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Royal Divine Coronation Iconography in the Medieval Euro-Mediterranean Area

Edited by
Mirko Vagnoni

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Editor

Mirko Vagnoni

Editor
Mirko Vagnoni
Université de Fribourg
Switzerland

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Contents

About the Editor

Mirko Vagnoni (Dr.) obtained his degree in Medieval History from the University of Siena (2004) and PhD from the University of Florence (2008). He has worked as a postdoctoral researcher in several institutes and universities around the world and is now Senior Researcher in Medieval Art History at the University of Fribourg (Switzerland) and Assistant for 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. His main topic of research is royal iconography and sacrality in the kingdom of Sicily during the Norman–Swabian and Angevin–Aragonese period (12th–14th centuries). On this topic, he has given numerous presentations at conferences and published several papers and books.

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Royal Divine Coronation Iconography. Preliminary Considerations

Mirko Vagnoni

Department of Art History, Université de Fribourg, 1700 Fribourg, Switzerland; mirko.vagnoni@unifr.ch

Abstract: In recent decades, art historians have stressed the benefits of analysing medieval images and their contents within their specific context and, in particular, have underlined the importance of their visual impact on contemporary beholders to determine their functions and specific meanings. In other words, in the analysis of a medieval image, it has become fundamental to verify where it was collocated and whom it was aimed at, and which practical reasons it was made for (its visibility, fruition, and usability). As a result, new perspectives have been opened, creating an active historiographical debate about one of the most fascinating and studied iconographic themes of the Middle Ages: the royal divine coronation. Hence, there has been a complete rethinking of the function and meaning of this iconographic theme. For instance, the divine coronation of the king might not symbolically allude to his earthly power but to the devotional hope of receiving the crown of eternal life in the afterworld. Moreover, in the specific case of some Ottonian and Salian illuminations, historiographers have proposed that their function was not only celebrative (a manifesto of the political ideologies that legitimized power), but also liturgical and religious. This paper places this topic in a historiographical framework and provides some preliminary methodological considerations in order to stimulate new research.

Keywords: royal divine coronation; royal iconography; royal sacrality; power-religion relationship; medieval kingship

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On 18 May 2019, at the sovereignist in Piazza Duomo in Milan, the Italian *leghista* leader Matteo Salvini publicly displayed and kissed a rosary in front of the crowd, praying to Mary's immaculate heart to bring his party to victory.[1] Sociological and politological as well as historiographical analysts have underlined that various systems of political communication (even those of twenty-first century democracies) make use of religious languages and messages in order to legitimate their power. In this regard, the Bible and its exegesis have been recognized as a real catalogue of models that can be used in both political reflection and state government ideology legitimation processes. In the same way, scholars have also highlighted the political function of the public display of religiousness (*pietas*) on the part of a leader of a specific social group.[2]

This consideration has been deemed even more valid for political leaders such as medieval kings, who ruled over particularly Christianized societies where personal religious beliefs were publicly exhibited.[3] In this regard, medieval historiographers have focused particularly intense attention on so-called *sacral kingship* (or, it might be better to say, *royal sacrality*): a purely intellectual construct

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1. "Il Sole 24 ORE", 19 May 2019.
2. (Gaffuri and Ventrone 2014; Andenna et al. 2015; Herrero et al. 2016; Figurski et al. 2017). On *pietas* as a main element of Augustan propaganda (as well as of the Byzantine emperors and Norman kings of Sicily) see for example: (Zanker 1987; Torp 2005; Meier 2016; Ruffing 2016).
3. Consider, for example, that in a moral pamphlet written by the King of France Louis IX (1214–1270), for his son, the future Philip III (1245–1285), faith is afforded prime importance: (Gugliotta 2017).

of political power that, thanks to the *mise-en-scène* of the special relationship between the king and the extra-human (as well as the image of a ruler who is particularly pious and obsequious towards the Church and the Christian faith), sets out to present itself as divinely established.[4] Classic studies may be pointed out in this regard such as those of Marc Bloch,[5] Percy Ernst Schramm,[6] and Ernst Kantorowicz[7] as well as the more recent investigations of Stefan Weinfurter,[8] Franz-Reiner Erkens,[9] Ludger Körntgen,[10] and Francis Oakley.[11]

In this type of research, particular attention has been given to the analysis of the iconographic sources[12] and, specifically, representations of royalty (above all in the act of being crowned or blessed by Christ or by the Hand of God from the heavens). In particular, historiographers have studied illuminations concerning some Carolingian, Ottonian, and Salian kings, for instance, *Charles the Bald in Majesty*, illumination, 870. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14,000, *Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram*, fol. 5v (Figure 1); *Otto III in Glory*, illumination, 983–1000. Aachen, Domschatzkammer, Inv. Grimme Nr. 25, *Liuthar Gospels*, fol. 16r (Figure 2); or *Henry II Crowned by Christ*, illumination, 1002–1003. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4456, *Sacramentary of Regensburg*, fol. 11r (Figure 3).
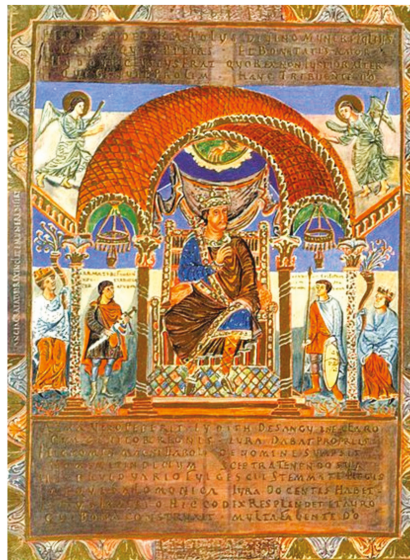
Figure 1. *Charles the Bald in Majesty*, illumination, 870. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14,000, *Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram*, fol. 5v. Public domain image (https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlo_il_Calvo).

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[4] (Cantarella 2002, 2003; Cardini 2002; Erkens 2002; Al-Azmeh and Bak 2004; Beck et al. 2004; Mercuri 2010).
[5] (Bloch 1924).
[6] (Schramm 1928).
[7] (Kantorowicz 1957).
[8] (Weinfurter 1992, 1995).
[9] (Erkens 2003, 2006).
[10] (Körntgen 2001, 2002).
[11] (Oakley 2010, 2012, 2015).
[12] For two other recent examples in this direction see: (Krämer 2008; Serrano Coll 2016).

Figure 2. *Otto III in Glory*, illumination, 983–1000. Aachen, Domschatzkammer, Inv. Grimme Nr. 25, *Liuthar Gospels*, fol. 16r. Public domain image (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liuthar_Gospels).

**Figure 3.** *Henry II Crowned by Christ*, illumination, 1002–1003. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4456, *Sacramentary of Regensburg*, fol. 11r. Public domain image (https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enrico_II_il_Santo)

In the pioneering works of Percy Ernst Schramm[13] and Ernest Kantorowicz,[14] the above-mentioned depictions were considered as real self-representations of the king, and, by displaying the ideological concepts of the king *a Deo coronatus*, *rex et sacerdos* and *christomimetes*, visualizations of a specific political message of power legitimation (*Herrscherbilder*). Moreover, in the wake of the approaches taken by art historians Aby Warburg[15] and Erwin Panofsky,[16] they had only been read from an iconographical and iconological point of view. Since then, however, the exegesis of medieval images has been refined and, in particular, in recent decades, the necessity has been underlined to analyse these artefacts inside their context, namely while considering their commissioners, audiences, collocations and—on the basis of the concept of *image-object* formulated by Jérôme Baschet[17]—social functions.[18]

In light of these new methodological approaches, Donald Bullough[19] and Ildar Garipzanov[20] have emphasized that, in reality, these images were not commissioned directly by the king or by members of his court and they therefore cannot display a, so to speak, official visualization of the kingship (as Schramm thought). On the other hand, due to the fact that these illuminations were placed in religious texts written by clerics and monks in non-royal spheres, Otto Gerhard Oexle,[21] Joachim Wollasch,[22] and Wolfgang Eric Wagner[23] have in turn stressed their liturgical significance and function of evoking the memory of the royal person (*Memorialbilder*). Furthermore, for these reasons, Ludger Körntgen[24] has even suggested explaining the acts of divine coronation and blessing of the king not as symbolic representations of his earthly authority, but as expressions of the hope that he will receive the crown of eternal life in the afterlife.

Even more recently, the new epistemological scenarios that art historians have developed on the so-called *material* or *iconic turn*[25] and the increasing interest of historiographers in the visual act[26] have brought attention to the material and performative (i.e., pertaining to its use and fruition) dimension of the artistic artefact, namely its *visuality*,[27] *reception*,[28] and *performance*.[29] The ability of the work of art, at the moment of its *mise-en-scène*, to stimulate a process of action and reaction between itself and its beholder (namely, *agency*) has led to the theory that the artistic artefact has the capacity not so much to *represent* a specific charisma but to *create* it.[30] In particular, it has been proposed that, through the very act of visual perception, a series of technical and material aspects that characterize the image stimulate the mind of the beholder and create adherence, devotion, and loyalty towards the represented subject.

These interpretations have influenced some of the most recent research on the above-mentioned royal illuminations. For instance, for Paweł Figurski,[31] Stefano Manganaro,[32] and Riccardo Pizzinato,[33] these handiworks had the function of visualizing and presenting the king's reception of divine Grace

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[13] (Schramm 1928).
[14] (Kantorowicz 1957).
[15] (Warburg 1922).
[16] (Panofsky 1939).
[17] (Baschet 1996a, 1996b).
[18] On these aspects in general see: (Didi-Huberman 1996; Schmitt [1997] 2002; Castelnuovo and Sergi 2004; Melis 2007). Instead, for some practical examples of depictions of the holder of power see: (Paravicini Bagliani 1998; Dittelbach 2003; Görich 2014).
[19] (Bullough [1975] 1991).
[20] (Garipzanov 2004, 2008).
[21] (Oexle 1984).
[22] (Wollasch 1984).
[23] (Wagner 2010).
[24] (Körntgen 2001, 2003; 2005).
[25] (Boehm 1994; Mitchell 1994; Belting 1995; Jay 2002; Alloa 2012; Mengoni 2012).
[26] (Freedberg 1989; Gell 1998; Bredekamp 2010).
[27] (Sand 2012).
[28] (Areford 2012).
[29] (Weigert 2012).
[30] (Bedos-Rezak and Rust 2018).
[31] (Figurski 2016).
[32] (Manganaro 2017).
[33] (Pizzinato 2018).

to the beholders during the same religious rituals that the illuminations were made for and used in. In this manner, these images stage, and anticipate, the eternal Salvation of the king, as, through his crowning, he was chosen for the Kingdom of Heaven in communion with the deity. However, these mainly spiritual purposes do not rule out that these pictures may have also had a political meaning. Indeed, as a sort of *speculum principis*, they were simultaneously functional to the will to display the special relationship between God and the king, and to portray his remarkable sacrality.

Therefore, in general, while from multiple sides, historiographers stress the functional connection with the liturgical performance and the religious (theological) message of the scenes of the divine coronation and blessing of the medieval kings, from my point of view in the understanding of the message contained in these images, there is not sufficient meditation on the consequences of this interpretation. Could a picture conceived of for a liturgical use really express both a celebratory and a political message (legitimating power) at the same time? Could these two different uses have been conciliated? Can these images really be considered political manifestos? Maybe, in this case, we can attribute a political meaning to the representation of royal religiousness: indeed, a king destined to the Kingdom of Heaven acts in the best way and is completely legitimate in all governmental activity. However, is this interpretation right within this context? Certainly, as said, the religious element had great importance in medieval kingship and in the general concept of power, but if these pictures were part of an essentially liturgical and religious context, is it right to explain their functions and meanings in this way? Might this research have taken the political implications of these images a bit too much for granted? In reality, should we not investigate with greater attention whether (and not just presume) they were part of a specific strategy of political communication put in place by the court in order to visually legitimate the royal power? In my opinion, according to the already quoted concept of *image–object*, the exegesis of these iconographic scenes should take into greater consideration the context of the images' creation, fruition and, as it were, usability in order to determine whether they really had the potential to both celebrate the coronation and transmit a real political message.

There is no doubt that aspects like the function, usability, visibility (with the consequent identification of the addressees), and performativity of the royal pictures as well as the political relationship between their contemporary beholders and the king, and their contextualization within a more general ideological background and specific strategy for the *mise-en-scène* of the royal image and sacrality have received inadequate attention from historiographers. However, these are fundamental aspects in the analysis of these pictures, and they require in-depth investigation in order to achieve a better understanding of the real political and, so to speak, sacralizing messages of the scenes of divine coronation and blessing of the king in medieval society. Research concentrating on these aspects has led to some interesting outcomes on some artefacts from the Norman kingdom of Sicily, namely *St. Nicholas Blessing Roger II*, enamelled plate, 1140–1149, Bari, Museum of the Basilica di San Nicola (Figure 4); *Christ Crowning Roger II*, mosaic, 1143–1149, Palermo, Church of Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio (Figure 5); and *Christ Crowning William II*, mosaic, 1177–1183, Monreale, Cathedral, choir (Figure 6). In particular, these studies have highlighted that these images did not have anything to do with celebratory purposes or ideological messages of legitimation of power but were instead inspired by devotional sentiments and prayers to God.[34] In this sense, it is absolutely indispensable and unquestionably significant for art historians and historians to perform additional analysis of the scenes of divine coronation and blessing following the mentioned methodological approach so that they may develop new considerations on some more general aspects of the *mise-en-scène* of power, royal imagery, and medieval royal sacrality.

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[34] (Vagnoni 2017a, 2017b, 2019).

Figure 4. *St. Nicholas Blessing Roger II*, enamelled plate, 1140–1149. Bari, Museum of the Basilica di San Nicola. Photo took by author.

Figure 5. *Christ Crowning Roger II*, mosaic, 1143–1149. Palermo, Church of Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio. Photo took by author.

Figure 6. *Christ Crowning William II*, mosaic, 1177–1183. Monreale, Cathedral, choir. Photo took by author.

For example, we have already noted the consideration within historiography that politics and religion were particularly connected during the Middle Ages and underlined that every religious message also had a political meaning. Indeed, as mentioned, royal religiousness held great importance in medieval kingship, and it was unavoidable for a monarch in the Middle Ages to be viewed as a pious and faithful king. However, further in-depth analysis could better clarify if it is completely correct to explain every religious act done by a king during these centuries as having a political (or even propagandistic) sense alone. Namely, did the king not also have, in the same way as a simple subject, the possibility of expressing a real and sincere religious devotion that was independent from daily government administration? In other words, in a society immersed in devotional and religious (intensely perceived and, substantially, sincere) feelings and where everything was genuinely ascribed to Providence and the Divine Will,[35] did the king too not have the *intimate* and *private* necessity to do something in order to safeguard his soul and guarantee himself the acquisition of eternal Salvation in the afterlife?

In this regard, new achievements in research could better clarify the distinction, during the Middle Ages, between what could be called a *public* and a *private* field. Certainly, if there was no clear division between these two areas in medieval society, further acquisitions could explain if it is completely correct to evaluate religious acts that had totally different positions, visual impacts, and contexts of fruition in the same way. In other words, is it right to consider the king's participation in a procession through the city streets or the celebration of his faith, for instance, in letters and public proclamations read in front of his subjects or political enemies (or in images placed on coins, or on the facades of royal palaces, or city gates) in the same way as a picture of the king in the act of being crowned or blessed by God situated within a liturgical manuscript or in the presbyterial area of a church?

Finally, further information could be found on royal sacrality. In particular, we could better understand if it was exclusively a political fiction and the outcome of a specific governmental strategy

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[35] (Bacci 2000, 2003).

to legitimate power or, instead, if in some particular situations the relationship between the king and the sacral element could have had a different function, for example, to simply manifest a personal devotion and an authentic and real religious sentiment. Finally, we could understand if, in such a *hyper-sacralized*[36] society as the medieval one, the royal *consecration* (through the anointment ritual to which Marc Bloch brought historiographers' attention for the first time[37]) really systematically made the king a *special* being, worthy of particular veneration and respect from his subjects.[38]

This volume aims to propose some considerations on this topic by dealing with it from a wide and multidisciplinary point of view. Indeed, thanks to the contributions of both art historians and historians, the matter will be analysed from various slants while studying a timespan that goes from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries and a geographical area that ranges, from east to west, through the kingdoms of Hungary, Sicily, and Naples to England, Aragon, and Portugal.

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[36] (Meier 2016).
[37] (Bloch 1924). And for a more recent analysis see: (Cantarella 2007).
[38] For some criticisms on the concept of *sacral kingship* see: (Engels 1999).

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Article

Corona Angelica Pannoniae: '…ecce Angelus Domini' †

Edina Eszenyi

Institute of English and American Studies, Department of English Literatures and Cultures, Pázmány Péter Catholic University, 2087 Piliscsaba, Hungary; edinae@europe.com
† In Loving Memory of Márton.

Abstract: The article examines the Hungarian *corona angelica* tradition, according to which the Holy Crown of Hungary was delivered to the country by an angel. In order to embed Hungarian results into international scholarship, it provides an English language summary of previous research and combines in one study how St. Stephen I (997–1038), St. Ladislaus I (1074–1095), and King Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490) came to be associated with the tradition, examining both written and visual sources. The article moves forward previous research by posing the question whether the angel delivering the Crown to Hungary could have been identified as the *Angelus Domini* at some point throughout history. This possibility is suggested by Hungary's *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV* and an unusually popular Early Modern modification of the Hartvik Legend, both of which use this expression to denote the angel delivering the Crown. While the article leaves the question open until further research sheds more light on the history of early Hungarian spirituality; it also points out how this identification of the angel would harmonize the Byzantine and the Hungarian iconography of the *corona angelica*, and provides insight into the current state of the *Angelus Domini* debate in angelology.

Keywords: angelology; angels; *Angelus Domini*; angelic coronation; St Stephen I of Hungary; St Ladislaus I of Hungary; Matthias Corvinus; *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*; Hartvik Legend; Luigi Lippomano

1. Introduction

> And as their Language is peculiar, so is the opinion of their Crown; of which they have the greatest esteem of any other Nation. This they commonly believe, to have been brought by an Angel from Heaven unto St. Stephen their King: And have so high an estimation thereof, that they think, the right and fate of the Kingdom goeth with the possession thereof. (Brown 1673, p. 16)

So speaks the British physician and traveller Edward Brown of the Hungarians in 1673. Far-fetched as the theory appealing to him may sound, the *corona angelica* tradition about an angelic delivery is just one among the many mysteries surrounding the Holy Crown of Hungary (Figure 1). Scholarship agrees on surprisingly little concerning the origins of this over 800-year-old Crown, one of the oldest in Europe. According to the present state of research, its circular base, the *corona graeca*, arrived from Byzantium and was intended for the Greek wife of Géza I (1074–1077); while the cross-straps forming the upper part, the *corona latina*, used to comprise parts of a devotional object related to St. Stephen I (997–1038). The two parts presumably joined during the reign of Béla III (1172–1196) and were topped by a cross in the 1500s, the characteristic bent of which resulted from an accident in the following

century. The Crown has been referred to as *corona sacra* from 1256, due partly to the *corona angelica* tradition claiming it was delivered to the country by an angel.[1]

Figure 1. The Holy Crown of Hungary. Photo courtesy of the Holy Crown Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, copyright Károly Szelényi.

The symbolism of the *corona angelica* for the Hungarians as a nation is difficult to overstate. Loyalty was sworn to the Crown and not to the king in the 1300s; and the Crown sustained claim for land ownership as a sort of legal entity side by side with the king by the early 1400s. The Hungarian coat of arms is topped by the Crown, whose purported mystical powers over the nation's liberty and independence attract a bountiful amount of followers in the form of the Doctrine of the Holy Crown today.[2]

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[1]   See (Tóth 2018) for the most recent, authoritative discussion of historical and art historical debates relating to the Crown.
[2]   See recently (Lucherini 2017, pp. 267–83). For an update on the present state of Crown research see (Tóth 2019), with further bibliography. The volume is among the latest editions of the Holy Crown Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Characteristically for the importance of the topic, the title page is decorated with a copperplate representation of the *corona angelica* by Wolfgang Kilian, appearing first on the title page of *De sacre coronae regni Hungariae ortu virtute, victoris, fortuna* by the Crown Guard Péter Révay (Augsburg, 1613). See (Lucherini 2013, pp. 479–90). For research presented in

In light of the importance of the tradition for the Hungarian national identity, research focusing on the *corona angelica* comprises a relatively small niche within the Crown's immense academic literature. The first and only systematic study of the tradition was conducted by the late historian Váczy (1982). Váczy linked the *corona angelica* to issues around royal legitimacy and argued that belief in the tradition intensified in periods when the country's liberty and independence were threatened. Váczy's article, which searched for the origins of the tradition in medieval Hungarian textual sources and made tentative steps for the exploration of the *corona angelica* in art, has served as a point of reference ever since. Among historians, Rácz (2011) extended the time period examined by Váczy and argued that the *corona angelica* notion referred not merely to the act of an angelic delivery but rather to the frequent association of angels with the Crown throughout its history. Art historians examined the *corona angelica* as a recurrent motif in the iconography of three Hungarian kings: Saint Stephen I, Saint Ladislaus I (1077–94), and King Matthias Corvinus (1458–90). Research led by the late Kerny (2003), Wehli (2005),[3] Csilla Bíró and Tamás Kertész (Bíró and Kertész 2007) described how pictorial representations of the *corona angelica* served as visual compensation in cases of debatable legitimacy, by reminding the audience of the heavenly source of royal power.

English publications on this Hungarian tradition are nevertheless scarce, making international contextualisation difficult. Although English language publications commenting on other aspects of the Crown do make mention of the *corona angelica*, the translated version of Váczy's (1985) article provides the only detailed examination of the motif in English until today. Furthermore, and perhaps even importantly, research has so far concentrated primarily on the object and less on the agent of the angelic Crown delivery, as the tradition has not yet been examined from the point of view of angelology. The following study will make an attempt at filling in these lacunae and present a state-of-research overview with angelological observations closing in on the identity of the participating angel.

2. St. Stephen I (997–1038) and the Beginnings

The addressee of the Crown in Edward Brown's afore-mentioned account is Saint Stephen I, the first king of Hungary. Despite the fact that common knowledge indeed identifies the Holy Crown with the crown of the king who Christianized the nation, the one thing scholarship agrees on concerning the date of the Crown is that it could not possibly have been worn by him. Besides St. Stephen's popularity, another factor likely to generate confusion is the heavenly connection between Stephen and his crown, suggested by two of the three medieval legends recounting his rule.[4]

The *Legenda Maior Sancti Regis Stephani*, the longer legend allegedly finished by Stephen's 1083 canonization, includes an episode about Stephen's father receiving a heavenly message. In a dream, Grand Prince Géza (972–997) encounters a young man of a pleasing appearance (*iuvenem delectabilem aspectu*), who tells Géza that his own political ambitions would be realized by his yet unborn son, later also to be crowned as king by the will of God.[5] The divine messenger is described as a young man of exceptional beauty, which is not uncommon for the description of an angel. What the being delivers is rather an Annunciation than a crown, however, unless we understand the promise of the

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English, see the forthcoming volume (Géza and Bak 2020). I hereby express my gratitude to Dr. Géza Pálffy, Head of the Holy Crown Research Group, for the valuable support provided during the preparation of the present article.

[3] I thank Dr. Tamás Karáth from the Pázmány Péter Catholic University for helping me access the article.

[4] In English see (Engel 2005; De Cevins 2004).

[5] "Cumque nimium æsset sollicitus de rebellibus domandis et ritibus sacrilegis destruendiset episcopatibus secundum estimationem suam ad profectum sancte ecclesie statuendis, mirabili visione noctu consolatur eum Dominus, fecit adstare sibi iuvenem delectabilem aspectu, qui dixit ei: "Pax tibi ælecte, iubeo te de sollicitudine tua fore securum. Non tibi concessum est, quod meditaris, quia manus pollutas humano sanguine gestas. De te filius nasciturus egredietur, cui hec omnia disponenda divine providentie consilio Dominus commendabit. Hic unus erit de regibus electis a Domino, 'coronam vite' secularis commutaturus æterna. Verumptamen virum spirituali legatione tibi transmittendum honorabiliter suscipito, susceptum honest<at>o timore perditionis ultime perterritus et amore raptus iugiter manentis spei, que non confundit, exortationibus eius non fictum cordis fidelis prebeto assensum." *Legenda Maior Sancti Regis Stephani*. The Latin Library. Available online: https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/legenda.stephani.html (accessed on 12 July 2019).

yet unborn Stephen's coronation as a metaphorical delivery of the crown. Considering the flexibility of oral traditions, the possibility that this metaphorical reference grew out into a physical delivery of the Crown cannot, of course, be excluded. Even though the description of the agent is plausibly angelic, however, the episode does not provide a direct link to the *corona angelica* notion (Váczy 1985, p. 5).

Another indirect reference is provided by the c. 1100 Hartvik Legend on the life of St. Stephen. Composed on the order of King Coloman the Learned (1095–1116) by his bishop Hartvik, this legend provided an extended summary of St. Stephen's two earlier legends, and was officially confirmed by Innocent III (1198–1216).[6] While the Hartvik Legend repeated the Annunciation to Géza from the *Legenda Maior* and described the participating angelic figure with the same words, it endowed the *corona angelica* with a new meaning by also claiming that St. Stephen received his crown from the pope through heavenly intervention. According to Hartvik, a crown had already been finished by the papal goldsmiths when a messenger of the Lord (*domini nuncius*) addressed the pope in a dream and informed him that it is the will of God that the crown be given to the Hungarian king, instead of the originally intended Polish recipient:

> *Prefixa itaque die, qua parata iam corona predicto Poloniorum Duci mittenda fuerat, nocte, que precedebat, pape per visum domini nuncius adstitit, cui et dixit: "Crastina die prima diei hora ignote gentis nuncios ad te venturos esse cognoveris, qui suo duci coronam a te regiam cui (sic) benedictionis apostolice munere flagitabunt."*[7]

As Váczy noted, Hartvik inserted the pope as a second mediator after the angel between the king and God. The description of the angelic delivery is once again metaphorical at best in this source, as the expression "messenger of the Lord" once again does not directly name an angel, even if it is certainly a step closer to unambiguity than the *Legenda Maior* version. The being, nevertheless, once again does not personally deliver the crown but delivers it indirectly at best, by delivering a message eventually directing the crown to Hungary (Váczy 1985, p. 5).

3. St. Ladislaus (1077–1095) and the 1300s

In chronological order, the next source for the Hungarian *corona angelica* tradition is the *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, a compilation of earlier chronicle texts of uncertain dates merged and extended during the course of the 1300s.[8] The 1300s extensions demonstrate that popular belief in the angelic origins of the Hungarian Crown was in full bloom around the beginning of the century. Evidence is provided by the account of Otto Wittelsbach, Prince of Bavaria, making the journey to Hungary for his own contested coronation ceremony. The chronicle tells that the future king and his entourage considered it wise to transport the Crown hidden in a little barrel, which accidentally got lost overnight. Although they could only return to rescue the precious content during the night of the following day, they were lucky enough to find the Crown, and Otto was crowned King of Hungary (1305–1307) shortly afterwards. The anonymous chronicler stressed that the recovery was a miracle, considering how many people used the road during the day the Crown was lying by, and drew the conclusion: "...Pannonia would not be deprived of the crown given to her by an angel." (*data sibi corona ab angelo*).[9]

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[6] In English see (Font 2001).

[7] Imre Szentpétery, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, vol. 1 (Budapest, 1937–1938, henceforth SRH), p. 413. This is also the version quoted by Edward Brown, who wrote: the pope "was warned by an Angelical Apparition" (Brown 1673, p. 16).

[8] The first part of the compilation was composed during the reign of the Angevin Charles Robert (Károly Róbert, 1308–1342) and concludes with the years 1333–34; the second dates from the age of the also Angevin Louis I the Great (Nagy Lajos, 1342–1382) and its compilation started on 15 May 1358. Both parts modified, continued and occasionally extended earlier texts (Somogyi 2011, fn. 8, with extensive further bibliography). In German see (Horváth 1971).

[9] "*Quid est, quod a nullo inventa, sed ab ipsis, qui portabant? nisi, quod ne Pannonia, sibi data corona ab Angelo, privaretur.*" József Podhradczky, *Chronicon Budense* (Buda, 1838), p. 129.

The section recounting Otto's journey in the chronicle is attributed to the hand of an unknown chronicler working for the Angevin dynasty, who presumably commissioned the compilation of the chronicle, and who were also Otto's competitors for the Hungarian throne. Accordingly, the chronicler concluded that by making him lose the Crown, Heaven made Otto understand that he was not allowed to keep the Hungarian Crown neither in a literal nor in a metaphorical sense. Indeed, owing to the increasing number of conflicts with the oligarchs subdividing the country, Otto eventually had no choice but to leave Hungary in 1307, when he was also physically deprived of the Crown, which did not leave Hungary. As Váczy (1985, pp. 4–5) pointed out, this observation made the chronicle section the earliest written source using the *corona angelica* for the justification of human actions. Not less importantly, it also bonded the Crown with the country instead of the person of the king.

The intensification of the *corona angelica* belief during the two centuries separating the St. Stephen legends and the *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV* may be related to St. Ladislaus I, the king who canonized St. Stephen and himself became the second canonized king of Hungary in 1192 (Klaniczay 2002, pp. 173–94). King St. Ladislaus I and his brother Géza I (1074–77) both faced legitimacy issues after successfully contesting the throne of their cousin, Solomon (1063–74). Following Géza's death, Ladislaus benefited from the combined support of the pope and the nobility, and snatched the crown from the legitimate heirs, his own underage nephews. In spite, or perhaps because of his disputable legitimacy, he also became the only Hungarian king whom the *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV* turned into both an eye-witness and participant to the *corona angelica*.

The compilation recounts that Ladislaus experienced a vision just before the 1074 Mogyoród battle, which proved to be decisive in the fight between the brothers and their reigning cousin. Ladislaus saw the Angel of the Lord (*Angelus Domini*) descend from Heaven and place a crown on Géza's head, from which he understood that they would emerge victoriously and his brother would be crowned as king:

> *Tunc beatus Ladizlaus subiunxit: Dum staremus hic in consilio, ecce Angelus Domini descendit de celo portans coronam auream in manu sua, et impressit capiti tuo, unde certus sum, quod nobis victoria donabitur et Salomon exul fugiet debellatus extra regnum.* (*SRH* vol. 1, p. 388)

As the text explicitly uses the word *angelus*, there can be little doubt that it describes an angel, and the angel indeed literally places a crown on a head this time. The angelic coronation made both Géza's and subsequently, the visionary Ladislaus' claims to the throne unshakable. The *corona angelica* functioned as a reminder of the heavenly source of royal power: if the king was chosen by God, he could legitimately mount the throne by *ius divinum*, owing to his *idoneitas*. The fact that Géza was not crowned with St. Stephen's traditional initiation crown offered the *raison d'être* for this episode in the *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV* for Váczy, who proposed that it brought around the identification of the Holy Crown of Hungary with St. Stephen's now lost crown. Since the reigning King Solomon took the coronation crown with him when fleeing the country after the lost battle, Géza had to be crowned with a new crown, which was believed to be holy once delivered by an angel, therefore it did not take long to associate it with the canonized St. Stephen. Unaware of the crown switch, popular folk could easily believe Géza's crown to be identical with that of the country's first and holy ruler (Váczy 1985, p. 16; Bíró and Kertész 2007, p. 369; Kerny 2003, p. 6).[10]

A round miniature image on Fol. 42[r] of the *Chronicon Pictum* (*Képes Krónika*, *Illuminated Chronicle*, National Széchenyi Library of Budapest, MS Cod. lat. 404), a richly illustrated section of the *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, even depicted the vision of Ladislaus about the royal future of his brother.[11] In this earliest visual representation of the Hungarian *corona angelica*, the brothers appear

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[10] As Rácz noted, the *corona angelica* also ensured coherence between Heaven and earth, and signified that royal power is given and not inherent, consequently limitable (Rácz 2011, pp. 19–21).

[11] The *Chronicon Pictum* (see the digitized version with full text and images at the Wayback Machine internet archive: https://web.archive.org/web/20120304111134/http://konyv-e.hu/pdf/Chronica_Picta.pdf, accessed on 12 October 2019) was written by Márk Kálti (*Marci de Kalt*) shortly after 1358, and its decoration was finished around 1370. The attention devoted

sitting on white horses against a rocky landscape when St. Ladislaus spots the angel reach down from heaven and place a crown on Géza's head. Interestingly, the coronation of St. Ladislaus is also depicted in a larger, 14-line square miniature on Fol. 46ᵛ of the same manuscript, comprising the second earliest Hungarian *corona angelica* image. The chapter accompanying the image makes no mention of angels contributing to Ladislaus' coronation, despite the fact that two angels are actively participating in the scene in the image. Ladislaus is standing between two high level ecclesiasts who are placing a crown on his head together with two angels reaching down from Heaven in a position similar to Géza's angel. The event is witnessed by a large crowd.[12]

The first striking detail of the image is the fact that Ladislaus is being crowned by angels, which is not mentioned in sources pre-dating the image. Bíró and Kertész (2007, p. 371) nonetheless found a sermon in the anonym Carthusian sermon collection of the Codex Érdy, compiled between 1524 and 1527, which remembers Ladislaus' vision in a way slightly better suiting the image. Ladislaus claims in the sermon that an angel arriving from Heaven placed a crown on his head, i.e., not on that of his brother; from which he understood that he and his brother would emerge victoriously from the battle of the following day. Bíró and Kertész attributed the crown's shift from the head of Géza to that of Ladislaus either to the creativity of the sermon's author or to the influence of Ladislaus' cult. Ladislaus consolidated his power and occupied the throne for a significantly longer time than his brother, and a saintly cult developed around him already during his lifetime, which lives on even today. The holy ruler's legendary deeds were frequently represented in multi-scene iconographical cycles in medieval church interiors, with new examples continuously surfacing today as restoration works proceed. Currently, Ladislaus' angelic coronation is visible in a c. 1350 fresco in Vitfalva (Vítkovce, Slovakia) (László 1993, p. 121; Lángi 2012), in the 1378 fresco decoration of the church of Velemér (Radocsay 1977, p. 172), and in a 1418 fresco commissioned by Vladislaus II in the chapel of the Lublin castle (Bíró and Kertész 2007, p. 371). In the Vitfalva fresco, which is roughly contemporaneous with the *Chronicon Pictum* miniature, Ladislaus is crowned by two angels, whereas he is crowned by one in both of the later examples.

This leads us to the second anomaly in the *Chronicon Pictum*'s Ladislaus miniature, namely the increased number of angels: Géza is crowned by one angel and Ladislaus by two. Whence the second angel? Both St. Stephen legends mention but one angel, the *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV* also remembers but one angel in both of its *corona angelica* episodes, even Edward Brown described the Hungarian tradition involving but one angel. Apart from László Veszprémy, who proposed the doubled number of angels fashions Ladislaus as the humble *rex renitens* unwilling to accept the crown,[13] Hungarian scholarship has not attributed much significance to the number of angels involved in the coronation. The Hungarian language, similarly to English, is endowed with a semantic layer where the plural form also conveys a general meaning and can simply express that the delivery of the crown was an angelic task, whether performed by a singular or a dual agent. Indeed, one angel or more equally suffice to grant holiness and, in turn, legitimacy, which has so far been the central concern of historians

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to the *corona angelica* in the richly illustrated codex may well be related to the questionable legitimacy of the Angevin Charles Robert (1308–42), whose son Louis I the Great (1342–1382) was not alien from the idea of utilizing art as propaganda. (Kerny 2003, pp. 6–7); in Italian see (Lucherini 2015); in English see (Dercsényi 1969; Fügedi 2004).

[12] The colour of the wings matches the colour of the robes in each case. Géza's angel is different from those of Ladislaus and Ladislaus' two angels also differ from each other, which makes the possibility of a doubled or tripled representation of the same angel highly unlikely. Géza's angel is wearing green; the angel on Ladislaus' left is wearing pink robes and has short curly hair, unlike the angel on his right. The angel on the right seems to be perhaps the most decorated among the three angels, wearing deep red with occasional yellowish decoration in the wings as opposed to the monochrome wings of the other two angels, albeit the size of the images makes meticulous analyses challenging.

[13] A slight discrepancy of the theory is that if both Géza and Ladislaus had to be forced to accept the crown as Veszprémy claims, they both would have deserved the doubled number of angels (Veszprémy 2018, p. 154). Perhaps Ladislaus received two angels because he simply needed double visual confirmation in lack of written sources. Perhaps the artist simply preferred a symmetrical composition and paired two ecclesiasts with two angels. Another possibility is that if the Crown was spoken of as being brought by angels, using the plural due to the characteristics of the Hungarian language to be discussed below, it was also represented this way, in which case perhaps oral tradition influenced the arts.

and art historians approaching the topic. The lack of attention devoted to this detail is nevertheless all the more significant, as the majority of artistic representations followed the example of the more successful king, and diverted from written sources by involving two angels.

4. King Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490) and the Corona Angelica in Art

The artistic utilization of the *corona angelica* reached its full bloom in the following century under King Matthias Corvinus, whose relationship with the tradition differed from both that of St. Stephen and St. Ladislaus. Matthias apparently made conscious use of the legitimizing power attributed to the tradition, embedding his own *corona angelica* portraits in a well-designed propagandistic political programme still during his lifetime. Renowned patron of art and science, whose royal library, the Bibliotheca Corviniana, comprised one of the largest European collections,[14] Matthias turned Hungary into the first land outside Italy to embrace the Renaissance. He is a legendary figure of Hungarian history even today, and several contemporaneous popular myths explain him being chosen by heavenly intervention in lack of a fully legal claim to the throne (Bíró and Kertész 2007, pp. 373–74). In reality, Matthias ascended the throne after King Ladislaus V (1444–57) died without a legitimate heir, and his elder sister's family line received no support from the Estates. The Diet of Hungary elected the candidate preferred by Pope Calixtus III (1455–58) instead, and Matthias' rule started in 1458, when he was but 14 years old. Matthias could only be crowned in 1464, however, once the Crown had returned to Hungary as a result of a peace treated with Frederick III (1452–93).

It was Tünde Wehli who first argued that Matthias consciously made the *corona angelica* part of an extensive iconographical programme intended to amend his legitimacy (Wehli 2005, pp. 872–74). According to Kerny (2003, p. 9), Matthias simply inherited the idea from the Angevin dynasty, who, as mentioned above, found it wise to keep the *ius divinum* idea alive amidst their own proper series of contested coronations. Bíró and Kertész argued that the very idea of using propaganda for filling in the legitimacy lacunae reached Matthias with the Renaissance from Italy, and materialized with the help of the closest circle of royal advisors.[15] Wherever it came from, the *corona angelica* experienced its own Renaissance in Matthias' visual representations.[16]

Kerny argued that in art, the *corona angelica* visually connected the kings associated with the tradition by shifting from one ruler's iconography to the other as a kind of artistic inheritance. She proposed that the *Chronicon Pictum*'s 1300s Ladislaus miniature was the model for a coloured woodcut allegedly printed in Ulm around 1460–1470, the earliest known example of the *corona angelica* in St. Stephen's visual representations. This Ulm woodcut served as the model for a 1486 Matthias statue on the gate tower of the Ortenburg castle in Bautzen; and the Ortenburg statue became the model for Stephen's portrait in the second, hugely influential 1488 edition of Johannes Thuróczy's *Chronicle of the Hungarians*, printed in Augsburg.[17] Owing to Thuróczy's popularity, this *corona angelica* portrait became the standard iconographical type of St. Stephen until the 1600s, living on in innumerable copies and smaller variations up until modern times.[18]

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[14] Perhaps it is not by chance that Edward Brown (1673, pp. 15–16) also discussed the Hungarian *corona angelica* tradition in the paragraph immediately following his admiration of Matthias' library. See recently (De Cevins 2016).

[15] They considered the humanist Archbishop John Vitéz de Zredna (1408–72), the humanist poet and bishop Janus Pannonius (1434–72), and the Carthusian Andreas Pannonius (b. 1420–25) with a military past and extensive Italian travels the most likely candidates, who were all familiar with the cult of St. Ladislaus (Bíró and Kertész 2007, pp. 365, 372–73).

[16] Matthias' rule is also the period when the Holy Crown first appeared on top of the Hungarian coat of arms (Rácz 2011, p. 24).

[17] Kerny (2003, pp. 7–12) acknowledges that it was Tünde Wehli who first created a link between the *Chronicon Pictum* St. Ladislaus miniature and the Thuróczy chronicle's St. Stephen portrait. Wehli further pointed out that the Thuróczy text also stresses that Matthias was chosen by God (Wehli 2005, p. 873; referenced by Bíró and Kertész 2007, p. 371).

[18] A copperplate by Peeter Rucholle in the 1633 edition of *Gloria virtutis Hungaricae...* by György Alajos Erdődy is a famous example of the *corona angelica* in St. Stephen's post-1600 iconography. The image depicts Saint Stephen dashing over symbols of idolatry in Jove's quadriga with the lightning in his right hand. Two angels are flying in the sky, one of whom is holding a crown over Stephen's head, with a ribbon bearing the words 'In hoc signo vinces'. The sign of the cross is projected above this angel by another angel hovering above the horses, and this second angel also projects similar rays towards the Hungarian coat of arms in Stephen's left hand. The second angel's participation in the delivery of the crown is debatable

Despite the fact that the crown is delivered by two angels in all these examples, the presence of the second angel engaged scholarship in context of the Ortenburg Matthias statue only, where one of the angels is holding a sword. By way of this detail, the statue was linked to a composition combining the *Arma Christi* and the *Vir Dolorum* in one of Matthias' Corvinas (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Ross. 1164, Fol. 125v). The richly dressed Matthias is imploring the resurrected Christ on his knees in the full-page image. Two angels are hovering above the king's head: the angel on the left, wearing blue robes and endowed with feathery green wings, is holding a crown; while the angel on the right, dressed in red, with green and white feathers decorating the wings, is holding a sword. The king's identification is ensured by the text accompanying the image, as well as the coat of arms in front of him, which also suggests 6 May 1469 as the *terminus ante quem* for this Matthias portrait (Wehli 2005, p. 872).[19]

In Wehli's (2005, p. 872) interpretation, the second angel is delivering a sword to Matthias; while Bíró and Kertész (2007, p. 366) understood this detail as a sign of heavenly protection originating from a legend told, again, by the *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*. King Ladislaus and King Solomon met for a duel under the walls of the Bratislava castle according to the chronicle compilation. Before the duel could commence, Solomon looked his enemy in the face and saw two threatening angels hovering above Ladislaus' head and swinging flaming swords.[20] Bíró and Kertész (2007, p. 370) suggested that the merge of the two stories, the *corona angelica* and the two angels protecting the king with flaming swords, brought around the second angel holding a sword above the head of Matthias.

A slightly earlier Corvina, *Libellus de virtutibus Mathiae Corvino dedicatus* by Andreas Pannonius, with a dedication signed on l September 1467 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Lat. 3186), shows Matthias with a single angel *corona angelica*.[21] In a 14-line S-initial occupying half of Fol. 1ʳ, the king appears enthroned in an imaginary space, wearing a crown and holding a sceptre. The half figure of a red-winged angel dressed in green is facing the king on the right side of the border decoration, proffering the same crown to the king. Under the angel, at the bottom of the S-initial, the author is proffering his work to Matthias. The *corona angelica* serves a double aim here, according to Bíró and Kertész (2007, p. 368): it stresses the importance of spiritual guidance over the king and legitimizes Matthias by communicating that he was chosen by God, which is also accentuated in the text running right under the image.

Finally, sources report that a now destroyed fresco on the exterior wall of a house by the Campo' de Fiori in Rome depicted Matthias and the *corona angelica* with one angel. The fresco is known from contemporaneous Hungarian and foreign descriptions; as well as from a heavily damaged preliminary study in the Eszterházy collection in Fraknó; and from an early 1600s watercolour in the Vatican Library (MS Barb. Lat. 4423, Fol. 75r). Their collective summary reconstructs the portrait of a fully armoured Matthias on horseback, drawing a sword with an angel holding a crown above the king's head. A second angel was present in the composition in pairs with a demon or devil, both holding

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(Kerny 2003, pp. 12–20). See the digitized version of the article at http://real-j.mtak.hu/4919/1/ArsHungarica_2003.pdf (REAL-J—repository of the Library and Information Centre, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, accessed on 12 October 2019) for images.

[19] Several Hungarian cities received coats of arms held by two angels in the 1400s and 1500s. Towards the end of the reign of King Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387–1437), angels also appeared as supporters of the Hungarian coat of arms, featured in official documents related to Matthias, as well as in his Corvinas. Matthias was also the king who regulated the number of angels around the Hungarian coat of arms by limiting their number to three. The official number was finalized in two much later, by Queen Maria Theresa of Austria (1740–80) (Rácz 2011, pp. 19–24).

[20] "Milites vero Salomonis super castra sedentes illos aspiciebant, putabatque Salomon illum esse servientem et propterea iverat decertare cum illo. Statimque cum ad eum venisset et faciem eius respexisset, vidit duos angelos super caput ipsius Ladizlai igneo gladio volantes et inimicos eius minantes." *SRH* vol. 11, pp. 401–2. The event also appears in a miniature format in the historiated initial accompanying this section of the *Chronicon Pictum* (Fol. 46ʳ). A sermon in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 1369 sermon collection, probably made for Hungarian Dominicans around 1300, argues that one angel appeared sitting on Ladislaus' shoulder because Ladislaus had been chosen by the Lord, Who commanded His angels to guard him (Bíró and Kertész 2007, p. 370).

[21] The l September 1467 date of BAV MS Vat. Lat. 3186 is challenging the 6 May 1469 *terminus ante quem* of the BAV MS Ross. 1164 portrait which, in Wehli's (2005, p. 872) opinion, is Matthias' earliest manuscript representation.

short epigrams on Matthias' two sides in the sky. The fresco is dated after Matthias' 1464 coronation and before 1470, when the name Corvinus, missing from the epigrams, started to be used in Italy.[22]

5. Angelus Domini?

Even though Matthias was the last Hungarian king to be associated with the *corona angelica*, the tradition well outlived him. Shortly after Matthias' death, the officially confirmed Hartvik Legend on St. Stephen's life was published for the first time in the 1498 *Legendae Sanctorum regni Hungariae* compilation. While this edition still followed the medieval text, and used the expression *nuncius domini* for the angel directing the crown from the pope to Hungary,[23] a modified version was used only four years later by the distinguished Franciscan Pelbartus Ladislaus de Themeswar (1430–1504), renowned for publishing an extraordinary number of sermons among the Hungarian representatives of scholasticism. The 1502 edition of Pelbartus' *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis pars aestivalis* called the angel directing the crown from the pope to Hungary *Angelus Domini*, in a manner similar to the *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*. In addition, Pelbartus also used the *Angelus Domini* denomination for the angel who announced the birth of St. Stephen to his father Grand Prince Géza in the *Legenda Maior*, as though equalling the two angels.[24] Somewhat later a new version of the Hartvik Legend appeared which also followed suit, and swept aside any doubts concerning the identity of the messenger visiting the pope:

> *Nocte enim eius diei, quo statuerat Pontifex coronam Polonorum Principi dare perferendam, apparvit ei Angelus Domini, atque ad eum: Noveris cras hora diei prima ignotae gentis nuncios ad te venturos, suo Duci coronam regiam, et Apostolicae benedictionis munus abs te expetituros. Eam ergo coronam, quam parari iussisti, illis incunctanter tribue, ad ipsorum Ducem eam absportaturis: nec dubites illi eam cum regni gloria pro vitae eius meritis deberi.*[25]

The earliest appearance I have hitherto found for this modified Hartvik version is the 1581 edition of *De Vitis Sanctorum* by the Venetian bishop and papal nuncio Luigi Lippomano (1496–1559);[26] whereas the latest comes from the 1878 edition of *Historiae seu vitae sanctorum* by Laurentius Surius (1522–78).[27] Both authors were among the most acclaimed hagiographers of the 1500s, equally known for a preference for sources considered reliable at the time. Lippomano was famous for seeking

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22 Visual and written sources differ in smaller details of the fresco, for instance there are altogether three angels or putti visible in the Esterházy painting, where the epigram is held by two (Szentmártoni Szabó 2016, pp. 664–65, with further bibliography).

23 *Legendae sanctorum regni Hungariae in Lombardica Historia non contentae*) (Venice, 1498), p. 16.

24 "Ecce autem nocte praecedente papae astitit per visum Angelus Domini, dicens: "Crastina die ignotae gentis nuncii ad te venient, qui suo duci regiam coronam postulabunt. Hanc ergo coronam praeparatam illorum duci largiaris, quia sibi pro suae vitae sanctae meritis debetur cum regni gloria." Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis II. Pars aestivalis* (Augsburg, 1502). Sermo LII., div. H. The Annunciation to Géza in div. G of the same sermon: "Cumque iam in Christo baptizatus et spiritu fervens nimis sollicitus esset de ritibus sacrilegis destruendis et rebellibus domandis, ac episcopatibus et ecclesiis construendis, ecce quadam nocte astitit Angelus Domini in specie iuvenis, aspectu delectabilis, dicens: "Pax tibi, Christi electe, iubeo te de sollicitudine tua fore securum. Non tamen tibi concessum est, quod meditaris, quia manus pollutas humano sanguine habes, sed de te filius nasciturus est, cui haec omnia disponenda commendavit Deus." "Pelbartus: Pomerium de sanctis, Pars aestivalis Sermo LXXXIV," Eötvös Loránd University Sermones Compilati Research Group, accessed on 23 August 2019, http://sermones.elte.hu/pelbart/pa/pa084.html.

25 Jacques Bongars, *Rerum Hungaricarum scriptores varii, historici, geographici: Ex veteribus...* (Frankfurt, 1600), p. 272; Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino, *De officio principis Christiani libri tres* (Rome, 1619), pp. 348–49; Lorenz Beyerlinck, *Magnum theatrum vitae humanae ...* vol. 1 (Venice, 1707), p. 428; Johannes Georgius Schwandtner, *Scriptores rervm Hvngaricarvm veteres ac genvini...* vol. 1 (Vienna, 1746), pp. 417–18; Marianus Gerl, *Innocuum romani pontificis in elargiendis honorum titulis jus ab ineptiis...* (Regensburg, 1759), p. 94; Josephi Innocenti Desericii, *Stephanus Supremus, Et Ultimus Majorum Hungarorum: atque ad eo corona et coronis...* (Pest, 1760), p. 41; Alexius Horányi, *Memoria Hungarorum et provincialium scriptis editis motorum*, vol. 3 (Bratislava, 1777), p. 299; Ignátz Csétsényi Svastics, *Magyarok históriája* (Bratislava, 1805); 85, even the Hungarian translation "az Úrnak Angyala" differentiates this angel on page 51; Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis liber unus* (Naples, 1862), 586; Cesare Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici* vol. 16 (Lyon, 1859), p. 380; Cesare Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici* vols. 15–16 (Lyon, 1868), p. 380.

26 Luigi Lippomano, *De Vitis Sanctorum: Complectens Sanctos Mensium Iulii et Augusti*, vol. 4 (Venice, 1581), p. 266.

27 Laurentius Surius, *Historiae seu vitae sanctorum juxta optimam coloniensem editionem...* vol. 9 (Turin, 1878), p. 37.

hagiographies dating from the lifetime of the author, and equally infamous for his lack of consideration for subsequent modifications thereof. Surius, in contrast, was particularly interested in changes that texts underwent over time, and put heavy emphasis on the authors' reputation (Touber 2014, p. 64). Two hagiographers of such diverse methods equally establishing a preference for the *Angelus Domini* Hartvik version suggests that this was the version they both believed to be the authentic, earliest text of the Legend.[28]

The fact that the *Legendae Sanctorum regni Hungariae* still contained the *nuncius domini* version allows for the consequence that the *Angelus Domini* version came into existence at some point between its 1498 date and the 1581 first usage by Lippomano. Pelbartus' intermediary version of the text further narrows the birth of the *Angelus Domini* version to the period between 1502 and 1581. It should be noted, though, that the c. 1115 *Gesta principum Polonorum* by Martinus Gallus (also known as Gallus Anonymus, 1066–1145), the earliest account of the history of Poland, also called the same angel *Angelus Domini*, being the earliest source to my knowledge to do so.[29] Given that it was composed only approximately 15 years after the alleged composition of the Hartvik Legend, the idea of referring to the angel directing the crown to Hungary as *Angelus Domini* may not have been alien to Hungarians even if Bishop Hartvik happened to make a different word choice in his own text. The difference may not be insignificant. According to a two millennia old tradition in angelology, the being referred to as *mal'ak YHWH* (יהוה מַלְאַךְ) in the Old Testament and as *Angelus Domini* in the Vulgate is more than just an angel among many.

Gieschen (1998) recently provided a long-awaited overview of the *Angelus Domini* problematics in his book *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence*. The debate proposes the denomination of a being distinct from created angels in Scriptural passages using the expression 'the Angel of the Lord' as opposed to 'an angel of the Lord'. The first generally recognized OT appearance of the phrase is the angel's apparition to Hagar in Genesis 16:7–14, the second one is the three young men visiting Abraham and Sarah in Genesis 18:1–16. Further examples include the sacrifice of Abraham in Genesis 22:11–18, the burning bush in Exodus 3:13–14, the story of the prophet Gideon in Judges 6:11–24, the Annunciation to Manoah and his wife in Judges 13:3–22, the Dream of Jacob in Wisdom 31, Balaam's donkey in Numbers 22:21–35, and Joshua before the heavenly council in Zechariah 3:1–10. There is no full agreement in scholarship about the exact number of *Angelus Domini* apparitions narrated in the Bible, since passages where the angel is explicitly referred to as the *Angelus Domini* have been expanded with passages where the context suggests that the angel appearing might be the *Angelus Domini*.[30]

The basis of the identification is the interchangeability of God and the *Angelus Domini*: while the text uses the term 'messenger,' the narrative endows the figure with divine features in these cases. The actions and visually discernible form of the *Angelus Domini* do not differentiate the being from other angels; he is endowed with the same awe-inspiring yet appealing appearance, commands his subjects, conveys divine messages or foretells the future. Yet, the *Angelus Domini* typically appears to individuals with the aim of safeguarding the fate of the people as a whole (Garrett 2008, pp. 21, 30), and humans meeting him perceive the presence as divine. The angel speaks, acts, and is addressed as God, even an occasional variation is detectable in the text between the use of *Angelus Domini* and God to denote the same being. The *Angelus Domini* appears as a man of an imposing and distinct presence but speaks as if he were God (Gieschen 1998, pp. 62–63), at times even using the first person pronoun

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[28] The possibility that Lippomano intentionally modified the original Hartvik text of course cannot be excluded but it seems to be rather incompatible with his characteristic *modus operandi*.

[29] "*Quumque in crastino legatis Poloniae dari corona debuisset; ecce eadem nocte Papae per visum Angelus Domini apparvit, et duci Stephano eam dari praecepit; quam quare duci Poloniae eam dare non praecepit...*" (Knauz 1866, p. 220).

[30] According to White (1999, p. 300), the phrase *mal'ak YHWH* (יהוה מַלְאַךְ) or 'angel of the LORD', appears 48 times in 45 verses in the Bible. Among debated *Angelus Domini* passages Gieschen included, for example, the pillar of fire and the pillar of cloud leading Israel out of Egypt in Exod 14.19–24; or the angel wrestling with Jacob in Genesis 32:22–31 (Gieschen 1998, pp. 60, 78–79).

in these cases. While there is a noticeable variation in consistency (Gieschen 1998, pp. 56–57; Garrett 2008, pp. 22, 246 fn. 6, 247 fn. 12), these passages implicitly identify God and the *Angelus Domini* as the same being.

While the *Angelus Domini* has as yet kept the secret of his or her identity, the majority of approaches nonetheless explained the being as a theophanic angel.[31] The *identity theory* asserts that the *Angelus Domini* is a visible manifestation of God the Father, who appears to humans in the form of an angel with regard to the impossibility of a direct encounter between God and human beings.[32] Perhaps a more extreme version of the same, the *messenger theory* stresses the union between sender and messenger; and the *interpolation theory* accordingly asserts that the expression *Angelus Domini* was added to the texts subsequently to soften the anthropomorphism of God appearing in the visible form of a man.[33] The *Angelus Domini* denomination could, along similar lines, be simply a literary device, a differentiated expression which employs tension to the text to highlight the paradox of an unmediated encounter with God.[34]

Another group of theories discussed the details of the *Angelus Domini*'s participation in the divine. The *l'ame exterieure theory* holds that the *Angelus Domini* is the direct manifestation of an aspect of God's personality. The *hypostasis theory* says the *Angelus Domini* is a distinct but not separate aspect of God, identifiable with His Name, Glory or Wisdom, for instance, and stemming from Jewish traditions picturing these attributes of God as independent angels. The *Logos theory* asserts that the *Angelus Domini* can be identified with various different angels and persons depending on who or which form best fulfils the *Angelus Domini*'s primary function as the Word of God, i.e., God's primary means of communication with the created world (Gieschen 1998, pp. 70–121; Garrett 2008, pp. 27, 53–57, 74).

Ideas for the identification of the *Angelus Domini* coalesced, already by Paul's day, into the theory of a chief heavenly mediator who participates in the divine in some way, from which it did not take long to interpret the *Angelus Domini* as the second person of the Trinity. Followers point out the reference to Christ's secret name in Revelations 19:12 and argue that the Hebrew word denoting angels in the Bible (*mal'ak*, מַלְאָךְ) can mean not only messenger but also representative, either human or divine (Garrett 2008, pp. 26–27, 55, 67, 74, 127, 238; Gieschen 1998, pp. 23, 316, 325–27, 351; Hoffmann 2003, pp. 230–32; White 1999, p. 300). Gieschen (1998, pp. 6–8) pointed out that interest in the question was at a particular high before the 325 CE Council of Nicea, although subsequent dogmatic bounds also maintained an ontological difference between the *Angelus Domini* and created angels. While a reading of Paul with the identification of Christ as the *Angelus Domini* has also been suggested (Gieschen 1998, pp. 315–48), Justin Martyr is generally acknowledged as the starting point for the identification of Christ and the *Angelus Domini* (*Dialogus cum Tryphone* 76.3; 86.3; 93.2; 116.1; 126.6; 127.4; 128.1, 2, 4). Tertullian considered Christ to be an angel in His function as God's messenger, but not ontologically,

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[31] Among alternative theories, Jews before and during the time of Jesus understood the *Angelus Domini* as the primary angel, who is still a being completely separate from God (Garrett 2008, p. 27). Presumably this approach lived further in the *representation theory*, which asserts that the expression denominates a created angel, Biblical or apocryphal, among them perhaps even Metatron, acting as God's ambassador (Gieschen 1998, pp. 124–51; Garrett 2008, pp. 31, 54). The proposal that the expression denotes the angel in charge of the execution of divine punishments has also found followers, not irrelevant for the understanding of angels as the Hand of God (*manus or dextera Domini*) (Gieschen 1998, pp. 313, 325–29; Garrett 2008, pp. 249, fn. 27, 191, 202, fn. 57; Eszenyi 2016; Hoffmann 2003). Vincenzo Cicogna (c. 1519–after 1596), a Church reformer priest and theological writer involved in the 1500s Catholic reform in and around Verona, identified as the *Angelus Domini* as Lucifer. Vincenzo Cicogna, *Angelorum et Demonum nomina et attributa...* (The J. Paul Getty Research Institute MS 86-A866, Fol. 97ʳ⁻ᵛ)—see (Eszenyi 2014, pp. 18–179). Human figures such as prophets have also been put forward as *Angelus Domini* candidates; see (Gieschen 1998, pp. 152–86). For an overview of *Angelus Domini* theories, their origins, bibliography, and criticism see (White 1999, pp. 303–5; Gieschen 1998, pp. 53–57).

[32] Humans must experience the divine presence in a way suited to their limitations as finite beings whom God's unmediated holiness would otherwise overwhelm and eventually consume. The angel form creates a redaction of the divine essence and prevents an eventually fatal encounter (Garrett 2008, pp. 23–26, 38, 58, 247 fn. 15).

[33] In publications appearing roughly at the same time, White attributed the *interpolation theory* to W. G. Heidt, while Gieschen mentioned Heidt Gerhard von Rad as the person 'who championed this approach' (Gieschen 1998, p. 54; White 1999, pp. 303–4).

[34] White's (1999, p. 305) own theory.

since the Second Person of the Trinity is not a created being (*De carne Christi* 14). Philo's reading of the Logos, as an aspect of God with an independent agency identifiable as the *Angelus Domini,* has also been interpreted as a reference to Christ (e.g., *De migratione Abrahami* 174, *De Agricultura Noë* 51, *Legum Allegoriæ* 3.217–219). Origen of Alexandria identified Christ and the Holy Spirit as two supreme Angels of the Presence (*De Principiis* I.3.4); while Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260–340) explicitly called Christ the 'Angel of the Most High his Father' (*Praeparatio Evangelica* 1.5, *Demonstratio Evangelica* 1.5).[35] Evidence of Christ being identified with the *Angelus Domini* can similarly be found in Pseudo-Clementine texts; as well as in the diverse second-century angelomorphic figures of *The Shepherd of Hermas* and *The Ascension of Isaiah* (Gieschen 1998, pp. 201–44).

From the point of view of the Hungarian *corona angelica* tradition, the key is the theophanic, divine essence of the *Angelus Domini*, and the fact that this angel has been considered divine since Old Testament times. As Gieschen (1998, p. 68) summarized it: "...the angel is either indistinguishable from God as his visible manifestation or the angel is a figure somewhat distinct from God, yet who shares God's authority."

The age-old nature of the tradition distinguishing the *Angelus Domini* from other angels makes it plausible that the being was differentiated from created angels in Hungary, just like in other parts of Christianity. Evidence is once again provided by the arguably richest source for the *corona angelica* tradition, the *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*. The chronicle recounts an encounter among the afore-mentioned St. Ladislaus, his brother Géza, and a miraculous stag; at the end of which St. Ladislaus realizes the stag is an angel indicating the site where they should construct a church.[36] The text describes an angelic encounter, similarly to Ladislaus' vision about the angel delivering the crown to his brother, but does not use the expression *Angelus Domini* to denote the angel this time. The miraculous stag in Ladislaus' explanation is referred to as '*Angelus Dei'*. Other references to angels (disguised or not) simply use the word '*angelus'* in the compilation. The situation is similar with the 1500s modification of the Hartvik Legend, where the expression *Angelus Domini* is reserved for the angel delivering the Crown.

The possibility that Hungary, at some point, recognized the *Angelus Domini* in the angel delivering the Hungarian Crown may not be without relevance in context of the Byzantine origins of the tradition either. Váczy argued that visual representations of the *corona angelica* in Western art demonstrated a need to link the emperor's claim to the throne directly with the divinity; whereas in Byzantium, the direct heir of the Roman Empire, this need was not so urgent. This is why angels could more commonly take over the task of the coronation, which Váczy explained somewhat light-heartedly perhaps, but also in a way that is difficult to doubt, with their gentle nature and general popularity.[37]

Nevertheless, the *corona angelica* is performed in the presence of the divinity in all Byzantine pictorial representations listed by Váczy, seemingly unlike in the case of the Hungarian images. Basil II is indeed being crowned by Gabriel in his psalter portrait (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS Marc. gr. 17, Fol. 3r, after 1017), but Christ hands down the crown from Heaven. In the famous Liber vitae image of King Cnut and Queen Aelfgifu (London, British Museum, MS Stowe 944, Fol. 6r, 1020–1030)

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[35] Gieschen (1998, pp. 187–98) also mentions Theophilius of Antioch, Irenaeus of Lyons, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus of Rome, Novatian, and Lactantius in the history of the idea's formation.

[36] "*Et dum ibi starent iuxta Vaciam, ubi nunc est ecclesia Beati Petri apostoli, apparuit eis cervus habens cornua plena ardentibus candelis, cepitque fugere coram eis versus silvam et in loco, ubi nunc est monasterium, fixit pedes suos. Quem cum milites sagittarent, proiecit se in Danubium, et eum ultra non viderunt. Quo viso Beatus Ladizlaus ait: Vere non cervus, sed angelus Dei erat. Et dixit Geysa rex: Dic michi, dilecte frater, quid fieri volunt omnes candele ardentes vise in cornibus cervi. Respondit Beatus Ladizlaus: Non sunt cornua, sed ale, non sunt candele ardentes, sed penne fulgentes, pedes vero fixit, quia ibi locum demonstravit, ut ecclesiam Beate Virgini non alias, nisi hic edificari faceremus.*" *SRH* vol. 1, 394. The church in question is the present-day Church of the Blessed Virgin in Vác, in the vicinity of Budapest.

[37] Constantinos Porphyrogenitus' *De administrando imperio*, where chapter 13 declared that imperial regalia were sent from God to Constantine the Great by 'his angel', also declared that these angelic donations ought to be kept in the Hagia Sophia and used only on great religious holidays. The Hungarian crown was similarly kept in the Maria Church in Székesfehérvár and used only on the three major holidays, Christmas, Easter and Pentecost (Váczy 1985, p. 6; Rácz 2011, p. 12; Kerny 2003, p. 6; Bíró and Kertész 2007, p. 369).

an angel puts a crown on the king's head, but Christ is overseeing the scene above and the angel even points at Him.[38] Christ is similarly hovering above Emperor Constantinos Monomakhos, Empress Zoe and her sister Theodora while two angels reach down with two crowns from the sky (Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, MS 364, Fol. 3r, c. 1042–1050). In the portrait of an unknown emperor in the Barberini Psalter (Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. gr. 372, Fol. 5r, after 1180), the angel holds his right hand on the crown while pointing towards Christ with the left. Finally, the Bulgarian Tzar Ivan Alexander indeed receives the crown from an angel but he is standing between Christ and the chronicler Constantine Manasses in the late Manasses-Chronicle (Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Slav. 2, Fol. 22r, c. 1345).[39]

Byzantine artistic representations, therefore, support the idea that the divinity was supposed to be present at the coronation even if it was *de facto* performed by angels. Perhaps the Hungarian tradition expressed the same by choosing, from all the angels, the theophanic *Angelus Domini* to deliver the nation's Holy Crown, an angel whose presence consequently did not make it necessary to include (other) divine figures in pictorial compositions. As another consequence, this could also mean that Hungarian images representing the angelic coronation as performed by one angel as listed above, may be a characteristic regional variation of the *Angelus Domini* iconography, stemming from the chronologically earliest, c. 1360 *Chronicon Pictum* coronation portrait of Géza I.

In lack of early sources from the history of Hungarian spirituality, it is, of course, difficult to state with certainty whether the angel delivering the Crown was ever understood to have a theophanic presence. The question might still be worth asking, perhaps. Considering the age of the tradition differentiating the *Angelus Domini* from other angels, it is reasonable to assume that it did not go unnoticed by medieval Hungarians who, in turn, imagined the *Angelus Domini* as a theophanic angel in charge of delivering their precious Crown. This did not necessarily have to happen before the 1300s emergence of the expression in Hungarian sources. Considering the popularity of the *Angelus Domini* version of the Hartvik Legend, the association could as well have taken place in the 1500s or later, while this version enjoyed a steady growth in popularity.

Obviously, two layers must be separated at this point: the intention of chroniclers using the *Angelus Domini* expression and the readers' understanding of the text. A similarly careful distinction must be made between the intention of the artists representing the *corona angelica* in the iconography of the four kings involved, and the viewers' interpretation of the images. If the *Angelus Domini* was indeed understood as a theophanic angel in medieval Hungary as well, the Hungarian *corona angelica* might be a step in-between the Eastern and Western tradition. In that case, the Byzantine *corona angelica* tradition was not simply copied but transformed and somewhat westernized by the time it arrived in Hungary, not only geographically but also in its ideology. Hungary received the Crown from an angel, similarly to Byzantium, but this angel was theophanic to ensure the divine presence more strongly required at the coronation in the West. As it was argued above, the angelic coronation never fully

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[38] It should be noted, though, that while technically an angelic coronation happens in the image, Cnut receives not an actual crown but the Crown of Glory, which the king is expected to receive not on earth but upon entering Heaven. See (Karkov 2004, p. 137), I hereby thank Prof. Karkov for consultation on the topic. The situation is similar with another, non-Byzantine example brought by Váczy, the c. 1125–35 coronation miniature of St. Edmund the Martyr (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 736, Fol. 22ᵛ). Indeed two angels place a crown on the king's head while Edmund is surrounded by four other angels and no divine figures are present, but the miniature shows Edmund's apotheosis, therefore a heavenly and not earthly coronation. Edmund's actual earthly coronation is depicted on Fol. 8ᵛ of the same manuscript, where the crown is placed on his head by a cleric (Pinner 2015, pp. 65, 68, 72).

[39] The earliest example brought by Váczy is the c. 880 coronation portrait of Basil I (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Gr. 510, Fol. 14ᵛ), where the emperor is crowned by Archangel Gabriel and handed a labarum by his patron saint Elijah. While admittedly no divine figure is present in the scene, the concept of the divine is not missing if "...Elijah represents the divine force that assured Basil's rule" (Brubaker 1999, p. 161). Váczy did not mention the famous miniature showing an emperor being crowned by two angels in the c. 981–987 Benevento Exultet roll (Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana MS Vat. Lat. 9820). The image has been associated with Otto II but whether it is an actual portrait is questionable. Furthermore, the roll is a palimpsest, it was cut into pieces and most of the text was erased to be replaced by the Vulgate in the 1100s, which makes the presence of divinity around the coronation similarly difficult to state with certainty (Ladner 1983, p. 320, fn. 31).

seceded from the divinity in Byzantine art either, and the divine presence the *Angelus Domini* brings to the act could offer an explanation for the absence of divine figures from Hungarian *corona angelica* images. Further examination of the written and visual source material will hopefully clear some grounds, or at least further muddy the angelic waters around the Holy Crown of Hungary.

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A Search for the Hidden King: Messianism, Prophecies and Royal Epiphanies of the Kings of Aragon (circa 1250–1520)

Amadeo Serra Desfilis

Art History Department, University of Valencia, 46010 Valencia, Spain; amadeo.serra@uv.es

Abstract: Modern historiography has studied the influence of messianic and millennialist ideas in the Crown of Aragon extensively and, more particularly, how they were linked to the Aragonese monarchy. To date, research in the field of art history has mainly considered royal iconography from a different point of view: through coronation, historical or dynastic images. This article will explore the connections, if any, between millennialist prophetic visions and royal iconography in the Crown of Aragon using both texts and the figurative arts, bearing in mind that sermons, books and images shared a common space in late medieval audiovisual culture, where royal epiphanies took place. The point of departure will be the hypothesis that some royal images and apparently conventional religious images are compatible with readings based on sources of prophetic and apocalyptic thought, which help us to understand the intentions and values behind unique figurative and performative epiphanies of the dynasty that ruled the Crown of Aragon between 1250 and 1516. With this purpose in mind, images will be analysed in their specific context, which is often possible to reconstruct thanks to the abundance and diversity of the written sources available on the subject, with a view to identifying their promoters' intentions, the function they fulfilled and the reception of these images in the visual culture of this time and place.

Keywords: apocalyptic visions; royal iconography; prophetism; messianism; Crown of Aragon; Germanias revolt

1. Introduction

On 21 March 1522, in Xàtiva, the second largest city of the kingdom of Valencia, a man dressed as a sailor climbed up on a catafalque, sword in hand, flanked by two other men playing trumpets. Surrounded by four harquebusiers and hundreds of soldiers, he made a speech as solemn as a sermon in which he declared himself the legitimate heir to the Trastámara dynasty and a challenger to the throne of Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor. He also acted as a spokesman for doctrines later deemed heretical by the Inquisition: he announced the imminent end of the world, revealed to him by Elijah and Enoch, declared victory against the Antichrist and stated that the 'Quaternity' included the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit and the Sacrament, before asking for the goods collected at Xàtiva Collegiate church to be used in the war and to help the poor (Pérez García and Catalá 2000, pp. 140–74; Nalle 2002; Duran [1983] 2004, pp. 283–318).

The reconstruction of this figure and his speech is based on witness declarations at the Spanish Inquisition tribunal and on chroniclers who were generally against the Revolt of the Germanias, which shook the kingdom of Valencia between 1519 and 1522 with civil war-style battles between supporters of the crown and the viceroy on one side and the rebels on the other (García Cárcel 1981; Duran 1982; Vallés 2000; Pérez García 2017). In contrast, here, I aim to situate the Hidden King, or *El Encubierto*, and the ideas he echoed within a prophetic, millennialist tradition applied to the Crown of Aragon from the thirteenth century onwards. This approach will shed light on how such an eccentric figure, of obscure

origins and enveloped in a supernatural aura, embodied by various individuals, was able to revitalise the dying Revolt of the Germanias and was hunted until the mid-sixteenth century by the courts and viceroys of Valencia, who saw these 'hidden' characters as a threat to royal power, due to their express desire to supplant it. In particular, it is relevant to examine how the Hidden King's epiphany of 1522 was staged through narrations and ideas that had been circulating for centuries, both in the Court and as part of popular belief in the Crown of Aragon. To do so, images and texts will be used to explain the figure's appearance and suggestion, as well as the subversive fallout of the episode that led to subsequent repression, still seen as late as 1541 (Bercé 1990, pp. 317–23; Pérez García and Catalá 2000).

Under the Crown of Aragon grew an eschatological vision that combined the contribution of Joachim of Fiore and of the Franciscan radicalism of the Beguines and the Fraticelli with the Ghibelline imperial legacy of the Staufen and Hispanic neo-Gothic prophetism, which longed for the full restoration of Christian dominion on the Iberian Peninsula over Islam (Pou [1930] 1996; Milhou 1983; Aurell 1992; Reeves [1969] 1993; Rousseau-Jacob 2015). Although there has been a broad and detailed analysis of the dissemination and reworking of an eschatological philosophy that foresaw a sacred mission for the monarchs of the Crown of Aragon thanks to various European and Hispanic traditions that spoke of an Emperor of the Last Days, a Hidden King or a New David called upon to defeat the Antichrist and establish the millennium before the Final Judgement (Milhou 1982; Aurell 1997; Duran 2004, pp. 157–350), there has been little trace of images that represented these messianic interpretations of Aragonese royalty. This gap in historiography is particularly surprising given the attention paid to the image of royal power in this series of kingdoms and principalities united by a monarchy that was aware of the value of visual media to strengthen its authority vis-à-vis rival powers in the European and Mediterranean area and other institutions, such as the Church, Parliament (the Corts), the nobility and urban powers (García Marsilla 2000; Español 2002; Serrano 2015a). Furthermore, research into representation of the king has tended to focus on other aspects of his image through portraits and other figurative media, as well as ceremonial, coronation, funerary and majestic images, rather than on the nuanced manifestation of the monarch as a messianic subject (Hedeman 1991; Perkinson 2009; Vagnoni 2017). Aragon was not a sacral monarchy, but a singularly messianic charisma could be expected from kings whose authority relied on genealogy, conquest and the law of the land; even if no member of the House of Aragon was ever canonized, expressions of piety and millennialist prophecies contributed to establish a transcendental profile of monarchy (Jaspert 2010, pp. 183–218).

The point of departure will be the hypothesis that some royal images and apparently conventional religious iconography are compatible with readings based on sources of prophetic and millennialist thought, which help us to understand the intentions and values behind particular figurative and performative epiphanies of the dynasty that ruled the Crown of Aragon from James I (1213–1276) until Ferdinand II the Catholic (1476–1516). The use of metaphor and allegory, the commemorative function and the implicit action in eschatological visions persuaded and informed observers of events, prophecies and missions that wrapped the Aragonese kings in a uniquely charismatic aura, staged through images and ceremonies. It is even worth wondering whether or not eschatological images of the monarchy interfered in royal power's other forms of representation in the Crown of Aragon, thus making it unique. The final part of this article will discuss the possibility that the power vacuum created in 1516 by the death of the monarch may have led to the subversion of a collection of images and ideas that, although established in theory to praise royal authority, ended up challenging Emperor Charles V and royal officials in the Valencia of the Germanias.

With these purposes in mind, I will analyse the images in their specific context, which is often possible to reconstruct thanks to the abundance and diversity of the written sources available on the subject, with a view to identifying their promoters' intentions, the function they fulfilled and the reception of these images in the visual culture of this time and place.

2. The Messianic Prophetism of the Kings of the Crown of Aragon

Apocalyptic thought determines the meaning of human history from the creation of the world and the coming of Christ and awaits the Last Judgement following a marked, precise temporal structure and trajectory, which is revealed in the final book of the Christian Bible as the definitive battle between good and evil and may be prophesied by visionary spirits. This belief is accompanied by the feeling, which sometimes seems to become a reality, that the end of this world is imminent and foretold by signs and events that will herald a millennium of peace and happiness after the defeat of the Antichrist until the final battle with Satan and the redemptive installation of the New Jerusalem (Revelation 20–21; Cohn [1957] 1970; McGinn 1979; McGinn 1994).

The battle against Islam and the expansion of the Christian kingdoms was inspired by the predictions of a tradition named 'neo-Gothic' due to its longing for the restoration of the old Hispania. The Islamisation of the Iberian Peninsula was considered punishment for the fall of the Visigoth kingdom and required redemption through the *Reconquista*, which had been heralded by prophecies attributed to Saint Isidore of Seville and was recalled by thirteenth-century chronicles such as *Historia gothica* by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada or *Estoria de Espana* by Alfonso X of Castile. These ideas, which drove the campaigns against *al Andalus* during the Middle Ages, predicted the definitive defeat of Islam and were invoked until the conquest of Granada in 1492 and the final expulsion of the Moors in 1609 (Milhou 2000, pp. 12–13).

In the Crown of Aragon, the royal chronicles of James I, Bernat Desclot, Ramon Muntaner and Peter IV the Ceremonious, written in Catalan and not lacking in narrative power, offered a providentialist view of the king's role in the war as a legislator and Christian knight in the battle against Islam and foreign enemies (Hauf 2004). These royal chronicles contained numerous predictions of a glorious destiny for the monarchs of Aragon, all the way from their birth to the moment of taking on fearsome enemies, or simply as instruments of the divine will. In his chronicle, James I told of the vision of a Franciscan from Navarre who predicted that a king of Aragon named James would restore Christianity in Spain (James I [1883] 1887, chp. 389, II, pp. 509–10). Later, Desclot and Muntaner, writing about the king's birth, described the miracles that accompanied it, to which the king himself had alluded in his chronicle (Riquer 2000, pp. 49–93; James I [1883] 1887, chp. 5, I, pp. 9–11; chp. 48 I, pp. 100–2). Muntaner also recalled a sibyl's prophecy about James II's triumph in Sardinia, seeing the pallets on the Aragonese coat of arms as rods that would punish enemies: 'And I wish you all to know that this is the lion of whom the Sibyl tells us; he with the device of the pales, will cast down the pride of many a noble manor' (Muntaner [1920–1921] 2000, p. 545, chp. 272). Identifications with biblical heroes such as David and Moses can also be found in these texts to justify acts of war and claim divine support for the Aragonese cause. For instance, Peter III, who rescued Sicily from Angevin rule, was compared with Moses as the emancipator of the Israeli people in Egypt, while the defeat of the House of Anjou was equated with the disasters suffered by the Pharaoh and his army in the Exodus (Ávila and Antoni 2007).

Peter III's claim to the Staufen legacy through his wife, Constance, and the War of the Sicilian Vespers (1282–1286) fostered the assimilation of Joachim of Fiore's prophetism and its pseudo-Joachimite offshoots. This approach was characterised by political support of Ghibelline power as an agent for spiritual renovation and a tool to reform a corrupt Church, which wasted no time identifying with the Emperor of the Last Days of Judeo-Byzantine millennialist tradition (Alexander 1978; Milhou 1982; Reeves [1969] 1993, pp. 306–14; Möhring 2000; Potestà 2014). It was Arnau de Vilanova who initiated a radical, pseudo-Joachimite shift in these prophetic traditions in a number of his writings and identified Frederick III of Sicily, of Aragonese stock, as the protagonist of the *renovatio mundi*, which was to purify the Church and Christianity in general, convert Muslims and establish true evangelical life (Lee et al. 1989; Reeves [1969] 1993, pp. 314–18; Rodríguez de la Peña 1996–1997; Phillimore 2004; Rodríguez 2008). In the prophecy *Vae mundo in centum annis*, he heralded the arrival of a king, a New David, who would destroy the power of Islam in Spain and Africa until establishing a universal monarchy; the Emperor of the Last Days would then turn into a bat, which would emerge at the end of days to

defeat the Antichrist, restore the Temple of Jerusalem and establish the millennium before the Final Judgement. Vilanova's allegories of the bat and of the dragon of the Apocalypse, previously associated with Frederick II, became symbols of messianic hope embodied by the Crown of Aragon's royals. This bore significant political connotations within the context of the exaltation of the dynasty and its conflicts with the Papacy during its Mediterranean expansion in Sicily, Sardinia and, later, Naples.

Similar prophetic ideas and images were reworked by Catalan-language authors throughout the fourteenth century, as attested by a host of preserved manuscripts (Bohigas 1920–1922; Bohigas 1928–1932; Bohigas [1928] 1982); sources collected by (Rousseau-Jacob 2015). Joachimite piece *Summula seu Breviloquium super concordia Novi et Veteris Testamenti*, written in the mid-fourteenth century, is one of the most examined examples of a reshaping of prophetic expectations in accordance with religious and political circumstances. An interpretation of history was applied to contemporary events to create the sense of a climax, of the imminent arrival of a new era, heralded by extraordinary signs and figures, which would leave the calamities of the present behind and would pave the way for the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth (Lee et al. 1989; Perarnau 1991; Hauf 1996).

The Crown of Aragon thus became the centre of eschatological expectations in the fourteenth century, taking on the role Jean de Roquetaillade had assigned to the French monarchy (Aurell 1990, pp. 319–33). While royal chronicles injected providential meaning into the historical mentality of the courtly and ecclesiastic circles that read them, the Joachimite or pseudo-Joachimite prophetism put forward by Arnau de Vilanova, by Peter John Olivi in *Postilla super apocalypsim*, by the *Breviloquium* and by an anonymous writer in *De triplici statu mundi*, among others, would reach wider groups linked to the Beguines, Lullism, Spiritual Franciscans, and all those who longed for a *renovatio mundi* faced with the impending Final Judgement, through preaching and circulation through other media (Rousseau-Jacob 2015). Aspirations to reform the Church, to convert Muslims and Jews definitively and to install a regime of justice and peace after the defeat of the Antichrist won many over, thanks to the power of the millennialist beliefs and hopes that grew stronger with every crisis (Lerner 1983; Hauf 1996). These prophecies contained a hint of subversion that made their followers a target for surveillance and persecution by the ecclesiastic authorities, such as inquisitor Nicolau Aymeric, or were tolerated when distributed in the vulgar tongue alongside educational, pious materials that could be read and shared aloud, when they took the form of brief, simple texts, such as the summary in Catalan of Roquetaillade's *Vademecum in tribulatione* for laypeople (Hauf 1996; Kneupper 2016).

The monarchy was aware of the usefulness of these ideas to surround the figure of the king of the Crown of Aragon with messianic connotations, thus placing upon him, as Brother Dolcino had done with Frederick III of Sicily, hopes for Church reformation, the crusade against the infidels, the conversion of the Jews and the defeat of the forces of evil, which were conveniently equated with Islam, rival powers and even the Papacy when it opposed the Crown's plans or sides had to be taken in the times of the Western Schism. The kings made use of these expectations on solemn occasions such as speeches before their kingdoms' courts, evoking the feats of their forebears and classical and biblical examples with persuasive rhetoric and as much emphasis as they used to highlight the providential mission that ensured their subjects' support (Cawsey 2002).

Author Francesc Eiximenis (c. 1330–1409), who moved between the Court and an urban audience, was partial to preaching and the unorthodox spiritual aspects of the Beguines and other dissident movements and found himself unable to avoid conflict with the monarchy's interests. He irritated John I by evoking prophecies that heralded a change in the political order, including the end of all monarchies (except the French one), the taking of Jerusalem, the conversion of the Jews and the establishment of millennialist popular justice (Viera 1996). Following a reprimand from the monarch and the anti-Jewish pogroms of 1391, he changed his mind and removed the most problematic passages from his book *Dotzé del Crestià* in order to postpone the arrival of the millennium and safeguard the Aragonese monarchy's mission and its alliance with the Papacy represented by Pedro de Luna's title of Benedict XIII (Bohigas [1928] 1982; Lerner 2001, pp. 101–10). His contemporary saint Vincent Ferrer (c. 1350–1419) wrote an exposition and defense of his apocalyptic views in 1412 and announcing the

arrival of the Antichrist, supposed to be born in 1403, and the imminent end of the world was the core of his preaching which contributed to increase apocalyptic expectations throughout his mission (Daileader 2016, pp. 137–59).

Meanwhile, in his 1365 visions, Infant (Prince) Peter of Aragon (1305–1381), who began to practise as a Franciscan in 1358, saw Henry II of Trastámara as the Spanish lion that would crush Islam, free the Jews and go to the Holy Land to worship at the tomb of Jesus, thus discrediting the French monarchy, in which Roquetaillade had put his trust. In one of his visions in Franciscan convent of Valencia, he heard a voice that urged him to join the Castilian troops against the Muslims, making a comparison with the Israelite army entering the promised land (Pou [1930] 1996, pp. 461–561; Lerner 1983, pp. 135–53; Genís 2002, pp. 129–39). This providential support of the Trastámara dynasty doubled in value when, as part of the Compromise of Caspe (1412) Ferdinand of Antequera was named as the new Aragonese monarch. This meant that the two political branches of apocalyptic prophetism—the Castilian neo-Gothic version, which backed the Trastámara family, and the Franciscan Ghibelline variety, inspired directly or indirectly by the Joachimites—converged on the throne occupied by Ferdinand's sons, Alfonso V the Magnanimous (1416–1458) and John II (1458–1476). Ferdinand II (1476–1516) would make consistent use of prophecies, combining Castilian Neo-Gothic contributions, which foretold the restoration of unity and the liquidation of al-Andalus, with the apocalyptic predictions of the New David, restorer of Christianity, reformer of the Church, converter of Jews and champion who would lead the crusade to Africa and then to Jerusalem as a universal monarch (Duran 2004, pp. 157–258; Duran and Requesens 1997, pp. 50–67).

Prophetism strengthened Ferdinand II's royal power and his legitimacy as the king consort of Castile through his marriage with Isabelle I, who was focused on defending her right to the throne against her adversaries. In 1486, Rodrigo Ponce de León, marquis of Cádiz, identified Ferdinand as the New David, the Hidden King and the rightful successor to Fernando III who would conquer first Granada then Jerusalem and restore Christianity. Then, in 1495, when visiting the Catholic Kings, German humanist and traveller Hieronymus Münzer cited a prophecy attributed to Joachim of Fiore to recognise them as the monarchs that were to defeat Islam definitively, take the Holy Places and evangelise a new world (Milhou 1983; Milhou 2000).

But the forces of millennialist prophetism could easily take on a subversive appearance. The death of Ferdinand II in 1516 left a vacuum that the new king, and emperor from 1519 onwards with the title of Charles V, could not fill; his figure was moulded as the humanist ideal of a Christian prince, which created a fracture in Hispanic political eschatology (Pérez García 2007, pp. 212–22).

3. Anachronistic Images, Prophetic Images?

Recognising reflections, connotations or rhetorical figures of an apocalyptic prophetic message and of the political eschatology of the Crown of Aragon in the preserved images available is not an easy task. It is assumed that a research strategy based on reading clues, traces and legends could offer additional insight of otherwise unnoticed intentions in images of the past (Ginzburg [1989] 2013, pp. 87–113). Prophecy revealed what was hidden. The message may appear embedded, even encrypted, in artworks and resist conventional iconographic analysis. Revealing it requires much more than examining texts and comparing with other earlier or contemporary images. Firstly, fourteenth- and fifteenth-century visual culture was only one pillar of what Zumthor (1987) called the triangle of medieval culture: oral expression, texts and figurative images interact in a field of communication and representation that involves all kinds of audiences. Although scholarly efforts have mainly focused on studying prophetic manuscripts in circulation, it is important to remember that most people were introduced to these ideas via oral means: speeches, sermons, narrations and readings. Moreover, the mnemonic value of images and the use of them in preaching suggest the multiplicity of meanings each story or figure may take on, codified by allegory and other rhetorical devices that make them enticing to decipher and that stick in the memory (Carruthers 1990; Bolzoni 2002; Baschet and Dittmar 2015; Serrano 2016). Reading or hearing a prophecy might well lend a messianic sense to royal

epiphanies while a rhetorical allusion to an iconographic type or a particular image could put familiar representations under a different light in an eschatological context.

From a reception point of view, many of these images are retrospective, historical to an extent, and anachronistic, because they were created at another time or were projected to the future through memory and imagination and, in any case, continued to be observed and interpreted long after the time of creation (Didi-Huberman 2000; Nagel and Wood 2010). Their potential prophetic value comes down to their shaping of an account of the past, their structuring of it so that the future can be glimpsed and the end of time can be heralded, as is characteristic of the apocalyptic imagination. In addition to their historical or legendary character, most of these depictions were referring to a mythic past but were significant models for the present of their viewers and acquired a prospective value. They heralded the arrival of a messianic king who would fulfil prophetic expectations of victory, religious reform and conversion. Moreover, cyclical commemoration at urban festivals encouraged new interpretations of the past events adapted to day-to-day concerns and problems. Reception of images and performances appealed to irrational expectations and feelings difficult to read apart from formal and written records, but might be embedded in clues and traces present in the local historical context.

3.1. The Hero's Task

The monarchs, now cast as the protagonists of great feats, were soon represented in a variety of visual media inspired by the courtly exaltation of official chronicles (Serra Desfilis 2002; Serrano 2011a, 2011b; Molina 2013). The battles evoked through paintings had taken place at a specific time, but their figuration played with a sense of ambiguity in the representation of time and space. The scene contains barely any topographical information and time seems to stand still at a certain point of a cyclical journey that renews in pursuit of an end. This cyclical view of time set by liturgy and the festive calendar encouraged expectations of the return and periodical renewal of the great events of the history of salvation and, by extension, of human history. Within this context, we can reconsider battle scenes such as the paintings of Alcañiz Castle (Teruel), of the Saint George altarpiece (London, Victoria and Albert Museum 1217–1864, Figure 1), of the altarpiece dedicated to the same saint at Jérica Town Hall, and of Alfonso V's prayerbook (Psalter and Hours, Dominican use, London, British Library, Additional 28962, f. 78r), as well as the piece painted by Pere Niçard in Mallorca, circa 1468–1470 (Mallorca, Museu Diocesà). On the murals at Alcañiz, it is possible that the representations of the taking of a city by the king of Aragon or the images of a military campaign with participation from knights of the Order of Calatrava, the lords of the castle, allude to episodes such as the taking of Valencia (1238) and the crusade against Almería at the time of James II (1309–1310), that Arnau de Vilanova encouraged with his work *Regimen castra sequentium*, as a reminder of the battle against Islam (Español 1993, pp. 30–32; Vilanova 1981).

The altarpieces in Valencia and Mallorca were commissioned by the brotherhoods dedicated to Saint George and were deeply rooted in each city. Both brotherhoods saw James I's conquest as a decisive, historic event, during which divine favour had been displayed through the miraculous appearance of Saint George next to the Christian armies, just as he had helped the crusader army in their taking of Antioch. This episode was commemorated annually with a popular festival in which the whole urban community participated and the royal standard substituted the presence of the monarch himself. According to the classic doctrine of the king's two bodies, the heir embodies dynastic continuity (Kantorowicz [1957] 1981), while at these events, the flag evoked the figure of the king, who was rarely present in the city for the occasion, to renew the meaning of the conquest as a crusade against the infidels. The standard bearer (the Criminal Justice in Valencia, the youngest Juror in Mallorca) was therefore dressed like the king, with armour, surcoat, gloves, helmet and winged dragon crest. The conquest sermon given during the festival in Valencia and Mallorca was based on passages from the royal chronicle or *Llibre dels fets* that described the taking of the two cities, and conferred a providentialist power on the events considered a crusade while projecting them onto the audience's present circumstances (Narbona 2003, pp. 173–84; Granell 2017b; Molina 2018). The

depiction in altarpieces of the battle of El Puig with saint George fighting side by side the Christian army referred not only to a historical event, but refreshed the crusader ideal in 15th century Valencia and might well have inspired Germanias rebels a hundred years later, if we account for the prominent role of the Saint George brotherhood at the beginning of the revolt and their meetings taking place in Saint George's church where the retable now in Victoria and Albert Museum was then on display (Pérez García 2017, pp. 33–54; Gil 2019, pp. 46–68). A miniature with a similar compositional structure is included in Alfonso V's psalter-book of hours, alongside the prayers the king must recite before entering battle against the infidels: *preces pro intrandum bellum contra paganos* (f. 78) from psalm 78, with a lament for the destruction of Jerusalem and the invocation of divine assistance. The royal emblems of millet and an open book personalise the king of Aragon's heraldry, which appears to be a crusader and a fleeing army, which, by its weapons and saddles, is characterised as Muslim (Woods-Marsden 1990, pp. 14–15; Español 2002–2003, pp. 107–8; Molina 2011, pp. 106–7).

Figure 1. Battle scene from the Altarpiece of Saint George, Valencia. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1217–1864. Used by permission.

The idea of the crusade had been encouraged by the so-called Reconquista, but in terms of political eschatology, it went beyond conquering Iberian territories and aimed to take the battle against Islam to north Africa and Egypt and, ultimately, take back Jerusalem. This mission had been foreseen for the New David, or the bat in Vilanova's prophecy. Its millennialist connotations are present in the representation of the Battle of Milvian Bridge on the Santa Cruz altarpiece at the Museo de Bellas Artes of Valencia (n. inv. 254), where Constantine's troops appear as a crusader army defeating Maxentius's legions, which are dressed and represented with signs of otherness associated with Muslims: dark skin, turbans and Andalusian saddled horses. Constantine himself is depicted twice: first envisioning

the Christian sign of victory and then leading his army with a golden cross and the imperial eagle on his badge. This altarpiece, commissioned by Valencian official Nicolau Pujades, who was responsible for the Mudejars of Valencia and carried out diplomatic missions in the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada, responds to the crusader spirit that drove the two expeditions against the Barbary Coast (the Armada Santa) triggered by the attack against Torreblanca (Castellón) and the theft of the Eucharist from the local church (Díaz 1993, pp. 142–201; Sastre 1996). King Martin I himself congratulated the jurors of Valencia on joining the punitive expedition against the Barbary Coast, evoking Saint Paulinus of Nola's personal offering to rescue his captive parishioners and examples from Roman history of the battle against Carthage: 'and you, without a doubt, will have power over the successors to the aforementioned Africans, as Africa is today known as the Barbary Coast' (Rubió 1908–1921, pp. 1, 390–91). It is plausible that the monarch may have wanted to recognise himself either in the victorious Constantine at Milvian Bridge or in the image of Heraclius returning the cross relic to Jerusalem in the final scene on the altarpiece (Figure 2), as he was a keen collector of relics and perhaps hoped, next to Benedict XIII, to take on a similar role to that of the Emperor of the Last Days evoked by Eiximenis at that time. In fact, Martin I had written to his son to recover a sword of Constantine from the royal palace in Palermo (Serrano 2015b, p. 661) and the aim of the 1398 and 1399 military expeditions was to retrieve the consecrated hosts of Torreblanca.

Figure 2. Altarpiece of the Holy Cross: Heraclius returns the Holy Cross to Jerusalem. Valencia, Museo de Bellas Artes, n. inv. 254. Used by permission.

The coronation of Ferdinand of Trastámara in Zaragoza and the 1414 royal entry to Valencia were occasions used to extol the new king. As he was elected as part of the disputed Compromise of Caspe (1412) as a descendent on the female line, with the decisive support of Saint Vincent Ferrer, it was important to legitimise his ascent to the throne with figurative, extravagant language. Beyond genealogy, Ferdinand had earned the right to the throne through conquest, by subduing his rival candidate, James of Urgell, through force. Ferdinand's success against Islam on the peninsula during the Granada War acted as a further endorsement of the king. The jurors of Valencia congratulated Ferdinand on taking Antequera in a 1410 letter, 'praying the Lord helps you to fulfil your holy purpose of conquering and submitting that perverse nation to your hands, populating its kingdom with faithful Christians and adorning it with churches and altars where God's name will be praised,' (Rubio [1985] 2003, p. 213). A Valencian tapestry from the time portrayed this Battle of Antequera (García Marsilla

2011, pp. 180–81). At the coronation, Ferdinand was presented allegorically as being favoured by fortune, blessed by the Virgin and a hero in the fight against the infidels (Salicrú 1995; Massip 2010). It was no coincidence that these themes came up again on the carriages with tableaux vivants that paraded through Valencia for his royal entry, following the same route as the Corpus Christi procession (Narbona 2003, pp. 85–100; Cárcel and García 2013; Massip 2013–2014). A millennialist tone was evident, partly inspired by the figure of Saint Vincent Ferrer, to whom one of the carriages was dedicated (Calvé 2019), and was used to strengthen Ferdinand's legitimacy. The emblems of the griffin, the eagle and the tower alongside the Virgin in the garden combined a chivalric appearance with the devotion to the Virgin Mary that distinguished the new king (Ruiz 2009, pp. 74–81). Meanwhile, other carriages, such as those of the Wheel of Fortune and the Seven Ages of Man, lent themselves to more messianic connotations, like the idea of a monarch chosen to rule a world heading to its last age before the millennium (Massip 2013–2014).

3.2. Between Moses and Solomon: A Legislator by Divine Mandate

In the case of Valencia and Mallorca, the monarch had also acted as the founder of the kingdoms by granting them their own laws and institutions. From James I, the role of the king as lawgiver was conceived not only on the basis of Roman imperial codes but also implied a theological aspect, since God had appeared as legislator through the ten commands. Veneration of the king and his direct connection to God as lawgiver of the Old Covenant did have figurative consequences, serving as a way to exalt the royal image beyond conventional iconography. This was confirmed by the images of the king as legislator heading the Furs de València and Privilegis del Regne de Mallorca codices. These two manuscripts are especially interesting in terms of the different routes of association with the divine they propose. On the eve of the decisive Corts sessions of 1329–1330 in Valencia, when Alfonso IV declared the text *lex universalis et unica dicti Regni*, the authorities ordered a manuscript of the *Furs de la ciutat e regne de València*, a collection of the laws passed by monarchs from James I the Conqueror until that time (Villalba 1964, pp. 33–36; Ramón 2007, pp. 30–33). At the beginning of the book, we find illustrations of the monarchs sitting upon a throne in the shape of a bench, holding a sword as a symbol of justice, as the embodied sources of the city's and the kingdom's exclusive laws. These portrayals aimed to highlight both the nature of the laws and the monarch's role as founder and legislator. One of them displays a king, likely Alfonso IV, before Christ in the border image in f. 113r of the Valencian Furs, receiving the book (Ramón 2007, p. 32; Serrano 2008, pp. 62–70). Alternatively, *Llibre de franqueses i privilegis del Regne de Mallorca* (c. 1334–1341) goes further by depicting a monarch-legislator *in sede majestatis*, sitting on a throne, under an extravagant canopy and flanked by angels who crown him while he delivers the codex of privileges being copied by the scribe at the bottom (Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca, codex 1, f. 13v, Figure 3). The supposed intention of both opulent manuscripts was for the city governments to reassert the freedoms and privileges of both kingdoms, but this assertion was compatible with the figurative exaltation of royal power embodied by the providential monarch, not to be seen as an individual portrayal, but rather as a generic, dynastic image of the founder and original legislator of Mallorca and Valencia, as confirmed by the heraldry displayed in the border. To some extent, the Mallorcan codex signals that royal power is of divine origins and is consistent with the pattern of an 'in majesty' image, but this is subject to the confirmation of the privileges updated by scribe Romeu des Poal when he copies them onto the manuscript (Escandell 2012, pp. 333–37). Certainly, these symbolic depictions lacked of apocalyptic sense, but prepared the ground for a messianic perception of the king as *sacra majestas*, enhanced by a political propaganda nurtured by Ghibelline and Vilanova's prophetism in order to consolidate union of a Mediterranean power under the crown. Kingship was not only law-centered by involved also a new sense of authority and power in coronation ceremonies, funerals and speeches to the parliaments as much as royal imagery to represent a king of justice, never defeated (Corrao 1994, pp. 133–56; Serrano 2016, pp. 392–422).

Figure 3. Llibre de franqueses i privilegis del Regne de Mallorca. Mallorca, Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca, codex 1, f. 13v. Used by permission.

3.3. The New David

The restorer of lost order, the *renovatio mundi,* had been equated in Arnau de Vilanova's prophecies with the New David, who was to rebuild the temple on Mount Zion. These prophecies were presented to James II and Frederick III of Sicily in *Interpretatio de visionibus in somnis dominorum Iacobi secundi regis Aragonum et Friderici tertii regis Siciliae eius fratis* (1309), reworked in Catalan as *Raonament d'Avinyó* (1310), and left the identity of the *papa angelicus* and the New David ambiguous, but Frederick, then named the King of Trinacria, wasted no time in taking on this role, supported by the Fraticelli and Brother Dolcino, in particular. The Aragonese royals, meanwhile, like others, were tempted to identify themselves with the kings of the Old Testament, especially David and Solomon, as examples of wise, God-fearing monarchs. In the prologue of his chronicle, Peter IV the Ceremonious identified with David, as he believed God's will had saved him from all dangers so that he might fulfil his providential mission: 'And if we consider the great deeds performed in our time in the Kingdom of Aragon, as another David, whom it was said in 2 Samuel, 12: 10: "The sword shall not depart from my house." Thus, in the time of Our rule, the knife of an enemy, whether of a stranger, a vassal, or of Our counsellors, has almost never departed from Our house. And, truly, Our wars and tribulations were prefigured in the wars and deeds of David' (Peter IV 1980, pp. I, 128–29). However, the use made of the kings of Israel seems consistent with the prophetic connotations of the Aragonese monarch as the New David, not through personal identification but through association with the whole House of Barcelona. There is no visible intention to recognise a particular king in the images of David, but rather

a foretelling of the dynastic will to carry out reforms and restore Christianity after the millennium. This can be perceived through David's association with James I at the beginning of the text and through the royal shield of Peter IV the Ceremonious on the frontispiece of the *Aureum opus* of Alzira (Valencia), which is, in fact, a summary of the laws and privileges granted to the city of Valencia (Alzira, Archivo Municipal, Còdexs especials, 0.0/3, f. 1r). This codex, ordered by the jurors of Valencia, was a response to the evocation of the king who founded the kingdom as an exemplary figure who had evangelised the lands conquered by the Moors, granting them their own laws. In chronicles, the king's longevity was compared to that of David and Solomon (*Llibre dels fets*, chapter 562 (Serrano 2008, pp. 62–70; Barrientos 2009, pp. 425–34; Granell 2017a, pp. 56–57)).

In the solemn *Breviary of king Martin*, the psalms are accompanied by a cycle of four scenes from David's life on every page, the first of which is surrounded by crowned Aragonese emblems with, from top to bottom, *putti*, eagles, and angels wearing tunics, while in the corners, we find unidentified male and female busts (Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Rothschild 2529, f. 17v, Figure 4). The scenes on the left are from David's youth and depict him as the vanquisher of the lion and of Goliath, while on the other side, he is portrayed being anointed by Samuel and leading the Ark of the Covenant procession into Jerusalem. In the latter images, the monarch is characterised as an ageing man with a crown dressed with royal decorum: a stark contrast to the younger, slight man wearing a hat facing the lion and the Philistine giant (Planas 2009, pp. 61–66). On this page, we also find the royal motto *As a far fasses* ('do what you must') at the bottom of the border, which corresponded to the Order of the Belt ('Orde de la Corretja'), linked to his time as king of Sicily (Riera 2002, pp. 48–49). All of this suggests an association between David and the recipient and supporter of the illuminated manuscript, who had reached the throne 40 years after his brother John was killed accidentally, and who would bring a significant collection of relics to the royal chapel in Barcelona. When reproached by his adviser Francisco de Aranda for the pomp of the solemn coronation in Zaragoza, Martin invoked the precedent David and Solomon, among other kings of Israel (Rubió 1908–1921, pp. 2, 365–67; Serrano 2015b, p. 673). Martin was also represented on a throne with an open book in which the beginning of the *Miserere* (Ps 50, p. 3) was visible on the genealogical scroll of Poblet Monastery (Serra Desfilis 2002–2003, p. 71).

As the *Breviary* was completed under the reign of Alfonso V, it is unsurprising that this monarch also insisted on being associated with David, the author of the psalms in his Psalter and Hours now in London, British Library Additional MS 28962. Whether praying or seeking forgiveness at the beginning of the Penitential Psalms (f. 346v), and particularly in mystical visions such as that of the *duo viri*—Saint Dominic and Saint Francis praying to Christ, flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist, in a city identified as the capital as one of the king's states—at the beginning of the *Miserere* (f. 67v, Figure 5) identification of Alfonso with David is suggested (Español 2002–2003, pp. 96–97, 104–5; Planas 2015, pp. 232–36). This apocalyptic vision ties in with a common theme in Joachimite prophetism: the strength of the mendicant orders through their founders, who intercede before Christ, about to shoot arrows at the world (Arcelus 1991, pp. 21–112). This vision, refocused in the thirteenth century in favour of the Dominicans by Géraud de Frachet, retained all its popularity and relevance: so much so that it was represented on one of the carriages involved in the royal entry of Ferdinand I of Aragon, father of Alfonso V, into the city of Valencia in 1414 (Cárcel and García 2013, pp. 12–18). It was described as 'the vision Saint Dominic and Saint Francis saw with the three lances, denoting the end of the world' and is not to be confused with the one Vincent Ferrer had during his illness in Avignon (Calvé 2016, pp. 186–97). Seeing from the initial letter alongside the guardian angel, the king discreetly becomes a visionary of the imminent end of the world and a mediator between the fearsome power of God and his people.

Figure 4. David stories in the *Breviarium secundum ordinem Cisterciencium*, also known as Breviary of king Martin of Aragon. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Rothschild 2529, f. 17v. Used by permission.

Figure 5. Psalter and Hours, Dominican use (the 'Prayerbook of Alphonso V of Aragon'). London, British Library Add MS 28962, f. 67v. Used by permission.

In that royal entry into Valencia in 1414, the dynasty's new monarch was welcomed like a New David. Saint Vincent Ferrer had argued the legitimacy of the Trastámara candidate, even though he was a descendent to the Aragonese dynasty through the maternal line, by invoking the precedent of Jesus through Mary (Gimeno 2012) and the vision of Christ with the three lances, foreshadowed by the three darts thrust by Joab through the heart of Absalom, who would not wait for the succession (2 Samuel 18, pp. 9–15). Ferdinand I, meanwhile, had been patient and entrusted the verdict on his legitimacy to divine judgement; the electors at Caspe named him the heir, with decisive intervention from Vincent Ferrer in 1412, and thanks to his victories against the Moorish kingdom of Granada, he appeared to be a promising messianic monarch (Calvé 2019, pp. 69–70). Despite this dynastic change, the royal aura of David and Solomon continued to be projected onto the image of the king of Aragon.

3.4. The Transfiguration: A Triumphant, Conciliatory Vision of Messiah

While Alfonso V the Magnanimous was working on the crusade plan launched by Valencian Pope Callixtus III, the Turkish advance was reaching the gates of Belgrade, where John Hunyadi's and John of Capistrano's victory halted Mehmed II's army on 21 July 1456. News arrived in Rome on 6 August and it was commemorated with the Feast of the Transfiguration by Callixtus III, who had also requested that all churches sound their bells at midday during the siege on the Serbian capital. These events were echoed in the Crown of Aragon, where postponing sending a crusader contingent was not to hinder symbolic support for this battle against the infidels (Navarro 2003, pp. 149–50). Alfonso de Borja had been appointed bishop of Valencia in 1429 while he served as a special adviser to king Alfonso. To this backdrop, Joan de Bonastre, also a loyal adviser to Alfonso V, commissioned an altar in 1448 for Valencia cathedral with a triple dedication—to the Saviour, to Saint Michael and to Saint George—on which the Transfiguration would be accompanied by images of the two warrior saints par excellence (Saralegui 1960, pp. 5–10; Deurbergue 2012, pp. 67–70; Figure 6). A likely identification of the painter as Jacomart connects the preserved panel (Valencia, Museo de la Catedral) with the court artist of king Alfonso (Ferre 2000, pp. 1681–86; Gómez-Ferrer 2017, pp. 20–21). The use of the Transfiguration in the fight against the infidels was common in the Crown of Aragon in the fifteenth century, which explains the proliferation of the subject before and after the feast was established by a Valencian pope who had also supported Alfonso V in his campaigns and called for the Aragonese monarch to lead the crusade (Navarro 2003, pp. 81–180). Humanists like Flavio Biondo, Giannozzo Manetti, and Matteo Zuppardo in *Alfonseis* were keen to have him at the head of the crusade and attributed the Belgrade victory to the assistance given to Hunyadi and Scanderberg by Alfonso as the rightful figure who would continue the feats of Pompey the Great and Godfrey of Bouillon. Manetti attended a religious service in Naples Cathedral on 29 September 1455, Saint Michael's Day, at which Alfonso V was expected to take the cross against the Turks, although this ended up happening on All Saints Day of the same year thanks to decisive mediation from Manetti (Navarro 2003, pp. 98–100; Botley 2004; Molina 2011, p. 99). Transfiguration had come back to the forefront in the Crown of Aragon over the course of the fifteenth century, perhaps thanks to the opportunity to confirm Christ's role as the Messiah heralded by the Old Law and prophets in a context that was against Judaism but encouraged the conversion and assimilation of Neophytes; bishop Jaume Péreç of Valencia (1408–1490), in his *Tractatus contra Judaeos*, contended that the Old Covenant could not stand alone and was prefiguring the New Covenant (Peinado 1992). The parallel between transfigured Moses descending from the Sinai and the radiance of Jesus face and robe was a point of Jewish-Christian controversy (Moses 1996, pp. 20–49) and could be reinforced by the similar appearance of Christ and Moses in their portrayals, especially in the crossed nimbus of Christ and the red horns on Moses' forehead, as can be observed in the Valencian panel, let alone the major role of Elijah and Moses in the depiction of this scene, especially if compared to those of apostles Peter, John and James, overwhelmed witnesses of the theophany. It was expressed through the panel paintings of Pina (Teruel), Xiva de Morella (Castellón), an altarpiece from Barcelona Cathedral, work by Bernat Martorell (ca. 1445–1448) and another, later, altarpiece in Tortosa Cathedral

(ca. 1466–1480) ([Molina 1999](), pp. 57–87; [Alcoy and Vidal 2015]()). This theme confirmed Christ as the Messiah and heir to a Jewish tradition to be assimilated, and perpetuated a resounding victory in the liturgical calendar for all of Christianity against its most feared enemy. The sense of eschatology in the Transfiguration as a foretaste of the glory of Jesus at the Parousia as he discloses another world was also rooted on Jewish traditions about the enthronization of the Messiah ([Ramsey \[1949\] 2009](), pp. 101–11).

Figure 6. Master of Bonastre (Jacomart, also known as Jaume Baçó?), Transfiguration Altarpiece. Valencia, Museo de la Catedral. Used by permission.

3.5. The End of Days

The momentum behind prophetic thought depended on the sense of proximity of the millennium of peace and happiness that would last from the defeat of the Antichrist until the Final Judgement. At that time, the Emperor of the Last Days had to complete his mission: defeat the forces of evil, reform the Church with consensus from the *papa angelicus*, and convert the Jews and Muslims, by force or otherwise, to restore the holy city of Jerusalem. Such a cycle of spectacular visions of universal proportions was unlikely to find a comprehensive, eloquent visual translation, but it was not implausible for it to achieve resonance through images of the final stages liable to be investigated later.

Visual formulations created from the late-fourteenth century that heralded the coming millennium and were inspired by the work of Francesc Eiximenis renewed expectations in the upcoming millennium ([Rodríguez 2005](), pp. 117–21). The Final Judgement panel now in Munich, Alte Pinakothek, attributed

to Gherardo Starnina, depicts among the blessed a pope, a bishop, an emperor, a king wearing the golden collar of a double crown and a queen, and some of them have been persuasively related to historical characters as king John I and queen Violant de Bar, or rather to king Martin I and queen Maria de Luna. The landscape of the doomsday has also been compared to those of Mallorca or the Charterhouse of Valldecrist, the latter reputedly reminiscent of the valley of Josaphat as the place of divine judgement (Miquel 2003, pp. 793–94; Serra Desfilis 2016, p. 66; Palumbo 2015, pp. 325–54). In any case, a late sixteenth century source described in Valldecrist a painting of the Final Judgement in the presence of king Martin and queen Maria, on Christ's right hand side, to remember the visionary insight of the valley of Josaphat who inspired the foundation of Valldecrist, and a lost inscription confirming it in the cloister next to Saint Martin's chapel (Diago 1946, pp. II, 177).

The Trinity adored by All Saints and Saint Michael altarpiece from Valldecrist (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 39.54, Figure 7) offers an evocative composition of Joachim of Fiore's passage in his *Liber figurarum* on the millennium, the unity of the Church and the conversion of the Jews (Lerner 2001, p. 31), and especially the comment from chapter 20 on the Apocalypse in Eiximenis's *Llibre dels àngels*, treaty V, chapter 37: 'the shackling of the Devil and the kingdom of saints with Christ, for one thousand years, before the Final Judgement' (Eiximenis [1392] 1983, pp. 117–19; Lerner 2001, pp. 107–9). Commissioned around 1400 by Dalmau de Cervelló i Queralt, governor of the Kingdom of Valencia and friend of King Martin, for the San Martín Chapel in the Carthusian Monastery of Valldecrist (Altura, Castellón) founded by the monarch, the piece's side panels depict the Saints' adoration of the Trinity (Serra Desfilis and Miquel Juan 2009, pp. 78–79). Here, redemption is seen in a clearly apocalyptic context: Christ's merits earned on the cross and his status as the Son of God, evident through the Trinity formula, are strengthened by the intercession of the Virgin Mary and the vision of the blessed adoring the Trinity, includes the Old Testament Patriarchs and All Saints, each identified with their individual name and organised by hierarchy, marks the start of the millennium. It was expected around that time, as stated by Francesc Eiximenis in the final stage of the Western Schism, when Benedict XIII could embody the angelic shepherd who, with the final emperor, would lead to that vision (Lerner 2001, pp. 107–9). The funerary function of the altarpiece from Valldecrist and a comparison with other, related pieces made by Valencian workshops around that time, such as the one from Portaceli now shared between New York's Metropolitan Museum (12.192) and Lyon's Musée des Beaux Arts (inv. B 1174 a/b) (Fuster 2012, pp. 75–96), or the Pedro de Puxmarín altarpiece in Murcia Cathedral (circa 1419), only emphasise the prophetic virtuality of that vision, nuanced by a kind of Marian devotion that was deeply rooted in Valencia and in the Court of Martin I the Humane, where her immaculate conception was supported through the image of the Veronica (Crispi 1996; Rodríguez 2007, pp. 169–93; Deurbergue 2012, pp. 156–89). Indeed, Virgin Mary, dressed as the Queen of Heaven, sits beside the Trinity upon the throne of grace, in a prominent place according to the sense of piety and devotion idiosyncratic of the Court of Martin and particularly of his queen, Maria de Luna, lieutenant of the kingdom of Valencia between 1401 and 1406 and dedicatee of Eiximenis' *Scala Dei*. Queen Maria made a donation of 9000 gold florins to Valldecrist Charterhouse in 1403, just a few months before she obtained a papal bull, allowing her and her ladies to attend the Mass at any Carthusian monastery in the Crown of Aragon as long as she did not spend the night at the Charterhouse (Silleras-Fernandez 2008, pp. 115–37).

In this piece, we see in nuce two main means of exaltation of the Aragonese kings' messianic mission. Firstly, Marian devotion is translated visually through ex-votos and scenes portraying the monarchs at the Virgin's feet. This distinctive way of venerating the Virgin Mary was assimilated and ramped up by the Trastámara dynasty even before they became kings of Aragon following the Compromise of Caspe (1412), as reflected in the Virgin of Tobed (Prado Museum, n° inv. P008117, Figure 8), following on from the exaltation of Mary exhibited by James I and other Aragonese monarchs of the House of Barcelona (Ruiz 2009, pp. 71–112). This panel, commissioned before Count of Trastámara became king Henry II of Castile, shows him and his wife, Juana Manuel, with their son John (I), and one of the daughters, maybe Joan, as donors praying at the foot of the Virgin of Santa

Maria de Tobed (Zaragoza). Both father and son are represented as kings of Castille-Leon as the crown and heraldry make it clear. However, this Marian devotion rarely reached the apocalyptic dimensions seen in the Valldecrist altarpiece, where Virgin's intercession is dramatic and spectacular.

Figure 7. The Trinity adored by all saints. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Used by permission.

Figure 8. The Virgin of Tobed with the donors Henry II of Castile, his wife Joan Manuel, and two of their children, John and Joan (?). Madrid, Prado (P008117). Used by permission.

Secondly, the angels that appeared as the kings' guardians or champions of celestial militias in the fight against evil sometimes transformed into carriers of a messianic message with roots in Judeo-Christian tradition (Horbury 2003, pp. 57–59; Potestà 2014, p. 160). The popularity of angelic themes in the decoration of spaces for worship in castles and palaces has been linked to a desire to imitate the Chamber of the Angels in the papal palace in Avignon (Español 1998, pp. 58–68). In Valencia, the Chamber of the Angels was to be one of the most representative rooms of the royal palace and is mentioned in a letter from Martin I to Pere d'Artés as part of the royal lodge in 1405 (Español 1998, p. 63). For this or an adjacent room in the same royal apartment, known as Real Vell, Martí Lobet sculpted three angels with weapons and elements of dynastic heraldry from polychrome orangewood in 1432. One of them carried a helmet in one hand and a sword in the other; the second, a helmet with a thick strap 'with a vibra or bat' and a silver rapier with a gold handle; and the third, a helmet with the Siege Perilous and enamelled silver leaves in one hand and a silver axe with wooden handle in the other. Martí Lobet also sculpted three beasts from the same wood: one half friar, half dragon; another in the shape of a griffin; and the final one an eagle, which were supposed to be fighting the angels. All of this encourages an eschatological interpretation, with malevolent creatures being overcome by angels with royal heraldry (Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, record 11607, f. 38r; Sanchis 1924, pp. 19–20).

3.6. Prophetic Emblems: The Dragon and the Bat

Among the symbols carried by these victorious angels are the Siege Perilous—the king's personal emblem, alluding to the seat reserved for the best knight in Arthurian legend—and a fantastical being somewhere between a dragon and a bat, which the dynasty had adopted in its heraldry and on royal seals since the time of Peter IV the Ceremonious. This winged dragon, sometimes associated with the Apocalypse and a symbol of the dynasty (*dragó* sounds like *d'Aragó*, meaning *from Aragon*), was ambiguous: enemies saw this fearsome beast as malignant and apocalyptic, while Aragonese supporters used this emblem to assert the Staufen legacy (Jaspert 2010, pp. 214–15). The symbol's identification with the figure of the Emperor of the Last Days was present since Arnau de Vilanova and his prophecy *Vae mundo in centum annis* contained in *De mysterio cymbalorum Ecclesiae* (Milhou 1982, pp. 64–75). Indeed, it was this author who declared the bat would devour the Moors on the Iberian Peninsula as though they were mosquitoes and would continue with its triumphal march until reaching Jerusalem. Francesc Eiximenis (*Lo Crestià* first book, chapters 102 and 247) declared that 'From this house [of Aragon] it is prophesied that a monarch must rule over almost all', proclaimed the dynasty unbeaten ('never has a King of Aragon been defeated on the battlefield'), praised the house's relics, interpreted the pallets on the coat of arms as rods on which the Church would be reformed, and extolled the victories over Islam in Valencia and Mallorca, hoping that this would be continued in Africa and would reach the Holy Land (Bohigas [1928] 1982, pp. 99–104).

The determination to adopt a frightful symbol and preserve its messianic connotations explains why, in heraldry, the figure becomes a dragon, snake and bat hybrid. In fact, the Catalan word *vibra* refers both to a winged dragon and a bat, as often seen in Valencian documents; indeed, the dragon that killed Saint George was also a *vibra* (Vives 1900; Ivars 1923, pp. 66–112; Duran [1987] 2004, pp. 164–74).

The crest from the Armería Real of Madrid (D.11) is one of the most outstanding pieces of this kind still preserved (Figure 9). Made from parchment, plaster and gold leather and painted to remain light on the helmet, it likely dates from the early fifteenth century and comes from Mallorca, where the winged dragon was used as a symbol of the crown at the Festa de l'Estendard, commemorating Martin I's conquest by royal decree: '*inter signia et al.ios apparatus regales nostram empresiam de la cimera sive timbre*' (Crooke 1898, pp. 139–41, Riera 2002, p. 54; Montero 2017, pp. 100–1).

Figure 9. Crest with a dragon, also known as king Martin's crest. Madrid, Armería Real (D.11). Used by permission.

Over time, this symbol of a monarchy with imperial, millennialist ambitions was adopted by the municipal governments of Valencia and Mallorca, which linked it retrospectively to James I the Conqueror as the founder of the kingdoms. In 1459, it was added to the royal standard of the city of the River Turia on the eve of the Saint George festival. Peter IV's desire to use the *vibra* crest on seals and heraldry following the annexation of Mallorca (1343–1344) turned the helmet with winged dragon emblem into a dynastic symbol and reference to James I, which strengthened the link to the secular fight against Islam and the prophetic destiny foretold by Arnau de Vilanova, in texts attributed to him, by Francesc Eiximenis, by *Surge, vespertilio, surge* (1455) and even by Jeroni Torrella in *De imaginibus astrologicis* (1496) at the time of Ferdinand II the Catholic (Ivars 1923, pp. 75–76).

The motif proved to be to the monarchy's liking, as the kings of Aragon used it from the time of Martin the Humane until Ferdinand II the Catholic, despite the dynastic change of 1412. Thus, it is depicted in the late fourteenth century in the famous Gelre Armorial as the crest on coat of arms of the King of Aragon [*ARRAGOEN*] (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, ms. 15652–5, f. 62r) and in the later Armorial of the Golden Fleece (Armorial de l'Europe et de la Toison d'or, Paris, Bibliothèque national de France. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms 4790 f. 108r, Figure 10). Jean de Roquetaillade had thought Infant Ferdinand of Aragon to be bound to defeat king Peter I of Castille wearing on his helmet the crest of the bat *super galeam vespertilionem gerit insigne armorum* (Aurell 1990, pp. 351–53). Later, Infant Peter of Aragon's vision of Henry of Trastámara as the embodiment of the bat foreseen in prophecies had not been in vain (Pou [1930] 1996, pp. 531–34): both Henry and his son John have just placed aside their helmets with dragon crests and royal Castilian heraldry in the Tobed ex-voto. A *vibra* or dragon appeared, fighting savages and knights, at Martha of Armagnac's royal entry into

Valencia in 1377 (Archivo Municipal de Valencia: Manual de Consells, A-16, ff. 159r-164r; Ivars 1923, pp. 103–4). Among the pageantry of his royal entry in Barcelona (1397), Martin I had particularly admired the eagle and the dragon, which were subsequently borrowed for his coronation in Zaragoza in 1399, where *una gran vibra molt bella* ('a great and very beautiful viper') throwing fire was fought by a group of knights, as witnessed by the chronicle of the event (Carbonell [1547] 1997, pp. 178–90). Alfonso V the Magnanimous had been portrayed as a bat in anonymous prophecies dating from 1449 onwards (Bohigas 1920–1922, p. 43; Aurell 1994; Barca 2000). As we have seen, he incorporated the symbol into his emblems on objects like medals, manuscripts, the royal tent in 1436 and his palace in Valencia (Duran 2004, pp. 217–21). Valencian notary Dionís Guiot described a vision of a king crowned with a *vibra* with a bat's wings, as the champion of the crusade following the fall of Constantinople: 'With a glorious demeanour/I saw a king wearing a crest on his head/a rampant dragon with bat wings' (Duran 2004, p. 166).

Figure 10. The King of Aragon, Armorial de l'Europe et de la Toison d'or, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms 4790 f. 108r. Used by permission.

4. Conclusions

This prophetic frenzy culminated towards the end of the century and shifted focus onto Ferdinand II the Catholic: a plausible New David figure, a Hidden King who was to restore Spain, continue the conquest of Africa and reach the Holy City. The taking of Granada and the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, support for ecclesiastical reform, the annexation of the Kingdom of Naples and military success in north Africa encouraged this association both in Castile and in Aragon, while linking up with the

Pseudo-Isidorian Hispanic tradition of the repair of Spain following the Moorish invasion and the millennialist visions of Arnau de Vilanova and other authors. Zoomorphic symbols, such as the eagle and the bat, were of great service to royal propaganda. Columbus's arrival in the New World was seen, both by him and by the Court, as a good omen for the establishment of a universal monarchy and the arrival of a millennium of peace and happiness (Milhou 1983; Duran 2011, p. 305, Wittlin 1999; Ryan 2011, pp. 172–80).

In 1515, Diego de Gumiel printed a book entitled *Aureum opus*, which listed the privileges granted by the monarchs of Aragon to the city of Valencia according to the records of the notary Lluís Alanyà (Alanyà 1515). There was hardly a year left before the independent dynasty of the Crown of Aragon would be abolished with the death of Ferdinand II the Catholic: a fitting time to remember the privileges enjoyed by the kingdom's capital and the tale of its conquest, with the first-person testimony of King James I in his chronicle, included at the beginning of the book. James I was an amalgamation of the heroic figure of the conqueror and that of the legislator who had founded a new kingdom and granted it its own legal code through the *furs*. Both facets, that of the vanquisher of the Moors and that of the magnanimous legislator, along with the individual image of the monarch describing the feat in the first person and the institutional figure of the founder of the kingdom, were captured through the only two images printed on the book. On the frontispiece, the monarchy is represented with royal heraldry, meaning the Aragonese coat of arms with pallets below a dragon crest, while on folio 6v, the king figure is riding and gripping a sword, with full armour and a winged dragon crest, in front of a castle on a rock (Serra Desfilis 2018, pp. 144–45); Figure 11. It is no coincidence that the same etching would be used for the novel *Floriseo* later that year and would be recreated by other printers in Seville and Toledo for chivalric romances (Bernal 1516; Guijarro 2002, pp. 205–23). The adventures of the protagonist of *Floriseo* were reminiscent of those captured in the more famous Tirant lo Blanch, which Cervantes considered the best book in the world: a Christian knight freeing the eastern empire and leading the crusade on successful campaigns until reaching India (Rubiera 1993; Hauf 1995, pp. 129–32).

These images, valid for representing both a fictional hero and messianic hopes invested in the monarchy towards 1500, were used subversively in Xàtiva in 1522. Without a specific, individual identity, they left the door open for an adventurer to associate himself with the Hidden King and ride the wave of expectation from all those who aspired to a renewal of the world they knew, to the definitive conversion of the Jews and Muslims, to the reconquest of Jerusalem and to the establishment of the millennium of the eternal gospel. The appearance of the Hidden King was to be linked subversively to the Aragonese dynasty, which held on to those prophetic hopes, but did not need an epiphany in a sacred place, let alone a formal coronation: his thundering image was forged in battles from which he emerged without a scratch, despite taking on fearsome enemies. Only one image of this and other individuals who hoped to take on the same role survived: the negative one broadcast by his enemies. However, his emergence could not remain independent of all the other images that suggested that a king of Aragon could embody that World Emperor heralded by prophets and visionaries, described in books and in the streets, glorified in royal entries and coronations, and captured through images of power and glory.

The monarchs of the Crown of Aragon had used the figurative arts as a means of communication and dynastic propaganda through various media (Serrano 2015a). However, while making them versatile and easy to update over time, the generic nature of many dynastic, triumphal and foundational images probably reduced the control the Court held over them: heraldry, dynastic and individual emblems, and generic and conventional portraits were easily used for exaltation purposes through rhetorical persuasion, but could possibly be adapted to subversive readings as well. These images effortlessly crossed the uncertain, permeable boundaries between popular mentality and Court culture, and the possibility of reproducing and disseminating them through etchings made them even more difficult to control.

Figure 11. King James I in Lluís Alanyà, Aureum Opus regalium privilegiorum civitatis et regni Valentie cum historia christianissimi regis Jacobi ipsius primi conquistatoris, Valencia, 1515, f. 6v (Valencia, Biblioteca Valenciana). Used by permission.

The scarcity and problematic nature of figurative images of royal epiphanies is striking. These events had their own specific setting at the coronation in Zaragoza (Serrano 2012), the royal entry and the pledge to the laws and privileges: ceremonies that stirred up some discomfort among the Aragonese monarchs, as they compromised their authority through institutional consensus and agreement. Imagining the king victorious on the battlefield, against the infidels or any other enemy, and with the aura of a glorious destiny, blessed by divine selection foretold by prophets and visionaries instead of a ceremony of unction and consecration, was a unique artistic route inspired by the Court and promoted by urban oligarchies, but was not free from danger when someone took on these millennialist expectations.

The power vacuum created when Ferdinand II the Catholic died is evident through the subsequent lack of iconographic representation of the Hidden King or Emperor of the Last Days, which appeared in other contemporary European contexts (Guerrini 1997; Vassilieva-Codognet 2012). The figure was unable to survive the harsh oppression of the Revolt of the Germanias and the subsequent 'encubertismo' (Pérez García 2007, pp. 212–22), and Charles V and the humanists of the Imperial Court opted for other kinds of images and values. When the piece by Brother Juan Unay or Joan Alamany, *Tractat de la venguda de l'Antichrist* was printed again in Valencia in 1520, the figure of the New David, the Emperor of the Last Days and now the Hidden King, tailor-made for Ferdinand II the Catholic, did not seem suitable for a distant king who was reluctant to swear an oath to the *furs* of the Kingdom of Valencia, slow to defend his Valencian subjects when they felt in danger of a combined attack from the local Mudejars, Barbary pirates or even the Turk, and alien to the text's strongly antisemitic message (Ramos 1997; Duran and Requesens 1997; Toro 2003). This material, however, could be transformed into subversive ideas in the hands of adventurers from Castile, who were ready to put themselves

forward as heirs of the Trastámara dynasty and the real embodiments of the Hidden King, which is exactly what happened in Xàtiva in 1522 (Pérez García and Catalá 2000).

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De Modo Qualiter Reges Aragonum Coronabuntur. Visual, Material and Textual Evidence during the Middle Ages

Marta Serrano-Coll

Department of History and Art History, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, 43003 Tarragona, Spain; marta.serrano@urv.cat

Abstract: The aim of this study is to analyze the coronation ceremonies carried out in the Crown of Aragon throughout the Middle Ages. Although the pope granted most Western monarchies the right to hold these ceremonies in their own kingdoms in 1204, our study will address the mechanisms used to appoint kings both before and after the consolidation of these ceremonies, mechanisms which reflected the power struggles between the parties involved, that is, the prince and the Church. We will examine the elements that remained constant throughout this period but we will also pay particular attention to the alterations that were made and how these had important consequences that went beyond politics and entered religious terrain. Among the changes were the kings' efforts to participate in priestly orders, the promotion and consolidation of new liturgy with content intended to legitimize the kings, and the use of new iconographies with sacred references. As will be seen, these are only a small example of the mechanisms used by the sovereigns of the Crown of Aragon to re-emphasize their links with God, which had been weakened by the transformations to the anointing and coronation ceremonials and the resulting tensions with Rome, particularly during the times of Peter IV (1336–1387).

Keywords: coronation; Crown of Aragon; laicization; sacralization; rex et sacerdos; iconography

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1. Introduction

As Bonifacio Palacios Martín pointed out many years ago,[1] it was the Visigothic monarchs under Leovigild who, in emulation of the Byzantines, introduced to the Iberian Peninsula various imperial insignias and symbols such as the throne, the robe and the crown or diadem. With this change, Palacios goes on to assert, began the creation and execution of rituals that from then on would mark the ascension to the throne of each new king. The essential parts of these rituals were the Profession of Faith, the Unction, the Coronation, the Oath (of the king and of the subjects) and the final Blessing of the monarch.[2] Of these, the unction was the most original innovation given that to that point it had never been practised by either the Germanic peoples or the Byzantines, but rather had originated directly in the Old Testament.

The first references to a regal unction are to be found in the First Book of Samuel and allude to the legendary Saul: "Then Samuel took a flask of olive oil and poured it on Saul's head and kissed him, saying, 'Has not the Lord anointed you ruler over his inheritance?'".[3] These inaugural verses reveal

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[1] (Palacios Martín 1975, p. 14).
[2] (Ferotín 1904; Sánchez Albornoz 1962).
[3] 1 Samuel 10. However, there is an even earlier reference in 9,16: "About this time tomorrow I will send you a man from the land of Benjamin. Anoint him ruler over my people Israel".

a fundamental premise: that power came from God, an irrefutable fact that flowed inevitably into the regal liturgy during the necessary ecclesiastical intervention. In contrast, the desire and need of the monarchs to demonstrate their superiority pushed them to formalize these types of act which, far from remaining unchanged over the centuries, actually underwent notable textual and iconographic modifications. The artistic echoes of these changes and those elements that remained unaltered can be tracked throughout the Middle Ages through various artistic manifestations.[4]

Leaving aside the debate as to whether these rituals were a liturgy of *inauguratio* or *translatio*,[5] for their principal protagonist, the king,[6] in most cases they visually manifested that which Jacq and de la Perrière describe as a "communion" between the power of the king and the power of bishop; that is, the mutual recognition between two powers on whom the spiritual and material lives of the kingdom depended.[7] For confirmation of this, one need only look to Hincmar of Reims (806–882), who advised Charles the Bald that kings acquired their royal dignity through the unction they received from the bishops,[8] or to Gregory VII (1073–1085), who more than two hundred years later would insist that the earthly kingdom was at the service of heaven.[9] It is for this reason that the kings and emperors used every possible method to present themselves as members of the clergy, which is clearly reflected in the different ceremonies that were created for their respective coronations.[10] By the same token, they would also highlight the type and state of relations between kings and their subjects, and the attempts by the latter to limit the sovereignty of the former.[11] In this regard, as will be commented on below, the kings of the Crown of Aragon were no exception.

2. Precedents: Dynastic Succession in Aragon through Primogeniture. Notes on the First Kingdom of Pamplona

In the kingdom of Pamplona, custom dictated that the throne would be inherited by the king's firstborn son, who would reign exclusively over the central kingdom while the king's other sons would reign over new territories that were added. In some cases, even while the king was still alive, he would give these other sons territories for them to rule over, although they were still required to swear their allegiance to the central kingdom.[12] This is exactly what happened with Ramiro I (1035–1064), the first king of Aragon. His father, the king of Pamplona, Sancho III Garcés (1004–1035), shared his territories out among all of his sons, which in effect led to the birth of the kingdom of Castile and the emergence of the kingdom of Aragon, which were counties until 1035.

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[4] Panoramic view of the ceremonies of the coronation, the unction and the funeral rites of the kings of England, for example, in (Serrano-Coll 2008a, pp. 145–74).

[5] The first, defended by certain anthropologists, in particular Fortes and Geertz, focuses on the taking of power through this ceremony, whereas the second, put forward by Van Gennep, emphasises the fact that in the course of the ceremony the king moves from one state to another completely new. This would be a ceremony of transit. Palacios synthesises this thesis by stating that these acts are a *translatio* of royal dignity to the person of the king (Palacios Martín 1986). For more on this question, see also (Le Goff 2001, p. 19ff).

[6] Due to lack of space, this article will not discuss the coronation of queens, despite the fact that they were entitled to similar solemnities as the king, given that a queen was not only the king's wife, but also the mother, or should be, of the future king. In addition, a queen's anointment meant that like her husband she was a sovereign individual embodying the sacredness of the monarchy; however, she acceded to the crown through her spouse, so she remained subordinate to the king. See (Bouman 1957, p. 151). In the Crown of Aragon the principle of the queen's subordination to the king is manifested textually because, among other elements of a legal nature, the queen's ceremony followed that of her husband's investiture. It can also be observed figuratively, as will be seen. See (Silleras-Fernández 2015).

[7] (Jacq and Perriere 1981, p. 74).

[8] *Quia enim—post unctionem quam cum coeteris fidelibus. Meruistis hoc consequi quod beatus Apostulus Petrus dicit: vos genus electus, regale sacerdotium—episcopale et spirituali unctione et benedictione regiam dignitatem potius quam terrena potestate consecuti estis.* P. L. 125. Col. 1040. From (Bloch 1961, p. 71).

[9] "*El poder ha sido dado de lo alto a mis señores* [. . .] *para que el reino terrestre esté al servicio del reino de los cielos*" (Power has been given from on high my lords [. . .] so that the kingdom of the earth may serve the kingdom of heaven). *Gregorii Papae I Registrum Epistolarum*, III, 61. Quoted in (Pacaut 1957, p. 230).

[10] See (Palacios Martín 1975).

[11] Coronations as part of the royal ceremonies surrounding monarchical power are studied in (Ruiz 2012; Buc 2001). For a study focusing primarily on the Crown of Aragon, see (Orcástegui Gros 1995, pp. 633–47).

[12] (Ramos Loscertales 1961). Referenced in (Orcástegui Gros and Sánchez 2001, p. 85).

Despite the absence of documentation referring to acts of coronations, unquestionably authentic written accounts confirm the royal status of the first Aragonese king, even though he never assumed the title "*Rex per gratia Dei*". The reason may lie in the fact that for his father divine right was a privilege enjoyed exclusively by royalty; it was handed down to the firstborn son and thus went exclusively to García Sánchez III, heir of Pamplona.[13] In this manner, as in subsequent kingdoms, according to the Navarrese tradition, in the kingdom of Aragon, when an infante was invested with the government of a given territory, he received the title of king.[14] In this regard, in the 13th century, and eloquently in the frame of the government of James I (1213–1276) the Conqueror, who saw truncated his desire to be crowned by the Holy Father as we will recall subsequently, echoes of this matter can be seen: the initial lines from *In excelsis Dei thesauris*, a work compiled by the bishop of Huesca Vidal de Canellas between 1247 and 1252, allude to this ancient practice of which there is documentary proof.[15]

3. Peter II (1196–1213): His Coronation in Rome and the Immediate Consequences

In general terms, the surviving texts indicate that the amount of money set aside for the celebration of coronation ceremonies were not meagre and that, in their preparations, the kings attempted to employ the most renowned artists of the moment. Decorated streets and important buildings, theatre performances and other ornamental and symbolic resources combined to create an extraordinary ephemeral art that enlivened and ennobled these acts, which were frequently attended by important individuals who came from far and wide. However, there is no evidence that the coronation ceremony was practiced in Aragon until the times of Peter II who, eight years into his reign in 1204 was solemnly crowned in Rome by Innocent III (1198–1216). The chronicles describe the king as an ostentatious, gallant and generous prince[16] and this explains in part why he decided to hold an event that would have so many consequences in future: "convenía a la dignidad de su estado coronarse con la solemnidad y fiesta que se requiere" (it befitted the dignity of his status to be crowned with the appropriate solemnity and celebration) commented Zurita.[17] He most certainly decided to be crowned in Rome out of recognition of his natural lord: in 1163, Pope Alexander III (1159–1181) had written to his father Alfonso II (1164–1196) reminding him that the Crown of Aragon was "pertenencia bien reconocida de San Pedro" (a well-recognised belonging of Saint Peter).[18]

For the coronation of Peter II, it has been thought that they used some form of royal ordo such as the one from Arlés (which could have been provided by the archbishop of that place when he accompanied the king on his visit to Rome); however, in fact they used the Roman Pontifical, which only contained the ceremony for crowning emperors.[19] According to the Vatican records, the *Ordo coronationis Petri regis Aragonum*,[20] the ceremonies of unction and coronation were carried out *ad*

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[13] (Durán Gudiol 1978, p. 33).

[14] Ibid., p. 35.

[15] "Mientras los hijos de los reyes son niños o mancebos, no son llamados reyes, sino infantes, principalmente en España, donde *el hijo del rey no alcanza esta categoría si le falta el reino*, no pudiendo ser rey cumplidamente; *ostentará aquel título, cualquiera que sea su edad y mereciendo por naturaleza el reino*; si no lo obtienen, los hijos de los reyes serán llamados infantes" (While the sons of kings are boys or youths they are not called kings, but rather infantes, principally in Spain, *where the son of the king does not obtain the status of king if he does not have a kingdom, because he is not fully able to be king; he will bear that title, whatever his age and naturally meriting the kingdom*; if they do not obtain it, the sons of the kings will be called infantes) (*Vidal Mayor* 1989, italics are mine). Regarding coronations in Navarre, see (Orcástegui Gros 1995, pp. 637–39).

[16] As confirmed by Soldevila (1926).

[17] "*Pareció al rey don Pedro que convenía a la dignidad de su estado coronarse con la solemnidad y fiesta que se requiere a príncipe que tiene poder que representa supremo señorío*" (it seemed to King Peter that it befitted the dignity of his status to be crowned with the solemnity and celebration that is required by a prince who has power that represents supreme dominion) (Zurita [1512–1580] 1980, book II, p. 51). In the same vein Blancas also states that "*convenia a la dignidad de su estado coronarse en solemnidad y fiesta*" (it befitted the dignity of his status to be crowned with the solemnity and celebration) (Blancas 1641, book I, p. 3).

[18] ((Zurita [1512–1580] 1980, p. 36).

[19] (Righeti 1956, p. 1041). See also (Palacios Martín 1975, pp. 23–25).

[20] Reg. Vat. 5, fol. 202r–202v. Although it has been published on various occasions, for example in (Blancas 1641, book I, pp. 5–6), in the present study we have used the transcription given in (Palacios Martín 1975, ap. doc. II, pp. 299–301), which was in turn taken from (Mansilla 1955, p. 341).

monasterium S. Pancratii martiris, outside the city, by the bishop of Porto, who was a suffragan of Rome, who anointed the king, and by the pope himself, who gave the king his crown, sceptre, pommel and mitre,[21] insignias that as soon as they arrived in the kingdom of Aragon, were deposited in the royal monastery of Sigena.[22] The handing over of the latter emblems, exclusively reserved for emperors, confirms the use of the Roman Pontifical and also reveals the political intentions of the Supreme Pontiff; as has been said earlier, by giving these imperial insignias to the new king (*quam speciosa fecimus preparari*, proudly states Innocent III, who in addition to having commissioned and paid for them, makes a gift of them *in signum gratie specialis*),[23] the pope created a physical and visible representation of the decrease in prerogatives enjoyed by the German emperors, which were at the time in conflict with the Holy See.[24] According to some authors,[25] Peter II attached great importance to the pope's concession of the mitre and pommel, a fact that is confirmed by his incorporation of the latter to his seals. (Figure 1) Nevertheless, I believe that this inclusion, which can only be seen in his seals from the end of 1207, was due not so much to his pride in the illustrious insignias given to him by Innocent III but more to a change in the political interests of the king, who was by now moving away from France and much closer toward Sicily. What is true is that this was precisely the moment when relations between the Staufen and the House of Aragon were reaching a crucial point with the betrothal of two members of the respective families, namely Lady Constance, daughter of Peter, to Frederick II of Sicily.[26]

(**a**)   (**b**)

Figure 1. (**a**) Main seal of Peter III, obverse. 1206. From (De Sagarra i Siscar 1916–1932, n. 9). (**b**) Bull of Peter II, obverse. 1210 (ibid., n. 13). Both seals show the first use of the globe in the sigillography of the king of Aragon. Used with permission according with publishing rules in Spain.

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[21] The document indicates that *predictum regem permanum Petri Portuensis episcopi fecit iniungi, quem postmodum ipse manu propia coronavit, largiens ei regalia insignia universa, mantum videlicet, et colobium, ceptrum et pomum, coronam et mitram* (ibid., p. 300). *Paludamentum purpureum* of the Byzantine emperors, the *colobium* or *marina purpura auro decora* (short cloak), the globe, the crown and the mitre are all listed by Durán Gudiol (1989, p. 18). Regarding the insignias and the difficulties in interpreting them, see (De Molina 1998, pp. 148–49).

[22] This is known from a document addressed to James I, dated 1 June 1218 and issued by Ozenda, prioress of the convent. In it the abbess agrees to send the king the crown and other royal insignias belonging to James' father for his coronation: *concedimus et convenimus vobis Iacobo regi Aragonum et comiti Barchinone et domino Montispesulani, ut quacumque hora vos queritis vobis coronam et mitram et sceptrum et pomum similiter que fuerunt honorabilis patris vestri Petri regis Aragonum et comitis Barchinoneci eterna sit requies*. On the back of the document it states: *Carta corone domini regis. Carta coronee, mitre et ceptri domini regis Petri antiqui.* References in (ibid., pp. 147–56).

[23] As the Pope indicates in the document in which he allows the kings and queens of Aragon to be crowned in Zaragoza: Reg. Vat. 7, fol. 31, n. 92 and fol. 95. Published in (Blancas 1641, book I, p. 7).

[24] As pointed out by Schramm (1960, p. 129).

[25] (De Sagarra i Siscar 1916–1932, vol. I, p. 103). See also (Palacios Martín 1975, p. 51).

[26] For more on this hypothesis, see (Serrano-Coll 2015, p. 68). The king may have copied the sigillographic models of Federico II for his largest stamps. Subsequently, after adopting the imperial insignias, he transferred them to the iconography of his bulls.

Returning to the ceremony celebrated in Rome, having been anointed and crowned, the new king, accompanied by a splendid retinue, arrived at Saint Peter's where he was appointed a knight, renewed his feoffment to the Holy See[27] and renounced his patronage of the churches of the kingdom. In this way, Peter II became *miles sancti Petri* and also *miles sancti Petri mirabiliter factus*, according to the surviving document.[28] Some months later, on 16 June 1205, Innocent III issued a bull in which he gave the kings the right to request to be crowned in Zaragoza by the archbishop of Tarragona: *de speciali mandato per Tarraconensem archiepiscopum apud Caesaraugustam solempniter coronentur*.[29] One month after this, he ratified the privilege, adding a clause that empowered the archbishop of Tarragona to also crown the queens of Aragon: *per manus eiusdem archiepiscopi eas liceat coronari*.[30] This established a purely feudal system or procedure which, through its documents, proclaimed that royal power depended on the Church in terms of both its origin and destiny.

Leaving to one side the motives that induced Peter II to carry out this act in Rome,[31] the linking of his coronation to the reaffirmation of his vassal status to the Holy See and the fact that this ceremony should be carried out, *de speciali mandato*,[32] in the Seo de Zaragoza by the archbishop of Tarragona, Peter II's successors continued to struggle to elude control by the universal powers so that they could complete their acts with the most absolute sovereign autonomy.[33]

4. James I (1213–1276): The Renunciation of His Coronation and the Proclamation of the Right to Conquest

Given the deterioration in relations between Innocent III and Peter II towards the end of his life, the protection offered by Innocent to the young James I when on 12 September 1213, at the battle of Muret he unexpectedly became an orphan begs for attention. However, in reality the pope was motivated not only by the feoffment of the kingdom to the Holy See, but also by his obligations under the principle of the *miserabiles personae*[34] to offer protection to widows and orphans, particularly if they had held positions of responsibility.[35] It is for this reason that he quickly assumed protection of the young king of Aragon and spared no effort in assisting in the affairs of the kingdom.[36] The protection afforded by Innocent III led James I to refer to him as the "*mellor apostoli; que de la saó que feem aquest llibre en cent anys passats no hac tan bo apostoli en l'església de Roma*" (best apostle; that in the hundred years prior to writing this book, there has never been such a good apostle in the Church of Rome).[37] The close bonds between the king and the church can be seen from the first important episode in the young monarch's reign, the courts of Lleida in 1214, convened by the cardinal and papal

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27 Sancho Ramírez had already enfeoffed his kingdom to the Holy See. A letter has survived which states that the monarch informed Urban II (1088–1099) about this matter, offering him an annual tribute of 500 mancusos (*mancusos Iaccensis monete*) and, each of his knights, another mancuso annually. He adds that this is in perpetuity: "*Haec constituo et confirmo et a me et a successor meo obseruanda perpetuo*". The document was the first to be published by Paul Ewald in 1880 according to Paul Kehr, 1928, *Das Pastum un die Könogsreichen Navarra und Aragon*, a work published in Berlin that was translated to Spanish (Kehr 1946). By allying himself with a distant but powerful institution such as the Papacy, Sancho Ramírez was perhaps seeking to strengthen his own position in relation to his most powerful neighbours. From then on until Peter III, there is only one clear case of a king of Aragon swearing his vassalage to the Holy See, namely Peter I, in 1098 (Mansilla 1955, pp. 58–59; Kehr 1946, pp. 184–86).

28 (Palacios Martín 1988, p. 179). See, also, (Orcástegui Gros 1995, pp. 639–40).

29 (Palacios Martín 1975, ap. doc., III, p. 301).

30 Reg. Vat. 7, fol. 97, n. 100. As in (ibid., ap. doc., III, p. 302).

31 Much has been written about Peter's motives, which bring together his interests in the south of France and the Mediterranean, with Mallorca and Sicily as strongholds. Synthesis in the early but still pre-eminent reference work by Soldevila (1934, vol. I, p. 222ff).

32 (Durán Gudiol 1989, p. 19).

33 See (Palacios Martín 1975, p. 27).

34 Regarding this principle, see the chapter Principles of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction: The Protection of *Miserabiles Personae* and *Jurisdiction ex Defectu Iustitiae* in (Helmholz 2010, pp. 116–44).

35 (Carlyle and Caryle 1967, vol. III, pp. 182–83).

36 For more on this subject, see (Smith 2016).

37 That is, the best pope in the last hundred years up to the very moment in which the king wrote his chronicle (Ferran 2007b, chp. 10, p. 61). The king adds that "*era bon clergue en los sabers que tanyen a apostoli de sabere, e havia sen natural, e dels sabers del món havia gran partida*"; that is, "there was no better pope in the Church of Rome, because he was a good cleric, versed in

legate, Pedro Beneventano.[38] The documents state that the cardinal exhorted those present from the other kingdoms to swear loyalty to the new king,[39] but the most notable aspect, which has largely been ignored by historians, is the form of *acclamatio* given to James when he was held aloft by his relative, the bishop of Pamplona, an incident that the king would record in his well-known *Llibre dels feyts*.[40] Also notable from the account are the architectural descriptions of the space in which the episode occurred, most likely the Palace of la Suda, which the king states "*de volta qui ara és, e llaores era de fust*" (is now vaulted, but was then of wood) and other details, such as the window through which he emerged before his subjects and the new use to which the building was put over time, which demonstrates not only James policy of improving palatial spaces but also his interest in recalling spaces that hosted the royal ceremonies that he participated in even as a boy.[41]

The bonds between the monarch and the Holy See remained intact during the initial years of James I's reign. The courts of Lleida in 1214 led to revolts and divisions, which prompted the pope to remind the nobles and cities of the loyalty that they owed to the king and urged them to abandon their *conjurationes* against him, basing his intervention on the fact that his kingdom *cum idem rex apostolice sedis protectione consistat et regnum suum Romane sit ecclesie censuale*, that is, it was under the protection of Rome.[42] Nevertheless, tensions emerged relatively soon after the death of Innocent III as his successor, Honorius III (1216–1227), issued a bull to the king, who was still only nine years old, in which beneath his apparent expression of support can be detected a threatening tone.[43]

Shortly afterwards, at the age of thirteen, in 1221 and in Tarazona, James I was appointed a knight. The ceremony was held a little over a year after Ferdinand III (1217–1252) had adorned himself with the *cingulum militare*,[44] an act that was repeated by the young James in his own investiture, as his chronicle tells us.[45] In doing so, he fulfilled a common ritual throughout feudal society, because the act of presenting the boy with arms on reaching a certain age was the public recognition of his capacity to govern.[46] Moreover, and of particular concern to us, this act in which the king put on the sword which he himself had taken from the altar demonstrated the suppression of any ecclesiastical intervention from the moment the arms were handed over, which, as has been said, symbolized the acceptance of his capacity and suitability to take on the tasks of government. The young James did this, as he states

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matters corresponding to a pope, and he was gifted with good sense and knew much about the knowledge of the world" (ibid.).

[38] Regarding this figure, who was delegated by the pope to act on behalf of James I, see (Smith 2016).

[39] Ibid.

[40] According to James I's chronicle, because James was only six years old, the Bishop of Pamplona, a relative of his, held him aloft so that all could see him. And it was that that they swore loyalty to the king. "[...] *on nos tenia en el braç l'arquebisbe n'Espàrrec, que era del llinatge de la Barca e era nostre parent*" (where we were held in the arms of Archbishop Esparrec, who was of the lineage of Barca and was relative) (Ferran 2007b, chp. 11, p. 63).

[41] The act took place "*sus el palau de volta qui ara és, e llaores era de fust, a la finestra on ara és la cuina per on dóna hom a menjar a aquells qui mengen en lo palau*" (in the palace that is now vaulted, but was then of wood, in the window where now is the kitchen from which food is given to those who eat at the palace) (ibid.). For more on this palace and the historiographical debates around its construction, I refer the reader to the epigraph El Castell del Rei in the doctoral thesis of Niña Jové (2014, pp. 153–59).

[42] Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Ms. 13042, fol. 7v. Published in (Palacios Martín 1975, p. 69 and ap. doc., VI, pp. 302–3). Highly informative is another document from 1217 in which Honorius III says the following about the kingdom of Aragon: *quod regnum tuum ad Romanam ecclesiam noscitur pertinere* (Mansilla 1955, pp. 86–87, n. 106), quoted in (Palacios Martín 1975, p. 71, n. 29).

[43] *Carissimo in Christo filio, illustri regi Aragonum. Utinam prava consilia tuam adolescentiam non seducant, nec impellant ad aliquid faciendum per quod videaris ingratus et immemor beneficiorum et graciae quae apostolica sedes tibi studuit exhibere, te de illorum manibus quos inimicos reputas eruendo ac reddendo tibi terram tuam pariteer et te terrae!* (Most esteemed son in Christ, the illustrious King of Aragon. I hope that bad advice does not seduce your adolescence nor impel you to do anything that makes you appear ungrateful and forgetful of the benefits and graces that the Holy See strove to give you, freeing you from the hands of those who you state are your enemies and returning your kingdom to you, and you to your kingdom!" (Soldevila 1968, pp. 143–44 and n. 22).

[44] With the sole help of his mother and guardian, Lady Berenguela, who adjusted it for him. See (Palacios Martín 1988, p. 188).

[45] "*E fo la nostra cavalleria en Sancta Maria de l'Horta de Tarassona, que oïda la misa de Sent Espirit, nós cenyim l'espasa que prenguem de sobre l'altar*" (And it was our cavalry in Santa Maria de l'Horta de Tarasson who after the mass of the Holy Spirit, put around our waist the sword which we took from the altar) (Ferran 2007b, p. 19).

[46] I quote (Palacios Martín 1988, p. 160).

in his chronicle, to avoid prompting any recollections of his father's investiture in Rome, in which Peter II formally recognised his vassal status. That James did not want to maintain this vassalage with respect to the Holy See is clear throughout his reign, especially in all of his ultimately unsuccessful attempts to be crowned.

As is well known, to carry out the ceremony, the sovereign had to *coronam a sede apostolica requirentes*, that is, request prior permission from Rome.[47] However James I, despite trying on various occasions to get the pope to crown him,[48] never paid the tribute or recognized his feoffment to the Holy See. The last of his attempts, and the best known, took place between 1 and 10 May 1274 when he went to Lyon to see Gregorius X (1272–1276), who was there to generate support for a crusade to the Holy Land. Again James was unsuccessful because the pope would only agree to do it if he confirmed his vassalage and paid the outstanding debt of tribute, which according to James' accounts was some 40,000 mazmudinas. The attempt ended with the king returning with the crown under his arm, disappointed that such trifling matters, *menuderies* in his own words, should have been given more importance than his service to God and the Roman Church.[49] It is true that James I, who voluntarily decided not to crown himself (*no ens volguem coronar*),[50] saw his wishes to be crowned go unfulfilled, but he strongly held rejected being bound by the obligations and commitments of his father Peter II, arguing that both he and his predecessors had won their kingdoms from the Muslims by the sword,[51] and the strength of these views would mark the route to be followed by all of his successors. It is important to recall that the idea that the sovereigns' sword gave him supreme dominion over his kingdoms had emerged much earlier, specifically during the reign of Alfonso I (1104–1134), who also had tense relations with Rome.[52] Nevertheless, as I stated in an earlier study,[53] the reign of James I was a real turning point because it also had important iconographic consequences.

As has been stated, it is certain that the right of primogeniture was sufficient for the kings of Aragon to be able to govern. It is also true that the right to conquest, which re-evaluated the sword as a royal insignia (Figure 2) and is basically an affirmation that land belongs to he who conquers it,[54] was a means of legitimizing the monarchy in territories recently acquired by the crown. However, James I was always at pains to emphasize his connection with the holy, despite not wanting to subject himself to Church (Figure 3). In this regard, it is significant that the terms "*Dei gratia regis Aragonum*" first appear in the seals of the king of Aragon around his image,[55] words that are highly eloquent if one takes into account that the conquests of his new kingdoms, Valencia and Mallorca, were allegedly assisted by the intervention of Saint George on the side of the Christians.[56] The appearance of Saint George has been understood as a means of mythologizing the king,[57] but in my opinion it actually points to divine will and support and also supplants the need for recognition by the pope in order for

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[47] For more on the bull issued by Innocent III and its consequences for the kings of Aragon after James I, see (Palacios Martín 1969).

[48] In fact, even in 1229 he sent an envoy to Rome to request that Gregory IX perform his coronation (Palacios Martín 1975, p. 78).

[49] "*E nós dixem-los que no érem venguts a la sua cort per metre-nos en treüt, mas per franquees que ell nos donàs; e, pus fer no ho volia, volíem-nos-en més tornar menys de corona que ab corona*" (And we told him that we had not come to his court to pay him tribute, but rather for the franchises that he had given us; but he did not want to do it, so we preferred to return without the crown than with the crown) (Ferran 2007b, para. 538).

[50] "*E sobre açò romàs que no ens volguem coronar*" (And so it came over us that we did not want to be crowned) (ibid.).

[51] "*Car mon llinatge la conqués amb l'espasa*" (Since my predecessors conquered it with the sword) (Ferran 2007a, p. 543).

[52] Although his will gave the Holy See another chance to strengthen its position. See (Palacios Martín 1975, p. 49).

[53] (Serrano-Coll 2012).

[54] As stated in (Palacios Martín 1976, pp. 274–96). See also (Serrano-Coll 2008b, pp. 53–55).

[55] These terms, however, were common in diplomatic signatures (Mateu y Llopis 1954).

[56] This saint had already collaborated with a king of Aragon, Peter I (1094–1104), during the conquest of Huesca. Nevertheless, this event is described eloquently and for the first time in the *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña* commissioned by Peter IV between 1369 and 1372: "*Vencida aquella batalla vínose San Jorge* [. . .] *a la batalla de Huesca et vidieronlo visiblement*" (With that battle won [of Antioch], Saint George came [. . .] to the battle of Huesca and they saw him) (Orcástegui Gros 1986, ap. 18, lines 59–60, p. 40).

[57] For more on this interpretation, see, among others, (Yarza Luaces 1995, vol. I, p. 104; Molina i Figueras 1997; Serra Desfilis 2002, p. 25).

the monarch to act as sovereign. Although the ecclesiastical institutions did not recognize this divine assistance or support the dissemination of this miracle, the iconographic evidence indicates that it was believed and celebrated throughout the 14th and 15th centuries.[58]

(**a**)   (**b**)   (**c**)

Figure 2. (**a**) Main seal of Jaime I, obverse. 1238–1276. From (De Sagarra i Siscar 1916–1932, n. 28). (**b**) Bull of James I, obverse. 1231–1238 (ibid., n. 25). (**c**) Bull of Jaime I. 1255. From (Conde 1992, p. 114). All the seals show the preeminence of the sword in the seals of James I. Used with permission according with publishing rules in Spain.
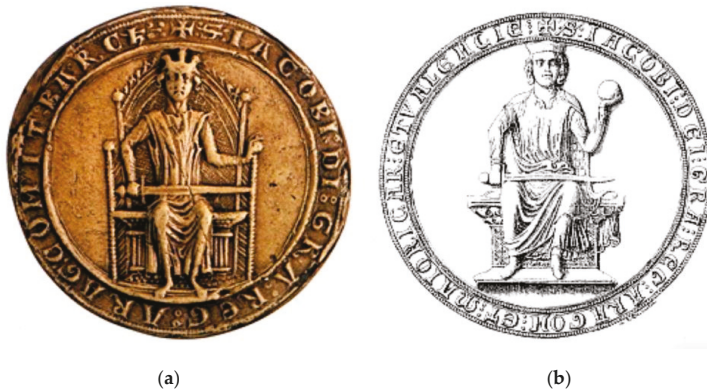

(**a**)   (**b**)

Figure 3. (**a**) Main seal of James I. Obverse. 1229. D/11222 © Archives Nationales de France. Legende says: + S:IACOBI:DI:GRA:REG:ARAG:COMIT:BARCH. (**b**) Main seal of James I. Obverse. 1248–1272. Legend says: + S:IACOBI:DEI:GRA:REG:ARAGON:ET MAIORICAR:ET VAENCIE. Design taken from (De Dainville 1952). Used with permission according with publishing rules in Spain.

5. From Peter III (1276–1285) to James II (1291–1327): The Development of the Ceremonial in Favour of Royal Sovereignty

Curiously, the son of James I, Peter III, nicknamed the Great, started to act as sovereign from the moment his father died but did not call himself king until he was finally crowned in a ceremony held

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[58] The altarpiece of Saint George or the Centenar de la Ploma by Marzal de Sax, from around 1410–1420 (Victoria and Albert Museum); the altarpiece of Saint George in Jérica, from around 1423 (Museo del Ayuntamiento de Jérica, Castellón); and the predella of the altarpiece of Saint George by Nisart around 1470 (Museo Diocesano de Palma de Mallorca) are the best known examples. See the epigraph "El Conquistador amparado por la divinidad" in (Serrano-Coll 2008b, pp. 208–26). More recently, (Serrano-Coll 2011, pp. 715–37).

several months after the death of his predecessor one Sunday in November 1276.[59] We have little information on this event, although it is important to point out that it was the first coronation held by a king of Aragon in his own kingdom and that its clearly reflects the position of the monarchy. The ceremony was held in the Seo de Zaragoza, capital of the kingdom and the crown,[60] but not by the archbishop of Tarragona, as had been prescribed by the pope, but rather *per ministerium venerabilis P*[etri], *Dei gratia episcopi cesaraugustane eiusdem sedis*.[61] In reality, Peter III demonstrated in this and future ceremonials his opposition to the bull issued by Innocent III and corroborated his freedom *eis placuerit*, according to the surviving documentation,[62] to choose Zaragoza as the city where the ceremony would be held and to elect his own bishop as the officiating minister.

However, it was his successor Alfonso III (1285–1291) who in 1286 instituted the greatest number of innovations to the ceremonial by integrating four elements that would come to form the essence of all futures liturgies: the unction, the coronation, his reception into the order of chivalry and the mutual swearing of loyalty between kings and subjects.[63] He neither asked for permission to be crowned, as had been stipulated by Innocent III, nor was he crowned by the metropolitan of Tarragona but rather the bishop of Huesca. But the most important innovation is the appearance of the formula *nec pro ipsa Ecclesia nec contra Ecclesiam* which, as Blancas stated, is only implicit in the protest of his predecessor.[64] The role played in the ceremony by the sword, "*la pus rica, e la mills guarnida que anc emperador ne rei portàs*" (the richest and the best decorated that any emperor or king has ever borne)[65] is also clearly important, although where it states in the 12th chapter of the *Ordo ad regem bendicendum* of the Pontifical of Huesca that the king receives this insignia from the bishop, a note in the margin changes this and specifies that the king is to pick the sword up himself after it has been blessed by the bishop.[66] In fact, according to the chronicle of Ramón Muntaner, Alfonso III not only took the sword from the altar, just James II had done, but also "*hac feta la sua oració, besá la croera de la sua espaa e cenyi's ell mateix la dita espaa*" (having completed his prayer, kissed the quillon of the sword and then girdled himself with it).[67] In doing so he expressed the divine nature imbued in him through this emblem by emphasising the shape of the cross formed by the cross-guard; that is, the point of union between the blade and the grip. Furthermore, through these gestures, the Crown of Aragon also resembled Castile where, according to some scholars, they used a mechanically controlled sculpture of Saint James holding a sword to confer

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59 "[. . .] *no quiso recibir la corona ni título real hasta que fuese primero coronado en Zaragoza*" ([. . .] he did not receive either crown or royal title until he had been crowned in Zaragoza) (Zurita [1512–1580] 1980, book IV, chp. II). The coronation took place on 15 or 22 November according to (Durán Gudiol 1989, p. 25).

60 This was confirmed some time later by Peter IV when he stated that Zaragoza *caput est regni Aragonum quod regnum est titulum et nomen nostrum principale*: Archivo de la Seo de Zaragoza, *Cartoral Grande*, fol. 324v. Cited in (Palacios Martín 1975, p. 107, n. 39).

61 (Eubel 1913, p. 153), cited in (Palacios Martín 1975, p. 100, n. 19).

62 Highly significant are the terms recorded by Bonifacio Palacios: [. . .] *sed possint succesores nostri qui pro tempore fuerint, recipere unctionem, benedictionem et coronationem in quacumque civitate eis placuerit totius nostri jurisdictionis et per ministerium archiepiscopi vel episcopi notri districtus* (ibid., p. 103, n. 29).

63 For reasons of space, I will not discuss the system used by the king to swear before his subjects. Instead, I refer the reader to the early and still definitive study by Giesey (1968).

64 [. . .] *quam à vobis venerabili I A. Dei gratia Oscensi Episcopo facimus, non intendimus à vobis recipere tanquam ab Ecclesia Romana, nec pro ipsa Ecclesia, nec contra Ecclesiam. Item etiam protestamur, quod ex en quia in Civitate Caesaraguste in Ecclesia Maiori Sancti Salvatoris Coronam et Militiam recipimus nullum nobis, vel successoribus nostris* [. . .] (Blancas 1641, book I, p. 22). Analysed in (Palacios Martín 1975, pp. 121–22).

65 (De Bofarull 1860, chp. CCXCVII, p. 572).

66 Archivo Catedral de Huesca, sign. 10, fol. 60v, according to (Lacarra y de Miguel 1972, p. 22, n. 34). It is possible that this pontifical was the one adapted for the coronation of Alfonso III, given that the following ceremony (after James II, who was not crowned) used the imperial pontifical "of Constantinople" which is kept in the Toledo codex. Palacios hypothesises that the pontifical was used by the see of Huesca, which is where the bishop who crowned the king came from. It therefore needed to be modified, which explains the notes in the margins intended to adapt it to the ceremony (Palacios Martín 1975, p. 128). Transcription of the same in (ibid., ap doc., XXI, pp. 317–21). More details on this text in (Durán Gudiol 1989, pp. 20–22).

67 Once girdled round his waist, the king of Aragon took it from its scabbard and brandished it three times, promising, respectively, to challenge the enemies of the Catholic faith, support orphans and widows and impart justice for all (De Bofarull 1860, chp. CCXCVII, p. 574).

the accolade on the king, thus ensuring not only divine assistance in any battles he might undertake, but also that he was appointed king without the need for any civil or ecclesiastic intermediary.[68]

When Alfonso III died in June 1291, his brother and successor James II was governing Sicily, where he had been crowned king some years before. Perhaps due to the problems that had occurred in the times of his predecessor, who used the royal title before being sworn in, thus causing serious conflicts with the Aragonese, James II was not crowned in Aragon and he did not call himself king until he took possession of the kingdom and had sworn to uphold its privileges.[69] In making this choice, it is probable that James II felt that a new unction and ceremony were not necessary given that he had already been crowned king in Sicily, although we cannot rule out the possibility that it was part of his a strategy to get closer to Rome; that is, by avoiding a ceremony that would revive earlier conflicts with the pope, he would assist himself in his policy of rapprochement with the Holy See, which he sought to achieve throughout his reign. As Palacios indicates, the unction and coronation in Sicily meant that he could choose not to have himself crowned again in Aragon and thus sidestep certain difficulties.[70] What should be emphasised is that on returning to Barcelona he lodged a formal protest to make it clear that he had received the kingdom not because his brother had bequeathed it to him but because it was his by right of succession.[71] Likewise, leaving to one side his attitude of absolute respect towards the Holy See, to whose spiritual authority he always submitted, when taking possession of his kingdoms James II had planned the ceremonies in such a way as they did not imply the recognition of a dominant power by another lesser one.[72] His swearing-in ceremony, which recognised the Aragonese fueros (privileges and exemptions) as the primary basis for all law in the kingdom, has been described as the moment in which the "myth of the king" began to take form. The prestige of the monarch in the eyes of the people and the face of opposition by the self-serving nobles, who had usurped his role as protector of the fueros and the law, also originate in the birth of this myth.[73]

6. Alfonso IV (1327–1336) and Peter IV (1336–1387): The Culmination of the Process of Consecrating the King and Everything around Him

We know that the successor to James II, Alfonso IV, intended to be crowned with the greatest solemnity possible thanks to the chronicles of his son Peter IV and Ramón Muntaner, who both witnessed the event.[74] The documents reveal that the king regarded the ceremony as a liturgy that increased royal dignity because he clearly stated that he had reached the summit of this even before being crowned; in some letters sent just after succeeding his father he alludes to arriving at "apex of royal dignity".[75] We may thus conclude that this ceremony was now understood within a wider

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[68] The first to use it could have been Alfonso X, according to (Ballesteros Beretta 1963, p. 54). In fact, in his chronicle he mentioned that the figure of Santiago "gave him a ritual blow on the cheek" (Catalán 1946, chp. CXX, p. 1332). Brief but illustrative comments on the truth of this mechanism, in reality a transformed Virgin Mary, can be found in, among others, (Carrero Santamaría 2012).

[69] And all this despite the fact that both Zurita and Blancas state that he was crowned in San Salvador de Zaragoza "in the usual manner". The matter was contradicted and clarified in (Palacios Martín 1969, p. 496).

[70] (Palacios Martín 1975, p. 191).

[71] (Blancas 1641, book I, p. 25).

[72] See (Palacios Martín 1975, p. 194).

[73] (Ibid., p. 200). The king not only swore on the privileges but also became their most staunch defendant. In the same vein as Palacios are the studies of Sesma Muñoz (1988, p. 226).

[74] The chronicler Muntaner attended as a representative of Valencia, with his children: "*E així mateix hi fom nosaltres*" (And likewise we went there) (De Bofarull 1860, chp. CCXCIV, p. 566). He also how impressive the event was in the following terms: "*Què us en diría? Que jamés en Espanya no fo aixi gran festa en un lloc, de bona gent, com aquesta és estada*" (What can I say to you? That never in Spain has there been as great celebration as this has been) (ibid.). Peter IV in the prologue to his chronicle also refers to it: "*Item és feta mencíó del fer de la coronació del dit senyor rey N'Anfós, com fos una de les notables festes qui es feessen en la Casa d'Aragó, e non den ésser més en oblit, car solament hic es feta mencio del sit senyor rey, nostre pere, en aquests dos fets qui foren fort notables, ço es, de la conqueste de Sardenya e de la sua coronació*" (To mention the coronation of King Alphonse, as one of the most notable celebrations ever to be held by the House of Aragon, and will never be forgotten, since our King Peter mentions two notable feats, that is, the conquest of Sardinia and his coronation) (De Bofarull 1850, p. 25).

[75] [. . .] *antequam pervenissemus ad apicem regie dignitatis* is a sentence that is repeated in more than one document issued by the king before he was crowned. References in (Palacios Martín 1975, p. 207, n. 9).

European context of monarchic exaltation in which royal figures were adorned with all the symbols of grandness and accompanied by a splendid and magnificent setting that visually reflected the extraordinary honour surrounding the institution of the monarchy. Particularly relevant in this regard are the words of Ramón Muntaner, who defines Alfonso's coronation as having had "*la major solemnitat e festa que hanch rey prengues en Espanya nul temps, ne encara en altres provincies com yo puch saber*" (the greatest solemnity and celebration that any king in Spain or in any other provinces has ever had).[76] The monarchy asserted its power through a ceremony and celebration[77] that amazed all those who attended or participated in it, clerics and courtiers alike, in private or public, whilst it ensured the recognition of royal authority by the king's subjects through aesthetic displays of great power and magnificence. It is hardly surprising that Peter IV described the event as so remarkable that it "*no deu ésser mes en oblit*" (must never be forgotten).[78]

According to the chronicler Ramón Muntaner, in addition to organizing a celebration worthy of his status, Alfonso IV had wanted to establish Easter Sunday as the day of his coronation, thus drawing a parallel between the death and resurrection of Christ and the death of Alfonso's father and the public resurrection of the royalty.[79] On the same day that the ceremonies concluded, his period of mourning for his father, James II, was lifted.[80] In this regard and in keeping with other European courts, although with different nuances,[81] the clothing worn for the ceremony is particularly telling because it was the richly decorated vestments of a deacon, that is, the alb, the dalmatic, the stole (worn across the shoulder and sword) and the maniple.[82]

Regarding the struggle between the absolute sovereign and the pontifical theocracy, which maintained the fiction that it was the pope who awarded the king his kingdom when his representative, the metropolitan, placed the crown on his head. It was also Alfonso who introduced the most significant change in terms of gestures and spectacle by picking up the crown himself and depositing it on the altar and placing it on his own head, thus demonstrating that he was the only sovereign power.[83] He would do with the other insignias exactly the same as he had done with the crown. The officiating minister, the infante Don Juan, archbishop of Toledo and brother of the sovereign, merely blessed him,

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[76] (De Bofarull 1860, chp. CCXCIV, p. 567).

[77] Regarding ritualizations and propagandistic and legitimating intentions, a chapter that continues to be of interest is that of (Nieto Soria 1993, pp. 23–26).

[78] (De Bofarull 1850, p. 24).

[79] "*ell pensa que aixi con los sants apostols e dexebles de nostre Senyor Déus Iesuchrist estaven desconsolats, que axi los seus sotsmeses estaven ab gran tristor per la mort del senyor rei son pare; e que axi com Iesuchrist, lo jorn de la Pascha, primer vinent, que fo diumenge, a tres diez en abril del any MCCCXXVIII, que ell confortas e alegras si mateix, e sos germans e tots los seus sotsmesos. E ordona quel dia davant dit de Pascha, que prelats e richs homens e cavallers e missatgers e ciutadans e homens de viles honrrades de regnes fossen a la ciutat de Çaragoça; e aquell dia beneyt ell se faria cavaller, e pendria la corona beneyta e astruga ab la major solemnitaat*" (he thinks that in this way the holy apostles and disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ were disconsolate, that in this way his subjects were very sad due to the death of the king his father; and that like Jesus Christ, on the next day of Easter, which was Sunday, 3rd April 1328, he comforted and cheered them, and his brothers and all his subjects. And he ordered on that day of Easter, that prelates, rich men, knights, messengers, citizens and men from honourable kingdoms were in the city of Zaragoza; and that blessed day he became knight and took the blessed and fortunate crown with the greatest solemnity) (De Bofarull 1860, chp. CCXCIV, p. 564).

[80] "*y entravan todos de luto por la muerte del Rey Don Jayme II. Y assi lo estuvieron los días, que hubo de aquella semana hasta el Viernes Santo a la tarde, que el Rey mandò, que el día siguiente Sabado Santo dicha el Alleluya, se lo quitasen, y se aparejasen muy de propósito para la fiesta*" (And they all entered in mourning due to the death of James II. And they were in this way from that week until the afternoon of Good Friday, when the king ordered that the following day, Easter Saturday, their period of mourning should be lifted and they should get ready for the celebration) (Blancas 1641, book I, p. 30).

[81] According to Marc Bloch, "*tout contribuait donc, et de plus en plus, à évoquer à propos des vêtements portés par le souverain, le jour où il recevait l'onction et la couronne, l'idée des ornements sacerdotaux ou pontificaux*" (Bloch 1961, p. 204). See also (De Azara 1913, p. 221).

[82] The king wore an alb "*es vestí camís, aixi com si degues dir missa*" (he wore a chemise as if he was going to say mass) and a stole, which "*era tan rica e ab tantes perles e peres precioses, que seria fort cosa de dir ço que valia*" (was so rich and with so many precious pearls and stones, that it would be difficult to say what it was worth). The maniple was also "*molt rich e ab gran noblesa*" (very rich and with great nobility) (De Bofarull 1860, chp. CCXCVII, p. 573).

[83] "*E con fo revestit e hach comensada la missa, lo dit senyor rei, ell mateix, pres la corona del altar e las posa al cap*" (And as he was dressed and had commenced mass, the King took the crown off the altar and placed it on his head) (De Bofarull 1860, chp. CCXCVII, p. 574).

although once the crown was on the king's head, he and the king's other brothers, Pedro and Ramón Berenguer, set about straightening it up, "*adobarenla li*" (they dressed him with it), in the words of the chronicle.[84] No previous ceremonial, either in Iberia or north of the Pyrenees had seen the officiating bishop substituted by the king in the act of placing the crown, although the practice would soon be imitated in 1332 by Alfonso XI in Castile.[85]

Highly aware of the implications of this gesture, the archbishop of Tarragona tried to restore the function to himself and his successors for the subsequent coronation of Alfonso IV's son and heir, Peter IV: "*E quaant lo offici se dech començar, venchnos lo Archabisbe e dichnos ens pregá, que ell nos posas la corona al cap davant tot lo poble, allegant rahons algunes, donantnos que axis devia fer*" (And when the office began, the Archbishop came to us and asked us if he could place the crown on our head before all the people, giving certain reasons that it should be done thus), the king himself said.[86] The infante was also aware of the consequences of such an act and, on the advice of the nobleman Ot de Montcada, he energetically opposed the proposal "*car seria prejudici de la corona que Nos fossem coronats per ma de prelats*" (since it would be to the detriment of the crown were we to be crowned by the prelates).[87] The intention, as has been said repeatedly,[88] was to suppress anything that might give the impression that the kingdom had been awarded by the Church whilst still maintaining the monarch's sacred nature of "*rex gratia Dei*", through a direct relationship with God without any intermediary. Peter IV strengthened and institutionalised the innovations put in place by his father by including them in the Ceremonials of consecration and coronation of the kings of Aragon and through iconography and the written word (Figure 4).[89]

Figure 4. *Ceremonial de consagración y coronación de los reyes de Aragón*. Ms. 14425, fols. 19r and 35v. Second half of 15th century. © Fundación Lázaro Galdiano. Both illuminations show the most important moment of the ceremonies; that is, when the king takes the for himself crown and when the king places the crown on the new queen's head. Permission granted.

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[84] "*e com aço hach feyt, lo senyor arquebisbe de Toledo e el senyor infant En Pere e el senhyor infant En Ramon Berenguer adobarenla li*" (and as that was done, the Archbishop of Toledo and the infante Peter and the infante Ramon Bereguer dressed him in it) (ibid.).

[85] See the recent studies by Pérez Monzón (2010) and Carrero Santamaría (2012).

[86] (De Bofarull 1850, p. 80).

[87] Ibid.

[88] As stated in (Palacios Martín 1975, p. 217). A recent study of this matter is that of Aurell and Serrano-Coll (2014).

[89] The illuminated versions with scenes representing the act of self-coronation are preserved in the Fundación Lázaro Galdiano de Madrid, Ms Reg. 14425 and the Biblioteca Nacional de Francia, Ms. Esp. 99.

In the ceremonial that was prepared for the occasion, which has been dated to between January and April 1336[90] (although it was rewritten for three subsequent versions[91]), any intervention by the consecrating bishop regarding the placing of the crown was removed. Instead, it stipulated that only the king could touch the crown, which he himself would put on his head and adjust without the help of any other person: "*e débesela meter en la cabeza, e que no le ayude ninguna persona, ni larcebispe ni infant, ne ninguna persona otra de cualquier condición que sea, ni adobar ni tocar la pont*".[92] This document is, therefore, a prescription of what would happen during his coronation. Peter IV commissioned numerous works for his own personal pleasure but also for propagandistic purposes, hence the nickname of Peter the Ceremonious, and he wasted no time in generating a ceremonial that would serve his successors so that "*en el començamiento del su regimiento antes de todas las cosas* [sea] *informado por qual forma y solempnidat la* [corona] *debe prender*" (at the beginning of his reign, before anything else he knows in what manner and with which solemnity he should take the crown).[93] Perhaps the king had not been able to forget the conflict with the prelate in sacristy moments before the ceremony; the archbishop was aware that the practice initiated by Alfonso IV to prevent the officiating cleric from placing the crown diminished his authority and so pressured the king to change the liturgy just before the ceremony. In his chronicle, Peter IV eloquently relates how he felt disturbed and in "*gran perill*" (great danger), because the archbishop spoke to him in a tone that only honoured the church and its archbishop, to the great detriment and subjugation of the kingdom.[94]

To get round the impasse, Peter IV pretended to accede to the demands of the archbishop, who proposed an alternative proceeding; he would take the crown from the altar and hand it to the king before everybody.[95] But when he approached the altar to receive the crown, he said to the archbishop that he only needed to accompany him to that point and that he must not adjust or touch the crown because he would do it himself.[96] Thus Peter IV, aware that this was the culmination of the process of exalting the new king before his subjects, not only took the crown and other insignias (despite the fact that the words being pronounced at that moment were inconsistent with the actions that were

90   I follow the timeline offered by Palacios Martín (1975, p. 239), who asserts that the first ceremonial text was produced in Zaragoza shortly before the Peter IV's coronation and was used in that ceremony. He would subsequently return to the text to make new annotations for the later versions. For more on the arguments that Palacios uses to support his hypothesis, see (ibid., p. 239ff).
91   Halfway through his reign, Peter IV wanted to reorganise and regulate his house and court and added to his ordinances the ceremonial text for the coronation of kings. The text was more solemn and included the coronation of queens, which did not feature in the previous version because the king was not married. He took the opportunity to rectify certain concepts that had not been properly formulated in the first version, perhaps because it was written hastily (ibid., p. 259). In addition to the unfinished version kept in El Escorial (Man. & III.3), there are three complete versions: one in Latin, another in Catalan and a third in Aragonese. They may have been connected with the three capital cities of the three kingdoms at the core of the Crown of Aragon; that is, Zaragoza, Barcelona and Valencia. See (Palacios Martín 1994a, p. 14).
92   These terms are from the codex of the Escorial: "*dita la oración debe el rey prender la corona del altar e debesela meter en la cabeza, e que no le ayude ninguna persona, ni larzebispe ni infant ne ninguna persona otra de cualquier condicion que sea ni tocar la pont*" (after the prayer is said, the king must take the crown from the altar and put it on his head, and nobody must help him, not the archbishop, nor the infante nor anybody else of any status, nor may they touch it?) (Palacios Martín 1975, p. 237). Likewise, the codex of Saint Michael of the kings explains that: *Acabada esta oración, el Rey tomará de encima del altar esta corona y él mismo se la ponrá en la cabeza sin que nadie le ayude*" (after the prayer, the king will take the crown from the altar and he himself will place it on his head with anybody else's assistance) (Palacios Martín 1994b, p. 222). In a similar manner, the codex in the Museo Lázaro Galdiano says: "*E aquesta oración dita el rey prenga la corona de sobre l altar e ell mismo pósela en su cabeça sin ayuda de otra persona*" (And once this prayer has been said the king must take the crown from the altar and he himself place on his head without the help of any other person) (San Vicente Pino 1992, vol. II, p. 33).
93   Fragment extracted from the manuscript in the Fundación Lázaro Galdiano de Madrid, Ms Reg. 14425, fol. 19r.
94   "[…] *veèmnos en tan gran perill, ço es, per lo dia quins era lo pus honrat que null altre que nos esperasen en aquest setge, e que aquell que teniem per pare, quant en aquest mòn, diguès aytals paraules en honrar la sua esglesia e sòn archabisbat en gran detrment e subïugació de nostre règne*" (we saw oneself in great danger, that is, on the most honourable of all days we did not expect this attack of whom we consider our father, that in that moment he should say those words with the aim of honouring the church and his archbishopric in great detriment and subjugation of our kingdom (De Bofarull 1850, p. 81).
95   "*E tantost fet lo dit atorgament, Nos isquem de la sacrestia*" (And having given in to him, we left the sacristy) (ibid.).
96   "*E Nos diguèmli que prou. Bastaba, e que nons adobás nens tocas nostra corona, que Nos lens adobariem. E axi no lin donam licencia, de la qual cosa ell fò molt mogut, e non gosà fèr res apares*" (And we said enough. That was enough now, and that he should not adjust or touch our Crown, that we would do it on our own. And in this way we denied him licence, and he was surprised and did not dare to do anything) (ibid.).

being carried out[97]), but also prevented anyone else from touching them. As had been the case in the ceremonial of his father, the sacred nature of the king was emphasized by his clothing, in particular the stole, which he wore like a deacon, "*así como evangelistero*" (like an evangelist) in the words of the ceremonial. By using this ecclesiastical clothing, which had been permitted by Rome in certain coronations since the beginning of the 11th century, Peter IV recognised and visually manifested his *sacerdotium*. I believe that with Peter IV we witness a type of political theology, that is, the visual manifestation of the monarch as *rex et sacerdos* (Figure 5), which would become one of the most spectacular achievements in the sensory universe.[98]

Figure 5. Monastery of Santa María de Poblet. James I as king and as monk, recumbent effigies which show the concept of *Rex et Sacerdos*. They were commissioned by Peter IV in the second half of the 14th century and restored in the 20th Century: the darkest parts are original; the lighter parts are reconstruction by the sculptor Frederic Marès. © Santa María de Poblet. Photo: Marta Serrano Coll. Permission granted.

His sons, John I (1387–1396) and Martin I (1396–1419) made no further innovations. John I intended to be crowned in 1388 but the ceremony never took place. In contrast, his brother Martin I was crowned, and the event followed the stipulations of the ceremonial written by his father. It seems that the ceremony was not as ostentatious that of his father,[99] although it must still have been extraordinary given the remarks of the chroniclers, who refer to the "*grandes prevenciones*" (grand previsions) by the king, who also "*procurò de aver grandes joyas y preseas de mucha estima*" (sought to have great jewels and precious things), including the sword of the Emperor Constantine.[100] Much more spectacular (although without changes to the ceremony) were the celebrations organized for Ferdinand I (1412–1416) who as a member of the Castilian dynasty of the Trastámaras succeeded

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[97] Depending on the ceremonial text used, the archbishop proclaimed that crown was placed on his head by the unworthy hands of the bishops: *licet ab indignis episcoporum manibus capiti tui imponitur*. I cite (Palacios Martín 1975, p. 245, n. 32). In the second ceremonial text and its copies, these terms are replaced by others that reflected what really happened during the ceremony.

[98] Although there are precedents in his own dynasty, which I discussed in (Serrano-Coll 2017, pp. 337–62).

[99] (Durán Gudiol 1989, p. 32).

[100] Although we are told that nowhere does it state that this sword was ever used, despite sending the archdeacon of Zaragoza, don Ponce de Tahuste, to Sicily to fetch it. We also know that he sent emissaries to obtain jewels from various places (Blancas 1641, book I, p. 63).

Martin I after the Compromise of Caspe. To legitimate his rule, he undertook a series of initiatives to extol a dynasty whose greatest achievements would occur between two key moments in his reign, namely his coronation in Zaragoza and his burial in the monastery of Santa María de Poblet, where the royal bodies of the Aragonese monarchs were interred.

7. Conclusions

As is known, coronations were an important demonstration of sovereignty over the subjects, and their liturgy (of varying complexity) could be complemented by gestures and other minor acts which made visible the power of the king and the "state of health" of relations between the king and the ecclesiastical powers, whose role was progressively reduced in ceremonies until they were relegated to the strictly religious.

Although lack of space prevents me from adding specific comparisons with other kingdoms, it is particularly evident that in the Crown of Aragon papal power constantly hindered the development of the Aragonese coronation ceremony. Although at first glance the picture described here does not seem to have an overarching sense, the relationship between the kings and the popes (sometimes fluid, sometimes very tense) was the reason for the introduction of significant innovations in the coronation rites, whose roots go back to the Roman pontifical of the 13th century. In some cases, to prevent their subjugation to Rome, kings were not crowned, but this meant that their power was subsequently questioned by their subjects. Birth right was key to their claim to power, as was their submission to the law when they swore to respect the customs of the respective kingdoms before the Cortes. James I introduced the sword as a characteristic emblem of the Crown of Aragon: this insignia grew in prominence as a symbol of authority because justified his sovereignty over newly conquered lands. But this meant that his authority was solely secular and did not have support of the church. During the 14th century, with the monarchy's increasingly autocratic nature, a kind of new secularization can be observed in the "ordo coronationis" whose peculiar features had been articulated little earlier during the reign of Alfonso IV, who abandoned the vassalage commitment to Rome and adopted a new symbolic language. These new developments were recorded in the scrolls of the *Ceremonial de consagración y coronación* commissioned by Peter IV and strengthened the monarchy; however, they also threatened a clear break with the church which the king sought to avoid through various mechanisms. One of the most significant was the promotion of the cult of Saint George who, as emissary and representative of God, his holy assistance has to be perceived as a way of sanctifying and giving divine approval to the authenticity and legitimacy of James' right to govern these territories as a king without being crowned. Thus, the relationship between the monarchic and the divine was finally clearly established. Peter IV promoted this sacred help, as well as featured the emergence of a form of political theology that will reach, in the manifestation of the monarch as *rex et sacerdos*, one of its clearest and most spectacular expressions in the sensory realm. During the 14th century will be seen other artistic depictions (such as almost all the funerary devices adopted over the course of the century) that showed the king, or the institution he represented, under a quasi-sacred halo.

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Between Silences: The Coronation of Portuguese Medieval Kings (12th–14th Centuries)

Carla Varela Fernandes

IEM-Instituto de Estudos Medievais, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1099-085 Lisboa, Portugal;
cfernandes@fcsh.unl.pt

Abstract: The coronations of Portugal's first dynasty constitute a complex topic. Approaching the theme requires understanding that an omission of words in written documentation can both affirm and deny possibilities. Likewise, visual documentation, such as illuminations, sculptures and other figurative arts, is scarce, raising a significant number of questions and thus is not trustworthy as a historical source. For this reason, the study of Portuguese coronations is filled with questions and silences. Art does not testify to these ceremonies, but shows that Portuguese kings valued regalia pertaining to both religious and secular ceremonies affirming their power, and that those insignias were different from those used by French or English kings in the same time period. In this study, I will use art, particularly funerary sculpture, but also objects with iconographic value, to demonstrate how these reflect elements of thought and the emotional pulsar of the various European societies that produced them.

Keywords: Portuguese kings; coronation; tomb sculpture; statues; *regaliae*; cathedral

1. A Brief Historiographical Summary on the Problematic of the Coronation of the First Portuguese Kings

For quite some time, authors were baffled by the lack of systematization of liturgical rites in the coronations of Portuguese and Castilian kings, particularly the act of anointing (Ruiz 1984; Linehan 1993; Rucquoi 1992). In the context of the deification of Royalty as claimed or even accepted in all Western European countries during the Early Middle Ages, such an absence became their focus, leading them to interpret medieval Iberian monarchies as anomalous.

Due to the lack of documentary or other information on intricate rites of enthronement, Portuguese historiography inevitably established parallels with other European kingdoms. While comparisons with France and England, for instance, reaffirmed the absence of such rites, the German tradition provided some similarities, notably the king's rise above a ceremonial shield by loudly cheering knights hailing him, a practice also observed in the Iberian kingdom of Navarra. Thus, the practice of liturgical consecration, or even of a conducive conjuncture enabling it, was excluded. Since only anointing conferred kings a divine character, such interpretations would inevitably cast doubt on the true sacredness of these monarchies.

However, subsequent studies on Castilian and Portuguese circumstances brought to the fore new approaches, as well as new evidence that the above-mentioned anomalies were neither straightforward in terms of their classification, nor that the French model took primacy over the affirmation of peninsular divine monarchies.

Regarding the Castilian case, Nieto Soria (1986, 1988) took a different approach to that of the preceding historiography, one that has been widely demonstrated in several studies.

Precedents for royal anointing at enthroning ceremonies as a form of alliance between the monarchy and the Church existed in Hispanic kingdoms and dated back to the Visigoth era. The anointing of

Afonso VII by the archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, described in *Historia Compostelana* (Book I, chp. 66), set one such precedent to the point where the continuity of this historical experience gave king Afonso X the assurance that, "*teniendo además en cuenta la más amplia dimensión autoritária que ahora se proponia extraer de la ideologia vinculada à monarquía de derecho divino no pareciese ni necesario ni coherente recurrir a tal recurso cerimonial*" [taking into account the proposed broader authoritarian dimension of the ideology of divine right connected to the monarchy, it would seem neither necessary nor consistent to resort to such a ceremonial resource] (Nieto Soria 1997, pp. 77–78). As far as Castilian monarchs were concerned, their power was legitimately divine for a long time, a stance/awareness that in the context of their time had the important theoretical support of both hierocratic and dualistic canonists (Kantorowicz 1985, pp. 84–85). In response to these arguments, Nieto Soria (1997) concludes that Afonso X saw anointing as a step back from the centralization and secularization of royal power, and not as a way to legitimate the divine origin that he took for granted anyway.

I believe that the same happened in Portugal, where the reigns of kings Afonso III, Dinis and even Afonso IV were profoundly impacted by the influence of the Castilian court, particularly in the case of Castilian King Afonso X (who influenced both family relations and the continuous progression in the centralization of regal power), but also by the political personas of Sancho IV and Afonso XI.

The consecration and coronation of Portuguese kings and their wives has a long historiography. I am mainly interested in highlighting the various positions of different authors from the timeline of their writings on the issue.

Brásio (1962, pp. 21–49) and Merêa (1962, pp. 6–11) categorically stated that, despite King Duarte's many requests to the pope, Portuguese kings were never crowned or liturgically consecrated. According to these authors, enthroning consisted of a ceremony where knights lifted Portuguese monarchs above a shield while hailing them as new kings. Their conclusions were based on the absence of descriptions in *The Chronicles* of Fernão Lopes and Rui de Pina. When, confronted with Friar António Brandão's description of the anointing and coronation of King Sancho I at Coimbra's Cathedral, Paulo Merêa casted it aside as an unreliable source. Both Brásio and Merêa followed the reasoning of Spanish historians, particularly that of Sanchez Albornoz (1962, pp. 5–36), but also Schramm's (1960) classic research, which were biased opponents of considering the existence or at least the continuity of consecration and coronation ceremonies in Hispanic kingdoms (Mattoso 1993).

The questions Albornoz and Schramm raised both led to the emergence of a new school of thought in Spain and triggered many doubts that became the basis of Teófilo Ruiz' thesis in 1984. While in Spain, Nieto Soria took on the task of thoroughly reviewing, analyzing and updating the content, in Portugal it was up to José Mattoso to re-examine, not just the Portuguese case, but also the same Castilian and Leonese sources that Albornoz and, particularly, Teófilo Ruíz had based their writings on (Mattoso 1993).

Refuting hypotheses based on the terseness of peninsular chronicle sources regarding the matters of consecration and coronation, Mattoso pondered on some rather expressive excerpts, noting the presence of elements pertaining to the sacred. Namely, Mattoso considered references to the clergy's presence in coronation ceremonies and the temples in which these took place, as mentioned in both the *Crónica Latina de los Reyes de Castilla* or the *Primera Crónica General de España*. An example is the well-known coronation of Afonso XI, which took place in a church (Mattoso 1993, pp. 189–190).

Even though early Portuguese chronicles were deeply laconic on this issue, *Crónica de 1419* includes the most significant sentence in reference to king Sancho I: "foi coroado por rei em Coimbra" [crowned as king in Coimbra], a more direct description than the usual references to "alçaram por rei" or "foi alçado por rei" [risen as king], found in *Crónica de 1344*, as well as in passages of Rui Pina's chronicles of the 15th century (Pina 1945). According to him, when King Dinis' father died, he "*foy logo aleuãntado e obedeçido por Rey de portugal E do algarue (. . .)*" [was immediately risen and obeyed as King of Portugal and The Algarve]. King Afonso IV was also "*solenemente alevantado e obedecido por rei*" [solemnly raised and hailed as king] according to the author of *Crónica de 1419*. Fernão Lopes, author of *Crónica de D. Fernando* mentions the Monastery of Alcobaça, an important ecclesiastical space, as the

site where the king rose to power in the presence of a priest: "*el d'aquel moesteiro [Alcobaça] onde seu padre fora tragido e el levantado por rei [. . .]*" (Mattoso 1993, p. 190).

José Mattoso interpreted the chronicler's brief descriptions as a lack of interest in regal investiture, or simply, as an inability to put any sign language into words, regardless of how solemn this might have been. However, Mattoso found it premature to state that Portuguese monarchs were deprived of any consecration and coronation ceremonies, simply from these sources. In fact, during the first dynasty, several accounts appear to demonstrate otherwise.

Following Mattoso's own enumeration, such accounts are provided in *Manuscripto 1134* from the Municipal Library of Porto, dated from the 12th century and known as *Pontifical de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, which contains the *Ordo Benedicendi Regnum* in Folios 130 to 134. Beyond the evidence of its use, it includes a prayer added to the margins, introducing a special solemnization blessing. The *Ordo* also mentions the clergyman's anointing of hands, chest, back and arms, the blessing and offering of the sword, the bracelets, the solemn cape or *pallium,* the staff and the crowning. In addition, the investiture of these insignias took place before mass. In comparison to other western *Ordines*, the document is copied from the ritual described in *Pontifical Romano-Germano do Século X*, the most disseminated document among Roman liturgy, and of which there is another 12th century well-known copy, with some variants, in the so-called *Ceremonial Cardeña*. "All this shows how widespread the *Ordo* was, probably since after the abandonment of Hispanic Liturgy at the end of the 11th century" (Mattoso 1993, p. 192). Still, according to Mattoso, it is probable that the manuscript was used for the coronation of King Sancho I and the following monarchs.

Also kept in the Municipal Library of Porto and also originated in Coimbra, *Manuscripto 343* describes a simplified ritual with some variants from the precious *Ordo.* Its usage or practice cannot entirely be denied or cast aside.

A third testimony comes from the coronation ceremony of Afonso XI and that of his son Fernando V. Mattoso finds the description relevant to the Portuguese case, since it was authored by Raimundo Ebrard II, Bishop of Coimbra, sometime between 1325 and 1333. Written in both Castilian and Latin, it denotes many *portuguesisms* (features peculiar to the Portuguese language), previously underlined by its editor, Sánchez Albornoz. It is a testimony to the interest the Portuguese church took in the liturgical solemnity of the coronation act. The document "... also includes the anointing of the shoulders and back of both King and Queen, the blessing and offering of the sword and crown, as well as the enthronement on a podium placed inside the church" (Mattoso 1993, p. 192).

The fourth and last testimony, which is not as apparent but is clear enough, is included in *Livro dos Arautos*, dated from 1416 and published in 1977 by Aires de Nascimento (pp. 250–251). A Portuguese herald (*arauto*), who travelled around various European courts, referred to Coimbra's Cathedral as the site of coronations *ex consutudine* of Portuguese kings. "Now, if it was a cathedral and a coronation, it must be presumed that the ecclesiastical authorities approved the use of liturgical ceremonies. And if it was customary, not just one but several kings were subjected to it" (Mattoso 1993, p. 193).

J. Mattoso concludes that the anomaly verified by chroniclers' lack of information on the religious consecration ceremony is due to the fact that "the court was not keen on emphasizing the many acts and expressions of ecclesiastical submission to the king pertaining to these rituals, and described in both the Roman-German Pontifical and Bishop Raimundo Ebrard's account" (Mattoso 1993, p. 198). As mentioned before, a conclusion close to that of Manuel Nieto Soria in regard to Castilian sources.

In view of these well-sourced arguments, it is clear the consecration and coronation ceremonies took place in Portugal, at least during the early reigns. It is possible that not all monarchs in the first dynasty were anointed and surely some took for granted their own divinity based on their ancestors' previous consecrations. In doing so, they avoided subjecting their own power to ecclesiastical authorities, an analogous situation to that of Castile. Early monarchs however, as supported by J. Mattoso himself based on Raimundo Ebrard's testimony, would not dismiss the act of anointing as a recognition of their own power by another greater and superior one. According to Ebrard, kings "*se vivem a seruicio de Dios, faran milagros en sus vidas*" [if they live to the service of God, they will perform

miracles]. This conferred monarchs with an ability to perform miracles and make justice: *"que los reyes que quieren guardar iusticia, solamiente com los ojos destruen todo mal"* [that kings wanting justice to prevail, can destroy evil with their look alone] (Mattoso 1993, pp. 198–99).

Although this is a plausible reality from the beginning of Sancho I's reign on, caution is advised when it comes to the first Portuguese king, Afonso Henriques. This should be the case even while considering that his ceremonial coronation resulted from the political maneuvers of notable ecclesiastics who advised him while he was still a prince, since territorial characteristics and military victories were the real basis of his leadership and legitimacy in ascending to the throne of the newborn kingdom.

A few years ago, a study by A. F. Pimentel brought about new and interesting observations on the coronation and consecration of early Portuguese monarchs. These pointers departed, not from the discovery of new documents or chronicles, but from an iconological analysis of the spatiality and foundation elements of Coimbra's cathedral (plan and elevation). The building dates from the 12th century and is situated in the kingdom's first court, which comprised both the royal palace and religious quarters. Monarchs gave support to ecclesiastical authorities and, in turn, the clergy provided kings with both spoken and written legal services. Documents were produced by highly prestigious clergymen from both the Santa Cruz Monastery (functioning both as an archive of regal documents and as royal treasure) and the Cathedral where bishop and priests would have been responsible for organizing the religious aspects of enthronement rituals at least since King Sancho I (r. 1185–1211), and perhaps even during the reign of his father (Afonso Henriques). According to Pimentel, the Cathedral's architecture largely responded to different parts of the ceremony; the architecture responded to both the private instances reserved for peer acclaim and the public moments aimed at popular cheering (Pimentel 2004, pp. 87–122). Although the space provided here to expand on these ideas is limited, in my view their proposition makes a very strong point. They disrupt the early silence of sources, upon which the early historiography drew its conclusions, and adds to the buzz caused by José Mattoso and other historians' own deviation from those previous beliefs. The iconography itself, neither abundant nor artistically relevant (albeit truly exceptional for the case in point), sheds some light on an initially shadowy topic (Fernandes 2004).

2. What 12th to 14th Centuries' Iconography Tells Us?

Unlike France or England, in Portugal there is nothing compared to a consecration *Ordo* with illumination drawings or paintings, which were so common in the Early Middle Ages; there is nothing like Bayeaux tapestry (which in fact is a large-scale embroidery, but is known to history as a tapestry) or even wax seals and minted coins of great significance. Among all the objects composing the regalia of the first reigns, these are described as offers made during the consecration ceremonies, at least for the second king, Sancho I, as cited in the *Pontifical de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*. Regardless of their artistic value, and whether they are recorded as having existed and are now gone, they must be appreciated as forms of representation contemporary to the monarchs.

There is some consensus in the historiography of art regarding two stone sculptures placed in two different cities as being representations of the first monarch of Portugal, King Afonso Henriques, whose reign lasted from 1139 to 1185 (Fernandes 2004, pp. 572–82 and Fernandes 2017, pp. 77–90). The first and perhaps oldest (there is no information stating the exact dates in which each sculpture was produced) is part of a set of two, which was naively designed and cut, and carved out of granite in a rather coarse manner. The second sculpture in this set, which is aesthetically similar and certainly sculpted by the same craftsman, represents a bishop, probably João Peculiar, a strong supporter of the recognition of Portugal as an independent kingdom and of Afonso Henriques as its first king. Both sculptures were destined to the church of the old Benedictine monastery of S. Pedro de Rates.

As a visual document, the iconographic elements in the king's sculpture are of great relevance and importance. The king is represented wearing a crown, his body covered by a long garment, wielding a sword over his shoulder. The dimensions of both sword and crown are indicative of their prominence among all the objects composing the early monarchs' regalia, at a time of territorial reconquest in

the Peninsula. The king was an entitled sovereign by the sword he held and which defined him in his condition of crusader and conqueror of lands for the Christians. Later, his worth was recognized both by Rome and the emperor, his cousin King Afonso VII of Leon and Castile (r. 1126–1157), since opposing views did not carry the same political and religious weight to the Pope (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Afonso Henriques (?). 12th century. Church of the monastery of São Pedro de Rates.

The second statue, presumed to represent the same monarch, is incomplete, broken in two at some point in time, and all that is left is the upper part of the body. Interestingly, the most valued regal attributes are still the crown as an essential element, the sword which is also of great size and placed

over the shoulder as well as what was probably a scepter, shaped at one extreme as a Latin cross and held by the king on the side. The manner in which a string of beads fastens the sword's sheath is unprecedented. As for the cross and from the way that the hand holds it, there is no indication that it was attached to an orb, or any signs that a globe even existed. However, the hand's position offers the possibility for the existence of some sort of rod that may have disappeared with the lower part of the body. The eyes, the worn out beard and the hair sculpted in grey marble are all consistent with western figurative art from the 12th and 13th centuries. All of these features can be representative of both Afonso Henriques or of his son Sancho I. The sculpture was initially placed at the Church of Santa Maria da Alcáçova, and was perhaps moved to a door niche at the same place before being taken to the Archaeological Museum of Carmo in Lisbon, according to the museum's old inventory (Fernandes 2005, p. 342; Fernandes 2017, pp. 77–83) (Figure 2).
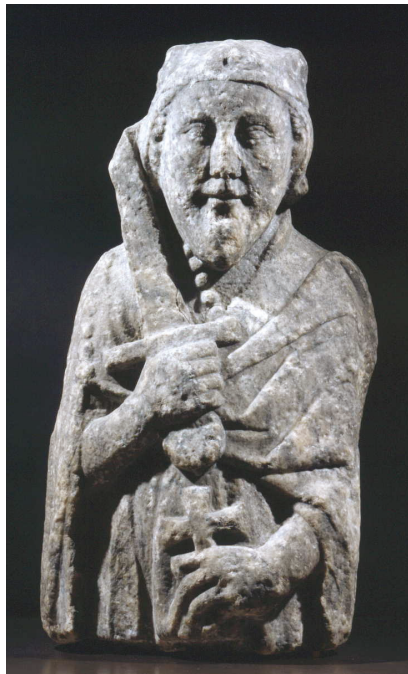

Figure 2. Afonso Henriques (?). 12th or 13th century. From Santarém, currently at the Archaeological Museum of Carmo (Lisbon). Photo: ©José Pessoa/ADF-DGPC.

With regard to the imagery extolling empowerment and the exercise of monarchic power, it is important to value other types of objects. For some kings, whose military action and victories in battles were decisive for the conquest of territory, the definition of borders or, simply, for the pompous demonstration of the Christian mission they were invested in, the sword, the shield and victory banners all possessed a high symbolic power and were collectively recognized. These were all reasons for placing these objects in very visible spots, close to their memorials and grave sites.

The king's sword and shield were displayed next to the tomb of Afonso Henriques on the porch of the Monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra. The sword remained there at least until the 16th century when King Sebastião requested it from the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine to take to the Battle of Alcácer-Quibir (where it was lost along with the king). The shield, placed over the king's tomb, symbolized the one used at the Battle of Ourique, as well as that over which the king had been acclaimed. It disappeared in the 12th century after the tomb as it was considered too modest by king

Manuel I, and was replaced by a much different one (Mattoso 2006, pp. 120–121, from previous sources). The *Livro dos Arautos* narrates some notable and enduring legends that honor the symbolic value of these two objects, belonging to a then recent and warrior-like monarchy (ed. A.A. Nascimento 1977, p. 251).

The founding king's material shield was thus venerated as a kind of relic, with almost magical power attributes. (. . .) The shield was a physical testimony to the supernatural protection and divine sanctioning pertaining to the royal dignity of its bearer, also functioning as a reminder of the victory at *Ourique* and the acclamation of the Prince as King at the battle's site. (Mattoso 2006, pp. 221–122)

The "magical aura" attributed to Afonso Henriques' weapons was revived two centuries later by King Afonso IV (r. 1325–1357). Based on what I could gather and reflect upon in regard to this hypothesis, I understand that there was an ideological and political intention in associating Afonso IV's image to that of the founding and mythical first monarch (Fernandes 2004; Fernandes 2007, pp. 163–16). This was due to both the importance and valorization given to the relics of Saint Vincent (kept in the Lisbon Cathedral where he was buried—*ad sanctus*—and brought to the city in the political context of Afonso Henriques' government in 1173—(Gomes and Nascimento 1988), and the monarch's order to display looted objects from the Battle of Salado (fought against the moors in 1340 in partnership with his son-in-law Afonso XI of Castile) along the Cathedral's walls and later close to his tomb (da Fonseca 1728, p. 60; de Sousa [1739] 1946–1954, p. 307). Among those mythical objects, none made its way to us and all that remains are memories recorded in various writings, especially chronicles, written long after the events took place.

Within the scope of iconography validating the warrior character of early kings, it is interesting to observe two ink drawings that represent two older pendant seals, as a means to record previous stamp elements when they came into disuse (copy from *Foral de Penas Roias do Livro de Doações de Afonso III*, IANTT, Gavetas, gav. 15, mç. 10, doc. 14 and *Livro das Doações de Afonso III*, fol. 13v,o). The drawings were produced in the second half of the 13th century and in the 14th century, respectively, and reproduce both the shape of the stamps and the king's effigy consisting either of a single seal matrix or two similar ones. Both drawings represent the effigy of King Sancho I (r. 1185–1211) in majesty (Branco 2005, p. 162). The authors of the respective documents in which we find these equally rudimentary and expressive representations were almost certainly also the artists of the drawings, although their concerns were less artistic than iconographic. They were interested in accurately representing the figure of the king in the old seals, with his regal coronation accoutrements. The king is portrayed in his solemn attire, one arm raised with his hand gesture suggesting the offering of a blessing to his subjects (Branco 2005, p. 162). The crowns in both drawings are faithful copies of the originals: opened and topped, not by *fleurs-de-lis*, but rather by the Greek Cross, as it was used in Portuguese metalworking during the 12th and early 13th centuries. These are the only representations of a first dynasty king displaying his sword, spurs (both symbols of his warrior-like character) and banner (Fernandes 2005, p. 584). In the 14th century representation, the banner is shown suspended on air in the left flank, while the 13th century drawing displays it as being grounded. To sum up, the crown remained a privileged insignia of royalty, but the sword was replaced by the banner; this is an image that evidences the warrior nature of early kings as military leaders and guardians of important victories in the battlefield (Figures 3 and 4).

These and other examples show that, like other kingdoms, Portugal revived the paradigm of a "new David" or a "new Charlemagne"; model images of great and mythical knights incorporated into Portuguese kings. However, Portuguese monarchy did not just follow its contemporary governmental proposals; instead, the monarchy created its own legends, including the myth of origins and that of the ideal monarch. However, these legends were inspired by preceding models, as I believe was the case for the two monarchs mentioned above.

Figure 3. Sancho I. Drawing of the royal seal on a document (ANTT, Gavetas, gav. 15, mç. 10, doc. 14). Second half of the 13th century. Photo: ©ANTT

Figure 4. Sancho I. Drawing of the royal seal on a document from the Donations Book of Afonso III, fol. 13v°. 14th century. Photo: ©ANTT

A case in point is that of King Dinis (r. 1279–1325), known, among other aspects, for his interest in culture, particularly *troubadour* culture, and for the fact that he himself was a poet of songs. His personality is compared to that of his grandfather, Castilian King Afonso X, known as The Wise, following a model with biblical roots, but one also also found among Iberian late medieval monarchs. However, art has not left us much iconography or artistic expression allusive of such a monarchic ideal (as did France some years later during the reign of Charles V). When analyzing the iconography that King Dinis himself chose to adorn his tomb (placed in the Cistercian Monastery of São Dinis e São Bernardo de Odivelas, and severely mutilated after the collapse of the dome during the 1755 Earthquake), the importance becomes clear of being represented in full coronation regalia (crown and

garment), both in the high relief sculpture and during his last actions preparing for the so-called *Good Death*, as a Christian king.

The sword, buried with the king, can no longer be found under the sarcophagus' cover, but the spurs carved in the horizontal high relief sculpture are still visible. Both sword and spurs, the two insignias indicating knighthood, were common in royal tomb sculptures, particularly this entire dynasty, whose affirmation of a warrior-like character originated in the first king (even though his tomb did not have a sculpture; instead, the tomb only had the sword and shield displayed next to it).

The tomb statue of Afonso IV (also destroyed during the 1755 Earthquake) is unknown. However, judging by the tomb of his first knight, Lopo Fernandes Pacheco (another victor of the Battle of Salado, also buried in Lisbon's Cathedral), as well as by that of his son and future king, Pedro I (r. 1357–1367), situated in the Monastery of Alcobaça, he must have been proudly represented with his sword and spurs, as well as his banner and other regalia displayed on the walls near the tomb.

Pedro I was king for 10 years only, but he took good care of his social image, although there is not any written or visual documentation left to inform us about his coronation ceremony. This occurred for certain, but apart from the crown and the sword, the king's iconographical record is limited to his sarcophagus, where he is presented as knight-king in an imposing statue, dressed in a long and solemn garment, holding the sword sheath with both hands and wearing a crown apparently sculpted after actual gold smithery models. In the scene at the top of the sarcophagus, where he is represented on the upper axis of the *Wheel of Life* as an enthroned king, only the solemn garment is visible. Neither his crown nor the objects he held in his hands survived due to the advanced state of deterioration of the stone (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Detail of the lying statue of King Pedro I. Ca. 1357–1361. Alcobaça Monastery Church. Photo: Mário Novais (CRSIQS).

The last monarch in the Burgundy dynasty, Fernando I, was crowned in the Royal Abbey of Santa Maria de Alcobaça, a sacred space of great religious, social and political relevance. There, the tomb of his father, awaiting the body of the king perished in Estremoz a couple of days before, faced that of his step-mother, Inês de Castro, murdered in 1335 and entombed there in 1361. Although Fernando was acclaimed there as King of Portugal and The Algarve on 20 January, 1367, he chose to be buried elsewhere, breaking the tradition of using this Abbey as the first dynasty's pantheon (he was not the only one to break this tradition though). Instead, he prepared a monumental tomb for himself and his mother's remains. She was the daughter of an important Castilian nobleman and in Fernando's mind, Queen and the sole legitimate wife of King Pedro I. His tomb was the only Portuguese royal tomb from the 14th century that does not have a statue. The king is represented in a small bust, which is crowned and displayed on the same symmetrical axis as the bust of Christ of identical size. Its iconography is varied, complex and intriguing, offering many clues as to how this King saw his role as a dignified

monarch and his main concerns in the face of death (Fernandes 2009). However, it sheds little light as to the aspects of his own coronation ceremony (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Bust of King Fernando I on the cover of his tomb. 1380–1383. From Santarem, currently at the Archaeological Museum of Carmo (Lisbon). Photo: ©José Pessoa/ADF-DGPC.

Lastly, I would like to point out that a 14th century Castilian manuscript (1312–1325) entitled *Compendio de Crónicas de Reyes* (*Biblioteca Nacional de España*) contains representations of first dynasty Portuguese kings and, in spite of the idealization, even standardization of these portraits, they provide consistent evidence of the regalia associated with the rituals of coronation and the insignias offered to the kings in those ceremonies. These representations have essentially been used to illustrate online biographies of the monarchs, but they should in fact be valued as idealized figurations of the kings that preceded the times of King Dinis, when they were produced. The images were not part of a Portuguese artistic commission, and cannot be taken at face value (no representation of our kings previous to the 15th century can), but they illustrate the ways in which kings were imagined or remembered before 1325 (Figure 7).

Figure 7. D. Sancho II—Compendio de crónicas de reyes (Biblioteca Nacional de España), 1312–1325.

3. Final Remarks

Among the statues of Afonso Henriques, the copies of Sancho I's seals, the tombs of monarchs sculpted with scenes of their lives and the tomb covers displaying sculptures, the iconography is not more eloquent than the existing documentation in describing the process of coronation rituals and its valued insignias between the 12th and 14th centuries. Surely, the constant presence of offensive or defensive weapons that these monarchs are represented with make it clear that the emphasis is on the warrior character of the various monarchs, and that is obviously significant. This feature is also something that brings closer the various iconographies of peninsular monarchs from various kingdoms during the centuries marked by territorial conquest by Muslims. If we look at a legendary/literary tradition associated with the lives of some kings or military heroes, from Antiquity to the Middle Ages (it is enough that we remember the famous and named swords of Alexander the Great, or King Arthur, for example), so that it is not unreasonable to think of the constant and so significant presence of the sword as an element with a "divine" character and to associate that element with the divine origin of the royal power of the peninsular kings, namely the Portuguese kings and the sacrality of the royal authority (this is just another question that remains open, but on which it will be worth reflecting).

In regard to the consecration rituals of the monarchs' respective queens, documentation is entirely absent and the iconography, be it in tombs or on seals, is limited to the use of the crown as a main regal insignia. All other attributes make reference to their virtues and some aspects of their biography.

We learnt, mainly through the research of José Mattoso and Aires do Nascimento, that the coronation ceremonies of Portuguese kings followed principles and customs rooted in Visigoth monarchies (similarly, Hispanic or Mozarab liturgical rites from those times survived for a long time). However, they also included customs later introduced and adapted in western Christian kingdoms, particularly in France where manuscripts specific to these ceremonies were produced in large quantities. Some of these manuscripts were very useful and clear, containing numerous illuminations that visually translated the consecration words in the *Ordos*. In Portugal, manuscripts where images played such a crucial role were either non-existent or have entirely disappeared with the passing of time. Thus, in addition to the previously mentioned texts, we value any bit of information that material culture can provide, in order to help us understand a reality pertaining to the ecclesiastical spaces in the kingdom (cathedrals and monasteries), between the 12th/early 13th centuries and the late 14th centuries. These are parts of material culture that are, however, deeply marked by a chiaroscuro of absences.

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The Abbey of Saint-Denis and the Coronation of the King of France

Elodie Leschot

Department of History of Art, University of Lausanne, 1015 Lausanne, Switzerland; elodie.leschot@unil.ch

Abstract: Addressing the coronation issue in France always comes down to talking about Reims, its archbishop, its cathedral, and its Holy Ampulla. If these elements are indeed constitutive of the consecration ceremony, they only became so from the 13th century onwards. Before that, Reims had difficulty asserting its alleged prerogative to welcome the consecration's ceremony. The practice of "festival crowing", practiced by monarchs to assert their authority, did not indeed help the metropolitan Reims to assert its monopoly. In this context, Saint-Denis sought recognition of his rights to host the royal ceremony. Saint-Denis has always been intimately connected to the monarchy and hosted Pepin the first consecration, Pepin the Short and his heirs, in 754. In the 12th century, Abbot Suger's arrival at Abbey's head marked a new impetus for the Abbey in this race for prestige. The Saint-Denis church's reconstruction and its liturgical organization demonstrate the great project that the Abbey pursued through the hosting of the ceremony's coronation of the Kings of France.

Keywords: Abbey of Saint-Denis; festival crowing; Abbot Suger (1122–1151); coronation; consecration

1. Introduction

In the year of the Lord 1180, the second of the reign of magnanimous Philip, on the Ascension of the Lord, magnanimous Philip took the crown himself in the church of Saint-Denis again. Simultaneously, the venerable Queen Isabel, his wife [who was] the daughter of count Baldwin of Hainault, was anointed (William the Breton 2006, p. 122).

In this passage from his *Deeds of Philip Augustus*, William the Breton (c.1165–1225), the official biographer of the French King Philip II Augustus (1179/1180–1223), recounts the second coronation of the son of Louis VII (1137–1180) and the consecration of his young wife on 29 May 1180 at the Abbey of Saint-Denis.[1] The coronation took place a few months after the consecration and first coronation of the same king in Reims' cathedral on 1st November 1179. If the consecration was unique and could not be realized more than once, the coronation could be practiced as many times as the king wished. This practice of multiple coronations is still a blind spot of French research, lurking in the shadow of the king's anointing and first coronation, namely the *sacre*, which is traditionally perpetuated in Reims by the archbishop of the city (see Bony 2003, pp. 52–54; François 1985). Multiple coronations were common, and Philip Augustus carried on an already well-established tradition. The coronations of his great-grandfather Philip I (1060–1108), crowned four times, or his father Louis VII, of whom at least

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[1] The *Deeds of Philip Augustus* were composed between 1216 and 1220 and are in three parts: the first part is a summary of Rigord's chronicle, a monk of Saint-Denis; the second is William's chronicle proper, ending in 1214, and intended to celebrate the victory of Bouvines, which he attended; the third part is a continuation until 1219. On William's death, around 1226, this version was revised and extended by a monk from Saint-Denis until 1223, the date of Philip Augustus' death. See (Carpentier 1991).

three coronations are confirmed in Reims, Bourges, and Paris demonstrate this.[2] These coronations also show that Reims was not, in the 12th century, considered the only place for the crowning of the King of the Franks and that his archbishop was not the only prelate entitled to carry out this ceremony. This situation derived, on the one hand, from the multiple coronations tradition and, on the other hand, from Louis VI's (1108–1137) consecration in 1108 in Orléans by the Archbishop of Sens. For the first time since the advent of Hugues Capet (987–996), Reims' metropolitan was not going to carry out the ritual of the enthronement of the new monarch. This outrage has not gone unanswered by the clergy who sent emissaries to stop the ceremony, as Abbot Suger (1122–1151) reports:

> The archbishop then had no time even to take off his festive clothing after divine service when bearers of bad news from the church of Reims suddenly came before him. They brought letters of objection which, if they had arrived in time, would have prevented the royal anointing under the force of apostolic authority. The letters alleged that the first stages in the crowning of a king belonged by right to the church of Reims and that this prerogative had stood unimpaired and undisturbed from the time of Clovis, the first King of the French, whom the blessed Remigius had baptized. The letters further claimed that anyone who tried to violate this right by some rash enterprise would fall under perpetual anathema. By this pretext, they hoped either to stop the royal coronation or bring about peace for their archbishop, the venerable and worthy Ralph the Green, for he had incurred the severest and most dire enmity of the lord king when he had been elected and enthroned on the See of Reims without royal assent. However, the messengers came too late; so they were speechless at Orléans, but when they returned home they found their voices. Nevertheless, whatever they said, they reported nothing useful. (Suger 1992, pp. 63–64)

Yves of Chartres (1090–1116), bishop of Reims and close counselor of King Louis VI, responded to the archbishop of Reims' claims by writing to the Holy See and "to all the churches to which the protest of the Reims clerics would have reached."[3] In this document, intended to legitimize the consecration of Louis VI, Yves of Chartres went back to the Merovingians' coronation to prove that the archbishop of Reims had no primacy in this liturgical act.[4]

This affront marked the beginning of a long quarrel between the Archbishop of Reims and the one of Sens over royal's ceremonies. In this dispute between two essential prelates of France's Kingdom, another religious institution was also seeking its share of the spoils: Saint-Denis. Philip Augustus'

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[2]   Louis VII was consecrated during his father's lifetime in Reims in 1131, see (Le Roy 1987); to Bourges December 25, 1137, see (Brown 1992, p. 46, n.181) and also on the occasion of the coronation of his new wife, Adela of Champagne at Notre-Dame of Paris in 1160, see: (Bautier 1987, p. 55).

[3]   "Letters 189, *PL* 162, col. 193–196: "*Noverit sancta Romana Ecclesia, noverint omnes Ecclesiae, ad quas murmur Remensium clericorum pervenerit, nos in consecratione Ludovici regis Francorum nihil nostrum quaesisse, sed pro communi utilitate regni et sacerdotii consulte vigilasse*" translatable as "Let the Holy Roman Church know, let all the Churches know, they to whom the complaint of the clerics of Reims came, that we, in the consecration of Louis as King of the Franks, did not seek anything for ourselves but prudently watched over the common utility of the kingdom and the priesthood."

[4]   Ibid., "*Si vero ad consuetudinem recurrimus, quae in exemplis maxime declaratur, respondemus ex verbis Augustini quia « ratio exemplis anteponenda est, cui tamen et exempla concordant.» Ecce rationem dedimus, quam apud eos aeque validam super hoc negotio inveniri non credimus. Addamus et exempla rationi concordantia. Sicut enim legitur in Gestis Francorum: «Diviso regno inter filios Lotharii, nepotes Clodovei, Charibertus et Guntrannus provincias Celticorum et Aquitanorum in regnum suum acceperunt, et alter eorum Charibertus, scilicet Parisius sedem regiam sibi posuit et usque ad fluvium Garunnam regnum suum extendit. Guntrannus vero Aurelianis sedem regiam sibi constituit et Burgundiam, quae Celticae pars est, in regnum accepit.» Isti quippe reges nullam a Remensi archiepiscopo benedictionem vel coronam acceperunt, sed et sacerdotibus provinciarum quas regebant, sublimati sunt et sacrati*", translatable as "But if we resort to custom, which is manifested mainly by examples, we answer in Augustine's words that 'reason must be placed before examples. For this reason, however, the examples also agree.' Here, we have given the reason, and we do not believe it is found in them in this case as well-founded. Let us add the well-founded at are cons. Let us with that reason as well. Indeed, as we read in the Gestes des Francs: 'The kingdom having been divided between the sons of Lothaire, grandson of Clovis, Charibert and Gontrand received for their kingdom the provinces of the Celts and the Aquitans and one of them, Charibert, installed for him the royal seat, namely in Paris and extended his kingdom as far as the river Garonne. For his part, Gontrand established the royal seat in Orleans for him and received for his kingdom, Burgundy, which is a part of the Celtic.' Certainly, these kings did not receive any blessing or crown from the Archbishop of Reims, but it was through the priest's provinces they ruled that they were raised and crowned."

coronation on the occasion of his wife's consecration in 1180 within the Abbey proves that the Dionysian clergy's actions were successful. The abbots who succeeded one another at the Abbey's head managed to position themselves as indispensable to the monarchy through numerous finely crafted political stratagems. The constructions undertaken by Abbot Suger (1122–1151) between about 1130 and 1144 are also to be seen in this light, since he created additional liturgical space in the church to highlight the holy relics and also to accommodate royal ceremonies. If several sources prove that taking the banner of the Vexin, or Vexillum, did indeed take place in the new space created in the 12th century, the consecration of a king never took place at the altar in the upper choir. However, the project was carried out with royal symbolism in mind, as analysis of the space's organization and of the context demonstrate. This project's reasons did not solely lie in a political or liturgical sphere but also in an interweaving of the two.

Our contribution will not analyze the divine coronation image in its ordinary sense but the design, construction, and reception of a liturgical space that can accommodate and make visible the coronation ceremony and its symbolic content. A space that has been designed for staging the "living image" and that is the ritual (Stollberg-Rilinger 2012, p. 17). Indeed, according to Gottfried Boehm, the image has to be understood as a logo, as a founding act of meaning (Boehm 2007, p. 29). Thus, the coronation ritual can be understood as the materialization of an immaterial concept (Boehm 2008, p. 3). Visibility plays an essential role in this process. Therefore, the new choir of Saint-Denis Abbey appears as an exemplary case, since space is precisely created to be seen.

2. Reims as the Coronations' Capital? A Look Back at Coronation Practices before 1223

The illustrious Reims tradition in the execution of this ceremony strongly marked the consecration, the coronation historiography, and Reims cathedral (Demouy 2008, 2016). Nevertheless, it was only with the *sacre* of Louis VIII (1223–1226) in 1223 that the supremacy of Reims and its metropolitan for the reception and execution of the coronation of the Kings of France was inaugurated. A monopoly that was never questioned afterward (Demouy 2008, 2016). The so-called prerogative that Reims defended relied essentially on Clovis' baptism (481–511) by Saint Remi (459–533) and his legend. According to this myth, the first King of the Franks would have been anointed with the help of holy chrism contained in a vial brought by the Holy Spirit himself.[5] This story was written for the first time by Archbishop Hincmar of Reims (845–882) in his Vita *Remigii* (Hincmar of Reims 1920, pp. 250–341). In his account, Hincmar took the opportunity to complete the baptism of Clovis with anointing and coronation (Isaia 2007, p. 157). In doing so, the archbishop sought to establish the monopoly of the Reims prelates to carry out the coronation ceremony, which did not date back to the 6th, but rather to the 8th century.

The consecration, or anointing, was a religious ceremony with its roots in the Old Testament, which was carried out for the first time at Pepin the Short (751–768) to legitimize its usurpation of power, thanks to the church (Bautier 1987, pp. 7–17; Close 2007). Pepin the Short was not consecrated in Reims, but the first time in Soissothes in 751 and a second time in Saint-Denis, three years later,

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[5] Hincmar of Reims (1920, p. 296): "*Cum uero peruenissent ad baptisterium, clericus, qui chrisma ferebat a populo est interceptus, ut ad fontem venire nequiuerit. Sanctificato autem fonte, nutu diuino chrisma defuit. Et quia propter populi pressuram ulli non patebat egressus aecclesiae uel ingressus, sanctus pontifex, oculis ac manibus protensis in caelum, cepit tacite orare cum lacrimis. Et ecce ! subito columba niue candidior attulit in rostro ampullam chrismate sancto repletam, cuius odore mirifico super omnes odores, quos ante in baptisterio senserant, omnes, qui aderant inestimabili suauitate repleti sunt. Accipiente autem sancto pontifice ipsam apullulam, speties colombae disparuit. De quo chrismate fudit uenerandus episcopus in fontem sacratum.*" Translatable as "As they [Remi and Clovis] had arrived at the baptistery, the cleric carrying the chrism was prevented from advancing by the people, so that he could not reach the vat. It was God's will that the chrism be lacking for the sanctification of the vat. And because the holy bishop could neither enter nor leave the church because of the crowd that had gathered, he raised his eyes to heaven, stretched out his hands and began to pray in silence, shedding tears. And suddenly a dove whiter than snow brought in its beak a small ampulla (bulb) filled with holy chrism, whose astonishing odor, far superior to all the perfumes that could be smelled in the baptistery, filled all those present with its incomparable sweetness. So the holy bishop took this little phial and the dove, or rather what was in the shape of a dove, disappeared. The venerable bishop poured this chrism into the holy basin."

with his heirs—Carloman (754/768–771) and Charlemagne (754/768–814)—by Pope Etienne II (752–757) himself (ibid., p. 13). For its part, Reims welcomed its first coronation in 816 with Louis the Pious (814–840). However, it was not the first consecration or coronation of the Emperor.[6] The desire to create a continuity with the Merovingian dynasty symbolically motivated this ceremony (Isaia 2007, p. 156). Despite his illustrious past, Reims had to concede his privilege to the metropolitan of Sens several times until the end of the 10th century (Bautier 1987, pp. 19–20). The accession to the throne of Hugues Capet (987–996) marked a turning point for Reims, since the former mayor of Paris had received the help of Archbishop Adalbero of Reims (969–989) to accede to the highest step of power (ibid., p. 52). Thus, Adalbero proceeded to the consecration of the Capetian dynasty's first monarch in 987. Although reluctant, he repeated the ritual for the young Robert II (987/996–1031) the same year (Bayard 1984, p. 61). After that, every consecration of Capetian kings took place in Reims except Louis VI (1108–1137) in 1108.

Though, the widespread practice of multiple coronations in the 11th and 12th centuries continued to displease Reims, which was forced to share its monopoly. Philip I (1060–1108) was thus crowned four times after his consecration in Reims and Louis VII (1137–1180) at least twice (1137 in Bourges and 1160 in Notre-Dame of Paris). In contrast to French research, which promoted the idea of multiple coronations aside in favor of the Reims' consecration, German researchers have been interested in describing this practice for the Empire and then for the Kingdom of France since the first half of the 20th century (Schramm 1935, 1936; Kantorowicz 1946, pp. 92–101; Brühl 1962). They pointed out several variations in the coronation ceremony and proposed a complex terminological distinction (Zupka 2016, p. 38).[7] Ernst H. Kantorowicz proposed a distinction between festive coronations and public performances. He stressed the significant difference between placing the crown on the monarch's head in a specific ceremony and a ceremony in which the king wearing the crown appeared (Kantorowicz 1946, pp. 92–101; Brühl 1962, p. 269). The second type of ceremony was the most frequent and took place during the most important religious feasts during the liturgical year (Erkens 2006, p. 167). Therefore, in 1087, William the Conqueror (1066–1087) decreed that he would be present wearing the wreath annually in Gloucester for Christmas, Winchester for Easter, and Westminster for Pentecost (Jäschke 1970, p. 558). In addition to the inclusion in these religious institutions' liturgical calendar, it was, above all, a question of making the king and his power visible.

This visibility was built on the object's association with the crown, with a status, the monarchy (Kantorowicz 1946, pp. 93–94). Since the 10th century, this insignia was also perceived as a "sacramental" object, since the privilege of crowning a sovereign was then the exclusive right of the church (ibid., pp. 94–95).[8] Although rarely, Festival crowing (Festkrönung) was also liturgically and symbolically more critical. It made it possible to reactivate the coronation ritual, but without the anointing (Zupka 2016, p. 39). Similar to the king's first coronation, this ceremony required a coronation *ordo*, which would explain such a document's possession by many cathedrals (Kantorowicz 1946, p. 96). Monarchs' choice regarding the churches in which these ceremonies were celebrated was also crucial and formally established religious institutions' affiliations with the monarchal power. Moreover, it allowed the king to affirm the topographical extent of his power.

The practice of multiple coronations offered the monarch the possibility to make himself legitimate in his Kingdom, more or less extended. This presented a consequent opportunity for the first Capetian kings who were struggling to respect the great lords of the Kingdom (Gross 2008, p. 255). Philip I was the first of the Capetian dynasty to use it to be crowned outside the territory on which he had sufficient authority, namely the Ile-de-France (Amyot 2007, pp. 8–11). After his consecration in Reims, Philip I

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[6] A first time in Rome in 781 at the age of three and a second time in Aachen in 813 when Charlemagne associated him to the throne before his death, see: (ibid., p. 24).

[7] *Erstkrönung, Festkrönung, Mitkrönung, Beikrönung, Unter-Krone-gehen* and *Kronentragen*.

[8] During the reign of the early Carolingians, the act of coronation was not held by the Church, as demonstrated by the coronation of Louis the Pious in 813 by his own father, Charlemagne. See (Brühl 1962, p. 322).

was thus crowned in 1071 in Laon, in 1098 in Tours, and 1100 again in Reims. No other coronation ceremony than that of Orléans in 1108 is known for Louis VI, perhaps due to the conflict he experienced with the Reims' reaction. Later, Louis VII repeated this practice by having himself crowned in Bourges in 1137, at the Notre-Dame of Paris in 1160, and perhaps also in Poitiers on the occasion of his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1136, as Elizabeth Brown suggested (Brown 1992, pp. 34–36). The existence of a second coronation in Poitiers in his young wife's company is conceivable, because through this marriage, the new king also became Duke of Aquitaine. As a result, a coronation in the duchy's capital would have been a means of proclaiming the new royal authority over this region. The two successive coronations moved away from the need to legitimize the monarchy outside the Ile-de-France, where the monarch's authority was already well established. Rather than considering them as a retreat of the king into his lands, they should be understood as the monarch's affirmation of a center of power, creating a capital (Bautier 1987, p. 5).

In this regard, although all these coronation ceremonies' common feature is to have taken place in cathedrals, Philip Augustus' coronation at Saint-Denis in 1180 was unusual but not unique (Kantorowicz 1946, p. 96).[9] According to the English chronicler Roger Howden (?–1201), the king would have chosen Saint-Denis at the request of his father-in-law, Baldwin V, Count of Hainaut (1171–1195).[10] If the chronicler was well informed, the Count's motivations might not be foreign to his acquisition of the Solesmes Woods in the same year.[11] Thus, the Count's support for Saint-Denis can be seen as an exchange of goods. Moreover, it shows that the interest of the religious community of the Abbey in the reception of the ceremony was essential to the point of sacrificing a vital territory in their possession.

If the support of Baudoin V played in the Abbey's favor, it must have been able to claim and host a ceremony of this magnitude. As guardian of the regalia, the Abbey of Saint-Denis could claim, in the same way as Reims, to host the ceremony within its walls. Charlemagne's fake diploma confirms that the Abbey had this ambition.[12] In this forgery, Charlemagne decided that all should honor Saint-Denis as head of the ecclesial Kingdom and his abbot as Primate of the Gauls as a sign of gratitude to the Saints Denis, Rustic, and Eleutherus. Moreover, the Emperor forbade his successors on the throne to be crowned anywhere else but in the Abbey and placed his diadem on the altar of martyrs with the words

> Most holy Lord Denis. I willingly divest myself of these insignia and ornaments of the Kingdom of France so that you may hold and possess from now on the (dominium regale). In testimony of which I offer you from now on four golden coins so that all, present and future, may know and know that I hold the Kingdom of France only from you and by you and that with your help and that of your companions and the support of your merits, I defend it with a double-edged sword, imploring and adoring all kings, our successors, to do the same every year, and to offer in a gesture of humility the said four besans, not as a sign of human but rather divine servitude, which we must call supreme freedom since to serve God is to reign. (Gasparri 2003, pp. 240–41)

This diploma sums up and reinforces the validity of the two charters granted by Louis VI by inventing a legitimacy based on an ancient and prestigious tradition. According to Gasparri, this document must be dated between 1124 and 1129 (ibid., pp. 241–42). The dating proposed by Gasparri is linked to the

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9   The case of Westminster Abbey in hosting the consecration of the English kings is particularly interesting here because, similar to Saint-Denis, it found itself in competition with the largest cathedrals of the kingdom, such as Worcester and Winchester. The fact is that Westminster became the place of consecration and burial of the English monarchy, while Saint-Denis became only a royal mausoleum. See also: (Strong 2012).

10   "*Deinde statuit Philippus rex Franciae, quod ipse et uxor ejus coronarentur die Pentecostes apud Senonem civitatem: sed per consilium comitis Flandriae anticipavit terminum illum, et fecit se et uxorem suam coronari die Ascensionis apud Sanctum Dionysium ab archiepiscopo Senonensi.*" (Roger of Howden 2012, vol. 2, pp. 196–97). See (Dale 2013, pp. 154–55).

11   Inventaire analytique et chronologique des archives de la Chambre des comptes, à Lille, publié par les soins et aux frais de la Société impériale des sciences, de l'agriculture et des arts de Lille (1865, pp. 58–59, n. 133).

12   (Mühlbacher 1906), *MGH* Charter n. 286; see also (Spiegel 1971, pp. 160–61).

claims of Saint-Denis to receive the *sacre*, based on the consecration of Louis VI in Orleans in 1108 and the deposit of the regalia in 1120. The consecration of young Philip in 1129, then that of Louis the Younger in 1131, both in Reims would have dried up this ambitious project. If the *terminus post quem* that she proposed is convincing, the *terminus ante quem* does not seem to correspond with an end to the claims of Abbot Suger, as proved by the construction of the new choir. This construction had begun under Abbot Suger (1122–1151). Although the construction was consecrated in 1144, the work continued under Suger's successor (Speer 2006, p. 73). In 1180, a new space was finally ready to accommodate the ceremony desired by its religious community: France's king's coronation.

3. The Reconstruction of the Church of Saint-Denis: Between Sources and Facts

According to Suger's words in his account of the consecration of Saint-Denis, the reconstruction of the Westwork and the choir has been undertaken due to the lack of space available during certain events (Figure 1):

> The basilica usually encountered significant problems because of the charming feature of its extraordinarily small size when the faithful's multitudes increased in number as they frequently congregated there to seek the intercession of the saints. Thus, on feast days, the church often filled, and the overflow of the crowds rushing into it poured back out through all its doors, and the outward push of those already inside did not allow those entering to enter and forced out those who had just entered. [...] The pressure of the tightly packed crowd pushed against those struggling to come inside to venerate and kiss the holy relics of the Nail and Crown of the Lord, and so no one among the countless thousands of people could move a foot from being so pressed together. (Suger 2018, p. 36)

Therefore, the driving force behind Suger's enterprise would be a liturgical need, as Andreas Speer pointed out (Speer 2006, pp. 67–69). Suger began with the reorganization of the old monk's choir in the nave, where the venerable tomb of Charles the Bald (843–877) was between the main altar and the one of the Trinity. The abbot also knocked down the Carolingian church wall built nearby the monks' choir's western end (Erlande-Brandenburg 1975, pp. 80–81). Then, he continued with the construction of a westwork (ibid., p. 72). Finally, on top of this monumental project, he built a brand new raised choir with radiant chapels and a more extensive crypt to house the relics of the Saints Denis, Rustic, and Eleutherius among all the other relics. The elevation of three and a half meters above the nave level characterized the new choir. Two staircases on either side enabled the access to this structure. The upper choir contained several liturgical spaces, namely the sanctuary in the center and, separated by the ambulatory, nine radiating chapels. The innovation here resides in opening all the spaces by piercing the radiating chapels' sidewalls, giving a second ambulatory impression. This system permitted to create different liturgical spaces for liturgical needs and, at the same time, to offer one bright united area concentrated around the shrine of the Holy Martyrs at the center. Much larger than the previous one, the new crypt served, architecturally, as a base for the upper construction. However, more importantly, it also served as a place large enough to accommodate pilgrims (Crosby 1967, p. 230). Indeed, the crypt conserved three of the relics of the Passion: the crown of thorns, one nail, and a fragment of the cross, which, according to legend, was offered to Charlemagne during his crusade in Constantinople. It was brought back to Aachen and given to the Abbey of Saint-Denis by Charles the Bald (Bozóky 2007, p. 137). In addition to these prestigious relics, a miraculous well was at the center of the space (Lombard-Jourdan 1985, pp. 237–69). This polarization of the sacred space created by Suger offered a new liturgical arrangement.
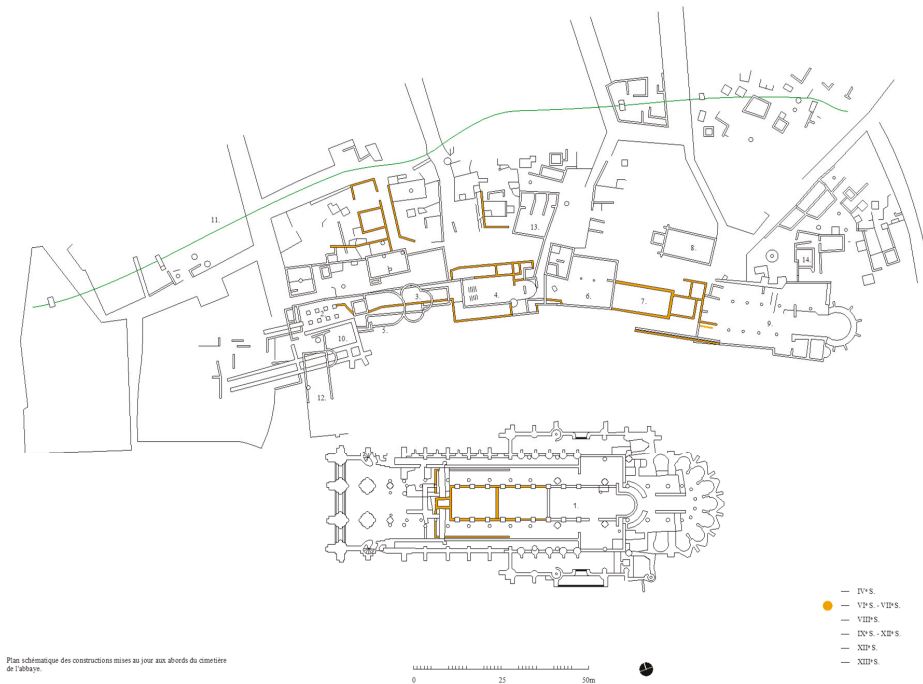
Figure 1. Phase of construction of the Abbey of Saint-Denis according to the archaeological research of Michaël Wyss: 1. Abbey Church. 2. Sainte-Geneviève Church. 3. Saint-Michel-du-Degré Church. 4. Saint-Barthélémy Church. 5. église des Trois-Patron. 6. église Saint-Michel-du-Charnier-Saint-Symphorien et chapelle de la Vierge. 7. église Saint-Pierre. 8. église de la Madeleine. 9. église canonial Saint-Paul. 10. bâtiment carolingien. 11. Aqueduc. 12. maison de la Cène. 13. Celiers. 14. maison du chantre de Saint-Paul. © Sebastian Baumann.

Before the new sanctuary's construction, all the liturgy took place in the old choir, which occupied almost the entire central space of the Carolingian church. This space extended from the fourth span of the central nave with a wall delimiting the choir's beginning to the axial chapel at the east.[13] In the monk's choir was the altar of the Holy Trinity (matutinal) at the western end, then, at the center was the tomb of Charles the Bald placed between the stalls on either side of the side fences. The high altar was located at the east of the church overhanging the crypt and its relics. The Dagobert (629–639) tomb, mythical Abbey founder, was to the left side's altar. Logic would see in the creation of the new Suger choir the new place for the daily liturgy. However, according to Edward B. Foley's research on the Abbey's first Ordinary dating from the second quarter of the 13th century, this was not the case (Foley 1990, pp. 193–97). The multitude of names given to the different altars distributed between the monks' choir and the upper choir makes each localization problematic. Jacobsen situates the morning altar dedicated to the Trinity at the western end of the monks' choir (Jacobsen 2002, pp. 198–202). Then were the stalls, with the tomb of Charles the Bald in the center, and, at transept crossing, the altar dedicated to the Holy Savior, under which the relics were initially contained. The Altar of the Holy Martyrs' exact location is unknown. It could have been to the east, center, or west of the upper choir. In most of the proposed reconstructions, the tomb or mausoleum containing

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[13] The old church consisted of a westwork, a three-aisled and nine spans nave, a simple transept with a lantern tower at its crossroads, a large crypt topped by a choir raised by a few steps, and an axial chapel dedicated to the Virgin.

the relics of the Saints Denis, Rustic, and Eleutherius have been forgotten (ibid., p. 205). Jacobsen placed the Holy Martyr altar in the west, then, in the center, the martyrs' mausoleum, and finally, under the apse, an altar dedicated to the Savior, the angels, and the Holy Cross (ibid., p. 202, Figures 8 and 13). If his proposition for the lower space organization is convincing, his upper choir's liturgical arrangements' location seems wrong. Firstly, the altar of the Savior, the Angels, and the Holy Cross, which Jacobsen placed at the east of the upper sanctuary, would more certainly be the new dedication of the former high altar crossing transept as suggested by the Ordinary of the 13th century (Foley 1990, p. 185). Secondly, during the consecration, Suger mentioned that the assembly took place between the Holy Martyr's altar and the Holy Savior (Suger 1992).[14] Thus, the Martyr's altar should be located at the choir center and the relics mausoleum at the east. The suppression of a second altar in the upper choir is essential, since it creates an even larger space than Jacobsen had initially suggested.

Jacobsen stated the singularity of the new choir's arrangement, and the possibility of using it in royal ceremonies without further questioning and no 12th-century source explaining the use of Dionysian liturgy has survived. Foley notes ten mentions of the Martyrs' altar or the surrounding space for the annual liturgy for the following century (Foley 1990, pp. 195–96). The upper choir was used only for the liturgical year's most solemn celebrations, such as Easter or Christmas, except for the St. Michael feast, where the altar was to be incensed (ibid., p. 196, n. 50). Surprisingly, the Ordinary does not explicitly mention a celebration at this altar for Saint-Denis' feast, except for the feast of the church's consecration (ibid., p. 196) The Ordinary's absence suggests that the Altar of the Martyrs, and the rest of the Upper Shrine, in general, were used for exceptional processions and celebrations. Moreover, as Jacobsen pointed out, this space's emptiness suggests important gatherings, such as taking the Oriflamme (Vexin's banner) or the coronation of the King of the Franks.

4. The Invention of the Vexin Banner and the Raising Ceremony

Suger reports the first mention of the Vexillum raising in his *Deeds of Louis VI* (Suger 1992, p. 128). The king reacted to the threat of invasion of the Kingdom uttered by Emperor Henry V (1086–1125) in 1124 by raising an army and uniting it under this banner.[15] The special relationship between the king and the holy martyrs is underlined. The ritual steps are briefly stated, and no information is given as to who was present during the event. The event's space was the high altar in the monks' choir, since the new sanctuary did not exist in 1124.

The second mention of the banner occurred in 1147 when Louis VII (1137–1180) prepared his departure to the East to participate in the Second Crusade. The spatial organization of the church of Saint-Denis had been modified. The banner's raising had logically to take place on the Holy Martyrs' altar, given the fact that the king was placing himself under the protection of the holy custodians of the

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[14] "[...] *inter sanctorum martirum sepulturas et sancti Salvatoris altare* [...]".

[15] Ibid, "Having learned of the plot from his close advisors, the lord king Louis bravely and boldly called up a levy which he did not await, summoned his nobles, and explained to them what was happening. Then he hurried to the blessed Dionysius, for common report and frequent experience had taught him that he was the particular patron and, after God, the foremost protector of the realm. Offering prayers and gifts, he begged him from the bottom of his heart to defend the kingdom, to keep safe his person, and to resist the enemy in his customary way. For the French have a special privilege from him: if another kingdom should dare invade theirs, the relics of that blessed and wonderful defender himself, together with those of his companions, are placed on the altar in order to defend the kingdom; and the king had this done with solemnity and devotion in his presence. He then took from the altar the standard belonging to the county of Vexin, which he held as a fief from the church, and gazed upon it. Taking it up as he had vowed, as if from his lord, so to speak, he rushed out against [...]"; "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."

Kingdom during this event. Odo of Deuil recounts this episode and gives us much more information about this ritual than Suger:

> While this in the sight of everyone, he requested from Saint-Denis the Oriflamme and the permission to depart (a ceremony that 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. (Odo of Deuil 1948, pp. 16–19)[16]

In the chevet, the king's court and important ecclesiastical dignitaries were gathered near the altar of martyrdom, awaiting the king's arrival. Then, the king had to pray to the banner to ask permission to leave the Kingdom. After that, the direct contact between Louis VII and the patron saint's relics touched the monarch's soul. Once these components of the rite were completed, the king could take the banner. While Suger's account focused on the relationship between Saint-Denis, his companions, and the royalty, Odo described the ritual stages and the cohort of high-ranking people who attended the event. The taking of the banner by Philip Augustus, as described by Rigord, certifies the location of the ceremony:

> It was an ancient custom of France's kings when they went to war, took a banner from the altar of Blessed Denis, and took it with them as a safeguard and placed on the battlefront. Often the enemies, frightened at sight and recognizing the banner, fled. Therefore, the very Christian king went to the feet of the holy Martyrs Denis, Rustic, and Eleutherus, humbly placing himself in prayer on the marble square, and commended his soul to God, to the Blessed Virgin Mary, to the holy martyrs, and all the saints. Finally, after praying, he broke into tears and devoutly received insignia from the hands of William, Archbishop of Rheims, his uncle, legate of the Apostolic See. Then, leaving to fight the enemies of the Cross of God, he took with his own hands, on the bodies of the saints, two stunning silken flags, and two large banners decorated with crosses and brocaded in gold, in memory of the holy martyrs and their protection. (Rigord 2006, pp. 113–14)

Unlike the monks' choir cluttered with stalls, royal tombs, and altars, the new sanctuary granted numerous gatherings in its western part. In addition to Charlemagne's right conferred that the Abbey fraudulently held to host the royal ceremonies, Suger did everything possible to create a space suitable for their smooth circulation. Let us suppose that this reception was easy to put in place for the ceremony of raising the banner that the abbot creates from scratch on his arrival at the head of the abbey. The consecration or at least a coronation was codified ceremonies of entirely different scope, the conduct of which was usually more common in cathedrals because of their status and, more pragmatically, the size of these buildings.

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[16] "*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.*"

5. Attempt to Reconstruct the 1180 Coronation Ceremony at Saint-Denis

The twelfth century's *sacre* and coronation ceremony's analysis poses a problem so typical for this lack of preserved sources. As a result, no certainty can be formulated concerning the detailed course of these ceremonies for the reigns before that of Louis IX (1226–1270), which corresponds to a flourishing written production of *ordines* (Jackson 1995, vol. 2). For the 12th century, the most likely current hypothesis is that it is a version of *Ratold's ordo* used for the coronations of Louis VI, Philip the Younger, and Louis VII (Jackson 1995, p. 172; Schramm 1936, pp. 117–20). This *ordo* is based on an English *ordo* dating from the 10th century (Jackson 1995, p. 168). The *Ratold ordo* was an essential source for realizing the French and Imperial coronation ceremonies of the 12th and 13th centuries, as evidenced by the number of copies of close relatives emanating from northern France and the Empire (ibid., pp. 168–200). Elisabeth Brown proposed to consider one of these versions, the BnF ms. lat. 14192, as a production emanating from the Capetian sphere, dating from the second quarter of the 12th century (Brown 1992, p. 38). This version would have been written on the occasion of the marriage of Louis VII with Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1137 because of the formula: "Franks, Burgundians and Aquitanians," replacing that of *Ratold's ordo*: "Saxons, Mercians, and Northumbrians" (ibid., p. 32). Brown also suggested to consider Suger as the designer of this reworking. If his hypothesis is plausible, although it cannot be affirmed, the text offers no other avenue explored than the mention of the three people constituting the Kingdom of the Franks.

In contrast to the French royal *ordines* of the 13th century, *Ratold's ordo* and its copies, including the lat. 14192 version, give very little information about the actual conduct of the ceremony itself. The text does indicate the entire oral aspect—that is, what is to be said or sung: prayers, hymns, antiphons, and oaths taken by the king—but the practical aspects of the ceremony are not included. Thus, it is impossible to know from this text whether the visibility was already an essential aspect of the 12th-century ceremony. This lack of clarity concerning the ritual's organization could be explained by the fact that any church had the exclusive right to host the coronation before the thirteenth century. If Reims acquired the right to administer the consecration and first coronation of the king from 1129 onwards, the multiple coronations until the reign of Louis VIII (1223) significantly reduced this privilege.[17] The royal ordines designed during the reign of Louis IX (1226–1270) were drafted, taking into account the spatial and liturgical organization of the cathedral of Reims only and, thus, could not be employed in any other church. The Holy Ampulla mentions that its abbot must have been brought in procession from the church of Saint-Rémi and the regalia from Saint-Denis (Le Goff 2001, pp. 300–2). In addition to the coronation objects required, the text also mentions places specific to the ceremony's accomplishment, such as the church of Saint-Denis, the chapel of Saint-Nicolas, or the episcopal palace (ibid., pp. 302, 308). On the contrary, *Ratold's ordo* could be used wherever the ritual took place.

Concerning the coronation of Philip Augustus at Saint-Denis, the chronicler Rigord recounted the event in his life of the king written between 1186 and 1208:

> The year 1181 of the Incarnation of the Lord, the day of the calendars of June, the very day Our Lord ascended to heaven carried on the clouds, King Philip, obeying the advice of a good man, whom no doubt was animated by the spirit of God, was crowned a second time in the church of Saint-Denis. At the same time was consecrated the venerable Queen Elisabeth, his wife, daughter of the illustrious Baudouin, Count of Hainaut, and niece of Philip the Great, Count of Flanders. According to custom, he had the honor of carrying the sword that day before the king, his master. However, while this solemnity was celebrated in the church of Blessed St. Denis, and the king with the queen his wife bent her knee at the foot of the high altar and humbly bowed her head to receive the nuptial blessing of the venerable Mistletoe, Archbishop of Sens, in the presence of a large number of bishops and barons,

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[17] On the anticipated association to the throne, see (Schramm 1936, pp. 97–110).

a memorable event took place, which we think it useful to recount in this book. The people of the neighboring towns, suburbs, villages, and villages had come in crowds full of joy to attend such a solemn ceremony and see the king and queen decorated with the tiara. As the eagerness of so many curious people caused disorder and tumult, a knight of the king's house, holding a wand in his hand, threw it randomly through the crowd to calm the tumult; In that moment, having misjudged his blow, he broke at once three lamps hanging before the high altar on the heads of the bride and groom, and the oil they contained was poured over the foreheads of the king and queen, as a sign of the abundance of the gifts which the Holy Spirit was pouring on them from heaven; For we think that God worked this miracle to spread the glory and the name of the monarch far and wide, and to spread the fame of his name over the face of the earth, as Solomon seemed to have prophesied in his song of love, when he said: "Thy name is as oil that is poured out," which is to be understood in this way: The sound of your name and your glory and your wisdom shall be from sea to sea, and from the banks of the rivers to the ends of the earth, and kings shall bow their heads before it, and many nations shall be subject to it. It is easy to speculate from these and other such authorities that what happened to King Philip by God's command must be interpreted as we have done. (Rigord 2006, pp. 29–30)

Jerzy Pysiak analyzed this passage compared to the consecration of Philip Augustus in Reims on 1st November 1179 and emphasized the difference in Rigord's treatment of the narration of the two ceremonies (Pysiak 2002, pp. 1174–77). For the first, the chronicler emphasized, above all, the political character of the newly appointed king's consecration. With regard to the second, the ceremonial and its symbolic, even miraculous, character was meticulously detailed. For Rigord, the coronation at Saint-Denis is treated as the real consecration of the new king and the oil spilled accident compared to the Holy Spirit's miraculous action at the baptism of Clovis.[18] This text is especially important, since it gives some information about the ceremony's organization and its location. The first information that Rigord gives concerns the nature of the ceremonial: the second coronation of the king and the queen's consecration. The chronicler also provides information on the officiant, Guy the first of Noyers, Archbishop of Sens (1176–1193), and the bearer of the sword that the king girdled, his father-in-law Baudouin Count of Hainaut.[19] The other personalities present at this event are not mentioned by Rigord, who only underlines the multitude of people present, whether they are members of the elite or ordinary people.

Concerning the ceremony's location, Rigord gives only the blessing of the new couple that took place on the church's main altar, located at the eastern end of the monks' choir (Jacobsen 2002, p. 196; Wyss 1996, p. 86). The chronicler says nothing about the rest of the ceremony's location, including the throne's location. The blessing was considered the most sacred action, but the king taking his place on his throne adorned with his royal insignia was crucial in the ceremony. It showed the monarchical power in all its splendor. This performance's symbolism was so important that it alone embodied the monarchy's image for centuries, as the various illuminated portraits of the Carolingian rulers and the royal seals has evidenced (Poilpré 2011, pp. 326–35; Bedos-Rezak 1986, pp. 95–103). The visibility of this staging was essential and represented; therefore, the first information given by the *ordo of Reims* in 1230.[20] The second sentence of this text says: "The first step is to prepare a throne a little high, like a platform, adjacent to the choir of the church but outside, between the two parts of the choir, on which one goes up by steps and where the peers of the Kingdom and even others can stand with the king if

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[18] On the legend of Clovis, see (Aimoin of Fleury 1869, p. 40).
[19] The mention of the Count of Flanders is an anachronism on the part of the chronicler, since Baudouin became Count of Flanders in 1191.
[20] This text is not, strictly speaking, an *ordo* but a modus that gives all the instructions for organizing the ceremony. The liturgical texts declaimed during the ritual do not appear in it; see (Jackson 1995, pp. 292–305).

necessary" (Le Goff 2001, p. 300). The throne had to be visible to all and arranged in a place that could accommodate a certain crowd nearby.

At Saint-Denis, the heightening of the space by several meters offers a clear view from the lower choir. Suger underlines this last characteristic in his account of the consecration:

> For now, we were primarily concerned about the translation of our lords, the most Holy Martyrs, and other saints who were scattered throughout the church and venerated in separate chapels. We were also devoutly motivated to beautify their most sacred reliquaries, particularly those of the lords. So we selected a site and moved them where those approaching might gaze upon them in a more impressive and visible way, and we strove with the help of God to produce a splendid resting place by employing the elegant craftsmanship of goldsmiths and an abundance of gold and precious gems. (Suger 2018, pp. 48–49)

As soon as the entry of the church, the upper choir is visible from all sides. In addition to being visible, the throne had to be located in a space that would allow a gathering of lay people to gather around the monarch. Within the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis, the newly raised choir is the only space that fulfills all the characteristics required to accommodate the throne. Thus, in this same place, the throne was found almost four centuries later for the consecration of Catherine de Medici (1547–1559). The drawing made by Antoine Caron (1521–1599), the official painter of the court, allows us to understand how the interior space of the church of Saint-Denis was arranged for the ceremony (Figure 2). Rituals took place at the morning altar present at the western end of the monks' choir, while the throne is visible in the upper choir where a broad public is gathered above the high altar visible at the bottom of the structure.

Figure 2. Antoine Caron, *Coronation of Catherine de Medici in the Basilica of Saint-Denis*, drawing in the series executed for "l'Histoire Françoyse de nostre Temps", manuscript commissioned by Nicolas Houel, apothecary, and given to Catherine de Medici, RF29752. 15-recto, Paris, Musée du Louvre, D.A.G, © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) by Michel Urtado.

6. Conclusions: "Long Live the Queen"

Four hundred years after Pepin the Short and his heirs' coronation, the steps taken by Suger bore fruit, and Saint-Denis hosted the crowning ceremony of a King of the Franks. However, this ceremony was the first and last crowning of a king in this new setting wanted by the illustrious abbot. With papacy's support and the strengthening of the legend of the Sainte-Ampoule, Reims claimed more than ever its single right to crown the King of France in the 13th century. The abandonment of the multiple

coronations' tradition after Philip Augustus also played a role in Reims' supremacy. The Capetian kings no longer had to fight for their legitimacy, as Louis VIII descended as much from the Capetian dynasty through his father as from the Carolingian dynasty through his mother (Spiegel 1971, pp. 147–48).

Moreover, the Kingdom's stability and the Capetian king's authority were no longer to be consolidated thanks to the victorious actions of Philip Augustus throughout his reign. The Dionysian clergy took part in the coronation in Reims as the regalia's legatee, as confirmed by the ordines from the 13th century onwards. However, the Abbey of Saint-Denis had not said its last word, and if the kings were to be consecrated exclusively in Reims because of the Sainte-Ampoule, the queens were anointed with ordinary holy oil. The clergy of Reims thus failed to impose the crowning of the queen in her cathedral. Several queens were crowned at Sens, then at the Sainte-Chapelle, and finally, the ceremony took place at Saint-Denis from Anne of Brittany (1491–1498) to Catherine of Medici (1547–1559). If kings' coronations were politically more vital because they designated the moment when God gave the grace to reign to one man, the queens' coronations were just as sumptuous. Suger certainly should not have expected this reversal. Ironically, after the queens were forbidden to be buried in Saint-Denis during the thirteenth century, they got their revenge by being consecrated and crowned there.

More than a simple case study, this analysis makes it possible to reconsider the practice of coronation in France before the 13th century and propose a new approach to the analysis of the coronation ceremony reflecting on multiple coronations' existence. The primacy of Reims in the study of the *sacre* had cast a shadow over Suger's project for the Abbey of Saint-Denis. While the illustrious Abbot's claims to royalty had already been noted by research, no study had yet proposed an analysis of the reconstruction project in the light of this ceremony. It shows that taking into account the ritual as a living image makes it possible to approach this already eminently treated theme with a new look by reflecting on the spatial context in which it takes place and its visibility. Finally, the analysis of this visual space taken as a whole—the architecture, its decoration, and the royal ceremonials—also allowed us to redefine the identity of French royalty in the 12th century. Suger acted for the good of his Abbey and wanted to enhance his status at all costs, but he was also a statesman. The abbot participated in asserting a sacred royalty for the Capetians by placing them in the Old Testament kings and earlier dynasties that ruled the Frankish Kingdom. Although historically fictitious, this affiliation was conveyed through visual vehicles of which the coronation ceremony and the coronation ceremony were central parts.

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