

Shades that captivated: Textile colours in medieval Castile (ca. 1200 – ca. 1400)¹

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Recibido: 03/12/2024 • Aceptado: 09/10/2025 • Publicado en línea: 15/01/2026

ENG Abstract: This article addresses the colours appearing in medieval textiles, those being a significant factor contributing to their value. It focuses on the time period from 1200 to 1400 in the Crown of Castile. The historical Castilian documentary sources enable us to identify the names of some of the dyestuffs and also above all, the use of colour adjectives. The ultimate goal is to collate data regarding the colours' names that expressed the shades obtained by various dyestuffs in the textiles of that historical period and region. This research enhances our comprehension of the historical textile colour terminology.

Keywords: textiles, colours, dyestuff, Castile.

ES Tonalidades que cautivaron. Colores textiles en la Castilla medieval (ca. 1200-ca. 1400)

ES Resumen: Este artículo aborda los colores presentes en los tejidos medievales, los cuales constituyen un factor significativo en la valoración de un textil. Se centra en el período comprendido entre los años 1200 y 1400 en la Corona de Castilla. Las fuentes documentales permiten identificar los nombres de algunos de los tintes utilizados, así como, sobre todo, el uso de adjetivos cromáticos. El principal objetivo es recopilar datos acerca de los nombres de los colores que expresaban los tonos obtenidos por diversos tintes en los tejidos de ese período histórico en dicha región. Esta investigación contribuye a una mayor comprensión de la terminología histórica relacionada con el color en los textiles.

Palabras clave: textiles, colores, tintes, Castilla.

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Cómo citar: Barrigón, M. "Shades that captivated: Textile colours in medieval Castile (ca. 1200 – ca. 1400)", *De Medio Aevo* 15(1), 1-17. DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.5209/dmae.99450>

1. Introducción

One of the most striking features of ancient textiles is their colour, an aspect that unmistakably contributed to their richness and expression of luxury. Textiles were valued for their fine craftsmanship, which included the high quality of their colours. In fact, some textiles were originally named by the colour with which they were dyed, although sometimes that name eventually lost its original connotation

and could later indicate a specific type of textile that was dyed in a variety of different shades.

The documentary sources, however scarce, provide data on both the names of dyestuffs and the colours of the fabrics, despite the difficulties of their discernment. We will focus on textiles from the Crown of Castile between ca.1200 – ca.1400. Our analyses are based in the conclusions set out in my doctoral thesis that dealt with the textile culture in

¹ I would like to thank Nahum ben Yehuda for his assistance with the English translation

Castile ca. 1214², and supplemented here with new data especially from 14th century inventories in addition to other written sources. The main goal is to locate the names of the dyestuffs of the period, which are obtained through Castilian charters as well as with the names of the colours which occasionally accompany the fabrics listed in inventories. These will be enriched by data from literary works and chronicles. Our final goal is not philological, but rather to assemble knowledge regarding the names of colours and dyestuff for textiles used in this historical period and region.

2. Colour nomenclature and dyeing material gleaned from documentary sources

2.1. The Castilian documentary sources

The documentary sources on which this study is based include the *portazgos* (gates) of several Castilian cities, several ecclesiastical inventories and other texts of the period. They provide names of the dyes and the colours (and sometimes the hues), whilst other texts of the period, such as chronicles and literary works, contribute to the enhanced understanding of the terms. These sources present both the geographical and chronological contexts for this study (aprox. 1200 – 1400), and shed light on both the manner in which the textiles' colours were described as well as the names of dyestuffs that were used.

From the various ecclesiastical inventories we can learn how coloured textiles were described. In addition to the previously studied inventories of the cathedrals of Salamanca (1275) and Toledo (1255-1260 and 1277),³ the inventories of Toledo (1339 and 1343)⁴ and Oviedo (1385)⁵ have now been taken into

account.⁶ Also, inventories of high-ranking ecclesiastics have been now studied such as the ones that Gundisalvus Petri / Gonzalo Pérez Gudiel composed in 1273 when elected bishop of Cuenca and in 1280 when he was appointed archbishop of Toledo.⁷ Moreover, he composed two additional listings, one when in 1282 he recovered some textiles among books and jewels that his predecessors had pawned in Pistoia,⁸ and the other one in 1284 when he took possession of the chapel of Sancho of Aragon (archbishop of Toledo between 1266 and 1275).⁹ Royal documents that record the accounts of kings Juan I in 1380¹⁰ and Enrique III during 1397-1398 have also been examined.¹¹

The *portazgos* (gates) of Cuenca, Baeza, Alcaraz, Alarcón, Zorita de los Canes, and Sepúlveda provide clues to the extent of trade and the dispersion of sundry products in the Peninsula. These included textile-related goods such as various dyeing materials. When their respective prices are provided, we can learn about their economic values.¹² Finally, chronicles and literary works of the period elucidate the contexts of various colours' usage. Among them, *Estoria de España*,¹³ *General Estoria*,¹⁴ and *Setenario*¹⁵ from Alfonso X's times are relevant sources.

² María Barrigón, *Vestirse para la muerte en el panteón de las Huelgas de Burgos: cultura textil en la Castilla plenomedieval. Un estudio del ajuar de Alfonso VIII y Leonor de Plantagenet († 1214)*, (tesis doctoral, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2022), <https://docta.ucm.es/entities/publication/9d174fcc-3d7f-4dc7-8a18-5d7108a91829>. On medieval colour terms for textiles, focusing on England, France and Italy see: Lisa Monnas, "Some medieval colour terms for textiles," in *Medieval clothing and textiles vol.10*, ed. Robin Netherton and Gale.

³ Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 353-477 and 946-962. The 1277 Toledo inventory was first published in Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 946-962. Another later transcription in Francisco J. Hernández, "A holy asset: the treasure of Toledo Cathedral, 1086-1330," in *Medieval treasures of Toledo Cathedral. Artworks, relics, texts and textiles*, ed. Therese Martin (Leiden: Brill, 2026), 151-167.

⁴ The 1339 inventory is held in the Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN, Clero, Secular, 7217, no5) and it was published in: Luis Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario del siglo XIV de la Catedral de Toledo (La Biblia de san Luis)," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* LXXXIX (1926). This inventory coincides in part with another document dated in 1343 and kept in the Archivo de la Catedral de Toledo (from now on, ACT), X.12.B.1.2. The textile references included between ff. 15r and 21r are what Miguel García, representative of the treasurer, Bernalt Safon, received and, coincide (excepting few items) with the inventory draft ACT X.12.B.1.6. The drafting and organization regarding the Toledo inventories from 1339 onwards is discussed in Tom Nickson, "Ordering objects: storing and recording in Toledo Cathedral, c. 1340- c.1540," in *Medieval treasures of Toledo Cathedral. Artworks, relics, texts and textiles*, ed. Therese Martin (Leiden: Brill, 2026), 265-328.

⁵ José Villamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos en su mayoría sobre el mobiliario litúrgico de las iglesias gallegas en la Edad Media* (Madrid: Nueva Imprenta de San Francisco de Sales, 1907), 42-65.

⁶ All these documents have been previously employed to learn about oriental textiles in ecclesiastical context, see: María Barrigón, "Panni tartarici and other oriental textiles in the Castilian ecclesiastical context (1270-1385)," *De Medio Aevo* 14, no. 2 (2025). In this paper, the 1339 Toledo inventory was discussed as if it was dated in 1338 following the estimation in Tom Nickson, *Toledo cathedral. Building histories in medieval Castile* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 2015), XIV. His recent study has now dated the document in 1339, see Nickson, "Ordering objects", 285.

⁷ The inventories are kept in the Archivo de la Catedral de Toledo (ACT). Ramón González Ruiz, *Hombres y libros de Toledo (1086-1300)* (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces, 1997), 417-512. The transcriptions for the inventories of 1273 (ACT, A.7.H.1.1 and ACT, A.7.H.1.1*) and the 1280 inventory (ACT, A.7.G.1.12) in: Francisco J. Hernández and Peter Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal. The life and times of Gonzalo Pérez Gudiel* (Firenze: Sismel. Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2004), 476-496. On the name of the archbishop: Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 421.

⁸ ACT, A.7.G.2.18. in Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 521-524.

⁹ Hispanic Society of America (from now on, HSA), Ms. B190 in Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 496-501.

¹⁰ Luis Suárez Fernández, *Historia del reinado de Juan I de Castilla. Tomo II registro documental (1371-1383)* (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma, 1982), 249-307; María Luisa Villalobos y Martínez-Pontrémuli, "Las gestiones hacendísticas de Diego López de Estúñiga, camarero de Juan I," *Hispania* 43 (1983). The document is held in Archivo Histórico Nacional: AHN, Nobleza, Osuna, cap. 40 n° 1.

¹¹ Archivo General de Simancas (from now on, AGS), legajo 29, documento 28. See: David Nogales Rincón, "Un año en la corte de Enrique III de Castilla (1397-1398)," *En la España Medieval* 37 (2014).

¹² Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 342-347, 384-386, 410-414 and 473-474.

¹³ Ramón Menéndez Pidal, ed., *Primera Crónica General de España o sea Estoria de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289* (Madrid: Bailly-Baillière e hijos, 1906).

¹⁴ P. Sánchez Prieto Borja, Rocío Díaz Moreno, and Elena Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria. Primera parte* (Real Academia Española: Banco de datos (CORDE), 2006), www.rae.es; P. Sánchez Prieto Borja, Rocío Díaz Moreno, and Elena Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria. Segunda parte* (Real Academia Española: Banco de datos (CORDE), 2006), www.rae.es.

¹⁵ Kenneth H. Vanderford, ed., *Setenario de Alfonso X* (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Filología, 1945).

We shall now collate the colours used to describe textiles and dyestuffs according to their respective historical names, as well as the hues that they commonly produced. Notably, one specific material could frequently produce various different colours and shades. Another consideration is that the various colours' terminology and meaning have changed over the ages.

2.2. Reds

One of the most commonly used adjectives for textile description in the inventories of the cathedrals of Salamanca (1275), Toledo (1255, 1277, 1339 and 1343) and Oviedo (1385), was *bermeio*.¹⁶ This term was applied to describe textiles, the decoration they displayed, as well as their respective fabric linings. The abundance of ornaments dyed with this colour is not surprising, considering that in liturgical context red is linked to blood and passion. Therefore, red-dyed textiles were employed in the celebrations of the Passion of Christ and Pentecost, as well as the feasts of apostles and martyrs.¹⁷

The term *bermeio* was generic and widely used. It is comparable to *rubeo*, judging by their alternating appearances in the *fueros* (codes of law), and had similar meaning in Latin as well as in the vernacular language.¹⁸ *Bermeio* was used not only to describe a hue, but also as a dyestuff. The Castilian *fueros* (codes of law) list *bermeion* / *bermellon*, as one of the dyeing materials, which was also used as a pigment for painting. Although we are unable to identify the material, we know that it was reddish-coloured, and its export was prohibited.¹⁹ Some other options to dye red were *brasilis* and *laca*.²⁰ As an example of colour regulations present in the sumptuary laws, in

1333 garments dyed with *laca* were banned from use by prostitutes²¹ in order to segregate them.

Bermeio often indicated hues resembling fire²² and blood.²³ Additionally, it encompassed a wide range of red shades, ranging from the most purplish (for example in *General Estoria* when once talking about a "*porpola que es vermejo*"²⁴) to pastel pinkish ones (shown by one of the items in the 1339 and 1343 Toledo inventories, listing: "*dos capas de xamete bermeio rosadas*"²⁵). In *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*, *Valpirre* furnishes large quantities of *grana* (kermes) for dyeing *Bermejo*.²⁶ *General Estoria* also offers an explanation for the dyestuff that produces this colour, named *coco bistinto* "*ell otro paño de seda que era tinto de la yerva que dizen coco bistinto dond se fiziera el color vermejo*".²⁷ Whilst many in the Medieval period thought that the dye was of vegetal origin, Alfau has interpreted that *coco* would be referring to the Latin form *coccum* or in other words, kermes, and *bistinto* specified that it was dyed twice.²⁸

¹⁶ Comparative table of the Toledo inventories of 1255-60 and 1277, together with that of Salamanca of 1275 and bibliography in: Barrigón, "Vestirse," 353-477 and 946-962. Toledo 1277 inventory also in: Hernández, "A holy asset", 151-167. The 1339 Toledo inventory in: Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario." The Toledo inventory of 1343: ACT X.12.B.1.2. The Oviedo inventory: Villamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 42-65.

¹⁷ The regulation of the liturgical calendar was not so simple and straightforward, see: Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 475-476.

¹⁸ R. M. Duncan, "Adjetivos de color en el español medieval," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 5 (1968): 471-472. Both terms appear in the same positions in the fuero of Cuenca and in the fuero of Alcaraz. In the Cuenca fuero: "*De troxello celestrum, unum aureum. De troxello presseti rubel, unum aureum. De troxello stamfort, unum aureum*" in Rafael de Ureña y Smenjaud, ed., *Fuero de Cuenca*. Formas primitiva y sistemática: texto latino, texto castellano y adaptación del fuero de Iznatoraf. Edición crítica con introducción, notas y apéndice (Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos, 1935), 840. In Alcaraz: "*De troxiello de celestres, un moreuedi. De troxiello de preset bermeio, I morauedi. De troxiello de estanfort, I morauedi*" in Jean Roudil, ed., *Les fueros d'Alcaraz et d'Alarcón*. Édition synoptique avec les variantes du Fuero d'Alcaraz. Introduction, notes et glossaire (Paris: Klincksieck, 1968), 579. See: Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 474-476 and notes 1598 and 1603.

¹⁹ Américo Castro, "Unos aranceles de aduanas del siglo XIII," *Revista de filología española* VIII, no. Primer Cuaderno (1921): 22; Miguel Gual Camarena, *Vocabulario del comercio medieval* (Barcelona: Ediciones El Albir, 1976), 449. See: Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 384 and 411.

²⁰ Dominique Cardon, *Le monde des teintures naturelles* (Paris: Belin, 2014), 274-275, 591-592, 615-633. These dyestuff within the Castilian context in: Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 297, 302-303, 384 and 411.

²¹ José Damián González Arce, *Apariencia y poder. La legislación suntuaria castellana en los siglos XIII-XV* (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 1998), 178.

²² In *General Estoria*, "*Es la bermejura señal de fuego*": Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria. Primera parte*, XXV, f. 221r.

²³ In *Estoria de España*, "*todo el pendon salio bermeio con la sangre por las espadas*": Ramón Menéndez Pidal, ed., *Primera crónica general de España. Tomo II* (Madrid: Gredos, 1977), 606. In *Setenario*, "*et la color que dauan a Mars de fazión e de armaduras era toda bermeia. Et era a ssemeiante de la ssangre de Ihesu Cristo*": Vanderford, *Setenario*, 86.

²⁴ "*E de jacinto, que es color cárdeno, e de porpola, que es vermejo, e de coco bistinto, que es de dos colores en uno, que semeja a estos otros dos*": Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria. Primera parte*, LXX. Consistently the *bermejo* color in *General Estoria* is associated with *coco bistinto* (kermes) except on this occasion. This could refer to a textile named after its original dyestuff but in 13th century the fabric could be dyed in other colors (see below on purple). More specifically in this quote when talking about *coco bistinto* (normally linked only to *bermejo*), it says that it was made with two colours in one, a hue being similar to *cardeno* and *bermejo* which would be a purplish one.

²⁵ The 1339 inventory in: Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 392. The 1343 one in: ACT X.12.B.1.2 f. 15r. The voice *rosada* also referred to a fabric of a light red or pink colour: Jesusa Alfau de Solalinde, *Manual de tejidos españoles o nomenclatura de tejidos españoles en el s. XIII*, Biblioteca del claustro de sor Juana. Manuales, (Mexico: Instituto de estudios y documentos históricos, 1981), 160-161. Also, in *Libro de Alexandre*, *bermejo* was used to describe the orange-reddish color of the sky in the dawn, "*ya geuri. en tod'esto apuntar el alvor: queri. tornar el .ielo de bermeja color*": Juan Casa Rigall, ed., *Libro de Alexandre* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2014), 172.

²⁶ Luciano Serrano, ed., *Poema de Fernán González* (Madrid: Junta del Milenario de Castilla, 1943), 189. Of course it was not the only place named in sources: Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 297.

²⁷ Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria. Primera parte*, XXV, fol.221r. Also: "*un filo tinto de la yerva coco, que á natura que faze color bermeja*": Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria. Primera parte*, VIII, fol.240v. "*E jacinto e coco bistinto, que son paños de xamet de color cárdeno e vermejo; e dízeles la Biblia estos nombres d'estas dos yervas ja e co, por el çumo d'ellas en que tiñen la seda de que los fazen*": Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria. Primera parte*, XXVII, fol. 196r.

²⁸ Alfau de Solalinde, *Manual de tejidos*, 82-84. In *General Estoria* one of the times it is said "*e coco dos vezes tinto*": Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria. Primera parte*, L, fol. 199v. Nebrija already linked *coccum* with *grana* and by the 15th c.

In another context, *General Estoria* indicates that *coco bistinto* was dyed with two colourants, thus producing a hue similar to *bermejo* and *cardeno* (red and blue).²⁹ This being a textile dyed with kermes, we do not share Martínez's opinion that this name was used as a synonym of *panno tinto* – a term used to mean an unspecific dyed fabric, as previously explained elsewhere.³⁰ Kermes was also known as *grana*. 13th century Castilian sources indicate that *grana* was one of the most expensive dyeing products recorded and that its export from the Kingdom was strictly prohibited.³¹ *Grana* was a tax-free product in the Salamanca *fuero*,³² and sometimes textiles listed in inventories specified they were dyed with it.³³ *Grana* could also mean a fabric with which it had been dyed.³⁴ The high quality this textile could achieve is attested throughout time being that it was part of a diplomatic gifts. During the first decades of the 15th century, the first gift offered by Juan II to Túnez King through the ambassador Lope Alonso de Lorca in 1429-1430,³⁵ and the second one by the King of Aragon to the Emperor.³⁶ *Grana* was also offered as a gift for

Juan II's coronation.³⁷ As we mentioned above, even though the original meaning of *grana* was a textile dyed with kermes, it evolved into textiles dyed with other colours.³⁸

Another name for red cloth appears in *Cortes* (assemblies) of 1252 specifying that wearing *panno sanguino* is forbidden.³⁹ Subsequently, additional terms appeared. *Colorado* is mentioned in the Oviedo inventory of 1385, referring only to the textile itself and its decoration, excluding their linings.⁴⁰ As a rule, *colorado* is the term for red colour used in Juan I's household accounts, with only one exception where *bermejo* is used.⁴¹ Finally, *colorado* was mentioned in a 1397-1398 document regarding the household of Enrique III, where it was employed to describe fabric backgrounds and linings, sometimes specifying that they were dyed with *grana*.⁴² Although *colorado* could mean anything coloured, it often implied a red shade. Both uses are recorded in Nebrija's dictionary.⁴³ Indeed, these two meanings previously appear in chronicles. *General Estoria* uses *cortinas coloradas* as a synonym for coloured fabric,⁴⁴ whilst *Cronicas de los reyes de Castilla* mentions a red fabric with

and it also was involved with *vermiculus* or *bermejo*, see: Lidio Nieto Jiménez and Manuel Alvar Ezquerro, *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico del español* (s. XIV - 1726). Volumen 6, G-K (Madrid: Arco Libros, 2007), 5181.

²⁹ "De jacinto, que es color cárdeno, e de pórpola, que es vermejo, e de coco bistinto, que es de dos colores en uno, que semeja a estos otros dos": Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria. Primera parte*, LXX.

³⁰ M^a del Carmen Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de los tejidos en castellano medieval*, Series Lexica, (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1989), 187; Barrigón, "Vestirse," 449.

³¹ For example, in the fuero of Cuenca "De honore grane, medium aureum": Ureña y Smenjaud, *Fuero de Cuenca*, 104. Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 385, 413, 473 and 272 note 624.

³² J. Sánchez Ruano, ed., *Fuero de Salamanca. Publicado ahora por vez primera con notas, apéndice y un discurso preliminar* (Salamanca: Imp. de D. Sebastián Cerezo, 1870), 100; Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 280.

³³ Among Gudiel's possessions in 1273, "una garnacha nueva de çafri lebleba (sic) tinto en grana": Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 479. Another example referring to textiles of *grana* in *Crónica de los reyes de Castilla*, when talking about the clothing used for sleeping, "e puso encima de las almohadas un jubón suyo atado, é cubriólo con una caperuza de lienzo y con un bonete de grana, como él solía dormir": Cayetano Rosell, *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla desde don Alfonso el Sabio hasta los Católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel. Tomo segundo* (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra Editor, 1877), 673. When valued, textiles costed more when dyed with *grana* such as the cases of *estánforte* and *yngles*: Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 363 and 372. Later on, we can still find specifications of textiles dyed with *grana*, an example in the 1397-1398 household accounts, "por mandado del Rey al adelantado Diego Perez Sarmiento seys varas de santín colorado tinto en grana": AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 508 v. See: Nogales Rincón, "Un año en la corte," 99.

³⁴ Also see: Américo Castro, "Unos aranceles de aduanas del siglo XIII. III," *Revista de filología española* IX (1922): 270-271; Alfau de Solalinde, *Manual de tejidos*, 112-113; Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 476-486; Irene Becerril Luis, *Edición y análisis de dos diplomas alfonsíes: las Cortes de 1252* (Trabajo de Fin de Máster Universidad de Valladolid, 2016), 29 and 41, <https://uvadoc.uva.es/handle/10324/21507>; Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 302, 363, 364, 367, 372, 385, 412-413, 601 and 642.

³⁵ "E con este Lope Alonso el Rey embió al Rey de Tunes mulas é podencos, é piezas de paño muy fino de grana": Rosell, *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla, tomo segundo*, 488.

³⁶ "Y embióle mas dos aljubas moriscas, la una de zarzahn brocada en oro, é la otra de ricomas, é un capuz de muy fina grana": Rosell, *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla, tomo segundo*, 366.

³⁷ However, it was not the richer textile offered, "é á los otros escuderos mas baxos, jubones de seda é ropas de finos paños de grana": Rosell, *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla, tomo segundo*, 359.

³⁸ An example of a purple *grana*, "los Caballeros y Regidores de la cibdad salieron todos vestidos en ropas largas de grana morada, forradas de martas": Rosell, *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla, tomo segundo*, 566.

³⁹ The term *sanguino* is related to *sanguis*, Latin for blood. RAH, *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla. Tomo primero*, ed. Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid: Imprenta y Estereotipia de M. Rivadeneyra, 1861), 59; Alfau de Solalinde, *Manual de tejidos*, 163.

⁴⁰ "Iten vna estola e vn manipulo de xamete colorado", "Iten otra casulla de tapete colorado con vna cruz de trena ancha forrada de çendal verde [...] iten un auantal (sic) de xamete colorado con apanaduras de cendal Indio [...] iten vnas sandalias de çendal colorado": Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 57, 62-63.

⁴¹ Suárez Fernández, *Historia del reinado de Juan I de Castilla*, 277, 278, 281, 292 and 299. *Bermeja* appears referring some silk fibre: Suárez Fernández, *Historia del reinado de Juan I de Castilla*, 303.

⁴² "para el rey un par de mangas de azeytuni colorado que entro en ellas una vara e sesta de azeytuni colorado e entro en aforrado de estas mangas una terçia de panno de escarlata colorado" and "Una opa compida para el Rey e entro en ella seis varas de panno de escarlata de Bruselas colorado tinto en grana e entro mas en aforrar esta opa ocho varas e media de çendal colorado de lo ancho de Luca tinto en grana": AGS, Patronato real, legajo 29, documento 28, f. 510 r and 512r. See: Nogales Rincón, "Un año en la corte," 99, 101, 103, 105.

⁴³ Elio Antonio de Nebrija, *Vocabulario español-latino ¿1495?* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1989), 59; Duncan, "Adjetivos," 467-468.

⁴⁴ "E algunas de las cosas de que estas X cortinas fueron fechas e coloradas son yacuan to estrañas, e otrossí los nombres d'ellas": Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria. Primera parte*, L, fol.199v. Also it is said that in Egypt the clothing was discoloured and then they dyed it again, reinforcing the meaning of coloured as something dyed: "en Egipto quando la vestidura es mucho usada e se faze descolorada por luengo uso tiñenla otra vez": Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria. Primera parte*, XXVIII, fol. 255r. Also *colorada* appears as a synonym of red although not related to textiles, "se pararon con el color que les crecio por la uerguença que ouieron dellos & se pararon ende coloradas": Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria. Segunda parte*, fol.263r.

golden decoration such as “*tapete colorado con una vanda de oro*”.⁴⁵

Roxo was an additional term for the colour red, and according to *General Estoria* indicated a very bright shade.⁴⁶ This term will also be linked to textiles in 14th century documents. During the reign of Enrique III, in 1397-1398 *roxo* is cited and means a kind of special red hue. It is especially linked to the textiles gifted to by the King as his vestments were mainly defined as *coloradas*.⁴⁷ When the infante Dinis was proclaimed king of Portugal, Enrique III granted him a *hopa* (kind of garment) of *damasco roxo* lined with fur, which was a very rich fabric and rare at the time.⁴⁸ It should also be noted that the colour chosen was a red shade. Not surprisingly, the large quantity of red textiles (mostly *colorado*, seldom *roxo*) listed in the King's household accounts were associated particularly with the monarchy, and very prestigious.⁴⁹

2.3. Yellow-Orange

The yellow-orange colour range is expressed in these documents in various ways. However, it is difficult to distinguish between the colour *amariello* and those named *jalde*, *dorado* and *açafranado*, all

of which appear in the documentation. Duncan has pointed out that in *General Estoria* some “*ialde como açafra*” is mentioned and figuratively “out of fear, the face turned more yellow than saffron”.⁵⁰ The same document compares *amarillo* to gold metal, though not in textile context.⁵¹ Additionally, when describing Cilicia it is mentioned that the *açafran* (saffron) exported from there was of very good quality as it dyed very well and was “more *amariello* that gold”.⁵² From these examples it is clear that any attempt to differentiate between these shades is very challenging.

From whatever dyestuff it was obtained, *amariello* is an adjective somewhat infrequent until its diffusion at the time of Alfonso X (1221-1284),⁵³ although it does appear earlier, already during the 10th century in a document dated 919, speaking of a wool textile dyed in *amarelo*.⁵⁴ Considering that this adjective is used specially when one had had turned pale,⁵⁵ perhaps it indicated a “pure” (or pale) yellow hue. *Amarillo* was one of the adjectives most rarely employed in the 1397-1398 document of Enrique III's household.⁵⁶

The word *jalde* designated yellow shades as well, and it is thought to be an intense yellow that could even reach a greenish shade.⁵⁷ Thus Gual's hypothesis is confirmed by one of the inventory items from Toledo in 1343, where a piece of textile is described

⁴⁵ Cayetano Rosell, *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla desde don Alfonso el Sabio hasta los Católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel*. Tomo primero (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra Editor, 1875), 431.

⁴⁶ Esaú was described with this adjective as well as the summer time under Vulcano god, when the sun heats like the fire or the red-hot iron at the blacksmith: “*E el que nació primero era roxo e todo velloso de pies a cabeça como pelleja de ganado, e espeluzrado el cabello, e fue omne bollicioso e que se trabajó de armas, assí como cuentan las estorias; e pusiéronle nombre Esaú*”: Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria*. Primera parte, f. 76v. “*Et por vulcano a quien los gentiles llamauan dios de los ferreros se entiende otrossi el tiempo del estiuiio quando son grandes las calenturas del sol como lo son las del fuego; & del fierro rosio en la ferrería*”: Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria*. Segunda parte, ff. 156r and 156v. ff.156r and 156v.

⁴⁷ “*Por mandado del rey a Alfonso Enriquez diez varas de panno de chamalote roxas [...] e entró en aforrar estos balandrões mantones otras quatro varas de panno de escarlata roxa [...] en aguillando una pieça de chamalote roxa*”: AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 504 r and 507r. Some of the few items roxos for the King “*una hopa complida para el Rey de chalon roxo [...] otra opa complida de chalon roxo que entro en ella cinco varas e media del dicho chalon roxo*”: AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 509 r and 510 v. Another of the king's garment combined *colorado* with *roxo*: “*una aforradura de çendal colorado de lo ancho de Luca para una opa complida para el Rey de chalon roxo*”: AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 511v. *Roxo* was specially linked to *chalon*, a fabric from Châlons-Sur-Marne: Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 71-72. Nonetheless, two *capirotes* and a *gramalla* for the King were made with “*florentin roxo*”: AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 512r and 512v. See: Nogales Rincón, “Un año en la corte,” 99. For *roxo*: Joan Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico RI-X* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1983), 54-55.

⁴⁸ “*Por mandado del Rey a don Dinis Rey de Portugal quando lo alçaron por Rey una opa complida de damasco roxo con oro aforrada en una penna vera que ouo en la penna setecientos e veinte veros*”: AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 511 r. See Nogales Rincón, “Un año en la corte,” 127. On the novelty of damask in Castile: Barrigón, “Panni tartarici,” 6.

⁴⁹ José Damián González Arce, “El color como atributo simbólico del poder (Castilla en la Baja Edad Media),” *Cuadernos de Arte e Iconografía* VI, no. 11 (1993): 103-104; Michel Pastoureau, Rosso, *Storia di un colore* (Milano: Adriano Salani Editore, 2016), 55-90.

⁵⁰ Duncan, “Adjetivos,” 465. When speaking of a flower it is mentioned “*ialde como açafra*”, also “*tornosse con el miedo mas amariella que el açafra*”: Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria*. Segunda parte, fol.127v and 149r, respectively. The complication for distinguishing the hues in: Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 474. On the meaning of *colour* in the late Middle Ages: Astrid de Sas van Damme, “El amarillo en la Baja Edad Media. Color de traidores, herejes y repudiados,” *Estudios Medievales Hispánicos* 2 (2013).

⁵¹ “*...en ell arena que era amariella cuemo oro*”; “*amariella de color cuemo oro*”: Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria*. Segunda parte, fol.39v and 44r, respectively.

⁵² “*Açafran & muy bueno & de mejor olor que otro & mas amariello que oro & lo que mas tinne*”: Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria*. Segunda parte, fol.58v.

⁵³ Duncan, “Adjetivos,” 465. See: Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 474.

⁵⁴ José María Mínguez Fernández, *Colección diplomática del Monasterio de Sahagún (Siglos IX y X)* (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, Caja España de Inversiones y Archivo Histórico Diocesano, 1976), 46. Also in 1046 a horse was “*colore amarellum*”: Marta Herrero de la Fuente, *Colección diplomática del Monasterio de Sahagún (857-1300) II (1000-1073)* (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, Caja España de Inversiones y Archivo Histórico Diocesano, 1988), 59.

⁵⁵ “*Et parosse amariella toda & cara & cuerpo*”, “*et demudauan se le los colores: de guisa que quando metio mientes en mar tar el fiijo parauasse amariella & quando mesuraua en el que uisquiesse; tornauasse en so buen color*”: Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria*. Segunda parte, fol.195r and 338v, respectively. *Amarillo* was linked to *pálidus* and *liuidus* in 14th c., see: Lidio Nieto Jiménez and Manuel Alvar Ezquerro, *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico del español (s. XIV-1726)*. Volumen 1 A -apero (Madrid: Arco Libros, 2007), 721.

⁵⁶ It is the colour of two small cushions for the King's chapel and for his estrado: “*dos almadragejas de fustán amarillo e colorado [...] dos almadragejas grandes para sus estrados del Rey dos pieças de fustanes de algodón coloradas e amarillas e entro en ellas dos arrobas de algodón arcado*”: AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 511v and 512 r. See: Nogales Rincón, “Un año en la corte,” 103 and 106-107.

⁵⁷ Consult Gual Camarena lexicon: <https://www.um.es/lexico-comercio-medieval/index.php/v/lexico/68901>

as *uerde jalde*.⁵⁸ Also, *General Estoria* uses the *jalde* in conjunction with *verde* (green) in the description of a man dressed in two colours, representing the element of water.⁵⁹ The term *jalde* seldom appears in these documents. However, exceptionally in the 1273 Gudiel inventory, it was the only term used to indicate yellow.⁶⁰ *General Estoria* employs it when describing the rich fabrics in which Joseph was dressed in the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife.⁶¹ Antonio de Nebrija's vocabulary, albeit a later reference, identifies *jalde* as a synonym of *oropimente*.⁶² This is interesting, considering that the term *auripiment* / *orpi-ment*, interpreted as arsenic sulphide,⁶³ yellow-gold in colour, appears in a quotation provided by Castro as being a dyeing material, where it was grouped with *berdet* (see below): "*Tres robas d'oropimente et de berdet por CC mrs*".⁶⁴ Thus maybe the word *jalde* designated some very bright yellow with a greenish hue.

Yet of course, the term linked specifically to a gilded surface would be *dorado*. It is difficult to infer this term's exact significance as it refers both to a colour and a metal.⁶⁵ Clearly, it is a colour in the mitre of "*lana dorada*" (golden wool) that was kept in Salamanca Cathedral in 1275.⁶⁶ When describing the decoration of a fabric – and bearing in mind that within the luxury items listed in the documents studied here *dorado* was by far the most frequently used adjective – it is reasonable to assume the items had an ample quantity of metallic threads in their manufacture, so the most appropriate descriptor is precisely the golden quality.⁶⁷ This is also true when addressing *panno de oro* (cloth of gold) which encompasses a wide category of fabrics made with an extraordinary abundance of metallic threads. As a result, it is difficult to determine if descriptions of ground fabric using this term are referring to a colour or the abundance of metal threads employed. For example, the

1343 inventory of Toledo lists "*otro pedaço [de dias-per] dorado uieio et roto*", or a "*toca dorada*".⁶⁸

The adjective *açafranado* is used in the same documents in which *amariello* appears,⁶⁹ so obviously they were different shades. We have suggested that perhaps *açafranado* tends to be a shade of orange.⁷⁰ *Açafranado* also appears in inventories in the Latin form *croceo*. For example, in the inventory of goods made by Gonzalo Pérez in 1280 when he was elected archbishop of Toledo, "*due alie cultre una de çendato rubeo et alia de çendato croceo*".⁷¹ Regarding shades of orange, there was a term that could designate fabrics of this colour, *naranje*. Alfau has documented *naranje* as a textile known by the colour of its dye. We are not certain if this is indeed a noun, or perhaps a colour adjective,⁷² linked to the fruit of the same name as it was also the case for the following group of adjectives.

It should be noted that, aside from colour-originated adjectives, another common way of indicating these colours was by pairing them to familiar objects.⁷³ For example, the 1385 Oviedo inventory lists some items as being in *color de limon* (lemon colour),⁷⁴ as well as *limonado* (lemonish) meaning some kind of pale yellow. This shade was also used for garment linings.⁷⁵

Interestingly, whilst gold (*dorado*) was obviously linked to wealth and expression of power, yellow has been interpreted in a negative sense in context with visual depictions.⁷⁶ It has also been linked with liars, traitors and prostitution,⁷⁷ although sumptuary laws required that those women must wear a red (*bermejo*) – not yellow – fabric over their headwear.⁷⁸ Also, according to *Siete Partidas*, *jalde* was one of the colours suitable for young knights as it was one of the hues (together with *bermejo*, *verde* and *cardeno*) that made clothing more precious and "gave joy whilst

⁵⁸ A piece of textile "*que corre en uerde jalde*" is cited in: ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f. 27v.

⁵⁹ "*E las sus vestiduras de dos colores, ca tantos á propios ell agua, de jalde e de verde*": Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsies. General Estoria. Primera parte*, IX, fol. 38r.

⁶⁰ *Amarillo* does not appear in this document. *lalde* only in "*una colcha grant, de cendal jalde, el auieso cardeno*": Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 478.

⁶¹ "*E vistiéronle paños de seda jalde labrados con oro e con plata a señales de ruedas bermejas*": Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsies. General Estoria. Primera parte*, VII, fol. 96v.

⁶² Nebrija, *Vocabulario*.

⁶³ Lidio Nieto Jiménez and Manuel Alvar Ezquerro, *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico del español* (s. XIV-1726). *Volumen 8, O-Q* (Madrid: Arco Libros, 2007), 7229.

⁶⁴ Américo Castro, "Unos aranceles de aduanas del siglo XIII. IV y último," *Revista de filología española* X, no. Segundo Cuaderno (1923): 117. According to Gual Camarena, the pigment was used in painting, dyeing and medicine Gual Camarena, *Vocabulario*, 376. On *orpi-ment* see: Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 410.

⁶⁵ Duncan, "Adjetivos," 468.

⁶⁶ In this case the inventory may be describing the textile fibre known as *byssos*: Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 473.

⁶⁷ Barrigón, "Vestirse," 476. Comparative table of the Toledo inventories of 1255-60 and 1277, together with that of Salamanca of 1275 and bibliography in: Barrigón, "Vestirse," 353-477 and 946-962. Toledo 1277 inventory also in: Hernández, "A holy asset", 151-167. The 1339 Toledo inventory in: Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario." The Toledo inventory of 1343: ACT X.12.B.1.2. The Oviedo inventory: Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 42-65.

⁶⁸ ACT, X.12.B.1.2, ff. 4r and 17v, respectively.

⁶⁹ For instance among the capes that archbishop Jimenez de Rada gave to Toledo cathedral, there were "*quatro amariellas*" and "*E dos otras[tocas] de seda, la una con listas de oro e la otra açafranada*". See the inventory of the cathedral of Toledo of 1277 ACT, X.12.B.1.1, transcribed for the textile part in: Barrigón, "Vestirse," 946-957. Also in Hernández, "A holy asset", 151 and 155.

⁷⁰ Barrigón, "Vestirse," 475. It is also true that as dyestuff, it appears both *açafran* and *amariello*: Barrigón, "Vestirse," 384 and 412. For the identification of *croceus* as the colour obtained from saffron and subsequently meaning an orange shade see also Monnas, "Some medieval colours", 39.

⁷¹ ACT, A.7G.1.12 cf. Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 495.

⁷² Alfau de Solalinde, *Manual de tejidos*, 135-136; Barrigón, "Vestirse," 446. In England it seems that orange have been adopted quite late as an adjective for textiles: Monnas, "Some medieval colours", 39.

⁷³ Duncan, "Adjetivos," 464.

⁷⁴ "*Iten otra almática de seda enleuado color de limon sin forrada*": Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 52.

⁷⁵ "*Iten vna casulla de xamete color limonado (sic) [...] Primeramente vna almática de çendal limonado*": Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 51-52. "*Iten otra almática de seda praeta enleuada e forrada de çendal limonado*" and "*Iten vn amito de oro en campo uermejo forrado en çendal limonado*": Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 52 and 58.

⁷⁶ Sas van Damme, "El amarillo en la Baja Edad Media. Color de traidores, herejes y repudiados."

⁷⁷ González Arce, *Apariencia y poder*, 62.

⁷⁸ González Arce, *Apariencia y poder*, 179.

they were young”.⁷⁹ Lastly, it was a hue frequent in liturgical inventories.

2.4. Whites and bleaching agents

Inventories of the cathedrals of Salamanca (1275), Toledo (1255, 1277, 1339 and 1343) and Oviedo (1385), frequently describe both the textiles and the decoration they featured as the colour *blanco*, *branco* or *albo* (white).⁸⁰ In contrast, white was rarely used as a lining for vestments,⁸¹ as white lining would be prone to staining. White was one of the four main liturgical colours and being a symbol of purity, was employed on the Feasts linked to the Lord, angels, virgins and confessors. In Castile at the time, white was considered a symbol of divine light and purity, as opposed to black.⁸² *Estoria de España* mentions some white clothing as having the quality of sanctity “*uestiduras blancas cuemo de sanctidat*”,⁸³ whilst *Setenario* associates luminous apparel with the Holy Ghost, white garments to the Moon (which alludes to the Virgin in her purity), and white liturgical vestments that represent purity and cleanliness.⁸⁴ In *Cronicas de los reyes de Castilla*, it is told that when Pedro I and Blanca de

Borbón married in 1353 they were dressed in white clothes with gold and lined with ermine, and they rode white horses. In addition some important attendees to the ceremony, such as Leonor de Aragon and Doña María the King's mother also dressed in white.⁸⁵ In 1398, some of Enrique III's garments were documented as being white.⁸⁶ In terms of textiles, a fabric called *blanco* (white), has been interpreted as an undyed woollen fabric.⁸⁷

Certain substances may have been used to render fabrics white or to bleach them. In the Castilian *fueros* (codes of law), the terms *ceruse* / *cerusa* and *blanc* appear, both have been interpreted as lead carbonate or “white lead”, a pigment used in textiles, painting and cosmetics.⁸⁸ Gual Camarena has also associated the term *blanquet* with ceruse or albayalde as a colouring agent as well as a material for laundering or bleaching fabrics.⁸⁹

2.5. Blue

There were several names for shades of blue, though interestingly the currently used term *azul* was only used in rare occasions until the 14th century. For instance, by the mid-10th century there is a reference to a blue mantle “*manto azul*”, whilst (though not specifically related to textiles) among the possessions of Gudiel in 1273 a blue chair was listed, “*siella d'azul*”.⁹⁰ However, *azul* was the term used to designate all the blue textiles mentioned in the royal accounts of 1397-1398.⁹¹ Sometimes the colour's shade was elucidated by pairing with a familiar object, for instance in 1398 a silk fabric was described as being *azul pintadillo*, a blue hue related to some bird of very bright plumage,⁹² probably indicating a bright blue hue.

⁷⁹ “*Paños de colores señalados establecieron los antiguos que troxiesen vestidos los caballeros noveles mientras fuesen mancebos, así como bermejós, ó jaldes, ó verdes, ó cardenos, porque les dises alegría [...] E esto fecieron porque las vestiduras fuesen mas apuestas, et qellos anduviese alegres et les cresiesen los corazones para ser mas esforzados*”: RAH, *Las Siete Partidas*, editadas y cotejadas con varios códices antiguos por la Real Academia de la Historia. Tomo II *Partida Segunda y Tercera* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1807), 211.

⁸⁰ Comparative table of the Toledo inventories of 1255-60 and 1277, together with that of Salamanca of 1275 and bibliography in: Barrigón, “*Vestirse*,” 353-477 and 946-962. Toledo 1277 inventory also in: Hernández, “*A holy asset*,” 151-167. The 1339 Toledo inventory in: Pérez de Guzmán, “*Un inventario*.” The Toledo inventory of 1343: ACT X.12.B.1.2. The Oviedo inventory: Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 42-65.

⁸¹ Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 386-408.

⁸² David Nogales Rincón, “El color negro: luto y magnificencia en la Corona de Castilla (siglos XIII-XV),” *Medievalismo: Revista de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales* 26 (2016): 227; González Arce, “El color como atributo simbólico del poder,” 125-126; Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 475. For a study focusing on red and black as opposed to white, see: Pablo Martín Prieto, “Del rojo al negro: indicios de un cambio de mentalidad en fuentes medievales hispanas del siglo X,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 50, no. 1 (2020).

⁸³ Menéndez Pidal, *Primera Crónica General*, 221.

⁸⁴ “*Et por la color de la cara bermeia e de las uestiduras de la claridad sse entiende el Spiritu Ssanto*”: Vanderford, *Setenario*, 117. It also specifies that when the Moon was depicted as a woman, she was dressed in white, “*et ftazianle ymagen de fforma de duenna assentada en ssu cathedra con corona en la cabeça commo rreyna, vestida de pannos blancos*” and was linked to the Virgin, “*onde los aoradores de la luna fazíanla ymaien a ffigura de mugier vestida de pannos blancos, que mostraua esto que auya a sser. Et esto era a ssignificança de Ssanta Maria que nunca fiué corronpida, que es ssemejada a la luna en vii maneras*”: Vanderford, *Setenario*, 58 and 81. Considering the liturgical garments, for instance a linen without impurity should be used during the children baptism, “*el ssacerdote deue poner vn panno de lino en la cabeça al que ffuere baptizado, diziéndol que tome aquella uesticlura que es blanca e ssin manziella e que la traya en ssu voluntad, con que biua por ssienpre*”; the alb should be white as the water in baptism so it can clean the sins, “*ssignifica que por la blancura della, que sse entiende por el agua del baptismo, que nos laua los peccado*”; the miter should be made in white silk or linen meaning a good life and chastity, “*es cubierta de panno blanco de sseda o de lino a ssignificança de buena vida o de castidat*”: Vanderford, *Setenario*, 150-151, 251 and 258.

⁸⁵ “*É iban el rey don Pedro é la Reyna Doña Blanca su muger aquel día vestidos de unos paños de oro blancos enforrados de armiños, é en caballos blancos [...] é madrina de la Reyna era la Reyna Doña Leonor de Aragón, que iba en una mula: é levaba paños de lana blancos con peñas grises [...] É iba la Reyna Doña Maria, madre de rey don Pedro, en una mula, é levaba paños de xametes blancos con peñas veras*”: Rosell, *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla*, tomo primero, 432.

⁸⁶ “*una hopa complida de tapete blanco para el Rey*”: AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 507 r. The King also gave a *balandran* (kind of coat) made a *mitad*, that is in halves, one in a white baldaquin and the other in a blue satin, “*hun balandran a meatad la meatad de baldaquin blanco e la otra meatad de satin azul*”: AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 512v

⁸⁷ Alfau de Solalinde, *Manual de tejidos*, 55; Gual Camarena, *Vocabulario*, 232; Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 444.

⁸⁸ *Ceruse* in: Ureña y Smenjaud, *Fuero de Cuenca*, 844; Roudil, *Les fueros d'Alcaraz*, 574. *Blanc* in: Castro, “*Unos aranceles*,” 12 and 24. Both in: Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 411.

⁸⁹ Gual Camarena, *Vocabulario*, 232; Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 411.

⁹⁰ The blue mantle “*manto azul*” in: Gonzalo Martínez Díez, *Colección documental del Monasterio de san Pedro de Cardena* (Burgos: Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad del Círculo Católico de Obreros de Burgos, 1998), 75. “*Una siella d'azul*” was listed in Gudiel's 1273 inventory: Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 485.

⁹¹ AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, e. g. in f. 500 v, in 1397 it was employed a blue satin, a green italian *cedal* and a very rich blue textile to make an *opa* for the *infante*: “*çinco varas e tres quartas de panno de satin azul et entro en aforrar esta opa tres varas e quarta de çendal verde de lo ancho de Luca et entro en vanda de esta dicha opa tres varas y media de sauastro el campo azul ancho de quatro dedos*”. See: Nogales Rincón, “*Un año en la corte*,” 99.

⁹² “*et entro en la una opa dos pieças de panno de seda azul pintadillo morisca entera con cabo e cola*”: AGS, Patronato real,

In the inventories of the cathedrals of Salamanca (1275), Toledo (1255, 1277, 1339 and 1343) and Oviedo (1385), the adjectives used to describe blue textiles were *indio* and *cardeno*.⁹³ Obviously, these adjectives indicated various shades of blue – perhaps *cardeno* was a light, muted or dull shade and *indio* a brighter one.⁹⁴ Although the colour blue was not specified in the regulations for liturgical use, some blue liturgical ornaments have been preserved,⁹⁵ and it is also very common to find them listed in Peninsular inventories of the period. Regarding royal accounts, just like *azul* in the 1397-1398 document, *cardeno* was the only adjective for a blue shade in the royal accounts of 1380.⁹⁶

Terms for the dyestuffs themselves were often similar to the names of the respective colours that they produced. For example, in the *portazgos* (gates) we find the following two distinctly different materials – *azur/azuli/azul*, *annil* and *indi*. Having a significant disparity in price between them, clearly they must have been different products. Identification of indigofera (indigo) as the dye *annil/indio* and isatis (woad) as *azure/azul* is persuasive.⁹⁷

At this time there were several types of fabrics that were named after their blue colour, such as *blao* or *celestre*. *Blao* was a woollen fabric greyish blue in colour.⁹⁸ *Celestre* / *celestis* / *celest*, used as a noun, was a light blue fabric and had been in use since the beginning of the 13th century.⁹⁹ As an adjective it continued to be used at the end of the 13th century,¹⁰⁰ as recorded in the inventory of his possessions made by Gonzalo Pérez in 1280 when he was elected

archbishop of Toledo, where it is stated: “*Item unum cingulum de serico celesti*”.¹⁰¹ The term *safirino* has also been interpreted as a light blue.¹⁰² That is attested in *General Estoria*, when defining a *safirina* stone, it was described as being the colour of very light blue sky.¹⁰³

Finally, there are some instances that bridge to a purple colour. One distinct example specifically refers to the blue-violet shade of a chasuble: “*de cendal yndio uiolet con orofres por medio a leones e a castiellos*”.¹⁰⁴ Another example is the term *cardeno*, mentioned above. As a noun, this term indicated a fabric,¹⁰⁵ and as an adjective it was a synonymus to *jacinto* – a common term in ecclesiastical inventories. Additionally, this was the adjective most frequently used in Alfonso X's work to indicate the colour blue with a purplish shade or even a greenish connotation, both dark and light.¹⁰⁶ *General Estoria* often identifies *cardeno* as *jacinto*.¹⁰⁷ This document provides some examples of textiles of the colour of *jacinto*, thus using the name of a familiar flower to specify the colour.¹⁰⁸ In fact, *General Estoria* speci-

leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 513v. *Pintadillo* in: Nieto Jiménez and Alvar Ezquerro, *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico, volumen 8*, 7710-7711.

⁹³ Comparative table of the Toledo inventories of 1255-60 and 1277, together with that of Salamanca of 1275 and bibliography in: Barrigón, “*Vestirse*,” 353-477 and 946-962. Toledo 1277 inventory also in: Hernández, “*A holy asset*,” 151-167. The 1339 Toledo inventory in: Pérez de Guzmán, “*Un inventario*.” The Toledo inventory of 1343: ACT X.12.B.1.2. The Oviedo inventory: Villamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 42-65.

⁹⁴ *Cardeno* was linked to *plúmbeo* (lead-coloured) in 16th c., see: Lidio Nieto Jiménez and Manuel Alvar Ezquerro, *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico del español* (s. XIV-1726). *Volumen 3 C-contrad* (Madrid: Arco Libros, 2007), 2146-2147.

⁹⁵ An example is the Clare chasuble in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London (inventory number 673-1864).

⁹⁶ Suárez Fernández, *Historia del reinado de Juan I de Castilla*, 277 and 281.

⁹⁷ In the Cuenca and Zorita charters, the difference for the *annil* was half an *aureo* and for the *azuli* it was 4 *denarii*. In the Cuenca charter: Ureña y Smenjaud, *Fuero de Cuenca*, 834 y 846 para la primordial y 834 y 842 para la sistemática. In that of Zorita: Rafael de Ureña y Smenjaud, ed., *El fuero de Zorita de los Canes según el código 217 de la Biblioteca Nacional (siglo XIII al XIV) y sus relaciones con el fuero latino de Cuenca y el romanceado de Alcázar*, Memorial histórico español. Colección de documentos, opúsculos y antigüedades que publica la Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid: Establecimiento tipográfico de Fortanet, 1911), 402 y 407. See: Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 384 and 473.

⁹⁸ Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 45; Alfau de Solalinde, *Manual de tejidos*, 59. The possible relationship of this term with *blauina* in: Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 361 and 444.

⁹⁹ Alfau de Solalinde, *Manual de tejidos*, 74; Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 63-64; Duncan, “*Adjetivos*,” 467; Francisco J. Hernández, “*Las posturas publicadas por las Cortes de Toledo de 1207 (nueva edición)*,” *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos* 38 (2011): 257; Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 362 and 444.

¹⁰⁰ It is used in the *Lapidario* to describe shades of stones: Duncan, “*Adjetivos*,” 467.

¹⁰¹ ACT, A.7.G.112 cf. Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 495.

¹⁰² Duncan interpreted *safirino* as the colour of some textiles in *Estoria de Espanna*: Duncan, “*Adjetivos*,” 470. However, the quote talks about furs (*pennas*, not *pannos*), that given the subsequent context maybe led to Duncan's interpretation. Nonetheless, interestingly they defined *safirino* as a black colour: “*et pennas safirinas, que son muy nobles et de color negro et muy hermoso; e estos turingos fazien sus mercados destas pennas et dotras cosas con las yentes sus uezinas, et eran yente que fazien pobre uida dotra guisa, mas uistien se noblemiente*”: Menéndez Pidal, *Primera Crónica General*, 216.

¹⁰³ *General Estoria* mentions the colour *safiro* when speaking about a stone that was of a light blue sky: “*teníe so los pies una obra fecha como de piedra safiro, que era del color del cielo cuando está muy claro*”: Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria. Primera parte*, f. 195v, XXXVI.

¹⁰⁴ Inventory of 1277 of the cathedral of Toledo ACT, X.12.B.1.1; see: Barrigón, “*Vestirse*,” 475 and 948. Also in: Hernández, “*A holy asset*,” 153.

¹⁰⁵ Alfau de Solalinde, *Manual de tejidos*, 72-73; Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 179-182; Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 446.

¹⁰⁶ Duncan, “*Adjetivos*,” 467; Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 179-182; Alfau de Solalinde, *Manual de tejidos*, 72-73; Castro, “*Unos aranceles IV*,” 133; Barrigón, “*Vestirse*,” 474; Lola Serrano-Niza, María del Cristo González Marrero, and Yasmina Romero Morales, *Granada, un reino de seda: su legado en una nueva ruta de escenarios atlánticos* (Granada: Fundación Ibn al-Jatib de Estudios de Cooperación Cultural, 2008), 229. The link between *hyacinthus* and purple in medieval France in: Monnas, “*Some medieval colours*,” 31.

¹⁰⁷ “*De jacinto, que es color cárdeno*”, “*Desí contól las cosas de que las devien tomar, e fueron éstas: oro, plata, arambre e jacinto e coco bistinto, que son paños de xamet de color cárdeno e vermejo*”: Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria. Primera parte*, LXX and f. 196r XXXVII. About some liturgical vestments: “*e las vestimentas para los obispos e para los otros menores fechas de seda tinta de color cárdeno de jacinto*”: Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria. Primera parte*, f. 217v XVII. About a tent, linking *jacinto* with *cardeno* and with light blue sky in “*ell otra cuarta cobertura de jacinto, que era de color cárdeno, mostrava el cielo que está sobre todas las otras cosas del mundo, e es todo muy claro e muy limpio*”: Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria. Primera parte*, f. 220v XXV.

¹⁰⁸ Duncan, “*Adjetivos*,” 468. In *General Estoria*: “*tintos de color de jacinto*”; “*e otros paños tintos de jacinto*”: Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos al-*

fies that the dyestuff used to obtain *cardeno* colour is of vegetal origin,¹⁰⁹ we assume the flower named *jacinto*. This term is also used when describing a tent and also some liturgical vestments.¹¹⁰ The *cardeno* hue is often described as the colour of the light sky, both in *General Estoria* and in *Setenario*.¹¹¹ Another adjective, *pauonado*, appears rarely – it is found in the 1385 Oviedo inventory only three times.¹¹² *Pauonado* may have indicated a dark blue shade or even a purplish one – as can be ascertained from the similarity to *pavo* (*pavo cristatus* L.) and its feathers. However, in early 16th century this colour name was linked to shades of purple.¹¹³

In the Castilian courtly sphere, blue had acquired great preponderance since the beginning of the 13th century (and perhaps even earlier), an importance that had spread to France and England from the middle of that century onwards.¹¹⁴ The importance of this

colour was still attested at the end of the 14th century when blue (*azul*) was the second-most employed colour in the 1397-1398 documentation of the royal chamber.¹¹⁵ A bit later, in the 1440's Juan II offered a diplomatic gift containing rich blue (*azul*) fabrics and when Mosen Diego de Valera was despatched on a diplomatic mission, one of his royal garments was made of blue (*azul*) velvet.¹¹⁶

2.6. Purple

Focusing now on the colours purple and violet, it should be noted that they have been valued and admired since Antiquity. A quotation in *Estoria de España* clarifies that in the 13th century, the memory of the link between this colour and the Caesars of Antiquity still survived.¹¹⁷

In the inventories of the cathedrals of Salamanca (1275) and Toledo (1255, 1277, 1339 and 1343), and also among Gudiel's possessions, the adjectives used to describe the relatively few textiles in purple shades are *uiolet*, *uiolado*, *morado* and *amoretado*.¹¹⁸ These last three terms appear together in the same document, the inventory of 1343, which leads us to assume that they were different shades. Perhaps *amoretado* may have been lighter than *morado*.¹¹⁹ Also, *uiolada* and *amorada* appear in the 1339 document.¹²⁰ Even before, among Gudiel's possessions in 1273 some items were described as *uiolado* and *morado*.¹²¹ Among Gudiel's collection, a cope of *uiolaceo* colour is also found.¹²² Perhaps

fonsies. *General Estoria*. Primera parte, f. 199v XLIX and f. 217 XVI.

¹⁰⁹ "Desí contól las cosas de que las devién tomar, e fueron éstas: oro, plata, arambre e jacinto e coco bistinto, que son paños de xamet de color cárdeno e vermejo; e dízeles la Biblia estos nombres d'estas dos yervas ja e co, por el çumo d'ellas en que tiñen la seda de que los fazen"; "e las vestimentas pora los obispos e pora los otros menores fechas de seda tinta de color cárdeno de jacinto e de vermejo de coco bistinto, e de pórpola e de bisso margomadas e labradas": Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, Edición de textos alfonsies. *General Estoria*. Primera parte, f.196r XXXVII and f. 217v XVII.

¹¹⁰ "Desí díxol que fuesse esta tienda o velo muy fermosa d'estos quatro colores muy preciados de color de jacinto e de pórpola e de coco bistinto e de bisso bien torcido e margomada a muchas flores e muy estrañas e de muchas naturas departidas las unas de las otras, sin otras figuras de muchas animalias que ovo en ella"; "las cortinas de la primera cobertura, que eran de bisso e de jacinto e de pórpola e d'otras cosas, como dixiemos": Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, Edición de textos alfonsies. *General Estoria*. Primera parte, LXVII and f. 199v LI. The liturgical vestments in: "e pora los otros obispos la vestimenta a que llamaron superhumeral, e dixo que la labrasen de oro e de seda tinta de jacinto e de seda e de coco bistinto"; "superumeral, e mandól que la fiziesse toda de color de Jacinto"; "Vistié luego el mayor sacerdot el machir, que era la camisa fecha de color de Jacinto": Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, Edición de textos alfonsies. *General Estoria*. Primera parte, LXX, LXXII and LXXIX.

¹¹¹ "El paño de la seda tinto de la yerva jacinto, que era del color cárdeno, diz que mostrava el elemento dell aer, porque d'este color parece ell aer suso contra'l cielo quando claro está e puro"; "las cintas del jacinto que eran del color del cielo": Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, Edición de textos alfonsies. *General Estoria*. Primera parte, f. 288r-228v IV. In *Setenario*, "assí commo los gentiles ffazien a la ymagen de Jupiter uestiduras cárdenas de color de cielo, assí Ihesu Cristo ffué Uestido de dos maneras de uestiduras muy nobles: la vna, de color cárdeno e claro e celestial, que ovo de parte del Padre": Vanderford, *Setenario*, 87.

¹¹² "Iten dos pares de çapatos, los vnos de xamete pauonado [...] Iten otra casulla tunja e almática de xamete sensiello pauonado con apañaduras de oro apapagayos": Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 49 and 51.

¹¹³ Nieto Jiménez and Alvar Ezquerro, *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico, volumen 8*, 7472. Because of the iridescent quality of the peacock's feathers and some 16th century Italian documents the term *pauonado* has been interpreted as a shade of purple. In England, however it was already in use during the 13th century: Monnas, "Some medieval colours", 49-51.

¹¹⁴ See: María Barrigón, "An exceptional outfit for an exceptional King: the blue funerary garments of Alfonso VIII of Castile at Las Huelgas," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 46, no. 3 (2015); María Barrigón, "Alfonso VIII y el color azul: nuevas investigaciones sobre un rey medieval a la vanguardia de

la moda," *Reales Sitios* 202, no. 2 (2015); Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 726-730.

¹¹⁵ Nogales Rincón, "Un año en la corte," 99.

¹¹⁶ "El Rey embió al señor de Balse quatro caballos de la brida muy grandes e muy hermosos, e dos piezas de brocado muy rico, la una carmesí e la otra azul", "é le dio una ropa de velludo vellutado azul, de su persona, forrada de cebellinas": Rosell, *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla, tomo segundo*, 525 and 568, respectively.

¹¹⁷ "E uistiose la porpola en que se mostrava la onra del senno-rio, porque era uestidura que no osaua uestir ninguno si no ell emperador", "ca el mayor departimiento que ellos auien de la otra yente en so uestir era la porpola que trayen por sennal del Imperio, que la no osaua otro ningún uestir si no ell emperador et la emperatriz et los cesares", "estaua uestido con sus pannos de porpola commo Cesar deuie seer": in Menéndez Pidal, *Primera Crónica General*, 168, 176 and 177, respectively. The second one cited in Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 670, note 2077.

¹¹⁸ Comparative table of the Toledo inventories of 1255-60 and 1277, together with that of Salamanca of 1275 and bibliography in: Barrigón, "Vestirse," 353-477 and 946-962. Toledo 1277 inventory also in: Hernández, "A holy asset", 151-167. The 1339 Toledo inventory in: Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario." The Toledo inventory of 1343: ACT X.12.B.1.2. The Oviedo inventory: Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 42-65.

¹¹⁹ In 1343 Toledo inventory it was listed: "Item tres casullas de xamete uiolado con sus tres aluas. Item una capa de xamete uiolado": ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f. 16r; "Item quatro çintos de seda morada con sus borlas": ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f. 5r; "Item una casulla de suria amoretada aforrada en çendal amariello": ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f. 17r.

¹²⁰ *Uiolado* and *amorada* appear in the 1339 document: Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 394 and 396.

¹²¹ "Dos surias moradas [...] Unos paños de suria uiolada": Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 478. *Uiolado* is also referred in the 1284 inventory "una capa e una casulla de cendal violado de Ultramar con sus orfreses. Dos casullas de xamete violado con sus orfreses": Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 497.

¹²² "Item unum pluviale de xamito uiolaceo cum aurifrisio de Londoniis": ACT, A.7.G.1.12 cf. Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 495.

this adjective indicates a more pastel shade of the *uiollet/uiolado* hue. Aside from adjectives, in the 1273 Gudiel's inventory, the term *uiollet* was also used meaning a textile.¹²³ There was also a fabric called *moret*, presumably named after its colour, some shade of purple.¹²⁴

As the term *uiollet* was seen before as a shade of blue (*indio uiollet*), it is tempting to wonder whether *uiollet* / *uiolado* would be more related to bluish-purple shade whilst *morado* and *amoretado* indicate reddish-purple shades. However, *uiollete* and *violeta* were mentioned in *Setenario* in context with Venus's garments, linking them to the flowers with which she adorned her crown. This is yet another example of naming colours after familiar objects. Venus's garments are also described as similar to *sanguino*, a shade of red, as they they were covered with blood.¹²⁵ We conclude that the distinction between different hues is quite difficult. A fabric in a darker shade, a *chamelote uiollete escuro* was delivered in 1397 to make a garment for the King,¹²⁶ whilst a *escarlata uiollete escuro* from London was offered to Juan Sánchez de Sevilla.¹²⁷

As a noun, there was a term that had been linked historically to a dyestuff, although later on it primarily referred to a rich fabric, e.g. *porpora* / *porpola* / *purpura* (purple). From a quotation in *Estoria de España*, it is clear that in the 13th century, the memory of the link between this colour and the Caesars of antiquity still existed as mentioned above.¹²⁸ In addition, the shellfish origin of this dyestuff is mentioned in *General Estoria* which interestingly links it to a red

hue (*vermejo*).¹²⁹ As an adjective, a single case of *purpurado* was mentioned in the 1277 Toledo inventory.¹³⁰

It is, however, much more common to find this term (*pupura*) as meaning rich silk fabric of various colours.¹³¹ For example, both the Toledo inventory of 1277 and those of 1339 and 1343 include ornaments made of *porporas* of various colours, whilst the latter two list *porpora uerde* and *bermeia*.¹³² *Purpura* without any specific hue is mentioned in the 1282 inventory of textiles and books for the Toledo cathedral.¹³³ As pointed out elsewhere, the richness of this fabric is shown through literary evidence,¹³⁴ attested in *General Estoria*¹³⁵ and still documented in 1388 when Juan I gave his son Enrique a *manto de pupura* (meaning a rich fabric, colour unknown) when he was appointed heir and therefore *Príncipe de Asturias*.¹³⁶

¹²³ "Una capa nueva de uiollet [...] Pellot e saya nuevo de uiollet con capirot desse mismo paño en Peña uera": Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 478-479 and 505.

¹²⁴ Alfau de Solalinde, *Manual de tejidos*, 131-132.

¹²⁵ "E tenie en la cabeça corona de violetas e vistía pannos dessa misma color", "Et los panos de color de violete que ssemeian ssanguino, que sse entiende por el ssu cuerpo, que ffué todo cubierto de ssangre por el martirio": Vanderford, *Setenario*, 59 and 84. See: Duncan, "Adjetivos," 470. The link between the flower and some red shades was still maintained during the 15thc.: Lidio Nieto Jiménez and Manuel Alvar Ezquerro, *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico del español* (s. XIV-1726). Volumen 10, T-Z (Madrid: Arco Libros, 2007), 9911. *Uiolado* was linked to the colour of the flower named *violeta*: Nieto Jiménez and Alvar Ezquerro, *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico*, volumen 10, 9909.

¹²⁶ AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 501 r: "un balandron para el Rey de chamalote uiollete escuro e entro en el honze varas del dicho chamalote". See: Nogales Rincón, "Un año en la corte," 99.

¹²⁷ AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 501 r: "Juan Sanchez de Sevilla su contador mayor un pedaço de panno de escarlata de Londres violete escuro".

¹²⁸ "Ca el mayor departimiento que ellos auien de la otra yente en so uestir era la porpola que trayen por sennal del Imperio, que la no osaua otro ningun uestir si no ell emperador et la emperatriz et los cesares" in Menéndez Pidal, *Primera Crónica General*, 176. See Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 670. Also in *Estoria de España* when talking about Nero and the emperors, "uistie unos pannos de porpola laurados a estrellas doro", "e uistiosse la porpola en que se mostraua la onra del sennorio, porque era uestidura que no osaua uestir ninguno si no ell emperador", "estaua uestido con sus pannos de porpola, commo Cesar deuie seer": Menéndez Pidal, *Primera Crónica General*, 122, 168 and 177.

¹²⁹ "e pórpola otrossí todos saben que es paño de seda, e á este nombre d'un marisco en cuya sangre la tiñen a que dizen otrossí pórpola", "porque era aquel paño de la pórpola tinto en la sangre d'aquellos mariscos de la mar que an nombre pórpolas, segund diz Plinio, e por esta razón le dizen pórpola a este paño, porque se tiñe en la sangre d'aquellas pórpolas, que por natura son de conchas", "e de pórpola, que es vermejo": Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria. Primera parte*, f. 196r XXXVII, f. 221r XXV and LXX. For the dyestuff and symbolism of purple from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, see: Laura Rodríguez Peinado, "Púrpura. Materialidad y simbolismo en la Edad Media," *Anales de Historia del Arte* 24, no. N^o Esp. (2014).

¹³⁰ "E el otro es cendal purpurado con listas de oro": Inventory of 1277 of the cathedral of Toledo ACT, X.12.B.1.1; see: Barrigón, "Vestirse," 951; Hernández "A holy asset", 155.

¹³¹ Castro, "Unos aranceles IV," 121-122; Gual Camarena, *Vocabulario*, 400; Alfau de Solalinde, *Manual de tejidos*, 149; Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 318-324; Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 421-422.

¹³² A chasuble "*porpora bermeia con aguilas doradas*" is listed in the 1277 inventory of the cathedral of Toledo ACT, X.12.B.1.1; see: Barrigón, "Vestirse," 948; Hernández "A holy asset", 153. The 1339 inventory: Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 393. The inventory of 1343: ACT, X.12.B.1.2. "*Un panno de porpora uerde*" and "*Item dos pannos porporas verdes*" in ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f. 15v; "*Item un panno de porpora bermejo a pinos amariellos*" in ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f. 20r.

¹³³ It lists a chasuble "*de purpura cum orfrigio de veneciis*": ACT, A.7.G.2.18, in Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 523.

¹³⁴ *Libro de Alexandre* mentions that, after being captured they removed King Darius' clothes made of *purpura* and dressed him with inferior ones, "*tollieronle las porporas, vistieronle sayales*": Casa Rigall, *Libro de Alexandre*, 345. *Estoria de España* describes that when El Çid died, he was dressed with *purpuras* that were sent by the Sultan of Persia, "*Uestieron el cuerpo del Çid de unos pannos de porpola muy noble qual la enbiara el grant soldan de Persia, entre las otras muchas et muy nobles cosas quel enbiara; et calçaronle vnas calças de aquella porpola misma*" and that his coffin was going to be covered by this fabric adorned with gold "*que cubriessen el ataut con porpola et con pliegos de oro*": Menéndez Pidal, *Primera Crónica General*, 640-641 and 639. See Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 422 and 713.

¹³⁵ "En mis uestidos que lo non dubde maguer que eran de porpola & pannos de peso", "porpola. & oro texido por los sos uestidos", "ca lo que ellas laurauan porpolas eran et pannos preciados": Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria. Segunda parte*, f. 102 r, 131r and 166v.

¹³⁶ Manuel Risco, *España Sagrada. Tomo XXXVIII* (Madrid: Viuda e hijo de Martin, 1795), 200; Santos M. Coronas González, "Príncipe y principado de Asturias: historia dinástica y territorial de un título," *Anuario De Historia Del Derecho Español* 71 (2001): 55.

2.7. Green

Inventories of the cathedrals of Salamanca (1275), Toledo (1255, 1277, 1339 and 1343) and Oviedo (1385) mention *uiride* or *uerde* which indicate green ornaments.¹³⁷ These are abundant colours, because in the liturgical calendar they represent the ordinary time.¹³⁸ There are several instances in which the colour green is qualified by a specific shade when a chasuble "*uerde claro*" (*light green*) is mentioned,¹³⁹ and the 1339 inventory specifies some silk textiles "*uerde escura*" (*dark green*).¹⁴⁰ The 1343 inventory of Toledo lists some green shades such as *uerdosiello* (*greenish*) or *uerde jalde*,¹⁴¹ the latter being yellowish. Whilst in lexical context, *uerdet* is testified as a green dyestuff,¹⁴² in textile context, *uiridis* / *uerde* was a fabric in various shades of green, which were considered it could be of high quality. According to the accounts of King Sancho IV this woollen fabric was delivered to the Queen several times.¹⁴³

Returning to colours, a *green tornasol* chasuble is mentioned in the Toledo 1339 and 1343 inventories.¹⁴⁴ This is of special interest because *tornasol* fabric was generally characterised by its unique light reflection, in this case reflecting various shades of green. The inventory date of 1343 is several years earlier than what has been proposed as the earliest use of this word, and also shows that the fabric was dyed not only in a purple-blue shade.¹⁴⁵ Both the 1339 Toledo and the 1385 Oviedo inventories provide another example of *tornosolado*, albeit without specifying a hue.¹⁴⁶ We can conclude that, in these cases, *tornosolado* describes its reflective characteristic not its hue.

The case of *aceitunado* is a challenging one. Considering its similarity to the word *aceituna* (*olive*), this is another example of naming colours by familiar materials. In this case a greenish-yellowish hue can be proposed.¹⁴⁷ As an example, in 1397 there is a record of a delivery of *azeytunado escuro* coloured cloth from Montevilliers to make a garment for King Enrique III.¹⁴⁸ This is probably a shade of dark green.

It should be noted that a fabric bearing the quite similar name *azeytuni/aceituni* is documented during the 14th-15th centuries. However, in this context the reference has been interpreted to the Chinese town of Tse-thung (nowadays Quanzhou) named Zaitūn in Arabic, where the textile was manufactured - interestingly this etymology has also been proposed (and disputed) for *satín*.¹⁴⁹ This *aceituni* fabric has been documented in very different colours, explaining that when the fabric had since gone out of vogue the word was mistaken with *aceituna* (*olive*) and was believed to have been a fabric with a greenish hue only.¹⁵⁰ Indeed the fabric was made in different colours, for instance aside from *azeytuni verde*,¹⁵¹ *azeytuni colorado* and *prieto* were delivered by the King's orders in 1397 and 1398.¹⁵²

Nevertheless, *verde* was the most common adjective used to designate green colour. That is also the case in the 1397-1398 royal accounts were green textiles, after red and blue, were the most frequent.¹⁵³ This colour has been linked to joy and youth,¹⁵⁴ indeed

¹³⁷ Comparative table of the Toledo inventories of 1255-60 and 1277, together with that of Salamanca of 1275 and bibliography in: Barrigón, "Vestirse," 353-477 and 946-962. Toledo 1277 inventory also in: Hernández, "A holy asset", 151-167. The 1339 Toledo inventory in: Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario." The Toledo inventory of 1343: ACT X.12.B.1.2. The Oviedo inventory: Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 42-65.

¹³⁸ Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 475-476.

¹³⁹ Inventory of 1277 of the cathedral of Toledo ACT, X.12.B.1.1; see: Barrigón, "Vestirse," 474 and 947; Hernández, "A holy asset", 153.

¹⁴⁰ "Item unas fasalejas grandes de seda uerde escura con cabos a listas de oro": Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 383.

¹⁴¹ It lists a cloak "*verdosiella con letras moriscas*" and a piece of textile "*que corre en uerde jalde*": ACT, X.12.B.1.2, ff. 3r and 27v.

¹⁴² Castro, "Unos aranceles," 12; Castro, "Unos aranceles IV," 133; Gual Camarena, *Vocabulario*, 448; Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 413.

¹⁴³ "A la reina dis que dio una pieça de verde et otra de bruna preta en que avie LXVIII varas": Asunción López Dapena, *Cuentas y gastos (1292-1294) del rey d. Sancho IV el bravo (1284-1295)* (Córdoba: Publicaciones del Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1984), 500-501. See: Barrigón, "Vestirse," 450-451. See also: Alfau de Solalinde, *Manual de tejidos*, 180; Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 182-185; Gual Camarena, *Vocabulario*, 405.

¹⁴⁴ "Item una casulla de tornasol verde con orofres de seda es-toriado et a las armas del arçobispo don Gutierre aforrada en cendal bermejo": ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f. 2v. Also in 1339 inventory: Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 405.

¹⁴⁵ It was defined as purplish blue because of its dyestuff in: Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 516-517 and 556.

¹⁴⁶ "Item vn par de sandalias de çendal tornosolado": Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 63. "Item dos pedaços pequen-nos de tornassol pintados con oro viejos": Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 418. Perhaps in here refering to a textile?

¹⁴⁷ By 1599 it is already atested that the *azeytunado* is the colour of the olive, see: Nieto Jiménez and Alvar Ezquerro, *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico, volumen 1*, 127.

¹⁴⁸ AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 500 v: "*una opa conplida para el Rey de Mostrevillen azeytunado escuro e entro en ella siete varasdel dicho Mostrevillen e fue antes e se tondie-se*". See: Nogales Rincón, "Un año en la corte," 99.

¹⁴⁹ Joan Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico A-CA* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1984), 32; Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 241. For the etimological argument: F. Hirth "suggests that the Arabs may have confused the name of the town with the Cantonese *szu-tūn* = *Mandarin ssū-tuan, satín*; but the conjecture that the Cantonese form is the source of Italian *setino* is extremely improbable": J.A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, *The Oxford English Dictionary. Volume XIV, ROB-SEQ* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 499. Lisa Monnas, "The impact of Oriental silks on Italian silk weaving in the Fourteenth century," in *The power of things and the flow of cultural transformations*, ed. Liselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch and Anja Eisenbeiß (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2010), 86, note 57.

¹⁵⁰ Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 242-243.

¹⁵¹ "...una pieça de azeytuni verde en que ouo treinta e tres varas [...] e para otra opa de azeytuni *azul* verde para el dicho sennor rey": AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 511v and 512v.

¹⁵² "...por mandado del Rey a Pero Carrillo de Toledo un laudel de azeytuni colorado [...] una pieça de azeytuni colorada que ouo en ella veinte e siete varas": AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 501r and 508 r. To the brother of the King: "*hun pedaço de panno de azeytuni colorado en que ouo diez varas*": AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 508 v. *Prieto* in, "por mandado del Rey a Juan Hurtado de Mendoza mayordomo mayor tres varas de azeytuni prieto [...] a Pedro Carrillo de Toledo seys varas e terçia de azeytuni prieto": AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 509 r and 510 r. "*Para el rey hun par de mangas con sus polainas para el Rey de panno de aceytuni colorado*": AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 511 r. See: Nogales Rincón, "Un año en la corte," 96.

¹⁵³ Nogales Rincón, "Un año en la corte," 99.

¹⁵⁴ Michel Pastoureau, *Vert. Histoire d'une couleur* (Paris: Seuil, 2013), 54-82; Monnas, "Some medieval colours", 42.

it was one of the colours suitable for young knights according to *Siete Partidas* mentioned earlier.¹⁵⁵

2.8. Black, brown, and grey

In the inventories of the cathedrals of Salamanca (1275), Toledo (1255, 1277, 1339 and 1343) and Oviedo (1385), the colours *negro* and *prieto* are mentioned, appearing abundantly especially in the 1343 document, in which there are more than 30 mentions of the colour *prieto* as the background of textiles.¹⁵⁶ Given that, since sometimes the 1277 Toledo inventory as well as the 1273 inventory of Gudiel mention both terms, they probably indicate two different shades, and perhaps *prieto* means dark.¹⁵⁷ Another possibility is they were just synonyms.¹⁵⁸ *Negro* is described in *Setenario*, in context with some clothing of that colour and using the analogy that it is like “the darkness in the face when closing the eyes, that being the reason why God cannot be seen in the world”.¹⁵⁹ The fabric known as *panno prieto* has been interpreted as being dark, almost black or fully black.¹⁶⁰

A well-known fact is that in the liturgical calendar, black expressed the ideas of penitence and sorrow. It was linked to Mass prayer services for the deceased, as well as Advent and Lent. In Castile, from at least the 13th century, black was also associated with the ideas of darkness, adversity and humility. Therefore, this shade was associated with the expression of mourning and solemnity. Subsequently,

its meaning was extended to express courtly magnificence.¹⁶¹ *General Estoria* provides some examples where *prieto* (and *negro*) were used in connection with the ideas of death and mourning and also an evil omen.¹⁶² *Prieto* and white were employed by the order of chivalry created in 1332 by Alfonso XI according to *Cronica de los reyes de Castilla*.¹⁶³ The same document tells us how Alfonso XI set up a tribune decorated with *paños prietos* both to gather the courtisans together and at tribunals for treason, both of them quite solemn occasions.¹⁶⁴

By the end of the 14th century, Juan I commissioned the purchase of some *paños de Mellinas* (Malinas)¹⁶⁵ *prietos* in 1380 to make garments to wear in Lent,¹⁶⁶ whilst different textiles were also purchased to make clothing and liturgical garments for use in his chapel.¹⁶⁷

Some *prietos* imported fabrics were used to make garments for Enrique III and his brother in 1398¹⁶⁸ and

¹⁵⁵ “*Paños de colores señalados establecieron los antiguos que troxiesen vestidos los caballeros noveles mientras fuesen mancebos, así como bermejos, ó jaldes, ó verdes, ó cardenos, porque les dises alegría [...] E esto fecieron porque las vestiduras fuesen mas apuestas, et qellos anduviese alegres et les cresiesen los corazones para ser mas esforzados*”: RAH, *Las Siete Partidas*, editadas y cotejadas con varios códices antiguos por la Real Academia de la Historia. Tomo II Partida Segunda y Tercera, 211.

¹⁵⁶ Comparative table of the Toledo inventories of 1255-60 and 1277, together with that of Salamanca of 1275 and bibliography in: Barrigón, “Vestirse,” 353-477 and 946-962. Toledo 1277 inventory also in: Hernández, “A holy asset,” 151-167. The 1339 Toledo inventory in: Pérez de Guzmán, “Un inventario.” The Toledo inventory of 1343: ACT X.12.B.1.2. The Oviedo inventory: Villamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 42-65.

¹⁵⁷ Inventory of 1277 of the cathedral of Toledo ACT, X.12.B.1.1; it mentions a chasuble of *xamet negro* and a cape with a ground colour *indio* decorated with elephants *prietos*, or another cape made of *cedal prieto*, see: Barrigón, “Vestirse,” 947; Hernández, “A holy asset,” 152. Gudiel’s inventory of 1273 lists “*cuerdas prietas de Oviedo [...] Dos pares de cordones, el uno vermejo e el otro negro*”: Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 478.

¹⁵⁸ For instance in *General Estoria* the mulberry tree fruit were sometimes referred as *blancas* and *negras* and also *blancas* and *prietas*: “*De lo que quiere mostrar el mudamiento de las moras blanca en negras. Departe Maestre Johan que por aquello que el moral cria primera mentre las moras blancas & despues quando la trae a maduras que se tornan prietas que esto que aun oy lo faze aquel frutero en so fruto mas que se entiende por y. Por la blancura la uida: Por el color negro la muerte*”: Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsies. General Estoria. Segunda parte*, 150v.

¹⁵⁹ “*Et estas uestiduras negras quel dauan, esto es assí commo el color negro es oscuro que cierra el viso, assí a Dios ninguno non puede uer en este mundo en la deidad sinon por Ihesu Cristo ssu fñijo*”: Vanderford, *Setenario*, 90.

¹⁶⁰ Alfau de Solalinde, *Manual de tejidos*, 153; M^a Nieves Sánchez, ed., *Diccionario español de documentos alfonsies* (Madrid: Arco Libros, 2000), 349; Duncan, “Adjetivos,” 470; Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 448.

¹⁶¹ González Arce, “El color como atributo simbólico del poder,” 107-108; Nogales Rincón, “El color negro,” 224-229 and 231; Emilio Mitre Fernández, *Morir en la Edad Media. Los hechos y los sentimientos* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2019), 153; Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 740-742.

¹⁶² Related to mourning, “*teñir todas las paredes de negro tambien las de los templos como las de los palacios*”; when talking about the death of a queen of Egypt, she herself banned the custom of dressing in black (*negro*), “*e fizieron grand duelo por ella los varones e las mugieres otrossí, e llañieron por ella muchos días, mas non que vistiesse ninguno paños negros nin tinxiesse ninguna cosa en razón de duelo nin descubriesse ningún altar, como era su costumbre de lo fazer en Egipto en las muertes de los reis, ca lo vedó ella ante que finasse*”: Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsies. General Estoria. Primera parte*, 163v and 295v. A bad sign and the link to death, “*negro: que es color que da sienpre signo de mal*”, “*por el color negro la muerte*”: Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsies. General Estoria. Segunda parte*, 150v.

¹⁶³ “*Et él otrossí vestió paños de eso mesmo con banda: et los primeros paños que fueron fechos para esto eran blancos, et la banda prieta*”: Rosell, *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla*, tomo primero, 231.

¹⁶⁴ “*Et el Rey mandó llamar á todos los que eran allí con él, et asentóse en un estrado cubierto de paño prieto*”, “*Et el Rey por esto mandó poner un estrado cubierto de paños prietos en que se asentó según que es costumbre, et dio sentencia*”: Rosell, *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla*, tomo primero, 203 and 276, respectively.

¹⁶⁵ María Martínez Martínez, “Los gastos suntuarios de la monarquía castellana: aproximación a los aspectos técnicos y económicos a través del ejemplo de Juan I,” in *IX Jornadas d’Estudis Històrics Locals. La manufactura urbana i els menestrals* (ss. XIII-XVI), ed. María Barceló Crespi (Palma de Mallorca: Editorial Prensa Universitaria 1991), 121.

¹⁶⁶ “*E que distes a Iohan Gonçalves, trapero, seysçientos e ochenta e dos maravedis e cinco dineros para dos varas de paño de Mellinas prieto que del mandamos comprar, de que nos fiesieron ropas de que nos vestimos el viernes de endulencias, contada la vara a sesenta e cinco maravedis*”: Suárez Fernández, *Historia del reinado de Juan I de Castilla*, 294.

¹⁶⁷ Suárez Fernández, *Historia del reinado de Juan I de Castilla*, 277, 278, 281 and 295.

¹⁶⁸ “*Hun jubon para el Rey de tapete de Toris prieto e entro en el tres varas del dicho tapete [...] por mandado del Rey al ynfante don Fernando su hermano hun pedaço de tapete de Toris prieto en que ouo ocho varas*”: AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 507r and 508v. Also for the King, a rich garment from Tabriz decorated with golden *sauastro*, “*unos balandranes de tapete de Toris uellido prieto que entro en ellos honze varas del dicho tapete velludo e entro en veranda destos balandranos seis varas de ~~sas~~ sauastro con oro [...] en aforrar hun balandran de tapete prieto velloso para el Rey*”: AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, f. 511v and 512v.

were given to his *Mayordomo Mayor* and his *camare-ro*. The King offered them a rich fabric from Tabriz, the one offered to his *Mayordomo Mayor* was a complete textile, taken off the loom from beginning to end.¹⁶⁹ In the 1397-1398 household account document, *prieto* was a colour mentioned in several occasions less often than red, blue and green.¹⁷⁰ *Prieto* was also used as adornment,¹⁷¹ and provided evidence of its subsequent promotion in courtly culture. Nevertheless, Juan II still chose to dress in *pannos prietos* as an expression of sorrow after losing a battle.¹⁷²

To express darkness, the term *escuro* was also employed without specifying a hue.¹⁷³ Another elusive term is *pardo* which has dual meaning. As a fabric it has been interpreted as a dark grey (or even as an undyed) poor quality textile,¹⁷⁴ and alternatively as a colour. It has been hypothesized that it could have ranged from black, red, yellow, but always a dark shade, as had been used since centuries ago.¹⁷⁵ One might think that such dull colour was not the proper shade for a monarch to use, as according to the *Siete Partidas* it was a colour linked to sadness and not a suitable one to make beautiful clothes for young knights.¹⁷⁶ However, a cloth from Montivilliers was delivered in 1397 and 1398 to make some garments for

Enrique III of *pardillo* colour,¹⁷⁷ and in 1398 other garments of the same type of cloth and colour were embellished with pieces of *sauastro*, a very rich fabric.¹⁷⁸ Perhaps *pardillo* had a paler shade than *pardo*.

Interestingly, two dyestuffs used for producing shades of black and brown – sumac and henna – are listed among Castilian charters as being some of the least expensive materials and of medium prices.¹⁷⁹ Henna could somehow be related to the cope made of *seda alfennada* listed in the 1339 Toledo inventory.¹⁸⁰ This cope was presumably of a brown reddish hue.

Tenado is also interpreted as a brown colour.¹⁸¹ It describes some fabrics that were part of a Christmas bonus in 1398 in the household of Enrique III.¹⁸² In combination with white, *tenado* was used to describe a textile for a bed, some cushions with striped decoration,¹⁸³ and two pieces of textile serving as some kind of hangings in a checkered decoration (*jaquelados*) white and *tenado*.¹⁸⁴

As we have mentioned several times, a common way of indicating colours was also through the names of familiar objects. As such, *canoso* is used in

¹⁶⁹ “Por mandado del Rey a Juan Hurtado de Mendoza su mayordomo mayor en aguilando una pieça de tapete de Turis prieta de las grandes entera con cabo e cola [...] hun jubon que el Rey mando tajar para Ruy Lopez Dávalos su camarero quatro varas de tapete de Toris prieto”: AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 506 r and 508r. Also it was given to Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, mayordomo mayor, “por mandado del Rey a Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza mayordomo seys varas de tapete de Toris prieto para hun laudel”: AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 507v. To Alfonso Enriquez: “siete varas de tapete de Toris prieto velludo”: AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 511v.

¹⁷⁰ Nogales Rincón, “Un año en la corte,” 99.

¹⁷¹ “...para adobar dos jubones del dicho sennor Rey media vara de tapete de Toris prieto raso”: AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 512r.

¹⁷² “Ai fue que el Rey don Juan, después que la dicha batalla de Portugal, dó él se acaesció, fue desbaratada, llegó, como diximos á Santarén, é partió de allí, é entró en su flota que tenia sobre Lisbona, é fuese para Sevilla, é allí se vistió de paños prietos, é los traxo así algunos días”: Rosell, *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla, tomo segundo*, 107.

¹⁷³ Gudiel's 1273 inventory, “paños nuevos de camelin escuro en peñas blancas”: Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 478.

¹⁷⁴ Alfau de Solalinde, *Manual de tejidos*, 144; Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 204-205; Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 448-449.

¹⁷⁵ Duncan, “Adjetivos,” 469. *Pardo* appears as a colour though not related to textiles in some documents dated in 1023, 1045 and 1073 can be found “uno kauallo colore pardo”: Herrero, *Colección Sahagún II*, 59, 155 and 450. As a colour adjective in Gudiel's inventory of 1273, listing a “suria parda”: Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 478. Some textiles such as *ras*, *camelin* or *nygles* could also be of *pardo* colour: Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 359, 362, 372. With a wide possibilities of hue from 15th c. onwards, see: Nieto Jiménez and Alvar Ezquerro, *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico, volumen 8*, 7388-7389.

¹⁷⁶ “Paños de colores señalados establecieron los antiguos que troxiesen vestidos los cavalleros noveles mientras fuesen mancebos [...] prietos ó pardos ó de otra color sea que les fiesse entristecer non tuvieron por bien que los vistiessen. E esto fecieron porque las vestiduras fuesen mas apuestas, et qellos anduviese alegres et les creciesen los corazones para ser mas esforzados”: RAH, *Las Siete Partidas, editadas y co-tejadas con varios códices antiguos por la Real Academia de la Historia. Tomo II Partida Segunda y Tercera*, 211.

¹⁷⁷ “una opa conplida para el Rey de panno de Mostrevillen pardillo e entro en ella siete varas del dicho Mostrevillen por tondir [...] para el Rey un balandran de Mostrevillen pardillo que entro en el tres varas del dicho Mostrevillen et que entro ay a forrar este balandran cinco varas de panno pardillo de lo de viaje”: AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 500 v and 502 v. In 1398: “una opa conplida de Mostrevillen pardilla para el Rey”: AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 509 r. See: Nogales Rincón, “Un año en la corte,” 99.

¹⁷⁸ AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 507r: “e entró en otra opa conplida cinco varas de Mostrevillen pardillo entraron en bandas destas dos opas dos piezas de sauastros e aforraron esta opa pardilla con esquirolas”.

¹⁷⁹ Sumac was in general, it was one of the least expensive materials mentioned in the Castilian charters, although it often appears with significant price variations: Ureña y Smenjaud, *Fuero de Cuenca*, 190; Ureña y Smenjaud, *El fuero de Zorita*, 82; Roudil, *Los fueros d'Alcaraz*, 138; Juan de la Reguera Valdomar, ed., *Extracto de las leyes del Fuero Viejo de Castilla con el primitivo Fuero de León, Asturias y Galicia. Se añaden el antiguo Fuero de Sepúlveda y los concedidos por S. Fernando a Córdoba y Sevilla* (Madrid: Imprenta de la viuda e hijo de Marín, 1798), 240; Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, ed., *El Fuero de Plasencia. Estudio histórico y edición crítica del texto* (Mérida: Junta de Extremadura, 1987), 145; Jean Roudil, ed., *Fuero de Baeza: estudios introductorios* (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2010), 190; Emilio Saez, “Edición crítica y apéndice documental,” in *Los fueros de Sepúlveda*, ed. Emilio Saez et al. (Segovia: 1953), 113; Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 384-386. See also: Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave, “El zumaque, planta mediterránea, curtiende y tinte en la España medieval,” in *Castilla y el mundo feudal: homenaje al profesor Julio Valdeón*, ed. María Isabel del Val Vadivieso and Pascual Martínez Sopena (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo y Universidad de Valladolid, 2009); Cardon, *Le monde des teintures*, 421-426.

¹⁸⁰ “Item una capa de seda alfennada (sic) enleuada con sus orofreses guarnida de çendal bermejo”: Pérez de Guzmán, “Un inventario,” 386.

¹⁸¹ Nogales Rincón, “Un año en la corte,” 99; Nieto Jiménez and Alvar Ezquerro, *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico, volumen 10*, 9274. The terms *tawny*, *tanné* and *tané* meaning shades of brown were also used in England, France and Italy: Monnas, “Some medieval colours,” 36-37.

¹⁸² AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 507 r: “del dicho sennor Rey dos piezas de chamalotes tenados”.

¹⁸³ AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 506 r and 508v: “una colcha de paramientos de seda ranglados tenados e blanco”, “doce almohadas de seda rangladas blancas e tenadas”. See Nogales Rincón, “Un año en la corte,” 106.

¹⁸⁴ AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 512 r: “tres pannos de paramientos de seda jaquelados blancos e tenados”.

General Estoria to describe the wool of some sheep, defining it as a hue between white and black.¹⁸⁵ In the 1339 and 1343 inventories of Toledo Cathedral, a grey cape is referred to as being the *colour de çenisa* (colour of ash).¹⁸⁶ Later on, in the Oviedo Cathedral, another cape was described in 1385 as *follinado* (colour of soot).¹⁸⁷

2.9. Unidentified colours

Finally, there are some name of colours whose shades are still unidentified, however some hypotheses can be offered.

In 1380 a textile qualified as *cabellado*¹⁸⁸ appears. In the 17th century this is documented as a colour with a brownish hue.¹⁸⁹ so ours may be a very early mention. At the same date, *çendal çerresinado* or *cerrezinado*¹⁹⁰ are also listed. Maybe the terms indicate a reddish / purplish hue if connected with *cereza* (cherry). If not, this adjective could be referring some technical feature of the fabric.

In 1397, the King offered Diego González de Medina (the Burgos mint treasurer) a Montivillers cloth of a *azepreunado escuro* colour.¹⁹¹ This shade could be related to a familiar fruit, the *pruna*¹⁹² (plumb), and therefore be a dark purple hue.

3. Conclusions

This paper continues and expands one of the issues presented in my PhD. Numerous colour names were used in Castile in the 13th–14th centuries and during that period even more terms were added. Indeed, this topic requires successive studies in order to refine the exact meaning of each term as the interpretation of colour terminology is notoriously slippery.

Colour served as a distinguishing feature of the textile and as an expression of its quality. Within courtly culture, red and blue shades along with golden decorations or cloth of gold were the colours that successfully projected the concept of power.

In ecclesiastical inventories, when a colour specification appeared for the background of a textile, in the vast majority of cases the shade described was either red or white along with gold decoration. Less often, blue, green and black hues were also cited. Purple shades were the most rare. The abundance, in these inventories, of ornaments with white/yellow, red, green or black backgrounds is not surprising considering the liturgical calendar.¹⁹³ However, the picture is not so simple and straightforward. The use of other colours (*rosado*, *çenisa*, *açafranado* and blue) is also attested by the inventories which have been studied.

Definitions of some terms have not yet been finalized and successive studies may modify this data. It is interesting to point out that sometimes familiar objects were used to name colours and how on some occasions colours were used to name textiles, and subsequently these fabrics were dyed in various different shades. We have strived to furnish proper explanations for the meaning of various shades based on the context of their respective uses, according to current knowledge. Some of the terms antedate their appearance in these documents. In addition, in certain cases we have attempted to identify the specific hue by hypothesis.

Finally, we offer a compilation of the materials and colours mentioned in the documentation and analysed in this paper. They are grouped by colour, but with the reservation that the meanings could have been very broad and fit into other categories.

– Red:

Substances' historical names: *bermeion*, *brasill*, *brasilis*, *grana*, *coco*, *laca*.

Colours' historical names: *bermeio*, *rubeo*, *rosada*, *sanguino*, *colorado*, *roxolrojo*.

– Yellow-Orange:

Substances' historical names: *auripiment*, *croceo* or *açafran* or *amariello*.

Colours' historical names: *amariello*, *jalde*, *dorado*, *açafranado*, *croceo*, *¿naranje?*, *limon*, *limonado*.

– White:

Substances' historical names: *blanc*, *ceruse*.

Colours' historical names: *blanco* or *alb*.

– Blue:

Substances' historical names: *annir*, *azuli* or *azur*, *indio*.

Colours' historical names: *azul*, *¿pintadillo?*, *indio*, *cardeno*, *celesti*, *safirino*, *indio uiolet*, *jacinto*, *pauonado* (could be a shade either blue or purple).

– Purple:

Substances' historical names: Not found

Colours' historical names: *uiolet*, *uiolete escuro*, *uiolado*, *uiolaceo*, *uioleta*, *morado*, *amoretado*, *purpurado*.

– Green:

Substances' historical names: *uerdet*.

Colours' historical names: *uiridis* or *uerde*, *uerde claro*, *uerde escuro*, *uerdosiello*, *uerde jalde*, *aceitunado*.

– Black, brown, grey:

¹⁸⁵ "Unas ovejas que an el vello cino canoso, e es un color entre blanco e negro": Sánchez Prieto Borja, Díaz Moreno, and Trujillo Belso, *Edición de textos alfonsíes. General Estoria. Primera parte*, f. 255r XXVII.

¹⁸⁶ The 1339 inventory in: Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 392. The 1343 inventory: ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f. 15r.

¹⁸⁷ "Iten otra capa de panno de tapete color follinado (sic) forrada en çendal uermejo": Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 56.

¹⁸⁸ "E por quinze pieças de sequenes las cinco prietas e las quatro cardenas e los dos blancos e el uno cabellado e los tres colorados, a quatroçientos e çinquenta maravedis cada pieça": Suárez Fernández, *Historia del reinado de Juan I de Castilla*, 281. *Cabellado* is referred as a colour in the 17th c., see: Nieto Jiménez and Alvar Ezquerro, *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico*, volumen 3, 1847.

¹⁸⁹ Nieto Jiménez and Alvar Ezquerro, *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico*, volumen 3, 1847; Nieto Jiménez and Alvar Ezquerro, *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico*, volumen 8, 7260-7261.

¹⁹⁰ "E por tres pieças de çendales çerresinados a quatroçientos maravedis la pieça": Suárez Fernández, *Historia del reinado de Juan I de Castilla*. Another transcription with "çendales cerrezinados" in: Villalobos y Martínez-Pontrémuli, "Las gestiones hacendísticas de Diego López de Estúñiga, camarero de Juan I," 184.

¹⁹¹ AGS, Patronato real, leg. 29, doc. 28, f. 502 v: "al dicho Diego Gonzalez de Medina una pieça de escarlata de Doay colorada e dos pieças de Mostrevillen la una aseprunada escura e la otra pardilla"

¹⁹² *Pruna* in: Nieto Jiménez and Alvar Ezquerro, *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico*, volumen 8, 8013.

¹⁹³ For medieval written sources dealing with liturgical vestments, see: Ángel Pazos-López, "Culto y vestimenta en la Baja Edad Media: ornamentos clericales del rito romano," *Revista Digital de Iconografía Medieval* II, no. 14 (2015): 3-6. Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 475-476.

Substances' historical names: *alfenna*, *azimani*, *gallarum* o *agallas*, *zumachi*/ *çumac*.

Colours' historical names: *nigro*, *prieto*, *escuro*, *pardo*, *pardillo*, *alfennada*, *tenado*, *canoso*, *color de çenisa*, *follinado*.

– Unknown:

Colours' historical names: *tornosolado*, *cabellado* (brownish shade?), *çerresinado*/ *cerrezinado* (red-dish/purple shade?), *azeprunado* (purple shade?).

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