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Ingrid Ciulisová & Martin Henig

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An Imperial Portrait Cameo of Antonia Minor in a 14th-Century Reliquary Cross in Prague

INGRID CIULISOVÁ AND MARTIN HENIG

The present study explores a little-studied and reinterpreted early Roman Imperial cameo depicting Antonia Minor (36 BC–AD 37), which came into the possession of the Holy Roman emperor, Charles IV of Luxembourg (1316–78), a collector of ancient gems. It was presumably by his order that the ancient cameo was set in a splendid gold reliquary cross which he commissioned after his imperial coronation to house relics of the True Cross. Thus, in the new setting, the cameo could be perceived as the divine Antonia Minor; Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, who allegedly discovered the True Cross; or Saint Catherine, Charles' heavenly protectress. The cross is today preserved in the Treasury of Saint Vitus Cathedral, Prague.

KEYWORDS: Antonia Minor, Helena, Saint Catherine, Charles IV of Luxembourg, portrait cameo, Roman Empire, cross, Prague

ONE of the objects traditionally associated with Charles IV (1316–78), king of Bohemia (1346–78) and Holy Roman emperor (1355–78), is the magnificent, jewelled reliquary cross today preserved in the Treasury of Saint Vitus Cathedral in Prague (Fig. 1).¹ The 14th-century inventories of the treasury do not tell us anything about this object, but at the beginning of the 16th century the cross was documented at Karlstein Castle near Prague, leaving this place only on special occasions, such as for the coronations of Bohemian rulers. For this reason, the cross is today called the 'Coronation Cross of Bohemia'.² Although this object has been studied since the end of the 19th century,³ little attention has been paid to a collection of nine cameos incorporated into the reverse of the cross.⁴ Three cameos of this collection are Byzantine and show the Crucifixion (onyx, 12th–13th century), the Archangel Michael (chalcedony, 12th century) and a figure of Christ blessing (sardonyx, 13th century). Four gems are then western medieval, with another Christ blessing (amethyst, 13th century), a facing male bust (sapphire, 13th century), two standing rulers (agate, 12th century) and a cameo depicting Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, Holy Roman emperor (sardonyx, after 1220). Finally, there are two magnificent Roman imperial pieces in sardonyx. Scholars assume that one of these represents Alexander the Great, but it may well be an idealised portrait of Claudius created during his reign.⁵ The second, mounted on the shaft below the cross-bar, is the portrait cameo of an imperial Roman lady to which the present study is dedicated (Fig. 2).



FIG. 1. Coronation cross, reverse side, presumably 13th century, remodelled in the late 1350s or the beginning of 1360s, with a new base made of gilded copper and added in the 1520s. Gold, pearls, precious stones, rock crystal, glass, cameos, relics; 625 × 415 mm. The Treasury of Saint Vitus Cathedral, Prague

Photo © Prague Castle Administration/Jan Gloc

In 1965 Jiří Frel published a catalogue entry on this piece and since then the gem has been classified as a cameo depicting Antonia Minor, created presumably in the reign of her son, the Emperor Claudius.⁶ However, apart from cameos, the Coronation Cross contains a considerable number of Christian holy relics, including two relatively substantial pieces of the True Cross that was reportedly discovered by Helena, mother of Constantine, the first Roman emperor to profess Christianity, and sent to him to serve as a symbol of his authority.⁷ This invites fresh consideration of the question: who is depicted on the Prague cameo?

The cameo (sardonyx, 37 mm in height), which is of 1st-century date, shows the bust of a woman in profile to the right. Her well-proportioned physiognomy befits a princess



FIG. 2. The Imperial portrait cameo of Antonia Minor, 1st century AD. Sardonyx; height 37 mm.
Coronation cross in the Treasury of Saint Vitus Cathedral, Prague

Photo © Prague Castle Administration/Jan Gloc

of high status. She has a prominent lidded eye, a straight nose and slightly lowered, but firm, lips. Her hair is styled in a series of waves around the brows, but at the back it cascades as a long lock down to her shoulders, fastened at the end. The woman's head is encircled by a diadem cut from the upper brown layer of the stone and ornamented with a continuous frieze of arcs with palmettes. Her lower garment is encircled by a necklet from which hangs a bulla, a pendant of drop-like form. An earring hangs from the woman's right ear.

Another cameo (sardonyx, 52 mm in height) depicting the same subject is in the Archaeological Museum in Florence (Fig. 3).⁸ This shows the woman in profile to the right, as on the Prague gem, wearing the same necklet and bulla and, on her head, a diadem similar to that on the Prague cameo but differently ornamented, here with an upper border of raised trefoils.⁹ For Wolf-Rüdiger Megow both cameos possibly show Antonia Minor (36 BC–AD 37), mother of Emperor Claudius, in the persona of the goddess Juno.¹⁰ Marie-Louise Vollenweider saw the hand of Hyllos, son of Augustus' famous gem-cutter Dioskourides, in the latter gem but identified the subject as the goddess Juno.¹¹ The head on both the Prague and Florence cameos bears a remarkable resemblance to that of a marble statue excavated in a nymphaeum at Baiae, which represents



FIG. 3. Imperial portrait cameo of Antonia Minor, 1st century AD, and later additions. Sardonyx; height 49 mm

© Courtesy of The National Archaeological Museum of Florence

Antonia Minor as the goddess Venus Genetrix, progenitor of the Julio-Claudian family, and she too wears a similar diadem.¹² In fact, the wearing of a diadem is probably in large part simply indicative of the divine or quasi-divine status of the wearer. It may be noted that Livia, widow of Augustus and mother of his successor Tiberius, also wears a similar diadem, rather higher on her head, on a cameo in Vienna, where she is represented with the bust of Divus Augustus, but also holding the ears of wheat and poppies which identifies her as the goddess Ceres.¹³ The statue of Antonia is very possibly posthumous as it was her son Claudius who confirmed his mother's status as Augusta, and placed Antonia amongst the Divi after he became emperor in AD 41.¹⁴ It may be assumed that the Prague and Florence gems were commissioned at the same time,

probably early in Claudius' reign, and their prime purpose was to glamorise, celebrate and advertise Claudius' mother and thus Claudius himself.

Amongst other cameos that probably depict Antonia is one in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (sardonyx, 55 mm in height). Here Antonia is shown in profile to the left, similarly clad and wearing an earring and with a bulla suspended from her necklace; her coiffure, too, is similar but on this gem she is wearing a laurel wreath in the manner shown on her coins rather than a diadem.¹⁵ There has to be a very slight doubt as to identification because Agrippina II (AD 15–59) in the younger generation seems to have copied Antonia's hairstyle, though with more tightly crimped curls, including the long lock at the back and is always shown with a laurel wreath. However, Agrippina's face is more youthful, and her nose is markedly rather concave and, perhaps decisively, on none of the examples cited does she wear a bulla.¹⁶ Portraits of Agrippina would most probably have been commissioned by Claudius a decade later at the time of the emperor's rather controversial marriage to his niece. Given variability amongst gem-cutters and gem workshops, it can be rather hard to tell images of the two empresses apart without the luxury of an inscription, as on their coins.¹⁷

If we accept that the Prague cameo is indeed an imperial portrait cameo of Antonia Minor as a Diva or goddess, then it is legitimate to ask a second question: why was the Antonia gem mounted in the 14th century on a cross associated with the Bohemian king and Holy Roman emperor, Charles IV of Luxembourg? Charles was a man of international education, literate and proficient in several languages, with a wide range of literary and theological interests acquired in his early youth in Paris and later developed on his numerous travels around Europe.¹⁸ He was acquainted with Francesco Petrarch (1304–74), the illustrious poet, scholar and antiquarian of exceptional curiosity and competence, and the two corresponded.¹⁹ And it is the letter of Petrarch written in 1355 to his intimate friend Lello di Pietro Stefano dei Tosetti, a Roman nobleman, that offers a possible answer to our question. From this letter we learn that a selection of gold and silver coins bearing portraits of ancient emperors was presented to Charles by Petrarch, already a well-known collector of Roman coins, when the two met in Mantua in December 1354. The letter also tells us that, on the occasion of their meeting, Petrarch gave Charles not only a collection of ancient coins but also a brief outline of the great events in the life of each of the Roman emperors shown on the coins, encouraging Charles to think of himself as a new Augustus.²⁰ Charles studied the coins in detail and later even disputed the authenticity of one of them, as his correspondence with Petrarch's student, Antonio Beccari of Ferrara (c. 1315–before 1374), a poet and a tutor of Charles' younger son, Sigismund, informs us.²¹

Charles was capable of distinguishing between the ancient images and of reading inscriptions on the coins, and thus his choice of the cameo figuring Antonia would have probably been deliberate. Antonia (36 BC–AD 37) was honoured as Augusta and as the daughter of Mark Antony, niece of Augustus, sister-in-law of Tiberius, mother of Claudius and grandmother of Caligula; she certainly occupied a significant position at the imperial court. The gold and silver coins with her portraits, here as Ceres, a Roman goddess of fertility and motherly relationships, were minted posthumously in Rome, early in the reign of Emperor Claudius.²² Charles' decision to re-employ the Antonia cameo on the jewelled reliquary cross suggests it could have been perceived not solely as divine Antonia Minor, a goddess from the ancient past, but also as a later Roman empress, Helena (c. 248–c. 330) who remained a contemporary Christian female saint. Helena, a mother of the first Christian emperor, Constantine (c. 285–337), likewise bore the title Augusta and was, as stated above, the alleged finder of the True Cross.

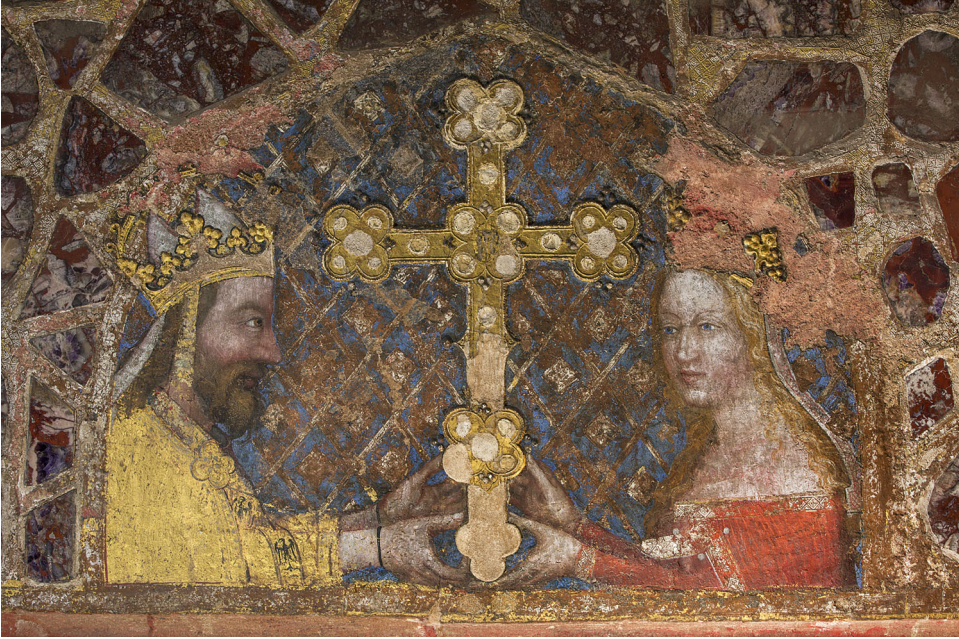


FIG. 4. Charles raising his reliquary cross with his second wife Anna von Schweidnitz (?), before 1360. Fresco, gold, precious stones. Chapel of Saint Catherine, Karlstein Castle

© Courtesy of The National Heritage Institute, Prague

Incidentally, a bronze medallion of *Flavia Helena Augusta*, commemorating her promotion to the rank of Augusta after Constantine became sole ruler of the empire in 324, depicts a bust of Helena with a diadem comparable to that worn by Antonia two and a half centuries earlier.²³

By this reading, Charles' re-identification of Antonia on the cameo as Helena would not have been an accident but a deliberate re-adscription of identity, for Charles identified himself, though not exclusively, with Christian Rome. He also felt an additional and important affinity with the (pagan) Roman empire of the first and ensuing centuries, particularly after his imperial coronation in Rome in 1355. Charles' links with a wider pagan and Christian cosmology of rulership were well articulated, especially in the genealogical cycles of the Luxembourgs he commissioned to be painted at his castles in Prague and Karlstein.²⁴ Charles modelled his self-image on both pagan and Christian rulers of the Empire, including Constantine. He was praised as *alter Constantinus* in the funeral oration delivered on the occasion of his death in 1378, and as such he was also most likely portrayed in a scene of *exaltatio crucis* at Karlstein (Fig. 4).²⁵

Significantly, at some point in its history the Antonia cameo was supplemented with a linear halo around the head, and a monogrammatic inscription to either side. This raises several questions, never before addressed in any detail. When were the halo and inscription added? Why was the cameo reused? A number of authors have previously recognised the added monogram but they have interpreted it differently — as Saint Maria, Saint Elena or Helena, and Saint Catherine.²⁶ New palaeographical analysis confirms that the monogram shows 'S. CA', consistent with Saint Catherine, while the gothic

majuscule appears to be of 14th-century date.²⁷ This invites us to reconsider the possibility that it might have been Charles himself who selected the particular female saint. Charles was especially devoted to Saint Catherine, one of the most popular early Christian virgin martyrs in medieval devotion.²⁸ As his autobiography informs us, he believed that it was Saint Catherine who ensured his victories in battles at San Felice near Modena in 1332 and again in 1340 when Charles took Penede Castle close to Lake Garda in Italy.²⁹ In addition, Charles established a new Augustinian nunnery with the church dedicated to this saint in the New Town in Prague and was personally present at its consecration in 1367.³⁰ Moreover, in his private oratory chapel at Karlstein Castle he had Saint Catherine painted on the central altar.³¹

According to the Golden Legend, one of the most widely read devotional books of the 14th century, Saint Catherine was born as a princess and, as such, was usually pictured as a crowned and luxuriously dressed woman.³² The iconographic tradition that emerged from this was certainly consistent with the portrait of Antonia Minor, even if Catherine's other attributes are not shown. In addition, the image of Saint Catherine allowed the cross to be connected directly with Charles and his strategy of self-promotion as a pious ruler. Remarkably, the reframed and re-contextualised imperial Roman portrait cameo thus possessed three entirely different identities and could be perceived as Antonia Minor, as Helena and as Saint Catherine. In the new setting, all of them contributed significantly to the imperial, royal and pious image of Charles IV.

The reliquary cross was presumably created shortly after Charles' imperial coronation in 1355. Importantly, however, this object is not identical with the cross depicted several times at Karlstein. Emanuel Poche argued that there probably existed two different crosses containing a similar set of Christ's Passion relics.³³ The first was the remade 13th-century cross with distinctive fleur-de-lis terminals discussed here, most probably one of Charles' private crosses, later used during coronations. The second was the massive cross with quadrilobes painted at Karlstein and celebrated as the Bohemian cross (Fig. 4). This cross almost certainly found its temporary resting place on the altar of the chapel of the Instruments of Christ's Passion, Charles' private oratory, located on the second floor of the Lesser Tower of the castle, and later dedicated to Saint Catherine.³⁴ In the course of time, it disappeared, as did the original base of the smaller cross after the object was offered as security on loan by Vladislaus II, king of Bohemia in the 1470s.³⁵ In any case, both objects were encrusted with engraved gems, as is testified by a central oval cameo depicting the Crucifixion, visible on the cross painted at Karlstein.

Charles IV of Luxembourg, like his nephew, Charles V of Valois, favoured gemstones.³⁶ He assembled a considerable number of cameos and, as the medieval inventories of Saint Vitus Cathedral inform us, he bestowed many of them on precious liturgical vessels to serve as ecclesiastical *ornamenta*.³⁷ Some of these splendid objects have come down to us, including an impressive 14th-century silver crown, topping the bust of Charlemagne in the treasury of Aachen Cathedral, into which no fewer than twenty-one cameos and intaglios were incorporated.³⁸ A number of these have a Roman origin.³⁹ To promote his royal and imperial power, Charles reused the ancient gems he assembled, including the Antonia cameo, in a very similar manner to his ancient predecessors. Cameos created links with the ancient Roman empire in which Christ had lived and died. Yet by accentuating continuity with an ancient imperial past these gems also distinctively and effectively emphasised Charles' own authority as the Holy Roman emperor.

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NOTES

1. Prague, The Treasury of Saint Vitus Cathedral, inv. no. K 25 (97).
2. F. Fišer, *Karlštejn. Vzájemné vztahy tří karlštejnských kaplí* (Kostelní Vydří 1996), 242, 261.
3. F. Bock, 'Der Schatz von St. Veit zu Prag I. Abtheilung', *Mittheilungen der K.K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*, 14 (1869), 9–34, esp. 27–31; A. Podlaha and E. Šittler, 'České korunovační kříže v pokladu Svatovítském' [Czech Coronation Crosses in the Treasury of Saint Vitus Cathedral], *Památky archeologické a místopisné*, 20/1 (1902), 1–14, esp. 1–9; and A. Podlaha and E. Šittler, *Chrámový poklad u Sv. Víta v Praze. Jeho dějiny a popis* [The Church Treasure at Saint Vitus in Prague, its History and Description] (Prague 1903), 167–74. The cross was analysed in detail in the seminal writings of Emanuel Poche. See E. Poche, 'Einige Erwägungen über die Kameen Karls IV.', in *Sborník k sedmdesátinám Jana Květa*, ed. J. Pešina (Prague 1965), 82–93; E. Poche, 'K otázce ostatkových křížů Karla IV' [On the Question of the Reliquary Crosses of Charles IV], *Sborník Národního muzea v Praze. Acta Musei Nationalis, Series A – Historia* 21/iv–v (1967), 239–46; and E. Poche, 'Umělecká řemesla gotické doby' [Arts and Crafts in the Gothic Period], in *Dějiny českého výtvarného umění, I/II*, ed. J. Krása (Prague 1984), 440–79. See also P. E. Schramm and H. Fillitz, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Bd. II: Ein Beitrag zur Herrscher-geschichte von Rudolf I. bis Maximilian I.*, 1273–1529 (Munich 1978), 65; H. R. Hahnloser and S. Brugger-Koch, *Corpus der Hartsteinschliffe des 12.–15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1985), 130, cat. no. 150. Most recently, the cross has been examined by Karel Otavský. See K. Otavský, 'Zlatý reliquiářový kříž' [Gold Reliquary Cross], in *Karel IV. Císař z Boží milosti. Kultura a umění za vlády posledních Lucemburků 1310–1437*, ed. J. Fajt and B. D. Boehm (Prague 2006), 111–14; K. Otavský, 'Goldenes Reliquienkreuz', in *Karl IV. Kaiser von Gottes Gnaden. Kunst und Repräsentation des Hauses Luxemburg 1310–1437*, ed. J. Fajt, M. Hörsch and A. Langer (Munich 2006), 111–14, and K. Otavský, 'Zlatý reliquiářový kříž' [Gold Reliquary Cross], in *Svatovítský poklad*, ed. I. Kyzourková (Prague 2012), no. 1.
4. On the cameos, see H. Wentzel, 'Mittelalterliche Gemmen. Versuch einer Grundlegung', *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, 8 (1941), 45–98, esp. 48, 74–78, 82–83.
5. See J. Frel, 'Les portraits antiques en Tchécoslovaquie', in *Sborník k sedmdesátinám Jana Květa*, 48, cat. no. 1; J. Bouzek, M. Dufková and K. Kurz, *Antický portrét* [Antique Portrait] (Prague 1972), 38, cat. no. 32; J. Bouzek, M. Čtrtníková and I. Ondřejová, *Antické gemy v českém středověku* [Ancient Gems in the Czech Middle Ages] (Trutnov 1989), cat. no. 39; and J. Bažant, *Umění českého středověku a antika* [The Classical Tradition in Czech Medieval Art] (Prague 2000), 150.
6. Frel, 'Les portraits antiques en Tchécoslovaquie', 48–59, cat. no. 3, 49. According to Frel, Antonia Minor is presented here as Hera [Juno in Latin] (Roman empresses and emperors were frequently represented as deities). See also Bouzek, Dufková and Kurz, *Antický portrét*, 38, cat. no. 33; Bouzek, Čtrtníková and Ondřejová, *Antické gemy*, cat. no. 38; and Bažant, *Umění českého středověku a antika*, 150. Wentzel, 'Mittelalterliche Gemmen', 48, suggests that the ancient cameo shows a head of Juno reinterpreted as Saint Catherine.
7. J. W. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Findings of the True Cross* (Leiden and New York 1992); H. A. Klein, *Byzanz, der Westen und das*

'wahre' Kreuz. *Die Geschichte einer Reliquie und ihrer künstlerischen Fassung in Byzanz und im Abendland* (Wiesbaden 2004).

8. Museo archeologico nazionale di Firenze inv. no. 14553. W.-R. Megow, *Kameen von Augustus bis Alexander Severus* (Berlin 1987), 290; A. Giuliano, *I cammei nella collezione medicea del Museo Archeologico di Firenze* (Rome and Milan 1989), 266–67, no. 214, pl. XXV.

9. The diadem and bulla were later embellished with garnets, perhaps in the 15th century. Compare the addition of a cameo and gem-set diadem in the later Middle Ages to the Blacas cameo depicting Augustus in the British Museum: G. M. A. Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Romans* (London 1971), 99–100, no. 474.

10. Megow, *Kameen*, 290–91.

11. M.-L. Vollenweider, *Die Steinschneidekunst und ihre Künstler in spätrepublikanischer und augusteischer Zeit* (Baden-Baden 1966), 73, n. 57 and pl. 84.

12. N. Kokkinos, *Antonia Augusta: Portrait of a Great Roman Lady* (London and New York 1992), 116–18, frontispiece and fig. 77.

13. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. no. IX a 95.F. Eichler and E. Kris, *Die Kameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum* (Vienna 1927), 57 and pl. 5, no. 9; Richter, *Engraved Gems*, 101–02, no. 486.

14. B. Levick, *Claudius* (London 1990), 45.

15. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. no. IX a 34; Eichler and Kris, *Die Kameen*, 64 and pl. 5, no. 23; Richter, *Engraved Gems*, 106–07, no. 512, and for a coin no. 509a.

16. See Richter, *Engraved Gems*, 109, nos 527 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles) and 528 (London, British Museum); O. Neverov, *Antichnye Kamei v Sobranii Ermitazha* (Leningrad 1988), 89–90, nos 86–90.

17. Richter, *Engraved Gems*, 109, no. 527, for a coin of Agrippina.

18. Charles' writings include his Autobiography (*Commentarius de Vita Caroli* or *Vita*), a new life of Saint Wenceslas (*Hystoria nova de sancto Wenceslao martyre, duce Bohemorum*), a coronation Ordo (*Ordo ad coronandum regem Bohemorum et Ordo ad benedicendam reginam*), and an introduction to his *Majestas Carolina*. See B.-U. Hergemöller, 'Carolus quartus latinus. Karl IV. als literarisches Ego, als gestaltender Urheber und als geistige Autorität', in *Cogor adversum te. Drei Studien zum literarisch-theologischen Profil Karls IV. und seiner Kanzlei*, ed. B.-U. Hergemöller (Warendorf 1999), 221–413; E. Schlottheuber, 'Karl als Autor — Der "weise Herrscher"', in *Kaiser Karl IV. 1316–2016: erste Bayerisch-Tschechische Landesausstellung*, ed. J. Fajt and M. Hörsch (Prague 2016), 69–78.

19. On this correspondence, see F. Petrarca, *Lettere all'imperatore. Carteggio con la corte imperiale di Praga (1351–1364)*, ed. U. Dotti (Reggio nell'Emilia 2008). Also C. C. Bayley, 'Petrarch, Charles IV, and the "Renovatio Imperii"', *Speculum* 17/iii (1942), 323–41.

20. In his letter Petrarch wrote: '... aliquot sibi aureas argenteasque nostrorum principum effigies, minutissimis ac veteribus litteris inscriptas, quas in deliciis habebam, dono dedi, in quibus et Augusti Caesaris vultus erat pene spirans ...'. See F. Petrarca, *Epistolae de rebus familiaribus et variae*, II, ed. I. Fracassetti (Florence 1862), 520.

21. H. Helbling, 'Le lettere di Nicolaus de Beccariis (Niccolò da Ferrara)', *Bullettino dell' Istituto storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 76 (1964), 241–89, esp. 281–83. On Beccari's stay at the court of Charles IV, see K. Voigt, *Italienische Berichte aus dem spätmittelalterlichen Deutschland. Von Francesco Petrarca zu Andrea de'Franceschi, 1333–1492* (Stuttgart 1973), 39–42.

22. Kokkinos, *Antonia Augusta*, 88. See note 11 above for a cameo of Livia as Ceres.

23. London, British Museum, CM 1872,0709.430: E. Hartley, J. Hawkes, M. Henig and F. Mee, *Constantine the Great. York's Roman Emperor* (York and Aldershot 2006), 145, no. 93.

24. Both cycles have now disappeared, but descriptions of the Prague genealogy survive, in addition to two Renaissance copies of the Karlstein genealogy. On genealogical cycles of the Luxembourgs at Karlstein and Prague, see most recently M. Bláhová and A. Linhartová, 'The Genealogy of the Czech Luxembourgs in Contemporary Historiography and Political Propaganda', *The Medieval Chronicle*, 9 (2014), 1–32; A. Ersek, 'Between Place and Function: Notes on the Portrait Galleries in Charles IV's Residences of Karlstein and Prague', in *The Interior as an Embodiment of Power. The Image of the Princely Patron and its Spatial Setting (1400–1700)*, ed. S. Hoppe, K. De Jonge and S. Breitling (Heidelberg 2018), <https://books.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/arhistoricum/catalog/book/398> (accessed 1 February 2021). Giovanni dei Marignolli, the Franciscan friar who served as court chaplain to Charles

IV from 1355 to 1357, linked Charles' lineage to the ancient past in his *Chronicon Bohemorum*, commissioned by Charles: 'Kronika Marignolova', in *Fontes rerum bohemicarum III*, ed. J. Emler (Prague 1882), 520. See M. Blahová, 'Česká kronika Jana Marignoly' [The Bohemian Chronicle of Charles IV], in *Kroniky Karla IV.*, ed. M. Bláhová and J. Zachová (Prague 1987) 448–523, esp. 456.

25. On the importance of Emperor Constantine as a role model for Charles IV, see H. J. Mierau, 'Karl IV. im Zeichen des „wahren“ Kreuzes. Konstantin als Vorbild für einen spätmittelalterlichen Kaiser', in *Konstantin der Grosse: Das Bild des Kaisers im Wandel der Zeiten*, ed. A. Goltz and H. Schlange-Schöningen (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna 2008), 109–38; K. Kubínová, 'Karl IV. und die Tradition Konstantins des Großen', in *Kunst als Herrschaftsinstrument. Böhmen und das Heilige Römische Reich unter den Luxemburgern im europäischen Kontext*, ed. J. Fajt and A. Langer (Berlin and Munich 2009), 320–27; and R. Chadraba, 'Tradice druhého Konstantina a řeckoperská antiteze v umění Karla IV.' [The Tradition of the Second Constantine and the Greek-Persian Antithesis in the Art of Charles IV], *Umění*, 16 (1968), 567–602.

26. Podlaha and Sittler, *Chrámový poklad u Sv. Víta v Praze*, 172 (Saint Maria); Wentzel, 'Mittelalterliche Gemmen', 48 (Saint Catherine); Frel, 'Les portraits antiques en Tchécoslovaquie', 49 (Saint Helena); J. Pešina et al., *České umění gotické* (Prague 1970), 338 (Saint Helena); Bouzek, Dufková and Kurz, *Antický portrét*, 38 (Saint Helena); Fišer, *Karlštejn*, 252 (Saint Maria); K. Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae. Karel IV a Řím* (Prague 2006), 213–14 (Saint Catherine).

27. The authors thank Jeffrey Spier, Mark Smith and Nigel Ramsay for their expertise.

28. B. D. Boehm, 'Charles IV. The Realm of Faith', in *Prague: The Crown of Bohemia, 1347–1437*, ed. B. D. Boehm and J. Fajt (New Haven and London 2005), 23–33, esp. 26–27.

29. B. Nagy and F. Schaer, *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum vita ab eo ipso conscripta et Hystoria nova de Sancto Wenceslao Martyre: Autobiography of Emperor Charles IV and His Legend of St. Wenceslas* (Budapest 2001), 44, 150.

30. J. F. Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii VIII. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Kaiser Karl IV. 1346–1378*, ed. Alfons Huber (Hildesheim 1968, reprint of the Innsbruck edition of 1877), 372; F. Ekert, *Posvátná místa král. hl. města Prahy, II* (Prague 1884), 170–82.

31. Boehm, 'Charles IV. The Realm of Faith', 27.

32. J. de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. W. Granger Ryan, 2 vols (Princeton, NJ 1993), II, 334–41.

33. Poche, 'K otázce ostatkových kříží Karla IV.', 239–46. According to Poche, the cross is comparable with crosses of Sens, St Omer and Gosse. See also Pešina, *České umění gotické*, 337–38.

34. J. Homolka, 'Umělecká výzdoba paláce a menší věže hradu Karlštejn', in *Magister Theodoricus, dvorní malíř císaře Karla IV. Umělecká výzdoba posvátných prostor hradu Karlštejna* [Magister Theodoricus, Court Painter to Emperor Charles IV. The Pictorial Decoration of the Shrines at Karlštejn Castle], ed. J. Fajt (Prague 1997), 96–153; P. Crossley, 'The Politics of Presentation: the Architecture of Charles IV of Bohemia', in *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe*, ed. S. Rees Johns, R. Marks and A. J. Minnis (Woodbridge 2000), 141.

35. Fišer, *Karlštejn*, 261.

36. I. Ciulisová, 'The power of marvellous objects: Charles IV of Luxembourg, Charles V of Valois and their gemstones', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 32 (2020), Open Access, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jhc/fhaa023>.

37. Podlaha and Sittler, *Chrámový poklad u Sv. Víta v Praze*, iii–xxx.

38. See E. G. Grimme, *Aachener Goldschmiedekunst im Mittelalter von Karl dem Großen bis zu Karl V.* (Cologne 1957), cat. no. 69; H. P. Hilger, 'Anmerkungen zu der Reliquienbüste Karls des Grossen im Domschatz zu Aachen', *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 48 (1978/79), 17–24.

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