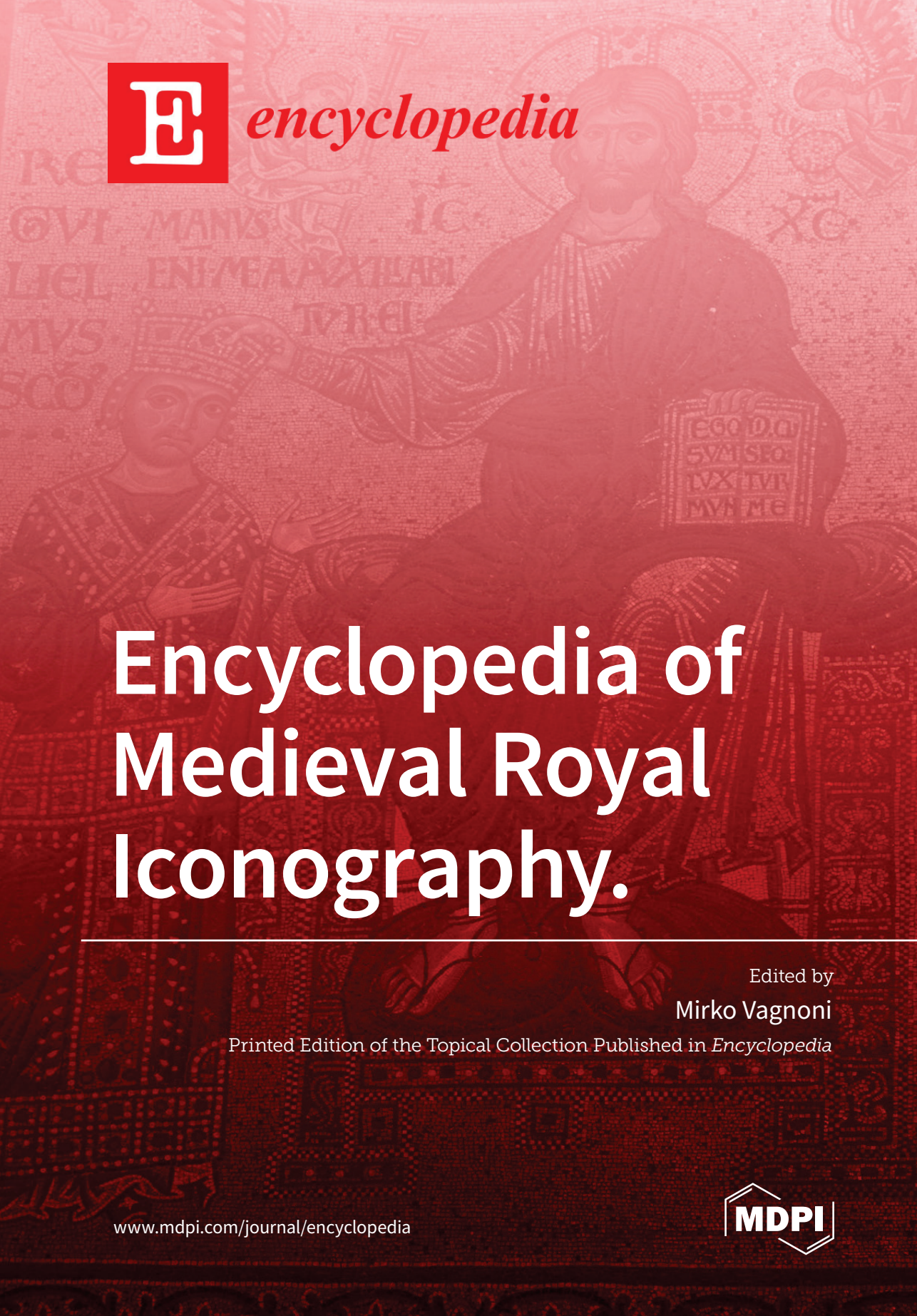

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Encyclopedia of Medieval Royal Iconography.

Edited by

Mirko Vagnoni

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Editor

Mirko Vagnoni

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Editor
Mirko Vagnoni
Department of History,
Human Sciences and Education,
University of Sassari,
Sassari, Italy

Editorial Office
MDPI
St. Alban-Anlage 66
4052 Basel, Switzerland

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Contents

About the Editor

Mirko Vagnoni

Mirko Vagnoni (P.D. Dr.) is Adjunct Professor of Medieval Art History at the University of Sassari (AY 2021/2022). He studied at the Universities of Siena (2004) and Florence (2008), has been researcher at Universities and Institutes of research in several countries, and, recently, he obtained the Italian National Qualification as Associate Professor in Art History (2020). His research mainly focuses on the staging of power in the Kingdom of Sicily between the 12th and 14th centuries, with a particular attention toward royal iconography and sacrality and the relationship between politics and religion.

Preface to "Encyclopedia of Medieval Royal Iconography"

Political and psychoanalytic research has underlined that leadership, and the collective projects connected with it, must have material expression in society in order to have a durable effect. In other words, in order to create a relationship between himself and his followers and to encourage the latter to carry out his political projects, a leader needs to produce a tangible trace (a real presence) in which the group can materialize its acceptance of his power. From a semiotic, anthropological, historical, and art-historical point of view, it has been underlined that the representations (images/portraits) of the holder of power are a perfect example of the material symbols that influence and reinforce the approval of the leader and the group's acceptance of his leadership. In summary, the leader's image is one of the tools of governance thanks to which he is able to mark out space, legitimize his power, and emotionally strengthen the bond that ties himself to the group by creating a specific identity while also increasing the subjects' acceptance of his figure. This is one of the reasons why dictators tend to circulate their portraits in society, and in the same way, it is why, when their regimes fall, the supporters of the new political order promptly destroy these same images.

In light of these considerations, royal self-representations can be considered important sources for historical and art-historical studies focused on the Middle Ages. Starting from Percy Ernst Schramm's pioneering works on the so-called Staatssymbolik inaugurated at the beginning of the 20th century, these images have been used by numerous scholars as precious evidence in different types of research. Through analyses based on iconographic or functional readings that take into consideration their context of production and use or that investigate them as parts of more general communicative strategies, royal self-representations can be considered useful artifacts for studying political ideologies, mentalities, identities, royal kingship and sacrality, ceremonial robes and symbols of power, processes of cultural transfers, artistic connections, strategies of political communications, and government practices.

For these reasons, a work that gathers, in the most comprehensive way possible, information on royal images is desirable in order to develop a useful tool for future studies on the previously listed topics. Moreover, a work set up in this way will also allow researchers to compare choices and solutions adopted in different kingdoms and by different rulers on matters of royal iconography, and this will lead to a better comprehension of royal images and their functions in medieval society. With these aims, the "Encyclopedia of Medieval Royal Iconography" is born. This work sets out to be the first extensive collection of data on royal iconography covering the Middles Ages (476–1492). In particular, it aims to collect entries about the most important rulers or dynasties that reigned during this period, from the Iberian Peninsula to Levant and from the Scandinavian Peninsula to the Mediterranean Sea. Specifically, "Encyclopedia of Medieval Royal Iconography" focuses on royal official images (namely, those representations that were commissioned at the behest of the ruler) and analyses them not only from an iconographic (namely, 'static') point of view but also as parts of a more general political communicative strategy (namely, in a 'dynamic' way) in order to better clarify their social functions and, consequently, their iconographic meanings.

Every text provides a historical introduction, explains why a specific ruler or dynasty is considered particularly important from an iconographic point of view, analyses his/its main representations, and, in the conclusions, tries to answer the following questions:

- Did the rulers make use of royal images? Was it them, some members of their court, or other subjects that commissioned them?
- Which medium did the rulers preferably use for their images (seals, coins, manuscripts, mosaics, frescoes, paintings, sculptures)?
- In which contexts did the rulers preferably place their images (in religious places such as churches or monasteries or in lay places such as palaces, squares, or city-gates)?
- What visibility did these images have? Who were they addressed to?
- What iconographic themes did these images use?
- In what way did the royal images render symbols of power, attires, and physical appearances of the ruler? Did they follow specific patterns or create new iconographies?
- Which functions did royal images play in their society?

Thanks to this approach, "Encyclopedia of Medieval Royal Iconography" will be able to offer a substantial overview on matter of medieval regal iconography, and it will be a useful tool for scholars who use royal images for their research.

Florence, 26 May 2022

Mirko Vagnoni

Editor

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Entry

Alphonse II of Aragon (1164–1196)

Marta Serrano-Coll

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

Abstract: Alphonse II King of Aragon (1164–1196). He was the first king of the Crown of Aragon and son of the Queen Petronila of Aragon (1157–1164) and the count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer IV (1137–1162). Aware of the new political reality that he embodied as King of Aragon and Count of Barcelona, Alphonse II made significant changes to his iconography. Among the most important of these is the binomial that he incorporated to his pendent seals; that is, a portrayal of Alphonse enthroned as king on the obverse and Alphonse as count and mounted on a horse on the reverse. As a known bibliophile and as a result of his desire to reorganise his chancellery following the union of various political entities, he ordered the compilation of the *Liber Feudorum Maior*, the folios of which demonstrate his *potestas regia* through their lavish iconography. He was no less innovative in his coinage, on which he included, for the first time, the image of his head wearing the crown.

Keywords: royal images; royal iconography; kings of Aragon; Crown of Aragon; Alphonse II of Aragon

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1. The Creation of the So-Called Crown of Aragon

Ramon Berenguer IV, Count of Barcelona and Prince of Aragon, died on 6 August 1162. He had been the de facto ruler of the kingdom following the agreement signed with King Ramiro II on 11 August 1137, which led to his marriage to Princess Petronila.

In 1164, Petronila made a de jure donation of the kingdom of Aragon (of which there is a miniature in the *Liber Feudorum Maior*) to her first son in an event of paramount importance for the kingdom of Aragon and for the county of Barcelona insofar as it united both political entities in a confederate system under the rule of the same sovereign, Alphonse II, nicknamed the Chaste or, because of his predilection for the arts, the Troubadour. For the first time, the count was also king, a legal combination that was resolved by giving pre-eminence to the royal title. Well aware of the relevance and significance of his person as the latest link in the royal chain, and in order to make visible the continuity of the *regia stirps* that he represented, he revived the name and, to great effect, the *signum regis* used by Alphonse I, the last and legendary de facto king of Aragon (about Alphonse II, see: [1–6]).

2. Appearance and Cultural Interests

After a minority of eleven years, the young king, whom the documents define as thoughtful and meticulous, reached the age of majority. At the age of 16 he was involved in two important ceremonies: his investiture as a knight and his marriage, the latter a matter of the first order for the interests of the dynasty. Although engaged to the Portuguese *Infanta* Mafalda, on 18 January 1174 he married the *Infanta* Sancha, sister and aunt of the kings of Leon and Castile respectively. Soon, the best Occitan and Catalan troubadours became part of life at court, where they were magnificently welcomed and influenced the king's education. The fragments of songs and poems preserved, written by supporters and opponents of the king, present him as a man whose behaviour does not merit the nickname of chaste, with the only reason for such a title perhaps being that he was not known to have had any bastard children. Nevertheless, he did put his amorous skills into practice and recorded them in manuscripts that show a simple and clear style, typical of the *trobar leu* [7].

These compositions also reveal some of the physical features of the king, who is described as tall and slender and, by his opponents, as lazy, cowardly, impolite and disloyal or, by his supporters, as courteous, noble, benign, liberal and faithful.

He promoted various initiatives, many of them of a religious nature. He encouraged the military orders, supported the veneration of various saints (such as Saint Valerius and Saint Raymond), and commissioned buildings, such as the imposing cathedral of Tarragona and the Carthusian monastery of Scala Dei, the first of this order to be established in the Iberian Peninsula. He was buried in the monastery of Santa Maria de Poblet (Tarragona), where one of his sons was a monk and a member of the Cistercian Order, which Alphonse protected so well, turning the monastery into the repository of his body and his memory, and to which he bequeathed, among other possessions, his royal crown.

3. Iconography on Coins and Seals

3.1. Coins: Survival and Innovation

Alphonse II was the first to hold the title of King of Aragon and Count of Barcelona in his own right and began by quickly issuing low-grade coins that continued to feature the diademed profile bust/processional cross type. The fact that his dominion extended over different territories meant that his coinage diverged and increased at the same time as his territories expanded: he minted coins in Barcelona, Aragon and Provence, where he had defeated the Counts of Toulouse (Figure 1).

Figure 1. *Dineros* of Alphonse II. Aragon and Provence. Obverse. Published by Crusafont, *Acuñaciones de la Corona Catalano-Aragonesa y de los reinos de Aragón y Navarra*, Vico: Madrid, Spain, 1992, p. 211, nums. 141 and 139.

In 1186, he introduced a new type at the Marseilles mint for circulation in Provence known as the royal *diner*, the obverse of which showed a bust of the king in profile wearing, for the first time, a splendid crown. The innovation may be due to the fact that he wanted to mint his own iconography to replace the mitre, the only symbol on the obverse of the coin until then shared by the Count of Provence and the Archbishop of Arles: traditionally, the sovereign of Provence was depicted with the obverse legend REX ARAGONE, which surrounded the episcopal symbol of the mitre. On the reverse, a large cross was surrounded by PRO-VI-NC-IA [8]. This type, which remained unchanged until James I, was the profile bust, which was well known to Alphonse II as it had been used by him and his predecessors in the territories of kingdom, and was now supplemented with a crown, the insignia par excellence of the royal title of Aragon. Perhaps the choice was also due to his relations with his counterparts in Castile and Leon, who minted coins of the same type, perhaps having imported the custom from England [9].

Thus, both in Aragon and Provence, Alphonse is frequently seen with the type of bust in profile on the left, although in Aragon he wore a diadem and headdress with a topknot, as did Peter I and Alphonse I in some of their pieces [10] (and, for more on the hairstyle, see [11]), whereas in Provence he wore a crown richly decorated with precious stones and large pearls. Their reverses maintained the traditional regional types: in Aragon, a

processional cross, and in the territories belonging to the Count of Barcelona, a large cross across the surface.

3.2. New Pendant Seal with Dual Entitlement

Alphonse II introduced the pendant seal with the king enthroned on the obverse and in equestrian pose on the reverse (Figure 2), a type that was to endure until Alphonse V (1416–1458), if we do not count the seal of Peter II in which the iconographies are inverted, although he absence of this typology with the names of Ferdinand I or Johan II does not mean that they did not issue them. On the obverse, framed by + SIGILLVM ILDEFONSI REGIS ARA...NENSIS, the king, on a throne and seated on one cushion and with his feet on another cushion, wears a short tunic covered by a cloak tied around his right shoulder, which is uncovered. He wears a crown with three fleurons, a lily on his left and a sword raised in his right hand. On the reverse, the equestrian image is surrounded by the lettering COMITIS BARCHINONENSIS MARCHIONIS ...VINCIE [12] and is similar to that of his father Ramon Berenguer IV, although he is now shown wearing lambrequins.

Figure 2. Wax seal of Alphonse II (no date). Obverse and reverse. Published by *Reyes de Aragón*; Centellas R. (coord.), Ed., p. 69.

The seal's peculiarity with respect to those of the rest of the Peninsula is that its two faces offer different iconographies. It was a type already used by foreign kings, who had devised it to reflect their possession of more than one title, a reality personified by Alphonse II, king and count at the same time. William the Conqueror had used such a strategy in 1069 in order to demonstrate his own double title: on one side he was shown equestrian as Duke of Normandy and vassal of the King of France, and on the other he was shown on the throne as King of England [13]. Although Alphonse II may have benefitted from another almost contemporary and closer model with the same iconography, namely that of Louis VII the Younger (little used: see Dalas, M. Les sceaux royaux et princiers. Étude iconographique. In [13], pp. 49–337, n. 67, p. 147), the iconographic concomitances between the English and the Aragonese models suggest the influence of the former, which would be reinforced by the links between the Plantagenets and the Aragonese in the territories of southern France [14].

4. Iconography in Legal Documents

4.1. Alphonse II's Confirmation of Privileges

An early drawing (Figure 3) depicts Alphonse's confirmation of privileges in April 1174, whereby he agreed to ratify those granted by his predecessors to the cathedrals of Huesca and Jaca, and to donate to Bishop Esteban and the diocese of Huesca the tithe of the coinage and the royal revenues (Archivo Diocesano, Huesca, 2–16) [15]. It is the first and only portrait of a king of Aragon in Romanesque miniature, and it is intended to represent the sovereign and thus validate the document it illustrates, which explains why he points to the text with his right hand [16]. Although novel in the Crown of Aragon, it is not the first occurrence in the Iberian Peninsula, as is illustrated, for example, by one of the folios of the *Libro de los Testamentos*, preserved in Cabildo de la Catedral Metropolitana, Oviedo,

also known as *Liber Testamentorum* (Details on the origin of this iconography in [11], pp. 110–111).

Figure 3. *Carta de confirmación de privilegios*, ACH. 2–16, Huesca, Archivo de la Catedral ©. Alphonse II. 1174. Published by Domínguez, J. *Miniatura*. In *Ars Hispaniae*, Plus Ultra: Madrid, Spain, 1958, fig. 6.

The drawing, in black ink, is clearly meant to bolster the sovereign's prestige because it is inserted at the beginning of the document in which it appears and in the position usually occupied by the chrismon, the traditional monogram of Christ that headed important documents in the medieval period [17]. His hair is tied back at the nape of his neck in a plait, which was common practice from the 12th century and into the 13th century, and he wears a visible crown topped with lilies, while in his left hand he holds a flower stem as if it were a sceptre. He is dressed in a smock and cloak and pointed boots, and sits on a cushion on a throne that resembles a fortress, with courses of masonry supported by arches in the manner of a portico and a backrest of a tower with three openings and crowned with fantastic heads and lilies.

4.2. Liber Feudorum Maior

The *Liber Feudorum Maior* (Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Barcelona. Canc. Reg. 01) was compiled in Barcelona as a result of the reorganisation of the palatine chancellery following the union of Barcelona and Aragon. It can be dated precisely because the identity of its main copyist, Ramón de Sitges, is known. From 1179 to 1192 and under the orders of Ramón de Caldes, he was responsible for 46 of the 80 folios that have survived [18,19]. A dating for the iconography is more difficult to specify, although most believe it to date to the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century.

This cartulary is one among many ambitious undertakings of the court of Alphonse II because it brings together the records relating to the territorial lordship of the kings of Aragon and counts of Barcelona, and demonstrates, in text and image, the *potestas regia*. Its miniatures allude to the textual content, most of which consists of documents that are tributes and agreements between Alphonse II or his predecessors and other kings in the Iberian Peninsula.

The hands of two artists can be seen, the principal one who worked on the book at the time of its creation and another from a different tradition and with a limited chromatic range. It is to the main artist that we owe the two splendid full-page miniatures, another 39 vignettes with scenes of homage, and illuminations of great interest that capture a greater narrative of ceremonial and courtly intention [20–22].

4.2.1. The Illustrations of the Early Master

Repetitive and less skilled, this craftsman illuminated several folios plus seven other parchments without text that form part of the group discovered by the director of the Archive of the Crown of Aragon a few years ago and which only offer ornamentation, thus showing that his work predates that of the amanuensis. He drew scenes in which the participants were either agreeing on a pact or marking a situation of vassalage.

Fol. 19r (Figure 4) shows two enthroned sovereigns with their insignia of power and holding hands; they are Alphonse II of Aragon and Alphonse VIII of Castile, who agreed to provide each other with mutual assistance by signing the Treaty of Saragossa in 1170 (see [20], p. 353). The similarities between the two figures, who are both enthroned and dressed in identical clothing, makes it difficult to identify them, although the most significant thing is their common gesture, as they shake hands in the centre of the picture as a sign of the pact they have just signed. Similar representations are not found in other codices of the period, nor in later ones (details in [11], pp. 125–129).

Figure 4. *Liber Feudorum Maior*. Canc. Reg. 1, Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó ©. Fol. 19r. Alphonse II and Alphonse VIII of Castilla. End of the XII Century. Published by Magkanas et alii, *Estudio de las miniaturas y del texto del Liber Feudorum Maior*. Universitat de Barcelona: Barcelona, Spain, 2018, fig. 2.

4.2.2. The Illustrations of the Later Master

This second craftsman depicts the palatine atmosphere and reflects scenes of a narrative level and dynamism unparalleled in Romanesque art in the Iberian Peninsula. One of the most spectacular is in fol. 1r (Figure 5), where the dean of Barcelona, Ramon de Caldes, reads some documents to the king in front of six courtiers. They are represented against the background of a series of ailes that vary in colour and descend in height from the central one, and they are beneath a harmonious architectural framework dotted with towers, canopies and battlements: it is, perhaps, a room of the palace adjoining the wall [23]. The bearded Alphonse II, with his hair tied back at the nape of his neck, wears a white smock that peeps out from beneath his elaborate clothing, which is studded with stones at the ends and in the centre of the diamond-shaped lattice. The cloak is draped over the left shoulder, decorated with a succession of triple black stippling, also present on the tassels. He wears a crown, decorated with gemstones, a rod of justice without a finial, and sits on a seat carved at the base with four registers with a succession of small arches and complemented by a footstool and two cushions. His gesture is one of accepting the written

document shown to him by Ramon de Caldes (according to the codification of [24]), which is then deposited on the piece of furniture located between them.

Figure 5. *Liber Feudorum Maior*, Canc. Reg. 1, Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó ©. Fols. 1r and 1st new. Alphonse II and Alphonse II with Sancha? End of the XII Century. Published by Magkanas et alii, *Estudio*, fig. 1 and *Barcelonne-Carvassonne: Destins croisés de deux comtés (IX-XIII siècles)*. Institut Français: Barcelona, Spain, 1997.

Alphonse II is also depicted in other folios, such as 13v, which illustrates his donation of the castle of Cetina to the Knights Hospitallers, or that of 82v, where the king, with his insignia and rich clothing, receives the homage of the nobles of Perpignan in the palace in a beautiful vaulted room crowned by turrets. Some believe that it is an authentic portrait of the sovereign [25], but this must be ruled out as the figure actually shows traces of the "channel style" that is constant in the illustrations by the same artist. We should remember that Channel style had focuses in Corbie, Saint Armand, Marchiennes and Anchin, which reached and became established in various centers in the Iberian Peninsula. An example of this acceptance in Catalonia is the *Viga de la Pasión* (Mueu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, 15833: see [26]).

It has been proposed that it is Alphonse II who is depicted on the first new folio, exceptional for its circular shape (Figure 5). The circular frame suggests the painting of domes that could have housed royal ceremonials [27], although other possibilities cannot be overlooked, such as the transposition of the iconography of the Hispanic beatus of the Vision of the Lamb, a very important theme of worship throughout the Middle Ages, or that of the profanely decorated gemellions or washbasins, so common in palatial settings in the 13th century, including in the Crown of Aragon.

There are various hypotheses as to the identity of the figures, the most widely accepted being that they are Alphonse II and his wife Sancha [28] (details in [11], p. 132). Both are seated on seats on steps of varying colours. The room, gilded and vaulted, is divided by a double arch that separates the space for the two protagonists. Their hands convey a lively conversation. Alphonse II wears a beautiful crown, wields a slender sceptre and wears, over a red smock that peeps out from under the wide sleeves of his clothes, a beautiful golden cloth with crescents and stars and pearly bands around the edges. On his shoulders is a beautiful blue mantle decorated with white trim and groups of three pearls. The radial arrangement of the figures accompanying them and conversing with each other, paired with the carmine background of the scene decorated with series of three small dots, makes for a beautiful composition. A recent hypothesis, unpublished and very well argued, suggests that it could be Alphonse II and his first-born son, the future Pedro II [29].

4.3. Liber Feudorum Ceritaniae

The *Liber Feudorum Ceritaniae* (Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Baracelona. Canc. Reg. 04) may have been completed between 1200 and 1209 and, unlike the *Liber Feudorum Maior,* where the regalia are identical for kings and counts, here, only the kings wear a crown. The book is a compilation of the deeds and documents of the counties of Roussillon and Cerdanya, whose territories formed a single lordship between 1172 and 1276, and, similar to its Barcelona equivalent, it depicts scenes of vassalage, although with notable differences (see [11], p. 134).

In addition to the analogies with the *Life and Miracles of St. Edmund*, from around 1139 (Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 736. For more on its iconography, see [30], there are few differences between the depictions of counts and kings, both of whom appear enthroned in a castle-like room with ashlars crowned by towers and battlements. Nevertheless, the artist does emphasise the difference between the two ranks by means of insignia and clothing; for example, on fol. 62r, Alphonse II (Figure 6) is depicted with a visible crown, a precious mantle knotted over his shoulder and rich clothing, while on another folio, a letter that he signs only as count, he is depicted with his head uncovered and in simpler attire. In both cases he stands to the left of the composition and solemnly receives the group of vassals who approach him and hold out their hands for the ceremony of the *immixtio manuum*. In the picture where he appears as king, he wears short clothes decorated with registers of lines and a succession of ornate circles on the inside that contrast with the extreme simplicity of his subjects' attire. He is covered by a red cloak knotted over his right shoulder, leaving his right side free. His crown stands out for its profuse decoration on the rim and finials, hinting at ruby cabochons and incisions, very similar to that on the coin he minted in Provence.

Figure 6. *Liber Feudorum Ceritaniae*, Canc. Reg. 4, Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó ©. Fols. 62r and unknown. Alphonse as king of Aragon and as count of Barcelona. Published by *Catalunya medieval*, pp. 203 and 100.

5. Images after His Reign

Other images of Alphonse II can be found throughout the Middle Ages in the Crown of Aragon, such as in the copies of the *Fuero Latino de Teruel*, from the mid-13th century and preserved in Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, ms. 690, D-44 and Archivo Municipal, Teruel: see [11], pp. 135–137), which show images of the king as an author; some of the folios of the *Usatges i constitucions de Catalunya* from the Arxiu Municipal de la Paeria, in Lleida (ms. 1345) [31,32], dated to the 1320s, on whose fol. 25r the king presides over the Courts of Peace and Truce, or folio 75r, in one of whose initials he appears as author at the

approval of the Courts of Monzón. He also appears in the *Primer Llibre Verd*, from around 1333–1343 (Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat, Barcelona, L.8) (see [23], p. 73, and [33]), whose fol. 88r shows his bust with formal French characteristics; in the *Tercer Llibre Verd*, from around 1342–1348 (Riera puts it back to 1343, see [34]), where the participation of Ferrer Bassa and his workshop or collaborators is evident [35–38], and on folio 49v which features an extraordinary scene of homage; in the *Llibre de privilegis de Cervera* (Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat, Cervera) which was decorated around 1360 and whose first numbered folio presents Alphonse II and James I as the promulgators of the laws they head [39]; and the well-known *Rotlle genealògic de Poblet*, before 1409, one of whose portrait miniatures features Alphonse II, the first offspring to emerge from the double portrait representing his primogenitors, Ramon Berenguer IV and Petronila (study of its illuminations in [40,41]). Of particular note in the field of sculpture is his recumbent (now restored) in the monastery of Poblet, commissioned around 1370 at the behest of Pedro IV. In reality, it was originally sculpted for the tomb of James I [42], which shows the scant value that was given to this type of portrait figure at the time, at least in the Crown of Aragon.

6. Conclusions

Alphonse II, aware of the reality he embodied in the same person as both the King of Aragon and the Count of Barcelona, initiated important changes in the way he was represented. Among the most significant, and linked to his dual status, he incorporated for the first time the binomial on his two-faced stamps that would be accepted by all his successors; that is, on the obverse he was the enthroned king, and on the reverse he was an equestrian figure, albeit with the horse concealed. As a result of his desire to reorganise his chancellery, he ordered the illustration of the exceptional *Liber Feudorum Maior*, whose folios demonstrate his *potestas regia*. He was no less innovative in his coinage, where he included the crown on his head for the first time, a measure that highlights the seeming lack of importance given to symbols of sovereignty in the kingdom of Aragon, at least until then. His wife, Sancha, also had an impact in terms of artistic patronage and royal iconography by founding the monastery of Sigena, which was to become a pantheon, and by preserving a possible bifacial wreath inspired by characteristic male models, thus expressing her relationship with power, a practice relatively frequent elsewhere in Europe but which was exceptional in the Iberian Peninsula.

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Entry

Ferdinand II of Aragon (1479–1516)

Marta Serrano-Coll

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

Abstract: Ferdinand II king of Aragon (1479–1516). He was the fourth king of the Trastámara dynasty, which had first come to power after the Compromise of Caspe, reached after Martin I died with no living descendants in 1410. Although in terms of artistic patronage Ferdinand II was not as active as his wife Elisabeth I, he was still aware that the wise use of artistic commissions in reinforcing ideas and concepts favourable to the institution of the monarchy. He is a highly important figure in the history of Spain because, along with Elisabeth, he was one of the Catholic Monarchs and thus represents a new conception of power based on their joint governance, a fact that is reflected in the iconography found in his artistic commissions across all genres. All of the images are evidence of how King Ferdinand, at the end of the Middle Ages, wanted to be recognised by his subjects, who also used his image for legitimising and propagandistic purposes. Nobody else in the history of the Hispanic kingdoms had their image represented so many times and on such diverse occasions as did the Catholic Monarchs.

Keywords: royal images; royal iconography; kings of Aragon; crown of Aragon; Fernando II of Aragon

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1. Introduction to the Reign of Ferdinand II

Ferdinand II was not destined to be king, he was born after the second marriage of Johan II of Aragon (1458–1479) to Juana Enriquez, and was the king's second son. The crown should have gone to Charles, Prince of Viana and son of Blanche of Navarra. However, the clashes and hostilities convulsing the kingdom meant that the Aragonese Cortes of 1461 decided that the second son should succeed to the throne. The climate remained convulsive until the death of Johan II, when Ferdinand was unanimously accepted. All of his subjects, including the Catalans, pinned their hopes on him.

On 5 March 1469 Elisabeth, who had been proclaimed heir to the crown of Castile in the Treaty of Toros de Guisando, signed the Capitulations of Cervera, which meant she entered into a marriage agreement with the heir of Aragon, Ferdinand. Together and as equals their reign was to be one of the most important in the history of Spain and would mark the future of the peninsular kingdoms. Ferdinand's concern for the defence of Christianity was internationally recognised; he was commemorated as "Ferdinand, the Catholic King, propagator of the Christian empire", in the inscription accompanying his wreathed portrayal in the Vatican *stanzas* painted by the famous Rafael.

Under the Catholic Monarchs Spanish national unity was still *de facto* rather than *de jure*; nevertheless, their reign was central to the history of Spain and the creation of the modern nation (on just the subject of his kingdom, see [1–6]). The death of Ferdinand II ushered in a new era in the history of the kingdom of Aragon with the accession of Charles I of Spain and V of Germany, a member of the Habsburg dynasty who assumed the government of Castile, Navarre and Aragon and came to personify one of the most powerful kingdoms in modern times.

2. Character, Appearance and Artistic Patronage

We do not have in-depth knowledge of the king's character and appearance despite the information provided by chroniclers and travellers who alluded to him. Perhaps Hernando del Pulgar's physical description is the most accurate: "he was a man of medium height, well-proportioned in his limbs, in the features of his well-composed face, his eyes smiling, his hair tight and smooth [...]. His speech was even, neither hurried nor too slow. He was of good understanding and very temperate in eating and drinking, and in the movements of his person [...] neither anger nor pleasure altered him [...]. He was a great hunter of birds, and a man of good effort and a hard worker in war [...]. And he had a singular grace that anyone who spoke with him immediately esteemed him and wished to serve him [...]" [7].

He was seduced by pieces of jewellery, especially if they had diamonds and rubies. Some of these pieces were made by famous silversmiths, the records showing that there were as many as eight in his service, one of whom was Jewish [8]. He enjoyed showing off his jewellery and on one occasion he even survived an attack in Barcelona on 7 December 1492 because the width of his necklace prevented the knife of his would-be assassin, Joan de Canyamàs, from penetrating deep enough to kill him. The episode was recorded in the margin of two pages of the *Dietari del Consell de la Ciutat de Barcelona* (Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat, Barcelona. Ms. A-359), perhaps by the scribe Marc Bosquets, who details the event and the punishment suffered by the attacker [9] (authorship proposed by [10]; analysis of drawings in [11]). It is surprising to learn that he was illiterate, although as a Renaissance prince he did much to promote culture, as did his wife Elisabeth. It is said that he inspired Machiavelli's work "The Prince" (among others, [12]).

Both Ferdinand and Elisabeth exploited the royal image and increased its prestige through court ceremonials, panegyrics, and iconography, for which they used novel, rich and varied artistic forms which were open to Renaissance trends, although without excluding the late Gothic, Islamic and *Mudejar* styles, which persisted in architecture, objects and everyday settings. Their image proliferated in various media, accompanied by extensive inscriptions, heraldry, and the use of devices such as the yoke and arrows to allude to the names of the monarchs, and the Gordian knot, related to the motto of *tanto monta* that summed up the equality between them as heads of government. Ferdinand II was aware that art was the most visible sign of his power and he always commissioned works in conjunction with his wife, to the extent that once he was widowed, he continued with the works they had planned or begun. He should be considered one of the great patrons of the Hispanic Middle Ages, and although he was served by artists of lesser status than those who worked for his wife, one can still find renowned names such as the painters Tomás Giner, Miguel Ximénez and Hernando del Rincón, the silversmith Jaume Aymerich, the miniaturist Alonso Ximènez and the sculptors Gil Morlanes and Domenico Fancelli (the following studies by Joaquín Yarza are essential reading [13–17]).

3. Elements of a Legal Nature: Coins and Seals

3.1. Coins

Fernando II continued with the previous coins types, although he also opened a new period that led to new types and iconography. The result of the new artistic experiences was the integration of his portrait into his dies, something unusual in the numismatic trajectory of the kings of Aragon.

Continuing the policy of his predecessors, he unified the values of the traditional coins in all his territories. He generalised the use of the *ducat* or *ducat d'or*, also called the *excelente* in the Valencian mint [18] (Figure 1). With a diversity of dies according to their denominations and places of issue, the hitherto consecrated profile of bust/shield contrasts with the introduction of the new typology F or F and Y crowned/shield and, above all, with the original representation of the busts facing each other/shield.

Figure 1. Coins of Fernando I. (**a**). *Ducat* of Valencia, with F, obverse; (**b**). *Ducat* of Valencia, with F and Y crowned, obverse and reverse; (**c**). *Doble ducat* or *Excelente* of Valencia, obverse and reverse. All from https://www.numisbids.com/n.php?p=sale&sid=359&cid=10127 (accessed on 20 October 2021); (**d**). *Doble ducat*, obverse and reverse. From https://www.numismaticodigital.com/noticia/5525/ultima-hora/hoy-seleccion-500-de-aureo&calico-en-barcelona.html (accessed on 20 October 2021); (**e**). *Doble castellano* or *dineral*, obverse. From https://aureocalico.bidinside.com/es/lot/2010/reyes-catlicos-sevilla-doble-castellano-/ (accessed on 20 October 2021).

The crowned initials, perhaps originating from the miniature [19], had precedents in Castile and Leon (see variants in [20]), although they can also be seen in the coinage of Johan II, father of Ferdinand, king consort of Navarra (in his *blancas* and *medias blancas* of made of copper and silver alloy. The Prince of Viana also minted *gruesos* with his crowned initial. See [21]). The iconography of the images facing each other: "with the face of us and of the most honourable queen our wife", ordered by Ferdinand in his commission to García Gomis, regent of the mint of Valencia in 1488 [22], also had more immediate precedents in Castile. It arose from the reform generated by the Ordinance of 1475, which established this gold coin and stipulated that it had to display the frontal busts of the kings, their names, and the titles of their kingdoms, while silver coins were introduced featuring the coat of arms of the yoke and arrows and the aforementioned crowned initials. For the first time, both monarchs were depicted together on the coinage of Seville, thus reflecting the new governmental model (on the monetary reforms of 1475 and 1497, which confirm the concept of two-headed government, see [23,24]). After Elisabeth's death in 1504, this coin underwent modifications; the effigy of the queen on the obverse and the arms of Castile and Leon on the reverse would disappear. The new coins would advertise Ferdinand's new status, with the Castilians referring to him disparagingly as *catalanote* and insisting that he was only king of Aragon. They would feature the traditional bust of the king on the obverse and a crowned lozenge with the arms of Aragon on the reverse [25]. It was a brief minting; with the death of Philip I, Ferdinand II regained control of Castile, meaning that his coins also returned to their previous imagery.

The *doble castellano* or *dineral*, which features the enthroned sovereigns on the obverse, was a new introduction in the Iberian Peninsula. Its iconography had been established in the Royal Decree of 1475 [26–28] and was new in the Hispanic territories. Undoubtedly, the collecting ancient coins and medals by the high dignitaries of the court led to knowledge of this typology, typical of Byzantine coinage until the 13th century, and which also reflected the political reality of the joint-government established by the two monarchs (details on the iconography on the coinage of Ferdinand II, also outside the peninsular kingdoms, see [11], pp. 19–32).

3.2. Seals

Ferdinand II continued to use certain earlier typologies, as is evidenced by his main seals, which are almost identical to those of John II except for details and legends [29]. Leaving aside his minor seals, all of which are heraldic, his bulls are particularly interesting, these being two types of metallic stamp of varying dimensions. The first is the traditional one: equestrian/heraldic, although on the reverse the Saracen heads are face-on and crowned. The second has a new feature: the obverse depicts the equestrian sovereign and the reverse the enthroned queen (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Lead Bulls of the Catholic Monarchs. Undated. Published by [29], nums. 112, 131.

On the obverse, surrounded by + FERDINANDVS: DEI: GRACIA: REX: CASTELE: LEGIONIS : ARAGONVM : ET SEC, we can see the king mounted on his horse, which is facing either right or left and appears less light of foot than its predecessors because its protective coverings are more rigid. Perhaps this is because of the need to incorporate the complex arms of the Catholics Monarchs and would also explain why the rider's shield is unemblazoned. On the reverse, encircled by + HELISABET: DEI GRA: REGINA: CASTELLE: LEGIONIS ARAGONVM: ET SECILIE, the queen is enthroned and accompanied by a shield displaying an emblem identical to that of the rider's coat of arms. There are numerous pieces, and with slight variations; some of them betray elements of the new trends in monumental sculpture at the time, referred to by some as *plateresco* because of its connections with works in precious metals.

Although they invert the iconographic order (equestrian/ enthroned), the traditionalism of these pieces, in accordance with the models of the Crown of Aragon, should not deceive: these bulls represent the first appearance of the royal couple on the same seal, thus providing a visual depiction, as seen on their coins, of their joint governance.

4. Instrumental Character of Art

4.1. Government Images

It is striking to note the virtual absence of any images of Ferdinand showing him exercising his ministry, *in sede maiestatis*, a pose so common among his predecessors. During his reign, emblems became so prominent that they pervaded coins and seals, and came to occupy the place of the effigies of the sovereign who, alone or in the company of notaries, scribes or members of the court, in initials or in separate vignettes, attested or validated the document they headed. The transposition of numismatic and sigillographic models to miniatures continued to be common, as is illustrated on fol. 2r of the *Privilegios de la Santa Cruz de Valladolid*, from 1484 (preserved in the Biblioteca de la Universidad, Valladolid, doc. 9), which derives from the *excelentes* or *medio excelentes* (see [14], p. 454 and [11], pp. 43–44), to cite one example.

4.2. The King as Caput Milicie

King Ferdinand was the object of adulation by patrons, private individuals or members of secular and religious institutions. This can be seen, for example, in the most outstanding artistic project undertaken by Cardinal Mendoza, namely, the lower stalls of Toledo Cathedral. In this work, the cardinal exalted Ferdinand and Elisabeth in a remarkable manner (Figure 3) by also extolling himself for his close collaboration with them in the war

against Granada. Chiseled by Rodrigo Aleman between 1489–1495, it was begun before the conclusion of the campaign, which demonstrates its patron's conviction that this holy war would have a successful outcome [30–32]. The fact that the cardinal is depicted seven times, six times with the king and once with both monarchs, is evidence of the benefit to be gained from appearing in effigy alongside the Catholic Monarchs (see, [11], p. 56).

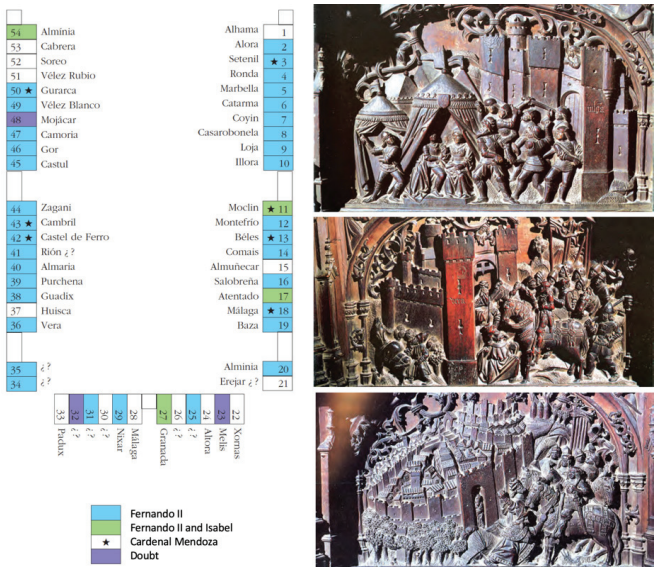

Figure 3. Diagram of the *sillería* with its protagonists. 1489–1495. Detail of the stalls: 17. Attempt against the Monarchs in Malaga; 36. Surrender of Vera; 27. Handing over the keys of Granada. Published by [30].

Having become analogous with the Reconquista as noted Müntzer (according to [30], p. 16), Ferdinand and Elisabeth are depicted in triumphal scenes, mostly showing city authorities surrendering and handing over their keys, or the entry of the sovereign into subjugated towns, although sometimes other anecdotal episodes are sculpted, which the sculptor may have learnt about as the war progressed. The presence of this military chronicle in a cathedral setting can be explained by the fact that the war with Granada was not only a political act but was also a crusade blessed by God [33] (see, also, [14], p. 456 and [11], pp. 54–93).

4.3. Devotional Images

During the reign of Ferdinand II, the use of devotional objects as vehicles for political propaganda continued. Although there are precedents, the use of iconography as a pretext or structure under which complex symbolic programmes were concealed became systematised and generalised.

Exemplary in this respect are the Plasencia stalls by master craftsman Rodrigo Aleman, who was contracted by the representatives of the cathedral chapter on 7 June 1497 (Figure 4). The two chairs at the ends of the stalls, together with the central one for St Peter, are the largest and stand on a special base that gives their occupants a commanding view and, at the same time, allows them to be easily seen (see [33], p. 104 and [34]). Both present inlays of the Catholic Monarchs, who had the prerogative of accessing the choir as honorary canons and collecting the corresponding *ratione* -prebend or benefice-, a custom that spread in the late Middle Ages probably due to the more direct intervention of kings in ecclesiastical affairs (see [35,36]. The chairs' dimensions and position on high, similar to that of the

venerable Peter, place the monarchs in a glorious spatial environment, a new visual sign of their supposed sacredness that the monarchs so longed for (see [14], p. 467).

Figure 4. The Catholic Monarchs in the Plasencia cathedral stalls. 1497–1503. Published by [35] vol. II, p. 138; Santa Engracia monastery. 1514–1516. General view and detail of the Reyes Católicos. Published by [8], p. 239.

The monarchy's desire to make its presence felt in the religious sphere was manifested in other developments, as is illustrated by the portals of the monastery of Santa Cruz in Segovia, the church of El Paular, the most problematic portal of the cloister of Segovia Cathedral (descriptions and problems in [11], pp. 118–124), and the well-known portal of Santa Engracia in Saragossa (Figure 4). The latter was commenced by Ferdinand II's father, Johan II, who, after entrusting himself to the saint, had his sight restored after a cataract operation in 1468 [37–39]. When John II realized that he would not be able to complete it, he commissioned Ferdinand to do so, given that he "liked to see the designs, because he had a taste for architecture" [40]. To this end, Ferdinand II wrote, on 8 May 1493, that "the work on the Aljafería should cease and everything that was to be spent there should be redirected to the work on Santa Engracia" [41]. Catalogued as one of the earliest examples of a Renaissance doorway in Spain, and executed by the Morlanes family, its iconography features several elements, including the monarchs, the ancient cults of the sanctuary, symbols of the order that took over the monastery, and the connotations underlying the form and ornamentation of the triumphal arch that constituted the doorway. It was a showcase of intentions at a time when the king sought to dignify his image, which had deteriorated in Catalonia due to the civil war against his father, and in Castile, where his power was questioned by the nobility (see [8], p. 64). Some believe the effigy of the king is a portrait, either because of a sculpture that was kept in the sacristy of the monastery or because Gil Morlanes the Elder maintained a close personal relationship with the monarchs [42] (see, also [37], p. 13).

The images depicting the king as protector and restorer of the Church, and as an exemplary and just devotee, mostly together with his wife, are very common. This can be seen in the doorway of the collegiate church of Daroca, which dates to around 1482–1488, proof of his predilection for important sanctuaries, in this case dedicated to the *Sagrados Corporales*, to which he allocated resources for their restoration and embellishment [43,44] (see, also, [8], p. 79). Another example is the anonymous *Piedad de los Reyes Católicos* in the cathedral of Granada, perhaps an ex-voto donated by the monarchs on their second entry into the city on 5 January 1492 [45], or the *Mater Omnium* of Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, from around 1485 by Diego de la Cruz and his workshop, the result of the imposition of Leonor Mendoza as abbess, despite the opposition of the community. In a

context of tension, the abbess or her uncle, the famous cardinal, endowed the monastery with a work that showed the union within the community and its links with the royalty, who had extended such favours towards it [46] (and [14], p. 465).

Other religiously and politically significant representations are those that allude to religious orthodoxy and spiritual renewal. One of the most illustrative works is the famous panel of the *Virgen de los Reyes Católicos* of Saint Thomas of Avila (nowadays in Museo del Prado, Madrid), from around 1490 and closely related to the Holy Inquisition [47] (Figure 5). The institution was lauded by the monarchy because, in addition to looking after the interests of the Church, it enabled the monarchs to wield unquestioned power in each of their kingdoms (see [4], pp. 134–135). The attention to detail and the coincidence with the descriptions of these monarchs leads us to think that their portraits were painted in their presence or from sketches of them taken during their lives [48] (see, also, [42], p. 51). What is certain is that this panel is an indication that the Inquisition had royal and divine approval [49]: not only do the two patron saints of the convent appear, but alongside the kings are two other Dominican inquisitors, Pedro de Arbués, martyred in Saragossa by opponents of the Inquisition, and Tomás de Torquemada, who was prior of the monastery (according to [8], pp. 35–38; [48], planche LVIII and [50]). This panel, an early court portrait that is predominantly devotional in character, is propaganda in defence of the Court of the Holy Office, a fact that is corroborated by the presence of its most prominent members (one of whom was martyred for its cause) and of the sovereigns (who worked so hard for its reinstatement).

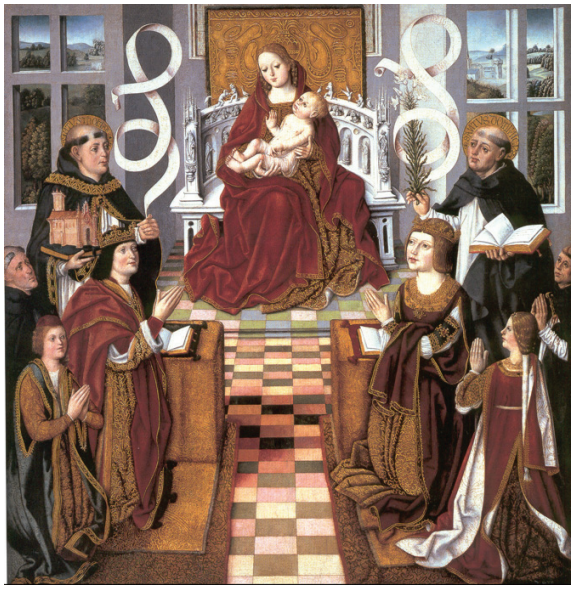

Figure 5. *Virgen de los Reyes Católicos*. c. 1490. Published by Bango, I. Dir.; *Maravillas*, vol. II, p. 184.

5. A New Artistic Genre at Court: Portraiture

Portraiture was introduced at court in the time of the Catholic Monarchs. In addition to the aforementioned early portraits in the *Virgen de los Reyes*, the *Mater Omnium* and, in sculpture, on the façade of Santa Engracia, there were other examples, such as the portrayals that appeared in some scenes of the *Políptico de Isabel la Católica* (this set contained 47 little panels), of which 28 panels have survived, two with effigies of Ferdinand II. Perhaps his painter, John of Flanders, used this work as a pretext to paint the kings from life [51,52].

This genre reflected, in image and likeness, the true portrait of the king [53]. The institutional framework in which the monarch wanted to be seen, with the insignia of his

status, was no longer important; instead he wanted a faithful record of his appearance. Earlier attempts had been made: John I (1387–1396) in 1388 tried to hire Jacques Coene after learning of his skills in depicting particular faces [54]. Ferdinand II also lamented his attempt to secure the hand in marriage of the Neapolitan *Infanta* for his son John, which failed because he lacked a painter of sufficient quality to be able to send a suitable likeness of him (see [14], p. 444 and [55]).

The new genre was intended to be a mirror and record of individual features. There are 4 known examples of King Ferdinand II, practically identical and following the compositional formula of the Flemish portrait in the 15th century: the Windsor portrait, from around 1490–1500; the Vienna portrait, of the same date; the Berlin portrait, after 1492; and the Poitiers portrait, of the same date [56,57] (see, also, [11], chap. VI (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Fernando II portraits: Palacio Real, Windsor Castle. c. 1490–1500. Published by [55], planche VI; Kunsthistorishes Museum, Viena. c. 1490–1500. Published by Schütz, K.; Vitale, A. Anonimo fiammingo. Rittrato di Ferdinando II di Aragona, detto il Cattolico. In: *I Borgia. L'arte del potere*. Electa: Roma, Italy, 2002, p. 10; Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin. Post. 1492. Published by *Reyes y mecenas*, p. 375; Museum of Poitiers. Published by Fernández, *Fernando*, p. 373.

The greatest similarities are to be found between the Windsor and Vienna portraits (the other two being simpler), the differences being limited to the colour of the clothes and the necklaces on his chest. These similarities suggest that they were not painted from life; moreover, the precision of the details and features of the king's adult face indicate that portraiture as an independent genre had become fully established in the Iberian Peninsula, an art form hitherto almost unknown in Spain.

6. Conclusions

Ferdinand II is one of the great personalities related to the image of the king of Aragon. Firstly, a new conception of power based on joint government with Elisabeth was witnessed and reflected in the iconography in all artistic genres, with the most representative media being seals and coins, stamped at their behest and whose surfaces shared, for the first time, the effigies of both kings. Secondly, the Catholic Monarchs were the object of adulation on the part of the artistic patrons among their subjects, whether these were private individuals or members of secular or religious institutions, and they personified the exaltation of the monarchy to a hitherto unseen extent, although always in keeping with the clear instrumental nature of the artistic projects, including those promoted by the monarchs themselves. Regarded as *caput milicie* and true defenders of the faith, which earned them the nickname of the Catholic Monarchs, they continued the already established use of sacred works as true vehicles of political propaganda, and under their rule the use of iconography as a pretext or structure for concealing complex symbolic ideas became systematic and generalized.

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Entry

Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (1208–1250)

Mirko Vagnoni

Independent Researcher, I-50050 Gambassi Terme, Italy; mirkovagnoni@libero.it

Definition: Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, King of Sicily (1208–1250). Frederick II of Hohenstaufen was the second king of the Swabian dynasty to sit on the throne of Sicily. He was crowned in 1198, but, in consideration of his young age, he only ruled independently from 1208 to 1250 (the year of his death). He not only held the title of King of Sicily but also was the King of Germany (or of the Romans), the King of Jerusalem, and, above all, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. His most relevant and innovative iconographic representations were in Southern Italy. For this reason, we focus on the images in this geographical context. In particular, we have nine official (that is, those commissioned directly by him or his entourage) representations of him: the bull (in three main versions), the seal (in three main versions), five coins (four denari and one augustale), the statue of the Capua Gate, and the lost image of the imperial palace in Naples.

Keywords: royal images; royal iconography; kings of Sicily; Swabian dynasty; Frederick II of Hohenstaufen

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1. Introduction

Frederick II of Hohenstaufen was crowned King of Sicily when he was less than four years old, but, at the beginning of his reign, he was under the regency of his mother, Constance (until 27 November 1198), and of Pope Innocent III (until 25 December 1208). After this period, he ruled independently until his death (13 December 1250). Frederick II was not only King of Sicily but also King of Germany or of the Romans (1212–1250), King of Jerusalem (1225–1250), and, above all, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1220–1250) (for general information about Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, see: [1–11]). His most relevant and innovative iconographic representations were in Southern Italy, and, for this reason, we focus on the images in this geographical context. Historians have identified Frederick II in numerous artifacts, but, in reality, only a limited number of them can be considered real and official representations of the Swabian ruler (that is, those commissioned directly by him or his entourage). In particular, we have nine images: the bull (in three main versions), the seal (in three main versions), five coins (four denari and one augustale), the statue of the Capua Gate, and the lost image of the imperial palace in Naples (on the identification of Frederick II's official images, see: [12] (pp. 82–87)).

2. Bulls and Seals

On 26 December 1208, when Frederick II began to rule independently, he continued to use bulls and seals prepared during the regency period as the King of Sicily. The first are hanging gold bulls with a diameter of 55 mm (on the bulls as the King of Sicily, see: [13] (Volume 1, pp. 27–30, images no. 27,3–4), [14] (p. 40), [5] (p. 302)), and the second are hanging red wax seals with dimensions that varied between 35 × 45 and 40 × 53 mm that are placed in a wooden box with a diameter of 60 mm (on the seals as the King of Sicily, see: [13] (Volume 1, pp. 27–30, images no. 27,1–2 and 27,5), [15] (Volume 1, pp. 29–31, cards no. 43 and 45), [14] (pp. 25–27), [16] (pp. 118–120), [8] (card II.4, pp. 325–326), [17] (Volume 2, p. 26, card II.A.7 by V. Rödel)). Both of these types present the king sitting on the throne, even though the garments and symbols of power are completely different: the first group differs from the bulls of the Norman predecessors and is comparable to

more continental European models; instead, the second group more or less follows the seals of the predecessors William II and Constance of Hauteville (about that, see: [12] (p. 87)). However, both these bulls and seals were soon replaced by other types. Indeed, from December 1212, Frederick II began to use bulls and seals as the King of the Romans, and, from 22 November 1220, he used bulls and seals as the Holy Roman Emperor (used until his death on 13 December 1250). Both of the bulls are in gold and have diameters of approximately 62 and 42 mm, respectively; on one face, they present the king sitting on the throne, while, on the other face, they present an urban structure (presumably, a symbolic representation of Rome) or a sort of geographical map of Southern Italy (presumably, a symbolic representation of the Kingdom of Sicily) (on the bulls as the King of the Romans, see: [13] (Volume 1, pp. 27–30, images no. 28,2–5), [15] (Volume 1, pp. 31–34, cards no. 47 and 49), [8] (card III.2, pp. 330–331). On the bulls as the Holy Roman Emperor, see: [13] (Volume 1, pp. 27–30, images no. 30,2–5 and 30,6–7), [15] (Volume 1, p. 35, card no. 51), [5] (p. 302), [17] (Volume 2, pp. 27–28, card II.A.9 by V. Rödel)). Both of the seals are in red wax and have diameters of approximately 85 and 90 mm, respectively; again, they present the king sitting on the throne (on the seal as the King of the Romans, see: [13] (Volume 1, pp. 27–30, images no. 27,6–7 and 28,1), [15] (Volume 1, pp. 31–33, cards no. 46 and 48), [14] (pp. 28–29), [8] (card II.5, pp. 326–327 and card III.1, p. 329), [17] (Volume 2, p. 27, card II.A.8 by V. Rödel). On the seal as the Holy Roman Emperor, see: [13] (Volume 1, pp. 27–30, images no. 29,1–5 and 30,1), [15] (Volume 1, p. 34, card no. 50), [14] (p. 30), [16] (p. 128), [8] (card III.15, pp. 346–347)).

In every type of bull and seal, the inscription changes according to the different titles of Frederick II as the King of Sicily (REX SICILIE), the King of the Romans (ROMANORVM REX), the King of Jerusalem (REX IERVSALEM), and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (ROMANORVM IMPERATOR), but, in all of the artifacts, the representations of the ruler are similar (with only some insignificant changes), and they follow the same iconographic tradition (see, for an example, Figure 1). In particular, Frederick II sits on a throne with a backrest. He probably has long hair and a shaved face, and he wears a long tunic (in one specimen, the tunic is clearly embroidered with eagles), a broad cloak, a long lily scepter, a cruciferous globe, and a crown with lateral pendilia. The crown can be low with two crossed arches (a Bügelkrone) or high and squared (a Plattenkrone). The latter type probably represents the Reichskrone of the Holy Roman Empire. These iconographic elements differ from the figurative tradition of the Norman kings of Sicily and follow German patterns—in particular, the bulls and seals of the Swabian predecessors (grandfather Frederick I Barbarossa, father Henry VI, and uncle Philippe of Swabia). Evidently, this image represents Frederick II as a German emperor rather than as the King of Sicily, but this choice does not seem to possess specific political or propagandistic meanings. Presumably, it is due to the new status achieved and the consequent necessity to adopt adequate new cultural references in the representation of the ruler's figure (on that, see: [18], [12] (pp. 87–89) with more details and bibliographic references).

The royal image on bulls and seals is without a doubt an official representation of Frederick II and mainly had a juridical function (it was used to corroborate the legal value of diplomas and documents issued by the royal chancellery). Its mobile support would have facilitated its circulation, and we should consider that bulls and seals were in use not only in the Kingdom of Sicily but also in Frederick II's other domains. However, they were not made to be moved around but to be stored, with their documents, in the archives of their recipients, and their dimensions were somewhat reduced and certainly of scarce visual impact. Moreover, multiple documents could be issued for the same recipient and the subjects involved were limited to the aristocratic and ruling class of Southern Italy in particular. However, Frederick II's image on the bulls and seals has bigger dimensions and stylistically pays more attention to the iconographic details than the Norman specimens. This made the royal figure certainly more visible. Moreover, we should note that Frederick II's chancery issued a very high average number of documents per year in comparison with that of his predecessors on the Sicilian throne. Probably, during his reign, the circulation of

bulls and coins was capillary and widespread, and, for this reason, the royal image could reach a large number of subjects (about that, see: [12] (p. 89). About Frederick II's chancery, see in summary: [19,20]).

Figure 1. Seal of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen as emperor, impression on red wax, February 1224. München, Bayerische Hauptstaatsarchiv, diploma KS. 664. Image published in [12] (Figure 18).

3. The Denari

Among the official representations of Frederick II, there are also those on the denari (silver coins) minted between 1220 and 1221 (in two different types) (about these denari, see [21] (p. 113, images no. 19, 19a, and 20)) and in 1225 (in two other types but, possibly, with a similar version minted already in 1222) (about these denari, see: [22] (Volume 18, pp. 201–202), [23] (p. 197), [21] (p. 98, image no. C4 and pp. 114–115, images no. 25–27), [5] (p. 274)). Their functions were mainly legal: they were used in order to corroborate the value of the coin. The coins of the first group were minted in Palermo and Messina, and their weight was approximately 0.7 g (between 0.38 and 0.5 g for the mezzo denaro version). Both inscriptions refer to Frederick as an emperor (FREDERICVS IMPERATOR) and as a king (FREDERICVS REX), instead their iconographies changes. The first coin presents the crowned royal bust with a scepter and cruciferous globe on the obverse side and a cross on the reverse side. The second coin also presents the royal image on the obverse side and a cross on the reverse side; however, here, Frederick II is instead seated and enthroned with a crown, scepter, and cruciferous globe. In both cases, the king seems shaven and has short hair. The coins of the second group were minted in Messina, and their weight was between 0.59 and 0.91 g (approximately 0.41 g for the mezzo denaro version). Both the inscriptions refer to Frederick as an emperor (FRIDERICVS IMPERATOR) and as a king of Jerusalem and Sicily (REX IERUSALEM ET SICILIE), while the iconography presents a little change. The two coins have a cross on the obverse side and a royal bust crowned with a high and squared crown (possibly the Reichskrone of the Holy Roman Empire) on the reverse side, and, in both cases, the ruler seems shaven. However, in the first, the king faces forwards and whether he has long or short hair is unclear; in the second, instead, Frederick faces to the side and has long hair (Figure 2).

All four types of denari have small dimensions, they have a highly stylized iconography, and they do not pay particular attention to figurative details. For this reason, it is difficult to say if they were following a specific iconographic tradition. Coins could move across the kingdom and the lower worth of a silver coin (as in the cases of denari and mezzi denari) in comparison with a golden coin would have made its use more widespread. However, the number of issues in these denari was quite low, and their circulation was limited only to the Sicilian Island and concentrated within a short period of time: probably, 1220–1221 (for the first group) and 1225–1228 (for the second group). Moreover, their use coincided with that of coins without the royal image and they could be hoarded. Furthermore, anthropologists have noted that, in general, when coins are used, more attention is placed on their economic worth than their images. Therefore, the possibility of coming

across royal images on coins was not high. Likely, these coins did not play a political and propagandistic function, but they simply celebrated the acquisition of the imperial and Jerusalemite titles (about that, see: [12] (pp. 89–91)).

Figure 2. Denaro of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, obverse and reverse sides of a silver coin, 1225. Pen drawing published in [12] (Figure 22).

4. The Augustale

This coin is made with gold at 20.5 carats, weighs between 5.24 and 5.29 g (between 2.63 and 2.65 g in the mezzo augustale version), and has a diameter of 20 mm. It was directly commissioned by Frederick II and was minted in Messina and Brindisi from 1231 to 1250. On the reverse side, FRIDERICVS is inscribed and the image of an eagle, the symbol of the empire, is found. On the obverse side, IMP(ERATOR) ROM(ANORUM) CESAR AVG(VSTVS) is inscribed and the royal image is found. The king is in half bust, in profile position, and he has short hair and is clean shaven. Moreover, he wears a paludament and a laurel wreath as well as an ancient Roman emperor (Figure 3). Iconographic affinities have been highlighted with the coins of the Carolingian Emperors Charlemagne and Louis the Pious but also of the Roman Emperors Constantine and, above all, Augustus. Certainly, symbols of power, attires, and physical features perfectly imitate that of an ancient Roman emperor (about the augustale, see: [22] (Volume 18, p. 196), [24], [1] (pp. 209–210 and pp. 705–711), [25], [23] (p. 195), [14] (pp. 73–74), [26] (pp. 70–74), [5] (p. 272), [27], [9] (pp. 634–636), [28], [17] (Volume 2, pp. 54–56, cards III.A.2–6)).

Figure 3. Augustale of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, obverse and reverse sides of a gold coin, 1231–1250. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Collezione Fiorelli, no. 1127. Image published in [12] (Figure 23).

From a stylistic point of view, this coin is one of the best in all of the Middle Ages, it pays special attention to the figurative details, and the royal image is clear and legible. It particularly impressed the contemporaries (who quoted and described it in their chronicles), and its iconographic accuracy has, in the past, led modern historians to consider the royal image to be a portrait of Frederick II (although, now this interpretation cannot be followed). Moreover, this coin was conceived as a commercial currency with high value and international circulation, but it also had a very practical use (facilitated by the minting of the mezzo augustale). The augustale was part of a specific monetary policy that, in

comparison with previous periods, tried to impose a royal monopoly in matters of coinage and intensify the circulation of moneys in the Kingdom of Sicily. These coins were minted in substantial quantity (we still preserve 334 augustali and 88 mezzi augustali), and they circulated far beyond the lands of Southern Italy: specimens have been found in France (in particular, in Poitiers), in England, in Northern Italy, in southwestern Germany, and in Syria. Moreover, they were used even after Frederick II's death. In short, although augustali circulated together with coins without the royal figure, they could play a significant role in spreading Frederick II's official image in contemporary society (about that, see: [12] (pp. 91–93) with more details and bibliographic references. About Frederick II's monetary policy, see: [21] (pp. 103–108), [29–34]).

As said, images on coins mainly had a legal function, but, in the case of the augustale, we can also attribute a specific political function to the royal figure. Indeed, it probably played a role in strengthening the social bond between the ruler and his subjects. Moreover, its written text and iconography displayed and celebrated a fundamental aspect of Frederick II's political ideology: the renovatio imperii, namely the connection between the German Holy Roman Empire and the Ancient Roman Empire. However, the conception and realization of the augustale was placed in the peaceful and politically quiet period that followed the treaty of San Germano (23 July 1230). In this historical context, the royal image on this coin also having a propagandistic function does not seem plausible (about that, see: [12] (pp. 93–94) with more details and bibliographic references. For more information about Frederick II's renovatio imperii, see: [35]).

5. The Statue of the Capua Gate

In 1234, Frederick II ordered the edification of a monumental gate on the bridge of the Volturno River that gave access to the city of Capua (the building was finished in 1239/1240 but, perhaps, the decoration lasted until 1247). Currently, this building has been dismantled (Figure 4), but, thanks to previous written and graphic evidence, figuring out the original structure and decoration of the gate is possible. It consisted of two towers connected with an arch decorated with numerous statues in marble (probably in part recovered in ancient monuments), sculptures that celebrated the imperial triumphs, and inscriptions that clarified the meaning of the iconographic apparatus. In particular, the external façade had, in the upper part, a loggia and, below this, the imperial statue. It was located within a niche, flanked by two other effigies (possibly, Diana and Apollo) and, probably, combined with the inscription: "Quam miseros facio quos variare scio!" (How miserable I make those whom I know that they err!). At the top and sides of the fornix of the arch, three other niches with as many busts were found. They have been identified with the allegorical representation of justice (combined with the inscription: "Cesaris imperio regni concordia fio" (By order of the Cesar, I am built to keep the Kingdom)) and two judges (individually combined with the inscriptions: "Intrent securi qui querunt vivere puri" (Enter safely those who wish to live honestly) and "Infidus excludi timeat vel carcere trudi" (Fear to stay out or to be thrown into prison who is hostile)). However, more recently, a new proposition suggests that, probably, at the top of the fornix was not a statue but only the inscription, as if the door itself spoke (about the Capua Gate and its decoration, see at least: [36] (with previous bibliography), [37], [38] (pp. 225–302), [8] (pp. 366–368, cards V.5-7), [9] (pp. 752–755), [17] (Volume 2, pp. 149–160, cards IV.C.1-15 by L. Speciale), [39] (Chapter 7, *Potere e immagine: la Porta di Capua*, pp. 171–210 and Chapter 8, Vivit et non vivit. *Il mito e lo specchio. Francesco Daniele e la vera storia del Gesso Solari*, pp. 211–240), [12] (pp. 94–98) with more details and a new interpretation).

The decoration of the Capua Gate staged one of the most important aspects of Frederick II's political ideology: the Iustitia Caesaris. Namely, the gate represented the king while he carried out his duties as a judge for the good of his subjects and the whole kingdom. This role was inextricably intertwined with that of being king as lex animata in terris, namely the king authorized to legislate in order to achieve justice within his domain. In this sense, this building represented a real gateway to a realm that was based on justice, and it materialized

the theoretical conception of power presented in the Prooemium of the *Liber Constitutionum*, a collection of laws enacted by Frederick II in Melfi in September 1231 (about that, see: [12] (p. 99) with more details and bibliographic references. About the aspects of Frederick II's political ideology in particular, see: [40] (passim), [1] (pp. 211–239), [2] (pp. 171–179), [41] (pp. 82–96), [9] (pp. 564–579), [42]. About the *Liber Constitutionum*, see in summary [43]).

Figure 4. Capua, bridge of the Volturno River, Capua Gate, current state. Photo taken by the author.

The imperial statue, now decapitated and severely mutilated (Figure 5), was 115 cm high, 64 cm wide, and 49 cm deep. The emperor was sitting on a throne, and he wore a draped cloak laced with a buckle on the right shoulder. The lack of symbols of power and the head makes understanding the iconographic features of the statue difficult. However, historians have connected the whole gate with the ancient imperial triumphal arch, and the statue itself, although stylistically Gothic, imitates the language of the classical sculpture. Hence, we can argue that the cloak possibly represented the paludament of the ancient Roman emperors, as we already saw in the augustali. However, here, the laurel wreath would have been replaced with a sort of spiked crown (perhaps, a sort of radiated diadem of the Roman imperial tradition). Instead, as in the augustali, the face would have been clean shaven and the hair would have been short (about that, see again [12] (p. 98) with more information and bibliographic references).

The statue, although destined to remain stationary in a specific place and positioned in one of the upper registers of the gate (hence, far from the ground), was part of an iconographic scenography of extraordinary and monumental impact. Moreover, the placement in a public space, as a civic gate, provided very wide visibility. Certainly, everyone who passed the bridge noted it, and, indeed, the statue attracted the interest of contemporary chroniclers, who quoted and described it with particular attention in their texts. Capua was the political, religious, economic, and cultural center of a wide territory, and, there, in those years, one of the most important annual fairs of the kingdom had been established. Moreover, Capua was the main city that travelers who, entering the kingdom from the north, came upon, and, most likely, not only Capuan citizens but also merchants, pilgrims, ambassadors, and travelers coming from the other lands of Italy and Europe used the bridge and its gate. In summary, the statue was internationally visible (about Capua in those years, see [44]. About the visibility of the statue, see again [12] (p. 98)).

Regarding the function of Frederick II's statue in the Capua Gate, first, we point out that it played a memorial and celebrative function of the ruler and his role as judge. Moreover, it also had a political role: it admonished and exhorted those who passed through this sort of gate to the kingdom to respect the laws of this country in order to maintain internal harmony. In other words, this sculpture had to arouse and stimulate a sense of justice in its beholders. However, it does not seem possible to also attribute a propagandistic intent towards the imperial adversaries (in particular, the papacy) to the

iconographic program of the gate. The promulgation of the *Liber Constitutionum* was a cause of friction between Frederick II and Pope Gregory IX due to the fact that the latter opposed the royal ius condende legis (about that, see [45]). Nevertheless, it is only in the period between 1239 and 1250 that the relationships between the pope and the emperor degenerated into a bitter conflict and, moreover, the message of the Capua Gate seems to be addressed more to the Sicilian subjects and foreign visitors of the lands of Southern Italy than the papacy (about that, see again [12] (pp. 99–100) with more information and bibliographic references).

Figure 5. Headless statue of Frederick II, sculpture, from the façade of the Capua Gate, 1234–1247. Capua, Museo Provinciale Campano. Image published in [12] (Figure 24).

6. The Lost Image of the Imperial Palace in Naples

Francesco Pipino, a Dominican friar from Bologna, in his *Chronicon* written around 1320 describes this image of Frederick II currently lost (about this image, see: [1] (pp. 336–337 and pp. 534–535), [46] (p. 41), [47] (pp. 333–335), [48] (pp. 24–27), [49], [50] (p. 751), [51] (p. 101), [39] (pp. 196–203)). He states that the image was in the imperial palace of Naples and represented the king seated on the throne together with his chancellor and logothete Pier della Vigna (or, more likely, a generic figure of imperial judge). In front of them were Sicilian subjects asking the ruler to administrate justice while he delegated this task to the judge ("Cujus [namely, Pier della Vigna] quidem singularis familiaritatis apud Imperatorem fuit illud signum insigne, quod in Neapolitano Palatio, Imperatoris et Petri effigies habebantur. Imperator in throno, Petrus in cathedra resiedebat. Populus ad pedes impertoris procumbens, justitiam sibi in causis fieri his versibus innuebat: Caesar amor Legum, Friderice piissime Regum, / Causarum telas nostras resolve querelas. Imperator autem his aliis versibus ad haec videbatur tale dare responsum. Pro vestra lite Censorem juris adite: / Hic est; jura dabit, vel per me danda rogabit. / Vinee cognomen Petrus Judex est sibi nomen. Imperatoris enim figura respiciens ad Populum, digito ad Petrum sermonem dirigere indicabat" [52] (col. 660). About this author and his work, see: [53,54]). Unfortunately, we do not know if the image was a mosaic, a sculpture, or a painting, and we do not have specific information about Frederick II's aspects (in particular, Francesco Pipino does not provide details about the ruler's garments and symbols of power apart from the fact that he sat on a throne). Considering the subject of the image, its location was probably in a courtroom where the compalatius (the royal representative in the city of Naples) administrated justice. For this reason, the image was most likely located in Castel Capuano (about this interpretation, see: [55,56]. About the compalatius, see [57]. About

Castel Capuano in general, see: [58] (pp. 71–78)). The date of the work is also uncertain, but we can assume that Frederick II commissioned this image in the same period when he ordered the construction of the Capua Gate, namely, between 1234 and 1239. Moreover, even if we do not have explicit information about it, it seems plausible that the image had monumental dimensions (perhaps it took up a wall of the courtroom) and quite good visibility. Its beholders, presumably, were participants at the various judicial sessions held within the city (in particular, the compalatius with his assistants and the respective parties involved in the processes) (about that, see: [12] (pp. 100–101) with more details and bibliographic references).

This representation, as the statue of the Capua Gate, referred to some of the most important concepts of the Frederick II's political ideology, as they had been expressed in documents issued by the royal chancellery: the Iustitia Caesaris and, in particular, the notion of a ruler as lex animata in terris (namely, the king as the source of law and the one who transmitted the laws, inspired by God, to humankind). Hence, we can assume that its function was to celebrate Frederick II as a judge and legislator. However, it probably also ensured and legitimized the legal activity of the Neapolitan compalatius. In this sense, the image could have a purely political task: stimulate respect for the local royal official and his legal work. That said, it seems unlikely that the image also played a propagandistic role. Indeed, in these years, no particular political tensions in the city of Naples occurred, and if, as already noted, the papacy opposed the royal ius condende legis, we should point out that the image (and its message) was not specifically addressed towards the pope (about that, see again: [12] (pp. 101–102) with more details and bibliographic references. About the aspects of Frederick II's political ideology in particular, see again: [40] (passim), [1] (pp. 211–239), [2] (pp. 171–179), [41] (pp. 82–96), [9] (pp. 564–579), [42]).

7. Conclusions

In order to summarize the general line of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen's iconography, we can conclude that the number of official images commissioned by this king seems to be limited in comparison with what has been generally claimed by historians, and, regarding royal representation, the emperor also left the initiative to the local powers. However, in comparison with other kings of Sicily in the period between the 12th and 14th centuries, this monarch made more extensive use of his image and introduced important innovations. Regarding the media utilized, he privileged coins and seals but also adopted monumental representations of himself that, for the first time, were intended for secular locations and for wide public visibility: the façade of the Capua Gate and the courtroom of the Castel Capuano in Naples. These images were addressed to all subjects of the Kingdom of Sicily (and, in part, to foreign visitors of the lands of Southern Italy). If we also add to these the augustale (with its international circulation), we can assume that, after 1231, Frederick II began to pay specific attention to the management of his image, and he attempted to use it as a government tool for particular political purposes. The thematic and iconographic choices confirm this impression. Indeed, they explicitly referred to the ideological program developed by Frederick II's court. In particular, the figurative themes are connected to the concepts of Frederick II as judge and legislator and as successor of the Ancient Roman Empire. Additionally, the iconographic rendering of the royal image (and the related symbols of power, attires, and physical features) perfectly follows the iconographic tradition of ancient Roman emperors. The particular attention that contemporary chroniclers devoted to these artworks seems to confirm that we face something original and highly innovative for that time. However, that said, we should underline that these are only limited and isolated examples, and this interpretation should not be overemphasized. Moreover, we should point out that Frederick II's use of his image does not seem to have any explicit propagandistic function.

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Entry

Frederick III of Aragon (1296–1337)

Mirko Vagnoni

Independent Researcher, I-50050 Gambassi Terme, Italy; mirkovagnoni@libero.it

Definition: Frederick III of Aragon, King of Sicily (1296–1337). Frederick III of Aragon was the third king of the Aragonese dynasty on the throne of Sicily. He ruled from 1296 to 1337 and he was the only Aragonese king of Sicily who made a significant use of his image. In particular, we have four official (namely, commissioned directly by him or his entourage) representations of him: the royal seal, the billon silver denaro coin, the lost mosaic from the Church of Santa Maria della Valle (known as Badiazza) near Messina, and the mosaic in the Cathedral of Messina.

Keywords: royal images; royal iconography; kings of Sicily; Aragonese dynasty; Frederick III of Aragon

1. Introduction

Notwithstanding he already ruled as vicar of his brother James II from 1291, only in 11 December 1295 was Frederick III of Aragon elected King of Sicily by the Sicilian Parliament. Afterwards, he was crowned in Palermo on 25 March 1296 and he reigned until his death in 25 June 1337 (about Frederick III of Aragon, King of Sicily, see [1–4], the update [5] and synthetically [6–8]. More recent but not particularly interesting are [9–11]. For a historiographical framework on Frederick III, see [12], [13] (pp. 183–211)). Among the kings of the Aragonese dynasty on the Sicilian throne, Frederick III seems to be the only one who made significant use of his image and, for this reason, he has been selected to represent the iconography of this royal family (we do not know of any images of Peter III of Aragon acting as King of Sicily. The lost wall paintings of the Cappella di Santa Maria Incoronata in Palermo date back to the 16th century [14] and it does not seem that he made a specific seal for the Kingdom of Sicily by only using the seal of king of Aragon [15] (Volume 1, pp. 115–117 and 207–208). With regard to James II of Aragon acting as King of Sicily, we only have the images of the seal [15] (Volume 1, p. 8 and pp. 240–241, no. 187), [16] (p. 82, although the reference should be corrected) and the denaro [17] (p. 10), [18] (p. 264 and pp. 696–697, plate 42, images no. 769–770)). Regarding him, we have four official (namely, commissioned directly by him or his entourage) representations: the royal seal, the billon silver denaro coin, the lost mosaic from the Church of Santa Maria della Valle (known as Badiazza) near Messina, and the mosaic in the Cathedral of Messina (about the identification of Frederick III's official image, see [19]).

2. The Royal Seal

Diplomatic research attests to the use of a seal to corroborate the documents issued by Frederick III's royal chancellery (for example, the catalogue for the exhibition on the Messina documents of the Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli of Seville quotes a document from 12 July 1332 with a hanging seal (however, it was later lost) [20] (p. 183, document no. 77)) and, in a paper from 1997, Maria Grazia Fallico listed some diplomas from this king bearing a seal [21] (pp. 69–70). In particular, they were a parchment from 1320 of the Commenda della Magione section of the Archivio di Stato di Palermo (in reality, in the inventory of the archive there is only one document for 1320 and it is not from Frederick III [22] (p. 315, card no. 596). The diploma in question, instead, is no. 606 from 29 July 1329 [22] (p. 324, card no. 613). The *Repertorio* points out the absence of the seal (this

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has also been kindly verified personally by Dr. Serena Falletta, archivist at the branch of the Catena of the Archivio di Stato di Palermo)), two parchments from the city of Messina issued on 1 October 1302 and stored in the Archivio ducale Medinaceli in Toledo, and four parchments from the city of Caltagirone issued in 1299 and stored in the Museo Civico di Caltagirone, in the parchments section of the Universitas di Caltagirone.

To my knowledge, these seals have never been published; however, I was able to examine some items in Caltagirone (thanks to the kind help of archivists Margherita Dizia and Enzo Piluso). All four of the examples from this location are identical. They are red wax hanging seals placed in a wooden box (Figure 1). The legend has the inscription FRIDERICUS TERCIUS DEI GRACIA REX SICILIE DUCATUS APULIE ET PRINCIPATUS CAPUE and the image displays the king on a horse facing left. The sovereign is wearing a helmet with a crown, with a sword in his right hand and a shield in his left. Both the latter and the caparison of the horse bear the coat of arms of the dynasty: quartered with red bars in the field or of Aragon and a black eagle in the field argent of Sicily.

Figure 1. Seal of Frederick III of Aragon as King of Sicily, impression on red wax, 15 October 1299. Museo Civico di Caltagirone (ex Carcere Borbonico), section Pergamene della Universitas di Caltagirone, inventory number MC 4910, 10/22 1997. Photo taken by author.

Owing to the various political vicissitudes that characterized the reign of Frederick III, the royal title changed over the years (about the different royal titles of Frederick III, see [13] (pp. 191–192)). The seal probably had to adapt itself to these alterations. Nevertheless, due to the small number of items preserved, it is not possible to verify whether there were changes in the iconography or whether this type with the royal image was used for all 41 years of his reign (even if it is probable). Regardless of this, the iconography of the seal clearly differs from the specimens of the Norman and Swabian predecessors, but it perfectly follows the pattern of the Aragonese predecessor as King of Sicily. Indeed, it is identical to the seal of his brother James II, and it probably goes back to a tradition belonging to the kings of Aragon in the Iberian Peninsula (about the iconography of the Norman-Swabian kings of Sicily, see [23]. About the iconography of the kings of Aragon, see [16]).

Without doubt, this image is an official representation of Frederick III, and it mainly had a juridical function (it was used to corroborate the legal value of diplomas and documents issued by the royal chancellery). Its mobile support would have facilitated its circulation inside the Kingdom and, in this way, it could reach a large number of subjects. However, we should consider that seals were not made to move around but to be stored, with their documents, in the archives of their recipients. Moreover, their dimensions (although they were bigger than the seals of the Norman predecessors and in line with the Swabian and Aragonese tradition) (the diameter of the seals of the Norman kings varies between 25 and 35 mm. Instead, the Swabian and Aragonese seals can be as big as

95–110 mm [23] (passim), [15] (Volume 1, pp. 207–209). An example of James II of Aragon, identical to that of Frederick III from an iconographic point of view, has a diameter of 70 mm [15] (Volume 1, p. 209, n. 38)) were somewhat reduced and certainly of scarce visual impact. Finally, their use was not particularly common either. Despite the reorganization of the administration and the improvement to the royal chancellery done by Frederick III (about these aspects, see [24] (pp. VII-CCXV)), we should note that the average number of issues did not seem to be very high during his reign (about this aspect, see [25], [26] (in particular, for the recapitulatory table, p. 5)). If we also consider that the same recipients could receive several documents, we can suppose that the number of subjects involved was not particularly great and was limited at the aristocratic and ruling class of Sicilian society (moreover, note that the number of preserved diplomas is greater for the lay archives than for the ecclesiastical archives [21]. Can we argue that there were more documents for the first than for the second?). Therefore, in line with these data, it was not very frequent to be able to see the royal image of the seal and only a limited number of people would have had this opportunity.

3. The Denaro

Among the official representations of Frederick III, there is also the image of the billon silver *denaro* minted in Messina (Figure 2) (about this image, see [17] (p. 15 and image in plate 2, no. 36), [18] (pp. 267–268, p. 698 and plate 43, images no. 780–782)). Its function was mainly legal: It was used in order to corroborate the legal value of the coinage. On the obverse of this coin is the legend + FRI • T • DEI • GRA (namely, Fridericus tertius Dei Gratia), with the crowned head of the king turned to the left encircled in small pearls. He has long hair and, probably, a shaved face. The reverse displays the inscription + REX: SICILIE: and a cross pattée again encircled by small pearls. We do not know whether it continued to be issued during the years when the king adopted the title of Rex Trinacrie (namely, from 1311 to 1314 and from 1319 to 1320) (about the Frederick's different royal titles, see again [13] (pp. 191–192)). However, it is plausible that it circulated for all the years of Frederick III's rule. The iconography of this coin is really generic and stereotyped and it is difficult to say whether it was following a specific tradition. However, we can argue that Frederick III again adopted an Aragonese pattern. Indeed, the image of this coin is very similar to that of the denaro of his brother and predecessor James II (about James II's denaro, see [17] (p. 10 and image in plate 1, no. 17), [18] (p. 696 and plate 42, images no. 769–770)).

Figure 2. Denaro of Frederick III of Aragon, King of Sicily, obverse and reverse of billon silver coin, 1296–1337. Reproduced with permission of the Licensor. Image published in [18] (plate 43, image no. 780).

Certainly, on a coin, the royal image could move around the entire kingdom (that is, the island of Sicily and part of Calabria) and the lesser worth of a silver coin in comparison to a gold coin would have made its use more widespread. Moreover, we know that probably around 1315, Frederick III implemented a monetary policy to place stricter royal control on the circulation and actual quality of the currency (about that, see [11] (pp. 87–88)). In

addition, he ordered an abundant amount of silver coins to be minted while at the same time limiting the minting of gold coins (about that, see [17] (p. 11), [18] (pp. 265–268 and for more general information pp. 257–260)). Considering that the former also included the denari with the king's head (for an overview of Frederick III's coins, see [17] (pp. 12–16), [18] (pp. 265–268, pp. 696–699 and plates 42–43, images no. 771–782)), the possibility of coming across the royal image would have been quite high. Nevertheless, coins could be hoarded and, moreover, anthropologists have noted that in general, when coins are used, more attention is placed on their economic worth than their images. Furthermore, we have to consider that this denaro did not have a particularly great visual or emotional impact: It is very small (the diameter is only 16 mm and the weight is 0.58–0.65 g) and it has a certain iconographical inaccuracy and stylization that makes it difficult to identify the subject that is represented.

4. The Mosaic of the Church of Santa Maria Della Valle in Messina

The Church of Santa Maria della Valle, also called della Scala or Badiazza, with the connected convent of Benedictine nuns (these days, the congregation is almost nil) is in Contrada Badiazza near Scala, in a mountainous area along the San Rizzo stream, approximately three miles from the center of Messina (about this church, see [27] (pp. 51–60), [28] (pp. 3–8), [29], [30] (pp. 256–258), [31,32]). The current building, probably constructed on pre-existing remains, goes back to the end of Norman domination or to the beginning of Swabian rule. In particular, Giuseppe Agnello proposed dating it to the first quarter of the 13th century [33], [34] (pp. 247–284). However, following a fire during the Sicilian Vespers (1282), Frederick III ordered the church to be restored and redecorated (and maybe also extended) in the first decade of the 14th century. It was during this work that, following the assertion of Placido Samperi in 1644, the king had a portrait of himself made in a mosaic in the main apse (Figure 3) in the act of offering, together with his wife, a model of the church to Saint Peter ("Hebbe in molta veneratione questo luogo Federico II d'Aragona Rè di Sicilia, et ingrandì quel Monasterio, et edificò quel Tempio, con bellissima architettura, ornando la Tribuna maggiore, con ricco Mosaico, ove egli dipinto si vede riverentemente à piè del Vicario di Christo S. Pietro Apostolo, con la Regina sua moglie, e tiene il modello del Tempio, e Monasterio nella man destra in atto di presentarglielo" [35] (p. 317)).

Figure 3. Church of Santa Maria della Valle (called Badiazza), central apse. Image courtesy of https://www.cistercensi.info/abbazie/abbazie.php?ab=1165 (accessed on 20 May 2021).

Of this mosaic, we only have a fragment of the face of Saint Peter (now in the Museo Regionale di Messina, inv. no. 967). Following some considerations by Demetrio Salazaro [36] (Volume 2, p. 68) and Ugo Monneret de Villard [37] (p. 72), in 1969 Ferdinando Bologna proposed dating this artefact to the beginning of 13th century and identified the subject as Frederick II of Swabia [38] (pp. 22–23). However, by mutual consent, art historians later allocated this fragment (now there is uncertainty as to the identity of the apostle) to

the beginning of 14th century (about that, see [39] (pp. 2–3), [40] (p. 489), [41] (p. 9), [42] (p. 23)), thus following the testimony of Samperi. If it is plausible that the king represented in the apse of the Church of Santa Maria della Valle was Frederick III, it is also possible that he directly ordered its creation. Indeed, it seems that the Sicilian kings had an intense relationship with this monastery: First the Normans and then the Swabians granted it privileges and donations, and Peter III of Aragon was also particularly tied to it (about that, see [31] (pp. 1–42)). Bartolomeo di Neocastro says that this king visited the church on his way to Messina, immediately after the liberation of the city from the siege of Charles I of Anjou (1282) ("[Peter III of Aragon] jam ad limina Sacrae Domus Beatae Virginis de Scalis applicuit; lugubrem domum ingemmit, quam pudenter excoluit et hostis iniquitas laceravit" [43] (p. 42)).

The people of Messina attended and particularly venerated this church because there was a miraculous image of the Virgin (the depiction of the *Madonna della Scala*) (about that, see [35] (pp. 314–329)) on its main altar, and for this reason, it also received gifts from foreign princes and queens. In confirmation of the intense relationship between the monarchy and this church, in 1633 the abbess Livia De Gregorio established that every week a mass be celebrated for the dead and living kings of Sicily who, thanks to their donations, had contributed to its wealth (about that, see [31] (pp. 1–42). In light of the above, it is curious that in March 1285, the Dominicans Perrone of Aidone and Antonio of Monte Gargano, who had come to Messina to instigate a revolt against the Aragonese dominion, had their abode in the monastery of Santa Maria delle Scale ("Dicti vero Fratres Praedicatores, Messanam adeuntes, latentes morabantur in domo gloriosae Virginis Mariae de Scalis inter dominas moniales") [43] (p. 78)).

A tradition has it that Frederick III was particularly bound to this monastery for sentimental reasons, because it was here that he met his future wife Eleanor of Anjou for the first time in May 1303, and thereafter, he came here often to restore his spirit, away from the whirlwind of political life (about that, see [34] (p. 253)). All of this seems rather improbable due to the fact that Santa Maria della Valle is in the hinterland and not that close to Messina, and contemporary sources recount that Eleanor arrived from the coast (about that, see [44] (pp. 458–459)). Nevertheless, the considerable restoration and remarkable reconstruction that the Aragonese king is thought to have ordered in 1303 make it highly possible that on this occasion, he wanted to portray himself acting as a donor in the apse of this church.

Having said this, we have to note that very little is known about the dimensions and visibility of this work of art, or the iconographic attention paid to rendering the royal image. From the report by Samperi, we only know that the king was depicted in the main apse of the church in an offering act but nothing more is said. However, the same Samperi wrote that in the main apse there was also a mosaic copy of the picture of the *Madonna della Scala* (probably made around 1221) ("Vi è in questo Tempio [namely, in the Church of Santa Maria della Valle] rimasta la copia di molto buona mano della Immagine di S. Maria della Scala, la quale stà in molta veneratione in quella contrada, e nella Tribuna maggiore, la quale era tutta artificiosamente lavorata di ricco Mosaico; vi era la Imagine di Nostra Signora adorata da due Cherubini, con alcuni caratteri greci intorno, le quali per essere logore dal tempo, non si possono perfettamente leggere; e essendo per l'humidità, e per la poco cura, caduta buona parte del Mosaico, solamente il volto della B. Vergine non hà macchia alcuna, e pare che fosse fatto di fresco, e che desse ancora spirito, e vita à quel luogo" [35] (p. 327). On the apse mosaics of this church, see also [31] (pp. 165–168)).

Considering the presence of the Virgin between two cherubs, we can assume that with respect to the Mother of God, the royal image was at a lower level of the apse and its size was not particularly monumental. For these reasons, it is probable that the image was not particularly visible from the naves of the church. Moreover, we have to consider that it was in the presbyterial area, therefore in a space generally divided from the naves by a more or less obscuring partition (a rood screen), to which the lay people generally had no access (even if some exceptions were possible). Consequently, said mosaic was

in a place particularly connected to the sacred liturgy and, presumably, it performed a religious/devotional function in favor of the king's soul and only the members of the ecclesiastical order could see it.

Architectural research has underlined that in the corners of the presbytery of the church there were four terraces, accessible from the outside and connected in pairs, which could be used as women's galleries. The ones on the southern side could be arrived at from the monastery and they were reserved for the nuns, whereas the ones on the northern side were arrived at thanks to a terrace placed over the aisle and connected by a drawbridge to the bell tower (which was along the side of the building and separate from the main church) (about that, see [28] (pp. 5–6), [34] (p. 263)). These matronei would have been for the distinguished guests of the church who, in this way, could attend the religious services (about that, see [45]). Therefore, in this case, the mosaic could have been visible to the public but, all considered, limited to a small group of people (maybe the king with some kin, some closer members of the court, or some foreign ambassadors, local lords, or foreign princes visiting the monastery). Moreover, these terraces do not seem to have a particularly privileged view of the apse, and in reality, the royal image does not appear to have been designed to be clearly visible to those seated in these spaces.

5. The Mosaic of the Cathedral of Messina

Guidotto de Abbiate (and not de Tabiatis) (about that, see [46]), archbishop of Messina from 1304 to 1333, ordered a series of completions and improvements to the Cathedral of Santa Maria la Nuova in Messina: decoration of the main facade (left portal) and sacristy, encouragement for private citizens to build chapels and altars, erection of his funeral monument, and the construction, on the north side of the church, of new structures for the clergy (about the Cathedral of Messina, see [47], [30] (pp. 253–255), [48]). However, for our purposes, the most relevant endeavor is the decoration of the main apse with mosaics (Figure 4). It included a medallion with angels on the extrados, eight images of the Elders per side (Ap. 4:4), the Agnus Dei on the intrados in the middle, and the Etimasia and Christ enthroned and flanked by two seraphs, two angels, the Virgin, and Saint John the Baptist on the apse basin. Here, at the feet of Christ, small figures of Archbishop Guidotto, Frederick III of Aragon, and his son Peter II (identified respectively by the inscriptions GUIDOTUS ARCHEP[ISCOPU]S / FRIDERICVS REX / PETRVS REX) were depicted in the act of devotion (about this decoration, see [49] (Volume 2, p. 159), [47] (pp. 26–36), [50] (p. 319), [51], [48] (pp. 277–278), [52–56]). Later on, the side apses were also decorated with mosaics. The left (SS. Sacramento) has an image of the Virgin on the throne with the Child while the Hand of God (from the Heavens) is blessing her. Archangels Michel and Gabriel and saints Agatha and Lucy come up beside her while queens Eleanor of Anjou (wife of Frederick III as of 1302) and Elisabeth of Carinthia (wife of Peter II as of 1322) are at her feet. The right (S. Placido) has the image of Saint John the Evangelist. Saints Nicholas and Basil come up beside him while Louis of Aragon and John, Duke of Randazzo (regent of the Kingdom of Sicily from 1342 to 1348), are at his feet]. The king has a kneeling position, long hair, and shaved face and he wears a crown with pendilia, a loros, a red tunic, and a purple cloak with geometric decorations (maybe stylized stars). His iconography probably follows a Norman tradition (for more information and details about the iconographic tradition of the images of Frederick III, see [57]).

Considering that Frederick III is also portrayed here as praying, historians think that the king played a preponderant role in the commission of this work. For this reason, we can consider this image in some sense to be an official representation of the sovereign (moreover, do not forget that Frederick III often resided in Messina and he made this city the de facto capital of his kingdom in place of Palermo [4] (pp. 88–89), [58]). Regarding the dating, we can assume that the work was finished by the death of Guidotto in 1333 and that its conception and creation began after 1321, when Frederick III admitted his son Peter II to the throne of Sicily (here he is being presented with the royal title) (for a summary of this event, see [6]). However, over the centuries, the Cathedral of Messina has suffered

a lot of damage and its mosaic has undergone intense restoration, in some cases being remade from scratch (about that, see [51–56]). The earthquake on 28 December 1908 did not particularly harm the main apse but the fire provoked by the bombing on 13 June 1943 produced much more serious damage. Following the report written during the survey conducted after the collapse, the image of Frederick III was fortunately still "intatta" [53] (p. 602), however it was decided to completely rebuild all of the decoration of the apse. For this reason, what we can currently admire is the result of this remake (which, it seems, also covered the original remains).

Figure 4. Cathedral of Messina, central apse with mosaic decoration rebuilt after the bombing on 13 June 1943. Photo taken by author.

Thanks to some drawings made during the surveys in 1908 and 1943 (about that, see [53] (figures 6 and 9)), historians have verified that the reconstruction fundamentally followed the general iconography of the original mosaics (about that, see [54] (pp. 80–81)). However, it must be pointed out that in reality, the image of Frederick III underwent some inexplicable changes (Figure 5). Indeed, it seems that originally, the king was not totally kneeling but rather in an erect position (albeit still in an attitude of reverence) and it is not clear whether he really wore a cloak. Moreover, he wore a crown that did not have the current odd shape but, on the contrary, was tall and square like the other diadems represented in the cathedral as well as in Norman iconography (about Norman iconography, see [59] (pp. 64–71)).

This image of Frederick III is in the presbytery of the church and it is close to the main altar. Like the mosaic of the Church of Santa Maria della Valle, it was in an area that was only accessible to the religious and presumably separated from the naves by a rood screen. Therefore, the royal image was in a context particularly connected with the liturgy and, presumably, it performed a devotional function in favor of the king's soul. In this connection, historians have noted that the whole iconographic program of the apse followed the typical pattern of the Byzantine Deesis and it was perfectly in line with both the funeral function of the place and the marked Marian connotation of the church and its ornamentation (on the main altar there was an icon of the Virgin Hodegetria that was worshipped like a relic, and the mosaic decoration most likely also had a scene of the Dormitio Virginis with the Assumption) (about that, see [56] (pp. 41–42)).

Certainly, lay people who went to the church could also see the royal portrait from the bottom of the nave because it was on the high level of the apse and it had rather monumental dimensions. However, its visibility was not particularly evident from this position, and it does not seem that this image was specifically conceived of for this type of solution. Indeed, it was best viewed from the presbyterial area, and as a matter of fact, if its beholders were lay people, in this case other parts of the church could have played a

more functional role and provided a more important visual impact. For these reasons, it seems more probable that the royal image was addressed to the clergy of the cathedral as they officiated the services.

Figure 5. Graphic survey of the mosaics of the central apse of the Cathedral of Messina after the 1943 fire. Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale, Valenti Photographic Archives. Reproduced with permission of the Licensor. Detail of the image published in [53] (Figure 9).

6. Conclusions

In order to summarize the general line of Frederick III of Aragon's iconography, we can conclude that this king did not make an abundant use of his images. The mediums that he preferred to use were seals and coins, but he also adopted mosaics. The latter were placed in churches and, specifically, in the presbyterial area (with a particular predilection for the main apse), namely, in restricted areas. For this reason, although they had a monumental nature and a greater visual impact in comparison with seals and coins, presumably they were addressed only to religious beholders. Certainly, seals and coins had great circulation and could reach a wide part of population. However, their images were of small size, and the denaro especially did not pay accurate iconographic attention to rendering the details of the royal image. The iconographic themes adopted in these artefacts present Frederick III as a knight but also as a donor and devotee towards Christ or sacred figures (as Saint Peter). In the rendering of the royal image (and the related symbols of power, attire, and physical features), seals and coins seem to follow the Aragonese tradition of the brother James II. On the other hand, the mosaics probably adopted elements of the Norman iconographic tradition (see, for instance, the specific type of crown, the use of loros, and the embroideries of the robe).

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Entry

Helen Nemanjić (1250–1314)

Čedomila Marinković

Institute of Ethnography, Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia; cedomilamila@gmail.com; Tel.: +381-63-8767-872

Abstract: Queen Helen Nemanjić (1250–Brnjaci near Zubin Potok, February 8, 1314) was a Serbian medieval queen and consort of King Stefan Uroš I (r. 1243–1276), the fifth ruler of the Serbian Nemanide dynasty. She was the mother of the kings Stefan Dragutin and Stefan Uroš II Milutin. Today, she is known as Helen of Anjou (Jelena Anžujska in Serbian) although her real name was most probably Heleni Angelina (Ελένη Αγγελίνα). She was the founder of the Serbian Orthodox monastery of Gradac as well as four Franciscan abbeys in Kotor, Bar, Ulcinj, and Shkodër. Together with her sons, Kings Stefan Dragutin and Stefan Uroš II Milutin she helped renovation of Benedictine abbey of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus near Shkodër on Boyana river in present-day Albania. After the death of her husband, she ruled Zeta and Travunija until 1306. She was known for her religious tolerance and charitable and educational endeavors. She was elevated to sainthood by the Serbian Orthodox Church. Along with Empress Helen, the wife of Serbian Emperor Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, Queen Helen was the most frequently painted woman of Serbian medieval art. Six of her portraits can be found in the monumental painting ensembles of the Serbian medieval monasteries of Sopoćani, Gradac, Arilje, Đurđevi Stupovi (Pillars of St. George), and Gračanica, as well as on two icons and one seal. Queen Helen is also the only female Serbian medieval ruler whose vita was included in the famous collection of the "Lives of Serbian Kings and Archbishops" by Archbishop Danilo II, a prominent church leader, warrior, and writer.

Keywords: Helen of Anjou; Nemanide dynasty; Sopoćani Monastery; Gradac Monastery; Queen Helen's seal; Vatican icon; Gračanica Monastery

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1. Introduction

Queen Helen is popularly known as Helen of Anjou. This identification is based on the statement of her biographer, Archbishop Danilo II, who, as her contemporary, interlocutor, and admirer, writes that Helen was of French origin. Queen Helen was indeed, in the charters of Charles I and Charles II of Anjou, kings of Sicily and Naples, called *a dear cousin—consanguinea nostra carissima*, *cognata nostra*, *affinis nostra carissima* [1] (p. 46). There is proof that Helen's sister Maria was married to Anselm de Keu (in some documents also spelled as de Chau), Captain General of Charles I of Anjou in Albania. However, based on the latest research, Helen's origins are connected with the French and Hungarian nobility in Slavonia and Srem. In 1984, Gordon McDaniel made a very convincing case that Helen and Maria were daughters of the Hungarian nobleman, ruler of Srem and Count of Kovin, John Angelos (Ἰωάννης Ἄγγελος) also known as Good John (Καλοϊωάννης), the son of the Byzantine Emperor Isaac II and the French Matildis Vianden of Posaga (Požega), granddaughter of Peter II Courtenay, the Latin ruler of Constantinople [1] (p. 43). This assumption is still valid today and according to the most recent research, it reflects the very complex political relations between Byzantium, Hungary, and Serbia around the mid-13th century [2] (p. 53).

Princess Heleni Angelina married the Serbian king Stefan Uroš I Nemanjić (r. 1243–1276) probably in mid-1250. They had three children: two sons, subsequently kings, Stefan Uroš Dragutin (r. 1276–1282) and Stefan Uroš II Milutin (r. 1282–1321), and one daughter, Brnj(a)ča (Berenice). Recently, during the excavation of the Church of

the Holy Virgin in the Studenica Monastery, the mausoleum of the first generations of the Nemanide family, an intriguing yet still not completely explained tombstone—built into the floor alongside the tomb of St. Symeon (Stefan Nemanja)—was found. Its inscription reads: +СТ ЂФАНЬСІНЬКРАЛІАУРОШІА УНОУКЬСТГОСИМОНАМНАХА ИПРАУНОУКЬСТГО СИМЕѡНА [+Stefan, son of King Uroš, grandson of Saint Simon the Monk (Stefan the First-crowned), great-grandson of Saint Symeon]. The bones of the two-year-old boy were found in the grave below the tombstone. Because of the inscription, the location of the tomb, and the fact that the buried person bore the name Stefan, it is assumed that the mentioned person was the first child of Queen Helen and King Uroš I [3] (p. 94). If this is to be accepted, Prince Stefan was born and passed away a few years before the birth of his brother Stefan Dragutin (born around 1250) [4] (p. 11).

In 1276, a conflict broke out between Queen Helen's husband Uroš I and their eldest son Stefan Uroš Dragutin. King Uroš I abdicated, and less than two years later died in Hum. He was buried in his endowment, the Sopoćani Monastery. During the reign of her sons, Stefan Uroš Dragutin (r. 1276–1282) and Stefan Uroš II Milutin (r. 1282–1321) Queen Helen maintained provincial administration in the Zeta and Travunija until 1306 [5] (p. 357). Travunija (Latin Tribunia) was a South Slavic medieval principality that was part of medieval Serbia (850–1355). Travunija stretched from the city of Dubrovnik to the Bay of Kotor. It bordered Zahumlje in the northwest and Duklja in the southeast. During the second part of the 12th century, Travunija was fully incorporated into the united Serbian medieval states (Raška and Zeta) under the rule of the Nemanide dynasty. From that time on Travunija existed as a semi-separate principality within the Serbian lands. Under the same name, sometimes also called the *Trebigne of the Ragusans*, this region belonged to the Serbian medieval kingdom, later empire, until 1355.

In Zeta (present-day Montenegro) and Travunija, Queen Helen had her own army and chancellery. She proved to be a very successful administrator, governing regions with a mixed Serbian Orthodox and Roman Catholic population. She helped renovation of four Franciscan abbeys in Kotor, Bar, Ulcinj, and Shkodër (present-day Albania). Together with her sons, Kings Dragutin and Milutin, she also helped the renovation of the Benedictine abbey of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus on Boyana river. Today, the church is almost destroyed, but the inscription, written in Latin and kept today at the Historical Museum in Shkodër, testifies to their ktetorship. Queen Helen became a nun around 1295 in the Church of St. Nicholas in Shkodër. She died at her court in Brnjaci on 8 February 1314. She was canonized by the Serbian Orthodox Church three years later. Even though her feast day is still celebrated on November 12 (October 30), some authors are questioning her conversion to Orthodoxy [6] (pp. 104–106).

2. The Sopoćani Monastery

Painted between 1263–1268 [7] (p. 18), the figure of Queen Helen appears twice in the Holy Trinity Church of the Sopoćani Monastery, the endowment of King Stefan Uroš I, built from 1259 to 1270, near the source of the Raška River in the region of Ras, the center of the Serbian medieval state, located 15 km west of the present-day town of Novi Pazar. In the narthex, King Stefan Uroš I's royal family is shown standing in front of the Mother of God with Christ. King Stefan Uroš I is depicted with their eldest son, Stefan Dragutin, heir to the throne, on the southern part of the eastern wall of the narthex, while Queen Helen is shown behind him, on the southern wall, with their younger son, Stefan Uroš II Milutin (Figure 1). From an iconographical point of view, this is not a founder's composition but a portrait of the royal family, which is the first of its kind in Serbian medieval painting. Helen is shown as a tall, beautiful young woman with a crown on her head. She is dressed in the Byzantine manner, in a purple *divitision* (διβητήσιον) decorated with a wide collar—a *maniakon* (μανιάκιον). On the front, the dress is decorated with a *loros* (λῶρος)—a wide decorated ribbon wound around the torso so that one end hung down in front and and the other hung over the right arm. The loros is decorated with precious stones and pearl

wreaths. On the side of the dress there is a circular decoration—*rota*—a motif that dates back to Antiquity. Queen Helen is wearing a simple and open crown—a *stemma* (στέμμα).

Figure 1. Queen Helen with Prince Stefan Uroš II Milutin, fresco, 1263–1268, Holy Trinity Church of Sopoćani Monastery, southeast corner of the narthex, first zone. Photo by Srđan Vulović, courtesy of the National Museum of Kraljevo.

In the first zone of the northern wall in the narthex of the Holy Trinity Church of Sopoćani Monastery, a historical scene from the life of the Nemanide royal family is represented—the death of Queen Anne Dandolo, mother of King Stefan Uroš I (Figure 2) [8] (pp. 24–25). The composition is modeled after the scene of the Dormition of the Mother of God and shows the mourning of Queen Anne. This time, Queen Helen is depicted in the foreground, kneeling in front of the scaffolding, and resting her cheek on her mother-in-law's hand. She wears a dark blue dress with a purple trimmed cloak and a white scarf on her head. Representations of hour of death of historical figures are extremely rare in Serbian medieval painting and can be found only later in the monasteries of Gračanica and the Patriarchate of Peć [9] (pp. 99–127).

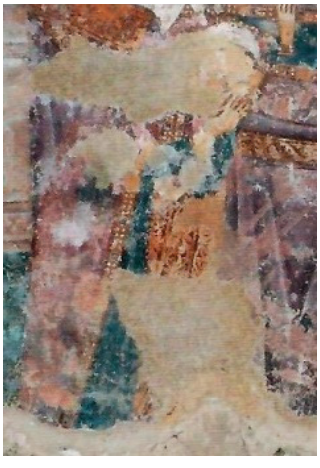

Figure 2. Death of Queen Anne Dandolo. Queen Helen kneeling in front of the scaffolding (detail), 1263–1268. Holy Trinity Church of Sopoćani Monastery, northern wall of the narthex, first zone. Photo by Srđan Vulović, courtesy of the National Museum of Kraljevo.

3. The Gradac Monastery

Queen Helen is depicted in the Church of the Annunciation at the Monastery of Gradac. The Annunciation Church of the Gradac Monastery (Figure 3) was her endowment, built around 1275 on the elevated plateau above the Gradačka river at the edge of the forested slopes of Mt. Golija, 12 km to the west of the medieval fortress of Brvenik. Although the overall ensemble of the wall paintings of the Gradac Monastery was largely damaged, a founder's composition was once depicted on the south wall of the western part of the nave, above a double tomb [10] (p. 81). It is still possible to distinguish several figures from the outlines: the Mother of God presents a monk to the enthroned Christ, followed by King Stefan Uroš I and Queen Helen. Together they are holding a model of the church (Figure 4). Queen Helen is represented in a full-frontal position, usually reserved only for Byzantine emperors [8] (p. 28), which led Danica Popović to the conclusion that she was the first founder [10] (p. 85). The fresco was largely destroyed and today is mostly unrecognizable. However, it is possible to see that Helen is wearing an open crown on her head. Traces of a halo around her head are also visible.

Figure 3. Annunciation Church of Gradac Monastery, endowment of Queen Helen, built around 1275. Photo Čedomila Marinković.

Figure 4. Queen Helen, first to the right, holding a model of a church together with her husband, King Uroš I. Ktetor's composition, Annunciation Church of Gradac Monastery, south wall of the nave, around 1275. Photo Čedomila Marinković.

4. Queen Helen's Royal Seal

One letter by Queen Helen—addressed to Prince Ivan Storlat of Dubrovnik and Archbishop Alijard, dated October 28 without the year, and sealed with her royal seal—has been preserved to the present day. The dating of the letter to which the seal was attached is still an open question in Serbian medieval sigillography, but according to the latest literature, it was probably written after 1278. The seal is 4.7 cm in diameter and is made of pure wax (Figure 5). Its copy is nowadays kept in the Collection of Seal Replicas of the National Museum in Kraljevo. It shows the figure of Queen Helen wrapped in a cloak, sitting on a pillow placed on a plain chair, which has no arm or backrest. A flat crown without any details is placed on her head. The inscription, which runs around the depiction reads: СЛѢНА КРАЛІЦА . . . . . Б(ЛА)ГОЧУ(ЕС)ТИВЬ . . . СП . . . ЗЕ(МЛ) . . . [Gl(ori)ous queen, pious . . . srb . . . l(and)] [11] (p. 56).

Figure 5. Queen Helen represented as a ruler. Replica of the wax seal, Collection of Seal Replicas No. 133. National Museum in Kraljevo. Photo by Srđan Vulović, courtesy of the National Museum of Kraljevo.

5. The Monastery of Đurđevi Stupovi (Pillars of St. George), Chapel of King Dragutin

The Monastery of Đurđevi Stupovi (Pillars of St. George—pillar being called *stolp*, in Old Church Slavonic) was erected in about 1170 as an endowment of Grand Prince Stefan Nemanja and dedicated to St. George. The monastery is located near the present-day town of Novi Pazar in the Serbian region of Ras, on the top of a prominent elevation covered with forest. The monastery complex consisted of the Church of Saint George, dining room, refectory, water tanks, and walls around the entrance tower. After the additional construction of apse in the east side in 1282–1283, the entrance tower was turned into a chapel that King Dragutin designed for his tomb (Figure 6). The inside of the chapel is covered in frescos with historical content. Another founder's composition was depicted there. On the south wall of the chapel, a procession of Nemanide monks is approaching Christ on the throne: Symeon Nemanja, Stefan the First-crowned as the monk Simon, King Uroš as the monk Symeon, and Queen Helen. For the first time in Serbian 13th century iconography, a procession of patron saints, i.e., the *Horizontal genealogy of the Nemanide family* is interrupted, and the founder of the church is represented not after his saintly predecessors but on the other, western wall. Queen Helen (Figure 7) is depicted wearing a monastic habit and a white veil, either as a novice or as sign of mourning, and a halo around her head. On the left side, next to her head, is an inscription that reads: ІЄЛѢНА ВЕЛИКА КРАЛІЦА [Helen, the great queen].

Figure 6. Entrance tower of Monastery of Đurđevi Stupovi turned into the tomb chapel of King Dragutin, around 1282. Photo Čedomila Marinković.

Figure 7. Queen Helen as a widow or novice, procession of Nemanide-monks, after 1282–1283, Monastery of St. George's Pillars, Chapel of King Dragutin, south wall. Photo Nenad Vukićević, Blago Fund, Inc.

6. Church of St. Achillius in Arilje

The Church of St. Achillius is located in the center of the town of Arilje in western Serbia. It was built as the main endowment of King Dragutin, Queen's Helen elder son.

According to the preserved inscription, the church was painted around 1295/97 [12] (p. 95), i.e., fifteen years after King Dragutin abdicated in favor of his younger brother Milutin in 1282. Queen Helen is depicted on the south wall of the nave at the back of the Nemanide procession, led before Christ by Stefan the First-crowned as the monk Simon, followed by King Uroš I as the monk Symeon. She is painted wearing a monastic habit (Figure 8) with a halo around her head and an inscription on both sides of the figure that reads: ІЄЛЄНА КРАЛІЦА ВЬСЄСРЬСКІЄЗЕМЛЄ[Helen, the queen of all Serbian lands]. Common belief has it that the reign of Dragutin lasted from 1276 to 1282. Recently, this was questioned by Vlada Stanković who assumes that instead of the brothers and their mother reigning separately, there was a "peculiar (ruling) triumvirate" of King Dragutin, Milutin, and Queen Helen that lasted from the abdication of King Uroš I in 1276 to Milutin's peace agreement with the Byzantines in 1299 [2] (p. 69). This fact could better explain the appearance of Queen Helen in Arilje, as well as the inscription surrounding her head.

Figure 8. Queen Helen as a nun, procession of Nemanide monks, 1295–1297, Church of St. Achillius in Arilje, south wall of the nave. Photo Nenad Vukićević, Blago Fund, Inc.

7. Icons

Queen Helen is also associated with two icons that were donated to churches in Italy. The first icon is that of Sts. Peter and Paul, which is kept in the Vatican Treasury in Rome, and the second icon is that of St. Nicholas which was donated to his church in Bari.

The Vatican icon was painted on poplar wood in egg tempera on a gold background. It is divided into two separate registers by a horizontal red line. The upper part of the icon shows the busts of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul who are depicted in a gesture of blessing (Figure 9). Peter is holding a scroll and Paul a book of his epistles. They occupy two thirds of the composition and above them is the bust of Christ. The lower third of the icon is intended for the founders. In the central part, below the arcade on the pillars, Queen Helen is represented as a nun bowing before a Western bishop with a nimbus, holding a book and the episcopal staff (crozier), who is blessing her. The bishop is dressed in a green tunic and red chasuble, and a miter on his head. The sides of the composition are occupied by two figures identically dressed in the Byzantine costume and with crowns, their heads in a posture of prayer: her sons Dragutin on the left and Milutin on the right. This icon of St. Peter and St. Paul was probably commissioned by Queen Helen and was presumably given to Pope Nicholas IV (r. 1288–1299). According to Mihailović–Shipley [13] (pp. 92–93)

the icon holds an important message. As the commissioner of the work, Queen Helen was probably aware that the contemporary religious politics in the region corresponded with the idea of the unification of the two churches promoted by the popes in the 13th century, and even briefly achieved in the Lyon Union. As it is well known, the cult of St. Peter and St. Paul was established in the late 4th century, when Pope Damascus consistently promoted them as emblems of unity within the church [14] (p. 102). During the pontificate of Nicholas IV (r. 1288–1292) this idea continued to be promoted through the images of Sts. Peter and Paul [13] (pp. 94).

Figure 9. Queen Helen as a nun flanked by her sons, Dragutin and Milutin, Sts. Peter and Paul icon around 1282, 74 × 49 cm. (copyist: Z. Živković). The Gallery of Frescoes, Belgrade. Inv. No. 870. Photo courtesy of The Gallery of Frescoes, Belgrade.

Although the second icon that Queen Helen donated to the Church of St. Nicholas in Bari has not been preserved, there is a description of it in the work of Antonio Beatillo from 1620 [15] (p. 653). The height of the icon was less than one meter and the width was about half a meter. However, we learn that the panel from the Vatican Treasury reveals many similarities with this one. The representation consisted of the bust of St. Nicholas in the upper part of the icon and three kneeling figures with Latin inscriptions at the bottom: King Dragutin was represented on the left as REX STEPHANUS FILIUS UROSII REGIS SERVIAE, [King Stefan son of Uroš the ruler of Serbia], King Milutin on the right—REX UROSIUS FILIUS UROSII REGIS SERVIAE [King Uroš (II) son of Uroš (I) the ruler of Serbia], and Queen Helen in the middle whose figure was accompanied by a long inscription: MEMENTO FAMULE TUE HELEN DEI GRATIA REGINE SERVIAE UXORIS MAGNI REGIS UROSII ET MATRIS URSII ET STEPHANI SUPRASCRIPTORUM REGUM.

HANC YCONAM AD HONOREM SANCTI NICOLAI ORDINAVIT [Oh, Lord, remember Thy servant in the Grace of God, Helen the Queen of Serbia, wife of the great King Uroš (I) and mother of Uroš (II) and Stefan, the above signed rulers, who commissioned this icon in honor of St. Nicholas] [16] (p. 143). With these icons and adopting a recognizable Italian style, Queen Helen may have wished to promote the Serbian Kingdom as a multicultural state, with strong Italian connections and affinities or to have the icon appeal stylistically to its intended Catholic audience.

8. The Gračanica Monastery

The Gračanica Monastery is one of King Stefan Uroš II Milutin's last monumental endowments. The monastery is located in Gračanica, Kosovo, about 5 km from Priština, and represents one of the masterpieces of Serbian medieval art and architecture. On the northern part of the eastern wall in the narthex of the Annunciation Church of the Gračanica Monastery, painted around 1321, in the first zone to the right Queen Helen, is represented as a saint with a halo and the inscription: СТА ІЕЛЕНА ПРЕВИСОКА САМОДРЬЖАВНА КРАЛИЦА [St. Helen the great independent queen] (Figure 10). Next to her, to the right, there is a frontal representation of a male person dressed in a monk's suit with a halo and the visible inscription that reads: СТИСТЕφАНЬОУРОШЬКРАЛВСѢХЬСРЬПСКИХ ЗЕМЛЬ ИПОМОРСКИХЬСТАГО ПРЬВОВѢNЧААNАГО КРАЛА СТ (. . .) ВNОУКЬ [St. Stefan Uroš King of all Serbian lands and the Littoral, St. King Stefan the First-crowned St (. . .) grandson] [17] (p. 107). Above them, there is a representation of Christ Emanuel, giving them a monastic insignia. Although data from the image and from the inscription are mutually exclusive—King Milutin did not become a monk during his lifetime—according to Branislav Todić's first interpretation, this scene represents "the symbolic monasticism of King Milutin" [17] (p. 76) and was created a couple of years later than the original decorative program of the Gračanica church, probably around 1324 [17] (p. 130). In an article published five years later, the same author corrected his reading of the inscription and interpreted the scene as a representation of Queen Helen as a nun and King Uroš I as a monk [18] (pp. 13). The iconography of the scene and its further political message is, however, unique. During a closer inspection of the fresco between the representations of St. Helen and Uroš, the remains of two figures were discovered (Figure 11). Their appearance, although only in the drawing, as well as the fact that Christ provided them with two identical, domed crowns, according to various authors simplifies their recognition. Reduced in size compared to the monk Symeon and St. Helen, two figures of different ages are presented here, facing each other, prayerfully bowed and with their hands in the same gesture, both having domed crowns and halos around their heads. On the elderly person, next to Uroš, there is a *maniakion* and a *loros* falling over his left arm. According to Todić, this king was identified with King Milutin because of his long beard, while the person across from him, a young beardless man wearing a tunic and a cloak was seen "as his son Constantine" [18] (p. 14). Recently, Dragan Vojvodić proposed another identification of these figures. He saw them as a young king Stefan Uroš IV Dušan and his father Stefan III Dečanski, who have been consciously omitted from the original program of Gračanica because of the well-known conflict between Stefan Dečanski and King Milutin in 1314. Additionally, Stefan Uroš IV Dušan and his father Stefan III Dečanski were painted in Gračanica after their coronation on 6 January 1322 [19] (p. 262). The originally imagined painting of the Gračanica narthex thus intended to legitimate the ascension to the power of Stefan Dečanski and his fellow ruler in the presence of St. Helen and Uroš I as a monk.

Figure 10. Queen Helen as a nun, 1322, Church of the Annunciation of the Gračanica Monastery, eastern wall. Photo by Srđan Vulović, courtesy of the National Museum of Kraljevo.

Figure 11. Queen Helen as a nun with Uroš I as monk. Between them, a young king Stefan Uroš IV Dušan and his father Stefan III Dečanski, around 1322. Church of the Annunciation of Gračanica Monastery, north part of the eastern wall. Reconstruction based on drawings by B. Živković. Courtesy of M. Miša Rakocija the Editor-in-chief of the *Niš and Byzantium*.

9. Conclusions

Summarizing the general lines of Queen Helen's iconography, we can conclude that among an extraordinary number of her representations, several innovations were introduced. From an iconographical point of view, it is interesting that she is shown in several roles: as a young queen, she was represented in secular family portraits and historical scenes first introduced in Serbian medieval iconography in Sopoćani; as co-ruler in her ktetor's (founder's) portrait (as in the Gradac monastery); as the independent ruler on one preserved seal; as the only woman in the horizontal genealogy of Nemanide family in the endowments of her son; and as a nun before the Roman Catholic authorities on the icons in the Vatican and in Bari.

One can single out several periods in her representations and several messages behind them. From her representation on the seal and icons, but especially from the inscriptions written next to her figure in her portraits from the Monastery of Đurđevi Stupovi, it is

pointed out that she was great, pious queen. A strong visual stress of the piousness of Queen Helen is underlined in various ways in her visual renderings: she is represented as a widow in Đurđevi stupovi and with a halo in all her representations—from the ktetor's portrait in Gradac to her portrait in Gračanica. If we understand the halo as a sign of sanctity, these representations of Queen Helen were not very much in tune with historical events, as she was canonized in 1317, three years after her death. Queen Helen appears represented with a halo already in her (today much damaged) donor's portrait in the Bogorodica Bistrička church painted around 1250. The halo depicted around the heads of living persons, thus represents their highest dignity. In Serbian royal iconography, such halos were not represented before the portraits painted around 1230 in the south parekklesion of the Holy Virgin's church in the Monastery of Studenica [20] (p. 162).

In the aforementioned church of Bogorodica Bistrička, both King Uroš I and Queen Helen are represented, wearing full Byzantine costumes and crowns as a symbol of power. Of course, there was not any legal ground for that behavior and Byzantium never approved it but could not do very much except to resent or reconcile it [20] (pp. 170–171).

On the other hand, the frequently mentioned title of Queen Helen as ruler of all Serbian lands reflects the political reality of her status after the death of her husband King Uroš I, when she acquired the littoral lands from Trebinje to Shkodër and territories around Plav, the Upper Lim River, and Brnjaci. These *domina regina mater*, together with the old and developed littoral cities such as Kotor, Bar, Ulcinj, and Shkodër became at that time the main artery of the economy and trade, and Queen Helen remained in memory as a wise and capable female ruler who loved tradition, joined cultures, and helped those in need.

The overall imagery of Queen Helen corresponding to the place where it was shown was conveyed different and complex messages. In the case of the two icons the message corresponds with the ongoing contemporary dialogue between East and West at the time of the still existing idea regarding the unification of the two churches. It is evident that Queen Helen deeply understood the position of her dominion, placed between two strong influences and acted in it either as a "queen on a chess board", constructing a "diplomatic game" [13] (p. 118), or as a politician proceeding in a "Realpolitik" manner [6] (p. 105). Being the Queen of an Orthodox society, at the same time, she represented an axis, from which the political powers of her two sons (at least till 1301) were suspended [13] (p. 118). Aftermost her authority as a saint helped her descendants, Kings Stefan Uroš III Dečanski and his son, Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, conveying a message of legitimization of the succession to the throne of Serbia.

To summarize: In lands ruled by Queen Helen, the cohabitation and interaction of populations of both Orthodox and Catholic affiliation were very common, in particular in the Littoral, as the area of direct contact. Hence, the visual culture of her era has preserved examples of all the various guises of her identity and the different political, religious, and social roles and duties she performed.

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Entry

Henry II of Trastámara (1366–1367, 1369–1379)

María Ángeles Jordano Barbudo

Department of History of Art, Archaeology and Music, University of Córdoba, 14071 Córdoba, Spain; ajordano@uco.es

Abstract: Henry II of Castile, also known as Henry of Trastámara, from the Latin "Tras Tamaris" (or beyond the Tambre River), King of Castile and León (1366–1367, 1369–1379) was the first king of the Trastámara Dynasty. In summary, it was a minor branch of the house of Burgundy (or an "Iberian extension" of it), with presence in the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Naples. Most notably, it began playing an essential role in the kingdom of Castile, but after the Compromise of Caspe, its power extended decisively to the kingdom of Aragon (1412). Henry II was the illegitimate son of Alfonso XI and his lover Leonor de Guzmán. He waged a civil war against his stepbrother, Peter I, legitimate heir to the throne, as the son of Alfonso XI and Maria of Portugal, Queen of Castile. Henry's determination to be recognized as king led him to employ the arts in a campaign to discredit his stepbrother and tarnish his image, portraying himself as a defender of the faith with the right to rule. He built the Royal Chapel (1371) in the main church of Córdoba (today's Mosque/Cathedral) for the burial of his father and grandfather, Ferdinand IV, in order to underscore his connection to the royal line, and refurbished the Puerta del Perdón (Gate of Forgiveness) in 1377, the main entrance to the church, for use as a dramatic stage for public events.

Keywords: royal images; royal iconography; king of Castile and Leon; Henry II of Castile

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1. Introduction

After the death of Alfonso XI during the siege of Gibraltar in 1350, a victim of the Black Plague that struck Europe in the second half of the 14th century, his son Peter I (by name, Peter the Just or Peter the Cruel) ascended to the throne of Castile and León. Thus began the struggle for power between Peter's illegitimate half-brothers, fruit of Alfonso XI's relationship with his lover Leonor de Guzmán (a great-great-granddaughter of Alfonso IX), who bore him 11 children. The Trastámara line originated in this illegitimate lineage, whose first-born son bore the title of Count of Trastámara, including Henry, who ultimately would be king [1]. According to the chronicle, "she was beautiful, the loveliest woman in the kingdom" [2]. Alfonso XI endeavored to furnish his illegitimate children with titles and possessions to secure their futures [3].

Born in Seville on January 13, 1333, Henry was described by the chronicler Pedro López de Ayala as follows: "His body was small, but well built; he was white and blond, with good brains, he was energetic, and frank, and virtuous, and a very good receiver and honorer of the people" [4] (p. 507). Through his mother's mediation, he married Juana Manuel, a daughter of the famous writer and nobleman Don Juan Manuel and his third wife, Blanca de la Cerda. When Peter I found out about this union, he moved to have his stepbrother apprehended, so Henry took refuge in Asturias. A year later, in 1351, Peter agreed to have Leonor de Guzmán executed, as she had orchestrated her son Henry's marriage to Juana Manuel, which provided him with the great prestige of her lineage, and wealth, thereby bolstering Henry's threat to Peter.

To understand Henry's achievements, it is necessary to appreciate the calamitous economic situation that had arisen due to the demographic crisis wrought by the Black Death, compounded not only by the war of the Two Peters (Peter I of Castile and Peter IV of Aragon) but also a civil war between petristas (supporters of Peter I) and enriqueños

(backers of Enrique; that is, Henry), which became one more episode in the Hundred Years War due to the involvement of France, whose support Henry secured; and England, which supported Peter, who had turned to the Prince of Wales for help. Henry II, Count of Trastámara, managed to rally the nobles against Peter I in 1366, thanks to support from France and the Crown of Aragon, in addition to a carefully crafted campaign to depict his stepbrother as a tyrant. It is necessary to emphasize that Henry II would indirectly play an essential role in European history since the support of Castile to France would be consummated in the battle of La Rochelle (1372), resulting in an extreme fiasco of the English navy against the Castilian, led by the admiral A. Bocanegra. This fact would mean the beginning of the end of the Hundred Years War and would mark the decline of the English interests in France.

If there is one truly revolutionary aspect of Henry II's reign that must be highlighted, one with profound consequences related to the image that he projected of himself through the arts, it was how, despite being a bastard son, he still managed to take the throne thanks to the support of the nobility. He rewarded them with ample and generous mercedes, favors in the form of goods, income, and privileges (hence, his nickname 'the King of Las Mercedes') and to convince the kingdom of his reign's legitimacy, despite having risen to power through bloodshed.

2. The Accusation of "Tyrant"

In March 1366, Henry and his troops invaded Castile, conquering Burgos, the seat of the kingdom, from which Peter fled. On April 5, he was crowned king of Castile in the Royal Monastery of Las Huelgas, a site that must have been well calculated, as numerous kings were buried in its church, thereby constituting a site that would serve to bolster the legitimacy of Henry's coronation. Thus began what came to be called the "first reign of Henry II."

The first time the term "evil tyrant, an enemy of God and his holy Mother Church" was used was to accuse Peter that same year, in a document Henry sent to the town council of Covarrubias. With this epithet, he alluded to Peter's supposed abuses in the exercise of power, and the injustices that he had perpetrated, which, according to the Trastámara camp, deprived Peter of any right to be king. This stance flouted the Castilian political tradition, which had always held that, as the king's power came from God, even if he erred in his judgments, he had to be obeyed [5].

The idea that the king's legitimacy depended on his upstanding behavior was spread under Henry thanks mainly to the chronicler Pedro López de Ayala, who propagated the idea:

"He who governs and defends his people well

This is a true king, may the other be removed". [6,7]

In addition, a factor in spreading Peter's negative image was his vassals' discontent with the high taxes they had to pay under him, in addition to the monarch's reputation as a cruel leader, which led many to take refuge in other kingdoms for fear of being executed; his detractors dubbed him 'the Cruel' beginning in 1366, while his followers knew him as 'the Just'.

The first reign culminated with Henry's triumphant entry into Seville in 1366, according to López de Ayala: "that party, though he arrived near the city very early in the morning it was not until past the nones that he reached his palace" [6] (pp. 448–449). Seville was the city in which Peter I had found unconditional support and in whose old fortress he had built his palace in 1364, with the spectacular facade of the Montería courtyard, a dramatic backdrop against which to stage his power, plus the sumptuous Hall of Ambassadors [8]. This "ceremonialization of political life", in the words of Nieto Soria [9], was a process that the Trastámara continued with the first monarch of the lineage to ascend to the throne of Castile: that is, Henry II.

The exotic, lavish sight of the palatine rooms in the old Andalusian fortress in Seville, built by Peter in a style featuring multiple Andalusian (mudéjar) influences, thanks to the

work of artists sent by the Nasrid Sultan Muhammad V of Granada, who were working on the Alhambra [10], must have made a deep impression on Henry (Regarding the relationship between Henry II with Muhammad V of Granada, it was not exactly "cordial". There were also some periods of crisis or clashes), who chose the city of Córdoba to produce a series of works whose primary objective was to demonstrate his legitimacy in the city that supported him. In this way, Seville and Córdoba reflect how that transition was visually produced from the last king of the House of Burgundy, Peter I, to the first of the Trastámara Dynasty, with Henry II using artistic forms as an essential vehicle to publicize this shift among the latter's vassals. In this regard, Nieto Soria contrasts the idea of the 'concealed king' to that of the 'exhibited king', the latter being one who uses ceremonies calculated to achieve political purposes, vital in the case of the Trastámara Dynasty to justify its legitimacy and ensure loyalties to it [9] (pp. 51–72).

Another of the arguments used to seek Henry's recognition was to depict him as a thoroughly Christian king, in contrast to Peter, who was portrayed as a defender of the Jews and a friend to the Muslims. As we pointed out, the economic crisis of the 14th century and the Black Death stirred up anti-Jewish sentiment among the population, who asked Henry to forgive debts contracted with Jewish moneylenders and to substantially limit the prerogatives that Peter I had granted them; the king's treasurer had been the powerful Samuel Ha Leví, who ordered the construction of the great Synagogue of El Tránsito in Toledo. This would be one of the jewels of mudéjar art, a form of artistic expression that became a visual language shared by the three cultures existing on the Peninsula at that time (Christianity, Islam, and Judaism), despite the tensions between them at different times, as we have just noted.

The harmonious relationship between Peter I and Muhammad V of Granada is well known, as Peter helped the sultan to regain the throne, such that he was later able to count on aid from Nasrid troops in his struggle with his stepbrother. Peter's tolerance towards Muslims and the fact that he received assistance from them in his confrontations with his stepbrother was also boldly used by his enemies to malign Peter as a protector of Christianity's enemies. In fact, Henry even referred to the war against his stepbrother as a "crusade" [3] (p. 88). A letter to the Council of Covarrubias issued by the Trastámara chancellery in April 1366 states that the Castilian king was "supporting and enriching the Moors and the Jews, teaching them, and undercutting the Catholic faith" [11]. Despite the fact that Henry started out spurning these two minorities, he soon realized that he could not do without them and altered his position. This was visually represented through art, as we will see in two of his most emblematic artistic projects: the Royal Chapel and, especially, the Puerta del Perdón (Door of Forgiveness), both at the Cathedral of Córdoba, where Christian elements are fused with others of Islamic origin, with even the use of praise for God being in Arabic and also in Latin.

3. "I Neither Topple nor Install a King"

After Peter I's defeat at the first Battle of Nájera, he obtained the support of the heir to the crown of England, the Prince of Wales, known as the Black Prince. On 3 April 1367, the armies of the two sides—petristas and enriquistas—clashed again in Nájera, where the latter were defeated, and Henry II losing the throne. Taken prisoner, among others, was the Breton commander Bertrand du Guesclin, a leader of the Free Companies, made up of mercenaries in the service of France, and later of Trastámara. Henry took refuge in France, where he reorganized his army to return definitively, this time with the support of numerous towns and bands disgruntled with Peter's policies. In addition to working against Peter were the effects of propaganda tarnishing his image and rendering him unpopular [12].

In March 1369, the Trastámara side emerged triumphant at Montiel, where the famous fratricide took place on the night of the 22nd: when Peter was summoned to his stepbrother's tent, a fight broke out, and Roger du Guesclin ended up slaying Peter. According to the tradition, when the Breton stabbed the king with his dagger, he uttered the celebrated

phrase: "I neither topple nor install a king, I only help my lord" [13]. The regicide was, in Valdaliso's words, presented as a tyrannicide, based on legitimizing arguments such as providentialism, with Henry claiming that he had been designated by God to put an end to Peter's tyranny [14]. However, as this was not enough, other forms of justification were sought, such as his dynastic connection with his father, Alfonso XI, and it is here that the construction of the Royal Chapel in the Cathedral of Córdoba in 1371 for the burial of his grandfather and father, Fernando IV and Alfonso XI, takes on relevance. Upon Alfonso XI's death in 1350 his lover, Leonor de Guzmán, had made plans for the marriage between her son Henry and Juana Manuel.

The Virgin of Tobed: A Dynastic Ex-Voto

The role of Leonor de Guzmán, Alfonso XI's lover and Henry II's mother, was decisive in giving her son the courage to aspire to the throne, and it was she who orchestrated a strategic link between him, her eldest son, and Juana Manuel, a great-granddaughter of Ferdinand III, the king who had wrested Cordoba from the Muslims in 1236. She was the daughter of the famous writer and powerful *enfante* Don Juan Manuel, such that this relationship was politically advantageous.

The work entitled *The Virgen of Tobed*, found at the Prado Museum since 2013 thanks to an important donation by the José Luis Várez Fisa collection to the Spanish art gallery, is a panel painted in tempera (161.4 × 117.8 cm) attributed to the painter Jaime Serra. Dating it has been a challenge, with the most recent studies placing it between 1367 and 1369, dates endorsed by Chao, and 1375, according to Borrás Gualis [15,16]. This work was the central panel of the main altarpiece of the church of Santa María de Tobed, an interesting mudéjar church/fortress erected in the municipality of Tobed (Zaragoza province). The altarpiece was a royal commission that takes on special relevance due to the portrayal of the donors at the Virgin's feet: Henry II, with the inscription Enrico rege; his wife Juana Manuel de Villena, and their children Don Juan (the future John I of Castile, who would marry Eleanor of Aragon, the daughter of Peter IV the Ceremonious) and Eleanor of Castile, the future queen of Navarre by her marriage to Charles III the Noble.

The work, studied by numerous specialists (Due to the abundance of works on this work, we refer the reader to the most recent publication, where he will find updated bibliographic references: [15] (pp. 89–118), has been interpreted as an instrument designed to legitimize the Trastámara Dynasty through its strong symbolism. On a golden background, alluding to paradise, and under a lobed arch in whose spandrels, we see the coat of arms of Juana Manuel and the royal ones of Castile y León, in this order, revealing the importance attached to the queen's lineage are four angels adoring the central figure, the Virgin Mary, who breastfeeds the Child while sitting on a cushion, following the model of the Virgin of Humility. They both stare at the viewer, but Maria's sad gaze portends her son's Passion and death. Everything in it transmits the luxury and splendor of the court: the red and blue mantle of the Virgin with motifs of facing birds, inspired by oriental fabrics; the lavish cushion whose minute patterns are inspired by the Islamic tradition's sumptuous lusterware, the luxurious rug, and regal attire. The elegance and delicacy of its forms, as well as the exquisite details and the richness of its colors reveal the influence of 14th century Siena art on the artists of the Crown of Aragon, the Serra brothers included.

At the foot of Mary and the Child, on a significantly smaller scale, to recognize a hierarchy, the characters mentioned above appear as donors, all of them wearing the royal crown. To the right of the Virgin are the two men, in a position of privilege, and to her left, the women. In front of them on the ground are two helmets bearing the royal coat of arms and crest. Kneeling, they direct their prayers to Mary and Jesus, hence, the votive character that has been attributed to this work.

The fact that the four donors are crowned prompts Professor Borrás to date the work to the year 1375, as Henry II signed separate peace treaties with the King of Navarre (1373) and the King of Aragon (1375), strengthened by a strategically designed set of marriages [16] (pp. 169–175). Chao, however, argues that although the betrothals had taken place before

1375, by this year, neither of the two *enfantes* had yet married, the scholar noting that, in addition, they are still almost childlike in appearance (Figure 1) [15] (pp. 89–118).

Figure 1. The Virgin of Tobed with donors Henry II of Castile, his wife Juana Manuel, and two of their children. Painting. 1367–1369/1375. Attributed to Jaume Serra. Prado Museum. © Image Bank of the Prado Museum.

Special attention should be paid to the location of the heraldic symbols, unusual in that the crest of Juana Manuel, heiress to the Manuel family line, appears in a central position, breaking with heraldic tradition. This variation was intentional, to underscore the legitimacy of the lineage, as the queen was, on her paternal line, the granddaughter of the infante Manuel, the great-granddaughter of Ferdinand III of Castile, the Saint; and, on her maternal line, a granddaughter of the *enfante* Ferdinand de la Cerda, and a great-granddaughter of Alfonso X of Castile, the Wise. The problem that arose in the succession to the throne when Ferdinand died prematurely is known, his descendants being barred from ascending when the king's brother Sancho IV was proclaimed king. As Chao points out, the prominence of the Manuel line's coat of arms in the Tobed altarpiece, and the conspicuous absence of heraldic symbols corresponding to the la Cerda line, ancestors of Juana Manuel, could be due to the queen's attempt to endow Henry II's reign with greater legitimacy through her own connection, via her paternal line, to Ferdinand III, the Saint, the grandfather of her father Don Juan Manuel [15] (pp. 89–118).

Concurring with Borrás, the scene also includes a military legitimation of the Trastámara line based on the conquest of the kingdom of Castile and León after defeating Peter I, with Henry II and his son John in military attire, kneeling in prayer after having placed their helmets at the feet of the sacred figures, as an offering, in our view [16] (p. 174). This posture of submission and respect before God descends, as is known, from the Byzantine proskinesis, with remote origins in Persian ceremonies, an attitude that the emperors demonstrated

by bestowing offerings seeking, in turn, divine recognition as worthy Christian rulers. Since the mantlets bear the coat of arms of Castile and León, and the four earthly figures appear wearing their respective crowns, it could be interpreted as a bold image in which the Trastámaras offer the Virgin and Child the union of the Christian kingdoms on the Peninsula, seeking Mary's legitimation and blessing of those who were to sustain the dynasty, John I and Eleanor of Aragon, who also appear crowned. In line with the unity of the kingdoms under Christendom, we must not forget that the pope had recognized Henry II's cause as a crusade, the latter setting out to achieve said unity through a series of advantageous marriages for his offspring, such as, for example, a frustrated attempt at an alliance with Portugal through John I's marriage to Beatrice of Portugal, the daughter of said country's King Ferdinand I.

4. Spaces of Power and Legitimation in Córdoba's Main Church

Henry II did not construct a palace in Córdoba like what Peter I had constructed at the Reales Alcázares in Seville. There was already a royal alcázar, or fortress/palace, erected in Córdoba by his father Alfonso XI in 1328. Perhaps his efforts focused on the cathedral—the old main mosque—due to its obvious symbolic importance. Ferdinand III the Saint had taken the city from the Muslims in 1236, and the old mosque was converted into a main church and preserved as a symbol of his victory. The Trastámara wished to proclaim the new dynasty's triumph by endowing this magnificent space with two very significant works, the Royal Chapel and the Puerta del Perdón (Forgiveness Gate).

The Royal Chapel

Henry II took advantage of the support that most of Córdoba's nobility had offered him against his stepbrother, as well as the symbolic importance of this city as the former capital of the Umayyad Caliphate of Al Andalus, to stage his accession to the throne and leave an indelible visual mark of his reign as a legacy for eternity. Without a doubt, his most important artistic undertaking was the Royal Chapel in the main church of Córdoba (the Mosque/Cathedral).

According to the inscription on this chapel, it was completed in 1371 (For this study we rely on previously conducted research, to which we refer for more information: [17]), [18,19], (It has also been a subject of interest, more recently, for [20]) (We must highlight the works of Nogales Rincón, especially his doctoral thesis: [21]). Henry II had the bodies of his grandfather, Ferdinand IV of Castile, the Summoned; and his father Alfonso XI, transferred there. Ferdinand IV was already buried in Cordoba, but Alfonso XI was in the Royal Chapel of the Cathedral of Seville (along with Fernando III and Alfonso X). Apparently, above the aforementioned inscription, there hung a portrait of Henry II himself, thereby rounding out the message of legitimation. To this must be added the location of the chapel just behind the old clerestory of Caliph al-Hakam II, reused by the Christians as a main chapel after the conquest until the 16th century, dedicating it to Our Lady of Villaviciosa. In the latter, there was a series of images exalting the apostles Peter and Paul (the city was conquered on June 29, these saints' feast day), a frieze representing kings and saints, and a gallery of kings and saints that ran around the upper part of the walls; Professor Laguna Paúl has ascribed them to the painter Alonso Martínez and dated them to 1351, under the reign of Peter I [22]. Today, we only have a Latin inscription and two fragments identified as belonging to Christ and the Virgin, preserved at the Museum of Fine Arts. The aforementioned inscription reads: "[In the name of the Glorious Trinity] the mighty Father and Son and Holy Spirit the very noble King Ferdinand won the very noble city of [Cordoba]". According to Romero Barros, it was completed with the name of Alfonso X, the son of the holy king, and the date of the city's conquest [23].

Even more interesting for the purposes of this study is that, on the west wall of the Royal Chapel, R. Ramírez de Arellano and Mateo Inurria discovered, in three niches, evidence of paintings of three kings placed there, presumably the portraits of Henry II, in the center, flanked by Alfonso XI, his father, and Ferdinand IV, his grandfather [24]. That of

Henry II was, apparently, just above the founding inscription, which read: "This is the very great king, Henry, who, to honor the body of the king, his father, had this chapel built in MCCCLXXI", that is, in 1371.

On the east wall of the chapel, there is a niche framed by a pavilion arch full of muqarnas (honeycomb vaulting) and polychrome with gold leaf. The niche's background is blue, dotted with golden stars, and in the center, there must have been an image, originally on the altar table. This image was replaced by a sculpture of Ferdinand III, the Saint, canonized in 1671. The original figure may have also been that of this king, as the alcove is flanked by the shields of Castile and León, with two superb lions rampant crowned in relief guarding it. In addition, the plasterwork frieze that tops the tiled plinth features, alternately, the emblems of Castile and León, along with the inscription 'happiness' in Kufic Arabic (Figure 2).

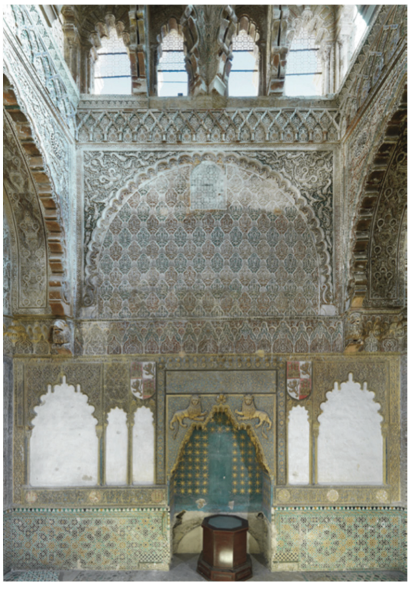

Figure 2. Royal Chapel's East wall. 1371. Mosque/Cathedral of Córdoba.

There is no doubt as to Henry II's aim to erect this chapel within the city's most important church to portray himself as a descendant of the kings extending back to Ferdinand III, who had managed to recover Córdoba for Christendom after five centuries under Islamic rule. The ensemble formed by the main chapel and the adjoining Royal Chapel, conceived as interconnected spaces, constituted a material manifestation, an offering to God signifying those feats, a memento regum to reach paradise, with these monarchs, who had been appointed by divine grace to rule, thus providing an account of themselves (On the meaning of the royal chapels of the late Trastamara Dynasty, see [9] (pp. 67–68)). The last years of his reign were marked by policies that sought to pacify the different kingdoms and to integrate Portugal [25]. The king died in 1379 and his son, John I, married Beatrice, the daughter of Portugal's King Ferdinand I, in 1383 [26].

5. The Majestic Image of the King: Sigillography and Numismatics

5.1. Sigillography

The lead seals preserved from the stage of Henry II prior to the events of Montiel represent him on the front under the traditional equestrian image, as Peter I had done, but it is striking how, after the fratricide and the definitive ascent of the Trastámaras to the throne, the new seals—of lead and measuring 51 mm in diameter—depicted him in

a majestic manner, seated upon two lions alluding to the Solomonic throne in order to manifest the king's authority to impart justice (Figure 3). His claim to succession was, thus, reaffirmed, as in the imago maiestatis the iura regalia are represented; that is, the most common symbols of power: a sword in his right hand, a crown and orb in his left, transmitting a sense of continuity along the dynastic line, and of legitimacy. The presence of the cross on the globe and the crown reiterates the idea of the king as Christ's envoy, while the fleur-de-lis topping the pommel of the sword reveals a French influence. On the reverse appear the heraldic arms of Castile and León. A fleur-de-lis cross creates the checkered pattern in which the castles and crowned rampant lions are alternately inserted. On the borders of both sides, we read the inscription: "† S : ENRICI : DEI : GRACIA : REGIS : CASTELLE : ET : LEGIONIS" [27].

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

Figure 3. Seal of Henry II. Impression on lead. 1371. Archivo Municipal de Toledo. © Archivo Municipal, Toledo, Spain: (**a**) Front; (**b**) Back (The original document dates from 16 September, 1371, and is stored in the Archivo Municipal of Toledo (Spain), Secret Archive, Drawer 10, File 6, Number 6, Piece 3. See [28]).

5.2. Numismatics

The first coins minted by Henry II were gold doblas featuring the image of the crowned king on a galloping horse and brandishing a sword on the front, and the crest of Castile and León on the back. This figuration corresponded to the concept of the medieval knight, as a Miles Christi, or soldier of Christ, defending the faith, but as the war depleted the coffers and it became imperative to sully the image of his eternal nemesis, Peter I, the currency evolved, losing value and favoring the idea of a pious king rather than a bellicose one.

According to Fuentes Ganzo, in the civil war, Peter I incurred serious debts when he had to hire Dugueslin's mercenary troops, a dilemma compounded by the devaluation of the currency. As of 1366, when the civil war began, reales de vellón coins, imitating silver, constituted a "formidable official forgery" [29]. Starting in 1369, when the war ended, a new coin was minted with a substantial change in its propagandistic objective, the old anagram being replaced with a crowned bust of Henry II, facing left on the front, and a cross occupying the entire back, thus projecting an image of the king as a Christian knight in contrast to his stepbrother Peter I, depicted as a cruel defender of the infidels.

The Archaeological Museum of Córdoba, which boats an extraordinary numismatic collection, houses several coins from the period of Henry II. Among them, the best preserved is a vellón coin produced at the Segovia mint, possibly after 1373 (Figure 4) Module: 180 cm. Thickness: 0.5 mm. Weight: 0.85 gr.

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

Figure 4. Vellón coin issued by Henry II. Billon coin. After 1373. Archaeological Museum of Córdoba. © Archaeological Museum of Córdoba, Spain: (**a**) Front; (**b**) Back.

6. Conclusions

Henry II of Castile, also known as Henry of Trastámara, the illegitimate son of King Alfonso XI and his lover Leonor de Guzmán, managed to ascend to the throne after the murder of his half-brother Peter I, the legitimate heir and king of Castile and León. Peter's death being under suspicious circumstances, pointing to Henry as the agent behind it—if not materially, as an instigator of this bloody event—spurred Peter's followers to insistently question Henry's legitimacy. Hence, in order to be recognized as the rightful new king, Henry engaged in a smear campaign against his stepbrother, both while he was alive and even after his death, accusing him of being a bad Christian, citing his support for Muslims and Jews, while upholding the House of Trastámara, in contrast, as a defender of the faith in a genuine crusade that he and the pope himself recognized. It is in this context that the artistic initiatives sponsored by this king must be viewed, such as the famous panel of the Virgin of Tobed, conceived as a dynastic ex-voto to portray Henry as a staunch defender of Christianity, thereby winning him supporters. In Córdoba, a city that supported him in his rise to the throne, he backed the construction of the Royal Chapel in the Mosque-Cathedral, where his portrait was found, and today, a foundational inscription remains. This chapel was conceived for the burial of his grandfather, Ferdinando IV, and his father, Alfonso XI. The work was, again, conceived to reinforce Henry's claims to dynastic legitimacy, with this being further bolstered through another one found at this monumental complex: the Puerta del Perdón, or Gate of Forgiveness, where he arranged heraldic shields and inscriptions stressing his legitimacy and defense of Christianity.

The lead seals during the initial stage of Henry II's reign present a standard equestrian image, but after the fratricide, they feature a more majestic depiction of the king, in full royal regalia: sword, crown, and orb. On the coins, a similar change can be appreciated: after 1369, the old anagram was dispensed with, replaced by a bust of a crowned Henry, and on the back was the cross, emphasizing the king's piety. In this way, Henry used his self-image to promote his claim as the rightful king of Castile.

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James I of Aragon (1213–1276)

Marta Serrano-Coll

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

Abstract: James I, King of Aragon (1213–1276). He was the third king of the Crown of Aragon, which had come into existence through the union between Queen Petronila of Aragon (1157–1164) and the Count of Barcelona Ramon Berenguer IV (1137–1162). James I represents a milestone in the iconography of the Kings of Aragon, although this is due more to his successors' promotion of him rather than to his own efforts. In order to organise and unify his dominions after the conquests of Mallorca and Valencia, he immersed himself in legal work that consolidated his legislative power whilst still allowing his territories to retain a certain degree of autonomy. He carried out an essential monetary reorganisation in which his coinage retained its obverse but altered its reverse according to the place of issue. He never succeeded in being crowned, although he featured the crown prominently in his stamps and seals and, on some coins, he added the term *rex gratia Dei*. In addition, he revived the sword as a royal insignia, having proclaimed the right of conquest as the basis of his sovereignty.

Keywords: royal images; royal iconography; kings of Aragon; Crown of Aragon; James I of Aragon

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1. Introduction

Due to the absence of a legitimate successor, James I became king of Aragon at the age of five after his father died in Muret in 1213. None of his contemporaries suspected that the child would become a legendary king. During his long minority he remained under the tutelage of the Templars in the castle of Monzón, while his uncle Sancho I of Roussillon, acting as regent at the orders of Queen Maria, and advised by a council of trusted Aragonese and Catalans, put down continuous rebellions by the Aragonese nobility, who even took the king prisoner in 1223.

During the 63 years of his reign, he expanded the Crown throughout the Mediterranean, earning himself the name of Conqueror, and he laid the social, political and economic foundations that stabilised the kingdom, whose finances had been ruined by his father Peter II (1196–1213).

2. Character and Physique of the King

In order to study the portraits of James I in the Middle Ages, it is necessary to follow the methodology of iconographic and iconological studies; that is, to make a corpus of images of the king that is as exhaustive as possible and takes into account all artistic genres, to analyse documentation from the period—both from the chronicles and from the documents found in the abundant existing bibliography (mainly from the royal chancellery)—and to read the historiography on the king. All these sources, both iconographic and textual, allow us to get closer to the figure of the king.

In February 1221, at the age of 13, he married Leonor of Castile, sister of Queen Berenguela and aunt of Fernando III (1217–1252), a marriage that was annulled eight years later on the grounds of kinship, although their son Alfonso retained his status as legitimate heir. After the betrothal, they moved to Tarazona Cathedral, where James was knighted. During this ceremony, held a year after Fernando III had arraigned himself with the military cingulum, James I reproduced the same gesture during his investiture. By putting on the sword that he himself had taken from above the altar, the king prevented

the symbolic act whereby the church conferred upon him the arms that symbolised his capacity and suitability to govern. Through the same act, he also erased the memory of the vassal investiture of his father Peter II in Rome ([1,2]. On the reign of James I, I refer the reader to: [3–6]).

He was skilful and had a strong personality, as is shown in various episodes of the *Llibre dels feyts del rei en Jacme*, a chronicle written in the first person and which confirmed the status of Catalan as a literary language [7]. He was courageous, as he illustrated when, among other things, he tried to remove an arrow that had pierced his skull and seriously wounded him, an injury that was corroborated when his tomb at Poblet was exhumed [8] (p. 193). The large bones that were uncovered during the same exhumation also proved the accuracy of the accounts of his physical size, for example Bernat Desclot's extensive description states that "This King James of Aragon was the most beautiful man in the world; taller than any other by more than a span, and he was very well formed and well-proportioned in all his limbs. He had a great face, ruddy and Flemish, and a long and very straight nose, and a great mouth and well made; and great teeth, beautiful and white as if they were pearls. And green eyes, and beautiful blond hair, like golden thread, and a broad back. And a long and slender body, and thick, well-shaped arms, and beautiful hands, and long fingers, and thick thighs for his height, and long and well-shaped feet. And he was very brave, resolute in arms, and strong, and valiant. And generous and pleasant, and very merciful to all. And he had in all his heart and in all his will the desire to fight against the Saracens" ([9] (chap. 12). Soldevila considers this description to be inspired by the *Vita Caroli Magni*, de Einhard: [9] (p. 601, no. 1)).

3. The Right of Conquest: Consequences and Iconographic Echoes

James I attempted to be crowned, but was unsuccessful. In order to do so, the king needed to request permission from the Pope, in accordance with a bull issued by Innocent III (1198–1216) (on this bull and its consequences see: [1]), recognise his vassalage to Rome, and pay the corresponding tribute. The last of his attempts, for which he had a very precious crown made [10] (p. 32), took place between 1st and 10 May 1274, taking advantage of the fact that Gregory X (1272–1276) was in Lyon to promote a crusade to the Holy Land. The occasion proved unsuccessful: the pope would only agree to crown him if he confirmed his vassalage and paid off the debt he had amassed, some 40,000 *mazmondinas*. James I returned disappointed by the fact that these trifles, *menuderies* in his terms, prevailed over what had been his service to God and the Church. As he explains in his *Llibre dels feyts*: "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" ([7] (par. 538). For recent study on the coronations in the Crown of Aragon and their consequences in the iconography of the king see: [11]).

3.1. Revaluation of the Sword

James I voluntarily chose not to pursue his desire to be crowned. He rejected his father's obligations and commitments by arguing that both he and his predecessors had won their kingdoms from the Muslims through the sword ("since my predecessors conquered them with the sword"), and the strength of his own belief in this position would blaze the trail that his successors were to follow. The idea that the sword of the sovereign gave him supreme dominion over his kingdoms had been aired before by Alfonso I the Battler (1104–1134) who led of a period of tense relations with Rome [1] (p. 49). However, the real turning point only came during the reign of James I (as stated: [12]) and it was to have important iconographic consequences.

The right of primogeniture, without any coronation, was sufficient for the kings of Aragon to exercise their governmental duties, but the right of conquest, which entailed the revaluation of the sword as the royal insignia, owed its power to the affirmation that the land belongs to those who have conquered it and as such it became a means of monarchical legitimisation in the territories recently acquired by the crown [13]. Thus, in contrast to the

new practice established by his father, who, perhaps under the influence of Frederick II, introduced the sceptre to his wax seals, James I restored the sword to prominence in all his stamps and seals, both wax and lead. Its pre-eminence speaks volumes in all his seals (Figure 1), which became increasingly abundant as his conquests progressively rendered the sword obsolete [14–16] (pp. 40–57).

Figure 1. Above: main seals of James I, obverses, 1229. D/11222 @Archives Nationales de France; and 1238–1276, published in: [15] (no. 28). Below: Bulls of James I, obverses. 1231–1238, published in: [15] (no. 25); and 1255, published by Conde, R. Lead seal of James I. In: *Cataluña medieval*. Lunwerg: Barcelona, Spain, 1992, p. 114.

James I was committed to the revaluation of this steel weapon despite the fact that it represented a regression even in England, the place from where this model had been taken in the time of Alfonso II and where the sword had been relegated to equestrian imagery *since Henry III* (1216–1272) [17] (p. 143). He also used it in other media, as illustrated by some of the miniatures in the *In excelsis Dei thesauris* (facsimile and studies in: [18]) (Figure 2). Although its illuminations date from after his reign, the king is depicted in a manner that very faithfully follows the templates offered by some of his bulls [16] (p. 54), [19] (p. 74).

There is no doubt that the new role of this offensive element, progressively converted into an insignia, was intimately related to legitimation, both in the kingdom of Aragon and in newly conquered territories.

3.2. Links with the Divine

3.2.1. Given the Title of King by the Grace of God

Despite legitimising and justifying his dominion by right of conquest, including his dominion of those lands he inherited, James I wished to make clear his links with the sacred. To this end, he used various resources. On the one hand, it is highly significant that "*Dei gratia regis Aragonum*" encircles his majestic image after he had conquered the kingdoms of Mallorca and Valencia and that this is the first time it appears in the sigillography of the King of Aragon (the seals of his third term state: *+Sigillum Iacobi Dei gracia regis Aragonum et Maioricarum et Valencia comitis Barchinone et Urgelli et domini Montis pessulani*. See: [14]). He used the same title in other documents of a legal nature, such as the *Fueros de*

Aragón promulgated in 1247, of which several copies have survived, also illuminated and reproduced subsequently ([20]. Analysis of the illuminations in: [16] (pp. 89–90)).

Figure 2. King James I of Aragon, illuminations, c. 1276–1290. Malibú, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XIV, 6, *In Excelsis Dei thesauris*, fols. 91v, 92r, 139r and 229v. Published in: [18].

These words, which proclaim the links with the sacred, are highly significant if we take into account the fact that he wanted to present himself as the victor and the beneficiary of divine help, particularly in the form of assistance from Saint George in the decisive battles to win the kingdoms of Valencia and Mallorca and, therefore, in those territories in which his sovereignty derived from the right of conquest. Underlying this assistance is a complex and profound political message.

3.2.2. Divine Intercession: Saint George and Providentialism

Although a previous king, Peter I (1094–1104), had already benefited from this illustrious favour in one of his offensives against the then Muslim city of Wasqa (Huesca), the first textual reference to this assistance is in the *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña*, composed between 1369 and 1372 at the behest of Peter IV, a fervent admirer of James I [21] (chap. 18, pp. 59–61). In fact, James I only refers to the help of Saint George in his *Llibre dels feyts* at the moment of his entry into *Mayurqa*: "and according to what the Saracens told us, they first saw a white knight with white weapons enter on horseback, and we believe it was Saint George" [7] (par. 84). In contrast, his participation in the attack on El Puig, thanks to which Valencia was conquered, is only referred to in the chronicle of Peter IV, which indicates that the saint not only helped the king, but also his armies, so that in the great battle "Saint George appeared to them with many knights who helped them to win the battle, thanks to which no Christian died" [21] (chap. 35). This presence must be understood in the context of the king's mythification and undoubtedly has intense political significance because by confirming the will and support of God, it replaced the ecclesiastical recognition which the coronation ceremony was intended to confer upon the monarch.

In waging just battles against the infidels, the king's war was also God's war, and it is therefore not surprising that, as far as many of his medieval contemporaries were concerned, the sovereign enjoyed this divine assistance. James I stated that, as head of the *militia Christi*, he had divine approval: "since we go in his name, we have confidence that he will guide us" [7] (par. 56). In other passages he presents himself with a messianic aura, showing that he is God's chosen instrument for persecuting the enemies of the faith, hence the protection he enjoyed for the first few months of his life. When he entered St. Mary's in Montpellier to be baptised, the clergy sang *Te Deum Laudamus*, a hymn of thanksgiving to God, and when he was led into the church of St. Sernin, he was greeted by the prophetic song of Zechariah *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* and its passage announcing the coming of a messianic and redemptive figure [22] (pp. 11–64).

It seems plausible that the introduction of the star to all his wax stamps (Figure 3), preceding the image of him as a horseman, is precisely the result of the providential support that the king wished to manifest, and this in turn stems from sacred texts such as the prophecies of Isaiah, the Book of Daniel and the Book of Revelation, the latter referring to the star on the right and stating that "to he who overcomes and keeps my works until the end, I will give him authority over the nations, and he shall rule them with a rod of iron [. . .] and I will give him the "morning star" (Ap. 2,2 and 25–28. Isaiah compared the king of Babylon to "a bright star, the son of the dawn"; the Book of Daniel explains that those who have made the multitude righteous will shine like the stars forever. I will elaborate on this issue in a future paper). This star, introduced by James I, continued to feature, invariably preceding the horseman, in all the seals of the kings of Aragon until the Trastamara and the change of dynasty after the Compromise of Caspe (the only surviving imprint of Martin I with his equestrian effigy has damage to the part where the star would have been located: [15] (no. 83)).

Figure 3. Seal with the star guiding the king of Aragon James I as horsemen, reverse, 1220 and 1226. Published in: [15] (no. 19).

This providentialism continued to be attributed to him later on; indeed Muntaner states: "no king was ever born to whom God gave so many graces in his life as he did to this lord king Don James" [23] (chap. VI), and as Peter IV would also emphasise in his campaign to bathe the institution of the monarchy in glory [24].

4. Other Distinctive Images of the King

4.1. Legal Instruments: Coins and Cartularies

The need to organise his dominions immersed the king in activities that confirmed his status as a legislator. Monetary reorganisation was essential: he maintained the obverse but altered the reverse according to the place of issue [16] (pp. 33–40), [25]. In addition, his legal reform was visible in the books of *furs*, privileges and usages which, inserted in the *furor legalis* of Christendom after his conquests, were copied and illuminated after his reign. There are many examples that present him as author, such as the first folio of the aforementioned *In excelsis Dei thesauris*, written by the Bishop of Huesca, Vidal de Canellas, in 1247, of which a splendidly illuminated version from the end of the century has survived. During his reign, the traditional *Usatges* were disseminated whilst at the same time the fueros were being drawn up in Valencia, as mentioned above. Underlying these texts was the Roman legal doctrine re-vitalised by Bologna, which affirmed the supremacy of the prince, a hegemony that was reinforced in the miniatures in those cartularies where he appears as the author. Although historians differ in their opinions, it seems he promoted the drafting of the *Llibre del Consolat de Mar*, a compendium of Valencian maritime law that would become, in the view of some authors, the basis for today's international maritime legislation (for some historians, connections between the king and this *Llibre* are weaker than has been said: [26]).

His *dignitas* is evident in his majestic images, his clothing and insignia and the spatial hierarchy, for example the use of a dais to raise him to an exalted position, magnificent architecture that frames him, or precious backdrops exclusively for him. Attention was often drawn to the members of the lay and ecclesiastical hierarchies that, around the monarch, deliberated on important matters; clear examples are the miniature on fol. 21r of the *Tercer Llibre Verd* at the Arxiu Històric of Barcelona (whose illuminations were studied by Joaquín Yarza: [27]) or the illustrations in the versions of the *Usatges i constitucions de Catalunya* [19] (esp. chap. 2.1), [28].

4.2. Devotional Images

The works that depict him praying are less numerous and of doubtful identification, as can be seen in the keystone of the vault of the Trinity Chapel in Mallorca Cathedral, in the altarpiece of Santes Creus where the Conqueror was intended to be seen as one of the Magi, or in the Virgin of Mercy by Francesc Comes (analysis and bibliography in: [19] (pp. 340–341; 352–353; 503–504). Some works contain a profound meaning that goes beyond the pious, such as the miniature of the *Liber Instrumentorum*, whose image is intended to defend the interests of the Valencia cathedral by choosing the effigy of the king who legitimised the documents compiled there (Arxiu Capitular, Valencia, Ms. 162. About this see: [29] (p. 424), [30,31]), or the *Llibre dels feyts*, whose first initial illustrates the sovereign imploring *in eternum* to the Virgin, for whom he felt such devotion, to intercede for him before her Son.

5. Iconographic Milestone

According to the works compiled and the studies carrried out to date, the reign of James I represents a milestone in figurative terms. Rather than for his patronage, his importance comes from the use that was made of his image after his reign. No institution, be it secular, ecclesiastical or monarchical, could resist showing off and reaffirming their links with the glorious Conqueror for the purposes of legitimation, justification or propaganda. The high regard and gratitude felt towards him in the newly conquered kingdoms soon led to artistic commissions intended to disseminate his exploits and the honour he embodied.

Institutional solidarity between promoters and monarchy generated a number of extraordinary commissions, including the 15th-century dynastic series for the *Cambra Daurada* in the city of Valencia, perhaps painted by Gonçal Peris, Joan Moreno and Jaume Mateu (only 4 tables are preserved in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. Updated study in: [32] (p. 146)). Leaving aside the fact that James I may not be represented in the effigy traditionally attributed to him in historiography ([16] (pp. 239–247), many historians have dealt with these paintings and their authors. Among others, see: [33]), these panels are the only surviving example of medieval portrait galleries dedicated to the kings of Aragon.

Moreover, there were also genealogic images in which James I was depicted in effigy, these being intended to glorify his lineage, and there was concern for the future of the saga on the part of the kings, the *Rotlle genealògic de Poblet*, from around 1409 ([34]. Date from [35] (p. 192), [36]), being an illustrative example of this.

One particular physical trait stands out as a constant in his iconography: the king is usually depicted with abundant white hair and a grizzled appearance that is often accentuated by a long, split beard. This trait is undoubtedly related to the monarch's longevity, which was known to all and which, as mentioned above, the king boasted about shortly before his death [7] (par. 562).

6. Conclusions

James I represents a milestone in the figurative images of the King of Aragon, not so much because he promoted himself, although he undoubtedly did, but because his successors did. Driven by the need to organise and unify his vast dominions (which he had enlarged as a result of his conquests), but giving them a certain degree of autonomy, the king immersed himself in intense work that reaffirmed his legislative power in the eyes of

his subjects. In this sense, the reorganisation of the coinage, in which he kept the obverse but altered the reverse according to the place of issue, and the legal reform, visible, in addition to other contemporary works, in the famous *In excelsis Dei thesauris*, a compilation whose precious narrative miniatures show the king as a principle of righteousness who delegates his judicial powers or administers justice to those who come before him. His obsession with being crowned by the pope, a ceremony he never undertook as he refused to renew his vassalage to the Holy See, was echoed in his contemporary iconography, although not as regards the crown; the one that can be seen on the horseman's head in his seals should only be understood as the result of a desire to keep abreast of the artistic trends of the time. A different case is that of the sword, an insignia that was reinforced as a natural symbol of the right of conquest, the basis of the king's sovereignty over certain territories as a consequence of the longed-for, although never achieved, coronation. This contradiction may also explain why he was the first to appear with the title "rex gratia Dei" on some of his coinage. On the other hand, the crest that can be seen so often on his head was never used by the king: it can only be seen in portrayals of him produced in the 14th century, from the reign of Peter IV the Ceremonious onwards.

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Entry

Joanna I of Anjou (1343–1382)

Paola Vitolo

Department of Architecture, University Federico II of Naples, 80138 Naples, Italy; paola.vitolo@unina.it

Abstract: Joanna I of Anjou (1325–1382), countess of Provence and the fourth sovereign of the Angevin dynasty in south Italy (since 1343), became the heir to the throne of the Kingdom of Sicily, succeeding her grandfather King Robert "the Wise" (1277–1343). The public and official images of the queen and the "symbolic" representations of her power, commissioned by her or by her entourage, contributed to create a new standard in the cultural references of the Angevin iconographic tradition aiming to assimilate models shared by the European ruling class. In particular, the following works of art and architecture will be analyzed: the queen's portraits carved on the front slabs of royal sepulchers (namely those of her mother Mary of Valois and of Robert of Anjou) and on the liturgical furnishings in the church of Santa Chiara in Naples; the images painted in numerous illuminated manuscripts, in the chapter house of the friars in the Franciscan convent of Santa Chiara in Naples, in the lunette of the church in the Charterhouse of Capri. The church of the Incoronata in Naples does not show, at the present time, any portrait of the queen or explicit reference to Joanna as a patron. However, it is considered the highest symbolic image of her queenship.

Keywords: Angevin dynasty; Kingdom of Sicily; Naples; Joanna of Anjou; royal iconography; dynastic celebration

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1. Introduction

Joanna I of Anjou (1325–1382), countess of Provence and the fourth sovereign of the Angevin dynasty in south Italy (since 1343), was the eldest daughter of Charles duke of Calabria (1298–1328) and Mary of Valois (1309–1331). She became the heir to the throne of the Kingdom of Sicily upon the death of her father in 1328, succeeding her grandfather King Robert "the Wise" (1277–1343). In 1333, she married her cousin Andrew of Hungary, the brother of King Louis, with the aim to prevent the claims to the throne of Sicily from the Hungarian family branch. Joanna's investiture as sole queen intensified the tensions between the Neapolitan and the Hungarian courts, which lead to the invasion of the Kingdom after Andrew's assassination (18 September 1345). Joanna, accused to be involved in the murder, married her cousin Louis, Prince of Taranto, and together they reached the Papal court in Avignon to ask for political and diplomatic support. She sold Avignon to Pope Clement VI to fund the military campaign and returned to Naples in 1352. After Louis of Taranto's death in 1362, she married James IV, King of Maiorca (1336–1375), and, after his death, the military adventurer Otto of Brunswick. In 1372, she ended the ancient dispute between the Angevins and the Aragonese for the rule of the isle of Sicily. During the Western Schism, she supported Clement VII against Urban VI. The death of all her children prompted her to adopt and appoint as her heir first the nephew, Charles of Durazzo, and then Louis of Anjou (brother of the French king Charles V). Supported by Urban VI, Charles waged war against Joanna. The queen was imprisoned in the castle of Muro and strangled upon Charles's order on 22 May 1382 [1–4], [5] (pp. 152–198).

The difficult conjunctures of Joanna's succession to the throne, the complex military and political events and the struggles for the power inside the Angevin court that have troubled the almost forty years of her reign have led scholars to describe her age as characterized by political decline and obfuscation of the prestige of the royal authority. Such

context did not seem to encourage the artistic patronage, in particular on the monumental scale. On the other hand, the demand for sumptuous objects, such as illuminated manuscripts and goldsmiths, remained on a very high level [6] (pp. 374–407), [7–12]. The promotion of religious and charitable institutions, with a preference for those established by Joanna's predecessors (in particular, Charles I, Robert and Charles of Calabria), also reflected on the elements of the artistic and architectural patronage and contributing to the creation of the queen's public image.

Portraits of the queen or symbolic representations of her royal image, commissioned directly by her or her entourage with the aim to legitimize the queen's succession to the throne and her political authority, refer not only to the Angevin prestigious family and dynastic tradition, but also to the models of royal representation in vogue among the main European ruling dynasties. The representation of Joanna's image thus gained a broad and widely shared cultural and symbolic horizon.

2. Before Coronation

Concerns for the recognition of the legitimacy of Joanna's succession inspired all along her reign the representation of the queen and of the symbols of her power in illuminated manuscripts, sculptures and frescoes. In the years immediately preceding her coronation, such images intended to unequivocally affirm, in forms of great solemnity, Joanna's right to succeed Robert to the throne.

Joanna was orphaned at an early age. Her mother, Princess Mary of Valois, the second wife of Charles of Calabria, was buried in a majestic, canopied monument carved by Tino di Camaino and his workshop, housed in the church of Santa Chiara in Naples. This location, which fulfills the explicit will of the deceased to be buried next to her husband, nevertheless seems to represent an exception in the choices made by Robert of Anjou regarding the distribution of the royal burials. In fact, the sovereign seems to have reserved only to his direct descendants, children and grandchildren, the burial in the church he founded together with his wife Sancia. The princess' tomb, however, exhibits in the sacred space of the "royal" church an iconography that bears an unequivocal political message (Figure 1): on the frontal slab of the sepulcher, the deceased sits on a throne bearing royal attributes (she was the granddaughter of King Philip III of France and had been destined to be queen) among her children, with Joanna and Mary (the latter was second in the line of successor to the throne) on her right and her left, respectively ([13], p. 7). This relief was in fact executed after the two princesses were designated to the succession in a solemn ceremony held in November 1330 in the square in front of the royal residence, Castelnuovo.

Figure 1. Tino di Camaino and workshop, Tomb of Princess Mary of Valois († 1331) (detail of the sepulcher), sculpture. Santa Chiara, Naples (Archive of the Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'Area metropolitana di Napoli). Image published in: [13] (Figure 2).

The theme is shown also in the chapter house of the friars in the Franciscan convent of Santa Chiara in Naples. The wide fresco, painted around 1340, shows Joanna (Figure 2) kneeling in prayer with Robert, Sancia and Charles of Calabria ([14], pp. 126–132) or Andrew [15] and six Franciscan saints in front of the Christ in Majesty. However, the restricted audience that could access the room (the community of the friars) does not allow us to exclude that the fresco was conceived not just as an image of political propaganda but specially as a celebration of the kings as founders of the convent [15] and as an exhortation to the friars to pray for them ([16], pp. 145–152).

Figure 2. Christ in Majesty with members of the Angevine court and six Franciscan saints (detail of Joanna I of Anjou), fresco, around 1340. Convent of Santa Chiara, Naples. Image published in: [14] (III, Figure 52).

The most solemn representation of the legitimacy of Joanna's succession is represented in the so-called Anjou Bible (Leuven, Katholieke Universiteit, Maurits Sabbe Library, cod. 1). It is one of the most lavishly decorated of the illuminated manuscripts produced on the patronage of the court of Naples. The manuscript has been attributed to the commission of Robert of Anjou in the late 1330s, or of the royal counselor and chancellor Niccolò Alunno d'Alife around 1343 (active 1328–1367) and has been considered a present for Andrew of Hungary [10] (pp. 404–405) [17] (pp. 21, 117) or a wedding present for both Joanna and Andrew [5] (p. 179), or an homage for queen Sancia of Maiorca ([16], pp. 107–108). It was for the most part realized by the scribe *Iannucius de Matrice* and the illuminator Cristoforo Orimina but completed after Andrew's death: in this last decoration campaign, Andrew's connection with the book was expunged by overpainting the numerous Hungarian dynastic symbols with Niccolo's coats of arms. The manuscript contains a celebrated full-page decoration with the representation of the Angevin genealogy in the frontispiece (fol. 4r). The famous miniature (Figure 3) represents the unfolding of the dynastic line through the solemn designation of each sovereign by his predecessor, with an emphasis on the role of the queens that reinforce the image of a female royal tradition [18] (p. 522) [13] (pp. 1–4). In the first row, Charles I, seated on a sumptuous throne next to his wife Beatrice of Provence, crowns his son Charles II in the presence of armed warriors, who seem to evoke the climate of strong political and military tensions of the first years after the conquest of the Kingdom (1266). In the second row Charles II, seated next to Mary of Hungary, indicates among his children, Charles Martel, Louis and Robert, the third son as his successor on the throne of Naples. Finally, Robert receives the homage of Andrea of Hungary, while Joanna kneels

before Sancia in the company of her sister Mary, both introduced by their father Charles of Calabria. The queen is represented many other times in the manuscript miniatures, both in public and private contexts, for example sitting on a throne and flanked by jousting knights (fol. 231v), with Andrew caressing her (fol. 249r), playing chess with King Robert (fol. 257r), falcon hunting with Andrew (fol. 278r). On fol. 309r, three images show King Robert or Niccolò d'Alife commissioning the manuscript, the same character while reading it with Joanna and offering it to another person, probably Andrew ([16], pp. 104–105).

Figure 3. Cristoforo Orimina, Genealogy of the Angevins of Naples, illumination, 1330s–1340s. Leuven, Bibl. Fac. Theol., Ms. 1, fol. 4r. Image published in: [6] (tav. 2).

3. During Queenship

The policy of propaganda through images continued in the years of Joanna's reign, developing two main themes: the claim of dynastic legitimacy (through genealogical representations and images of dynastic kings and family saints) and of the Christological assimilation (with King Louis IX of France as a prestigious political and cultural model).

Robert's death (1343) and Sancia's retreat to the convent (1344) followed the consecration of the church of Santa Chiara (1340). Joanna cared not only for the realization of Robert's burial, but also for the completion of the liturgical furnishing of the church, a building with a highly symbolic value for the court. The tomb of the sovereign, the work of the Florentine brothers Pacio and Giovanni Bertini, represents, with its mighty size and the richness of the figurative program, a very solemn image of authority. The sculptures show the deceased in his human, royal and religious dimensions, his virtues and authority. His wives, children and the queen Joanna—a symbol of continuity of the dynastic line—are portrayed flanking him while sitting in majesty on the frontal slab of the tomb. The profound Eucharistic devotion that Joanna inherited from him and especially from Sancia and that permeates the decorative and liturgical apparatus of the church of Santa Chiara (whose original title is *Corpus Christi*) inspired the continuation of the decoration campaigns inside this building. This devotion, manifested by the queen also

through initiatives of active religious patronage, inspired within this church a complex strategy of representation of power. The decoration of the *tramezzo* is dated to the first years of Joanna's reign. On the external side, facing the lay audience of the faithful, a cycle of the Passion and a martyrial program were probably exhibited. Only a few fragments (showing the martyrs of the Maccabees and St. George and a scene from St. Vitus's life) and two panels (the Capture of Christ and the martyrdom of St. Euphemia) remain, now in the church and in the adjoined Museo dell'Opera [19]. These saints enjoyed a particular veneration in Western Europe in the Late Middle Ages among the main ruling dynasties, especially after the Crusades and the consequent circulation of relics. It is no coincidence that the queen appears in the carved panel kneeling with the crown on the ground, in the presence of the Maccabees, defenders of the faith at the cost of their lives (Figure 4). As such, they were celebrated in numerous illuminated cycles produced for the Angevin court, for example the Holkham Hall Bible (British Library, Add. Ms. 47672), the Vienna Bible (Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, cod. 1191), the Hamilton Bible (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, Ms. 78 E.3) [10] (pp. 294–311).

Figure 4. Martyrdom of the Maccabees with queen Joanna of Anjou kneeling in prayer. Santa Chiara, Naples (photo before 1943), sculpture, 1340s. (Archive of the Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'Area metropolitana di Napoli). Image published in: [19] (Figure 3).

The Eucharistic theme in a more explicit royal allusion (i.e., merged with that of the Throne of Grace) appears in the Statutes of the Order of the Holy Spirit (Bibliothèque National de France, Paris, France, Ms. Fr. 4274), a knightly order founded by the queen and her husband Louis of Taranto in 1352 in imitation of similar initiatives undertaken by the French and English courts around the middle of the fourteenth century. In the sumptuous frontispiece (fol. 2v), the royal couple kneel before the Trinity in a lavishly decorated image [18,20], [10] (pp. 128–144).

Expression of the full maturity of the queen who, after Louis of Taranto's death reigned as sole queen, the church and the adjoining hospital of the Incoronata in Naples (originally *Saint Crown of Thorns*) represent the only monumental enterprise attributable to Joanna, an accomplished expression of her public image and of the symbols of her royalty [14] (pp. 293–305), [21–23]. The church does not show, at the present time, any portrait of the queen or explicit reference to her as a founder, but a rich scholarly tradition and archival documentation attribute the foundation to her patronage. The complexity of the symbols that can be reconstructed from the fragmentary pictorial and sculptural decoration still allows us to identify a complex web of themes expressing the divine

foundation of the queen's earthly royalty, having its fulcrum in the cult for the Passion of Christ. The remaining frescoes in the first bay of the church main nave, painted by the Neapolitan Roberto di Oderisio, show the first known representation of the Seven Sacraments in a monumental context and Old Testament scenes (inspired by the now lost frescoes painted by Giotto in Naples: see [24]) on the lower walls in typological association with the Sacraments. The cycle shows the ways of the personal and collective salvation of the faithful, promoted by the Church through the institution of the seven sacraments (which, according to saint Thomas Aquinas, generate from the wounds of Christ) and the virtuous earthly government (for which the examples of Moses, Joseph, Jacob and Sanson are provided).

The church celebrates the queen's dynastic and family dignity recalling the most prestigious model of the French cultural tradition: the Sante-Chapelle of Paris, founded by Louis the Saint as a shrine of the sacred relics of the Passion of Christ. To endow her foundation, established «ad instar venerabilis chapelle regii palatii Parisiensis», Joanna asked her French cousin, King Charles V, to donate her two thorns of the Holy Crown [22] (pp. 23–30, docc. 1–3 pp. 111–114). The Incoronata can be thus inserted in the list of numerous foundations that were established in France and in the allied territories on the same model. A miniature of the queen's Book of Hours (Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Austriams. 1921, dated 1362–1375) recalls this precious gift. On fol. 218r a French king, to be undoubtedly identified with Charles V, is portrayed inside the Grande-Châsse of the relics of the Sanite-Chapelle, probably while extracting the holy thorn to be sent as a gift to Joanna [19].

The foundation also intended to recall the closest Angevin tradition and the queen predecessor's enterprises [22] (*passim*); for example, the queen converted to this project some funds that Robert had allocated in his will to the construction of a hospital for the poorest members of the court; she also entrusted the complex to the care of the Carthusians of San Martino, whose house had been founded by her father Charles of Calabria, an order that which she also encouraged supporting the foundation of a the Charterhouse of San Giacomo in Capri. Here, the queen is depicted in the lunette of the church main portal kneeling in front of the Madonna and Child, together with the noble Giacomo Arcuccio and his family, who had promoted the foundation. Finally, some details of the painted decoration of the Incoronata (in particular the *Ecclesia* in the cycle of the Sacraments) and the probable reference to Avignonese models for the unusual two-nave plan of the church, open the cultural references to the wider political, cultural and diplomatic context of the Kingdom [22] (pp. 42–44) [25] (pp. 43–52, 99–109) [26].

About in the same years, the miniatures of two illuminated manuscripts reinforced the themes of the royal propaganda. The aforementioned Book of Hours [14] (pp. 323–325), [7], [10] (pp. 451–452), [19,27–29] richly illustrated by two different workshops active in Naples in the 1360s, presents a rare combination of psalter and book of hours, probably inspired by the Book of Hours that belonged to Mary of Valois, which may have provided the model for the miniatures of the psalter and the calendar. However, the manuscript was customized to recall the queen's family saints, personal devotions and symbols of her public image. Miniatures show the queen kneeling in front of the Madonna and Child (foll. 185v, 200r, 231v, 234v) and of Christ (fol. 240v) (Figure 5), images of the Trinity (foll. 131r, 207v), of dynastic saints like saint Dionisius (fol. 215r), Louis of France (fol. 219r), saint Louis of Tolouse (fol. 223v), saint Elisabeth of Hungary (fol. 226v), images related to the cult for the relics of the Passion (for example, Saint Helena finding the Cross, on 209r, and the aforementioned miniature on fol. 218r), onomastic saints (foll. 211r, 224v) and Saint Brigid of Sweden (fol. 253v).

Figure 5. Book of Hours of queen Joanna I of Anjou (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, ms. 1921, fol. 240v), illumination, 1362–1375. Image published in: [28], p. 70.

More explicit political themes are depicted in the *Genealogiae deorum* (British Library, London, UK, Add. 57529) dated to the last years of Joanna's reign [30]. It contains a genealogy of gods, demigods and mythological heroes of the Antiquity, and kings of the Jewish, ancient and medieval traditions, with a sequence of popes up to Gregory XI. The sequence of the popes is accompanied by the images of the rulers of the Carolingian, Capetian and Neapolitan Angevin dynasties up to Joanna, who is flanked by her father and her second husband, Louis of Taranto. As Charlemagne and Charles I of Anjou, founders of dynasties, the queen is depicted in a clypeus that is larger than those destined to the other characters, claiming her belonging to an ancient and prestigious dynastic line. Proposing once again the theme of Joanna's legitimate succession, the manuscript makes it clear that even in the last years of her reign, the patron (if the queen herself or a member of her close entourage) conducted an incessant activity of political propaganda to reaffirm the queen's legitimate power.

The troubled events that accompanied the end of Joanna's reign did not lead to the creation of a tomb appropriate to her *status*, as in the Angevin tradition. No material evidence remains of her sepulcher, which the queen probably destined to the church of the Incoronata [23]. Written sources suggest that the queen's corpse was exposed in the church of Santa Chiara and was later buried in a sepulcher that was for some centuries mistakenly identified with the tomb of Joanna's mother, which bears no inscriptions and shows the image of a crowned queen [31].

4. Conclusions

The images of queen Joanna that have come down to us refer to a certain uniformity in the canons of the physiognomic definition that lead to suppose a desire for a truthful and realistic representation. Portrays today are placed, in particular, in the city of Naples and in the surrounding areas, inside and outside religious buildings and in lavishly illuminated manuscripts. All along the forty years of Joanna's reign, they demonstrate that the policy of propaganda through images developed two main themes: the claim of dynastic legitimacy (through genealogical representations and images of dynastic kings and family saints) and of the Christological assimilation (with King Louis IX of France as a prestigious political and cultural model). Such themes join the portraits in different contexts and show that both in the restricted and in the public spheres, the concern for a representation of power

according to these themes was crucial. It is therefore worth remembering that the portraits in the manuscripts and in the chapter house of Santa Chiara were destined to a (more or less) restricted court entourage; on the contrary, the appearance of the queen on the royal tombs and on the liturgical furnishings in the church of Santa Chiara represent "ideological manifestos" aimed at a wider public (always taking into account the effective possibility of access to specific places, such as the presbyterial area of churches, etc.)

If the royal garments (clothes that seem to be updated to the noble fashion trends of the time) and the attributes of power (the globe and the lily crown of the Angevin tradition) do not show elements of particular interest or innovation, more important from the iconographic point of view are the general contexts of the representations that shed light on the intentions and purposes of the representations themselves. The carved reliefs on the liturgical furnishings of Santa Chiara and the project of the Incoronata are examples of political propaganda as a whole, aiming to demonstrate the queen's belonging to a holy dynasty and her claim for the legitimate succession to the throne, but also her belonging to an international ruling class that shared common symbols and high-profile religious models that legitimized the local authorities.

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Entry

John II Komnenos (1118–1143)

Maximilian Christopher George Lau [1,2]

[1] Department for Economic History, Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo 186-8601, Japan; max.lau@stb.ox.ac.uk
[2] Department for Late Antique and Byzantine Studies, St Benet's Hall, University of Oxford, Oxford OX1 3LN, UK

Abstract: John II Komnenos was the son of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos and Eirene Doukaina, and brother of Princess Anna Komnene, the author of the *Alexiad*. Born in 1087, he was crowned soon after his fifth birthday as co-emperor with his father, and in 1105, he was married to Piroska Árpád, daughter of King Ladislaus I of Hungary and Adelaide of Rheinfelden. He is principally known for continuing his father's work of stabilising Byzantium after the crises of the eleventh century. This included major wars of defence and conquest in both the Balkans and Anatolia, and especially a major eastern expedition in 1137–1139. During this campaign, he conquered Cilicia, but he was recalled to defend his borders against the Turks before he could make further conquests in Syria and bring the crusader states under his aegis. He died in a hunting accident just before he returned to Syria, with intentions to go to Jerusalem as well. His best-known iconographic representation is a mosaic of him and his wife in the Great Church of Sophia. Whilst there is also an image of him in a contemporary ornate gospel book, his most common representations are found on his many coin issues and seals.

Keywords: royal images; royal iconography; Byzantium; Komnenos; John II Komnenos

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1. Introduction

John II Komnenos was born in the porphyra Chamber of the Great Palace of Constantinople in 1087 to Emperor Alexios I Komnenos and Eirene Doukaina, giving him his frequently used title of *porphyrogennetos*: 'purple-born' (for John II, see: [1]). Alexios had come to power in 1081 after a decade of civil wars and invasions following the defeat of Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes to the Seljuk Turks at the battle of Manzikert, and the loss of Bari, last Byzantine outpost in Italy, to the Normans. Alexios' mother, Anna Dalassene, arranged the marriage between Alexios and Eirene Doukaina—from the rival Doukas family—in order to forge a dominant coalition of leading families in Byzantium, and originally this had also seen Alexios' eldest child, Anna Komnene, betrothed to Constantine Doukas. However, with the birth of John and Constantine's death, Alexios could crown John as a new heir to the Komnenoi, though in rhetorical works John is also referred to as a Komnenos-Doukas. John's sister, Anna, wrote the famous *Alexiad* chronicling Alexios' reign, in which she describes the young John as having dark skin and eyes, and though our images of him do not show this, he is occasionally given the nickname of 'Black-John' in other sources, including by the crusader historian William of Tyre. He is also frequently referred to as Kaloioannes, 'Good-John', in both Greek and non-Greek texts, such was his positive reputation among contemporaries and those that followed him.

As a child, John was given as a hostage to the warriors of the First Crusade outside Constantinople in 1097, to stand surety for his father's good behavior. In 1105, he married Piroska-Eirene Árpád, daughter of King Ladislaus I of Hungary and Adelaide of Rheinfelden, as part of Alexios' plan to bring Hungary into an alliance with Byzantium against the Normans who had invaded the Balkans.

At Alexios' death in 1118, John saw off a challenge to his succession from his mother Eirene, sister Anna and her husband Nikephoros Bryennios, though the seriousness of that

challenge has been debated by historians. To solidify his rule, John led opening campaigns in southwestern Anatolia, and by conquering Laodikeia and Sozopolis, he reopened the land route to Attaleia and brought all of western Anatolia under his aegis, allowing him to crown his own eldest son, Alexios, as co-emperor in 1119. John spent the 1120s mainly in the Balkans, first seeing off a major invasion of Pechenegs and Cumans, which he defeated at the battle of Beroea in 1122, and then dealing with an insurrection by the anti-Byzantine Serb prince Juraj of Raška against the pro-Byzantine King Gradinja, before having to see off a Hungarian invasion led by King Stephen II Árpád. These troubles allowed *Doux* Constantine Gabras of Trebizond to rebel in 1126, and they forced John to concede trading privileges to Venice in the same year; these they had enjoyed under Alexios, but John had not renewed them in 1118, leading to frequent Venetian raids on Byzantine islands from 1122 onwards.

Though John had settled his western provinces by 1130, there was then an attempted coup by his brother, *Sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos. Isaac and his son fled the capital but then sought to forge a coalition against John amongst his rivals in Anatolia, drawing John back into wars there. Over the course of several campaigns, John subjugated the north central Anatolian region of Paphlagonia, for which he celebrated a Roman Triumph in classical style in Constantinople in 1133. In response to an attack on Seleukeia by Prince Leo of Armenian Cilicia, an erstwhile ally of Isaac's, John invaded Cilicia in 1137 and captured the entire region in a lightning campaign that brought him to the gates of Antioch. Here, he sought to enforce the treaty of Devol whereby the rulers of Antioch were bound to hand over the city to him. By way of negotiation, John and the crusaders campaigned together in Syria against the Muslims, but they were unable to take Aleppo or Shaizar, partially due to the reluctance of the crusaders to fully support John. The emperor was then forced from Antioch by anti-Greek riots that followed his demand that the citadel of Antioch be handed over to him, and then he was recalled to the west by news of renewed Turkish aggression. John spent the years 1139–1142 campaigning once more in Anatolia, where he succeeded in putting down the rebellious Gabras of Trebizond, but he failed to take the city of Neakaisareia from the Turks. In 1142, he returned east to enforce his demands on Antioch, and he made his intentions clear that he planned to travel to Jerusalem as well. Before his designs could be acted upon, John cut his hand whilst hunting in Cilicia; the wound grew infected, and he was obliged to accede to his youngest son Manuel becoming his heir before he died in 1143.

John is otherwise known for co-founding with his wife an immense philanthropic institution associated with a monastery dedicated to Christ Pantokrator ('ruler of all'). His best-known iconographic representation is a mosaic of him, his wife, the *Theotokos* and Christ in the Great Church of Hagia Sophia. Whilst there is also an image of him in a contemporary ornate gospel book, his most common representations are found on his many coin issues and seals (for a general bibliography on Byzantine iconography, see: [2]).

2. The Hagia Sophia Mosaic

The best-known depiction of John today was originally intended only for a very exclusive audience. The Great Church of Hagia Sophia ('Holy Wisdom') had been built by the Emperor Justinian in 537, and until the Ottoman conquest in 1453, it remained the patriarchal cathedral of the imperial capital of Constantinople. The south gallery of the Great Church was reserved for the emperor, his family, and the highest of courtiers to attend services, and it is here we find the mosaic of John, his wife Piroska-Eirene, and son Alexios, flanking the Virgin and child (Figure 1). We have no information regarding the author, date, or commissioning of this mosaic as it goes unmentioned in any source, though with Alexios being presented as an emperor, this side panel must postdate 1119. The presentation of money and the scroll by John and Eirene to the *Theotokos* and the infant Christ in the Hagia Sophia mosaic likely represent an unknown donation to the Great Church of Hagia Sophia itself, though the imperial couple also collaborated in the foundation of a monastery and major charitable foundation dedicated to Christ Pantokrator [2] (p. 147), [3–5].

Figure 1. John and Piroska-Eirene, with their son Alexios; mosaic; post 1119; Istanbul, Ayasofya, south gallery. Published in [2] (p. 147), [3–5] (p. 243).

This image emphasises the piety and philanthropy of the imperial family, and it has also been suggested that the frontal representation of the imperial couple in this mosaic emphasises their power and status in comparison with other mosaics where the imperial couple are depicted side on, in deference to Christ or the Holy figure next to them [2] (p. 147), [6]. This is the case for the only mosaic that can be seen alongside it today—that of the eleventh century Empress Zoe Porphyrogenita and her husband Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos—but pilgrim accounts describe that originally, there were multiple imperial portraits along this gallery, below the image of Christ Pantokrator on the central vault [2] (p. 148), [7–9]. Thus, the context of this image mirrored the standard ecclesiastical visual representation of the Pantokrator surrounded by angels. Furthermore, the depiction of Pentecost in the neighbouring vault parallels the mission of the emperor, as the Holy Spirit imparted authority upon the apostles to lead the Church on earth, and emperor continued their work of guiding Christians to the present day [2] (p. 148), [9] (p. 232–237).

The depiction is notable for portraying not only John and his wife but also his son and co-emperor Alexios on the corner wall to the right. This enjambment places an emphasis on their collegial rule and the legitimacy gained through this visual depiction of the continuity of the Komnenian dynasty. Though the inclusion of Christ and the Virgin is an act of piety, it also emphasises the origin of imperial power, and the legitimacy given to John and his son through their favour—the inclusion of saintly haloes around their heads emphasises this further. It has also been suggested that the specific choice of the Virgin and Christ-child (Emmanuel) might be a reference to the birth of the imperial couple's youngest child, Manuel, in 1118, as John succeeded his father Alexios ([10], it has been further noted that there is "a conspicuous expansion of interest in Marian themes and devotion" in the Komnenian period: [11]).

3. The Gospel Book (*Tetraevangelion*, Vat.Urb.gr.2)

This small (7.25 × 4.75 inches) gospel book is lavishly decorated throughout, and its dedication tells us that it was prepared for the family of the emperor of the Romans, though we again have no information as to its author or commissioning (Figure 2) [12,13]. It has traditionally been dated to post-1122 on the basis of this image of John and his son Alexios as co-emperors, though as the dating of Alexios' coronation has more recently been shown to be 1119 due in particular to references in Neapolitan charters, the dating of this book can also be brought earlier ([1,14], first noted in: [15]). As with the mosaic, this image was therefore intended for the intimate audience of the Komnenian inner circle, yet it nevertheless conveys intriguing elements of imperial iconography.

Figure 2. Coronation of John and Alexios by Christ; illumination; post 1119; Vatican Library, Tetraevangelion, Vat.Urb.gr.2, Dedication Image. Published in [2] (p. 147), [3–5] (p. 196).

The collegial rule of John and his son Alexios is once again emphasised as the seated Christ crowns both rulers at once, who stand equally tall under him, and it is notable that the seated Christ is the same figure who will appear on most of John's coinage and seals. Notably, Christ is flanked by personifications of Mercy and Justice, and some commentators have suggested that the personification of 'Mercy' may be based on Piroska-Eirene or one of her daughters, and also that her counterpart 'Justice' may represent the young Alexios' wife (this identification is aided by the image of an imperial figure at the start of the Gospel of Matthew in the same book who recalls both the mosaic and this crowning image, with both commentators agreeing that this image represents Piroska-Eirene [10] (pp. 181–182, 272), [5] (pp. 160–161). Common to the mosaic above, John's coins and seals, the two emperors are otherwise shown crowned, wearing the ceremonial *division* and *loros* costume, and they hold the military *labarum* while they stand on a decorated dais.

4. Uncertain and Lost Images

Two decorative stone roundels (Tondi) of unknown provenance have also been claimed to depict John on the basis of facial likeness to the above images (Figure 3, c.f. Figure 1, Figure 2) [15] (*DOC*, pp. 145–150), [16,17]. Now found at the Campiello Angaran, Venice and Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C., these relief sculptures each depict a full-length frontal figure of an emperor, standing on a footstool and wearing a crown, *divitision* with a crossed *loros* above it, and a mantle fastened on the right shoulder by a plain round *fibula*, while the emperor holds a military *labarum* flag and a *globus cruciger*, symbol of worldly dominion under God. John uses much of this iconography on his coins, so this identification cannot be ruled out; however, Karagiorgou's argument that this specific combination of iconography is more likely to depict the thirteenth century ruler Theodoros II Komnenos-Doukas is convincing. Karagiorgou also makes the point that the iconography of Theodoros' coins owes much to those of John's, so this roundel does testify to the enduring power the image of John II had to shape Byzantine iconography a century later [17] (p. 148, c.f. Coins, below).

Figure 3. Unknown Emperors; Figural Roundels; unknown date and provenance; now found at the Campiello Angaran, Venice (L) and Dumbarton Oaks (R). Published in [15] (*DOC*, p. 149), [16,17] (Figures 1 and 2).

Furthermore, there is a relationship between this image and a lost image of John, mentioned as part of the decoration of new living quarters in the Blachernai Palace of Constantinople, commissioned by John himself shortly after the death of his father in 1118. A poem by the court doctor Nikephoros Kallikles describes the decoration of these living quarters as including depictions of John's father Alexios defeating Normans, Pechenegs and Turks, followed by an image of the deceased Alexios and then the living John, mourning but with the sun [15] (*DOC*, p. 149), [18,19]. Solar imagery is common to Roman imperial imagery back to antiquity, but John is specifically compared to the sun in multiple court orations and other poems by the pre-eminent court rhetor, Theodore Prodromos (see in particular: Theodore Prodromos Poems I, IV, V, VI, IX, X, XI, XII, XIV, XV, XIX In [20]). John's iconography therefore appears to have drawn on this ancient tradition for at least one lost work, and possibly others. Indeed, this reuse of solar imagery may have contributed to the development of the later Byzantine ceremony of *prokypsis*, which had as its focus the ceremonial appearance of the emperor as light, in an evolution of the ecclesiastical kathisma ceremony [21–23].

5. Coins

John's reign had three indictional tax cycles in which new coins were produced: 1118–1122, 1122–1137 and 1137–1143, and coins were produced at the two imperial mints of Constantinople and Thessaloniki [15] (*DOC*, pp. 1, 11, 30, 39, 41–47, 96–128, 181–274, esp. 245, 251, 253–254), (*DOC*, p. 97; [24] (pp. 48–49, 57, 107–108), [25–34]. In 1092, John's father Alexios had reformed Byzantine coinage after many years of devaluation, but John further refined this system: he introduced more middle denomination coins that enabled a greater amount of economic exchange than previously, and consequently, there is a great variety of coins on which to see his iconography [15] (*DOC*, pp. 169, 255–256, 259–260. On imperial costume and its iconography on coins in general, see: pp. 143–176. Images on Plate IX). A noticeable trend in the iconography of his gold coins in particular is that they appear to evidence John's growing ambitions, which could bear relation to these coins being minted for military expenditure.

Most of John's coinage displays an enthroned Christ on the obverse, where he is dressed in the typical iconographic classical clothing of the *chiton* and the *himation*. Christ has a cruciform halo, holds a gospel book, and lifts a hand in blessing (Figures 4–8). In John's lower denomination coins, Christ is either depicted standing, or we only see his head and shoulders. Some variant coinage displays an enthroned Virgin and Christ Child (Figure 9), or some coins from Thessaloniki display the head and shoulders of St Demetrios, warrior saint and patron of the second city of the empire (Figure 10).

Figure 4. First Indiction Hyperpyron Nomisma, 1118–1122; impression on gold; New York; 1b.1. Whittemore Collection. Published at [15] (*DOC*, pp. 256–259, 260–261. Images on Plate VIII).

Figure 5. Second Indiction Hyperpyron Nomisma, 1122–1137; impression on gold; Amsterdam; 2.2 Peirce 1948 from Schulman i.30. Published at [15] (Ibid, pp. 261–274. The issues from the mint at Thessalonike have St Demetrios, the patron saint of the city, while those from Constantinople have St George. Images on Plates VIII and IX).

Figure 6. Third Indiction Hyperpyron Nomisma, 1137–1143; impression on gold; Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C.; 3b.3 Shaw 1947. Published at [15] (Ibid, pp. 261–274. The issues from the mint at Thessalonike have St Demetrios, the patron saint of the city, while those from Constantinople have St George. Images on Plates VIII and IX).

Figure 7. *Aspron Trachy Nomisma*, 1118–1143; impression on electrum; Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C.; 8b.2 Schindler 1960 (Kallai i.33). Published at [15] (Ibid, pp. 261–274. The issues from the mint at Thessalonike have St Demetrios, the patron saint of the city, while those from Constantinople have St George. Images on Plates VIII and IX).

Figure 8. Aspron Trachy Nomisma, 1118–1143; impression on electrum; Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C.; 8e.1 Peirce 1948 (H. Pl. 10.5). Published at [15] (Ibid, pp. 261–274. The issues from the mint at Thessalonike have St Demetrios, the patron saint of the city, while those from Constantinople have St George. Images on Plates VIII and IX).

Beginning with his gold coinage (*Hyperpyron Nomisma*), his first issue (1118–1122, Figure 4) depicts John in a ceremonial *loros* and *divitision* costume on the reverse, holding a patriarchal cross with the Virgin Mary. The hand of God also hovers above his head, and John holds in his other hand the *anexikakia* (a silk covered scroll filled with dust to symbolise humility) [15] (*DOC*, pp. 256–259, 260–261. Images on Plate VIII). These coins emphasise his divinely ordained succession and his co-rule with the *Theotokos*, along with his personal humility, but his next two issues display a progression from this humble piety.

His second issue (1122–1137, Figure 5) drops both the hand of God and the patriarchal cross in favour of John holding the military *labarum*, and he is crowned directly by the Virgin while still holding the *anexikakia*, while his third (1137–1143, Figure 6) shows him being not only crowned by the Virgin, but this time John holds a *globus cruciger* [24–34]. John's earlier humility was first militarised and later (as he set out on his eastern expedition to Cilicia and Syria) replaced with an emphasis on the universal rule assigned him by the Virgin.

In addition to these major coin issues, there was also a commemorative coin or medal produced by Alexios, assumedly in 1092, to celebrate John's coronation as infant: it displays a beardless John in imperial regalia and holding the gospels on one side, and his imperial parents Alexios and Eirene on the other, much like a modern commemorative coin (since it not covered by a major coin catalogue, Magdalino has made the suggestion to me that it may be a commemorative medal rather than a true coin [35,36]).

Figure 9. First Indiction Aspron Trachy Nomisma, 1118–1122; impression on billon; Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C.; B.11.1 Bertelè 1956 (H. Pl. 11.3). Published at [15] (*DOC*, pp. 224, 226, 228, 231, 234, images on Plates VIII and IX), [37].

Figure 10. First Indiction Tetaraton, 1118–1122; impression on copper; Oxford; HCR53126. Published at [15] (*DOC*, pp. 224, 226, 228, 231, 234, 248–249, 264–267. Images on Plates VIII-X), [37].

John's lower denomination coins evidence signs of his ambition even earlier on. On John's much produced electrum coins (silver/gold alloy with c.75% silver, known as *Aspron Trachy Nomismata*), we find John holding a patriarchal cross or the *labarum* with the martial saints George or Demetrios on the obverse, with the saint dressed in armour and with a drawn sword in his left hand (Figures 7 and 8 respectively) [15] (*DOC*, pp. 224, 226, 228, 231, 234, images on Plates VIII and IX; *DOC*, pp. 224, 226, 228, 231, 234, 248–249, 264–267. Images on Plates VIII-X, this image at https://hcr.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/collection/4?page=65) (accessed on 10 February 2022), [37]. On some versions we the patriarchal cross is depicted on three steps, drawing on iconography thought to relate to the cross that Emperor Theodosius II (408–450) erected on Christ's crucifixion site of Golgotha, which was common on Byzantine coins and seals in the few centuries after him (Figure 7).

In John's billon coinage (6–10% silver to copper alloy), John stands alone in a short military cloak, the *sagion*, rather than the *loros*, holding both a labarum and an *anexikakia* or *globus cruciger* (with earlier coinage displaying the *anexikakia* and later coinage the *globus cruciger*), while the obverse shows the Virgin and Christ child (Figure 9) [15,37].

On John's lowest denomination coinage, the tetaraton (copper), we see either a standing John with labarum, crown, and military cloak, akin to Figure 9, or his head and shoulders, as in Figure 10, that also displays the head and shoulders of St Demetrios on the obverse [15,37].

6. Seals

John's seals portray an enthroned Christ on the obverse and John himself on the reverse (Figure 11) [38,39]. The iconography of Christ is the same as John's coinage, showing Christ with a cruciform halo, and the standard iconographic classical clothing of the *chiton* and the *himation*. In all known examples, John is depicted standing, wearing a *loros* and crown, and he is holding in his left hand a *globus cruciger*, and in his right, the military *labarum*. These are similar to the iconography of John's coinage, though no seal has exactly the same combination of regalia as a specific coin. Though many surviving seals are in poor condition, from those in a better state we can see that John's titles are often more prominent than the coins (which, as shown above, usually display a simple ιῶ as a short form of Ioannes, perhaps with one title). The standard formula appears to have been Ἰωάννῃ δεσπότῃ τῷ πορφυρογεννήτῳ, drawing on John's status as *porphyrogennetos* 'born in the purple' and *despotes*, lord or master, though this is given in shortened form.

Figure 11. Seal of John; Zacos Collection, Geneva; Inv. CdN 2004-582. Published in [38,39].

7. Conclusions

Though John's dynastic project is marked in his portrait in both Hagia Sophia and the gospel book, neither of these was a public image in the same way as his coinage or seals. The proximity of his wife and son in these images may therefore have been emphasised to this highest of court audiences, which might have included some potential rivals from within the imperial family, but to the wider world it was only John and his personal iconography that was presented.

Turning to these coins, seals and perhaps other images that did have a wider audience, any emperor of the latter centuries of Byzantium had most of a millennium's worth of

iconography to choose from to emphasise his specific ideological program. John's use of the *labarum* and *globus cruciger* had been common in the iconography of his predecessors, but far less so was the *anexikakia*, the cross on steps, solar imagery, and indeed the hand of God in addition to the *Theotokos*, Christ, St. George, or St. Demetrios. This diversity in iconography is also marked, as is the progression on his gold coinage from emphasising John's piety, humility, and legitimacy to a more confident assertion of universal authority. It appears that in the earlier parts of John's reign, he was far more anxious to emphasise the former, and he drew on a great diversity of iconography to do so. This may reflect the challenge he received at his accession from his mother Eirene Doukaina and sister Anna Komnene, followed by the attempted coup of his brother, Isaac, in 1130. Far more secure in later years, John emphasised his claim to universal rule with his iconography as he conquered Cilicia and sought to do the same to Syria and the crusaders of the Levant. This confidence he handed on to his successor Manuel, whose iconography follows John's in many respects. It is also a testament to John's iconographical program that one of the first emperors who ruled from Nicaea after the fall of Constantinople, John III Vatatzes, minted gold coinage that directly copied the iconography of John II [15] (*DOC*, pp. 475–477; Papadopoulou, Coinage, p. 183). This, together with the possibility of the roundels being those of Theodore II Komnenos-Doukas, evidences the effectiveness and longevity of both John's reign and its accompanying iconography.

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Entry

Khosrow II (590–628 CE)

Mahdi Motamedmanesh [1,*] and Samira Royan [2]

[1] Department of Architecture, Faculty of Arts, Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran 14115-335, Iran
[2] Department of Painting, Faculty of Arts, Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran 14115-335, Iran; s.royan@modares.ac.ir
* Correspondence: m.motamed@modares.ac.ir; Tel.: +98-218-288-3733

Definition: Khosrow II (r. 590–628 CE) was the last great Sasanian king who took the throne with the help of the Romans and broke with dynastic religious preferences as he became married to a Christian empress. It was under his rule that the Sasanian Empire reached its greatest expansion. From the standpoint of iconographic studies, Khosrow II is among the most influential Persian kings. Although he was literally occupied by rebels and wars within the borders of the Sasanian territories and beyond, Khosrow managed to create a powerful image of himself that emphasized the legitimacy of his monarchy. Indeed, Khosrow Parviz (the Victorious) drew upon royal iconography as a propaganda tool on a wide range of materials such as rock and stucco reliefs, coins, seals, and metal plates. His image (created both visually and verbally) not only revived the traditional iconography of the Persian kings but also evolved it in a way that transcended his time and was passed on to the early Islamic Caliphates after him. Khosrow II imitated and manipulated the traditional royal iconography of his predecessors in order to display his legitimacy, piety, and valor.

Keywords: royal image; royal iconography; Sasanian Empire; Khosrow II; rock relief; coinage

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1. Introduction

The Sasanian dynasty, which ruled over the entire Iranian Plateau and beyond from 220 to 651 CE, was the last pre-Islamic empire of Iran (for the history of the Sasanian Empire, see [1,2]). Ardashir I (224–41 CE), the founder of the dynasty, named the kingdom after his grandfather Sasan, supposedly a priest of the goddess Anahid in the city of Istakhr, the capital of the province of Persis/Fars [3]. The dynasty thus claimed religious legitimacy and authority from its foundation via "[the connection of] an eponymous founder with an important sanctuary" [4] (p. 156). The Sasanians aimed to move the territories of the empire to that of the Achaemenids [4]. It was under Khosrow II (590–628 CE) that their empire reached its territorial zenith, thanks to a series of military campaigns that allowed the Sasanians to dominate the eastern Mediterranean and Egypt for over a decade in the early seventh century CE [5]. Hence, Khosrow II is the most important king of this golden era (498–622) of the Sasanian sovereignty.

Khosrow II took over the throne following a plot that deposed his father, Hormazd IV (579–90 CE). Soon after, however, the rebellious general Bahram Chobin forced the young Khosrow to flee to the Eastern Roman Empire, where he sought alliance and support [3] (pp. 191–199). Maurice, by then the Roman emperor, helped the young Khosrow to recapture the throne and defeat Bahram [4] (p. 160); [6] (pp. 236–240), [7] (p. 85); [8,9]. In order to consolidate power, Khosrow II managed to take control and prevent possible adversities, both inside and outside the borders of his political hegemony. As Khosrow wanted to clear any notoriety, he first eliminated those connected with the murder of his father. Later, when Maurice passed away, Khosrow started a series of campaigns in western territories, particularly in regions controlled by the Romans [4] (p. 161); [8,9]. Even though Khosrow's success in conquering Armenia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and

Anatolia granted him a good reputation and acceptance at first, the continuity and cruelty of his ambitious campaigns caused increasing hostility with the powerful western neighbor [2] (p. 33); [10,11]. For example, historians have recorded vivid descriptions of the hostile acts by Khosrow II during the conquest of Jerusalem (614 CE) that triggered revenge campaigns against Sasanian temples [2] (p. 33); [12,13] (p. 592). Thus, "in a matter of years, Khosrow II went from a world conqueror, emulating the Achaemenid territorial integrity to a humiliated king who was unable to protect the sacred Zoroastrian fire-temples and his subjects [2] (p. 33)." Eventually, the nobility and priests removed Khosrow II in 628 CE, and subsequently, all the conquered regions were returned to the Romans.

The Sasanian royal image was not just created through sovereign acts or written sources but rather depended, to a great extent, on a well-developed iconographic language promoted by rock reliefs, coins, and other visual products of material culture [14–17]. In the absence or scarcity of written sources, pictorial documents maintain a treasury for the understanding of the most important aspects of the royal image under the Sasanian rule [18]. From an iconographic point of view, Khosrow II is of significant interest to scholars: the abundance of archaeological evidence from his time, combined with the contrasting characters of his sovereignty (e.g., victory/defeat, treason/loyalty, piety/impiety, etc.) provide scholars with an unparalleled, first-hand source of information that sheds light on an important yet less-known period of the history of Iran. Considering the subjective nature of the portrayals and interpretations presented by Christian, Muslim, and Persian authors, Khosrow's personality has remained relatively unknown to us [19]. The pictorial language, conceived by the king himself, is the proper medium that can shed light on this matter. Drawing upon the established iconographic language of his time, as well as manipulating some aspects of the iconographic language of his predecessors, Khosrow II managed to present a powerful and influential image of his monarchy. This entry summarizes the unique features of Khosrow II's royal iconography, its function, and its possible audience. It, therefore, describes the iconographic and iconological characteristics of his royal image on rock reliefs and coins.

2. Taq-e-Bustan Rock Reliefs

Generally speaking, the depiction of a royal image aims to allude to the authority of the ruling king. The direct reuse of conventional royal icons or the use of their modified versions, as well as employing innovative symbols, are the methods by which this goal has been achieved in the history of Persian monarchies. Close analysis of the transformation of royal images under the Sasanians, particularly through iconographic studies of cases that vary in size and complexity, helps outline the basics and overall thinking of Sasanian royal iconography, including that of Khosrow II.

According to Vanden Berghe, the author of a comprehensive catalog of the rock reliefs of ancient Iran, the Sasanian kings commissioned 39 rock reliefs [20] (p. 1090). Most of these engravings are devoid of any inscription and are located in significant locations to depict crucial political events, such as royal investiture or military victories [20] (p. 1091), as well as religious tendencies or royal festivals, such as games and hunts. In ancient Iran, the use of pictorial reliefs, coupled with informative inscriptions, was the traditional way of illustrating royal images, as well as depicting the kings' authority and legitimacy [21]. Therefore, by the time of the Sasanians, and Khosrow II, in particular, there existed an accepted iconographic language to propagate the political and religious ideas of the sovereign [22]. For instance, in rock reliefs, Sasanian artists depicted the kings only in four different positions: "standing, jousting, equestrained and enthroned" [23] (p. 308). Similarly, it is scholarly accepted today that almost every Sasanian king wore an individual crown and headgear [24]; (for various images of Sasanian crowns carved on rock reliefs, see [25]). The existence of these traditions allows scholars to study all Sasanian rock reliefs in a historical discourse that benefits from intertextual references.

Some of the most well-known rock reliefs of the Sasanian kings are located at Taq-e Bustan, near Kermanshah in western Iran. Here, the remaining reliefs include an investiture

scene carved on a large cliff (depicting Ardashir II, 4th CE) and two ayvans (recesses) carved out of rock that contains different scenes of the royal life [24]. Though it is clear that one of the ayvans depicts Shapur II and Shapur III in the 4th CE, the identity of the Sasanian king who ordered the cutting of the greater ayvan (the so-called Great Grotto) and the king(s) whose figures were depicted there, are the subject of debate. Nevertheless, there is a scholarly consensus that the great ayvan is associated with Khosrow II (for more information, see [24,26–30]; [31] (p. 361); [32,33]).

In order to create a visual synchronization between the two ayvans, the fashion of the older, smaller ayvan was adapted to the greater counterpart. Scholars believe that the ayvan was a stone version of a type of palatial decoration that was common in stucco by then [24,33]. It, therefore, represents a change in the choice of material used for royal iconography [34]. The great ayvan is decorated on all sides and contains four different scenes of Khosrow's opulence and his glamorous court (Figure 1). The most celebrated rock relief of the Sasanian dynasty represents the king in four scenes: 1. an investiture scene on top of the back wall, illustrating the king standing between Ahura Mazda (the god of Zoroastrianism) and Anahita (the goddess of waters); 2. an equestrian image on the lower part of the same wall, depicting the king as a warrior on an armored horse; 3. a deer hunt scene on the right sidewall; 4. a boar hunt scene on the left sidewall. The entire complex has been regarded as "a celebration of well-known themes from Assyrian times" [24]. As discussed above, the foundation of Khosrow's ayvan at Taq-e Bustan dates back to the end of the 6th century CE at a time when the Sasanian kingdom was at its apogee of military achievements [5] (p. 6468). Thus, one may regard the Great Grotto as a victory monument that depicts Khosrow in the traditional roles of an Iranshahr king: as a legitimate king that receives the ring of power from deities, as a victorious warrior on horseback, and as the head of the team at royal hunts.

Figure 1. Taq-e Bustan, The Great Grotto. Source: authors.

2.1. Investiture Relief

As it was usual in Sasanian reliefs to arrange the scene around a central axis [23] (p. 352), the sculpture of the king created a center for the Taq-e Bustan investiture relief, around which the Sasanian artist engraved the rest of the scene. The king is illustrated frontally in a standing position, whereas his right hand receives the ring of power from Ahura Mazda, and his left hand holds a sword. Anahita, the assumed divine patron of the Sasanian dynasty, stands on the right side. A power ring is in her right hand while she provides a blessing with her other hand that pours water on the ground from a jar (Figure 2). Following an established iconographic tradition, the king is illustrated larger than the two divine figures. His garment is fully decorated with pearls and water droplet patterns. Scholars have interpreted this particular treatment as a symbol of the greatness of Anahita in Sasanian beliefs [35]. As usual, none of the Zoroastrian gods and divinities (neither Ahura Mazda nor Anahita) carry any weapons [26] (p. 112). The contrasting juxtaposition of these weaponless divine figures and a king with his hand on a sword in the focal point of the scene conveys the legitimacy of Khosrow's sovereignty through the military and divinely bestowed powers. Khosrow's right to the throne is also emphasized in the engraving of his traditional crown, the use of which was granted only to the representatives of the Sasanian royal house [30] (p. 77).

Figure 2. The investiture scene, rock relief, end of the 6th century CE, Taq-e Bustan, The Great Grotto. Photographed by authors, the drawing is taken from: Flandin, E.; Coste, P. *Voyage en Perse*, Gide et J. Baudry, Paris, France, 1851.

The imagery of the crown in Sasanian material culture is a signifier of the king's identity. Although a Sasanian king may have more than one crown, or he may change the crown in the course of his sovereignty—due to great achievement, the crown may be changed to display the increase in the *farr* (i.e., *xwarenah* in the old Persian language, literally meaning "glory")—as a general rule, these crowns vary in detail. The crown illustrated in the investiture scene may resemble those forged on Sasanian coins from the time of Piruz, Khosrow II, Ardashir III, and Yazdgerd III [33] (p. 583). Nevertheless, archaeological evidence confirms Herzfeld's opinion [36] (pp. 83–100) that regarded Khosrow II as the king depicted on the great ayvan. The crown illustrated in the investiture scene consists of a headband ornamented with two rows of pearls on its lower part, above which there is a small knurled line with a small crescent in front. A hat with two wide wings on the sides shapes the main part of the crown, and a big crescent placed under corymbs fills the space between these wings [37] (illustrated in p. 59). All the elements of the crown (i.e., pearl band, wings, knurl, crescent, corymbs, and even the small ornaments scattered on the other parts) are believed to be of religious importance as they symbolize the Zoroastrian gods or beliefs, thereby showing the strong connection of the Sasanian king to supernatural powers [38] (p. 325).

The iconography of mythical gods in the shape of natural entities was an ancient tradition dating back to prehistoric Mesopotamia, which continued later in the Iranian Plateau [38] (p. 326). Abu Rayhan Biruni is amongst the earliest to note this in Sasanian imagery: in *Asar Al-Baghieh* (11th century CE), he emphasizes that the corymbs on the Sasanian crown feature the sun, the symbol of Mithra (i.e., an ancient goddess associated with the sun in Persian mythology) [39] (p. 43). Similarly, the mantle and accessories are worn by the king in the divine investiture relief, as well as all other ornaments of the ayvan, clearly refer to the Zoroastrian religion. Thus, they reflect the desire of Khosrow II to introduce his kingdom as a "celestial trust granted [to him] by gods" [38] (p. 327). Khosrow II's great emphasis on the divinely ordained power and celestial supports are also observable in the presence of a second ring of power in the investiture relief. Though the beribboned ring was a common symbol of the *farr* in Sasanian rock reliefs, which represented the legitimacy of the sovereignty supported by a god or goddess, the depiction of a second power ring in the investiture scene at Taq-e Bustan was unprecedented. To interpret this decision, one needs to analyze the significance of the *farr* in the context of the history of the Sasanians. Abolala Soudavar, an authority on the art of Persian courts, points out the particular characteristic of the *farr*, as the king's acts could cause an increase or decrease in the *farr* [40] (p. 51). Thus, on the one hand, the illustration of a second power ring could imply the king's urgent need for a double confirmation which, considering the events of the earliest years of Khosrow's rule, seems reasonable. For example, the king's tolerance towards Christians and specifically his relationship with Shirin—Khosrow's favorite wife, who was a Christian [2] (p. 34). coupled with the rumor of Khosrow's collaboration in the murder of his father [35] (p. 59) could have decreased the *farr*, prompting the priests to condemn the king. On the other hand, Khosrow's successful military campaigns that stretched the borders of his kingdom could have increased the *farr*, encouraging the king to illustrate multiple, beribboned power rings: "For his two-fold victories in the east and west, Khosrow was receiving two beribboned yārehs from Iranian deities, and two others from Nike and Fortuna" [40] (p. 50)—the last two names refer to the guardian angels of the Roman and Greeks, also depicted above the arch of the great ayvan (Figure 1).

The above remarks, once again, point out the contrasting character of Khosrow's rule amongst conquered nations, as well as the royal court circle, including the head priest of the Zoroastrian temples (*mowbed)*, military generals, and aristocrats, which, all together, had the power to overthrow the king due to a reduction in his *farr*. This broadens the scope of the audience of the rock reliefs ordered by Khosrow II. It also explains the great attention paid to the engraving of details at Taq-e Bustan, making the Great Grotto the beholder of one of the most delicately carved reliefs of ancient Persia.

2.2. Equestrian Relief

Though partly damaged, the equestrian relief illustrates a fully armed warrior on horseback, with a shield and a lance in his hands, while a quiver is suspended on his right side. The horse is armored, and both the rider and the animal are shown in profile, facing the left sidewall (Figure 3). The sculpture is obviously more than an ordinary cavalry depiction: a nimbus is carved around the head (or helmet) of the horseman, and a globe (corymbos) crowns the upper part of his helmet, whereas flying ribbons are suspended from it. These icons all imply the grandeur of the man depicted here: the Sasanian king. The relief should have gained much attention during the Sasanian rule; even centuries after the fall of the Sasanians, it still symbolizes the glory of the royal court.

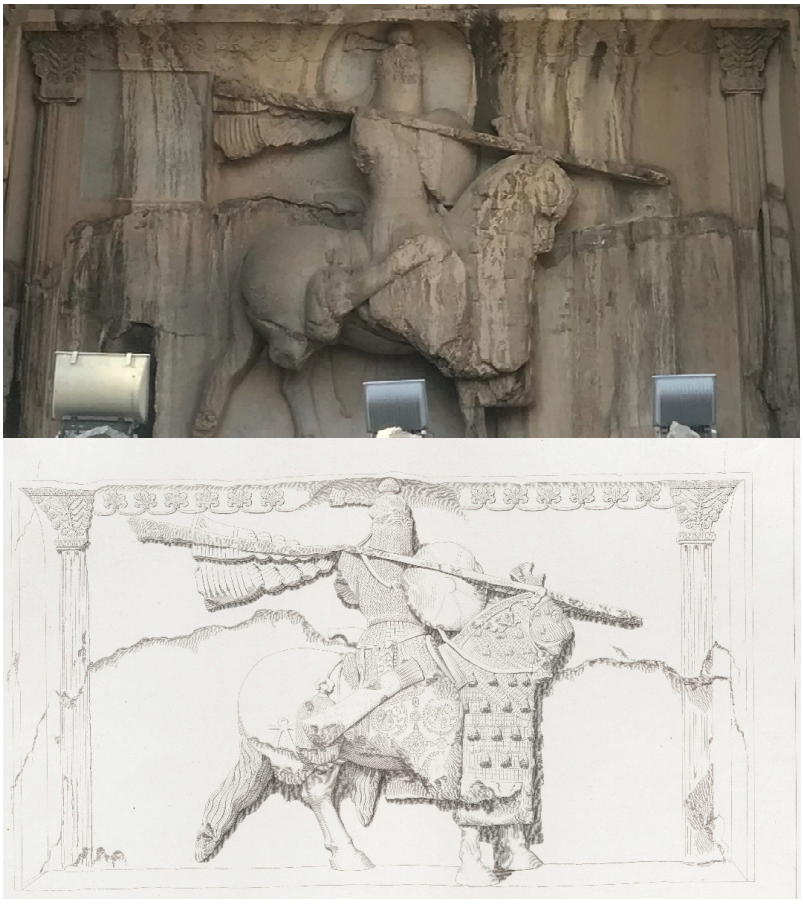

Figure 3. The armored warrior, rock relief, end of the 6th century CE, Taq-e Bustan, The Great Grotto. Photographed by authors, the drawing is taken from: Flandin, E.; Coste, P. *Voyage en Perse,* Gide et J. Baudry, Paris, France 1851.

Early Islamic historians, such as al-Hamawi (620 CE), Ibn-Faqih Hamedani (902 CE), and Ibn-Rosta (903 CE), all wrote descriptions of a great equestrian relief near Kermanshah that depicts the Sasanian king Khosrow Parviz on his favorite charger "Shabdiz" [35] (pp. 57–58). Modern scholars believe that the horseman in the equestrian scene and the king in the investiture setting display the same person [26] (p. 105); [30] (p. 76). This iconographically connects together the upper and lower illustrations. Indeed, visual presentation of different

stages of a hero's life or the events surrounding him was an old tradition in Persian visual culture; the Stele of Untash-Napirisha (circa1300 BC) is an Elamite example of this old tradition. In this respect, the great ayvan and its many reliefs were meant to represent a "throne-Iwan" [26] (p. 106), depicting the different aspects of the king's power.

The equestrian relief, with its emphasis on a particular type of armor used by Sasanian cavalry, as well as the archery equipment, depicts the king as a victorious and invincible warrior. This sense of invincibility can be conveyed not only by the depiction of the strong, athletic bodies of Khosrow II and his horse Shabdiz but also in the artist's reference to the power ring, nimbus, globe, and flying ribbons which all symbolize the *farr*. Thus, it can be assumed that the great ayvan was constructed to depict the increase in *farr* as a result of Khosrow's victorious campaigns in the west and the east [40] (pp. 47–48).

The iconographic details of the relief have attracted much scholarly attention. The flying ribbons are interpreted as a symbol of the king's "divine splendor" to "indicate the covenant of the king" [39] (pp. 44–45). While the depiction of a power ring for identifying the Sasanian king was a long tradition in Sasanian iconography, the illustration of a circular nimbus (not a radiating halo similar to those depicted in other engravings at Taq-e Bustan) around the head of the king was not a common practice in Sasanian rock reliefs before the time of Khosrow. At Taq-e Bustan, Khosrow II is shown twice with a nimbus around his head: once in the equestrian relief and again in the royal hunt scene. This halo around the king's head refers to the *farr* that, according to Sasanian visual culture, can be represented as a light radiating from the king's head or body [41] (p. 184). Examples of this particular type of imagery are also observable in royal hunt scenes carved on Sasanian-inspired plates dating back to the late Sasanian era or the early Islamic period [41] (pp. 183–184).

In contrast to the investiture relief, which was firmly attached to the conventional iconographic language of Persian court culture, some sculpted details in the equestrian scene were not common at the time, making scholars consider the possible inspirations from the local traditions of western and eastern frontiers of the Sasanian territories. Apart from shedding light on the evolution of the Sasanian military industry, the armor and other warfare of the horseman and his charger [42,43] are also regarded as supporting material for identifying the roots of new iconographic details [32]. In this respect, the "lamellar armor" and a new type of warrior that first appeared at Taq-e Bustan have Central Asian origins, which started to penetrate the western frontiers of Iran by means of trade fairs or wars, not before the end of the 6th century [43] (p. 173); [32] (pp. 394–396). On the other hand, the phoenix-like creature depicted as an ornament on the warrior's garment indicates eastern influences. Arguably, this "first occurrence of the flying creature on a monument which can certainly be considered pre-Islamic Persian" symbolizes the *farr* [30] (p. 78). Historians of the early Islamic period, such as Masudi and Biruni, point out that one of Khosrow's seals that was embellished with a flying creature called "*Khurasan khurra*", literally meaning the glory of Khorasan [30] (p. 78). This motif was also employed as a reoccurring pattern on the garments of the king in royal hunt reliefs [30,33].

To illustrate the authority and power of the ruling king, ancient officials portrayed the king in juxtaposition with the dead body of his enemies. Various examples of this artistic tradition are observable in archaeological remains in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Iranian Plateau from the Bronze Age onward. Nevertheless, there is no evidence of the use of this iconographic sign under the Khosrow II rule. In view of some scholars, the invincibility of Khosrow II made the depiction of dead enemies in his royal rock reliefs purposeless [24]. This separation from older traditions dating back to antiquity is noticeable. Indeed, instead of copying only after his predecessors or using age-old Persian traditions, Khosrow II, the conqueror of the east and west, also drew upon a new iconographic language (i.e., the equestrian relief) to emphasize his increased *farr* [44] (p. 3), as well as his invincibility. This was a wise decision as Khosrow Parviz's use of a universal language eventually displayed him as the king of the kings of four geographical dimensions in the eyes of audiences from Iran and beyond (for more information on Khosrow II's military strategies and achievements, see [45] (pp. 228–244).

2.3. Boar Hunt Reliefs

The technical style of this relief (Figure 4) is different from the investiture and equestrian reliefs, in contrast to the deep carving of figures on the central wall, which provides the illusion of rounded sculptures, the boar hunt relief was carved very shallow. In the view of the authors, both the position and technical style of this relief signifies its subordination to the main theme carved on the central wall.

Figure 4. The boar hunt relief, rock relief, end of the 6th century CE, Taq-e Bustan, The Great Grotto. Source: Flandin, E.; Coste, P. *Voyage en Perse,* Gide et J. Baudry, Paris, France 1851, modified by authors.

The relief is an elaborate and illustrious display of wild boar hunting on boats. The main scene is framed in such a way that it recalls a fenced hunting ground. The narrative nature of the carving is noteworthy: reading from left to right (facing the relief), the main scene depicts the king two times. The first time with a stretched bow targeting a boar, and the second time, at a smaller size with a bow in his hand and nimbate. In both scenes, the king's garments resemble one another and are decorated with patterns of the flying creature mentioned above [46] (pp. 106–108). The musicians and servants accompanying the king on the boat are clearly depicted to be smaller than their majesty. The relief is meticulous and rich in detail: elephant riders direct a herd of boars in a particular direction where the king targets them between the bushes. The presence of female musicians playing on boats, together with the illustration of fish and birds swimming freely in the water, is in sharp contrast with the turmoil of the king's battle with animals. On the right part of the relief out of the enclosed main scene, elephant riders and ordinary people are depicted with the dead body of boars on the ground or on elephants, creating the final episode of a royal story.

Hunting was a royal sport in ancient Persia. Thus, the depiction of the king while hunting, combating, or slaying mythical animals was of iconographic importance. Remarkable examples of this pictorial tradition are observable in the remains of the Achaemenid dynasty at Persepolis. Provided the fact that the Sasanians were familiar with this ancient site, their reference to a similar pictorial tradition can be regarded as a means to connect themselves with the glorious past of Persia. It is believed that Persian kings, especially in the Sasanian era, used enclosed parks (called paradise) [30] (p. 75) for hunting animals. The most celebrated among them was the hunting ground of Khosrow II at Taq-e Bustan [47] (p. 39). In this regard, it is logical to read the relief as the representation of the majestic paradise of Khosrow II, an example of the prosperity of his kingdom. The first impression of the boar hunt relief, in comparison with the investiture and equestrian reliefs,

and as a complementary part of the whole great ayvan project, is the wealth of Khosrow's court and the welfare of common people under his rule, which characterizes a righteous government. In fact, all the details of the relief, including the depiction of numerous big mammals, water, and plants, convey the fertility of the soil and the richness of Persia under Khosrow II rule. The depiction of common people in the last episode, where they are using the results of a royal hunt, is also noteworthy. As shown in the rock relief, ordinary people were not allowed to enter the hunting ground [30] (p. 75), yet they could benefit from the result of the hunt. This scene, therefore, displays the Sasanian king as the representative and protector of the third class of the society (i.e., agriculturists and herdsmen) [46] (p. 107). Moreover, provided the phoenix pattern depicted on the garment of the king, the whole scene may represent the festival of *Farvardingan* (i.e., a religious ritual at the beginning of spring to celebrate the fertility of the earth) [46] (p. 110). Phoenix was a symbol of the *farr* and was associated with the coming of rain clouds and the fertility of the soil (for a summary of ancient Persian literature on the phoenix, see [46] (pp. 106–110)). In ancient Persian beliefs, the fecundity of the earth and mankind was associated with the increased *farr*, while drought and famine were known to be the result of the decrease or loss of the *farr* (for an example of this belief, see [47]). When having these remarks in mind, the boar hunt relief displays the welfare state of the Sasanian kingdom under Khosrow II, thereby representing his legitimacy due to the prosperity he brought to Iran.

"The sole purpose of Sasanian kingly reliefs is to project the king's *farr* in the most eloquent way possible", Soudavar argues [40] (p. 31). In this respect, Soudavar proposes yet another interesting reading of the hunt reliefs in accordance with his theory of the "doubled *farr*" of Khosrow II. He regards the depiction of elephants as an allusion to India, while the roaming boars in extensive marshy lands imply the conquest of Egypt [40] (pp. 48–49). This pictorial expression of the vastness of Khosrow's territories points out the increase in his *farr* that is also observable in the nimbus around the king's head in the second episode of the relief [40] (pp. 48–49). The depiction of the nimbus may also be a sign of a successful hunt, as this type of imagery was employed in late Sasanian metal plates [41] (p. 183). Last but not least, the depiction of elephants, a non-native species in the heartland of the Sasanian Empire, is considerable. The elephant was a valuable animal for the Sasanian court: troops of elephants proved to be a real threat to the Roman army [48] (p. 92). The illustration of a great number of these large mammals in the service of Khosrow II could yet be another emphasis on his invincibility.

2.4. Deer Hunt Relief

Considering the unfinished state of this relief, it was probably the last carving for the great ayvan project. The narrative style and artistic composition of this relief (Figure 5) are similar to the bore hunt one. The central hunt scene depicts the enclosed Khosrow's paradise, and the two marginal frames on the right and left demonstrate the before and after of the deer hunt. The animated story starts from the right marginal section (facing the relief), in which people, deer, and elephants are depicted in three enclosed areas. Scholars believe that the king is depicted three times in the central scene that should be read vertically downward. Hence, the first episode displays the king entering the scene with a man holding a parasol on his head while a crowd of people accompanies him. The second scene illustrates the king in the practice of archery (or hunting), and the last one shows the end of the hunt [30] (p. 73); [40] (p. 48). Moreover, on the left side, the relief depicts outside of the hunting ground, where folks carry the hunted deer on camels.

A historical survey of the Iranians' visual culture (both pre-Islamic and Islamic eras) demonstrates the shortcomings inherent in the downward reading of the central scene: the most important figures have always been shown above others. Such an order is not observable completely in this scene. On the other hand, as a result of a successful hunt, the increased *farr* should have been demonstrated by means of symbolizing the attachments to the king's body or garments or engraving him in an adorable position in the scene. Nevertheless, such details are not observable here. Thus, it is reasonable to propose another

interpretation of the relief that sheds light on the identity of the man depicted in the center of the relief.

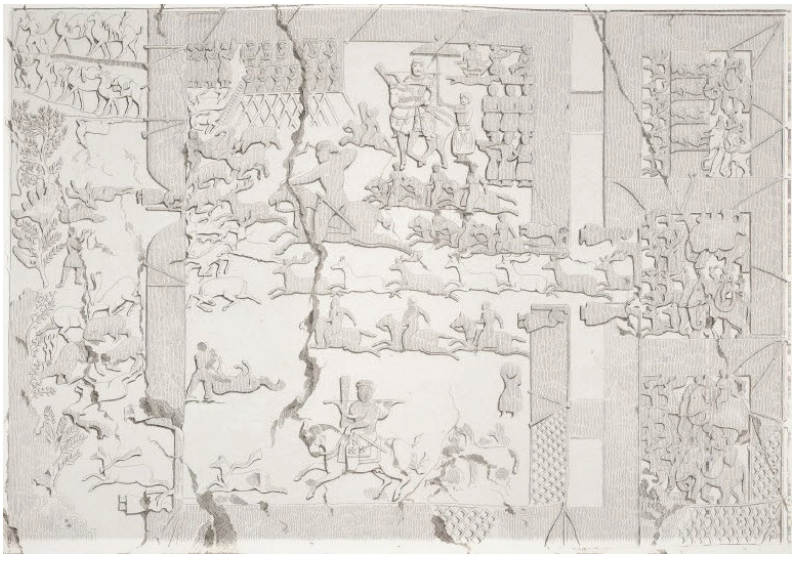

Figure 5. Deer hunt relief, rock relief, end of the 6th century CE, Taq-e Bustan, The Great Grotto. Source: Flandin, E.; Coste, P. Voyage en Perse, Gide et J. Baudry, Paris, France 1851.

In Iranian visual culture, the king is always depicted in the center of an image. The presence of a heroic figure in a scene alters this artistic attitude: in such a case, the hero may appear at the center, whereas the king (depicted as usual at a larger size) observes the whole landscape from above [49] (pp. 168–169). The missing details of the unfinished deer hunt reliefs (such as the ornaments on garments and headgear) make it hard to precisely identify the three depicted figures. Yet, some noticeable visual evidence and historical accounts fortify the idea that the man at the focal point of the scene is a Sasanian hero. There is a scholarly consensus that the two hunt reliefs of the great ayvan depict different geographical climates: plants, water, and fish in the boar hunt relief are replaced by an empty background, and camels that resemble a desert in the deer hunt relief. Such contrasting scenery reminds us of the theory of "From India to Nile". In the view of Soudavar, the deer hunt relief implies the "victory of Khosrow II's general Smbat Bagratuni over the Central Asian Turks, circa 616" [40] (pp. 48–49). Historical accounts also support the idea that the artistic treatment of the deer hunt relief, which resembles an inhospitable region, may refer to the conquest of the northeastern borders of the Sasanian Empire. According to Sebeos history, Khosrow II was so satisfied with the military achievements of his general in Central Asia that he "summoned him to court with great honor and pomp" with an elephant that carried the general's son [40] (p. 49). Provided the fact that Khosrow did not personally participate in those campaigns, it can be assumed that the horseman in the center of the scene is the Sasanian general, whereas the king himself is depicted on top with attendants and musicians and supervising the heroic acts of his general.

In short, the deer hunt relief should be read in accordance with the boar hunt relief on the opposite wall and two other reliefs on the central wall. In this respect, both hunt scenes illustrate the prosperity of Khosrow's court, as well as representing him as the protector of the common people [46]. Moreover, both hunt reliefs imply the extension of the Sasanian territory under Khosrow II; the left relief (boar hunt) refers to the victories on the western frontier, and the right one (deer relief) refers to the achievements in the eastern regions (For analyses relating to the sculpted reliefs and iconography, also see [50]. In order to acquire a

fuller understanding of Sasanian art, it is advisable to study the Sasanian production of silver plates, which demonstrate iconographic similarities to the rock reliefs. On this topic, see [51]).

3. The Image of Khosrow II on Coins

In the Sasanian era, coinage was not just meant to facilitate commerce but was also a means to achieve propagandist aims. Coins, along with rock reliefs are of special value in the iconographic study of Sasanian royal image [18] (p. 108); [24,44] (p. 41); [52] (p. 41). The centralized Sasanian state had adopted a "well defined" convention of iconographic language for coinage that was comprehensible for the mostly illiterate population [22] (pp. 417–418). Generally speaking, Sasanian coins contain a portrait of the king along with his name and title on the obverse and a fire altar with or without two attendants on the reverse side. By the end of the 5th century, mint marks, including the name of the mint and the regnal year of the king, also appeared on the reverse [20] (p. 1093). Scholars have recognized three conventions in depicting the king on Sasanian coins: 1. in contrast with the "full face or left looking" image of the Parthian kings (i.e., the dynasty ruling Persia (247 BC to 224 AD) before the Sasanians), Sasanian kings were portrayed looking rightward; 2. in order to facilitate the identification of the portrayed king, each ruler was shown with a special crown or headgear; 3. the designation of predetermined criteria for illustrating every detail, particularly the position of the king's image on the obverse and reverse sides, that eased the understanding of the king's message [22] (pp. 418–421). While these artistic and political traditions displayed the desire of each king to be recognized as a legitimate ruler similar to his predecessors, the individualistic features of each coin served to build a more comprehensible image of the ruling king.

At least 31 different kings or rulers issued coins during the Sasanian era [53] (p. 816); (For an in-depth study and iconographic comparison of the coins under study, see [54]). Amongst them, Khosrow II was the most prolific one: he centralized the production of coins, and the forged metals transmitted the propagandist aims of his sovereignty all over the Sasanian Empire [55] (p. 132). A vast amount of precious metals were minted during the reign of Khosrow II to finance his ambitious military adventures, such as the long wars with the Roman Empire [2] (p. 145); [20] (p. 1093); [56] (p. 167). According to Göbl's classification, nine coin types belonging to the reign of Khosrow II can be distinguished [33] (p. 585). Apart from the ceremonial coins, as well as the minor changes that appeared in detail (such as the pellets appearing in the reverse margin of coins), three main groups of coins can be categorized from his time [52] (p. 42); [57] (p. 465).

Generally speaking, changes in the Sasanian coinage reflect important events such as political or military achievements in a symbolic manner [2] (p. 161, note 166); [53] (p. 829). The complicated historical context in which Khosrow's coins appeared helps researchers to understand their iconographic language more completely. The initial years of Khosrow's reign were occupied with rebels and conspiracies, which led to his loss and subsequent recapture of power. In the last decades of the 6th century, Bahram Chubin (a general in the service of Khosrow's father) and Bastam (his maternal uncle) struck coins in their names, [56] (p. 167); [53] (p. 816); [57] (p. 461). This was obvious damage to Khosrow's prestige: from the beginning of the Sasanian Empire until then, only a Sasanian king was allowed to mint coins under his own name [2] (p. 33); [58] (p. 811). Khosrow II seems to have felt the necessity of compensating for this loss, as he sought a particular propagandist symbolism in his official media [44] (p. 18). It is important to note that Khosrow II's coinage established a particular iconographic model also employed by his successors, in particular by early Islamic rulers. This shows the spread of the Sasanian iconography after the fall of the dynasty [5] (p. 7); [44] (p. 24); [53] (p. 837).

At an early stage, Khosrow's coinage followed the principles established by his ancestors; in the first coin type for the first regnal year (Figure 6), Khosrow II is depicted on the obverse with a crown resembling that of his father with a crescent on its top. The word *abzun* (increase) can be seen to the left of the crown, and the king's name is forged on the

right side. On the outer margin, there is a crescent with a star at 3, 6, and 9 h [57] (p. 461). One may consider this particular arrangement observable on Khosrow's coins as an implication of four geographical directions, showing the king as the "king of four corners of the world", which refers to an "old Mesopotamian idea" [2] (p. 41). On the reverse, a fire altar is depicted in the center with one attendant on either side and a crescent and a star above the altar. On the outer margin, crescents are shown in four directions. In early Sasanian coinage (i.e., coins from the first decades of the Sasanian rule), some circles are observable around the central part of the coin (on both obverse and reverse sides). This particular treatment was out of fashion by the time Khosrow II came into power. In other words, Khosrow's predecessors favored a coinage style in which a single rim on each side of the coin was forged [53] (p. 830). Khosrow revived the age-old tradition of Sasanian coinage. In particular, two circles appear on the obverse and three on the reverse side of the coins forged by Khosrow II. Khosrow's reuse of multiple circles is of importance as both Bahram and Bastam (i.e., his rivals) only used a single rim on their coins. Generally speaking, rings, solar discs, sun bursts, and pearl roundels all symbolize the *farr,* and their appearance on coins refers to an increase in the *farr*. Thus, the emergence of multiple rings on Khosrow's coins is the "equivalent of the legend *farreh-afzun*" [44] (p. 18), meant to display the increase in the king's legitimate power or divine glory to his populace in the most recognizable way.

Figure 6. Khosrow II's coin-type I, impression on silver, 590, Tehran, National Museum of Iran.

Khosrow's regaining of power was marked by a change in his crown depicted on the coins belonging to the second regnal year (Figure 7). Two wings were added to the crown while a crescent and a star were added between them. This imagery continued to symbolize Khosrow's crown until the end of his rule. The legend on the left side of the crown gave place to the *farreh afzun* (i.e., may regal splendor increase, or he has increased the regal splendor [56] (p. 461)). Furthermore, stars were added to the crescent of the outer margin on the reverse. Touraj Daryaee, the renowned Iranologist and historian of the Sasanian dynasty, suggests that the wings on Khosrow's crown, which appeared from the second year of his sovereignty onwards, symbolize *Wahram* (i.e., a deity related to victory in ancient Persian beliefs), "whose avatars is the falcon". Since Wahram's *farr* was more than anyone else's, by using his symbol, Khosrow declares his victory over the rebellious general Bahram and displays himself as the most eligible person deserving the throne [52] (pp. 50–53).

The third group of coins dating back to the eleventh and twelfth years onwards reflects minor changes. Here, the headgear of the attendants on the reverse was changed from a bonnet to a crown; this particular type of iconography became the prevalent model from year 12 to year 39 (i.e., the last year of Khosrow's rule). Although the iconography of Sasanian coins on the obverse symbolized the victories of the ruling king and his increased glory [59] (p. 68), depictions on the reverse convey religious meanings (also, see [21], in particular chapters 6, 7, and 8). The fire altar, which is the main part of the reverse side of Sasanian coins, eloquently refers to Zoroastrianism [44] (p. 45). Soudavar reads the two crowned figures on either side of the fire altar as the king on the left and a deity on the

right [22] (p. 420). The whole scene, thus, depicts the king following the Zoroastrian rituals while the deity accepts his deeds. Therefore, the adding of a crescent to the crowns of these figures displays the increase in the *Aryan farr* (i.e., Iranian glory).

Figure 7. Khosrow II's coin-type II, impression on silver, 591, Tehran, National Museum of Iran.

4. Conclusions

Khosrow II's eventful reign is reflected in his royal iconography, even though not directly. Khosrow II utilized different types of media to issue his ideal image of the Sasanian king. Coins and rock reliefs served to act as the most important tools for his propagandist aims. Khosrow not only drew upon the well-established iconographic language of the Sasanian dynasty but also sought clarity by putting emphasis on particular features (e.g., power rings, nimbus, etc.). Indeed, Khosrow II revived historical symbols rooted in the ancient Persian and Mesopotamian beliefs that had defined an ideal legitimate king. This explains why on the rock reliefs at Taq-e Bustan, Khosrow II is engraved as the legitimate divine king, receiving not one but two rings of power from the most respectful Zoroastrian deities. The illustration of Khosrow II as a victorious warrior and a good hunter who brought prosperity to his kingdom also served the same purpose. All the details of Khosrow's rock reliefs, such as the nimbus and the symbolic ornaments of his garments, showcase the increase in his divine splendor (i.e., the most important factor in determining a king's right to the throne). Khosrow's rock reliefs were located on a site not accessible by ordinary people; thus, they were not the main beholders of his magnificent propagandist project at Taq-e Bustan. In fact, the audience of these reliefs were the religious and military nobles who had the authority to depose the king. As with other Sasanian rulers, the coins minted by Khosrow II depict the image of the king in association with a number of religious symbols, thereby demonstrating the connection of the royal court with divine powers. Khosrow II's coins spread his image in a diverse society living in vast geography. In conclusion, it can be summarized that Khosrow's personality and kingship are well reflected in his iconographic and propagandist projects. In spite of these grand efforts, Khosrow II could not eventually satisfy the priests and military nobles (i.e., the Sasanian first social class) of his legitimacy to the crown during the final years of this sovereignty. He was then deposed and assassinated due to his defeats by Heraclius, the Roman Emperor. Nevertheless, his image remained the standard for Persian kingship throughout the centuries.

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Entry

Ladislaus II Jagiełło (1386–1434)

Mateusz Grzęda

Institute of Art History, Jagiellonian University in Cracow, ul. Grodzka 53, 31-001 Kraków, Poland; mateusz.grzeda@uj.edu.pl

Abstract: Ladislaus II Jagiełło (1386–1434). Ladislaus II Jagiełło is the founder of the Jagiellonian dynasty that had ruled over Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (until 1572), Bohemia (1471–1526) and Hungary (1440–1444, 1490–1526). A Grand Duke of Lithuania from 1377, and from 1386 a king of Poland and lord of Lithuania, which he ruled jointly with his cousin Witold (Vytautas), the son of Kęstutis. Five medieval portraits of Jagiełło survive, four of which date from the period of his reign in the Polish–Lithuanian state and one was executed posthumously. The earliest image, on Jagiełło's Great Seal, was made in connection with his coronation as king of Poland (1386). Two portraits in the Holy Trinity Chapel at the Castle of Lublin (1418) are part of a wall paintings scheme commissioned by the monarch and executed by a team of painters brought from Ruthenia. Furthermore, the sumptuous tomb (before 1430) in Cracow was commissioned by the king. Its top slab bears an effigy of Jagiełło with his suggestively rendered countenance, which undoubtedly reflects the actual facial features of the elderly monarch. An image of the king represented as one of the Three Magi in a panel of an altarpiece in the tomb chapel of Casimir IV Jagiellonian, Jagiełło's son and his successor on the Polish throne, dates from 1470. The chapel dedicated to the Holy Cross, erected at Cracow Cathedral, was in all likelihood commissioned by Casimir himself and his consort Elizabeth of Austria.

Keywords: royal images; royal iconography; kings of Poland; rulers of Lithuania; Jagiellonian dynasty; Ladislaus II Jagiełło

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1. Introduction

Jagiełło (Lith. Jogaila), a founder of a new dynasty and its first member on the Polish throne, was one of the Gediminids, stemming from a pagan dynasty that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries ruled over a vast dominion encompassing the core lands of Lithuania and Ruthenia which, similar to Poland, was threatened by the Teutonic Knights [1]. By asking, in 1385, for the hand of the Polish queen regnant, Hedwig of Anjou (the daughter of Louis of Hungary, king of Poland and Hungary, and granddaughter of Ladislaus the Short, the last-but-one king of Poland from the Piast dynasty), Jagiełło, in an oath taken before the coronation, pledged to adopt the Latin-rite Christianity along with the entire Lithuania, to join Lithuania to Poland and to restore to the Polish Crown the lands lost by Poland to the Teutonic Knights during the reign of the extinct Piast dynasty and the Angevins (for the text of the oath see [2] (p. 2); for the circumstances of Jagiełło's accession to Polish throne and the commitments made by him at the time see [3–5]). Thus, the recovery of the territories lost by the Polish Kingdom in whatever time or whatever way became the guiding principle behind the king's political and military actions (culminating in the great war with the Teutonic Knights in 1409–1411 and the victorious battle of Grunwald in 1410), and as such found expression in the content of artworks commissioned by Jagiełło.

Historical narratives often presented Jagiełło as an uncouth heathen, uneducated, superstitious and obtuse. This has resulted, to some degree, from the image of the king created by the great Polish chronicler Jan Długosz, who was biased against the Jagiellonians, considering them as 'aliens' who replaced the 'natural lords of Poland', that is, the Piasts, and did not even hesitate to write slanderous statements and gossip about them in his

Annals (for the text of the *Annals* see [6] (pp. 123–128), and for opinions on Jagiełło formed by writers and chroniclers, his contemporaries, see [7]). The current scholarship shows Jagiełło in a totally different light. He had come from a family whose various representatives professed not only pagan cults but also Orthodox and Catholic Christianity. Byzantine culture was well established at the courts of the Gediminids and, long before the official acceptance of Christianity, the country had 'consumed ecclesiastical writings and literature' written both in the Cyrillic and the Latin alphabets [8]. After the baptism, when Jagiełło took the name Ladislaus (Władysław), he not only proved to feel at home within the Latin culture of the Polish Kingdom, but also made his mark as a founder of numerous churches and religious houses, was a sophisticated politician and diplomat, and a patron of the University of Cracow which he, along with Queen Hedwig, re-established in 1400. Jagiełło was additionally a very pious monarch, as attested not only by the documented religious practices in which he participated but also by his abundant artistic patronage (among the most important biographies of Jagiełło see: [3,9,10]; see also a new synthetic treatment of the Jagiellonian dynasty, with a separate chapter dealing with Jagiełło: [11] (pp. 36–46)).

The idea of Jagiełło's contractual-elective rulership as a successor to the Piast dynasty on the Polish throne and a lord of Lithuania was displayed in the Great Seal (which he had used since shortly after the coronation throughout his entire reign) and on the royal tomb, executed at the time when the monarch tried to secure the succession for his sons (which was supposed to be based on the principle of election by the representatives of the estates, hence the rich figural and heraldic programme of the tomb-chest, partly inspired by the design of the Great Seal). Religious motivations, in turn, among which an important role was played not only by the Christianisation of Lithuania, undertaken by the king, but also his military successes, determined the message of his portraits in Lublin (where Jagiełło was shown in a double role: in prayer, commended by saints to the Christ Child seated on the lap of the enthroned Virgin Mary, and as a triumphant rider mounted on horseback, who receives a cross from an angel). It is highly probable that a decision to represent his likeness as the last of the Three Magi in adoration of the Christ Child in an altarpiece panel in the Chapel of the Holy Cross was dictated by his status of a neophyte king. It attests to the fact that the memory of the dynasty's founder was kept alive during the reign of Jagiełło's son and is an expression of the dynastic identity of the Jagiellonians that was taking shape at that time.

2. The Great Seal

The royal chancery of Ladislaus Jagiełło used a few seals, of which only one, the so-called Great Seal of majesty, featured a figurative representation of the monarch, whereas the remaining ones were armorial seals and therefore will be excluded from the present discussion. The Great Seal has survived in over sixty impressions attached to documents from the period 1388–1433, having been in use throughout the entire reign of Jagiełło on the Polish throne. Furthermore, as demonstrated by Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, it was a seal that was most frequently used [12] (p. 51). It is round, and measures 122 mm in diameter, which makes it the largest Polish seal of the period (a later Great Seal of Ladislaus of Varna, the son and first successor of Jagiełło on the Polish throne, modelled on the one under discussion, was of similar dimensions). Its field shows the monarch seated on a throne with a tall back, surmounted by an extensive micro-architectural canopy. The king is shown wearing a crown, with a sceptre in his right hand and an orb surmounted by a cross in his left hand. He is dressed in an ample mantle fastened at the neck, over a close-fitting tunic. The back of the throne is decorated by a fabric, diapered in a lozenge pattern enclosing heraldic Eagles, held by two pages (?) shown in half-length. The image of the monarch seated in majesty is surrounded by seven shields bearing armorial devices of the lands under Jagiełło's rule, six of which are supported by angels, depicted behind the shields. The arms should be read in alternating order, starting from the topmost dexter side: Eagle (the arms of the land of Cracow and the entire Polish Kingdom), Pogoń (literally 'pursuit', Lith. *Vytis*; the arms of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania), arms of Greater Poland, arms of the Sandomierz

land, arms of Cuyavia, arms of the Dobrzyń land and arms of the Crown Ruthenia. The last coat-of-arms is depicted under the king's feet and is the only one without a supporting angel. The legend on the seal, written in Gothic minuscule letters, reads: "s(erenissimus) wladislavs dei gra(cia) rex polonie n(ec)no(n) t(er)rarv(m) cracovie sa(n)domirie syradie la(nci)cie cuyavie litwanie p(ri)nceps sup(re)m(us) pomoranie rvssieq(ue) d(omi)n(us) (et) h(e)r(e)s (et) c(eterarum)" (the seal was described and published for the first time here: [13] (p. 13–14, table IX) then discussed in [14] (pp. 25–26) and [15] (pp. 44–46); the inscription in the legend has been expanded and transcribed after: [16] (p. 129)) (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Great Seal of majesty of Ladislaus Jagiełło, impression in wax, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw), Zb. Dok. perg. 36, image published in: https://agad.gov.pl/?page_id=972 (accessed on 15 December 2021).

The seal, combining an image of the monarch seated in majesty with a set of armorial devices of the state and its lands surrounding the central composition, represents a new type of the Great Seal in Polish sigillography, which had been in use by Polish kings up until the downfall of the First Polish Republic in 1795 (with the exception of the period 1454–1580). The mere image of the monarch seated in majesty, which is the main feature of Jagiełło's seal, had been part of a sphragistic tradition widespread in Poland since the high Middle Ages (and such an image had appeared on all Polish Great Seals since 1295, that is, since the unification of the Kingdom by Przemysł II after a period of fragmentation) and the extensive architectural throne on which the monarch is seated may be considered a convention continuing from the seals of Louis of Hungary and Hedwig of Anjou. Yet, the composition of Jagiełło's representation on the seal differs from these earlier examples: unlike in them, here the structure of the throne does not fill most of the central part of the field but is limited to the central axis and is additionally emphasised by the spatially rendered seat and canopy of the throne. The most important innovation is the set of

seven armorial shields surrounding the monarch. Although it has antecedents in the Great Seal of Wenceslaus IV of Luxembourg, king of Bohemia (in use from 1363 to 1373), it chronologically precedes the mature compositions of this type appearing on the Great Seals of kings of the Romans and Holy Roman emperors (Sigismund of Luxembourg, Albert II and Frederick III) in the fifteenth century and is considered a device characteristic of the Jagiellonian seals (see [15] (pp. 44–46)).

Innovative composition of the image under discussion reflects the idea of Ladislaus Jagiełło's contractual-elective rule as the successor to the Piasts on the Polish throne and, at the same time, a sovereign ruler of Lithuania. The set of armorial devices represented on the seal indicates territories forming part of the hereditary territories of the Piast dynasty (the lands of Cracow, Sandomierz, Greater Poland and Cuyavia), along with the coats-of-arms of lands incorporated into the Kingdom or recovered after the death of Casimir the Great, the last king of the Piast dynasty (Ruthenia and the land of Dobrzyń), supplemented by Pogoń, Jagiełło's personal device, here standing for entire Lithuania, his hereditary land joined with Poland, and for the accomplishments of Jagiełło, a neophyte ruler, in the dissemination of Christianity. The relationship of Jagiełło's rule with the Piast legacy is additionally underscored by his titles mentioned in the legend, based on the titles of Casimir the Great (see again [15] (p. 290)).

The Great Seal of Ladislaus Jagiełło has not been a subject of an in-depth art-historical investigation so far. Yet, its excellent workmanship is beyond doubt. It is attested by the rendering of such details as the minutely depicted canopy, expressive angel-supporters which lean towards one another as if pulling closer the armorial shields to them and the slender figure of the king covered with a long mantle, flowing around his legs. The figure of the monarch conforms to the canon of such representations, appearing at the time not only in seals but also in manuscript illuminations (similar images of rulers in majesty can be found, for instance, in the so-called Bible of Wenceslaus IV, 1385/90–1402, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2761). An integral component of this canonical image is also the representation of a bearded face framed on either side by tufts of hair, which significantly differs from the highly individualised features of the king carved several years later on his tomb in Cracow. The author of the seal was apparently not interested in a detailed rendering of the king's coronation robes; a practice generally accepted in numerous contemporary royal seals. Although the long mantle fastened at the neck represented on the seal (reminiscent of the surviving coronation mantles of the kings of Hungary and Holy Roman emperors) may reflect the actual appearance of the mantle worn by the Polish king for his coronation, the close-fitting tunic and a heavy belt around his waist are elements of the knightly dress widespread in Europe at the time (according to Krystyna Turska, after Jagiełło removed the mantle before the anointment ceremony, his undergarment consisted of a loose tunic fastened around the waist) (for the dress in which Jagiełło was represented on the seal, see [17] (pp. 29–31)).

3. The Wall Paintings in the Holy Trinity Chapel in Lublin

The wall paintings in the Holy Trinity Chapel at the royal castle in Lublin belong to a group of frescoes executed on Jagiełło's commission by Ruthenian painters in important Catholic churches in the Polish Kingdom. The group encompassed about ten painted schemes, of which—apart from the Lublin paintings—only the decorations in the chancels of the collegiate churches at Wiślica and Sandomierz have survived, along with fragments of paintings in the Chapel of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Cracow Cathedral. All surviving frescoes stand out by the fact that both the entire iconographic programme as well as individual compositions have been perfectly fitted into the architectural structure of the Gothic-style interiors, which makes them unprecedented phenomena in Western European culture. The Lublin paintings were executed in 1418 and are the only scheme that encompasses depictions of the founder. (For a synthetic treatment of the Lublin paintings see [18] (pp. 155–184); for the discussion of the surviving paintings along with the state of

earlier research see [19] (pp. 115–121); for the motivations behind Jagiełło's commissions for Byzantine-style paintings and a summary of earlier scholarship see: [20,21]).

In keeping with the conventions of Byzantine art, the paintings are arranged in descending hierarchical order, and they progress downwards—according to the importance of the subject matter represented—from the vaulting to the walls, running along the nave and chancel walls in horizontal bands. Moreover, the pictures related to the founder are situated in agreement with the Byzantine hierarchical scheme: one of them has been depicted in the western part of the nave (more precisely, in its south-west corner, on the wall of a semi-circular stairway enclosing stairs leading to the choir loft) and on the threshold of the chancel (on the northern jamb of the chancel arch). The painting in the nave represents a foundation scene: Jagiełło shown in adoration of the Virgin and Child, commended to her by St Nicholas and, possibly, St Constantine the Great, whereas inside the chancel arch the king appears in an equestrian portrait (for a detailed analysis of the paintings and an interpretation of their iconographic programme see [22]).

In the foundation scene, Jagiełło was shown according to the Byzantine idiom: on his knees, with raised arms, in prayer to Christ-Emmanuel seated on Mary's lap. Only Jagiełło's dress does not conform to the image of a monarch, since he has been shown without any insignia of his royal power, in a grey tunic under a fur-lined cloak (Figure 2). The facial features of the king: an elongated nose, protruding forehead and bald head, represent a physiognomical-type characteristic of the style of the painter responsible for this part of the wall paintings, but when compared with Jagiełło's likeness carved on his tomb, suggests that it includes also some traits of the king's actual appearance. St Nicholas, an intercessor for the king, was among the saints universally venerated both in the East and West. According to Anna Różycka-Bryzek, Jagiełło's devotion for this saint may have originated still at the time when he was living in Lithuania and encountered Orthodox religion daily, in which the cult of this miracle worker and thaumaturge enjoyed enormous popularity. The other saint intercessor for the king, depicted to the right of the Virgin Mary, is in all likelihood Constantine the Great. Although his dress does not fully conform to the model iconography of the saint, the comparisons made of Ladislaus Jagiełło with the first Christian emperor in contemporary political writings and panegyrics fully substantiate this hypothesis (see [22] (pp. 117–121)).

Figure 2. Ladislaus Jagiełło in adoration of the Virgin and Child, frescoes, 1418, Lublin, royal castle, Holy Trinity Chapel, nave, south-west corner, courtesy of Muzeum Narodowe w Lublinie.

The association of Jagiełło with Constantine the Great has been even more strongly emphasised in the equestrian image painted within the chancel arch. It shows a rider on a white galloping steed, against a blue background, and an angel hovering above, who places a crown on the rider's head and puts a cross atop a long staff in his hand (Figure 3). Some scholars interpreted this image as a monumental version of the Pogoń coat-of-arms or a depiction of St Ladislaus; the majority, however, have accepted the opinion of Anna Różycka-Bryzek who explained it as Jagiełło's equestrian portrait, echoing the Byzantine iconographic tradition of the victorious ruler. According to her, the image alludes to depictions of the holy warriors (especially St George and St Theodore), which embody the victorious power of God bestowed upon his earthly representatives. (A discussion about the iconography of this image is extensive and it would be impossible to summarise it here. The most important ones can be found in: [22] (p. 122), [23] (pp. 22–42), [24] (p. 167), [25,26]). However, the analyses conducted some time ago by Tadeusz Trajdos and more recently by Marek Walczak demonstrate that it is not only the Eastern tradition that has informed the iconography of this representation. Equally important was the Western tradition, in which equestrian images of monarchs displayed within the church interior were often related to their successes on the battlefield. The latter scholar interprets the cross being presented to Jagiełło by the angel as an allusion to a spear topped by the sign of Christ's victory (*crux hastata*), a motif derived from the story about Constantine's dream before the battle of the Milvian Bridge, as recounted by Eusebius of Caesarea. The angel who places the pole of the cross in the king's hand and a crown on his head is a messenger of God—the latter depicted in the chapel on the vault of the chancel as Christ Pantocrator and on the Rood which, in keeping with liturgical practice, would have been mounted on a rood beam running across the chancel arch, that is, directly above the equestrian portrait in question. Thus, the painting emphasises the role of Jagiełło as the second Constantine, and not only his contribution to the dissemination of Christianity but also the preternatural source of his military victories (see [25,27,28]).

Figure 3. Ladislaus Jagiełło as a rider mounted on a galloping steed, frescoes, 1418, Lublin, royal castle, Holy Trinity Chapel, chancel arch, north jamb, courtesy of Muzeum Narodowe w Lublinie.

4. The Tomb in Cracow Cathedral on Wawel Hill

The tomb of Ladislaus Jagiełło in Cracow Cathedral on Wawel Hill is chronologically the third royal tomb to have been erected in this church, and—similar to the earlier tombs, of Ladislaus the Short (d. 1333) and Casimir the Great (d. 1370)—has the form of a figurative tomb-chest with a canopy. It is situated in the easternmost arcade between the nave and the south aisle, and originally faced the no longer surviving altar of St Christopher. A recently discovered documentary material attests that it was executed before 1430 and its parts were put together on the designated site probably after the funeral of the king, which took place on 18 June 1434 (on this see [29,30]). The sandstone canopy, executed in 1519–1524 in the workshop of Bartolomeo Berrecci on the commission of Jagiełło's grandson, Sigismund I the Old, is of a slightly later date. Regrettably, it is not known whether this Renaissance-style canopy replaced an earlier, Gothic one. What is known is that the tomb was intended to have a canopy from the very beginning, as attested by eight columns integrated with the plinth of the tomb-chest (the tomb gave rise to an enormous body of scholarship which cannot be cited here in full and has been limited to the most important publications. For earlier literature, a summary of the state of research, and—sometimes already outdated—discussion of the date, iconography and style of the tomb see [31,32]).

The location of the tomb in the nave, in close proximity to the south doorway, being the cathedral's main entrance, and not—as was the case of the earlier royal tombs—in the eastern part of the church, separated from the nave by chancel screen, was not accidental. The main advantage of this location was the immediate vicinity of the tomb and shrine of St Stanislaus, a patron saint of the Diocese of Cracow and the entire Polish Kingdom, which stood *in medio ecclesiae*, in the crossing of the nave and transept. After the victory in the battle of Grunwald, it was precisely at the shrine of St Stanislaus that the banners of the Teutonic Knights seized in the battle by Jagiełło were displayed. Close to the tomb, in the middle of the nave stood also a baptismal font through which Jagiełło entered the Church. Furthermore, the royal tomb almost abutted on the chancel screen topped by the Rood. A location *sub crucifixo* counted among the most prestigious ones, as it enabled the deceased to remain in perpetual contemplation of the Crucified, before the image representing the triumph of the Saviour over death (on the location of the tomb and related problems see [33] (pp. 153–155), [34] (pp. 73–75)).

The tomb was made of red marble (most likely brought from Hungary), with the top slab bearing an effigy of the king carved in high relief. Jagiełło was shown, in keeping with medieval convention as standing and lying at the same time. His head rests on a cushion supported by a pair of lions and he tramples a symbolical animal in the form of a writhing dragon. His royal dignity is attested by the knightly dress (a long tunic reaching beyond the knees, long shoes and a mantle fastened at the shoulder) and insignia: a sceptre placed along his right arm, an orb supported by his left hand, a sword and an open crown. What is most striking is the countenance of the elderly king: an elongated face with a high forehead, a long, slightly hunched nose and pouted bottom lip. The mimetic quality of this likeness, being an excellent example of a late medieval practice of portraiture which consisted not so much in precise rendering of all details of the king's actual appearance but rather was based on an image of the king's face remembered by the artist and reworked in his memory, is additionally strengthened by the motif of closed eyelids, which was relatively rare in North European sepulchral sculpture (on the physiognomy of the king see [35,36], [37] (pp. 215–232)) (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Tomb of Władysław Jagiełło, recumbent figure of the king, before 1430, Cracow, cathedral, the easternmost arcade between the nave and the south aisle, photo published in [37].

The decoration of the side walls of the tomb-chest is innovative with regard to the earlier royal tombs in Cracow. They are adorned with shields bearing the arms of the territories of the Polish Kingdom, and on the south side additionally flanked by pairs of mourning supporters, enclosed within square-shaped panels. The following heraldic devices have been represented on the long walls, starting from the head, on the south side: the White Eagle (arms of the land of Cracow and at the same of the entire Polish Kingdom), Pogoń (arms of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) and arms of the Dobrzyń land; and on the north side: again, the Eagle and Pogoń and the arms of Greater Poland. The shorter wall on the east, under the king's feet, features the arms of Ruthenia: a lion, and the other one, on the west, under the king's head, bears the arms of the Wieluń land: an Agnus Dei with the Resurrection banner. The lands represented on the tomb-chest by means of their arms are territories that were either incorporated by Jagiełło into the Polish Kingdom (Grand Duchy of Lithuania) or permanently recovered for Poland through the king's efforts (Red Ruthenia and the lands of Dobrzyń and Wieluń). The choice and arrangement of the heraldic devices on the tomb-chest alludes to the design of Jagiełło's Great Seal, but here the set of arms was modified in order not only to display the territorial extent of Jagiełło's rule as a lord of Poland and Lithuania, but also to emphasise the king's personal achievement in fulfilling the electoral contract. Nor is it accidental that the short walls bear the arms of the lands of Dobrzyń and Wieluń, which—owing to the signs in their armorial bearings—apart from the political significance, emphasised also the eschatological meaning of the tomb. The first

of them, representing a lion, is located in the vicinity of the image of a dragon depicted on the top slab at the king's feet, and finds substantiation in Psalm 91:13 ("Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet", KJV). The other device, representing the Agnus Dei, depicted at the head of the tomb-chest, refers to the king, as a promise of his salvation and resurrection (for a recently conducted in-depth analysis of the programme of the side walls of the tomb-chest see [16]) (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Tomb Ladislaus Jagiełło, before 1430, Cracow, cathedral, the easternmost arcade between the nave and the south aisle, photo published in [37].

As supposed by Marek Janicki, the theme of expanding the possessions of the Kingdom and of the recovery of its territories may have been related to the king's efforts, started in the 1420s, to secure the succession of his male descendants. The political message of this programme is supplemented by figures supporting the shields and mourning the king's death. These men—of various status and age—neither represent (as had been suggested in earlier scholarship) members of the king's council nor personify various social strata or generations, nor do they portray actual historical figures. Rather, they are representatives of particular lands of the Kingdom and at the same time, are the most important dignitaries in the state (including two clergymen: the archbishop of Gniezno and the bishop of Cracow) who secured the observation of law and political order in the Kingdom during the interregnum. Their sadness is an expression of a grief of the subjects orphaned by their deceased king (intentionally shown on the top slab with closed eyelids), illustrating the state of the monarchy bereaved of its most important person. Thus, the entire figurative and heraldic programme of the tomb can be understood as a eulogy to Ladislaus Jagiełło, consisting of demonstrating his achievement as a result of his unwavering fulfilment of

the electoral contract and the oath taken before his coronation in Cracow (see again [16] (pp. 142–149) and [37] (pp. 223–232)).

The figurative and heraldic programme of the tomb is supplemented by representations of animals, shown as if strolling along the plinth. Figures of dogs alternate with those of falcons, facing the head of the tomb-chest. Their presence on the plinth must be related to Jagiełło's love of hunting and falconry; well attested in documentary evidence, yet their unequivocal interpretation is rather difficult. In earlier scholarship, they were understood as conveying eschatological, theological and astrological and even mythological meaning. It is more likely, however, that they are part of the overall concept of mourning the deceased king presented on the side walls of the tomb-chest (the dogs clinging with their forepaws to the ground should be understood as expressing subjection, or perhaps, fear, rather than attacking, as had been suggested earlier). (For the figures of animals, along with a summary of earlier hypotheses, see [16] (pp. 156–158)).

It is worthy to note that the tomb of Ladislaus Jagiełło is striking not only by its innovative iconography but also its novel forms. The realistic rendering of some of its elements (including the king's facial features on the top slab, with closed eyes, and the images of animals on the plinth) as well as its stylistic features, which practically have no analogies in Central European sculpture of the period, have induced some scholars into interpreting the tomb as a work of proto-Renaissance or even Renaissance art, allegedly carved by artists familiar with the art of the Florentine Quattrocento. (Such an opinion had prevailed for a long time, having been introduced by Karol Estreicher in his study of the tomb [38] (pp. 12–13)). The most controversial theory, claiming that the tomb was supposedly executed by Donatello, put forward by Anna Boczkowska [39], was unanimously rejected by all scholars dealing with the tomb; see the reviews of her book [40–42]. In fact, the sculptures on the tomb stylistically correspond to International Gothic, in which the idealised convention of representation harmoniously coexists with realistically rendered details in the figures of men, fauna and flora. The most recent research assumes that the tomb may have been executed by artists from northern Italy (the Veneto and Lombardy) (see [35] (pp. 123–128), [36] (pp. 61–70)), and the output of Aegidius Gutenstein from Wiener Neustadt, active in Padua in 1422–1438, has been postulated as an important point of reference for the Cracow monument [43] (pp. 488–489).

5. A Panel with the Adoration of the Magi

A scene representing the Adoration of the Magi, in which one of the Magi visiting the Christ Child in Bethlehem was given the facial features of Ladislaus Jagiełło, is depicted on the reverse of the right wing in a triptych in the Chapel of the Holy Cross in Cracow Cathedral, located on an altar table facing the tomb of Casimir IV Jagiellonian, Jagiełło's youngest son and his heir on the Polish throne. The carved and painted wooden altarpiece was most probably executed around 1475, during the furnishing of the then newly built tomb chapel. Although there is no documentary evidence that would confirm a relationship between the altarpiece and the ruling house, the destination of the triptych to a place that from the very beginning had been intended as a royal tomb chapel and the presence of shields with the arms of the Habsburgs, the Polish Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania on the bottom part of the triptych's wooden shrine, suggest that the altarpiece was likely commissioned by Casimir and his consort Elizabeth of Austria.

The iconography of the retable, with the figures of the Man of Sorrows and the Sorrowful Virgin accompanied by angels holding the Instruments of the Passion in the shrine, corresponds to the function of an altarpiece in a tomb chapel, where masses were celebrated *alteram pro peccatis*, *alteram pro defunctis* (in the sepulchral context of the chapel both figures embodied mercy, *misericordia*, that is, an attribute of Christ that would save the sinners at the Last Judgement) (Figure 6). At the same time, the iconography of the retable alluded to the Passion relics: pieces of the True Cross, the Holy Nails and the Crown of Thorns kept in the chapel. (On the iconography of the altarpiece and the date

and circumstances of its execution see [44] (pp. 210-221). On the former decoration and furnishings of the chapel which housed the retable, see [45]).

Figure 6. Triptych, wood and polychromy, ca. 1475, Cracow, cathedral, Chapel of the Holy Cross, photo published in [44].

The panel representing the Adoration of the Magi, along with other painted scenes on the triptych's wings, was executed by a master trained in the local school of painting but with first-hand knowledge of Netherlandish art. The panel shows the Virgin Mary presenting the Christ Child to the oldest of the Magi, who, kneeling, kisses the hand of the Saviour. The other kings are shown standing on either side of the Virgin and seem to be getting ready to lay down the frankincense and myrrh at her feet. The image of the king on the left, who lifts up the crown with his hand, revealing his bald head, may be considered Jagiełło's identification portrait because of its close resemblance to his figure carved on his tomb (Figure 7). (For the altarpiece's painted panels and a summary of the state of research see [19] (pp. 195–197). For the identification portrait as a specific type of portraiture, see, especially with regard to the Middle Ages, e.g. [46,47]). At the time when the panel in question originated, the tradition of identifying monarchs in art with one of the Three Magi had been already well established. In France, where images of this kind were the earliest to appear, they were associated with the *imitatio pietatis*, inextricably connected to the piety of the monarch, who expressed his reverence to the Incarnated God by imitating the Three Magi. In the Holy Roman Empire, after the relics of the Three Magi had been removed from Milan to Cologne, a custom was established of the kings of the Romans making a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Three Magi in Cologne immediately after coronation, held in the nearby Aachen. Charles IV of Luxembourg and Sigismund of Luxembourg have been portrayed as the Magi paying homage to the Christ Child several times, demonstrating in this way not only their attachment to the relics held in Cologne, but also a sacred dimension of their imperial power. Furthermore, numerous rulers of the Habsburg dynasty have been

portrayed in this manner. In the case of Ladislaus Jagiełło, it was his status as a neophyte that had played the key role in the decision to portray him in this way, as it was a unique quality that likened the Polish–Lithuanian monarch to the legendary Three Magi. The panel depicting Jagiełło under the guise of the youngest of the Three Magi is a reminder about his personal contribution to the spreading of Christianity and demonstrated the piety of the monarch who—although born as a pagan—paid homage to the Incarnated God and recognised his sovereignty over the world [48] (p. 22), [49] (pp. 127–130). Because the style of the paintings in the triptych's wings is clearly influenced by Flemish art, it has been assumed that their maker may have been inspired by works of Netherlandish art, such as an altarpiece from the church of St Columba in Cologne, with an identification portrait of the Duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold (see [50] (p. 154), [51] (pp. 368–369)).

Figure 7. Adoration of the Magi, wing panel of a triptych, tempera on wood, ca. 1475, Cracow, cathedral, Chapel of the Holy Cross, photo published in [37].

6. Conclusions

The medieval iconography of Ladislaus Jagiełło, modest as it is, with only a few surviving portraits, stands out by its innovative use of pictorial formulas and heraldic devices, as well as by consistently propagating the image of the king as a pious neophyte ruler and victorious commander; a monarch who duly fulfilled the commitments of his electoral contract and the oath taken before he was crowned king of Poland.

In the diplomatic sphere, the majesty of the king was conveyed by his image represented on the Great Seal, which came into use shortly after Jagiełło's coronation and had remained in service throughout his entire reign. This seal represents a novel type in Polish sigillography, conveying the idea of Jagiełło's contractual-elective rule as a successor to the Piasts on the Polish throne and simultaneously a lord of Lithuania, through an image of the enthroned monarch surrounded by a group of heraldic emblems of the state and its lands.

The remaining likenesses of the king, made on his initiative, had a commemorative function: two portraits painted in the Holy Trinity Chapel at the royal castle of Lublin in 1418, and his effigy in the tomb executed before 1430 and after Jagiełło's death assembled in Cracow Cathedral—a church serving as a burial site of Polish monarchs since the reign of the last Piast kings.

The wall paintings in Lublin, being one of several such schemes of fresco paintings commissioned by the king and executed in keeping with the precepts of Byzantine monumental painting by artists brought from Ruthenia, include a founder's portrait of Jagiełło, which shows him in adoration of the Virgin Mary and Child, and his equestrian portrait, which praises his contributions in the military and ecclesiastical fields by means of likening him to the Emperor Constantine the Great.

Jagiełło's monument of red marble, in the form of a tomb-chest with figural decoration and an architectural canopy, alludes to the forms of two earlier royal tombs located in the chancel of Cracow Cathedral, but its iconographic programme is entirely original and was dictated by a desire to demonstrate the king's involvement in securing the territorial integrity of the Polish Kingdom. Jagiełło, shown in effigy on the top slab, with closed eyes, is accompanied on the side walls of the tomb-chest by mourning figures holding shields with armorial devices of the state and its lands—representatives of regional communities of the Kingdom, who guaranteed the political and constitutional order during the interregnum. Their sadness expresses the grief of the subjects orphaned by their king and shows the condition of the monarchy bereaved of the most important person in the state. The choice and arrangement of heraldic devices on the tomb-chest is undoubtedly an allusion to the design of Jagiełło's Great Seal, with a modification in the choice of the coats-of-arms intended to manifest the king's personal contribution in his carrying out of the electoral contract.

The last of the portraits discussed here attests to keeping Jagiełło's memory alive by Casimir IV Jagiellonian, his son and successor on the Polish throne. The portrayal of the founder of the Jagiellonian dynasty as one of the Three Magi offering gifts to the Christ Child in Bethlehem, depicted on the reverse of a triptych wing mounted on an altar table in the Holy Cross Chapel opposite to Casimir's tomb, reminded his descendants about the merits of the neophyte king for Christianity and attested to the piety of the monarch who, although born as a pagan, paid homage to Incarnated God and recognised his sovereignty over the world.

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Entry

Louis XI of Valois (1461–1483)

Julia Faiers

School of Art History, University of St Andrews, St Andrews KY16 9AJ, UK; jf229@st-andrews.ac.uk

Definition: Louis XI (1461–1483) was the sixth king of the Valois branch of the Capetian dynasty in France; he ruled from 1463 until his death in 1483. Louis was the son of Charles VII (1403–1461) and Marie of Anjou (1404–1463). While Dauphin, he married first Margaret of Scotland (1424–1445) and then Charlotte of Savoie (c.1441–1483), who bore him four surviving children: Anne de France, Jeanne de France, François de France, and the future Charles VIII. Louis' key challenge as monarch was to pick up the pieces of a kingdom ravaged by the Hundred Years War between England and France (1337–1453). His legacy was to have repaired the kingdom's depleted coffers through a combination of frugality and territorial expansion. His historiography paints him as a paranoid, manipulative, and obsessively pious ruler, a simplistic portrait that is undermined by a close examination of his artistic patronage. This entry will focus on the iconography he employed across a variety of media to promote the sacred legitimacy of his rule and to unify the peoples of France's newly acquired territories.

Keywords: Louis XI; royal images; liturgical objects; Valois kings; Capetian dynasty; Order of Saint Michael

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1. Introduction

Louis XI's long-held reputation as a pious, paranoid ruler who preferred hunting and praying to parties and processions offers only a partial view of this misunderstood monarch's reign. As a result of the economically debilitating Hundred Years War, Louis inherited from his father, Charles VII, a jumble of principalities and a virtually bankrupt treasury. His leadership, diplomacy, and military expansion unified and stabilised the kingdom, securing the Duchy of Brittany (in 1475 with the Treaty of Senlis), the Burgundian territories (in 1477, confirmed by the Treaty of Arras with the Habsburg emperor Maximilian I in 1482), Maine, Anjou, Provence and Fourcalquier in 1481, as well as some of the lands held by the House of Armagnac in Gascony. The financial security he achieved for the monarchy by the end of his reign paved the way for his descendants to exercise dynastic ambition through patronage.

However, Louis' historiography was working against him from the start: Thomas Basin (1412–1491), the Burgundian chronicler and bishop of Lisieux [1] (p. 53), called him the *universelle aragne*, the universal spider, a man who lived for intrigue and plots [2] (p. 7). Before Louis acquired the Burgundian territories in 1482, Burgundian chroniclers took great pleasure in describing the chasm between the king and the Burgundian dukes in terms of their refinement and courtliness, notably Philippe de Commynes, Jean Froissart, Georges Chastellain, and Oliver de la Marche [1] (pp. 32–33). Georges Chastellain (1405?–1475), for example, drew attention to Philip the Good's lavish display of magnificence that wowed the crowds at Louis XI's coronation [3] (pp. 53–55, 85–86, 93–94). Centuries later, commentators fanned the flames of the fire lit by the Burgundian chroniclers. In 1824, Walter Scott described the king as fearful, locked up in a prison of his own making at the royal palace at Plessis [4]. The initial chronicles presented a biased account that tainted Louis' biography and legacy, and to which historians still frequently refer. Even at the beginning of the 21st century, his biographer depicted him as a *grand homme*, a politician and statesman with expansionist, nation-building ambitions [5]. Rarely, if ever, was he remembered as a patron. Yet closer examination of the surviving sources reveals that Louis XI's patronage

was an essential aspect of his leadership, which he exploited through a variety of media and diverse royal iconography.

The king is regarded by historians as a monarch with simple tastes who disliked spending money on luxuries. The evidence shows that on the contrary, he spent significant sums on ecclesiastical and secular architecture, religious donations, liturgical objects, and votive offerings made from precious metals by goldsmiths, and on diplomatic gifts. The vast majority of his commissions were for religious institutions. However, instead of reading this as personal pious behaviour, we need to acknowledge the extent to which he used devotional objects and religious patronage to exercise royal diplomacy, to construct a legacy, and to promote his reign during his lifetime. Although virtually nothing survives of his many goldsmith-work religious commissions, several descriptions of these objects remain in the historical record.

The king used a variety of symbols and images to promote his royal authority and the divine legitimacy of his rule. The royal coat of arms combined the regal preciousness of gold with divine, celestial blue. The fleur-de-lys (lily) in the royal arms was considered by the Valois branch of the Capetian dynasty to be a symbol of the Holy Trinity and therefore a visual confirmation of the monarch's divine right to rule. Louis himself decreed this sacred link, saying that his nobility and dignity "were graced by the fleur-de-lys with the countenance and the mark of Heaven" [6] (p. 219). This can be seen on a gold coin the king had minted in around 1475, which depicts on the obverse (left), a royal coat of arms with three fleur-de-lys, topped by a crown and a sun (Figure 1). The obverse inscription reads LVDOVICVS: DEI: GRA: FRACORVm: REX (Louis, by the grace of God, king of the Franks). The reverse side of the coin (right) depicts a cross fleurdelisée with a quadrilobe at the centre. The inscription reads: XPS: VInCIT: XPS: REGnAT: ET: ImPERAT (Christ victorious, Christ the king, Christ the ruler). The winged hart, adopted from the reign of Charles VI (1368–1422) up to Francis I (1494–1547) and embraced by Louis, symbolised the immortality of the king [6] (p. 224). However, the symbol of royal power Louis chose most often was his own image. Images and portraits of the king were used on seals, coins and medals, and especially through votive offerings (sculptures of the king made from wax or precious metals) placed in religious settings around the kingdom, to maximise the visibility of his kingship among the people.

Figure 1. Tours workshop, *Ecu d'Or*, gold, Private ownership. Source: cgb.fr (Numismatique Paris), Wikimedia Commons, CC BY-SA 3.0 license.

The location of royal imagery clearly reflects the king's political aims, and the objects and buildings Louis commissioned or patronised form a nucleus around the royal court in the Loire region, especially the city of Tours. The king also ensured that the presence of royal images—votive offerings, liturgical objects, and stained-glass windows in particular—

coalesced around the territories he acquired during his reign, and in the regions that bordered them. The entry concludes with a discussion of the king's tomb and burial place at Notre-Dame de Cléry in the Loire, the location of which ruptured from the Capetian dynasty's traditional choice of the royal necropolis at Saint-Denis, Paris.

This entry will focus on the following themes and types of royal iconography: the royal image; sacred lineage and the coronation; piety as a political tool; saintly patrons and the Order of Saint Michael; and innovation in burial. The king was an active participant in the patronage process, expressing his direct wishes frequently through a select group of individuals in his confidence, who oversaw projects, secured quotes from artists, and ensured that orders progressed in a timely fashion. One of the most active mediators for the king, Jean Bourré (1424–1506), was a powerful figure at the court and a patron of the arts in his own right. Bourré established himself in the Touraine region with the purchase in 1465 of the château du Plessis-Bourré [7] (p. 204). Another key mediator in the commissioning of works was Jean Bochard (?–1484), sometimes known as Boucard, or Baucart, the bishop of Avranches from 1453 to 1484 and the king's confessor [8] (pp. 19–20).

2. The Royal Image: Self and Family

Louis used his own image and, by extension, members of his family, to convey the authority of the monarchy to its audience. He is the monarch with the largest number of recorded portraits in medieval France thanks to the many votive gifts made in his image, in a variety of media, which he had placed in churches around the kingdom. One of the most effective methods was to have personalised life-sized figures of himself and his queen and children made in wax, and distributed around the kingdom to serve as proxies of the royal family. The first known portrait of the king is from 1467, a life-sized image in wax, given to the cathedral of Saint Esprit in Bayonne, which he followed up a few years later with a gift of a silver retable depicting the king kneeling in prayer before the Holy Spirit, made by goldsmith André Mangot [8] (p. 91). Bayonne was in a part of the kingdom previous Capetian kings rarely visited, yet Louis placed two images of himself in Bayonne's cathedral to remind residents and worshippers of the monarch's role. An inventory of 1625 in Burgundy describes an effigy offered by Louis that bore nine images of French kings kneeling in prayer [9].

In 1466, he had a wax image made of his eldest daughter, Anne of France (then aged 5), weighing 45 pounds and probably therefore life-size, to offer to the statue of Notre-Dame-de-Cléry (the church in which he chose to be buried) [2] (p. 46). Wax ex-votos of the royal image were cheaper and faster to disseminate around the kingdom than any other medium. However, to commemorate the birth of the Dauphin in 1470, Louis tasked his close advisor Jean Bourré to have a life-sized votive image of the child made in silver to present to the church of Puy-Notre-Dame, Anjou [8] (p. 81). Not only did this commission promote the lineage of the royal family in precious metal, it did so in a recent territorial acquisition, following the death of his uncle, King René of Anjou, in a location where he therefore needed to assert his legitimacy to rule.

Louis chose to disseminate his royal identity on engraved portrait medals, such as the example in the *Cabinet des médailles* in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* in Paris, made by Francesco Laurana (1430–1502), an Italian artist formerly employed by Alphonso V of Aragon (1396–1458) in Naples, and from 1461 by René of Anjou (1409–1480) [10,11] (Figure 2). Louis, or his advisors, commissioned the famous Italian sculptor to cast at least three portrait medals of the king. They all show the monarch in profile, turned to the right, wearing a felt hat, with an inscription in Latin, *Diu[us] Lodovicus Rex Francorum*. Although we cannot be sure for whom these medals were intended, the king's choice of a renowned Italian artist to create the first portrait medals in France reveal the monarch's intention to use the finest, most skilled artists to commemorate the likeness of the king. It was not important that Laurana is unlikely ever to have met Louis XI [2] (p. 56). This 'portrait' depicted the king as he wished to be remembered, and the addition of the inscription was all the identification needed.

Figure 2. Francesco Laurana, *Portrait medal of Louis XI* (obverse), gilded bronze, 1465, Paris, Bibliothèque national de France. Source: Wikimedia Commons, GNU Free Documentation License.

Images of the king also appeared on official seals, but in a very different format to the aforementioned idealised portrait medal by Francesco Laurana. A seal used by Louis XI on a letter dated 4 October 1468, kept at the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, depicts on the reverse a small circle, within which two angels hold a large coat of arms bearing the royal fleur-de-lys, topped by a crown. The obverse, however, depicts the king enthroned and front facing, holding the symbols of his divine authority to rule, the royal staff and the *main de justice*, in front of a textile backdrop covered with fleur-de-lys. This is a 'seal of majesty', in which the king is throned 'in majesty', a formal device that conveyed the monarch's legitimacy through semiotics rather than physiognomic attributes. While the modern viewer might disregard such an image as a generic portrait, Louis XI and his retinue would have considered this kind of seal an accurate and recognisable depiction of the king that effectively portrayed royal status and, most importantly, authority.

3. Sacred Lineage and Coronation Imagery

The kingdom's monarchy believed that God had approved and anointed this one line of legitimate kings, regardless of their abilities, such as Charles VI, who was mandated to rule from 1380 to 1422 despite being insane. By the time Louis XI was on the throne, this belief had strengthened, perpetuated by specific iconography repeated one generation after another, so that by Louis' reign the king's appointment by God was linked uniquely to the idea of French nationhood. This religious specificity was, during the end of the medieval period, the only form of national identity that people recognised or understood [6] (p. 19).

Louis XI deliberately and successfully used imagery, especially coronation imagery, to promote the king's sacred right to rule [2] (p. 57). Louis seemed to have a particular attachment to the iconography of the holy ritual of his coronation, which took place on the feast of Assumption, 15 August 1461 [3] (pp. 57–58). He sent out images representing his coronation to diverse places in his kingdom, in different media, designed to engage and impress his subjects. Cassagnes-Brouquet identified one such surviving object, a large oak chest that Louis ordered some twenty years after his coronation for the church of Saint-Aignan, Orléans, a church to which he also generously donated. (Figure 3) The

front-facing part represents in relief the iconography of the coronation of the king of France, surrounded by the twelve peers who accompany him in the sacred ritual at Reims. The king kneels at a *prie-Dieu* draped in a cloth covered in fleur-de-lys, an additional symbolic reminder of the king's special relationship with God. The chest's original location, in a church in the territory of the duchy of Orléans, was designed to promote the sacred nature of the royal body and the divine right to rule.

Figure 3. *Coronation of Louis XI*, carved oak panel on wooden chest, c. 1480, Orléans, Town Hall. Source: Wikimedia Commons, CC BY-SA 4.0 license.

The message underpinning Louis' God-given legitimacy through coronation imagery is repeated in a different medium, in the stained-glass windows he commissioned for Evreux cathedral in Normandy. The windows decorate the cathedral's axial chapel dedicated to *la Mére de Dieu*. Throughout his reign, Louis professed a special personal devotion to the Virgin, which is often reflected in the location of his commissions, none more so than his choice of burial place at the church of Notre-Dame-de-Cléry (see Section 6). The Evreux chapel's central window depicts the king wearing the crown and surrounded by dignitaries, under the protection of the *Mater Omnium*, in a position reserved in traditional iconography for the Holy Roman Emperor, opposite Pope Paul II, accompanied by the bishop of Evreux, Jean Balue (1421–1491) [2] (p. 62). Another of the windows shows the king, bare-headed and kneeling at the coronation waiting to receive the crown, framed by stone tracery in the form of the fleur-de-lys (Figure 4). The three tracery fields at the apex of the window forming the Holy Trinity of fleur-de-lys in stone was surely a deliberate reinforcement of the mystical process of the Capetian king's coronation. One window shows the Mother of God wearing a crown topped with fleur-de-lys.

Figure 4. *Coronation of Louis XI in Reims*, stained-glass window, 1469, Evreux, Evreux cathedral, axial chapel, bay Source: Wikimedia Commons, CC BY-SA 4.0 license.

Louis used the support of stained-glass windows elsewhere to display royal propaganda [8] (pp. 15–16). At the church of Notre-Dame in Saint-Lô, Normandy, the windows Louis commissioned depict the coronation, multiple fleur-de-lys, and the royal lineage represented by the arms of his children [12]. The king's strategy to disseminate the mystique of his coronation through imagery in churches was clearly effective, as we see other institutional bodies adopting the same iconography. The *capitouls* of Toulouse, for example, ordered a wall painting from Antonio Contarini representing the coronation of Louis XI for their *salle du Consistoire de la Maison Communale* [2] (p. 62). Louis also adopted more ephemeral supports to portray iconography relating to his sacred right to rule for the celebrations around royal entries. When he made his first entry into one of his favoured towns, the canopy above the king was covered with fleur-de-lys, and fountains were sculpted into the shape of lilies [6] (p. 224). Popular events such as these meant that people from all walks of life would come into contact with the royal iconography of the fleur-de-lys and associate it with the beneficence and authority of the king.

4. Piety and Politics: Goldsmith Work

Louis's reputation for humble living was not replicated in his patronage of objects in precious metals for churches. Although the vast majority of these items were lost in the Wars of Religion or melted down during the Revolution, descriptions of them survive. As with his commissions in other media, Louis reveals geographic preferences for his generosity, with 17 goldsmith donations documented for churches in the royal territory of the Loire, and many fewer (three) in Paris [8] (pp. 26–27). In 1466 at the royal sanctuary of Saint-Martin, Tours, the king had an image of himself in gilded silver placed opposite the saint's holy relics (now gone, but described in the abbey's inventory of 1493.) Then, in 1475, he added to this devotional offering with the gift of a large plate of gilded silver, inscribed in enamelled lettering *Rex Francorum Ludovicus XI hoc fecit fieri opus anno M CCCC LXXIIII*, which was placed in front of the reliquary chest of Saint Martin [2] (p. 48, footnotes 95 and 97).

Like other Christian rulers of his era, Louis would have made no distinction between piety and diplomacy when ordering precious liturgical objects and making donations to religious institutions. He was, however, an exceptionally generous patron in this area, and

his political motivations were especially evident when donating to churches in territories held by his rivals. For example, after Charles the Bold died in 1477, Louis was quick to show his generosity by founding a chapel in the Burgundian duke's territory, dedicated to Saint-Sauveur, in the church of Saint-Servais, Maastricht, and ordering for the sanctuary of Notre-Dame in Boulogne-sur-Mer, Picardy a gold heart worth 2000 ecus [13] (p. 157). He also showed an enthusiasm for donating to pilgrimage destinations, such as the arm reliquary at Notre-Dame d'Aix-la-Chapelle in honour of Charlemagne, which miraculously still survives. This luxury devotional object includes a band of fleur-de-lys around the base, and beneath the relic's crystal viewing window, a crystal plaque bears the arms of France surmounted by a royal crown [8] (p. 69). The extent to which Louis believed pious donations could bring political benefits was demonstrated clearly in 1475, when he promised to the altar of Notre-Dame-de-la-Paix in the cathedral of Beauvais 3000 Tours pounds if the town managed to repel the English. The residents of Beauvais fulfilled this promise and Louis duly made the donation. Additionally after this event, Louis donated to the altar of his favourite sanctuary, Notre-Dame-de-Cléry, two models in silver of two towns where he had pulled off the most spectacular victories, at Arques and Dieppe [2] (p. 63).

5. Saintly Patrons and the Order of Saint Michael

The king professed special devotion to a select number of saintly patrons, notably the Virgin Mary, Saint Martin of Tours and, most of all, the archangel Saint Michael. These devotional leanings are translated into the iconography and the locations of the objects he commissioned. In 1478 and 1479 in his home territory of Tours, for example, Louis had two statues of Saint Martin made, one for the chapel of Bonaventure, and the other, sculpted by Jacques François and painted by Jean Bourdichon (c.1457–c.1520), for his private chapel in Plessis—a locally important saint both for himself and for the people of Tours [14] (p. 238).

Louis inherited a special devotion to Saint Michael from his father, Charles VII. The dragon-slaying saint was a good fit for Charles, who sought celestially endorsed military protection while fighting the Hundred Years War. Charles believed the saint had protected the sanctuary of Mont-Saint-Michel from destruction at the hands of the English, and made Saint Michael the kingdom's guardian angel when France was finally liberated around 1450. Louis went on pilgrimage three times to Mont-Saint-Michel, the saint's foundational town, and accorded the abbey the right to include the Capetian symbol of the three fleur-de-lys on its arms [15] (pp. 513–542). In doing this, Louis had incorporated royal insignia on the same support as Saint Michael imagery to forge a new iconographic symbol that declared Saint Michael to be a protector of the monarchy, linking the saint inextricably to the king's own reign. Louis used royal iconography for political aims through the considered placing of objects in locations where he needed to assert his royal authority, such as recently acquired territories and bordering regions. He offered statues of Saint Michael to several churches in such locations, including at Belpech, Aude, which neighboured the territory of the count of Foix, whose loyalty to the king was uncertain [6] (p. 171).

The king's special relationship with the saint, however, is seen most clearly through his foundation of a chivalric order in the saint's name. Louis XI founded the Order of Saint Michael in 1469, its statutes decreed at Amboise on 1 August. Members had to attend annual meetings and celebrations at the seat of the order in Mont-Saint-Michel, wearing livery of white damask linen embroidered with golden-shell motifs and a chain of gold shells with a pendant depicting Saint Michael's battle with the dragon, which they were supposed never to take off. Unlike other orders such as the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece, members were not allowed to join any other order. Through his leadership of the order and the imagery associated with it, Louis manipulated the saint's reputation as guardian of the kingdom in order to reinforce the power of the monarchy and to control the aristocracy. Beaune has proposed that Louis' order was more a cult of the king than of Saint Michael [6] (p. 162). The king commissioned a frontispiece from his court painter, Jean Fouquet (c.1420–c.1481), for his own copy of the Statutes of the Order of Saint Michael

(Figure 5). Fouquet's illumination places the king at the very centre of the image, wearing the order's livery and chain of golden scallop shells. He is surrounded by the founding members, and on the wall behind him, above his head, hangs a picture of Saint Michael slaying the dragon. The archangel is dwarfed by the presence of the king. Beneath the illumination, Fouquet painted two angels wearing armour made of scallop shells, holding the chain of the order, above which sits a royal coat of arms topped with a crown. This iconography suggests that the saint, once primarily a holy protector of the kingdom, had morphed through Louis' patronage into a symbol of loyalty to the powerful monarch. Louis used the imagery of Saint Michael to endorse and legitimise his own political achievements in his expansion of royal territory and to manipulate the aristocracy. He used images of Saint Michael in secular and religious settings to achieve this.

Figure 5. Jean Fouquet, *Frontispiece of the Statutes of the Order of Saint Michael*, c.1469-Paris, Bibliothèque national de France, Ms. Fr. Source: Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain.

6. Burial and Iconographic Innovation

Generation after generation of Capetian monarchs chose the royal necropolis at Saint-Denis near Paris as their final resting place. Louis XI's decision early on in his reign to be buried in the pilgrimage church of Notre-Dame-de-Cléry near Orléans, rather than beside previous kings and queens of France, was therefore nothing short of revolutionary. He based his decision on a special devotion to the miracle-working wooden statue of the Virgin in the church [16] (p. 20). However, this choice was not simply motivated by piety. He believed he owed his military successes against the English, and at the Battle of Montlhéry during the League of the Public Weal (16 July 1465), to the intercessory power of Our Lady of Cléry [2] (pp. 238–239). Louis channelled money into the beautification of the church throughout his reign, both in homage to the Virgin and to prepare a sepulchre fit for a king.

As with his choice of burial place, the tomb that Louis envisaged would hold his body marks another innovation. Recumbent stone effigies were the norm for Capetian monarchs, whereas Louis specified a kneeling effigy to be cast in bronze. The king wanted to be depicted dressed in his hunting gear, rather than in royal clothing. He initially addressed the need for a tomb in 1474, paying Jean Fouquet for a working drawing, and sculptor Michel Colombe (c.1430–1515) for a carved model of the drawing, featuring 'the king's portrait and likeness' [17] (p. 341). Louis did not approve either design and waited until 1481 before re-engaging with his tomb commission. He charged Jean Bourré with sending his wishes to Colin d'Amiens for a new design [18] (pp. 185–194). This monument was built, and later destroyed, in the Wars of Religion in 1562, but a sketch with written instructions Bourré sent to Colin d'Amiens survives [19] (Figure 6).

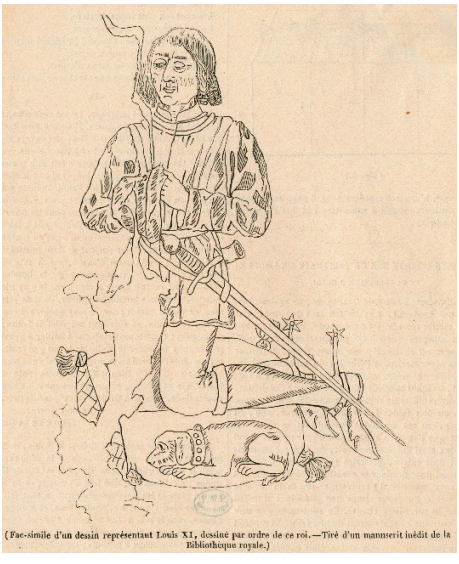

Figure 6. *Kneeling portrait of Louis XI*, modern facsimile of a sketch by an unknown artist, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Fr. 20493, fol. 5r. Source: bibliothèque interuniversitaire de santé, Wikimedia Commons, Open Licence.

The annotations Jean Bourré made around the sketch (not pictured) request that the sculptor modify and even improve the monarch's appearance. He said that the king '[must be] dressed like a hunter, with the most handsome of faces, youthful and broad; with a slightly longish and high-set nose, as you are aware. And don't make him bald!' [17] (p. 341). The instructions also specified that the effigy should be placed on the stone tomb, decorated with six coats of arms of the king, made in gilded bronze. The iconographic novelty of a kneeling effigy in bronze was adopted by future generations, including Louis' son, the future Charles VIII and his wife Anne of Brittany, and then by the circle of elite nobles orbiting the king, including cardinal Georges d'Amboise (1460–1510) at Rouen cathedral [20] (pp. 241–259). The king who would be remembered for his diplomacy rather than his art patronage, in reality, pioneered tomb iconography for future monarchs and their acolytes.

7. Conclusions

Contrary to the canonical depiction of Louis XI as a paranoid, pious politician with little interest in the arts, this entry has demonstrated the many ways the king exploited imagery to further his political aims as well as to fulfil his devotional fervour. Louis successfully used his own image, across many media, to reinforce the legitimacy of his

kingship and in particular his sacred right to rule. He commissioned ex-voto images of himself and of his family members for churches throughout the kingdom, especially in recently acquired territories—a clever strategy intended to disseminate royal images of the king's authority where he could guarantee his subjects would see them. The distribution of personal imagery extended to depictions of his sacred coronation. Given Louis' need to consolidate his kingdom's beleaguered financial status, through territorial acquisitions and frugality at court, his patronage choices and the royal iconography he employed successfully achieved his ambitions. The stained-glass windows of his coronation at Evreux cathedral, the widespread donation of precious liturgical objects in churches throughout the land, his careful curation of the cult of Saint Michael, and the iconographic innovations of his tomb all worked to portray the king as a powerful figure in control of a growing nation.

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Entry

Peter IV of Aragon (1336–1387)

Marta Serrano-Coll

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

Abstract: Peter IV king of Aragón (1336–1387). He was the seventh king of the Crown of Aragon, and father of Juan I (1387–1396) and Martín I (1396–1410), the last members of the dynasty to take the throne. When Martín died, the Trastámara branch occupied the throne of the kingdom. Peter IV was dazzling in his ability to use art as a tool of authority and sovereignty. With the aim of exalting the dynasty, he patronised various enterprises, among the most important of which was the abbey of Santa Maria de Poblet, which he intended to be a burial place for himself and his successors, a wish that was fulfilled, without exception, down to Juan II, the predecessor of the Catholic Monarchs. A perfectionist and zealot, he endowed important religious events with profound political significance, and promoted works of great symbolism such as the genealogy of the new *saló del tinell*, or the *ordinacions de la casa i cort*, to which he added an appendix establishing how the kings of Aragon were to be crowned.

Keywords: royal images; royal iconography; kings of Aragon; Crown of Aragon; Peter IV of Aragon

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1. An Exceptional Reign

On the death of Alphonse IV (1327–1336) in Barcelona, the kingdom of Aragon passed into the hands of the prince Peter, nicknamed the Ceremonious for his interest in the due magnificence of the institution he represented and in the palatine entourage, which he organised with care and attention to detail.

He was born on 5 September 1319 in Balaguer. No one foresaw that he would attain the crown: he was the second son and the kingdom then belonged to his uncle James, the first son of James II (1291–1327). James's renunciation of the throne meant that Alphonse, Count of Urgell and Peter's father, became the rightful heir, and this, added to the death of Alphonse's first-born son shortly afterwards, meant that Peter became the legitimate successor. Being in his seventies, he was so weak in health and physically puny that, as he would say in the *Crònica de Pere el Cerimoniós* written in his own hand and which covers his entire reign and that of his father, King Alphonse IV: "neither the midwives, nor those who attended our birth, thought we could live" [1].

Energetic and strong-willed, he increased the power of the monarchical institution, intervened in important foreign conflicts, and extended his dominions by incorporating Sicily, seizing Roussillon and dispossessing the Mallorcan king Jaume III (1324–1349) of his island kingdom. The chronicler Zurita summed up his complex personality: "While this prince was of the weakest and most delicate composure of body, he was also of the most ardent spirit and of incredible promptness and liveliness and of great vigour and execution in all that he undertook, and of spirit and courage for any undertaking and strangely ambitious and haughty and very ceremonious in preserving the royal authority and pre-eminence" [2].

He compared himself to James I (1213–1276), whom he admired with fervour. He considered that he shared several similarities with his predecessor, such as the protection of Providence, similar military exploits and certain biographical facts. His reign was the second longest reign of the Crown of Aragon, after that of the acclaimed Conqueror.

2. Cultural Personality: Profitability of Arts and Literature

It is difficult to summarise the artistic and literary policy of this king who, in 1380, praised the Acropolis of Athens as "the most beautiful jewel in the world, such as that not even all the Christian kings put together could build anything like it" [3]. His sensitivity to art went beyond mere delight; he was aware of its value for displaying power. To this end, he promoted works of architecture, among them the *saló del tinell*, the function room of his Palace in Barcelona; the *Palau Menor* for the queen; the restoration of Santa Maria del Mar, where he reinstalled the keystone representing his father Alphonse IV; and his intervention in Poblet, designated the royal pantheon of the dynasty.

He was interested in astronomy, poetry, history and law, and in Arabic, Hebrew and Christian knowledge. He commissioned the translation of notable original works and founded the universities of Perpignan in 1350 and Huesca in 1358. He tried to revive troubadour poetry, writing in a Catalanised form of Provençal, although the most interesting documents are his speeches and personal letters kept in the royal archive, which he rigorously organised (about Peter IV, see: [4–8]).

3. Coronation Ceremony and Iconographic Echoes

When he was eight years old, in April 1328, he attended the coronation of his father, defined in his chronicle as "one of the notable festivities that took place in the House of Aragon" (See [1]; Prologue). Its solemnity also impressed the chronicler Muntaner, who described the lavish parade, the procession and the insignia of gold, pearls and precious stones, and the banquet that followed [9]. It was then that the *infante* Peter recited a sirventese he himself had composed on the allegorical interpretation of the insignia: already at such a young age, the man who was to become king showed his predilection for ceremony and the formulas and instruments of protocol.

Peter IV decided to be crowned in Saragossa along "with that trousseau which belongs to a king who is to take coronation" (See [1]; Chapter 2, par. 9). It is significant that he uses the verb "to take" instead of "to receive" the latter implying a passive attitude on the part of the king in deference to the officiating metropolitan. The ceremony took place in the Seo on Easter Sunday 1336, with the Aljafería once again bearing witness to the festivities, in which some 10,000 diners took part in the main meal. He was 16 years old, although his youth did not prevent him from showing his courage when the archbishop, Pedro López de Luna, insisted before the ceremony that he would place the crown on Peter's head, an assertion that caused an argument in the sacristy and delayed the start of the ceremony. The future king did not like the idea; he knew that the exercise of power required symbolic practices, hence his wish to replicate the gesture of his father, who had crowned himself. Consequently, on the advice of his godfather Ot de Montcada, he was determined to demonstrate his authority and independence before the church. He led the cleric to believe that he agreed, but when the time came, he put on the crown himself, telling the prelate "not to adjust it or touch our crown, that we would do that for him" (See [1]; Chapter 2, par. 12, [10–12], more specifically [13]).

In 1353 he ordered a coronation ceremonial to be drawn up so that those who "reign after us would know and, having it written down, could not neglect or not know" [14] how the liturgy was to be performed. He regulated and consolidated each phase of the rite to reinforce the potency of the self-coronation gesture (which displayed his power in the sight of his subjects) and to confirm his idea of separation between the two parts of the ceremony: the spiritual, with the anointing of the archbishop; and the temporal, the coronation, in which the king alone took the insignia directly from the altar. Thus, by eliminating everything that hindered the image of its sovereignty, the monarchy's autocratic character became evident and can be seen in the miniatures of two of the three surviving illuminated codices: the twin copies in the Lázaro Galdiano Foundation and the National Library of France (Ms Reg 14425 and Ms Esp 99, respectively) [15,16] (Figure 1). In them, the sovereign, wearing a paly dalmatic, facing the altar and in front of individuals seated on wooden benches, holds a large fleur-de-lis crown in front of the metropolitan

of Saragossa, whose role is limited to imparting the blessing. Visually, Peter IV shows the elimination of all ecclesiastical involvement in the presentation of the crown which, in the eyes of the people, symbolised the handing over of the kingdom. The same was true of the coronation of the queen who, kneeling and praying, in the three copies receives the crown from the king's hands [17]. The copy from the Fundación March shows the sovereign kneeling, receiving the crown from the metropolitan and in the presence of several prelates [16].

Figure 1. *Ceremonial de consagración y coronación de los reyes y reinas de Aragón*. Left: Ms. Esp. 99, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France ©; Center: Ms. Reg 14.425, Madrid, Fundación Lázaro Galdiano ©; Right: Ms. Phillips 2633, Palma de Mallorca, Fundación Bartolomé March ©. Images published in [18].

4. Conquest of Mallorca: Iconographic Echoes

One of Peter IV's first wishes was to annex Mallorca, at that time ruled by Jaume III. James I had separated it off, along with the territories of southern France, when he ceded them in his will to his second son. From then on, relations between the respective kings were not cordial, as the Aragonese constantly sought to reincorporate it into their dominions. After a previous attempt by Alphonse III in 1285, the Ceremonious finally achieved this and was crowned in Mallorca Cathedral in May 1344. Shortly afterwards on 25 October 1349, Jaume III lost his life in the Battle of Lluchmajor and his body was banished to Valencia Cathedral. The conquest would have iconographic consequences [18].

4.1. Coinage

The first area in which these consequences became evident is in his coinage. He sought to integrate his territories economically and one way of doing this was by minting *diners* and *òbols* that followed the traditional model with some changes to his clothing. Specifically he decreed "that [his coins] should again be minted in a similar shape, size and law to the silver coin of Barcelona. And that there should be no diversity except in the lettering" [19] (Figure 2).

Figure 2. *Ral* and *Ral d'or* of Peter IV. Mallorca. Published by Crusafont, *Numimsmàtica de la Corona Catalano-Aragonesa medieval (785–1516)*; Vico: Madrid, Spain, 1982; num. 252 and *Guia art gòtic*, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya: Barcelona, Spain, 1998, p. 54, fig. 1.1.

He then changed his mind and struck, for the first time in the history of the coinage of the kings of Aragon, pieces with a frontal bust/cross and enthroned king/double-barred cross surrounded by + PETRUS DEI GRACIA REX/ + ARAGONUM ET MAIORICARUM, a brief inscription due to the limited size of the pieces and which omitted his sovereignty over the counties of Roussillon, Cerdanya and Montpellier, sold by the Mallorcan king to the king of France to finance the war [20]. Peter IV took special care to mark the invalidity of the sale: COMESQUE BARCHINONE ROSSILIONIS ET CERITANIE would appear on all his seals. These new pieces, precious and full of detail, offered another unprecedented element in the coinage of the kings, namely, mint marks, which were prolific in Mallorcan issues and which from now on would be standard on Aragonese pieces [21].

4.2. Sigillography

There are three stages in the changes to the legends and iconographies on Peter IV's stamps and seals [22]. The greatest differences can be seen in the second stage when, in documents from 1343 and 1344 and in accordance with the order that he alludes to in his chronicle (See [1], chap. 3), the king used imprints that were new in iconographic and formal terms, although, typologically, they retain the traditional style: that is, an enthroned effigy on the obverse and an equestrian effigy on the reverse.

In his main seal, the majesty effigy stands out for the change in the design and the complex solium which, surmounted by lions and covered by embroidered cloth, is reminiscent of those in vogue in France from the times of Louis IX [23] (Figure 3). The equestrian image also introduces novelties: first, although it maintains the star preceding the rider, there is a change in the direction in which the king rides, who now shows his right side in accordance with the Anglo-French type [24] and the model used by the King of Mallorca. Secondly, on the head of the Sovereign, which stands out against the filigree background, is the crest of the dragon, this being the first graphic evidence of its use by a king of Aragon (See [17], pp. 91–92).

Figure 3. Seals of Peter IV. Above: 1337. Below: 1343–1344 and 1344. Published by De Sagarra, *Sigil·lografia*, nums. 57, 59, 58.

In 1344 he issued a new seal also based on Mallorcan pieces (See [22], num. 261). This new type continued without interruption until the Catholic Monarchs and shows the enthroned king and a counterstamp with a shield crowned with the arms of Aragon.

After proclaiming himself king of Mallorca, Peter IV took the iconography of the Mallorcan royal sigillography and, after mixing it with other designs from Aragon and Navarre, created new types exclusively for himself (More details in [18]). He achieved a suitable image by not reusing the same imprints as his deposed predecessor, while at the same time integrating himself into the artistic trends of the time.

4.3. Court and Household Ordinances

Encouraged by those close to him [25] and moved by his desire to provide his court with regulations that would guarantee institutional decorum, he ordered the drafting of ordinances for his house and court, the oldest manuscript of which contains annotations in his own handwriting (See [14], estudi introductori). There were earlier ordinances that James II had put into practice after his return from Sicily, perhaps also using certain Hohenstaufen provisions as a model [26,27]. It is no coincidence that Peter IV's date is from 1344, just after the conquest of Mallorca. He seems to have taken the *Leges Palatinae* of the island as a model, given the textual and iconographic coincidences between both manuscripts [28,29].

In his miniatures, the king, elegantly attired, attends to each official whose ordinances he heads. The first folio is extraordinary (Figure 4). The border contains plant and animal motifs and the coat of arms of Aragon (the paly), the cross of Saint George (whom Peter emphasised for his role as defender of the monarchy and of whom he obtained relics) and the cross of Iñigo Arista (which he defined as the "ancient sign of the king of Aragon") [30]. Within the initial, Peter IV sits on a magnificent Gothic throne raised by steps and decorated with coats of arms bearing the pales of Aragon, a pattern that is repeated in the solemn vestments and cushions, including the one beneath his feet. It is a visual representation of what is laid down in the ordinances, both in terms of how the king should dress, his *regalia* and accessories, and in terms of how the attendants should position themselves in relation to him and address him (See [14], among other chaps. 81. De les vestedures e altres ornaments; and 89. De la manera de seer e proposar en consell nostre; Study of its illuminations in [17], pp. 276–283).

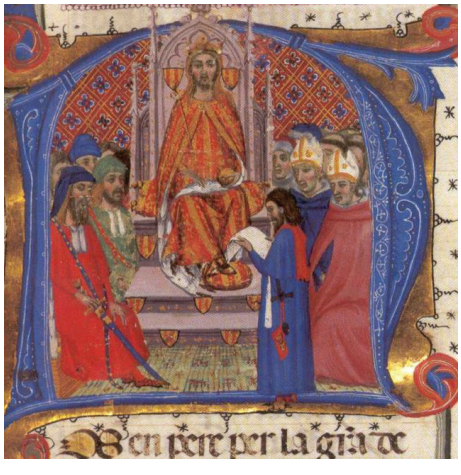

Figure 4. *Ordinacions de Cort*, Ms. Esp. 99, Paris, Biblothèque Nationale de France ©. Fol. 1r. Peter IV. c. 1370–1380. Published by Alturo, J. *El llibre manuscrit a Catalunya. Orígens I esplendor*; Generalitat de Catalunya: Barcelona, Spain, 2009, p. 253.

5. Artistic Commissions for the Glory of the Monarchy

It is not possible to analyse all the effigies of Peter IV that have survived from the Middle Ages, such as the mural paintings of Daroca, the dozens of illuminations of the copies of the *Usatges i Constitucions de Catalunya*, in the various *fueros*, the *Tercer Llibre Verd*, or in privileges such as those of the Carthusian monastery of Valldecrist. And in sculpture, such as the sepulchre of Lope Fernández de Luna, the reliquary of the corporals of Daroca, or the ephemeral votive offerings, to cite just a few examples (see [17]). But I will detail those commissions that, on a royal and symbolic level, were the most eloquent or significant.

5.1. Devotion and Profitability

There were many devotional commissions that he sought to benefit from. For example, his obsession with siring a son to guarantee the continuity of his lineage led him to commission, sometime around 1341–1342, the Book of Hours of Mary of Navarre. Although its pages do not feature effigies of the king, it was commissioned for praying and exhorative purposes, as is illustrated on folio 15v, which shows the young queen praying in front of a *Virgo lactans* [31].

5.1.1. Second Translation of the Relics of Saint Eulalia

Described in detail in the documentation ([32], also see [1], Chap. 2), this translation had iconographic repercussions (Figure 5) and consisted of offering a new burial place to the saint at a particularly propitious moment for the king, who was in Barcelona on one of his first visits as sovereign to receive homage from the man who would shortly afterwards lose his kingdom, Jaume III of Mallorca [33–35].

Figure 5. Santa Eulalia sarcophagus, detail. c. 1327. © Barcelona Cathedral, serie 28, n. 40; *Misal de Santa Eulalia*, Ms. 116, Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular ©. Fol. 308r. 1403. Published by Alturo, *Llibre ma-nuscrit*, p. 173.

The tomb of the saint follows Italian models by Lupo di Francesco [36]. The cover, by another artist, displays sculpted motifs that were contemporary to the time of its execution, which itself was exceptional in the sculpture carried out in the Crown of Aragon at that time. During the solemn translation of 1339, among the retinue following the religious dignitaries (the Cardinal of Rhodes, the Archbishop of Tarragona and some of the "bishops and prelates of our kingdoms" (See [1], Chapter 2, pp. 34–35), three individuals stand out in the foreground: the one in the centre is Peter IV, who takes off one of his gloves to touch the saint with his right hand before she is placed in the final tomb. To his right is the *Infante* don Jaime, brother of the king and then Count of Urgell [37]. It is unanimously agreed that the king of Mallorca is absent, although he could be the personage also wearing a diadem in the background, just behind Peter IV (See [16], p. 437). Finally, preceding the king, wearing a nun's habit and with a troubled gesture, is Queen Elisenda, by then already living in seclusion at Santa Maria de Pedralbes.

A later iconographic echo is found on fol. 308v of the *Missal de Santa Eulàlia*, illuminated in 1403 by Rafael Destorrents and members of his workshop [38]. The Proper of Saints describes the first translation, but the presence of the king with his back turned (which can be explained by the fact that he had died when the manuscript was completed) seems to indicate that the scene refers to the second translation (See [38] p. 51. Also Planas, J. La Miniatura Catalana del Periodo Internacional. Primera Generación. Universitat de Barcelona: Barcelona, Spain, 1992; p. 441).

5.1.2. The Pantheon of Poblet

Peter IV soon turned his attention to what was to become the dynastic pantheon of the kings of Aragon. The place he chose was the Cistercian monastery of Poblet, breaking with his forebears' preference for the Franciscans. The initiative would be accompanied by other emblematic developments, given that "our monastery of Poblet [...] is the custodian of the bones of the most glorious kings that ever were in the house of Aragon" (See Bracons J. 'Operibus monumentorum que fieri facere ordinamus'. L'escultura al servei del Cerimoniós, in [4]: 220). Among these developments were its fortification, the royal chambers and the library, which is presided over by the inscription "*llibreria del rei en Pere III*" and would house writings in memory of the kings buried there for the propagandistic purpose of legitimising the dynasty by evoking its power and glory through chronicles and genealogies, as the *Llibre dels Feyts del rei en Jacme* by Destorrents, from 1343, or the *Genealogia de Poblet*, or *Rotlle genealogic de Poblet*, circa 1409, preserved in the monastery and where the Ceremonious appears with his characteristic dagger [39].

On 2 January 1377, he declared the monastery the pantheon and burial place for himself and his successors without exception, and he ordered his subjects not to swear allegiance to the new king unless he had first arranged to be buried there [40]. He also closely followed the progress of the works, in which he was directly involved (See [40]. Also, Marés, F. Las Tumbas Reales de los Monarcas de Cataluña y Aragón del Monasterio de Santa María de Poblet; Asociación de Bibliófilos: Barcelona, Spain, 1952.; as well as [16], pp. 402–430. and [4], pp. 209–243). (Figure 6) His recumbent was placed towards the *Capella Reial* and shows him dressed in a deacon's robes and holding a dagger in his hands. It is a faithful replication in stone of the body deposited inside, given that the king ordered that he be dressed in the same clothing and insignia that he wore on the day of his coronation, a scrupulous attention to detail that was also evident in other funerary undertakings ([40], p. 996. and [41]).

Figure 6. *Capella Reial* in Santa Maria de Poblet. Detail of the recumbent figure of Peter IV, restored by Marès. 1944–1949. © Monestir de Poblet.

The pantheon, much remodelled and without the wooden canopies that once crowned it, is also evidence of the political theology of the monarch as *rex et sacerdos* that under Peter IV reached one of its most prominent visual manifestations. What was already patent in his coronation ceremony, in his speeches and in his sermons was also made visible in stone in the pantheon of Poblet through the representation of certain sovereigns such as James I and Alphonse II, who had double recumbents as both kings and as monks [42,43].

5.2. Other Royal Initiatives: Relevance of Genealogies

5.2.1. The Saló del Tinell

In 1359 he erected the *cambra major*, or *saló del tinell*, the first stone of which was laid after consulting his astrologers. Peter IV devised the allegorical stories to be painted on the walls, and the commemorative ones above the entrance door [44]. The room was complemented by a gallery of sculpted portraits of members of a political and legal system of the first order, thus legitimising and conferring an aura of glory on them while at the same time giving the room a sense of magnificence. The idea first came to him in 1342 and led him to contract the master Aloi (See [39]: 213–214) to carve 19 statues of kings of Aragon and counts of Barcelona to be attached to the diaphragmatic arches of the hall (See [41], p. 20), the location for of the most illustrious ceremonies. None of these have survived, but their commission is evidence of the monarchy's new urge, under Peter IV, to glorify and perpetuate the dynasty. He wished to show the continuity of his institution by arranging the sculptures of his forebears in order and to inspire the moral rectitude of his successors, who would see in the symbolic hall the images of their exemplary predecessors (See [45], pp. 177–192]. Also [8]). It would also be evocative for his subjects, who would see the representation of dynastic power in an emblematic and performative room to which the most illustrious magnates of the kingdom had access.

5.2.2. The Coronation Sword

In 1360 Peter IV commissioned the Valencian silversmith Pere Bernés, "*fidelis argentarium noster*" (De Dalmases, N. Els argenters de la cort en temps de Pere III. In [4], p. 204), to make a sword with the "most beautiful, richest and most subtle" ornamentation possible. "But in particular we want the outside of the scabbard to feature 19 enamels from one side to the other done in such a way that each one can display the figure of a king or count. Because in these enamels we want to have the figures of the kings of Aragon and counts of Barcelona, past, and our own" [46]. To understand the meaning of this sword, it is essential to relate it to Peter's aforementioned Coronation Ceremonial, which turned the coronation into a visual spectacle (See [45], p. 178). Given the importance of the ceremony, the elements used in it, including the insignia, had to be carefully selected. The promotion of the sword by Peter was probably greatly influenced by his conquest of Mallorca and has been noted by historiography. The king, understanding the ornamentation of this *regalia* as a visual resource and as a categorical mnemonic technique, adopted two important concepts to emphasise and recall the stability of the monarchy over time, namely, lineage and territorial expansion, both of which are identifiable in the iconography of the scabbard [47]. After his annexation of the kingdom of Mallorca, the genealogy represented on the scabbard had a legitimising effect on his conquest. The decoration proclaimed a continuous and uninterrupted dynastic succession, albeit a false one, in the different kingdoms over which the new monarch would rule once crowned. Peter IV was again able to compare himself to James I by linking the sword to the right of conquest, which was the basis of his power, and by handing the sword over to his heirs as an emblem that would play a similar role to that of *Tisó* (*Tizona* or *Tizón* in Spanish is a sword that tradition attributed to Rodrigo Diaz, known by the title of Campeador) in their investitures [48]. This is related to the fact that in the Middle Ages it was common practice to recreate the past within the present in order to legitimise contemporary political practices [49].

6. Conclusions

Throughout his long reign, Peter IV was very skilful in the use of art as a tool of authority and sovereignty. With the idea of dynastic exaltation, he promoted the abbey of Santa Maria de Poblet by establishing it as a burial place for himself and all of his successors without exception until the death of Juan II, predecessor of Fernando II the Catholic. Consistent with his project, he endowed the monastery with a royal library that would house historical books commemorating the illustrious dynasty to which he belonged, with walls to safeguard his famous ancestors, royal chambers where he could stay during his stays in the monastery, and a magnificent pantheon that he devised and altered as the works progressed. As a perfectionist, he deliberately sought out those who could provide the tombs with realism and accuracy, an attention to detail that can also be seen in other important undertakings such as the sculptural genealogy destined for the new hall of the *Tinell* or the *ordinacions* which are scattered throughout different libraries in beautifully illuminated codices. In a direct continuation of the practice established by his father Alphonse, Peter IV added to these ordinations an appendix in which he established the manner in which the kings of Aragon were to be crowned, specifying that, during the ceremony, all the insignia, including the crown, could only be handled by the king. This substantial peculiarity, visible to his subjects during the ceremonial, was also represented iconographically in the miniatures that decorate the folios of the ceremonial books except, perhaps tellingly, the *Libro de coronación de los Reyes de Castilla y de Aragón*. That Peter IV conceived art as a means of propaganda is also corroborated by the translation of the relics of Santa Eulalia, on whose sarcophagus the king and perhaps also Queen Elisenda are depicted in the Franciscan habit, an event for which he sought the most religiously and politically advantageous occasion. Above all, there is his conquest of Mallorca, an annexation which, although he considered justified, he legitimised through his iconography by copying without compunction the works of his bitter enemy, the ill-fated Mallorcan king when creating the aforementioned *ordinacions* and the seals and coins that he issued after his accession. It is in relation to this last event that another of his most symbolically important commissions must be attributed, namely, the scabbard of the coronation sword, which showed a genealogy featuring the figures of his predecessors. With this commission, he revived the sword as an insignia with much the same commitment as his much-admired predecessor, James I, whom he had evoked during the conquest of Mallorca and who, by appearing in the iconography of the enamelled royal lineage, also justified it.

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Entry

Robert of Anjou (1309–1343)

Mirko Vagnoni

Independent Researcher, I-50050 Gambassi Terme, Italy; mirkovagnoni@libero.it

Definition: Robert of Anjou King of Sicily (1309–1343). Robert of Anjou was the third king of the Angevin dynasty on the throne of Sicily. He ruled from 1309 to 1343, but, in these years, Sicily was under the domain of the Aragonese dynasty and, hence, his authority was limited to the continental land of the Kingdom and his court was mainly focused in the city of Naples. From an iconographic point of view, he is particularly interesting because, between his official representations (namely, commissioned directly by him or his entourage), he was the first king of Sicily who made use not only of stereotyped images of himself, but also of physiognomic portraits. In particular, this entry focuses on these latter items, comprising the following four artworks: Simone Martini's altarpiece, the Master of Giovanni Barrile's panel, the Master of the Franciscan tempera's canvas, and the so-called Lello da Orvieto's fresco.

Keywords: royal images; royal iconography; kings of Sicily; kings of Naples; Angevin dynasty; Robert of Anjou

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1. Introduction

Robert of Anjou was the third exponent of the Angevin dynasty on the throne of Sicily. He was crowned on 3 August 1309, and he ruled until his death on 20 January 1343. In reality, in these years, Sicily was under the domain of the Aragonese dynasty and, hence, his authority was limited to the continental land of the Kingdom and his court was mainly focused in the city of Naples. He also held the title of King of Jerusalem and Count of Provence, Forcalquier, and Piedmont and, during some periods, he was also proclaimed Lord of some cities of central and northern Italy, as well as Senator of Rome and Papal Vicar in the Italian territories of the Empire (in general, regarding Robert of Anjou, see [1] and, in more synthesis, [2], [3] (pp. 183–249), and [4]). Among his contemporaries, Robert had a reputation as an intellectual and he was frequently celebrated for his erudition and wisdom (he was often compared to the biblical Solomon; see [5]), as well as for his marked religiosity (he was himself author of numerous sermons and two theological treatises; see [6]). In particular, the Angevin was an active patron in both the scientific-literary and artistic fields, and, exactly in this last sector, historians have highlighted an intense activity in the commission of his own portraits for political and propagandistic purposes (in this regard, see lastly, but with references to the previous bibliography, [7,8]. On Robert of Anjou's portraits, we also point out [9]. Instead, regarding the propagandistic activity of Robert of Anjou in general, [10] is worthy of reporting).

From an iconographic point of view, Robert of Anjou is particularly interesting because he was the first king of Sicily who made use, between his official representations (namely, commissioned directly by him or his entourage), not only of stereotyped images of himself, but also of physiognomic portraits. In the first group are representations connected with public employments and representing Robert in his institutional role of King (indeed, he is depicted while seated on a throne bearing a crown, sceptre, and globe). They are the royal images on bulls and seals; the representations of the monarch on the coins minted in the Kingdom of Sicily, in central and northern Italy, and in Provence; and the statue sculpted by Tino da Camaino in approximately 1325 for the sarcophagus of Mary of Hungary in the presbytery of the Church of Santa Maria Donnaregina in Naples (despite this image

being placed in a religious context and having limited visibility, it represented Robert in his institutional role and, indeed, he had been carved in majesty).

In the second group, instead, are representations connected with religious and devotional contexts and associated, so to speak, with the private sphere and the personal practices of Robert. They represent the Angevin as a devotee (face in profile, kneeling position, small size, and proximity to religious subjects) while he carries out liturgical activities and devotional acts. What is more, they render, following the report on the bones of the King by the Istituto di Anatomia Umana Normale dell'Università di Napoli in June 1959 (see [11] (pp. 40–42)), his real physical features: light brown hair that falls straight down to the neck and concludes with a rather tight curl; shaved, thin, and oblong face; protruding and pointed chin; accentuated jaw; thin lips; pronounced nose; narrow eyes that, as well as the cheeks, are rather sunken and that highlight the cheekbones; high and spacious forehead; and deep wrinkles around the nose and mouth (Figure 1). This entry focuses on this second group of images. In particular, they are the following four artworks: Simone Martini's altarpiece, the Master of Giovanni Barrile's panel, the Master of the Franciscan tempera's canvas, and the so-called Lello da Orvieto's fresco (regarding the identification of Robert of Anjou's official image, see [12] (pp. 97–110), with more information and bibliographic references).

Figure 1. Simone Martini, *Saint Louis of Toulouse crowning King Robert of Anjou*, painting on wood, 1317–1319. Naples, Museo di Capodimonte. Detail of Robert's face. Source: public domain image.

2. Simone Martini's Altarpiece

This altarpiece, painted on wood and now in the Museo di Capodimonte in Naples, represents Saint Louis of Toulouse crowning his younger brother, King Robert of Anjou (Figure 2) (regarding this image, see: [13–17], [18] (pp. 136–154), [19–24], [25] (pp. 133–147)). The Sienese painter Simone Martini (who directly signed the artwork with the inscription «SIMON DE SENIS ME PINXIT») painted this altarpiece indicatively between the summer of 1317 and 1319 (namely, in the years immediately following the canonisation of the Saint). The panel has a main body of 250 × 188 cm and a predella of 56 × 205 cm, but Julian Gardner has hypothesised that, originally, it also had lateral small columns and, at the top, a pinnacle with the image of a blessing Christ [13]. The main scene is enclosed in a blue band decorated with lily flowers and, at the top, a five-pointed red label (allusion to the heraldic symbol of Robert himself). Moreover, it has a golden background edged with a weave of lilies. The panel represents Saint Louis of Toulouse seated on a throne while

two angels are crowning him and, in turn, he is crowning his younger brother. Robert is devoutly kneeling at his feet and he wears ceremonial robes and a sort of pallium, both richly decorated and embroidered with the coats of arms of Anjou and Jerusalem. If the face of Louis, in the frontal position, is rather stereotyped, the face of Robert, in profile position, is considered one of the first examples of a portrait in medieval art and, as said, it follows the real appearance of the King. Precious gems and goldsmith works directly embedded in the wooden panel decorate the whole composition. In the underlying predella, there are five episodes of Louis' life taken from the texts of his canonisation process. From left to right, they are as follows: the election as bishop by Pope Boniface VIII; the taking of the Franciscan habit and the consequent acceptance of the bishopric of Toulouse; Louis in the act of serving at the table; Louis' death; and his post-mortem miracle (regarding the scenes in the predella, see [19]).

Figure 2. Simone Martini, *Saint Louis of Toulouse crowning King Robert of Anjou*, painting on wood, 1317–1319. Naples, Museo di Capodimonte. Source: public domain image.

Considering the presence of the regal image and the Angevin heraldic symbols, it seems plausible that the patron of this artwork was a member of the royal court. In particular, thinking about Simone Martini's attention to rendering Robert's aspect, it seems unlikely that the King did not play a preponderant role in its commission. Evidently, it was him, assisted by some members of his entourage, who ordered the altarpiece. Regarding the original place of collocation of this panel, we can presume that it was on the altar of one of the chapels of the south side of the transept of the church of the Convent of San Lorenzo Maggiore in Naples (regarding this building and its internal decoration, see: [26] (pp. 46–75), [27–31]). This means that the panel was intended for the presbytery of the church and, therefore, for a purely religious context, particularly connected with liturgical celebrations. Hence, its visibility was probably rather limited and, in practice, restricted only to the religious members of the aforementioned church. Indeed, the laity could not generally access the presbytery and, usually, a choir and a rood screen separated the aisles of the churches from this area. This leads one to reconsider the meaning and function of this image. Generally, historians and art historians have ascribed to the main scene not

only the celebratory intent of Saint Louis, who renounces the crown of the temporal power for that of spiritual power, but also a political and propagandistic message in favour of Robert. Indeed, the coronation by the newly canonised Saint legitimised his authority of the throne of the Kingdom of Sicily, thanks to both the renunciation to the succession of the elder brother (which really occurred in 1296) and the sacrality that Louis spread across the whole Angevin dynasty (the so-called beata stirps), that also enriched Robert's succession with divine favour. This message was particularly functional to the Angevin policy. Indeed, during this time, he defended himself from the dynastic claims of Charles Robert, King of Hungary (son of the elder brother of Louis and Robert, Charles Martel), and from oppositions of the Ghibellines of central and northern Italian city states.

If we consider that the image was likely placed in an ecclesiastic space and connected to liturgic activities, and that it had limited visibility, it seems hardly credible that it played a political function. In reality, a religious and devotional interpretation is more plausible. In particular, it seems appropriate to relate this artwork to the role of Protector of the Angevin dynasty and Intercessor near God for the soul of its members attributed to Saint Louis. In this sense, we can suppose that the scene represented the Saint precisely in his function of intermediary, namely, in the act of delivering to Robert, after the accomplished intercession, the coveted crown of the Kingdom of Heaven. In other words, the image visually foreshadowed, to the friars of the Convent of San Lorenzo Maggiore in Naples, Robert of Anjou achieving eternal life, probably thanks to the prayers that the same friars performed in front of the altar where the panel was placed (for more details and bibliographic references about this interpretation, see [12] (pp. 111–130)).

3. The Master of Giovanni Barrile's Panel

This painted wooden panel, now at the Musée Granet in Aix-en-Provence (inventory number 821.1.14), again represents Saint Louis of Toulouse with, at his feet, Robert of Anjou and his wife Sancia of Majorca in an act of devotion (Figure 3) (regarding this image, see: [32] (pp. 211–213), [33] (card no. 41, p. 297), [34] (p. 212), [35] (p. 109, note 3), [36] (card no. 23, pp. 184–187)). It has been attributed to a Neapolitan painter conventionally defined as the Master of Giovanni Barrile and it has been hypothetically dated to the 1330s, but no later than 1336. This work has smaller dimensions in comparison to the previous one (height, 64.3 cm; width, 40 cm; depth, 1.5 cm) and it is characterised by a greater decorative simplicity. The scene depicts, on a golden background, the Saint in a blessing act and in an upright position while he is receiving the mitre from two flying angels. At his feet, there is a crown that symbolises his renunciation to any temporal authority due to his religious vocation. At his side, finally, there are the two Angevin rulers. They have small dimensions and they are in profile position and in the act of addressing their prayers towards the Saint. Both are wearing rather simple red tunics, but they are distinguished by the crown, and Robert, moreover, also flaunts a sort of golden pallium embroidered with medallions decorated with lily flowers. The King's face has the aforementioned physiognomic features.

Considering the presence of Robert and Sancia, the commission of the panel has been attributed to the royal couple, while it seems plausible that, originally, it was intended for Saint Louis' tomb and chapel in the presbytery (probably near the main altar) of the church of the Convent of the Minors in Marseille (regarding the evidence related to the translation of Saint Louis' remains in this church, see [37]). Hence, presumably, its visibility was limited and restricted to the members of this convent. For this reason, although it has been pointed out that the scene supports the legitimacy of Robert's power and illustrates the propensity for holiness of the Angevins [34] (p. 212), it seems more convincing that it had a religious and devotional function. What is more, from an iconographic point of view, the panel did not explicitly stage the alleged passage of power from Louis to Robert. Here, indeed, Louis' crowning or blessing of Robert and his authority are lacking. On the contrary, in the scene, the first does not interact in any way with the second. More likely, the artifact displayed in visual form the cult that, from their Neapolitan court, Robert and Sancia practiced towards the Saint buried in Marseille and it probably stimulated the

prayers of the friars of the convent towards the Saint in favour of the royal couple. In this sense, the panel played a role in the religious and liturgical activities of the church (for more details and bibliographic references about this interpretation, see [12] (pp. 130–136)).

Figure 3. Master of Giovanni Barrile, *Saint Louis of Toulouse worshipped by Robert of Anjou and Sancia of Majorca*, painting on wooden panel, 1330–1336. Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet. Image published in [12] (Figure 11).

4. The Master of the Franciscan Tempera's Canvas

This tempera on canvas, now in a private collection, represents—in a rather pathetic and intense way—a crucifixion (Figure 4) (regarding this image, see: [32] (pp. 235–237 and p. 257), [38] (pp. 88–89 and pp. 409–413), [39] (p. 48), [40], [35] (p. 149 and p. 166, note 81), [41] (p. 73, p. 78, and p. 80)). It has been attributed to a southern artist active in Naples conventionally defined as Master of the Franciscan tempera, and it has been hypothetically dated to the 1330s, but no later than 1336. This work has rather large dimensions (130 × 135 cm, and note that it has been cropped in the margins) and it was part of a wider series of which only three other canvases remain: *Madonna with Child between Saint Mary Magdalene and Saint Clare of Assisi*, *Stigmata of Saint Francis of Assisi*, and *Flagellation*. The scene represents, on a dark blue background, Christ nailed to the cross with Saint John the Evangelist, Saint Mary Magdalene, and the Virgin, presumably sustained by Mary (mother of James the Less and Joseph) and Salome (the references are to Mt 27,55–56 and Mc 15,40–41), around him. Kneeling at the foot of the cross are Robert of Anjou and Sancia of Majorca. They are much smaller than the other figures and are depicted in profile position and in an act of prayer. Robert is wearing a red tunic and a white ceremonial robe quilted ton sur ton with small lily flowers. He is bearing the usual lily crown and golden pallium embroidered with medallions decorated with lily flowers. The King's face has the aforementioned physiognomic features.

Considering the presence of Robert and Sancia, the commission of the panel has been attributed to the royal couple, while it seems plausible that, originally, it was intended for the female section of the Monastery of Santa Chiara in Naples (in general, regarding this building, see in summary: [42,43], [26] (pp. 132–153), [44]. Instead, for a more recent study of some specific aspects of this monastery, see [45]). More exactly, Adrian Hoch has pointed out that these canvases, due to their mobile nature, had the function of a sort of portable series of frescoes. In other words, they were displayed when necessary (for instance, during specific festive celebrations) as an alternative to the mural decoration and, after that, removed. Thanks to their flexibility, these artifacts were particularly suitable for supporting religious persons during liturgical ceremonies and they were staged during real ritual performances [40] (p. 224). For this reason, it seems plausible that they were used,

depending on the needs, in the various spaces of the cloistered area of the monastery. This means that their visibility was rather restricted and, all in all, limited almost exclusively to the nuns of the aforementioned building. Hence, we can conclude that these canvases had a liturgical function and helped the nuns in their prayers. In other words, they stimulated, through the visual act, their meditations on some of the fundamental moments of religious worship. In this context, Robert and Sancia's images presumably had the aim of making materially visible to the Poor Clares the devotion and religiosity of the royal couple and, maybe, of inspiring their prayers in favour of the souls of the two founders of the Monastery of Santa Chiara. In this sense, this portrait of Robert also had a devotional and liturgical function (for more details and bibliographic references about this interpretation, see again [12] (pp. 136–144)).

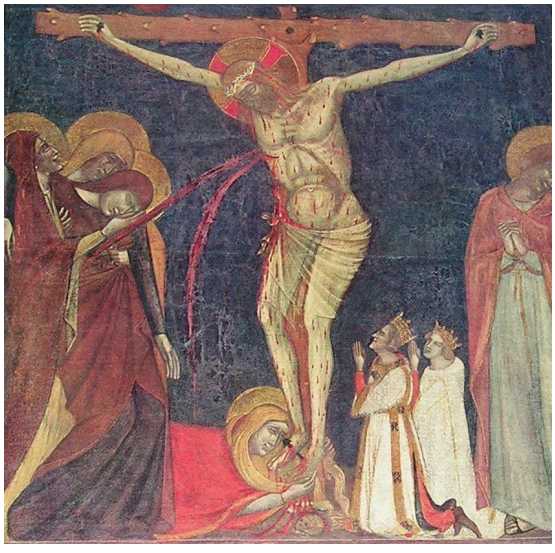

Figure 4. Master of the Franciscan tempera, *Crucified Christ worshipped by Robert of Anjou and Sancia of Majorca*, tempera on canvas, 1331–1336. Private collection. Image published in [12] (Figure 13).

5. The So-Called Lello da Orvieto's Fresco

This fresco, placed in the former male chapter house (now oratory of the Poor Clares of the Church of Cristo Redentore e San Ludovico d'Angiò) of the Monastery of Santa Chiara in Naples, represents Christ enthroned between saints and Angevin royals (Figure 5) (regarding this image, see: [32] (pp. 131–132), [38] (pp. 268–269), [39] (p. 37), [46,47]). The work has been attributed to the so-called Lello da Orvieto (regarding this painter, see [48]), but the existence of an artist of this name has been disputed and even its attribution has recently been questioned (regarding this, see: [39] (p. 37), [47] (p. 402, note 36)). Regarding the dating, it is plausible that it was created between 1336 and 1337. The fresco has monumental dimensions (it is 983 cm long and 840 cm high) and entirely covers the south wall of the hall. The scene depicts Christ seated in majesty (in the centre) with six saints at his side, who are interceding near Him. In particular, they are the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist, accompanied by the most significant members of the Franciscan Order: on one side, there is Saint Louis of Toulouse and Saint Clare of Assisi; on the other side, there is Saint Francis of Assisi and Saint Anthony of Padua. At their feet, in much smaller dimensions, depicted in profile position and demonstrating a prayerful attitude towards the figure of the Lord, there are four Angevin rulers. The first two are identifiable as Robert of Anjou and Sancia of Majorca, while the other two are their heirs to the throne, Johanna I of Anjou (on 4 November 1330, designated as Robert's successor and, for this reason,

depicted bearing a crown on her head) and her husband Andrew of Hungary. Robert, as usual, is wearing a golden ceremonial robe dotted with lily flowers and a sort of pallium and bearing a lily crown. The King's face has the aforementioned physiognomic features, although he is rendered in a slightly different and more idealised way. At the least, his appearance seems more youthful, although the fresco dates after the previous images (but, maybe it suffered some remaking).

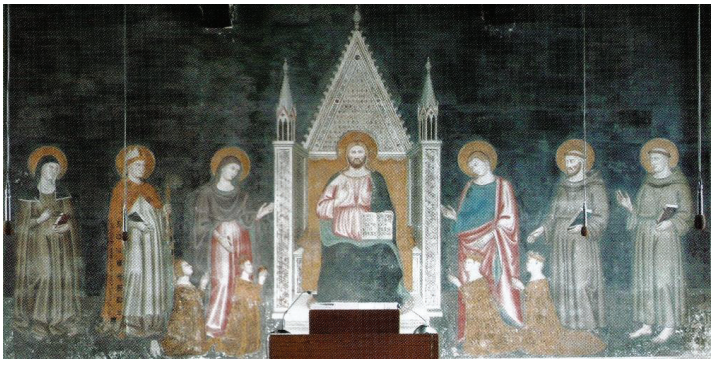

Figure 5. The so-called Lello da Orvieto, *Christ enthroned between saints and Angevin royals*, fresco, 1336–1337. Naples, Monastery of Santa Chiara, former male chapter house. Image published in: [12] (Figure 16).

Regarding the commission of this artwork, it is plausible that the same Angevin royals ordered it (in particular, Robert or Sancia, who were most involved with the foundation of the Monastery of Santa Chiara). Regarding visibility, it is worth noting that the chapter house was the hall where, generally, the friars of the monastery gathered themselves in assemblies in order to enact provisions and deal with affairs concerning the life of the monastic community. Moreover, this place hosted the celebration of the provincial and general chapters of the Order and it was used as representative space at the time of receiving distinguished guests. Therefore, some persons who were not strictly part of the aforementioned community occasionally experienced admission to this hall, but we should consider that, almost exclusively, only members of the Franciscan Order accessed it and, in particular, only the friars of the Monastery of Santa Chiara regularly attended this hall. Hence, the visibility of the fresco, despite its monumental dimensions, was rather limited and restricted to a reduced group of religious persons. For this reason, we can hypothesise that the painting did not play a political or propagandistic role, but instead had a more religious and liturgical function. In particular, the fresco likely did not aim to celebrate the Angevin royals and it did not stage the divine consent to their authority, but instead displayed to the friars of Santa Chiara the devotion and religiosity of the Angevin rulers and it reminded them of one of the main tasks that, as well as the Poor Clares, they had in the monastery: to pray to Christ in favour of the members of the Angevin dynasty in order to obtain (thanks also to the intercession of the saints depicted in the fresco) forgiveness for their sins and the achievement of eternal salvation for their souls (for more details and bibliographic references about this interpretation, see again [12] (pp. 145–152)).

6. Conclusions

In order to summarise the general lines of Robert of Anjou's physiognomic portraits, we can conclude that they were adopted in paintings on wooden panels, canvases, and wall frescoes with, in general, rather monumental dimensions and good attention to the iconographic details. They were placed, in particular, in the city of Naples and in the internal parts of religious buildings, such as the transept of the church of the Convent of San Lorenzo Maggiore in Naples, the female cloistered area and the male chapter house of

the Monastery of Santa Chiara in Naples, and the presbytery of the church of the Convent of the Minors in Marseille. Hence, their visibility was, above all, limited to the religious members of these institutions. Moreover, Robert of Anjou was always depicted with the traditional iconographic features of a devotee: face in profile, kneeling position, small size, and proximity to religious subjects (in particular, Saint Louis of Toulouse, but also Christ). Finally, the King's face was not rendered in an idealised way, but following his real appearance. In consideration of these characteristics, these portraits do not seem to be part of a specific political strategy of staging of the visual representation of the royal face for government purposes or with the aims of legitimising and strengthening the monarchical power. On the contrary, they seem to have been used for purposes characterised by liturgical and devotional intentions.

This leads one to reconsider some historiographical interpretations that propose the Angevin as actively engaged in the making, through his artistic commissions, of a "self-constructed image" [49] (p. 77) in order to be physically present and immediately identifiable to his subjects, and as involved in the use of his "self-presentation as political instrument" [8] in order to strengthen his authority. In summary, that he adopted a "real and actual 'iconographic propaganda'" [50] (pp. 67–68). In reality, the reasons for the adoption of the Robert of Anjou's portraits should be attributed to the private/individual sphere and to religious devotion, not to the public field or to political celebration and administration. It seems plausible that his naturalistic portraits did not aim to express any specific symbolic and ideological message, but only to represent him in the guise of a simple man who, with the help of saints, invoked divine forgiveness of his sins and salvation for his soul. Certainly, the Medieval iconographic language could not completely disregard the assumption of some specific royal attributes in order to favour the identification of the subject (for instance, symbols of power such as the crown and ceremonial robes, designed to highlight his social role, and heraldic emblems that defined his dynastic membership). For this reason, he was also depicted with a crown and ceremonial robes and his portraits were dotted with lily flowers. However, despite this, Robert's images with his real appearance presumably wanted to express the completely human and transitory nature of the King, who, far from any political intent or celebration of his monarchical function, offered devoutly and humbly (as a simple man or a private citizen) his prayers to God, hoping to achieve, also thanks to the prayers of the beholders of these representations, the forgiveness of his sins and the crown of eternal life in the Kingdom of Heaven.

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Entry

Stefan Uroš II Milutin Nemanjić (1282–1321)

Čedomila Marinković

Institute of Ethnography, Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia; cedomilamila@gmail.com; Tel.: +381-63-8767-872

Abstract: King Stefan Uroš II Milutin Nemanjić (1282—Donje Nerodimlje, October 29, 1321) was a Serbian medieval king, the seventh ruler of the Serbian Nemanide dynasty, the son of King Stefan Uroš I (r. 1243–1276) and Queen Helen Nemanjić (see), the brother of the King Stefan Dragutin (r. 1276–1282) and the father of King Stefan Dečanski (r. 1322–1331). Together with his great grandfather Stefan Nemanja, the founder of the Nemanide dynasty, and his grandson, Emperor Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, King Milutin is considered the most powerful ruler of the Nemanide dynasty. The long and successful military breach of King Milutin, down the Vardar River Valley and deep into the Byzantine territories, represents the beginning of Serbian expansion into southeastern Europe, making it the dominant political power in the Balkan region in the 14th century. During that period, Serbian economic power grew rapidly, mostly because of the development of trading and mining. King Milutin founded Novo Brdo, an internationally important silver mining site. He started minting his own money, producing imitations of Venetian coins (grosso), which gradually diminished in value. This led to the ban of these coins by the Republic of Venice and provided King Milutin a place in Dante's *Divina Commedia*. King Milutin had a specific *philoktesia* fervor: He built or renovated over three dozen Serbian Orthodox churches and monasteries not only in Serbia but also in Thessaloniki, Mt. Athos, Constantinople and The Holy Land. Over fifteen of his portraits can be found in the monumental painting ensembles of Serbian medieval monasteries as well as on two icons.

Keywords: King Milutin; Serbian medieval kingdom; King's Church Studenica; Monastery of Staro Nagorčino; Monastery of Gračanica; Nemanide's Genealogical Tree

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1. Introduction

King Stefan Uroš II Milutin Nemanjić was born around 1254–1255 [1] (p. 53) as the second son of King Uroš I Nemanjić (r. 1243–1276) and Queen Helen. According to the newest research, besides elder brother Dragutin and sister Brnj(a)ča, King Milutin probably had another elder brother, Stefan, who passed away as a child and was buried in the catholicon's nave of Studenica Monastery [2] (p. 94). The life of the young prince Milutin—before his ascension to the throne of Serbia in 1282—is not very well known because of the almost total lack of Serbian historical sources of that time. According to *Lives of Serbian Kings and Archbishops* by his contemporary Archbishop Danilo II, a conflict broke out between his father King Uroš I and his brother King Stefan Uroš Dragutin in 1276. King Uroš I abdicated and died less than 2 years later in the region of Hum. Six years later, following a riding accident, King Dragutin abdicated in favor of his younger brother during the council of Deževo (1282). Recently, these biographical facts were questioned by Vlada Stanković, who assumes that instead of the common belief about the reign of Dragutin from 1276 to 1282 and the subsequent first reign of Milutin till 1299, there was a "peculiar (ruling) collegium" of Kings Dragutin and Milutin, and their mother Queen Helen that lasted from the abdication of the King Uroš I in 1276 to the peace agreement with Byzantines in 1299 [1] (p. 69). Their mutual appearance proves this assumption in the fresco ensembles of the churches in monasteries of Gradac, Đurdjevi Stupovi and Arilje, as well on the two icons and the founder's inscription of the restored Benedictine abbey of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus near Shkodër on the Boyana River [3] (p. 97).

It is a very well-known fact that several marriages of King Milutin made him a strong opposition both of Serbian Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches. However exaggerated in number, the marriage alliances of King Milutin were part of overall changes in Serbian politics during the second half of the 13th century and the very complex political relations that Serbia had with Byzantium, Hungary and Bulgary of that period [1] (p. 53). Although the final list of Milutin's spouses is still to be established, some recent researchers have proposed Milutin's marriage curriculum. According to common knowledge, King Milutin's first wife was a certain Serbian noblewoman who identified with Jelena (Helen) and whom King Milutin, after a certain time, expelled "for no reason and against her will" [4] (p. 58). After that episode, and in the changing political environment, Milutin married the daughter of sebastokrator John II Angelos, ruler of Thessaly [1] (p. 48). When King Stefan Dragutin dethroned their father Stefan Uroš I in 1276, Milutin married (previously Catholic nun) Elisabeth, the sister of his brother's wife Catherine who, after another political turmoil and the end of their marriage at an unknown date, returned to Hungary. According to some documents still preserved in the Archives of Dubrovnik, King Milutin remarried again in 1284, this time to the daughter of the Bulgarian tsar George Terter, Anna [1] (p. 67). In 1298, as a result of a huge Byzantine military defeat, Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos promised a marriage alliance of his 5-year-old daughter Symonis to the Serbian ruler King Milutin [1] (pp. 94–106). The Orthodox Diocese in Constantinople opposed the marriage because of the king's previous marriages and the vast age difference, but the Byzantine Emperor was determined to do so. In late 1298, he sent his trusted minister Theodore Metochites to Serbia to conduct the negotiations. On his part, King Milutin too was eager to accept this marriage and divorced his wife, Anna Terter. Princess Symonis and King Milutin's marriage was celebrated in Thessalonica in the springtime of 1299, and the couple departed for Serbia [5] (p. 457). As a wedding present, Byzantines recognized Serbian rule north of the line Ohrid—Prilep—Štip. King Milutin became a son-in-law of the actual Byzantine Emperor, which triggered an overall Byzantinization of Serbian society [6]. Just after a peace treaty with the Byzantine Empire was signed in 1299, disputes began between Milutin and his brother Stefan Dragutin. War broke out between the brothers and lasted, with sporadic cease-fires, until Dragutin's death in 1314. By 1309, Milutin appointed his son, future king Stefan Uroš III Dečanski, as governor of Zeta (present-day Montenegro) [7] (p. 176). This meant that Stefan Uroš III Dečanski was to become heir to the throne in Serbia and not Dragutin's son Stefan Vladislav II as it was agreed at Deževo Council. King Stefan Uroš II Milutin died in Donje Nerodimlje on October 29, 1321. Barely 3 years after his death in 1321, King Milutin was proclaimed a saint, although he never took a monastic vow as all his ancestors on the throne of Serbia before him did. His feast day is celebrated on 30 October/12 November.

2. Church of the Holy Virgin Ljeviška, Prizren

The Church of the Holy Virgin Ljeviška is located in Prizren (Kosovo), at the foot of mountain Šara and on the banks of the Bistrica River. From Antiquity, Prizren represented a crossroad of all-important trading routes which from the coastal regions branched toward Balkan inland and further toward Niš, Thessaloniki and Constantinople. After the defeat of Byzantium at the end of the 13th century, Prizren became part of the Serbian state. King Milutin decided to reconstruct Prizren cathedral—previously built early 6th century Byzantine basilica—and, following the demands of his time in 1306/07 [8] (p. 11), he ordered the reshaping of the Holy Virgin Ljeviška into a cross-in-square five dome church with the exonarthex and a high belfry. Inside the church, an extraordinary fresco ensemble is still partially preserved. Painter Astrapas, together with his associates and assistants, covered all surfaces of the interior walls, vaults and domes with frescos from around 1310 to 1313 [8] (p. 43). On the north side of the east wall of the narthex of the church, on the ceremonial red background, King Milutin is represented with a brown beard holding a cross in his right hand blessed by Christ, represented as a semi-figure above the entrance into the nave. It is a colossal, 2.55 m-high figure dressed in full Byzantine Imperial costume

with the crown on his head and the long inscription that reads: "in Christ, the God faithful, despot and of holy birth, and pious Stefan Uroš, king of all Serbian lands and Littoral, great-grandson of Saint Symeon Nemanja, grandson of the the First-Crowned King Stefan, son-in-law of the great Greek Emperor Palaiologos Kyr Andronikos and the endower of this holy place" (Figure 1). The purpose of the painting was to confirm and highlight Milutin's legitimacy on the throne of Serbia and his alliance with the ruling Byzantine Emperor. As a result, he was not depicted with the church in his arms, unlike the usual representation of ktetorship in the Serbian endowments.

Figure 1. King Milutin, fresco, 1310–1313. Holy Virgin Ljeviška church in Prizren, north side of the east wall of the narthex, Photo Vladimir Perić. Courtesy BLAGO Fund, Inc.

3. Ascension Church of the Žiča Monastery

Originally imagined as a burial place of the first Serbian King, Stefan the First-Crowned, the Ascension Church of the Žiča Monastery gradually changed its primary function and became the First Serbian Cathedral, a coronation church, and the seat of Archbishoprics of all Serbian lands from 1219 to 1253. Built not far from the confluence of the Ibar and the Morava rivers in a spacious natural valley surrounded by hills, well-connected by a network of communications, near the present-day town of Kraljevo, the cathedral church was not well protected from assaults. One of them, conducted by an unexpected and violent raid by Mongols, left the church, which was previously very nicely decorated, without a huge percentage of its frescoes. King Milutin renovated it from 1309 to 1316 [9] (p. 146), thus becoming its second donor. Presented above the portraits of Stefan the First-Crowned and his son and heir, Radoslav, directly above the entrance to the church, is the Christmas Hymn. The hymn represents the enthroned Virgin, with small Christ in her lap in the upper part of the scene (the iconography of which relies on the contents of Anatolios' sticheron but is accompanied by the text of John Damascene's verses), in the celebration of which Serbian King Milutin, dressed in imperial costume, and Archbishop Sava III are participating (Figure 2). For the first time within the religious composition, living people are shown. Two ceremonial processions, which the two of them are leading, are moving one toward each other in the lower part of the scene. The symmetry in the representation of the ruler and the leader of the Church, while they jointly celebrate God as the supreme Lord, expresses the notion of the harmony (symphonia) between the state and church authority on Earth. The place for presenting the Christmas Hymn in Žiča was

not selected by chance. The entrance into the narthex of the main cathedral church was the place where, according to the rules of the Constantinople rite, the two processions met ahead of the liturgy, one led by the secular ruler and the other by the spiritual leader. By quoting this ceremony within a scene that refers to gifts and serving the God incarnate, the person who devised the composition in Žiča stressed the exalted aspect of the mission of the Serbian king and the archbishop. By carrying out this mission, according to Vojvodić, they both confirmed the Christian legitimacy of their dignity and, together with the whole of the universe, presented a worthy gift to the source of all powers [8] (p. 538).

Figure 2. King Milutin leading ceremonial procession within the scene of the Christmas Hymn (right), fresco, 1309–1316. Ascension Church of the Žiča Monastery, south side of the lunette above the entrance. Courtesy Gallery of Frescoes, Belgrade.

4. Monastery of Staro Nagoričino, Church of St. George Tropaioforos

Staro Nagoričane is the village in the Sredorek region of present-day North Macedonia and is famous for its 11th century three-nave basilica that was reconstructed during King Milutin's reign into the cross-in-square five dome church. The interior decoration was likely done between 1317 and 1318 by Michael Astrapas, the leading artist of King Milutin's court artistic workshop [10] (p. 104).

On the north wall of the narthex, King Milutin is represented holding the church and the scroll in his left hand and handing them to St. George signed Tropaioforos (The Victorious), who is represented on his left. The saint reciprocates King Milutin by offering him a sword as a kind of symbolic investiture (Figure 3). Behind King Milutun, on his right, Queen Symonis is represented in ceremonial attire. The scene lacks a representation of Christ to whom the king offers the church. King Milutin and Queen Symonis are depicted with the insignia of the Byzantine rulers as later in King's church in Studenica Monastery followed by the representation of St. Constantin and St. Helen. According to Radojčić [11] (p. 35), all Serbian rulers who emphasized their family ties to the imperial court painted these very saints near their portraits.

Figure 3. King Milutin with the church, fresco, 1317–1318. Church of St. George Tropaioforos, Monastery of Staro Nagoričino, north wall of the narthex. Photo Bojan Popović.

5. King's Church, Sts. Joachim and Anna, Studenica Monastery

According to the fully preserved inscription carved in the chapel's apse's exterior, King's Church was built in 1314 within the complex of the Studenica Monastery at the slopes of Golija Mountain, 12 km from the town of Ušće, in the gorge of Studenica River.

The interior of King's church is one of the best examples of the paintings of the Palaiologan Renaissance on Serbian soil, done by Mihailo Astrapas and his workshop either in 1314 [10] (p. 104) or in 1318–1319 [12] (p. 439). It is very well preserved. The founder's scene is placed, as usual, in the first zone of the south wall of the nave. It is a part of a larger scene that starts left of the ktetor, right next to the altar chancel, where Christ is represented, followed by his grandparents St. Joachim and St. Anne. St. Anne is holding little Mother of God in her arms. To the right of King Milutin, Queen Symonis is represented. Again, the representations of St. Constantin and Helen are painted next to her on the west wall. Inscriptions mentioning the king's and Queen's official titles are placed next to their heads and written in Serbian. King Milutin is depicted as an older man with a long beard and hair that falls on his shoulders wearing the insignia of the Byzantine rulers. He is dressed in a black imperial costume *sakkos* (σάκκος) with *loros* (λῶρος)—a wide decorated ribbon wound around the torso so that one end hung down in front and the other hung over the right arm, and a wide collar *maniakion* (μᾰνιᾰκῐον) decorated with pearls and precious stones. On his head, he wears a Byzantine crown with orphanos (gem) and pearly *prependulia* (πρεπενδούλια) while carrying his church in his hands. What catches the eye is the new color of the incarnate. Milutin's face is pink (Figure 4) unlike the faces of the saints, which are blue-green. In the first zone of the opposite, north wall, just across the small nave of the church, St. Symeon and St. Sava are represented. The position of the church within the complex of the Studenica Monastery, its external similarity to the

catholicon, the dedication of the church to St. Joachim and St. Anne, the representation of Christ's genealogy on the chapel's frescoes and their programmatic relation with the personalities of the King's ancestors had a specific theological and ideological basis. They were conceived to stress the parallels between Christ's (Sts. Joachim and Anne) and King Milutin's (St. Symeon Nemanja) ancestors, i.e., between Christ and King Milutin himself [13] (pp. 191–195). The idea of ancestry, however, permeates the overall painted program of the King's Church much more comprehensively [14] (pp. 187–191).

Figure 4. King Milutin carrying church and Queen Symonis, fresco, 1318–1319 King's church, Sts. Joachim and Anne, Studenica Monastery, Courtesy BLAGO Fund, Inc.

6. Annunciation Church, Gračanica Monastery

The Annunciation Church of the Gračanica Monastery is one of the King Stefan Uroš II Milutin's last monumental endowments. The monastery is located in Gračanica, Kosovo, about 5 km from Priština, and according to the charter painted on the western wall of the south parekklesion, it was decorated between 1318 and 1321 [15] (p. 74). It represents one of the chef-d'oeuvre of the Serbian and Byzantine art and architecture. The founder's scene is placed on both sides of the arch separating the narthex from the nave. On the north side, King Milutin is now represented as an old man with long gray hair and a beard in Byzantine imperial attire, holding Gračanica with both his hands (Figure 5) while an angel with a crown descends from the sky toward him. Across from him is Queen Symonis, to whom an angel also lands a crown. In the vault is a representation of Christ blessing angels carrying the crowns. Iconographically, this representation is a combination of the founder's portrait and symbolic investiture. This formula, which testified that the power of autocratic rulers came directly from God and that they were subordinate only to him, had a very long history in Byzantine art [16] (p. 312) and, for the first time in Serbian art, was introduced in Gračanica.

Figure 5. King Milutin with the church, fresco, 1321. Church of Annunciation, Monastery of Gračanica, northern part of the vault between the narthex and nave. Courtesy Gallery of Frescoes, Belgrade.

Nonetheless, the most interesting type of Serbian historical painting that appears in Gračanica for the first time is the so-called Nemanide Genealogical Tree (Figure 6). The fresco is located on the south part of the eastern wall of the narthex and measures about 1.75 m in wide and about 3.25 m in high. Sixteen portraits of Nemanide family members, arranged in four rows and entwined in an ivy vine, are represented. St. Stefan Nemanja, dressed in purple clothes with a halo, is in the center of the first row, representing the

"good root" of the tree. In the central part of the second row, Stefan the First-Crowned is presented in a divitision with a crown, scepter, and halo. In the third row, King Uroš I takes the central part, while the genealogical tree is crowned with King Milutin, surrounded by his daughter Tzariza and his son Constantine. They are all blessed by the Christ, who is placed above them, and flanked with angels that are landing the ruler's insignia on King Milutin's head. Stefan Dečanski, heir to the throne and later king, is not represented here as the fresco was created at the time of his exile. The side branches of each row are filled with Nemanides of the appropriate generation, including two female persons and two archbishops of Nemanide origin: St. Sava and Sava II [10] (pp. 38–39). The Nemanide Genealogical Tree represents a crucial iconographical step in the transformation of the horizontal line of Nemanides-monks into the vertical genealogical picture of Nemanide conceived after the model of Genealogical Tree of Jesse. The emphasis on the parallelism between the representatives of the Serbian holy dynasty and the biblical line of the righteous is not completely new and can be traced in Serbian monumental art since the second half of the 13th century, as in the narthex of Sopoćani and in Arilje [17] (pp. 111–113). However, the vertical genealogical tree was not a simple transposition of the horizontal genealogies into the structure of the new iconographic scheme. Between the two types of Serbian dynastic images, significant content differences are noticeable. Horizontal genealogy, for example, very often included representations of ruling consorts or ruling mothers (Queen Helen), while in the vertical one, they appear much later and only as an exception and for special reasons. As for the ruling sisters and daughters, the situation is completely reversed because, in the vertical genealogy, their characters were painted regularly under the condition that they were not "odive" i.e., married into other families [18] (p. 297).

Figure 6. Nemanide's Genealogical Tree, fresco, 1321. Church of Annunciation, Monastery of Gračanica, south part of the eastern wall of the narthex. Courtesy Gallery of Frescoes, Belgrade.

7. Church of the Presentation of the Virgin, Monastery of Chilandar

The Church of the Presentation of the Virgin in Chilandar is the oldest endowment of the Nemanide dynasty outside Serbia, located on Mt. Athos in Greece. Founded by Stefan Nemanja, who died there as a monk Symeon in 1199, the present-day catholicon of the monastery was renewed at the beginning of the 14th century under King Milutin. The original church was remodeled to the cross-in-square triconchal domed construction with a two-domed narthex. Together with construction works, in 1321, King Milutin restored the damaged interior fresco decoration. His portraits appear twice in it. The first one is located in the southwest corner of the nave, near the original tomb of St. Symeon Nemanja (Figure 7). On it, Milutin is represented in full Byzantine Imperial costume with the crown on his head and with both hands raised in prayer. This last feature makes this portrait of Milutin very peculiar because, in his numerous other founder's portraits, he always wears either insignia of his authority or holds a church. Here, even more unusual is the omission of the suppedion under the king's feet, which can be found in almost all portraits of Serbian rulers from the time of King Dragutin to Milutin's other founder's portraits in the narthex of Chilandar. This iconographical idiosyncrasy can be explained by the proximity of King's portrait to the former tomb of Stefan Nemanja, from which he "sprouted like from the good root" [19] (p. 250).

The second portrait of King Milutin is located on the southern part of the second zone of the east wall of the narthex (Figure 8). The center of the composition consists of the representation of the Virgin Mary with a small Christ in her lap flanked with two archangels. From the south side, the Mother of God is approached by Serbian saints Symeon and Sava as mediators, and behind them, Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos and King Milutin, followed by St. Stefan. On the other side, Andronikos III Palaiologos is also approaching the Virgin. All inscriptions around the scene are in Greek and the Serbian king is referred to as a "founder of the church and the very beloved son-in-law of the mighty Emperor Andronikos Basileus and Autokrator Romaion." Both rulers are wearing the same costume and Andronicos is standing on the suppedion decorated with two-headed eagles. Andronikos is wearing the Byzantine crown and black imperial sakkos and is holding in his hands a scepter and handing Milutin a bundle of three scrolls with gold seals. It is important to notice that Byzantine emperors appear in the Chilandar ktetor's composition as rulers on whose territory the Serbian monastery was built and as guarantors of the founders legal rights [19] (p. 255).

Figure 7. King Milutin fresco, 1321. Church of the Presentation of the Virgin, Monastery of Chilandar, southwest corner of the nave. Courtesy Gallery of Frescoes, Belgrade.

Figure 8. King Milutin, fresco, 1321. Church of the Presentation of the Virgin, Monastery of Chilandar, southern part of the second zone of the east wall of the narthex. Courtesy Gallery of Frescoes, Belgrade.

8. Coins

The overall success of King Milutin's endeavors, either militarily or culturally, was based on his financial power that came from the exploitation of rich silver mines in Brskovo, Trepča, Rudnik and Novo Brdo. Like his predecessors, he started minting his silver dinar, which weighed 2, 13 g and had a diameter of 21 mm (Figure 9), thus producing imitations of Venetian coins (grosso). At the beginning of his reign, King Milutin sustained a stable monetary policy. However large expenditures for military ventures forced him to increase his revenues, reducing the weight and quality of his coins [20] (p. 122). The coins gradually diminished in value, and toward the end of his epoch, they contained seven-eighths of silver compared to Venetian ones. This led to the ban of these coins by the Republic of Venice.

Figure 9. Milutin's silver dinar, obverse and reverse of silver coin after 1282. Photo courtesy Marina Odak Mihailović.

On the obverse of the coin, King Milutin is represented with an open lily crown holding a scepter with fleur-de-lis at its top in the right hand and a double cross-bearing orb in his left hand. The ruler's scepter is an inviolable sign of his power. On the reverse of Milutin's silver dinar, Christ is represented sitting on the throne with the halo around his head. Although the sovereignty of Serbian rulers was predominantly derived from the sphere of Byzantine imperial ideology, according to Odak Mihailović [21] (p. 144), the iconography of Serbian coinage reflected the influences of the Western ideology of governance along with those of Byzantium. Influenced by Hungarian coinage, after 1276, King Dragutin's coins already featured the image of the enthroned ruler in regal cape and dress, wearing a crown of the Western type and holding the orb and the fleur-de-lis scepter. Western insignia, such a crown, was present on the coins minted during the period of the kingdom, while the elements of Byzantine insignia were dominant on Serbian dinars during the imperial period.

9. Conclusions

The long and fruitful reign of King Milutin—that lasted almost 40 years—left many artistic testimonies. Politically but also artistically, King Milutin's life can be divided into two very distinctive periods: before and after his marriage to the daughter of the ruling Byzantine Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos in 1299. The first one is marked with the traditions of the "old" Raška school and the Nemanide ideology expressed through the iconography of endowments of his brother in Djurdjevi Stupovi and Arilje. The second one is characterized by the growing Byzantinization of Serbian society, evident in every aspect of life, including art. King Milutin's building activity was huge and even exceeded the borders of his state. His endowments were erected in Thessaloniki (St. Nicolas Orphanos), Mt. Athos (Chilandar and the Hrusija tower), Constantinople (Petra Monastery with the catholicon of St. Jon the Baptist and a *ξενων του Κραλη*: a hospital, hostel and a studying facility) and The Holy Land (Monastery of St. Archangels in Jerusalem) [22] (pp. 61–63). More than fifteen of King's Milutin portraits can be found in the monumental painting ensembles of Serbian medieval monasteries, as well as on two icons and the coins. This fact makes a unique case in Serbian Medieval art history that allows researchers to study different aspects of his representations.

Portraits of King Milutin painted in the territories of medieval Serbia and present-day North Macedonia after 1299 show the great self-awareness of the Serbian ruling society following military victories on Byzantine soil. This can be read first in the inscription's language, with an emphasis on the full title and all-important royal insignia, and even in the choice of iconographic formulas, which indicated the heavenly origin of King Milutin's power.

In Bogorodica Ljeviška, King Milutin is represented on the red background in full Byzantine costume with a Byzantine crown accompanied by the long inscription and without a church model—a clear political statement created to suggest his ultimate intention to replace the ruling Byzantine Emperor [16] (pp. 299–317). Except for the color of the sakkos, his costume did not change until the end of his life. However, the political messages of King Milutin's iconography will be enriched with various meanings thanks to different figurative themes In Žiča, he leads a procession within the timeless Christmas Hymn; in Staro Nagoročino, he accepts a sword from the victorious St. George in King's Church; in Studenica, via his ancestors, he attempts to compare himself to Christ; and in Gračanica, he accepts the heavenly sent crown.

However, the real crown of his political attempts emerges in visual form through the newly 14th century invented iconographical formula: the Nemanide Genealogical Tree, in which King Milutin openly emphasizes the parallelism between himself and the biblical king David. The only exception to King Milutin's unlimited self-awareness is visible in the narthex of Chilandar, where, with his subordination to Andronikos II, he showed the acceptance of the Byzantine ideological views, i.e., his awareness of Serbian endowment being built in the Athos monastic community, i.e., on the territory of the Byzantine Empire.

Summarizing all these arguments, we can conclude that King Milutin already, during his lifetime, considered himself the most powerful ruler of the Nemanide dynasty. Using monumental art, he gradually made the very complex ideas of Byzantine political theology sensually recognizable—its origins and nature as a foundation of his rule. Thus, he paved the way for his grandson, Stefan IV Dušan, to elevate the status of the Serbian church to the level of Patriarchy two decades later, and to proclaim himself Emperor "like (. . .) the great Emperor Constantine, (. . .) ruler of many nations" [16] (p. 303).

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Entry

T'amar Bagrationi (1184–1210)

Irakli Tezelashvili

The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, Somerset House, Strand, London WC2R 0RN, UK; irakli.tezelashvili@courtauld.ac.uk

Definition: T'amar Bagrationi, Queen of Georgia (1184–1210). T'amar Bagrationi was the ninth monarch from the royal house of Bagrationis who ruled over the united Georgian Kingdom. She reigned as a co-monarch alongside her father, Giorgi III, from 1178, assuming full authority in 1184. During her reign, dynastic legitimacy necessitated the appearance of the monumental royal portraits displaying the monarch with immediate predecessors and heirs. T'amar's gender required introduction of meticulous visual language that would re-gender her with all signs of a male ruler and justify her status and sole right to rule. This notion was embodied in her portraits that were carefully incorporated in the overall programmes of the churches. T'amar's five monumental depictions survive where she is identified in inscriptions; two other monumental images are presumed to depict her. Of all the depictions, only one can be determined to have been commissioned directly by her. T'amar's imagery relies on Byzantine elements and adheres to established Georgian models for the local royal portraiture; however, it also adopted sophisticated visual means that was aptly used for manifesting royal power and manipulating authority over the nobility.

Keywords: royal iconography; Kingdom of Georgia; Bagrationi dynasty; Queen T'amar of Georgia; legitimacy; Byzantine imperial costume; gender studies

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1. Introduction

Queen T'amar was born in c. 1166 to King Giorgi III Bagrationi and his wife, Queen Burdukhan. T'amar acceded to the throne as a co-ruler to her father after the failed coup, which was facilitated by T'amar's first cousin Demetre ('Demna') through the aid of the prominent aristocratic families. After her father's death, she was re-crowned at the demand of the clergy and nobles in 1184 (In general, about T'amar see: [1] (pp. 123–172, [2], [3] (pp. 171–237)). T'amar ruled over the united Georgian kingdom until her death in 1210 (for this date, see [4] (pp. 348–363)), alongside her second husband, Davit' Soslan, whom she appointed King-Consort after their marriage in late 1180s and later with their son, Giorgi IV Lasha, from 1207.

T'amar's right to succeed was challenged by traditional Georgian succession rules; her father, Giorgi III, did not hold ground for ascending the throne because he was King Demetre I's (r. 1125–1156/57) younger son. In 1155/56, Demetre's heir Davit' V had forced his father into monastery by tonsuring him a monk, just to rule himself only for six months before being poisoned. On his death, he left an heir, Demetre ('Demna'), who was still a minor. Difficulties arise when trying to establish who succeeded Davit' V. Most historians agree on the returning of the tonsured Demetre, at that time already known as monk Daniel or Damiane. He passed shortly after regaining royal authority and was succeeded by his younger son, Giorgi, who had, as sources indicate, promised to rule only until Demna's majority. By the 1170s, it was becoming apparent that Giorgi was not intending to let Demna rule—this resulted in a major coup, instigated by Demna and several aristocrats, which failed through the military support of peered commoners and, probably, church parties. This unsuccessful coup finally forced Giorgi to make arrangements for his succession. Soon after the 1178 coup, Giorgi, through ecclesiastical support, nominated his only daughter T'amar as a co-monarch. Shortly after Giorgi's death, the nobility challenged

Tamar's accession to the throne, demanding to crown T'amar themselves. This recrowning confirmed T'amar's right to rule and gained her aristocrats' loyalty (For T'amar's succession problems with an earlier background, see: [2] (pp. 94–97), [3] (pp. 172–178). T'amar succeeding to Georgian throne was an exception to the succession rules considering that they only recognized succession through male lineage, effectively excluding the female heirs from succeeding. Consequently, the early years of Tamar's reign were marked with suspicion from nobles as they were much more inclined and accustomed to having a male ruler. T'amar's exclusion from the military command furthermore complicated her position. Therefore, it does not seem surprising that the allegiance of nobles shifted towards T'amar's first husband from an arranged marriage—the Russian Prince Yury (Giorgi), who was expected to rule by the right of his marriage to the queen.

T'amar's initial struggle to justify her ruleship ([5] (pp. 27–39); [3] (pp. 171–172)) was not unique, as the gender-sensitive problem of a female succession also persisted in the Byzantine empire (See: [6] (pp. 104–106), [7] (pp. 9–25)) and beyond (See, [8,9]). This issue was generally problematic in thirteenth-century Georgia, Anatolia, and the Near East (See, [6]). T'amar's accession was setting a precedent in Georgian succession rules when a female heir was not excluded from succeeding or was not substituted by her male consort. This precedent would later, in the early 1220s, support T'amar's daughter Rusudan (r. 1223–1245) in succeeding her brother Giorgi IV Lasha, who only had an illegitimate son. T'amar and Rusudan remain the only female monarchs in Georgian history.

Although the second aristocratic coronation finally secured T'amar's position, justifying and legitimising her rulership persisted throughout her reign. For these purposes, the crown employed court historians and theologians who constructed visual and narrative languages that could re-gender T'amar's identity to become a legitimate ruler. Art was employed as a tool for promoting and propagating royal legitimacy and authority. This was aptly applied to the royal portraiture ([10] (pp. 98–103), [11] (pp. 12–30), [12] (pp. 93–187), [13] (pp. 288–293)), which could promote and demonstrate the royal self-fashioning and power through representation. Even though, after the 1190s, T'amar's position seems to have been established and generally accepted, and her surviving imagery reveals careful considerations for re-gendering her image to equally ascribe her the double rights of a king and a queen (for the issue of re-gendering female rulers, see [14] (pp. 189–202)). This was also strengthened by the generalised ideological justification of female rulership, exemplified in the writings of Catholicos Nikolaoz Gulaberisdze (r. ca. 1150–1178) (See: [12] (p. 120), [3] (p. 179), [15] (p. 106)).

T'amar's rule coincided with the period of Georgian history that the later historiography coined as the 'Golden Age'. This age of prosperity, brought by the decades of military and economic successes, lasted until the Mongol invasions. It was furthermore strengthened by the demise of the Byzantine empire during the Fourth Crusade, allowing T'amar to interfere with international politics. At the zenith of this era, the Georgian Kingdom expanded to include the whole Caucasian region, while bordering and contacting the nearby Islamic states, acting as an international player between East and West [1]. Military success and economic prosperity ended in a cultural and intellectual flowering aptly manifested in the courtly arts (e.g., Rust'veli's poem 'The Knight in Panther Skin', etc.), luxurious art commissions from the royals and aristocrats, and interests in Neoplatonic philosophy ([3] (pp. 206–237)). Moreover, this period was marked by the intrusions of Islamic influence in Georgian art (noticeably in the 1210s), witnessed mostly in Seljuk motifs and the general shift in taste (On this issue, see: [11] (pp. 109–111), [16] (p. 105), [6]).

All of Tamar's portraits are monumental, publicly displayed images incorporated in the church decorations in Georgia: at Vardzia (1180s), Nat'limtsemeli (1190s), Q'intsvisi (1206/7), Bet'ania (after 1207), Bert'ubani (1220s—currently in Azerbaijan, posthumous) and, possibly, at Gelat'i (date: uncertain) and K'olagiri (1190s) (In general, about the imagery of T'amar, see: [10], [11] (pp. 12–30), [12] (pp. 93–187), [13,16–18], [19] (pp. 60–61).

2. Vardzia (1180s)

Vardzia, a cave complex, located in the southern part of the country, was the royal foundation of T'amar's father Giorgi III. T'amar changed its probable original military function into a monastic foundation. The half-cave church of the Virgin and its fresco decoration were commissioned by Rati Surameli, a high official at T'amar's court. The fresco decoration of this church contains the earliest image of Queen T'amar. The royal panel is placed on the northern wall of the church, inserted into a recessed arch (Figure 1). The panel shows T'amar alongside her father Giorgi III, both of them standing before the enthroned Virgin and Child. T'amar, accompanied by the inscription "King of Kings of all the East, T'amar, daughter of Giorgi; may God grant her a long life", holds a square-shaped model of the Vardzia church and is dressed in a variation of Byzantine male imperial costume: the now blackened burgundy patterned textile skaramangion, the bejewelled loros, the red tzangia, and heavy, bejewelled crown with pendilia hanging down, while also wearing jewellery—circular earrings (on variations of Georgian royal costume, see [20] (pp. 65–89), cf. with the contemporary Komnenian Byzantine imperial dress, [21] (pp. 11–51), and the royal costume at the court of Cilician Armenia, [22] (pp. 243–259). See Glossary). Her father, accompanied by the inscription "King of Kings of all the East, Giorgi, son of Demetre, King of Kings", wears a similar Byzantine attire, through the loros' shape is slightly different. The royal panel also includes an image of a flying angel above the monarchs who lowers a thin sceptre to T'amar's father. The enthroned Virgin gestures to Giorgi, while the child Christ blesses both him and T'amar. It has been noted that in this portrait, T'amar is not wearing the typical married women's attire. Furthermore, the lack of final acclamation at the end of Giorgi's inscription testifies that he was no longer alive. Considering all these, the panel may have been painted sometime around 1185—soon after T'amar's second coronation or before her forced first marriage to a Russian prince. Studies have also revealed that T'amar's face was retouched in the nineteenth century. T'amar's portrait in Vardzia encapsulates the complicated situation at the Georgian royal court in the 1180s. The panel hints at Giorgi III's need for legitimacy, whose usurping the throne had made T'amar's future position vulnerable. Giorgi's divine right for kingship is ascertained by depicting celestial powers directly investing him with the royal sceptre and by his presence before the Theotokos and child. Such positioning of Giorgi's figure legitimises his heir and assures her succession. Furthermore, already in her earliest portrait in Vardzia, T'amar is re-gendered. Although her inscription does not omit her gender, her title, costume, and insignia remain intended for a male monarch (for these royal images and their connection with Vardzia programme, see: [10] (pp. 20–24), [11] (pp. 17–20), [12] (pp. 99–124)).

Figure 1. Queen T'amar with her father King Giorgi III, fresco, 1180s, main church of Vardzia monastery (Photograph: Neli Chakvetadze).

3. Nat'limtsemeli (1190s)

Nat'limtsemeli—the cave monastery of Saint John the Baptist in the Gareja desert—alongside all other monasteries in this monastic region, was a 'royal peculiar'. The monastery's main church was decorated with frescoes in the 1190s, possibly through T'amar's direct commission. The wall paintings contain the dynastic portraits of the Bagrationi family (See scheme of the heavily damaged portraits in [19] (Figure 10)), all attending in prayer before Saint Davit' Garejeli, founder of monastic life in Gareja. The row of

images reads from the northern wall's eastern end. The line is led by the Catholicos's image (tentatively identified as Nikolaoz Gulaberisdze, a twelfth-century Georgian catholicos who had contributed a theological justification to T'amar's female rulership and had supported T'amar's quest for church reforms) ([15] (pp. 105–107) and is followed by T'amar's predecessor, Bagrationi, and monarchs of the united Georgian kingdom: Bagrat IV, Davit' IV the Builder, Demetre II, and Giorgi III (as at Vardzia (Figure 1)—the monarch is offered a sceptre by an angel). The row then follows and concludes on the western wall with T'amar's family portrait (Figure 2a,b)—a unique example in her imagery. In this panel, T'amar is depicted alongside her husband Davit' Soslani and a young heir Lasha Giorgi, future King Giorgi IV. The figures in T'amar's panel wear a complete set of the Byzantine imperial robes (Burgundy skaramangia (?), bejewelled and gilded loroi, red tzangia, crowns with pendilia hanging down (only T'amar's crown survives), jewellery (rings and earrings)) and carry the labara. It should also be pointed out that, in this portrait, T'amar already wears a different crown—the Byzantine crown present at Vardzia (Figure 1) is here substituted with a much higher, pointed crown, which presumably was introduced during her reign [20]. The figures are accompanied by the inscriptions: "Tamar, King of Kings, daughter of the great King of Kings [Giorgi]", "Davit', King of Kings", "Their son, Lasha". This set of dynastic portraits was painted with great luxury—using gold and silver leaf and expensive pigments. The royal panel at Natl'lismtsemeli amplifies the themes of legitimacy and justification, already set out in Vardzia. The queen's re-gendering still persists, even when depicted alongside her consort—both have male titles and wear male costumes (For these images, see: [12] (pp. 124–41), [17] (pp. 5–14)).

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

Figure 2. (**a**). Queen T'amar alongside her husband, King-Consort Davit' Soslani, and her heir, Prince Lasha (future King Giorgi IV), fresco, 1190s, main church of Nat'limstemeli monastery, Gareja desert (Photograph: Neli Chakvetadze). (**b**). Graphic scheme of the fresco (Zaza Skhirtladze).

4. Q'intsvisi (1206/7)

The Q'intsvisi monastery was founded by Antoni Glonist'avisdze, who was the chancellor to Queen T'amar and an influential ecclesiastic of the realm. He came to power after T'amar regained control over the Georgian Church after the death of Catholicos Mik'ael Mirianisdze in the late 1180s. Antoni commissioned the building and decoration of Saint Nicholas's church, possibly to designate it as his burial site. The early thirteenth-century murals at Saint Nicholas's church preserve Antoni's donor portrait and Queen T'amar's dynastic image. The royal panel (Figure 3) is placed on the north wall of the church's north arm; it depicts T'amar between her predecessor Giorgi III and her heir

Giorgi IV Lasha, all standing under a decorative arcade. The figures are praying before an icon panel of an enthroned Christ. T'amar and Giorgi wear a fully imperial Byzantine dress (skaramangia, loroi, 'Georgian' pointed royal crown, jewellery), while Lasha wears a short Georgian courtly dress. T'amar's image is damaged, and her figure only survives as an outline drawing; no inscriptions have survived along her. Technical sophistication and expense of the Q'intsvisi murals, as suggested by the consistent use of gold and lapis lazuli, suggest luxury. The royal panel here has its peculiarities: it omits T'amar's consort Davit' Soslani, and her father is no more invested with a royal sceptre/labarum but now holds it. Moreover, T'amar's heir Giorgi IV Lasha is now depicted as a grown man. It can be therefore assumed that the panel was commissioned soon after the death of Davit' Soslani, making T'amar a widow, and shows T'amar appointing Lasha a co-monarch in c. 1206/7. Overall, the panel clearly shows that Georgian royal imagery was evolving and adapting to the shifting situation in the royal house. Giorgi III no longer needs celestial investiture; the dynastic legitimacy, blessed by Christ, is now firmly established, and grown Lasha guarantees the dynasty's continuity. The Q'intsvisi panel shows how the commissioner of the murals Antoni—the highest-ranking individual at the court—envisioned royal power and authority and his place in their presence. Furthermore, the panel at Q'intsvisi relies on a modified scheme of the Georgian royal portraiture. Blessing figures of the Virgin or Christ are now encapsulated into frame, thus becoming icons (such type of icon 'panel' is also encountered in Bert'ubani, see below). This change hints towards T'amar's and her family's devotional aspirations This is an important aspect while studying the religiosity of royal portraiture (For this portrait, see: [10] (pp. 26–29), [11] (pp. 22–25), [12] (pp. 141–154)).

Figure 3. Queen T'amar alongside her deceased father Giorgi III and her heir co-monarch Lasha (future King Giorgi IV), fresco, c. 1206/7, church of Saint Nicholas at Q'intsvisi monastery (Photograph: Neli Chakvetadze).

5. Bet'ania (c. 1207)

Betania, a toponym deriving from the Biblical Bethany, was a dynastic monastery of the Orbeli family. Their leading participation and support of Demna's unsuccessful coup in 1177, resulted in the family's annihilation by T'amar's father. As a result, the ancestral monastery of the Orbelis was seized by royal power. In the 1200s, the main church of the monastery, which already contained a fresco decoration from the middle of the twelfth century, was redecorated and the royal panel was inserted into the programme. The scheme of this royal panel (Figure 4), located on the north wall of the north arm,

repeats the pattern set in Q'intsvisi (Figure 3). Nevertheless, it is inconsistent in nature: it lacks haloes and any intercessory holy figure. T'amar is accompanied by the inscription "T'amar, King and Queen of Queens". This is a first example from T'amar's portraits where she is named with a double title of the 'King of Kings' and the 'Queen of Queens'. This doubling is clearly indicating her position's re-gendering completely. Moreover, it seems that her titling was pushed to limits by appropriating her title with the Christological model for the 'King of Kings' and combining it with the Marian title of the 'Queen of Queens'. The composite title strengthened T'amar's position and left no doubts for her right to rule. It was observed in the 1970s that the royal panel was heavily retouched in the nineteenth century, thus complicating the study of the original (e.g., the correct colours of the royal costumes and regalia). The royal panel was most probably inserted here for declaring monarchic authority over the Orbelis and for commemorating the presumable reconciliation between the two dynasties. This panel bears some trace of forceful insertion—causing omissions and damage to the previous programme. Although the Bet'ania panel employs the same scheme as Q'intsvisi, it is not as coherent as the latter. The panel was probably commissioned by the survining Orbelis to mark and 'celebrate' their obedience to T'amar and concede Bagrationis' right to lawfully reign (For this portrait, see: [10] (pp. 24–26), [11] (pp. 20–22), [12] (pp. 154–169), [16] (p. 105)).

Figure 4. Queen T'amar alongside her deceased father Giorgi III and her heir co-monarch Lasha (future King Giorgi IV), fresco, after 1206/7, church of the Virgin at Bet'ania monastery (Photograph: Neli Chakvetadze).

6. Bert'ubani (1220s)

The Bert'ubani monastery, a cave complex in the Gareja desert, currently in the territory of Azerbaijan, preserves T'amar's only posthumous portrait. The monastery's main church was painted in the early 1220s, right before the first Mongol invasion to Georgia. The murals were probably commissioned by the Gareja monks themselves. The fresco decoration had a royal panel on the western corner of the northern wall (Figure 5). The panel depicted the deceased Queen T'amar and her successor King Giorgi IV Lasha (1210–1223), both in prayer before an icon of the enthroned Virgin. Both Mary and Jesus bless the monarchs; T'amar is dressed in a Byzantine imperial dress (Burgundy skaramangion, bejewelled loros, a 'Georgian' pointed royal crown with elaborated pendilia, jewellery), while Giorgi Lasha, who in this context would be a fully ruling monarch, still wears a Georgian courtly costume; both of them wear Georgian pointed crowns with pendilia

and are accompanied with the inscriptions: "T'amar, King of Kings", "Giorgi, King of Kings, Their [=T'amar's] Son Lasha". The royal panel in Bert'ubani exemplifies the typical pattern that was exercised by the Georgian kings for self-fashioning: royal legitimacy was justified by joining the current monarch with his/her immediate predecessor. In Bert'ubani, the necessity for including the long-deceased Giorgi III was dropped, as T'amar's and Giorgi Lasha's right to rule was no longer challenged. Nevertheless, T'amar is still re-gendered here more than a decade after her death—her title and costume are still masculine. The royal panel's remaining fragments were detached and since 1967 are conserved in the State Museum of Fine Arts in Tbilisi, in fear that the cave would collapse (For this portrait, see: [10] (pp. 29–31), [11] (pp. 25–29), [12] (pp. 169–184)).

Figure 5. King Giorgi IV Lasha alongside his deceased mother Queen T'amar, fresco, 1220s, church of the Virgin at Bert'ubani monastery, Gareja desert (Archival photograph from Zaza Skhirtladze's collection).

7. Gelat'i (Uncertain Date)

The southeastern chapel of the main church of Gelat'i monastery, a royal monastic foundation of T'amar's great-grandfather, King Davit' IV the Builder, contains an intriguing image of a monarch. The figure is depicted on the western half of the northern slope of the chapel vaulting showing a monarch, clad in Byzantine royal garments (a square crown with pendilia, a divitision, a skaramangion, and a loros (of uncertain shape)) praying in front of the figure of an archangel (?). On the right side of the figure, a fresco inscription in Asomt'avruli script remains, which reads "King of Kings" (the above-mentioned recurrent re-gendered title reserved for Queen T'amar), while the monarch's name is lost. The study of this image has revealed that the monarch has a large, rounded earing and a covered chin—the sign of a medieval Georgian married lady. The unusual placing of the image—in the vaulting—has also been noted. Considering the fact that the chapel was traditionally identified as the burial chamber of Queen T'amar (Gelat'i was itself a royal mausoleum), it has been proposed that the royal image there must have depicted her, thus being her unique funerary image (For this presumable portrait, see: [18] (pp. 505–525), [23] (pp. 223–256)—both with illustrations and schemes of the

fresco). The title that is witnessed here aptly fits into Queen T'amar's male re-gendering as exemplified by most of her portraits discussed hereby.

8. K'olagiri (1190s)

K'olagiri was a monastic foundation of the Vardanisdzes in the valley of the river Iori near the Gareja desert. Only the church and ossuary with several chambers survive. The fresco decoration of the church, commissioned by the Vardanisdze family in the 1190s, preserves a fragmented royal panel in the northern chapel, on the northern slope of the vaulting. The scene depicts Christ blessing two royal figures in 'Georgian' crowns; however, only the tips of the crowns survive. The presumed date of the frescoes and their connection with the Vardanisdze family make it possible to assume that the panel had shown T'amar with her consort Davit' Soslani (For the K'olagiri monastery and presumed royal portraits there, see [24] (pp. 12–18), Figures 4 and 5).

9. Conclusions

Queen T'amar's imagery adheres to conspicuously royal traditions in medieval Georgia; however, it also relies on apparent clothing details (costumes, sometimes schematic) from the Byzantine repertoire, including purple (see [25], "purple"). This imagery can also be characterised as a distinct group of portraits that employed a sophisticated visual language to pursue dynastic legitimation—a purpose that was crucial for T'amar's rule. Her portraits reveal the coherent functions of monumental royal images in medieval Georgia: these were intended to be used as visual means to manifest authority and power. Moreover, the fact that the majority of these portraits were not ordered by the royal family directly (excluding the luxurious dynastic portraits at Nat'lismtsemeli, Figure 2), but by other high-ranking aristocrats, reveals different dynamics that the royal imagery could have exercised within the complicated relationship between the crown and aristocracy. Displaying legitimizing imagery of the ruling Queen may have been instrumental for asserting the nobility's allegiance to the crown, thus revealing their support of T'amar's lineage. Furthermore, T'amar's royal panels manifest the evolution within her imagery, while her power and position strengthened in the kingdom. If at the beginning of her reign she could not have been depicted without the legitimising figure of her late father, by the end of her life, her father's portrait would have only become a mere remainder of her ancestry. This pattern was finally dropped by T'amar's heir Giorgi Lasha, whose right to rule was no more challenged. T'amar's imagery also witnesses changes within courtly ceremonial preferences: while reserving the quasi-Byzantine male imperial costume for her depictions—as a sign of re-gendering—her predecessors' Byzantine crown was dropped in favour of a Seljuk crown [26]. Even though the origins and reasons for this crown appearing in the 1190s still have not been satisfactorily examined, it most probably derived from the insignia of the neighbouring Seljuk states. At the same time, some of the monarch's traditional insignia—namely the sword, which was definitely used at T'amar's coronation, was abandoned in her official imagery, as it was definitely unacceptable for women to carry weapons in publicly displayed images, even while governing as an absolute monarch. As a whole, the visual language employed for T'amar's imagery reveals flexibility that was exercised at the Georgian court for the plainly monumental construction of the ruler's authority. Lastly, it should also be noted that the gender-sensitive type of the dynastic royal imagery, adapted for Queen T'amar, was unique and never again followed by followed by subsequent Georgian monarchs from the Bagrationi dynasty.

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Glossary

Asomt'avruli	Majuscule script of the Old Georgian alphabet.
Labarum (Pl. Labara)	Christian military standard, later adopted in Byzantium for angelic iconography and royal insignia ([25] (p. 1167)).
Loros	A long scarf, esp. the heavy stole about 5 m long and studded with precious stones worn by both the emperor and empress ([25] (pp. 1251–1252)).
Skaramangion	A belted tunic with longs sleeves and with slits up the front and back or sides ([25] (p. 1908)).
Tzangion (Pl. Tzangia)	Byzantine emperor's purple shoes, one of the most revered insignia of imperial authority ([25] (p. 2135)).

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Entry

William II of Hauteville (1171–1189)

Mirko Vagnoni

Independent Researcher, I-50050 Gambassi Terme, Italy; mirkovagnoni@libero.it

Definition: William II of Hauteville King of Sicily (1171–1189). William II of Hauteville was the third king of the Norman dynasty on the throne of Sicily. He ruled independently from 1171 (from 1166 to 1171 he was under the regency of his mother) to 1189. From an iconographic point of view, he is particularly interesting because he was the first king of Sicily who made use of monumental images of himself. In particular, we have five official (namely, commissioned directly by him or his *entourage*) representations of him: the royal bull, the royal seal, and three images from the Cathedral of Monreale (near Palermo): two mosaic panels and one carved capital.

Keywords: royal images; royal iconography; kings of Sicily; Norman dynasty; William II of Hauteville

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1. Introduction

William II of Hauteville was crowned king of Sicily in 1166, but at the beginning of his government, he was under the regency of his mother. It was from December 1171 that he ruled independently, and his reign lasted until 18 November 1189 (the day of his death) (in general, about William II of Hauteville king of Sicily see: [1,2]). He was the third Norman king of Sicily but, from an iconographic point of view, he was the first who did not limit his representation to seals and coins but made use also of monumental images of himself (for example, the Roger II's representations in the Basilica of San Nicola in Bari and in the Church of Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio in Palermo were not directly commissioned by the king. About the official images of William II's Norman predecessors see: [3] (pp. 32–40 and pp. 51–52), with more details and previous bibliography). For this reason, he can be considered as the most representative of this royal family. Regarding him, we have five official (namely, commissioned directly by him or his entourage) representations: the royal bull and the royal seal and two mosaic panels and one carved capital at the Cathedral of Monreale (near Palermo) (about the identification of the William II's official image see: [3] (p. 57)).

2. The Royal Bull

This artifact is a metal hanging seal with a diameter of 35 mm (Figure 1) (about this image see: [4] (p. 87), [5] (p. 100), [6]). On one face, there is the royal image with the inscription + W[ILLELMVS] D[E]I GRA[CIA] REX SICIL[IE] DVCAT[VS] APVL[IE] ET PRINCIP[ATVS] CAP[VE]. On the other face, there is the image of Christ identified by the monogram IC XC (namely, ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΙΚΑ: «Jesus Christ wins») and, again, the inscription + W[ILLELMVS] D[E]I GRA[CIA] REX SICIL[IE] DVCAT[VS] APVL[IE] ET PRINCIP[ATVS] CAP[VE]. The king is standing and, likely, he has a long beard. He wears Byzantine garments and symbols of power: a high and squared crown with lateral pendilia (probably a Plattenkrone), a cruciferous globe, a labarum, a tunic (a divitision or a skaramangion) and a loros intertwined in a T shape. This iconographic choice does not seem to have specific political and propagandistic motivations but simply follows the bull of his grandfather Roger II (and, probably, that of his father William I as well). Likely, its adoption was already decided during the regency period and, after that, it was used also for the whole of William II's reign (about that see: [3] (pp. 35–37, pp. 51–52, and pp. 57–58)).

Figure 1. Bull of William II of Hauteville, obverse and reverse of impression on metal, March 1184. Palermo, Biblioteca Centrale della Regione Siciliana, Tabulario della Cattedrale di Monreale, diploma no. 50. Image published in: [3] (Figure 5).

Without a doubt, this image is an official representation of William II and, it mainly had a juridical function (it was used to corroborate the legal value of diplomas and documents issued by the royal chancellery). Its mobile support would have facilitated its circulation inside the Kingdom and, in this way, it could reach a large number of subjects. However, we should consider that seals were not made to move around but to be stored, with their documents, in the archives of their recipients. Moreover, their dimensions were somewhat reduced and certainly of scarce visual impact. Finally, their use was not particularly common either. Indeed, we should note that the average number of issues does not seem to be very high during William II's reign (even if, greater than that of his two predecessors) (about the number of issues of the William II's chancellery see again: [3] (p. 58), with more details and previous bibliography). If we also consider that the same recipients could receive several documents, we can suppose that the number of subjects involved was not particularly abundant and limited at the aristocratic and ruling class of Southern Italian society. Therefore, in line with these data, it was not very frequent to be able to see the royal image of the bull and only a limited number of people would have had this opportunity.

3. The Royal Seal

This artifact is a red wax hanging seal of 55 mm of diameter placed in a wooden box of 65 mm in diameter (Figure 2) (about this image see: [4] (pp. 86–87), [5] (p. 90), [6,7] (p. 204), [8]). The legend has the inscription + W. [ILLELMVS] DEI GRA[TIA] REX SICILIE DVCATVS APVLIE ET PRINCIPATVS CAPVE and, around the royal image it is written W[ILLELMVS] REX. The king wears, again, Byzantine garments and symbols of power: a high and squared crown with lateral pendilia (probably a Plattenkrone), a cruciferous globe, a labarum, a tunic (a divitision or a skaramangion) and a loros. However, here there are two important changes: the loros is not intertwined in a T but in a Y shape and, the ruler is not standing but sits on a throne (unfortunately, it is not possible to clearly understand if the king is shaved or has a more or less long beard). It is difficult to say if the concepteur was following a specific pattern and if these iconographic choices had precise meanings. In Byzantine bulls and seals, in general, it is present the loros in a T shape and the ruler is standing. Moreover, also in the Norman tradition there is nothing similar. In terms of the commission, dating, function, visibility and fruition, the previous considerations on the bull are valid also for the seal. Hence, it seems likely that it was not very frequent to be able to see the royal image of the seal and only a limited number of people of the Sicilian Kingdom would have had this opportunity. However, we would like to note that the use of this object was probably limited to the royal mandates and thus, in consideration of the

surviving documents of the royal chancellery, lower in comparison with that of the bull (even if mandates could have paid more losses than royal diplomas) [3] (pp. 57–58).

Figure 2. Seal of William II of Hauteville, impression on red wax, 15 April 1172. Palermo, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Tabulario della Cattedrale, diploma no. 22. Image published in: [3] (Figure 6).

4. The Mosaics of the Cathedral of Monreale

The architectural structure of Monreale is composed of a cathedral, a Benedictine monastery and a sort of royal palace and, it had function as a regal church and pantheon for the royal family. Construction begun in 1172 and finished in 1186 (when Bonanno of Pisa concluded the bronze doors of the main entrance) (about the architectural complex of Monreale see: [9,10] (pp. 91–177), [11–13] (pp. 51–73), [14,15]). Recently, Thomas Dittelbach proposed that the internal decoration was concluded for William II and Joan of England's wedding in 1177 but, Sulamith Brodbeck has highlighted that some elements of the iconographic program are related with historical and political events included in the period between 1177–1183 [14] (pp. 126–127), [15] (pp. 24–25 and pp. 192–195), [16]. Probably, it was completed only during the 1180s and, hence, the two royal representations were likely conceived and manufactured between 1177 and 1183 (or shortly after).

King William II directly founded the architectural complex of Monreale together with the approval of the papacy. For this reason, we can consider the two mosaic panels with the royal image official representations of him (about these two images see: [7] (pp. 202–204), [10] (p. 123 and pp. 302–304), [13] (pp. 64–72), [14] (pp. 308–319), [17] (pp. 50–52), [18] (pp. 108–109), [19] (p. 192), [20–23] (pp. 204–209)). They are on the eastern arch of the presbytery of the Cathedral. The image on the left pillar represents Christ in his majesty while He is crowning William II with the help of two angels, who are bringing labarum and globe from Heaven (Figure 3). The monogram IC XC identifies the first, while the inscription REX GVILIELMVS S[E]C[VN]D[VS] identifies the second. Between the two images is written MANVS ENI[M] MEA AVXILIABITVR EI in order to underline the close relationship between Christ and William. This sentence comes from the Old Testament and, it refers to the promise by God to David through the prophet Nathan and, it alludes to David's coronation as king ("Tunc locutus es in visione sanctis tuis, / et dixisti: Posui adjutorium in potente, / et exaltavi electum de plebe mea. / Inveni David,

servum meum; / oleo sancto meo unxi eum. / *Manus enim mea auxiliabitur ei*, / et brachium meum confortabit eum" (italics is our): [24] (Sl 88, 20–22)). The image on the right pillar, instead, represents King William II's offering, as founder, of the model of the Cathedral of Monreale to the Virgin sitting on throne while the Hand of God is blessing the scene from Heaven and two angels are flying down to collect the gift (Figure 4). The monogram MP ΘΥ (namely, MHTEP ΘEOΥ, «Mother of God») identifies the Virgin while the inscription REX GVILIELMVS S[E]C[VN]D[V]S distinguishes, again, the king.

Figure 3. *Christ crowning William II of Hauteville*, mosaic, 1177–1183. Monreale, Cathedral, Presbytery, Choir. Photo taken by author.

In both of the panels, William II is represented standing in an act of respect towards the Divinity. He has long (but not very long) hair and a short and light brown beard and he is, again, wearing Byzantine garments and symbols of power: a high and squared crown with lateral pendilia (probably a Plattenkrone), a divitision, a skaramangion and a loros intertwined in a Y shape. Everything is completely decorated with pearls and precious stones and, the tunic has geometrical embroideries that may represent stylised stars. If the references to the Byzantine iconographic traditions are evident, it is difficult to understand if the concepteur was following a specific figurative pattern. However, if the type of crown and the loros in a Y shape were no longer in use in Byzantium during the 12th century, we can find them in the Roger II's mosaic in the already quoted Church of Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio in Palermo. Probably, as for the bull, the mosaic was more or less imitating the Norman figurative tradition in rendering the details of the royal image [3] (pp. 58–62).

In terms of collocation and visibility, as said, our pictures are respectively on the left and right pillar of the eastern arch of the presbytery. It is the one that divides the choir from the main apse of the cathedral. Hence, we are in the presbytery area and close to the main altar. Above, along the edge of the arch, there are biblical figures and around them images of saints. Under the two mosaics, there are the royal (north side) and episcopal (south side) thrones (the real presence of an episcopal throne in this place is dubious, see: [10] (p. 106), [14] (p. 144 and pp. 286–287), [23] (p. 209, note 23), [25] (p. 238). However, Sulamith Brodbeck has recently considered it possible, see: [15] (pp. 183–184), [16]). Therefore, this

means that our representations are situated in a very symbolic place and, it is considerable that they present monumental dimensions, particular attention for iconographic details and placement in a not very high position (hence, not far from their beholders). But, notwithstanding, they have a very reduced visibility. Indeed, they are not turned towards the aisles but to the choir and only the officiating clergy could see them. Moreover, originally, a nearly four-meter high gate divided the aisles (reserved to the faithful) from the choir (reserved to the ecclesiastics) (about this sort of rood screen see: [15] (pp. 186–187), [26] (pp. 115–119)). In other words, only the ecclesiastics and monks of Monreale could see the images and they were associated to a purely liturgical context.

Figure 4. *William II of Hauteville offering the Cathedral of Monreale to the Virgin*, mosaic, 1177–1183. Monreale, Cathedral, Presbytery, Choir. Photo taken by author.

From the point of view of function, these mosaics have been interpreted as Herrscherbilder, namely, as political images created to celebrate and legitimate the royal power. In particular, the one with the divine coronation scene has been read as the visual transposition of the concept of the divine origin of the monarchical power (king as a Deo coronatus) and, it its aim has been underlined to completely identify William II with Christ. However, considering that these images had a purely religious fruition and, in consideration that they were placed close to the main altar, also a specifically liturgical use, recently it has been proposed that their function was probably connected more with worship and royal devotion than with the staging of political authority [27] (pp. 81–128), with more details about previous bibliography and this new interpretation]. Indeed, this would have been in tune with the whole ecclesiastical structure that, as stated in a royal diploma issued on 15 August 1176, the king wanted "ad illius [namely, to God] ergo laudem, honorem et gloriam" [28] (diploma no. 89, ll. 14–15) in thanksgiving for the benefits received and he endowed it in order that its monks "Deum nobis [namely, William II himself] implorent propicium" ([28] (diploma no. 89, ll. 40–41, but similar aspects are also in diploma no. 102)).

Furthermore, this would have been in tune with the whole mosaic decoration of the Cathedral that, from a theological point of view, was fully focused to the liturgical destination of the church [29–32].

This interpretation finds confirmation also in the historical and political context in which the mosaics were conceived. Indeed, the period after 1177 was particularly stable from a political point of view: William II had been ruling for several years (from 1166 under the mother regency and from 1171 independently) and his authority was undoubted; in this period, there were no particular internal tensions; the relationships with the papacy were good; the Byzantine emperors ceased to try to reconquer Southern Italy; the relationships with the German Empire were increasingly improving (about this historical and political context see: [33] (in particular on the period 1177–1186 see pp. 446–451). This text can be integrated with: [34,35]. Specifically for William II's reign see: [1,2]). Moreover, considering the connection of the mosaics with the clergy and the abbot-archbishop of Monreale, we have to note that the latter were closely related to the Norman court and its king and, they had no interest in doubting his authority (about the relationship between William II and the abbot-archbishop of Monreale see: [15] (p. 141)). In the absence of a political interlocutor, it seems impossible to talk about a political and propagandistic function for our mosaics. Furthermore, considering that the Kingdom of Sicily was formally a papal fief, it appears odd that William II decided to present himself crowned by Christ and not by the pope to legitimate his power (especially in a place founded, as said, with the approval of the papacy) (about that see again: [27] (pp. 81–128)).

These considerations have led to a review of the meaning of the two mosaics in the function of thanksgiving and devotion toward God. Probably, on one pillar, there was William II's tribute to God who gives him the Sicilian crown and His protection and, on the other pillar, the same monarch who donated the very church of Monreale to the Virgin and God in reward and gratitude for what he had received from them in the hope of saving his soul and reaching the Kingdom of Heaven.

5. The Capital of the Cathedral of Monreale

The cloister of the Cathedral of Monreale has a square shape of 47 m on each side with 228 small columns decorated with 104 double capitals and five quadruple capitals (about the cloister of the Cathedral of Monreale see: [12,36–40]). The iconographic program is quite varied and disorganic. It is composed of vegetal and ornamental elements; mythological, allegorical, and hagiographical themes; scenes of the Old and New Testaments. William II's image is on the south face of the eighth capital of the western side (about this image see: [7] (p. 204), [17] (p. 54), [23] (pp. 209–212), [37] (pp. 143–146), [41,42]). As a mosaic, it is plausible that the king commissioned it and that it dates between 1177–1183 (or shortly after). The capital is 40 cm high and 65 cm wide and, therefore, the royal image, although well detailed and not far from the ground, has a reduced visual impact in comparison with the two monumental mosaic panels in the Cathedral (Figure 5). Moreover, in consideration of its collocation, we can argue that only the ecclesiastics and monks of Monreale were able to see it.

The scene represents the king as founder, offering the model of the Cathedral of Monreale to the Virgin with the help of an angel. However, the inscription engraved on the upper edge of the capital (+ REX Q(UI) CUN(C)TA REGIS, SICULI DATA SUSCIPE REGIS) clarifies that the real recipient is Christ, who is on the Virgin's knees and He is blessing the royal act. On the other faces of the capital, there are four allegorical figures (easily identifiable thanks to inscriptions): the Justice (+ IVSTITIA DOMINI), the Charity (+ DEVS CARITAS EST), the Hope (SPES) and the Faith (FIDES). Between the last two, there is a lamb with a cruciform aureole. It is the Christ, identified through the inscription: + [H]IC D[OMI]N[U]S MAGNVS LEO CRISTVS CERNITVR AGNVS. The capital is stylistically connected with southern France sculpture and, iconographic similitudes have been found in the main portal of the Cathedral of Santa Maria Matricolare in Verona and in the front porch of the Basilica of San Prudenzio in Armentia. The royal figure is standing and has

long (but not very long) hair and a short beard. Garments and symbols of power differ from those of the mosaics. In particular, here the king wears a broad cloak and a crown with crossed arches (Bügelkrone) and pendilia. It seems that they refer to a Western iconographic tradition rather than a Byzantine practice [3] (pp. 62–63).

Figure 5. *William II of Hauteville offering the Cathedral of Monreale to the Virgin*, carved capital, 1177–1183. Monreale, Cathedral, Cloister. Photo took by author.

Historians have, in general, pointed out the celebrative function of this royal image. In other words, it would have celebrated the king and his virtues and it would have strengthened the close relationship between William II and Christ in order to legitimate the Norman power on the Sicilian throne. However, recently, this interpretation has been questioned in consideration of the context of where this image was placed. In particular, we have to consider that it was in a monastic cloister and, hence, it was visible only to the ecclesiastical members of Monreale. As previously pointed out, they were closely related to the Norman court and its king and they had no interest in doubting his authority (about the relationship between William II and the abbot-archbishop of Monreale see again: 15 (p. 141)). Moreover, the period after 1177 was particularly stable for the Kingdom and the royal authority was more or less undisputed (about this historical and political context, in particular, see again: [33] (pp. 446–451)). For these reasons, it seems more likely that the image had a religious (and not political) function, connected with the ecclesiastical activities performed in this place. As already noted, in the diploma issued on 15 August 1176, William II endowed the Cathedral of Monreale in order that its monks dedicated themselves in praying to God in favour of the king and his soul [28] (diploma no. 89, but similar aspects are also in diploma no. 102) Although the cloister was not used for official liturgy, in this space, monks could personally meditate and pray. In this sense, the royal image probably played a mnemonic role: it reminded the religious of Monreale of the founder of the monastery in order to stimulate and raise prayers in favour of his soul. In this iconographic reading, the allegorical images of the virtues plausibly represented the gifts that William II aimed to achieve from God thanks to the offer of the Cathedral and the pleas of the monks (about this interpretation see again: [3] (pp. 63–65)). In other words, this image was also connected with the devotional aims of the Norman king and his personal hopes of saving his soul and reaching the Kingdom of Heaven.

6. Conclusions

In order to summarise the general line of the William II of Hauteville's iconography, we can conclude that this king did not make particularly abundant use of his images

but, in the panorama of the Norman kings of Sicily, he introduced important innovations about the media utilised. On the one hand, he avoided the use of his representations on coins but, on the other hand, he did not limit his image to bulls and seals but he adopted also monumental representations of himself. In particular, he commissioned royal images in mosaic and sculpture for a religious location: The Cathedral of Monreale (more specifically, for its presbytery area and its cloister). However, although these images had a monumental nature, particularly attention to the rendering of the iconographic details and a greater visual impact in comparison with bulls and seals, they were in restricted areas where, in general, only the religious member of Monreale could have access. For this reason, they were presumably addressed only to religious beholders and they did not play a political role or were not part of a specific strategy of usage of the royal image for government purposes. In conclusion, they possessed only religious and devotional meanings and functions and were related more with a sort of private (rather than public) sphere. Certainly, bulls and seals had a greater circulation and, they could reach a wide part of population. However, their images had little sizes, every detail of the royal image was less visible, and their use did not seem to be particularly frequent during William II's reign (and, in any case, limited at the governing class). The iconographic themes adopted in these artefacts present William II seated on the throne, crowned by Christ and as a donor of gifts towards Christ or the Virgin. In the rendering of the royal image (and the related symbols of power, attires and physical features), these representations followed, more or less, the iconographic tradition of the Byzantine emperors already adopted by the Norman predecessors. However, there are also important variations. The position on the throne, the not very long hair, the short beard, the broad cloak and the *Bügelkrone* took the distance from the previous figurative royal patterns. Nevertheless, it remains doubtful if, in this way, the king wanted to express specific messages or if he simply seconded the skills of the craftsmen involved in their realisation.

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