

# ***Rex et Sacerdos: A Veiled Ideal of Kingship? Representing Priestly Kings in 14th Century Iberia***

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## **1. Introduction**

My aim here is to expose the basic themes of a study that I first presented at the seminar *La Théologie Politique à la fin du Moyen Âge* in Poitiers<sup>1</sup> and which lays out the possibility of examining Peter IV from a new viewpoint, with regard both to his actions as ruler and to the artistic production he commissioned and forms the central focus.

The decision to examine this particular monarch is grounded in his unique character, his moral energy and erudition, and his proven capacity to portray – visually, and to the delight and acclaim of his subjects – the royal dignity embodied by his person, from the very moment of his coronation. While giving due consideration to the philosophical, political and literary trends of the time, which were evolving amidst an evident confrontation between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*<sup>2</sup>, I believe that it would be correct to state that in Peter IV we witness the emergence of a form of political theology that will reach, in the manifestation of the monarch as *rex et sacerdos*, one of its clearest and most spectacular expressions in the sensory realm<sup>3</sup>.

## **2. The starting point: the coronation ceremony**

### *2.1. The coronation of the Kings of Aragon*

The consecration and coronation of kings was a not sacrament instituted by Christ and therefore not necessary for salvation. Thus, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, at a time when tensions were already apparent between the two great powers, the theological terminology was adjusted and the ceremony received the name of a sacramental, even if some monarchs, such as Peter IV, would insist on its sacred character, as we shall see.

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<sup>1</sup> *Legitimité et légitimation par l'image: usage de la dimension sacrée dans la représentation du Roi d'Aragon au XIV<sup>ème</sup> siècle*, paper presented on 1 December 2012 as part of the project directed by Jaume Aurell *Teología política de las monarquías hispanas bajomedievales*. I am an external collaborating member of this project, which is funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competition [HAR2011-30265].

<sup>2</sup> The conflicts with Louis of Bavaria are well known: in May 1327 the Bavarian had been crowned by a bishop in Milan with the iron crown of Lombardy. Then, in Rome he was claimed as “king of the Romans” and anointed by two bishops. In 1328 he was crowned with the imperial diadem by Sciarra Colonna, who was a ringleader in the Outrage of Agnani against Boniface VIII.

<sup>3</sup> Lack of space prevents me from going into greater detail account; however, I should point out that the expression “*rex et sacerdos*” was not used by Peter IV in his writings. Nevertheless, despite the potential problems that may arise from the use of these terms, I am going to use them here in their broadest sense because they give us a very good idea of the significance of one of the most important mechanisms used by Peter IV to link himself to the sacred.

Numerous authors have examined the evolution of the coronation ceremonies used by the Kings of Aragon: Antonio Durán Gudiol and Bonifacio Palacios Martín are particularly important, although other interesting contributions have followed<sup>4</sup>. Here, I make mention of the extensive literature on the subject as a means of identifying a series of important themes for the argument. By virtue of the rite of anointing and coronation, the king was received into the clergy as a participant in the episcopal ministry<sup>5</sup>, demonstrating that he was no longer a simple layman. By the late 11<sup>th</sup> or early 12<sup>th</sup> century – although with no tangible repercussions – the *Norman Anonymous* already stated that a king was *figura et imago Christi et Dei*<sup>6</sup>, hence, by virtue of grace, he was *in officio* the figure and image of the Anointed in heaven and, as such, of God<sup>7</sup>. However, many were not prepared to overlook the obvious truth (already stated by Hincmar of Reims<sup>8</sup>) deriving from the logic that the one who confers dignity is necessarily greater than he on whom it is conferred. This reasoning is crucial to understanding why Peter IV was so firm in his will to forbid the officiating archbishop from even touching the royal insignia during his coronation ceremony.

A discussion of caesaropapism and the theocracy of the 4<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>9</sup> is beyond the scope of this study, but has been amply covered by Hosius of Corduba, Ambrose and Gelasius I.<sup>10</sup> This discussion generated debates that persisted over time and were at the heart of the new European universities, where they were taken up by jurists such as Guillaume de Nogaret, Pierre Dubois and Guillaume de Plaisian. These debates, revolving around the notion of the primacy of power, were to have an impact

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<sup>4</sup> Recently discussed in Jaume Aurell and Marta Serrano-Coll, “The Self-Coronation of Peter the Ceremonious (1336): Historical, Liturgical, and Iconographical Representations,” *Speculum* 89/1 (2014): 66 and following.

<sup>5</sup> Antonio Durán Gudiol, “El rito de la coronación del rey de Aragón,” *Argensola: Revista de Ciencias Sociales del Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses* 103 (1989): 17.

<sup>6</sup> This text was ordered by the king of England after the Norman Conquest. The Anonymous states that a double persona (*gemina persona*), a fortunate anticipated reference to Christ, can be seen in the kings of the Old Testament. The anointed kings were men by nature (*ex natura*), but were Christ figures, “that is, God-man”, in terms of grace. See Jürgen Miethke, *Las ideas políticas de la Edad Media* (Buenos Aires: Biblos, 1993), 46.

<sup>7</sup> Ernst Kantorowicz, *Los dos cuerpos del rey. Un estudio de teología política medieval* (Madrid: Alianza, 1985), 59.

<sup>8</sup> Who stated “*Et tanto est dignitas pontificum maior quam regum quia reges in culmen regum sacrantui a pontificibus: pontifices autem a regibus sacrari non possunt*”. Extract taken from J. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XVII, col. 538 in Marc Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges* (Paris: Gallimard, 1983), 71.

<sup>9</sup> For a useful synthesis, see Daniel de Pablo Maroto, “Cesaropapismo y teocracia en la historia,” *Revista de Espiritualidad* 275 (2010): 157-187.

<sup>10</sup> Gelasius I would set the conditions for political relations between Church and State, conditions which were not always fulfilled. Hosius wrote to Emperor Constantius: “Don’t get mixed up in matters of the Church; in this regard you should not give us orders, but rather learn from us. God has given you the empire, to us He has entrusted all things to with the Church; and just as he who wishes to take power away from you opposes the will of God, so too do you commit a grave infraction if you try to interfere with the affairs of the Church [...]. We do not have the right to govern the earth and you, oh Emperor! do not have the right to offer incense. I am telling you this because I am concerned for your salvation”: translation of the reference from Francisco Martín Hernández, *España cristiana* (Madrid: EDICA, 1982), 12 (BAC popular, 43), 14. More examples can be found in De Pablo, “Cesaropapismo y teocracia,” 163-164.

on coronation ceremonies: liturgies which served the interests of the king as ruler and enhanced the prestige of the kingdom<sup>11</sup>, and evidence of a political act with the trappings of the sacred.

## 2.2. *The self-coronation of Peter IV and its early repercussions*

In addition to an annotation to the *Primera Crónica General* which indicates that Sancho II crowned himself in 1065, there are documents in which it is stated that Alphonse XI had already instituted his own coronation and ordained himself a knight, although they record that he used an ingenious model representing Saint James the Apostle to give the necessary accolade. With this mechanism, the sovereign offered a visual manifestation of his connection to the sacred, and did so without the intervention of an archbishop<sup>12</sup>. The strategy reflected the monarchy's desire to rid the coronation ceremony of its overt public subordination to the ecclesiastical oligarchies, which had for many years been imposed through the anointment and the conferring of the royal insignia by the officiating bishop.

Peter IV was happy to cede the stage to the archbishop during the anointment ceremony, which he claimed as the Holy Sacrament<sup>13</sup>. However, he wished to repeat the actions of his father in placing the crown on his own head before the altar of the Seo de Zaragoza<sup>14</sup>. Despite the confusion caused by the terms that chroniclers applied in their accounts of the coronations of Peter III<sup>15</sup>, Jacques II<sup>16</sup> and Alphonse III<sup>17</sup>, which

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<sup>11</sup> Here I extrapolate the terms of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, who commented in his *De Ceremoniis* that these liturgies were useful for legitimating government by the emperor and for cementing the empire's prestige: André Grabar, "VII. Pseudo-Codinos et les cérémonies de la Cour byzantine au XIVE siècle, Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues," in *L'art paléochrétien et l'art byzantin. Recueil d'études 1967-1977*, ed. André Grabar (London: Variorum Reprints, 1979), 204.

<sup>12</sup> The chronicle says: "et la imagen de Sanctiago, que estava encima del altar, llegose el Rey á ella, et fizole que le diese una pescozada en el carrillo. Et desta guisa resçibio caualleria este Rey don Alonso del Apostol Santiago"; that is, it was the king himself who set in motion the mechanism so that the apostle would give him his backing: Francisco Cerdá y Rico, *Crónica de D. Alfonso el onçeno de este nombre, de los reyes que reynaron en Castilla y León. Conforme a un antiguo MS. de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial, y otro de la Mayansiana: e ilustrada con apéndices y varios documentos* (Madrid: Imprenta de Don Antonio de Sancha, 1787), part I, chap. CXX, 186. The agentivity of this image was analyzed by M. José Martínez Martínez, "Las imágenes articuladas en las celebraciones áulicas: la escultura de "Santiago del Espaldarazo" de las Huelgas de Burgos" (paper presented at the Coloquio Ars Mediaevalis *Imágenes en acción. Actos y actuaciones de las imágenes en la Edad Media*, Aguilar de Campoo, October 4-6, 2013).

<sup>13</sup> *El "Manuscrito de San Miguel de los Reyes" de las "Ordinacions" de Peter IV* (Valencia: Scriptorium, 1994), 211.

<sup>14</sup> Ramón Muntaner explains: "*E con fo vestit e hac començada la missa, lo [...] rei, ell mateix, pres la corona de l'altar e la's posà al cap*"; Ramón Muntaner, *Crònica*, chap. CCXCVII, in Ferran Soldevila, *Les quatre grans cròniques* (Barcelona: Selecta, 1971). Zurita also highlights this act: Jerónimo de Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1990), lib. VII, chap. I.

<sup>15</sup> The chronicle of Bernat Desclot states that: "[...] *anà-se'n en Arago [...] [a Zaragoza]. E coronà-se rei, e coronà madona la reina Constança sa muller*"; Bernat Desclot, *Crònica*, chap. LXXIII, in Soldevila, *Les quatre grans cròniques*. However, Ramon Muntaner specifies that "*aplegà ses corts e posaren-li la corona del realme d'Arago ab gran solemnitat*", in Valencia "*rebé e fo coronat rei del realme de València*" and, once at Barcelona, "*rebé ab gran glòria [...] la gralanda d'on fo coronat comte de Barcelona e senyor de tota Catalunya*"; Muntaner, *Crònica*, chap.

contained expressions such as *pres la corona*, there can be no doubting the exceptional nature, as noted by Ramón Muntaner<sup>18</sup>, of the rite adopted by Alphonse IV.

The liturgy was performed in accordance with the will of the new monarch: “*Denant tot lo poble*”, as the chronicle records<sup>19</sup>, the King took up from the altar the insignias that identified him as sovereign. The act was a visual ostentation of the autocracy of the monarchy, removing the obstacle to its ultimate sovereignty. Aware of the change that this represented, Peter IV demanded a ceremonial in which “*maximo studio et labore*” was applied to ensure that the solemn rite was recorded in full. In 1353, this was incorporated into the text of the royal *Ordinacions* of 1344. The ceremony was laid down in writing, describing the rite that the King had moulded to reflect the exact symbolic significance he desired. Particular care was taken to project “*el poder i la magestat del rei*” as Peter IV himself understood them, without the presence of intermediaries. Thus, his scrolls established nuanced distinctions between the powers of the Church in administering the sacrament of anointment and the authority of monarch over the coronation ceremony. The linguistic subtleties through which this distinction was achieved contrast with the figurative decoration of the capitals that headed each of the orders, the only graphical testimony of self-coronation in medieval Europe.

Other Iberian monarchs were responsible for similar ceremonies based around this same goal of demonstrating their independence from ecclesiastical authority: in the ceremonial of Alphonse XI of Castile, which appeared shortly before the Aragonese

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XXIX. Regarding the coronation in Sicily, the chronicler says: “*e ab gran solemnitat e ab gran alegre lo senyor rei d’Arago fo coronat rei de Sicilia, en Palerm, ab la gracia de nostre senyor ver Déus*”: *Ibidem*, chap. LXIII. The fact that he was crowned by other individuals is mentioned again in cap. XXIX, where he concludes that: “*Après con lo senyor rei En Pere hac reebudes les coronas e ab la gràcia de Déu fo lo rei coronat, anà visitant ses terres*”. This is also recorded in the *Crònica de San Juan de la Peña*, which states that “*aquí [Zaragoza] fue coronado et untado rey con solepnitat e honor*”: Carmen Orcástegui Gros, *Crònica de San Juan de la Peña (versió aragonesa)* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1986), chap. 36, 97-100.

<sup>16</sup> Ramón Muntaner explains that Jacques II went to Zaragoza where he held “*la festa sens comparació la major qui anc se fos feta; e aquí pres la corona en la bona hora*”: Muntaner, *Crònica*, chap. CLXXVI. The same expression is used for his coronation in Sicily “*En Jacme pres la corona del realme de Sicilia e de tot lo regne*”: Muntaner, *Crònica*, chap. CXLVIII.

<sup>17</sup> “[...] *e lo senyor rei N’Anfós pres la corona ab gran alegre e ab gran pagament*”: Muntaner, *Crònica*, chap. LXXIII. Nevertheless, the same chronicler specifies that in Valencia, “*con foren tuit aplegats, prelats e altres gents moltes, ab gran solemnitat ell reebé la corona del regne de València*”: Muntaner, *Crònica*, chap. CLVIII. The *Crònica de San Juan de la Peña* notes that the king “*fue coronado et alçado rey, assi como es de constumbre et de ussança de reys todos tiempos observada*”: Orcástegui, *Crònica*, chap. 37, 10-15. Likewise, Zurita explains that the monarch “*recibió en la iglesia de San Salvador la corona de rey de la mano de don Jacques obispo de Huesca, en ausencia del arzobispo de Tarragona y por estar sede vacante la iglesia de Zaragoza*”: Jerónimo de Zurita, *Anales*, lib. IV, chap. LXXVIII.

<sup>18</sup> “[...] *tots aquells qui en aquest llibre llegiran, sàpien con se fa lo rei ell mateix cavaller, ne en qual manera se posa ell mateix la corona*”: Muntaner, *Crònica*, chap. CCXCVII. “*con muyt mas honramiento que nunca rey se coronas, fue coronado et untado en rey*”: Orcástegui, *Crònica*, chap. 39, 5-8.

<sup>19</sup> Peter IV, *Crònica*, in Soldevila, *Les quatre grans cròniques*, chap. II, 10.

text, and the coronation rite of Charles III of Navarre, which came later, there is evidence of a desire to distinguish between the anointing, performed by the bishops, and the coronation, which the kings performed with their own hands. This practice perhaps reflected a rejection of the postulates of Giles of Rome<sup>20</sup> and an espousal of the Thomist assertion that secular power was not subordinate to spiritual power<sup>21</sup>.

Despite the laicisation of the coronation ceremony, Peter IV had no intention of foregoing the anointing, which he viewed not only as a privilege granted to his dynasty by Rome (rather than a prescribed norm) but also as a sign of belonging to a special group among Western monarchs<sup>22</sup>. Palacios Martín reported the king's satisfaction at receiving such a privilege and his desire to display a certain superiority over those monarchs on whom it was not conferred, perhaps in reference to Castile, whose kings were – out of choice – no longer anointed, except on rare occasions. This practice came at a time of debate over the political and theological significance of the unction, which, Palazzo tells us, led to its receiving lesser prominence in pontificals and greater stress in the ceremonial rites of coronations, which presented the monarch in his kingly and priestly dimensions<sup>23</sup>, thus contributing to the affirmation of sacred royalty and the image of the *roi très chrétien*<sup>24</sup>. The king was portrayed as a *persona mixta*, attributed with a degree of spiritual authority by virtue of consecration and anointing. While this duplication does not appear to be directly related to the king's two bodies<sup>25</sup>,

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<sup>20</sup> Egidio Romano, *De ecclesiastica potestate* (Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1961). Egidio's argument is based on three basic affirmations: the existence of two swords, i.e. two powers, temporal power and spiritual; subordination, the submission of temporal power to the spiritual power from which it derives; and, the submission of temporal power to the Church, which means in effect to the Pope, given that all power in the Church ultimately resides in him. For further details, see Peter Roche Arnas, "Dos poderes, una autoridad: Egidio Romano o la culminación del pensamiento teocrático medieval cristiano," in *El pensamiento político en la Edad Media*, ed. Peter Roche Arnas (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces, S.A., 2010), 113-139.

<sup>21</sup> "El poder espiritual y el poder secular derivan, uno y otro, del poder divino; por ello, el poder secular no está subordinado al poder espiritual más que en la medida en que ya ha sido sometido por Dios, es decir, en lo que atañe a la salvación de las almas; en este dominio hay que obedecer antes al poder espiritual que al secular. Pero en lo que concierne al bien político, es mejor obedecer al poder secular que al espiritual, tal y como se dice en Mateo, 22, 21: "Dad al César lo que es del César [y a Dios lo que es de Dios]". Santo Tomás, *Escrito sobre los cuatro libros de las Sentencias del Maestro Lombardo*, II *Sent.*, d. 44, exp. textus, ad. 4. Cited in Eudaldo Forment, "Principios fundamentales de la filosofía política de Santo Tomás," in *El pensamiento político*, 109.

<sup>22</sup> "Algunos reyes y príncipes de la tierra, por privilegio del sumo obispo, a saber, del Santo Padre [...] fueron acogidos en la compañía de la Santa Unción, a semejanza de los reyes del Antiguo Testamento. De esa gracia nuestra casa es perpetuamente dotada".

<sup>23</sup> Éric Palazzo, *L'Évêque et son image. L'illustration du pontifical au Moyen Age* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 266 and following. Jacques le Goff et al., *Le sacre royal à l'époque de Saint Louis d'après le manuscrit latin 1246 de la BNF* (Paris: Gallimard, 2001), 37-89; a highly interesting study in which Palazzo analyzes the *ordines* of coronation in the Middle Ages.

<sup>24</sup> As stated by Jean Pange, *Le roi très chrétien* (Paris: Fayard 1949).

<sup>25</sup> Kantorowicz explains that, in principle, the duplication of the *persona mixta* referred to temporal and spiritual capacities rather than to the natural and political bodies: Ernst Kantorowicz, *Los dos cuerpos del rey*, 56.

Kantorowicz believed it could be said to derive from the notion of clericalisation of the royal office<sup>26</sup>.

In the eyes of the king's subjects, self-coronation shattered the image of royal submission to the Church, and found tangible expression in the miniatures that adorn the three surviving versions of the Ceremonial of Peter IV, which proclaim the independence of royal dignity from episcopal mediation. This process of secularisation<sup>27</sup> had in fact been instigated by the papacy, which, despite the issuance of the Papal bull *Unam Sanctam* in 1302<sup>28</sup>, had allowed for a lessening of the focus on anointing in pontificals<sup>29</sup>. The emerging autonomy of secular political authorities in this period appeared to be sanctioned by the *Bulla Aurea* of 1356, which, for all that it was preceded by other declarations that weakened the grip of Papal supremacy<sup>30</sup>, made specific regulatory provision for traditions and laws that had been inconsistently applied for centuries<sup>31</sup>. The philosophy of Peter IV reveals a similar intention: to regularise a pre-existing liturgy to prevent the intervention of the bishop in what he considered to be the temporal sphere of the ceremony: the reception of the insignia<sup>32</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup> Ernst Kantorowicz, *Los dos cuerpos del rey*, 56.

<sup>27</sup> Expressed by Mertens "*crescente autonomia della sfera mondana*": Dieter Mertens, *Il pensiero politico medievale* (Milano: Il Mulino, 1996), 131.

<sup>28</sup> The bull defended the theory of the two swords, whose origins are to be found in the Gospel of Luke: "The disciples said, 'See, Lord, here are two swords.'" "That's enough!" he replied": Luke 22, 38. This was the result of the disagreements between Boniface VIII and Philip IV, which led the latter to burn the papal bull publicly *Ausculda, fili carissime* and to write a letter stating that the king would not submit to the Supreme Pontiff. The complete document appears in Enrique Gallego Blanco, "Relaciones entre la Iglesia y el Estado en la Edad Media," *Revista de Occidente* (1973): 149-151

<sup>29</sup> Kantorowicz, *Los dos cuerpos del rey*.

<sup>30</sup> I refer to the *Diet of Reims*, from 1338, subsequently ratified by the *Diet of Frankfurt*, which declared that the election of the emperor was valid on the grounds of majority vote and that the pope's approval was not necessary. The Diet stated: "el emperador se constituye legítimo únicamente por la elección de los que tienen derecho a elegir, sin necesidad de ninguna confirmación por parte de nadie más (the emperor's legitimacy is based solely on the choice made by those who have the right to vote, without the need for approval by anyone else)", it goes on to say that "la dignidad y el poder imperiales proceden directamente sólo de Dios [...] sin que tenga necesidad de aprobación, confirmación, autoridad o consentimiento del papa, de la Sede Apostólica o de cualquier otro (imperial dignity and power come directly from God [...] and does not require the approval, confirmation, authority or consent of the pope, the Holy See or anybody else)": from Gallego, "Relaciones entre la Iglesia y el Estado," 292-195.

<sup>31</sup> Signed by the electing princes, it annulled the coronation in Rome and all interference by the pope in the imperial election. See Miethke, *Las ideas políticas*, 162. See also the five volumes by Georges de Lagarde, *La naissance de l'esprit laïque au déclin du Moyen Âge* (Louvain-Paris: E. Nauwelaerts, 1956-1970).

<sup>32</sup> The sovereign says: "La primera espiritual y la otra temporal. De la primera es, a saber, del santo sacramento de la unción, que en la vieja lectura era otorgada por los príncipes de los sacerdotes según leemos en el Antiguo Testamento, en la palabra de Dios que dice al profeta: "ungirás al que te mostraré" [1 Sam. 16:3] [...] [la segunda] es temporal, esto es, hace referencia a la corona, a través de la que los príncipes terrenales reciben señorío sobre el pueblo, y de esto tenemos una prefiguración tal como se lee en la Sagrada Escritura: "y puso sobre él corona y testimonio" [2 Reg. 11:12]" (The first spiritual and the other temporal. The first is the sacrament of holy unction, which in the old writings was given by the princes of the priests, as we can read in the Old Testament, in the word of God, who says to the prophet: 'You are to anoint for me the one I indicate' [1 Sam. 16:3] [...] [the second] is temporal, that is, it refers to the crown through which the earthly princes receive their authority over the people, and which is set forth in the Holy Scriptures: 'He brought forth the king's son, and put the crown and gave him the covenant' [2 Kings 11:12]) Citation from *Ordinacions de la Casa i del Senyor Rey Pere IV, Joan I, Martí I, Ferrando I y don Alfonso V* (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid: Ms. 5986), 242-243.

### 3. Royal eloquence: sermons as immaterial evidence

Dupront questioned whether the sacrament of royal anointing conferred priestly status, since it preceded the act of coronation<sup>33</sup> and made reference to Aaron, who himself became *sacerdotes, reges et prophetae*<sup>34</sup> and, by virtue of this, governor of the people of Israel<sup>35</sup>. Giles of Rome said that priesthood temporally preceded kingship in the history of salvation, hence any kingdom must derive its rightfulness from the priesthood<sup>36</sup>. According to this argument, kings, invested with priestly power by the sacrament of anointing, claimed their adherence to the Christological model<sup>37</sup>. In the case of the Crown of Aragon, the relationship between King and Christ is described by Ramón Muntaner, who did not overlook the significance of the dates chosen for the coronations of Alphonse III and Alphonse IV<sup>38</sup>, which took place on Easter Sunday of 1286 and 1328, respectively. Peter IV also made note of the significance of the date, and made reference to it in his chronicle<sup>39</sup>.

The links with the sacred also found other manifestations. Among the methods adopted by Peter IV to proclaim his *Magestat*, mention must be made of the eloquence with which his magnificent rhetoric was expressed. The persuasive use of this tool has been examined impressively by Rubió i Lluch<sup>40</sup> and, more recently, Cawsey<sup>41</sup>.

The author of the rhetorical addresses delivered by Peter IV was – albeit with some input from his advisors – the King himself. This participation of the king was recorded by Miquel Carbonell in the last 15<sup>th</sup> century and is attested to by the discovery

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<sup>33</sup> Alphonse Dupront, “Sacre, autorité, pouvoir: profil d’antropologie historique,” in *Le Sacre des Rois: actes du Colloque international d’histoire sur les sacres et couronnements royaux Reims 1975* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1985), 321.

<sup>34</sup> Alphonse Dupront, “Sacre, autorité, pouvoir,” 322.

<sup>35</sup> Biblical texts confirm the tight relationship between royalty and the priesthood. An example of this is Revelations, which was studied from this perspective by William H. Brownlee, “The priestly character of the church in the Apocalypse,” *New Testament Studies* 5 (1958-1859): 224-225, cited in Albert Vanhoye, *Sacerdotes antiquos, Sacerdote Nuevo según el Nuevo Testamento* (Salamanca: Sígueme, 1992), 297, n. 25.

<sup>36</sup> Miethke, *Las ideas políticas*, 110. This hypothesis was supported by other philosophers such as Giles’ disciple James of Viterbo, author of the famous *De Regimine Christiano*.

<sup>37</sup> Arnold Angenendt, “*Rex et sacerdos*. Zur Genese der Königsalbn,” in *Tradition als historische Kraft. Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zur Geschichte des früheren Mittelalters. Festschrift für K. Hauck* (Berlin-New York: W. de Gruyter, 1982) 100-118. Cited in Éric Palazzo, *Liturgie et société*, 203.

<sup>38</sup> “[...] així con los sants apòstols e deixebles del nostre senyor ver Déus Jesucrist estaven desconsolats e marrits per la passió de nostre Senyor Déus [...] que així los seus sotsmesos estaven ab la tristor per la mort del rei [...] son pare, e que així con Jesucrist, lo jorn de pasqua, per la sua resurrecció, ell los alegrà e confortà, que enaixí lo jorn sant beneit de la Paqua [...] que ell [el nuevo rey] confortàs e alegràs el mateix [...] sos sotsmesos”: Muntaner, *Crònica*, chap. CCXCIV. Martin I would be crowned during on the octave of Easter Week, as would his son Martin, in Sicily: De Zurita, *Anales*, lib. X, chap. LXIX.

<sup>39</sup> Peter IV, *Crònica*, chap. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Among others, Antoni Rubió i Lluch, “Algunes consideracions sobre la oratoria política de Catalunya en l’Edat Mitjana,” *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 3 (1909): 213-224.

<sup>41</sup> Suzane Cawsey, *Kingship and propaganda: Royal eloquence and the Crown of Aragon, c. 1200-1450* (Oxford: Oxford Historical Monographs, 2002).

of a letter from the sovereign to his archivist to which he attached a royal speech to be transcribed in a volume<sup>42</sup>. However, more than the authorship of the text, between 1341 and 1344, Álvaro Pelayo, bishop of Silves, wrote in *Espelho dos Reis*, denouncing that among the sins attributable to kings was the act of usurping the priestly office through preaching and the use of incense<sup>43</sup>. The speeches of Alphonse XI and other Castilian monarchs were strongly religious in tone, although they are not described as sermons in historical texts; by contrast, other kings, such as Robert of Naples<sup>44</sup>, were particularly renowned for their sermons. However, the accusations of Álvaro Pelayo did not apply solely to the Neapolitan monarch: Charles II of Navarre considered preaching to be a highly useful weapon during the turbulent years of 1357 and 1358<sup>45</sup>, and in the neighbouring Crown of Aragon Peter IV customarily opened court with an address in the form of a thematic sermon, as another member of the royal house, Frederick III of Sicily, had done, and Martin I would also go on to do (notably, as well as the Humane, Martin I was known as the Ecclesiastic). Perhaps inspired by his father, Martin I used relics and religious ceremonies to exalt the institution that he represented<sup>46</sup>. In particular, he commissioned a new royal palace to be built from the existing complex in Poblet, although following the examples of James II in the Monastery of Santes Creus and Peter Peter IV in Poblet, the royal spaces were installed over the *sala del cubar* and above the quarters of the monks<sup>47</sup>, enabling him to access the high cloister and connecting the royal lodgings to the religious areas of the complex, as he had done in Barcelona<sup>48</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> The letter also states “*la proposició per nos feta als valencians laltre jorn de Sent Mather en .ii. fulls de paper escrits de nostra ma*”: Antonio Rubió i Lluç, *Documents per a la història de la cultura catalana medieval* (Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 2000), doc. CCXXIX.

<sup>43</sup> “*usurpant officia sacerdotii, ut thurificare et paedicare*”, in his own words: Cawsey, *Kingship and propaganda*, chap. 4.

<sup>44</sup> Robert of Naples is the subject of an important doctoral thesis presented by Darleen N. Pryds, “The Politics of Preaching in Early Fourteenth-Century Naples: Robert d’Anjou and his sermons” (PdH diss., University of Wisconsin, 1993).

<sup>45</sup> On 29 November 1357, he gave a sermon on a platform not far from the *Pré aux clerics* and in front of 10,000 people in which he demonstrated the rights of the French Crown. See Rubió, “Algunes consideracions,” 217.

<sup>46</sup> Regarding the public’s response to Martin’s political and religious propaganda, see Marta Serrano-Coll, “Semblança del rei Martí l’Humà a través de la seva promoció artística,” in *Martí l’Humà, el darrer rei de la dinastia de Barcelona (1396-1410). L’interregne i el Compromís de Casp* (Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans, in press).

<sup>47</sup> These quarters would substitute the Old Royal Chambers, which were in a poor state. Reference taken from Ricardo del Arco, *Sepulcros de la Casa Real de Aragón* (Madrid: Diana, 1945), 356. Further details found in Serrano-Coll, “Semblança del rei Martí”.

<sup>48</sup> Where, significantly, he united the royal chapel and the cathedral by constructing a new private passage that ran directly through the Royal Palace: Jaume Barrachina, “Retaule del Conestable,” in *Jaume Huguet. 500 anys* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1993), 168. On the idea of the Barcelona cathedral as a veritable, albeit smaller, Palatine cathedral, see Miguel Sobrino González, “Barcelona. Las razones de una catedral singular,” *Goya: Revista de arte* 307-308 (2005): 197-214.



There is evidence of royal preaching in the Crown of Aragon at the time of Jacques I, who announced his Mallorcan campaign in the form of a sermon in the Courts of Barcelona in 1228<sup>49</sup>, although he is recorded as having preached on another five occasions: the *Gestas del Rey don Jayme de Aragon*, published by Juan Fernández de Heredia in 1396<sup>50</sup>, make explicit reference to this fact<sup>51</sup>. These acts must have influenced the ministry of Peter the Ceremonious, an avowed admirer of Jacques I the Conqueror, although they were also performed by Jacques II<sup>52</sup>, who, while still a child, was described as “*dels pus savis princeps del mon e mills parlat*”<sup>53</sup>.

Peter IV was an erudite and dogmatic ruler who was familiar with the sacred texts and, from his throne, determined to emulate the persuasive and emotive power of the preacher from the pulpit<sup>54</sup>. I believe it is on this basis that his sermons should be judged<sup>55</sup>, delivered in the scholastic manner derived from the treatises of the Franciscan theologian Bertrand de la Tour<sup>56</sup> and requiring a degree of priestly association that Peter IV considered an instrument of propaganda, in demonstrating the divine sanction of his royal office<sup>57</sup>. Some of the writings in his chronicle<sup>58</sup> represent a veiled attempt to

<sup>49</sup> His own chronicle states that he used the standard format for these occasions: *Llibre dels Feys del Rei en Jacme*, 1:120-122. See also Enrich Prat de la Riba, *Corts catalanes: proposicions y respostes* (Barcelona: L'Anuari de la Exportació, 1906), 38-40.

<sup>50</sup> Francho Rodés, “Johan Fernandez d’Heredia, Gestas del Rey don Jacques de Aragón,” *Edicions Dichitals de l’Academia de l’Aragonés 2* (2008): s.p.

<sup>51</sup> “Et el rey fizo su preposicion, la qual començo por tales palabras: *Illumina cor meum, Domine, et verba mea de Spiritu Sancto* [...] Que quiere decir en vulgar “Alumbra, Senyor, alumbra el mi coraçon. Et las palabras mias procedescan del Spiritu Sancto”. Pregando el rey en el comienço de su proposicion o sermon a Dios et a Sancta Maria [...]: Rodés, “Johan Fernandez d’Heredia,” s.p.

<sup>52</sup> According to his chroniclers, in the moments before embarking on the invasion of Sardinia in 1323, he had prepared a sermon demonstrating that God favoured the Aragonese, which meant that the members of expedition had to fight valiantly. See Nicolau d’Olwer, “Una arenga de Jaume II (1323),” in “Literatura catalana: notes i comentaris,” *Estudis universitaris catalans VIII* (1914) and Mark D. Johnston, “Parliamentary Oratory in Medieval Aragon,” *Rhetorica* 10:2 (1992): 110.

<sup>53</sup> Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica*, chap. CXIV, 234. Ramón Muntaner tells us that, being a prince and having to fight against King Charles “*lo senyor infant, pus la sentència fo donada en conformada, volc usar de misericordia; e no volc guardar mal per mal, ans li membrà la paraula de l’Evangeli que diu “Déus no vol la port del peccador, mas que es converta”. Per què ell no volc la mort del príncep, mas que ell farà pau e concòrdia*”. Terms found in Ez. 33, 11, according to Soldevila: Muntaner, *Crònica*, chap. CXIV and chapter notes, although they may also refer to other texts such as Jeremiah 3:12, “Go, proclaim this message toward the north: ‘Return, faithless Israel,’ declares the Lord, ‘I will frown on you no longer, for I am faithful,’ declares the Lord, ‘I will not be angry forever’”.

<sup>54</sup> In the words of Rubió, “Algunes consideracions,” 215.

<sup>55</sup> This is the general historiographical opinion: Peter Catedra, “Acerca del sermón político en la España Medieval,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* (1985-1986): 17-47. It has been asserted that the sermons given by the kings of Aragon are the finest examples of secular oratory in the Middle Ages. See Johnston, “Parliamentary Oratory,” 100.

<sup>56</sup> *Ars dividendi themata y Ars dilatandi sermones*, although the rhetoric of Dante’s teacher, Brunetto Latini, had already been translated into Catalan *Libre dels ensenyaments de bona parleria*: Rubió, “Algunes consideracions,” 219. He also followed the format set forth so brilliantly by Robert Basevorn in 1322 in his *The Art of Preaching*. He followed this format so closely that he was used a brief topic to capture the attention of the audience, as advised by Basevorn and, later on, Thomas Chobham in his *Summa de arte praedicandi*, published as Thomas de Cobham, *Summa de arte praedicandi*, edited by Franco Morenzoni, *Corpus Christianorum, continuatio medievalis*, 82 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988). On the parts that make up a medieval sermon, see D. Catherine Brown, *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 11-17.

<sup>57</sup> Johnston, “Parliamentary Oratory,” 110.

inhabit and exalt the dual role of *rex et sacerdos* and, therefore, a desire to appear before his people as both temporal ruler and spiritual guide. The Christo-centric vision that the monarchy applied to itself can be traced in texts from the period: the closing address to the Courts of Tarragona in 1370<sup>59</sup> and other texts that have been conserved illustrate the degree to which the rhetoric of Peter IV made use, among other devices, of *similitudines* with passages from the Bible, in which he was so well versed<sup>60</sup>. A speech made by Martin I is also particularly revelatory: in his address to the Courts of Maella in 1404, he used a reference to the Epistle of St Paul to the Ephesians [*ad effessios, III<sup>o</sup> C<sup>o</sup>*] to offer a Christo-centric vision of the monarchy in which a king, who guides and governs his people as the political body subject to his rule, fulfils the same role as Christ, rightfully divine and priestly<sup>61</sup>, who guided mankind by His grace. These associations with divinity were evident in the staging of royal addresses, which was planned to the last detail. Peter IV delivered his sermons from an elevated position and, whenever possible, with his firstborn son the Infante Don Juan seated on a footstool beside him, to compose – as Sesma perceptively observed – the image of father and son of a sacred monarchy<sup>62</sup>.

#### 4. The royal image: physical representations as material evidence

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<sup>58</sup> *E [...] anam a l'esgleia de Sant Salvador e [...] estants nós en la tribuna on han acostumat de preïcar, parlam al poble*". to which he adds that the throne "*de draps d'or*": Peter IV, *Crònica*, chap. 4.

<sup>59</sup> "[...] *vetlats en guisa que us puxam dir les paraules que dix Jhesu Christ a sos deixebles: Luce XII<sup>o</sup>. Beniyrats son los servents quan los troba vetlant lur senyor*": José Coroleu and J. Pella Forgas, *Las cortes catalanas: estudio jurídico y comparativo de su organización y reseña analítica de sus legislaturas, episodios notables, oratoria y personajes ilustres, con muchos documentos inéditos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón y del Municipio de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Imprenta de la Revista Histórica Latina, 1896), 402.

<sup>60</sup> His chronicle and the surviving documentation indicate that he knew the Bible as well as any consummate preacher. He first requested a Bible at the age of 20 and asked for it in *romance*. In 1345 he asked Jacques III of Mallorca for a Bible; in 1351 he asks for a copy in Catalan; in 1352 he buys one for one hundred pounds; in 1353 he asked to see one belonging to the nobleman Gilaberto de Cruïlles "*per alcunes raons*"; in 1359 he bought some more from the Archbishop of Callar; in 1360 he asked to be sent a copy that he had been lent to correct; in 1366 he paid 6000 *sous* to the citizen of Barcelona P. de San Climent for a three-volume copy written in Latin on parchment; in 1367 he requested another from the church of Santa María in Calatayud, "Por manera que nos hayamos luego la dita biblia e la podamos veyer, sabiendo que luego que la hayamos visto, si veuremos que sea buena para nos, nos avendremos de ello"; in 1383, at the Cortes de Monzón, he asked the treasurer Pere Valls to buy him the best Bible he could, "*la qual havem de gran necessitat que més no porem*". All of these are mentioned in Rubió, "Algunes consideracions," 219-220. For medieval sermons refer to Manuel Ambrosio Sánchez Sánchez, *Un sermonario castellano medieval: el ms. 1854 de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1999), 2 vols. Cited in Juan José Prat Ferrer, "Los Exempla medievales: una etapa escrita entre dos oralidades," *Oppidum* 3 (2007): 176, n. 21.

<sup>61</sup> To act as a mediator between men and God. An analysis of the figure of Christ and his role as a priest can be found in the doctoral thesis of Xavier Clément Comlan Tohouegnon, "Tel est en effet le grand-prêtre qui nous convenait (He 7,26)" (PhD diss., Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, 1979).

<sup>62</sup> Ángel Sesma Muñoz, "Pedro IV y la proyección de la imagen real en la Corona de Aragón," in *La construcción medieval de la memoria regia*, ed. Pascual Martínez Sopena and Ana Rodríguez (Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2011), 422.

The terms that appear in the fourth chapter of the Chronicle of Peter IV<sup>63</sup> suggest that the royal sermon was the culmination of a grand spectacle designed to transmit a message that married political arguments with religious discourse, so it can be argued that this was one of the mechanisms the sovereign used to underline before the people that his authority derived directly from God and that his *maiestas* was not dependent on any intermediary. While his immediate predecessors were also anointed and crowned – albeit with the caveat that they “were not receiving the crown in recognition [...] of the Holy See, retaining their right to exemption and superiority in the temporal estate”<sup>64</sup> – Peter IV, in espousing the formula *rex et sacerdos*, accentuated his autocracy still further. As we have seen, this concept was often proclaimed in his addresses and sermons at moments of acute political sensitivity, but it will also become clear that he understood how to make effective visual expressions of the same notion.

#### 4.1. Sigillography

Seals were among the most highly valued and successful visual means of claiming divine legitimacy, thanks to their legal status and mobility. A good example is the reverse of the great seal used by Peter IV in the years 1343-1344, which depicts the king on his throne<sup>65</sup>. The majestic representation is notable for the smoother, more delicate quality of the work compared to earlier pieces, and for the form of the throne and the complexity of the structure beneath which the king is seated. The throne, crowned with lions and covered by an embroidered cloth, is reminiscent of the style popularised in France during the reign of Louis IX and later adopted by Philip VI of Valois and John II. In a previous study I discussed how this regalia found its way into Aragonese chancellery<sup>66</sup>, but here I would like to draw attention to the background, which is of exceptional quality and shows an architectural structure in the form of an altarpiece, whose intricately detailed panels rise majestically to give the composition great verticality. This type of gothic background, though new to the seal designs of Peter IV, was not unknown in this form of artistic production: from the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century,

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<sup>63</sup> The examples are many: perhaps the most illustrative is his lauded proposition to the *Cortes* held in San Salvador of Zaragoza: Peter IV, *Crònica*, chap. IV, 23-26.

<sup>64</sup> I refer to Peter III, Alphonse III and Jacques II. Zurita states that Jacques II aimed to demonstrate that, through the death of his brother, he had the right of primogeniture so could claim Sicily as well: De Zurita, *Anales*, lib. IV, chap. CXXIII.

<sup>65</sup> Ferran de Sagarra i Siscar, *Sigil·lografia catalana. Inventari, descripció i estudi dels segells de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Estampa d’Henrich, 1916-1932), vol. I, n. 59.

<sup>66</sup> Marta Serrano-Coll, “Influencias artísticas europeas en la cancellería de la Corona de Aragón: algunos ejemplos de sigilografía,” in *El intercambio artístico en los reinos hispanos y las cortes europeas en la Baja Edad Media* (León: Universidad de León, 2009), 295-308.

French engravers depicted ladies of the court standing beneath simple constructions that became more complex with the passage of time, as the architecture itself grew more elaborate. It was not until the 14<sup>th</sup> century, however, in the reign of Louis X the Quarreler, that it became used in royal seals, although without religious connotations, as Lecoy de la Marche explains<sup>67</sup>.

It is no coincidence that Peter the Ceremonious (Peter IV) was the first monarch in the Crown of Aragon to adopt such forms as the framework for his singular pieces of majestic representation, recalling in the eyes of his subjects the composition of an altarpiece: a novel structure with evident sacred motifs. As we have seen, it was with a clear aim that Peter IV addressed the courts in the form of a sermon, generally delivered in church after mass, either from the throne or before the altar, with the aim of portraying himself in the sacred role of God's representative on earth and as a spiritual guide for his people<sup>68</sup>. It is possible that the king changed his seals so that they more closely resembled the designs being used north of the Pyrenees, but, in keeping with what we have seen so far, this seal was also a visual means of strengthening his association with the divine (as well as serving to counter the new formalisation of the coronation ceremony, which had laicised the institution of the monarchy).

Historical texts clearly reflect the influence of King of Mallorca on the artistic endeavours of Peter IV following his conquest of the island in 1344<sup>69</sup>; however, the adoption of highly expressive iconography illustrates the links to the divine – among them the seal of Peter the Ceremonious – could also have been inspired by the Court of Mallorca, from works such as the verso of folio 13 in the *Llibre dels Jurats de Mallorca*, which depicts a coronation ceremony using a formula based on the *Maiestà* of Siena, to legitimise the king<sup>70</sup>. It is surely not by chance that this quasi-sacred image

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<sup>67</sup> See Lecoy de la Marche, *Les sceaux* (Paris: Maison Quantin, 1998), 130 and 163.

<sup>68</sup> This was in keeping with the precedent that he had set. A partially surviving chronicle from the reign of Jacques II states: “*E lo senyor Rei comensa a parlar devant tota la Cort ajustada en la dita Esgleya [San Salvador de Zaragoza], e dix molt bones paraules de les quals e del seu bon enteniment foren tuyt molt pagats e alegres e de continent fo a el respost per la cort ab gran pagament de ço que ell llur avia dit*”: Las Cortes Catalanas, 167. Cited in Rubió, “Algunes consideracions,” 214.

<sup>69</sup> See Olivetta Schena, *Le leggi palatine di Pietro IV d'Aragona* (Cagliari: Torre Cagliari, 1983).

<sup>70</sup> An image that, according to Joaquín Yarza, is touching on blasphemous: Joaquín Yarza Luaces, “La pintura española medieval. El mundo gótico,” in *La pintura española*, ed. Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez (Milán: Electa, 1995), vol. I, 87. It is true that this image endorses the holiness of the king and his supernatural qualities, a divine quality that almost became an obsession, to cite Christiane Raynaud, of the medieval monarchies, although it is impossible to understand the whole picture without taking into account the context of conflict in which the cartulary was created: on one hand, the promoters (who fought to maintain their privileges and exemptions) struggled against the institution of the Mallorcan monarchy (which awarded and then confirmed these privileges and exemptions); on the other hand, the Mallorcan monarchy was in conflict with Peter IV, who had cast doubt on the former's legitimacy and who would in the end annex the island kingdom and proclaim himself king of Mallorca in 1344, an act that in the eyes of many was illicit because it contravened the provisions of the will of Jacques the Conqueror. The most recent contributions regarding the cartulary are those of Ricard Urgell (dir.), *Llibre dels reis. Llibre de franqueses i privilegis del regne de*

appears in the seals produced in the immediate aftermath of the conquest (by force, and illegitimately in the eyes of many) of the Kingdom of Mallorca. The divine aura of the image is complemented by another important element: the mystical-religious content of the surrounding text: + : DILIGITE : IVSTICIAM : QVI : IVDICATIS : T.....M :. These apparently legitimising terms recall the Platonic-Thomist cardinal virtues<sup>71</sup> and the apotheosis of royal preaching. The same sentence had already been used in the seals of Peter III who, in a bid for legitimacy following his excommunication by Martin IV (who also threatened to dispossess Peter III of his disputed kingdoms<sup>72</sup>), used the legend to exalt his sovereignty. Thus his seals bore the words SIGILLUM PETRI DIVINA CLEMENTIA REGIS ARAGONUM, in which the traditional phrase *Dei gratia* was replaced by *divina clementia*<sup>73</sup> and, on the equestrian side, DILIGITE IVSTITIAM QUI IUDICATIS TERRAM<sup>74</sup>, adding the well known verse from the preamble to the *Liber Sapientiae*: “Love justice, you that are the judges of the earth”<sup>75</sup>. The recovery of this sentence by Peter IV was not a matter of chance: the insistence that war against the King of Mallorca was just and that, in consequence, bringing the island kingdom under his control was the outcome of a just war, appears throughout his writings<sup>76</sup>.

#### 4.2. Royal devotion and iconography

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*Mallorca* (Palma de Mallorca: J. J. de Olañeta, 2010), con un capítulo de Gabriel Llompart e Isabel Escandell destinado a las miniaturas, and Marta Serrano-Coll, “Falsas Historias, proposiciones certeras. Dominio visual e imágenes persuasivas en el entorno áulico de la Corona de Aragón,” *Codex Aquilarensis* 27 (2011), esp. 200-204.

<sup>71</sup> According to Saint Thomas, the principle of laity means that all political activity should use and cultivate reason. To do so, politicians need to possess the cardinal virtues identified by Plato: prudence, justice, strength and temperance: Eduardo Forment, *Id a Tomás. Principios fundamentales del pensamiento de Santo Tomás* (Pamplona: Fundación Gratis-Date, 2005), chap. 27.

<sup>72</sup> Ramón Muntaner writes that the Supreme Pontiff “*donà sentència de croada contra lo rei d’Aragó e sa terra e tots aquells qui ajuda ne secors li feesen, e absolvè de pena e de colpa tots aquells qui contra li vengessen*”: Muntaner, *Crònica*, chap. LXXVIII.

<sup>73</sup> According to Sagarra, the change may well have originated in the union of Peter III with Constance of Sicily, given that in 1210 Federico I was using a seal that referred to him as *divina favente clemencia Rex Sicilie, ducatus Apulie et principatus Capue*. Sagarra, *Sigil·lografia*, 117, n. 1. It will be remembered that, as pointed out by Manuel Núñez, medieval kings liked to associate themselves with the Biblical kings of David (just and devout) and Solomon, who together with that historical and literary symbol par excellence, Charlemagne, provided a regal role-model for subsequent kings to emulate. See Manuel Núñez Rodríguez, *Muerte coronada. El mito de los reyes en la Catedral compostelana* (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1999), 21-22. The evident parallels between Carolingian iconography and David have been analyzed in Dominique Alibert, “La majesté sacrée du roi: images du souverain carolingien,” *Histoire de l’Art. Bulletin d’Information de l’Institut National d’Histoire de l’Art* 5-6 (1989): 23-36. Regarding David as an *exemplum* for the medieval kings, see the monograph by Aryeh Grabois “Un mythe fondamental de l’histoire de France au Moyen Age: Le roi David précurseur du roi très chrétien,” *Revue Historique* 581 (1992): 11-31.

<sup>74</sup> Ferran de Sagarra, *Sigil·lografia*, n. 33.

<sup>75</sup> Sap. I, 1.

<sup>76</sup> As stated in various lines in Peter IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3.

This concept of royal authority, which Peter IV personified to such success, paved the way for graphical representations that incorporate sacred models and images in which the king even identified his person with venerable figures, flaunting his devotion to the benefit of the institution he represented.

Among the first initiatives in the campaign for dynastic prestige that characterised his reign was the importance given to the liturgical festival of the Epiphany. The comparison between the Kings of Aragon and the Magi had been established, as far as written records suggest, by around 1325, when Ramón Muntaner commented, in chapter XCVI of his Chronicle, on the similarity of the journey of the Magi to that undertaken by Queen Constanza and her children Federico and Jacques, who would become Jacques II<sup>77</sup>. Peter IV, however, took a further step towards self-consecration by playing the roles of the Magi himself before the members of his court, performing the ritual offering of gold, frankincense and myrrh. The mandatory observance of this ceremony would be incorporated into the *Ordinacions*, which, though largely based on the provisions of the Mallorcan *Leges palatinae*, did not reproduce any of their text in this specific case<sup>78</sup>. There are no confirmed representations of this interpretation<sup>79</sup>, but documentary evidence gives an idea of the visual association that those in attendance would have made between Peter the Ceremonious and the Magi during the festival of the Epiphany before the altar of the Royal Chapel of St. Agatha. This example, and other cases from across the continent, are further evidence of a gradual transformation of the meaning of the ceremony: if in the period of the Gregorian Reforms it had become – through the scene depicted in the Adoration of the Magi – a proclamation of royal submission to spiritual power, it would now be transformed – through the sensory appeal of theatrical performance to the monarch’s own subjects – a statement of the privileged relationship between the king and the celestial realm<sup>80</sup>. The desire to portray this relationship would find a new manifestation with the son of Peter the Ceremonious,

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<sup>77</sup> Muntaner, *Crònica*, chap. XCVI.

<sup>78</sup> See the previously cited Schena, *Le leggi palatine*.

<sup>79</sup> Alcoy wonders if the Balthazar on the altarpiece of the Collegiate Church of Sant Vicenç of Cardona, dated to between 1347 and 1360, should not be identified with Peter IV. Rosa Alcoy, “Retaule del Conestable,” in *La Barcelona gòtica* (Barcelona: Museu d’Història de la Ciutat, 1999), 229-231. Not all authors share this theory. Some contemporary foreign works have survived, such as the *Morgan Triptych*, from around 1355-1360 and the Adoration of the Magi on one of the chapels in the Karlštejn Castle, prior to 1367, which shows Charles IV of Bohemia as one of the three kings.

<sup>80</sup> Highly informative work by Arturo Carlo Quintavale, “La Réforme Grégorienne et l’église: image et politique du XIe au XIIe siècle” (conference presented in *Art et réforme grégorienne en France et en Espagne*, Université de Lausanne, Switzerland, October 15, 2012).

Martin I, whose coronation ceremony played heavily on the theme of consecration with the aim of exalting his election by Providence.

Martin I was also noted for his obsession with relics, which he collected with a fervour that even led to theft<sup>81</sup>. While there were other precedents in the royal household, it was his father more than any other figure who stressed the political importance of sacred remains. Peter IV had ordained that, during certain festivals, an additional silver altarpiece with a central image of the Virgin be placed in the royal chapel, which was to be surrounded by his collection of relics so that they could be viewed and venerated by his subjects<sup>82</sup>. This act was intended as a display of royal power over both the spiritual, through the possession of important saintly remains, and the economic, through the exhibition of fine silver reliquaries. An even clearer statement would be made on 10 July 1339, when the second transfer of the relics of St. Eulalia was made to the new crypt in the Cathedral of Barcelona. The date of the solemn processes was carefully chosen by Peter IV, not only to mark one of his earliest royal visits to Barcelona but also to coincide with the presence of the highest civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries of the time, most important among them Jaume III of Mallorca, who had travelled to Barcelona to pay homage to the King of Aragon (the importance of which was stated by Peter IV in his chronicle<sup>83</sup>).

It is clear that Peter IV wished to transform the procession into a spectacle that gave a tangible sense of the power of royalty, magnificence transmitted by the immaterial sanctity of the event *per se* and the material splendour with which it was embellished. That the king gave political meaning to this religious ceremony is evident not only from his Chronicle but also in the historical relief around the reliquary, which depicts perhaps Elisenda de Montcada and the King of Mallorca looking on as Peter IV prepares to touch the remains of St. Eulalia with ungloved hands. His ungloved hands could also be a significant element in the argument presented here and in broader discussions of contact relics: the King himself would proclaim that he had held the saintly body in his own hands<sup>84</sup>. It is interesting to consider the possible implications of

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<sup>81</sup> “*sia per via de compra, sia per via de furt*” was the phrase he used to urge the Catalan consul in Alexandria to acquire the remains of Saint Barbara: Albert Torra Pérez, “Reyes, santos y reliquias. Aspectos de la sacralidad de la monarquía catalano-aragonesa,” in *XV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón, 1996), tom. I, vol. III, 495-517.

<sup>82</sup> Regarding the courtly treasures belonging to the king of Aragona, see Francesca Español, “El Tesoro Sagrado de los reyes en la Corona de Aragón,” in *Maravillas de la España Medieval. Tesoro Sagrado y Monarquía*, ed. Isidro Bango (León: Junta de Castilla y León, 2001), vol. I, 269-288.

<sup>83</sup> “*E, ans que lo dit rei de Mallorques partís de Barcelona, fon feta translació de la verge santa Eulàlia, cos sant de Barcelona*”: Peter IV, *Crònica*, chap. II, 35.

<sup>84</sup> “*portam lo dit cors sant en nostres mans*”, as stated in his chronicle: Peter IV, *Crònica*, chap. II, 35.

such a statement, through which the King portrayed himself as a relic holder for a brief moment; we can ask whether, for example, it was intended to consecrate the institution of monarchy in some way, a point that has been raised by Gerardo Boto in reference to mid-14<sup>th</sup> century Mallorca, when the tomb of Jaume II took on a sacred dimension through its use for the display of relics, which conferred the status of what we could call a secondary altar<sup>85</sup>.

#### 4.3. *The royal pantheon: burial ad sanctos and royal representation*

We can also examine whether a similar premise underlies ceremonial acts documented at the Monastery of Pedralbes, where ritual processions were held during which the right of funerals was recited before the double-sided tomb of Queen Elisenda<sup>86</sup>. The cortège, separated by gender, emulated the procession before the sarcophagus of Sancha of Mallorca at Santa Chiara in Naples, perhaps following the arrival in Pedralbes of Queen Elisenda's niece, Francesca de Saportella as abbess. While the tomb of Queen Elisenda became a ritual station that formed part of a processional itinerary, there has not yet been any conclusive evidence to ascertain whether identical or similar liturgies were performed at the Royal Abbey of Santa María de Poblet, which was the royal pantheon of the Kings of Aragon from the 12<sup>th</sup> century until the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, from the time of Peter IV, as established by royal oath<sup>87</sup>. We know that it was compulsory for royal anniversaries to be celebrated<sup>88</sup>, and documentary evidence survives in the royal testaments, which contain specific requirements for offerings, masses and prayers *pro anima*<sup>89</sup>, although with the exception of the *córrer les armes* ritual, which differs considerably from the ceremonies with

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<sup>85</sup> Gerardo Boto Varela, "Pantheons royaux des cathédrales de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle et de Palma de Mallorca. A la recherche d'un espace funéraire qui n'a jamais été utilisé," in *Espace Ecclésial et liturgie au Moyen Age*, ed. Anne Baud 53 (2009): 295 and following.

<sup>86</sup> See Cristina Sanjust, *L'Obra del Reial Monestir de Santa Maria de Pedralbes. Des de la seva fundació fins al segle XVI. Un monestir reial per a l'ordre de les clarisses a Catalunya* (Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2008).

<sup>87</sup> From the time of Peter IV, as established by royal oath. Del Arco, *Sepulcros*, 58-59 and Agustí Altisent, *Història de Poblet* (Esplugas de Francolí: Abadia de Poblet, 1974), 283.

<sup>88</sup> In fact, to a question asked by the abbot of Poblet regarding the transfer of Leoner of Sicily's body to his monastery, the king answers "así entiende se debe hacer": Del Arco, *Sepulcros*, 80.

<sup>89</sup> For example, that of Peter IV, which in 1364 specified: "como hayamos concedido al abad y convento de Poblet con carta nuestra que ellos tienen cinco mil sueldos reales rendales sobre la tabla de Valencia, y queden obligados, queremos que los monjes de dicho monasterio, por razón, como dicho está, que los dichos cinco mil sueldos cada año pagaderos, a decir misas, sufragios y otras plegarias para remedio de nuestra alma y de nuestros antepasados, y cada año, en el día que moriremos, celebren un solemne aniversario por nuestra alma". Taken from *Antigüalles de Poblet. Llibre primer en lo qual se contenen una compendiosa y curiosissima historia, de les sepultures dels serenissims señors Reys de Arago, Persones nobles, Barons i altres Infinitis cauallers, tots de celebre Recordacio. Qui sepultats estan en lo sagrat Monestir de Poblet. I altres coses diuerses dignes de tota memoria, tretes del archiu de dit sant Monestir. Fi del primer llibre a 2 de abril 1587. F. B. D. L. 1587*. Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (Ms. 1701), fol. 45.



which this study is concerned<sup>90</sup>, there are no recorded processions in Poblet such as those performed in Pedralbes.

It is interesting to look more closely at the choice of Poblet as the royal pantheon from the times of Peter IV the Ceremonious, a decision that broke with the Franciscan tradition of the preceding Kings of Aragon and is inextricably linked to the figure of Jacques I, whom Peter IV did his utmost – albeit without success – to canonise<sup>91</sup>. However, there are also reasons to analyse the tombs from a new perspective, looking instead at their iconographic and typological importance with respect to the links that I believe the monarchy, in pursuit of different objectives, wished to establish with the sacred<sup>92</sup>. One of the principal goals of a research project that I am directing is to examine the extent to which we can see in the dual representations of kings – depicted in the robes of the Cistercian Order and with royal attire – a visual manifestation of the concept of *rex et sacerdos*, which, as I have endeavoured to argue here, Peter IV the Ceremonious was so keen to promote. Indeed, I suggest it is no coincidence that the effigy of Peter IV, which is not double, is dressed in the robes of a deacon, “*como acostumbran a levar los diácones quando son vestidos por dir lo Evangelio*”<sup>93</sup>, in the same way that he was attired on the day of his coronation and as he desired to be buried, according to his will<sup>94</sup>. It is reasonable to claim that this iconography clearly exhibits the overtly religious nature of the political theory espoused by Peter IV, which could also have a bearing on the corresponding architectural manifestations: the royal tombs are elevated, much in the same style as those of saints, particularly those built in the 14<sup>th</sup> century with prophylactic aims in mind. With the creation of the royal pantheon, which entailed rigorous organisation of burials and the celebration of the necessary funeral

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<sup>90</sup> Among others, M<sup>a</sup> Rosa Manote, “*Córrer les armes*. Cerimònia dels funerals dels reis d’Aragó, representada en un relleu procedent del monestir de Santa Maria de Poblet,” *Lambard. Estudis d’Art Medieval* (1993-1994): 89-117; Francesca Español, “El *Córrer les armes*. Un aparte caballeresco en las exequias medievales hispanas,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 37/1 (2007): 867-905.

<sup>91</sup> Regarding this question, see Rafael Narbona Vizcaíno, “Héroes, Tumbas y Santos. La conquista en las devociones de Valencia Medieval,” *Saitabí* 46 (1996): 293-319.

<sup>92</sup> One of the principal goals of a research project that I am directing is to examine the extent to which we can see in the dual representations of kings – depicted in the robes of the Cistercian Order and with royal attire – a visual manifestation of the concept of *rex et sacerdos*, which, as I have endeavoured to argue here, Peter IV the Ceremonious was so keen to promote. The project forms part of the programme *Ajuts per fomentar la incorporació i visualització d’investigadors emergents*. It is funded by Banco Santander and the Universitat Rovira i Virgili and is entitled *Els Panteons Reials a la Catalunya Nova: Poblet, Santes Creus i Vallbona de les Monges*, ref. [2012LINE-05].

<sup>93</sup> Ángel San Vicente Pino, “El código y su transcripción,” in *Ceremonial de consagración y coronación de los reyes de Aragón. Ms. R. 14.425 de la Biblioteca de la Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, en Madrid* (Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón, 1992), 21.

<sup>94</sup> His body, according to the will issued on 17 August 1379, had to be dressed in royal insignia, that is, a Roman shirt, stole, camisa romana, estola, maniple, tunic and dalmatic, in the style of the cardinals when the Pope celebrated divine office, with boots and velvet slippers, such as those that he wore on the day of his coronation: Del Arco, *Sepulcros*, 288.

liturgies, it is possible that Peter IV also wished to proclaim the continuity of the king's political body, in defiance of the finite nature of the physical self and the dynastic problems that threatened his reign until the year 1344<sup>95</sup>.

## 5. Conclusions

Through what we now deem works of art, I have endeavoured to determine the extent to which – and the reasons why – divine dimension was a preoccupation of the King of Aragon, Peter IV. While it is true that the atmosphere surrounding the Aragonese monarchy was broadly similar to that of the majority of medieval sovereignties, there can be no doubt that the unique characteristics of the reign of Peter IV call for more detailed examination of his artistic endeavours, to arrive at the conclusion that his achievements were not simply the fruit of a prevailing atmosphere but in fact part of a more specific plan, concerned, in some cases, with recognition and legitimacy. Some of the manifestations of this plan appear to present Peter IV to his people as ruler in the temporal domain but also as a spiritual guide; others seem to announce him as the representative of Christo-centric or even juridico-centric kingship, as Kantorowicz would explain. I believe that these endeavours were motivated to a degree by contacts with other monarchies, chiefly the Kingdom of Mallorca, which is represented in the frontispiece of the *Llibre dels Jurats* (as extraordinary as it is ingenious) in a manner illustrative of the theory of the king's two bodies, in which the effigy of a 13<sup>th</sup> century monarch recalls the incumbent 14<sup>th</sup> century ruler. This iconographical exhibition perhaps explains the presence in some of the works commissioned by Peter IV of the manifestation of *dignitas no moritur*.

There remain a number of themes to be examined that could help shed light on this veiled ideal of the monarch as *rex et sacerdos*. I have not, for example, referred to ephemeral elements such as scents, colours and lighting, which contributed to the king's *mise-en-scène* and of which some documentary record exists. Nor have I discussed the repeated references to the choice of liturgical vestments worn by Peter IV during his coronation, which Palacios Martín interpreted as an attempt to establish some claim to

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<sup>95</sup> Peter IV was highly concerned about not having sired a male heir. In 1347 he stated that were he to have no male heir, the kingdom would pass into the hands of his first born daughter Constance: Del Arco, *Sepulcros*, 268. The king makes the same statement in his chronicle: Peter IV, *Crònica*, chap. IV, 4-7. The problems that he had in having a male heir led him to promote various artistic works, including the *Libro de Horas de María de Navarra*, as is shown in Joaquín Yarza, "María de Navarra y la ilustración del libro de Horas de la Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana," in *Libro de Horas de la reina María de Navarra* (Barcelona: Moleiro, 1996).

participation in the priesthood<sup>96</sup>. Finally, I have passed over documents that reveal the extent to which Peter IV was concerned with portraying the divine origin of his majesty and claiming equality of power and dignity with the figure of the emperor. These and other aspects, such as references to the *Specula principis* or *Specula regum*<sup>97</sup>, should also be addressed in future studies. However, there is sufficient evidence to sustain the argument that in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and more specifically during the reign of Peter IV the Ceremonious, there was a desire for the king to be seen as a kind of *rex et sacerdos*, a figure with a sacred dimension for the purposes of propaganda, recognition and legitimacy – or at the very least for the purposes of sanctioning his royal authority – within the framework of a political theology that was keenly expressed in the texts and iconography that emanated from the court of the King of Aragon.

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<sup>96</sup> Bonifacio Palacios Martín, “Estudio,” in *El Manuscrito de “San Miguel de los Reyes” de las “Ordinacions” de Peter IV*, *El “Manuscrito de San Miguel de los Reyes” de las “Ordinacions” de Peter IV* (Valencia: Scriptorium, 1994), 85.

<sup>97</sup> It seems to me more than mere coincidence that the first translation into an Iberian language of *Speculum* de Beauvais should have been commissioned by Peter IV.