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Apocalypse and Maternity
The *Mulier amicta sole* in the Church of Santa Maria Donnaregina in Naples

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The Clarissan Church of Santa Maria Donnaregina was decorated under the patronage of Mary of Hungary, wife of Charles II of Anjou, during the early years of the 14th century. The fresco cycles in the nuns' choir include the *Last Judgment* and the *Mulier amicta sole* on the counter-façade wall, while the left wall is devoted to scenes of the *Lives of Saints Catherine* and *Agnes*, and the right wall to scenes of *Christ's Passion* and of the *Life of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary*. This paper concentrates on an unusual version of the *Mulier amicta sole*, which mixes the image of a *Woman with the twelve stars above her head and the moon under her feet*, as described in the *Apocalypse*, with a specific type of icon of Eastern origin, the *Virgin Platytera*, depicted in the typical gesture of the orant with a medallion with the head of the Child on her chest. This image of the *Apocalyptic Woman* symbolises the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, the topic of a heated debate by theologians, led by the Franciscan St Bonaventura. From the point of view of the gender, the topic of the divine genealogy of the *Mulier* seems indirectly to transmit the royal genealogy incarnated by the Queen. This seems to be confirmed by Mary of Hungary's tomb, whose inscription celebrates the Queen as the daughter, widow and mother of kings, while the front of the tomb chest shows her numerous sons.

Keywords: Apocalypse, Maternity, *Mulier amicta sole*, Clarisses, Mary of Hungary, St Bonaventura, Virgin *Platytera,* Angevin Naples

Mary of Hungary, the wife of Charles II d'Angiò, the King of Naples, commissioned the rebuilding and the decoration of the Clarissan church Santa Maria Donnaregina Vecchia in Naples and her coat of arms is painted on the vaults that support the nuns' choir. A possible *ante quem*[1] is 1323, the year of the death of the queen, who was buried in the funeral monument built by Tino di Camaino around three years later.

The paintings in the nuns' choir are almost entirely preserved (fig. 1): on the walls, with one's back to the apse, one can see on the left, the *Stories of St Catherine and St Agnes,* and on the right, the *Christological stories* and those of *St Elizabeth of Thuringia*. A large *Last Judgement* occupies the counter-façade wall (fig. 2), and above it, behind the rose window, in the area which today is covered by the 15th-century ceiling, is a rare image of the *Mulier amicta sole* (fig. 3), described in chapter 12 of the *Apocalypse*: "*Et signum magnum apparuit in caelo: mulier amicta sole, et luna sub pedibus eius, et super caput eius corona stellarum duodecim; et in utero habens, et clamat parturiens et cruciatur, ut pariat*". The *Apocaliptic woman*, between the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, mixed and merged different theological topics, narrative patterns and Eastern types of icons in a very original way for the late medieval figurative Italian context.[2] In fact, the *Mulier* is not very common in Western monumental paintings; she always appears in a narrative dimension and is never iconic. Yves Christe mentions some contexts, from the eighth century to half way through the 12th century,[3] in which she is subject to a divine and theophanic vision. She is generally associated with the *Ark of the Covenant*, or is placed in relation to the *Adoration of the Lamb of God*, or to the *Majestas Domini* or else to the *Heavenly Jerusalem*, like for example, in the vestibule of the abbey of Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe or in the San Pietro al Monte at Civate (fig. 4).[4] In these works the exegetical tradition

1   Naples, St Maria Donnaregina, view
     of the nuns' choir from the apse
     (photo: S. Paone)

2   *Last Judgement*, St Maria Donnaregina, Naples, nuns' choir,
     counter-façade (© Archivio Luciano Pedicini, Napoli)

3   *The Mulier amicta sole between Archangels Michael and Gabriel*, Santa Maria Donnaregina, Naples, nuns'
     choir, counter-façade, gable (from: Genovese, *La chiesa trecentesca di Donna Regina*, Napoli, 1993, p. 90)

plays a fundamental role, and up to the 12th century this tradition favoured the interpretation of the *Mulier* as the *Ecclesia*.[5] This was to result in the visual elimination of the more eschatological elements of John's text that refer to the end of Time and therefore to the Last Judgement.

In Donnaregina, the combination of these two subjects, the *Mulier* and the *Last Judgement*, practically creates a *unicum*, except for the lost decoration, which can be reconstructed on the basis of the inscriptions in the church of Saint-Pierre at Fleury, at the beginning of the 11th century.[6] The most distant antecedents can be traced back to the famous *corpus* of illuminated manuscripts containing the *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, whose earliest copies date from the 10th century.[7] Following the narrative (Ap. 12-13), in the Girona *codex* (Museu de la Catedral, ms. Num. Inv. 7(11), fol. 171v-172r, fig. 5)[8] we can see at the top on the left, the female figure, with stars and the moon and a kind of halo of sunlight in front of her womb. She is threatened by a dragon that wants to devour her newborn Child, whom we can see on the right, carried by the angel to the throne of God. The illumination also illustrates the next war in heaven, fought by Michael and his angels against the dragon that transmits its power to the Beast and to its followers, who fell to the Earth: this is the immediately antecedent text of the *Vision of the Lamb*, of the *Last Judgement*, and of the *Heavenly Jerusalem* which are described in the next chapters.

If one accepts the traditional theological interpretation, it is possible, also in the *Mulier* in Donnaregina, to recognise the Ecclesia in her twofold heavenly and earthly dimension, victorious and tormented which is emphasised in our fresco by the Archangel Michael, on the left, who is slaying the Dragon and who stands victorious with the globe in his hand (fig. 6). However the complex meanings of the fresco on gable of the counter-façade can only be explained if one adds to the ecclesiological interpretation, or rather one favours, the Mariological interpretation, which was adopted in ancient times, but in a marginal and discontinuous way. In the 13th century it was the subject of a heated debate, and the theologians of the Mendicant Orders were also involved. This interpretation found valid points to support it in some exegetical texts, such as the *Commentary on the Apocalype* written in around 758-767

4   *The Mulier amicta sole and the Dragon*, St Pietro al Monte, Civate (Lecco), counter-façade, 11th c. (Wikimedia Commons)

6   Detail of fig. 3

5   *The Mulier amcita sole and the Dragon,* detail, Girona, Museo de la Catedral, Beatus de Liébana, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, MS Arx i Bibl., fol. 171v-172r, 10th c. (from: Simi Varanelli, 2008, fig. 6, p. 54)

by the monk Ambrose Autpert and the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux of the first half of the 12th century, which identify the Virgin Mary with the *Mulier amicta sole* of the *Apocalype* and with the *Sponsa* of the *Song of Songs.*[9]

From a figurative and Western point of view, one should certainly also mention the manuscripts from northern Europe, produced in the 13th century, like the *moralised Bibles* from Paris and the English versions of the *Apocalypse*. These artefacts contain two important elements, the concise representation of the *Last Judgement,*[10] and above all the inclusion of the Virgin and of subjects related to her, mainly the *Annunciation*, the *Nativity* and the *Coronation*, directly associated with the *Apocalypse*. One can see this, for example, in a *moralised Bible*, partially preserved in London (British Library, MS Harley 1527, fol. 121r, fig. 7)[11] where the text regarding the Apparition of the Lamb of God taking the book "*Et venit Agnus et accepit librum*" is illustrated allegorically by the *Annunciation* and by the *Risen Christ*, opposite the Devil. In the same way, in the English *Apocalypse*, which is in New York (Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.524, fol. 8v, fig. 8),[12] the *Mulier*, with the moon under her feet and the twelve stars on her head, is unequivocally the reclining Virgin of the Nativity, next to Michael who is slaying the Dragon.

This seems to be a strategic point because it demonstrates that these texts and some works made for private use, such as ivories (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Coll., 1970.324.7a-b, fig. 9), anticipate a change in doctrine that we will only see in Western monumental painting several decades later.[13] These are, as we know, extremely rich manuscripts, which were prepared for both a lay and a royal patronage, represented in our context, by Mary of Hungary and her *entourage*.

Despite the lack of similar manuscripts that can be directly linked to her, Mary's 'testament' demonstrates the existence of several sacred texts, some of which are in *gallico*, including bibles, missals, prayers to the Virgin, lives of Christ and of the saints, and also a *romanzo* and a book *de viciis et virtutibus,*[14] confirming that the reading material was not only edifying for the sovereign, but was also used to educate her children and grandchildren.[15]

The precise illuminated prototypes of the *Apocalypse*, which could probably be found in the Neapolitan court and in the convents that the royal family was most fond of, may also have been the specific models for the fresco representing the *Vision of St John on the Island of Patmos*, organised in small dense scenes inside little frames.[16]

Since the frescos in the lower part of the nave's walls[17] have been almost totally lost, it is not possible to fully assess the connection between the fresco painted above the entrance to the Loffredo family chapel, dedicated to Saint John the Evangelist, and the rest of the decoration of the church. This must have been a very close connection, in light of the conceptual and stylistic[18] analogies with the frescos on the counter-façade.

Earlier Byzantine works and parallels

If one analyses the protagonist of the fresco on the gable of the wall more closely, one can notice a strong resemblance with a specific type of icon of Eastern origin, the Virgin *Platytéra* (*platytéra ton ouranon*), represented in the typical gesture of the orant, with her arms outstretched and her palms facing upwards, and she has a medallion with the head of the Child Jesus placed upon her chest.[19] This is a prototype, whose oldest testimony was recognised in an image of the 5th century, that has been lost, and that was venerated in the church of the Virgin of Blachernae in Constantinople, from which the name *Blachernitissa* derives.[20] This image has been reproduced in many works spread throughout the Byzantine world, including some coins of the mid-10th century, like a *Histaménon* of Zoe and Theodora (New York, American Numismatic Society Collection) or the bas-relief of the Venetian church of the Mater Domini (Venice, Museo Correr, mold; fig. 10), the icon of the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow, the so-called *Virgin of the Sign*, both of the 12th century, an icon in the Monastery of Saint Catherine in Sinai, from the 13th century, and the later mosaic of the Holy Saviour in Chora from the beginning of the 14th century.[21]

According to some scholars, the *Platytéra* is the result of the evolution and of the combination of two different Marian icons: the *Virgin Mary orant, the Epskepsis*, and the *Nikopeia*. The first one, also called the *Virgin of the Recommendation*, is to be placed together with the image of the orant previously adopted in a catacomb, pagan and early Christian context, rendered more powerful by the recognition of the role assumed by the Virgin

7   *Annunciation and Risen Christ*, from *The moralized Bible*, MS Harley 1527, 1225-1245, fol. 121r, British Library, London, detail (from: De Laborde, *La Bible Moralisée illustrée,* Paris, 1911-1927)

8   *The Mulier amicta sole and Archangel Michael Fighting the Dragon*, from *Apocalypse*, MS M.524, fol. 8v, 1255-1260, Morgan Library, New York, detail (from: Simi Varanelli, 2008, tav. II, p. 106)

9   *Coronation of the Virgin and Last Judgement*, ivory diptych (inv. 1970.324.7ab), 1220-1240, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (from: *Images in ivory*, 1997, p. 131)

10   *Virgin Platytera*, mold of the basrelief (from church of Mater Domini), 11th c., Museo Correr, Venice (from: *Deomene*, 2001, p. 219)

11   *Virgin Platytera between the Archangels Michael and Gabriel,* Church of Panagia at Moutoullas, Cyprus, 1280, detail (from: Mouriki, 1984)

12   *Virgin orant between the Archangels*, Church of St Nicholas *Orphanos*, Thessaloniki, 1315-1320 (from: *Mother of God,* 2000, fig. 75, p. 129)

13   *Virgin with a Child between Archangels*, Church of Panagia Angeloktistos at Kiti, Cyprus, 7th c. (from: *Chypre entre*, 2013)

of intermediary between the believer and God. This role is visually underlined by her open arms, which effectively remind one of the position of Christ on the Cross.[22] In the second type of icon, the *Nikopeia*, the Virgin bearer of Victory, depicted holding the triumphant shield with the Child,[23] an allusion to Christ as *Sol Iustitiae* has been recognised. This is also an early Christian version of pagan and imperial themes and iconography.[24]

The fact that the 14th-century *Mulier* derives from the most ancient Christian Marian prototypes and from the Byzantine Marian icons of the pre-iconoclastic period is not surprising. What is surprising is the similarity with several Eastern compositions of apses, of the late medieval and in the modern periods,[25] like the ones that can be seen in the Cypriot Church of Panagia at Moutoullas of around 1280 (fig. 11) and of St Nicholas Orphanos at Thessaloniki (fig. 12) of 1315-1320,[26] in which one can see the preference for the *Virgin orant* or *Platytera* between the Archangels, who can be identified as Michael and Gabriel.[27]

Naturally, in these cases too, their origin can be identified in the early Christian world, in particular in the representation of *Theotokos* among the angels[28] and in its later and monumental repositioning in which the *Virgin with the Child,* standing or enthroned, is accompanied by Archangels, often with no identifying attributes or inscription with their names.[29] We can also mention in this context the mosaic of Panagia Angeloktistos at Kiti (fig. 13) and the fresco of Panagia tou Arakos at Lagoudhera, both in Cyprus, of the 7th and late 12th century[30] respectively.

I must admit though, that this affinity is somewhat difficult for me to explain. It could be placed in relationship to the previous church of the early Middle Ages, San Pietro di Monte Donnaregina, where there was a Basilian female community,[31] about which however, we do not have reliable data. In fact we can only suppose the Basilians venerated an antique Marian icon, echoed by the image on the church gable.[32] In this regard, perhaps more plausibly, one might refer to the panel paintings present in the Angevin domains of southern Italy, like the famous Marian icon of the Abbey of Montevergine,[33] marked by a typological and technical point of view, today seen as "Byzantine tradition", and which was therefore still an integral part of the figurative context of the 13th century.[34] Another equally interesting hypothesis derives from the title of the Kingdom of Jerusalem taken by the house of Anjou of Naples, and by Mary of Hungary herself, which certainly encourages one to consider that icons, sumptuary works and manuscripts may have been imported from those Eastern areas.[35]

Divine genealogy and Angevin genealogy

Beyond its figurative origin, the characteristic suspension of the Child's head can clearly be interpreted as a representation of the Immaculate Conception, and therefore of the Incarnation of the Word in the body of Mary, who shows the Child, who can be seen in her womb, and at the same time, the contact with the divine world. The connection with the Annunciation, which in every age is understood as a manifestation of the Immaculate Conception by the Holy Spirit, is established by some icons, for example the one from Novgorod (Moscow, Tretjakov Gallery, fig. 14)[36] of the 12th century, in which the Child can clearly be seen in the Virgin Annunciate's womb. It is not a coincidence that in Donnaregina, the Archangel Gabriel appears, on the right, depicted in profile in the typical gesture of the *adlocutio*. In this case however, he is characterised in an eschatological way by the empty tomb and by the cross, a little lower down, which are symbols of the sacrifice of Christ (fig. 15).

In fact originally there were a *Tree of Jesse* and an *Assumption of the Virgin* next to each other on the church portal, but they were lost when the building was renovated.[37] The *Tree of Jesse* is particularly meaningful and was represented very often during the Gothic period; it can also be identified in some Neapolitan contexts, as demonstrated by the monumental fresco in St Paul's chapel, in the Cathedral, commissioned by the Archbishop Humbert d'Ormont (1308-1320, fig. 16) and made by the same workshop as for Donnaregina.[38] On the subject of the Genealogy of Jesus, drawn from some passages of the Gospels of Matthew (1, 1-17) and Luke (3, 23-30) and from a prophecy of Isaiah (11, 1-10), the fresco depicts the Virgin, placed just below the Son, as his direct predecessor, depicted as orant, with a clear allusion to the Annunciation, which is also underlined by the figure of the angel in flight on the left.

The historical role of Mary *Sancta Dei genetrix*, is a subject that seems to lend itself to a play of references and allusions to the pious patron of the church, Mary of Hungary. Evidence of this is her funeral monument (fig. 17), whose inscription celebrates the roles of the deceased, *daughter of Stephen, widow of Charles II* and *mother of Robert.*[39] The tomb chest also has the effigies of her sons, three of whom have a prominent place in the centre, her eldest son Charles Martel, destined for the throne of Hungary, the Franciscan St Louis, who was canonised in 1317, and Robert the Wise, King of Naples from 1309. Queen Mary's sons were prominent members of the *Beata Stirps,* which was constantly exalted by the Angevins of Naples, and this can also be seen in the *Last Judgement* on the counter-façade of Donnaregina (fig. 2), where among the Blessed, the royal characters, dressed for court have been identified, with several arbitrary chronological interpretations, as some members of the royal family.[40] More realistically speaking, the crowned female figures in nuns' clothes could well represent Saint Elizabeth and other blessed and saints, members of the branches of the royal families of Bohemia and of Hungary, like Kunigunde and her sister Yolanda, Margaret, Edwige and Agnes, some of whom, as we can see, are also authoritatively present in the fresco by Simone Martini located in the mother church of the Franciscan Order in Assisi.[41] United by their princely origin, by the practice of chastity in marriage and by the care of the poor, after the death of their husbands, these women took their vows as Poor Clares or Dominicans. They went into the convents they had usually founded and in fact were the reference models for Mary of Hungary. The Franciscan friar François de Meyronnes also points out, in his sermon for the canonisation of Louis: "[…] *fuit de genere sanctorum ex parte matris, nam mater sua Maria Ungariae fuit de stirpe sanctorum Stephani, Ladislai, et Emerici Ungarorum regum, qui Stephanus fuit primus rex Christianus in regno illo, et novissime nulla mulier de alio sanguine regio fuit canonizata nisi sancta Elisabeth de cuius stirpe mater beati Lodovici fuit*".[42] A royal and "Hungarian" holiness thus transmitted *ex parte matris*.

In this sense, the decorative programme of the church could further strengthen the ties between Elizabeth of Thuringia and Mary of Hungary who, we should remember, were related, since the saint was the Queen's great-aunt.

In the Elizabethan cycle painted on the right hand wall of the choir, which I have been able to study,[43] there is one detail, which I find surprising. There is a baby cot (fig. 18), which is a very clear symbol of the princess's motherhood. It is a powerful image, particularly since it is placed in the choir area, which is only accessible to the nuns in *clausura*, for whom marriage and motherhood were not contemplated, except for in the life they led before entering the monastery. Elizabeth herself is an example, since she gave birth to three children despite her irrepressible desire, inspired by Francis of Assisi, to devote herself entirely to the care of the poor.

The pictorial programme of Donnaregina and the Marian themes in the theology of St Bonaventura

But what could these images mean for the nuns of Donnaregina? The frescoes on the walls of the choir depicting the stories of the "ancient" martyrs Agnes and Catherine and those of a contemporary Franciscan saint, Elizabeth of Thuringia, showed *exempla* of women's lives consecrated to Christ, who is the undisputed main character in the first 3 registers of the right hand wall.[44] St Bonaventure is the one who in *De Perfectione vitae ad sorores* traces the outline of religious female perfection for the recipient of his text, an abbess, who was more than likely to be the blessed Isabella of France, the sister of Luigi IX, head of the Franciscan family of the *Minoresse* and founder of the monastery of Longchamp.[45] There emerges forcefully the exhortation addressed to the abbess and to the nuns to become the "brides" of Christ, imitating his virtues of humility, poverty, charity, virginity, and above all nurturing their devotion with the *Memory of his Passion* so that at the end of earthly life they may celebrate their wedding with the Bridegroom Jesus Christ, who in the Song of Songs says: "*Veni de Libano, sponsa mea, amica mea, veni de Libano, veni coronaberis. Surge ergo, amica Dei, Sponsa Iesu Christi, columba Regis aeterni veni, propera ad nuptias Fili Dei, quia tota caelestis curia te exspectat, quia omnia sunt parata*".[46] The nuns are thus identified with the *Sponsa* of the Song, also seen here as the personification of the soul of the believer, who as a reward in Heaven, receives the Vision of God. Above all the *Sponsa*, in Bonaventurian theology, is always identified as the Virgin Mary, who is understood to be the personification of the perfect *sequela Christi* and the one who, having generated Christ, in

14 *Annunciation*, Tret'jakov Gallery, Moscow, 11th c. (from: Velmans, 2013, fig. 135)

15 Detail of fig. 3 (*The Church*, 2004, fig. 78)

16 *The tree of Jesse*, Cathedral of Naples, St Paul chapel, c. 1320 (© Archivio Luciano Pedicini, Napoli)

17 Tino di Camaino, Mary of Hungary's tomb, St Maria Donnaregina, Naples, 1326, chest, detail (photo: S. Paone)

18 *Stories of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, Louis and Elisabeth with their son in the baby's cot*, St Maria Donnaregina, Naples, nuns' choir, right wall, detail (photo: S. Paone)
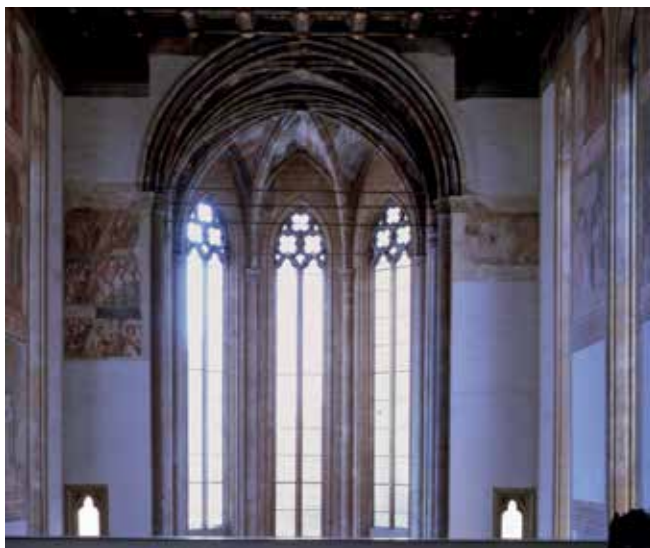
19 St Maria Donnaregina, Naples, view of the apse from the choir (photo: S. Paone)

20 Jacopo Torriti, *Coronation of the Virgi*n, St Maria Maggiore, Rome, 1295, apse, detail (photo: A. Tomei)

the Calvary, generates Christians.[47] Through the mediation of the Virgin Mary and by following her model,[48] it is possible to reach Salvation because she was the one to have suffered with the Son and was the first to be glorified.

If the suffering of the Virgin Mary is well illustrated in the *Christological Stories* on the right hand wall of the choir, where the Mother accompanies the Son along the various stages of his Calvary,[49] her glorification may have been placed on the top of the triumphal arch (fig. 19). In fact on the left, some excerpts with angelic choirs are still legible: one can recognize the *Seraphims* and the *Thrones*, the *Virtues* and the *Dominations*, and the *Principalities* with the three *Archangels*.

In contrast with what has been stated by scholars, who have generally suggested that there was the image of *Christ enthroned with ranks of angels* in relationship with the *Last Judgement*[50] and facing it, I consider it more likely that on the top of the arch, above the sixteenth century ceiling, there was another image of Mary, the *Assumption* and/or the *Coronation*. My hypothesis is supported by valid visual references, for example the apse mosaic of the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, made by Jacopo Torriti in around 1296 (fig. 20), commissioned by the Franciscan Pope Niccolò IV[51] and the frescos by Cimabue in the apse of the upper church of St. Francis of Assisi of the same period.[52] In Rome, Christ and the Virgin Mary sit on the same throne surrounded by the nine choirs of angels, depicted at the moment when the Son crowns his Mother, in close relationship with the *Dormitio Virginis* below. In Assisi too, the panel with Christ and the Virgin Mary on the *synthronon* is preceded by the episodes of the *Dormitio* and of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary among the angels. These authoritative contexts are in fact an initial figurative reflection on the theological dispute concerning a controversial and much debated topic in the 13th century, that of the Assumption in body and soul of the Virgin Mary. According to the Scholastic theologians' new definition of the role of Mary, the moment of the enthronement on the right of the Son is in fact preceded by her Assumption to heaven above all the choirs of angels.[53] It is therefore possible that these fragments on the arch of the apse of the Clarissan church were also around a central image of the *Regina Coeli*, who may have been placed next to the Son, with the aim of underlining the exceptional qualities of Mary, also in light of her intense intercessory activities before God. This is also indirectly suggested by the name of the church, Donnaregina, which cannot only refer to the founder, Queen Mary,[54] but it is more likely to also be a name for the Virgin of the Assumption, to whom the foundation was in fact dedicated.

The theological basis is also found in the doctrine of Bonaventure, precise references that may be possible text sources used by the Franciscan *concepteur* of the pictorial programme of Donnaregina.[55] In the *Collations on the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit* and in other speculative texts and then in the *Sermons*, in particular in the ones dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin, *Doctor Seraphicus* describes in great detail the individual moments of the Privilege of Maria from: "*Primus ergo honor est obviatio summi Regis. Omnino enim credendum est et nullatenus dubitandum, quin hodie solemni processione obviatum sit Virginis ascendenti non solum a Rege, verum etiam a tota curia Caelesti. - Praevolant Angeli videre dominam suam; desiliunt Patriarchae videre filiam suam; occurrunt Apostoli videre magistra suam; accelerant Martyres videre exhortatricem suam; irruunt maritatae et viduae aspicere sociam et sororem suam [...]*"[56] to the *inthronizatio* on the seat of honour, next to the Son: "*Et sedit ad dexteram eius. Hic est quartus honor: immediata locatio circa Regem. Et sunt ad hoc tres rationes: prima est immediatio amoris cordis ad cor. Sicut enim nihil fuit medium inter cor Virginis et Deum, ita nihil medium inter thronum et thronum*".[57]

Placed at the top of the counter-facade and of the apse, the *Apocalyptic Mulier* and the *Regina Coeli* faced each other, symbolising on one hand the Incarnation of the Word and on the other hand the Assumption in body and soul of the Virgin Mary, a magnificent visual rendering of the *incipit* of the sixth sermon of Bonaventura: "*Signum magnum apparuit in caelo: Mulier amicta sole, et luna sub pedibus eius, et in capite eius corona stellarum duodecim, Apocalypsis duodecimo. Si caelum sumatur pro Ecclesia Triumphante, tunc est thema de assumtione beata Virginis; si autem de Ecclesia militante tunc est thema de Nativitate eiusdem*".[58]

1   Considering the dates 1316 and 1318 of two decrees issued by John XXII in Avignone as possible *post quem*. The first decree concerns granting indulgence to visitors to the church and the second one concerns the authorisation of the increase in the number of friars for the liturgical functions. It follows that at least the construction of the church was already finished. One also has to take into account that the oldest date found on one of the tombs originally in the church is 1319, C. D'ENGENIO CARACCIOLO, *Napoli sacra*, Napoli, Monleviero, 1623, pp. 170-171. Regarding these and other documents see: P. LEONE DE CASTRIS, *Pietro Cavallini. Napoli prima di Giotto*, Napoli, Arte'm, 2013, p. 116 and the recent analysis by M. GAGLIONE, *Dai primordi del francescanesimo femminile a Napoli fino agli Statuti per il monastero di S. Chiara*, in *La chiesa e il convento di Santa Chiara. Committenza artistica, vita religiosa e progettualità politica nella Napoli di Roberto d'Angiò e Sancia di Maiorca*, F. ACETO-S. D'OVIDIO-E. SCIROCCO (eds.), Battipaglia, Laveglia & Carlone, 2014, pp. 31-49.

2   F. BISOGNI, "La visione della donna e del drago nei cicli monumentali dell'Apocalisse nel Trecento in Italia", in: *Maria, l'Apocalisse e il Medioevo*, Atti del III convegno Mariologico della Fondazione Ezio Franceschini (Parma 10- 11 maggio 2002), C.M. PIASTRA (ed.), Firenze 2006, pp. 115- 145.

3   Y. CHRISTE, *L'Apocalypse de Jean: sens et développements de ses visions synthétiques*, Paris, Picard, 1996, pp. 101-122, *passim*.

4   *Ibid.*, pp. 101-102, 108-112, *passim*.

5   Y. CHRISTE, "La femme d'Ap. 12 dans l'iconographie des XIe - XIIIe siècles", in: *Maria, l'Apocalisse e il Medioevo*, *op. cit.,* 2006, pp. 91-114; A. VALENTINI, "La Donna dell'Apocalisse e la sua simbologia", in: *ibid,* pp. 1-27; F. BISOGNI, "L'iconografia mariana nei secoli XI-XII", in: *Figure poetiche e figure teologiche nella mariologia dei secoli XI e XII, A*tti del II Convegno Mariologico della Fondazione Ezio Franceschini (Parma, 19-20 maggio 2000), C.M. PIASTRA, (ed.), Firenze, Sismel Ed. del Galluzzo 2004. pp. 31-43.

6   Y. CHRISTE, *op. cit.*, 1996, pp. 121-122; Idem, *Il giudizio universale nell'arte del medioevo*, Milano, Jaca Book, 2000, p. 304.

7   J. WILLIAMS, *The illustrated Beatus: a corpus of the illustrations of the commentary on the Apocalypse,* London, Miller, 1994-2003.

8   *Ibid.*, vol. II, 1994, pp. 51-64.

9   A. VALENTINI, *op. cit.*, 2006, pp. 27-33.

10   A little earlier in the sculpted versions of the *Last Judgement* on the portals of the gothic cathedrals in France, in which there are some of the characteristics that we will see in Donnaregina, that is, Christ the Judge with the signs of the Passion, the Blessed and the Damned, or the twenty-four Elders transformed into the two rows of Apostles and Prophets, see Y. CHRISTE, *op.cit.*, 2000, *passim*.

11   The manuscript is divided between Oxford (Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 270b), Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 11560) and London (British Library, MS Harley 1526-1527), J. LOWDEN, *The making of the Bibles Moralisées*, University Park, Pa., Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000, vol. I *The manuscripts*, pp. 139-187.

12   S. LEWIS, "Exegesis and illustration in the Thirteenth-Century English Apocalypses", in: *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, R.K EMMERSON-B. MCGINN (eds.), Ithaca u.a., Cornell University Press, 1992, pp. 259-275; R.K. EMMERSON, "The Apocalypse in the Medieval Culture", in: *ibid*, pp. 322-325; E. SIMI VARANELLI, *Maria l'Immacolata. La rappresentazione nel Medioevo. Et macula non est in te*, Roma, De Luca, 2008, pp. 69-74.

13   Y. CHRISTE, *op. cit.*, 2000, pp. 342-344; for ivory in Metropolitan Museum see, C.T. LITTLE, "no. 9", in: *Images in ivory. Precious objects of the Gothic Age*, Exhibition catalogue (Detroit-Baltimore, 1997), P. BARNET (ed.), Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1997, pp. 130-131.

14   For the transcription of the execution of the Mary's testament, C. MINIERI RICCIO, *Saggio di codice diplomatico formato sulle antiche scritture dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli. Supplemento, parte seconda,* Napoli, F. Furchheim, 1883, pp. 101-128. For an interesting commentary, V. LUCHERINI, "Il "testamento" di Maria d'Ungheria a Napoli: un esempio di acculturazione regale", in: *Images and words in exile. Avignon and Italy during the first half of the 14th century*, E. BRILLI-L. FENELLI-G. WOLF (eds.), Firenze, Sismel- Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015, pp. 433-450.

15   Queen Mary commissioned Ramon Feraut, the troubadour, with the translation from Latin to Provencal of the *Life of Andronico Árpád*, the son of the king of Hungary and canonised as Honoured of Lerins. The historical records provide some information regarding the task taken on by Mary to educate her children and grandchildren. In particular for Clementia, the daughter of the defunct Charles Martel, we know that the queen used texts compiled in Latin and in French, writings

on politics, theology and law, an *moralised Ovid* and a *hebrew almanac*, M. GAGLIONE, *Donne e potere a Napoli: le sovrane angioine; consorti, vicarie e regnanti (1266 - 1442)*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2009, pp. 73-103: 80-83.

16 Regarding this fresco see A. TOMEI, "I pannelli dell'Apocalisse di Stoccarda e altre visioni angioine", in: *Ikon*, vol. 6, 2013, pp. 65-78.

17 In 1864 De Pompeis mentions "[…] certi piccoli quadri che si osservano in più luoghi nella parte molto bassa delle pareti […] dei quali ti stupisce la delicatezza dei volti della Vergine e di altri Santi", G.M. DE POMPEIS, *Di alcuni dipinti, lavorati a fresco nell'antica chiesa di Santa Maria di Donnaregina*, [S.l.], 1864, p. 226 and a few decades later, in 1899, Bertaux states that in the church "di sotto, i muri laterali erano ricoperti di stemmi […] che segnavano il posto delle cappelle gentilizie addossate ai pilieri"; É. BERTAUX, *Santa Maria di Donna Regina e l'arte senese a Napoli nel secolo XIV*, Napoli, Giannini, 1899, p. 37.

18 S. PAONE, "Gli affreschi di Santa Maria Donnaregina Vecchia: percorsi stilistici nella Napoli angioina", in: *Arte medievale*, vol. 3, 2005, 1, *passim*.

19 The bibliography on the Marian icons is vast; on the Madonna Platytéra see: A.WEIS, *Die Madonna Platytera. Entwurf für ein Christentum als Bildoffenbarung anhand der Geschichte eines Madonnenthemas*, Königstein im Taunus, Köster, 1985 (with earlier references).

20 C. CECCHELLI, *Mater Christi*, vol. I, Roma, Ferrari, 1946, p. 214. According to Ebersolt, however, in the Blacherne complex, the *Platytera* was venerated in the church and the *Episkepsis* was venerated in the domed building, J. EBERSOLT, *Sanctuaires de Byzance: recherches sur les anciens trésors des églises de Constantinople*, Paris, Leroux, 1921, pp. 50-51.

21 For the *histanménon* of Zoe and Theodora see, *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843-1261*, H. EVANS-WD. WIXOM (eds.), New York, 1997, no. 147 G, pp. 213-216; for the marble icon in Venice, G. GENTILE, scheda no.76 in: *Deomene. L'immagine dell'orante fra Oriente e Occidente* (Ravenna National Museum, 25 March – 24 June 2001) A. DONATI (ed.), Milano, Electa, 2001, p. 219; for the Great Panagia in the Moscow Gallery, T. VELMANS, *L'arte dell'icona: storia, stile, iconografia dal V al XV secolo*, Milano, Jaca Book, 2013, p. 308, fig. 224 (with a date 1224); regarding the frescos of St. Saviour in Chora see: A. KARAHAN, *Byzantine holy images - transcendence and immanence: the theological background of the iconography and aesthetics of the Chora Church*, Leuven (u.a.) Peeters (u.a.), 2010, pp. 247-253, passim; for the icon of the Sinai, C. BALTOYANNI, "The Mother of God in Portable Icons", in *Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art* (Benaki Museum, 20 October 2000-20 January 2001), M. VASSILAKI (ed.), Milan, Skira, 2000, pp. 139-141.

22 Regarding this topic cfr. N.P. KONDAKOV, *Iconografia della Madre di Dio*, I. FOLETTI (ed.), Roma, Viella, 2014, pp. 94-127, 183ss, 291-303, 305-323, *passim*; S. PASI, "Deomene. La Vergine Orante nella cultura artistica bizantina", in: *Deomene.*, *op. cit*, 2001, pp. 26-32; for the marble icons with the same subject A. PARIBENI, "La Vergine e l'acqua: le icone in marmo dell'Orante nel contesto dei santuari mariani di Costantinopoli", *ivi*, pp. 40-43.

23 The version with the Madonna holding an almond shape of light with the Child as a full figure, can also be seen in some Western contexts; the oldest examples include the fresco of the beginning of the 8th century with the *Virgins and Saints* in the narthex of Santa Sabina in Rome and the one representing the *Three Mothers* in Santa Maria Antiqua of the middle of the same century M. GIANANDREA, "Il nartece nei secoli altomedievali", in: I. FOLETTI-M. GIANANDREA, *Zona liminare. Il nartece di Santa Sabina a Roma, la sua porta e l'iniziazione cristiana*, Roma, Viella, 2015, pp. 201-216, note 13, 15.

24 S. PASI, *op. cit*, 2001, pp. 28-29.

25 This composition is very common in the Byzantine churches, including St Sophie in Kiev (Ucraine); St Panteleimon in Nerezi, 12th c. (Republic of Macedonia); Novgorod; Panagia ton Chalkeon in Thessaloniki, 11th and church of the Néa Moni on Chios, 11th c. (Greek); St Nicholas of the roof at Kakopetria, 11[th]c; Panagia of Trikomo, 12[th]c.; Panagia Phorbiotissa at Asinou, 14th c., (Cyprus); cfr: A. NICOLAÏDES, "La peinture monumentale byzantine en Chypre du Xe au XIIe siècle", in: *Chypre, entre Byzance et l'Occident*, exhibition catalogue (Paris, Louvre Museum, 2013), J. DURAND-D. GIOVANNONI (eds.), Paris, Louvre Éd., 2013, pp. 112-123; *Asinou across time: studies in the architecture and murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus*, A. WEIL CARR-A. NICOLAÏDES (eds.), Washington, D.C. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2012, pp. 2011-233. Among the later frescos, one should remember the frescos with the *Vergine orant* in the *prosthesis* of the church of St Herakleidios in Kalopanagiotes painted before 1453, and in the apse of the church of St Saviour in Paleochorio in around 1466, and also the *Madonna Platytera* between *the Archangels* in the apse of the church of Archangel Michael in Pedoulas of 1474-1475 about these episodes, A. and J.A. STYLIANOU, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, Stourbridge,

Mark and Moody Ltd., 1964, pp. 142-147; A. PAPAGEŌRGIU, *Masterpieces of the Byzantine art of Cyprus Nicosia*, Department of Antiquities, 1965, tavv. I, XI, XXII, XXXVI; M. EMMANUEL, "Monumental painting in Cyprus during the Last Phase of the Lusignan Dynasty, 1374-1489", in: *Medieval Cyprus. Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, N. PATTERSON ŠEVČENKO-C. MOSS (eds.), Princeton University Press, 1999, pp. 241-262.

26   D. MOURIKI, "The wall paintings of the church of the Panagia at Moutoullas, Cyprus", in: *Byzanz und der Westen. Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters*, I. Hutter, (ed.) 1984, pp. 171-213; T. VELMANS, "Les fresques de Saint-Nicolas Orphanos à Salonique et les rapports entre la peinture d'icones et la décoration monumentale au XIVe siècle", in: *Cahiers archéologiques*, 16, 1966, pp. 145-176; E. TSIGARIDAS, "The Mother of God in Wall-Paintings, in: *The Mother of God, op. cit.*, 2000, pp. 125-137: 125-129.

27   This includes the topic of the *Synaxis* of the Archangels, which is celebrated in the Byzantine world on 8th November for Michael and all the heavenly powers, and on 26th March for Gabriel. It is generally illustrated by the Archangels next to each other, who are holding a medallion with the bust or head of the Child, which highlights the contamination with the Marian typologies of the *Platytera* and of the *Nikopeia*. The icon of the 13th century from Bačkovo (Sofia, Art Gallery) is in this sense emblematic, since in fact the medallion contains the bust of the *Virgin Platytera*, T. VELMANS, *op. cit*, 2013, p. 293, fig. 214.

28   This subject has been dealt with by M. LIDOVA, "Le guardie celesti della Madre di Dio: 'Maria tra gli angeli' nella prima arte bizantina", in: *Fra Oriente e Occidente. Donne e Bibbia nell'alto medioevo (secoli VI-XI): greci, latini, ebrei, arabi*, F.E. CONSOLINO-J. HERRIN (eds.), Trapani, Il pozzo di Giacobbe, 2015, pp. 105-135.

29   This is a rare Western example, dating 1200, of a Byzantine fresco with the *Madonna with the Child enthroned between the Archangels* which is located in the apse of the crypt of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Poggiardo (Museum of Byzantine frescos) although the lack of the usual characteristics of the Archangels leaves one to suppose that they are simply angels. Regarding this fresco see: M. FALLA, *Pittura monumentale bizantina in Puglia*, Milano, Electa, 1991, pp. 111-113, fig. 100. A similar topic with *Virgin Hodighitria* between the *Angels* (or *Archangels*) is located also in Olevano sul Tusciano (chapel 2) of the 9th century and in the apse of Santa Maria della Sperlonga in Palamonte (SA) of the 11th century, M.R. MARCHIONIBUS, *Icone in Campania: aspetti iconologici, liturgici e semantici,* Spoleto, 2011, pp. 59, 63, 65, figg. 15-16.

30   A. and J.A. STYLIANOU, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-31, 70-93; B. FLUSIN, "Chypre chrétienne à la période protobyzantine", in: *Chypre, entre Byzance et l'Occident*, Exhibition catalogue (Paris, Louvre Museum, 2013), J. DURAND-D. GIOVANNONI (eds.), Paris, Louvre Éd., 2013, pp. 20-27; A. NICOLAÏDES, *op. cit.*, 2013, pp. 112-123.

31   M. GAGLIONE, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

32   A hypothesis also put forward by Bertaux (*op. cit.*, 1899, p. 97) and Chierici (G. CHIERICI, *Il restauro della chiesa di S. Maria di Donnaregina a Napoli,* Napoli Banca di Napoli, 1934 p. 86).

33   Apart from the Majesty attributed to Montano of Arezzo in the Abbey of Montevergine dear to the Angevins, one can also mention, among the Marian icons, dated between 13th and the 14th century, the so-called *Santa Maria de Flumine* (Naples, Museo di Capodimonte), the Maestà already in the church of San Lorenzo Maggiore in Naples and the *Madonna allattante di San Guglielmo* in the Museum of the abbey of Montevergine. Concerning these works, influenced by the new instances of gothic art, but still marked by a Byzantine style, recognized by scholars to varying degrees, most recently, see: W. ANGELELLI, "La Maestà di Montano d'Arezzo a Montevergine e la pittura su tavola dei secoli XIII e XIV", in: *La Maestà di Montevergine. Storia e Restauro*, Atti del Convegno di studio (Mercogliano, Abbazia di Loreto, 7-8 giugno 2013), F. GANDOLFO-G. MUOLLO (eds.), Roma, Artemide, 2014, pp. 85-106.

34   There is a very interesting passage in the testament of 1340 of Count Philip Sangineto, seneschal of Provence in the years of Robert d'Anjou and promoter of the rebuilding of the church of Santa Maria della Consolazione in Altomonte, in the heart of his Calabrian domain. He provides a rich endowment for the church, including two temperas on panel, specifically two Marian icons "[…] Item una Cune de fuste Beatae Mariae Virginis, quae facta fuit in civitate Florentiae. Item alia Cuna parva cum figura Beatae Mariae de opere Graeciae, in cuius circuitu sunt multae reliquiae Sanctorum." The testator therefore, with a good degree of *ante litteram* awareness, distinguishes what one might be tempted to call gothic and Western icons, from Byzantine icons, or icons made the *maniera greca*; regarding this specific topic see: S. PAONE, *Santa Maria della Consolazione ad Altomonte. Un cantiere gotico in Calabria*, Roma, Gangemi Editore, 2014, pp. 66-68.

35   For an interesting example: M: BACCI, "Tra Pisa e Cipro: la committenza artistica di Giovanni Conti", in: *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, 4.Ser. 5.2000(2002), 2, pp. 343-386.

36   For this topic, see, among others: A. GRABAR, *Le vie dell'Iconografia cristiana. Antichità e Medioevo*, Italian edition M. DELLA VALLE (ed.), Milano, Jaca Book, 2011, pp. 80-81 131-136; Pasi, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28; on the icon of Novgorod see: T. VELMANS, *op. cit.*, 2013, p. 191, fig. 135.

37   É. BERTAUX, *op. cit.,* 1899, p. 37; M.T. GALLINO, *La Chiesa di Donna Regina*, pp. 339-340.

38   S. PAONE, *op. cit.*, 2007, pp. 94-95, *passim*; C. D'ALBERTO, "Arte come strumento di propaganda: il mosaico di Santa Maria del Principio nel duomo di Napoli", in: *Arte medievale*, N.S. 7, 2008, 1, pp. 105-123; IDEM, "La Madonna del principio in Santa Restituta. Il culto eziologico della nuova cattedrale angioina", in: G. CORSO-A. CUCCARO-C. D'ALBERTO, *La basilica di Santa Restituta a Napoli e il suo arredo medievale*, Pescara, Edizioni Zip, 2012, pp. 143- 173.

39   The inscription states: "HIC REQUIESCIT SANCTE MEMORIE EXCELLENTISSIMA DOMINA DOMINA MARIA DEI GRATIA IERUSALEM SICILIE HUNGARIEQUE REGINA MAGNIFICI/ PRINCIPIS QUONDAM STEFANI DEI GRATIA REGIS HUNGARIE FILIA AC RELICTA CLARE MEMORIE INCLITI PRINCIPIS DOMINI KAROLI SECUNDI/ ET MATER SERENISSIMI PRINCIPIS ET DOMINI DOMINI ROBERTI EADEM GRATIA DEI DICTORUM REGNORUM IERUSALEM SICILE REGUM ILLUSTRIUM QUE OBIIT ANNO DOMINI MCCCXXIII INDICTIONE VI DIE XXV MENSIS MARTII CUIUS ANIMA REQUIESCAT IN PACE AMEN". Regarding the monument see, T. MICHALSKY, "Mater serenissimi principis: the tomb of Maria of Hungary", in: *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina. Art, Iconography, and Patronage in Fourteenth-Century Naples*, J. ELLIOTT-C. WARR (eds.), Aldershot, Ashgate, 2004, pp. 61-77.

40   É. Bertaux tried to propose the identification with members of the house of Anjou: Philip of Taranto (d. 1332) with his wife Catherine II of Valois (d. 1346), Charles II (d. 1309) and then Charles of Calabria (d. 1328) with his second wife Mary of Valois (d. 1331). The crowned female figure in the next group is probably on the other hand, Queen Mary of Hungary (d. 1323), preceded by her daughter-in-law Violante of Aragona (d. 1302), Robert of Angiò's first wife and her sister Elisabeth, abbess of the Dominican convent of San Pietro a Castello; É. BERTAUX, *op. cit.*, 1899, pp. 60-62. Despite the fact that the figures were already without inscriptions, the hypothesis of the French scholar were accepted by Ferdinando Bologna (*I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli, 1266 - 1414, e un riesame dell'arte nell'età fridericiana,* Roma, Ugo Bozzi editore, 1969, pp. 115-138) and by later scholars. I have already mentioned that the identifications are not easy to support because they would date the frescos after 1346, which is too late to justify their style; S. PAONE, *op. cit.,* 2004, pp. 89-91, *passim*. On the other hand, the hypothesis of recognising Mary of Hungary and her son Charles Martel (d. 1297) among the blessed, proposed by Elliott (J. ELLIOTT, "The "Last Judgement": the cult of sacral kingship and dynastic hopes for the afterlife", in: *The Church, op. cit.*, 2004, pp. 184-189) is more acceptable, although hindered by the presence of the halos.

41   A.S. HOCH, "Beata Stirps, royal patronage and the identification of the Sainted Rulers in the St. Elizabeth Chapel at Assisi", in: *Art History*, 15, 1992, 3, pp. 279-295

42   *Ibid.*, p. 295, nota 55.

43   S. PAONE, "Le Storie di santa Elisabetta d'Ungheria, in Santa Maria Donnaregina, tra temi apocalittici e genealogici 'al femminile'", (A. BERTINI-C. DI CERBO-S. PAONE, "Filia sanctae Elisabectae: la committenza di Maria d'Ungheria nella chiesa clariana di Donnaregina a Napoli"), *in press.*

44   Regarding these cicles cfr. C. A. FLECK, "To exercise yourself in these things by continued contemplation" : visual and textual literacy in the frescoes at Santa Maria Donna Regina, in: *The Church, op. cit.,* 2004, pp. 109-128; A. S. HOCH, "The "Passion" cycle : images to contemplate and imitate amid Clarissan "clausura", in: *The Church, op. cit.*, 2004, pp. 129-153;

45   *S. Bonaventurae. Opera Omnia*, Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), ex typographi Collegii s. Bonaventurae, vol. VIII, 1898, *De perfectione vitae ad sorores*, pp. 107-127

46   *Ibid.*, pp. 125b-126a.

47   "*Et potest intelligi hic, quod totus populus christianus de utero Virginis gloriosae sit productus*", *Ibid.*, vol. V, 1891, *Collationes de septem donis Spiritus sancti*, p. 487a.

48   "*Omnis, qui vult esse sanctus, debet sequi Virginem gloriosam in sanctitate pudicitiae incorrupte, obedientiae promptae et benevolentiae plenae*", *Ibid.*, p. 485b.

49   The *Meditations on the Life of Christ* may be the textual source of the Stories of the Passion in Donnaregina, also considering that the Queen owned a version in 'French'; C.A. FLECK, *op. cit.*, 2004, pp. 109-128; H. YAKOU, *"*Contemplating angels and the "Madonna of the Apocalypse"", in: *Ibid.,* 2004, p. 98.

50   B. BRUDERER EICHBERG, *Les neuf choeurs angéliques: origine et évolution du thème dans l'art du Moyen Age*, Poitiers, Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, 1998, p. 3, passim; H. YAKOU, *op. cit.*, 2004, pp. 99-102; S. KELLY,

"Religious patronage and royal propaganda in Angevin Naples: Santa Maria Donna Regina in context", in: *The church*, *op. cit.*, 2004, p. 124.

51   A. TOMEI, *Iacobus Torriti pictor: una vicenda figurativa del tardo Duecento romano*, Roma, Argos, 1990, pp. 99-130.

52   L. BELLOSI, *Cimabue*, Milinao 1998, pp. 207-213; A. MONCIATTI, in: *La basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi*, G. BONSANTI (ed.), Modena Panini, 2002, pp.

53   A. GHINATO, "Maria SS.MA Assunta in cielo nella dottrina di s. Bonaventura", in: *I privilegi di Maria Ss. in s. Bonaventura*. Atti del VI incontro al Cenacolo bonaventuriano (Montecalvo Irpino, 27-30 settembre 1965), Montecalvo Irpino, Oasi Maria Immacolata, 1966, pp. 82-99; B. BRUDERER EICHBERG, "Le gerarchie degli Angeli nel Medioevo: rapporti tra teologia e iconografia", in: *Le ali di Dio messaggeri e guerrieri alati tra Oriente e Occidente*, M. BUSSAGLI-M. D'ONOFRIO (eds.), Cinisello Balsamo, Silvana Editoriale, 2000, p. 43.

54   Mary of Hungary's attachment to the Clarissan community must have immediately suggested allusions to the name of the church and to the client's title of Queen. In fact, the hypothesis of an original collocation of her funerary monument in the apse area, instead of where it is now, by the left wall between the apse and the choir (G. CHIERICI, *op. cit.*, 1934, pp. 136-138), could be interpreted as a sort of triumph of female spirituality, and in particular of the Queen as client, to which one could effectively match the fresco with the Assumption or the Crowning of the Virgin on the apse arch.

55   Regarding possible textual sources used for the decorative programme of Donnaregina and for reference to other writings by Bonaventura, see H. YAKOU, *op. cit.*, 2004, pp. 100-105 e di C. FLECK, *op. cit.*, 2004, pp. 109-128.

56   *S. Bonaventurae. Opera Omnia*, Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), ex typographi Collegii s. Bonaventurae, vol. IX, 1901, *De Assumtione B. Virginis Mariae*, Sermo III, p. 693b

57   *S. Bonaventurae. Opera Omnia*, Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), ex typographi Collegii s. Bonaventurae, vol. IX, 1901, *De Assumtione B. Virginis Mariae*, Sermo III, p. 693b

58   *Ibid.*, Sermo VI, p. 700b.

Stefania Paone

Apokalipsa i majčinstvo
***Mulier amicta sole* u crkvi Sante Marie Donnaregine u Napulju**

Crkva klarisa Santa Maria Donnaregina ukrašena je pod pokroviteljstvom kraljice Marije Anžuvinske, žene Karla II., tijekom ranih godina 14. stoljeća. Ciklus fresaka uključuje *Posljednji sud* u koru časnih sestara, *Mulier amicta sole* na unutarnjem zidu pročelja, scene iz *Života svetih Katarine i Agneze* na sjevernom zidu i scene *Isusove pasije* i *Života svete Elizabete Ugarske* na južnom zidu. U ovome se radu raspravlja o neuobičajenoj verziji prikaza *Mulier amicta sole,* u kojemu se kombinira prikaz „Žene s dvanaest zvijezda iznad njene glave i mjeseca ispod njenih stopala", kako je opisan u knjizi Apokalipse, sa specifičnim tipom ikone istočnog podrijetla - Bogorodica Platytera - prikazane u tipičnoj gesti moliteljice s likom Djeteta u medaljonu kojega nosi na prsima. Ovaj prikaz „apokaliptične žene" simbolizira Bezgrešno začeće Marijino, temu burne rasprave među teolozima predvođenim franjevcem svetim Bonaventurom. Iz perspektive roda, tema božanske genealogije *Muliere* neizravno prenosi kraljevsku genealogiju, koju začinje kraljica, što potvrđuje natpis na grobu Marije Anžuvinske, koji slavi Kraljicu kao kćer, udovicu i majku kraljeva dok na prednjem dijelu grobnog sanduka prikazuje njene brojne sinove.

Prijevod s engleskoga: Stella Baki