

Weaving Stories, Images and Devotions: The Medieval Mediterranean as a Stage

“The Mediterranean is an absurdly small sea; the length or greatness of its history makes us dream it larger than it is”

Lawrence Durrell, *Balthazar* (1958)

When I accepted the invitation to write on the iconography of the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages, I was aware of the difficulty in covering such a subject, so this paper will be confined to two specific themes. The first part will review the role played by the Mediterranean in the visual arts from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, while the second part will concentrate on the Kingdom of Aragon – specifically the way in which its overseas expansion during the 13th and 14th centuries transformed the image of the Mediterranean. With regard to this process, it is worth drawing attention to the relationship between the political and commercial interests of an expanding kingdom and the promotion of certain Mediterranean devotions and cult centres.

In the last few decades the Mediterranean has been the focus of a number of comprehensive historical studies, such as those by Krijnie N. Ciggar and David Abulafia.¹ Most of them consider the sea to be a privileged space for political, cultural, artistic and commercial exchange, especially during the High and Late Middle Ages. Princes, crusaders, pilgrims and traders seem to have built varied networks that stimulated human exchange and created new intercultural identities. In many chronicles, pilgrim accounts and hagiographical stories, the Mediterranean is not only seen as a means of transport and travel, but as a protagonist that either ensures success or, conversely, causes failure.

There are very few art-historical studies which focus on the image of the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages, except a few outreach publications for the general public, such as that of Juan Cortés Vidal.² It is most unlikely that an iconography of the Mediterranean ever developed where the sea was seen as

¹ This article is the result of research conducted for the project, *Movilidad y transferencia artística en el Mediterráneo medieval, 1187–1388: artistas, objetos y modelos.–Magistri Mediterranei* (MICINN-HAR2015-63883-P) (see www.magistrimediterranei.org). Krijnie N. CIGGAR, *Western Travellers to Constantinople. The West and Byzantium, 962–1204. Cultural and Political Relations* (The Medieval Mediterranean 10), Leiden [et al.] 1996; David ABULAFIA, *The Great Sea. A Human History of the Mediterranean*, 2nd ed., London 2014; The recent publication of a collection of David Jacoby’s articles is also helpful in outlining the complexity of the topic: David JACOBY, *Travellers, Merchants and Settlers in the Eastern Mediterranean, 11th–15th Centuries* (Variorum Collected Studies Series 1045), Farnham [et al.] 2014.

² Juan CORTÉS VIDAL, *Pintores frente al mar*, Barcelona 1969.

the main subject. Rather, the sea was used as a stage in the telling of stories, deeds and devotions. As Michele Bacci, Carola Jäggi, Bianca Kühnel, Rafał Quirini-Popławski, Avinoam Shalem and Gerhard Wolf have recently pointed out, art historians treat the Mediterranean rather as a concept than as a true geographical space, which was shared by different cultures, religions and micro-histories.³ For this reason, it is worth exploring both fields in order to better understand the making of the medieval image of the Mediterranean.

I am not aiming to produce a systematic analysis of depictions of the sea in the Middle Ages, nor to build a comprehensive corpus or database. This paper focuses on the idea that the sea – as an object of study – must be defined in its ontology in order to clarify its role in medieval iconography. Both in the Classical and the Christian period, the Mediterranean acquired traits that linked it to ideas about the world's centre, abundance, danger, adventure, fantastical creatures, foundational myths and diaspora.

These concepts allow to understand the role of the sea in “depiction” and the progress of its perception through different times and cultures. In a second stage, it is necessary to reconstruct the context of some artistic objects related to the experience of the sea as maps, presents, souvenirs, reliquaries or devotional images. These allow us to explore some interesting cultural concepts such as the significance of gifts⁴, the strategy of appropriation or the phenomena of acculturation⁵ or introjection, especially as linked to travelling artists.⁶

³ Michele BACCI, Carola JÄGGI, Bianca KÜHNEL [et al.], Qu'est-ce que l'espace méditerranéen au Moyen Âge?, in: *Perspective 2* (2014), pp. 271-292. See also the comments of Heather E. Grossman and Alicia Walker about the utility of the term “Mediterranean”: “While advocating the utility of ‘Mediterranean’ as a designation of geographic relationships and cultural connections, we do not propose it as uniform totality. (...) Rather we see the Mediterranean as encompassing a diversity of micro-environments that are distinct in their chronological, spatial, historical and cultural aspects. (...) Our understanding of medieval Mediterranean art and architecture must be built up from these micro-histories, but with an awareness that a total synthesis is neither possible nor perhaps even desirable (...)” (Heather E. GROSSMAN / Alicia WALKER, Introduction, in: *Mechanisms of Exchange. Transmission in Medieval Art and Architecture of the Mediterranean, ca. 1000–1500*, ed. EADEM / EADEM, Boston/Leiden 2013, pp. 1-15, here p. 6 (Special offprint of *Medieval Encounters* 18 (2012), pp. 299-314, here p. 304).

⁴ For a better understanding of the concept of gifts in the medieval Mediterranean, see: Cecily J. HILSDALE, *Byzantine Art and Diplomacy in an Age of Decline*, Cambridge [et al.] 2014, pp. 13-20.

⁵ *Acculturation* signifies the cultural modification of an individual or group of people by adapting to or borrowing traits from another culture. The term usually conveys an *assimilation* or adoption of the cultural norms of a dominant culture by a minority or native culture. Conversely, *cultural appropriation* refers to the adoption or use of elements of one culture in a colonial manner by members of a different culture: elements are copied and used by members of the dominant culture outside the original cultural context.

⁶ *Introjection* is a psychoanalytical term indicating the process where the subject replicates in itself behaviours, attributes or other fragments of the surrounding world, especially of other subject (Cf. Jean LAPLANCHE / Jean-Bertrand PONTALIS, *Diccionario de Psicoanálisis*, ed. Daniel LAGACHE, Barcelona 1983, pp. 205f.). I have recently tried to apply this concept to art history with regard to the *itinerant artists* travelling from west to east and vice versa on

Furthermore, it is necessary as well to consider the role developed by different agents – patrons, artists and the people – that were involved in cultural exchange and artistic production.

I. The Mediterranean as a setting for trade and stories

As is generally acknowledged the Mediterranean is a sea of stories, a sea of tales. From ancient times onwards its waters, shores, islands, and towns were the stage for many of the myths and human sagas that populate the European imagination (*imaginaire*). In these stories the sea acts as an actual character. Homer in his *Odyssey* depicted the Mediterranean as a dangerous sea, when Odysseus was lost because of Poseidon's anger.⁷ As a result, he faced many dangers, such as the famous passage of the Sirens (Chant 12), an experience, which subsequently fed the imagination of many artists, poets and philosophers. Later Platonists saw Odysseus' journey as a gradual uphill struggle to escape the entanglements of this world and to reach a realm of pure spirit, beyond the senses. It is well known that the Neoplatonists, both pagan and Christian, read the *Odyssey* in allegorical terms as a story about the journey of the human soul, a journey through trials and tribulations in search of the true spiritual home.⁸

It is not by chance that we find this subject associated with an image of maritime trade in a mosaic floor from the 6th century CE. This mosaic decorated the Jewish *House of Leontius* at Beth She'an (now in the Museum of Israel).⁹ The passage of the Sirens can be seen in the upper part (fig. 1), while a

the Mediterranean Sea throughout the 12th century: Manuel CASTIÑEIRAS, *La peinture autour de 1200 et la Méditerranée: voies d'échanges et processus de transformation entre Orient et Occident*, in: *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 47 (2016), pp. 207-222.

⁷ ABULAFIA, *The Great Sea* (as n. 1), pp. 85-87.

⁸ As Jacqueline Leclercq-Marx has pointed out, in ancient philosophy and exegesis sirens were seen either as celestial beings (Plato) who lead the souls to celestial immortality (Plutarch) or as carnal and infernal beings attached to sexuality and death (Seneca, Evemerus, Horace). However, from the 4th century onwards the negative vision of these mythological hybrids succeeded in Christian literature and art, in which the journey of Odysseus became the journey of the soul towards God (Jacqueline LECLERCQ-MARX, *La sirène dans la pensée et dans l'art de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge. Du mythe païen au symbole chrétien*, Bruxelles 1997, pp. 24-62). See also: Franz CUMONT, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, Paris 1942, pp. 327-332; Pierre COURCELLE, *Quelques symboles funéraires du néoplatonisme latin. 2. Ulysse et les Sirènes*, in: *Revue des Études Anciennes* 46 (1944), pp. 73-93; Maurizio BETTINI / Luigi SPINA, *Il mito delle Sirene. Immagini e racconti dalla Grecia a oggi*, Torino 2007, pp. 163-165; Avital HEYMAN, *Sirens Chanting in Auvergne-Velay: A Story of Exegetical Pilgrimage on the Via Podiensis*, in: *Ad Limina* 4 (2013), pp. 69-115, here pp. 74-83; Francisco PRADO-VILAR: *Nostos: Ulises, Compostela y la ineluctable modalidad de lo visible*, in: *Compostela y Europa. La historia de Diego Gelmírez*, ed. Manuel CASTIÑEIRAS, Milán 2010, pp. 260-269.

⁹ For updated information about the archeological site of Beth Shean in the Jordan Valley, see the Jewish Virtual Library: <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Archaeology/Beitshean.html>. (25-3-2017).

scene representing the Nile and the port of Alexandria is in the lower part (fig. 2). The latter is very interesting. On the right, the God of the Nile is seated upon a mythical being (perhaps Sebek or Suchos, a crocodile that represented the Egyptian deity of fertility). On the left, two structures can be seen: the Nilometer – an instrument that measured the height of the Nile – and the city of Alexandria, identified here by an inscription. Below, there is a view of the mouth of the river with a ship laden with merchandise floating on the water.

Such images help us understand the making of the medieval Mediterranean iconography. On the one hand, the Mediterranean is mainly a sea marked by trade, but it is also a dangerous adventure. For this reason, it is common to find both motifs – trade and peril – in the miraculous episodes of the Christian hagiographies, which relate to its waters. Merchants and dangers are the essence of the translation of St Mark from Alexandria to Venice and violent storms are frequently the stage for the miracles of St Nicholas.¹⁰

According to Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, the Ocean forms the waters, which encircle the world (*orbis*)¹¹, whereas the Mediterranean is the *Big Sea* (*Mare Magnum*) which occupies the middle of the world (*per mediam terram*).¹² Since Antiquity the Mediterranean has been the main economic resource for many civilizations.¹³ For this reason, many ancient images recount abundance and prosperity. Fishing was obviously one of the most popular activities of coastal towns and villages, and fish and shellfish were some of their most precious products. Roman sarcophagi and, particularly, mosaics are full of this kind of imagery, as the conspicuous 3rd–4th-century Tunisian examples from Utica (British Museum) (fig. 3) and Hadrumentum (Sousse Archeological Museum) show.¹⁴ In the famous manuscript copy of Rabanus Maurus' *Encyclopaedia, De universo*, illuminated at Montecassino around 1022, the Mediterranean Sea is illustrated as a man fishing on his boat (Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, Cod. Cass. 132, p. 278) (fig. 4).¹⁵ This lively depiction has nothing to do with the Rabanus' text, which is based on Isidore's geo-

¹⁰ For the impact and significance of these maritime subjects in Italian gothic painting, see: Julian GARDNER, *Sea-faring Saints and Landlubber Painters. Maritime Miracles and Italian Medieval Painters*, in: *I Santi venuti dal mare*, ed. Maria Stella CALÒ MARIANI (Rotte mediterranee della cultura 4), Bari 2009, pp. 15-34.

¹¹ "Oceanum, Graeci et Latini ideo nominant eo quod in circuli modum ambiat orbem" (Isidoro de Sevilla, *Etimologías*, ed. Manuel Antonio MARCOS CASQUERO / José OROZ RETA, vol. 2, Madrid 1994, lib. 13, cap. 15, p. 144).

¹² "Mare Magnum est quod ab occasu ex Oceano fluit et in meridiem vergit, deinde ad septentrionem tendit, quod inde magnum appellatur quia cetera maria in comparatione eius minora sunt. Iste est et Mediterraneus, quia per mediam terram usque ad orientem perfunditur" (Ibid., lib. 13, cap. 16, 1-2, pp. 144-147).

¹³ ABULAFIA, *The Great Sea* (as n. 1), pp. xxviii-xxix.

¹⁴ Tønnes BEKKER-NIELSEN, *Fishing in the Roman World*, in: *Ancient Nets and Fishing Gear*, ed. IDEM / Darío BERNAL CASASOLA, Cadiz 2010, pp. 187-204, here pp. 190, 192, fig. 2.

¹⁵ Giulia OROFINO (Ed.), *I codici decorati dell'archivio di Montecassino*, vol. 2: *I codici preteobaldiani e teobaldiani*, Roma 2000, pp. 73, 299, plate XXXII.

graphical description in his *Etymologies* (lib. 13, cap. 16). Its sources might be in any of the above-mentioned Roman fishing scenes.¹⁶

II. Shipping and fishing as a Christian metaphor: from the Apostles' Diaspora to the theft of relics

In the *Odyssey*, fishing and the sea are sources of important metaphors. This is also the case for the Middle Ages. For Christian artists and theologians fishing scenes conveyed a clear biblical meaning, based on the Gospels. Jesus had chosen a number of his disciples – Peter, Andrew, James and John – among fishermen (Mt. 4, 18-22; Luke 5, 1-8). On one occasion, in the middle of a storm, Jesus walked on the waters of the Sea of Galilee. And on those waters Peter, later to become the first pope, joined him (Mt. 14, 22-33). Again, according to John, after his resurrection, Jesus appeared to some of the apostles and provided them with a miraculous draft of fishes on the Sea of Tiberias (Jn. 21, 1-14). These scenes are interpreted as a metaphor for the mission of the Church, and of the preeminent role of Peter in it. It was precisely a representation of one of these passages (Mt. 14, 22-33) that decorated the main entrance to Old St Peter's in Rome. The mosaic – known as the *Navicella* – was commissioned by Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi and was probably made from a cartoon drawn by Giotto around 1310 to be copied by mosaic-workers.¹⁷

Images depicting the miraculous draft of fishes by the apostles were popular in monumental art from the end of the 11th century and throughout the 12th in abbeys and priories. A considerable number of scholars have emphasized the role played by such depictions as propaganda for the Gregorian Reform and stress the ideas of community and mission of the church that they seem to embody. So, attention should be drawn to the famous chapter-house paintings depicting the miraculous draft of fishes (Jn. 21, 1-19) in the abbey of La

¹⁶ Although scholars such as Marianne Reuter (Marianne REUTER, *Text und Bild im Codex 132 der Bibliothek von Montecassino "Liber Rabani de originibus rerum"* [Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 34], München 1984) and Giulia Orofino (Giulia OROFINO, *Citazione e interpretazione. Il rapporto con l'antico nel ciclo illustrativo dell'enciclopedia di Rabano Mauro*, in: *Medioevo: il tempo degli antichi*, ed. Arturo Carlo QUINTAVALLE, Milano 2006, pp. 197-207) have demonstrated in the last decades the dependence of the Montecassino manuscript on a 9th-century Carolingian prototype, some very classical illustrations of the codex remain a mystery. Thus, one should not disregard the old hypothesis of Fritz Saxl proposed that some of its images, at least, were directly inspired by a late-antique illustrated encyclopaedia. In this respect, the comparison between the fishing scene in the 3rd–4th century mosaic fragment from Utica (Tunisia) and that in the Montecassino manuscript is wholly convincing (Fritz SAXL, *La vida de las imágenes. Estudios iconográficos sobre arte occidental*, Madrid 1989, p. 214, plates 158e and 158f.).

¹⁷ Maria ANDALORO, Giotto tradotto. A proposito del mosaico della Navicella, in: *Frammenti di memoria. Giotto, Roma e Bonifacio VIII* (Bonifaciana 5), ed. EADEM / Silvia MADDALE / Massimo MIGLIO [et al.] Roma 2009, pp. 17-35. See also: Wilhem PAESELER, Giotto's Navicella und ihr spätantikes Vorbild, in: *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 5 (1941), pp. 51-162.

Trinité at Vendôme (around 1096)¹⁸ as well as to 12th-century examples in England and Spain, such as the Cluniac priories of Lewes and Wenlock¹⁹, or the Benedictine monastery of St Pere de Rodes in Catalonia. In the latter, the Cabestany master carved two reliefs with these subjects for the new main entrance of the monastic church around 1163: one depicts the Appearance of Christ on the Sea of Galilee (Jn. 21, 1-5) (Barcelona, Museu Frederic Marès) (fig. 5), the other shows the calling of Saint Peter (Luke 5, 1-7) (Peralada, Museu del Castell de Peralada).²⁰ The dedication to Peter and the fact that pilgrims who could not reach Rome were granted a special indulgence since the year 979 if they visited St Pere de Rodes explain the preeminent role of this iconography.²¹

Now, the perception of the Mediterranean as the sea of the Apostolic Diaspora should be analysed as recounted in the *Sortes Apostolorum* or *Diaspora of the Apostles*. The location of most of the apostles on the Mediterranean littoral can be seen in medieval maps belonging to Branch I of the illustration of Beatus of Liébana's *Commentary on the Apocalypse* (8th century). The map of the Burgo de Osma Codex, made at Sahagún around 1086, shows the setting of the major tombs and relics (fig. 6).²² As in hagiographical accounts, in order to appear more convincing, the map mixes up new and ancient monuments. In the west, the new basilica of St James in Compostela is close to the Tower of Hercules (A Coruña), a Roman lighthouse that marked the end of the known

¹⁸ Hélène TOUBERT, Les fresques de la Trinité de la Vendôme, un témoignage sur l'art de la réforme grégorienne, in: *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 26 (1983), pp. 287-326, here pp. 301-305.

¹⁹ A capital from the cloister of Lewes Priory (now in the British Museum) depicts the Miraculous Draft of Fishes (Luke 5, 1-7 or Jn. 21, 1-14), while a relief on the cloister laver at Wenlock Priory clearly shows two boats belonging to the Call of Apostles (Mt. 4, 18-22) (John MCNEILL, The Romanesque Cloister in England, in: *Journal of the British Archeological Association* 168 (2015), pp. 34-76, here pp. 40-42, figs. 5 and 7).

²⁰ Jaime BARRACHINA, Elementos de la portada de Sant Pere de Rodes, in: *El Románico y el Mediterráneo. Cataluña, Toulouse y Pisa, 1120-1180*, ed. Manuel CASTIÑEIRAS / Jordi CAMPS, Barcelona 2008, pp. 344-355, here p. 345; Laura BARTOLOMÉ ROVIRAS, *Presència i context del Mestre del timpà de Cabestany. La formació de la "traditio classica" d'un taller d'escultura meridional (ca. 1160-1200)*, vol. 1, Barcelona 2010, pp. 268f., 280-286 (PhD).

²¹ I am referring to the bull issued by Pope Benedict VII to abbot Hildesind in 979: "Et si quis causa orationis ad nostram sedem apostolicam pervenire non poterit, summo studio illum locum venerare concedimus ei" (Pere de Marca, *Marca Hispanica sive Limes Hispanicus*, Paris 1688, col. 922, cited in: Laura BARTOLOMÉ ROVIRAS, Un "retablo de piedra" cristológico para la instrucción del peregrino: la portada de la Galilea del Monasterio de Sant Pere de Rodes", in: *Peregrino, ruta y meta en las "peregrinationes maiores"*, ed. Paolo CAUCCI VON SAUCKEN, Santiago de Compostela 2010, pp. 299-323, here p. 301). Much more problematic are the alleged grants issued by Urban II (1096) to pilgrims who visited the abbey, when the feast of the *Inventio* of the Holy Cross fell on a Friday. According to Sònia Masmartí Recasens, this latter bull is a forgery and the tradition of the jubilee in Sant Pere de Rodes cannot be dated before 1370 (Sònia MASMARTÍ I RECASENS, *Sant Pere de Rodes, lloc de peregrinatge*, Barcelona 2009, pp. 59, 67-82).

²² John WILLIAMS, *The Illustrated Beatus. A Corpus of Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, vol. 4: *The Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, London 2002, pp. 17-25.

world. In the eastern Mediterranean, one of the wonders of Antiquity, the Lighthouse of Alexandria, indicates the land of the preaching of St Mark.²³ This kind of O-T shaped map is a perfect illustration of Isidore's statement in his *Etymologies* that the Mediterranean is the central sea of the earth (lib. 13, cap. 16, 1-2), that is why the ocean consists of waters encircling the world.²⁴

Not all thinking was marked by continuity. The increasing translations of relics or the phenomenon of the Crusades, for example, transformed the perception of the Mediterranean between the 9th and the 12th century. The most famous translation is the one of the relics of St Mark. In 827, two Venetian traders, called Bonus and Rusticus, stole the body of St Mark, with the help of the custodians of the tomb, the monk Stauricius and the priest Theodorus, and transported the remains of the evangelist from Alexandria to Venice. The account of these events (*Translatio Sancti Marci*) was written around the year 1000.²⁵ Several episodes of the *translatio* were celebrated, in monumental size, in the basilica of St Mark, and are indicative of the city's pride and identity. Venetian traders enjoyed looking at the glittering mosaics not only for the portrayals of their prestigious ancestors, Bonus and Rusticus, but also because their incidental details mirrored their own daily life. The examination of the burden by the port authorities or the danger of a storm on sea between Greek islands (Strofadia islands) (fig. 7) were a commonplace of voyages across the Mediterranean.²⁶ Monumental seaside landmarks, such as the Lighthouse of Alexandria, are present in the depiction of the city in the mosaics. Alexandria

²³ Serafin MORALEJO ÁLVAREZ, *Las Islas del Sol. Sobre el mapamundi del Beato de Burgo de Osma* (1086), in: *A imagem do mundo na Idade Média*, ed. Helder GODINHO, Lisboa 1992, pp. 41-61.

²⁴ "Orbis a rotunditate circuli dictus, quia sicut rota est, unde brevis etiam rotella orbiculus appellatur. Vndique enim Oceanus circumfluens eius in circulo ambit fines. Divisus est autem trifarie: e quibus una pars Asia, altera Europa, tertia Africa nuncupatur" (Isidoro de Sevilla, *Etimologías* [as n. 11], lib. 14, cap. 1, pp. 165-167). Regarding the tradition of the O-T shaped-map, see: Wesley M. STEVENS, *Cycles of Time and Scientific Learning in Medieval Europe*, Aldershot 1995, p. 272. However, as is well known, the Osma map incorporates the Fourth Continent or *Terra Australis* inhabited by the antipodes as Isidore mentions in his *Etymologies*: "Extra tres autem partis orbis quarta pars trans Oceanum interior est in meridie, quae solis ardore incognita nobis est; in cuius finibus Antipodes fabulose inhabitare produntur" (Isidoro de Sevilla, *Etimologías* [as n. 11], lib. 14, cap. 5, 17, pp. 190-191; cf. MORALEJO ÁLVAREZ, *Las Islas del Sol* (as n. 24), pp. 43-45; Rudolf SIMEK, *Heaven and Earth in the Middle Ages. The Physical World before Columbus*, Woodbridge 1996, pp. 48-54).

²⁵ Patrick J. GEARY, *Le vol des reliques au Moyen Âge. Furta Sacra*, Paris 1993, pp. 131-138.

²⁶ I am referring here to the cycle of the *Vita Sancti Marci* dating from the second quarter of the 12th century that decorates the north vault of the apse dedicated to St Peter in the interior of the basilica (Otto DEMUS, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice, The Eleventh and the Twelfth Centuries*, vol. 1.1: *Text*, Chicago [et al.] 1984, pp. 57-81, figs. 63-69). According to Otto Demus (*The Mosaics of San Marco* [supra], pp. 67f.) in the mosaic depicting a storm during the translation of St Mark, the cliffs now bear the *titulus* ESTUARIE (fig. 7), but the inscription was altered by the restorers in the 19th century. Originally it was written STROALIA, which refers to the islands of Strofadia, a group of two small Greek islands belonging to the Ionian Islands, where St Mark was supposed to appear to the monk Stauricius to warn him of a possible shipwreck, because the coast was near.

was the land where St Mark preached, of course, but it was also one of the principal centres of Venetian trade. Hence, a number of scholars have remarked that this wonder of Antiquity was represented many times both inside and outside the basilica of St Mark. Two of these representations are outstanding: one in the *Cappella Zen* (around 1270) (fig. 8) which was originally entered through the *Porta da Mar* facing the sea; and the other is the representation above the southernmost portal of the façade (around 1260), known from a painting by Gentile Bellini.²⁷ The evocation of the land, which St Mark came from, did not end there: in the north wing of the narthex there are three domes covered by mosaics dedicated to the story of Joseph (around 1260). They show another wonder of Antiquity: the *horrea Egypti* (fig. 9), that is, the pyramids.²⁸ In fact, a few decades before, in 1172–1173, the Spanish-Jewish Benjamin of Tudela described them as “barns built by Joseph”.²⁹

III. Myths as identity

The making of the identity of new emerging powers in the Mediterranean is a fascinating topic. A mix of sacred and profane elements seems to form the self-image of a number of them. I have recently proposed a new interpretation of the *Creation Tapestry*, made in Girona (Catalonia) around 1097, that it shows a princely programme dedicated to a new ruler, Count Ramon Berenguer III. This amazing textile – more properly an embroidery – was used very likely as a ceremonial carpet at a synod celebrated in Girona, presided over by the papal legate, Bernard of Sedirac, archbishop of Toledo, in order to proclaim the new prince, the son of Matilda of Apulia, a daughter of Robert Guiscard.³⁰

²⁷ Otto DEMUS, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice. The Thirteenth Century*, vol. 2.1, Chicago [et al.] 1984, pp. 185–201, figs. 347–348; Deborah HOWARD, *Venice & the East: the Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture, 1100–1500*, New Haven [et al.] 2000, p. 75; Irene FAVARETTO, Le “meraviglie” di San Marco: l’Artemision di Efeso nei mosaici della cupola di San Marco, in: *Venezia, le Marche e la civiltà adriatica*, ed. Ileana CHIAPPINI DI SORIO / Laura DE ROSSI, Monfalcone 2003, pp. 130–133, here p. 131.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 88, 97, figs. 291, 295; Ibid., p. 84; Ibid., pp. 131f.

²⁹ Binyamin ben Yonah mi-Tudelah: *Libro de viajes de Benjamín de Tudela*, ed. José Ramón MAGDALENA NOM DE DÉU, Barcelona 1989, p. 118. Nicolas de Martoni calls them “the Faraoh’s barns” in his visit to Cairo (Babilonia) in 1394–1395: “De granariis Farahonis. Extra Babilloniam per decem miliaria, sunt granaria decem que fieri fecit rex Faraho, sex magna, quatuor non ita magna, tempore quo illis septem annis fuit illa magna carastia, precedentibus septem aliis annis fertilibus, secundum sompnium interpretatum per Josep venditum a fratribus in Egypto, qui fuit magnus et potens illo cum rege Farahone, prout Biblia declarat” (Léon LEGRAND, *Relation du pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni, notaire italien [1394–1395]*, in: *Revue de l’Orient Latin* 3 [1895], pp. 566–669, here p. 602).

³⁰ Manuel CASTIÑEIRAS, *The Creation Tapestry*, Girona 2011, pp. 85–94; IDEM, Il Tappeto del Gigante: programma, cerimonia e committenza nell’Arazzo de la Creazione de Girona, in: *Medioevo: Natura e figura. La raffigurazione dell’uomo e della natura nell’arte medievale*, ed. Arturo Carlo QUINTAVALLE, Milano 2015, pp. 359–378, here 374–376; IDEM, Le Tapis de la Création de Gérone: une œuvre liée à la réforme grégorienne en Catalogne?, in: *Art et ré-*

A recent restoration of the *Creation Tapestry* confirmed the depiction of Hercules in the upper part of the fabric (fig. 10). In my opinion, this representation of the ancient hero can be read as a mythical and geographical reference to the count of Barcelona.³¹ As Adeline Rucquoi has demonstrated, the Greek hero in the Spanish Middle Ages was named as the founder of cities such as Barcelona and Urgell according to Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada in *De Rebus Hispaniae* and Alfonso X el Sabio in his *Estoria de España*. These 13th-century sources draw on Virgil's *Aeneid*, Lucan's *Pharsalia* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.³² In addition, from the 15th century onwards, local legends cited by writers such as Joan Margarit i Pau (15th century), Juan Roig i Galpi (1678) and Enrique Flórez (18th century) tried to explain the etymology of the name "Gerona" as derived from the giant *Geryon*, a mythical founder of the city, who lived in the western parts of the Mediterranean according to the tenth labour of Hercules.³³

In addition, contemporary sources such as the *Geste de Robert Guiscard*, written by William of Apulia at the end of the 11th century, describe Count Ramon Berenguer II, father of Ramon Berenguer III, as from the *Hesperides* ("partibus Esperiae") when he travelled to Southern Italy in 1078 in order to request a blessing for his marriage to Mafalda of Apulia in 1078.³⁴ Hence, it is very likely that the depiction of Hercules in the *Creation Tapestry* was designed to dignify the new count of Barcelona in two ways: as a prince of the mythical western land of the *Garden of the Hesperides* – where the eleventh labour of Hercules was fulfilled – and as a courageous warrior. Similarly,

forme grégorienne en France et dans la Péninsule Ibérique, ed. Barbara FRANZÉ, Paris 2015, pp. 147-175, here pp. 168-170.

³¹ IDEM, Hércules, Sansón y Constantino: el Tápis de la Creación de Girona como *Speculum Principis*, in: *L'officina dello sguardo. Scritti in onore di Maria Andaloro*, vol. 1: *I luoghi dell'arte*, ed. Giulia BORDI / Iole CARLETTINI / Maria Luigia FOBELLI [et al.], Roma 2014, pp. 161-166.

³² Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *Historia de los hechos de España*, ed. Juan FERNÁNDEZ VALVERDE, Madrid 1989, lib. 1, cap. 5, 16-17, p. 68; Alfonso X el Sabio, *Prosa histórica*, ed. Benito BRANCAFORTE, Madrid 2011, cap. 8, pp. 56f. See also: Helena DE CARLOS VILLAMARÍN, *Las Antigüedades de Hispania*, Spoleto 1996, pp. 43-89, 285, 299; Eduard RIU-BARRERA, La llarga durada de la mitologia sobre els orígens urbans, de l'Antiguitat a la Il·lustració, in: *Mites de fundació de ciutats al món antic (Mesopotàmia, Grècia i Roma)*, ed. Pedro AZARA / Ricardo MAR / Eva SUBÍAS, Barcelona 2001, pp. 301-310; Adeline RUCQUOI, L'héros avant le saint: Hercule en Espagne, in: *Ab urbe condita...: fonder et refonder la ville: récits et représentations (second Moyen Âge-premier XVIe siècle)*, ed. Véronique LAMAZOU-DUPLAN, Pau 2011, pp. 55-75, here pp. 55f., 59.

³³ Joan Margarit i Pau, *Episcopi Gerundensis Paralipomenon Hispaniae Libri Decem antehac non excussi*, Granada 1545, lib. 1-2, fols. 9-22; Joan Gaspar Roig i Jalpi, *Resumen historial de las grandezas y antigüedades de la ciudad de Gerona, y cosas memorables*, Barcelona 1678, pp. 1-3. For all these sources see: Carles VIVÓ, *Llegendes i misteris de Girona*, Girona 1989, pp. 6f., 15; José ÁLVAREZ JUNCO, *Historia y mito: sobre el pasado o cultivo de identidades*, Madrid 2011, p. 15; RUCQUOI, L'héros avant le saint (as n. 33), p. 67.

³⁴ Cited in Martin AURELL, Du nouveau sur les comtesses catalanes (Ixe-XIe siècles), in: *Annales du Midi* 109, 219-220 (1997), pp. 357-379, here p. 363.

Ralph of Caen in his *Gesta Tancredi* compared the strength of the Norman Tancred (nephew of Bohemond, who was the stepbrother of Matilde of Apulia) to Hercules' club.³⁵

It is worth noting that other Mediterranean cities such as Pisa, Arles and Venice used classical myths to increase the prestige of their past. In Pisa, a corbel depicting a Minotaur – now is kept in the Museo Nazionale di San Mateo at Pisa – decorated the western façade of Pisa Cathedral (fig. 11) which dates to the second half of the 12th century. According to Annamaria Ducci, both this classical figure and the mention of the labyrinth in the epitaph carved on Buscheto's tomb after 1110 are a claim to the mythical foundation of the city by the Greeks.³⁶

Much more intriguing are the two carvings representing Hercules on the north side of the west portal of Saint-Trophime in Arles. In the first, on a pilaster, the hero is depicted as an attendant of St Michael at the *Psicostasis*. Having a Phrygian cap on his head, Hercules is bearing two nude bodies upside-down in a composition very similar to the archaic metope of *Hercules and the Cyclops* in the Temple C in Selinunte (6th century BC). In the second, on the basement, the hero is wearing a bull's skin and touching a lion as an allusion to two of his famous labours: those of the Bull of Crete and the Nemean Lion.³⁷

Although Jill Bradley rejected any identification of these figures with the classical hero³⁸, most authors continue to defend it. Firstly, some motifs are clearly ancient and related to Herculean iconography such as the Phrygian cap, the bull skin and the lion. Secondly, by their position in the portal both figures are on the side of the Elect (N), thus on God's right, opposite the damned on the left (S). In the first scene, Hercules is looking towards Michael and is prompted to give him the souls to be weighed. While on the opposite side (S),

³⁵ Radulfus Cadomensis, *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen. A History of the Normans on the First Crusade*, ed. Bernard S. BACHRACH / David S. BACHRACH, Farnham [et al.] 2010, ch. 52, p. 78.

³⁶ The alleged Greek foundation of the city is based on Virgil's *Aeneid* (lib. 10, cap. 179) and on the *Liber Maiolichinus de gestis Pisanorum illustribus*, a laudatory poem on the conquest of Majorca by Pisans in 1113–1115 (Annamaria DUCCI, Il Minotauro di Pisa, un dedalo di congetture, in: *Progettare le arti. Studi in onore di Clara Baracchini*, ed. Lorenzo CARLETT / Cristiano GIOMETTI, Pisa 2013, pp. 13–20, here pp. 17–20, fig. 1).

³⁷ Fernand BENOIT, La légende d'Hercule à Saint-Trophime d'Arles, in: *Latomus. Revue d'Études Latines* 9 (1950), pp. 67–71; Victor LASSALLE, *L'influence antique dans l'art roman provençal*, Paris 1983, pp. 107, 117–119, figs. 8, 10; Jean-Maurice ROUQUETTE, *Provence romane*, vol. 1: *La Provence rhodanienne*, Saint-Léger-Vauban 1974, pp. 282–284; Jean ARROUYE, Hercule en appel (sur la façade de Saint-Trophime d'Arles), in: *La Justice au Moyen Âge. Sanction ou impunité?*, Aix-en-Provence/Marseille 1986, pp. 7–23; Dominique RIGAUX, Pour la gloire de Dieu et la salut des hommes. Le programme iconographique de Saint-Trophime, in: *Le Portail de Saint-Trophime d'Arles. Naissance et renaissance d'un chef d'œuvre roman*, Arles 1999, pp. 19–56, here p. 42.

³⁸ Jill BRADLEY, 'You Shall Surely Not Die': *The Concepts of Sin and Death as Expressed in the Manuscript Art of Northwestern Europe, c. 800–1200*, vol. 1, Leiden [et al.] 2008, pp. 583–589.

a frightening Leviathan is holding two souls upside-down who have been condemned. According to Jean Arrouye, this positive view on Hercules derives from St Augustine's *christiana reinterpretedatio* in *De Civitate Dei* (lib. 18, cap. 19) in which the hero and his labours are seen as models of strength, temperance and virtue, and are consequently compared to Samson who is also represented on one of the portal bases contiguous to Hercules.³⁹ It may be worth remembering that both heroes – Hercules and Samson – also occupy the upper register on the “Creation Tapestry” as models for the new ruler, count Ramon Berenguer III, following a princely programme whose direct precedent was the *Cathedra Petri*, a throne probably made for the coronation of Charles the Bald around 875 and gave as a gift to the pope.⁴⁰ Having possibly been a programme conceived in relation to the coronation of emperor Frederick I Barbarossa in Arles in 1178 as King of Burgundy and Provence, following his reconciliation with Pope Alexander III (Peace of Venice 1177)⁴¹, the inclusion of Hercules and Samson in the portal of Saint Trophime seems to relate to this idea of the sovereign's virtues at the service of the church.

Furthermore, the double and exceptional depiction of the classical hero in the most important public monument of the city should also be read as a claim for the status of Arles as capital of Provence, of the Kingdom of Burgundy and the see of an Early Christian archbishopric. The possible commissioner of the monumental façade, Archbishop Raimond de Bollène (1163–1182), came to the office after a certain Sylvius who had been favourable to antipope Victor IV (1159–1163). Raimond's task was to reaffirm fidelity to Alexander III and the counts of Provence belonging to the house of Barcelona: Ramon Berenguer II (1144–1166), Alfonso I (1167–1173) and Ramon Berenguer III (1173–1181).⁴² It was from the latter that Raimond de Bollène obtained in 1177 the joint privilege of minting coins in Arles. This would have allowed him a sufficient income to finance the remodeling of a cathedral in which he was buried in the crossing after his death in 1182. His government marks a peak in the prestige of Arles when it faced strong competition from Marseille, Aix-en-Provence, St Restitut, Tarascon, St Maximin and Saintes-Maries-de-la-

³⁹ ARROUYE, *Hercule en appel* (as n. 37), pp. 7-9. See also: Marcel SIMON, *Hercule et le Christianisme*, Paris 1955, p. 169.

⁴⁰ CASTIÑEIRAS, *The Creation Tapestry* (as n. 30), pp. 85-89; IDEM, *Il Tappeto del Gigante* (as n. 31), pp. 370-374; IDEM, *Le Tapis de la Création de Gérone* (as n. 31), pp. 151-154. For the *Cathedra Petri*, see: Kurt WEITZMANN, *The Heracles Plaques of St Peter's Cathedra*, in: *The Art Bulletin* 55 (1973), pp. 1-37; Chiara FRUGONI, *L'ideologia del potere imperiale nella Cathedra di San Pietro*, in: *Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 86 (1976-1977), pp. 67-180; Lawrence NEES, *A Tainted Mantle. Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court*, Philadelphia 1991; IDEM, *Audiences and Reception of the Cathedra Petri*, in: *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 122 (1993), pp. 57-72.

⁴¹ Einat SEGAL, *The Magi on the Portal of Saint-Trophime d'Arles: Meaning and Politics*, in: *Arte Medievale* 1 (2010-2011), pp. 9-30.

⁴² Victor L. BOURRILLY / Raoul BUSQUET, *Histoire de la Provence*, Paris 1957, pp. 44f.; Enric BAQUE / Joan F. CABESTANY / Percy E. SCHRAMM, *Els primers comtes-reis*, Barcelona 1980, pp. 71f.

Mer in the possession of relics coming from the Holy Land. So, in 1152, a solemn ceremony of reinvention and translation of the relics of St Trophime, the first bishop of Arles, and St Stephen, the first martyr of Christianity, was held in the cathedral of Arles. According to 12th-century Provençal legends, Trophime was one of the 72 disciples of Christ who on the orders of St Paul had arrived from Palestine on the coast of Provence to preach and consecrated there the first church with relics of St Stephen brought from the East.⁴³ Besides being a metropolitan see from the 5th century, Arles possessed many ancient monuments from Roman times, in particular, the cemetery of the *Alyscamps*, mentioned in the *Liber Sancti Iacobi* (around 1137), and was itself supposedly founded by Trophime.⁴⁴ Furthermore, in order to support the prestige and Antiquity of the city, in some legends Hercules is cited as a local hero. The *Via Tolosana* was renamed the *Via Heraklea*, because it was said that Hercules returned from Spain to Greece through Arles with Geryon's herds.⁴⁵ In a period when Arles was still the capital of the Kingdom of Burgundy as well as of the county of Provence, an appeal to this mythological figure, a symbol of kinship from Antiquity, might imprint itself on the audiences for the portal.

It is still a mystery why two slabs representing Hercules were included in the decoration of the west façade of the basilica of St Mark in Venice during the government of the Doge Reniero Zeno (1253–1268) (figs. 15-16).⁴⁶ Some scholars have suggested that they are an allusion to the increasing strength of the city as a key power in the Mediterranean, underlining the apotropaic and self-publicising value of Hercules as well as the reliefs accompanying him depicting St George, St Demetrius, the Virgin Mary and the Archangel Gabriel.⁴⁷ Most recently William Tronzo has pointed out that some of these pieces came from the Venetian loot of Constantinople in 1204 – Hercules with the Erymanthian boar, Demetrius, and Gabriel – and their inclusion in the great entrance

⁴³ ROUQUETTE, *Provence romane* (as n. 37), pp. 266-268.

⁴⁴ *Liber Sancti Iacobi. Codex Calixtinus*, ed. Julio FEO / Abelardo MORALES LASSO / Casimiro TORRES RODRÍGUEZ, Santiago de Compostela 1951, lib. 5, cap. 8, pp. 523-524.

⁴⁵ Jules-Charles ROUX, *Légendes de Provence*, Paris 1910, pp. 11-24; ARROUYE, *Hercules en appel* (as n. 37), p. 8. See also: Jean BERARD, *La colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'antiquité. L'histoire et la légende*, 2nd ed., Paris 1957, pp. 402-405.

⁴⁶ On the left, a 5th-century carving depicts Hercules with the Erymanthian boar. On the right, a 13th-century Venetian slab represents Hercules with the Ceryneian Hind and the Lernaean Hydra which was attributed to the Maestro di Ercole or Herakles-Meister, who was in charge of carving other reliefs for the façade such as that of St George around 1250–1260 (Cf. Wolfgang WOLTERS, *Die Skulpturen von San Marco in Venedig. Die figürlichen Skulpturen der Außenfassaden bis zum 14. Jahrhundert* [Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani: Studien 3], Berlin 1979, pp. 5, 13, 30; Linda SATIN, *Il bizantinismo artistico del Duecento veneziano*, Venezia 2011–2012, pp. 70f., 78-81, 90f. [Tesi di Laurea]).

⁴⁷ Otto DEMUS, *The Church of San Marco in Venice. History, Architecture, Sculpture*, Washington D.C. 1966, pp. 125-137; WOLTERS, *Die Skulpturen von San Marco* (as n. 47), p. 5; Michael JACOFF, *Fashioning a Façade. The Construction of Venetian Identity on the Exterior of San Marco*, in: *San Marco, Byzantium and the Myths of Venice*, ed. Henry MAGUIRE / Robert S. NELSON, Washington D.C. 2010, pp. 113-150; SATIN, *Il bizantinismo artistico* (as n. 46), pp. 90f.

of the basilica evoked the *Porta Aurea* of Theodosius II in Constantinople, which also included a cycle with the labours of Hercules in its outer gate.⁴⁸

Beyond the Venetian appropriation of an “image” of Constantinople and the genuine apotropaic value of the slabs, many issues are still unresolved. Two of the reliefs seem to refer to the foundation of the city – the *Virgo Orans* and Archangel Gabriel – which are positioned at the exact centre of the façade, and evoke the *Dies Natalis* of Venice on 25th March 421, the feast of the Annunciation.⁴⁹ Their symbolism was reinforced yearly by the celebration of this anniversary and the fact that the *annus more veneto* began in March. In this particular context, as Max Seidel pointed out, the Hercules reliefs should be understood as a reference to the origin of the Dogato, whose first seat was in the city of Eraclea in the Venetian Lagoon in 697.⁵⁰ In this context, the set of slabs appears to be a heroic hymn to the beginnings of the city to its destiny to become a leading force in the Mediterranean.

In conclusion, as was the case in Antiquity, both Hercules and Daedalus served as foundational myths that marked a peculiar place or geography and conferred the prestige of their past in justifying the present.⁵¹

IV. From Barcelona to Acre: the expansion of the Kingdom of Aragon

The expansion of the Kingdom of Aragon in the course of the 13th century inaugurated a new era for the Mediterranean. Some of the deeds of King James the Conqueror during his long reign (1213–1276) were celebrated in pictorial programmes that decorated the palaces of the king and his knights. The best-known episode is the conquest of the island of Majorca (1229): by the end of

⁴⁸ William TRONZO, Reading the Display of Sculpture on the Façade of the Narthex of San Marco in Venice, in: *Il potere dell'arte nel Medioevo. Studi in onore di Mario D'Onofrio* (Saggi di storia dell'arte 40), ed. Manuela GIANANDREA / Francesco GANGEMI / Carlo COSTANTINI, Roma 2014, pp. 725-736. About the Golden Gate in Constantinople, see also: Cyril MANGO, The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000), pp. 173-188; Livia BEVILACQUA, Recycling myths in Byzantine art. Spolia on the Gate of Persecution in Ephesus, in: *Revisitar o Mito / Myths Revisited*, ed. Abel NASCIMENTO PENA [et al.], Vila Nova de Famalicão 2015, pp. 331-341.

⁴⁹ Andrea DANDOLO, *Chronicon Venetum a pontificatu S. Marci ad annum usque MCCCXXXIX*, in: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 12, ed. Ludovico Antonio MURATORI, Milano 1728, pp. 1-524, here pp. 53-54; Irene FAVARETTO, Ercole a San Marco: una figura inquietante?, in: *Ercole il fondatore dall'antichità al Rinascimento*, ed. Marco BONA CASTELLOTTI / Antonio GIULIANO, Milano 2011, pp. 78-83, here p. 79.

⁵⁰ “Il Dogato la prima volta fu ordinato in Eraclea, l'anno 697, la quale in quel tempo era honorata e potente città. E il primo Doge fu Paolo Luccio, overo, Paoluccio Anafesto Eracleano, huomo savio, di gran bontà e di singolar giustizia” (Nicolò DOGLIONI / Francesco SANSONO, *Le cose maravigliose et notabili della città di Venetia*, Venezia 1612, p. 82). Cf. Max SEIDEL, *Arte italiana del Medioevo e del Rinascimento*, vol. 2: *Architettura e scultura*, Venice 2003, p. 151.

⁵¹ With regard to this topic in Antiquity, see: BÉRARD, La colonisation grecque (as n. 45), pp. 402-425.

the 13th century, this was included in the embellishments of the principal palaces and houses of Barcelona, and had become an iconographical standard.⁵²

Furthermore, the military orders played a key role in updating iconographical programmes. One of the most mysterious is that of the paintings in the former *Hall of the Queen* in the monastery of Santa Maria de Sixena (Sigena) in Aragon, currently kept in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (MNAC 6872-CJT).⁵³ This female monastic community belonged to the Order of St John of Jerusalem and from its foundation it was under the protection of the royal family.⁵⁴ It was the residence of widowed queens as well as the place where the future King James the Conqueror would be raised.⁵⁵ The cycle was badly damaged by fire in 1936, but it is still possible to distinguish key features of the iconographical programme. It dealt with the depiction of the conquest of a city by land and sea (fig. 12). Certain details – such as the warriors carrying the banner with the Cross of the Order of St John of Jerusalem – enable us to identify it as a representation of the conquest of Acre in 1191 during the Third Crusade.⁵⁶ These paintings were probably made in the late 1260s, when the king, James I, pursued an alliance with the Armenians (1264–1265) and the Mongols (1268) in an attempt to become the most powerful ruler in the Mediterranean. With this goal in mind, he organized an expedition to Acre to fight against the Muslims in 1269 and to halt this way the rise

⁵² I am referring to the mural paintings in the Palau Reial Major (Barcelona, Museu d'Història de la Ciutat) and in the Palau Caldes (Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya) dated to 1285–1291, and executed during the government of King Alfonso the Liberal (Joan AINAUD DE LASARTE, *Pintures del segle XIII al carrer de Montcada de Barcelona*, Barcelona 1969; Anna Maria BLASCO I BARDAS, *Les pintures murals del Palau Reial Major de Barcelona*, Barcelona 1993; Manuel CASTIÑEIRAS, *La pintura mural y sobre tabla en la España del siglo XIII. Una aproximación a partir del caso catalán*, in: *Alfonso X el Sabio*, ed. Isidro Gonzalo BANGO TORVISO, Murcia 2009, pp. 282–291, here p. 291; Rafael CORNUDELLA / Cèsar FAVÀ / Guadaira MACÍAS, *El Gòtic a les col·leccions del MNAC*, Barcelona 2011, pp. 24–30; Montserrat PAGÈS I PARETAS, *Pintura mural sagrada i profana, del romànic al primer gòtic*, Barcelona 2012, pp. 133–149).

⁵³ Joan AINAUD DE LASARTE, *Art Romànic. Guia*, Barcelona 1973, pp. 190–192; Joan SUREDA, *La pintura romànica a Catalunya*, Madrid 1981, pp. 378–393; CASTIÑEIRAS, *La pintura mural y sobre tabla en la España del siglo XIII* (as n. 52), p. 284.

⁵⁴ György SZABADOS, Constança d'Aragó, reina d'Hongria in: *Princeses de terres llunyanes. Catalunya i Hongria a l'Edat Mitjana*, ed. Ramon SAROBÉ / Csaba TÓTH, Barcelona 2009, pp. 165–177; Dulce OCÓN, *The Paintings of the Chapter-House of Sigena and the Art of the Crusader Kingdoms*, in: *Romanesque art and the Mediterranean. Points of Contact across the Latin, Greek and Islamic Worlds c. 1000 to c. 1250*, ed. Rosa Maria BACILE / John MCNEILL, Leeds 2015, pp. 277–295, here 277.

⁵⁵ His father, King Peter the Catholic (1196–1213), was buried in the monastery in 1213 (Adolf MAS [et al.], *Real Monasterio de Sigena. Fotografías 1890–1936*, Huesca 1997, p. 16).

⁵⁶ I first proposed this identification in 2009 with some comparisons to 13th-century manuscripts by a workshop active in Acre around 1250 (CASTIÑEIRAS, *La pintura mural y sobre tabla en la España del siglo XIII* [as n. 52], p. 284). Notwithstanding this, in a recent publication, Montserrat Pagès i Paretas (PAGÈS I PARETAS, *Pintura mural sagrada i profana* (as n. 52), pp. 111f.) has published the paintings with the same identification and sources, while ignoring my contribution and proposing another date.

of the Mamluks and their leader Baibars who became sultan of Egypt in 1260.⁵⁷

The Catalan crusade failed and the troops returned from Acre to Barcelona after a few months.⁵⁸ The style of the paintings at Sigena conveys knowledge of illuminated manuscript production in Acre in the 1250s. In fact, the *Arsenal Bible* (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5211, fol. 252r), or some copies of the *Histoire de Outremer* (Paris, BN, Ms. Fr. 2528, fol. 89v) provide similar lively scenes of siege craft and shipping.⁵⁹ Furthermore, motifs such as the dromedaries depicted on the left suggest a peculiar and exotic eastern caravan. This same motif – a camel – is used in the mid-13th century by Matthew Paris in his maps of the Holy Land to catch the environment outside the walls of Acre (fig. 13).⁶⁰ This exotic motif will reappear later in the Catalan Atlas of 1375 (Paris, BN, Espagnol 30).⁶¹

In my opinion, the purpose of the paintings was related to the preparation of the Catalan Crusade of 1269. A few years before, in 1264–1265, Jaume I had received a visit from an ambassador sent by King Hethum of Cilicia asking for his support for the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia.⁶² Later, in 1267, Jaume Alarich, a Catalan emissary sent by the Aragonese king to Persia, came back from his diplomatic mission accompanied by two Tatars.⁶³ Finally, the fall of the mythical crusader city of *Antioquia* (Antioch) to Baibars in 1268 caused great commotion in Europe.⁶⁴ In such a context, a monastery such as Sigena, related to the royal family and belonging to the Order of St John, could have promoted this kind of cycle to evoke the exploits of the knights in the Third Crusade. The heroic siege and capture of Acre and the suggestive and exotic landscape

⁵⁷ Ernest MARCOS HIERRO, *La croada catalana. L'exèrcit de Jaume I a Terra Santa*, Barcelona 2007, pp. 110-201.

⁵⁸ MARCOS HIERRO, *La Croada Catalana* (as n. 57), p. 227.

⁵⁹ Hugo BUCHTAL, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford 1957, pp. 54-67; Jaroslav FOLDA, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291*, Cambridge 2005, pp. 282-295, 345-347, figs. 148 (*Arsenal Bible*), 202 (*Histoire d'Outremer*). Furthermore, it is worth noting that Núria de Dalmases and Antoni José i Pitarch put forward some illuminated copies of the *Histoire de Outremer* and the *Histoire Universelle* produced in Acre between 1268 and 1289 as a possible source of the late 13th-century mural paintings of the palaces in Barcelona (Palau Caldes and Palau Reial Major) (Núria DE DALMASES / Antoni JOSÉ I PITARCH, *Història de l'art català*, vol. 2: *L'època del Cister*, s. XIII, Barcelona 1985, p. 222).

⁶⁰ London, BL, Royal Ms. 14 C. vii, fol. 4v; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 26, f. iiiiv. See further: Paul D. A. HARVEY, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, London 2012, pp. 74-93, figs. 40-41.

⁶¹ *Mappamundi. The Catalan Atlas of the year 1375*, ed. Georges GROSJEAN, Zurich 1978, p. 24.

⁶² MARCOS HIERRO, *La Croada Catalana* (as n. 57), pp. 118-120.

⁶³ *Les quatre grans cròniques*, vol. 1: *Llibre dels feits del rei En Jaume*, ed. Jordi BRUGUERA / Maria Teresa FERRER I MALLOL (Memòries de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica 73), Barcelona 2008, pp. 467f., 471, 476f., 482. Cf. MARCOS HIERRO, *La Croada Catalana* (as n. 57), p. 181.

⁶⁴ MARCOS HIERRO, *La Croada Catalana* (as n. 57), p. 167.

of the Holy Land would be seen as a *praeparatio* for the imminent crusade, in which the most important chivalric commanders known to the king, such as the masters of the Temple and Hospital and one ship of the Order of Calatrava, were to participate.⁶⁵

It is no coincidence that some decades later a similar interest in Acre and the Holy Land surfaces in one of the wooden ceiling-boards kept in the Gothic collection of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (MNAC 015839-CJT). The piece comes from the church of *Nuestra Señora de la Fuente de Peñarroya de Tastavins* (Teruel), belonging to the Order of Calatrava (fig. 14).⁶⁶ In my opinion, the panel shows two rowing boats on opposite sides of a galley at the time of their departure from a port. The boats are under the protection of the Order of Calatrava, whose peculiar cross decorates banners and shields on the board while some warriors are attacking the galley with spears and hatchets. I suggest that the two towers framing this landing scene are a reference to the specific entrance to the port of Acre. Once again maps can help us recreate the medieval aspect of the city having a sea front marked by towers, as we can see in Matthew Paris' manuscripts (fig. 15) or, in more detail, in the plan of Acre made by Pietro Vesconte around 1320 and published in Marino Sanudo's *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. 10.016 (Tanner 190), fol. 207r) (fig. 16).⁶⁷ In the middle of the bay emerges the famous Tower of the Flies from which a chain was hung, attached at its other ends to the city walls in order to protect the harbour's inner anchorage. It is very likely that the Aragonese panel painting mentioned above tries to evoke the departure of the boats from the port, but we are ignorant of the event it is referred to. It cannot be a reminder of the galley of the Order of Calatrava captained by the Commander of Alcañiz which is mentioned in the *Llibre dels feyts del rei En Jaume*, as part of the Catalan Crusade of 1269, because this ship never arrived at Acre and was obliged to return due to a violent storm in the Gulf of Lion. So, it is very likely that the depiction of Tastavins, which dates to the middle of the 14th century, belongs to the repertoire of the imaginary crusade that the illuminated copies of Marino Sanudo's *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* (1321) spread in Southern Europe.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ *Llibre dels feits del rei En Jaume*, (as n. 63), 488-489, pp. 475-476. Cf. MARCOS HIERRO, *La Croada Catalana* (as n. 57), pp. 187, 189f.

⁶⁶ Cf. AINAUD DE LASARTE, *Art romànic* (as n. 53), pp. 244, 246, fig. p. 245; Gonzalo BORRÁS GUALÍS, *Arte mudéjar aragonés*, vol. 2, Zaragoza 1985, pp. 296-303; IDEM, *El arte mudéjar en Teruel y su provincia*, Teruel 1987; María del Carmen LACARRA DUCAY, *Pinturas murales góticas en el Castillo de Alcañiz*, in: *Las pinturas murales góticas del Castillo de Alcañiz. Restauración*, Zaragoza 2004, pp. 17-80, here p. 76, fig. p. 74.

⁶⁷ Olimpia NIGLIO, *Akko, perla del Mediterraneo*, Pisa 2007, pp. 11, 65, 77; Denys PRINGLE, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, A Corpus*, vol. 4: *The Cities of Acre and Tyre*, Cambridge [et al.] 2009, p. 33, fig. 5.

⁶⁸ *Llibre dels feits del rei En Jaume* (as n. 63), 487, pp. 474-475. With regard to the 14th century illuminated copies of Marino Sanudo's *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, see: Gaetano

In this context, I would like to draw attention to the privileged position enjoyed by the great Catalan harbours of the western Mediterranean, such as Barcelona and Montpellier-Lattes, and to the direct contacts that took place between Catalonia and the Crusader States during the 12th and 13th centuries.⁶⁹ Count Hugh of Empúries, who visited the Holy Land around 1200, for example, signed an agreement with Marseille in 1219 in order to authorise a vessel to bring goods to the port of Alexandria as well as to carry pilgrims who were going to Jerusalem.⁷⁰

There is evidence of interchange between Catalonia and the Holy Land at a political and commercial level. The Spanish-Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela (1160–1173), remarked on the presence of Provençal, Aragonese and Navarrese traders in the harbour of Alexandria⁷¹, while Joshua Prawer outlined the evidence for the existence of a Catalan population in the cities of Ascalon, Mahomerie-la-Grande (el-Bira), Tripoli and especially in the harbour of Tyre, where the citizens of Barcelona from 1187 enjoyed a special trading privilege.⁷² There was also a Catalan population at Acre who fought with the

CURZI, Allegoria dell'embargo e propaganda per la crociata nelle opere di Marin Sanudo il vecchio, in: *Storia dell'Arte* 89 (1997), pp. 1-26.

⁶⁹ The port of Lattes (Montpellier) was founded in 1121, and developed to one of the major Mediterranean points of departure for the transportation of pilgrims to the Holy Land after 1151, as well as facilitating trade with Cyprus, Cilicia, Acre, Alexandria and Constantinople between the 12th and 14th centuries. Thanks to the marriage in 1204 of Mary of Montpellier with Peter II of Aragon (or Pere I el Catòlic) the city's status was enhanced, and it was granted a *charte de franchises* which helped turn it into one of the major economic centres of the Mediterranean (See Ghislaine FABRE / Daniel LE BLÉVEC / Denis MENJOT [Ed.], *Les ports et la navigation en Méditerranée au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2009, pp. 9-20. See also: Artur BLADÉ DESUMVILA, *Montpeller català*, Barcelona 1965, pp. 13-17, 42). In his itinerary, undertaken between 1165/66 and 1173, Benjamin of Tudela described the international character of the trade in Barcelona enthusiastically ("a la que vienen con mercadería comerciantes de todas partes: Grecia, Pisa, Alejandria de Egipto, de la tierra de Israel, África y todos sus confines") as well as Montpellier ("y vienen allí de todas partes para comerciar: de Italia, Algarve, Lombardia, del reino de Roma, la gran capital, de todo el país de Egipto, de la tierra de Israel, Grecia, Francia, Asia e Inglaterra gentes de todas lenguas se encuentran allí para comerciar con genoveses y pisanos") (Binyamin ben Yonah mi-Tudelah: Libro de viajes de Benjamín de Tudela [as n. 29], pp. 56f.).

⁷⁰ Lluís NICOLAU I D'OLWER, *L'expansió de Catalunya en la Mediterrània oriental*, Barcelona 1926, p. 21; Josep GUDIOL I CUNILL, De peregrins i peregrinatges religiosos catalans, in: *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 3 (1927), pp. 93-109, here p. 101; Antoni HOMS I GUZMAN, Relats de pelegrinatge a Terra Santa en llengua catalana. Un camí de set segles, in: *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 76 (2003), pp. 5-43, here p. 11. See also: David JACOBY, Hospitaller Ships and Transportation across the Mediterranean, in: *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe. Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, ed. Karl BORCHARDT / Nikolas JASPERT / Helen J. NICHOLSON, Aldershot 2007, pp. 57-72, here p. 63.

⁷¹ Binyamin ben Yonah mi-Tudelah, Libro de viajes de Benjamín de Tudela (as n. 29), p. 21.

⁷² NICOLAU I D'OLWER, *L'expansió de Catalunya* (as n. 70), p. 21; Joshua PRAWER, *The Crusader's Kingdom. European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, London 1972, pp. 83f., 354, 371, 405, 498-99. In 1156, in the oath of fidelity given by the burgers of Mahomerie-la-Grande (el-Bira) to the chapter of Holy Sepulchre, three at least of the witnesses seem to be Catalan: *Johannes Catalanus*, *Petrus Bonet* and *Petrus Catalanus* (*Le Cartulaire du Chapitre*

Knights Hospitaller on the side of Genoa during the War of Saint Sabas against the Venetians, who in turn were supported by the Pisans, the Provençals and the Knights Templar (1256–1270).⁷³

V. Sinai and Constantinople

The outstanding expansion of the Kingdom of Aragon during the 14th century brought its people into contact with Byzantium⁷⁴ and saw the establishment of many consulates all over the Mediterranean in order to defend Catalan trade.⁷⁵ In this new context, Catalan art was exported overseas while back in Aragon patrons and artists were receptive to what came from the East.

The panel painting offered to the monastery of Saint Catherine in Sinai by the Catalan consul in Damascus (fig. 17), Bernat Maresa, in 1387 should be seen as a witness to a policy of gifts that was commonplace in the medieval Mediterranean. This kind of present was not only a religious ex-voto but also acted as a political statement – an emblem of mutual aid and interest.⁷⁶ In the lower part of the front, there is a rubric which gives a date and details of its commission

du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem, ed. Geneviève BRESCH-BAUTIER [Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades 15], Paris 1984, doc. 117, p. 238). Furthermore, William Jordan, Count of Cerdanya, who fought during the First Crusade in the company of his uncle and feudal overlord, Raymond of Toulouse, even leading the Provençal troops after the latter's death, died in Tripoli in 1109 (NICOLAU I D'OLWER, *L'expansió de Catalunya* [as n. 70], p. 20).

⁷³ PRINGLE, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, A Corpus (as n. 67), p. 10.

⁷⁴ I am referring to the military campaign of the Grand Catalan Company (almogàvers) in Anatolia as mercenaries of the Byzantine Empire (1303–1307), its subsequent establishment in Halkidiki between 1307–1309/1310, the conquest and ruling of the Duchy of Athens and Neopatra (1311–1388) and a Aragonese mandate in Aegina (1317–1451). See: William MILLER, *The Latins in the Levant. A History of the Frankish Greece (1204–1566)*, New York 1908, pp. 211–269; NICOLAU I D'OLWER, *L'expansió de Catalunya* (as n. 71), Kenneth M. SETTON, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311–1388*, Cambridge 1948; Anthony LUTTRELL, *Latin Greece, the Hospitallers, and the Crusades, 1291–1440*, London 1982; *Diplomatari de l'orient català (1301–1409). Col·lecció de documents per a la història de l'expedició catalana a l'orient i dels ducats d'Atenes i Neopàtria*, ed. Antoni RUBIÓ I LLUCH, Barcelona 2001; Antoni RUBIÓ I LLUCH, *L'expedició catalana a l'orient vista pels grecs*, Barcelona 2004; David JACOBY, *L'état catalan en Grèce: société et institutions politiques*, in: *Els Catalans a la Mediterrània oriental a l'Edat Mitjana*, ed. Maria Teresa FERRER I MALLOL (Jornades Científiques 11), Barcelona 2003, pp. 79–101; Eusebi AYENSA I PRAT, *Els catalans a Grècia. Castells i torres a la terra dels déus*, Barcelona 2013 (which comprises a vast bibliography on the topic); pp. 45–109.

⁷⁵ NICOLAU I D'OLWER, *L'expansió de Catalunya* (as n. 70), pp. 32–37; Daniel DURAN I DUELT, *Consolats nàutics, consolats ultramarins i altres formes d'organització nauticomercantil en l'àmbit català*, in: *Jaume I: commemoració del VIII centenari de l naixement de Jaume I*, ed. Maria Teresa FERRER I MALLOL (Memòries de la Secció històrico-arqueològica 91–92), vol. 2, Barcelona 2013, pp. 747–762; IDEM, *Consolat del mar i consolats d'ultramar. La defensa de l'espai marítim en temps de Martí l'Humà*, in: *Martí l'Humà. El darrer rei de la dinastia de Barcelona (1396–1410). L'interregne i el Compromís de Caspe*, ed. Maria Teresa FERRER I MALLOL, Barcelona 2015, pp. 565–588.

⁷⁶ See n. 4 supra.

Aquest retaula fe[ui]fer lo honrat e(n) Be(r)nat M(ar)esa ciutada de Barchinona. Consol de Cathalans en Domas en l'an mcccclxxxvii (This retable, was commanded by the honourable Bernat Maresa, citizen of Barcelona and consul of the Catalans in Damascus in the year 1387).

On the reverse, in the lower part, the panel is signed by the artist: *MARTINUS(u)s D(E) VILANOVA PINXIT* (Martinus of Vilanova painted it). The public and memorial intention of the painting is emphasised by the presence of three painted shields that represent three institutions: in the upper part, the coat of arms of the king of Aragon (on the left) and that of a city (Barcelona?, Majorca?) (on the right); in the lower part, that of the consul, Maresa. Finally, on the front, at the foot of the depiction of the saint her name – S(ancta) CATERINA – is written, right beside Maresa's shield.⁷⁷

Before analysing the complex artistic background of the piece, I should point out the difficult political circumstances that then hold sway over the Kingdom of Aragon. The death of the powerful king, Peter the Ceremonious, in 1387 had left his oriental states and trading interests in a very weak position. On the one hand, the fall of the Castle of Athens (Acropolis), “la pus richa joya qui al mont sia” (the richest jewel in the world)⁷⁸, on 2 May 1388, precipitated the decline of Catalan interests in Greece.⁷⁹ On the other hand, the recent loss of influence in areas that were important to the Catalan-Aragonese Crown, such as Cyprus (1374, 1381), where merchants from Barcelona had a base in the port of Famagusta⁸⁰, or Cilicia (1375), a gateway to the silk mar-

⁷⁷ For a general description of the piece and a recent discussion of its heraldry and the identity of the painter, see: Jules COUYAT-BARTHOUX, Sur une peinture catalane du XIV^e siècle trouvée au monastère du Sinaï, in: *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* 5 (1913–1914), pp. 729–733; Daniel DURAN I DUELT, El viatge del retaule de Santa Caterina al Mont Sinaï, in: *Mediterraneum. L'esplendor de la Mediterrània medieval, segles XIII–XV*, ed. Joan ALEMANY / Xavier BARRAL I ALTET, Barcelona 2004, pp. 363–370; Kristen M. COLLINS, Saint Catherine, in: *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai*, ed. Robert S. NELSON / IDEM, Los Angeles 2007, p. 269; Daniel DURAN I DUELT, La Corona de Aragón y el Sinaï en la Edad Media: a propósito del retablo de Santa Catalina de Bernat Maresa, cónsul catalán en Damasco, in: *Erytheia. Revista de Estudios Bizantinos y Neogriegos* 32 (2011), pp. 217–244; Manuel CASTIÑEIRAS, Paliachora (Egina), el Sinaï y Cataluña a finales del siglo XIV: hibridación artística, política y peregrinación en el Mediterráneo oriental, in: *Imagens e Liturgia na Idade Media*, ed. Carla VARELA FERNANDES (Bens Culturais da Igreja 5), Lisboa 2016, pp. 9–56, here pp. 37–48.

⁷⁸ This famous sentence referring to the Castle of Cetines (i.e. the Athenian Acropolis) is found in a letter written by Peter the Ceremonious dated September 11 1380 (RUBIÓ I LLUCH, *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català* [as n. 74], doc. 404, p. 491).

⁷⁹ SETTON, *Catalan Domination of Athens* (as n. 74), pp. 182, 187.

⁸⁰ ABULAFIA, *The Great Sea* (as n. 1), p. 359. King Peter I of Cyprus failed in his crusade against Alexandria in 1365 in order to establish a Christian hegemony over the ports of southern Anatolia and Syria. Later, in the turbulent period that followed his death, when Famagusta was occupied by the Genoese from 1373–1374, his widow, Queen Eleanor of Aragon, and cousin of Peter the Ceremonious, was forced to leave the island in 1381 (NICOLAU I D'OLWER, *L'expansió de Catalunya* [as n. 70], pp. 128f.).

kets of Persian Tabriz and beyond⁸¹, threatened one of its major trade routes. In this context, Alexandria, in which Catalans had a *fonduk* and consul since 1262, increased its importance especially thanks to the good relations that the Catalans enjoyed with the Sultans who had allowed them to control trade with Egypt from the middle of the 14th century.⁸²

The opening of a consulate at Damascus in 1379⁸³, and the interest shown in that same year by the future king, the infant John, in finding new routes to India⁸⁴, might be behind the donation of the painted panel to Sinai, which happened in the first year of John's reign as John I of Aragon. As is well known, both Peter the Ceremonious and his son John were great map-lovers. Such an interest is related to their concern for the expansion of Catalan interests in the Mediterranean and the discovery of new routes to the East. The most famous example of this is the Catalan Atlas of 1375 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Espagnol 30), which was produced in Majorca and is attributed to the Hebrew cartographer Cresques Abraham (1325–1397). According to George Grosjean and Sandra Sáenz-López, this is the *mappa mundi* that was sent as a gift by the infant John, then Duke of Girona, to the new king of France, the thirteen-year-old Charles VI in 1381 (Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, reg. 1665, fol. 26).⁸⁵

It is worth noting that it is not a T-O shape map but a true *portolano* that indicates the principal maritime trade routes. Furthermore, the accurate depiction of the monastery of St Catherine accompanied by the caption "Hic est corpus Catarina virginis" (fig. 18) shows how interested the Kingdom of Aragon was in this sanctuary. It should be remembered that, as a pilgrimage destination, the Apostolic See of Rome especially protected this monastery and its subsidiaries in Cyprus, Crete, Egypt, the Holy Land and Syria by virtue of a bull issued by Pope Honorius III in 1217.⁸⁶ This being so throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, the new adhesion of the Kingdom of Aragon to Avignon in

⁸¹ ABULAFIA, The Great Sea (as n. 1), p. 359. The Kingdom of Armenian Cilicia came to an end in 1375 after having maintained good relationships with the Aragonese kings throughout the 13th and 14th centuries (Cf. NICOLAU I D'OLWER, L'expansió de Catalunya [as n. 70], pp. 115-119).

⁸² Ibid., pp. 32-37.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 168.

⁸⁴ In 1379, Berenguer d'Anglesola coming back from the Holy Sepulchre was received by Infant John who wished to know what an Indian had told him in Cyprus ("que li ha dites moltes coses de les meravelles de la sua terra d'India"), see: Jeanne VIELLIARD, Pèlerins d'Espagne à la fin du Moyen Âge, in: *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 12 (1936), pp. 265-300, here p. 269; HOMS I GUZMAN, Relats de pelegrinatge a Terra Santa (as n. 70), p. 15.

⁸⁵ Mappamundi. The Catalan Atlas of the year 1375 (as n. 61), pp. 11-13; Sandra SÁENZ-LÓPEZ, *Imagen y conocimiento del mundo en la Edad Media a través de la cartografía hispana*, vol. 1, Madrid 2007, pp. 306f. (PhD).

⁸⁶ Georg HOFMANN, *Sinai und Rom* (Orientalia Christiana 9, 37), Rome 1927, pp. 218-297, here pp. 226, 242-244; Armando SERRA, *Pellegrinaggio al Monte Sinai dal IV s. al 2001*, Jerusalem 2003, pp. 122f.

February 1387⁸⁷, just after the death of his father, probably persuaded King John I to do all he could to ensure his interests in the Middle East. The gift of the panel of St Catherine to Sinai in the same year by one of his consuls appears to be an extension of these political strategies that also involved the protection of the holy sites in Palestine. Throughout the 14th century members of the House of Barcelona had often requested, and obtained, rights from the sultan of Egypt to promote the settlement of the mendicant orders in the Holy Sepulchre (1322, 1327), Bethlehem (1362) and Mount Zion. For these latter two, in 1395 King John asked permission from Sultan Zaid al-Zahir Barqûq to make some repairs.⁸⁸

Returning to the panel, it is necessary to overcome the old discussion concerning the identity of the painter *Martinus de Villanova* – Catalan or Majorcan – and instead focus on the format of the painting in the context of intercultural exchanges into the Eastern Mediterranean. In my opinion, the panel was not made in Catalonia or Majorca but in Cyprus. *Martinus* was a Catalan, but he was probably then living in Cyprus, where he imitated the kind of icons, which are currently kept in the Byzantine Museum in Nicosia. In particular, I am referring to three panels from the church of Chrysalionitissa (Nicosia), dated to the second half of the 14th century.⁸⁹ All three share an elongated shape and thin framework, and, given their role as funerary icons, include a depiction of the donors at the foot of a saint (fig. 19).

The attribution of the Catalan icon in Sinai has always been controversial because its peculiar style is close to that of contemporary Venetian painting. Moreover, instead of having a richly pinnacled frame, as it is characteristic of Catalan gothic altarpieces, the frame is kept simple. Finally, in conception, the panel appears to function as both an ex-voto and a funerary icon with the name of the donor at the foot of the saint.

As such, we should consider attributing the piece to a Catalan artist working in Cyprus, one who probably arrived on the island during the residence of Eleonor of Aragon (1353–1381), queen consort and regent of Cyprus. Eleanor was responsible for commissioning a series of works of art, such as the altarpiece of St. Eulalia – patron saint of Barcelona – for the church of St. Dominic at Nicosia around 1370. According to the description made by the Cypriot Dominican Stephen of Lusignan in 1567, in this painting the queen was de-

⁸⁷ Rafael TÀSIS I MARCA, *Pere el Cerimoniós i els seus fills* (Biografies catalanes 7), Barcelona 1957, pp. 167f.

⁸⁸ Girolamo GOLUBOVICH, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francese*, vol. 3, Florence 1919, pp. 232-237; ibidem, vol. 5, Florence 1927, p. 83; Agustín ARCE, Pedro IV de Aragón a favor de los franciscanos, in: *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 57 (1964), pp. 532-537. I would like to thank the former Custodial Vicar of the Holy Sepulchre, Father Artemio Vitores, O.F.M., for these references.

⁸⁹ Athanasius PAPAGEORGHIU, *Icons of Cyprus*, Nicosia 1992, p. 60, figs. 39 (Christ, Angels and Donors), 40 (St Eleutherios), 41 (St Paraskevi).

picted kneeling at the foot of the saints Ursula, Eulalie and Magdalene.⁹⁰ Both format (altarpiece) and devotions probably indicate a Catalan origin of the painter. At this point, it is worth noting that there are records that mention Catalan painters working alongside Byzantine painters in Cyprus. This is the case of *Baylianus Catellanus* who died in 1357 on a journey from Cyprus to Crete in the company of a citizen of Barcelona – Demitrius Mauro – and a painter from Constantinople – Georgios Chryssokefalos – to whom one of the elongated panels from the church of Chrysaliniotissa in Nicosia dated to 1356 has convincingly been attributed.⁹¹ Furthermore, as Michalis Olympos has recently pointed out, there is another painter coming from the Kingdom of Aragon who probably spent some time in the Lusignan Kingdom during Eleonor's rule. This arises from the fact that a certain master Esteve Rovira "from Cyprus", who was resident in Valencia, was commissioned by Pedro Tenorio, archbishop of Toledo, in 1387 to produce an altarpiece for his cathedral.⁹² Thus, we should not exclude the possibility that in 1387 Bernat Maresa commissioned his painting from a Catalan artist established in Crete or Cyprus, where Sinai possessed a series of churches and houses according to papal bulls dating to 1217 and 1328.⁹³ Such a commitment would explain the more peculiar features of the artwork. Ultimately, Damascus, where Maresa settled as Catalan consul, had very good connections with Sinai, as the monastery owned a church dedicated to Saint George in Damascus as well as some houses and three fields on its outskirts.⁹⁴ As a result, Aragon enjoyed a distinction otherwise unknown among Western countries: it contributed sacred images to the monastery, as used to happen with Orthodox and Crusader States. However, it is very likely that its original setting was the Latin chapel of St. Catherine of the Franks, in which the western pilgrims attended mass in the monastery at least in the late Middle Ages.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Camille ENLART, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance*, London 1987, p. 77, n. 12 (1st ed. in French, Paris 1899); NICOLAU I D'OLWER, L'expansió de Catalunya (as n. 70), p. 135.

⁹¹ Maria CONSTANTOUDAKI-KITROMILIDES, Viaggi di pittori tra Costantinopoli e Candia: documenti d'archivio e influssi sull'arte (XIV–XV sec.), in: *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII sec.)*, ed. Chryssa MALTEZOU / Angeliki TZAVARA / Despina VLASSI, Venezia 2009, pp. 709–723, here p. 711. With regard to the attribution of the Cypriot icon to Georgios Chryssokefalos, see: Annemarie WEYL CARR, A Palaiologan Funerary Icon from Gothic Cyprus, in: EADEM, *Cyprus and the Devotional Arts of Byzantium in the Era of the Crusades*, Aldershot 2005, Article IX, pp. 599–619. I am in debt with Michele Bacci for pointing out to me this precious reference.

⁹² Michalis OLYMPIOS, Stripped from the Altar, Recycled, Forgotten: The Altarpiece in Lusignan Cyprus, in: *Gesta* 53 (2014), pp. 47–72, here p. 54. See also Matilde MIQUEL JUAN, Esteve Rovira y Starnina en Toledo. El arzobispo Pedro Tenorio y la consolidación del poder episcopal, in: *Las artes y la arquitectura de poder*, ed. Víctor MINGUEZ, Castelló de la Plana 2013, pp. 2771–2790.

⁹³ HOFMANN, Sinai und Rom (as n. 86), pp. 242–244, 259f.

⁹⁴ *In civitate Damasci ecclesiam S. Georgii et domos et extra civitatem tri virgulta* (6 August 1217, bull of Honorius III) (Ibid., p. 243).

⁹⁵ For mentions to the Latin chapel in pilgrim accounts see: David JACOBY, Christian Pilgrimage to Sinai until the Late Fifteenth Century, in: *Holy Image. Hallowed Ground. Icons from*

Direct relations between Catalonia and the Eastern Mediterranean fostered a two-way exchange that produced some very original images. Among those that remain little understood is the monumental altarpiece made in 1414–1415 by Lluís Borrassà for the church of the nunnery of Santa Clara in Vic. Scholars have mainly focused their attention on the images related to the glorification of the mission of the mendicant orders. The central panel depicting the foundation of three orders by Saint Francis, Clare, Dominic and Peter the Martyr and the animated scene of the miracle of Saint Dominic saving pilgrims to Compostela from a tragic shipwreck in the Garonne have dominated discussion over the iconographical programme of this amazing altarpiece.⁹⁶ As Marta Nuet pointed out, the shipwreck is often used by mendicants in their sermons as a metaphor for the sacrament of penitence that allows sinners to overcome the dangers of the sea and reach the port.⁹⁷ However, in the local context of the dedication of the altarpiece the image would have an added value: Clare is evoked in the *Llibre del Consolat del Mar* as a patron of sailors.⁹⁸

However, the most singular panel of the altarpiece is that depicting the legend of Abgar, king of Edessa (fig. 20).⁹⁹ Although this Byzantine story was well known in the West thanks to the *Golden Legend* of the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine (c. 1260), its depiction in Gothic art is very rare. In his portrayal Lluís Borrassà followed Voragine's text closely. The legend is included in the chapter devoted to the apostles and brothers Simon and Judas Thaddeus as preachers of the gospel in Mesopotamia, Egypt and Persia.¹⁰⁰ Hence, they

Sinai, ed. Robert S. NELSON / Kristen M. COLLINS, Los Angeles 2006, pp. 79–93, here p. 88. Cf. Manuel CASTIÑEIRAS, Paliachora (Egina) (as n. 77), pp. 46–48.

⁹⁶ Josep GUDIOL, Obras de Luis Borrassà en Vich, in: *Ausa* 1 (1952), pp. 17–24, here pp. 17–22; Santiago ALCOLEA / Josep GUDIOL, *Pintura gòtica catalana*, Barcelona 1986, figs. 384–385; Marta NUET BLANCH, El salvamento de naufragos, metáfora de la penitencia en el gótico catalán, in: *Locus Amoenus* 5 (2000–2001), pp. 53–65, 60–61, fig. 5; Marc SUREDA I JUBANY, Sant Domènec salva uns naufragos, in: *Viatjar a l'Edat Mitjana*, ed. IDEM, Barcelona 2015, pp. 156f. With regard to the foundation of the convent by Infant John in 1383 and the records related to the altarpiece, see: Pedro SANAHUJA, *Historia de la seráfica provincia de Cataluña*, Barcelona 1959, p. 846.

⁹⁷ NUET BLANCH, El salvamento de naufragos (as n. 96), p. 59.

⁹⁸ Montserrat BARNIOL, Patrons and Advocates of the Sailors: the Saints and the Sea in Catalan Gothic, in: *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum* 6 (2012), pp. 249–276, here pp. 251, 271f.

⁹⁹ For the legend and its depiction in Byzantine art, see: Alfredo TRADIGO, *Icone e Santi d'Oriente*, Milano 2004, pp. 235–239; Anna Rosa CALDERONI MASETTI / Colette DUFOUR BOZZO / Gerhard WOLF (Ed.): *Intorno al Sacro Volto. Genova, Bisanzio e il Mediterraneo (secoli XI–XIV)*, Venice 2007; Mark GUSCIN, *The Tradition of the Image of Edessa*, Newcastle upon Tyne 2016 (with an extensive bibliography on the topic). I have recently dealt with the sources, significance and artistic milieu of the panel depicting the Legend of King Abgar in Vic: Manuel CASTIÑEIRAS, From Catalonia to Sinai: a two-way journey. Revisiting the Legend of King Abgar in the St. Francis altarpiece from Santa Clara in Vic (1414–1415), in: *Mendicant Orders in the Eastern Mediterranean: Art, Architecture and Material Culture*, ed. Ioanna CHRISTOPHORAKI, International Conference, Nafplion (Greece), 18–23 April, 2017. (in press)

¹⁰⁰ Jacobus de Voragine, *La leyenda dorada*, ed. José Manuel MACÍAS, vol. 2, Madrid 1987, pp. 681–687.

were first depicted together as bearers of the *Mandylion* to the king in the upper register, on the left side of the altarpiece, and then cruelly tormented on the right side.

There are two issues related to the panel that should be underlined. Firstly, the evangelical mission of the apostles Simon and Judas Thaddeus and their martyrdoms stand for the difficulties encountered by the Franciscan order in the Middle East in their role as custodian of holy sites under the protection of the Kingdom of Aragon and in their mission to spread the gospel and found new convents. It must be remembered that in 1391 four Franciscans were martyred, and Gerald, the custodian of Mount Zion, went to the Catalan consul in Damascus in order to inform him of this in his capacity as protector of the Christians in Orient.¹⁰¹ Secondly, the choice of the legend of King Abgar could be seen as a transposition in painting of the search for relics set up by King Martin the Humane at the beginning of the 15th century. Between 1400 and 1410 legates were sent to Catalonia from Constantinople by Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus in order to ask military help and collect money.¹⁰² This policy received the support of Pope Benedict XIII, who gave indulgences to those who wished to be engaged in the army for this campaign for the defence of Christianity in 1401. It is no coincidence that a special group mainly composed by Franciscans was committed to execute and preach the papal bull.¹⁰³

In exchange for his support Martin the Humane received a series of relics from Emperor Manuel II. In 1400 a piece of Christ's Tunic and the Sponge of the Passion were sent¹⁰⁴, while in 1407 a delivery of relics contained some portions of the Column of the Flagellation, the Slab of the Deposition, the stone over which Peter cries after his denial of Christ, and St Lawrence's grill.¹⁰⁵ An interesting letter, sent by Manuel Palaeologus to Martin the Humane and delivered by his ambassador Manuel Chrysoloras, accompanied this second batch of relics. It highlights the devotion of the king to the relics of saints, Christ and Mary, through which they make themselves present to us through our senses "nobis sensualiter representant".¹⁰⁶ This is, ultimately, how the letter delivered to King Abgar in the painted panel should be viewed, the letter in which Christ blesses those who believe in him without having seen him and who can now be healed by the presence of his relics.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ NICOLAU I D'OLWER, L'expansió de Catalunya (as n. 70), p. 29.

¹⁰² Daniel DURAN I DUELT, Diplomacia de cruzada. Las misiones de Manuel II Paleólogo a la Península y la recaudación de subsidios, in: *Cataluña y Navarra en la Baja Edad Media* (Colección Historia 29), ed. Eloísa RAMÍREZ VAQUERO / Roser SALICRÚ I LLUCH, Pamplona 2010, pp. 53-110.

¹⁰³ DURAN I DUELT, Diplomacia de cruzada (as n. 102), p. 86.

¹⁰⁴ RUBIO I LLUCH, Diplomatarium de l'Orient Català (as n. 74), doc. 660, pp. 686f.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., doc. 694, pp. 716-718.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 717.

¹⁰⁷ On the scroll the words can be read: "Benuyrat est Albaga[r?] com a [s?]/ en mi cregut e no m as vist [...?]/ scrit es de mi que aquels qui/nom veuran em creuran/ benuyrat seran e de aço que tu [me]/ pregue [s?] que io vinga a tu sapies/ que a mi conve que complexca/ço per que

The otherwise bizarre prominence of the letter in this depiction sums up the relevance of these topics in the powerful Kingdom of Aragon during the late Middle Ages. From the beginning of the 14th century onwards, Catalan kings longed for relics from the Eastern Mediterranean.¹⁰⁸ In 1321, James II acquired relics of St Tecla from Armenian Cilicia for the cathedral of Tarragona. In correspondence, Peter the Ceremonious unsuccessfully tried to convince the sultan to give him a relic of St Barbara from Alexandria. Moreover, until his death, the king never stopped asking by letters dated 1354, 1355 and 1381 for the relics of the head of St George, which was kept in the Castle of Livadia in Greece, where the Frankish army had brought it after the sack of Constantinople in 1204.¹⁰⁹

George was patron of the Order of Saint George of Alfama, an institution founded by King Peter the Catholic in 1201 to fight against the Muslims and renewed by Peter the Ceremonious. Under the patronage of this saint and a rehabilitated idea of crusade, the Grand Catalan Company embarked on its various conquests in Anatolia and Greece between 1307 and 1311. Its members, the *almogàvers*, went into the battle shouting their war cry “Sant Jordi!, Aragó!” and flying a banner with the depiction of St George. Besides, its seal consisted of an image of the saint on a horse (fig. 21).¹¹⁰

As we can see, at the beginning of the 15th century, King Martin took advantage of a situation and did not hesitate to ask for relics from Constantinople in his particular quest for the appropriation of sacred objects. The depiction of the legend of King Abgar sums up this longing, this concern for relics. The scene was turned into a manifesto on the value of christological relics and the emerging role of the *acheiropoieta* in the Kingdom of Aragon. Indeed, Martin the Humane promoted the cult and copy of an *acheiropoieta* image – the *Veronica* of the Virgin Mary – in Barcelona since 1397, and other cities such as

son tramès mas cant(?)”. I am indebted to Judith Verdaguer, curator at the Museum Episcopal de Vic, for her generous help in reading this text.

¹⁰⁸ For an overview of this quest for relics see: Vicent BAYDAL SALA, Santa Tecla, San Jorge y Santa Bárbara: los monarcas de la Corona de Aragón a la búsqueda de reliquias en Oriente (siglos XIV–XV), in: *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* 21 (2010), pp. 153–162; Joan MOLINA FIGUERAS, Sotto il segno d’Oriente. La monarchia catalano-aragonesa e la ricerca del sacro nelle terre del Levante mediterraneo, in: *Representations of Power at the Mediterranean Borders of Europe (12th–14th centuries)*, ed. Ingrid BAUMGÄRTNER / Mirko VAGNONI / Megan WELTON, Florence 2014, pp. 71–90.

¹⁰⁹ NICOLAU I D’OLWER, L’expansió de Catalunya (as n. 70), p. 109; SETTON, Catalan Domination of Athens (as n. 74), pp. 48–49, 73; IDEM, *Recerca i troballa del cap de Sant Jordi*, Barcelona 1974, pp. 11–14; Agathangelos CHARAMANTIDES, *O Iepós Naós Ayíou Γεωργίου Αεβαδείας*, Livadia 2002, pp. 79–89; AYENSA I PRAT, Els Catalans a Grècia (as n. 74), pp. 153–159. For the letters of King Peter the Ceremonious and Francesc Colomer claiming for the head of St George in Livadia see: RUBIÓ I LLUCH, *Diplomatari de l’Orient Català* (as n. 74), doc. 215, 221, 503, pp. 293f., 297, 556–557.

¹¹⁰ SETTON, Catalan Domination of Athens (as n. 74), p. 11. For the creation of the seal of the Catalan Company around 1312–1314, see: David JACOBY, La Compagnie Catalane et l’État catalan de Grèce. Quelques aspects de leur histoire, in: *Journal des Savants* 2 (1966), pp. 78–103, here pp. 84–91.

Vic seem to have acquired painted images of the Virgin's face, where one is documented in the cathedral in 1414 – the same date of the altarpiece of Santa Clara.¹¹¹ Furthermore, it is worth noting that many of his knights kept copies of this sacred image in their castle chapels.

It is very likely that the Catalans were jealous of their outstanding rivals and neighbours, the Genoese, who treasured two important christological relics: the *Sacro Catino* which arrived in 1101 from Palestine and was kept in the Cathedral of San Lorenzo¹¹², and the *Mandylion* which was probably given by Emperor John V Palaeologus to Leonardo Montaldo, captain of the Genoese fleet in Romania and future Doge (1383–1384), who in turn donated it at his death in 1384 to the monastery of *San Bartolomeo degli Armeni*.¹¹³ The peak of Catalan power in the Mediterranean was supposed to be accompanied by an extensive collection of relics and sacred images that emulated that of the emperor of Byzantium, or at least equated to the great maritime republics of Genoa and Venice. Besides the relics received by Martin the Humane from Constantinople in 1404, as Daniel Duelt has recently pointed out, three cargoes – two from *Romania* and one from Chios – arrived in the port of Barcelona laden with icons, an indication of the immense importance of this trade in Catalonia.¹¹⁴ It is very likely that the panel depicting the *Mandylion of Santa Clara* in Vic is an evocation of one of these precious objects of art and cult.

In conclusion, a combination of political competition, commercial exchange and the quest of relics moulded the identities of the maritime powers of the Mediterranean for whom the Byzantine Empire was always a model and prototype.

¹¹¹ Marta CRISPÍ, La Verònica de Madona Santa Maria i la processó de la Puríssima organitzada per Martí l'Humà, in: *Locus Amoenus* 2 (1996), pp. 85-101, here p. 98.

¹¹² Rebecca MÜLLER, Il *Sacro Catino*. Percezione e memoria nella Genova medievale, in: *Intorno al Sacro Volto* (as n. 99), pp. 91-104.

¹¹³ Sandra ORIGONE, Giovanni V Paleologo e i Genovesi, in: *Intorno al Sacro Volto* (as n. 98), pp. 105-115; Giovanna PETTI BALBI, Una lunga carriera, un breve dogato. Leonardo Montaldo doge di Genova tra il 1383 e il 1384, in: *Intorno al Sacro Volto* (as n. 98), pp. 117-122.

¹¹⁴ Daniel DURAN I DUELT, Icons and minor arts: a neglected aspect of trade between Romania and the Crown of Aragon, in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 105 (2012), pp. 29-52, here pp. 44-46.



Fig. 1: *Ulysses and the Sirens*. Beth She'an, Leontis House, Mosaic floor, 6th century CE. Museum of Israel, B589956. By courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 2: *The Nile and the port of Alexandria*. Beth She'an, Leontis House, Mosaic floor, 6th century CE. Museum of Israel, B-589955. By courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 3: *Fishing scene*. Mosaic floor from Utica (Tunisia), 3rd–4th-century, London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 4: *The Mediterranean Sea*. Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, Montecassino, around 1022. Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, Cod. Cass. 132, p. 278. © Archivio dell'Abbazia.



Fig. 5: Cabestany Master, *The Appearance of Christ on the Sea of Galilee* (Jn. 21, 1-5). Sant Pere de Rodes, Western Portal, 1163. Barcelona, Museu Marès, MFM 654. © Museu Frederic Marès, Photo: Guillem F-H.



Fig. 6: *Mapamundi*. Beatus of the Burgo de Osma, Sahagún, 1086. © Biblioteca de la Catedral de Burgo de Osma.



Fig. 7: *Translatio Sancti Marci*: storm at sea close to the Strofadia Islands (Greece). St Mark in Venice, mosaics, apse of St Peter, north vault, second quart of the 12th century. (Manuel Castiñeiras per gentile concessione della Procuratoria di San Marco).



Fig. 8: *Lighthouse of Alexandria*. St Mark in Venice, mosaics, Cappella Zen, around 1270. (Manuel Castiñeiras per gentile concessione della Procuratoria di San Marco).



Fig. 9: *The Joseph's barns*. St Mark in Venice, mosaics, narthex, around 1260. Photo: author. (Manuel Castiñeiras per gentile concessione della Procuratoria di San Marco)



Fig. 10: *Hercules*. The Creation Tapestry, upper register, c. 1097. Girona, Cathedral, Treasure. © Capítol Catedral de Girona.



Fig. 11: *Minotaur*. Pisa, Duomo, Western Façade, corbel, second half of the 12th century. Photo: author. © Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Mateo.



Fig. 12: *Exotic Caravan and Siege of Acre (?)*, Monastery of Sigüenza, Profane Paintings, c. 1264–1269. Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. MNAC-Calveras/Mérida/Sagrà.



Fig. 13: Detail of a camel. The Acre map of Matthew Paris, mid-13th century. London, BL, Royal Ms. 14 C.vii, f. 4v. © British Library Board (London, BL, Royal Ms. 14 c.vii).

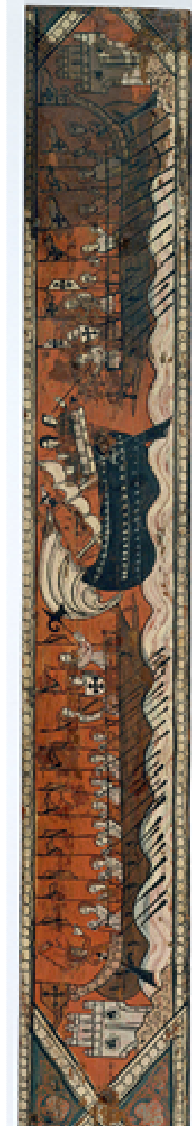


Fig. 14: *Rowing boats of the Order of Calatrava sailing from the port of Acre (?)*, Wooden-ceiling board from the church of *Nuestra Señora de la Fuente de Peñarroya de Tastavins* (Teruel), mid-14th century. Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. MNAC-Calveras/Mérida/Sagristà.



Fig. 15: *The port of Acre. The Acre map of Matthew Paris*, mid-13th century, London, BL, Royal Ms. 14 C.vii, f. 5r. © British Library Board (London, BL, Royal Ms. 14 c. vii).

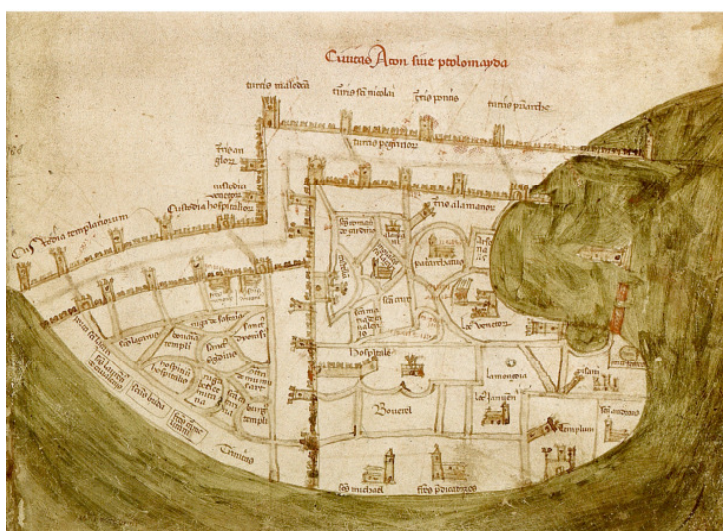


Fig. 16: Drawing taken from Pietro Vesconte, *Plan of Acre*, around 1320, in: *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. 10.016 (Tanner 190), f. 207r). © Oxford University Libraries.



Fig. 17: Martinus de Villanova, *Saint Catherine*, 1387. Sinai, The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine. By permission of Saint Catherine's monastery, Sinai, Egypt.



Fig. 18: Detail of the depiction of the monastery of Saint Catherine in Sinai on the right (lower part) of the map, *The Catalan Atlas of 1375*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Espagnol 30, IV. © Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.



Fig. 19: Georgios Chryssokefalos (?), *Funerary icon with the depiction of Christ, Angels and Donors*, Nicosia, Church of Panagia Chryssaliniotissa, 1356, Nicosia, the Byzantine Museum. By permission of the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation in Nicosia.



Fig. 20: Lluís Borrassà, *Legend of Abgar, King of Edessa*, 1414–1415, Altarpiece of Santa Clara in Vic. Vic, Museu Episcopal de Vic. © Museu Episcopal de Vic.

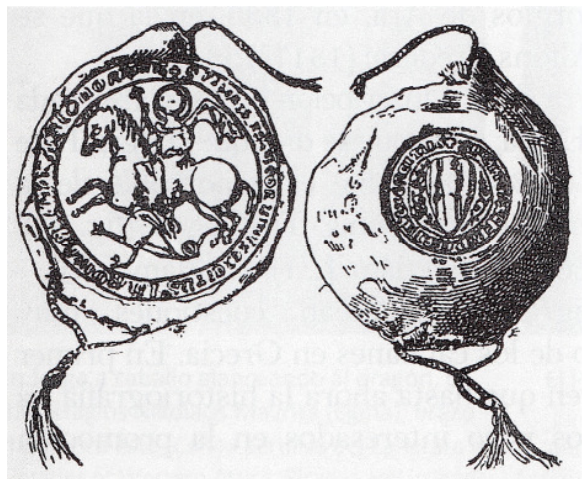


Fig. 21: *Seal of the Grand Catalan Company*, 14th c.; source: Lluís NICOLAU I D'OLWER, *L'expansió de Catalunya* (as n. 70).