

# VISUALIZING MONARCHIC POWER FROM THE 13TH TO 15TH CENTURIES: AN EXAMPLE OF NARRATIVE TOLD THROUGH CHRONICLES AND FUNERAL IMAGES IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA<sup>1</sup>

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*This study aims to show through various textual and iconographic examples how kings from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries were able to exploit public ceremonies and works of art for propaganda purposes. At the same time, it will also demonstrate the extent to which some medieval kings based their legitimacy on the memory of their predecessors through textual and iconographical initiatives. Furthermore, the study will show that out of all the various Christian kingdoms in the medieval Iberian Peninsula, one of the richest and most exemplary in this regard was the Crown of Aragon under the rule of Peter IV (1336-1387), also known as the Ceremonious.*

*Keywords: Four Great Chronicles, James I [Jaime I], Peter IV [Pedro IV], Trastámaras, Santa María de Poblet, Crown of Aragon, Royal emblems, Royal tombs*

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## 1. Introduction

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<sup>1</sup> This study forms part of the study entitled *Edificis i escenaris religiosos medievals a la Corona d'Aragó* [2014 SGR 110] led by Gerardo Boto and funded by Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament d'Economia i Coneixement.

This study aims to show through various textual and iconographic examples how kings from the 13th to the 15th centuries, among them James I, Peter IV and the Trastámaras, were able to exploit public ceremonies and works of art for propaganda purposes, especially at times of great difficulty during their reigns. It will also make clear the extent to which these kings based their legitimacy on the memory of their predecessors, a use of the past that can be traced in many of their textual and iconographic initiatives.

The first part will discuss the connections between two of the chronicles from the collection known in Catalonia as The Four Great Chronicles<sup>2</sup>, these being the *Llibre dels feyts* (Book of Deeds), which is thought to have been written by James *the Conqueror*, and the subsequent *Crònica de Pere el Cerimoniós* (Chronicle of Peter the Ceremonious) written by Peter IV, who, as we will see, was fascinated by his predecessor<sup>3</sup>. In addition to pointing out some key aspects on how these kings perceived themselves, I will draw particular attention to all those references to royal emblems or symbols that helped to make monarchical power visible. In doing so I will draw extensively on one of the latest works by Jaume Aurell, to whom I am deeply indebted.

The second part will explore artistic works whose aim was to create a propagandistic narrative based on dynastic ties. Several works from different artistic genres will be examined, the final one being Peter IV's most ambitious undertaking: the royal tombs carved in the monastery of Santa María de Poblet. This became the dynastic burial place of the Kings of Aragón and Counts of Barcelona and came to be used by the Trastámara lineage in the 15th century as a means of legitimizing their claims.

## **2. Textual evidence: chronicles as a legitimizing element**

As has been said recently, literary scholars have been fascinated by the analysis and interpretation of historical genres because it has given them the opportunity to examine, among other themes, the relationship between reality and fiction, the transmission and

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<sup>2</sup> In Catalan *Les Quatre Grans Cròniques*. Despite the Chronicles' antiquity, they are nevertheless predated by the *Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium*, which was written between 1180-1184 and marks the beginning of Catalan historiography: *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium*, ed. L. BARRAU DIHIGO and J. MASSÓ TORRENTS, Barcelona, 1925.

<sup>3</sup> The points of similarity between both kings are no coincidence; the effigies, artistic promotions and other decisions made by both of them reveal common preoccupations, although for each king these derived from a set of different problems: M. SERRANO COLL, *Art as a Means of Legitimization in the Kingdom of Aragón. Coronation Problems and Their Artistic Echos During the Reigns of James I and Peter IV*, in *Ikon. Journal of Iconographic Studies*, 5, 2012, p. 162-172.

reception of legends and the concepts of authority and authorship<sup>4</sup>. I wish to leave to one side these debates regarding the fictional and historical aspects of medieval Catalan historiography and instead focus on the assertions of truthfulness and accuracy that abound in the prologues of the Catalan chronicles and that signalled a desire for a new form of historical discourse which was distinct in content, style, and oral and fictional sources from the epic and romantic discourses. Consequently, as Jaume Aurell has pointed out, the Catalan chronicle's prologues define history as a discourse distinguished by its commitment to historical fact: James I and Peter IV, the two supposed writers of the chronicles that we are going to analyse here, played an active and, of course, a *conscious* role in this regard.

We should recall that James' grandfather, Alphonse *the Chaste*, the first king of Aragon and count of Barcelona, commissioned the writing of the *Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium*, a genealogy that is one of the founding historical texts of Catalan medieval historiography<sup>5</sup>. However, it was James *the Conqueror* who produced the first of the Four Great Chronicles written by the Aragonese kings during the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to celebrate the deeds of their reigns. But he decided to write an autobiography rather than a genealogy, a decision that has been related to the critical time in the political and social history of medieval Catalonia in which he was writing<sup>6</sup>. The only king who followed his example was Peter IV. His memoirs, written by a team of authors<sup>7</sup>, were also recorded during difficult times, although he would remain convinced of his divinely mandated role as leader of an emergent state. This context explains not only Peter IV's use of external documents to give independent validation to his claims<sup>8</sup> and the nature of certain symbolic practices, political gestures and ritual ceremonies, but also the episodic structure based on thematic sections, as Jaume Aurell shows, something unusual in the other Catalan chronicles, which are structured chronologically<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> The renewed interest in medieval historiography in current scholarship is synthesised by J. AURELL, *Authoring the Past. History, Autobiography, and Politics in Medieval Catalonia*, Chicago & London, 2012.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, esp. p. 21 and following.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40. See also J. M. PUJOL, *El Llibre dels fets de Jaume el Conqueridor*, Mallorca, 2008.

<sup>7</sup> As is explained in J. AURELL, *op. cit.* (n. 4), chapter 3.

<sup>8</sup> This aspect has been studied by F. M. GIMENO BLAY, *Escribir, reinar. La experiencia gráfico-textual de Pedro IV el Ceremonioso (1336-1387)*, Madrid, 2006, esp. p. 65.

<sup>9</sup> J. AURELL, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 93.

*Royal self-perceptions: some key aspects*

What can we say about the “historical” kings James I and Peter IV, the supposed authors of the chronicles that bear their names? In terms of their appearance, the historical texts have more to say about James, probably because Peter who was born prematurely, was not as physically prepossessing as his admired predecessor. The most detailed description of the appearance of James I is provided by the Chronicle of Bernat Desclot<sup>10</sup>: “He was the most beautiful man in the world [...] he was a full hand’s width taller than any other man [...] his limbs were well formed and proportioned [...] a large, smooth and ruddy face [...] a long and straight nose, and a large mouth [...] well formed, and large white beautiful teeth, [...] green eyes and beautiful blond hair [...] and broad shoulders and a long, thin body [...] strong well-formed arms, and beautiful hands [...] long fingers and powerful thighs [...] long, straight and strong legs [...] long and well-formed feet”.

As has been said, the king’s skull and skeleton, preserved at Poblet, bear some of the physical details provided by this chronicler. However, it is James I’s own chronicle which provides the most significant information because it describes the feature that appears most frequently in his iconography: his aged appearance: “The Lord had caused us to reign in his service for more than sixty years, longer than anyone can remember, and no other king since David or Solomon had reigned for so long”<sup>11</sup>. As I have stated in a previous work<sup>12</sup>, a meticulous study of James’ iconography shows that this almost continuous characteristic is not repeated in representations of the other kings of the Crown of Aragon. Indeed, it was absent even from the iconographic representations of Peter IV, whose reign of fifty-one years from 1336 to 1387 was second only to that of James I in terms of length.

Piety is another aspect that runs deeply through their chronicles. It is possible that James’ piety derives from his childhood: traumatically orphaned at six, he was raised by

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<sup>10</sup> “*Fo lo pus bell hom del món; que [...] era major que altre hom un palm, [...] molt bé format e complit de tots sos membres [...] molt gran cara, e vermella, e flamenca, [...] nas llong e ben dret, e gran boca [...] ben feita, e grans dents, belles e blanques, [...] ulls vairs, e bells cabells rossos [...] e grans espatlles e llong cors e delgat, [...] brasses grossos e ben feits, e belles mans [...] longs dits, e les cuixes grosses [...] cames llongues e dretes e grosses [...] peus llongs e ben feits*”: B. DESCLOT, *Crònica*, cap. XII, in F. SOLDEVILA, *Les quatre grans cròniques*, Barcelona, [1972], 1983<sup>3</sup>, cap. XII.

<sup>11</sup> “*Nostre senyor nos havia fet regnar al seu servï pus de seixanta anys, mes que no era en memoria, ne trobava hom que negun rei, de David o de Salomó ençà, hagués tant regnat*”: JAIME I, *Libre dels feyts del rei en Jacme* in F. SOLDEVILA, *op. cit* (n. 10), par. 562.

<sup>12</sup> M. SERRANO COLL, *Jaime I el Conquistador, imàgenes medievals de un reinado*, Zaragoza, 2008.

the Templar Knights in Monzón, who instilled in him military and ascetic values<sup>13</sup>. Indeed, the introduction to his *Llibre dels Feytz* has been interpreted as an attempt to illustrate the central purpose of his life; that is, to affirm his Christian faith through deeds: “My lord Saint James says that faith without action is dead. God wanted me, through my deeds, to fulfil these words”<sup>14</sup>. As has been stated, the king both strives to justify his actions and leaves a permanent record of his heroic and chivalric nature. For this reason, as Jaume Aurell wrote, James I describes how he has devoted his entire life to making his God-given talents bear fruit through the exercise of power. His deeds are always protected by God, and all of his actions are carried out under his auspices or those of his saints, such as Saint Georges, who I believe was used by the king to provide a religious and divine justification to his new conquests. Indeed, the spread of the cult of Saint George throughout the Crown of Aragon during James I’s reign is closely intertwined with the king’s coronation problems and new conquests of the kingdoms of Mallorca and Valencia. Due to his refusal to renew the allegiance of his kingdom to the Holy See, he was never crowned by the Pontiff. This incident led to the development of the idea known as the right of conquest, by which one could claim to be king of a territory by the fact of having conquered it<sup>15</sup>. This right also has important implications when we come to evaluate James I’s insignia, as we will see. However, what I want to highlight here is that this arrangement meant that James I’s *regio ministerio* inevitably lacked the Church’s approval, and this in turn led him to emphasize his own independent connection with the divine. This, I believe, explains his obsession with appearing to have been favoured by God even from before birth, particularly once he had been excommunicated. Indeed, he is shown at prayer in many images that have survived to the present day, (Fig. 1) such as the one that appears in his *Llibre dels Feytz*, fol. 1r, where he is praying in order to resolve something that he refers to as “*lo tort*” (the twisted thing)<sup>16</sup>, most likely an allusion to that which the *Crónicas de Sahagún* refer to as the damned and invalid marriage of his predecessors Alfonso I and Urraca of

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<sup>13</sup> For a recent study of his life, see M. T. FERRER, *Jaume I: vida i gestes*, in *Jaume I. Commemoració del VII Centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, Barcelona, 2011, p. 11-36. This volume also includes the useful study by AURELL, *La historiografia sobre Jaume I*, p. 707-714.

<sup>14</sup> “Retrau mon senyor sent Jacme que fe sens obres morta és. Aquesta paraula volch nostre Senyor complir en los nostres feytz”: JAIME I, *op. cit.* (n. 11), par. 1

<sup>15</sup> Bonifacio Palacios Martín was the first to study this issue. Among his studies, see B. PALACIOS MARTÍN, *Los símbolos de la soberanía en la Edad Media. El simbolismo de la espada*, in *VII Centenario del Infante Don Fernando de la Cerda. Jornadas de Estudio*, Ciudad Real, 1976, p. 273-296.

<sup>16</sup> His words are: “pregàs per nos al seu fill que ens donàs lo tort que li teniem”: JAIME I, *op. cit.* (n. 11), par. 1.

Castille<sup>17</sup>. Throughout James I's own chronicle there are constant references to divine protection and to his close ties with God. I believe that James I also wanted to appear to be a *roi très chrétien*<sup>18</sup> with the air of a priest, as when he demonstrated his royal eloquence through sermons. In fact, the first example of royal preaching in the Crown of Aragon was by James I, who, according to the documents, announced his Mallorcan campaign in the form of a sermon to the Courts of Barcelona in 1228<sup>19</sup>. The only surviving medieval illustration of this moment is the mural painting from the Palau Aguilar which, unfortunately, is incomplete and so prevents us from seeing how the king would have been represented. However, as I have stressed in a recent study, this union of the roles of *rex et sacerdos*<sup>20</sup> was taken to its logical conclusion by Peter IV, who linked religious and aulic subjects through the acoustic and the visual. His chronicle is a veiled attempt to inhabit and emphasize this dual role and, therefore, represents his desire to appear before his people as both temporal ruler and spiritual guide: "And [...] we went to the church of San Salvador and [...] finding ourselves on the dais where one is accustomed to preaching we spoke to the people"<sup>21</sup>. This Christocentric image that the monarchy adopted for itself can also be found in other texts from the period. For example, Peter IV's closing address to the Courts of Tarragona in 1370<sup>22</sup> and other surviving texts illustrate the degree to which his rhetoric made use of, among other devices, *similitudines* with passages from the Bible, in which

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<sup>17</sup> For a synthesis of the different interpretations given to this expression, see M. SERRANO COLL, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 151-152.

<sup>18</sup> As stated by J. PANGE, *Le roi très chrétien*, Paris, 1949.

<sup>19</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, make explicit reference to this fact. His own chronicle states that he used the standard format for these occasions: JAIME I, *op. cit.* (n. 11), par. 1. See also E. PRAT DE LA RIBA, *Corts catalanes: proposicions y respostes*, Barcelona, 1906, P. 38-40 and F. RODÉS, *Johan Fernandez d'Heredia, Gestas del Rey don James de Aragón*, in *Edicions Dichitals de l'Academia de l'Aragonés*, 2, 2008, s.p.

<sup>20</sup> M. SERRANO COLL, 'Rex et Sacerdos'. *A veiled ideal of kingship? Representing priestly kings in 14th Century Iberia*, in M. HERRERO, S. AURELL and A. MICELI (eds.), *The Theory and the Practice of Political Theology: Discourses, Rites, Representations*, Leiden (in press).

<sup>21</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 was covered with golden cloths, "de draps d'or": PETER IV, *Crònica*, in F. SOLDEVILA, *op. cit.* (n. 10), chap. 4.

<sup>22</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": J. 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, 1896, p. 402.

he was so well versed: as it has been stated, his chronicle and other surviving documentation indicate that he knew the Bible as well as any consummate preacher<sup>23</sup>.

To return to James I's *Llibre dels Feys*, it should be pointed out that his tireless efforts to imbue the decisions and actions that he took throughout his life with religious authority were matched by his desire to be seen as an accomplished military leader. As has been said, in order to stress the king's *auctoritas* and consolidate his reputation as a knight, his chronicle carefully describes all those military actions in which the king emerges strengthened because of his skills as a strategist and his maturity as a knight. Jaume Aurell has said that the king did not need to justify his conquests of Valencia and Mallorca because they came under the general program of the war conducted by the *Universitas Christiana* against Islam<sup>24</sup>. However, I maintain that James I's aforementioned coronation problems obliged him to justify his kingship of the new territories by right of conquest and forced him to support his legitimacy by emphasizing the direct intervention of Saint Georges in his campaigns, thus demonstrating divine approval, and by the re-evaluation of the sword as an emblematic insignia. The re-evaluation of this insignia will be seen, again, during the reign of Peter IV who felt impelled to reconquer the kingdom of Mallorca. However it should be noted that whereas the *Llibre dels Feys* by James I favours the spontaneous narration of military campaigns, Peter IV's *Crònica* exalts public character over the private, and descriptions of political events over descriptions of the knight's deeds<sup>25</sup>. Consequently, there are substantial differences between both chronicles and, as a result, between the manner in which each king perceived himself.

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<sup>23</sup> We know that he first requested a Bible at the age of 20 and that he asked for it in *Romance* (occitan). Furthermore, in 1345 he asked James III of Mallorca for a Bible; in 1351 he asked for a copy in Catalan; in 1352 he bought one for one hundred pounds; in 1353 he asked to see one belonging to the nobleman Gilaberto de Cruilles "*per alcunes raons*" (for certain reasons); in 1359 he bought some more bibles 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 "so that we can have the Bible and look at it, in the knowledge that afterwards, if we like it we may buy it"; in 1383, at the Cortes de Monzón, he asked the treasurer Pere Valls to buy him the best Bible he could because "*havem de gran necessitat que més no porem*", so "we could not have a greater need for it". All of these are mentioned in A. RUBIÓ, *Algunes consideracions sobre l'oratoria política de Catalunya a l'edat mitjana*, in *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, 3, 1909, p. 219-220. For medieval sermons, see M. A. SÁNCHEZ SÁNCHEZ, *Un sermonario castellano medieval: el ms. 1854 de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca*, Salamanca, 1999, 2 vols. Cited in J. J. PRAT FERRER, *Los Exempla medievales: una etapa escrita entre dos oralidades*, in *Oppidum* 3, 2007, p. 176, n. 21.

<sup>24</sup> J. AURELL, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 52.

<sup>25</sup> M. SERRANO COLL, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 95.

Medieval historiography was a powerful instrument in the pursuit of political objectives, and James I took advantage of its potential<sup>26</sup> as did Peter IV who, as an experienced historian and biographer<sup>27</sup>, used the narrative of the past as a tool for royal propaganda. This explains the intense historiographical activity during his reign, as the writings of the Dominican Jaume Domènech show<sup>28</sup>. Peter IV attached such importance to history most probably because he recognized he had a place in it. This sense of history would explain not only his interest in heraldry (which was almost always present in images of him) but also the genealogies he commissioned. These were both textual, such as the *vera Crònica de San Juan de la Peña*<sup>29</sup> “this chronicle has been reviewed according to the public charters from our archive and it is true”<sup>30</sup>, and iconographic, such as the unfinished set of nineteen statues of his ancestors that he commissioned around 1350 from the sculptor Aloi for the *Saló del Tinell*, a magnificent polyvalent hall that he had built in the Royal Palace of Barcelona, and the nineteen enamel figures commissioned in 1360 from the Valencian silversmith Pere Bernes to decorate a new royal sword sheath.

#### *Royal emblems as insignia pro legitimatione*

To begin this section is necessary to refer to James I’s coronation problems. The conditions imposed by Innocent III were so disagreeable to the king that he stated in his chronicle that he preferred to return to his dominions without the crown on his head<sup>31</sup>. This ill-fated coronation has been described by traditional historiographers as devaluing

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<sup>26</sup> G. M. SPIEGEL, *Political Utility in Medieval Historiography: a Sketch*, in *History and Theory*, 14, 1975, p. 314-325.

<sup>27</sup> J. AURELL, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 52, p. 94 and following.

<sup>28</sup> Domènech was involved in the court of Peter IV from 1362, and he was a relative and advisor of the Infante Don Juan in 1377, for whom he both commissioned and wrote books. In 1379, for the wedding of Johan I to Violant de Bar, he wrote a *Genealogia regum Francorum, Navarre et Aragonum*. But his most ambitious work was his *Compilació historial del rei en Pere*, commissioned by Peter IV in 1363, a universal chronicle covering everything from creation up to the time of writing. For more on this author see M. TOLDRA, *Estudi i edició del Compendi historial de Jaume Domènech. O. P: el regnat de Constantí (ms. 11518 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, folis 309-339v)*, Barcelona, 1993.

<sup>29</sup> See Carmen ORCASTEGUI GROS, *Crònica de San Juan de la Peña (versió aragonesa). Edició Crítica*, Zaragoza, 1986. For universal chronicles, see among others, Miquel COLL I ALENTORN, *Les cròniques universals catalanes*, in *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 34, 1971-1972, p. 43-20; *Idem*, *Historiografía*, Curial, Barcelona, 1991, p. 44-45.

<sup>30</sup> “Aquesta crònica és comprovada ab cartes públiques del nostre archiu et és vera” words from the copy held at the Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca, ms. 2664, f. 29; F. GIMENO BLAY, *Escribir, leer y reinar. La experiencia gráfico-textual de Pedro IV el Ceremonioso (1336-1387)*, in *Scrittura e Civiltà*, XXII, 1998, p. 178-179, 218-219.

<sup>31</sup> “[...] tornar menys de corona que ab corona”: JAIME I, *op. cit.* (n. 11), par. 538.

the crown as a symbol of power<sup>32</sup>. However, James I's chronicle states that he never relinquished his desire to be crowned, and an analysis of the figurative images of the king shows that the crown was used not only in traditional artistic formats but also in images that until then had never featured this emblematic element; (Fig. 2) of these the equestrian representations on the reverse of both his major seals and his minor ones are the most eloquent<sup>33</sup>.

Consequently, James I based his claims to sovereignty over his new territories simply by the fact of having conquered them<sup>34</sup>. As a result, as Bonifacio Palacios states, the sword necessarily grew in prominence as a symbol of authority throughout his reign. But, as I have demonstrated in another study, this re-evaluation was not limited to James I but rather extended beyond his government; of particular note is Peter III's reference to the sword when rejecting French claims to the Catalan territories by arguing that his ancestors "had conquered these territories by the sword"<sup>35</sup>. It can thus be seen that throughout the 13th century the sword became a characteristic emblem of the Crown of Aragon. Exploring the full meaning of this emblem as a weapon of justice is beyond the scope of this paper; however, it may be said that it draws its significance from the Bible and from the sovereigns' desire to compare themselves with certain Old Testament kings such as Moses, David and Solomon, who were regarded as models of *roi très chrétien*<sup>36</sup>. These similes are scattered throughout the medieval writings of the Crown of Aragon but rarely appeared in Aragonese royal iconography. (Fig. 3) For this reason, it is highly surprising that the first page of the *Aureum Opus* from Alzira, whose illuminations were intended to provide an iconographic genealogy, depicts James I as King David (the first illumination showing him as the conqueror of the Muslim kingdom), thus symbolizing the beginning of a new holy dynasty in Valencia after its Christian conquest. It should be recalled that this same comparison can be found in James I's own words when he likens his long reign to that of King David in his *Llibre dels feys*<sup>37</sup>.

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<sup>32</sup> B. PALACIOS, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 285.

<sup>33</sup> All his predecessors used a helmet rather than a crown. For more information, see M. SERRANO COLL, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 162-172.

<sup>34</sup> B. PALACIOS, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 285-286.

<sup>35</sup> "[...] *car mon llinatge la conqués ab l'espasa*": J. DESCLOT, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 543.

<sup>36</sup> Desclot states that the Sicilian people compared Peter III with Moses: *Ibidem*, cap. LXXXVII. It should be recalled that Moses said in the Old Testament: "I will sharpen my flashing sword, and my hand shall lay hold of my quiver": Moses, No. 32, 41.

<sup>37</sup> See footnote 11.

Returning to the sword, it is particularly interesting that, according to the *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña*, this was the only insignia that James I would formally hand down to his successor, a transfer that is not mentioned in his *Llibre dels feyts*: “My Son: I lend you my sword as a sign of rightness; with her you will discern good from evil. With the lordship I confer to you, God will give you victory against your enemies”<sup>38</sup>. Thus this transfer appears for the first time in Peter IV’s chronicle where he uses the sword not only to legitimize himself but also to emulate his illustrious predecessor, whom he referred to as the *holy king*<sup>39</sup>. It is illuminating that Peter left this same sword, which must surely be *Tisó*, in his will to his firstborn son, John, who used it in 1370<sup>40</sup>.

We have seen why James I re-evaluated the sword as an emblem, but for what reasons did Peter IV do the same? As is well-known, when James I died, the terms of his will dictated that the kingdom of Mallorca should be governed by a minor branch of the house of Barcelona, a fact which led to many conflicts with the kings of Aragon, including Peter IV, for whom preventing the loss of royal property was a matter of the utmost importance. This explains Peter’s tendency towards *Caesarism*, as opposed to the traditional Catalan *pactisme* that was more typical of James I. Consequently, Peter used what he regarded as Mallorca’s defiance of his authority<sup>41</sup> to assert his claim to its throne and conquer the island in 1344, thus regaining control of a kingdom that was originally conquered by James I, his glorious predecessor. I believe that Peter IV’s annexation of Mallorca (which to begin with was illicit because it contravened the provisions of James’s will) increased his appreciation of the value of the sword because it had a legitimizing effect on his conquest. For this reason, I believe, he commissioned Pere Bernés to make a new coronation sword so that he could claim a continuous, uninterrupted but also false dynastic succession. Such a sword would be used in

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<sup>38</sup> “Fillo mío, yo libro la mi spada en sennyal de dreitura con la qual tu departescas mal de bien, e livrote la mia sennyria con la qual te de Dios victoria contra los tus enemigos”: These words are almost identical to those that appear in other chronicles, such as that of Jerónimo de Zurita, which is referred to in the *De Gestis Jacobi Aragoniae Regis* by Pere Marsili. See J. DE ZURITA, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, Zaragoza, [1562-1580], 1980, lib. III, cap. CI.

<sup>39</sup> Referring to the moments before the James’s death, the *Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña* says: “El dito santo rey se despulló los vestidos [...]”: “The holy king removed his clothes”: C. ORCASTEGUI, *op. cit.* (n. 29), chap. 35, 286. A reference to the king as holy can also be found in the documents concerning his burial at Santa María de Poblet, which Master Aloy was ordered to carry out by Peter IV, as is shown in C. de TOURTOLON, *Jacme Ier le Conquérant*, Montpellier, 1967, vol. II, doc. 21.

<sup>40</sup> Significantly, the sword is the first of the insignia to appear, according to J. A de MESA ALCALDE, *Genealogía de la Tizona*, in *Trastámara, Revista de Ciencias Auxiliares de la Historia*, 1, 2008, p. 37-61.

<sup>41</sup> For more information on the various reasons that Peter IV used to justify his conquest (unlawful coinage and use of royal arms, denial of vassalage, etc.), see *Proceso contra el rey de Mallorca d. Jaime III, mandado formar por el rey d. Pedro IV de Aragón. Publicado de real orden por D. Manuel de Bofarull y de Sartorio, archivero de la Corona de Aragón*, tom. III, Barcelona, 1866.

coronation ceremonies held in each of the new kingdoms conquered by the monarch. At the same time, Peter was again able to emulate James I by linking the sword to the right of conquest, which formed the basis of his power in Mallorca, and by handing this same emblematic sword down to his heirs in imitation of James I when he handed *Tisó* down to his son, the future Peter III, also known as the Great<sup>42</sup>. Unfortunately, neither the sword nor its scabbard have survived, but there is a similar insignia that the documentation<sup>43</sup> shows was well known in the kingdom of Aragon and that could have also provided inspiration<sup>44</sup>: the imperial sword that Henry IV could have used in Rome in 1084 during his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor<sup>45</sup>. Lack of space prevents me from giving a more detailed examination; however, a brief survey of the iconographic similarities between both swords suggests that they share a similar symbolic meaning; Henry IV tried to demonstrate through art a clear line of succession from Charlemagne down to his immediate predecessor, Henry III, and likewise, Peter IV used art to try to legitimize his conquest of Mallorca. This visual use of genealogy with the intention of giving the appearance of continuity and stability had direct contemporary echoes in the abdication speech of King Juan Carlos I of Spain in June 2014<sup>46</sup>.

As a result of Peter IV's re-evaluation, the sword acquired a new role in the book *The coronation ceremony of the kings of Aragon* written in 1353<sup>47</sup>, which states that the

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<sup>42</sup> Although, as has been stated, the reference to this passage is only found in the chronicle that Peter IV ordered the monastery of San Juan de la Peña to compile, which is no coincidence.

<sup>43</sup> The first mention of this sword, also named "espasa de sant Maurici" is found in a letter issued in 1315 by Isabella of Aragon, one of the daughters of James II and Blanche of Anjou, and who married Frederick III of Habsburg: M. SERRANO COLL, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 65.

<sup>44</sup> M. COLL, *Guifré el Pelós en la historiografia i en la llegenda*, Barcelona, 1990, p. 136.

<sup>45</sup> The German scabbard, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, shows the raised and standing effigies of fourteen emperors from Charlemagne to Henry III: H. FILLITZ, *Die Insignien und Kleinodien des Heiligen Römischen Reiches*, Vienna-München, 1954; M. SCHULZE-DÖRRLAMM, *Das Reichsschwert. Ein Herrschaftszeichen des Saliers Heinrich IV. und des Welfen Otto IV.*, Sigmaringen, 1995.

<sup>46</sup> On 2 June 2014, during the live broadcast of the king's abdication speech, he could be seen flanked by two photographs: in the one on the right he appeared with his father, the Count of Barcelona don Juan; in the one on the left, he appeared with his son, who is now Philip VI, and his son's eldest daughter, the Infanta Leonor, the current heir to the throne.

<sup>47</sup> And entitled *Ordinación hecha por el muy alto y muy Excelente Príncipe y Señor, el Señor Don Pedro III, Rey de Aragón, de cómo los Reyes de Aragón se hacen consagrar, y ellos mismos se coronan*. The epigraph that interests us is "De la manera con los reys darago se faran consegrar e ells mateix se coronaran". This manuscript is an extended copy of the unfinished text kept in El Escorial. Among other things, this was aimed at removing from the liturgy any subordination to the church and is also dedicated to "De la manera con les reynes d'arago se faran consegrar e los reys d'arago les coronaran" according to the incipit of folios 129r and 148r. For previous versions, see B. PALACIOS, *La coronación de los Reyes de Aragón, 1204-1410. Aportación al estudio de las estructuras políticas medievales*, Valencia, 1975, p. 264-267. The date is given in a letter issued in Valencia. In January 1353 the king sent a decree from Valencia ordering the creation of a new coronation ritual for the kings and queens of Aragon: B. PALACIOS, *El ceremonial*, in E. VICENTE DE VERA (coord.), *Ceremonial de consagración y*

sword should be given to the sovereign as a sign of royalty: *tibi regaliter impositum*<sup>48</sup>. As with the other insignia, the king had to take the sword from the altar and put it around his waist without the aid of another person<sup>49</sup>. I think that this is an important requisite, first because of the analogy with his esteemed predecessor James I when he was knighted in Tarazona<sup>50</sup>, and second because of the contrast between this ceremony and the last one that took place in Rome, in which Peter II first placed the sceptre and diadem on the altar and then was handed the sword by the Pope, according to the description given in Zurita's *Anales de Aragón*<sup>51</sup>.

I cannot finish this section without mentioning the sword found in 1856 above the body of James I in the monastery of Santa María de Poblet, a discovery that provides plenty of scope for conjecture. The sword was dated to the 14th century<sup>52</sup> and is now lost, but as del Arco asserts<sup>53</sup>, it must have been placed in the tomb when James I's remains were transferred from their simple wooden casket located in the presbytery of the church<sup>54</sup> to a new tomb constructed at the orders of Peter IV<sup>55</sup>. This transfer, as we will see, was part of a programme aimed at glorifying the dynasty and which included the construction of a magnificent dynastic burial place in the Cistercian monastery.

### 3. Iconographical evidence: dynastic continuity as a propagandistic device

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*coronación de los reyes de Aragón. Ms. R. 14.425 de la Biblioteca de la Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid, 1992, p. 127.*

<sup>48</sup> A. SAN VICENTE, *El códice y su transcripción*, in E. VICENTE DE VERA (coord), *op. cit.* (n. 47), p. 25.

<sup>49</sup> “[...] *prenga l spada del altar e éll mismo cingasela sines ayuda de otra persona*”: *Ibidem*, p. 26.

<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, James I was continuing an innovation started by Ferdinand III of Castile and Leon, which he described in these terms: “*nos cenyim la espasa que prenguem de sobre l’altar*”, “we put on the sword that we took down from the altar”: JAIME I, *op. cit.* (n. 11), par. 19. More information can be found in B. PALACIOS, *Investidura de armas de los reyes españoles en los siglos XII y XIII*, in *Gladius*, 1988, p. 188-189.

<sup>51</sup> J. DE ZURITA, *op. cit.* (n. 38), lib. II, cap. LI.

<sup>52</sup> See the notes given by Miret i Sans and the studies of Barón de las IV Torres, both referred to in R. DEL ARCO, *Sepulcros de la Casa Real de Aragón*, Madrid, 1945, p. 193.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>54</sup> For further descriptions, see Fr. V. PRADA, *Sepulcros de la casa RL. de Aragón, Condes de Urgel, Duques de Segorbe, y Cardona, Varones, Señores de Vassallos, Cavalleros, Obispos, Abades, y otros muchos, que descansan, y eligieron sepultura en el Insigne y R. Monasterio de Nra S<sup>ra</sup>. De Poblet, Orden del Cister. Elucidados por un indigno Monge de dicho R<sup>l</sup>. Monast<sup>o</sup>. Dedicados A la Concepcion Purissima de la Reyna y Emperatriz de los Cielos Mar.a S<sup>ra</sup> Nra. Año 1692*, Biblioteca de Poblet, Ms. Arm. VI. C. 19.39, fol. 4r and E. TODA, *Panteones reales de Poblet. Destrucción, Envío de los fragmentos a Tarragona y Abandono de los sótanos municipales, en 1854. Traslado al Museo Provincial en 1894, Restitución al monasterio en 1933*, Tarragona, 1935, p. 5.

<sup>55</sup> R. DEL ARCO, *op. cit.* (n. 52), p. 193

The closing chapters of the *Llibre dels Feys* record, among other things, James I's renunciation of all his possessions when he took holy orders at Cîteaux<sup>56</sup>. The last four lines, which provide a brief account of his death, are written in the third person, a rhetorical device aimed at increasing the historical legitimacy of James I as an author<sup>57</sup>. First, sorrowful obsequies, including a particular ceremony known as *córrer les armes*, were held throughout the kingdom when James died, as Ramón Muntaner's chronicle shows<sup>58</sup>: "And sorrow, and crying and weeping and wailing began across the city and every rich man, knight, citizen, woman and damsel followed the king's flag and coat of arms, and ten horses whose tails had been cut off. And in this way they continued crying and wailing, and this mourning lasted for four days in the city". However, what interests us here is that his body was buried at Poblet in accordance with his first will signed in the archiepiscopal palace in Tarragona on 6 March 1232<sup>59</sup>. The reasons why he chose to be buried at Poblet are beyond the scope of this paper, although he may have been motivated by geographical, devotional and economic concerns. The significant thing is that James was buried in the presbytery of the church inside a wooden shrine covered in velvet or damask and studded with precious metals<sup>60</sup>; that is, in an understated manner reminiscent of the burials of certain medieval saints. At the end of 1366, Peter IV ordered the renovation of James I's tomb, as the one of Alphonse, as just one of the visual mechanisms he commissioned to exalt the institution that he embodied<sup>61</sup>.

Peter IV chose Poblet as the burial place for his own remains in 1340 and then decreed in 1377 that the abbey should be the burial site for all his successors without exception, a decision that broke with the preferences of other members of the royal house for burial

<sup>56</sup> "Vestírem-nos l'hàbit del cistell y ns fèrem monjo d'aquell ordre". "We put on the habit of the Cistercian and we became a monk of that order": JAIME I, *op. cit.* (n. 11), par. 564.

<sup>57</sup> I'm rewriting here the words of J. AURELL, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 54.

<sup>58</sup> "E els dols, e els plors, e els plants e els crits començaren per tota la ciutat, que no hi romàs ric-hom, mainaderne cavaller, ciutadans, dones e donzelles, que tui anaven darrera la senyera e l'escut seu, e deu cavalls a qui hom havia tolt la coa. E així anaven tuit plorant e braidant: e aquest dol durà en la ciutat quatre dies": This image of sorrow was prominent at Poblet, where "tots ensems, ab grans professons e ab moltes oraciones, e grans plors, e plants e crits ell fo enterrat"; "with everyone assembled, in large processions and with much praying and crying and weeping and wailing, the king was buried": R. MUNTANER, *Crònica*, in F. SOLDEVILA, *op. cit.* (n. 10), cap. XXVIII.

<sup>59</sup> The archbishop concerned was Aspàrec de la Barca, whom the king named "uncle" because of the relationship between the prelate and the king's mother, Maria de Montpeller. In 1257 and 1272 he ratified this provision: R. DEL ARCO, *op. cit.* (n. 52), p. 58, 188.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 165. Other authors have stated that these coffins were made in wood and covered with black velvet: PRADA, *op. cit.* (n. 54), fol. 4r or E. TODA, *op. cit.* (n. 54), p. 5.

<sup>61</sup> In accordance with J. BRACONS, 'Operibus monumentorum que fieri facere ordinamus'. *L'escultura al servei del Cerimoniós in Pere el Cerimoniós i la seva època. Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, anexo nº 24, Barcelona, p. 219.

in Franciscan monasteries<sup>62</sup>. Indeed, the documents<sup>63</sup> show that Peter IV's main concern was to be laid to rest *in eternum* by the side of the *Holy King* James I<sup>64</sup>. Everything indicates that when Peter IV had James' body moved to the new sarcophagus, he also ordered a sword to be placed along with his predecessor; that is, the king who had first adopted this symbol as a sign of sovereignty. (Fig. 4) I wish to emphasize that it is no coincidence that the recumbent figures on James I's shrine also bore the *insignia* that Peter regarded as the most emblematic of his status: the Aragonese coat of arms, the crown and, as I have stressed, the sword. The only instructions given to the sculptors in the surviving documentation make no mention of the sword: they should make "the figure of a crowned king in one part of the shrine [...] and the figure of a monk dressed in his habit and with the royal crown on his head in the other"<sup>65</sup>; however, sword is included in the image because the expression "crowned king" in the text is understood to refer to all aspects of the state or condition of being king<sup>66</sup>. Consequently, the text should be interpreted as a desire to ensure that this image is adorned with the insignia that the sovereign acquires when crowned, including, in accordance with Peter IV's coronation ceremony, the sword. The presence of the second recumbent figure dressed as a monk is to be expected; however, it is more difficult to explain why an image of the sword should have been carved into the shrine. One possible explanation is that the image in stone on the tomb depicts the actual contents of the tomb and, therefore, allows Peter IV to create a permanent popular image of James I that would last for centuries.

Notwithstanding this, there are 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, starting with James I, wished to establish with the sacred in pursuit of various objectives. One of the principal goals of a research project

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<sup>62</sup> Constance of Sicily, Marie of Cyprus and Sibila of Fortià were all buried in the Monastery of San Francisco in Barcelona. This monastery was also a burial place *in itinere* of some kings of Aragon: it was the resting place of Alphonse III and James II until they were moved to Poblet. Also in Barcelona, one can find Elisenda de Montcada at Pedralbes, the Clarisse monastery that she founded and lived in as a widow. In contrast, Alphonse IV and his second wife Eleanor of Castile were buried in San Francisco in Lérida, whereas his first wife rests in San Francisco in Zaragoza. Thus in total seven kings and queens were buried in Franciscan monasteries and two kings were placed there *in itinere*.

<sup>63</sup> R. DEL ARCO, *op. cit.* (n. 52), p. 189.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 186.

<sup>65</sup> "[...] *a figura e a manera de rey coronat en la una part del seu vas, e altra a figura e manera de monge ab son abit vestit e qui jau tienen corona reyal en son cap*"; A. RUBIÓ, *Documents per a la història de la cultura catalana mig-aval*, Barcelona [1908], 2000, vol. 1, doc. CCXXXV, p. 226.

<sup>66</sup> As in other important texts such as *Tirant lo Blanch*. The expression "*rei coronat*" with this same meaning can be found in J. MARTORELL, *Tirant lo Blanch*, Valencia, [1490], 2006, chap. 115, 224, 307, 317, 325 and 334.

that I led<sup>67</sup> was to examine the extent to which we can see in the dual representations of kings (depicted on the robes of the Cistercian Order and on royal attire) a visual manifestation of the concept of *rex et sacerdos*, which, as I argued recently, Peter IV was so keen to promote<sup>68</sup>. Indeed, I would suggest it is no coincidence that the effigy of Peter IV, which is not double, is dressed in the robes of a deacon<sup>69</sup>, just as he was attired on the day of his coronation and as his will shows that he wished to be buried<sup>70</sup>. I believe that this iconography clearly shows the overtly religious nature of the political theory that was espoused by Peter IV and which would have such a bearing on the corresponding architectural manifestations, namely the royal tombs, whose nearest parallel can be found in the tomb of Caterina d'Austria's sepulchre, probably Tino da Camaino's first Neapolitan work<sup>71</sup>. All of them are elevated much in the same style as the saints tombs built in the 14th century, which were designed to give an aura of protection. In creating the royal burial site, which would have entailed the rigorous organisation of burials and the celebration of funereal liturgies, it is possible that Peter IV also wished to proclaim the continuity of what Ernst Kantorowicz has named the king's political body<sup>72</sup>, in defiance of the finite nature of the physical self and the dynastic problems that threatened his reign until the year 1344<sup>73</sup>.

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<sup>67</sup> The project formed part of the programme *Ajuts per fomentar la incorporació i visualització d'investigadors emergents* funded by Banco Santander and the Universitat Rovira i Virgili and was entitled *Els Panteons Reials a la Catalunya Nova: Poblet, Santes Creus i Vallbona de les Monges*, ref. [2012LINE-05].

<sup>68</sup> M. SERRANO COLL, *op. cit.* (n. 20).

<sup>69</sup> "como acostumbran a levar los diácones quando son vestidos por dir lo Evangelio": A. SAN VICENTE, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 21.

<sup>70</sup> His body, according to the will issued on 17 August 1379, was to be dressed in royal insignia, that is, a Roman shirt, stole, maniple, tunic and dalmatic, in the style of the cardinals when the Pope celebrated divine office, and with boots and velvet slippers such as those that he wore on the day of his coronation: R. DEL ARCO, *op. cit.* (n. 52), p. 288.

<sup>71</sup> Sculpted circa 1323, the tomb is located in the Basilica di San Lorenzo Maggiore in Naples. Caterina d'Austria was the first wife of Charles of Calabria, son of Roberto d'Anjou, who was son of Violante d'Aragon, in turn daughter of Peter III and Constance of Sicily. Two years after Violante's death in 1302, Robert married Sancha of Mallorca.

<sup>72</sup> E. KANTOROWICZ, *The King's two bodies. A study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, Princeton, 1957.

<sup>73</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: R. DEL ARCO, *op. cit.* (n. 52), p. 268. The king makes the same statement in his chronicle: PETER IV, *op. cit.* (n. 21), chap. IV, 4-7. The difficulties that he faced in trying to sire a male heir led him to promote various artistic works, including the *Libro de Horas de María de Navarra*, as is shown in J. 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, 1996, p. 93-256.

In keeping with Erlande Brandenburg, who brilliantly related funereal art with spirituality, society and politics<sup>74</sup>, I think that the location of Ferdinand de Antequera's tomb at Poblet in the 15th century also has to be interpreted in a political way, given that the all the kings of Aragon from Peter IV, without exception, had to be buried there<sup>75</sup>. The documentation explains that Ferdinand, first king of Aragón from the Trastámara branch, who became king after the Compromiso de Caspe in 1410<sup>76</sup>, wanted to be buried at that monastery, but requested "to be located in the choir near the lectern, without any high tomb, with vestments and regalia like those used when he was crowned"<sup>77</sup>. Despite his wishes, he was located above the flattened arches, at the point nearest to the choir and in the only unoccupied space. It seems that, first, he was located on the epistle side and, finally, on the gospel side, a space previously reserved for Martin I but which, due to negligence, was never filled by this unfortunate king whose death led to the extinction of this branch of the house Aragon<sup>78</sup>. The appropriation by Ferdinand's successors of a place of burial that was not rightfully theirs had important implications because in so doing they contravened not only the provisions of Martin I's will<sup>79</sup>, but also the will of Ferdinand, who inaugurated the new dynasty. I think that John II's decision to place the body of his father Ferdinand on the arch reflected the new royal reality: it was more important to find a place in the arches for the new

<sup>74</sup> A. ERLANDE-BRANDENBURG, *Le roi est mort. Étude sur les funérailles, les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Bibliothèque de la Société Française d'Archéologie, dirigée par Francis Salet et Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, n° 7), Genève, 1975.

<sup>75</sup> Although two earlier kings were also buried there: Alphonse II the first king of Aragon and Count of Barcelona, and James I. However, it should be emphasised that due to the carelessness of his successors (specifically the Trastámaras) the body of Martín I was then located in the cathedral of Barcelona, despite the fact that he had arranged to be buried in Poblet.

<sup>76</sup> It should be recalled that Martin I died without a successor because his son, Martin the Young, died before him in 1409 in Sicily.

<sup>77</sup> He also decreed "que sobre su sepultura se pusiese un yelmo con cimera –que en aquel tiempo llamaban timbre vulgarmente– y un escudo, que entonces decían tarja", "that a crested helmet and a shield should be placed above his grave", and "that they should put him in the choir near the lectern, without a raised catafalque, and with royal vestments and insignia similar to those in which he had been crowned", see J. DE ZURITA, *op. cit.* (n. 38), lib. XII, cap. LX. Schramm also points out that the king wants to wear the same insignia as those he used when was crowned: See P. E. SCHRAMM, *Las insignias de la realeza en la Edad Media española*, Madrid, 1960, p. 132.

<sup>78</sup> Nevertheless, the sculpture linked to his tomb dates to 1402, five years after he ascended the throne and only one year after the difficult transfer of his brother John I to Poblet. At this point he demonstrated his concern that there should be "a tomb fitting for our royal lineage in the place that I designated when I was in that monastery": R. DEL ARCO, *op. cit.* (n. 52), p. 355. Such provisions amounted to little.

<sup>79</sup> The provisions of his will, dictated on 2 December 1407 are as follows: "We choose for our body to be buried in the church at Poblet, where we want an honourable tomb to be placed for our body in the royal arch, close to the tombs of our father and mother. We want, however, to be buried in the entrance to the church in the cloister, with only one tombstone above us, so that those who enter or leave the church must pass over our grave". Years earlier, on 17 October 1397, he had already communicated this desire when he stated that he had "chosen a tomb in our monastery of Poblet, close to our father, in high remembrance, to be located by the monastery choir". Both texts are from *Ibidem*, p. 350, 355.

dynasty members than for those who were already dead<sup>80</sup>. In fact, what John II wanted was to place the figurative image of the first Trastámara in the same place as his Aragonese predecessors in order to evoke a sense of legitimacy and continuity for a lineage whose assumption of power had been marked by violence and rebellions that would lead to serious conflicts and which would continue after his death<sup>81</sup>. Through this decision, the dynastic cemetery of the House of Aragon became the royal cemetery of the kings of Aragon and would henceforth include two distinct but related lineages, thus providing Ferdinand I with the means to legitimize his reign<sup>82</sup>.

Lack of space prevents me from discussing the hypotheses regarding Ferdinand's burial<sup>83</sup>, but I do believe that Francesca Español's proposal that his tomb was placed first in the south arch and later moved to the north arch is borne out by the iconographical evidence; that is, the tomb is laid out in the opposite manner to that dictated by tradition. (Fig. 5) I think that this layout in which his image as king looks to the dormitory side and his representation as monk faces the Royal Chapel<sup>84</sup> indicates that this grave was originally intended to be located on the other side following the

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<sup>80</sup> Mentioned in F. Español, *El sepulcro de Fernando de Antequera y los escultores Pere Oller, Pere Joan y Gil Morlanes en Poblet*, in *Locus Amoenus*, 4, 1998-1999, p. 96.

<sup>81</sup> For example, the assassination of the archbishop of Zaragoza, the deployment of Castilian troops on Aragonese soil to support the cause of the Trastámara, or the rebellion of Don Antón de Luna, who led the faction of nobles who supported the cause of Jaime de Urgell in Aragon. These problems continued into the reign of John II, who the Catalans tried to depose, choosing instead as their sovereigns Henry IV of Castile, the Constable of Portugal and Count René d'Anjou, who based their claims on the failure of the Compromise of Caspe.

<sup>82</sup> "I, the Infante Don Fernando of Castile [...] am the nearest relative and legitimate heir to the throne and royal house of the kingdoms, principalities, dukedoms, counties, manors, villages and lands and immovable and movable properties of Aragon; and it belongs to me by law, as I will declare at the right time and in the right place and whenever it is asked or required of me [...] The estate [of Martin I] and all the aforementioned belongs to me [...] as his nearest relative". J. DE ZURITA, *op. cit.* (n. 38), lib. XI, cap. IX. His interest in legitimising himself began with his coronation ceremony, as was shown by F. MASSIP, *Imagen y espectáculo real en la entronización de los Trastámara (1414)*, in *El poder real en la Corona de Aragón (siglos XIV-XVI)*. XV<sup>o</sup> Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón, vol. III, Zaragoza, 1996, p. 372-386. See also *A cos de Rei. Festa cívica i espectáculo del poder reial a la Corona d'Aragó*, Valls, 2010, p. 97 y sig., in which the same author emphasizes that the interludes during his coronation represented the first step on the way to pressing sacred images into the service of royal exaltation, spectacles which were designed for "transfiguring and ideological purposes" in the words of P. M. CÁTEDRA, *Teatro fuera del teatro: tres géneros cortesanos*, in L. QUIRANTE (ed.), *Teatro y espectáculo en la Edad Media*, 31-46, 1992, p. 38, cited in *Ibidem*.

<sup>83</sup> Ricardo del Arco explains that when the remains of Marti the Human arrived in 1460 they could not be put in their place because "it was occupied by the body of Fernando I, and so they had to be deposited in a tomb of wood covered with black velvet underneath the arch": R. DEL ARCO, *op. cit.* (n. 52), p. 353. However, Español puts forward a quite different version of events: when Fernando II saw that there was no room to bury John II, he used the monument to Martín I, which was still empty, to house Fernando I, who was moved from one to the other: F. ESPAÑOL, *op. cit.* (n. 80), p. 81-106.

<sup>84</sup> This is in contrast to the other kings who had double burials (Alfonso II and James I), whose images as kings face the Royal Chapel or presbytery and whose images as monks face the sacristy or dormitory. Elisenda de Montcada did something similar at Pedralbes, although with notable differences in terms of sepulchre.

usual schema. Thus, when it was reinstalled in the north arch its recumbent figures did not appear in the same order as that followed by his predecessors. I presume this manoeuvre is intended to maintain the hierarchical distribution that was set in motion when the first royal tomb was put in place<sup>85</sup>. Moving the tomb in this manner effectively appropriated the place reserved for Martin I but meant that the south arch could provide a new space for Ferdinand's successor, his son John II. Thus, funereal images were used to create a continual visual perception and therefore strengthened the pretence of royal continuity.

Indeed, the iconography of the Trastámara branch's tombs supports this supposition because it shows both kings with a double recumbent, as is the case for Alfonso II and James I, the first two sovereigns in the mausoleum. However, Ferdinand's tomb has one effigy in which he is dressed as monk and another in which he is wearing armour, whereas John II is shown in one image as king and in another effigy as a military figure. The importance placed on the military qualities of the two members of the new dynasty may be understood as reflecting a series of desirable virtues and an air of sanctity<sup>86</sup>. But it may also reflect a certain temporal *vanitas* which dominated all the ideals that the deceased valued in life and that confirmed a triumphalist anthropocentrism<sup>87</sup>. In this respect, it seems a suitable iconography for a dynasty that had to defend his position on the throne through a civil war in which they were never completely victorious. The Trastámaras show that the new dynasty's eagerness to make political profit from funereal images at Poblet to give the impression of legitimate succession and dynastic stability, so they deprived Martin I, the last king of the preceding dynasty, of his rightful burial site and disobeyed both his will and that of Ferdinand of Antequera. These sculptures have to be understood as a statement of permanence regarding the kingdom's

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<sup>85</sup> I believe that there three hierarchical levels of space. The first concerns the arches (the gospel side is more important than the epistle side), the second corresponds to the location of the tombs within the arches (where the closer the deceased is to the presbytery, the greater the prestige), and the third concerns the placing of the tombs within the same segment (the Royal Chapel side is more prestigious than the outer sides, as is shown by the tombs of the queens).

<sup>86</sup> This is the interpretation regarding armoured gisants prior to 1400 offered by J. W. HURTIG, *The armored gisant before 1400*, New York and London, 1979, p. 2-11, 212-213.

<sup>87</sup> Nevertheless, as Núñez states, the spirit of chivalry also included precepts such as moral behaviour, in which glory was as important as virtue, which led to attempts to elevate the world of the knight to a religious plane: M. NÚÑEZ, *La indumentaria como símbolo en la iconografía funeraria*, in *Fragmentos. Revista de Arte*, 10, 1984, p. 77-78. Later published in M. NÚÑEZ & E. PORTELA (eds.), *La idea y el sentimiento de la muerte en la historia y en el arte de la Edad Media*, Santiago de Compostela, 1988, p. 9-20. Regarding military attire in tombs, see also A. B. SÁNCHEZ PRIETO, *Nobleza y poder militar en el arte tardomedieval y renacentista*, in *Arquitectura e iconografía artística militar en España y América (siglos XV-XVIII)*, Sevilla, 1998, p. 624-626.

structures which allowed them to strengthen their legitimacy, proclaim their achievements, and provide a sense of continuity. It may be concluded that both the evolution at the end of the 15th century of the funerary complex at Poblet and the relationship between the new graves and the existing ones reveal an attempt to foster particular political idea through the use of images in the middle ages<sup>88</sup>.

#### 4. Conclusion

In summary, I believe that it is possible to discern examples of visual narrative used by some monarchs of the Crown of Aragon to legitimize themselves during periods of great difficulty. The most notable of these kings were Jacques I in the 13th century, Peter IV in the 14th, and the Trastámaras in the 15th.

They used written texts and works of art to represent their own perceptions of themselves and to create a propagandistic narrative in which the memory or veneration of their predecessors was fundamental. Among the initiatives that they adopted, chronicles were particularly powerful instruments, as were visual manifestations of certain concepts such as *rex et sacerdos*, which can be seen, in my opinion, in certain recumbent figures. To conclude, I have highlighted that the use of the burial place in Santa María de Poblet and its funereal sculptures, without forgetting the relationship between its new funereal sculptures and the existing ones, is the result of political propagandising from 14th and 15th centuries.

#### FIGURES:

Fig. 1. *Llibre dels Feys del Rei en Jacme*, fol. 1r. Biblioteca de la Universitat de Barcelona (Ms. 1), c. 1343

Fig. 2. Seal of James I. Obverse. 1213. From F. DE SAGARRA, *Sigil·lografia catalana. Inventari, descripció i estudi dels segells de Catalunya*, Barcelona, 1916-1932, I, n. 22

Fig. 3. *Aureum Opus* or *Privilegiorum Regni Valentiae*, fol. 1r. Arxiu Municipal d'Alzira (còdex especials 0.0.3/3), last third of 14th century

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<sup>88</sup> For similar English manifestations, see N. LLEWELLYN, *Funeral Monument in Post-Reformation England*, Cambridge, 2000, p. 311 and D. HOWARTH, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649*, London, 1997, p. 153-190.

Fig. 4. James I recumbent figure in Santa María de Poblet as a king (facing presbitery) and as a monk (facing dormitory). Restored in the 1940s by the sculptor Frederic Marès.

Fig. 5. Diagram of the tombs at Santa María de Poblet. Possible relocation of the tombs of the Trastámaras and the clothing worn by the gisants