books about accounting, factories, justice, etc. from those dates or notaries that can possibly contain information about painting and painters in the main archives of Valencia (Arxiu de Protocols del Col·legi de Corpus Christi de València, Arxiu del Regne, Arxiu de la Catedral and Arxiu Municipal) have been systematically emptied. On the other hand, there have been more specific searches for other files such as the ones indicated above, in Mallorca, or in Morella (Castelló), Vila-real, Castelló, Xérica, Ontinyent, Gandia, Lleida, Verdú, Vic, Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (Barcelona) and abroad, Archivo Segreto Vaticano, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Archivio Curia Vescovile di Reggio Emilia, Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Archivio di Stato di Reggio Emilia, Archivio di Stato di Modena, Archivio di Stato di Cagliari, and the Archivio di Stato di Firenze.

12. Aliaga, Joan; Ramon, Núria. "Bertomeu Coscollà and Valencia Cathedral's Main Altarpiece: New documents". *La corónica: A journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures and Cultures*, 42/2 (2014): 15-55.

13. In this investigation project participate various researchers of the CIMM, led by Isidro Puig Sanchis, of the University of Lleida.



1. New documents about the painter Pere Nicolau. A tragic death

For this publication we would like to present some novelties about information that allows us to value more profoundly the social dimension of the Catalan painter, Pere Nicolau, in the context of the first decade of the 15th century that is marked by violence and tension that caused the clash of fights of the social “factions” of that time. In relation to these data, we also believe that we can give documentary support to the paintings *Escenas de la vida de Santo Domingo de Guzmán*, preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts in Valencia, a work of art that up until now was being considered an allocation to the previously mentioned Nicolau¹⁴.

Pere Nicolau is a painter extremely valued by historiography as part of the Valencian International Gothic, along with other personalities such as Llorens Saragossà, Marçal de Sas or, among others, Gerardo Starnina¹⁵. Nicolau comes from Igualada

14. Saralegui, Leandro de. “Miscelánea de tablas valencianas. En torno a Pedro Nicolau”. *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, 41 (1933): 103-104; Saralegui, Leandro de. *El Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes de San Carlos. Tablas de las salas 1ª y 2ª de Primitivos valencianos*. Valencia: Alfons el Magnànim, 1954: 59-69 (pictures 17-20).

15. Among the studies about the painter we emphasize: Tramoyeres, Luis. *Guía del Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia*, Valencia, 1915; Tormo, Elías. *Levante*. Madrid: Guías Calpe, 1923; Tormo, Elías. “El Museo Diocesano de Valencia”. *Arte Español*, 6 (1935): 293-300 and 354-365; Post, Chadler. *History of Spanish Painting*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1930: III; Post, Chadler. *History of Spanish Painting*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1930: VII; Post, Chadler. *History of Spanish Painting*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1938: VII; Post, Chadler. *History of Spanish Painting*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1947: IX; Saralegui, Leandro de. “En torno a Pedro Nicolau Un retablo de su escuela”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 19 (1933): 3-30; Saralegui, Leandro de. “Pedro Nicolau”, *Almanaque Las Provincias*. Valencia: 1941; Saralegui, Leandro de. “Miscelánea de tablas valencianas. En torno a Pedro Nicolau...”: 103-104; Saralegui, Leandro de. “Pedro Nicolau. I: Introito biográfico”. *Boletín de la Sociedad Española*, 49 (1941): 76-107; Saralegui, Leandro de. “Pedro Nicolau II: Obras”. *Boletín de la Sociedad Española*, 50 (1942): 98-152; Saralegui, Leandro de. *El Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes...; Gudiol, José. Pintura gótica*. Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1955: IX; Camón, José. *Pintura medieval española*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1977: XXII; Dubreuil, Hériard. “Importance de la peinture valencienne autours de 1400”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 46 (1975): 13-21; Dubreuil, Hériard. *Valencia y el Gótico Internacional*. Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1987; Dubreuil, Hériard. “Gótico Internacional”. *Historia del Arte Valenciano*, 69 (1988): 182-235; Catalá, Miguel Ángel. “La pintura medieval valenciana. Temas y fuentes literarias”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 46 (1977): 117-126; Garín, Felipe M^a. *Historia del Arte de Valencia*, 49 (1978); José i Pitarch, Antoni. *Pintura gótica valenciana: el periodo internacional*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1982; José i Pitarch, Antoni. “Les arts plàstiques: l’escultura i la pintura gòtiques”, *Historia de l’Art al País Valencià*. Valencia, 1986: I, 163-239; José i Pitarch, Antoni. *Retaule de la Santa Creu. Museu de Belles Arts de València. Obra recuperada del trimestre, abril, 1998*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1998; Pérez, Alfonso E. “Arte”, *Valencia (Colección “Tierras de España”)*. Madrid: Noguer, 1985: 145-393; Rodrigo, Carmen. “El retablo de Sarrión: Análisis documental y estilístico”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 68 (1987): 8-16; Rodrigo, Carmen. “Aproximación al retablo de Pere Nicolau ‘Los Gozos de la Virgen María’ en el Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao”. *Urtekaria Bilbao* (1988): 9-24; Rodrigo, Carmen. “El retablo de los Siete Gozos del Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 71 (1990): 39-46; Aliaga, Joan. *Els Peris i la pintura valenciana medieval*. Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1996; Gómez, José. *El retablo de San Martín, Santa Úrsula y San Antonio Abad*. Madrid: Generalitat Valenciana, 2004; Miquel, Matilde. *Retablos, prestigio y dinero. Talleres y mercado de pintura en la Valencia del gótico internacional*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2008; Ruíz, Francesc; Montolio, David. “De pintura medieval valenciana”. *Espais de Llum*. Valencia: La Llum de les Imatges, 2008: 125-169; Llanes, Carme. *L’obra de Pere Nicolau i la Segona Generació de Pintors del Gòtic Internacional a València*. Valencia: Universitat de València (PhD Dissertation),



(Barcelona), but as of today there are no data for this initial period in Catalonia, so the proposals on his artistic training remain conjectures that are unsustainable for the moment¹⁶. During the last years of the 14th century, migrations occurred in the Principality as a result of the crisis, social conflicts, wars or epidemics. The city of Valencia, being exempt from these threats, changed and received all the immigrants that were attracted by the offer of a booming town, urban growth and construction. The first known documentary data on Pere Nicolau were found in Valencia in 1390, when he already had an important workspace that dominated the market for the painting of altarpieces and especially the environment of the Cathedral. At that time he was already known as “neighbor” painter of Valencia, which means that he must have arrived there a few years before¹⁷. All of the information about Pere Nicolau reveal a constant and sometimes intense activity, in just two decades he worked in various areas of the city and beyond; in the Torres de Serranos; the Cathedral; la Casa de la Ciudad; the Carthusian monasteries of Valdecris (Altura), Portaceli (Serra); as well as in various populations of Valencia and Teruel. Pere Nicolau was the owner of a powerful production company of altarpieces in which the master hired other painters now and then to finish the work efficiently in the studio; Miquel Alcanyís was one of them. Numerous apprentices also participated with him to collaborate regularly in the studio to become future painters. Jaume Mateu is the most prominent example of a young apprentice educated by Nicolau during a process of approximately fourteen years (from 1394 until 1408). But above all, the collaboration agreements between Nicolau and the North European painter

2011; Montero, Encarna. *La transmisión del conocimiento en los oficios artísticos. Valencia, 1370-1450*. Valencia: Universitat de València (PhD Dissertation), 2013.

16. Ruiz Quesada made a proposal to let the education of Pere Nicolau take place in the studio of the painter Esteve Rovira de Chipre but there isn't any documentary indication that affirms this, and there isn't documented work of Esteve Rovira that allow us to link these two styles. Ruiz, Francesc. “L'estil cortesà a Barcelona”, *L'art Gòtic a Catalunya. Pintura II*. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2005: 48-53. Authors who have contributed documentation about Pere Nicolau are Agustín Arqués Jover: Arqués, Agustín. *Colección de pintores, escultores desconocidos sacada de instrumentos antiguos, auténticos*, Inmaculada Vidal, Lorenzo Hernández, eds. Alcoy: Obra Cultural de la Caja de Ahorros de Alicante y Murcia, 1982; de Alcalá, Barón. *Diccionario biográfico de artistas valencianos*. Valencia: Biblioteca Valenciana, 1987; Sanchís, José. *La Catedral de Valencia. Guía histórica y artística*. Valencia: Vives Mora, 1909; Sanchís, José. *Pintores medievales en Valencia*. Barcelona: Massó Casas, 1914; Sanchís, José. “Pintores medievales en Valencia”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 15 (1928): 3-64; Cerveró, Luis. “Pintores valentinos: Su cronología y documentación, siglos XIII al XVIII”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 29 (1958): 95-123; Cerveró, Luis. “Pintores valentinos: Su cronología y documentación, siglos XIII al XVIII”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 34 (1963): 63-156; Cerveró, Luis. “Pintores valentinos: Su cronología y documentación, siglos XIII al XVIII”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 39 (1968): 92-98; Cerveró, Luis. “Pintores valentinos: Su cronología y documentación, siglos XIII al XVIII”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 42 (1971): 23-36; Fuster, Francisco. *Cartuja de Portaceli: Historia, vida, arquitectura y arte*. Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1994; Aliaga, Joan. *Els Peris i la pintura...*; Llanes, Carme. “Pere Nicolau i la Catedral de València. Aclaracions sobre els retaules de ‘Santa Clara i Santa Isabel’ (1403) i ‘Sant Maties i Sant Pere Màrtir’ d’Onda’ (1405)”. *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura*, 80 (2004): 83-96; Llanes, Carme. *L'obrador de Pere Nicolau...*; Company, Ximo. *Documents de la pintura...*, 2005; Miquel, Matilde. *Retablos, prestigio y dinero...*; Tolosa, Lluïsa. *Documents de la pintura...*:2011.

17. You can find a detailed study about the vital trajectory of Pere Nicolau in Llanes, Carme. *L'obrador de Pere Nicolau...*: 98-117.



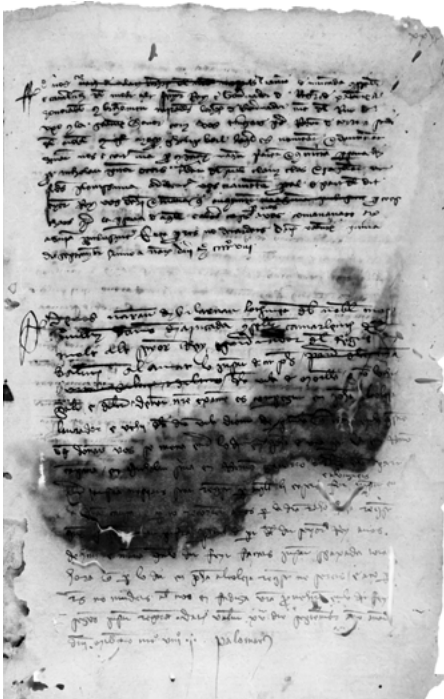


ILLUSTRATION 2. NEW DOCUMENT EXHUMED IN THE ARXIU DEL REGNE DE VALÈNCIA. *GOVERNACIÓ*, NO. 2.793, MANO 1, F. 26R.

Marçal de Sas are very significant. Nicolau-Sas formed an important and fruitful professional binomial. Together they signed capitulations and received payments of several important altarpieces, although the most successful of the two masters was the Catalan. Hence, from the late 14th century until his death in 1408, Pere Nicolau was the undisputed market leader in painting altarpieces in Valencia, owner of a studio for which he transited a wide variety of painters and with a great ability to negotiate contracts with ecclesiastics, clients of the bourgeoisie and the nobility. It stands without reason that Pere Nicolau had an intense professional life with various social relations within a conflicting city.

We knew Pere Nicolau had suddenly died on the date of July 25th, 1408, the celebration of St. James, without having had the time to draw up a will. However, thanks to the transcription of new localized documents by the research team of the CiMM in the Arxiu del Regne de València, we are able to present the information that the cause of the painter's death was the murder by Ramon Torres, squire of Felip Boil, a noble ally in the mentioned faction fights. A social phenomenon that caused great instability in the early years of the 15th century in Valencia. The Consell de la Ciutat expresses it like this:



*e lo punt en què la ciutat era per ocasió de persones de bandos e guerres e altres de sinistra intenció per adversar a la cosa pública*¹⁸.

Nicolau's death was destined to cause a big commotion among his fellow painters, and his disappearance marked a before and after in the School of Valencian Painting that can still be noticed in the surviving works. Two days after the death of the artist, the nephew of the deceased, Jaume Mateu, demanded the Civil Justice to recognize him as the heir to the estate of his uncle. This demand is an exceptional document that has provided researchers with unique information on the professional and family life in the largest Valencian studio of the first half of the 15th century. It is complemented by a second open process a year later when Mateu makes another demand to receive money from his salary that Nicolau had not paid him for fourteen years¹⁹. The interest of his nephew to hastily get hold of the inheritance, can be interpreted as a cunning of Jaume Mateu who wanted to take advantage of the absence of his mother, sister of Nicolau, and his own brother to become the universal heir and receive all of the material goods and, among others, also the business (clients and market dominance) created by Pere Nicolau²⁰.

Only a part of the first paper was published in 1968 by Luis Cerveró and had a considerable impact on historiography²¹. But the true extent of the information was obtained in the full review, conducted by the research team of the CiMM, two volumes of Civil Justice of Valencia and the discovery of the second process in 1409. The complete transcript of both documents has already been studied in the doctoral thesis of Joan Aliaga, *Anàlisi dels documents i obres atribuïdes als pintors Gonçal Peris i Gonçal Sarrià*, defended at the Universitat Politècnica de València in 1994²². Recently, Carme Llanes and Encarna Montero, as mentioned before, delved into the subject in their doctoral thesis.

Despite the importance and extent of the mentioned documents, there is no reference to the cause of death of Pere Nicolau in the composition of the text. Only the testimony of the student, Pere Valles, declares that he has not seen him dead, but indicates that the event had transpired throughout the city and that it was sure he had been injured *et dix que ell, testimoni, no havia vist mort lo dit Pere Nicholau*

18. AMV. Manual de Consells. A-24, f.64v-66. Published in: Tolosa, Lluïsa. *Documents de la pintura...*: 200. More information about the conflict of the factions: Narbona, Rafael. *L'univers dels prohoms*. Valencia: Edicions 3 i 4, 1995; Narbona, Rafael. *Valencia, municipio medieval. Poder político y luchas ciudadanas (1239-1418)*. Valencia: Ajuntament de València, 1995.

19. The first process can be found in: ARV. Justícia Civil, 3.703, 11, f. 16-16v and 34-36v. The second process begins May 7, 1409, and can be found in: ARV. Justícia Civil, 3.700, 8, f. 10-10v; 9. f. 17-24v. y mano 10, ff. 25-26v. The first document was partly published by: Cerveró, Luis. "Pintores...": 97. Document entirely published in: Aliaga, Joan. *Els Peris i la pintura...*: 154-174.

20. The document refers to Jaume Mateu being the only relative that was found in the Kingdom of Valencia and that the inheritance is his by law.

21. Cerveró, Luis. "Pintores valentinos...": 97.

22. The thesis was published in: Aliaga, Joan. *Els Peris i la pintura...*: 145-174. A transcription of the document, revised and updated, can be found in: Tolosa, Lluïsa. *Documents de la pintura...*: 2011 (doc. n. 381): 183-188 and (doc. n. 428): 214-217.



ne nefrat, mes sabia que aquell era mort per comuna fama de molts que són en València. Since the knowledge of the data in 1994, the suspicion that the death of the artist could have been tragic, was a constant. When the third volume of *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna III* (2011) was being published, they included a document that already had been published by Luis Cervero, relating the mentioned judicial proceedings whose transcription was revised and corrected by our team²³. It is a payment made by Jaume Mateu at the request of a woman named Catalina for the work of serving in the house of Pere Nicolau. In the notification dated November 23, 1408, Mateu is listed as the universal heir. The transcription of Cerveró (1963) contained an important error that impeded the understanding of the information, indicating [...] *den Pere Nicolau, pintor, omnes per testes [...]* instead of [...] *d'en Pere Nicolau, pintor, occís, per testimony [...]*. The word *occís* was transcribed as *omnes* twice. *Occís* means killed, an expression that never appears in the trials of the *Justícia Civil* but that does appear in the *Justícia dels 300 Sous*.

The new documents (vid. docs. 1 and 2) that we present, provide clarifying information on the circumstances, linking the painter to the family Boil. On September 1, 1408, Guillem Ramon de Montcada, governor of the kingdom and officer of the Royal Court, demands the governor of River Uxó (Castellón) to proceed against Ramón Torres based on the complaint presented by Jaume Mateu. The letter details the status of Torres as a squire of the noble Felip Boil and Jaume Mateu as the relative of the murdered painter Pere Nicolau. Torres remained locked in the prison of Castellón, accused of killing officials of the King as well as others and was present at the time of the murder of Pere Nicolau. The second document corresponds to a trial beginning on September 2, and comments about a group of armed men who arrive in Castellón at night, heading to the prison screaming *Boil, Boil, Boil [...]*. When they were already at the door of the prison, they docked until they found the chained squire. Although the exciting story surpasses fiction novels, there is only one allusion to the murder of our painter when the deputy, Bartomeu Miralles, reports that Ramon Torres was linked to Nicolau's death and emphasizes that his lord was present during the executions. Surely the crippled condition of Felip Boil obliged him to have a squire²⁴.

The Boil family was powerful and were originally from Aragon. The family's lineage is introduced in Valencia for Pere I Boil and Mur to participate in the conquest of Valencia. His grandson, Pere II Boil of Aragon, was the first lord of Manises. The latter married Altadona de la Scala, out of this marriage nine children were born. One of them was Ramon Boil de la Scala, a very powerful character. Ramon Boil, head of the second line of the Boil family, was the adviser of Alfons IV, ambassador

23. Cerveró, Luis. "Pintores valentinos...", 1963: 123 and 138; Tolosa, Lluïsa. *Documents de la pintura...*: 2011 (doc. 394): 195. Encarna Montero includes this correction in her thesis and also observes that Nicolau could have been murdered, see: Montero, Encarna. *La transmissió...*: 61-62.

24. We note that in the investigation of Encarna Montero we sense the possibility of the tragedy of Pere Nicolau. See: Montero, Encarna. *La transmissió...*: 557 (*No sería descabellado pensar (aunque se trate de una mera suposición sin fundamento documental alguno), que Nicolau se pudo ver envuelto, en el verano de 1408, en alguna cuestión de armas relacionada con una familia para la que había trabajado en encargo tan bien retribuido*).



in Granada in 1325. He was associated with the royal house of Aragon as treasurer of Pere IV the "Ceremoniós" and ambassador of the Crown before the pope in 1338. He also participated in the campaign of Rosellón against Jaume III of Mallorca. He married Berenguela Castellar with whom he had two children, Pere and Lluís²⁵.

Felip Boïl and Díes, the character we have documented in relation to the death of Pere Nicolau, was the son of Pere Boïl Castellar and brother of Ramon Boïl, governor of Valencia from 1393 until 1407, when he was killed the night of March



ILLUSTRATION 3. CHAPTER HOUSE OF THE CONVENT OF SANTO DOMINGO OF VALENCIA.
BUILDING AT THE EXPENSE OF PERE BOÏL (1310-1320).

21 by Berenguer Reixac, to revenge the capture of his brother Felip Reixac. Ramon was buried in the Chapter House of the convent of Santo Domingo of Valencia.

As a result of this altercation, Felip Boïl lost his right hand as a consequence of the royal punishment to hit one of the accused nobles as the instigators of the murder of his brother. He married Leonor Soler, daughter of Ramón Soler with whom he had three sons and a daughter, Aldonça.

This part of the Boïl family branch was in favor of the Vilaragut in the Valencian factions in the first years of the disputes and afterwards with the Solers, connected

25. To delve into the historic data you can look into: Hinojosa, José. *Diccionario de historia medieval del Reino de Valencia*. Valencia: Biblioteca Valenciana, 2002: I; Rubio, Agustí. "II. El segle XIV", *Història al País Valencià: de la conquesta a la Federació hispànica*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1988: II, 261-264.



by family alliance. This noble war phenomenon already begins to protest in the early 14th century. It seems that he has his origin from the attempt of the noble classes to maintain their social and economic status, in a time in which some of the largest fortunes went bankrupt. In Valencia the most significant case was the bankruptcy of Gilabert de Centelles, one of the factions of this movement. At the end of the 14th century, the noble factions incorporate in the trade sector and the subsection of the proletariat will be inclined to occupy another sector according to their convenience. These battles will be led by two families. On the one hand, the Centelles led by Gilabert de Centelles, on the other hand, Jaume Soler, successor to the cause of Vilaragut. In 1398 Pere Centelles was killed and his brother Gilabert changes the revenge of this death into an act of honor. Years later, in 1403, Jaume Soler was killed. We do not know if it was the brother-in-law of Felip Boïl. With the arrival of King Martin the Humane in 1406 it was possible to establish a relative calm that will be broken with the murder of Governor Ramón Boïl, brother of Felip Boïl, our character.

Another unpublished document (vid doc. 3) recently contributed by Encarna Montero allows us to relate to the painters Pere Nicolau and Marçal de Sas with the relatives of Felip Boïl, Peirona Llançol and her husband Lluís Boïl²⁶. This is an act of the notary Pere Bigueran preserved in the Archive of Protocols of Corpus Christi in Valencia dated July 1, 1416. The document concerns a will in which different letters, titles and deeds are related that were found by the executors of the noble widow Peirona Llançol. As indicated, Peirona drew up a will on July 3, 1400, that was published a few months later, as can be witnessed in the same document:

noble madona Peyrona Lançol, muller [del] noble mossèn Lois Boïl, defuncts, segons [de la dita] marmessoria consta per testament [per la] dita noble madona Peyrona feyt a tres dies de juliol en [el any] MCCCC e publicat per lo dit notari [Pere de Loças]²⁷.

The original executors of the will were Guerau Llançol, canon and dean of the Cathedral, and Arnau Llançol, also a clergyman, although both were released in the document of 1416 by Jaume Romeu and Joan Llançol.

It may have been on the day that this same Aldonça died, when they effectuated the inventory of assets that the deceased owned; her testamentary executors had to localize each and every receipt, title and deed with the details:

Aquestes són aquelles cartes, cauteles, scriptures e alb[arans] que a present ha atrobat ésser [e pertànyer] a la dita marmessoria [.....] que si d'aquí avant atrobars [altres] béns ésser e pertànyer a la dita [marmessoria], aquelles pusca posar en [...] en altre inventari [...] esdevenidor.

26. The author explains the information of the document but she does not transcribes it. The complete transcription is provided here. See: Montero, Encarna *La transmissió...*: 552-557.

27. We were able to confirm that there are no protocols preserved about this alluded notary in the archives valencianes.



Among the different items that are targeted, the most significant is a receipt that corresponds to what could be the last payment, made on October 15, 1400 to the painters Pere Nicolau and Mestre Marçal (Marçal de Sas) for the work on an altarpiece. The amount paid was 2,100 salaries, a very large sum and, especially if it concerns a partial payment as indicated. The information on the execution of this altarpiece remains unpublished, and corresponds to a new example of collaborative work between the two painters. On the other hand, we also found two other payments in the will to Vicent Serra, a carpenter who had also conducted a wooden altarpiece just one year before, intended for the Cathedral of Valencia for the same painters. The first payment is made on October 2, 1400, when Nicolau and Marçal perceive 200 salaries of the executors of Peirona Llançol. The second is made on April 11, 1401, then receiving 15,5 golden florins of Aragon. The documents do not reveal the concept of the payments to the carpenter, but it stands to reason, given the appearance of the entry related to Nicolau and Sas in the same document, that we are talking about the wooden altarpiece for the same work that the painters finished.

Throughout the reading of the extensive and damaged document, we found other data that coincide y confirm the information that was published by the historian and Brother José Teixidor (1694-1775) about the family grave of the Boïls in the convent of Santo Domingo²⁸. The construction of the Chapter House of the convent (1310-1320) was financed by Pere Boïl of Aragon as a family vault. The double grave of his descendants Ramón Boïl Dies and Ramón Boïl Montagut²⁹ are still preserved in situ. Documentary data indicate that Lluís Boïl († 1386) was also buried in the monastery of the Frares Prehicatoros. His testamentary codicil was drafted on December 30, 1385; and, according to Teixidor, requested for 400 salaries to be paid a year, just like they made other payments for the same religious services and anniversaries made upon his grave situated in the convent previously mentioned:

lo qual convent y frares de aquell volem que cascun any en per tots temps en aquells dies e a[n]y, tantes vegades com a la noble dona Na Peyrona Llançol, muller nostra, volrra e elegirà, sien tenguts fer aniversaris et celebrar misses en los dies que aquells faran et anar a fer absolució sobre la nostra fossa o tomba a coneguda de la dita muller nostra³⁰.

In the transcription of the presented document appear several entries in which the realization of these payments is confirmed. This receipt is important, given that the paid amount coincides with the amount that Lluís Boïl requested in his will

28. Teixidor, José. *Capillas y Sepulturas del Real Convento de Predicadores*, 3 vols. Valencia: Acción Bibliográfica Valenciana, 1949-1952 (Manuscript dated in 1755).

29. For more information about this grave see the dedicated section in: Español, Francesca. *El escultor Bartomeu de Robió y Lleida eco de la plástica toscana en Catalunya*. Lleida: Universitat de Lleida, 1995: 135-142; see: de San Petrillo, Barón. *El doble sepulcro de los Boïl que se conserva en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional y en el Provincial de Valencia no es de los señores de Manises*. Valencia: s.n., 1920.

30. Teixidor, José. *Capillas y Sepulturas...*: III, 139-140.





ILLUSTRATION 4. *SEPULCROS DE RAMÓN BOIL DIES Y RAMÓN BOIL MONTAGUT*, s. XV, ALABASTRO. CHAPTER HOUSE OF THE CONVENT OF SANTO DOMINGO OF VALENCIA.

to be paid each year to the monastery. Hence, November 16, 1400, Tomás Gaçó, from the monastery of Santo Domingo of Valencia receives 400 salaries from the executors of the noble Peirona Llançol. Other payments appear, one conducted on August 13, to Domingo Agramunt, prior, with the amount of 208 salaries. In early October, we cannot say whether it is the second or the third, Guillem Ortoneda, monk of the monastery, receives 50 salaries from the executors of Mrs. Peirona. On October 6 of the same year, 50 salaries were paid to friar Francisco. That same day Bertomeu Gaçó receives 100 salaries. Finally, on November 24, 1400, 100 salaries are paid to prior.

This obvious link to the Boil family with the convent of Santo Domingo of Valencia, logically allows us to ascribe the altarpiece alluded in the probate documents to the latter convent. According to the librarian of the Convent of Preachers, José Teixidor³¹ and following the chronicler Hall, in the early 18th century there was a “very old-fashioned” altarpiece in the Chapter House dedicated to the Virgin with scenes of her life. If there had already been an altarpiece in the Chapter House, the order of the Valencian masters obviously must have had a different location. We know that in 1395 Pere Nicolau had already painted another altarpiece for the

31. Teixidor, José. *Capillas y sepulturas...*: III, 114.





ILLUSTRATION 5. PERE NICOLAU AND MARÇAL DE SAS, *PREDELA DE RETABLO DE SANTO DOMINGO*, 1400. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS OF VALENCIA.

chapel of San Lorenzo in the same convent. The new work documented on October 15, 1400, is a joint work of two great masters in which also the young apprentice painter, Jaume Mateu, was able to collaborate. In addition, the painters perceived a very large sum (though not entirely determined), as was the case with the notable amount received by the carpenter, data that could justify that the work was of great size. The owners chose the best and most quoted painters, which at that time were located in Valencia. Bear in mind that, in the same period, Gerardo Starnina was still in Valencia working on another big project, the altarpiece of the church of the monastery of St. Augustine, for the bishop of Doglia, Joan Beciaco, and for which were paid up to 550 golden florins.

Teixidor describes the main altarpiece of the church of the convent of Santo Domingo indicating that all images were of natural size. In the center the Virgen and Child, on the right San Pablo and San Pedro giving the staff to Santo Domingo and on the left, Blessed Reginald of Orleans receiving the scapular from the hands of the Virgen. On the sides St. Peter Martyr and St. Augustine were represented. The author indicates that in 1403 carving columns and ornaments were added. Leandro de Saralegui already identified some of the paintings of this great altarpiece with a predella with scenes from the life of Santo Domingo de Guzmán which are now preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts in Valencia and that attributed to Pere Nicolau, relating it stylistically with the Sarrión altarpiece (Museum of Fine Arts of Valencia) and with the *Gozos de la Virgen* (Museum of Fine Arts of Bilbao)³². The

32. Saralegui, Leandro de. "Miscelánea de tablas...": 103-104; Saralegui, Leandro de. *El Museo provincial...*: 59-69 (pictures 17-20).



catalogs of the Museum of Fine Arts in 1847 and 1850 contain references to the “Asuntos de la Vida de Santo Domingo. Tablas al óleo y temple. Escuela alemana”, a piece that entered the museum with the Confiscation in 1837³³.

This is actually a piece of the predella with three panels in which passages from the “Golden Legend” are represented. So from left to right: *El sueño de Juana de Aza*, according to which the mother of St. Domingo dreams she had a dog in her gut (black and white, like the habit of the Dominicans) with a flame in its mouth while coming out, as a symbol of preaching; *el Sueño de Inocencio III*, that tells the story of the pope dreaming that Santo Domingo maintains the collapsing Lateran Basilica as a reference to the crisis of the Roman church; and *La ordalía de Fanjeaux*, the trial to save the Catholic books from heretical books. According to the size of these preserved pieces (88 x 172 cm.) and its structural characteristics, they should correspond to the predella of an altarpiece of considerable size, which perfectly matches the description of Teixidor. We can sum up the reference year 1403 to all of this, when carving ornaments were added, a fact that indicates that the altarpiece must have been painted before that date. All data presented allow us to relate the testamentary document of Peirona Llançol to the predella of the Museum of Fine Arts of Valencia. The family devotion to the convent of Santo Domingo, and essentially the elevated payment to the painters Pere Nicolau and Marçal de Sas in 1400 are crucial elements to support this hypothesis. On the other hand, a detailed analysis of the technical and pictorial style of the paintings of the Dominicans allows us to visualize differential aspects between the physiognomy of the represented characters. The models of the tonsured apprentices next to Santo Domingo, start from the same formal pattern, typical of the creative schemes of Pere Nicolau, something that can also be found in the altarpieces of the Museum Bilbao and Sarrión. Our painter uses thin and transparent-colored brush strokes with great confidence in the drawing, as if it were a miniaturist, resolving directional lights with a white touch. The hands, with long fingers, follow the fashion introduced by Starnina, as can be seen in the altarpiece of Bonifacio Ferrer. Furthermore, the figures that appear in the second term are more expressive and absurd, approaching the models of Marçal de Sas in *Duda de Santo Tomás* in the Cathedral of Valencia.

In conclusion, the contributed documents allow us to support the hypothesis that the painters Pere Nicolau and Marçal de Sas painted the main altarpiece of the convent of Santo Domingo of Valencia in 1400, an important work of which three predella scenes are still preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts of Valencia. The work was commissioned by Peirona Llançol, Lluís Boil's wife, who was destined to fulfill the wishes of her husband in relation to the same convent and Chapter House where he was buried.

Social clashes between Valencian lineages factions of different sides in the early 15th century caused many deaths. The conflict spread to the artisans, crafts and corporations. In 1407 Ramón Boil was killed, nephew of Lluís Boil. A year later, on

33. Catalán, Joaquín. *Museo de Pintura y Escultura de la ciudad de Valencia*, 1847 (number 189); Catalán, Joaquín. *Catálogo de los cuadros que existen en el Museo de Pinturas establecido en el Convento del Carmen de esta capital*, 1850 (number 189).





ILLUSTRATIONS 6A AND 6B. PERE NICOLAU AND MARÇAL DE SAS, DETAIL, *PREDELA DE RETABLO DE SANTO DOMINGO*, 1400. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS OF VALENCIA. MARÇAL DE SAS, DETAIL, *INCREDLIDAD DE SANTO TOMÁS*, MUSEU DE LA CATEDRAL DE VALÈNCIA.

July 25, tragedy struck the leading master painter in Valencia, Pere Nicolau. He was killed by Ramon Torres, squire of the noble Felip Boïl, brother of Ramón. We do not know what caused the one-armed Boïl to order the execution of the squire. It is has probably more to do with the leadership of Nicolau in the art of painters than with the painted altarpiece for his aunt Peirona in 1400.

Appendix

Document number 1

1408, September 1, Valencia.

The governor of the kingdom of Valencia sends for Bertomeu Miralles, his representative of the river Uxó (Castellón), because of the complaint of Jaume Mateu, relative of Pere Nicolau, murdered painter, that proceeds against Ramon Torres, squire of the noble Felip Boïl.

ARV. *Governació*, núm. 2.793, mà 1, f. 26r.



De nós, en Guillem Ramon de Muncada [Montcada], conseller e carmelenc del molt alt senyor rey e governador de regne de València, al honorable en Berthomeu Miralles, lochtinent de governador nostre del riu de Uxó en là, saluts e honor. Com vós tingats pres Ramon Torres, scuder del noble mossèn Phelip Boil, d'aquell és nomenat e denunciat denant nos e cort nostre per en Jacme Matheu, parent e coniuincta persona de Pere Nicholau, pintor occís, cridat del qual clam clos e segellat et fide plenissima adibeatur, vos trametem pertal de part del dit senyor rey, vos dehim e manam que encontinent proceschats contra la persona de aquell e altres caps per nos a vos comananats tro a sentència inclusive. E açò per res no detardats.

Datum Valencie, prima die septembris, anno a Nativitate Domini M^oCCCC^oVIII^o.

Document number 2

1408, September 2, Valencia.

Trial against Ramon Torres, squire of the noble Felip Boil, concerning the events that occurred in la Vila de Castellón during an assault against the prison. In the report of Bartomeu Miralles, representative of the river Uxó, it is said that Ramon Torres is connected with the death of Pere Nicolau.

ARV. *Governació*, núm. 2.198.

[...] era vengut a la vila de Castelló en Ramon Torres, scuder del dit noble mossèn Felip Boil, lo qual se dehia que seria stat en diverses aguats ab lo dit noble mossèn Felip Boil, per matar alcun officials reynals e altres persones e sia stat a la mort d'en Pere Nicholau, pintor, ab lo dit mossèn Felip [...].

Document number 3

1416, July 1. Valencia.

Inventory made by Jaume Romeu and Joan Lançol, substitutes of Guerau and Arnau Lançol, executors of the will of Peyrona Lançol, wife of Lluís Boil, in which letters pertinent to the inheritance of the deceased in which, among others, a receipt is registered dated October 15, 1400 in which Pere Nicolau and Marçal de Sas, painters of Valencia, declare to have received 2,000 salaries for the realization of an altarpiece.

APCCV. *Protocol de Pere Bigueran*, no. 25.322³⁴.

D[i]e [mer]curii, prima mensis iulii, anno predicto MCCCXVI.

Com per esguinar tota form e [...] [mar]mess[ors], tudors e curadors de [...] defunt[...] son tenguts fer [...] que aquells per traspasament [...] o amagar se pusquen. Em peramor de açò yo, en Jacme Romeu, menor de dies, cavaller, habitador de València, marmessor e

34. Document cited by Montero, Encarna. *La transmisión...*: 552-557.



execudor ensemps ab lo honorable mossèn³⁵ Johan Lançol, cavaller, habitador de la dita ciutat³⁶, subrogats en loch dels honorables mossèn Guerau Lançol, canonge e deguà de la Seu [de] València, e de mossèn Arnau Lançol, cavaller, habitador de la dita ciutat, \deffunts/, marmes[sors] e execudors del derrer testament [de la] noble madona Peyrona Lançol, muller [del] noble mossèn Loís Boil, deffuncts, segons [de la dita] marmessoria consta per testament [per la] dita noble madona Peyrona feyt a tres dies de juliol en [el any] MCCCC e publicat per lo dit notari [Pere de Loças], mes e any MCCCC. E[...] sub rogacionibus mei et dicti [hon] orabilis Iohannis [L]ançol cum duobus [...] in curia officialatus Valencie confrates iudiciales coram honorabili [...] Bartholomeo Salat, clerico, locumtenenti [...] officialis Valencie, uno scilicet [...] Lançol, XI die m[ar]c[i]i, anno a [N]ativitate Domini mill[esimo] CCC^o quintodecimo, in posse discreti Bernardi Floris, notarii publici, dictam curiam regentis, alio vero nostri dicti Iacobi, XIII die septembris dicti anni millesimi quadragesimesimi quintidecimi in posse discreti Berengarii Dezcamps, notarii. Dels quals bens de la dita madona Peyrona, la noble madona Aldonça Lançol fon usufructuaria de tota sa vida e, après mort de la dita madona Aldonça Lançol, los dits bens fossen per sos marmessors e per [...] surrogats en lo dit testament [...] e donats segons per lo dit testament app[ar] [...] per tal lo senyal de la Santa e Verdadera Cr(+) eu precedent dels [...] e drets que apresent he atrobat [...] bens de la dita marmessoria [...]. Confés e en veritat reconech [haver] atrobats tots aquells XVI milia [sous], VII diners e M, los quals son es[tats entre]gats a la dita marmessoria [...] e [...] per los honorables [mossèn] en Gar(cia) Pont e en Dionís Cerverà per les causes e rahons en la dita sen[tència] contengudes e expressades, la qu[al] fon [sig]nada en Valencia, a XII dies de deembre de l'any M CCCXV en posse de [...] Joan de Caldes, notari, [...]. [La qual] sentència és començat sots kalendari de XXVII de setembre del dit any MCCCCXV en poder del dit notari, segons en la dita sentència largament és contengut.

Ítem, enaprés confés haver atrobats los títols e cartes e \altres scriptures/ per la dita marmessoria faens:

Primerament, una carta en la qual appar com los honorables [mossèn] Pere Maresme, cavaller, e micer [Guillem] Çæera, licenciat en leys, ha[b]itador de València, axí com a tudors e generals administradors dels bens de la [no]b[le] Matheua de Castellet, filla e hereua [de la no]ble n·Aldonça Lançol, muller quòndam [noble n·][Anth]oni de Castellet, deffunt, [.....] e transportaren a nosaltres, dits [marmessors], en pagua e prorrata de [...] quinze milia cent dotze sous [...] [...] testades a nos appar [...] per los dits mossèn Pere [Maresme] e micer Guillem Çæera, en los dits noms, de aquells XVII CCCCLXXIII sous, VII diners en los quals foren condemp[nats a pagar segons la] dessús dita sentència [...] [a nosa]ltres, dits marmessors, la qual fon feta en València a V de juny de l'any present MCCCCXVI, closa per lo discret en Jacme de Blanes, notari.

Ítem, altra carta pública ab la qual appar com los nobles mossèn Pere de Centelles e na Johana de Centlir, muller sua, e³⁷ l'onrat en Jacme Dezplà, notari, en lurs noms propis e la dita na Johana, axí com a hereua uni[versal] de tots los bens e drets que foren de [la ho] norable dona na Sança, muller [de l'ho]norable n·Arnau Scrivà, cavaller, vene[ren] a la noble n·Aldonça Lançol, muller del [quòndam] noble n·Anthoni de Castellet, [com] a dona

35. Marked text: "Eximen Pereç".

36. Marked text: "ensemps del".

37. Text: "en Jac".



poderosa e usufructuaria [e general] administradora de tots [los bens] e drets que foren de la [dita] noble [madona] Peyrona Lançol, de una part de tres-[cent] setanta-tres sous, moneda [reals] València, censals, rendals e anuals de loïsmo, fadiga etcètera, per preu de [...] tres milia DCCCXXXIX sous de la [dita] moneda, e de altra part veneren a la dita noble dona CCXXVII sous, censals, rendals e anuals [...] [per] preu de dos milia moneda [reals de València] [...]. Los quals censals puguen en quantitat de sis-cents sous carregats specialment e expressa sobre aquelles M^e D sous censals, los quals lo honorable en Johan de Boil, habitador de València, senyor de Maçalavéc, e na Blanca de Bonastre a la dita madona Sança carregaven sobre lo dit loch de Maçalavéc, segons consta de la venda dels [dits] sis-cents sous ab carta pública feta en València a XXIII de juliol, any [M] CCCCVII, closa per lo discret en Johan [...] [notari], una clausula del testament [de la] dita madona Sança ab la qual [.....] dita madona Johana [...] és hereua, feta en València a [...] de juliol, any MCCCCXII, [clo]sa [per lo discre]t en Bernat de Montalbà, notari.

[Íte]m, altra carta pública ab la qual [appar] com los honorables en Johan [de Boil], senyor del loch de Maçalavéc, e na Blanca de Bonastre, muller sua, veneren a la honorable madona Sança, muller del quòndam honorable n·Arnau Scrivà, [...] censals carregats sobre lo dit loch per preu de denou milia e cinch-cents sous, ab carta pública feta en València a XXVIII de abril, any M^eCCCLXXXI, closa per lo discret en Jacme Maestre, notari.

Ítem, altra carta pública feta en València, XXX die iunii, anno a Nativitate Domini millesimo CCC^oLXXX^oIII^o, rebut en València e clos per lo discret Pere Basella, notari, per lo qual appar que l noble en [Johan] de Boil vene al noble en Pere de M[ontagut], senyor del loch de la Alcudia, cinch-cent sous censals per preu de sis milia sous, [segons] un trellat de la propdita carta feta en València a XV de octubre en [l'any] de la [Nativitat] de Nostre Senyor mil CCCC, clos e [signat] per lo dit Pere Basella, [notari].

[Ítem, altra] carta pública per la qual appar que en Pere de Montagut vene a la no[ble] Damiata de Boil, muller quòndam del [noble] Dalmau de Cruelles, los dits D sous [...], feta en València a XXIX de octubre, [any M] CCCLXIXVI, rebuda per lo discret en Pere [Basella], notari.

Ítem, altra carta o trellat de la dita carta fet en València a XV d'octubre any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere Basella, notari.

Ítem, altre trellat per lo qual appar que lo honorable en Pere Eximeneç de Lomberri vene al dit noble en Loís de Boil un alberch situat en la parròquia de Sent Esteve de la dita ciutat, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere Basella, notari, lo segon dia d'abril any MCCCXCVII³⁸.

Ítem, un testament [pú]blich de la dita noble madona Pey[ro]na en dues peces de pergami, lo qual [fon fet en] València a III de juliol, any de la Nativitat de Nostre Senyor mil [...], e clos per lo discret en Pere [Basella, notari].

Ítem, un inventari fet [per l'hono]rable mossèn Guerau Lançol, ca[nonge] d[e la] Seu de València, e mossèn Arnau [Lançol], cavaller, e n·Aldonça Lançol, axí [com a] marmessors de la dita noble ma[dona] Peyrona dels bens seus, fet en València a XXI de juliol, any M^oCCCC, clos per lo discret en Pere de Loças, notari.

38. Marked text: "Ítem, altra carta pública feta en València a XXIII de juliol, any M[...], rebuda e closa per lo discret en Johan [...], notari, per la qual".



Ítem, un quern de paper en lo qual eren escrites XIII cartes majors en lo qual [...] de la dita marmessoria de la noble madona Peyrona scrit de propia mà del dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altre quern de paper en lo qual eren escrites VII cartes majors e era la almoneda dels bens de la dita noble madona Peyrona Lançol.

Ítem, altre quern de paper en lo qual eren scrites quatre cartes majors en lo qual eren expressades les solucions [...] de la marmessoria de la dita noble [ma]dona Peyrona.

Ítem, una carta [...] solució feta per lo honorable mossèn [...] Dolç, doctor en decrets, [...] procurador del senyor bisbe de València, a[ls] marmessors de la dita madona [Peyrona] Lançol, de la reddició de [...] marmessoria, fet en València en] la cort del oficial de la [...] a XXI de juliol, en l'any [de la Nativitat] de Nostre Senyor MCCCC, clos [e sig]nat per lo discret en Bernat Floris, [notari].

Ítem, una carta de època per la [qual] lo honorable mossèn Guerau Lançol confessa haver rebut dels dits marmessors de la dita madona [Peyrona] XXV lliures per rahó de [...] [de la] dita marmessoria, fet en València lo noven dia de setembre, en l'any de la Nativitat de Nostre Senyor MCCCCII, clos e signat per lo dit en Pere de Loças.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual lo honorable mossèn Bringer Vives de Cavemarc, cavaller, confessa haver rebut dels dits marmessors M sous reals de València, fet en València lo primer dia de febrer del dit any MCCCCII, clos e signat per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual la dona na Francesca, filla quòndam d'en Johan Fuster, confessa haver rebut [dels] dits marmessors sis-cents sous, [feta en] València a VII de febrer de l'any [...], closa e sotssignada per lo dit Pere de Loças.

Ítem, altra carta de [època per] la qual lo discret en Pere Fabra confessa haver hauds e rebuds [dels dits] marmessors XXX florins d'or [comuns] d'Aragó, feta en València, lo VII de febrer del dit any MCCCCII, [closa] e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, [altra carta] de època per la qual n-Anthoni Bo[...] confessa haver rebut dels dits marmessors C sous, feta en València lo primer dia de març del propdit any, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere de Loças.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual la dona na Lorença, muller d'en Francesch Ferrando, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors cinquanta sous, feta en València a nou de juny, any MCCCCII, closa e signada per lo dit [en] Pere de Loças.

Ítem, altra carta [de època] per la qual en Berenguer Fabra, ciutadà de València, c[onfe]ssa haver reebut dels dits marmessors CC sous, feta en València a XIII de juliol, any dessús dit MCCCCII, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època [per la qual] lo honorable en Jacme [...], [...] de València, confessa haver rebut dels [dits] marmessors mil sous reals [de València], feta en València a II de octubre [del des]sús dit any, closa e signada per [...] notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual lo honorable en Bernat Lançol, [habita]dor de València, confessa haver rebut dels dits marmessors doents sous, feta en València a tres de octubre del dit any M[...], closa e signada per lo dit en Pere [de] Lo[ças], notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual lo honorable mossèn Arnau Lançol, cavaller, habitador de València, confessa haver rebut dels dits marmessors XX florins d'or comuns de Aragó, feta en València a XXIX de juliol en l'any de la Nativitat de Nostre Senyor MCCCChu, closa e signada per lo dit notari.



Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual lo honorable mossèn Ramon Boil, cavaller, habitador de València, hereu universal de tots los bens e drets que quòndam foren del noble en Loís de Boil, cavaller, confessa haver rebut dels dits marmessors diverses quantitats de moneda, feta en València a XIX de juliol, [any] MCCCC[...], [closa] e signada per lo dit en [Pere Base]lla, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època [per la qual lo] honorable mossèn Jacme Ro[meu], [cavaller], habitador de València, tudor [e curad]or dels fills e hereus del honorable [Bereng]uer Lançol, cavaller, senyor [del caste]ll o vall de Vilalongua, confessa [haver] rebut dels dits marmessors qua[...] milia sous, feta en València lo nove dia de agost, en l'any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere Basella, notari.

Ítem, [...] un full de paper en lo qual eren los legats fets per la dita noble madona Peyrona Lançol a les parròquies de València, en lo qual eren los segells dels dits parròquies.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual en Pere Nicholau e Mestre Marçal, pintors, confessaren³⁹ haver rebut dels dits marmessors dos milia cent sous restants de maj[or] quantitat per rahó de un retaule, feta en València a XV de octubre, any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere Basella, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual [lo honorable] Draquo de los Campos confessa haver [re]but dels dits marmessors VI[...] d'or comuns d'Aragó, feta en València [a die] XIII de juliol, any MCCCC [...], [closa e signada] per lo dit en Pere [...], notari.

[Ítem], altra carta de època [per la qual lo honorable] [...] Bonshomes, apotecari, confessa haber reebut dels dits marmessors [...], feta en València a XIII de j[...] MCCCChu, closa e signada [per] [...], notari.

Ítem, un albarà per lo qual frare Johan Dominguo de l'orde de Sent Johan de Hierusalem, confessa haver rebut [dels dits] marmessors quatre florins e mig d'or comuns d'Aragó, feta en València a XII de juliol, any MCCCCI.

Ítem, altre albarà per lo qual n-Anthoni Belloc, prevere, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors XXVI sous, fet en València a dos de juliol, any MCCCCI.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual la dona na Sibila de Romaní, muller quòndam d'en Ramon Dezsplà, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors C sous, feta en València a XII de juliol del dit any MCCCCI, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual en Pere Roqua, notari, [confe]ssa haver [re]but dels dits marmessors XI florins d'or comuns d'Aragó, [feta en] València a XXX de octubre, any mil [...], [closa e] signada per lo dit en Pere [...], notari.

[Ítem], altra carta de època per la qual [la dona] Bertomeua, muller [de] [...], laurador de València, confessa [haver re]but dels dits marmessors setanta [...], fet en València a XIII d'agost, any [...], closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, [alium] instrumentum apoce per lo qual lo honorable mossèn Berenguer Vives de Canemars, cavaller, senyor del loch de Benifayó, confessa haver rebut dels dits marmessors u[nes cor]tines de cendat verd e un cubertor, feta en València a XXI de juliol, any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual la dona Francescha, muller quòndam d'en Joan Fuster, texidor de València, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors trenta florins d'or

39. "confessaren" repeated twice.



[comuns] d'Aragó, feta en València a XIII de agost, any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual lo honorable mossèn Guerau Lançol, canonge de la Seu de València, confessa haver reebut de la dita noble madona [A]ldonça Lançol, axí com a usufructuaria dels bens de la dita noble madona [A]ldonça Lançol, mil sous reals de València, [feta] en València a XIX de febrero, [any] [...], closa e signada [per lo dit Pere] de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra [carta de època] per la qual en Johan [...] [con]fessa haver reebut dels dits [marmes]sors tres florins d'or comuns [d'Aragó], feta en València a XI de agost, [en l'] any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta [de època] per la qual en Vicent Serra, fuster, confessa haver reebut dels marmessors quinze florins e mig d'or comuns d'Aragó, feta en València a XI d'abril, any dessús dit MCCCCI, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per al qual lo dit en Vicent Serra, fuster, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors do-ents sous, feta en València a dos d'octubre any MCCCC, closa per lo dit [notari].

Ítem, altra carta de època per la [qual] en Pere Lopec, mercader, confessa [hav]er reebut dels dits marmessors VII [...] sous, VI diners, feta en València a [...] de deembre del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, [altra carta de] època per la qual en Johan [...] confessa haver reebut dels [dits] marmessors VII florins d'or comuns d'Aragó, [feta e]n València a XVIII [...] del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual frare Thomas Gaçò, del monestir de frares preycadors de València, confessa haver haut dels [dits] marmessors quatre-cents sous, la qual [fon] feta en València⁴⁰ a XVI de noembre del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual appar com en Francesch Company, laurador de València confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors cinquanta sous, la qual fon [feta] en València a XIX d'abril de l'any MCCCCII, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual lo discret en Pere Bonanat, notari, procurador del monestir de la Çaydia, confessa haver reebut [dels] dits marmessors cent sous, la qual fon feta en València a XXIII de noembre de l'any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo [dit] notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època [per la] qual frare Domingo Agramunt [del mo]nestir de frares preycadors [de València] confessa haver reebut dels [dits marmes]sors cent sous, la qual fon [feta en Valèn]cia a XXIII de noembre [del di]t any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual lo dit frare Dominguo Agramunt, prior del dit monestir, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors CCVIII sous, feta en València a XIII d'agost del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo propdit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual frare Guillem Ortoneda, del monestir de frares preycadors de València, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors cinquanta sous, la qual fon feta en València a II d'octubre de l'any dessús dit MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere de Loças.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual en Nicholau Perpenyà, pre[vere], [admini]strador e distribuïdor dels percases de la esglèsia de Sent Esteve, [confessa] haver reebut dels dits

40. Marked text: "per lo prop dit".



marmessors [certes] quantitats de moneda, [la qual fon] feta en València a XX de juliol de l'any MCCCC, closa e signada [per el dit] notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual frare Francesch [...] [del] dit monestir de frares preya[dors de Va]lència, confessa haver reebut dels [dits] marmessors cinquanta sous, la qual [fon] feta en València a VI d'octubre de l'any Mil CCCC, closa per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta d'època per la qual lo dit [fra]re Bertomeu Gaçò, del dit monestir de frares preycadors, confessa haver reebut [dels dits] marmessors cent sous, la qual fon feta en València a VI d'octubre del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta d'època per la qual frare Francesc Eximeneç, del monestir de frares menors de València, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors cent sous, feta en València a VI d'octubre del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta d'època per la qual lo discret en Matheu Agramunt, prevere, confessa haver reebut dels [dits] marmessors, cinquanta sous [com] a procurador de la casa de Sent La[tzer], feta en València a XXVI d'agost [del dit] any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo [dit] en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, [altra carta de època] per la qual na Elionor [...], prioressa del monestir de [...], confessa haver reebut dels [dits marmessors] XXX sous, la qual fon [feta en] València a XXVI de agost de dessús dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta d'època per la qual frare Berenguer [...], [del] monestir de la Trenitat, confessa [haver] reebut dels dits marmessors [...], la qual fon feta en València a XXV de agost del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual la honorable na Clara March, abadessa del monestir de la Çaydia, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors L sous, la qual fon feta en València a XXVI de agost de l'any dessús dit MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època [per la qual] sor Margalida de Xenoneyers, [abadessa] del monestir de Santa Clara, [confessa haver] reebut dels dits marmessors cinquanta sous, la qual fon feta en València a XXV d'agost del propdit any [MCCCC], closa e signada per lo dit notari.

[Ítem, altra c]arta de època per la qual Francesch de Sent[...], prior del monestir de Santa [Maria del] Carme, confessa haver reebut dels [dits] marmessors L sous, feta en València a X[...] d'agost del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual frare Dominguo Loret, prior del monestir de Sant Gerònim, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors [...], la qual fon feta en València a XXV d'agost del propdit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta d'època per la qual frare Johan de Josa, procurador del monestir de Santa Maria de la Mercé de València, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors XXXX sous, la qual fon feta en València a XX[...] d'agost del propdit any MCCCC, closa per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual frare Francesch Gostantí, prior del monestir de [Sent] Agostí de València, confessa h[aver rebut] dels dits marmessors cinquanta [sous], la qual fon feta en València a [...] de agost del propdit any MCCCC, closa per lo dit notari.

Ítem, [altra] ca[rta de] època per la qual frare Bernat [...], guardià del monestir de [...] de València, confessa haver reeb[ut dels dits] marmessors L sous, la qual [fon] feta en València a [...] d'agost del propdit any, closa e signada per lo dit notari.



Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual lo discret en Jacme Vilatzen, notari, procurador del monestir de Santa Maria Mag[da]le[na], confessa haver reebut dels dits [m]ar[mess]jors L sous, la qual fon feta en València a XXV d'agost del dit any, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta d'època per la qual en Gabriel [...]als, draper, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors X florins d'or comuns d'Aragó, la qual fon feta en València a [...] d'agost del dit any MCCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual en Pere Sanxo, sartre de València, confessa haver reebut dels dits [marme]ssors cent-trenta sous, la qual [fon feta] en València a XIII d'agost del [dit any] MCCCC, closa e signada per lo [dit notari].

Ítem, altra carta d'època per [la qual] appar com en Johan Bonshoms [...] confessa haver reebut dels dits [marme]ssors certes quantitats de moneda, la [qual fon] feta en València a XI de agost del [dit any] MCCCC, closa per lo dit en Pere [...], notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època [per la qual] en [G]u[il]lem Portales, apothecari, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors tre-ents nou sous, XI diners, la qual fon feta en València a XXX de juliol del dit any Mil CCCC, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per [la qual] en Thomas de Caxi, mercader de València, confessa haver reebut dels [dits] marmessors quaranta florins e quatre sous d'or comuns de Aragó, la qual fon feta en València a XXIX de juliol del propdit any, closa per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual lo discret n-Albert Fexinet, prevere, maioral e clavari de la confraria de la Verge Maria, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors XI lliures, VI sous, feta en València a XXVIII de juliol del dit any, closa per lo [dit notari].

Ítem, altra carta de època [per la qual] lo discret en Pere d'Orcal, prevere [beneficiat] en la Seu de València, procurador [...] de la dita Seu, confessa haver [rebut] dels dits marmessors XX [...], la qual fon feta en València a [...] de juliol del dit any en poder del dit notari.

Ítem, altra [carta de època per] la qual en Draquo [...] confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors XVII florins [d'or comuns] d'Aragó, la qual fon feta en València a XVII de setembre del dit any en poder del dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de [època per la qual] frare Dominguo Gil, prevere, [...] casa de sant Johan de Hierusalem, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors CXIII sous, VI diners, la qual fon feta en València a XXIII de juliol, any damunt dit, closa per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual en Bernat Balaquer, corredor de València, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors quaranta-quatre lliures, dos sous, la qual fon feta en València a XXIII de juliol del propdit any, closa e signada per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta [de època] per la qual n-Anthoni Navarro confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors mil sous, la qual fon feta en València a VIII de juny, any MCCCCIII, [closa] per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

[Ítem, altra] carta de època per la qual en [Draquo] de los Campos, ciutadà de València, e [...], muller sua, confessaren haver [rebut dels dits] marmessors M sous, la qual fon feta en València a VII de juliol del propdit any MCCCCIII, closa per lo dit notari.

Ítem, altra carta per la qual na Sanxa Esplugues, muller quòndam del honorable [...] Roig de Corella, confessa haver [rebut dels] dits marmessors do-ents sous, la qual fon feta en València a [...] juny en l'any de la Nativitat de Nostre [Senyor] MCCCCIII, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.



Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual en Johan Fuster, clergue de València, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors CC sous, feta en València a VI de [ju]liol del dit any MCCCCIII, closa e signada per lo propdit notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual en Ramon Bo[...], corredor, confessa haver reebut dels dits [mar]messors quinze florins d'or comuns de Aragó, feta en València a XXVIII de març en l'any MCCCCIII en poder del dit [notari].

Ítem, altra carta de època per la [qual lo] honorable mossèn Arnau Lançol, [cavaller], habitador de València, confessa haver [rebut] dels dits marmessors quatre-cents [...], la qual fon feta en València a [...] de març del propdit any MC[...], [closa per lo dit] notari.

Ítem, altra ca[rta de] època per la qual lo discret en [...], notari, confessa haver [rebut dels dits] marmessors XIII florins [d'or comuns] d'Aragó, feta en València a XXVII de març del dit any MCCCCIII, closa e signada per lo dit en Pere Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta d'època per la qual la noble madona Sanxa Lançol, [muller] del honorable en Dalmau de [...], [confessa] haver reebut dels dits marmessors sis milia sous de reals de València, los quals la dita noble madona Peyrona li havia lexat, la qual fon feta en València a XXIII de març del dit any MCCCCIII, closa e signada pe lo dit en Pere de Loças.

Ítem, altra carta d'època per la qual la dita noble madona Aldonça Lançol confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors VI milia sous, los quals la dita deffuncta li havia lexat, la qual [fon] feta en València a XXIII de març del [dit] any MCCCCIII, closa per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de ab[...] feta entre los nobles [...] Boil e los dits mossès Arnau [Lançol], Guerau e madona Aldonça [Lançol], la qual fon feta en València a [...] de juliol, any MCCCCI, closa e signada [per el] dit en Pere Basella, notari.

Ítem, [altra] carta de època per la qual lo honorable mossèn Arnau Lançol confesa haver reebut dels dits marmessors de una [part] [...]milia sous e d'altra part mil sous [...] [que la] dita deffuncta a ell [havia lexat], la qual fon feta a XXIII de març del propdit [any M] CCCCCIII, closa per lo dit en Pere de Loças, notari.

Ítem, altra carta de època per la qual na Sança [...] Pomar, muller quòndam del honorable n-Arnau Sanç, ciutadà de Xàtiva, confessa haver reebut dels dits marmessors cent sous, los quals la dita deffuncta li havia lexat, la qual fon feta en València a X de octubre de l'any MCCCCII, closa e signada per lo discret en Ramon Dez[...], notari.

Ítem, un albarà destrictual del honorable justícia de la ciutat de València tro en suma de CCC sous de XX florins d'or comuns d'Aragó, lo qual fon fet en València a XIX de juliol en [el any] MCCCCI.

Aquest son aquelles cartes, cauteles, scriptures e alb[arans] que a present ha atrobat ésser [e pertanyer] a la dita marmessoria [.....] que si d'aquí avant atrobars [altres] bens ésser e pertanyer a la dita [marmessoria], aquelles pusca posar en [...] en altre inventari [...] esdevenir dor.

Testimonis foren a les dites coses apellats lo honorable e discret Gerard Dezponte, Dionís Cerverà, notari, ciutadans de València.

