

# JAMES II AND HIS ARTISTIC PATRONAGE IN SANCTES CREUS: PURPOSES, SEMANTIC CONTENT AND THE INFLUENCE OF FREDERICK II

MARTA SERRANO COLL  
UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI  
SPAIN

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## ABSTRACT

This study analyses two of the great artistic projects that James II the Just (1291-1327) promoted at the Cistercian monastery of Sanctes Creus (Aiguamúrcia, Tarragona, Catalonia, Spain) and which still stand to this day; namely, the dynastic pantheon and the cloister, specifically the unusual south-western pillar adjacent to the *Porta Reial* (Royal Entrance). The study explains the extent to which both had an aesthetic, persuasive and communicative purpose that was intended to serve the royal rhetoric and how sacredness, lineage and the role of the sovereign as executor of divine providence were key concepts for understanding the totality of these eloquent visual devices. To do this, as I will show, it is essential to examine the influences of Frederick II of Sicily, in particular the legal code known as the *Liber Augustalis*.<sup>1</sup>

## KEYWORDS

James II, Sanctes Creus, Crown of Aragon, Frederick of Sicily, *Liber Augustalis*.

## CAPITALIA VERBA

Iacobus II, Sanctae Cruces, Corona Aragonium, Fredericus II Siciliae, Liber Augustalis.

## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

As has been said on many occasions, Santes Creus was designed to be the principal showpiece of the aesthetic renewal by James II and was influenced by his awareness of the Normans and the Hohenstaufens' use of artistic projects in Sicily to demonstrate their prestige, a practice he became familiar with during his reign on that island<sup>2</sup>. Vives i Miret, Rosenman, Español and Barrachina are only some of the many who have commented on the historiography relating to this question. The following study, however, presents a new reading and interpretation of the grand artistic mechanisms that the king of the Crown of Aragon commissioned in the monastery in Tarragona and which have survived to this day: the extraordinary dynastic pantheon and the remarkable south-western pillar in the cloistral precinct that is adjacent to the celebrated *Porta Reial* (Royal Entrance). In my view, these eloquent artistic commissions and their aesthetic, persuasive and communicative purpose revolved around the two values that James II considered intrinsic to the institution that he represented, namely sacredness and lineage. These concepts are ultimately found in the ideas central to government and administration that the Staufens, with Frederick II at their head, implemented in the kingdom of Sicily and which were set down in the famous *Liber Augustalis*, the legal code that the Aragonese king knew and applied *de facto* during his time on the island and which he must have imported, along with other elements from the Staufens' model, to his government in the Iberian Peninsula.

As I will describe, the dynastic pantheon, which is organised as a unitary project despite having been constructed at different times and using two very differing tombs, synthesizes the tension between divine grace (*rex Dei gratia*) and human nature (*rex per sanguinem*). And among these, the concepts of lineage, *paternitas* and primogeniture will prove essential to a comprehensive understanding of the ensemble. Likewise, with identical Sicilian references, albeit with a Lullian re-reading or updating, the cloister of Santes Creus and its atypical and very non-Cistercian iconography presents the sovereign as *executor divinae providentiae*, whose tasks was none other than restoring the order that was lost after the Fall. I refer to the pillar on the south-western corner, whose unprecedented narrative programme shows scenes from Genesis and which, to date, has not been convincingly explained by historians. As such, it can only be understood if we take into account its significant location opposite the *Porta Reial*, and the until now unnoticed visual mechanisms exhibited on adjacent capitals.

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2. Español, Francesca. *El gòtic català*. Barcelona: Angle, 2002: 39.



## 2. The unusual dynastic funereal project: a new interpretation

As historiography has reiterated, the long rule of James II over the Crown of Aragon was enormously fertile in terms of transformations and projects and very prosperous in its foreign relations. James' political experience was enhanced by what has been called a "Sicilian sense of smell"<sup>3</sup> and by diplomatic skills of Italian origin; nevertheless, he was rooted in and committed to the House of Barcelona. It is beyond the scope of the present study to describe the various manifestations of the royal ideology of the kings of Aragon<sup>4</sup>, and in particular that of James II, although it is important to point out that one of his greatest achievements was his policy of governing each of his states differently; that is, of respecting each state's autochthonous institutions and territorial needs without negatively impacting their overall governability<sup>5</sup>. James' essential aim was to go beyond the financial and jurisdictional situation on which, according to Flocel Sabaté, depended the very manifestation and therefore visibility of royal power<sup>6</sup>. Because, as we will see, on an ideological level, the theory of power was not only expressed through so-called *judicialization* and its institutional and administrative entities<sup>7</sup> and their well-known willingness to enter into pacts<sup>8</sup>, but also through the symbols, ceremonies of exaltation and propaganda that surrounded royalty, along with other material initiatives aimed at strengthening the institution that he represented<sup>9</sup>. Among these

3. Marzal García-Quismondo, Miguel. "La perspectiva catalano-aragonesa de D. Jaime de Sicilia", James II 700 años después, Juan Antonio Barrio, José Vicente Cabezuolo Pliego, eds. Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 1996-1997: 417.

4. From among the many historians that we have analysed, we highlight the following in a far from exhaustive list: Corrao, Pietro. "Celebrazione dinastica e ricerca del consenso nella costruzione monarchica della Corona d'Aragona", *Le forme della propaganda politica nel Due e nel Trecento*, Paolo Cammarosano, ed. Roma: École Française de Rome, 1994: 133-156; Francisco Olmos, José María de. "Jaime II y la "Constitución" de la Corona de Aragón", *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante: Historia Medieval*, 11 (1996-1997): 521-530; Sabaté, Flocel. "Estamentos, soberanía y modelo político en la Cataluña Bajomedieval", *Aragón en la Edad Media*, 21 (2009): 245-278.

5. Citation from Sarasa, Esteban. "El reino de Aragón en la época de Jaime II (1291-1327)", *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante: Historia Medieval*, 11 (1996-1997): 305.

6. Sabaté, Flocel. "Discurs i estratègies del poder reial a Catalunya al segle XIV", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 25 (1995): 622. The king's actions in this regard were also analysed in González Antón, Luis. "Jaime II y la afirmación del poder monárquico en Aragón", *Aragón en la Edad Media*, 10-11 (1993): 385-405.

7. See Ladero, Miguel Ángel. "El ejercicio del poder real en la Corona de Aragón: Instituciones e instrumentos de gobierno (siglos XIV y XV)", *En la España Medieval*, 17 (1994): 31-94.

8. Regarding this concept and what it represents, see: *El pactismo en la Historia de España*. Madrid: Instituto de España, 1980; Sobrequés, Jaume. *El pactisme a Catalunya*. Barcelona: L'Escorp, 1982; Martín Rodríguez, José Luis. "Pactismo político y consolidación señorial en Cataluña tras la conquista de Sicilia", *Economía y Sociedad de los reinos hispánicos en la Baja Edad Media*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1983: I, 237-254.

9. For example, Palacios, Bonifacio. *La coronación de los reyes de Aragón. 1204-1410. Aportación al estudio de las escrituras políticas medievales*. Valencia: Anubar, 1975; Sabaté, Flocel. *Lo senyor rei és mort! Actitud i cerimònies dels municipis catalans baixmedievals davant la mort del monarca*. Lleida: Universitat de Lleida, 1994; Massip, Francesc. *La monarquía en escena. Teatro, fiestas y espectáculo del poder en los reinos ibéricos: de Jaume El Conquistador al Príncipe Carlos*. Madrid: Dirección General de Promoción Cultural, 2003; Narbona, Rafael. "Cortejos ceremoniales, funciones religiosas y simbolismos políticos en las ciudades medievales", *Los cimientos del estado en la Edad Media. Cancillerías, notariado y privilegios reales en la construcción del Estado en la*



were the artistic commissions which, in the times of James II, took on a singularly important leading role in his efforts to restore royal power and the doctrinal definition of his supremacy<sup>10</sup>.

James II commissioned an unprecedented funerary project which, although it ended up being just two tombs, was originally intended to be dynastic because he also planned to include in it the tombs of his father Peter the Great, his own and that of his wife Blanca, and he made his successor the Infante Alphonse swear that he would be buried in the same abbey, a promise that he broke two years after his father's death. He also tried to transfer the remains of his brother Alphonse III, who was at the time in San Francisco de Barcelona and, although the Pope had initially agreed, he then changed his mind most likely due to the influence of his mother Constanza, a declared Franciscan who was then in Rome<sup>11</sup>. Although the king repeated his wishes after his mother's death<sup>12</sup>, he could not bring them to fruition.

The originally conceived pantheon, according to the surviving texts, was to contain five bodies; instead, one containing three was constructed, with the bodies laid to rest in two magnificent tombs. One was intended for his father Peter the Great, who had written so eloquently and innovatively in his will that he should have a tomb that was *bene et honorifice*<sup>13</sup>, a matter that already seemed to preoccupy

*Edad Media*, Juan Antonio Barrio, ed. 2004: 233-249; Cawsey, Suzanne. *Reialesa i propaganda. L'eloqüència reial i la Corona d'Aragó, c. 1200-1450*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2008; Massip, Francesc. *A cos de rei. Festa cívica i espectacle del poder reial a la Corona d'Aragó*. Cossetània: Valls, 2010.

10. A task subsequently pursued by Peter the Ceremonious: Ladero, Miguel Ángel. "El ejercicio del poder...": 43. There is an extensive bibliography regarding this matter. Regarding the reign of James II, see: Lutthenberg, Thomas. "Le tissu comme aura. Les fonctions des tentures à la cour d'Aragon et à Barcelone (XIVe-XVe siècles), *Melanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Moyen Age et Temps Modernes*, 111 (1999): 373-392; Serrano, Marta. "Imatges de la monarquia dins d'un espai monàstic: Santes Creus", *El Císter: poder y espiritualidad: 1150-1250*. Santes Creus: Arxiu Bibliogràfic de Santes Creus, 2005: 181-192; Español, Francesca. "Calendario litúrgico y usos áulicos en la Corona de Aragón bajomedieval: arquitectura y ornamenta", *Studium medievale*, 2 (2009): 185-212; Español, Francesca. "La política artística de Jaume II. Els sepulcres reials i el claustre de Santes Creus portantveus àulics", *Santes Creus. Butlletí de l'Arxiu bibliogràfic de Santes Creus*, 24 (2011): 11-34; Español, Francesca. "L'art al servei de Jaume II: els mausoleus dinàstics i el claustre de Santes Creus portaveus àulics". *Lambard. Estudis d'art medieval*, 22 (2011): 165-202; Español, Francesca. "Formas artísticas y espiritualidad. El horizonte franciscano del círculo familiar de Jaime II y sus ecos funerarios", *Poder, piedad y devoción: Castilla y su entorno (siglos XII-XV)*, Isabel Beceiro, ed. Madrid: Sílex, 2014: 383-417; Serrano, Marta. "Jaime II (1291-1327). Presentation and re-presentation of the king of Aragon from iconographic and written evidence", *Meanings and Fuctions of the Royal Portrait in the Mediterranean world*, Michele Bacci, Manuela Studer, Mirko Vagnoni, eds. Leiden: Brill, 2021:478-502.

11. *El panteó reial de Santes Creus. Estudi i restauració de les tombes de Pere el Gran, de Jaume II i Blanca d'Anjou i de l'almirall Roger de Llúria*, Miquel, Marina; Sarobe, Ramón; Subiranas, Carme, eds. Barcelona: Entitat Autònoma del Diari Oficial i de Publicacions - Museu d'Història de Catalunya: IV.I, 128.

12. As is shown by the document issued on 11/12/1302 which states: "*corpus seu ossa deberent sepeliri in dicto Sanctorum Crucum*": *El panteó reial...*: 129.

13. "*Eligimus nobis sepulturam in monasterio Sanctarum Crucum, ordinis Cisterciensis [...] mandantes quod corpus nostrum sepeliatur in predicto monasterio et quod sepultura nostra fiat bene et honorifice*": Udina, Antoni. *Els testaments dels comtes de Barcelona i dels reis de la Corona d'Aragó*. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2001: 163 (doc. 24). However, the term *honorifice* could refer to liturgical and funerary ceremonies, without necessarily including a monumental tomb, as seemed to occur with Alphonse III, whose will contains both terms, and also adds "*ut nos decet*", that is, as was befitting his dignity: Martínez, Joan E. "Exequias



his successor Alphonse III<sup>14</sup>, and the second was assigned to James II and his first wife Blanca d'Anjou<sup>15</sup>, who stated their wish to be buried at the monastery in 1292<sup>16</sup> and 1295<sup>17</sup> respectively (see illustration 1). It is significant that the queen should have been involved in the project before her death, something unheard of in the Crown of Aragon and which demonstrates her influence<sup>18</sup>. The fact that James II conceived the project as a single undertaking is corroborated by the sources: on 1/9/1312 he ordered the Royal Palace's master of works, Bertran Riquer, to go to Santes Creus together with Pere de Prenafeta to begin the preparations for his tomb, which had to be *similis illi in quo sepultum est corpus illustrissimi domini regis Petri*, and for which they had to take note of the *mensuras et ffo[r]mas ei[us]dem*<sup>19</sup>.

Among other aspects, of particular note is the debt that these tombs owe to those of Cefalú, Palermo and Monreale. The analogies are not solely related to their location<sup>20</sup>, but also, as was pointed out first by Vives y Miret and later by

y enterramientos reales en la Corona de Aragón", *Butlletí arqueològic. Reial societat arqueològica tarraconense*, 3/4 (1947): 65. The description that Balaguer left us of the royal tombs in the Franciscan monastery indicates that they were located next to the main altar and were made "de mármol blanco de estilo gótico y de no escaso mérito, estaban levantadas en lo alto, formando un banco corrido" (of marble in the Gothic style and not without considerable merit. They were raised on high, forming a long bank): Barraquer, Cayetano. *Las casas de religiosos en Cataluña durante el primer tercio del siglo XIX*. Barcelona: F.J. Altés, 1906: I, 433 and following and subsequent. A document from 1311 refers to them being covered with sumptuous cloths: Español, Francesca. *Els escenaris del rei. Art i monarquia a la Corona d'Aragó*. Barcelona: Angle, 2001: 162.

14. A text states that the tomb of Peter III had already been commissioned and that, perhaps, somebody would work on it. On 29/8/1285 the king awarded a sum of money to cover an amount that the monastery had paid in advance "*in fabricatione sepulture dicti domini Regis Petri II*". The epigraph on this parchment states: "*Privilegium domini Regis Aldefonsi primus filius domini Regis Petri qui dedit dicto monasterio dominicatura de Villaviridis pro sepulcrum domni patris sui*": Del Arco, Ricardo. *Sepulcros de la casa real de Aragón*. Madrid: Diana, 1945: 210, a strange text for this date, given that the king had not yet died.

15. [...] *in quo corpus illustrissimi domini regis Petri, bone memoria patris nostri sepultum est*. Udina, Antoni. *Els testaments dels comtes...*: 32 (doc. 32). The text continues: *Volentes et mandantes quod corpus nostrum sepeliatur in altero illorum duorum tumulorum quod nos ibi construi fecimus pro nobis et illustra domina Blanca, bone memorie regina Aragonum [...] qui est versus corum monasterii prelibati, quia iam in altero ipsorum tumulorum corpus dicte regine sepultum est, aliquem ipsa nostra sepultura fiat bene et honorifice sicut decet*, Del Arco, Ricardo. *Sepulcros...*: 218.

16. Shortly after starting his father's mausoleum, with the solemn promise that he would not change his mind: Miquel, Marina; Sarobe, Ramón; Subiranas, Carme, eds. *El panteó reial...*: 8. He confirmed this in 1327: Udina, Antoni. *Els testaments dels comtes...*: doc. 31.

17. The queen stated this in her will dated 20/12/1295: Martínez, Joan E. *Jaume II de Aragón. Su vida familiar*. Barcelona: Escuela de Estudios medievales, 1948: II (cod. 57).

18. Alphonse II was buried in Poblet and his wife Sancha in Sigena; Peter II was buried in Sigena and his wife Maria of Montpelier in Rome; James I was buried in Poblet whereas Leonor of Castile was interred in Las Huelgas, Violante of Hungary in Vallbona and Teresa, most likely, in the Zaidía in Valencia. Peter III was buried in Santes Creus and his wife Constanza in San Francisco of Barcelona.

19. The document insists that both *recipiatis mens[uras] et f[or]mas predictas*. Full citation in Miquel, Marina; Sarobe, Ramón; Subiranas, Carme, eds. *El panteó reial...*: doc. 83.

20. Regarding the tombs of Cefalú, see: Varga, Livia. "A new aspect of the Porphyry Tombs of Roger II, in Cefalú", *The Anglo-Norman Studies*, 15 (1992): 311-312; Bongianino, Umberto. "The King, his Chapel, his Church. Boundaries and Hybridity in the Religious Visual Future of the Norman Kingdom", *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies*, 4/1-2 (2017): 3-50.





ILLUSTRATION 1. PETER III THE GREAT AND JAMES II AND BLANCHE OF ANJOU TOMBS © SANTES CREUS. PHOTOGRAPH PROVIDED BY MARTA SERRANO.

Rosenman<sup>21</sup> and as has been accepted by subsequent historiography, in the use of porphyry, which is so visible on the tomb of Peter the Great, and in the baldachins, elements closely associated with imperial iconography. Furthermore, the alveus, the dossals and the reliquary ceiling with its clear and unanimously accepted sacral connotations have no precedent in the funerary world of the Crown of Aragon, as Español once pointed out<sup>22</sup>. For their part, the tomb of James II and Blanca d'Anjou, also under a dossal, offers the novelty of the pair of recumbent effigies, which were completed by Francesc Montflorit according to a text from 1315 that referred explicitly to them<sup>23</sup> and which are an unusual form to find in the tombs of the kings of Aragon.

My question is whether it is possible to make a joint reading of the original features of both funerary artefacts and if it is possible to entertain a new hypothesis that explains how both typologies, despite being from different phases, are contained within the same project whose function was to praise the monarchic institution and to visualize the royal rhetoric; that is, the creation of the *ars bene dicendi* through which could be constructed an adequate discourse by means of a system of processes

21. Links with Italy mentioned by Vives, Josep. "Els sepulcres reials del monestir de Santes Creus", *Studia monástica*, 2 (1964): 359-379, although it was Rosenman who pointed out that the Sicilian tombs provided the typological model for Santes Creus: Rosenman, Barry. *The Royal tombs in the Monastery of Santes Creus*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota, 1991: 5.

22. Español, Francesca. *El gòtic...*: 43.

23. "Fas-vos, senyor, asaber que he feytes les dites ymages, ço és asaber una en forma ho figura vos[tra, et altra de] madona na Blanca, regina d' Aragó". Transcribed by Sarobe and Cingolani in *El panteó reial...*: IV.II, 105.

and resources intended to persuade, in the true etymological sense of the word<sup>24</sup>, those who heard it. As his predecessors had demonstrated since the reign of James I<sup>25</sup> and perhaps influenced by his father, whose oratory skills he had inherited,<sup>26</sup> James II was familiar with the art of speaking eloquently. He was acquainted with the works of Brunetto Latini who, among others, wrote the treatise *Retorica* in which he translated and commented on *De inventione* by Cicero, and who intervened in the political debate that would end in the insurrection of the Sicilian Vespers<sup>27</sup>, which marked the end of Anjou dominance and the enthroning in Sicily of his father Peter III, married to Constanza, daughter of King Manfred Hohenstaufen. Also eloquent are his library because, among other examples, it contained the *Communiloquium* by John of Wales, and his correspondence, analysed by Finke, Trenchs and more recently Péquignot<sup>28</sup>. The same is corroborated by certain descriptions of the king, such as that of his doctor, concierge and secretary Jafudà Bonsenyor<sup>29</sup> or Muntaner who described him when he was still Infante as “*dels pus savis prínceps del món, e mills parlant*”<sup>30</sup> (one of the wisest princes in the world and the best spoken). It is thus no surprise that on two occasions he opened the Cortes “*preïcant*” (preaching) with a discourse consisting of “*moltes bones paraules*”<sup>31</sup> (many good words), rhetorical skills that he would use again in a sermon in Port Fangós on the departure of his

24. From *persuadere*, meaning to induce, completely convince.

25. See Pujol, Josep Maria. “Cultura eclesíastica o competència retòrica? El llatí, la Bíblia i el rei en Jaume”, *Estudis romànics*, 23 (2001): 147-172.

26. On several occasions after his coronation in Palermo, Peter III the Great demonstrated a considerable understanding and command of political communication and propaganda: Cingolani, Stefano. *Historiografia, propaganda i comunicació al segle XIII: Bernat Desclot i les dues redaccions de la seva crònica*. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans (2006): 307-308. Essential reading on his reign are Cingolani, Stefano. *Pere el Gran. Vida, actes, paraula*. Barcelona: Base, 2010; Cingolani, Stefano. *Diplomatari de Pere el Gran. 2. Relacions internacionals i política exterior (1260-1285)*. Barcelona: Pagès (2017): 102-111, in which he examines his skills as a rhetorician and author.

27. 31/3/1282. Bolton-Holloway, Julia. “Introduction”, *Sweet New Style: Brunetto latino, Dante Alighieri, Geoffrey Chaucer and Giovanni Boccaccio*. Florence: Aureo Anello Associazione, 1997; on rhetoric and the Catalan libraries, Faulhaber, Charles B. “Rhetoric in Medieval Catalonia: The Evidence of the Library Catalogues”, *Studies in honor of Gustavo Correa. Potomac: Scripta Humanistica*, 18 (1986): 92-126. James II knowledge of the works of Latini is mentioned by Faulhaber, Charles. “Rhetoric in Medieval Catalonia...”: 100. There is certainly some similarity between the criticisms of Latini towards Carlos de Anjou and the Sicilian revolt, but the Florentine's criticisms were more weighted than those that the Church, from Honorius IV to Boniface VIII, tried to impose against Angevin rule on the island.

28. Cawsey, Suzanne. *Reialesa i propaganda...*:2008: 49 and 51.

29. Whom he regarded in his *Llibre de paralles e dits de savis e filòsofs* as “curioso de saberes, más que ningún otro señor, por el gran entendimiento que en él es y por el cual sabe y entiende que la sabiduría es el mayor bien que Dios ha donado a los hombre” (thirsty for knowledge, more than any other noble, due to his great understanding and because he knows and understands that wisdom is the greatest gift that God has given Man: Taken from Rodríguez de la Peña, Manuel A. “Hesper, el Vespro y el Vespertilio...”: 83.

30. After which he added: *é és encara, e serà mentre viu sia* (“he still is and will be for as long as he lives): *Les quatre grans cròniques. III. Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*. ed. Ferran Soldevila. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2011: CXIV.

31. Muntaner, *Crònica...*: CLXIII and CLXXV, according to Cawsey, Suzanne. *Reialesa i propaganda...*, 2008: 91.



son Alphonse to conquer Sardinia<sup>32</sup>. Thus, in accordance with the communicative strategies that he used, whose function was to shore up the institution that he represented, James II conceived the dynastic project at Santes Creus and placed it in the service of a royal rhetoric that had an aesthetic, persuasive and communicative purpose regarding his political and symbolic complex. This in turn he weighed against two values that he considered intrinsic to the institution of monarchy: sacredness and lineage.

Sicily was, for James II, a place of startling visual contrasts with his native Valencia and the rather stifling Huesca where he spent his infancy, and this would have major artistic consequences, as many historians have had occasion to state<sup>33</sup>. Also, and more importantly regarding the hypothesis that I offer here, it immersed the king in the legislation implemented by Frederick II, which was primarily based on his legal code the *Liber Augustalis*, which came into effect on 1/9/1231 and whose golden age was the period of Aragonese domination<sup>34</sup>. Taking the Scriptures as its point of reference, specifically Proverbs, 8, 15-16, its prologue asserts that kings rule by divine right and therefore, that the power enjoyed by the king, was *Dei gratia* and thus the result of divine providence<sup>35</sup>. The argument that derived from regarding the king as *vicarius Dei* because he fulfilled on Earth the function of monarch that God has in Heaven<sup>36</sup> was not new, given that traces of it can even be found in Visigothic sources<sup>37</sup>, but its proclamation, development and success in the Crown of Aragon were, without a doubt, due to James II. In fact, although there were subtle precedents in Desclot<sup>38</sup>, it was under James II's reign and from the pen of his

32. Rubió, Antoni. "Algunes consideracions sobre l'oratoria política de Catalunya en l'Edat Mitjana", *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, 3 (1909): 213-224; Johnson, Marc D. "Parliamentary oratory in medieval Aragón", *Rethorica. A Journal of History of Rethoric*, 10 (1992): 99-107.

33. Historians have dedicated much time to this issue, as was pointed out several years ago by Cabestany, Joan F. "El 650 Aniversari de la mort del rei Jaume II", *Santes Creus: Butlletí de l'Arxiu Bibliogràfic de Santes Creus*, 46 (1977): 327.

34. Pérez Martín, Antonio. *El Liber Augustalis. Constituciones del Emperador Federico II para el Reino de Sicilia. Estudio, edición del texto latino y traducción castellana*. Messina: Sicani University Press, 2011; La Mantia, Vito. *Anriche consuetudini delle città di Sicilia*. Palermo: Reber, 1990: 261. This book was in use for almost six centuries: in Naples until 1809 and in Sicily until 1819: Vergottini, Giovanni de. *Il diritto pubblico italiano nei secoli XII-XV*. Milano: Giuffrè, 1960: 75.

35. "Per me reges regnant et legum conditores justa decernunt; per me principes imperant, et potentes decernunt justitiam"; that is, "for me kings reign and chiefs pass just laws; for me, princes rule and the great do justice". During the coronation of Frederick III of Sicily, the new king repeated the same words. Backman, Clifford R. *The Decline and Fall of Medieval Sicily. Politics, Religion and Economy in the Reign of Frederick III. 1296-1337*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995: 53, 200-204.

36. Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "Deus per naturam, Deus per gratiam. A note on mediaeval political theology", *The Harvard Theological Review*, 45 (1952): 253-277; Maccarrone, Michele. "Il sovrano vicarius Dei nell'alto medio evo", *Studies in the History of Religions*, 4 (1959): 581-594; García Pelayo, Manuel. *El reino de Dios, arquetipo político: estudio sobre las formas políticas de la Alta Edad Media*. Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1959.

37. The Hispanic Christian kings elaborated on and developed this idea throughout the Middle Ages: Martín Prieto, Pablo. "Idea e imagen del rey en la diplomática medieval hispana", *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, 29 (2016): 453-496.

38. Divine protection appears in various episodes in the chronicle, but an explicit reference to lineage is only found in chapter XV when during the preparations for the conquest of Mallorca, his subjects



chronicler Muntaner that we encounter the first written reference to Aragon as a dynasty favoured by God<sup>39</sup>.

As has been said, Sicilian legislation proclaimed that the monarch's capacity to legislate came from God and, likewise, that the king was *la lex animata in terris*<sup>40</sup>, an argument that would also be used by James II, where the legitimacy (not legitimation<sup>41</sup>) of his power made him turn to legal arguments, for example when he stated that the coronation was merely a formal recognition of that which was already his by right<sup>42</sup>. It should be recalled that when Alphonse III died and James had to leave Sicily to become the new king of the Crown of Aragon, after landing at Barcelona and paying homage to his brother and his father, he arrived in Saragossa at the Cortes of 1291 to inaugurate his reign without any coronation ceremony, because he had already been anointed (and crowned) when proclaimed king of Sicily<sup>43</sup>. However, he did take the chance to signal that he had become king not due to the will of his brother, but due to his right of succession, that is, due to primogeniture, as was indicated in will of his father Peter III, who established who was to be heir in case his successor should die without issue<sup>44</sup>. In doing, he was really just responding to the inadmissible initiative of his brother Alphonse III who whilst being proclaimed heir to the throne, had ceded the kingdom of Sicily to his younger brother Federico and the island of Mallorca to his uncle James, as vassal.

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respond in the affirmative to King James because "*Déu mou e el Sant Esperit és amb vos; e par bé del llinyatge on vós movets*" (God moves and the Holy Spirit is with you and, for the good of the lineage, where you move): *Les quatre grans cròniques. II. Crònica de Bernat Desclot*. ed. Ferran Soldevila. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2008: 422.

39. *Les quatre grans cròniques. III...*: III and VII, and Lull, to whom I shall return. And that was despite the fact that Peter the Great died excommunicated and that James II was also barred from the sacraments after his arrival in Sicily. However, Muntaner wrote very personally in his chronicle and was always at pains to demonstrate that the hand of God guided the steps of the kings of Aragon. Aguilar, Josep A. *La crònica de Ramon Muntaner: edició i estudi*. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2015: I, 35.

40. "[...] *de nostro gremio nova iura producimus [...] quem de manu caelesti sumpserimus*": Carcani, Gaetano. *Constitutiones regum regni utriusque Siciliae mandante Friderico II imperatore*. Messina: Sicania (1786): 7, 23, 34, 122, according to Vagnoni, Mirko. "La legittimità e la sacralità imperiale di Federico II di Svevia", *Eikón. Imago*, 1/2 (2) (2012): 65-68.

41. Understanding the term *legitimate* to mean that which is just and in accordance with the law; *legitimacy* as the good or value that is invested in political authority, and *legitimation* as the action through which legitimacy is conferred on or recognised in the holder of a power. For more on the meanings of these terms in political studies, sociology and the history of political theory, see Castaño, Sergio R. "Una introducción en el tema de la legitimidad política", *Espíritu*, 140 (2010): 493-516.

42. An argument already used by Frederick II of Sicily: Vagnoni, Mirko. "La legittimità...", 2012: 51.

43. In this manner he avoided problems with Rome. Although much has been written on the matter, an essential text remains Palacios, Bonifacio. *La coronación de los reyes...*

44. "*Item si predictus infans Alfonsus, filius noster, post obitum nostrum decederet sine filio vel filiis masculis de legitimo matrimonio procreatis, in hoc casu substituimus ei in omnibus que sibi dimittimus predictum dictum infantem Iacobum, filium nostrum, si tunc vixerit [...]*", testament from 13/6/1282 and transcribed in Udina, Antoni. *Els testaments...*, 2001: 165 (doc. 24); Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1970-1977: Book IV, CXXII-CXXIII.



Having taken the throne, and following his father's example, he emphasised the power of the papacy<sup>45</sup> and, on returning to Barcelona, insisted again that he should receive the throne by virtue of his father's will and not his brother's, with whom he also disagreed for having established the separation of Sicily<sup>46</sup>. This is, in my view, a key element to understanding the funereal complex that he commissioned in Santes Creus, where lineage, *paternitas* and primogeniture were fundamental both to the correspondence and homogeneity between the tombs of father and son, and for his decision to have both his and his wife's effigy sculpted on his own tomb. By including his wife's he was recognising her role and proclaiming his wider "family connections"<sup>47</sup>, which would later benefit his dynastic continuity and institutional legitimacy. Dynastic identity and legitimacy based on the blood line, *per sanguinem*, of the House of Aragon and Barcelona were constantly asserted through various initiatives, such as diplomacy, where the figure of the king was that of a father-king who served as a point of reference<sup>48</sup>. It speaks volumes that Federico III spoke to his brother James II as he would a father, a fictitious bond through which he recognised the pre-eminence of the king at the heart of a great family such as that of Aragon. Furthermore, it is the documents from his chancery that provide the best and first evidence of the queen's participation in the ministries of government and the systematic association of her person with the king<sup>49</sup>. According to Péquignot, this was the origin of the singular political regime that then prevailed in the realm, whose unity was based, essentially, on the *familiaritas regia*<sup>50</sup>.

During his government, James II not only managed to avoid fighting against the Rights and Privileges of his subjects, but even accepted them and became their principal defender. Under his reign, they became the primary legal source to which

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45. "[...] no recibía la corona con reconocimiento que por el reino debiese hacer a la Sede Apostólica, conservando su derecho cuanto a ser libre y exempto, como lo había sido y lo era en lo temporal" (he did not receive the crown by recognising the Holy See in the manner that he should, thus preserving his right to be free and exempt, as he had been and as he was temporarily): Blancas, Gerónimo de. *Coronaciones de los serenísimos reyes de Aragón, con dos tratados del modo de celebrar cortes*. Saragossa: Diego Dormes, 1641: 25. For the political plans of James II regarding the Sicilian question and his relationship with Rome, see: Corrao, Pietro. "Il nodo mediterraneo: Corona d'Aragona e Sicilia nella politica di Bonifacio VIII", *Bonifacio VIII. Atti del XXXIX Convegno storico internazionale, Todi 13-16 ottobre 2002*. Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2003: 145-170; Corrao, Pietro. "Da Federico a Federico. Trasformazione degli assetti istituzionali del regno di Sicilia fra XIII e XIV secolo", *Gli inizi del diritto pubblico. Da Federico I a Federico II*, Gerhard Dilcher, Diego Quagliani, eds. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2009: 387-401. 2009: 387-401.

46. James II always rejected the politics of partition, as pointed out in Soldevila, Ferran. *Història de Catalunya*. Barcelona: Alpha, 1934: 390.

47. Péquignot, Stéphane. *Au nom du roi. Pratique diplomatique durant le règne de Jacques II d'Aragon (1291-1327)*. Madrid: Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velázquez, 2009, especially chap. XI: "une affaire de famille".

48. The Sicilian king alluded to the fraternity, *fraternitas*, that connected him through blood, *comunione sanguinnis*, thus also evoking the common history at the heart of the dynasty: Péquignot, Stéphane. *Au nom du roi...*: 54.

49. The queen was the object of numerous petitions and interceded on behalf of the members of the royal families close to her. According to Péquignot, Stéphane. *Au nom du roi...*, Queen Blanca was perceived as an influential wife by the ambassadors.

50. Péquignot, Stéphane. *Au nom du roi...*



both the king and his subjects had to submit, which paradoxically affirmed doctrinally and effectively the monarchy's superior power over the nobles<sup>51</sup>. Immediately, as had occurred in other European monarchies with Frederick II at their head<sup>52</sup>, James II set about countering the nobles' power by consolidating the myth of the king, making sacred his person, his acts and, in general, everything that surrounded him, in order to sublimate and strengthen the power and authority obtained through the oath that he had been obliged to fulfil before taking possession of his estates<sup>53</sup>. In reality, he followed the formula of Frederick II, defined by Caesar as simultaneously *pater et filius Iustitiae*, which bound the governor as *gemina persona* or *persona mixta* who emerged out of the right itself<sup>54</sup> and who maintained in himself the tension between human nature and divine grace and thus the essence of the tombs at Santes Creus. For James II, the basis of his power was clearly divine in origin and he affirmed this principle through various initiatives: at a political level he did so through a series of processes in 1301<sup>55</sup> and through his bestowal of titles and palatine customs<sup>56</sup>. He also did so through the dynastic project at Santes Creus, where he used effective visual mechanisms, such as the specific location of the tombs<sup>57</sup>, the unusual and significant porphyry with profound imperial connotations<sup>58</sup>, the magnificent Gothic canopies that protected and architecturally developed the tombs and which accentuated the

51. González Antón, Luis. "Jaime II y la afirmación del poder...": 387.

52. For whom the king "*gerens typum Jesu Christi*" was gradually substituted with a prince "*gerens typum Iustitiae*", who obtained his strength from his consecration and his knowledge of high legal science. The interrelations between Christ and justice were so evident and numerous that the transition was often imperceptible: Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *Los dos cuerpos del rey: un estudio de la teología política medieval*. Madrid: Akal, 1957: 162-163.

53. Palacios, Bonifacio. *La coronación de los reyes...*, 1975: 196-200. In the same manner, Arnau de Vilanova also initiated a form of exaltation of the monarchy: Bohigas, Pere. "Profecies catalanes dels segles XIV i XV: assaig bibliogràfic", *Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya*, 6 (1920-1922): 24-49; Rodríguez de la Peña, Manuel A. "Mecenas, trovadores, bibliófilos y cronistas...", 1997: 685-697.

54. As can be seen in *Liber Augustalis*: Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *Los dos cuerpos del rey...*, 1957: 124. The mirrors of medieval princes also insisted on the importance of administering justice as an attribute *par excellence* of royalty, presented in the human and earthly form of the divine. Nogales, David. "Los espejos de príncipes en Castilla (siglos XIII-XV): un modelo literario de la realeza bajomedieval", *Medievalismo: Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales*, 16 (2006): 29-30.

55. González Antón, Luis. "Jaime II y la afirmación del poder...": 397.

56. For example, knights and functionaries used the expression "*besar la terra davant els seus peus*" (kiss the ground before your feet), the same as the Infantes. Also for the first time in the Crown of Aragon, the *consellers* of Barcelona addressed the king with the title "*vestra majestas regia*": Martínez, Joan E. *Jaume II o el seny català. Alfons el Benigne*. Barcelona: Aedos, 1963: 17.

57. For more on this issue, see Povill, Marina. "Iuxta pilare quod est in capite cori prioris: algunas cuestiones sobre la topografía del panteón real del Monasterio de Santes Creus". *Migravit a seculo. Muerte y poder de príncipes en la Europa Medieval*. Fermín Miranda, María Teresa López de Guereño, Margarita Cabrera, eds. Madrid: Casa Velázquez, 2021: 333-351.

58. Regarding the use of porphyry in the Middle Ages, see Bacile, Rosa. "A porphyry Workshop in Norman Palermo", *Romanesque and the Mediterranean*, Rosa Bacile, John McNeill, eds. London-New York: Routledge, 2015: 129-149; Deer, Josef. *The Dynastic Porphyry tombs of the Norman period in Sicily*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011. With particular reference to Santes Creus, Dupré, Xavier. "L'alveus de porfíd del monestir de Santes Creus (Tarragona)", *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis gironins*, 37 (1996-1997): 973-982.



almost sacred transcendence of the governor<sup>59</sup>, the wealth of colours and materials that took on life when illuminated by candles and, above all, the extraordinary ceiling in the form of a reliquary dedicated to his father<sup>60</sup>, who conferred an almost sacred character on the funereal device that silenced any accusation of heterodoxy and extended the sacredness of his own dynastic line<sup>61</sup>. It is no coincidence that a few decades later, in 1358, the pages of *De vita, moribus et regimine principum*, written by the Infante Peter to provide political training for his nephew the future Peter IV, illustrate the theory of the dynastic sanctity of the House of Aragon and Barcelona<sup>62</sup>.

Thus, James II wished, as he stated in his will with the terms "*ipsa nostra sepultura fiat bene et honorifice sicut decet*"<sup>63</sup> that his tomb should reflect his dignity. Its singularity, its incomparability and its supremacy, adjectives that defined the pantheon from its inception, ensured that it was seen as an *unicum* in the Crown of Aragon, whilst also being a manifestation of *alteritas*, an imperial quality that James II also adopted from the oft-mentioned referents originating from Palermo<sup>64</sup>. However, taking Frederick II of Sicily as a precedent and model who used all the resources within his reach to convey an underlying political message of sacredness and legitimacy<sup>65</sup>, James II conceived two tombs that made visible the two notions that he proclaimed through his *ministerium regis* (see illustration 2). On one hand, through the tomb of his father Peter III, with its structure and iconography as a reliquary, he reaffirmed the divine origin of the power of the monarchical institution in opposition to the theoretical formulation of the supremacy of the papal authority that, although originating in 1075, was still the cause of a struggle for power and recognition<sup>66</sup> (see illustration

59. They supported him as the highest legal institution, in the words of Nieto, Manuel. *Ceremonias de la realza: propaganda y legitimación en la Castilla Trastámara*. Madrid: Nerea, 1993: 214.

60. Their structure has been compared with French reliquaries such as the chest of Nivelles, from 1272-1290, or the reliquary of Taurin d'Evreux, from around 1240-1255. Barrachina, Jaume. "El mestre Bartomeu de Girona", *Locus Amoenus*, 7 (2003): 117-135.

61. Other European kings, such as the French, chose a similar type to show this same idea. However, in the tomb at Santes Creus one finds the protection of the Virgin, the apostles and two Cistercian saints, perhaps Benedict and Bernard, representatives of the orthodoxy for an excommunicated king accused of heresy: Rosenman, Barry. *The Royal tombs...*: 86. Perhaps the king was inspired by the images from 1140 of Roger II crowned by Christ in Martorana in Palermo, or the coronation of William II in Monreale around 1174-1185. Peter III had been excommunicated on 11/4/1286 by Honorius IV, accused alongside his mother of fomenting rebellion in Sicily, and on 23/5/1286 for his coronation in Sicily, an excommunication that was extended to the celebrants on 18 November: Martínez, Joan E. *Jaume II...*, 1963: 72.

62. This mirror of princes is inspired by the *De Regimine Principum* by Giles of Rome: Palacios, Bonifacio. "El mundo de las ideas políticas en los tratados doctrinales españoles. Los "espejos de príncipes" (1250-1350)", *Europa en los umbrales de la crisis. 1250-1350*. Pamplona: Celsa, 1995: 482.

63. Udina, Antoni. *Els testaments dels comtes...*: 218 (doc. 32).

64. Regarding otherness as a quality of the highest imperial condition, see Brenk, Beat. "Arte del potere e la retorica dell'alterità: la cattedrale di cefalù e San Marco a Venezia", *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 35 (2005): 85.

65. Recently analysed in Vagnoni, Mirko. "Lex animata in terris. On the sacredness of Frederick II of Swabia", *De Medio Aevo*, 1 (2012): 47-66.

66. Which is the reason why James II altered, consciously, the swearing-in ceremony and swore in the Infante James as his heir when the latter was only four years old. It was also significant that the new



3). And, on the other hand, through his own tomb situated on the other side of the crossing, different in typology due to his recumbent statue and that of his first wife, but maintaining a clear unity thanks to the dossals, he confirmed that his temporal power was based on the legal principle that royal power was hereditary and derived from the lineage; that is, he was the king by right. With this, the project gave a visible rendering of a concept of monarchy based on the abstract authority of the king *Dei gratia* through the paternal tomb and in the visible link *per sanguinem* through the recumbents<sup>67</sup>, significantly the first to appear in a funereal ensemble of the kings of the Crown of Aragon. (see illustration 4) And all of this with some material devices that could not only be seen, but also read: at Santes Creus this unprecedented marriage between image and word through the epitaphs is of utmost importance<sup>68</sup> and should also be understood, due to its novelty and visibility, as an iconographic mechanism. In these epitaphs, despite being carved by different epigraphists at different times within a chronological arc of almost thirty years, one may observe the debts that are owed to the epigraph of Emperor Frederick II<sup>69</sup>. Also revealing is their location; the epigraphs belonging to and glorifying the kings are located at the head of the tombs, marking significant achievements, whereas that of the queen, far from being celebratory or propagandistic, is situated right next to her tomb so it can be seen by the religious community and, in this way, carry out *alone* the task for which it was inscribed<sup>70</sup>.

The ideology of James II could not be separated from the Sicilian political inheritance implicit in the birth of his imperial commitment (to use the description of Rodríguez de la Peña<sup>71</sup>) for the House of Aragon and Barcelona which, for a generation, had borrowed allegorical figures from the eschatological cycle of the Staufens, thus establishing lines of continuity between the imperial project of that *regia stirps* and the Aragonese dynasty<sup>72</sup>. In reality, this “commitment” reflected

heir was sworn in during the courts of 1320 (Alphonse, after the renunciation of his older brother) and that only later did the monarch also swear to honour the privileges and rights: González Antón, Luis. “Jaime II y la afirmación del poder...”: 396. It should be pointed out that the policy of James II towards the Pope was not intended to be one of rivalry in terms of universal power, but rather the recognition of a specific role for the king of Aragon, namely to be the arms of Christianity at sea and the first authority in the Mediterranean.

67. An argument put forward by Frederick II in Sicily with his enthroned images: Vagnoni, Mirko. “Lex animata in terris...”: 65.

68. Transcribed in Marina; Sarobe, Ramón; Subiranas, Carme, eds. *El panteó reial...: IV.I*, 225-230 and *IV.II*, 114-118.

69. As observed by Cingolani, who showed that whoever worked on the epigraph of Peter the Great, executed around 1298-99, was aware of that of Frederick II: Marina; Sarobe, Ramón; Subiranas, Carme, eds. *El panteó reial...: IV.I*, 225-230. The same occurs with the one referring to James II, whose later execution is by a different epigraphist: Marina; Sarobe, Ramón; Subiranas, Carme, eds. *El panteó reial...: IV.II*, 116. That of Queen Blanca seems to have been executed by a lapidarist in Barcelona and ordered to be sent to Santes Creus on 24/11/1314: Marina; Sarobe, Ramón; Subiranas, Carme, eds. *El panteó reial...: IV.I*, 104.

70. Marina; Sarobe, Ramón; Subiranas, Carme, eds. *El panteó reial...: IV.I*, 104.

71. Rodríguez de la Peña, Manuel A. “Hesper, el Vespro y el Vespertilio...”, 1997: 685.

72. Rodríguez de la Peña, Manuel A. “Hesper, el Vespro y el Vespertilio...”, 1997: 686.





ILLUSTRATION 2. TOMB OF PETER III THE GREAT © SANTES CREUS. PHOTOGRAPH PROVIDED BY MARTA SERRANO.



ILLUSTRATION 3. JAMES II AND BLANCHE OF ANJOU TOMB © SANTES CREUS. PHOTOGRAPH PROVIDED BY MARTA SERRANO.

little more than the need to define the sovereign as the true repository of the *plenitudo postestatis* according to the imperial model. Historiography has pointed to the presence, in the palace court of the king of Aragon, of exiled Ghibellines who had served the Hohenstaufen, which accounts for the rapid and easy assimilation of these foreign ideas<sup>73</sup>. Similarly, it is important not to forget the close relations between the monastery at Santes Creus and Sicily<sup>74</sup>. However, as has been said,

73. Such as the dignitary Richard Filangeri, the jurist Henry de Isernia or Juan de Procida, personal doctor to Frederick II and then chancellor for King Manfred and Peter the Great: Runciman, Steven. *Visperas Sicilianas. Una historia del mundo mediterráneo a finales del siglo XIII*. Madrid: Reino de Redonda, 2009: 200-203; Wieruszowsky, Helene. "La corte di Pietro d'Aragona e i precedenti dell'Impresa siciliana", *Politics and culture in medieval Spain and Italy*. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1971: 185-222; Boscolo, Alberto. "L'eredità sveva di Pietro il Grande, re d'Aragona", *La società mediterranea all'epoca del Vespro*. 11. *Congreso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona I*. Palermo: Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Arti, 1983: 83-99. Regarding prophesies and symbolic images in the times of Peter the Great, see Cingolani, Stefano M. *Historiografia, propaganda i comunicació...*, 2006: 291-316.

74. Between 1305 and 1307, Frederick III founded the Monastery of Santa Maria di Altofonte and in its foundational decree, after praising the monks of Santes Creus, a place "*ubi divorum progenitorum nostrorum corpora requiescunt*", he requested that they be its founders: Granà, Michele. "Corona, ufficiali regi e fondazioni monastiche nella Sicilia Aragonese: il caso di Santa Maria di Altofonte", *Mediterraneo medievale. Scritti Francesco Giunta*. Soveria Mannelli: Centro di studi tardoantichi e medievali di Altomonte



ILLUSTRATION 4. EPITAPHS IN SANTES CREUS © SANTES CREUS. PHOTOGRAPH PROVIDED BY MARTA SERRANO.

James II had first-hand knowledge of applying *de facto* the legal and artistic policies of the Staufen<sup>75</sup>, which clearly inspired him to organize a funereal complex that was not only reminiscent of the tombs in Palermo that gave him his legitimacy as king<sup>76</sup>,

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and ed. Rubbetino, 1989: 567; Miguel Caneller, abbot, 11 monks and 4 conversos arrived: Cabestany, Joan F.; Miquel, Francesc. “Excerpta documental de Santes Creus”, *Santes Creus. Butlletí de l’Arxiu bibliogràfic de Santes Creus*, 18 (1963): 43. The exchange of men and ideas strengthened relations between both kingdoms: in 1336 the records refer to a Friar Bernardo *de Ligerio*, monk of Santes Creus and procurator of Altofonte and, on 29/1/1341 the confirmation, by Abbot Francesc Miró, of Giacomo *de Olinariis* as abbot of the Sicilian monastery: Granà, Michele. “Corona ufficiali regi...”: 568 and 583.

75. Vagnoni, Mirko. *Federico II allo specchio. Analisi iconografica e politico-funzionale delle sue raffigurazioni*. Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell’Università di Siena (PhD Dissertation), 2004; Vagnoni, “Lex animata in terris...”: 47-66. The echoes of the Staufen in the artistic and cultural policies of James II can be heard not only in various genres (including sigillography, coinage and epigraphy) but also in significant initiatives that demonstrate his awareness of the power of writing and the machinery of the state and of the need for and importance of education.

76. His mother was Constanza of Sicily, and Peter the Great used her to lend legitimacy to his claim, involving her as *Regina* in Italian politics during the period of co-regency (1283-1285). On 19/4/1283, in Messina, she was proclaimed legitimate regent: she received the regency while the heir and co-regent was her son Jaume, the future James II. Marzal, Miguel. “La perspectiva catalano-aragonesa...”, 1997: 422-423.



but which also brought together and made visible the two great principles of the institution that his person represented.

### 3. The cloister and its peculiar south-western pillar as a visual and significant development

Frederick's influence on the royal works at Santes Creus was not limited to the tombs, as can be seen in the singular discursive focus of the cloister, which is disconcerting due to its possession of a fabulous iconography that is so distanced from the Cistercian canon<sup>77</sup> and its problematic building process that has yet to be fully determined<sup>78</sup>. The building, which replaced an earlier one from around 1200<sup>79</sup>, was begun at the behest of James II and Blanca d'Anjou, who had demonstrated their artistic preferences during the many years that it took to build the tomb of their predecessor<sup>80</sup>. A document dated 12/1/1310 records the first donation of 50,000 Barcelonan sueldos "*in constructione et profectione dictorum claustrum et reffectorii monasterii prelibati*"<sup>81</sup>, although the king's patronage of the construction of the refectory is recorded four years earlier<sup>82</sup>. Twenty-eight years later, on the feast of Saint Benedict, 11 July 1341, and during the abbacy of Francesc Miró, the cloister

77. Practically all of his sculpture could be classified among the *ridicula monstrositas, mira quaedam deformis formositas ac formosa deformitas* that Claraval criticised in: Clairvaux, Saint Bernard of. *Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem*. ed. Centre Traditio Litterarum Occidentalium. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.

78. Among the vast array of studies, see Puig i Cadafalch, Josep. "Un mestre anglès contracta l'obra del claustre de Santes Creus", *Anuari d'Estudis Catalans*, 7 (1931): 123-138; Vives, Josep. "El maestro Reinard des Fonoll "lapicida" inglés en Cataluña (1320-1360)". *Santes Creus: Butlletí de l'Arxiu Bibliogràfic de Santes Creus*, 2/13 (1961): 97-109; Vives, Josep. "El portal del claustre", *Santes Creus. Publicacions de l'Arxiu bibliogràfic*, 23 (1965): 1-11; Batlle, Pere. "Cicles bíblics els capitells del claustre de Santes Creus i de l'església de Santa Maria de Montblanc", *Santes Creus. Butlletí de l'Arxiu bibliogràfic*, 31 (1970): 1-4; Sobrequés, Jaume. "Jaume II i Santes Creus", *Santes Creus, Butlletí de l'Arxiu bibliogràfic*, 5 (1977): 313-320; Español, Francesca. "Un nou mestre d'obres a Santes Creus durant el segle XIV: Bernat de Payllars", *Recull J. Avellà i Vives*. Tarragona: Llibreria Guardias, 1980; Español, Francesca. "Remarques a l'activitat de Mestre Fonoll i una revisió del flamiger de Santes Creus", *D'Art*, 11 (1985): 123-131; Español, Francesca. *El gòtic...*: 49-51; Español, Francesca. "La política artística de Jaume II...": 23-27; Español, Francesca. "L'art al servei de Jaume II..."; Cabestany, Joan F. "Santes Creus", *L'art gòtic a Catalunya*. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia catalana, 2003: II, 202-210; Liaño, Emma. "La primera escultura trescentista al monestir de Santes Creus", *L'art gòtic a Catalunya*. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2007: I, 95-97.

79. The scars and scant remains of which can still be made out: Español, Francesca. "La política artística de Jaume II...": 11.

80. Starting in April 1292, when a letter was sent to *operis ecclesie Terrachone* Bartomeu for the construction of the tomb and, culminating in 1306, when they checked the suitability of the paintings by *Andreas de Turri*: Miquel, Marina; Sarobe, Ramón; Subiranas, Carme, eds. *El panteó reial...* (docs. 1 and 40).

81. The document itself has not survived but it is recorded in another from the Infante Alphonse dated 3/6/1327: Mutgé, Josefina. "L'infant Alfons, fill de Jaume II i el monestir de Santes Creus (1319-1327)", *Santes Creus. Butlletí de l'arxiu bibliogràfic*, 6 (1983), doc. 3, fol. 94v, lines. 10-15.

82. According to a document, published by Giménez, Andrés. "Los panteones reales de Santas Cruces", *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 2 (1903-1904): 190-191 (doc. 1) and reviewed by Miquel, Marina; Sarobe, Ramón; Subiranas, Carme, eds. *El panteó reial...* (doc. 40), in which the abbot, in



was completed<sup>83</sup>. The scant surviving documentation cannot be listed here<sup>84</sup>, but it is important to recall that on 3/6/1327, the Infante Alphonse, "*illustrissimi domini regis Aragonum primogeniti eiusque generalis procuratore ac comitis Urgelli*", approved and confirmed the debt to his father<sup>85</sup>. At the start of the 1330, by now king, he gave fresh impetus to the works, leading to the blessing of the cloister on 23/11/1331<sup>86</sup> by Friar Pere de Déu, bishop of Santa Justa of Sardinia, abbot of the monastery and who had been chaplain to the Infante Alphonse<sup>87</sup>, and to the contracts to build the cloister and refectory<sup>88</sup>.

It is important to identify the repairs and refurbishments made during the restoration projects and to determine the original from the spurious in order to analyse in detail each original sculpture and element and clarify the building process in which various maestros participated<sup>89</sup>. Although the donations for the works date to the time of James II, the reports show that most of the building work occurred under his successor, Alphonse IV, as did, it seems, part of the heraldic work on the capitals close to the noteworthy and surprising pillar on the south west corner (see illustration 5). This corner pillar presents, from left to right, scenes from Genesis: God giving life to Adam, the Creation of Eve, the Entrance in Paradise, the Original Sin, the Shame of their Nakedness, the Reproach<sup>90</sup>, and the Expulsion. The capitals that look out over the garden feature the Condemnation to work and Abel the

addition to ensuring that the paintings of the tomb of Peter the Great are suitable, took the opportunity to request the quantity promised for the refectory.

83. Miquel, Marina; Sarobe, Ramón; Subiranas, Carme, eds. *El panteó reial...*, although it is also recorded in the *Summa Confessorum* by Abbot Dernosa.

84. Lack of space prevents me, although it has been published, among others, including Giménez, Andrés. "Los panteones reales..."; Puig i Cadafalch, Josep. "Un mestre anglés..."; Español, Francesca. "Un nou mestre d'obres..."; Mutgé, Josefina. "L'infant Alfons, fill de Jaume II..."; Papell, Joan. *Compendium abbreviatum. Còdex del monestir de Santes Creus dels segles XIV i XV, de fra Bernat Mallol i fra Joan Salvador*. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2009; Miquel, Marina; Sarobe, Ramón; Subiranas, Carme, eds. *El panteó reial...*

85. Of the 2000 golden maravedies bequeathed by James I and the 10,000 by Peter the Great, some 34,790 sueldos and 5 dineros were still owed. Mutgé, Josefina. "L'infant Alfons, fill de Jaume II...": 382.

86. Cabestany, Joan F.; Miquel, Francesc. "Excerpta documental...": 347. The presence of Pere de Déu at Santes Creus was so that he could take leave of his companions before setting off for Sardinia after being named Bishop of Santa Justa: Cabestany, Joan F. "Pere de Déu, bisbe de Santa Justa", *Santes Creus: Butlletí de l'Arxiu bibliogràfic de Santes Creus*, 63-66 (1986-1987): 32.

87. So too had the Infante James, who renounced the throne; James II would blame him for this decision. Pere de Déu had been promoted to Bishop of Dolia according to a letter of instruction issued by James II to Bernat de Boxadós, his nuncio and procurator in the Roman Curia: Forci, Antonio. "L'episcopato di Saladinus Doliensis nella Sardegna regnicola del secolo XIV", *Rivista dell'istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea*, 12 (2014): 78 (doc. 83). John XXII refused the election, with the result that Pere de Déu was elected bishop of Santa Justa in 1330, after Alphonse IV had proposed in vain his election as archbishop of Torres and bishop of Sulci: Cabestany, Joan F. "Pere de Déu, monjo de Santes Creus i bisbe de Santa Justa (Sardenya)", *Santes Creus: Butlletí de l'Arxiu bibliogràfic de Santes Creus*, 49 (1979): 73-77; Cabestany, Joan F. "Pere de Déu, monjo...": 30-33.

88. Puig i Cadafalch, Josep. "Un mestre anglès contracta l'obra del claustre de Santes Creus", *Anuari de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, 7 (1921-1926): 123-138.

89. This task has been started by Professor Gerardo Boto of the University of Girona and is ongoing.

90. With the terms *Adam Adam ubi es / Respondit Adam / Domine audivi vo / cem tuam et ti[mui]*: Batlle, Pere. "Cicles bíblics els capitells del claustre...": 2.



shepherd and Cain the farmer. Historiography has recognised the singular nature of this historiated frieze, of a style and content so different from the other capitals in the precinct<sup>91</sup>. Although it has been proposed that a historiated programme was originally planned and then abandoned in favour of a new project characterised by the iconography that we see today<sup>92</sup>, the existence of this pillar with its peculiar narrative may be easily explained by the hypothesis regarding the influence of Frederick II's political theory on the king of Aragon, in which he was immersed during his reign in Sicily, and which has enabled a new reading of the semiotic content of the tombs.

To carry out this reading, first it is necessary to bear in mind the capital featuring



ILLUSTRATION 5. DETAIL OF THE CORNER PILLAR SCENES © SANTES CREUS. PHOTOGRAPH PROVIDED BY MARTA SERRANO.

the effigy crowned and flanked by coats of arms, one very deteriorated and showing the pales of Aragon, which in line with the predominant heraldry on the capitals and keystones, can only represent James II<sup>93</sup> (see illustration 6). (Fig. 7) Second, one has to consider the visual device that is located just opposite the *Porta Reial* (Royal Entrance) (see illustration 7) that provides access to the cloister; seen as one enters from the exterior, the entrance received this name because it is a true acclamation of James II and Blanche of Anjou, whose busts sit atop some corbels<sup>94</sup>

91. As highlighted by Vives, Josep. *Reinard des Fonoll, escultor anglès renovador de l'art gòtic a Catalunya (1321-1362)*. Barcelona: Blume, 1969: 90; Batlle, Pere. "Cicles bíblics els capitells del claustre...": 1.

92. Español, Francesca. "L'art al servei de Jaume II...": 12.

93. The keystones of the monastery (church, cloister and chapterhouse) are being analysed by Xènia Granero in her PhD thesis, *Iconografia del espació: las claves de bóveda en los edificios religiosos de la Diócesis de Tarragona (1150-1350)*, which she will defend at the beginning of 2022.

94. Serrano, Marta. "Imatges de la monarquia...": 181-192.



ILLUSTRATION 6. SOUTHWEST PILLAR AND ADJOINING CAPITAL © SANTES CREUS. PHOTOGRAPH PROVIDED BY MARTA SERRANO.

and whose heraldry exhibits numerous coats of arms. As the first thing to be seen by those who accessed the cloister via this celebratory door, this narrative deployment on the pillar and the adjoining and frontal capital was in reality a visual statement with a clear theological and political message that brings to life the aforementioned prologue of the *Liber Augustalis*, where the emperor declared that after the fall of man, kings and princes were created due to natural necessity and by the power of God to task them with the royal office of *executor divinae Providentiae*<sup>95</sup> (see illustration 8). This preface was dominated by the Augustinian concept of power, according to which the original sin and the consequent propagation of hatred and disobedience had led to the birth of the princes<sup>96</sup>. That is precisely what was proclaimed by the iconographic repertoire on this cloistral corner: only through the king, executor of

95. They were charged with the task of “being arbiters of life and death on behalf of their people, determining what should be the fortune, the portion and the estate of each man, as if they were acting in some way as the executors of divine providence; *velut executores quodammodo divinae providentiae stabilirent*, in the terms of Seneca according to Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *Los dos cuerpos del rey...*: 141.

96. *Sicque ipsa rerum necessitate cogente nec minus divinae provisionis instinctu, principes gentium sunt creati per quos posset licentia scelerum coerceri: qui vite necisque arbitri gentibus qualem quisque fortunam, sortem, statumque haberet, velut executores quodammodo divinae Providentiae stabilirent*: Von der Lieck-Buyken, Thea. *Die Konstitutionen Friedrichs II von Hohenstaufen für sein königreich sizilien*. Colonia: Böhlau Verlag, 1973: 2-4.



divine providence, is it possible to restore the order that once existed in Paradise, represented, significantly, on the axial axis of this corner pillar with the scene in which God invites Adam and Eve to enter Eden. It is also important not to overlook the metaphor and the emotional shock that this scene must have had on audiences that accessed the cloister (itself a prefiguration of Paradise<sup>97</sup>) through the *Royal Entrance*, which was perhaps also used by individuals who were socially unimportant but very *useful* or profitable in matters of salvation. By this I refer to the regular stream of the poor who regularly and several times a year said prayers *pro anima* before the tomb of the kings<sup>98</sup>.

James II imported the concept of government and administration that the Staufen had imposed on the Kingdom of Sicily<sup>99</sup>, and his artistic patronage highlights the fortunes of the *Liber Augustalis* beyond its island frontiers, in particular in the Crown of Aragon<sup>100</sup>, in accordance with one of its constitutions<sup>101</sup>. An analysis of the cloistral precinct of this area suggests that although the perimeter enclosure was undertaken

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97. *Claustrun praesefert paradisum* [...]. *Porro monasteria praesefert coelestem paradisum* [...] *Porro claustrum praesefert paradisum, monasterium vero Eden securiorem locum paradisi*: Doquang, Mailan S. *The Lithic Garden: Nature and the Transformation of the Medieval church*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018: III, 149.

98. On 3/6/1327 the Infante Alphonse, then count of Urgell, confirmed a donation made by his parents on 30/4/1327 which was accompanied by conditions, including the obligation that the abbot and the monastery should, in perpetuity, celebrate one day in the second week of each month an anniversary for the souls of Peter the Great, Constanza, James and Blanca. During those days, 13 poor people should be allowed to enter and receive food: Mutgé, Josefina. "L'infant Alfons, fill de Jaume II...": 390 (doc. 2). The *Compendium abbreviatum* indicates that the place where they should be fed had to be decided by the abbot, *in loco, silicet, ubi dominus Abbas decreverit*. The question is whether it could have been in the west gallery of the cloister, where two corbels show some individuals holding a jug and a loaf of bread. After being fed, they had to be led "*ad eius tumulum*", where each poor person had to recite the Lord's Prayer three times and Ave Maria once: Papell, Joan. *Compendium abbreviatum...*: 451-452.

99. Sarasa, Esteban. "Jaime II de Aragón en la política europea y del papado de su tiempo", *Iglesia y Estado. Teorías políticas y relaciones de poder*. Saragossa: Universidad de Saragossa, 2016: 230.

100. Some authors state that the *In excelsis Dei thesauris* commissioned by James I in 1247 could have been preceded by, among other compilations, the *Post mundi machinam* of Frederick II, which precedes the *Liber Augustalis*: Pérez Martín, Antonio. "La primera codificación oficial de los fueros aragoneses: las dos compilaciones de Vidal de Canellas", *Glossae. European Journal of Legal History*, 2 (1989-1990): 14 (doc.18). Although no documentary relationship is recorded between James I and Frederick II, the same author believes that it must have existed: Pérez Martín, Antonio. "La edición crítica de los Fueros de Aragón", *Glossae. European Journal of Legal History*, 8 (1996): 21. The bibliography on the Fueros (privileges) of Aragon is enormous; I therefore cite, due to the range of their historiographical choices Delgado, Jesús. *Los Fueros de Aragón*. Saragossa: Caja de ahorros de la Inmaculada de Aragón, 1997 and Pérez Martín, Antonio. *Legislación foral aragonesa. La compilación romance de Huesca (1247-1300)*, Madrid: Agencia Estatal Boletín Oficial del Estado, 2016. Regarding political pluralism in the crown of Aragon, see Lalinde, Jesús. "La instrumentalización del pluralismo político en la Corona de Aragón", *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana: Revista d'estudis històrics*, 39 (1982): 29-50.

101. Constitution I, 95, 1 prays: "Queremos cultivar el Reino de Sicilia con especial cuidado [...] para que sea un espejo para la imitación de quienes lo admiran, una fuente de envidia para los gobernantes y un modelo para los reinos" (we wish to cultivate the Kingdom of Sicily with particular care [...] so that it becomes a mirror to imitate for those who admire it, a source of envy for governors and a model for the kings). Calasso, Francesco. *I glossatori e la teoría della sovranità. Studi di diritto comjune pubblico*. Milano: Giuffrè, 1957: 180.





ILLUSTRATION 7. ROYAL DOOR © SANTES CREUS. PHOTOGRAPH PROVIDED BY MARTA SERRANO.

during the reign of James II, when the *Royal Door* was planned<sup>102</sup>, the raising of the galleries and the vaults happened in the time of Alphonse IV, which explains the heraldry on the first capital adjacent to the corner pillar on the west wall<sup>103</sup> (see illustration 9). In it can be seen a shield dimidiated between Aragon and Urgell, an emblem that Alphonse was entitled to use from 1314, when still an Infante and after acquiring the county of Urgell, until 1334 once he had become king of Aragon and tutor to his firstborn James<sup>104</sup>. Although we cannot rule out that some emblems

102. Analysis of the entrance can be found in Vives, Josep. "El portal...": 1-11.

103. Shield of Aragon and Urgell identified in Vives, Josep. *Reinard des Fonoll...*: 98.

104. Although the will of the count of Urgell, Ermengol X, which was dictated in 10/7/1314 and which stated that the county would pass into the hands of the Infante Alphonse, established that the arms of Urgell could not be mixed with any others: Monfar, Diego. *Historia de los condes de Urgell II*. Barcelona:





ILLUSTRATION 8. ACCESS TO THE CLOISTER THROUGH THE ROYAL DOOR © SANTES CREUS. PHOTOGRAPH PROVIDED BY MARTA SERRANO.

were sculpted for the purposes of memory and retrospection, a precise analysis of them alongside the eloquent visual programme<sup>105</sup> reveals their owners and gives a more exact understanding of their dates. It may be that those in the west gallery belong to laypeople and ecclesiastics directly connected to the work<sup>106</sup> and those

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Monfort, 1853: 75. Alphonse administered the county during the minority of his firstborn. Regarding the partitions of this coat of arms, see Mateu, Felipe. *La iconografía y la heráldica de los condes de Urgell en la sigilografía y en la numismática*. Lleida: Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs, 1967; Trenchs, José; Conde, Rafael. "La Cancellaría de los condes de Urgell (s. VIII-XV)", *Referate zum VI. Internationalen kongreb für Diplomantik*, Gabriel Silagi, ed. München: Arbeo-gesellschaft, 1984: 559-580, who believe, without offering any evidence, that it was divided quarterly by Alphonse and then dimidiated by his firstborn James.

105. The absence of heraldry in the north and east galleries is conspicuous, except for the first set of columns next to the south-east pillar, where a soldier displays a paly shield.

106. From south to north: first free-standing capital, immediately next to the corner pillar, two arms of Aragon and two from Aragon/Urgell, which alluded to the future king Alphonse IV, who is remembered for confirming the donations awarded (not used) by his parents. On the next free-standing capital, in the second arcade, four arms of Aragon in the upper row and four in the lower one: the first with three castles, the second with a fleur de lys, and the remainder attributed to two successive abbots important to the work, namely Pere Alegre (1309-1335), who restarted the building work, and Francesc Miró (1335-1347), who blessed the cloister once it had been finished. The two unidentified blazons perhaps

in the south gallery belong to knights and nobility closely linked to the king<sup>107</sup>. If this is the case it would confirm rather than alter the meaning of the programme because the idea in the prologue of the *Liber Agustalis* had been taken up again in the *Llibre de l'ordre de cavalleria*, written around 1274-76 by Ramon Llull<sup>108</sup>, who had close connections to the royal family and who emphasised the role of knights, instituted by God to re-establish order but always subject to the king who "*deu esser cavaller e senyor de tots cavallers*" (must be a knight and lord of all knights)<sup>109</sup>. It is no accident that these noble coats of arms are situated opposite arcosolia in which lie illustrious knights, among them the one next to Ramon Alemany de Cervelló<sup>110</sup>, whose heraldry I have identified on the capital and who died in 1324 during the Sardinian campaign, one of the great feats in Alphonse's biography and from when he was still an Infante.

In this manner James II's eagerness and strategies to reinforce royal power<sup>111</sup>, some of them influenced by Frederick II, become visible at Santes Creus both in

belong to monks; perhaps the fleur de lys alludes to Guillelmo de Lilleto, a monk who signed the contract with Pere Alegre and the maestro Fonoll. Throughout the gallery more arms of Aragon can be seen (free-standing capitals 4, 5, 8, 9 and 10), although two of them seem to have been restored. On the last capital in this gallery, the one next to the northeast pillar, the arms of Aragon and Anjou are flanked by tetramorphs.

107. From west to east, the first capital next to the corner pillar, two shields of Anjou and two of Aragon and just after, the set of columns crowned and flanked by the paly shield. On the second freestanding column in the second arcade, another four: one with the bezants of Montcada, another with a lion rampant, the third with the goat of Cervelló, and the last with three large vessels or bags.

108. Ramon Llull (1232-1316) was in close contact with James II throughout his life and supported him in various initiatives, such as the much desired crusade in Hispanic territory, which Llull justified in his final treatise *Liber de acquisitione Terrae Sanctae*, in which he described military strategies for fighting against the infidel. He also travelled to Sicily to take advantage of the missionary spirit of Frederick III: Musco, Alessandro; Romano, Marta, eds. *Il Mediterraneo del '300: Raimondo Lullo e Federico III d'Aragona, re di Sicilia*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007; Garcías, Sebastián. "El candidato de Ramon Llull para el cargo de "Maestro General" de la Orden militar del Espíritu Santo", *Estudios Lulianos*, 16 (1972): 63-77; Garcías, Sebastián. *Ramón Llull y el Islam*. Palma: Graficas Planisi, 1981: 219-223; Dominguez, Fernando. *Ramon Llull. El mejor libro del mundo*. Madrid: Arpa, 2016. These relations between Llull, James II and Frederick III are recorded in the documents and the parallels between the *Llibre de Cavalleria* and the *Liber Augustalis* are essential to understanding the sort of ideological and intellectual triangle between the three men. I would like to thank Ignacio Cabello for his conversations with me on this matter.

109. Sanchis, Manuel. "L'ideal cavalleresc definit per Ramon Llull", *Studia Lulliana*, 2/4.1 (1958): 46: "*A significar que un Déu és senyor de totes coses, Emperador deu esser cavaller e senyor de tots cavallers. Mas, car Emperador de no poria per si mateix règer tots los cavallers, cové que haja de tots si reys qui sien cavallers, per tal que li ajuden a mantener l'Orde de Cavalleria. E los reys deuen haver dejús si, comes, comdors, varvessors, e axí dels altres graus de Cavalleria. E dejús aquests graus, deuen esser los cavallers de un scut, los quals sien governats e posehits per los graus de Cavalleria demunt dits*" (If a God is lord of all things, an Emperor must be a knight and lord of all knights. But, because an Emperor cannot himself rule all knights, he must make kings of all of those who pretend to be knights so that they may help him maintain the Order of Knighthood. And the kings must have below them counts, viscounts, barons, and the other ranks of the Knighthood. And below these ranks must be the squires, who are governed and owned by the ranks of the Knighthood mentioned above).

110. He was correctly identified by Español, Francesca. "El maestro de los Alemany de Cervelló y la primera escultura trecentista en Tarragona", *Locus Amoenus*, 1 (1995): 61-74.

111. Sabaté, Flocel. "Discurs i estratègies del poder reial...": 617-646.





ILLUSTRATION 9. HERALDRY OF ALPHONSE WITH THE DIMIDIATE OF ARAGON AND URGELL © SANTES CREUS. PHOTOGRAPH PROVIDED BY MARTA SERRANO.

the pantheon that he conceived as a unitary project in the specific sector of the cloister next to the entrance from outside through the *Porta Reial*. The communicative potential of the discourse is indisputable, showing the monarch as the executor of Divine Providence, and was probably sculpted after his reign during the times of his successor who, still an Infante and count of Urgell, had confirmed and sanctioned the financial resources for its construction. And although his reign was brief, only nine years, his actions demonstrate that his father's political theory was very familiar to him, as was seen in his coronation ceremony,

so notable that his successor Peter IV would say of it that “*no deu ésser mes en oblit*” (it must never be forgotten)<sup>112</sup>. Like his father who had followed the same reasoning as Frederick II, Alphonse IV understood the liturgy as a means of setting a magnificent scene that visualised the extraordinary honour of the institution that he represented and only increased the “*ápice de la dignidad real*” (apex of royal dignity) attained on the death of his father<sup>113</sup>. He chose the day of Easter for the ceremony, establishing a parallel between the death and resurrection of Christ and the death of James II and the resurrection of the royalty, as recorded by the chronicler Muntaner<sup>114</sup>. Dressed with the specific garments of the deacon, he introduced the most significant change to the liturgy by taking the crown from the altar and placing it on his own head, an act that would have immediate consequences, and not only within the Crown of

112. *Les quatre grans cròniques. IV. Crònica de Pere III el Cermioniós*. ed. Ferran Soldevila. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2014: 35.

113. [...] *antequam pervenissemus ad apicem regie dignitatis* is a sentence that is repeated in various documents issued by the future king. Palacios, Bonifacio. *La coronación de los reyes...*: 207 (doc. 9).

114. “*ell pensà que així con los sants apostols e deixebles de nostre Senyor, ver Déus Jesucrist, estaven desconsolats e marrits per la passió de nostre Senyor déus Jesucrist, que així los seus sotsmeses estaven ab gran tristor per la mort del senyor rei, son pare; e que, així com Jesucrist, lo jorn de Pasqua, per la sua resurrecció, ell los alegrà e confortà, que enaixí lo jorn santbeneit de la Pasqua primera vinent, que fo dimejge, tres dies en abril, a l'entrada del any mil tre-cents vint-e-vuit, que ell confortàs e alegràs ell mateix e sos germans e tots los seus sotsmesos*” (He thought that in the same way as the apostles and disciples of our Lord, the true God Jesus Christ, were disconsolate and grief-stricken because of the passion of our Lord God Jesus Christ, so too were his own subjects struck with great sadness because of the death of the king, their father; and just as Jesus Christ, on the day of Easter, through his resurrection, cheered and comforted on the blessed day of Easter, which was Sunday, three days in April, at the start of the year 1328, he comforted and cheered himself and his brothers and all his subjects): *Les quatre grans cròniques. III...*: CCXCI; Cingolani, Stefano M. *Vida, viatges i relats de Ramon Muntaner*. Barcelona: Base, 2015: 101-102.

Aragon<sup>115</sup>. Although no earlier ceremony had ever involved the king substituting the officiating bishop and placing the crown on his own head, this was precisely what Frederick II had done during his fourth coronation when on 17/3/1229 he made his unusual entrance into the Holy Sepulchre and, as the patriarch Giraldo would later complain in his letter to Gregory IX, placed on his own head the diadem as king of Jerusalem<sup>116</sup>. Perhaps we are faced with a new echo of the Staufen in the ceremony that inaugurated the reign of the new king of Aragon and that did none other than demonstrate before the subjects his immediate and direct dependence on God and his authority as king, without any intermediary, just as the emperor has done many years before in the temple in Jerusalem<sup>117</sup> and as his father had brought together, promoted and made visible through various actions, among others his artistic commissions at the monastery of Santes Creus.

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115. In 1332 it was imitated in Castile by Alphonse XI. Pérez Monzón, Olga. "Ceremonias regias en la Castilla Medieval. A propósito del llamado Libro de la Coronación de los Reyes de Castilla y Aragón", *Archivo Español de Arte*, 332 (2010): 317-334; Carrero, Eduardo. "Por las Huelgas los juglares. Alphonse XI de Compostela a Burgos, siguiendo el libro de la coronación de los reyes de Castilla", *Medievalia*, 15 (2012): 143-157.

116. He did not attend the ceremony despite having been invited to do so by the emperor. After learning of the details, he wrote to the Pope complaining that "el príncipe ha entrado esta mañana al domingo —día en el que se canta el Oculi mei— y, vistiendo atuendos reales, se ha puesto la diadema" (the prince has entered this Sunday morning, the day on which the Oculi mei is sung, and seeing royal attire, has put on the diadem): Benoist-Mechin, Jacques. *El emperador Federico II (1194-1250)*. Barcelona: Civilización, 1983: 163.

117. Regarding his coronation and its meaning, see Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *Federico II, Imperatore*. Milano: Garzanti, 1988: 182-185.

