Meanings and Functions of the Ruler's Image in the Mediterranean World (11th–15th Centuries)

The Medieval Mediterranean

PEOPLES, ECONOMIES AND CULTURES, 400–1500

Managing Editor

Frances Andrews (*St. Andrews*)

Editors

Tamar Herzig (*Tel Aviv*)
Paul Magdalino (*St. Andrews*)
Larry J. Simon (*Western Michigan University*)
Daniel Lord Small (*Harvard University*)
Jo Van Steenbergen (*Ghent University*)

Advisory Board

David Abulafia (*Cambridge*)
Benjamin Arbel (*Tel Aviv*)
Hugh Kennedy (*SOAS, London*)

VOLUME 130

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/mmed*



Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza (1969–2021)
"*La Historia también se escribe en arquitectura*"

Meanings and Functions of the Ruler's Image in the Mediterranean World (11th–15th Centuries)

Edited by

Michele Bacci, Manuela Studer-Karlen

With the collaboration of

Mirko Vagnoni



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

This is an open access title distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license, which permits any non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author(s) and source are credited. Further information and the complete license text can be found at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/

The terms of the CC license apply only to the original material. The use of material from other sources (indicated by a reference) such as diagrams, illustrations, photos and text samples may require further permission from the respective copyright holder.

The Open Access publication of this volume was made possible by the Swiss National Science Foundation.

The book is a result of the research project funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation: *Royal Epiphanies. The King's Body as Image and Its Mise-en-scène in the Medieval Mediterranean* (*centuries 12th–14th*).

Cover illustration: Prince Lewon of Cilician Armenia, *Gospel manuscript*, mid-13th century, Matenadaran 8321, fol. 15r. With kind permission of the Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan. ©Photograph by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at https://catalog.loc.gov
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022930553

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 0928-5520
ISBN 978-90-04-51149-1 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-51158-3 (e-book)

Copyright 2022 by Michele Bacci, Manuela Studer-Karlen and Mirko Vagnoni. Published by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Hotei, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau Verlag and V&R Unipress.
Koninklijke Brill NV reserves the right to protect this publication against unauthorized use.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

Acknowledgement IX
List of Illustrations X
Notes on Contributors XVI

An Introductory Essay
Mediterranean Perspectives on Royal Images 1
Michele Bacci

1 Royal Images and Coronation Celebrations in the Sermons of Yovhannēs Pluz Erznkac'i 33
Gohar Grigoryan Savary

2 Beyond the Page
Royal Imagery in the Queen Keŕan Gospels and the Rhetoric of the Court in Armenian Cilicia 58
Ioanna Rapti

3 The Royal Portrait in the Het'um Lectionary (1286) and the Genealogy of Christ in the Art and Ideology of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia 95
Edda Vardanyan

4 The Emperor's Image in Byzantium
Perceptions and Functions 134
Manuela Studer-Karlen

5 The Royal Imagery of Medieval Serbia 172
Branislav Cvetković

6 Royal Epiphanies in the Kingdom of Sicily
Frederick III of Aragón (1296–1337) 219
Mirko Vagnoni

7 Simone Martini paints Robert of Anjou
Angevin Portraiture between Naples and Assisi 249
Nicolas Bock

8 A Gallery of Royal Effigies in Medieval Hungary and Its Genealogical Purpose 294
Vinni Lucherini

9 Game of Thrones
The Chess Set of Charlemagne in Context 329
Lucinia Speciale

10 The Royal Image and Its Public
Suger, Saint-Denis, and the Promotion of a Monarchical Iconography in 12th-Century France 365
Elodie Leschot

11 Meanings and Functions of the Royal Portraits of the Navarrese Dynasty in the Kingdom of León, 1038–1109 402
Gerardo Boto Varela

12 The King's Dashing Attire *c.* 1200
Alfonso II and Pedro II of the Crown of Aragón in the Liber Feudorum Maior *and* Liber Feudorum Ceritaniae 449
Sofia Fernández Pozzo

13 Jaime II (r. 1291–1327)
Considering the Presentation and Representation of the King of Aragón from Iconographic and Written Evidence 478
Marta Serrano-Coll

14 The Image of the King and Its Architectural Spaces in Al-Andalus and Castile and in the Larger Context of the Mediterranean 506
Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza (†)

Index 537

Acknowledgement

We offer our warmest thanks to all the contributors to this project. Special thanks are due to Julia Oswald for the copy-editing of the texts, and to Adélaïde Mornod for her help with the index. We express our gratitude to Marcella Mulder, Peter Buschman, and the rest of the team at Brill for their extraordinary engagement in the production of this book. Finally, we are grateful to the Swiss National Research Foundation for its generous financial support.

In some respects, it has been a long journey from the March 2019 conference in Fribourg to this volume. On November 3, 2021, just a few months before the appearance of the publication, one of the authors, Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, passed away after a serious illness. With him, we lose a dear friend and a wonderful scholar who was unceasingly committed to pushing boundaries both within and beyond the art-historical discipline. This book is dedicated to his memory.

Michele Bacci & Manuela Studer-Karlen

Illustrations

0.1 *The Norman King of Sicily William II offers the church to the Virgin*, mosaic, 1177–1183. Monreale Cathedral. 28

0.2 *The Caliph enthroned*, wall painting, c. 740. Quṣayr ʿAmra, ʿUmayyad residence. 29

0.3 *The six world rulers*, wall painting, c. 740. Quṣayr ʿAmra, ʿUmayyad residence. 30

0.4 *Standing caliph*, stucco relief, 1st half of the 8th century, from Khirbat al-Mafjar. Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum. 31

0.5 *Musician playing a flute*, fragment from a wall painting with courtly scenes, 1147–1172. Murcia, Museo de Santa Clara. 32

1.1 Prince Lewon, Gospel manuscript (c. 1256?), M8321, fol. 15r. 53

1.2 Prince Lewon and lady Keŧan, Gospel manuscript (1262), J2660, fol. 288r. 54

1.3 King Lewon II and queen Keŧan with their children, *Gospel of Queen Keŧan* (1272), J2563, fol. 380r. 55

1.4 King Lewon II in front of the Eucharistic table, *Breviary of King Lewon* (1270s), Or.13993, fol. 9v. 56

1.5 *Lectionary of Prince Het'um* (1286), M979, fol. 7r. 57

2.1 Jerusalem, St. James, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2653 alias Queen Keŧan Gospels, fol. 380 The royal family praying and Deisis. 88

2.2 Yerevan, Matenadaran MS 979 alias Lectionary of prince Het'um, fol. 50v, King Theodosios. 89

2.3 Jerusalem, St. James, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2653 alias Queen Keŧan Gospels, fol. 128v, Wind. 90

2.4 Jerusalem, St. James, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2653 alias Queen Keŧan Gospels, fol. 266. 91

2.5 Jerusalem, St. James, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2653 alias Queen Keŧan Gospels, fol. 249, Two coins with the name and the title of King Lewon. 92

2.6 Jerusalem, St. James, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2653 alias Queen Keŧan Gospels, fol. 272, Two swords. 93

2.7 Jerusalem, St. James, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2653 alias Queen Keŧan Gospels, fol. 303, The Paralytic of Bethesda. 94

3.1 Title page. *Het'um's Lectionary* (1286), Yerevan, Matenadaran 979, fol. 7r. 118

3.2 Title page of the Gospel of Matthew. The *Skewŧa Gospel* (1198), Varsovie, Biblioteka Narodowa, Akc. 17680, fol. 12r. 119

3.3 Ancestors of Christ. *Gospel of Sebastia* (1262), Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.539, fol. 15r. 120

3.4 Ancestors of Christ. Gospel, 13th century, New Julfa (Isfahan), Monastery of the Holy Savior 57/161, fols. 15r & 16v-17r. 121

3.5 The prophets Isaiah and Zechariah in the Canon Tables. *Gospel of Sebastia* (1262), Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.539, fols. 5v & 10r. 123
3.6 Tree of Jesse. Gospel, 13th century, Yerevan, Matenadaran 9422, fol. 20r. 125
3.7 Tree of Jesse. Gospel, 13th century, Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate 2568, fol. 5r. 126
3.8 Tree of Jesse. Gospel, 13th century, Yerevan, Matenadaran 7651, fol. 10r. 127
3.9 Ancestors of Christ. *Het'um's Lectionary* (1286), Yerevan, Matenadaran 979, fols 44v-45r. 128
3.10 Tree of Jesse. *Het'um's Lectionary* (1286), Yerevan, Matenadaran 979, fol. 10r. 130
3.11 Royal Portrait in *Het'um's Lectionary* (1286). Yerevan, Matenadaran 979, fol. 7r. 131
3.12 A) Royal Portrait in *Het'um's Lectionary*, detail. B) Gold Seal of Lewon I. 132
4.1 Sarcophage of Arles, Musée d'Arles antique. 164
4.2 Isaac I Komenos (1057–1059), *histamenon* 165
4.3 Isaac I Komnenos (1057–1059), *histamenon* 166
4.4 Roman IV Diogenes (1068–1071), *histamenon* 167
4.5 Ravenna, San Vitale, Theodora (547). 168
4.6 North apse of the Pigeon House church in Çavuşin in Cappadocia (963–969). 169
4.7 Enamel plaque with Michael VII Doukas (1071–1078) and his wife Maria/Marta. Xaxuli Triptych. Tbilisi: Georgian National Museum, Museum of Fine Arts. 170
4.8 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Cod. slav. 4, fol. fol. 58v. 171
5.1 Nemanjić Family Tree, Peć Patriarchate, c. 1332. 209
5.2 Synod of St Simeon Nemanja and St King Milutin, Peć Patriarchate, c. 1324. 210
5.3 Tsar Stefan Uroš IV Dušan and Augusta Jelena, Lesnovo, 1349. 211
5.4 Prince Vladislav, Mileševa, c. 1225 (with crown added c. 1235). 212
5.5 Archbishop Nikodim, King Stefan Uroš III, Prince Dušan, St Sava the Serbian, Peć Patriarchate, c. 1324. 213
5.6 King Stefan Uroš II Milutin and St Cosmas, Studenica, 1314/18. 214
5.7 Tsar Stefan Uroš V and King Vukašin, Psača, c. 1365/71. 215
5.8 Despot Stefan and lord Vuk with two nobles, Rudenice, c. 1405. 216
5.9 Queen Simonis, King Milutin and St George, Staro Nagoričino. 217
5.10 Despot Stefan Lazarević, Resava, 1418. 218
6.1 Seal of Frederick III of Aragón as king of Sicily, impression on red wax, 15 October 1299. Museo Civico di Caltagirone (ex Carcere Borbonico), section Pergamene della *Universitas* di Caltagirone, inventory number MC 4910, 10/22 1997. 244

6.2 *Denaro* of Frederick III of Aragón King of Sicily, obverse and reverse of billon silver coin, 1296–1337. Reproduced with permission of the Licensor through PLSclear. 245
6.3 Church of Santa Maria della Valle (called *Badiazza*), central apse. 246
6.4 Cathedral of Messina, central apse. 247
6.5 Detail of Frederick III of Aragón King of Sicily from the mosaics of the central apse of the Cathedral of Messina. 248
7.1 Simone Martini, *Saint Louis of Toulouse in majesty*, Naples, Capodimonte, 1317–1319. 284
7.2 Giovanni and Pacio Bertini, *funeral monument of Robert the Wise* (*† 1343*), Naples, S. Chiara, 1343-*c.*1346. 285
7.3 Simone Martini, *Saint Louis of Toulouse in majesty*, Detail, Robert of Anjou, Naples, Capodimonte, 1317–1319. 286
7.4 Tino di Camaino, *Louis of Toulouse, Charles Martel and Robert of Anjou, funeral monument of Mary of Hungary* (*† 1323*), Naples, S. Maria Donnaregina, 1325–1326. 287
7.5 Convenevole da Prato / Pacino da Buonaguida, Robert of Anjou, *Regia Carmina*, London, BL, MS Royal 6 E IX, fol. 11v, 1335–1336. 288
7.6 Simone Martini, Assisi, *Virgin and Child, flanked by Saint Ladislaus and Saint Elizabeth of Hungary*, lower church, north transept, east wall (St. Elizabeth-chapel), c. 1317. 289
7.7 Simone Martini, Saints Francis, *Louis of Toulouse, Elizabeth, Agnes of Bohemia, and Henry of Hungary*, Assisi, lower church, north transept, north wall (St. Elizabeth-chapel), c. 1317. 289
7.8 Simone Martini, *Maestà*, Detail: *Saint Gregory*, Siena, Palazzo Pubblico, 1321. 290
7.9 Giotto, *Crucifixion*, Detail: *Saint Francis, Fra Gonsalvo di Valboa* (*?*)*, Saint Anthony*, Assisi, lower church, south transept, east wall, c. 1313. 290
7.10 Workshop of Tino da Camaino (?), *Head of Charles I*, Naples, Museo di Capodimonte, 1333. 291
7.11 Lello d'Orvieto, *Portrait of archbishop Umberto d'Ormont*, Naples, Museo Diocesano, 1320. 292
7.12 *Tomb slab of Fra Donato*, Naples, San Lorenzo Maggiore, 1308. 293
8.1 Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 404, fol. 1r. 323
8.2 Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 404, fol. 5v. 324
8.3 Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 404, fol. 13v. 325
8.4 Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 404, fol. 21r. 326
8.5 Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 404, fol. 51r. 327
8.6 Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 404, fol. 69v. 328
9.1 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques, "Charlemagne's Chess set". 355

9.2 Salerno, Museum of the Cathedral, Salerno Ivories, Plaque Depicting Meeting between Herod and the Magi from New Testament Cycle. 356
9.3 Paris, BnF, Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques, "Charlemagne's Chess set" King (inv. 55.306) 357
9.4 Farfa Abbey, Museum, Farfa Casket 1072 a.q., Dormitio Virginis. 358
9.5 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques, "Charlemagne's Chess set" Queen (inv. 55.310). 359
9.6 Paris, Musée national du Moyen Âge – Thermes de Cluny, inv. CL13065, Oliphant from Saint-Arnould Abbey, Metz. 360
9.7 Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques, "Charlemagne's Chess set", Bishop, Elephant with trhee mahouts (inv. 55.315). 361
9.8 Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques, "Charlemagne's Chess set", Pawn (inv. 55323). 362
9.9 Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques, "Charlemagne's Chess set", Queen (inv. 55.309) side A. 363
9.10 Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques, "Charlemagne's Chess set", Queen (inv. 55309) side B. 364
10.1 Bernard de Montfaucon, *Column-figures of the Royal Portal of Saint-Denis, north gate* (c. 1135–1140), in Les *monuments de la monarchie française*, t. I, (Paris, 1729), planches XVI (numbered from top left in reading direction: 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 1.5 and 1.6). 389
10.2 Bernard de Montfaucon, *Column-figures of the Royal Portal of Saint-Denis, center gate* (c. 1135–1140), in Les *monuments de la monarchie française*, t. I, (Paris, 1729), planches XVII, (numbered from top left in reading direction: 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.7 and 2.8. 390
10.3 Bernard de Montfaucon, *Column-figures of the Royal Portal of Saint-Denis, south gate* (c. 1135–1140), in Les *monuments de la monarchie française*, t. I, (Paris, 1729), planches XVII (numbered from top left in reading direction: 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6). 391
10.4 Etampes, Notre-Dame, *Royal Portal, south gate*, c. 1140, (numbered from left to right: 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, and 4.6). 392
10.5 Chartres, Notre-Dame, *Royal Portal, western façade*, c. 1145–1155. 393
10.6 Chartres, Notre-Dame, *Royal Portal*, north gate, left jambs, *two kings and a woman figures*, c. 1145. 394
10.7 Louis Boudan, dessin pour Roger de Gaignières, [*Vue du Portail royal de la cathédrale de Chartres*], 1696, Paris, BnF, dé partement des Estampes et de la Photographie, Va 404 ft 4. 395
10.8 Chartres, Notre-Dame, *Royal Portal*, center gate, left jambs, *two queens* (?), c. 1145. 396
10.9 Saint-Denis, Abbey, transept, north arm, *Porte des Valois*, 1150s. 397

10.10 Saint-Denis, Abbey, cloister, column-figure, *king of the Old Testament*, c. 1145, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Pulitzer Bequest, inv. 20.157. 398
10.11 Paris, Notre-Dame, west façade, *Portail Sainte-Anne*, c. 1145. 399
10.12 schematic plan of the buildings uncovered in the area around the abbey cemetery. 400
10.13 Plan of Saint-Denis during Suger abbatiat. 401
11.1 Book of Daily Hours (Diurnal) of Fernando I and Sancha (1055). Santiago de Compostela, Biblioteca Xeral da Universidade, ms. Res. 1, f. 6v (now 3v): court scene, introduction of the book to King Fernando I. 436
11.2 Foundational diploma of the monastery of Santa María la Real de Nájera (1054). Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, sig. 290. 437
11.3 Detail of Foundational diploma of the monastery of Santa María la Real de Nájera; court scene from the Book of Daily Hours of Fernando I and Sancha. 438
11.4 Reliquary of Saint Isidore (1063). León, San Isidoro, Tesoro de la colegiata. 439
11.5 Reliquary of Saint Isidore, cover: King Fernando I surrounded by four members of his court (1063). León, San Isidoro, Tesoro de la colegiata. 439
11.6 Detail of Foundational diploma of the monastery of Santa María la Real de Nájera: García III (1054). Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, sig. 290; Reliquary of Saint Isidore, cover: King Fernando I (1063). León, San Isidoro, Tesoro de la colegiata. 440
11.7 Reliquary of Saint Isidore, front: Fernando I without royal emblems (1063). León, San Isidoro, Tesoro de la colegiata. 441
11.8 Ivory Cross of Fernando I and Sancha (c. 1063). Madrid. Museo Arqueológico Nacional (nº inv. 52.340). 442
11.9 Ivory Cross of Fernando I and Sancha (c. 1063). Madrid. Museo Arqueológico Nacional (nº inv. 52.340). Detail of the bottom. 443
11.10 Ivory Cross of Fernando I and Sancha (c. 1063). Madrid. Museo Arqueológico Nacional (nº inv. 52.340). Rear view of the figure of Christ, with the hole for the relic. 444
11.11 Mural Painting of "Pantheon of the Kings" (c. 1090): Cross of Golgotha with the effigies of Fernando I and Sancha kneeling. León, San Isidoro. 445
11.12 Mural Painting of "Pantheon of the Kings" (c. 1090): Cross of Golgotha with the effigies of Fernando I and Sancha kneeling. León, San Isidoro. Detail. 446
11.13 Ambulatory of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (c. 1075–1080): Capital with image of Alfonso VI flanked by two angels. 446
11.14 Ambulatory of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (c. 1075–1080): Two capitals with images of Alfonso VI and Bishop Peláez, in their architectural position. 447
11.15 A dinero issued by Alfonso VI, c. 1088. 448

12.1 Alfonso II in the *LFM*, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 01, fol. 01r (detail). 470
12.2 Male and female vestments in the *LFM*, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 01, fol. 78v (detail). 471
12.3 Alfonso II in the *LFC*, ACA, Cancillería, Reg. 04, fol. 62r (detail). 472
12.4a *Gonela amaetada.* *LFC*, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 04, fol. 7v (detail) (left); fig.12.4b: *Pellote* worn by a woman. LFC, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 04, fol. 60r (detail) (right). 473
12.5a Alfonso II in the *LFC*, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 04, fol. 22v (detail) (left); 12.5b: Pedro II in the *LFC*, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 04, fol. 64v (detail) (right). 473
12.6a Alfonso II in the *LFC*, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 04, fol. 25r (detail) (left); 12.6b: Alfonso II in the *LFM*, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 01, fol. 69r (detail) (right). 474
12.7 *LFM*, ACA Cancillería Reg. 01, fol. 93r. 475
12.8 Comparison between folios 93r (left) and 102r (right) of the *LFM*, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 01 (details). 475
12.9 *LFC*, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 04, fol. 51v (detail). 476
12.10 *LFM*, ACA Cancillería Reg. 01, fol. 11r (detail). 477
13.1 *Libri Antiquitatum Sedis Barcinonensis*: drawings of the seals belonging to Pascalis I and Alexander III (13th century). 503
13.2 Left: *Capbreu de Colliure* (1292). Right: Bull of Jaime II (1293). 503
13.3 Wax seal belonging to Jaime II (1295). 504
13.4 *Tercer Llibre Verd*, fols. 102v and 75r (c. 1333). 504
13.5 Royal tombs at the Monastery of Santa Maria de Santes Creus (Aiguamúrcia, Tarragona). 505
14.1 Alhambra of Granada, 14th century. 529
14.2 Wine Gate. Alhambra, 14th century. 529
14.3 Façade of the palace of Santa Clara de Tordesillas (Valladolid), c. 1360. 530
14.4 Façade of Montería. Alcázar of Seville, c. 1364. 531
14.5 Tower of Juan II, first half of the 15th century (Segovia). 531
14.6 Saló del Tinell of the Royal Palace of Barcelona, 14th century. 532
14.7 Court of Lions, Virtue Palace of Muhammad V. Alhambra, 14th Century. 532
14.8 Maylis of Muhammad V with his wise men. King's hall, Court of Lions. Alhambra, 14th century. 533
14.9 Salón del Solio. Alcázar of Segovie, 15th century. 533
14.10 Castle Palace of Manzanares el Real. Andamios at the top of the wall, last quarter of the 15th century. 534
14.11 Main gate of Castelnuovo, Naples, 15th century. 534
14.12 Sala dei Baroni, Naples, 15th century. 535

Notes on Contributors

Michele Bacci
(Ph.D., Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa, 1999) is Professor of Medieval Art at the University of Fribourg and a member of the Academia Europaea. He is the author of numerous studies on the cultural and art-historical contacts between East and West in the Middle Ages and on the history of the religious practices associated with cult objects and holy sites. These include *Il pennello dell'Evangelista* (1998), *Pro remedio animae* (2000), *Lo spazio dell'anima* (2005), *San Nicola il Grande Taumaturgo* (2009), *The Many Faces of Christ* (2014), and *The Mystic Cave. A History of the Nativity Church in Bethlehem* (2017). His new book, *Veneto-Byzantine Interactions in Icon Painting (1280–1450)*, was published in Greek in 2021 by the Academy of Athens.

Nicolas Bock
is Professor of Medieval and Early Modern Art History at the University of Lausanne. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Heidelberg and has held fellowships at the Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max Planck Institute for Art History, Rome; the University of Heidelberg; and the National Humanities Center, North Carolina, United States. He has held teaching positions at the Frankfurt University of Applied Sciences; Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic; and the University of Fribourg, Switzerland. He publishes on Italian Gothic and Renaissance art, especially that of Naples and southern Italy, with interest in text-image relations, art and liturgy, and social and economic topics in art history.

Gerardo Boto Varela
is Professor of Medieval Art at the University of Girona (Spain), leader of the international research group TEMPLA, scientific editor of the journal *Codex Aquilarensis. Revista de Arte Medieval*, and co-director of the annual international colloquium Ars Mediaevalis. His research focuses on spatial, pictorial, and liturgical aspects of Spanish architecture from the 10th to 13th centuries as well as on dynastic tombs and memorial culture in medieval Iberia. He co-edited the volumes *Romanesque Cathedrals in Mediterranean Europe. Architecture, Ritual and Urban Context* (Brepols, 2016) and *Emerging Naturalism. Contexts and Narratives in European Sculpture 1140–1220* (Brepols, 2020).

Branislav Cvetković
is an art historian (Ph.D., University of Belgrade, Serbia) and the curator of the collections of icons, fresco fragments and copies, epigraphs, manuscripts

and rare books, and cult objects, sculptures, and architecture at the Regional Museum Jagodina. From 2010 to 2020, he was a senior research assistant at the Institute for Balkan Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade. His primary research interest is the history of medieval Serbian and Balkan culture. His curated exhibitions include *Days of European Heritage* (2003), *Fifty Years of the Regional Museum Jagodina* (2004), *Six Centuries of the Kalenić Monastery* (2007), *Treasures of Old Jagodina Churches* (2018), and *Ars sacra* (2019). Cvetković has taken part in some 40 national and international conferences and has published widely. He is the editor of two collected volumes, *Glass* (2002) and *200 Years of the Old Church in Jagodina* (2017); the co-author of *The Dormition Church in Smederevo* (1997), *Staničenje* (2006), *Morača* (2006), *Kalenić* (2007), *Jošanica* (2008), *Nova Pavlica* (2014), and V*eluće* (2015/16); and the author of *Chilandari Manuscript Fragments in the Regional Museum in Jagodina* (2002), *Jošanica* (2008), *Ars sacra* (2019), and *The Trsat Reliquary* (2020).

Sofia Fernández Pozzo
studied Art History at the Complutense University of Madrid (2011–15) and later completed her M.A. in Medieval Art & Medievalisms at the University of York, United Kingdom (2017–18). During the interim (2016), she was part of the Education Department of the Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid. After completing her degree at York, she began her Ph.D. as a co-advisee of Professor Michele Bacci at the University of Fribourg and Professor Marta Serrano-Coll at the University of Rovira i Virgili. Her research focuses on the propagandistic uses of the of the body of the kings of Aragón between 1164–1291.

Gohar Grigoryan Savary
is currently a Swiss National Science Foundation postdoctoral researcher at the Department of Art History of the University of Fribourg. She obtained her Ph.D. from the same university in 2017 with a dissertation called *Royal Images of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia (1198–1375) in the Context of Mediterranean Intercultural Exchange*. She previously worked at the Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts (Yerevan, Armenia) in the Departments of Codicology and Art History and was a research fellow at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa.

Elodie Leschot
earned her M.A. in Art History at the University of Lausanne and is currently finishing a joint Ph.D. between the University of Lausanne and Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. She has worked as a graduate assistant for the University

of Lausanne since 2017. Her main research areas are royal iconography and the Cluniac Order in the 12th and 13th centuries. Her contribution to this volume stems from work in the former field, developing themes from her dissertation.

Vinni Lucherini
is Professor of Medieval Art History at the University of Naples "Federico II." She is the author of two books in Italian on the cathedral of Naples (2009) and the abbey of Bominaco, Italy (2016). She has published widely on the tombs and funerary practices of the Angevin kings of Naples and Hungary, the figuration of medieval power, medieval textual sources for art history, and the Italian, Hungarian, German, and Catalan art historiography of the 19th and 20th centuries. She is the editor of the series *Quaderni napoletani di storia dell'arte medievale*. Her monograph on the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle was recently published in the *Bibliothèque d'histoire médiévale* series of the Classiques Garnier, Paris.

Ioanna Rapti
is Professor of Art History and Archaeology, of Byzantine world and the Christian East, at the École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE) – Paris Sciences et Lettres and the Director of the EPHE Christian and Byzantine Collection (Gabriel Millet photo archive). Rapti has been involved in several major exhibitions, including *Armenia Sacra* (2007) and *Sainte-Russie* (2010) at the Louvre. She studies various aspects of Armenian art, with particular interest in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia and issues of iconography and liturgy, the visuality of inscriptions, and visual rhetoric and narrative. With Jannic Durand, she is editing the journal *Cahiers archéologiques*.

Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza (†)
obtained his Ph.D. in Art History from the Autonomous University of Madrid with a dissertation on medieval architecture in the Kingdoms of Castile and Granada during the 14th century. He was active in numerous research institutions, such as the Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale in Poitiers; the Hispanic Society of America, New York; the Institut Français d'Études Arabes in Damascus; and the Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, École Française de Rome, among others. Until his untimely death in 2021, he was a professor in the Department of the History of Art at the Complutense University of Madrid. His research focused on the artistic interactions between Al-Andalus and the Crown of Castile. Within this framework, he published on the Alhambra in Granada, the Alcázar of Seville, the synagogue of El Tránsito in Toledo, the monastery of Las Huelgas Reales in Burgos, and the cathedral of Toledo. In addition, he analysed

the role of Alfonso X the Wise and Pedro I of Castile as promoters of medieval Spanish arts. He led various research projects in Spain.

Marta Serrano-Coll
teaches in the Department of History and History of Art at the University of Rovira i Virgili. Her lines of research focus on the use of art as a tool of prestige and power by the kings of Aragón, although she has also addressed other issues in the framework of the research projects in which she participates. Serrano-Coll has published in national and international journals, has collaborated on and co-edited several collected volumes, and is the author of various books, the latest of which, published in 2021, is a history of the kings of Aragón.

Lucinia Speciale
is Professor of Medieval Art at the University of Salento. Her research topics range from the history of book illumination to medieval iconography. She has published numerous studies on the representation of power in southern Italy and several articles on the history and symbolism of chess in the Latin West. Her most recent publications include *Immagini per la storia. Ideologia e rappresentazione del potere nel mezzogiorno medievale*, Testi, studi, strumenti, 30 (Fondazione Centro Internazionale di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 2014); "Il gioco come status-symbol. Gli scacchi tra formule rappresentative e testimonianze materiali," in *Il gioco nella società e nella cultura dell'altomedioevo* (conference proceedings, Spoleto 2018); "ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ ΚΑΝΟΝΟΣ. Il ciclo evangelico del Codex Purpureus di Rossano: un'ipotesi di ricostruzione," in *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* (*serie III*)*, Rendiconti*, XCI (2019), pp. 377–431.

Manuela Studer-Karlen
(Ph.D., University of Fribourg, Switzerland, 2009) is a Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) professor at the University of Bern. Her research has been funded by fellowships from Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., SNSF, and the Alexander S. Onassis Foundation, among others. She is the recipient of the 2017 Franz Joseph II Liechtenstein Prize (University of Fribourg) for her habilitation work on Christ Anapeson. Her research centres on the history of visual-cultural processes in late antiquity, the interactions among text, image, and space in Byzantine churches, medieval Georgian art, and Gothic ivories.

Mirko Vagnoni
studied at the University of Siena (2004) and the University of Florence (2008). He has held positions as a researcher at universities and research institutes

in several countries. In 2020, he obtained the Italian National Scientific Qualification as Associate Professor in Art History. His research centres on the staging of power in the Kingdom of Sicily between the 12th and 14th centuries, with particular attention to royal iconography and sacrality and the relationship between politics and religion.

Edda Vardanyan
(Ph.D., Art History, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, 2001) is a senior researcher at the Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts and an associated scholar in the research unit Orient et Méditerranée (UMR 8167, Centre national de la recherche scientifique, University of Paris 1 & 4) at the Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance. She is the author and editor of numerous publications on medieval Armenian art and architecture, including *Hoṙomos Monastery: Art and History*, Monographies, 50 (ACHCByz, 2015), edited by her; *The Church of the Holy Cross of Ałt'amar. Politics, Art, Spirituality in the Kingdom of Vaspurakan* (Brill, 2019), co-edited with Z. Pogossian; and *Hakob's Gospels: The Life and Work of an Armenian Artist of the Sixteenth Century* (Sam Fogg, 2016), co-authored with T. Greenwood. In Paris in 2007, in the context of the cultural programme of the Year of Armenia ("Arménie mon amie"), Vardanyan curated an exhibition on medieval Armenian art and culture, *Les chemins de l'Arménie* at the Musée Arménien de France. In Avranches, France, in 2012, she curated *Reflets d'Arménie : manuscrits et art religieux* at the Scriptorial d'Avranches – musée des manuscrits du Mont Saint-Michel. She is a member of the Scientific Advisory Board for the European Research Council Project *Armenia Entangled: Connectivity and Cultural Encounters in Medieval Eurasia 9th-14th Centuries* (Principal Investigator Z. Pogossian, University of Florence).

An Introductory Essay

Mediterranean Perspectives on Royal Images

Michele Bacci

The Book of Wisdom (also known in English as the Wisdom of Solomon) is one of the deuterocanonical texts included in the earliest Greek and Latin versions of the Bible. In scholarship, it is mostly considered to be the work of a 1st-century Alexandrian Jewish author with knowledge of Greek philosophy.[1] It stands out especially for its euhemeristic explanation of the origins of idolatry, which, in the anonymous author's view, can be traced back to a distinctly human weakness, namely the irrational belief that images can act as surrogates for absent beings by simulating their physical appearance. In particular, this belief is seen when relatives are psychologically unable to overcome the crisis of sorrow caused by the death of a person dear to them: thus, the father of a young boy who had died erected a statue and loved it as if it were a living body, ultimately obliging his servants to do the same (Ws. 12–15). The text goes on to mention another reason for the emergence of idols:

> Then the ungodly custom, grown strong with time, was kept as a law, and at the command of monarchs graven images were worshipped. When the people could not honour rulers in their presence, since they lived at a distance, they imagined their appearance far away, and made a visible image of the king whom they honoured, so that by their zeal they might flatter the absent one as if he were present.
>
> Ws. 14:16–17

The text's claim is correct on historical grounds: royal images, and in particular three-dimensional ones, were frequently used in the earliest empires and, already in such contexts as Mesopotamia, were conceived of as substitutes and extensions of the king's body.[2] In the Roman Empire, such ancient principles came to be reinterpreted in juridical terms, inasmuch as the ruler's simulated

1 Maurice Gilbert, *La critique des dieux dans le Livre de la Sagesse* (*Sg 13–15*) (Rome, 1984), pp. 301–13.

2 Zainab Bahrani, *The Graven Image: Representation in Babylonia and Assyria* (Philadelphia, 2003); Stephen L. Herring, *Divine Substitution. Humanity as the Manifestation of Deity in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Göttingen, 2013), pp. 31–38.

© MICHELE BACCI, 2022 | DOI:10.1163/9789004511583_002
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

presence *in imagine* was deemed the institutional safeguard of the social order for all lawful citizens. In this sense, whoever approached a statue of the ruler was considered to be under the ruler's protection, and likewise any injury done to his images was an act of lese-majesty. The emperor's effigy on steelyard weights ensured the latter's lawfulness, and when exhibited in courtrooms his portrait vouched for the impartiality of judgement. On coins, it worked as sign guaranteeing the currency value.[3] The function of the image as a visual marker of legitimate statehood was acknowledged even by those Jews who accepted imperial supremacy, as evident in Christ's answer to the Pharisees (Matt. 17–21) concerning whether he deemed it right to pay taxes to the Romans:

> But Jesus, knowing their evil intent, said, "You hypocrites, why are you trying to trap me? Show me the coin used for paying the tax." They brought him a denarius, and he asked them, "Whose image is this? And whose inscription?" "Caesar's," they replied. Then he said to them, "So give back to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's."

Taxes were therefore due to the authority – announced on the material surface of the coins in the form of the incumbent ruler's portrait and an inscription – who issued the currency and guaranteed its legitimacy.[4] Roman subjects, including those suspicious of images, were generally inclined to accept this as a matter of fact, and it is symptomatic that even the anonymous author of the Book of Wisdom did not blame rulers for the introduction of their effigies: rather, he seemed to suggest that provincial peoples were themselves responsible for the erection of such statues in public spaces as a means of establishing and exhibiting a sort of physical relationship to their distant ruler. In this respect, the text was certainly aware of the performative contexts in which imperial images were involved as recipients of sacrifices and offerings, but at the same time it warned its readers about the subtle border separating from idolatry the use of images as embodiments of the legal order ensured by the state. The shift from image to idol was, the text recounts, by and large fostered by the material properties of the object itself, by its being fashioned

3 On the different functions and forms of Roman imperial images, see esp.: Helmut Kruse, *Studien zur offiziellen Geltung des Kaiserbildes im römischen Reiche* (Paderborn, 1934); Thomas Pekáry, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft, dargestellt anhand der Quellen* (Berlin, 1985).

4 Gerhard Wolf, *Schleier und Spiegel. Traditionen des Christusbildes und die Bildkonzepte der Renaissance* (Munich, 2002), pp. 3–12.

in such a way as to invest it – and by consequence also the person there represented – with a god-like charisma (Ws. 18–20):

> Then the ambition of the craftsman impelled even those who did not know the king to intensify their worship. For he, perhaps wishing to please his ruler, skilfully forced the likeness to take more beautiful form, and the multitude, attracted by the charm of his work, now regarded as an object of worship the one whom shortly before they had honored as a man.

In this way, the emperor's statue ceased to be a simple visual indicator of the effectiveness of the state-guaranteed legal order, becoming an idol, a counterfeit image that led beholders to mistake the ruler for a divinity. The shift in status was made possible by the artist's technical virtuosity, which in altering the king's appearance made it distinctly attractive to its recipients. It can be assumed that the anonymous author of Wisdom would have shared the British anthropologist Alfred Gell's description of 'art' as a 'technology of enchantment': the display of artistic agency in the reshaping of a conventional image would arouse in viewers not only bewilderment and fascination but also inadequacy and inequality, making them eager to attribute superior, supernatural qualities to the represented person.[5] In the Greco-Roman world, such an effect was efficaciously engendered by the evocation of lifelikeness. This mimetic effect did not consist exclusively in the realistic rendering of bodily features but also in the adoption of strongly idealized forms that proved instrumental in emphasizing the emperor's god-like status.

The divine qualities that the Roman imperial power came increasingly to boast of inescapably blurred the functional distinction between the emperor's image as a marker of institutional authority and its use as a visual strategy to invest individual rulers with charismatic efficacy and divine attributes.[6] Newly converted Christians were particularly touched by this dilemma, but, in general, they rejected those forms of homage toward images that they understood to be idolatrous, while accepting their juridical, bureaucratic, and even honorific functions. It is telling that imperial statues were often quoted in patristic literature to exemplify the semiotic tension between 'image' and 'prototype' underlying the relationship between the Son and the Father: thus, for Athanasius of Alexandria, Basil of Caesarea, and Ambrose of Milan, the adoration of the former was communicated also to the latter, in much the same way

5 Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency. An Anthropological Theory of Art* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 71–72.

6 Manfred Clauss, *Kaiser und Gott. Herrscherkult im römischen Reich* (Stuttgart, 1999).

as it was communicated from the emperor's image to the emperor himself.[7] Indeed, the gradual Christianization of the empire, which deprived emperors of their god-like status, did not prevent them from using statues as material surrogates that were meant to embody authority in public spaces, epitomize the ruler's appearance on coins, weights, and official documents, and act as conveyors of his subjects' reverence and honour.[8]

Much of the functional and semantic ambiguity of imperial images, stemming from their involvement in ritualized, performative acts in late antique society, was inherited by the Middle Ages. This is particularly evident in Byzantium, where cult practices involving the emperor's effigy are well documented,[9] and many scholars have therefore deduced that the iconoclastic controversies may have also partly originated from rulers' fears that religious icons may rival or even replace their images in conveying and embodying authority.[10] If this idea has been strongly criticized (and the historical importance of Iconoclasm itself has been generally reassessed),[11] it remains a matter of fact that, in their new Christian framework, the specific agency attributed to imperial images had to be renegotiated. At the beginning of the 4th century, Eusebius of Caesarea, who disapproved of the making of religious icons, was content with acknowledging that Constantine's allegiance to the new religion took certain visual forms – statues of him holding a cross or coins depicting him in a gesture of prayer, though the latter probably corresponded to the

7 Morten Lund Warmind, "The Cult of the Roman Emperor before and after Christianity," in *The Problem of Ritual*, ed. Tore Ahlbäck (Abo, 1993), pp. 211–20, esp. 216–17; Clifford Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley, 2000), p. 239; James A. Francis, "Visual and Verbal Representation: Image, Text, Person, and Power," in *A Companion to Late Antiquity*, ed. Philip Rousseau (Oxford, 2009), pp. 185–305, esp. 296.

8 Maijastina Kahlos, "The Emperor's New Images – How to Honour the Emperor in the Christian Roman Empire?," in *Emperors and the Divine: Rome and Its Influence,* ed. Maijastina Kahlos (Helsinki, 2016), pp. 119–38.

9 Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult. Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Munich, 1990), pp. 119–22, 153–59; Antony Eastmond, "Between Icon and Idol: The Uncertainty of Imperial Images," in *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium. Studies presented to Robin Cormack,* eds. Antony Eastmond, and Liz James (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 73–85; Maria Cristina Carile, "Imperial Icons in Late Antiquity and Byzantium. The iconic image of the Emperor between Representation and Presence," *Ikon* 9 (2016), 75–98. See Manuela Studer-Karlen's essay in this volume for a wider overview of the scholarly debate on Byzantine imperial images.

10 André Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin* (Paris, 1998), pp. 164–263; Belting, *Bild und Kult*, p. 181.

11 For revisionist approaches to the history of Iconoclasm, see: Leslie Brubaker, *Inventing Byzantine Iconoclasm* (London, 2012); Leslie Brubaker, and John F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680–850* (Cambridge, 2011).

orant pose traditionally and cross-confessionally used to manifest religious *pietas*.[12] But, as the empire became an officially Christian state, the emperor's specific role in it came to be better defined on juridical and political-theoretical grounds. It can be wondered to what extent images were expected to convey new notions of rulership, including its reformulation in religious terms, e.g. by emphasizing the rhetorical assimilation of Byzantine *basileis* into the biblical figures of Melchizedek, David, and Solomon and especially into the former's priest-like function.[13]

In scholarship, images have often been taken as visual evidence of shifting approaches to the dialectic between the monarchic institution (*regnum*) and the religious sphere (*sacerdotium*) in the Middle Ages, being usually characterized as reflections of either the principle of 'divine investiture' or the notion of the king as God's representative on earth.[14] Undoubtedly, visual materials have often been brought to bear on the debate surrounding sacred kingship developed in the field of medieval history and, more specifically, in studies concerning Western European theories of power by such authors as Marc Bloch, Ernst Kantorowicz, and Percy Ernst Schramm.[15] In that area of scholarship, images were largely regarded as plain, iconographic evidence that could be used to further corroborate assumptions about the ideological construction of the king's function and prerogatives, without any attempt at considering the specific circumstances under which the images had been made nor the spatial, social, cultural, and performative contexts in which they had been used. Basically, it was taken for granted that royal arts – that is, all forms of artistic production

12 Steven Bigham, *Early Christian Attitudes toward Images* (Rollinsford, 2004), pp. 192–93, 200, 202.

13 Gilbert Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le "césaropapisme" byzantin* (Paris, 1996), 184–90.

14 For modern approaches to the shifting medieval theories of rulership and the latter's 'secular' and 'sacred' aspects, see esp.: Stefan Weinfurter, "Idee und Funktion des 'Sakralkönigtums' bei den ottonischen und salischen Herrschern (10. und 11. Jahrhundert)," in *Legitimation und Funktion des Herrschers. Vom ägyptischen Pharao zum neuzeitlichen Diktator,* eds. Rolf Gundlach, and Hermann Weber (Stuttgart, 1992), pp. 99–127; *Die Sakralität von Herrschaft. Herrschaftslegitimierung im Wechsel der Zeiten und Räume,* ed. Franz-Reiner Erkens (Berlin, 2002); Andreas Kosuch, *Abbild und Stellvertreter Gottes. Der König in herrschaftstheoretischen Schriften des späten Mittelalters* (Cologne, 2011).

15 Marc Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges. Étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre* (Strasbourg, 1924); Percy Ernst Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit bis zur Mitte 12. Jahrhunderts* (*751–1152*) (Leipzig, 1928); Percy Ernst Schramm, and Florentine Mütherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. I. Ein Beitrag zur Herrschergeschichte von Karl dem Großen bis Friedrich II.* (Munich, 1962); Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1947).

promoted by courts – were to be understood as propagandistic tools illustrating and celebrating the monarch's distinctive and privileged role, described as a kind of 'sacredness' that, though appropriating features stemming from Church tradition, was by its nature autonomous and secular.

Recent research has contributed to nuancing such views by placing emphasis on the religious dimension of many of the royal images that older scholars had interpreted as merely visualizing political-theoretical ideas. It has been stressed that, frequently, royal images were not meant for public display, were not invested with self-celebratory meanings, and were not even promoted by kings or queens: it has become evident, for example, that the representation of Carolingian rulers in liturgical books or of Norman rulers in mosaics (Figure. 0.1) – both types of objects decorating the areas of churches reserved for the performance of the Mass – has much less to do with propaganda than it does with such issues as the depicted persons' quest for divine protection during their lifetime and for salvation in the afterlife, their desire to permanently record their spiritual association with a given religious community, or the clergy's interest in visualizing their own involvement in offering prayers for the rightfulness, success, and prosperity of their rulers.[16]

In this effort to deconstruct previous assumptions about the strategic use of figurative arts by rulers to claim a supernatural basis for their power, recent research has underscored rulers' religious-devotional habits, which they largely shared with their subjects. If they commissioned their images with the aim of obtaining salvation or divine assistance, the obvious conclusion would be that these images manifest broader human anxieties and expectations. It might therefore be asked whether this implied the adoption of forms that more distinctly evoked a ruler's personal appearance, rather than his 'body politic' or his capacity to embody a kind of authority that transcends time. Indeed, the lingering question concerns the long-debated dilemma of whether and to what extent the tension between the realistic and the idealized in the

16 See especially: Ludger Körntgen, *Königsherrschaft und Gottes Gnade: Zu Kontext und Funktion sakraler Vorstellungen in Historiographie und Bildzeugnissen der ottonisch-frühsalischen Zeit* (Berlin, 2001); Ildar Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World* (*c. 751–877*) (Leiden, 2008); Eliza Garrison, *Ottonian Imperial Art and Portraiture. The Artistic Patronage of Otto III and Henry II* (Farnham, 2012); Mirko Vagnoni, *Dei gratia rex Siciliae. Scene d'incoronazione regia nell'iconografia regia normanna* (Palermo, 2017). See also: Idem, "Meanings and Functions of Norman Royal Portraits in the Religious and Liturgical Context: The Mosaic of the Cathedral of Monreale," *Iconographica* 18 (2019), 26–37, and the overview of recent research in: Idem, "Royal Divine Coronation Iconography. Preliminary Considerations," *Arts* 8/4 (2019), 139 [https://doi.org/10.3390/arts8040139, accessed 2020 July 15].

rendering of the king corresponds to Kantorowicz's notional divide between his two – physical and metaphorical – bodies. In other terms, were individualized images less fit than abstract ones to evoke the supra-personal nature of the royal office?

A basic difficulty is represented, in scholarship, by the persisting use of the word 'portrait.' Even though this term was created in the Middle Ages, its modern meaning – a self-contained, individualized, and true-to-life representation of a single person – was alien to medieval cultures and, even in Western Europe, did not become commonplace earlier than the late 14th century. If monarchs from this period were among the first to promote the making of images deemed faithful in appearance to their own facial features,[17] it is often difficult to ascertain to what extent, and in which ways, these individual features were typified and idealized and which specific meanings they were meant to convey.[18] It can

17 For a thorough introduction to this topic, see: Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago, 2009).

18 Among the many investigations of the complex relationship between 'portrait' and 'individual' in the Middle Ages, see esp.: Enrico Castelnuovo, "Il significato del ritratto pittorico nella società," in *Storia d'Italia. V.2. I documenti* (Turin, 1973), pp. 1031–94, newly republished as: *Ritratto e società. Dal Medioevo all'avanguardia*, eds. Fabrizio Crivello, and Michele Tomasi (Turin, 2015); Kurt Bauch, *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild. Figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa* (Berlin, 1976); Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Memoria und Memorialbild," in *Memoria. Die geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, eds. Karl Schmid, and Joachim Wollasch (Munich, 1984), pp. 384–440; Michel Pastoureau, "L'effervescence emblématique et les origines héraldiques du portrait au XIVe siècle," *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1985), 108–15; Andrew Martindale, *Heroes, Ancestors, Relatives and the Birth of the Portrait* (Maarssen, 1990); Peter Cornelius Claussen, "Ritratto," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale* 10, ed. Angela Maria Romanini (Rome, 1991–2002), pp. 33–46; Bruno Reudenbach, "Individuum ohne Bildnis? Zum Problem künstlerischer Ausdrucksformen von Individualität im Mittelalter," in *Individuum und Individualität im Mittelalter*, eds. Jan A. Aerstsen, and Andreas Speyer (Berlin, 1996), pp. 807–18; Klaus Niehr, "Mimesis, Stilisierung, Fiktion in spätmittelalterlicher Porträtmalerei. Das sog. Gothaer Liebespaar," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 25 (1998), 79–104; *Die Renaissance und die Entdeckung des Individuums in der Kunst*, ed. Enno Rudolph (Tübingen, 1998); *The Image of the Individual. Portraits in the Renaissance*, eds. Nicholas Mann, and Luke Syson (London, 1998); Hans Körner, "Individuum und Gruppe. Fragen nach der Signifikanz von Verismus und Stilisierung im Grabbild des 13. Jahrhunderts," in *Die Repräsentation der Gruppen. Texte-Bilder-Objekte*, eds. Otto Gerhard Oexle, and Andrea von Hülsen-Esch (Göttingen, 1998), pp. 89–126; *Porträt*, eds. Hannah Baader, Rudolf Preimesberger, and Nicola Suthor (Berlin, 1999); Georgia Sommers Wright, "The Reinvention of the Portrait Likeness in the Fourteenth Century," *Gesta* 39 (2000), 117–34; Hans Belting, *Bild-Anthropologie. Entwürfe für eine Bildwissenschaft* (Munich, 2001), pp. 115–42; Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Le corps, le mythe, les rêves, les temps. Essais d'anthropologie médiévale* (Paris, 2001), pp. 241–62; *Das Porträt vor der Erfindung des Porträts*, eds. Martin Büchsel, and Peter Schmidt (Mainz,

be assumed that a strongly individualized, optically reliable, and true-to-life representation of a ruler's physiognomic features would have been considered insufficient to evoke the charismatic power of the institution he or she embodied. A realistic code could be adopted only where rulers had a specific political or diplomatic interest in making use of it. There is some evidence, for example, that portraits were used in marriage negotiations not only in the late medieval and early modern periods,[19] but also earlier: according to the mid-11th-century *Casus Sancti Galli*, one century earlier a skilful eunuch-artist was given the task of painting a reliable likeness of the duke of Bavaria's daughter, Hadwig, so that the Byzantine emperor could ascertain whether she was beautiful enough to be chosen as his bride. The young woman, who stubbornly opposed this marriage prospect, started twisting her mouth and rolling her eyes, to make herself look unpleasant.[20]

Despite its legendary tone, this text indicates that, already in the High Middle Ages, it could in some circumstances prove useful to have realistic renderings of people's physiognomy, if these were instrumental to political causes. It is clear, however, that such images as Hadwig's portrait were certainly intended for a very restricted audience – the *basileus* himself and his counsellors, all of whom had a vested interest in knowing more about the princess's physical appearance. In the case of figural objects meant for public display, an excessively mimetic rendering of the ruler's body would have probably puzzled viewers, who were accustomed to more abstract conventions, unless other

---

2003); Stephen Perkinson, "Rethinking the Origins of Portraiture," *Gesta* 46 (2007), 135–57; *Le portrait: la représentation de l'individu*, eds. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, Jean-Michel Spieser, and Jean Wirth (Florence, 2007); *Le portrait individuel: réflexions autour d'une forme de représentation XIII^e-XV^e siècles*, ed. Dominic Olariu (Bern, 2009); Martin Büchsel, "Le portrait au Moyen Âge," *Perspective* 2 (2012), 401–06; Kees Veelenturf, "In the Guise of a Christian: The Early Medieval Preliminary Stage of the Portrait Historié," in *Example or Alter Ego? Aspects of the Portrait Historié in Western Art from Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Volker Manuth, Rudie van Leeuwen, and A. M. Koldeweij (Turnhout, 2016), pp. 69–91; Kees van der Ploeg, "Likeness and Presence in the Age before the Portrait Historié," ibidem, pp. 93–108; *Intorno al ritratto. Origini, sviluppi e trasformazioni*, eds. Fabrizio Crivello, and Laura Zamparo (Turin, 2019).

19 For a detailed overview, see: Tracey A. Sowerby, "'A Memorial and a Pledge of Faith': Portraiture and Early Modern Diplomatic Culture," *The English Historical Review* 129 (2014), 296–331.

20 Ekkehard IV, *Casus Sancti Galli*, chap. X, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum tomus* 2 (Hannover, 1829), p. 123. See: Fabrizio Crivello, "'*… grecus constantinopoleos orfanos et peregrinos …*'. Artisti bizantini in ambito librario a nord delle Alpi nell'alto Medioevo," in *L'artista a Bisanzio e nel mondo cristiano-orientale,* ed. Michele Bacci (Pisa, 2007), pp. 255–68, esp. 263; Robert Bartlett, *Blood Royal. Dynastic Politics in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2020), p. 34.

considerations prevailed. Not infrequently, a more distinct and realistic mode of rendering was associated with royal images in funerary contexts, since these aimed to underscore – not only before human viewers but also before God – the individual responsibility of the deceased, there inhumated as sinners, to make arrangements for the performance of *pro anima* Masses and prayers in the hope of obtaining relief from their pains in the afterlife.[21] In this context, a portrait-like appearance could be attributed even to individuals whose physical features were unknown, as is evidenced by the mid-13th-century full-length statues of the margraves of Meissen in Naumburg Cathedral, who had died two hundred years earlier. 'Realism' was one of multiple representational codes – instrumental in a funerary setting to emphasize the deceased's individual merits before God – and could be substituted with a more abstract code in another context.[22]

For the most part, medieval royal portraits were not realistic and were not autonomous; thus it is probably misleading to speak of royal portraits at all, and it is much preferable to make use of the expression 'royal images.' This implies a notional entity that is at once larger and narrower than the one hinted at by the term 'portrait.' It includes all kinds of artistic strategies by which rulers' ambiguous physicality came to be evoked in visual form, in a multitude of media and object-types.[23] In most cases, scarce efforts were made to point out individual identity, not so much because the evocation of the 'body politic' thoroughly prevailed over the material person, but because personal identity was largely understood, even outside the courtly context, in corporative, dynastic, or moral-typological terms. In most instances, it was conformity to noble and praiseworthy models that was seen – by monarchs who described themselves as new Davids, Solomons, Constantines, and later also new Charlemagnes – as indicative of one's prominent role in the world, rather than any emphasis on individual distinctiveness.[24]

---

21 Michele Bacci, *Investimenti per l'aldilà. Arte e raccomandazione dell'anima nel Medioevo* (Rome, 2005), pp. 155–201.

22 Peter Cornelius Claussen, "Bildnis im hohen Mittelalter," in *Der Naumburger Meister. Bildhauer und Architekt im Europa der Kathedralen*, eds. Guido Siebert, Hartmut Krohm, and Holger Kunde (Petersberg, 2012), pp. 227–34.

23 Dominic Olariu, *La genèse de la représentation ressemblante de l'homme. Reconsidérations du portrait à partir du XIII^e siècle* (Bern, 2014).

24 On the different forms of medieval self-perception and their modern interpretation, see: Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual* (New York, 1972); Aron J. Gurević, *La naissance de l'individu dans l'Europe médiévale* (Paris, 1997); Jean-Claude Schmitt, "La 'découverte de l'individu': une fiction historiographique?," in *La fabrique, la figure et la feinte. Fictions et statut des fictions en psychologie*, eds. Paul Mengal, and Françoise Parot (Paris, 1989), pp. 213–36; *L'individu au Moyen Âge. Individuation et individualisation avant*

Despite the large amount of new research and the emergence of new approaches to such issues, the debate is still largely dominated by the notion of the king's two bodies as expressive of a set of mutually exclusive opposites: on the one hand, the ruler's physical, secular, individual person, which seems to be best evoked, in visual terms, by means of a realistic code and some form of physiognomic resemblance; and on the other, his or her 'body politic,' a transcendental, sacred, supra-personal double embodying the institutional authority of the state, which seems to be best evoked by the display of insignia and symbols of rulership and the adoption of an abstract, conventional, or stylized rendering of the monarch's outward appearance. Nevertheless, the interrelationship of the two dichotomic poles of Kantorowicz's metaphor is often much more blurred and inextricable than one might expect, and it is perhaps more useful to think of other, coexisting semantic nuances that take variable forms in royal images and function simultaneously as evocations of the ruler's dignity, as indicators of personal charisma, and as signifiers of juridical-political agency.[25]

In this respect, the basic question concerns not so much how exactly images relate to the monarch's outward appearance, but rather how, and to what extent, bodies and images alike work in *re-presentational* terms, as visual strategies for materializing and making present royal authority in its multiple meanings and associations, shifting from the celebration of an abstract principle not bound to any specific person to the praise of the deeds and individual qualities through which the prestige of the kingdom comes to be distinctly embodied in the incumbent ruler.[26] In Byzantium, where the embodiment notion was given a specific juridical status such that the emperor's images were viewed as material and legal representatives of imperial rulership per se, attacks against statues or episodes of *damnatio memoriae* indicate an intention

la modernité, eds. Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, and Dominic Iogna-Prat (Paris, 2005); Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego was Imago. Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2011); *Marqueurs d'identité dans la littérature médiévale. Mettre en signe l'individu et la famille* (*XII^e-XV^e siècles*), eds. Catalina Girbea, Laurent Hablot, and Raluca Radulescu (Turnhout, 2014); Élisabeth Gaucher-Rémond, "De l'introspection à l'exposition de soi au Moyen Âge," *Le Moyen Âge* 122 (2016), 21–40.

25 On the manifestation of charisma in medieval arts and its interpretation, see: Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, and Martha D. Rust, "Faces and Surfaces of Charisma. An Introductory Essay," in *Faces of Charisma: Image, Text, Object in Byzantium and the Medieval West*, eds. Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, and Martha D. Rust (Leiden, 2018), pp. 1–44.

26 I use 'representation' in the antique and medieval juridical sense of 'making present,' see: Hasso Hoffmann, *Repräsentation. Studien zur Wort- und Begriffsgeschichte von der Antike bis ins 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1974).

to deny the legitimacy not of the institution, but of the specific way in which it had been improperly manifested in a single individual.[27] No less than the figurative objects surrogating them, rulers' bodies were regarded as visual items whose outward appearance was expected to correspond to some standardized features, the most important of which was corporeal integrity: throne usurpers need only disfigure their predecessor's face through blinding him or cutting his ears or nose, instead of killing him, since the plenitude of power was not deemed to be adequately represented (that is, made present, effective, and officially recognizable) by a mutilated body.[28]

In many instances, sovereigns were content with signalling their status, rather than using arts to magnify their individual qualities. Depending on the contingencies of the period in question, it could have been more politically fruitful for a ruler to either emphasize that his supremacy stemmed from his conformity to a standardized ideal of authority or, on the contrary, to emphasize his own personal charisma and authoritativeness. For an emperor like Constantius II, who did not possess his father Constantine's ability to impose his will on the many people discontented with his politics, it was probably important to publicly stress his own legitimacy: as reported in a famous passage by Ammianus Marcellinus, he appeared in public ceremonies in a posture and attire that made him look like a conventional imperial statue.[29] The use of standard features also depended upon the medium and upon the functional context in which the image was displayed. Understandings of the ruler's effigy and name on coins, seals, and medals as embodiments of kingship – with the conventional or idealized rendering of the sovereign's physicality helping to evoke its institutional and transpersonal nature – were rooted in Hellenistic-Roman tradition and interculturally shared in the Middle Ages. The introduction of alternative designs, as in 7th-century Merovingian Gaul, manifested the political marginalization of kings: the re-establishment of monarchic power was marked, in Carolingian times, by the reappearance of the ruler's name, and a number of special *denarii* celebrated Charlemagne's imperial role by displaying him in profile, in a thoroughly non-mimetic way based on Roman models. Whoever despised these signs, as Walahfrid Strabo witnessed, was

27 Eastmond, "Between Icon and Idol," pp. 79–81.

28 Patricia Skinner, *Living with Disfigurement in Early Medieval Europe* (University Park, 2017), esp. pp. 75–77 on the disfigurement of Byzantine emperors.

29 See esp.: Jaś Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph. The Art of the Roman Empire AD 100–450* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 33–35.

brought to trial and punished.[30] But in many instances, until the later Middle Ages, Western European courts gave preference to even more abstract signs, such as monograms or coats of arms, which were deemed most efficacious markers of institutional legitimacy.[31]

In Byzantium, the image of the ruler remained standard on coins and seals, on the obverse of which was usually displayed Christ or, less frequently, the Virgin Mary, in such a way as to visually confirm that the dignity of the ruler both stemmed from and was subordinated to God. The message conveyed by this imagery was viewed, even by non-Christians, as an irremissible marker of the official documents issued by the court of Constantinople. In receptions of Byzantine ambassadors, for example, the authenticity of the official letters they brought with them could certainly be inferred from their precious appearance, but it was only through inspection of the emperor's image that it came to be verified and publicly acknowledged. This explains why the most meticulous description of a Byzantine letter has come down to us from the chronicle of an Andalusian writer, Ibn Hayyal, in his account of the 949 negotiations between Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos and the Umayyad caliph of Spain Abd al-Rahman:

> This letter was written in Greek on a parchment painted in blue with golden letters. Within the roll it gave shape to there was a similarly coloured sheet filled with Greek script, that included a description and listing of the gifts sent to the Caliph. A golden seal of a weight corresponding to four *mithkals* was attached to the letter: on one of its sides was the image of Christ and on the other that of King Constantine with his son. The imperial letter was closed within a silver case whose golden cover included an enamelled, polychrome image of King Constantine. The case itself was housed within a cylindrical casket lined with brocade. The addressing formula of the letter read in this way: on a line, *Constantine and Romanos, believers in Christ, august sovereigns, Kings of the Romans*; on the other, *to the holder of magnificent merits, the illustrious and noble by birth 'Abd al-Rahman, the Caliph, who rules the Arabs of al-Andalus – that Allāh may prolong the duration* [*of his reign*].[32]

30 Walahfrid Strabo, *Libellus de exordiis*, chap. VIII, eds. Alfred Boretius, and Victor Krause, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Capitularia regum Francorum.* 2 (Hannover, 1897), p. 483.

31 Andreas Stieldorf, "Die Rückkehr des Königs: zur Funktion des Herrscherbildes auf Münzen," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 64 (2018), 27–59.

32 This passage from Ibn Hayyal's chronicle is known via the transcription made in 1628 by the Algerian historian al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-tib*, book 6, chapter 5. I have corrected the

It is clear that, for the purposes of such official images, a formulaic evocation of the emperor's dignity and power that could be easily understood, and to some extent shared, by its Islamic recipients was much more effective than any hint at Constantine's facial features, which the Andalusian court would have ignored in any case. Nevertheless, in some specific cases it could prove useful to introduce a more individualized physiognomy. When rulers were in a position of strength and could draw political advantage from celebrating their military glory or their special merits – in particular if they managed to overcome some sort of major crisis – they did not refrain from highlighting some of their physical features in their images. They thus promoted the shaping of images in which the prestige of the royal institution was enhanced and revitalized through the staging of their personal charisma, instead of confirming their authority exclusively by visualizing their status as monarchs. For example, the display of Heraclius's exceedingly long beard on his golden coins from 629 onwards was quite recognizably at odds with earlier numismatic conventions and worked as a powerful reminder of his role as the one leader who, in return for triumph over the Persian invaders, had fulfilled the vow not to cut his facial hair. This unusual look became normative in the representations of his immediate successors, who opted for a strategy of disguise that stressed their visual conformity with the first of the Heraclids, with the aim of suggesting their complete participation in his charismatic distinctiveness and situating themselves within a lineage descending from him.[33]

In this way, the emperor's subjects got quickly accustomed to inferring the legal and economic validity of golden *solidi* from their being marked with the image of a bearded *basileus*, even if this contrasted with earlier visual conventions. The preference for stereotyped forms did not imply that these same

---

antiquated English translation by: *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos (London, 1840–43), 2:141–42, through comparison with the much more accurate French version by: *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, ed. Evariste Lévi-Provençal (Paris, 1944–53), 2:152. On the episode, see: Courtney Luckhardt, " 'The Messenger is the Place of a Man's Judgment': Diplomacy between Emperors and Caliphs in the Tenth Century," *Medieval Worlds* 8 (2018), 86–108 [DOI 10.1553/medievalworlds_no8_2018s86, accessed 2020 July 15], here 100–01.

33 I have discussed the votive function of Heraclius's beard in: Michele Bacci, "Beards and the Construction of Facial Appearance in the Middle Ages," in *The Face in Medieval Culture. East and West*, ed. Oleg Voskoboynikov, (Florence: Sismel, 2022), pp. 115–31. On the Heraclids' coinage, see: Philip Grierson, *Byzantine Coins* (Berkeley, 1982), pp. 84–149. On the ambiguity of the ruler's image on early medieval coins from a transcultural perspective, see also: Rebecca R. Darley, "Money, Art, and Representation. The Powerful and Pragmatic Faces of Medieval Coinage," in *A Cultural History of Money in the Medieval Age*, ed. Rory Naismith (London, 2019), pp. 99–124.

forms were expected to remain ever unaltered, but rather that they were constantly adapted to shifting contingencies by means of an ongoing negotiation between standard and individualized features. With the emergence of the Islamic Empire in the 7th century, caliphs first issued slightly altered imitations of Byzantine or Sasanian coins, and in a second phase, under Abd al-Malik (H. 65–86/A.D. 685–705), new figural designs were explored that placed an emphasis on the stylized representation of a standing, bearded ruler, with the attributes of his role as defender of the believers and as deputy of God. Users of these coins could recognize the same mark of imperial authority that they were accustomed to, and meanwhile epigraphic elements, like the *shahada* or profession of faith, revealed the emperor's identity as the Prophet's successor. After the triumph over the Kharijites of Mecca (between 77/696 and 79/699), who had attempted to take leadership of the Islamic world, a purely epigraphic design came to be adopted for coins and served to underscore the Umayyad caliph's legitimate status as stemming from God.[34]

Undoubtedly, this new, aniconic design was a radical innovation in the numismatic imagery of Mediterranean cultures and beyond. But, as happened in other contexts as well, an *evocatio per absentiam* could prove even more efficacious than the sovereign's visual and physical presence: in this sense, it is worth stressing that the caliph disappeared from coins at much the same moment that his body started being concealed behind veils and curtains during public audiences as well as during the Friday prayer or *khutba*.[35] Nevertheless, the shift to an aniconic design on coins did not mean that Muslim rulers thoroughly renounced the use of figurative objects to evoke their dignity. As recent research has stressed, two- and three-dimensional royal images were frequently displayed in the decoration of Umayyad residences. For instance, the murals at Quṣayr 'Amra – probably made on the initiative of Prince al-Walid in the late 730s or early 740s when power was in the hands of his uncle Hisham – display the prince in the glory of his longed-for throne, as a member of the ruling family (Figure. 0.2), and in the act of being honoured by prominent foreign

34 The topic has been investigated intensively in recent years, see esp. the detailed overview by: Stefan Heidemann, "The Evolving Representation of the Early Islamic Empire and its Religion on Coin Imagery," in *The Qur'ān in Context. Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur'ānic Milieu*, eds. Angelika Neuwirth, Nicolai Sinai, and Michael Marx (Leiden, 2010), pp. 149–96.

35 Giorgio Vercellin, *Tra veli e turbanti. Rituali sociali e vita privata nei mondi dell'Islam* (Venice, 2000), pp. 107–10; Maaike van Berkel, "Politics of Access at the Court of the Caliph," in *New Perspectives on Power and Political Representation from Ancient History to the Present Day: Repertoires of Representation,* eds. Harm Kaal, and Daniëlle Slootjes (Leiden, 2019), pp. 26–36, esp. 29 and 32.

rulers, including the Byzantine emperor, the Visigothic king, the Persian shah, and the Ethiopian negus (Figure. 0.3).[36] Al-Walid may also have been responsible, perhaps after his enthronement in 743, for the stuccoed decoration of Khirbat al-Mafjar, near Jericho, where he was represented over the door of the audience hall (Figure. 0.4) in the typical attire of a Sasanian king, bearded and holding a sword, similar to Abd al-Malik's image on coins.[37]

Generic representations of figures in royal attire appear also later, though in different media and according to different schemes, in the decoration of residences, precious objects, and manuscripts associated with Islamic sovereigns. In these contexts, the royal images were not isolated but were rather part of larger programmes celebrating courtly life and pleasures, such as hunts, music and dance performances, and public audiences.[38] It would be tempting, but misleading, to infer from this that the use of portrait-like effigies remained restricted to the Islamic ruler's private or domestic sphere, whereas a rigid 'aniconism' became the marker of official media, like coinage, seals, or medallions. Indeed, it is problematic to think of the decorations embellishing the sovereign's residences as private. Frequently, a whole repertory of royal and courtly figures were represented in audience halls and therefore visible to members of the court, visitors, servants, guests, and ambassadors. Nevertheless, in other cases preference was given to purely ornamental, vegetal, or geometric decor.

Recent research has shown that the semantic divide between figure and ornament, as well as between image and script, was much more fluid in Islamic thought than one might expect.[39] Even within the same period and context,

36 Garth Fowden, *Quṣayr 'Amra. Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria* (Berkeley, 2004); see also: Frédéric Imbert, "Le prince al-Walīd et son bain: itinéraires épigraphiques à Quṣayr 'Amra," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 64 (2015), 321–63.

37 Robert W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al Mafjar: An Arabian Mansion in the Jordan Valley* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 98–103, 228–32; Donald Whitcomb, "Caliph and King: Effigies and Islamic Archaeology," in *Sur les chemins d'Onagre: histoire et archéologie orientales. Hommage à Monik Kervran*, eds. Claire Hardy-Guilbert, Hélène Renel, Axelle Rougeulle, and Eric Vallet (Oxford, 2018), pp. 235–45.

38 Dorothy G. Shepherd, "Banquet and Hunt in Medieval Islamic Iconography," in *Gatherings in Honour of Dorothy E. Miner*, eds. Ursula E. McCracken, Lilian M. C. Randall, and Richard H. Randall (Baltimore, 1974), pp. 79–92; Katharina Otto-Dorn, "Das islamische Herrscherbild im frühen Mittelalter," in *Das Bildnis in der Kunst des Orients*, eds. Martin Kraatz, Jürg Meyer zur Capellen, and Dietrich Seckel (Stuttgart, 1990), pp. 61–78; see also, for an overview of extant pictorial works: Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Geneva, 1962), pp. 42–50, 61–65, 92, 147–49; Maria Vittoria Fontana, *La pittura islamica dalle origini alla fine del Trecento* (Rome, 2002), pp. 67–72, 77–78, 84–85, 88–89, 96, 99–101, 106–07, 109–10.

39 Jamal J. Elias, *Aisha' Cushion: Religious Art, Perception, and Practice in Islam* (Cambridge, 2012).

different visual codes could be exploited as alternative strategies for evoking power, depending on many factors, including local tradition, the ruler's personality, and the court's cultural, political, and religious orientation. For example, in the second half of the 12th century, one of the fiercest opposers of the Almohads – the members of a Berber puritanical movement that gradually took control over North Africa and Spain – was the king of Murcia Muhammad Ibn Mardanish (1147–1172), who seems to have deliberately promoted art forms at odds with his enemies' rejection of excessive ornament and figural motifs. If his palatine mosque within the town Alcázar stood out for its rich polychrome motifs combining vegetal scrolls and eight-pointed stars, the *muqarnas* of his suburban residence were embellished with scenes of courtly life (Figure. 0.5) and probably also with royal images.[40]

In the 1140s, shortly preceding Ibn Mardanish's initiative, the Christian ruler Roger II adopted a similar programme for the *muqarnas* ceiling of his Cappella Palatina in Palermo.[41] This makes clear that established imagery evoking institutional authority was appropriated without concern for religious distinctions. It has even been suggested that, during the short-lived Sicilian rule on Ifrīqiya (1142–1160),[42] the Norman kings may have sought to disseminate the motif of the king seated cross-legged with a wine cup, which originated in Central Asia[43] before being adopted by Christian rulers in

40 Alejandro García Avilés, "Arte y poder en Murcia en la época de Ibn Mardanish (1147–1172)," in *El Mediterráneo y el arte español. Actas del XI Congreso del CEHA*, eds. Joaquín Bérchez, Mercedes Gómez-Ferrer Lozano, and Amadeo Serra Desfilís (Valencia, 1998), pp. 31–37; Susana Calvo Capilla, "Et las mezquitas que habien deben seer del rey': la cristianización de Murcia tras la conquista de Alfonso X," in *Alfonso X el Sabio*, ed. Isidro G. Bango Torviso (Murcia, 2009), pp. 688–94; Abigail K. Balbale, *Between Kings and Caliphs: Religion and Authority in Sharq al-Andalus* (*1145–1244 CE*), Ph.D. dissertation (Harvard University, 2012), pp. 196–97.

41 See esp.: Ernst J. Grube, and Jeremy Johns, *The Painted Ceilings of the Cappella Palatina* (New York, 2005). On Norman use of Islamic or Islamicized arts in combination with forms inspired by other Mediterranean traditions, see the methodological remarks by: Gerhard Wolf, "Alexandria aus Athen zurückerobern? Perspektiven einer mediterranen Kunstgeschichte mit einem Seitenblick auf das mittelalterliche Sizilien," in *Lateinisch-griechisch-arabische Begegnungen*, eds. Margit Mersch, and Ulrike Ritzerfeld (Berlin, 2009), pp. 39–62.

42 This hypothesis is highly conjectural and relies exclusively on the interpretation and dating of a relief of a female musician playing flute adjacent to a seated king with a winged crown, found in the ruins of the palatial complex of Mahdiya, see: Lamia Hadda, *L'architettura palaziale tra Africa del Nord e Sicilia normanna* (*secoli X-XII*) (Naples, 2015), pp. 39–47.

43 Otto-Dorn, "Das islamische Herrscherbild," p. 64; Mirjam Gelfer-Jørgensen, *Medieval Islamic Symbolism and the Paintings in the Cefalù Cathedral* (Leiden, 1986), pp. 29–96;

Armenia.[44] Some decades later, Frederick II, another king of Sicily and, from 1220, Holy Roman Emperor, fostered the diffusion of public images of himself not only on his golden *augustales* but also in such monumental settings as the fortified access (built between 1234 and 1240) to Capua and the Neapolitan province from the bridge on the Volturno River.[45] The great ruler's quest for the revitalization of visual formulas rooted in the Hellenistic and Roman past took place at much the same time that Artuqid and Seljuk rulers in Anatolia manifested an increasing interest in the display of ancient spolia and the use of idealized portraits on coins and seals.[46]

Traditionally, art history has described such phenomena as resurgences, revivals, and renaissances of ancient forms deemed to be aesthetically normative. Even if this holds partly true for the Middle Ages, given the authoritativeness with which the period invested past empires,[47] such resurgences more importantly indicate that courts from a range of cultural and religious milieus – from Western Europe to the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond – took recourse to figural objects that placed emphasis on the ruler's ambiguous physicality as a material embodiment of power and charisma. Images were just one of the manifold strategies through which kingship could be celebrated,

---

Tasha Vorderstrasse, "The Iconography of the Wine Drinker in 'Port St Symeon' Ware from the Crusader Era," *Eastern Christian Art* 2 (2005), 59–72, esp. 62–69.

44 It appears in the 10th century sculpted decoration of Gagik Arcruni's palatine church in Ałt'amar: Lynn Jones, "The Church of the Holy Cross and the Iconography of Kingship," *Gesta* 13 (1994), 104–17, esp. 108; see also: Gohar Grigoryan, "King Gagik Arcruni's Portrait on the Church of Ałt'amar," in *The Church of the Holy Cross of Ałt'amar. Politics, Art, Spirituality in the Kingdom of Vaspurakan*, eds. Zaroui Pogossian, and Edda Vardanian (Leiden, 2019), pp. 416–40, esp. 431. On the politics of iconographic adaptation in Armenian representations of rulers, see: Lynn Jones, " 'Abbasid Suzerainty in the Medieval Caucasus: Appropriation and Adaptation of Iconography and Ideology," *Gesta* 43 (2004), 143–50, and, on the Cilician context: Gohar Grigoryan, *Royal Images of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia (1198–1375) in the Context of Mediterranean Intercultural Exchange*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Fribourg, 2017). On the cross-legged king motif in Syriac Christian contexts, see: Bas Snelders, *Identity and Christian-Muslim Interaction. Medieval Art of the Syrian Orthodox from the Mosul Area* (Leuven, 2010), pp. 350–54.

45 See esp.: Mirko Vagnoni, "Il significato politico delle caratteristiche iconografiche di Federico II di Svevia," *Iconographica* 5 (2006), 64–75.

46 Estelle J. Whelan, *The Public Figure: Political Iconography in Medieval Mesopotamia* (London, 2006); Suzan Yalman, " 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad Illuminated: A Rum Seliuq Sultan as Cosmic Ruler," *Muqarnas* 29 (2012), 151–86. See also the methodologically relevant remarks by: David J. Wasserstein, "Coins as Agents of Cultural Definition in Islam," *Poetics Today* 14 (1993), 303–22.

47 On medieval attitudes to the past as a source of legitimacy in general, see: *L'autorité du passé dans les sociétés médiévales*, ed. Jean-Marie Sansterre (Brussels, 2004).

praised, publicly exhibited, evoked, and made present in a body – whether real, ceremonially transfigured, or artfully simulated. This embodiment occurred by means of visual and ritual-performative techniques with roots in the ancient, not only Greco-Roman but also Sasanian Persian, worlds.[48] Historically, it often proved politically useful to display prestigious images, evocative of antiquity, to evoke a sovereign's special status. Indeed, irrespective of their cultural or religious affiliation and even of their interest or disinterest in statues and paintings, sovereigns shared the view that their bodies were sites of supra-personal authority, which could themselves be used as efficacious visual objects.

This book presents the first outcomes of the research project "Royal Epiphanies. The King's Body as Image and Its *Mise-en-scène* in the Medieval Mediterranean (12th-14th Centuries)," funded by the Swiss National Research Foundation and coordinated by the present author at Fribourg University.[49] Its basic aim is a comparative analysis across three Mediterranean contexts of the ways in which the sovereign's outward appearance was visually constructed, given shape, and invested with meaning. The three contexts in question are being investigated separately, though in strict synergy, by the three members of the research team: Armenian Cilicia (Gohar Grigoryan), Norman to Angevin-Aragonese southern Italy (Mirko Vagnoni), and the Kingdom of Aragón (Sofía Fernández Pozzo). With the aim of either verifying or deconstructing the assumption that royal images primarily served to assert leadership and authority, the first phase of the research project, the findings of which are published in the present volume, focused on the specific use medieval rulers made of figural images and the contextual roles such images were expected to play. This investigation brought to the fore the ambiguity and complexity of extant evidence: royal images appeared broadly and in a multiplicity of viewing contexts, media, and object-types; yet, equally multifarious were rulers' understandings of the aims of such images, in terms that have very little in common with modern notional divides such as secular versus religious, political versus institutional, or realistic versus typological.

A meeting held in Fribourg on the 12th and 13th of March 2019,[50] was an occasion to bring together specialists from different Mediterranean countries to share in the team's systematic investigation of the functions and meanings

48 Matthew P. Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the Earth. Art and Ritual of Kingship between Rome and Sasanian Iran* (Berkeley, 2009).

49 See the description in the SNRF online database *P3*: http://p3.snf.ch/project-173045, accessed 2020 July 12.

50 *Meanings and Functions of the Royal Portrait in the Mediterranean World* (*11th–15th Centuries*), international workshop, Fribourg University, 12–13 March 2019.

of royal images, including the audiences they were meant for, the specific conditions under which they were made accessible, and the viewing contexts in which they were put on display. After this initial, productive brainstorming session, the team extended the invitation to further scholars, all of whom agreed to collaborate on this collective volume. In an imaginary voyage from the Eastern to the Western Mediterranean, the essays explore the ways in which visual images were thought to evoke, act as a surrogate for, or celebrate sovereigns and sovereignty in several historical and geographic contexts: Greater Armenia and Armenian Cilicia (Rapti, Vardanyan, Grigoryan), the Byzantine Empire (Studer-Karlen), Serbia (Cvetković), the Kingdom of Hungary (Lucherini), Carolingian- to Angevin-Aragonese southern Italy (Speciale, Vagnoni, Bock), France (Leschot), Aragón (Serrano-Coll, Fernández Pozzo), León (Boto), and the wider space of cultural interactions between al-Andalus and Castile in the later Middle Ages (Ruiz Souza).

While each of these contributions stands out in terms of approach and the materials and media in question, the questions raised by the evidence are often the same. One such question concerns the relationship between royal and religious imagery, which will inescapably seem fraught if we insist on describing it as a sort of dichotomic opposition, a notion that lingers in characterizations of 'sacred kingship' as something distinct from the *stricto sensu* religious sphere. To the contrary, the permeability of the two dimensions is indicated, e.g. by the ways in which the ruler's image could be used to suggest his or her participation in a community of prayer and in a quest for liturgical commemoration (Rapti, Boto); the appropriation of biblical themes, such as the genealogy of Christ, for dynastic compositions in religious contexts (Vardanyan, Cvetković); the enduring tendency to bring up royal images within theological debates (Grigoryan); and the use of compositional and iconographic conventions that invested kings with a saintly look (Lucherini).

Other essays tackle the ruler's personal engagement in promoting some form of visual politics. Studer-Karlen's essay provides a wide-ranging overview of Byzantine imperial representation and its purposes, largely grounded on late antique notions of legal and political agency. If Vagnoni warns art historians against overemphasizing the propagandistic, self-promoting function of medieval royal images, other contributors observe how their dissemination was bound to the initiatives of individual monarchs, as in the Angevin context examined by Bock. Individual features could be intentionally introduced, provided that they do not distract viewers from acknowledging the monarch's institutional, transpersonal dignity. Even in France, where the court made use of a new representational code stressing to some extent individual distinctiveness, efforts were made to find an acceptable compromise between the use of

realistic devices and the abstract evocation of sovereignty hinted at by insignia, clothing, and conventional postures (Leschot).

Despite being extremely rich in its extant evidence, the Spanish context has been largely neglected on this topic. Relying on a multiplicity of sources, Serrano-Coll examines the different functions attributed to the representations of the kings of Aragón as visual authenticators of legal agency, as ideological tools, and as objects that, to varying degrees, were instrumental in the ruler's self-presentation in courtly ceremonials. Similar uses are reflected in the Leonese documentation investigated by Boto. In the context of Aragón, Fernández Pozzo stresses the importance of clothing, posture, and the language of gestures in constructing the king's outward appearance and shows how visual conventions established in courtly ceremonials could be transmitted to imagery, and vice versa. Finally, Ruiz Souza's chapter places emphasis on the wide network of mutual interconnections that can be detected in the palatial architecture of the kingdoms of Castile and al-Andalus. He reconstructs what might be described as a shared ritual culture of kingship, in which Christian kings appropriated various strategies by which the bodies of Nasrid emirs were framed, staged, and put on display in public rituals and receptions, as evidenced, for example, in the imagery that celebrates the monarch's education and wisdom in the Hall of Justice of the Alhambra.

In short, this book provides a state of the field and an interpretive framework for the study of Mediterranean royal images as figural evocations of the ruler's presence and institutional agency. At the same time, it opens the topics that are currently the focus of the second phase of the "Royal Epiphanies" project. In this phase, the project aims to move beyond the boundaries of figural objects, which were just one among multiple media in which the ruler's body could be experienced *visually*. Emphasis will be placed not so much on how kings and queens were represented in painted or sculpted images but on how their outward, physical appearance was put on display, transformed, and adapted to models – whether conventional or unconventional – meant to evoke ideal notions of institutional authority, personal charisma, supernatural beauty, and moral distinction. The shift we are proposing is from images as conveyors of presence to bodies as visual indicators of kingship. This demands an attention to the different factors that contributed to the iconicity of a monarch's look (clothing, hairstyle, presence or absence of facial hair, insignia and symbols, make-up, etc.); on the specific, highly ritualized circumstances under which royal bodies were made accessible; and, finally, on the role played by spatial contexts (ornament, lighting devices, thrones, baldachins and curtains, architectural barriers, weapons, coats of arms, flowers and trees, animals,

statues and paintings, and the physical arrangement of attendants, guards, and courtiers) in evoking the ruler's dignity and supremacy.

Bibliography

Secondary Sources

Ando, Clifford, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley, 2000).

Avilés, Alejandro García, "Arte y poder en Murcia en la época de Ibn Mardanish (1147–1172)," in *El Mediterráneo y el arte español. Actas del XI Congreso del CEHA*, eds. Joaquín Bérchez, Mercedes Gómez-Ferrer Lozano, and Amadeo Serra Desfilís (Valencia, 1998), pp. 31–37.

Bacci, Michele, *Investimenti per l'aldilà. Arte e raccomandazione dell'anima nel Medioevo* (Rome, 2005).

Bacci, Michele, "Beards and the Construction of Facial Appearance in the Middle Ages," in *The Face in Medieval Culture. East and West*, ed. Oleg Voskoboynikov, (Florence: Sismel, 2022), pp. 115–31.

Bahrani, Zainab, *The Graven Image: Representation in Babylonia and Assyria* (Philadelphia, 2003).

Balbale, Abigail K., *Between Kings and Caliphs: Religion and Authority in Sharq al-Andalus (1145–1244 CE)*, Ph.D. dissertation (Harvard University, 2012).

Bartlett, Robert, *Blood Royal. Dynastic Politics in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2020).

Bauch, Kurt, *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild. Figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa* (Berlin, 1976).

Bedos-Rezak, Brigitte Miriam, *When Ego was Imago. Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2011).

Bedos-Rezak, Brigitte Miriam, and Rust, Martha D., "Faces and Surfaces of Charisma. An Introductory Essay," in *Faces of Charisma: Image, Text, Object in Byzantium and the Medieval West*, eds. Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, and Martha D. Rust (Leiden, 2018), pp. 1–44.

Belting, Hans, *Bild und Kult. Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Munich, 1990).

Belting, Hans, *Bild-Anthropologie. Entwürfe für eine Bildwissenschaft* (Munich, 2001).

Bigham, Steven, *Early Christian Attitudes toward Images* (Rollinsford, 2004).

Bloch, Marc, *Les rois thaumaturges. Étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre* (Strasbourg, 1924).

Brubaker, Leslie, and Haldon, John F., *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680–850* (Cambridge, 2011).

Brubaker, Leslie, *Inventing Byzantine Iconoclasm* (London, 2012).

Büchsel, Martin, "Le portrait au Moyen Âge," *Perspective* 2 (2012), 401–06.

Calvo Capilla, Susana, "Et las mezquitas que habien deben seer del rey': la cristianización de Murcia tras la conquista de Alfonso X," in *Alfonso X el Sabio*, ed. Isidro G. Bango Torviso (Murcia, 2009), pp. 688–94.

Carile, Maria Cristina, "Imperial Icons in Late Antiquity and Byzantium. The iconic image of the Emperor between Representation and Presence," *Ikon* 9 (2016), 75–98.

Castelnuovo, Enrico, "Il significato del ritratto pittorico nella società," in *Storia d'Italia. V.2. I documenti* (Turin, 1973), pp. 1031–94.

Clauss, Manfred, *Kaiser und Gott. Herrscherkult im römischen Reich* (Stuttgart, 1999).

Claussen, Peter Cornelius, "Bildnis im hohen Mittelalter," in *Der Naumburger Meister. Bildhauer und Architekt im Europa der Kathedralen*, eds. Guido Siebert, Hartmut Krohm, and Holger Kunde (Petersberg, 2012), pp. 227–34.

Claussen, Peter Cornelius, "Ritratto," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale* 10, ed. Angela Maria Romanini (Rome, 1991–2002), pp. 33–46.

Crivello, Fabrizio, " '*… grecus constantinopoleos orfanos et peregrinos …*'. Artisti bizantini in ambito librario a nord delle Alpi nell'alto Medioevo," in *L'artista a Bisanzio e nel mondo cristiano-orientale,* ed. Michele Bacci (Pisa, 2007), pp. 255–68.

Dagron, Gilbert, *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le "césaropapisme" byzantin* (Paris, 1996).

Darley, Rebecca R., "Money, Art, and Representation. The Powerful and Pragmatic Faces of Medieval Coinage," in *A Cultural History of Money in the Medieval Age*, ed. Rory Naismith (London, 2019), pp. 99–124.

Das Porträt vor der Erfindung des Porträts, eds. Martin Büchsel, and Peter Schmidt (Mainz, 2003).

Die Renaissance und die Entdeckung des Individuums in der Kunst, ed. Enno Rudolph (Tübingen, 1998).

Die Sakralität von Herrschaft. Herrschaftslegitimierung im Wechsel der Zeiten und Räume, ed. Franz-Reiner Erkens (Berlin, 2002).

Eastmond, Antony, "Between Icon and Idol: The Uncertainty of Imperial Images," in *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium. Studies presented to Robin Cormack,* eds. Antony Eastmond, and Liz James (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 73–85.

Ekkehard IV, *Casus Sancti Galli*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum tomus 2* (Hannover, 1829), pp. 74–147.

Elias, Jamal J., *Aisha's Cushion: Religious Art, Perception, and Practice in Islam* (Cambridge, 2012).

Elsner, Jaś, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph. The Art of the Roman Empire AD 100–450* (Oxford, 1998).

Ettinghausen, Richard, *Arab Painting* (Geneva, 1962).

Fontana, Maria Vittoria, *La pittura islamica dalle origini alla fine del Trecento* (Rome, 2002).

Fowden, Garth, *Quṣayr ʿAmra. Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria* (Berkeley, 2004).

Francis, James A., "Visual and Verbal Representation: Image, Text, Person, and Power," in *A Companion to Late Antiquity*, ed. Philip Rousseau (Oxford, 2009), pp. 185–305.

Garipzanov, Ildar, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World* (*c. 751–877*) (Leiden, 2008).

Garrison, Eliza, *Ottonian Imperial Art and Portraiture. The Artistic Patronage of Otto III and Henry II* (Farnham, 2012).

Gaucher-Rémond, Élisabeth, "De l'introspection à l'exposition de soi au Moyen Âge," *Le Moyen Âge* 122 (2016), 21–40.

Gelfer-Jørgensen, Mirjam, *Medieval Islamic Symbolism and the Paintings in the Cefalù Cathedral* (Leiden, 1986).

Gell, Alfred, *Art and Agency. An Anthropological Theory of Art* (Oxford, 1998).

Gilbert, Maurice, *La critique des dieux dans le Livre de la Sagesse* (*Sg 13–15*) (Rome, 1984).

Grabar, André, *L'iconoclasme byzantin* (Paris, 1998).

Grierson, Philip, *Byzantine Coins* (Berkeley, 1982).

Grigoryan, Gohar, *Royal Images of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia* (*1198–1375*) *in the Context of Mediterranean Intercultural Exchange*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Fribourg, 2017).

Grigoryan, Gohar, "King Gagik Arcruni's Portrait on the Church of Ałtʿamar," in *The Church of the Holy Cross of Ałtʿamar. Politics, Art, Spirituality in the Kingdom of Vaspurakan*, eds. Zaroui Pogossian, and Edda Vardanian (Leiden, 2019), pp. 416–40.

Grube, Ernst J., and Jeremy Johns, *The Painted Ceilings of the Cappella Palatina* (New York, 2005).

Gurević, Aron J., *La naissance de l'individu dans l'Europe médiévale* (Paris, 1997).

Hadda, Lamia, *L'architettura palaziale tra Africa del Nord e Sicilia normanna* (*secoli X-XII*) (Naples, 2015).

Hamilton, Robert W., *Khirbat al Mafjar: An Arabian Mansion in the Jordan Valley* (Oxford, 1959).

Heidemann, Stefan, "The Evolving Representation of the Early Islamic Empire and its Religion on Coin Imagery," in *The Qurʾān in Context. Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qurʾānic Milieu*, eds. Angelika Neuwirth, Nicolai Sinai, and Michael Marx (Leiden, 2010), pp. 149–96.

Herring, Stephen L., *Divine Substitution. Humanity as the Manifestation of Deity in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Göttingen, 2013).

Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Evariste (Paris, 1944–53).

Hoffmann, Hasso, *Repräsentation. Studien zur Wort- und Begriffsgeschichte von der Antike bis ins 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1974).

Imbert, Frédéric, "Le prince al-Walīd et son bain: itinéraires épigraphiques à Qusayr ʿAmra," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 64 (2015), 321–63.

Intorno al ritratto. Origini, sviluppi e trasformazioni, eds. Fabrizio Crivello, and Laura Zamparo (Turin, 2019).

Jones, Lynn, "The Church of the Holy Cross and the Iconography of Kingship," *Gesta* 13 (1994), 104–17.

Jones, Lynn, "'Abbasid Suzerainty in the Medieval Caucasus: Appropriation and Adaptation of Iconography and Ideology," *Gesta* 43 (2004), 143–50.

Kahlos, Maijastina, "The Emperor's New Images – How to Honour the Emperor in the Christian Roman Empire?," in *Emperors and the Divine: Rome and Its Influence,* ed. Maijastina Kahlos (Helsinki, 2016), pp. 119–38.

Kantorowicz, Ernst, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1947).

Körner, Hans, "Individuum und Gruppe. Fragen nach der Signifikanz von Verismus und Stilisierung im Grabbild des 13. Jahrhunderts," in *Die Repräsentation der Gruppen. Texte-Bilder-Objekte*, eds. Otto Gerhard Oexle, and Andrea von Hülsen-Esch (Göttingen, 1998), pp. 89–126.

Körntgen, Ludger, *Königsherrschaft und Gottes Gnade: Zu Kontext und Funktion sakraler Vorstellungen in Historiographie und Bildzeugnissen der ottonisch-frühsalischen Zeit* (Berlin, 2001).

Kosuch, Andreas, *Abbild und Stellvertreter Gottes. Der König in herrschaftstheoretischen Schriften des späten Mittelalters* (Cologne, 2011).

Kruse, Helmut, *Studien zur offiziellen Geltung des Kaiserbildes im römischen Reiche* (Paderborn, 1934).

L'autorité du passé dans les sociétés médiévales, ed. Jean-Marie Sansterre (Brussels, 2004).

Le portrait individuel: réflexions autour d'une forme de représentation XIII^e^-XV^e^ siècles, ed. Dominic Olariu (Bern, 2009).

Le portrait: la représentation de l'individu, eds. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, Jean-Michel Spieser, and Jean Wirth (Florence, 2007).

L'individu au Moyen Âge. Individuation et individualisation avant la modernité, eds. Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, and Dominic Iogna-Prat (Paris, 2005).

Luckhardt, Courtney, " 'The Messenger is the Place of a Man's Judgment': Diplomacy between Emperors and Caliphs in the Tenth Century," *Medieval Worlds* 8 (2018), 86–108 [DOI 10.1553/medievalworlds_no8_2018s86, accessed 2020 July 15].

Marqueurs d'identité dans la littérature médiévale. Mettre en signe l'individu et la famille (XII^e^-XV^e^ siècles), eds. Catalina Girbea, Laurent Hablot, and Raluca Radulescu (Turnhout, 2014).

Martindale, Andrew, *Heroes, Ancestors, Relatives and the Birth of the Portrait* (Maarssen, 1990).

Matthew P. Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the Earth. Art and Ritual of Kingship between Rome and Sasanian Iran* (Berkeley, 2009).

Morris, Colin, *The Discovery of the Individual* (New York, 1972).

Niehr, Klaus, "Mimesis, Stilisierung, Fiktion in spätmittelalterlicher Porträtmalerei. Das sog. Gothaer Liebespaar," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 25 (1998), 79–104.

Oexle, Otto Gerhard, "Memoria und Memorialbild," in *Memoria. Die geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, eds. Karl Schmid, and Joachim Wollasch (Munich, 1984), pp. 384–440.

Olariu, Dominic, *La genèse de la représentation ressemblante de l'homme. Reconsidérations du portrait à partir du XIII^e siècle* (Bern, 2014).

Otto-Dorn, Katharina, "Das islamische Herrscherbild im frühen Mittelalter," in *Das Bildnis in der Kunst des Orients*, eds. Martin Kraatz, Jürg Meyer zur Capellen, and Dietrich Seckel (Stuttgart, 1990), pp. 61–78.

Pastoureau, Michel, "L'effervescence emblématique et les origines héraldiques du portrait au XIV^e siècle," *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1985), 108–15.

Pekáry, Thomas, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft, dargestellt anhand der Quellen* (Berlin, 1985).

Perkinson, Stephen, "Rethinking the Origins of Portraiture," *Gesta* 46 (2007), 135–57.

Perkinson, Stephen, *The Likeness of the King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago, 2009).

Porträt, eds. Hannah Baader, Rudolf Preimesberger, and Nicola Suthor (Berlin, 1999).

Reudenbach, Bruno, "Individuum ohne Bildnis? Zum Problem künstlerischer Ausdrucksformen von Individualität im Mittelalter," in *Individuum und Individualität im Mittelalter*, eds. Jan A. Aerstsen, and Andreas Speyer (Berlin, 1996), pp. 807–18.

Ritratto e società. Dal Medioevo all'avanguardia, eds. Fabrizio Crivello, and Michele Tomasi (Turin, 2015).

Schmitt, Jean-Claude, "La 'découverte de l'individu': une fiction historiographique?," in *La fabrique, la figure et la feinte. Fictions et statut des fictions en psychologie*, eds. Paul Mengal, and Françoise Parot (Paris, 1989), pp. 213–36.

Schmitt, Jean-Claude, *Le corps, le mythe, les rêves, les temps. Essais d'anthropologie médiévale* (Paris, 2001).

Schramm, Percy Ernst, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit bis zur Mitte 12. Jahrhunderts (751–1152)* (Leipzig, 1928).

Schramm, Percy Ernst, and Mütherich, Florentine, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. I. Ein Beitrag zur Herrschergeschichte von Karl dem Großen bis Friedrich II.* (Munich, 1962).

Shepherd, Dorothy G., "Banquet and Hunt in Medieval Islamic Iconography," in *Gatherings in Honour of Dorothy E. Miner*, eds. Ursula E. McCracken, Lilian M. C. Randall, and Richard H. Randall (Baltimore, 1974), pp. 79–92.

Skinner, Patricia, *Living with Disfigurement in Early Medieval Europe* (University Park, 2017).

Snelders, Bas, *Identity and Christian-Muslim Interaction. Medieval Art of the Syrian Orthodox from the Mosul Area* (Leuven, 2010).

Sowerby, Tracey A., "'A Memorial and a Pledge of Faith': Portraiture and Early Modern Diplomatic Culture," *The English Historical Review* 129 (2014), 296–331.

Stieldorf, Andreas, "Die Rückkehr des Königs: zur Funktion des Herrscherbildes auf Münzen," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 64 (2018), 27–59.

al-Maqqarī, Ahmad, *Nafh al-tib*, transl. P. de Gayangos, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain* (London, 1840–43).

The Image of the Individual. Portraits in the Renaissance, eds. Nicholas Mann, and Luke Syson (London, 1998).

Vagnoni, Mirko, "Il significato politico delle caratteristiche iconografiche di Federico II di Svevia," *Iconographica* 5 (2006), 64–75.

Vagnoni, Mirko, *Dei gratia rex Siciliae. Scene d'incoronazione regia nell'iconografia regia normanna* (Palermo, 2017).

Vagnoni, Mirko, "Meanings and Functions of Norman Royal Portraits in the Religious and Liturgical Context: The Mosaic of the Cathedral of Monreale," *Iconographica* 18 (2019), 26–37.

Vagnoni, Mirko, "Royal Divine Coronation Iconography. Preliminary Considerations," *Arts* 8/4 (2019), 139 [https://doi.org/10.3390/arts8040139, accessed 2020 July 15].

van Berkel, Maaike, "Politics of Access at the Court of the Caliph," in *New Perspectives on Power and Political Representation from Ancient History to the Present Day: Repertoires of Representation*, eds. Harm Kaal, and Daniëlle Slootjes (Leiden, 2019), pp. 26–36.

van der Ploeg, Kees, "Likeness and Presence in the Age before the Portrait Historié," in *Example or Alter Ego? Aspects of the Portrait Historié in Western Art from Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Volker Manuth, Rudie van Leeuwen, and A. M. Koldeweij (Turnhout, 2016), pp. 93–108.

Veelenturf, Kees, "In the Guise of a Christian: The Early Medieval Preliminary Stage of the Portrait Historié," in *Example or Alter Ego? Aspects of the Portrait Historié in Western Art from Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Volker Manuth, Rudie van Leeuwen, and A. M. Koldeweij (Turnhout, 2016), pp. 69–91.

Vercellin, Giorgio, *Tra veli e turbanti. Rituali sociali e vita privata nei mondi dell'Islam* (Venice, 2000).

Vorderstrasse, Tasha, "The Iconography of the Wine Drinker in 'Port St Symeon' Ware from the Crusader Era," *Eastern Christian Art* 2 (2005), pp. 59–72.

Walahfrid Strabo, *Libellus de exordiis*, eds. Alfred Boretius, and Victor Krause, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Capitularia regum Francorum.* 2 (Hannover, 1897), pp 473–516.

Warmind, Morten Lund, "The Cult of the Roman Emperor before and after Christianity," in *The Problem of Ritual*, ed. Tore Ahlbäck (Abo, 1993), pp. 211–20.

Wasserstein, David J., "Coins as Agents of Cultural Definition in Islam," *Poetics Today* 14 (1993), 303–22.

Weinfurter, Stefan, "Idee und Funktion des 'Sakralkönigtums' bei den ottonischen und salischen Herrschern (10. und 11. Jahrhundert)," in *Legitimation und Funktion des Herrschers. Vom ägyptischen Pharao zum neuzeitlichen Diktator,* eds. Rolf Gundlach, and Hermann Weber (Stuttgart, 1992), pp. 99–127.

Whelan, Estelle J., *The Public Figure: Political Iconography in Medieval Mesopotamia* (London, 2006).

Whitcomb, Donald, "Caliph and King: Effigies and Islamic Archaeology," in *Sur les chemins d'Onagre: histoire et archéologie orientales. Hommage à Monik Kervran*, eds. Claire Hardy-Guilbert, Hélène Renel, Axelle Rougeulle, and Eric Vallet (Oxford, 2018), pp. 235–45.

Wolf, Gerhard, *Schleier und Spiegel. Traditionen des Christusbildes und die Bildkonzepte der Renaissance* (Munich, 2002).

Wolf, Gerhard, "Alexandria aus Athen zurückerobern? Perspektiven einer mediterranen Kunstgeschichte mit einem Seitenblick auf das mittelalterliche Sizilien," in *Lateinisch-griechisch-arabische Begegnungen*, eds. Margit Mersch, and Ulrike Ritzerfeld (Berlin, 2009), pp. 39–62.

Wright, Georgia Sommers, "The Reinvention of the Portrait Likeness in the Fourteenth Century," *Gesta* 39 (2000), 117–34.

Yalman, Suzan, "'Ala al-Din Kayqubad Illuminated: A Rum Seliuq Sultan as Cosmic Ruler," *Muqarnas* 29 (2012), 151–86.

Illustrations



FIGURE 0.1 *The Norman King of Sicily William II offers the church to the Virgin*, mosaic, 1177–1183. Monreale Cathedral
PHOTO: MICHELE BACCI



FIGURE 0.2 *The Caliph enthroned*, wall painting, ca. 740. Quṣayr ʻAmra, ʻUmayyad residence
PHOTO: MIRKO VAGNONI



FIGURE 0.3 *The six world rulers*, wall painting, ca. 740. Quṣayr ʿAmra, ʿUmayyad residence
PHOTO: MIRKO VAGNONI



FIGURE 0.4 *Standing caliph*, stucco relief, 1st half of the 8th century, from Khirbat al-Mafjar. Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum
PHOTO: MICHELE BACCI



FIGURE 0.5 *Musician playing a flute*, fragment from a wall painting with courtly scenes, 1147–1172. Murcia, Museo de Santa Clara
PHOTO: MICHELE BACCI

CHAPTER 1

Royal Images and Coronation Celebrations in the Sermons of Yovhannēs Pluz Erznkac'i

Gohar Grigoryan Savary

In 2013, the Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts published the long-awaited volume of the speeches and sermons of Yovhannēs Pluz Erznkac'i (i.e. from Erznkay, present-day Erzincan, Turkey), one of the most illustrious Armenian authors of the 13th century.[1] Prepared by two devoted scholars of Erznkac'i, the late Armenuhi Ter-Srapyan and the late Edvard Baghdasaryan, this publication represents the first volume of what will be a series of publications of Erznkac'i's works, offering the first edition of many homilies, sermons and speeches delivered by Erznkac'i in various cities of Cilicia and Greater Armenia, as well as in Jerusalem and T'iflis (Tbilisi).

This paper presents a translation of select chapters from Sermons 1, 8, 10, 29, and 30,[2] in which Erznkac'i uses the specific subjects of royal images and urban feasts for comparative and exegetical purposes. Although the author does not specify his sources – and, in fact, mentions these two subjects in figurative language aimed at enhancing and better explaining the principal themes of his speeches – one can detect in these 13th-century writings many elements of aesthetic thinking with an origin in the Greek milieu. The selected excerpts will show that Erznkac'i was a bearer of the Platonic concept of the archetype and its image, which likely entered his writings through the works of previous Armenian authors and Church Fathers. Particularly influential for Erznkac'i's aesthetic reflections seem to be the Cappadocian Fathers – or "great

1 Yovhannēs Erznkac'i (Hovhannes Yerzynkatsi), *Matenagrut'iwn, hator A. Čaŕer ew k'arozner* [Works, volume 1 – Speeches and Sermons], eds. Armenuhi Yerzynkatsi-Ter-Srapian, and Edvard Baghdasaryan (Yerevan, 2013). Throughout this essay, Armenian letters are transliterated according to the Hübschmann-Meillet-Benveniste system. To indicate the collections of Armenian manuscripts, I follow Bernard Coulie's system of acronyms as given in his *Répertoire des manuscrits arméniens. Liste des sigles utilisés pour désigner les manuscrits* (Association Internationale des Études Arméniennes): M = Yerevan, Matenadaran – Mesrop Maštoc' Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, and J = Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate.

2 In the cited edition from 2013, the text of Sermon 1 is based on the manuscripts M2173, M2992, and M2854. Sermons 8 and 10 are based on M2173 and M2854, Sermon 29 on M2173 and M7032, and Sermon 30 on M2173 and M218.

© GOHAR GRIGORYAN SAVARY, 2022 | DOI:10.1163/9789004511583_003
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

Cappadocians," as they are known within the Armenian tradition – whose importance in the formation of the Christology of the Armenian Church has long been acknowledged in scholarship. Although the references that accompany my English translations reveal some of the sources Erznkac'i made use of, I am not concerned here with detailing the roots of his philosophical and theological formation – a topic still in need of study yet requiring a more extended format than this limited paper affords. My interest in this 13th-century author lies elsewhere. When speaking of royal images and other royal customs in front of an Armenian audience consisting of kings, aristocrats, high clergy, and ordinary people, Erznkac'i – whether in an indirect or direct way – must have instructed them about how to see contemporary royal images, many of which were created according to those aesthetic approaches he frequently points at. In this sense, Erznkac'i positions himself not only as transmitter of centuries-old aesthetic knowledge but also as practitioner of that knowledge. Addressing his sermons and homilies to an audience of people who in their own time were beholders of artistic images, he edified and guided them in how to perceive those images.

Although frequently invoked in his exegetical preaching, the reception of royal images is not, in itself, Erznkac'i's focus. He often uses examples involving artistic portraiture as a means of explaining the principle of the imitation of God, which was of particular relevance to kings, since they were considered to be the earthly counterparts of Christ, the Heavenly King. This analogy – omnipresent in many medieval Christian societies – shaped also Cilician Armenian political theology, to which Erznkac'i himself greatly contributed.[3] The politics of Cilician royal portraiture reflected this theology in many ways. Therefore, the below-translated excerpts from Erznkac'i's sermons may disclose something useful about the philosophical and theological grounds of artistic practices in medieval Armenia.

Before proceeding to the translated passages, a few words should be said about Erznkac'i's audiences, as well as about the contents and contexts of the selected sermons. At least three of them (1, 8, and 10) were composed in Cilician Armenia. Sermon 1, consisting of 15 chapters, is the author's commentary on Psalm 140 and was read in "the famous and great hermitage of Drazark."[4] Sermon 8, consisting of 38 chapters, was composed on the occasion

3 Peter S. Cowe, "Theology of Kingship in 13th-Century Armenian Cilicia," *Hask hayagitakan taregirk'* 11 (2007–2008), pp. 417–430.

4 Erznkac'i, *Speeches and Sermons*, pp. 34–53. Previously published in: Edvard Baghdasaryan, and Mesrop Aramean, "Yovhannēs Erznkac'u *I ČX salmosn* čaṙə," [Yovhannēs Erznkac'i's Sermon *On Psalm 140*] *Gandzasar* 7 (2002), 384–408. See also (for fragmentary citations from M2173): Edvard Baghdasaryan, "Hovhannes Erznkac'in arvesti u azgagrut'yan

of the feast of the Nativity and was publicly read in Sis, the capital of Cilician Armenia.[5] And finally, the 59 chapters of Sermon 10 comment on Psalm 138:6 ("Such knowledge is too wonderful for me").[6] Apart from being a thorough biblical commentary, this sermon is an explicit representation of the Christology of the Armenian Apostolic Church, as aspect highlighted especially in its second part (see e.g. chapters 35–39). Erznkac'i delivered this sermon in Anawarza (alternatively spelled Anarzaba) in the presence and most likely at the invitation of the archbishop Grigor, who years later became Catholicos Grigor VII Anawarzec'i (1293–1307) and was the main initiator of the controversial Council of Sis (1307).[7] In two other sermons selected for this paper (29 and 30), the exact location where they were delivered is not mentioned. Sermon 29 is preserved in 46 chapters and presents Erznkac'i's commentary on Wisdom 2:23 ("God created man incorruptible and made him according to His own munificent image," translating the verse as it appears in Erznkac'i's text).[8] Sermon 30 was composed at the request of a *vardapet* (church scholar, teacher) from Surb Karapet Church, whose name, unfortunately, appears effaced in the manuscript. It consists of 35 chapters, in which Erznkac'i comments on John 10:11 and 14 ("I am the good shepherd").[9]

---

masin," [Yovhannēs Erznkac'i on Art and Ethnography] *Lraber hasarakakan gitut'yunneri* [*Herald of the Social Sciences* / Armenian National Academy of Sciences] 9 (1971), 75; Armenuhi Srapyan, "Hovhannes Erznkac'u gełagitakan hayac'k'nerə," [Yovhannēs Erznkac'i's Aesthetic Thoughts] *Patma-Banasirakan handes* [*Historical-Philological Journal*] 3 (1985), 103; Ead., "Arvesti əmbŕnumə Hovhannes Erznkac'u gorcerum," [The Perception of Art in Yovhannēs Erznkac'i's Works] *Banber Erewani hamalsarani* [*Bulletin of Yerevan University*] 2/65 (1988), 133.

5 Erznkac'i, *Speeches and Sermons*, pp. 122–46.

6 Ibid., pp. 167–206. See also (for fragmentary citations from M2173): Srapyan, "Hovhannes Erznkac'u gełagitakan hayac'k'nerə," p. 103; Ead., "Arvesti əmbŕnumə," p. 135.

7 As shown by his later activities and especially by the initiation of the Council of Sis, the future catholicos's doctrinal orientation was at odds with the Christology of the Armenian Church. In this regard, Erznkac'i's preaching activities in Anawarza and the praise and promotion of the Armenian Church's Christology seem to have been incompatible with the vision of Anawarza's archbishop and later catholicos Grigor, who is often represented as a *latinophile*. Taking this evidence into account, Baghdasaryan suggested that Erznkac'i must have visited Anawarza and read this sermon during the reign of King Lewon II (1270/71–1289) (see Baghdasaryan's comments in: Erznkac'i, *Speeches and Sermons*, pp. 167–8), for it was after Lewon's death and with the succession of the Franciscan king Het'um II (1289–1307, intermittently) that the debates on union with Rome became more insistent within the Armenian Church and the royal court.

8 Ibid., pp. 501–19. See also: Srapyan, "Arvesti əmbŕnumə," p. 134.

9 Erznkac'i, *Speeches and Sermons*, pp. 520–44. See also (for fragmentary citations from M2173): Srapyan, "Arvesti əmbŕnumə," p. 134; Lewon Xač'ikyan, "Hay arvesti patmut'yan karewor skzbnałbyurnerə," [Important Primary Sources for Armenian Art History] in *The Second International Symposium on Armenian Art, Yerevan, 12–18 September 1978, Collection*

Also preserved are several other sermons – not discussed here – that Erznkac'i delivered during his stay in Cilicia, as for instance, Sermon 9, delivered at the solemn knighting ceremony (1283) of the princes Het'um and T'oros, sons of Lewon II.[10] Erznkac'i was hosted at the Cilician court at least twice, the second time on his way to Jerusalem. Based on some fragmentary details available in textual sources, Baghdasaryan has established that he must have died in 1293 in the Cilician monastery of Akner, later to be reburied in his native Erznkay.[11] His visits and preaching activities in important Cilician centres speak to the authority enjoyed by the Erznkay *vardapet*, which inspired the royal family and high clergy to entrust him with the composition of solemn speeches for significant religious and military feasts.[12]

---

of Reports, 4 (Yerevan, 1981), p. 42; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1993), p. 154 (English translation based on Xač'ikyan's fragmentary citation from M2173).

10 Erznkac'i, *Speeches and Sermons*, pp. 147–66. On this sermon, see also: Edvard Baghdasaryan, "Hovhannes Erznkac'in Kilikiayi zinvorakan kazmakerput'yunneri masin," [Yovhannēs Erznkac'i on the Military Organizations of Cilicia] *Banber Matenadarani* [*Bulletin of Matenadaran*] 16 (1994), 44–57; Cowe, "Theology of Kingship," pp. 422–3.

11 For Erznkac'i's travels to Cilicia and his death, see: Edvard Baghdasaryan, *Hovhannes Erznkac'in yev nra xratakan arjakə* [*Hovhannes Erznkac'i and His Advice Literature*] (Yerevan, 1977), pp. 25–34; Baghdasaryan's Introduction to Erznkac'i, *Speeches and Sermons*, pp. 22–8. See also: Armenuhi Yerzynkatsi-Srapian, *Hovhannes Erznkac'i Pluz: Kyank'ə ew gorcə* [*The Life and Work of Hohannes Erznkac'i Pluz*] (Yerevan, 1993), pp. 38–9; Seta B. Dadoyan, "Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Bluz," in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, 4 (1200–1350), eds. David Thomas, and Alex Mallett (Leiden, 2012), pp. 572–3.

12 The sermons are not the only written products left from Erznkac'i's activities in Cilicia. The idea for his *Compilation of Commentary on Grammar* had also emerged as a result of his Cilician sojourn in the first half of the 1280s, when he was asked by catholicos Yakob Klayec'i to teach grammar at local monasteries. This work was completed in 1291 in the Surb Minas Monastery of Erznkay. See: Roberta Ervine, "Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz's *Compilation of Commentary on Grammar* as a Starting Point for the Study of Medieval Grammars," in *New Approaches to Medieval Armenian Language and Literature*, ed. Jos Johannes Sicco Weitenberg (Amsterdam, 1995), pp. 149–66; Baghdasaryan, *Hovhannes Erznkac'in*, p. 27. Apart from this, Erznkac'i prepared an abbreviation of his famous *Xrat hasarakac' k'ristonēic'* (*Instruction for All Christians*), whose longer version was initially composed in Erznkay. Preserved in two main versions and in a few hundred copies – a sign of its continuous popularity within Armenian society – this remarkable piece of medieval advice literature is addressed to both the religious and secular classes, aiming to regulate various aspects of their spiritual and religious life. For the text of *Xrat hasarakac'*, see: Baghdasaryan, *Hovhannes Erznkac'in*, pp. 139–201, also pp. 48–61. In this publication, the scholar is unsure about the Cilician origins of the abbreviated version of the *Xrat hasarakac'*, whereas in his latest study he suggested that it was written in Cilicia. See Baghdasaryan's comments in: Erznkac'i, *Speeches and Sermons*, p. 22, n. 35.

Sermon 8, chapter 1
Sermon 8. Yovhannēs vardapet E(r)znkayec'i's [sermon] on the feast of the Christ's birth and baptism, delivered at the public celebration in the royal residence city of Sis.[13]

Chapter 1. … We can also witness that the laws of the sovereigns are so arranged that when a new sovereign king occupies the kingdom's throne and sends the royal order's decree into the country, amid the cities' huge crowds of people and in numerous buildings of the streets, the good news is announced, and everyone rejoices; and various festivities fill all the squares of the city, decorating the streets with linen covers painted with all manner of flowers, with branches of trees and flowers; and with the beauty of delicious fruits every door and shop is made resplendent. And various craftsmen hurry to decorate the streets, each with his own art. And thus, they express the joy of their hearts in public view.

With this description of how cities were decorated to celebrate the enthronement of a new king, Erznkac'i begins Sermon 8, which, as mentioned, was delivered during the celebration of the feast of the Nativity in the capital Sis. He then continues his speech by saying that if people rejoice for the glory of an earthly king in such a festive manner, how much more should they rejoice for the feasts of the Lord, especially on the day of Christ's birth, baptism, and epiphany (which in the Armenian tradition are celebrated together on 6 January). In composing his Nativity sermon to be delivered in front of the Sis public, it was not by chance that Erznkac'i began with the description of coronation celebrations, for new kings were usually crowned on the very feast of the Epiphany, thus imitating the appearance of Christ, the Heavenly and Eternal King. The tradition of crowning the king on the day of Christ's birth was

13 Sermon 8. Նորին Յովհաննէս վարդապետ Ե(ր)զնկայեցւոյ ի տօնի Ծննդեան եւ Սկզբնութեան Քրիստոսի, ասացեալ ի թագաւորանիստ քաղաքն ի Սիս, յատեան տօնախմբութեան.

Chapter 1. … Նաեւ զայս իսկ տեսանեմք աւրէնս յաշխարհակալացն հրամանէ կարգեալս, զի յորժամ նոր արքայ աշխարհակալ յաթոռ թագաւորութեան նստիցի եւ գիրս թագաւորական հրամանի յաշխարհն առաքիցէ, ի բազմամբոխ ժողովս քաղաքացն, եւ ի յոգնակի շինուածս փողոցացն, աւետեաց իմն հնչիւն եւ բերկրական դիմաց տեսութիւն, եւ խրախճանութիւնս ամենապատիկս, ընդ բոլոր հրապարակս քաղաքին առնիցեն, զփողոցն զարդարելով, ի բազմածաղիկ նկարագործական կտաւոցն ծածկութից, ծառս եւ ծաղիկս ոստոց եւ համադամ պտղոցն գեղեցկութեամբ վայելչացուցանեն զիւրաքանչիւր զդրունս եւ զխանութս, եւ զանազան գործաւնեայքն արուեստիցն զիւրեանցն զարդարել փութան զփողոցս, եւ այսպէս հրապարակատես զուրախութիւն սրտիցն առնիցեն. Erznkac'i, *Speeches and Sermons*, pp. 122–46, esp. 123.

especially common in the case of kings who had founded a dynasty or state,[14] with the newly crowned monarch being paralleled with Christ, his model. In Cilician Armenia, the coronations of at least three kings took place on the day of Christ's birth and epiphany: the founder King Lewon I (1198, Tarsus), Lewon II (1271, Tarsus), and Smbat (1297, Sis). Erznkac'i, who was hosted at the court of Lewon II in Sis, delivered his sermon in front of an audience that must have included many who had been present for Lewon's coronation earlier in 1271.

Sermon 10, chapter 9, and other texts

Sermon 10. On the prophet David's "Such knowledge is too wonderful for me" [Psalm 138:6], delivered by Yohanēs vardapet E[r]znkayec'i in Anawarza to the bishop and vardapet Grigor.[15]

Chapter 9. And then he [David] said: "Such knowledge is too wonderful for me." What I desire and wish for is to attain Your knowledge, which

14 In the West, this was the case, for example, for Charlemagne (800) and Roger II of Sicily (1130); in the Byzantine Empire, for Michael II the Amorian (820) and Constantine X Doukas (1059).

15 Sermon 10. Յոհանէս վարդապետի Եզնկայեցւոյ ի բան մարգարէին Դաւթի. «Սքանչելի եղեւ գիտութիւն քո յիս» (Սաղմ. ՃԼԸ.6) յԱնաւարզա խօսեցեալ՝ առ տէր Գրիգոր վարդապետ եւ եպիսկոպոս.

Chapter 9. Եւ ապա ասէ. «Սքանչելի եղեւ գիտութիւն քո յիս»: Այն, զոր բաղձամ եւ յաւժարիմ՝ ի քոյդ հասանել գիտութիւն, որ եւ հրեշտակաց անհաս է. յիս եւ յիմ բնութիւնս հայելով, սքանչելի եւ զարմանալի եղեւ գիտութիւն քո եւ յիմս ստեղծական կազմածի: Զոր աւրինակ, եթէ ոք զթագաւորի որումն զքաջի եւ զհզաւրի լսելով զանուն եւ բազմահնար հանճարս իմաստութեան նորա, այլեւ զգործս արքայական մեծութեան նորա տեսանելով, առ անձուկ սրտին բաղձանաց փափագէ տեսութիւն գեղեցկութեան անձին նորա: Իսկ վասն անհաս գոլոյն յաղագս հեռաւորութեանն, եւ կամ վասն անհուն զաւրացն բազմութեանն, եւ անմտանելի գոլոյն արքայական ապարանից նորա, ապա զպատկեր նորա ի տեղւոջ ուրէք նկարեալ տեսեալ մեծածախ զարդիւք, ի բազմերանգ դեղոց նկարագրութենէ զփափաք ցանկութեան նորա ի տեսութիւն պատկերին լցեալ, եւ ընդ այն եւս զարմացեալ, մեծաւ սքանչացմամբ ասէ՝ Եթէ պատկերս արքայական այսքան հրաշալի եւ ահարկու, եւ սքանչելի՛է կազմեալ արուեստիս, ապա որքա՜ն կենդանին եւ թագիւ պսակեալն արքայ ճոխ իցէ եւ սքանչացման արժանի: Այսպիսի ինչ եւ մարգարէս զաստուածայինն կամելով քննել բնութիւն եւ զաւրութիւն, եւ զսքանչելի գործոց նորա մեծութիւն եւ տեսեալ զանհասութիւն նորա մեծութեանն եւ զանսահմանութիւն նորայն բնութեան, իսկ զինքն պատկեր եւ կերպարան գոլով նորա եւ նմանութիւն առ սկզբնատիպն գեղեցկութեան՝ յինքն դարձուցանէ զմիտս, սքանչանայ եւ ասէ. «Սքանչելի եղեւ գիտութիւն քո յիս»: Որպէս թէ ասիցէ, թէ ի խնամս արարչական սիրոյ քո վայելեմ, եւ զի կանխագէտ ես յամենայնի, գիտեմ եւ զի ի չգոյէ ի գոյութիւն ածեր, հաւատամ, այլ վասն քո ամենայնիւ հասու լինել չեմ ձեռնահաս. եւ ո՛չ վասն քո միայն, այլեւ զիս ստեղծական պատկեր եւ կերպարան գիտելով քո, եւ ո՛չ այսմ կարեմ հասու լինել:

is unattainable even for angels. To me and my nature, wonderful and astonishing is the knowledge of You and of my Created form. As, for example, **when someone hears the name of a valiant and mighty king and the multiple qualities of his wisdom and sees the royal deeds of his greatness, (s)he heartfully desires to see the beauty of his person. But because this is unattainable whether due to the distance or the immense multitude of the [king's] troops and the impossibility of entering his royal palace, then when (s)he sees the king's painted image adorned with costly decorations in a certain place, (his) her desire is filled by the vision of that image pictured in multicolour paints, and then (s)he marvels at that, saying with great fascination: "If the royal image is so wonderful and terrific and is so marvellously executed in art, then how much more magnificent and worthy of admiration must the real and crowned king be?!"**[16] In such a way, also the prophet, wishing to search out the nature and power of the Divine and the greatness of His wonderful deeds, and seeing the inaccessibility of His greatness and the infinity of His nature – and he himself being only created in His image and in His appearance and merely reflecting the likeness of the beauty of the archetype – turned his thought into wonder, saying: "Such knowledge is too wonderful for me." And, behold, I enjoy Your Creative love; and because You know everything in advance and because out of non-existence you led [all things] into existence, I believe, although I am

---

Այլեւ գիտութիւն քո արարչութեանդ՝ եւ յիս յարարածական բնութիւնս սքանչելի եղեւ. Erznkac'i, *Speeches and Sermons*, pp. 167–206, esp. 172.

16 Cf. the homily of Severian of Gabala on the Holy Cross, quoted by Vrt'anes K'ert'oł in his famous 7th-century treatise against the iconoclasts: "*Et l'évêque Sévérien dit: Lorsque le roi est absent et son portrait occupe la place du roi, les princes se prosternent et célèbrent les fêtes; si des paysans le voient ils se prosternent également, considérant non pas le bois mais le portrait du roi; ils ne considèrent pas la substance mais ce qui est tracé par la plume. Et si le portrait du roi mortel prend ainsi une telle puissance, combien plus la forme et l'image du roi immortel.*" See: Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "Une apologie des images du septième siècle," *Byzantion* 17 (1944–1945), 61. The same passage from Severian of Gabala's homily is quoted by John of Damascus in his Third Treatise in defense of images (which, however, seems to have never been translated into Armenian but might be known to Armenian authors): "*For if the image of an absent Emperor fulfils the place of the Emperor, and rulers venerate it, and sacred festivals are celebrated before it, and rulers meet it, and the people venerate it, not looking at the wooden plank, but at the figure of the Emperor, who is not seen to be present by nature, but is depicted by art, how much more is the image of the immortal Emperor able, not only to strike stone, but the heaven and the whole earth?*". See: *Saint John of Damascus, Three Treatises on the Divine Images*, translation and introduction by Andrew Louth (New York, 2003), p. 150.

> unable to comprehend all things of Yours. And not only all things of Yours, but I am even unable to attain the knowledge of myself as created in Your image and form. Rather, the knowledge of Your Creation, even of my Creaturely nature, is too wonderful [for me].

This quotation is taken from Erznkac'i's picturesque tenth sermon which, as mentioned in its title, is the theologian's commentary on the psalmist's words "Such knowledge is too wonderful for me". In an indirect way, Erznkac'i provides his Anawarza audience with a mode of perception of royal images. That mode proceeds from the assumption that the "wonderful and terrific" royal image is a substitute for the king's physical presence – albeit never a perfect, equal substitute. The inferior, imitative status assigned to the royal image, along with the impossibility of gaining access to see the king in person, enhanced the viewer's fascination with and admiration of him. Erznkac'i parallels the unfulfillable desire to personally see the mighty and wise king with the inaccessibility of God's knowledge. This desire could only be satisfied by contemplating the king's "marvellously executed" images, for just as the divine knowledge was unreachable to the prophet David, so the real king was inaccessible to ordinary people.

Erznkac'i continues his commentary with a discussion of the archetype and similitude to the archetype. Even being created in God's image and appearance, the prophet was unable to reach God's knowledge because he was not the archetype himself but merely reflected "the likeness of the beauty of the archetype." So it is with the king's image: although marvellously executed, it does not represent but merely imitates the archetype – that is, the king himself. This notion of likeness to and imitation of the archetype is central to Erznkac'i's oratorial works, with his interpretations coming close to both the Platonic and Aristotelian concepts of mimesis. He often describes God as the archetype that can and should be imitated but can never be reached. To explain to his audience the necessity of maintaining likeness to the archetype, Erznkac'i draws frequent comparisons to (royal) artistic images. Among many examples of this, I would like to include in this discussion two passages – one from Sermon 1 and the other from Sermon 8 – which were read by Erznkac'i in Drazark and Sis, respectively. In the latter sermon, while commenting on the parable of the two debtors (Lk. 7:40–50), Erznkac'i says:[17]

17 Sermon 8, chapter 20. … Եւ զինչ նշանակէ դահեկան գոլ պարտուցն, որ է յոսկոյ, եւ ունի զպատկեր թագաւորի, վասն զի ամենեքեան, որք յաստուածատեսակ նմանութիւն եւ ի պատկեր բարեր(ար)ութեան նորա ստեղծան, պարտական գտանի պահելն զսկզբնատպին նմանութիւն. Erznkac'i, *Speeches and Sermons*, p. 134.

> Sermon 8, chapter 20. … And what is the meaning of the coin that is made of gold and possesses the king's image (for all those who are created in deiform likeness and in the munificent image of Him must preserve the likeness of the archetype)?

In Sermon 1, Erznkac'i goes on to explain the necessity of maintaining likeness to the original with reference to the desire and love that one feels towards the person who is portrayed. It is because of this admiration that the artist is eager to reproduce "the form and the likeness of the original" as genuinely as possible:[18]

> Sermon 1, chapter 4. … or, when someone creates the beautiful image of a living rational person and adorns it with royal honour, with the colours of paints and various hues, the form and the likeness of the original are depicted on wood not for completing the imperfection of the living [person], but the likeness of the original are created in beautifully glaring paints in order to satisfy the desires of the heart that feels yearning and love towards the living [person].

The passage's description of figurative painting on wood points to a panel painting tradition – attested in other Armenian texts as well, though no extant examples are known. Erznkac'i shows an interest in artistic issues in many of his other works as well. On one occasion, for instance, he writes about how various craftsmen prepared the king's crown and robes:[19]

---

18 Sermon 1, chapter 4. … եւ կամ թէ ոք զգեղեցիկ պատկեր կենդանւոյն բանական մարդոյ եւ զարքայական պատուով շքեղացելոյ նկարագրական դեղաւք եւ պէսպէս երանգաւք հնարի զնոյն ձեւ եւ զնմանութիւն պատկերի ի տախտակս նկարել, ոչ առ ի լրումն թերութեան կենդանոյն, այլ առ անծուկ սրտին բաղձանաց, զոր ունի ի փափակ եւ ի սէր կենդանոյն, հնարի գեղեցկափայլ դեղաւք ի նոյն ձեւ նմանութիւն ածել. Ibid., p. 38.

19 Արուեստաւորք եւ այրք մակացուք նախ եւ առաջին զնիւթն պատրաստեն առաջիկայ գործոյն եւ ապա արուեստիւն ճանապարհորդեալ՝ ըստ կարգի եւ ըստ պատշաճի կազմեն զառաջիկա իրն: Եւ ապացուցիւ զբանս հաստատեսցուք: Եթէ ոք ճարտարապետ արուեստիւ եւ իմաստութեամբ հանդերձեալ է առնել թագ թագաւորի կամ թագաւորական ծիրանի, նախ նիւթոյն ելեալ ի խնդիր, ժողովէ ոսկի եւ արծաթ եւ լուսաճաճանչ մարգարիտն եւ ականս պատուականս, մետաքս եւ զկոնքիլն ծովային եւ այլ նիւթս, եւ ապա ընդելուզեալ ձեռամբ ընդ միմեանս՝ շարայառեալ առնէ թագ թագաւորի կամ նկարէ ծիրանի: Այսպէս եւ աստուածաբան ակն Մովսէս նախ զնիւթ խորանին հրամանաւ Աստուծոյ հաւաքէր կապուտակ եւ ծիրանի, կարմիր եւ բեհեզ, եւ զայլ նիւթսն, զոր բերէր ժողովուրդն, եւ ապա ի նոցանէ զխորանն կազմէր վկայութեան. Cited in: Srapyan, "Arvesti əmbṙnumə," p. 131 (M6562, fol. 74r).

Artists and other connoisseurs first prepare the material for the upcoming work and then, travelling through art, they create the upcoming object in an orderly and appropriate manner.[20] And let us confirm these words with a demonstration. If a craftsman takes it upon himself to create with art and wisdom a king's crown or a royal *cirani*,[21] he first searches for the material, collects gold and silver, beamy pearls and precious stones, silk and the sea conch,[22] and other materials; and after embroidering these together by hand, he makes the chain(s) of the king's crown or colours the *cirani*. In the same way, Moses, the eye of the divine word,[23] by the order of God, first collected the material necessary for the sanctuary – blue and purple, scarlet and fine linen, and other materials that people

20 Cf. St Basil, *Hexaemeron* (Homily III, chapter 10): "*Yet, the artist, even before the combination of the parts knows the beauty of each and approves them individually, directing his judgment to the final aim*." See: *Saint Basil, Exegetic Homilies*, translated by Sister Agnes Clare Way, C.D.P., The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation – vol. 46 (Washington, D.C., 1963), p. 53. In the Armenian version of the *Hexaemeron*, which was translated from Syriac probably in the 6th century, the quoted sentence reads: "*Now the artist, even before he had begun his task, had marked in his mind the complete work of the image*." See: *Saint Basil of Caesarea and Armenian Cosmology: A Study of the Armenian Version of Saint Bail's Hexaemeron and Its Influence on Medieval Armenian Views about the Cosmos*, by Robert W. Thomson, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 646, Subsidia tomus 130 (Lovanii, 2012), p. 115. Here, as in Erznkac'i's text, the word *čartarapet* is used for artist/craftsman.

21 *Cirani* (ծիրանի, pronounced as *tzirani*) is the name of the red-purple robe worn by Armenian kings. From it derives also the word *ciranacin* (ծիրանածին, lit. born in the *cirani*), which is used to refer uniquely to royal birth, equivalent to Greek *porfyrogenetos*. For the dye used to colour royal *cirani*s, see the next note.

22 By 'sea conch' (զկոնքիլն ծովայինն) it is meant those species of dye-producing sea snails, from which the red-purple colour and their nuances were obtained, known as 'Tyrian royal purple,' which was used to colour royal garments in the ancient and medieval Mediterranean, and beyond. In Classical Armenian, the colour obtained from these sea snails was called *cirani* (red, purple, and/or their various nuances) or *covu cirani* (sea red, sea purple), which apparently gave its name to Armenian royal robes, called similarly *cirani*. For the purple dye and various species of dye-producing sea snails, see: Lloyd B. Jensen, "Royal Purple of Tyre," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 22/2 (1963), 104–18. For the meaning and other words deriving from royal *cirani* (ծիրանի), see: Awetik'ean, Siwrmēlean, and Awgerean, *Nor baṙgirk' haykazean lezui*, vol. 1 (Venice, 1836), pp. 1016–7. For *konk'il* = conch (կոնքիլ, also as կոնքեղ/*konk'eł*, կոնքել/*konk'el*), see: ibid., p. 1115. For a general overview of the symbolic use of purple in Armenian culture, see: Boghos Levon Zekiyan, "La Porpora in Armenia: Tra mito, folklore, arte e religiosità: Dall'Inno di Vahagn al Bolo Armeno," in *La Porpora: Realtà e immaginario di un colore simbolico, Atti del Convegno di Studio, Venezia, 24–25 ottobre 1996*, ed. Oddone Longo (Venice, 1998), pp. 276–97.

23 Meaning the interpreter of the divine word, the one who is able to see through God's word.

brought him – and then from these materials he made the tabernacle of the testimony [cf. Ex. 25:1–16].

It becomes clear from what is cited above that the royal artists would have possessed both wisdom and artistic mastery. Indeed, in Erznkac'i's text, the word ճարտարապետ ('čartarapet') is used with the meanings of master, architect, craftsman, or artist, who is ingenious and skillful in his creation.[24] Before undertaking his work, the artist collects with care all the appropriate materials, which Erznkac'i parallels to how Moses collected people's offerings to create the Holy Tabernacle.

Sermon 29, chapter 14

Sermon 29. [Sermon] of Yohannēs about the deceased in Christ and the mystery of man's creation and death, from the word of the wise man, which says: "God created man incorruptible and made him according to His own munificent image" [Wisdom 2:23].[25]

Chapter 14. For He first said "image," and then "according to likeness" [cf. Gen. 1:26]. As, for example, **those who depict royal and princely images, draw on wood the archetype's beautiful appearance by means of colours in order to transmit to the image the beauty of the**

24 For the meanings of 'čartarapet' (ճարտարապետ) in Classical Armenian, see: Gabriēl Awetik'ean, Xač'atur Siwrmēlean, and Mkrtič' Awgerean, *Nor baṙgirk' haykazean lezui* [New Dictionary of Armenian Language], vol. 2 (Venice, 1837), p. 176.

25 Sermon 29. Նորին Յոհաննիսի վասն ննջեցելոց ի Քրիստոս եւ խորհուրդ ստեղծման մարդոյն եւ մահու, ի բան իմաստնոյն, որ ասէ. «Աստուած հաստատեաց զմարդն յանեղծութիւնն եւ ի պատկեր բարերարութեանն իւրոյ արար զնայ».

Chapter 14. Եւ զի նախ պատկեր ասաց եւ ապա ըստ նմանութեան: Զոր աւրինակ, որք զարքայական եւ զիշխանական պատկերսն նկարագրեն զսկզբնատպին գեղ կերպարանի ի ձեռն երանգոց ի տախտակս նկարեն, զի սկզբնատպին գեղեցկութիւն փոխեսցեն ի նա, այսպէս եւ Ստեղծիչն մեր առ իւր գեղեցկութիւնն զպատկերն շուրջ ծաղկեալ, ի մեզ ցուցանէ զիւր իշխանութիւնն ոչ կարմրոյ կամ սեւադեղոյ իրիք նիւթով, այլ փոխանակ այսոցիկ՝ անախտութիւնն, անցից երջանկութիւնն, ամենայն չարի աւտարութիւնն: Եւ, զոր աւրինակ, որք զպատկերս իշխանացն գրեն նմանութեամբ եւ արկանեն ծիրանիս զնովա, զարքունական իշխանութիւնն ընդ նմա գրեն եւ ասի, ըստ սովորութեան, եւ պատկերն թագաւոր: Այսպէս եւ մարդկային բնութիւնս, վասն զի յիշխանութիւնն այլոցն հաստատեալ լինէր առ թագաւորն ամենայն նմանութեամբ, իբր շնչաւոր իմն պատկեր եղեալ կանկնեցաւ՝ փոխանակ ծիրանեաց զառաքինութիւնն զգեցեալ, քան զամենայն զգեստ արքունականագոյն. փոխանակ ոսկի մականի երանութեամբ անմահութեան հաստատեալ եւ փոխանակ արքունական թագին՝ արդարութեան պսակաւն զարդարեալ. Erznkac'i, *Speeches and Sermons*, pp. 501–19, esp. 507.

archetype. Similarly, our Creator painted His beauty into the image, in that way demonstrating to us His power not by means of certain substances of red or black colours but – instead of these – purity, happiness, [and] remoteness from all evil.[26] **As, for example, those who write the images of princes by the likeness and put on them *ciranis*[27]; they demonstrate by this the royal power, and it is said customarily: "The image [is] the king!"** So also with human nature; since it is established

26 Cf. Saint Gregory of Nyssa's *On the Creation of Humankind*: "*Aussi de même que les peintres, dans les couleurs qu'ils emploient pour représenter un personnage sur un tableau, arrangent leurs teintes selon la nature de l'objet pour faire passer dans le portrait la beauté du modèle, imaginez de même celui qui nous façonne : les couleurs en rapport avec sa beauté sont ici les vertus qu'il dépose et fait fleurir en son image pour manifester en nous le pouvoir qui est le sien. La gamme variée des couleurs qui sont en cette image et qui représentent vraiment Dieu n'a rien à voir avec le rouge, le blanc ou quelque mélange de couleurs, avec le noir qui sert à farder les sourcils et les yeux et dont certain dosage relève l'ombre creusée par les traits, ni en général avec ce que les peintres peuvent encore inventer. Au lieu de tout cela, songez à la pureté, à la liberté spirituelle, à la béatitude, à l'éloignement de tout mal, et à tout le reste par quoi prend forme en nous la ressemblance avec la Divinité.*" See: *Grégoire de Nysse, La Création de l'homme*, introduction et traduction par Jean Laplace, notes par Jean Daniélou, réimpression de la première édition revue et corrigée (Paris, 2002), p. 96–7. In the Armenian version of *On the Creation of Human Kind*, which was translated in the early 8th century by Step'annos Siwnec'i and Dawit' Hyupatos and which Erznkac'i likely made use of, the quoted passage reads: Արդ, որպէս զմարդկային զգեղս կերպարանաց ի ձեռն երանգոց ոմանց ի տախտակսն գրաւղքն նկարեն, հանեալ փոխեն զընտանի եւ զզոյգ եւ զնման ներկուածսն ի նմա շաղախելով նմանութեամբ, զի իցիւ հաւաստի ճշմարտութեամբ զսկզբնատիպ գեղեցկութիւն ելեալ փոխեսցի առ նմանութիւնն: Այսպէս ինձ ընդ միտ ած եւ իմա, եւ զմերն ստեղծիչ, իբրու երանգաւք իմն եւ ներկուածովք առաքինութիւն զնովաւ արկանելով առ իւր գեղեցկութիւնն, զպատկերն շուրջ ծաղկեալ՝ ի մեզ ցուցանելով զիւր իշխանութիւնն: Եւ բազմատեսիլս եւ ազգի-ազգիս իբրեւ թէ գոյնք պատկերին, ի ձեռն որոց ճշմարտութեանն կենդանագրի պատկեր՝ ոչ կարմրութիւն եւ պայծառութիւն եւ որակութիւն սոցա առ միմեանս խառնուած, եւ ոչ սեւադեղոյ իրիք ստորագրութիւն գյաւն եւ զաչս նկարեալ եւ ըստ խառնուածոյն զնստագոյն ձեւոյն ստուերացուցանելով, եւ որչափ միանգամ այսպիսի ինչ նկարելով, ձեռք արուեստիւ գիտացին: Այլ փոխանակ այսոցիկ՝ մաքրութիւն, անախտութիւն, անցից երջանկութիւն, ամենայն չարի աւտարութիւն, եւ որ միանգամ այսր ազգի է, ի ձեռն որոց կերպարանի մարդկան առ աստուածութիւնն նմանութիւն. See: *Saint Gregory of Nyssa* (*S. Grigor Niwsac'i*), *Tesut'iwn i mardoyn kazmut'iwn* (*Yałags kazmut'ean mardoy*) [*On the Making of Man*], critical text with introduction and annotations by Stella Vardanyan (Holy Etchmiadzin, 2008), p. 59–60 (in Armenian). The same passage from Gregory of Nyssa is also cited by John of Damascus in his First Treatise against the iconoclasts: "*Just as painters transfer human forms on to tablets by means of certain colors, applying corresponding paints by imitation, so that the beauty of the archetype is transferred with accuracy to the likeness.*" See: *Saint John of Damascus*, p. 47.

27 For *cirani* see above, notes 21 and 22.

to rule over others with all likeness to the king,[28] it was raised up as a living image: instead of being clothed in *ciranis*, it is clothed in virtue rather than in all garments of kingship; instead of a gold sceptre, it is established with immortal beatitude; and instead of a royal crown, it is adorned with the crown of justice.[29]

---

28 In developing his discussion on the human capacity to rule over others Erznkac'i could also be inspired by Nemesius of Emesa's treatise *On the Human Nature*, which was translated into Armenian in the same period as the similar treatise authored by Gregory of Nyssa. See *Nemesius of Emesa* (*Nemesios Emesac'i*), *Yałags bnut'ean mardoy* [*On the Nature of Man*] in Old Armenian translation, Text, Introduction and Notes by Karine Mosikyan (Yerevan, 2019). For the Armenian translations of these and other patristic texts, see Jean-Pierre Mahé, "L'Arménie et les pères de l'Église: histoire et mode d'emploi (V^e^-XII^e^ siècle)," in *La documentation patristique: bilan et prospective*, eds. Jean-Claude Fredouille, and René-Michel Roberge (Laval – Paris, 1995), pp. 157–79.

29 This passage is almost entirely inspired by Gregory of Nyssa's *On the Creation of Human Kind*: "*D'après l'usage commun, les auteurs des portraits de princes, en plus de la représentation des traits, expriment la dignité royal par des vêtements de pourpre et devant cette image, on a l'habitude de dire : « le roi ». Ainsi la nature humaine, créée pour dominer le monde, à cause de sa ressemblance avec le Roi Universel, a été faite comme une image vivante qui participe de l'archétype par la dignité et par le nom : la pourpre ne l'entoure pas, un sceptre ou un diadème ne signifient pas sa dignité* (*l'archétype, lui, n'en a pas*) *; mais, au lieu de pourpre, elle est revêtue de la vertu, le plus royal de tous les vêtements ; au lieu d'un sceptre, elle s'appuie sur la bienheureuse immortalité ; au lieu d'un diadème royal, elle porte la couronne de justice, en sorte que tout, en elle, manifeste sa dignité royale, par son exacte ressemblance avec la beauté de l'archétype*." See: *Grégoire de Nysse*, p. 95. Erznkac'i made use of the Armenian translation of *On the Creation of Human Kind*, in which the quoted passage appears as follows: Քանզի զոր աւրինակ ըստ մարդկային սովորութեան, որք զպատկերս իշխանաց կազմեն, զձեւ կերպարանացն նկարագրեն նմանութեամբ, եւ արկանելով զնովաւ զծիրանիս զարքունական իշխանութիւնն ընդ նմա գրեն, եւ ասի ըստ սովորութեան եւ պատկերն թագաւոր: Այսպէս եւ մարդկային բնութիւնս, վասն զի իշխանութիւն այլոցն հաստատեալ լինէր առ թագաւորն ամենայն նմանութեանն, իբրու շնչաւոր իմն պատկեր եղեալ կանգնեցաւ հասարակութիւն եւ կցորդութիւն ունելով ընդ սկզբնատպին եւ ընդ նախագաղափարին եւ արժանաւորութեանն, եւ անուանն: Ոչ ծիրանիս զիւրեւ ունելով, եւ ոչ գաւազանաւ, եւ մականաւ, եւ թագիւ զարժանաւորութիւնն նշանակելով, քանզի ոչ եթէ սկզբնատպաւորութիւն եւ նախագաղափարութիւն յայսոսիկ էր, այլ փոխանակ ծիրանեաց զառաքինութիւն զգեցեալ, որ քան զամենայն զգեստ արքունականագոյն է: Իսկ փոխանակ ոսկի մականին՝ երանութեամբ անմահութեանն հաստատեալ, եւ փոխանակ արքունական թագին՝ արդարութեանն պսակաւ զարդարեալ. See: *Saint Gregory of Nyssa*, p. 57–8. The same passage from Gregory of Nyssa is also cited by John of Damascus in his First Treatise against the iconoclasts: "*Just as the custom is that those who fashion images of rulers, as well as expressing their features, express the imperial dignity by garments of purple, and it is customarily called both image and emperor, so too human nature, since it is fashioned to rule everything else, is set up as a kind of living image, participating in its archetype in both dignity and name*." See: *Saint John of Damascus*, p. 47.

Here again, Erznkac'i implies the concept of the archetype's primacy over the image, starting his chapter with a reference to Gen. 1:26 ("Let us make man in Our image and after Our likeness").[30] The artists who depict royal and princely images make use of colours in order to transmit the beauty of the archetype. Paints are, however, material means, and their role is to make the royal image recognizable for viewers, so that the king's image can refer to the king himself ("The image is the king!"). Closely following Gregory of Nyssa, Erznkac'i explains how human beings can exercise their likeness to God and imitate God's power without having attributes of power, such as royal robes, sceptre, or crown; as living images of God, human beings can instead imitate Him through spiritual virtues, such as goodness, beatitude, and justice . Although not explicitly, this analogy points to a disparity between kings and ordinary humans with respect to their capacity to achieve divine likeness. Kings are privileged in their imitation of God not only because they are created in God's image and likeness but also because of their royal status: bestowed with attributes of power upon taking up their royal responsibilities, kings should seek to imitate the Heavenly King and to reign on earth in imitation of Him. Erznkac'i elaborates on this in another sermon chapter, translated next.

Sermon 30, chapter 23

Sermon 30. Speeches on the Lord's word "I am the good shepherd" [Jn 10:11 and 14] composed by the blessed vardapet Yohannēs E[r]znkayec'i on the request and demand of the valiant vardapet [*the name is missing] [and read] at the door of the Surb Karapet Church.[31]

Chapter 23. And again, by saying "I am the [good] shepherd," He makes it clear that it was He whom the prophets and the righteous took as

30 The primacy of archetype over image is well present in John of Damascus, who similarly uses examples of artistic images. Cf. *Saint John of Damascus*, p. 95: "*Firstly, what is an image? An image is therefore a likeness and pattern and impression of something, showing in itself what is depicted; however, the image is certainly not like the archetype, that is, what is depicted, in every respect – for the image is one thing and what it depicts is another – and certainly a difference is seen between them, since they are not identical. For example, the image of a human being may give expression to the shape of the body, but it does not have the powers of the soul; for it does not live, nor does it think, or give utterance, or feel, or move its members.*"

31 Sermon 30. Ասացուածք ի բանն Տեառն, որ ասէ. «Ես եմ հովիւն քաջ» (Յովհ. *10:11* եւ *14*) երջանիկ վարդապետին Յոհանիսի Եզնկայեցոյ արարեալ ի խնդրոյ եւ ի հայցմանէ վարդապետին արի … որ ի դրանէ Սրբո Կարապետին.

Chapter 23. Եւ դարձեալ, ասելովն՝ «Ես եմ հովիւն» (Յովհ. *10:11* եւ *14*), յայտ առնէ, թէ նաւ է, զոր մարգարէքն եւ արդարքն աւրինակեցին, ոմանք զմահն տպաւորելով, զի

> example: some imitated His death – since some of them were put to death – and others lived and reigned [in imitation of Him]. **As, for example, a king's image is depicted during his childhood, during his youth, in his old age, and also during his reign**; in the same way, all these shepherds, each one in his own time, were images of Christ's appearances [meaning prefigurations of Christ – G.G.S.]. **Since the image of the king that is painted in his youth preserves the same likeness of the boyish form, likewise [the one] at full maturity and in old age. And when he accepts the crown, the likeness is similarly kept in each of his images**.[32] In the same way, all the saints are depicted as the image of Christ's pastorship …

In what follows in chapter 23 are explanations of the ways in which various biblical characters prefigured Christ in their own times. Thus, Abel, who was a shepherd and whose sacrifice was favoured by God, was himself killed by his brother Cain. Or, Jacob, a shepherd too, was persecuted by his brother and then became a shepherd for Laban's flocks – in that way prefiguring Christ, the

---

զոմանս ի նոցանէ սպանին, եւ ոմանք ապրեցան եւ թագաւորեցին: Եւ զոր աւրինակ, նկարի պատկեր թագաւորի ի մանկութեան, յերիտասարդութեան եւ ի ծերութեան իւրում եւ ի թագաւորութեանն, նոյնպէս եւ այս ամենայն հովիւքս ի ժամանակս իւրեանց եղեն պատկեր կերպարանաց Քրիստոսի, զի պատկեր թագաւորին, որ նկարի ի մանկութեանն, զնոյն պահէ զնմանութիւն զտղայականն կերպ, նոյնպէս եւ կատարեալ հասակին եւ ծերութեանն: Եւ յորժամ թագ առնու՝ իւրաքանչիւրն զնոյն նմանութիւն պահեն: Այսպէս եւ սուրբսն ամենայն նկարեցաւ պատկեր հովուութեանն Քրիստոսի … Erznkac'i, *Speeches and Sermons*, pp. 520–44, esp. 534. In this edition, the biblical verse "I am the good shepherd" (Jn. 10:11 and 14) that appears in the title of Sermon 30 is mentioned in reference to 1 Cor. 12:28. This must be an accidental editorial mistake, for elsewhere in the book the same verse appears with the correct biblical reference.

32 The necessity of keeping the likeness in accordance with the form, which Erznkac'i mentions on this and other occasions, could be inspired, among others, by Saint Basil the Great, who mentions it in his *On the Holy Spirit* (chapter 18:45): "*and as in works of art the likeness is dependent on the form, so in the case of the divine and uncompounded nature the union consists in the communion of the Godhead*." See: *The Treatise de Spiritu Sancto, the Nine Homilies of the Hexaemeron and the Letters of Saint Basil the Great, Archbishop of Caesarea*, translated with notes by the Rev. Blomfield Jackson (Michigan, 1975), p. 28. John of Damascus, when citing Basil's words, formulates it as follows: "*And just as with works of art the likeness is in accordance with the form, so with the divine and incomposite nature the union is in the communion of the divinity*." See: *Saint John of Damascus*, p. 42. It should be however noted that the Armenian translation of the *On the Holy Spirit* considerably differs from the Greek version. See Yakob K'eosēean, "S. Barseł Kesarac'u Surb Hogun nuiruac č'ari hayerēn t'argmanut'iwnə," [The Armenian Translation of St. Basil of Caesarea's Homily on the Holy Spirit] *Ganjasar* 4 (1993), 165–214, 5 (1994), 201–240. The treatise *On the Holy Spirit* was known to Armenian authors also through the *Refutation of the Council of Chalcedon* by Timothy Aelurus, which contains excerpts from it.

shepherd of the Jews, who was persecuted by Herod, becoming the shepherd for the pagans.

Just as Christ was prefigured by various Old Testament shepherds, so too a king – as the archetype – should be recorded in likenesses from various moments of his life.[33] In this sermon chapter, Erznkac'i's biblical commentary emerges as a source of information regarding medieval practices of royal portraiture. As attested in Sermon 30 and preserved in illuminated manuscripts, a king could indeed be portrayed at several different ages: long before his enthronement, at his coronation, and as the reigning king. A fortunate extant case is the series of images of King Lewon II, which support and provide material witness to Erznkac'i's account. Chronologically, the first surviving image of Lewon represents him as a young prince and was likely produced on the occasion of his knighting ceremony which took place in 1256 (Figure. 1.1). The next image of the future king is to be found in a richly illustrated Gospel manuscript, created in 1262 on the occasion of his marriage to the lady Keŧan (Figure. 1.2). The third and fourth images, both executed in the 1270s, represent the newly enthroned king. In one miniature, he is depicted together with his family, asking for divine intercession (Figure. 1.3), and in the other, he is kneeling and praying in front of the Eucharistic table (Figure. 1.4). Probably, it is also Lewon II whose representation is meant in the royal images inserted into a marginal ornament of the Lectionary of Crown Prince Het'um (Figure. 1.5) – an important royal manuscript that was created for his son and successor Het'um in 1286, three years before Lewon's death.

Whether Erznkac'i ever saw these or other images of Cilician kings must remain a matter of speculation. However, a reconstruction of certain circumstances may make this suggestion less hypothetical. As noted in the introduction to this article, Erznkac'i spent the last phase of his life in Cilicia and died in Akner, which was one of the most significant monastic centres, closely connected with the royal family. It was to this monastery that Queen Keŧan offered the sumptuous Gospel manuscript she had commissioned in 1272 – now widely known as the Queen Keŧan Gospels (J2563).[34] Erznkac'i, who was greatly interested in art and was in contact with King Lewon II, likely saw this manuscript, which also features a miniature of the royal family (Figure. 1.3).

33 It is useless to say that by 'likeness' he does not mean physiognomic likeness.

34 See the manuscript's principal colophon (folio 273v) reproduced in: *Hayeren jeŧagreri hišatakaranner, ŽG dar* [Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 13th Century], ed. Artašes Mat'evosyan (Yerevan, 1984), p. 416.

Conclusion

Yovhannēs Pluz Erznkac'i is one of the key authors whose works offer us precious glimpses into the spiritual culture and aesthetic thinking of 13th-century Armenia. The few excerpts chosen for translation here reveal this significance with regard to two specific subjects – urban celebrations and royal images. Erznkac'i approaches the first subject from a broad social perspective, allowing us to explore the ways in which commoners could partake in the urban feasts organized on the occasion of a king's enthronement. Looking through the eyes of a guest, Erznkac'i narrates this tradition with intriguing details which, because of their commonness, would have gone unnoticed by local Cilician authors, most of whom had courtly or pro-courtly origins.

The second subject, concerning artistic images, is far more intensely present in Erznkac'i's writings. His remarks, emphasizing the aesthetics and reception of painted images, are evocative in helping to understand the philosophical and theological grounds of artistic productions. Thus, the practice of fashioning a king's image "in deiform likeness" (Sermon 8, ch. 20) is attested by contemporary royal images (cf. images of King Lewon and Christ in Figure. 1.3) that Erznkac'i may have had the opportunity to contemplate personally in the milieu of the court of King Lewon II. Also evident in these visual sources is the tradition of depicting the king at different moments of his life, which Erznkac'i invokes for comparative and exegetical purposes (Sermon 30, ch. 23).

The selected excerpts reflect a non-conflicting combination of the Platonic and Aristotelian concepts of mimesis, something Erznkac'i inherited from patristic works, sometimes following the Church Fathers verbatim, as in the case of Gregory of Nyssa. Although the king's images should properly reflect his royal appearance and should be "executed marvellously," still, they can never replace the king in person, for they are merely reflections of the king (it is in this context of the archetype's primacy that Erznkac'i's expression "the beauty of the archetype" should be understood – an expression rooted in the works of the previous authors he consulted). In this sense, the use of the concept of mimesis is Platonic, which insisted that imitation is inferior to archetype and cannot replace it by representation. However, in most of the instances in which Erznkac'i applies the concept of the archetype and its image – even though in a derivative way, the principal aim is not so much to underscore the inferiority of the artistic production compared to its living original, but to highlight the potential of the image which is capable of partially replacing the archetype and therefore offering the possibility of approaching it. This positive and didactic use of mimesis is closer to the Aristotelian understanding of imitation and can also be favourably situated within the spiritual currents of the

Armenian society for whom Erznkac'i's homilies were composed. In conclusion, I would therefore like to focus not so much on the intellectual repertoire of this Armenian polymath of the 13th century but on the moral-spiritual and socio-political messages that he tried to transmit through his public speeches.

The frequent evocation of artistic portraiture in Erznkac'i's exegetical preaching served to explain one of the principal tenets of medieval Christian piety – the imitation of God – whereby the believer, being created in God's image and likeness (Gen. 1:26), could achieve the fulfilment of the divine image by conducting himself in imitation of God. The audience for whom Erznkac'i's speeches were delivered was constantly reminded that the state ruler exemplifies the ideal imitation of God and that each member of society is likewise able to exercise his or her likeness to God by employing their spiritual virtues and their capacity to rule over other creatures.

Acknowledgements

Research for this paper was carried out in the framework of the project "Royal Epiphanies: The King's Body as Image and Its *Mise-en-scène* in the Medieval Mediterranean (12th–14th Centuries)," funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (project nº173045, University of Fribourg, Switzerland). I would like to sincerely thank Jesse S. Arlen for his careful reading of the first draft of this article.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Baghdasaryan, Edvard, *Hovhannes Erznkac'in yev nra xratakan arjakə* [*Hovhannes Erznkac'i and His Advice Literature*] (Yerevan, 1977).

Baghdasaryan, Edvard, and Aramean, Mesrop, "Yovhannēs Erznkac'u *I ČX salmosn* čaṙə," [Yovhannēs Erznkac'i's Sermon *On Psalm 140*] *Gandzasar* 7 (2002), 384–408.

Der Nersessian, Sirarpie, "Une apologie des images du septième siècle," *Byzantion* 17 (1944–1945), 58–87. Reprinted in her *Études byzantines et arméniennes / Byzantine and Armenian Studie*s, tome I (Louvain, 1973), pp. 379–403.

Hayeren jeṙagreri hišatakaranner, ŽG dar [*Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 13th Century*], ed. Artašes Mat'evosyan (Yerevan, 1984).

K'eosēean, Yakob, "S. Barseł Kesarac'u Surb Hogun nuiruac č'ari hayerēn t'argmanut'iwnə," [The Armenian Translation of St. Basil of Caesarea's Homily on the Holy Spirit] *Ganjasar* 4 (1993), 165–214, 5 (1994), 201–240.

Nemesius of Emesa (*Nemesios Emesac'i*), *Yałags bnut'ean mardoy* [*On the Nature of Man* in Old Armenian translation], text, introduction and notes by Karine Mosikyan (Yerevan, 2019) (in Armenian).

(*Saint Basil*) *The Treatise de Spiritu Sancto, the Nine Homilies of the Hexaemeron and the Letters of Saint Basil the Great, Archbishop of Caesarea*, translated with notes by the Rev. Blomfield Jackson (Michigan, 1975) (orig. publ. 1895).

Saint Basil, Exegetic Homilies, translated by Sister Agnes Clare Way, C.D.P., The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation – vol. 46 (Washington, D.C., 1963).

Saint Basil of Caesarea and Armenian Cosmology: A Study of the Armenian Version of Saint Bail's Hexaemeron and Its Influence on Medieval Armenian Views about the Cosmos, by Robert W. Thomson, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 646, Subsidia tomus 130 (Lovanii, 2012).

(*Saint*) *Grégoire de Nysse, La Création de l'homme*, introduction et traduction par Jean Laplace, notes par Jean Daniélou, réimpression de la première édition revue et corrigée (Paris, 2002).

Saint Gregory of Nyssa (*S. Grigor Niwsac'i*), *Tesut'iwn i mardoyn kazmut'iwn* (*Yałags kazmut'ean mardoy*) [*On the Making of Man*], critical text with introduction and annotations by Stella Vardanyan (Holy Etchmiadzin, 2008) (in Armenian).

Saint John of Damascus, Three Treatises on the Divine Images, translation and introduction by Andrew Louth (New York, 2003).

Yovhannēs Erznkac'i (Hovhannes Yerzynkatsi), *Matenagrut'iwn, hator A. Čaŕer ew k'arozner* [Works, volume I – Speeches and Sermons], eds. Armenuhi Yerzynkatsi-Ter-Srapian, and Edvard Baghdasaryan (Yerevan, 2013).

Secondary Sources

Awetik'ean, Gabriēl, Siwrmēlean, Xač'atur, and Awgerean, Mkrtič', *Nor baŕgirk' haykazean lezui* [New Dictionary of Armenian Language], 2 vols (Venice, 1836–7).

Baghdasaryan, Edvard, "Hovhannes Erznkac'in arvesti u azgagrut'yan masin," [Yovhannēs Erznkac'i on Art and Ethnography] *Lraber hasarakakan gitut'yunneri* [*Herald of the Social Sciences* / Armenian National Academy of Sciences] 9 (1971), 75–81.

Baghdasaryan, Edvard, "Hovhannes Erznkac'in Kilikiayi zinvorakan kazmakerput'yunneri masin," [Yovhannēs Erznkac'i on the Military Organizations of Cilicia] *Banber Matenadarani* [Bulletin of Matenadaran] 16 (1994), 44–57.

Cowe, Peter, S., "Theology of Kingship in 13th-Century Armenian Cilicia," *Hask hayagitakan taregirk'* [*Hask Armenological Yearbook*] 11 (2007–2008), 417–30.

Dadoyan, Seta, B., "Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Bluz," in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, 4 (1200–1350), eds. David Thomas, and Alex Mallett (Leiden, 2012), pp. 572–8.

Der Nersessian, Sirarpie, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1993).

Ervine, Roberta, "Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz's *Compilation of Commentary on Grammar* as a Starting Point for the Study of Medieval Grammars," in *New Approaches to Medieval Armenian Language and Literature*, ed. Jos Johannes Sicco Weitenberg (Amsterdam, 1995), pp. 149–66.

Jensen, Lloyd, B., "Royal Purple of Tyre," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 22/2 (1963), 104–18.

Mahé, Jean-Pierre, "L'Arménie et les pères de l'Église: histoire et mode d'emploi (V^e^-XII^e^ siècle)," in *La documentation patristique: bilan et prospective*, eds. Jean-Claude Fredouille, and René-Michel Roberge (Laval – Paris, 1995), pp. 157–79.

Srapyan, Armenuhi, "Hovhannes Erznkac'u gełagitakan hayac'k'nerə," [Yovhannēs Erznkac'i's Aesthetic Thoughts] *Patma-Banasirakan handes* [*Historical-Philological Journal*] 3 (1985), 96–107.

Srapyan, Armenuhi, "Arvesti əmbŕnumə Hovhannes Erznkac'u gorcerum," [The Perception of Art in Yovhannēs Erznkac'i's Works] *Banber Erewani hamalsarani* [Bulletin of Yerevan University] 2/65 (1988), 127–41.

Srapyan, Armenuhi, *Hovhannes Erznkac'i Pluz: Kyank'ə ew gorcə* [*The Life and Work of Hohannes Erznkac'i Pluz*] (Yerevan, 1993).

Xač'ikyan, Lewon, "Hay arvesti patmut'yan karewor skzbnałbyurnerə," [Important Primary Sources for Armenian Art History] in *The Second International Symposium on Armenian Art, Yerevan, 12–18 September 1978, Collection of Reports*, 4 (Yerevan, 1981), pp. 39–50.

Zekiyan, Boghos, Levon, "La Porpora in Armenia: Tra mito, folklore, arte e religiosità: Dall'Inno di Vahagn al Bolo Armeno," in *La Porpora: Realtà e immaginario di un colore simbolico, Atti del Convegno di Studio, Venezia, 24–25 ottobre 1996*, ed. Oddone Longo (Venice, 1998), pp. 276–97.

Illustrations



FIGURE 1.1 Prince Lewon, Gospel manuscript (c. 1256?), M8321, fol. 15r
MATENADARAN INSTITUTE OF ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS, YEREVAN.
PHOTOGRAPH BY HRAIR HAWK KHATCHERIAN



FIGURE 1.2 Prince Lewon and lady Keŕan, Gospel manuscript (1262), J2660, fol. 288r
MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY OF THE ARMENIAN PATRIARCHATE, JERUSALEM.
PHOTOGRAPH BY HRAIR HAWK KHATCHERIAN



FIGURE 1.3 King Lewon II and queen Keŕan with their children, *Gospel of Queen Keŕan* (1272), J2563, fol. 380r
MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY OF THE ARMENIAN PATRIARCHATE, JERUSALEM. PHOTOGRAPH BY HRAIR HAWK KHATCHERIAN



FIGURE 1.4 King Lewon II in front of the Eucharistic table, *Breviary of King Lewon* (1270s), Or.13993, fol. 9v
BRITISH LIBRARY, LONDON



FIGURE 1.5 *Lectionary of Prince Het'um* (1286), M979, fol. 7r
MATENADARAN INSTITUTE OF ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS, YEREVAN.
PHOTOGRAPH BY HRAIR HAWK KHATCHERIAN

CHAPTER 2

Beyond the Page

Royal Imagery in the Queen Keŕan Gospels and the Rhetoric of the Court in Armenian Cilicia

Ioanna Rapti

Art history has largely addressed the connections between art, image, and power.[1] In all religious spheres, the representation of secular rulers is interwoven with sacredness and related to the image of the divine. Byzantine Christianity created a dual concept of earthly and heavenly courts, which was imaged in similar terms.[2] At the edge of medieval art history, Armenian art has contributed some particularly eloquent paradigms of royal imagery, the best known among them being the 10th-century church of the Holy Cross in Aght'amar, in the Lake Van area in present-day Turkey.[3] Another famous example of Armenian art is the family portrait of King Lewon II (r. 1270–1289) with his wife and children in a Gospel book produced in 1272 (Figure. 2.1).[4] Far from the historic lands of Armenia, Lewon reigned in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, in the heart of the Crusader world. This outstanding painting thus challenges the traditional art-historical geography of the medieval world and its established framework of centres and peripheries. In addition to the exquisite quality of the painting, this composition is particularly interesting for in its relevance to broader artistic phenomena of the period – such as group portraits and the interactions between eastern and western iconographies – as well as from a

1 For a discussion of royal depictions since Ernst Kantorowicz and André Grabar, see Ildar Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Royal Authority in the Carolingian World* (*c.751–877*) (Leiden, 2008), pp. 4–8. For recent studies beyond the Middle Ages: Melissa Eppihimer, *Exemplars of Kingship: Art, Tradition, and the Legacy of the Akkadians* (Cambridge, Eng., 2019).

2 Henry Maguire, "The Heavenly court," in *Byzantine Court culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. Henry Maguire, (Washington, D.C., 1997), pp. 247–58.

3 Lynn Jones, *Between Islam and Byzantium: Aght'amar and the Visual Construction of Medieval Armenian Rulership* (Aldershot, 2007), and recently: *The Church of the Holy Cross of Alt'amar. Politics, Art, Spirituality in the kingdom of Vaspurakan*, eds. Zaroui Poghossian, and Edda Vardanyan (Leiden, 2019).

4 Jerusalem, St-James ms 2563, 1272 AD. See the recent overview by: Cristina Maranci, *The Art of Armenia. An Introduction* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 112–14.

© IOANNA RAPTI, 2022 | DOI:10.1163/9789004511583_004
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

growing interest in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia and its importance for the history of the Mediterranean and the Crusades.

1 *Ceci n'est pas un portrait*

The Gospel book with the family portrait is part of a cluster of safely dated and localized illuminated manuscripts supplementing the compelling visual evidence from icons attributed to Cyprus or to various workshops active in the Holy Land and Sinai.[5] The monumental and extremely rich dedicatory miniature, despite the medium size of the codex, allows for various layers of reading, many of which have already been addressed in previous scholarship

5 The group of manuscripts has been identified as such by: Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenia Kingdom of Cilicia* (Washington, D.C., 1993), pp. 93–125. I have further studied the group and the atelier that produced it: Ioanna Rapti, *Un atelier de cour au royaume arménien de Cilicie : traditions byzantines, innovations gothiques et échos de croisade dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle* (forthcoming). The connections between this specific group and the realm of 'Crusader' art have been discussed only scantly from a rather iconographic and stylistic point of view, seldom taking into account the established dates and context of the Armenian manuscripts but rather focusing mainly on Western-Eastern dynamics at the level of scheme and style: Lucy-Anne Hunt, "A Woman's prayer to St Sergios in Latin Syria: Interpreting a Thirteenth-century icon at Mount Sinai," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 15 (1991), 96–146; Annemarie Weyl-Carr, "Icon Tact. Byzantium and the Art of Cilician Armenia," in *Treasures in Heaven. Armenian Art, Religion and Society,* eds. Thomas F. Mathews, and Roger S. Wieck, (New York, 1994), pp. 96–99, has emphasized the closeness between the manuscripts of this group and painting in the mainland; Anne Derbes and Amy Nef, have pointed out the contemporaneity of the Ke̛ran Gospels and the high altarpiece of San Francesco at Prato in Perugia, explaining this with reference to the spread of Franciscan spirituality and influence: Anne Derbes, and Amy Neff, "Italy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Byzantine Sphere," in *Byzantium. Faith and Power,* ed. Helen Evans, (New Haven, 2004), pp. 449–61, esp. 460–61; Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre* (Cambridge, Eng., 2005), p. 439, has more generally suggested the permeability of Crusader artists to 'Armenian iconographical ideas', while Jens Wollesen, *Acre or Cyprus? A New Approach to Crusader Painting Around 1300*, (Ars et Scientia Schriften zur Kunstwissenschaft) 5 (Berlin, 2013), p. 87, noted the very close similarities in dress between Cypriot and Cilician images. More recently, Geoffrey Meyer-Fernandez has thoroughly analysed the sartorial similarities of the patrons' garments in terms of form and style, a shared taste explained by the circulation of goods and fashions through maritime trade: Geoffrey Meyer-Fernandez, *Commanditaires et peintres à Chypre sous les Lusignan (1192–1474): images d'un royaume multiculturel* (PhD, Aix-en-Provence, 2019), pp. 252–53 and 457; he has also noted connections between Cilician imagery and painting in Cyprus and the Mediterranean under Latin rule: *ibid.*, pp. 160, 162.

on this painting.[6] In her major study of manuscript illumination in Cilicia, Sirarpie Der Nersessian discussed the miniature in a section dedicated to portraits, in which she gathered all representations of historical figures in Cilician-Armenian manuscripts.[7] However, the semantic scope of 'portrait' is much wider than implied in the conventional use of the term to describe likeness of individuals – often authors, rulers, or donors.[8] The reception of the classical concept of the portrait as a device to convey the presence and memory of the portrayed extended in the sacredness of the likeness in icons; or, alternatively, in what Ernst Kitzinger called the Byzantine 'portrait mode,' which distinguishes the secular from the holy, the contemporary from the saint, and which amounts to the distinction between 'realistic' and 'typological' portraits established by André Grabar.[9] As we shall see, the painting under discussion challenges such taxonomies of portrayal.[10]

---

6 Helen Evans, "Imperial Aspirations: Armenian Cilicia and Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century," in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium,* ed. Antony Eastmond (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 243–56; *eadem*, "Kings and Power Bases: Sources for Royal Portraits in Armenian Cilicia," in *From Byzantium to Iran. Armenian Studies in Honour of Nina G. Garsoian*, eds. Jean-Pierre Mahé, and Robert W. Thomson (Atlanta, 1997), pp. 492–93; Antony Eastmond, "Art and Frontiers between Byzantium and the Caucasus," in *Byzantium*: *Faith and Power* (*1261–1557*)*: Perspectives on Late* Byzantine *Art*, ed. Sarah Brooks (New York 2006), pp. 154–69, esp. p. 158, Figure. 195.

7 Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, pp. 154–62, esp. 156, Figure. 641. This section gathers as portraits depictions of historical figures – mainly donors and patrons but also authors such as Gregory of Narek and the painter Sargis Picak. This classification is, however, somewhat problematic, as, in spite of the careful observation of the illuminations, it privileges a formalist approach and overlooks their relation to the context of each manuscript.

8 Jean Wirth, "Introduction," in *Le portrait: La représentation de l'individu,* eds. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, Jean-Michel Spieser, and Jean Wirth (Micrologus' Library) 17 (Florence, 2007), pp. 9–15. Irene Winter, "What/When Is a Portrait? Royal Images of the Ancient near East," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 153/3 (2009), 254–70. Michele Bacci, and Vladimir Ivanovici, "From Living to Visual Images. Paradigms of Corporeal Iconicity in Late Antiquity – Introduction," *Journal of the International Association of Research Institutes in the History of Art* 222 (2019): https://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2019/0222-0229-special-issue-paradigms-of-corporeal-iconicity/0222-bacci-and-ivanovici (Accessed: 2020 July 3).

9 For a discussion of Byzantine portrait process and theory, see: Gilbert Dagron, *Décrire et peindre* (Paris, 2007), p. 148; Katherine Marsengill, *Portraits and Icons. Between Reality and Spirituality in Byzantine Art* (Turnhout, 2013).

10 Tania Velmans, "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues," in *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues*. *Actes du colloque organisé par l'association internationale des études byzantines à Venise en septembre 1968* (Venice, 1971), pp. 193–48. In the same volume: Hans Belting, "Die Auftraggeber der Spätbyzantinischen Bildhandschrift," pp. 158–76 for a survey of the portraits in late Byzantine manuscripts including Slavonic and Georgian material; however, surprisingly, he does not include Armenian manuscripts. This early interest

The royal couple is depicted in the lower corners of the composition – Lewon at left and Keťan at right – with symmetrical postures, kneeling with their hands raised in prayer. Between them, their children take the same posture and are grouped before their parents according to their gender. All five children are crowned with diadems and dressed in colourful robes woven or embroidered with golden threads and distinguished by their hanging sleeves, a garment favoured by Crusader aristocrats in the Levant.[11] The royal couple combines the most characteristic imperial insignia of the Byzantine tradition, i.e. the *loros* and the crown with hanging *prependoulia*, with silk robes and mantles lined with ermine, in keeping with a Latin aristocratic fashion favoured in both the West and the Latin East.[12] In the upper half of the composition appears a majestic Deisis, the intercessory image *par excellence* in the Byzantine tradition. In the centre, the large mandorla and the shining white garments of the enthroned Christ enhance the eschatological meaning of the subject. As the focus of the donor's piety, the Deisis may include the

---

in portraits from the Paleologan period eventually shifted to a more global approach concerning patterns of patronage.

11 A very similar type of garment, but slightly shorter, distinguishes the donor or honoree of the church of the Transfiguration at Soteira, near Famagusta, the painted decoration of which is dated *c.* 1280. I am grateful to Maria Parani, who is preparing a publication on this church, for sharing the photograph. For the church and the donor, see also: Meyer Fernandez, *Commanditaires et peintres à Chypre*, pp. 300–03. In a religious context, this type of slitted sleeve is also worn by the Carmelites surrounding the enthroned Virgin in an icon painted on Cyprus before 1287: Maniera Cypria. *The Cypriot Painting of the 13th century between two worlds. Exhibition catalogue, Byzantine Museum of Archbishop Makarios III Foundation,* ed. Ioannis A. Eliades (Nicosia, 2017), p. 57–59, ill. p. 63 and 8. Several secular figures in Gospel illustrations throughout the Keťan Gospels wear this characteristic garment. Long, heavy sleeves distinguish the garments of the donors in 7th-century reliefs at Mren and Jvari and survive in the royal relief depiction of Ashot II (891–918) at T'beti Cathedral: Christina Maranci, *Vigilant Powers. Three churches of Early Medieval Armenia*, (Turnhout 2015), p. 23–112 and Antony Eastmond, Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia (University Park, l998), p. 9–11. However, the connection with Cilician attire should not be considered straightforward. For a broader discussion of the origins and the transmission of this garment in the West, see: Charlotte Jirousek, *Ottoman Dress and Design in the West: A Visual History of Cultural Exchange* (Bloomington, IN, 2019), pp. 31–33.

12 Gustav Kühnel, *Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Berlin, 1988), for the Scandinavian kings Knute and Olaf, pl. XXXII-XXXV. For example, the Histoire universelle (London, British Library, Add. MS 15268), the depiction of the biblical king Ninus dressed in a Byzantine-inspired *loros* under a gothic-blue mantel with ermine, or the Judith miniatures in the Arsenal Bible (Paris, BnF, Arsenal, ms 5211): Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art: the Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1099–1291* (Aldershot, 2008), p. 137, Figure. 146, and p. 107, Figure. 109.

latter's representations but the display in the Queen Keťan Gospels provides a uniquely inventive variation.[13]

The Gospel book in question is better known as the Queen Keťan Gospels than by its inventory number MS 2563 in the treasury of the church of the Armenian Patriarchate of Saint James, Jerusalem. However, the manuscript was not intended for the personal use of its patron Keťan nor for the royal household but rather for the monastery of Akner, the burial place of Lewon II's grandfather, the founder of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia.[14] Thus, the dedicatory painting is no mere testimony to the patron's individual piety: by staging the queen with her husband and their progeny, the image involves the entire royal family.

Moreover, although the perfectly balanced composition reflects ritual, hierarchy, and order, it does not refer to any particular royal ritual nor any particular ceremonial setting.[15] It is rather a visual statement of authority and piety,

13 Harvard College Library, cod. gr. 3, early 12th century: Ioannis Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1976), p. 44; Giorgi Parpulov, "Psalters and Personal Piety in Byzantium," in *The Old Testament in Byzantium,* eds. Paul Magdalino, and Robert S. Nelson (Washington, D.C., 2010), pp. 77–106, esp. 95–96. The hypothetical but not unlikely representation of Michael VIII Paleologos, presumed to be the patron of the Deisis mosaic in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia, is supposed to have figured in the lower part of the composition. This could be an interesting parallel to the Queen Keťan Gospels from a semantic rather than a formal perspective: Robin Cormack, "The Mother of God in the Mosaics of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople," in *Mother of God, Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Athens, 2000), pp. 107–23, esp. 120. A slightly earlier manuscript, the so-called Malat'ya Gospels, produced at the see of the Armenian catholicos at Hromkla, inventively depicts the Deisis in the last pages of the opening quire, with the dedicatory prayer set under Christ and the Virgin as a continuation of the canon tables: *Armenia Sacra*, eds. Jannick Durand, Ioanna Rapti, and Dorota Giovannoni (Paris, 2007), nº 116 (with previous bibliography). In the same manuscript, a second representation of the Deisis, formally comparable to that in the Keťan Gospels portrait, is turned into an image of the Second Coming by means of three open sarcophagi full of naked bodies awakening for the Last Judgement. Later Armenian imagery often displays one or more donors under the radiating Cross, which signifies the Second Coming, see: Ioanna Rapti, "Le Jugement Dernier arménien: reception et evolution d'une imagerie eschatologique médiévale," *Cahiers archéologiques* 56 (2015), 95–118, esp. 114–15. Nevertheless, the beatific vision in the Queen Keťan Gospels is unique. A later example including the donor in a beatific image is that of Andrea Dandolo in the 14th-century mosaic in the baptistery of San Marco: Stefania Gerevini, Art as Politics in the Baptistery and Chapel of Sant'Isidoro at San Marco, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 74 2020, 243–268, esp. 253 (with earlier bibliography).

14 Ioanna Rapti, "Featuring the King. Rituals of Coronation and Burial in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia," in *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean. Comparative Perspectives,* eds. Maria Parani, Alexander Beihammer, and Stavroula Konstantinou (Leiden 2013), pp. 291- 335, esp. 319.

15 Maranci, *The Art of Armenia*, p. 114.

one that fully takes up the visual strategies for staging and shaping kingship within court culture. An especially appropriate medium for containing the account of the Incarnation of the Word, the parchment provides the figures of the royal family with a special corporeality. Indeed, the image presents the royal body as both agent and object. Rays of light radiating towards the praying family, obviously following the iconography of the Pentecost, materialize the effect of their blessing by Christ's two hands. The gestures of the Virgin and the Baptist make this interaction even more dramatic; as intercessors, they introduce the supplicants' prayer, with extended hands and slightly bended knees – the latter being an quite unusual feature in the iconography of the Deisis. The rigorous geometry that governs the overall composition extends beyond the depiction of the Armenian royal family itself, with the latter's half-circular form paralleling the encircled glory of Christ, as Der Nersessian has rightly observed.[16] The two circles transcend the flat surface of the page in setting into dynamic the earthly and the divine.[17] The authority of kingship is transmitted from God to the king and to the latter's consort and offspring, with divine light turning the portrait into a performative investiture. Such a mathematical organization of the pictorial space of the page is rather unusual in Armenian miniature painting and betrays the painter's knowledge of the sophisticated arrangements found in Gothic manuscripts – such as the slightly earlier Psalter of Blanche of Castile – though the composition does not copy or imitate any specific model.[18]

With neither a starting point nor an end, the image on the page is propelled by this perpetual and timeless movement of prayer and mercy. The composition projects the actual royals beyond time and space, into a close and privileged encounter with God. The balance between the two registers rewards the royal family with the theophany of the Deisis and turns the portrayal into an epiphany. As witnesses to the heavenly glory, and honoured with immediate

16 Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, p. 156.

17 This could be the reason for the quite large scale of the king and the queen, pointed out by: Maranci, *The Art of Armenia*, p. 113, who also compared the image to the reliefs on the western façade of Aght'amar, where King Gagik is shown slightly larger than Christ. However, in the Jerusalem manuscript the portrait seems to rather distinguish two distant but related spaces in the manner of a three-dimensional architectural space. I am thankful to Sipana Tchakerian, PhD student at the University Paris 1-Panthéon-Sorbonne, for this observation.

18 Paris, BnF, Arsenal Library, ms 1186 *c.* 1220–1230. Charles Bouleau, *Charpentes. La Géométrie secrète des peintres* (Paris, 1963), pp. 53–79; Marie-Hélène Gousset, "Jean Fouquet et l'art de la géométrie," in *Jean Fouquet. Peintre et enlumineur du XV^e siècle*, ed. François Avril (Paris, 2003), pp. 76–86, esp. 77–78.

intercession and the Lord's blessing, the king and his family are elevated to the special status of holy intercessors for their own entourage and subjects. The full-page painting responds to the metrical dedicatory prayer elegantly written in gilded majuscules at the conclusion of the canon tables. Given the paramount role of the Gospel book in Armenian spirituality as the medium *par excellence* for conveying individual piety and memory,[19] verse and image supplement one another. Moreover, departing from the usual formulas for the commemoration of the donor's relatives, the long and detailed colophon recounts the history of the royal family, naming each member and their ancestors along with their significant deeds.[20] The lively figures of Lewon, Keťan, and their children thus meet the memory of their ancestors within the space of the book. Yet, there is a sharp difference between the physicality of the living family and the shadowy verbal remembrance of their venerable predecessors, indicating that the two groups belong to distinct temporalities.

The colophon-chronicle traces the roots of the royal family, clearly distinguishing the ancestry of the king and the queen from one another. This balanced structure enhances the dynastic legitimacy suggested by the harmony of the family stemming from the text: it exemplifies the *concordia* between two rival families that was ensured by the wedding of Lewon to Keťan in 1262.[21] This pattern of internal matrimonial diplomacy had been implemented 40 years earlier, when the marriage of King Lewon's parents smoothed the conflicting ambitions of their respective families and brought peace to the country, as

19 Artašēs Matʻevossian, *Hayerēn jeťagreri Yišatakaranner. JG dar* [Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts. 13th century] (Yerevan, 1984), nº 330, p. 415. These two pages are visible, but only the second half is legible; in the digitized microfilm of the manuscript on the website of the Library of Congress https://www.loc.gov/item/00271074190-jo/ the portrait of the royal family is dissimulated by a silk cover. See: Ioanna Rapti, "La voix des donateurs: Pages de dédicaces dans les manuscrits arméniens de Cilicie," in *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin*, eds. Jean-Michel Spieser, and Elisabeth Yota (Paris 2012), pp. 309–26, esp. 321. I have noted the shift from a liturgical formula to a more personal plea. The dedicatory prayer: "My Lord Christ Saviour of the mankind / and eternal king forever / those who have been worthy anointment by you / the king Lewon and his queen Keťan / who moreover acquired this pure book / when you come in your paternal glory / receive them among those who are under your right hand. And love Hetʻum their child / heir to the crown of the Armenians / keep in long live / with his good brothers / and the soul of their parents and their ancestors and all their roots / receive them under your light and of your celestial brightness."

20 Matʻevossian, *Colophons,* nº 330, pp. 415–19; Ioanna Rapti, "Reines de Cilicie: entre héritage arménien et métamorphoses levantines," *Augusta, Regina, Basilissa,* eds. Sylvain Destephen, and François Chausson (Paris, 2018), pp. 215–38, esp. 226.

21 Rapti, "Reines," p. 225. This marriage is commemorated by a portrait of the couple blessed by Christ, following a widespread formula in middle Byzantine iconography.

is also stated in the manuscript's colophon.[22] The memorial function of the manuscript is further underlined by its donation to the monastery that housed the tomb of the king's grandfather and namesake, Lewon I (r. 1198–1216). The monastery of Akner, whose precise location remains unknown, was a suburban foundation in the surrounds of the capital, Sis – and perhaps the Turkish name Akören may preserve some distant echo. Founded by the first Armenian king of Cilicia, Akner endowed the kingdom with a new *lieu de mémoire*, independent from the extant shrines and graves founded by the king's ancestors. Akner never became the dynastic mausoleum that it was likely meant to be, and only a few – lesser – members of the royal family were buried there.[23] However, the production of this lavishly illuminated manuscript soon after Lewon's 1270 coronation proves at least some consciousness of the monastery's dynastic significance.

The vision of Christ in his eternal glory in the Deisis meets the ultimate hope of the Christian faithful as expressed in the prayer formulas of the manuscript's colophons and dedicatory prayers. In light of its intended destination – the dynastic mausoleum of the kingdom's founder – the manuscript can be understood as a vehicle for the performative pilgrimage of the king and his family to the grave of his forefather, perpetuating their presence by his shrine.[24]

This royal image in the Queen Keťan Gospels is unique in both Cilicia and the broader Armenian tradition. However, it is noteworthy that Lewon II is the most frequently and most innovatively portrayed Armenian king on record, as evidenced by five compelling manuscript paintings, each marking a key moment of his life: his appointment as successor; his wedding; his accession to the throne; his piety and religious leadership; and his apotheosis at the top of his genealogical tree.[25] Der Nersessian introduces her previously mentioned

22 Rapti, "Reines," pp. 223–24.

23 Rapti "Featuring the King," pp. 322–23.

24 This fits into the scheme proposed by John Lowden regarding royal books: the *why* of their production and their consumption (why each codex was made, why it was decorated with certain images, why it changed hands, and so forth). John Lowden, "The Image and Self-Image of the Medieval Ruler," in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe,* ed. Anne Duggan (London, 1993), pp. 213–40; John Lowden, "The Royal Manuscript as Idea and Object, Royal Manuscripts. The Genius of Illumination," in *Royal Manuscripts. The Genius of Illumination. Exhibition Catalogue, British Library*, eds. Scott McKendrick, John Lowden, and Kathleen Doyle (London, 2012), pp. 19–41. The intercessory role of the ancestors is also found in several monumental compositions in 14th-century Serbia, see: Véronique Deur-Petiteau, *Image et Pouvoir en Serbie médiévale* (PhD, Paris, EPHE, 2021).

25 The last image is in the lectionary produced for his son Het'um at his appointment as crown prince, Matenadaran 979. For an overview of the portraits: Ioanna Rapti, "Un Melismos arménien et la politique de l'image de Lewon II (1269–1289)," *Cahiers archéologiques*

essay on portraits in Cilician manuscripts with an eloquent testimony from Yovhannēs Erzenkac'i, who refers to painted portraits of the king as being for the sake of likeness. This account fits strikingly with the preserved evidence, although it is hard to assess whether the author's description corresponds to established practices or simply appeals to the classical topos of the life cycle.[26] To the five depictions of King Lewon II, it is tempting to add a marginal miniature in the Prince Het'um Lectionary (Yerevan, Matenadaran 979) showing a king and a bishop in conversation with three monks.[27] Together, these six extremely powerful images – ranging from solemn iconicity to the elaborate staging of the portrayed person in a variety of roles – are the outcome of a sophisticated visual strategy rooted in remarkable artistic skill as well as literary knowledge.[28] The particular court culture that developed within the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia drew from both the Armenian past and contemporary court cultures of the Mediterranean and Europe.[29] By the middle of the 13th century, when the earliest portrait of Lewon was produced, Armenian-Cilician kingship was endowed with quite a strong set of tools: coinage, law, chronicles, and manuscripts produced with the support of the patriarch based at Hṙomkla close to the enlightened religious circles of Edessa.[30] The earliest

---

50 (2002), 168–69; Levon Chookaszian, "The five portraits of king Lewon II (1270–1289) and their connections to the Art of the Mediterranean Era," ed. Arturo Quintavalle, *Medieoevo: Immagini e ideologie* (I convegni di Parma) 5 (Milan 2005), pp. 129–37.

26 Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, p. 154. For the translation of the text of Yovhannēs Erzenkac'i, see the contribution by Gohar Grigoryan Savary in this volume. It is also interesting to note that the reference to the portraits of the king comes with a comment on the Gospel verse spoken by Christ "I am the good shepherd. I know my sheep and my sheep know me" (Jn. 10:14). Thus, the royal likeness implicitly becomes the means of experiencing royal authority. For the life cycle, see: Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton, 1986).

27 Irina R. Drampian, *Lectionary of King Hetum II* (*Armenian Illustrated Codex of 1286 A.D.*) (Yerevan, 2004), p. 144; Ioanna Rapti, "Un évêque bibliophile à la cour de Cilicie. Jean (Yovhannēs), né Baudoin, frère du roi Hét'um I," in *Mélanges Bernard Flusin*, (Travaux et mémoires) 23/1, eds. Vincent Déroche, and André Binggeli (Paris, 2019), pp. 697–725, esp. 709, Figure. 6.

28 As Lowden observed, what seems to be a production of the king is actually a creation of the court: Lowden, "The Royal Manuscript as Idea and Object," pp. 25–27.

29 Benjamin Bourgeois, *La Royauté: dynamiques et représentations. Royaumes de Jérusalem, de Chypre et d'Arménie cilicienne. XII^e-XIV^e siècle,* (PhD, Montpellier, 2018).

30 Timothy Greenwood, "Armenian Sources," in *Byzantine and Crusaders in Non-Greek Sources 1025–1204*, ed. Mary Whitby (London, 2007), pp. 221–51. In this enterprise, King Het'um I's elder brother, the constable Smbat, played an important role as the author of a chronicle known by his name and as the translator of the Assises of Antioch, which would remain the main law code in Cilicia and would influence a new legal turn in Greater Armenia. See also: Robert W. Thomson, "The Crusaders through Armenian Eyes," in *The*

among the six above-mentioned images were painted by T'oros Ṙoslin, whose name ascribed them special value in the scholarship but, at some point, veiled the role that the Patriarchate at Hṙomkla may have played in shaping the culture of the Armenian court at Sis. Nevertheless, the 12th-century commentary composed by the theologian Sargis Shnoṙhali – referred to by Der Nersessian in her analysis of portraits – suggests at least some sensitivity to royal and imperial imagery already before the rise of the Armenian Kingdom itself.[31] The initiative of the patron, Queen Keṙan, to have the eponymous manuscript first copied and then given to a "man skilled and excellent in the art of writing to adorn it with arches and floral patterns and guild-figured splendors" must be related to the inaugural character of the project.[32]

2 Visual Strategy and the Rhetoric of the Court

The 'portrait' of the royal family in the queen Keṙan Gospels should be considered the ultimate achievement of a broader rhetoric celebrating Lewon II's kingship. To shed light on this, I shall first examine two texts produced close to the time of the manuscript and demonstrate an extant conceptual panoply of royal imagery. The texts in question are the versified chronicle of Vahram Rabuni and the homily composed by the same author for the coronation of Lewon II on the feast of the Epiphany (6 January) in the year 1270. Such an analysis across public discourse and the intimacy of the Gospel book, may offer a better understanding of the court culture of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia and the concepts that underpinned its conception of royal power.

Both texts have been rather overlooked because they are not proper historical sources.[33] The chronicle has been widely accessible since its publication

Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World, eds. Angeliki Laiou, and Roy Mottahedeh (Washington, D.C., 2001), pp. 71–82, esp. 80; Azat Bozoyan, "La réception du droit franc en Arménie," in *La Méditerranée des Arméniens,* ed. Claude Mutafian (Paris, 2014), pp. 121–32.

31 Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, p. 154.

32 Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, p. 93, locates the copyist Avetis at Sis. Only Avetis is named in the colophon, which refers in a rather vague manner to the qualified author of the ornaments and the paintings. For the translated excerpts, see: Mat'evosyan, *Colophons*, p. 416.

33 Greenwood, "Armenian sources"; Theo Maarten van Lint, "From Reciting to Writing and Interpretation: Tendencies, Themes, and Demarcations of Armenian Historical Writing," in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, volume 2: 400–1400*, eds. Sarah Foot, and Chase F. Robinson (Oxford 2012), pp. 179–200.

with a French translation in 1869, along with other Armenian sources on the history of the Crusades.[34] The homily, on the other hand, is less known and available only in an 1876 edition.[35] The author and his work still await a thorough study, which is beyond the scope of the present paper. His title, *ṙabun* or *ṙabuni*, suggests that he belonged to the clergy, but it distinguishes him from a *vardapet*, the most common title for theologians in the Armenian monastic clergy. The Syriac resonance may reflect some connection to Edessa. Vahram is also known for his treatise on Aristotle's *Categories* and is considered among the last Christian followers of this philosophical tradition.[36] Vahram is not documented to have held any institutional function beyond being a member of the clergy, but the variety of his works likely places him in the milieu of the court, among those wise men who surrounded medieval sovereigns. Until additional light is shed on the intellectual personality of Vahram and on his authorship in their own right, his works remain representative of the literary interests and devices of the Armenian-Cilician court.

3 Experiencing History: The Versified Chronicle

The hybridity of the versified chronicle, mingling history and poetry, is perhaps one reason why it has been little acknowledged in scholarship.[37] However, this highly descriptive narrative should be considered a special piece of evidence

34 Vahram Rabun, *Chronique rimée des rois de la Petite Arménie* (Recueil des Historiens des Croisades Documents Arméniens) 1 (Paris, 1869), pp. 491–535. The English translation by Charles Fried Neumann, Vahram's Chronicle of the Armenian Kingdom in Cilicia, during the time of the Crusades (London, 1831) has been recently republished as *History of the Rubenian Dynasty*, eds. Beyon Miloyan, and Kimberley McFarlane (Sophene, 2020).

35 Vahram Rabuni, *Levoni Ark'aji Ban Haytnut'iun Teaṙn ew i yōcumn Lewoni G Ark'aji* / Լեւոնի Արքայի Բան Ի Հայտնութիւն Տեառն և ի Յօծումն Լեւոնի Գ Արքայի [Sermon on King Lewon. At the Epiphany of the Lord and the anointing of Lewon III] (Jerusalem, 1876). The ordinal III follows the dynastic order of the family, starting with Prince Lewon and not with the first anointed and crowned king.

36 Seta Dadoyan, *The Armenians in the Medieval Islamic World. Paradigms of Interaction. Seventh to Fourteenth Centuries*, 3 vols (New Brunswick, 2014), pp. 193–94. Peter Cowe, "Medieval Armenian Literary and Cultural Trends," in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, 1, *From the Ancient Period to the Fourteenth Century,* ed. Richard Hovanissian, (New York, 1991, repr. 2004), pp. 294–325, esp. 312. He considers Vahram the only important philosopher of Cilicia.

37 I have used it in this way for the study of the rituals of power, and I must confess my regret for having hastily characterized his verses as 'insipid poetry' (Rapti "Featuring the King," p. 295).

for the self-representation of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia and its perception of rulership and authority. Its metre is carefully structured, ending in the participle *-eal*.[38] The monotony of the rhyme lends itself to memorization of the content, suggesting that the chronicle was intended to be recited for entertainment during celebrations and feasts, like the contemporary *Sacred History of the Mongols*.[39] Thus, it may indicate that the poem addressed a broader audience than that consisting of contemporary and future learned readers, serving to convey and popularize the story of the king and the kingdom both within and beyond the court. Although it is hard to determine the impact and the reception of the versified chronicle, its production by a clergyman within the realm of the palace testifies to the permeability of Christian literature to early oral, epic and historical traditions that can be traced back to the Iranian background of the Armenian culture.[40]

The chronicle is largely constructed using topoi and references to the Bible. Alternation between common and canonized information contributes to making the content intelligible to the audience and sets the backdrop for the account of the deeds of the kings of Armenia, centring around the reigning king and his ancestors. Starting with a usual statement of humility, the author continues by explaining that his narrative is the continuation of an earlier narrative verse, a task, that he says, he has been reluctant to undertake. He introduces his endeavour with a comparison with painting: just as black paint enhances the shine of gold without affecting its purity, the poem highlights

38 James Russel, "The Credal Poem Hawatov Xostovanim ("I confess in faith") of St. Nerses the Graceful," in *Redefining Christian Identity. Cultural Interaction in the Middle East since the Rise of Islam*, (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta) 134, eds. Jan Jacob van Ginkel, Heleen Murre-van den Berg, and Theo Maarten van Lint (Leuven, 2005), pp. 185–236, esp. 203: an earlier versified chronicle *Vishapanutiun*, composed in 1121 as a patriotic and heroic praise, was perhaps inspired by the poetic paraphrasis of the Bible by the 11th-century author Gregory Magistros.

39 Theo Maarten van Lint, "The Gift of Poetry," in *Redefining Christian Identity,* eds. van Ginkel et alii, pp. 335–78, esp. 343: "mostly members of the clergy, they write in genres that emancipated from the various poetic genres used in church, although verse forms from folk poetry had been incorporated into ecclesiastical poetry as early as the 10th century in the work of Grigor Narekac'i." *The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, ed. Igor Rachewiltz (Leiden, 2015). Shorter version edited by John C. Street, University of Wisconsin–Madison (Books and Monographs Book 4). http://cedar.wwu.edu/cedarbooks/4, p. xviii-xviii: unparalleled text in Mongol historiography and likely intended for oral performances. p. XVIII for the oral transmission and performance. (Accessed: 2020 June 29).

40 Theo Maarten van Lint, "From Reciting to Writing," pp. 181–82 and 196.

the glory of Lewon's II predecessor.[41] The contrast between black paint and gold interestingly parallels the way colour and gold embellish the Queen Keťan Gospels; this is not to say that the author is referring to this manuscript in particular but rather to a broader pictorial effect that must have been familiar to him and his audience.[42] The reference to painting, though, indeed, a common topos in rhetoric, may in this case suggest some awareness of the importance of visuality and representation. The concluding verses of the chronicle recall the magnificent dedicatory image of the Queen Keťan Gospels, as Vahram celebrates the righteous reign of Lewon II, recalling his three male children and exalting his consort.[43] The poet does not refer explicitly to this or any another specific illumination, however, his elaborate praise of the king creates a powerful image whose effect may parallel the visual impact of the dedicatory image.

The narrative proceeds chronologically. To introduce historical time, the author refers to the Trinity, distinguishing the revelation of the Father and the Son from the Holy Spirit that "we confess."[44] The insistence on paternal filiation departs from standard trinitarian confessions and may reflect the theological debates of the time, which reached all realms of Christianity in the East. At another level of reading, the specific reference to the Father and the Son provides an archetype for fatherhood and the transmission of kingship, corresponding to the increasing significance placed on lineage in court cultures of the time.[45]

---

41 At the same time, the author informs the audience that his work is a commission from the king and thus positions it within the realm of the official discourse of the court. Vahram, *Chronique rimée*, p. 494.

42 The contrast of dark and gold occurs only in details in the manuscript but meets the inlaid-looking letters of many dedicatory prayers and finds an interesting parallel in the full-page initials that open the psalms in the Melissande Psalter, which are entirely executed with black inlay on a lustrous golden background: Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders*, p. 33, Figure. 13.

43 Vahram, *Chronique rimée*, p. 532. "Following the will of God / and reigning righteously / he got three children / first Het'um the eldest / Who is devoted to the texts of wisdom / and experience in the works of wisdom / the second is called T'oros / And the third id Smbat / And he met a good wife / whose name is Keťan / glowing with faith and / full of deeds of purity."

44 The Trinity often marks the beginning of manuscript colophons, signifying the eternal time of the Creation. Interestingly, the foundation charter edited in 1347/48 by the Serbian king Stefan Dušan for his monastery of the Holy Archangels in Prizren starts with a reference to the Trinity integrating the sovereign into the hierarchy: Deur-Petiteau, *Image et Pouvoir en Serbie médiévale*.

45 Jerôme Baschet, *Le sein du Père. Abraham et la paternité dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 2000), pp. 49–52. The importance of lineage in 13th-century court culture is exemplified by Capetian France, which traces its roots to the kings of Troy; by the Crusader Kingdom,

Historical time is defined by a clear distinction between past and present, the turn between the two being Christianity, which made all Christians the chosen people.[46] In this broad Christian framework, the focus moves quickly to the Armenians. The starting point is the exile to the lands of the Greeks, seen as the consequence of the arrival of the Turks. The story is evoked only scarcely and is not celebrated. The only significant reference is to King Gagik (d. 1020), "the seedling of the Armenian royal arborescence in Cilicia."[47] Such a narrow timeframe, which unusual in Armenian historiography, could be explained by the poet's assertion that he continues an earlier narrative. The emphasis on the Turkish conquests as a marker of historical time is nevertheless consistent with their special significance in Armenian historical writing. In the latter, the Turks are related to biblical prophecies and earlier apocalyptic traditions that remained influential among religious literati.[48] The past that interests Vahram and his audience is recent: a series of locations designate the landmarks of the Armenian kingdom. Authority is built across the territory through a network of places of memory, ancestry, and power. From the fortress of Vahka up on the slopes of the Taurus to the city of Anawarza in the middle of Cilician plain, the contours of this geography of power follow the progression of the establishment of the Armenians in Cilicia under the leadership of valiant princes. These places become the theatre for the deeds of the major heroic ancestors who held them.[49] From Ṙuben and Constantine (before 1100) to the first great conqueror T'oros I (1102–1129), Vahram continues to T'oros II, Prince of Armenia (1145–1169), whom he celebrates as an ideal ruler foreshadowing the rise of the kingdom. Victorious over the Seljuks, brave, charitable, and generous, "shining like the light of the sun, armour of truth, crown of justice",[50]

---

as testified by the chronicles of Outremer; and by the Kingdom of Serbia, as manifest in the sophisticated image strategies of the Nemanja dynasty.

46 Vahram, *Chronique rimée*, 495 (verses 49–50).

47 Vahram, *Chronique rimée*, 496 (verse 122). Indeed, Gagik (1041–1045, + *c.* 1073) moved to Byzantium after spending some time in Constantinople as a distinguished hostage and then exchanging his territory for lands in Cappadocia. But this happened before the capture of Ani by the Turks. Nina G. Garsoïan, "The Byzantine Annexation of the Armenian Kingdoms in the eleventh century," in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, ed. Richard Hovanissian (2nd ed. New York 2004), pp. 187–98, esp. 190–93; Claude Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant* 1 (Paris, 2012), p. 50.

48 Robert W. Thomson, "The Concept of "History" in Medieval Armenian Historians," in *Eastern Approaches,* ed. Eastmond, pp. 89–100, esp. 94–96.

49 Gérard Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés. Étude sur les pouvoirs arméniens dans le Proche-Orient méditerranéen (1068–1150)*, 2 vols, (Lisbon, 2003), 1, pp. 392–94, 442–50.

50 Vahram, *Chronique rimée*, p. 507 (verse 585). The long verses on T'oros II (pp. 503–84) recount the prince's captivity in Constantinople and the dramatic conspiracy of the

the prince exemplifies for Vahram a range of royal virtues drawn from religion, philosophy, and science. Moreover, the fact that the Holy Spirit is said to descend upon T'oros II conveys through a set of biblical references the idea of divine election and the sacredness of kingship.[51] The prince is characterized as a dynastic archetype: his legitimacy stems from the Bagratid kingship of Gagik and, more importantly, is carried down to the current sovereign through the latter's grandfather, Lewon I (1198–1216). Vahram presents Lewon I more briefly than T'oros II yet assigns him the significant role of restoring kingship, an event portrayed as the redemption of the Armenians: "the nation of the Armenians stood up and rulership was renewed; and brought peace all over the country, like paradise it was filled with fruits."[52] In the chronicle, Lewon I's life ends with the heroic expansion of his state over the sultanate of Rum. Vahram passes quickly over the troublesome period following Lewon I's death to the marriage of Het'um and Zabel, to whom Lewon II was born and from whom he derived his legitimacy. Similarly scant is the account of Het'um's alliance with the Seljuks, that he eventually broke in order to ally with the Mongols, whose importance for the kingdom is rather absent from the chronicle. Yet, the poet meaningfully mentions at this point in his chronicle the royal ancestry of the baron Constantine (*c.* 1180–1263), the father of King Het'um, providing the latter with his own royal bloodline.[53] The account of Het'um's accession to the throne is interestingly paired with the parable of the good shepherd, which

---

Byzantine emperor, who turned the Seljuks against him. For T'oros see: Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 1, pp. 77–82. It seems that T'oros II remained faithful to Manuel Komnenos and kept his alliance with Kizil Arslan, leaving his brother Stephane the care to refrain the Turks (*ibidem*, p. 79). As with many diplomatic hostages throughout the history of Byzantium, a stay in Constantinople was excellent training for court culture and politics.

51 Vahram, *Chronique rimée*, p. 508 (verse 595). This resonates with the account (Luke 4:17) stating the presence of the Holy Spirit upon Christ and the divine charisma it conveyed, see: Thomas F. Mathews, *Armenian Gospel Iconography. The Tradition of the Glajor Gospels,* (Dumbarton Oaks Series) 29 (Washington, D.C., 1991), pp. 138–39. In the 10th-century psalter Paris, gr. 139, fol. 7v, the dove of the Holy Spirit visually embodies the divinely inspired wisdom of King David, seen as a hidden representation of Emperor Constantine VII between personifications of wisdom and prophecy. This gift for the scriptures is even more significant in that it follows an anecdote about the prince having a dream during his imprisonment in Constantinople of receiving a loaf of bread and a fish, premonitory of his future dominion over the lands and the sea of his country: Vahram*, Chronique rimée*, p. 502 (verses 355–80). With a distant biblical reference to Joseph, wisdom and kingship are thus tied to the destiny of T'oros II, which takes a step further the dynastic history and marks a decisive turn, although T'oros II was never crowned or anointed king.

52 Vahram*, Chronique rimée*, p. 512 (verse 755).

53 Vahram*, Chronique rimée*, p. 514 (verses 805–06).

points in turn to the paradigm of David, a major archetype for the emperor since the early Middle Ages.[54] Vahram celebrates Het'um individually before dedicating a series of verses to praise his wife, Zabel. Unlike on coins, where the king is paired with his queen and, later, with the epigraphic representation of his Seljuk patron,[55] the chronicle's description glorifies the king as a perfect being in his own right, adorned with all physical and moral qualities. Through the recitation of the poem, this image would have become anchored in the listeners' minds, an experience possibly enhanced by royal ceremonial appearances as well as by other visual parallels.

The focus of the chronicle narrows as it moves towards the temporality of the author and the audience, recounting in detail events in Cilicia. Little attention is paid to neighbouring states and powers, and the Franks remain almost absent from this literary fresco, which concludes with an idealized portrayal of the king.[56] The text recounts how the paradise on earth that Cilicia had become under Lewon I was ultimately lost as a result of the sins and faults of the Armenians, explicating this with reference to the biblical story of Adam's Fall. Vahram's description of lamentation as the path to redemption and of the reward earned by suffering marks a turn in the narrative and its image of the sovereign. The imprisonment of the future king Lewon II by the Mamluks after their raid in Cilicia in 1266 is recounted at length, with an increasingly strong hagiographic overtone. The audience learns how the blessed Prince T'oros, Lewon's younger brother, was killed during the raid. The chronicle then moves into a depiction of Lewon as a blessed and venerable prince,[57] fictionalizing his time as a prisoner with the account of his pilgrimage at the Holy Sepulchre, where "he venerates the crucified Christ."[58] The narrative reaches its climax with verses praising generosity and charity,[59] before turning to exegesis, where the prince becomes the expiatory victim of the sins of his nation. The king's radiance, like a veil of sacredness, elevates him to a realm of sanctity and to the apex of his virtuous ancestors.[60] Similarly, Vahram's account of

54 Vahram, *Chronique rimée*, p. 517 (verse 870).

55 *Armenia Sacra*, eds. Durand et alii, ns. 108–09.

56 The absence of the Franks is surprising, given their strong presence in the kingdom and in the court, and might be explained by the chronicle's focus on family and lineage. Thomson has noted a similar lack of reflection on the Crusaders in the chronicle composed *c.* 1272 by Smbat Sparapet (the Constable), brother of King Het'um I (+1276): Thomson, "The Crusaders through Armenian Eyes," p. 80.

57 Vahram, *Chronique rimée*, p. 518 (verse 900: *erjankc'eal* and *barepašteal*).

58 Vahram, *Chronique rimée*, p. 523 (verses 1094–95).

59 Vahram, *Chronique rimée*, p. 527 (verse 1215).

60 Vahram, *Chronique rimée*, p. 532 (verse 1380).

Lewon's pilgrimage to Jerusalem recalls the popular legend of the visit the Holy Sepulchre by the protagonists of the Armenian conversion to Christianity.[61] Lewon II's own adventure tale becomes a valuable counterpart to the earthly, military, and political achievements of his valiant forefathers; through his captivity and piety, he interestingly, meets the Christomimetic ideal of kingship that governs the earliest known portrait of Lewon, produced upon his appointment as a crown prince.[62] Vahram's narrative evokes most strikingly the celebratory image of the royal family in the Queen Keṙan Gospels, at its conclusion with a lauding of the king which perhaps echoes the audience's response to the ceremonial recitation of the poem:

> This is the way the king on earth is
> and approved by God.
> May God preserve him for long days,
> reigning in peace.[63]

These or similar verses were perhaps recited at various royal appearances. As an afterward to the chronicle and its acclamatory conclusion, a few verses briefly recall Old Testament kings and prophets, situating the historical narrative within a moralized, Christian framework. The significance assigned to Old Testament paradigms is a pervasive aspect of medieval historiography and court culture broadly but has a particularly strong tradition in Armenian historical writing.[64] The appearance of these biblical models only in the afterward, despite its abundant biblical imagery and vocabulary throughout Vahram's chronicle, may mean that an emphasis on action was most suitable for the chronicle's intended audience and performative context. Nevertheless, these Old Testament models strongly resonate with the rhetorical register of another work by Vahram, namely his homily for the coronation of the king,

61 Van Lint, "From Reciting to Writing," p. 195; Zaroui Pogossian, *The Letter of Love and Concord: A Revised Diplomatic Edition with Historical and Textual Comments and English Translation* (Leiden, 2010), p. 49. For the alliance between Constantine and Tiridates as a prototype for the alliance between Cilicia and the Crusaders, see pp. 110–11.

62 This portrait is preserved in the Gospel book Matenadaran 8321, fol. 25. Rapti, *Featuring the king*, p. 310.

63 Vahram, *Chronique rimée*, p. 532.

64 Jean-Pierre Mahé, "Entre Moïse et Mahomet: réflexions sur l'historiographie arménienne," *Revue des études arméniennes* 23 (1992), 121–53; Robert W. Thomson, "The Writing of History: The Development of the Armenian and Georgian Traditions," in *Il Caucaso: cerniera di culture dal Mediterraneo IV-XI,* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo) 43 (Spoleto, 1996), pp. 493–514.

discusses below, and which aims to celebrate the person of the king and the authority of his kingship.

4 Vision and Exegesis

The homily Vahram composed for the coronation of Lewon II serves a similar purpose with a different set of tools and a different approach. Unlike the fictional narrative of the versified chronicle, the sermon is an exegesis of the king's accession. Whereas in both texts the author employs a series of topoi, in the homily the celebration of the king's accession is largely made of prophetic quotations from the Bible that seem intended to refer to the orator's present time. Like the chronicle, the homily reflects the perception of kingship in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, as well as the kingdom's own self-perception, through a wide range of comparisons, analogies, and literary images that are worth being examined alongside the pictorial representations in the intimate space of sacred books.

The oration begins with a introduction to the feast of the Epiphany: in place of the canonical Armenian theology of the feast, Vahram focuses on the Incarnation and particularly on the earthly life of Christ, who raised humanity from sin and ignorance.[65] Similarly, Vahram's discussion of the virginal birth and the lineage of Christ does not follow the historiographic tradition relating the Armenian sovereigns to Assyrian kings with Old Testament ancestries. The genealogy of Christ is detailed and traced back to Jesse, using the words of Isaiah as both a preliminary statement and a conclusion for the exegesis of the feast of the Epiphany. The importance of the arborescence is furthermore stressed by the recurrent use of the word 'gawazan' (rod or liturgical staff), which imbues Christ's forebears with additional authority. The analogy between Christ and King Lewon is obvious given the importance also paid to the latter's lineage, which is said to "blossom out of a brave and pious root, rod and sprout of piety, to be anointed, crowned and raised to the kingship of the House of T'orgom of the nation of the Armenians."[66] The text combines biblical and historical references. The importance of the lineage parallels that in Vahram's versified chronicle and culminates in the impressive painted arborescence in the lectionary produced for Lewon's heir, the crown prince Het'um.[67] An emphasis on lineage also explains the exuberant images of the

65 Vahram, *Sermon on King Lewon*, p. 2: "He restored our body by his divine miracles."

66 Vahram, *Sermon on King Lewon*, p. 20.

67 For this composition: Ioanna Rapti, "Image et liturgie à la cour de Cilicie: le lectionnaire du prince Het'um (Matenadaran ms 979)," *Monuments Piot* 87 (2008), 105–42; Rapti,

Tree of Jesse that adorn the opening pages of Matthew's account, assigning it a secular and courtly overtone, in contemporary manuscripts produced in the realm of the court for members of the royal entourage.[68] In the sermon, contrary to the chronicle, Vahram draws models of Christian kingship both from history and from the Bible.[69] Emperors Constantine, Theodosius, and Tiridates, outstanding figures of the formative period of the Christian Empire, follow the models of piety and repentance exemplified by David and Hezekiah, whose rulership Vahram highlights as a victory over the enemies of the chosen people.[70] Constantine and Tiridates are linked by their common apostolic role as well as by their alleged alliance forged by the Armenian tradition.[71] David is as much a paradigm of repentance as of victory. Hezekiah, on the other hand, in his preservation of the Temple when the Kingdom of Judah was invaded by Sennacherib, represents not proper victory but desperate resistance and inequitable strife.[72] Neither the Queen Keŕan Gospels nor related manuscripts bear substantial evidence about how historic holy emperors like Constantine, Theodosius, and Tiridates were understood in relation to their biblical counterparts like David and Hezekiah. However, the depiction of Theodosius in the lectionary produced for Prince Het'um in 1286 suggests the relevance of this figure to the representation of historic sovereigns, enhanced by his depiction in contemporary clothing as well as by the inclusion of a dove over the gothic-style figure (Figure. 2.2).[73] Indeed, imagery often enlarged the semantic

"Featuring the King," pp. 315–18. See also the contribution by Edda Vardanyan in this volume.

68 Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, pp. 93–125.

69 Vahram, *Sermon on King Lewon*, p. 21: "Salomon: Listen kings you are the servants of the kingship of God; God is the great king all over earth."

70 Vahram, *Sermon on King Lewon*, pp. 39–40. These are the "four believing kings" commemorated by the Armenian church: Robert W. Thomson, "The Eastern Mediterranean in the Thirteenth Century: Identities and Allegiances. The Peripheries: Armenia," in *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, eds. Judith Herrin, and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Ashgate, 2011), pp. 196–214.

71 Robert W. Thomson, "Constantine and Trdat in Armenian Tradition," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 50, 1/3 (1997), 277–89; Pogossian, *The Letter of Love and Concord*, pp. 47–49 and 65–77. In Cilicia, this foundation myth was interpreted as a precedent or a paradigm for the alliance of the Armenian kingdom with Rome.

72 See the comparison of Manuel Komnenos to Hezekiah against Konrad/Sennacherib: Shay Eshel, *The Concept of the Elect Nation in Byzantium* (Leiden, 2018), p. 164. Elisabeth Jeffreys suggests an apotropaic use of the biblical account by John Malalas referring to the Persian threat over Antioch: Elisabeth Jeffreys, "Old Testament "History" and the Byzantine Chronicle," in *The Old Testament in Byzantium,* eds. Paul Magdalino, and Robert Nelson (Washington, D.C., 2010), pp. 153–74, esp. 172.

73 Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, p. 117.

scope of standard characters from Christian history. This can also be seen in a later Menologion, produced in 1348 in the capital of Cilicia, in which early Christian kings figure among an assembly of holy persons from different times and places, all homogenized by their standardized depiction in contemporary aristocratic dress.[74]

The last part of the text takes a strong advisory turn. As the continuator of a long and rich royal lineage, the king is summoned to maintain kingship by his piety and good deeds, wisdom, and prudence.[75] The text abundantly quotes prophetic excerpts, which were familiar from liturgical readings and could resound with the efficacy of aphorisms. They also interestingly match the prophetic imagery accompanied by excerpts from the relevant books in a series of manuscripts produced in the 1260s.[76]

5 Kingship and Cosmos: The World of the Court

A series of images spread through the margins of the Queen Keŕan Gospels, relevant to the account of the Gospels but surprisingly original, may provide, rather than mere illustrations, a sort of *speculum principis/dominae*.[77] The first quires, on the other hand, introduce the Gospel with solemn architectural settings adorned with emblems of power, such as capitals in the shape of lions and eagles.[78] The presence of the prophets signals the Church and its power. In court culture, prophecy is the canonized version of foretelling, a particular means of relating events across time and of understanding history. It is also an essential means of a royal epiphany: the king is anticipated, foretold, and integrated into a long historical-biblical process. At least some of the audience of the coronation would have been familiar with prophetic quotes. The variations

74 Morgan M 622, dated 1348, was produced for the archbishop of Sis and illuminated by Sargis Picak, the painter who executed royal commissions: Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, pp. 142, 151; *Treasures in Heaven. Armenian Art,* eds. Mathews, and Wieck, n. 61, pp. 191–92. See also: http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/1/122661 (accessed the 3 July 2020).

75 Vahram, *Sermon on King Lewon*, pp. 43–54.

76 *Armenia Sacra*, eds. Durand et alii nº 116 and Ioanna Rapti, "Gloses prophétiques sur l'évangile: à propos de quelques manuscrits arméniens enluminés en Cilicie dans les années 1260," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2004), 119–222.

77 The marginal miniatures have been listed in an appendix, in: Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, p. 163. A few of them have been reproduced.

78 Bezalel Narkiss, Michael E. Stone, and Avedis K. Sanjian, *Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 93–94.

on prophetic imagery in the manuscripts produced at Hṙomkla and later courtly manuscripts show a special concern to place the Armenian kingdom in the economy of the Bible and the Church. I have elsewhere suggested the transitional character of the Queen Keṙan Gospels as a turning point between the scriptorium of the Armenian Patriarchate at Hṙomkla and that of the court at Sis.[79] The extensive marginal program of the Queen Keṙan Gospels, into which the prophets are integrated, comprises a large number of miniatures that stem from earlier manuscripts produced by T'oros Ṙoslin and his assistants. However, alongside these images – brought into the Queen Keṙan Gospels by hands that had obviously worked at Hṙomkla – a series of new and innovative images throughout the Gospels parallel in many crucial ways the praise of kingship in the homily and the chronicle. Individual images of winds and planets, unusual for the illumination of a religious manuscript, appear outside the confines of any narrative setting (Figure. 2.3) and may reflect an interest in the physical world similar to that found at the courts of Sicily, Nicea, Trebizond, and Aksaray around the same time.[80] Yet, these images also resonate with metaphors for the Creation and the Fall employed in the versified chronicle, metaphors that would have been familiar beyond the learned monastic recipients of the manuscript at the royal mausoleum at Akner.

In this prestigious copy of the timeless sacred book that is the Gospels, royal authority is extended to all of creation. Through their moralizing gestures, a series of primary and lesser characters from the Gospels seem to engage with the present moment of the author and audience. Thus, the Denial of Peter becomes an opportunity to communicate an ambiguous message of admonishment, embodied by the female servant who points her finger towards the edge of the page.[81] In her courtly attire and elegant features, she recalls the depiction of the queen herself in the family portrait, and, in a similar way, the depiction of the children that Jesus allowed to approach him resonates with the couple's children. The treatment of the widow offering her mite (Figure. 2.4) stems from the illustration of this lesson by T'oros Ṙoslin and his atelier in a Gospel book now in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.[82]

79 Rapti, *Un atelier de cour*.

80 *Le scienze alla corte di Federico II. Sciences at the Court of Frederick II* (Micrologus) 2 (Turnhout, 1994); Anne Tihon, "Astrological Promenade in Byzantium in the Early Palaiologan Period," in *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium,* eds. Paul Magdalino, and Maria Mavroudi (Geneva, 2006), pp. 67–71.

81 Rapti, "Reines," pp. 217–218.

82 Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, D.C., 1953), p. 30, Figure. 154.

However, in the Queen Keŕan Gospels, the faithful woman is emancipated from her usual narrative framework as well as from the reserved attitude of the Freer model. Portrayed alone in the act of depositing a large coin at the Temple, the widow provides an archetype for the pious patron of the manuscript itself, Queen Keŕan – an analogy underlined by the close resemblance between their Marian-type faces. Money is in itself a thematic strand in the marginal imagery of the Queen Keŕan Gospels, though not in Vahram's panegyrical chronicle and sermon. The unusual image of gold and silver coinage (Figure. 2.5), unknown in any earlier examples, might be explicable as a specific request by the patron, mediated by the illuminator.[83] These coins bear the name and title of King Lewon, and their radiance is materialized by small red spheres similar to those indicating the light of divine illumination above the heads of the royals in the family portrait. Despite some resemblance to the epigraphs of Islamic mints, they find no parallels on *any* coinage, Armenian or other. Challenging the limits between representation and imagination, they may point to ceremonial mints – of which there is no evidence from Lewon's reign – or may invoke the acclamations that could have accompanied the coin distributions during ceremonies of investiture. In actual coinage, Lewon II faithfully maintained the iconographic patterns established by his father and grandfather, as a means of stressing the enduring authority of the dynasty. Less explicitly than these monetary depictions, the unusual image of two swords (Figure. 2.6) – essential ceremonial accessories – may also refer to the king.[84] Lewon II's facial features in the family portrait resemble those of the healed paralytic of Bethesda (Figure. 2.7), as well as of his uncle Vasak in a portrait in the latter's eponymous Gospel book, which is closely related to this manuscript in style.[85] Marginal images enhance the programmatic character of the Queen Keŕan Gospels, which was intended not only as a pious offering but also as a statement of authority and an auspicious omen for the perpetuity of the dynasty. For the makers and the audience of the book, likeness would have been an issue of verisimilitude rather than of accuracy. Verisimilitude was achieved through visual and conceptual tools, such as the adoption of established iconographic schemes, and through a network of references

83 The Gospel verse is used as an opportunity to either warn the king against avarice or to acclaim his lack of avarice.

84 *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies* (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies) 15, eds. Ruth Macrides, Joe Munitiz, and Dimiter Angelov (Farnham, 2013), pp. 349–50.

85 Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, pp. 95–114, 129–30; *Armenia. Art, Religion and Trade in the Middle Ages*, ed. Helen Evans (New York, 2018), n. 64, p. 157.

across the codex and within the 'portrait' itself. Insightfully, Vahram summons the audience of the sermon to celebrate God "who renewed today the body of our unworthiness to the likeness of his glory"[86]: the coronation was thus fully integrated in the economy of salvation.

6 Case and Canon

Viewing the Queen Keŕan Gospels in light of two pieces of court literature, as proposed in the present paper, offers new evidence about how Armenian Cilicia visualized kingship and about how visual strategies developed at the higher levels of the Church and the state. Following the longstanding tradition of integrating the king into the economy of salvation through forging connections between biblical history and the present,[87] the sophisticated imagery of the manuscript was part of an apparatus of royal imagery that had been expanding since the first decades of the kingdom and even before, as Armenians established in the Taurus Mountains were shaping their power. Despite its originality, the manuscript, may reflect a codified language – both verbal and visual – conveyed by texts such as those discussed above and perhaps by other images that have not survived.[88]

Royal 'portraits' placed in the intimate context of manuscripts echo an official discourse and stand, as Gilbert Dagron asserted for Byzantine portraits, at the crossroads between saying and seeing.[89] The famous royal portrait in the Queen Keŕan Gospels – the starting point for this study – exemplifies the idea of royal epiphany in an idiosyncratic way as this is encompassed in a single volume of the book of the Gospels. The royal Epiphany is experienced, like in ceremonial appearances, as a glorious manifestation of the king illuminated by

86 Vahram, *Sermon on King Lewon*, p. 3.

87 This tradition is eloquently exemplified by the 10th-century chronicle of T'uma Arcruni: *History of the House of the Artsrunik*, ed. Robert W. Thomson (Detroit 1985) and the decoration of the palace church of Aght'amar cf. *supra*, note 3.

88 Such an example is the relief above the entrance of Yilan Kale, depicting an unidentified, enthroned ruler (Rapti, "Featuring the King," Figure. 11.3). This badly damaged sculpture, the only surviving public image of a king, marks the edge of the line of power traversing Cilicia from the ports of Ayas and Msis to Sis and Vahka, which became part of the Silk Road. This obviously performative royal depiction embodying the presence of the sovereign is perhaps less isolated than it seems, another part of epigraphic, monetary, and painted royal images.

89 Dagron, *Décrire et peindre*, p. 85: "Le portrait est l'un des points de rencontre de ces deux domaines du dire et du voir."

a divine aura during the Sacred Mystery of the Eucharist for which the Gospels is the appropriate medium. Yet, the Epiphany on the page is distinguished by its atemporality and its twofold commemorative function referring to the past and the end of time. Despite the certainly limited visibility of this image in the treasury of a monastery and enshrined in a codex,[90] the presence of the royal figure is involved in a double process of sacralization: integrated into the economy of salvation embodied by the book, the image sanctifies the person of the king and conveys, through his performative presence, his authority and memory both within and beyond the kingdom. Obviously aware of the elaborate visual rhetoric of the French court at this moment,[91] perhaps via their Levantine contacts, the painters of the manuscript and their advisors were also sensitive to the specific concerns of the Cilician-Armenian court. Their strategies for sacralizing kingship also find meaningful parallels in neighbouring Cyprus, the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and, despite the long distance, at the Serbian court – though the impact of each image would have depended upon its medium as well as its textual, pictorial or spatial context.[92] Such a fusion of mental and visual images in shaping and conveying authority is thus, beyond the 'Armenianness' of the Queen Keŕan Gospels, a broader phenomenon connecting Mediterranean court cultures throughout the long 13th century, a period driven by the ideal of sacred kingship meant to last until the end of time.

Acknowledgements

The author thanks the students who discussed this article in seminar and read its first drafts, especially Geoffrey Meyer Fernandez, Lilyana Yordanova and Elizabeth Zanghi.

90 John Lowden rightly draws attention to the fact that the intentionality of the illustration of a manuscript does not determine how it was used: Lowden, "The Royal Manuscript as Idea and Object," p. 21.

91 Harvey Stahl, *Picturing Kingship: History and Painting in the Psalter of Saint Louis* (University Park, 2008), pp. 133–211.

92 For example, the church of Pelendri in Cyprus, invested by the Lusignans, or the 13th-century Arsenal Bible and the Histoire d'Outremer. For the Serbian kingdom: Véronique Deur-Petiteau, "Images, spatialité et cérémoniel dans le narthex des églises en Serbie médiévale," in *Visibilité et présence de l'image dans l'espace ecclésial: Byzance et Moyen Âge occidental* (Byzantina Sorbonensia) 30, eds. Sulamith Brodbeck, and Anne-Orange Poilpré (Paris, 2018), pp. 329–54.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

History of the Rubenian Dynasty, eds. Beyon Miloyan, and Kimberley McFarlane (Sophene, 2020).

Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies) 15, eds. Ruth Macrides, Joe Munitiz, and Dimiter Angelov (Farnham, 2013).

T'uma Arcruni, *History of the House of the Artsrunik*, ed. Robert W. Thomson (Detroit 1985).

The Letter of Love and Concord: A Revised Diplomatic Edition with Historical and Textual Comments and English Translation, ed. Zaroui Pogossian (Leiden, 2010).

The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century, ed. Igor Rachewiltz (Leiden, 2015).

Vahram Rabun, *Chronique rimée des rois de la Petite Arménie* (Recueil des Historiens des Croisades Documents Arméniens) 1 (Paris, 1869).

Vahram Rabuni, *Levoni Ark'aji Ban Hahtnut'iun Tearn ev I hodsumn Levoni Ark'aji* / Լեւոնի Արքայի Բան Ի Հայտնութիւն Տեառն և ի Յօծումն Լեւոնի Գ Արքայի [Sermon on King Lewon. At the Epiphany of the Lord and the anointing of Lewon III] (Jerusalem, 1876).

Secondary Sources

Armenia. Art, Religion and Trade in the Middle Ages, ed. Helen Evans (New York, 2018).

Armenia Sacra, eds. Jannick Durand, Ioanna Rapti, and Dorota Giovannoni (Paris, 2007).

Bacci, Michele, and Ivanovici, Vladimir, "From Living to Visual Images. Paradigms of Corporeal Iconicity in Late Antiquity – Introduction," *Journal of the International Association of Research Institutes in the History of Art* 222 (2019): https://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2019/0222-0229-special-issue-paradigms-of-corporeal-iconicity/0222-bacci-and-ivanovici (Accessed: 2020 July 3).

Baschet, Jerôme, *Le sein du Père. Abraham et la paternité dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 2000).

Belting, Hans, "Die Auftraggeber der Spätbyzantinischen Bildhandschrift," in *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues. Actes du colloque organisé par l'association internationale des études byzantines à Venise en septembre 1968* (Venice, 1971), pp. 158–76.

Bouleau, Charles, *Charpentes. La Géométrie secrète des peintres* (Paris, 1963).

Bourgeois, Benjamin, *La Royauté: dynamiques et représentations. Royaumes de Jérusalem, de Chypre et d'Arménie cilicienne. XII^e-XIV^e siècle*, (PhD, Montpellier, 2018).

Bozoyan, Azat, "La réception du droit franc en Arménie," in *La Méditerranée des Arméniens*, ed. Claude Mutafian (Paris, 2014), pp. 121–32.

Chookaszian, Levon, "The five portraits of king Lewon II (1270–1289) and their connections to the Art of the Mediterranean Era," ed. Arturo Quintavalle, *Medieoevo: Immagini e ideologie* (I convegni di Parma) 5 (Milan 2005), pp. 129–37.

Cormack, Robin, "The Mother of God in the Mosaics of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople," in *Mother of God, Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Athens, 2000), pp. 107–23.

Cowe, Peter, "Medieval Armenian Literary and Cultural Trends," in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, 1, *From the Ancient Period to the Fourteenth Century,* ed. Richard Hovanissian, (New York, 1991, repr. 2004), pp. 294–325.

Dadoyan, Seta, *The Armenians in the Medieval Islamic World. Paradigms of Interaction. Seventh to Fourteenth Centuries*, 3 vols (New Brunswick, 2014).

Dagron, Gilbert, *Décrire et peindre* (Paris, 2007).

Dédéyan, Gérard, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés. Étude sur les pouvoirs arméniens dans le Proche-Orient méditerranéen (1068–1150)*, 2 vols, (Lisbon, 2003).

Derbes, Anne, and Nef, Amy, "Italy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Byzantine Sphere," in *Byzantium. Faith and Power,* ed. Helen Evans, (New Haven, 2004), pp. 449–61.

Der Nersessian, Sirarpie, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, D.C., 1953).

Der Nersessian, Sirarpie, *Miniature Painting in the Armenia Kingdom of Cilicia* (Washington, D.C., 1993).

Deur-Petiteau, Véronique, *Image et Pouvoir en Serbie médiévale*, (PhD, Paris, EPHE).

Deur-Petiteau, Véronique, "Images, spatialité et cérémoniel dans le narthex des églises en Serbie médiévale," in *Visibilité et présence de l'image dans l'espace ecclésial: Byzance et Moyen Âge occidental* (Byzantina Sorbonensia) 30, eds. Sulamith Brodbeck, and Anne-Orange Poilpré (Paris, 2018), pp. 329–54.

Drampian, Irina R., *Lectionary of King Hetum II* (*Armenian Illustrated Codex of 1286 A.D.*) (Yerevan, 2004).

Eastmond, Antony, "Art and Frontiers between Byzantium and the Caucasus," in *Byzantium*: *Faith and Power* (*1261–1557*)*: Perspectives on Late* Byzantine *Art*, ed. Sarah Brooks (New York 2006), pp. 154–169.

Eppihimer, Melissa, *Exemplars of Kingship: Art, Tradition, and the Legacy of the Akkadians* (Cambridge, Eng., 2019).

Eshel, Shay, *The Concept of the Elect Nation in Byzantium* (Leiden, 2018).

Evans, Helen, "Kings and Power Bases: Sources for Royal Portraits in Armenian Cilicia," in *From Byzantium to Iran. Armenian Studies in Honour of Nina G. Garsoian*, eds. Jean-Pierre Mahé, and Robert W. Thomson (Atlanta, 1997), pp. 492–93.

Evans, Helen, "Imperial Aspirations: Armenian Cilicia and Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century," in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium,* ed. Antony Eastmond (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 243–56.

Folda, Jaroslav, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre* (Cambridge, Eng., 2005).

Folda, Jaroslav, *Crusader Art: the Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1099–1291* (Aldershot, 2008).

Garipzanov, Ildar, *The Symbolic Language of Royal Authority in the Carolingian World* (*c.751–877*) (Leiden, 2008).

Garsoïan, Nina G., "The Byzantine Annexation of the Armenian Kingdoms in the eleventh century," in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, 1, *From the Ancient Period to the Fourteenth Century,* ed. Richard Hovanissian, (New York, 1991, repr. 2004), pp. 187–98.

Gousset, Marie-Hélène, "Jean Fouquet et l'art de la géométrie," in *Jean Fouquet. Peintre et enlumineur du XV^e^ siècle*, ed. François Avril (Paris, 2003), pp. 76–86.

Greenwood, Timothy, "Armenian Sources," in *Byzantine and Crusaders in Non-Greek Sources 1025–1204*, ed. Mary Whitby (London, 2007), pp. 221–51.

Hunt, Lucy-Anne, "A Woman's prayer to St Sergios in Latin Syria: Interpreting a Thirteenth-century icon at Mount Sinai," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 15 (1991), 96–146.

Jeffreys, Elisabeth, "Old Testament "History" and the Byzantine Chronicle," in *The Old Testament in Byzantium,* eds. Paul Magdalino, and Robert Nelson (Washington, D.C., 2010), pp. 153–74.

Jirousek, Charlotte, *Ottoman Dress and Design in the West: A Visual History of Cultural Exchange* (Bloomington, IN, 2019).

Jones, Lynn, *Between Islam and Byzantium: Aght'amar and the Visual Construction of Medieval Armenian Rulership* (Aldershot, 2007).

Kühnel, Gustav, *Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Berlin, 1988).

Le scienze alla corte di Federico II. Sciences at the Court of Frederick II (Micrologus) 2 (Turnhout, 1994).

Lowden, John, "The Image and Self-Image of the Medieval Ruler," in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe,* ed. Anne Duggan (London, 1993), pp. 213–40.

Lowden, John, "The Royal Manuscript as Idea and Object, Royal Manuscripts. The Genius of Illumination," in *Royal Manuscripts. The Genious of Illumination. Exhibition Catalogue, British Library*, eds. Scott McKendrick, John Lowden, and Kathleen Doyle (London, 2012), pp. 19–41.

Maguire, Henry, "The Heavenly court," in *Byzantine Court culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. Henry Maguire, (Washington, D.C., 1997), pp. 247–58.

Mahé, Jean-Pierre, "Entre Moïse et Mahomet: réflexions sur l'historiographie arménienne," *Revue des études arméniennes* 23 (1992), 121–53.

Maranci, Christina, *Vigilant Powers. Three churches of Early Medieval Armenia* (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 23–112.

Maranci, Cristina, *The Art of Armenia. An Introduction* (Oxford, 2018).

Maranci, Cristina, *The Church of the Holy Cross of Alt'amar. Politics, Art, Spirituality in the kingdom of Vaspurakan*, eds. Zaroui Poghossian, and Edda Vardanyan (Leiden, 2019).

Marsengill, Katherine, *Portraits and Icons. Between Reality and Spirituality in Byzantine Art* (Turnhout, 2013).

Mat'evossian, Artashēs, *Hayeren dzeragreri Yishatakaranner. JG dar* [Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts.13th century] (Yerevan, 1984).

Mathews, Thomas F., *Armenian Gospel Iconography. The Tradition of the Glajor Gospels,* (Dumbarton Oaks Series) 29 (Washington, D.C., 1991).

Meyer-Fernandez, Geoffrey, *Commanditaires et peintres à Chypre sous les Lusignan (1192–1474): images d'un royaume multiculturel* (PhD, Aix-en-Provence, 2019).

Mutafian, Claude, *L'Arménie du Levant* 1 (Paris, 2012).

Narkiss, Bezalel, Stone, Michael E., and Sanjian, Avedis K., *Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1980).

Parpulov, Giorgi, "Psalters and Personal Piety in Byzantium," in *The Old Testament in Byzantium,* eds. Paul Magdalino, and Robert S. Nelson (Washington, D.C., 2010), pp. 77–106.

Rapti, Ioanna, "Un Melismos arménien et la politique de l'image de Lewon II (1269–1289)," *Cahiers archéologiques* 50 (2002), pp. 168–69.

Rapti, Ioanna, "Gloses prophétiques sur l'évangile: à propos de quelques manuscrits arméniens enluminés en Cilicie dans les années 1260, " *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2004), 119–222.

Rapti, Ioanna, "Image et liturgie à la cour de Cilicie: le lectionnaire du prince Het'um (Matenadaran ms 979)," *Monuments Piot* 87 (2008), 105–42.

Rapti, Ioanna, "La voix des donateurs: Pages de dédicaces dans les manuscrits arméniens de Cilicie," in *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin*, eds. Jean-Michel Spieser, and Elisabeth Yota (Paris 2012), pp. 309–26.

Rapti, Ioanna, "Featuring the King. Rituals of Coronation and Burial in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia," in *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean. Comparative Perspectives*, eds. Maria Parani, Alexander Beihammer, and Stavroula Konstantinou (Leiden 2013), pp. 291–335.

Rapti, Ioanna, "Le Jugement Dernier arménien: reception et evolution d'une imagerie eschatologique médiévale," *Cahiers archéologiques* 56 (2015), pp. 95–118.

Rapti, Ioanna, "Reines de Cilicie: entre héritage arménien et métamorphoses levantines," *Augusta, Regina, Basilissa,* eds. Sylvain Destephen, and François Chausson (Paris, 2018), pp. 215–38.

Rapti, Ioanna, "Un évêque bibliophile à la cour de Cilicie. Jean (Yovhannēs), né Baudoin, frère du roi Hét'um I," in *Mélanges Bernard Flusin*, (Travaux et mémoires) 23/1, eds. Vincent Déroche, and André Binggeli (Paris, 2019), pp. 697–725.

Rapti, Ioanna, *Un atelier de cour au royaume arménien de Cilicie : traditions byzantines, innovations gothiques et échos de croisade dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle* (forthcoming).

Russel, James, "The Credal Poem Hawatov Xostovanim ("I confess in faith") of St. Nerses the Graceful," in *Redefining Christian Identity. Cultural Interaction in the Middle East since the Rise of Islam*, (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta) 134, eds. Jan Jacob van Ginkel, Heleen Murre-van den Berg, and Theo Maarten van Lint (Leuven, 2005), pp. 185–236.

Sears, Elizabeth, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton, 1986).

Spatharakis, Ioannis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1976).

Stahl, Harvey, *Picturing Kingship: History and Painting in the Psalter of Saint Louis* (University Park, 2008).

Thomson, Robert W., "The Writing of History: The Development of the Armenian and Georgian Traditions," in *Il Caucaso: cerniera di culture dal Mediterraneo IV-XI,* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo) 43 (Spoleto, 1996), pp. 493–514.

Thomson, Robert W., "Constantine and Trdat in Armenian Tradition," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 50, 1/3 (1997), 277–89.

Thomson, Robert W., "The Concept of "History" in Medieval Armenian Historians," in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium,* ed. Antony Eastmond (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 89–100.

Thomson, Robert W., "The Crusaders through Armenian Eyes," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World,* eds. Angeliki Laiou, and Roy Mottahedeh (Washington, D.C., 2001), pp. 71–82.

Thomson, Robert W., "The Eastern Mediterranean in the Thirteenth Century: Identities and Allegiances. The Peripheries: Armenia," in *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, eds. Judith Herrin, and Guillaume Saint-Guillan (Ashgate, 2011), pp. 196–214.

Tihon, Anne, "Astrological Promenade in Byzantium in the Early Palaiologan Period," in *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, eds. Paul Magdalino, and Maria Mavroudi (Geneva, 2006), pp. 67–71.

Treasures in Heaven. Armenian Art, Religion and Society, eds. Thomas F. Mathews, and Roger S. Wieck, (New York, 1994).

van Lint, Theo Maarten, "The Gift of Poetry," in *Redefining Christian Identity. Cultural Interaction in the Middle East since the Rise of Islam*, (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta) 134, eds. Jan Jacob van Ginkel, Heleen Murre-van den Berg, and Theo Maarten van Lint (Leuven, 2005), pp. 335–78.

van Lint, Theo Maarten, "From Reciting to Writing and Interpretation: Tendencies, Themes, and Demarcations of Armenian Historical Writing," in *The Oxford History*

of Historical Writing, volume 2: 400–1400, eds. Sarah Foot, and Chase F. Robinson (Oxford 2012), pp. 179–200.

Velmans, Tania, "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues," in *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues. Actes du colloque organisé par l'association internationale des études byzantines à Venise en septembre 1968* (Venice, 1971), pp. 193–48.

Weyl-Carr, Annemarie, "Icon Tact. Byzantium and the Art of Cilician Armenia," in *Treasures in Heaven. Armenian Art, Religion and Society,* eds. Thomas F. Mathews, and Roger S. Wieck, (New York, 1994), pp. 96–99.

Winter, Irene, "What/When Is a Portrait? Royal Images of the Ancient near East," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 153/3 (2009), pp. 254–70.

Wirth, Jean, "Introduction," in *Le portrait: La représentation de l'individu,* eds. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, Jean-Michel Spieser, and Jean Wirth (Micrologus' Library) 17 (Florence, 2007), pp. 9–15.

Wollesen, Jens, *Acre or Cyprus? A New Approach to Crusader Painting Around 1300*, (Ars et Scientia Schriften zur Kunstwissenschaft) 5 (Berlin, 2013).

Illustrations



FIGURE 2.1 Jerusalem, St. James, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2653 alias Queen Keŕan Gospels, fol. 380 The royal family praying and Deisis



FIGURE 2.2 Yerevan, Matenadaran MS 979 alias Lectionary of prince Het'um, fol. 50v, King Theodosios



FIGURE 2.3 Jerusalem, St. James, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2653 alias Queen Keŕan Gospels, fol. 128v, Wind



FIGURE 2.4 Jerusalem, St. James, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2653 alias Queen Keŕan Gospels, fol. 266

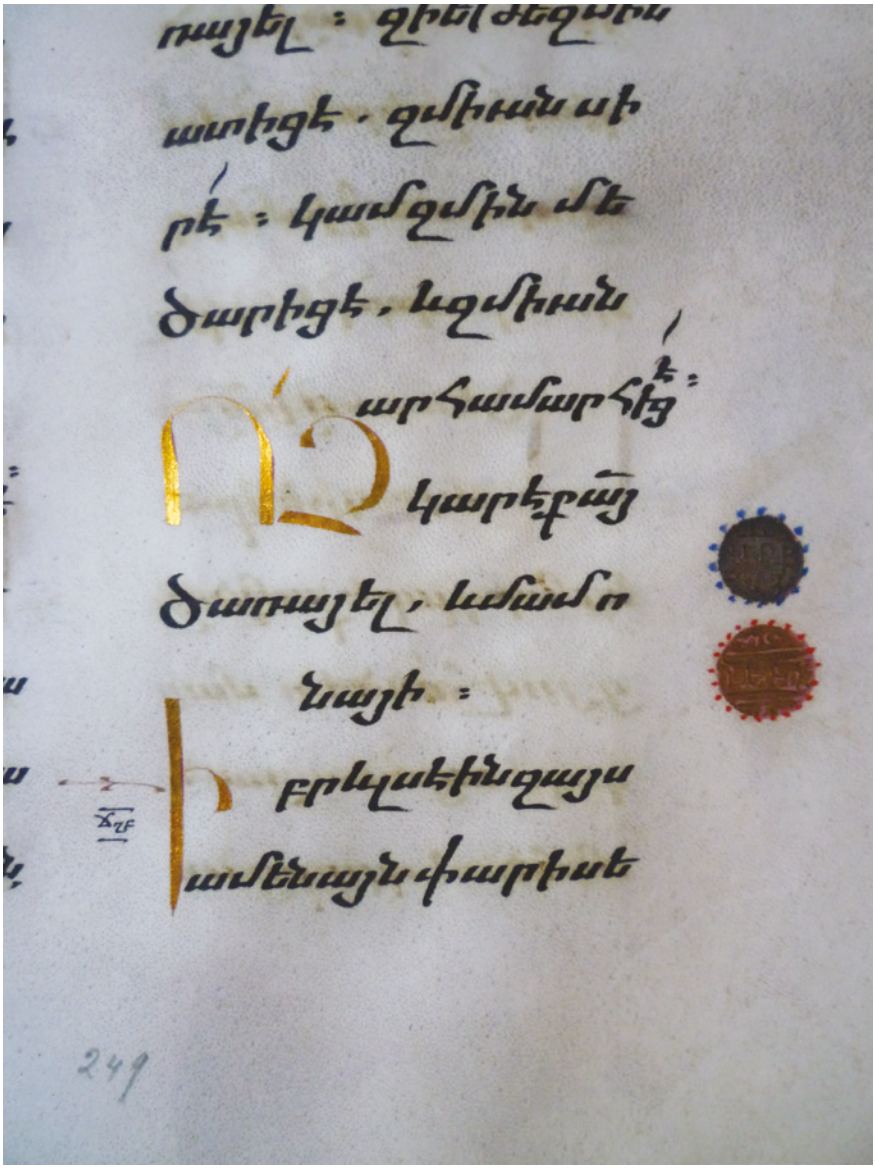


FIGURE 2.5 Jerusalem, St. James, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2653 alias Queen Keŕan Gospels, fol. 249 Two coins with the name and the title of King Lewon

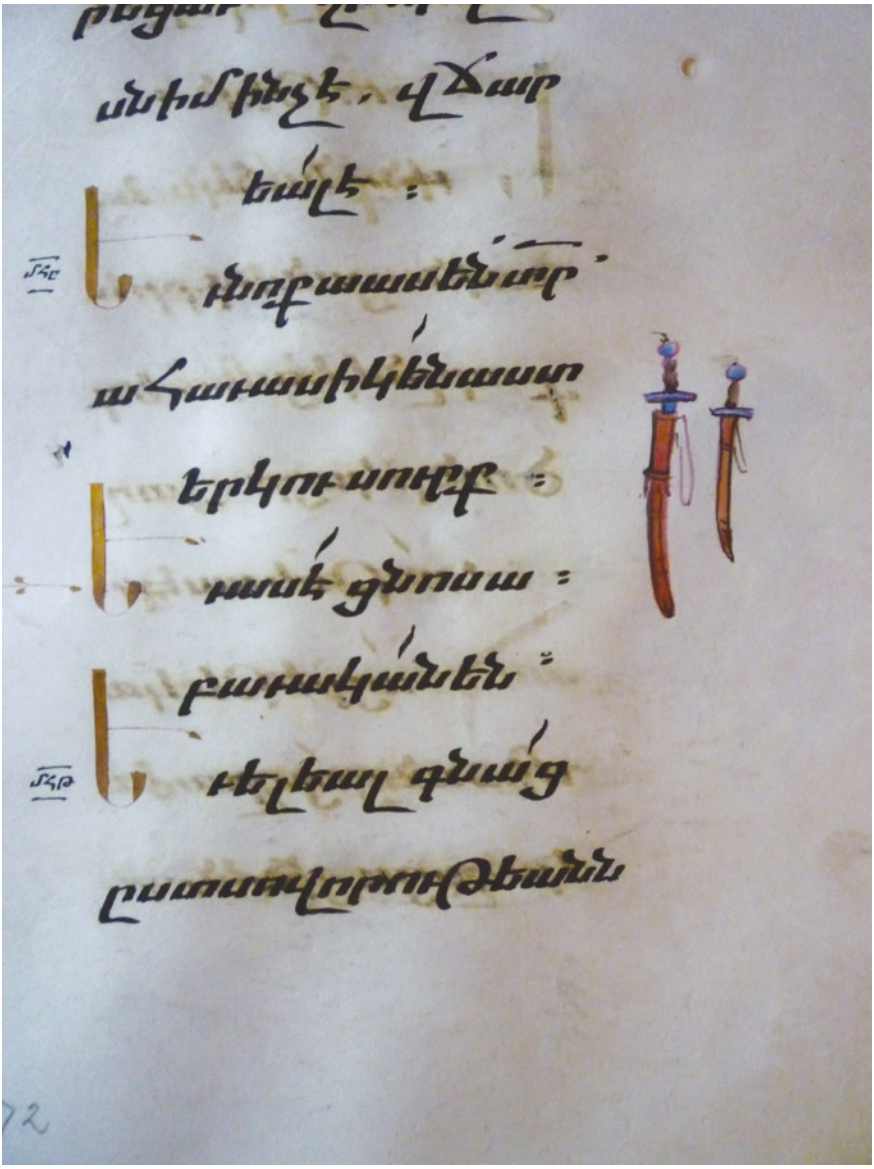


FIGURE 2.6 Jerusalem, St. James, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2653 alias Queen Keŕan Gospels, fol. 272, Two swords



FIGURE 2.7 Jerusalem, St. James, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2653 alias Queen Keŕan Gospels, fol. 303, The Paralytic of Bethesda

CHAPTER 3

The Royal Portrait in the Het'um Lectionary (1286) and the Genealogy of Christ in the Art and Ideology of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia

Edda Vardanyan

In manuscript illuminations produced in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia,[1] the establishment of the royal portrait as a genre and as an expression of royal ideology is linked to King Lewon II (r. 1271–1289), whose reign marked the apogee of this kingdom. Five portraits of Lewon have survived from the second half of the 13th century, the earliest among them representing him as heir to the throne and the later ones as a sacred king.[2] The last portrait of Lewon – marking the end of his reign – appears in a lectionary of 1286, copied and illuminated on the order of his eldest son, Prince Het'um.[3] Known as the Prince Het'um Lectionary, it is richly illustrated and has been the subject of several studies.[4]

1 The Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia (formerly a principality) in south-eastern Anatolia was founded by Armenian refugees fleeing the Seljuk invasions of Greater Armenia. Throughout its existence, the kingdom was often allied with the various Crusader states of the Levant. Armenian Cilicia was an independent kingdom from 1080 until the fall of its capital Sis to the Mamluks in 1375. On the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia and for further relevant bibliography, see: Levon Ter-Petrossian, *Xač'akirnerə ev Hayerə* [The Crusaders and the Armenians], 2 vols (Yerevan, 2005/07); Claude Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant, XI^e-XIV^e siècles*, 2 vols (Paris, 2012).

2 MSS: Yerevan, Matenadaran, M8321 (fol. 15r), M979 (fol. 7r); Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, J2660 (fol. 288r), J2563 (fol. 380r); London, British Library Or. 13993 (fol. 9v). See: Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century,* 2 vols (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 31) (Washington, D.C., 1993), 1:154–58, 2:figs. 639–43; Levon Chookaszian, "The Five Portraits of King Levon II (1270–89) of Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia and their Connections to the Art of Mediterranean Area," in *Medioevo: immagini e ideologie, Atti del Convegno internazoinale di studi, Parma, 23–27 settembre 2002,* ed. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (Milano, 2005), pp. 129–37; Gohar Grigoryan, *Royal Images of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia (1198–1375) in the Context of Mediterranean Intercultural Exchange,* Ph.D. (University of Fribourg, Switzerland, 2017); Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 2:figs. 189–93.

3 Yerevan, Matenadaran, M979, fol. 7r.

4 Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 1:157–58; Irina Drampian, *Lectionary of King Hetum II. Armenian illustrated codex of 1286 A.D.* (Yerevan, 2004); Ioanna Rapti, "Image et liturgie à la cour de Cilicie: Le lectionnaire du prince Het'um (Matenadaran MS 979)," *Monuments et Mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 87 (2008), 105–42.

© EDDA VARDANYAN, 2022 | DOI:10.1163/9789004511583_005
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

On the opening page of this manuscript, we find a depiction of the royal family arranged in a family tree (figures. 3.1, 3.11). Six figures, the uppermost pair each with a crown and halo, are inscribed in a tree structure in the right margin of the page. According to general opinion, this marginal decoration represents the royal family, with the reigning King Lewon II at the top of the tree. This composition is often compared with the Tree of Jesse, a symbolic representation of the genealogy of Christ that originates in the prophet Isaiah's foretelling of the birth of the Messiah from the root of Jesse, the father of King David (Isa. 11:1–2).[5] In the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, the theme of the genealogy of Christ was crucial in affirming and exalting the divine right of the king. Similarly, as is well known, the portrait of the king – the pictorial representation of his sacred person – is foremost a visual expression of royal ideology. Therefore, in aiming to better understand the motivations behind the creation of the royal portrait in the Het'um Lectionary, this paper explores the significance of the genealogy of Christ in the kingdom's art and ideology.

1 The Gospel of Skewṙa

The first Armenian manuscript to contain portraits of the ancestors of Christ is the Gospel of Skewṙa, produced in 1198.[6] That same year, Lewon of the Ṙubenid family was crowned King Lewon I.[7] Politically, his coronation solved a number of vital issues related to the involvement of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia in Western European ambitions in the Eastern Mediterranean, strengthening and expanding the borders of the kingdom and placing it on an equal footing with the Crusaders States. Lewon's main task was the restoration and international recognition of Armenian statehood. As a result of long diplomatic negotiations, the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia was recognized simultaneously by the Holy Roman and Byzantine emperors as well as by the pope.[8] Prince

5 Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 1:158; Rapti, "Image et liturgie à la cour de Cilicie," p. 113.

6 Varsovie, Biblioteka Narodowa, Akc. 17680. See: Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting,* 1:1–35, 2:figs. 30–31, 34–35, 38–41; *Das Lemberger Evangeliar: eine wiederentdeckte armenische Bilderhandschrift des 12. Jahrhunderts*, eds. Günter Prinzing, and Andrea Schmidt (Wiesbaden, 1997).

7 Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 1:330–33.

8 The royal investiture of Lewon was recognized by the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI, the Byzantine emperor Alexis III, and Pope Celestin III, see: Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders*, 2:186–96; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 1:91–101; *Levon I. Ein Armenischer König im Staufischen Outremer*, eds. Christian Philipsen, Thomas Bauer-Friedrich, and Ulf Dräger (Halle, 2019).

Lewon was thus proclaimed the first Cilician king, Lewon I.[9] His coronation took place, with great pomp, on 6 January, the feast of the Nativity and the Epiphany in the Armenian Church.

More than once, the dating of the Gospel of Skewṙa and the superior quality of its execution have led researchers to suspect that it was produced in connection with the coronation of Lewon.[10] However, due to the lack of historical data, this hypothesis has not been confirmed.[11] Based on a close analysis of the Gospel of Skewṙa, which will then inform my analysis of the Hetʿum Lectionary, I believe that its iconographic program makes an obvious allusion to the coronation of the king in that it symbolically reflects the solemnities of the feast of the Epiphany celebrated by the Armenian Church on 6 January, the day chosen for the coronation of Lewon I.[12]

The feast of the Epiphany is important in the dogma of the Armenian Church, since it brings together the celebrations of the birth and baptism of Christ.[13] After the Eucharistic service, the rite of the Blessing of Water is performed: the Holy Chrism (*miwṙon*) is poured into a basin symbolizing the Jordan River, in memory of the descent of the Holy Spirit on Jesus Christ at the time of his baptism. The coronation of Lewon I took on greater symbolic meaning through its connection to this significant feast. The anointing was the most important moment in the ceremony, articulating its symbolic association with the baptism of Christ and manifesting the concept of sacred kingship. The coronation of the king, performed on the day of the Epiphany, thus functioned as a form of 'epiphany' with respect to ideas about the divine origin of power.

---

9 As king, Lewon received many official titles confirming his legitimacy: 'King of all Armenians' (*Rex omnium Armenorum*) and 'King of Armenia by the will of God' (*Dei gratia Rex Armenie*), among others: Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders*, 2:196–201; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 1:420–25; Vahe Tʿorosyan, "Kilikiayi Hayocʿ tʿagavor Lewon Mecagorci tʿagadrman xndri šurǰ" [On the Crowning of Lewon the Great, Armenian King of Cilicia], *Ējmiacin* 12 (2016), 84–112, esp. 105–07.

10 Günter Prinzing, "Zur Bedeutung und Geschichte des Lemberger Evangeliars," in *Das Lemberger Evangeliar*, eds. Prinzing, and Schmidt, pp. 11–26, esp. pp. 20–21; Günter Prinzing, and Helen C. Evans, "The L'viv Gospels," in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*, eds. Helen C. Evans, and William D. Wixom (New York, 1997), pp. 361–62; Andrea Schmidt, "L'Évangile de Lemberg: un itinéraire rocambolesque," in *Arménie. La magie de l'écrit*, ed. Claude Mutafian (Paris, 2007), pp. 260–63.

11 See: Anton von Euw, "Das Lemberger Evangeliar als Kunstwerk," in *Das Lemberger Evangeliar*, eds. Prinzing, and Schmidt, pp. 39–92, esp. p. 42.

12 A study of the illumination of the Gospel of Skewṙa and its relationship to royal ideology is currently underway by the author.

13 Charles Renoux, *Le Lectionnaire de Jérusalem en Arménie*: *Le Čašoc' 1. Introduction et liste des manuscrits*, PO 44/4, n. 200 (1989), pp. 428–33.

During the years of Lewon I's reign, 6 January was celebrated not only as the feast of the Epiphany but also as a day of commemoration for his coronation.[14]

This is a vast subject and requires a more detailed treatment than I am able to carry out in this article. I will therefore limit myself to presenting a sketch of the most important issues. The main message of the illuminations of the Gospel of Skewṙa pertains to the advent of the Messiah. The iconographic program thus emphasizes the meaning of the term 'epiphany,' with the illuminations symbolically reflecting the mystery of the Epiphany, as celebrated in its feast; they symbolize the manifestation of God. These miniatures, likewise, allude to the coronation ceremony of Lewon I. Viewed through the lens of a theology of power, they herald the advent of the 'anointed one' and simultaneously of Lewon's newly established worldly power.

For Lewon, the important thing was to confirm the legitimacy of his power, which is to say, to become the undisputed master of his country. He could achieve this only by being anointed, since only the anointed king could not be dethroned.[15] In the 1260s, this principle was legally codified by Smbat Sparapet (known as 'the Constable'): since the king – like the biblical kings before him – is anointed by God, only God can revoke him.[16] The anointing of Lewon at the time of his coronation therefore held great political significance.[17]

Within the iconographic program of the Gospel of Skewṙa, the representation of the genealogy of Christ encapsulates this concept of sacred kingship. It appears as a marginal miniature on the opening page of the Gospel of Matthew (Figure. 3.2) and consists of five medallions containing portraits of

14 Wilbrand von Oldenburg, who was hosted by Lewon I in 1212 and attended the feast, was amazed by the solemn pomp. He describes his impressions as follows: "We came to Sis on the Feast of the Appearance of the Lord, which the Armenians call the Day of the Baptism of Christ. That day, the king had invited us to his feast." He goes on to describe the Blessing of Water by the river. The king, riding a handsome steed, advanced at the head, accompanied by his entourage, members of the court, clergymen led by the archbishop, and soldiers carrying festive banners: "The audience greeted the king with an extraordinarily strong cheer: 'Sacred King'." When the river symbolizing the Jordan was blessed with the cross, the king and his entourage sprinkled water with loud acclamations. Marc Delpech, and Jean-Claude Voisin, "La mission en Cilicie de Wilbrand von Oldenburg en 1211–1212. Journal de route de Wilbrand," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 56 (1999–2003), 291–346, esp. 323–24.

15 Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders*, 2:184–85.

16 Ibid., 2:42.

17 The anointing of the Cilician kings with Holy Chrism is attested both in the *ordo* of the coronation and elsewhere. See: Derenik Davt'yan, *Tagavorōrhnek'i kanonə hay ekełec'um* [The Ordo of Coronation in the Armenian Church], Ph.D. for Vardapet ecclesiastical title (Holy See of Ējmiacin, 2000), p. 80.

Christ Emmanuel, King David, and the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The upper three medallions correspond to the first verse of the Gospel, which is written on this page: "The book of generations of Jesus Christ, son of David, son of Abraham" (Matt. 1:1). The genealogy itself – "Abraham begat Isaac, Isaac begat Jacob," etc. – begins on the next folio and is not accompanied by any illustrations.

The image that opens onto the Gospel of Matthew is not an abridged illustration of Matthew's genealogy. Rather, the selection of ancestors privileges King David (the biblical model for the anointed king) and the first three patriarchs elected by God (Heb. 11:8–21). All four are specifically mentioned as God's elect in the *ordo* for the coronation, appearing at the most important moment of the rite, namely in the prayer that immediately follows the anointing of the king with Holy Chrism. This passage from the *ordo* describes how the catholicos first anoints the king's head, chest, back, and arms by making the sign of the Cross. Then, he says a prayer that mentions the anointing of David by Samuel: this anointing is compared to that of the king. The prayer also references the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in relation to the benefits obtained through the grace of the Holy Spirit.[18]

It is useful to further trace how the elements of the opening page of the Gospel of Matthew and their interrelation reflect the feast of the Epiphany and the concomitant rite of the coronation. The *ordo*'s mention of the anointing resonates in the double portrait of Christ Emmanuel on the page as well as in the liturgical vase filled with water, which appears under the feet of the angel forming the initial. The image of Christ Emmanuel is symbolic of the action of the Holy Spirit; in Armenian manuscript illumination generally, this image is therefore employed in cases involving the communion of grace of the Holy Spirit, whether the Incarnation or the baptism of Christ. Consequently, it also becomes a symbol of the coronation or of consecration with the Holy Chrism,[19] and it is in this context that Christ Emmanuel appears in the headpiece of the Gospel of Matthew. It unites the ideas of the two advents: on the one hand, that of Christ (i.e. the 'anointed one'

18 Davtʿyan, *The Ordo of Coronation in the Armenian Church*, p. 80.

19 The illustrations of the ritual books prove this hypothesis. We find this image illustrating the canon of the ordination of priests by anointing, in the ordination book executed in 1248 at Skewṙa Monastery (Venice, Armenian Mekhitarist Congregation in San Lazzaro, V1657/1440, fol. 15r), as well as on the opening page of the canon of the Holy Chrism benediction in the ritual book of 1461 (Yerevan, Matenadaran, M4997, fol. 76v), see: Edda Vardanyan, "Un Maštocʿ d'ordination et de sacre royal du XV^{e} siècle," *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 29 (2003–04), 167–233, esp. 193–95.

of God), the Messiah from the genealogy of God's elect, and, on the other, of the anointed king, as God's elect. The liturgical vase of water, a motif that can only be found in this manuscript, must allude to the rite of the Blessing of Water.[20] This connection is further emphasized by the fact that the angel, lightly touching the vase, turns his eyes towards the Christ Emmanuel in the headpiece.

Thus, like all the illustrations in the Gospel of Skewṙa, this page reflects the feast of the Epiphany and, at the same time, the rite of Lewon's coronation. In its first representation, the Genealogy of Christ acquires liturgical and political connotations and serves as a bearer of royal ideology.

2 The Theme of the Genealogy of Christ during the Reign of Het'um I

The subject of the genealogy of Christ reappears, only 60 years later, at the end of the reign of King Het'um I (r. 1226–1269). A group of Gospel books produced between 1262 and 1268 features portraits of the ancestors of Christ in connection with Matthew's and Luke's genealogies.[21] The images are either grouped in a full-page illustration or lined up on the page, respecting the descending and ascending course of these two genealogies (figures. 3.3, 3.4).

Het'um I was a representative of the Het'umid dynasty, a rival of the Ṙubenids.[22] He received the crown after his marriage to Zabel, the daughter of Lewon I Ṙubenid. Because of his young age, his father Kostandin, a prominent Het'umid who had tutored Princess Zabel since 1221, was appointed regent. Until Het'um came of age in 1236, Kostandin was in effect the ruler of the country. Historians thus regard him as a crucial figure in the history of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia.[23] He stabilized the state through the formation of a clan hierarchy comprising himself and his sons. Through the marriage of his son Het'um to Zabel, he united the Ṙubenid and Het'umid dynasties, putting an end to their antagonism. But this policy also ensured the continuity of the Het'umid dynasty as well as the hereditary nature of the throne: the blood

20 On this rite, see: Nicholas E. Denysenko, *The Blessing of Waters and Epiphany. The Eastern Liturgical Tradition*, (Liturgy, Worship and Society Series) (Ashgate, 2012).

21 MSS: Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.539 (fols. 15r, 218r); Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, FGA56.11 (fol. 14v) and FGA32.18 (fols. 2r-4r, 141r); New Julfa (Isfahan), Monastery of the Holy Saviour, NJ57/161 (fols. 15r-17r, 163r-165r, the last ones are empty; the illumination was not completed).

22 Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders*, 2:254–96; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, pp. 337–64.

23 Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders*, 2:273–87.

of the first Cilician king, Lewon I, would flow through the veins of Kostandin's own posterity.

The reign of Hetʻum I was marked by extraordinary activity in all spheres of rulership – politics, diplomacy, commerce, and culture – despite the upheavals that shook the Levant in the middle of the 13th century. Though Hetʻum was an exceptionally skilled ruler and politician, from the point of view of hereditary right and legitimacy of power he always maintained the status of co-governor with his wife. Official documents were signed by both, and on his silver coins Hetʻum represented himself alongside Zabel, even after the latter's death.[24] Numerous written sources name Zabel as the legitimate heir.[25]

The reappearance of the Genealogy of Christ in Armenian manuscript painting dates not to the start of Hetʻum's reign, in 1226, but to 1262, when questions of dynastic continuity and the transmission of power came to be raised at court. The issue became particularly urgent following two important events: the death of the regent Kostandin and the marriage of Hetʻum and Zabel's son Lewon, the future king Lewon II.

After the death of the regent Kostandin, the powerful role he had played became ever more evident. Upon his death, in recognition of the clan system of rulership that he had established, he was awarded a series of unprecedented honorary titles: 'the Father of the King,' 'the Great Patriarch of the Armenians,' 'the New Patriarch,' and even 'the Abrahamic Elder.'[26] It is precisely in this context – exalting the kinship between the king and his father – that the subject matter of the genealogy of Christ reappears in illustrated Gospel books after an interruption of well over 60 years. The patrons of these manuscripts were members of the royal family and/or high dignitaries of the Church, such as Catholicos Kostandin I (1220–1267) and two of the brothers of King Hetʻum, Bishop John and Prince Vasak. The reappearance of the subject matter in 1262 in connection with an emphasis on royal patrilineal kinship is to be found in the so-called Gospel of Sebastia.[27] Its colophon refers to Kostandin

24 The universalist title 'King of all Armenians' was never applied to Hetʻum (see above, n. 9).

25 Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders*, 2:268–72.

26 See: Ibid., 2:277–79.

27 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.539. Avedis K. Sanjian, *A Catalogue of Medieval Armenian Manuscripts in the United States* (Berkeley, 1976), pp. 273–87; *Hayeren jeragreri hišatakaranner, XIII dar* [Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 13th century], ed. Artašes Matʻevosyan (Yerevan, 1984), pp. 314–16; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1973), pp. 10–30, figs. 43–137; Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting,* 1:51–76; *The Digital Walters*: http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W539/. Accessed 2020 Apr 21.

as 'the Father of the King,' and the Genealogy of Christ is featured as part of the decorative program entrusted to T'oros Ṙoslin, one of the most renowned miniaturists from Armenian Cilicia. To pay homage to Queen Zabel by emphasizing the place of women in sacred genealogy, Ṙoslin even included portraits of the wives mentioned in the Gospel of Matthew: Tamar, Rehab, Ruth, and Bathsheba (Figure. 3.3).

The representation of the genealogy of Christ varies across the larger corpus of manuscripts produced between 1262 and 1268. In one of the Gospel books – ascribed to the end of the 13th century[28] – the mention of 'the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob' is visually underlined by portraits of these patriarchs and poses an equivalence between divine election and Abrahamic filiation. In another manuscript – again possibly dating to the end of the 13th century[29] – among the portraits of the ancestors of Christ, the patriarch Abraham is visually distinguished, occupying a special place (Figure. 3.4). In context, the depiction of Abraham as a patriarch and the forefather of the chosen people spoke directly to the paternal status of the regent Kostandin, who was by then greatly honoured at court.

Another innovation – one with no future in Armenian manuscript illumination, being limited to this specific political-historical context – can be found in these manuscripts. In their canon tables, the prophets are presented with scrolls with messianic messages.[30] For example, in the Gospel of Sebastia, Isaiah carries a scroll with the verse 'Behold the Virgin will conceive and give birth to a son' (Isa. 7:14), while Zechariah's reads 'Rejoice, daughter of Zion, behold your King and Saviour' (Zech. 9:9) (Figure. 3.5).[31] Here, the link between the ancestors and the announcement of a supreme king responds to the contemporary controversy in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia about dynastic continuity and royal legitimacy.

---

28 Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, FGA32.18. Sanjian, *A Catalogue of Medieval Armenian Manuscripts*, pp. 728–33; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, D.C., 1963), pp. 26–54, figs. 53–181; Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting,* 1:55–56.

29 New Julfa (Isfahan), Monastery of the Holy Saviour, NJ57/161. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, and Arpag Mekhitarian, *Armenian Miniatures from Isfahan* (Brussels, 1986), pp. 36–57; Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 1:89–92, 2:figs. 342–43.

30 Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 1:64–65, 2:figs. 230–33; Ioanna Rapti, "Gloses prophétiques sur l'Évangile: À propos de quelques manuscrits arméniens enluminés en Cilicie dans les années 1260," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004), 119–49, 151–54, esp. 121–29.

31 The full texts on the scrolls of the prophets are reproduced in: Rapti, "Gloses prophétiques sur l'Évangile," pp. 151–53.

Parallel to the glorification of the regent Kostandin as the founder of the clan system of rulership, Prince Lewon, the son of Hetʿum and Zabel and the heir to the throne, was also given honorary titles. He was described as *porphyrogenitus* or 'one born in purple,'[32] a title that first appeared at the Cilician court. His portraits have an air of sacralization.[33] All this visual and written evidence points to the same ideological function: to exalt both the genealogy of Christ and the forms of kinship current in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia by setting the two into dialogue.

The development of this particular concept of sacral kingship owed much to Vardan Arewelcʿi ('the Easterner'), an illustrious doctor of the Church, monastic teacher, theologian, historiographer, geographer, philosopher, and translator of the 13th century, who expounded on royal ideology in several of his writings.[34] In the colophon of his *Analysis of the Holy Scriptures* (1246),[35] he positions the king and his family under the direct protection of Christ.[36] Moreover, he praises the 'porphyrogenetic' princes by means of imagery of flowering, such as 'flourishing,' 'budding,' 'branched.'[37]

Vardan Arewelcʿi applied this same imagery to exalt filiation in his commentary on the *Immortal Flower*, a Marian hymn within the liturgy of the feast of the Epiphany.[38] The hymn glorifies holy kinship, which according to the prophet Isaiah (Isa. 11:1–2) sprang from the root of Jesse, the father of King David, as the recipient of seven graces of the Holy Spirit. In his commentary, Vardan develops the notion of Mary as the flower and Christ as the fruit. By drawing a connection between Isaiah's prophecy and biblical genealogy, he magnifies the importance of genealogy. This connection reached its climax

32 *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts*, ed. Matʿevosyan, p. 318. This is the colophon of a Gospel book of 1262 (Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, J2660), which also contains the portrait of Lewon with his fiancée Keťan, executed by Tʿoros Ŕoslin.

33 Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 2:figs. 640–41.

34 Antʿapyan, Pʿaylak, *Vardan Arevelcʿi. Kyanqn u gorcuneutʿyunə* [Vardan Arevelcʿi: Life and Work], 2 vols (Yerevan, 1987–89). Between 1239 and 1248, he had several long stays in Cilicia, at the court of King Hetʿum I.

35 *Lucmunkʿ i Surb Grocʿ*, collection of texts intended as a study guide for natural sciences, composed for young princes on the request of King Hetʿum I and better known by the title *Žłłankʿ*: Antʿapyan, Pʿaylak, *Vardan Arevelcʿi*, 1:110–26; for the colophon, see: ibid., 1:117–19.

36 Antʿapyan, Pʿaylak, *Vardan Arevelcʿi*, 1:118.

37 Ibid., 1:119.

38 The hymn *The Immortal Flower* is sung on the fifth day of the Epiphany, see: *Sharakan* (*Hymnarium*). *Matenagirk Hayots / Armenian Classical Authors*, 8 (Antelias, 2007), pp. 51–52. For the commentary by Vardan Arewelcʿi, see: Tamar Tasnapetean, *Tiramayr* [Mother of God], (Lisbon, 1998), pp. 47–57.

during the reign of King Lewon II. As we will see below, these concepts resonate in a homily written on the occasion of Lewon II's coronation, and this, in turn, influenced the iconography of Christ's genealogy.

With Vardan, genealogy in general became a means of legitimizing royal power. In 1248, in his Armenian translation of the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian, Vardan includes information on dynastic ties between the Ṙubenids and the Bagratids, thus linking the Ṙubenids with the previous Armenian royal dynasty.[39] Prior to this, the Ṙubenid kinship ties to the Bagratids were orally circulating legends based on some historical data. According to Levon Ter-Petrossian, during the reign of Lewon I the link between the two dynasties came to be underscored at a whole new level, reviving the memory of the lost Armenian Kingdom.[40] Vardan's translation of Michael the Syrian's chronicle remains the oldest written source for the legend.[41] Vardan employed it with the purpose of buttressing the ideology of the royal dynasty newly established in Cilicia as the successor.[42] The high point in the development of the legend would be the homily for the coronation of Lewon II, in which the Ṙubenids – now linked to the Bagratids, who claimed a Jewish origin – were proclaimed the offspring of King David himself.

3 The Theme of the Genealogy of Christ and King Lewon II

The coronation of Lewon II took place on 6 January 1271. Like his grandfather, he was crowned on the day of the Epiphany. His enthronement was of particular significance because – by uniting the two royal houses, the Ṙubenids through his mother and the Het'umids through his father – he finally ensured the full flourishing of the kingdom.[43] His accession marked the emergence of the cult of the 'Ideal Sovereign,' codified in visual and written sources.

---

39 *Teaṙn Mixayēli patriark'i asorwoc' Žamanakagrut'win* [The Chronicle of Michael the Syrian], (Jerusalem, 1870), p. 417. The Bagratids were an ancient noble family that played a significant role in the history of Armenia. The Bagratid Kingdom (885–1045) was the last Armenian state on its historical territory.

40 Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders*, 2:202–04.

41 Ibid., 2:202–04.

42 Such 'legitimizing' tactics were common among royal dynasties that had newly come to power: Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders*, 2:202–06. Vardan Arewelc'i also notes that, after the restoration of the Armenian Kingdom, the power of the Cilician kings could extend to Armenia itself, see: *The Chronicle of Michael the Syrian*, p. 511.

43 Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders*, 2:297–336.

On the occasion of the coronation of Lewon II, his secretary Vahram of Edessa (or Vahram Rabuni) wrote the *Homily on the Epiphany of the Lord and the Coronation of King Lewon*.[44] Therein, he explains the concept of the royal office based on the prophecy of Isaiah concerning the birth of the Messiah from the root of Jesse, the father of King David. In the epigraph, Vahram directly quotes the verses of this prophecy:

> There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots. And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord.
>
> Isa. 11:1–2[45]

In his homily, Vahram first explains the theological importance of the feast of the Epiphany, before proceeding to define the ideal king and the ideal monarchy. The leitmotif is the anointment, which imbues royal power with divine right in the fullest sense: to be anointed means to be chosen by God, like David and the patriarchs in the Old Testament; the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit are the virtues of an ideal king.

This formulation of 'messianism' on the basis of the prophecy of Isaiah finds its perfect manifestation – both ideologically and artistically – in the Tree of Jesse. With the advent of Lewon II, this subject was introduced into Cilician manuscript art. Although still in later periods of Cilician book art one may find depictions of the Tree of Jesse, the greatest number of such examples date to the reign of Lewon II.[46] These form part of the larger corpus of royal and princely manuscripts dating to the second half of the 13th century. Among their patrons we find, again, members of the highest elite, i.e. representatives of the royal entourage including Lewon himself, his wife Queen Keťan, Lewon's uncles Bishop John and Prince Vasak, and Prince Kostandin – the coronant.[47]

At the court of Lewon II, miniaturists tended to depict the Tree of Jesse as a marginal illumination on the opening page of the Gospel of Matthew, serving

---

44 Vahram Rabuni, *Vahramay vardapeti atenadpri Lewon arkʿayi Ban i Yaytnutʿiwn Teaṙn ew yōcumn Lewoni G. arkʿayi* [On the Epiphany of the Lord and on the Coronation of King Lewon, written by Vahram Vardapet, Chancellor of King Lewon], (Jerusalem, 1875). See another edition of this homily in: *Ararat*, 1/5 (1869).

45 Vahram Rabuni, *On the Epiphany*, p. 1.

46 MSS: Yerevan, Matenadaran, M9422 (fol. 20r), M2629 (fol. 14r), M7651 (fol. 10r), M979 (fol. 10r); Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, J2568 (fol. 5r).

47 Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 1:108–10, 2:figs. 428–34.

to illustrate the genealogy of Christ: Jesse rests under his tree, while David, Solomon, the Virgin, and Christ encapsulate the Incarnation (figures. 3.6, 3.7, 3.8). The prophets who announced the coming of the Messiah are no longer represented in the canon tables but find their place along either side of the tree's trunk. The two theological theses articulated through the Tree of Jesse – namely the appearance of the incarnate Messiah and the royal origin of Christ – undergird the royal ideology that Vahram expounds on: with the coronation of Lewon II on the day of the Epiphany, the generation of Armenian kings will begin a new 'growth.'[48]

In the homily, another technique for legitimizing royal power comes in the affirmation of the prestige of the king's ancestry. At the end of his homily, before finishing his speech, Vahram draws up the genealogy of Lewon II, emphasizing the king's ties to the first Cilician royal house, the Ṙubenids.[49] To underscore dynastic continuity, he names Lewon as the son of Zabel (daughter of Lewon I) and forgoes any mention of his Het'umid origins. Moreover, Vahram revives the dynastic legend introduced by Vardan Arewelc'i in the 1240s, whereby the Ṙubenids were considered the descendants of the Bagratids; he likewise refers to the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i (5th century), which affirmed the Jewish origin of the Bagratids.[50] In this way, he attributes to the Ṙubenids an ancestry going back to the biblical king David and designates King Lewon II as a Christomimetic figure.[51] What subject matter could better illustrate the exceptional status of Lewon II than the Tree of Jesse?

In this group of manuscripts linked to Lewon II, some of the compositions of the Tree of Jesse are surmounted by the Trinity (figures. 3.6, 3.8). This element reappears neither in later Armenian art nor in Byzantine or Western examples.[52] Some researchers have seen in it an expression of 'monophysite sensitivity,'[53] which would suggest that the inclusion of the Trinity rendered the Tree of Jesse a representation of not only the earthly genealogy of Christ but also his divine nature. Yet, a more convincing interpretation of this innovation

48 Vahram Rabuni, *On the Epiphany*, p. 20.

49 Ibid., p. 56.

50 Movsēs Xorenac'i (Moses of Khoren), book 1, chapter 22; book 2, chapters 3, 7. See: Moïse de Khorène, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, ed. Annie Mahé and Jean-Pierre Mahé (Paris, 1993), pp. 140–41, 158, 161. Movsēs Xorenac'i is considered the 'Father of Armenian historiography.'

51 See: Peter S. Cowe, "The Inauguration of the Cilician Coronation Rite and Royal Ideology," *Armenian Review* 45, 4/180 (1992), 49–59, esp. 53; Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders*, 2:52–53.

52 Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting,* 1:110.

53 Tania Velmans, "L'arbre de Jessé en Orient Chrétien," *Δελτίον τῆς χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἑταιρείας* 26 (2005), 125–40, esp. 130–31.

may be found in Vahram's compositions. In his homily on the divine origin of power, he asks rhetorically: "Who is the first king?" In response, he affirms that the first and only real king is God, who is one with the Trinity.[54] Moreover, the image of the Trinity connects perfectly with the feast of the Epiphany in that the feast itself was thought to be a manifestation of the Trinity and its evocation is linked to the baptism of Christ.

Thus, during the reign of Lewon II, the iconography of the Tree of Jesse and its Christological significance went hand in hand with literary works expressing a theology of power and exalting dynastic continuity. As to the question of the source of inspiration for these representations, which appeared suddenly in Cilician manuscripts in the last quarter of the 13th century,[55] we can safely conclude that this motif stood in direct relation to the person of Lewon II, becoming, in a way, a symbol of his royalty.[56]

4 The Prince Hetʻum Lectionary

The reign of Lewon II (1271–1289) marked the peak of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia. He deepened and strengthened the state-building process that had begun under Hetʻum I. In spite of major political upheavals and military clashes, his reign was characterized by stability and unity as well as by active diplomacy with the Mongols and Muslim and European rulers, including the

54 Vahram Rabuni, *On the Epiphany*, pp. 21–25.

55 Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting,* 1:109.

56 Sirarpie Der Nersessian believes that the Tree of Jesse entered Armenian manuscripts through the influence of Western art: Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "Western Iconographic Themes in Armenian Manuscripts," in Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Études byzantines et arméniennes* (Louvain, 1973), pp. 611–30. But the problem is more complex; this development in Armenian manuscripts signals the adoption of a concept of political power that was widely exploited by Western rulers from the 11th century onwards. For example, in the Gospel book for the coronation of Vratislaus II of Bohemia (1061–1085), four scenes symbolically announce the coming of the Messiah, including the oldest representation of the motif of the Tree of Jesse (Codex Vyssegradensis, 11th century, Prague, Metropolitan Chapter Library). In 1169, Amaury I of Jerusalem (1163–1174) commissioned a mosaic of the Tree of Jesse in the basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem, which was the place of the coronation of Latin kings of Jerusalem. In France in the 12th century, representations of the Tree of Jesse had the same political purpose. The Tree of Jesse windows of the basilica of Saint-Denis and the cathedral of Chartres were created with the aim of exalting royal power, see: James R. Johnson, "The Tree of Jesse Window of Chartres: Laudes Regiae," *Speculum* 36/1 (1961), 1–22.

papacy. An economic and cultural flourishing accompanied all this. As a result, the kingdom became the hearth of Armenian statehood.[57]

The last manuscript linked to Lewon II that exploits the theme of the genealogy of Christ is the Prince Het'um Lectionary of 1286, which features a royal portrait in the form of a family tree on its opening page.[58] This manuscript synthesizes the whole ideology behind the theme of genealogy as it evolved over decades at the Cilician court. The genealogy of Christ is visualized twice: through portraits of Christ's ancestors and through the Tree of Jesse, both of which appear in the canon of the Epiphany. The portraits of Christ's ancestors accompany the text of the genealogy of Luke (Lk. 3:23–38).[59] In contrast to the composition privileged in the 1260s, a special place is given to Adam (Figure. 3.9). At the very end of the genealogy that stems from Christ back to God, he is visually distinguished – directly adjacent to the Ancient of Days in the upper-right corner of the page illustrating the verse: "son of Adam, son of God" (Lk. 3:38). Here it is not superfluous to mention that Vahram, too, had paid special attention to Adam in his homily written on the occasion of Lewon's coronation, regarding him as a primordial royal figure, for God created man in his own image and commanded him to rule over all the animals (Ps. 8:6–9).[60]

The treatment of the Tree of Jesse in this lectionary is particularly striking. It is placed in the margin of the opening page of the canon of the Epiphany (Figure. 3.10),[61] which opens with the readings prescribed for the celebration of the vigil of the Epiphany on 5 January. Specifically, the image accompanies a reading from the Gospel of John (John 1:1) exalting the Incarnate Word. The composition is enriched by the inclusion of the false prophet Balaam in the lower margin: seated on his donkey, he passes a recumbent lion while en route

57 The reign of Lewon II is the final period of the kingdom's glory. After him, the kingdom gradually fell into decline. Historians thus refer to Lewon as the 'last great King of Cilicia': Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders*, 2:296.

58 Ms. Yerevan, Matenadaran, M979. This manuscript is a lectionary, i.e. a liturgical book containing the readings for each feast during the liturgical year. On the Armenian lectionary in general and its origins in Jerusalem, see: Athanase (Charles) Renoux, *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121. I. Introduction, aux origines de la liturgie hiérosolymitaine, lumières nouvelles,* PO 35/1, n. 163 (1969). The Het'um Lectionary belongs to the second redaction of the Armenian lectionary, which occurred between 1173 and 1198 in Cilicia. Renoux, *Le Lectionnaire de Jérusalem*, pp. 460–61, 474–77, 509; Charles Renoux, "Le Čašoc' arménien au creuset cilicien," *Hask – Armenological Review* 11 (2007/08), 385–96.

59 Ms. Yerevan, Matenadaran, M979, fols. 44v-45r. The genealogy of Luke is part of the readings for the eighth day of the Epiphany.

60 Vahram Rabuni, *On the Epiphany*, p. 25.

61 Ms. Yerevan, Matenadaran, M979, fol. 10r.

to the Tree of Jesse. An exceptional case in the Cilician corpus of Tree of Jesse images, this evokes the messianic prophecy of Balaam (Num. 24:9).[62]

The representation of the Tree of Jesse is distinguished from all known Cilician examples and sets forth a series of interesting features. In this image loaded with bust figures, Christ is located in the middle of the composition loaded with bust figures. Between him and Jesse, we find David, Solomon, and the Virgin, following the ascending genealogy of Matthew. Above Christ, there are old men – probably patriarchs, who, according to the sequence of the genealogy of Luke, align with the Ancient of Days, which is preceded by Adam. In Cilician manuscripts generally, this is the only case in which the genealogical sequences of Matthew and Luke are combined within the same composition, thus constituting a symbolic image of the genealogy of Christ and not an illustration of any precise text.

This becomes even more significant in light of Vahram's writings. At the end of his homily, he offers two formulations of the genealogy of Lewon II, imitating the arrangement of Matthew's and Luke's respective genealogies of Christ:

> King Lewon is the tenth Ṙubenid according to power and the seventh according to the generations that can be listed as follows: Prince Ṙuben, Prince Kostandin, Great Prince Tʿoros said Protosebastos, Prince Lewon, Prince Tʿoros, Prince Mleh, Prince Ṙuben, King Lewon, Queen Zabel; and by birth he is the son of Zabel, the daughter of King Lewon, the son of Stepʿanē, the son of Lewon, the son of Kostandin, the son of Ṙuben, of the generation of King Gagik of the Bagratid family, of the race of the great David, king and prophet.[63]

In the lectionary, the selection of patriarchs in the composition of the Tree of Jesse also raises questions. The three figures above Christ must be Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, figures indispensable to the genealogy of Christ and symbolizing divine election. The figure preceding the Ancient of Days is Adam, who,

62 The symbolism of Num. 24:9 is based on Jacob's blessing on his sons, which foretells Judah's priority among all the tribes (Gen. 49:8–12). The blessing was taken as a messianic announcement, and the image of the lion was retained as a symbol of Judah (Rev. 5:5). Balaam's blessing on the house of Jacob exactly repeats the formula of latter's blessing on Judah. Another of Balaam's prophecies, on the star of Jacob (Num. 24:17), was interpreted as a harbinger of the nativity of Christ (Matt. 2:2). Vahram of Edessa likewise discusses the connection between the prophecies of Num. 24:9 and of Isa. 11:1–2 in his homily for Lewon II's coronation. However, given the limited space of this article, this issue will not be discussed here but rather in another forthcoming study.

63 Vahram Rabuni, *On the Epiphany*, p. 56.

as noted above, is highlighted in the previous image (Figure. 3.9).[64] As for the identification of the four old men placed between Abraham and Adam (the genealogy of Luke lists 19 names between them), one can once again look to Vahram's homily. In the chapter titled "How and by whom royalty came into the world," which speaks of the time when mankind did not yet have royal power but was governed by the patriarchs, he cites Abraham and those who came before him: Noah, Enoch, Enos, and Seth.[65]

The homily for the coronation of the king was not Vahram's only ideologically charged work. On the order of Lewon II, he also devoted a long poem to the history of the kingdom.[66] This rhymed chronicle exalts the Ṙubenid dynasty from its origins – without failing to recall the dynasty's Bagratid ancestry[67] – up to Lewon II, ending around 1275.[68] Like the homily, it centres on notions of dynastic continuity and legitimacy.

Vahram's chronicle was a source of inspiration for Prince Het'um, a son of Lewon II and the patron of our lectionary, when he wrote the colophon of the manuscript. In this long colophon, Het'um describes the history of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from its foundation up to the reign of his father.[69] He notes that he himself commissioned this manuscript to glorify the Ṙubenid dynasty and, like Vahram, avoids mentioning the Het'umids, even accounting for the legality of the actions of the regent Kostandin – a prominent member of the latter family – with recourse to his familial ties to Lewon I.[70] In addressing praise to his ancestors, he repeats formulas from Vahram.

It was this Cilician approach to the concept of genealogy that inspired the iconography of the royal family tree. Therefore, it is not surprising that we find an image of precisely this type in the Prince Het'um Lectionary – the image

64 The description of the miniature is wrong in: Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 1:109.

65 Vahram Rabuni, *On the Epiphany*, p. 26.

66 *Vahramay Rabunwoy Patmut'iwn Ṙubeneanc'* [Vahram Rabuni's History of the Ṙubenids], ed. Karapet Šahnazareanc' (Paris, 1859). French translation: "Chronique en vers des rois de la Petite Arménie par le docteur Vahram d'Édesse," in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Documents arméniens* 1, trans. Édouard Dulaurier (Paris, 1869), pp. 493–535. English translation: Charles F. Neumann, V*ahram's Chronicle of the Armenian Kingdom in Cilicia during the Time of the Crusades* (London, 1831).

67 Vahram Rabuni's History of the Ṙubenids, ed. Šahnazareanc', p. 192.

68 This is the probable date of creation of this chronicle.

69 *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts*, ed. Mat'evosyan, pp. 582–89.

70 Regent Kostandin's kinship with the Ṙubenids is mentioned in some contemporary colophons, but this does not correspond to any historical reality: Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders*, 2:284–86; *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts*, ed. Mat'evosyan, pp. 486, 641. For Het'um's colophon, see: ibid., p. 587.

with which this essay began (Figure. 3.1).[71] It appears on the opening page of the lectionary, accompanying the solemnities of 1 January.[72] The liturgical readings begin with a passage from the Book of Proverbs (Prov. 11:2–11), whose author, Solomon, is depicted in the large, decorative header of the page, symbolically evoking the virtues of an ideal king.

In the margin, the royal portrait is housed within a tree structure: six figures are aligned vertically in a descending progression (Figure. 3.11).[73] At the top, two kings – one an elderly man, with grey hair and a grey beard, and the other of mature age – are seated in majesty in identical postures (Figure. 3.12a). Each is crowned and haloed and holds the orb in his left hand, while his right hand rests on his hip. Beneath them are four younger figures holding liturgical objects.

To date, the two kings have been identified as Lewon II and his heir Hetʿum, the patron of this manuscript. However, given the ideological charge and political scope of this image-type in the context of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, it is difficult at present to accept this identification. The posture of a king seated in majesty, like what we find in our miniature, is specific to sacred kings. In addition, our image predates the enthronement of Hetʿum, which would take place three years later, in 1289.[74] Could Prince Hetʿum, already in 1286, have commissioned his portrait according to the iconography of a sacred king clad in regalia? Would he have dared to represent himself in this way, whereas in his colophon he refers to himself as 'Baron Hetʿum' and to his father as the 'Reigning King' or the 'Holy King Crowned by Christ'? To begin answering these questions, I propose a new identification of these two portraits: Lewon II below and Lewon I above. In his homily for Lewon II's coronation, Vahram attached particular importance to his right to rule as heir to the throne, viewing the legitimacy of his power – "a generic and patriotically righteous heritage from ancestors" – as one of the three main factors guaranteeing the stability of the state, along with piety and wise leadership.[75] Vahram validated his enthronement by linking this concept of ancestrally rooted legitimacy to Lewon II's anointing, emphasizing his Ṙubenid line of royal ancestry and particularly the

71 Ms. Yerevan, Matenadaran, M979, fol. 7r.

72 See the modification made to the Armenian lectionary in the Cilician period (above, n. 58). The 1st of January is the day of commemoration for Basil of Caesarea, whose portrait appears on the opposite page.

73 For common images of dynastic trees, see: Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *L'arbre des familles* (Paris, 2003).

74 In fact, Hetʿum was never crowned, see: Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders*, 2:336–79.

75 Vahram Rabuni, *On the Epiphany,* pp. 53–54.

fact that he was the son of Queen Zabel and thus the full heir to Lewon I.[76] The primary task of royal ideology was to demonstrate Lewon II's hereditary right. The peculiar status of Lewon II's right to the throne is also emphasized in other contemporary written sources, including colophons. Lewon's royalty is perceived as "a new restoration and a new joy of the Ṙubenid Dynasty," and he is referred to as "the son of Queen Zabel, the daughter of King Lewon" or "the purple-born king worthy of the crown of King Lewon the Second, the grandson of the First Great Ṙubenid."[77]

The importance of his filiation is also made evident in the chronicle of Vahram of Edessa. Here, Lewon II always appears as a Ṙubenid and as the continuator of the royal dynasty. The parallels between the two Lewons reach a culminating point when Vahram narrates the details of their coronations in nearly identical terms.[78] Below are the relevant extracts from the chronicle, taken from the English translation by Charles F. Neumann:[79]

About Lewon I	*About Lewon II*
The Armenians assembled together in the city of Tarsus, and in the cathedral of that town the Catholicos anointed Leon, as it is the custom, king of the house of Thorgoma, to sit on the throne and flourish in kindness; to glorify the Church, and to govern well the country to collect together the dispersed people, and to renovate its power; lastly, to fill the country with peace and to make it as happy as Paradise.	… he called a great assembly of Armenians to Tarsus with the patriarch to anoint him, and to fulfill the duties of the Church. Leon received the scepter with the golden globe in his right hand, and the Holy Ghost descended on him, – to be king on the house of Thorgoma; to govern and to defend the flock after the law of God. Leon, sitting on the throne of his forefathers, was gracious to everybody …

Prince Het'um employs exactly the same formulas in the colophon of his lectionary. In the context of the coronation of Lewon I, he says: "The throne and the sceptre of the royalty of Togarmah were renewed, the country was

76 Ibid, p. 56.

77 For more details on this, see: Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders*, 2:318–21.

78 Vahram Rabuni, *History of the Ṙubenids*, pp. 215, 228.

79 Neumann, *Vahram's Chronicle of the Armenian Kingdom in Cilicia*, pp. 44, 54.

filled with peace and kindness, like a flourishing Paradise."[80] The expression 'king of the house of Togarmah,' which appears in these sources as well as in the Cilician *ordo* for the coronation of the king,[81] accentuates the antiquity of Armenian royalty, restored in Cilicia but going back to the origin of the nation and its primordial ancestors Hayk and Togarmah.[82] The shared location and date for their coronations – at the cathedral of Tarsus on 6 January, the feast of the Epiphany – are deemed further evidence of the parallel between Lewon I and Lewon II.

This consistent juxtaposition of the two Lewons seems also to have inspired the illumination at the opening to the lectionary: the two kings are represented in the same posture of sacred majesty, close to the iconography of official images of Lewon I (Figure. 3.12b). Let us recall that Lewon II adopted the universalist title 'King of all Armenians,' which had been previously been employed only by Lewon I.[83] Thus, in the Hetʻum Lectionary the image of the dynastic tree of the royal family is dominated by Lewon II's illustrious ancestor.[84] This image is placed on the opening page of a manuscript that aimed to glorify the royal family of the Ṙubenids, as attested in the colophon of its patron.

The four other figures in our image are traditionally identified as the sons of Lewon II.[85] This hypothesis is quite plausible. The composition, as well as the insertion of the figures into a vegetal setting more generally, underscores filiation and hierarchy. But what particularly deserves attention are the objects that the figures hold. The figure immediately beneath Lewon II holds a golden crown; the third figure from the bottom holds a chalice; the figure beneath him holds an ewer for the Holy Chrism; and the figure at the bottom holds a sceptre. Together, these were the sacred objects employed during the coronation ceremony and therefore emblematic of this rite.[86] However, it seems to me that beyond allusions to the coronation ceremony, these objects carry a deeper

80 *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts*, ed. Matʻevosyan, p. 586.

81 See: Davtʻyan, *The Ordo of Coronation in the Armenian Church*, p. 79: "The throne of the royalty of the house of Togarmah and the race of Hayk."

82 Togarmah, a biblical figure, grandson of Gomer, descendant of Japheth and Noah. According to Movsēs Xorenacʻi's genealogy of Greater Armenia, Togarmah is the father of Hayk, patriarch of the Armenians, in: Movsēs Xorenacʻi (Moses of Khoren), book 1, chapters 5, 9, 10, 12. See: Moïse de Khorène, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, pp. 110–113, 117–119, 120, 123–126.

83 See above, n. 9, and 24.

84 This scheme is well known in the iconography of family trees, see: Klapisch-Zuber, *L'arbre des familles*.

85 Drampian, *Lectionary of King Hetum II*, pp. 98–99.

86 See: Davtʻyan, *The Ordo of Coronation in the Armenian Church*, pp. 74–90.

symbolic value pertaining to the king's functions in light of the theology of power. Unfortunately, I cannot treat this compelling topic here but intend to do so in another context. One thing is certain: all the elements of this image serve to convey the core idea that royal power is founded upon hereditary monarchy and dynastic continuity.

5 Conclusion

In the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, the genealogy of Christ was used strategically to legitimate royal power. More generally, parallel with the establishment and solidification of the kingdom, genealogies became an important aspect of the ideology of the ruling elite. This genealogical preoccupation found expression both in written and visual sources, for example in the depiction of Christ's genealogy in Cilician manuscript illuminations. In addition to being an element of Christian iconography, this iconography reflected the concerns associated with royal power: political theology adapted sacred history to its needs, rendering it an instrument of political propaganda. The representation of the genealogy of Christ became an image exalting royal power.

This occurred at the Cilician court at a time when questions of dynastic continuity and the transmission of power were critical. In this context, the introduction of the Tree of Jesse may have been linked to the promotion of the cult of the 'Ideal Sovereign' by the Cilician ruling elite, thus acting in service of the ideology of rulership. This underpinning of royal ideology with genealogy gave rise to the iconography of the portrait of the royal family in the form of a family tree, like that in the Het'um Lectionary. This study, moreover, highlights the relationship between texts and images in the Cilician context: literary works expressing ideology found their counterpart in illuminated miniatures. The image was both a reflection of the textual elaborations on this topic and a statement on its own right.

Acknowledgements

This article benefitted from a European Institutes for Advanced Study (EURIAS) fellowship at the Paris Institute for Advanced Studies, co-funded by Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions, under the European Union's 7th Framework Programme for research, and from a funding from the French State programme 'Investissements d'avenir,' managed by the French National Research Agency (ANR-11-LABX-0027-01 Labex RFIEA+).

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Antʿapyan, Pʿaylak, *Vardan Arevelcʿi. Kyanqn u gorcuneutʿyunə* [Vardan Arevelcʿi: Life and Work], 2 vols (Yerevan, 1987–89).

"Chronique en vers des rois de la Petite Arménie *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Documents arméniens* 1, trans. Édouard Dulaurier (Paris, 1869), pp. 493–535.

Moïse de Khorène, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, ed. Annie Mahé and Jean-Pierre Mahé (Paris, 1993).

Neumann, Charles F., V*ahram's Chronicle of the Armenian Kingdom in Cilicia during the Time of the Crusades* (London, 1831).

Sharakan (*Hymnarium*). *Matenagirk Hayots* / *Armenian Classical Authors*, 8 (Antelias, 2007).

Teaṙn Mixayēli patriarkʿi asorwocʿ Žamanakagrutʿwin [The Chronicle of Michael the Syrian], (Jerusalem, 1870).

Vahramay Rabunwoy Patmutʿiwn Ṙubeneancʿ [Vahram Rabuni's History of the Ṙubenids], ed. Karapet Šahnazareancʿ (Paris, 1859).

Vahram Rabuni, *Vahramay vardapeti atenadpri Lewon arkʿayi Ban i Yaytnutʿiwn Teaṙn ew yōcumn Lewoni G. arkʿayi* [On the Epiphany of the Lord and on the Coronation of King Lewon, written by Vahram Vardapet, Chancellor of King Lewon], *Ararat*, 1/5 (1869).

Vahram Rabuni, *Vahramay vardapeti atenadpri Lewon arkʿayi Ban i Yaytnutʿiwn Teaṙn ew yōcumn Lewoni G. arkʿayi* [On the Epiphany of the Lord and on the Coronation of King Lewon, written by Vahram Vardapet, Chancellor of King Lewon], (Jerusalem, 1875).

Secondary Sources

Chookaszian, Levon, "The Five Portraits of King Levon II (1270–89) of Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia and their Connections to the Art of Mediterranean Area," in *Medioevo: immagini e ideologie, Atti del Convegno internazoinale di studi, Parma, 23–27 settembre 2002,* ed. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (Milano, 2005), pp. 129–37.

Cowe, Peter S., "The Inauguration of the Cilician Coronation Rite and Royal Ideology," *Armenian Review* 45, 4/180 (1992), 49–59.

Das Lemberger Evangeliar: eine wiederentdeckte armenische Bilderhandschrift des 12. Jahrhunderts, eds. Günter Prinzing, and Andrea Schmidt (Wiesbaden, 1997).

Davtʿyan, Derenik, *Tagavorōrhnekʿi kanonə hay ekełecʿum* [The Ordo of Coronation in the Armenian Church], Ph.D. for Vardapet ecclesiastical title (Holy See of Ējmiacin, 2000).

Delpech, Marc, and Voisin, Jean-Claude, "La mission en Cilicie de Wilbrand von Oldenburg en 1211–1212. Journal de route de Wilbrand," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 56 (1999–2003), 291–346.

Denysenko, Nicholas E., *The Blessing of Waters and Epiphany. The Eastern Liturgical Tradition*, (Liturgy, Worship and Society Series) (Ashgate, 2012).

Der Nersessian, Sirarpie*, Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, D.C., 1963).

Der Nersessian, Sirarpie, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1973).

Der Nersessian, Sirarpie, "Western Iconographic Themes in Armenian Manuscripts," in Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Études byzantines et arméniennes* (Louvain, 1973), pp. 611–30.

Der Nersessian, Sirarpie, and Mekhitarian, Arpag, *Armenian Miniatures from Isfahan* (Brussels, 1986).

Der Nersessian, Sirarpie, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century,* 2 vols (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 31) (Washington, D.C., 1993).

Drampian, Irina, *Lectionary of King Hetum II. Armenian illustrated codex of 1286 A.D.* (Yerevan, 2004).

Grigoryan, Gohar, *Royal Images of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia* (*1198–1375*) *in the Context of Mediterranean Intercultural Exchange,* Ph.D. (University of Fribourg, Switzerland, 2017).

Hayeren jeragreri hišatakaranner, XIII dar [Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 13th century], ed. Artašes Mat'evosyan (Yerevan, 1984).

Johnson, James R., "The Tree of Jesse Window of Chartres: Laudes Regiae," *Speculum* 36/1 (1961), 1–22.

Klapisch-Zuber, Christiane, *L'arbre des familles* (Paris, 2003).

Levon I. Ein Armenischer König im Staufischen Outremer, eds. Christian Philipsen, Thomas Bauer-Friedrich, and Ulf Dräger (Halle, 2019).

Mutafian, Claude, *L'Arménie du Levant, XI^e^-XIV^e^ siècles*, 2 vols (Paris, 2012).

Prinzing, Günter, "Zur Bedeutung und Geschichte des Lemberger Evangeliars," in *Das Lemberger Evangeliar: eine wiederentdeckte armenische Bilderhandschrift des 12. Jahrhunderts*, eds. Prinzing, and Schmidt (Wiesbaden, 1997), pp. 11–26.

Prinzing, Günter, and Evans, Helen C., "The L'viv Gospels," in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*, eds. Helen C. Evans, and William D. Wixom (New York, 1997), pp. 361–62.

Rapti, Ioanna, "Gloses prophétiques sur l'Évangile: À propos de quelques manuscrits arméniens enluminés en Cilicie dans les années 1260," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004), 119–49, 151–54.

Rapti, Ioanna, "Image et liturgie à la cour de Cilicie: Le lectionnaire du prince Het'um (Matenadaran MS 979)," *Monuments et Mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 87 (2008), 105–42.

Renoux, Athanase (Charles), *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121. I. Introduction, aux origines de la liturgie hiérosolymitaine, lumières nouvelles*, PO 35/1, n. 163 (1969).

Renoux, Charles, "Le Čašocʻ arménien au creuset cilicien," *Hask – Armenological Review* 11 (2007/08), 385–96.

Renoux, Charles, *Le Lectionnaire de Jérusalem en Arménie*: *Le Čašoc' 1. Introduction et liste des manuscrits*, PO 44/4, n. 200 (1989).

Sanjian, Avedis K., *A Catalogue of Medieval Armenian Manuscripts in the United States* (Berkeley, 1976).

Schmidt, Andrea, "L'Évangile de Lemberg: un itinéraire rocambolesque," in *Arménie. La magie de l'écrit*, ed. Claude Mutafian (Paris, 2007), pp. 260–63.

Tasnapetean, Tamar, *Tiramayr* [Mother of God], (Lisbon, 1998).

Ter-Petrossian, Levon, *Xačʻakirnerə ev Hayerə* [The Crusaders and the Armenians], 2 vols (Yerevan, 2005/07).

Tʻorosyan, Vahe, "Kilikiayi Hayocʻ tʻagavor Lewon Mecagorci tʻagadrman xndri šurǰ" [On the Crowning of Lewon the Great, Armenian King of Cilicia], *Ējmiacin* 12 (2016), 84–112.

Vardanyan, Edda, "Un Maštocʻ d'ordination et de sacre royal du XVe siècle," *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 29 (2003–04), 167–233.

Velmans, Tania, "L'arbre de Jessé en Orient Chrétien," *Δελτίον τῆς χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἑταιρείας* 26 (2005), 125–40.

von Euw, Anton, "Das Lemberger Evangeliar als Kunstwerk," in *Das Lemberger Evangeliar: eine wiederentdeckte armenische Bilderhandschrift des 12. Jahrhunderts*, eds. Prinzing, and Schmidt (Wiesbaden, 1997), pp. 39–92.

Illustrations



FIGURE 3.1 Title page. *Het'um's Lectionary* (1286), Yerevan, Matenadaran 979, fol. 7r
WITH KIND PERMISSION OF MATENADARAN



FIGURE 3.2 Title page of the Gospel of Matthew. The *Skewṙa Gospel* (1198), Varsovie, Biblioteka Narodowa, Akc. 17680, fol. 12r
FROM: *DAS LEMBERGER EVANGELIAR*, TAF. XI



FIGURE 3.3 Ancestors of Christ. *Gospel of Sebastia* (1262), Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.539, fol. 15r
© *THE DIGITAL WALTERS*: HTTP://WWW.THEDIGITALWALTERS.ORG/DATA/WALTERSMANUSCRIPTS/HTML/W539/



FIGURE 3.4 Ancestors of Christ. Gospel, 13th century, New Julfa (Isfahan), Monastery of the Holy Savior 57/161, fol. 15r
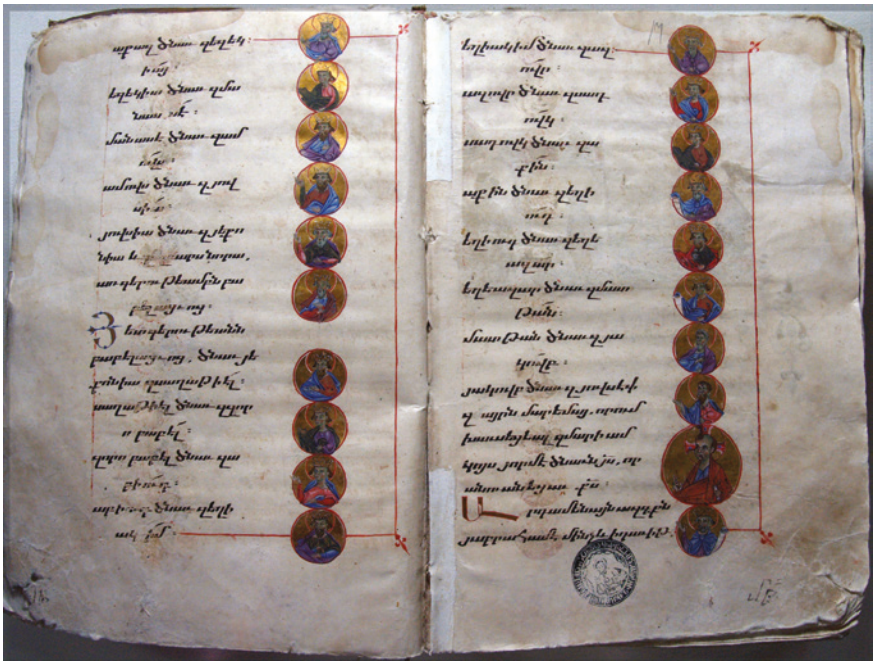


FIGURE 3.4 Ancestors of Christ. Gospel, 13th century, New Julfa (Isfahan), Monastery of the Holy Savior 57/161, fols. 16v-17r
WITH KIND PERMISSION OF THE MONASTERY OF THE HOLY SAVIOR



FIGURE 3.5 The prophets Isaiah and Zechariah in the Canon Tables. *Gospel of Sebastia* (1262), Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.539, fol. 5v



FIGURE 3.5 The prophets Isaiah and Zechariah in the Canon Tables. *Gospel of Sebastia* (1262), Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.539, fol. 10r
© *THE DIGITAL WALTERS*: HTTP://WWW.THEDIGITALWALTERS.ORG/DATA/WALTERSMANUSCRIPTS/HTML/W539/



FIGURE 3.6 Tree of Jesse. Gospel, 13th century, Yerevan, Matenadaran 9422, fol. 20r
WITH KIND PERMISSION OF MATENADARAN



FIGURE 3.7 Tree of Jesse. Gospel, 13th century, Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate 2568, fol. 5r
PHOTOGRAPH BY HRAIR HAWK KHATCHERIAN



FIGURE 3.8 Tree of Jesse. Gospel, 13th century, Yerevan, Matenadaran 7651, fol. 10r
WITH KIND PERMISSION OF MATENADARAN

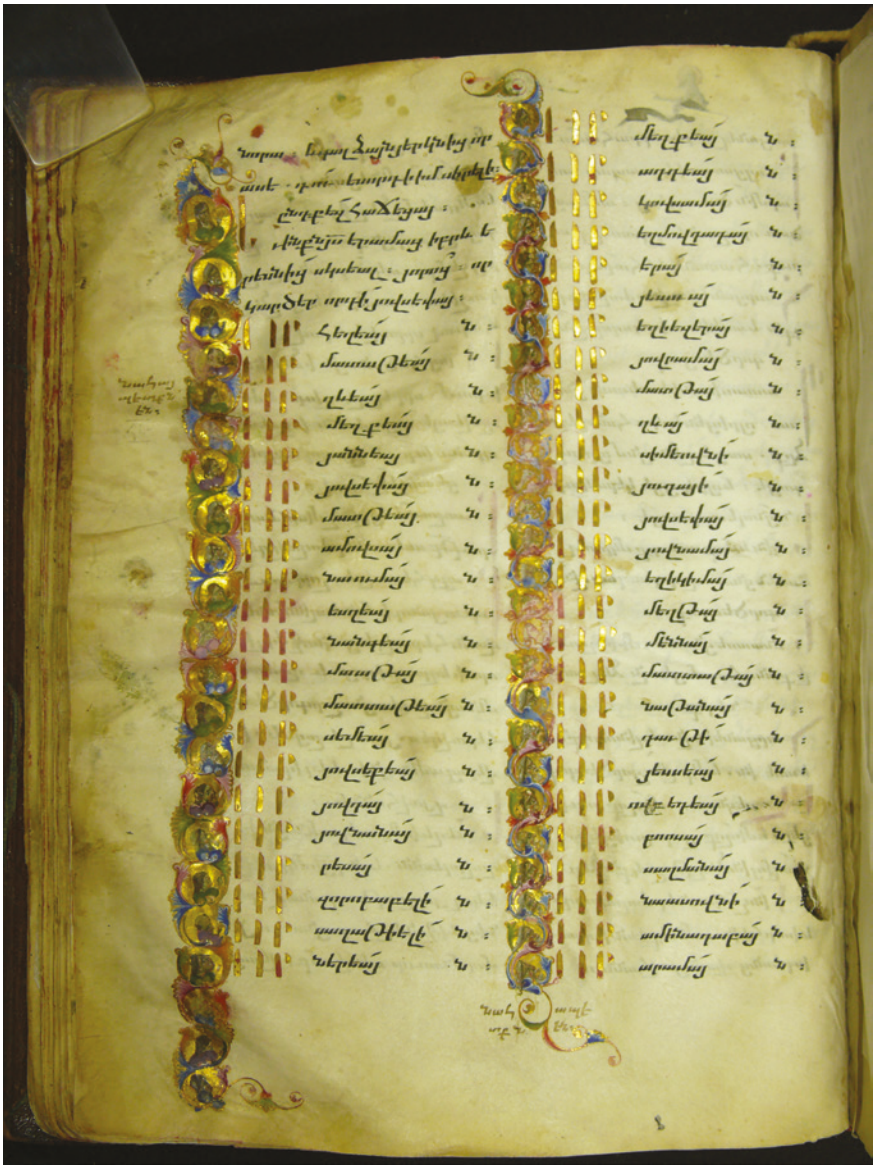


FIGURE 3.9 Ancestors of Christ. *Het'um's Lectionary* (1286), Yerevan, Matenadaran 979, fols 44v



FIGURE 3.9 Ancestors of Christ. *Hetʿum's Lectionary* (1286), Yerevan, Matenadaran 979, fols. 45r
WITH KIND PERMISSION OF MATENADARAN



FIGURE 3.10 Tree of Jesse. *Het'um's Lectionary* (1286), Yerevan, Matenadaran 979, fol. 101r
WITH KIND PERMISSION OF MATENADARAN



FIGURE 3.11 Royal Portrait in *Hetʿum's Lectionary* (1286). Yerevan, Matenadaran 979, fol. 7r
WITH KIND PERMISSION OF MATENADARAN



FIGURE 3.12 A) Royal Portrait in *Het'um's Lectionary*, detail



FIGURE 3.12 B) Gold Seal of Lewon I
FROM: C. MUTAFIAN, *L'ARMÉNIE DU* LEVANT, VOL. 2, FIGURE. 97

CHAPTER 4

The Emperor's Image in Byzantium

Perceptions and Functions

Manuela Studer-Karlen

Several generations of researchers have studied the subject of imperial portraiture in Byzantium from many different points of view.[1] Initially, the primary concerns were the identification and interpretation of individual images on objects or in monumental art, among other more general questions concerning the significance and function of these images. Studies of exegetical texts on the physiognomy of the emperors and the spatial settings for these images have filled many gaps in our understanding.[2] Since the person of the emperor was inextricable from his cult, recent work has considered more closely the ceremonial aspects of portraiture.[3]

1 For a select bibliography: André Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'Art Byzantin* (Paris, 1936); Jolivet-Lévy, Catherine, "L'Image du Pouvoir dans l'art byzantin à l'époque de la dynastie Macédonienne," *Byzantion* 57 (1987), 441–70; Antony Eastmond, "Between Icon and Idol: The uncertainty of imperial images," in *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium. Studies presented to Robin Cormack,* eds. Antony Eastmond, and Liz James (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 73–85; Elisabeta Negrău, "The Ruler's Portrait in Byzantine Art," *European Journal of Science and Theology* 7/2 (2011), 63–75; Alicia Walker, *The Emperor and the World* (Pennsylvania, 2012); Maria Cristina Carile, "Imperial Icons in Late Antiquity and Byzantium. The iconic image of the Emperor between Representation and Presence," *Ikon* 9 (2016), 75–98. For the historiographical debate: Thomas F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods. A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 14–16; Alexander Angelov, "In search of God's only emperor: basileus in Byzantine and modern historiography," *Journal of Medieval History* 40/2 (2014), 123–41, esp. 125–28. In this paper, I use 'Byzantine Empire' in a broad sense to refer to the art of the so-called 'Byzantine commonwealth.'

2 Tania Velmans, "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues," in *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues* (Venice, 1971), pp. 93–148, esp. 100–01; Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire* (Toronto, 1972), pp. 46–48, 108–13, 117–18, 128, 130–33, 141, 154, 192–99, 220–21, 224–28, 245–46; Paul Magdalino, and Robert Nelson, "The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 8 (1982), 123–83.

3 See, in particular, various contributions in: *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. Henry Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1997); *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean,* eds. Alexander Beihammer, Stavroula Constantinou, and Maria G. Parani (Leiden, 2013).

© MANUELA STUDER-KARLEN, 2022 | DOI:10.1163/9789004511583_006
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

Rather than focusing on the identification or contextualization of specific images, this essay will raise questions related to the visual conventions for staging the emperor and for representing his outward appearance. What functions did the body of the emperor have, and how were these functions perceived? Given this set of questions, only 'official' images of the emperor will be examined here.[4] The supernatural qualities of the sovereign, praised in panegyrics, were conveyed through highly diagrammatic and abstract images.[5] It has long been accepted that imperial portraits were recognized as efficient symbols of the ruling institution. To ensure that the viewer recognized the figure as imperial, official images showed the emperor as static, idealized, iconic, haloed, and stereotyped – rather than emphasizing his individualized physiognomy. Moreover, the ceremonial vestments came to visually manifest the figure's imperial status: the emperor is dressed in the *chlamys* or the *loros*, the garments worn during the most solemn moments of court ritual and prescribed in ceremonial handbooks.[6] While the crown was naturally the most recognizable among the insignia, further unambiguous attributes were the sceptre and the *labarum* as well as the *akakia* and the orb.[7] Frontal and haloed, Byzantine rulers were presented as sacred figures. In this way, imperial images were self-evident; they displayed the sacral and secular authority of the *basileus* and, in doing so, magnified his power and that of the empire wherever his image was

4 On the variety of portraits of the sovereign, especially in a historic context: Velmans, "Le portrait," pp. 97–123; Walker, *The Emperor*. Numerous written sources mention hunting, military, or triumphant scenes featuring the emperor as the central figure. Such imagery adorned, for example, the walls of the palaces in Constantinople. Magdalino, and Nelson, "The Emperor," pp. 124–30, 140–46.

5 On the stylistic distinction of this convention from the contrasting one visualizing the emperor as a 'garden of grace': Maguire, Henry, "Style and Ideology in Byzantine Imperial Art," *Gesta* 28/2 (1989), 217–31.

6 Jolivet-Lévy, "L'Image du Pouvoir," pp. 441–43; Maria G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images. Byzantine material culture and religious iconography* (*11th-15th centuries*) (Leiden, 2003), pp. 11–27, 37, 49–50; Jennifer L. Ball, *Byzantine Dress* (New York, 2005), pp. 37–56; Maria G. Parani, "Cultural Identity and Dress: The Case of Late Byzantine Ceremonial Costume," *Jahrbuch Österreichische Byzantinistik* 57 (2007), 95–134; Ruth Macrides, J. A. Munitzi, and Dimiter Angelov, *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan court: Offices and Ceremonies* (Birmingham, 2013); Olga Karagiorgou, " 'The Emperor's New Clothes': Looking anew at the Iconography of the Tondi," in *The Tondi in Venice and Dumbarton Oaks: Art and Imperial between Byzantium and Venice,* eds. Niccolò Zarzi, Albrecht Berger, and Lorenzo Lazzarini (Rome, 2019), pp. 93–150, esp. 103–23. Even if middle and late Byzantine written sources describe other imperial garments, these did not appear in imperial portraiture probably because they were devoid of any specific symbolism.

7 Parani, *Reconstructing*, pp. 27–34; Karagiorgou, " 'The Emperor's New Clothes'," pp. 123–39.

placed.[8] Maria Cristina Carile has similarly demonstrated that, starting in late antiquity, the Byzantine imperial image was distinguished by a strong iconic character that facilitated the observer's immediate recognition not only of the emperor but also of imperial authority.[9]

1 Imperialization of Christ or Christianization of the Emperor?

Probably the most important criterion for performing the royal body was to demonstrate its benevolent connection to Christ. This relationship between the emperor and Christ had been a central theme of imperial depictions since the 4th century,[10] when, under Constantine, the emperor came to be no longer deemed a god in the pagan sense.[11] Likewise, in late antiquity, Christ was not represented in imperial dress, though he was ascribed an imperial air by means of courtly features.[12] Ultimately, a clear assimilation of the image of the emperor and the image of Christ resulted from these circumstances. Rules of courtly etiquette began to determine the forms of encounter with Christ.[13] On a Constantinian sarcophagus, for example, figures in deep *proskynesis* with veiled hands seek grace from Christ as divine ruler (Figure. 4.1).[14]

8 Grabar, *L'Empereur,* pp. 1–5; Antony Eastmond, "The Heavenly Court, Courtly Ceremony, and the Great Byzantine Ivory Triptychs of the Tenth Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 69 (2015), 71–93, esp. 73.

9 Carile, "Imperial Icons," pp. 75–98.

10 Jean-Michel Spieser, "Le Christ et le pouvoir impérial à Byzance," in *Cristo e il Potere teologia, antropologia e politica,* eds. Laura Andreani, and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Florence, 2017), pp. 17–31, esp. 17–18.

11 Mathews, *The Clash of Gods*, pp. 177–78; Johannes G. Deckers, "Göttlicher Kaiser und kaiserlicher Gott," in *Epochenwandel? Kunst und Kultur zwischen Antike und Mittelalter,* eds. Franz Alto Bauer, and Norbert Zimmerman (Mainz, 2001), pp. 3–16, esp. 7–8; Johannes G. Deckers, "Der erste Diener Christi. Die Proskynese der Kaiser als Schlüsselmotiv der Mosaiken in S. Vitale (Ravenna) und in der Hagia Sophia (Istanbul)," in *Art, Cérémonial et Liturgie au Moyen Âge,* eds. Nicolas Bock, Peter Kurmann, Serena Romano, and Jean-Michel Spieser (Rome, 2002), pp. 11–70, esp. 11–15; Katherine Marsengill, *Portraits and Icons. Between Reality and Spirituality in Byzantine Art* (Turnhout, 2013), p. 284.

12 While Mathews does not support this thesis, Deckers is in favour of it. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods*, pp. 77–79; Deckers, "Göttlicher Kaiser," pp. 3–16. This imperialization of Christian art was complete around the 6th century.

13 *Proskynesis* before the emperor as a sign of respect was a common part of court ceremony, but it is rarely illustrated in surviving visual sources. Anthony Cutler, *Transfigurations, Studies in the Dynamics of Byzantine Iconography* (London, 1975), pp. 53–110; esp. 79–80.

14 Manuela Studer-Karlen, *Verstorbenendarstellungen auf frühchristlichen Sarkophagen* (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 202–05.

A scene of such humility comes not from the Gospels but rather from the repertoire of contemporary imperial iconography. In this assimilation process, however, both the image of Christ and that of the emperor transformed. The latter came to be regarded as a direct representative of God on earth, following the theory formulated by Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea (*c.* 260-*c.* 340).[15] Katherine Marsengill concludes that the understanding of the emperor as a divine being disappeared over the course of late antiquity and was replaced by a notion of the imperial office as itself sacred, with the emperor being divinely appointed.[16] Considered the vice-regent of Christ on earth, the *basileus* gained a quasi-saintly and quasi-priestly status.[17] His military successes were seen as the result of divine help[18]; indeed, in the 5th century, Procopius designated the Cross as the emblem through which every emperor obtained victory in war.[19] And reciprocally, among the Christian emperor's perceived abilities was that he held sway in the supernatural realm and, therefore, could act as mediator on behalf of his subjects. Yet, the promise of salvation that was associated with the image of the emperor was never exclusive of the political connotations the image could simultaneously transfer.[20]

The written and visual evidence attests to the impact of pagan predecessors on the depiction of the royal body in Byzantium, particularly in terms of its rigidity, which encapsulated the state-bearing authority of the emperor and his image. The image consolidated a supra-individual, timeless, God-willed, hierarchical world order in which the reigning emperor realized God's will on earth, on behalf of Christ.[21] The divine attributes of immobility and

15 Eusèbe de Césarée, *Vie de Constantin*, introduction Luce Pietri, trans. Marie-Joseph Rondeau, *Sources chrétiennes* 559 (Paris, 2013), 1.27–32, pp. 217–25. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods*, pp. 14–15, 89–91; Robin Cormack, "The Emperor at St. Sophia: viewer and viewed," in *Byzance et les Images*, ed. André Guillou (Paris, 1994), pp. 225–53, esp. 234; Gilbert Dagron, *Empereur et Prêtre. Étude sur le 'césaropapisme' byzantin* (Paris, 1996), pp. 145–48; Eastmond, "The Heavenly Court," p. 76. On the development of the political theology of the Christian empire, as theorized by Eusebius: Carile, "Imperial Icons," pp. 77–78.

16 Marsengill, *Portraits and Icons*, pp. 142–58, 203–31, 284.

17 Dagron, *Empereur et Prêtre*, pp. 159–68. He explores the changing relationship between the emperor's political and religious duties.

18 Grabar, *Empereur*, pp. 5–11; Magdalino, and Nelson, "The Emperor," pp. 165–66; Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory* (Paris, 1986); Cormack, "The Emperor," p. 234; Mathews, *The Clash of Gods*, p. 14; Parani, *Reconstructing,* p. 23; Robert S. Nelson, " 'And so, with the Help of God': The Byzantine Art of War in the Tenth Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 65/66 (2011–12), 169–92.

19 Procopius, *Buildings*, 1.2.12. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 111; Liz James, *Empresses and Power in Early Byzantium* (London, 2001), p. 140.

20 Marsengill, *Portraits and Icons*, pp. 142–45.

21 Deckers, "Göttlicher Kaiser," pp. 3–16; Spieser, "Le Christ," pp. 17–18.

frontality carried clear messages about imperial power and status. A thousand years later, the imperial court repeated the same visual formula: John V Paleologos is portrayed as part of a Deisis on the great eastern arch of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (*c.* 1355).[22] Haloed and wearing rich imperial insignia, he faces the viewer. This prominent statement was especially important in the context of the political instability and economic devastation of that moment.

Throughout the history of the Byzantine Empire, the imperial body was consistently staged with reference to a well-defined typology.[23] Lending the empire his body, the emperor assumed a role – what Ernst Kantorowicz qualified as the 'second' body, that is, the imperishable public body.[24] These inherently generic representations made no attempt at likeness to the individual person of the emperor.[25] Rather, depicted in his public body – haloed and in official costume – the *basileus* represented and affirmed imperial power.[26] Such images served a public function as explicit statements of sacral and secular authority.[27]

22 John's portrait, below the Virgin, is lost. John Prodromos gesturing towards the Hetimasia refers to eternal salvation for the worshippers. Cyril Mango, *Materials for the study of the mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1962), pp. 71–76; Velmans, "Le portrait," pp. 120–21; Cormack, "The Emperor," pp. 232–34; Marsengill, *Portraits and Icons*, p. 153. On the interpretation and contextualization of the depiction, see: Natalia Teteriatnikov, "The Mosaics of the Eastern Arch of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople: Program and Liturgy," *Gesta* 51.1 (2013), 61–84.

23 Jolivet-Lévy, "L'Image du Pouvoir," pp. 441–70; Carile, "Imperial Icons," pp. 76–82.

24 Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957).

25 Velmans, "Le portrait," p. 93; Ioli Kalavrezou, "Imperial Portraits," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, eds. Alexander P. Kazhdan, and Alice-Mary Talbot (Oxford, 1991), 1703–04; Gilbert Dagron, "L'Image de Culte et le Portrait," in *Byzance et les Images*, ed. André Guillou (Paris, 1994), pp. 124–51, esp. 126–31; Gilbert Dagron, *Décrire et peindre: essai sur le portrait iconique* (Paris, 2007), pp. 135–47; Anthony Cutler, "The Idea of Likeness in Byzantium," in *Wonderful things: Byzantium through its art,* eds. Antony Eastmond, and Liz James (Ashgate, 2013), pp. 261–81. As the authors confirm, a tendency towards similarity can be seen in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin ms. 79 (fol. 2v), where the features of Michael VII Doukas (r. 1071–1078) were retouched and adapted to those of his successor, Nikephoros III Botaneiates (r. 1078–1081). It is important to note that this is not a public image.

26 James, *Empresses,* p. 133. It is important to note that chroniclers sometimes distinguished the two natures/bodies of the emperor, for example, when he was murdered or deposed for usurpation, see: Eastmond, "The Heavenly Court," pp. 76–79.

27 Not every image of the emperor had the same function: Carile, "Imperial Icons," pp. 75–77.

2 The Public Body

From late antiquity onwards, the representation of the emperor was understood as a substitute for the emperor himself, especially in legal contexts.[28] The basis for this function is made particularly clear in a quotation from Severianus of Gabala (d. *c.* 408):

> Since the emperor cannot appear before everyone, it is necessary to set up a portrait of the emperor at tribunals, in marketplaces, at meetings and in theatres. In fact, a portrait must be present in every place in which a magistrate acts so that he might sanction whatever transpires.[29]

The visual examples that survive from late antiquity confirm that portraits acted as surrogates for the sovereign. In the *Notitia Dignitatum* (5th century), the insignia of the *comes sacrarum largitionum* features an imperial icon given to the official as an attribute of his rank.[30] Likewise, in a miniature from the 6th-century Gospel book in Rossano, the Roman governor Pontius Pilate is shown enthroned, during the trial of Christ, between two stands bearing double portraits of emperors.[31] Several consular diptychs commemorating accession to high office display the emperor and empress in roundels or as busts above the depiction of the consul.[32] The practice of marking authority with the image of the emperor is illustrated most remarkably by the presence of the empress Ariadne (before 457–515) on the diptych leaf of Anastasius,

28 Josef Engemann, "Herrscherbild," in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 14 (Stuttgart, 1988), pp. 966–1047, esp. 1038–39; Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult. Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (München, 1990), p. 119; Sergey Ivanov, "A Case Study: The Use of the Nominative on Imperial Portraits form Antiquity to Byzantium," in *Authority in Byzantium*, ed. Pamela Amstrong (Ashgate, 2013), pp. 47–58, esp. 54–55.

29 Severiani Gabalae episcopi, *In mundi creationem*, PG 56:489–90. Ivanov, "A Case Study," p. 54; Carile, "Imperial Icons," pp. 78, 86.

30 For this context, see: Pamela C. Berger, *The Insignia of the Notitia Dignitatum: A Contribution to the Study of Late Antique Illustrated Manuscripts* (New York, 1981); Belting, *Bild und Kult,* pp. 118–19, Figure. 53; Antony Eastmond, "Consular Diptychs, Rhetoric and the Languages of Art in Sixth-Century Constantinople," *Art History* 33/5 (2010), 742–65, esp. 750; Ivanov, "A Case Study," p. 55. The lost 5th-century original survives only in late medieval copies. While the personifications of virtues are carefully identified, all the emperors are anonymous.

31 Petra Sevrugian, *Der Rossano-Codex und die Sinope-Fragmente* (Worms, 1990), pp. 67–74, esp. 71, figs. 15–16; Ivanov, "A Case Study," pp. 54–55; Carile, "Imperial Icons," p. 78. The rulers' portraits do not bear any caption.

32 Eastmond, "Consular Diptychs," pp. 740–65.

today in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. By 517, the year for which Anastasius was consul, she had been dead for two years. Liz James is right to note that this post-humous character of the diptych diverts the focus from the image of the empress herself to her office and the workings of the Byzantine imperial hierarchy.[33] It is not an image of the private body; it is an image of the political body. This is reinforced by a comparison of her portrayal on two similar ivory plaques, one in the Bargello Museum in Florence and the other in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.[34] The evidence of the body of the empress indicates that the two ivories in Florence and Vienna represent Ariadne at two different stages in her life.[35] Her rich jewellery is an imperial attribute rather than an expression of femininity. Likewise, her elaborate robes; hieratic, frontal, immobile pose; imperial gesture; and insignia set her apart. She is designated a powerful regent, a personification of authority.[36] Another useful comparable example is the representation of Anicia Juliana in the Herbal of Dioscorides.[37] The noblewoman is flanked by two personifications, whereas Ariadne herself appears as the personification of majesty on the two ivories. While the former is clearly recognizable as female and individual (i.e. with her private body), the latter appears unfeminine in her public portrayal.[38] It has been suggested that the Florence and Vienna ivories of Ariadne, like the famous Barberini Diptych, were sent to provincial elites as a substitute for the emperor's presence.[39] Their purpose was to present the sovereign as ubiquitous in authority. Textual evidence confirms this for later periods. For instance, in the 12th century, Malakes relayed that imperial portraits were to be found in every town.[40]

---

33 James, *Empresses,* pp. 136–39.

34 On the two plaques: James, *Empresses,* pp. 136–45; Diliana Angelova, "The Ivories of Ariadne and Ideas about female imperial Authority in Rome and early Byzantium," *Gesta* 42/1 (2004), 1–15; Eileen Rubery, "The Vienna Empress Ivory and its Companion in Florence: Crowned in different Glories," in *Wonderful things*, eds. Eastmond et al., pp. 99–114 (which includes a detailed bibliography on the two ivories). The debate has focused for a long time on the identity of the figure, with Ariadne being the most popular interpretation.

35 Rubery, "The Vienna Empress Ivory," pp. 112–13.

36 James, *Empresses,* pp. 136–44; Angelova, "Ariadne," p. 2.

37 Ioannis Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1976), pp. 145–46, Figure. 95.

38 The same conclusions can be drawn from analysing the coins, seals, and counterweights, i.e. as soon as the portrait is illustrated as an official authority to legitimize commercial values, the figure is ascribed an unfeminine appearance: James, *Empresses,* pp. 101–32.

39 Nelson, "With the Help of God," pp. 171–74.

40 Magdalino, and Nelson, "The Emperor," pp. 132–35.

With the image of the emperor serving as a substitute for the institution, it seems obvious that such images would have been exhibited not only on coins and seals but also in deeds of donation and investiture.[41] Indeed, the emperor's presence was considered a guarantee of legal authenticity.[42] In a numismatic context, the case of the powerful empress Sophia, wife of Justin II (r. 565–578), is significant. Corresponding to her official role as an effective sovereign, her portrait appears on bronze coins (and a few silver ones from Africa), conveying exceptional authority and prestige.[43]

In other media, the function of the emperor's image is less clear, in part due to the smaller viewing public. It may be assumed that the imperial image was not only a symbol of office but also an object of cultic reverence. As Antony Eastmond has pointed out, imperial images evaded the theory elaborated by iconophile theologians.[44] They were not icons, yet veneration should be paid to them; and indeed, in practice the Byzantines regarded imperial portraits as icon-like.[45] Eastmond examined this ambivalent status of imperial images in the context of icon theory by comparing their function to that of icons and idols. Among his findings, it is interesting to note that the Church Fathers of the 4th century (as well as later theologians) accepted the cult of the emperor in return for official recognition of the Church. They supported the theoretical absolute of the concept of the emperor as God's ruler on earth. The body of the emperor thus played an important role in explaining aspects of Christianity.[46] The *basileus* represented every pious person, via his direct access to Christ.

41 For the emperor on seals, see: Maria Campagnolo-Pothitou, and Jean-Claude Cheynet, *Sceaux de la Collection George Zacos au Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève* (Genève 2016), pp. 15–38.

42 The image of the emperor does not appear on chrysobulls or acts of councils until the Palaeologan era. Spatharakis, *Manuscripts*, pp. 246–47. Moreover, in the case of coinage it can be assumed that none of the portraits were intended as a physiological likeness of the person depicted. Cutler, "Likeness," pp. 266–67; Cécile Morrisson, "Displaying the Emperor's Authority and Kharaktèr on the Marketplace," in *Authority in Byzantium*, ed. Pamela Amstrong (Ashgate, 2013), pp. 65–82, esp. 67. Nonetheless, the imprint of the ruler's figure is the guarantee of the coin or seal's authenticity.

43 Philip Grierson, *Byzantine Coinage* (Washington, D.C., 1999), p. 27; James, *Empresses,* pp. 109–10; Leslie Brubaker, and Helen Tobler, "The Gender of Money: Byzantine Empresses on Coins (324–802)," in *Gender & History* 12/3 (2000), 572–94; Morrisson, "Displaying," p. 71.

44 Eastmond, "Icon and Idol," p. 74.

45 Dagron, *Décrire et peindre*, 15–30; Marsengill, *Portraits and Icons*, pp. 17, 23–33, 83–86, 142–58, 203–32; Carile, "Imperial Icons," pp. 75–98, esp. 87.

46 Magdalino, and Nelson, "The Emperor," pp. 177–79; Eastmond, "Icon and Idol," pp. 73–84 (with sources).

The relationship between the image and its royal model – coming from theories concerning both icons and idols[47] – fluctuated according to need and circumstance.[48] Following the battles over iconoclasm in the 9th century, there appeared depictions of religious councils featuring the emperor front and centre. His central position has its origins in earlier imperial art since the purpose of these images was to reinforce Byzantine orthodox doctrine via the authority of the royal body.[49]

3 The Public Body as Living Ceremonial Image

Certain visual examples provide more specific information about the function of imperial images and their staging. Images depicting the refusal to worship before Nebuchadnezzar, predominantly found on Roman sarcophagi from the early 4th century and later, are linked to the imperial cult of rulers. In such instances, the 'image of gold' from the biblical text (Dan. 3:1–50) has been transformed into an image of a contemporary ruler.[50] In view of the fact that, according to the text, the young men were burned in a fiery furnace for refusing to worship, this update to the picture suggests the importance assigned to the cult of the emperor already in the 4th century.[51] A miniature from the Theodore Psalter (1066) illustrates the same theme. In place of the cult image, a painted panel of a *loros*-clad imperial figure hangs on the wall.[52] This reflects the practice of displaying imperial portraits in cities throughout the empire. It

47 In the case of icons, the relationship between prototype and image is firm yet unidirectional, i.e. when the icon is harmed, the saint is not. This does not translate to the imperial image since it could be affected by the *damnatio memoriae*. In the case of the idol, it is the exact opposite; the idol has no prototype to refer to (which, of course, does not apply to imperial portraits, either).

48 Eastmond, "Icon and Idol," pp. 77–78. See as well: Carile, "Imperial Icons," pp. 87–88.

49 Christopher Walter, *L'Iconographie des Conciles dans la tradition byzantine* (Paris, 1970); Dagron, *Empereur et Prêtre*, pp. 159–68. The content of the inscriptions accompanying the images is not doctrinal, which is further reason to assume that the images met an imperial rather than an ecclesiastical need.

50 Josef Engemann, "Zur Interpretation der Darstellungen der Drei Jünglinge," in *Sarkophag-Symposium Frühchristliche Sarkophage,* ed. Guntram Koch (Mainz, 2001), pp. 81–91.

51 Belting, *Bild und Kult*, pp. 117–18; Engemann, "Drei Jünglinge," pp. 90–91. With another interpretation: Robin M. Jensen, "The Three Hebrew Youth and the problem of the Emperor's Portrait in Early Christianity," in *Jewish Art in Its Late Antique Context*, eds. Uzi Leibner, and Catherine Hezser (Tübingen, 2016), pp. 302–20.

52 London, Cod. Add. 19.352, fol. 202r. Sirapie Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Âge: Londres, Add. 19.352* (Paris, 1970), pp. 104–05, Figure. 318.

is important to note that the veneration of the imperial image could only work when the emperor was portrayed in his public body.[53]

In addition, in many preserved paintings the emperor presents himself *en face*, addressing the viewer and thus inviting veneration in a manner similar to icons.[54] This mode of address can be found across various media spanning late antiquity and the 15th century, for example, in two large stone *tondi*[55]; numerous ivories[56] and manuscripts[57]; as well as monumental paintings in Hagia Sophia.[58] Images adhering to the *en face* formula, beyond indicating the emperor's God-given and God-like power, held further meanings when activated within particular ceremonies. With its iconic power, the imperial portrait served both as an insignia of delegated power, legitimizing the emperor's office, and as a declaration of the politico-theological ideology of the empire.[59]

In these portraits, the *basileus* was himself the object of ritual veneration; he embodied the theatre of court ceremonial.[60] All evidence suggests that these images performed the same functions as their living model. They convey a sense of realism, like what we find in the written descriptions of emperors at ceremonies.[61] For example, the late 14th-century ivory pyxis from Dumbarton Oaks shows the imperial family rigidly lined up, followed by musicians and dancers. The depicted ceremony can be understood as the *prokypsis* (apparition).[62] In

53 Grabar, *Empereur*, pp. 4–8; Magdalino, and Nelson, "The Emperor," pp. 133–34; Parani, *Reconstructing*, pp. 49–50; Eastmond, "Icon and Idol," pp. 78–79. Thus, we cannot be certain that imperial portraits were objects of worship in Byzantium, see: Carile, "Imperial Icons," p. 86.

54 Eastmond, "Icon and Idol," p. 78.

55 The roundels were originally embedded in an external wall; see the different contributions in: *The Tondi in Venice and Dumbarton Oaks,* eds. Zarzi et al.

56 On these ivories as a group, see: Eastmond, "The Heavenly Court," pp. 77–83.

57 Spatharakis, *Manuscripts*.

58 Mango, *Materials*; Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, "Présence et figures du souverain à Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople et à l'église de la Sainte-Croix d'Aghtamar," in *Byzantine Court Culture*, ed. Maguire, pp. 231–46. There are many more examples, of course.

59 Nelson, "With the Help of God," p. 174; Carile, "Imperial Icons," p. 82.

60 Elisabeth Pilz, "Middle Byzantine Court Costume," in *Byzantine Court Culture*, ed. Maguire, pp. 39–51.

61 On these *ekphrasis*: Velmans, "Le portrait," pp. 101–02. On their realism: Henry Maguire, "Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974), 113–40; Cutler, "Likeness," pp. 263–65, 271.

62 Macrides, et al., *Pseudo-Kodinos*, pp. 80–81, 132–35, 401–11; Marsengill, *Portraits and Icons*, p. 87. On the pyxis: Anthony Cutler, *The Craft of Ivory* (Washington, D.C., 1985), p. 34, figs. 19, 32, 33. Oikonomides suggests that the pyxis celebrated the entry of John VII Palaeologus into Thessaloniki (1404). Nicolas Oikonomides, "John VII Palaeologus and the Ivory Pyxis in Dumbarton Oaks," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977), 329–37. See also: Ioannis Spatharakis, "The Proskynesis in Byzantine art. A Study in Connection with

front of the church of Blachernai, the emperor – standing immobile amid his family while dressed in rich robes and holding a cross in his right hand – is ritually uncovered with a curtain. Singers, musicians, and dancers accompany this. The frontal, hieratic, immobile portrait of the emperor with his family is thus typical not only of art but also of ceremonies. More uncommon is the representation of such ceremonies in art, as in the Dumbarton Oaks pyxis. In real ceremonies, the *basileus* served as a living image, and this in turn had an effect on images.

4 Intersection of the Real and the Imaginary Emperor

This section will examine how the emperor chose to make official statements using portraits of his two-bodied self. Each Byzantine emperor was regarded as a 'likeness' of God, a notion that images lent themselves to with their own logic of resemblance.[63] As Anthony Cutler has pointed out, the image internalized imperial qualities without changing its traditional appearance.[64] The inclusion of royal virtues as generosity, humility and piety is linked to a formula that had been consolidated as early as the 4th century.

As the progenitor of this tradition, Constantine is the omnipresent model in texts as well as images.[65] On the ivory reliquary of the True Cross from Cortona (late 10th century), the central position of Christ, Constantine, and the True Cross expresses a transfer of power from one to the other. The inscription on the back states that, since Christ gave the Cross to Constantine, the emperor Nikephoros II Phocas, who now possesses it, is victorious.[66] One of the most eloquent examples in this context is the 9th-century mosaic in the south-west entrance vestibule of Hagia Sophia, proclaiming Constantine the founder

a Nomisma of Andronicus II Paleologue," in *Studies in Byzantine manuscript illumination and iconography*, ed. Ioannis Sphatharakis, (Bristol, 1996), pp. 216–17.

63 Cormack, "The Emperor," p. 234.

64 Cutler, "Likeness," pp. 279–80. The incarnation of virtues corresponds to a standard topos of panegyrical literature: Magdalino, and Nelson, "The Emperor," pp. 142–46.

65 See the various contributions, in: *New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th centuries*, ed. Paul Magdalino (Cambridge, 1994); Dagron, *Empereur et Prêtre*, 141–68.

66 Nelson, "With the Help of God," pp. 83–85, figs, 13–14; Holger A. Klein, "Die Elfenbein-Staurothek von Cortona im Kontext mittelbyzantinischer Kreuzreliquiarproduktion," in *Spätantike und byzantinische Elfenbeinbildwerke im Diskurs*, eds. Gudrun Bühl, Anthony Cutler, and Arne Effenberger (Wiesbaden, 2008), pp. 167–90; Eastmond, "The Heavenly Court," pp. 77–78.

of the city and Justinian the builder of the church.[67] The mosaic presents the emperors as they were meant to be viewed, in their public bodies and as models for the current *basileus*. It should be noted that in Hagia Sophia every viewer – from members of the ecclesiastic hierarchy to simple pilgrims – could actually see the emperor, both in person and in images.[68] In this space, there was thus an intersection between the real and the imaginary emperor.

Moreover, in the case of coinage, contemporaries clearly recognized and understood various motifs for depicting rulers.[69] A question then arises as to the subtle modifications among such imagery. The well-established visual terminology of coins set certain limitations, to which the emperor had to adhere in order to meet the expectations of viewers. Here we see the great paradox that imperial art, once established, was maintained by the audience, not by the emperor.[70]

Another commonly illustrated element relates to the emperor's military successes. It was crucial that such victories be marked as clearly God-given – something Isaac I Komnenos (r. 1057–1059) failed to do in a series of coins he issued.[71] Instead of a cross or a *labarum* and a sheathed sword, as on his first series (figures. 4.2a-b),[72] his second series featured a drawn sword and no Christian symbol (figures. 4.3a-b).[73] Contemporaries explicitly lamented that Isaac had not given credit to God but rather had celebrated his own military force and skill.[74] While such displays were not appreciated in public, descriptions of images suggest that there was more tolerance in private space.[75]

---

67 Grabar, *Empereur*, pp. 109–10; Robin Cormack, *Writing in Gold* (London, 1985), p. 160; Cormack, "The Emperor," pp. 237–39, figs. 8–10. The image also accentuates the Virgin protecting the city, church, and emperors. The mosaic has been convincingly re-dated to the first half of the 9th century: Leslie Brubaker, "Gifts and prayers: the visualization of gift giving in Byzantium and the mosaics of Hagia Sophia," in *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages,* eds. Wendy Davies, and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 43–55.

68 Cormack, "The Emperor," pp. 237, 240.

69 Morrisson, "Displaying," pp. 65–82.

70 Cormack, "The Emperor," p. 235; Negrău, "The Ruler's Portrait," p. 74; Spieser "Le Christ," pp. 29–31.

71 Nelson, "With the Help of God," p. 177; Morrisson, "Displaying," p. 80 (with sources).

72 Philip Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection. Leo III to Nicephoros III, 717–1081* (Washington, D.C., 1973), pp. 759–61, plate LXIII, 1.2, 1.3; Cécile Morrisson, *Byzance et sa monnaie* (Paris, 2015), pp. 148–49.

73 Grierson, *Leo III to Nicephoros III*, p. 762, plate LXII, 2.1–2.5; Morrisson, *Byzance et sa monnaie*, p. 149. It is possible that the iconography was borrowed from contemporary images of soldier saints.

74 Magdalino, and Nelson, "The Emperor," pp. 154–59.

75 See an *ekphrasis* from the now-destroyed bath of Leo VI in the Great Palace in Constantinople, depicting an emperor holding a sword. Paul Magdalino, "The Bath of

A comparison of the so-called Barberini Diptych (6th century) with the Psalter of Basil II (Venice, cod. Marc gr. 17; between 1001 and 1005) reveals that God-given power and martial victory were persistent and interrelated concerns in Byzantine art.[76] The thematic similarity between the ivory and the psalter is evident; in both, a triumphant emperor is depicted in a generic victory scene, surmounted by Christ. It is noteworthy that in the psalter, the poem on the page facing Basil describes Christ crowning the emperor – explaining the supernatural event shown in process.[77] It has been emphasized that the presence of the divine hand or of Christ blessing the emperor accentuated the latter's God-given power.[78] This pictorial interdependence between Christ and the emperor corresponded to the imperial ideology formulated by Eusebius. It also reflected a long tradition in Byzantine imperial images. Therefore, such imagery embodied the continuity of the values of the Byzantine Empire, conveying these values and showing the emperor's intervention on their behalf, as well as his role as an intercessor for his subjects. His body became – and was perceived as – a symbol. The motif of Christ blessing or crowning the emperor appears often, especially in manuscripts.[79] Written sources indicate that there were also icons featuring this iconography.[80] We must keep in mind that these pictures would only have been visible to a very small audience. They were either gifts to the emperor or made on imperial orders.[81] Via coins, however, the same motif was circulated to a much larger viewing public (figures. 4.4a-b).[82] On

---

Leo the Wise and the 'Macedonian Renaissance' revisited: Topography, Iconography, Ceremonial, Ideology," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 42 (1988), 97–118, esp. 104, 116; Nelson, "With the Help of God," p. 177. For unofficial images intended for a smaller audience and with a far more varied range of iconographic options, see: Walker, *The Emperor*, pp. 108–43.

76 On this comparison and the relevant bibliography: Nelson, "With the Help of God," pp. 171–74; Spieser, "Le Christ," pp. 22–23.

77 Jolivet-Lévy, "L'Image du Pouvoir," pp. 445–52; Anthony Cutler, "The Psalter of Basil II," in *Imagery and Ideology in Byzantine Art*, ed. Anthony Cutler (Ashgate, 1992), 1–36; Nelson, "With the Help of God," pp. 173–74.

78 Spieser, "Le Christ," pp. 19–24.

79 Spatharakis, *Manuscripts*, pp. 6, 7, 10, 14, 39, 46, 66, 70, 79, 93, 102, 105, 136, 147–48, 150–51. It should be noted that this type of monumental painting is found only in the medieval Kingdom of Serbia. See the contribution by Branislav Cvetković in this volume.

80 See the 12th-century *ekphrasis* on an icon featuring a representation of the emperor and the empress blessed by Christ: Magdalino, and Nelson, "The Emperor," pp. 138–40. The text underlines that through this picture the emperor was made God on earth.

81 Spieser, "Le Christ," pp. 25–26.

82 Grierson, *Byzantine Coinage*, pp. 37–38; Morrisson, *Byzance et sa monnaie*, p. 150; Vangelis Maladakis, "The Coronation of the Emperor on Middle Byzantine Coinage: A Case of Christian Political Theology (11th–mid 11th c.)," *Acta Musei Varnaensis* 7/1 (2005), 342–60.

the gold *histamenon* depicting Basil II with his brother Constantine VIII, the crown suspended above Basil's head marks him as the true sovereign.[83]

The emperor was portrayed as upholding the traditional values of generosity, humility, and in particular piety.[84] In a famous example, the depiction of Justinian and Theodora in the apse of San Vitale in Ravenna (547) was intended to demonstrate the statements: piety and, above all, generosity (Figure. 4.5). The *en face* couple, richly adorned and haloed, is accompanied by personalities from their court as well as Church authorities carrying liturgical utensils.[85] Gender also plays a role in the construction of hierarchies here: Justinian is shown in the privileged position to Christ's right, as beneficiary of his gesture.[86] Mosaics in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia portray two imperial couples: Constantine IX Monomachos (r. 1042–1055) and his wife Zoe, along with John II Komnenos (r. 1118–1143) and his wife Irene/Piroska (and his son Alexis). Here as well, the emperor is depicted to Christ's and the Virgin's right, respectively. Both couples are engaged in an act of financial sponsorship, and consequently they impart the *philantrophia* and piety of the imperial family.[87] The almost frontal representation of the latter pair is a bold instance of visual propaganda, as they were in fact less powerful than the former.[88] The south gallery was of particular importance for ceremonies. Here, the emperor followed, whether in full or part, the liturgical office on certain

83 Grierson, *Byzantine Coinage*, p. 37, Figure. 13; Grierson, *Leo III to Nicephorus III*, pp. 607–08, 621, plate XLV, 6.

84 Alongside these visual conventions, the performance of the *basileus* as the incarnation of traditional virtues is a stable component of *ekphrasis.* Magdalino, and Nelson, "The Emperor," pp. 142–44.

85 Grabar, *Empereur*, pp. 106–07; Deckers, "Der erste Diener Christi," pp. 22–38; Marsengill, *Portraits and Icons*, pp. 145–47; Rico Franses, *Donor Portraits in Byzantine Art. The Vicissitudes of Contact between Human and Divine* (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 57–60, 195–98; Brittany Thomas, "A Case for Space: Rereading the Imperial Panels of San Vitale," in *Debating Religious Pace & Place in the Early Medieval World*, eds. Chantal Bielmann, and Brittany Thomas (Leiden, 2018), pp. 61–76; Rudolf H. W. Stichel, " 'Privatporträts' in den Kaisermosaiken von San Vitale in Ravenna," in *Privatporträts*, eds. Vasiliki Tsamakda, and Norbert Zimmermann (Wien, 2020), pp. 137–45. On Theodora's robe, a figural embroidery of the Adoration of the Magi suggests that the gifts of the imperial couple mimic those of the Three Kings to the infant Jesus.

86 Leslie Brubaker, "Gender and gesture in Byzantine images," in *The Eloquence of Art. Essays in Honour of Henry Maguire,* eds. Andrea Olsen Lam, and Rossitza Schroeder (London, 2020), pp. 50–54.

87 Cormack, *Writing in Gold,* pp. 184–200; Cormack, "The Emperor," pp. 240–43, figs. 11–12.

88 On the stylistic differences between the two panels and the analogies in contemporary panegyrics: Maguire, "Style and Ideology," pp. 228–29.

feasts.[89] According to the sources, a Pantocrator was originally depicted in the central vault, directly adjacent to the tribunes.[90] In this location in Byzantine churches, the image of the Pantocrator surrounded by angels was often mirrored by the emperor surrounded by his dignitaries; even in the absence of the person of the emperor, he and his court were made present in the church either by a throne[91] or a portrait,[92] visually paralleled yet superseded by the Pantocrator in the central vault above. In this way, the hierarchical composition visually expressed the relationship between the celestial and earthly courts. For the case of Hagia Sophia, Catherine Jolivet-Lévy correctly asserts that the representation of Pentecost in the neighbouring vault underlined the parallels between the descent of the Holy Spirit and the mission of the emperor; the former imparted authority to the apostles to lead the Christian people, and the latter continued that work by shepherding the new chosen people.[93] The image of Pentecost thus serves to remind the audience of the religious rights and duties of the emperor.[94] The decoration of the tribunes of Hagia Sophia – including the vaults and the depiction of the two imperial couples – therefore had a politico-religious significance in connection with the liturgical function of these tribunes. As a living image, the emperor completed the composition, his portraits substituting for him in his physical absence. This guaranteed a permanent imperial presence at this place. However, it must be noted that this composition was only viewed by the court and the clergy of Hagia Sophia; they were inaccessible to a larger viewing public.

In the same church, a famous mosaic of an anonymous emperor in *proskynesis* at the feet of the enthroned Christ was accessible to a wider public due to its placement above the main entrance of the narthex. Research has suggested

89 For example, the Sunday after Easter, the Exaltation of the Cross, and Orthodox Sunday: Thomas F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (London, 1971), p. 132; Nicolas Oikonomides, "The Mosaic Panel of Constantine IX and Zoe in Saint Sophia," *Revue des études byzantines* 36 (1978), 219–32; Jolivet-Lévy, "Présence," pp. 231–32; Franses, *Donor Portraits,* pp. 28–31.

90 Mango, *Materials*, pp. 29–38. The relocation of a theme from the dome to a secondary vault of the church confirms that the latter was used as a private sanctuary within the church.

91 However, the presence of a throne at Hagia Sophia has not been firmly established: Mathews, *Early Churches*, pp. 133–34 (with the reconstruction).

92 The testimony of Antony of Novgorod suggests that several imperial portraits were originally found here. The archbishop made a pilgrimage to Constantinople in 1200. Mango, *The Art*, pp. 237, 266; Jolivet-Lévy, "Présence," p. 232.

93 Jolivet-Lévy, "Présence," pp. 232–37.

94 Pentecost is rarely absent from imperial foundations. For further examples, see: Jolivet-Lévy, "Présence," pp. 234–36.

that it depicts Leo VI (r. 886–912) publicly humiliated,[95] though André Grabar proved, already early on, that the meaning of this image was much more complex.[96] At particular feasts, the emperor and the patriarch passed through this door, right under this panel, bowing three times before it,[97] which set the tympanum mosaic into temporary dialogue with the living imperial icon below. A tripartite *proskynesis* was perpetuated in the mosaic, where the anonymous emperor is shown in the act of worshipping three miraculous icons related to the theme of the church entrance, thus characterizing him as pious and penitent.[98] The emperor undoubtedly made his entrance as the institutionalized ceremonial image of Christ on earth.[99] However, the simultaneous *mise-en-scène* of his personal piety was significant as well. Veneration and humility can easily be understood as Christian virtues, and the repentance of any emperor followed the model of David, the most important exemplum of repentance in biblical exegesis.[100] The idea of penitence did not conflict with the fundamental concept of imperial investiture; these two messages could co-exist within the same image.[101] By performing the *proskynesis*, the Byzantine emperor affirmed, first of all, his allegiance and established his status as vice-regent of Christ. Further examples showing an emperor in *proskynesis* before Christ

95 Mango, *Materials*, Figure. 8; Ernest J. W. Hawkins, "Further Observations on the Narthex Mosaic in St. Sophia at Istanbul," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 22 (1968), 151–66; Nicolas Oikonomides, "Leo VI and the Narthex Mosaic of Saint Sophia," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 30 (1976), 151–72.

96 Grabar, *Empereur*, pp. 101–04; Zaga A. Gavrilović, "The Humiliation of Leo VI the Wise (the Mosaic of the Narthex at Saint Sophia, Istanbul)," *Cahiers archéologiques* 28 (1979), 87–94; Franses, *Donor Portraits,* pp. 63–86.

97 Grabar, *Empereur*, p. 101 (with sources); Robert S. Nelson, *Hagia Sophia, 1850–1950* (Chicago, 2004), pp. 3–12; George P. Majeska, "The emperor in His Church: Imperial Ritual in the Church of St. Sophia," in *Byzantine Court Culture*, ed. Maguire, pp. 1–12; Nelson, "With the Help of God," p. 171.

98 Alexei M. Lidov, "The Creator of Sacred Space as a Phenomenon of Byzantine Culture," in *L'artista a Bisanzio e nel mondo cristiano-orientale*, ed. Michele Bacci (Pisa, 2007), pp. 135–76.

99 Cormack, "The Emperor," pp. 225–53, 246–50, figs. 15–16; Dagron, *Empereur et Prêtre*, pp. 122–24, 129–38; Nelson, "With the Help of God," pp. 170–72, Figure. 1.

100 Dagron, *Empereur et Prêtre*, pp. 123, 137; Vasiliki Tsamakda, "König David als Typos des byzantinischen Kaisers," in *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter,* eds. Falko Daim, and Jörg Dauschke (Mainz, 2010), pp. 23–54, esp. 23–25, 36–37. Psalm 50 (51) is considered the psalm of repentance. The most important genre to draw comparisons between David and the Byzantine emperor is the panegyric.

101 Deckers, "Der erste Diener Christi," pp. 39–55; Lidov, "The Creator of Sacred Space," pp. 155–56.

reveal that this action did not have to be connected with the humiliation of any specific emperor.[102]

Since his power was given by God, the emperor's piety became an institutional attribute: the body of the emperor must, after all, serve the office of the emperor. The notion of *εὐσέβεια* (piety) appears for the first time in the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118), as a noun for a specific characteristic of the emperor.[103] The religious and political nature of this relationship reached its visual climax in the portrayal of Michael VIII Paleologos (r. 1259–1282) kneeling before Christ on his *hyperpyron*, in gratitude for the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261.[104]

From this point of view, the depiction of Nikephoros II Phocas (r. 963–969) with the empress Theodora and other family members in the conch of the north apse of Pigeon House Church in Çavuşin in Cappadocia is unique (Figure. 4.6).[105] The context and the placement of the royal portrait suggest a permanent commemoration of the emperor. In addition, Constantine and Helena are represented in the semicylinder of the central apse, sharing with the imperial couple not only the same costume but also the same space.[106] These diachronic images of the emperor and defender of the faith were arranged to be seen together: the founding emperors support the reigning emperors, testifying to the piety of the latter.[107] This visual strategy may be classified as commemorative in purpose,[108] something not generally so easily understood

102 On the parallels: Spieser, "Le Christ," pp. 28–29.

103 Grierson, *Byzantine Coinage*, pp. 38–39; Victoria Kepetzi, "Images de piété de l'empereur dans la peinture byzantine (X^{e}/XIII^{e} siècle) – Réflexions sur quelques exemples," in *Byzantinische Malerei*, ed. Guntram Koch (Wiesbaden, 2000), pp. 109–45, esp. 109–10.

104 Latin merchants noticed this innovation, see: Morrisson, "Displaying," p. 78. This type was repeated by his successors, for example Andronicos II, on *hyperpyra*: Spatharakis, "The Proskynesis," pp. 193–224; Grierson, *Byzantine Coinage*, p. 25, Figure. 18.

105 Lyn Rodley, "The Pigeon House Church, Çavuşin," *Jahrbuch Österreichische Byzantinistik* 33 (1983), 301–39; Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce: le programme iconographique de l'abside et de ses abords* (Paris, 1991), pp. 15–22, figs. 1–2.

106 As Constantine and Helena were visible only to one standing at the north side of the aisle of the naos, the gaze of the viewer would simultaneously encompass both the portraits of the imperial saints and those of the emperor Nikephoros II Phocas and his family. Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises,* pp. 18–19.

107 Kepetzi, "Images de piété," pp. 112–19, figs. 1–4; Eastmond, "The Heavenly Court," pp. 74–77.

108 It is significant that this image, in contrast to other images of this emperor, was not part of his *damnatio memoriae*. A poem by John Geometres records the destruction of images of Nikephoros by his usurper and successor John Tzimiskes (r. 969–976): Calliope Bourdara, "Quelques cas de *damnatio memoriae* à l'époque de la dynastie macédonienne," *Jahrbuch Österreichische Byzantinistik* 32 (1982), 337–42; Eastmond, "Icon and Idol," pp. 79–80; Negrău, "The Ruler's Portrait," pp. 63–74.

for monumental paintings. The image's placement in the sanctuary at Çavuşin more explicitly proclaimed the religio-political understanding of the emperor.

5 'Likeness' of God

One of Eusebius's crucial ideological points was that the court theatre of Byzantium mirrored the harmonious movement of the universe.[109] We find in many images this juxtaposition and interchange between the earthly and heavenly cosmos. One famous example is an ivory in Berlin, sometimes referred to as the "Leo Sceptre" but whose original function is still debated.[110] The Virgin is at the centre, turning to her right to either crown or adorn with a pearl Leo VI, who is identified by an inscription; to her left is the archangel Gabriel. The emperor and the archangel mirror one another not only in their costumes but also in their attributes, namely the orb and sceptre, which they hold in identical poses.[111] As Kathleen Corrigan pointed out, the design of each side of the ivory echoes the liturgical setting of Hagia Sophia.[112] Henry Maguire underlines that the ivory visualizes the earthly architecture of Hagia Sophia, which implied that the church was populated by the heavenly court, with the emperor at the rank of an archangel.[113] The picture pursues a double strategy: it is a prayer for the sovereign's (and thus each of his subjects') reception into the court of heaven and, simultaneously, a statement about the emperor's current religio-political power on earth.

---

109 In the following centuries, the Eusebian tradition was developed further. Cormack, "The Emperor," p. 234; Henry Maguire, "The Heavenly Court," in *Byzantine Court Culture*, ed. Maguire, pp. 247–58; Eastmond, "The Heavenly Court," pp. 71–93; Carile, "Imperial Icons," pp. 77–78.

110 Kathleen Corrigan, "The Ivory Sceptre of Leo VI: A Statement of Post-Iconoclastic Imperial Ideology," *The Art Bulletin* 60 (1978), 407–16; Cormack, *Writing in Gold,* pp. 163–65; Arwed Arnulf, "Eine Perle für das Haupt Leons VI.," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 32 (1990), 69–84; Gudrun Bühl, and Hiltrud Jehle, "Des Kaisers altes Zepter – des Kaisers neuer Kamm," *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 39 (2002), 289–306 (they postulate that this unique object was a comb); Maguire, "The Heavenly Court," pp. 249–50; Maria G. Parani, "The Romanos Ivory and the New Tokalı Kilise: Imperial Costume as a Tool for Dating Byzantine Art," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 49 (2001), 15–28, esp. 15; Anthony Cutler, and Philipp Niewöhner, "Towards a History of Byzantine Ivory Carving from the late 6th to the late 9th century," in *Mélanges Catherine Jolivet-Lévy,* eds. Sulamith Brodbeck, Andreas Nicolaïdes, Paul Pagès, Brigitte Pitarakis, Ioanna Rapti, and Elisabeth Yota (Paris, 2016), pp. 89–107, esp. 98–101.

111 Maguire, "Style and Ideology," p. 223.

112 Corrigan, "The Ivory Sceptre," p. 413.

113 Maguire, "The Heavenly Court," p. 247–50; Carile, "Imperial Icons," p. 82.

Similarly, the front of the Holy Crown of Hungary, gifted by the Byzantine emperor Michael VII Doukas (r. 1071–1078), bears a tripartite composition of enamel plaques illustrating Christ enthroned making a gesture of benediction, with the archangels Michael and Gabriel below. The trio is flanked by the soldier Saints George and Demetrius on one side, and Saints Cosmas and Damian on the other. They turn their eyes towards Christ as a sign of recognition of his supremacy. The arrangement on the back mirrors the front. Michael VII Doukas – the most important figure – is centred above his son Constantine and King Geza of Hungary (r. 1074–1077), the latter the recipient of this crown as a diplomatic gift.[114] The image of the haloed emperor emphasizes his role as an embodiment of the virtues and qualities of the heavenly court. The object's decorative programme contains further biographical, historical, and ideological statements stressing the superordinate position of Michael VII.[115] The hierarchical object is governed by difference rather than commonality; indeed, the visual language of the gift is entirely Byzantine. Objects used as diplomatic gifts, in general, articulated the key political and religious ideologies of the empire.[116] Of course, the question arises here as to the audience for these images. These imperial representations unite various orders of reality. The crown gifted to the king of Hungary conveys and validates power, and the evidence of the rulers on it confirms for whom this message was meant. Power was exemplified in relation to and through the body of the emperor.

Michael VII Doukas and his wife, Maria/Marta, are depicted on an enamel that the empress probably brought to her native Georgia in 1072 when she visited her dying father Bagrat IV (Figure. 4.7).[117] Analogous to the picture on folio

114 It is, therefore, not an exact reflection: the angels wear the imperial costume, not Christ. The second difference between the two courts is that Christ is enthroned, in contrast to the bust portrait of Michael VII. On the crown, see: Cecily J. Hilsdale, "The social life of the Byzantine Gift: The Royal Crown of Hungary re-invented," *Art History* 31/5 (2008), 603–31. On the multiple layers: Brubaker, "Gender and gesture," 48, 68.

115 Robin Cormack, "But is it art?" in *Byzantine Diplomacy,* eds. Jonathan Shepard, and Simon Franklin (Aldershot, 1992), pp. 219–36, esp. 229–31, figs. 2–3.

116 On the diplomatic importance of the Holy Crown of Hungary: Hilsdale, "The social life of the Byzantine Gift," pp. 608–22. Other examples: Cormack, "But is it art?," pp. 219–36.

117 Hilsdale, "The social life of the Byzantine Gift," pp. 613–15; Lynda Garland, and Stephen Rapp, "Maria 'of Alania': Women and Empress Between Two Worlds," in *Byzantine Women: Varieties of Experience 800–1200* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 91–122; Ioli Kalavrezou, "Female popular Beliefs and Maria of Alania," *Journal of Theological Studies* 36 (2011), 85–101; Antony Eastmond, "Greeks Bearing Gifts. The Icon of Xaxuli and Enamel Diplomacy between Byzantium and Georgia," in *Convivium supplementum. The Medieval South Caucasus: Artistic Cultures of Albania, Armenia and Georgia*, eds. Ivan Foletti, and Erik Thunø (Turnhout, 2016), pp. 88–105.

2v of the Codex Parisinus, Coislin 79, the couple stands beneath a depiction of Christ *en buste*, his hands touching each of their crowns in a gesture of blessing.[118] The formula underlines the identity of the *basileus* as the superior regnant, whose power comes from God. The integration of the enamel plaque into the Khakuli triptych in the 1120s changed the statement significantly.[119] Since the enamel holds the position directly at the front of the triptych, it is the only representation that can be seen when the wings of the triptych are closed. Set into this new and privileged position, the once-decontextualized Byzantine enamel can be read as a statement of Georgian equality with Byzantium.[120] There was definitely an awareness of visual rhetoric in this case.

Both the identification and the dating of the two imperial figures on the Romanos Ivory, today in the Cabinet des Medailles in Paris, have a controversial history. The options that have been proposed are Romanos II (r. 959–963) and his first wife Eudokia/Bertha or Romanos IV (r. 1068–1071) and Eudokia Makrembolitissa.[121] The typology and symbolism of the costume of the imperial couple favour the 10th-century attribution.[122] While Romanos wears the *loros*, his wife is clad in the *chlamys*.[123] The emperor in the *loros* became the image of God because this garment was worn by the emperor on particular feast days.[124] Thus, the *loros* designated the wearer as the vicar of Christ, and this explains its predominance in official portraiture. More important than the identification is the way in which the ivory encapsulates the ideological circumstances of its moment. Maria Parani identifies it as a diplomatic gift to Hugh of Arles, the father of Eudokia/Bertha.[125] The coronation ivory in Moscow

118 Spatharakis, *Manuscripts*, pp. 107–18, Figure. 70; Maguire, "Style and Ideology," pp. 220–22, 224; Eastmond, "The Heavenly Court," p. 80.

119 Titos Papamastorakis, "Re-Deconstructing the Khakhuli Triptych," *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Hetaireias* 23 (2002), 239–45; Leila Z. Khuskivadze, *The Khakhuli Triptych* (Tbilissi, 2007).

120 Eastmond, "Greeks Bearing Gifts," p. 104.

121 Ioli Kalavrezou, "Eudokia Makrembolitissa and the Romanos Ivory," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977), 307–25. A discussion of differing opinions, along with additional bibliography, can be found in: Parani, "The Romanos Ivory," pp. 19–28.

122 Anthony Cutler, "The Date and Significance of the Romanos Ivory," in *Late Antique and Byzantine Ivory Carving*, ed. Anthony Cutler (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 605–10, esp. 610; Parani, "The Romanos Ivory," p. 20.

123 Just as beardlessness distinguished the junior emperor from the senior, the *chlamys* emphasized the difference between a junior and senior empress. Parani, "The Romanos Ivory," p. 22.

124 Parani "The Romanos Ivory," p. 21; Parani, *Reconstructing,* pp. 23–24.

125 Parani, "The Romanos Ivory," p. 23.

conveys an even closer intertwining of Christ and the emperor through a visual correspondence between Christ and Constantine VII.[126]

The images on these gifted objects – the crown of Hungary; the enamel brought to Georgia and later incorporated into the Khakuli triptych; and the Romanos Ivory, gifted to a western king – communicated to an international and cosmopolitan audience the divine origin of Byzantine imperial authority. With these pictures, the Byzantine emperor claimed himself to be Christ's vicar on earth, the unique successor of Constantine, and the only and rightful head of the universal Christian empire.[127]

Beyond this parenetic function and their role in individual piety, imperial portraits illustrate the religious concept based on the divine origin of power in a socio-political context. These institutional images of the emperor's body in fact suggest that it was intellectuals and theologians who conceived the conventions for representing the emperor in art.[128] Indeed, the piety of the emperor belonged to the imperial institution itself. When a given emperor was politically weaker, a different strategy – one drawn from western conventions – was needed: Christ as emperor.

6 Christ as Emperor

Starting in the 14th century, a new iconography lent the imperial garb to Christ, as King of Kings. The earliest known example, at Treskaveć Monastery (1334–43), is featured within an extraordinary iconographic programme in the dome of the north-western compartment as a part of the royal Deisis.[129] At the high point of the dome, Christ is shown wearing royal garb and the *kamelaukion*. The lower register contains a composition with the Hetimasia, flanked by the

126 Deckers, "Der erste Diener Christi," pp. 16–17; Eastmond, "The Heavenly Court," pp. 77, 106. On the concept of the *Christomimesis*: Marsengill, *Portraits and Icons*, pp. 284–87.

127 Parani, "The Romanos Ivory," pp. 23–24. This aspect is emphasized by the inscriptions on the Romanos ivory. Angelov, "In search of God's only emperor," pp. 123–41. Focusing on historical sources from the early Byzantine period, Angelov argues that there was no Byzantine titular exceptionalism. Byzantine intellectuals applied the title *basileus* to various foreign rulers, without any concern for Christian theological notions. It is important to note that the visual rhetoric of the official image points in a different direction.

128 Cormack, "The Emperor," p. 235; Negrău, "The Ruler's Portrait," p. 74; Spieser, "Le Christ," pp. 29–31.

129 Saška Bogevska, "Les peintures murales du monastère de Marko: un programme iconographique au service de la propagande royale," in *La Culture des commanditaires*, eds. Quitterie Cazes, and Christian Prigent (Paris, 2011), pp. 1–21, esp. 3–4, 7–8 (with numerous references to earlier literature).

Theotokos and King David, both crowned. Behind them are various heavenly powers. The textual origin of the iconography of Christ as king and the Mother of God as queen is Psalm 44 (45).[130] In the decorative programme at Treskaveć, David is depicted as both the author of the psalms and the royal ancestor of Mary and Christ. A slightly later example is found nearby in the western part of the monastery of the Theotokos in Zaum (1361),[131] where, at the centre of the composition, Christ is enthroned as king. He is flanked this time by John Prodromos and the Mother of God, the latter in royal and priestly robes. Here too, the royal Deisis can be traced back to Psalm 44 (45). It appears again, a little bit later, at Markov Monastery near Skopje, founded by the Serbian king Vukašin (r. 1365–1371) and dedicated to Saint Demetrius.[132] In the composition of the lowest register on the northern wall of the naos, right next to the iconostasis, Christ is shown enthroned. He wears the *kamelaukion* and the *loros*. The two angels flanking him, along with the fire wheels at his feet, signal the heavenly powers. The winged John Prodromos turns to Christ and, on the other side, the Theotokos appears again as queen.[133] Another royal Deisis can be found on the northern wall of the naos of the church of Hagios Athanasios tou Mouzaki in Kastoria (1383/84).[134] Within the zone of saintly representations that encircles the entire church, the three figures are highlighted by being placed beneath a painted arcade. At the centre, Christ is enthroned and dressed again in the *kamelaukion* and the *loros*. To his left is John the Baptist, with his left hand raised and, to his right, the crowned Theotokos followed by various saints, all of whom are dressed like contemporary courtiers.[135] Clearly,

130 For an interpretation of this psalm describing the king's wedding to his betrothed in golden robes, in this context: Agnes Kriza, "The Royal Deesis – An Anti-Latin Image of Late Byzantine Art," in *Cross-Cultural Interaction between Byzantium and the West 1204–1669: Whose Mediterranean is it anyway?,* ed. Angeliki Lymberopoulou (London, 2018), pp. 272–90, esp. 275–78.

131 Bogevska, "Marko," pp. 7–8.

132 Bogevska, "Marko," pp. 1–21. According to the inscriptions, the monastery had already been founded in 1345, but the paintings were executed under the son of Vukašin, King Marko (r. 1371–1395), in 1376/77.

133 Ida Sinkević, "Prolegomena for a Study of Royal Entrances in Byzantine Churches: The Case of Marko's Monastery," in *Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and its Decoration. Studies in Honor of Slobodan Ćurčić,* eds. Mark J. Johnson, Robert Ousterhout, and Amy Papalexandrou (Ashgate 2012), pp. 121- 42, esp. 135; Warren T. Woodfin, "Orthodox Liturgical Textiles and Clerical Self-Referentiality," in *Dressing the Part: Textiles as Propaganda in the Middle Ages,* eds. Kate Dimitrova, and Margaret Goehring (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 31–51, esp. 40. The Deesis is linked to the Great Entrance.

134 Léna Grigoriadou, "L'Image de la Déesis royale sur une fresque du XIV^{e} siècle à Castoria," in *Actes du XIVe Congrès international des études byzantines* (Bukarest, 1975), pp. 47–59.

135 Grigoriadou, "L'Image," pp. 48–51; Sinkević, "Prolegomena," 134–36.

this heavenly court was meant to reflect the earthly one. Lastly, a royal Deisis is depicted in a miniature in the Serbian Psalter in Munich (*c.* 1370–90, Figure. 4.8) as well as in a 14th-century icon from Veroia.[136]

Though, in the framework of this essay, we cannot discuss the liturgical function associated with this image, with regard to the royal representation of Christ it is worth recalling Henry Maguire's remark that the socio-political weakness of the 14th-century empire could have motivated this innovative arrangement showing Christ in imperial garments.[137] It finally proclaimed a heavenly court that truly mirrored the earthly one – yet only at a moment when the court at Constantinople was extremely powerless. The Emperor's authority waned while, that of the Church increased.[138] Nevertheless, the appearance of the emperor held significance in the eyes of contemporaries because the Byzantine imperial insignia was the basis for the Byzantine concept of imperium, i.e. that there is only one Christian empire on earth. And, since Christ has the Byzantine insignia, this must be the Roman one, which is based in Constantinople. This clear statement, together with the counter-movement to western coronation iconography from the beginning of the 14th century, made the royal Deisis a striking, controversial, and anti-unionist piece of propaganda, one that would become highly popular in later Byzantine art.[139]

7 The Body as Continuum

Imperial effigies were characterized by a strong iconic character that facilitated the immediate recognition of the emperor as well as of imperial authority. A 12th-century Epiphany oration, delivered by John Kamateros, describes the purpose of imperial art, explaining that imperial iconographies had a real relevance to the everyday experience of contemporary Byzantines.[140] He is

136 On the Serbian Psalter (Munich, BSB, Cod. Slav. 4, fol. 58v): Hans Belting, *Der Serbische Psalter. Faksimile-Ausgabe des Cod. Slav. 4 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München* (Wiesbaden, 1978), pp. 203–04. On the icon from Veroia: Thanasis Papazotos, *Η Βέροια και οι ναοί της (11ος-18ος αι)* [Veroia and its churches (11th-18th centuries)] (Athens, 1994), pp. 62–63, pl. 76.

137 Maguire, "The Heavenly Court," pp. 257–58.

138 Vapheiades, Constantine, "Sacerdotium and Regnum in Late Byzantium: Some Notes on the 'Imperial Deesis'," *American Journal of Arts and Design* 2/4 (2017), 79–83; Vapheiades, Constantine, "Sacerdotium and Imperium in Late Byzantine Art," *Niš i Vizantija* 18 (2020), 55–87.

139 Kriza, "The royal Deesis," pp. 272–90.

140 Magdalino, and Nelson, "The Emperor," pp. 177–79. The passage is largely a paraphrase of one by Gregory of Nazianzos.

absolutely aware that current imperial art is a perpetuation of an ancient tradition, and he assesses this point positively. This attests to the intended continuity of the imperial portrait. The construction of imperial status in Byzantium derived largely from Eusebius, who defined the strong relationship between Christ and the sovereign. Portraits of the emperor conveyed imperial authority through the topos of divine support, with the emperor being considered the earthly intercessor for salvation.

The body of the emperor became a vehicle not only for explaining the Christian salvation narrative but also for serving a number of socio-political tasks, such as installing a royal presence throughout the empire or guaranteeing the authenticity of official documents, seals, or coins. As a symbol of the power of Christ, the *basileus* became a component of both the religious and the secular orders. There are even some indications that the image of the emperor was meant to be a proxy for the living individual, with only a few exceptions. All these images were primarily a staging of the operations of the Byzantine Empire. The consistent external appearance of a ruler had a significant function in medieval imagination; it referred to the values, virtues, vices, and authority of the empire. The image of the royal body was less propaganda and more a dynamic dialogue between ruler and subject.[141] As soon as the audience changed, the images, despite their narrow iconographical spectrum, changed, too, conveying through visual means another message. This is evident in the political or diplomatic functioning of the body. The parenetic portrait of imperial virtues and qualities underlined the superiority of the Byzantine Empire as the only real empire, its power God-given. As a result, emperors exploited these imperial images in dialogue with other rulers and nations.

It is important to stress that viewers were able to perceive the ambiguity between the person of the emperor and his political body. The emperor assumed the public body and thus placed himself at the centre of the empire; though he did not control imperial art, the emperor himself was an expression of public expectations, and his bodily appearance could shape and manipulate public opinion.[142] The static treatment of the imperial body was polyvalent and depended upon the circumstances in question. With all these complex and manifold connections and interactions, it must be noted that the recognition and veneration of the imperial image was premised upon a perception of it as representing only the official body of the *basileus*. Therefore, the staging

141 Jolivet-Lévy, "L'Image du Pouvoir," pp. 468–70; Cormack, "The Emperor," p. 232.

142 Cormack, *Writing in Gold,* p. 179.

of the imperial body was an enormously important element in the religious, domestic, and diplomatic-political functioning of Byzantine hegemony.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Eusèbe de Césarée, *Vie de Constantin*, introduction Luce Pietri, trans. Marie-Joseph Rondeau, *Sources chrétiennes* 559 (Paris, 2013).

Severiani Gabalae episcopi, *In mundi creationem*, PG 56:489–90.

Secondary Sources

Angelov, Alexander, "In search of God's only emperor: basileus in Byzantine and modern historiography," *Journal of Medieval History* 40/2 (2014), 123–41.

Angelova, Diliana, "The Ivories of Ariadne and Ideas about female imperial Authority in Rome and early Byzantium," *Gesta* 42/1 (2004), 1–15.

Arnulf, Arwed, "Eine Perle für das Haupt Leons VI.," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 32 (1990), 69–84.

Ball, Jennifer L., *Byzantine Dress* (New York, 2005),

Belting, Hans, *Der Serbische Psalter. Faksimile-Ausgabe des Cod. Slav. 4 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München* (Wiesbaden, 1978).

Belting, Hans, *Bild und Kult. Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (München, 1990).

Berger, Pamela C., *The Insignia of the Notitia Dignitatum: A Contribution to the Study of Late Antique Illustrated Manuscripts* (New York, 1981).

Bogevska, Saška, "Les peintures murales du monastère de Marko: un programme iconographique au service de la propagande royale," in *La Culture des commanditaires*, eds. Quitterie Cazes, and Christian Prigent (Paris, 2011), pp. 1–21.

Bourdara, Calliope, "Quelques cas de *damnatio memoriae* à l'époque de la dynastie macédonienne," *Jahrbuch Österreichische Byzantinistik* 32 (1982), 337–42.

Brubaker, Leslie, and Tobler, Helen, "The Gender of Money: Byzantine Empresses on Coins (324–802)," in *Gender & History* 12/3 (2000), 572–94.

Brubaker, Leslie, "Gifts and prayers: the visualization of gift giving in Byzantium and the mosaics of Hagia Sophia," in *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Wendy Davies, and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 43–55.

Brubaker, Leslie, "Gender and gesture in Byzantine images," in *The Eloquence of Art. Essays in Honour of Henry Maguire*, eds. Andrea Olsen Lam, and Rossitza Schroeder (London, 2020), pp. 47–70.

Bühl, Gudrun, and Jehle, Hiltrud, "Des Kaisers altes Zepter – des Kaisers neuer Kamm," *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 39 (2002), 289–306.

Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204, ed. Henry Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1997).

Campagnolo-Pothitou, Maria, and Cheynet, Jean-Claude, *Sceaux de la Collection George Zacos au Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève* (Genève 2016).

Carile, Maria Cristina, "Imperial Icons in Late Antiquity and Byzantium. The iconic image of the Emperor between Representation and Presence," *Ikon* 9 (2016), 75–98.

Cormack, Robin, *Writing in Gold. Byzantine Society and its Icons* (London 1985).

Cormack, Robin, "But is it art?," in *Byzantine Diplomacy,* eds. Jonathan Shepard, and Simon Franklin (Aldershot, 1992), pp. 219–36.

Cormack, Robin, "The Emperor at St. Sophia: viewer and viewed," in *Byzance et les Images*, ed. André Guillou (Paris, 1994), pp. 225–53.

Corrigan, Kathleen, "The Ivory Sceptre of Leo VI: A Statement of Post-Iconoclastic Imperial Ideology," *The Art Bulletin* 60 (1978), 407–16.

Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean, eds. Alexander Beihammer, Stavroula Constantinou, and Maria G. Parani (Leiden, 2013).

Cutler, Anthony*, Transfigurations, Studies in the Dynamics of Byzantine Iconography* (London, 1975).

Cutler, Anthony, *The Craft of Ivory* (Washington, D.C., 1985).

Cutler, Anthony, "The Psalter of Basil II," in *Imagery and Ideology in Byzantine Art*, ed. Anthony Cutler (Ashgate, 1992), pp. 1–36.

Cutler, Anthony, "The Date and Significance of the Romanos Ivory," in *Late Antique and Byzantine Ivory Carving*, ed. Anthony Cutler (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 605–10.

Cutler, Anthony, "The Idea of Likeness in Byzantium," in *Wonderful things: Byzantium through its art,* eds. Antony Eastmond, and Liz James (Ashgate, 2013), pp. 261–81.

Cutler, Anthony, and Niewöhner, Philipp, "Towards a History of Byzantine Ivory Carving from the late 6th to the late 9th century," in *Mélanges Catherine Jolivet-Lévy,* eds. Sulamith Brodbeck, Andreas Nicolaïdes, Paul Pagès, Brigitte Pitarakis, Ioanna Rapti, and Elisabeth Yota (Paris, 2016), pp. 89–107.

Dagron, Gilbert, "L'Image de Culte et le Portrait," in *Byzance et les Images*, ed. André Guillou (Paris, 1994), pp. 124–51.

Dagron, Gilbert, *Empereur et Prêtre. Étude sur le 'césaropapisme' byzantin* (Paris, 1996).

Dagron, Gilbert, *Décrire et peindre: essai sur le portrait iconique* (Paris, 2007).

Deckers, Johannes G., "Göttlicher Kaiser und kaiserlicher Gott," in *Epochenwandel? Kunst und Kultur zwischen Antike und Mittelalter,* eds. Franz Alto Bauer, and Norbert Zimmerman (Mainz, 2001), pp. 3–16.

Deckers, Johannes G., "Der erste Diener Christi. Die Proskynese der Kaiser als Schlüsselmotiv der Mosaiken in S. Vitale (Ravenna) und in der Hagia Sophia (Istanbul)," in *Art, Cérémonial et Liturgie au Moyen Âge,* eds. Nicolas Bock, Peter Kurmann, Serena Romano, and Jean-Michel Spieser (Rome, 2002), pp. 11–70.

Der Nersessian, Sirapie, *L'Illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Âge: Londres, Add. 19.352* (Paris, 1970).

Eastmond, Antony, "Between Icon and Idol: The uncertainty of imperial images," in *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium. Studies presented to Robin Cormack,* eds. Antony Eastmond, and Liz James (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 73–85.

Eastmond, Antony, "Consular Diptychs, Rhetoric and the Languages of Art in Sixth-Century Constantinople," *Art History* 33/5 (2010), 742–65.

Eastmond, Antony, "The Heavenly Court, Courtly Ceremony, and the Great Byzantine Ivory Triptychs of the Tenth Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 69 (2015), 71–93.

Eastmond, Antony, "Greeks Bearing Gifts. The Icon of Xaxuli and Enamel Diplomacy between Byzantium and Georgia," in *Convivium supplementum. The Medieval South Caucasus: Artistic Cultures of Albania, Armenia and Georgia*, eds. Ivan Foletti, and Erik Thunø (Turnhout, 2016), pp. 88–105.

Engemann, Josef, "Herrscherbild," in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 14 (Stuttgart, 1988), pp. 966–1047.

Engemann, Josef, "Zur Interpretation der Darstellungen der Drei Jünglinge," in *Sarkophag-Symposium Frühchristliche Sarkophage,* ed. Guntram Koch (Mainz, 2001), pp. 81–91.

Franses, Rico, *Donor Portraits in Byzantine Art. The Vicissitudes of Contact between Human and Divine* (Cambridge, 2018).

Garland, Lynda, and Rapp, Stephen, "Maria 'of Alania': Women and Empress Between Two Worlds," in *Byzantine Women: Varieties of Experience 800–1200* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 91–122.

Gavrilović, Zaga A., "The Humiliation of Leo VI the Wise (the Mosaic of the Narthex at Saint Sophia, Istanbul)," *Cahiers archéologiques* 28 (1979), 87–94.

Grabar, André, *L'Empereur dans l'Art Byzantin* (Paris, 1936).

Grierson, Philip, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection. Leo III to Nicephoros III, 717–1081* (Washington, D.C., 1973).

Grierson, Philip, *Byzantine Coinage* (Washington, D.C., 1999).

Grigoriadou, Léna, "L'Image de la Déesis royale sur une fresque du XIVe siècle à Castoria," in *Actes du XIVe Congrès international des études byzantines* (Bukarest, 1975), pp. 47–59.

Hawkins, Ernest J. W., "Further Observations on the Narthex Mosaic in St. Sophia at Istanbul," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 22 (1968), 151–66.

Hilsdale, Cecily J., "The social life of the Byzantine Gift: The Royal Crown of Hungary re-invented," *Art History* 31/5 (2008), 603–31.

Ivanov, Sergey, "A Case Study: The Use of the Nominative on Imperial Portraits form Antiquity to Byzantium," in *Authority in Byzantium*, ed. Pamela Amstrong (Ashgate, 2013), pp. 47–58.

James, Liz*, Empresses and Power in Early Byzantium* (London, 2001).

Jensen, Robin M., "The Three Hebrew Youth and the problem of the Emperor's Portrait in Early Christianity," in *Jewish Art in Its Late Antique Context*, eds. Uzi Leibner, and Catherine Hezser (Tübingen, 2016), pp. 302–20.

Jolivet-Lévy, Catherine, "L'Image du Pouvoir dans l'art byzantin à l'époque de la dynastie Macédonienne," *Byzantion* 57 (1987), 441–70.

Jolivet-Lévy, Catherine, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce: le programme iconographique de l'abside et de ses abords* (Paris, 1991).

Jolivet-Lévy, Catherine, "Présence et figures du souverain à Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople et à l'église de la Sainte-Croix d'Aghtamar," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. Henry Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1997), pp. 231–46.

Kalavrezou, Ioli, "Eudokia Makrembolitissa and the Romanos Ivory," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977), 307–25.

Kalavrezou, Ioli, "Imperial Portraits," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, eds. Alexander P. Kazhdan, and Alice-Mary Talbot (Oxford, 1991), 1703–04.

Kalavrezou, Ioli, "Female popular Beliefs and Maria of Alania," *Journal of Theological Studies* 36 (2011), 85–101.

Kantorowicz, Ernst, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957).

Karagiorgou, Olga, " 'The Emperor's New Clothes': Looking anew at the Iconography of the Tondi," in *The Tondi in Venice and Dumbarton Oaks: Art and Imperial between Byzantium and Venice,* eds. Niccolò Zarzi, Albrecht Berger, and Lorenzo Lazzarini (Rome, 2019), pp. 93–150.

Kepetzi, Victoria, "Images de piété de l'empereur dans la peinture byzantine (X^{e}/XIII^{e} siècle) – Réflexions sur quelques exemples," in *Byzantinische Malerei*, ed. Guntram Koch (Wiesbaden, 2000), pp. 109–45.

Khuskivadze, Leila Z., *The Khakhuli Triptych* (Tbilissi, 2007).

Klein, Holger A., "Die Elfenbein-Staurothek von Cortona im Kontext mittelbyzantinischer Kreuzreliquiarproduktion," in *Spätantike und byzantinische Elfenbeinbildwerke im Diskurs*, eds. Gudrun Bühl, Anthony Cutler, and Arne Effenberger (Wiesbaden, 2008), pp. 167–90.

Kriza, Agnes, "The Royal Deesis – An Anti-Latin Image of Late Byzantine Art," in *Cross-Cultural Interaction between Byzantium and the West 1204–1669: Whose Mediterranean is it anyway?,* ed. Angeliki Lymberopoulou (London, 2018), pp. 272–90.

Lidov, Alexei M., "The Creator of Sacred Space as a Phenomenon of Byzantine Culture," in *L'artista a Bisanzio e nel mondo cristiano-orientale*, ed. Michele Bacci (Pisa, 2007), pp. 135–76.

Macrides, Ruth, Munitzi, J. A. and Angelov, Dimiter, *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan court: Offices and Ceremonies* (Birmingham, 2013).

Magdalino, Paul, and Nelson, Robert, "The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 8 (1982), 123–83.

Magdalino, Paul, "The Bath of Leo the Wise and the 'Macedonian Renaissance' revisited: Topography, Iconography, Ceremonial, Ideology," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 42 (1988), 97–118.

Maguire, Henry, "Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974), 113–40.

Maguire, Henry, "Style and Ideology in Byzantine Imperial Art," *Gesta* 28/2 (1989), 217–31.

Maguire, Henry, "The Heavenly Court," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. Henry Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1997), pp. 247–58.

Majeska, George P., "The emperor in His Church: Imperial Ritual in the Church of St. Sophia," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. Henry Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1997), pp. 1–12.

Maladakis, Vangelis, "The Coronation of the Emperor on Middle Byzantine Coinage: A Case of Christian Political Theology (11th – mid 11th c.)," *Acta Musei Varnaensis* 7/1 (2005), 342–60.

Mango, Cyril, *Materials for the study of the mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1962).

Mango, Cyril, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire* (Toronto, 1972).

Marsengill, Katherine, *Portraits and Icons. Between Reality and Spirituality in Byzantine Art* (Turnhout, 2013).

Mathews, Thomas F., *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (London, 1971).

Mathews, Thomas F., *The Clash of Gods. A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton, 1994).

McCormick, Michael, *Eternal Victory* (Paris, 1986).

Morrisson, Cécile, "Displaying the Emperor's Authority and Kharaktèr on the Marketplace," in *Authority in Byzantium*, ed. Pamela Amstrong (Ashgate, 2013), pp. 65–82.

Morrisson, Cécile, *Byzance et sa monnaie* (*IVe – XVe siècle*) (Paris, 2015).

Negrău, Elisabeta, "The Ruler's Portrait in Byzantine Art," *European Journal of Science and Theology* 7/2 (2011), 63–75.

Nelson, Robert S., *Hagia Sophia, 1850–1950* (Chicago, 2004).

Nelson, Robert S., " 'And so, with the Help of God': The Byzantine Art of War in the Tenth Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 65/66 (2011–12), 169–92.

New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th centuries, ed. Paul Magdalino (Cambridge, 1994).

Oikonomides, Nicolas, "Leo VI and the Narthex Mosaic of Saint Sophia," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 30 (1976), 151–72.

Oikonomides, Nicolas, "John VII Palaeologus and the Ivory Pyxis in Dumbarton Oaks," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977), 329–37.

Oikonomides, Nicolas, "The Mosaic Panel of Constantine IX and Zoe in Saint Sophia," *Revue des études byzantines* 36 (1978), 219–32.

Papamastorakis, Titos, "Re-Deconstructing the Khakhuli Triptych", *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Hetaireias* 23 (2002), 239–45.

Papazotos, Thanasis, *Η Βέροια και οι ναοί της (11ος-18ος αι)* [Veroia and its churches (11th-18th centuries] (Athens, 1994).

Parani, Maria G., "The Romanos Ivory and the New Tokalı Kilise: Imperial Costume as a Tool for Dating Byzantine Art," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 49 (2001), 15–28.

Parani, Maria G., *Reconstructing the Reality of Images. Byzantine material culture and religious iconography (11th-15th centuries)* (Leiden, 2003).

Parani, Maria G., "Cultural Identity and Dress: The Case of Late Byzantine Ceremonial Costume," *Jahrbuch Österreichische Byzantinistik* 57 (2007), 95–134.

Pilz, Elisabeth, "Middle Byzantine Court Costume," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. Henry Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1997), pp. 39–51.

Rodley, Lyn, "The Pigeon House Church, Çavuşin," *Jahrbuch Österreichische Byzantinistik* 33 (1983), 301–39.

Rubery, Eileen, "The Vienna Empress Ivory and its Companion in Florence: Crowned in different Glories," in *Wonderful things: Byzantium through its art,* eds. Antony Eastmond, and Liz James (Ashgate, 2013), pp. 99–114.

Sevrugian, Petra, *Der Rossano-Codex und die Sinope-Fragmente* (Worms, 1990).

Sinkević, Ida, "Prolegomena for a Study of Royal Entrances in Byzantine Churches: The Case of Marko's Monastery," in *Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and its Decoration. Studies in Honor of Slobodan Ćurčić*, eds. Mark J. Johnson, Robert Ousterhout, and Amy Papalexandrou (Ashgate 2012), pp. 121–42.

Spatharakis, Ioannis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1976).

Spatharakis, Ioannis, "The Proskynesis in Byzantine art. A Study in Connection with a Nomisma of Andronicus II Paleologue," in *Studies in Byzantine manuscript illumination and iconography*, ed. Ioannis Sphatharakis, (Bristol, 1996), pp. 193–224.

Spieser, Jean-Michel, "Le Christ et le pouvoir impérial à Byzance," in *Cristo e il Potere teologia, antropologia e politica,* eds. Laura Andreani, and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Florence, 2017), pp. 17–31.

Stichel, Rudolf H. W., " 'Privatporträts' in den Kaisermosaiken von San Vitale in Ravenna. Ein neuer Vorschlag zur Idenfizierung," in *Privatporträts. Die Darstellung realer Personen in der spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst*, eds. Vasiliki Tsamakda, and Norbert Zimmermann (Wien, 2020), pp. 137–45.

Studer-Karlen, Manuela, *Verstorbenendarstellungen auf frühchristlichen Sarkophagen* (Turnhout, 2012).

Teteriatnikov, Natalia, "The Mosaics of the Eastern Arch of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople: Program and Liturgy," *Gesta* 52.1 (2013), 61–84.

Thomas, Brittany, "A Case for Space: Rereading the Imperial Panels of San Vitale," in *Debating Religious Pace & Place in the Early Medieval World*, eds. Chantal Bielmann, and Brittany Thomas (Leiden, 2018), pp. 61–76.

Tsamakda, Vasiliki, "König David als Typos des byzantinischen Kaisers," in *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter,* eds. Falko Daim, and Jörg Dauschke (Mainz, 2010), pp. 23–54.

Vapeiades, Constantine, "Sacerdotium and Regnum in Late Byzantium: Some Notes on the 'Imperial Deesis'," *American Journal of Arts and Design* 2/4 (2017), 79–83.

Vapeiades, Constanine, "Sacerdotium and Imperium in Late Byzantine Art," *Niš i Vizantija,* 18 (2020), 55–87.

Velmans, Tania, "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues," in *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues* (Venice, 1971), pp. 93–148.

Walker, Alicia, *The Emperor and the World* (Pennsylvania, 2012).

Walter, Christopher, *L'Iconographie des Conciles dans la tradition byzantine* (Paris, 1970).

Woodin, Warren, T., "Orthodox Liturgical Textiles and Clerical Self-Referentiality," in *Dressing the Part: Textiles as Propaganda in the Middle Ages,* eds. Kate Dimitrova, and Margaret Goehring (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 31–51.

Illustrations



FIGURE 4.1 Sarcophage of Arles, Musée d'Arles antique
PHOTO: AUTHOR



FIGURE 4.2 Isaac I Komenos (1057–1059), *histamenon*
© FOUNDATION BIBLE+ORIENT, FRIBOURG SWITZERLAND, 2003.76



FIGURE 4.3 Isaac I Komnenos (1057–1059), *histamenon*
© FOUNDATION BIBLE+ORIENT, FRIBOURG SWITZERLAND, 2003.77



FIGURE 4.4 Roman IV Diogenes (1068–1071), *histamenon*
© FOUNDATION BIBLE+ORIENT, FRIBOURG SWITZERLAND, 2003.79



FIGURE 4.5 Ravenna, San Vitale, Theodora (547)
PHOTO: AUTHOR



FIGURE 4.6 North apse of the Pigeon House church in Çavuşin in Cappadocia (963–969)
PHOTO: AUTHOR



FIGURE 4.7 Enamel plaque with Michael VII Doukas (1071–1078) and his wife Maria/Marta. Xaxuli Triptych. Tbilisi: Georgian National Museum, Museum of Fine Arts
© KUNSTHISTORISCHES INSTITUT IN FLORENZ – MAX-PLANCK-INSTITUT, MAAYAN DROR



FIGURE 4.8 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Cod. slav. 4, fol. fol. 58v
© BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK MÜNCHEN

CHAPTER 5

The Royal Imagery of Medieval Serbia

Branislav Cvetković

1 Serbian Royalty: Origins and Related Issues

The variegated art forms created during the Middle Ages in the Balkans, despite being only partially preserved, offer a wealth of material pertaining to royal portraiture. The extant corpus from medieval Serbia significantly surpasses in numbers that of all neighbouring regions,[1] including portrayals of sovereigns that provide abundant political, ecclesiastical, and ideological data and reflect the complex and often volatile late medieval history of this part of Europe.[2] Having said this, I wish to stress that medieval Serbian images of royalty cannot be properly understood by dwelling solely on their visual and material elements; the path towards understanding these images must rely firmly on written data, from hagiographies to diplomatic material,[3] which are valuable sources that can do much to explain the content and context of the official imagery of medieval Serbian royalty.[4] However, due to limited space,

1 For a general overview of Serbia, see: *The History of Serbian Culture*, ed. Pavle Ivić (Edgware, 1995); Sima Ćirković, *The Serbs* (Malden, 2004). See also: Miloš Blagojević, *Srbija u doba Nemanjića* [Serbia in the Nemanjić era] (Belgrade, 1989); Jovanka Kalić, *Srbi u poznom srednjem veku* [Serbs in the Late Middle Ages] (Belgrade, 1994).

2 For earlier periods of medieval Serbia, see: *Istorija srpskog naroda* 1 [History of the Serbian nation], ed. Sima Ćirković (Belgrade, 1981); Đorđe Bubalo, *Srpska zemlja i pomorska u doba vladavine Nemanjića* 1 [Serbian lands and the Littoral during the Nemanjić reign] (Belgrade, 2016). For the later ones, see: *Istorija srpskog naroda* 2 [History of the Serbian nation], ed. Jovanka Kalić (Belgrade, 1982); Momčilo Spremić, *Despot Đurađ Branković i njegovo doba* [Despot Đurađ Branković and his time] (Belgrade, 1994).

3 For a few syntheses of medieval Serbian hagiographic literature, see: Milan Kašanin, *Srpska književnost u srednjem veku* [Serbian literature in the Middle Ages] (Belgrade, 1975); Dimitrije Bogdanović, *Istorija stare srpske književnosti* [History of old Serbian literature] (Belgrade, 1980); Gerhard Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters in Bulgarien und Serbien 865–1459* (Munich, 2000).

4 For the ideology of the medieval Serbian state, see: Dimitrije Bogdanović, "Politička filosofija srednjovekovne Srbije. Mogućnosti jednog istraživanja," [Political philosophy of medieval Serbia. Possibilities of research] *Filosofske studije* 16 (1984), 7–28; Boško Bojović, *L'Idéologie monarchique dans les hagio-biographies dynastiques du Moyen Âge serbe* (Roma, 1995); Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija Nemanjića. Diplomatička studija* [Royal ideology of the Nemanjić. A diplomatic study] (Belgrade, 1997); Andrija Veselinović, *Država srpskih despota* [State of the Serbian despots] (Belgrade, 2006), pp. 38–61.

© BRANISLAV CVETKOVIĆ, 2022 | DOI:10.1163/9789004511583_007
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

this survey can address only a portion of this expansive and well-researched material.

Since the earliest times, whether for economic, geographic, or dynastic reasons, medieval Serbian political theory and artistic production were imbued with norms and forms coming from both east and west of Europe.[5] Through most of the turbulent late medieval period, in the religious and cultural spheres Serbian society looked predominantly to Byzantium as a role model.[6] At the same time, in creating its core ideological framework, the Serbian elite established a series of cults honouring saintly rulers,[7] a practice with origins in Western and Central Europe.[8] In having themselves lavishly portrayed in various genres and media and for reasons of propaganda and piety, medieval Serbian rulers nevertheless borrowed from the Byzantine court, starting with the representational strategies of its aristocracy and extending later to the imperial regalia that adorned the images of the *basileis* in Constantinople.[9] Indeed, the official portraits of Byzantine emperors and empresses came to be imitated in minute detail and sometimes even in terminology, manifesting

5 Gordana Babić, "Western Medieval and Byzantine Traditions in Serbian Art," in *Tradition and Modern Society*, ed. Sven Gustavsson (Stockholm, 1989), pp. 117–32; Branislav Cvetković, "Medieval Serbian Art between Byzantium and West," in *Art and Its Role in the History: Between Durability and Transient-Isms*, ed. Branko Jovanović et al. (Kosovska Mitrovica, 2014), pp. 311–28.

6 Bojana Krsmanović, and Ljubomir Maksimović, "Byzantium in Serbia – Serbian Authenticity and Byzantine Influence," in *Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages*, eds. Dragan Vojvodić, and Danica Popović (Belgrade, 2016), pp. 41–56. See also: Gilbert Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le 'césaropapisme' byzantin* (Paris, 1996).

7 For some important studies, see: Danica Popović, *Pod okriljem svetosti. Kult svetih vladara i relikvija u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* [Under the auspices of sanctity. The cult of holy rulers and relics in medieval Serbia] (Belgrade, 2006); Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, *Sveti kralj. Kult Stefana Dečanskog* [The holy king. The cult of St. Stefan of Dečani] (Belgrade, 2007); Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, "La mort et la sainteté du prince serbe," in *La mort du prince de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, eds. Jérémie Foa, Élizabeth Malamut, and Charles Zaremba (Aix-en-Provence, 2016), pp. 61–78; Danica Popović, *Riznica spasenja. Kult relikvija i srpskih svetih u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* [The treasury of salvation. The cult of relics and the Serbian saints in medieval Serbia] (Belgrade, 2018).

8 For a number of examples, see: Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge, Eng. 2002).

9 See, for example: André Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin. Recherche sur l'art officiel de l'empire d'orient* (Paris, 1936); Ioannis Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1976); Maria G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images. Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th-15th centuries)* (Leiden, 2003); Jeniffer L. Ball, *Byzantine Dress. Representations of Secular Dress in Eighth- to Twelfth-Century Painting* (New York, 2005); Rico Franses, *Donor Portraits in Byzantine Art: The Vicissitudes of Contact between Human and Divine* (New York, 2018).

the complex relationship of Serbia, lying deep in the Balkan hinterland, to the great political and cultural centres of Byzantium.[10] An interplay between imagery and written texts such as vitas, church offices, and charters is best documented from the Nemanjić dynasty and its immediate successors, the Lazarević and Branković dynasties, a period spanning the late 12th to the late 15th centuries.[11] A number of extant images – including individual portraits, depictions of the members of the royal family as donors, and various scenes of historically or symbolically significant events in which distinctive royal figures are featured – display insignia and sumptuous costumes, mostly of Byzantine origin.[12] Unfortunately, the textiles that once constituted the royal attire of medieval Serbia are today preserved only in traces.[13]

2 Between East and West

The most important body of royal images in Serbia consists of monumental portraits found in monastery and village churches, with not one example

10 For a few syntheses, see: Svetozar Radojčić, *Portreti srpskih vladara u srednjem veku* [Portraits of Serbian rulers in the Middle Ages] (Skopje, 1934); Vojislav J. Đurić, "Društvo, država i vladar u umetnosti u doba dinastije Lazarević-Branković," [Society, state and ruler in art during the Lazarević-Branković dynasty] *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske* 26 (1990), 13–41; Dragan Vojvodić, "Vladarski portreti srpskih despota," [The sovereign portraits of the Serbian despots] in *Manastir Resava. Istorija i umetnost*, [Resava Monastery. Its history and art] ed. Vojislav J. Đurić (Despotovac, 1995), pp. 65–98.

11 For a substantial survey, see: Vojislav J. Đurić, "Slika i istorija u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji," [Image and history in medieval Serbia] *Glas Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti* 338 (1983), 117–33.

12 For sources on insignia, see: Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarske insignije i državna simbolika u Srbiji od XIII do XV veka* [The rulers' insignia and the state symbolism of medieval Serbia] (Belgrade, 1994).

13 See: Branislav Cvetković, "Textiles and Their Usage in Medieval Balkans: The Royal Context," in *Clothing the Sacred. Medieval Textiles as Fabric, Form, and Metaphor*, eds. Mateusz Kapustka, and Warren T. Woodfin (Berlin, 2015), pp. 33–52. See also: Jovan Kovačević, *Srednjovekovna nošnja balkanskih Slovena. Studija iz istorije srednjovekovne kulture Balkana* [Medieval costume of the Balkan Slavs. A study in history of the medieval culture of the Balkans] (Belgrade, 1953); Bojan Popović, and Branislav Cvetković, "Odevanje i kićenje," [Costume and adornment] in *Privatni život u srpskim zemljama srednjeg veka*, [Daily life in the Serbian lands of the middle ages] eds. Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, and Danica Popović (Belgrade, 2004), pp. 367–93; Branislav Cvetković, "Robes of Light and the 13th Century Frescoes in Boyana," in *The Boyana Church Between the East and the West in the Art of the Christian Europe*, ed. Bisserka Penkova (Sofia, 2011), pp. 198–214; Bojan Popović, *Srpska srednjovekovna vladarska i vlasteoska odeća* [Serbian Medieval Royal and Nobility Costume] (Belgrade, 2020).

preserved from palatine chapels or castles. Such images were regularly displayed in proximity to funerary ensembles and royal tombs.[14] However, sculptures depicting members of the royal family – like those once placed on the west façade of the church of Holy Archangels Monastery near Prizren[15] – were rare, as was the presence of royal imagery on icons[16] and reliquaries.[17] One must take into account the numismatic material, which through dozens of different types and thousands of specimens across museum and private collections provides substantive data on medieval Serbian royal imagery and insignia.[18] Though far fewer seals have been preserved in comparison to coinage, these shed further light on the ideologies and iconographies in question.[19] Together, the coins and seals testify to certain extreme forms of appropriation of eastern and western types. One such example is connected to the first Serbian

14 For the seminal study, see: Danica Popović, *Srpski vladarski grob u srednjem veku* [The royal tomb in medieval Serbia] (Belgrade, 1992).

15 Danica Popović, "Predstava vladara nad 'carskim vratima' crkve Svetih arhanđela kod Prizrena," [Representation of sovereigns above 'imperial doors' of the church of Saint Archangels near Prizren] *Saopštenja* 26 (1994), pp. 25–36. On the rare instances of prostrate rulers, see: Dragan Vojvodić, " 'Obavijen zemaljskom slikom.' O predstavama vizantijskih i srpskih srednjovekovnih vladara u proskinezi," ['Shrouded in earthly image.' On the images of Byzantine and Serbian medieval rulers in proskynesis] *Crkvene studije* 4 (2007), pp. 379–401.

16 On the icons in Bari and the Vatican, see: Bojan Miljković, "Nemanjići i Sveti Nikola u Bariju," [The Nemanjić and Saint Nicholas in Bari] *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 44/1 (2007), 275–94; Branislav Cvetković, and Gordana Gavrić, "Kraljica Jelena i franjevci," [Queen Helen and the franciscans] in *Jelena – kraljica, monahinja, svetiteljka*, [Helen – the queen, the nun, the saint] ed. Katarina Mitrović (Gradac, 2015), pp. 119–33. For the icons on Meteora and Cuenca, see: Fani Gargova, "The Meteora Icon of the Incredulity of Thomas Reconsidered," in *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. Lioba Theis et al. (Vienna, 2014), pp. 369–81; Andrea Babuin, "Il dittico di Cuenca e l'Epiro in epoca tardo-medievale," in *Byzantine Hagiography: Texts, Themes and Projects*, ed. Antonio Rigo (Turnhout, 2018), pp. 419–49.

17 On the lost True Cross reliquary with a portrait of King Vladislav (r. 1234–1243) prostrate, originally in the Athonite monastery of Saint Paul, see: Arhimandrit Leonid, "Slovenosrpska knjižnica na Sv. Gori Atonskoj u manastiru Hilindaru i Sv. Pavlu," [Slavonic-serbian library on Holy Mount Athos in the monasteries Hilandar and St. Paul] *Glasnik Srpskog učenog društva* 44 (1877), 232–304, esp. 279–80.

18 For a comprehensive study of medieval Serbian coinage, see: Vujadin Ivanišević, *Novčarstvo srednjovekovne Srbije* [Coinage of medieval Serbia] (Belgrade, 2001). See also: Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarske insignije*, pp. 81–102 (with bibliography).

19 On the seals, see: Aleksa Ivić, *Stari srpski pečati i grbovi. Prilog srpskoj sfragistici i heraldici* [Old Serbian seals and coats of arms. Contribution to Serbian sfragistics and heraldry] (Novi Sad, 1910); Gregor Čremošnik, *Studije za srednjovjekovnu diplomatiku i sigiliografiju Južnih Slavena* [Studies in medieval diplomacy and sigiliography of the southern Slavs] (Sarajevo, 1976), pp. 43–148; Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarske insignije*, pp. 103–14.

silver coins, issued by King Stefan Radoslav (r. 1228–1234) and minted using coin dies from the Empire of Thessalonica. Here, the reasoning behind this complete imitation was to articulate the close political alliance between the Serbian leadership and its southern neighbour, sealed by Radoslav's marriage to the daughter of Theodore Komnenos Doukas (r. 1215–1230).[20] On his coins, Radoslav not only repurposed the numismatic iconography of the neighbouring Byzantine Greek state but also had his likeness labelled in Greek, pointing to his own identity as half Byzantine; he did the same when he signed his only known charter.[21] That these imitations were far fetched is evident in the fact that on the coins he is shown holding a *globus cruciger*, an attribute that is rarely found on later Serbian coinage, never appears in monumental images of Serbian monarchs, and is not one of the Serbian royal insignia as attested by historical sources.[22]

One extreme case of western influence regards the Serbian aristocracy's usage of heraldic emblems. Their sudden appearance during the 14th century in fully developed forms on tombstone slabs, finger rings, coins, seals, and textiles can, according to recent research, be connected to contemporary Teutonic heraldry, since each one of them finds a parallel in the illustrated Zurich armorial, the oldest known of its type.[23] It would appear that heraldry as a typically western custom entered Serbian society through the agency of the knight Palman, leader of the German mercenary court guards who served Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (r. 1331–1355), the Serbian king and later tsar, for more than 20 years in the mid-14th century.[24]

In this overview, I should briefly mention some instances of royal portraiture predating the founding of the Nemanjić dynasty. One example is in the castle chapel of Znojmo, as part of the famous Romanesque wall paintings dated to

20 Vujadin Ivanišević, "Novac kralja Radoslava," [Coinage of King Radoslav] *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 37 (1998), 87–95; Ivanišević, *Novčarstvo*, pp. 87–79, 237–38, T. I (1.1–1.4).

21 On this ruler and his portraits, see: Branislav Cvetković, "Studenički eksonarteks i kralj Radoslav: prilog datovanju," [Studenica exonarthex and King Radoslav: a contribution to its dating] *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 37 (1998), 75–85.

22 Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, "The Ruler's Insignia in the Structural Evolution of Medieval Serbia," *Majestas* 7 (1999), 55–74, esp. 62.

23 On this armorial, see: Heinrich Runge, *Die Wappenrolle von Zürich. Ein heraldisches Denkmal des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Zurich, 1860); Michel Popoff, *Le rôle d'armes de Zurich* (Paris, 2015).

24 For these discoveries, see: Vujadin Ivanišević, "Razvoj heraldike u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji," [Development of heraldry in medieval Serbia] *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 41 (2004), 213–34.

1134.[25] It displays Princess Maria, daughter of the Serbian grand *župan* Uroš I (r. 1112–1145) and wife of the Moravian prince Conrad II (r. 1112–1161), and belongs to the Central European tradition both in style and in the depicted insignia.[26] Another pre-Nemanjić example of Serbian royal portraiture is that in the palatine chapel of Saint Michael the Archangel in Ston, Dalmatia (modern Croatia). This fresco shows a ruler wearing western attire and a western-type crown and holding a church-model. Whereas earlier scholarship identified the ruler as Mihailo, the first king of Doclea (r. *c.* 1050–1081),[27] it has recently been argued that the portrait instead represents Stefan Vojislav (r. 1040–1043), the former's father and predecessor.[28] In terms of insignia, the western-type crowns are often present on coinage and seals, and they reappear in monumental portraits in the Littoral region.[29]

It is important to highlight the rare joint portrayals of the Byzantine and Serbian rulers, like that found in the monastery church in Mileševa – the only example in which the Byzantine emperor was painted in a church on Serbian soil. It shows probably Alexios III Angelos on the south wall of the narthex facing King Stefan Nemanjić (known as 'the First-Crowned') and his two sons, who are depicted on the opposite north wall.[30] Another example is in Chilandar

25 Kateřina Dvořáková, "Dating the Romanesque Mural Paintings and the Ducal Rotunda of St. Catherine, in Znojmo: New Discoveries," *Interdisciplinaria Archaeologica. Natural Sciences in Archaeology* 1/2 (2010), 99–104 (with bibliography).

26 On this portrait, see: Jovanka Kalić, "Kneginja Marija," [The princess Maria] *Zograf* 17 (1986), 21–35, figs. 1, 7.

27 Ivan Stevović, "O prvobitnom izgledu i vremenu gradnje crkve Sv. Mihajla u Stonu," [On the original appearance and construction date of the church of Saint Michael at Ston] *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 35 (1996), 175–95; Tibor Živković, *Portreti srpskih vladara: IX-XII vek* [Portraits of Serbian rulers: 9th-12th centuries] (Belgrade, 2006), pp. 87–94. On a similar portrait most likely representing the Croatian king Petar Krešimir IV (r. 1059–1075), see: Igor Fisković, *Reljef kralja Petra Krešimira IV.* [The relief of King Petar Krešimir IV] (Split, 2002).

28 For the results of new research, see: Valentina Babić, *Freske u crkvi Svetog Mihaila u Stonu* [The frescoes of the church of Saint Michael at Ston] (Belgrade, 2014), pp. 159–82, T. 48–49; Miodrag Marković, "Beginnings of artistic activity in the Serbian lands (9th-11th century)," in *Sacral art*, eds. Vojvodić and Popović, pp. 147–164, esp. 154–55, figs. 119, 120.

29 For one important example in Duljevo, see: Dragan Vojvodić, "Srpski vladarski portreti u manastiru Duljevu," [Portraits of Serbian rulers in the Duljevo monastery] *Zograf* 29 (2003), 143–60.

30 On the identification, see: Božidar Ferjančić, and Ljubomir Maksimović, "Sveti Sava i Srbija između Epira i Nikeje," [Saint Sava and Serbia between Epiros and Nicaea] in *Sveti Sava u srpskoj istoriji i tradiciji*, [Saint Sava in Serbian history and tradition] ed. Sima Ćirković (Belgrade, 1998), pp. 13–25, esp. 21–24; Branislav Cvetković, "Vizantijski car i freske u priprati Mileševe," [Byzantine emperor and frescoes in Mileševa narthex] *Balcanica* 32–33 (2003), 297–309; Ljubomir Maksimović, " 'Vizantinizmi' kralja Stefana Radoslava,"

Monastery on Mount Athos and displays Emperor Andronikos II Paleologos delivering rolled charters to King Stefan Uroš II Milutin.[31] What lay behind such portraiture were political alliances solidified through dynastic marriages. The written sources provide insight into the lost portrayals once installed in palaces and churches abroad, such as in Dubrovnik (modern Croatia), Buda (modern Hungary), and the monastery of Saint Paul on Mount Athos.[32]

3 Holy Royals

The image-type most closely bound to the royal ideology of medieval Serbia is the genealogy in the form of a large tree. With its special character exemplified by a lineage of saintly rulers, the royal ideology stemmed from the organized worship of the dynasty founder, the grand *župan* Stefan Nemanja (r. 1166–1196; d. 1199), who later became an Athonite monk, taking the name Simeon. In 1207, his saintly relics were solemnly transferred from his original tomb at Chilandar Monastery on Mount Athos to the monastery church of Studenica (modern Serbia), which thus became the most important sacred site for the Serbian cult of saintly rulers.[33] The significance of the transfer of

[The 'byzantinisms' of King Stefan Radoslav] *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 46 (2009), 139–47, esp. 143–44.

31 Vojislav J. Đurić, "Les portraits de souverains dans le narthex de Chilandar," *Hilandarski zbornik* 7 (1989), 105–21; Dragan Vojvodić, "Ktitorski portreti i predstave," [Ktetors' portraits and representations] in *Manastir Hilandar*, [The monastery of Chilandar] ed. Gojko Subotić (Belgrade, 1998), pp. 249–57.

32 For these sources, see: Archimandrit Leonid, *Athonskaya gora i Solovetskiy monastir* [The Athonite Mountain and the Solovetskiy monastery] (St. Petersburg, 1883), p. 56; Radojčić, *Portreti*, p. 60; Vojislav J. Đurić, *Dubrovačka slikarska škola* [Dubrovnik painting school] (Belgrade, 1963), p. 252; Jovanka Kalić, "Palata srpskih despota u Budimu," [Palace of Serbian despots in Buda] *Zograf* 6 (1975), 51–58.

33 Đorđe Trifunović, Vera Bjelogrlić, and Irena Brajović, "Hilandarska povelja Svetoga Simeona i Svetoga Save," [Chilandari charter of Saint Simeon and Saint Sava] in *Osam vekova Studenice*, [Eight centuries of Studenica] ed. Stefan episkop žički (Belgrade, 1986), pp. 49–60; Ljubomir Maksimović, "L'Idéologie du souverain dans l'État serbe et la construction de Studenica," in *Studenica i vizantijska umetnost oko 1200. godine*, [Studenica and Byzantine art *c.* 1200] ed. Vojislav Korać (Belgrade, 1988), pp. 33–49; Branislav Todić, "Ktitorska kompozicija u naosu Bogorodičine crkve u Studenici," [Ktetor's composition in the nave of the Virgin's church in Studenica] *Saopštenja* 29 (1997), 35–45; Gojko Subotić, Bojan Miljković, Irena Špadijer, and Ida Tot, *Natpisi istorijske sadržine u zidnom slikarstvu. Tom prvi XII-XIV vek*, [Inscriptiones historicae in picturis muralibus. Tomus primus saeculorum XII-XIII] ed. Ljubomir Maksimović (Belgrade, 2015), pp. 35–44; Srđan Pirivatrić, "Hronologija i istorijski kontekst podizanja manastira Studenice. Prilog istraživanju problema," [The chronology and the historical context of the construction of the Studenica monastery. Contribution to the study] *Zograf* 39 (2015), 47–56; Miloš

the relics of Saint Simeon is duly reflected in mural cycles based on his vita, which appear in special chapels adjacent to the *katholika* at Studenica and Sopoćani.[34] The cult of Saint Simeon Nemanja gave rise to well-considered dynastic imagery intended to strengthen the legitimacy of his heirs, characterized by the prominent placement of the holy ancestor among his dynastic descendants.[35]

This imagery initially took a horizontally oriented form characteristic of all the other 13th-century examples of this iconographic type and gradually developed into colossal genealogies whose structure was based on the iconography of the Tree of Jesse.[36] These images are magnificent not only in their monumentality but also in their formal variety and nuances of meaning. The earliest Serbian instance – a wall painting at Gračanica, dating to 1321 – was built upon notions of 'holy roots' and 'blessed shoots' carefully selected from Serbian hagiography and hymnography, with dynasty members interwoven in vines and petals.[37] This example is distinctive in that its main message was connected to the unresolved succession of King Stefan Uroš II Milutin (r. 1282–1321); one of his sons, the future king Stefan Uroš III (later known as Stefan Dečanski), is absent from this genealogy because at the time he was expelled from the court. What is important to note here is that Saint Simeon is not depicted in his typical monastic habit but rather in imperial costume, an element that is multiplied vertically through all of his successors. A contrasting case is the Nemanjić family tree painted shortly after 1332 in the narthex of the patriarchate in Peć, one of the ancient seats of the Serbian ecclesiastical organization (Figure. 5.1).[38] In

Živković, "Studenica: The Funerary Church of the Dynastic Founder – the Cornerstone of Church and State Independence," in *Sacral art*, eds. Vojvodić, and Popović, pp. 193–209.

34 See: Antony Eastmond, " 'Local' Saints, Art, and Religious Iconography in the Orthodox World after the Fourth Crusade," *Speculum* 78/3 (2003), 707–17 (with bibliography).

35 For a structural analysis of Serbian royal images, see: Dragan Vojvodić, "Personalni sastav slike vlasti u doba Paleologa. Vizantija – Srbija – Bugarska," [The selection of royal figures in the image of power during the Palaiologan epoch: Byzantium – Serbia – Bulgaria] *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 46 (2009), 409–33; Dragan Vojvodić, "Slika svetovne i duhovne vlasti u srpskoj srednjovekovnoj umetnosti," [The image of secular and spiritual authorities in Serbian medieval art] *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske* 38 (2010), 35–78.

36 For research devoted to different stages of the Nemanjić genealogical trees, see: Dragan Vojvodić, "Od horizontalne ka vertikalnoj genealoškoj slici Nemanjića," [From the horizontal to the vertical genealogical image of the Nemanjić dynasty] *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 44/1 (2007), 295–312.

37 For a description of its full content, see: Branislav Todić, *Gračanica. Slikarstvo* [Gračanica. Wall paintings] (Belgrade, 1988), pp. 172–78, crt. XIX, T. XX. See also: Branislav Todić, *Serbian Medieval Painting: the Age of King Milutin* (Belgrade, 1999).

38 Vojislav J. Đurić, Sima Ćirković, and Vojislav Korać, *Pećka patrijaršija* [The Patriarchate in Peć] (Belgrade, 1990), pp. 135–41, crt. XXV, sl. 82; Anđela Gavrilović, *Crkva Bogorodice*

that it presents a larger number of dynasty members than its counterpart in Gračanica, this huge fresco reinforces the notion of the holiness of the ruling family as a whole. Its complex form can be explained not necessarily by the political context of the initial years of the reign of King Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, whose figure appears in the register of the composition just beneath Christ, but rather by the supervision of fresco programmes by Archbishop Danilo II himself, a highly learned, capable man and the instigator of the collection of vitas of the Serbian kings and archbishops.[39]

The best known among the five preserved Nemanjić family trees, the one in the monastery church at Dečani, painted in 1346/47, exemplifies yet another meaningful iteration of the image-type. Firstly, the fresco presents fewer full-length monarchs; they are surrounded by those from lateral branches of the dynasty, whose lesser importance is indicated by their representation *en buste*. Moreover, since the fresco was painted shortly after Dušan had been proclaimed tsar of the Serbs and Greeks, the main axis of the tree is visually underlined in accordance with the 'imperial line' of the Tree of Jesse, stressing the direct descendance of the new emperor from the most important agents of his dynasty, namely the holy founder (Saint Simeon Nemanja) and Milutin, Dušan's grandfather, who had also been canonized following his reign.[40]

The ideological notion of Nemanjić holy ancestry – a notion based on a perceived parallelism between the Serbian saintly dynasty and Christ's lineage, the Tree of Jesse – occasionally received more direct interpretations in art. In Dečani, for instance, the Tree of Jesse and the Nemanjić family tree share the same wall, depicted on either side south of the portal between the nave and the narthex. More prominently displayed juxtapositions of the two iconographies would follow. By the mid-14th century, not long after the mural was executed at Dečani, we find an unusual example painted on an exterior wall of the bell tower above the eastern gate at the monastery of Studenica. Two trees stand side by side, intertwined with one another. The colossal depiction must have originally been almost 15 metres high. Due to its damaged state, it was

---

Odigitrije u Pećkoj patrijaršiji [The church of the Virgin Odegetria in the Patriarchate in Peć] (Belgrade, 2018), passim.

39 On this extraordinary cleric, see: *Arhiepiskop Danilo II i njegovo doba*, [The archbishop Daniel II and his time] ed. Vojislav J. Đurić (Belgrade, 1991).

40 Branislav Todić, and Milka Čanak-Medić, *Manastir Dečani* [The monastery of Dečani] (Belgrade, 2005), pp. 444–47, sl. 365. See also: Dragan Vojvodić, "Portreti vladara, crkvenih dostojanstvenika i plemića u naosu i priprati," [Portraits of rulers, church dignitaries and patricians in nave and narthex] in *Zidno slikarstvo manastira Dečana. Građa i studije*, [Mural painting of monastery of Dečani. Material and studies] ed. Vojislav J. Đurić (Beograd, 1995), pp. 265–99.

first dated to the 15th century[41]; however, after detailed analysis, it can arguably be re-dated to the reign of Tsar Stefan Dušan.[42] Finally, the latest family tree within this corpus is found in the large monastery church of Mateič near Skopje, founded during the 1350s by Dušan's wife and son. Notwithstanding its poor condition, its structure reveals further novelties, most notably the inclusion of portraits of Byzantine and Bulgarian monarchs within the vines and flowers that run alongside the depicted members of the Nemanjić dynasty. Such a composite dynastic picture points to a redefining of the Serbian royals' self-concept as leaders of the 'new Israel,' introducing aspects of the universalistic theories of Byzantine origin active in Serbian discourse at the time.[43]

It thus appears that various historical developments found more or less direct expression in the royal imagery of Serbia, a phenomenon that is worth comparing to the Bulgarian,[44] Russian,[45] Romanian,[46] and Georgian material.[47] Given that strife often unfolded among the closest relatives of the early Nemanjić ruling family, their official imagery sometimes displayed extremely detailed information on such grave circumstances as usurpation and fratricide. One distinctive case is found in the wall paintings of the so-called Deževo Chapel, adapted from the entrance tower to the monastery of Đurđevi Stupovi in Ras. Conceived to commemorate the state assembly held in 1282, at which King Stefan Dragutin (r. 1276–1282) had abdicated in favour of his younger brother, the chapel was painted in 1283, such that almost all of its interior was covered with portraits and depictions of synods, coronations,

41 Vojislav J. Đurić, "Loza srpskih vladara u Studenici," [The lineage of Serbian rulers in Studenica] in *Zbornik u čast Vojislava Đurića* [Proceedings in honor of Vojislav Đurić] ed. Ivo Tartalja (Belgrade, 1992), pp. 67–79.

42 Dragan Vojvodić, "Rodoslovne predstave i ideja praroditeljstva u manastiru Studenici," [Genealogical representations and the idea of ancestry in the Studenica monastery] in *Studenica monastery – 700 years of the King's Church*, eds. Ljubomir Maksimović, and Vladimir Vukašinović (Belgrade, 2016), pp. 253–66.

43 Elizabeta Dimitrova, *Manastir Matejče* [The monastery of Matejče] (Skopje, 2002), pp. 214–21, sl. 86–87, T. LIV.

44 On the royal imagery of medieval Bulgaria, see: Georgi Atanasov, *Insigniite na srednovekovnite b'lgarski vladeteli* [The insignia of medieval Bulgarian rulers] (Pleven, 1999).

45 On medieval Russian royal images, see: Aleksander S. Preobrazhenskiy, *Ktitorskiye portreti srednevekovoi Russi XI-nachalo XVI veka* [Ktetors' portraits of medieval Russia 9th-beginning of 16th century] (Moscow, 2010).

46 On the portraiture of Wallachian and Moldavian rulers, see: Elisabeta Negrău, *Cultul suveranului sud-est european și cazul Țării Românești: o perspectivă artistică* [The cult of the southeast European sovereign and the case of the Romanian State: an artistic perspective] (Iași, 2011).

47 Antony Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia* (University Park Pennsylvania, 1998).

and abdications.[48] Likewise, segments of the wall decoration at Sopoćani bear witness to major ecclesiastical and political disputes of the period 1272–1274, when Michael VIII Paleologos attempted to abolish the autocephalous status of both the Serbian and Bulgarian Churches. It is this context that lay behind the depiction of a Serbian state council among other ecumenical synods above the portrait of King Stefan Uroš I (r. 1243–1276) on the east wall of the narthex, whereby Uroš I defended the creed of the Serbian Orthodox Church and expressed his equal status to the Byzantine emperors.[49] In the cathedral in Arilje, the fresco representing an imaginary state synod involving Saint Simeon Nemanja, who is shown in imperial costume rather than his monastic habit, seems not to address any particular event from history but to generally allude to a monarch's duties as defender of the true faith.[50]

Much more nuanced, however, is the representation of another fictional synod in the church of Saint Demetrius in Peć (Figure. 5.2). This unusually structured composition is found on one of the triangular segments in the rib vault of the west bay, as are the first and second ecumenical councils and that of Saint Sava the Serbian. Its long inscription explains the scene as the "God-assembled synod of Saint Simeon Nemanja and of his [great-] grandson the holy king Uroš II." The holy ancestor, dressed as a monk, points towards Uroš II, who is clad in the royal garb. The fresco aimed to promote the newly sainted king in the wake of the victory of his son Stefan Uroš III in the long civil war that had ensued after his death. The two national saints stand as the protectors of the fatherland, as Saint Demetrius was for Thessaloniki. That they are positioned under a ciborium in the painting probably reflects hymnographic references to both of them as 'the new *myroblitai*,' on the model of Saint Demetrius, to whom the church was dedicated and whose shrine in Thessaloniki was characterized by a silver ciborium structure.[51]

---

48 Branislav Cvetković, "The Painted Programs in Thirteenth-Century Serbia: Structure, Themes, and Accents," in *Orient et Occident méditerranéens au XIII^e siècle. Les programmes picturaux*, eds. Jean-Pierre Caillet, and Fabienne Joubert (Paris, 2012), pp. 157–76, esp. 168–70, figs. 14–15 (with bibliography).

49 Branislav Todić, "Apostol Andreja i srpski arhiepiskopi na freskama Sopoćana," [Apostle Andrew and Serbian archbishops on the frescoes of Sopoćani] in *Papers of the Third Yugoslav Byzantine Studies Conference*, eds. Ljubomir Maksimović, Ninoslava Radošević, and Ema Radulović (Belgrade, 2002), pp. 361–79, esp. 381–79.

50 Dragan Vojvodić, "Un regard nouveau sur la représentation du Concile de saint Siméon-Nemanja à Arilje," *Cahiers balkaniques* 31 (2000), 11–20; Dragan Vojvodić, *Zidno slikarstvo crkve Svetog Ahilija u Arilju* [Wall paintings of the church of Saint Achilleos in Arilje] (Belgrade, 2005), pp. 144–45, T. 30.

51 Branislav Cvetković, "Freske u zapadnom traveju crkve Sv. Dimitrija u Pećkoj patrijaršiji i kult kralja Milutina," [Frescoes from the western bay of Saint. Demetrius church in the

Stefan Uroš II Milutin is well known in history for his complex personality and his seemingly contradictory orientation to Byzantium – on the one hand, having a longstanding bellicose attitude towards it and, on the other, completely accepting its court customs and artistic forms. He conquered large parts of Byzantium, laying a groundwork for the further spread of Serbia south of the Balkans during the reigns of his heirs; due to endowments he built and donated, he has since been worshipped as a saint in Serbia.[52] Interestingly, his 'notoriety' is recorded by Dante in his *Divine Comedy* in a section enumerating several European rulers who, for various reasons, should end up in Hell.[53] The episode is worth considering because the poet mentions a ruler of "Rascia" (i.e. Serbia) in the vague context of "not knowing well the Venetian mints."[54] In scholarship, this line has been understood as a direct allusion to King Milutin's ostensible counterfeiting of Venetian coinage.[55] The similarities between Venetian matapans and Serbian dinars are indeed striking, with the figure of the doge on the former being almost identical to that of the king on the latter.[56] In some printed editions of *Divine Comedy*, the line mentioning the Serbian king is accompanied by a direct statement that the king made "false coins."[57] What actually took place was not a true forging of Venetian coinage but a serious monetary dispute between the two states resulting from a large export of Serbian silver dinars to the West.[58]

---

patriarchate of Peć and King Milutin's cult] *Art Studies Quarterly* 4 (2000), 3–9. On the ciborium in Thessaloniki, see: Laura Veneskey, "Truth and mimesis in Byzantium: a speaking reliquary of Saint Demetrios of Thessaloniki," *Art history* 42 (2019), 16–39 (with further bibliography).

52 On this ruler, see: Vlada Stanković, *Kralj Milutin (1282–1321)* [King Milutin (1282–1321)] (Belgrade, 2012) (with sources and bibliography).

53 For instance, see the manuscript Phillipps 9589, fol. 208v of Dante Alighieri's *La Divina Commedia*, copied in 1350 and now in the Biblioteca del Centro Dantesco in Ravenna.

54 For this mention of the Serbian ruler, see: Paget Toynbee, *A Dictionary of Proper Names and Notable Matters in the Works of Dante* (Oxford, 1898), pp. 42, 460, 511, 554.

55 On these lines, see: Vittorio Russo, "Paradiso XIX 140–141: '… e quel di Rascia / che male ha visto (o male aggiustò) il conio di Vinegia,' " *Studi danteschi* 54 (1982), 99–111; Giuseppe Alonzo, "Numismatica dantesca. La Commedia tra maledizione e santificazione della moneta," in *Stella forte: studi danteschi*, ed. Francesco Spera (Napoli, 2010), pp. 81–106, esp. 92–93.

56 David Metcalf, *Coinage in South Eastern Europe, 820–1396* (London, 1979), p. 213; Alan M. Stahl, *Zecca: The Mint of Venice in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, 2000), pp. 37–38, fig. 6; Susan Mosher Stuard, *Gilding the Market: Luxury and Fashion in Fourteenth-Century Italy* (Philadelphia, 2006), p. 155.

57 On this comment on the margin, see: *La Divina comedia di Dante*, ed. Lodovico Dolce (Venice, 1555), pp. 512–13.

58 See: Ljubomir Nedeljković, "Mletačka intervencija protiv raškog dinara u XIII i XIV veku," [Venetian intervention against the dinar of Raska in the 13th and 14th centuries] *Zbornik*

The conquest of Byzantine territories that had begun on a grand scale during the reign of King Milutin was continued by his grandson, King and Tsar Dušan. Backed by a strong economy, military power, and many allies, Dušan inserted himself significantly into the internal politics of Byzantium as well. His ambitions reached their apogee when he had himself proclaimed tsar, having successfully annexed the Greek mainland except for the Peloponnese.[59] Official imagery duly echoed this rise from kingdom to tsardom, with the portrayals of Dušan gradually becoming larger and more solemn. However, this development is evident already in the magnificent wall paintings in Pološko, which were completed before Dušan became tsar. There, portraits of Dušan, his wife and son are placed above those of nobles on the east wall of the narthex.[60] But the best known of his many portraits is undoubtedly the one on the north wall of the narthex in Lesnovo (Figure. 5.3), dating to 1349. The composition is colossal in size and far reaching in its ideological messages. Dušan's facial features are almost identical to those of Christ, and this Christomimesis is further highlighted by the Son of God's dispensing of crowns only to the lateral figures of the tsar's wife and son as well as by the overlapping of the top edge of Dušan's halo with the bottom edge of Christ's mandorla.[61] Among the insignia, the crown, sceptre, the *sakkos*, and even the *suppedion* adorned with bicephalous eagles had all been in use since the mid-13th century. More novel – though deriving from antiquity and appearing also in the earlier 14th-century programmes at Peć and Pološko – is the *loros* cloth crossed at the chest. This style of wearing the *loros* marks the Serbian rulers as the direct successors of Constantine,[62] one of the key tenets of royal ideology of the time.[63]

Narodnog muzeja 6 (1970), 287–308; Ivanišević, *Novčarstvo*, pp. 39–41; Srđan Šarkić, "Stefan Uroš Milutin – 'Sveti kralj' ili stanovnik Danteovog 'Pakla,' " [Stefan Uros Milutin – The 'Holy King' or a resident of Dante's Hell] *Zbornik radova Pravnog fakulteta* 37/1–2 (2003), 59–63.

59 On the rise of Serbia to tsardom, see: Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, and Dragan Vojvodić, "The Model of Empire – the Idea and Image of Authority in Serbia (1299–1371)," in *Sacral Art*, eds. Vojvodić, and Popović, pp. 299–315 (with bibliography).

60 On these portraits, see: Ivan M. Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele u doba Nemanjića* [The wall-paintings of the Serbian nobility of the Nemanide era] (Belgrade, 1994), pp. 119, 147–49, crt. 37.

61 On the portraits in Lesnovo, see: Smiljka Gabelić, *Manastir Lesnovo. Istorija i slikarstvo* [The monastery of Lesnovo. History and painting] (Belgrade, 1998), pp. 167–69, sl. 78, T. XL-XLII.

62 For an important discussion on this matter, see: Dragan Vojvodić, "Ukrštena dijadima i 'torakion.' Dve drevne i neuobičajene insignije srpskih vladara u XIV i XV veku," [The crossed diadem and 'thorakion.' Two ancient and unusual insignia of Serbian rulers in the 14th and 15th centuries] in *Papers*, eds. Maksimović et al., pp. 249–76.

63 For the seminal study, see: Vojislav J. Đurić, "Le nouveau Constantin dans l'art serbe médiéval," in *Λιθοστρωτόν. Studien zur byzantinischen Kunst und Geschichte. Festschrift für*

4 The Appropriation of Byzantine Models

As noted above, the Nemanjić rulers had first drawn inspiration from the Byzantine aristocracy, before looking to the model of Byzantine imperial art.[64] The earliest known representation of a Nemanjić, preserved only in traces, was superbly executed in 1208/9 by one of the greatest artists of Constantinople, who was commissioned to decorate the *katholikon* of the monastery of Studenica. The portrait of the grand *župan* Stefan, originally part of a complex fresco programme for the monastery's eastern gate, displays him wearing a mantle and crowned with a wreath, probably a sign of his title of *sebastokrator*, which he had received upon his marriage to the daughter of Alexios III Angelos.[65] Some other vestiges of the early Nemanjić portraits have been recent objects of research. One group of portrayals is found in a small room on the third floor of the entrance tower to the monastery church in Žiča, the first seat of the Serbian autocephalous archbishopric. There, the surfaces of the groin vault feature partially damaged full-length portraits of male members of the royal family, painted in the 1220s.[66] In addition, flanking the main entrance to the tower are portraits of King Stefan the First-Crowned and his eldest son, King Stefan Radoslav. Originally executed in the third decade of the 13th century, these two figures were repainted around 1309, during the refurbishment of Žiča under King Stefan Uroš II Milutin.[67]

Marcel Restle, eds. Thomas Steppan, and Birgitt Borkopp (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 55–65. Cf. *New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th centuries*, ed. Paul Magdalino (Aldershot, 1994).

64 For recent research with new documentation, see: Dragan Vojvodić, "Ka carskom dostojanstvu kraljevske vlasti: vladarske insignije i ideologija u doba prvih Nemanjića," [Towards the imperial dignity of royal rulership: insignia and ideology under the first Nemanjić rulers] in *Kraljevstvo i arhiepiskopija u srpskim i pomorskim zemljama Nemanjića*, [The kingdom and the archbishopric of the Serbian and maritime lands of the Nemanjić dynasty] eds. Ljubomir Maksimović, and Srđan Pirivatrić (Belgrade, 2019), pp. 315–54.

65 On all the frescoes of the gate, see: Bojan Miljković, "Slikarstvo zapadnog ulaza u manastiru Studenici iz 1208/9. godine," [The painting of the western entrance of the monastery of Studenica from the year 1208/9] in *Papers*, ed. Maksimović et al., pp. 183–88.

66 For a recent study of these enigmatic portraits, see: Milka Čanak-Medić, Danica Popović, and Dragan Vojvodić, *Manastir Žiča* [The monastery of Žiča] (Belgrade, 2014), pp. 319–38, sl. 220–25.

67 For comprehensive research on these portraits, see: Dragan Vojvodić, "Portreti prvih ktitora u prizemlju žičke kule. Poreklo ikonografije," [Portraits of the first donors on the

But among the early Nemanjić portraits, the most interesting are those in the narthex of the monastery church of Mileševa (from 1220s). The lavish gallery includes depictions of Saint Simeon Nemanja and his son Archbishop Sava the Serbian, as spiritual leaders of the royal family, followed by King Stefan the First-Crowned and two of his sons, Stefan Radoslav and Stefan Vladislav, the latter depicted in the role of *ktetor* (founder) and thus holding a church-model. The remnants of the inscriptions have given rise to discussions on the meaning of the complex composition as well as its dating.[68] The portraits convey the figures' preeminent and foundational status with respect to state and ecclesiastical matters: Prince Vladislav is the *ktetor* of the monastery; his older brother is the firstborn son and successor to King Stefan the First-Crowned; and Sava is the first archbishop of the Serbian Church. The inscription beside the figure of Saint Simeon Nemanja most likely designated him as "the first renovator of the Serbian fatherland," as he was referred to in the chapter headings of his vita.[69] Such a label is obviously based on the notion of Christ's primacy as the firstborn of the New Testament yet also a fulfilment of the Old Testament narrative of Israel as the chosen people. There are two chapters in Domentijan's vita of Saint Simeon Nemanja that clearly emphasize the primacy of Saint Simeon as the firstborn by divine choice. There, Domentijan compares him not only with several Old Testament characters but also with Christ himself, the New Adam, with *syntagmas* derived from Saint Paul's Epistle to the Colossians (Col. 1:15–18) as the

ground floor of the Žiča tower. Origin of the iconography] *Niš & Byzantium* 10 (2012), 323–39.

68 Đorđe Trifunović, "Natpisi uz portrete Nemanjića u manastiru Mileševi," [Inscriptions with portraits of Nemanjić in the Mileševa monastery] *Književnost i jezik* 2–4 (1992), 91–100, esp. 94–95; Vojislav J. Đurić, "Srpska dinastija i Vizantija na freskama u manastiru Mileševi," [The Serbian dynasty and Byzantium on frescoes in the Mileševa monastery] *Zograf* 22 (1992), 13–25; Branislav Todić, "Novo tumačenje programa i rasporeda fresaka u Mileševi," [A new interpretation of the program and layout of murals in Mileševa] in *Na tragovima Vojislava J. Đurića*, [On the trail of Vojislav J. Đurić] eds. Dejan Medaković, and Cvetan Grozdanov (Belgrade, 2011), pp. 55–68; Gojko Subotić, and Ljubomir Maksimović, "Sveti Sava i podizanje Mileševe," [Saint Sava and the construction of Mileševa] in *Vizantijski svet na Balkanu* 1, [Byzantine world in the Balkans] eds. Bojana Krsmanović, Ljubomir Maksimović, and Radivoj Radić (Belgrade, 2012), pp. 97–106.

69 For detailed studies on this matter, see: Branislav Cvetković, "Sveti Sava i program živopisa u Mileševi: prilozi istraživanju," [Saint Sava and paintings in Mileševa: addenda to research] in *Osam vekova manastira Mileševe* 1, [Eight centuries of Mileševa monastery] ed. Petar Vlahović (Mileševa, 2013), pp. 311–27; Branislav Cvetković, "St Constantine the Great in Mileševa Revisited," *Niš & Byzantium* 12 (2014), 271–84.

firstborn of all creation and the firstborn from the dead. All these terms are directly echoed in the headlines in Saint Simeon Nemanja's vita as well as in the iconography and inscriptions of the narthex in Mileševa. This chapter in Domentijan's vita, overlooked in earlier scholarship, moreover offers crucial evidence about the ideology espoused by Nemanja and his heirs in that it introduces Jacob's blessing of his sons, an Old Testament narrative emphasizing the divine elect of royalty.[70]

The portraits in Mileševa contain further precious information regarding insignia and royal costume. The king and his two sons are dressed in *sticharia* and mantles, while only the king and his older son and heir wear thin wreaths on their heads. The question of insignia was crucial for Stefan the First-Crowned, given that it was actually the papacy that crowned him king, in 1217.[71] Due to careful research on the traces in the Mileševa narthex, which points to subsequent modifications having been made to all the royal figures, it is now possible to conclude that, probably during the 1230s, crowns in the form of *stemma* (dome-shaped crown) with falling *prependoulia* were added to the portraits of Stefan, Radoslav, and Vladislav. Whether the additions were executed simultaneously for all the figures is an open question[72]; due to slight yet discernible differences it may be surmised that the insertion of the crown was made to Stefan and Radoslav first, and only later to Vladislav.[73] These modifications point to major changes in royal ideology, which may have resulted from the Bulgarians' defeat of the Byzantine Greeks (Empire of Thessalonica) in the Battle of Klokotnitsa, in 1230. This was the context for the addition of the dome-shaped crown to the Mileševa portrait of Prince Vladislav (Figure. 5.4), who was married to the daughter of the Bulgarian tsar and became the king of Serbia following the deposition of his Grecophile older brother Radoslav in the early 1230s. This event was recorded in the fresco with the insertion not only of the crown but also of a large inscription announcing Vladislav as king.[74] The portrait of Vladislav in Mileševa, with the added crown clearly visible, is thus one piece of data vividly illustrating the complexity of medieval Balkan politics.

70 For notions of Jacob and his blessing as important to the ideology of the Nemanjić dynasty, see: Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija Nemanjića*, pp. 191–97 (with sources and bibliography).

71 Vojvodić, "Ka carskom," pp. 318–37.

72 Vojvodić, "Ka carskom," pp. 341–51 (with bibliography).

73 Đurić, "Srpska dinastija," pp. 17–23, sl. 9–10.

74 Đurić, "Srpska dinastija," pp. 20–21, sl. 7.

5 Historicity and Legitimacy

There are of course many more examples of Serbian imagery illustrating historical twists and turns, including portraits of usurpers and aspirants to power. It goes without saying that such instances are often not firmly corroborated by written sources. However, tectonic shifts following major battles can shed light on the motives behind some of these works. One such case is that of the monastery church of Nova Pavlica, endowed by the two brothers of the Mussić family, Stefan and Lazar, who are depicted there as *ktetors* and sole representatives of power. Their portrayal as supreme wielders of power can be explained by their position as nephews of the Serbian ruler Stefan Lazar, who was killed in the Battle of Kosovo in 1389; it seems that after the demise of their uncle, the family had no one else to pay allegiance to.[75] One finds a similar situation in the portraits of rulers and dignitaries in the monastery church in Veluće, a number of which are unidentifiable due to a lack of inscriptions and other historical data, despite a number of attempts to identify them and to date the erection and decoration of the church (with hypotheses ranging from the mid-14th to mid-15th centuries). One can argue that this unusual ensemble reflects the outcome of the civil war waged in the first decade of the 15th century between Stefan and Vuk of the Lazarević dynasty, which resulted in a temporary division of the state.[76]

The urge to accentuate one's own legitimacy was always at the core of royal imagery. One astounding example is found in the church of Saint Demetrius in Peć, whose rib-vault decoration, containing depictions of both historical and symbolic synods, was mentioned above (Figure. 5.2). Within the larger fresco programme, which belongs to the first years of the rule of King Stefan Uroš III following his exile from court, the portraits on the south wall of the west bay are especially ideologically charged (Figure. 5.5). They testify to the immediate aftermath of the civil war between the three pretenders to the throne, including Stefan Uroš III upon his return from exile in Constantinople. The specificity of the historical circumstances explains why the composition finds no iconographic parallel, neither earlier nor later. The portraits are set against a

75 For a detailed discussion of these portraits, see: Branislav Cvetković, "Portreti u naosu Nove Pavlice: istorizam ili politička aktuelnost?," [Portraits in the naos of Nova Pavlica: historicism or current politics?] *Saopštenja* 35/36 (2006), 79–97; Branislav Cvetković, and Gordana Gavrić, *Manastir Nova Pavlica* [The monastery of Nova Pavlica] (Brvenik, 2014), pp. 26–27, 36–39.

76 Branislav Cvetković, and Gordana Gavrić, *Manastir Veluće* [The monastery of Veluće] (Kraljevo, 2015), pp. 21–44 (with bibliography).

dark-red background. On the left stands Nikodim, the *ktetor* of the church and acting archbishop at the time. On the opposite end is Saint Sava the Serbian, the founder of the Serbian Orthodox Church and himself a member of the first generation of the Nemanjić dynasty. Between the two church prelates stand the newly crowned king and his young son Dušan, the future king and tsar.[77] Their costumes are unusual, obviously reflecting their years spent in the Byzantine capital.[78] With his long sleeves hanging unbelted, the young prince wears a style called the *granatza*, fashionable at the time in Byzantium and the Balkans and described by Pseudo-Kodinos in his treatise on dignitaries as being of Assyrian origin.[79] An important comparable example of how imagery served in promoting royal children is found in the cathedral in Arilje. Although the *ktetor* of the church, King Stefan Dragutin, had already abdicated by the time this decorative programme was executed, his two sons were given prominent placement beneath the Tree of Jesse in the narthex to highlight his lineage's continued claim to the Serbian throne. Moreover, his older son, Prince Vladislav, is singled out by the overlapping of the top of his aureole with the bottom of Christ's mandorla.[80]

The issue of producing a male heir was among the most crucial for royals in the Middle Ages. The lack of a legitimate heir could pave the way to crisis and almost always led to civil war. Such a situation accounts for the content of the frescoes commissioned in Peć and elsewhere during the final years of the reign of King Stefan Uroš II Milutin. Despite his numerous marriages, he died without an apparent heir, such that the issue of his succession had to be resolved through a bloody war between his two sons and a nephew, each of whom lacked proper legitimacy.[81] But the king had indeed tried to produce an heir

77 For a complete study addressing these issues, see: Branislav Todić, "Srpske teme na freskama XIV veka u crkvi sv. Dimitrija u Peći," [Serbian themes in 14th-century frescoes in the church of Saint Demetrios in Peć] *Zograf* 30 (2004–05), 123–40 (with bibliography).

78 See: Maria G. Parani, "Cultural Identity and Dress: The Case of Late Byzantine Ceremonial Costume," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 57 (2007), 95–134.

79 When the sleeves were belted at the back, as was common among Byzantine courtiers, the style was called the *lapatzas*. The third variant, ordered for the *megas domestikos*, with one sleeve falling loose and the other belted, reflected the special place John Kantakouzenos held at the court of Andronikos III. See: Branislav Cvetković, "Prilog proučavanju vizantijskog dvorskog kostima – γρανάτζα, λαπάτζας," [A contribution to the study of Byzantine court costume – γρανάτζα, λαπάτζας] *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 34 (1995), 143–55.

80 Branislav Cvetković, "Christianity and Royalty: The Touch of the Holy," *Byzantion* 72/2 (2002), 347–64, esp. 354–57, fig. 4.

81 Vlada Stanković, "King Milutin and his Many Marriages (*1254, †November 21, 1321, r. 1282–1321)," in *Portraits of Medieval Eastern Europe, 900–1400*, eds. Donald G. Ostrowski, and Christian Raffensperger (London, 2018), pp. 109–19.

whose right to inherit the throne could not be challenged. His fifth marriage – to Simonis, the daughter of the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II Paleologos – was a means to accomplish even wider ambitions, reaching towards the unification of Serbia with the Kingdom of Thessalonica, ruled by Empress Eirene (Yolanda of Montferrat), the wife of Andronikos. The infertility of the young bride prevented such grand plans, and it seems that the king sought help from above by commissioning the building of a special chapel in the renowned dynastic mausoleum of Studenica.[82] The so-called King's Church is dedicated to Saint Anne and Saint Joachim, the parents of the Virgin. Its unusual decoration, with images of the *ktetors* and the holy doctors, makes it an extraordinary example of the belief in the saints as channels of God's healing power. The busts of Saint Cosmas and Saint Damian are painted not in their usual frontal postures but rather almost bent towards the royal couple. Partly damaged, Saint Damian turns towards Queen Simonis, pointing at her with his instrument. Saint Cosmas, too, is shown in profile, with his right arm outstretched towards the king, likewise pointing directly to him with the sharp end of his scalpel (Figure. 5.6).[83] The royal couple is depicted alongside the patron saints on the south wall. The king holds a church-model, while Saint Anne holds the young Virgin. By showing the two couples side by side, the painters stressed the parallel between the main theme of the illustrated cycle of the Virgin's infancy (sterility healed) and the desired outcome for the Serbian royal couple. The childless couple dedicates the lavish foundation to Saint Anne and Saint Joachim, whose sterility was miraculously cured by divine mercy.[84]

The far-reaching consequences of barren dynastic marriages gave rise to even more captivating royal imagery, for example in the monastery church in Psača. Two frontal figures are shown dressed in the typical *sakkos* and *loros* (Figure. 5.7). The younger of the pair is Emperor Stefan Uroš V, the son of

82 For detailed analysis of the issues, see: Branislav Cvetković, "König Milutin und die Parakklesiai des Hl. Joachim und der Hl. Anna im Kloster Studenica," *Balcanica* 26 (1995), 251–76. For results of research on this monument, see: Gordana Babić, *Kraljeva crkva u Studenici* [The King's Church in Studenica] (Belgrade, 1987).

83 Branislav Cvetković, "Intentional Asymmetry in Byzantine Imagery: The Communion of the Apostles in St Sophia in Ohrid and Later Instances," *Byzantion* 76 (2006), 74–96, esp. 87–88.

84 Branislav Cvetković, "The icon in context: Its functional adaptability in medieval Serbia," in *Saints of the Balkans*, eds. Mirjana Detelić, and Graham Jones (Donington, 2006), pp. 42–50, esp. 46; Eirini Panou, "Mary's parents in the Byzantine art of Eastern Europe and the Balkans," in *Proceedings of the 2nd International symposium Days of Justinian I*, ed. Mitko B. Panov (Skopje, 2015), pp. 193–95. Also, for the crucial role of Saint Anne in fertility beliefs at the Byzantine court, see: Eirini Panou, *The Cult of St Anna in Byzantium* (London – New York, 2018), pp. 20, 49–78.

Dušan, while the grey-haired man is King Vukašin, presented as co-ruler.[85] This fresco dates from the period when, due to his lacking an heir, Emperor Uroš was compelled to introduce as co-ruler the leading member of the mighty Mrnjavčević clan. But the wall painting actually provides further information in that the portrait of Vukašin was applied on a new fresco layer, over the figure of a nun likely standing for the mother of the emperor. The remnants of this female figure are still discernible at the joints between the different fresco layers.[86]

Elsewhere in the region, other politically motivated revisions to monumental programmes can be found. For instance, large areas of the nave of Sopoćani were repainted to accommodate an image of the deposition of King Stefan Uroš I, even including instances of a *damnatio memoriae*.[87] In Dečani too, repainting is evident in several figures in the nave, necessitated by the political situation of the time.[88] Some such instances are difficult to comprehend in their current condition, for instance at Gračanica, where modifications to the decorative programme are discernible only in pale outlines of the two royal figures between the portraits of the king's parents.[89]

6 Lineage and Triumph

After the death in 1371 of both Emperor Stefan Uroš V and his co-ruler, King Vukašin, the latter fallen in the Battle of Maritsa, the Serbian Empire disintegrated into more or less independent units ruled by regional overlords, some of whom were legitimate heirs of the old Nemanjić dynasty.[90] This was the case

85 Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo*, pp. 172–73, T. 26–27, sl. 77 (with bibliography).

86 See: Zagorka Rasolkoska-Nikolovska, "O istorijskim portretima u Psači i vremenu njihovog nastanka," [About historical portraits in Psača and the time of their creation] *Zograf* 24 (1995), 39–51; Zagorka Rasolkoska-Nikolovska, "Istoriskite portreti vo Psača i vremeto na nivnoto slikanje," [Historical portraits in Psača and the time of their painting] in *Srednovekovnata umetnost vo Makedonija. Freski i ikoni*, [Medieval art in Macedonia. Frescoes and icons] ed. Darko Nikolovski (Skopje, 2004), pp. 245–65.

87 For a thorough analysis, see: Branislav Todić, "Sopoćani i Gradac. Uzajamnost funerarnih programa dve crkve," [Sopoćani and Gradac. About the relation of funerary programmes of the two churches] *Zograf* 31 (2006–07), 59–76.

88 Todić, and Čanak-Medić, *Manastir Dečani*, pp. 436–46, sl. 358, (with bibliography).

89 Dragan Vojvodić, "Doslikani vladarski portreti u Gračanici," [Additionally painted portraits of rulers in Gračanica] *Niš & Byzantium* 7 (2009), 251–65.

90 Branislav Cvetković, "In Search of Legitimacy: The Ideology and Art of the New Serbian Dynasts," in *Sacral Art*, eds. Vojvodić, and Popović, pp. 411–21. Also, for arts of the period, see: Tatjana Starodubcev, *Srpsko zidno slikarstvo u zemljama Lazarevića i Brankovića*

with King Marko, who with his brothers and close allies reigned over the southern parts of the dissolved Empire and who expressed his royal aura in several dazzling portraits.[91] The northern regions of medieval Serbia likewise came to be governed by former local nobles who gradually rose to supreme power, from Lazar Hrebeljanović and Vuk Branković to Stefan Lazarević and Đurađ Branković. Although they would base their official portraiture on imagery from previous decades and from the traditions of the Nemanjić dynasty, these powerful figures also made numerous adaptations – whether to titles, insignia, or costume – and, due to their often precarious positions as rulers, seem to have constructed their images of authority using nuanced iconographic models.[92] After decades of crisis, it was the despot Stefan Lazarević (r. 1389–1427) who managed to solidify his authority, especially after the favourable outcome of the Battle of Angora in 1402 and his decisive victories over the Ottomans and various domestic enemies up to 1412. His portrayals in several monastery churches conveyed particularly complex messages. In Koporin, he is depicted alone in a purple *sakkos* with a *loros* crossed over his breast. By contrast, in Rudenice, he is shown as a donor among the *ktetor*-aristocrats, standing next to his co-ruler and brother, Vuk, and all the figures are dressed in luxury court attire with long mantles (Figure. 5.8). The situation is similar in Kalenić and Sisojevac, where the despot also features as one of the *ktetors*.[93] That he is shown wearing a mantle in these images is an important piece of evidence

1–2 [Serbian wall painting in the lands of the Lazarević and Branković families] (Belgrade, 2016).

91 Cvetković, "Intentional Assymetry," pp. 90–92, fig. 7; Branislav Cvetković, "Sovereign Portraits at Mark's Monastery Revisited," *IKON* 5 (2012), 185–98; Marka Tomić Đurić, "New Kingdom in the South – Art in the Mrnjavčević State," in *Sacral Art*, eds. Vojvodić, and Popović, pp. 367–79; Marka Tomić Đurić, *Freske Markovog manastira* [The frescoes of Marko's monastery] (Belgrade, 2019), pp. 451–78 (with full bibliography).

92 For various instances, see: Branislav Cvetković, "Ideološki modeli i motivi u vladarskoj reprezentaciji despota Stefana," [Ideological models and motives in royal representations of despot Stefan Lazarević] in *Srednji vek u srpskoj nauci, istoriji, književnosti i umetnosti* 7, [The Middle Ages in Serbian science, history, literature and art] ed. Gordana Jovanović (Despotovac, 2016), pp. 57–78.

93 On these issues, see: Branislav Cvetković, "Manastir Sisojevac i monah Sisoje," [The monastery of Sisojevac and the monk Sisoes] *Istorija umetnosti* 1–2 (2002), 55–76; Branislav Cvetković, "Rudenice i Kalenić: 'dvojna,' grupna ili sukcesivna ktitorija?," [Rudenice and Kalenić: 'dual,' group or successive khtêtoria?] *Saopštenja* 41 (2009), 79–98; Branislav Cvetković, "Kalenić: ikonografija i politička teorija," [Kalenić: iconography and political theory] in *Manastir Kalenić. U susret šestoj stogodišnjici*, [Monastery Kalenić. On the eve of the six hundred years anniversary] ed. Jovanka Kalić (Belgrade, 2009), pp. 47–65; Branislav Cvetković, "The Portraits in Lapušnja and Iconography of Joint Ktetorship," *Niš & Byzantium* 11 (2013), 295–307.

regarding the influence of Byzantium in later medieval Serbia, since this garb – the *chlamys* of meekness – was reserved to stress the virtue of a pious ruler in Byzantine and Serbian royal portraits. For instance, it appeared in images accentuating the specific relationship between the representatives of the earthly and heavenly courts, but not in images speaking just to the heavenly origin of a sovereign's authority.[94] Even in the most spiritual donations, however, the allure of temporal power often prevailed, which is why the family portrait of Despot Đurađ Branković (r. 1427–1456) on the Esphigmenou charter from 1429, despite the visual placement of the family in front of the celestial lodgings of the Heavenly Jerusalem, is otherwise extremely luxurious.[95]

Finally, representations of medieval rulers often sought to emphasize military triumph and prowess.[96] It has recently been argued that weapons in portraits of Byzantine and Balkan monarchs should not be interpreted as a sign of any particular military success, due to the fact that swords and spears are often mentioned among the insignia of crowning ceremonies.[97] However, one wonders then why such arms are so seldomly a feature of official portraiture.[98] That the inclusion of the sword as an attribute indeed signalled actual military success is evidenced in the monastery church of Staro Nagoričino (Figure. 5.9). The fresco was executed in the year of King Milutin's great victories over several units of the Turks both in the Balkans and in aid of Andronikos II Paleologos in Asia Minor. The king is depicted as renovator of the old Byzantine foundation, with Saint George handing him the sword – the symbol of the victory achieved with the help of this holy warrior and *megalomartyr* – in exchange

94 On mantles, see: Branislav Cvetković, "Plašt srpskih despota u 15. veku. Prilog proučavanju," [The mantle of the Serbian despots in the 15th century. A contribution to the study] in *Vizantijski svet na Balkanu* 2, [Byzantine world in the Balkans] eds. Bojana Krsmanović, Ljubomir Maksimović, and Radivoj Radić (Belgrade, 2012), pp. 551–61.

95 Branislav Cvetković, "Esfigmenska povelja despota Đurđa Brankovića: fantastična arhitektura, Žiča, Esfigmen ili nebeski stanovi?," [The Esphigmenou Chrysobull of Despot Đurađ Branković: Fantastic Architecture, Žiča, Esphigmenou or the Celestial Dwellings?] in *ΣΥΜΜΕΙΚΤΑ*, ed. Ivan Stević (Belgrade, 2012), pp. 343–63.

96 Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1990).

97 Dragan Vojvodić, "Oružje s nebesa. Ikonologija srednjovekovnih predstava investiture vladara vojnim insignijama," [Weapons from heavens. Iconology of medieval representations of the investiture of rulers by military insignia] in *Pristupna predavanja dopisnih članova* 1, [Access lectures by correspondent members] ed. Miro Vuksanović (Belgrade, 2019), pp. 237–58.

98 On this important issue, see: Robert S. Nelson, "And So, With the Help of God. The Byzantine Art of War in the Tenth Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 65/66 (2011/12), 169–92.

for the restored church.[99] The victory would also have been recorded in a modification to the founder's inscription on the stone lintel of the western door of the church.

A rare example of the iconography of the Serbian monarch being invested with weapons from the heavens is the magnificent portrait of Despot Stefan Lazarević at his burial site, the monastery church of Resava (Figure. 5.10). He holds in his right hand a cruciform sceptre and, in his left, a model of the church and an unfurled scroll bearing a prayer to the monastery's patron, the Holy Trinity. He is clad in a rich *sakkos*, patterned with medallions containing bicephalous eagles, over which the bands of the *loros* are visible; wearing red shoes, he stands on the *suppedion* embroidered with two lions *en passant*.[100] From the celestial register above, Christ crowns and blesses him, while an angel on either side invests him with a sword and a spear, respectively. A crucial chapter from the despot's biography, describing the importance of his military victories,[101] may explain the iconography of this triumphant portrayal.[102]

7 Workshops

This survey of the royal imagery of medieval Serbia has brought into focus the programmatic and iconographic features of a number of portraits. However, also of interest are the origins of the painters as well as the style of these works of art. As far as the royally endowed churches are concerned, the majority were painted by the leading workshops of the major Byzantine cultural centres,

99 Vojislav J. Đurić, "Tri događaja u srpskoj državi XIV veka i njihov odjek u slikarstvu," [Three events in a 14th-century Serbian state and their echo in painting] *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske* 4 (1966), 68–76, crt. 1, sl. 1; Branislav Todić, *Staro Nagoričino* (Belgrade, 1993), pp. 118–19, crt. 21.

100 Jadranka Prolović, *Resava* (*Manasija*). *Geschichte, Architektur und Malerei einer Stiftung des serbischen Despoten Stefan Lazarević* (Vienna, 2017), pp. 347–56, where the author gives several erratic and unacceptable descriptions of Christ as an angel and of the lions on the *suppedion* as a snake and a lion, thus arguing that the royal cushion symbolizes evil.

101 Vatroslav Jagić, "Konstantin Filosof i njegov Život Stefana Lazarevića despota srpskoga," [Constantine the Philosopher and his life of Stefan Lazarević the Serbian despot] *Glasnik Srpskog učenog društva* 42 (1875), 223–328, esp. 281.

102 Branislav Cvetković, "Imago leonis in despot Stefan's Iconography," *IKON* 2 (2009), 137–45; Branislav Cvetković, "Portret despota Stefana u Resavi: istoriografija i ikonografija," [Despot Stefan's portrait in Resava: historiography and iconography] in *Srednji vek u srpskoj nauci, istoriji, književnosti i umetnosti* 11, [The Middle Ages in Serbian science, history, literature and art] ed. Gordana Jovanović (Despotovac, 2021), pp. 219–54.

Constantinople and Thessaloniki. The most stylistically refined painter of the early 13th century in this region was responsible for the decoration of the *katholikon* of the monastery of Studenica. Although he left his signature in the dome, the name of this artist remains unknown due to the damaged condition of this inscription.[103] Despite a lack of signatures, the high artistic value of the frescoes painted in the 1220s in the *katholikon* in Žiča corroborates the information provided in the vita of Saint Sava the Serbian that the best metropolitan painters were summoned to decorate this church, the first seat of the autocephalous Serbian archbishopric.[104] On the basis of style and other characteristics, it has long been ascertained that the wall paintings in the *katholikon* of the monastery of Mileševa were executed by leading artists who most likely came to Serbia from Thessaloniki.[105] This second city of the Byzantine Empire was also the point of origin for an extremely productive workshop headed by the Astrapas family. The two leaders of this atelier, the painters Eutychios and Michael, were probably father and son. In addition to their signed work in several churches, their distinctive style has allowed scholars to attribute to them the decoration of the main foundations of King Milutin.[106] An equally prominent group of painters originating in Thessaloniki was undoubtedly responsible for many of the frescoes at the later royal endowments in Ravanica, Sisojevac, and Resava.[107]

---

103 Vojislav J. Đurić, "La plus ancienne peinture de Studenica à la lumière de l'historiographie," in *Studenica i vizantijska umetnost oko 1200. godine*, [Studenica and Byzantine art circa 1200] ed. Vojislav Korać (Belgrade, 1988), pp. 171–84.

104 Čanak-Medić et al., *Manastir Žiča*, pp. 347–391 (with bibliography).

105 Vojislav J. Đurić, "Mileševsko najstarije slikarstvo. Izvori i paralele," [Mileševa's oldest painting. Sources and Parallels] in *Mileševa u istoriji srpskog naroda*, [Mileševa in the history of the Serbian people] ed. Vojislav J. Đurić (Belgrade, 1987), pp. 27–35 (with bibliography).

106 Miodrag Marković, "Umetnička delatnost Mihaila i Evtihija. Sadašnja znanja, sporna pitanja i pravci budućih istraživanja," [Michael's and Eutychios's artistic work. Present knowledge, dubious issues and direction of future research] *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja* 17/2 (2004), 95–117; Miodrag Marković, "The painter Eutychios – father of Michael Astrapas and protomaster of the frescoes in the Church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid," *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske* 38 (2010), 9–34.

107 Vojislav J. Đurić, "Istoriografsko-memoarska beleška o umetničkom poreklu resavskih slikara," [A historical-memoir note on the artistic origins of the Resava painters] in *Manastir Resava. Istorija i umetnost*, [Resava Monastery. Its history and art] ed. Vojislav J. Đurić (Despotovac, 1995), pp. 25–36; Tatjana Starodubcev, "Slikari zadužbina Lazarevića," [Painters of the Endowments of the Lazarević dynasty] *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 43 (2006), 349–91.

8 Conclusion

As this essay has shown, the sheer quantity of preserved material from Serbia brings to the fore a variegated and extremely nuanced sampling of the content of medieval royal portraiture. The very fact that this imagery is mostly found in the medium of fresco on church walls in villages, towns, and monasteries – whereas there is only little evidence of comparable examples in miniatures and icons – bespeaks its importance as a propaganda tool. The audience for these images was wide, considering firstly their religious contexts and the fact that the founding of churches was a conduit not only to personal but also collective redemption and, secondly, their cultic elements, modelled after a Western European royal ideology of holy ancestors.[108] Although they were set within churches, the function of royal portraits was deeply political due to the old and essential belief in the divine origin of the power of worldly rulers.[109] In the case of medieval Serbia, such imagery was tasked with evoking key notions of the springing of power from holy dynastic ancestors, notions elaborated in hagiographic texts devoted to various members of the sanctified Nemanjić family.[110] The most telling sources for understanding the place of royal imagery in medieval Serbian society are genealogies and chronicles, similar to the short Byzantine annals. While the royal genealogies were conceived to corroborate the legitimacy of a given dynastic branch and, therefore, emerged during moments of political disturbance, the chronicles covered more complex issues and identified the most important political players of the time.[111] Although the former were written at the royal court and the latter within monastic circles, all these texts abound with historically specific messages and, thus, are precious sources for construing the nuances encountered in the royal imagery.

108 Joan A. Holladay, *Visualizing Ancestry in the High and Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2019).

109 See: Ivan Drpić, "Review of R. Franses, Donor portraits in Byzantine art: the vicissitudes of contact between human and divine," *Church history* 88/3 (2019), 806–808.

110 Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, "La réécriture hagiographique: usages et fonctions dans la Serbie médiévale," in *Remanier, métaphraser. Fonctions et techniques de la réécriture dans le monde byzantin*, eds. Smilja Marjanović- Dušanić, and Bernard Flusin (Belgrade, 2011), pp. 163–80; Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, "Svod srpskih svetih u doba kralja Milutina: dinastički kultovi," [The 'pantheon' of Serbian saints during King Milutin's reign: the dynastic cults] in *Studenica monastery – 700 years of the King's Church*, eds. Ljubomir Maksimović, and Vladimir Vukašinović (Belgrade, 2016), pp. 35–59.

111 Marija Vasiljević, "Nastanak srpskih rodoslova i letopisa kao posledica političkih i društvenih promena," [The emergence of Serbian genealogies and chronicles as a consequence of political and social changes] *Initial. A review of medieval studies* 3 (2015), 95–117; Marija Vasiljević, "Imagining the ruler's genealogy in medieval Serbia," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 55 (2017), 73–88.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Alighieri, Dante, *La Divina Commedia*, Ms Phillipps 9589 (1350), Biblioteca del Centro Dantesco, Ravenna.

Ivić, Aleksa, *Stari srpski pečati i grbovi. Prilog srpskoj sfragistici i heraldici* [Old Serbian seals and coats of arms. Contribution to Serbian sfragistics and heraldry] (Novi Sad, 1910).

Jagić, Vatroslav, "Konstantin Filosof i njegov Život Stefana Lazarevića despota srpskoga," [Constantine the Philosopher and his life of Stefan Lazarević the Serbian despot] *Glasnik Srpskog učenog društva* 42 (1875), 223–328.

La Divina comedia di Dante, ed. Lodovico Dolce (Venice, 1555).

Leonid, Arhimandrit, "Sloveno-srpska knjižnica na Sv. Gori Atonskoj u manastiru Hilindaru i Sv. Pavlu," [Slavonic-serbian library on Holy Mount Athos in the monasteries Hilandar and St. Paul] *Glasnik Srpskog učenog društva* 44 (1877), 232–304.

Popoff, Michel, *Le rôle d'armes de Zurich* (Paris, 2015).

Runge, Heinrich, *Die Wappenrolle von Zürich. Ein heraldisches Denkmal des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Zurich, 1860).

Trifunović, Đorđe, Bjelogrlić, Vera, and Brajović, Irena, "Hilandarska povelja Svetoga Simeona i Svetoga Save," [Chilandari charter of Saint Simeon and Saint Sava] in *Osam vekova Studenice*, [Eight centuries of Studenica] eds. Stefan episkop žički (Belgrade, 1986), pp. 49–60.

Secondary Sources

Alonzo, Giuseppe, "Numismatica dantesca. La Commedia tra maledizione e santificazione della moneta," in *Stella forte: studi danteschi*, ed. Francesco Spera (Napoli, 2010), pp. 81–106.

Arhiepiskop Danilo II i njegovo doba, [The archbishop Daniel II and his time] ed. Vojislav J. Đurić (Belgrade, 1991).

Atanasov, Georgi, *Insigniite na srednovekovnite b'lgarski vladeteli* [The insignia of medieval Bulgarian rulers] (Pleven, 1999).

Babić, Gordana, *Kraljeva crkva u Studenici* [The King's Church in Studenica] (Belgrade, 1987).

Babić, Gordana, "Western Medieval and Byzantine Traditions in Serbian Art," in *Tradition and Modern Society*, ed. Sven Gustavsson (Stockholm, 1989), pp. 117–32.

Babić, Valentina, *Freske u crkvi Svetog Mihaila u Stonu* [The frescoes of the church of Saint Michael at Ston] (Belgrade, 2014).

Babuin, Andrea, "Il dittico di Cuenca e l'Epiro in epoca tardo-medievale," in *Byzantine Hagiography: Texts, Themes and Projects*, ed. Antonio Rigo (Turnhout, 2018), pp. 419–49.

Ball, Jeniffer L., *Byzantine Dress. Representations of Secular Dress in Eighth- to Twelfth-Century Painting* (New York, 2005).

Blagojević, Miloš, *Srbija u doba Nemanjića* [Serbia in the Nemanjić era] (Belgrade, 1989).

Bogdanović, Dimitrije, *Istorija stare srpske književnosti* [History of old Serbian literature] (Belgrade, 1980).

Bogdanović, Dimitrije, "Politička filosofija srednjovekovne Srbije. Mogućnosti jednog istraživanja," [Political philosophy of medieval Serbia. Possibilities of research] *Filosofske studije* 16 (1984), 7–28.

Bojović, Boško, *L'Idéologie monarchique dans les hagio-biographies dynastiques du Moyen Âge serbe* (Roma, 1995).

Bubalo, Đorđe, *Srpska zemlja i pomorska u doba vladavine Nemanjića* 1 [Serbian lands and the Littoral during the Nemanjić reign] (Belgrade, 2016).

Čanak-Medić, Milka, Popović, Danica, and Vojvodić, Dragan, *Manastir Žiča* [The monastery of Žiča] (Belgrade, 2014).

Ćirković, Sima, *The Serbs* (Malden, 2004).

Čremošnik, Gregor, *Studije za srednjovjekovnu diplomatiku i sigiliografiju Južnih Slavena* [Studies in medieval diplomacy and sigiliography of the southern Slavs] (Sarajevo, 1976).

Cvetković, Branislav, "König Milutin und die Parakklesiai des Hl. Joachim und der Hl. Anna im Kloster Studenica," *Balcanica* 26 (1995), 251–76.

Cvetković, Branislav, "Prilog proučavanju vizantijskog dvorskog kostima – γρανάτζα, λαπάτζας," [A contribution to the study of Byzantine court costume – γρανάτζα, λαπάτζας] *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 34 (1995), 143–55.

Cvetković, Branislav, "Studenički eksonarteks i kralj Radoslav: prilog datovanju," [Studenica exonarthex and King Radoslav: a contribution to its dating] *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 37 (1998), 75–85.

Cvetković, Branislav, "Freske u zapadnom traveju crkve Sv. Dimitrija u Pećkoj patrijaršiji i kult kralja Milutina," [Frescoes from the western bay of Saint Demetrius church in the patriarchate of Peć and King Milutin's cult] *Art Studies Quarterly* 4 (2000), 3–9.

Cvetković, Branislav, "Christianity and Royalty: The Touch of the Holy," *Byzantion* 72/2 (2002), 347–64.

Cvetković, Branislav, "Manastir Sisojevac i monah Sisoje," [The monastery of Sisojevac and the monk Sisoes] *Istorija umetnosti* 1–2 (2002), 55–76.

Cvetković, Branislav, "Vizantijski car i freske u priprati Mileševe," [Byzantine emperor and frescoes in Mileševa narthex] *Balcanica* 32–33 (2003), 297–309.

Cvetković, Branislav, "The icon in context: Its functional adaptability in medieval Serbia," in *Saints of the Balkans*, ed. Mirjana Detelić, and Graham Jones (Donington, 2006), pp. 42–50.

Cvetković, Branislav, "Intentional Asymmetry in Byzantine Imagery: The Communion of the Apostles in St Sophia in Ohrid and Later Instances," *Byzantion* 76 (2006), 74–96.

Cvetković, Branislav, "Portreti u naosu Nove Pavlice: istorizam ili politička aktuelnost?," [Portraits in the naos of Nova Pavlica: historicism or current politics?] *Saopštenja* 35/36 (2006), pp. 79–97.

Cvetković, Branislav, "Imago leonis in despot Stefan's Iconography," *IKON* 2 (2009), 137–45.

Cvetković, Branislav, "Kalenić: ikonografija i politička teorija," [Kalenić: iconography and political theory] in *Manastir Kalenić. U susret šestoj stogodišnjici*, [Monastery Kalenić. On the eve of the six hundred years anniversary] ed. Jovanka Kalić (Belgrade, 2009), pp. 47–65.

Cvetković, Branislav, "Rudenice i Kalenić: 'dvojna,' grupna ili sukcesivna ktitorija?," [Rudenice and Kalenić: 'dual,' group or successive khtêtoria?] *Saopštenja* 41 (2009), 79–98.

Cvetković, Branislav, "Robes of Light and the 13th Century Frescoes in Boyana," in *The Boyana Church Between the East and the West in the Art of the Christian Europe*, ed. Bisserka Penkova (Sofia, 2011), pp. 198–214.

Cvetković, Branislav, "Esfigmenska povelja despota Đurđa Brankovića: fantastična arhitektura, Žiča, Esfigmen ili nebeski stanovi?," [The Esphigmenou Chrysobull of Despot Đurađ Branković: Fantastic Architecture, Žiča, Esphigmenou or the Celestial Dwellings?] in *ΣΥΜΜΕΙΚΤΑ*, ed. Ivan Stević (Belgrade, 2012), pp. 343–63.

Cvetković, Branislav, "Sovereign Portraits at Mark's Monastery Revisited," *IKON* 5 (2012), 185–98.

Cvetković, Branislav, "Plašt srpskih despota u 15. veku. Prilog proučavanju," [The mantle of the Serbian despots in the 15th century. A contribution to the study] in *Vizantijski svet na Balkanu* 2, [Byzantine world in the Balkans] eds. Bojana Krsmanović, Ljubomir Maksimović, and Radivoj Radić (Belgrade, 2012), pp. 551–61.

Cvetković, Branislav, "Sovereign Portraits at Mark's Monastery Revisited," *IKON* 5 (2012), 185–98.

Cvetković, Branislav, "The Painted Programs in Thirteenth-Century Serbia: Structure, Themes, and Accents," in *Orient et Occident méditerranéens au XIII^e siècle. Les programmes picturaux*, eds. Jean-Pierre Caillet, and Fabienne Joubert (Paris, 2012), pp. 157–76.

Cvetković, Branislav, "The Portraits in Lapušnja and Iconography of Joint Ktetorship," *Niš & Byzantium* 11 (2013), 295–307.

Cvetković, Branislav, "Sveti Sava i program živopisa u Mileševi: prilozi istraživanju," [Saint Sava and paintings in Mileševa: addenda to research] in *Osam vekova manastira Mileševe* 1, [Eight centuries of Mileševa monastery] eds. Petar Vlahović (Mileševa, 2013), pp. 311–27.

Cvetković, Branislav, "Medieval Serbian Art between Byzantium and West," in *Art and Its Role in the History: Between Durability and Transient-Isms*, ed. Branko Jovanović et al. (Kosovska Mitrovica, 2014), pp. 311–28.

Cvetković, Branislav, "St Constantine the Great in Mileševa Revisited," *Niš & Byzantium* 12 (2014), 271–84.

Cvetković, Branislav, and Gavrić, Gordana, *Manastir Nova Pavlica* [The monastery of Nova Pavlica] (Brvenik, 2014).

Cvetković, Branislav, and Gavrić, Gordana, "Kraljica Jelena i franjevci," [Queen Helen and the franciscans] in *Jelena – kraljica, monahinja, svetiteljka*, [Helen – the queen, the nun, the saint] ed. Katarina Mitrović (Gradac, 2015), pp. 119–33.

Cvetković, Branislav, and Gavrić, Gordana, *Manastir Veluće* [The monastery of Veluće] (Kraljevo, 2015).

Cvetković, Branislav, "Textiles and Their Usage in Medieval Balkans: The Royal Context," in *Clothing the Sacred. Medieval Textiles as Fabric, Form, and Metaphor*, eds. Mateusz Kapustka, and Warren T. Woodfin (Berlin, 2015), pp. 33–52.

Cvetković, Branislav, "Ideološki modeli i motivi u vladarskoj reprezentaciji despota Stefana," [Ideological models and motives in royal representations of despot Stefan Lazarević] in *Srednji vek u srpskoj nauci, istoriji, književnosti i umetnosti* 7, [The Middle Ages in Serbian science, history, literature and art] ed. Gordana Jovanović (Despotovac, 2016), pp. 57–78.

Cvetković, Branislav, "In Search of Legitimacy: The Ideology and Art of the New Serbian Dynasts," in *Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages*, eds. Dragan Vojvodić, and Danica Popović (Belgrade, 2016), pp. 411–21.

Cvetković, Branislav, "Portret despota Stefana u Resavi: istoriografija i ikonografija," [Despot Stefan's portrait in Resava: historiography and iconography] in *Srednji vek u srpskoj nauci, istoriji, književnosti i umetnosti* 11, [The Middle Ages in Serbian science, history, literature and art] ed. Gordana Jovanović (Despotovac, 2021), pp. 219–54.

Dagron, Gilbert, *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le 'césaropapisme' byzantin* (Paris, 1996).

Dimitrova, Elizabeta, *Manastir Matejče* [The monastery of Matejče] (Skopje, 2002).

Đorđević, Ivan M., *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele u doba Nemanjića* [The wall-paintings of the Serbian nobility of the Nnemanide era] (Belgrade, 1994).

Drpić, Ivan, "Review of R. Franses, Donor portraits in Byzantine art: the vicissitudes of contact between human and divine," *Church history* 88/3 (2019), 806–808.

Đurić, Vojislav J., *Dubrovačka slikarska škola* [Dubrovnik painting school] (Belgrade, 1963).

Đurić, Vojislav J., "Tri događaja u srpskoj državi XIV veka i njihov odjek u slikarstvu," [Three events in a 14th-century Serbian state and their echo in painting] *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske* 4 (1966), 68–76.

Đurić, Vojislav J., "Slika i istorija u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji," [Image and history in medieval Serbia] *Glas Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti* 338 (1983), 117–33.

Đurić, Vojislav J., "Mileševsko najstarije slikarstvo. Izvori i paralele," [Mileševa's oldest painting. Sources and Parallels] in *Mileševa u istoriji srpskog naroda*, [Mileševa in the history of the Serbian people] ed. Vojislav J. Đurić (Belgrade, 1987), pp. 27–35.

Đurić, Vojislav J., "La plus ancienne peinture de Studenica à la lumière de l'historiographie," in *Studenica i vizantijska umetnost oko 1200. godine*, [Studenica and Byzantine art circa 1200] ed. Vojislav Korać (Belgrade, 1988), pp. 171–84.

Đurić, Vojislav J., "Les portraits de souverains dans le narthex de Chilandar," *Hilandarski zbornik* 7 (1989), 105–21.

Đurić, Vojislav J., "Društvo, država i vladar u umetnosti u doba dinastije Lazarević-Branković," [Society, state and ruler in art during the Lazarević-Branković dynasty] *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske* 26 (1990), 13–41.

Đurić, Vojislav J., "Loza srpskih vladara u Studenici," [The lineage of Serbian rulers in Studenica] in *Zbornik u čast Vojislava Đurića* [Proceedings in honor of Vojislav Đurić] ed. Ivo Tartalja (Belgrade, 1992), pp. 67–79.

Đurić, Vojislav J., "Srpska dinastija i Vizantija na freskama u manastiru Mileševi," [The Serbian dynasty and Byzantium on frescoes in the Mileševa monastery] *Zograf* 22 (1992), 13–25.

Đurić, Vojislav J., "Istoriografsko-memoarska beleška o umetničkom poreklu resavskih slikara," [A historical-memoir note on the artistic origins of the Resava painters] in *Manastir Resava. Istorija i umetnost*, [Resava Monastery. Its history and art] ed. Vojislav J. Đurić (Despotovac, 1995), pp. 25–36.

Đurić, Vojislav J., "Le nouveau Constantin dans l'art serbe médiéval," in *Λιθοστροτών. Studien zur byzantinischen Kunst und Geschichte. Festschrift für Marcel Restle*, eds. Thomas Steppan, and Birgitt Borkopp (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 55–65.

Đurić, Vojislav J., Ćirković, Sima, and Korać, Vojislav, *Pećka patrijaršija* [The Patriarchate in Peć] (Belgrade, 1990).

Dvořáková, Kateřina, "Dating the Romanesque Mural Paintings and the Ducal Rotunda of St. Catherine, in Znojmo: New Discoveries," *Interdisciplinaria Archaeologica. Natural Sciences in Archaeology* 1/2 (2010), 99–104.

Eastmond, Antony, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia* (University Park Pennsylvania, 1998).

Eastmond, Antony, "'Local' Saints, Art, and Religious Iconography in the Orthodox World after the Fourth Crusade," *Speculum* 78/3 (2003), 707–17.

Ferjančić, Božidar, and Maksimović, Ljubomir, "Sveti Sava i Srbija između Epira i Nikeje," [Saint Sava and Serbia between Epiros and Nicaea] in *Sveti Sava u srpskoj istoriji i tradiciji*, [Saint Sava in Serbian history and tradition] ed. Sima Ćirković (Belgrade, 1998), pp. 13–25.

Fisković, Igor, *Reljef kralja Petra Krešimira IV.* [The relief of King Petar Krešimir IV] (Split, 2002).

Franses, Rico, *Donor Portraits in Byzantine Art: The Vicissitudes of Contact between Human and Divine* (New York, 2018).

Gabelić, Smiljka, *Manastir Lesnovo. Istorija i slikarstvo* [The monastery of Lesnovo. History and painting] (Belgrade, 1998).

Gargova, Fani, "The Meteora Icon of the Incredulity of Thomas Reconsidered," in *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. Lioba Theis, Margaret Mullet, Michael Grünbart, Galina Fingarova, and Matthew Savage (Vienna, 2014), pp. 369–81.

Gavrilović, Anđela, *Crkva Bogorodice Odigitrije u Pećkoj patrijaršiji* [The church of the Virgin Odegetria in the Patriarchate in Peć] (Belgrade, 2018).

Grabar, André, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin. Recherche sur l'art officiel de l'empire d'orient* (Paris, 1936).

Holladay, Joan A., *Visualizing Ancestry in the High and Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2019).

Istorija srpskog naroda 1 [History of the Serbian nation], ed. Sima Ćirković (Belgrade, 1981).

Istorija srpskog naroda 2 [History of the Serbian nation], ed. Jovanka Kalić (Belgrade, 1982).

Ivanišević, Vujadin, "Novac kralja Radoslava," [Coinage of King Radoslav] *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 37 (1998), 87–95.

Ivanišević, Vujadin, *Novčarstvo srednjovekovne Srbije* [Coinage of medieval Serbia] (Belgrade, 2001).

Ivanišević, Vujadin, "Razvoj heraldike u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji," [Development of heraldry in medieval Serbia] *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 41 (2004), 213–34.

Kalić, Jovanka, "Palata srpskih despota u Budimu," [Palace of Serbian despots in Buda] *Zograf* 6 (1975), 51–58.

Kalić, Jovanka, "Kneginja Marija," [The princess Maria] *Zograf* 17 (1986), 21–35.

Kalić, Jovanka, *Srbi u poznom srednjem veku* [Serbs in the Late Middle Ages] (Belgrade, 1994).

Kašanin, Milan, *Srpska književnost u srednjem veku* [Serbian literature in the Middle Ages] (Belgrade, 1975).

Klaniczay, Gábor, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge, Eng. 2002).

Kovačević, Jovan, *Srednjovekovna nošnja balkanskih Slovena. Studija iz istorije srednjovekovne kulture Balkana* [Medieval costume of the Balkan Slavs. A study in history of the medieval culture of the Balkans] (Belgrade, 1953).

Krsmanović, Bojana, and Maksimović, Ljubomir, "Byzantium in Serbia – Serbian Authenticity and Byzantine Influence," in *Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages*, eds. Dragan Vojvodić, and Danica Popović (Belgrade, 2016), pp. 41–56.

Leonid, Archimandrit, *Athonskaya gora i Solovetskiy monastir* [The Athonite Mountain and the Solovetskiy monastery] (St. Petersburg, 1883).

Maksimović, Ljubomir, "L'Idéologie du souverain dans l'État serbe et la construction de Studenica," in *Studenica i vizantijska umetnost oko 1200. godine*, [Studenica and Byzantine art *c.* 1200] ed. Vojislav Korać (Belgrade, 1988), pp. 33–49.

Maksimović, Ljubomir, " 'Vizantinizmi' kralja Stefana Radoslava," [The 'byzantinisms' of King Stefan Radoslav] *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 46 (2009), 139–47.

Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja, *Vladarske insignije i državna simbolika u Srbiji od XIII do XV veka* [The rulers' insignia and the state symbolism of medieval Serbia] (Belgrade, 1994).

Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja, *Vladarska ideologija Nemanjića. Diplomatička studija* [Royal ideology of the Nemanjić. A diplomatic study] (Belgrade, 1997).

Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja, "The Ruler's Insignia in the Structural Evolution of Medieval Serbia," *Majestas* 7 (1999), 55–74.

Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja, *Sveti kralj. Kult Stefana Dečanskog* [The holy king. The cult of St. Stefan of Dečani] (Belgrade, 2007).

Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja, "La réécriture hagiographique: usages et fonctions dans la Serbie médiévale," in *Remanier, métaphraser. Fonctions et techniques de la réécriture dans le monde byzantin*, eds. Smilja Marjanović- Dušanić, and Bernard Flusin (Belgrade, 2011), pp. 163–80.

Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja, "La mort et la sainteté du prince serbe," in *La mort du prince de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, eds. Jérémie Foa, Élizabeth Malamut, and Charles Zaremba (Aix-en-Provence, 2016), pp. 61–78.

Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja, "Svod srpskih svetih u doba kralja Milutina: dinastički kultovi," [The 'pantheon' of Serbian saints during King Milutin's reign: the dynastic cults] in *Studenica monastery – 700 years of the King's -Church*, eds. Ljubomir Maksimović, and Vladimir Vukašinović (Belgrade, 2016), pp. 35–59.

Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja, and Vojvodić, Dragan, "The Model of Empire – the Idea and Image of Authority in Serbia (1299–1371)," in *Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages*, eds. Dragan Vojvodić, and Danica Popović (Belgrade, 2016), pp. 299–315.

Marković, Miodrag, "Umetnička delatnost Mihaila i Evtihija. Sadašnja znanja, sporna pitanja i pravci budućih istraživanja," [Michael's and Eutychios's artistic work. Present knowledge, dubious issues and direction of future research] *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja* 17/2 (2004), 95–117.

Marković, Miodrag, "The painter Eutychios – father of Michael Astrapas and protomaster of the frescoes in the Church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid," *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske* 38 (2010), 9–34.

Marković, Miodrag, "Beginnings of artistic activity in the Serbian lands (9th-11th century)," in *Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages*, eds. Dragan Vojvodić, and Danica Popović (Belgrade, 2016), pp. 147–64.

McCormick, Michael, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1990).

Metcalf, David, *Coinage in South Eastern Europe, 820–1396* (London, 1979).

Miljković, Bojan, "Slikarstvo zapadnog ulaza u manastiru Studenici iz 1208/9. godine," [The painting of the western entrance of the monastery of Studenica from the year 1208/9] in *Papers of the Third Yugoslav Byzantine Studies Conference*, eds. Ljubomir Maksimović, Ninoslava Radošević, and Ema Radulović (Belgrade, 2002), pp. 183–88.

Miljković, Bojan, "Nemanjići i Sveti Nikola u Bariju," [The Nemanjić and Saint Nicholas in Bari] *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 44/1 (2007), 275–94.

Nedeljković, Ljubomir, "Mletačka intervencija protiv raškog dinara u XIII i XIV veku," [Venetian intervention against the dinar of Raska in the 13th and 14th centuries] *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja* 6 (1970), 287–308.

Negrău, Elisabeta, *Cultul suveranului sud-est european și cazul Țării Românești: o perspectivă artistică* [The cult of the southeast European sovereign and the case of the Romanian State: an artistic perspective] (Iași, 2011).

Nelson, Robert S., "And So, With the Help of God. The Byzantine Art of War in the Tenth Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 65/66 (2011/12) 169–92.

New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th Centuries, ed. Paul Magdalino (Aldershot, 1994).

Panou, Eirini, "Mary's parents in the Byzantine art of Eastern Europe and the Balkans," in *Proceedings of the 2nd International symposium Days of Justinian I*, ed. Mitko B. Panov (Skopje, 2015), pp. 188–99.

Panou, Eirini, *The Cult of St Anna in Byzantium* (London – New York, 2018).

Parani, Maria G., *Reconstructing the Reality of Images. Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th-15th centuries)* (Leiden, 2003).

Parani, Maria G., "Cultural Identity and Dress: The Case of Late Byzantine Ceremonial Costume," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 57 (2007), 95–134.

Pirivatrić, Srđan, "Hronologija I istorijski kontekst podizanja manastira Studenice. Prilog istraživanju problema," [The chronology and the historical context of the construction of the Studenica monastery. Contribution rpske study] *Zograf* 39 (2015), 47–56.

Podskalsky, Gerhard, *Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters in Bulgarien und Serbien 865–1459* (Munich, 2000).

Popović, Bojan, *Srpska srednjovekovna vladarska i vlasteoska odeća* [Serbian Medieval Royal and Nobility Costume] (Belgrade, 2020).

Popović, Danica, *Srpski vladarski grob u srednjem veku* [The royal tomb in medieval Serbia] (Belgrade, 1992).

Popović, Danica, "Predstava vladara nad 'carskim vratima' crkve Svetih arhanđela kod Prizrena," [Representation of sovereigns above 'imperial doors' of the church of Saint Archangels near Prizren] *Saopštenja* 26 (1994), 25–36.

Popović, Danica, *Pod okriljem svetosti. Kult svetih vladara i relikvija u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* [Under the auspices of sanctity. The cult of holy rulers and relics in medieval Serbia] (Belgrade, 2006).

Popović, Danica, *Riznica spasenja. Kult relikvija I srpskih svetih u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* [The treasury of salvation. The cult of relics and the Serbian saints in medieval Serbia] (Belgrade, 2018).

Popović, Bojan, and Cvetković, Branislav, "Odevanje i kićenje," [Costume and adornment] in *Privatni život u srpskim zemljama srednjeg veka*, [Daily life in the Serbian lands of the middle ages] eds. Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, and Danica Popović (Belgrade, 2004), pp. 367–93.

Preobrazhenskiy, Aleksander S., *Ktitorskiye portreti srednevekovoi Russi XI-nachalo XVI veka* [Ktetors' portraits of medieval Russia 9th-beginning of 16th century] (Moscow, 2010).

Prolović, Jadranka, *Resava* (*Manasija*). *Geschichte, Architektur und Malerei einer Stiftung des serbischen Despoten Stefan Lazarević* (Vienna, 2017).

Radojčić, Svetozar, *Portreti srpskih vladara u srednjem veku* [Portraits of Serbian rulers in the Middle Ages] (Skopje, 1934).

Rasolkoska-Nikolovska, Zagorka, "O istorijskim portretima u Psači i vremenu njihovog nastanka," [About historical portraits in Psača and the time of their creation] *Zograf* 24 (1995), 39–51.

Rasolkoska-Nikolovska, Zagorka, "Istoriskite portreti vo Psača i vremeto na nivnoto slikanje," [Historical portraits in Psača and the time of their painting] in *Srednovekovnata umetnost vo Makedonija. Freski i ikoni*, [Medieval art in Macedonia. Frescoes and icons] ed. Darko Nikolovski (Skopje, 2004), pp. 245–65.

Russo, Vittorio, "Paradiso XIX 140–141: '… e quel di Rascia / che male ha visto (o male aggiustò) il conio di Vinegia,'" *Studi danteschi* 54 (1982), 99–111.

Šarkić, Srđan, "Stefan Uroš Milutin – 'Sveti kralj' ili stanovnik Danteovog 'Pakla,'" [Stefan Uros Milutin – The 'Holy King' or a resident of Dante's Hell] *Zbornik radova Pravnog fakulteta* 37/1–2 (2003), 59–63.

Spatharakis, Ioannis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1976).

Spremić, Momčilo, *Despot Đurađ Branković i njegovo doba* [Despot Đurađ Branković and his time] (Belgrade, 1994).

Stahl, Alan M., *Zecca: The Mint of Venice in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, 2000).

Stanković, Vlada, *Kralj Milutin* (*1282–1321*) [King Milutin (1282–1321)] (Belgrade, 2012).

Stanković, Vlada, "King Milutin and his Many Marriages (*1254, †November 21, 1321, r. 1282–1321)," in *Portraits of Medieval Eastern Europe, 900–1400*, eds. Donald G. Ostrowski, and Christian Raffensperger (London, 2018), pp. 109–19.

Starodubcev, Tatjana, "Slikari zadužbina Lazarevića," [Painters of the Endowments of the Lazarević dynasty] *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 43 (2006), 349–91.

Starodubcev, Tatjana, *Srpsko zidno slikarstvo u zemljama Lazarevića i Brankovića* 1–2 [Serbian wall painting in the lands of the Lazarević and Branković families] (Belgrade, 2016).

Stevović, Ivan, "O prvobitnom izgledu i vremenu gradnje crkve Sv. Mihajla u Stonu," [On the original appearance and construction date of the church of Saint Michael at Ston] *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 35 (1996), 175–95.

Stuard, Susan Mosher, *Gilding the Market: Luxury and Fashion in Fourteenth-Century Italy* (Philadelphia, 2006).

Subotić, Gojko, and Maksimović, Ljubomir, "Sveti Sava i podizanje Mileševe," [Saint Sava and the construction of Mileševa] in *Vizantijski svet na Balkanu* 1, [Byzantine world in the Balkans] eds. Bojana Krsmanović, Ljubomir Maksimović, and Radivoj Radić (Belgrade, 2012), pp. 97–106.

Subotić, Gojko, Miljković, Bojan, Špadijer, Irena, and Tot, Ida, *Natpisi istorijske sadržine u zidnom slikarstvu. Tom prvi XII-XIV vek*, [Inscriptiones historicae in picturis muralibus. Tomus primus saeculorum XII-XII] ed. Ljubomir Maksimović (Belgrade, 2015).

The History of Serbian Culture, ed. Pavle Ivić (Edgware, 1995).

Todić, Branislav, *Gračanica. Slikarstvo* [Gračanica. Wall paintings] (Belgrade, 1988).

Todić, Branislav, *Staro Nagoričino* (Belgrade, 1993).

Todić, Branislav, "Ktitorska kompozicija u naosu Bogorodičine crkve u Studenici," [Ktetor's composition in the nave of the Virgin's church in Studenica] *Saopštenja* 29 (1997), 35–45.

Todić, Branislav, *Serbian Medieval Painting: the Age of King Milutin* (Belgrade, 1999).

Todić, Branislav, "Apostol Andreja i srpski arhiepiskopi na freskama Sopoćana," [Apostle Andrew and Serbian archbishops on the frescoes of Sopoćani] in *Papers of the Third Yugoslav Byzantine Studies Conference*, eds. Ljubomir Maksimović, Ninoslava Radošević, and Ema Radulović (Belgrade, 2002), pp. 361–79.

Todić, Branislav, "Srpske teme na freskama XIV veka u crkvi sv. Dimitrija u Peći," [Serbian themes in 14th-century frescoes in the church of Saint Demetrios in Peć] *Zograf* 30 (2004–05), 123–40.

Todić, Branislav, and Čanak-Medić, Milka, *Manastir Dečani* [The monastery of Dečani] (Belgrade, 2005).

Todić, Branislav, "Sopoćani i Gradac. Uzajamnost funerarnih programa dve crkve," [Sopoćani i Gradac. About the relation of funerary programmes of the two churches] *Zograf* 31 (2006–07), 59–76.

Todić, Branislav, "Novo tumačenje programa i rasporeda fresaka u Mileševi," [A new interpretation of the program and layout of murals in Mileševa] in *Na tragovima Vojislava J. Đurića*, [On the trail of Vojislav J. Đurić] eds. Dejan Medaković, and Cvetan Grozdanov (Belgrade, 2011), pp. 55–68.

Tomić Đurić, Marka, "New Kingdom in the South – Art in the Mrnjavčević State," in *Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages*, eds. Dragan Vojvodić, and Danica Popović (Belgrade, 2016), pp. 367–79.

Tomić Đurić, Marka, *Freske Markovog manastira* [The frescoes of Marko's monastery] (Belgrade, 2019).

Toynbee, Paget, *A Dictionary of Proper Names and Notable Matters in the Works of Dante* (Oxford, 1898).

Trifunović, Đorđe, "Natpisi uz portrete Nemanjića u manastiru Mileševi," [Inscriptions with portraits of Nemanjić in the Mileševa monastery] *Književnost i jezik* 2–4 (1992), 91–100.

Vasiljević, Marija, "Nastanak srpskih rodoslova i letopisa kao polsedica političkih i društvenih promena," [The emergence of Serbian genealogies and chronicles as a consequence of political and social changes] *Initial. A review of medieval studies* 3 (2015), 95–117.

Vasiljević, Marija, "Imagining the ruler's genealogy in medieval Serbia," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 55 (2017), 73–88.

Veneskey, Laura, "Truth and mimesis in Byzantium: a speaking reliquary of Saint Demetrios of Thessaloniki," *Art history* 42 (2019), 16–39.

Veselinović, Andrija, *Država srpskih despota* [State of the Serbian despots] (Belgrade, 2006).

Vojvodić, Dragan, "Portreti vladara, crkvenih dostojanstvenika i plemića u naosu i priprati," [Portraits of rulers, church dignitaries and patricians in nave and narthex] in *Zidno slikarstvo manastira Dečana. Građa i studije*, [Mural painting of monastery of Dečani. Material and studies] ed. Vojislav J. Đurić (Belgrade, 1995), pp. 265–99.

Vojvodić, Dragan, "Vladarski portreti srpskih despota," [The sovereign portraits of the Serbian despots] in *Manastir Resava. Istorija i umetnost*, [Resava Monastery. Its history and art] ed. Vojislav J. Đurić (Despotovac, 1995), pp. 65–98.

Vojvodić, Dragan, "Ktitorski portreti i predstave," [Ktetors' portraits and representations] in *Manastir Hilandar*, [The monastery of Chilandar] ed. Gojko Subotić (Belgrade, 1998), pp. 249–57.

Vojvodić, Dragan, "Un regard nouveau sur la représentation du Concile de saint Siméon-Nemanja à Arilje," *Cahiers balkaniques* 31 (2000), 11–20.

Vojvodić, Dragan, "Ukrštena dijadima i 'torakion.' Dve drevne i neuobičajene insignije srpskih vladara u XIV i XV veku," [The crossed diadem and 'thorakion.' Two ancient and unusual insignia of Serbian rulers in the 14th and 15th centuries] in *Papers of the Third Yugoslav Byzantine Studies Conference*, eds. Ljubomir Maksimović, Ninoslava Radošević, and Ema Radulović (Belgrade, 2002), pp. 249–76.

Vojvodić, Dragan, "Srpski vladarski portreti u manastiru Duljevu," [Portraits of Serbian rulers in the Duljevo monastery] *Zograf* 29 (2003), 143–60.

Vojvodić, Dragan, *Zidno slikarstvo crkve Svetog Ahilija u Arilju* [Wall paintings of the church of Saint Achilleos in Arilje] (Belgrade, 2005).

Vojvodić, Dragan, " 'Obavijen zemaljskom slikom.' O predstavama vizantijskih i srpskih srednjovekovnih vladara u proskinezi," ['Shrouded in earthly image.' On the images

of Byzantine and Serbian medieval rulers in proskynesis] *Crkvene studije* 4 (2007), 379–401.

Vojvodić, Dragan, "Od horizontalne ka vertikalnoj genealoškoj slici Nemanjića," [From the horizontal to the vertical genealogical image of the Nemanjić dynasty] *Zbornik radova Vizantoloskog instituta* 44/1 (2007), 295–312.

Vojvodić, Dragan, "Personalni sastav slike vlasti u doba Paleologa. Vizantija – Srbija – Bugarska," [The selection of royal figures in the image of power during the Palaiologan epoch: Byzantium – Serbia – Bulgaria] *Zbornik radova Vizantoloskog instituta* 46 (2009), 409–33.

Vojvodić, Dragan, "Doslikani vladarski portreti u Gračanici," [Additionally painted portraits of rulers in Gračanica] *Niš & Byzantium* 7 (2009), 251–65.

Vojvodić, Dragan, "Slika svetovne i duhovne vlasti u srpskoj srednjovekovnoj umetnosti," [The image of secular and spiritual authorities in Serbian medieval art] *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Maticerpskee* 38 (2010), 35–78.

Vojvodić, Dragan, "Portreti prvih ktitora u prizemlju žičke kule. Poreklo ikonografije," [Portraits of the first donors on the ground floor of the Žiča tower. Origin of the iconography] *Niš & Byzantium* 10 (2012), 323–39.

Vojvodić, Dragan, "Rodoslovne predstave i ideja praroditeljstva u manastiru Studenici," [Genealogical representations and the idea of ancestry in the Studenica monastery] in *Studenica monastery – 700 years of the King's Church*, eds. Ljubomir Maksimović, and Vladimir Vukašinović (Belgrade, 2016), pp. 253–66.

Vojvodić, Dragan, "Ka carskom dostojanstvu kraljevske vlasti: vladarske insignije i ideologija u doba prvih Nemanjića," [Towards the imperial dignity of royal rulership: insignia and ideology under the first Nemanjić rulers] in *Kraljevstvo i arhiepiskopija u srpskim i pomorskim zemljama Nemanjića*, [The kingdom and the archbishopric of the Serbian and maritime lands of the Nemanjić dynasty] eds. Ljubomir Maksimović, and Srđan Pirivatrić (Belgrade, 2019), pp. 315–54.

Vojvodić, Dragan, "Oružje s nebesa. Ikonologija srednjovekovnih predstava investiture vladara vojnim insignijama," [Weapons from heavens. Iconology of medieval representations of the investiture of rulers by military insignia] in *Pristupna predavanja dopisnih članova* 1, [Access lectures by correspondent members] ed. Miro Vuksanović (Belgrade, 2019), pp. 237–58.

Živković, Miloš, "Studenica: The Funerary Church of the Dynastic Founder – the Cornerstone of Church and State Independence," in *Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages*, eds. Dragan Vojvodić, and Danica Popović (Belgrade, 2016), pp. 193–209.

Živković, Tibor, *Portreti srpskih vladara: IX-XII vek* [Portraits of Serbian rulers: 9th-12th centuries] (Belgrade, 2006).

Illustrations



FIGURE 5.1 Nemanjić Family Tree, Peć Patriarchate, *c.* 1332
WITH KIND PERMISSION OF THE GALLERY OF FRESCOES, BELGRADE



FIGURE 5.2 Synod of St Simeon Nemanja and St King Milutin, Peć Patriarchate, *c.* 1324
WITH KIND PERMISSION OF THE GALLERY OF FRESCOES, BELGRADE



FIGURE 5.3 Tsar Stefan Uroš IV Dušan and Augusta Jelena, Lesnovo, 1349
WITH KIND PERMISSION OF THE GALLERY OF FRESCOES, BELGRADE



FIGURE 5.4 Prince Vladislav, Mileševa, *c.* 1225 (with crown added *c.* 1235)
WITH KIND PERMISSION OF THE GALLERY OF FRESCOES, BELGRADE



FIGURE 5.5 Archbishop Nikodim, King Stefan Uroš III, Prince Dušan, St Sava the Serbian, Peć Patriarchate, *c.* 1324
WITH KIND PERMISSION OF THE GALLERY OF FRESCOES, BELGRADE



FIGURE 5.6 King Stefan Uroš II Milutin and St Cosmas, Studenica, 1314/18
WITH KIND PERMISSION OF THE MONASTERY STUDENICA, PHOTOGRAPH BY BRANISLAV CVETKOVIĆ



FIGURE 5.7 Tsar Stefan Uroš v and King Vukašin, Psača, *c.* 1365/71
WITH KIND PERMISSION OF THE GALLERY OF FRESCOES, BELGRADE



FIGURE 5.8 Despot Stefan and lord Vuk with two nobles, Rudenice, *c.* 1405
WITH KIND PERMISSION OF THE MONASTERY RUDENICE, PHOTOGRAPH BY BRANISLAV CVETKOVIĆ



FIGURE 5.9 Queen Simonis, King Milutin and St George, Staro Nagoričino, 1318
WITH KIND PERMISSION OF THE GALLERY OF FRESCOES, BELGRADE



FIGURE 5.10 Despot Stefan Lazarević, Resava, 1418
WITH KIND PERMISSION OF THE REPUBLIC INSTITUTE FOR PROTECTION OF THE MONUMENTS OF CULTURE, BELGRADE

CHAPTER 6

Royal Epiphanies in the Kingdom of Sicily

Frederick III of Aragón (*1296–1337*)

Mirko Vagnoni

On Monday 25 May 2015, *The Guardian* reported the news of the inauguration, before a jubilant audience in Ashgabat in Turkmenistan, of an equestrian statue of President Gurbanguly Berdymukhamedov. The work, cast in bronze and covered in 24-carat gold leaf, rises up more than 20 metres from the ground and is placed on a spur of white marble. Before him, his predecessor Saparmurat Niyazov had also portrayed himself in the form of a gold-plated statue. It was placed in the middle of the capital and, during the day, it rotated following the course of the sun.[1]

Political and psychoanalytic research has underlined that leadership, and the collective projects connected with it, must have material expression in society in order to have a durable effect.[2] In other words, in order to create a relationship between himself and his followers and to encourage the latter to carry out his political projects, a leader needs to produce a tangible trace (a real *presence*) in which the group can materialize its acceptance of his power. From a semiotic, anthropological, historical, and art-historical point of view, it has been underlined that the representation (portrait) of the holder of power is a perfect example of the material symbols that influences and reinforces the approval of the leader and the group's acceptance of his leadership.[3] In other words, the royal portrait is one of the tools thanks to which

1 *The Guardian*, 25 May 2015 (https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/25/horse-turkmenistan-president-statute-berdymukhamedov. Accessed 2019 September 13).

2 Alexander S. Haslam, Stephen D. Reicher, and Michael J. Platow, *Psicologia del leader. Identità, influenza e potere* [*The New Psychology of Leadership: Identity, Influence, and Power*] (Hove-New York, 2011; repr. Bologna, 2013), pp. 279–91.

3 Antonio Pinelli, Gérard Sabatier, Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, Christine Tauber, and Diane Bodart, "Le portrait du roi: entre art, histoire, anthropologie et sémiologie," *Perspective. La revue de l'INHA* 1 (2012), 11–28, esp. 11–12. On the political use of portraits of the holder of power, may I also point out this recent conference: *Kopf und Körper – Evidenzen der Macht im Herrscherporträt des 14.-18. Jahrhunderts. Internationale Tagung, Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich, 1–2 December 2017*.

© MIRKO VAGNONI, 2022 | DOI:10.1163/9789004511583_008
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

a leader emotionally strengthens the bond that ties himself to the group, by creating a specific *identity*[4] and also increasing the subjects' acceptance of his figure.[5]

This is one of the reasons why dictators tend to circulate their portraits in society and, in the same way, it is why, when their regimes fall, the supporters of the new political order promptly destroy these same images.[6] The news is full of such examples. To quote some recent episodes, we point out the demolition of the statues of: Enver Hoxha in Tirana, Albania, on 20 February 1991; Saddam Hussein in Baghdad, Iraq, on 9 April 2003; Hafez al-Assad (the father of the current president) in Daraa, Syria, on 25 March 2011; Muammar Gaddafi in Tripoli, Libya, on 23 August 2011; and Lenin in Kiev and Kharkiv, Ukraine, on 8 December 2013 and 28 September 2014, respectively.[7]

More specifically, coming to royal portraits,[8] we have to note that research on the origin of the state in a modern sense has stressed that the institutional achievement of monarchic authority passes through the absence of the king's material body from public space and, on the contrary, the presence of a pictorial body represented on coins, medals, statues, and portraits in general.[9] For his part, Brigitte Bedos-Rezak has highlighted that the beholders can perceive

4 Francesco Benigno, *Parole nel tempo. Un lessico per pensare la storia* (Rome, 2013), pp. 31–56.

5 For a recent summary of the concepts of 'leader' and 'leadership,' see: Joseph Nye, *The Powers to Lead* (New York, 2008); Haslam et al., *Psicologia del leader*; Benigno, *Parole nel tempo*, pp. 141–62.

6 Haslam et al., *Psicologia del leader*, p. 290.

7 *Corriere della Sera*, 29 August 2011 (https://www.corriere.it/cultura/11_agosto_29/canfora-abbattere-statue-vandali-rivoluzioni_acac0db0-d22a-11e0-a205-8c1e98b416f7.shtml. Accessed 2019 September 13); "Agenzia Nazionale Stampa Associata," 29 September 2014 (http://www.ansa.it/sito/photogallery/primopiano/2014/09/29/quando-cadono-le-statue-_41d287f4-eec7-4e96-93ad-9c497ea4cd1c.html. Accessed 2019 September 13).

8 I would like to clarify that, in this paper, the term 'portrait' is not used in its modern meaning but as a synonym for a royal image and depiction: Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King. A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago, 2009); Dominic Olariu, *La genèse de la représentation ressemblante de l'homme. Reconsidérations du portrait à partir du XIIIe siècle* (Bern, 2013).

9 Louis Marin, *Le portrait du roi* (Paris, 1981); Louis Marin, *Des pouvoirs de l'image. Gloses* (Paris, 1993); Louis Marin, *Politiques de la représentation* (Paris, 2005). And in general: Giovanni Careri, "Louis Marin: pouvoir de la représentation et représentation du pouvoir," in *Louis Marin: le pouvoir dans ses représentations*, eds. Giovanni Careri, and Xavier Vert (Paris, 2008), pp. 4–15, esp. 5. For a recent analysis in this direction, see: Jean-Marie Le Gall, "L'impossible invisibilité du roi de France 1450–1600," in *Il Principe invisibile. La rappresentazione e la riflessione sul potere tra Medioevo e Rinascimento. Proceedings of the International Conference, Mantua, 27–30 November 2013,* eds. Lucia Bertolini, Arturo Calzona, Glauco Maria Cantarella, and Stefano Caroti, (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 453–70.

an image as the real presence of the depicted subject.[10] In addition, art historians have often underlined the ability of an image to recall something that is not present but in the mind of the beholder – in the same way as sacred images evoke the corporally invisible presence of saints to worshippers.[11] In this sense, therefore, royal depictions too could arouse the same emotions and feelings of devotion that sacred images produce in their beholders.

In light of these considerations, this paper aims to verify if, among the different ways that a king had to be symbolically present and visible toward his subjects,[12] Frederick III of Aragón, King of Sicily from 1296 to 1337,[13] used his own representation in order to spread his own image in his kingdom and, in this way, stimulate his subjects' acceptance of the Crown. In other words, the goal is to assess whether he used his own portrait as a sort of political tool in order to reinforce his power. To do this, I will first try to understand how much Frederick III made use of his portrait by identifying every official image of this king – namely, every portrait directly commissioned by the Crown. This will be

10 Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego Was Imago. Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden-Boston, 2011).

11 Stephen Perkinson, "Rethinking the Origins of Portraiture," *Gesta* 46/2 (2007), 135–58. For some examples of analyses of the memorial function of the medieval portrait, see: Christine Sauer, *Fundatio und Memoria. Stifter und Klostergründer im Bild, 1100 bis 1350* (Göttingen, 1993); Caroline Horch, *Der Memorialgedanke und das Spektrum seiner Funktionen in der bildenden Kunst des Mittelalters* (Königstein im Taunus, 2001). On sacred images, instead, see, for example: Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult. Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Munich, 1990); Michele Bacci, *Pro remedio animae: immagini sacre e pratiche devozionali in Italia centrale* (*secoli XIII e XIV*) (Pisa, 2000).

12 *Il Principe invisibile*, eds. Bertolini et al.

13 On Frederick III of Aragón, see: Francesco Testa, *Vita e Opere di Federico II re di Sicilia*, ed. Elio Spinnato, introduction by Salvatore Fodale (original edition, *De vita et rebus gestis Federici II Siciliae Regis*, Palermo, 1775; Palermo, 2006); Antonino De Stefano, *Federico III d'Aragona re di Sicilia* (*1296–1337*) (Palermo, 1937; repr. Bologna, 1956); Rafael Olivar Bertrand, *Un rei de llegenda. Frederic III de Sicilia* (Barcelona, 1951); and above all Clifford R. Backman, *Declino e caduta della Sicilia medievale. Politica, religione ed economia nel regno di Federico III d'Aragona Rex Siciliae* (*1296–1337*) [*The decline and fall of Medieval Sicily. Politics, religion, and economy in the reign of Frederick III, 1296–1337*], ed. Alessandro Musco (Cambridge, Eng., 1995; updated repr. Palermo, 2007). The latter text is updated in: Clifford R. Backman, "Federico III d'Aragona: un regno rivisitato," in *Il Mediterraneo del '300 ed il regno di Federico III d'Aragona: saperi, economia, società. Proceedings of the International Conference, Palermo, Castelbuno, 29 June-1 July 2006,* ed. Alessandro Musco, *Schede Medievali. Rassegna dell'Officina di Studi Medievali* 49 (2011), pp. 7–14, however, confirming the previous interpretations. For a short summary, see: Salvatore Fodale, s.v.: "Federico III d'Aragona, re di Sicilia," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 45 (Rome, 1995). A recent, but not particularly worthy, summary can be found in: Pasquale Hamel, *Il lungo regno. Vita avventurosa di Federico III, re di Sicilia* (Soveria Mannelli, 2014).

possible thanks to a combined investigation of material and written sources – because while some artefacts may have been lost, the images could be quoted in some contemporary chronicles. In a second step, I will analyse these images with a special focus on their dimensions, stylistic and iconographic accuracy in the rendering of the royal body, placement, and visual impact.

1 The Identification of Official Images

From the corpus of official images of Frederick III, we obviously have to leave out what was made both before his royal coronation and after his death. The first group includes, for instance, the seal used when he was acting lieutenant for his brother James II of Aragón, King of Sicily from 1285 to 1295.[14] Instead, the illumination of the *Consuetudines et statuta nobilis civitatis Messane* falls into the second group.[15] Moreover, we have to exclude some images quoted in written texts, about whose dating or commissioning we do not have any certain information. Following an epistle written by Nicolò Speciale, a statue of the Aragonese king was placed in the Cathedral of Syracuse:

> he [namely, Frederick III of Aragón] who is called third and older, whose statue it is possible to see in your [referring to the addressee of the epistle, namely, the Syracusan master in theology Bartolomeo] Syracuse, in the main temple.[16]

However, Nicolò Speciale was a political member of the court of Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Sicily from 1416 to 1458, and the above-mentioned letter dates back to 1436 – namely, 99 years after the death of Frederick III.[17] What dating can be given to the quoted statue? Did the Aragonese king order it

14 Ferrán De Sagarra, *Sigillografía Catalana. Inventari, descripció i estudi dels segells de Catalunya*, 3 vols (Barcelona, 1915–32), 1:241, n. 188, Messina, 7 November 1294. Impression on brown wax, diameter 50 mm. Valencia, Arxiu del Capítol de la Sèu, n. 0.738. A similar example is in the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó.

15 Angela Daneu Lattanzi, *I manoscritti ed incunaboli miniati della Sicilia*, 2 vols (Rome-Palermo, 1965–84), 2:185–186 and fig. XXXII, *Re Federico III*, illumination, after the first quarter of the 14th century. Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 2 Qq. E. 140, *Consuetudines et statuta nobilis civitatis Messane*, fol. 6v, in the field of the initial I.

16 "qui tertius et senior dictus est, cuius statua apud vestras Syracusas in maiori templo conspicitur": *Cronache siciliane inedite della fine del Medioevo*, ed. Francesco Giunta (Palermo, 1955), *Epistola Nicolai de Speciali de genologia regum*, p. 84.

17 On this author and his work, see: *Cronache siciliane inedite*, ed. Giunta, pp. 23–27.

directly? Unfortunately, the author of the text says nothing about this, nor do we have any other information about this artefact.

On 8 May 1318, the fourth child of Frederick III was born in Mazara del Vallo and baptized in the cathedral of the same city. A local tradition has it that, on this occasion, the king ordered a large picture of the event to be placed close to the baptistery.[18] Once again in this case, from the information that we have, it is very difficult to determine whether Frederick III actually ordered this work himself. For this reason, it is better not to include it in the list of his official portraits. Hence, all in all, regarding Frederick III we have four representations: the royal seal, the billon silver *denaro* coin, the lost mosaic from the Church of Santa Maria della Valle (known as della Scala or Badiazza) near Messina, and the mosaic in the Cathedral of Messina. Below, I will analyse these images in detail.

2 The Royal Seal

The work by Francesco Daniele on the royal sarcophagi of the Cathedral of Palermo, published in 1784, reported the discovery of a golden bull of Frederick III of Aragón and also included a drawing of it. The bull was in the Archivio di Castel Sant'Angelo but detached from its original diploma.[19] At a later date, this archive was moved into the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and all traces of the bull were lost. That is until 11 February 1883, when Antonio Salinas, in a session of the Società Siciliana per la Storia Patria, announced its recovery and, on the basis of its legend, ascribed it to Frederick IV of Aragón, King of Sicily from 1355 to 1377.[20] After that, Pietro Sella in 1934[21] and Aldo Martini in 1984[22]

18 "Del quadro in cui era riprodotta la cerimonia del battesimo colla seguente iscrizione: *Rogerius, Fiderici II et Eleonore regine filius, hic Mazariae ortus et renatus a 1318 die 8 maii* rimane una copia fatta nel 1618 e restaurata nel 1712": Filippo Napoli, *Storia della Città di Mazara* (Mazara, 1932), pp. 67–68. In this regard, see: Antonino Marrone, "La corte itinerante di Sicilia negli anni 1282–1377," in *Il Mediterraneo del '300 ed il regno di Federico III d'Aragona*, ed. Musco, pp. 149–92.

19 Francesco Daniele, *I regali sepolcri del Duomo di Palermo. Riconosciuti e illustrati* (Naples, 1784); anastatic reprint of the 1859 edition in: *Il sarcofago dell'imperatore. Studi, ricerche e indagini sulla tomba di Federico II nella Cattedrale di Palermo, 1994–1999*, 3 (Palermo, 2002), pp. 123–24.

20 The minutes of the session are published in *Archivio Storico Siciliano* n.s. 8 (1883), Atti della Società, session of 11 February 1883, pp. 248–49.

21 *Le bolle d'oro dell'Archivio Vaticano*, ed. Pietro Sella (Vatican City, 1934), p. 53, n. 19.

22 *I sigilli d'oro dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, ed. Aldo Martini, historical note by Martino Giusti and preface by Alessandro Pratesi (Milano, 1984), p. 68, fig. 20. During a restoration,

confirmed this interpretation in their inventories of the golden bulls of the Archivio Segreto Vaticano.

Therefore, it is clear that the above-mentioned bull is not related to Frederick III; furthermore, there are not any other items connected with this king in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano. Indeed, there are no such references either in the inventory of the seals made between 1937 and 1946 by Pietro Sella,[23] or in the 2013 update by Luca Becchetti.[24] The only exception is a seal of Frederick III but with a representation of Hercules instead of the king.[25] The item – round, in red wax, and with a diameter of 22 mm – is housed in a little wooden box without a lid. A white and red ribbon attaches it to a power of attorney contract, dated 17 October 1305 (AA. Arm. I-XVIII, 4459). The legend has the inscription "INICIVM · SAPIENCIE · TIMOR · DOMINI." From the iconographic point of view, it has an image of Hercules with a club and lion skin and, on the sides, the letters "F = T" (namely, *Fridericus Tertius*) and dots around the image and the legend. Something similar is also present in the collection of seals made by Louis Douët d'Arcq in 1868. Indeed, this book quotes a round seal of Frederick III hanging from a letter of credence dated Messina, 29 May 1306 (Archives de l'Empire J. 408, n. 13).[26] It has a very close diameter of 25 mm and the same legend as the Roman item. This type is probably the secret seal generally used for the private correspondence of the king. We have written proof of this in a letter of 7 July 1308 from Frederick III to James II, which is sealed "sub parvo sigillo nostro secreto,"[27] or in another letter, addressed to the citizens of Palermo in 1314, "data apud Castrum Iohannis, sub parvo sigillo nostro secreto."[28]

However, researchers of diplomatics also attest to the use of a main seal to corroborate documents issued by the royal chancellery.[29] Nevertheless, for

---

the bull was finally reunited with its original document, issued in Messina on 17 December 1373 (shelf mark: A.A.Arm. I-XVIII, 511).

23 *I sigilli dell'Archivio Vaticano*, ed. Pietro Sella, in collaboration with Marie-Hyacinthe Laurent, 2 vols (Vatican City, 1937–46).

24 Luca Becchetti, *I sigilli dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano. Nuove ricerche sfragistiche* (Vatican City, 2013).

25 *I sigilli dell'Archivio Vaticano*, ed. Sella, p. 329, n. 1062, image in plate LXXXI, fig. 1062.

26 Louis Douët d'Arcq, *Collection de sceaux. Archives de l'Empire. Inventaires et documents*, 3, ed. M. Le Marquis de Laborde (Paris, 1868), p. 511, n. 11770.

27 Backman, *Declino e caduta della Sicilia*, p. 258, n. 51.

28 *Cronaca della Sicilia di Anonimo del Trecento*, ed. Pietro Colletta (Enna, 2013), p. 188. But there are other similar examples in this text.

29 For example, the catalogue for the exhibition on the Messina documents of the Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli in Seville quotes a document from 12 July 1332 with a hanging seal (however, it was later lost): *Messina. Il ritorno della memoria. Exhibition Catalogue,*

our purposes, it is crucial to verify whether it had the image of the king or not. In a paper of 1997, Maria Grazia Fallico listed some diplomas of Frederick III bearing a seal.[30] In particular, these consisted of a parchment from 1320 of the Commenda della Magione section of the Archivio di Stato di Palermo;[31] two parchments of the city of Messina issued on 1 October 1302 and stored in the Archivio ducale Medinaceli in Toledo; and four parchments of the city of Caltagirone issued in 1299 and stored in the Museo Civico di Caltagirone, in the parchments section of the *Universitas* di Caltagirone.

To my knowledge, reproductions of these seals have never been published. However, thanks to the kind help of archivists Margherita Dizia and Enzo Piluso, I was able to examine the items in Caltagirone. All of the four examples from this location are identical. They are red wax hanging seals placed in a wooden box (Figure. 6.1). The legend has the inscription "FRIDERICUS TERCIUS DEI GRACIA REX SICILIE DUCATUS APULIE ET PRINCIPATUS CAPUE," and the image displays the king on a horse facing left. The sovereign is wearing a helmet with a crown, and he has a sword in his right hand and a shield in his left. Both the latter and the caparison of the horse bear the coat of arms of the dynasty: quartered, with the red bars in field gold of Aragón and the black eagle in field argent of Sicily.

Without a doubt, this image is an official representation of Frederick III and its mobile support would have facilitated its circulation throughout the kingdom. In this way, it could reach a large number of subjects. However, we should consider that seals were not made to move around but to be stored, along with their documents, in the archives of their recipients.[32] Moreover,

---

Rome, Museo Nazionale di Castel Sant'Angelo, September 1994, ed. Grazia Fallico, (Palermo, 1994), p. 183, document n. 77.

30 Maria Grazia Fallico, "Le fonti archivistiche (1296–1337)," in *Federico III d'Aragona, re di Sicilia (1296–1337). Proceedings of the International Conference, Palermo, 27–30 November 1996,* eds. Massimo Ganci, Vincenzo D'Alessandro, and Rosa Scaglione Guccione, *Archivio Storico Siciliano* s. IV, 23 (1997), 59–80, esp. 69–70.

31 In reality, in the inventory of the archive there is only one document for 1320, and it is not of Frederick III: *Il Tabulario della Magione di Palermo (1116–1643). Repertorio*, ed. Elisabetta Lo Cascio (Rome, 2011), p. 315, card n. 596. The diploma in question, instead, is n. 606, from 29 July 1329: *Il Tabulario della Magione di Palermo*, ed. Lo Cascio, p. 324, card n. 613. And the *Repertorio* points out the absence of the seal, which has also been kindly verified by Dr. Serena Falletta, archivist at the branch of the Catena of the Archivio di Stato di Palermo.

32 Robert-Henri Bautier, s.v. "Bolla," in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale* 3, ed. Angiola Maria Romanini (Rome, 1992); Michel Pastoureau, "Les sceaux et la fonction sociale des images," in *L'image. Fonctions et usage des images dans l'Occident medieval. Proceedings of the 6th International Workshop on Medieval Society, Erice, 17–23 October 1992*, eds. Jérôme Baschet,

their dimensions – although Frederick III's seals were larger than those of the Norman predecessors and in line with those of the Swabian and Aragonese traditions[33] – were somewhat reduced and certainly of scarce visual impact. Finally, their use was not particularly common either. Owing to the various political vicissitudes that characterized the reign of Frederick III, the royal title changed over the years.[34] The seal probably had to adapt itself to these alterations. Nevertheless, due to the small number of items preserved, it is not possible to verify whether there were changes in the iconography or whether the seal-type with the royal image was used for all 41 years of his reign. In any case, even if this kind of choice had been made, we should note that the average number of issues does not seem to have been very high.

Historians have reported, on one hand, the loss of a large amount of documents related to this period of Aragonese history, while, on the other hand, they have underlined that the administration was reorganized and the royal chancellery improved during the reign of Frederick III.[35] However, on the basis of the number of documents (letters, warrants, pre-emptions) identified in researches on diplomatics, we have respectively 218 annual issues for Peter III (r. 1282–1285); 112 for James II; 25 for Frederick III, both independently and together with Peter II; 52 for Peter II (r. 1337–1342); 38 for Louis (r. 1342–1355); 311 for Frederick IV; and 1 for Mary I (r. 1377–1401).[36] The number related to Frederick III is decisively low in comparison with the other Aragonese kings, but it is also small in comparison with Swabian predecessors. Only the Normans had more limited issues, although they ruled a wider kingdom. Indeed, the general situation is as follows: 5.9 diplomas under Roger II (r. 1130–1154); 7.9 under

and Jean-Claude Schmitt (Paris, 1996), pp. 275–308; Stefania Ricci, John William Nesbitt, and François Richard, s.v. "Sigillo," in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale* 10, ed. Angiola Maria Romanini (Rome, 1999).

33 The diameter of the seals of the Norman kings varies between 25 and 35 mm. Instead, the Swabian and Aragonese seals can be as large as 95–110 mm; see: Mirko Vagnoni, *Epifanie del corpo in immagine dei re di Sicilia (1130–1266)*, introduction by Giovanni Travagliato (Palermo, 2019), passim; Sagarra, *Sigillografía Catalana*, 1:207–209. A specimen of James II of Aragón, identical to that of Frederick III from an iconographic point of view, has a diameter of 70 mm. Sagarra, *Sigillografía Catalana*, 1:209, n. 38.

34 Pietro Colletta, *Storia, cultura e propaganda nel regno di Sicilia nella prima metà del XIV secolo: la Cronica Sicilie* (Rome, 2011), pp. 191–92.

35 *Codice diplomatico dei re aragonesi di Sicilia Pietro I, Giacomo, Federico II, Pietro e Ludovico dalla rivoluzione siciliana del 1282 sino al 1355, con note storiche e diplomatiche*, ed. Giuseppe La Mantia, 2 vols (Palermo, 1917–56), 1:VII-CCXV.

36 Antonino Marrone, *I registri della R. Cancelleria e del Protonotaro del Regno di Sicilia* (Palermo, 2012); Antonino Marrone, *Repertorio degli atti della Cancelleria del Regno di Sicilia dal 1282 al 1390* (Palermo, 2012), in particular, for the recapitulatory table, see p. 5.

William I (r. 1154–1166); 10.4 under William II (r. 1166–1189); 37.3 under Henry VI (r. 1194–1197); 48 under Frederick II (r. 1198–1250), also including the imperial lands but excluding the *deperdita*; and 35.8 under Manfred (r. 1258–1266).[37]

If we also consider that the same recipients could receive several documents, we can suppose that the number of subjects involved was not particularly great.[38] Therefore, in line with these data, it was not very frequent to be able to see the royal image of the seal and only a limited number of people would have had this opportunity.

3 The *Denaro*

Among the official representations of Frederick III, there is also the image of the billon silver *denaro* minted in Messina (Figure. 6.2).[39] On the obverse of this coin is the legend "+ FRI · T · DEI · GRA" (namely, *Fridericus tertius Dei Gratia*), with the crowned head of the king turned to the left encircled in small pearls. Instead, the reverse displays the inscription "+ REX: SICILIE:" and a cross *pattée* again encircled by small pearls. We do not know if the *denaro* also continued to be issued during the years when the king adopted the title of *Rex Trinacrie*, namely, from 1311 to 1314 and from 1319 to 1320.[40] However, it is plausible that it circulated for all the years of Frederick III's rule. Certainly, on a coin, the royal image could move around the entire kingdom – that is, the island of Sicily and part of Calabria – and the lower worth of a silver coin, in comparison with a gold coin, would have made its use more widespread. Moreover, we know that, probably around 1315, Frederick III implemented a monetary policy in order to place stricter royal control on the circulation and actual quality of currency.[41] In addition, he ordered an abundant amount of silver coins to be minted while, at the same time, limited the minting of gold coins.[42]

37 Vagnoni, *Epifanie del corpo*, passim.

38 Moreover, note that the number of preserved diplomas is greater for the lay archives than for the ecclesiastical archives (Fallico, "Le fonti archivistiche"). On this basis, can we argue that there were more documents for the first than for the second?

39 Rodolf Spahr, *Le monete siciliane dagli Aragonesi ai Borboni (1282–1836)* (Palermo, 1959), p. 15 and image in plate II, n. 36; Philip Grierson, and Lucia Travaini, *Medieval European Coinage. With a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, 14. *Italy* 3. *South Italy, Sicily, Sardinia* (Cambridge, Eng., 1998), pp. 267–68, and 698 and plate 43, images n. 780–82.

40 Colletta, *Storia, cultura e propaganda*, pp. 191–92.

41 Hamel, *Il lungo regno*, pp. 87–88.

42 Spahr, *Le monete siciliane*, p. 11; Grierson, and Travaini, *Medieval European Coinage*, pp. 265–68, esp. 257–60.

Considering that the former also included the *denari* with the king's head,[43] the possibility of coming across the royal image will have been quite high. No doubt, it was more likely than in the past: Peter III did not use coins with the royal portrait, while James II began to mint *denari* both with and without his image (although the latter are very rare).[44]

Nevertheless, coins could be hoarded and, moreover, anthropologists have noted that, in general, when coins are used, more attention is placed on their economic worth than on their images.[45] Moreover, we have to also consider that the *denaro* is very small, with a diameter of only 16 mm and a weight of between 0.58 and 0.65 g, and it has a certain iconographical inaccuracy and stylization that makes it difficult to identify the subject that is represented. It is certain that it did not have a particularly great visual or emotional impact; for example, it bore no comparison to the *augustale* of Frederick II. Indeed, the Swabian emperor gave this coin a very wide circulation (even beyond the kingdom) and dissemination (even greater thanks to the issue of the *mezzo augustale*), and he paid particular attention toward the iconographic rendering of the royal image.[46] It is symptomatic that a substantial number of these is still preserved (334 for the *augustale* and 88 for the *mezzo augustale*), and the exceptionality of this coin was clearly perceived by the contemporary chroniclers, who quoted and described it in their texts.[47]

4 The Mosaic of the Church of Santa Maria della Valle in Messina

The Church of Santa Maria della Valle, also called della Scala or Badiazza, with the connected convent of Benedictine nuns (these days, the congregation is

43 Spahr, *Le monete siciliane*, pp. 12–16; Grierson, and Travaini, *Medieval European Coinage*, pp. 265–68, 696–99, plates 42–43, images n. 771–82.

44 Spahr, *Le monete siciliane*, pp. 3–10; Grierson, and Travaini, *Medieval European Coinage*, pp. 260–64, 694–97, plates 41–42, images n. 756–70.

45 Michel Pastoureau, "L'État et son image emblématique," in *Culture et idéologie dans la genèse de l'État moderne. Proceedings of the International Conference, Rome, 15–17 October 1984,* eds. Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur, and Charles Pietri (Rome, 1985), pp. 145–53; Michel Pastoureau, "Le sceau médiéval," in Michel Pastoureau, *Figures et couleurs. Étude sur la symbolique et la sensibilité médiévales* (Paris, 1986), pp. 71–87; Lucia Travaini, s.v. "Moneta," in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale* 8, ed. Angiola Maria Romanini (Rome, 1997).

46 Lucia Travaini, s.v. "Augustale," in *Enciclopedia fridericiana* 1, ed. Ortensio Zecchino (Rome, 2005); Lucia Travaini, s.v. "Monetazione," in *Enciclopedia fridericiana* 2, ed. Zecchino; Vagnoni, *Epifanie del corpo*, pp. 91–94 (with more bibliographical details).

47 Ryccardi de Sancto Germano notarii, *Chronica. Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* II, 7/2, ed. Carlo Alberto Garufi (Bologna, 1937), pp. 181–82; Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Porta, 3 vols (Parma, 1990–91), 1, 7.21, pp. 301–02.

almost nil) is in Contrada Badiazza near Scala, in a mountainous area along the San Rizzo stream, approximately three miles from the centre of Messina.[48] The current building, probably constructed on pre-existing remains, goes back to the end of the Norman domination or to the beginning of the Swabian rule. In particular, Giuseppe Agnello has proposed a dating to the first quarter of the 13th century.[49] However, following a fire during the Sicilian Vespers (1282), Frederick III ordered the church to be restored, redecorated, and perhaps also extended in the first decade of the 14th century. It was during this work that, as Placido Samperi asserted in 1644, the king commissioned a mosaic portrait of himself for the main apse (Figure. 6.3) in the act of offering, together with his wife, a model of the church to Saint Peter.[50]

Of this mosaic, we have only a fragment of the face of Saint Peter (now in the Museo Regionale di Messina, inv. n. 967). Following some considerations by Demetrio Salazaro[51] and Ugo Monneret de Villard,[52] Ferdinando Bologna, in 1969, proposed dating this artefact to the beginning of the 13th century and identified the subject as Frederick II of Swabia.[53] However, by mutual consent, art historians later allocated this fragment (now there is uncertainty as to

48 Guido Di Stefano, "L'architettura religiosa in Sicilia nel sec. XIII," *Archivio storico Siciliano* 4–5 (1938–39), 39–92, esp. 51–60; Stefano Bottari, *Monumenti svevi di Sicilia* (Palermo, 1950), pp. 3–8; Fabio Basile, "La chiesa di S. Maria della Valle a Messina 'La Badiazza'. Una datazione da rivedere," *Quaderno dell'Istituto dipartimentale di architettura e urbanistica dell'Università di Catania* 4 (1972), 9–34; Giuseppe Spatrisano, *Lo Steri di Palermo e l'architettura siciliana del Trecento* (Palermo, 1972), pp. 256–58; Antonino Principato, *Badiazza. La chiesa di S. Maria della Scala nella Valle a Messina* (Messina, 1991); Stefan Tebruck, "Die sizilischen Klöster S. Maria in Valle Josaphat in Messina und S. Maria Latina in Agira und ihr sächsischer Fernbesitz," in *Italien-Mitteldeutschland-Polen. Geschichte und Kultur im europäischen Kontext vom 10. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, eds. Wolfgang Huschner, Enno Bünz, Christian Lübke, and Sebastian Kolditz (Leipzig, 2013), pp. 361–84.

49 Giuseppe Agnello, "S. Maria della Valle o la 'Badiazza' in Messina," *Palladio. Rivista di Storia dell'Architettura* n.s. 3 (1953), 49–66; Giuseppe Agnello, *L'architettura civile e religiosa in Sicilia nell'età sveva* (Rome, 1961), pp. 247–84.

50 "Hebbe in molta veneratione questo luogo Federico II d'Aragona Rè di Sicilia, et ingrandì quel Monasterio, et edificò quel Tempio, con bellissima architettura, ornando la Tribuna maggiore, con ricco Mosaico, ove egli dipinto si vede riverentemente à piè del Vicario di Christo S. Pietro Apostolo, con la Regina sua moglie, e tiene il modello del Tempio, e Monasterio nella man destra in atto di presentarglielo": Placido Samperi, *Iconologia della gloriosa vergine Madre di Dio Maria, protettrice di Messina* (Messina, 1644), p. 317.

51 Demetrio Salazaro, *Studi sui monumenti dell'Italia Meridionale dal IV al XIII secolo*, 2 vols (Naples, 1871–77), 2:68.

52 Ugo Monneret de Villard, "Note d'architettura messinese," *Vita d'Arte. Rivista mensile d'Arte antica e moderna* 2 (1909), 71–80, esp. 72.

53 Ferdinando Bologna, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli (1266–1414). E un riesame dell'arte nell'età fridericiana* (Rome, 1969), pp. 22–23.

the identity of the apostle) to the beginning of 14th century,[54] thus following Samperi's testimony. If it is plausible that the king represented in the apse of the Church of Santa Maria della Valle was Frederick III, it is also possible that he directly ordered its creation. Indeed, it seems that the Sicilian kings had an intense relationship with this monastery: first the Normans and then the Swabians granted it privileges and donations, and Peter III of Aragón was also particularly tied to it.[55] Bartolomeo di Neocastro tells that this king visited the church on his way to Messina, immediately after the liberation of the city from the siege of Charles I of Anjou (1282):

> [Peter III of Aragón] finally arrived at the threshold of the Sacred House of the Blessed Virgin della Scala; he empathized with the sad house, which he discreetly honoured but which the inequity of the enemy [had] ruined.[56]

The people of Messina attended and particularly venerated this church because there was a miraculous image of the Virgin, the depiction of the Madonna della Scala,[57] on its main altar. For this reason, it also received gifts from foreign princes and queens. In confirmation of the intense relationship between the monarchy and this church, in 1633 the abbess Livia De Gregorio established that every week a mass be celebrated for the dead and living kings of Sicily who, thanks to their donations, had contributed to the church's wealth.[58]

---

54 Giuseppe Consoli, *Messina. Museo Regionale* (Bologna, 1980), pp. 2–3; Valentino Pace, "Pittura bizantina nell'Italia meridionale (secoli XI-XIV)," in *I Bizantini in Italia*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo (Milan, 1982), pp. 427–94, esp. 489; Francesca Campagna Cicala, *Il Museo regionale di Messina. Breve guida alla lettura delle opere* (Messina, 1984), p. 9; Federico Zeri, and Francesca Campagna Cicala, *Messina. Museo Regionale* (Palermo, 1992), p. 23.

55 Principato, *Badiazza*, pp. 1–42.

56 "Jam ad limina Sacrae Domus Beatae Virginis de Scalis applicuit; lugubrem domum ingemmit, quam pudenter excoluit et hostis iniquitas laceravit": Bartholomaei de Neocastro, *Historia Sicula* (*1250–1293*). *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* II, 13/3, ed. Giuseppe Paladino (Bologna, 1921–22), p. 42.

57 Samperi, *Iconologia della gloriosa vergine*, pp. 314–29.

58 Principato, *Badiazza*, pp. 1–42. In light of the above, it is curious that, in March 1285, the Dominicans Perrone of Aidone and Antonio of Monte Gargano, who had come to Messina to instigate a revolt against the Aragonese dominion, had their abode in the monastery of Santa Maria delle Scale ("Dicti vero Fratres Praedicatores, Messanam adeuntes, latentes morabantur in domo gloriosae Virginis Mariae de Scalis inter dominas moniales": Bartholomaei de Neocastro, *Historia Sicula*, p. 78).

A tradition has it that Frederick III was particularly bound to this monastery for sentimental reasons, since it was here that he met for the first time his future wife Eleanor of Anjou in May 1303 and, thereafter, he came here often to restore his spirit, away from the whirlwind of political life.[59] All of this seems rather improbable due to the fact that Santa Maria della Valle is in the hinterland and not that close to Messina, while contemporary sources recount that Eleanor arrived from the coast.[60] Nevertheless, the considerable restoration and remarkable reconstruction that the Aragonese king is thought to have ordered in 1303 make it highly possible that, on this occasion, he wanted to portray himself acting as a donor in the apse of the church.

Having said this, we have to note that very little is known about the dimensions and visibility of this work of art, or about the iconographic attention paid to rendering the royal image. From the report by Samperi, we know only that the king was depicted in the main apse of the church but nothing more is said. However, the same Samperi wrote that in the main apse there was also a mosaic copy of the depiction of the Madonna della Scala, probably made around 1221.[61] Considering the presence of the Virgin between two cherubs, we can assume that, in respect for the Mother of God, the royal image was at a lower level of the apse and that its size was not particularly monumental. For these reasons, it is probable that the royal image was not particularly visible from the nave and aisles of the church. Moreover, we have to consider that it was in the presbyterial area, therefore in a space divided from the naves by a more or less obscuring partition – a rood screen – and to which lay people generally had no access – even if some exceptions were possible.[62] Consequently, said mosaic was in an

59 Agnello, *L'architettura civile e religiosa*, p. 253.

60 Nicolai Specialis, *Historia sicula*, in *Bibliotheca scriptorum qui res in Sicilia gestas sub Aragonum imperio retulere*, ed. Rosario Gregorio, 2 vols (Palermo, 1791–92), 1:283–508, 6.19, pp. 458–59.

61 "Vi è in questo Tempio [namely, in the Church of Santa Maria della Valle] rimasta la copia di molto buona mano della Immagine di S. Maria della Scala, la quale stà in molta veneratione in quella contrada, e nella Tribuna maggiore, la quale era tutta artificiosamente lavorata di ricco Mosaico; vi era la Imagine di Nostra Signora adorata da due Cherubini, con alcuni caratteri greci intorno, le quali per essere logore dal tempo, non si possono perfettamente leggere; e essendo per l'humidità, e per la poco cura, caduta buona parte del Mosaico, solamente il volto della B. Vergine non hà macchia alcuna, e pare che fosse fatto di fresco, e che desse ancora spirito, e vita à quel luogo": Samperi, *Iconologia della gloriosa vergine*, p. 327. On the apse mosaics of this church, see also: Principato, *Badiazza*, pp. 165–68.

62 Michele Bacci, *Lo spazio dell'anima. Vita di una chiesa medievale* (Rome, 2005); Paolo Piva, "Lo 'spazio liturgico': architettura, arredo, iconografia (nei secoli IV-XII)," in *L'Arte medievale nel contesto (300–1300): funzioni, iconografia, tecniche*, ed. Paolo Piva (Milan,

area of the church that was particularly connected to the sacred liturgy, and presumably only members of the religious community could see it.

Architectural research has underlined that in the corners of the presbytery of the church there were four terraces, accessible from the outside and connected in pairs, which could be used as women's galleries. The ones on the southern side could be reached from the monastery and they were reserved for the nuns, while the ones on the northern side were accessed via a terrace situated over the aisle and connected by a drawbridge to the bell tower, which was along the side of the building and separate from the main church.[63] These *matronei* would have been for the distinguished guests of the church who, in this way, could attend the religious services.[64] Therefore, in this case, the mosaic could have been visible to the public but, all considered, limitedly to a small group of people: perhaps the king with some kin, some closer members of the court, or some foreign ambassadors, local lords, or foreign princes visiting the monastery. Moreover, these terraces do not seem to have a particularly privileged view of the apse, and therefore the royal image does not appear to have been designed to be clearly visible to those seated in these spaces.

In conclusion, once again it does not seem that the royal portrait had the specific function of spreading the image of the king among the subjects of the kingdom. Despite the monumental nature of this work, its visual impact was very far, for instance, from that of the statue of Frederick II on the gate tower of Capua, which was perfectly visible to everyone who crossed the bridge over the Volturno River to enter the city.[65] Instead, the mosaic of the Church of Santa Maria della Valle was more in line with the tradition of the mosaics of William II in the Cathedral of Monreale.[66]

5 The Mosaic of the Cathedral of Messina

Guidotto de Abbiate (and not de Tabiatis),[67] Archbishop of Messina from 1304 to 1333, ordered a series of completions and improvements to the Cathedral of

2006), pp. 141–80; Donal Cooper, "Access All Areas? Spatial Divides in the Mendicant Churches of Late Medieval Tuscany," in *Ritual and Space in the Middle Ages*, ed. Frances Andrews (Donington, 2011), pp. 90–107.

63 Bottari, *Monumenti svevi*, pp. 5–6; Agnello, *L'architettura civile e religiosa*, p. 263.

64 Enrico Calandra, *Breve storia dell'Architettura in Sicilia* (Bari, 1938).

65 Vagnoni, *Epifanie del corpo*, pp. 94–100 (with previous bibliography).

66 Mirko Vagnoni, *Dei gratia rex Sicilie. Scene d'incoronazione divina nell'iconografia regia normanna* (Naples, 2017), pp. 81–128 (with previous bibliography).

67 Federico Martino, "Un dottore di decreti arcivescovo di Messina. La laurea padovana (1281) di Guidotto d'Abbiate," *Rivista internazionale di Diritto Comune* 4 (1993), 97–120.

Santa Maria la Nuova in Messina: decoration of the main façade (left portal) and sacristy; encouragement for private citizens to build chapels and altars; erection of his funeral monument; and construction, on the north side of the church, of new structures for the clergy.[68] However, for our purposes, his most relevant endeavour was the decoration of the main apse with mosaics (Figure. 6.4). This included: medallions with angels along the extrados; eight images of the Elders per side (Ap. 4:4) and the *Agnus Dei* at the high point of the intrados; and the Hetimasia and Christ enthroned and flanked by two seraphs, two angels, the Virgin, and Saint John the Baptist on the apse basin. Here, at the feet of Christ, small figures of the archbishop Guidotto, Frederick III of Aragón, and his son Peter II – identified respectively by the inscriptions "GUIDOTUS ARCHEP[ISCOPU]S / FRIDERICVS REX / PETRVS REX" – were depicted in the act of devotion.[69]

68 Stefano Bottari, *Il duomo di Messina* (Messina, 1929); Spatrisano, *Lo Steri di Palermo*, pp. 253–55; Enrico Pispisa, "La cattedrale di S. Maria e la città di Messina nel medioevo," in Enrico Pispisa, *Medioevo Fridericiano e altri scritti* (Messina, 1999), pp. 265–84.

69 Gioacchino Di Marzo, *Delle belle arti in Sicilia*, 4 vols (Palermo, 1858–64), 2:159; Bottari, *Il duomo di Messina*, pp. 26–36; Viktor Nikitič Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* [*Istorija vizantijskoj živopisi*] (Moscow, 1947–48; repr. Turin, 1967), p. 319; Giuseppe Giorgianni, "'Com'era, dov'era', conservazione e struttura nel Duomo di Messina. Gli equivoci," *'ΑΝΑΓΚΗ. Quadrimestrale di cultura, storia e tecniche della conservazione per il progetto* n.s. 26 (1999), 50–59; Pispisa, "La cattedrale di S. Maria," pp. 277–78; Gabriella Bernardi, "I mosaici del Duomo di Messina: storia e vicende conservative," in *Atti del VI Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico*, *Venice, 20–23 January 1999,* eds. Federico Guidobaldi, and Andrea Paribeni (Ravenna, 2000), pp. 439–50; Gabriella Bernardi, "I mosaici del Duomo di Messina. Nuovi documenti sui restauri," in *Atti del VII Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico, Pompei, 22–25 March 2000,* ed. Andrea Paribeni (Ravenna, 2001), pp. 595–608; Chiara Domeneghetti, "I mosaici del duomo di Messina e Venezia," *Arte. Documento. Rivista e Collezione di Storia e tutela dei Beni Culturali* 15 (2001), 79–83; Grazia Musolino, "Il Duomo di Messina: sopravvivenze e ricostruzioni," *Città e territorio. Documenti dell'amministrazione comunale di Messina* 12/2–3 (2002), 16–21; Grazia Musolino, "I mosaici del Duomo di Messina. Un cantiere in itinere tra XIV e XVI secolo," in *Palazzo Ciampoli tra arte e storia. Testimonianze della cultura figurativa messinese dal XV al XVI secolo*, ed. Grazia Musolino (Soveria Mannelli, 2016), pp. 40–67. Later on, the side apses were also decorated with mosaics. The left one (SS. Sacramento) has the image of the Virgin on the throne with the Child while the Hand of God is blessing her from the Heavens. Archangels Michael and Gabriel and Saints Agatha and Lucy stand beside her, while Queen Eleanor of Anjou (wife of Frederick III as of 1302) and Queen Elisabeth of Carinthia (wife of Peter II as of 1322) are at her feet. The right one (S. Placido) has the image of Saint John the Evangelist. Saints Nicholas and Basil stand beside him while Louis of Aragón and John Duke of Randazzo, regent of the Kingdom of Sicily from 1342 to 1348, are at his feet. However, these apses are not part of our analysis.

Considering that Frederick III is portrayed here in prayer, historians think that the king played a prominent role in the commissioning of this work. For this reason, we can consider this image as, in some sense, an official representation of the sovereign.[70] Regarding the dating, we can assume that the work was finished before the death of Guidotto in 1333, and that its conception and creation began after 1321, when Frederick III admitted his son Peter II to the throne of Sicily – the latter is presented here with the royal title.[71] However, over the centuries, the Cathedral of Messina has suffered a lot of damage and its mosaics have undergone intense restoration, in some cases being remade from scratch.[72] The earthquake on 28 December 1908 did not particularly harm the main apse but the fire provoked by the bombing on 13 June 1943 produced much more serious damage. Following the report written during the survey made after the collapse, the image of Frederick III was fortunately still "intatta,"[73] however it was decided to completely rebuild all of the decoration of the apse. For this reason, what we currently see is the result of this remake, which, it seems, also covered the original remains. Thanks to some drawings made during the surveys in 1908 and 1943,[74] historians have verified that the reconstruction fundamentally followed the general iconography of the original mosaics.[75] However, it must be pointed out that, in reality, the image of Frederick III underwent some inexplicable changes (Figure. 6.5). Indeed, it seems that, originally, the king was not portrayed totally kneeling down but rather in an erect position, albeit still in an attitude of reverence. Moreover, he wore a crown that did not have the current odd shape but, on the contrary, was tall and square in the manner of the other diadems represented elsewhere in the cathedral as well as in Norman iconography.[76]

Said this, now we will try to understand to whom the image of Frederick III was addressed. This portrait is in the presbytery of the church, and it is close to the main altar. Like the mosaic in the Church of Santa Maria della Valle, it

70 Moreover, do not forget that Frederick III often resided in Messina and that he, *de facto*, made this city the capital of his kingdom, in place of Palermo: Backman, *Declino e caduta della Sicilia*, pp. 88–89; Marrone, "La corte itinerante."

71 For a summary of this event, see: Fodale, s.v. "Federico III d'Aragona."

72 Giorgianni, "Com'era, dov'era"; Bernardi, "I mosaici del Duomo di Messina"; Bernardi, "I mosaici del Duomo"; Domeneghetti, "I mosaici del duomo"; Musolino, "Il Duomo di Messina"; Musolino, "I mosaici del Duomo di Messina".

73 Bernardi, "I mosaici del Duomo," p. 602.

74 Bernardi, "I mosaici del Duomo," figs. 6, 9.

75 Domeneghetti, "I mosaici del duomo," pp. 80–81.

76 Mirko Vagnoni, *Le rappresentazioni del potere. La sacralità regia dei Normanni di Sicilia: un mito?*, introduction by Jean-Marie Martin (Bari, 2012), pp. 64–71.

was in an area that was only accessible to members of the religious community and separated from the nave and aisles by a rood screen.[77] Therefore, the royal image was in a context particularly bound to the liturgy. In this connection, historians have observed that the whole iconographic program of the apse followed the typical pattern of the Byzantine Deesis and that it was perfectly in line with both the funerary function of the place and the marked Marian connotation of the church and its ornamentation – on the main altar, there was an icon of the Virgin Hodegetria that was worshipped as a relic and, most likely, the mosaic decoration also had a scene of the *Dormitio Virginis* with the Assumption.[78] Therefore, the royal image was addressed to the clergy of the cathedral as they officiated the services.

It is interesting to note that, as of 1 January 1321 and for the whole period during which the mosaics could have been created in the apse of the Cathedral of Messina, Sicily was under papal interdict. This meant that priests could not impart sacraments nor celebrate liturgical rites, and the same Frederick III asked all subjects to scrupulously observe the ban.[79] However, this did not prevent members of the religious community from leading their congregations in prayer – presumably, mainly supplications aimed at absolution[80] – and it could perhaps be thought that the whole mosaic had been made for this purpose. Moreover, even if there were not any religious rites underway during this period, the faithful could, in any case, have access to the church and, in this way, also lay people could see the royal portrait. Indeed, it was in a high level of the apse and it had rather monumental dimensions. For this reason, it was also visible, albeit in a not particularly evident manner, from the bottom of the nave, such that the citizens of Messina who went to the cathedral to pray could see it. In this regard, it has been noted that, starting from the Aragonese period, the cathedral regained a central role in the life of Messina and became a real symbol of the city, above all thanks to the actions of the archbishop Guidotto.[81] In addition, we can observe that it seems that, during the reign of Frederick III and Peter II, this church was often used as a location for the parliaments of the kingdom.[82] In this way, the royal image could be admired by a wider audience: delegates of the city communities and nobility of the kingdom could also glimpse the portrait of their king at the bottom of the church. However, we

77 Bacci, *Lo spazio dell'anima*, passim; Piva, "Lo 'spazio liturgico' "; Cooper, "Access All Areas."
78 Musolino, "I mosaici del Duomo di Messina," pp. 41–42.
79 De Stefano, *Federico III*, p. 224; Corrado Mirto, "La monarchia e il papato," in *Federico III d'Aragona, re di Sicilia*, eds. Ganci et al., pp. 167–84.
80 Backman, *Declino e caduta della Sicilia*, p. 180.
81 Pispisa, "La cattedrale di S. Maria," pp. 275–276, and 279.
82 Marrone, "La corte itinerante."

should consider that, even if the image was in some way visible from the nave and aisles, it does not seem that it was specifically conceived of for this type of solution. Indeed, it was best viewed from the presbyterial area and, in reality, if its beholders had been lay people, other parts of the church would have played a more functional role and provided a more important visual impact.

In conclusion, the mosaic of the Cathedral of Messina was larger in size, had a greater visual and emotional impact, and (following its reconstruction) paid more accurate attention to rendering the iconographic details of the royal image in comparison with the other portraits of Frederick III that we have analysed. However, as a whole, it had a limited area of fruition and, in particular, it does not seem to have been designed as a means to extend an acquaintance with the royal figure among the subjects. In sum, it appears more similar (obviously, considering its peculiarities) to the iconographic tradition of the Norman mosaics of the Cathedral of Monreale[83] rather than the figurative model of the Swabian statute of the Capua city gate.[84]

6 Final Considerations and Conclusions

In conclusion, following the data analysed in this paper, it does not seem that Frederick III paid particular attention to the dissemination of his image to Sicilian society and he did not implement a specific policy in order to use his portrait for political purposes or as an instrument of government aimed at stimulating acceptance of the Crown among his subjects and reinforcing his own authority. After the experience of his two Aragonese predecessors,[85] it is certainly significant that he dedicated more attention to the use of his portrait.

83 Vagnoni, *Dei gratia rex Sicilie*, pp. 81–128 (with previous bibliography).

84 Vagnoni, *Epifanie del corpo*, pp. 94–100 (with previous bibliography).

85 We do not know of any images of Peter III of Aragón acting as king of Sicily. The lost wall paintings of the Cappella di Santa Maria Incoronata in Palermo date back to the 16th century: Giuseppe Bellafiore, "Edifici d'età islamica e normanna presso la Cattedrale di Palermo," *Bollettino d'Arte. Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* 52/3 (1967), 178–95. And it does not seem that he made a specific seal for the Kingdom of Sicily, rather using only the seal of the king of Aragón: Sagarra, *Sigillografía Catalana*, 1:115–117 and 1:207–208. With regard to James II of Aragón acting as king of Sicily, we only have the images of the seal: Sagarra, *Sigillografía Catalana*, 1:8 and 1:240–241, n. 187; Marta Serrano-Coll, *Effigies Regis Aragonum. La imagen figurativa del rey de Aragón en la Edad Media* (Zaragoza, 2014), p. 82 (although the reference should be correct), and the *denaro*: Spahr, *Le monete siciliane*, p. 10; Grierson, and Travaini, *Medieval European Coinage*, p. 264, and 696–97, plate 42, images n. 769–70.

However, the decisions taken regarding the number of items, their placement, and their visibility did not follow the important innovations that Frederick II had introduced in the Kingdom of Sicily in the matter of portraiture. To the contrary, it seems that Frederick III continued the more traditional line traced by his Norman predecessor William II. Even the contemporary Sicilian chroniclers seem to confirm that the representations of Frederick III did not have a notable impact on society nor arouse specific emotions in their beholders. Indeed, not only did these authors not describe the royal images or explain the feelings that they caused in those who beheld them, but they did not even quote them in their texts.

More in general, it appears that in this period the political use of portraits – in the way we understand it today – was still very uncommon. In this regard, we can recall the accusation of idolatry against Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303) for having placed silver and marble statues of himself in churches and on city gates.[86] Moreover, we can remember that Julius von Schlosser already observed that the medieval mentality saw something idolatrous in public portraits – preferring, for this reason, to limit their use –,[87] and Peter Cornelius Claussen has also pointed out that, even though we might think that official portraits were widely diffused in the Middle Ages, in reality it was only in some particular cases.[88] In conclusion, it seems that the use that Frederick III made of his image within the Kingdom of Sicily was extremely different to the activity of contemporary political leaders and, in the face of a substantial iconographic absence, he probably still preferred to give his real presence the task of appearing in society, and thus carrying out his own *epiphany*.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Bartholomaei de Neocastro, *Historia Sicula* (*1250–1293*). *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* II, 13/3, ed. Giuseppe Paladino (Bologna, 1921–22).

86 Enrico Castelnuovo, "Il significato del ritratto pittorico nella società," in *Storia d'Italia,* eds. Ruggiero Romano, and Corrado Vivanti, 5. *I documenti* 2 (Turin, 1973), pp. 1031–94, esp. 1033. On idolatry connected with images of secular power, see: Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol. Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge, Eng., 1989), pp. 291–92.

87 Julius von Schlosser, *L'arte del Medioevo* [*Die Kunst des Mittelalters*], introduction by Otto Kurz (Vienna, 1923; repr. Turin, 1989), p. 56.

88 Peter Cornelius Claussen, s.v. "Ritratto," in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale* 10, ed. Angiola Maria Romanini (Rome, 1999), p. 41.

Cronaca della Sicilia di Anonimo del Trecento, ed. Pietro Colletta (Enna, 2013).

Cronache siciliane inedite della fine del Medioevo, ed. Francesco Giunta (Palermo, 1955).

Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Porta, 3 vols (Parma, 1990–91).

Nicolai Specialis, *Historia sicula*, in *Bibliotheca scriptorum qui res in Sicilia gestas sub Aragonum imperio retulere*, ed. Rosario Gregorio, 2 vols (Palermo, 1791–92), 1:283–508.

Ryccardi de Sancto Germano notarii, *Chronica. Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* II, 7/2, ed. Carlo Alberto Garufi (Bologna, 1937).

Secondary Sources

Agnello, Giuseppe, "S. Maria della Valle o la 'Badiazza' in Messina," *Palladio. Rivista di Storia dell'Architettura* n.s. 3 (1953), 49–66.

Agnello, Giuseppe, *L'architettura civile e religiosa in Sicilia nell'età sveva* (Rome, 1961).

Bacci, Michele, *Pro remedio animae: immagini sacre e pratiche devozionali in Italia centrale* (*secoli XIII e XIV*) (Pisa, 2000).

Bacci, Michele, *Lo spazio dell'anima. Vita di una chiesa medievale* (Rome-Bari, 2005).

Backman, Clifford R., *Declino e caduta della Sicilia medievale. Politica, religione ed economia nel regno di Federico III d'Aragona Rex Siciliae* (*1296–1337*) [*The decline and fall of Medieval Sicily. Politics, religion, and economy in the reign of Frederick III, 1296–1337*], ed. Alessandro Musco (Cambridge, Eng., 1995; updated repr. Palermo, 2007).

Backman, Clifford R., "Federico III d'Aragona: un regno rivisitato," in *Il Mediterraneo del '300 ed il regno di Federico III d'Aragona: saperi, economia, società*, Proceedings of the International Conference (Palermo-Castelbuno, 29 June – 1 July 2006), ed. Alessandro Musco, *Schede Medievali. Rassegna dell'Officina di Studi Medievali* 49 (2011), pp. 7–14.

Basile, Fabio, "La chiesa di S. Maria della Valle a Messina "La Badiazza." Una datazione da rivedere," *Quaderno dell'Istituto dipartimentale di architettura e urbanistica dell'Università di Catania* 4 (1972), 9–34.

Bautier, Robert-Henri, s.v. "Bolla," in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale* 3, ed. Angiola Maria Romanini (Rome, 1992).

Becchetti, Luca, *I sigilli dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano. Nuove ricerche sfragistiche* (Vatican City, 2013).

Bedos-Rezak, Brigitte Miriam, *When Ego Was Imago. Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden-Boston, 2011).

Bellafiore, Giuseppe, "Edifici d'età islamica e normanna presso la Cattedrale di Palermo," *Bollettino d'Arte. Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* 52/3 (1967), 178–95.

Belting, Hans, *Bild und Kult. Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Munich, 1990).

Benigno, Francesco, *Parole nel tempo. Un lessico per pensare la storia* (Rome, 2013).

Bernardi, Gabriella, "I mosaici del Duomo di Messina. Nuovi documenti sui restauri," in *Atti del VII Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico*, (Pompei, 22–25 March 2000), ed. Andrea Paribeni (Ravenna, 2001), pp. 595–608.

Bernardi, Gabriella, "I mosaici del Duomo di Messina: storia e vicende conservative," in *Atti del VI Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico*, (Venice, 20–23 January 1999), eds. Federico Guidobaldi, and Andrea Paribeni (Ravenna, 2000), pp. 439–50.

Bologna, Ferdinando, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli (1266–1414). E un riesame dell'arte nell'età fridericiana* (Rome, 1969).

Bottari, Stefano, *Il duomo di Messina* (Messina, 1929).

Bottari, Stefano, *Monumenti svevi di Sicilia* (Palermo, 1950).

Calandra, Enrico, *Breve storia dell'Architettura in Sicilia* (Bari, 1938).

Camille, Michael, *The Gothic Idol. Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge, Eng., 1989).

Campagna Cicala, Francesca, *Il Museo regionale di Messina. Breve guida alla lettura delle opere* (Messina, 1984).

Careri, Giovanni, "Louis Marin: pouvoir de la représentation et représentation du pouvoir," in *Louis Marin: le pouvoir dans ses représentations*, eds. Giovanni Careri, and Xavier Vert (Paris, 2008), pp. 4–15.

Castelnuovo, Enrico, "Il significato del ritratto pittorico nella società," in *Storia d'Italia*, eds. Ruggiero Romano, and Corrado Vivanti, 5. *I documenti* 2 (Turin, 1973), pp. 1031–94.

Claussen, Peter Cornelius, s.v. "Ritratto," in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale* 10, ed. Angiola Maria Romanini (Rome, 1999).

Codice diplomatico dei re aragonesi di Sicilia Pietro I, Giacomo, Federico II, Pietro e Ludovico dalla rivoluzione siciliana del 1282 sino al 1355, con note storiche e diplomatiche, ed. Giuseppe La Mantia, 2 vols (Palermo, 1917–56).

Colletta, Pietro, *Storia, cultura e propaganda nel regno di Sicilia nella prima metà del XIV secolo: la Cronica Sicilie* (Rome, 2011).

Consoli, Giuseppe, *Messina. Museo Regionale* (Bologna, 1980).

Cooper, Donal, "Access All Areas? Spatial Divides in the Mendicant Churches of Late Medieval Tuscany," in *Ritual and Space in the Middle Ages*, ed. Frances Andrews (Donington, 2011), pp. 90–107.

Daneu Lattanzi, Angela, *I manoscritti ed incunaboli miniati della Sicilia*, 2 vols (Rome-Palermo, 1965–84).

Daniele, Francesco, *I regali sepolcri del Duomo di Palermo. Riconosciuti e illustrati* (Naples, 1784).

De Sagarra, Ferrán, *Sigillografía Catalana. Inventari, descripció i estudi dels segells de Catalunya*, 3 vols (Barcelona, 1915–32).

De Stefano, Antonino, *Federico III d'Aragona re di Sicilia* (*1296–1337*) (Palermo, 1937; repr. Bologna, 1956).

Di Marzo, Gioacchino, *Delle belle arti in Sicilia*, 4 vols (Palermo, 1858–64).

Di Stefano, Guido, "L'architettura religiosa in Sicilia nel sec. XIII," *Archivio storico Siciliano* 4–5 (1938–1939), 39–92.

Domeneghetti, Chiara, "I mosaici del duomo di Messina e Venezia," *Arte. Documento. Rivista e Collezione di Storia e tutela dei Beni Culturali* 15 (2001), 79–83.

Douët d'Arcq, Louis, *Collection de sceaux. Archives de l'Empire. Inventaires et documents*, 3, ed. M. Le Marquis de Laborde (Paris, 1868).

Fallico, Maria Grazia, "Le fonti archivistiche (1296–1337)," in *Federico III d'Aragona, re di Sicilia* (*1296–1337*), Proceedings of the International Conference (Palermo, 27–30 November 1996), eds. Massimo Ganci, Vincenzo D'Alessandro, and Rosa Scaglione Guccione, *Archivio Storico Siciliano* s. IV, 23 (1997), 59–80.

Fodale, Salvatore, s.v.: "Federico III d'Aragona, re di Sicilia," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 45 (Rome, 1995).

Giorgianni, Giuseppe, "'Com'era, dov'era', conservazione e struttura nel Duomo di Messina. Gli equivoci," *'ANAΓKH. Quadrimestrale di cultura, storia e tecniche della conservazione per il progetto* n.s. 26 (1999), 50–59.

Grierson, Philip, and Travaini, Lucia, *Medieval European Coinage. With a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, 14. *Italy* 3. *South Italy, Sicily, Sardinia* (Cambridge, Eng., 1998).

Hamel, Pasquale, *Il lungo regno. Vita avventurosa di Federico III, re di Sicilia* (Soveria Mannelli, 2014).

Haslam, Alexander S., Reicher, Stephen D., and Platow, Michael J., *The New Psychology of Leadership: Identity, Influence, and Power* (Hove-New York, 2011).

Horch, Caroline, *Der Memorialgedanke und das Spektrum seiner Funktionen in der bildenden Kunst des Mittelalters* (Königstein im Taunus, 2001).

Il Principe invisibile. La rappresentazione e la riflessione sul potere tra Medioevo e Rinascimento, Proceedings of the International Conference (Mantua, 27–30 November 2013), eds. Lucia Bertolini, Arturo Calzona, Glauco Maria Cantarella, and Stefano Caroti, (Turnhout, 2015).

Il sarcofago dell'imperatore. Studi, ricerche e indagini sulla tomba di Federico II nella Cattedrale di Palermo. 1994–1999, 3 vols (Palermo, 2002).

Il Tabulario della Magione di Palermo (*1116–1643*). *Repertorio*, ed. Elisabetta Lo Cascio (Rome, 2011).

I sigilli dell'Archivio Vaticano, ed. Pietro Sella, in collaboration with Marie-Hyacinthe Laurent, 2 vols (Vatican City, 1937–46).

I sigilli d'oro dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano, ed. Aldo Martini, historical note by Martino Giusti and preface by Alessandro Pratesi (Milano, 1984).

Lazarev, Viktor Nikitič, *Storia della pittura bizantina* [*Istorija vizantijskoj živopisi*] (Moscow, 1947–48; repr. Turin, 1967).

Le bolle d'oro dell'Archivio Vaticano, ed. Pietro Sella (Vatican City, 1934).

Le Gall, Jean-Marie, "L'impossible invisibilité du roi de France 1450–1600," in *Il Principe invisibile. La rappresentazione e la riflessione sul potere tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, Proceedings of the International Conference (Mantua, 27–30 November 2013), eds. Lucia Bertolini, Arturo Calzona, Glauco Maria Cantarella, and Stefano Caroti, (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 453–70.

Marin, Louis, *Le portrait du roi* (Paris, 1981).

Marin, Louis, *Des pouvoirs de l'image. Gloses* (Paris, 1993).

Marin, Louis, *Politiques de la représentation* (Paris, 2005).

Marrone, Antonino, "La corte itinerante di Sicilia negli anni 1282–1377," in *Il Mediterraneo del '300 ed il regno di Federico III d'Aragona: saperi, economia, società*, Proceedings of the International Conference (Palermo-Castelbuno, 29 June – 1 July 2006), ed. Alessandro Musco, *Schede Medievali. Rassegna dell'Officina di Studi Medievali* 49 (2011), pp. 149–92.

Marrone, Antonino, *Repertorio degli atti della Cancelleria del Regno di Sicilia dal 1282 al 1390* (Palermo, 2012).

Marrone, Antonino, *I registri della R. Cancelleria e del Protonotaro del Regno di Sicilia* (Palermo, 2012).

Martino, Federico, "Un dottore di decreti arcivescovo di Messina. La laurea padovana (1281) di Guidotto d'Abbiate," *Rivista internazionale di Diritto Comune* 4 (1993), 97–120.

Messina. Il ritorno della memoria, Catalogue of the Exhibition (Rome, Museo Nazionale di Castel Sant'Angelo, September 1994), ed. Grazia Fallico, (Palermo, 1994).

Mirto, Corrado, "La monarchia e il papato," in *Federico III d'Aragona, re di Sicilia* (*1296–1337*), Proceedings of the International Conference (Palermo, 27–30 November 1996), eds. Massimo Ganci, Vincenzo D'Alessandro, and Rosa Scaglione Guccione, *Archivio Storico Siciliano* s. IV, 23 (1997), pp. 167–84.

Monneret de Villard, Ugo, "Note d'architettura messinese," *Vita d'Arte. Rivista mensile d'Arte antica e moderna* 2 (1909), special issue, 71–80.

Musolino, Grazia, "Il Duomo di Messina: sopravvivenze e ricostruzioni," *Città e territorio. Documenti dell'amministrazione comunale di Messina* 12/2–3 (2002), 16–21.

Musolino, Grazia, "I mosaici del Duomo di Messina. Un cantiere in itinere tra XIV e XVI secolo," in *Palazzo Ciampoli tra arte e storia. Testimonianze della cultura figurativa messinese dal XV al XVI secolo*, ed. Grazia Musolino (Soveria Mannelli, 2016), pp. 40–67.

Napoli, Filippo, *Storia della Città di Mazara* (Mazara, 1932).

Nye, Joseph, *The Powers to Lead* (New York, 2008).

Olariu, Dominic, *La genèse de la représentation ressemblante de l'homme. Reconsidérations du portrait à partir du XIIIe siècle* (Bern, 2013).

Olivar Bertrand, Rafael, *Un rei de llegenda. Frederic III de Sicilia* (Barcelona, 1951).

Pace, Valentino, "Pittura bizantina nell'Italia meridionale (secoli XI-XIV)," in *I Bizantini in Italia*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo (Milan, 1982), pp. 427–94.

Pastoureau, Michel, "L'État et son image emblématique," in *Culture et idéologie dans la genèse de l'État moderne*, Proceedings of the International Conference (Rome, 15–17 October 1984), eds. Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur, and Charles Pietri, (Rome, 1985), pp. 145–53.

Pastoureau, Michel, "Le sceau médiéval," in Michel Pastoureau, *Figures et couleurs. Étude sur la symbolique et la sensibilité médiévales* (Paris, 1986), pp. 71–87.

Pastoureau, Michel, "Les sceaux et la fonction sociale des images," in *L'image. Fonctions et usage des images dans l'Occident médiéval*, Proceedings of the 6th International Workshop on Medieval Society (Erice, 17–23 October 1992), eds. Jérôme Baschet, and Jean-Claude Schmitt, (Paris, 1996), pp. 275–308.

Perkinson, Stephen, "Rethinking the Origins of Portraiture," *Gesta. International Center of Medieval Art* 46/2 (2007), 135–58.

Perkinson, Stephen, *The Likeness of the King. A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago, 2009).

Pinelli, Antonio, Sabatier, Gérard, Stollberg-Rilinger, Barbara, Tauber, Christine, and Bodart, Diane, "Le portrait du roi: entre art, histoire, anthropologie et sémiologie," *Perspective. La revue de l'INHA* 1 (2012), 11–28.

Pispisa, Enrico, "La cattedrale di S. Maria e la città di Messina nel medioevo," in Enrico Pispisa, *Medioevo Fridericiano e altri scritti* (Messina, 1999), pp. 265–84.

Piva, Paolo, "Lo 'spazio liturgico': architettura, arredo, iconografia (nei secoli IV-XII)," in *L'Arte medievale nel contesto (300–1300): funzioni, iconografia, tecniche*, ed. Paolo Piva (Milan, 2006), pp. 141–80.

Principato, Antonino, *Badiazza. La chiesa di S. Maria della Scala nella Valle a Messina* (Messina, 1991).

Ricci, Stefano, Nesbitt, John William, and Richard, François, s.v. "Sigillo," in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale* 10, ed. Angiola Maria Romanini (Rome, 1999).

Salazaro, Demetrio, *Studi sui monumenti dell'Italia Meridionale dal IV al XIII secolo*, 2 vols (Naples, 1871–77).

Samperi, Placido, *Iconologia della gloriosa vergine Madre di Dio Maria, protettrice di Messina* (Messina, 1644).

Sauer, Christine, *Fundatio und Memoria. Stifter und Klostergründer im Bild, 1100 bis 1350* (Göttingen, 1993).

Serrano-Coll, Marta, *Effigies Regis Aragonum. La imagen figurativa del rey de Aragón en la Edad Media* (Zaragoza, 2014).

Spahr, Rodolf, *Le monete siciliane dagli Aragonesi ai Borboni (1282–1836)* (Palermo, 1959).

Spatrisano, Giuseppe, *Lo Steri di Palermo e l'architettura siciliana del Trecento* (Palermo, 1972).

Tebruck, Stefan, "Die sizilischen Klöster S. Maria in Valle Josaphat in Messina und S. Maria Latina in Agira und ihr sächsischer Fernbesitz," in *Italien-Mitteldeutschland-Polen. Geschichte und Kultur im europäischen Kontext vom 10. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, eds. Wolfgang Huschner, Enno Bünz, Christian Lübke, and Sebastian Kolditz (Leipzig, 2013), pp. 361–84.

Testa, Francesco, *Vita e Opere di Federico II re di Sicilia*, ed. Elio Spinnato, introduction by Salvatore Fodale (original edition, *De vita et rebus gestis Federici II Siciliae Regis*, Palermo, 1775; Palermo, 2006).

Travaini, Lucia, s.v. "Moneta," in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale* 8, ed. Angiola Maria Romanini (Rome, 1997).

Travaini, Lucia, s.v. "Augustale," in *Enciclopedia fridericiana* 1, ed. Ortensio Zecchino (Rome, 2005).

Travaini, Lucia, s.v. "Monetazione," in *Enciclopedia fridericiana* 2, ed. Ortensio Zecchino (Rome, 2005).

Vagnoni, Mirko, *Le rappresentazioni del potere. La sacralità regia dei Normanni di Sicilia: un mito?*, introduction by Jean-Marie Martin (Bari, 2012).

Vagnoni, Mirko, *Dei gratia rex Sicilie. Scene d'incoronazione divina nell'iconografia regia normanna* (Naples, 2017).

Vagnoni, Mirko, *Epifanie del corpo in immagine dei re di Sicilia* (*1130–1266*), introduction by Giovanni Travagliato (Palermo, 2019).

von Schlosser, Julius, *L'arte del Medioevo* [*Die Kunst des Mittelalters*], introduction by Otto Kurz (Vienna, 1923; repr. Turin, 1989).

Zeri, Federico, and Campagna Cicala, Francesca, *Messina. Museo Regionale* (Palermo, 1992).

Illustrations



FIGURE 6.1 Seal of Frederick III of Aragón as king of Sicily, impression on red wax, 15 October 1299. Museo Civico di Caltagirone (ex Carcere Borbonico), section Pergamene della *Universitas* di Caltagirone, inventory number MC 4910, 10/22 1997
PHOTO TOOK BY AUTHOR



FIGURE 6.2 *Denaro* of Frederick III of Aragón King of Sicily, obverse and reverse of billon silver coin, 1296–1337. Reproduced with permission of the Licensor through PLSclear
IMAGE PUBLISHED IN: GRIERSON, AND TRAVAINI, *MEDIEVAL EUROPEAN COINAGE*, PLATE 43, IMAGE N. 780



FIGURE 6.3 Church of Santa Maria della Valle (called *Badiazza*), central apse
IMAGE COURTESY OF: HTTPS://WWW.CISTERCENSI.INFO/ABBAZIE/ABBAZIE.PHP?AB=1165

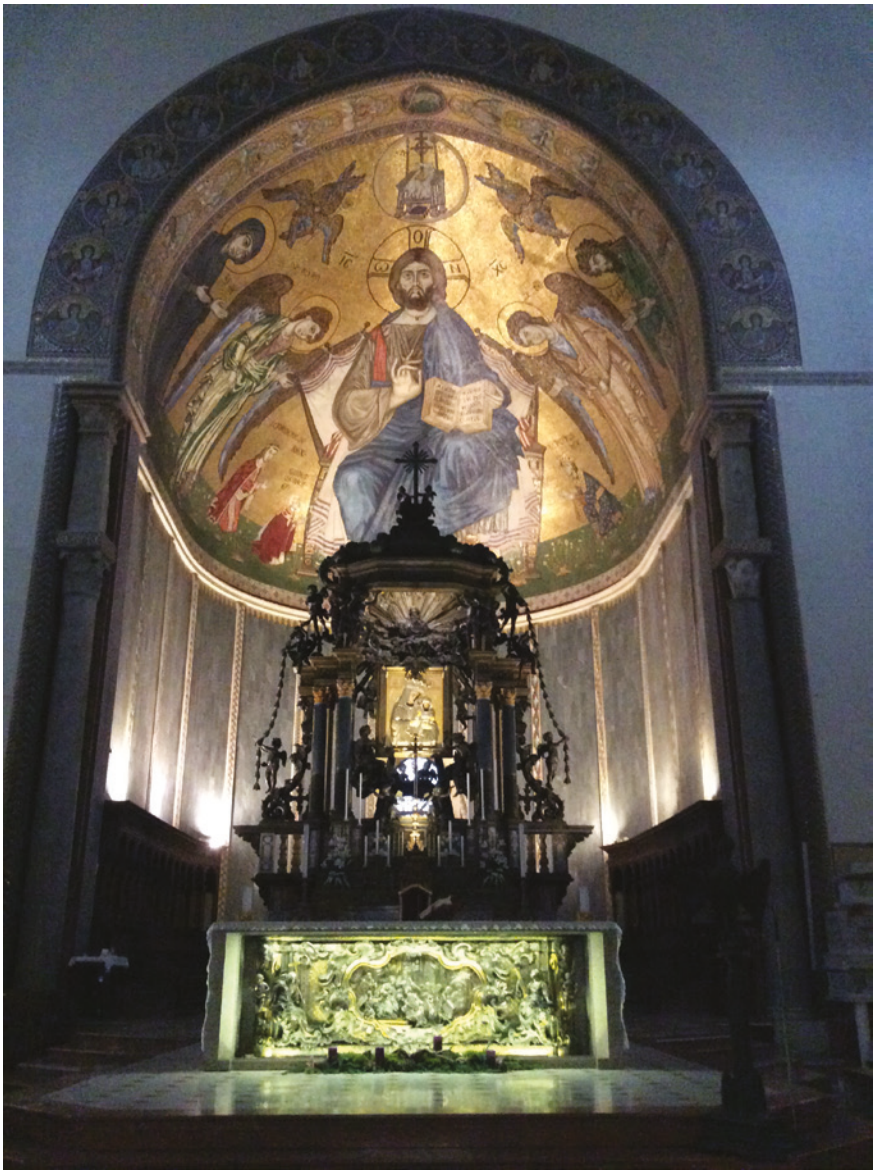


FIGURE 6.4 Cathedral of Messina, central apse
PHOTO TOOK BY AUTHOR



FIGURE 6.5 Detail of Frederick III of Aragón King of Sicily from the mosaics of the central apse of the Cathedral of Messina
IMAGE ELABORATED BY AUTHOR

CHAPTER 7

Simone Martini paints Robert of Anjou

Angevin Portraiture between Naples and Assisi

Nicolas Bock

The abundance of royal imagery in the Angevin lands – be it sculpted effigies or painted miniatures, panel paintings, or wall frescoes – has incited much research on the entwinement of the dynasty's representational strategies with the politics and religion of the time. Ferdinando Bologna's 1969 inquiry into the significance of Simone Martini's Saint Louis Altarpiece, which features a portrait of Robert of Anjou, is a landmark in this field (Figure. 7.1)[1]. Since then, many publications have further elucidated the importance of Angevin royal images, addressing issues of their chronology, patronage, meaning, and function. While the various iconographic facets of Angevin royal imagery have therefore received much attention, the visual and stylistic specifics of Angevin royal portraiture have been less studied, with the identification of depicted persons being mostly assured by heraldry.

Nearly every member of the Angevin dynasty appears in images, including the kings and queens and their sons and daughters accompanied by spouses

1 Ferdinando Bologna, "Povertà e umiltà: il San Ludovico di Simone Martini," *Studi storici* 10 (1969), 231–59; Ferdinando Bologna, *I pittori alla corte Angioina di Napoli* (*1266–1414*) (Rome, 1969), pp. 147–77; Julian Gardner, "Saint Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou, and Simone Martini," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 39 (1976), 12–33 (with older bibliography); Lisa Monnas, "Dress and Textiles in the St. Louis Altarpiece: New light on Simone Martini's Working Practice," *Apollo* 137 (1993), 166–74; Lorenz Enderlein, "Zur Entstehung der Ludwigstafel des Simone Martini," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 30 (1995), 135–49; Ferdinando Bologna, "La canonizzazione di San Ludovico di Tolosa e l'origine assisiate dell'ancona napoletana di Simone Martini," in *Modelli di lettura iconografica. Il panorama meridionale*, ed. Mario Alberto Pavone (Naples, 1999), pp. 17–48; Louise Caldi, *The King and His Brother. Simone Martini's Louis of Toulouse Crowning Robert of Anjou and the Visual Language of Power*, PhD thesis (Rutgers, State University of New York, 2002); Mario Gaglione, "Il San Ludovico di Simone Martini: manifesto della santità regale angioina," *Rassegna storica salernitana* 58 (2012), 9–125; Francesco Aceto, "Per Simone Martini pittore: ancora sull'iconografia del 'San Ludovico' del Museo di Capodimonte a Napoli," in *Da Ludovico d'Angiò a san Ludovico di Tolosa. I testi e le immagini. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio per il VII centenario della canonizzazione* (*1317–2017*)*, Napoli – S. Maria Capua Vetere, 3–5 novembre 2016*, eds. Teresa D'Urso, Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, and Daniele Solvi (Spoleto, 2017), pp. 33–50. For the original placement see below n. 27.

© NICOLAS BOCK, 2022 | DOI:10.1163/9789004511583_009
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

and children. Indeed, the Angevins excelled in the use of personalized visual representations, and their images surpassed in quantity those of nearly all other ruling houses of the time – except, of course, the French royal family, the Church, and the papacy. One of the reasons for this abundance was their insistent use of funeral monuments, on which the deceased and other members of the family were represented.[2] These sumptuous Angevin memorials occupied all the major Neapolitan churches. Beyond these, images of the royal family appeared also in monumental frescoes and in panel paintings and miniatures. Angevin imagery was thus omnipresent in Naples. When it was not figurative, it displayed their colourful coat of arms; covering the walls and ceilings of churches, chapels, and palaces, these signs reminded everyone of who was in charge of the kingdom.[3]

1 Likeness in Death

The personal presence that emanates from these images can still be experienced today, as when, upon entering the church of Santa Chiara, the spectator becomes aware of the nearly life-size sculptural figure of King Robert

2 The bibliography on this subject is large and steadily growing. See especially the monographs by: Lorenz Enderlein, *Die Grablegen des Hauses Anjou in Unteritalien. Totenkult und Monumente 1266–1343* (Worms, 1999); Tanja Michalsky, *Memoria und Repräsentation. Die Grabmäler des Königshauses Anjou in Italien* (Göttingen, 2000); Nicolas Bock, *Kunst am Hofe der Anjou-Durazzo. Der Bildhauer Antonio Baboccio (1351-um 1423)* (Berlin, 2001). More recently: Mirko Vagnoni, "Una nota sulla regalità sacra di Roberto d'Angiò alla luce della ricerca iconografica," *Archivio storico italiano* 167 (2009), 253–67; Paola Vitolo, "Imprese artistiche e modelli di regalità al femminile nella Napoli della prima età angioina," *Archivio storico per le province napoletane* 126 (2009), 1–54, esp. 34–44; Vinni Lucherini, "Le tombe angioine nel presbiterio di Santa Chiara a Napoli e la politica funeraria di Roberto d'Angiò," in *Medioevo. I committenti. Atti del convegno, Parma, 21–26 settembre 2010*, ed. Arturo C. Quintavalle (Milan, 2011), pp. 477–504; Mirko Vagnoni, "Royal Images and Sacred Elements in Norman-Swabian and Angevin-Aragonese Kingdom of Sicily," *Eikon/Imago* 4 (2013), 107–22; Paola Vitolo, "Ecce rex vester. Christiformitas e spazio liturgico," in *La chiesa e il convento di Santa Chiara. Committenza artistica, vita religiosa e progettualità politica nella Napoli di Roberto d'Angiò e Sancia di Maiorca*, eds. Francesco Aceto, Stefano D'Ovidio, and Elisabetta Scirocco (Battipaglia, 2014), pp. 227–74; Nicolas Bock, "La visione del potere. Cristo, il re e la corte angioina," in *Cristo e il potere. Teologia, antropologia e politica*, eds. Laura Andreani, and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Florence, 2017) pp. 211–24.

3 One need only recall the vault decoration of Santa Maria Donnaregina. On the relationship between the coat of arms and the figurative portrait, see: Hans Belting, "Wappen und Porträt. Zwei Bildmedien des Körpers," in *Das Porträt vor der Erfindung des Porträts*, eds. Martin Büchsel, and Peter Schmid (Mainz, 2003), pp. 89–100.

enthroned in majesty above the altar, looking out over the nave as part of the king's monumental tomb (Figure. 7.2).[4] Robert's seated figure is placed under a canopy and in front of a niche patterned with heraldry. An inscription directly beneath it underscores his presence, addressing the spectator and inviting him or her to recognize (*cernere*) the king: CERNITE ROBERTUM REGEM VIRTUTE REFERTUM. The statue would seem, therefore, to perfectly exemplify the essence of a royal portrait. Image, heraldry, and inscription all guarantee the identity of the person represented. While the artistic rendering imbues Robert with an individualized physiognomy, the inscription goes beyond this in calling upon the beholder to recognize – or better, to discern – the king not only physically but also through his moral qualities. The sculpture embodies the king's outer appearance as well as his inner character.[5]

Robert appears five times on the same monument, but the rendering of his face varies.[6] While the face of his *gisant* accentuates the signs of age and death in a most expressive manner, thus personalizing his face to the utmost,

4 On Robert of Anjou, see esp.: Samantha Kelly, *The new Solomon. Robert of Naples (1309–1343) and fourteenth-century kingship* (Leiden, 2003). On the monument, see: Enderlein, *Die Grablegen*, pp. 167–88; Michalsky, *Memoria*, pp. 325–41 (with bibliography); Damian Dombrowski, " 'Cernite' – Vision und Person am Grabmal Roberts des Weisen in S. Chiara," in *Praemium Virtutis. Grabmonumente und Begräbniszeremoniell im Zeichen des Humanismus*, eds. Joachim Poeschke, and Britta Kusch (Münster, 2002), pp. 35–60 (repr. in *Der Tod und die Künste*, eds. Friederike Felicitas Günther, and Wolfgang Riedel (Würzburg, 2016), pp. 49–99); Lucherini, "Le tombe," pp. 477–504; Stefano D'Ovidio, "Cernite Robertum Regem Virtute Refertum: la 'fortuna' del monumento sepolcrale di Roberto d'Angiò in S. Chiara," in *La chiesa*, eds. Francesco Aceto et al. (Battipaglia, 2014), pp. 275–312; Vitolo, "Ecce rex vester"; Stefano D'Ovidio, "Osservazioni sulla struttura e l'iconografia della tomba di re Roberto d'Angiò in Santa Chiara a Napoli," *Hortus artium medievalium* 21 (2015), 92–112.

5 Peter von Moos, *Unverwechselbarkeit: Persönliche Identität und Identifikation in der vormodernen Gesellschaft* (Cologne, 2004). For the origins of the *persona*-conception, see: Bruno Reudenbach, "Individuum oder Bildnis? Zum Problem künstlerischer Ausdrucksformen von Individualität im Mittelalter," in *Individuum und Individualität im Mittelalter*, eds. Jan A. Aertsen, and Andreas Speer (Berlin, 1996), pp. 807–18; Brigitte-Myriam Bedos-Rezak, *When ego was imago. Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2011); Martin Büchsel, "Le portrait au Moyen Âge," *Perspective* 2 (2012), 401–06.

6 The king appears four times on his monument within the church, while a second *gisant* is to be found in the choir of the Poor Clares. According to Aldo De Rinaldis, "La tomba primitiva di Roberto d'Angiò," *Belvedere* 5 (1924), pp. 92–96 the latter might have belonged to Robert's provisional tomb. This idea was abandoned in subsequent research, however. Doubts concerning its medieval origins subsist: Enderlein, *Die Grablegen*, pp. 177–78. On the contrary, Giulietta Chelazzi Dini, *Pacio e Giovanni Bertini da Firenze e la bottega napoletana di Tino di Camaino* (Florence, 1996), pp. 31–31, attributes it to the two Florentine sculptors. See also: Mario Gaglione, *Nuovi studi sulla Basilica di Santa Chiara* (Naples, 1996), p. 15; Michalsky, *Memoria*, p. 329; Lucherini, "Le tombe," p. 484; D'Ovidio, "Osservazioni," p. 106.

the king's kneeling statue in the *commendatio animae* scene is devoid of any personalizing features. Robert's relief image on the front of the sarcophagus, placed in the lowest register of the funeral monument and therefore well in sight of the spectator, shows the characteristically deeply incised nasolabial folds and the long marionette lines, but otherwise his face appears idealized. The same is true, although to a lesser extent, of his second *gisant*, shown in a Franciscan habit, on the reverse of the monument, which can be seen from the choir. Here, too, the typical traits of his face – the elongated head with somewhat hollow cheeks; the small, straight, and tightly shut mouth; the heavy nasolabial folds and marionette lines; and the prominent chin with a pronounced mental crease – can be easily recognized, but the overall rendering is rather smooth and any smaller folds have been effaced. The variations among Robert's portraits may relate to the iconographic context for each image and, in addition, were subject to the capabilities of the different sculptors at work.

While the exceptional quantity of Robert's images on his funeral monument has caused some astonishment, the individualization of his portraits comes as no surprise and has in fact permitted scholars to identify the king and discuss his presence in other works of art. Recently, Diana Norman discussed Angevin portraiture and patronage in Assisi, Siena, and Florence, with attention to the larger Italian context for the dynasty's image politics and their international implications.[7] Mirko Vagnoni instead concentrates on the relationship between portraiture and kingship, discussing a small selection of Robert's portraits in terms of their role in conveying the sanctity of the king's rule.[8] Angevin portraiture should be seen, he argues, in continuity with Norman and Hohenstaufen habits and traditions. Broadening Vagnoni's historical perspective, Katharina Weiger interprets Robert's portraits vaguely as a manifold but coherent body of images that were created as political instruments to strategically assert moral and religious authority.[9] Her approach is

7 Diana Norman, *Siena and the Angevins* (*1300–1350*). *Art Diplomacy, and Dynastic Ambition* (Turnhout, 2018).

8 Vagnoni, "Una nota sulla regalità sacra," pp. 253–67.

9 Katharina Weiger, "The portraits of Robert of Anjou: self-representation as political instrument?," *Journal of Art Historiography* 17 (2017), 1–16, esp. 15. Differences in the rendering of Robert's physiognomy have been explained by the desire to depict different aspects of his personality. For the idea of image policy, see: Alessandro Barbero, "La propaganda di Roberto d'Angiò re di Napoli (1309–1343)," in *Le forme della propaganda politica nel Due e Trecento. Atti del convegno internazionale, Trieste, 2–5 marzo 1993,* ed. Paolo Cammarosano (Rome, 1994), pp. 111–31; Michelle M. Duran, "The politics of art: imaging sovereignty in the Anjou Bible," in *The Anjou Bible. A royal Manuscript revealed. Naples 1340*, eds. Lieve Watteeuw, and Jan van der Stock (Paris, 2010), pp. 73–93.

not without its complications, however, as it applies the modern concept of 'portraiture' to a wide range of artworks of varying character, size, date, and function. Stefania Paone had previously underlined the methodological problems inherent in interpreting all royal portraits as a coherent group mobilized as 'iconographic propaganda.' In particular, she stressed the issues of audience and reception: many of these images, especially the miniatures, would only have been seen within a very small circle, while others were destined for a larger audience.[10] It is thus problematic to approach in the same manner a miniature in the margin of a manuscript, for example, showing Robert playing chess, and a monumental statue in a publicly accessible church, showing the king in majesty.[11]

There are further issues that must be considered. While it is generally acknowledged that Simone's Saint Louis Altarpiece (1317–1319) is the earliest extant example of Robert's portrait (figures. 7. 1, 7.3), its place within the longer chronology of Angevin portraiture has never been adequately addressed.[12] Did Simone's portrait of Robert of Anjou provoke a change or an increase in royal portraits? And what were the respective roles of the artist and patron in this figurative individualization? Still to be addressed is the question of *similitudo*, or more specifically: did Robert always appear with the same naturalistic traits, or were there variations? And what might be the reason for these differences in his physical appearance? Did they depend on the artistic medium, the artist, or the function of the image?

2 The King's Image: From Ideal to Individual

To answer some of these questions, it is useful to move away from Robert's painted image in the Saint Louis Altarpiece and look to his portraits in other areas. The king's first sculpted image appears on the sarcophagus of the queen

10 Alessandro Tomei, and Stefania Paone, "Paintings and Miniatures in Naples. Cavallini, Giotto, and the Portraits of King Robert," in *The Anjou Bible*, eds. Watteeuw et al., pp. 53–71, esp. 67. Alessandra Perricioli Saggese, "Il ritratto a Napoli nel Trecento : l'immagine di Roberto d'Angiò tra pittura e miniatura," in *La fantasia e la storia. Studi di storia dell'arte sul ritratto dal Medioevo al Contemporaneo*, ed. Giulio Brevetti (Palermo, 2019), pp. 37–45.

11 Samantha Kelly has pointed out the importance of the wide audience Robert found in his public preaching, in terms of the "dynamic and often experimental process of constructing royal policy and image." Kelly, *The New Solomon*, p. 15.

12 See, however: Harald Keller, "Die Entstehung des Bildnisses am Ende des Hochmittelalters," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 3 (1939), 227–354.

mother Mary of Hungary (1257–1323) (Figure. 7.4).[13] Her tomb, along with that of Catherine of Austria in San Lorenzo Maggiore, are the earliest extant monumental tombs of the Angevin dynasty in Naples, thus marking the beginning of a long and rich tradition.[14] Mary's monument stands to the left of the nave in the convent church of Santa Maria Donnaregina, which she herself had founded. It already shows the canonical structure of all subsequent Angevin funeral monuments: at its base, caryatids symbolizing the virtues support the sarcophagus of the deceased. Above this, the *camera funebris* opens up, and two angels draw curtains to reveal the *gisant* of the queen. The roof of the tomb features the scene of the *commendatio animae* to the Virgin. A magnificent architectural canopy covers the entire structure. Mary's monument is also the earliest known tomb decorated with the iconographic scheme of the *beata stirps*, presenting the lined up members of the royal family as a saintly lineage[15] The queen mother's descendants do not appear in the order of their birth but rather according to their dynastic importance: as the family's saint and therefore the most eminent, the second-born son, Louis of Anjou, occupies the center of the sarcophagus. To his right appears his older brother, Charles Martel, who had been crowned king of Hungary in 1292; to his left, assigned a placement indicating his lesser importance, sits the third-born son, Robert of Anjou, who was catapulted onto the throne of Naples when Louis renounced the worldly honours of kingship in order to follow Christ. Mary's other less important children follow on either side of this group of three.

A closer look at the two crowned brothers reveals their close resemblance. This resemblance is not genetic but stylistic, and not specifically Angevin but social: the identification of the figures relies on iconographic attributes – crown, globe, sceptre – and on their positions within a hierarchy, rather than

13 On the monument, see: Enderlein, *Die Grablegen*, pp. 167–88; Michalsky, *Memoria*, pp. 325–41 (with bibliography); Tanja Michalsky, "MATER SERENISSIMI PRINCIPIS. The tomb of Maria of Hungary," in *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina. Art, Iconography and Patronage in Fourteenth-Century Naples*, eds. Janis Eliott, and Cordelia Warr (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 45–60.

14 On the monument of Catherine of Austria, see: Julian Gardner, "A Princess among prelates: a fourteenth century Neapolitan tomb and some northern relations," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 23/24 (1988), 29–60; Francesco Aceto, "Tino di Camaino a Napoli: una proposta per il sepolcro di Caterina d'Austria e altri fatti angioini," *Dialoghi di storia dell'arte* 1 (1995), 10–27; Enderlein, *Die Grablegen*, pp. 76–89, 189; Michalsky, *Memoria*, pp. 281–89 (with further bibliography).

15 Tanja Michalsky, "Die Repräsentation einer Beata Stirps: Darstellung und Ausdruck an den Grabmonumenten der Anjous," in *Die Repräsentation der Gruppen. Texte, Bilder, Objekte*, eds. Otto Gerhard Oexle, and Andrea von Hülsen Esch (Göttingen, 1998), pp. 187–224, esp. 191–95.

on individual physiognomy. The family members' facial appearances are obviously stereotyped according to social standards, as evident in the forever-youthful saint and the beautiful, clear-cut, and elongated faces of the kings, as well as in the secondary importance assigned to variations in age and seemingly distinctive features. For example, Charles Martel had died, at the age of 25, 28 years before the creation of this tomb monument, whereas Robert was 46 years old at this point. The idealized appearance of these two brothers differs tellingly from the treatment of the non-ruling family members: individuality was clearly taken to be a flaw in the representation of kingship.

This kind of idealization can be traced back to Hohenstaufen images. Frederick II's seated statue on the gate of Capua, known to us through a drawing by Seroux d'Agincourt, featured comparably idealized facial forms.[16] The royal effigies in Saint-Denis, which were sculpted during the campaign of 1264, are another prominent example.[17] On the tomb, the same can be said of the *gisant* of Mary of Hungary herself. She does not appear to be 64 years of age, the mother of 14 children, but rather a virtuous and angelic princess, ready for paradise.

Some 20 years later, however, the situation in Naples had changed. In King Robert's *gisant* in Santa Chiara, which was completed after the king's death in 1343, the emphasis on distinguishing aspects of the king's physiognomy is not explicable only by the type of image – a *gisant* supposedly drawing upon the naturalistic tradition of the death mask, as is sometimes suggested.[18] Rather, this individualizing approach characterizes all the images of King Robert from this period.

According to a photograph of Robert's funeral monument taken before the Allied bombing in 1944, the statue of the seated king had an angular face with a stern expression (Figure. 7.2).[19] We find similar facial traits, as well as a comparable staging of the king on a throne under a baldachin, in a miniature in

16 Peter Cornelius Claussen, "Die Statue Friedrichs II. vom Brückentor in Capua (1234–1239): der Befund, die Quellen und eine Zeichnung aus dem Nachlaß von Seroux d'Agincourt," in *Festschrift für Hartmut Biermann*, eds. Christoph Andreas, Mareike Bückling, and Roland Dorn (Weinheim, 1990), pp. 19–39, 291–304; Peter Cornelius Claussen, "Stauferbilder – Bildnisse der Staufer," in *Verwandlungen des Stauferreichs*, eds. Bernd Schneidmüller, Stefan Weinfurter, and Alfred Wieczorek (Darmstadt, 2010), pp. 350–76; Valentino Pace, "Friderizianische Bildnisse," in *Verwandlungen des Stauferreichs*, eds. Schneidmüller et al., pp. 34–52.

17 Georgia Sommers Wright, "A Royal Tomb Program in the Reign of St. Louis," *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974), 224–43.

18 Chelazzi Dini, *Pacio e Giovanni Bertini*, p. 21, fig. 5.

19 Chelazzi Dini, *Pacio e Giovanni Bertini*, p. 19, fig. 4.

the Anjou Bible, painted only a few years before the funeral monument's commission and intimately related to it.[20] The same elements appear also in non-Neapolitan miniatures, for instance the famous double-page scene in the honorific poetry book by Convenevole of Prato, where the personification of *Ytalia* pleads her case before the king (Figure. 7.5).[21] Here, the once-idealized king has become an older man, with dry skin stretched over his face and his profile distinguished by a long nose and tightly closed, thin lips. The coif or *cale* – a type of headscarf that Robert wore consistently, such that it became a personalized fashion attribute of his – complements the other recognizable facial features.[22] For instance, on the basis of the *cale* and his elongated face and in spite of the absence of any royal insignia, Chiara Frugoni identifies Robert among the onlookers in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco of Saint Louis kneeling

20 Leuven, Katholieke Universiteit, Faculty of Theology, Maurits Sabbe Library, cod. 1. See the extensive publication: *The Anjou Bible*, eds. Watteeuw et al.

21 Convenevole da Prato, *Regia carmina,* ed. and trans. Cesare Grassi (Cinisello Balsamo, 1982); Ernst Saenger, "Das Lobgedicht auf König Robert von Anjou. Ein Beitrag zur Kunst- und Geistesgeschichte des Trecento," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 84 (1988), 7–91; Alessandro Tomei, "I Regia Carmina dedicati a Roberto d'Angiò nella British Library di Londra: un manoscritto tra Italia e Provenza," *Arte medievale* 6/4 (2016), 201–12; Caroline Smout, *Sprechen in Bildern – Sprechen über Bilder: die allegorischen Ikonotexte in den Regia Carmina des Convenevole da Prato* (Köln, 2017); Norman, *Siena and the Angevins*, pp. 30–32, n. 89.

22 With the wearing of the crown being reserved for high feast days, popes, emperors, and kings normally wore a *cale*, a garment modeled after the pope's vestment, as a sign of consecrated clerical status conferred by the unction. Carra Ferguson O'Meary, *Monarchy and Consent: The Coronation Book of Charles V of France: British Library MS Cotton Tiberius B. VIII* (London, 2001), pp. 236–38. "Bishops and archbishops, anointed at their sacre, and anointed kings were required by the prevailing ecclesiastical and royal vestimentary codes to cover their heads at all times, to protect the anointed head from the touch of the profane and to signal their consecrated status." She refers to Jean Golein's *Traité du sacre,* fol. 49v: "Pour semblable cause apres linonction du chief larcevesque li met la coiffe sur le chief et la doit touz jours porter en signe quil a receu la sainte inonction ou chief et de plus digne saintete et afin quil en ait touz jours memoire il doit porter coiffe toute sa vie afin que le cresme nait aucune contagion moins honeste, car elle touche le corps penetrativement." Richard A. Jackson, "The Traité du sacre of Jean Golein," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 113 (1969), 305–24, esp. 317–18. For Robert, see, for instance, the illustrations in the Anjou Bible, on fol. 157v (Robert of Anjou in the role of the 'Wise Ecclesiastes') and fol. 309r (the presentation of the Anjou Bible). However, Charles I and Charles II are also depicted with *cales* (fol. 234r). For an attempt to identify Robert without the *cale* – and before his coronation – among the bystanders in the scene of the Death of Saint Martin in the chapel of Saint Martin in the lower church of Assisi, see: Diana Norman, "Sanctity, Kingship and succession: art and dynastic politics in the Lower Church at Assisi," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 73 (2010), 297–334, esp. 319–20.

before the pope (1343–1344) in San Francesco, Siena.[23] By that time, Robert's 'personalized' image had itself become standardized.[24] Indeed, the same naturalistic traits can be found in all of the king's images from this later period, regardless of medium, artist, and function. Members of his family, however, did not benefit from the same individualization; their images remain visually anonymous, unless their identities are denoted by their arms or by inscriptions or other clues.[25] The artistic approach to the king's portrait had evidently changed in the years after Simone Martini's Saint Louis Altarpiece. Chronology reveals itself to be a decisive factor when dealing with Angevin royal portraits.

3 Simone Martini and the King's Painted Portrait

The first painted image of Robert precedes the funeral monument to Mary of Hungary by at least six years. It is an enormous altarpiece depicting Saint Louis of Toulouse in majesty, which was painted by the Sienese artist Simone Martini[26] and probably once stood in the church of San Lorenzo Maggiore

23 Chiara Frugoni, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti," in *Pietro e Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, ed. Chiara Frugoni (Florence, 2002), pp. 119–99, esp. 194; Norman, *Siena and the Angevins*, pp. 209–11, and figs. 84, 100.

24 Stephen Perkinson, "Portraits & their Patrons: Reconsidering Agency in Late Medieval Art," in Patronage: Power & Agency in Medieval Art, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton NJ, 2013), pp. 237–54, here 238, 243.

25 In the statues of the Ordre du Saint-Esprit du Droit-Désir ou Ordre du Noeud, King Louis of Taranto's face in profile has the same traits as that of the servant behind him. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. 4274, fol. 6v. Only in some miniatures, such as the frontispiece (fol. 2v), does the illuminator seem to have paid more attention to the twofold beard of the king. On the manuscript, see: Nicolas Bock, "L'Ordre du Saint-Esprit au Droit Désir. Enluminure, cérémonial et idéologie au 14e siècle," in *Art, cérémonial et liturgie au Moyen Age*, eds. Nicolas Bock, Peter Kurmann, Serena Romano, and Jean-Michel Spieser (Rome, 2002), pp. 415–61; Andreas Bräm, *Neapolitanische Bilderbibeln des Trecento* (Wiesbaden, 2007), pp. 128–44; Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, "Cristophoro Orimina: an illuminator at the Angevin court of Naples," in *The Anjou Bible,* eds. Watteeuw et al., pp. 113–25. In the Anjou Bible, the face of Andrew of Hungary, the first husband of Queen Joanna I, has no particular traits (fols. 249r, 278r), neither does Sancia (fol. 309r) nor Joanna (fols. 231v, 249r, 278r). The same applies to Joanna's face in her Book of Hours, Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 1921, fol. 234v.

26 Naples, Museo e Gallerie nazionali di Capodimonte. Main panel: 250 x 188 cm, predella: 56 x 205 cm. The signature in the predella reads: SYMON DE SENIS ME PINXIT. For the cleaning in 1959 by Leonello Tintori, see: *IV Mostra di restauri: catalogo*, ed. Soprintendenza delle Gallerie della Campania Laboratorio di Conservazione (Naples 1960), pp. 32–38.

(Figure. 7.1).[27] Dated shortly after 1317 on stylistic and iconographic grounds – the canonization of Saint Louis of Toulouse took place on 7 April 1317 – the painting embodies the essence of Angevin political strategy concerning the succession in the Kingdom of Naples. When Charles Martel, the eldest son of Mary of Hungary and King Charles II, took the crown of Hungary in 1290, his father and Pope Boniface VIII bent heritage laws in order to pass the reign of Naples to the second-born son, Louis. He, however, followed his religious inclinations, trading the *spreta pompa* of the earthly *regnum corruptibilis* of Naples for the everlasting kingdom of heaven and thus renouncing his earthly rights of inheritance. What seemed most unlikely came to pass, with the succession falling to the third son, Robert:[28]

> These are matters to be marveled at and unaccustomed to other people. For this man, placed in the highest sphere of virtues, renounced the right of the first-born and the kingship, held the ostentation of his royal throne in contempt, and traded for a corruptible kingdom an everlasting kingdom full of joy.

The far-reaching political significance of this altarpiece has been thoroughly examined, and its importance to Angevin portraiture has long been acknowledged.[29] Louis is shown in a Franciscan habit and with episcopal regalia,

---

27 Several locations have been proposed: the Franciscan church of San Lorenzo Maggiore, where the painting is documented from the 16th century onwards; the Franciscan double monastery of Santa Croce (today Santa Chiara), of royal foundation but still under construction when the altarpiece was painted; and the probably semi-private oratory of Saint Louis, founded by the king's brother Philip of Taranto, adjacent to the cathedral. Adrian S. Hoch, "The Franciscan provenance of Simone Martini's Angevin St. Louis in Naples," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 58 (1995), 22–38; Francesco Aceto, "Spazio ecclesiale e pale di 'primitivi' in San Lorenzo Maggiore a Napoli: dal 'San Ludovico' di Simone Martini al 'San Girolamo' di Colantonio," *Prospettiva* 137 (2010), 2–50; Diana Norman, "Politics and Piety: Locating Simone Martini's 'Saint Louis of Toulouse' altarpiece," *Art History* 33 (2010), 596–619. Norman, *Siena and the Angevins*, pp. 140–47 (with bibliography).

28 Canonization of Louis of Toulouse, 7 April 1317, bull of Pope John XXII: "Miranda est et aliis insueta! Vir namque hic virtutum positus in sublimi iure primogeniturae renuntiavit et Regno, Regalis solii spreta pompa, pro regno corruptibili aeternum ac plenum delitiis regnum mercans." *Processus canonizationis et legendae variae Sancti Ludovici O.F.M. episcopi Tolosani*, ed. Collegium Sanctae Bonaventurae (Quaracchi, 1951), pp. 395–9. For the context: Melanie Brunner, "Poverty and Charity: Pope John XXII and the Canonization of Louis d'Anjou," *Franciscan Studies* 69 (2011), 231–256.

29 For interpretations on the painting, see: Bologna, "La canonizzazione di san Ludovico," pp. 17–48; Klaus Krüger, "A deo solo et a te regnum teneo. Simone Martinis, Ludwig von Toulouse' in Neapel," in *Medien der Macht. Kunst zu Zeiten der Anjous in Italien*, ed. Tanja

seated frontally on a lion-headed throne while receiving the crown of the eternal kingdom from angels above (*aureola*); his younger brother, Robert, kneels to his left, in full regal dress.[30] As was customary in an enfeoffment ceremony, the latter holds his folded hands in front of him for the *commendatio*, ready to receive the earthly crown that his brother is preparing to place on his head (Figure. 7.3). Whereas the iconography of divine coronation follows Norman and older imperial prototypes,[31] that of the king in profile can be linked to the antique tradition of imperial coins.[32] Here, for the first time, Robert is ascribed all the individual physical traits we know from his later images.[33]

Michalsky (Berlin, 2001), pp. 79–119; Diana Norman, "The Sicilian connection. Imperial themes in Simone Martini's St. Louis of Toulouse altarpiece," *Gesta* 53 (2014), 25–45; Sarah Kozlowski, "Circulation, Convergence, and the Worlds of Trecento Panel Painting: Simone Martini in Naples," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 78 (2015), 205–38.

30 For the theological discussion on the nature of the crown above Louis's head and its definition as a sign of "accidental," individual beatitude as based on extraordinary merits, see: Edwin Hall, and Horst Uhr, "Aureola and Fructus. Distinctions of Beatitude in Scholastic Thought and the Meaning of Some Crowns in Early Flemish Painting," *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978), 249–70, here 256–58, and, "Aureola super Auream. Crowns and Related Symbols of Special Distinction in Late Gothic and Renaissance Iconography," *Art Bulletin* 67 (1985), 567–603.

31 Palermo, Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio, Robert II of Sicily crowned by Christ, *c*. 1143–1151. Vagnoni, "Una nota sulla regalità sacra," pp. 253–67.

32 Adrian S. Hoch, "The Antique Origins of an Emperor by Simone Martini," *Paragone* 38 (1987), 42–47. On the contrary: Marco Collareta, "Modi di presentarsi: taglio e visuale nella ritrattistica autonoma," in *Visuelle Topoi. Erfindung und tradiertes Wissen in den Künsten der italienischen Renaissance*, eds. Ulrich Pfisterer, and Max Seidel (München, 2003), pp. 131–49, esp. 132, 134. He goes back to Quintilian and Pliny the Elder to contrast the two types of portrait, *tota facie* against *imago obliqua*. Taking the portrait of Jean le Bon (1350–1364) in profile as an example, he links the frontal portrait to Christian icons expressing *maiestas*, whereas the profile should be seen as a 'consapevole dichiarazione di umiltà' in relationship to the confession of the faithful and the absolution of the priest. Interesting the use of the individualized profile in French royal iconography especially under Charles V in royal charters (Archives nationales, J/358/12, 1367) or on the parament of Narbonne in the Louvre. See: Claire Richter Sherman, *The portraits of Charles V of France (1338–1380)* (New York, 1969); Ghislain Brunel, *Images du pouvoir royal. Les chartes décorées des Archives nationales, XIII^e-XV^e siècle* (Paris, 2005).

33 The young Robert in Simone's altarpiece possesses such a considerable likeness to the miniature of Convenevole da Prato's and Pacino da Buonaguida's *Regia Carmina*, London, British Library, MS Royal 6 E IX, fol. 10v., that the two images perfectly illustrate the aging of the king: born in 1275, he was 37 years old at the time of the Saint Louis Altarpiece, and around 65 for the London miniature. For an image of Robert of Anjou in a French manuscript dating between 1321 and 1330, see: Brendan Cassidy, "An image of King Robert of Naples in a Franco-Italian manuscript in Dublin," *Burlington Magazine* 148 (2006), 31–33. Here, Robert has no resemblance with his Italian portraits, and neither does his brother Louis of Toulouse, who, unusually, appears with a beard.

However, the question at hand is not about likeness or naturalism but about the chronology of Angevin portraiture and its implications. Why did Tino di Camaino not make use of the new and certainly impressive art of portraiture he had before his eyes in the Saint Louis Altarpiece, when he sculpted the funeral monument for Mary of Hungary six years later (Figure. 7.4)? Surely, Tino must have been aware of the artistic accomplishment of his fellow Tuscan, especially given that he had competed with him artistically in other works.[34] How, then, could he have not adhered to what seems to us today to be a natural progression in art? Finally, and more importantly, what are the origins of Simone's naturalistic approach?

4 Simone in Assisi

The genesis of Simone Martini's Saint Louis Altarpiece is intimately linked to two of his major works: the *Maestà* in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena and his frescoes in the lower church of San Francesco in Assisi, specifically, in the Elizabeth Chapel in the north part of the transept (figures. 7.6, 7.7) and in the chapel of Saint Martin, south of the nave.[35] In Assisi, both commissions are politically linked to the Angevin dynasty, possibly even to the queen consort Mary of Hungary, who, among others, has been considered a possible patron for the Saint Louis Altarpiece.[36] Although the timeline of the decoration of the lower church is rather complex, the appearance of the haloed Louis of Toulouse

34 For the close relation between Tino da Camaino and the painting of his time, especially Simone Martini, see: Max Seidel, "Das gemeißelte Bild im Trecento. Ein neuentdecktes Meisterwerk von Tino di Camaino," *Pantheon* 47 (1988), 4–13 (repr. as: "The sculpted image. Tino da Camaino measures up to Simone Martini," in *Italian Art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance,* 2 vols, *Architecture and Sculpture* 2, ed. Max Seidel (Venice, 2005), pp. 627–38). The standing figure of Enrico Scrovegni by Marco Romano in the Arena Chapel (*c.* 1318–20) shows that naturalism was a possibility for sculpted portraits. Clario Di Fabio, "Memoria e modernità: della propria figura di Enrico Scrovegni e di altre sculture nella cappella dell'Arena di Padova, con aggiunte al catalogo di Marco Romano," in *Medioevo: immagine e memoria*, ed. Arturo C. Quintavalle (Milano, 2009), pp. 532–46.

35 For the chapel and its programme, see: Stella Mary Newton, "Tomaso da Modena, Simone Martini, Hungarians and St. Martin in fourteenth-century Italy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980), 234–38; Adrian S. Hoch, "St. Martin of Tours: his transformation into a chivalric hero and Franciscan ideal," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 50 (1987), 471–82; Brendan Cassidy, "Simone Martini's 'St Martin and the Emperor' and contemporary Italian politics," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 70 (2007), 145–58; Norman, "Sanctity, Kingship and succession," pp. 297–334.

36 Norman, "Sanctity, Kingship and succession," pp. 297–334.

in the Elizabeth Chapel indicates a date of execution after his canonization in 1317. Yet, a dating of the frescoes to after 1319 would be unlikely, as Assisi was in the hands of the Ghibelline faction between 1319 and 1322, during which any attempts to glorify the Angevin cause would have been deemed hostile.[37]

Simone's paintings in the Elizabeth Chapel offer an important comparison to the portrait of Robert of Anjou in the Saint Louis Altarpiece. The Elizabeth Chapel is situated in the North-eastern corner of the transept; there, the scale of the fresco was limited both by a small passage in the east wall (leading to the Magdalen Chapel) and by a large opening in the north wall (leading to the chapel of Saint Nicholas).[38] Simone's frescoes cover only the lower section of the two walls, the space above being decorated with Passion scenes by Pietro Lorenzetti.[39]

To contend with the peculiar placement of the chapel – i.e. to convincingly insert his paintings into the corner of the transept – Simone devised an illusionistic architectural structure for both walls. Above a polychrome-marble balustrade, he painted a white-marble loggia, within which half-length figures of various saints appear. At either end of the fresco and at the meeting point of the two walls, white-marble pilasters illusionistically support the marble cornice of the loggia, as does a series of four extremely thin gold columns on the north wall. Some of the saints rests their hands or set objects on the balustrade, reinforcing the illusion of an open space. Simone differentiated between the two walls. On the eastern wall, the Virgin and Child, flanked by Saint Ladislaus

37 Bologna, *I pittori*, pp. 151–52; Norman, *Siena and the Angevins*, pp. 167, 185, n. 35.

38 The church of San Francesco in Assisi is oriented towards the west.

39 For the dating of Pietro Lorenzetti's frescoes to before 1320, see: Carlo Volpe, "Proposte per il problema di Pietro Lorenzetti," *Paragone* 23 (1951), 13–26; Hayden Maginnis, "The Passion Cycle in the Lower Church of San Francesco in Assisi: The Technical Evidence," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 39 (1976), 193–208; Maria Monica Donato, "Transetto settentrionale. Simone Martini," in *La Basilica de San Francesco d'Assisi. Basilica inferiore / The Basilica of St Francis in Assisi. Lower Basilica*, ed. Giorgio Bonsanti (Modena, 2002), n. 150–60, pp. 424–26, 554–560; Serena Romano, "Per la data della 'Crocifissione' nel transetto nord della chiesa inferiore di Assisi," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 78 (2015), 345–55. For the relation between Simone in the lower church of Assisi and his Siena *Maestà,* see: Irene Hueck, "Frühe Arbeiten des Simone Martini," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 19 (1968), 29–60; Ferdinando Bologna*, I pittori*, pp. 150–55; Joseph Polzer, "Simone Martini's two frescoes in the lower right transept of the church of San Francesco in Assisi," *Arte cristiana*, n.s. 72 (1984), 353–68; Luciano Bellosi, "Il 'pittore oltremontano' di Assisi, il Gotico a Siena e la formazione di Simone Martini," *Prospettiva* 121/124 (2006), 227–36 (originally published in: *Simone Martini, Atti del convegno, Siena 1985,* ed. Luciano Bellosi (Florence, 1988), pp. 39–47). On the dating, see: Luciano Bellosi, "Moda e cronologia. A) La decorazione della basilica inferiore di Assisi," *Prospettiva* 121/124 (2006), 428–437 (originally published in: *Prospettiva* 10 (1977), 21–31).

and Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, appear against an elaborately structured gold ground that imitates a precious piece of cloth (Figure. 7.6).[40] Due to the white-marble framing, the resemblance to a 'living altarpiece' is striking. In turn, on the southern wall, Saints Francis, Louis of Toulouse, Elizabeth, Agnes of Bohemia, and Henry of Hungary stand against a blue ground, separated by thin gold columns (Figure. 7.7). The foreshortening of the architectural devices creates a strong illusionistic effect. The five saints vividly dialogue with one another, looking across the space and around the corner at the Virgin and Child group.

More than ever before, here Simone insisted on the liveliness and reality of the scene. He accentuated the interactions among the saints through their gestures and glances (Figure. 7.7). Moreover – and this is important for the question of portraiture – he gave each figure, and especially the male saints, a highly individualized appearance. For instance, Saint Francis is depicted with a sparse beard, and Saint Louis of Toulouse with an elongated, mule-like face. The same tendency can be observed on the adjacent wall, where Saint Ladislaus appears with facial stubble (Figure. 7.6); the impression of corporal neglect that this conveys is, however, overridden by the intense gaze from his blue eyes. Most remarkably, Simone insists on the somewhat sheepish look of Saint Louis of Anjou, which overtly contrasts with the handsomeness of the other two young saints in the fresco. This is especially noteworthy alongside the Neapolitan altarpiece that Simone was at work on in exactly these years, in which he gave the same Louis a much fresher, more child-like appearance (Figure. 7.1). Here, with rosy, roundish cheeks and wide-open eyes, Saint Louis bears no physiognomic similarity to his kneeling brother, Robert. In Assisi, however, Simone insisted on the physical resemblance between Louis and his brother in the Neapolitan altarpiece, thus producing a recognizable Angevin family appearance: elongated faces stretched with dry skin; sharply cut, horizontal eyebrows; and almond-shaped eyes.[41]

40 For the identification of the saints, see: Adrian S. Hoch, "The Dedication of the St Elizabeth Altar at Assisi," *Burlington Magazine* 133/1054 (1991), 36–37; Adrian S. Hoch, "Beata Stirps, royal patronage and the identification of the Sainted Rulers in the St. Elizabeth Chapel at Assisi," *Art History* 15 (1992), 279–95; Norman, *Siena and the Angevins*, p. 164.

41 Simone maintained this way of rendering Saint Louis, maybe slightly softened, for his image in the chapel of Saint Martin. In regard to the question of family likeness, the long nose of Charles I is already attested by Dante, *Purgatorio* VII, 124–127: "Anche al nasuto (Charles I) vanno mie parole / non men ch'a l'altro, Pier, che con lui canta, / onde Puglia e Proenza già si dole"; as well as by Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Porta, 3 vols (Parma, 1990–91), I, VIII, 1, pp. 329–30: "Questo Carlo fu (…) grande di persona e nerboruto, di colore ulivigno, e con grande naso, e parea bene maestà reale più ch'altro signore."

Simone's revolutionary modernity in these frescoes is attested by his work on the *Maestà* in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico. Starting with the upper border, Simone likely finished the Siena fresco in two campaigns between 1312 and 1315.[42] It seems he then left to work in Assisi, when he returned to Siena to carry out some important restorations to his *Maestà* in 1321.[43] Technical enquiries have shown that he replaced almost the entire lower part of the fresco, at the level of the four kneeling saints in the foreground. Although this restoration took place only six years after the fresco's first completion, the stylistic change is overwhelming. The new saints in the roundels of the lower frame convey a vivid humanity. Shown either presenting books or in the act of reading, they are rendered as individuals, as learned librarians or lively instructors. Their heads are shown in profile or slightly inclined in an inconspicuous movement of deliberation. As can be seen in the roundel of Saint Gregory (Figure. 7.8), Simone proved very attentive to the effects of light and to personal details, such as the faint stubble turning white with age or, on a head shown in profile, an irregular nose. Between the two campaigns, Simone's difference in approach to the saints is striking: the semblance to the *maniera greca* of the first campaign contrasts sharply to the human presence and liveliness of the saints painted during the second campaign, visible at the bottom of the fresco. This new, portrait-like quality can be attributed to Simone's experience working on the Saint Louis Altarpiece and on the Assisi frescoes.

5 Simone, Giotto, and Portraiture

Simone's Assisi experience seems to have been crucial to his development of a new, naturalistic approach to painting, which he then used for the portrayal of Robert of Anjou in the Saint Louis Altarpiece. A strong impetus for Simone's reflection on the use of naturalism in portraiture may have come from his encounter with the works of Giotto. Some contemporaries, such as Pietro d'Abano, had already praised Giotto for his ability to imbue his painted figures with such a life-likeness that anyone could recognize them on the streets.[44]

42 For the different stages of the execution of the *Maestà,* see: Alessandro Bagnoli, "I tempi della ‚Maesta.' Il restauro e le nuove evidenze," in *Simone Martini*, ed. Luciano Bellosi (Florence, 1988), pp. 109–18, esp. 113–14; Alessandro Bagnoli, *La Maestà di Simone Martini* (Cinisello Balsamo, 1999), pp. 66–72; Pierluigi Leone de Castris, *Simone Martini* (Milano, 2003); Norman, *Siena and the Angevins*, pp. 53–56.

43 Bagnoli, *La maestà*, p. 85.

44 Pietro d'Abano, *Expositio in problematibus Aristotelis* (1310), lib. 36, 1, § 3: "Solvit dupliciter dicens primo causam esse quia per imagines faciei representatur qualis fuerit dispositio

For Pietro, this naturalistic ability was the result of Giotto's capacities of visual rhetoric, summarized under the concept of *dispositio*. Vasari likewise credited Giotto with being the inventor of portraiture: "introdusse il ritrar di naturale le persone vive, che molte centinaia d'anni non s'era usato."[45] Modern research has adopted this point of view, with scholars attempting to identify portraits in a number of his works.[46] Peter Seiler has analysed in depth Vasari's view of Giotto and the question of portraiture. He shows how, between the first and second editions of his text, Vasari adapted what was a short, apodictic statement into a more subtle discourse highlighting Giotto's capacity as an imitator of nature more than as an inventor of portraiture.[47] Moreover, Seiler shows

---

ipsius cuius est imago, et maxime cum fuerit depicta pictore sciente per omnia assimilare, puta Zoto, ut ea deveniamus in cognitionem illius ita, ut occurrens is cognoscatur ipsa vel sculpta, ut oboli denotans pretacti, vel statua per Ceusim facta Crotoniate, de qua Tullius Rhetorice veteris 20." Peter Seiler, "Giotto als Erfinder des Porträts," in *Das Porträt*, eds. Büchsel et al., pp. 153–72, esp. 160. On Pietro d'Abano as a physiognomic counsellor to Giotto, see: Hubert Steinke, "Giotto und die Physiognomik," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 59 (1996), 523–47. Stefania Paone, "Giotto ritrattista ? Qualche considerazione," in *La fantasia e la storia. Studi di storia dell'arte sul ritratto dal Medioevo al Contemporaneo*, ed. Giulio Brevetti (Palermo, 2019), pp. 47–61. Serena Romano, *La O di Giotto* (Milan, 2008), pp. 130–36.

45 "Introducing the drawing from nature of living persons, which had not been practised for two hundred years." Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori, nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568* 2, eds. Rosanna Bettarini, and Paola Barocchi (Florence 1967-), p. 97. Translation at https://arthistoryproject.com/artists/giorgio-vasari/the-lives-of-the-artists/giotto/.

46 Jacob Burckhardt, "Das Porträt in der Malerei," in *Jacob Burckhardt Werke. Das Altarbild. Das Porträt in der Malerei. Die Sammler. Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte von Italien* 6, eds. Stella van Boch, Johannes Hartau, Kerstin HengevossDürkop, and Martin Warnke (Munich, Basel, 2000), pp. 140–281, esp. 149. See in detail: Kurt Bauch, "Giotto und die Porträtkunst," in *Giotto e il suo tempo. Atti del Congresso internazionale per la celebrazione del VII centenario della nascita di Giotto, 24 settembre-1 ottobre 1967*, (Assisi, 1971), pp. 299–309; Wolfram Prinz, "Ritratto istoriato oder das Bildnis in der Bilderzählung. Ein frühes Beispiel von Giotto in der Bardikapelle," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 30 (1986), 577–80; Johannes Thomann, "Pietro d'Abano on Giotto," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991), 238–44; Steinke, "Giotto und die Physiognomik," pp. 523–47; Seiler, "Giotto als Erfinder," pp. 153–72. Sceptical however: Harald Keller, "Die Entstehung des Bildnisses," p. 298; Enrico Castelnuovo, " 'Propter quid imagines faciei faciunt.' Aspetti del ritratto pittorico nel Trecento," in *Le metamorfosi del ritratto*, ed. Renzo Zorzi (Florence, 2002), pp. 33–50; Enrico Castelnuovo, "Les portraits individuels de Giotto," in *Le portrait individual. Réflexions autour d'une forme de representation XIIIe-XVe siècles*, ed. Dominic Olariu (Bern, 2009), pp. 103–20.

47 It is no coincidence that this episode follows Cimabue's discovery of Giotto when he "ritraeva una pecora di naturale." Vasari, *Le vite*, p. 97. In the 1568 edition: "ma ancora divenne così buono imitatore della natura, che sbandì affatto quella goffa maniera greca, e riuscitò la moderna e buona arte della pittura, introducendo il ritrarre bene di naturale

how Giotto constructed not portraits but 'facial composites' (*Phantombilder*) by using a repertoire of non-specific yet highly naturalistic traits. The artist employed this apparent naturalism especially for accompanying figures, who in this way acquired an imagined likeness that served as a rhetorical device, increasing the plausibility of the visual fiction. It was this procedure that opened up the way towards portraiture in art.[48]

Simone, in turn, elevated personalization to a higher level and assigned it a new artistic and intellectual quality. When he came to Assisi and encountered Giotto's art, he immediately seized upon the possibilities that the innovative approach of his Florentine counterpart had opened up in the field of visual fiction. Unlike Giotto, however, who used this method predominantly for his, iconographically speaking, secondary figures, including patrons, Simone conferred the new naturalism to the main figures of his pictures, namely, to the saints themselves, and made it a prominent visual tool.[49] Saints and kings took on a new, life-like appearance and, consequently, a much more convincing presence.

It is certainly no coincidence that this change in Simone's attitude began in Assisi, with its ties to the Franciscan Order, which had deeply reflected on the use of images. Even more importantly, the order had developed specific strategies concerning the modes of representation of their eponymous saint.[50] These included details like the presence and form of Francis's beard.[51] In

---

le persone vive, il che più di dugento anni non s'era usato; e se pure si era provato qualcuno, come si è detto di sopra, non gli era cio riuscito molto felicemente, ne così bene a un pezzo, come a Giotto." Seiler, "Giotto als Erfinder," pp. 155–57 (for the contextualization of this change and further bibliography on Renaissance portraiture).

48 "Einstweilen scheint mir jedoch die Annahme attraktiv, daß Giotto mit seinen physiognomischen Innovationen neue künstlerische Möglichkeiten und Freiräume spielerisch auslotete und Erfindungen machte, die dazu führten, daß – es sei noch einmal Burckhardt zitiert – durch sein Vorbild, die ganze italienische Malerei dem Bildnis irgendwie die Pforte öffnete." Seiler, "Giotto als Erfinder," p. 172.

49 Seiler, "Giotto als Erfinder," pp. 165–69. Giuliano Pisani, *I volti segreti di Giotto* (Milan, 2008), pp. 194–211. Stefania Paone, "Giotto e il 'ritratto' dei committenti," in *Giotto pictor egregius*, ed. Alessandro Tomei (Turin, 2017), pp. 319–353.

50 On this, see: Chiara Frugoni, *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate* (Turin, 1993).

51 Luciano Bellosi, "La barba di San Francesco (nuove proposte per il 'problema di Assisi')," *Prospettiva* 121/124 (2006), 143–65, esp. 143–46 (originally published in: *Prospettiva* 22 (1980), 11–34) shows, on the basis of the anonymous *Vita di Cola di Rienzo* of *c*. 1340, the historic interpretations of fashion. Beards were considered to belong to people 'di pessima rascione,' whereas clean-shaven faces were associated with those 'per bene.' Bellosi then links the sudden appearance of images of the beardless Saint Francis (contrary to the information given by historical chronicles and to the earlier pictorial tradition) at the beginning of the 14th century with the political struggle within the Franciscan Order between the *spirituali* and the *conventuali*. He interprets Simone Martini's Saint Francis

coming to Assisi, Simone therefore entered an intellectual ambiance that was very much aware of the possibilities of visual persuasion – including through portraiture – and this certainly contributed to his own attitude towards the use of mimetic devices in his art.

But it was not only the intellectual stimulus of the Franciscans that introduced Simone to the tenets of naturalism. Only a few metres away from his frescoes in the northern transept of the lower church of San Francesco was Giotto's still glaringly new, large fresco of the Crucifixion, completed in 1313 in the opposite (southern) transept. Lamenting the dead Christ, three Franciscan friars kneel at the foot of the Cross, in the foreground of the scene (Figure. 7.9). Flanked by Saint Francis and Saint Anthony, the friar in the middle lacks a halo, and his facial features – shown in profile – are so individualized as to suggest a (political) portrait. This figure has been identified with different prominent members of the order, most recently with Gonsalvo di Valboa, who in the basilica of Assisi in 1304 was elected minister general of the Franciscans.[52] This fresco, executed by the most important artist of the time, confronted Simone directly with the most recent and magnificent example of Giotto's art of portraiture. Amid the specific intellectual surroundings of the Franciscans in Assisi, it was this unique combination of artistic inspiration and mimetic skill that led Simone to reflect on the possibilities of individualization and to push the limits of portraiture still further.

6 Angevin Portraiture in Context

The difference between the family likeness used by Simone for Saint Louis in Assisi and his depersonalized, angelic image of the same person in his Neapolitan altarpiece demonstrates that the application of individualizing features followed the logic of rhetoric. It was not part of a common artistic language to be applied to anyone at any time. Moreover, what may seem to

in the lower church as manifesting the spiritual current supported by the Angevins. See: "Historiae Romanae fragmenta ab anno MCCCXXVII usque ad MCCCLIX," in *Antiquitates italicae medii aevi*, ed. Lodovico Antonio Muratori (Milan, 1738–42), vol. III, col. 307–09.

52 Others proposed Michele da Cesena, who became general of the order in 1316, and Francesco Damiani da Montefalco, brother of Saint Claire and minister of the province of Umbria. Romano, "Per la data." The name of Gonsalvo di Vilboa was first introduced by: Carl Strehlke, "Francis of Assisi. His Culture, His Cult and His Basilica," *The Treasury of Saint Francis of Assisi. Exhibition catalogue New York, Metropolitan Museum,* eds. Giovanni Morello, and Laurence B. Kanter (Milan, 1999), pp. 23–51.

us an individualized portrayal may very well be just a combination of stereotypes. This was particularly true for royal images, which in turn could be used to forge new types of portraiture. Exemplifying the transfer of personalization from one 'portrait' to another, the sculpted head of a king (Figure. 7.10), now in the museum of Capodimonte, seems to have drawn upon existing images of King Robert. If its attribution to the workshop of Tino di Camaino and its connection to the monuments he made in 1333 for Charles I and Charles II in the cathedral are correct,[53] this similitude would indicate a migration of

53 Naples, Museum of Capodimonte, 33 x 40 x 26 cm. Its date and attribution have been subject to different interpretations. When Charles I died in 1285, his body was transferred from Foggia to Naples, where he was buried in a marble monument (a tomb slab?) in the old cathedral. Some years later, Charles Martel (1271–1295), King of Hungary, and his wife, Clemence of Habsburg (1262–1295), were also buried in the old cathedral. Enderlein, *Die Grablegen*, pp. 135–36, 199, figs. 95–97. He attributes the head to the workshop of Tino da Camaino and dates it, on stylistic grounds, to the 1330s. He proposes its identification as Charles I (1266–1285), relating it to his new, honorary funeral monument, installed in the cathedral in 1338. Moreover, Enderlein suggests its attribution to Tino da Camaino by comparing the crown to the *gisant* of Maria of Anjou and its facial traits with the monument to Robert the Wise in Santa Chiara. The correspondence between the heads of the two monuments is even more telling, given that the honorific tomb of Charles I featured a figure of the king in majesty and seems, therefore, to could have been the iconographic model for the elaborate monument to Robert sculpted only a few years later, in 1345. Enderlein, however, does not exclude the possibility that the head once belonged to the tomb of Philip of Taranto (1278–1331) in San Domenico Maggiore, of which only a few fragments survive today. See also: Paola Giusti, "I resti di una sepoltura regale angioina," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in memoria di Raffaello Causa*, ed. Pierluigi Leone di Castris (Naples, 1988), pp. 39–44; Michalsky, *Memoria und Repräsentation*, p. 254 (with previous bibliography); Paola Giusti, "Scultore francese attivo presso la corte angioina, c. 1300," in *Ori, argenti, gemme e smalti della napoli angioina 1266–1381. Exhibition catalogue Naples, Cappella and Museo del Tesoro di San Gennaro, 11 October–31 December 2014*, ed. Pierluigi Leone de Castris (Naples, 2014), pp. 86–89 (with an incomplete bibliography and without discussion of previous or diverging research in her catalogue entry). She proposes an earlier date of *c.* 1300 and attributes the head to an unknown French sculptor. As reference works, she cites sculptures from Reims from the beginning of the 13th century. She then proposes the *gisants* of Philip III († 1295) by Jean d'Arras, *c.* 1298, and of his successors Louis X (1305–1316), Philip V (1316–1322), and Charles IV le Bel (1322–1328) in Saint-Denis as French precursors in funeral portraiture. She suggests a direct derivation of the Neapolitan head from the reliquary bust of San Gennaro, made by four French goldsmiths in 1304–05. The catalogue entry concerning the effigies of Philip III by François Baron points, however, in a different direction refuting the idea of naturalistic portraiture: "Cat. no. 28: Philippe III, roi de France († 1285)," in *L'art au temps des rois maudits. Philippe le Bel et ses fils 1285–1328. Exhibition catalogue Paris, Grand Palais, 17 mars–29 juin 1998* (Paris, 1998), pp. 72–73. "Ce point de vue, soutenu notamment par A. Erlande Brandenburg, écarte bien entendu toute idée de portrait et rattache le visage du roi à la tradition idéaliste renouvelée par une certaine volonté d'individualisation." On the complex state of

facial features from the living king to his deceased ancestors, with one king's personalized traits – pointing back to Pietro d'Abano, one could speak here of *dispositio* – becoming a go-to type for others.

Portraiture was not Simone's invention, and its rhetoric had existed before. For instance, in 1281–1284, Arnolfo sculpted a majestic statue of Charles I as a Roman senator for the *tribuna* of the Aracoeli in Rome. Research has addressed its relationship to antiquity, to the tradition of honorary statues, and to Hohenstaufen imagery, especially the portrait busts of Frederick II. In the same period, around 1300, sculptures of Pope Boniface VIII with personalized features were installed in various places, and the pope's portrait bust even adorned the funeral monument he had created during his lifetime. Not all of these images had what we would deem a portrait quality, but they all visually represented the pope and his authority using individualizing features. Among others, Monika Butzek, Agostino Paravicini, and Etienne Anheim have traced the history of papal statues and have presented written sources attesting to an ample use of portraits in the second half of the 13th century, especially in works of goldsmithery.[54] Most of these works have been lost; what remains is

---

the research concerning bust reliquaries and on the problems related to portraiture, see: Barbara Drake Boehm, "Body-part reliquaries; the state of research," *Gesta* 36 (1997), 8–19. Beate Fricke, "Entlarvende Gesichter. Gedanken zur Genese der Kopfreliquiare in Italien", *Kopf / Bild. Die Büste in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit,* eds. Jeanette Kohl and Rebecca Müller (Munich, Berlin 2007), pp. 133–52. For the royal burials in Naples cathedral, see: Vinni Lucherini, "La Cappella di San Ludovico nella Cattedrale di Napoli, le sepolture dei sovrani angioini, le due statue dei re e gli errori della tradizione storiografica moderna," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 70 (2007), 1–22; Vinni Lucherini, *La cattedrale di Napoli. Storia, architettura, storiografia di un monumento medievale* (Rome, 2009); Maria Alasia Lombardo di Cumia*, La topografia artistica del Duomo di Napoli* (Naples 2011), pp. 136–154.Vinni Lucherini, "Precisazioni documentarie e nuove proposte sulla commissione e l'allestimento delle tombe reali angioine nella cattedrale di Napoli," in *L'officina dello sguardo. Scritti in onore di Maria Andaloro*, eds. Giulia Bordi, Iole Carlettini, Maria Luigia Fobelli, Maria Raffaella Menna, and Paola Pogliani (Rome, 2014), pp. 185–92.

54 Monika Butzek, *Die kommunalen Repräsentationsstatuen der Päpste des 16. Jahrhunderts in Bologna, Perugia und Rom* (Bad Honnef, 1978); Nancy Rash, "Boniface VIII and Honorific Portraiture: Observations on the Half-Length Image in the Vatican," *Gesta* 26 (1987), 47–58; Georgia Sommers Wright, "The Reinvention of the Portrait Likeness in the Fourteenth Century," *Robert Branner and the Gothic*. *Gesta* 39/2 (2000), 117–34; Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, "Il busto di Bonifacio VIII. Nuove testimonianze e una rilettura," in *Arnolfo di Cambio e la sua epoca*, ed. Vittorio Franchetti Pardo (Rome, 2006), pp. 189–96; Etienne Anheim, "I ritratti dei papi tra Roma e Avignone," in *Arnolfo di Cambio*, ed. Franchetti Pardo, pp. 231–38; Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, "Les portraits de Boniface VIII: une tentative de synthèse," in *Le portrait. La représentation de l'individu*, ed. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Florence, 2007), pp. 117–39; Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, "Boniface VIII en images. Vision d'Eglise et mémoire de soi," in *Le portrait individuel. Réflexions autour d'une*

only a shadow of a much bigger tradition, of which the most valuable pieces have been melted down. Some of them, however, present very individualized faces and fulfil many of the criteria of portraiture.

It is interesting that Naples, like Rome, Assisi, and Avignon, seems to have provided a fertile ground for the development of portraiture.[55] In 1320, that is, only a few years after Simone's Saint Louis Altarpiece, Lello d'Orvieto painted a portrait of Umberto d'Ormont for his funeral monument (Figure. 7.11).[56] Serena Romano has shown that its direct precursors lay in the tradition of the early Christian portraits of Neapolitan bishops.[57] The chronological proximity between these two major examples of portraiture in European painting indicates a strong taste for individualizing images among the Neapolitan elite.

The question of who was actually in charge of the Saint Louis Altarpiece and who collaborated with Simone on its programme is difficult to answer. Various members of the Angevin family have been proposed as its possible patrons – King Robert, his wife Sancia, his mother Mary of Hungary, and his brother Philip of Taranto – along with the Franciscan convent of San Lorenzo Maggiore.[58] The elaboration of the complex programme certainly required the participation of knowledgeable theologians and high-ranking, learned

---

forme de représentation XIIIe-XVe siècles, ed. Dominic Olariu (Bern, 2009), pp. 83–102. For the lost portrait of Cardinal Napoleone Orsini by Simone Martini, given to Pope Clement VI (1342–52), see: Andrew Martindale, *Simone Martini* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 49–50. On the portrait of Clement V (1305–14) given to Giotto, see: Vasari, *Le Vite*, p. 119. On funeral portraits on tomb monuments of the Curia see Julian Gardner, *The tomb and the Tiara. Curial tomb sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1992), Appendix "Tombs and portraiture", pp. 172–175.

55 The question raised implicitly by: Enrico Castelnuovo, "Propter quid imagines faciei faciunt," pp. 33–50, on whether certain places are more fertile for portraiture than others, is of course not limited to Naples, Rome, or Avignon but could be raised for cities and courts as well. In Verona, for instance, the triumphal arch of San Fermo was decorated in 1314 with portraits of Fra Gusmeno and Guglielmo da Castelbono.

56 Bologna, *I pittori*, pp. 116–32; Pierluigi Leone de Castris, *Arte di corte nella Napoli angioina* (Florence, 1986), p. 267; Ferdinando Bologna, "Una aggiunta a Lello da Orvieto," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Raffaello Causa*, ed. Pierluigi Leone de Castris (Naples, 1988), pp. 47–52; Vinni Lucherini, "1313–1320: il cosiddetto Lello da Orvieto, mosaicista e pittore, a Napoli, tra committenza episcopale e committenza canonicale," in *El Trecento en obres. Art de Catalunya i art d'Europa al segle XIV,* ed. Rosa Alcoy (Barcelona, 2009), pp. 185–215.

57 Serena Romano, "Introduzione: la cattedrale di Napoli, i vescovi e l'immagine. Una storia di lunga durata," in *Il Duomo di Napoli, dal paleocristiano all'età angioina*, eds. Serena Romano, and Nicolas Bock (Naples, 2002), pp. 7–20.

58 The most recent discussion by Norman, *Siena and the Angevins*, pp. 133–147. The proposal of the Franciscan commission by Aceto, "Spazio ecclesiale," 2–50.

officials.[59] Patronage must therefore be seen more as a network.[60] Taking up Stephen Perkinson's dictum that "the portrait depicts the person for whom the object was made," one must note the role of King Robert of Anjou in the commission.[61] Already in January 1300, only two and a half years after Louis's death, Robert had been part of the small group of men whom King Charles II charged with launching his brother's canonization.[62] Robert followed the process closely, acting as the individual most deeply involved.

The fact that the Angevins around Robert of Anjou, along with their intellectual and administrative entourage, rapidly developed a strategy for assuring visual presence using all the artistic means available is indicative of a larger marked sensibility for portraiture at the Neapolitan court. One might recall that, when Robert became *signore* of Florence in 1310, a full-length image of him was placed on the façade of the Palazzo di Parte Guelfa.[63] Since the painting is lost today, it is impossible to determine whether it showed any life-like traits. Further proof of the general taste for individualized facial features in Neopolitan art can be seen in the tomb slab of Fra Donato, made in 1308 on the occasion of his translation to the church of San Lorenzo Maggiore (Figure. 7.12).[64] Here, the image could not have been made from life, the saint having

59 One might think here of important personalities such as Bartolomeo da Capua (1248–1328), *protonotario* and *logotheta* who was crucial in defining the political principles of the kingdom. The inscription on his tomb even named him *summus atleta regni*. Ingeborg Walter, and Maura Piccialuti, "Bartholomeo da Capua," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 6 (Rome, 1964), pp. 697–704; Andreas Kiesewetter, *Die Anfänge der Regierung Karls II. von Anjou (1278–1295): das Königreich Neapel, die Grafschaft Provence und der Mittelmeerraum zu Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Husum, 1999), pp. 420–23.

60 Perkinson "Portraits & their Patrons," 253–4, referred to questions of agency as formulated by Harry Berger, Jr, and Alfred Gell when he stated that "we might think of 'patronage' as being less discrete, and more like a network."

61 Perkinson "Portraits & their Patrons," 248.

62 The group consisted of a royal procurator, the Provençal archbishops and their suffragans, as well as the city of Marseille. Brunner, "Poverty and Charity," 234. Only in 1307 did Pope Clement V appoint the official delegation that was to investigate Louis's sanctity.

63 Norman, *Siena and the Angevins*, pp. 26, 38, n. 49. An attribution of this now-lost painting to Giotto was proposed by: Lucia Battaglia Ricci, *Palazzo Vecchio e dintorni. Studio su Franco Sacchetti e le fabbriche di Firenze* (Rome, 1990), pp. 71–77. For Giotto's painting of Charles of Calabria, in front of the Virgin in the Palazzo Vecchio, see: Nicolai Rubinstein, *The Palazzo Vecchio, 1298–1532. Government, architecture, and Imagery in the Civic Palace of the Florentine Republic* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 47–48.

64 On Fra Donato, see: P. Giovanni Recupido, *Il beato Donato sepolto in San Lorenzo Maggiore di Napoli* (Naples, 1972). On the monument: Shirley F. Bridges and John Bryan Ward-Perkins, "Some 14th century Neapolitan military effigies – with notes on the families represented," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 24, n.s. 11, *Studies in Italian medieval history, presented to E. M. Jamison* (1956), 158–73; *Sculture trecentesche in S. Lorenzo Maggiore a*

been long deceased; the impressive traits of his face are pure invention. The same is true for the magnificent reliquary bust of San Gennaro, made by French goldsmiths in 1304/05.[65] These examples speak to an ideal of individual sanctity that reaches back at least to the Romanesque period and clearly runs counter to the idealization Simone applied to Saint Louis's face in his Neapolitan altarpiece.[66] And although we cannot count them as direct ancestors of Simone's portrait of Robert of Anjou, this type of image seems to have been very much appreciated in Naples at the beginning of the 14th century and to have contributed to the desire for and production of individualized images.[67]

Napoli, ed. Raffaele Mormone (Naples, 1973), pp. 33–34, n. 8, fig. 18; Frank Allen Greenhill, *Incised effigial slabs. A study of engraved stone memorials in Latin Christendom, c. 1100 to c. 1700,* 2 vols (London, 1976), fig. 29c; Nicolas Bock, "Des dalles et des modèles. Les origines françaises de la sculpture funéraire napolitaine," in *Les modèles dans l'art du Moyen Âge* (*XIIe-XVe siècles*)*/Models in the Art of the Middles Ages* (*12th-15th centuries*), eds. Denise Borlée, and Laurence Terrier Alfieris (Turnhout, 2018), pp. 85–96. The inscription reads as follows: + ANNO D(omi)NI MILL(en)O / CCC OCTAVO IN D(omi)NICA DE LETARE IERUSALEM TRANSLATUM EST HUC / CORPUS F(rat)RIS DONATI VIRI S(an)C(t)I / PRO QUO MULTA OSTENDIT DEUS MIRACULA IN VITA SUA SICUT EX/PERTI TESTANT.

65 See the latest publication by: Pierluigi Leone de Castris, "Maestro Etienne, Godefroy, Milet d'Auxerre, Guillaume de Verdelay, 1304–05. Busto reliquiario di San Gennaro," in *Ori, argenti, gemme e smalti*, ed. de Castris, pp. 76–85 (with bibliography).

66 A good example of previous individualizing tendencies in the genre of reliquary busts – and of the problems inherent to drawing straight lines of development for portraiture – is the silver casing of the bust reliquary of Saint Yrieix from the 12th century, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, showing the stubbles of a badly shaven beard. Drake Boehm, "Body-part reliquaries," p. 12, fig. 6. Fricke, "Entlarvende Gesichter", pp. 146–47, n. 29 proposes to link the growing need for facial characterization in art during the 13th century to contemporary physiognomic treatises. She refers to the negative connotation of wrinkle-free faces given by Michael Scotus: "frons plana pelle et non continens rugas hominem ex facili ligitantem: vanum, fallacem, plus simplicem quam sapientem." For the Scotus' treaty see Sauerländer, "Phisionomia est doctrina salutis", p. 101, n. 2.

67 This trend is not limited to the Kingdom of Naples. The royal image became generally more personalized around 1300, be it in the Holy Roman Empire or in the Kingdom of France. The funeral images of Emperor Rudolf of Habsburg († 1291) in Speyer and of King Philip III the Bold († 1285) in Saint-Denis each show a number of marked facial traits, distinguishing them from prior images. Julian Gardner, "Stone Saints: Commemoration and likeness in thirteenth century Italy, France and Spain," *Contemporary Approaches to the Medieval Face. Gesta* 46/2 (2007), 121–34. For the genesis of these portraits and some hypotheses concerning their connection to early 13th-century cathedral sculpture, see: Martin Büchsel, "Nur der Tyrann hat sein eigenes Gesicht. Königsbilder im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert in Frankreich und Deutschland," in *Das Porträt*, eds. Büchsel et al., pp. 123–40; Tanja Praske, *Ludwig IX. der Heilige – eine Zäsur für die monumentale französische Königsdarstellung. Bildkonzepte der Zeit Philipps IV.*, PhD thesis (Frankfurt am Main, 2015). In this context, one must also consider the close ties of the Neapolitan court

7 The Angevin Royal Portrait and the Question of Likeness

In their portrayals of Robert of Anjou, Simone Martini and Tino di Camaino provide exemplary case studies for reflecting upon the question of royal portraiture around 1300. Several points have emerged. First of all, on the question of chronology: it is evident that naturalism did not increase within a clear evolution resulting in a 'birth of portraiture.' Tino di Camaino worked on his royal representations 10 years after Simone and Arnolfo 20 years before; each adhered to different stylistic currents and models, yet all combined individualizing and stereotyping elements in their work. The question of individualized traits was therefore not dependent upon the artistic medium and did not adhere to any precise chronology between 1280 and 1330. The option to render a person using either individualized or stereotyped traits coexisted throughout.

The cases explored in this essay also call into question the assumption that *similitudo,* in the sense of naturalism, represented the main criterion for identification during the period in question: the identifiability of a person did not necessarily increase with greater naturalism.[68] Rather, the selected 'mode' of representation was geared towards emphasizing the role of the depicted individual in society.[69] This could be achieved either through idealization (in the sense of a purposeful distinguishing from others) or through individualization, i.e. the accumulation of discrete physiognomic characteristics with the aim of creating visual difference.[70] Simone's naturalistic rendering of Robert's face can only be understood in relation to the idealization of Louis' traits – both are interdependent of each other. Around 1300, the public knew how to approach both artistic forms, the schematic and the naturalistic, and could even joke

to the papal curia. See Wright, "The Reinvention of the Portrait Likeness," 119–23 who discusses the eleven known portraits ("*ad similitudinem ipsius sanctissimi patris*") of Pope Boniface VIII.

68 Stephen Perkinson, "Rethinking the Origins of Portraiture," *Contemporary Approaches to the Medieval Face. Gesta* 46/2 (2007), 135–57. See also, most recently, the overview with bibliography by: Michele Tomasi, "Il ritratto nel medioevo: una cornice," in *Intorno al ritratto. Origini, sviluppi e trasformazioni. Studi a margine del saggio di Enrico Castelnuovo, Il significato del ritratto pittorico nella società (1973)*, eds. Fabrizio Crivello, and Laura Zamparo (Turin, 2019), pp. 83–92.

69 Enrico Castelnuovo, "Il significato del ritratto pittorico nella società," in *Storia d'Italia* 2, *I documenti* (Turin, 1973), pp. 1031–94.

70 The idealization of Saint Louis' angelical appearance and the mimetic rendering of Robert's face are interdependant modes of representation which refer to each other.

about it: in 1306, during a trial over an attempted act of witchcraft against Cardinal Gaetani, the wax image used for the supposed act was presented to the cardinal. Looking at it, he burst out laughing and mocked its failed attempt at naturalism:

> We modelled a puppet [image] and showed it to the cardinal [Gaetani], and he started to laugh and was very much amused, and he told them: it has really big arms and legs, absolutely perfect and strong.[71]

Simone's trajectory, finally, shows the general importance of the artist to the creation of a portrait. Or to put it more bluntly: there is no portrait without an artist. Of all the artists around 1300, it was Simone who pushed individualization to new artistic limits. If his Saint Louis Altarpiece represents an important artistic refinement of portraiture, his works from the same period in Assisi show how he experimented with the use of individualizing features even when representing historic persons he had never met. He thus created not only mock portraits but, moreover, implicitly reflected on the possibilities of portraiture as an artistic and rhetorical genre. The Angevin royal portrait he executed for the Saint Louis Altarpiece in 1317 was part of this process of deliberation on the limits of personal presence in painting. Portraiture around 1300 had become a question of rhetoric and, as such, a matter of modes.

Acknowledgements

For discussing with me the problems of portraiture, I would like to thank Damien Cerutti, Ana Marinkovic, and Michele Tomasi.

71 "Nous avons fait une ymage et le monstrames au cardinal [Gaetani] et il commencha à rir et ut trop grant ioie et leur dist: il a moult grant membre, parfaits bien et tost." Keller, "Die Entstehung des Bildnisses," 287. A similar irony concerning the search for naturalistic portrait likeness is expressed by the poet Ottokar when he mocks the sculptor (*kluoger steinmetze*) responsible for the tomb monument of Rudolph of Habsburg († 1291), who had not only counted the wrinkles in the king's face but also, when he heard about a new wrinkle, rode back from Speyer to Alsace to update the effigy. "Ottokars österreichische Reimchronik," in *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Deutsche Chroniken*, ed. Joseph Seemüller (Hannover, 1890), vol. v.1, 508–9, lines 39125–94. Wright, "The Reinvention of the Portrait Likeness," 118. Paul Binski, "The early portrait: verbal or pictorial?", in *Europäische Kunst um 1300. Akten des XXV. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte, Wien, 4. –10. September 1983* (Vienna 1986), pp. 211–15.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Convenevole da Prato, *Regia carmina*, ed. and trans. Cesare Grassi (Cinisello Balsamo, 1982).

Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori, nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568* 2, eds. Rosanna Bettarini, and Paola Barocchi (Florence 1967-).

Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Porta, 3 vols (Parma, 1990–91).

"Historiae Romanae fragmenta ab anno MCCCXXVII usque ad MCCCLIX," in *Antiquitates italicae medii aevi*, ed. Lodovico Antonio Muratori (Milan, 1738–42), vol. III, col. 307–09.

"Ottokars österreichische Reimchronik," in *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Deutsche Chroniken*, ed. Joseph Seemüller (Hannover, 1890), vol. V.1–2.

Processus canonizationis et legendae variae Sancti Ludovici O.F.M. episcopi Tolosani, ed. Collegium Sanctae Bonaventurae (Quaracchi, 1951).

Secondary Sources

IV Mostra di restauri: catalogo, ed. Soprintendenza delle Gallerie della Campania Laboratorio di Conservazione (Naples 1960).

Aceto, Francesco, "Tino di Camaino a Napoli: una proposta per il sepolcro di Caterina d'Austria e altri fatti angioini," *Dialoghi di storia dell'arte* 1 (1995), 10–27.

Aceto, Francesco, "Spazio ecclesiale e pale di 'primitivi' in San Lorenzo Maggiore a Napoli: dal 'San Ludovico' di Simone Martini al 'San Girolamo' di Colantonio," *Prospettiva* 137 (2010), 2–50.

Aceto, Francesco, "Per Simone Martini pittore: ancora sull'iconografia del 'San Ludovico' del Museo di Capodimonte a Napoli," in *Da Ludovico d'Angiò a san Ludovico di Tolosa. I testi e le immagini. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio per il VII centenario della canonizzazione (1317–2017), Napoli – S. Maria Capua Vetere, 3–5 novembre 2016*, eds. Teresa D'Urso, Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, and Daniele Solvi (Spoleto, 2017), pp. 33–50.

Anheim, Etienne, "I ritratti dei papi tra Roma e Avignone," in *Arnolfo di Cambio e la sua epoca*, ed. Vittorio Franchetti Pardo (Rome, 2006), pp. 231–38.

Bagnoli, Alessandro, "I tempi della ‚Maesta.' Il restauro e le nuove evidenze," in *Simone Martini*, ed. Luciano Bellosi (Florence, 1988), pp. 109–18.

Bagnoli, Alessandro, *La Maestà di Simone Martini* (Cinisello Balsamo, 1999).

Barbero, Alessandro, "La propaganda di Roberto d'Angiò re di Napoli (1309–1343)," in *Le forme della propaganda politica nel Due e Trecento. Atti del convegno internazionale, Trieste, 2–5 marzo 1993*, ed. Paolo Cammarosano (Rome, 1994), pp. 111–31.

Baron, François, "Cat. no. 28: Philippe III, roi de France († 1285)," in *L'art au temps des rois maudits. Philippe le Bel et ses fils 1285–1328. Exhibition catalogue Paris, Grand Palais, 17 mars – 29 juin 1998* (Paris, 1998), pp. 72–73.

Battaglia Ricci, Lucia, *Palazzo Vecchio e dintorni. Studio su Franco Sacchetti e le fabbriche di Firenze* (Rome, 1990).

Bauch, Kurt, "Giotto und die Porträtkunst," in *Giotto e il suo tempo. Atti del Congresso internazionale per la celebrazione del VII centenario della nascita di Giotto, 24 settembre-1 ottobre 1967*, (Assisi, 1971), pp. 299–309.

Bedos-Rezak, Brigitte-Myriam, *When ego was imago. Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2011).

Bellosi, Luciano, "La barba di San Francesco (nuove proposte per il 'problema di Assisi')," *Prospettiva* 121/124 (2006), 143–65 (originally published in: *Prospettiva* 22 (1980), 11–34).

Bellosi, Luciano, "Moda e cronologia. A) La decorazione della basilica inferiore di Assisi," *Prospettiva* 121/124 (2006), 428–437 (originally published in: *Prospettiva* 10 (1977), 21–31).

Bellosi, Luciano, "Il 'pittore oltremontano' di Assisi, il Gotico a Siena e la formazione di Simone Martini," *Prospettiva* 121/124 (2006), 227–36 (originally published in: *Simone Martini, Atti del convegno, Siena 1985*, ed. Luciano Bellosi (Florence, 1988), pp. 39–47).

Belting, Hans, "Wappen und Porträt. Zwei Bildmedien des Körpers," in *Das Porträt vor der Erfindung des Porträts*, eds. Martin Büchsel, and Peter Schmid (Mainz, 2003), pp. 89–100.

Binski, Paul, "The early portrait: verbal or pictorial?", in *Europäische Kunst um 1300. Akten des XXV. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte, Wien, 4. –10. September 1983* (Vienna 1986), pp. 211–15.

Bock, Nicolas, *Kunst am Hofe der Anjou-Durazzo. Der Bildhauer Antonio Baboccio (1351-um 1423)* (Berlin, 2001).

Bock, Nicolas, "L'Ordre du Saint-Esprit au Droit Désir. Enluminure, cérémonial et idéologie au 14e siècle," in *Art, cérémonial et liturgie au Moyen Age*, eds. Nicolas Bock, Peter Kurmann, Serena Romano, and Jean-Michel Spieser (Rome, 2002), pp. 415–61.

Bock, Nicolas, "La visione del potere. Cristo, il re e la corte angioina," in *Cristo e il potere. Teologia, antropologia e politica*, eds. Laura Andreani, and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Florence, 2017) pp. 211–24.

Bock, Nicolas, "Des dalles et des modèles. Les origines françaises de la sculpture funéraire napolitaine," in *Les modèles dans l'art du Moyen Âge (XIIe-XVe siècles)/ Models in the Art of the Middles Ages (12th-15th centuries)*, eds. Denise Borlée, and Laurence Terrier Alfieris (Turnhout, 2018), pp. 85–96.

Boehm, Barbara Drake, "Body-part reliquaries; the state of research," *Gesta* 36 (1997), 8–19.

Bologna, Ferdinando, *I pittori alla corte Angioina di Napoli (1266–1414)* (Rome, 1969).

Bologna, Ferdinando, "Povertà e umiltà: il San Ludovico di Simone Martini," *Studi storici* 10 (1969), 231–59.

Bologna, Ferdinando, "Una aggiunta a Lello da Orvieto," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Raffaello Causa*, ed. Pierluigi Leone de Castris (Naples, 1988), pp. 47–52.

Bologna, Ferdinando, "La canonizzazione di san Ludovico di Tolosa e l'origine assisiate dell'ancona napoletana di Simone Martini," in *Modelli di lettura iconografica. Il panorama meridionale*, ed. Mario Alberto Pavone (Naples, 1999), pp. 17–48.

Bräm, Andreas, *Neapolitanische Bilderbibeln des Trecento,* 2 vol. (Wiesbaden, 2007).

Bridges, Shirley F. and Ward-Perkins, John Bryan, "Some 14th century Neapolitan military effigies – with notes on the families represented," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 24, n.s. 11, *Studies in Italian medieval history, presented to E. M. Jamison* (1956), 158–73.

Brunel, Ghislain, *Images du pouvoir royal. Les chartes décorées des Archives nationales, XIII^e^-XV^e^ siècle* (Paris, 2005).

Brunner, Melanie, "Poverty and Charity: Pope John XXII and the Canonization of Louis of Anjou," *Franciscan Studies* 69 (2011), 231–256.

Büchsel, Martin, "Nur der Tyrann hat sein eigenes Gesicht. Königsbilder im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert in Frankreich und Deutschland," in *Das Porträt vor der Erfindung des Porträts*, eds. Martin Büchsel, and Peter Schmid (Mainz, 2003), pp. 123–40.

Büchsel, Martin, "Le portrait au Moyen Âge," *Perspective* 2 (2012), 401–06.

Burckhardt, Jacob, "Das Porträt in der Malerei," in *Jacob Burckhardt Werke. Das Altarbild. Das Porträt in der Malerei. Die Sammler. Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte von Italien* 6, eds. Stella van Boch, Johannes Hartau, Kerstin HengevossDürkop, and Martin Warnke (Munich, Basel, 2000), pp. 140–281.

Butzek, Monika, *Die kommunalen Repräsentationsstatuen der Päpste des 16. Jahrhunderts in Bologna, Perugia und Rom* (Bad Honnef, 1978).

Caldi, Louise, *The King and His Brother. Simone Martini's Louis of Toulouse Crowning Robert of Anjou and the Visual Language of Power*, PhD thesis (Rutgers, State University of New York, 2002).

Cassidy, Brendan, "An image of King Robert of Naples in a Franco-Italian manuscript in Dublin," *Burlington Magazine* 148 (2006), 31–33.

Cassidy, Brendan, "Simone Martini's 'St Martin and the Emperor' and contemporary Italian politics," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 70 (2007), 145–58.

Castelnuovo, Enrico, "Il significato del ritratto pittorico nella società," in *Storia d'Italia* 2, *I documenti* (Turin, 1973), pp. 1031–94.

Castelnuovo, Enrico, " 'Propter quid imagines faciei faciunt.' Aspetti del ritratto pittorico nel Trecento," in *Le metamorfosi del ritratto*, ed. Renzo Zorzi (Florence, 2002), pp. 33–50.

Castelnuovo, Enrico, "Les portraits individuels de Giotto," in *Le portrait individual. Réflexions autour d'une forme de representation XIIIe-XVe siècles*, ed. Dominic Olariu (Bern, 2009), pp. 103–20.

Chelazzi Dini, Giulietta, *Pacio e Giovanni Bertini da Firenze e la bottega napoletana di Tino di Camaino* (Florence, 1996).

Claussen, Peter Cornelius, "Die Statue Friedrichs II. vom Brückentor in Capua (1234–1239): der Befund, die Quellen und eine Zeichnung aus dem Nachlaß von Seroux

d'Agincourt," in *Festschrift für Hartmut Biermann*, eds. Christoph Andreas, Mareike Bückling, and Roland Dorn (Weinheim, 1990), pp. 19–39, 291–304.

Claussen, Peter Cornelius, "Stauferbilder – Bildnisse der Staufer," in *Verwandlungen des Stauferreichs*, eds. Bernd Schneidmüller, Stefan Weinfurter, and Alfred Wieczorek (Darmstadt, 2010), pp. 350–76.

Collareta, Marco, "Modi di presentarsi: taglio e visuale nella ritrattistica autonoma," in *Visuelle Topoi. Erfindung und tradiertes Wissen in den Künsten der italienischen Renaissance*, eds. Ulrich Pfisterer, and Max Seidel (München, 2003), pp. 131–49.

De Rinaldis, Aldo, "La tomba primitiva di Roberto d'Angiò," *Belvedere* 5 (1924), pp. 92–96.

Di Fabio, Clario, "Memoria e modernità: della propria figura di Enrico Scrovegni e di altre sculture nella cappella dell'Arena di Padova, con aggiunte al catalogo di Marco Romano," in *Medioevo:· immagine e memoria*, ed. Arturo C. Quintavalle (Milan, 2009), pp. 532–46.

Dombrowski, Damian, " 'Cernite' – Vision und Person am Grabmal Roberts des Weisen in S. Chiara," in *Praemium Virtutis. Grabmonumente und Begräbniszeremoniell im Zeichen des Humanismus*, eds. Joachim Poeschke, and Britta Kusch (Münster, 2002), pp. 35–60 (repr. in *Der Tod und die Künste*, eds. Friederike Felicitas Günther, and Wolfgang Riedel (Würzburg, 2016), pp. 49–99).

Donato, Maria Monica, "Transetto settentrionale. Simone Martini," in *La Basilica de San Francesco d'Assisi. Basilica inferiore/The Basilica of St Francis in Assisi. Lower Basilica*, ed. Giorgio Bonsanti (Modena, 2002), n. 150–60, pp. 424–26, 554–560.

D'Ovidio, Stefano, "Cernite Robertum Regem Virtute Refertum: la 'fortuna' del monumento sepolcrale di Roberto d'Angiò in S. Chiara," in *La chiesa e il convento di Santa Chiara. Committenza artistica, vita religiosa e progettualità politica nella Napoli di Roberto d'Angiò e Sancia di Maiorca*, eds. Francesco Aceto, Stefano D'Ovidio, and Elisabetta Scirocco (Battipaglia, 2014), pp. 275–312.

D'Ovidio, Stefano, "Osservazioni sulla struttura e l'iconografia della tomba di re Roberto d'Angiò in Santa Chiara a Napoli," *Hortus artium medievalium* 21 (2015), 92–112.

Duran, Michelle M., "The politics of art: imaging sovereignty in the Anjou Bible," in *The Anjou Bible. A royal Manuscript revealed. Naples 1340*, eds. Lieve Watteeuw, and Jan van der Stock (Paris, 2010), pp. 73–93.

Enderlein, Lorenz, "Zur Entstehung der Ludwigstafel des Simone Martini," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 30 (1995), 135–49.

Enderlein, Lorenz, *Die Grablegen des Hauses Anjou in Unteritalien. Totenkult und Monumente 1266–1343* (Worms, 1999).

Fricke, Beate, "Entlarvende Gesichter. Gedanken zur Genese der Kopfreliquiare in Italien", *Kopf / Bild. Die Büste in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, eds. Jeanette Kohl, and Rebecca Müller (Munich, Berlin 2007), pp. 133–52.

Frugoni, Chiara, *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate* (Turin, 1993).

Frugoni, Chiara, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti," in *Pietro e Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, ed. Chiara Frugoni (Florence, 2002), pp. 119–99.

Gaglione, Mario, *Nuovi studi sulla Basilica di Santa Chiara* (Naples, 1996).

Gaglione, Mario, "Il San Ludovico di Simone Martini: manifesto della santità regale angioina," *Rassegna storica salernitana* 58 (2012), 9–125.

Gardner, Julian, "Saint Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou, and Simone Martini," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 39 (1976), 12–33.

Gardner, Julian, "A Princess among prelates: a fourteenth century Neapolitan tomb and some northern relations," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 23/24 (1988), 29–60.

Gardner, Julian, *The Tomb and the Tiara. Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1992).

Gardner, Julian, "Stone Saints: Commemoration and likeness in thirteenth century Italy, France and Spain," *Contemporary Approaches to the Medieval Face. Gesta* 46/2 (2007), 121–34.

Giusti, Paola, "I resti di una sepoltura regale angioina," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in memoria di Raffaello Causa*, ed. Pierluigi Leone di Castris (Naples, 1988), pp. 39–44.

Giusti, Paola, "Scultore francese attivo presso la corte angioina, c. 1300," in *Ori, argenti, gemme e smalti della napoli angioina 1266–1381. Exhibition catalogue Naples, Cappella and Museo del Tesoro di San Gennaro, 11 October–31 December 2014*, ed. Pierluigi Leone de Castris (Naples, 2014), pp. 86–89.

Greenhill, Frank Allen, *Incised effigial slabs. A study of engraved stone memorials in Latin Christendom, c. 1100 to c. 1700,* 2 vols (London, 1976).

Hall, Edwin, and Uhr, Horst, "Aureola and Fructus. Distinctions of Beatitude in Scholastic Thought and the Meaning of Some Crowns in Early Flemish Painting," *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978), 249–70.

Hall, Edwin, and Uhr, Horst, "Aureola super Auream. Crowns and Related Symbols of Special Distinction in Late Gothic and Renaissance Iconography," *Art Bulletin* 67 (1985), 567–603.

Hoch, Adrian S., "St. Martin of Tours: his transformation into a chivalric hero and Franciscan ideal," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 50 (1987), 471–82.

Hoch, Adrian S., "The Antique Origins of an Emperor by Simone Martini," *Paragone* 38 (1987), 42–47.

Hoch, Adrian S., "The Dedication of the St Elizabeth Altar at Assisi," *Burlington Magazine* 133/1054 (1991), 36–37.

Hoch, Adrian S., "Beata Stirps, royal patronage and the identification of the Sainted Rulers in the St. Elizabeth Chapel at Assisi," *Art History* 15 (1992), 279–95.

Hoch, Adrian S., "The Franciscan provenance of Simone Martini's Angevin St. Louis in Naples," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 58 (1995), 22–38.

Hueck, Irene, "Frühe Arbeiten des Simone Martini," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 19 (1968), 29–60.

Jackson, Richard A., "The Traité du sacre of Jean Golein," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 113 (1969), 305–24.

Keller, Harald, "Die Entstehung des Bildnisses am Ende des Hochmittelalters," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 3 (1939), 227–354.

Kelly, Samantha, *The new Solomon. Robert of Naples (1309–1343) and fourteenth-century kingship* (Leiden, 2003).

Kiesewetter, Andreas, *Die Anfänge der Regierung Karls II. Von Anjou (1278–1295): das Königreich Neapel, die Grafschaft Provence und der Mittelmeerraum zu Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Husum, 1999).

Kozlowski, Sarah, "Circulation, Convergence, and the Worlds of Trecento Panel Painting: Simone Martini in Naples," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 78 (2015), 205–38.

Krüger, Klaus, "A deo solo et a te regnum teneo. Simone Martinis, Ludwig von Toulouse' in Neapel," in *Medien der Macht. Kunst zu Zeiten der Anjous in Italien*, ed. Tanja Michalsky (Berlin, 2001), pp. 79–119.

Leone de Castris, Pierluigi, *Arte di corte nella Napoli angioina* (Florence, 1986).

Leone de Castris, Pierluigi, *Simone Martini* (Milano, 2003).

Leone de Castris, Pierluigi, "Maestro Etienne, Godefroy, Milet d'Auxerre, Guillaume de Verdelay, 1304–05. Busto reliquiario di San Gennaro," in *Ori, argenti, gemme e smalti della napoli angioina 1266–1381. Exhibition catalogue Naples, Cappella and Museo del Tesoro di San Gennaro, 11 October–31 December 2014*, ed. Pierluigi Leone de Castris (Naples, 2014), pp. 76–85.

Lombardo di Cumia, Maria Alasia, *La topografia artistica del Duomo di Napoli dalla Fondazione angioina alla 'riforma' settecentesca del Cardinale Giuseppe Spinelli* (Naples 2011).

Lucherini, Vinni, "La Cappella di San Ludovico nella Cattedrale di Napoli, le sepolture dei sovrani angioini, le due statue dei re e gli errori della tradizione storiografica moderna," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 70 (2007), 1–22.

Lucherini, Vinni, "1313–1320: il cosiddetto Lello da Orvieto, mosaicista e pittore, a Napoli, tra committenza episcopale e committenza canonicale," in *El Trecento en obres. Art de Catalunya i art d'Europa al segle XIV*, ed. Rosa Alcoy (Barcelona, 2009), pp. 185–215.

Lucherini, Vinni, *La cattedrale di Napoli. Storia, architettura, storiografia di un monumento medievale* (Rome, 2009).

Lucherini, Vinni, "Le tombe angioine nel presbiterio di Santa Chiara a Napoli e la politica funeraria di Roberto d'Angiò," in *Medioevo. I committenti. Atti del convegno, Parma, 21–26 settembre 2010*, ed. Arturo C. Quintavalle (Milan, 2011), pp. 477–504.

Lucherini, Vinni, "Precisazioni documentarie e nuove proposte sulla commissione e l'allestimento delle tombe reali angioine nella cattedrale di Napoli," in *L'officina dello sguardo. Scritti in onore di Maria Andaloro*, eds. Giulia Bordi, Iole Carlettini, Maria Luigia Fobelli, Maria Raffaella Menna, and Paola Pogliani (Rome, 2014), pp. 185–92.

Maginnis, Hayden, "The Passion Cycle in the Lower Church of San Francesco in Assisi: The Technical Evidence," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 39 (1976), 193–208.

Martindale, Andrew, *Simone Martini* (Oxford, 1989).

Michalsky, Tanja, "Die Repräsentation einer Beata Stirps: Darstellung und Ausdruck an den Grabmonumenten der Anjous," in *Die Repräsentation der Gruppen. Texte, Bilder, Objekte*, eds. Otto Gerhard Oexle, and Andrea von Hülsen Esch (Göttingen, 1998), pp. 187–224.

Michalsky, Tanja, *Memoria und Repräsentation. Die Grabmäler des Königshauses Anjou in Italien* (Göttingen, 2000).

Michalsky, Tanja, "MATER SERENISSIMI PRINCIPIS. The tomb of Maria of Hungary," in *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina. Art, Iconography and Patronage in Fourteenth-Century Naples*, eds. Janis Eliott, and Cordelia Warr (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 45–60.

Monnas, Lisa, "Dress and Textiles in the St. Louis Altarpiece: New light on Simone Martini's Working Practice," *Apollo* 137 (1993), 166–74.

Newton, Stella Mary, "Tomaso da Modena, Simone Martini, Hungarians and St. Martin in fourteenth-century Italy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980), 234–38.

Norman, Diana, "Politics and Piety: Locating Simone Martini's 'Saint Louis of Toulouse' altarpiece," *Art History* 33 (2010), 596–619.

Norman, Diana, "Sanctity, Kingship and succession: art and dynastic politics in the Lower Church at Assisi," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 73 (2010), 297–334.

Norman, Diana, "The Sicilian connection. Imperial themes in Simone Martini's St. Louis of Toulouse altarpiece," *Gesta* 53 (2014), 25–45.

Norman, Diana, *Siena and the Angevins (1300–1350). Art Diplomacy, and Dynastic Ambition* (Turnhout, 2018).

O'Meary, Carra Ferguson, *Monarchy and Consent: The Coronation Book of Charles V of France: British Library MS Cotton Tiberius B. VIII* (London, 2001).

Pace, Valentino, "Friderizianische Bildnisse," in *Verwandlungen des Stauferreichs*, eds. Bernd Schneidmüller, Stefan Weinfurter, and Alfred Wieczorek (Darmstadt, 2010), pp. 34–52.

Paone, Stefania, "Giotto e il 'ritratto' dei committenti," in *Giotto pictor egregius*, ed. Alessandro Tomei (Torino, 2017), pp. 319–353.

Paone, Stefania, "Giotto ritrattista ? Qualche considerazione," in *La fantasia e la storia. Studi di storia dell'arte sul ritratto dal Medioevo al Contemporaneo*, ed. Giulio Brevetti (Palermo, 2019), pp. 47–61.

Paravicini Bagliani, Agostino, "Il busto di Bonifacio VIII. Nuove testimonianze e una rilettura," in *Arnolfo di Cambio e la sua epoca*, ed. Vittorio Franchetti Pardo (Rome, 2006), pp. 189–96.

Paravicini Bagliani, Agostino, "Les portraits de Boniface VIII: une tentative de synthèse," in *Le portrait. La représentation de l'individu*, ed. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Florence, 2007), pp. 117–39.

Paravicini Bagliani, Agostino, "Boniface VIII en images. Vision d'Eglise et mémoire de soi," in *Le portrait individuel. Réflexions autour d'une forme de représentation XIIIe-XVe siècles*, ed. Dominic Olariu (Bern, 2009), pp. 83–102.

Perkinson, Stephen, "Rethinking the Origins of Portraiture," *Contemporary Approaches to the Medieval Face. Gesta* 46/2 (2007), 135–57.

Perkinson, Stephen, "Portraits & their Patrons: Reconsidering Agency in Late Medieval Art," in Patronage: Power & Agency in Medieval Art, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton NJ, 2013), pp. 237–54.

Perriccioli Saggese, Alessandra, "Cristophoro Orimina: an illuminator at the Angevin court of Naples," in *The Anjou Bible. A royal Manuscript revealed. Naples 1340*, eds. Lieve Watteeuw, and Jan van der Stock (Paris, 2010), pp. 113–25.

Perriccioli Saggese, Alessandra, "Il ritratto a Napoli nel Trecento : l'immagine di Roberto d'Angiò tra pittura e miniatura," in *La fantasia e la storia. Studi di storia dell'arte sul ritratto dal Medioevo al Contemporaneo*, ed. Giulio Brevetti (Palermo, 2019), pp. 37–45.

Pisani, Giuliano, *I volti segreti di Giotto* (Milan, 2008).

Polzer, Joseph, "Simone Martini's two frescoes in the lower right transept of the church of San Francesco in Assisi," *Arte cristiana*, n.s. 72 (1984), 353–68.

Praske, Tanja, *Ludwig IX. der Heilige – eine Zäsur für die monumentale französische Königsdarstellung. Bildkonzepte der Zeit Philipps IV.*, PhD thesis (Frankfurt am Main, 2015).

Prinz, Wolfram, "Ritratto istoriato oder das Bildnis in der Bilderzählung. Ein frühes Beispiel van Giotto in der Bardikapelle," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 30 (1986), 577–80.

Rash, Nancy, "Boniface VIII and Honorific Portraiture: Observations on the Half-Length Image in the Vatican," *Gesta* 26 (1987), 47–58.

Recupido, P. Giovanni, *Il beato Donato sepolto in San Lorenzo Maggiore di Napoli* (Naples, 1972).

Reudenbach, Bruno, "Individuum oder Bildnis? Zum Problem künstlerischer Ausdrucksformen von Individualität im Mittelalter," in *Individuum und Individualität im Mittelalter*, eds. Jan A. Aertsen, and Andreas Speer (Berlin, 1996), pp. 807–18.

Romano, Serena, "Introduzione: la cattedrale di Napoli, i vescovi e l'immagine. Una storia di lunga durata," in *Il Duomo di Napoli, dal paleocristiano all'età angioina*, eds. Serena Romano, and Nicolas Bock (Naples, 2002), pp. 7–20.

Romano, Serena, *La O di Giotto* (Milan, 2008).

Romano, Serena, "Per la data della 'Crocifissione' nel transetto nord della chiesa inferiore di Assisi," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 78 (2015), 345–55.

Rubinstein, Nicolai, *The Palazzo Vecchio, 1298–1532. Government, architecture, and Imagery in the Civic Palace of the Florentine Republic* (Oxford, 1995).

Saenger, Ernst, "Das Lobgedicht auf König Robert von Anjou. Ein Beitrag zur Kunst- und Geistesgeschichte des Trecento," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 84 (1988), 7–91.

Sculture trecentesche in S. Lorenzo Maggiore a Napoli, ed. Raffaele Mormone (Naples, 1973).

Seidel, Max, "Das gemeißelte Bild im Trecento. Ein neuentdecktes Meisterwerk von Tino di Camaino," *Pantheon* 47 (1988), 4–13.

Seidel, Max, "The sculpted image. Tino da Camaino measures up to Simone Martini," in *Italian Art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance,* 2 vols, *Architecture and Sculpture* 2, ed. Max Seidel (Venice, 2005), pp. 627–38.

Seiler, Peter, "Giotto als Erfinder des Porträts," in *Das Porträt vor der Erfindung des Porträts*, eds. Martin Büchsel, and Peter Schmid (Mainz, 2003), pp. 153–72.

Sherman, Claire Richter, *The portraits of Charles V of France (1338–1380)* (New York, 1969).

Smout, Caroline, *Sprechen in Bildern – Sprechen über Bilder: die allegorischen Ikonotexte in den Regia Carmina des Convenevole da Prato* (Köln, 2017).

Steinke, Hubert, "Giotto und die Physiognomik," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 59 (1996), 523–47.

Strehlke, Carl, "Francis of Assisi. His Culture, His Cult and His Basilica," *The Treasury of Saint Francis of Assisi. Exhibition catalogue New York, Metropolitan Museum,* eds. Giovanni Morello, and Laurence B. Kanter (Milan, 1999), pp. 23–51.

The Anjou Bible. A royal Manuscript revealed. Naples 1340, eds. Lieve Watteeuw, and Jan van der Stock (Paris, 2010).

Thomann, Johannes, "Pietro d'Abano on Giotto," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991), 238–44.

Tomasi, Michele, "Il ritratto nel medioevo: una cornice," in *Intorno al ritratto. Origini, sviluppi e trasformazioni. Studi a margine del saggio di Enrico Castelnuovo, Il significato del ritratto pittorico nella società (1973)*, eds. Fabrizio Crivello, and Laura Zamparo (Turin, 2019), pp. 83–92.

Tomei, Alessandro, and Paone, Stefania, "Paintings and Miniatures in Naples. Cavallini, Giotto, and the Portraits of King Robert," in *The Anjou Bible. A royal Manuscript revealed. Naples 1340*, eds. Lieve Watteeuw, and Jan van der Stock (Paris, 2010), pp. 53–71.

Tomei, Alessandro, "I Regia Carmina dedicati a Roberto d'Angiò nella British Library di Londra: un manoscritto tra Italia e Provenza," *Arte medievale* 6/4 (2016), 201–12.

Vagnoni, Mirko, "Una nota sulla regalità sacra di Roberto d'Angiò alla luce della ricerca iconografica," *Archivio storico italiano* 167 (2009), 253–67.

Vagnoni, Mirko, "Royal Images and Sacred Elements in Norman-Swabian and Angevin-Aragonese Kingdom of Sicily," *Eikon/Imago* 4 (2013), 107–22.

Vitolo, Paola, "Imprese artistiche e modelli di regalità al femminile nella Napoli della prima età angioina," *Archivio storico per le province napoletane* 126 (2009), 1–54.

Vitolo, Paola, "Ecce rex vester. Christiformitas e spazio liturgico," in *La chiesa e il convento di Santa Chiara. Committenza artistica, vita religiosa e progettualità politica nella Napoli di Roberto d'Angiò e Sancia di Maiorca*, eds. Francesco Aceto, Stefano D'Ovidio, and Elisabetta Scirocco (Battipaglia, 2014), pp. 227–74.

Volpe, Carlo, "Proposte per il problema di Pietro Lorenzetti," *Paragone* 23 (1951), 13–26.

von Moos, Peter, *Unverwechselbarkeit: Persönliche Identität und Identifikation in der vormodernen Gesellschaft* (Cologne, 2004).

Walter, Ingeborg, and Piccialuti, Maura, "Bartholomeo da Capua," in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 6 (Rome, 1964), pp. 697–704.

Weiger, Katharina, "The portraits of Robert of Anjou: self-representation as political instrument?," *Journal of Art Historiography* 17 (2017), 1–16.

Wright, Georgia Sommers, "A Royal Tomb Program in the Reign of St. Louis," *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974), 224–43.

Wright, Georgia Sommers, "The Reinvention of the Portrait Likeness in the Fourteenth Century," *Robert Branner and the Gothic. Gesta* 39/2 (2000), 117–34.

Illustrations



FIGURE 7.1 Simone Martini, *Saint Louis of Toulouse in majesty*, Naples, Capodimonte, 1317–1319
© ARCHIVI ALINARI, FIRENZE

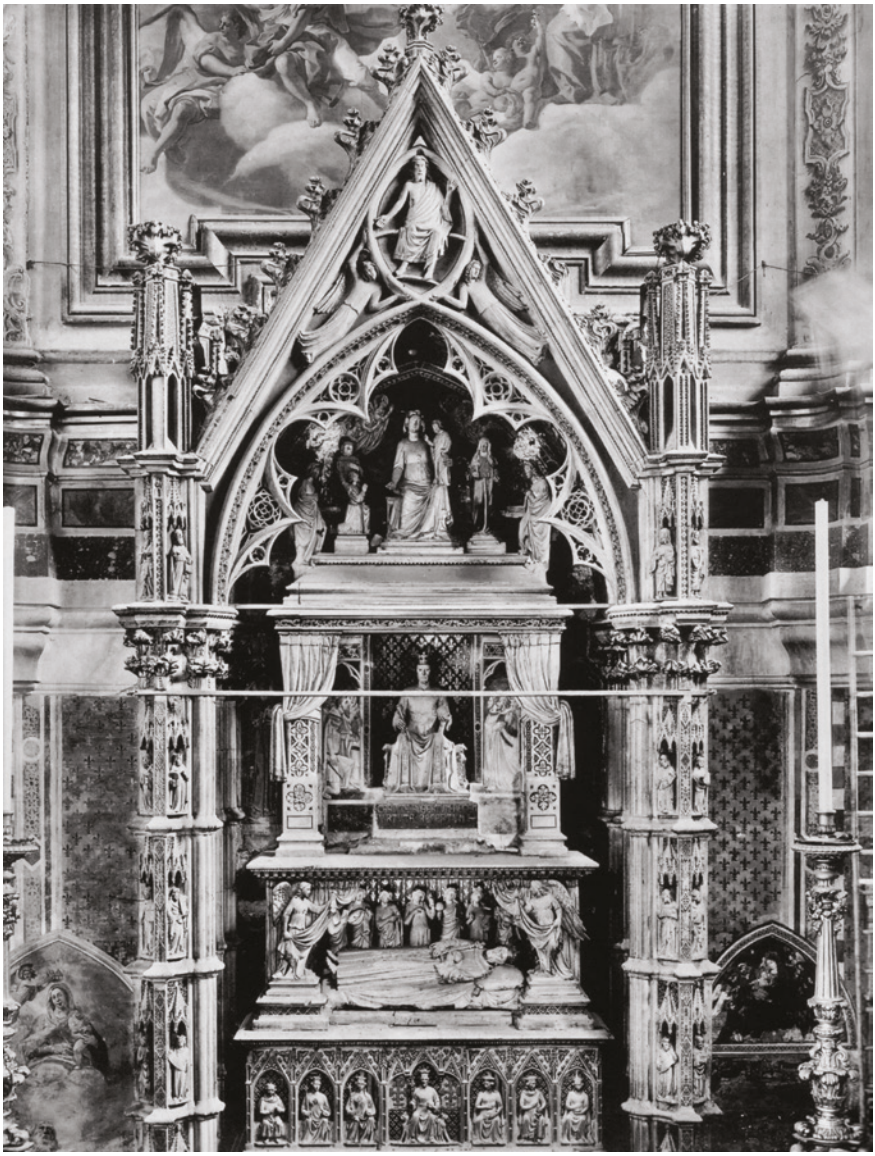


FIGURE 7.2 Giovanni and Pacio Bertini, *funeral monument of Robert the Wise* (*† 1343*), Naples, S. Chiara, 1343-*c.*1346

© LUCIANO PEDICINI, NAPLES



FIGURE 7.3 Simone Martini, *Saint Louis of Toulouse in majesty*, Detail, *Robert of Anjou*, Naples, Capodimonte,1317–1319
© LUCIANO PEDICINI, NAPLES



FIGURE 7.4 Tino di Camaino, *Louis of Toulouse, Charles Martel and Robert of Anjou, funeral monument of Mary of Hungary* (*† 1323*), Naples, S. Maria Donnaregina, 1325–1326
© AUTHOR



FIGURE 7.5 Convenevole da Prato / Pacino da Buonaguida, Robert of Anjou, *Regia Carmina*, London, BL, MS Royal 6 E IX, fol. 11v, 1335–1336
© BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD



FIGURE 7.6 Simone Martini, Assisi, *Virgin and Child, flanked by Saint Ladislaus and Saint Elizabeth of Hungary*, lower church, north transept, east wall (St. Elizabeth-chapel), c. 1317
© STEPHAN DILLER



FIGURE 7.7 Simone Martini, *Saints Francis, Louis of Toulouse, Elizabeth, Agnes of Bohemia, and Henry of Hungary,* Assisi, lower church, north transept, north wall (St. Elizabeth-chapel), c. 1317
© STEPHAN DILLER



FIGURE 7.8 Simone Martini, *Maestà*, Detail: *Saint Gregory*, Siena, Palazzo Pubblico, 1321
© 2020PHOTO SCALA, FLORENCE



FIGURE 7.9 Giotto, *Crucifixion*, Detail: *Saint Francis, Fra Gonsalvo di Valboa (?), Saint Anthony*, Assisi, lower church, south transept, east wall, c. 1313
© STEPHAN DILLER



FIGURE 7.10 Workshop of Tino da Camaino (?), *Head of Charles I*, Naples, Museo di Capodimonte, 1333
© AUTHOR



FIGURE 7.11 Lello d'Orvieto, *Portrait of archbishop Umberto d'Ormont*, Naples, Museo Diocesano, 1320
© AUTHOR



FIGURE 7.12 *Tomb slab of Fra Donato*, Naples, San Lorenzo Maggiore, 1308
© LUCIANO PEDICINI, NAPLES

CHAPTER 8

A Gallery of Royal Effigies in Medieval Hungary and Its Genealogical Purpose

Vinni Lucherini

Playing on the concept of a gallery, I would like to draw attention to some late medieval representations in which portraits of sovereigns,[1] belonging to one or more dynasties, were positioned within diachronic series in order to present a sort of genealogical history through images.[2] The type of royal effigies

1 On the complex question of medieval portraiture and its fidelity to nature: *Das Porträt vor der Erfindung des Porträts*, eds. Martin Büchsel, and Peter Schmidt (Mainz, 2003); Stephen Perkinson, "Portraits and Counterfeits: Villard de Honnecourt and Thirteenth-Century Theories of Representation," in *Excavating the Medieval Image. Manuscripts, Artists, Audiences. Essays in Honor of Sandra Hindman*, eds. David S. Areford, and Nina Rowe (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 13–28; Stephen Perkinson, "Rethinking the origins of portraiture," *Gesta* 46/2 (2007), 135–157; Stephen Perkinson, "Likeness," *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012), *Special Issue Medieval Art History Today – Critical Terms*, 15–28. Specially on royal portraits: Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King. A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago, 2009). A good example: Gerhard Schmidt, "Porträt oder Typus: zur Frage der Ähnlichkeit in den Darstellungen Kaiser Friedrichs III," *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 8/9 (2006), 10–59. See also: *Set in Stone. The Face in Medieval Sculpture, exhibition catalogue*, ed. Charles T. Little (New Haven, 2006); Noa Turel, "Living Pictures: Rereading 'Au Vif,' 1350–1550," *Gesta* 50/2 (2011), 163–82; most recently: *La fantasia e la storia. Studi di Storia dell'arte sul ritratto dal Medioevo al Contemporaneo*, ed. Giulio Brevetti (Palermo, 2019).

2 Regarding genealogies as symbolic forms and conceptual metaphors with the function of legitimation: Gabrielle Spiegel, "Genealogy. Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative," *History and Theory* 22/1 (1983), 43–53; Gabrielle Spiegel, "Structures of Time in Medieval Historiography," *The Medieval History Journal* 19/1 (2016), 21–33; *Idoneität – Genealogie – Legitimation. Begründung und Akzeptanz von dynastischer Herrschaft im Mittelalter*, eds. Cristina Andenna, and Gert Melville (Cologne, 2015). For classic research on this topic, see: Bernard Guenée, "Les généalogies entre l'histoire et la politique: la fierté d'être Capétien, en France, au Moyen Âge," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 33/3 (1978), 450–77; Gert Melville, "Spätmittelalterliche Genealogien als dynastische Legitimation zur Herrschaft," in *Die Familie als historischer und sozialer Verband. Untersuchungen zum Spätmittelalter und zur frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Peter-Johannes Schuler (Sigmaringen, 1987), pp. 204–309. See also: Olivier de Laborderie, "La mémoire des origines Normandes des rois d'Angleterre dans les généalogies en rouleau des XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles," in *La Normandie et l'Angleterre au Moyen Âge, Colloque de Crécy-la-Salle (4–7 octobre 2001)*, eds. Pierre Bouzet, and Véronique Gazeau (Caen, 2003), pp. 211–36; Olivier de Laborderie, *Histoire, mémoire et pouvoir. Les généalogies en rouleau des rois d'Angleterre, 1250–1422* (Paris, 2013); John Spence,

© VINNI LUCHERINI, 2022 | DOI:10.1163/9789004511583_010
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

I am interested in is the isolated standing figure, characterized by one or more attributes or symbols of power. In this article, I intend to address how the Kingdom of Hungary contributed to this kind of iconography. I will examine a royally commissioned manuscript, along with some major European cases of royal galleries for comparison, and will propose new hypotheses not only about rhetorical strategies of representation but also about the supposed model for the Hungarian series.

1 A *miroir aux rois* for the Kingdom of Hungary

MS Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 404, frequently called in modern historiography the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle or the *Chronicon pictum*, contains the oldest surviving representation of the whole history of the Hungarian kings, from its mythical Hun origins (the roots of which were traced back to the biblical story) to the reign of Charles I (r. 1310–1342). Charles was the eldest son of the Angevin prince Charles Martel, who in turn was the eldest son of Charles II of Anjou, *rex Siciliae* from 1289 to 1309, and Mary, the daughter of King Stephen V of Hungary (r. 1270–1272).[3] The manuscript was

Reimagining History in Anglo-Norman Prose Chronicles (Woodbridge, 2013). From a general point of view: Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *L'ombre des ancêtres. Essai sur l'imaginaire médiéval de la parenté* (Paris, 2000). On the relations between genealogical series and images: Andrew Martindale, *Heroes, Ancestors, Relatives and the Birth of the Portrait. The Fourth Gerson Lecture, held in memory of Horst Gerson (1907–1978) in the aula of the University of Groningen on May 26, 1988* (Maarsen, 1988); Christian de Mérindol, "Portrait et généalogie: la genèse du portrait réaliste et individualisé," in *Population et demographie au Moyen Âge*, ed. Oliver Guyotjeannin (Paris, 1995), pp. 219–48; Catherine Léglu, "A Genealogy of the Kings of England in Papal Avignon: British Library, Egerton MS 1500," *Electronic British Library Journal* 18 (2013), http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2013articles/article18.html. Accessed 2020 April 15.

3 The literature on this manuscript is very rich, in Hungarian particularly. First of all, I suggest: *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, ed. Dezső Dercsényi (Budapest, 1969). Among the latest publications: László Veszprémi, Tünde Wehli, and József Hapák, *The Book of the Illuminated Chronicle* (Budapest, 2009); *Studies on the Illuminated Chronicle*, eds. János M. Bak, and László Veszprémy (Budapest, 2018). See also: Vinni Lucherini, "Il *Chronicon pictum* ungherese (1358): racconto e immagini al servizio della costruzione dell'identità nazionale," *Rivista di Storia della Miniatura* 19 (2015), 58–72; Vinni Lucherini, "Le fonti antiche del *Chronicon pictum* ungherese (1358): narrare le origini della nazione e trasporle in immagini," *Incidenza dell'antico* 14/1 (2016), 61–88; Vinni Lucherini, "The Artistic Visualization of the Concept of Kingship in Angevin Hungary," in *The Art of Medieval Hungary*, eds. Xavier Barral i Altet, Pál Lővei, Vinni Lucherini, and Imre Takács (Rome, 2018), pp. 235–51; Vinni Lucherini, "The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle (Pls. 44–47)," in *The Art of Medieval Hungary*, eds. Barral i Altet et al., pp. 409–12; Vinni Lucherini, *La Cronaca angioina dei re d'Ungheria. Uno specchio eroico e fiabesco della sovranità* (Paris, 2021).

produced around the year 1358, as stated in the rubric of the *incipit*, and therefore during the reign of Louis the Great (r. 1342–1382), son and direct successor of Charles I (Figure. 8.1). The chronicle occupies 73 parchment folios in the codex, for a total of 146 pages: 54 pages present exclusively text, while 92 pages feature writing interrupted by one or more illuminations (103 initials and 43 miniatures, the latter within frames, some of which are decoratively patterned). More than 70% of the illuminations contain one of the following typologies: a. the figure of a king either seated, standing, or in action; b. a figure who is about to become king; c. a figure whom the *concepteur* or artist deemed appropriate to include in the visual sequence of Hungarian sovereigns. Let us begin by analysing the miniatures in which a king is represented.

Following the frontispiece (fol. 1r), where King Louis the Great is seated in the traditional position of majesty,[4] the first king shown is Attila, the protagonist of Hungary's prehistory (Figure. 8.2).[5] He is enthroned, with all the royal insignia (fol. 5v).[6] Twice thereafter he is represented as a half-length standing figure in oriental dress,[7] with crown, sceptre, and orb (fol. 6r) or with a sabre instead of the sceptre (fol. 7r); in one other miniature, he is a full-length figure in military dress, with crown, shield, and raised sword (fol. 7v). But the first 'real' king (*primus rex Hungarorum*) shown in the manuscript is Stephen, born in 969 according to the chronicler but, more likely, around 980–981; deceased on 15 August 1038; crowned in the year 1000; and canonized in 1083 by Pope Gregory VII, following the Hungarian tradition.[8] He is always represented with a halo, symbolizing his holiness. In the non-narrative initials, he is shown once

4 The *maiestas* iconography was common all over Europe, as for example in the pages of the *Historia Anglorum* of Matthew Paris (London, British Library, Royal MS 14 C VII, fol. 8v), where the kings are set into niches: Anthony Musson, "The Power of Images: Allusion and Intertextuality in Illuminated English Law Books," in *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. 1. Text, Music and Image from Machaut to Ariosto*, eds. Yolanda Plumley, Stefano Jossa, and Giuliano Di Bacco (Exeter, 2011), pp. 113–26.

5 Among the vast bibliography, see: Edina Bozóky, *Attila et les Huns. Vérités et legendes* (Paris, 2012); Klaus Rosen, *Attila. Der Schrecken der Welt* (München, 2016).

6 On these insignia: Percy Ernst Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel. Wanderung und Wandlung eines Herrschaftszeichens von Cäsar bis zu Elisabeth II. Ein Beitrag zum Nachleben der Antike* (Stuttgart, 1958).

7 On the dress: Graf Istvan Zichy, "Die Miniaturen der Ungarischen Bilderchronik und die Kostümkunde," in *Petrovics Elek emlékkönyv – Hommage à Alexis Petrovics* (Budapest, 1934), pp. 59–70, 191–97; Stella M. Newton, "Tomaso da Modena, Simone Martini, Hungarians and St. Martin in Fourteenth Century Italy," *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 63 (1980), 234–38.

8 Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, *Saint Étienne de Hongrie* (Paris, 2004). For general accounts of the Kingdom of Hungary in the Middle Ages: Gyula Kristó, *Histoire de la Hongrie médiévale. I. Le temps des Arpad* (Rennes, 2000); Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of*

in isolation on a marble throne, with a red priestly dalmatic and all the royal insignia (fol. 20v); in two instances, he is standing – in the first, he is young, in armour, and holds a flag and shield (fol. 20r); in the second (Figure. 8.4), he is older, with similar clothes and the regalia as well as a sword hanging from his belt (fol. 21r). Of the successors of Stephen, Peter Orseolo (r. 1038–1041 and 1044–1046), the son of Stephen's daughter and the Venetian doge Otto II Orseolo,[9] and Aba (or Samuel Aba, r. 1041–1044), the husband of one of Stephen's sisters, each occupy their own initials, standing in military dress (without any heraldic signs), carrying the sword in their right hands and the crown in their left hands (fols. 24r-v).

Though the first mention of the royal regalia comes in the part of the text dedicated to Peter,[10] Andrew I (r. 1046–1060) is the protagonist of the first coronation scene (fol. 30v): he is enthroned in the middle of a great initial, clad in a long, blue, golden-striped robe, a sceptre in his left hand and a sword in his right (offered by a bishop), while two other bishops place the crown on his head, in the presence of a small crowd of people.[11] The coronation of Solomon (r. 1063–1074), Andrew's son, is not represented but is visually alluded to on fol. 32v.[12] The depiction of the coronation of Bela I (r. 1060–1063), Andrew's

---

Medieval Hungary 895–1526 (New York, 2001); Pál Engel, Gyula Kristó, and András Kubinyi, *Histoire de la Hongrie médiévale 2. Des Angevins aux Habsbourg* (Rennes, 2008).

9 In the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle, Peter is said to be the brother of Stephen's wife, Gisela; in the older *Deeds of the Hungarians*, he is the son of Gisela's sister: Simon de Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum*, eds. László Veszprémy, and Frank Schaer, with a study by Jenő Szűcs (Budapest, 1999), p. 160.

10 "Ibi [Alba, now Székesfehérvár] ergo Cesar [Emperor Henri III] imperiali honore et latissimo preparatu ab Ungaris honoratus Petrum regali corone plenarie restitutum et sacris insignibus sancti regis Stephani, more regio decoratum in regali throno manu sua deducens, in basilica gloriose genitrices Dei semper Virginis Mariae regaliter sedere facit" (Cod. Lat. 404, fol. 27r).

11 On Hungarian royal coronations, see: Dušan Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication in Medieval Hungary Under the Árpád Dynasty, 1000–1301* (Leiden, 2016), pp. 35–49 (with previous bibliography).

12 The young Solomon, crowned, stands in a bedroom in which Andrew, still living, lies on a bed, while a layman touches the crown. The iconography of bedside coronation is particularly common in manuscripts containing the *Histoire d'Outremer*, such as MS Paris, BnF, Français 9084, fol. 331r: Iris Gerlitz, " 'The King is Dead, Long Live the King': Representing Transfer of Power in the Crusader Estoire de Eracles," in *Between Jerusalem and Europe. Essays in Honour of Bianca Kühnel,* eds. Renana Bartal, and Hanna Vorholt (Leiden, 2015), pp. 34–54; Svetlana I. Luchitskaya, "*Ad succurrendum*. Wie starben die Könige von Jerusalem?" *Mediaevistik* 22 (2009), 49–82; Svetlana I. Luchitskaya, "Pictorial Sources, Coronation Ritual, and Daily Life in the Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *Ritual, Images, and Daily Life. The Medieval Perspective*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz (Münster, 2012), pp. 49–74. Also relevant is MS Paris, BnF, Français 1049, fol. 14v, which contains a similar iconography: Vinni

brother, shows two laymen in sumptuous mantles lined with squirrel fur,[13] transferring the crown from Solomon's head to Bela's (fol. 34r) and offering a sword. Within the initial R, Solomon, with all the insignia, and his brother David, with sword and shield, are represented isolated and standing, close to one another (fol. 36r). Their positioning is almost the same as that of King Geza I (r. 1074–1077), who embraces the future saint Ladislaus (r. 1077–1095)[14] in a historiated initial P (fol. 44r). After a solemn coronation celebrated by two bishops (fol. 46v), the crowned Ladislaus appears isolated and standing, wearing military clothes and holding a battle-ax (a symbol of chivalry and his typical attribute) and an orb (fol. 47r). The representation of his funeral, within a geometric frame, shares a page with the coronation of Coloman (r. 1095–1116), performed by one bishop in the presence of another (fol. 51r) as well as a crowd of people. His son, Stephen II (r. 1116–1131), is crowned in the act of walking (fol. 54v). Bela II the Blind (r. 1131–1141), the son of Duke Almos, is depicted standing in the initial R, dressed in a long red mantle, with all the regalia (fol. 57v). Geza II (r. 1141–1162), Bela II's son, is shown crowned and seated on a throne; his right hand takes a sword from a squire who holds the bridle of the white horse typical of Hungarian rulers (fol. 59r). He is also represented in the opposite column on the same page, standing crowned, with a sceptre in his left hand and a shield in his right (fol. 59r). In a historiated initial (fol. 60v), he reappears in almost the same position (though with a sceptre and orb) while conversing with the French king Louis VII (r. 1137–1180). Geza II's son, Stephen III (r. 1162–1172), is, like his father, shown enthroned and crowned, as a man in oriental clothes and a high pointed and curved headdress offers him a long sword (fol. 61r).

Lucherini, "The Journey of Charles I, King of Hungary, from Visegrád to Naples (1333): Its Political Implications and Artistic Consequences," *The Hungarian Historical Review. New Series of Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 2 (2013), 341–62. On the text of this Provencal *planh*, see: Anna Radaelli, "Tra finzione e realtà: la *conplancha* per Roberto d'Angiò, una voce per un re immaginato," *Lecturae tropatorum* 11 (2018), 1–69.

13 These are the same men present at the coronation of Solomon on fol. 32v.

14 Ernö Marosi, "Der heilige Ladislaus als ungarischer Nationalheiliger. Bemerkungen zu seiner Ikonographie im 14.-15. Jh.," *Acta historiae artium Hungariae* 33 (1987), 232–34; Gábor Klaniczay, "L'image chevaleresque du saint roi au XII^{e} siècle," in *La royauté sacrée dans le monde chrétien*, *Actes du colloque* (*Royaumont, mars 1989*), eds. Alain Boureau, and Claudio-Sergio Ingerflom (Paris, 1992), pp. 53–61; Zsombor Jékely, "Narrative Structure of the Painted Cycle of a Hungarian Holy Ruler: The Legend of Saint Ladislas," *Hortus artium medievalium* 21 (2015), 62–74; Gábor Klaniczay, "San Ladislao d'Ungheria *athleta patriae*," in *La lettera e lo spirito. Studi di cultura e vita religiosa* (*secc. XII-XV*) *per Edith Pásztor*, eds. Marco Bartoli, Letizia Pellegrini, and Daniele Solvi (Milan, 2016), pp. 157–78.

Each of the four initials on fols. 61v-62r contains a full-length, isolated king in a standing position. Stephen IV (r. 1163–1165), with a ducal headdress instead of a crown, takes only the sword (his reign was considered illegitimate); Bela III (r. 1172–1196), wears the crown and carries an orb and a flag with Arpadian stripes; the crowned Emeric (r. 1196–1204), son of Bela III, holds the sceptre and orb; Ladislaus (r. 1204–1205), son of Emeric (and here noted as *secundus*, though he was actually III, if we consider the 1162/63 reign of Bela II's son, Ladislaus II), is shown with the same insignia. In the lower part of these pages, three little geometric frames enclose representations of the coronations of Emeric (seated on a frontal throne, two bishops crowning him); Ladislaus II (standing beside a throne); and Andrew II (r. 1205–1235), son of Bela III. Andrew II also occupies the following initial H, where he is standing, holding the orb and a red flag (fol. 62v). His son, Bela IV (r. 1235–1270), seated on a throne, is crowned by two bishops (fol. 63r). He reappears, isolated and standing with full insignia, in the initial P (fol. 63v) and, again on the next folio (fol. 64r), in the act of crowning his son, Stephen V (r. 1270–1272). In a large initial C, Ladislaus IV (r. 1272–1290), Stephan V's son, is represented in a standing position, clad in oriental garb, with a crown placed on a pointed headdress and with sceptre and orb (fol. 64v). The only one of his successors depicted in a standing position is Charles I (fol. 69v).

Despite the great care taken to differentiate the kings by age, hair colour, facial hair, and attire, for their physiognomical attributes the artist followed limited models. In some cases, he was influenced by what he read in the text or what somebody told him: Attila, who "color teter, oculis furiosus, elatu incessu, pectore lato, barbam prolixam defebat," is always depicted with a very thick beard; Coloman (Figure. 8.5), with long hair and a beard, has a humpback (fol. 51r), referring to one of the numerous defects listed by the chronicler ("ispidus, pilosus, luscus, gibosus, claudus et blesus"); Bela II has closed eyes to indicate his blindness (fol. 57v). The interchangability of heraldic signs across the manuscript means that these cannot aid us in distinguishing one king from another, either.[15] A knight near Attila, in the battle scene on fol. 5r, carries a shield with the stripes of the Arpadian coat of arms (barry of eight gules and argent). In

15 On heraldic signs as vectors of social communication: Brigitte M. Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Identity: A Sign and a Concept," in *Medieval Coins and Seals: Constructing Identity, Signifying Power*, ed. Susan Solway (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 23–63; as narrative forms: Xavier Barral i Altet, "Forme di narrazione medievale, con o senza 'storie,' al servizio del potere," *Hortus artium medievalium* 21 (2015), 6–20. See also: *L'individu au Moyen Âge. Individuation et individualisation avant la modernité*, eds. Brigitte M. Bedos-Rezak, and Dominique Iogna-Prat (Paris, 2005).

the first appearance of the young saint Stephen as a standing figure in an initial, he wears a tunic decorated with the Arpadian stripes, while his flag and shield feature an argent o-barred cross on a trimount. This cross can be seen on the tunic that Saint Stephen wears in the two great miniatures on fols. 20v and 21r, in the second initial that shows him in a standing position (fol. 21r), and on the tunic of Ladislaus, where the two-barred cross on the trimount is included in a rhombus (fol. 47r). Ladislaus holds a shield with the same rhombus as he fights Solomon, whose shield features Arpadian stripes (fol. 46r). The fallen flag with these stripes on fol. 25v refers to Aba's defeat in the Battle of Menfew, on 5 June 1044. Bela III holds a similar flag (fol. 61v), and Andrew II holds a flag with the cross on the trimount (fol. 62v). All these examples speak to clear anachronisms and a substantial interchangeability among heraldry.[16] Only Charles I and his son Louis the Great have heraldic signs that are individual (Figure. 8.6). Charles holds a shield combining the Arpadian coat of arms *per pale* on the heraldic right with the Angevin *fleur-de-lys* on the heraldic left (fol. 69v). In the depicted battle against Basarab of Wallachia, in which Charles was a protagonist, we note the ostrich crest emerging from a crown on the helmet of the knight who substitutes for the king (fol. 72r).[17] Moreover, on the frontispiece of the manuscript, Louis – like Saint Stephen – wears a tunic decorated with Arpadian stripes. The same page includes a band on the *bas-de-page* with polylobate forms containing the Arpadian-Angevin coat of arms, the two-barred cross, and the helmet with the ostrich crest.

Louis is the only king who seems to show individualized facial features, though not in a manner comparable to the naturalistic portraits of Charles V of Valois (r. 1364–1380) or Charles IV of Luxembourg (king of Bohemia from 1347 to 1378, emperor from 1355). This is because, in contrast to French and Bohemian artists of the same period,[18] the artist responsible for the decoration

16 The so-called Arpadian shield has been documented since the time of Emeric (r. 1196–1204) and is interpreted as deriving from the Catalan coat of arms (i.e. four pallets of gules) through the marriage of Emeric to Constance, the daughter of King Alfonso the Chaste of Catalonia-Aragon: Szabolcs de Vajay, "L'héraldique image de la psychologie sociale," *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana* 16 (1967), 5–19, figs. I-XII. The two-barred cross appeared under Bela III (r. 1172–1196) but assumed a heraldic purpose under Bela IV (r. 1235–1270), probably before the Mongol invasion (1241/42): Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei*, pp. 120–23.

17 Christian de Mérindol, "L'héraldique des princes angevins," in *Les princes angevins du XIII^e^ au XV^e^ siècle: un destin européen*, eds. Noël-Yves Tonnerre, and Élisabeth Verry (Rennes, 2004), pp. 277–307; György Rácz, "L'araldica dell'età angioina," in *L'Ungheria angioina*, ed. Enikő Csukovits (Rome, 2013), pp. 283–318, esp. 293–98.

18 Claire Richter Sherman, *The Portraits of Charles V of France* (New York, 1969); Iva Rosario, *Art and Propaganda. Charles IV of Bohemia, 1346–1378* (Woodbridge, 2000).

of the *Chronicon pictum* did not have a figurative tradition to draw upon. Still, there are clear indications that this artist sought here to reproduce physiognomic elements. Joannes de Kikullew, in his biography of the king, speaks about his physical characteristics: "fuit homo competentis proceritatis, oculis elatis, crinibus et barba crispis, sereno vultu, labiosus, et aliquantulum in humeris curvus."[19] Consistent with this description, in his portrait on the unfortunately damaged frontispiece, Louis in fact has enormous eyes, taking up much of his face, as well as dark, long, and thick hair. This is probably the only case in a Hungarian manuscript in which we can observe the process of so-called *émergence de l'actualité*.[20]

To summarize what we have observed so far, the chronicler speaks of 27 kings, excluding the living and ruling king, Louis the Great, who appears only on the frontispiece, and including Attila, two illegitimate kings (Ladislaus II, who is not represented, and Stephen IV), two kings from other dynasties (Wenceslaus of Bohemia, r. 1301–1305, and Otto of Bavaria, r. 1305–1307),[21] and

19 *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, ed. Joannes Georg Schwandtner (Tyrnaviae, 1765), p. 320. In quoting this passage, Friedrich Diez believed that a famous excerpt from *De amore* by Andrea Cappellano ("Rex est in Ungaria intensa plurimum habens crura sumulque rotunda prolixosque et aequales pedes et omnibus fere decoribus destitutus. Quia tamen nimia morum invenitur probitate fulgere, regalis coronae meruit accipere gloriam et per universum paene mundum resonant eius praeconia laudis") referred specifically to Louis the Great: Friedrich Diez, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der romantischen Poesie. Erstes Heft* (Berlin, 1825), p. 81; French translation: Friedrich Diez, "Essais sur les Cours d'amour, traduit de l'allemand et annoté par M. le baron C. de Roisin," *Mémoires de la Société royale des sciences, de l'agriculture et des arts de Lille* (1841), 147–272. Historiography on this topic now tends to date the *De amore* to the end of the 12th century: *Andreas aulae regiae capellanus/königlicher Hofkapellan, De amore libri tres/Von der Liebe drei Bücher*, Text nach der Ausgabe von E. Trojel. Übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen und einem Nachwort versehen von Fritz Peter Knapp (Berlin 2006). Among the vast bibliography, see especially: Alfred Karnein, *De amore in volksprachlicher Literatur. Untersuchungen zur Andreas Capellanus-Rezeption in Mittelalter und Renaissance* (Heidelberg, 1985).

20 The expression *émergence de l'actualité* is borrowed from: Roland Recht, "Le portrait et le principe de réalité dans la sculpture: Philippe le Bel et l'image royale," in *Akten des XXV. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte* 6, ed. Elisabeth Liskar (Vienna, 1986), pp. 189–201. He uses it mainly in relation to the initiatives of Philip IV and some of his contemporaries: "Par 'principe de réalité,' j'entends, au Moyen Âge, la prise en compte du monde réel par celui de l'art. Le principe de réalité est aussi éloigné de l'idéalisation que du réalisme. … Cette réalité peut aussi bien être celle des caractères physiques d'un individu que celle des signes par lesquels se manifeste un groupe social. Le principe de réalité est nécessairement un principe d'individuation: il s'agit, à l'aide des formes artistiques, de rendre compte des différences."

21 Wenceslaus and Otto – like Andrew III (r. 1290–1301), who was traditionally considered the last member of the Arpadian line – are represented only in narrative scenes yet never

one king who was born not in Hungary but in Naples, namely Charles I. Almost every king is portrayed more than once.[22] The standing, isolated kings occupy the internal space of 23 initials, as if in a niche separating them from the continuous development of the historical tale. They always stand – and sometimes rest their shields, where applicable – on a rocky platform,[23] which serves the same function as a statue's pedestal. Moreover, they do absolutely nothing: like statues, they are motionless.

2 Kings' Galleries Outside of Hungary

The question is: where else in Europe can we find these galleries of standing kings, which are so characteristic of the *Chronicon pictum* that they become one of its most distinctive signs of authority? If we compare this to other contemporary illuminated chronicles, such as the *Grandes chroniques de France*,[24] we detect a significant difference. For example, in MS Paris, BnF, Français 2813, which was illuminated for King Charles V, "an authoritative manuscript influencing a generation of royal and courtly books,"[25] all the kings are doing something. If they are still, whether while seated or standing, they always take part in an action or ceremonial event. Only Charlemagne, on fol. 103v, is seated alone in the *maiestas* position, holding the emblems of his office – assuming the model of the biblical king common in medieval Europe within the corpus

standing or with royal attributes, because the members of the Angevin dynasty who commissioned the codex did not consider them legitimate kings.

22 In the whole manuscript, only Stephen's father, the duke Geza, is represented with sceptre and orb, but without the crown (Cod. Lat. 404, fol. 19v).

23 The rock formation that acts as a pedestal clearly takes Giotto as a model. On the figurative culture of the artist: Ernö Marosi, *Kép és hasonmás. Művészet és valóság a 14.-15. századi Magyarországon* [Image and Likeness: Art and Reality in the 14th and 15th Centuries in Hungary] (Budapest, 1995); Ernö Marosi, "The Illuminations of the Chronicle," in *Studies on the Illuminated Chronicle*, eds. Bak et al., pp. 25–110.

24 Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image. Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France 1274–1422* (Berkeley, 1991); Anne D. Hedeman, "Presenting the Past: Visual Translation in Thirteenth- to Fifteenth-Century France," in *Imagining the Past in France. History in Manuscript Painting 1250–1500*, eds. Elizabet Morrison, and Anne D. Hedeman (Los Angeles, 2010), pp. 69–88. On the redactions: Bernard Guenée, "Les *Grandes Chroniques de France*, le roman aux roys (1274–1518)," in *Les Lieux de mémoire* 2. *La Nation*, ed. Pierre Nora (Paris, 1986), pp. 189–214. On the historiographical context: Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "The *Reditus Regni ad Stirpem Karoli Magni*: A New Look," *French Historical Studies* 7 (1971), 145–74.

25 Hedeman, *The Royal Image*, p. 95. The manuscript dated to three different moments of the reign of Charles V: before 1375, before 1377, and after 1378.

of royal seals.[26] Moreover, in the edition of the *Grandes chroniques* commissioned by the future John II, before he assumed the throne in 1350 (London, British Library, Royal MS 16 G. VI),[27] fol. 3r contains, at the top of the page, a two-column table illustrating the coronation of Pharamond, the mythical first king of France. He is flanked by a man with long brown hair and a beard, dressed in the same mantle as him (his father Marcomir, Duke of Sicambria?), and two crowned old kings, with white hair and beards, wrapped in cloaks covered in *fleurs-de-lys*: the three figures are all on pedestals, like statues. We can take other genres of writing into consideration as well, like the several manuscripts illustrating the *Arbor genealogiae regum* by the friar preacher Bernard Gui (1260–1331). In the Cambridge copy (Trinity College, MS R.4.23, fols. 49v-57r), the first geometrical illumination shows two seated men conversing (Turchotus or Thorgotus and Francio, predecessors of the Sicambri). Along with brief information about the names and reigns of the French kings – from Pharamond to Louis X, the eldest son of Philip IV – the subsequent pages contain medallions in which the kings are represented in full length, wearing blue robes patterned with gold *fleurs-de-lys* and holding *fleurs-de-lys* sceptres.[28]

---

26 See, for example, the French case: Marjolaine Caucheteux-Chavannes, *Les sceaux des rois de France d'Hugues Capet à François I^er^ (987–1547)* (Paris, 1962); Robert-Henri Bautier, "Échanges d'influences dans les chancelleries souveraines du Moyen Âge, d'après les types de sceaux de majesté," in *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Comptes-rendus des séances de l'année 1968* (Paris, 1968), 192–200; Martine Dalas-Garrigues, "Le premier sceau de substitution de Charles V," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 144/2 (1986), 355–59; Martine Dalas-Garrigues, *Corpus des sceaux français du Moyen Âge 2. Les sceaux des rois et de régence* (Paris, 1991). On Hungarian seals: Imre Takács, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei* [Royal Seals of the Arpad Dynasty] (Budapest, 2012); Ernö Marosi, "Die drei Majestätssiegel König Karl Roberts von Ungarn," in *Akten des XXV. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte* (*Wien, 4.-10. September 1983*), eds. Hermann Fillitz, and Martina Pippal, 9 vols. (Wien, 1984–1986), *6 Europäische Kunst um 1300* (Wien, 1986), pp. 249–56.

27 Hedeman, *The Royal Image*, pp. 213–20; Anne D. Hedeman, "Constructing Saint Louis in John the Good's Grandes Chroniques de France (Royal MS 16 G. VI)," *Electronic British Library Journal* 19 (2014), http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2014articles/article10.html. Accessed 2020 April 15.

28 Anne-Marie Lamarrigue, "La rédaction d'un catalogue des rois de France. Guillaume de Nangis et Bernard Gui," in *Saint-Denis et la Royauté*, eds. Françoise Autrand, Claude Gauvard, and Jean-Marie Moeglin (Paris, 1999), pp. 481–92. On the manuscripts: Léopold Delisle, "Notice sur les manuscrits de Bernard Gui," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques* 27/2 (1879), 245–52; Sheila Strongman, "John Parker's Manuscripts: an Edition of the Lists in Lambeth Palace MS 737," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 7 (1977–80), 1–27.

There is no doubt that the iconography of the isolated standing king, whether alone or in a series, was specially cultivated by French artists, and above all sculptors, at the time of Philip IV (r. 1285–1314).[29] Two drawings from the famous collection of François Roger de Gaignières show the statue of Louis IX of France placed "à droite au-dessus du jubé des religieuses" of Saint-Louis de Poissy and, "à gauche," the statue of Marguerite de Provence. Other drawings reproduce the statues of Louis IX's six children, standing on consoles inside niches along the back wall of the transept's left arm.[30] Statues of Philip IV and his wife Jeanne de Navarre were situated at the entrance of the *Collegium Navarrae* and on the façade of the interior chapel;[31] a statue of the same king, with his counsellor Enguerran de Marigny by his side, stood on the *trumeau* at the entrance of the renovated *Palais de la Cité*. In this context, we cannot forget one of the most renowned examples of public royal genealogy, which also included standing figures: the statuary complex of the *Grand'salle* in the same Parisian palace. The polychrome statues of France's kings, again starting with Pharamond, were set over the piers in the middle of the hall and along its two long walls.[32] The inscriptions over the plinth named the kings and their fathers

29 Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Philip the Fair and His Family: His Sons, Their Marriages, and Their Wives," *Medieval Prosopography* 32 (2017), 125–85. For the general context, see: *The Capetian Century 1214 to 1314*, eds. William Chester Jordan, and Jenna Rebecca Philipps (Turnhout, 2017).

30 On these drawings: Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, "La priorale Saint-Louis de Poissy," *Bulletin Monumental* 129/2 (1971), 85–112, esp. figs. 8–10.

31 Michael T. Davis, "The Architecture of the Collège of Navarre in Paris," in *Medieval Women and Their Objects*, eds. Jenny Adams, and Nancy Mason Bradbury (Ann Arbor, 2017), pp. 71–96. See also: Dorothy Gilllerman, *Enguerran de Marigny and the Church of Notre-Dame at Ecouis. Art and Patronage in the Reign of Philip the Fair* (University Park, 1994); along with the reviews: Nicola Coldstream in *Speculum* 71/4 (1996), 949–51; Dany Sandron in *Bulletin monumental* 154/2 (1996), 184–87.

32 Noël Valois, "Les statues de la grande salle du Palais," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France* 30/1 (1903), 87–90; Jean Guérout, "Le Palais de la Cité à Paris des origines à 1417. Essai topographique et archéologique," *Mémoires de la Féderation des Sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* 1 (1949), 57–212; 2 (1950), 21–204; 3 (1951), 7–101. The most pertinent study of this sculptural complex, destroyed by fire in 1618, is still: Uwe Bennert, "Art et propagande politique sous Philippe IV le Bel: le cycle des rois de France dans la Grand'salle du palais de la Cité," *Revue de l'art* 97 (1992), 46–59. See also: Bernd Carqué, "*Non erat homo, nec bestia, sed imago*. Vollplastische Bildwerke am Hof Philipps IV. von Frankreich und die Medialität der Gattung," in *Bilder der Macht in Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Byzanz, Okzident, Russland*, eds. Otto Gerhard Oexle, and Michail A. Bojcov (Göttingen, 2007), pp. 187–242; Michael Davis, "Désespoir, Espérance, and Douce France: The New Palace, Paris, and the Royal State," in *Fauvel Studies. Allegory, Chronicle, Music and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Français 146*, eds. Margaret Bent, and Andrew Wathey (Oxford, 1998), pp. 187–213. On the modifications

and gave the dates of their reigns and their deaths.[33] A similar emphasis on dynastic succession can be found in other sculpted royal images, i.e. those on the so-called *Montjoies* (monuments topped with a cross and decorated with statues of kings);[34] the galleries of kings on cathedral façades;[35] and the royal tombs at Saint-Denis.[36]

---

of the genealogical lists in the *Grandes chroniques de France*: Isabelle Guyot-Bachy, and Jean-Marie Moeglin, "Comment ont été continuées les *Grandes Chroniques* de France dans la première moitié du XIVe siècle," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 163/2 (2005), 385–433. Again, on Philip IV's strong interest in images: Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King*, pp. 121–28.

33 The impression this gallery made on the spectator is documented in the words of Jean de Jandun, in his *Tractatus de laudibus Parisius* ("Pro inclite vero recordationis honore, ydola cunctorum regum Francie, qui hactenus precesserunt, sunt ibidem adeo perfecte representationis proprietate formata, ut primitius inscipiens ipsa fere iudicet quasi viva sunt"): Jean de Jandun, "Éloge de Paris," in *Paris et ses historiens aux XIVe et XVe siècles. Documents et écrits originaux*, eds. Antoine Jean Victor Leroux de Lincy, and Lazare-Maurice Tisserand (Paris, 1867), p. 48. For an English translation, see: Hedeman, *The Royal Image*, p. 35 ("For the honour of their glorious memory, the statues of all the Kings of France who occupied the throne up to the present are gathered in this place. Their likeness is so expressive that at first glimpse one would believe they were alive").

34 Anne Lombard-Jourdan, "*Montjoies* and *Montjoie* dans la plaine Saint-Denis," *Mémoires de la Fédération des sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 25 (1974), 141–81.

35 During the 13th century, four French cathedrals – Paris, Chartres, Reims, and Amiens – featured one or more galleries of sculpted kings, sometimes identified with the French kings: Claudine Lautier, "Les deux galeries des rois de la cathédrale de Chartres," *Bulletin monumental* 169 (2011), 41–64. See also: Johann Georg Prinz von Hohenzollern, *Die Königsgalerie der französischen Kathedrale. Herkunft, Bedeutung, Nachfolge* (Munich, 1965); Gerhard Schmidt, "Bemerkungen zur Königsgalerie der Kathedrale von Reims," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 25 (1972), 96–106; Jean Villette, "Les galeries des rois aux façades des cathédrales. Rois de France ou rois de Juda?," *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir* 31/4 (1991), 143–68.

36 The connection between these artistic works is always stressed in the literature, especially in the research of the last decades: Joan A. Holladay, "Kings, Notaries, and Merchants. Audience and Image in the Grand'salle of the Palace at Paris," in *Ritual, Images, and Daily Life. The Medieval Perspective*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz (Münster, 2012) pp. 75–94; Joan A. Holladay, *Genealogy and the Politics of Representation in the High and Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2019). Holladay thinks the model of the *Grand'salle* must be recognized in the series of papal portraits in Saint Peter and Saint Paul in Rome. See also: Anja Rathmann-Lutz, *Images Ludwigs des Heiligen im Kontext dynastischer Konflikte des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 2010), esp. pp. 75–77. On the statues in the Palais des comtes de Poitou: Diane Joy, "Un manifeste politique des Valois: le programme statuaire du palais de Poitiers sous Jean de Berry," in *Regards croisés sur le monument medieval. Mélanges offerts à Claude Andrault-Schmitt*, ed. Marcello Angheben (Turnhout, 2018), pp. 431–44.

We do not know exactly how the French 'obsession' with effigies of kings acted as a model outside of France, or even if other dynasties stressed their roots in a parallel way. However, I can mention at least one large royal artistic commission, made for the Royal Palace in Barcelona soon after the Parisian sculptural decorations, yet lesser known. On 20 September 1342, King Peter III of Catalonia-Aragón (r. 1336–1387), called the Ceremonious, writing to the general mayor of Catalonia, spoke about 19 "ymages" made of alabaster, which he had commissioned to the sculptor "Aloy,"[37] eight of which were to represent "effigies octo regum qui fuerunt unus post alium successivae usque ad nostra tempora reges Aragonum et Barchinone comites inclusivae" and the other 11 "qui fuerunt tum comites Barchinonae, titulum regium non habentes."[38] On 17 July 1350, the same king ordered that all the statues ("regum et comitum effigies sive statuas") made by "magister Aloy" in Girona, which we can presume were standing figures, be brought to Barcelona by sea.[39] On 20 October 1351, the king ordered his procurators in Roussillon and Cerdanya to send to Perpignan "quondam ymaginem lapideam ad similitudinem nostri facta quae

37 On this artist: Emma Liaño Martínez, "Aloy de Montbray imaginator. Del Reino de Francia a la Corona d'Aragón en le siglo XIV," *Locus Amœnus* 12 (2013–14), 29–53 (with bibliography).

38 Antoni Rubió i Lluch, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-eval*, 2 vols (Barcelona, 1908-1921), 1, pp. 124–25 (Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, reg. 1305, fol. 92v). The same earls and kings decorated a sword that Peter III had ordered on 28 February 1360: "Fem vos saber que nos trametem an Berenguer de Codinachs, maestre racional de la nostra cort, dc florins d or convertidors en guarniment de una espasa la qual se coronen los nostres succeïdors reys d Arago, lo qual guarniment an Pere Bernes, argenter nostre, que faça ab vostre Consell, perque us dehim e us manam que l dit guarniment façats fer com pus bell e pus rich e pus subtil porets, e aço comanam tot a vostra discreció. Mas en special volem que en la behina a de fora haia de l un cap al altre xix esmalts qui sien en manera fets que en cascu puxa esser feta una figura de rey o de comte. car nos en los dits esmalts volem fer fer les figures dels reys d Arago e comtes de Barchinona passats e la nostra" (Rubió i Lluch, *Documents* 1, pp. 153–54: Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, reg. 1318, fol. 99). Particularly interesting is the letter that the same king wrote from Barcelona to the abbot of Ripoll on 2 September 1358: "Com nos per alcunes rahons haiam mester informacio en quina manera e forma som figurats e pintats tots los comtes de Barchinona qui jahen en lo monastir de Ripoll, ço es en quina edat es figurat e en quina forma e de quina color portave cascu los cabells del cap e de la barba, e si portava garceta, e en quina manera es vestit cascun de mantells e de cotes e d alters vestedures, e si tenen o porten res en lo cap, e que te cascun en cascuna man, e cascun comte fets scriure per son nom e apres fets be scriure la sua figura en la forma damunt dita, e aquesta informacio nos tremetets encontinent per lo portador de la present" (Rubió i Lluch, *Documents* 1, p. 185: Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragò, reg. 1160, fol. 122v).

39 Rubió i Lluch, *Documents* 1, pp. 191–92 (Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, reg. 1170, fol. 25).

est in villa Castilionis Impuriarum."[40] In this Catalan example, the patronage of a sculpted genealogy – with Peter the Ceremonious deciding, on 3 September 1370, on the design of the tomb and sculptures for his ancestors James I and Alfonso[41] – is accompanied by a rearrangement of ancient royal tombs as well as by a very strong interest in both national and foreign historical chronicles.[42]

40 Rubió i Lluch, *Documents* 1, pp. 156–57 (Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, reg. 1320, fol. 90v). Wooden images covered by wax were painted "a semblança del sinyor rey" or of the Queen Eleonor, then included in tabernacles of painted wood: Rubió i Lluch, *Documents* 2, p. 125.

41 This is the will of the king: "primerament lo dit Jacme [de Castalls] es tengut a fer e obrar dues ymages de pedra a estatura del rey en Jacme besavi del senyor rey, qui conqueri los regnes de Mallorques e de Valencia de mans de infels, ço es una a figura e a manera de rey coronat en la una part del seu vas, e altra a figura e manera de monge ab son abit vestit e qui jau tinent corona reyal en son cap en l altre part del dit vas posadora. E que aquella ymage del dit rey en Jacme, la qual lo dit Maestre havia ja feta e devia acabar per vigor de una altra covinença feta ab lo senyor rey o ab l abat de Poblet per nom seu, devia posar en una parte del vas del senyor rey n Amfos, fill den Ramon Berenguer, comte de Barchinona e princep d Arago, ultra altra ymage la qual aqui havia de posar per rao de covinença feta per lo senyor rey e per lo dit abat en nom seu. E volch e mana lo senyor rey que lo vas o tomba del dit rey en Jacme sobrepuys e sia egualada al vas o sepultura la qual lo senyor rey ha fet fer e construir per lo dit maestre en lo dit monestir de Poblet per lo seu cors e de las senyores reynes mullers sues, per rao de la qual cosa, ultra les obres les quals ja son aqui fetes e son faedores per lo dit mestre per rao de la dita covinença, son necessaris x. senyals reyals esmaltats e daurats e altres obres, segons que a la dita obra se pertany": Rubió i Lluch, *Documents* 1, pp. 226–28 (Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, reg. 1084, fol. 108). On genealogical series in the Kingdom of Catalonia-Aragón: Amadeo Serra Desfilis, "La historia de la dinastía en imágenes: Martín el Humano y el rollo genealógico de la Corona de Aragón," *Locus Amœnus* 6 (2002–03), 58–74. On Poblet's tombs: Bruno Klein, "Comment parler des arts au XIVe siècle? La genèse du panthéon aragonais-catalan à Pöblet à l'époque du roi Pierre le Cérémonieux," in *Visualisierung und kultureller Transfer*, eds. Kirstin Kramer, and Jens Baumgarten (Würzburg, 2009), pp. 83–100.

42 Ferran Soldevila, *Les quatre grans cròniques*, ed. Josep Massot i Muntaner (revisió filològica de Jordi Brugera, revisió històrica de Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol): 1. *Llibre dels feits del re en Jaume* (Barcelona, 2007), 2. *Crònica de Bernat Desclot* (Barcelona, 2008), 3. *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner* (Barcelona, 2011), 4. *Crònica de Pere III el Cerimoniòs* (Barcelona, 2014), 5. *Apèndix i index* (Barcelona 2016), with an essay by Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, "Les quatre grans Cròniques: una visió de conjunt," 13–73. See also: Stefano Maria Cingolani, *Historiografia, propaganda i comunicació al segle XIII: Bernat Desclot i les dues redaccions de la seva Crònica* (Barcelona, 2006); Jaume Aurell, *Authoring the Past. History, Autobiography and Politics in Medieval Catalonia* (Chicago, 2012). On the relationship between propaganda and royal discourse: Suzanne F. Cawsey, *Kingship and Propaganda. Royal Eloquence and the Crown of Aragon c. 1200–1450* (Oxford, 2002). Among the several documents concerning the purchasing, writing, or illustrating of chronicles, I might just mention one extremely meaningful letter, sent on 28 September 1370, in which King Peter III ordered Berenguer d'Abella (his counsellor, who in 1369 was part of the Catalan embassy in Paris to manage the frustrated marriage of John to Jeanne de

Likely more directly linked to the French tradition of royal representation was the genealogical decoration of the royal palace of Karlštejn, undertaken by Charles IV of Luxembourg, who had surely visited the *Grand'salle* when he met Charles V (r. 1364–1380) in Paris.[43] As documented in a later textual source, namely a chronicle by Edmund Dynter, ambassador of Brabante to the court of Wenceslaus IV in 1413, Bohemian genealogy was depicted on the walls:

> Meque postea per manum capiens, duxit in quandam aulam, in qua preciosae imagines omnium ducum Brabanciae usque ad ducem Johannem Brabanciae huius nominis tercium inclusivae sunt depictae, quas praedictus Karolus imperator genitor suus inibi depingi fecerat, [Wenceslaus] dixitque ad me quod illa sua esset genealogia quodque ipse de propagine Troianorum et signanter sancti Karoli magni imperatoris et inclitae domus Brabanciae descendit, et quod Heinricus de Lucemburgo imperator, proavus suus, habuit filiam primi ducis Johannis Brabanciae, ex qua genuit avum suum Johannem Bohemiae et Poloniae regem.[44]

When we compare the Bohemian, French, and Catalan examples to the *Chronicon pictum*, it becomes clear that the gallery of Hungarian kings in the manuscript was designed to create the perception of an uninterrupted temporal sequence: starting with Attila, King of the Huns; moving on to Stephen, the first king of Hungary; and reaching its historical climax with both Charles I, whose works close the manuscript, and his son Louis, whose effigy dominates the frontispiece.

Valois) to procure him in Paris the books "de croniques dels reys d Ongria, de Dacia, de Norega o alters venien a vostra ma": Rubió i Lluch, *Documents* 1, pp. 229–30 (Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, reg. 1.230, fol. 40v).

43 František Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit, 1377–78. Emperor Charles IV and King Charles V of France* (Prague, 2014).

44 *Chronique d'Edmund Dynter* 3 (Bruxelles, 1857), p. 74; Karel Stejskal, "Die Rekonstruktion des Luxemburger Stammbaums auf Karlstein," *Umëni* 26 (1978), 535–63. On Charles IV and his cultural policy: Karel Stejskal, *L'Empereur Charles IV: l'art en Europe au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1980); *Prague. The Crown of Bohemia 1347–1437*, eds. Barbara Drake Boehm, and Jiří Fajt (New York, 2005); *Karl IV. Kaiser von Gottes Gnaden. Kunst und Repräsentation des Hauses Luxemburg 1310–1437*, ed. Jiří Fajt (Prague, 2006); *Kunst als Herrschaftsinstrument. Böhmen und das Heilige Römische Reich unter den Luxemburgern im europäischen Kontext*, eds. Jiří Fajt, and Andrea Langer (Berlin, 2009); Robert Suckale, "Zur Ikonografie der deutschen Herrscher des 14. Jahrhunderts. Rudolf I. – Ludwig IV. – Karl IV.," in *Die Goldene Bulle. Politik, Wahrnehmung, Rezeption*, eds. Ulrike Hohensee, Mathias Lawo, Olaf B. Rader, and Michael Lindner (Berlin, 2009), pp. 327–48.

3 Portraits or Royal Symbols?

The *Chronicon pictum* appears to be a genealogical system of representation in which only regalia, coats of arms, and sometimes ceremonial robes allow us to distinguish a king from a knight. This choice on the part of the illuminator – or of the *concepteur* of the manuscript's decorative programme, who may well not have been the same person – is evidenced by another element: 23 initials contain depictions of knights that, in format, closely resemble the kings, all being modelled on a common prototype (Figure. 8.3). The knights are shown either in isolation or in a group; they stand on rock formations and wear military garb, including helmets or rounded headdresses, shields, and swords. The fact that the knights make up a visual gallery of standing figures, parallel to that of the kings in the same manuscript, demonstrates that the miniaturist felt authorized to apply to the members of the aristocracy the same iconography he had used for the kings.[45] The chronicle text itself describes knights as members of families from outside Pannonia, whose descendants, or those who claimed to be such, formed the basis for the Hungarian nobility.[46]

45 These figures probably correspond to Eleud and his son Almus (fol. 11r), certainly to the seven captains from Scythia (Arpad, Zoboleh, Gyula, Cund, Leel, Werbulchu, and Vrs, represented all together as well as in individual initials: fols. 12r-v, 13r-13v), to the foreign founders of the ten influential families of the kingdom (*generatio Tata*, *generatio filiorum Hedrih*, *generatio Vecellini*, *generatio Hunt et Paznan*, *generatio Poth*, *generatio Oliverii et Ratoldi*, *generatio Hermani de Alamania*, *generatio Buzad*, *generatio Keled*, and *generatio de Symone et Michaele*: fols. 14v-15r-v, 16r), to the foreign groups of people that would acquire the same rights of nobility and residence as the others (fol. 16v), and finally to the duke Toxun (fol. 17r). To these we must also add the figure of Geza, father of Stephen (fol. 18v). The narration of the second entrance of the ancestors of the Hungarian kings from Scythia to Pannonia, after Attila, in the *Chronicon pictum* partially coincides with the account given in the *Gesta Hungarorum* by Simon de Kéza. Simon, after dedicating a long description to the figure of Attila and his descendants, recorded how, once they had reached Pannonia in 872, the Huns divided into seven armies, each of which had a captain for a total of more than 30,000 men, and dedicated the final part of his account to listing the noble families from abroad: Simonis de Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum*. Simon of Kéza, *The Deeds of the Hungarians*, ed. László Veszprémy, and Frank Schaer, with a Study of Jenő Szűcs (Budapest, 1999), pp. 80–87, 158–75. In the *Chronicon pictum*, these two blocks of text are side by side and differ in several ways from Simon's text.

46 On the Hungarian aristocracy: Erik Fügedi, "The Aristocracy in Medieval Hungary," in *Kings, Bishops, Nobles and Burghers in Medieval Hungary*, ed. János M. Bak (London, 1986), pp. 1–14; Martyn C. Rady, *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary* (London, 2000). On the culture of this social class: László Veszprémy, "The Knightly Culture of the Hungarian Barons of the Angevin Period: Ideals and Practice," in *Formations et cultures des officiers et de l'entourage des princes dans les territoires angevins* (*milieu XIII^e-fin XV^e siècle*), eds. Isabelle Mathieu, and Jean-Michel Matz (Rome, 2019), pp. 297–314.

The question I would like to pose is this: how can we explain the iconography of series of isolated, almost iconic, standing figures, and, given that this iconography was so uncommon in contemporary illuminated chronicles, what other artistic media might it have come from? I will put forward some hypotheses here. It is well known that – in many medieval Hungarian churches, especially those located in territories of the Kingdom of Hungary that now belong to other nations – there are still some wall paintings representing the so-called *sancti reges Hungariae* or "Hungarian saint-kings," namely Stephen and Ladislaus, along with Emeric, though he was in fact never king.[47] In the final years of Charles I's reign, under Louis the Great and Sigismund of Luxembourg (r. 1387–1437), many sacred buildings were decorated with paintings, including this theme: in almost all the surviving cases, the saints are represented frontally and in a standing position.[48] Louis also promoted the cult of these holy kings by founding a chapel in the Aachen Cathedral. The famous great mantle clasps from this chapel (now in the treasury) feature three tabernacles at the top, occupied by these figures.[49]

Might the iconography of the saint-king, enclosed in a niche or under a Gothic baldachin, be a model for the standing, isolated king of the *Chronicon pictum*? Can we imagine the artist taking inspiration from a painted image of Saint Stephen and projecting that iconography onto other kings, even those

47 Gábor Klaniczay, "Rois saints et les Anjou de Hongrie," *Alba Regia* 12 (1985), 57–66; Gábor Klaniczay, "Le culte des saints dynastiques en Europe centrale (Angevins et Luxembourg au XIV^{e} siècle)," in *L'Église et le peuple chrétien dans les pays de l'Europe du centre-est et du nord, XIV^{e}-XV^{e} siècles* (Rome, 1990), pp. 221–47; Gábor Klaniczay, "La noblesse et le culte des saints dynastiques sous les rois angevins," in *La noblesse dans les territoires angevins à la fin du Moyen Âge*, eds. Noël Coulet, and Jean-Marie Matz (Rome, 2000), pp. 511–26; Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge, 2002).

48 See: Dragoș-Gheorghe Năstăsoiu, *Between Personal Devotion and Political Propaganda: Iconographic Aspects in the Representation of the* sancti reges Hungariae *in Church Mural Painting* (*14th Century – Early 16th Century*), PhD, Central European University of Budapest (Budapest, 2018). On the only surviving royal genealogical cycle painted in a church: Zsombor Jékely, "A magyar királyok genealógiai ciklusa a leleszi premontrei kolostorkápolna középkori falképein [Genealogical Cycle of Hungarian Kings on the Medieval Frescoes at the Premonstratensian Abbey of Lelesz (Leles, Slovakia)]," *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* [Bulletin of Art History] 61 (2012), 175–86. He recognizes the model in the *Grandes chroniques de France*, especially in the Brussels manuscript, Bibliothèque Royale, 5, fol. 1.

49 Imre Takács, "Deux joyaux armoriés," in *Sigismund rex et imperator. Art et culture à l'époque de Sigismond de Luxembourg 1387–1437, exhibition catalogue*, ed. Imre Takács (Budapest, 2006), pp. 101–02; Imre Takács, "L'art de la cour royale à la fin de l'époque angevine," in *Sigismund rex et imperator*, ed. Takács, pp. 68–86.

who were not saints? The comparison is tempting.[50] In medieval Hungarian imagery, Saint Stephen was the perfect model for royal behaviour, and Saint Ladislaus was identified with the *athleta patriae*.[51] A saintly forefather would certainly confer his sanctity to all his successors, thus sacralizing Hungarian monarchic power. And yet, my impression is that this is not the only explanation, because the *Chronicon pictum* appears to be an eminently chivalric object. While the representations of Stephen and Ladislaus standing in military garb may call to mind the wall paintings of the *santi reges Hungariae*, dynastic sanctity does not play a particularly important role in its programme of illuminations. Even Emeric appears only once, namely at his burial, a narrative scene that also shows violence perpetrated against a member of the family, Vazul (fol. 22v).

I wonder, then, if we can suspect the existence of genealogical paintings on the walls of Hungarian royal residences. This is a little-studied topic, mainly due to the almost total absence of material or textual documentation. But some clues might lead us to imagine that one or more Hungarian sovereigns acted not so differently from their Bohemian counterpart Charles IV of Luxembourg. One of the rooms in the castle of Vajdahunyad in south-west

50 Presumably, several models intervened in the process of the construction of the single, isolated figures. Scholars have recognized older Hungarian models in some of the kings portrayed in the *Chronicon pictum*. For example: Joseph Polzer, "L'ultimo dipinto di Simone Martini," *Antichità viva* 19/6 (1980), 7–16, argued that figures such as Ladislaus on fol. 47r might have had the same model as those in the San Ladislao panel by Simone Martini, now at Altomonte; on this painting, see: Sarah K. Kozlowsli, "Panel Painting Between the Courts of Naples and Hungary. A Hypothesis for Simone Martini's Saint Ladislaus and a Painting of Christ on the Cross," *Convivium* 6 (2020), 79–97. Polzer compared the clothes and the position of the Altomonte figure with Hungarian coins showing a standing Ladislaus. Ernö Marosi, "Saints at Home and Abroad. Some Observations on the Creation of Iconographic Types in Hungary in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *Promoting the Saints. Cults and Their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period. Essays in Honor of Gábor Klaniczay for his 60th Birthday*, eds. Ottó Gecser, József Laszlovszky, and Balázs Nagy (Budapest, 2010), pp. 175–206, disagreed with such an opinion, being convinced instead that the common prototype spread within the Neapolitan court or in the form of a cult image brought to Hungary from the Kingdom of Sicily. The comparison with coins, indeed, is very suggestive; see especially the series of florins minted by Louis the Great in: *Corpus nummorum Hungariae*, ed. László Réthy, 2 vols. (Budapest, 1899–1907), II, tav. IV, nn. 62–66.

51 Kornél Szovák, "The Image of the Ideal King in Twelfth-Century Hungary (Remarks on the Legend of St Ladislas)," in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (London, 1994), pp. 241–65; László Veszprémy, "King St Ladislas, Chronicles, Legends, and Miracles," *Saeculum Christianum* 25 (2018), 140–63.

Transylvania (now Hunedoara, Romania),[52] constructed by John Hunyadi (1406–1456), Regent of Hungary, was certainly decorated with the portraits of Hungarian kings and captains, from the beginning up to the reign of John's son, King Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458–1490).[53] We know that there were similar genealogical paintings in the castle of Zólyom (now Zvolen, Slovakia), built by Louis the Great.[54]

---

52 Szilárd Papp, "The Castle of Vajdahunyad (Hunedoara)," in *The Art of Medieval Hungary*, eds. Barral i Altet et al., pp. 427–30, figs. 233–34.

53 Auguste Gérando, *La Transylvanie et ses habitants, seconde édition revue et augmentée* (Paris, 1850), p. 378, speaks about the painting in his description of the castle: "Au-dessous des ogives, et tout autour de la salle, étaient peints les portraits des rois de Hongrie depuis Almos jusqu'à Mathias. On a dernièrement essayé de les reproduire." It is unclear whether Gérando saw fragments of it. Flóris Rómer, "Vajda-hunyadi falfestmények [Murals of Vajdahunyad]," *Archaeologiai Értesítő* [Bulletin of Archeology] 5 (1871), 21–22, also discusses the paintings in the castle, commenting on an article published in the *Pest Napló* [Pest's Diary], which lamented the fact that the architect Imre Steindl, responsible for the castle's restoration (1870–1874) following the death of Ferenc Schulcz, wanted to destroy the paintings, even knocking down the wall on which they had been painted. Rómer wrote that he did not know of Steindl's intentions personally and doubted that things went as described in *Pest Napló*. The paintings, with their inscriptions, had already been described by: Lajos Arányi, *Vajda-Hunyad vára. 1452. 1681. 1866. szóban és képben* [Vayda-Hunyad Castle in Words and Pictures] (Poszony, 1867). He dedicated an important monograph to the castle. The fact that Arányi's excerpt, cited by Rómer, includes the names of the seven captains leads me to think that the painted genealogy also included non-royal figures, just like the *Chronicon pictum*: "Hatodik hunyadi kirándálásom alkalmával a nálamnál jobb szemmel biró Olilberg és Lukács urak szives segedelmével következő elvásott aláirásokat birtam az említett arczképek keretében kiolvasni: Petrus, Stephanus, Géza … Rudolphus, Maximilianus etc. Ezen festmények tehát későbbiek és kevés műbecsüek, mert mint Yrs, Verbulch …" [On the occasion of my sixth excursion to Hunyad, with the help of Mr. Olilberg and Mr. Lukács, who have better eyes than I have, I could read the following hardly visible signs in the frames of the above-mentioned portraits: Petrus, Stephanus, Geza … Rudolphus, Maximilianus etc. Therefore, these paintings were made later and are of less value, than Yrs, Verbulch …]. On the heraldic series painted on the wall of the castle's loggia: Radu Lupescu, "Lay and Ecclesiastic in the Heraldic Representation on the Matthias Loggia in Hunedoara Castle," *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia* 58 (2013), 31–48.

54 On these paintings, we can read a page of John Paget's *Hungary and Transylvania, with Remarks on Their Condition, Social, Political, and Economical* 1 (London, 1839), p. 379: "We were shown some villainously whitewashed rooms; in one of which the ceiling is considered embellished by a series of terrible-looking figures, called Roman Emperors and Kings of Hungary. Our guide assured us the great Diet – meaning the celebrated assembly of Polish nobles under Louis I to establish the order of succession in the two countries, in 1382 – was held in this room; though, if I am not very wrong in my notion of the age of the castle, it was not then in existence. Below the floor, in another room, is a small secret chamber, where Bethlen Gábor is said to have concealed the sacred crown of saint Stephen. It is singular that, although twice chosen King, and in actual possession of the

Drawing conclusions from these observations, we do not know who guided the illuminator in his iconographical choices nor whether the illuminator already had a large set of iconographies and composition skills on which to draw. However, the presence of King Louis the Great on the frontispiece, with all his weapons and regalia, leads us to surmise that the manuscript was a royal commission. Likewise, we do not have enough data to understand precisely who leafed through the codex and under what circumstances, although its small dimensions suggest private use. Among the many functions that the gallery of Hungarian kings could have had – medieval images are always multifaceted and polysemic – I suspect that this imagery corresponded to the desire of the patron or patrons to create a dynastic chain that could accommodate the Neapolitan king, who was a foreigner in Hungary, and his son, who was born in Hungary but to a foreign dynasty. And it was probably this purpose that determined the dominance of the chivalric ideal in the manuscript's visual story. Indeed, even the saint-kings appear as knights, defending the borders and sovereignty of their homeland against enemies, as they had sworn to do in their solemn coronation rites.[55] The kings and knights of the two parallel galleries bear immediately recognizable social signs. They occupy a practicable space inside the initials, a space that in fact marginalizes them from the historical flow; they do not act, but merely exist. In this way, they are more *idola* than *simulacra*: with no naturalistic intent, the illuminator presents not real kings or knights but rather sort of avatars of the ideas of royalty and chivalry.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Andreas aulae regiae capellanus/königlicher Hofkapellan, De amore libri tres/Von der Liebe drei Bücher, Text nach der Ausgabe von E. Trojel. Übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen und einem Nachwort versehen von Fritz Peter Knapp (Berlin 2006).

Chronique d'Edmund Dynter 3 (Bruxelles, 1857).

crown, this champion of Protestantism never placed it on his head, though it is highly probable that it might have secured him the throne."

55 "Regnum sibi commissum et iura regalia non minuere nec alienare, sed potius augere et male alienata hactenus, secundum datam sibi gratiam, ad ius pristinum revocare." For a discussion of this text and its figurative projections, see: Vinni Lucherini, "Raffigurazione e legittimazione della regalità nel primo Trecento: una pittura murale con l'incoronazione di Carlo Roberto d'Angiò a Spišská Kapitula (Szepeshely)," in *Medioevo: natura e figura*, ed. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (Milan, 2015), pp. 675–87.

Jean de Jandun, "Éloge de Paris," in *Paris et ses historiens aux XIV^e^ et XV^e^ siècles. Documents et écrits originaux*, eds. Antoine Jean Victor Leroux de Lincy, and Lazare-Maurice Tisserand (Paris, 1867).

Rubió i Lluch, Antoni, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-eval*, 2 vols (Barcelona, 1908-1921).

Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum, ed. Joannes Georg Schwandtner (Tyrnaviae, 1765).

Simon de Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum*, eds. László Veszprémy, and Frank Schaer, with a study by Jenő Szűcs (Budapest, 1999).

Simon of Kéza, *The Deeds of the Hungarians*, ed. László Veszprémy, and Frank Schaer, with a Study of Jenő Szűcs (Budapest, 1999).

Soldevila, Ferran, *Les quatre grans cròniques*, ed. Josep Massot i Muntaner (revisió filològica de Jordi Brugera, revisió històrica de Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol): 1. *Llibre dels feits del re en Jaume* (Barcelona, 2007), 2. *Crònica de Bernat Desclot* (Barcelona, 2008), 3. *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner* (Barcelona, 2011), 4. *Crònica de Pere III el Cerimoniòs* (Barcelona, 2014), 5. *Apèndix i index* (Barcelona 2016), with an essay by Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, "Les quatre grans Cròniques: una visió de conjunt," 13–73.

Secondary Sources

Arányi, Lajos, *Vajda-Hunyad vára. 1452. 1681. 1866. szóban és képben* [Vayda-Hunyad Castle in Words and Pictures] (Poszony, 1867).

Aurell, Jaume, *Authoring the Past. History, Autobiography and Politics in Medieval Catalonia* (Chicago, 2012).

Barral i Altet, Xavier, "Forme di narrazione medievale, con o senza 'storie,' al servizio del potere," *Hortus artium medievalium* 21 (2015), 6–20.

Bautier, Robert-Henri, "Échanges d'influences dans les chancelleries souveraines du Moyen Âge, d'après les types de sceaux de majesté," in *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Comptes-rendus des séances de l'année 1968* (Paris, 1968), 192–200.

Bedos-Rezak, Brigitte M., "Medieval Identity: A Sign and a Concept," in *Medieval Coins and Seals: Constructing Identity, Signifying Power*, ed. Susan Solway (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 23–63.

Bennert, Uwe, "Art et propagande politique sous Philippe IV le Bel: le cycle des rois de France dans la Grand'salle du palais de la Cité," *Revue de l'art* 97 (1992), 46–59.

Bozóky, Edina, *Attila et les Huns. Vérités et legendes* (Paris, 2012).

Brown, Elizabeth A. R., "Philip the Fair and His Family: His Sons, Their Marriages, and Their Wives," *Medieval Prosopography* 32 (2017), 125–85.

Carqué, Bernd, "*Non erat homo, nec bestia, sed imago*. Vollplastische Bildwerke am Hof Philipps IV. von Frankreich und die Medialität der Gattung," in *Bilder der Macht in Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Byzanz, Okzident, Russland*, eds. Otto Gerhard Oexle, and Michail A. Bojcov (Göttingen, 2007), pp. 187–242.

Caucheteux-Chavannes, Marjolaine, *Les sceaux des rois de France d'Hugues Capet à François Ier (987–1547)* (Paris, 1962).

Cawsey, Suzanne F., *Kingship and Propaganda. Royal Eloquence and the Crown of Aragon c. 1200–1450* (Oxford, 2002).

Cingolani, Stefano Maria, *Historiografia, propaganda i comunicació al segle XIII: Bernat Desclot i les dues redaccions de la seva Crònica* (Barcelona, 2006).

Coldstream, Nicola, review of Dorothy Gilllerman, *Enguerran de Marigny and the Church of Notre-Dame at Ecouis. Art and Patronage in the Reign of Philip the Fair* (University Park, 1994), in *Speculum* 71/4 (1996), 949–51.

Corpus nummorum Hungariae, ed. László Réthy, 2 vols. (Budapest, 1899–1907).

Dalas-Garrigues, Martine, "Le premier sceau de substitution de Charles V," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 144/2 (1986), 355–59.

Dalas-Garrigues, Martine, *Corpus des sceaux français du Moyen Âge 2. Les sceaux des rois et de régence* (Paris, 1991).

Das Porträt vor der Erfindung des Porträts, eds. Martin Büchsel, and Peter Schmidt (Mainz, 2003).

Davis, Michael, "Désespoir, Espérance, and Douce France: The New Palace, Paris, and the Royal State," in *Fauvel Studies. Allegory, Chronicle, Music and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS français 146*, eds. Margaret Bent, and Andrew Wathey (Oxford, 1998), pp. 187–213.

Davis, Michael T., "The Architecture of the Collège of Navarre in Paris," in *Medieval Women and Their Objects*, eds. Jenny Adams, and Nancy Mason Bradbury (Ann Arbor, 2017), pp. 71–96.

de Cevins, Marie-Madeleine, *Saint Étienne de Hongrie* (Paris, 2004).

de Laborderie, Olivier, "La mémoire des origines Normandes des rois d'Angleterre dans les généalogies en rouleau des XIIIe et XIVe siècles," in *La Normandie et l'Angleterre au Moyen Âge, Colloque de Crécy-la-Salle (4–7 octobre 2001),* eds. Pierre Bouzet, and Véronique Gazeau (Caen, 2003), pp. 211–36.

de Laborderie, Olivier, *Histoire, mémoire et pouvoir. Les généalogies en rouleau des rois d'Angleterre, 1250–1422* (Paris, 2013).

Delisle, Léopold, "Notice sur les manuscrits de Bernard Gui," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques* 27/2 (1879), 245–52.

de Mérindol, Christian, "Portrait et généalogie: la genèse du portrait réaliste et individualisé," in *Population et demographie au Moyen Âge*, ed. Oliver Guyotjeannin (Paris, 1995), pp. 219–48.

de Mérindol, Christian, "L'héraldique des princes angevins," in *Les princes angevins du XIIIe au XVe siècle: un destin européen*, eds. Noël-Yves Tonnerre, and Élisabeth Verry (Rennes, 2004), pp. 277–307.

de Vajay, Szabolcs, "L'héraldique image de la psychologie sociale," *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana* 16 (1967), 5–19.

Diez, Friedrich, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der romantischen Poesie. Erstes Heft* (Berlin, 1825).

Diez, Friedrich, "Essais sur les Cours d'amour, traduit de l'allemand et annoté par M. le baron C. de Roisin," *Mémoires de la Société royale des sciences, de l'agriculture et des arts de Lille* (1841), 147–272.

Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages (*500–1300*), ed. Florin Curta (Leiden, 2019).

Engel, Pál, *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary 895–1526* (New York, 2001).

Engel, Pál, Kristó, Gyula, and Kubinyi, András, *Histoire de la Hongrie médiévale 2. Des Angevins aux Habsbourg* (Rennes, 2008).

Erlande-Brandenburg, Alain, "La priorale Saint-Louis de Poissy," *Bulletin Monumental* 129/2 (1971), 85–112.

Fügedi, Erik, "The Aristocracy in Medieval Hungary," in *Kings, Bishops, Nobles and Burghers in Medieval Hungary*, ed. János M. Bak (London, 1986), pp. 1–14.

Georg, Johann, Prinz von Hohenzollern, *Die Königsgalerie der französischen Kathedrale. Herkunft, Bedeutung, Nachfolge* (Munich, 1965).

Gérando, Auguste, *La Transylvanie et ses habitants, seconde édition revue et augmentée* (Paris, 1850).

Gerlitz, Iris, " 'The King is Dead, Long Live the King': Representing Transfer of Power in the Crusader Estoire de Eracles," in *Between Jerusalem and Europe. Essays in Honour of Bianca Kühnel,* eds. Renana Bartal, and Hanna Vorholt (Leiden, 2015), pp. 34–54.

Gilllerman, Dorothy, *Enguerran de Marigny and the Church of Notre-Dame at Ecouis. Art and Patronage in the Reign of Philip the Fair* (University Park, 1994).

Guenée, Bernard, "Les généalogies entre l'histoire et la politique: la fierté d'être Capétien, en France, au Moyen Âge," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 33/3 (1978), 450–77.

Guenée, Bernard, "Les *Grandes Chroniques de France*, le roman aux roys (1274–1518)," in *Les Lieux de mémoire 2. La Nation*, ed. Pierre Nora (Paris, 1986), pp. 189–214.

Guérout, Jean, "Le Palais de la Cité à Paris des origines à 1417. Essai topographique et archéologique," *Mémoires de la Féderation des Sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* 1 (1949), 57–212; 2 (1950), 21–204; 3 (1951), 7–101.

Guyot-Bachy, Isabelle, and Moeglin, Jean-Marie, "Comment ont été continuées les *Grandes Chroniques* de France dans la première moitié du XIV^{e} siècle," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 163/2 (2005), 385–433.

Hedeman, Anne D., *The Royal Image. Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France 1274–1422* (Berkeley, 1991).

Hedeman, Anne D., "Presenting the Past: Visual Translation in Thirteenth- to Fifteenth-Century France," in *Imagining the Past in France. History in Manuscript Painting 1250–1500*, eds. Elizabet Morrison, and Anne D. Hedeman (Los Angeles, 2010), pp. 69–88.

Hedeman, Anne D., "Constructing Saint Louis in John the Good's Grandes Chroniques de France (Royal MS 16 G. VI)," *Electronic British Library Journal* 19 (2014), http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2014articles/article10.html. Accessed 2020 April 15.

Holladay, Joan A., "Kings, Notaries, and Merchants. Audience and Image in the Grand'salle of the Palace at Paris," in *Ritual, Images, and Daily Life. The Medieval Perspective*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz (Münster, 2012) pp. 75–94.

Holladay, Joan A., *Genealogy and the Politics of Representation in the High and Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2019).

Idoneität – Genealogie – Legitimation. Begründung und Akzeptanz von dynastischer Herrschaft im Mittelalter, eds. Cristina Andenna, and Gert Melville (Cologne, 2015).

Jékely, Zsombor, "A magyar királyok genealógiai ciklusa a leleszi premontrei kolostorkápolna középkori falképein [Genealogical Cycle of Hungarian Kings on the Medieval Frescoes at the Premonstratensian Abbey of Lelesz (Leles, Slovakia)]," *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* [Bulletin of Art History] 61 (2012), 175–86.

Jékely, Zsombor, "Narrative Structure of the Painted Cycle of a Hungarian Holy Ruler: The Legend of Saint Ladislas," *Hortus artium medievalium* 21 (2015), 62–74.

Joy, Diane, "Un manifeste politique des Valois: le programme statuaire du palais de Poitiers sous Jean de Berry," in *Regards croisés sur le monument medieval. Mélanges offerts à Claude Andrault-Schmitt*, ed. Marcello Angheben (Turnhout, 2018), pp. 431–44.

Karl IV. Kaiser von Gottes Gnaden. Kunst und Repräsentation des Hauses Luxemburg 1310–1437, ed. Jiří Fajt (Prague, 2006).

Karnein, Alfred, *De amore in volksprachlicher Literatur. Untersuchungen zur Andreas Capellanus-Rezeption in Mittelalter und Renaissance* (Heidelberg, 1985).

Klaniczay, Gábor, "Rois saints et les Anjou de Hongrie," *Alba Regia* 12 (1985), 57–66.

Klaniczay, Gábor, "Le culte des saints dynastiques en Europe centrale (Angevins et Luxembourg au XIV^{e} siècle)," in *L'Église et le peuple chrétien dans les pays de l'Europe du centre-est et du nord, XIV^{e}-XV^{e} siècles* (Rome, 1990), pp. 221–47.

Klaniczay, Gábor, "L'image chevaleresque du saint roi au XII^{e} siècle," in *La royauté sacrée dans le monde chrétien*, *Actes du colloque* (*Royaumont, mars 1989*), eds. Alain Boureau, and Claudio-Sergio Ingerflom (Paris, 1992), pp. 53–61.

Klaniczay, Gábor, "La noblesse et le culte des saints dynastiques sous les rois angevins," in *La noblesse dans les territoires angevins à la fin du Moyen Âge*, eds. Noël Coulet, and Jean-Marie Matz (Rome, 2000), pp. 511–26.

Klaniczay, Gábor, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge, 2002).

Klaniczay, Gábor, "San Ladislao d'Ungheria *athleta patriae*," in *La lettera e lo spirito. Studi di cultura e vita religiosa* (*secc. XII-XV*) *per Edith Pásztor*, eds. Marco Bartoli, Letizia Pellegrini, and Daniele Solvi (Milan, 2016), pp. 157–78.

Klapisch-Zuber, Christiane, *L'ombre des ancêtres. Essai sur l'imaginaire médiéval de la parenté* (Paris, 2000).

Klein, Bruno, "Comment parler des arts au XIVe siècle? La genèse du panthéon aragonais-catalan à Pöblet à l'époque du roi Pierre le Cérémonieux," in *Visualisierung und kultureller Transfer*, eds. Kirstin Kramer, and Jens Baumgarten (Würzburg, 2009), pp. 83–100.

Kozlowsli, Sarah K., "Panel Painting Between the Courts of Naples and Hungary. A Hypothesis for Simone Martini's Saint Ladislaus and a Painting of Christ on the Cross," *Convivium* 6 (2020), 79–97.

Kristó, Gyula, *Histoire de la Hongrie médiévale. I. Le temps des Arpad* (Rennes, 2000).

Kunst als Herrschaftsinstrument. Böhmen und das Heilige Römische Reich unter den Luxemburgern im europäischen Kontext, eds. Jiří Fajt, and Andrea Langer (Berlin, 2009).

La fantasia e la storia. Studi di Storia dell'arte sul ritratto dal Medioevo al Contemporaneo, ed. Giulio Brevetti (Palermo, 2019).

Lamarrigue, Anne-Marie, "La rédaction d'un catalogue des rois de France. Guillaume de Nangis et Bernard Gui," in *Saint-Denis et la Royauté*, eds. Françoise Autrand, Claude Gauvard, and Jean-Marie Moeglin (Paris, 1999), pp. 481–92.

Lautier, Claudine, "Les deux galeries des rois de la cathédrale de Chartres," *Bulletin monumental* 169 (2011), 41–64.

Léglu, Catherine, "A Genealogy of the Kings of England in Papal Avignon: British Library, Egerton MS 1500," *Electronic British Library Journal* 18 (2013), http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2013articles/article18.html. Accessed 2020 April 15.

Liaño Martínez, Emma, "Aloy de Montbray imaginator. Del Reino de Francia a la Corona d'Aragón en le siglo XIV," *Locus Amœnus* 12 (2013–14), 29–53.

L'individu au Moyen Âge. Individuation et individualisation avant la modernité, eds. Brigitte M. Bedos-Rezak, and Dominique Iogna-Prat (Paris, 2005).

Lombard-Jourdan, Anne, "*Montjoies* and *Montjoie* dans la plaine Saint-Denis," *Mémoires de la Fédération des sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 25 (1974), 141–81.

Lucherini, Vinni, "The Journey of Charles I, King of Hungary, from Visegrád to Naples (1333): Its Political Implications and Artistic Consequences," *The Hungarian Historical Review. New Series of Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 2 (2013), 341–62.

Lucherini, Vinni, "Il *Chronicon pictum* ungherese (1358): racconto e immagini al servizio della costruzione dell'identità nazionale," *Rivista di Storia della Miniatura* 19 (2015), 58–72.

Lucherini, Vinni, "Raffigurazione e legittimazione della regalità nel primo Trecento: una pittura murale con l'incoronazione di Carlo Roberto d'Angiò a Spišská Kapitula

(Szepeshely)," in *Medioevo: natura e figura*, ed. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (Milan, 2015), pp. 675–87.

Lucherini, Vinni, "Le fonti antiche del *Chronicon pictum* ungherese (1358): narrare le origini della nazione e trasporle in immagini," *Incidenza dell'antico* 14/1 (2016), 61–88.

Lucherini, Vinni, "La rinuncia di Ludovico d'Angiò al trono e il problema della successione nei regni di Napoli e d'Ungheria: sfide giuridiche e artistiche," in *Da Ludovico d'Angiò a san Ludovico di Tolosa. I testi e le immagini*, eds. Teresa D'Urso, Alessandra Perriccioli, and Daniele Solvi (Spoleto, 2017), pp. 137–52.

Lucherini, Vinni, "The Artistic Visualization of the Concept of Kingship in Angevin Hungary," in *The Art of Medieval Hungary*, eds. Xavier Barral i Altet, Pál Lővei, Vinni Lucherini, and Imre Takács (Rome, 2018), pp. 235–51.

Lucherini, Vinni, "The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle (Pls. 44–47)," in *The Art of Medieval Hungary*, eds. Xavier Barral i Altet, Pál Lővei, Vinni Lucherini, and Imre Takács (Rome, 2018), pp. 409–12.

Lucherini, Vinni, *La Cronaca angioina dei re d'Ungheria. Uno specchio eroico e fiabesco della sovranità* (Paris, 2021).

Luchitskaya, Svetlana I., "*Ad succurrendum*. Wie starben die Könige von Jerusalem?" *Mediaevistik* 22 (2009), 49–82.

Luchitskaya, Svetlana I., "Pictorial Sources, Coronation Ritual, and Daily Life in the Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *Ritual, Images, and Daily Life. The Medieval Perspective*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz (Münster, 2012), pp. 49–74.

Lupescu, Radu, "Lay and Ecclesiastic in the Heraldic Representation on the Matthias Loggia in Hunedoara Castle," *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia* 58 (2013), 31–48.

Marosi, Ernö, "Die drei Majestätssiegel König Karl Roberts von Ungarn," in *Akten des XXV. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte* (*Wien, 4.-10. September 1983*), eds. Hermann Fillitz, and Martina Pippal, 9 vols. (Wien, 1984–1986), *6 Europäische Kunst um 1300* (Wien, 1986), pp. 249–56.

Marosi, Ernö, "Der heilige Ladislaus als ungarischer Nationalheiliger. Bemerkungen zu seiner Ikonographie im 14.-15. Jh.," *Acta historiae artium Hungariae* 33 (1987), 232–34.

Marosi, Ernö, *Kép és hasonmás. Művészet és valóság a 14.-15. századi Magyarországon* [Image and Likeness: Art and Reality in the 14th and 15th Centuries in Hungary] (Budapest, 1995).

Marosi, Ernö, "Saints at Home and Abroad. Some Observations on the Creation of Iconographic Types in Hungary in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *Promoting the Saints. Cults and Their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period. Essays in Honor of Gábor Klaniczay for his 60th Birthday*, eds. Ottó Gecser, József Laszlovszky, and Balázs Nagy (Budapest, 2010), pp. 175–206.

Marosi, Ernö, "The Illuminations of the Chronicle," in *Studies on the Illuminated Chronicle*, eds. János M. Bak, and László Veszprémy (Budapest, 2018), pp. 25–110.

Martindale, Andrew, *Heroes, Ancestors, Relatives and the Birth of the Portrait. The Fourth Gerson Lecture, held in memory of Horst Gerson (1907–1978) in the aula of the University of Groningen on May 26, 1988* (Maarsen, 1988).

Melville, Gert, "Spätmittelalterliche Genealogien als dynastische Legitimation zur Herrschaft," in *Die Familie als historischer und sozialer Verband. Untersuchungen zum Spätmittelalter und zur frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Peter-Johannes Schuler (Sigmaringen, 1987), pp. 204–309.

Musson, Anthony, "The Power of Images: Allusion and Intertextuality in Illuminated English Law Books," in *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. 1. Text, Music and Image from Machaut to Ariosto*, eds. Yolanda Plumley, Stefano Jossa, and Giuliano Di Bacco (Exeter, 2011), pp. 113–26.

Năstăsoiu, Dragoș-Gheorghe, *Between Personal Devotion and Political Propaganda: Iconographic Aspects in the Representation of the* sancti reges Hungariae *in Church Mural Painting (14th Century – Early 16th Century)*, PhD, Central European University of Budapest (Budapest, 2018).

Newton, Stella M., "Tomaso da Modena, Simone Martini, Hungarians and St. Martin in Fourteenth Century Italy," *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 63 (1980), 234–38.

Paget, John, *Hungary and Transylvania, with Remarks on Their Condition, Social, Political, and Economical* 1 (London, 1839).

Papp, Szilárd, "The Castle of Vajdahunyad (Hunedoara)," in *The Art of Medieval Hungary*, eds. Xavier Barral i Altet, Pál Lővei, Vinni Lucherini, and Imre Takács (Rome, 2018), pp. 427–30.

Perkinson, Stephen, "Portraits and Counterfeits: Villard de Honnecourt and Thirteenth-Century Theories of Representation," in *Excavating the Medieval Image. Manuscripts, Artists, Audiences. Essays in Honor of Sandra Hindman*, eds. David S. Areford, and Nina Rowe (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 13–28.

Perkinson, Stephen, "Rethinking the origins of portraiture," *Gesta* 46/2 (2007), 135–157.

Perkinson, Stephen, *The Likeness of the King. A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago, 2009).

Perkinson, Stephen, "Likeness," *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012), *Special Issue Medieval Art History Today – Critical Terms*, 15–28.

Polzer, Joseph, "L'ultimo dipinto di Simone Martini," *Antichità viva* 19/6 (1980), 7–16.

Prague. The Crown of Bohemia 1347–1437, eds. Barbara Drake Boehm, and Jiří Fajt (New York, 2005).

Rácz, György, "L'araldica dell'età angioina," in *L'Ungheria angioina*, ed. Enikő Csukovits (Rome, 2013), pp. 283–318.

Radaelli, Anna, "Tra finzione e realtà: la *conplancha* per Roberto d'Angiò, una voce per un re immaginato," *Lecturae tropatorum* 11 (2018), 1–69.

Rady, Martyn C., *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary* (London, 2000).

Rathmann-Lutz, Anja, *Images Ludwigs des Heiligen im Kontext dynastischer Konflikte des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 2010).

Recht, Roland, "Le portrait et le principe de réalité dans la sculpture: Philippe le Bel et l'image royale," in *Akten des XXV. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte* 6, ed. Elisabeth Liskar (Vienna, 1986), pp. 189–201.

Rómer, Flóris, "Vajda-hunyadi falfestmények [Murals of Vajdahunyad]," *Archaeologiai Értesítő* [Bulletin of Archeology] 5 (1871), 21–22.

Rosario, Iva, *Art and Propaganda. Charles IV of Bohemia, 1346–1378* (Woodbridge, 2000).

Rosen, Klaus, *Attila. Der Schrecken der Welt* (München, 2016).

Sandron, Dany, review of, Dorothy Gilllerman, *Enguerran de Marigny and the Church of Notre-Dame at Ecouis. Art and Patronage in the Reign of Philip the Fair* (University Park, 1994), in *Bulletin monumental* 154/2 (1996), 184–87.

Schmidt, Gerhard, "Bemerkungen zur Königsgalerie der Kathedrale von Reims," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 25 (1972), 96–106.

Schmidt, Gerhard, "Porträt oder Typus: zur Frage der Ähnlichkeit in den Darstellungen Kaiser Friedrichs III," *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 8/9 (2006), 10–59.

Schramm, Percy Ernst, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel. Wanderung und Wandlung eines Herrschaftszeichens von Cäsar bis zu Elisabeth II. Ein Beitrag zum Nachleben der Antike* (Stuttgart, 1958).

Serra Desfilis, Amadeo, "La historia de la dinastía en imágenes: Martín el Humano y el rollo genealógico de la Corona de Aragón," *Locus Amœnus* 6 (2002–03), 58–74.

Set in Stone. The Face in Medieval Sculpture, exhibition catalogue, ed. Charles T. Little (New Haven, 2006).

Sherman, Claire Richter, *The Portraits of Charles V of France* (New York, 1969).

Šmahel, František, *The Parisian Summit, 1377–78. Emperor Charles IV and King Charles V of France* (Prague, 2014).

Spence, John, *Reimagining History in Anglo-Norman Prose Chronicles* (Woodbridge, 2013).

Spiegel, Gabrielle M., "The *Reditus Regni ad Stirpem Karoli Magni*: A New Look," *French Historical Studies* 7 (1971), 145–74.

Spiegel, Gabrielle, "Genealogy. Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative," *History and Theory* 22/1 (1983), 43–53.

Spiegel, Gabrielle, "Structures of Time in Medieval Historiography," *The Medieval History Journal* 19/1 (2016), 21–33.

Stejskal, Karel, "Die Rekonstruktion des Luxemburger Stammbaums auf Karlstein," *Umëni* 26 (1978), 535–63.

Stejskal, Karel, *L'Empereur Charles IV: l'art en Europe au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1980).

Strongman, Sheila, "John Parker's Manuscripts: an Edition of the Lists in Lambeth Palace MS 737," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 7 (1977–80), 1–27.

Studies on the Illuminated Chronicle, eds. János M. Bak, and László Veszprémy (Budapest, 2018).

Suckale, Robert, "Zur Ikonografie der deutschen Herrscher des 14. Jahrhunderts. Rudolf I. – Ludwig IV. – Karl IV.," in *Die Goldene Bulle. Politik, Wahrnehmung, Rezeption*, eds. Ulrike Hohensee, Mathias Lawo, Olaf B. Rader, and Michael Lindner (Berlin, 2009), pp. 327–48.

Szovák, Kornél, "The Image of the Ideal King in Twelfth-Century Hungary (Remarks on the Legend of St Ladislas)," in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (London, 1994), pp. 241–65.

Takács, Imre, "Deux joyaux armoriés," in *Sigismund rex et imperator. Art et culture à l'époque de Sigismond de Luxembourg 1387–1437, exhibition catalogue*, ed. Imre Takács (Budapest, 2006), pp. 101–02.

Takács, Imre, "L'art de la cour royale à la fin de l'époque angevine," in *Sigismund rex et imperator. Art et culture à l'époque de Sigismond de Luxembourg 1387–1437, exhibition catalogue*, ed. Imre Takács (Budapest, 2006), pp. 68–86.

Takács, Imre, *Az Árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei* [Royal Seals of the Arpad Dynasty] (Budapest, 2012).

The Capetian Century 1214 to 1314, eds. William Chester Jordan, and Jenna Rebecca Philipps (Turnhout, 2017).

The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle, ed. Dezső Dercsényi (Budapest, 1969).

Turel, Noa, "Living Pictures: Rereading 'Au Vif,' 1350–1550," *Gesta* 50/2 (2011), 163–82.

Valois, Noël, "Les statues de la grande salle du Palais," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France* 30/1 (1903), 87–90.

Veszprémi, László, Wehli, Tünde, and Hapák, József, *The Book of the Illuminated Chronicle* (Budapest, 2009).

Veszprémy, László, "King St Ladislas, Chronicles, Legends, and Miracles," *Saeculum Christianum* 25 (2018), 140–63.

Veszprémy, László, "The Knightly Culture of the Hungarian Barons of the Angevin Period: Ideals and Practice," in *Formations et cultures des officiers et de l'entourage des princes dans les territoires angevins* (*milieu XIII^e – fin XV^e siècle*), eds. Isabelle Mathieu, and Jean-Michel Matz (Rome, 2019), pp. 297–314.

Villette, Jean, "Les galeries des rois aux façades des cathédrales. Rois de France ou rois de Juda?," *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir* 31/4 (1991), 143–68.

Zichy, Graf Istvan, "Die Miniaturen der Ungarischen Bilderchronik und die Kostümkunde," in *Petrovics Elek emlékkönyv – Hommage à Alexis Petrovics* (Budapest, 1934), pp. 59–70, 191–97.

Zupka, Dušan, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication in Medieval Hungary Under the Árpád Dynasty, 1000–1301* (Leiden, 2016).

Illustrations



FIGURE 8.1 Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 404, fol. 1r
© BUDAPEST, ORSZÁGOS SZÉCHÉNYI KÖNYVTÁR



FIGURE 8.2 Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 404, fol. 5v
© BUDAPEST, ORSZÁGOS SZÉCHÉNYI KÖNYVTÁR



FIGURE 8.3 Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 404, fol. 13v
© BUDAPEST, ORSZÁGOS SZÉCHÉNYI KÖNYVTÁR



FIGURE 8.4 Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 404, fol. 21r
© BUDAPEST, ORSZÁGOS SZÉCHÉNYI KÖNYVTÁR



FIGURE 8.5 Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 404, fol. 51r
© BUDAPEST, ORSZÁGOS SZÉCHÉNYI KÖNYVTÁR



FIGURE 8.6 Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 404, fol. 69v
© BUDAPEST, ORSZÁGOS SZÉCHÉNYI KÖNYVTÁR

CHAPTER 9

Game of Thrones

The Chess Set of Charlemagne in Context

Lucinia Speciale

for Ferdinando Bologna in memoriam

Since the High Middle Ages, southern Italy has been a no man's land of diverse cultures and differing ideologies of power. A particularly notable example of the cross-pollination among these can be seen in a small group of ivory statuettes created at the beginning of the 12th century in one of the artisan workshops active in the region. For a long time, the treasury of Saint-Denis Abbey has preserved a set of chess pieces noted for their exceptional dimensions and shapes, all sculpted from elephant ivory (Figure. 9.1). The record filed on 18 January 1794 at the Cabinet of Antiquities (the original core of the current department of Coins, Medals, and Antiquities at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris) describes the set as:

> 16 ivory pieces – formerly known as Charlemagne's chess set because it was assumed that they were among the gifts that the caliph Aaron Raschild sent to this emperor.[1]

The reference to Harun al-Rashid's gift is most likely an attempt to explain the exotic aspect of certain of the figures by associating them with the famous exchange of messengers between the Carolingian emperor and the Abbasid caliph. Much older accounts attributed the chess set to Charlemagne, as attested by the first mention of the pieces at Saint-Denis in a 1505 inventory: "A

1 "16 pièces d'yvoire – que l'on appelloit anciennement les échecs de Charlemagne parce que l'on supposait qu'elles faisaient partie des présens que le calife Aaron Raschild envoya à cet empereur." See: Blaise de Montesquiou-Fezenzac, *Le Trésor de Saint-Denis* 2 (Paris 1977), pp. 213–15.

© LUCINIA SPECIALE, 2022 | DOI:10.1163/9789004511583_011
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

whole set of chess of ivory … which belonged to Charlemagne."[2] Likewise, Jean Doublet noted in his *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis en France*: "This devoted king and emperor gave … a rich psaltery written in golden letters, and an ivory chess game whose pieces are large."[3]

Finally, in 1838 Marion Du Mersan wrote:

> On this board we see different antique ivory pieces for a game of chess. Sixteen of these pieces were found in the treasury of Saint-Denis. They are thought to come from a chess set given to Charlemagne by the caliph Harun al-Rashid. Fifteen of the pieces are less ancient. In the back row are the two kings and two queens. One of the kings is in a crenelated structure, dressed in regal clothing, holding a sceptre and seated on a throne while two valets hold back the curtains. The other king is in a structure without merlons, crowned by a *tribuna* or pavilion. The chess pieces were not distinguished by colour but instead, without a doubt, by their shape. Next to each of the two kings there is a queen. The first is inside a crenellated structure, the other is inside a pavilion. In the front row there are elephants, three chariots each with four horses, two pairs of knights, and a foot soldier or *pedone* or pawn, similar to what you see on the *tribuna* or tribune of the queen: this proves that these pieces belonged to the same game. The armour of the knights and the pawn are absolutely identical to those of the figures in the tapestry of Queen Mathilde, conserved at Bayeux: these are the Norman knights who conquered England in the mid-11th century.[4]

---

2 Ung jeu complet d'eschetz d'ivire …, estoit à Charles Maigne: de Montesquiou-Fezenzac, *Le Trésor de Saint-Denis*, pp. 213–15.

3 Cet devotieux Roy et Empereur a donné … un riche psautier escrit en lettres d'or, avec un tres beau jeu d'échaics d'ivoire, dont les personnages sont grands: Jean Doublet, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de S. Denys en France* (Paris 1625), p. 1213.

4 "On voit sur cette tablette plusiers pièces d'anceins jeux d'échecs, en ivoire; seize de ces pièces étaient autrefois dans le trésors de Saint-Denis. On a dit qu'elles provenaient d'un jeu d'échecs donné à Charlemagne par le calife Harun a-Rashid. Quinze de ces piéces sont moins anciennes. Au fond sont les deux rois et les deux reines. L'un des rois est dans un édifice crénelé, vétu d'habits royaux, le sceptre en main, assis sur son trône; deux valets tiennent les rideaux. L'autre rois est dans un édifice sans créneaux, terminé en *tribuna* [original italics] ou pavillon. On ne reconnaissait pas ancors les pièces de l'échiquier à la couleur, mais sans doute à la forme. A côté de chacun des rois, est la reine; l'und dans un edifice crénelé, l'autre dans un pavillon. Sur le devant sont trois éléphants, trois chars à quatre chevaux, deux cavaliers et un fantassin ou *pion* [original italics], semblable à celui qu'on voit sur la *tribuna* de la reine, ce qui prouve que ces piéces appartenaient au même jeu. Les armures des cavaliers et du *pion* sont absolument pareilles à celle des figures de la tapisserie de la reine Mathilde, conservée à Bayeux; ce sont celles des chevaliers normands qui firent la conquête de l'Angleterre,

The pieces were distributed in two rows, with the two pairs of kings and queens in the back row and the elephants, the chariots, the two pairs of knights, and the foot soldier or pawn in the front row. The placement is more or less the same as was maintained in the vitrine at the Cabinet of Medals and Antiquities, where the set was displayed until a short time ago (Figure. 9.1).[5] Du Mersan was the first to notice that the armour of two of the four knights of Charlemagne's *échiquier*, or chess set, is very similar to that worn by the Norman knights represented in the *tapisserie* from Bayeux, the large piece embroidered with scenes of the conquest of England and formerly preserved in Bayeux Cathedral.[6] Based on this observation, he was also able to identify which pieces among those transferred to the Cabinet of Medals and Antiquities were part of the same chess set.[7] Just short of a century later, Adolph Goldschmidt pointed out, for the first time, that the chess pieces from Saint-Denis are incredibly similar to the magnificent plaques still kept today in the Diocesan Museum of San Matteo in Salerno that depict narrative scenes from the Old and New Testaments (figures. 9.1, 9.2).[8]

The hypothesis that the Charlemagne chess set might have its origins in southern Italy was proposed by Goldschmidt in his detailed cataloguing of the 16 pieces as part of his large survey of ivory sculpture produced in the West. The connection between the Saint-Denis chess set and the Salerno plaques, founded on a meticulous comparative analysis of their techniques and

---

sous Guillaume-le-Conquérant, au milieu du XIe siècle." See: Marion du Mersan, *Histoire du Cabinet des Médailles, antiques et pierres gravées, avec une notice sur la Bibliothèque Royale et une description des objets exposés dans cet établissement* (Paris, 1838), pp. 25–27, esp. 25.

5 The collection housed at the Cabinet of Medals and Antiquities is being rearranged. The chess pieces have undergone careful restoration and analysis under the direction of the chief conservator of the collection, Mathilde Avisseau-Broustet. Thanks to these circumstances, in January 2019 I had the privilege of examining the game pieces during the restoration process. I am very grateful to my colleagues Mathilde Avisseau-Broustet and Azzurra Palazzo, the restorer, for this opportunity.

6 For the history of the embroidered cloth and the story of its fate between the 18th and 19th centuries, see: Xavier Barral I Altet, *En souvenir du roi Guillaume. La broderie de Bayeux. Stratégies narratives et vision médiévale du monde* (Paris, 2016), pp. 34–46.

7 Du Mersan itself recognized that the figure (inv. 55.307), traditionally identified as a *vizir*, maybe have come to the Cabinet of Medals and Antiquities of BnF as part of a collection of antiquities belonging to the count of Caylus. Indeed, the piece can be seen in an engraving published in the sixth volume of the series that describes the collection, see: Anne-Claude-Philippe de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines et gauloises,* 6 (Paris 1764), pp. 323–25, and tav. CIII. I owe my knowledge of this to Mme Mathilde Avisseau-Broustet, to whom I wish to express my thanks.

8 Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Romanischen Zeit, XI.-XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1926), pp. 46–48.

styles, was never again discussed. Even less attention was given to a note that Goldschmidt himself added in the margin of the catalogue, naming Sicily as another possible place of origin for the set: "At the moment it is not possible to establish whether these figures were made in Sicily or in a southern Italian city."[9]

1 From the Kingdom in the Sun to Saint-Denis

The circumstances around the transfer of the Charlemagne chess pieces to France are unclear. Mention of the pieces in the inventory of the abbey treasury leads us to believe that they arrived during medieval times, possible by the 13th century. Based on the affinity of style and iconography that ties the chess pieces to the plaques of Salerno Cathedral, Michel Pastoureau proposed that the set could have been gifted from the archbishop of Salerno to Philip the Bold on the occasion of his passage through the city.[10] Another very reputable hypothesis – formulated some time ago by Danielle Gaborit-Chopin[11] and recently revisited[12] – instead associates the chess set with the most prestigious core of the Saint-Denis treasury, established by Abbot Suger around the middle of the 12th century. However, if the set had been a gift from the new sovereign of Sicily, Roger II, to the powerful abbot of Saint-Denis, this begs the question of why Suger did not mention it as one of the most important *mirabilia* of the treasure.

In my opinion, it would make more sense that the acquisition took place, as Pastoureau suggests, during the late Middle Ages, when the exotic appearance and morphological characteristics of the chess set could be more easily attributed to the time of Charlemagne and to the Islamic East. The shape and size of the pieces identify them as a decorative set of great prestige, one decidedly destined for a secular context, such as a palace or castle. If the pieces

9 "… Ob die Figuren aber in Sizilien oder einer süditalienischen Stadt gearbeitet, läßt sich einstweilen nicht bestimmen."

10 Michel Pastoureau, *L'Échiquier de Charlemagne. Un jeu pour ne pas jouer* (Paris, 1990), pp. 34–36. Reissued with some additions, in: Michel Pastoureau, "L'arrivo degli scacchi in Occidente. Storia di una acculturazione difficile," in Michel Pastoureau, *Medioevo simbolico* (Paris 2004; repr. Rome, 2005), pp. 247–68.

11 For this most recent hypothesis, see: Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, "Échecs de Charlemagne," in *Le trésor de Saint-Denis. Musée du Louvre, Paris, 12 mars-17 juin 1991* (Paris, 1991), pp. 132–41.

12 More recently: Philippe Cordez, "O joco de xadrez: imagem, poder e igreja (fin do século X – início do século XII)," *Revista de História* 165 (2011), 93–120, esp. 104–14.

came to Saint-Denis through Philip the Bold, they could have been a gift from his uncle Charles of Anjou; the latter may have offered his nephew, who had passed through Sicily during his return from the Holy Land, one of the furnishings of the palaces of Palermo. The historical attribution of these chess pieces to Charlemagne could perhaps hide this Sicilian origin.[13] It is known that the Angevin ruler used part of the spoils resulting from the conquest of the *Regnum* for diplomatic purposes. A few decades later, one of the thrones of Frederick II appears in the inventories of the treasury of the Holy See.[14] The pieces from Charlemagne's set may have found a similar fate.[15]

2 Ivory Trade and Artistic Production on the Amalfi Coast

The foremost similarity among the Salerno plaques, the Charlemagne chess set, and other comparable pieces attributable to the ateliers of the Amalfi Coast is their material: rare and costly elephant ivory. During the middle centuries of the medieval era, elephant ivory was a very difficult material to obtain and was therefore very highly valued in Europe as well as the Near East. The difficulty in procuring ivory compromised its availability even in Byzantium, which remained one of the main centres for the creation of carved ivories in the entire Mediterranean.[16] By considering these historical circumstances,

13 Lucinia Speciale, "Il gioco dei Re. Intorno agli 'Scacchi di Carlo Magno,'" in *Medioevo: la Chiesa e il Palazzo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 20–24 settembre 2005*, ed. Arturo C. Quintavalle (I Convegni di Parma) 8 (Parma, 2007), pp. 238–48, esp. 245–46.

14 For the scattering of the treasures of Frederick II, more recently: Hermann Fillitz, "Tesoro imperiale," in *Federico II. Enciclopedia Fridericiana* 2 (Roma, 2006), pp. 824–29.

15 I have already argued in favour of this hypothesis, which I still find convincing, in: Lucinia Speciale, "Ludus scachorum: il gioco dei re. Forma e iconografia degli scacchi tra l'Italia e l'Europa," in *L'Enigma degli avori medievali da Amalfi a Salerno*, ed. Ferdinando Bologna, 2 vols (Napoli, 2008), 1:203–29.

16 For an overview, see: Anthony Cutler, *The Craft of Ivory. Sources, Techniques and Uses in the Mediterranean World: A.D. 200–1200* (Washington, D.C., 1985); Anthony Cutler, *The Hand of the Master. Craftmanship, Ivory and Society in Byzantium (9th-IIth Centuries)* (Princeton, 1994). See also the introductory pages of the catalogue: *Ivoires: de l'Orient ancien aux temps modernes*, eds. Annie Caubet, and Danielle Gaborit-Chopin (Paris, 2004), pp. 28–30. For a recent synthesis regarding the Salerno corpus, see: Sarah M. Guérin, "The tusk: origins of the raw material for the Salerno ivories," in *The Salerno Ivories: objects, histories, contexts,* eds. Francesca Dell'Acqua, Anthony Cutler, Herbert L. Kessler, Avinoam Shalem, and Gerhard Wolf (Berlin, 2016), pp. 21–29. This last entry leaves me perplexed about the hypothesis that the entire corpus of the Salerno plaques could have been made from only one tusk: in their current state it is impossible to evaluate exactly how much of the Salerno set has gone missing. In regards to this, see: Anthony Cutler, "The fabric, facture

we get a sense of the exceptional magnificence of this game set, which is still impressive today despite the fact that only about half of the original set survives. According to the description in the inventory, the Charlemagne chess set was comprised of 32 pieces and a large chessboard measuring about one square metre and also made of pure ivory. Preserved today are 15 of the major pieces and only one of the minor pieces: two kings, two queens, four elephants (bishops), four knights, three chariots (towers), and only one pawn. It is an exceptional corpus, both in quantity and scale. The most important pieces, the two kings (figures. 9.1, 9.3), are more than 15 cm tall. The chessboard and virtually all the minor pieces are missing.

The type of architecture that houses the two royal couples is reminiscent of the style of the Salerno plaques; the domes, the slender shape, and the raised arches of the two porticos recall the oriental shapes that distinguished the architecture of the Amalfi Coast between the 11th and 12th centuries. The stylistic resemblance that links the Parisian pieces to the Salerno group is very evident. In the rigid in-the-round figurines of the Saint-Denis set, we see the ample robes marked by double lines and the big eyes that characterize the Salerno images (figures. 9.2, 9.3). Very similar characteristics can be recognized above all in one of the two artists to whom the scenes of the New Testament can likely be attributed.[17]

The original destination and date of the Salerno ivories is still today very controversial.[18] In my opinion, despite the similarity of their decorative motifs to the frames of the ivories at the entry to Salerno Cathedral (mutually considered to be from 1085),[19] the smooth relief shapes of the ivory plaques seem to

---

and enduring enigma of the Salerno ivories," in *The Salerno Ivories*, ed. Dell'Acqua et al., pp. 11–19.

17 Ferdinando Bologna, *Opere d'arte nel Salernitano dal XII al XVIII secolo* (Napoli, 1955), pp. 11–19; see also Robert Bergman, *The Salerno Ivories. Ars Sacra from Medieval Amalfi* (Cambridge, Eng., 1980), pp. 76–87; Antonio Braca, *Gli avori medievali del Museo Diocesano di Salerno* (Salerno, 1994), pp. 193–205.

18 For a balanced evaluation of the studies following the Salerno exhibit of 2007, see: Paul Williamson, "Review of Valentino Pace, *Una Bibbia in avorio: Arte mediterranea nella Salerno dell'XI secolo* (Milano, 2016)," *The Burlington Magazine* 169 (2017), p. 556.

19 Francesco Gandolfo, *La scultura normanno-sveva in Campania. Botteghe e modelli*, (Fonti e studi) 9 (Roma, 1999) p. 24. More recently: Antonio Braca, *Il Duomo di Salerno. Architetture e culture artistiche del medioevo e dell'Età Moderna* (Società Salernitana di Storia Patria, Collana di Studi Storici Salernitani) 19 (Salerno, 2003), pp. 79–93; Valentino Pace, "La cattedrale di Salerno. Committenza, programma e valenze ideologiche di un monumento di fine XI secolo nell'Italia meridionale," in Valentino Pace, *Arte medievale in Italia meridionale* 1. *La Campania*, (Nuovo Medioevo) 70 (Napoli, 2007), pp. 69–90. (Updated version of the paper of the same title originally published in: *Desiderio di Montecassino e l'Arte della Riforma Gregoriana*, ed. Faustino Avagliano (Montecassino, 1997), pp. 189–230).

belong to a later stylistic phase, attributable to at least the early 12th century. A stylistic comparison of the Salerno ivories to other important carved-ivory artifacts produced in the workshops of the Amalfi Coast during this period also justifies attributing them to a later time. I am referring to the ivory casket of the abbey of Farfa, a work of art which for historical reasons could not have been made after 1072 (Figure. 9.4).[20] That the Farfa casket predates the Salerno ivories is demonstrated by the much more rigid and awkward shapes of the figures on the former. In terms of style, the Charlemagne pieces seem to mark a transition between the Farfa casket and the Salerno ivories. This is easy to see by comparing one of the two Saint-Denis queens (Figure. 9.5; BnF inv. 55.310) with the Visitation scene carved on the lid of the Farfa casket (Figure. 9.4). The general structure of the latter composition, the relationship between the figures and the architecture, and even the handmaid pulling back the curtain in the scene where the Virgin Mary is hugging Elisabeth all find evident parallels in the chess piece.[21] The treatment of the robes, marked by two vertical lines, is another shared feature.

The stylistically intermediate position that the Charlemagne set occupies with respect to the other two works of art offers a clue towards resolving, in a chronological sense, the differences between the Farfa casket and the Salerno ivories. Less probable, in my opinion, is the hypothesis that two different carving traditions developed, in parallel yet independently, between the 11th and 12th centuries in such a relatively limited geographic area as the Amalfi Coast.[22] The unity of the school is demonstrated by the kinship that binds the Charlemagne chess set to both the Cassetta di Farfa and the Salerno plaques.

---

20 For the Farfa casket, see: Pietro Toesca, "Un cimelio amalfitano," *Bollettino d'arte* 27 (1933–34), 537–43; Robert Bergman, "A School of Romanesque Ivory Carving in Amalfi," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 9 (1974), 163–86, esp. 164–71; Antonio Braca, "Lavori in avorio in Amalfi medievale: considerazioni e ipotesi," *Rassegna del Centro di Cultura e Storia amalfitana* n.s. 3 (1993), 111–28; Antonio Braca, "Intorno alla cassetta di avorio di Farfa. Il cimelio, il donatore e la cassetta amalfitana," in *L'Enigma*, ed. Bologna, 1:161–201. For a *status quaestionis* now, see: Giuseppe Perta, "La 'Cassetta di Farfa' e l'itinerario mediterraneo dei *de comite Maurone*," *Annali della Pontificia Insigne Accademia di Belle Arti e Lettere dei Virtuosi al Pantheon* 16 (2016), 373–92.

21 Lucinia Speciale, "Guerra e Pace. Ancora sugli 'Scacchi di Carlo Magno'," in *Tempi e forme dell'arte. Miscellanea di studi offerti a Pina Belli D'Elia*, eds. Luisa Derosa, and Clara Gelao (Foggia, 2011), pp. 73–81, esp. 77. More recently: Lucinia Speciale, "Il gioco di un re: gli Scacchi Di Carlo Magno," in *Castrum Superius. Il Palazzo dei re normannni* (Palermo. Fondazione Federico II) (Palermo, 2019), pp. 204–15.

22 See: Ferdinando Bologna, "Avori medioevali da Amalfi a Salerno, senza enigmi," in *L'Enigma*, ed. Bologna, 1:21–97.

In the Parisian set, the geometric motif in relief that characterizes the top of the four principal figures reminds us of another artifact, traditionally linked to the corpus of southern Italian ivories, namely the oliphant (Figure. 9.6; inv. CL 13.065) from the treasury of Saint-Arnould Abbey in Metz, now preserved at the Cluny Museum in Paris.[23] The piece is considered to be one of the oldest in the corpus of carved-ivory horns found among the many ecclesiastic treasuries in continental Europe after the year 1000. According to a very convincing hypothesis, the Metz oliphant may have been made in Egypt and then brought to the West, where it was then reworked most likely for use as a reliquary. Supporting this theory is the decidedly religious nature of the iconographic subject matters that were added at a later time: the Ascension of Christ and busts of the apostles.[24] The oliphant of Metz shows similarities to the Charlemagne chess set in terms of a certain coarseness in the carving of the new reliefs and, above all, in the ornamental motifs added in the second phase. For instance, the lozenged-shaped rosettes at the top of the two king-pieces and those present in the decorative band topping the Ascension scene are quite similar (figures. 9.3, 9.6).

Unfortunately, the medieval history of the oliphant in the Cluny Museum does not offer any indication of where the artifact travelled before arriving in Metz. There are convincing arguments that the reworking of the original Egyptian piece may have been executed in the Amalfi Coast workshops, but this remains conjecture.[25]

---

23 For the piece of art, see: David Ebitz, "Secular to sacred: the transformation of an oliphant in the Musée de Cluny," *Gesta* 25 (1986), 31–38, n. 23. For an overall view of the phenomenon, see: Valentino Pace, "Maniera saracena in Italia meridionale: l'olifante Basilewsky," *Palazzo Madama. Studi e notizie* 4–3 (2014–15), 66–73.

24 In fact, the oliphant of Metz is an interesting manifestation of a phenomenon that Avinoam Shalem has happily defined as 'Islam Christianized': Avinoam Shalem, *Islam Christianized. Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Church Treasuries of the Latin West* (Ars Faciendi, Beiträge und Studien zur Kunstgeschichte) 7, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt, 1998).

25 The piece was received at Cluny after the Spitzer Collection was dispersed. For its history and the correct reference to its southern Italian context, see: Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires médiévaux, Ve-XVe siècle. Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art. Catalogue* (Paris, 2003), pp. 205–06; Avinoam Shalem, *The Oliphant. Islamic objects in Historical Context* (Leiden, 2004), pp. 109–10. More recently: Lucinia Speciale, "86. olifante," in *L'Enigma*, ed. Bologna, 2:470–73. I had the extraordinary opportunity to study the Cluny oliphant up close during its display at the Salerno exhibit of 2007. During a study session of the scientific committee held there, I was able to see it next to the Farfa casket and to observe the stylistic affinity that ties these two works together. I am very grateful to Ferdinando Bologna for including me in the scientific committee concerning *L'Enigma degli avori medievali da Amalfi a Salerno* and for entrusting me with the section dedicated to the chess pieces and the oliphants.

3 Two Artists and Two Colours

Taking a closer look at the Charlemagne chess set, or at least at what remains of it, we see the work of two artists whose different personalities most likely account for the variances in carving among the pieces. This is evident in the small differences that characterize the two pairs of elephants, mounted by teams of two to three *mahout* figures each (figures. 9.1). Since the identity of each of the four pieces is the same, the contrasting aspects of the carving are what reveals the hands of two different artists. Differences can be observed in the quality of the relief, perceptible above all in the tiniest and liveliest details of the characters placed on the backs of the animals. One of the two pairs, the one with only two *mahouts* (figures. 9.1, 9.7), has a distinctive feature probably tied to the placement of the pieces on the chessboard: the elephants' trunks are folded, in one case towards the right and, in the other case, towards the left. This solution allows for differentiation of two otherwise identical elements of the pieces, both having the same harness for war, the same clothing, the same equipment. This particularity probably suggests the respective positions of the two elephants, to the right or to the left of the command pair. The two elephants surmounted by three mahouts each are likewise differentiated from one another[26] – in this case, by their saddlecloths, one patterned with a lozenge motif containing a circle and the other with alternating bands of circles (Figure. 9.1).

Rather than indicating that the pieces belong to different game sets,[27] these small discrepancies in decoration respond to a need to distinguish the opponents' pieces from one another even while working in the same material for both. This same need explains the choice to paint the two halves of the set red and gold, respectively; this paint was still evident on the pieces at the beginning of the 20th century but has by now almost entirely vanished.[28] During the medieval period, the standard colour distinction was not as it is today – in black and white, which was adopted only from the 14th century – but in red and white.[29]

---

26 As a result of an accident at an unknown time, one of the two elephants in this pair is missing its central mahout, of which only his legs remain (inv. 55.315).

27 This is the opinion of: Michel Pastoureau, *Pièces d'Échecs. Bibliothèque Nationale. Cabinet des médailles et antiques, 7 juin-30 septembre 1990* (Paris, 1990), p. 16.

28 Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, p. 46. The analysis carried out between the end of 2018 and 2019 aimed to safely determine the presence of these traces.

29 See: Alessandro Sanvito, "Bianco e nero o rosso e verde?," *L'Italia scacchistica* 943 (1984), 143–46.

The distribution of labour between the two artists and the small differences revealed by close observation of the figures leave us to suspect that the creator of the set did not work from a model and that certain choices were made over the course of creating the pieces. This leads us to believe that the Charlemagne set should be considered a *unicum*. The dimensions of the set are undoubtedly exceptional, such that it can be seen as a sort of table monument, the larger pieces of which exceed the dimensions of any other medieval artifact of its kind.

The pieces of the Saint-Denis set reveal a technical expertise and a formal air of sculpture in the round, far from the precious graphic style of the Salerno plaques. Carving of this nature requires an ample availability of the raw material and great technical mastery. Indeed, the principal figures of the game set were carved from large blocks of ivory, produced through careful sectioning of an elephant tusk. That each piece was carved from a half-tusk block is particularly evident in the kings and queens, each presented within an edifice whose semi-circular base follows the external curve of the original block (figures. 9.1).[30] A technically similar solution, skilfully utilizing the original profile of the tusk, was employed in an isolated king-piece conserved in the Louvre collection (Louvre, Oa inv. 6062). This is a particularly interesting piece that combines the aniconic shape of Islamic game pieces with a *bas-relief* scene of the donning of arms.[31]

30 A close examination of the entire set, which I was able to perform some time ago, confirmed this opinion for me. The publication of the restoration will offer a hypothesis on the *eborarii*'s work techniques used in the *Échiquier* of Saint-Denis, starting with the sectioning of the tusks. A study of the set's material gives us at least one certain piece of information: the two queens are made of two halves of one block of ivory. The piece inv. 55.309, which appears smaller in size and of lesser workmanship than its twin, was however carved from the same block of tusk. The differences we see between the two pieces do not mean they were made at different times, as I had previously thought (Speciale, "Ludus scachorum," p. 208), but instead depend on other causes. This reconsideration comes from a precious exchange of views with Azzurra Palazzo, who was entrusted with the restoration of the Charlemagne set.

31 For this last one, see: Lucinia Speciale, "84. Re (pezzo per il gioco degli scacchi)," in *L'Enigma*, ed. Bologna, 2:464–65 (with references); Isabelle Bardiès-Fronty, "101. Pièce d'échecs: roi," in *Art du jeu, jeu dans l'art. De Babylone à l'Occident médiéval. Musée de Cluny – Musée national du Moyen Âge, 28 novembre 2012–4 mars 2013* (Paris, 2012), p. 108.

4 Chess Pieces between East and West

From a purely iconographical point of view, the figures of the Parisian set reveal a distinctly eastern influence. The *ludus scachorum* (the game of the kings) almost certainly began in India[32] and expanded rapidly across Persia to the Near East, where it became widespread between the 6th and 7th centuries thanks to the Arabs. The game preserved its connotations as a simulation of strategic warfare even in the hands of the Arabs, through whom the game eventually came to the Latin West. The fact that the game spread through Europe via the Arabs, and not via Byzantine intermediation, is demonstrated by the Arabic names of the figurines that then resurface in the different Romance traditions of Western Europe. The names of the pieces and the rules of the game that are still in use today in the Latin or Germanic languages reflect this linguistic matrix of terms, recalling their phonetic roots through assonance, starting with the name of the game: chess, *échecs*, *scacchi*, *Schachspiel* are all independently derived from the Arabic transliteration of the Persian word *shah*, or king. In the version of the game that the Arabs played, each of the two players had a series of pieces consisting of two governing figures, the king and his prime minister (which in Arabic is *vizir*), plus the four components of an eastern army: the infantry or foot soldiers, those on horseback, the chariots, and the elephants. As the game became affected by transpositional changes between the 11th and 12th century in the Latin West, the military connotations that had governed it were reinterpreted in socio-allegoric terms. In Christian Europe, the chess pyramid quickly became a great metaphor for the feudal order.[33] The abstract geometry of a war-game became converted into a lighter drama of court life. Indeed, the game's popularity, particularly among the aristocratic elites, coincided with the height of the ideology of chivalry.

32 A wonderful profile of the history of the game is that given by: Harold J. R. Murray, *History of Chess* (Oxford, 1913, repr. New York, 1965). Murray's monograph remains the most complete work on the history of the game, beginning with its origins. More recent: Richard Eales, "The Game of Chess: an Aspect of Medieval Knightly Culture," in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 12–34; Rainer A. Müller, "Il gioco degli scacchi come metafora della civiltà medievale," *Ludica* 1 (1995), 114–25; Pastoureau, *L'arrivo*, pp. 247–68; Sophie Makariou, "Le jeu d'échecs, une pratique de l'aristocratie entre Islam et chrétienté des IXe-XIIIe siècles," in *Chrétiens et musulmans autour de l'an 1100. Actes des 36e Journées Romanes de Cuxa, Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 35 (2003/04), 127–40.

33 Pastoureau, *L'arrivo*; Müller, *Il gioco*; Chiara Frugoni, "Das Schachspiel in der Welt des Jacobus de Cessolis," in *Das Schachbuch des Jacobus de Cessolis. Codex Palatinus Latinus 961*, (Codices e Vaticanis Selecti) 74 (Zurich, 1988), pp. 35–77.

We find the reverberations of this change in the shifting identities of the key figures of the game. First was the *vizir* who was transformed into a female figure, the queen, as first documented around the end of the 10th century in the *Versus de scachis*, a composition in verse that preserves the oldest transcription of the figures and rules of the game in the Latin language.[34]

This historical context, alongside more pointed stylistic reasons, calls into question the identification and dating of a chess piece[35] in the collection of the Cabinet of Medals and Antiquities (BnF inv. 55.307)[36] as well as insistent attempts to associate it with the Charlemagne set. The figure is generally identified as a *vizir* and dated to the late 11th century.[37] In fact, it is a *unicum*, which cannot be paralleled with any traditional western chess figures.[38] One of the most significant changes in the pieces was the transformation of the elephant, whose name in Arabic is *Al-fil* (Figure. 9.7). In the western version of the game, the piece kept its Islamic position and way of moving on the board, but its identity changed greatly, sometimes becoming a bishop or even the diametrical opposite, a jester (*fou*).[39] In another case, that of the tower or rook, the change from an Islamic to a western figure seems to have resulted from a simple phonetic assonance: from the Arabic *rukh* the Latin *rochus*, for chariot, and the Romance-language *roque* and *rocca.* The aniconic character of the Arab

34 For the origin and date of this composition, see: Helena M. Gamer, "The Earliest Evidence of Chess in western literature: the Einsiedeln Verses," *Speculum* 29 (1954) 734–50.

35 The recent opportunity I had to examine this piece in Paris at the studio of Mathilde Avisseau-Broustet reinforces my conviction. I do not know the results of the analysis carried out while the piece was being restored but the quality of the engraving is indisputably very different from that of the Charlemagne set.

36 Du Mersan, *Histoire du Cabinet*, p. 26.

37 Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, p. 47, tav. LXI; Pastoureau, *Échiquier*, p. 44.

38 See: de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes*, pp. 323–25, and tav. CIII. Its documented presence in the Caylus Collection moves the date of its making earlier but does not demonstrate medieval origins. In my opinion, this is a rather interesting case of antiquarian reinterpretation, which started from an archetype whose original function was no longer intended, as revealed by the Caylus catalogue itself. Concerning the production of this curious piece, I would point to: The king-pieces inv. 60 C and inv. 61 C now in the Museo del Bargello, formerly in the Collezione Carrand. See also: Speciale "Ludus scachorum," p. 215; Lucinia Speciale, "Il gioco come status-symbol. Gli scacchi tra formule rappresentative e testimonianze materiali," in *Il gioco nella società e nella cultura dell'altomedioevo*, *Spoleto, 20–26 aprile 2017, Settimane di Studio della Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 65 (Spoleto, 2018), pp. 241–53, esp. 260–61. For the latter see: Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, "Pedine e scacchi," in *Gli avori del Museo Nazionale del Bargello*, ed. Ilaria Ciseri (Milano, 2018), pp. 153–70, esp. 162–66. Gaborit-Chopin believes the pieces are medieval.

39 Murray, *History*, p. 424.

pieces, which spread in the West together with the knowledge of the game starting from the second half of the 10th century, lent itself to the allegorical reinterpretation of the pieces. In the middle centuries of the Middle Ages, completely figurative versions of the game seem to have only been made in the West. The Charlemagne chess set is situated at a very primitive stage in this metamorphosis. The only piece in the set affected by western types is the queen; by contrast, the chariots and the elephants preserve the very pointed military-strategy aspect of the game. This shows that the design and execution of the pieces took place geographically in an environment that was heavily permeated by Islamic culture, just as southern Italy was, beginning in the High Middle Ages.

In the Parisian set, both the elephants' harnesses and the elephants themselves reflect a non-episodic knowledge of Islamic artifacts that finds parallels in southern Italian Romanesque sculpture.[40] The decorative motif of the dossal of Montevergine's wood throne is a particularly significant comparison in this regard.[41] Although the Montevergine relief is probably from a later

40 We can see the connection with the pair of elephants that supports the bishop's chair made by Romualdo for the Canosa Cathedral in the second half of the 11th century. For historical-critical context, see: Silvia Silvestro, "La Puglia," in *La scultura d'età normanna tra Inghilterra e Terrasanta. Questioni storiografiche*, ed. Mario D'Onofrio (Fonti e Studi) 11 (Roma, 2001), pp. 105–38, esp. 113–16.

41 For the Montevergine Cathedral, see: André Grabar, "Thrônes épiscopaux du XIe et XIIe siècles en Italie méridionale," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 16 (1954), 7–52, esp. 34–36 (where the exquisite profane symbology of the decoration was first noted). Also: Antonella Putaturo Murano, "Arredi lignei," in *Insediamenti verginiani in Irpinia. Il Goleto, Montevergine, Loreto*, ed. Vincenzo Pacelli (Cava dei Tirreni, 1988), pp. 185–87. And more recently: Valentino Pace, "La Campania," in *La scultura d'età normanna tra Inghilterra e Terrasanta. Questioni storiografiche*, ed. Mario D'Onofrio (Fonti e Studi) 11 (Roma 2001), pp. 71–104, esp. 92, 103. Lastly: Gaetano Curzi, *Arredi lignei medievali. L'Abruzzo e l'Italia centromeridionale. Secoli XII-XIII* (Cinisello Balsamo, 2007), pp. 86–95. The chronology of the work and its original destination are still uncertain. The piece has aroused the most imaginative hypotheses, among them a possible attribution to Frederick II, see: Lello Capaldo, "Il Trono di Federico II," in *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana* n.s. 47 (1998), 73–90. In my opinion, the decidedly profane character and the decorative repertoire of its reliefs suggest that the throne was made for a secular destination. Since the privilege of administering justice in the fiefdom of Mercogliano was conferred on the abbots of Montevergine between 1170 and 1195, the same time -frame generally indicated as *terminus ad quem* for for the artifact's production, perhaps this arc of time should rather be taken as a *terminus ante quem*. As previously mentioned, the abbots of Montevergine, together with the county, acquired the governing rights as lords over the fiefdom. The throne may have been made for the count of Mercogliano's residence and transferred to the abbey only after the family died out. The changes made to the piece of furniture – originally one seat, then three – may be explained by the need to adapt the furnishings to their new functions as part of the abbey pulpit. Some of the many questions that remain unanswered regarding

period, the parallel is particularly fitting in terms of iconography and in the secular subject represented in the relief, possibly an imitation of a fabric. The profile of an elephant in military dress mounted by a *howdah* full of people is also seen in one of the *rotae* in a sculpted panel of Aversa Cathedral[42] and in a *velum* painted in the apse of Santa Maria a Foro Claudio near Ventaroli.[43] Motifs of this sort must have been well distributed throughout the Campania region during the 11th century, as evidenced by the memory of a *pallium magnum cum elefantis* present among the vestments offered by Empress Agnese del Poitou to the abbey of Montecassino on the occasion of her visit in 1071.[44] Another example to consider from the Apulia region is the 12th-century image carved on one of the doorframes of the church of San Giovanni al Sepolcro in Brindisi,[45] where one of the three mahouts that guide the elephant is seated on the animal's neck, the same configuration as in two of the Parisian chess pieces (Figure. 9.7). Another is a figure – unfortunately very damaged – of the *muqarnas* of the Palatina.

The Charlemagne set offers yet another important example of how the Islamic game was received in the Latin West, namely in the contrasts among the armament of the four knights. In the first pair, the figurines display pointed helmets and Norman-style almond-shaped shields (Figure. 9.1),[46] analogous

---

the origin of the piece could be resolved by conducting a dendrochronological analysis of the materials of the throne.

42 For this see: Gandolfo, *Scultura*, fig. 27.

43 For the paintings of Ventaroli: Cinzia Celentano, "Schede 166a, 166b-c," in *Caserta e la sua Reggia: Il Museo dell'Opera e del territorio* (Napoli, 1995), pp. 210–12 (where the dating of the works is proposed again to be before the end of the 11th century, as already considered by Bertaux). For the more correct dating to the 13th century, see: Valentino Pace, in Mario D'Onofrio, Valentino Pace, *La Campania*, *Italia romanica* 4 (Milano, 1981), pp. 110–12; Valentino Pace, "Le pertinenze bizantine degli affreschi campani di Santa Maria di Foroclaudio," in Valentino Pace, *Arte medievale in Italia meridionale* 1. *Campania*, (Nuovo medioevo) 70 (Napoli, 2006), pp. 117–21 (updated version of the paper with the same title published originally in *Storia dell'arte* 34 (1978), 207–09); Lucinia Speciale, "S. Maria *de episcopio* a Ventaroli: le pitture murali più antiche," in *Studi in onore di Giovanni Carbonara* (in press).

44 See: *Die Chronik von Montecassino*, ed. Hartmut Hoffmann, MGH Scriptores 34 (1980), *Chronica monasterii casinensis*, 3, 31, p. 403. Regarding this, see: Pace, *Campania*, p. 103.

45 Umberto Scerrato, "Arte," in *Gli arabi in Italia*, ed. Francesco Gabrieli and Umberto Scerrato (Milan, 1979), pp. 275–574, fig. 349.

46 For the exquisitely 'Norman' connotation of this defensive element by well-known military historians of the Middle Ages, see at least: David C. Nicolle, *Arms and armour of the Crusading Era: 1050–1350*, 2 vols (New York, 1988), 1:506–07; Giovanni Amatuccio, " 'Fino alle mura di Babilonia'. Aspetti militari della conquista normanna del Sud," *Rassegna storica Salernitana* 30 (1998), 7–49.

to those seen for the first time in the Bayeux Tapestry.[47] The round shield, the flat helmet, and the heavy bandage that protects the heads of the other two mounted warriors (Figure. 9.1) are instead typologically very similar to those of the Saracen knights in the *muqarnas* of the Palatine Chapel, who are shown contending with western-equipped characters in tournaments.[48] Other characters very similar to the two knights of the Saint-Denis chess set are the *sarakénoi*, seen in military garb in the pages of a Greek codex produced by the chancery of Roger II around 1140. I refer to the illustrated copy of the Byzantine Universal Chronicle of John Skylitzes (Madrid, National Library, MS. Vitr. 26–2, fol. 113v), commonly known as *Skylitzes Matritensis.*[49]

5 Rulership and Image

The two royal couples in the chess set show the influence of iconographic forms and symbols of power that dominated the cultural landscape of Norman southern Italy. In the four principal game pieces we see compositions that combine a Carolingian-Ottonian matrix with contemporary Byzantine elements. The sovereigns on their thrones are placed inside an arch, with curtains held open by a pair of handmaids or servants (figures. 9.1, 9.3, 9.5, 9.9). The pattern reflects traditional images widespread in southern Italy, such as those

47 Pastoureau, *Pièces d'échecs*, p. 28, but earlier: Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires*, p. 125. Also Braca, *Gli avori*, p. 138. The comparison of the drop shields of the knights of the Dionisian chess set with those of the Norman warriors of the Bayeux Tapestry accompanies the set already in du Mersan's first erudite first study, see: Du Mersan, *Histoire du Cabinet des Médailles*, pp. 25–27. For the fate of the Bayeux Tapestry between the 18th and 19th centuries, see now: Barral I Altet, *En souvenir du roi Guillaume*, pp. 34–46.

48 Speciale, *Il gioco dei Re*; Speciale, "Ludus scachorum," pp. 203–29.

49 For the connection, see: Lucinia Speciale, "Gli 'Scacchi di Carlo Magno' e non solo," in *The "Amalfi" – "Salerno" Ivories and the Medieval Mediterranean. A Notebook from the Workshop Convened in Amalfi, December 10–13, 2009*, eds. Francesca Dell'Acqua, Herbert L. Kessler, Avinoam Shalem, and Gerhard Wolf (Amalfi, 2011), pp. 101–04; Speciale, "Guerra e Pace," pp. 73–82. For the origin and the date of the manuscript, see: Ihor Ševčenko, "The Madrid manuscript of the chronicle of Skylitzes in the light of its new dating," in *Byzanz und der Westen. Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters*, ed. Irmgard Hutter, (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften / Philosophisch-Historische Klasse) 432 (Wien, 1984), pp. 117–30; Vasiliki Tsamakda, *The illustrated chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid* (Leiden, 2002); Elena N. Boek, "The politics of visualizing an imperial demise: transforming a Byzantine chronicle into a Sicilian visual narrative," *Word & image 25* (2009), 243–57. For who possibly commissioned the codex, see: Santo Lucà, "Dalle collezioni manoscritte di Spagna: libri originari o provenienti dall'Italia greca medievale," *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* 44 (2007), 39–96, esp. 79–81.

in the Exultet Rolls. The long robe, the flowing beard, and the crown of the two kings find close similarities to the *Imperator* of the final commemoration of the Exultet Barberini (Rome, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 592, fol. 5), produced by the scriptorium of Montecassino Abbey around 1087.[50] Meanwhile, the long tunic with large butterfly sleeves, worn by the two queen-pieces of the Charlemagne set, can be easily connected to the empress and the *ducissa* in the Beneventan Exultet Roll of Pisa (Pisa, Diocesan Museum Exultet 2).[51]

The visual repertoire of the painting on parchment may not have been the only model for this iconographic element, which can also be seen as a manifestation of *Herrschaftsymbolik*. The *aedicula* that houses the sovereign evokes a prototype rooted in the figurative art of the Latin West and very well documented in the illuminated manuscripts; however, at the top of the structure that houses one of the two queens, there is a small element that may reveal an iconographic source taken from carved ivories. I am referring to the only figure that remains of the original pair of foot soldiers on top of the building (Figure. 9.9). The position and function corresponds to that of the two imperial eagles in the portrait of an empress, perhaps Ariadne (before 457–515) in the late antique ivory plaque now preserved in the collections of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlungen, inv. X, 39).[52] In the ivory relief depicting the enthroned sovereign, who wears a jewelled crown and holds the orb and cross, once again we find the parted curtains and even the similar spindle motif that adorns the edges of the architectural elements of the game piece. The inventor of the Charlemagne set, and its artists, undertaking the sophisticated task of transposing the *ludus scachorum*

50 For the origin and date of the Exultet Roll, see: Lucinia Speciale, *Montecassino e la Riforma Gregoriana. L'Exultet Barb. lat. 592,* (Studi di arte medievale) 3 (Rome, 1991), pp. 119–46, esp. 65–67; Lucinia Speciale, *Immagini per la storia. Ideologia e rappresentazione del potere nel mezzogiorno medievale*, (Fondazione 'Centro Internazionale di Studi sull'alto medioevo', Testi, studi, strumenti) 30 (Spoleto, 2014), pp. 37–74.

51 For a classification of the Exultet Roll, in my opinion attributable to the early 12th century in Puglia, see most recently: Lucinia Speciale, "Il libro decorato nella Puglia dell'alto medioevo. Qualche novità e qualche riflessione," in *Bizantini, Longobardi e Arabi in Puglia nell'alto medioevo*, *Ventesimo Congresso internazionale di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, Savelletri di Fasano* (*BR*)*, 3–6 novembre 2011* (Spoleto, 2012), pp. 685–706, esp. 701–02; Speciale, *Immagini per la storia*, pp. 103–09 (with further references).

52 For the artwork, most recently, see: Diliana Angelova, "The Ivories of Ariadne and Ideas about Female Imperial Authority in Rome and Early Byzantium," *Gesta* 43/1 (2004), 1–15 (with references).

from an aniconic into a figural series, may have looked to an iconographic model very similar to the imperial diptych.[53]

6 The Patron

The availability and selection of a late antique ivory in 12th-century Sicily necessarily gives a clue as to the original destination for and patron of the Charlemagne chess set. The history of the plaque with the portrait of the empress has not been entirely deciphered.[54] However, during the Middle Ages such diptychs were carefully hoarded, not only for the often extraordinary quality of their carving but probably also for their refined symbolism of power.[55] Something to take into consideration in exploring how the Saint-Denis pieces fit with this model is the ideological atmosphere of Roger II's Palermo, the capital of a region that he transformed from a territorial fiefdom into a kingdom. In this light, the position and identity of the two crouching animals on the back of the tribune hosting the queen assume particular significance (Figure. 9.10). In the past, the relatively mediocre state of conservation of this piece

53 The Vienna panel comes from the Riccardi Collection in Florence, the same to which another portrait of an empress has long been attributed, currently in the Bargello: see *Inventario e stima della libreria Riccardi. Manoscritti e edizioni del XV secolo* (Firenze 1810), p. XVII. For a history of the collection: Giuseppe De Juliis, "Le vicende degli antichi avori della collezione Riccardi." *Commentari* n.s. 29 (1978), 144–56; Roberto Cassanelli, "I modi della trasmissione. Dai tesori altomedievali ai musei d'arti applicate," in *Eburnea Dyptica. I dittici d'avorio tra Antichità e Medioevo*, ed. Massimiliano David (Bari, 2007), pp. 317–29. The oldest circumstances concerning the conservation of the two panels are unfortunately unknown. For a complete overview: Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, "Placca centrale di un Pentittico con imperatrice (Ariadne)," in *Gli avori*, ed. Ciseri, pp. 51–54.

54 Fundamental for a general overview of the subject is: Richard Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler*, (Studien zur spätantiken Kustgeschichte) 2 (Berlin, 1929). The book is now available in Italian with an exhaustive bibliographical addition: Richard Delbrück, *Dittici consolari tardoantichi*, ed. trans. Marilena Abbatepaolo, (Biblioteca tardoantica) 1 (Bari, 2009). For more up-to-date reading on the phenomenon: *Eburnea Dyptica*, ed. David; Massimiliano David, "Ristudiare i dittici eburnei," in Marilena Abbatepaolo, *Parole d'avorio. Fonti letterarie e testi per lo studio dei dittici eburnei*, (Biblioteca tardoantica) 8 (Bari, 2012), pp. 5–10.

55 On the fate of diptychs in the Middle Ages: Anthony Cutler, "Il linguaggio visivo dei dittici eburnei: forma, funzione, produzione, ricezione," in *Eburnea Dyptica*, ed. David, pp. 131–61; Fulvio Cervini, "Le vie del classicismo tra iconografie e linguaggi," in *Eburnea Dyptica*, ed. David, pp. 163–86. On the liturgical reuse of late antique diptychs, most recently: Abbatepaolo, *Parole d'avorio*, pp. 67–95 (with references).

has hindered its identification.[56] The recent cleaning it has undergone permits us to analyse this detail more carefully, allowing us to recognize the animals as two small lions.[57] It would be difficult not to connect this element to the heraldic meaning that the lion's image held for the budding Norman royalty. A pair of addorsed lions is embroidered on the Mantle of Roger (Royal Tiraz, around 1133/34, Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, Weltliche Schatzkammer). Another pair of rampant lions appears in the large mosaic that occupies the entrance to the Palatine Chapel, as well in the mosaics of the so-called King Roger Hall, a room probably of ceremonial use.

It is somewhat surprising that this lion reference is not associated with the main figure of the game – that is to say, with the king – but rather with the queen. This apparent anomaly may be linked to the identity of the first recipient of the game set, who was perhaps a woman. In this light, the first wife of Roger II, Alberia (Albidia/Elvira) comes quickly to mind. As is known, the sovereign was particularly attached to this consort, whom he had married in his youth. Upon her death in February 1135, it seems he was so shaken that he did not remarry immediately, as was the custom in such circumstances. Alberia is also the only one among Roger's three wives to whom the sources lend a personality: Alexander of Telese defines her as "pious and very charitable."[58] A few decades later, the chronicler Petrus de Ebulo described the marriage of the *Dux Rogerius* to the *inclita Albidia* as the royal anointing of Roger and of his desire to generate a royal lineage.[59] The image illustrating this *particula* of the text includes an interesting portrait of the couple: Roger II, on horseback, presents a palm tree to his future wife, enthroned (Petrus de Ebulo, *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, 1195–1197, Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS. 120, II, fol. 96r). Alberia had Hispanic origins, being the daughter of Alfonso VI of León and Castile and

56 The slightly different dimensions of this figure compared to the other queen led me to believe that the piece could have been a replacement made at a later time, see: Speciale, "Ludus scachorum," p. 208.

57 This observation came out of a conversation with Azzurra Palazzo. Adolph Goldschmidt, the only one to have attempted to identify the figures thought they were two small dogs: Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, p. 46.

58 "religionis gratia atque elemosinarum largitione fertur plurimum enituisse. Qua defuncta Rex ipse ita meroris contritus est amaritudine ut multis se diebus intra cameram recludens, exceptis eius privatis obsecutoribus non apparuerit." See: *Alexandri Telesini abbatis Ystoria Rogerii regis Sicilie, Calabrie atque Apulie*, ed. Ludovica De Nava, hist. com. Dione Clementi, (Fonti per la storia d'Italia) 112 (Rome, 1991), III, 1, p. 59.

59 Petrus de Ebulo, *Liber ad honorem Augusti sive de rebus Siculis*, *Codex 120 II der Burgerbibliothek Bern* 1, eds. Theo Kölner, and Marlis Stähli (Zurich, 1994), pp. 37–38.

his fourth wife, Isabella, a Muslim who converted to Christianity.[60] Indeed, the earliest documentation of chess sets among the personal items of aristocratic ladies come from the Iberian region.[61] The smaller queen of the Charlemagne chess set, who shows traits of the new Norman kingship in her clothing and attributes, could reflect the personality and the cosmopolitan education of this sovereign.

7 Skeptokrator

In the king-pieces, the gesture of the figure, holding the sceptre in his left hand and resting the index finger of the other hand on it (figures. 9.1, 9.3), is an explicit allusion to the role, prerogatives, and insignia of kingship. The gesture has no precedents or replicas in the illustrated chess tradition. Nor does it find any parallel in the more general context of images of authority in the Latin West, where representations of the sceptre in the hands of the sovereign are certainly not rare, especially on coins and seals.[62]

In the iconography of chess, the attributes and gestures of the king-piece draw inspiration from military types. The most common attribute of the sovereign is not the sceptre but the sword. In the 12th-century Lewis chessmen, which bear many similarities to the Saint-Denis set, the sovereign holds the weapon resting on his knees.[63] In other cases, the king holds the hilt of the unsheathed sword in his right hand.[64] An evident war connotation also

60 For Alberia, see: Hubert Houben, "Elvira," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 42 (Rome, 1994), pp. 532–33.

61 Speciale, "Il gioco come Status Symbol," pp. 242–43 (with references).

62 For images of seals and their value, see: Michel Pastoureau, "Les sceaux et la fonction sociale des images," in *L'image. Fonctions et usage des images dans l'Occident médiéval. Atti del VI Workshop Internazionale sulle Società Medievali, Erice, 17–23 ottobre 1992*, eds. Jérôme Baschet, and Jean-Claude Schmitt (Paris, 1996), pp. 275–308. For a synthesis of the preliminary studies on the official iconography of the Norman *regnum* extended to seals, see: Mirko Vagnoni, *Le rappresentazioni del potere. La sacralità regia dei Normanni di Sicilia: un mito?* (Bari, 2012), pp. 102–07.

63 This representative composition, documented for the first time in the image of the king that appears on the gilt bronze forehead plate of Agilulf (Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello), seems to also have a place in the Carolingian figural art. For the origin and evolution of this iconographic motif, see: Speciale, *Immagini per la storia*, pp. 16–21.

64 Highlighting this composition are two isolated pieces, both decidedly made later than the Charlemagne set – one belonging to the collection of the Archeological Museum of Ravenna, and the other to the Hohenzollern Collection. Both pieces are damaged, but must have originally shown unsheathed swords: Speciale, *Immagini per la storia*, p. 58, fig. 41 (with references); Speciale, "Il gioco come status-symbol," p. 258, fig. 13.

characterizes the sovereign who takes up arms, carved on the forehead of a king-piece (Louvre, inv. OA 6062) produced in a southern Italian workshop around the same time as the Charlemagne set.[65]

In comparison to these, the king's ostentatious display of the sceptre in the Parisian chess set appears novel. The gesture is mirrored between the two king figures; this leads us to believe that this iconographic detail had a particular meaning for the creator of the Saint-Denis chess set. Again, the thought goes to the Norman court and the institution of the *Regnum*. In this context, it is difficult not to compare the double display of the sceptre of Charlemagne's chess set with a passage from the epigraph celebrating the inauguration of the Royal Palace of Palermo's *Horologium*. The instrument, a complex water mechanism, was commemorated with a dedication in three languages – Latin, Greek, and Arabic – attributing it to the sovereign and his will to regulate time. The three versions of the text are not perfectly identical: more than a literal translation of the same composition, each presents a different celebration of the patron and his endeavour.[66]

The most interesting section of this inscription is the one in Greek[67]:

> O new marvel, the mighty prince, King Roger, to whom God gave the sceptre, who controls the flow of the liquid element, delivering the exact knowledge of the hours of the year. The 12th year of his empire, in the month of March, index 5, year 6650.[68]

Here, the date and the titles of the sovereign take up the formulas of Greek diplomas produced in the royal Norman chancellery. The less stereotyped expression is ἑκ θ(εο)ῦ σκηπτροκράτωρ (lit. "the one who by divine designation holds the sceptre").[69] Seen in this light, the carvings of the two king-pieces of

65 Speciale, "84. Re," pp. 464–65 (with references).

66 Jeremy Johns, "Iscrizioni arabe nella Cappella Palatina," in *La Cappella Palatina a Palermo*, ed. Beat Brenk, (Mirabilia Italiae) 17 (Modena, 2010), pp. 353–86.

67 The transcription is the most recent one proposed by: Johns, "Iscrizioni," pp. 382–83.

68 Ὦ θαῦμα καινόν ὁ κραταιὸς δεσπότης Ῥογέριος ῥὴξ ἑκ θ(εο)ῦ σκηπτροκράτωρ Τὸν ῥ(οῦ)ν χαλινοῖ. Τῆς ῥε(ού)σης (οὐ)σίας Τνῶσιν νέμων ἄπταιστον ὡρῶν τ(οῦ) χρόν(ου) τῶ ιβ᾽ Τῆς βασιλείας χρόνω μηνὶ Μαρτίωὶνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε᾽ ἔτ(ους) ϛχν.

69 For the dedications of Norman sovereigns, see Vera von Falkenhausen, "Κόμης, δούξ, πρίγκιψ, ρήξ, βασιλεύς. Zu den griechischen Titeln der normannischen Herrscher in Süditalien und Sizilien," in *Χρυσαῖ πύλαι, Zlataia Brata. Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his Eightieth Birthday by his colleagues and students* 1, eds. Peter Schreiner, and Olga Strakhov, *Palaeoslavica* 10/1 (2002), 79–93. I am very grateful to Vera von Falkenhausen for the exchange of views and for giving me this essay.

the Charlemagne set embody almost literally the royal image of the Norman king, reaffirming once again the hypothesis that this extraordinary game set comes from Palermo and was perhaps among the furnishings of its great palace.

If my hypothesis is correct, the chess pieces from Saint-Denis are a fragment of the dispersed treasure of the Royal Palace of Palermo and were created on the occasion of the royal consecration of Roger II.

The pieces were certainly used as a normal set, for play, but it is difficult to believe that such an expensive and sophisticated artifact reflected a symbolism limited only to the private sphere. The dimensions, the material in which the pieces are carved, and above all the subtle transposition of the game figures into images demonstrate quite the opposite.

The creation of this extraordinary figured chess set offers one possible answer to the problem of the meaning and functions of the royal portrait. The ostentatious display of the sceptre by the two kings perfectly corresponds to the definition of Roger II as *skeptokrator* in the dedicatory inscription of the Horologium of the Royal Palace, a decidedly public work. Unfortunately, the image that was to accompany the automaton has disappeared. How much the 'private' image of a king-piece might reflect this missing image from the dedication remains an open problem – but are we sure that in the representative forms of medieval royalty there was a clear border between public image and private image?

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Alexandri Telesini abbatis Ystoria Rogerii regis Sicilie, Calabrie atque Apulie, ed. Ludovica De Nava, hist. Com. Dione Clementi (Fonti per la storia d'Italia) 112 (Rome, 1991).

Petrus de Ebulo, *Liber ad honorem Augusti sive de rebus Siculis, Codex 120 II der Burgerbibliothek Bern* 1, eds. Theo Kölner, and Marlis Stähli (Zurich, 1994).

Secondary Sources

Amatuccio, Giovanni, "'Fino alle mura di Babilonia'. Aspetti militari della conquista normanna del Sud," *Rassegna storica Salernitana* 30 (1998), 7–49.

Angelova, Diliana, "The Ivories of Ariadne and Ideas about Female Imperial Authority in Rome and Early Byzantium," *Gesta* 43/1 (2004), 1–15.

Bardiès-Fronty, Isabelle, "101. Pièce d'échecs: roi," in *Art du jeu, jeu dans l'art. De Babylone à l'Occident médiéval. Musée de Cluny – Musée national du Moyen Âge, 28 novembre 2012–4 mars 2013* (Paris, 2012), p. 108.

Barral I Altet, Xavier, *En souvenir du roi Guillaume. La broderie de Bayeux. Stratégies narratives et vision médiévale du monde* (Paris, 2016).

Bergman, Robert, "A School of Romanesque Ivory Carving in Amalfi," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 9 (1974), 163–86.

Bergman, Robert, *The Salerno Ivories. Ars Sacra from Medieval Amalfi* (Cambridge, Eng., 1980).

Boek, Elena N., "The politics of visualizing an imperial demise: transforming a Byzantine chronicle into a Sicilian visual narrative," *Word & image* 25 (2009), 243–57.

Bologna, Ferdinando, *Opere d'arte nel Salernitano dal XII al XVIII secolo* (Napoli, 1955).

Bologna, Ferdinando, "Avori medioevali da Amalfi a Salerno, senza enigmi," in *L'Enigma degli avori medievali da Amalfi a Salerno*, ed. Ferdinando Bologna, 2 vols (Napoli, 2008), 1:21–97.

Braca, Antonio, "Lavori in avorio in Amalfi medievale: considerazioni e ipotesi," *Rassegna del Centro di Cultura e Storia amalfitana* n.s. 3 (1993), 111–28.

Braca, Antonio, *Gli avori medievali del Museo Diocesano di Salerno* (Salerno, 1994).

Braca, Antonio, *Il Duomo di Salerno. Architetture e culture artistiche del medioevo e dell'Età Moderna* (Società Salernitana di Storia Patria, Collana di Studi Storici Salernitani) 19 (Salerno, 2003).

Braca, Antonio, "Intorno alla cassetta di avorio di Farfa. Il cimelio, il donatore e la cassetta amalfitana," in *L'Enigma degli avori medievali da Amalfi a Salerno*, ed. Ferdinando Bologna, 2 vols (Napoli, 2008), 1:161–201.

Capaldo, Lello, "Il Trono di Federico II," in *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana* n.s. 47 (1998), 73–90.

Cassanelli, Roberto, "I modi della trasmissione. Dai tesori altomedievali ai musei d'arti applicate," in *Eburnea Dyptica. I dittici d'avorio tra Antichità e Medioevo*, ed. Massimiliano David (Bari, 2007), pp. 317–29.

Celentano, Cinzia, "Schede 166a, 166b-c," in *Caserta e la sua Reggia: Il Museo dell'Opera e del territorio* (Napoli, 1995), pp. 210–12.

Cervini, Fluvio, "Le vie del classicismo tra iconografie e linguaggi," in *Eburnea Dyptica. I dittici d'avorio tra Antichità e Medioevo*, ed. Massimiliano David (Bari, 2007), pp. 163–86.

Cordez, Philippe, "O joco de xadrez: imagem, poder e igreja (fin do século X – início do século XII)," *Revista de História* 165 (2011), 93–120.

Curzi, Gaetano, *Arredi lignei medievali. L'Abruzzo e l'Italia centromeridionale. Secoli XII-XIII* (Cinisello Balsamo, 2007).

Cutler, Anthony, *The Craft of Ivory. Sources, Techniques and Uses in the Mediterranean World: A.D. 200–1200* (Washington, D.C., 1985).

Cutler, Anthony, *The Hand of the Master. Craftmanship, Ivory and Society in Byzantium (9th-IIth Centuries)* (Princeton, 1994).

Cutler, Anthony, "Il linguaggio visivo dei dittici eburnei: forma, funzione, produzione, ricezione," in *Eburnea Dyptica. I dittici d'avorio tra Antichità e Medioevo*, ed. Massimiliano David (Bari, 2007), pp. 131–61.

Cutler, Anthony, "The fabric, facture and enduring enigma of the Salerno ivories," in *The Salerno Ivories: objects, histories, contexts*, eds. Francesca Dell'Acqua, Anthony Cutler, Herbert L. Kessler, Avinoam Shalem, and Gerhard Wolf (Berlin, 2016), pp. 11–19.

David, Massimiliano, "Ristudiare i dittici eburnei," in Marilena Abbatepaolo, *Parole d'avorio. Fonti letterarie e testi per lo studio dei dittici eburnei*, (Biblioteca tardoantica) 8 (Bari, 2012), pp. 5–10.

de Caylus, Anne-Claude-Philippe, *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines et gauloises* 6 (Paris 1764).

De Juliis, Giuseppe, "Le vicende degli antichi avori della collezione Riccardi." *Commentari* n.s. 29 (1978), 144–56.

Delbrück, Richard, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler*, (Studien zur spätantiken Kustgeschichte) 2 (Berlin, 1929).

Delbrück, Richard, *Dittici consolari tardoantichi*, ed. trans. Marilena Abbatepaolo, (Biblioteca tardoantica) 1 (Bari, 2009).

de Montesquiou-Fezenzac, Blaise, *Le Trésor de Saint-Denis* 2 (Paris 1977).

Die Chronik von Montecassino, ed. Hartmut Hoffmann, MGH Scriptores 34 (1980).

D'Onofrio Mario, and Pace, Valentino, *La Campania*, *Italia romanica* 4 (Milano, 1981).

Doublet, Jean, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de S. Denys en France* (Paris 1625).

du Mersan, Marion, *Histoire du Cabinet des Médailles, antiques et pierres gravées, avec une notice sur la Bibliothèque Royale et une description des objets exposés dans cet établissement* (Paris, 1838).

Eales, Richard, "The Game of Chess: an Aspect of Medieval Knightly Culture," in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 12–34.

Ebitz, David, "Secular to sacred: the transformation of an oliphant in the Musée de Cluny," *Gesta* 25 (1986), 31–38.

Eburnea Dyptica. I dittici d'avorio tra Antichità e Medioevo, ed. Massimiliano David (Bari, 2007).

Fillitz, Hermann, "Tesoro imperiale," in *Federico II. Enciclopedia Fridericiana* 2 (Roma, 2006), pp. 824–29.

Frugoni, Chiara, "Das Schachspiel in der Welt des Jacobus de Cessolis," in *Das Schachbuch des Jacobus de Cessolis. Codex Palatinus Latinus 961*, (Codices e Vaticanis Selecti) 74 (Zurich, 1988), pp. 35–77.

Gaborit-Chopin, Danielle, "Échecs de Charlemagne," in *Le trésor de Saint-Denis. Musée du Louvre, Paris, 12 mars-17 juin 1991* (Paris, 1991), pp. 132–41.

Gaborit-Chopin, Danielle, *Ivoires médiévaux, Ve-XVe siècle. Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art. Catalogue* (Paris, 2003).

Gaborit-Chopin, Danielle, "Pedine e scacchi," in *Gli avori del Museo Nazionale del Bargello*, ed. Ilaria Ciseri (Milano, 2018), pp. 153–70.

Gaborit-Chopin, Danielle, "Placca centrale di un Pentittico con imperatrice (Ariadne)," in *Gli avori del Museo Nazionale del Bargello*, ed. Ilaria Ciseri (Milano, 2018), pp. 51–54.

Gamer, Helena M., "The Earliest Evidence of Chess in western literature: the Einsiedeln Verses," *Speculum* 29 (1954) 734–50.

Gandolfo, Francesco, *La scultura normanno-sveva in Campania. Botteghe e modelli*, (Fonti e studi) 9 (Roma, 1999).

Goldschmidt, Adolph, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Romanischen Zeit, XI.-XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1926).

Grabar, André, "Thrônes épiscopaux du XIe et XIIe siècles en Italie méridionale," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 16 (1954), 7–52.

Guérin, Sarah M., "The tusk: origins of the raw material for the Salerno ivories," in *The Salerno Ivories: objects, histories, contexts,* eds. Francesca Dell'Acqua, Anthony Cutler, Herbert L. Kessler, Avinoam Shalem, and Gerhard Wolf (Berlin, 2016), pp. 21–29.

Houben, Hubert, "Elvira," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 42 (Rome, 1994), pp. 532–33.

Inventario e stima della libreria Riccardi. Manoscritti e edizioni del XV secolo (Firenze 1810).

Ivoires: de l'Orient ancien aux temps modernes, eds. Annie Caubet, and Danielle Gaborit-Chopin (Paris, 2004).

Johns, Jeremy, "Iscrizioni arabe nella Cappella Palatina," in *La Cappella Palatina a Palermo*, ed. Beat Brenk, (Mirabilia Italiae) 17 (Modena, 2010), pp. 353–86.

Lucà, Santo, "Dalle collezioni manoscritte di Spagna: libri originari o provenienti dall'Italia greca medievale," *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* 44 (2007), 39–96.

Makariou, Sophie, "Le jeu d'échecs, une pratique de l'aristocratie entre Islam et chrétienté des IXe-XIIIe siècles," in *Chrétiens et musulmans autour de l'an 1100. Actes des 36e Journées Romanes de Cuxa*, *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 35 (2003/04), 127–40.

Müller, Rainer A., "Il gioco degli scacchi come metafora della civiltà medievale," *Ludica* 1 (1995), 114–25.

Murray, Harold J. R., *History of Chess* (Oxford, 1913, repr. New York, 1965).

Nicolle, David C., *Arms and armour of the Crusading Era: 1050–1350*, 2 vols (New York, 1988).

Pace, Valentino, "Le pertinenze bizantine degli affreschi campani di Santa Maria di Foroclaudio," *Storia dell'arte* 34 (1978), 207–09.

Pace, Valentino, "La cattedrale di Salerno. Committenza, programma e valenze ideologiche di un monumento di fine XI secolo nell'Italia meridionale," in *Desiderio di Montecassino e l'Arte della Riforma Gregoriana*, ed. Faustino Avagliano (Montecassino, 1997), pp. 189–230.

Pace, Valentino, "La Campania," in *La scultura d'età normanna tra Inghilterra e Terrasanta. Questioni storiografiche*, ed. Mario D'Onofrio (Fonti e Studi) 11 (Roma 2001), pp. 71–104.

Pace, Valentino, "Le pertinenze bizantine degli affreschi campani di Santa Maria di Foroclaudio," in Valentino Pace, *Arte medievale in Italia meridionale* 1. *Campania*, (Nuovo medioevo) 70 (Napoli, 2006), pp. 117–21.

Pace, Valentino, "La cattedrale di Salerno. Committenza, programma e valenze ideologiche di un monumento di fine XI secolo nell'Italia meridionale," in Valentino Pace, *Arte medievale in Italia meridionale* 1. *La Campania*, (Nuovo Medioevo) 70 (Napoli, 2007), pp. 69–90.

Pace, Valentino, "Maniera saracena in Italia meridionale: l'olifante Basilewsky," *Palazzo Madama. Studi e notizie* 4–3 (2014–15), 66–73.

Pastoureau, Michel, *L'Échiquier de Charlemagne. Un jeu pour ne pas jouer* (Paris, 1990).

Pastoureau, Michel, *Pièces d'Échecs. Bibliothèque Nationale. Cabinet des médailles et antiques, 7 juin-30 septembre 1990* (Paris, 1990).

Pastoureau, Michel, "Les sceaux et la fonction sociale des images," in *L'image. Fonctions et usage des images dans l'Occident médiéval. Atti del VI Workshop Internazionale sulle Società Medievali, Erice, 17–23 ottobre 1992,* eds. Jérôme Baschet, and Jean-Claude Schmitt (Paris, 1996), pp. 275–308.

Pastoureau, Michel, "L'arrivo degli scacchi in Occidente. Storia di una acculturazione difficile," in Michel Pastoureau, *Medioevo simbolico* (Paris 2004; repr. Rome, 2005), pp. 247–68.

Perta, Giuseppe, "La 'Cassetta di Farfa' e l'itinerario mediterraneo dei *de comite Maurone*," *Annali della Pontificia Insigne Accademia di Belle Arti e Lettere dei Virtuosi al Pantheon* 16 (2016), 373–92.

Putaturo Murano, Antonella, "Arredi lignei," in *Insediamenti verginiani in Irpinia. Il Goleto, Montevergine, Loreto*, ed. Vincenzo Pacelli (Cava dei Tirreni, 1988), pp. 185–87.

Sanvito, Alessandro, "Bianco e nero o rosso e verde?," *L'Italia scacchistica* 943 (1984), 143–46.

Scerrato, Umberto, "Arte," in *Gli arabi in Italia*, ed. Francesco Gabrieli and Umberto Scerrato (Milan, 1979), pp. 275–574.

Ševčenko, Ihor, "The Madrid manuscript of the chronicle of Skylitzes in the light of its new dating," in *Byzanz und der Westen. Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters*, ed. Irmgard Hutter, (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften / Philosophisch-Historische Klasse) 432 (Wien, 1984), pp. 117–30.

Shalem, Avinoam, *Islam Christianized. Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Church Treasuries of the Latin West* (Ars Faciendi, Beiträge und Studien zur Kunstgeschichte) 7, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt, 1998).

Shalem, Avinoam, *The Oliphant. Islamic objects in Historical Context* (Leiden, 2004).

Silvestro, Silvia, "La Puglia," in *La scultura d'età normanna tra Inghilterra e Terrasanta. Questioni storiografiche*, ed. Mario D'Onofrio (Fonti e Studi) 11 (Roma, 2001), pp. 105–38.

Speciale, Lucinia, *Montecassino e la Riforma Gregoriana. L'Exultet Barb. lat. 592*, (Studi di arte medievale) 3 (Rome, 1991), pp. 119–46.

Speciale, Lucinia, "Il gioco dei Re. Intorno agli 'Scacchi di Carlo Magno,'" in *Medioevo: la Chiesa e il Palazzo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 20–24 settembre 2005*, ed. Arturo C. Quintavalle (I Convegni di Parma) 8 (Parma, 2007), pp. 238–48.

Speciale, Lucinia, "84. Re (pezzo per il gioco degli scacchi)," in *L'Enigma degli avori medievali da Amalfi a Salerno*, ed. Ferdinando Bologna, 2 vols (Napoli, 2008), 2:464–65.

Speciale, Lucinia, "86. oliphante," in *L'Enigma degli avori medievali da Amalfi a Salerno*, ed. Ferdinando Bologna, 2 vols (Napoli, 2008), 2:470–73.

Speciale, Lucinia, "Ludus scachorum: il gioco dei re. Forma e iconografia degli scacchi tra l'Italia e l'Europa," in *L'Enigma degli avori medievali da Amalfi a Salerno*, ed. Ferdinando Bologna, 2 vols (Napoli, 2008), 2:203–29.

Speciale, Lucinia, "Gli 'Scacchi di Carlo Magno' e non solo," in *The "Amalfi" – "Salerno" Ivories and the Medieval Mediterranean. A Notebook from the Workshop Convened in Amalfi, December 10–13, 2009*, eds. Francesca Dell'Acqua, Herbert L. Kessler, Avinoam Shalem, and Gerhard Wolf (Amalfi, 2011), pp. 101–04.

Speciale, Lucinia, "Guerra e Pace. Ancora sugli 'Scacchi di Carlo Magno'," in *Tempi e forme dell'arte. Miscellanea di studi offerti a Pina Belli D'Elia*, eds. Luisa Derosa, and Clara Gelao (Foggia, 2011), pp. 73–81.

Speciale, Lucinia, "Il libro decorato nella Puglia dell'alto medioevo. Qualche novità e qualche riflessione," in *Bizantini, Longobardi e Arabi in Puglia nell'alto medioevo, Ventesimo Congresso internazionale di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, Savelletri di Fasano (BR), 3–6 novembre 2011* (Spoleto, 2012), pp. 685–706.

Speciale, Lucinia, *Immagini per la storia. Ideologia e rappresentazione del potere nel mezzogiorno medievale*, (Fondazione 'Centro Internazionale di Studi sull'alto medioevo', Testi, studi, strumenti) 30 (Spoleto, 2014).

Speciale, Lucinia, "Il gioco come status-symbol. Gli scacchi tra formule rappresentative e testimonianze materiali," in *Il gioco nella società e nella cultura dell'altomedioevo, Spoleto, 20–26 aprile 2017, Settimane di Studio della Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 65 (Spoleto, 2018), pp. 241–53.

Speciale, Lucinia, "Il gioco di un re: gli Scacchi Di Carlo Magno," in *Castrum Superius. Il Palazzo dei re normannni* (Palermo. Fondazione Federico) 2 (Palermo, 2019), pp. 204–15.

Speciale, Lucinia, "S. Maria *de episcopio* a Ventaroli: le pitture murali più antiche," in *Studi in onore di Giovanni Carbonara* (in press).

Toesca, Pietro, "Un cimelio amalfitano," *Bollettino d'arte* 27 (1933–34), 537–43.

Tsamakda, Vasiliki, *The illustrated chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid* (Leiden, 2002).
Vagnoni, Mirko, *Le rappresentazioni del potere. La sacralità regia dei Normanni di Sicilia: un mito*? (Bari, 2012).
von Falkenhausen, Vera, "Κόμης, δούξ, πρίγκιψ, ρήξ, βασιλεύς. Zu den griechischen Titeln der normannischen Herrscher in Süditalien und Sizilien," in *Χρυσαῖ πύλαι, Zlataia Brata. Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his Eightieth Birthday by his colleagues and students* 1, eds. Peter Schreiner, and Olga Strakhov, *Palaeoslavica* 10/1 (2002), 79–93.
Williamson, Paul, "Review of Valentino Pace, *Una Bibbia in avorio: Arte mediterranea nella Salerno dell'XI secolo* (Milano, 2016)," *The Burlington Magazine* 169 (2017), p. 556.

Illustrations



FIGURE 9.1 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques, "Charlemagne's Chess set"
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE BNF, BEFORE RESTORATION



FIGURE 9.2 Salerno, Museum of the Cathedral, Salerno Ivories, Plaque Depicting Meeting between Herod and the Magi from New Testament Cycle
COPYR MIBACT 2007

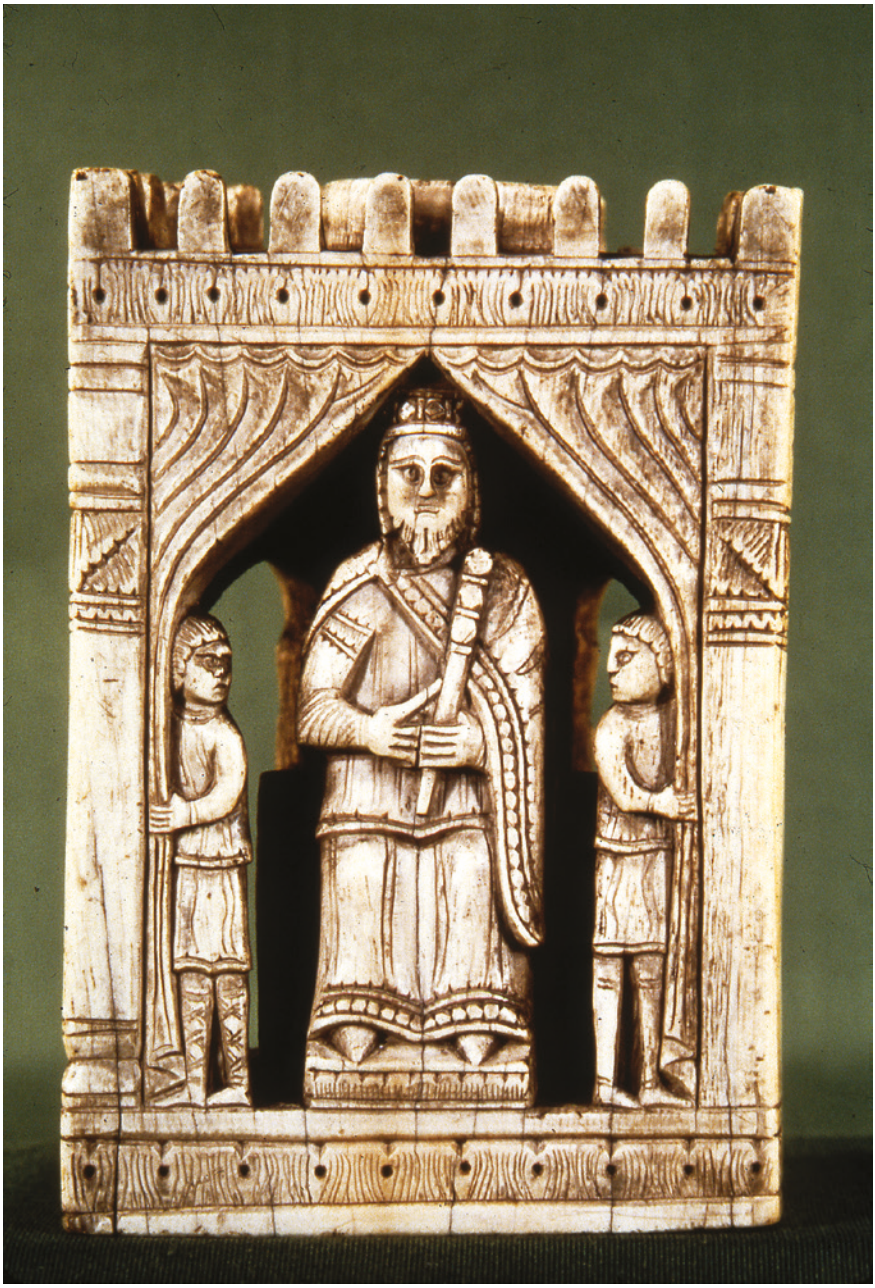


FIGURE 9.3 Paris, BnF, Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques, "Charlemagne's Chess set" King (inv. 55.306)
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE BNF, BEFORE RESTORATION



FIGURE 9.4 Farfa Abbey, Museum, Farfa Casket 1072 a.q., Dormitio Virginis
AFTER A. BRACA



FIGURE 9.5 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques, "Charlemagne's Chess set" Queen (inv. 55.310)
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE BNF, BEFORE RESTORATION



FIGURE 9.6 Paris, Musée Nationale du Moyen Âge – Thermes de Cluny, inv. CL13065, Oliphant from Saint-Arnould Abbey, Metz
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE REUNION DES MUSÉES NATIONAUX



FIGURE 9.7 Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques, "Charlemagne's Chess set", Bishop, Elephant with trhee mahouts (inv. 55.315)
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE BNF, BEFORE RESTORATION



FIGURE 9.8 Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques, "Charlemagne's Chess set", Pawn (inv. 55323)
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE BNF, BEFORE RESTORATION



FIGURE 9.9 Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques, "Charlemagne's Chess set", Queen (inv. 55.309) side A
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE BNF, BEFORE RESTORATION



FIGURE 9.10 Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques, "Charlemagne's Chess set", Queen (inv. 55309) side B
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE BNF, BEFORE RESTORATION

CHAPTER 10

The Royal Image and Its Public

Suger, Saint-Denis, and the Promotion of a Monarchical Iconography in 12th-Century France

Elodie Leschot

Identifying royal portraits is not an easy task. At the end of the 13th century, there was thus a habit of giving a name to every artwork representing a king. The oldest known satiric tale in the French language, the fabliau *Des XXIII manières de vilains*, mockingly relates an episode about a peasant who, upon his visit to Paris, attempts to identify the crowned figures in the gallery of kings on the façade of Notre-Dame de Paris:

> The ugly baboon is the one who, when visiting Notre-Dame de Paris, looks at the statues of kings saying, "Look, there is Pepin, and look there is Charlemagne," and during this debate, his purse and the decoration of his hat are cut from behind.[1]

Debates surrounding the identification of the statues in the galleries of kings – be it in Paris, Reims, Chartres, or Amiens – have lasted for centuries. Only after 1871, when the defeat of France by Prussia and the German states caused a period of crisis in French national thought and a subsequent flourishing of Catholic scholarship, was this approach called into question.[2] Important

1 "Li vilains baboins est cil qui va devant Nostre-Dame a Paris et regarde les Rois et dit: 'Vez la Pepin, vez la Charlemainne'; et en demandtiers on li cope sa bource ou la corne de son chaperon par darriere." Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 1553, fol. 514v. This document is the oldest preserved version of the satiric narrative *Des XXIII manieres de vilains,* dated 1284.

2 The first to question this identification was: Adolphe Napoléon Didron, "Monographie de la cathédrale de Chartres. Description de la sculpture extérieure," *Annales archéologiques* 27 (1870), 18–31, esp. 26: "In these galleries of kings that one saw at Notre-Dame de Paris before the Revolution, and that one sees in Rheims, Amiens and Chartres, are not Kings of France, but Jewish Kings … There are exceptions to what I am saying, but in very small numbers, and provided only by certain statues that one sees in Rheims, in the metropolis, an all-royal monument that must have been different from the others." See also the monograph: Johann Georg von Hohenzollern, *Die Königsgalerie der französischen Kathedrale, Herkunft, Bedeutung, Nachfolge*, (Munich, 1965). For the historiography of this period, see: Claude Digeon, *La crise allemande de la pensée française 1870–1914* (Paris, 1959).

© ELODIE LESCHOT, 2022 | DOI:10.1163/9789004511583_012
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

epistemological, institutional, and political developments were transforming the relationship between the Church, the State, and French society; the field of research provided an area for expressing a strong reaction to these changes, as illustrated by the renewed interest in exegetical studies, the philological and literary analysis of biblical texts. Emile Mâle (1862–1954), a fervent supporter of the Catholic cause, was the first to consider in detail the iconography of the galleries of kings and, based on an analysis of the relationship between religious texts and images, to identify the sculptures as Old Testament figures. French researchers widely shared his hypothesis, while those in the German-speaking world questioned it.[3] The two factions have since quarrelled on this issue, one identifying the statues as a genealogy of the kings of France and the other as a royal genealogy of Christ.[4]

Recently, Dany Sandron returned to this topic, showing that, already during the 13th century, a list of the kings of France appeared on one of the doors of the western façade of Notre-Dame de Paris.[5] The clergy probably wrote this list, and the copy from the reign of Louis IX (r. 1226–1270) still exists in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.[6] Based on the literary testimony of *Des XXIII manières de vilains* and the documentary evidence of this list, Sandron proceeded to identify the figures of the gallery once again as kings of France. Moreover, he proposed a direct involvement on the part of the French king in the conception of this ornamental programme.

The longstanding problem of the identity of the statues and the possibility of the king's involvement in their production are for us, however, secondary issues; irrespective of these concerns, the images were understood as portraits of Frankish monarchs by some 13th-century contemporaries.[7] Indeed, the question of reception is crucial to the analysis of royal portraits, whose primary

3 Hohenzollern, *Die Königsgalerie;* Willibald Sauerländer, "Les statues royales du transept de Reims," *Revue de l'Art* 27 (1975), 9–30.

4 For these historiographical debates, see the summary in: Claudine Lautier, "Les deux galeries des rois de la cathédrale de Chartres," *Bulletin monumental* 169/1 (2011), 41–64, esp. 41–44.

5 Dany Sandron, "La cathédrale et les rois: Notre-Dame de Paris (XIIe-XIIIe siècles)," in *Kirche als Baustelle: grosse Sakralbauten des Mittelalters*, eds. Bruno Klein, Katja Schröck, and Stefan Bürger (Cologne, 2013), pp. 260–70, esp. 265.

6 Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 5921, fol. 47v. Benjamin Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris* (Paris, 1850), t. IV, p. 153.

7 Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, "Des paysans retrouvés: les vilains du XIIIe siècle d'après quelques textes en langue d'oïl," *Cahiers d'histoire* 45/2 (2000). Available at http://journals.openedition.org/ch/207?lang=en. Accessed 2020 Apr 30.

power lay in their impact on the viewer.[8] The extent to which a royal portrait either resembled or idealized the depicted person was always secondary to its primary function, the "representation of power," according to Diane Bodart:

> As an expression of sovereign majesty, the portrait is also its instrument, since it participates in the representation of power in the broadest sense, helping to determine the exercise of authority in action in the same way as royal insignia, while at the same time giving it a natural face.[9]

This is true not only of royal portraits from the Middle Ages but also more broadly; Bodart, for example, comes to this definition from her work on the functions of royal representations of the Spanish Habsburgs in the 16th and 17th centuries.

In this essay, I intend to question the very origins of the galleries of kings in a period – the 12th century – when, properly speaking, the 'portrait' of the king did not exist. This period witnessed the triumphant appearance of the king's image in monumental art, as demonstrated by the profusion of sculptural figures of Old Testament kings and Merovingian and Carolingian sovereigns. These adorned the exteriors and interiors of the kingdom's most important churches, such as Saint-Remi de Reims, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and above all Saint-Denis.[10] Kings and queens were for the first time represented at Saint-Denis as jamb figures on the Royal Portal (1135–1140) and, later, as jamb figures on the portal of the southern arm of the transept, the so-called Porte des Valois (1150s). These two portals offer clues as to the origins, audiences, and functions of royal images in the medium of monumental sculpture.

To explore these dimensions, I will first analyse the iconographic formula of the jamb sculptures of the two portals of the abbey of Saint-Denis. I will

---

8 Antonio Pinelli, Gérard Sabatier, Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, Christine Tauber, and Diane Bodart, "Le portrait du roi: entre art, histoire, anthropologie et sémiologie," *Perspective* 1 (2012), pp. 11–28.

9 Diane Bodart, *Pouvoir du portrait sous les Habsbourg d'Espagne* (Paris, 2011), p. 11. Bodart analyses the representational strategies and their origins and roles, including a consideration of dimensions, techniques, and materials.

10 For Saint-Remi of Reims, see: Anne Prache, *Saint-Remi de Reims. L'œuvre de Pierre de Celle et sa place dans l'architecture gothique* (Genève, 1978). For Saint-Germain-des-Prés: Philippe Plagnieux, *Le chevet de Saint-Germain-des-Prés et la définition de l'espace gothique au milieu du XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1991); Philippe Plagnieux, "L'abbatiale de Saint-Germain-des-Prés et les débuts de l'architecture gothique," *Bulletin monumental* 158 (2000), 7–85. For Saint-Denis, see the recent book (with complete bibliography): *Saint-Denis: dans l'éternité des rois et reines de France*, ed. Pascal Delannoy (Strasbourg, 2015). Also essential is: *Atlas historique de Saint-Denis: des origines au XVIIIe siècle,* ed. Michaël Wyss (Paris, 1996).

then compare and contrast them with two other contemporary monuments displaying royal images: the Royal Portals at Notre-Dame-du-Fort in Étampes and at Chartres. This will allow for an understanding of the differences among the three cases and, moreover, of the basis for these discrepancies. Each of these institutional contexts had a different claim to the representation of royal figures; indeed, an iconography suitable for a royal abbey was not adequate for a collegiate church or a cathedral.[11]

1 New Research Perspectives: The Portals at Saint-Denis, Étampes, and Chartres

Of the 20 original jamb figures of the Royal Portal of Saint-Denis, 19 are known through the drawings of Bernard de Montfaucon and Benoist (figures. 10.1–3).[12] The drawings show seven crowned figures from the north and central portals, five of which are represented with a crown and a sceptre (Figure. 10.1, nos. 3–5; Figure. 10.2, nos. 4–5). The remaining two, namely one female and one male figure from the central portal (Figure. 10.2, nos. 6–7), hold a scroll and a book respectively. These sculptures at Saint-Denis made explicit, for the first time, a relationship between the architectural structure and theological symbolism.[13] Without returning to debates concerning the use of this iconographic formula for functionally integral figures on other buildings, we know that the jamb figures of the Royal Portal of Saint-Denis were indeed independent from their columns.[14]

The iconographic formula elaborated at Saint-Denis was immediately adopted for the Royal Portal of Étampes (Figure. 10.4) and, later, for the Royal Portal of Chartres (Figure. 10.5).[15] At Chartres, the iconographic formula has

11 Notre-Dame-du-Fort of Étampes was founded by Robert II the Pious (r. 996–1031) and was considered almost a second capital during the 12th century; meanwhile, Chartres was and is a famous Marian cathedral, governed by a powerful chapter.

12 Bernard de Montfaucon, *Les monuments de la monarchie française*, 5 vols (Paris, 1729–33), 1.

13 On the column that supports the upper structure of the portal, as the Old Testament supports the New Testament, see: Michèle Beaulieu, "Essai sur l'iconographie des statues-colonnes de quelques portails du premier art gothique," *Bulletin Monumental* 142/3 (1984), 273–307.

14 Eliane Vergnolle, "Gothic *versus* roman? La sculpture du deuxième quart du XIIe siècle," in *Naissance de la sculpture gothique. Saint-Denis, Paris, Chartres*, eds. Damien Berné, and Philippe Plagnieux (Paris, 2018), pp. 14–19, esp. 16.

15 On Notre-Dame of Étampes, see: Elise Baillieul, *L'ancienne collègiale de Notre-Dame d'Etampes, un monument du premier art gothique* (Lille, 2012). On Chartres: Whitney Snow Stoddard, *The West Portals of Saint-Denis and Chartres* (Cambridge, 1952); Whitney Snow Stoddard, *Sculptors of the West Portals of Chartres Cathedral* (New York 1987); Adolf

been used only for some of the jamb sculptures. The vocabulary of the Saint-Denis sculptures is visible on the left jamb of the north gate in the two male figures depicted with the crown and sceptre, attributed to the Master of Étampes (Figure. 10.6).[16] Here, the final representation using this formula is the crowned female figure, without a sceptre, on the right jamb of the south gate (Figure. 10.7, no. 14).

All the other jamb figures of the Royal Portal of Chartres differ significantly from the model established at Saint-Denis in their attributes, their body shapes, and their hieratic poses (Figure. 10.8). Compared to the Saint-Denis model, a nimbus has been added to and the sceptre removed from each figure, except for one, a crowned man on the right jamb of the south gate (Figure. 10.7, no. 13). In general, the treatment of the body and posture plays a fundamental role in the symbolism of the representations. The bodies of the figures of the Master of Étampes (Figure. 10.6), as well as those of the master who worked on the right jambs of the south gate, are marked by a rounded belly and a slim waist and hips; their postures are characterized by a downward tilt of the head, reminiscent of the Saint-Denis model (Figure. 10.2). However, the master sculptor responsible for the figures of the central portal disavowed this formula.[17] There, the bodies are long and thin, without any roundness, as if joined to the column. Their gaze no longer seeks the spectator but fixes on something far away. This fusion of body and column, the hieratic pose, and the addition of the nimbus constitute the innovations of the jamb sculpture at Chartres, surrounding the figures with a sacred aura.[18]

These formal and iconographic changes influenced all later interpretations of the jamb figures. If the first modern French scholars in the 16th and 17th centuries still saw French sovereigns in the crowned jamb figures, Emile Mâle imposed a theological reading of these sculptures as Old Testament monarchs

---

Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral. Christ, Mary, Ecclesia* (Baltimore, 1959); Philippe Plagnieux, "Le portail royal de Chartres. Une reformulation iconographique et stylistique," in *Naissance de la sculpture gothique*, eds. Berné et al., pp. 98–100.

16 Léon Pressouyre, "Précisions sur l'œuvre du 'Maître d'Étampes' au Portail royal de la cathédrale de Chartres," *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1982), 96–97.

17 C. Edson Armi, *The 'Headmaster' of Chartres and the Origins of 'Gothic' Sculpture* (University Park, 1994).

18 Margot Fassler, "Liturgy and Sacred History in the Twelfth Century Tympana at Chartres," *Art Bulletin* 75 (1993), 449–520.

and prophets announcing the New Law.[19] This relied on an interpretation of the overall programme as a theological narration of the portals' upper part.[20]

The case of the Porte des Valois, on the south gate of the transept of Saint-Denis, problematizes the general theological interpretation as well as the perceived role of Chartres as a model for art of the second half of the 12th century (Figure. 10.9). Scholars have long dated the portal to the 1160s-1170s, but current researchers believe that it traces back to the early 1150s.[21] This earlier dating would mean that the realization of the Porte des Valois took place only a decade after that of the western portal of the abbey and just after that of Chartres. The attributes of these six figures are the same as those on the abbey's western portal: a sceptre, a crown, and a *rotulus*. Contrary to Chartres, the halo does not appear. One might deduce a lack of knowledge of the Chartres model. However, the existence of a crowned and haloed king from the Dionysian cloister, dating around 1145, goes against this hypothesis in its reliance on the figures of the Royal Portal at Chartres (Figure. 10.10).[22] The presence of an iconographic

19 Jean Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum ordinis Sancti Benedicti* (*Vies des Saints de l'Ordre de saint Benoît*), 9 vols (Paris, 1663–1702); Urbain Plancher, *Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne*, 4 vols (Dijon, 1739–1781); de Montfaucon, *Les monuments de la monarchie française*; Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France. Étude sur les origines de l'iconographie du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1922). Emile Mâle follows the interpretation of: Jean Lebeuf, *Recueil de divers écrits pour servir d'éclaircissements à l'histoire de France, et de supplément à la Notice des Gaules*, 2 vols (Paris, 1738).

20 Mâle. *L'art,* chap. 5.; Paula L. Gerson, *The west façade of Saint-Denis: an iconographic study* (New York, 1970); Pamela Z. Blum, and Sumner McKnight Crosby, "Le portail central de la façade occidentale de Saint-Denis," *Bulletin monumental* 131 (1973), 209–66; Sumner Mcknight Crosby, *The Royal abbey of Saint-Denis in the time of Abbot Suger* (*1122–1151*) (New York, 1981); Pamela Z. Blum, "The Lateral Portals of the West Facade of the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis. Archaeological and Iconographical Considerations," in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium*, ed. Paula Lieber Gerson (New York, 1986), pp. 199–228; Pamela Z. Blum, and Sumner McKnight Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis from Its Beginnings to the Death of Suger, 475–1151* (New Haven, 1987).

21 Pamela Z. Blum, "La Porte des Valois de Saint-Denis. À quelle époque son édification a-t-elle commencé?," *Bulletin de la Société des fouilles archéologiques et des monuments historiques de l'Yonne* 15 (1998), 21–25; Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, "La porte du cimetière à l'abbatiale de Saint-Denis dite 'Porte des Valois.' Emplacement originel, déplacement, datation," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (1999), 211–13.

22 Damien Berné, "Les statues-colonnes du cloître de Saint-Denis," in *Naissance de la sculpture gothique*, eds. Berné et al., pp. 202–05; Michaël Wyss, and Nicole Meyer-Rodrigues, "Nouvelles données archéologiques sur le cloître de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis," in *Utilis est lapis in structura. Mélanges offerts à Léon Pressouyre*, eds. Martine François, and Pierre-Yves Le Pogam (Paris, 2000), pp. 111–26; Léon Pressouyre, "Did Suger Build the Cloister of Saint-Denis?," in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis. A Symposium*, ed. Paula Lieber Gerson (New York, 1986), pp. 229–44.

formula from Chartres in the former cloister of Saint-Denis and its intermediate chronology between the western portal (1135–1140) and the Porte des Valois (1150s) of Saint-Denis demonstrate the deliberate choice of the iconography associated with the jamb figures of the latter portal.

2 High Society in Monumental Sculpture?

Emile Mâle identified the figures from the Porte des Valois as Old Testament kings, six in the jambs and 30 others in the archivolts, by analogy with the western portal.[23] Since then, only a few scholars have questioned his identification.[24] Elisabeth Brown claims that the figures represent the reigning kings from the genealogical list of Mazarine Library MS 2013 who were known to have belonged to Saint-Denis.[25] However, the number of kings on the list does not match the number on the portal. Brown passed over this inconsistency, explaining that Abbot Suger (1122–1151) and his monks must have thought that the kingdom had been ruled by about 30 kings.[26] She also surmised that representing the exact number of kings would have assigned too much importance to certain kings who were unworthy because of their lack of support for Saint-Denis Abbey. Although some monarchs were indeed of secondary importance to the abbey of Saint-Denis, no primary sources allow for verification of her hypothesis.

However, I follow Brown's intuition that this is a programme with a historicizing dimension. Already present in illuminations, images of historical kings enter the field of monumental art during the 12th century. A prominent example of this is the Sainte-Anne portal at Notre-Dame of Paris, which can be dated to the mid-12th century (Figure. 10.11).[27] In the middle of the tympanum

23 See: Erlande-Brandenburg, "La porte," p. 193.

24 Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs*, pp. 27–36.

25 Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 2013, fols. 158v-175v; Elizabeth A. R. Brown, *Saint-Denis, la basilique* (Paris, 2001), pp. 140–43.

26 Brown, *Saint-Denis,* p. 142.

27 Willibald Sauerländer dated this portal to the tenure of Maurice de Sully, Bishop of Paris 1160–1196: Sauerländer, *La Sculpture,* pp. 18–22. Meanwhile, Jacques Thirion sees in it the work of his predecessor, Thibault, Bishop of Paris 1143–1158: Jacques Thirion, "Les plus anciennes sculptures de Notre-Dame de Paris," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (1970), 85–112. For a summary of dating assumptions, see also: Jacques Thirion, "Le portail Sainte-Anne à Notre-Dame de Paris," *Cahiers de la Rotonde* 22 (2000), 5–43. Thirion's dating was taken up by: Fabienne Joubert, "Le remploi de portails sculptés dans les monuments de la France gothique," *Hortus artium medievalium* 17 (2011), 201–08; Pierre-Yves Le Pogam, "Un art du recyclage: des sculptures gothiques remployées dans les façades gothiques," *Cahiers archéologiques* 56 (2016), 149–72.

appears the Virgin and Child enthroned under a canopy and flanked by two angels holding censers. To the Virgin's right stands a bishop holding a phylactery, accompanied by a seated scribe. To her left is a kneeling king deploying a long document. Scholars have identified these figures as King Louis VII (r. 1137–1180) and Maurice de Sully, Bishop of Paris 1160–1196, or King Louis VI (r. 1108–1137) and Étienne de Garlande, a cleric active 1100–1147, in a symbolic scene showing the separation between secular and religious power.[28] Jacques Thirion offered another interpretation, seeing in this iconography a representation of King Childebert I (r. 511–558) and Saint Germain, Bishop of Paris 555–576, in a scene of donation showcasing the origins of the cathedral.[29] Regardless, because of these attributes there was never any possibility of identifying this royal figure as a biblical king.

There was no lack of images of the historical monarchy in this period, as attested by the production of independent sculpture, like the six tomb effigies of Saint-Germain-des-Prés or the sculptures of enthroned emperors in the church in the church of Saint-Remi of Reims.[30] The creation of such effigies served to highlight the respective religious institution's illustrious past and connection to the royal dynasty. A similar intent may explain the Porte des Valois at Saint-Denis. The history of the abbey's tutelary martyrs occupies the lintel, and on the voussoirs and the jambs are depicted the multitude of kings who have pledged allegiance to the holy protectors of the French monarchy.

In her recent study of the drapery of French early Gothic jamb sculptures, Janet E. Snyder supports this identification, which also runs counter

28 Emile Mâle, "Le portail de Sainte-Anne à Notre-Dame de Paris," *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* 2 (1897), 231–46; Walter Cahn, "The Tympanum of the Portal of Saint-Anne at Notre-Dame de Paris and the iconography of the Division of Power in the Early Middle Ages," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institue* 32 (1969), 55–72; Anne Lombard-Jourdan, "L'invention du roi fondateur à Paris au XIIe siècle: de l'obligation morale au thème sculptural," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes* 155 (1997), 485–542; Thirion, "Le portail Sainte-Anne," pp. 5–43; Iliana Kasarska, "Les sculptures du XIIe siècle au portail Sainte-Anne à Notre-Dame de Paris," *Bulletin monumental* 159 (2001), 183–84, esp. 183.

29 Thirion, "Le portail Sainte-Anne," pp. 5–43.

30 On the tomb effigies at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, see: Philippe Plagnieux, "Autour du gisant de Childebert: les monuments funéraires des Mérovingiens à Saint-Germain-des-Prés et la politiques des abbés," in *La figuration des morts dans la chrétienté médiévale jusqu'à la fin du premier quart du XIVe siècle*, ed. Roger Grégoire (Fontevraud, 1989), pp. 183–94; Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, "Un gisant royal du milieu du XIIe siècle provenant de Saint-Germain-des-Prés à Paris," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques* 15 (1979), 33–50. For the sculpture of emperors at Reims, see: Mario Kramp, *Kirche, Kunst und Königsbild: zum Zusammenhang von Politik und Kirchenbau im capetingischen Frankreich des 12. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel der drei Abteien Saint-Denis, Saint-Germain-des-Prés und Saint-Remi, Reims* (Weimar, 1995), pp. 326–39.

to the univocal theological interpretation.[31] Through a meticulous analysis of material culture, she interprets the jamb figures as representing different social strata. Indeed, on the Royal Portal of Saint-Denis, only one of the seven crowned figures wears the regal dalmatic, the exclusive garment of royalty (Figure. 10.2, no. 5).[32] The only crowned female figure is dressed in courtly attire (Figure. 10.2, no. 6).[33] Another figure stands out as a prince (Figure. 10.2, no. 4), and the other male figures can be identified as members of the elite of their time, as "remarkable leaders of their communities" (Figure. 10.1, nos. 1, 2, 6; Figure. 10.2, no. 7).[34] Among the remaining 12 uncrowned figures, seven represent members of the elite (Figure. 10.1, nos. 1, 3, 6; Figure. 10.2, nos. 2–3; Figure. 10.3, nos. 4, 6), one is a Norman lady (Figure. 10.2, no. 1), two are court gentlemen (Figure. 10.3, nos. 2, 5), another one is a court gentleman but barefoot (Figure. 10.3, no. 3), and one is an associate of Christ (Figure. 10.1, no. 2).[35] By an associate of Christ, Snyder refers to the clothes worn by this figure, which do not belong to the 12th century.[36] Apart from the 'associate,' whose interpretation is controversial, the images displayed the high nobility of the kingdom.

This cross-section of society was condensed on the Porte des Valois. Of the six jamb figures, the two at either end are dressed as chamberlains, while the four central figures are monarchs (Figure. 10.9). The choice to represent four sovereigns is unusual and finds no parallel on any other Gothic portal.[37] In comparison, it is of particular interest that there is no monarch represented at either Étampes or Chartres. In Étampes, two court ladies, three lords or princes, and a chamberlain are shown. In Chartres, the composition includes only two lords (the work of the Master of Étampes), five court ladies, six dignitaries or chamberlains, and, for the first time, also four knights. These variations seem to be conscious choices on the part of the different religious institutions.

---

31 Janet E. Snyder, *Early Gothic Column-Figure Sculpture in France. Appearance, Materials, and Significance* (Farnham, 2011).

32 Snyder, *Early*, pp. 59–62.

33 Snyder, *Early*, pp. 37–39.

34 Snyder, *Early*, pp. 53–55.

35 Snyder, *Early*, pp. 77–80.

36 Snyder, *Early*, p. 78: "Other images associated by scholars with Old Testament personages appear in dress indistinguishable from clothing worn by the twelfth-century close associates of the monarch. In uniting the garb of ranking courtiers with sacred personages, the language of dress infers the significant integration of secular and sacred in 12th-century thought."

37 Janet E. Snyder's inventory of monarchical figures allows for identification of the portals on which only one king appears, namely at the cathedral of Saint-Maurice in Angers, the cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris, the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and the church of Notre-Dame in Vermenton. See: Snyder, *Early*, pp. 197–202.

3 Between Public and Private: The Royal Images on the Two Portals of Saint-Denis

The contexts of the production and reception of the jamb sculptures differed strongly among Saint-Denis, Étampes, and Chartres, being tied to specific circumstances of each site. As for the figures on the western façade of Saint-Denis, their identity as Old Testament characters and their place within the elaborated iconographic programme had to make sense to the specific social groups who saw the façade. To the intellectual elite, the two levels of the sculpted images on the Royal Portal – namely the literal (or historical) and the spiritual, the latter itself divided into the allegorical, the tropological (or moral), and the anagogical – would have been intelligible.[38] If, thanks to their education, this audience had the interpretative tools to understand this programme, they might also have recognized, from their lived experiences, the different social statuses of the depicted figures. Did these members of the elite see the sculptures as a reflection of their current society or, alternatively, of a past society similar to theirs? Unfortunately, the lack of sources does not allow us to explore such nuances in the reception of these images. Regardless of the precise interpretation, the message of the programme is clear: society has always consisted of a hierarchy with a monarch at the top.

However, this educated class was not the only one with access to these images. It is possible to reconstruct the portal's original social environment thanks to Suger's account of the consecration of the western part of Saint-Denis:

> First, the three bishops stood together in the middle of the new addition and blessed the water in the font placed there. They then went forth with the procession through the oratory of Saint Eustace and through the square called from ancient times "Pantera" because all things for buying and selling there are used goods.[39]

This source explains the function and age of the square in front of the church. Moreover, it confirms that, even before the reconstruction of the western façade by Abbot Suger, people who were not members of the nobility were

38 Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l'écriture*, 3 vols (Paris, 1959–61).

39 *Selected works of Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis*, trans. with introduction and notes, Richard Cusimano, and Eric Whitmore (Washington, D.C., 2018), p. 43: "Qui in medio novi incrementi priorem inconsistenti dolio benedicentes aquam, per oratorium sancti Eustachii cum processione exeuntes per plateam que Panteria, eo quod inibi omnia emptioni et venditioni teruntur, antiquitus vocitatur, per aliam que in sacro cimiterio aperitur."

present on a daily basis in this square. How would this public have perceived the new jamb sculptures on Suger's façade? As mentioned above, the jamb figures are clothed in the manner of members of the contemporary elite. An interaction is staged between these representations and the spectator, on the one hand, through their location on the lower reaches of the portal and, on the other, through their downward-tilted heads, as shown in Montfaucon's drawing of the figures of the central portal. Whether or not these viewers could precisely identify the various costumes and their social implications, they surely recognized the sculptures as depictions of nobles and kings, as attested by the *Des XXIII manières de vilains*.[40]

It is meaningful that the iconographic formula of the Royal Portal of Saint-Denis was taken up immediately and almost without any change at Étampes. The town of Étampes had maintained close relations with the Capetian dynasty, and the city's collegiate church of Notre-Dame was a royal foundation.[41] In his monograph on Notre-Dame d'Étampes, Jochen Staebel has argued that the building and its Royal Portal were commissions from Louis VII and his wife Eleanor of Aquitaine (r. 1137–1152).[42] His analysis of the architectural and iconographic programme of the keystones and the south portal supports this hypothesis. According to Staebel, the south portal refers to the royal coronation, while the jamb sculptures represent contemporary sovereigns: Louis VI, Louis VII, Eleanor of Aquitaine, Queen Mother Adelaide (r. 1115–1137), Prince Henry (r. 1121–1175), and Henry, Archbishop of Sens 1122–1142.[43] Nevertheless, this seductive interpretation does not stand up under Snyder's study of clothing, which demonstrates the absence of a monarch. In the case of Étampes, the absence of the monarch should not be interpreted as an intention to deny royal importance. Unlike Saint-Denis, Étampes was one of the capitals of Capetian power and a frequent place of residence for Louis VII. Since the king was often present in person, the need to represent him was secondary.[44] Indeed, Staebel rightly identified this gate as the one used by the king; the presence of the monarch himself at the gate explains the absence of a sculpted figuration.

---

40 Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 1553, fol. 514v.

41 Étampes had been a royal town since the construction of a fortified castle under Robert the Pious, and in 1124 the canons of Notre-Dame of Étampes were appointed chaplains of the king's castle, see: *Atlas historique des villes de France; Île-de-France; Etampes; Essone,* ed. Claudine Billot (Paris, 1989).

42 Staebel Jochen, *Notre-Dame von Etampes: die Stiftskirche des 11.-13. Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer frühgotischen Bauskulptur* (Worms, 2003).

43 Staebel, *Notre-Dame von Etampes,* pp. 214–25.

44 Achille Luchaire, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques sous les premiers Capétiens: 987–1180. Etudes sur les actes de Louis VII* (Paris, 1885), chap. 5.

The fact that no monarch is represented on the Royal Portal of Chartres must be interpreted differently because of the historical and political context of this town, which was distinct from that of Saint-Denis and Étampes during the middle of the 12th century. Notre-Dame of Chartres was known as one of the centres of Marian worship in France. The cathedral was the seat of an important bishopric, led by famous figures such as Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres 1006–1028, who rebuilt the church in the 11th century, and Geoffroy de Lèves, Bishop of Chartres 1115–1149, active during the realization of the western façade. Less known but just as powerful, the cathedral chapter was essential in the organization and financing of building projects, which were referred to as the 'work of the church' (*opus ecclesiae*).[45] A 12th-century obituary speaks to the canons' active participation in the decoration of the church through the commissioning of stained-glass windows, but no sources exist for the sculptural programme.[46] The 39 canons who made up the chapter are documented in a charter of 1121–1124 by Geoffroy de Lèves, including 13 dignitaries.[47] The vast majority of these canons came from the seigneurial or chivalric aristocracy.[48] This may well explain the majority of dignitaries (six) and knights (four) on the Royal Portal.

Through the alteration of the figures' social identities and the addition of a halo to each figure, the Royal Portal of Chartres rejected the iconographic formula that had been established at Saint-Denis. This rejection could have conveyed a political message; it is more plausible, however, that it represented an adaptation of the formula to the local context of Chartres. Unlike Saint-Denis and Étampes, the Royal Portal of Chartres does not seem to refer to the royal network, and its jamb figures would have had a different viewership. Whereas monumental royal images were perfectly suitable for the façade of an abbey housing the regalia and the oriflamme (Saint-Denis) or that of a collegiate church whose religious community served as the chaplains of the royal palace (Étampes), they were certainly not suitable for a cathedral.

Even at Saint-Denis itself, the northern portal appears to have been geared towards an audience different not only from that of Chartres and Étampes but

45 André Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes* (*XIe-XIIIe s.*) (Paris, 1973); Florian Mazel, "Pouvoirs locaux et acteurs du chantier," in *Chartres. La grâce d'une cathédrale*, ed. Michel Pansart (Strasbourg, 2013), pp. 41–56, esp. 47–48.

46 Eugène de Lépinois, and Lucien Victor Merlet, *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres d'après les cartulaires et les titres originaux*, 3 vols (Chartres, 1861–65), pp. 111–12; Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, and Peter Kurmann, *Chartres: la cathédrale* (Saint-Léger-Vauban, 2001), pp. 149–50.

47 Mazel, "Pouvoirs locaux," p. 48, n. 97.

48 Mazel, "Pouvoirs locaux," p. 51.

also that of the abbey's own western portal. This northern entrance, located at the height of the main altar, offered access to the cemetery (Figure. 10.12).[49] In turn, on the northern side of the cemetery was a series of four churches: Saint-Michel-du-Degré, Saint-Barthélémy, Saint-Pierre, and Saint-Paul, which were all under the monastery's jurisdiction.[50] Another church, dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, was located in the cemetery itself but is yet to be found.[51] Saint-Pierre Church functioned as a station during the processions of the rogations and feasts of Saint Mark and Saint Paul.[52] At Saint-Denis, then, the portal of the transept's northern arm must, consequently, have serviced the processions on these occasions. Suger mentions this function twice: once in *De Consecratione* and again in *De Administratione.*[53]

Beyond this use for liturgical purposes and grand ceremonies, the portal was located on the side of the monastery that was connected to the kingdom's temporal power. Michael Wyss has uncovered the presence of a major Carolingian settlement west of Saint-Michel-du-Degré Church.[54] This recalls the central role played by Saint-Denis in the quest for the legitimization of this same dynasty.[55] A royal residence, probably constructed by Fardulfe, Abbot of Saint-Denis 797–806, is attested for Charlemagne's stays.[56] However, royal visits remained occasional, except under Charles the Bald, who spent every Easter at Saint-Denis.[57] It was also during the latter's reign that the first fortifications of the monastery were built.[58] The existence of a royal residence is still attested for the period of the Robertine dynasty (888–987).[59] This royal land

49 Wyss, *Atlas,* pp. 109–25.

50 Wyss, *Atlas,* pp. 116–119.

51 Wyss, *Atlas,* p. 117.

52 Edward B. Foley, *The first ordinary of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis in France*: *Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 526* (Fribourg, 1990), p. 247.

53 Suger, *Ecrit sur la consécration de Saint-Denis; L'œuvre administrative; Histoire de Louis VII*, trans. Françoise Gasparri (Paris, 1996), pp. 22–23, and 114–15. See also: Erlande-Brandenburg, "La porte," p. 212.

54 Michaël Wyss, "Un établissement carolingien mis au jour à proximité de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis: la question du palais de Charlemagne," in "*Aux marches du palais" Qu'est-ce qu'un palais médiéval?*, ed. Annie Renoux (Le Mans, 2001), pp. 191–200.

55 It was thus within these walls that the second coronation of Pepin the Short took place in 754 and, successively, the anointing of his two sons by Pope Stephen II, who had just established his temporary residence at Saint-Denis (752–757).

56 *Fardulfi abbatis carmina*. *MGH Poetae* 1, ed. Ernst Dümmler (Hanover, 1881), p. 353.

57 Eugen Ewig, "Résidence et capitale pendant le haut Moyen Âge," *Revue historique* 230 (1963), 25–72, esp. 69.

58 *Annales Bertiniani*, *MGH SS, r G* 13, ed. Georg Waitz (Hanover, 1883), p. 98.

59 Helgaud de Fleury, *Vie de Robert le Pieux*, trans. Robert-Henri Bautier, and Gillette Labory (Paris, 1965), *Sources d'histoire médiévale* 1, p. 96.

north of the church was retained under the Capetian kings, as evidenced by the donation to the abbey of a residence (*domus*), including a house, a courtyard, a guest house and outbuildings, by Philip I (r. 1060–1108).[60] Moreover, in 1140, Suger referred to a piece of the royal estate, on the church's northern side, intended for the maintenance of the lights of the new chapels of the western part.[61] When, in the middle of the 12th century, the Capetian kings established their court in Paris, there was no longer a need for a royal palace in Saint-Denis; from this point on, there are no further testimonies to its existence. However, the northern portal's iconography, referring to the alliance between Saint-Denis and royalty, may be a remaining indication of its function as a royal entrance to the church.[62]

The interior design of the church (Figure. 10.13) further supports this hypothesis. The entrance to the northern transept provided privileged access to the high altar and the altar of the holy martyrs. The eastern end of the church was accessible only to the clergy and the king, the latter accompanied by his court.[63] If indeed the clergy entered the church via the south arm of the transept, which was connected to the abbey's cloister, where would the king and his court have entered? Although scholars have examined sources concerning royal entries into cities, nothing is known of royal entries into churches.[64] The royal area to the north of the abbey, along with the interior layout of the church, suggests that the Porte des Valois was the one used by monarchs during royal ceremonies.

The iconography of the portal also refers to the frequent visits of the French king in times of war. Indeed, when the king went to the abbey to take the oriflamme – known in this period as the banner of Saint-Denis or of Vexin – he became the vassal of the saint and, by analogy, of the abbey. The kings' victories were linked to the intervention of their patron saint, as reported by Odo of Deuil in his crusade's account:

60 These donations are known thanks to the charter of renewal by Louis VI of the donation by his father of his house of Saint-Denis, See: *Recueil des actes de Louis VI roi de France (1108–1137),* ed. Jean Dufour, 2 vols, (Paris, 1992), n. 74, p. 167.

61 Suger, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1867), pp. 356–57.

62 It should be noted that this was not the entrance's only function, as demonstrated by its use in liturgical processions. See: Foley, *The first ordinary,* pp. 247–52.

63 Damien Berné, "Saint-Denis. L'espace et la mémoire du XIIe au début du XVIe siècle," *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre* 20/2 (2016). Available at http://journals.openedition.org/cem/14568. Accessed 2020 Apr 30.

64 *Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515,* eds. Bernard Guenée, and François Lehoux (Paris, 1968); Joël Blanchard, "Les entrées royales; pouvoir et représentation du pouvoir à la fin du Moyen Age," *Littérature* 50 (1983), 3–14.

> While thus in the sight of everyone he requested from St- Denis the oriflamme and the permission to depart (a ceremony which was always the custom of our victorious kings), he aroused great lamentation and received the blessing of everyone's deepest affection. … Meanwhile his mother and his wife and countless others went ahead to Saint-Denis. When the king arrived there presently, he found the pope and the abbot and monks of the church gathered together. Then he prostrated himself most humbly on the ground; he venerated his patron saint. The pope and the abbot opened the small golden door and drew out the silver reliquary a little way so that the king might be easily enabled to see and kiss the relic of him whom his soul venerated. Then, when the banner had been taken from above the altar after he had received the pilgrim's wallet and a blessing from the pope, he withdrew from the crowd to the monk's dormitory. The crowds and the king's wife and his mother, who nearly perished because of their tears and the heat, could not endure the delay; but to wish to depict the grief and wailing which occurred then is as foolish as it is impossible.[65]

This passage documents the royal presence at Saint-Denis. Louis VII's court and important ecclesiastical dignitaries gathered near the altar of the martyrs, in the chevet, awaiting the king's arrival. Then the king had to pray, asking for the banner and for permission to leave the kingdom. Thereafter, Louis VII

65 Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, trans. Virgina Gingerick Berry (New York, 1978), pp. 16–19: "Dum igitur a beato Dionysio vexillum, et abeundi licentiam petiit (qui mos semper victoriosis regibus fuit), visus ab omnibus planctum maximum excitavit, et intimi affectus omnium benedictionem accepit. Dum vero pergeret, rem fecit laudabilem, paucis tamen imitabilem, et forsitan suae celsitudinis nulli. Nam, cum prius religiosos quosque Parisiis visitasset, tandem foras progrediens, leprosorum adiit officinas. Ibi certe vidi eum cum solis duobus arbitris interesse, et per longam moram caeteram suorum multitudinem exclusisse. Interim mater ejus, et uxor, et innumeri alii ad Beatum Dionysium praecurrunt. Et ipse postmodum veniens, papam, et abbatem et Ecclesiae monachos invenit congregatos. Tunc ipse humillime humi prostratus, patronum suum adorat; Papa vero et abbas auream portulam reserant, et argenteam thecam paululum extrahunt, ut osculato rex et viso quem diligit anima sua, alacrior redderetur. Deinde sumpto vexillo desuper altari, et pera, et benedictione a summo pontifice, in dormitorium monachorum multitudini se subducit. Non enim patiebantur moras oppressio populorum, et mater et uxor, quae inter lacrymas et calorem pene spiritum exhalabant. Sed luctum et planctum qui ibi inerat velle describere, tam stultum est quam impossibile. Illo die retentis paucis suorum, in refectorio comedit cum fratribus; et os culatis postmodum omnibus recessit, orationibus et lacrymis omnium prosecutus."

made direct contact with the relics of the patron saint. Once these components of the rite were completed, the king could take the banner.

Although this text presents the raising of the banner of Saint-Denis as an event deriving from a long tradition, the first mention of this ceremony in fact dates only to the reign of Louis VI. In 1124, Holy Roman Emperor Henry V (r. 1111–1125) threatened the Kingdom of France with an invasion. Suger recounts the event in his biography of King Louis:

> When the plan was revealed to King Louis by his intimate friends, bravely and boldly he summoned a levy for which he did not wait, then he called up his nobles and explained to them the state of affairs. Since he recognized, both because he had often been told and had experienced it, that Saint-Denis was the special patron and after God the singular protector of the kingdom, he hastened to his church to implore him from the bottom of his heart, with prayers and gifts, that he would defend the kingdom, safeguard his person and repel the enemy in his usual manner. Then since the French have the privilege that, when their kingdom is invaded from without, they may place the saint's and defender's relics, with those of his companions, on the altar to defend them, this was done in the king's presence with solemnity and devotion. Then the king took from the altar the banner belonging to the county of the Vexin, which he held in fief of the church, following his vow received it as if from his lord. At the head of a handful of men to protect him, he flew off against the enemy, calling on the whole of France to follow him in strength.[66]

This account of the first raising of the banner by Louis VI emphasizes the king's vassalage to Saint-Denis as well as the role of the patron saint and his

66 Suger, Abbot of Saint Denis, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, trans. with introduction and notes, Richard Cusimano, and John Moorhead, (Washington, D.C., 1992), chap. 28: "Quod cum domino regi Ludovico intimorum relatione innotuisset, tam strenue, quam audacter delectum quem non exspectat cogit, nobiles asciscit, causam exponit. Et quoniam beatum Dionysium specialem patronum, et singularem post Deum regni protectorem, et multorum relatione et crebro cognoverat experimento, ad eum festinans, tam precibus quam beneficiis praecordialiter pulsat, ut regnum defendat, personam conservet, hostibus more solito resistat. Et quoniam hanc ab eo habent praerogativam, ut si regnum aliud regnum Francorum invadere audeat, ipse beatus et admirabilis defensor cum sociis suis, tanquam ad defendendum altari suo superponatur, eo praesente fit tam gloriose, quam devote. Rex autem vexillum ab altari suscipiens, quod de comitatu Vilcassini, quo ad Ecclesiam feodatus est, spectat, votive tanquam a Domino suo suscipiens, pauca manu contra hostes, ut sibi provideat, evolat, ut eum tota Francia sequatur potenter invitat."

companions in protecting the kingdom. Odo's account of Louis VII, on the other hand, highlights the stages of the ceremony and the accompanying emotions. The discrepancy between the two accounts can be explained by the decade separating them, during which the royal claims to the abbey of Saint-Denis became well established. Still, even during the reign of Louis VII, the ritual of the raising of the banner, and all the symbolic dimensions contained therein, was relatively new. The uniqueness of this ceremony to the abbey of Saint-Denis might explain the investment of Suger and his successors in promoting it. Moreover, Suger's reconstruction of the church may have been conceived to accommodate the relatively large number of people who attended this ceremony in the area of the altar of the martyrs, as suggested by Werner Jacobsen.[67] This royal ceremony was essential for the abbey, which otherwise only hosted royal funerals; although the regalia had been housed at Saint-Denis since Louis VI, the coronation of the kings of France took place in the cathedral of Reims.[68] Thus, the raising of the banner was the abbey church's most significant royal ceremony and an opportunity to present the abbey as essential to the monarchy. It would not be surprising to find on the Porte des Valois an iconography specially tailored to this ceremony. This would also explain the reuse of the portal in the new 13th-century transept, showing its importance for Suger's successors.[69]

4 Conclusion

Finally, let us return to the question of the royal portrait as it pertains to the sculptures at Saint-Denis, which represent a first step towards the kings' galleries of the 13th century. Because of their conditions of access, the two portals were not intended for the same audience. While the western façade was dedicated to the populace and the southern portal to the king and his court, they both hold an essential place in the history of the construction of royal power and, consequently, of French society.

67 Werner Jacobsen, "Liturgische Kollisionen im Kirchenraum: Sugers Neubau von Saint-Denis. Voraussetzungen und Folgen," in *Art, Cérémonial et Liturgie au Moyen Âge*, eds. Nicolas Bock, Peter Kurmann, Serena Romano, and Jean-Michel Spieser (Rome, 2002), pp. 191–222, esp. 208–10.

68 Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort. Etude sur les funérailles, les sépultures des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1975), p. 86.

69 Joubert, "Le remploi," pp. 201–08.

The Capetian dynasty integrated biblical history, on the Royal Portal, considered the great history at this time and on the Porte des Valois, the Capetians were placed in succession to the Frankish monarchy. In the two monumental portals of the abbey church, there was a need to situate the Capetian dynasty historically and, thus, to legitimize it. Concerning the question of the legitimacy of the Capetians, Bernard Guenée has shown, through his analysis of textual sources, that the idea of Capetian pride emerged during the first two decades of the reign of Louis VII.[70] This new vision of the dynasty would not have been possible had the Capetians not been legitimated by this time: previously, Hugh Capet's heirs had faced a severe disadvantage compared to the great counts and dukes of the realm because of their illegitimate blood. Guenée proposes that we understand this change, around the middle of the 12th century, as resulting from the power alliance that Louis VII established with the greatest lay lords of his kingdom. Moreover, he explains this change by the genealogical emphasis based on an Ottonian ancestry through female heritage. This last element was in fact never used by the Capetians to legitimize their dynasty; indeed, the strict rules that governed the writing of genealogy did not allow them to claim an illustrious past. Against this backdrop, the use of images was conducive to the production of a legitimizing discourse based on the historical continuity of royalty, as evident in the design of the two monumental portals of Saint-Denis Abbey. This representational strategy would continue well beyond the 12th century, following the example of the kings' galleries. Diane Bodart's above-quoted words now make full sense:[71] these representations are an expression of sovereign majesty and, at the same time, an instrument for substantiating and legitimizing the exercise of royal power.

Indeed, though the portrait of the king had already existed before this time on seals and in illuminations, it was intended for a limited number of spectators, all of whom were elites.[72] The use of a new broadcast medium, namely monumental sculpture, brought such images to a vast audience of ordinary people, thereby informing the daily experiences of an entire society. This catalysed an unprecedented change in the way the monarchy was perceived. I cannot confirm whether this was Suger's aim. However, if it was, then he succeeded, as

70 Bernard Guenée, "Les généalogies entre l'histoire et la politique. La fierté d'être Capétien, en France, au Moyen Âge," *Annales* 33 (1978), 450–77.

71 Pinelli et al., "Le portrait du roi," p. 11.

72 Anne-Orange Poilpré, "Le portrait royal en trône sous le règne de Charles le Chauve: l'espace contraint de la royauté," in *L'image médiévale: fonction dans l'espace sacré et structuration de l'espace cultuel*, eds. Cécile Voyer, and Eric Sparhubert (Turnhout 2011), pp. 325–39.

evidenced by the spread of this visual formula throughout the entire kingdom as well as by the strengthening of royal power under Louis VII.[73]

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Annales Bertiniani, *MGH SS, r G* 13, ed. Georg Waitz (Hanover, 1883).

de Lépinois, Eugène, and Merlet, Lucien Victor, *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres d'après les cartulaires et les titres originaux*, 3 vols (Chartres, 1861–65).

Fardulfi abbatis carmina. MGH Poetae 1, ed. Ernst Dümmler (Hanover, 1881).

Guérard, Benjamin, *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris* (Paris, 1850).

Helgaud de Fleury, *Vie de Robert le Pieux*, trans. Robert-Henri Bautier, and Gillette Labory (Paris, 1965), *Sources d'histoire médiévale* 1.

Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, trans. Virgina Gingerick Berry (New York, 1978).

Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 1553, fol. 514v.

Recueil des actes de Louis VI roi de France (1108–1137), ed. Jean Dufour, 2 vols, (Paris, 1992).

Selected works of Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis, trans. with introduction and notes, Richard Cusimano, and Eric Whitmore (Washington, D.C., 2018).

Suger, *Ecrit sur la consécration de Saint-Denis; L'œuvre administrative; Histoire de Louis VII*, trans. Françoise Gasparri (Paris, 1996).

Suger, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1867).

Suger, Abbot of Saint Denis, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, trans. with introduction and notes, Richard Cusimano, and John Moorhead, (Washington, D.C., 1992).

Secondary Sources

Armi, C. Edson, *The 'Headmaster' of Chartres and the Origins of 'Gothic' Sculpture* (University Park, 1994).

73 For the rehabilitation of the figure of Louis VII and his reign within the process of the construction of a state, see: Marcel Pacaut, *Louis VII et les élections épiscopales* (Paris, 1957); Marcel Pacaut, *Louis VII et son royaume* (Paris, 1964); Aryeh Graboïs, "Louis VII pèlerin," *Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France* 74/192 (1988), 5–22; Aryeh Graboïs, "Un mythe fondamental de l'histoire de France au Moyen Âge: le 'roi David,' précurseur du roi très chrétien," *Revue historique* 287 (1992), 11–31; Yves Sassier, *Louis VII* (Paris 1991); Yves Sassier, "La *Corona regni*: émergence d'une persona ficta dans la France du XIIe siècle," in *La puissance royale. Image et pouvoir de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge*, eds. Emmanuelle Santinelli, and Christian-Georges Schwentzel (Rennes, 2012), pp. 99–110; Yves Sassier, *Royauté et idéologie au Moyen-Âge. Bas-Empire, monde franc, France (IVe-XIIe siècle)* (Paris, 2012), esp. chap. 5.

Atlas historique de Saint-Denis: des origines au XVIIIe siècle, ed. Michaël Wyss (Paris, 1996).

Atlas historique des villes de France; Île-de-France; Etampes; Essone, ed. Claudine Billot (Paris, 1989).

Baillieul, Elise, *L'ancienne collègiale de Notre-Dame d'Etampes, un monument du premier art gothique* (Lille, 2012).

Beaulieu, Michèle, "Essai sur l'iconographie des statues-colonnes de quelques portails du premier art gothique," *Bulletin Monumental* 142/3 (1984), 273–307.

Berné, Damien, "Saint-Denis. L'espace et la mémoire du XIIe au début du XVIe siècle," *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre* 20/2 (2016).

Berné, Damien, "Les statues-colonnes du cloître de Saint-Denis," in *Naissance de la sculpture gothique. Saint-Denis, Paris, Chartres*, eds. Damien Berné, and Philippe Plagnieux (Paris, 2018), pp. 202–05.

Blanchard, Joël, "Les entrées royales; pouvoir et représentation du pouvoir à la fin du Moyen Age," *Littérature* 50 (1983), 3–14.

Blum, Pamela Z., "The Lateral Portals of the West Facade of the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis. Archaeological and Iconographical Considerations," in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium*, ed. Paula Lieber Gerson (New York, 1986), pp. 199–228.

Blum, Pamela Z., "La Porte des Valois de Saint-Denis. À quelle époque son édification a-t-elle commencé?," *Bulletin de la Société des fouilles archéologiques et des monuments historiques de l'Yonne* 15 (1998), 21–25.

Blum, Pamela Z., and McKnight Crosby, Sumner, "Le portail central de la façade occidentale de Saint-Denis," *Bulletin monumental* 131 (1973), 209–66.

Blum, Pamela Z., and McKnight Crosby, Sumner, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis from Its Beginnings to the Death of Suger, 475–1151* (New Haven, 1987).

Bodart, Diane, *Pouvoir du portrait sous les Habsbourg d'Espagne* (Paris, 2011).

Brown, Elizabeth A. R., *Saint-Denis, la basilique* (Paris, 2001).

Cahn, Walter, "The Tympanum of the Portal of Saint-Anne at Notre-Dame de Paris and the iconography of the Division of Power in the Early Middle Ages," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institue* 32 (1969), 55–72.

Chédeville, André, *Chartres et ses campagnes* (*XIe-XIIIe s.*) (Paris, 1973).

de Lubac, Henri, *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l'écriture*, 3 vols (Paris, 1959–61).

de Montfaucon, Bernard, *Les monuments de la monarchie française*, 5 vols (Paris, 1729–33).

Didron, Adolphe Napoléon, "Monographie de la cathédrale de Chartres. Description de la sculpture extérieure," *Annales archéologiques* 27 (1870), 18–31.

Digeon, Claude, *La crise allemande de la pensée française 1870–1914* (Paris, 1959).

Erlande-Brandenburg, Alain, *Le roi est mort. Etude sur les funérailles, les sépultures des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1975).

Erlande-Brandenburg, Alain, "Un gisant royal du milieu du XIIe siècle provenant de Saint-Germain-des-Prés à Paris," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques* 15 (1979), 33–50.

Erlande-Brandenburg, Alain, "La porte du cimetière à l'abbatiale de Saint-Denis dite 'Porte des Valois.' Emplacement originel, déplacement, datation," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (1999), 211–13.

Ewig, Eugen, "Résidence et capitale pendant le haut Moyen Âge," *Revue historique* 230 (1963), 25–72.

Fassler, Margot, "Liturgy and Sacred History in the Twelfth Century Tympana at Chartres," *Art Bulletin* 75 (1993), 449–520.

Foley, Edward B., *The first ordinary of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis in France*: *Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 526* (Fribourg, 1990).

Gerson, Paula L., *The west façade of Saint-Denis: an iconographic study* (New York, 1970).

Graboïs, Aryeh, "Louis VII pèlerin," *Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France* 74/192 (1988), 5–22.

Graboïs, Aryeh, "Un mythe fondamental de l'histoire de France au Moyen Âge: le 'roi David,' précurseur du roi très chrétien," *Revue historique* 287 (1992), 11–31.

Guenée, Bernard, "Les généalogies entre l'histoire et la politique. La fierté d'être Capétien, en France, au Moyen Âge," *Annales* 33 (1978), 450–77.

Jacobsen, Werner, "Liturgische Kollisionen im Kirchenraum: Sugers Neubau von Saint-Denis. Voraussetzungen und Folgen," in *Art, Cérémonial et Liturgie au Moyen Âge*, eds. Nicolas Bock, Peter Kurmann, Serena Romano, and Jean-Michel Spieser (Rome, 2002), pp. 191–222.

Jochen, Staebel, *Notre-Dame von Etampes: die Stiftskirche des 11.-13. Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer frühgotischen Bauskulptur* (Worms, 2003).

Joubert, Fabienne, "Le remploi de portails sculptés dans les monuments de la France gothique," *Hortus artium medievalium* 17 (2011), 201–08.

Kasarska, Iliana, "Les sculptures du XIIe siècle au portail Sainte-Anne à Notre-Dame de Paris," *Bulletin monumental* 159 (2001), 183–84.

Katzenellenbogen, Adolf, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral. Christ, Mary, Ecclesia* (Baltimore, 1959).

Kramp, Mario, *Kirche, Kunst und Königsbild: zum Zusammenhang von Politik und Kirchenbau im capetingischen Frankreich des 12. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel der drei Abteien Saint-Denis, Saint-Germain-des-Prés und Saint-Remi, Reims* (Weimar, 1995).

Kurmann-Schwarz, Brigitte, and Kurmann, Peter, *Chartres: la cathédrale* (Saint-Léger-Vauban, 2001).

Lautier, Claudine, "Les deux galeries des rois de la cathédrale de Chartres," *Bulletin monumental* 169/1 (2011), 41–64.

Lebeuf, Jean, *Recueil de divers écrits pour servir d'éclaircissements à l'histoire de France, et de supplément à la Notice des Gaules*, 2 vols (Paris, 1738).

Le Pogam, Pierre-Yves, "Un art du recyclage: des sculptures gothiques remployées dans les façades gothiques," *Cahiers archéologiques* 56 (2016), 149–72.

Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515, eds. Bernard Guenée, and François Lehoux (Paris, 1968).

Lombard-Jourdan, Anne, "L'invention du roi fondateur à Paris au XIIe siècle: de l'obligation morale au thème sculptural," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes* 155 (1997), 485–542.

Lorcin, Marie-Thérèse , "Des paysans retrouvés: les vilains du XIIIe siècle d'après quelques textes en langue d'oïl," *Cahiers d'histoire* 45/2 (2000).

Luchaire, Achille, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques sous les premiers Capétiens: 987–1180. Etudes sur les actes de Louis VII* (Paris, 1885).

Mabillon, Jean, *Acta Sanctorum ordinis Sancti Benedicti* (*Vies des Saints de l'Ordre de saint Benoît*), 9 vols (Paris, 1663–1702).

Mâle, Emile, "Le portail de Sainte-Anne à Notre-Dame de Paris," *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* 2 (1897), 231–46.

Mâle, Emile, *L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France. Étude sur les origines de l'iconographie du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1922).

Mazel, Florian, "Pouvoirs locaux et acteurs du chantier," in *Chartres. La grâce d'une cathédrale*, ed. Michel Pansart (Strasbourg, 2013), pp. 41–56.

Mcknight Crosby, Sumner, *The Royal abbey of Saint-Denis in the time of Abbot Suger (1122–1151)* (New York, 1981).

Pacaut, Marcel, *Louis VII et les élections épiscopales* (Paris, 1957).

Pacaut, Marcel, *Louis VII et son royaume* (Paris, 1964).

Pinelli, Antonio, Sabatier, Gérard, Stollberg-Rilinger, Barbara, Tauber, Christine, and Bodart, Diane, "Le portrait du roi: entre art, histoire, anthropologie et sémiologie," *Perspective* 1 (2012), pp. 11–28.

Plagnieux, Philippe, "Autour du gisant de Childebert: les monuments funéraires des Mérovingiens à Saint-Germain-des-Prés et la politiques des abbés," in *La figuration des morts dans la chrétienté médiévale jusqu'à la fin du premier quart du XIVe siècle*, ed. Roger Grégoire (Fontevraud, 1989), pp. 183–94.

Plagnieux, Philippe, *Le chevet de Saint-Germain-des-Prés et la définition de l'espace gothique au milieu du XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1991).

Plagnieux, Philippe, "L'abbatiale de Saint-Germain-des-Prés et les débuts de l'architecture gothique," *Bulletin monumental* 158 (2000), 7–85.

Plagnieux, Philippe, "Le portail royal de Chartres. Une reformulation iconographique et stylistique," in *Naissance de la sculpture gothique. Saint-Denis, Paris, Chartres*, eds. Damien Berné, and Philippe Plagnieux (Paris, 2018), pp. 98–100.

Plancher, Urbain, *Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne*, 4 vols (Dijon, 1739–1781).

Poilpré, Anne-Orange, "Le portrait royal en trône sous le règne de Charles le Chauve: l'espace contraint de la royauté," in *L'image médiévale: fonction dans l'espace sacré et structuration de l'espace cultuel*, eds. Cécile Voyer, and Eric Sparhubert (Turnhout 2011), pp. 325–39.

Prache, Anne, *Saint-Remi de Reims. L'œuvre de Pierre de Celle et sa place dans l'architecture gothique* (Genève, 1978).

Pressouyre, Léon, "Précisions sur l'œuvre du 'Maître d'Étampes' au Portail royal de la cathédrale de Chartres," *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1982), 96–97.

Pressouyre, Léon, "Did Suger Build the Cloister of Saint-Denis?," in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis. A Symposium*, ed. Paula Lieber Gerson (New York, 1986), pp. 229–44.

Saint-Denis: dans l'éternité des rois et reines de France, ed. Pascal Delannoy (Strasbourg, 2015).

Sandron, Dany, "La cathédrale et les rois: Notre-Dame de Paris (XII^{e}-XIIIe siècles)," in *Kirche als Baustelle: grosse Sakralbauten des Mittelalters*, eds. Bruno Klein, Katja Schröck, and Stefan Bürger (Cologne, 2013), pp. 260–70.

Sassier, Yves, *Louis VII* (Paris 1991).

Sassier, Yves, "La *Corona regni*: émergence d'une persona ficta dans la France du XIIe siècle," in *La puissance royale. Image et pouvoir de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge*, eds. Emmanuelle Santinelli, and Christian-Georges Schwentzel (Rennes, 2012), pp. 99–110.

Sassier, Yves, *Royauté et idéologie au Moyen-Âge. Bas-Empire, monde franc, France* (*IV^{e}-XIIe siècle*) (Paris, 2012).

Sauerländer, Willibald, "Les statues royales du transept de Reims," *Revue de l'Art* 27 (1975), 9–30.

Snyder, Janet E., *Early Gothic Column-Figure Sculpture in France. Appearance, Materials, and Significance* (Farnham, 2011).

Stoddard, Whitney Snow, *The West Portals of Saint-Denis and Chartres* (Cambridge, 1952).

Stoddard, Whitney Snow, *Sculptors of the West Portals of Chartres Cathedral* (New York 1987).

Thirion, Jacques, "Les plus anciennes sculptures de Notre-Dame de Paris," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (1970), 85–112.

Thirion, Jacques, "Le portail Sainte-Anne à Notre-Dame de Paris," *Cahiers de la Rotonde* 22 (2000), 5–43.

Vergnolle, Eliane, "Gothic *versus* roman? La sculpture du deuxième quart du XIIe siècle," in *Naissance de la sculpture gothique. Saint-Denis, Paris, Chartres*, eds. Damien Berné, and Philippe Plagnieux (Paris, 2018), pp. 14–19.

von Hohenzollern, Johann Georg, *Die Königsgalerie der französischen Kathedrale, Herkunft, Bedeutung, Nachfolge*, (Munich, 1965).

Wyss, Michaël, and Meyer-Rodrigues, Nicole, "Nouvelles données archéologiques sur le cloître de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis," in *Utilis est lapis in structura. Mélanges offerts à Léon Pressouyre*, eds. Martine François, and Pierre-Yves Le Pogam (Paris, 2000), pp. 111–26.

Wyss, Michaël, "Un établissement carolingien mis au jour à proximité de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis: la question du palais de Charlemagne," in "*Aux marches du palais" Qu'est-ce qu'un palais médiéval?*, ed. Annie Renoux (Le Mans, 2001), pp. 191–200.

Illustrations

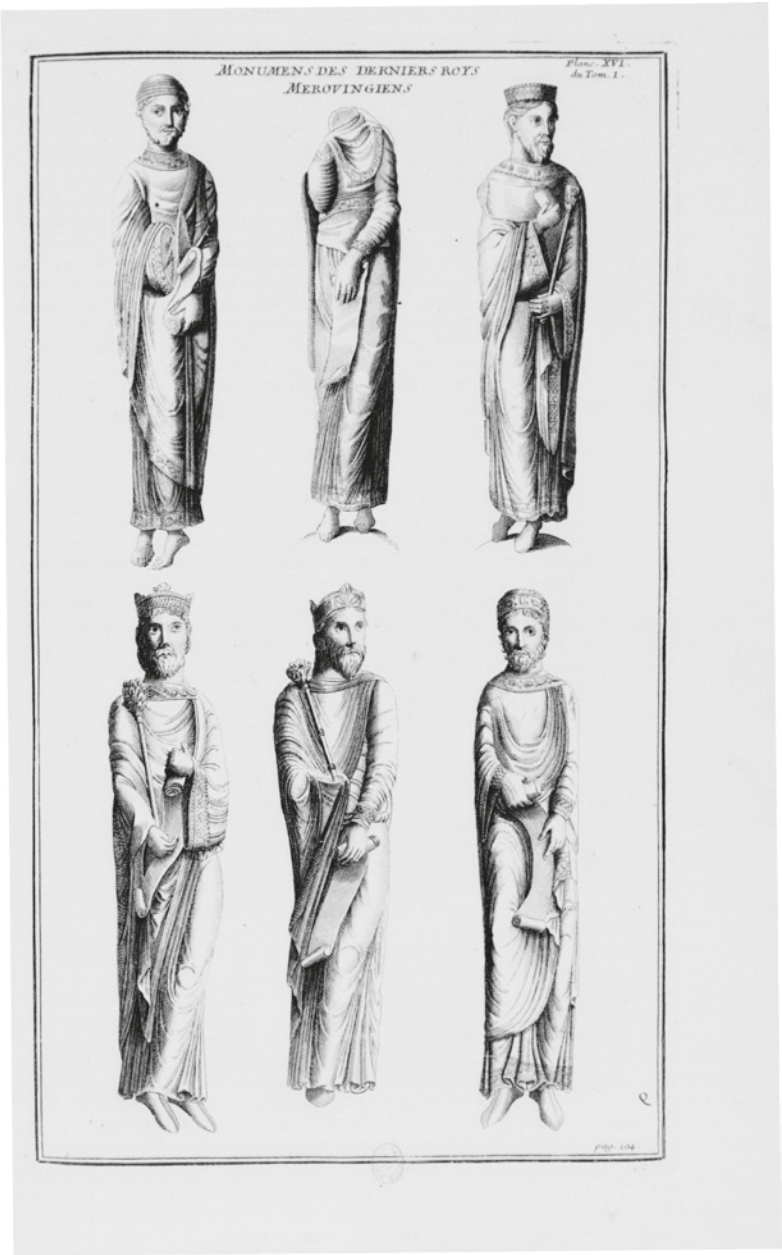


FIGURE 10.1 Bernard de Montfaucon, *Column-figures of the Royal Portal of Saint-Denis, north gate* (c. 1135–1140), in Les *monuments de la monarchie française*, t. I, (Paris, 1729), planches XVI (numbered from top left in reading direction: 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 1.5 and 1.6) ©: BNF

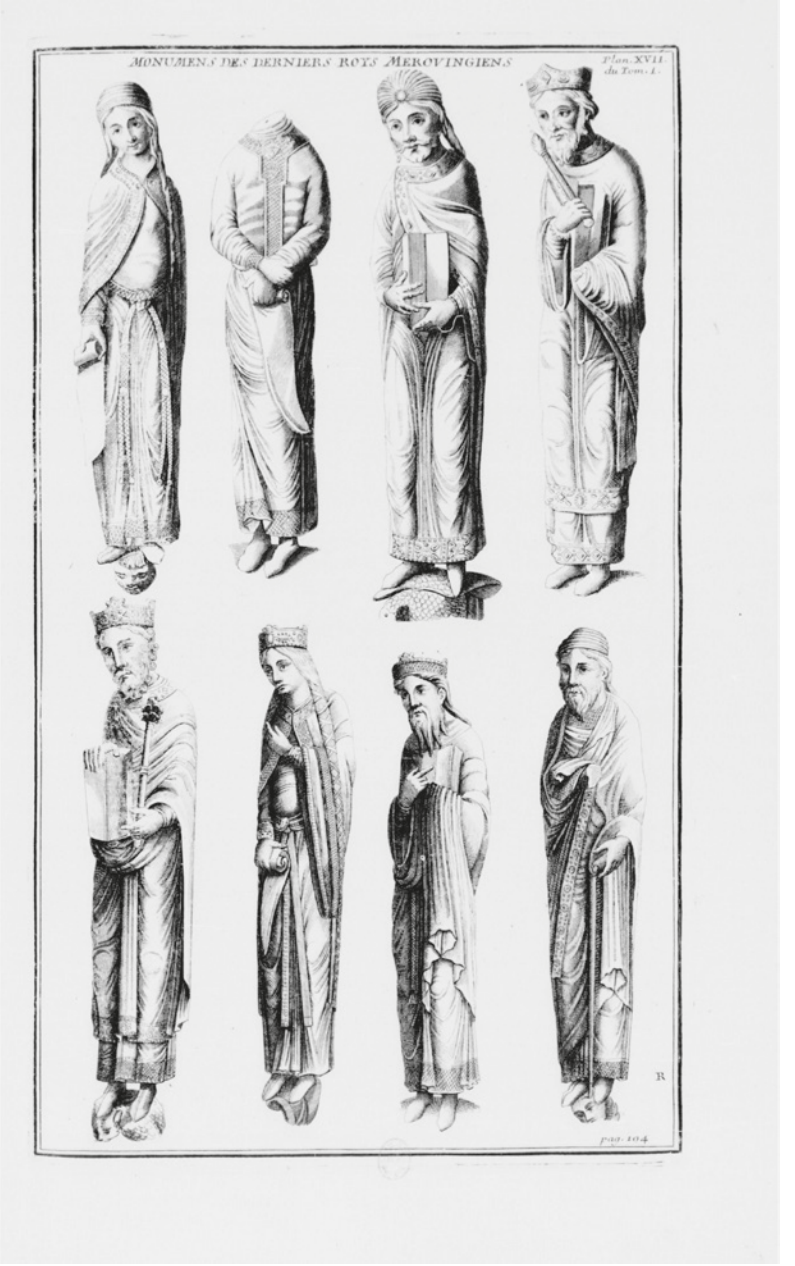


FIGURE 10.2 Bernard de Montfaucon, *Column-figures of the Royal Portal of Saint-Denis, center gate* (c. 1135–1140), in Les *monuments de la monarchie française*, t. I, (Paris, 1729), planches XVII, (numbered from top left in reading direction: 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.7 and 2.8,
©: BNF

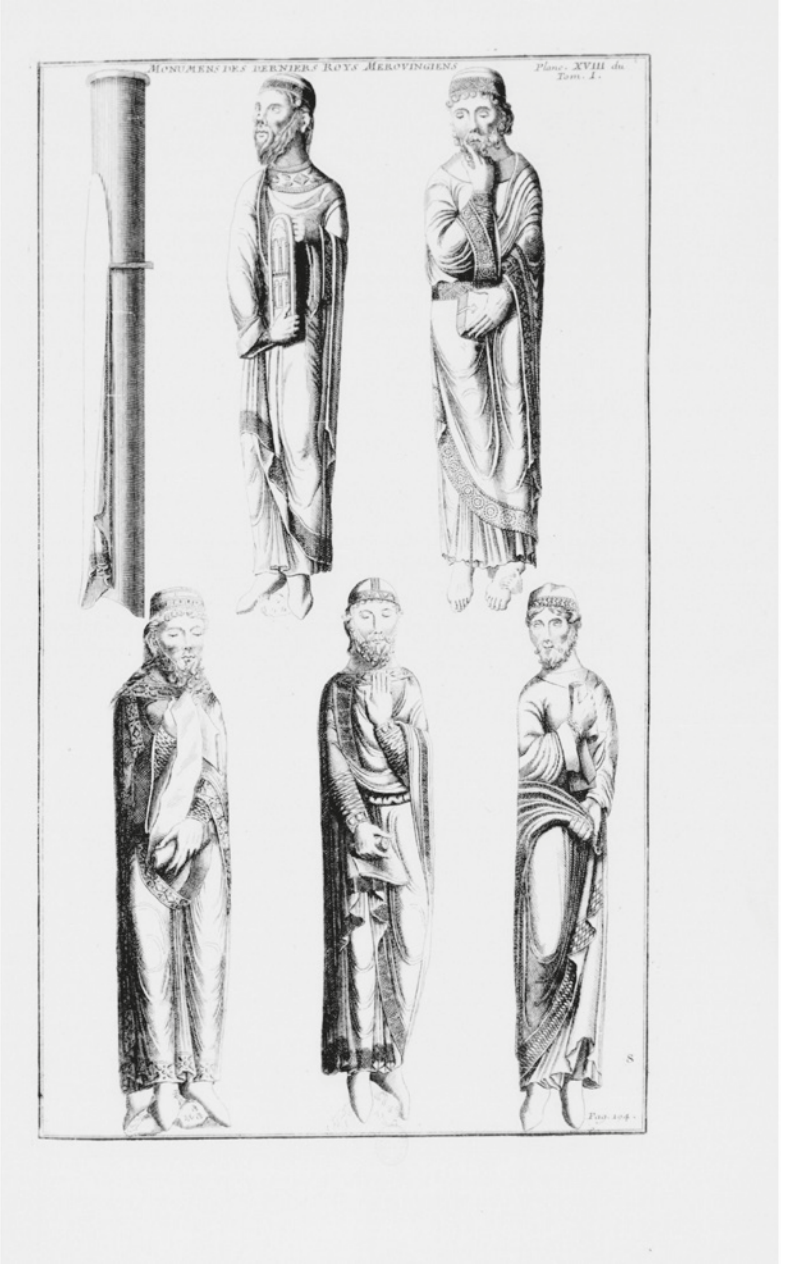


FIGURE 10.3 Bernard de Montfaucon, *Column-figures of the Royal Portal of Saint-Denis, south gate* (c. 1135–1140), in Les *monuments de la monarchie française*, t. I, (Paris, 1729), planches XVII (numbered from top left in reading direction: 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6)
©: BNF



FIGURE 10.4 Etampes, Notre-Dame, *Royal Portal, south gate*, c. 1140, (numbered from left to right: 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, and 4.6)
© CLAUDIO GIOVANNI COLOMBO



FIGURE 10.5 Chartres, Notre-Dame, *Royal Portal*, *western façade*, c. 1145–1155
© AUTHOR



FIGURE 10.6 Chartres, Notre-Dame, *Royal Portal*, north gate, left jambs, *two kings and a woman figures*, c. 1145
© BILDARCHIV FOTO MARBURG

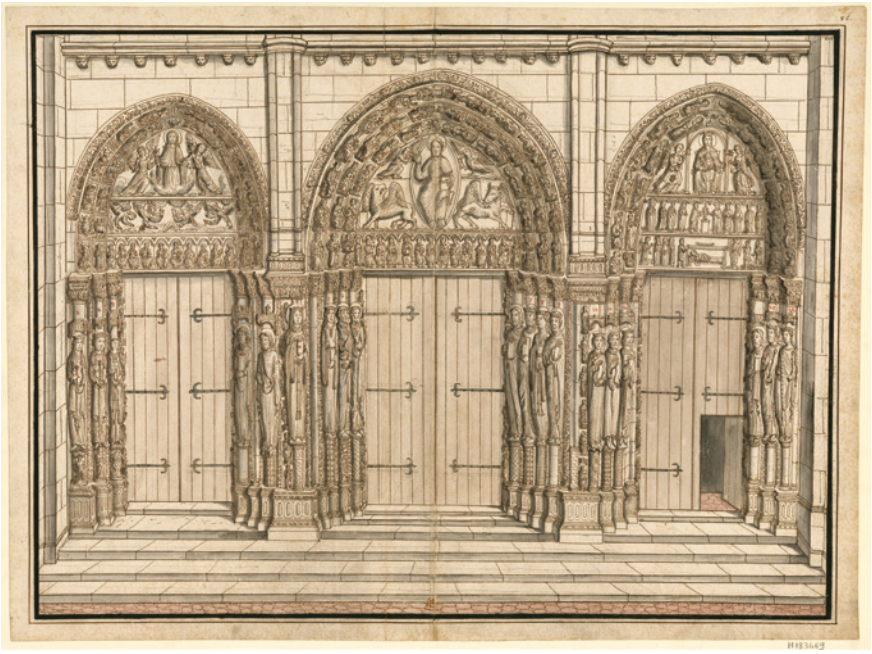


FIGURE 10.7 Louis Boudan, dessin pour Roger de Gaignières, [*Vue du Portail royal de la cathédrale de Chartres*], 1696, Paris, BnF, département des Estampes et de la Photographie, Va 404 ft 4
©: BNF



FIGURE 10.8 Chartres, Notre-Dame, *Royal Portal*, center gate, left jambs, *two queens (?)*, c. 1145
©: DAVE LÜTHI



FIGURE 10.9 Saint-Denis, Abbey, transept, north arm, *Porte des Valois*, 1150s
© MATTHIAS NONNENMACHER



FIGURE 10.10 Saint-Denis, Abbey, cloister, column-figure, *king of the Old Testament,* c. 1145, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Pulitzer Bequest, inv. 20.157 ©MET



FIGURE 10.11 Paris, Notre-Dame, west façade, *Portail Sainte-Anne*, c. 1145
© CREATIVCOMMONS



FIGURE 10.12 schematic plan of the buildings uncovered in the area around the abbey cemetery from Michaël Wyss (dir.), *Atlas historique de Saint-Denis. Des origines au XVIIIe siècle*, (Paris, 1996), coll. *Documents d'archéologie française* 59, p. 120
© SEBASTIAN BAUMANN

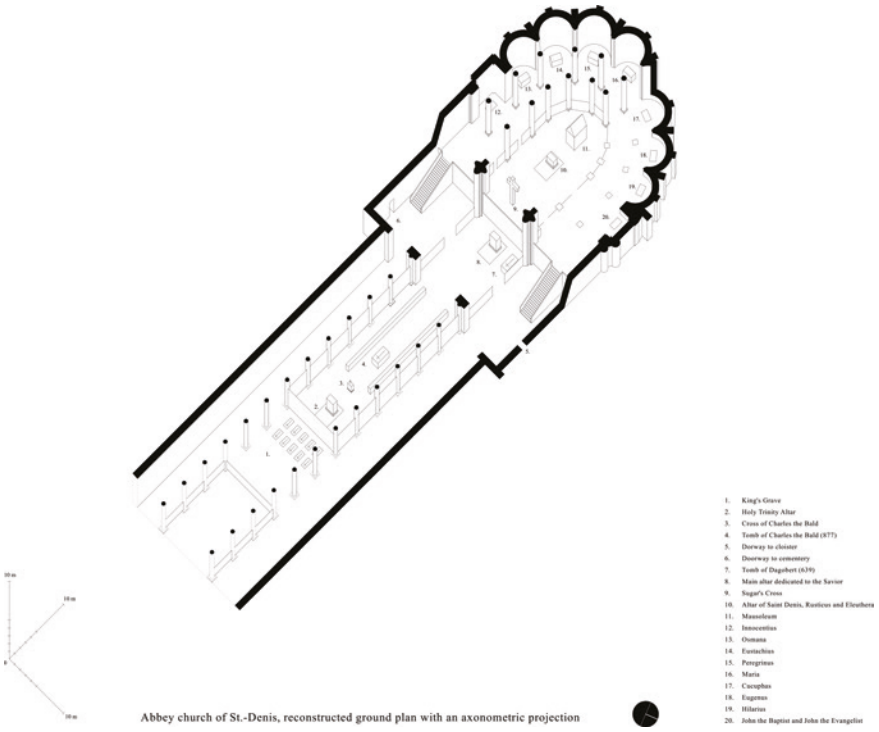


FIGURE 10.13 Plan of Saint-Denis during Suger abbatiat from Werner Jacobsen, "Liturgische Kollisionen im Kirchenraum: Sugers Neubau von Saint-Denis. Voraussetzungen und Folgen", in *Art, Cérémonial et Liturgie au Moyen Âge*, dir. Nicolas Bock, Peter Kurmann, Serena Romano and Jean-Michel Spieser, (Rome, 2002), p. 218
© SEBASTIAN BAUMANN

CHAPTER 11

Meanings and Functions of the Royal Portraits of the Navarrese Dynasty in the Kingdom of León, 1038–1109

Gerardo Boto Varela

The Kingdom of León came into being when the Asturian dynasty selected the city of León, originally a Roman military encampment, as its new political capital and the site of the coronation of the *reges Legionis*. The borders of the kingdom changed over the centuries, due to conflicts with the Umayyad Caliphate (929–1031), the Taifa dominions (1031–1092), the Almoravid Empire (1062–1147), the Almohad Empire (1147–1269), and the Christian kingdoms of Castile and Portugal. The *regnum Legionense* existed as a self-sufficient sovereign entity from 910 to 1230.[1] García I (r. 910–914), Ordoño II (r. 914–924), and Fruela II (r. 924–925) were the first three monarchs to rule from the *civitas* of León and were the sons of Alfonso III (r. 866–910), the last sovereign to locate the seat of his power in Oviedo. This continuity meant that Asturian regal authority continued in León throughout the 10th century and into the first third of the 11th century. The rulers of the walled city claimed a connection with the long extinct and yearned-for kingdom of the Visigoths.[2] Dynastic change came, however, after the rule of Bermudo III (r. 1028–1037), who perished in the Battle of Tamarón at the hands of his brother-in-law Fernando de Navarra (r. 1038–1065). After this struggle, the wife of Fernando and sister of Bermudo III, Sancha Alfónsez (1037–1067), became queen and the *de facto* last representative of the Asturian-Leonese line. Her children – Urraca of Zamora, Sancho II of Castile (r. 1065–1072), Elvira of Toro, Alfonso VI of León (r. 1065–1109), and García II of Galicia (r. 1066–1072) – as descendants of Fernando I,

1 In 1296, there was a brief attempt at political rehabilitation. Gerardo Boto Varela, "Sobre reyes y tumbas en la catedral de León. Discursos visuales de poder político y honra sacra," in *La Catedral de León en la Edad Media*, eds. Joaquín Yarza, María V. Herráez, and Gerardo Boto (León, 2004), pp. 305–65, esp. 306.

2 Gaël Le Morvan, "Reinos e imperio: la *Historia legionensis* (llamada *silensis*) y la reivindicación leonesa de la herencia visigótica," *e-Spania* 14 (2012). Accessed 2019 Oct 1; Georges Martin, "La *Historia legionensis* (llamada *silensis*) como memoria identitaria de un reino y como autobiografía," *e-Spania* 14 (2012). Accessed 2019 Aug 11.

© GERARDO BOTO VARELA, 2022 | DOI:10.1163/9789004511583_013
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

were sovereigns of the Navarrese dynasty (1038–1126).[3] This line lasted until the death of Urraca (r. 1109–1126), who – with her husband, the *princeps* Raimundo of Burgundy (1070–1107) – produced a son and successor, Alfonso VII (r. 1126–1157), the first Leonese king of the Burgundian dynasty.

The present study analyses the images of royal sovereignty produced under the patronage and protection of the Leonese king and founder of the Navarrese dynasty, Fernando I, and his family, namely his wife Sancha, his firstborn daughter, the infanta Urraca, and his second-born son, King Alfonso VI. The images are found in private manuscripts, in rarely seen reliquaries, in murals for private funerary spaces, as well as in coinage and monumental sculpture, which were potentially on view to all members of society.[4] A lack of space prevents me from analysing the royal images produced during the rule of the final representative of the dynasty, Queen Urraca, the firstborn daughter of Alfonso VI and the first queen to govern in her own right in medieval Hispania.[5]

The choice of this subject matter also gestures beyond the Navarrese dynasty itself in contextualizing the radical change that began with Fernando I with regard to the relationship between monarchs and their images. The surviving artefacts show that there was no figurative royal iconography in the Kingdoms of Asturias[6] and León prior to the arrival of the Navarrese and their visual culture. However, it is well known that from the 10th century in the Kingdom of Pamplona, representations of monarchs reflected both the present and the Visigothic past. It can be inferred that the iconographic proliferation of the royal countenance in León during the mid-11th century was a response to the figurative culture in which Fernando I had been steeped since his infancy and of which he wanted to make judicious use. Royal images were a practical

3 José María Mínguez Fernández, "Contexto social y político-militar del Reino de León al advenimiento de la dinastía navarra," in *Alfonso VI y su época. I. Los precedentes del reinado (966–1065)*, eds. Etelvina Fernández González, and Javier Pérez Gil (León, 2007), pp. 17–35.

4 To put the discussion in its context, see: John W. Williams, "Fernando I and Alfonso VI as Patrons of the Arts," *Anales de historia del arte* 2: *Alfonso VI y el arte de su época*, eds. Javier Martínez de Aguirre, and Marta Poza (Madrid, 2011), 413–35. Although it does not deal with the Kingdom of León, a systematic and exemplary study of medieval royal effigies can be found in: Marta Serrano Coll, *Effigies Regis Aragonum. La imagen figurativa del rey de Aragón en la Edad Media* (Zaragoza, 2015).

5 Therese Martin, *Queen as King. Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-century Spain* (Leiden, 2006); Therese Martin, "De 'gran prudencia, graciosa habla y elocuencia' a 'mujer de poco juicio y ruin opinión': Recuperando la historia perdida de la reina Urraca," *Compostellanum* 50/1–4 (2005), 551–78.

6 There is no firm basis for believing that the relief on the entrance to San Miguel de Lillo was intended to display a representation of the king, although it does refer to political authority through a figure depicted on a seat of honour.

resource for this monarch, who implemented diligent administrative, ecclesiastic, fiscal, and artistic policies. He was a ruler who, above all, sought to make his kingdom predominant in the face of his native Navarre. Through the sword (the 1037 Battle of Tamarón and the 1054 Battle of Atapuerca),[7] through ecclesiastic decrees (Council of Coyanza, 1055),[8] and through art, Fernando I and Sancha managed to preserve Castile for León and, because of that, become the most powerful of the Iberian Christian sovereigns.

1 The First Manifestation of the King: Authority towards the World and Penitence towards God

Apart from the coins of a few Visigothic kings (Egica and Witiza, among others), we have no surviving images of the kings of the High Middle Ages prior to the illuminated figurative poem in the *Codex Vigilanus* (976). On one folio, in a reticular composition, appear the three Visigothic kings who promulgated the Visigothic Code (Chindasuinth, Recceswinth, and Egica), the two current kings of Pamplona and Viguera (Sancho Garcés II and Ramiro III), and a queen (Urraca Fernández).[9] In addition and exceptionally, the miniaturist and scribe Vigila included a self-portrait with his *socius* (Sarracino) and his *discipulus* (García).[10] The image was copied two decades later in the *Codex Emilianense*,

7 Alfonso Sánchez Candeira, *Castilla y León en el siglo XI, estudio del reinado de Fernando I*, ed. Rosa Montero Tejada (Madrid, 1999). pp. 150–53.

8 Sánchez Candeira, *Castilla y León*, p. 127.

9 José María de Eguren, *Memoria descriptiva de los códices notables conservados en los archivos eclesiásticos de España* (Madrid, 1859), p. 72; Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, *Los retratos de los reyes de España* (Madrid, 1948), p. 25; Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "Vigilán y Sarracino: sobre composiciones figurativas en la Rioja del siglo X," in *Lateinische Dichtungen des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts: Festgabe für Walther Bulst zum 80. Geburtstag*, eds. Walter Berschin, and Reinhard Düchting (Heidelberg, 1981), pp. 60–92; Soledad de Silva y Verástegui, "Los primeros retratos reales en la miniatura hispánica altomedieval. Los monarcas de Pamplona y de Viguera," *Príncipe de Viana* 160–161 (1980), 257–61; Soledad de Silva y Verástegui, *Iconografía del siglo X en el Reino de Pamplona-Nájera* (Pamplona, 1984), pp. 418–21; Soledad de Silva y Verástegui, "La miniatura en el Reino de Pamplona-Nájera (905–1076)," in *García Sánchez III 'el de Nájera' un rey y un reino en la Europa del siglo XI*, ed. José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte (Nájera, 2005), pp. 327–65, esp. 339–41.

10 "Vigila scriba cum sodale sarracino presbitero pariterque cum garcea discipulo suo edidit hunc librum: mementote memorie eorum semper in benedictione." Codex Vigilanus, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del monasterio, MS d.1.2, fol. 428r. Year 976. Each of the nine representations of individuals, in their respective rectangles, is accompanied by circles at the corners, which evoke the nails that fixed the ivory plaques onto a wooden support. The general composition and the tonality of the miniature seem to replicate sumptuous works made of painted ivory.

which reproduced the images of the six monarchs, with the same gestures and attributes, although the material and intellectual authors of this second manuscript, Belasco the *scriba*, Bishop Sisebuto, and the notary Sisebuto, were represented below.[11]

In Vigila's miniature, Sancho II (r. 943–994) is shown haloed, wearing an ankle-length tunic, cloak, and cape, with his left hand extended and his right hand holding the staff of office. His wife, Urraca, wears a tunic, cloak, cape, and headdress, with a *flabelum* in her left hand and the index finger of her right hand extended. Although these royal effigies differ from Carolingian representations insofar as they do not proclaim the Navarrese monarchs to be under divine patronage, they are still indebted to the representations elaborated in the scriptorium at Tours, as indicated by De Silva y Verástegui.[12]

Eight decades later, in 1055, the same year in which the Council of Coyanza reconfirmed the application of the Isidorian Rule to the monastic communities, the scribe Pedro and the miniaturist Fructuosus composed the Diurnal (book of daily hours) of Fernando I and Sancha, which is held in the church of San Martín Pinario in Santiago de Compostela (Figure. 11.1).[13] From what we

11 Códice Emilianense, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del monasterio, MS d.1.1, fol. 453r. Year 992.

12 De Silva y Verástegui, *Iconografía del siglo X*, p. 420.

13 Libro de Horas diurnas (book of daily hours; known as the Diurnal of Fernando I and Sancha), 1055. Santiago de Compostela. Biblioteca de la Universidad, MS 609, Res. 1, fol. 6v: image of Fernando I and Sancha with a beardless man (the copyist Pedro? David the psalmist? Their son Sancho or Alfonso?). Marius Férotin, "Deux manuscrits wisigothiques de la Bibliothèque de Ferdinand Ier," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 62 (1901), 374–87; Angel Sicart, *Pintura medieval: la miniatura* (Santiago de Compostela, 1981), pp. 22–44; Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, *Códices visigóticos en la monarquía leonesa* (León, 1983), pp. 289–91; Serafín Moralejo Álvarez, "Notas a la ilustración del Libro de Horas de Fernando I," in *Libro de Horas de Fernando I de León. Edición facsímile do manuscrito 609 (Res. 1) da Biblioteca Universitaria de Santiago de Compostela*, ed. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz (Santiago de Compostela, 1995), pp. 53–63; John W. Williams, "León: The Iconography of a Capital," in *Cultures of Power. Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (Philadelphia, 1995), pp. 231–258, esp. p. 240; Manuel Castiñeiras, "Algunos usos y funciones de la imagen en la miniatura hispánica del siglo XI: los Libros de Horas de Fernando I y Sancha," in *Congresso Peninsular de História da Arte. Propaganda & Poder* (Lisboa, 2000), pp. 74–94; Manuel Castiñeiras, "Libro de Horas de Fernando I y Sancha," in *Maravillas de la España Medieval. Tesoro sagrado y monarquía*, ed. Isidro Bango (Madrid, 2001), pp. 232–34; Manuel Castiñeiras, "Libro de Horas," in *Enciclopedia del Románico en Galicia* 2, eds. José María Pérez González, and José Carlos Valle Pérez (Aguilar de Campoo, 2013), pp. 1143–49; Emmanuelle Klinka, "*Ego misera et peccatrix* …: El *Liber mozarabicus canticorum et horarum* (Salamanca, MS 2668)," *e-Spania* 13 (2012). Accessed 2019 June 6; Soledad de Silva y Verástegui, "Imágenes matrimoniales en la Alta Edad Media en España: la pareja real," *Príncipe de Viana* 77/265 (2016), 581–610; Jesús Rodríguez Viejo, "Imagen y devoción en el Diurnal de Fernando y Sancha," *Románico* 26 (2018), 8–15;

know according to surviving works, this codex contains the first representation of a Leonese sovereign. In a purple-blue frame, Fernando I and Sancha flank an individual (whose identification is controversial) who is holding a golden object, perhaps the very same text, and who is dressed in a silk skirt and tunic. The face of this male figure is turned towards the queen as if seeking her acquiescence, as suggested by John W. Williams and Serafín Moralejo Álvarez.[14] The figures appear below a splendid palatial drape,[15] which speaks to the true royal majesty of the personages.[16] Less abstract is the faithful portrayal of king: he is shown crowned and without a halo, standing upright, holding a royal staff with a lion's head on the tip, and wearing a purple-blue, ankle-length tunic or *tegmen*, a purple-red pallium over his left shoulder, and high, red-laced boots,[17] in imitation of the footwear worn by Byzantine emperors and popes. As has been asserted elsewhere, here the image of Fernando I depicts the monarch, who was endorsed by his tragic victory over his brother at Atapuerca (1 September 1054), as a modern David,[18] the very paradigm of a king chosen by God.

It is clear that, if the artistic language of the miniature is indicative of the vanguard of the Romanesque, the iconographic model is undeniably high medieval. Thus, with the exception of the halo, the depiction of the Leonese

---

Kristin Böse, *Von der Rändern Gedacht. Visuelle Rahmungsstrategien in Handschriften der Iberischen Halbinsel* (Cologne, 2019), pp. 263–64.

14 Joaquin Yarza Luaces, *Historia del Arte Hispánico* 2, *La Edad Media* (Madrid, 1980), p. 104 (suggests that it represents David with the psalms); John W. Williams, "Prayer Book of Ferdinand and Sancha," in *The Art of Medieval Spain, a.d. 500–1200* (New York, 1993), p. 290; Moralejo Álvarez, "Notas a la ilustración," p. 54 (identifies it as the scribe Petrus); Francisco Prado-Vilar, "*Lacrimae rerum*: San Isidoro de León y la memoria del padre," *Goya* 328 (2009), 195–221 (interprets the figure as his son, the future king Alfonso VI); Williams, "Fernando I and Alfonso VI," pp. 417–19 (identifies it as the miniaturist Fructuosus); De Silva y Verástegui, "Imágenes matrimoniales," p. 598 (identifies it as Petrus).

15 This is the first Hispanic example of a 'court portrait,' see: Moralejo Álvarez, "Notas a la ilustración," p. 54.

16 Johann Konrad Eberlein, *Apparitio regis – revelatio veritatis: Studien zur Darstellung des Vorhangs in der bildenden Kunst von der Spätantike bis zum Ende des Mittelalters* (Wiesbaden, 1982), pp. 108–22.

17 The historiographical debate regarding the issue of colour is described in: Ana Villanueva Fernández, "La indumentaria regia en el Reino de León en el siglo XI: el libro de horas de Fernando I y Doña Sancha," in *Imágenes del poder en la Edad Media. Estudios 'in memoriam' del Prof. Dr. Fernando Galván Freile* 2 (León, 2011), pp. 485–500, esp. 490.

18 Moralejo Álvarez, "Notas a la ilustración," p. 62; Klinka, "*Ego misera et peccatrix …*," n. 47–49. The iconographic analogies between the figures of Fernando I (fol. 6v) and King David (fol. 29v) are discussed in: Villanueva Fernández, "La indumentaria regia en el Reino de León," pp. 496–97. The idea of the sovereign as the new David spread throughout Latin Europe based on Byzantine models: Ildar H. Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World* (*c. 751–877*) (Leiden, 2008), pp. 225–27.

king is a stylistically modern attempt to imitate the codified image of his forbearer Sancho Garcés II.[19] Moreover, in contrast to the finger-pointing gesture that Vigila assigned to Urraca, the image of Sancha in the book of hours shows her presenting the book with hands outstretched, just like Sancho II in the *Codex Vigilanus*. It is obvious that, faced with the lack of a vernacular tradition reflected in either coins or stamps, the Leonese miniaturist resorted to the visual types that had emerged in Navarrese art of the 10th century.

The debt becomes even more apparent when one compares the representation of the royal Leonese couple in the book of hours with that of Fernando's brother- and sister-in-law, García III of Navarra and his wife Stephanie of Foix, executed just a year earlier in the foundational diploma of the monastery of Santa María la Real de Nájera[20] (founded in law in 1052, with the document being drawn up in 1054) (Figure. 11.2).[21] It is clear that Fernando I knew this document firsthand because it was signed by him (*Ferdinandus Rex confir.*+) barely four days after he had caused the death of his brother García. To understand Fernando I's pretension to be recognized as the new David,[22] we

19 Otto K. Werckmeister, "The Art of the Frontier: Mozarabic Monasticism," in *The Art of Medieval Spain*, pp. 121–32, esp. 132. The identification of this Riojan artistic genealogy is supported by the aesthetic relationship between the decorated initials in the Diurnal of Fernando I and Sancha and a collection of homilies from San Millán de la Cogolla (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, cod. 39, fol. 134r).

20 Diploma of the founding of the abbey of Santa María la Real de Nájera, 1054 (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, sig. 290). At the bottom is the profile of the church of Santa María la Real de Nájera, between the effigies of García III and Stephanie. Prudencio de Sandoval, *Catálogo de los obispos que ha tenido la santa iglesia de Pamplona, desde el año de ochenta que fue el primero della el santo martyr Fermín, su natural ciudadano* (Pamplona, 1614), fols. 45v-51v; De Silva y Verástegui, "Los primeros retratos reales," pp. 259–61; Daniele Perrier, "Die spanische Kleinkunst des 11. Jahrhunderts. Zur Klärung ihrer stilistischen Zusammenhänge im Hinblick auf die Frage ihrer Beziehungen zur Monumentalskulptur," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 52 (1984), pp. 29–150, esp. 45–46; De Silva y Verástegui, "La miniatura en el Reino," pp. 362–64; De Silva y Verástegui, "Imágenes matrimoniales," pp. 581–610 (states that the image of García III is the first of a king wearing a crown in the Hispanic Middle Ages); Fernando Galván Freile, "Documento de la fundación del monasterio de Santa María de Nájera," in *Sancho el Mayor y sus herederos. El linaje que europeizó los reinos hispanos* (Pamplona, 2006), pp. 287–90.

21 Fidel Fita, "Santa María la Real de Nájera. Estudio crítico," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 26/3 (1895), 155–98.

22 Joaquín Yarza Luaces, "La peregrinación a Santiago y la pintura y miniatura románicas," *Compostelanum* 30 (1985), 369–93, esp. 372–73. In addition to linking the Nájera diploma with the diurnal, he believed that to the gold of the crown and the purple of the tunic, which proclaim the imperial aspirations of the Leonese King (Díaz y Díaz, *Códices visigóticos*, pp. 286–87), must be added the reception of the Book of Psalms, which invoked his aspiration to be a present-day David.

must note that García III is portrayed in the miniature as the new Solomon of his kingdom. Despite the deterioration of the diploma, one can still see that García wears a crown, cloak, short tunic, tight breeches, and high, laced boots, whereas Stephanie (the true patron of the document) wears a long tunic and veil; both have their hands raised in a gesture denoting their regal status. In the upper corners of the document are Saint Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate.

The figures of the Virgin and Queen Stephanie resemble one another in their garments: an ankle-length skirt, a cape, and a veil over the head and supported at the shoulders. But the most conclusive point is that the image of Sancha in her book of hours is completely indebted to the miniature of the Navarrese sovereign in the Nájera diploma (Figure. 11.3) and, as a consequence, also resonates with the Virgin of the Annunciation on the latter parchment.[23] We might speculate if her majesty the Leonese queen was made to resemble the Virgin, thus situating her within the lineage of David and compensating for her lack of royal attributes.

Was it during the reign of Fernando I that the king of León was first identified with the king of the animals? The coins from this period give no evidence that this symbolic and emblematic assimilation (*Legionis* vs. *Leo*) occurred and spread starting in the mid-11th century. Nevertheless, the hypothesis has been suggested by Menéndez-Pidal, who bases his theory again on the Diurnal of Fernando I and Sancha.[24] If in the representations of Oton III an imperial eagle crowns his crozier, the lion's head on the tip of Fernando's staff could be a succinct and eloquent invocation of the name of his kingdom unless, that is, he is proclaiming himself a sovereign with the spirit of a lion. What is certain is that this zoomorphic representation was absent from the staffs of the kings depicted in Vigila's codex and the *Codex Emilianense*, so the innovation may be attributed to the miniaturist Fructuosus. In short, it is both logical and evident that the image of the Leonese royal couple brings together earlier iconographic sources with the beginnings of new and clearly symbolic elements, such as the veil and the staff of office.

23 Moralejo Álvarez, "Notas a la ilustración," p. 54. He cleverly intuits that Queen Sancha seemed to form part of an "interpolated Annunciation." The iconographic source is, in effect, found in the Annunciation in the Nájera document, as F. Prado-Vilar demonstrates in his analysis of this scene "*Lacrimae rerum*," 206, figs. 11a, 11b.

24 Faustino Menéndez-Pidal de Navascués, "La imagen del rey: signos y emblemas," in *Sancho el Mayor y sus herederos*, pp. 165–69, esp. 167; Clara Delgado Valero, "El cetro como insignia de poder durante la Edad Media," in *Los clasicismos en el arte español, Actas del X Congreso del CEHA* (Madrid, 1994), pp. 45–52, esp. 49.

In December 1063, eight years after the Council of Coyanza and after the creation of the Diurnal of Fernando I and Sancha, the relics of Saint Isidore arrived in León from Seville.[25] As is well known, among a myriad of sumptuous pieces,[26] Fernando I commissioned two magnificent reliquaries, one in silver to act as the direct container for the holy remains (Figure. 11.4) and another of gold, gold-plated silver, and enamel to house the silver reliquary.[27] The gold container was stripped of its metal and reduced to its wooden frame by Napoleon's troops during their shameful occupation of the church of San Isidoro from 1808 to 1809,[28] but prior to this the container had presented Christ in Majesty flanked and exalted by the apostles, according to the description left by Morales. The surviving reliquary in silver was embossed with episodes of Earthly Paradise,[29] a male lay individual, and on the lid five rectangles separated by borders, with a crowned man among four beardless individuals.[30] The central effigy on the lid is Fernando I surrounded by members of his court rather than by his children (figures. 11.5, 11.6);[31] the man who appears on the

25 An examination of those events is to be found in: Etelvina Fernández González, "Imagen, devoción y suntuosidad en las aportaciones de Fernando I y Sancha al tesoro de San Isidoro de León," in *Monasterios y monarcas. Fundación, presencia y memoria regia en monasterios hispanos medievales,* ed. José Angel García de Cortázar (Aguilar de Campoo, 2012), pp. 160–97, esp. 172–88.

26 Therese Martin, "Caskets of Silver and Ivory from Diverse Parts of the World: Strategic Collecting for an Iberian Treasury," in *The Medieval Iberian Treasury in the Context of Cultural Interchange*, ed. Therese Martin, *Medieval Encounters* 25/1 (Leiden, 2019), pp. 1–38.

27 Ambrosio de Morales, *Viage a los reynos de Leon, y Galicia, y principado de Asturias* (Madrid, 1765), p. 47; Manuel Gómez-Moreno, "El Arca de las reliquias de San Isidoro," *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología* 8/24 (1932), 205–12; Perrier, "Die spanische Kleinkunst des 11. Jahrhunderts," pp. 86–91; Ángela Franco Mata, "El tesoro de San Isidoro y la monarquía leonesa," *Boletín del Museo Arqueológico Nacional* 9 (1991), pp. 35–67, esp. 47–52; Horst Bredekamp, and Frank Seehausen, "Das Reliquiar als Staatsform: das Reliquiar Isidors von Sevilla und der Beginn der Hofkunst in León," in *Reliquiare im Mittelalter,* eds. Bruno Reudenbach, and Gia Toussaint (Berlin, 2005), pp. 137–64.

28 Julio Pérez Llamazares, *El tesoro de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León* (*reliquias, relicarios y joyas artisticas*) (León, 1925), pp. 115–28; Julio Pérez Llamazares, *Historia de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León* (León, 1927), pp. 204–07.

29 Perhaps reinstalled after the restoration by Manuel Rebollo in 1847; see John W. Williams, and Daniel Walker, "Reliquary of Saint Isidore," in *The Art of Medieval Spain*, pp. 239–44; Fernández González, "Imagen, devoción y suntuosidad," p. 177.

30 María Jesús Astorga Redondo, *El arca de San Isidoro: historia de un relicario* (León, 1990), pp. 66–81.

31 The first description of this group and of another equivalent and lost group, perhaps with Queen Sancha at its centre, is found in: José Manzano, *Vida y portentosos milagros del glorioso San Isidoro, Arzobispo de Sevilla y egregio Doctor y maestro de las Españas* (Salamanca, 1732), pp. 380–81. For a graphic recreation of the presumed original state,

long front of the box may also be the monarch, although he is represented with an attitude of humility and without any of his emblems (Figure. 11.7).[32] The tight breeches or *tibialias*, the short tunic, and the *chlamys* with a reliquary brooch are distinct from the garments shown in the book of hours; however, the crown on the figure on the lid and the gestures are similar in the figure of the king on the cover of the reliquary and in the Diurnal. The iconographic type on the reliquary from 1063 is indebted to Carolingian (Charles the Bald), Anglo-Saxon (Athelstan),[33] and Salian (Henry III the Black) imperial representations.[34] In the miniature that depicts the 1040 consecration of Stavelot in the Gospels of Henry III,[35] the emperor proclaims his status by wearing a crown and gold-hemmed *chlamys* and spurs and holding the orb and the sceptre with an eagle.

It is clear that, between the book of hours of 1055 and the reliquary of Saint Isidore of 1063, there was a transformation in the model used to represent Fernando I, and this may be attributed to the iconic repertoire disseminated through Saxon metalwork, which in turn directly or indirectly informed the execution of Isidore's reliquary.[36] The Leonese monarch's effigy, Europeanized

---

see: Manuel Gómez-Moreno, "El arca de las reliquias de San Isidoro de León," *Archivo Español de Arte* 48 (1940), 205–12.

32 This interpretation is based on: Pérez Llamazares, *El tesoro*, p. 125.

33 Frontispiece of Bede's *Life of Saint Cuthbert*: King Æthelstan (r. 924–939) presenting a copy of the book to the saint himself. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 183, fol. 1v. Malcolm Baker, "Medieval Illustrations of Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (1978), 16–49, esp. 47.

34 Stefan Weinfurter, *The Salian Century: Main Currents in an Age of Transition. The Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1999), pp. 29–30, 85–88.

35 Evangeliary of Henry III., Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen, MS b. 21. The cape is longer in the representation of Henry III in the Golden Gospels of Henry III, also called the Codex Aureus of Speyer or Speyerer Evangeliar (El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Cod. Vitr. 17, fol. 3r., *c.* 1033–1043), and very similar to that of his father Conrad II on the next folio (fol. 2v). Jürgen Vorderstemann, "Heinrichs III. Goldenes Evangeliar für den Speyerer Dom als Ausdruck des theokratischen Reichsgedankens," in *Ausstellungen zum Domjubiläum* (Speyer, 1980), pp. 97–103; Matilde López Serrano, *El Códice Aureo. Los cuatro Evangelios. Siglo XI* (Madrid, 1987), pp. 32–33. The emperor wears a longer and rigid tunic that does not reach the ankles in the Goslarer Evangeliar Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis. Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, MS C. 93, fols. 2v and 3r. See: Ulrich Krynitz, "Bilder aus dem Goslarer Evangeliar Codex Caesareus," in *Codex Caesareus: das Goslarer Evangeliar Kaiser Heinrichs III., die 'Kaiserbibel' aus Uppsala* (*Benediktinerabtei Kloster Echternach um 1050*)*: zum 1000. Geburtstag Kaiser Heinrichs III. in der Kaiserpfalz/Goslar* (*03.09.2017–28.02.2018: Leihgabe der Universitätsbibliothek Carolina Rediviva Uppsala/Schweden*), ed. Ulrich Krynitz (Goslar, 2017), pp. 30–69.

36 The precious metalwork from Isidore's reliquary was formed in technique, repertoire, and script in the workshops of Hildesheim, according to: Peter Lasko, *Ars Sacra, 800–1200*

in the context of an ambitious cultural process that saw the commissioning of artists and artworks from the north of the continent and from the south of the Iberian Peninsula, sought to detach itself from native traditions and to place Fernando I on the same iconographic level as his contemporary German emperors. Moreover, the courtly composition of the lid – along with the image of the man without emblems on the front of the reliquary, who can perhaps also be interpreted as Fernando I, given the lack of any other more plausible option[37] – certified the sovereign's tight spatial and spiritual connection with the relics of the saint. Fernando I is at once their custodian and their devotee. In this way, he analogized himself to the Ottonian emperors who had depicted themselves as close to the divine in miniatures and metalwork, an iconographic formula that the Germans had themselves internalized from Byzantine art and political theology.

All the iconography on the silver chest remained hidden from human eyes because, as is obvious, its insertion into the lost golden chest prevented it from being seen.[38] Despite the historiographical debates, I believe that the representation on the front shows Fernando Sánchez in his most strictly human dimension and completely avoids all royal references. In the narrative context of the reliquary, this man appears as a son of Adam and Eve and is, therefore, mortal and impelled to accept his sins and the penance that they bring. The body of Saint Isidore offers spiritual assistance to the king and the kingdom; in reciprocity, the monarch looks after the saint and encourages worship of him, which is dutifully discharged by all the faithful who attend the Leonese church.

This mutually beneficial relationship between the saint and the king operates on a specific bodily, pragmatic, and predictive plane. In fact, only two years after installing the relic at the main altar, at Christmas in 1065, Fernando I entered the church to consummate his ceremonial representation of the most

(Harmondsworth, 1972), pp. 48–149 (repr. Madrid, 1999, pp. 255–57); Williams Walker, "Reliquary of Saint Isidore," p. 244. For a contrasting view, see: Isidro Bango Torviso, "Relicario de San Isidoro," in *Maravillas de la España Medieval*, ed. Bango, pp. 228–29. The most in-depth study can be found in: José Alberto Moráis Morán, *La arqueta de San Adrián y el culto a sus reliquias en el antiguo reino astur leonés* (Valparaíso, 2016), pp. 212–27.

37 This identification is doubted by: Etelvina Fernández González, "Relicario de San Isidoro," in *Sancho el Mayor y sus herederos*, pp. 136–41; Etelvina Fernández González, "La *imago regis* y de la jerarquía eclesiástica a través de las artes plásticas (siglos IX-XII)," in *Monarquía y sociedad en el Reino de León. De Alfonso III a Alfonso VII* 2 (León 2007), pp. 45–96, esp. 60.

38 José Alberto Moráis Morán, "*Reliquiae recondite*. Invisibilidad y expansión visual de los despojos santos en la Alta Edad Media hispana," *Historia 396*, 8/2 (2018), 145–87, esp. 161–66.

pious Christian death. The king, stripped of his regalia, cuts a penitent figure in a ritual process. The pious and devout sovereign acts out a moving scene, both as an image on Isidore's reliquary and as a physical body on the pavement of the church that he had promoted. Because, as has so often been repeated,[39] the *Historia legionensis* (previously called *silensis, c.* 1115–1125) stated that the last days of the life of *Ferdinandus rex gloriosissimus* and *pius* were led in accordance with the death ceremony that Saint Isidore had followed in Seville in 636, according to his hagiography. Thus, on Christmas Eve, Fernando I joined the choir of clerics. The following day, he sang Christmas Matins *more Toletano* and attended Mass. On 26 December, he participated in four liturgical acts *cultu regio ornatus cum corona capiti imposita*, knelt before the altar of Saint John and the bodies of Saint Isidore and Saint Vincent, and proclaimed that his kingdom belonged to God. He removed his *chlamys* and his crown of precious stones, put on a hair shirt in place of his royal clothing, was anointed with ash in place of his diadem, and observed penitence for two days in the nave before dying on the third.[40] The *ars moriendi* of the king imitated that of Saint Isidore[41] (along with those of the *Ordo Penitentie* from the *Liber Ordinum*,[42] as Charles J. Bishko pointed out), thus enabling him to shed his *autoritas* and to renounce his *potestas*. Voluntarily and reflexively, he chose to do this so he would be reduced to the condition of mortal man, the same condition invoked by the frontal image on Isidore's reliquary. The reliquary belonged to Ferdinand

39 Charles J. Bishko, "The Liturgical Context of Fernando I's Last Days, According to the So-called 'Historia Silense'," *Hispania Sacra* 17 (1964), 47–59.

40 "Et hec dicens exuit regalem clamidem qua induebatur corpus, et deposuit gemmatam coronam qua ambiebatur caput, atque cum lacrimis ecclesie solo prostratus, pro delictorum venia Dominum attentius exorabat. Tunc ab episcopis accepta penitentia, induitur cilicio pro regali indumento, et aspergitur cinnere pro aureo diademate; cui in tali permanenti penitentia duobus diebus vivere a Deo datur. Sequenti autem die que est feria tertia hora diei sexta, in qua sancti lohannis Evangeliste festum celebratur, celo inter manus pontificum tradidit spiritum." *Historia Silense*, ed. Francisco Santos Coco (Madrid, 1921), pp. 90–91; *Historia silense*, eds. Justo Pérez de Urbel, and Atilano González Ruiz-Zorrilla (Madrid, 1959), §105–106, pp. 207–09.

41 Redemptus, *Relatio de transitu beatissimi Isidori episcopi*, PL, 81, 30–32. The *Flors Sanctorum* thus describes the death of Saint Isidore (4 April 636): after calling his friends the bishops Eparcio and John, he went to the church of Saint Vincent and covered himself with ashes and with great humility, devotion, and reverence he received the body and blood of the Lord, he prostrated himself on the floor and asked for the forgiveness of all those present and absent, in case any might have been offended. See: Bishko, "The Liturgical Context," n. 16.

42 *Liber Ordinum Episcopal* (*cod. Silos, Arch. Monástico, 4*), ed. José Janini (Silos, 1991), pp. 113–16; Ángela Franco Mata, "Liturgia hispánica y marfiles talleres de León y San Millán de la Cogolla en el siglo XI," *Codex Aquilarensis* 22 (2006), 92–145, esp. 104–13.

I not only because of the wealth he had invested in it but also because, through it, he entrusted his spirit to the saint.

With the same dramatic intensity, he claimed for himself and for his wife, with the inscription FREDINANDUS REX ET SANCIA REGINA (figures. 11.8, 11.9), the ivory cross that is the first example in Hispanic medieval art of a corporeal, volumetric, and triumphant Christ, albeit lacking a crown.[43] The king likewise offered this distinguished piece to the altar of Saint Isidore, on the day of its consecration on 21 December 1063.[44] This extraordinary reliquary cross (Figure. 11.10) enabled the monarchs to enjoy the Lord's oversight while, in the midst of their tribulations, they demonstrated their contrition and gave themselves over to his redemption, seeking to overcome the terminal hours, individual oblivion, and the Last Judgement, in the liturgical framework of the *Ordo de defunctis* from the Hispanic *Liber Ordinum*.[45] That same spirit fills the

43 Although he had already been represented in the complex Calvary scene in the Gerona Beatus (Girona, Arxiu Catedral, MS 7, fol. 16v), produced at the monastery of Tábara (Kingdom of León) in 975. Joaquín Yarza Luaces, "Iconografía de la Crucifixión en la miniatura española: siglos X al XII," *Archivo Español de Arte* 47–185 (1974), 13–38, esp. 29–30; John W. Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus. A corpus of the illustrations of the commentary on the Apocalypse. II. The Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (London, 1994), pp. 51–64.

44 Marlene Park, "The Crucifix of Fernando and Sancha and Its Relationship to North French Manuscripts," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973), 77–91. She demonstrated that the authors of the ivory cross were from the English Channel area (Saint-Bertin and Saint-Vaast), thus correcting the assertion made by: Lasko, *Ars Sacra, 800–1200*, pp. 149–50. From among the extensive bibliography, I would recommend: Manuel Gómez-Moreno, and Luis Vázquez Parga, *En torno al crucifijo de los reyes Fernando y Sancha* (Madrid, 1965); Franco, "El tesoro de San Isidoro," pp. 57–62; Raquel Gallego García, *La eboraria durante el reinado de Fernando I. La perspectiva de unas artes suntuarias europeas*, Ph.D. (Univ. Complutense de Madrid, 2010), pp. 155- 261. She notes that the ivory Christ was decisively influenced by the miniature, by Ottonian Anglo-Saxon ivory carving from the English Channel (thus agreeing with Marlene Park), and above all by Lothringian sumptuary art. Noemí Álvarez da Silva, *La talla de marfil en la España del siglo XI* (León, 2016), pp. 72–122, esp. 114–20. She discusses the artistic links suggested in all the preceding literature and distinguishes the hand of at least two artists in the execution of the cross.

45 Otto K. Werckmeister, "The First Romanesque Beatus Manuscripts and the Liturgy of the Death," in *Actas del Simposio para el estudio de los Codices del 'Comentario al Apocalipsis' de Beato de Liebana* 2 (Madrid, 1980), pp. 165–200, esp. 174–80. He points out that the *Ordo de defunctis* determined the presence of a cross together with the head of the dying man: "Hoc interdum est observandum, ut quislibet sit, ab exitu mortis usque dum ad monumentum ducatur, Semper ad caput lectuli sacram habeat crucem … Hac explicita, precedente cruce, perducun eum ecclesiam foris, cancello posito." In addition to the *Ordo in finem hominis dies* invoked by other authors: Werckmeister, "The First Romanesque Beatus" pp. 167–92; Franco, "Liturgia hispánica y marfiles," pp. 108–17; Gallego, *La eboraria*, pp. 281–92; Álvarez da Silva, *La talla de marfil,* pp. 121–23. It is worth emphasizing that the

Liber canticorum et orarum (1059) of Queen Sancha, in which she confesses her compunction aloud: "Omnia peccata mea quecunque peccavi ego misera et peccatrix Sancia" (fol. 179v).[46] The sovereign Sancha, the patron and recipient of this intimate manuscript, did not commission therein any dedication page; she did not need to see herself depicted in prayer or majesty. The magnificent courtly composition of the Diurnal of Fernando I and Sancha, however, left evidence of the protocolled presentation and offering of the manuscript and, therefore, of the satisfactory fulfilment of a commission by the queen,[47] who honoured and extolled her husband as *caput regni*. For the same reason, the Diurnal of Fernando I and Sancha was brandished as an emblem of the political programme of the moment, which not by chance was suffused with imperial connotations.

2 Second Manifestation of the King: Figures at Prayer Seeking Intercession

Only a few years after the production of the reliquary of Saint Isidore and the ivory cross (both 1063), King Sancho IV of Navarre, the son of the deceased king García and the nephew of Fernando I, and his wife Placencia commissioned

Liber Ordinum (Marius Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum en usage dans l'église Wisigothique et Mozarabe d'Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle* (Paris, 1904), col. 399–407) includes an *Ordo de Defunctis, ad Vesperum* (col. 399) that begins with some plaintive antiphons, which are faithfully reflected by the ivory cross of Ferdinand I and Sancha: "Eripe, Domine, animas nostras de morte, ut placeamus tibi in lumine uiuentium. *Sono*.: Redime, Domine, animas seruorum tuorum, Alleluia. *Ant*.: Ego sum resurrectio de uita, dicit Dominus. Qui credit in me, non morietur in eternum; sed dabo ei uitam eternam – *Vers*.: Deus deorum. *Ant*.: Veniet hora, quando mortui resurgent, Alleluia. Audient uocem Domini et procedent, Alleluia. – *Vers*.: A solis. *Ant*.: Parce nobis, Domine, qui animas amas. – *Vers*.: Ad te leua[ui]. *Ant*.: Libera nos, Fili Dei, Saluator noster, Alleluia, Alleluia. – *Vers*.: De tenebris. Imnus: Christe rex, mundi creator, etc … – Amen. *Vers*.: Animas quiescentium."

46 Salamanca, Biblioteca General de la Universidad, MS 2668. Castiñeiras, "Libro de Horas," p. 233; Castiñeiras, "Algunos usos y funciones," pp. 74–94; Fernando Galván Freile, "El '*Liber Canticorum et Horarum*' de Sancha (B.G.U.S., MS 2668): entre la tradición prerrománica y la modernidad," in *Hispaniens Norden im 11. Jahrhundert, Christliche Kunst im Umbruch*, eds. Achim Arbeiter, Christine Kothe, and Bettina Marten (Petersberg, 2009), pp. 248–56 (repr. in *Imágenes del poder en la Edad Media. Selección de Estudios del Prof. Dr. Fernando Galván Freile*, 1 (León, 2011), pp. 451–67).

47 fol. 6r: "Fredinandi Regis Sum Liber; Fredinandi Regis Necnon Et Sancta Regina Sum Liber." fol. 285: "Sancia ceu uoluit / quod sum Regina paregit / era millena nouies / dena quoque terna." Díaz y Díaz, *Códices visigóticos*, pp. 283–87; Galván, "El '*Liber Canticorum et Horarum*' de Sancha," p. 453.

a magnificent reliquary of silver and ivory intended to contain the relics of Saint Aemilian, the principal saint in his kingdom (*c.* 1064–1068).[48] On the front of the La Cogolla reliquary, the circumspect humility manifested by the royal couple before Christ,[49] antithetical to the expressive restraint of Fernando I, was unheard of among Hispanic royal effigies. Indeed, the couple reproduced in more than one sense the devout gestures of the Carolingian and Ottonian emperors and of the Salian emperor Henry III and his wife Agnes on their *Speyerer Evangeliar* (*c.* 1033–1043) and their *Goslarer Evangeliar Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis* (*c.* 1050). However, the reliquaries of León and La Cogolla share a notable conceptual and artistic parameter: the images of the sovereigns are not only part of the narrative surface of the reliquary, but by their effigies the kings are also physically integrated into material body of the reliquary, thus establishing a relationship, both intimate and vivid, between the living patron and the venerated saint. This display of physical and spiritual immediacy and the consequent protection afforded by the patron saint strengthened the sovereign's legitimacy and his exercise of power, whether at court or at battle.

The attitude and gestures of Sancho IV and Placencia do bear compositional and formal similarities to another representation of Fernando I and Sancha, albeit one that was produced after the deaths of the Leonese monarchs: the mural painting of the Leonese dynastic cemetery, commissioned by

48 Destroyed by Napoleonic troops on 20 December 1809.

49 We know how the images of the Navarrese monarchs were displayed on the front of the chest from San Millán de la Cogolla (*c.* 1064–1068) thanks to the description by: Prudencio de Sandoval, *Primera parte de las fundaciones de los Monasterios del Glorioso Padre San Benito* (Madrid, 1601), fol. 27r: "y la otra del Rey don Sancho puesto de rodillas, con vn letrero de marfil, y letras Goticas, que dize: Sanccius Rex supradictus. Y la otra figura es la de la Reyna doña Placencia muger deste Rey, con vn letrero de marfil encima, que dize: Divae memoriae Placentiae Reginae" (and the other of King Sancho kneeling, with an inscription in ivory and Gothic letters that says: Sanccius Rex supradictus. And the other figure is Queen Placencia, wife of this king, with an inscription in ivory that says: Divae memoriae Placentiae Reginae). See: Francisco Iñiguez, *Arte Medieval Navarro* 2: *Arte Románico* (Pamplona, 1973), lam. 28; Patrick Henriet, "Rois en prière et oracle sibyllin. Une relecture de certaines scènes du reliquaire de San Millán de la Cogolla (années 1060–1070)," *Cultura y poder en la Edad Media peninsular. Studia historica. Historia medieval* 33 (2015), pp. 51–67. He has corrected the *titulus* of the king, who according to him said: Sanccius rex supplicans. See also: Julie Ann Harris, "Culto y narrativa en los marfiles de San Millán de la Cogolla," *Boletín del Museo Arqueológico Nacional* 9/1–2 (1991), 69–85; Isidro Bango Torviso, *Emiliano, un santo de la España visigoda, y el arca románica de sus reliquias* (San Millán de la Cogolla, 2007), pp. 142–45; De Silva y Verástegui, "Imágenes matrimoniales," pp. 603–05. On another ivory plaque is the effigy of a man identified as Ranimirus Rex, meaning Ramiro of Pamplona (died 992), the great-great-uncle of Sancho IV. Sandoval, *Primera parte de las fundaciones*, fol. 26r.

their firstborn daughter, the infanta Urraca (r. 1067–1101), and painted around 1090–1095.[50] The king (FREDENANDO REX) and the queen ([SAN] C [I] A) are shown kneeling at the foot of the Cross, on either side of the skull of Adam; in this way, Adam functions as a paternal intermediary between mortal man and the man-God (Figure. 11.11).

The names proclaim the patrons of the work, who are also its privileged spiritual beneficiaries. The inscriptions on both the ivory cross and the mural are arranged in such a manner as to place Fernando I and Sancha immutably at the feet of Christ, and there they remain in prayer and uninterrupted until the Parousia. The names personalize those who are offering up the prayers, (the king and queen), which gives the painted figures their identity and capacity for action.[51] Together with the writing (which is always itself an image) the images of the monarchs configure them as actors who are making every effort to achieve their own salvation. In this sense, the effigies remain in action, operating as effective intercessors between the monarchs and the Redeemer. The images circumscribe and personalize the worshippers, proclaiming everything that only Christ should hear. King and queen are, in their images, just as they are in their names. Across the ivory cross and the mural, the words and figures tether the sovereigns to an atemporal present. It would have been impossible to conceive of a more intense stimulus to prayer for the monastic spectators.

The iconographic references in the mural scene at the site popularly known as the 'Pantheon of the Kings' were not limited to the cross from 1063. It should be recalled that Urraca, an artistic patron at least as exceptional as her parents, commissioned a range of exquisite works, among them a processional cross that displayed, at the feet of Christ, not only an inscription but also an image of herself kneeling, just as her parents do in the mural painting.[52] Thus, for a third

50 Gerardo Boto Varela, "*In Legionenssy regum cimiterio*: la construcción del cuerpo occidental de San Isidoro de León y el amparo de los invitados a la Cena del Señor," in *Monumentos singulares del románico. Nuevas lecturas sobre formas y usos* (Aguilar de Campoo, 2012), pp. 93–135.

51 Vincent Debiais, "Mostrar, significar, desvelar. El acto de representar según las inscripciones medievales," *Codex Aquilarensis* 29 (2013), 169–186; Noemí Álvarez da Silva, "La inscripción como imagen de poder en la Edad Media. El caso de Fernando I de León y su esposa doña Sancha," in *Las artes y la arquitectura del poder. XIX CEHA*, ed. Víctor Mínguez Cornelles (Castellón, 2013), pp. 1787–803.

52 Margarita M. Estella Marcos, *La escultura del marfil en España: románica y gótica* (Madrid, 1984, repr. Valladolid, 2012), p. 26; Manzano, *Vida y portentosos milagros del glorioso San Isidoro,* p. 383: "Entre las Reliquias que a Cristo nuestro Redentor, pertenecen, debe enumerarse el Crucifixo, que se adora en el Camarín, y antes estaba en lo alto de la capilla mayor. Esta Sacratísima Imagen, fue dádiva de Doña Urraca, hija de Don Fernando el Magno, la materia del Crucifixo, es de marfil, varnecido a lo antiguo de encarnación, y en

time, Leonese art imitated a formula first tried out in Navarrese art some years

la Cruz, está el Señor pendiente de cuatro clavos, dos en las manos y otros dos en los pies, que están separados, uno de otro. … El recto de la Cruz donde está pendiente, es de chapa de oro y plata, esmaltada con muchas piedras grandes, y de mucho valor, que alrededor están repartidas. El pie donde se asientan los pies, que están separados, es de chapa de oro: debaxo de él, una efigie de oro, de medio relieve, de Doña Urraca con esta inscripción: Urraca regis Ferdinandi filia et Sanciae Reginae donavit. La altura de la Cruz es de dos varas, y media, y lo ancho de los brazos de vara y media." (Among the relics that belong to Christ our Saviour are the Crucifix, which is worshiped in the Camarín and which was in the highest part of the main chapel. This most holy image was generously given by Lady Urraca, daughter of Fernando the Great, the Crucifix is of ivory, varnished in the old style, and on the Cross is the Lord hanging by four nails, two in his hands and another two in his feet, which are separate from each other. … The upright of the Cross from which he hangs is of sheet gold and silver, enamelled and decorated all over with many large stones and of great value. The foot of the Cross where his feet are is of sheet gold: below him, a gold figure, in half relief, of Lady Urraca with the following inscription: Urraca regis Ferdinandi filia et Sanciae Reginae donavit. The height of the Cross is two and a half yards and the width of the crosspiece is one and a half yards). See: Franco Mata, "El tesoro de San Isidoro y la monarquía leonesa," pp. 64–65. She refers to: Manuel Risco, *Iglesia de León, y monasterios antiguos y modernos de la misma ciudad* (Madrid, 1792), pp. 146–47, who states: "Debaxo de los pies del crucifixo se lee esta palabra: *Misericordia*, y luego: *Vrracca Fredinandi Regis Et Sancia Reginia Filia*; y en la parte inferior de la Cruz se representa la misma Doña Urraca arrodillada, juntas, elevadas, y extendidas las manos, repitiéndose su nombre, cuyas letras comienzan sobre su cabeza, y baxan por delante, extendiéndose casi tanto como la figura." (Beneath the feet of the Crucifix can be read the word *Misericordia*, followed by *Vrracca Fredinandi Regis Et Sancia Reginia Filia*; and on the lower part of the Cross is represented Lady Urraca, kneeling with her hands together, raised and extended, repeating her name, whose letters start above her head, and go down the front, extending almost as far as the figure). The testament of Bishop Pelayo de León, written in November 1073. Manuel Risco, *España Sagrada*, t. 36: *Memorias de la Santa Iglesia esenta de León* (Madrid, 1787), Apend. 28, pp. LIX-LXI; *Colección documental del archivo de la catedral de León* (*1032–1109*) 4, ed. José Manuel Ruiz Asencio (León, 1990), doc. n° 1190, pp. 439–47, esp. 443–44. It declares that the infanta Urraca donated to the cathedral a crucifix clearly produced before 1073: Composui lignum Domini crucifixo decoratum. Jean-Marie Sansterre, and Patrick Henriet, "De l'*inanimis imago* à l'*omagem mui bella*. Méfiance à l'égard des images et essor de leur culte dans l'Espagne médiévale (VIIe-XIIIe siècle)," *Edad Media. Revista de Historia* 10 (2009), 37–92, esp. 56–57. There is no record that this cross in the cathedral included an effigy of the infanta kneeling at the feet of the *Lignum Crucis*, as in the cross donated to Saint Isidore. Nor is it possible to infer a chronology for the Isidoran cross by Urraca. At a guess, it was produced before the mural paintings, not very distant in time from the production of the celebrated chalice of Lady Urraca: *In Nomine Domini. Vrraca Fredinandi.* José Alberto Moráis Morán, "Pervivencias de la antigüedad clásica en la Edad Media hispana. El *spolium in se*: a propósito del cáliz de doña Urraca," in *Perfiles de Grecia y Roma. Actas del XII Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos* (Madrid, 2009), pp. 904–27; Therese Martin, "Mujeres, hermanas e hijas: el mecenazgo femenino en la familia de Alfonso VI," *Anales de historia del arte* 2 (2011), 147–79, esp. 149–54.

earlier.[53] This trajectory meant that not until the last third of the 11th century did the Hispanic kings begin to bow down in effigy before the divinity, much later than had been the case with the Carolingian and Ottonian emperors.[54]

In the cemetery of the Leonese kings, the mural is not a representation *sensu stricto* of Fernando I and Sancha, as the miniature in the book of hours clearly aspires to be, but rather an image invoking a perpetual prayer that is more visual than intoned, or perhaps operating through synaesthesia. The composition, with the two protagonists at the foot of the Cross, did not merely lay down a ritual approach to prayer that could be followed by the community. It, moreover, actively incentivized prayer because, under the auspices of Urraca, clerics and nuns took on the task of interceding for the salvation of the kings and their bloodline. The painting, in fact, operates beyond action and time to suggest the perpetual nature of the demeanour of Fernando I and Sancha before Christ the Redeemer.

The purple colour of the tunics of both husband and wife (Figure. 11.12) marks them as being of imperial lineage. Indeed, by the time the paintings were executed, their son and successor had for years been calling himself *Imperator totius Hispaniae*, as indeed had the Pope.[55] The same painted colour can also be seen on three blocks of stone dressed in red a few courses beneath the painting, with a colour very similar to the 'purple' red of clothes' king and queen. These ashlars perhaps indicate the original location of the tombs of Fernando I and Sancha, that is, close to the wall at the foot of the painting that prayed for them in perpetuity, adjacent to the walls of the residence of God and the entrance to heaven (*Porta Coeli*).[56] According to the description by

53 This circumstance is suggested for the royally commissioned metalwork objects, from Nájera to León: Moráis Morán, *La arqueta de San Adrián*, p. 211.

54 Henriet, "Rois en prière et oracle sibyllin," p. 53.

55 Since 1077. All the data can be found in: Julia Montenegro, and Arcadio del Castillo, "Los títulos de los reyes de León en los documentos medievales como reflejo de la continuidad del reino visigodo de Toledo," *Estudios de Historia de España* 13 (2011), 13–36; Hélène Sirantoine, *Imperator Hispaniae. Les idéologies impériales dans le royaume de León* (*IXe-XIIe siècles*) (Madrid, 2012). For a sample of the typical way that sibling emperors were represented at the feet of Christ, see the ivory book cover (980–983) featuring Otto II, Theophanus, and Otto III (Milano, Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata del Castello Sforzesco). A contextualization of the origin of the new imperial iconographies can be found in: Hagen Keller, "Das neue Bild des Herrschers. Zum Wandel der 'Herrschaftsrepräsentation' unter Otto dem Großen," in *Ottonische Neuanfänge. Symposion zur Ausstellung 'Otto der Große, Magdeburg und Europa,'* eds. Bernd Schneidmüller, and Stefan Weinfurter (Mainz, 2001), pp. 189–211.

56 Rose Walker, "The Wall Paintings in the Panteon de los Reyes at Leon: A Cycle of Intercession," *The Art Bulletin* 82/2 (2000), 200–25; Manuel Castiñeiras González, "El

Morales,[57] in the 16th century the tombs of Fernando and Sancha were immediately beneath the depiction of Calvary and, therefore, adjacent to the red ashlars.

The Calvary composition in the dynastic cemetery in the church of Saint Isidore maintains an unquestionable relationship with the depiction of the same subject in the central scene on the lid of the Holy Ark in the cathedral of Oviedo (*c.* 1095–1100), the largest silver reliquary from the Romanesque period. The latter, and I repeat that I am specifically referring to the axial composition on the lid, only differs from the mural in the absence of the monarchs at the feet of Christ.[58] My interpretation is that, at the end of the 11th century, the artistic workshops in Oviedo and León exchanged certain compositional models. This is not conclusive on my part, nor do I wish to rule out other theories (for example, Moralejo Álvarez drew parallels with Anglo-Norman and English manuscripts)[59] in pointing out that artistic elements were shared across the Cantabrian mountain range, that is, between León and Oviedo. It is also obvious that the artist who depicted Alfonso II in the *Liber Testamentorum*,[60] where he kneels in prayer before a Gloria identical to that on the front of the Holy Ark, had been aware of the Leonese composition of the king kneeling in prayer before a triumphant Christ and supported by the royal men-at-arms. The similarity is clear evidence of the itinerary of these iconographic borrowings.[61]

The Pantheon of the Kings was the setting for the perpetual tomb of the king. The lid of the tomb of Fernando I, destroyed during the Napoleonic invasion, was inscribed with an epigraph during the first decades of the 13th century, a century and a half after his death. The text confirmed the identity of the cadaver confined within and commemorated Fernando I's extensive and victorious dominion over the Muslims as well as his *traslatio* of Saint Isidore's relics to the church before whose doors his tomb and those of his family were

---

Programa Enciclopédico de la Puerta del Cielo en el Panteón Real de San Isidoro de León," *Compostellanum* 45/3–4 (2000), 657–94.

57 Morales, *Viage*, p. 43.

58 This relation is not supported by: César García de Castro, *El Arca Santa de la catedral de Oviedo* (Aguilar de Campoo, 2017), p. 35. He considers the composition as a whole rather than the iconographical inspirations for its parts. I agree with the chronology that he puts forward for the work (p. 84), which is the last decade of the 11th century, thus making it strictly contemporary with the paintings in the Pantheon of the Kings.

59 Serafín Moralejo Álvarez, "Les Arts somptuaires hispaniques, aux environs du 1100," *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 13 (1982), 285–310, esp. 288–289.

60 Oviedo, Archivo de la Catedral, MS 1, fol. 4v. Joaquín Yarza Luaces, "Las miniaturas del *Liber Testamentorum,*" in *Liber Testamentorum Ecclesiae Ovetensis* (Barcelona, 1995), pp. 147–230.

61 John W. Williams, "Liber Testamentorum," in *The Art of Medieval Spain*, p. 247.

installed. Although the structure of the royal cemetery was commissioned by his daughter Urraca, this epigraph elevated Fernando to the status of intellectual author and promoter of the "petrification" (as the burial inscription literally says) of the church of Saint Isidore. This sepulchral text reproduced part of the information present in the stone situated in the tympanum of the early connecting door between the cemetery and the church.[62] Temple, tomb, mural painting, and sepulchral epigraph constituted the four lasting *imagines* of Fernando I in the Leonese mausoleum. They were four visible and tangible expressions that operated in a symbiotic and circular manner: the painting adhered to the wall, and the lid supported the traced inscription, which in turn attributed to the sovereign the authorship and ownership of the building and the cemetery. Although each monodically intones the memory and figure of the king, they also operate complementarily as four witnesses augmenting and strengthening each other's encomiastic declarations.

3 Third Manifestation of the King: *fabricator regni et miles Apostoli*

Of Fernando I's three sons, it was the second, Alfonso VI, who for different reasons and favourable circumstances was able to take control of his father's entire kingdom. He also managed to expand its frontiers and, in 1085, to take the emblematic city of Toledo, the political and ideological capital of the Visigothic Kingdom.[63]

62 "H. E. TUMULATUS FERNANDUS MAGNUS REX TOTIUS HISPANIAE. FILIUS SANCTII REGIS PIRENAEORUM ET TOLOSAE. ISTA TRANSTULIT CORPORA. SANCTORUM IN LEGIONE BEATI ISIDORI ARCHIEPISCOPI AB HISPALI VICENTIIMARTYRIS AB ABELA. ET FECIT ECCLESIAM HANC LAPIDEAM. QUAE OLIM FUERAT LUTEA, HIC PRAELIANDO FECIT SIBI TRIBUTARIOS OMNES SARRACENOS HISPANIAE ET CEPIT COLIMBRIAM, LAMEGO, VESEO, ET ALIAS. ISTE VI CEPIT REGNA GARSIAE ET VEREMUDI. OBIIT VI K. JANUARII. ERA MCIII." The petrification of the church, indeed a rhetorical topos inherited from Suetonius, had been proclaimed earlier (*c.* 1075) in the inscription on the former western door: "HANC QUAM CERNIS AULAM SCI IOHANNIS BB OLIM FUIT LUTEAM QUAM NUPER EXCELLENTISSIMUS FREDENANDUS REX ET SANCI REGINA EDIFICAVERUNT LAPIDEAM TUNC AB URBE ISPALI ADDUXERUNT IBI CORPUS SANCTI ISIDORI AEPI … IPSIUS ANNO PREFATUS REX … OBIIT … ERA TCIII[a] SANCI REGINA DEODICATA PEREGIT." See: Gerardo Boto Varela, "Morfogénesis espacial de las primeras arquitecturas de San Isidoro. Vestigios de la memoria dinástica leonesa," in *Siete maravillas del románico español* (Aguilar de Campoo, 2009), pp. 153–91, esp. 184–88.

63 From the enormous quantity of literature on this matter, I limit myself to citing Andrés Gambra Gutiérrez, *Alfonso VI: Cancillería, Curia e Imperio* (León, 1997); Antonio Linage Conde, *Alfonso VI, el rey hispano y europeo de las tres religiones: 1065–1109* (Gijón,

Alfonso VI adopted an ecclesiastic policy whereby he conferred abbeys in his kingdom to Cluny and thus allowed the order to become established and to expand into Castile.[64] At the same time, he decreed in Burgos in 1080 that the Hispanic liturgy should be replaced by the Roman one.[65] Both of these strategies were intended to and succeeded in Europeanizing his kingdom and in the chancery of Pope Gregory VII were looked upon as an ecclesiological unification. In the same vein, he sought to increase the veneration of the Holy Ark of Oviedo[66] and, above all, of Saint James (Santiago), being aware of the economic and political benefits that would accrue from his kingdom being host to such an extraordinary spiritual goal. With these intentions and in collaboration with Bishop Diego Peláez (1070–1088), Alfonso VI laid the foundations of the enormous and majestic Romanesque cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in 1075.

During the construction of the ambulatory, the prelate reserved the axial chapel, dedicated to the Saviour, for celebrating the episcopal offices. Meanwhile, the so-called Concordia de Antealtares (1077), an agreement signed by Bishop Peláez and the abbot of the monastery of San Paio de Antealtares, Saint Fagildo, ceded to the monastic community the right to worship in the chapel of Saint Peter.[67] Between the two shrines, a small entrance named Antealtares was constructed for use by the Benedictine monks and probably also by the secular clerics close to Peláez; it is less likely that it was used by pilgrims, who continued to enter directly from the church constructed by Alfonso

---

2006); *Alfonso VI y su Época, los precedentes del reinado* (*966–1065*), ed. Etelvina González (León, 2007); *Alfonso VI y su época II: los horizontes de Europa* (*1065–1109*), eds. Etelvina Fernández González, and Javier Pérez Gil (León, 2008); Carlos Estepa Díez, *Alfonso VI y su legado: actas del congreso internacional* (León, 2012).

64 Carlos Reglero de la Fuente, "La renovación cluniacense del benedictinismo: San Isidro de Dueñas (1073–1228)," in *Los grandes monasterios benedictinos hispanos de época románica:* (*1050–1200*), eds. José Ángel García de Cortázar, and Ramón Teja (Aguilar de Campoo, 2007), pp. 59–86; Carlos Reglero de la Fuente, *Cluny en España: los prioratos de la provincia y sus redes sociales* (*1073-c. 1270*) (León, 2008); Carlos Reglero de la Fuente, "La Crónica najerense, Santa María de Nájera y Cluny," *e-Spania* 7 (2009). Accessed 2019 Nov 21; Carlos Reglero de la Fuente, "El Camino de Santiago, Cluny y la monarquía leonesa," in *Desperta Ferro. Arqueología e Historia* 6 (2016), 46–51.

65 Juan Pablo Rubio, "Introducción del Rito Romano y reforma de la Iglesia Hispana en el siglo XI: de Sancho III el Mayor a Alfonso VI," in *La reforma gregoriana en España*, ed. Nicolás Álvarez (Madrid, 2011), pp. 55–76.

66 Rose Walker, "Becoming Alfonso VI: the king, his sister and the 'arca santa' reliquary," *Anales de historia del arte* 2, 391–412.

67 Fernando López Alsina, "La Concordia de Antealtares," in *Santiago, Camino de Europa, Culto y Cultura en la Peregrinación a Santiago de Compostela* (Santiago de Compostela, 1993), p. 259.

III. It is clear that this entrance, in addition to providing access, also offered an initial view of the liturgical space in the ambulatory. It is for this reason that the issue I wish to discuss regarding this building and the image of the king within it must consider the capitals' layout, themes, and inscriptions.

Any analysis of the poetry and pragmatics of the sculptural iconography in the Compostelan ambulatory must inevitably give priority to that which represents Bishop Pelaéz (Figure. 11.13) and Alfonso VI.[68] They each have a privileged location, though they are not situated opposite one another nor symmetrically: the king occupies the left side of the entrance arch to the chapel of the Saviour; the bishop is in the ambulatory turned 90° to the west of the position of the king's capital, supporting the transverse arch immediately to the right of the aforementioned entrance arch. This arrangement has been the subject of previous studies, which have primarily examined the appearance of the sculpted images from a frontal perspective – from the axis of the ambulatory and the chapel of the Saviour, respectively, a position from which it is not possible to see the king and the bishop simultaneously. My approach, however, considers the dynamic movement through the entrance and the transversal angles of vision that enable one to view, at once, the nearest images and those farthest away (Figure. 11.14).[69] From this vantage point, one is able to better appreciate the keenly conceived visual strategy that structured the thematic layout of the ensemble.

The proximity and compositional and textual similarity between the two reliefs indicate that the cathedral was a project promoted by the (inextricable) political and ecclesiastical governments. The image of Bishop Peláez is reduced to an abstract expression of his soul, without any episcopal attributes. It might be said that Peláez already aspired to, and perhaps even anticipated, a celestial existence while he was exercising his duties as prelate. In a symmetrical composition, he is flanked by two interceding angels who hold up

68 Although I have no wish to neglect the narrative wealth of the other capitals in the chapel of the Saviour and the ambulatory, in this article I must limit myself to these two. An analysis of the whole ensemble is in: Victoriano Nodar Fernández, "Imágenes para el príncipe, imágenes para el monje. Función y decoración de la cabecera de la catedral de Santiago de Compostela (1075–1101)," *Codex Aquilrensis* 27 (2011), 39–54; *En el principio: Génesis de la Catedral Románica de Santiago de Compostela. Contexto, construcción y programa iconográfico,* ed. José Luis Senra (Santiago de Compostela, 2014), pp. 165–201.

69 I examined this question in: Gerardo Boto Varela, "Hitos visuales para segmentar el espacio en la iglesia románica. La percepción transversal de las naves y la trama de los umbrales intangibles," in *La imagen en el edificio románico: espacios y discursos visuales*, ed. Pedro Luis Hueta Huerta (Aguilar de Campoo, 2015), pp. 205–42.

his phylactery, which, in the most contemporary propagandistic papal terms, bears the legend "TEMPORE PRESVLIS DIDACI INCEPTVM HOC OPUS FVIT."[70]

The figure of the consecrated king is hieratical. Appearing in body and soul, he wears a crown, holds two keys, and is flanked by two angels who glorify his pious founding act through the inscription in a phylactery: "REGNANTE PRINCIPE ADEFONSO CONSTRVCTUM OPUS." The capital shows the monarch not only as the custodian of the entrance to the house and of the reliquary of the apostle but also as a Solomon-figure blessed by Christ. In this ritual context, the image of the king – visible to the monks, canons, and pilgrims who moved around the ambulatory – was a *figure* of the *regnum legionensis* as well as a declaration of Alfonso VI's interest in building the shrine that was intended to be a pilgrimage site and the primary link between his dominions and the rest of Christendom.

On an architectural and three-dimensional scale, the capital affirms the intimacy between the king and the Saviour, which is carried through in the chapel and at the altar that bears the latter's name. Alfonso VI thus manifested aspirations similar to those declared by his parents on the ivory cross. However, the sovereign author of the cathedral did not seek to accede to God in the tormented moment of death but rather at a triumphant moment during his reign, namely three years after having obtained the crown of León and Castile and in the same year in which he presided over the great council. Privileged by his connection with the angels, in a historical present that predicted an eschatological future, Alfonso prays to God and, at the same time, demands that men pay tribute to him for having founded the new cathedral. Indeed, the memory of him is brought back to life and is made effective through the reception of the capital by the reader-spectator. We can even go a little further, albeit cautiously. As has been reiterated, the centre of the ambulatory of the cathedral of Compostela is a topographical transposition of the iconography of the Transfiguration (with the altar of Christ in the centre, the altars of Peter and John on either side of Christ, and the altar of Saint James at Christ's feet).

70 The wording of the epigraph, not at all localistic, invokes Peláez on terms that were particularly prestigious at that time. At the instigation of Pope Alexander II and Abbot Dominicus, in 1072 the Lateran cloister received an inscription whose three lines read: "HOC FVIT INCEPTVM RENOVARI TEMPORE TEMPLVM / VRBIS ALEXANDRI ROMANI PRESVLIS ANNI / ANNVS ERAT DVODENVS ET IPSE SECVNDVS." Sible de Blaauw, "A mediaeval portico at San Giovanni in Laterano: the Basilica and its ancient conventual building," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 58 (1990), 299–316, esp. n. 52; Peter Cornelius Claussen, *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom in Mittelalter 1050–1300,* A-F (Stuttgart, 2002), p. 178. It can be inferred that the bishop of Compostela sought to invest himself with authority through the prelate of Rome and the prestige of his cathedral.

Into that three-dimensional Transfiguration, King Alfonso VI is admitted as an exceptional co-protagonist, through his image in the capital.

Only from the entrance to Antealtares can one simultaneously observe the capital of the bishop (close up) and the king (long shot). From this privileged viewpoint, the spectator can read, in the same moment, a part of the bishop's inscription, "DIDACI INCEPTVM HOC OPUS FVIT," and a segment of that of the king, "PRINCIPE ADEFONSO CONSTRVCTUM." From no point in the cathedral can one read the totality of both epigraphs; nor are the epigraphs fragmented beyond legibility when seen from any vantage point. Regarding the complementary nature of the legible parts of the epigraphs, we can see that the "opus" that remains out of the field of view on the king's capital is compensated by the "opus" of Diego. The spectator reads and is reminded in a single visual stroke that the work was initiated by Diego and constructed by Alfonso and that this is why they both gained access to the Kingdom of God and a retinue of angels. In my opinion, this vantage point within the church is not merely circumstantial, which is to say, it is not a coincidence that has been noticed in the present but was not intended by the authors of the work. The superimposition of the two protagonists, in the context of the ecclesiastic reforms of Gregory VII and the incipient changes to the liturgy, allowed the spectator not only to see but to become aware of the presence of the governor of the *Regnum* in the house of the *Sacerdotium*, that is, a sovereign (*artifex*, almost *opifex*) in the service of Christ and his apostle. In the end, the portrait of Alfonso VI in the *Historia legionensis* (*c*. 1115–1125)[71] would not differ in substance from the proclamation in carved stone in the ambulatory of a shrine that beckoned forth the whole of Christianity.

Apart from Compostela, we have no other surviving images of Alfonso VI while he was alive, except those on his coins. After the *tremisses* minted by Witiza (r. 700–709), which showed a frontal effigy of him, the face of a monarch would not be featured on coinage again until the first half of the 11th century (Figure. 11.15).[72] The coins of Alfonso, with the locative "TOLETA" on

71 *Historia Silense*, ed. Santos Coco, p. 7. Georges Martin, "Ordoño Sisnández, autor de la *Historia legionensis* (llamada *silensis*). Notas histórico-filológicas sobre un ego fundador," *e-Spania* 14 (2012) Accessed 2019 Oct 12; Alberto Montaner Frutos, "Presencia y ausencia de Alfonso VI en la *Historia Legionensis* (*hactenus Silensis nuncupata*)," *e-Spania* 14 (2012) Accessed 2019 Oct 12.

72 Aside from other questionable coins, the *obolo* minted in Girona shows a frontal effigy of Ramon Berenguer I; see: Serrano, *Effigies Regis Aragonum*, p. 38. It is a matter of speculation whether the coin was inspired by Byzantine or late-Visigothic mints. The effigy of the king was used on the coins of Sancho Ramírez, in profile and without a crown, starting possibly in the 1070s. Serrano, *Effigies Regis Aragonum*, pp. 27–32. If this is the case,

the reverse like those of the Visigoths,[73] portray him using the same graphic resources as later Visigothic pieces. One type shows the geometric head face-on, crowned and with a pearled circle delineating the field of the image; on others, the king is depicted in profile, crowned, between a sword and a cross.[74] Alfonso VI was able to unite himself with the Gothic lineage of the *Historia Legionensis* through the strength of such acts as taking Toledo. From then on, he claimed himself to be the sole heir to the truncated Visigoth kingdom. The frontal effigy was used for his daughter Urraca's royal mint, as a legitimating resource inherited from her father.[75]

4 Conclusions

As in all medieval contexts, the image of Hispanic kings, first in Navarre and later in León, was used from the 10th to the mid-11th century for a specific and instrumental purpose. The sovereign was depicted in different postures: in the middle of the 11th century, he was shown in a standing pose, mostly in manuscripts meant for private use and on reliquaries that were not accessible to general audiences. Such images aimed to bear visual witness to both the king's role as owner or donor of objects belonging to sacred treasuries and to the

Ramírez's minters would anticipate those working for Alfonso VI by a decade and a half in the way they used the face.

73 Around 1088, they started to employ a copper-silver alloy to make Christian coins (*dineros* and *obolos* containing approximately 30% silver). The first type bears the legend "ANFVS REX" and the Cross on the obverse, and "TOLETVM" and rings and stars on the reverse. In addition to their late-Visigothic lineage, these coins incorporated features from Carolingian coinage.

74 José María de Francisco Olmos, "El nacimiento de la moneda en Castilla: de la moneda prestada a la moneda propia," in *I Jornadas Científica sobre Documentación jurídico-administrativa, económico-financiera y judicial del reino castellano-leonés, siglos X-XIII* (Madrid, 2002), pp. 303–46; León Hernández-Canut Fernández-España, "El primer retrato regio en la moneda castellana," in *XIII Congreso Internacional de Numismática* 2, eds. Carmen Alfaro Asins, Carmen Marcos Alonso, and Paloma Otero Morán (Madrid, 2005), pp. 1199–205; Antonio Roma Valdés, *Emisiones monetarias leonesas y castellanas de la Edad Media. Organización, economía, tipos y fuentes* (Madrid, 2010), pp. 11–28, 155–63; Manuel Mozo Monroy, and Francisco Javier García Montes, "Aporte histórico y documental sobre el dinero de busto godo de Alfonso VI, rey de León y Castilla," *Gaceta Numismática* 180 (2011), 67–82; Manuel Mozo Monroy, and Francisco Javier García Montes, "Primeras labras de vellón acuñadas en Toledo (ss. XI-XII). Propuesta de interpretación iconográfica," *Parva Urbs* 0 (2009), 16–18.

75 Jitske Jasperse, "Manly Minds in Female Bodies: Three Women and their Power through Coins and Seals," *Arenal: Revista de historia de mujeres* 25/2 (2018), 296–321, esp. 298–303.

latter's worship-worthiness. In the last quarter of the 11th century, the ruler came to be rendered in a kneeling posture with an attitude of humble prayer in mural paintings decorating structures associated with a monastic enclosure, which could be accessed only by local monks and the royal family. By that time, kings were also visually glorified in the medium of sculpture in religious spaces visited by pious believers and pilgrims, as in the ambulatory of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. Furthermore, from the end of the 11th century all members of society became acquainted with the ruler's image, inasmuch as it was displayed on coins in either a frontal pose or in profile, but always in a definitely schematic way.

Given their wide circulation and accessibility, coins were invested with special meanings and were often meant to convey specific messages, such as about the king's merits in reconquering the mythical city of Toledo, the political aspirations and destiny of the kingdom, the main military and political triumphs of Alfonso VI, and the pursuit of his wish to be recognized as *Imperator Totius Hispaniae*.

There is no record of the monarch's image being used on altar frontals in either Nájera or León, as happened in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire. It was also absent from funerary monuments prior to Blanche of Navarre, whose tomb was sculpted by Leodegarius in 1157. Eleventh-century patrons did not manifest any special interest in being depicted with a clearly discernible, individualized facial appearance. Consequently, in addition to the regalia denoting the sovereign's status, the inscriptions bearing their names, and starting from around 1125–1130 also Leonese heraldry, revealed their individual identities.

Images of kings and queens were disseminated also after their deaths, without any special effort to keep visual records of their physical appearances. Their idealized faces were either repeated on coins or recreated and reshaped in collective, dynastic images. This memorializing mode would emerge in pictorial form in the painting in the Pantheon of the Kings and even more so in the cartularies of Oviedo (*Liber Testamentorum*) and Compostela (*Tumbo A*); by the mid-12th century, it also characterized the monumental sculpture of façades.[76]

76 Concepción Cosmen, and José Alberto Moráis Morán, "Renovación e internacionalización en la escultura románica del reino de León a mediados del siglo XII: Santa María de Carracedo," in *Vestir la arquitectura: XXII CEHA* 1, ed. René Payo (Burgos, 2019), pp. 34–39; José Alberto Moráis Morán, and Concepción Cosmen, "La desaparecida portada románica del monasterio de Santa María de Carracedo (León)," *Anuario De Estudios Medievales* 50/1 (2020), 231–266.

The multiplication of royal representations and their propagation through coinage and seals enabled sovereigns to be remembered or made present in places other than their burial sites. Indeed, from the 11th century onwards, royal images were disseminated far from the places of major symbolic importance for the collective memory of the kingdom such as dynastic cemeteries and the archives of monasteries and cathedrals:[77] they started circulating in the hands of their subjects and were put on public display on church façades and cloister walls.

Acknowledgements

For their invaluable contributions, my thanks go to Marta Serrano-Coll, José Alberto Moráis Morán, César García de Castro, and Alejandro García Avilés.

Bibliography

Secondary Sources

Alfonso VI y su Época, los precedentes del reinado (966–1065), ed. Etelvina González (León, 2007).

Alfonso VI y su época II: los horizontes de Europa (1065–1109), eds. Etelvina Fernández González, and Javier Pérez Gil (León, 2008).

Álvarez da Silva, Noemí, "La inscripción como imagen de poder en la Edad Media. El caso de Fernando I de León y su esposa doña Sancha," in *Las artes y la arquitectura del poder. XIX CEHA*, ed. Víctor Mínguez Cornelles (Castellón, 2013), pp. 1787–803.

Álvarez da Silva, Noemí, *La talla de marfil en la España del siglo XI* (León, 2016).

Assmann, Jan, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich, 1992).

Astorga Redondo, María Jesús, *El arca de San Isidoro: historia de un relicario* (León, 1990).

77 *Mnemotopia*, that is, the generation of places that create, release, and guard a memory, is a concept put forward by the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs; see *La Topographie légendaire des Évangiles en Terre sainte. Étude de mémoire collective* (Paris, 1941; repr. and eds. Marie Jaisson, Danièle Hervieu-Léger, Jean-Pierre Cléro, Sarah Gensburger, and Éric Brian, Paris, 2008); Maurice Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective* (Paris, 1950). The concept was discussed by the Egyptologist Jan Assmann; see *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich, 1992), pp. 34–47. Regarding the relevance of Halbwachs's thought, see: Paul Sabourin, "Perspective sur la mémoire sociale de Maurice Halbwachs," *Sociologie et sociétés* 29/2 (1997), 139–61.

Baker, Malcolm, "Medieval Illustrations of Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (1978), 16–49.

Bango Torviso, Isidro, "Relicario de San Isidoro," in *Maravillas de la España Medieval. Tesoro sagrado y monarquía*, ed. Isidro Bango (Madrid, 2001), pp. 228–29.

Bango Torviso, Isidro, *Emiliano, un santo de la España visigoda, y el arca románica de sus reliquias* (San Millán de la Cogolla, 2007).

Bishko, Charles J., "The Liturgical Context of Fernando I's Last Days, According to the So-called 'Historia Silense'," *Hispania Sacra* 17 (1964), 47–59.

Böse, Kristin, *Von der Rändern Gedacht. Visuelle Rahmungsstrategien in Handschriften der Iberischen Halbinsel* (Cologne, 2019).

Boto Varela, Gerardo, "Sobre reyes y tumbas en la catedral de León. Discursos visuales de poder político y honra sacra," in *La Catedral de León en la Edad Media*, eds. Joaquín Yarza, María V. Herráez, and Gerardo Boto (León, 2004), pp. 305–65.

Boto Varela, Gerardo, "Morfogénesis espacial de las primeras arquitecturas de San Isidoro. Vestigios de la memoria dinástica leonesa," in *Siete maravillas del románico español* (Aguilar de Campoo, 2009), pp. 153–91.

Boto Varela, Gerardo, "*In Legionenssy regum cimiterio*: la construcción del cuerpo occidental de San Isidoro de León y el amparo de los invitados a la Cena del Señor," in *Monumentos singulares del románico. Nuevas lecturas sobre formas y usos* (Aguilar de Campoo, 2012), pp. 93–135.

Boto Varela, Gerardo, "Hitos visuales para segmentar el espacio en la iglesia románica. La percepción transversal de las naves y la trama de los umbrales intangibles," in *La imagen en el edificio románico: espacios y discursos visuales*, ed. Pedro Luis Hueta Huerta (Aguilar de Campoo, 2015), pp. 205–42.

Bredekamp, Horst, and Seehausen, Frank, "Das Reliquiar als Staatsform: das Reliquiar Isidors von Sevilla und der Beginn der Hofkunst in León," in *Reliquiare im Mittelalter*, eds. Bruno Reudenbach, and Gia Toussaint (Berlin, 2005), pp. 137–64.

Castiñeiras, Manuel, "Algunos usos y funciones de la imagen en la miniatura hispánica del siglo XI: los Libros de Horas de Fernando I y Sancha," in *Congresso Peninsular de História da Arte. Propaganda & Poder* (Lisboa, 2000), pp. 74–94.

Castiñeiras González, Manuel, "El Programa Enciclopédico de la Puerta del Cielo en el Panteón Real de San Isidoro de León," *Compostellanum* 45/3–4 (2000), 657–94.

Castiñeiras, Manuel, "Libro de Horas de Fernando I y Sancha," in *Maravillas de la España Medieval. Tesoro sagrado y monarquía*, ed. Isidro Bango (Madrid, 2001), pp. 232–34.

Castiñeiras, Manuel, "Libro de Horas," in *Enciclopedia del Románico en Galicia* 2, eds. José María Pérez González, and José Carlos Valle Pérez (Aguilar de Campoo, 2013), pp. 1143–49.

Claussen, Peter Cornelius, *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom in Mittelalter 1050–1300,* A-F (Stuttgart, 2002).

Colección documental del archivo de la catedral de León (*1032–1109*) 4, ed. José Manuel Ruiz Asencio (León, 1990).

Cosmen, Concepción, and Moráis Morán, José Alberto, "Renovación e internacionalización en la escultura románica del reino de León a mediados del siglo XII: Santa María de Carracedo," in *Vestir la arquitectura: XXII CEHA* 1, ed. René Payo (Burgos, 2019), pp. 34–39.

Debiais, Vincent, "Mostrar, significar, desvelar. El acto de representar según las inscripciones medievales," *Codex Aquilarensis* 29 (2013), 169–186.

de Blaauw, Sible, "A mediaeval portico at San Giovanni in Laterano: the Basilica and its ancient conventual building," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 58 (1990), 299–316.

de Castro, César García, *El Arca Santa de la catedral de Oviedo* (Aguilar de Campoo, 2017).

de Eguren, José María, *Memoria descriptiva de los códices notables conservados en los archivos eclesiásticos de España* (Madrid, 1859).

de Francisco Olmos, José María, "El nacimiento de la moneda en Castilla: de la moneda prestada a la moneda propia," in *I Jornadas Científica sobre Documentación jurídico-administrativa, económico-financiera y judicial del reino castellano-leonés, siglos X-XIII* (Madrid, 2002), pp. 303–46.

Delgado Valero, Clara, "El cetro como insignia de poder durante la Edad Media," in *Los clasicismos en el arte español, Actas del X Congreso del CEHA* (Madrid, 1994), pp. 45–52.

de Morales, Ambrosio, *Viage a los reynos de Leon, y Galicia, y principado de Asturias* (Madrid, 1765).

de Sandoval, Prudencio, *Primera parte de las fundaciones de los Monasterios del Glorioso Padre San Benito* (Madrid, 1601).

de Sandoval, Prudencio, *Catálogo de los obispos que ha tenido la santa iglesia de Pamplona, desde el año de ochenta que fue el primero della el santo martyr Fermín, su natural ciudadano* (Pamplona, 1614).

de Silva y Verástegui, Soledad, "Los primeros retratos reales en la miniatura hispánica altomedieval. Los monarcas de Pamplona y de Viguera," *Príncipe de Viana* 160–161 (1980), 257–61.

de Silva y Verástegui, Soledad, *Iconografía del siglo X en el Reino de Pamplona-Nájera* (Pamplona, 1984).

de Silva y Verástegui, Soledad, "La miniatura en el Reino de Pamplona-Nájera (905–1076)," in *García Sánchez III 'el de Nájera' un rey y un reino en la Europa del siglo XI*, ed. José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte (Nájera, 2005), pp. 327–65.

de Silva y Verástegui, Soledad, "Imágenes matrimoniales en la Alta Edad Media en España: la pareja real," *Príncipe de Viana* 77/265 (2016), 581–610.

Díaz y Díaz, Manuel C., "Vigilán y Sarracino: sobre composiciones figurativas en la Rioja del siglo X," in *Lateinische Dichtungen des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts: Festgabe*

für Walther Bulst zum 80. Geburtstag, eds. Walter Berschin, and Reinhard Düchting (Heidelberg, 1981), pp. 60–92.

Díaz y Díaz, Manuel C., *Códices visigóticos en la monarquía leonesa* (León, 1983).

Eberlein, Johann Konrad, *Apparitio regis – revelatio veritatis: Studien zur Darstellung des Vorhangs in der bildenden Kunst von der Spätantike bis zum Ende des Mittelalters* (Wiesbaden, 1982).

En el principio: Génesis de la Catedral Románica de Santiago de Compostela. Contexto, construcción y programa iconográfico, ed. José Luis Senra (Santiago de Compostela, 2014).

Estella Marcos, Margarita M., *La escultura del marfil en España: románica y gótica* (Madrid, 1984, repr. Valladolid, 2012).

Estepa Díez, Carlos, *Alfonso VI y su legado: actas del congreso internacional* (León, 2012).

Fernández González, Etelvina, "Relicario de San Isidoro," in *Sancho el Mayor y sus herederos. El linaje que europeizó los reinos hispanos* (Pamplona, 2006), pp. 136–41.

Fernández González, Etelvina, "La *imago regis* y de la jerarquía eclesiástica a través de las artes plásticas (siglos IX-XII)," in *Monarquía y sociedad en el Reino de León. De Alfonso III a Alfonso VII* 2 (León 2007), pp. 45–96.

Fernández González, Etelvina, "Imagen, devoción y suntuosidad en las aportaciones de Fernando I y Sancha al tesoro de San Isidoro de León," in *Monasterios y monarcas. Fundación, presencia y memoria regia en monasterios hispanos medievales,* ed. José Angel García de Cortázar (Aguilar de Campoo, 2012), pp. 160–97.

Férotin, Marius, "Deux manuscrits wisigothiques de la Bibliothèque de Ferdinand Ier," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 62 (1901), 374–87.

Férotin, Marius, *Le Liber Ordinum en usage dans l'église Wisigothique et Mozarabe d'Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle* (Paris, 1904).

Fita, Fidel, "Santa María la Real de Nájera. Estudio crítico," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 26/3 (1895), 155–98.

Franco Mata, Ángela, "El tesoro de San Isidoro y la monarquía leonesa," *Boletín del Museo Arqueológico Nacional* 9 (1991), pp. 35–67.

Franco Mata, Ángela, "Liturgia hispánica y marfiles talleres de León y San Millán de la Cogolla en el siglo XI," *Codex Aquilarensis* 22 (2006), 92–145.

Gallego García, Raquel, *La eboraria durante el reinado de Fernando I. La perspectiva de unas artes suntuarias europeas*, Ph.D. (Univ. Complutense de Madrid, 2010).

Galván Freile, Fernando, "Documento de la fundación del monasterio de Santa María de Nájera," in *Sancho el Mayor y sus herederos. El linaje que europeizó los reinos hispanos* (Pamplona, 2006), pp. 287–90.

Galván Freile, Fernando, "El '*Liber Canticorum et Horarum*' de Sancha (B.G.U.S., MS 2668): entre la tradición prerrománica y la modernidad," in *Hispaniens Norden im 11. Jahrhundert, Christliche Kunst im Umbruch*, eds. Achim Arbeiter, Christine Kothe, and Bettina Marten (Petersberg, 2009), pp. 248–56 (repr. in *Imágenes del poder en la*

Edad Media. Selección de Estudios del Prof. Dr. Fernando Galván Freile, 1 (León, 2011), pp. 451–67).

Gambra Gutiérrez, Andrés, *Alfonso VI: Cancillería, Curia e Imperio* (León, 1997).

Garipzanov, Ildar H., *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World* (*c. 751–877*) (Leiden, 2008).

Gómez-Moreno, Manuel, "El Arca de las reliquias de San Isidoro," *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología* 8/24 (1932), 205–12.

Gómez-Moreno, Manuel, "El arca de las reliquias de San Isidoro de León," *Archivo Español de Arte* 48 (1940), 205–12.

Gómez-Moreno, Manuel, and Vázquez Parga, Luis, *En torno al crucifijo de los reyes Fernando y Sancha* (Madrid, 1965).

Halbwachs, Maurice, *La mémoire collective* (Paris, 1950).

Halbwachs, Maurice, *La Topographie légendaire des Évangiles en Terre sainte. Étude de mémoire collective* (Paris, 1941; repr. and eds. Marie Jaisson, Danièle Hervieu-Léger, Jean-Pierre Cléro, Sarah Gensburger, and Éric Brian, Paris, 2008).

Harris, Julie Ann, "Culto y narrativa en los marfiles de San Millán de la Cogolla," *Boletín del Museo Arqueológico Nacional* 9/1–2 (1991), 69–85.

Henriet, Patrick, "Rois en prière et oracle sibyllin. Une relecture de certaines scènes du reliquaire de San Millán de la Cogolla (années 1060–1070)," *Cultura y poder en la Edad Media peninsular. Studia historica. Historia medieval* 33 (2015), pp. 51–67.

Hernández-Canut Fernández-España, León, "El primer retrato regio en la moneda castellana," in *XIII Congreso Internacional de Numismática* 2, eds. Carmen Alfaro Asins, Carmen Marcos Alonso, and Paloma Otero Morán (Madrid, 2005), pp. 1199–205.

Historia Silense, ed. Francisco Santos Coco (Madrid, 1921).

Historia silense, eds. Justo Pérez de Urbel, and Atilano González Ruiz-Zorrilla (Madrid, 1959).

Iñiguez, Francisco, *Arte Medieval Navarro* 2: *Arte Románico* (Pamplona, 1973).

Jasperse, Jitske, "Manly Minds in Female Bodies: Three Women and their Power through Coins and Seals," *Arenal: Revista de historia de mujeres* 25/2 (2018), 296–321.

Keller, Hagen, "Das neue Bild des Herrschers. Zum Wandel der 'Herrschaftsrepräsentation' unter Otto dem Großen," in *Ottonische Neuanfänge. Symposion zur Ausstellung 'Otto der Große, Magdeburg und Europa,'* eds. Bernd Schneidmüller, and Stefan Weinfurter (Mainz, 2001), pp. 189–211.

Klinka, Emmanuelle, "*Ego misera et peccatrix …*: El *Liber mozarabicus canticorum et horarum* (Salamanca, MS 2668)," *e-Spania* 13 (2012). Accessed 2019 June 6.

Krynitz, Ulrich, "Bilder aus dem Goslarer Evangeliar Codex Caesareus," in *Codex Caesareus: das Goslarer Evangeliar Kaiser Heinrichs III., die 'Kaiserbibel' aus Uppsala* (*Benediktinerabtei Kloster Echternach um 1050*): *zum 1000. Geburtstag Kaiser Heinrichs III. in der Kaiserpfalz/Goslar* (*03.09.2017–28.02.2018: Leihgabe der*

Universitätsbibliothek Carolina Rediviva Uppsala/Schweden), ed. Ulrich Krynitz (Goslar, 2017), pp. 30–69.

Lasko, Peter, *Ars Sacra, 800–1200* (Harmondsworth, 1972, repr. Madrid, 1999).

Le Morvan, Gaël, "Reinos e imperio: la *Historia legionensis* (llamada *silensis*) y la reivindicación leonesa de la herencia visigótica," *e-Spania* 14 (2012). Accessed 2019 Oct 1.

Liber Ordinum Episcopal (*cod. Silos, Arch. Monástico, 4*), ed. José Janini (Silos, 1991).

Linage Conde, Antonio, *Alfonso VI, el rey hispano y europeo de las tres religiones: 1065–1109* (Gijón, 2006).

López Serrano, Matilde, *El Códice Aureo. Los cuatro Evangelios. Siglo XI* (Madrid, 1987).

López Alsina, Fernando, "La Concordia de Antealtares," in *Santiago, Camino de Europa, Culto y Cultura en la Peregrinación a Santiago de Compostela* (Santiago de Compostela, 1993).

Manzano, José, *Vida y portentosos milagros del glorioso San Isidoro, Arzobispo de Sevilla y egregio Doctor y maestro de las Españas* (Salamanca, 1732).

Martin, Georges, "La *Historia legionensis* (llamada *silensis*) como memoria identitaria de un reino y como autobiografía," *e-Spania* 14 (2012). Accessed 2019 Aug 11.

Martin, Georges, "Ordoño Sisnández, autor de la *Historia legionensis* (llamada *silensis*). Notas histórico-filológicas sobre un ego fundador," *e-Spania* 14 (2012) Accessed 2019 Oct 12.

Martin, Therese, "De 'gran prudencia, graciosa habla y elocuencia' a 'mujer de poco juicio y ruin opinión': Recuperando la historia perdida de la reina Urraca," *Compostellanum* 50/1–4 (2005), 551–78.

Martin, Therese, *Queen as King. Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-century Spain* (Leiden, 2006).

Martin, Therese, "Mujeres, hermanas e hijas: el mecenazgo femenino en la familia de Alfonso VI," *Anales de historia del arte* 2: *Alfonso VI y el arte de su época*, eds. Javier Martínez de Aguirre, and Marta Poza (Madrid, 2011), 147–79.

Martin, Therese, "Caskets of Silver and Ivory from Diverse Parts of the World: Strategic Collecting for an Iberian Treasury," in *The Medieval Iberian Treasury in the Context of Cultural Interchange*, ed. Therese Martin, *Medieval Encounters* 25/1 (Leiden, 2019), pp. 1–38.

Menéndez-Pidal de Navascués, Faustino, "La imagen del rey: signos y emblemas," in *Sancho el Mayor y sus herederos. El linaje que europeizó los reinos hispanos* (Pamplona, 2006), pp. 165–69.

Mínguez Fernández, José María, "Contexto social y político-militar del Reino de León al advenimiento de la dinastía navarra," in *Alfonso VI y su época. I. Los precedentes del reinado* (*966–1065*), eds. Etelvina Fernández González, and Javier Pérez Gil (León, 2007), pp. 17–35.

Montaner Frutos, Alberto, "Presencia y ausencia de Alfonso VI en la *Historia Legionensis* (*hactenus Silensis nuncupata*)," *e-Spania* 14 (2012) Accessed 2019 Oct 12.

Montenegro, Julia, and del Castillo, Arcadio, "Los títulos de los reyes de León en los documentos medievales como reflejo de la continuidad del reino visigodo de Toledo," *Estudios de Historia de España* 13 (2011), 13–36.

Moráis Morán, José Alberto, "Pervivencias de la antigüedad clásica en la Edad Media hispana. El *spolium in se*: a propósito del cáliz de doña Urraca," in *Perfiles de Grecia y Roma. Actas del XII Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos* (Madrid, 2009), pp. 904–27.

Moráis Morán, José Alberto, *La arqueta de San Adrián y el culto a sus reliquias en el antiguo reino astur leonés* (Valparaíso, 2016).

Moráis Morán, José Alberto, "*Reliquiae recondite*. Invisibilidad y expansión visual de los despojos santos en la Alta Edad Media hispana," *Historia 396*, 8/2 (2018), 145–87.

Moráis Morán, José Alberto, and Cosmen Concepción "La desaparecida portada románica del monasterio de Santa María de Carracedo (León)," *Anuario De Estudios Medievales* 50/1 (2020), 231–266.

Moralejo Álvarez, Serafín, "Les Arts somptuaires hispaniques,aux environt du 1100," *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 13 (1982), 285–310.

Moralejo Álvarez, Serafín, "Notas a la ilustración del Libro de Horas de Fernando I," in *Libro de Horas de Fernando I de León. Edición facsímile do manuscrito 609* (*Res. 1*) *da Biblioteca Universitaria de Santiago de Compostela*, ed. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz (Santiago de Compostela, 1995), pp. 53–63.

Mozo Monroy, Manuel, and García Montes, Francisco Javier, "Primeras labras de vellón acuñadas en Toledo (ss. XI-XII). Propuesta de interpretación iconográfica," *Parva Urbs* 0 (2009), 16–18.

Mozo Monroy, Manuel, and García Montes, Francisco Javier, "Aporte histórico y documental sobre el dinero de busto godo de Alfonso VI, rey de León y Castilla," *Gaceta Numismática* 180 (2011), 67–82.

Nodar Fernández, Victoriano, "Imágenes para el príncipe, imágenes para el monje. Función y decoración de la cabecera de la catedral de Santiago de Compostela (1075–1101)," *Codex Aquilrensis* 27 (2011), 39–54.

Park, Marlene, "The Crucifix of Fernando and Sancha and Its Relationship to North French Manuscripts," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973), 77–91.

Pérez Llamazares, Julio, *El tesoro de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León* (*reliquias, relicarios y joyas artisticas*) (León, 1925).

Pérez Llamazares, Julio, *Historia de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León* (León, 1927).

Perrier, Daniele, "Die spanische Kleinkunst des 11. Jahrhunderts. Zur Klärung ihrer stilistischen Zusammenhänge im Hinblick auf die Frage ihrer Beziehungen zur Monumentalskulptur," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 52 (1984), pp. 29–150.

Prado-Vilar, Francisco, "*Lacrimae rerum*: San Isidoro de León y la memoria del padre," *Goya* 328 (2009), 195–221.

Redemptus, *Relatio de transitu beatissimi Isidori episcopi*, PL, 81, 30–32.

Reglero de la Fuente, Carlos, "La renovación cluniacense del benedictinismo: San Isidro de Dueñas (1073–1228)," in *Los grandes monasterios benedictinos hispanos de época románica:* (*1050–1200*), eds. José Ángel García de Cortázar, and Ramón Teja (Aguilar de Campoo, 2007), pp. 59–86.

Reglero de la Fuente, Carlos, *Cluny en España: los prioratos de la provincia y sus redes sociales* (*1073-c. 1270*) (León, 2008).

Reglero de la Fuente, Carlos, "La Crónica najerense, Santa María de Nájera y Cluny," *e-Spania* 7 (2009). Accessed 2019 Nov 21.

Reglero de la Fuente, Carlos, "El Camino de Santiago, Cluny y la monarquía leonesa," in *Desperta Ferro. Arqueología e Historia* 6 (2016), 46–51.

Risco, Manuel, *España Sagrada*, t. 36: *Memorias de la Santa Iglesia esenta de León* (Madrid, 1787).

Risco, Manuel, *Iglesia de León, y monasterios antiguos y modernos de la misma ciudad* (Madrid, 1792).

Rodríguez Viejo, Jesús, "Imagen y devoción en el Diurnal de Fernando y Sancha," *Románico* 26 (2018), 8–15.

Roma Valdés, Antonio, *Emisiones monetarias leonesas y castellanas de la Edad Media. Organización, economía, tipos y fuentes* (Madrid, 2010).

Rubio, Juan Pablo, "Introducción del Rito Romano y reforma de la Iglesia Hispana en el siglo XI: de Sancho III el Mayor a Alfonso VI," in *La reforma gregoriana en España*, ed. Nicolás Álvarez (Madrid, 2011), pp. 55–76.

Sabourin, Paul, "Perspective sur la mémoire sociale de Maurice Halbwachs," *Sociologie et sociétés* 29/2 (1997), 139–61.

Sánchez Candeira, Alfonso, *Castilla y León en el siglo XI, estudio del reinado de Fernando I*, ed. Rosa Montero Tejada (Madrid, 1999).

Sánchez Cantón, Francisco Javier, *Los retratos de los reyes de España* (Madrid, 1948).

Sansterre, Jean-Marie, and Henriet, Patrick, "De l'*inanimis imago* à l'*omagem mui bella*. Méfiance à l'égard des images et essor de leur culte dans l'Espagne médiévale (VIIe-XIIIe siècle)," *Edad Media. Revista de Historia* 10 (2009), 37–92.

Serrano Coll, Marta, *Effigies Regis Aragonum. La imagen figurativa del rey de Aragón en la Edad Media* (Zaragoza, 2015).

Sicart, Angel, *Pintura medieval: la miniatura* (Santiago de Compostela, 1981).

Sirantoine, Hélène, *Imperator Hispaniae. Les idéologies impériales dans le royaume de León* (*IXe-XIIe siècles*) (Madrid, 2012).

Villanueva Fernández, Ana, "La indumentaria regia en el Reino de León en el siglo XI: el libro de horas de Fernando I y Doña Sancha," in *Imágenes del poder en la Edad Media. Estudios 'in memoriam' del Prof. Dr. Fernando Galván Freile* 2 (León, 2011), pp. 485–500.

Vorderstemann, Jürgen, "Heinrichs III. Goldenes Evangeliar für den Speyerer Dom als Ausdruck des theokratischen Reichsgedankens," in *Ausstellungen zum Domjubiläum* (Speyer, 1980), pp. 97–103.

Walker, Rose, "The Wall Paintings in the Panteon de los Reyes at Leon: A Cycle of Intercession," *The Art Bulletin* 82/2 (2000), 200–25.

Walker, Rose, "Becoming Alfonso VI: the king, his sister and the 'arca santa' reliquary," *Anales de historia del arte* 2: *Alfonso VI y el arte de su época*, eds. Javier Martínez de Aguirre, and Marta Poza (Madrid, 2011), 391–412.

Weinfurter, Stefan, *The Salian Century: Main Currents in an Age of Transition. The Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1999).

Werckmeister, Otto K., "The First Romanesque Beatus Manuscripts and the Liturgy of the Death," in *Actas del Simposio para el estudio de los Codices del 'Comentario al Apocalipsis' de Beato de Liebana* 2 (Madrid, 1980), pp. 165–200.

Werckmeister, Otto K., "The Art of the Frontier: Mozarabic Monasticism," in *The Art of Medieval Spain, a.d. 500–1200* (New York, 1993), pp. 121–32.

Williams, John W., "Liber Testamentorum," in *The Art of Medieval Spain, a.d. 500–1200* (New York, 1993), p. 247.

Williams, John W., "Prayer Book of Ferdinand and Sancha," in *The Art of Medieval Spain, a.d. 500–1200* (New York, 1993), pp. 290–91.

Williams, John W., and Walker, Daniel, "Reliquary of Saint Isidore," in *The Art of Medieval Spain, a.d. 500–1200* (New York, 1993), pp. 239–44.

Williams, John W., *The Illustrated Beatus. A corpus of the illustrations of the commentary on the Apocalypse. II. The Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (London, 1994).

Williams, John W., "León: The Iconography of a Capital," in *Cultures of Power. Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (Philadelphia, 1995), pp. 231–58.

Williams, John W., "Fernando I and Alfonso VI as Patrons of the Arts," *Anales de historia del arte* 2: *Alfonso VI y el arte de su época*, eds. Javier Martínez de Aguirre, and Marta Poza (Madrid, 2011), 413–35.

Yarza Luaces, Joaquin, *Historia del Arte Hispánico* 2, *La Edad Media* (Madrid, 1980).

Yarza Luaces, Joaquín, "La peregrinación a Santiago y la pintura y miniatura románicas," *Compostelanum* 30 (1985), 369–93.

Yarza Luaces, Joaquín, "Iconografía de la Crucifixión en la miniatura española: siglos X al XII," *Archivo Español de Arte* 47–185 (1974), 13–38.

Yarza Luaces, Joaquín, "Las miniaturas del *Liber Testamentorum,*" in *Liber Testamentorum Ecclesiae Ovetensis* (Barcelona, 1995), pp. 147–230.

Illustrations



FIGURE 11.1 Book of Daily Hours (Diurnal) of Fernando I and Sancha (1055). Santiago de Compostela, Biblioteca Xeral da Universidade, ms. Res. 1, f. 6v (now 3v): court scene, introduction of the book to King Fernando I
WITH PERMISSION, © USC



FIGURE 11.2 Foundational diploma of the monastery of Santa María la Real de Nájera (1054). Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, sig. 290
WITH PERMISSION, © RAH



FIGURE 11.3 Detail of Foundational diploma of the monastery of Santa María la Real de Nájera; court scene from the Book of Daily Hours of Fernando I and Sancha



FIGURE 11.4 Reliquary of Saint Isidore (1063). León, San Isidoro, Tesoro de la colegiata
AUTHORIZED BY THE MUSEUM-ARCHIVE



FIGURE 11.5 Reliquary of Saint Isidore, cover: King Fernando I surrounded by four members of his court (1063). León, San Isidoro, Tesoro de la colegiata
AUTHORIZED BY THE MUSEUM-ARCHIVE



FIGURE 11.6 Detail of Foundational diploma of the monastery of Santa María la Real de Nájera: García III (1054). Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, sig. 290; Reliquary of Saint Isidore, cover: King Fernando I (1063). León, San Isidoro, Tesoro de la colegiata
AUTHORIZED BY THE MUSEUM-ARCHIVE



FIGURE 11.7 Reliquary of Saint Isidore, front: Fernando I without royal emblems (1063). León, San Isidoro, Tesoro de la colegiata
AUTHORIZED BY THE MUSEUM-ARCHIVE



FIGURE 11.8 Ivory Cross of Fernando I and Sancha (ca. 1063). Madrid. Museo Arqueológico Nacional (nº inv. 52.340)
AUTHORIZED BY THE MUSEUM



FIGURE 11.9 Ivory Cross of Fernando I and Sancha (ca. 1063). Madrid. Museo Arqueológico Nacional (nº inv. 52.340). Detail of the bottom
AUTHORIZED BY THE MUSEUM



FIGURE 11.10 Ivory Cross of Fernando I and Sancha (ca. 1063). Madrid. Museo Arqueológico Nacional (nº inv. 52.340). Rear view of the figure of Christ, with the hole for the relic
AUTHORIZED BY THE MUSEUM

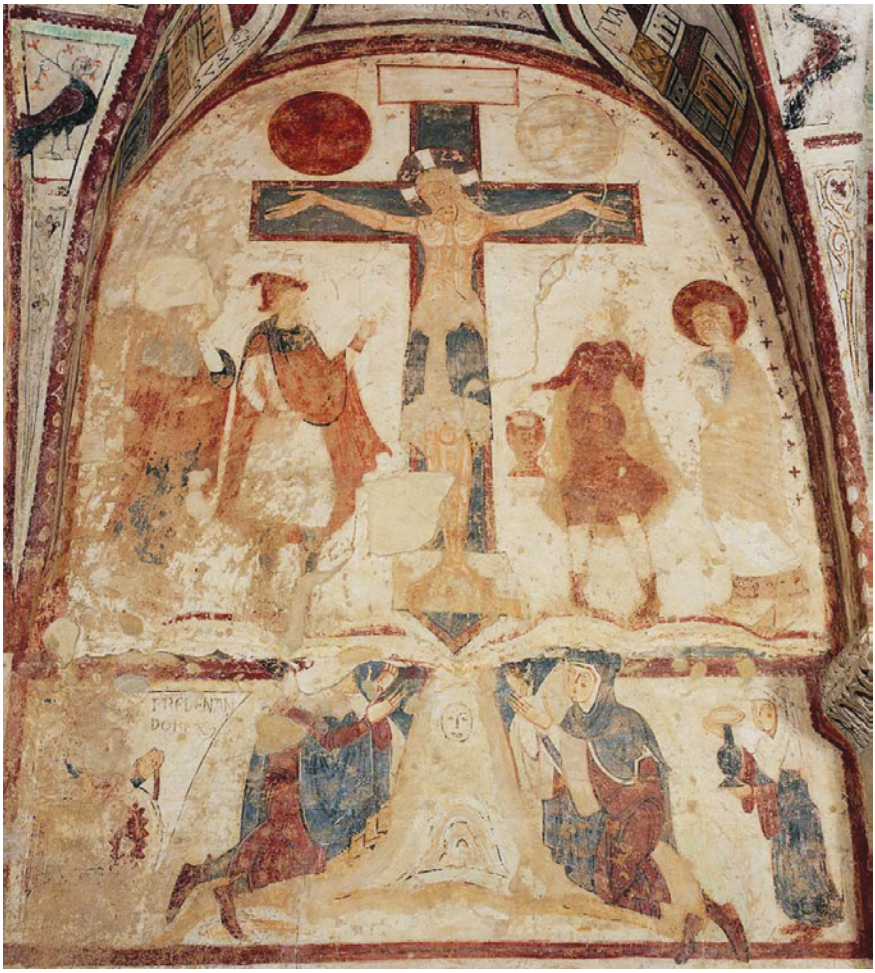


FIGURE 11.11 Mural Painting of "Pantheon of the Kings" (ca. 1090): Cross of Golgotha with the effigies of Fernando I and Sancha kneeling. León, San Isidoro
AUTHORIZED BY THE MUSEUM-ARCHIVE



FIGURE 11.12 Mural Painting of "Pantheon of the Kings" (ca. 1090): Cross of Golgotha with the effigies of Fernando I and Sancha kneeling. León, San Isidoro. Detail
AUTHORIZED BY THE MUSEUM-ARCHIVE



FIGURE 11.13 Ambulatory of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (ca. 1075–1080): Capital with image of Alfonso VI flanked by two angels
AUTHORIZED BY THE MUSEUM CATHEDRAL



FIGURE 11.14 Ambulatory of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (ca. 1075–1080): Two capitals with images of Alfonso VI and Bishop Peláez, in their architectural position
AUTHORIZED BY THE MUSEUM CATHEDRAL



FIGURE 11.15 A dinero issued by Alfonso VI, ca. 1088
DAVID MARTÍNEZ CHICO, "LAS PRIMERAS ACUÑACIONES CRISTIANAS EN LA PENÍNSULA IBÉRICA", NUMISMÁTICO DIGITAL, 2014 HTTPS://WWW.NUMISMATICODIGITAL.COM/NOTICIA/6027/ARTICULOS-NUMISMATICA/LAS-PRIMERAS-ACUNACIONES-CRISTIANAS-EN-LA-PENINSULA-IBERICA.HTML (ACCESSED 2020 AUGUST 06)

CHAPTER 12

The King's Dashing Attire *c.* 1200

Alfonso II and Pedro II of the Crown of Aragón in the Liber Feudorum Maior *and* Liber Feudorum Ceritaniae

Sofia Fernández Pozzo

From the second quarter of the 12th century, the Iberian Peninsula was a place of political combustion. With the founding of the Almohad Caliphate and the separations of the kingdoms of Castile and León and of Navarre and Aragón, the regions now known as Spain were in a moment of deep territorial change and adaptation. In the case of the Crown of Aragón, the testament of Alfonso I 'the Battler' (r. 1104–1134) had left the kingdom in an agitated state. This king deposited the Kingdom of Aragón in the hands of the monastic orders of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, the Templars, and Hospitallers. Amid this political turmoil, and after the political forces rejected the king's last will. Ramiro, the deceased king's brother was forced to leave his monastic life to marry and produce an heir. It was in 1136 that Princess Petronila of Aragón was born (died 1173), after which her father, known as Ramiro II 'the Monk' (r. 1134–1137), resumed to his monastic life. At that point, it was necessary to decide how to handle the difficult situation of the Crown of Aragón, which now only had a female heiress. In 1150, Petronila wedded Ramon Berenguer IV (1113/14–1162), Count of Barcelona. Petronila was indeed queen of Aragón, but she never acted as such, since Ramon assumed governance over these two territories, as a prince in Aragón and a count in Catalonia, until his death.[1]

The Crown of Aragón was first unified with the Catalan counties under Alfonso II (r. 1164–1196), the son of the aforementioned Petronila and Ramon. The reign of Alfonso II 'the Troubadour' began after a consort period led by nobles and ecclesiastical figures, as the young prince had not been old enough to rule when his father died.[2] At the end of Alfonso's reign, two manuscripts

1 For more about the period before the union of the Aragonese and Catalan territories, see: Antonio Ubieto Arteta, *Cómo se formó Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1982); Thomas N. Bisson, *Història de la Corona d'Aragó a l'Edat Mitjana* (Barcelona, 1988); José Angel Sesma Muñoz, *La Corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 2000).

2 Esteban Sarasa Sánchez, "Presentación," in *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón, Conde de Barcelona y Marqués de Provenza. Documentos* (*1162–1196*), ed. Isabel Casabón (Zaragoza, 1995), 1–6, esp. 4.

© SOFIA FERNÁNDEZ POZZO, 2022 | DOI:10.1163/9789004511583_014
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

were created for the preservation of Aragonese judicial, financial, and political documentation, the *Liber Feudorum Maior* (hereafter *LFM*; *c.* 1195) and the *Liber Feudorum Ceritaniae* (hereafter *LFC*; *c.* 1200), both kept in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (hereafter ACA) in Barcelona. These judicial lay manuscripts shed light on what was a complex arrangement at the time, namely the unification of Aragón and Catalonia territorially and politically but not judicially, with the Crown of Aragón and the counties of Barcelona remaining independent in their judicial aspects.

Moreover, the manuscripts are among the few preserved judicial lay manuscripts with illuminations.[3] This makes them an outstanding visual source for medieval royal courts and feudal ceremonies, because of their display of vestments, gestures, and social dynamics. At a stylistic level, two hands can be clearly differentiated in the illuminations of the *LFM*, hands that have recently been referred to as 'A' (more archaic in style) and 'B' (with a more 'advanced style').[4] However, upon examining the vestments in the illuminations, it can be speculated that another 'hand' or 'style' was involved.[5] Hand B was probably second to work on the manuscript, after and often over some of the more linear-style illuminations of hand A.[6] Also attributable to Hand B are greatly detailed illuminations like folio 1r of the manuscript (Figure. 12.1), where King Alfonso II is seated in front of Ramón de Caldés, the jurist responsible for the compilation of the volume. A group of people stands behind the king as he converses with Caldés. This is likely the hand that created folios 78v (Figure. 12.2) and 93r (Figure. 12.7). For the other style, hand A's participation can be noticeable, who most likely worked on the manuscript before hand B. In the past, scholars have often referred to these depictions as 'archaic' in that they

3 Adam J. Kosto, "The *Liber feudorum maior* of the counts of Barcelona: the cartulary as an expression of power," *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001), 1–22, esp. 2.

4 Shannon L. Wearing, "The Death of the Patron: Agency, Style and the Making of the *Liber Feudorum Maior* of Barcelona," in *Romanesque Patrons and Processes*, eds. Jordi Camps, Manuel Castiñeiras, John McNeill, and Richard Plant (London, 2018), 327–336, esp. 330.

5 There are some elements that might point to a third hand or workshop, one closer to style B based on the slenderness of some of the figures and their facial features. See footnote 38. Overall, the manuscripts contain illuminations at four different stages of completion. For a chemical analysis of the miniatures and pigments, see: Georgios Magkanas, Héctor Bagán, and José Francisco García, "Estudio de las miniaturas y del texto del *Liber Feudorum Maior*" (December 2018). Available at: http://www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/archivos-aca/dam/jcr:1e686429-6b7b-4db3-a7d3-86d77c2d7e5d/lfm-informe-ub-2018.pdf. Accessed 2019 Apr 15.

6 Isabel Escandell Proust, "Una nueva aproximación al *'Liber Feudorum Maior'*," in *El arte español en épocas de transición*, coord. Comité Español de Historia del Arte (León, 1994), 91–104, esp. 95.

are standardized and schematic in comparison with the more naturalistic features present in the work of the so-called hand B.[7]

The illuminations of the *LFC* are, by contrast, stylistically more homogeneous. They show seated kings and counts in the context of feudal ceremony, with each action contained in a frame-like quadrangular window. In these illuminations, the modifications among the scenes are minor, giving the impression that they emerged from a more regular process of production.

1 Primary Clothing Pieces in the *LFM* and *LFC*

To analyse the decorative programmes of the two ACA manuscripts, it is necessary to first make a statement regarding the relevance of vestments and garments as communication tools that allowed beholders to recognize and categorize the represented figures.[8] Even more than they are today, in the Middle Ages garments were a social spectacle and a way of differentiating one's rank. The lavish contents of royal treasuries demonstrate the attention and importance bestowed upon vestments in royal courts.[9] By the 13th century, vestments became a far more distinguishing social factor compared to money itself, a shift attributable to expanding cities and related developments that allowed a growing bourgeoisie to accumulate wealth like never before.[10] Amid these changes, 'fashion' became an ever-changing factor through which the traditional elites could distinguish themselves.[11]

Between the 11th and the beginning of the 13th centuries, the European dress code experienced an unprecedented regularity, albeit under the undeniable persuasion of Byzantine dress and, on the Iberian Peninsula specifically, with the continued affect of Mozarabic vestments.[12] On the peninsula,

7 Wearing, "The Death of the Patron," p. 330. On folios 83v and 109r, for example, the work of both hands can be appreciated.

8 Here I use the terminology present in the primary sources, i.e. the Aragonese and Catalan words for each piece of clothing.

9 Juan Vicente García Marsilla, "El lujo cambiante. El vestido y la difusión de las modas en la Corona de Aragón (siglos XIII-XV), *Anales de la Historia del Arte* 24 (2014), 227–244, esp. 233. For more from this author on the relevance of medieval costume, see: García Marsilla, "Fashion is not a whim. Messages and functions of clothing in the Middle ages," *Vínculos de Historia* 6 (2017), pp. 71–88.

10 García Marsilla, "El lujo cambiante," p. 234.

11 Ibid.

12 Carmen Bernis Madrazo, *Indumentaria medieval española* (Madrid, 1956), p. 15. For more on Islamic elements in medieval Christian vestments on the Iberian Peninsula, see: María

the most common attire for men in the Romanesque period was simplified to the *camisa*, an undergarment with form-fitting sleeves, over which a *gonela* (in Aragón; referred to as *saya* in Castile) or *pellizón* was worn, supplemented by a *capa* or *manto* (cape) as needed. The *gonela* was a short knee-length or slightly longer body piece with tight sleeves, the whole ornamented to a greater or lesser extent (Figure. 12.3). The term *gonela* was first specific to this piece, but with time it came to refer to others as well, ultimately becoming interchangeable with *brial*, referring to overgarments in general.[13] These shifts in terminology have led to much confusion today.

A commonly used garment, present in the *LFM* but not the *LFC*, was the *pellizón*, also referred to in documents as *pellicia* (figures. 12.1, 12.2, 12.3, 12.7). It is a long, ankle-length garment, leaving only the feet visible, generally with wider sleeves than the *gonela*. In the *LFM*, kings and counts – i.e. persons of higher social position – are clad in the *pellizón*, while their subjects wear *gonelas*. A piece only present in the *LFC* is the *gonela amaetada* (Figure. 12.4a),[14] a rather noteworthy vestment that consists of a *gonela* divided in two lengthwise, with a cape usually in the same pattern. Since there are no representations of kings in the *gonela amaetada*, it can be deduced that this was likely not a ceremonial piece but one worn only by noblemen.[15] This might be attributable to the fact that the production of such patterned pieces was less expensive than that of solid-coloured garments.[16]

Regarding vestments worn by women in these two manuscripts, the range is more limited than that of their male counterparts, consisting of a long *pellizón*, which in the *LFM* covers the shoes as well in an unusual way that gives the women almost column-like figures. Married women are always represented with a veil covering their heads. Meanwhile, the future bride on folio 78v (Figure. 12.2) of the *LFM* has her head uncovered, leaving visible her long

Martínez, "Influencias islámicas en la indumentaria medieval española," *Estudios sobre patrimonio, cultura y ciencias medievales* 13–14 (2012), 187–222.

13 Bernis Madrazo, *Indumentaria medieval*, pp. 16, 20.

14 ACA, *Liber Feudorum Ceritaniae*, Cancillería Reg. 04, fol. 7v.

15 Carlos Miguel Polite Cavero, Alberto Carnicero Cáceres, Martín Alvira Cabrer, *Guía de indumentaria medieval masculina*, 2010, Available at: http://fidelisregi.com/Indumentaria_Medieval_Masculina_Nobles_en_los_reinos_hispanos_1170_1230.pdf, 25. Accessed 2019 Jan 12. For more on medieval fashion, see: Margaret Scott, *Medieval dress and fashion*, London, 2007; Rainer C. Schwinges, Regula Schirta, Klaus Oschema, *Fashion and clothing in late medieval Europe*, Basel, 2010; Phillip Steele, *A History of fashion and Costume. The medieval world*, Vol. 2. New York, 2005.

16 Raymond Van Uytven, "Showing off One's Rank in the Middle ages," in *Showing Status: Representations of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. Wim Blockmans, and Antheum Janse (Turnout, 1999), 19–34, esp. 33.

braid. This folio represents the marital arrangement between the viscount of Beziers and Count Gaufredo of Rousillon, in which the former gave his daughter Ermengarda in matrimony to the count.[17]

A significant piece worn by women and men alike in the manuscripts is the *pellote*, a sleeveless overgarment that covers only part of the shoulders and sides and the very front of the chest, falling over the hips. In the *LFC*, it is floor length (Figure. 12.4b), covering even the woman's shoes, but men also wore it as a knee-length piece, like the *pellote* of Fernando de la Cerda, preserved in the monastery of Las Huelgas, Burgos.[18]

Another clothing item worn by women and men was the three- or four-string cape, the *manto*, with a semi-circular cut and held over the shoulders by lacing the strings through buttonholes at the sides of the chest (figures. 12.2, 12.4a, b, 12.5a). This garment, besides being among the most embellished because of its visibility,[19] allowed the wearer to adopt a particular gesture in social settings, namely holding the *manto* by the strings with one hand while conversing, hunting, or engaging in other activities.[20] This is a pose that was repeatedly represented in manuscripts in the late 12th and throughout the 13th centuries.

2 Garments, Royal Insignia, and Politics

Having considered the different types of vestments shown in the manuscripts, it is now possible to attend to the various intentions behind the portrayals of royal power in the *LFM* and *LFC*. In the level of care and detail with which the illuminations of the *LFM* were made, it is evident that the illuminators intended to clearly distinguish the ranks of the represented figures. Although it is often difficult to identify the specific fabrics depicted in these illuminations, silk garments can be differentiated by their patterning and by the use of costly colours such as red with gold and pearly trim,[21] as on folios 1r or 93r (figures. 12.1, 12.7). In these cases, the outstanding detail with which such

17 *Liber Feudorum Maior, cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* II, ed. Francesco Miquel Rosell (Barcelona, 1947), p. 269.

18 Patrimonio Nacional de España, Colecciones Reales, Textiles y Tapicería. Available at: https://www.patrimonionacional.es/colecciones-reales/textiles-y-tapiceria/traje-de-saya-encordada-pellote-y-manto-de-don-fernando-de. Accessed 2018 Nov 26.

19 Isidra Maranges i Prat, *La indumentària civil catalana, segles XIII-XV* (Barcelona, 1991), p. 17.

20 Bernis Madrazo, *Indumentaria medieval*, p. 22.

21 Margaret Scott, *Fashion in the Middle Ages* (Los Angeles, 2011), p. 13.

embellishments are illustrated in the manuscript allows the beholder to classify the power-wielding figures. Indeed, in the *LFM* social status is conveyed through the details of the vestments, with the silk *pellizón* being worn by the most powerful figures; an interesting exception is folio 78v (Figure. 12.2), where the bride and groom are the ones wearing the patterned gowns, while the parents of the bride wear plain *gonelas*.

However, it must be noted that the *LFC* does not always demonstrate consistency in these respects. Taking the examples of folios 22v and 64v (figures. 12.5a, 12.5b) of the *LFC*, it is apparent that the illuminators did not portray kings with the strict aim of exalting them. On folio 22v, Alfonso II is shown without any royal insignia whilemaking an agreement with the viscount of Castrobono, Arnaldum, regarding the castles of Sancto Martino, Cheralt, and Miralles.[22] On folios 64v (Figure. 12.6b) and 62r (Figure. 12.3), Alfonso II and Pedro II are easily recognizable by their crowns and their *gonelas*. The latter are not solid in colour but patterned with horizontal stripes, which could indicate their constitution of a more expensive material, as previously discussed concerning the representation of silk in manuscripts. On folio 64v (Figure. 12.5b), Pedro II wears a crown while Poncius de Verneto is establishing a fiefdom at the town of Ortolanes.[23] Meanwhile, on folio 62r (Figure. 12.3), a crowned Alfonso II concedes the fortresses of Volon and Anguils to Pere de Montesquieu.[24] On folio 25r (Figure. 12.6 a) of the *LFC*, Alfonso II is represented without a crown, while for the same document in the *LFM* he is represented with what seems to be a crown or a *coronet* (figures. 12.6a, 12.6b), making it easy to recognize him as the king.

It is notable that, in the *LFC*, the differences among individuals and their authority are not revealed through vestments, symbols, or gestures. The royal figures can only be identified in the two cases in which the kings are depicted with crowns (fols. 62r and 64v). Moreover, in the manuscript vestments are used as a unifying element. They do not differentiate the king from his subordinates but rather position all on the same level, with only the *tituli* distinguishing the king from any other nobleman depicted.

As scholars have asked, if both the *LFM* and the *LFC* were created under Alfonso II's initiative for the same purpose, namely in response to the need

22 *Liber Feudorum Maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, II, p. 128.

23 *Pedro el Católico, Rey de Aragón y Conde de Barcelona* (*1196–1213*) *Documentos, Testimonios y Memoria Histórica* I, ed. Martín Alvira Cabrer (Zaragoza, 2010), pp. 377–78. This document is also present in the *LFM*; see *Liber Feudorum Maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, II, p. 284.

24 *Pedro el Católico, Rey de Aragón y Conde de Barcelona* I, ed. Alvira Cabrer, pp. 254–55.

to organize the new royal chancellery,[25] what explains such differences in their approaches to representing royal figures? Some have argued that the *LFM* expresses a desire to display royal power, maybe even the king's own desire to claim royal authority over his Catalan, Aragonese, and Occitan subjects.[26] Indeed, in the illuminations of the *LFM* the idea of royal authority and command comes through in the clear differentiation between the king and his subjects, and this raises the question of how this manuscript was used. The answer may also explain the necessity for illuminations in the two manuscripts.[27]

The necessity to compile written documents would seem obvious in the context of the restructuring of the chancellery of the Crown of Aragón after the union of the kingdom of Aragón and the Catalan counties. But the seemingly superfluous addition of images to the manuscripts prompts the question of who the target audience was and, relatedly, what other functions these manuscripts served besides the compilation of written information. It is possible that the manuscripts accompanied the king or his counsellors to political or judicial meetings, functioning also as a symbol of the improved chancellery and thus as a visual message regarding the efforts of Alfonso II and Pedro II to create a new, well-structured judicial chancellery for the Crown of Aragón.[28]

The illuminations, since each is a figurative representation of the written document that it accompanies, could have assisted in easily locating a specific document, serving as a kind of marker for the most relevant items in the manuscript. This makes more sense in relation to the *LFC*, as it has fewer images and the kings Alfonso II and Pedro II are represented in the majority of them. The great number and frequency of figurative images in the *LFM* would make them less effective 'bookmarks.' Moreover, the nature of these images of counts and other noblemen, such as folio 83bis-r, is more historical than simply judicial. In this way, the *LFM* can be understood as a recollection of the history of the Crown of Aragón as much as a political and judicial tool.

---

25 See: Kosto, "The *Liber feudorum maior*," pp. 8–14; Lawrence J. McCrank, "A Medieval 'Information Age': Documentation and Archives in the Crown of Aragon," *Primary Sources & Original Works* 2/1–2 (1993), 19–102.

26 Kosto, "The *Liber Feudorum Maior*," pp. 15–16.

27 For a discussion of the possible uses of the *LFM*, see: Anscari M. Mundó, "El pacto de Cazorla del 1179 i el 'Liber feudroum maior'. Notes paleogràfiques i diplomàtiques," in *Jaime I y su época. X Congrés de la Corona d'Aragó, Zaragoza, 1976*, 3 vols (Zaragoza, 1979), 2:119–29; Lawrence J. McCrank, "Documenting Reconquest and Reform: The Growth of Archives in the Medieval Aragon," *The American Archivist* 56/2 (1993), 256–318; Kosto "The *Liber feudorum maior*," pp. 1–22.

28 McCrank, "Documenting Reconquest and Reform," 290.

In any case, it is safe to say that the audience for these images was extremely minimal. It is likely that only the king and his chancellors, along with noblemen who had pending judicial matters with the king and whose agreements were to be included in the codex, would have seen the illuminations. Yet, given the splendour of some of them, such as that on *LFM* folio 1r, it is plausible that the manuscript may have been put on display at some point, perhaps at a special event such as a court celebration, as a representation of the king's orderly chancellery.[29]

3 Folio 93r of the *Liber Feudorum Maior*

After considering the vestments of both manuscripts as well as the questions of audience and use, we turn to folio 93r in the *LFM* (Figure. 12.7). Discovered later, in 1944, alongside other folios of the manuscript that had been reused on bindings in the ACA.[30] The folio depicts a circular form, at the centre of which two crowned figures are seated, each enclosed in an arch, on a structure made of several steps. The figure on the left has long grey hair that falls over his shoulders and a medium-length beard. In his left hand he holds a red sceptre, while he raises his right hand towards the figure next to him. He is seated atop a white structure that, when compared with the seat of the other figure, has an extra blue cushion. This other figure pulls on the three strings of a cape with the left hand; the right hand is raised, with the open palm facing upwards. Around them are seven pairs of men engaged in conversation, all dressed in either green or light-yellow *pellizones* and capes. It is impossible to know with certainty which document this image corresponded to, but several interpretations have been made. Ernest Martínez Ferrando issued a first take on the matter when he discovered that the parchment folios had been used on other volumes as a binding element.[31] He suggested that folio 93r could be a representation of King Alfonso II and Queen Sancha of Castile surrounded by their court, maintaining that such a majestic image would only have

29 The comparison of the images of Alfonso II and Pedro II in the *LFM* and *LFC* to determine the meaning of the presence or absence of royal insignias is the subject of my current thesis research: 'Royal Epiphanies. The King's Body as Image and Its *Mise-en-scène* in the Crown of Aragón (1164–1291).' The project focuses on the ways kings were represented at different moments of their reigns and the ways their presence was 'framed' in the context of different ceremonies and events.

30 Ernest Martínez Ferrando, *Hallazgo de miniaturas románicas en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1944), p. 8.

31 Martínez Ferrando, *Hallazgo de miniaturas románicas*.

been undertaken to depict a royal matrimony. Following Martínez Ferrando, Francisco Miquel Rosell argued in his transcription and study of the volumes that the two figures are Count Ramon Berenguer I and his spouse Almodis, depicted in the moment when she received her bridal dowry.[32] His interpretation of the seven pairs around them was that these men are the feudal lords of the castles that the countess received as her dowry. His idea was based on a document describing this event, included in the *LFM* and dated between 1053 and 1071, the timeframe that corresponds to the duration of the marriage of Ramon Berenguer I and Almodis.[33]

Nonetheless, the interpretation accepted by most scholars is that of Martínez Ferrando, namely that the two central figures are Alfonso II and his spouse Queen Sancha of Castile.[34] This identification is also based on the fact that the two figures are crowned and the figure opposite the king has feminine features in the body and face; moreover, the grey-haired figure resembles other depictions of Alfonso II in the *LFM*.[35]

However, the vestments of the supposed Queen Sancha – when compared to other examples within the two manuscripts, along with further contemporary examples – are not consistent with those normally worn by a married woman, and they are even farther from the usual vestments of a reigning queen. First of all, the length of the overgarment, the *pellizón*, leaving the ankles and shins visible, is very unconventional. Indeed, married women and queens were never represented revealing their lower legs in any way; their vestments leave visible either only the tip of their shoes or not even their shoes at all, as can be seen on folio 15v of the *Tumbo Menor de Castilla*, in which Alfonso VIII of Castile and Leonor of Plantagenet are depicted, as well as in the earlier image of King Knut and Queen Emma on folio 6r of the *Liber Vitae*.[36]

---

32 *Liber Feudorum Maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, II, caption to illustration XV.

33 *Liber Feudorum Maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, I, preface XIV. This identification is still standing, as evident in the publication that accompanied the celebration of the 700th anniversary of the Achivo de la Corona de Aragón: *Archivo de la Corona de Aragón: siete siglos* (Madrid, 2018), p. 28. As there are more than 70 documents that reference Almodis in the *LFM*, it is logical that she and Ramon Berenguer I, as powerful Catalan figures, would be represented in such an outstanding manner.

34 For the identification of Alfonso II and Queen Sancha, see, for example: Martínez Ferrando, *Hallazgo de miniaturas románicas*, pp. 4–33; Maria Eugenia Ibarburu Asurmendi, "Los cartularios reales del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón," *Lambard: Estudis d'art medieval* 6 (1991–96), 197- 213, esp. 201; Soledad de Silva y Verástegui, "El matrimonio real: sus representaciones en la miniatura hispana del siglo XII," *Potestas* 13 (2018), 5–43.

35 Martínez Ferrando, *Hallazgo de miniaturas románicas*, p. 13.

36 Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid, *Tumbo menor de Castilla*, Códices. Sign. 1046 B, fol. 15r; *Liber Vitae* or *The Book of Life*, *c.* 1031. British Library, Stowe MS 944, fol. 6r.

Furthermore, when comparing the right figure of the couple on folio 93r, another factor worthy of note is that, in medieval Christendom, married women did not leave their heads and hair uncovered but rather wore a wimple, veil, or toque. Meanwhile, for adult unmarried women, the proper attire was to have their hair tied up in braids.[37] The portrayals of the Leonese queen Urraca I in the *Tumbo Menor de Castilla* and the seal of the French queen Elisabeth of Hainault are just two examples, among many from across Western Europe, in which queens are clad in floor-length vestments and headpieces covering their head, neck, and even shoulders.[38] Within the *LFM*, we find this on folio 78v (Figure. 12.2) and folio 83bis-r, where married women wear a veil that covers their heads and a *pellizón* that covers the entirety of their bodies. In fact, the shorter *pellizón* and the lack of a veil on folio 93r are not replicated for female figures elsewhere in either the *LFM* or the *LFC*. Even in the unfinished illumination of *LFC* folio 51v (Figure. 12.8), one can discern that the figure on the right is a woman, with the *pellizón* flowing all the way to her shoes and a veil covering her head and neck.

If the same comparison is made to the *LFM*, a compelling example is found in the image of the woman on folio 102 (Figure. 12.9). This folio, like folio 93r, was found in 1944 in the binding of another book. While it too lacks any text, it is clearly an image of a woman because of the long *pellizón* that covers even the figure's feet, hanging all the way to the ground. This suggests that the image was intended to illustrate a document that mentioned an unmarried woman, also given that her long hair is tied into a braid. The comparison of these two images is quite powerful, highlighting the fact that folio 102 shows one of the *LFM*'s few female figures who are seated with their feet completely covered.[39]

Another effective comparison can be found on folio 11r (Figure. 12.10). One must bear in mind that this folio was never finished, so only the main shapes are visible. Nonetheless, the figure of Queen Petronila on the left is easily recognizable by her cream-coloured *pellizón* that goes all the way to the floor, covering her feet. This detail, despite the fact that the features of the hair and face are uncompleted, makes very clear that this figure represents a woman.

37 Diane Owen Huges, "Las modas femeninas y su control," in *Historia de la Mujer en la Edad Media* 2, eds. Georges Duby, and Michelle Perrot (Madrid, 2000),171–206, esp. 185.

38 Queen Urraca I in Archivo de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela, *Tumbo A*, fol. 31; British Museum, Elisabeth of Hainault seal matrix, inv. no. 1970,0904.1.

39 The image on folio 102r is one that has triggered the idea of the participation of a third workshop in the illumination of the *LFM*. Closer to workshop B in form, there are still significant differences between the two in terms of the configuration of the bodies, the shape of the faces, and the less natural position of the bodies. This is evident, for instance, in the draperies of the woman's *pellizón* in the miniature on folio 102r.

On the other hand, when comparing the figure seated next to Alfonso II on folio 93r with the male figures depicted throughout the *LFM* the similarities are striking: the accentuated waist, which all the male figures have; the hair cut into an ear-length bob; and even the feminine facial features. Especially illuminating in this regard is the groom portrayed on the far right of folio 78v (Figure. 12.2), along with the group of young men standing behind Alfonso II on folio 1r (Figure. 12.1), among other examples, including folios 35r and 12r.[40]

Based on these comparisons, it is reasonable to conclude that the person seated next to Alfonso II is not a woman but a man. He could be, in my view, the king's son, the future Pedro II 'the Catholic,' shown in the act of implementing his father's desires as continuator of rulership over the Crown of Aragón. We could be looking at an image of the transference of power and the designation of a future king, as construed in the Crown of Aragón: at the end of the 12th century, Aragonese kings adhered to succession by primogeniture and did not hold coronation ceremonies.[41] In the miniature, both figures are wearing crowns, and indeed Aragonese kings had crowns and other regalia like sceptres or globes made for their own use.[42] It is possible, then, that Pedro is represented here wearing one of these minor crowns while his father was still king.

Besides the vestments, there are other compelling details that support the interpretation of the two central figures of folio 93r being Alfonso II and Pedro II. The former has his palm facing upwards, symbolic of either a demand or an offering of continuation, as Françoise Garnier points out in her work on medieval gestures.[43] Specifically, this gesture was often used in the Middle Ages to signify a direction to be followed, which in this case referred to Pedro's rule as

40 The supposed image of Sancha is undoubtedly similar to the man standing on the right on folio 83bis-r in important elements like the *pellizón*, the hair, and the face.

41 Some of the main works of scholarship on the evolution of the ideology behind the coronations of the Aragonese kings are: Bonifacio Palacios Martín, "Imágenes y símbolos del poder real en la Corona de Aragón," in *El poder real de la Corona de Aragón:* (*siglos XIV-XVI*) 1 (Madrid, 1996), pp. 189–229; Carmen Orcástegui Gros, "La coronación de los reyes de Aragón. Evolución político-ideológica y ritual," in *Homenaje a Don Antonio Durán Gudiol* (Huesca, 1995), pp. 633–47. For the most recent work on this topic, see: Marta Serrano-Coll, "*De Modo Qualiter Reges Aragonum Coronabuntur*. Visual, Material and Textual Evidence during the Middle Ages" in *Royal Divine Coronation Iconography in the Medieval Euro-Mediterranean Area*, ed. Mirko Vagnoni, *Arts* 9/1 (2020), n. 25, 1–18. Available at: https://www.mdpi.com/2076–0752/9/1/25. Accessed 2020 May 20.

42 Andrés Giménez Soler, "Algunas coronas reales de Aragón (datos arqueológicos)," *Boletín Real de la Academia de las Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 2 (1903), 62–67, esp. 64.

43 Françoise Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au moyen âge. Signification et symbolique* (Paris, 1982), p. 172.

the next king. Moreover, this gesture conveyed one's receptivity to another's proposition or argumentation or to a contract.[44] Alfonso's son is depicted in a youthful manner, accepting his father's command with a lowered, open hand facing upwards.

Alfonso is poised with his feet, in pointed shoes, turned symmetrically outwards. This stable and balanced position was often used not only for figures of authority but also for wise or virtuous figures, such as Christ and the Virgin in majesty. While, Pedro's gesture of crossing the ankles is not quite as standardized, from the second half of the 12th century it was a frequent attribute of figures holding authority, whether temporal or spiritual. This posture, alongside other signs of authority, as Garnier observes, would make clear that the figure was powerful.[45]

The practice of the ruler naming his successor is also evoked on folio 11r (Figure. 12.10). Here, Petronila, the mother of Alfonso II, is seated opposite her young son. She delegates the reign of Aragón to him, ratifying Ramon Berenguer IV's testament. She thus acts as both a legitimizing force and a transmitting apparatus, both for Ramon Berenguer IV and for Aragón; she makes her son *omne regnum Aragonis integriter*, which means giving him control over the Aragonese territories and people, along with all the rights accompanying reign.[46] Again here, though the image is unfinished, the figure of Alfonso is easily recognizable thanks to the vestments. Moreover, in the context of the manuscript itself, this illumination corresponds to the text on the same folio, which describes Petronila delegating the power invested in her to her son Alfonso. To contextualize the relationship between the transfer of imperial power and the role of women as transmitters of legitimacy, as well as the importance of the imperial family for dynastic promotion in general, we might look to the Byzantine Empire and especially the Palaeologus dynasty (1261–1453).[47] Therefore, in light of folio 11r, folio 93r may well be a representation of the type of *designatio potestas* that was performed by the kings of the Crown of Aragón until the beginning of the 13th century, when the coronation ceremony was adopted by most of them.

---

44 Garnier, *Le langage de l'image*, p. 174.

45 Garnier, *Le langage de l'image*, p. 229.

46 *Liber Feudorum Maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, I, p. 23. Also see: Serrano-Coll, *La imagen figurativa del rey de Aragón en la Edad Media*, Ph.D. thesis, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, 2005, pp. 312–13. This document is also preserved as an individual folio in ACA, Cancillería, Pergaminos, Alfonso I-II, Carpeta 42, 15 (ES.08019. ACA).

47 José María de Francisco Olmos, "Los inicios de la moneda dinástica en el Imperio Bizantino. La casa de Justino y los Heráclidas," *Documenta & Instrumenta* 7 (2009), 123–147, esp. 124.

Portrayals of father and son together in such a manner had a long tradition throughout the Middle Ages, many examples sharing common features with those of folio 93r. For instance, the ruling king was always depicted as an older figure and his heir as significantly younger. The father often had long hair and a beard, indicators of age and wisdom, as we find in art throughout medieval Europe, such as the representation of the *Historia Welforum* of Frederick Barbarossa and his sons. There, a bearded Frederick is seated between the crowned Henry (on his right) and his brother Frederick (on his left), both without beards.[48] Another example can be found in the Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel, in which Richard II commands his son, the future Richard III, to execute his will.[49] This tradition of father and son depictions was also certainly strong in the Byzantine Empire, especially in numismatics. Examples are the coins showing Romanos I Lekapenos (r. 920–944) with his eldest son Christopher Lekapenos (r. 921–931) or Basil II (r. 976–1025) with his brother, the future emperor Constantine VIII (r. 1025–1028). On these coins, the active ruler is always bearded; to his right, the young brother or son is always beardless and holds a cross from a lower position, accepting the emperor's authority. Together, they present an image of a consolidated succession to the throne.[50]

Since by the time Alfonso II died, in 1196, Pedro II was only 18 years old, it is appropriate that he be represented in a youthful manner. As noted above, Alfonso II was never ceremonially crowned, nor were his predecessors, including his mother, Petronila. There was no need for them to be crowned or anointed in a ceremony, as their royal power did not need to be 'secured' by the Church. Folio 93r represents not a crowning ceremony but a designation of future power, a *designatio maiestas*, in the act of naming Pedro II the successor of Alfonso II.[51]

48 Hessische Landesbibliothek, *Historia Welforum*, *c.* 1185–95, Fulda, Cod. D. 11, fol. 14r.

49 Avranches, bibl. Mun, *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, third quarter of the 12th century, ms. 210, fol. 19v. Published in: Françoise Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au moyen âge. Grammaires des gestes* (Paris, 1989), p. 396.

50 On the Basil I and Constantine VIII coin, see: Phillip Grierson, *Byzantine Coinage* (Washington D.C., 1999), p. 10. On the Romanos I Lekapenos and Christopher Lekapenos coin, see: Philip Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection. Leo III to Nicephoros III, 717–1081* (Washington, D.C., 1973), 544–47, plate XXXVI, 5.1, 5.2, 6.1–6.3, 7.1–7.20.

51 On the idea of lineage and royalty under the Crown of Aragón, see: Stefano Maria Cingolani, "Seguir les vestígies dels antecessors. Linatge, reialesa i historigrafia a Catalunya des de Ramon Berenguer IV a Pere II (1131–1285)," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 36/1 (2006), 201–40.

4 Throne of Solomon

There is another element of the miniature that points towards an interpretation of its central figures as Alfonso II and Pedro II. The two figures are seated atop a pedestal-like structure that has six steps, corresponding to the description of the Throne of Solomon in the Old Testament. The iconography of Solomon and his throne circulated primarily in the Mediterranean region, being employed by Byzantine and Muslim sovereigns as a means of graciously representing a ruler.[52] It was in the 13th century that the usage of this iconography and its relationship to royalty saw a mayor development. Solomon's figure was mainly used by medieval kings to link themselves to the idea of wisdom, thus forging a connection between royalty and *sapientia*.[53] In biblical tradition, as recorded in the Book of Kings, kings who sought an association with Solomon did so to be regarded as kings who governed their people with wisdom and who differentiated between good and evil rather than focusing on earthly riches.[54] In the *LFM*, the visual association of Alfonso II and Pedro II with the Israelite king could have been driven by a keen ambition to compare themselves – as the first two Aragonese kings to rule over Aragón and the counties of Barcelona – to the righteous king of Jerusalem Solomon. The harmonious and righteous event that was Solomon's succession to the throne, as described in the Old Testament,[55] was reason enough for the kings to eagerly emulate him in a manuscript such as this.[56]

A compelling fact about Solomon's throne is that, of all the features that have been attached to it throughout centuries, only the six-stepped pedestal is truly based on the biblical text; other details, like the series of lions sometimes mentioned, appear solely in rabbinic commentaries.[57] This is why allegorical representations of Solomon's throne are much more common than attempts

52 Allegra Iafrate, *The Wandering Throne of Solomon, Objects and Tales of Kingship in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Leiden, 2015), p. 215.

53 Francis Wormald, "The Throne of Solomon and St. Edward's Chair," in *De artibus opuscula XL essays in honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss (New York, 1961), 532–539, esp. 537. On the usage of the allegory of the Throne of Solomon in connection to secular rulers, see esp. 537–539.

54 Book of Kings 3:9–13.

55 Joseph Verheyden, "Introduction," in *The Figure of Solomon in Jewish, Christians and Islamic Tradition. King, Sage and Architect*, ed. Joseph Verheyden (Leiden, 2013), 1–6, esp. 1.

56 For more about how the Crown of Aragón and counties of Barcelona changed in their politics as a result of their union under Alfonso II, see: José María Lacarra y de Miguel, "Alfonso II el Casto, rey de Aragón y conde de Barcelona," in *VII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragon*, 3 vols (Zaragoza, 1963–64), 1:95–120.

57 Iafrate, *The Wandering Throne*, p. 5.

to actually depict the throne.[58] Nonetheless, the Solomonic throne deeply penetrated the imagery of medieval kingship, not purely artistically but more as a visual aspect of a deeper political concern. More as an ideal of kingship that served the needs of rulers across the Mediterranean.[59] The sapiential royalty evoked by Alfonso II, on folio 93r of the *LFM*, is bolstered by the decoration of the king's *pellizón* with red half-moons and dark-yellow suns. Indeed, this may be a direct reference to Solomon and his knowledge of astrological matters, portrayed in the Book of Wisdom:

> For in his hand are both we and our words; all wisdom also, and knowledge of workmanship.
> For he hath given me certain knowledge of the things that are, namely, to know how the world was made, and the operation of the elements.
> The beginning, ending, and midst of the times: the alterations of the turning of the sun, and the change of seasons.
> The circuits of years, and the positions of stars.
> The natures of living creatures, and the furies of wild beasts: the violence of winds, and the reasonings of men: the diversities of plants and the virtues of roots.
> And all such things as are either secret or manifest, them I know.[60]

Like his biblical precedent, Solomon, Alfonso II was a representative of courtly knowledge and of the celestial bodies, as well as of the wisdom that these bring to the person who ponders over them.

5 Activities at Court

The seven paired figures that surround the central couple have been regarded as the lords of the castles received by Almodis in her bridal dowry or, when the couple is interpreted as Alfonso II and Queen Sancha, as members of the royal court.[61] These 14 figures are a very intriguing element that can be understood, within the premise of this paper, as representing a performance of disputations. Disputation was a medieval cultural and pedagogical practice, deeply

58 Wormald, "The Throne of Solomon," 535.
59 Iafrate, *The Wandering Throne*, p. 7.
60 Book of Knowledge of Solomon 7:16–21.
61 *Liber Feudorum Maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, I, prefacio, XIV; Ibarburu Asurmendi, "Los cartularios reales," p. 201.

rooted in ancient Aristotelian dialectical arguments, that sought "intellectual fertility"[62] in a verbal exchange between two people, one of whom made propositions and the other responses, in accordance with an established set of rules.[63]

A related possibility is that the couples are shown engaged in the so-called *jeu parti*. This consisted of a lyrical composition, made of six strophes, in which a troubadour announces a problem and proposes two solutions, one of which his "opponent" would take up in a sung argumentation in an attempt to persuade a judge.[64] Similarly, the seven couples in the image may be immersed in a *tenso* (called *debat* in the north of the Peninsula) a practice, emerging in the South of France between 1125 and 1150, in which every participant defends an opinion or fact.[65] This type of dispute became the educational method of choice as the attention to dialectic began to develop in the 12th century.[66]

Regardless of the precise activity depicted, these pairs of people represent the interest that Alfonso II had in lyrical interactions and courtly performances of knowledge and the arts. Indeed, his surname 'the Troubadour' is indicative of his interest in forming a well-cultivated court. He became a protector and promoter of troubadours, and this drove his court to reach a refinement never before seen in Aragón and perpetuated by Pedro II.[67]

Adding to this reading concerning the evocation of knowledge and wisdom is the fact that the two royal figures, along with their court of 14, are situated inside a sphere outlined in yellow. This geometrical shape is a visualization of unity, including in knowledge and learning.[68] In the context of the *LFM*,

62 Mishtooni Bose, "The Issue of Theological Style in Late Medieval Disputations," in *Medieval Forms of Argument. Disputation and Debate*, eds. Georgiana Donavin, Carol Poster, and Richard Uts (Eugene, Oregon, 2002), 1–22, esp. 4–5.

63 Tomas Ekenberg, "Order in Obligational Disputations," in *Medieval Forms of Argument*, eds. Donavin et al., 23–40, esp. 23.

64 Joseph W. Mason, *Melodic Exchange and musical violence in the thirteenth century* jeu-parti, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 2018, p. ii.

65 Alicia Yllera, "Rutebeuf y la tradición del debate medieval," *Estudios románicos* 5 (1987–89), p. 1493.

66 Yllera, "Rutebeuf y la tradición," 1493–1503, esp. 1494.

67 Isabel de Riquer, "Presencia trovadoresca en la Corona de Aragón," *CSIC* 26/2 (1996), 933–966, esp. 934. For more on the development of troubadours as courtly entertainment, see: Manuel Alejandro Rodriguez de la Peña, "Mecenas, trovadores, bibliófilos y cronistas: los reyes de Aragón del *Casal de Barcelona* y la sabiduría (1162–1410)," *Revista Chilena de Estudios medievales* 2 (2012), 81–120; Carlos Alvar Ezquerra, "Política y poesía: la corte de Alfonso VIII," *Mot so razo* 1 (2002), 56–61; Miguel de Riquer, "El trovador Giraut de Luc y sus poesías contra Alfonso II de Aragón," *Boletín de la Real Academia de las Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 23 (1950), 209–48.

68 Manuel Lima, *The Book of Circles. Visualizing Spheres of Knowledge* (New York, 2017), p. 35.

amongst documentary records that helped 'shape' the kingdom into the culture centre that it was, this image of the harmonious unity of the Crown of Aragón is particularly powerful.

6 Conclusions

When King Alfonso II began his reign, the need for a well-organized chancellery became pressing. The *LFM* and, a few years later, the *LFC* are results of that necessity. The illumination of the manuscripts exemplifies the use of vestments in medieval society to express rank and social status. The various images of Alfonso II and Pedro II in the *LFM* and *LFC* clearly indicate how vestments were used to portray ideas of rank equality or differentiation between the kings of the Crown of Aragón and the Catalan, Aragonense, and Occitan subjects.

Folio 93r of the *LFM*, probably the most interesting image of the entire manuscript and certainly one of the most monumental, has been studied as a whole, with its details being somehow overlooked for over 70 years. Through considering the details of the vestments in the miniature, a number of compelling interpretive possibilities arise: the mode of dress, along with the physical features, of the figure seated next to Alfonso II indicate that the figure is a man. This is confirmed by comparing the figure with other men portrayed in the *LFM*. The manner in which the central figures are interacting with each other betrays a message of command and acceptance, a transmittal of power from a king to his heir.

This action takes place atop a structure that is strikingly similar to the Throne of Solomon, as described in the Old Testament. This throne, specifically set on six steps, became in the Mediterranean context symbolic of the wisdom and righteousness of the person seated on it – a righteousness and wisdom that, as the originators of a new dynasty, Alfonso II and his son Pedro II were eager to be associated with. Folio 93r depicts a ruling king, Alfonso II, who sought to consolidate the dominion that his father, Count Ramon Berenguer IV, had won by marriage; it depicts Alfonso's desire to continue this control through the succession of Pedro II.

The miniature has a multi-layered significance with respect to Alfonso II and his son Pedro II, as it represents how they wished to be perceived not only as individual kings but also as a dynasty. With the two figures seated, one old and one young, it encapsulates the idea of continuity, of royal heritance, atop the steps of the throne of the wise king Solomon. It is a representation of the well-cultured, wisdom-oriented royal court that surrounded and shaped Alfonso and later Pedro, with the seven pairs of men shown in discussion.

Folio 93r of the *LFM* is, therefore, a visual insignia of the power of two kings and their desire for their courts to be characterized by wisdom and power, a Solomonic *sedes sapientiae*.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professor Michele Bacci and Professor Marta Serrano-Coll for their wise comments and guidance throughout the research and writing process. My thanks also to Dr Kayoko Ichikawa and Richard J. Burrows for their support.

Bibliography

Secondary Sources

Alvar Ezquerra, Carlos, "Política y poesía: la corte de Alfonso VIII," *Mot so razo* 1 (2002), 56–61.

Archivo de la Corona de Aragón: siete siglos (Madrid, 2018).

Bernis Madrazo, Carmen, *Indumentaria medieval española* (Madrid, 1956).

Bisson, Thomas N., *Història de la Corona d'Aragó a l'Edat Mitjana* (Barcelona, 1988).

Bose, Mishtooni, "The Issue of Theological Style in Late Medieval Disputations," in *Medieval Forms of Argument. Disputation and Debate*, eds. Georgiana Donavin, Carol Poster, and Richard Uts (Eugene, Oregon, 2002), 1–22.

Cingolani, Stefano Maria, "Seguir les vestígies dels antecessors. Linatge, reialesa i historigrafia a Catalunya des de Ramon Berenguer IV a Pere II (1131–1285)," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 36/1 (2006), 201–40.

de Francisco Olmos, José María, "Los inicios de la moneda dinástica en el Imperio Bizantino. La casa de Justino y los Heráclidas," *Documenta & Instrumenta* 7 (2009), 123–147.

de Riquer, Isabel, "Presencia trovadoresca en la Corona de Aragón," *CSIC* 26/2 (1996), 933–966.

de Riquer, Miguel, "El trovador Giraut de Luc y sus poesías contra Alfonso II de Aragón," *Boletín de la Real Academia de las Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 23 (1950), 209–48.

de Silva y Verástegui, Soledad, "El matrimonio real: sus representaciones en la miniatura hispana del siglo XII," *Potestas* 13 (2018), 5–43.

Ekenberg, Tomas, "Order in Obligational Disputations," in *Medieval Forms of Argument. Disputation and Debate*, eds. Georgiana Donavin, Carol Poster, and Richard Uts (Eugene, Oregon, 2002), 23–40.

Escandell Proust, Isabel, "Una nueva aproximación al *'Liber Feudorum Maior'*," in *El arte español en épocas de transición*, coord. Comité Español de Historia del Arte (León, 1994), 91–104.

García Marsilla, Juan Vicente, "El lujo cambiante. El vestido y la difusión de las modas en la Corona de Aragón (siglos XIII-XV)", *Anales de la Historia del Arte* 24 (2014), 227–244.

Garnier, Françoise, *Le langage de l'image au moyen âge. Signification et symbolique* (Paris, 1982).

Garnier, Françoise, *Le langage de l'image au moyen âge. Grammaires des gestes* (Paris, 1989).

Giménez Soler, Andrés, "Algunas coronas reales de Aragón (datos arqueológicos)," *Boletín Real de la Academia de las Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 2, (1903), 62–67.

Grierson, Philip, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection. Leo III to Nicephoros III, 717–1081* (Washington, D.C., 1973).

Grierson, Phillip, *Byzantine Coinage* (Washington D.C., 1999).

Huges, Diane Owen, "Las modas femeninas y su control," in *Historia de la Mujer en la Edad Media* 2, eds. Georges Duby, and Michelle Perrot (Madrid, 2000), 171–206.

Iafrate, Allegra, *The Wandering Throne of Solomon, Objects and Tales of Kingship in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Leiden, 2015).

Ibarburu Asurmendi, Maria Eugenia, "Los cartularios reales del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón," *Lambard: Estudis d'art medieval* 6 (1991–96), 197–213.

Kosto, Adam J., "The *Liber feudorum maior* of the counts of Barcelona: the cartulary as an expression of power," *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001), 1–22.

Lacarra y de Miguel, José María, "Alfonso II el Casto, rey de Aragón y conde de Barcelona," in *VII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragon*, 3 vols (Zaragoza, 1963–64), 1:95–120.

Liber Feudorum Maior, cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón II, ed. Francesco Miquel Rosell (Barcelona, 1947).

Lima, Manuel, *The Book of Circles. Visualizing Spheres of Knowledge* (New York, 2017).

Magkanas, Georgios, Bagán, Héctor, and García, José Francisco, "Estudio de las miniaturas y del texto del *Liber Feudorum Maior"* (December 2018). Available at: http://www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/archivos-aca/dam/jcr:1e686429-6b7b-4db3-a7d3-86d77c2d7e5d/lfm-informe-ub-2018.pdf. Accessed 2019 Apr 15.

Maranges i Prat, Isidra, *La indumentària civil catalana, segles XIII-XV* (Barcelona, 1991).

Marsilla, García, "Fashion is not a whim. Messages and functions of clothing in the Middle ages," *Vínculos de Historia* 6 (2017), pp. 71–88.

Martínez Ferrando, Ernest, *Hallazgo de miniaturas románicas en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1944).

Martínez, María, "Influencias islámicas en la indumentaria medieval española," *Estudios sobre patrimonio, cultura y ciencias medievales* 13–14 (2012), 187–222.

Mason, Joseph W., *Melodic Exchange and musical violence in the thirteenth century* jeu-parti, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 2018.

McCrank, Lawrence J., "A Medieval 'Information Age': Documentation and Archives in the Crown of Aragon," *Primary Sources & Original Works* 2/1–2 (1993), 19–102.

McCrank, Lawrence J., "Documenting Reconquest and Reform: The Growth of Archives in the Medieval Aragon," *The American Archivist* 56/2 (1993), 256–318.

Mundó, Anscari M., "El pacto de Cazorla del 1179 i el 'Liber feudroum maior'. Notes paleogràfiques i diplomàtiques," in *Jaime I y su época. X Congrés de la Corona d'Aragó, Zaragoza, 1976*, 3 vols (Zaragoza, 1979), 2:119–29.

Orcástegui Gros, Carmen, "La coronación de los reyes de Aragón. Evolución político-ideológica y ritual," in *Homenaje a Don Antonio Durán Gudiol* (Huesca, 1995), pp. 633–47.

Palacios Martín, Bonifacio, "Imágenes y símbolos del poder real en la Corona de Aragón," in *El poder real de la Corona de Aragón: (siglos XIV-XVI)* 1 (Madrid, 1996), pp. 189–229.

Pedro el Católico, Rey de Aragón y Conde de Barcelona (1196–1213) Documentos, Testimonios y Memoria Histórica, 6 vols, ed. Martín Alvira Cabrer (Zaragoza, 2010).

Polite Cavero, Carlos Miguel, Carnicero Cáceres, Alberto, Alvira Cabrer, Martín, *Guía de indumentaria medieval masculina*, (2010). http://fidelisregi.com/Indumentaria_Medieval_Masculina_Nobles_en_los_reinos_hispanos_1170_1230.pdf, 25. Accessed 2019 Jan 12.

Rodriguez de la Peña, Manuel Alejandro, "Mecenas, trovadores, bibliófilos y cronistas: los reyes de Aragón del *Casal de Barcelona* y la sabiduría (1162–1410)," *Revista Chilena de Estudios medievales* 2 (2012), 81–120.

Sarasa Sánchez Esteban., "Presentación," in *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón, Conde de Barcelona y Marqués de Provenza. Documentos (1162–1196)*, ed. Isabel Casabón (Zaragoza, 1995), 1–6.

Schwinges, Rainer C, Schirta, Regula, Oschema, Klaus, *Fashion and clothing in late medieval Europe* (Basel, 2010).

Scott, Margaret, *Medieval dress and fashion* (London, 2007).

Scott, Margaret, *Fashion in the Middle Ages* (Los Angeles, 2011).

Serrano-Coll, Marta, *La imagen figurativa del rey de Aragón en la Edad Media*, Ph.D. thesis, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, 2005.

Serrano-Coll, Marta, "*De Modo Qualiter Reges Aragonum Coronabuntur*. Visual, Material and Textual Evidence during the Middle Ages," in *Royal Divine Coronation Iconography in the Medieval Euro-Mediterranean Area*, ed. Mirko Vagnoni, *Arts* 9/1 (2020), n. 25, 1–18.

Sesma Muñoz, José Angel, *La Corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 2000).

Steele Phillipe, *A History of fashion and Costume. The medieval world*, Vol. 2. (New York, 2005).

Ubieto Arteta, Antonio, *Cómo se formó Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1982).

Van Uytven, Raymond, "Showing off One's Rank in the Middle ages," in *Showing Status: Representations of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. Wim Blockmans, and Antheum Janse (Turnout, 1999), 19–34.

Verheyden, Joseph, "Introduction," in *The Figure of Solomon in Jewish, Christians and Islamic Tradition. King, Sage and Architect*, ed. Joseph Verheyden (Leiden, 2013), 1–6.

Wearing, Shannon L., "The Death of the Patron: Agency, Style and the Making of the *Liber Feudorum Maior* of Barcelona," in *Romanesque Patrons and Processes*, eds. Jordi Camps, Manuel Castiñeiras, John McNeill, and Richard Plant (London, 2018), 327–336.

Wormald, Francis, "The Throne of Solomon and St. Edward's Chair," in *De artibus opuscula XL essays in honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss (New York, 1961), 532–539.

Yllera, Alicia, "Rutebeuf y la tradición del debate medieval," *Estudios románicos* 5 (1987–89), 1493–1503.

Illustrations



FIGURE 12.1 Alfonso II in the *LFM*, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 01, fol. 01r (detail)
COPYRIGHTS OWNED BY ARCHIVO DE LA CORONA DE ARAGÓN, BARCELONA



FIGURE 12.2 Male and female vestments in the *LFM*, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 01, fol. 78v (detail)
COPYRIGHTS OWNED BY ARCHIVO DE LA CORONA DE ARAGÓN, BARCELONA



FIGURE 12.3 Alfonso II in the *LFC*, ACA, Cancillería, Reg. 04, fol. 62r (detail)
COPYRIGHTS OWNED BY ARCHIVO DE LA CORONA DE ARAGÓN, BARCELONA



FIGURE 12.4 a) *Gonela amaetada*. *LFC*, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 04, fol. 7v (detail) (left); b) *Pellote* worn by a woman. LFC, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 04, fol. 60r (detail) (right)
COPYRIGHTS OWNED BY ARCHIVO DE LA CORONA DE ARAGÓN, BARCELONA



FIGURE 12.5 a) Alfonso II in the *LFC*, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 04, fol. 22v (detail) (left); b) Pedro II in the *LFC*, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 04, fol. 64v (detail) (right)
COPYRIGHTS OWNED BY ARCHIVO DE LA CORONA DE ARAGÓN, BARCELONA



FIGURE 12.6 a) Alfonso II in the *LFC*, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 04, fol. 25r (detail) (left); b) Alfonso II in the *LFM*, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 01, fol. 69r (detail) (right)
COPYRIGHTS OWNED BY ARCHIVO DE LA CORONA DE ARAGÓN, BARCELONA



FIGURE 12.7 *LFM*, ACA Cancillería Reg. 01, fol. 93r
COPYRIGHTS OWNED BY ARCHIVO DE LA CORONA DE ARAGÓN, BARCELONA



FIGURE 12.8 Comparison between folios 93r (left) and 102r (right) of the *LFM*, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 01 (details)
COPYRIGHTS OWNED BY ARCHIVO DE LA CORONA DE ARAGÓN, BARCELONA



FIGURE 12.9 *LFC*, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 04, fol. 51v (detail)
COPYRIGHTS OWNED BY ARCHIVO DE LA CORONA DE ARAGÓN, BARCELONA



FIGURE 12.10 *LFM*, ACA Cancillería Reg. 01, fol. 11r (detail)
COPYRIGHTS OWNED BY ARCHIVO DE LA CORONA DE ARAGÓN, BARCELONA

CHAPTER 13

Jaime II (r. 1291–1327)

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

Marta Serrano-Coll

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

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

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

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

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

© MARTA SERRANO-COLL, 2022 | DOI:10.1163/9789004511583_015
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

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

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

---

verd, fols. 102v, 109v, 251r, 262v (Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, ref. L 8, 1342–1348); *Aureum Opus*, fol. 69r (Arxiu Municipal d'Alcira, cod. especials 0.0./3, last third 14th century); *Rollo genealógico de Poblet* (Biblioteca de Santa María de Poblet, 1410).

4 Capital in the cloister of the monastery of Santa María de Santes Creus (1313–1341); recumbent effigy with his first wife in the same monastery (1313–1315); statues for the Palau Reial of Barcelona (1322, not preserved); and corbels in the Porta Reial of Santes Creus (1332–1336).

5 Indicated by: Ferran de Sagarra i de Siscar, *Sigil·lografia catalana. Inventari, descripció i estudi dels segells de Catalunya* I (Barcelona, 1916–32), p. 120.

6 Main seals from 1291–1327, 1295, and 1299; minor seals from 1292–94, 1302, and 1317–26; bulls dated 1293, 1296, and 1312; finally, a secret seal from 1312.

7 *Denaro* or *dinero* minted in Sicily in 1285–95 and *dinero* minted in Murcia in 1296.

8 For an updated review of these bibliographic references, see: Marina Povill Salas, *Escenaris i escenografies d'un regnat: Jaume II i la utilització de l'art com a eina de poder. Estat de la qüestió raonat*, research presented and defended at Universitat Rovira i Virgili for her Bachelor's degree, July 2018.

9 Biblioteca Universitària de València, ms. 394, *Olim*, 860, dated 1427. On folio 8v, Jaime II appears as one of the members of the genealogy that explains why Alfonso V must become the new king of Sicily: Amadeo Serra Desfilis, "8. Descendentia Regum Siciliae," in *Una arquitectura gótica mediterránea*, ed. Arturo Zaragozá, 2 (Valencia, 2003), pp. 185–88.

1 Legal Images: Beyond Authentication

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

As scholars have shown, the authenticated charter was an iconic document in which several systems of signs – writing, image, heraldic emblem, and so forth – were operative.[11] The iconography fostered a symbolism of power and illustrated the organizing principles of society.[12] That is why, to give an (albeit non-royal) example slightly predating the period of Jaime II, in the *Libri Antiquitatum Sedis Barcinonensis* we find 12th-century *bullae* transferred to the following century and accompanied by drawings of the reverse of the papal seals of Paschal II (d. 1118) and Alexander III (d. 1181) (Figure. 13.1).[13] Evidently, those who transferred the *bullae* considered it imperative to also include the issuers' seals, the same objects that had given validity to the original documents. But seals were not always seen as necessary for authentication: if desired by the interested parties, a legal document could be issued without seals, as can be seen in a document signed by Jaime II in 1322.[14] Their validatory function

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

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

12 Ibid., p. 29.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

18 Sagarra, *Sigil·lografia*.

importing a custom dating from the time of Frederick II, Jaime II used red for his wax seals[19] and gold to give his *bullae* greater dignity. As both materials were unknown in previous sigillography in the chancellery of Aragón, their use can only be explained by Jaime's preceding tenure as king of Sicily. Further analysis is needed to determine what cultural and visual elements Jaime came across in Sicily, elements that, in my opinion, explain most of the artistic choices he then made during his reign in Aragón. Here, lack of space prevents me from going into greater depth concerning his seals and their phases of development, however, it is useful to provide an overview of his sigillographic innovations, which went beyond the selection of materials, encompassing many details of iconographies and inscriptions.[20] First, he took up the traditional iconography of the seals of the Aragonese kings, characterized by the enthroned king on the obverse and the equestrian king on the reverse, which had been adopted by Alfonso III as a response to his problems with the Kingdom of Mallorca (Figure. 13.3).[21] In his new enthroned images, Jaime II included heraldry on the inside back of his throne, a formula that had been employed by Rudolf of Habsburg, a close ally of the Aragonese.[22] In this sense, Jaime did not adhere to the practice of using these sort of emblems in the throne's canopy but rather adopted a composition from Germany, which, through his seals and probably via Navarre, reached France and became incorporated into the seals of Louis X.[23] The inclusion of the heraldry on the obverse may have been intended to aid the viewer in visually identifying the depicted sovereign as king of Aragón. The information about his titles is given on the reverse, its legend "+ Diligite

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

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

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

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

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

iusticiam qui iudicatis terram et occuli vestri videant equitatem,"[24] quoting from the psalms with the aim of linking Jaime II to the Old Testament sovereigns Solomon and David, a strategy that would later be copied by Pedro IV not only on a textual but also an iconographical level.[25] These religious legends can also be understood in relation to the king's own piety; we recall that Arnau de Vilanova, physician and spiritual mentor to the royal house, addressed many writings to Jaime II,[26] encouraging him to lead the humble life that was expected of kings.[27] With these seals, the king portrayed himself as wise and just like Solomon[28] and as a righteous warrior like David. The second part of the legend is an exordium that encourages the public to hear and learn more, terminating in a verse from Psalm 16, in which the innocent and just

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

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

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

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

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

supplicant begs for God's help in the face of powerful enemies.[29] Jaime was thus known during his lifetime as a valiant warrior,[30] whose similarity to King David, according to the chronicles, could be seen in his knowledge of weapons.[31] His link to the Old Testament king was also deemed evident in the pleasure he took in writing. Jaime II was not the first in his family line to be a writer; the first figure to serve as both the king of Aragón and the count of Barcelona, Alfonso II, had been recognized for this, as stated in certain Provençale songbooks,[32] and likewise Jaime I had wanted to be remembered as the writer of his own chronicle, the *Llibre dels feyts*. But most likely, Jaime II acquired his taste for poetry in Sicily, where he presided over a flourishing court of troubadours. He wrote a religious dance dedicated to the Virgin Mary[33] and, moreover, promoted the creation of the *Estudi General de Lleida*, an educational institution

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

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

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

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

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

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

Due to the spatial constraints, the heraldry that accompanies the image of enthronement on the obverse of Jaime II's seals consists of only the pales of the Crown of Aragón. On the reverse, however, the covering of the horse and the shield of Jaime II are divided into quarters with the arms of Aragón and Sicily, similar to how Fernando III of Castilla and León divided his emblems into quarters.[37] By 1295, when the matrix of this seal was produced, Jaime II was sovereign of both territories. This type of heraldic organization, mixing emblems, imbued the image with an equilibrium fitting to a king who wanted to be fair to all the territories over which he reigned.[38] With the Treaty of Agnani (signed 12 June 1295), he would return to using exclusively the heraldry of Aragón, an emblematic simplicity countered by the complexity of his regalia. This intricacy must be understood in relation to his journey to Rome over three months in 1297[39] and the title given to him by the pope for his planned expedition to the Holy Land: Sancte Romane Ecclesie vexillarii, Admirati, et Capitanei Generalis.[40] The growing intricacy and decorativism of his *bullae*,

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

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

36 Sarasa, "Reino de Aragón," p. 314.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Of course, he exchanged sumptuous gifts with Iberian kingdoms[44] and with Eastern Mediterranean courts, such as the rich fabrics sent by Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad on 13 March 1314,[45] among other "honorific clothes" with special

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

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

42 Ibid.

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

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

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

embroidery suitable to dress a king.[46] Jaime II and his family's interest in external manifestations of luxury such as clothing and opulent personal objects, which were precisely inventoried, is well known.[47] A regular practice of the king was to send all kinds of valuable gifts to members of his family and his most loyal servants,[48] and – leaving aside his appreciation for books,[49] which was clear early on[50] – many documents show his desire for sumptuous and splendid illuminated manuscripts, some of which he also gave to relatives, to others close to him, and to monasteries and royal chapels.[51] In this respect, we recall that he donated books to the monastery of Santes Creus during the period when Guillem Baró, a monk at this institution, was royal chaplain.[52] He also gave the monastery other objects, such as beautiful reliquaries decorated with images.[53] Some of these vessels are described as *ad opus capelle*

46 Mercè Viladrich i Grau, "Noves dades sobre les relacions entre el soldà del Caire Al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Sayf al-Din Qalawun i el rei Jaume II," in *Jaime II*, eds. Barrio et al., pp. 501–10, esp. 504–05.

47 Martorell, "Inventari," pp. 553–67; Eduardo González Hurtebise, *Libros de la Tesorería de la Casa Real de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1911); Joan Ernst Martínez Ferrando, "Datos sobre el vestuario de Jaime II de Aragón," *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona* 3 (1945), 5–16.

48 Joan Ernest Martínez Ferrando, "La Cámara Real en el reinado de Jaime II (1291–1327). Relación de entradas y salidas de objetos artísticos*",Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona* 11 (Barcelona, 1953–54).

49 Although the king cannot be regarded as a full bibliophile because he did not build a library located in a specific space, he nevertheless had a novel interest in books: Isabel Escandell Proust, "Libros en la documentación de la cancillería de Jaime II," in *Imágenes y promotores en el arte medieval. Miscelánea en homenaje a Joaquín Yarza Luaces,* ed. Marisa Melero Moneo (Bellaterra, 2001), pp. 327–35, esp. 335. There are many documents that relate his desire to acquire books not only for himself but also for members of other courts and for educational institutions: Antoni Rubió i Lluch, *Documents per a la història de la cultura catalana mig-eval. Institut d'Estudis Catalans,* 2 vols (Barcelona, 1908–1921, repr. 2017), docs. I, II, III, IV, XIV, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXIV, XXVI, XXVII, XXXV, and LII. He also sent requests to ensure the return of books he had lent out: docs. VIII, XV, XXXII, and L. Other texts allude to their creation: docs. IX, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIX, LIII, and ap. II and IV. In some cases, the king stopped taxes from being applied to friars because of the books that they had in their custody: doc. XLIII.

50 As the Jewish physician from Barcelona Jafudà Bonsenyor described him in *Llibre de paralles e dits de savis e filosofs*; see: Manuel A. Rodríguez de la Peña, "Mecenas, trovadores, bibliófilos y cronistas: los reyes de Aragón del *Casal de Barcelona* y la sabiduría (1162–1410)," *Revista Chilena de Estudios Medievales* 2 (2012), 81–120, esp. 83, n. 6.

51 For a survey of this, see: Escandell, "Libros," pp. 327–35.

52 Rubió, *Documents* 2, doc. XXXVIII; Jordi Rubió et al., "Inventaris inèdits de l'ordre del Temple a Catalunya," *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* 1 (1907), pp. 358–407, esp. doc. XII. It was on 23 May 1297 that the king appointed the major chaplain of the Royal Chapel as abbot of Santes Creus: Reg. 108, fol. 34v. Del Estal, "Itinerario," p. 159.

53 "unum reliquier operis de Limotges, in quo est in quolibet capite quedam ymago et fuit inventum ligatum et sigillatum cum sigillo Petri de Soleiro et, prout continebatur

nostre[54] and thus directly related to the space of worship reserved for him and his entourage.

Although for most of the year his palaces were characterized by modesty and simplicity – more a response to Franciscan teachings, as Jaime Hinojosa states,[55] than to economic realities[56] – on certain occasions the royal palace was decorated magnificently. Among the objects inventoried by Arnau Messeguer on 12 June 1323, and leaving aside other objects that the king distributed among his sons and daughters before this date,[57] we find the following: precious textiles (three of them purple,[58] to be used as clothing,[59] stage decorations,[60] and

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

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

55 Hinojosa, *Jaime II*.

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

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

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

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

60 ".i. longua d estor de seda vermeyla ab usayl d argent daurat e ha en la cavadura alguns corals e tenen segits obras de fil d or e d argent ab poques perles … .i. longua d estor

accessories);[61] splendid insignia (i.e. crowns,[62] garlands,[63] pommels,[64] sceptres,[65]

obrada de fil d or e de seda a señal reyal … .i. drap veyl de pintenar de seda blanca ab obres de seda vermella ab escut de quarto ab señal reyal e d aguiles forrat de sendat vermeyl": Martorell, "Inventari," p. 556. ".i. curtina de sendat a senyal reyal que ha .x. canes de lonch e .ii. e mige d ample e es forrada de drap de li vert … .i. cobertor de sendat a senyal reyal e ha de loncgh .iiii. d ample e era forrat de drap de li blau": ibid., p. 559. ".i. drap de seda listat ab senyera d or a la .i. cap": ibid, p. 560. ".i. curtina de drap d or ab orles de sendat reyal e fo feta de .i. drap d or que l rey de Castela dona al senyor rey … .i. curtina de drap d or ab orla de sendat reyal e fo feta de .i. drap que l rey de Castella dona al senyor rey": ibid., p. 560. Coming from the temple's properties, ".i. drap d or e de seda de Lucha": ibid., p. 567.

61 "Corda de capell de seda vermella acabada ab crestauyls e ab corals": Martorell, "Inventari," p. 556. ".iiii. benes de drap de li ab escudets reyals de fil d or e de seda per fer capçanes de fre e i. frontal de fre de obra de laç de fil d or e de seda a señal reyall … .ii. frontals de fre obras de fil d or e d argent e de seda e ha en cascun .i. escut de quarto reyall e d águila": ibid., p. 557; ".i. corda de capell de seda vermella e groga": ibid., p. 558. "cordons de seda groga cabats ab fil d or": ibid., p. 559.

62 ".i. corona d or de .xi. pesses en la qual son encastats .vi. balaix grosses e .xxxiiii. balaixs no tan grosses e .xi. balaix menors que aquells qui son encastats en mig de les aguiles e .v. balaix grosses encastats en los .v. murs de la dita corona e .v. safirs grosses e .xvi. saffirs no tan grosses com los altres e .xi. safirs .i. poch pus grosses, qui son encastats en los murs de la dita corona, e .v. maragdes pochs e .v. maragdes un poch pus grosses, qui son encastats en los murs de la dita corona, e .xi. aguiles qui son en la dita corona ficades e son balaixets e maragdes e safirs encastats a ornament de les dites aguiles e .xliiii. perles menudes encastades en les orles dels balaixs e .ii. saffirs grosses e .lxxii. perles grosses qui son enfilades en la orla de la dita corona." Martorell, "Inventari," pp. 561–62. In his testament, he refers to the insignia for the coronation ceremony: "Eidem etiam heredi nostro universali dimittimus totam capellam nostrum seu apparatus ipsius et etiam unam crucem nostrum magnam argenti. Item dimittimus ipsi heredi nostril universali ceptra nostra cum corona, quam volumus esse regie coronacione apropiata, quoniam dictam coronam et ceptra iamdicta excepimus ab ordinacione de qua supra dicitur per nos facta super vendendis certis iocalibus nostris pro dictis debitis et iniuriis exsolvendis." Antoni Udina i Abelló, *Els testaments dels comtes de Barcelona i dels reis de la Corona d'Aragó. De Guifré Borrell a Joan II* (Barcelona, 2001), doc 32, pp. 185–86.

63 ".i. estoig de fust en que ha .iii. garlandes de seda e i.i ab poques perles": Martorell, "Inventari," p. 558.

64 ".i. Pom d or lo qual es dins tou e ha sobre lo pom .i. creu en la qual son .xii. perles grosses veres qui están entorn de la dita creu e .x. peres precioses, ço es a saber .v. safirs e .v. balaixs e esta lo dit pom en .i. estoig de cuyr vermell e pese .x. unçes": Martorell, "Inventari," p. 559. ".i. pom de jaspi lo qual fo del rey en Pere e era estat perdut el barreig de Torrela": ibid., p. 560. ".i. pomet d or qui pesa .ii. marchs ensems ab .i. verga prima doblada": ibid., p. 561.

65 ".i. verge d or qui es dins tova e ha a la .i. cap alguns esmalts e a l altre cap ha .i. pera semblant de crestayl e sobre la pera ha .i. creu de .iiii. perles veres e de .i. balaix e de .i. safir e la dita verga esta en .i. estoig de cuyr vermeyl e pesa .ii. marchs": Martorell, "Inventari," p. 559. ".i. cetra d argent tota plana ab .iii. escuts a senyal reyal e pesa la dita cetra .iii. marchs .iiii. onçes e mige a march de Valencia": ibid., p. 560. ".i. bordonet poch ab manech

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

---

de jaspi ab .ii. virolles d argent e ha en la .i. virola .ii caps de ca e en l altra .i. escudet esmaltat ab .i. leo e es la bahina de samit vert ligades de fil d or e en la guaspa ha .ii. viroles d argent e ha y .i. cordo de seda vert": ibid., p. 560.

66 ".i. espaha appeilada Tiçon … altra espaha appelada Girbeta": ibid., p. 556; ".iii. poms d espaha de jaspi, p. 557.

67 ".i. senyera veylla d or batut e d argent a señal reyal e d aguiles negres": ibid., p. 556.

68 ".ii. guans de launes cuberts de sendat reyal": ibid., p. 557.

69 ".i. capmafeu poch, encastat en argent daurat ab .i. cordo de seda vermella … .i. flor d or ab .i. pera preciosa grossa appellada rubiç, qui es el cap de la dita flor, ab .i. perla qui es clavada sobre lo dit rubiç e pesa .iii. unçes": Martorell, "Inventari," p. 559. Coming from the properties attached to the temple: ".vi. anells d argent la .i. ab pera apellada agata ab cercles negres blanchs e vermells e los .ii. ab sengles peres appelades grapaulines, lo quart e l .ve. ab peres cornelines, lo .vie. ab .i. pera blanca cornelina … .ii. anels d or la .i. ab pera turquesa lunada e l altre ab safir … .i. borssa ab .ii anells d or ab sengles safirs grosses … .i. anell gran d or ab .i. gros safir escur penjant en .i. cordo": ibid., p. 564.

70 "pera grosa encastada en lauto, semblant de crestayl, que es appellada brillo e es en .i. stoig de cuyr": Martorell, "Inventari," p. 556.

71 Some really expensive: ".i. coltell ab manech de jaspia f foure de camut guarnit d argent ab .iii. escudets a senyals reyals e de aguiles … .i. coltell catalanesch granat ab foura pintat a señal reyal e d aguiles … .i. coltell catalanesch granat ab foura pintat a señal reyal e de aguiles e ha el manech casquetes d argent e coralls": Martorell, "Inventari," p. 556. ".i. coltell de Pamplalona ab guitia a senyal reyal": ibid., p. 558. ".i. verga d argent daurada qui es dins tova e pesa .vii. onçes e mige": ibid., p. 559.

72 ".i. ganivet ab manech de crestayll ab foure …; manechs de ganivets de vori": Martorell, "Inventari," p. 556. ".i. colttell de taula e ha lo manech de cori en que es .i. dona qui te .i. bratxet … .i. manech de ganivet de vori e es hi entailada .i. dona ab .i. infant e te el bras .i. bratxet": ibid., p. 557. ".i. ganivet ab manech de roart en que ha .ii. virolas d argent daurades e .i. cordo de seda groch e lo foure de camut negre": ibid., p. 559.

73 ".i. tassa ab cubertor d argent daurat e empremtat dins ab .i. esmalt en la taça e altre al cobertor e tot esmaltat de fora e ha al mig del cobertor .i. gran pom tot blau e ha peu d argent daurat e ab .i. esmalt e ab .ii. figures d omens e pesa entre tot .xii. marchs": Martorell, "Inventari," p. 562.

74 "de seda blanca obrada de seda ab oçellets de fil d or": Martorell, "Inventari," p. 556. ".i. tovayola cabada ab listes d or" … .i. tovayola de li obrada als caps de fil d or e de seda de color de foch e blava e negra d obra de laç qe es aytal d una part coom d altra … .i. tovayola de drap de li obrada de seda ab molts escudets reyals": ibid., p. 559.

75 ".i. pinte de vori": ibid., p. 558. Regarding these objects and the precious fabrics "balandronets" that were used when the king shaved "ad servicium radendi barbam" and that were decorated with gold thread and sometimes with royal emblems, see: Martínez Ferrando, "Datos," p. 11.

76 ".i. cuixi obrat de seda a señal reyal e d aguiles." Martorell, "Inventari," p. 556. "cubertes de cuixins de drap d or": ibid., p. 557.

mattresses,[77] bedspreads,[78] and chests and other furniture);[79] and religious objects (i.e. crucifixes[80] and reliquaries,[81] among others).[82] He seems to have inherited some of these objects, including but not limited to certain swords and insignia, whereas others he commissioned himself. He very likely commissioned, for instance, the pieces featuring emblems combining the pales of Aragón and eagles, some of which are described as "escuts de quarto reyall e d aguiles" and have an *ante quem* of 1295. The documentation reflects a richness and a pageantry very similar to that reflected in the iconography of the time and, specifically, in certain illuminations where the king appears in lavish clothing surrounded by wall hangings (Figure. 13.4) – some of which feature the pales of Aragón, which are referred to as *barrats* in the documentation[83] and which also appeared in architecture[84] – and other visually splendid accents and accessories. Indicating that luxury was never absent from the court of Jaime II, texts and images alike attest to the presence of jewels, fabrics of various colours adorned with gold, pearls, and precious stones, along with a great number of hats and *chlamydes*, most of them patterned with the emblems of the king.[85]

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

78 ".i. cubertor de lit de cuyr ab .iii. escuts a senyal reyal … .i. cobertor de godomasir obrat en los cantons ab escuts reyals": ibid., p. 560.

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

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

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

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

83 ".viii. barrats de Tuniç": Martorell, "Inventari," p. 561. ".viii. barrats pochs reyals … .i. barrats reyals grans … .vi. barrats grans verts": ibid., p. 562. Coming from the temple's property, ".i. barralet d argent fet a manera de glan en que creen que ha reliquies": ibid., p. 566.

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

85 Martínez Ferrando, "Datos," p. 16.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

abbeys or convents, due to the family's special devotion to Saint Francis – with whose order they felt a connection through kinship, as some members of the family expressed through the iconographical devices of their insignia[93] and burial settings.[94] In 1340, Pedro IV broke this trend when he decided to establish the Cistercian monastery of Santa María de Poblet as the dynastic pantheon.[95] Notwithstanding this development, minor houses continued for a time to hold the bodies of sovereigns *in itinere*, while they were waiting to be moved to their final burial place. From Constance of Sicily to Eleonor of Castile, the last wife of Alfonso IV, all kings and queens were entombed in Franciscan friaries,[96] except for Pedro III, his son Jaime II, and the latter's wife Blanche d'Anjou. Pedro III continued the tradition of his predecessors, which explains his choice to be buried at Santes Creus. But why did Jaime II opt to be buried in a Cistercian monastery, with his first wife, if they were each religiously closer to the Franciscan world?[97] The reason is most likely that the king intended to use his own funereal image and that of his father for political purposes.

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

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

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

93 Such as the abbess's chair belonging to Blanche of Sigena, Jaime II's daughter, which features a drawing of Saint Louis, Bishop of Toulouse canonized in 1317: Carmen Berlabé Jové, "Fundación y patronato real en el monasterio de Sigena (Huesca). De Alfonso el Casto a Jaime el Justo," in *Imágenes y promotores*, ed. Melero, pp. 255–68, esp. 261–67.

94 The tomb of Jaime II's son the archbishop Jaume d'Aragó (cathedral of Tarragona) and the double tomb (Pedralbes Monastery) of his fourth wife, Elisenda de Montcada, are illustrative.

95 The first document in which Pedro IV states his wish to be buried in Poblet dates to 13 August 1340, but its lines mention another previous document written on 1 March 1340. Frederic Marès Deulovol, *Las tumbas reales de los monarcas de Cataluña y Aragón del monasterio de Santa María de Poblet* (Barcelona, 1988), p. 90.

96 Constance of Sicily was entombed in Sant Francesc in Barcelona, as were Alfonso III and Maria of Cyprus, the second wife of Jaime II, *in itinere*. His third wife, Elisenda de Montcada, was buried in the Poor Clares Convent of Pedralbes. Alfonso IV was laid to rest in Sant Francesc in Lleida, as was his second wife, Leonor de Castilla. His first wife, Teresa de Entenza, was entombed in San Francisco in Zaragoza.

97 Among all inventoried by Arnau Messeguer on 12 June 1323 appears: ".i. cordo de coto de frare menor": Martorell, "Inventari," p. 559.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

104 Español, *El Gòtic*, p. 43.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Of course, Jaime II's ideology cannot be separated from the Hohenstaufen political heritage.[110] Indeed, for a generation, the House of Aragón had adopted allegorical figures typical of Hohenstaufen eschatological cycles, thus establishing lines of continuity between the imperial ambitions of these two *regiae stirpes*.[111] Historians have suggested that exiled Ghibellines who had served the Hohenstaufens were present at the court of the Aragonese king and that this had important consequences for the reception of political ideas from overseas.[112] It is precisely in this context that we must situate the tombs at Santes Creus. Jaime II was acquainted firsthand with the Hohenstaufens' artistic policies and, perhaps also, with the elements of Frederician sacrality that Mirko Vagnoni has studied so much.[113] He was thus able to design an entire funerary programme that not only referred to the Palermitan tombs that had legitimized him as king[114] but also condensed and made visible the principles of the monarchy. With Jaime II, the Kingdom of Aragón became consolidated: he ruled in a climate of co-existence, trust, and commitment hitherto unknown, after the union's legitimacy had been questioned throughout the second half

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

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

111 Ibid., p. 686.

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

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

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

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

4 Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

Bibliography

Primary sources

Arnau de Vilanova, *Obres catalanes, I. Escrits religiosos*, ed. Miquel Batllori (Barcelona, 1947).

Finke, Heinrich (ed.), *Acta Aragonensia*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1908–1922).

Les Capbreus du roi Jacques II de Majorque (*1292–1294*), 2 vols, ed. Rodrigue Tréton (La Rochelle, 2011).

Rubió i Lluch, Antoni, *Documents per a la història de la cultura catalana mig-eval. Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, 2 vols (Barcelona, 1908–1921, repr. 2017).

Soldevila, Ferran, *Les quatre grans cròniques,* 3rd ed. (Barcelona, 1983).

Secondary sources

Adroer i Tasis, Anna M., "Algunes notes sobre la capella del Palau Major de Barcelona," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 19 (1989), 385–392.

Alarcón y Santón, Maximiliano A., and de Linares, Ramón García, *Los documentos árabes diplomáticos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* (Madrid, 1940).

Álvarez Márquez, María Carmen, "Las ordenanzas de Pedro IV: teoría y práctica en el sellado de documentos de la cancillería catalano-aragonesa," *Actas del Primer Coloquio de Sigilografía* (Madrid, 1991).

Aurell Cardona, Martin, "Messianisme royal de la Couronne d'Aragon (14e-15e siècles)," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 52/1 (1997), 119–55.

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

Berlabé Jové, Carmen, "Fundación y patronato real en el monasterio de Sigena (Huesca). De Alfonso el Casto a Jaime el Justo," in *Imágenes y promotores en el arte medieval. Miscelánea en homenaje a Joaquín Yarza Luaces,* ed. Marisa Melero (Bellaterra, 2001), pp. 255–268.

Bermúdez Aznar, Agustín, "Una perspectiva jurídica sobre la donación del reino de Murcia a Jaime II de Aragón," in *Congreso Internacional Jaime II 700 años después,* eds. Juan Antonio Barrio, José Vicente Cabezuelo Pliego, and Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar (Alicante, 1997), pp. 65–78.

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

Bohigas i Balaguer, Pere, "Profecies catalanes dels segles XIV I XV: assaig bibliogràfic," *Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya* VI (1920–22), 24–49.

Cabezuelo Pliego, José Vicente, "El poder real en la Murcia aragonesa a través del oficio de la procuración, 1296–1304," in *Congreso Internacional Jaime II 700 años después,* eds. Juan Antonio Barrio Barrio, José Vicente Cabezuelo Pliego, and Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar (Alicante, 1997), pp. 79–110.

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

Cherry, John, "The breaking of seals", in Michael Andersen and Göran Tegnér eds., *Middelalderlige seglerstamper I Norden,* (Roskilde 2002), pp.81–96.

Companys i Farrerons, Isabel, *El Castell del rei en temps de Jaume II. Edició comentada dels llibres de comptes de l'obra 1313–1317* (Tarragona, 1994).

Cook, Marrissa, *A Tale of Two Kings: The Use of King David in the Chronicle of Peter III of Catalonia*, unpublished MA thesis, University of South Florida, 2011.

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

de Riquer, Martín, *Vidas y retratos de Trovadores. Textos y miniaturas del siglo XIII* (Barcelona, 1995).

de Sagarra i Siscar, Ferran, *Sigil·lografia catalana. Inventari, descripció i estudi dels segells de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1916–32).

de Sanjosé i Llongueras, Lourdes, *Elements d'orfebreria litúrgica en la documentació catalana* (*segles IX-XIV*). *Recull provisional* (Vic, 2017).

del Arco i Garay, Ricardo, *Sepulcros de la Casa de Aragón* (Madrid, 1945).

del Estal Gutiérrez, Juan M., "El itinerario de Jaime II de Aragón en la conquista del reino castellano de Murcia (1296–1301)," in *Congreso Internacional Jaime II 700 años después*, eds. Juan Antonio Barrio, José Vicente Cabezuelo Pliego, and Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar (Alicante, 1997), pp. 157–59.

Escandell Proust, Isabel, "Libros en la documentación de la cancillería de Jaime II," in *Imágenes y promotores en el arte medieval. Miscelánea en homenaje a Joaquín Yarza Luaces,* ed. Marisa Melero (Bellaterra, 2001), pp. 327–35.

Español Bertrán, Francesca, *El escultor Bartomeu de Robió y Lleida. Eco de la plástica toscana en Catalunya* (Lleida, 1995).

Español Bertrán, Francesca, *El Gòtic català* (Manresa, 2002).

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

Español Bertrán, Francesca, "Formas artísticas y espiritualidad. El horizonte franciscano del círculo familiar de Jaime II y sus ecos funerarios," in *Poder, piedad y devoción. Castilla y su entorno. Siglos XII-XV,* ed. Isabel Beceiro (Madrid, 2014), pp. 383–418.

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

Finke, Heinrich, "Relacions dels reis d'Aragó ab la literatura, la ciencia y l'art," *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 4 (1910), 66–80.

Gonzalez Hurtebise, Eduardo, *Libros de la Tesorería de la Casa Real de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1911).

Gort Riera, Roser, *L'Estudi General de Lleida al segle XIV* (Lleida, 2016).

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

Kunetka, Frantisek, "The Ceremony of Foot-washing in the Liturgy of Holy (Maundy) Thursday: an Anamnesis or Mimesis?," *Studia Theologica* 20 (2018), 67–107.

Marès Deulovol, Frederic, *Las tumbas reales de los monarcas de Cataluña y Aragón del monasterio de Santa María de Poblet* (Barcelona, 1988).

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

Martínez Ferrando, Joan Ernest, "Datos sobre el vestuario de Jaime II de Aragón," *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona* 3 (1945), 5–16.

Martínez Ferrando, Joan Ernest, *Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar* (Barcelona, 1948).

Martínez Ferrando, Joan Ernest, *La Cámara Real en el reinado de Jaime II* (*1291–1327*). *Relación de entradas y salidas de objetos artísticos.* Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona 11 (Barcelona, 1953–54).

Martorell i Trabal, Francisco, "Inventari dels béns de la Cambra reyal en temps de Jaume II," *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* 4 (1911–12), 553–67.

Marzal García-Quismondo, Miguel, "La perspectiva catalano-aragonesa de D. Jaime de Sicilia," in *Congreso Internacional Jaime II 700 años después,* eds. Juan Antonio Barrio, José Vicente Cabezuelo Pliego, and Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar (Alicante, 1997), pp. 417–44.

Menéndez Pidal de Navascues, Faustino, "Emblemas heráldicos de España," *Revista de Historia Militar* 30/60 (1986), 209–26.

Menéndez Pidal de Navascues, Faustino, *Apuntes de sigilografía española* (Guadalajara, 1988).

Menéndez Pidal de Navascues, Faustino, Mikel Ramos Aguirre, and Esperanza Ochoa de Olza Eguiraun, *Sellos medievales de Navarra. Estudio y corpus descriptivo* (Pamplona, 1995).

Monti, James, *A Sense of the Sacred: Roman Catholic Worship in the Middle Ages* (San Francisco, 2012).

Obres catalanes, A. de Vilanova, I. Escrits religiosos, ed. Miquel Batllori (Barcelona, 1947).

Palacios Martín, Bonifacio, *La coronación de los reyes de Aragón. 1204–1410. Aportación al estudio de las estructuras políticas medievales* (Valencia, 1975).

Povill Salas, Marina, *Escenaris i escenografies d'un regnat: Jaume II i la utilització de l'art com a eina de poder. Estat de la qüestió raonat*, Bachelors thesis, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, July 2018.

Rodríguez de la Peña, Manuel A., "*Hesper*, el *Vespro* y el *Vespertilio*: elementos de continuidad entre el milenarismo stáufico y el ciclo profético del imperio aragonés," in *Congreso Internacional Jaime II 700 años después,* eds. Juan Antonio Barrio, José Vicente Cabezuelo Pliego, and Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar (Alicante, 1997), pp. 685–97.

Rodríguez de la Peña, Manuel A., "Mecenas, trovadores, bibliófilos y cronistas: los reyes de Aragón del *Casal de Barcelona* y la sabiduría (1162–1410)," *Revista Chilena de Estudios Medievales* 2 (2012), 81–120.

Rosenman, Barry Ch., *The Royal Tombs in the Monastery of Santes Creus* (Minnesota, 1991).

Rubió, Jordi, D'Alós, Ramon, and Martorell, Francesc, "Inventaris inèdits de l'ordre del Temple a Catalunya," *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* 1 (1907), pp. 358–407.

Runciman, Steven, *Visperas Sicilianas. Una historia del mundo mediterráneo a finales del siglo XIII* [*The Sicilian Vespers: a history of the Mediterranean world in the later thirteenth century*], (Cambridge, Eng., 1958; repr. Madrid, 2009).

Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban, and Orcástegui, Carmen, "El rechazo de la aventura mediterránea y la manifestación de las contradicciones internas: la consolidación del reino y los comienzos de la crisis (1276–1336)," *Historia de Aragón* 6 (1985), 11–46.

Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban, "El reino de Aragón en la época de Jaime II (1291–1327)," in *Congreso Internacional Jaime II 700 años después,* eds. Juan Antonio Barrio. José Vicente Cabezuelo Pliego, and Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar (Alicante, 1997), pp. 301–14.

Serra Desfilis, Amadeo, "8. Descendentia Regum Siciliae," in *Una arquitectura gótica mediterránea*, ed. Arturo Zaragozá, 2 (Valencia, 2003), pp. 185–88.

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

Serrano-Coll, Marta, *Effigies regis Aragonum. La imagen figurativa del rey de Aragón en la Edad Media* (Zaragona, 2015).

Serrano-Coll, Marta, "Jaime II y su promoción artística en Santes Creus: propósitos y contenidos semánticos de raigambre federiquiana," *Imago Temporis Medium Aevum* 15 (2021), in press.

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

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

Soldevila, Ferran, *Història de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1963).

Udina i Martorell, Frederic, "Los restos reales existentes en la catedral de Barcelona," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 23 (1950), 49–67.

Udina i Abelló, Antoni, *Els testaments dels comtes de Barcelona i dels reis de la Corona d'Aragó. De Guifré Borrell a Joan II* (Barcelona, 2001).

Vagnoni, Mirko, *Federico II allo specchio. Analisi iconographica e político-funzionale delle sue raffigurazioni*, unpublished MA thesis, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Siena, 2003–2004.

Vagnoni, Mirko, "Il significato politico delle caratteristiche iconografiche di Federico II di Svevia," *Iconographica. Rivista di iconografia medievale e moderna* 5 (2006), 64–75.

Vagnoni, Mirko, "La legittimità e la sacralità imperiale di Federico II di Svevia," *Tabulae. Del Centro Studi Federiciani* 18/1 (2006), 127–69.

Vagnoni, Mirko, "*Lex animata in terris*. Sulla sacralità di Federico II di Svevia," *De Medio Aevo* 1 (2013), pp. 47–66.

Viladrich i Grau, Mercè, "Noves dades sobre les relacions entre el soldà del Caire Al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Sayf al-Din Qalawun i el rei Jaume II," in *Congreso Internacional Jaime II 700 años después,* eds. Juan Antonio Barrio Barrio, José Vicente Cabezuelo Pliego, and Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar (Alicante, 1997), pp. 501–10.

Vives i Miret, Josep, "Els sepulcres reials del monestir de Santes Creus," *Studia Monastica* 6/2 (1964), 359–79.

Wieruszowski, Helene, "La corte di Pietro d'Aragona e i precedenti dell'Impresa Siciliana," in *Politics and culture in medieval Spain and Italy* (Rome, 1971), pp. 185–222.

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

Illustrations

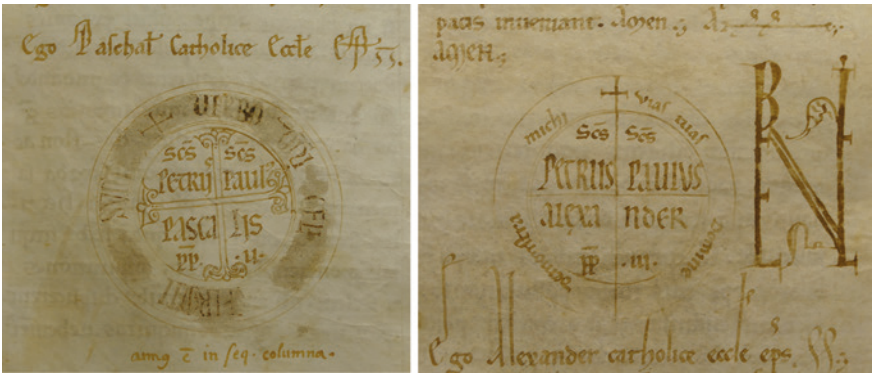


FIGURE 13.1 *Libri Antiquitatum Sedis Barcinonensis*: drawings of the seals belonging to Pascalis I and Alexander III (13th century).
© ARXIU CAPITULAR DE LA CATEDRAL. CATEDRAL DE BARCELONA (WITH ITS KIND PERMISSION)



FIGURE 13.2 Left: *Capbreu de Colliure* (1292). Right: Bull of Jaime II (1293)
A) © ARCHIVES DÉPARTEMENTALES DES PYRÉNÉES-ORIENTALES, 1B29 (WITH ITS KIND PERMISSION). B) PUBLISHED BY SAGARRA, *SIGIL·LOGRAFIA*, FIG. 39



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



FIGURE 13.4 *Tercer Llibre Verd*, fols. 102v and 75r (c. 1333)
© ARXIU HISTÒRIC DE LA CIUTAT DE BARCELONA (WITH ITS KIND PERMISSION)



FIGURE 13.5 Royal tombs at the Monastery of Santa Maria de Santes Creus (Aiguamúrcia, Tarragona)
© MONESTIR DE SANTES CREUS (WITH ITS KIND PERMISSION).
AUTHOR: MARTA SERRANO-COLL

CHAPTER 14

The Image of the King and Its Architectural Spaces in Al-Andalus and Castile and in the Larger Context of the Mediterranean

Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza (†)

1 Al-Andalus and Castile in the Genesis of the 'Modern State.' Artistic Synergies in a Shared Cultural Context

The development of palatine architecture in Al-Andalus did not go unnoticed by the Christian kingdoms of the north.[1] The Crown of Castile, involved between the 13th and 15th centuries in the genesis of the modern state, elaborated and created a new concept of a specialised palace that was not exempt of Andalusian contributions. A palace where there are spaces and rooms with specific functions. A true palatine city was created, as it is still being studied, in the Royal Alcazar of Seville, where the Castilian monarchy developed its spaces of representation, or rather of exaltation, of the king and his sovereignty. In those spaces, the king exposed and lead, without competition from ecclesiastics and nobles, the plans for his kingdom, as the only 'lord of so many good people, and such great lands', as recalled in the prologue of *Las Partidas* of Alfonso X.[2]

During that process, the buildings of al-Andalus were appropriated, copied, and emulated to diverse degrees in the Crown of Castile, as the artistic forms show.[3] Decorative elements, spaces, or even ideological messages were adopted, as is shown in a number of royal and noble palaces erected between the 14th and 15th centuries. The reign of Pedro I (1350–1369) was especially relevant in this sense, during which important palatine complexes were built, such as the Alcazar of Seville, the Alcazar of Carmona (Seville), the royal

1 This article is based on materials examined in the framework of the National R&D Plan of the Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness of Spain: *Al-Andalus, ciencia y contextos en un Mediterráneo abierto. De Occidente a Egipto y Siria.* AL-ACMES: RTI 2018-093880-B-100.

2 Alfonso X, *Las Siete Partidas, Glosadas por el licenciado Gregorio López del Consejo Real de Indias de su Magestad, Salamanca 1555* 1 (Edición facsimilar Madrid, 1985), fols. 3r, 3v.

3 Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "Castilla y Al-Andalus. Arquitecturas aljamiadas y otros grados de asimilación," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* (*U.A.M.*) 16 (2004), 17–43.

© JUAN CARLOS RUIZ SOUZA, 2022 | DOI:10.1163/9789004511583_016
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

palace in which the convent of Santa Clara de Tordesillas (Valladolid) was founded in 1363 by Peter I's daughters, or the convent-palace of Santa Clara de Astudillo (Palencia). The monarch saw in the architecture of Al-Andalus, and in particular in the Alhambra of Muhammad V (Figure. 14.1), the specialized palace (including throne rooms, monumental façades with inscriptions, halls of justice, knowledge spaces, and courtyards) that he needed for his political project of strengthening royal power: the Genesis of the modern state. The palace was, indeed, a keystone in that process, being the space in which the king's new image was publicly exhibited. Thus, the despotic character of the Muslim rulers, who held both political and religious power, seemed to be a source of inspiration for the new concept of Christian King. The relationship between the palatine architectures of Al-Andalus and those undertaken by the Castilian-Leonese Crown is apparent in the shared visual culture of power, as is evidenced by its forms, meanings and messages and, in particular, by the resemblance among the different typologies of façades and throne rooms, as well as the use of decorative elements reminiscent of al-Andalus.

2 Andalusian Architectural Typologies in Castilian Palaces. *Bahw*, *Qubba*, and Monumental Façades with Inscriptions

The palatine examples preserved from the Almohad period in Seville and from the Nasrid period in the Alhambra clearly exerted their influence on the royal architecture of Castile. The *bahw* type,[4] also known as the inverted 'T', can be found in the northern side of Comares Palace, where the rectangular-planned Sala de la Barca (Hall of the Boat) serves as the narthex of the square-planned Salón de Embajadores (Hall of Ambassadors). Earlier examples of this type have been discovered in the 13th-century palace of the convent of Santa Clara, in Seville.[5]

4 Alfred Dessus Lamare, "Étude sur le bahw, organe d'architecture musulmane," *Journal Asiatique* (1936), 529–47.

5 There is no consensus on the dating of the medieval remains and plasterworks of the convent of Santa Clara in Seville. Scholars agree that they could date from the 13th century, but with two possibilities: either before or after 1248, the year when the Christian troops of Ferdinand III captured the city. See: Pablo Oliva Muñoz, and Miguel Ángel Tabales Rodríguez, "Los restos islámicos y el Palacio de don Fadrique," in *Real Monasterio de Santa Clara. 2 Palacio y Cenobio*, ed. José Solís Guzmán (Sevilla, 2007), pp. 13–21; Pablo Oliva Muñoz, Alfonso Jiménez Sancho, and Miguel Ángel Tabales Rodríguez, "Primera fase de estudios arqueológicos en el Real Monasterio de Santa Clara de Sevilla," *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía 2003* 1 (Sevilla, 2006), pp. 336–51; Miguel Ángel Tabales Rodríguez, "Novedades arqueológicas relativas a los palacios medievales de Don Fadrique y Alcázar Real," in *La*

The same formula found at the Alhambra was repeated subsequently in the Alcazar of Guadalajara and in the palace in which the convent of Santa Clara was founded in Toledo. We note the same rectangular-planned halls, with or without alcoves at their ends and accessible through the centre of their long side, as well as the square-shaped halls known as *qubba*, crib or alcove.[6] It is also worth recalling the Imperial Palace of Constantinople, which was an essential reference for medieval palatine architecture throughout the Mediterranean. One of its most important rooms was the Great Hall, built in the 6th century by Justinian II with a centralized floor plan, accessible from small alcoves around it and preceded by a narthex.[7] Centuries later, the Roman imprint can still be seen in the floor plan of the Alhambra's Salón de Comares (Comares Hall), preceded by the Sala de la Barca.[8]

Andalusian references are likewise evident in the development of the monumental façades that presided over the great Castilian royal and noble palaces from the mid-14th century onwards. The typology, the ornaments, and the evolution of the exposed monumental text necessarily refer to Andalusian constructions.[9] The importance attributed to external monumental writing in Roman and Islamic architectures is well documented. In Al-Andalus, since the Umayyad period, it was common to display extensive explanatory inscriptions on the façades and entrances of buildings, both religious and civic. Indeed, the Alhambra speaks to us through its inscriptions, which are written in the first person.[10] This monumental writing is continued, and profusely so, in 15th-century Castilian palaces. In nearly every case, the self-propaganda of the patron

---

herencia de Al-Andalus, ed. Fátima Roldán (Sevilla, 2007), pp. 123–32; Rafael Cómez Ramos, "Las casas del infante don Fadrique y el convento de Santa Clara de Sevilla," *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos* 34 (2007), 95–116; Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "Toledo entre Europa y Al-Andalus en el siglo XIII: Revolución, tradición y asimilación de las formas artísticas en la Corona de Castilla," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1/2 (2009), 256–65.

6 Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "El Palacio Especializado y la Génesis del Estado Moderno. Castilla y Al-Andalus en la Baja Edad Media", in *La Ciudad Medieval: de la casa principal al palacio urbano*, eds. Jean Passini, and Ramón Izquierdo Benito (Toledo, 2011), pp. 93–128.

7 Jeffrey Michael Featherstone, "The Great Palace as Reflected in the De Cerimoniis," in *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft*, ed. Franz Alto Bauer, *Byzas* 5 (Istanbul, 2006), pp. 47–61, esp. 50–53. About the image of the Chrysotriclinos we have today, see: Jean Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople et le Livre de Cérémonies* (Paris, 1910), pp. 77–92.

8 Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "Tipología, uso y función del Palacio de Comares: nuevas lecturas y aportaciones sobre la arquitectura palatina," *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 40 (2004), 77–102, esp. 78–83.

9 Ruiz Souza, "Castilla y Al-Andalus", 27–32.

10 José Miguel Puerta Vílchez, *Leer la Alhambra. Guía visual del monumento a través de sus inscripciones* (Granada, 2010), pp. 69–73, 226–28.

prevails, as a mark imprinted on the main access of the building he founded, looking almost like a triumphal arch.[11]

One century earlier, in the Nasrid world, the façades of all kinds of constructions underwent a great development. The madrasa of Yusuf I, the *maristan* of Muhammad V, the façade of Comares, which was erected by the sultan himself in the courtyard of the Cuarto Dorado (Golden Room), and the great doors of the Alhambra's wall – all these 14th-century examples have monumental fronts with lengthy explanatory texts. The façades take on such an important role that they emerge, in themselves, as independent elements of the building. The same can be said for those of the palaces of Pedro I in Tordesillas and Seville. If the palace of Tordesillas praises the mythical victories of his father Alfonso XI, those in Seville refer to King Don Pedro as patron not of the palace but of the façade – as though the latter were an autonomous entity, a notion entailing an interesting qualitative leap.

3 Façade, Square, and Elevated Throne Room. The Palace of Comares in the Alhambra and the Castilian Palaces of the Late Middle Ages

A large façade works best when preceded by a large, more or less precisely delimited space, for the staging and contemplation of the king. Along with the appearance of the great façade we must therefore talk about the creation of the square before it.

First, we return to the palatine city of the Alhambra, where the issue of the southern side wall of the Palace of Comares – where the palace of Carlos V was erected in the first half of the 16th century – is yet to be resolved. We consider this space should be seen as fundamental to the conception of the square that accompanied the Castilian palaces of the late medieval period and as essential to expressing the intended image of the sultan. In fact, in another study we have speculated about the disposition of this whole area.[12] We proposed that here was once a large space in front of the palace that served as a representational plaza – where the most important routes within the palatine city

11 Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "Fachadas parlantes. Escritura en la escenografía del poder," in *Écritures du pouvoir – Les cultures politiques dans la péninsule Ibérique et au Maghreb, VIIIe – XVe siècles* 2, ed. Véronique Lamazou-Duplan, *Scripta Medieaevalia* 38 (Bordeaux, 2019), pp. 181–94.

12 Ruiz Souza, "Tipología, uso y función del Palacio de Comares," 77–102.

converged – which would explain the later construction of the Renaissance palace of Carlos V there.[13]

We believe it is no coincidence that the Puerta del Vino (Wine Gate) (Figure. 14.2) was erected between the Puerta de la Justicia (Justice Gate) and the Nasrid palaces, as a sort of triumphal arch located at a strategic point of the city. We are talking about a great direct access door and not a bent entrance, unlike the monumental Nasrid doors that mark the walls of the palatine city, which have a formal and symbolic character instead of a defensive one. Although its rich painted decoration, of various colours, would emulate an ephemeral arch, it still preserves, on its eastern wall, the representation of a *sebqa*, invoking a large commemorative structure covered by, or made of, a large and sumptuous fabric. The coat of arms of the *Banda* de Muhammad V (Band of Muhammad V) appears in the rich ceramic decoration that garnishes the arch of the door facing the palaces. The exterior façade of the southern side of the Palace of Comares could thus be contemplated from the Puerta del Vino.

The southern wing of Comares Palace is the highest palatine structure of the preserved Nasrid architecture, being composed of three superposed bodies. In the highest one, a large arch can be seen. It would give way to a large hall whose ceiling would most probably be above the gallery that precedes it, so that the height of the southern side, according to our hypothesis, could be even higher than it currently is. It is common for arcaded galleries to precede a higher structure. It is true that the height of the terrain of the hill of the Alhambra rises southwards so that the height of the courtyard of Comares is at a much lower level than that of the exterior side, where the Palace of Charles V stands. The presence of this slope would explain the introduction of the intermediate body of the aforementioned wing. We believe that the Palace of Comares would have had an outward façade. What would then be the purpose of the location of a great royal hall so high in this part of the Palace of Comares? A great royal hall, the existence of which we cannot doubt because both its monumental access door and part of its interior decoration have been preserved.[14]

We think that a great palace like Comares would have had a great contemporary façade; since the one known today with that name, located between the palace and the *mexuar* (Islamic room for justice), was subsequently built, in 1369, according to its inscription, which refers to the conquest of Algeciras by the Nasrid troops.[15] Monumental spaces dominating interior courtyards

13 Antonio Gámiz Gordo, *La Alhambra nazarí. Apuntes sobre su paisaje y arquitectura* (Sevilla, 2001), pp. 53–57, 167–85.

14 Ruiz Souza, "Tipología, uso y función del Palacio de Comares," pp. 83–86.

15 Puerta Vílchez, *Leer la Alhambra*, pp. 69–73.

exist in other palatine cities of Al-Andalus, like the great portico of Madinat al-Zahra.[16] But the main reason behind our approach lies in the studies of the Castilian royal palaces in Tordesillas and the Alcazar of Seville. These two buildings share a square dominated by a palatine façade bearing inscriptions and heraldry.

4 Pedro I's Palaces and the 14th Century in Castile: Tordesillas and the Alcazars of Seville and Carmona. *Oh, place where the heroic king manifests!*

In Tordesillas, the medieval roads of the town are preserved. The narrow street of Alonso Castillo Solórzano still runs parallel to the Duero River and comes across a medieval brick door within a pointed arch. The door opens into a sort of corridor, which in turn leads to a square, today the atrium of the convent of Santa Clara (Figure. 14.3). The square is dominated by the palace façade, which is still preserved. The façade appears now mutilated because it would originally have been much larger, as evidenced by the remains preserved at its pinnacle.[17] The construction of the choir and the antechoir of the convent church altered that whole part of Pedro I's palace, explaining why only the front part remains.[18] In the latter we see two tablets featuring partially preserved texts, which refer to the great victory of the Castilians over the Marinids of Fez in the Strait of Gibraltar, during the *Batalla del Salado* (Battle of Salado). In Tordesillas we can only find texts on the façade, as the heraldry has not been preserved.

In the case of Seville, an imposing triumphal arch was constructed at the entrance to the Patio de la Montería (Montería Courtyard), next to the current Sala de la Justicia. Although the three archways' heraldic decoration is very deteriorated, what appears to be the badge of the *Orden de la Banda* (Knights of the Band) can be seen in its central part, which most probably was originally complemented with coats of arms displaying lions and castles. The preserved remains also suggest that some kind of elevation might have existed on

16 Ruiz Souza, "Tipología, uso y función del Palacio de Comares," pp. 83–86.

17 Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "Santa Clara de Tordesillas. Restos de dos palacios contrapuestos (siglos XIII-XIV)," in *Actas del V Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española, Valladolid 1999* 1 (Valladolid 2001), pp. 851–60.

18 Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "La Iglesia de Santa Clara de Tordesillas. Nuevas consideraciones para su estudio," *Reales Sitios* 36/140 (1999), 2–13.

top of the arch.[19] The latter opens onto the square dominated by the majestic façade of the Palacio de la Montería (Montería Palace) (Figure. 14.4), where we find heraldic decorations, a laudatory text of the ruler dating from 1364, and an elevated hall, or *qubba*.[20] Seen from the inside, the elevated structure has one peculiarity: between the hall itself and the exterior façade, there still is a rich *muqarnas* vault. From the latter's special location, we can infer that it was meant to guide the beholder's contemplation of the ruler as the latter looked out onto the Plaza de la Montería (Montería Square). The royal and religious connotations of *muqarnas* vaults are clear, as demonstrated by many studies and evidenced by the places where they have been found.[21] The arcade that visually connects this location to the square at its feet is not a window but an open gallery or balcony, at which the king, Pedro I, could be seen standing, right beneath the inscription mentioned above, a deictic element referring to the monarch himself.[22]

The remains of the Carmona Palace, where the treasure of Pedro I was relocated during the final stages of his reign and where his family members and most loyal subjects resided after his death in 1369, are less well known.[23] The monumental entry of the Alcazar is still preserved, as well as remains of its interior pictorial decoration, in which we again observe the badge used by Pedro I in clear reference to the *Orden de la Banda* founded by his father, Alfonso XI.

We believe that Pedro I was copying Andalusian models in Tordesillas and Seville. The most important palace being built in Granada during the central decades of the 14th century, contemporary with the palaces of Tordesillas and Seville, was that of Comares. We thus find in Castile a reflection of what could be seen in the Alhambra, with the formal vocabulary of the two Castilian façades clearly referring to the Nasrid world.

---

19 Antonio Almagro Gorbea, "La recuperación del jardín medieval del Patio de las Doncellas," *Apuntes del Alcázar* 6 (2005), 45–67, esp. 62; Miguel Ángel Tabales Rodríguez, "Investigaciones arqueológicas en la Portada de la Montería del Alcázar de Sevilla," *Apuntes del Alcázar de Sevilla* 7 (2006), 6–39, esp. 24–29.

20 Julie Marquer, "El poder escrito: problemáticas y significación de las inscripciones árabes de los palacios de Pedro I de Castilla (1350–1369)," in *Palacio y Génesis del Estado Moderno en los Reinos Hispanos. VI Jornadas Complutenses de Arte Medieval*, eds. Pilar Martínez Taboada, Elena Paulino Montero, and Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, *Anales de Historia del Arte* 23/2 (2013), pp. 499–508.

21 Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "La cúpula de mocárabes y el Palacio de los Leones de la Alhambra," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 12 (2000), 9–24.

22 To understand how this royal palace works, see: *La planimetría del Alcázar de Sevilla,* ed. Antonio Almagro Gorbea (Granada, 2000).

23 Antonio Almagro Gorbea, "Los palacios de Pedro I. La arquitectura al servicio del poder," in *Palacio y Génesis*, eds. Martínez Taboada et al., pp. 25–49, esp. 35–38.

The above context may illuminate the initial verse of Ibn Zamrak's great poem from the mid-14th century, which dominated the lower part of the southern wing of the Nasrid palace: "Oh, place where the heroic king manifests!"[24] We believe that this verse explains the function of the southern wing of the palace, that is, to present the majesty of the Nasrid sovereign to his subjects. This should be probably understood as the survival of former ideas rooted in the visual culture of power in the Mediterranean context, such as: the window of appearances (the place, window, or gallery through which the sovereign could be seen from the outside by his subjects), which already existed in Ancient Egypt;[25] the monumental structures erected in the upper part of the façade of the Umayyad castles-palaces in the Syrian-Jordan desert during the 7th and 8th centuries or, later, in Abbasid Samarra;[26] the *qubba* that crowned the great portico of Madinat al-Zahra from the 10th century, from which the caliph would present himself to the troops;[27] or the great monumental architecture built as a large palace at the entrance to the Ayyubid citadel of Aleppo, during the Mamluk period, between the 13th and 14th centuries.[28] All of this leads us to raise the following hypothesis: that during the mid-14th century, between the Nasrid Emirate of Granada of Muhammad V and the Castilian court of Pedro I, the forms of representation of royal authority were redefined; throughout the 15th century, these forms were not forgotten but rather continuously repeated.

5 The 15th Century: The Alcazar of Segovia and the Noble Palaces

During the first half of the 15th century, a big opening with Moorish decorations, and from which the king could be seen, was built on the east side of the

24 Puerta Vílchez, *Leer la Alhambra*, p. 85.

25 Palace of Ramses III in Medinet-Habu (Thebes, Egypt).

26 Qasr al-Hayr al Gharbi, Jirbat al-Mafyar, etc. Oleg Grabar, *Ceremonial and Art at the Umayyad Court* (Princeton University, 1955), pp. 128–40; Patricia Carlier, and Frederic Morin, "Recherches achéologiques au château de Qastal (Jordanie)," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities* 28 (1984), 343–83; Gulru Necipoglu, "An outline of shifting paradigms in the palatial architecture of the pre-modern Islamic world," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993), 3–24, esp. 10–11; Jonathan M. Bloom, "The Qubbat al-Khadra' and the iconology of Height in Eartly Islamic Architecture," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993), 135–42; Alastair Northedge, "An interpretation of the Palace of the Caliph at Samarra (Dar al-Khilafa or Jawsaq al-Khaqani)," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993), 143–70.

27 Almagro, Antonio, "Conjunto Arqueológico de Madinat al-Zahra (Córdoba). Pórtico Oriental. Alzado general restituido," in *Arquitectura en Al-Andalus. Documentos para el siglo XXI* , ed. Alfonso Jiménez (Barcelona, 1996), pp. 214–15.

28 Yasser Tabbaa, "Circles of power: palace, citadel and city in ayyubid Aleppo," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993), 143–70.

great entrance tower of the Alcazar de Segovia, known as the Tower of Juan II.[29] While it has since been filled by a Gothic-style double window (Figure. 14.5), originally it was a single larger opening that reached the level of the floor, as the two preserved jambs show. This meant that the king was visible in full length. Intense restoration of the site has revealed another horseshoe arch, at the same level and with the same royal and visual meaning, on the south side of the Tower of Juan II.

During the Middle Ages, some sort of triumphal arch with heraldic decoration probably served as an entrance to the great Alcazar, on its south-eastern corner beyond the moat. Nowadays, that entrance has a different appearance, due to the renovations made by the Habsburgs in that area during the 16th century.[30]

The great mid-15th-century castle of the Fonseca family in Coca (Segovia) has been preserved. In this case, the nobility seemed to copy the models defined by the monarchy. Its external appearance, with its richly plastered and painted walls simulating a great theatrical and ephemeral fabric construction, makes it unique and exceptional among the preserved civic heritage from that period in Castile.[31] The fortress has two external entrances. The eastern or main one is a monumental access with two towers as well as a decorative brick arch flanked by coats of arms, which in turn leads to an inner square. In the body of the castle, a great elevated section, again, has been thoroughly preserved. In its inner part we can still see a vault with Gothic ribs painted and simulated, that enabled the lord of the fortress to make himself visible. The western and southern façades preserve some windows, but the spectacular character of the main entrance is undoubtedly higher. In addition, that is where the inner space, or square, delineated by the external wall of the castle and the internal body of the fortress, has the largest dimensions.

The castle-palace of Belmonte, property of the Pacheco family, the marquises of Villena, was built around the same time. Despite the restorations made in the 19th century by Eugenia de Montijo, most of its medieval structure survives. The original main entrance can still be seen, though it is currently disabled. That access, with a southwest orientation, faces the village and opens

29 On the mentioned 'Torre de Juan II' in the Alcázar of Segóvia, see: Juan Antonio Ruiz Hernando, "El Alcázar de Segovia, desde los orígenes al siglo XV," in *El Alcázar de Segovia. Bicentenario 1808–2008*, ed. Patronato de El Alcázar de Segovia (Segovia, 2010), pp. 45–91, esp. 70.

30 José Miguel Merino de Cáceres, "El Alcázar de los Austrias," in *El Alcázar de Segovia*, pp. 115–47, esp. 138.

31 Carmen Rallo Gruss, "El Castillo de Coca y su ornamentación," *Anales de Historia del Arte* 6 (1996), 13–34.

into one of the fortified towers of the fortress walls. Another characteristic of that entrance that can still be observed is the heraldry of Juan Pacheco: a shell that undoubtedly refers to the Orden de Santiago (Order of Santiago), in which the marquis held the position of master from 1467 until his death in 1474, during the reign of Enrique IV. On that same door, but within the body of the castle and once crossed the parapet walk, there is another great section that connects to the main hall of the palace and from which the marquis could lean out.

In the late 15th century, the castle-palace of the Mendoza family, in Manzanares el Real, repeated exactly the same formula as in Coca. Its main monumental entrance, with the coat of arms at the keystone of its arch, leads into the castle, and in its central upper part another great medieval section connects directly with the upper gallery of the castle's courtyard.

In the same years, we find an identical kind of structure adopting late Gothic forms. In Ayllón in the late 15th century, Juan de Contreras built a majestic palace next to the wall enclosing the city. Framed by an *alfiz* (an Islamic decorative rectangular moulding), the great façade displays large coats of arms and an inscription that refers to the patron and to the Catholic monarchs and mentions the date 1497. In a narrow space between the wall's front and the palace façade, a small triumphal arch was erected and decorated with the heraldry of the lords of the village; it was renovated in the 16th century, when the coat of arms of the marquises of Villena was inserted. This arch can be considered the true starting point for the typology of the square dominated by the abovementioned monumental façade. It is rather remarkable that the heraldry was inserted on the inner arch and not on the external door of the wall itself. Many of the great Castilian palaces of the 15th century probably already had analogous preceding spaces, or courtyards, identified with a triumphal structure.

The insertion of the courtyard preceding the palace had been a commonplace practice since the late 14th century in the Hispanic world, as can be seen in the old palace of Olite. There, Carlos III bought some houses with the intention of demolishing them to open up an empty space at the feet of the old palace, in keeping with uses already established in 14th-century Castile. From the elevated hall that led to the square, the Navarrese monarch could make himself visible. Surely, the intervention of Queen Leonor, originally from Castile and employing her own master builder, facilitated the introduction of Castilian models to the palatine-construction policy of the Navarrese monarchy.[32]

32 Javier Martínez de Aguirre, *Arte y monarquía en Navarra 1328–1425* (Pamplona, 1987), pp. 143, 146.

6 The *Rey en Siella*. Multi-functional Spaces and Settings for King's Images

Every palace or important house included a throne room – called 'rey en siella'[33] (king seating on the throne), as stated in written sources. It was in this distinctively multi-functional room that political events and ceremonies, such as the reception of ambassadors and other personalities; feasts; and literary, musical, and magic performances took place. It was a chameleonic space that, depending on its decoration, variously consisting of fabrics, tapestries, and tableware, could be made suitable for the shifting needs of each moment.[34]

The *Libro del Caballero Zifar* (Book of the Knight Zifar) perfectly illustrates the space I am describing, referring to the palace of the Dueña del Lago (Lady of the Lake), where stands were located at varying heights on the occasion of receptions for the kingdom's nobles. After the official audience, a meal was served with lavish tableware and even more lavish delicacies. Then, minstrels, magicians, and musicians made their entrance.[35] Examples of this include the Salón de Embajadores (Ambassadors' Hall) of the Palace of Comares in the Alhambra, with its centralized floor plan and nine surrounding alcoves; the Salón de Tinell (Tinell's Hall) (Figure. 14.6) of the royal palace of Barcelona, with a rectangular floor plan; and the Cuarto del Almirante (Room of the Admiral) of the Alcazar of Seville, more consistent with Andalusian types.[36] The nobility would, thereafter, repeat these monarchical models.

7 Other Court Spaces of Knowledge and Literature. Towards the Prince's Hall of Virtue? *Adab* and *Maŷlis*

> … and I had a great and beautiful palace made and wrote on the walls all of the knowledge that I ought to show and learn: all the stars and all the figures and all the things.[37]

---

33 We find this expression several times in the 14th-century *Poema de Alfonso Onceno*, for instance, in verse 60: *Real caballero en siella* (*the king sitting on the throne*). *Poema de Alfonso Onceno*, ed. Juan Victorio (Madrid, 1991), p. 155.

34 Olga Pérez Monzón, "'Ornado de tapicerías y aparadores de muchas vaxillas de oro e plata'. Magnificencia y poder en la arquitectura bajomedieval castellana," in *Palacio y Génesis*, eds. Martínez Taboada et al., pp. 259–85.

35 *Libro del Caballero Zifar*, ed. Joaquín González Muela (Madrid, 1990), pp. 216–18.

36 For a broad repertoire, see: Antonio Almagro Gorbea, *Palacios medievales hispanos* (Madrid, 2008).

37 *Sendebar,* ed. María Jesús Lacarra (Madrid, 2007), pp. 72–73.

This quote from the interesting work *Sendebar*, which the prince Don Fadrique had translated from Arabic in 1253, refers to the construction of a palace for the education of the prince, a residence where he could study in undisturbed isolation.[38] This is not the only piece of literature alluding to the construction of architectural spaces tailored to the cultivation of knowledge and education as well as meetings among wise men; indeed, this was a very common theme in the mirror of princes literary genre, one clearly demonstrating the nobility's attempts to shape themselves in the king's image.[39]

In this respect, contemporary prose provides much information about court life and its idealized representation. This is exactly where, in our opinion, the prince's hall of virtue appears to have born. In the words of Gómez Redondo:

> The analysis of medieval literary fiction must draw from two preliminary considerations: 1) fiction is a narrative process that entails the discovery of a series of real images, first invented and subsequently imitated; 2) for this reason, fiction constitutes the safest means to discover both the reality and the various relationships that the individual maintains with it … fiction articulates communication mechanisms that enable the human being to acquire specific features of identity …[40]

These properties of fiction allowed for the creation of a new image of the king[41] and, relatedly, the emergence of literary spaces in which his courtly

38 See the introduction by María Jesús Lacarra in: *Sendebar,* pp. 37–41. She reminds us of important medieval texts on this subject.

39 Regarding this cultural context, see: *La Literatura en la época de Sancho IV, Actas del Congreso Internacional, Alcalá de Henares 21–24 de febrero de 1994,* eds. Carlos Alvar, and José Manuel Lucía Megias (Alcalá de Henares, 1996); Fernando Gómez Redondo, *El desarrollo de los géneros. La ficción caballeresca y el orden religioso* (Madrid, 1999), pp. 1225–770; Rosa María Rodríguez Porto, "María de Molina y la Educación de Alfonso XI: la 'Semblanzas de Reyes' del Ms. 7415 de la Biblioteca Nacional," *Quintana* 5 (2006), 219–31.

40 Fernando Gómez Redondo, *Historia de la prosa medieval castellana. II El desarrollo de los géneros. La ficción caballeresca y el orden religioso* (Madrid, 1999), p. 1315.

41 Olga Pérez Monzón has published many important works on this subject; see, for instance: Olga Pérez Monzón, "Iconografía y poder real en Castilla. Las imágenes de Alfonso VIII," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 16 (2002), 19–41; Olga Pérez Monzón, "La dimensión artística de las relaciones de conflicto," in *La monarquía como conflicto en la Corona castellano-leonesa* (*c. 1230–1504*), ed. José Manuel Nieto Soria (Madrid, 2006), pp. 547–620; Olga Pérez Monzón, "*Quando rey perdemos nunq*[*u*]*a bien nos fallamos*. La muerte del rey en la Castilla del siglo XIII," *Archivo Español de Arte*, 80/320 (2007), 379–94; Olga Pérez Monzón, "Heráldica *versus* imagen," in *Alfonso X el Sabio,* ed. Isidro G. Bango Torviso (Murcia, 2009), pp. 94–101; Olga Pérez Monzón, "Ceremonias

qualities could be performed. Moreover, such texts place an emphasis on the ideal knowledge and virtues of the knight. At this point, we should introduce the Islamic notion of *adab*, studied by Susana Calvo Capilla,[42] which can be understood as the body of knowledge and virtues that every good ruler or lord should have. More broadly, an important role is played by the *maŷlis*, i.e. meetings of wise men, literary figures, and teachers, all chaired by the ruler. But this was not a new practice: as Cynthia Robinson has pointed out, the Casa del Regocijo (House of Joy), commonly known as the Aljaferia, may have hosted such literary meetings at the Taifa court of Zaragoza in the 11th century.[43]

In this context, we are now able to understand that, alongside history, science and justice, gambling, hunting and, of course, the rich literary world in its entirety, had their significance too. In this period, literature seeks to secure victory in a fictitious reality full of adversities (fantastic journeys, fighting supernatural beings, tournaments in the tradition of courtly love) by recreating, in its own way, intellectually and physically, the battle and the victory, which before seemed to be confined to the battlefield.

8 Literature and History: The Palace of the Lions in the Alhambra, Palace of the Montería in the Alcazar of Seville, the Alcázar of Segovia, the Infantado Palace of Guadalajara, and the Castle of Belmonte

The literary context offered in the previous section allows for a better understanding of the Palacio de los Leones (Palace of the Lions) in the Alhambra (Figure. 14.7) and the Palacio de la Montería (Palace of the Montería) in the Alcazar of Seville. We have addressed the functional character of the Nasrid palace in previous studies, and we will now revisit it. Among the three painted

regias en la Castilla Medieval. A propósito del llamado 'Libro de la Coronación de los Reyes de Castilla y Aragón'," *Archivo Español de Arte* 83/332 (2010), 317–34.

42 Susana Calvo Capilla, "Ciencia y adab en el islam. Los espacios palatinos dedicados al saber," in *Palacio y Génesis*, eds. Martínez Taboada et al., pp. 51–78; Susana Calvo Capilla, "Images and Knowledge of Classical Antiquity in the Palace of Madinat al-Zahra' (Cordoba, 10th century): Its Role in the Construction of the Caliphal Legitimacy," *Muqarnas* 31 (2014), 1–33; Susana Calvo Capilla, "Espacios de conocimiento en el Islam: Mezquitas, Casas de Sabiduría y Madrasas," in *Domus Hispanica. El Real Colegio de España y el Cardenal Albornoz en la Historia del Arte*, ed. Manuel Parada López de Corselas (Bolonia, 2018), pp. 179–94.

43 Cynthia Robinson, *In praise of song. The Making of Courtly Culture in al-Andalus and Provence, 1005–1134 A.D.* (Leiden, 2002).

domes in the King's Hall or Hall of Justice, to the east of the Palace of the Lions, the outer ones display scenes inspired by literature, whereas the central vault shows figures engaged in conversation (Figure. 14.8).[44] Because the coat of arms of the king appears in small dimensions beneath each of these figures and, on a larger scale, at either end of the oblong composition, this is likely a *maŷlis* scene of Muhammad V with his wise men.[45] In the Sevillian example, on the other hand, the first thing that captures our attention are the references to history in the repurposed Roman, Visigothic, and Umayyad materials[46] of the King's Gallery of the Salón de Embajadores (Hall of Ambassadors) and the references to literature in the scenes within the medallions of the northern and southern rooms of the Hall of Ambassadors, some of which have to do with the *Libro del Caballero Zifar*.[47]

With its iconographic references to history and literature, the Sala de los Reyes (Room of the Kings) in the Alcazar of Segovia operated along the same lines. Though its origin dates back to the second half of the 13th century, there is no doubt about Henry IV's involvement in both its conception and final form.[48] The room features a gallery displaying the seated rulers of Castile and

44 *Courting The Alhambra. Cross-disciplinary approaches to the Hall of Justice Ceiling*, eds. Cynthia Robinson, and Simone Pinet (Special offprint of Medieval Encounters) 14/2–3 (Leiden, 2008).

45 Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "El palacio de los Leones de la Alhambra: ¿Madrasa, Zâwiya y Tumba de Muhammad V?," *Al-Qantara* 22/1 (2001), 77–120; Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "El Palacio de los Leones. Al-riyāḍ al-saʾīd, el Jardín Feliz del Conocimiento," in *Domus Hispanica: el Real Colegio de España en la historia del arte* (*1364–2014*), ed. Manuel Parada López de Corselas (Bolonia, 2017), pp. 195–210; Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "El Palacio de los Leones de la Alhambra: Espacio de Virtud del Príncipe," in *The Power of Symbols: The Alhambra in a Global Context,* eds. Francine Giese, and Ariane Varela (Berlin, 2018), pp. 79–92.

46 Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, Alfonso X y Pedro I ante las 'reliquias arquitectónicas' del pasado en la construcción de la identidad de España. Historicismos antiguos," in *Reyes y prelados: la creación artística en los reinos de León y Castilla* (*1050–1500*), eds. María Dolores Teijeira Pablos, María Victoria Herráez Ortega, and María Concepción Cosmen Alonso (Madrid, 2014), pp. 219–30.

47 Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "El Palacio de la Montería del Alcázar de Sevilla. Contrapunto y futuro en el tardogótico," in *1514. Arquitectos tardogóticos en la encrucijada*, eds. Begoña Alonso Ruiz, and Juan Clemente Rodríguez Estévez (Sevilla, 2016), pp. 319–37, esp. 329.

48 Miguel Ángel Castillo Oreja, "Imagen del rey, símbolos de la monarquía y divisas de los reinos: de las series de linajes de la Baja Edad Media a las galerías de retratos del Renacimiento," in *Galería de Reyes y de Damas del Salón de Embajadores, Alcázar de Sevilla*, ed. Miguel Ángel Castillo Oreja (Madrid, 2002), pp. 1–39; David Nogales Rincón, "Las series iconográficas de la realeza castellano-leonesa (siglos XII-XV)," *En la España Medieval* 1 (2006), 81–112, esp. 83–86; Ignacio Hernández, "El Alcázar en tiempos de la dinastía trastámara," in *El Alcázar de Segovia*, pp. 95–112, esp. 104; David Chao, *Iconografía regia en la Castilla de los Trastámara* (Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 2005).

León, among whom we find the legendary figure of El Cid. The programme of the Sala de los Reyes evokes the past as a source of political legitimacy. This differs from the same Alcazar's solemn Salón del Solio (Hall of the Throne), intended as a throne room (Figure. 14.9) in keeping with the *qubba* tradition in which the ruling king exhibited himself 'en siella' (seated).

The Salón de Linajes (Hall of Lineage), along with the halls of Salvajes (Savages), Cazadores (Hunters) and Consejos (Council), in the Palacio del Infantado of Guadalajara, a property of the Mendoza family built in the late 15th century, should be interpreted through this same lens, given their same references inspired by history and literature.[49]

We turn now to the square plant room of the castle-palace of Belmonte, known as a chapel but, in our view, intended for a very different purpose. The lower register of its wooden dome displays themes that refer, once again, to the rich tradition of mid-15th-century courtly literature: a knight and a lady playing chess, hunting scenes, a scene involving a unicorn, and other themes all of which refer again to the rich tradition of mid-15th century courtly literature. The two splayed windows are embellished with vegetal motifs, including coats of arms and fantastic animals. The vegetal ornaments continue around the dome of the room, seeking to evoke a natural yet fantastic space.[50]

The room in the castle-palace of Belmonte can be seen from the exterior through the octagonal tower on its top. It communicates with the main hall of the palace, where the above-mentioned palace section, through which the marquis made himself visible, is located. Moreover, and certainly due to its literary associations, it is connected to a small, well-protected room in a tower, which was probably meant to house books and documents. In fact, despite the lack of any corroborating evidence, this would have been the ideal location for storing the marquis of Villena's 'treasure,' including books and documents, along with other valuable objects – and this function is all the more likely given the room's connection to such a 'literary' space as the square plant room of the castle.

In sum, we believe that all the evidence presented here attests to the origins of the so-called prince's halls of virtue, which would become very common in the modern age and in which we find a combined emphasis upon a prince's victory on the battlefield and his historical lineage, among other aspects of his prestige.

49 Francisco Layna Serrano, *El Palacio del Infantado en Guadalajara* (Guadalajara, 1997).
50 Miguel Salas Parrilla, *El Castillo de Belmonte* (Madrid, 2010), pp. 32–41.

9 The *Andamios* and the External Stage

We would now like to turn to the elevated galleries, known as *andamios* during the Middle Ages, which were closely linked with the literary world invoked in the previous section.[51] In both the castle of Coca (Segovia) and the castle of Manzanares (Madrid), we find at the highest part of the building a gallery, which probably served as a position from which to view the land outside the castle, where jousts, tournaments, and other kinds of events would have taken place (Figure. 14.10).

These galleries were not built for temperature-control purposes: while the gallery is located on the southern side in the case of Manzanares, in Coca it occupies the northern wing of the castle, as it likewise does in the castle of the Álvarez de Toledo family in Oropesa (Toledo). In addition, the *andamios* rarely coincide with the area of the main access to the castle, though this can be found in the Palacio del Infantado in Guadalajara, where the *andamios* are located on the entrance façade of the building. From the *andamio* of Coca Castle, an artificial scene can be enjoyed, framed by the moat that surrounds the castle and the slope coming from it.

The *andamios* at Coca and at Manzanares have a distinct balcony at their centres, probably reserved for the lord of the palace. We believe that the high gallery preserved in the top floor of the southern side of the Palacio de la Montería in the Alcazar of Seville, built in the late 15th century under the rule of the Catholic monarchs, may have had a function similar to that of the *andamios*, considering its rich heraldic decoration based on the repetition of the joke-and-arrows badge.

10 Forms and Messages without Frontiers in a Shared Cultural Context. Egypt, Venice, Al-Andalus, Castile, and Naples

Obviously, Castile and Granada are no exceptions within the larger Mediterranean world. For example, the spectacular nature of the great gates of access to the cities erected in the 15th century, such as that at Valencia, cannot be overlooked.[52] However, to observe the continuity of spectacular elements rooted in antiquity and bearing witness to a shared visual culture of power, we

51 *Libro del Caballero Zifar,* p. 92.

52 Amadeo Serra Desfilis, "Promotores, tradiciones e innovación en la arquitectura valenciana del siglo XV," *Goya* 334 (2011), 58–73.

must go beyond the Iberian Peninsula, to Cairo, Naples, or Venice. Indeed, this wider region was connected by merchants and clear economic interests.

For example, the Doge's Palace in Venice was built in such a way as to establish a visual dialogue with the great *iwan* of Cairo, a Mamluk structure from the 14th century.[53] In the same period, the great tower of Comares was being erected in the Alhambra, as an architectural marker of the palatine city. It, too, was probably inspired by the image of power of the great *iwan* al-Nasir from the Mamluk period in Cairo,[54] the undisputed capital of the Mediterranean in the late Middle Ages.

Equally important is the great palace-fortress of Castelnuovo in Naples.[55] The main entrance to the palace features a large triumphal arch, with rich decoration in relief narrating the arrival to the city of King Alfonso el Magnánimo (Alfonso the Magnanimous) in 1443 (Figure. 14.11).[56] The tribune for the presentation of the ruler is located directly above. In contrast to the façade of the Montería in Seville, here the monarch appears not only above an inscription referring to him but also above an image of him in relief. Inside, the large Sala dei Baroni (Hall of the Barons), built by the Majorcan Guillem Sagrera, would serve as the great throne room. This space is conceived in Gothic forms as a Castilian *qubba* (square plan and domed) (Figure. 14.12). We should recall that Alfonso was born in the royal palace of Medina del Campo (Valladolid), where there was also a *qubba*. As the son of Fernando de Antequera and grandson of Juan I of Castile, he belonged to the Trastámara dynasty, the royal family of Castile, and he used art with a clear political sense. All of these works were the result of the reforms conducted by Alfonso the Magnanimous between 1442 and 1458.[57] Other examples can be found among the palatine constructions in

53 Deborah Howard, "Venise et le Mamlûks," in *Venise et l'Orient,* ed. Stefano Carboni (Paris, 2006), pp. 72–89.

54 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "The Citadel of Cairo: stage for mamluk ceremonial," *Annales Islamologiques* 24 (1988) 25–79, esp. 34–45; Nasser Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo. A new interpretation of royal mamluk architecture* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 244–250; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks. A History of the Architecture and its Culture* (London, 2007), pp. 175–78; Nasser Rabbat, *Mamluk History through architecture. Monuments, Culture and Politics in Medieval Egypt and Syria* (Cairo, 2010), pp. 157–65.

55 Rosa Chilà, "Castelnuovo, forteresse et résidence d'Alphonse le Magnanime a Naples" in *Palacio y Génesis,* eds. Martínez Taboada et al., pp. 431–44.

56 Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "Alberti e la porta trionfale de Castel Nuovo a Napoli," *Annali di architecttura* 20 (2008), 13–36.

57 Enrico di Nicola, "Arquitectura del siglo XV en Campania," in *Una arquitectura gótica mediterránea* 2, ed. Arturo Zaragozá Catalán (Valencia, 2003), pp. 99–114; Joan Domenge i Mesquida, "La gran sala de Castelnuovo. Memoria del Alphonsis regis triumphus," in

France, such as the castle-palace of Vincennes[58] or the Palace of the Popes in Avignon.[59]

Finally, it is also important to go beyond the cold and naked architectural spaces. Our interpretation would not be complete without an understanding of the use of rich fabrics to cover the walls of the most important halls, which would allow them to change as needed, just like a person changes clothing. This practice was incredibly developed in late medieval Al-Andalus, where the most precious silks served as a source of inspiration for amazing plasterworks that can still be seen in the palaces of the Alhambra.

11 Conclusions

This article has shown a distinctive concept of royal portraiture and its iconology by investigating the architectural and spatial framing of the real king during the period of the *de facto* genesis of the modern state in Castile, between the 14th and 15th centuries. The research revealed al-Andalus and its architectures to be important sources for the Crown of Castile and León, spanning east and west, past and present, and working across religious and historiographic frontiers. We have considered royal palaces, façades, and courtyards, among other specialized spaces and stages in and on which the new image of the king was shaped and expressed through architecture. To study these specialized settings is to study the image of the king's power and wisdom as well as related notions of his authority over history, over the present, and over the future. Irrespective of his real presence, he – meaning, his authority or political body – was always present in these palaces. In conjunction, we must also consider the new audiences that emerged in medieval society between the 13th and the 15th centuries. The new king needed for his political project a new nobility, an emerging bourgeoisie, professional officers, and a standing army. All of these shaped a new society and became new audiences for a new royal portrait.

Le usate leggiadrie. I cortei, le cerimonie, le feste e il costume nel Mediterraneo tra il XV e XVI secolo, Atti del convegno-Napoli, 14–16 dicembre 2006, ed. Gemma Teresa Colesanti (Montella 2010), pp. 290–338.

58 Jean Chapelot, "L'Hôtel du Roi á Vincennes: Charles V dans son logis," in *La cour du prince. Cour de France, cours d'Europe, XII^e–XV^e siècle*, eds. Murielle Gaude-Ferragu, Bruno Laurioux, and Jacques Paviot (Paris, 2011), pp. 145–76.

59 Dominique Vingtain, *Avignon. Le Palais des Papes* (Auxerre, 1998).

Bibliography

Secondary Sources

Alfonso X, *Las Siete Partidas, Glosadas por el licenciado Gregorio López del Consejo Real de Indias de su Magestad, Salamanca 1555* 1 (Edición facsimilar Madrid, 1985).

Almagro, Antonio, "Conjunto Arqueológico de Madinat al-Zahra (Córdoba). Pórtico Oriental. Alzado general restituido," in *Arquitectura en Al-Andalus. Documentos para el siglo XXI* , ed. Alfonso Jiménez (Barcelona, 1996), pp. 214–15.

Almagro Gorbea, Antonio, "La recuperación del jardín medieval del Patio de las Doncellas," *Apuntes del Alcázar* 6 (2005), 45–67.

Almagro Gorbea, Antonio, *Palacios medievales hispanos* (Madrid, 2008).

Almagro Gorbea, Antonio, "Los palacios de Pedro I. La arquitectura al servicio del poder," in *Palacio y Génesis del Estado Moderno en los Reinos Hispanos. VI Jornadas Complutenses de Arte Medieval*, eds. Pilar Martínez Taboada, Elena Paulino Montero, and Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, *Anales de Historia del Arte* 23/2 (2013), pp. 25–49.

Behrens-Abouseif, Doris, "The Citadel of Cairo: stage for mamluk ceremonial," *Annales Islamologiques* 24 (1988) 25–79.

Behrens-Abouseif, Doris, *Cairo of the Mamluks. A History of the Architecture and its Culture* (London, 2007).

Bloom, Jonathan M., "The Qubbat al-Khadra' and the iconolography of Height in Eartly Islamic Architecture," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993), 135–42.

Calvo Capilla, Susana, "Ciencia y adab en el islam. Los espacios palatinos dedicados al saber," in *Palacio y Génesis del Estado Moderno en los Reinos Hispanos. VI Jornadas Complutenses de Arte Medieval*, eds. Pilar Martínez Taboada, Elena Paulino Montero, and Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, *Anales de Historia del Arte* 23/2 (2013), pp. 51–78.

Calvo Capilla, Susana, "Images and Knowledge of Classical Antiquity in the Palace of Madinat al-Zahra' (Cordoba, 10th century): Its Role in the Construction of the Caliphal Legitimacy," *Muqarnas* 31 (2014), 1–33.

Calvo Capilla, Susana, "Espacios de conocimiento en el Islam: Mezquitas, Casas de Sabiduría y Madrasas," in *Domus Hispanica. El Real Colegio de España y el Cardenal Albornoz en la Historia del Arte*, ed. Manuel Parada López de Corselas (Bolonia, 2018), pp. 179–94.

Carlier, Patricia, and Morin, Frederic, "Recherches achéologiques au château de Qastal (Jordanie)," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities* 28 (1984), 343–83.

Castillo Oreja, Miguel Ángel, "Imagen del rey, símbolos de la monarquía y divisas de los reinos: de las series de linajes de la Baja Edad Media a las galerías de retratos del Renacimiento," in *Galería de Reyes y de Damas del Salón de Embajadores, Alcázar de Sevilla*, ed. Miguel Ángel Castillo Oreja (Madrid, 2002), pp. 1–39.

Chao, David, *Iconografía regia en la Castilla de los Trastámara* (Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 2005).

Chapelot, Jean, "L'Hôtel du Roi á Vincennes: Charles V dans son logis," in *La cour du prince. Cour de France, cours d'Europe, XII^e–XV^e siècle*, eds. Murielle Gaude-Ferragu, Bruno Laurioux, and Jacques Paviot (Paris, 2011), pp. 145–76.

Chilà, Rosa, "Castelnuovo, forteresse et résidence d'Alphonse le Magnanime a Naples" in *Palacio y Génesis del Estado Moderno en los Reinos Hispanos. VI Jornadas Complutenses de Arte Medieval*, eds. Pilar Martínez Taboada, Elena Paulino Montero, and Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, *Anales de Historia del Arte* 23/2 (2013), pp. 431–44.

Cómez Ramos, Rafael, "Las casas del infante don Fadrique y el convento de Santa Clara de Sevilla," *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos* 34 (2007), 95–116.

Courting The Alhambra. Cross-disciplinary approaches to the Hall of Justice Ceiling, eds. Cynthia Robinson, and Simone Pinet (Special offprint of Medieval Encounters) 14/2–3 (Leiden, 2008).

Dessus Lamare, Alfred, "Étude sur le bahw, organe d'architecture musulmane," *Journal Asiatique* (1936), 529–47.

di Nicola, Enrico, "Arquitectura del siglo XV en Campania," in *Una arquitectura gótica mediterránea* 2, ed. Arturo Zaragozá Catalán (Valencia, 2003), pp. 99–114.

Domenge i Mesquida, Joan, "La gran sala de Castelnuovo. Memoria del Alphonsis regis triumphus," in *Le usate leggiadrie. I cortei, le cerimonie, le feste e il costume nel Mediterraneo tra il XV e XVI secolo*, *Atti del convegno-Napoli, 14–16 dicembre 2006*, ed. Gemma Teresa Colesanti (Montella 2010), pp. 290–338.

Ebersolt, Jean, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople et le Livre de Cérémonies* (Paris, 1910).

Featherstone, Jeffrey Michael, "The Great Palace as Reflected in the De Cerimoniis," in *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft*, ed. Franz Alto Bauer, *Byzas* 5 (Istanbul, 2006), pp. 47–61.

Frommel, Christoph Luitpold, "Alberti e la porta trionfale de Castel Nuovo a Napoli," *Annali di architecttura* 20 (2008), 13–36.

Gámiz Gordo, Antonio, *La Alhambra nazarí. Apuntes sobre su paisaje y arquitectura* (Sevilla, 2001).

Gómez Redondo, Fernando, *El desarrollo de los géneros. La ficción caballeresca y el orden religioso* (Madrid, 1999).

Gómez Redondo, Fernando, *Historia de la prosa medieval castellana. II El desarrollo de los géneros. La ficción caballeresca y el orden religioso* (Madrid, 1999).

Grabar, Oleg, *Ceremonial and Art at the Umayyad Court* (Princeton University, 1955).

Hernández, Ignacio, "El Alcázar en tiempos de la dinastía trastámara," in *El Alcázar de Segovia. Bicentenario 1808–2008*, ed. Patronato de El Alcázar de Segovia (Segovia, 2010), pp. 95–112.

Howard, Deborah, "Venise et le Mamlûks," in *Venise et l'Orient,* ed. Stefano Carboni (Paris, 2006), pp. 72–89.

La Literatura en la época de Sancho IV, Actas del Congreso Internacional, Alcalá de Henares 21–24 de febrero de 1994, eds. Carlos Alvar, and José Manuel Lucía Megias (Alcalá de Henares, 1996).

La planimetría del Alcázar de Sevilla, ed. Antonio Almagro Gorbea (Granada, 2000).

Layna Serrano, Francisco, *El Palacio del Infantado en Guadalajara* (Guadalajara, 1997).

Libro del Caballero Zifar, ed. Joaquín González Muela (Madrid, 1990).

Marquer, Julie, "El poder escrito: problemáticas y significación de las inscripciones árabes de los palacios de Pedro I de Castilla (1350–1369)," in *Palacio y Génesis del Estado Moderno en los Reinos Hispanos. VI Jornadas Complutenses de Arte Medieval*, eds. Pilar Martínez Taboada, Elena Paulino Montero, and Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, *Anales de Historia del Arte* 23/2 (2013), pp. 499–508.

Martínez de Aguirre, Javier, *Arte y monarquía en Navarra 1328–1425* (Pamplona, 1987).

Merino de Cáceres, José Miguel, "El Alcázar de los Austrias," in *El Alcázar de Segovia. Bicentenario 1808–2008*, ed. Patronato de El Alcázar de Segovia (Segovia, 2010), pp. 115–47.

Necipoglu, Gulru, "An outline of shifting paradigms in the palatial architecture of the pre-modern Islamic world," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993), 3–24.

Nogales Rincón, David, "Las series iconográficas de la realeza castellano-leonesa (siglos XII-XV)," *En la España Medieval* 1 (2006), 81–112.

Northedge, Alastair, "An interpretation of the Palace of the Caliph at Samarra (Dar al-Khilafa or Jawsaq al-Khaqani)," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993), 143–70.

Oliva Muñoz, Pablo, Jiménez Sancho, Alfonso, and Tabales Rodríguez, Miguel Ángel, "Primera fase de estudios arqueológicos en el Real Monasterio de Santa Clara de Sevilla," *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía 2003* 1 (Sevilla, 2006), pp. 336–51.

Pérez Monzón, Olga, "Iconografía y poder real en Castilla. Las imágenes de Alfonso VIII," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 16 (2002), 19–41.

Pérez Monzón, Olga, "La dimensión artística de las relaciones de conflicto," in *La monarquía como conflicto en la Corona castellano-leonesa* (*c. 1230–1504*), ed. José Manuel Nieto Soria (Madrid, 2006), pp. 547–620.

Pérez Monzón, Olga, "*Quando rey perdemos nunq*[*u*]*a bien nos fallamos*. La muerte del rey en la Castilla del siglo XIII," *Archivo Español de Arte*, 80/320 (2007), 379–94.

Pérez Monzón, Olga, "Ceremonias regias en la Castilla Medieval. A propósito del llamado 'Libro de la Coronación de los Reyes de Castilla y Aragón'," *Archivo Español de Arte* 83/332 (2010), 317–34.

Pérez Monzón, Olga, " 'Ornado de tapicerías y aparadores de muchas vaxillas de oro e plata'. Magnificencia y poder en la arquitectura bajomedieval castellana," in *Palacio y Génesis del Estado Moderno en los Reinos Hispanos. VI Jornadas Complutenses de Arte Medieval*, eds. Pilar Martínez Taboada, Elena Paulino Montero, and Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, *Anales de Historia del Arte* 23/2 (2013), pp. 259–85.

Oliva Muñoz, Pablo, and Tabales Rodríguez, Miguel Ángel, "Los restos islámicos y el Palacio de don Fadrique," in *Real Monasterio de Santa Clara. 2 Palacio y Cenobio*, ed. José Solís Guzmán (Sevilla, 2007), pp. 13–21.

Puerta Vílchez José Miguel, *Leer la Alhambra. Guía visual del monumento a través de sus inscripciones* (Granada, 2010).

Rabbat, Nasser, *The Citadel of Cairo. A new interpretation of royal mamluk architecture* (Leiden, 1995).

Rabbat, Nasser, *Mamluk History through architecture. Monuments, Culture and Politics in Medieval Egypt and Syria* (Cairo, 2010).

Rallo Gruss, Carmen, "El Castillo de Coca y su ornamentación," *Anales de Historia del Arte* 6 (1996), 13–34.

Poema de Alfonso Onceno, ed. Juan Victorio (Madrid, 1991).

Robinson, Cynthia, *In praise of song. The Making of Courtly Culture in al-Andalus and Provence, 1005–1134 A.D.* (Leiden, 2002).

Rodríguez Porto, Rosa María, "María de Molina y la Educación de Alfonso XI: la 'Semblanzas de Reyes' del Ms. 7415 de la Biblioteca Nacional," *Quintana* 5 (2006), 219–31.

Ruiz Hernando, Juan Antonio, "El Alcázar de Segovia, desde los orígenes al siglo XV," in *El Alcázar de Segovia. Bicentenario 1808–2008*, ed. Patronato de El Alcázar de Segovia (Segovia, 2010), pp. 45–91.

Ruiz Souza, Juan Carlos, "La Iglesia de Santa Clara de Tordesillas. Nuevas consideraciones para su estudio," *Reales Sitios* 36/140 (1999), 2–13.

Ruiz Souza, Juan Carlos, "La cúpula de mocárabes y el Palacio de los Leones de la Alhambra," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 12 (2000), 9–24.

Ruiz Souza, Juan Carlos, "El palacio de los Leones de la Alhambra: ¿Madrasa, Zâwiya y Tumba de Muhammad V?," *Al-Qantara* 22/1 (2001), 77–120.

Ruiz Souza, Juan Carlos, "Santa Clara de Tordesillas. Restos de dos palacios contrapuestos (siglos XIII-XIV)," in *Actas del V Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española, Valladolid 1999* 1 (Valladolid 2001), pp. 851–60.

Ruiz Souza, Juan Carlos, "Castilla y Al-Andalus. Arquitecturas aljamiadas y otros grados de asimilación," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* (*U.A.M.*) 16 (2004), 17–43.

Ruiz Souza, Juan Carlos, "Tipología, uso y función del Palacio de Comares: nuevas lecturas y aportaciones sobre la arquitectura palatina," *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 40 (2004), 77–102.

Ruiz Souza, Juan Carlos, "Toledo entre Europa y Al-Andalus en el siglo XIII: Revolución, tradición y asimilación de las formas artísticas en la Corona de Castilla," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1/2 (2009), 256–65.

Ruiz Souza, Juan Carlos, "El Palacio Especializado y la Génesis del Estado Moderno. Castilla y Al-Andalus en la Baja Edad Media", in *La Ciudad Medieval: de la casa principal al palacio urbano*, eds. Jean Passini, and Ramón Izquierdo Benito (Toledo, 2011), pp. 93–128.

Ruiz Souza, Juan Carlos, "Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, Alfonso X y Pedro I ante las 'reliquias arquitectónicas' del pasado en la construcción de la identidad de España. Historicismos antiguos," in *Reyes y prelados: la creación artística en los reinos de León*

y Castilla (*1050–1500*), eds. María Dolores Teijeira Pablos, María Victoria Herráez Ortega, and María Concepción Cosmen Alonso (Madrid, 2014), pp. 219–30.

Ruiz Souza, Juan Carlos, "El Palacio de la Montería del Alcázar de Sevilla. Contrapunto y futuro en el tardogótico," in *1514. Arquitectos tardogóticos en la encrucijada*, eds. Begoña Alonso Ruiz, and Juan Clemente Rodríguez Estévez (Sevilla, 2016), pp. 319–37.

Ruiz Souza, Juan Carlos, "El Palacio de los Leones. Al-riyāḍ al-sa'īd, el Jardín Feliz del Conocimiento," in *Domus Hispanica: el Real Colegio de España en la historia del arte* (*1364–2014*), ed. Manuel Parada López de Corselas (Bolonia, 2017), pp. 195–210.

Ruiz Souza, Juan Carlos, "El Palacio de los Leones de la Alhambra: Espacio de Virtud del Príncipe," in *The Power of Symbols: The Alhambra in a Global Context*, eds. Francine Giese, and Ariane Varela (Berlin, 2018), pp. 79–92.

Ruiz Souza, Juan Carlos, "Fachadas parlantes. Escritura en la escenografía del poder," in *Écritures du pouvoir – Les cultures politiques dans la péninsule Ibérique et au Maghreb, VIIIe – XVe siècles* 2, ed. Véronique Lamazou-Duplan, *Scripta Medieaevalia* 38 (Bordeaux, 2019), pp. 181–94.

Salas Parrilla, Miguel, *El Castillo de Belmonte* (Madrid, 2010).

Sendebar, ed. María Jesús Lacarra (Madrid, 2007).

Serra Desfilis, Amadeo, "Promotores, tradiciones e innovación en la arquitectura valenciana del siglo XV," *Goya* 334 (2011), 58–73.

Tabales Rodríguez, Miguel Ángel, "Investigaciones arqueológicas en la Portada de la Montería del Alcázar de Sevilla," *Apuntes del Alcázar de Sevilla* 7 (2006), 6–39.

Tabales Rodríguez, Miguel Ángel, "Novedades arqueológicas relativas a los palacios medievales de Don Fadrique y Alcázar Real," in *La herencia de Al-Andalus*, ed. Fátima Roldán (Sevilla, 2007), pp. 123–32.

Tabbaa, Yasser, "Circles of power: palace, citadel and city in ayyubid sAleppo," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993), 143–70.

Vingtain, Dominique, *Avignon. Le Palais des Papes* (Auxerre, 1998).

Illustrations



FIGURE 14.1 Alhambra of Granada, 14th century
PHOTO: AUTHOR



FIGURE 14.2 Wine Gate. Alhambra, 14th century
PHOTO: AUTHOR



FIGURE 14.3 Façade of the palace of Santa Clara de Tordesillas (Valladolid), c. 1360
PHOTO: AUTHOR



FIGURE 14.4 Façade of Montería. Alcázar of Seville, c. 1364
PHOTO: AUTHOR



FIGURE 14.5 Tower of Juan II, first half of the 15th century Segovia
PHOTO: AUTHOR



FIGURE 14.6 Saló del Tinell of the Royal Palace of Barcelona, 14th century
PHOTO: AUTHOR



FIGURE 14.7 Court of Lions, Virtue Palace of Muhammad V. Alhambra, 14th Century
PHOTO: AUTHOR



FIGURE 14.8 Maylis of Muhammad V with his wise men. King's hall, Court of Lions. Alhambra, 14th century
PHOTO: AUTHOR



FIGURE 14.9 Salón del Solio. Alcázar of Segovie, 15th century
PHOTO: AUTHOR



FIGURE 14.10 Castle Palace of Manzanares el Real. Andamios at the top of the wall, last quarter of the 15th century
PHOTO: AUTHOR



FIGURE 14.11 Main gate of Castelnuovo, Naples, 15th century
PHOTO: AUTHOR



FIGURE 14.12 Sala dei Baroni, Naples, 15th century
PHOTO: AUTHOR

Index

Aaron Raschild 329, 329n11 hilip
Abassid Samarra 513
Abel 48
Abn al-Malik 14, 15
Abn al-Rahman 12
Abraham 99, 101, 102, 109, 110
Aceto, Francesco 269n58
Acre 484n31
Adam 73, 108, 109, 110, 186, 411, 416
Adelaide 375
Saint Aemilian 415
Africa 141
  North Africa 16
Saint Agatha 233n69
Aght'amar 58, 63n17, 80n87
Agilulf 347n63
Agnello, Guiseppe 229
Agnes 415
Saint Agnes of Bohemia 262, 289
Agnese del Poitou 342
Aidone 230n58
Akner 48, 65
  Cicilian monastery 36, 62, 65
  Royal mausoleum 78
Akören, king 65
Aksaray 78
Al-Andalus 12, 19, 20, 506, 507, 511, 521, 523
Albania 220
Alberia 346, 347n60
  See Albidia 346
  See also Elvira 346
Aleppo 513
Alexander II, pope 423n70
Alexander III 480, 503
Alexander of Telese 346
Alexios I Komnenos 150
Alexios III Angelos 177, 185
Alexis III 96n8,
Alfonso I the Battler 449
Alfonso the Chaste of Catalonia Aragón 300n16
Alfonso the Magnanimous 222, 522
Alfonso Onceno
  Poema de Alfonso Onceno 516n
Alfonso II the Troubadour 419, 449, 450, 454, 455, 456, 456n29, 457, 457n34, 459, 460, 461, 462, 462n56, 463, 464, 465, 470, 472, 473, 474, 484, 484n32
Alfonso III 402, 421–422, 482, 482n21, 493n96, 494
Alfonso IV 486n43, 493, 493n96
Alfonso V 479n9
Alfonso VI of León 346, 402, 403, 406n14, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 425n72, 426, 446, 447, 448
Alfonso VII 403
Alfonso VIII of Castile 457
Alfonso X 506
Alfonso XI 509, 512
Algeciras 510
Alicante 484n31
Alcoraz
  Battle of Alcoraz 495
al-Maqqarī, Ahmad 12n32
Almodis 457, 457n33, 463
Almohads 16, 507
  Almohad Caliphate 449
  Almohad Empire 402
Almos 298, 312n53
Almoravid Empire 402
al-Nasir Muhammad, sultan 486, 522
Alonso Castillo Solórzano 511
Aloy, sculptor 306
Alsace 273n71
Ałt'amar
  Palatine church 17n44
Altomonte 311n50
Prince al-Walid 14, 15
Alcira
  Arxiu Municipal d'Alcira, cod. especials 0.0./ 3 (*Aureum Opus*) 479n3
Amalfi Coast 333, 334, 335, 336
Ambrogio Lorenzetti 256
Ambrose of Milan 3
Amiens
  Cathedral 305n35, 365, 365n2
Ammianus Marcellinus 11
Anastasius 139, 140
Anatolia 17
  South-eastern Anatolia 95n1
Anawarza 35, 35n7, 38, 40, 71
Andalousia 506, 507, 508, 512, 516
  Andalusian court 13

Andrew I 297, 297n12
Andrew II 299, 300
Andrew III 301n21
Andrew of Hungary 257n25
Angelov, Alexander 154n127
Angers
  Cathedral of Saint-Maurice 373n37
Anguils 454
Anheim, Etienne 268
Ani 71n47
Anicia Juliana 140
Andronikos II Paleologos 178, 190, 193
Andronikos III Paleologos 189n79
Angora
  Battle of Angora 192
Saint Anne 190, 190n84
Saint Anthony 266, 290
Antonio of Monte Gargano 230n58
Apulia region 342, 482n19
Arabs 12, 339, 340
Aragón 484n30
  Crown of Aragón 449, 455, 456n29, 457n33, 459, 460, 461n51, 462n56, 465, 478, 479, 481, 485, 485n34
  Kingdom of Aragón 226, 239n58, 231, 449, 455, 484, 496
  Kingdom of Catalonia-Aragón 307n41
  Royal pales 491, 495
Argelès 481n15
Ariadne 139, 140, 140n34, 344
Arilje 182, 182n50, 189
Aristoteles 40, 49, 68, 464
Armenia 17, 34, 49, 104n39, 104n42
  Cicilian Armenia 34, 35, 38, 81
  Armenian Cicilia 58, 80, 95n1, 102
  Armenian Kingdom of Cicilia 58, 59, 62, 66, 67, 68n34, 69, 71, 75, 76n71, 78, 95, 95n1, 96, 100, 102, 103, 104, 104n42, 107, 110, 111, 114
  Greater Armenia 33, 66n30, 95n1, 113n82
  Armenian court 67
Armenuhi Ter-Srapyan 33
Arnaldum, viscount of Castrobono 454
Arnau Messeguer 488, 493n97
Arnau de Vilanova 483, 483n33, 492, 495n108
Arnolfo 268, 272
Arpad 299, 300, 300n16, 301n21, 309n45
Artuqid rulers 17
Ashgabat 219
Ashot II 61n11
Asia
  Asia Minor 193
  Central Asia 16
Assises of Antioch 66n30
Assisi 249, 252, 260, 261, 262, 263, 265, 266, 269, 273, 289, 290
  Basilica 266
  Church of San Francesco 260, 261n38
  Chapel of Saint Nicholas 261
  Chapel of Saint Martin 256n22, 260, 262n
  Elizabeth Chapel 260, 261
  Magdalen Chapel 261
Assyrian kings 75, 189
Astrapas family 195
Asturian dynasty 402
  Kingdoms of Asturias 402
Atapuerca
  Battle of Atapuerca 404, 406
Athanasius of Alexandria 3
Athelstan 410
Athos, mount
  Chilandar Monastery 177–178
  Monastery of Saint Paul 175n17, 178
Attila, king of the Huns 296, 299, 301, 308, 309n45
Aversa
  Cathedral 342
Avetis 67n32
Avignon 269, 269n55
  Palace of the Popes 523
Avisseau-Broustet, Mathilde 331n5, 331n7, 340n35
Ayllón 515
Ayyubid dynasty 513

Baghdad 220
Baghdasaryan, Edvard 33, 35n7, 36
Bagrat IV
Bagratid 72, 104, 109
Balaam 108, 109, 109n62
Balkans 172, 174, 183, 187, 189, 193
Baltimore
  Walters Art Museum, W.539 (*Gospel of Sebastia*) 101, 102, 120, 124

Barbarossa, Frederik
Hessische Landesbibliothek, *c.* 1185–1195, Fulda, Cod. D. 11 (*Historia Welforum*) 461, 461n48
Barcelona 306, 306n38, 449, 450, 462, 462n56
Arxiu Capitular de la Catedral de Barcelona, 13th century (*Libri Antiquitatum Sedis* Barcinonensis) 480, 480n13, 502, 504
Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (ACA) 450, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477
Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, ms. 32 de Ripoll, *c.* 1333 478n3
Liber Feudorum Maior LFM 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 470, 471, 474, 475, 477
Liber Feudorum Ceritaniae LFC 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 472, 473, 476
Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, ref. L 8, c. 1333 (*Primer llibre verd*) 478n3
Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, ref. L 8, 1342– 1348 (*Tercer llibre verd*, ref.) 478n3
Royal Palace 516, 532
Sant Francesc 493n96
Bari 175n16
Baró, Guillem 487, 488n54
Baron, François 267n53
Bartolomeo (Syracusan master in theology) 222
Bartolomeo da Capua 270n59
Bartolomeo di Neocastro 230
Basarab of Wallachia 300
Basil of Caesarea 3, 42n20, 47n32, 234n, 233n69
Hexemeron (Homily III, chapter 10) 42n20
On the Holy spirit (chapter 18:45) 47n32
Basil I 461n50
Basil II 147, 461
Psalter of Basil II 146
Bathsheba 102
Bayeux
Cathedral 331
Tapestry 330, 330n4, 331, 343, 343n47
Becchetti, Luca 224
Bedos-Rezak, Brigitte 220
Bela I 297, 298
Bela II the Blind 298, 299
Bela III 299, 300, 300n16
Bela IV 299, 300n16
Bellosi, Luciano 265n51
Belmonte
Castle-Palace of Belmonte 514, 518, 520
Berenguer d'Abella 307n42
Berenguer de Codinachs 306n38
Berger, Harry 270n60
Berlin 151
Bermudo III 402
Bernard Gui 303
De Montfaucon, Bernard 368, 389, 390, 391
Bethlehem 107n56
Beziers 453
Bishko, Charles J. 412
Blanche d'Anjou 493, 484
Blanche of Castile
Psalter 63
Blanche of Navarre 426
Blanche of Sigena 493
Bloch, Marc 5
Bodart, Diane 367, 367n9, 382
Bohemia 107n56, 262, 300, 301, 308, 311
Bologna, Ferdinando 229, 249, 329, 336n25
Boniface VIII, pope 237, 258, 268, 272n67
Book of Daniel
Dan. 3:1–50 142
Book of Kings 462
Book of Kings 3:9–13 462n54
Book of Knowledge of Solomon 7:16–21 463n60
Book of Proverbs
Prov. 11:2–11 111
Book of Wisdom (Wisdom of Solomon) 1, 2, 72n51, 463
Ws. 1:1 483
Ws 2:23 35, 43
Ws. 12–15 1
Ws. 14: 16–17 1
Ws. 18–20 3
Brabante 308

Branković dynasty 174
Bremen
  Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, ms b. 21. (Evangeliary of Henry III) 410n35
Brie 482n23
Brindisi
  Church of Santa Giovanni al Sepolcro 342
Brown, Elisabeth 371
Buda 178, 178n32
Budapest
  Ms Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 404 (Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle/Chronicon pictum) 295, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328
Bulgaria 181, 181n44, 182, 187
Burgos 421
  Monastery of Las Huelgas 453
Butzek, Monika 268
Byzantium 4, 10, 12, 60n, 71n47, 72n50, 134, 137, 143n53, 151, 153, 157, 173, 174, 183, 184, 189, 193, 333
  Byzantine Empire 4n9, 5, 8, 8n11, 12, 15, 19, 38n14, 58, 72, 96, 106, 134n1, 135, 138, 140, 144, 146, 152, 153, 154, 154n127, 156, 157, 173, 177, 181, 182, 185, 193, 195, 406, 460, 461, 462

Cain 47
Cairo 522
Calabria 227
Caltagirone 225
  Museo Civico 225, 244
Calvo Capilla, Susana 518
Cambridge
  Corpus Christi College, MS183 (Bede, *Life of Saint Cuthbert*) 410
  Trinity College, MS R.4.23 303
Campania region 342
Canosa
  Cathedral 341n40
Capet, Hugh 382
Capetian dynasty 375, 378, 382
Cappadocia 71n47
  Cappadocian Fathers (Great Cappadocians) 33, 34
  Pigeon House Church in Çavuşin 150, 169
Cappellano, Andrea 301n19
Capua 17, 232, 236, 482n19
Carile, Maria Christina 136
Carlos III 515
Carlos V 509, 510
Carmona 511
  Alcazar of Carmona 506, 511
  Carmona Palace 512
Carolingian emperor 6, 329, 367, 410, 415, 418
Castile 346, 404, 421, 423, 452, 506, 511, 512, 514, 515, 519, 521, 523
  Castilian monarchy 506, 508, 509, 511, 512, 513, 515
  Crown of Castile 506, 522, 523
  Castilian-leonese Crown 507
  Kingdom of Castile 20, 402, 449
Catalonia 306, 449, 450, 484n30
  Four Great Catalan Chronicles 479
Catalunya 478n1
Catherine of Austria 254, 254n14
Caylus 331n7
  Caylus Collection 340n38
  Caylus catalogue 340n38
Celestin III, pope 96n8
Cerdanya 306
Charles I of Anjou 230, 256n22, 261n41, 267, 267n53, 268, 291, 295, 296, 299, 300, 302, 308, 310
Charles II of Anjou, king of Sicily 256n22, 258, 267, 270, 295, 333
Charles IV le Bel 267n53
Charles IV of Luxembourg 300, 308, 311
Charles V 259n32, 300, 302, 308, 510
Charles of Calabria 270n63
Charles the Bald 377, 410
Charlemagne 9, 11, 302, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335
Chartres 365, 365n2, 368, 368n11, 368n15, 370, 374
  Cathedral Notre Dame 107n56, 305n35, 370, 373, 376, 395
  Royal Portal 369, 370, 376, 393, 394, 396
Cheralt
  Castel 454
Childebert I 372
Chindasuinth 404
El Cid 520

Cilicia 36, 36n12, 48, 60, 65, 66n30, 65, 71, 73, 74n61, 76n71, 77, 80
See Cicilian Armenia 34, 35, 38, 81
See also Armenian Cicilia 58, 80, 95n1, 102
See also Armenian Kingdom of Cicilia 58, 59, 62, 66, 67, 68n34, 69, 71, 75, 76n71, 78, 95, 95n1, 96, 100, 102, 103, 104
Cimabue 264n47
Saint Claire 266n52
Clement V, pope 269n54, 270n62
Clement VI, pope 269n54
Clemence of Habsburg 267n53
Cluny 336n25, 360, 421
Coca 515, 521
  Castel of the Fonseca family 514, 521
Saint Paul's Epistle to the Colossians
  Col. 1:15–18 186
Collioure 481n15
Coloman 298, 299
Conrad II 177, 410n35
Constance of Sicily 492, 493, 493n96, 496n114
Constantine I the Great 4, 9, 11, 13, 74n, 76, 136, 144, 150, 150n106, 154, 184
Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos 12, 13, 71, 72, 72n51, 74n61, 76
Constantine VIII 144, 147, 461, 461n50
Constantine IX Monomachos 147
Constantine X Doukas 18n14
Constantinople 12, 71n47, 71n50, 72n50, 72n51, 148, 150, 156, 173, 185, 188, 195
  Chrysotriclinos 508n7
  Hagia Sophia 62n13, 138, 138n22, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 148n91, 151
  Great Palace 135n4, 145, 508
Constantius II 11
Convenevole of Prato 256, 259n33, 268
Corinthians
  1 Cor. 12:28 47n31
Cornelius Claussen, Peter 237
Corrigan, Kathleen 151
Cortona 144
Saint Cosmas 152, 190, 214
Coulie, Bernard 33n1
Croatia
  Modern Croatia 177, 178
Coyanza
  Council of Coyanza 404, 405, 409
Cund 309n45
Cutler, Anthony 144
Cyprus 59, 59n5, 61n11, 81, 81n92

Dagron, Gilbert 80
Dalmatia 177
Saint Damian 152, 190
Dandolo, Andrea 62n13
Daniele, Francesco 223
Danilo II, archbishop 180
Dante 262n41
  Divine Comedy 183, 183n53
Daraa 220
David 5, 9, 38, 40, 72n51, 73, 76, 96, 99, 104, 105, 106, 109, 149, 149n100, 155, 405n13, 406, 406n14, 406n18, 407, 407n22, 408, 483, 483n25, 484
Dečani 180, 191
Deckers, Johannes G. 136n12
Saint Demetrius 152, 155, 182, 182n51, 188
Derbes, Anne 59n5
Đurađ Brankovic 192, 193
Of Deuil, Odo 378
Deževo Chapel 181
Bishop Diego Peláez 421, 422, 423n70, 447
  Concordia de Antealtares 421
Der Nersessian, Sirarpie 60, 63, 65, 67
Diez, Friedrich 301n19
Dizia, Margherita 225
Doclea 177
Dometijan 186, 187
Abbot Dominicus 423n70
Fra Donato 270, 293
Doublet, Jean 330
Drazark 34, 40
Dubrovnik 178
Duljevo 177n29
Dynter, Edmund 308

Eastmond, Antony 141
Edessa 66, 68
Edvard Baghdasaryan 33
Egica 404
Egypt 336, 513n25, 521
  Ancient Egypt 513
Eirene (Yolanda of Montferrat), empress 190
Eleanor of Aquitaine 379

Eleanor of Anjou 231, 233n69
Eleonor of Castile 493
See Leonor de Castilla 493n96
See also Queen Leonor 307n40, 515
El Escorial
Real Biblioteca del monasterio, ms d.1.2, Year 976 (*Codex Vigilanus*) 404n10
Real Biblioteca del monasterio, ms d.1.1, Year 992 (Códice Emilianense) 405n11
Real Biblioteca, Cod. Vitr. 17, fol. 3r., c. 1033–1043 (Codex Aureus of Speyer or Speyerer Evangeliar) 410n35
Eleud 309n45
Elisabeth 335
Elisabeth of Carinthia 233n69
Elisabeth of Hainault 458, 458n38
Saint Elizabeth of Hungary 262, 289
Elisenda de Montcada 481, 491n80, 493n94, 493n96
Elvira of Toro 402
Emeric 299, 300n16, 310, 311
King Emma 457
Enderlein, Lorenz 267n43
England 300, 331
Enguerran de Marigny 304
Enoch, prophet 110
Enos, prophet 110
Enrique IV 515
Enver Hoxha 220
Eparcio, bishop 412n41
Erznkay (present-day Erzican) 33, 36
Minas Monastery 36n12
Esphigmenou
Charter 193
Etampes 369, 373, 374, 375, 375n41, 376
Royal Portals at Notre-Dame-du-Fort 368, 368n11, 368n15, 375, 392
Eudokia/Bertha 153
Eudokia Makrembolitissa 153
Eugenia de Montijo 514
Europe 66, 172, 296n4, 302, 333, 336, 339, 461
Central Europe 173, 177
Christian Europe 339
Eastern Europe 173
Latin Europe 406n18
Western Europe 5, 7, 17, 96, 173, 196, 339, 458
Eusebius of Caesarea, bishop 4, 137, 137n15, 146, 151, 157
Saint Eustace 374
Eutychios 195
Eve 411
Ex. 25:1–16 43

Don Fadrique, prince 517
Saint Fagildo 421
Falconara
Battel of Falconara 484n31
Falletta, Serena 225n31
Famagusta 61n11
Von Falkenhausen, Vera 348n69
Fardulfe, Abbot of Saint-Denis 377
Abbey of Farfa 335, 358
Farfa casket 335, 335n20, 336n25, 358
Fernando de Antequera 522
Fernando de la Cerda 453
Fernando de Navarra 402
Fernando I 402, 403, 404, 405, 405n13, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 414, 416, 417, 418n52, 418, 419, 420, 436, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445
Fernando III of Castile 485, 485n37
Filangeri, Richard 496n112
Florence 140, 252, 270
Bargello Museum 140
Kunsthistorisches Institut 170
Museo Nazionale del Bargello 347n63
Palazzo di Parte Guelfa 270
Palazzo Vecchio 270n63
Riccardi Collection 345n53
Foggia 267n53
Fonseca Family 514
Foro Claudio
Basilica Santa Maria 342
France 19, 107, 302, 306, 332, 365, 376, 380, 482, 482n23, 523
Capetian France 70n45
Franks 73, 73n56
Kingdom of France 271n67, 303, 305, 365n2, 366, 380, 381
South of France 464
Francesco Damiani da Montefalco 266n52
Francio 303
Saint Francis 262, 265n51, 266, 289, 290, 493
François Roger de Gaignières 304

Frederick II, king of Sicily 17, 227, 228, 230, 232, 255, 268, 333, 333n14, 482, 494, 497
Frederick II of Swabia 229
Frederick III of Aragón, king of Sicily 219, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 229, 231, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 244, 245, 248, 483n26
Frederick IV of Aragón, king of Sicily 226
Fructuosus 405, 406, 408
Fruela II 402
Frugoni, Chiara 256
Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres 376

Gábor, Bethlen 312n54
Gaborit-Chopin, Danielle 332
Saint Gabriel 151, 152, 233n69, 408
Gaetani, cardinal 273, 273n71
Gagik Arcruni 17n44, 63n17, 71, 71n47, 72, 109
García I 402
García II of Castile 402, 404
García III of Navarra 407, 407n20, 408, 440
García IV of Navarra 414
Monte Gargano 230n58
De Garlande, Etienne 372
Garnier, Françoise 458, 460
Gell, Alfred 3, 270n60
Genesis
  Gen. 1:26 43, 46, 50
  Gen. 49:8–12 109n62
San Gennaro 267n53, 271
Geometres, John 150
Saint George 152, 193, 491n84, 495
Georgia 60n10, 152, 153, 154, 181
Gérando, Auguste 312n53
Saint Germain, Bishop of Paris 372
Germany 482
Geza I of Hungary 152, 298
Geza II 298, 302n22, 309n45, 312n53
Ghibelline 261, 482n22, 496
Gibraltar 511
Giotto 263, 264, 264n46, 264n47, 265, 265n47, 265n48, 266, 269n54, 270n63, 290, 302n23
Girona 306, 424n72
  Arxiu Cathedral, ms 7 306n43
Goldschmidt, Adolph 331, 332, 346n57
Golein, Jean 256n22
Gomer 113n82
Gonsalvo di Valboa 266, 290
Grabar, André 58n11, 60, 149
Gračanica 179, 180, 191
Granada 512, 521
  Alhambra of Muhammad V 507, 518, 519, 529
  Palace of Comares 507, 508, 509, 510, 512
  Palace of Carlos V/Palace of Charles V 509, 510
  Nasrid palace 513, 518
  Puerta del Vino (Wine Gate) 510
  Puerta de la Justicia (Justice Gate) 510
Grazia Fallico, Maria 225
Greco-Roman 3, 18
Greece 70
  Byzantine Greece 176
De Gregorio, Livia 230
Gregory VII, pope 296, 421, 424, 495
Gregory Magistros, *Vishapanutium* 69n38
Gregory of Narek 60
Saint Gregory of Nyssa 44n26, 45n28, 45n29, 46, 49, 263, 290
See Grigor Narekac'i 69n39
Grigor VII Anawarzec'i 35, 35n7, 38
Grigor Narekac'i 69n39
Grigoryan Savary, Gohar 66n26
Guadalajara
  Alcazar of Guadalajara 508
  Infantado Palace 518, 520
Guenée, Bernard 382
Guglielmo da Castelbono 269n55
Guidotto de Abbiate, archbishop of Messina 332, 233, 234, 235
Guitotto de Tabiatis 232
Guillem Sagrera 522
Fra Gusmeno 269n55
Gyula 309n45

Habsburg 271n67, 273n71, 482
Hadwig 8
Hafez al-Assad 220
Hayk 113, 113n81, 113n82
Heb. 11:8–21 99
Helena, empress 150, 150n106
Henri III, emperor 297n10
Henry, prince 375

Henry III the Black, Salian emperor 410, 415
Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen, ms b. 21. (Evangeliary of Henry III) 410n35
Gospel of Henry III (Real Biblioteca, Cod. Vitr. 17, fol. 3r., c. 1033–1043 (Codex Aureus of Speyer or Speyerer Evangeliar) 410n35
Henry IV 519
Henry V, holy roman emperor 380
Henry VI 96n8, 227
Henry, archbishop of Sens 375
Saint Henry of Hungary 262, 289
Henry of Isernia 496, 496n112
Heraclid 13, 13n33
Heraclius 13, 13n33
Hercules 224
Herod 48, 356
Hetimasia 138n22, 154, 233
Het'umid dynasty 100, 104, 106, 110
Het'um I, king 66n30, 70n43, 72, 73, 73n56
Het'um II, Franciscan king 35n7
Het'um, prince 36, 48, 64n19, 65n25, 73, 75
Hezekiah 76, 76n72
Hildesheim 410n36
Hisham 14
Hispania 403
Hohenstaufen 252, 255, 268, 484n32, 486, 496, 496n114, 498
Holladay 305n36
Holy Land 59, 333, 485
Holy Roman Empire 17, 96, 96n8, 271n67, 380, 426
Hospitallers 449
Hromkla 62n13, 66, 67, 78
Huesca 495
Convent of Santa Clara 492
Hugh of Arles 153
Hunedora 312
Hungary 254, 294
Holy Crown 152, 154
Modern Hungary 178
Kingdom of Hungary 254, 258, 295
Huns 308, 309n45
Hunyad 312n54

Iberian Peninsula 347, 404, 411, 449, 451, 451n12, 478, 486, 492, 522
Ibn Hayyal, Andalusian writer 12, 12n32
Ibn Mardanish 16
Ibn Zamrak 513
Ifrīqiya 16
Íñigo, Arista 495
Iraq 220
Irene
See Piroska 147
Isaac 99, 102, 109
Isa. 7:14 102
Isa. 11:1–2 96, 103, 105, 109n62
Isaac I Komnenos 145, 165, 166
Isabella 347
Isaiah 75, 96, 102, 103, 105, 124
Saint Isidore 409, 410, 411, 412, 412n41, 413, 414, 417n52, 419, 439, 440, 441
Islamic East 332
Islamic Empire 14
Israel 181, 186
Italy 482n20, 482n22, 484n32, 494n103
Southern Italy 329, 331, 341, 343

Jacob 47, 99, 102, 109, 109n62, 187, 187n70
Jacobsen, Werner 381, 401
Jafudà, Bonsenyor 487n50
Jaime II of Mallorca 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 482n23, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 491, 493, 493n96, 494, 495n105, 496, 497, 503, 504
Jaime III of Mallorca 486n43
Jaime Hinojosa 488
Saint James 412, 423
James I 307
James II of Aragón, king of Sicily 222, 224, 226, 228, 236n85
James, Liz 140
Japhet 113n82
Jaume d'Aragó, archbishop 493n94
Jean le Bon 259n32
Jean d'Arras 267n53
Jean de Jandun 305n33
Jeanne de Navarre 304
Jeanne de Valois 307n42
Jericho 15
Jerusalem 33, 36
Armenian Patriarchate, Gospel of Queen Keťan (1272), ms. 2563 54, 55, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94

Church of the Armenian Patriarchate of Saint James 62
Heavenly Jerusalem 193
Holy Sepulchre 74, 412, 449
Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 81
Rockefeller Museum 31
Jesse 75, 76, 96, 103, 105, 106, 107, 107n56, 108, 109, 114, 125, 126, 127, 130, 179, 180
Saint Joachim 190
Joanna I, queen 257n25
Joannes de Kikullew 301
John XXII, pope 258n28
John the Baptist 155, 233, 377
John, bishop 101, 105, 412n41
John of Damascus 39n16, 44n26, 46n30, 47n32
John the Evangelist 233n69
John 1:1 108
John 10:11 35
John 14, 35
John Hunyadi 312
John II Komnenos 147, 156, 303
John V Paleologos 138, 138n22
John Prodromos 138n22, 155
John of Procida 496n112
John Duke of Randazzo, regent of the Kingdom of Sicily 234
John Tzimiskes 150n108
Jolivet-Lévy, Catherine 148
Jordan River 97, 98n14
Joseph 72n51
Juan I of Castile 522
Juan II 514
Juan de Contreras 515
Juan Pacheco 515
Judah 76, 109n62
Justin II 141
Justinian I 145, 147
Justinian II 508

Kalenić 192
Kamateros, John 156
Kantorowicz, Ernst 5, 7, 10, 58n1, 138
Karlštejn 308
Kastoria
Church of Hagios Athanasios tou Mouzaki 155
Kelly, Samantha 253n11
Keřan, queen 48, 49, 58, 61, 63, 67, 103n32, 105
Queen Keřan Gospels, MS 2563 48, 49, 54, 55, 58, 59, 59n5, 61n11, 62, 62n13, 64, 64n9, 65, 67, 70, 70n43, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94
Khakuli Monastery 153, 154
Kharijites of Mecca 14
Kharkiv 220
Khirbat al-Mafjar 15, 31
Kiev 220
Kitzinger, Ernst 60
Knut, king 457
Klokotnitsa
Battle of Klokotnitsa 187
Pseudo-Kodinos 189
Koporin 192
Kosovo
Battle of Kosovo 188
Kostandin I 100, 101, 1'2, 103, 105, 109, 110

Laban 47
Lacarra, José María 517n38
San Ladislao 311n50
Saint Ladislaus I 261, 262, 289, 298, 299, 310, 311, 311n50
Ladislaus II 299, 301
Ladislaus IV 299, 300
Latin West 339, 342, 344, 347
Lazarević dynasty 174, 188
Lazar Hrebeljanović 192
Lazar Mussić 188
Leel 309n45
Lekapenos, Christopher 461, 461n50
Lello d'Orvieto 269, 292
Lenin 220
Leo VI 145n75, 149, 151
Leodegarius 426
León
Church of San Isidoro 409
Kingdom of León 402, 413n43
Leonor of Plantagenet 457
Leonor de Castilla 307n40, 493n96, 515
Lesnovo 184, 184n61, 211
Levantine 81
De Lèves, Geoffroy, bishop of Chartres 376
Levon Ter-Petrossian 104
Lewis 347

Lewon I 38, 65, 72, 73, 100
Lewon II 35n7, 36, 38, 48, 49, 58, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66 67, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 95
Lleida 484
  Arxiu Capitular, ms. 22 (*Llibre dels usatges i constitucions de Lleida*) 478n3
  Arxiu de la Paeria, ms. 1345 (*Usatges i constitucions de Catalunya*) 478n3
  Sant Francesc 493n96
London
  British Library, Historia Anglorum of Matthew Paris/Royal MS 14 C VII 296
  British Library, Royal MS 16 G. VI 303
  British Library, Stowe ms 944 (*Liber Vitae or The Book of Life*, c. 1031) 457n36
  Theodore Psalter (Cod. Add. 19.352) 142
  Victoria and Albert Museum 140
Saint Louis, Bishop of Toulouse 257, 258, 261, 262
Louis I 312n54
Louis VI 372, 375, 380, 381
Louis VII 298, 372, 375, 379, 381, 382
Louis IX of France 304, 366
Louis X 267n53, 303, 482
Louis of Aragón 233n69
Louis Douët d'Arcq 224
Louis of Taranto 257n25
Louis the Great 296, 300, 301, 310, 311n50, 312, 313
Lowden, John 65n24, 66n28, 81n90
Saint Lucy 233n69
Luke 100, 108n59, 109, 110
  Lk. 3:38 108
  Lk. 7:40–50 40
Libya 220

Madinat al-Zahra 511, 513
Madrid
  Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid, Tumbo menor de Castilla, Códices. Sign. 1046 B 457n36
  Castel of Manzanares 515, 521, 534
Maguire, Henry 151, 156
Maigne, Charles 330n2
Mamluk 73, 95n1, 513, 522
Malakes 140
Mâle, Emile 366, 369, 371
Mallorca 482n21
  Kingdom of Mallorca 482
Mandred, king 227, 496
Manzanares el Real 515, 521, 534
Marcomir, duke of Sicambria 303
Marguerite de Provence 304
Maria/Marta 152, 170
Maria, Serbian princess 177
Maria of Anjou 267n53
Maria of Cyprus 493n96
Marinid dynasty
  Marinids of Fez 511
Maritsa
  Battle of Maritsa 191
Saint Mark 377
Marko, Serbian king 155n132
Marseille 270n62
Marsengill, Katherine 137
Martel, Charles 254, 255, 258, 267n53, 287, 295
Martínez Ferrando, Ernest 456, 457
Martini, Aldo 223
Mary I 226
Mary of Hungary 254, 255, 257, 258, 260, 269, 287, 295
Mateič Monastery church 181
Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts
  Gospel Book Matenadaran 8321 74n
  Sermon of Yovhannes Pluz Erznkac'i 1 33, 34, 40, 41
  Sermon of Yovhannes Pluz Erznkac'i 8 33, 35, 37, 40, 41, 49
  Sermon of Yovhannes Pluz Erznkac'i 9 36
  Sermon of Yovhannes Pluz Erznkac'i 10 33, 35, 38
  Sermon of Yovhannes Pluz Erznkac'i 29 33, 35, 43
  Sermon of Yovhannes Pluz Erznkac'i 30 33, 35, 46, 48, 49
  Manuscript M2173 33n2
  Manuscript M2992 33n2
  Manuscript M2854 33n2
  Manuscript M7032 33n2
  Manuscript M218 33n2
  Prince Het'um Manuscript, Matenadaran 979 66, 108
Matthias Corvinus, king 312
Mathilde, queen 330, 330n4
Matthew 76, 109

Matt. 1:1 99
Matt. 2:2 109n62
Matt. 17–21, 2
Maximilianus 312n53
Mazara del Vallo 223
Mediterranean 14, 18, 20, 42n22, 59, 59n5, 66, 333, 463, 506, 508, 522
Eastern Mediterranean 17, 96, 486
Mediterranean region 462
Western Mediterranean 19
Melchior 492
Melchizedek 5
Melissande Psalter 70n42
Mendoza family 515, 520
Menéndez-Pidal, Faustino 408, 482n23
Fiefdom of Mercogliano 341n41
Merovingian sovereigns 11, 367
Mesopotamia 1
Messina
Cathedral of Messina 223, 232, 234, 235, 236, 247, 248
Church of Santa Maria della Valle (Scala/Badiazza) 223, 228, 230, 231, 232, 234, 246
Contrada Badiazza 229
Convent of Benedictine nuns 229
Museo Regionale 229
San Rizzo Stream 229
Santa Maria la Nuova 233
Metz
Saint-Arnould Abbey 336, 360
Meyer-Fernandez, Geoffrey 59n
Michael VII Doukas 138n25, 152, 170
Michael VIII Paleologos 62n13, 150, 182
Michael the Syrian
Chronicle 104
Michelle da Cesena 266n52
Mihailo 177
Milano
Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata del Castello Sforesco 418n55
Mileševa 212
Monastery church 177, 186, 187, 195
Mino de la Seta 482n20
Miquel Rosell, Francisco 457
Miralles
Castel 454
Mongol 69, 69n39, 72, 107, 300
Monneret de Villart, Ugo 229
Montecassino
Abbey 342, 344
Mont-Saint-Michel
Cartulary 461
Moses 43
Du Mersan, Marion 330, 331, 331n7, 343n47
Mleh, prince 109
Moldavian rulers 181n46
Monreale
Cathedral 28, 232, 236
Montevergine 341
Abbot 341n41
Cathedral 341n41
Moorish 513
Moralejo Álvarez, Serafín 406, 419
Moscow 153
Movsēs Xorenac'i 106, 106n50, 113n82
Mozarabic 451
Mrnjavčević clan 191
Muammar Gaddafi 220
Muhammad V 507, 509, 510, 513, 519
Muhammad Ibn Mardanish, king of Murcia 16
Munich
BSB, Cod. Slav. 4 (Serbian Psalter) 155
Muslim rulers 14, 107, 462, 507
Mussić family 188

Nájera 418n53, 426
Monastery of Santa María la Real 407, 407n20, 408, 408n23, 437, 438, 440
Naples
Church of Santa Chiara 250
Covent of San Lorenzo Maggiore 254, 257, 258n27, 269, 270
Kingdom of Naples 258, 271n67
Monastery of Santa Croce 258n27
Museo e Gallerie nazionali di Capodimonte 257n26, 267, 284, 286, 291
Palace-fortress of Castelnuovo 522, 534
San Domenico Maggiore 267n53
Santa Maria Donnaregina Vecchia 250n3, 254, 287
Napoleon 409, 415n48, 419
Napoleone Orsini, cardinal 269n54
Nasrid 20, 507, 509, 510, 512, 513, 518
Naumburg
Cathedral 9

Navarre 404, 425, 482n23
Kingdom of Navarre 404, 411
Navarrese Dynasty 402, 403
Neapolitan province 17, 270, 271n67
Near East 333, 339
Nebuchadnezzar 142
Nef, Amy 59n5
Nemanja dynasty 71n45, 173
Nemesisus of Emesa 45n28
New Julfa (Isfahan)
Monastery of the Holy Saviour 100n21, 102n29, 122
Nicea 78
Saint Nicholas 233n69, 261
Ninus, king 61n12
Nikephoros II Phocas 144, 150, 150n106, 150n108
Nikephoros III Botaneiates 138n25
Nikodim 189, 213
Noah, prophet 110, 113n82
Nova Pavlica
Monastery church 188
Of Novgorod, Antony 148n92
Norman, Diana 252
Norman knights 330, 331
Num. 24:9 109
Num. 24:17 109
Num. 49:8–12 109

Oikonomides, Nicolas 143n62
Von Oldenburg, Wildbrand 98n14
Olilberg 312n53
Olite 515
Order of Santiago 515
Ordoño II 402
Oropesa
Castel of the Álvarez de Toledo family 521
Otto II Orseolo, Venetian doge 297, 418n55
Otto III, duke of Bavaria 301, 418n55
Ottokar, poet 273n71
Ottomans 192
Ottonian Emperors 411, 415, 418
Outremer 71n45
Oviedo 402, 421, 426
Archivo de la Catedral,ms. 1 419n60
Holy Ark 419, 421

Pacheco family 514
Pacino da Buonaguida 259n33, 288
Palace of the Dueñas del Lago (Lady of the Lake) 516
Palencia
Convent-palace of Santa Clara de Astudillo 507
Palermo
Archivio di Stato 225, 225n31
Cappella di Santa Maria Incoronata 236n85
Cappella Palatina 16
Cathedral 223
Royal Palace 348, 249
Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio 259n31
Palman, knight 176
Pamplona 404
Kingdom of Pamplona 403
Pannonia 309, 309n45
Paone, Stefania 253
Parani, Maria 61n11, 153
Paravicini, Agostino 268
Paris
Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 526 377n52
Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 2013 371n25
Bibliothèque nationale de France
Codex Parisinus, Coislin ms. 79 138n25, 153
BnF, ms. fr. 854 484n32
BnF, ms. fr. 1049 297n12
BnF, ms. fr. 1553 365n1
BnF, ms. fr. 2813 302
BnF, ms. fr. 12473 484n32
Cabinet of Medals and Antiquities 331, 331n7, 340
Cluny Museum 336
Notre-Dame 365, 365n2, 366, 371, 373n37, 399
Saint-Germain-des-Prés 367, 367n10, 372, 372n10, 373n37
Parousia 416
Paschal II 480
Pastoureau, Michel 332
Peć 179, 189, 209, 210, 213
Church of Saint Demetrius 182, 184, 188
Pedralbes
Pedralbes monastery 493n94, 493n96
Don Pedro, king 509
Pedro, scribe 405
Pedro I 506, 509, 512, 513
Pedro II the Catholic 449, 454, 455, 459, 461, 462, 464, 465, 473, 486

Pedro III 484n32, 486n43, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496n114
Pedro IV the Ceremonious 478, 483, 483n25, 486n43, 493, 493n95, 497, 497n115
Pelayo de León, Bishop 417n52
Peloponnese 184
Pepin the Short 365, 365n1, 377n55
Pere de Montesquieu 454
Perkinston, Stephen 270
Perpignan 306
  Archives Départamentales des Pyrénées-Orientales, ms. B. 29 30, 31, 33 and 34, 481n15
Perrone of Aidone 230n58
Persia 13, 15, 76n72, 339
Perugia
  San Francesco at Prato 59n5
Saint Peter 78, 229
Peter II 226, 233, 234, 235
Peter III of Aragón 226, 228, 230, 236n85, 306, 306n38
Peter Orseolo 297
Petronila of Aragón, princess 449, 458, 460, 461
Petrus de Ebulo, chronicler 346, 406n14
Pharamond 303, 304
Philip I 378
Philip III the Bold 267n53, 271n67, 332, 333
Philip IV 267n53, 303, 304
Philip V 267
Philip of Taranto 258n27, 267n53, 269
Pietro d'Abano 263, 264, 264n44, 268
Pietro Lorenzetti 261, 261n39, 264
Piluso, Enzo 225
Pisa
  Beneventan Exultet Roll of Pisa (Pisa, Diocesan Museum Exultet 2) 344
Placencia of Navarre 414, 415, 415n49
Pliny the Elder 259
Saint Placido 233n69
Plato 40, 49
Poblet 307n41, 493n95
  Biblioteca de Santa María (*Rollo genealogico de Poblet*), 1410 479n3
  Chapel of Saint George 491n84
  Cistercian monastery of Santa María 493
Comtes de Poitou 305n36, 342
Poissy
  Saint-Louis de Poissy 304
Položko 184
Polzer, Joseph 311n50
Poncius de Verneto 454
Pontius Pilate 139
Portugal 402
  Kingdom of Portugal 402
Povill Salas, Marina 478n2
Prague
  Metropolitan Chapter Library (*Codex Vyssegradensis*) 107n56
Prizren
  Monastery of the Holy Archangels 70n44, 175
Procopius 137
Prussia 365
Psača 215
  Monastery church 190
Book of Psalms 407n22
Psalm 8:6–9 108
Psalm 16 483
Psalm 16:2 483n24
Psalm 44 155
Psalm 50 149n100
Psalm 140 34
Psalm 138:6 35, 38
Puglia 344n51

Quintilian 259n32
Qusayr 'Amra 14, 29, 30

Ragusa
  Santa Maria delle Sale 231n61
Raimundo of Burgundy 403
Ramiro II the Monk 449
Ramiro III 404
Ramiro of Pamplona 415n49
Ramon Berenguer I 424n72, 457, 457n33
Ramon Berenguer IV 449, 460, 465
Ramón de Caldés 450
Ramón Folch VIII, viscount de Cardona 480n14
Ras
  Monastery of Đurđevi Stupovi 181
Rascia 183
Ravanica 195
Ravenna
  Biblioteca del centro Dantesco 183n53
  Archaeological Museum 347n64
  San Vitale 147, 168

Rebollo, Manuel 409n29
Recceswinth, Visigothic king 404
Redondo Gómez, Fernando 517
Rehab 102
Reims 267n53, 305n35, 365
  Saint-Remi 367, 367n10, 372, 372n30
  Cathedral 381
Resava 195, 218
  Monastery church 194
Rev. 5:5 109n62
Robertine dynasty 377
Robert of Anjou 249, 250n4, 253, 254, 259n33, 261, 263, 270, 271, 272, 286, 287, 288
Robert II of Sicily, the pious 259n31, 368n11, 375n41
Robert the Wise 267n53, 285
Robinson, Cynthia 518
Roger II 16, 38n14, 226, 332, 343, 345, 346, 349
Romano, Serena 260n34, 269, 401
Romanos I Lekapenos 461, 461n50
Romanos II 153
Romanos IV 153
Rome 76
  Archivio di Castel Sant'Angelo 223
  Archivio Segreto Vaticano 223, 224
  Saint Maria in Aracoeli 268
  Saint Peter 229, 305n36
  Saint Paul 305n36
Romer, Flóris 312n53
Roman Empire 1, 271, 426
Romania 181, 181n46, 312
Romualdo 341n40
Rosenman, Barry Ch. 494, 494n103
Rossano
  Gospel book 139
Rosselló 481, 503
Roussillon 306
Ṙuben 71
Ṙubenids 100, 104, 106, 110, 112, 113
Rudenice 192, 216
Rudolf of Habsburg, emperor 271n67, 308n44, 482
Russia 181, 181n45
Ruth 102

Saddam Hussein 220
Saint-Denis Abbey 371, 382, 397, 398
  Basilica 197n56
  Saint-Michel-du-Degré Church 377
  Saint-Barthelemy Church 377
  Saint-Pierre Church 377
  Saint Paul Church 377
  Porte des Valois 367, 370, 371, 372, 373, 378, 381, 382, 397
  Treasury 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 335, 336
Saint-Laurent-de-la-Salanque 481n15
Salado
  Battle of Salado 511
Salazaro, Demetrio 229
Salerno 336n
  Cathedral 332
  Diocesan Museum of San Matteo 331, 333, 333n16, 334, 335, 338, 356
Salinas, Antonio 223
Samperi, Placido 229, 230, 231
Samuel, prophet 99
Samuel Aba 297
Sancha of Castile 405, 405n13, 406, 407, 408, 409n31, 414, 416, 418, 436, 438, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 456, 457, 459
Sancho II de Castile 402
Sancho IV of Navarre 414, 415
Sancho Garcés II 404, 405, 407
Sancho Ramírez 424n72
Sancto Martino
  Castle 454
Sandron, Dany 366
Sancia, queen 257n25, 269, 413, 414
San Millán de la Cogolla 407n19, 415, 415n49
Santes Creus
  Monastery 479n4, 487, 493, 496, 498, 505
Santiago de Compostela 405, 405n13
  Archivo de la Catedral 458
  Biblioteca de la Universidad, Libro de Horas Diurnas MS 609 Res 1 436
  Cathedral 426, 446, 447
  Church of San Martin Pinario 405
  Saint James 421
Saparmurat Niyazov 219
Sarracino 404
Sargis Picak, painter 60n7
  New York, Morgan M622 77n74
Sargis Shnoṙhali, theologian 67
Sasanian Persian 14, 15, 18
Sauerländer, Willibald 271n66

Saint Sava of Serbia 182, 186, 189, 195, 213
Von Schlosser, Julius 2, 37
Schramm, Percy Ernst 5
Schulcz, Ferenc 312n53
Scotus, Michael 271n66
Scythia 309n45
Segovia 513
  Alcazar of Segovia/Tower of Juan II 513, 514, 518, 519, 521, 531
Seiler, Peter 264
Seljuk rulers 17, 71, 72, 73, 95n1
Sella, Pietro 223, 224
Sennacherib 76, 76n72
Serbia 65, 172, 172n1, 174, 178, 181, 183, 190
  Kingdom of Serbia 71n45, 146n79
  Serbian Empire 191
Seroux d'Agincourt 255, 255n16
Sesma Muñoz, José Angel 495
Seth, prophet 110
Severianus of Gabala 39n16, 139
Seville 409, 412, 507, 509
  Alcazar of Seville 506, 511, 516, 531
  Convent of Santa Clara 507, 507n5
  Palace de la Monteria/Monteria Palace 511, 512, 518, 522
  Fundacion Casa Ducal de Medinaceli 224
  Royal Alcazar of Seville 506
Sicambria 303
Sicily 78, 225, 227, 234, 235, 236n85, 332, 345, 478, 479n7, 484, 486
  Kingdom of Sicily 17, 78, 219, 233n69, 237, 311n50
Siena 252, 261
  Palazzo Pubblico 260, 263, 290
  San Francesco 257
Sigismund of Luxembourg 310
De Silva y Verástegui 405
Simon de Kéza 309n45
Simone Martini 249, 253, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 263, 265, 266, 269, 271, 272, 273, 284, 287, 289, 290
Simonis, queen 190, 217
Sinai 59
Sis 35, 35n7, 37, 38, 40, 65, 67, 67n32, 77n74, 78, 80n88, 95n1, 98n14
Bishop Sisebuto 405
Sisojevac 192, 195
Siwnec'i, Step'annos 44n26
  Skewŕa Gospel 96, 97, 97n12, 98, 100, 119
  Skewŕa Monastery 99n19
Skopje 155, 181
  Markov Monastery 155, 181
Slovakia 312
Smbat Sparapet the Constable 38, 66n30, 70n43, 3n56, 98
Snyder, Janet E. 372, 373, 373n37, 375
Sophia 141
Solomon, prophet 1, 5, 9, 106, 109, 111, 423, 462, 463, 465, 466, 483
Solomon (Andrew's son) 297, 297n12, 298, 298n13, 300, 408
Sopoćani 179, 182, 191
Soteira
  Church of the Transfiguration 61n11
Spain 12, 16, 449, 506n1
Spanish Habsburgs 367
Speciale, Nicolò 222
Speyer 271n67, 273n71
Spitzer Collection 336n25
Staebel, Jochen 375
Staro Nagoričino
  Monastery Church 193, 217
Stefan Dragutin 181, 189
Stefan Lazarević 188, 192, 194, 216, 218
Stefan Mussić 188
Stefan Nemanja (The First-Crowned/Simeon) 177, 178, 185, 187
Stefan Radoslav 176, 186, 187
Stefan Uroš I 182, 191
Stefan Uroš II Milutin 178, 179, 185, 189, 214
Stefan Uroš III Dečanski 179, 183, 188, 213
Stefan Uroš IV Dušan 70n44, 176, 180, 181, 211
Stefan Uroš V 190, 191, 215
Stefan Vladislav 174n17, 186, 187, 189
Stefan Vojislav 177
Steindl, Imre 312n53
Stephanie of Foix 407, 407n20, 408
Stephanus 312n53
Saint Stephen I of Hungary 296, 297, 297n9, 300, 308, 309n45, 310, 311, 312n54
Stephen II, pope 377n55
Stephen II of Hungary 298
Stephen III 298
Stephen IV 299, 301, 302n22
Stephen V of Hungary 295, 299

Ston
Palatine chapel of Saint Michael the Archangel 177
Studenica 178, 179, 180, 185, 190, 195, 214
Monastery 179, 185, 195, 214
Suetonius 420n62
Sugar, abbot 332, 365, 371, 374, 375, 377, 378, 380, 381, 382, 401
de Sully, Maurice, Bishop of Paris 371n27, 372
Surb Karapet church 35, 46
Sultanate of Rum 72
Swabia 226, 226n33, 228, 229, 230, 236
Syracuse 222
Cathedral 222
Syria 220
Syrian-Jordan desert 513

Taifa dominions 402, 518
Tamar 102
Tamarón
Battel of Tamarón 402, 404
Tarragona 488n56, 505
Cathedral 493n94
Tarsus 38, 112, 113
Tautavel
Seigneurie 481n15
Taurus 71
Taurus Mountains 80
T'beti
Cathedral 61n11
Tchakerian, Sipana 63n17
Templars 449
Teresa de Entenza 493n96
Teutonic Heraldry 176
Theodora 147, 147n85, 150, 168
Theodore Komnenos Doukas 176
Theodosius 76
Theophanus 418n55
Thibault, Bishop of Paris 371
Thirion, Jacques 371n27, 372
Tbilisi 33, 170
Georgian National Museum/Museum of Fine Arts 170
Tino di Camaino 260, 260n34, 267, 267n53, 272, 287, 291
Tirana 220
Tiridates 74n61, 76
Thessaloniki 143n62, 182, 183n51, 195
Empire 176, 187, 190
Thomson, Robert W. 73n56
Togarmah 112, 113, 113n82
Toledo 420, 425, 426, 508, 521
Archivio ducale Medinaceli 225
Tordesillas 509, 511, 512
Convent of Santa Clara 507, 530
Palace 509, 511, 512
Torreilles 481n15
T'orgom 75
T'oros Ṙoslin, painter 67, 78, 102, 103n32
T'oros I 71
T'oros II the Great 36, 71, 71n50, 72, 72n50, 72n51, 73, 109
Toulonges
Seigneurie 481n15
Toxun, duke 309n45
Transylvania 312
Trastámara dynasty 522
Trebizond 78
Treskaveć Monastery 154, 155
Tripoli 220
Troy 70n45
T'uma Arcruni 80n87
Turchotus/Thorgotus 303
Turkey 33, 71, 71n47, 72n50, 193
Lake Van area 58
Turkmenistan 219
Tutxio de Sens 482n20

Ukraine 220
Umayyad Caliphate 12, 14, 29, 402, 508, 513, 519
Umberto d'Ormont 269, 292
Umbria 266n52
Doña Urraca /Lady Urraca 403, 405, 416, 417n52
Urraca I 458, 458n38
Uracca Fernandez 404, 407
Urraca of Zamora 402, 403

Vagnoni, Mirko 19, 252, 496
Vahka 71, 80n88
Vahram Rabuni (Vahram of Edessa) 67, 68, 68n34, 68n36, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 79, 80, 104, 105, 106, 108, 109, 109n62, 110, 111, 112

Homily on the Epiphany of the Lord and the Coronation of King Lewon 105
Vajdahunyad
Castle 311
Valencia 482n19, 521
Arxiu del Capitol de la Seu n. 0.738 222n14
Biblioteca Universitària de València, ms. 394, Olim, 860, dated 1427 (*Descendentia dominorum regum Siciliae*) 479, 479n9
Valladolid
Convent of Santa Clara de Tordesillas 507, 530
Royal Palace of Medina del Campo 522
Vardan Arevelc'i 103, 104, 104n42, 106
Vardanyan, Edda 76n67
Vasak, prince 79, 101, 105
Vasari, Giorgio 264
Vatican 175n16
Archivio Segreto Vaticano 223, 224
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 592, 344
Vazul 311
Veluće Monastery church 188
Venice 521, 522
Armenian Mekhitarist Congregation in San Lazzaro V1657/1440 99n19
Doge's palace 522
Vermenton
Church of Notre-Dame 373n37
Verona
Triumphal arch of San Fermo 269n55
Vienna
Kunsthistorisches Museum 140, 344
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlungen, inv. x, 39, 344, 345n53
Weltliche Schatzkammer 346
Önb, cod. 1921 257n25
Vigila, scribe 404, 405, 407, 408
Viguera 404
Villena 514
Marquis and marquises of Villena 514, 515, 520
Vincennes
Castle-palace 523
Saint Vincent 412
Visigoths 403, 425, 519
Visigothic Kingdom 15, 402, 404, 420, 425
Volon 454
Volturno River
Bridge 17, 232
Vratislaus II of Bohemia 107
Vrs 309n45
Vrt'anes K'ert'oł 39n16
Vuk Branković 192
Vukašin, king 155, 155n132, 191, 215

Walahfrid Strabo 11
Wallachian rulers 181n46
Washington DC
Dumbarton Oaks, 143, 144
Freer Gallery of Art 78
FGA321.11 100
FGA321.18 100
Weiger, Katharina 252
Wenceslaus of Bohemia 301, 301n21
Wenceslaus IV of Bohemia 308
Werbulchu 309n45
William I 494, 227
William II 28, 227, 232, 237
Williams, John W. 406
Witiza 404, 424
Wyss, Michael 377, 400

Yakob Klayec'i 36n12
Yohannēs Pluz Erznkac'i 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 66
Yusuf I 509

Zabel 72, 73, 100, 101, 102, 103, 106, 109, 112
Zaragoza 494
Casa del Regocijo/House of Joy/Aljaferia 518
San Francisco 493n96
Taifa court 518
Zaum
Monastery of the Theotokos 155
Zechariah, prophet 102, 124
Zech. 9:9 102
Žiča 185
Katholikon 195
Monastery church 185

Zifar, knight
Libro del Caballero Zifar/Book of the Knight Zifar 516, 516n35, 519, 521n51
Znojmo
Castel chapel 176
Zoboleh 309n45
Zoe, empress 147
Zolyom (now Zvolen)
Castle 312
Zurich armorial 176
Zurita, Jerónimo 481, 485n38