Staging the Ruler's Body in Medieval Cultures

source: https://doi.org/10.48350/194754 | downloaded: 30.6.2024

Staging the Ruler's Body in Medieval Cultures

A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Edited by Michele Bacci,
Gohar Grigoryan
and Manuela Studer-Karlen

HARVEY MILLER PUBLISHERS

The Open Access Publication of this book was made possible by the Swiss National Science Foundation. The present volume was printed with the financial support of the Council of the University of Fribourg.

The book is a result of the research project funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation: *Royal Epiphanies: The King's Body as Image and Its Mise-en-scène in the Medieval Mediterranean (12th-14th Centuries).*

Copyright © 2023 Brepols Publishers, Turnhout, Belgium.

This is an open access publication made available under a CC BY-NC 4.0 International License: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, for commercial purposes, without the prior permission of the publisher, or as expressly permitted by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics rights organization.

ISBN 978-1-915487-08-7
D/2023/0095/177
DOI 10.1484/M.HMSAH-EB.5.134720
ISSN 2565-8409
Printed in the EU on acid-free paper

Contents

7 *Acknowledgements*

9 MICHELE BACCI University of Fribourg
The Ruler's Multiple Bodies and Their Mise-en-Scène. Some Introductory Remarks

25 MATTHEW P. CANEPA University of California, Irvine
Staging the Body of the Lord of the Sevenfold World. Methectic Spaces and Chiasmatic Viewing in Sasanian Iran

52 NATIA NATSVLISHVILI Tbilisi, George Chubinashvili National Research Centre for Georgian Art History and Heritage Preservation
Queen Consort Mariam Dadiani and Female Architectural Patronage in Late Medieval Georgia

79 GOHAR GRIGORYAN University of Fribourg
The 'Just Judgement' of King Lewon IV. Representational Strategies of Righteous Rulership in Cilician Armenia

117 JACOPO GNISCI University College London
Royal Imagery and Devotional Spaces in Early Solomonic Ethiopia. The Case of Gännätä Maryam

136 ANTONY EASTMOND The Courtauld London
Staging as Metaphor. The King's Body and the Theatricality of Power

156 MARIA PARANI University of Cyprus
Clothes maketh the emperor? Embodying and Performing Imperial Ideology in Byzantium through Dress

173 MANUELA STUDER-KARLEN University of Bern
Staging for Commemoration. The Cherubikos Hymnos

202 ELEONORA TIOLI Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa & University of Fribourg
The Khan in the West. The Reception of Mongol Political Power in the Texts and Images of Medieval Latin Europe

225 KAYOKO ICHIKAWA Japan Society for the Promotion of Science & University of Fribourg
Staging the Virgin Mary as the Ruler of the Sienese City-State

246 **Mirko Vagnoni** University of Sassari
Shaping the Face of Power. The Portraits of King Robert of Anjou (r. 1309-43)

263 **Aleksandra Rutkowska** University of Oxford
Staging the Royal Corpse. Reburials of Monarchical Bodies at the Basilica of San Isidoro in León

280 **Sofía Fernández Pozzo** University of Fribourg & Universitat Rovira i Virgili (Tarragona)
The Presence and Propaganda of Jaime the Conqueror of Aragon (r. 1213-76) in the Llibre dels Fets. *The Image, Action, and Rhetoric of a King*

294 **Marta Serrano-Coll** Universitat Rovira i Virgili (Tarragona)- Templa
The Royal Presence of Pedro IV (r. 1336-87) in Contemporary Textual and Iconographic Sources

314 **Sabine Sommerer** University of Zurich
Staging the Absent King. Effects of Presence on Medieval Royal Thrones

343 *Index of persons*
348 *Index of places*

Acknowledgements

This book resulted from the international conference *Staging the Ruler's Body in Medieval Cultures: A Comparative Perspective,* which took place on 23-24 November 2020 at the University of Fribourg in the framework of the research project *Royal Epiphanies: The King's Body as Image and Its Mise-en-scène in the Medieval Mediterranean,* funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation. The event was organized with the support of the Conférence Universitaire de Suisse occidentale (CUSO), the Mediävistisches Institut and the Institut du monde antique et byzantin of the University of Fribourg, and the Society for the Medieval Mediterranean. The publication of the present book was made possible by the financial support of the Swiss National Science Foundation and the Council of the University of Fribourg. We warmly thank all these institutions and, above all, the contributors of this volume. Our special thanks go to Julia Oswald for her careful copy-editing, Adélaïde Mornod for help with the index, and Johan van der Beke and the rest of the team at Brepols and Harvey Miller for their engagement in the production of this book.

Michele Bacci, Gohar Grigoryan and Manuela Studer-Karlen

MICHELE BACCI

The Ruler's Multiple Bodies and Their Mise-en-Scène
Some Introductory Remarks

In 956, the King of East Francia and later Holy Roman Emperor Otto I entrusted the monk John of Gorze with the task of conducting an embassy to the court of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, the emir of al-Andalus who, some years earlier (929), had declared himself caliph, or 'commander of the faithful', under the regnant name *al-Nāṣir* (the victorious one). The ambassador was received in the new, sumptuous residence of Madīnat al-Zahrā on the outskirts of Córdoba. The impressive mise-en-scène along his route was described in much detail, around 974, by John, the abbot of Saint-Arnoul in Metz, in his *Vita Iohannis Gorziensis*:

> Later, on the day fixed for their [John of Gorze and his companions'] reception, they prepared scenery (*apparatus*) that was designed in all possible ways to display royal magnificence (*ad pompam regiam demonstrandam*). The whole way from their lodging to the town and from the latter to the caliph's palace was crowded on both sides by different military ranks. First, foot soldiers were standing with their spears planted on the ground, while others were either launching their javelins and projectiles far away or brandishing them in their hands and simulating their strokes. Further on, there were donkey riders with light armour, followed by knights who spurred their horses to neigh and take fright. Then the group was escorted to the palace by Moors and were struck with terror at their unusual appearance. And along a very dusty road, which the extremely dry weather alone stirred up (for it was the summer solstice), these Moors were doing various martial displays, which the envoys considered extraordinary. They were preceded by some dignitaries who came forward to meet the embassy. The space by the entrance to the palace was fully covered with most precious carpets and veils. The cortege reached the room where the king was seated alone as a sort of deity (*numen quoddam*) that nobody or only a select few can access. There, the pavement as well as the walls were reveted on all sides with uncommon textiles. The caliph was lying on a couch made in the most luxurious and magnificent way. They do not make use of seats and chairs as other peoples do but rather recline on beds or couches when conversing or eating, their legs crossed one over the other. As John came before the caliph, he [the caliph] stretched his hand towards him and wanted it to be kissed on its inner part. Indeed, kissing [his hand] is not allowed for any of his courtiers or for foreigners and never for the lower and common people outside of the palace, but only for the

DOI 10.1484/M.HMSAH-EB.5.135002. This is an open access chapter made available under a CC BY-NC 4.0 International License.

> high-born and persons of higher dignity. On that occasion, he opened his palm and let it be kissed. Then a chair was brought and the caliph signalled for John to be seated.[1]

Texts of this kind are undoubtedly rare in premodern, and especially medieval, sources. Indeed, chronicles and annals were largely concerned with recording facts rather than the emotional reactions of visitors to the theatrical staging of the power embodied by earthly rulers. That such a detailed description of caliphal pomp was deemed worth telling in the biography of John of Gorze, a rather idiosyncratic monk celebrated for his pragmatism and prodigious memory, suggests that the experience made a strong impression on him. He had been the involuntary protagonist of a performance that staged a gradual kinetic approach towards a longed-for, site-bound focus. The goal of this transformative process was to elicit the ambassador's awe, as modern psychology defines it: the feeling of being diminished in the presence of something greater than the self and defying one's accustomed frame of reference; the resulting sense of disorientation and even fear creates a need for accommodation, which in many cases is conducive to compliance and submissiveness.[2]

The magnificent mise-en-scène set up by the caliph's event planners aimed to destabilize the Francian monk via mutually contradicting signals, combining manifestations of friendship with aggressive gestures, and staging both the ruler's presence and inaccessibility. The person of the caliph was positioned as the focus of a multisensorial experience. The visitor's embodied, physically taxing experience culminated in the contemplation of the sovereign, seated within a monumental framework consisting of not only decorated walls and precious furniture but also, and especially, curtains, drapery, and veils that could reveal and conceal him. His reclining, almost fixed posture contrasted with the movements of those around him, evoking a notion of permanence counter to the instability of human things. In John of Gorze's eyes, he would have looked like an idol, an object of worship. With the invitation to kiss the palm of the caliph's hand, which was understood as an act of submission,[3] the senses of touch and smell were activated and enhanced. The sense of sound, no longer stimulated by the neigh of horses or the metallic noise of weapons, as it had been along the route, came to rest on the reverential silence, broken only by al-Nāṣir's voice.

The performance signposted the exceptional status of an ʿUmayyad ruler who claimed to be the Prophet Muhammad's legitimate successor as leader of the Islamic *ummah* (community). In the same way as his rivals – the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad and the Fatimid one in Cairo – he refrained from showing himself in public, and only a few select people had the privilege to be received by him. This protocol had been in place already during the rule of al-Nāṣir's predecessor, Emir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, who, according to one chronicler, 'organized the court

1 John of Saint Arnoul, *Vita Iohannis Gorziensis*, ed. by Michel Parisse, *La vie de Jean, abbé de Gorze* (Paris: Picard, 1999), p. 158. My English translation follows only partially the one provided by Colin Smith, *Christians and Moors in Spain* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1988-93), I: *AD 711-1150*, pp. 71-73. On the passage and its interpretation see Aimone Grossato, 'The Vanishing Spaces of Islamic Courts (Ninth to Tenth Centuries)', in *Place and Space in the Medieval World*, ed. by Meg Boulton, Jane Hawkes, and Heidi Stoner (New York, NY, and London: Routledge, 2018), pp. 178-86.

2 Dacher Keltner and Jonathan Haidt, 'Approaching Awe, a Moral, Spiritual, and Aesthetic Emotion', *Cognition and Emotion*, 17 (2003), pp. 297-314.

3 Maribel Fierro, 'Pompa y ceremonia en los califatos del Occidente islámico (s. II/VIII-IX/XV)', *Cuadernos del CEMyR*, 17 (2009), 125-52 (pp. 136-37).

ceremonial and hid himself from the people',[4] and, in another writer's words, 'was the first to adopt the traditional habits of caliphs in terms of dress, exterior appearance, and ritual organization'.[5] Becoming a caliph meant acting in full accordance with the distinctive role ascribed to the ruler's body as a conveyor of visual messages manifesting and confirming his religiously grounded authority.[6]

If we are to believe a well-known story reported, more than two centuries later, by the Sufi mystic 'Ibn al-'Arabī (1165-1240), 'Abd al-Raḥmān III made varied use of his physical image depending on political circumstances. Around 956-57, a delegation from the count of Barcelona, Borrell, arrived in Córdoba to reach a peace agreement with the caliph. On that occasion, another solemn performance was organized:

> An embassy of Spanish Christians from the north had come to meet the caliph, and the latter decided to strike terror in them by displaying the magnificence of his royalty. He gave orders to lay carpets from the gate of Córdoba up to the gate of Madīnat al-Zahrā, a distance of about one parasang. On both sides of the route he placed a double line of soldiers, whose large and elongated sabres, drawn from the sheathe, were joined at their barbs, as if they were roof joists. As ordered by the sovereign, the delegation had to proceed in this way as below a covered passage. The fear they felt at the sight of this scenery can hardly be imagined. They came thus to the gate of Madīnat al-Zahrā: on the caliph's orders, the ground from this gate to the place reserved for the audience had been thoroughly covered with brocade fabrics, and some dignitaries were staying in specific sites along the route. They could be mistaken for kings, since they were seated on precious chairs and wore brocades and silk vestments. Whenever the envoys saw one of these dignitaries, they prostrated at his feet, since they thought he were the caliph. But they were told: 'Lift your head! This one is just a slave among his slaves!' At last, they arrived in a courtyard, the ground of which was covered with sand. The caliph was in the middle. He wore rough and short cloths: all he had on himself was not worth more than four dirhams. He was seated on the ground with his head down. Before him was a Koran, a sabre, and a fire. 'Here is the king', they said to the ambassadors, who then prostrated at his feet. He raised his head towards them and, before they could utter any word, he said to them: 'Allah ordered us, oh you all, to prompt you to conform to this!', and he showed the Koran. 'If you refuse, we will force you with this!', and he showed the sabre. 'And if we kill you, that's where you will go!', and he showed the fire. The envoys were frightened, and, on his orders, they were brought away without uttering a word. They signed the peace agreement and accepted all the conditions requested by the sovereign.[7]

4 Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb* (Beirut: Abbas, 1968), I, p. 347.

5 Ibn 'Iḏārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mugrib*, ed. and trans. by George S. Colin and Évariste Lévi-Provençal (Leiden: Brill, 1948-51), p. 148. See Susana Calvo Capilla, 'Los símbolos de la autoridad emiral (138/756-300/912): las mezquitas aljamas como instrumento de islamización y espacio de representación', in *De Hispalis a Isbiliya*, ed. by Alfonso Jiménez Martín (Sevilla: Aula Hernán Ruiz, 2009), 87-110 (pp. 106-07).

6 On rituals at the caliphal court of Córdoba see Miquel Barceló, 'El califa patente: el ceremonial de Córdoba o la escenificación del poder', in *Madīnat al-Zahrā. El salón de 'Abd al-Raḥmān III*, ed. by Antonio Vallejo Triano (Córdoba: Junta de Andalucía, 1995), pp. 155-75; Fierro, 'Pompa y ceremonia'. More generally on ritual in Islamic court cultures see Andrew Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy. Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).

7 A French translation of this passage can be found in Évariste Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane au*

In this case, the expectations of the Catalan ambassadors were subverted by the mise-en-scène of the court's extraordinary luxury as well as by the ostentatious modesty through which 'Abd al-Raḥmān III expressed his religious function. For all the alterations that may have been made to this story by Ibn al-'Arabī's moral reading, it nonetheless indicates the widespread perception – in al-Andalus, as in several other cultures – of the ruler's body as a locus of visual and sensorial communication. Such performances were organized by Andalusian caliphs not only to welcome foreign ambassadors but also to stage rebel vassals' submission to and readmission into the state hierarchy.[8] In all cases, the reception was conceived of as a 'rite of passage' of sorts, one in which bodily apprehension played the role of protagonist. A great deal of self-control was required from visitors moving through the passageways formed by partings in the caliph's assembled army: these were crowds animated by a martial spirit and, in some cases, featuring displays of the severed heads of enemies. As in a crescendo, the gradual approach to the ruler was punctuated by the immersive experience of different scenery, from these spaces constructed by the soldiers' bodies to the landmarks rising through the town, from the open-air landscape outside Córdoba to the sequence of textile-decorated rooms leading to the caliph's audience hall, the well-known Salón Rico. Before entering, those being received at court might be asked to prostrate and kiss the threshold. Once inside, they would have recognized the caliph by his central position in space, his vestments, his ornaments, and the various devices – of lighting and veiling, along with other architectural, ornamental, and performative strategies – through which his body was displayed, framed, and enhanced.

The physical and psychological stress inflicted on ambassadors, repentant rebels, courtiers, and vassals was rewarded with an embodied experience of the ruler's self-display, engaging sight along with the other senses. On the façade of the Zisa Palace, the summer residence erected in Palermo by the Norman king of Sicily William I around 1165-66, a monumental Arabic inscription invited visitors to focus their awareness, via their gaze, on the very nature of the spaces they were approaching, to 'pay attention, stop, and look' at the rooms inhabited by the sovereign.[9] As they entered the central *īwan*, another inscribed frieze encouraged them to view that space – embellished with multicoloured marble, mosaics, stucco decoration, and *muqarnas* niches and replete with the sound of water pouring out of the central *shādirwān* – as a reflection of paradise and a manifestation of the king's power. More specifically, the text announced that by looking at the 'best property of the most splendid kingdom on earth', the beholder would also 'see the ruler of our times in his delectable residence, since magnificence and joy are befitting to him'.[10] Even in the king's absence, this precious room, meant to be experienced through sight and sound, worked as a metonymic indicator of his presence: it was not only the architectural container for his living body but also a symbol of both his political merits and the legal authority of the royal institution he represented.

Xe siècle. Institutions et vie sociale (Paris: Larose, 1932), pp. 48-49. See also Fernando de la Granja, 'A propósito de una embajada cristiana en la corte de 'Abd al-Raḥmān III', *al-Andalus* 39 (1974), 391-406 (p. 393). On the historical context see Philippe Sénac, 'Note sur les relations diplomatiques entre les comtes de Barcelone et le califat de Cordoue au Xe siècle', in *Histoire et archéologie des terres catalanes au Moyen Âge*, ed. by Philippe Sénac (Perpignan: Presses universitaires de Perpignan, 1995), pp. 87-101.

8 Janina Safran, 'Ceremony and Submission: The Symbolic Representation and Recognition of Legitimacy in Tenth-Century al-Andalus', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 58 (1999), pp. 191-201.

9 Michele Amari, *Le epigrafi arabiche di Sicilia* (Palermo: Luigi Pedone Lauriel, 1875), I, p. 73.

10 Amari, *Le epigrafi*, p. 61. On the Zisa in its structural connections with Islamic palatial architecture see Lamia Hadda, *L'architettura palaziale tra Africa del Nord e Sicilia normanna (secoli X-XII)* (Naples: Liguori,

In the historiography, much emphasis has been placed on the ruler's body vis-à-vis political theories concerning sacred kingship. As famously postulated by Ernst Kantorowicz, the physical dimension of each individual king or queen is coupled, and simultaneously contrasted, with a transcendental or mystical double. The metaphor of the 'body politic' describes royal authority as a living, immortal, and unalterable entity, one that manifests itself in interpersonal harmony, social order, and victory over external dangers. The royal institution finds its *representation* (from the Latin noun *re-praesentatio*, that which 'makes [something or someone] present again') in the ruler's body, which is thus assumed to function as the substantiation of an abstract juridical notion.[11] In keeping with this principle, it has been rightly underscored that the various elements surrounding the sovereign's self-presentation – the court and church ceremonials in which rulers were involved, the regalia and vestments they wore on such occasions, the panegyrics offered to them, and the structure and decoration of the spaces in which they showed themselves – were all fundamentally designed to suggest his or her full conformity to a super-rindividual ideal of rulership. If many studies have been devoted to analysing the symbolic meanings conveyed by rituals of power,[12] still largely unexplored is the question of the

2015), pp. 116-138. More broadly on the function of Arabic inscriptions in Norman Sicily see Isabelle Dolezalek, *Arabic Script on Christian Kings. Textile Inscriptions on Royal Garments from Norman Sicily* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017).

11 Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957).

12 See, among others, Otto Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Ausgestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell* (Bad Homburg: H. Gentner, 1938); Cornelius Adrianus Bouman, *Sacring and Crowning: The Development of the Latin Ritual for the Anointing of Kings and the Coronation of an Emperor before the Eleventh Century* (Groningen: J.-B. Wolters, 1957); Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae. A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1958); Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort. Étude sur les funérailles, les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1975); *Le sacre des rois* (Paris : Belles Lettres, 1985); *Rites of Power. Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics since the Middle Ages*, ed. by Sean Wilentz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985); *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Rituals*, ed. by János M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); *Rituals of Royalty. Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. by Simon Price and David Cannadine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Paula Sanders, *Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Cairo* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994); *Représentation, pouvoir et royauté à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. by Joël Blanchard (Paris: Picard, 1995); Aziz al-Azmeh, *Muslim Kingship. Power and the Sacred in Muslim, Christian and Pagan Polities* (London: Bloomsbury, 1997); *Die Sakralität von Herrschaft: Herrschaftslegitimierung im Wechsel der Zeiten und Räume*, ed. by Franz-Reiner Erkens (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002); Michael Evans, *The Death of Kings: Royal Deaths in Medieval England* (London and New York, NY: Hambledon, 2003); Murielle Gaude-Ferragu, *D'or et de cendres. La mort et les funérailles des princes dans le royaume de France au bas Moyen Âge* (Lille: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2005); *Monotheistic Kingship: The Medieval Variants*, ed. by Aziz al-Azmeh and János Bak (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2005); *L'audience. Rituels et cadres spatiaux dans l'Antiquité et le Haut Moyen Âge*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Caillet and Michel Sot (Paris: Picard, 2007); Matthew Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the World: Art and Ritual of Kingship between Rome and Sasanian Iran* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Jenny Rahel Oesterle, *Kalifat und Königtum. Herrschaftsrepräsentation der Fatimiden, Ottonen und früher Salier an religiösen Hochfesten* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2009); A. Azfar Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign. Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2012); *La puissance royale*, ed. by Emmanuelle Santinelli-Foltz and Christian-Georges Schwentzel (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2012); *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean. Comparative Perspectives*, ed. by Alexander Beihammer, Stavroula Constantinou and Maria Parani (Leiden: Brill, 2013); *La légimitité implicite*, ed. by Jean-Philippe Genet (Paris-Rome: Éditions de la Sorbonne/École française de Rome, 2015); *Monarchische Herrschaftsformen in transkultureller Perspektive*, ed. by Wolfram Drews, Antje Flüchter, Christoph Dartmann and others (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015); *The Emperor's House. Palaces from Augustus to the Age of Absolutism*, ed. by Michael Featherstone, Jean-Michel Spieser, Gülru Tanman and Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt (Berlin: De Gruyter,

extent to which the extra-physical majesty embodied in rulers' physicality could be grasped by beholders in visual, sensorial, and performative terms.

It can be wondered, for instance, to what degree space mattered in the construction of the exceptional qualities that the sovereign was expected to embody. Palaces and residences, which often consisted of both built and open-air environments, were frequently conceived of as stages for encounters with the sovereign's ambiguous body.[13] If it is well known that the latter's movement through the town streets on the occasion of solemn entrances, parades, and other ceremonies symbolically strengthened the sense of mutual belonging between the ruler and his subjects,[14] less attention has been paid to the specific visual and performative devices through which the sovereign's presence was made recognizable in the eyes of beholders. In late medieval Western Europe, the king's epiphany was announced by the sound of trumpets, engaging the ear before any other organ.[15] Viewers could then additionally sense his approach by observing the crowds of soldiers, courtiers, and attendants who preceded him. When he finally appeared, he could be recognized by his insignia, regalia, banners, vestments, and probably also by a posture revealing a noble bearing. Canopies and baldachins could be used to frame his person and signpost his distinctiveness vis-à-vis other members of the court, as could specific gestures – whether by the ruler himself or the courtiers interacting with him – or even a complete absence of movement, such as that exhibited by the Byzantine emperor in several ritualized events.[16]

The strategies for constructing and displaying the outward appearance of the sovereign varied depending on how public the event in question was and, relatedly, how differentiated the participants were in social terms. In medieval Christendom, rulers' freedom to behave informally certainly decreased in the progress of time, but it can be assumed that, at least in some contexts, a rather rigid protocol was established early on. This is certainly true for Byzantium, where even banquets could be an occasion for staging the basileus's God-driven power and dignified sociability.[17] An embryonic court etiquette was established in Paris already in the thirteenth century,[18] and it became particularly elaborate in the late Middle Ages.[19] Yet, even in earlier times and in other geographic contexts, the meetings of rulers with their more restricted circles, during shared hunts and meals for example, were considered important occasions for

2015); *Sakralisierungen des Herrschers an europäischen Höfen*, ed. by Herbert Karner, Eva-Bettina Krems, Jens Niebaum and Werner Telesko (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2019); János M. Bak and Géza Pálffy, *Crown and Coronation in Hungary 1000-1916 A.D.* (Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities and Hungarian National Museum, 2020).

13 *Palais et pouvoir. De Constantinople à Versailles*, ed. by Marie-France Auzépy and Joël Cornette (Saint-Denis: Presses universitaires de Versailles, 2003); *Palatium Sacrum. Sakralität am Hof des Mittelalters. Orte, Dinge, Rituale*, ed. by Manfred Luchterhandt and Hedwig Röckelein (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2021).

14 As in the late antique adventus rites, best illustrated in Sabine MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990).

15 Philippe Vendrix and David Fiala, 'Musique, pouvoir et légitimation aux XVe et XVIe siècles', in *La légitimité implicite*, pp. 375-422.

16 Philippe Depreux, 'Gestures and Comportment at the Carolingian Court: Between Practice and Perception', *Past and Present*, 203 (2009), supplement 4, pp. 57-79; Leslie Brubaker, 'Gesture in Byzantium', *Past and Present*, 203 (2009), supplement 4, pp. 36-56.

17 Simon Malmberg, 'Dazzling Dining: Banquets as an Expression of Imperial Legitimacy', in *Eat, Drink, and Be Merry (Luke 12:19): Food and Wine in Byzantium*, ed. by Leslie Brubaker and Kalliroe Linardou (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 75-91.

18 Jacques Le Goff, *Vers l'étiquette de cour: un dîner officiel de saint Louis et d'Henri III d'Angleterre* (Budapest: Collegium Budapest, 2000).

19 Christina Normore, *A Feast for the Eyes. Art, Performance, and the Late Medieval Banquet* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

visually reasserting the leader's prominence, strength, and hierarchical status. The chronicler Paul the Deacon reports that the King of the Lombards Alboin (ca 560-72) was accustomed to show himself drinking from a cup made out of the Gepid chief Cunimund's skull, which was jealously preserved and exhibited by his successors. During banquets, the Bulgarian khan Krum made use of a similar cup, carved from the skull of Basileus Nicephorus I. In this way, these Germanic chiefs not only showed their interest in appropriating the military virtues of a defeated enemy through the objectification and symbolic ingestion of his body but also aimed to stage their political legitimation as stemming from their triumph over powerful opponents.[20]

An exploration into the constructed nature of royal appearance will benefit from adopting the distinctive viewpoint of beholders who were expected to feel awe when glancing *de visu* at kings and queens. Looking and being looked at were potentially disruptive actions. Whoever was allowed to scrutinize the ruler's body could easily perceive a discrepancy, even a contradiction, between the outward appearance and the hallowed *corpus* he or she claimed to represent. Liutprand of Cremona, who had contemplated the imperial rituals 'with admiration' on his first mission to Constantinople in 949, used malignant words to describe his second, unsuccessful embassy in 968,[21] stressing the visual tension between the magnificence of the basileus's role, constantly praised in public processions and banquets, and the ugly, even satyr-like, appearance of Nikephoros Phokas (963-69). His exaggeration of the emperor's physical defects went so far as to compare his movement in the cortege from the palace to Hagia Sophia to that of a 'creeping monster', whose disgusting form clashed with the preciousness of his imperial adornments, made for the venerable emperors of the past.[22]

In this case, the Lombard bishop deemed the use of traditional vestments and regalia, meant to evoke imperial majesty and its perennial, God-driven authority, insufficient to supersede and transfigure the emperor's unpleasant body. The fragility and ephemerality of the latter, in contrast to its institutional double, were frequently acknowledged. Rather provocatively, fourth-century Christian authors stated that, if deprived of his purple garments, the person of the king would prove irrelevant and unrecognizable.[23] As in the famous tale transmitted by the Dominican friar Juan Manuel in his 1335 *El Conde Lucanor* (later reworked by Hans Christian Andersen), it could be problematic to admit that, beneath his garments, the king was as naked, weak, and unprotected as every other human being. The textiles that veiled, wrapped, and disguised the ruler's physiognomy signalled his or her distinctive, hallowed, and meta-human status: in many respects, as the tale stresses, removing them was like lifting a veil of hypocrisy.[24] Not uncommonly, the tension between the ruler's individual behaviour – exposed to sin, violence, and fault – and the ideal of sacred kingship had to be negotiated. In some cultural traditions, this conundrum was dealt with by hiding the body behind a veil, as in 'Abbasid Baghdad, where a curtain (*sitr*), interposed between the caliph and his subjects during public prayers and

20 Francesco Borri, 'Murder by Death: Alboin's Life, End(s), and Means', *Millennium-Jahrbuch*, 8 (2011), pp. 223-70.

21 Liutprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, VI, 10, ed. by Johannes Becker, *Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum 41 (Hannover and Leipzig: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1915), p. 158.

22 Liutprand of Cremona, *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana*, 10, ed. Becker, *Die Werke*, p. 181.

23 Klaus Fitschen, 'Ps.-Makarios als Zeuge und Kritiker spätantiker monarchischer Repräsentation', *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum*, 2 (1998), 84-96 (p. 88).

24 James A. Grabowska, 'The Rhetoric of Power in Juan Manuel's El Conde Lucanor', *South Central Review*, 11/3 (1994), 45-61 (pp. 53-55).

audiences, manifested his distance from ordinary life and emphasized the otherworldly origins of his authority.[25] Elsewhere, the two dimensions were paralleled and simultaneously put on display. Medieval coronation rites, which marked the passage from ordinary life to power, often contrasted the transitoriness of the ruler's human condition with the timelessness of royal dignity through performative devices, such as the pope's enthronement on the Lateran's *sedes stercoraria*[26] or the staging of the king of France getting out of a bed, as if he were recovering from a state of illness, in the coronation ritual recorded in a thirteenth-century *ordo*.[27] At the same time, the sovereign's physicality was subordinated to, but certainly not limited or diminished by, its mystical doppelgänger. When they were anointed and crowned, kings and emperors were deemed to undergo a transformative process that did not obliterate their bodies but rather rendered them material and visual instantiations of a superior power.

In a sense, sovereigns received a substitutive, enhanced body, the contours of which were constructed, in the first instance, through standardized regalia, vestments, armours, ornaments, coats of arms, insignia, and architectural frameworks – all messaging his or her conformity to shared notions of kingship. The specific emotional or psychological dynamics whereby their individual identities, and with them their outward appearances, had to be renegotiated are certainly difficult to grasp, but one wonders whether their change of status could have spurred them to manipulate their facial and corporeal features with the aim of conveying meanings associated with their institutional dignity. Undoubtedly, it would be thoroughly anachronistic to think of premodern monarchs as forerunners of present-day politicians, whose physical image is used as a self-evident and all-pervasive tool of visual communication.[28] In premodern societies, rulers were certainly aware that, if deprived of their royal attributes, most of their subjects would be unable to recognize them, as in the story attributed to Basileus Leo the Wise, who went incognito to see whether his guards were competent at their work and was subsequently mistaken by them for an intruder.[29] Therefore, it seems that the individual physiognomy of a ruler may not have mattered at all in the construction of the symbolism of power.

As a natural carrier of images, the body is the anthropological locus for displaying an individual's self-understanding.[30] In past societies, no less than in our days, it could be ornamented and manipulated in such a way as to signify either conformity to or deviance from convention. Depending on a wide spectrum of cultural, political, and circumstantial factors, kings and queens could opt for a strategy of camouflage and depersonalization: by emphasizing the indistinctiveness of their look vis-à-vis their predecessors, they encouraged their viewers to assimilate

25 Giorgio Vercellin, *Tra veli e turbanti. Rituali sociali e vita privata nei mondi dell'Islam* (Venice: Marsilio, 2000), pp. 107-10; Maaike van Berkel, 'Politics of Access at the Court of the Caliph', in *New Perspectives on Power and Political Representation from Ancient History to the Present Day: Repertoires of Representation*, ed. by Harm Kaal and Daniëlle Slootjes (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 26-36, esp. 29 and 32.

26 Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *The Pope's Body* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 44-45; Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Morte e elezione del papa: norme, riti e conflitti* (Rome: Viella, 2013), pp. 150-51.

27 Annette Kehnel, 'Le corps fragile du prince dans les rites d'investiture médiévale', in *Le corps du prince*, ed. by Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, Micrologus XXII (Florence: Sismel, 2014), pp. 679-704.

28 *Politische Inszenierung im 20. Jahrhundert. Zur Sinnlichkeit der Macht*, ed. by Sabine R. Arnold, Christian Fuhrmeister and Dietmar Schiller (Vienna: Böhlau, 1998).

29 Peter Schreiner, 'Das Herrscherbild in der byzantinischen Literatur des 9. bis 11. Jahrhunderts', *Saeculum*, 35 (1984), 132-51 (p. 144).

30 Hans Belting, *Bild-Anthropologie. Entwürfe für eine Bildwissenschaft* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2001), pp. 22-38; Hans Belting, *Faces. Eine Geschichte des Gesichts* (Munich: Beck, 2013).

them to an abstract, superindividual ideal of power. Such a conflation could be achieved only if the contemplation of sovereigns in their precious robes and insignia was not disturbed by any eye-catching physiognomic features. And though the physical defects ridiculed by Liutprand of Cremona could be concealed or minimized in public rituals, a disfigured or mutilated body was often judged unsuitable to represent the plenitude of power. In Byzantium, the change of regime following a palace conspiracy became effective through the blinding of the deposed emperor or the act of cutting off his ears and nose. Basileus Justinian II, surnamed the *rhynotmetos* (the 'nose-less') after his violent deposition in 695, felt the need to artificially reconstruct and display his bodily integrity when he reconquered his throne in 705: accordingly, he made use of a golden prosthesis whenever he showed himself in public ceremonies.[31]

The body and its manipulation contributed to the construction of the ruler's conventional, depersonalized look. In ancient Egypt, the pharaoh could be recognized not only by his insignia but also by an artificial beard that symbolized his kingship in terms of masculine strength and made him resemble all his predecessors. This trait contrasted with the shaved chins of his courtiers and priests. When a woman named Hatshepsut (r. 1479-58 BCE) assumed full powers and declared herself king, she signified through the wearing of a similar beard that her power was as legitimate as that of male rulers.[32]

Much more frequently, women of power tended to manifest their political prominence by adopting a paradigmatic femininity. They were expected to reflect ideals of beauty that could be emphasized, or even overemphasized, through the use of makeup. The pale complexion of Byzantine empresses was obtained through skin lightening. In 1433, the Burgundian traveller Bertrandon de la Broquière waited for hours before Hagia Sophia in Constantinople in the hope of seeing Maria of Trebizond, the third wife of John VIII Palaeologos, who was much celebrated for her extraordinary beauty. When she finally appeared, he got as close as possible to her cortege and wondered why her naturally white face had also been bleached.[33] Some evidence from medieval Iberia indicates that the use of cosmetics was not restricted to female rulers.

As a by-product of their preference for slaves and concubines from the north (in what has been described as 'a very intimate form of *convivencia*'), many emirs and caliphs of al-Andalus stood out for their blonde hair.[34] 'Abd al-Raḥmān III was no exception, and fearing that this trait may contradict his claims to the caliphate, he dyed his hair black 'to make himself look more like an Arab'.[35] The opposite tendency has been observed in the Christian regions of Spain. Recent analyses performed on the corpse of Peter III, king of Aragon (r. 1276-85), discovered

31 Patricia Skinner, *Living with Disfigurement in Early Medieval Europe* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2017), pp. 75-77.

32 *Hatshepsut from Queen to Pharaoh*, ed. by Catharine H. Roehrig (New York, NY, and London: Yale University Press, 2005).

33 Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Voyage d'Outremer*, ed. by Charles Schefer (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892), pp. 156-57.

34 D. Fairchild Ruggles, 'Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty: Race, Genealogy, and Acculturation in al-Andalus', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34/1 (2004), pp. 65-94.

35 Sharon Kinoshita and Ruth Mazo Karras, *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2006), p. 184.

remnants of substances used to dye the hair and beard blonde. It can be assumed that this colour was regarded as an obvious sign of distinction and nobility.[36]

In all such examples, the manipulation of the ruler's outward appearance was meant to suppress any features of it that might prove distressing to contemporary viewers, who needed to immediately acknowledge Hatshepsut as pharaoh despite her gender, or al-Nāṣir as the leader of the Islamic community and the legitimate descendant of the Prophet Muhammad. Nevertheless, conformity to established conventions was not always productive in political terms. In this respect, personal charisma can be described as a third, decisive factor, among many others, between the poles of Kantorowicz's dichotomy. While each single sovereign's prestige is certainly grounded on his or her perceived status as a reflection, or substantiation, of the body politic, his or her distinctive actions, skills, and virtues can nonetheless inflect, orient, and reformulate how the transcendental and transpersonal attributes of power are collectively understood.

Under some specific circumstances, an emphasis on distinctive, individual qualities has proven necessary, helping to signal and celebrate societal, economic, or military change. Alexander the Great's choice to reject beards, traditionally seen as symbols of martial masculinity, and instead adopt a clean-shaven appearance suggested his association with either the heroic beauty of Achilles or the divine countenance of Apollo. On the eve of the battle of Gaugamela (1 October 335 BCE), he gave orders that all his soldiers be shaved: at the sight of beardless warriors, all resembling their commander in chief, the puzzled Persian army was defeated. This look remained almost mandatory for rulers in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds.[37] Several centuries later, another military leader fighting against Persians, the Byzantine basileus Heraclius (610-41), made exactly the opposite choice. He grew a very long, patriarchal beard with a prominent moustache, which even caused him to be mocked by his adversaries. In this way, he aimed to signify his dedication to God, his typological link to the Old Testament kings prefiguring Christian rulers, and his hope for divine assistance during the first war to be called 'holy'. None of his successors dared depart from this imperial look.[38]

Such choices subverted centuries-old visual conventions and gave shape to new constructions of bodily appearance that came to be regarded as normative. In so doing, rulers were using their own exteriors as an image that had to accommodate shifting perceptions of kingly authority, prestige, and virtue. If it is true that power and representation are so intrinsically interrelated that the latter is the real site where the former is produced,[39] then this mutual relationship is far from stable or permanent and must reckon with the everchanging cultural, societal, religious, and visual frameworks in which it plays out. Charlemagne's bare chin and

36 *El panteó reial de Santes Creus. Estudi i restauración de les tombes de Pere el Gran, de Jaume II i Blanca d'Anjou i de l'almirall Roger de Llúria*, ed. by Marina Miquel, Ramon Sarobe, Carme Subiranas (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 2015), chapter 1, pp. 17-18, and chapter 4.1, pp. 20-22, 93-98.

37 Christopher Oldstone-Moore, *Of Beards and Men. The Revealing History of Facial Hair* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2016), pp. 38-48.

38 Michele Bacci, 'Beards and the Construction of Facial Appearance in the Middle Ages', in *The Face in Medieval Culture, East and West*, ed. by Oleg Voskoboynikov (Florence: Sismel, 2022), pp. 115-31.

39 Louis Marin, 'Le pouvoir et ses représentations', in Louis Marin, *Politiques de la représentation* (Paris: Éditions Kime, 2005), pp. 71-86.

long moustache manifested his wish to differentiate himself from Merovingian *reges criniti* and to look more like ancient Roman emperors, without thoroughly renouncing the traditional understanding of facial hair, in Germanic tradition, as a symbol of manly strength.[40] The enduring renown of Rome as a model for political legitimacy probably influenced the decision to shave on the part of the French kings from Louis VII onwards, but this went hand in hand with an effort to sacralize the royal institution by evoking its association with the beardless look recommended for Latin clerics.[41] In the very special case of Crusader Palestine, even a distressing appearance could be exploited to communicate a political message. No attempts were made at concealing the sick body, disfigured by leprosy, of Baldwin IV (r. 1174-85): his subjects were shocked at the sight of his face, and his Muslim enemies were struck that, despite this, he could be accepted as a king. It can be assumed that the public display of his revolting and suffering appearance contributed to the assimilation of the king of Jerusalem and defender of the Holy Sepulchre to the sacrificial body of Christ.[42]

In other words, the ruler's corporeal dimension mattered, and not only insofar as it could be used as a tool of political communication but also, and perhaps more decisively, since it was inescapably involved in ritualized events in which a major role was attributed to visual and sensorial apprehension. The people suffering from scrofula who managed to touch the kings of France or England in the ceremonies famously described by Marc Bloch hoped to be cured by physical contact with them.[43] Their aspiration indicates that, in their view, the sovereign's material body carried a superior, meta-human power in a way far more tangible than a simple metaphorical association. The king's presence worked here as it did in many other situations, namely as the focus of an embodied, visual, and performative experience. He was, in a sense, transfigured into a hallowed being by the expectations, sentiments, and emotions with which the viewers of this performance invested him. At the same time, his perception as a hallowed being was directed and enhanced by a number of variously elaborate and codified staging devices, whether in the context of a hyperbolically theatrical mise-en-scène filled with decoration and symbols (as in the Persian 'methectic' ceremonies analysed by Matthew P. Canepa in this volume) or that of an evocation *per absentiam*, as in the rituals surrounding the Japanese *tenno*'s inaccessible and concealed physicality.[44]

The present volume expands on questions raised in the framework of the research project *Royal Epiphanies*, led by the present author at the University of Fribourg (2017-22) and funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation. The project sought to investigate the dynamics whereby sovereigns from the medieval Mediterranean (specifically Armenian Cilicia, southern

40 Paul Edward Dutton, *Charlemagne's Mustache and Other Cultural Clusters of a Dark Age* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 3-42; Horst Bredekamp, *Der schwimmende Souverän. Karl der Große und die Bildpolitik des Körpers. Eine Studie zum schematischen Bildakt* (Berlin: Wagenbach, 2014), pp. 45-49.

41 Oldstone-Moore, *Of Beards and Men*, pp. 97-104.

42 On the appreciation of Baldwin IV's political qualities despite his physical troubles see Bernard Hamilton, *The Leper King and His Heirs. Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 100-01.

43 Marc Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges. Étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale, particulièrement en France et en Angleterre* (Paris and Strasbourg: Librairie Istra, 1924).

44 On the 'culture of secrecy' as manifested in Japanese religious sensibility and the emperor's hidden body, see the essays gathered in *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*, ed. by Bernhard Scheid and Mark Teeuwen (Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2006), esp. Mark Teeuwen, 'Knowing vs. Owning a Secret: Secrecy in Medieval Japan, as Seen Through the *sokui kanjō Enthronement Unction*', pp. 172-203; Kadoya Atsushi, 'Myths, Rites, and Icons: Three Views of a Secret', pp. 269-83; Anne Walthall, 'Hiding

Italy, and the Kingdom of Aragon) made use of their own bodies as mediums of political and/or institutional communication. This volume includes contributions by scholars, from different countries and different fields of expertise, investigating the role played by the royal *apparatus* (in John of Saint Arnoul's sense, as 'scenery displaying royal magnificence') in the visual, performative, and experiential construction of kingship and its charismatic aura.

In an effort to overcome the traditional boundaries among material studies, art history, political theory, and *Repräsentationsgeschichte*, this book explores the premodern social settings in which the bodies of kings and queens were viewed, as well as experienced by other senses, and the multiple ways in which they were apprehended and invested with visual, metaphorical, and emotional associations. Moreover, it considers the ways in which such staging devices were inspired by, and reciprocally worked as sources of inspiration for, textual and pictorial representations of royalty. The contributions raise these questions within a wide spectrum of geohistorical milieus, encompassing the thirteenth-century Mongol Empire (Tioli), Sasanian Iran (Canepa), Solomonic Ethiopia (Gnisci), seventeenth-century Georgia (Natsvlishvili), Armenian Cilicia (Grigoryan), Byzantium (Eastmond, Parani, Studer-Karlen), the Angevin kingdom of Naples (Vagnoni), and medieval Iberia (Rutkowska, Fernández Pozzo, Serrano Coll). The presentation of specific case studies enables a comparative analysis that tackles such issues as the material accessibility of rulers, the environments in which they were viewed, their involvement in rituals and commemorative practices, and their belonging to a visual and spatial continuum shaped by built structures, architectural ornamentation, performative devices, objects, and images. Supplementing the case studies, Sabine Sommerer offers a far-reaching consideration of the ways in which Western medieval thrones evoked, by metonymy, the king's physical presence. Meanwhile, Kayoko Ichikawa examines how the Sienese communal administration staged the supernatural rulership of the only superior authority it acknowledged, namely the Virgin Mary. Several studies emphasize the frequent intersections between royal representation and the religious dimension, whether within liturgical rites or more intimate forms of devotion.

Finally, this volume should be understood as an invitation to pursue further transdisciplinary investigations of the multiple, imaginative, and terribly ambiguous ways in which, in past societies, the notion of a God-driven, eternal, and transpersonal royal power came to be associated with the material bodies of kings and queens, as well as further exploration of the impressive efforts made, in different cultures, to elude the conundrum of the latter's weakness, transitoriness, and individual distinctiveness.

the Shoguns: Secrecy and the Nature of Political Authority in Tokugawa Japan', pp. 331-56. See also Daniel Schley, *Herrschersakralität im mittelalterlichen Japan. Eine Untersuchung zur politisch-religiösen Vorstellungswelt des 13.-14. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: LIT, 2014) and the interesting comparison between the different conceptualizations of the emperor's body in the ceremonials of Japan and the Holy Roman Empire in Akira Akiyama, 'Relic or Icon? The Place and Function of Imperial Regalia', in *The Nomadic Object. The Challenge of the World for Early Modern Religious Art*, ed. by Christine Göttler and Mia M. Mochizuki (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 430-47.

Bibliography

Primary sources

Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb* (Beirut: Abbas, 1968).

de la Broquière, Bertrandon, *Voyage d'Outremer*, ed. by Charles Schefer (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892).

Ibn ʿIḏārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mugrib*, ed. and transl. by George S. Colin and Évariste Lévi-Provençal (Leiden: Brill, 1948-1951).

John of Saint Arnoul, *Vita Iohannis Gorziensis*, ed. by Michel Parisse, *La vie de Jean, abbé de Gorze* (Paris: Picard, 1999).

Liutprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, ed. by Johannes Becker, *Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum 41 (Hannover and Leipzig: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1915), pp. 1-158.

Liutprand of Cremona, *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana*, ed. by Johannes Becker, *Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum 41 (Hannover and Leipzig: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1915), pp. 175-212.

Secondary sources

Akiyama, Akira, 'Relic or Icon? The Place and Function of Imperial Regalia', in *The Nomadic Object. The Challenge of the World for Early Modern Religious Art*, ed. by Christine Gottler and Mia M. Mochizuki (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 430-47.

al-Azmeh, Aziz, *Muslim Kingship. Power and the Sacred in Muslim, Christian and Pagan Polities* (London: Bloomsbury, 1997).

Amari, Michele, *Le epigrafi arabiche di Sicilia* (Palermo: Luigi Pedone Lauriel, 1875).

Atsushi, Kadoya, 'Myths, Rites, and Icons: Three Views of a Secret', in *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*, ed. by Bernhard Scheid and Mark Teeuwen (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 269-83.

Bacci, Michele, 'Beards and the Construction of Facial Appearance in the Middle Ages', in *The Face in Medieval Culture, East and West*, ed. by Oleg Voskoboynikov (Florence: Sismel, 2022), pp. 115-31.

Barceló, Miquel, 'El califa patente: el ceremonial de Córdoba o la escenificación del poder', in *Madīnat al-Zahrā. El salón de ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III*, ed. by Antonio Vallejo Triano (Córdoba: Junta de Andalucía, 1995), pp. 155-75.

Belting, Hans, *Bild-Anthropologie. Entwürfe für eine Bildwissenschaft* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2001), pp. 22-38.

Belting, Hans, *Faces. Eine Geschichte des Gesichts* (Munich: Beck, 2013).

Bloch, Marc, *Les rois thaumaturges. Étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale, particulièrement en France et en Angleterre* (Paris and Strasbourg: Librairie Istra, 1924).

Borri, Francesco, 'Murder by Death: Alboin's Life, End(s), and Means', *Millennium-Jahrbuch*, 8 (2011), pp. 223-70.

Bouman, Cornelius Adrianus, *Sacring and Crowning: The Development of the Latin Ritual for the Anointing of Kings and the Coronation of an Emperor before the Eleventh Century* (Groningen: J.-B. Wolters, 1957).

Bredekamp, Horst, *Der schwimmende Souverän. Karl der Große und die Bildpolitik des Körpers. Eine Studie zum schematischen Bildakt* (Berlin: Wagenbach, 2014).

Brubaker, Leslie, 'Gesture in Byzantium', *Past and Present* 203 (2009), supplement 4, pp. 36-56.

Calvo Capilla, Susana, 'Los símbolos de la autoridad emiral (138/756-300/912): las mezquitas aljamas como instrumento de islamización y espacio de representación', in *De Hispalis a Isbiliya*, ed. by Alfonso Jiménez Martín (Sevilla: Aula Hernán Ruiz, 2009), pp. 87-110.

Canepa, Matthew, *The Two Eyes of the World: Art and Ritual of Kingship between Rome and Sasanian Iran* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Rituals, ed. by János M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean. Comparative Perspectives, ed. by Alexander Beihammer, Stavroula Constantinou and Maria Parani (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

de la Granja, Fernando, "A propósito de una embajada cristiana en la corte de ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III", *al-Andalus* 39 (1974), pp. 391-406.

Depreux, Philippe, 'Gestures and Comportment at the Carolingian Court: Between Practice and Perception', *Past and Present* 203 (2009), supplement 4, pp. 57-79.

Die Sakralität von Herrschaft: Herrschaftslegitimierung im Wechsel der Zeiten und Räume, ed. by Franz-Reiner Erkens (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002).

Dolezalek, Isabelle, *Arabic Script on Christian Kings. Textile Inscriptions on Royal Garments from Norman Sicily* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017).

Dutton, Paul Edward, *Charlemagne's Mustache and Other Cultural Clusters of a Dark Age* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 3-42.

El panteó reial de Santes Creus. Estudi i restauración de les tombes de Pere el Gran, de Jaume II i Blanca d'Anjou i de l'almirall Roger de Llúria, ed. by Marina Miquel, Ramon Sarobe, Carme Subiranas (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 2015).

Erlande-Brandenburg, Alain, *Le roi est mort. Étude sur les funérailles, les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1975).

Evans, Michael, *The Death of Kings: Royal Deaths in Medieval England* (London-New York: Hambledon, 2003).

Fierro, Maribel, 'Pompa y ceremonia en los califatos del Occidente islámico (s. II/VIII-IX/XV)', *Cuadernos del CEMyR*, 17 (2009), pp. 125-52.

Fitschen, Klaus, 'Ps.-Makarios als Zeuge und Kritiker spätantiker monarchischer Repräsentation', *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum*, 2 (1998), pp. 84-96.

Gaude-Ferragu, Murielle, *D'or et de cendres. La mort et les funérailles des princes dans le royaume de France au bas Moyen Âge* (Lille: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2005).

Grabowska, James A., 'The Rhetoric of Power in Juan Manuel's *El Conde Lucanor*', *South Central Review* 11/3 (1994), pp. 45-61.

Grossato, Aimone, 'The Vanishing Spaces of Islamic Courts (Ninth to Tenth Centuries), in *Place and Space in the Medieval World*, ed. by Meg Boulton, Jane Hawkes, and Heidi Stoner (New York and London: Routledge, 2018), pp. 178-86.

Hadda, Lamia, *L'architettura palaziale tra Africa del Nord e Sicilia normanna (secoli X-XII)* (Napoli: Liguori, 2015).

Hamilton, Bernard, *The Leper King and His Heirs. Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Hatshepsut from Queen to Pharaoh, ed. by Catharine H. Roehrig (New York and London: Yale University Press, 2005).

János M. Bak and Géza Pálffy, *Crown and Coronation in Hungary 1000-1916 A.D.* (Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities and Hungarian National Museum, 2020).

Kantorowicz, Ernst, *Laudes regiae. A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958).

Kantorowicz, Ernst, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study of Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957).

Kehnel, Annette, 'Le corps fragile du prince dans les rites d'investiture médiévale', in *Le corps du prince*, ed. by Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, Micrologus XXII (Florence: Sismel, 2014), pp. 679-704.

Keltner, Dacher, and Haidt, Jonathan, 'Approaching Awe, a Moral, Spiritual, and Aesthetic Emotion', *Cognition and Emotion*, 17 (2003), pp. 297-314.

Kinoshita, Sharon, and Mazo Karras, Ruth, *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature* (University Park, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

L'audience. Rituels et cadres spatiaux dans l'Antiquité et le Haut Moyen Âge, ed. by Jean-Pierre Caillet and Michel Sot (Paris: Picard, 2007).

La légimitité implicite, ed. by Jean-Philippe Genet (Paris-Rome: Éditions de la Sorbonne/École française de Rome, 2015).

La puissance royale, ed. by Emmanuelle Santinelli-Foltz and Christian-Georges Schwentzel (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2012).

Le Goff, Jacques, *Vers l'étiquette de cour: un dîner officiel de saint Louis et d'Henri III d'Angleterre* (Budapest: Collegium Budapest, 2000).

Le sacre des rois (Paris : Belles Lettres, 1985).

Lévi-Provençal, Évariste, *L'Espagne musulmane au Xe siècle. Institutions et vie sociale* (Paris: Larose, 1932).

MacCormack, Sabine, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990).

Malmberg, Simon, 'Dazzling Dining: Banquets as an Expression of Imperial Legitimacy', in *Eat, Drink, and Be Merry (Luke 12:19): Food and Wine in Byzantium*, ed. by Leslie Brubaker and Kalliroe Linardou (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 75-91.

Marin, Louis, 'Le pouvoir et ses représentations', in Louis Marin, *Politiques de la représentation* (Paris: Éditions Kime, 2005), pp. 71-86.

Marsham, Andrew, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy. Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).

Moin, A. Azfar, *The Millennial Sovereign. Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

Monarchische Herrschaftsformen in transkultureller Perspektive, ed. by Wolfram Drews, Antje Flüchter, Christoph Dartmann and others (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015).

Monotheistic Kingship: The Medieval Variants, ed. by Aziz al-Azmeh and János Bak (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2005).

Normore, Christina, *A Feast for the Eyes. Art, Performance, and the Late Medieval Banquet* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015).

Oesterle, Jenny Rahel, *Kalifat und Königtum. Herrschaftsrepräsentation der Fatimiden, Ottonen und früher Salier an religiösen Hochfesten* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2009).

Oldstone-Moore, Christopher, *Of Beards and Men. The Revealing History of Facial Hair* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2016).

Palais et pouvoir. De Constantinople à Versailles, ed. by Marie-France Auzépy and Joël Cornette (Saint-Denis: Presses universitaires de Versailles, 2003).

Palatium Sacrum. Sakralität am Hof des Mittelalters. Orte, Dinge, Rituale, ed. by Manfred Luchterhandt and Hedwig Röckelein (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2021).

Paravicini Bagliani, Agostino, *Morte e elezione del papa: norme, riti e conflitti* (Rome: Viella, 2013).

Paravicini Bagliani, Agostino, *The Pope's Body* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

Politische Inszenierung im 20. Jahrhundert. Zur Sinnlichkeit der Macht, ed. by Sabine R. Arnold, Christian Fuhrmeister and Dietmar Schiller (Wien: Böhlau, 1998).

Représentation, pouvoir et royauté à la fin du Moyen Âge, ed. by Joël Blanchard (Paris: Picard, 1995).

Rites of Power. Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics since the Middle Ages, ed. by Sean Wilentz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).

Rituals of Royalty. Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies, ed. by Simon Price and David Cannadine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Ruggles, D. Fairchild, 'Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty: Race, Genealogy, and Acculturation in al-Andalus', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34/1 (2004), pp. 65-94.

Safran, Janina, 'Ceremony and Submission: The Symbolic Representation and Recognition of Legitimacy in Tenth-Century al-Andalus', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 58 (1999), pp. 191-201.

Sakralisierungen des Herrschers an europäischen Höfen, ed. by Herbert Karner, Eva-Bettina Krems, Jens Niebaum and Werner Telesko (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2019).

Sanders, Paula, *Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Cairo* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994).

Schley, Daniel, *Herrschersakralität im mittelalterlichen Japan. Eine Untersuchung zur politisch-religiösen Vorstellungswelt des 13.-14. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: LIT, 2014).

Schreiner, Peter, 'Das Herrscherbild in der byzantinischen Literatur des 9. bis 11. Jahrhunderts', *Saeculum*, 35 (1984), pp. 132-51.

Sénac, Philippe, 'Note sur les relations diplomatiques entre les comtes de Barcelone et le califat de Cordoue au Xe siècle', in *Histoire et archéologie des terres catalanes au Moyen Âge,* ed. by Philippe Sénac (Perpignan: Presses universitaires de Perpignan, 1995), pp. 87-101.

Skinner, Patricia, *Living with Disfigurement in Early Medieval Europe* (University Park, PA: Penn Press, 2017).

Smith, Colin, *Christians and Moors in Spain* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1988-1993), I: *AD 711-1150*.

Teeuwen, Mark, 'Knowing vs. Owning a Secret: Secrecy in Medieval Japan, as Seen Through the *sokui kanjō Enthronement Unction*', in *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*, ed. by Bernhard Scheid and Mark Teeuwen (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 172-203.

The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion, ed. by Bernhard Scheid and Mark Teeuwen (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006).

The Emperor's House. Palaces from Augustus to the Age of Absolutism, ed. by Michael Featherstone, Jean-Michel Spieser, Gülru Tanman and Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015).

Treitinger, Otto, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Ausgestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell* (Bad Homburg: H. Gentner, 1938).

van Berkel, Maaike, "Politics of Access at the Court of the Caliph", in *New Perspectives on Power and Political Representation from Ancient History to the Present Day: Repertoires of Representation*, ed. by Harm Kaal and Daniëlle Slootjes (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 26-36.

Walthall, Anne, 'Hiding the Shoguns: Secrecy and the Nature of Political Authority in Tokugawa Japan', in *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*, ed. by Bernhard Scheid and Mark Teeuwen (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 331-56.

MATTHEW P. CANEPA

Staging the Body of the Lord of the Sevenfold World
Methectic Spaces and Chiasmatic Viewing in Sasanian Iran

This chapter explores the visibility and materiality of the body of the sovereign as a technology of power in Sasanian Iran.* Through analysis of a broad array of objects, structures, and landscapes that the royal image inflected, including the living king himself, it approaches the king's body as both a perceptible and conceptual phenomenon that manifested not only corporeally but also through a continuum of visual, material, spatial, and environmental contexts. These range from the interior spaces of palaces to the very landscape of the Iranian Plateau. The Sasanian king's audience halls and thrones were legendary in the late antique world, and their memory lingered in medieval European and Islamic ecumenes long after the fall of the empire. Appropriately, the theatrical staging of the king's body in audience halls and on thrones will be an important focus, as will the attendant architectural, ceremonial, and technological supports, which were deployed to shape and augment the experience of the sovereign's sacred presence. Moreover, we will consider the role of portable objects – such as textiles, precious-metal vessels, as well as mass media like seals and coinage – in bringing the image of the king before the eyes of his power bases and his populace. Our goal, therefore, is not simply to re-examine the evidence of such phenomena but to reconstruct a broader visuality of power centred on the king's image.

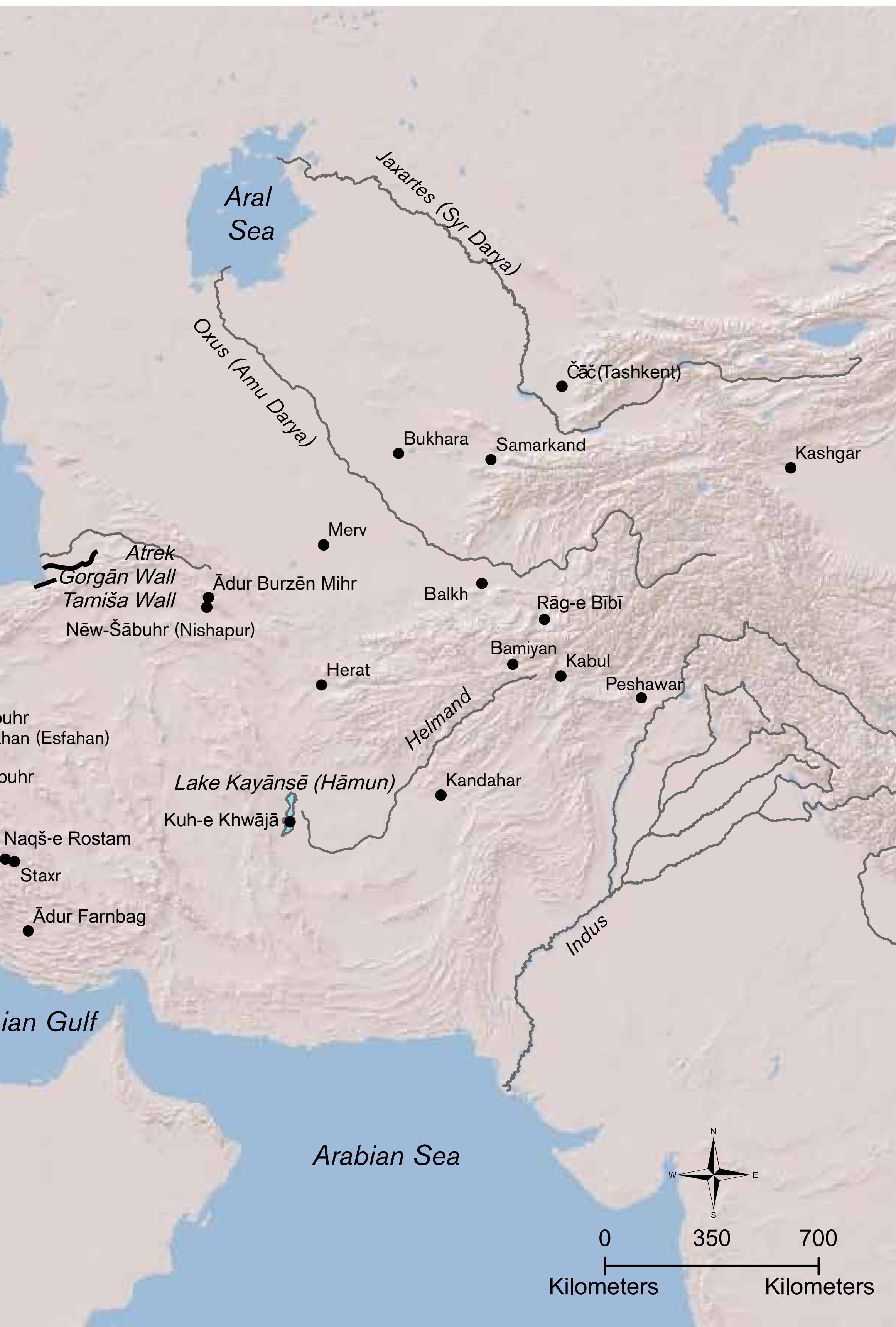
Sasanian History and Imperial Cosmology

The Sasanian Empire (224-642) was the last great Iranian empire before the rise of Islam (see map 1). The early Sasanians began as petty rulers in Pārs (Persia), the region in southwestern Iran that had been the homeland of the first Persian empire (550-333 BCE), ruled by the Achaemenid dynasty. Although separated from the Achaemenids by five centuries, the early Sasanians, living under the shadows of their rock reliefs and the ruins of their palaces, understood them to be their ancestors. In the Sasanians' official histories, the Achaemenid kings are presented as the last members of the legendary Kayānid dynasty to rule Iran before the invasion of 'Evil Alexander the Roman' and Iran's subsequent fragmentation and rule by 'petty kings', as the Sasanians referred to the members of the Arsacid dynasty (ca 247 BCE–224 CE).

* Abbreviations and shortened titles follow the conventions of *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online* (*EIrO*). I thank my graduate research assistant, Mark Gradoni, for his help in preparing the manuscript.

DOI 10.1484/M.HMSAH-EB.5.135003. This is an open access chapter made available under a CC BY-NC 4.0 International License.

✦ Map 1. Western Asia under the Sasanian Empire.


Aral Sea
Jaxartes (Syr Darya)
Oxus (Amu Darya)
Čāč (Tashkent)
Bukhara
Samarkand
Kashgar
Merv
Atrek
Gorgān Wall
Tamiša Wall
Ādur Burzēn Mihr
Balkh
Rāg-e Bībī
Nēw-Šābuhr (Nishapur)
Bamiyan
Kabul
Herat
Peshawar
Helmand
Lake Kayānsē (Hāmun)
Kandahar
Kuh-e Khwājā
Naqš-e Rostam
Staxr
Ādur Farnbag
Indus
Arabian Sea
N
W
E
S
0
350
700
Kilometers
Kilometers

Upon overthrowing the Arsacids and seizing their empire, the first two Sasanian kings succeeded in expanding their territories further into the Caucasus and up to the Hindu Kush and appropriating the lands of the former Kushan Empire (ca first century to mid-third century CE), in present-day Afghanistan. The Sasanian founder, Ardaxšīr I (r. 224-42), called his new empire Ērānšahr, the 'Empire of the Iranians' and himself 'King of the Iranians'. With this designation, he adapted the ancient religious concept of the 'Iranian Expanse' (*Avestan Airiiana vaējah*, Middle Persian: *Ērānwēz*), the eastern Iranian 'holy land', which, according to Zoroastrian sacred cosmology, lay at the centre of the 'Sevenfold World'. With his victories over the Roman armies and his successful invasion of northern India, Ardaxšīr's successor, Šābuhr I (r. 242-72), proclaimed himself 'King of Kings of Iranians and Non-Iranians'. After centuries of ebb and flow, the empire reached its peak under its last great king, Husraw II (r. 590-628), who took the Roman Levant and Egypt and besieged Constantinople, ruling for a decade from the Nile to the Oxus before being checked by the Roman emperor Heraclius's counter-invasion, which weakened the empire and contributed to its conquest by the Arabs. Via mercantile networks that extended from the Persian Gulf to the South China Sea, Sasanian visual and material culture made a dramatic impact on the late antique and early medieval Afro-Eurasian spheres.

Though the terms 'Iran' and 'Iranian' appear in a religious sense in the Avesta – the oldest texts in an Iranian language, which where used by the Achaemenids to designate their ethno-ruling class and language – the Sasanians were the first in history to employ this nomenclature in a unitary religious, ethnic, social, and political sense.[1] As they took supreme power, they laid claim to the more expansive eastern Iranian legacies of the mythological Pišdādiān and Kayānid 'dynasties', believed to have presided over the first golden ages of the earth and to have fought against dragons, demons, and evil non-Iranian usurpers. This mythology, present in the scriptures of the nascent Zoroastrian religion, appealed to a wide number of Iranian peoples beyond Persia. By the late empire, the Sasanian court had produced an epic history, the *Xwadāy-nāmag* (Book of Sovereigns). This, in turn, inspired Ferdowsi's medieval poem the *Šāh-nāma* (Book of Kings), which presented the dynasty as the heir to this ancient royal lineage that had begun with the first king of humanity, amid a legendary world whose geopolitical struggles provided templates for addressing contemporary realities.

According to the Avesta, the earth was divided into seven continental sections, with Iran lying at the heart of the central continent, which was also the largest one and the only originally inhabited by humans.[2] In the late antique formulation, all the kingdoms of the earth were arrayed around Iran. The heavens were understood to be domical and to consist of multiple overlaid spheres containing the zodiac, the milky way, and sun and moon, that is, the 'Good Luminaries' that guide and protect the earth.

1 Gherardo Gnoli, *The Idea of Iran: An Essay on Its Origins*, Serie Orientale, 62 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio e Estremo Oriente, and Leiden: Brill, 1989), pp. 122-45.

2 Antonio Panaino, 'Cosmologies and Astrology', in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism*, ed. by Michael Stausberg and Yuhan Sohrab-Dinshaw Vevaina (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 2015), pp. 235-58.

Sasanian imperial cosmology adapted Zoroastrian sacred cosmology to place the empire at the centre of the earth and to position the Sasanian sovereign as the true king of kings in a global sense. In contrast to Roman, Chinese, and Indian royal cosmologies, the members of the Sasanian dynasty thus self-consciously defined themselves as kings of kings in relation to a wider Afro-Eurasian community of sovereigns. This is a subtle but very important distinction: as in the epic histories, great sovereigns and rich empires could exist outside of the empire of the Iranians, yet the Iranian king of kings, the font of all legitimacy, was their divinely ordained superior; and this remained the case when, as happened not infrequently in both epic and Sasanian history, the non-Iranian rulers 'rebelled', invaded Iran, and even defeated or killed an Iranian king in battle. This formulation was powerful insofar as the past it presented reflected the contemporaneous state of affairs in Afro-Eurasian politics and provided a coherent narrative to predict and explain it, one wherein the Iranians always prevailed.

These aspects of Zoroastrian cosmology provide important perspective on the stories the empire of the Iranians told itself about its own nature and place in the universe. Meanwhile, the Iranian nobility and subjects knew and experienced the king's cosmological place and function visually, spatially, and ritually, as did foreign powers. Persian palaces and audience halls, along with the natural environment and precious objects, played a central role in this. These were not just expressions of Persian political cosmology but were how and where this cosmology was ritually emplaced and perceived as a shared reality, a methexis of art and life.[3] Moreover, as this essay goes on to consider, individuals confronted with these alluring, and at times terrifying, spaces and images engaged in a 'chiasmatic' mode of viewing that both constituted and manipulated their subjectivity by proxy for their patrons.[4] While these theoretical terms and associated art-historical debates do not map precisely onto imbrications of the material and the conceptual as the ancient Persians would have understood it, putting them into dialogue provides new insights into both.[5]

The Sasanian Royal Image

The Sasanians created a novel image of transcendent, divinely inspired kingship with a repertoire of simple yet powerful themes and iconographies that spread across Iran and the Afro-Eurasian world in a wide variety of media, including architectural reliefs in stucco, fresco, rock crystal, and textiles and on silver vessels, semi-precious stones, cameos, and seals. Moreover, the dynasty reinvigorated the tradition of carving monumental rock reliefs, which had fallen into

3 Here I am not deploying the term in its strict Platonic sense but from the perspective of performance theory. See Matthew Rahaim, 'Theories of Participation', in *Theory for Ethnomusicology: Histories, Conversations, Insights*, ed. by Harris M. Berger and Ruth M. Stone (New York, NY: Routledge, 2019), pp. 219-32. In a similar vein, see Zainab Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time, and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), pp. 87-114.

4 See Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Visible and the Invisible* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1968), pp. 130-55. Jacques Lacan, *Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis* (New York, NY, and London: W. W. Norton and Company, 1998), pp. 67-122.

5 On the intersection between 'material' and 'conceptual' in ancient Iranian theorizations, see Matthew P. Canepa, *The Iranian Expanse: Transforming Royal Identity through Architecture, Landscape, and the Built Environment, 550 BCE-642 CE* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2018), pp. 12-14.

✦ Fig. 1
Husraw II (center) receiving diadems from the goddess Anāhīd and the god Ohrmazd with the king as horseman below. 'Apse' of the Great Ayvān, Ṭāq-e Bostān, Iran. Monumental rock relief. Early 7th century CE. (photo: Matthew P. Canepa).

✦ Fig. 2
Plate with Yazdgird I slaying a stag. Silver with mercury amalgam gilt. 399-420 CE. NY Metropolitan Musem of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1970. Accession Number: 1970.6

abeyance in the late Parthian period. As showcased on their coinage, which provides the most complete record of representations of the Sasanian ruler, each king wore a personalized crown distinguished by increasingly complex combinations of astral and divine symbols, such as solar rays, lunar crescents, stars, and wings. Sasanian coins and seals most often portray the king in a bust-length profile to display this distinctive crown in the most visually impactful manner. Husraw II's rock relief at Ṭāq-e Bostān shows the late Sasanian royal costume covered in elaborate textile designs and jewelled appliqué. Augmenting the surviving artistic evidence, which largely lacks polychromy, post-Sasanian literary sources attest that each king's royal costume differed in colour.[6]

In the rock reliefs of the early empire, the king is commonly shown either standing or mounted in simple yet powerful scenes of triumph and divine investiture or receiving the adoration of the courtly hierarchy.[7] Appearing across a breadth of media, the image of the king hunting was one of the most popular themes in late antique Iran. In addition to two rock reliefs of Šābuhr I and Wahrām II and textual descriptions of mural paintings in palaces, surviving stucco sculptures, as well as a sizable corpus of silver plate distributed as gifts to courtiers, client kings, and rival emperors, depict the ruler as a royal hunter, most characteristically of various exotic and symbolically charged game such as lions, rams, and ostriches. In another common iconography, second in popularity only to the 'royal hunter' type and found in a handful of rock reliefs and often on crystal and silver objects, the king appears either seated frontally on a throne borne by fantastic creatures or standing on a dais. While only the very privileged would have been able to see the king in glory in one of the legendary Sasanian audience halls – seated on a colossal throne, surrounded by cosmic imagery, and augmented with atmospheric effects – such images were indexically and symbolically connected to that experience and space.[8]

The image of the Sasanian king was intended to overawe the viewer (Fig. 1). As in verbal discourse, the ruler is portrayed visually as partner to the 'Good Luminaries', guiding and protecting the earth like these celestial deities.[9] Particularly important were the iconographic innovations that the Sasanians developed to newly visualize the ancient idea of the 'Iranian Royal Fortune', the spiritual force empowering the rightful Iranian sovereign and manifesting as a bodily glow.[10] As in the art of the Kushans and later the Romans, a disk nimbus expressed the Sasanian king's *xwarrah*, creating an iconography that was mutually interpretable with portrayals of rival emperors' institutional sanctity (Fig. 2).[11]

By the late empire, the Sasanian king and courtiers were portrayed swathed in richly ornamented textiles, which were imitated by later medieval Central Asian workshops and gained great popularity throughout the Afro-Eurasian world (Fig. 3).[12] While not depicting the king

6 Matthew P. Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the Earth: Art and Ritual of Kingship between Rome and Sasanian Iran*, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 45 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009), p. 202.

7 Reliefs surveyed in Matthew P. Canepa, 'Sasanian rock reliefs', in *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran*, ed. by Daniel T. Potts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 856-77.

8 Canepa, *The Iranian Expanse*, pp. 340-44.

9 A slogan absorbed even into Roman sources, such as Amm. Marc. 17.5.3.

10 Avestan *x*ᵛ*arənah-*; Middle Persian, Parthian *farrah* or *xwarrah*. See Gnoli Gherardo, 'Farr(ah)', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online* (1999).

11 Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the Earth*, pp. 192-96.

12 Matthew P. Canepa, '"Position and Honor": Iranian Sartorial and Commensal Politics and the Transformation of the Late Antique Afro-Eurasian Sensorium of Power', in *Persian Cultures of Power and the Entanglement of the Afro-Eurasian World*, ed. by Matthew Canepa (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute Publications, in press).

✦ Fig. 3
Left side wall of the Great Ayvān, Ṭāq-e Bostān, Iran.
Early 7th century CE. (photo: Matthew P. Canepa).

figurally, the most prestigious of these ornamental motifs included fantastic creatures like winged horses or beasts combining leonine, avian, and aquatic features symbolic of the Iranian Royal Fortune. Characterized by shimmering gold-stitched robes resplendent with images of supernatural creatures and often thickly covered with pearls and glinting jewels, their court costume had the effect of manifesting a dazzling glow before those present. These ornamental motifs migrated into an array of other media. Their connection to the precious silk textiles of the court of the king of kings, who wore such fabrics and gifted them to those he favoured, imbued them with a numinous quality in that they functioned as a symbolic referent to the sovereign.

From a certain perspective, the Sasanian royal image might be seen as the culmination of the traditions of the ancient Near East. Indeed, many of the themes, media, object types, and spaces that were important for showcasing the Sasanian royal image are broadly consonant with those deployed by earlier Iranian dynasties and Near Eastern empires, including images of the king hunting, monumental rock-cut sculpture and precious-metal vessels, and the general grandeur of the palace and throne room. However, as in Sasanian art and architecture more generally, outright innovations outnumber unbroken continuities, and the royal image was a new image for a new age. Compared to the deliberate conservatism of the Achaemenids and, for that matter, the relative stability of the Seleucid and Roman imperial image, Sasanian kings revelled in variety, novelty, and diverse influences from all over the globe. Their visual culture integrated a range of visual motifs, iconographies, and artisanal traditions not just from the lands they ruled but also from those of neighbours and rivals, including Rome, India, and the Central Asian steppe. Moreover, the new royal image that emanated from their court, along with their

cultures of luxury and innovative architectural traditions, were pivotal in catalysing new medieval visualities of power and sanctity in Western, Central, and South Asia, as well as Europe.[13]

The Royal Presence and Royal Image within the Landscape of Iran

The king of kings made his presence felt throughout the lands of his empire, and in certain cases those of his neighbours and rivals, via iterant shows of force, which included not only prosecuting actual military campaigns but also moving seasonally among royal residences and estates and visiting important fire sanctuaries. Even in his absence, such structures and the images they carried established his presence by proxy, as did rock reliefs carved throughout the empire's landscape.

Over the centuries, the Sasanian kings built numerous royal estates (Middle Persian: *dastgird*) in Mesopotamia and on the Iranian Plateau, which hosted country manors, storehouses, facilities for agricultural and industrial activity, as well as hunting parks. By the seventh century, Husraw II had constructed a chain of hunting estates on the route linking Ctesiphon with the northern Iranian Plateau.[14] The palaces at such sites could be colossal. While we hear more about the palace called 'Dastagerd' in Roman sources, the ʾEmārat-e Ḵosrow at Qaṣr-e Šīrīn is better preserved. The archaeology of the site is unclear and it is possible that much of it was constructed after the coming of Islam, but conceptually it relies on Sasanian ideas if not ground plans. Originally, it lay at the centre of an enormous walled enclosure, the perimeter of which measured ca 6000 metres, enclosing an area of approximately 120 hectares that was itself divided into multiple subsections. An inner wall that extended west from the outer one, before turning north, closed off a large space that contained a palace fronted by a reflecting pool and formal garden. The area to the west was likely dedicated to a hunting enclosure.

These staged progresses could extend beyond the frontiers. Over the course of Husraw I's wars with the Roman emperor Justinian I, the king of kings showed himself in numerous ritual performances meant to prove to his elites the veracity of the Iranian cosmic order. After concluding his campaign against the Romans and sacking Antioch, Husraw I bathed in the Mediterranean Sea and offered sacrifices.[15] In addition to usurping the Roman emperor's seat in the kathisma of Apamea's hippodrome, Husraw I treated the Roman lands as his own.[16] He made a show of caring for Roman farms, encouraging them to become fecund, as well as for the peasantry, even dispensing alms to them.[17] While Husraw I's performative bathing and usurpation of the Roman emperor's place at the hippodrome offered a humiliating rebuke to Justinian, this use of the landscape as stage follows in a long line of kings who marched from Mesopotamia to 'make sacrifices' and 'wash their weapons in the sea', stretching back to the third millennium BCE.[18]

13 André Grabar, 'Le rayonnement de l'art sassanide dans le monde chrétien', in *La Persia nell Medioevo. Atti Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1971), p. 679; Canepa, 'Position and Honor'.
14 Canepa, *The Iranian Expanse*, pp. 356-74.
15 Procop. *Pers.* 2.11.
16 Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the Earth*, p. 173.
17 Discussed in Richard Payne, 'Cosmology and the Expansion of the Iranian Empire, 502-628 CE', *Past and Present*, 220/1 (2013), 3-33 (pp. 21-22).
18 Robert Rollinger, 'From Sargon of Agade and the Assyrian Kings to Khusrau I and Beyond: On the Persistence of Ancient Near Eastern Traditions', in *Leggo! Studies Presented to Frederick Mario Fales on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. by Giovanni B. Lanfranchi, Daniele Morandi Bonacossi, Cinzia Pappi, and Simonetta Ponchia (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), pp. 725-43.

The kings of kings regularly visited the empire's most important fire temples, especially before and after battles, and these complexes played a notable role in staging the king's body. While the *Šāh-nāma* provides rather stereotyped and programmatic portrayals of royal activities, it offers some specificity regarding Husraw II's visit to the sanctuary of fire Ādur Gušnasp after defeating the usurper Wahrām Čōbēn.[19] According to this medieval recollection, the king spent a week at the site offering prayers of thanksgiving in which he processed around the fire reciting the Zand and Avesta. When the king of kings was personally absent from the sanctuaries, an array of images of him instantiated his presence by proxy; moreover, the close architectural contiguity of audience halls at such sites implied a phenomenological fusion between the liturgies of royal ceremonial and the rituals enacted at the sanctuaries. In the experience of pilgrims, Zoroastrianism's holiest sites were inextricably bound to and framed by images not only of the sovereign himself but also of his ancestors and the gods, a theme that was promulgated in 'mass media' on the reverses of most Sasanian coins, which portrayed the king's regnal fire.[20]

The sprawling mountaintop complex of Kuh-e Khwājā, at the centre of Lake Hāmun near the present-day Iranian and Afghan border, hosted one of Zoroastrianism's oldest and most venerated holy sites: the sanctuary of Lake Kayānsē.[21] The lake was understood to preserve the seed of Zoroaster, which would impregnate a virgin, who would in turn bear Sošans. This 'future saviour' would lead the battle against the forces of the Evil Spirit at the end of days. As viewers/pilgrims progressed through the gateways, terraces, and courts of the site, they encountered murals and clay reliefs of kings (Fig. 4) and, upon reaching the exterior of the fire temple at the complex's core, a stucco relief of a royal hunter. The *Šāh-nāma* recounts that kings lavished rich gifts on such fire temples.[22] Husraw I and Husraw II extended such patronage to the Christian shrine of St Sergius.[23] These architectural emendations and gestures of donation effected, by proxy, the permanent presence of the sovereign and framed the viewer/pilgrim's experience of the holy site.

The King's Body in Living Rock

The dominant figures of all major Sasanian rock reliefs were kings of kings, and the creation of a relief was a tightly controlled royal prerogative. As I have explored in several other publications, rock-cut sculpture constructed local and regional topographies of power and sanctity, transmuting ephemeral visits as well as contemporary concerns and triumphs into seemingly timeless images.[24] These works converted significant natural features across the empire into

19 Ferdowsi, *Šāh-nāma*, ed. Bertels, IX, pp. 135-36 (2130-31).

20 Frantz Grenet, 'Cosa sappiamo dei pellegrinaggi nel mondo iraniano preislamico', in *La bisaccia del pellegrino: Fra evocazione e memoria*, ed. by A. Balbeo and S. Piano (Ponzano Monferrato: ATLAS, Centro di Documentazione dei Sacri Monti, Calvari e Complessi Devozionali Europei, 2010), pp. 167-82.

21 Canepa, *The Iranian Expanse*, pp. 272-81.

22 Ṯaʿālebi, *Ġorar*, pp. 359-60; Ṭabari, pp. 864-66 (Ṭabari, trans. 93-99); Balʿami, ed. Bahār, p. 942.

23 St John Simpson, 'Christians at Nineveh in Late Antiquity', *Iraq*, 67/1 (2005), 285-94.

24 Matthew P. Canepa, 'Technologies of Memory in Early Sasanian Iran: Achaemenid Sites and Sasanian Identity', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 114/4 (Oct. 2010), 563-96; Matthew P. Canepa, 'Topographies of Power: Theorizing the Visual, Spatial and Ritual Contexts of Rock Reliefs in Ancient Iran', in *Of Rocks and Water: Towards an Archaeology of Place*, ed. by Ömür Harmanşah (Oxford and Philadelphia, PA: Oxbow Books, 2014), pp. 53-92; Matthew P. Canepa, 'Inscriptions, Royal Spaces and Iranian Identity: Epigraphic Practices in Persia and the Ancient Iranian World', in *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World*, ed. by A. Eastmond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 10-35; Matthew P. Canepa, 'Sculpting in Time: Rock Reliefs, Inscriptions and the Transformation of Iranian Memory and Identity', in *Carvings in and out of Time: Afterlives of Rock-Cut Reliefs in the Ancient Near East*, ed. by Jonathan Ben Dov and Felipe Rojas (Leiden: Brill, 2021), pp. 219-69.

✦ Fig. 4
Remains of royal figure in stucco at the entrance to the inner sanctuary. North Wall of the Central Court (Photo: The Ernst Herzfeld Papers (FSA A.6 04.GN.1173), Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.).

dynastic monuments. Moreover, rock-cut sculpture allowed the dynasty to make meaningful connections with the architectural, and especially the rupestrian, vestiges of the earlier cultures and empires of pre-Iranian Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and the Iranian Plateau, even in cases where the identity of the creators of those earlier reliefs were unknown and the scripts and languages of the inscriptions had long since been forgotten. Images of Sasanian kings proliferated at natural sites considered sacred, such as rivers, lakes, and springs, as well as amid ruins understood to be traces of their Kayānid ancestors, like Naqš-e Rostam, which the dynasty turned into a religious centre (Fig. 5).

Rock reliefs played an especially important role in seeding the landscape of Iran with the royal image. Emanating from cities and linking together important landforms, this 'ideational infrastructure' of rock art integrated the king's presence into the countryside, organizing its space. The Sasanian kings were prolific city founders, especially the first two in the line, who concentrated their efforts on the dynasty's homeland of Pārs. These Sasanian cities stood at the centre of 'memorial zones' whose associated features – from rock reliefs to pavilions, bridges, hydraulic works, and agricultural installations – projected the king's presence throughout the surrounding landscape. The reliefs they carved in the vicinity of these cities anchored their new urban foundations in the timeless living rock and visually claimed the roads and waterways radiating from them.

Indeed, certain rock reliefs were created to simultaneously display the royal image and (potentially) frame the body of the living king. Two of the reliefs carved before the spring at the hunting estate at Ṭāq-e Bostān take the form of a barrel-vaulted palace and likely functioned as

✦ Fig. 6
Šābuhr I (239/40-270/2 CE) hunting rhinoceros. Rock relief at Rāg-e Bībī, Afghanistan (Photo: Courtesy Frantz Grenet and François Ory).

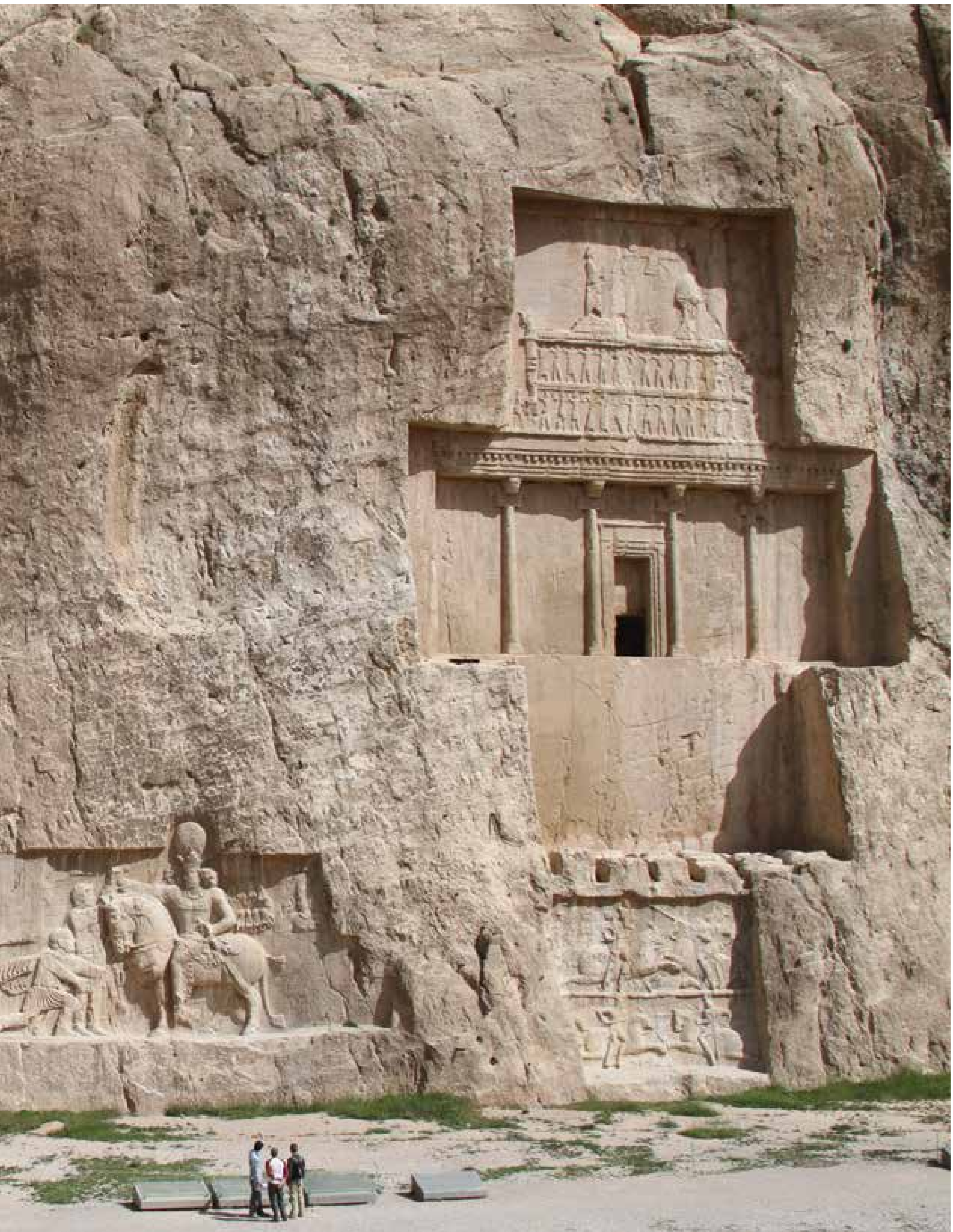
pavilions (Fig. 1). In one notable survival, a king claimed territories by carving a relief: after his invasion of Afghanistan and northern India, Šābuhr I carved a relief deep within the conquered lands of what had been the heart of the northern portion of the Kushan Empire, portraying the king hunting rhinoceroses (Fig. 6). Given its importance, it is not impossible that this relief commemorated actual hunts enjoyed by the king in his new territories, presaging Husraw I's performances calibrated for different audiences. This region, Baḡlān, hosted numerous Kushan dynastic sanctuaries. Given its location on the trade route connecting Central Asia with the Indian subcontinent, the relief at once claimed this transcontinental network and 'branded' the former Kushan dynastic landscape with the image of its new master hunting a beast that (if actually hunted) would have been brought north from its natural habitat, which lay further to the south in the remainder of the Kushans' Indian domains.

Staging the King's Body within the Augmented Realities of the Palace

The palace, both its interior and exterior spaces, offered the most important setting for royal presence.[25] The largest and most significant Sasanian palaces integrated exterior spaces for

25 Dealt with in greater detail in Canepa, *The Iranian Expanse*, pp. 324-44.

✦ Fig. 5
Rock relief of Šābuhr I (239/40-270/2 CE) between the Achaemenid tomb of Darius I (522-486 BCE) (right) and the tomb attributed to Artaxerxes I (465-424 BCE) (Photo: Matthew P. Canepa).



✦ Fig. 7
Ruins of the Sasanian audience hall at the sanctuary of Ādur Gušnasp (Taḵt-e Solaymān, Iran). Ca. 5th – 7th century CE (Photo: Matthew P. Canepa).

✦ Fig. 8
The Ayvān (or Ṭāq)-e Kesrā. Aspānbar (present-day Iraq). Ca. 6th – 7th centuries CE. Photographed by Marcel Dieulafoy before 1888.

public ceremonial, in which to display the king in glory to the populace at large, with more tightly controlled and stage-managed interior spaces, such as throne rooms and banquet halls. While the interior of the audience hall was not accessible to all people, it was perceptible to all in the surrounding region through the constant, looming presence of the exterior of the palace in the cityscape or countryside. As a metonymic extension of the king's presence, palaces occupied privileged places within the urban and regional topography.

The most important palaces that survive were not necessarily made for habitation – other structures served this purpose – but primarily as stages for imperial ceremony. These include the palace of Ardaxšīr I at his newly established city of Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah and the audience hall at the fire temple of Ādur Gušnasp in northwestern Iran (Fig. 7). Around the sprawl of conjoined metropolises that grew up around Seleucia-Ctesiphon, known as 'The Cities' (Syriac: Māḥozē; Arabic: al-Madā'in), the Sasanian court made use of multiple interior and exterior spaces to stage the body of the king in a range of ceremonies, from mass spectacles held in open air to intricate liturgies performed with the support of architectural and mechanical backdrops. The most important of these structures and spaces were clustered around the 'Ayvān' or 'Ṭāq-e Kesrā' (Fig. 8). The Ṭāq-e Kesrā was a Sasanian palace complex established at Aspānbar or 'New Ctesiphon' east of the Tigris, after the river shifted its course and flooded the old cities of the conurbation in the fifth century.

Surviving Sasanian palaces present an array of public and private spaces that likely accommodated court ceremonial. In addition, several country estates and important fire temples appear to have been equipped with audience halls. Medieval handbooks of court protocol provide us with a relatively detailed view of Sasanian court ceremony and etiquette; however, without a Sasanian 'Book of Ceremonies' as survives for the Late Roman/Byzantine Empire, we have no coeval textual materials that directly connect these ceremonies with specific architectural forms or structures. Nevertheless, the broad outlines can be reconstructed by putting a wide variety of Roman and medieval textual references into dialogue with the archaeological and visual evidence.

The Sasanian kings traditionally held large-scale public audiences twice a year: at Mehragān on the autumn equinox and at Nowruz, where the king showed himself directly to the populace each spring.[26] This was considered one of the most important duties of the king of kings, and failure to carry out these displays to the public was deemed the mark of a tyrant. The space to which the sources consistently allude as the pre-eminent one for public audiences is the *ayvān* of the palace of Ṭāq-e Kesrā in Aspānbar. The site was truly one of the great monuments of late antiquity, looming large in the early medieval imagination even after the empire's fall. From the fragmentary documentation available, it appears that the court held these mass public audiences in the open space before the main *ayvān*, with the king showing himself either on a throne within the main vaulted entranceway or on horseback or a throne atop a high platform placed in the open space before the palace. Built over the course of centuries but substantially in the sixth and seventh centuries, the façade features an enormous parabolic vault, which (at least at the time of writing) is still the largest brick vault in existence. What remains today is only a shell. The palace was stripped of all precious materials after the empire fell to the armies of

26 Bīrūnī, Āṯār, trans. Sachau, pp. 203-04; PS. al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-tāj = Le livre de la couronne*, trans. by Charles Pellat (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1954), pp. 145-60; Siyāsat-nāma 3, *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings*, trans. by Hubert Darke (London: Routledge, 1978), p. 14.

Islam and, in the subsequent decades and centuries, of its decoration as well. This process accelerated under the early Abbasid Caliphate, when the Sasanian palaces were spoliated not only for their ornamentation and brick but as an ideological expression of the caliphate's triumph.[27] Nevertheless, medieval geographers, poets, and historians preserve several traditions that shed some light on its prior interior decoration and significance.

Just as important were the more rarefied audiences held for the courtly hierarchy and envoys from foreign powers, like the king's Roman 'brother', which took place within the interior spaces of the palace.[28] The experience of an audience with the Persian king was intricately stage-managed to maximize its awe-inspiring effect. In essence, the king's body functioned as a prop – albeit the central prop – in the broader spectacle. Textual sources allude to a variety of art and architectural backdrops and even to mechanical 'special effects' that were deployed to create an otherworldly environment. Most courtiers were separated from the king by a veil during audiences and banquets. The privileged few admitted to his presence would behold the king as a superhuman manifestation of royal power: icon, index, and symbol collapsed into one.[29] In formal audiences, the late Sasanian kings wore elaborate ceremonial crowns, which were too heavy for a human neck to bear but seemingly floated effortlessly over the king of kings, supported either by some sort of jewelled device or by a golden chain suspended from the vault.[30] In addition to commenting on their overwhelming wealth, contemporary reports describe the gold-embroidered textiles and jewels as producing a somatic glow, manifesting a visual experience of the luminous, divine 'Royal Fortune' that settled on the body of every rightful Iranian ruler.[31] When the Arabs captured a group of palace household servants attempting to spirit the king's court regalia out of the city, the panoply was so large the servants needed mule train to do so. Indeed, the ceremonial crown itself weighed around two hundred pounds, but the king's courtly garb was also heavy with gold brocade and gems, which imparted to his body a luminous glow when worn.[32]

Palace as Stage, Map, and Microcosm

Several medieval sources maintain that each member of the Iranian aristocratic hierarchy, as well as those belonging to lower orders of court society, was assigned a fixed station within Sasanian audience and banquet halls alike.[33] For example, *The Book of the Crown* required that the

27 Martin Devecka, *Broken Cities: A Historical Sociology of Ruins* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2020); Sarah Bowen Savant, 'Forgetting Ctesiphon: Iran's Pre-Islamic Past, c. 800-1100', in *History and Identity in the Late Antique Near East*, ed. by Philip Wood (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 169-86.

28 Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the Earth*, pp. 122-87.

29 Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the Earth*, pp. 139-41.

30 Ps. al-Jāḥiẓ, pp. 56-57; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ed. and trans. by Barbier de Meynard, *Les prairies d'or*, 4 vols (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1861-77), II, p. 158; Arthur Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Paris: Geuthner, 1936), p. 44. Kayānid King Kay-Husraw referenced in Ferdowsi, *Šāh-nāma*, ed. Bertels, V, p. 382 (2472); V, p. 386 (2542); V, p. 387 (2563-64); V, p. 390 (2607); V, p. 390 (2610); Kayānid King Lohrāsp referenced in VI, p. 56 (757) among others; Manijeh Abka'i-Khavari, *Das Bild des Konigs in der Sasanidenzeit: Schriftliche Überlieferungen im Vergleich mit Antiquaria*, Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik, 13 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2000), pp. 78, 179.

31 Lib., *ep.* 35; Theophylact Simocatta 4.2.7-8.

32 Ṭabari, trans. 5.2446. A. Shalem, 'The Fall of al-Madā'in: Some Literary References Concerning Sasanian Spoils of War in Mediaeval Islamic Treasuries', *Iran*, 32 (1994), 77-81 (p. 78).

33 This expression and inculcation of hierarchy through space is captured, among other places, in Ps. al-Jāḥiẓ, pp. 51-52 and is also seen in contemporary Armenian court customs. See Christensen, *L'Iran*, p. 57; M.-L. Chaumont, 'L'ordre des préséances à la

nobles stand ten cubits from a veil that separated them from the king of kings, whose throne was placed ten cubits from the other side of the veil. Ten cubits separated the nobles from the next group, the king's family, courtiers, and counsellors, and ten again from the musicians and entertainers.[34] The only spaces that would accommodate the demands of this protocol were the Ayvān-e Kesrā's entrance *ayvān* and the interior great hall, which lay behind it. Given that the latter was a subsequent addition, it is likely that the main *ayvān* was built not just as an entrance or a venue for mass audiences but as the primary site for audiences early on.

The ritual space of the throne room presented a dynamic model of the world, one that set into a hierarchical relationship with the king of kings all elements of Iranian society and all-important earthly powers. The proximity of a courtier's placement to that of the sovereign during both banquets and audiences manifested his relative stature and importance, and if the king of kings became displeased, one's seat at court or banqueting cushions could be moved, or even removed altogether.[35] This is key for understanding an oft-quoted passage from the *Fārsnāma* of Ibn al-Balḵī:

> In the collection of customs of the reception hall of [Husraw I] was [one that dictated that], inside [the throne room], a golden chair was placed to the right of his throne, and in this manner golden chairs were placed also to the left and to the rear, thus three chairs. One of the chairs was for the king of China, another was for the king of Rome, and the third was that of the [Hephthalite] king. Year in and year out these three chairs stood, and they were not removed, and, but for these three, no other was allowed to sit on them.[36]

While no reigning king ever took his place on one of these golden chairs that were positioned around the throne of the king of kings, the chairs stood as proxies for the sitters, whose identities were continually defined and manipulated through their treatment in Sasanian court ritual. The source goes on to say that the Iranian king – as the true 'Lord of the Seven Climes' – would treat all three of the chairs the same, rearranging or removing them if their occupant displeased him, and thereby symbolically demoting or punishing the kings of the earth before his court, just as he would a disgraced courtier:

> And in front of the throne there was a golden throne on which [Wuzurgmihr ī Bōxtagān, the *wuzurg framadār*, or 'vizier'] sat and lower than that [chair] there was a chair of the chief Mobed and below that was a number of chairs for all the governors and nobles of the realm and the place of each one was fixed, so that no one would be able to make a dispute with another. And when Khosrow became angry with one, his chair was moved from the Ayvān.[37]

cour des Arsacides d'Arménie', *Journal Asiatique*, 254 (1966), 471-97. Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the Earth*, pp. 142-43.

34 Ps. al-Jāḥiẓ, pp. 51-52.

35 Canepa, 'Position and Honor'.

36 Ibn al-Balḵī, *Fārsnāma*, ed. and trans. by Guy Le Strange and R. A. Nicholson, *The Fārsnāma of Ibnu'l-Balkhí* (London: Printed by the Cambridge University Press for the Trustees of the E.J.W. Gibb Memorial, and published by Luzac, 1921), p. 97; trans. Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the Earth*, pp. 143.

37 Trans. Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the Earth*, pp. 143.

The court curated such spatial and performative experiences primarily for the benefit of their aristocratic power bases and internal courtly audience, but any foreign envoy who visited the court might also have witnessed – and possibly have found themselves incorporated into – this living microcosm.

The audience hall as map and microcosm manifests in many elements of the Ayvān's interior, such as the king of kings' thirty-metre-square silk banqueting carpet, interwoven with gold and jewels portraying vast, well-watered lands cultivated with flowers, fruit, and crops.[38] By at least the sixth century, the space of the Sasanian audience hall expanded to encompass not just the Sevenfold Earth but the entire cosmos. The literary evidence for this phenomenon is scattered yet cohesive. Descriptions of miraculous Sasanian thrones or throne rooms appear in an array of post-Sasanian literary sources. These are supplemented by evidence from multiple corroborating traditions, including Roman campaign dispatches, reports of the Arab sack of the Cities, medieval Islamic chronicles and poetic remembrances deriving from Sasanian court propaganda, and accounts of the empire's ruins in later tenth-century geographical texts. In addition, the medieval compendium of Zoroastrian learning known as the *Bundahišn* preserves a list of miraculous palaces and royal foundations built by the legendary Kayānid kings, possibly alluding to a larger body of Kayānid 'precedents' that the Sasanian kings sought to emulate or 'reconstruct'.[39]

The Sasanians' audience hall, much like their royal image, evidently made a big impact on the ancient world. Word of such spaces leaked out through Roman diplomatic reports, becoming common knowledge in the Roman Empire and imprinting several genres of literature. Descriptions of miraculous Sasanian thrones or throne rooms appear in a variety of post-Sasanian Arabic and Persian literary sources, as well as in Byzantine chronicles and later Western medieval romances. While scholarship in the last century, most notably that of Ernst Herzfeld and others who followed his forced harmonization of the evidence, assumed this to be a reference to a single throne at a single location, careful analysis of the textual and archaeological sources indicate that the Sasanians built such 'cosmic' thrones at multiple palatial sites.[40]

38 Ṭabarī, 1.2452; Balʿamī, *Tārīḵ*, trans. Zotenberg, 3:417-18. For its context within the palace, see Canepa, *The Iranian Expanse*, pp. 331, 338, and 359.

39 *Bundahišn* 32.1-15. *The Bundahišn: The Zoroastrian Book of Creation*, ed. and trans. by Dominico Agostini and Samuel Thrope (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 168-67.

40 Ernst Herzfeld, 'Der Thron des Khosrô: Quellenkritische und ikonographische Studien über Grenzgebiete der Kunstgeschichte des Morgen- und Abendlandes', Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, 41 (1920), 1-24; Fritz Saxl, 'Frühes Christentum und spätes Heidentum in ihren künstlerischen Ausdrucksformen', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 2/16 (1923), 63-121; Phyllis Ackerman, 'The Throne of Khusraw (The Takt-i Tāqdis)', *Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology*, 5/2 (1937), 106-09; Karl Lehmann, 'The Dome of Heaven', *Art Bulletin*, 27 (1945), 1-27; Arthur Upham Pope, 'A Sasanian Garden Palace', *Art Bulletin*, 15/1 (1933), 75-85; H. P. L'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World* (Oslo: Aschehoug; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953), pp. 18-27; Lars-Ivar Ringbom, *Graltempel und Paradies: Beziehungen zwischen Iran und Europa im Mittelalter* (Stockholm: Wahlstrom & Widstrand, 1951), pp. 68-75; Arthur Ulpham Pope, 'Persia and the Holy Grail', *Literary Review*, 1/1 (1957), 57-71; Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, 'Le Livre des Rois, miroir du destin II Takht-e-Soleyman et la symbolique du Shah-Name', *Studia Iranica*, 20/1 (1991), 33-148; Finbarr Barry Flood, 'From the Golden House to ʿA'isha's House. Cosmic Kingship and the Rotating Dome as Fact', in *Bamberger Symposium: Rezeption in der islamischen Kunst*, ed. by Barbara Finster, Christa Fragner, and Herta Hafenrichter (Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1999), pp. 97-128. Herzfeld, Ackerman, and Pope sought the Taḵt-e Ṭāqdis in portrayals of architectural fantasies or enthronement scenes in the Klimova and Qazvin plates and the bronze salver in Berlin. These claims were later met with deserved skepticism, not least because all the objects were later proven to be post-Sasanian. See P. O. Harper's assessment of the earlier literature in Prudence Oliver Harper, 'Thrones and Enthronement Scenes

This textual evidence of wondrous audience halls or thrones constellates around two sites: the palace adjoining the fire temple of Ādur Gušnasp at Taḵt-e Solaymān and the palace complex at Aspānbar, to the east of Ctesiphon. Moreover, it is likely that such symbolism overlaid other audience halls as well, which might account for the gloss on the word *ouranos* in the lexicon of Hesychius of Alexandria: 'The Persians [call] "heavens" (*ouranous*) the [audience] halls which [have] vaulted coverings'.[41] While none of its interior decoration survives, the *ayvān* of the palace of the ʾEmārat-e Ḵosrow was arranged such that, in the early seventh century, the sun would have risen on Nowruz in almost perfect alignment with the entrance vault, reflecting the parallel between audience hall and the movements of the cosmos.[42]

Many of the later textual references are indeed imaginative elaborations, and some can be dismissed simply as poetic inventions. But the key sources are remarkably consistent. In fact, some (though not all) of the more imaginative elements of these actually appear to be, to a certain extent, grounded in reality. Chief among them are the expansions of Arabic and New Persian translations of Sasanian court chronicles found in Ṯaʿālebi and Ferdowsi, who describe the Taḵt-e Ṭāqdis, a colossal throne built by Husraw II that overshadowed all others in its fame, size, and splendour.[43] Ṯaʿālebi enfolds his account of the Taḵt-e Ṭāqdis into a list of the 'Seven Wonders' of the reign Husraw II, which begins with the palace of the Ayvān-e Kesrā and goes on to describe the suspended crown:

> One of these wonders was the palace of al-Madāʾin, known as 'the Ayvān of Kesrā', which was without equal in the world. It exists to this day, and it is what one proverbially mentions to refer to an incredible building. It was already mentioned before in the history of [Husraw I], since certain sources attribute its construction to this king, but the majority of authors report that it was constructed by [Husraw II]. Another marvel was the Taḵt-e Ṭāqdis. This was a throne made of ivory and teak with plaques and balustrades of silver and gold. Its length was 180 cubits (*ḏirāʿ*) by 130 cubits and its height was 15 cubits. On its steps were black seats of ebony whose frames were made of gold. And the vault above (*ʿilya ṭāq*) was made of gold and lapis lazuli, on which there was a representation of the heaven and its stars, the signs of the zodiac and the seven continents, as well as the kings in various poses, either at banquet, in battle or at the hunt. There was a mechanism that indicated the hours of the day. The throne itself was covered by four carpets of golden brocade ornamented with pearls and rubies, and each of these carpets specially corresponded to one of the seasons of the year.[44]

in Sasanian Art', *Iran*, 17 (1979), 49-64 (p. 49, n. 62). More recently, and more productively, it has been dealt with in the context of the Sasanians' legacy in later Western medieval and Islamic artistic and intellectual traditions. See Stephan Borgehammar, 'Heraclius Learns Humility: Two Early Latin Accounts Composed for the Celebration of *Exaltatio Crucis*', *Millennium*, 6 (2009), 145-201; Allegra Iafrate, *The Wandering Throne of Solomon: Objects and Tales of Kingship in the Medieval Mediterranean*, Mediterranean Art Histories, 2 (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2015), pp. 184-201.

41 *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, ed. by Kurt Latte (Berlin: Gruyter, 1966), II, p. 797.

42 Matthew P. Canepa and Johnathan W. Hardy, 'Persian Palace Architecture, Garden Design and Digital Archaeology: The Role of 3D Modeling in Analyzing the Palace of ʾEmārat-e Ḵosrow at Qaṣr-e Širin, Iran', in *Sasanian Iran in the Context of Late Antiquity: The Bahari Lecture Series at the University of Oxford*, ed. by Touraj Daryaee, Ancient Iran Series, 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 39-64; Canepa, *The Iranian Expanse*, pp. 340-41.

43 Herzfeld and those following him conflated it with the audience hall at Ādur Gušnasp.

44 Ṯaʿālebi, pp. 698-99. I thank Margaret Graves for her help in translating this passage.

Like that of Ṯaʿālebi, Ferdowsi's report of the throne draws from post-Sasanian translations of the court propaganda incorporated into the late *Xwadāy-nāmag*, though embellishing these with many supplemental details and a fair amount of poetic hyperbole. In addition to presenting the throne as a 'reconstruction' of the lost Kayānid patrimony, Ferdowsi echoes the theme of the throne's movement and change in orientation throughout the seasons, the portrayals of the heavenly bodies on it, and its mechanism for marking time.[45] Both Ṯaʿālebi and Ferdowsi articulate that the throne was constructed at the Sasanian imperial centre on the Tigris, and the scale suggests we are dealing either with an experience of its architectural setting or essentially with a free-standing piece of architecture. While it is not entirely conclusive, a possible site for such a throne would have been the enormous artificial platform constructed from a repurposed raceway or polo field that lay to the south of the Ayvān-e Kesrā and yielded mosaics, *opus sectile* work, and other decorations.[46]

This brings us again to Taḵt-e Solaymān, where we have reports of another miraculous, cosmic throne room. This site hosted a fire temple that the late Sasanian and early medieval sources claim to have been founded at the dawn of time. Whereas scholars who privilege the textual evidence have understood it as representing a continuous tradition that extends back to the Achaemenid period, the archaeological findings and critical analysis of the texts tell a much different story. As I have argued in an earlier study, this 'newly ancient', primordial site and tradition were constructed architecturally and discursively largely in late antiquity.[47] The site hosted nothing more than a few scattered, poor settlements up until the fifth century when the first monumental fire-temple complex appears. The original complex was constructed of mud bricks on stone foundations, fortified with twelve-metre-thick mud walls, but over the years was replaced with a more durable and impressive stone and brick masonry on a similar plan. Numismatic finds in the layers above the razed portions of the replaced mud-brick walls suggest that this translation into stone occurred in the mid-sixth century, likely in the early years of Husraw I's reign. Indeed, this king's rule ushered in a prolonged campaign of neo-conservative renovation in many aspects of Sasanian culture.

The royal complex was equipped with an audience hall evoking in its basic conception that of the Ayvān-e Kesrā at Aspānbar, especially its central vaulted *ayvān*, which similarly provided an architectural setting for royal spectacle. Procopius relates that Husraw I received Justinian's envoys there and that other kings visited the site, but our most detailed description comes from the seventh century, under Husraw II.[48] Deriving from the textual tradition that originally drew upon campaign dispatches made by Heraclius during his counter-invasion of the Sasanian Empire, these texts are highly hostile and include a great many later medieval elaborations and several fictional elements. The most reliable one within this tradition is the *Short History* by the Patriarch Nikephoros, which recounts the destruction of the fire temple and audience hall in 623:

45 Ferdowsi, *Šāh-nāma*, ed. Khaleghi, VIII, pp. 272-81 (3545-3635); ed. Bertels, IX, pp. 220-25 (3518-3609).
46 Canepa, *The Iranian Expanse*, pp. 337-38.
47 Canepa, *The Iranian Expanse*, pp. 284-88.
48 Procopius, *History of the Wars*, Volume 1: Books 1-2 (*Persian War*), trans. by H. B. Dewing, Loeb Classical Library, 48 (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1914), 2.24.2; *History of Mar Aba*, §13 in *Ausgewählte Akten persischer Märtyrer mit einem Anhang: Ostsyrisches Mönchsleben*, trans. by Oskar Braun (Kempten: J. Kösel, 1915), p. 232.

> [Heraclius] invaded Persia and set about destroying cities and overturning the fire temples. In one of these temples it was discovered that [Husraw II], making himself into a god, had put up his own picture on the ceiling (*en tēi toutou stegēi*), as if he were seated in heaven, and had fabricated stars, the sun and the moon, and angels, standing around him, and a mechanism for producing thunder and rain whenever he so wished. Upon seeing this abomination, Heraclius threw it to the ground and ground it into dust.[49]

When these sources are disentangled and read without interpolations, it becomes clear that, in addition to portraying cosmic imagery, the throne room functioned as a giant stage set for the throne. Just as significantly, the remains of Ādur Gušnasp's audience hall featured a monumental barrel-vaulted *ayvān* that, even in the tenth century, preserved the remains of paintings reportedly portraying the heavens and earth in detail, which were perceived by the medieval observer as almost a celestial and terrestrial map of creation.[50]

The King's Body Distributed

Up to now we have focused on monumental architecture and colossal landscape features. However, portable objects offered an intimate visual experience of the king linked to (potentially) fungible wealth.[51] When Iranian nobles or foreign envoys visited the Sasanian palace, if they were shown favour they would depart with rich gifts. A group of silver and gold vessels was specifically designed to bring the royal image before the eyes of the nobility, great and minor alike, in a medium that was intrinsically precious. Most characteristic among these is the corpus of silver plates decorated with reliefs of the king as a hunter (Fig. 2).

Produced in royal workshops, such vessels were, in a sense, portable and distributable monuments, supplementing the static repertoire of the early rock reliefs and offering a variation on the themes known through literary sources and stucco fragments that graced palace interiors. Still more, as diplomatic gifts they projected the power and glory of the Sasanian king outwards – towards steadfast, wavering, or potential clients on the imperial frontiers and even towards the palace of the Sasanian king's Roman 'brother', as the two sovereigns addressed each other in diplomatic protocol. In this way, they served a purpose not unlike a Roman *missorium* and participated in a broader set of enmeshed late antique political, material-cultural, and diplomatic traditions. The find sites for such vessels stretch across the Eurasian Steppe, to India and China: they brought the king's image to the far reaches of Eurasia.

A larger group of objects played a more practical, though certainly not prosaic, role as tableware for the *bazm*, or the formal banquets that prominently featured the ritualized consumption of wine. While many vessels were created for provincial gentry to use at their own tables, a small number of objects were likely gifted by the courts of provincial kings, high officials

49 Nikephoros, 12.41-49.
50 Masʿudi, *Tanbih*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1894), p. 95.
51 Canepa, 'Position and Honor'.

and even by the king of kings himself. They rendered a courtier socially and politically visible and powerful, albeit in a partitive and – most importantly – contingent sense: the glory they imparted flowed from and was always dependent on that of the giver. Many late Sasanian silver vessels contained a distinctive repertoire of figural decoration, often including grape vines and idealized female figures dancing and holding what might be ritual objects, while others contained royal portraits with the watchful eyes of the king of kings. These images, like the object themselves, were rewards (Middle Persian: *mizd*) offered by the Sasanian court to its elites in return for their fealty. Such objects called to mind this purpose with their material, imagery, and inscriptions.

Conclusion

Be it manifested corporeally by the king himself or by his architectural, environmental, or material proxies, the body of the Sasanian king was a conceptually, visually, and materially complex entity. When the ruler appeared in corporeal form, it was always within a sartorial, environmental, or architectural framework. In monumental reliefs and on portable objects alike, the royal image was most often conjoined to highly significant, and sometimes precious, substances. A royal relief (or inscription) carved into the living rock implied the king's nature and message to be a timeless and immutable part of the natural order of things. Similarly, a portable object like a silver plate or gold medallion circulating the image of the king of kings signalled – despite its capacity to be melted down or even disfigured – that the intrinsic value of the former emanated from the latter.

The performative, even methectic, quality of the king's body within the natural or built environment was most pronounced in the Sasanian audience hall. Sasanian audience halls and landscapes afforded multiple scalar, perspectival, planar, and temporal standpoints for both the sovereign/performer and the viewer/participant. That is, these internal and external spaces staged the king, either his image or his body, within a shifting array of environmental or architectural frameworks that generated an experience of imaginary places, from the sevenfold world viewed from above and its contemporary geopolitics, to the cosmic spheres viewed from below with a glimpse at the king's true cosmic role as partner to the Good Luminaries, including the sun, moon, and fixed stars. Like a theatrical performance, court ritual elicited a temporary suspension of disbelief and offered a salient experience – though not a literal representation – of the world, one that was intended to be more vivid than everyday reality. From the Iranian perspective, the king of kings was a 'cosmic king' in that his powers channelled divine, cosmic forces and his actions and presence on earth impacted on planes of reality that extended beyond our own. The Sasanian palaces and paradises allowed a glimpse of this reality. Of course, as the texts relating to Heraclius's visit to Ādur Gušnasp attest, when viewed from the outside, these spaces could appear as a perverse distortion no matter how grand their architecture and ceremony; the king's portrait on luxury objects, no matter how alluring their gold, silver, and crystal elements, could well have had a similar effect. This anamorphisis resolves only when viewed from the vantage point of one invested in Sasanian political cosmology, and these spaces and objects indeed seduced and compelled the viewers to become thus invested.

Portable objects played an important role in a wider ritual-visual-spatial imperial methexis, whereby they became interwoven with substances and images, forming an assemblage of

practice: images, objects, humans, and other living things were ligated to a wide variety of highly significant 'practised spaces'. This takes an especially remarkable form in silver and gold paraphernalia used in court banquets or given as gifts. Their shape and decoration connected the viewer/user haptically and visually with the festal liturgies of the Sasanian court. Silver plate featuring the image of the royal hunter was indexed conceptually to the interior of the palace, which housed parallel imagery, as well as to privileged landscapes such as the king of kings' hunting estates, which hosted the activities to which the imagery referred. While a hostile envoy or invading rival emperor would not be convinced, these powerfully alluring objects and spaces capitalized on the chiasmatic power of the mutual gazes of viewer and object, wherein the former could enmesh the latter with luxury and monumentality and the promise of political or spiritual potencies.

Bibliography

Primary sources

Amm. Marc. = Rolfe, John C. *Ammianus Marcellinus: Roman History.* Vol. 3, *Books 27-31.* LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939).

Balʿami, ed. Bahār = Abu ʿAli Moḥammad Balʿami, *Tāriḵ-e Balʿami*, ed.by M.-T. Bahār (Tehran: Entishārāt-e Edārah-'i Kull-e Negārish-e Vezārat-e Farhang, 1962).

Bīrūnī, Āṯār, tr. Sachau = Abu Rayḥān Bīrūnī, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, trans. by Eduard Sachau (London: W.H. Allen and Co., 1879).

Bundahišn = *The Greater Bundahišn*, ed. by T. D. Anklesaria, *The Bûndahishn* (Bombay: British India Press, 1908).

Cedr. = Immanuel Bekker, *Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae ope* (Bonn: Impensis Ed. Weberi, 1838-1839).

Ferdowsi, *Šāh-nāma*, ed. Bertels = Abu'l-Qāsem Ferdowsi, *Šāh-nāma*, ed. by E. E. Bertels et al., 9 vols. (Moscow: Nauka, 1960-71).

Ferdowsi, *Šāh-nāma*, ed. Khaleghi = Abu'l-Qāsem Ferdowsi, *Šāh-nāma*, ed. by Djalal Khaleghi-Motlagh et al., 12 vols. (New York: Persian Heritage Foundation, 1987-2009).

Hesychius = *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, ed. by Kurt Latte (Berlin: Gruyter, 1966).

Libanius, ep. = *Libanius. Autobiography and Selected Letters, Volume II: Letters 51-193*, ed. and trans. by A. F. Norman, Loeb Classical Library 479 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

History of Mar Aba = *Ausgewählte Akten persischer Märtyrer mit einem Anhang: Ostsyrisches Mönchsleben*, trans. by Oskar Braun (Kempten: J. Kösel, 1915).

Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* = *Les prairies d'or*, 4 vols., ed. and trans. by Barbier de Meynard (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1861-1877).

Masʿudi, *Tanbih*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1894).

Nikephoros, *Breviarium*, ed. and trans. by Cyril Mango (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990).

Ps. al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-tāj* = *Le livre de la couronne*, trans. by Charles Pellat (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1954).

Procop. = Procopius, *History of the Wars*, Volume 1: Books 1-2 (*Persian War*), Loeb Classical Library 48, trans. by H. B. Dewing (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1914).

Siyāsat-nāma = *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings*, trans. by Hubert Darke (London: Routledge, 1978).

Ṯaʿālebi, Ḡorar = Abu Manṣur ʿAbd-al-Malek Ṯaʿālebi, *Histoire des rois des Perses*, ed. and trans. by Hermann Zotenberg (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1900).

Ṭabari = *The History of al-Tabari. Vol. 5, The Sasanids, the Byzantines, the Lakhmids, and Yemen*, trans. by C. E. Bosworth (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999).

Theophylact Simocatta, *Theophylacti Simocattae historiae*, ed. by K. de Boor (Leipzig, Teubner, 1887).

Secondary sources

Ackerman, P. 'The Throne of Khusraw (The Takt-i Tāqdis)'. *Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology*, 5/2 (1937), 106-9.

Bahrani, Zainab. *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014).

Borgehammar, Stephan. 'Heraclius Learns Humility: Two Early Latin Accounts Composed for the Celebration of Exaltatio Crucis', *Millenium*, 6 (2009), 145-202.

Canepa, Matthew P. *The Two Eyes of the Earth: Art and Ritual of Kingship between Rome and Sasanian Iran*, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 45 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

Canepa, Matthew P. 'Technologies of Memory in Early Sasanian Iran: Achaemenid Sites and Sasanian Identity', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 114/4 (2010), 563-96.

Canepa, Matthew P. 'Sasanian rock reliefs', in *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran*, ed. by Daniel T. Potts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 856-77.

Canepa, Matthew P. 'Topographies of Power: Theorizing the Visual, Spatial and Ritual Contexts of Rock Reliefs in Ancient Iran', in *Of Rocks and Water: Towards an Archaeology of Place*, ed. by Ömür Harmanşah (Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2014), pp. 53-92.

Canepa, Matthew P. 'Inscriptions, Royal Spaces and Iranian Identity: Epigraphic Practices in Persia and the Ancient Iranian World', in *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World*, ed. by Antony Eastmond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 10-35.

Canepa, Matthew P. *The Iranian Expanse: Transforming Royal Identity through Architecture, Landscape, and the Built Environment, 550 BCE-642 CE* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018).

Canepa, Matthew P. 'Sculpting in Time: Rock Reliefs, Inscriptions and the Transformation of Iranian Memory and Identity', in *Carvings in and out of Time: Afterlives of Rock-Cut Reliefs in the Ancient Near East*, ed. by Jonathan Ben Dov and Felipe Rojas (Leiden: Brill, 2021), pp. 219-69.

Canepa, Matthew P. '"Position and Honor"': Iranian Sartorial and Commensal Politics and the Transformation of the Late Antique Afro-Eurasian Sensorium of Power', in *Persian Cultures of Power and the Entanglement of the Afro-Eurasian World*, ed. by Matthew Canepa (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute Publications) (in press).

Canepa, Matthew P. and Johnathan W. Hardy. 'Persian Palace Architecture, Garden Design and Digital Archaeology: The Role of 3D Modeling in Analyzing the Palace of ʾEmārat-e Ḵosrow at Qaṣr-e Širin, Iran', in *Sasanian Iran in the Context of Late Antiquity: The Bahari Lecture Series at the University of Oxford*, Ancient Iran Series 6, ed. by Touraj Daryaee (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 39-64.

Chaumont. M.-L. 'L'ordre des préséances à la cour des Arsacides d'Arménie', *Journal Asiatique*, 254 (1966), 471-97.

Christensen, Arthur. *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1936).

Devecka, Martin. *Broken Cities: A Historical Sociology of Ruins* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2020).

Gnoli, Gherardo. *The Idea of Iran: An Essay on Its Origins*, Serie Orientale 62 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio e Estremo Oriente, and Leiden: Brill, 1989).

Flood, F. Barry. 'From the Golden House to ʿA'isha's house. Cosmic kingship and the rotating dome as fact', in *Bamberger Symposium: Rezeption in der islamischen Kunst*, ed. by Barbara Finster, Christa Fragner, and Herta Hafenrichter (Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999), pp. 97-128.

Grabar, André. 'Le rayonnement de l'art sassanide dans le monde chrétien', in *La Persia nell Medioevo. Atti Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1971), pp. 679-707.

Harper, Prudence Oliver. 'Thrones and enthronement scenes in Sasanian art', *Iran*, 17 (1979), 49-64.

Herzfeld, Ernst. 'Der Thron des Khosrô: Quellenkritische und ikonographische Studien über Grenzgebiete der Kunstgeschichte des Morgen- und Abendlandes', *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 41 (1920), 1-24.

Iafrate, Allegra. *The Wandering Throne of Solomon: Objects and Tales of Kingship in the Medieval Mediterranean*, Mediterranean Art Histories 2 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015).

Lacan, Jacques. *Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998).

Lehmann, Karl. 'The Dome of Heaven', *Art Bulletin*, 27 (1945), 1-27; Arthur Upham Pope, 'A Sasanian Garden Palace', *Art Bulletin*, 15/1 (1933), 75-85.

L'Orange, H. P. *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World* (Oslo: Aschehoug; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953).

Melikian-Chirvani, Assadullah Souren. 'Le Livre des Rois, miroir du destin II Takht-e-Soleyman et la symbolique du Shah-Name', *Studia Iranica*, 20/1 (1991), 33-148.

Maurice Merleau-Ponty. *The Visible and the Invisible* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968).

Panaino, Antonio. 'Cosmologies and Astrology', in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism*, ed. by Michael Stausberg and Yuhan Sohrab-Dinshaw Vevaina (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), pp. 235-58.

Payne, Richard. 'Cosmology and the Expansion of the Iranian Empire, 502-628 CE', *Past and Present*, 220/1 (2013), 3-33.

Pope, Arthur Ulpham. 'Persia and the Holy Grail', *The Literary Review*, 1/1 (1957), 57-71.

Rahaim, Matthew. 'Theories of Participation'. In *Theory for Ethnomusicology: Histories, Conversations, Insights*, ed. by Harris M. Berger and Ruth M. Stone (New York: Routledge, 2019), pp. 219-32.

Rollinger, Robert. 'From Sargon of Agade and the Assyrian Kings to Khusrau I and Beyond: On the Persistence of Ancient Near Eastern Traditions', in *Leggo! Studies Presented to Frederick Mario Fales on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. by Giovanni B. Lanfranchi, Daniele Morandi Bonacossi, Cinzia Pappi and Simonetta Ponchia (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), pp. 725-43.

Ringbom, Lars-Ivar. *Graltempel und Paradies: Beziehungen zwischen Iran und Europa im Mittelalter* (Stockholm: Wahlstrom & Widstrand, 1951).

Savant, Sarah Bowen. 'Forgetting Ctesiphon: Iran's Pre-Islamic Past, c. 800-1100', in *History and Identity in the Late Antique Near East*, ed. by Philip Woods (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 169-86.

Saxl, Fritz. 'Frühes Christentum und spätes Heidentum in ihren künstlerischen Ausdrucksformen', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 2/16 (1923), 63-121.

Shalem, Avinoam. 'The Fall of al-Madā'in: Some Literary References Concerning Sasanian Spoils of War in Mediaeval Islamic Treasuries', *Iran*, 32 (1994), 77-81.

Simpson, St John. 'Christians at Nineveh in Late Antiquity', *Iraq*, 67/1 (2005), 285-94.

NATIA NATSVLISHVILI

Queen Consort Mariam Dadiani and Female Architectural Patronage in Late Medieval Georgia

This paper considers the life and architectural projects of Queen Mariam Dadiani (ca 1605-80), one of the most prominent female patrons in the medieval history of Georgia.[1]Like many women in the medieval world, Mariam entered into several political marriages. In 1634, after her marriage to King Rostom of Kartli (r. 1632-58), a Safavid-appointed ruler, she became queen consort. Mariam not only retained her Christian faith after her marriage to the Muslim king but also managed to exercise the same rights as her husband. Written sources and donor inscriptions credit her with constructing and repairing several churches in the kingdom.

After Rostom's death, Mariam, through her marriage to Vakhtang V Shahnavaz (r. 1658-75), another Muslim king of Kartli, maintained her status and agency as queen consort. Her active architectural patronage during her Muslim husbands' lifetimes can be explained, in particular, by her powerful personality and, more generally, by the cultural tradition and political situation of medieval Georgia. And although Mariam has received special attention from scholars, further research is needed: focusing on her extensive building activity, this paper provides new insights into the patronage of royal female founders in late medieval Georgia.[2]

Mariam Dadiani and Her Life in Western Georgia

Mariam was a daughter of Manuchar I Dadiani (d. 1611), the prince of Odishi (Samegrelo), and his second wife, Tamar, a noblewoman from the house of Jaqeli, whom he married in 1598 after his first wife Nestan-Darejan Bagrationi died in childbirth. The Dadiani family was one of the most powerful dynasties in western Georgia, first as dukes and, from the 1550s on, as de facto independent governors.

Manuchar and Tamar had four children, Mariam apparently being the eldest. The exact date of her birth is unknown, but taking into consideration that she was married in 1621, she may have been born between 1599 and 1606.[3] Apart from her three siblings, Mariam also had

1 The study was supported by a FaRiG (Friends of Academic Research in Georgia) research grant.

2 Because of Georgia's peculiar geopolitical position and historical circumstances, the Middle Ages lasted longer there than in Europe. Indeed, the transition into early modernity in Georgia, which occurred in the eighteenth century, arrived slowly because of long-standing wars with powerful neighbours. See: Donald Rayfield, *Edge of Empires: A History of Georgia* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), pp. 222-47; David Khoshtaria, 'Sakartvelos kalakebi epokata gasaqarze [Cities of Georgia at the Turn of the Eras]', in *Sakartvelos kalakebis urbanuli ganvitareba 1801-1918 tslebshi [Urban Development in the Cities of Georgia from 1801 to 1918]*, ed. by David Khoshtaria (Tbilisi: The George Chubinashvili National Research Centre, 2019), pp. 11-26.

3 In medieval Georgia, the minimum marriage age was twelve years old. This was determined by the Church council of Ruisi-Urbnisi, convened in 1105. Enriko Gabidzashvili, *Ruis-urbnisis krebis dzeglistsera [The Code of Ruis-Urbnisi Council]* (Tbilisi:

 DOI 10.1484/M.HMSAH-EB.5.135004. This is an open access chapter made available under a CC BY-NC 4.0 International License.

two half-brothers from her mother's side and one half-brother from her father's side. The latter was Levan II Dadiani, who served as prince of Odishi from 1611 to 1657. He played an important role in Mariam's life by arranging her first two marriages.[4] Aspiring to take control of western Georgia, Levan was actively involved in wars against the kings of Imereti. At the beginning of his reign, Levan sought a union with the ruling houses of the Abkhazia and Guria principalities – Shervashidze and Gurieli, respectively through political marriages.

In 1621, while himself married to the daughter of the Abkhazian prince Seteman Shervashidze, Levan arranged Mariam's marriage to Simon II Gurieli.[5] Later, in 1625, Simon murdered his father and became the prince of Guria. After ascending the throne, he, with a group of conspirators, devised a plot against Levan Dadiani, his wife's brother. The group included Levan's own brother Ioseb Dadiani, as well as his former father-in-law, Seteman Shervashidze. When the conspiracy was revealed before coming to fruition, Levan's revenge was brutal. He looted Abkhazia and blinded Ioseb while also confiscating his property. He dethroned and likewise blinded Simon Gurieli, taking Mariam and her only child, Otia, with him to Odishi.[6] Finally, he named Mamia II Gurieli, the catholicos of Abkhazia and Simon's uncle, the new ruler of Guria, thus ensuring his own influence in the principality.

We find no evidence that Mariam acted as a patron of the arts during her time in Guria, from 1621 to 1625. In that period, she had neither the authority nor the financial resources to invest in church building.[7] After the failed plot of 1625, Mariam lived at the court of her brother Levan, in 'a marvellous royal palace' in Zugdidi.[8] There, she was engaged in various activities

Metsniereba, 1978), p. 90. According to another Church council, convened in 1748, priests were allowed to marry twelve- and thirteen-year-old girls before being ordained. *Kartuli samartlis dzeglebi [Canons of Georgian Law]*, III: *Church Legislative Documents (11th-14th centuries)*, ed. by Isidore Dolidze (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1970), p. 802, document n. 200, canon n. 22. Without citing a primary source, Giorgi Tsereteli, in his work on Mariam and her son, Otia, states that Mariam was married off at sixteen. This would locate her birth year around 1605. Giorgi Tsereteli, 'Mariam dedopali da shvili misi otia [Queen Mariam and Her Son Otia]', *Mtsqemsi*, 12 (1893), 6-8 (p. 6). This date is also supported by Abesalom Tughushi, Manana Javakhishvili, and Irakli Peradze. See: Abesalom Tughushi, *Tskhovreba da ghvatsli dedopal mariam dadianisa [Life and Merit of Queen Mariam Dadiani]* (Tbilisi: Ornati, 1992), p. 5; Manana Javakhishvili and Irakli Peradze, '*Mariam Dadiani – politikuri kortsineba gvian shua saukuneebis sakartveloshi [Mariam Dadiani – Political Marrage in Late Medieval Georgia]* ', in *Proceedings of International Conference Archival Studies, Source Studies – Trends and Challenges* (Tbilisi, 2017), pp. 309-20 (p. 313, note 8).

4 Javakhishvili and Peradze, *Mariam Dadiani*, pp. 309-20.

5 Levan was madly in love with Nestan-Darejan Tchiladze, the wife of his regent uncle Giorgi Lipartiani. In around 1622, he accused his wife Tamunia Shervashidze of adultery, mutilated her, and sent her back to Abkhazia. He thereafter abducted and married Nestan-Darejan. Humiliated, Giorgi Lipartiani could not swallow the insult and died soon after. Rayfield, *Edge of Empires*, p. 195. For Mariam's marriage to Simon II Gurieli see: Prince Vakhushti, *Aghtsera sameposa sakartvelosa [Description of the Kingdom of Kartli]*, IV: *Kartlis tskhovreba [Life of Kartli]*, ed. by Simon Qaukhchishvili (Tbilisi: Sabchota Sakartvelo, 1978), p. 826.

6 Archangelo Lamberti, *Samegrelos aghtsera [Description of Samegrelo]* (Tbilisi: Mtatsminda, 2011), pp. 37-43; Ilia Antelava, *Levan II Dadiani* (Tbilisi: Merani, 1990), pp. 65-67; Rayfield, *Edge of Empires*, p. 195.

7 Actually, Mariam had no time to enjoy her position as the princess of Guria, unlike her mother, Tamar, who had held the title at least for a short time as the wife of Vakhtang I Gurieli (r. 1583-87). After Vakhtang's murder, Tamar had him buried at Shemokmedi Monastery; she ordered a golden icon, decorated with three precious stones, in the name of the Mother of God and installed it on his tomb. See: Dimitri Bakradze, Археологическое Путешествие по Гурии и Адчаре *[Archaeological Journey to Guria and Adjara]* (Saint Petersburg: Tipographia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1878), p. 122.

8 Don Christoforo de Castelli, *Relazione e Album dei Schizzi Sulla Georgia del Secolo XVII*, ed. by Bejhan Giorgadze (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1976), p. 288; Lamberti, *Samegrelos aghtsera*, p. 55.

surrounding the prince and princess, which were attended by a large retinue.[9] The court's daily routine of communal meals, walks in the fresh air, and participation in ceremonies enabled women to experience an active social life.

For the period preceding her second marriage in 1634, the details of Mariam's life are largely obscure. Contemporary chroniclers describe her as 'praised among ladies' and a person 'of great merit', and therefore one can assume that she cultivated an exceptionally good reputation.[10] Dating from around that time is her earliest preserved portrait (Fig. 1), among the murals of Levan Dadiani's burial chapel in the church of the Saviour at Tsalenjikha, painted in 1630s.[11] There, her frontal figure appears on the western wall, next to her brother Erekle. The pair is accompanied by explanatory inscriptions, reading 'Princess Mariam' and 'Prince Erekle', respectively. Mariam's clothing and hairdo are typical of the upper classes in seventeenth-century Samegrelo. She wears an elaborate dress, dark red, patterned, and set with gems, along with a cape, a furred hat, and high-heeled shoes.[12] Mariam's black hair is arranged in two braids that fall over her chest, terminating, at her shins, in fringes made of black silk.

A detailed description of local fashion of the period is found in Achangelo Lamberti's text:

> Women and members of the nobility wear Persian shoes with heels of three *goji* [about 9.50 cm]. These shoes are made of leather of various colours. (…) The hat is made either of pure wool or of silk. Some embroider it or decorate it with sable fur in the Tatar manner. (…) Mengrelians dress up for parties and festivals in another type of garment, which is so long that it reaches the toes, and its flounce sleeves touch the ground. These garments are very beautiful both in shape and owing to the precious cloth. They are sewn with Damascus fabric or velvet and brocade. For the lining, they use sable fur, and from top to bottom the garment is decorated with buttons made of gold or pearls (…) this type of clothing is common for both men and women.[13]

Indeed, Mariam's outfit in the chapel image largely corresponds to this description. Later, after becoming queen of Kartli, she retained the same hairstyle.[14]

Mariam as Queen of Kartli

Political changes in eastern Georgia in the 1630s led Mariam into a second diplomatic marriage. In 1633, Shah Safi appointed his loyal commander, of Georgian origin but Muslim faith, Khosrov Mirza, to rule Kartli (central-east Georgia) as King Rostom, replacing the kingdom's sovereign

9 Castelli, *Relazione*, p. 288.

10 Sargis Kakabadze, 'Parsadan Giorgijanidzis istoria [History of Parsadan Giorgijanidze]', *Saistorio moambe [Historical Bulletin]*, 2 (1925), 198-314 (p. 241). Castelli, *Relazione*, p. 287.

11 Inga Lortkipanidze and Mzia Janjalia, *Tsalenjikha, Wall Paintings in the Saciour's Church* (Tbilisi: Cezanne Printing House, 2011), pp. 21, 193.

12 Her uncle Giorgi Lipartiani and nephew Aleksandre are represented in similar hats in the murals of the same chapel, on the northern and southern walls respectively. Lortkipanidze and Janjalia, *Tsalenjikha*, pp. 161, 165.

13 Lamberti, *Samegrelos aghtsera*, pp. 59-61. All translations are by the author.

14 Mariam is depicted with a similar hairstyle in Svetitskhoveli Cathedral and on the *epitaphios* donated to the same Cathedral. Both images were painted after 1646 when she was already the queen of Kartli. For further discussion and references, see below.

✦ Fig. 1
Mariam Dadiani, mural painting, ca. 1634.
Tsalenjikha, Church of the Saviour,
Levan Dadiani Chapel.

of seven years, Teimuraz I.[15] Newly widowed at sixty-seven years old and seeking to strengthen his position through a political marriage, Rostom asked Levan Dadiani for the hand of his sister Mariam.[16] The main source for this event is the *History of Georgia* by the contemporary author Parsadan Giorgijanidze, which claims:

> They [Rostom] called a council, started discussion, sought out Levan Dadiani to create a relationship by marriage, and sent marriage brokers to him to request that his sister Mariam, praised among ladies, be the future queen of Georgia. The marriage brokers went with the request, and they [Levan Dadiani] were delighted and agreed.[17]

Some contemporary authors assert that Mariam was more than unhappy with her new marriage proposal. The suitor was much older, and a non-Christian. He married her 'despite her being a Christian and divorced', whereas she steadfastly refused to wed a Muslim king.[18] Therefore, Mariam was not required to convert to Islam; on the contrary, it was Rostom who agreed to be baptized or, most likely, to simulate baptism.[19] 'They staged the baptism of an unruly heretic. A priest feigned to wash the head of King Rostom in order to make it possible for Mariam to marry to him. This hypocrisy was enacted by the priest'.[20] The political alliance with Levan Dadiani was too important for Rostom to let religious feelings endanger his wedding plans. Moreover, it does not seem likely that Rostom considered Mariam's demand to be a challenge to his Muslim faith, which was far from being strong. The Theatine missionary Pietro Avitabile noted that Rostom would behave like a Muslim among Muslims, while in front of his wife he would perform the sign of the Cross; however, he never attended church services or observed a fast.[21] Assuming that the alliance with the prince of Odishi could strengthen Iran's position in western Georgia, Safi, the shah of Iran (r. 1629-42) who had appointed Rostom as his vassal king of Kartli, also approved the marriage between Rostom and Mariam.[22] Indeed, he sent Levan Dadiani 50,000 *marchil* as a gift, and granted him an annual payment of 1000 Tabrizian *tumans*. Excited by this, Rostom did not wish to delay the wedding, so he and Mariam, accompanied by their wedding suites, agreed to meet in Imereti, near Kaka Bridge.[23] Like 'the sun rising from the Black Sea, Queen Mariam, was brought up to Kartli'.[24] According to Father Avitabile, Mariam arrived in Gori in April 1634:

15 David Marshall Lang, *The Last Years of the Georgian Monarchy 1658-1832* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), pp. 12-13.
16 Rostom's first wife was Ketevan Abashishvili, whom he married after his arrival in Georgia and who died soon after. See: Rayfield, *Edge of Empires*, p. 198; Prince Vakhushti, *Aghtsera*, p. 440; *Tskhovreba sakartveloisa (parizis kronika) [Life of Georgia (Chronicle of Paris)]*, ed. by Giuli Alasania (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1980), p. 94.
17 Kakabadze, 'Parsadan', p. 241, *Chronique Géorgienne*, trans. by Marie-Félicité Brosset (Paris: De L'Imprimerie Royale, 1930), p. 66.
18 *Voyages du chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, ed. by Louis Langlès (Paris: Le Normant, Imprimeur-Libraire, 1811), II, p. 77.
19 Don Guiseppe Giudice da Milan, *Tserilebi sakartveloze [Letters About Georgia]* (Tbilisi: Sabchota Sakartvelo, 1964), p. 34.
20 Castelli, *Relazione*, p. 287.
21 Don Pietro Avitabile, *Tsnobebi sakartveloze (XVII saukune) [Reports About Georgia (17th Century)]*, ed. by Bejhan Giorgadze (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1977), p. 125. Mariam's role in Rostom's conversion seems exaggerated, as a religious wedding ceremony would have been impossible between a Muslim and a Christian. The king would have had to stage his own christening in order to legitimize the marriage. Moreover, Rostom's tolerance towards religion is well attested to by the active building of churches in the kingdom of Kartli during his reign.
22 Antelava, *Levan II Dadiani*, pp. 81-82; Rayfield, *Edge of Empires*, p. 199.
23 Prince Vakhushti, *Aghtsera*, p. 828; Antelava, *Levan II Dadiani*, pp. 82-83; Rayfield, *Edge of Empires*, p. 199.
24 Kakabadze, 'Parsadan', p. 242.

> In 1634, after the Feast of the Resurrection of the Lord [16 April], the sister of the prince of Odishi, the new queen of Kartli, who was married off to our king and who came to Gori so as not to be seen by the Persians, desired to visit the church of the Augustinian fathers and also our small chapel with great pomp and ceremony at five o'clock in the afternoon, after the soldiers retreated to the fortress. She was accompanied by noblemen and prelates from both Odishi and Guria.[25]

Mariam's visit to Christian missions in Gori can be understood as a message that, despite her marriage to the Muslim king, the new queen had retained her faith and the freedom of the Christian religion was guaranteed.[26] Indeed, the rivalry between Rostom and Teimuraz I considerably complicated the situation of the Christians in eastern Georgia. Although Rostom had never oppressed them purposefully, hostilities and unnecessary attention from curious Persian soldiers made the life of friars in Kartli quite uncomfortable. Ultimately, Mariam's arrival made no difference in this respect, and by 1638 all the Theatines had left the region, never to return.[27]

After a fabulous wedding in Gori, which lasted for several months, Mariam settled in Tbilisi. In the seventeenth century, Tbilisi, the capital of the kingdom of Kartli, was a small city consisting of several districts located on the banks of the Kura River. A large early medieval fortress, Narikala, built on a rocky hill, overlooked the city. King Rostom reinforced it with a new wall, slanting down from the upper fortress towards Metekhi Bridge on the river. The ruler's predecessors had lived in the palace within the fortress complex, side-by-side with the Iranian garrison stationed there. Rostom in turn granted the entire fortress to the Iranians, moving his royal residence to the city itself. He chose an area of medieval Tbilisi between two key Christian landmarks: Anchiskhati Church and Sioni Cathedral. His new palace, built on this site, was described by contemporaries as being of 'Kizilbashian', i.e. Iranian, style.[28]

The exact date of Rostom's relocation is unknown.[29] Most likely, he moved from the fortress to the city after he had consolidated his power and secured his place on the throne, namely after 1634, which means that for at least several years, Mariam resided, alongside Iranian soldiers and their families, at Narikala, in 'the palace of the king with very large and beautiful halls'.[30] She would hardly have enjoyed that environment, for example because of problems around attending religious services in this non-Christian milieu, the palatine church of St Nicholas being

25 Avitabile, *Tsnobebi*, Relatione di Giorgia acrita dal P. Preffeto in Aleppo alli 24 Novembre 1635, pp. 109-35; 116.

26 Irakli Peradze, 'Kalta istoriis rekonstruktsia katolike misionerta tsnobebis mikhedvit [The Reconstruction of Women's History According to the sources of Catholic Missionaries]', in: *Katolikuri memkvidreoba sakartveloshi, 1-li saertashoriso simpoziumi (6-8 ivnisi, 2017) [Catholic Heritage in Georgia, Proceedings of the 1st International Symposium (6-8 June 2017)]* (Tbilisi, 2018), pp. 93-106 (p. 97). Actually, Rostom was known for his religious tolerance. Officially, he embraced Shia Islam, but he never persecuted any religious groups. Lang, *The Last Years*, p. 82.

27 Natia Natsvlishvili, 'Katolikuri eklesiebi sakartveloshi: istoria da arkitektura [Catholic Churches in Georgia: History and Architecture]' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Ilia State University, 2019), pp. 72-74.

28 Prince Vakhushti, *Aghtsera*, p. 334.

29 Prince Vakhushti Bagrationi states that Rostom left the fortress soon after his first marriage to Ketevan Abashishvili, around 1632 (Prince Vakhushti, *Aghtsera*, p. 439). According to Platon Ioseliani, the palace was built in 1638, see: Platon Ioseliani, Описание древностей города Тифлиса [Description of Antiquites of the City of Tiflis] (Tbilisi: Tipographia Glavnoe Upravlenie Kavkaza, 1866), p. 240. Vakhtang Beridze dates the construction of the new residence to the 1640-50s. See: Vakhtang Beridze, *Kartuli khurotmodzghvrebis istoria* [History of Georgian Architecture], I (Tbilisi: The George Chubinashvili National Research Centre, 2011), p. 392.

30 Prince Vakhushti, *Aghtsera*, p. 334.

under Iranian control. Prince Vakhushti Bagrationi writes that Queen Mariam built a small, single-nave church in the lower fortress for private use.[31] Apparently, it was the first building she financed. The historian does not give the date of its construction but adds that in the eighteenth century, the building belonged to the Armenian Apostolic Church. For his part, Jean Chardin, who visited Tbilisi in 1672, mentions in his travel book another church belonging to the queen, close to Sioni Cathedral. Summarizing these data, one can assume that after the royal family moved into the city, Mariam chose for herself a church located near her new palace. The previous church of the queen in the lower fortress was abandoned and ultimately passed into the hands of the Armenians.

Thus, from the late 1630s, Mariam and Rostom lived in the residential district of the city. The Muslim king's selection of that particular area is somewhat unexpected, given that the district was predominantly Georgian, with a significant number of Orthodox churches.[32] With this in mind, it is hard not to see Mariam's role in his decision. Indeed, the late medieval and early modern Georgian historical texts were written from a masculine point of view, giving all credit for renovating and rebuilding the city to King Rostom, while side-lining Mariam's contributions. This is evident in Platon Ioseliani's statement that 'King Rostom (1636-1658) raised the glory of Tbilisi again, renovated and fortified it, built baths and caravansaries in it (…), designed a garden (…), and erected a magnificent palace for himself'.[33]

Besides defensive and civic buildings, several churches were also restored during this period. Tradition credits Rostom with renovating a small fortress and church on Tabori Mountain, with erecting the church of St John the Baptist in front of his palace and the church of the Annunciation in the middle of the King's Square, and with initiating construction of the St George Church next to it.[34] The first two churches have not survived to the present day. St George's Church was completed in 1710 and served as a court church in the eighteenth century.[35]

Vigorous construction works financed by the royal family resulted in significant changes to the cityscape. In a drawing by the French artist Guillaume-Joseph Grelot, who accompanied Chardin on his visit to Tbilisi, the urban area around the king's palace appears densely populated and highly developed. Grelot's image offers the earliest visual evidence of the built environment of Tbilisi. By that time, the palace had presumably already been altered and redecorated by Rostom's successor, King Shakhnavaz, into a two-story house with a mezzanine. An open balcony overlooking the river ran along the façade. Immediately to the south, an area called King's Square was surrounded by shops.[36] The royal residence contained a mosque without a minaret. In addition, it had a bathhouse, the main entrance of which was open to

31 Prince Vakhushti, *Aghtsera*, p. 336. The queen also had a private church in Gori, which belonged to the Augustinian priests until 1637. The last priest to leave the country entrusted it to the Theatines, but one year later, when the latter also left Georgia, the abandoned church became Mariam's property. In a 1668 paper by a Capuchin priest on Christian real estate in Georgia, the former Augustinian monastery is mentioned as the queen's church; it survived until the nineteenth century. The church is found on the Gori plan of 1802 but was demolished soon after, as it does not appear on the plan of 1860. Eldar Mamistvalashvili, *Goris istoria* [History of Gori], I (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1994), p. 132; Natsvlishvili, '*Katolikuri*', pp. 108, 111. Tbilisi, National Archives of Georgia, fund no. 1448, description no. 1, case no. 3770.

32 Mamisa Berdznishvili, *Tbilisis garegani sakhe XVIII saukuneshi* [Appearance of Tbilisi in 18th Century] (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1965), p. 6.

33 Ioseliani, Описание, p. 21.

34 Ioseliani, Описание, pp. 73, 253.

35 David Khoshtaria, 'St George's Court Church', in *Old Georgian Cities and Towns, Tbilisi*, ed. by Marina Bulia and Mzia Janjalia (Tbilisi: Betania, 2006), pp. 123-24.

36 *Voyages du chevalier Chardin*, p. 82.

male guests, while female access was provided via a covered passage connected directly to the women's section of the palace. [37]

About five hundred metres from the palace was the above-mentioned church belonging to the queen. In Grelot's drawing, it is marked by the letter F and described as a 'white building' (*l'ouvrage blanc*, or *tetrasheni* in Georgian) and as the 'church of the queen' (*l'église de la reyne*). In the main text, Chardin notes that church was built by Queen Mariam and includes it in the list of the main churches of Tbilisi.[38]

Since the building was distinguished neither by its history nor by its architectural design, the only reason it would be mentioned alongside the episcopal and patriarchal cathedrals was its connection to the queen. The church was dedicated to St John the Baptist but acquired the popular name of Tetrasheni. David Khoshtaria was the first scholar to attempt a reconstruction of the history of the building.[39] By comparing eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writings, he suggests that the church building that had been erected in the early medieval period was in poor physical condition by the 1650s. As a safety measure, King Rostom removed its dome, and Queen Mariam and her third husband, King Shahnavaz, in turn erected a replacement after Rostom's death in 1658.[40] Khoshtaria thus dates its reconstruction between 1655 and 1660.[41]

The church has not survived, but Grelot's drawing gives a general idea of its architectural structure and design. It was a domed octagonal building with a high pyramidal roof. The windows were arranged in each facet, both in the lower part of the building and in the drum. Naturally, the drawing does not show the layout of the interior; however, one can assume that it had four or eight apses or was of a simple cruciform plan, inscribed in an octagon, as per floor plans used for some early medieval churches in Georgia.[42]

There were likely several reasons behind Mariam's decision to make this particular church her private chapel. Presumably, it was the only vacant church building in relatively good physical condition by that period. In addition, it stood next to Sioni Cathedral and thus within walking distance from the new palace. Destroyed numerous times over the centuries by various invaders due to its importance, Sioni Cathedral always received special attention from the royal family and was restored several times at their expense.[43] Mariam and Rostom were no exception. They not only took care to increase its income but also to free its serfs from royal and city taxation: in 1634, Mariam restored a law on the exemption of the serfs of Sioni Cathedral from royal taxes.[44] in 1649, she returned to the cathedral a vineyard, a mill, and arable land in Kisiskhevi, a village in Kakheti; according to a deed issued and signed in 1650 by Rostom, the king financed the construction of a caravansary on the south portion of the cathedral's land

37 Rusudan Gverdtsiteli, 'Rostom mepis sasakhalis abano [The Bath at the King Rostom's Palace]', *Dzeglis megobari,* 2 (1964), 11-14 (p. 12).

38 *Voyages du chevalier Chardin*, p. 65.

39 David Khoshtaria, 'Shenishvnebi tbilisis shua saukuneebis eklesiebze [Remarks on the Medieval Churches in Tbilisi]', *Sakartvelos sidzveleni* [Georgian Antiquities], 12 (2008), 230-46 (pp. 240-42).

40 Ioselian, Описание, p. 247; Prince Vakhushti, *Aghtsera*, pp. 335-36.

41 Khoshtaria, 'Shenishvnebi', p. 241.

42 Khoshtaria, 'Shenishvnebi', p. 241.

43 For the history of Sioni Cathedral, see: David Khoshtaria, 'Sioni Cathedral' in Bulia and Janjalia 2006, pp. 121-22.

44 David Jhghenti, 'Kartlis dedopal mariamis roli sakhelmtsipo ganmgeblobashi [The Role of Queen Mariam in the State Governance]', in *Sakartvelos metsnierebata akademiis matsne, istoriis seria* [Bulletin of Georgian Academy of Sciences, Series of History] 1 (1985), 101-09 (pp. 101-04). The document is kept in Tbilisi, National Centre of Manuscripts, Ad-595.

and, from its income, granted an annual 100 *marchils* to the church; in 1652, on the queen's decision, the serfs of the cathedral were exempt from customs duties when trading on state lands.[45]

Three of the four above-mentioned deeds delivered and signed by Mariam are documents about tax exemption and the restoration of royal deeds, both sole prerogatives of the king in medieval Georgia. The queen consorts were usually limited to making donations and granting status or land to someone from their own domains.[46] However, these rights were gained only after the fifteenth century, a politically turbulent time for the country when the king's central influence gradually began to decrease, while other royal members, including queen consorts, became more independent.

Thirteenth-century donation books make clear that queen consorts and noblewomen did not have the right to act without their husband's approval. For example, Queen Consort Tamar, the wife of King David VI Narin (r. 1245-93), was able to buy two villages for Gelati Monastery 'after requesting and receiving permission from the king of kings, David, equal to God'.[47] One of her contemporaries, the noblewoman Kakana, redeemed the village of Noste from the residents of Surami and returned it to Kvatakhevi Monastery only through the proxy of her husband Mikel.[48] According to these documents, the cost of the village was paid from the woman's personal funds, and the goal of the donation was to provide female donors with *agape*.[49]

From the fifteenth century on, the types of documents issued by the queen consorts become more diverse, even including legal papers. The weakening of the centralized power of the male ruler is well attested by the criminal deed (*wergild*) signed and delivered in 1433 by Queen Consort Tamar, the wife of King Alexandre I (r. 1412-42).[50] At the beginning of the document, she calls herself 'King of Kings' Tamar, imitating Queen Tamar (r. 1184-1210), the first woman to rule Georgia on her own right, and thereby emphasizing her emancipation and power. Indeed, the queen consort's ambition and strong personality are expressed not just in her adoption of this title but in her very delivery of the document itself: in medieval Georgia, certain types of documents, including criminal deeds, were issued exclusively by kings.

Other documents connected to legal decisions were delivered by Queen Consort Nestan-Darejan, the wife of King Simon I of Kartli (r. 1556-69). In 1574, she returned the Tbilelashvili family, the residents of Ateni, to Svetitskhoveli Cathedral.[51] Later, in 1577, she exempted serfs from customs duties in the city of Ali in favour of the same cathedral.[52] Nestan-Darejan was an active patron during her husband's captivity in Alamut Fortress, from 1569 to 1578, while the kingdom of Kartli was under the nominal control of his rival and brother David XI (Daud-Khan II).[53] David resided in the fortress of Kveshi, governing Kvemo (Lower) Kartli, Tbilisi, and

45 Jhghenti, 'Kartlis'. The documents are kept in Tbilisi, NAG, fund 1448, description 1, case 5006; Tbilisi, NCM, Sd-765.
On the history of the caravansary, see Maia Mania, 'Tbilelis karvaslis istoriisatvis [To the History of the Tbileli's Caravanserai]', *Sakartvelos sidzveleni* [Georgian Antiquities], 10 (2007), 148-189.

46 Jhghenti, 'Kartlis', pp. 101-04.

47 *Kartuli samarlis dzeglebi*, document n. 27, pp. 75, 77.

48 *Kartuli samarlis dzeglebi*, document n. 30, p. 78.

49 A special meal offered to the church and liturgy conducted to commemorate the donor's soul, *agape* was provided on a specific day or days of the year.

50 *Sakartvelos sidzveleni* [Georgian Antiquities], 2, ed. by Ekvtime Taqaishvili (Tbilisi: Georgian Historical and Ethnographic Society Edition, 1909), p. 372; For criminal deeds, see Goneli Arakhamia, *Sasiskhlo sigelta shestsavlisatvis* [To the Study of Wergild Documents] (Tbilisi: Publishing House of Georgian National Academy of Sceince, 2017).

51 *Kartuli istoriuli sabutebis korpusi* [Corpus of Georgian Historic Documents], *kartuli istoriuli sabutebi XVI saukune (kartli da samtskhe-saatabago)* [Georgian Historic Documents of 16th Century (Kartli and Samtskhe-Saatabago) IV, ed. by Mzia Surguladze and Tamaz Abashidze (Tbilisi: Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts, 2016), document n. 128, p. 291.

52 *Kartuli*, document n. 131, p. 297.

53 Rayfield, *Edge of Empires*, p. 172.

its environs. Daud-Khan's disdainful attitude toward Nestan-Darejan encouraged some noblemen to insult her, her residence in the village of Kavtiskhevi being ravaged and her property seized.[54] However, Nestan-Darejan, supported by the high nobles who were loyal to Simon, to a certain extent retained her power in the absence of her husband. Her main area of activity was Shida (Inner) Kartli. After Simon's release from prison and his reclaiming of the throne, Nestan-Darejan restored her authority in Kvemo (Lower) Kartli, as attested by the deeds issued in 1584 and 1593.[55]

After Mariam Dadiani became queen consort of Kartli, a portion of the royal lands were placed under her direct control, both in Shida (Inner) and Kvemo (Lower) Kartli. The queen's villages and lands are listed in the book of law *Dasturlamali*, collected and compiled by King Vakhtang VI around 1704 and consisting of two parts, corresponding to the king's and queen's holdings, respectively. The second part, entitled the *Queen's Dasturlamali*, is believed to have been first instituted by King George XI (r. 1676-88), the stepson of Mariam Dadiani.[56] However, when referring to the queen's villages, it is said in the Dasturlamali that these particular villages had belonged to queens previously. Indeed, from the documents issued by Queen Mariam and from the area of her architectural patronage, we can deduce that the *Dasturlamali* affected by King George XI was largely based on an already existing legal document that had been valid during Mariam's lifetime. This thesis is also supported by the first paragraph of the text, which offers an *agape* for Queen Mariam in the context of seven great feasts, meaning that all subsequent queens were required to donate from their income a given amount of sheep, rice, wine, and bread for Queen Mariam's soul. As Mariam survived her son and both husbands, it is unlikely that King George XI would have established this law for her while ignoring his own mother and wife. One can therefore assume that it was Queen Mariam herself who established the *agape*. The *Queen's Dasturlamali* would thus have been instituted between 1675 and 1680 rather than after Mariam's death in 1680, as previously believed.[57]

According to the *Dasturlamali*, the queen owned seven villages (Opreti, Gamoghma Nakhiduri, Tsintskaro, Shua [Middle] Bolnisi, Chkhekvi, Gomareti, and Urtsevani) in Kvemo (Lower) Kartli and eight (Ruisi, Tamarasheni, Aradeti, Kekhvi, Achabeti, Tskhinvali, Sadakudeblo, and Ali) in Shida (Inner) Kartli.[58] The village of Kisiskhevi, in Kakheti, and areas in Tbilisi, Gori, and Ateni also belonged to her.[59] However, this enumeration may be incomplete or slightly inaccurate, as the documents delivered by her between 1634 and 1680 show a broader region of activity.[60] The queen served as a representative of the royal court in the eparchies of Tbilisi, Manglisi, and Ruisi, meaning that the bishops of those dioceses had to address the queen

54 Prince Vakhushti, *Aghtsera*, p. 409.

55 *Kartuli*, document n. 157, p. 353; *Sakartvelos sidzveleni* (Georgian Antiquities), 3, ed. by Ekvtime Takaishvili (Tbilisi: Georgian Historical and Ethnographic Society Edition, 1910), document n. 163, p. 140.

56 *Dasturlamali, kartuli samartlis dzeglebi* [Canons of Georgian Law], ed. by Ivane Surguladze (Tbilisi: Sabchota Sakartvelo, 1970), pp. 702-22.

57 *Dasturlamali*, p. 216.

58 *Dasturlamali*, pp. 720-21.

59 Ioseliani, Описание, p. 212; *Dasturlamali*, p. 721.

60 *Pirta anotirebuli leksikoni, XI-XVII ss. Kartuli Istoriuli Sabutebis Mikhedvit* [Annotated Dictionary of Personal Names According to Georgian Historical Documents of 11th-17th Centuries], III, ed. by Ana Bakradze, Levan Ratiani, and Giorgi Otkhmezuri (Tbilisi, 2004), pp. 58-62.

regarding tax exemption or reduction for their serfs and other state-related issues.[61] That is how Mariam was authorized to free the serfs of Sioni Cathedral from royal taxes in 1634. Since this act took place in the first year of her marriage with Rostom, it can be assumed that the distribution of power between the queen and the king was either a subject of premarital negotiations or an already established tradition, a reflection of which can be seen in the political activity of the less powerful queen consort Nestan-Darejan.[62] Indeed, Mariam acceded to greater influence through her marriage to Rostom and became an independent ruler in her domain. She had the right to give orders, resolve agreements, strike deals, restore or issue new grant deeds, and excuse serfs. In view of the fact that Rostom was a Muslim king in a Christian country, communication with clergymen appears to have been facilitated by the Christian queen. Indeed, many papers delivered and signed by Rostom mention her name, and sometimes both the king and queen are signatories. In such documents, the queen's name follows that of the king. And as it would be unacceptable to place her name before the king's, when she issued a paper herself, she was the sole author. Mariam thus had rights equal to those of the king, but only in her domain. This arrangement was a declaration of her power on Rostom's part, but in such a way that the medieval standard of social subordination was maintained, and the king's reputation was not violated. Beyond her domain, she was a good adviser on politics as well as a supportive wife, actively involved in court ceremonials.[63]

The inscription narrating the story of the foundation of the town of Mepiskalaki (meaning in Georgian the 'King's Town', modern-day Akhalkalaki in Kartli) refers to Rostom and Mariam as equal patrons and explains their role:

> At the time when the happy King Khan Shah Safi was sitting in Iran Turan, in the name of God, we, the son of the ruler of Georgia, the King of Kings Patron Rostom, and our wife the Queen of Queens Patron Mariam, started to build a town on the bank of Tedzami. We called it the King's Town and built churches and monasteries (…) to make our serfs, Armenian merchants, permanent residents of the King's Town.[64]

Akhalkalaki, elevated from the status of a village to that of a town and subsequently developed between 1634 and 1642, was part of a broader campaign to rebuilt ruined settlements and infrastructure in the kingdom of Kartli as a means of promoting trade. In addition to explaining the reason for establishing a new town, the inscription emphasizes the foundation of places of

61 *Dasturlamali*, pp. 720-21; I wish to express my gratitude to the historian Teimuraz Jojua for consultation on this subject.

62 Abesalom Tughushi's opinion that the distribution of power between the queen and the king was a subject of premarital negotiations (Tughushi, *Tskhovreba*, p. 17) cannot be proven, as it is known that the queen's domains existed already in the sixteenth century in eastern Georgia and that they were regulated by special legal rule, which means that some lands and villages were transferred to a new queen even while the old one was still alive. See: Zaza Khidureli, *Peodaluri mitsatmplobeloba XV-XVIII saukuneebis aghmosavlet sakartveloshi (samepo domeni)* [The Feudal Landholding in 15th-18th Centuries Eastern Georgia (King's Domain)] (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1989), pp. 92-106; *Ioane Bagrationi, Sjulisdeba* [Book of Law], ed. by Ivane Surguladze (Tbilis: Tbilisi State University Press, 1957), pp. 25-28.

63 Kakabadze, 'Parsadan', p. 262; Jhghenti, 'Kartlis', p. 106.

64 Giorgi Bochoridze, *Kartlis eklesia-monastrebi da sidzveleebi* [Churches, Monasteries and Antiquities of Kartli], ed. by Zaza Skhirtladze and Natalia Chitishvili (Tbilisi: Printing House Favorite, 2011), p. 45; *Dokumenturi tsqaroebi XVII saukunis I nakhevris kartlisa da kakhetis mepeebis shesakheb (Rostom)* [Documentary Sources in the First Half of 17th Century about the Kings of Kartli and Kakheti (Rostom)], II, ed. by Tea Kartvelishvili and others (Tbilisi: Samshoblo, 2021), pp. 498-500.

Christian worship, an aspect that should be ascribed to the participation of Mariam. Rostom, a Muslim ruler, would not have been particularly interested in the construction of churches and monasteries. His major goal was to create a comfortable environment for merchants. For instance, in 1652 he built a village and a bridge combined with a caravanserai over the Khrami River (the modern-day Red Bridge on the Georgia-Azerbaijan border) 'so that travellers do not need to search for accommodation and food'.[65] Thus, while the king was focused on the urban development of the town, the queen ensured its Christian identity.

Rostom and Mariam's objective was to stabilize the devastated kingdom and resettle the deserted villages. By reducing taxes and securing freedom to travel, the royal family helped local noblemen to return to their lands, which they had abandoned after devastating campaigns led by the Safavid shah Abbas I between 1614 and 1617.[66] In one case, Mariam returned an abandoned village to a widowed noblewoman under the condition that she not levies a tax on new residents of the village for seven years.[67] Such flexible policies prompted many families to return to their ancestral homes and restore them. Economic growth also resulted in the development of art. Affluent families and clergymen came to initiate the foundation of new churches and monasteries and the restoration of old ones, along with their decoration with mural programmes.[68]

Kvemo Kartli enjoyed the queen's particular support due to its devastated condition. According to Prince Vakhushti, Mariam was a donor to the restoration of Bolnisi Cathedral, which had been heavily destroyed by Iranian forces in 1634.[69] Originally built of locally sourced, greenish tuff between 478 and 493, the cathedral is a large, three-nave basilica with a projecting apse. Open arched galleries are attached to the north and south façades. The south gallery is shorter due to the baptistery also located on this side.[70] During the Iranian invasion, the roofing of the church was destroyed, as were the upper parts of some of the walls.

With Mariam's financial support, the vaults of the cathedral were rebuilt in brick, a material widely used in this period (Fig. 2). The central nave was covered with flat vaults; the aisles, with semi-barrel vaults, were restored to feature clerestory windows. On the façades, a variety of building techniques were applied. The western façade was rebuilt with blocks of hewn stone, smaller than the original ones and thus easily distinguishable. The *opus cloisonné* technique, with frames of brick around rectangular stones, was used in the gable of the eastern façade, while the longitudinal walls were restored with brick, faced with rubble from the exterior. Such a diversity of building techniques may indicate the engagement of several workshops in the restoration

65 Kakabadze, 'Parsadan', p. 262.
66 Rayfield, *Edge of Empires*, pp. 190-192.
67 *Pirta anotirebuli leksikoni*, p. 59.
68 Most important among them are the church of the village of Sioni in Kvemo (Lower) Kartli, built between 1634 and 1658 (Devi Berdzenishvili, *Narkvevebi kvemo kartlis istoriuli geograpiidan* [Asseys on the Historical Geography of Lower Kartli] (Tbilisi: Cezanne Printing House, 2014), p. 320; *Dokumenturi tsqaroebi*, pp. 492-493); the bell tower at Itria Monastery, erected in 1656 (Beridze, *Kartuli*, II, p. 68; *Dokumenturi tsqaroebi*, p. 501); the monastery in Zemo (Upper) Goruli, founded in 1630s (Vakhtang Bridze, *XVI-XVIII saukuneebis katuli saeklesio khurotmodzghvreba* [Georgian Church Architecture of 16th-18th Centuries (Tbilisi: Kandeli, 1994), p. 71; *Dokumenturi tsqaroebi*, pp. 497-498); and the murals of the church in the village of Ertatsminda, painted in 1654 (Irma Mamasakhlisi, 'Ertatsmindis tadzris mokhatulobis tarighi da misi ktitorebi', *Religia* (Religion) 1 (2014), pp. 31-40, p. 37).
69 Prince Vakhushti, *Aghtsera*, p. 311.
70 Giorgi Chubinashvili, 'Болнисский Сион [Bolnisi Sion]', Известия института языка, истории и материальнои культури им. акад. Н. Я. Марра [Bulletin of the Nikolay Marr Institute of Language, History, and Material Culture] IX (1940), pp. 7-61; Beridze, *Kartuli*, p. 32.

✦ Fig. 2
Bolnisi Cathedral. Central nave. View from west

process. Architectural details such as the pointed arches of the western door and windows, decorated with stylized lilies, illustrate the taste of the time. The queen's involvement in the restoration of one of the oldest and best-known cathedrals in the region can be understood in part as a gesture of gratitude towards the bishops of Bolnisi, who were loyal to the court.[71]

In 1645, Mariam's only son, Otia, died in the town of Gori.[72] It was a huge shock for the royal family. Mourning lasted twelve days, before Otia was transferred for burial to Svetitskhoveli Cathedral in Mtskheta. To commemorate her son's death, the queen undertook a series of activities. She distributed his property among churches and monasteries.[73] She also financed the construction of a church in Gori on the 'bed' of her son. As Otia was buried elsewhere, the term 'bed' must refer to the place where the deceased was laid before the funeral, and where

71 The anonimous bishop of Bolnisi supported King Rostom in the war campaign against his rival, King Teimuraz I. See: King Archil, *Gabaaseba teimurazisa da rustavelisa* [Dialogue between Teimuraz and Rustaveli], II, ed. by Aleksandre Baramadze and Niko Berdzenishvili (Tbilisi: Tbilisi State Museum Publishing House, 1937), p. 90; Ketevan Kutateladze, 'Istoriuli tsnobebi bolnisis eparkiis shesakheb [Historical Note About Bolnisi Eparchy]', *Religiis istoriis sakitkhebi* [Issues of Religious History] 2 (2013), 100-28 (p. 116). In 1665-87, the bishop of Bolnisi was Nikoloz Mukhranbatoni, a member of the royal dynasty. Ivan Bartholomaei, 'Lettres de M. Bartholomaei, Relatives aux antiquités géorgiennes; envoi de M. le colonel Khodzko; inscriptions d'Akhal Kalak, p. M. Pérévalenko (lu le 14 octobre 1853)', *Mélanges Asiatiques tirés du Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale de Sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg*, 2, 3e livraison (1854), 264-349 (pp. 321-22); Levan Muskhelishvili, *Sakartvelos istoriis sakitkhebi* [Issues of Georgian History] (Tbilisi: Artanuji Publishing, 2019), p. 226; Kutateladze, 'Istoriuli', pp. 117-19.

72 *Kronikebi*, ed. by Tedo Jhordania, book II (Tbilisi: K. Mukhran-Batoni Publishing House, 1897), p. 457.

73 Kakabadze, 'Parsadan', p. 252.

members of the royal family received condolences for their loss. Contemporary sources claim that, while mourning, Mariam was seated on the ground within this open space.[74]

The memorial church constructed on this site was dedicated to the Archangels and later to the Dormition of the Virgin. It does not survive, but the 1802 plan of Gori shows that it was located to the south of Gori Cathedral (the former Catholic church of the Holy Family).[75] Judging from the late nineteenth-century photographs, the church of the Archangels was a brick structure on an inscribed-cross plan, with an elongated western arm. Twelve narrow windows were arranged in the high drum of its dome. The windows of the lower part were flanked with Golgotha crosses. The decoration of the drum – with the recessed-brickwork frames of the windows, triangular architectural elements above them, and decorative slabs topping ribs – resembles that found in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Georgian and Armenian churches, indicating that the church was renovated later.[76] The interior was painted and lavishly adorned with icons. The queen also donated serfs to the institution and established an *agape* for Otia's soul.[77] The church of the Archangels in Gori was perhaps the most ambitious architectural project commissioned by Queen Mariam. Though the royal family spared no expense on its construction and decoration, the church exemplifies well the decline of building craftsmanship in late medieval Georgia.

Alongside Otia's tomb at Svetitskhoveli Cathedral, Mariam prepared her own burial place, near the southeast pillar, and decorated its eastern wall with their mural portraits (Fig. 3). Mariam and Otia are represented against a neutral background. Both are dressed in royal clothing of gold and purple, embroidered with gold and silk thread and adorned with precious stones. The icon of the Mother of God – the Platytera – appears above Otia. The queen and prince are shown at a much younger age than they actually were in 1646 when the mural was painted. On this basis, some scholars have suggested that the mural representation is a copy of an earlier easel portrait, presumably one created in the 1630s for Rostom's new palace.[78]

In 1656, the dome of Svetitskhoveli Cathedral in Mtskheta was destroyed by an earthquake. According to the inscription, it was restored the same year by Rostom and Mariam (Fig. 4):

74 Kakabadze, 'Parsadan', p. 251.

75 Mamistvalashvili, *Goris istoria*, p. 286; The church of the Archangels, built a few years prior in a small garden, does not exactly match its initial location due to important urban changes to the area.

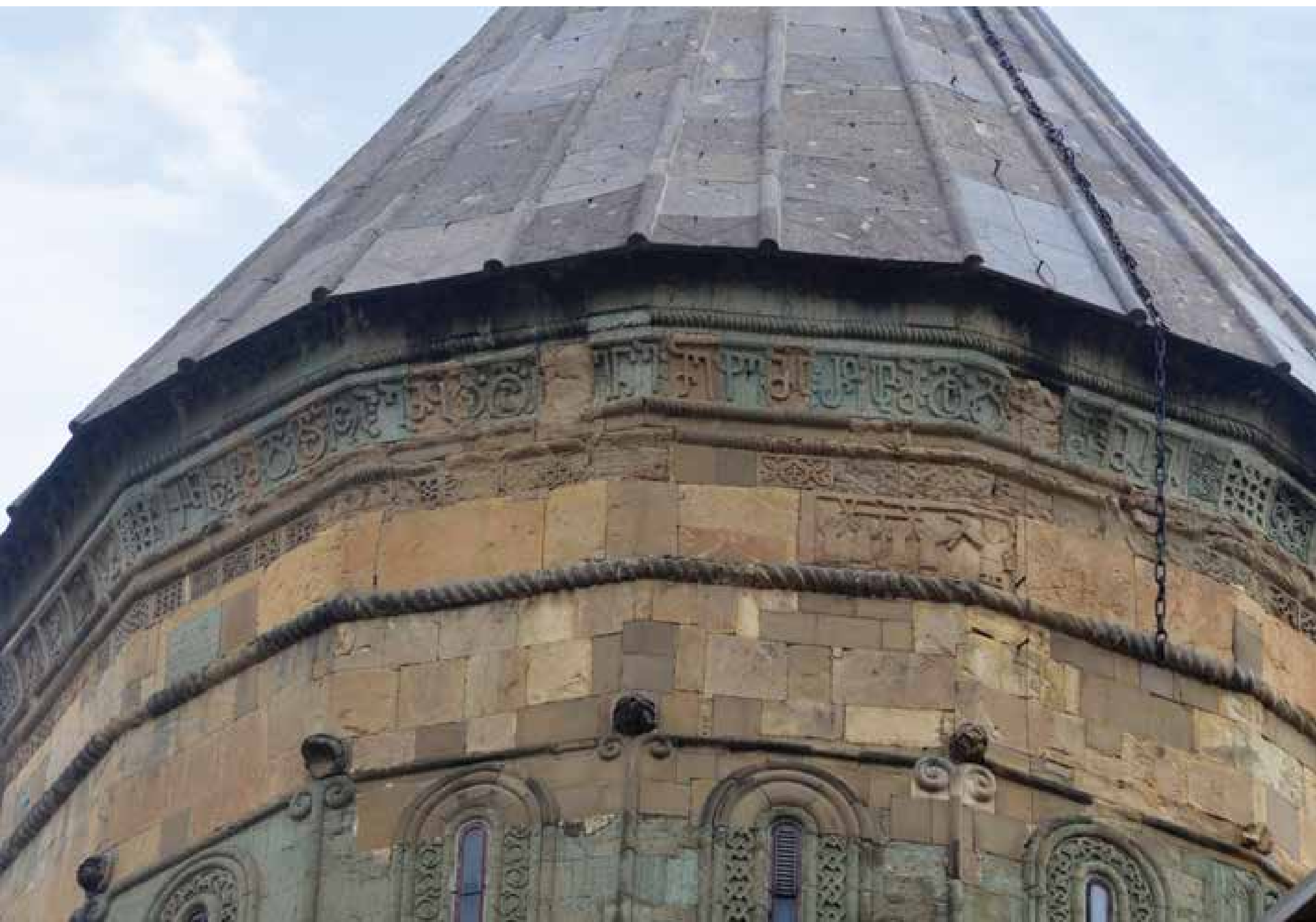
76 Manon Liluashvili, 'Kartuli da somkhuri arkitekturis urtiertkmedeba XVIII-XIX saukunebis tbilisshi [Interaction of Georgian and Armenian Architecture in 18th-19th Centuries Tbilisi]', in *Arkitetura da identoba: saeklesio mshenebloba tbilishi (1801-1918)* [Architecture and Identity: Church Building in Tbilisi (1801-1918)], ed. by David Khoshtaria (Tbilisi: The George Chubinashvili National Research Centre, 2016), pp. 133-48.

77 Kakabadze, 'Parsadan', p. 252.

78 Nino Chikhladze, 'Svetitskhovlis mokhatulobani [Murals of Svetitskhoveli]', in *Svetitskhoveli*, ed. by Giorgi Sharashidze (Tbilisi: Printing House Favorite, 2015), pp. 237-273 (p. 242). In modern scholarship, it is well established that some easel paintings were ordered by King Rostom to decorate his luxurious palace. See: Chahryar Adle, 'Archéologie et arts du monde Iranien, de l'inde Musulmane et du Caucase d'apès quelques recherches récentes de terrain, 1984-1995', *Comptens rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 140-1 (1996), 315-76 (pp. 354-55). A picture titled *A Lady in a Persian Dress* is considered to be a possible portrait of Queen Mariam Dadiani. The drinking horn the woman holds, as well as the wine decanter and the parts (head and shank) of a pig, reveal that she is Christian, while the lavish dress points to her high social status. As a hog was a symbol of the Dadiani family and was depicted on their flag, Irina Koshoridze suggests that the pig attributes may speak to the sitter's identity. Irina Koshoridze, 'Akhali tsnobebi sakartvelo-iranis urtiertobata shesakheb [New Notes About Georgian-Iranian Relationship]', in *Sakartvelo-iranis kulturul urtiertobata istoriidan, arkitektura da sakhviti khelovneba XVI-XIX saukuneebi* [From the History of Georgian-Iranian Relationship, Architecture and Fine Art in 16th-19th Centuries] (Tbilisi: Georgian National Museum, 2011), pp. 42-58 (p. 56). I would argue that the absence of a crown makes it impossible to consider the woman a queen. Moreover, if the portrait had been made for the royal palace, there would be no need to mask her identity.

✦ Fig. 3
Queen Consort Mariam Dadiani and Otia Gurieli, mural painting, ca. 1645. Mtskheta, Svetitskhoveli Cathedral, southeast pillar.

✦ Fig. 4 ›
Mtskheta, Svetitskhoveli Cathedral, dome.



'I, King Rostom and Queen Mariam rebuilt the collapsed dome in *koronikonsa* [in the year] tdm [i.e. 344 + 1312 = 1656] in Navruz A'.[79] Inscribed on the northwest part of the cornice, the large Georgian *asomtavruli* (majuscule) letters are easily legible, with strong visual power as well as a decorative function, as part of the cornice ornamentation.[80] Svetitskhoveli Cathedral, the country's main church and the burial place for the Bagrationi family, had a special importance to Rostom.[81] In 1648, on his way to battle against Teimuraz I, he arrived at Mtskheta, where he walked around the cathedral and asked God for help.[82] Despite his Muslim faith, he followed the medieval tradition of praying in the church before a battle, thus boosting the morale of his Christian soldiers and pleasing the clergymen.

Even if Rostom was indifferent about the restoration of the cathedral eight years later, he had to be mentioned in the inscription: from the late medieval perspective, it would be

79 On the history of the restoration of the dome, see: David Khohstaria, 'Mshenebelta gamosakhuleba mtskhetis svetitskhovlis tadzris gumbatze [Image of the Builders on the Dome of the Svetitskhoveli Cathedral in Mtskheta]', *Sakartvelos sidzveleni* [Georgian Antiquities], 9 (2006), pp. 112-27; For reading of the inscription also see: Marie-Félicité Brosset, 'Sur une inscription géorgienne de l'église patriarcale de Mtzkhéta', *Mélanges Asiatiques tirés du Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg*, 8 (1877), 251-67 (p. 251); *Dokumenturi tsqaroebi*, p. 500.

80 On multi-functionality of medieval Georgian inscriptions, see: Antony Eastmond, 'Textual Icons: Viewing Inscriptions in Medieval Georgia', in *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World*, ed. by Antony Eastmond (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 76-98.

81 Rostom himself was buried in Qum.

82 *Tskhovreba sakartveloisa*, p. 97.

unimaginable to undertake this kind of project without the king's involvement. It is noteworthy that all the written sources ascribe the restoration of the dome to King Rostom, while completely ignoring Queen Mariam's role.[83] This omission can also be explained by the fact that the expenses for the restoration of the collapsed dome were covered by royal funds, which meant that the official donor was the king rather than the queen. The restoration of the dome of Svetitskhoveli Cathedral appears to have been the last architectural project undertaken by King Rostom and Queen Mariam as a couple. In 1658, Rostom died, and Mariam entered into a diplomatic marriage for the third time.

Keeping the Throne

Mariam did not have much time to mourn her husband's death. On the order of the Iranian shah Abbas II, she married Vakhtang V, renamed Shahnavaz (r. 1658-75).[84] The arrangement was not easy for either party. Rostom and Mariam had in fact adopted Vakhtang and were preparing him as heir to the throne. Another problem was that Vakhtang was already married and therefore had to divorce.[85] Nevertheless, both Vakhtang and Mariam understood well the importance of their marital union. The queen retained her status and influence – marriage to a new king being the only way for childless Mariam to stay in power – while Vakhtang V consolidated his legitimacy as king. Mariam had tried her best to keep the throne: in 1658, immediately after King Rostom's death, she sent a letter to the Grand Vizier Mohammad Beg, promising her loyalty to the shah and stating that she had been a valuable advisor to King Rostom in political matters.[86] Mariam convinced Shah Abbas that she would be the main guarantor of peace in the kingdom of Kartli, thus securing for herself the throne. The reign of Shakhnavaz and Mariam was stable and peaceful.

The 1660s was a very active period for the queen as an architectural patron. The sphere of her activity was her domain in Shida Kartli, where she restored or constructed at least four churches. The church in the village of Aradeti is perhaps the earliest structure built during this wave. According to the inscription located above the southern door, 'We, Patron Mariam,

83 *Karlis tskhovreba* [Life of Kartli], ed. by Simon Qaukhchishvili, II (Tbilisi: Sabchota Sakartvelo, 1959), p. 425; Prince Vakhushti, *Aghtsera*, p. 446, 905; *Tskhovreba sakartveloisa*, p. 106.

84 *Tskhovreba sakartveloisa*, p. 109; Lang, *The Last Years*, pp. 85-86.

85 The eyewitness Peshangi Pashvibertqadze gives a different account of events in his historical poem, the *Shahnavaziani*, which encompasses the period from 1658 to 1665. In the poem, Vakhtang V, a viceroy from the Mukhranian dynasty, is represented as a direct successor to the powerful Bagrationi kings. Moreover, the poem recounts that Vakhtang was consecrated in Svetitskhoveli Cathedral, instead of being the Shah appointed islamized ruler. Queen Mariam is characterized not as a widow, forced to marry him, but rather as a young lady, the daughter (not sister) of the late Levan Dadiani. The happily married couple has four children, though in reality these were from Vakhtang's marriage to his first wife Rodam. The poem is interesting in that it whitewashes current events, justifies an unprecendented marital union, and aims to legitimate the new ruler by representing him as a successor to powerful kings of medieval Georgia, David the Builder and Queen Tamar. See: Marie-Félicité Brosset, *Historie de la Géorgie*, seconde partie, 1e livraison, (Saint Petersburg: De L'Imprimerie De L'Académie Impériale Des Sciences, 1856), pp. 601-14; Peshangi, *Shahnavaziani*, ed. by Giorgi leonidze and Solomon Iordanashvili (Tbilisi: Sakhelgami, 1935); Sargis Kakabadze, *Dzveli kartuli literaturis istoria* [History of Old Georgian Literature], vol. II (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1981), pp. 497-512; Donald Rayfield, *The Literature of Georgia: A History (*New York: Routledge, 2013) p. 108.

86 Jhghenti, 'Kartlis', p. 108.

daughter of Dadiani, constructed this church and offered it to Holy Father Sabas in 1666'.[87] The church was erected for the servants of Sapara Monastery, who had been exiled by the Ottomans and subsequently settled in the suburb of Aradeti in 1630, on the order of Teimuraz I.[88] The new church was dedicated to St Sabas and served as the main church in Sapara.

The small, single-nave structure is built of rubble stone. Three narrow windows are cut into the eastern, southern, and western walls (the latter two were later enlarged) – one on each wall. The image of the Pantokrator and the symbols of the evangelists are painted in the barrel vault of the church. This programme was usually incorporated into the dome decoration, as in the dome and pendentives in the church of St Sabas in Sapara Monastery. The Aradeti murals echo the paintings of the church, which they had to abandon about thirty years earlier.

In its architectural form, size, and low construction quality, Aradeti Church resembles that of Zghuderi in the environs of Tskhinvali, also restored by Queen Mariam, presumably in the same period. An inscription referencing her merit is carved above the southern door: 'Oh, you vigorous megalomartyr among martyrs St George, help and protect in both lives glorifying Mariam, the Queen of Queens, sister of King Dadiani, and have mercy on the great day of the Last Judgement, Amen'.[89] Built of roughly cut stone, it is a small, single-nave building dedicated to St George.[90] Judging by its location, it can be identified with a church mentioned in the 1779 enactment of the Church Court (called *dikasterion*) related to the property of the Athonite Vatopedi Monastery in the Liakhvi basin. According to the document, the monastery possessed the Kashueti Church of St George located on a cliff demolished by the swollen river. The icons of the ruined church were entrusted to Makhniashvili, a resident of the town Tskhinvali. Instead of reconstructing the ruined building, Queen Mariam erected a new church on the opposite bank of the river, granting the position of archpriest to Makhniashvili. The belongings of the old church were transferred there.[91]

In 1668, Queen Mariam restored the cathedral of St Stephen the Protomartyr in Urbnisi. The large, three-nave basilica was originally built in the sixth century and partly rebuilt in the tenth (Fig. 5). By the seventeenth century, the building had again been badly damaged. The inscription above the southern door mentions the queen as the sole donor to the construction project:

> You absolutely desired, merited and praised, the protomartyr and the most distinguished St Stephen, help me, Queen Mariam, daughter of Dadiani, in both lives, who built your church razed to the ground; intercede my soul and soul of our son beloved Otia, before your God on the day of the Last Judgement, *koronikonsa* [in the year] tnv [i.e. 356 + 1312 = 1668].[92]

87 *Kronikebi*, p. 483; Marie-Félicité Brosset, *Rapports sur un voyage archéologique dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie, exécuté en 1847-1848, 3e livraison, sixième rapport* (Saint Petersburg: Imprimerie De L'Académie Impériale Des Sciences, 1851), p. 114.

88 *Sakartvelos sidzveleni* [Georgian Antiquities], 3, pp. 538-39.

89 Rusudan Mepisashvili and Vakhtang Tsintsadze, Архитектура нагорной части исторической провирции Грузии-Шида-Картли [Architecture of Mountainous Part of Historical Province of Georgia-Inner Kartli] (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1975), p. 138.

90 Today this is a conflict zone, and the church cannot be accessed.

91 *Kartuli samartlis dzeglebi* [Canons of Georgian Law], ed. by Isidore Doidze, V (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1974), pp. 93-94.

92 Brosset, *Rapports*, pp. 16-17; Ekvtime Taqaishvili, *Arkheologiuri mogzaurobani da shenishvnani* [Archaeological Journeys and Remarks], I (Tbilisi: The Press of Comradeship of Georgian Publishers, 1907), p. 48.

✦ Fig. 5
Urbnisi Cathedral. View from south-east

As the present building contains significant portions of early medieval walls and piers, the text's statement that the cathedral was completely destroyed is definitely exaggerated. It became necessary at some point to reinforce the longitudinal walls from the outside with pairs of massive buttresses and from the inside with pilasters.[93] The vaults had been completely destroyed and were rebuilt with brick. The central nave, which is much taller than the aisles, includes clerestory windows. Its eastern and western façades are adorned with huge Latin crosses. In the seventeenth century, the northern door was walled up, while the southern door, with its horseshoe-shaped arch, was narrowed into a pointed-arch entrance resembling both in size and shape the western door of Bolnisi Cathedral, albeit less decorative. On the interior, two of the four piers have been restored with brick.

As in the case of Svetitskhoveli, Prince Vakhushti ascribes the restoration of the cathedral to King Shakhnavaz despite the fact that the donor inscription mentions only the queen: 'The ravaged [cathedral] was built and renovated by King Vakhtang and [he also] adorned the icon of St Stephen the Protomartyr; enclosed the church with a fence built of stone and lime mortar'.[94] Shakhnavaz was Prince Vakhushti's great grandfather, which explains his sentiments towards the king.

Another important structure that was reconstructed on the order of Queen Mariam was the cathedral of the Mother of God in Ruisi. Ruined and restored several times over the

93 Parmen Zakaraia, *Nakalakar urbnisis khurotmodzkhvreba* [Architecture of the Ancient Town of Urbnisi] (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1965), p. 106.

94 Prince Vakhushti, *Aghtsera*, p. 373.

centuries, it is a domed building elongated from east to west. Its dome is supported by four free-standing pillars. An additional pair of pillars stands to the west. According to Prince Vakhushti Bagrationi, it was 'renewed and adorned' by Queen Mariam, but he says nothing about the exact date of renovation.[95] Unlike Mariam's other activities, in Ruisi her merit is not documented by any inscription. The heavily rearranged façade layers make it difficult to identify the parts rebuilt by her stonemasons. The scholar Giorgi Chubinashvili assumed that the eastern façade and the lower part of the decoration of the southern door were restored during her reign.[96] The brickwork of the northern chapel can also be ascribed to that period. The building inscription in the western façade mentions a certain Giorgi, the overseer of the stonemasons during the second restoration of the cathedral. The palaeography of the inscription places it in the late seventeenth century, which means that Mariam restored the cathedral after her marriage to Shakhnavaz.[97]

As the donor inscriptions do not mention King Shakhnavaz, it can be assumed that all these buildings were financed from the queen's budget. As a woman, her financial independence was ensured by a rich dowry, given by her brother Levan Dadiani upon her marriage to King Rostom.[98] Along with numerous precious objects, she received court servants, including a private priest.[99] Moreover, as queen, she furthered her income by processing serfs and lands. Exceptionally profitable were dyehouses also belonging to the queen.[100] Queen Mariam was free to manage her wealth and concentrate on the patronage of art and architecture.

That none of the church buildings renovated or constructed on Queen Mariam's direct order contains her donor image may be explained by restrictions related to her official status as a wife to Muslim kings. Three images presenting Queen Mariam are known to us. The earliest among them, in the church of the monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, dates to 1643.[101] In 1643, Father Superior Niceforo Irbachi (Nikoloz Irubakidze-Cholokashvili) renovated the monastery with the financial support of Levan Dadiani. His sister Mariam also gave money and was thus depicted alongside other donors. Her image, now severely damaged, is known from a photograph published by Nikodim Kondakov in the early twentieth century.[102] Mariam was

95 Prince Vakhushti, *Aghtsera*, pp. 373-74.

96 Giorgi Chubinashvili, 'Ruisis tadzris istoriisatvis [For the History of Ruisi Church]', *N. maris sakhelobis enis, istoriisa da materialuri kulturis moambe* [Bulletin of the Nikolay Marr Institute of Language, History, and Material Culture] V-VI (1940), 427-68 (pp. 464-65).

97 Irakli Gelashvili, 'Giorgi galatozta zeda damdegis utsknobi tsartsera urbnisis ghmrtismshoblis tadzridan [An Unknown Inscription of Giorgi, 'the Overseer of Masons', from the Church of the Mother of God in Ruisi]', *Proceedings of the Institute of History and Ethnology,* 14-15 (2015-2016), 346-52 (p. 349).

98 Giorgi Nadareishvili, *Dzveli kartuli saojakho samartali* [Old Georgian Family Law] (Tbilisi: Samtavisi, 1974), pp. 39-42.

99 Marie-Félicité Brosset, 'Notice sur un document du Géorgien du XVIIe s.', *Mélanges Asiatiques tirés du Bulletin Historico-Philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg,* 3 (1857), 17-35; Sara Barnaveli, 'Dadianis asulis mariamis mzitvis tsigni [Book of Dawry of Mariam, a Daughter of Dadiani]', *Sakartvelos sakhelmtsipo muzeumis moambe* [Bulletin of the National Museum of Georgia] 23-B (1962), 207-23; *Masalebi sakartvelos sotsialur-ekonomikuri istoriisatvis (mzitvis tsignebi)* [Materials for Social-Economical History of Georga (Books of Dawrey), ed. by Mzia Iashvili and David Megrelizde (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1974), pp. 8-14.

100 Khidureli, *Peodaluri*, p. 98.

101 Timoti Gabashvili, *Pilgrimage to Mounth Athos, Constantinople and Jerusalem*, translated and annotated by Mzia Ebanoidze and John Wilkinson (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 142.

102 Nikodim Kondakov, Археологическое путешествие по Сирии и Палестине [Archaeological Journey to Syria and Palestine] (Saint Petersburg: Tipographia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1904), p. 265, pic. LX. The archaeologist Niko Chubinashvili made sketches of the wall paintings on his visit to Jerusalem in 1845, which were published in 1958 in the journal *Sabchota khelovneba [Soviet Art].* These are therefore not exact reproductions; see: Boris Kandelaki, 'I. Shota Rustavelis portreti ierusalimis jvris monastris kedlis mkhatvrobidan [Portrait of Shota Rustaveli

✦ Fig. 6
Queen Consort Mariam Dadiani.
Jerusalem, monastery of the Holy Cross,
Southern Projection of the Apse.
After Nikodim Kondakov, 1904

✦ Fig. 7
Epitaphios of Queen Consort Mariam Dadiani, from Mtskheta, Svetitskhoveli Cathedral. Tbilisi, Georgian National Museum.

presented on the southern projection of the apse, kneeling at the feet of the fourteenth-century image of Christ Pantokrator (Fig. 6).[103] An explanatory inscription accompanied the image: 'the Queen of Kartli Mariam, the daughter of Dadiani, God forgive her, Amen'.[104] Though Miriam was not the main donor to the renovation, her status and pious reputation granted her a prestigious place next to the apse, while Levan II Dadiani and his immediate family were depicted on the southern wall of the church. The significant difference in size between the figures of the queen and Christ, as well as the simplicity of her image, underline her modesty as a mere Christian.

Mariam's portrait in Svetitskhoveli Cathedral, discussed above, was executed in 1646, after her son's death. The third image of the queen (Fig. 7) appears on the *epitaphios* that was embroidered on her order and donated to Svetitskhoveli Cathedral (now preserved in the Georgian National Museum). The small figure of the kneeling queen is presented in the lower-right corner, with the explanatory inscription: 'The Queen, servant of God'.[105]

The iconography of the queen is more or less the same in all three images. Mariam is dressed in richly embroidered garments and bears a crown. Her long, boldly rendered braids fall over her dress: Mariam maintained this hairstyle, typical for western Georgia, during her reign in Kartli as an expression of her paternal and regional identity. The corresponding inscriptions give her full name, underling her connection to the ruling house of Samegrelo and her status as queen consort. Thus, to characterize herself as a powerful women, Queen Mariam used attributes already well established in medieval world and previously applied by other powerful queens.[106]

After King Shahnavaz's death in 1675, the widowed Queen Mariam continued to be an active political figure. She is named as co-author in some of the deeds issued by her stepson King George XI, the successor of Shahnavaz. In 1680, Queen Mariam died. She was buried at Svetitskoveli Cathedral next to her son, Otia Dadiani. The merit of Queen Mariam was deemed so great that she is the only queen consort in the history of medieval Georgia to have been compared to Queen Tamar:

> And Queen Mariam embellished churches with vestments, icons, crosses, and instruments for mass, sewn with pearls and gems. And she was greatly respected by the shah and by all Georgian men and women, by lords and noblemen. [She] was of good nature in every way, the likes of which has not been seen since Queen Tamar.[107]

from Mural Paintings of the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem]', pp. 9-11; Sargis Kakabadze, 'II. Istoriul pirta suratebi imave monastris kedlis mkhatvrobidan [Pictures of Historic Persons from Mural Paintings of the Same Monastery]', *Sabchota khelovneba* [Soviet Art], 8 (1958), pp. 11-18, picture 7, between pp. 8 and 9.

103 Mariam Didebulidze, Mzia Janjalia, 'Wall Paintings of the Holy Cross Monastery in Jerusalem' in *Georgians in the Holy Land* ed. by Tamila Mgaloblishvili (London: Bennett and Bloom, 2014), pp. 47-66 (pp. 54-55, 57).

104 Tinatin Virsaladze, Роспись Иерусалимского Крестного монастыря и портрет Шота Руставели [Murals of the Holy Cross Monastery in Jerusalem and the Portrait of Shota Rustaveli] (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1973), p. 55, ill. VIII.

105 Vakhtang Beridze, *Kartuli nakargobis istorridan* [From the History of Georgian Embroidery] (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1983), pp. 19-20. It is not common for medieval Georgian *epitaphioi* to depict donors. Queen Mariam was first to have her image placed on an *epitaphios*. Years later, her stepdaughter Tamar, the wife of Givi Amilakhvari, also portrayed herself on an *epitaphios* embroidered for Svetitskhoveli Cathedral. It is almost an exact copy of the *epitaphios* ordered by Queen Mariam. See: Eka Berelashvili and others, *Kartuli nakargoba* [Georgian Embroidery] (Tbilisi: Karchkhadze Publishing, 2011), pp. 50-57. Whereas the donor inscription on the later *epitaphios* mentions both Givi Amailakhvari and Tamar, Queen Mariam is alluded to alone on hers.

106 See, for example: Maria Vassilaki, 'Female Piety, Devotion and Patronage: Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaologina of Ioannina and Helena Uglješa of Serres', in: *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin, Antes du colloque international de l'Université de Fribourg 13-15 mars 2008*, ed. by Jean-Michel Spieser and Elisabeth Yota (Paris: Desclée De Brouwer, 2012), 221-234 (p. 230).

107 *Kartlis tskhovreba*, p. 441.

Indeed, beyond architecture, Queen Miriam supported the creation of books, icons, embroidery, and wall paintings. Perhaps the most famous among them is her edition of the *Life of Georgia*, the collection of Georgian chronicles copied between 1634 and 1646.[108]

Conclusion

This study explores the important role of architecture in representing the political power of medieval and late medieval female rulers. Queen consorts and other noblewomen acquired prestige through the construction of religious buildings. In Mariam's particular case, architectural patronage became a key, visible way of demonstrating her Christianity while being the wife of Muslim kings. Unlike female rulers in contemporary Iran or the Ottoman Empire, Queen Mariam invested money exclusively in religious buildings.[109] As she preferred to restore damaged churches rather than build new ones, her approach can be understood as an attempt to reconstruct and confront the Christian past amid the process of the country's Islamization, which was especially strong under her husband's reign. Indeed, churches and cathedrals built or renovated with her financial support give an interesting hint at her marital status. For example, whereas donor inscriptions from the period of her marriage to King Rostom present her and her spouse as co-founders, those under King Shahnavaz name her alone, which can be explained by the diplomatic character of her third marriage and by the fact that the queen financed constructions through personal funds. It is notable that in cases where the donor of the construction was a different person, such as an abbot or a local lord, Mariam and Shahnavaz are named as a royal couple, following official etiquette.[110]

Queen Mariam was an active patron and political figure during her Muslim husbands' lifetimes. Despite the very strong influence of Iranian culture during this period, noblewomen in Georgia maintained much greater official power than those in the Islamic world.[111] Even still, in the history of medieval Georgia, Mariam is a rare example of a queen consort who acted as a joint ruler.[112] Her husbands appear to have respected her for her outstanding personal qualities, and Georgian society at large assigned an admirable, pious reputation to the queen for her patronage of Christian culture during this turbulent political era.[113] Despite the difficult marriage choices with which she was faced, Mariam, as a person of strong Christian identity, never sought refuge in monastic life but rather remained an active political leader.

108 *Kartlis tskhovreba, Mariam dedoplis varianti* [Life of Georgia, Version of Queen Mariam], ed. by Ekvtime Taqaishvili (Tbilisi: Dzmoba, 1906); *Kartlis tskhovreba* [Life of Georgia], ed. by Roin Metreveli (Tbilisi: Meridiani, 2008), p. 9.

109 Stephen P. Blake, 'Constructions to the Urban Landscape: Women Builders in Safavid Isfahan and Mughal Shahjahanabad', in *Women in the Medieval Islamic World, Power, Patronage, and Piety*, ed. by Gavin R. G. Hambly (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), pp. 407-428 (p. 412, table 2); Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Women Builders, The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan* (Women and Gender in the Early Modern World Series) (London: Routlagde, 2016).

110 Compare the inscriptions at Kvatakhevi Monastery: 'Abbot Nikoloz Chkheidze built this porch during the kingship of Vakhtang and the queenship of Mariam, the daughter of Dadiani'; and those at the church in the village of Khatissopeli: 'May God praise the King of Kings, the patron Shahnavaz, and the Queen of Queens, the patron Mariam'. Ivan Bartholomaei, 'Lettres', pp. 333-35; Beridze, *Kartuli*, p. 133; *Documenturi tsqaroebi*, pp. 493-497.

111 Lang, *The Last Years*, p. 54.

112 Jhghenti, 'Kartlis', p. 107.

113 *Kartlis tskhovreba*, p. 441; Jhghenti, 'Kartlis', p. 107.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Archil, King of Georgia, *Gabaaseba teimurazisa da rustavelisa* [Dialogue between Teimuraz and Rustaveli], vol. II, ed. by Aleksandre Baramadze and Niko Berdzenishvili (Tbilisi: Tbilisi State Museum Publishing House, 1937).

Avitabile, Don Pietro, *Tsnobebi sakartveloze (XVII saukune)* [Reports About Georgia (XVII Century)], ed. by Bejhan Giorgadze (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1977).

Bagrationi, Ioane, *Sjulisdeba* [Book of Law], ed. by Ivane Surguladze (Tbilisi: Tbilisi State University Press, 1957).

Brosset, Marie-Félicité, *Chronique Géorgienne* (Paris: De L'Imprimerie Royale, 1930).

Dasturlamali, Kartuli samartlis dzeglebi [Canons of Georgian Law], ed. by Ivane Surguladze (Tbilisi: Sabchota Sakartvelo, 1970).

De Castelli, Don Christoforo, *Relazione e Album dei Schizzi Sulla Georgia del Secolo XVII*, ed. by Bejhan Giorgadze (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1976).

Dokumenturi tsqaroebi XVII saukunis I nakhevris kartlisa da kakhetis mepeebis shesakheb (Rostom) [Documentary Sources in the First Half of 17th Century about the Kings of Kartli and Kakheti (Rostom)], II, ed. by Tea Kartvelishvili and others (Tbilisi: Samshoblo, 2021).

Gabashvili, Timoti, *Pilgrimage to Mounth Athos, Constantinople and Jerusalem*, translated and annotated by Mzia Ebanoidze and John Wilkinson (New York: Routledge, 2013).

Giudice da Milan, Guiseppe, *Tserilebi sakartveloze* [Letters About Georgia] (Tbilisi: Sabchota Sakartvelo, 1964).

Kakabadze, Sargis, 'Parsadan giorgijanidzis istoria' [History of Parsadan Giorgijanidze], *Saistorio moambe* [Historical Bulletin], 2 (1925), 198-314.

Kartlis tskhovreba [Life of Georgia], ed. by Roin Metreveli (Tbilisi: Meridiani, 2008).

Kartlis tskhovreba, Mariam dedoplis varianti [Life of Georgia, Version of Queen Mariam], ed. by Ekvtime Taqaishvili (Tiflisi: Dzmoba, 1906).

Kartlis tskhovreba [Life of Kartli], ed. by Simon Qaukhchishvili, II (Tbilisi: Sabchota Sakartvelo, 1959).

Kartuli istoriuli sabutebis korpusi [Corpus of Georgian Historic Documents], *IV, kartuli istoriuli sabutebi XVI saukune (kartli da samtskhe-saatabago)* [Georgian Historic Documents of the sixteenth century (Kartli and Samtskhe-Saatabago), ed. by Mzia Surguladze and Tamaz Abashidze (Tbilisi: Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts, 2016).

Kartuli samartlis dzeglebi [Canons of Georgian Law], Church Legislative Documents (11th-14th centuries), vol. III, ed. by Isidore Dolidze (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1970).

Kartuli samartlis dzeglebi [Canons of Georgian Law], V, ed. by Isidore Doidze (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1974).

Kronikebi [Chronicles], ed. by Tedo Jhordania, book II (Tbilisi: K. Mukhran-Batoni Publishing House, 1897).

Lamberti, Aechangelo, *Samegrelos aghtsera* [Description of Samegrelo] (Tbilisi: Mtatsminda, 2011).

Peshangi, *Shahnavaziani*, ed. by Giorgi Leonidze and Solomon Iordanashvili (Tbilisi: Sakhelgami, 1935).

Prince Vakhushti, *Aghtsera sameposa sakartvelosa* [Description of the Kingdom of Kartli], *Kartlis tskhovreba* [Life of Kartli], vol. IV, ed. by Simon Qaukhchishvili (Tbilisi: Sabchota Sakartvelo, 1978).

Sakartvelos sidzveleni [Georgian Antiquities], 2, ed. Ekvtime Taqaishvili (Tbilisi: Georgian Historical and Ethnographic Society Edition, 1909).

Sakartvelos sidzveleni [Georgian Antiquities], 3, ed. by Ekvtime Takaishvili (Tbilisi: Georgian Historical and Ethnographic Society Edition, 1910).

Tskhovreba Sakartveloisa (Parizis Kronika) [Life of Georgia (Chronicle of Paris)], ed. by Giuli Alasania (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1980).

Voyages du chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient, ed. by Louis Langlès, Tome II (Paris: Le Normant, Imprimeur-Libraire, 1811).

Secondary Sources

Adle, Chahryar, 'Archéologie et arts du monde Iranien, de l'inde Musulmane et du Caucase d'apès quelques recherches récentes de terrain, 1984-1995', *Comptens rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,* 140-1 (1996), 315-76.

Antelava, Ilia, *Levan Dadiani* (Tbilisi: Merani, 1990).

Arakhamia, Goneli, Sasiskhlo sigelta shestsavlisatvis [To the Study of Wergild Documents] (Tbilisi: Publishing House of Georgian National Academy of Sceince, 2017).

Bakradze, Dimitri, *Археологическое Путешествие по Гурии и Адчаре* [Archaeological Journey to Guria and Adjara] (Saint Petersburg: Tipographia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1878).

Barnaveli, Sara, 'Dadianis asulis mariamis mzitvis tsigni' [Book of Dawry of Mariam, a Daughter of Dadiani], in *Sakartvelos sakhelmtsipo muzeumis moambe* [Bulletin of the National Museum of Georgia] 23-B (1962), 207-23.
Bartholomaei, Ivan, 'Lettres de M. Bartholomaei, Relatives aux antiquités géorgiennes; envoi de M. le colonel Khodzko; inscriptions d'Akhal Kalak, p. M. Pérévalenko (lu le 14 octobre 1853)', in *Mélanges Asiatiques tirés du Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale de Sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg,* 2, 3e livraison (1854), 264-349.
Berdzenishvili, Devi, *Narkvevebi kvemo kartlis istoriuli geograpiidan* [Asseys on the Historical Geography of Lower Kartli] (Tbilisi: Cezanne Printing House, 2014).
Berdznishvili, Mamisa, *Tbilisis garegani sakhe XVIII saukuneshi* [Appearance of Tbilisi in XVIII Century] (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1965).
Berelashvili, Eka and others, *Kartuli nakargoba* [Georgian Embroidery] (Tbilisi: Karchkhadze Publishing, 2011).
Berideze, Vakhtang, *Kartuli nakargobis istorridan* [From the History of Georgian Embroidery] (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1983).
Beridze, Vakhtang, *Kartuli khurotmodzghvrebis istoria* [History of Georgian Architecture], I (Tbilisi: The George Chubinashvili National Research Centre, 2011).
Beridze, Vakhtang, *XVI-XVIII saukuneebis katuli saeklesio khurotmodzghvreba* [Georgian Church Architecture of the Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries] (Tbilisi: Kandeli, 1994).
Blake, Stephen P., 'Constructions to the Urban Landscape: Women Builders in Safavid Isfahan and Mughal Shahjahanabad', in *Women in the Medieval Islamic World, Power, Patronage, and Piety*, ed. by Gavin R. G. Hambly (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), 407-28.
Bochoridze, Giorgi, *Kartlis eklesia-monsatrebi da sidzveleebi* [Churches, Monasteries and Antiquities of Kartli], ed. by Zaza Skhirtladze and Natalia Chitishvili (Tbilisi: Printing House Favorite, 2011).
Brosset, Marie-Félicité, *Historie de la Géorgie,* seconde partie, première livraison (Saint Petersburg: De L'Imprimerie De L'Académie Impériale Des Sciences, 1856).
Brosset, Marie-Félicité, 'Notice sur un document du Géorgien du XVIIe s.', *Mélanges Asiatiques tirés du Bulletin Historico-Philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg,* 3 (1857), 17-35.
Brosset, Marie-Félicité, *Rapports sur un voyage archéologique dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie, exécuté en 1847-1848, 3e livraison, sixième rapport* (Saint Petersburg: Imprimerie De L'Académie Impériale Des Sciences, 1851).
Brosset, Marie-Félicité, 'Sur une inscription géorgienne de l'église patriarcale de Mtzkhéta', *Mélanges Asiatiques tirés du Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg,* 8 (1877), 251-67.
Chikhladze, Nino, 'Svetitskhovlis mokhatulobani' [Murals of Svetitskhoveli], in *Svetitskhoveli*, ed. by Giorgi Sharashidze (Tbilisi: Printing House Favorite, 2015), 237-73.
Chubinashvili, Giorgi, *Болнисский Сион* [Bolnisi Sion], *Известия института языка, истории и материальнои культури им. акад. Н. Я. Марра* [Bulletin of the Nikolay Marr Institute of Language, History, and Material Culture] IX (1940).
Chubinashvili, Giorgi, *Ruisis tadzris istoriisatvis* [For the History of Ruisi Church], *N. maris sakhelobis enis, istoriisa da materialuri kulturis moambe* [Bulletin of the Nikolay Marr Institute of Language, History, and Material Culture] 5-6 (1940).
Didebulidze, Mariam and Janjalia, Mzia, 'Wall Paintings of the Holy Cross Monastery in Jerusalem' in *Georgians in the Holy Land* ed. by Tamila Mgaloblishvili (London: Bennett and Bloom, 2014), 47-66.
Eastmond, Antony, 'Textual Icons: Viewing Inscriptions in Medieval Georgia', in *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World*, ed. by Antony Eastmond (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 76-98.
Gabidzashvili, Enriko, *Ruis-urbnisis krebis dzeglistsera* [The Code of Ruis-Urbnisi Council] (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1978).
Gelashvili, Irakli, 'Giorgi galatozta zeda damdegis utsknobi tsartsera urbnisis ghmrtismshoblis tadzridan' [An Unknown Inscription of Giorgi, 'the Overseer of Masons', from the Church of the Mother of God in Ruisi], *Proceedings of the Institute of History and Ethnology,* 14-15 (2015-2016), 346-52.
Gverdtsiteli, Rusudan, 'Rostom mepis sasakhalis Abano' [The Bath at the King Rostom's Palace], *Dzeglis megobari,* 2 (1964), 11-14.
Ioseliani, Platon, *Описание древностей города Тифлиса* [Description of Antiquites of the City of Tbilisi] (Tbilisi: Tipographia Glavnoe Upravlenie Kavkaza, 1866).
Javakhishvili, Manana and Peradze, Irakli, *Mariam Dadiani – politikuri kortsineba gvian shua saukuneebis sakartveloshi* [Mariam Dadiani – Political Marrage in Late Medieval Georgia], in *Proceedings of International Conference Archival Studies, Source Studies – Trends and Challenges* (Tbilisi, 2017), 309-20.

Jhghenti, David, *Kartlis dedopal mariamis roli sakhelmtsipo ganmgeblobashi* [The Role of Queen Mariam in the State Governance], in *Sakartvelos metsnierebata akademiis matsne, istoriis seria* [Bulletin of Georgian Academy of Sciences, Series of History] 1 (1985); 101-109.

Kakabadze, Sargis, *Dzveli kartuli literaturis istoria* [History of Old Georgian Literature], vol. II (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1981).

Kandelaki, Boris, 'I. Shota Rustavelis portreti ierusalimis jvris Mmonastris kedlis mkhatvrobidan [Portrait of Shota Rustaveli from Mural Paintings of the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem]', pp. 9-11; Kakabadze, Sargis, 'II. Istoriul pirta suratebi imave monastris kedlis mkhatvrobidan [Pictures of Historic Persons from Mural Paintings of the Same Monastery]', *Sabchota Khelovneba* [Soviet Art], 8 (1958), 11-18.

Khidureli, Zaza, *Peodaluri mitsatmplobeloba XV-XVIII saukuneebis aghmosavlet sakartveloshi (samepo domeni)* [The Feudal Landholding in 15th-18th Centuries Eastern Georgia (King's Domain)] (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1989).

Khoshtaria, David, 'Sakartvelos kalakebi epokata gasaqarze [Cities of Georgia at the Turn of the Eras]', in *Sakartvelos kalakebis urbanuli ganvitareba 1801-1918 tslebshi [Urban Development in the Cities of Georgia From 1801 to 1918]*, ed. by David Khoshtaria (Tbilisi: The George Chubinashvili National Research Centre, 2019), 11-26.

Khoshtaria, David, 'Shenishvnebi tbilisis shua saukuneebis eklesiebze' [Remarks on the Medieval Churches in Tbilisi], *Sakartvelos sidzveleni* [Georgian Antiquities], 12 (2008), 230-46.

Khoshtaria, David, 'St George's Court Church', in *Old Georgian Cities and Towns, Tbilisi*, ed. by Marina Bulia and Mzia Janjalia (Tbilisi: Betania, 2006), 123-24.

Koshoridze, Irina, 'Akhali tsnobebi sakartvelo-iranis urtiertobata shesakheb' [New Notes About Georgian-Iranian Relationship], in *Sakartvelo-iranis kulturul urtiertobata istoriidan, arkitektura da sakhviti khelovneba XVI-XIX saukuneebi* [From the History of Georgian-Iranian Relationship, Architecture and Fine Art in 16th-19th Centuries] (Tbilisi: Georgian National Museum, 2011), 42-58.

Kondakov, Nikodim, *Археологическое путешествие по Сирии и Палестине* [Archaeological Journey to Syria and Palestine] (Saint Petersburg: Tipographia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1904).

Kutateladze, Ketevan, 'Istoriuli tsnobebi bolnisis eparkiis shesakheb' [Historical Note About Bolnisi Eparchy], *Religiis istoriis sakitkhebi* [Issues of Religious History] 2 (2013), 100-28.

Lang, David Marshall, *The Last Years of the Georgian Monarchy 1658-1832* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957).

Liluashvili, Manon, 'Kartuli da somkhuri arkitekturis urtiertkmedeba XVIII-XIX saukunebis tbilisshi' [Interaction of Georgian and Armenian Architecture in 18th-19th Centuries Tbilisi], in *Arkitetura da identoba: saeklesio mshenebloba tbilishi (1801-1918)* [Architecture and Identity: Church Building in Tbilisi (1801-1918)], ed. by David Khoshtaria (Tbilisi: The George Chubinashvili National Research Centre, 2016), 133-48.

Lortkipanidze, Inga and Janjalia, Mzia, *Tsalenjikha, Wall Paintings in the Saciour's Church* (Tbilisi: Cezanne Printing House, 2011).

Mamasakhlisi, Irma, 'Ertatsmindis tadzris mokhatulbis tarighi da misi ktitorebi', *Religia* (Religion) 1 (2014), 31-40.

Mamistvalashvili, Eldar, *Goris istoria* [History of Gori], I (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1994).

Mania, Maia, 'Tbilelis karvaslis istoriisatvis' [To the History of the Tbileli's Caravanserai], *Sakartvelos sidzveleni* [Georgian Antiquities], 10 (2007), 148-89.

Masalebi sakartvelos sotsialur-ekonomikuri istoriisatvis (mzitvis tsignebi) [Materials for Social-Economical History of Georga (Books of Dowry), ed. by Mzia Iashvili and David Megrelizde (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1974).

Mepisashvili, Rusudan and Tsintsadze, Vakhtang, Архитектура нагорной части исторической провирции Грузии - Шида-Картли [Architecture of Mountainous Part of Historical Province of Georgia - Inner Kartli] (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1975).

Muskhelishvili, Levan, *Sakartvelos istoriis sakitkhebi* [Issues of Georgian History] (Tbilisi: Artanuji Publishing, 2019).

Nadareishvili, Giorgi, *Dzveli kartuli saojakho samartali* [Old Georgian Family Law] (Tbilisi: Samtavisi, 1974).

Natsvlishvili, Natia, 'Katolikuri eklesiebi sakartveloshi: istoria da arkitektura [Catholic Churches in Georgia: History and Architecture]', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Ilia State University, 2019).

Peradze, Irakli, 'Kalta istoriis rekonstruktsia katolike misionerta tsnobebis mikhedvit' [The Reconstruction of Women's History According to the sources of Catholic Missionaries], in: *Katolikuri memkvidreoba sakartveloshi, 1-li saertashoriso simpoziumi (6-8 ivnisi, 2017)* [Catholic Heritage in Georgia, proceeding of the 1st International Symposium (June 6-8, 2017)] (Tbilisi, 2018), 93-106.

Pirta anotirebuli leksikoni, XI-XVII ss. Kartuli Istoriuli Sabutebis Mikhedvit [Annotated Dictionary of Personal Names According to Georgian Historical Documents of 11th-17th Centuries], III, ed. by Ana Bakradze, Levan Ratiani and Giorgi Otkhmezuri (Tbilisi, 2004).

Rayfield, Donald, *Edge of Empires, A History of Georgia* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013).

Rayfield, Donald, *The Literature of Georgia: A History* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

Tughushi, Abesalom, *Tskhovreba da ghvatsli dedopal mariam dadianisa* [Life and Merit of Queen Mariam Dadiani] (Tbilisi: Ornati, 1992).

Taqaishvili, Ekvtime, *Arkheologiuri mogzaurobani da shenishvnani* [Archaeological Journeys and Remarks], I (Tbilisi: The Press of Comradeship of Georgian Publishers, 1907).

Taqaishvili, Ekvtime, *Arkheologiuri mogzaurobani da shenishvnani* [Archaeological Journeys and Remarks], II (Tbilisi: S. Losaberidze Publishing House, 1914).

Tsereteli, Giorgi, 'Mariam dedopali da shvili misi otia'[Queen Mariam and Her Son Otia], *Mtsqemsi*, 12 (1893), 6-8.

Thys-Şenocak, Lucienne, *Ottoman Women Builders, The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan* (Women and Gender in the Early Modern World Series) (London: Routlagde, 2016).

Vassilaki, Maria, 'Female Piety, Devotion and Patronage: Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaologina of Ioannina and Helena Uglješa of Serres', in: *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin, Antes du colloque international de l'Université de Fribourg 13-15 mars 2008*, ed. by Jean-Michel Spieser and Elisabeth Yota (Paris: Desclée De Brouwer, 2012), 221-34.

Virsaladze, Tinatin, *Роспись Иерусалимского Крестного монастыря и портрет Шота Руставели* [Murals of the Holy Cross Monastery in Jerusalem and the Portrait of Shota Rustaveli] (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1973).

Zakaraia, Parmen, *Nakalakar urbnisis khurotmodzkhvreba* [Architecture of the Ancient Town of Urbnisi] (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1965).

GOHAR GRIGORYAN

The 'Just Judgement' of King Lewon IV. Representational Strategies of Righteous Rulership in Cilician Armenia

Introduction

Recently, a team of scholars of communication studies at the University of Zürich has demonstrated that the political and social orientation of nearly seventy percent of the population is formed through voting booklets, TV and radio, newspapers, and print and online media – to quote only the materials deemed most influential.[1] Other scholars of the same discipline have noted that, because of the mediatization of politics, nonverbal cues, such as politicians' 'physical appearance, their posture, their way of dressing, the pitch of their voice, and so forth', play a decisive role in attracting votes and gaining public support.[2]

In medieval times, as in the image-laden culture of today, sovereigns of state and ruling aristocrats were well aware of the benefits of visual representations of their person in consolidating the political power they held. Various forms of bodily presence enabled, and still enable today, those in power to make virtual contact with the members of their societies for the purposes of conveying messages, gaining sympathy and respect, and ultimately – as the above-quoted statistics demonstrate for today's societies – to convince them.

* Research for this article was carried out in the framework of the project 'Royal Epiphanies: The King's Body as Image and Its *Mise-en-scène* in the Medieval Mediterranean (12th-14th Centuries)', funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (project n°173045, University of Fribourg, PI Michele Bacci). The support of Michele Bacci, Michael E. Stone, Hrair Hawk Khatcherian, and Zaroui Pogossian has been precious to me while working on this study. Four repositories of Armenian manuscripts – the Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia (Antelias, Lebanon), the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, the Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts (Yerevan, Armenia), and the Mekhitarist Congregation in Venice – granted me access to their collections on multiple occasions. This research could hardly have been completed without the assistance of these persons and institutions, all of whom I warmly thank. I would also like to thank Natalia Chitishvili and Manuela Studer-Karlen for their help, and Sabine Sommerer and one reviewer for their advise.
Armenian letters are transliterated according to the Romanization system of the Library of Congress. To indicate the collections of Armenian manuscripts, I follow Bernard Coulie's 'List of abbreviations for manuscript libraries and collections' in his *Armenian Manuscripts: Catalogues, Collections, Libraries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020, 2nd revised edition), pp. 450-62: M = Yerevan, Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts; J = Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate; V = Venice, Mekhitarist Library; ANT = Antelias, Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia.

1 Michael V. Reiss, Noemi Festic, Michael Latzer, and Tanja Rüedy, 'The Relevance Internet Users Assign to Algorithmic-Selection Applications in Everyday Life', *Studies in Communication Sciences*, 21/1 (2021), 71-90. See also Michael Reiss, 'Social Media Content Does Not Seem Relevant', *Swiss National Science Foundation/News*, 4 August 2021 (last accessed 1 March 2022), https://www.snf.ch/en/Guf6xiUtZopbtGci/news/social-media-content-does-not-seem-relevant

2 Lasse Laustsen and Michael Bang Petersen, 'Winning Faces Vary by Ideology: How Nonverbal Source Cues Influence Election and Communication Success in Politics', *Political Communication*, 33/2 (2016), 188-211 (with further bibliography).

DOI 10.1484/M.HMSAH-EB.5.135005. This is an open access chapter made available under a CC BY-NC 4.0 International License.

One might disagree with this assumption that pertinent comparisons exist between the visual strategies of modern and medieval rulers, and many good arguments might be brought to substantiate this criticism. Indeed, the nature of monotheistic monarchies left little space for diversity and choice. This does not mean, however, that medieval sovereigns were not concerned with their public portrayal. The extensive production of material images of rulers in ancient and medieval times – surviving examples of which certainly represent only a small portion of what originally existed – indicates an unceasing belief in the efficacy of such images as powerful tools of influence over the beholders of these royal epiphanies. The remarkable importance assigned to materializing and visualizing the ruler's outward appearance calls for art-historical analysis, and this article is such an exercise, taking as a case study the images of King Lewon IV (r. 1320/21-41) of Cilician Armenia.

In the Armenian state of Cilicia, as in many premodern Christian states, the representation of the king's institutional role was often conditioned by those duties and responsibilities that the holder of secular power assumed over upon his enthronement. The performance of the coronation ceremony was a landmark that not only concretized the new king's pre-eminent political and administrative status but also set the terms for his representation thereafter. When the sovereign showed himself publicly, his outward appearance and all of its components created a *mise-en-scène* that, depending on the respective occasion and context, underscored one or more of his royal functions. The king, who embodied an entire state, entered into communication with his subjects through making appearances, whether in the form of his living body – when, for example, showing himself at ceremonies, feasts, processions, etc. – or via the visual-artistic surrogates that enacted his authority, such as his pictorial or sculpted effigies. In both cases, royal insignia and other coronation objects would most likely have been present as markers of the sovereign's authority. The emblematic meaning with which these material objects were invested was so strong that they alone could work as proxies for the king when not accompanying a physical display of his person.[3]

With the aim of exploring the communicative potential of royal images and hence their intended impact on fourteenth-century Cilician society, the present study will focus on secular effigies – that is, images found in secular manuscripts or in those places that do not pertain principally to the religious dimension of rulership. I will first reconstruct some of the political circumstances that, as will be argued, motivated and oriented the strategies of royal portraiture under King Lewon IV, notably, his preference for being represented as a righteous ruler. The particularities of these strategies are then analyzed by considering what specific visual forms the Armenian king took. As will be seen, these representations reflect theo-political ideas found in ceremonial, liturgical, rhetorical, and juridical sources, most of which had either courtly or pro-courtly origins. By juxtaposing textual-ritual and visual-artistic evidence, I show that the vivacity of the king's ceremonial appearances could in some measure be transmitted onto the parchment, metallic, or stone surfaces whose images acted as surrogates for the king's authority, thereby multiplying his imposing presence and possibly conditioning certain behaviour in the viewer.

3 See, for example, Sabine Sommerer's discussion on the empty thrones in this volume.

Political Circumstances under Lewon IV and the Orientation of Representational Strategies

Lewon IV ascended the throne of his father, King Awshin (r. 1308-20), in a precarious political situation that left its mark on the former's strategies of royal portraiture.[4] Although he was the only legitimate heir, the young Lewon had good reason to be concerned about the future of his governance. His coronation and the first decade of his reign were almost entirely controlled by four powerful lords of Cilicia, two of whom would come to be his enemies. The episodes narrated below constitute the backdrop against which Lewon's images must be understood. Highlighting the king's 'God-given' capacity for righteously administering justice, the royal apparatus under Lewon IV introduced some novelties into the royal imagery of Cilician Armenia, as far as the surviving effigies allow us to observe. At the same time, Lewon continued the earlier representational traditions through which the Cilician royal institution had become widely known, such as official images on coins and seals, which demonstrate a remarkable stability in iconographic terms.[5]

Lewon IV was only eleven years old when, on 1 February 1321, his coronation ceremony took place in the capital city of Sis (present-day Kozan, Turkey).[6] Until the 'boy king' reached maturity (age 20),[7] the kingdom was governed by four barons on the basis of an agreement that was issued by Lewon's late father for a period of ten years (1321-31).[8] The barons who were designated the *pali*s of Lewon's kingdom were Awshin, the lord of Corycus; Kostandin of Corycus; Het'um Nghirts'i, the lord of Nghir; and *marajakht* (marshal) Paghtin/Baldwin.[9] Awshin and

4 Lewon was born on 9 April 1310 from the marriage of King Awshin and Zapēl of Corycus (or Koṛikos in Armenian spelling). Sources record that soon after his birth, on 3 May 1310, his mother passed away. See *Brief Chronicle of Het'um, lord of Akhtuts'*, in Artashes Mat'evosyan, 'The Chronicles of Het'um, lord of Akhtuts', and of Marajakht Vasil', *Patma-banasirakan handes*, 4 (1963), 188-94 (p. 192) (in Armenian); *Chronicle Ascribed to Sargis Pitsak Ssec'i (Fourteenth Century)*, in *Brief Chronicles, Thirteenth-Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by Vazgen Hakobyan, I (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1951), pp. 102-06 (in Armenian) (p. 106); *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, Recueil des historiens des croisades: documents arméniens, II (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1906), pp. 1-109 (p. 18).

5 For a systematic study of visual representations of the Cilician kings, see Gohar Grigoryan, 'Royal Images of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia (1198-1375) in the Context of Mediterranean Intercultural Exchange' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Fribourg, 2017).

6 *Brief Chronicle of Het'um*, p. 192; *Samuel Anetsi and Continuators, The Chronicle from Adam to 1776*, ed. by Karen Matevosyan (Yerevan: Nairi, 2014), p. 274, n. 556 (in Armenian); *Chronicle of Smbat Sparapet*, ed. by Karapet Chahnazarian (Paris: E. Thunot et C., 1859), p. 128 (in Armenian). In the present article, the *Chronicle of Smbat Sparapet* refers to its fourteenth-century continuation. For the authorship of this chronicle, see Sergio La Porta, 'The Chronicle Attributed to Smbat the Constable', in *Franks and Crusaders in Medieval Eastern Christian Historiography*, ed. by Alex Mallett (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), pp. 179-210.

7 In chronicles and manuscript colophons, Lewon is often referred to as the 'boy king', 'young king', or with similar designations stressing his tender age. See, for examples, the following fourteenth-century colophons written or reproduced in these Jerusalem manuscripts: J2, J318, J801 (c.f. M1314), J1566, J1822, J1863, J1930, J1953, J2434, J3602/14 (Gospel manuscript no. 4).

8 *Brief Chronicle of Het'um*, p. 192; *Samuel Anetsi*, p. 274.

9 In textual sources, however, the four barons who were proclaimed *pali*s are not always mentioned together; the name of one or another is usually missing. See, for example, the colophon of a Cilician manuscript (M1314) dating from 1325, which mentions 'three great and eminent' *paron*s, Awshin, Kostandin, and Het'um Nghirts'i: *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts – Fourteenth Century*, ed. by Karen Matevosyan (Yerevan: Nairi, 2018), I (1301-1325), p. 495 (in Armenian). See also *Brief Chronicle of Het'um*, p. 192 (here Het'um Nghirts'i mentions Awshin and himself); *Samuel Anetsi*, p. 274 (mentions Awshin, Kostandin, and Het'um Nghirts'i); *Chronique d'Arménie*, pp. 18-19 (mentions all four barons in the following sequence: Awshin, Kostandin, Baudin/Paghtin, and Het'um). More often than other *pali*s, it is Awshin who is mentioned as the principal baron of the state during the reign of the young Lewon IV. See, for example, the colophon of a Gospel manuscript dating from 1325, reproduced in Sahag A. Mouradian and Nazareth B. Mardirossian, *Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of St. Arakelotz-Tarkmanchatz Monastery (Moush) and the Environs* (Jerusalem: Sts James Press, 1967), p. 23 (in Armenian). See also *Chronique d'Arménie*, p. 19. On these *pali*s and the political situation during the first decade of Lewon's reign, see Levon Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, II: *Historico-Political Study* (Yerevan: Printinfo, 2007), pp. 395-99 (in Armenian).

Kostandin were brothers, as were Het'um Nghirts'i and Marshal Paghtin. The most significant authority among them was invested in Awshin of Corycus, who was the son of Hayton the Historian, and whose superiority over other *pali*s was expressed on various occasions. Upon the coronation of Lewon IV, Awshin gave his daughter Alits in marriage to the new king.[10] As the acting governor of the state, Awshin moreover named his brother Kostandin constable. He then married Lewon's stepmother, Joan of Anjou, who had been anointed queen of Armenia upon her marriage to King Awshin in 1316.[11] After reinforcing his position through self-initiated intermarriages, Awshin in a short time took possession of such strategic places as Tarsus, Papeṛon, and the entire region of Isauria.[12] Apparently, these ambitions did not go unnoticed by other members of the royal palace, and this might explain Awshin's violent actions against some of them. For instance, he killed the sister of the former king Awshin, Zapēl, along with her eldest sons, as they could have been an obstacle to the baron's further plans, aimed at bringing him ever closer to the royal throne.[13]

This situation changed radically when the regency contract that had been drafted by King Awshin neared its expiration date. We know that the Mamluk sultan al-Nasir Muhammad, in agreement with Lewon's farsighted father, had issued for young Lewon a letter of appointment (*taqlīd*). Al-Umari, who claims to have personally written this letter, records that a peace agreement was also signed and that Lewon was clothed in the robes of honour.[14] Another Arabic writer, Abu al-Fida, mentions that the young lord of Sis – that is, Lewon – was honoured with a sword, saddled horses, and a *hila* (robe of honour), which he wore, assuring the Mamluk delegate that 'in this way his spirit has been strengthened'.[15] Empowered by the sultan's confirmation of his reign, the Armenian king arrested two of his *pali*s, the brothers Awshin and Kostandin of Corycus, and had them executed at Adana.[16] As narrated by the anonymous continuator of the royal chronicle attributed to Smbat Sparapet, one of the principal accusations against the Corycus brothers was their illegal possession of many fortresses. The same author, who was apparently someone from the courtly milieu, did not fail to immediately mention that 'King Lewon is free from sins of their blood', an insistence that seems to confirm the opposite.[17] The

10 *Chronicle of Smbat Sparapet*, p. 128; *Samuel Anetsi*, p. 274; *Chronique d'Arménie*, p. 19.

11 From this marriage the *pali* Awshin had a daughter, the future Queen Mariun and spouse of King Kostandin I (r. 1344-63), who would play an active political role until the fall of the Armenian state in 1375. See Gohar Grigoryan Savary, 'Mariun: An Exiled Queen's Pilgrimage and Death in Jerusalem', *Al-ʿUsʿūr al-Wusṭʿā: The Journal of Middle East Medievalists*, 29 (2021), 217-55 (with a genealogical chart of the Corycus family).

12 *Samuel Anetsi*, p. 274.

13 *Samuel Anetsi*, p. 274; *Chronique d'Arménie*, p. 19. On Awshin's ambitions for the Armenian throne, see Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, pp. 402-04; Claude Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, I *(XIe-XIVe siècle)* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 2012), pp. 203-04.

14 For the Armenian translation and further comments on this document, see Gagik Danielyan, 'The Armenian-Mamluk Diplomatic Correspondence according to Chancery Manuals of Al-'Umārī, Ibn Nāẓir al-Ğayš and Al-Qalqašandī', *Bazmavēp*, 1-2 (2016), 44-98 (pp. 65-66, n. 44) (in Armenian).

15 I use Gagik Danielyan's Armenian translation as quoted in Danielyan, 'The Armenian-Mamluk Diplomatic Correspondence', pp. 65-66, n. 44.

16 *Chronicle of Smbat Sparapet*, p. 131; *Chronique d'Arménie*, p. 20; *Samuel Anetsi*, pp. 275-76; *Chronicle of King Hetʿum II (Thirteenth Century)* [Continuator], in *Brief Chronicles, Thirteenth-Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by Vazgen Hakobyan, I (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1951), pp. 65-101 (in Armenian) (p. 88). The last two sources also mention that Lewon sent the head of Awshin to the Mamluk sultan al-Nasir Muhammad and the head of Kostandin to the Mongol ilkhan Abu Said. These infamous deeds on the part of Lewon IV are discussed in Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, pp. 404, 402.

17 *Chronicle of Smbat Sparapet*, p. 131. Jean Dardel and the continuator of Samuēl Anetsʿi bring further accusations against Awshin of Corycus, including his intention to usurp the royal throne. See Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, pp. 403-04.

next to be executed after the barons of Corycus was Lewon's wife, Alits of Corycus, who, as already noted, was the daughter of the *pali* Awshin and had been anointed queen at Lewon's coronation in 1321.[18] As for the two remaining *pali*s, the brothers Het'um Nghirts'i and Paghtin, they continued to hold high positions at the royal court during the second period of Lewon's reign – Het'um as chamberlain and Paghtin as marshal.

After securing his reign through the above-described actions and assassinations, Lewon IV sent Het'um Nghirts'i to Sicily, between September and October 1329, in order to negotiate his new marriage with one of the daughters of King Frederick III.[19] In 1330, Het'um Nghirts'i was dispatched to Sicily for a second time, accompanied by a larger group of delegates. The aim of this second visit, which lasted eighteen months, was to obtain confirmation of the Armenian king's marriage to Constance, Frederick's eldest daughter and the former spouse of King Henry II of Cyprus.[20] The Armenian ambassador was successful in this mission. From the chronicle written by Het'um Nghirts'i himself, we learn that in 1331 he offered a ring to Constance of Sicily (also known as Constance of Aragon) and that, on 23 October 1331, he arrived with her in Tarsus. The wedding ceremony took place in Sis on 3 November 1331, during which 110 Cilician princes were also knighted.[21] Not coincidentally, this political marriage was initiated in the same year that King Lewon granted the Sicilians commercial privileges, attaching to the attendant document a golden chrysobull bearing his own image, to which I will return later.

It is from this eventful period – from the year 1331, more precisely – that a painted image of Lewon IV comes down to us, depicting the king, aged 21, as a righteous judge. It seems to me that the creation of this image and of the illustrated manuscript for which it serves as a frontispiece are to be related to the expiration of the regency, which freed Lewon of the services of his ambitious *pali*s and ushered in a new political era, one in which Lewon's authority was no longer a matter of debate.[22] Let us now consider how the Armenian king's political concerns are reflected in artistic portrayals of him, and how this might inform our more general question regarding the communicative potential of such representations.

18 For sources mentioning this assassination, see *Samuel Anetsi*, p. 276; *Chronique d'Arménie*, p. 20.

19 *Brief Chronicle of Het'um*, p. 193.

20 *Brief Chronicle of Het'um*, p. 193.

21 *Brief Chronicle of Het'um*, p. 193. Jean Dardel mentions Tarsus as the wedding location (*Chronique d'Arménie*, p. 20). However, the account of Het'um Nghirts'i seems to me more trustworthy given that the diplomatic preparations of this marriage were carried out by Het'um himself. Additionally, as the chamberlain of the kingdom, Het'um might have been personally present at the wedding ceremony. On this marriage, see also *Chronicle of Smbat Sparapet*, p. 132; *Samuel Anetsi*, p. 276.

22 Despite Lewon IV's efforts, this new era would, however, proceed under the increasing menace of the Mamluks who, in 1337, took the port city of Ayas (Laiazzo), the main source of the Armenian state's income. After the fall of Ayas, Lewon IV was forced to hand over many regions and fortresses to the Mamluks, such that the kingdom lost half of its territories and was limited to the area east of the course of the Jahan (Ceyhan) River. In addition, according to the peace treaty signed with the Mamluks, the Armenians would no longer be able to maintain any relationship with the West, which largely limited Lewon's search for allies. The 'boy king' died in 1341 or 1342, leaving no heirs to the throne, which further deepened the kingdom's political crisis. For the events of the 1330s, see Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, pp. 206-7.

✦ Fig. 1
King Lewon IV executing 'just judgment'. *Assizes of Antioch*, copied and illustrated by Sargis Pitsak, Sis (present-day Kozan), 1331 CE.
Venice, Manuscript Library of Mekhitarists, MS 107, fol. 1v. Photo by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.

✦ Fig. 2
Alexander receives the Darius' ambassadors and gives order to crucify them. *Alexander Romance*, 1300s CE. Venice, Manuscript Library of Mekhitarists, MS 424, fol. 30r. Photo by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.

The 'Just Judgement' of Lewon IV: The King's Image in the Law Code V107

King Lewon IV is depicted on the frontispiece to a juridical manuscript, created on his order in 1331 (Fig. 1). Preserved at the Mekhitarist Library in Venice under the inventory number 107 (hereafter 'V107'), this manuscript comprises two important juridical manuals used in Cilician Armenia: the *Assizes of Antioch* and the *Law Code of Smbat Sparapet*. It is to Smbat Sparapet, the brother of the Armenian king Het'um I (r. 1226-70) and the constable of the state, that we owe the Armenian translation of the *Assizes*. Once the translation was completed, Smbat took care that it be authenticated as a genuine translation in neighboring Antioch. The Armenian text is all the more significant because the original *Assizes of Antioch*, written in Old French, is now lost, meaning that its content can only be reconstructed through Armenian manuscripts, the oldest extant example of which is V107. An important monument of secular law, the *Assizes* apparently exceeded in its implications the frontiers of the principality of Antioch and the Crusader states, penetrating also Armenian Cilicia.[23] As for the second juridical text found in V107, the *Law Code of Smbat Sparapet* composed by Smbat himself, its scope is much broader, encompassing not only secular law but nearly all other forms, a fact which has inspired scholars to qualify it as the culmination of Cilician Armenian legislation.[24]

We are fortunate to know the identity of the artist of V107 – Sargis Pitsak, the royal miniaturist whose prolific work left us several images of two Cilician rulers. The depiction of King Lewon at the opening to the manuscript is juxtaposed with the incipit page of the *Assizes of Antioch*, which, as explained in the translator's colophon, aimed to regulate the relationship between the suzerain and his vassals as well as among the vassal lords.[25] It is exactly these relationships that are represented by Sargis Pitsak, who depicts the Armenian king at the tense moment of executing justice over his lords. Lewon is seated cross-legged on a bench-like

23 Azat Bozoyan, 'La réception du droit franc en Arménie', in *La Méditerranée des Arméniens (XIIe-XVe siècle)*, ed. by Claude Mutafian (Paris: Geuthner, 2014), pp. 121-32 (p. 126). For the Armenian text and its translation into modern French, see *Assises d'Antioche*, ed. and trans. by Léon Alishan (Venice: Imprimerie arménienne médaillée, 1876), pp. 2-3. A second Armenian publication of the *Assizes of Antioch* was done from a seventeenth-century manuscript (which differs from the version preserved in V107): Yarut'iwn (Harry) Kurdian, 'A Newly Found Manuscript of the *Assizes of Antioch*', *Bazmavēp*, 1-2 (1956), 15-21 (in Armenian). Two Russian translations, based respectively on Alishan's and Kurdian's mentioned publications, are available in A. Papovyan and Karen Yuzbashian, 'The Armenian Translation of the *Assizes of Antioch*', *Banber Matenadarani*, 4 (1958), 331-70 and 371-75 (in Russian). For an overview of the manuscript tradition, followed by linguistic analysis, see Agnès Ouzounian, 'Les *Assises d'Antioche* ou la langue en usage: remarques à propos du texte arménien des *Assises d'Antioche*', in *La Méditerranée des Arméniens (XIIe-XVe siècle)*, ed. by Claude Mutafian (Paris: Geuthner, 2014), pp. 133-62.

24 When composing this law code, Smbat brought together legislative achievements from both within and beyond Armenia and produced an almost complete lawbook comprising – to translate Azat Bozoyan's list – 'state, ecclesiastic, civil, matrimonial, familial, hypothecary, testamentary, criminal, judicial, commercial' laws. See Bozoyan, 'La réception', p. 129; Azat Bozoyan, 'Les documents juridiques du royaume arménien de Cilicie', in Actes du colloque *Les Lusignans et l'Outre-Mer* (Poitiers: Sipap, 1994), pp. 54-58 (p. 58).

25 'to show the customs and the obligations liege lords and serfs have towards each other'. See Harry Kurdian, 'Assizes of Antioch', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 3/4 (Oct. 1962), 134-37 (p. 134). For this law code in its Antiochian context, see Peter W. Edbury, 'The *Assises d'Antioche*: Law and Custom in the Principality of Antioch', in *Norman Expansion: Connections, Continuities and Contrasts*, ed. by Keith J. Stringer and Andrew Jotischky (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 241-48.

throne, known in medieval Armenia, as in many Persianate societies, as *t'akht*. In Armenian art, low royal seats are attested since the Bagratid period, such as in the miniature showing the family of King Gagik-Abas of Kars,[26] but the specific type of seat depicted on the frontispiece in question is more often discernible in the art of Lewon's time: it is a low bench that rests on little legs and has two sides that are remarkably tall, rising to the level of the king's head.

The spatial arrangement of this illustrated folio is so clear that it does not require much effort to recognize the hierarchical relationship among the depicted persons. Several aristocratic men are being received at the court of King Lewon, whose authoritative position is highlighted by his raised throne and his hand gesture. Similar representations of courtly reception, with the ruler on an elevated throne releasing a decision or giving orders, are traceable to contemporary or near-contemporary miniature painting. Among many analogous examples in which the *mise-en-scène* of the ruler's body is organized in such a hierarchical way, I would point to the scene of the reception of Darius's ambassadors by Alexander that is preserved in an Armenian manuscript of the *Alexander Romance* (Fig. 2), as well as the image of the Georgian king Giorgi VIII in a juridical document he issued in 1460 (Fig. 3).[27] Another notable example in which the ruler's posture and gesture resemble the portrayal of courtly reception in V107 can be found in Crusader art: in one of the illustrated copies of the *Histoire Universelle*, the production of which was associated with the enthronement of King Henry II Lusignan, Holofernes is depicted ceremonially receiving Judith while seated in his tent in a cross-legged position (Fig. 4).[28]

In the Cilician manuscript under examination, three noblemen are portrayed beneath the throne of King Lewon IV, two cross-legged and the third one leaning forward towards them with his gaze directed upward, towards the king. The standing figure of an elderly aristocrat appears to intercede between the king and the leaning man, who argues with the two persons seated in front of him.[29] This standing official may be identified as a member of the courtly council, which,

26 Thomas F. Mathews and Annie-Christine Daskalakis, 'The Portrait of Princess Marem of Kars, Jerusalem 2556, fol. 135b', in *From Byzantium to Iran: Armenian Studies in Honour of Nina G. Garsoïan*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Mahé and Robert W. Thomson (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), pp. 475-84, fig. 1.

27 For the description of this parchment scroll, see *Illuminated Historical Documents in the Depositories of Georgia*, ed. by Darejan Kldiashvili (Tbilisi: Pavorit'i P'rint'i, 2011), p. 66 (in Georgian).

28 London, British Library, MS Add. 15268. For illustrations of this manuscript, see Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (London: Pindar Press, 1986), pp. 79-87; Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275-1291* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 77-116.

29 The standing elderly official was identified by Sirarpie Der Nersessian as Chancellor Hanēs (or Yohannēs), who is portrayed in a manuscript kept in the British Library under the shelf mark Or. 13804. This manuscript, known as the Psalter of King Lewon II, was created in 1283 in Sis, and has some stylistic parallels with the illustrations of MS V107; among them, the resemblance between the image of Hanēs and that of the elderly official who stands in front of King Lewon IV is particularly noteworthy. Although forty-eight years separate the Psalter of Lewon II from the juridical manuscript created for Lewon IV, Hanēs seems to have been active at the royal court until the early 1330s, for he is mentioned as holding the position of royal chancellor in at least two documents dating from 1331 and 1333. See Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Centuries*, I-II (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 1993), p. 160, fig. 649.

✦ Fig. 3 ›
Georgian King Giorgi VIII.
Blood-money deed issued by the king, parchment scroll, 1460 CE.
Tbilisi, National Centre of Manuscripts, MS Qd-7118 (Photo after *Illuminated Historical Documents* (Tbilisi 2011), colour Fig. 1).

✦ Fig. 4
Holofernes receives Judith. *Histoire universelle*, 'the Hospitaller master', Acre, 1280s CE. London, British Library, MS. Add. 15268, fol. 181r
(Photo: © The British Library).

according to the *Assizes*, handled juridical affairs related to the nobility.[30] While the miniature in question suggests that final judgement was reserved for the king, the Armenian artist seems to be faithful in representing the administrative realities of his time by positioning the councilor between the king and the arguing lords. In this regard, Sargis Pitsak's creation can also be read as a *realistic* artefact – a visual evocation of the law code that opened with this very image of the acting king. This supports Michele Bacci's recent assessment of medieval royal imagery, arguing that 'a realistic code could be adopted only where rulers had a specific political or diplomatic interest in making use of it'.[31]

On the frontispiece to V107, we are apparently dealing with a generic representation of the King's Court, also known as the High Gate (to translate literally the Armenian expression Վերին Դարպաս) or *Curia Regis*.[32] The King's Court was the highest tribunal in the Cilician state, located in the king's city of residence and administered directly by him.[33] One of the principal duties of this tribunal was the resolution of conflicts among lords, an artistic visualization of which is offered by the king's artist Sargis Pitsak. Here, the king's dominating figure creates a dynamic interconnection between the arguing noblemen and the intercessory councilor. King Lewon himself is shown to be instructed by the right hand of God, which emerges, outstretched, from the upper-left corner. The king's posture, the gesture of his hands, and his vigilant gaze complete the intense moment of the execution of 'just judgement', as the two-line inscription, inserted on the blue and red ground around the king's figure, reminds us: ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ, ՈՒՂԵՂ ԴԱՏԱՍՏԱՆ, that is, 'KING LEWON, JUST JUDGEMENT'.

This inscription is a verbatim citation from the ninth chapter of the *Assizes of Antioch*, which reads: 'For it must be known that God has established the Court for true and just judgements for the sake of the salvation of the world'.[34] The inspiration for the phrase *just* or *upright judgement* (ուղեղ դատաստան) doubtless has biblical origins (c.f. Deut. 16:18-19, Neh. 9[19]:13, Ps. 7:12, Ps. 118:137, Jn 7:24, II Thess. 1:5, etc.), but it might be explicable more precisely as a verbatim translation of the *justum judicium* or *rectum judicium* of the now-lost French text of the *Assizes*. Matthew W. McHaffie has recently demonstrated that the expression 'just judgement'

30 On the role of this council, as well as the structure and functional contexts of the *Assizes of Antioch*, see Bozoyan, 'La réception', pp. 126-29. See also Bozoyan, 'Les documents juridiques', pp. 57-58.

31 Michele Bacci, 'An Introductory Essay: Mediterranean Perspectives on Royal Images', in *Meanings and Functions of the Ruler's Image in the Mediterranean World (11th-15th Centuries)*, ed. by Michele Bacci and Manuela Studer-Karlen, with the collaboration of Mirko Vagnoni (Leiden: Brill, 2022), pp. 1-32 (p. 8).

32 C.f. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, p. 159; *Assises d'Antioche*, pp. VII-VIII.

33 The other tribunals, according to Boṛnazian, consisted of the Archbishopric Tribunal of Sis, the Lords' or Regional Tribunals, and the Ecclesiastic Tribunals. Additionally, foreigners could hold their own tribunals in Cilicia via special licenses issued by the Armenian king. For the characteristics of each of them, see Sargis Boṛnazian, *Socio-Economic Relations in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia in the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Centuries* (Yerevan: Press of Academy of Sciences, 1973), pp. 122-35 (in Armenian).

34 Զի գիտել պարտ է, որ Աստուած զդարպասն վասն ճշմարիտ և ուղիղ դատաստանաց է հաստատել, որ փրկի աշխարհ. See *Assises d'Antioche*, pp. 28-29. For this reason, I find myself in disagreement with Ioanna Rapti's interpretation that the formula 'just judgement' inscribed near Lewon IV's figure (translated by Rapti as 'fair court/judgement') refers to royal pardon or may be 'an acclamation chanted after coronation'. See Ioanna Rapti, 'Featuring the King: Rituals of Coronation and Burial in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia', in *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. by Alexander Beihammer, Stavroula Constantinou, and Maria Parani (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 291-335 (pp. 305-06). Without excluding the possibility that Lewon IV might have liberated prisoners or might have committed similar acts, the notion of royal pardon can barely be related to the inscribed image of Lewon IV found on the opening page of the *Assizes of Antioch*, the main purpose of which, as discussed above, was the regulation of the relationship between the lord and vassal lords.

entered western French legal documents in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to evoke ideas of the Last Judgement, 'thereby serving to buttress the authority of legal decision-making' on the part of lay court holders.[35] Similar eschatological and salvific connotations are clearly intended in the above-quoted sentence from the *Assizes of Antioch,* which was translated into Armenian upon the initiative of Cilician political authorities to be used together with the Armenian laws.[36]

The Rites and Regalia of the Righteous Ruler

Before we continue to explore the visual constructs forming Lewon IV's juridical image, let us consider some ideological currents in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, with particular emphasis on the notion of the king's righteousness as expressed in ceremonial and liturgical sources. Considered a divine gift, the ruler's capacity for justice was one of the key ideas that underpinned Cilician Armenian political theology and characterized, among a few other concepts, the sacral kingship of this Eastern Mediterranean state.[37] Even acknowledging several lacunae, it is possible to observe that most Armenian rulers were eager to express, in one way or another, their role as the main executor of justice and as an embodiment of righteousness – sometimes exhibiting this artistically, as did Lewon IV, and sometimes upholding it in political rhetoric, as did Yovhannēs Pluz Erznkatsʿi[38] or Vahram Rabuni, the secretary of King Lewon II (r. 1270/71-89).

35 Matthew W. McHaffie, 'The "Just Judgment" in Western France (c. 1000-c. 1150): Judicial Practice and the Sacred', *French History,* 33/1 (2019), 1-23. In these documents, McHaffie has identified five forms of courtly judgements in which the phrase 'just judgement' was used, all describing the legal decisions.

36 Cilician Armenians were also familiar with another manual of Frankish law, a collection of legal treatises, often referred to as the *Assizes of Jerusalem* (on these and other law codes used in Cilician Armenia, see Boṙnazian, *Socio-Economic Relations,* pp. 116-19). The few extant examples of illustrated copies of Frankish legal manuscripts do not allow many confident comparisons with the iconographic solutions applied in the sole Armenian example under discussion in this article, but some general observations can nevertheless be made, at least as concerns the theme of the *haute court*, the sovereign's prominent presence, and the 'welcoming' nature of these courtly scenes placed at the beginning of legal manuscripts. This quick list of general characteristics refers to the late thirteenth-century miniature found in the Prologue of a manuscript of Jean d'Ibelin's *Livre des assises* (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Str. App. 20=265). Ascribed to the so-called Hospitaller Master, the opening miniature of this manuscript depicts the *haute court*, separating the secular and ecclesiastical authorities over a symbolic representation of a walled city, which Peter Edbury and Jaroslav Folda have identified with Jerusalem. Here, Godfrey of Bouillon, the secular ruler who presents the book to the head of ecclesiastical authority, is shown without a crown, the intentionality of which can be comprehended from the accompanying text, which states that Godfrey 'has no wish to wear a crown of gold in the place where the King of Kings, Jesus Christ, Son of God, wore a crown'. While the crown is purposefully missing from the portrayal of this 'Crusader' ruler, the sceptre prominently features in his right hand. As will be discussed further in this article, the sceptre appears in Cilician Armenian royal ceremonial and portraiture as one of the most prominent insignia symbolizing the ruler's righteousness, closely following analogous Western and Frankish traditions. For the mentioned Crusader image, see Peter Edbury and Jaroslav Folda, 'Two Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts of Crusader Legal Texts from Saint-Jean d'Acre', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57 (1994), 243-54, Pl. 31; Jaroslav Folda, 'The Hospitaller Master in Paris and Acre: Some Reconsiderations in Light of New Evidence', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54 (1996), 51-59, Pl. 5. For the contents and archaeology of this manuscript, as well as the myth of Godfrey of Bouillon, see Peter Edbury's Introduction to *John of Ibelin, Le Livre des Assises,* ed. by Peter W. Edbury (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2003).

37 For judging as a divine gift granted to rulers, see, for example, below, n. 60.

38 In his homily delivered at the knighting ceremony (1283) of the crown princes Hetʿum and Tʿoros, Yovhannēs Erznkatsʿi assigned particular significance to the ruler's capacity for respecting rights and laws. See Yovhannēs Erznkatsʿi, *Speeches and Sermons,* ed. by Armenuhi

In his homily composed for the coronation of King Lewon II (1271), Rabuni highlighted three conditions for good functioning of the king's institution and ascribed to the newly appointed king all qualities entailed in fulfilling these conditions. The first, according to him, is piety of faith and righteousness of deeds; the second is the status of an heir-at-law (that is, having inherited the kingdom from ancestors); and the third is the capacity for reigning with wisdom and judiciousness.[39] These conditions are variously reflected in Cilician inauguration ceremonies, the structures of which are displayed in the appendix to this study.

At the moment of his anointment, the king was believed to be graced with extraordinary virtues, which allowed him to act as God's temporal representative in conducting the affairs of mankind on earth. Such affairs included juridical processes, what the twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Armenian legislator Mkhitʿar Gosh refers to as 'features of mankind' – with the understanding that animals and other 'incorporeal' (that is, non-human) creatures require no judgement.[40] The administration of mankind by another human being called for moral explanation, and no wonder many ancient and medieval monarchies resolved this paradox by sacralizing the idea of kingship, thereby justifying rulership as resulting from divine grace. This ideological manipulation was in turn solemnly ritualized through the acts of anointment and coronation, which marked the symbolic transfer of the 'abundantly poured' graces upon the newly anointed king (see appendix, A1). Both in visual and textual rhetoric, the institution of king departed from the biblical notion of the execution of judgement as a godly matter, God being the only definitive judge – often through His Son, the heavenly analogue to earthly kings.[41]

In the Cilician coronation ceremony, it is noted that the first prayer pronounced in front of the cathedral beseeched God to protect the future king so that he would never move away from the path of righteousness.[42] At least three of the coronation regalia given to the king – the ring, the sceptre, and the sword – symbolized the king's righteousness and judiciousness,

Yerzynkatsi-Ter-Srapyan and Edvard Baghdasaryan (Yerevan: Nairi, 2013), pp. 147-66, esp. chapters 23 and 24 (in Armenian).

39 The juridical dimension of Rabuni's coronation homily is explored in Boṛnazian, *Socio-Economic Relations*, pp. 18-22, and, in more detail, in Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, pp. 45-54, esp. 50, 52-3. On the ideals of kingship highlighted in this homily and on political theology under Lewon II, see also Peter Cowe, 'Theology of Kingship in Thirteenth-Century Armenian Cilicia', *Hask Armenological Yearbook*, 11 (2007-08), 417-30; Gohar Grigoryan, 'Royal Images of the Armenian Kingdom', pp. 127-9; Ioanna Rapti, 'Beyond the Page: Royal Imagery in the Queen Keṙan Gospels and the Rhetoric of the Court in Armenian Cilicia', in *Meanings and Functions of the Ruler's Image*, pp. 58-94 (pp. 75-77); in the same volume, Edda Vardanyan, 'The Royal Portrait in the Hetʿum Lectionary (1286) and the Genealogy of Christ in the Art and Ideology of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia', pp. 95-133 (pp. 105-11).

40 'The first judge of all is God according to the saying. Whereby it is clear that judgement is a feature of mankind, because there is no judgement of incorporeal or insensible creatures – although animals which kill are put to death for the sake of instilling fear in mankind'. See *The Lawcode [Datastanagirkʿ] of Mkhitʿar Goš*, trans. with commentary and indices by Robert W. Thomson (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), pp. 77-78.

41 See, for example, *The Lawcode*, pp. 77-78. The superiority of the Heavenly King over the ruler who temporarily reigns on the earth is also well present in the thirteenth-century writings of Yovhannēs Erznkatsʿi and Vahram Rabuni. See Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, pp. 45-62.

42 I refer to the coronation ceremony which derives from a version based on the so-called *Mainzer Krönungsordo* of the Ottonian kings (see appendix, A1). The text of the mentioned prayer is reproduced in Artawazd Siwrmēean, *Catalog of the Armenian Manuscripts of Aleppo and Antelias and of Private Collections*, II (Aleppo: Tēr-Sahakean Press, 1936), p. 25 (in Armenian); Ghewond Alishan, *Sisuan: A Documentary Study of Armenian Cilicia and Lewon the Great* (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1885), p. 472 (in Armenian); Léonce Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique: premier roi de Sissouan ou de l'Arméno-Cilicie* (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1888), p. 328.

✦ Fig. 5
Coronation ordo. *Mayr Mashtots*ʿ, Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, before 1294 CE. Jerusalem, Manuscript Library of the Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2673, fols. 306v-307r (Photo: Gohar Grigoryan).

✦ Fig. 6
Coronation ordo. *Mayr Mashtots*ʿ, Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, before 1294 CE. Jerusalem, Manuscript Library of the Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2673, fols. 310v-311r (Photo: Gohar Grigoryan).

which he was tasked with effecting in a humble, just, and wise manner.[43] In the margins of a little-known Cilician manuscript dating from the thirteenth century (J2673), the respective passages are accompanied by images of a ring and a sword, which are published here for the first time (Figs. 5-6). The adjacent ceremonial text, which closely follows the tenth-century content of the *Mainzer Krönungsordo* (on which see the appendix), explains the meaning of these insignia as follows:

> And the catholicos says to the king: 'Take the ring as a guarantee of the justice of your kingdom, for today you have been anointed ruler and king of this people. Be steadfast and be a helper to Christianity and to the faith of Christians, for [in doing so] you will be glorified in eternal life with the King of Kings, to whom be the glory forever!'[44]

> Accept this sword from the hands of the bishops of apostolic order and reign with this for the sake of the salvation of the Holy Church and of this people who are your flock. [Be mindful of] what David sings in the psalm: Gird the sword upon your thigh, O mighty, and reign with this with truth, meekness, and righteousness. And your right hand shall guide you [c.f. Ps. 44(45):4-5] to triumph with this over the unjust and infidel, for by asking for vengeance for the offence committed by the evil and by those who have no faith in Jesus Christ, you serve God, thus saving the Holy Church from them; and may you protect widows and orphans [c.f. Isa. 1:17] who are bound to this [church]. And may you be worthy to inherit the infinite kingdom of our Saviour, to whom – together with the Father and the Holy Spirit – is fitting glory [and] dominion.[45]

43 It is noteworthy that the coronation ordo of the kings of Jerusalem – as preserved in the thirteenth-century *Livre des assises* of John of Ibelin – refers to the sovereign's sword as symbolizing justice in 'defending the faith': 'l'espee qui senefie justise a defendre foy'. See *John of Ibelin*, p. 574. Another useful comparison can be made with the twelfth-century coronation scene preserved in St Saviour Church of Macxvarishi in Svaneti, where the Georgian king Demetre is shown being girded with a sword-belt by two *eristavs*, alongside an eloquent inscription reading: 'The *eristavs* gird [Demetre] with David's sword'. See Antony Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), pp. 73-83. 'David's sword', apparently inspired by Ps. 44(45):4-5, was the very insignia that emblematized the Cilician king's 'meek and righteous rulership', as will be seen below.

44 J2673, fols 310-1: Եւ ասէ կաթողիկոսն առ թագաւորն. «Ա՛ռ մատանի առհաւատչեա արդարութեամբ թագաւորութեան քո, զի այսաւր աւծեալ ես իշխան և թագաւոր ժողովրդեանս: Հաստատող լեր և աւգնական քրիստոնէութեան և քրիստոնէից հաւատոյ, զի փառաւորեսցիս ընդ թագաւորին թագաւորաց, ի յաւիտենական կեանս, որում փառք յաւիտեանս». The version preserved in ANT9, which was previously published by Siwrmēean (and with some abbreviations by Alishan), is almost identical to the quoted text, differing only in the title of the religious leader: instead of *catholicos*, ANT9 uses *episkoposapet* (եպիսկոպոսապետ, literally 'chief bishop'; fol. 407), likely inspired by the Latin *metropolitano*. For the Latin text, to which this Armenian version is closest, see Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, I: *nn. I-XCVIII* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963), p. 256 (LXXII/19).

45 J2673, fols 307-9: Ընկա՛լ զսուրս զայս ի ձեռանէ առաքելական աշտիճանի եպիսկոպոսաց և սովաւ թագաւորեսցես ի փրկութիւն սրբոյ եկեղեցւոյ և ժողովրդեանս, որ ընդ ձեռամբ քո հովուին. զոր Դաւիթի սաղմոսին երգէ՝ Ա՛ծ զսուր ընդ մէջ քո հզաւր և թագաւորեա այսու ճշմարտութեամբ, հեզութեամբ և արդարութեամբ, և առաջնորդեսցէ քեզ աջ քո՝ բարձրանալ սովաւ ի վերայ անիրաւաց և անհաւատից: Զի սպասաւորելով Աստուծոյ՝ վրէժ խնդրեսցես յայնցանէ, որք զչարն գործիցեն, և յորոց ոչ ունիցին զհաւատս Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի: Փրկեսցես զսուրբ եկեղեցի ի նոցանէ և աւգնական լիցիս այրեաց և որբոց, որք ի սմա: Զի լիցիս արժանի ժառանգել զթագաւորութիւն անվախճան ընդ Փրկչին մերոյ, ընդ յորում Հաւր միանգամայն և Հոգւոյն Սրբոյ վայել է փառք իշխանու[թիւն]. This quotation corresponds to the version preserved in ANT9 (fols 405-6), in which, however, two additional words are found: անարժան (=unworthy) in reference to 'bishops' and յիշեա՛ (=remember/be mindful of) in reference to David's psalm. If considering the latter, the

From the moment of his anointment and coronation, the Armenian king was required to meet these expectations. The king's subjects were no doubt well aware that the ruling administration, and particularly its highest occupant, was responsible for justice. This can be deduced from a little-known liturgical prayer composed by Grigor *vardapet* Skewṛatsʿi, a church scholar who was also the confessor of the first Cilician king Lewon I (r. 1198-1219).[46] One of the supplications raised in that prayer – which was composed to be said during the Divine Liturgy – referred to the duties of a king, first among them the capacity to judge righteously. This capacity is also highlighted in supplications concerning the unbiased decision-making expected of lords, soldiers, and judges:

> May the kings judge Your people with righteousness according to Your holy commandments; may they judge with justice [c.f. II Kings 8:15] and proceed on all the paths of righteousness, by straightening [their] persons and those who are under their subjection. May they be powerful and victorious in the wars against enemies, and, by expelling the opponent, may they establish peace in the world, tranquility to the constrained, and steadiness to the Church. May the lords, soldiers, and judges fight with courage and bravery against the adversaries of the truth, and may they judge people with justice and righteousness, without corruption and favouritism.[47]

The liturgical evidence has preserved further allusions to this quasi-Platonic relationship between rulers and those 'under their subjection'. The Armenian daily office, for example, instructed the faithful to ask God to have mercy on their 'pious sovereigns and God-loving rulers, their captains and armies' as well as to pray for those in such positions.[48] Doubtless, the inspiration for praying for rulers and all those in authority derived from the apostle Paul's instructions in 1 Timothy 2, to which many premodern sovereigns looked in constructing their royal ideologies. For the Armenian tradition, it is noteworthy to mention that 1 Timothy 2:1-7 was included in the *Canon of a King's Ordination* – another inauguration ceremony used in Cilicia along with the 'Armenized' version deriving from the *Mainzer Krönungsordo* – to be followed by 1 Jn. 2:20-27, which underscores God's promise of eternal life (see Appendix, B).[49] The careful selection of biblical quotations shows that the newly anointed king was expected, through his earthly actions, to assist God in the divine project of salvation. This 'collaboration', in which the

sentence can be translated as follows: 'Be mindful of what David sings in the psalm'. Both words are present in the tenth-century Latin text (Vogel and Elze, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique*, I, pp. 255-56), suggesting that ANT9 stands closer to it, although the critical edition of Armenian variants could reveal a clearer picture of the Armenian adaptations.

46 For this author, see Azat Bozoyan and Anna Arewshatyan, 'Grigor Skewṛatsʿi', *Christian Armenia: An Encyclopedia* (Yerevan: Armenian Encyclopedia Press, 2002), 246 (in Armenian).

47 Թագաւորաց դատել զժողովուրդս քո արդարութեամբ ըստ հրամանի սրբոց քոց պատուիրանաց, առնել իրաւունս և գնալ յամենայն ճանապարհս արդարութեան, ուղղել զանձինս և որք ընդ ձեռամբ: Զօրաւոր և յաղթօղ լինիլ ի պատերազմունս թշնամեաց ի վանումն ներհակին և ի խաղաղութիւն աշխարհի՝ յանդորրութիւն նեղելոց և ի հաստատութիւն եկեղեցւոյ: Իշխանաց, զինուորաց և որք յաթոռ դատողութեան՝ քաջութեամբ և արութեամբ մարտնչիլ ընդ դէմ հակառակաց ճշմարտութեանն, և ուղղութեամբ և արդարութեամբ դատել զժողովուրդս առանց կաշառոց և ակնառութեամբ. Grigor Skewṛatsʿi, *Book of Prayers* (Constantinople: Press of Astuatsatur, 1742), pp. 183-84 (in Armenian). In another prayer addressed to the Holy Trinity, Skewṛatsʿi speaks of Christ as a victorious king, praising His victory as resulting not so much from His omnipotence but from justice and righteousness. See Grigor Skewṛatsʿi, *Book of Prayers*, p. 19.

48 Frederick C. Conybeare, *Rituale armenorum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1905), p. 457.

49 Here, I base my discussion on the unpublished ceremonial text preserved in J2673, the structure of which is given in the appendix as B.

king was engaged from the moment of his anointment, was further conveyed through royal insignia. Apart from the ring and sword discussed above, the flowered sceptre, which is visible in so many images of (Cilician) sovereigns, was another material token through which these expectations were displayed. The ceremonial text records that when the catholicos gave the *fleur-de-lys* sceptre to the king,[50] the following words were pronounced:

> Take the sceptre of power and justice to terrify the unjust and to guide those fallen into error, so that your hand may weigh down the imperious and destroy them; and by raising the meek make them enter the door about which our Lord Jesus Christ said: 'I am the door: if anyone enters through me, he shall be saved' [Jn. 10:9].[51] And may He – who is a flower from the House of Israel and has the key of David to lock so that no one can open it and to open so that no one can close it [c.f. Rev. 3:7-8, Isa. 22:22] – be your co-worker in unbinding the captives from the shadows of death. And make this a sceptre of justice and a sceptre of your kingdom, for you shall love righteousness and hate iniquity [c.f. Ps. 44(45):8, Heb. 1:9] in imitation of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom – together with the Father and the Holy Spirit – is fitting glory [and] dominion.[52]

Righteousness was not, however, a mere spiritual trait with which the new regent was graced, but also had a juridical dimension. This can be seen in an episode described in the 'Armenized' coronation ordo, which mentions the presence of the *Common law*, on which the king-to-be took his oath.[53] As discussed above, the juridical manuscript V107 – which King Lewon IV

50 The coronation ordo mentions that the king received the sceptre in his left hand, while in his right hand he received 'the cross mounted on the golden apple' – that is, the orb (appendix, A1). A thirteenth-century source, however, suggests that King Hetʿum I received the sceptre in his right hand. See Rapti, 'Featuring the King', p. 302. C.f. Peter Cowe, 'The Inauguration of the Cilician Coronation Rite and Royal Ideology', *Armenian Review*, 45, 4/180 (Winter 1992), 55, n. 38. In the royal image carved at the gateway of the Yılankale fortress, the flowered sceptre is indeed held in the king's right hand, while in his left he holds the sword (fig. 10c). Noteworthy is also the above-mentioned image of the Crusader ruler in the thirteenth-century legal manuscript, where the sceptre is held in the ruler's right hand, while in his left hand he holds up the book (for this image, see above, n. 36).

51 Although with a different implementation than in the Cilician ceremonial, the quotation from Jn. 10:7-9 is also to be found in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Carved on the open book visible on the lintel of the Imperial Doors, this quotation appears in a place associated with the sovereign's ceremonial presence, for it was through this door that the patriarch and the emperor would enter during the Little Entrance. See Derek Krueger and Robert S. Nelson, 'Chapter 1. New Testament of Byzantium: Seen, Heard, Written, Excerpted, Interpreted', in *The New Testament in Byzantium*, ed. by Derek Krueger and Robert S. Nelson (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2016), p. 12, fig. I.4.

52 J2673, fols 311-3: «Ա՛ռ գաւազան զաւրութեան և արդարութեան՝ զարհուրեցուցես զանիրաւսն և առաջնորդեսցես մոլորելոցն, և ձգեսցես զձեռն քո վերայ ամբարտաւանիցն և կործանեսցես զնոսա, և բարձրացուցեալ զխոնարհս, մտցես նոքաւք ընդ դուռն զոր ասաց Տէր մեր Յիսուս Քրիստոս՝ Ես եմ դուռն. ընդ իս եթէ ոք մտցէ, կեցցէ [Jn. 10:9]: Եւ նա, որ է ծաղիկ ի տանէն Իսրայէղի և ունի զփականս Դաւթի, փակել՝ զոր ոչ ոք կարէ բանալ և բանալ՝ զոր ոչ ոք կարէ փակել, լիցի գործակից քեզ, յարձակել զկապեալս ի ստուերաց մահու: Եւ արասցես զսա քեզ գաւազան ուղղութեան և գաւազան թագաւորութեան քո, զի սիրեսցես զարդարութիւն և ատեսցես զանիրաւութիւն նմանութեամբ Տեառն մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի, ընդ որում Հաւր և Սուրբ Հոգւոյն վայել է փառք իշխ[անութիւն]». This quotation is almost identical to the version preserved in ANT9 (fols 408-10), reproduced in Siwrmēean, *Catalog*, p. 28. In Alishan's related publications, this part referring to the royal sceptre is substantially abbreviated (Alishan, *Sisuan*, p. 470; Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique*, p. 332). For the original Latin text, see Vogel and Elze, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique*, I, pp. 256-57.

53 According to Alishan, the *Common law* mentioned in the coronation ordo might be the *Assizes of Jerusalem*, without detailing however what text he refers to as such. See Alishan, *Sisuan*, p. 472, n. 4;

commissioned in 1331 when, after a ten-year regency, he became the single lawful monarch of the state – underscored his status as the highest decision maker. This message is made explicit in the frontispiece identifying through inscriptions both the king himself and his capacity for just judgements ('KING LEWON, JUST JUDGEMENT'). Placed at the beginning of a manuscript used for juridical purposes, this image spoke to the indisputability of Lewon's decisions, which, in light of his recent violent actions against his regents and their families, could well have been questioned. As the manuscript's patron, Lewon seems to have been aware of – and may even have made an intervention into – how the royal artist visualized one of the most important functions of the sovereign. The beholder of this juridical image is naturally instructed to perceive the Armenian king as empowered by the blessing of God, towards whom the king directs his own right hand – a feature that elucidates the above-quoted ceremonial text: 'And your right hand shall guide you to triumph [...] over the unjust'. In the mid-thirteenth century, when Smbat the Constable completed his translation of the *Assizes of Antioch*, he wrote a colophon explaining that he had 'composed the laws concerning kings, because kings are ordered by God and are in God's place on earth'.[54] This colophon was replicated by the royal scribe and artist Sargis Pitsak when, in 1331, he copied V107 for King Lewon IV.[55] Yet, Pitsak implemented further means to visually communicate his royal client's desired messages.

As Wise and Righteous as King Solomon

The crown, the robe, and the mantle worn by King Lewon IV in the frontispiece image, much like his hand gesture, resemble contemporary Armenian miniatures of biblical kings, but these attributes can be compared more favourably with those of King Solomon (see, for example, fig. 7). Solomon figures in Cilician Armenian political theology – and notably in the arts, ritual, and rhetoric that gave it form in visual and oratorical terms – almost wherever ideal kingship is evoked, competing in this regard with his renowned father.[56] The allusions to David and Solomon by the royal apparatus were frequent and eloquent enough to shape the textual and visual rhetoric of nearly every ruler of Cilician Armenia, including King Lewon IV, for whom the Solomonic ideal of wisdom and justice was particularly useful due to the contentious political situation in which this young king found himself. The chroniclers themselves, in keeping with the previous

Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique*, p. 328, n. 1. For the text of the king's oath, see below, n. 94 (appendix). Unlike the Gospel book, which is clearly referenced in the oath text, a law code is however not mentioned in the king's oath.

54 *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts of the Thirteenth Century*, ed. by Artashes Matʿevosyan (Yerevan: Press of the Academy of Sciences, 1984), p. 328 (in Armenian). Smbat expressed the same idea in the preface to his law code as well: 'We find it pertinent to write first the laws concerning the kings because they are ordered by God and are in God's place on earth'. See *The Law Code of Smbat the Constable*, ed. by Arsēn Ghltchean (Etchmiadzin: Press of the Mother See, 1918), p. 16 (in Armenian).

55 The principal and other colophons of V107 are reproduced in Sahak Chemchemean, *General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Mekhitarist Library in Venice*, VII (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1996), pp. 756-8 (in Armenian); Gohar Grigoryan Savary, 'Armenian Colophons on the Takeover of Sis (1375)', *Revue des études arméniennes*, 40 (2021), 86-87, with an English translation of a colophon recording the fall of Sis in 1375, which means that the law book under discussion was kept in the capital city until the last days of the Armenian kingdom.

56 In Cilician Armenia, other models of ideal rulership existed as well, but based on my preliminary quantitative data, David and Solomon are at the top of the list.

✦ Fig. 7
King Solomon (Book of Proverbs). Bible, illustrated by Sargis Pitsak, Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, 1330s CE.
Yerevan, Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, MS 2627, fol. 285v (photo: Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts)

✦ Fig. 8
King Solomon (Book of Proverbs).
Bible of Princess Fimi, Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, ca. 1255-1271 CE.
Venice, Manuscript Library of Mekhitarists, MS 376/21, fols. 1v-2r (Photo: Gohar Grigoryan).

✦ Fig. 9
King Solomon (Book of Proverbs). Bible, Sultaniya, illustrated by Awag, 1341-1355 CE.
Venice, Manuscript Library of Mekhitarists, MS 935/8, fol. 510r (Photo: Gohar Grigoryan).

tradition of Armenian historiography, described the lineages and reigns of the Armenian rulers, persistently paralleling these to the genealogy of Christ. The reign of Lewon IV, for instance, is compared with that of Solomon in the continuation of the chronicle of Samuel Anetsi.[57]

While wisdom and righteousness were qualities that King David possessed as well, it was more often Solomon whom the sovereigns were supposed to follow in exercising these two virtues. An explanation for this preference can be found in the medieval Armenian exegetical tradition, which points to the different natures of wisdom possessed by these two biblical kings. In his *Commentaries on the Books of Solomon*, Grigor Tatʿewatsʿi brings ten reasons to substantiate this difference. His main argument is that David's wisdom pertains to divine, spiritual, and heavenly matters, while Solomon's addresses human, bodily, and earthly matters. Although both David and Solomon prefigured Christ, the Armenian theologian assigns superiority to David while also highlighting that Solomon's wisdom was superior to that of all other human beings.[58] On another occasion, the same author refers to Solomon as someone who obtained his wisdom by means of grace and who, in turn, used it to speak to mankind (this is contrasted to David, who effected his wisdom primarily in his capacity for communicating with God).[59] As the kings were anointed to administer the matters of humankind, including juridical processes – characterized by another Armenian author as a unique 'feature of mankind', as noted above – it was Solomon's capacity for resolving earthly problems that enabled him to serve as an exceptional model for righteous decision-making.[60] With this in mind, it comes as less of a surprise that in 'secular' images of Lewon IV and many other premodern rulers, we find many parallels with King Solomon.

Although the thrones on which Lewon and his biblical prototype are seated do not correspond to the six-tiered throne described in the Bible, and in general only some of the iconographic details of the Armenian Solomonic thrones recall the relevant scriptural narratives (for example, the golden-covered seat or the lions mentioned in 3 Kings [1 Kings] 10:18-20 and 2 Chron. 9:17-19), certain peculiarities of the Armenian images of the enthroned Solomon are consistent with a larger tradition that many medieval monarchs readily followed. The elevated position of the throne, its rounded back, the accompanying tree branches, the open-mouthed, 'singing' birds, and other, non-biblical, elements have become recognizable Solomonic references (Figs. 7-9). This connotation is so omnipresent that it is by now almost impossible to securely outline the points of connection among all those medieval societies that made use of it; we can only acknowledge the shared usage of this 'wandering throne', as Allegra Iafrate has characterized it.[61] The engravers of Cilician coins and seals, who designed royal thrones with arms terminating in lion heads, or miniaturists, who tended to portray the judging Armenian and Georgian kings seated on a *tʿakht* throne but with a rounded backdrop that encircles and frames their heads (Figs. 1, 3), alluded to the same archetypal model of King Solomon.[62]

57 *Samuel Anetsi*, p. 274.

58 Grigor Tatʿewatsʿi, *Commentaries of the Books of Solomon*, ed. by Khachik Grigoryan (Yerevan: Ankyunacar Press, 2009), pp. 101-03 (in Armenian).

59 Grigor Tatʿewatsʿi, *Commentaries*, pp. 41, 101.

60 Much earlier, Mkhitʿar Gosh, when defining in his law code 'who are judges', referred to judging as a divine gift granted to 'kings and princes and elders of the people' and listed Solomon first among the Old Testament examples. See *The Lawcode*, p. 78.

61 Allegra Iafrate, *The Wandering Throne of Solomon: Objects and Tales of Kingship in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

62 Frames of similar shape, with an elevated top, are depicted in the images of the enthroned King Solomon in the thirteenth-century Arsenal Bible. In two other manuscripts created in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem – both thirteenth-century copies of the *Histoire Universelle* – these frames form the backdrop for many biblical and historical

✦ Figs. 10abc
Yılankale / Lewonkla, Turkey.
Main gateway
(Photo: Hrair Hawk Khatcherian).

In V107, Lewon's throne is likewise clearly elevated, such that his superiority over his officials and his symbolic gesture of being guided by God are made apparent to any viewer. A similar solution is employed in a relief carved within the baldachin-like portal of the main gateway of the fortress known as Yılankale (also Yılanlıkale or Yılan Kalesi, Turkey), whose ambitious construction on the east bank of the Ceyhan River has been associated with medieval Lewonkla (literally 'fortress/castle/city/residence of Lewon'), thought to have been built by Lewon IV (Figs. 10a-c)[63] While the scholarly debate regarding the medieval name and hence the identification of this royal construction has not yet been definitively settled, most scholars agree on a period sometime before the mid-fourteenth century.[64] The present discussion of the politics of royal portraiture under Lewon IV further supports this dating, along with the recent identification of the present-day Yılankale fortress with medieval Lewonkla, at least insofar as its gateway reliefs are concerned.

The gateway relief of Yılankale shows a ruler with a sceptre and sword in his right and left hands, respectively. He is seated cross-legged, a position that is found in Lewon IV's juridical image (Fig. 1) and on the coins of several Cilician kings. The elevated seat of the Yılankale ruler was apparently intended to both welcome and dominate those who were received at this royal fortress. In Cilician Armenia, the possession of fortresses signalled power, a visual manifestation of which is evident in the relief in question.[65] This sculpted image variously hints at its Solomonic model and comfortably shares an iconographic repertoire with Sargis Pitsak and masters of his milieu. First, the form of the throne is almost identical to that of Solomon as depicted by Sargis Pitsak in the so-called Royal Bible, produced in the 1330s during the reign of Lewon IV (Fig. 7). Second, one of the insignia held by the enthroned king of Yılankale is a sword – the very attribute that features prominently in contemporary portrayals of King Solomon (Figs. 7, 9).[66] Third, the Yılankale ruler is flanked by two lions (one of which is hardly discernible due to its poor state of preservation).

rulers, including notably Alexander the Great, who was another pan-Mediterranean model for ideal rulership. For images, see Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, plates 78, 79, 86b, 87, 98a, 105c, 118b, 121.

63 For the identification of Yılankale with medieval Lewonkla based on textual and onomastic analysis, see Samvel Grigoryan, 'Named for Lewon the Young: The Medieval Name and the Date of Construction of Yılankale', *Revue des études arméniennes*, 37 (2016-2017), 213-24; Samvel Grigoryan, 'Named for Lewon the Young: The Medieval Name and the Date of Construction of Yilankale', *Historical Reporter*, 31 (2020), 178-97 (in Russian). The Armenian name of this fortress was still in use in the early twentieth century. Shortly after the Armenian massacres of Adana in 1909, when Arshakuhi Tʿēodik travelled to Cilicia to inspect the situation of the Armenian population, she passed by this fortress, which a local Armenian (called Poghos) referred to as 'the castle of Lewon, which has now become *Eĕlan* [Yılan]'. See Arshakuhi Tʿēodik, *A Month in Cilicia* (Constantinople: Tēr-Nersēsean Press, 1910), p. 138 (in Armenian).

64 For a summary of scholarly debates regarding the date and identification of the Yılankale fortress, see Grigoryan, 'Royal Images of the Armenian Kingdom', pp. 246-50. To this one recent monograph should be added, Dweezil Vandekerckhove, *Medieval Fortifications in Cilicia: The Armenian Contribution to Military Architecture in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), which – without raising questions regarding the construction date – draws useful parallels to other Cilician fortifications in terms of building techniques.

65 Thomas F. Mathews, 'L'art de la Cilicie: l'Arménie des croisades', in *Armenia Sacra: Mémoire chrétienne des Arméniens (IVe-XVIIIe siècle)*, Exhibition catalogue, *Paris, Musée du Louvre, 21 February-21 May 2007*, ed. by Jannic Durand, Ioanna Rapti, and Dorota Giovannoni (Paris: Musée du Louvre éditions, 2007), pp. 256-63 (p. 257).

66 A century later, the images of the sword-wielding Solomon appear in some Ethiopian manuscripts and wall paintings, probably not totally disconnected from the Armenian tradition of portraying King Solomon. See Jacopo Gnisci, 'Constructing Kingship in Early Solomonic Ethiopia: The David and Solomon Portraits in the Juel-Jensen Psalter', *Art Bulletin*, 102/4 (2020), 7-36 (pp. 18-20, figs. 12-13, 15).

✦ Fig. 11
Silver *tʿagvorin* of King Lewon IV (obverse and reverse). Collection of Gohar Grigoryan (Photo: Evelyne Perriard).

Double lions – whether positioned one on either side of the throne or resting atop its armrests – are among the most frequently encountered animal motifs on Cilician coins and seals – a feature most readily explicable as an imitation of the Solomonic lions.[67] However, I would apply this interpretation only in the case of double lions and, more specifically, lions flanking the royal throne; indeed, singular lions, the variations of which are similarly attested in Cilician numismatic, sigillographic, and artistic sources, may have had different connotations.[68] Before returning to the ruler's image at Yılankale, it is worth mentioning here that the motif of the singular lion, with a cross on its back, is found on Lewon IV's silver *tʿagvorin* coins (Fig. 11), as well as on the golden bull attached as a pendant to the 1331 document granting commercial privileges to the Sicilians. Although this document bears the signature of Lewon IV, it is the king's engraved image that acts as the substitute for his authority, compelling the viewer to acknowledge the authenticity of this bilingual document, as noted by Marco Bais.[69] Indeed, in the chapter related to the protocols for recording decisions made by the king, the *Law Code of Mkhitʿar Gosh* informs us that 'in the court of kings the documents are written, but not confirmed until marked with the royal symbol'.[70] Lewon's bodily appearance on his official bull therefore operated as an authenticating symbol, in this case confirming the new commercial regulations released by the Armenian king.

67 Note that in many Western cultures as well, the arms of the chairs and thrones on which the governors and high officials are shown seated could take the form of lion or leopard heads, hinting similarly at the animals mentioned in relation to King Solomon. See Percy Ernst Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, I (Stuttgart: Hiersemann Verlag, 1954), pp. 318-23, figs. 35-37. The lion-headed type of *sella curulis* encountered on Cilician Armenian coins and seals was most likely inspired by the respective tradition of the Holy Roman Emperors, with whom Armenian Cilicia aligned its political orientation from the twelfth century on. See Grigoryan, 'Royal Images of the Armenian Kingdom', pp. 44, 53.

68 For a discussion of lions encountered on Cilician coins as perpetual symbols of power, see Ioanna Rapti, 'Image et monnaie dans le royaume arménien de Cilicie (XIIIe-XIVe siècle)', in *Des images dans l'histoire*, ed. by Marie-France Auzépy and Joël Cornette (Paris: Presses universitaires de Vincennes, 2008), pp. 46-50, bearing in mind, however, that the identification and classification of Cilician coins have been largely revised since then.

69 The engravings and legends of Lewon IV's golden chrysobull are described in the document of privileges itself. See Marco Bais, 'Documents de la chancellerie du royaume d'Arménie en Cilicie: traductions et traducteurs', in *La Méditerranée des Arméniens (XIIe-XVe siècle)*, ed. by Claude Mutafian (Paris: Geuthner, 2014), pp. 231-248 (pp. 241-5); Marco Bais, 'Il privilegio ai Siciliani di re Lewon IV (1331): una pagina delle relazioni tra gli Armeni e la Sicilia', in *Testimonianze manoscritte della Sicilia: codici, documenti, pitture*, ed. by Diego Ciccarelli and Carolina Miceli (Palermo, 2006), pp. 47-66.

70 Adapted from *The Lawcode*, p. 264.

Let us now return to the Yılankale relief with its depiction of the ruler flanked by lions, possibly inspired by the Solomonic model. Another peculiarity of these lions is their vivacity. The sculptor of the relief, consistent with several generations of engravers of Cilician coins, made considerable efforts to represent these royal animals as living creatures (as opposed to the 'dormant lion' type, for example).[71] In a recent interpretation of the biblical text surrounding Solomon's lions, one scholar has suggested that the lions that line Solomon's throne be seen as living and moving.[72] The history of medieval automata has preserved records of rulers who, in imitation of their biblical ideal, could indeed put into play their own Solomonic thrones, which, along with the accompanying animals, moved as described in the scriptures. The most pertinent example in this context is the Byzantine Solomonic throne that was placed in the Magnaura hall, where ambassadors were received. Known exclusively from textual sources, the Magnaura throne was a mobile structure that could be elevated and lowered through the implementation of special mechanical devices. The spectacular appearance of the emperor seated on it was further enhanced by a series of visual and sonic effects – such as organs, a gilt-bronze tree (or trees, depending on the source), singing birds, roaring lions, etc. – which all operated thanks to custom-built devices.[73] The impression left by the lion-flanked image of the Yılankale king was probably less theatrical than the technically equipped throne at the Constantinopolitan palace, but in both cases the appearance of the ruler was carefully staged, ruling out any spontaneous impression that the visitors might have taken from their communication with the highest political dignitary. The elevated position of the enthroned king of Cilicia in an image located above the main entrance leading to the king's residence recognizably conveyed to visitors the necessary instructions for their upcoming audience with the king's institution. If not infamously damaged, the reliefs on the lower slabs – of which only a central, large cross is now barely discernible, just below the depiction of the king enthroned – could have told us more about the representational culture of the Cilician Armenian kings. Still, in its current state, the organization of the space, the form of the throne, and the choice of insignia and animal symbols announce the Solomonic ideal of kingship that the Christian ruler of Yılankale/Lewonkla adopted for his reign.

Conclusions

Although it may seem a self-evident aspiration for a sovereign to be perceived as righteous, in Cilician Armenia this concern was visualized in a remarkable way in the case of King Lewon IV. In contrast to the surviving imagery of most Cilician rulers, which stresses their religious piety

71 One recalls the above-mentioned copy of the *Histoire Universelle*, where the beast shaping the ruler's seat is depicted so distinctively and in such a lively manner that it can hardly be perceived as lifeless furniture. See Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, plate 98c.

72 Daniel James Waller, 'The Fabulist's Art: Some Brief Remarks on Solomon's Lions (1 Kings 10:18-20) with a minor reception history', *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 61/2 (Autumn 2016), 403-11 (pp. 408, 409).

73 For the Magnaura throne and relevant textual sources, see Gerard Brett, 'The Automata in the Byzantine *Throne of Solomon*', *Speculum*, 29/3 (1954), 477-87; Constantin Canavas, 'Automaten in Byzanz. Der Thron von Magnaura', in *Automaten in Kunst und Literatur des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Klaus Grubmüller and Markus Stock (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2003), pp. 49-72; Michael J. Featherstone, 'Δι' ἔνδειξιν: Display in Court Ceremonial (*De Cerimoniis* II, 15)', in *The Material and the Ideal: Essays in Medieval Art and Archaeology in Honour of Jean-Michel Spieser*, ed. by Anthony Cutler and Arietta Papaconstantinou (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 75-112 (with annotated English translation of the

and devotion, the portrayals of Lewon IV place a much greater emphasis on notions of righteousness and justice: the king's clothing and regalia, his elevated throne in imitation of that of Solomon, and his posture and gesture – along with the prominent locations in which his visual representations were placed – were all important indicators of his highest authority and of his symbolic status as an embodiment of the state.

Raising the idea of Christian monarchism to its most idealized apex, the artistic and ceremonial representations of Cilician Armenian kings sought to fashion an image of a sovereign who exercised his political and administrative power under divine guidance and protection – a construct that prescribed an unquestioned subordination to the ruler. Beyond art and ceremony, this subordination was first of all established through the legal demarcation of the relationship between the king and his vassal lords, which was seen as offering steady ground for a hierarchical state. The textual and visual sources on Lewon IV inform us of the centripetally driven actions of this young king, whose appearance as a righteous judge serves as the frontispiece to the juridical manual of the *Assizes of Antioch*. By introducing the Frankish law into the Cilician kingdom, notably via the reception and translation of the *Assizes of Antioch*, Armenian statehood was transformed into a centripetal system – as opposed to the centrifugal *nakharar* system of Greater Armenia, in which political power was controlled by local lords, each having nearly all the characteristics of a ruler of state.[74] This crucial transformation would remain in effect for the rest of the existence of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia. The iconographic solutions applied in the juridical image of King Lewon IV thus reflect the legal realities of this Eastern Mediterranean state, with the lord-king at the top of its hierarchical system, and convey the theo-political concepts upon which Cilician kingship was built for nearly two centuries.

The juridical, liturgical, and ceremonial sources discussed here portray Armenian sovereigns as righteous judges who exercised their duties in imitation of God, the only unmistakable executor of justice. Furthermore, the Armenian king was supposed to not only follow and imitate his divine ideal but also to collaborate with Him by assisting in the fulfilment of the divine promise of salvation. The king's righteous execution of justice was a means of achieving this: those drawn into a juridical process, accordingly, had to face the king's legal decision in anticipation of a more awesome final judgement by God. Mkhitʻar Gosh, following Armenian historiographers of previous centuries, writes in his law code of the necessity for righteous administration on the part of kings and princes, 'for they must give account for everything, since they have been appointed by God for the salvation and protection of the country'.[75] Such righteous and unbiased judgements would also enable the secular authorities to hope for 'a merciful judgement by God, without severity', as argues Nersēs Shnorhali, the twelfth-century Cilician theologian and catholicos.[76]

respective chapter from the *De Cerimoniis*); Elly R. Truitt, *Medieval Robots: Mechanism, Magic, Nature, and Art* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), pp. 22-24; Iafrate, *The Wandering Throne*, pp. 55-105 (Chapter 2: *The Solomonic Throne in Constantinople*), also Table 1 for a list of objects described in sources as parts of the Magnaura throne. See also Antony Eastmond's contribution in this volume.

74 Gérard Dédéyan, 'Coup d'œil sur les titres et les charges de la noblesse arménienne du début du IVe au début du XXe siècle', *Revue des études arméniennes*, 39 (2020), 279-80. For the *nakharar* system, see especially Nicholas Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian: The Political Conditions Based on the Naxarar System*, translated with partial revisions, a bibliographical note and appendices by Nina G. Garsoïan (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1970).

75 *The Lawcode*, p. 119, also n. 336 for Robert Thomson's commentary on similar ideas found in historiographic sources.

76 Մի՛ զոք անիրաւութեամբ դատիք, այլ ուղիղ դատաստան արարէք, զի և ձերն դատաստան

With its eschatological underpinnings, the ruler's perceived ability to make righteous decisions (or 'just judgements', as the textual and epigraphic evidence relays) was represented and visualized as resulting from a 'divine gift', thus moving some of the effects of legal decision-making to a moral-spiritual dimension. These portrayals therefore served to fortify the king's decisions and contributed to securing a certain stability and constancy under the royal throne. The king's institution thoughtfully put into play the Solomonic ideal of righteousness – as a powerful and widely recognizable model – and constructed the rulers' bodily representations using iconographic types associated with Solomon. To understand the consistent use of this precedent, the present investigation looked at medieval Armenian commentaries that characterized Solomon's wisdom and righteousness as related to his capacity for settling earthly and corporeal matters – as opposed to the Davidic model, which pertained to spiritual and heavenly matters. The act of anointment and at least three of the coronation insignia presented to the future king (sceptre, sword, and ring) marked the symbolic reception of divine grace, by which he was meant to righteously govern. The theological interpretations praising the graceful Solomon as the greatest 'expert' on human affairs may also be helpful for explaining some aspects of how artists fashioned the thrones of sovereigns and judges in imitation of their biblical ideal: usually designed as low structures, the imitations of Solomonic thrones could nevertheless be elevated by various means to symbolize the enthroned decision maker's empowerment by God's blessing and guidance. Translated into visual language, this ideological message would have had a consequent effect on the beholder, for eliciting these effects was a major goal of the royal painters and craftsmen who produced such imagery.

Yet even when legally established, ceremonially displayed, and artistically visualized, the king's institution was regularly exposed to the internal and external pressures of an ever-changing political situation. This pressure prompted a continuous search for new representational strategies so that the intended messages could be conveyed to the target audience in a most efficient way. This process is best reflected in art that was produced and used as a tool to elicit obedience, diligence, and humility towards the sovereign. This is especially true of those works of art that were ordered by sovereigns themselves or otherwise created with their knowledge. It comes as no surprise, then, that the king's emblematized images were displayed on the frontispieces to law codes or on the entrances leading to his residences, thereby creating prescribed conditions for communication with the king's institution. In staging the ruler's body, a successful outcome could not be guaranteed, but preparations were worked out in detail to make the beholder's visual experience as favourable to the sovereign as possible.

քաղցրութեամբ լինիցի յԱստուծոյ և մի՛ խստութեամբ. *General Epistles of Saint Nersēs Shnorhali* (Jerusalem: Sts James Press, 1871), p. 70 (in Armenian). This appears in Shnorhali's epistle addressed to 'worldly princes', which largely discusses justice and righteousness as compulsory requirements for a ruler.

APPENDIX
The Structures of Cilician Armenian Coronation Rites

The structures of the coronation rites of the Cilician Armenian kings are given here in a descriptive way, presenting the textual contents according to various *mise-en-scènes* and incorporating in most instances summary captions to facilitate the reader's comprehension (to be clear, these captions and section divisions are absent from the manuscripts). From all extant codices containing Cilician coronation rites, only two are considered here, owing to their provenance: ANT9 and J2673, which are currently preserved at the Catholicosate of Cilicia in Antelias, Lebanon, and the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, respectively.[77] Both manuscripts – written on parchment and finely illuminated – are *Grand mashtotsʿ*, that is, manuals containing the rites performed by bishops and priests. And both were indeed owned by high clergy: ANT9 by Catholicos Kostandin III Kesaratsʿi and J2673 by Archbishop Vardan of Tarsus. The former was created sometime before 1311, while the *terminus ante quem* of the latter is the year 1294.[78] The manuscript ANT9, known as *Ssi Mayr Mashtotsʿ* (the *Grand Mashtotsʿ of Sis*) and used by several Armenian catholicoi, preserves precious evidence suggesting that it was employed during the coronation of a fourteenth-century king named Lewon, probably Lewon IV himself. This evidence comes at the end of the volume, where Lewon's coronation oath is written in first person.[79]

Both ANT9 and J2673 include the texts of a king's consecration service, of differing length, adapted from the so-called *Mainzer Krönungsordo*, which itself was an Ottonian addition inserted on the occasion of Otto I's enthronement (961) to the compilation known as the *Pontificale romano-germanicum*.[80] The Armenian translation was prepared at the end of the twelfth century by Nersēs Lambronatsʿi, the archbishop of Tarsus, who claims to have worked from an exemplar kept with the bishop of Münster.[81] This bishop was Hermann II Katzenelnbogen, who had come to Seleucia with Frederick Barbarossa within the project of the Third Crusade.[82] The untimely death of Barbarossa in the Saleph River postponed the coronation of the Armenian Prince Lewon II, who had promised his assistance to the Holy Roman emperor in exchange for a royal crown. Before the new emperor, Henry VI, sent

77 I use this occasion to thank both institutions for allowing me to study these manuscripts. I would also like to express my gratitude to Michael E. Stone for sharing with me the microfilm of another manuscript of the coronation rite. Although that manuscript is not included into the present appendix, its content helped me to clarify several aspects on the subject.

78 For the description of ANT9, see Siwrmēean, *Catalog*, p. 10-33; Anoushavan Tanielian, *Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the Collection of the Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia* (Antelias: Press of the Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 1984), pp. 96-99 (in Armenian); Sylvia Agémian, *Manuscrits arméniens enluminés du Catholicossat de Cilicie* (Antelias: Édition du Catholicossat arménien, 1991), pp. 55-60. Codex J2673 is described in Norair Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, VIII (Jerusalem: Sts James Press, 1977), pp. 288-93 (in Armenian).

79 See below, n. 94. The codicological evidence does not confirm the traditional attribution of this oath to Lewon I.

80 For discussion of the date and origins of the *Mainzer Krönungsordo*, see Vogel and Elze, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique*, III, pp. 23-28 (with previous studies). For the long and short recensions of the *Mainzer Krönungsordo*, see Vogel and Elze, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique*, I, pp. 246-61 (LXXII). For an updated investigation of the original manuscript tradition of the *Pontifical romano-germanique*, which found wide diffusion during the subsequent centuries, see Henry Parkes, *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church: Books, Music and Ritual in Mainz, 950-1050* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

81 '*Et quoniam Imperator promiserat scripto sygilloque aureo Armenis regem instituere, petiit ab eo S. Catholicos adimpletionem promissionis, mihique iussit hoc vertere, quod perfeci ab exemplari quodam cuiusdam episcoporum civitatis Munster*'. See *Acta romanorum pontificum: A S. Clemente I (an. c. 90) ad Coelestinum III (1198)*, I: *Introductio, textus actorum, additamentum, appendix* (Vatican City: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1943), p. 812 (no. 395).

82 Gérard Dédéyan, 'De la prise de Thessalonique par les Normands (1185) à la croisade de Frédéric Barberousse (1189-1190): le revirement politico-religieux des pouvoirs arméniens', in *Chemins d'outre-mer: Études d'histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, ed. by Damien Coulon, Catherine Otten-Froux, Paule Pagès, and Dominique Valérian, Byzantina Sorbonensia, 20 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2004), I, pp. 192, 196.

the crown to Lewon, Nersēs Lambronatsʿi translated into Armenian the coronation ordo of the German kings, incorporating some cultural and confessional revisions that stress the origins and tradition of Armenian Christianity.[83] I call this ceremonial 'Armenized' in order to differentiate it from the analogous Armenian *Canon of a King's Ordination*, the structure of which is given below under heading B.

A long and a short variant of the 'Armenized' ordo, indicated here as A1 and A2, appear, respectively, in ANT9 and J2673 under the title *Order of a King's Consecration Service according to the Great Church of Rome* – a title highlighting the role of the pope, whose official legate, Archbishop Conrad of Wittelsbach of Mainz, had crowned Lewon in 1198.[84] Although both the long and short variants reflect well the tenth-century text of the *Mainzer Krönungsordo* (as given in the critical edition of Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze) and confirm thus Lambronatsʿi's above-mentioned remark on the German origins of the exemplar from which he produced his translation, we must nevertheless proceed cautiously when attributing the extant 'Armenized' ordo to Lambronatsʿi's twelfth-century translation alone. In fact, even if the origins of the religious part of this ceremonial could be securely associated with the *Mainzer Krönungsordo*, the post-coronation (mostly secular) rituals – minutely described in ANT9 as taking place after the new king exits the cathedral – could hardly have been incorporated into the Cilician ordo before the mid-thirteenth century, because they replicate the analogous ceremonies described in the *Livre des Assises* by John of Ibelin (d. 1266).[85]

Previously, the text available in ANT9 was partially published by Alishan in 1885 and by Siwrmēean in 1936, when the manuscript was kept in Aleppo.[86] Alishan's partial edition appeared also in French translation in the appendix to his 1888 monograph.[87] Siwrmēean's subsequent publication is more complete, but several long prayers and some liturgical instructions are reproduced with considerable abbreviations.

As for the ceremonial texts available in J2673, these have never before been published or considered. Apart from a short version (A2) adapted from a version of the *Mainzer Krönungsordo*, this manuscript also contains the Armenian Church's *Canon of a King's Ordination*, indicated here as B. Comparison of the contents, as well as some scribal notes, demonstrates that the two ceremonies (A2 and B), copied by the same hand into J2673, were likely meant for combined usage rather than as alternative rites.[88] If so, this reveals more about the eclectic nature of Cilician ceremonial, which, however remains to be studied and assessed by scholars of liturgical theology. It is perhaps no coincidence that the Armenian *Canon of a King's Ordination* – which does not seem to exist in the pre-Cilician period in this form – is sometimes found among those canons that were translated or composed by Nersēs Lambronatsʿi.[89]

While some clarifications are provided in accompanying annotations and several aspects are discussed in the main article, full analysis of the 'Armenized' (A1, A2) and Armenian (B) ceremonials must be reserved for another occasion. The long-awaited critical editions might reveal a clearer picture of the Armenian adaptations in the 'Armenized' ordo and shed further light on the development of the analogous Armenian canon. The purpose of the present appendix, as mentioned, is an exposition of the ceremonial *mise-en-scènes* of the king's outward appearance as attested in these ordos. For the same reason, the regalia and vestments, as

83 For these revisions, see, for example, below, n. 95, 99, 107. For discussions of this coronation rite, see Cowe, 'The Inauguration', pp. 49-59; Rapti, 'Featuring the King', pp. 296-308; Grigoryan, 'Royal Images of the Armenian Kingdom', pp. 31-42.

84 On the papal mission of Conrad of Wittelsbach and Lewon's coronation, see Peter Halfter, *Das Papsttum und die Armenier im frühen und hohen Mittelalter. Von den ersten Kontakten bis zur Fixierung der Kirchenunion im Jahre 1198* (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1996), pp. 189-245. See also Vahe Torosyan, 'On the Issue of the Coronation of Levon the Magnificient, Armenian King of Cilicia', *Etchmiadzin*, 7 (2016), 65-83, and *Etchmiadzin*, 12 (2016), 84-112 (in Armenian).

85 This question is discussed in my article 'Rituals of Power in Cilician Armenia', submitted for publication.

86 Alishan, *Sisuan*, pp. 472-75; Siwrmēean, *Catalog*, pp. 25-31.

87 Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique*, pp. 327-36.

88 There is, indeed, evidence of a double performance in the case of King Lewon V's coronation (r. 1374-75), who had to his right the bishop of Nebron (Hébron) and to his left the Armenian catholicos, both of whom were intended to anoint and crown him according to their respective rites. See Grigoryan, 'Royal Images of the Armenian Kingdom', pp. 270-71.

89 This is the case of the fourteenth-century manuscript M1026, which contains the Latin canons translated by Lambronatsʿi, among them also the Armenian canon under consideration, with the title Կարգ աւրհնութեան թագաւորի ըստ Հայաստանեացս աւրինաց, that is, *Order of a King's Consecration according to Armenian Laws*. See Gēorg Tēr-Vardanean, *Grand Mashtotsʿ*, I, book I: *As Preserved in the Oldest Erkatʿagir Manuscripts, Compared with the*

well as the titles of officials who are mentioned as accompanying the king, are styled in italics, while the corresponding terms used for them are given in parentheses. Short prayers and liturgical formulas are reproduced in full, while for longer prayers only the opening words are translated. Italics indicate direct quotations and translations from the originals.

A1. Long recension, as preserved in ANT9, fols 182r-219v

Order of a King's Consecration Service according to the Great Church of Rome[90]
Title in original text (in red script):
Կարգաւորութիւն աւրհնութեան թագաւորի ըստ մեծի եկեղեցւոյն Հռովմայ

- Preparations at the royal palace.
  When the king-to-be is appointed, the archbishop and high clergy, dressed in their respective vestments and holding crosses, present themselves at the royal palace. While the catholicos is waiting in the coronation cathedral, the appointee is clothed in his knightly vestments: *cloak* (փիլոն), *tunic* (ջաղջեր), and *riding spurs* (մահմէզ).
- Procession to the coronation cathedral.
  The procession is led by the appointee, who mounts a horse. Other dignitaries, clothed in their festive garments, hold the following regalia and objects: the *king's banner* (թագաւորական նշան) by the constable, the *crown* (թագ) by the crown-bearer, the *fleur-de-lys* (ծաղիկ որ է ֆլաւրտրիս) by the seneschal, the *king's garment* (թագաւորական զգեստ) by the chamberlain, the *cup* (հանապ) by the butler, and the *constable's banner* by the marshal.
  The archbishop's prayer over the appointee: *Lord almighty of all, who made Your servant* [the appointee's name is left blank] *worthy of coming to the honour of kingdom [...].*[91]
  Two bishops, with relics of saints hanging from their necks, carry a cross and a Gospel book in each of their hands, while others carry censers and candles. Dressed up, clergymen loudly sing Mk. 1:2 and Ps. 80:2(1).[92]
- Entrance to the cathedral.
  Arriving at the door to the cathedral, the archbishop says the prayer: *Lord God, who knows all nations and human tribes [...].*
  They enter the cathedral singing Ps. 19(20):2-10[93] and stop singing when inside.
- Appointee takes an oath on the Common Law.[94]
  Prayer by the catholicos: *God almighty, eternal, lord of heaven and earth, who raised Your servant* [the name is left blank] *to the honour of kingdom [...].*
- At the altar.
  The appointee is disrobed before being accompanied by the bishops to the altar, where the former kneels in front of the table. The clerics sing brief litanies of the Twelve apostles, the Twelve martyrs, the Twelve virgins, and the Twelve confessors. And with the same voice, they say: *We beseech You, accept this servant of You as king [...].* After the litany, they stand up.
- King's promise (a petition-response dialogue between the chief bishop and the appointee).
- 'The divine call'.
  Two bishops take the appointee by the hands

Bible and Accompanied with Annexes (Etchmiadzin: Press of the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, 2012), p. 801 (in Armenian).

90 C.f. Vogel and Elze, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique*, I, pp. 246-61 (LXXII).

91 The *Mainzer Krönungsordo* mentions the bishop's prayer to be said as the appointee leaves his chamber. See Vogel and Elze, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique*, I, p. 246, also p. 259. The brief recension preserved in J2673 opens with a slightly shorter version of this prayer, omitting the procession (see below, A2).

92 Ցնծացէք առ Աստուած աւզ[ն]ակ.

93 Լուիցէ քեզ Տէր յաւուր անձկութեան՝ ի լման.

94 Several years after the completion of this manuscript, the oath of King Lewon (IV ?) was added in first person at the end of the volume (fol. 220r): Ես Լևոն թագաւոր Հայոց, որ կամաւքն Աստուծոյ լինելոց եմ թագաւոր Հայոց, խոստանա՛մ, ուխտե՛մ և երդնու՛մ առաջի Աստուծոյ և երանելոյն սրբոյն Գրիգորի Լուսաւորչին, որ լինիմ յայսմհետէ պահապա՛ն և զերծանօ՛ղ քահանայապետին և սուրբ եկեղեցւոյն Հայոց և ամենայն կլերիկոսաց նորայ ի յամենայն կարիս և ի յաւգուտս իւր՝ պահելո՛վ, խնամելո՛վ զհայրենի՛ս, զպատի՛ւս և զիրաւունս նորա, որչափ կարողացայց աւգնականութեամբն Աստուծոյ ըստ գիտութեան և կարողութեանն իմոյ ուղել յստակ հաւատով, այնպէս Աստուած աւգնէ ինձ և այս սուրբ աւետարանս Աստուծոյ: Գ. հետ կրկնէ. Cf. Siwrmēean, *Catalog*, p. 32; Tanielian, *Catalogue*, p. 97.

and turn him westwards, towards the assembly, saying loudly: *The divine and heavenly grace, poured out here on* [the appointee's name is left blank], *summons him to the royal throne of the house of T'orgom and of the descendants of Hayk, anoints him in similitude of Trdat, Kostandianos, and T'ēodos according to the choice of the Holy Church and for the benefit of all the people.*[95]
Assembly: *He is worthy!* The same is repeated thrice.
Prayer: *God, creator of all creators, God, maker of the world, God who created man [...].*

- Anointment.
The chief bishop anoints the appointee's head, chest, shoulders, and arms, and says: *I anoint you as king with the holy oil in the name of the Father, the Son, and Holy Spirit. Amen! Peace to you!* Assembly: *And to your spirit!*
The chief bishop anoints also the king's hands, saying: *I anoint your hand with the holy oil, with which kings and prophets were anointed, with which Samuel anointed David as king [...].*
Prayer: *All the might is Yours, God [...].*
- Vesting.
Two bishops and deacons take the newly anointed king to the sacristy, where he is clothed in *priestly linen cloth* (երախ կտաւի հանդերձ որպէս երիցու), and over that the *subdeacons' red silk* (մետաքս կարմիր՝ փոքր սարկաւագի) and the *deacons' honorable red pallium with long-sleeves and left unbelted* (կարմիր պատուական պալով՝ լայն թեզանի և զատէլոյծ).[96]
- In front of the altar table, the chief bishop says to the king: *May the graces of the Holy Spirit descend abundantly upon you [...].*
Another prayer: *God who glorifies the righteous and pities the sinful [...].*
Peace to all. Let us bow down to God.
Thanksgiving.
Prayer: *It is proper and right and just to give you thanks every hour and everywhere [...].*
Peace to all. Let us bow down to God.
Prayer: *God and the Son of God, Jesus Christ, our Lord [...].*
- The regalia are bestowed upon the king in the following order:[97]
sword (սուրն վաղակատր),
collar (մանեակ),
ring (մատանի),
cloak (փիլոն),
cross mounted on the golden apple/orb (խաչ ի վերայ խնձորոյ ոսկւոյ) in the right hand, and
sceptre topped with flower/fleur-de-lys (գաւազան և ի ծայր ծաղիկ) in the left hand.[98]
- Coronation with *diadem* (պսակ).
- Benediction: *May God bless you and save you [...].*
- Enthronement.
The crowned king, accompanied by bishops and clergy, moves from the altar towards the throne, which is placed at the centre of the cathedral. The move is accompanied by Ps. 19(20):5 (*May the Lord grant you according to your heart's desire*).
Coming to the throne, the chief bishop says the prayer: *Take the throne of your ancestors [...].*
Once the king occupies the throne, the chief bishop says the prayer: *Our Lord Jesus Christ, who is king of kings and lord of lords [...].*
Kiss of peace.
- All the city bells are rung while the assembly sings *Te Deum laudamus* (Դէ՛ տէ՛ում լաւտամոյզ).
- *Chant of our great and holy Grigor the Illuminator to the good and holy King Trdat.*[99]
- Solemn *patarag* (Divine Liturgy), offered by the chief bishop.
- Procession back to the royal palace.
The procession is led by the king, his horse decorated with a caparison. The royal retinue accompanying the newly anointed king consists of: *sparapet* (սպարապետ) / *constable, marshal* (մարաջախտ), *crown-bearer* (թագադիր), *seneschal* (սենեսկալ), *butler* (պաղլեր),

95 This is apparently a Cilician invention, in keeping with the analogous Armenian rite (B) and aimed at highlighting three sovereigns who were deemed important for Armenian Christianity: Emperor Constantine the Great for his pan-Christian role, Emperor Theodosius II for his 'pre-Chalcedonian' orientation, and King Trdat III for converting the Armenians to Christianity. See also below, n. 99, 107. C.f. Cowe, 'The Inauguration', p 55.

96 For these costumes, see Karel C. Innemée, *Ecclesiastical Dress in the Medieval Near East* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), pp. 85-87.

97 In the tenth-century *Mainzer Krönungsordo*, the regalia are listed in a different order and quantity. See Vogel and Elze, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique*, I, pp. 255-57, 260, 261.

98 Compare with the description of the orb (*Reichsapfel*) and sceptre in A2.

99 This chant, accompanied by musical notations, is another Armenian inclusion aimed at underscoring the origins of Armenian Christianity (see also above, n. 95). Although its title claims the authorship of Gregory the Illuminator, the chant is more often attributed to Movsēs Khorenats'i. See the appendix to *Armenian Classical Authors*, VI: *8th Century* (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2007), p. 986, where it is entitled *Chant to King Trdat and Those Like Him* (Մեղեդի Տրդատայ թագաւորին եւ նմանեաց իւրոց). C.f. Alishan, *Sisuan*, p. 474.

chamberlain (ջամբռլայն), and other *liege lords* (լիճ ճորտեր).

- The *mise-en-scène* around the enthroned king.
  And entering [the palace], the king sits upon the throne of the kingdom, while all the dignitaries stand to his right and left sides: the constable, along with the [royal] banner, occupies the place in front of the king, and the marshal, along with the constable's banner, takes the place near the door.
- Royal banquet.
- Ninth hour.
- Re-dressing the king (with the participation of the *chamberlain, constable, crown-bearer,* and *seneschal*).
- Vespers in the palatial church.
- Gift-giving ceremony.
- The queen and high-ranking women.
  And it must be known that the queen is the king's companion, [forming] one body with him and sharing the crown. Therefore, the ladies of rank must serve her and be gratified by her just as their spouses [are gratified] by the king, for they, too, form one body with their spouses according to the laws of God.
- End of celebrations.
  On the following day, the lords and their spouses come to the royal palace and serve joyfully according to their tasks for as many days as they wish; but let us write that it is fit [to do so] no longer than eight days.[100]

A2. Short recension, as preserved in J2673, fols 306-18

Order of a King's Consecration Service according to the Great Church of Rome[101]
Title in original text (in red script):
Կարգաւորութիւն աւրհնութեան թագաւորի ըստ մեծի եկեղեցւոյն Հռոմայ

- Prayer by catholicos: *Lord almighty of all, who made Your servant worthy of coming to the honour of the kingdom [...].*
- The regalia are bestowed upon the king in the following order:
  sword (զուրն վաղակաւոր),
  collar (մանեակ),
  ring (մատանի),
  cloak (փիլոն),
  flower (*fleur-de-lys*), *called ts'etr* (sceptre) *and mounted on the golden apple*/orb (ծաղիկ, որում անուն է ցետր, ի վերայ խնձորոյ ոսկւոյ) in the right hand, and
  sceptre (գաւազան) in the left hand.[102]
- Coronation with *diadem* (պսակ).
- Benediction: *May God bless you and save you [...].*
- Enthronement.
  The crowned king, accompanied by bishops and clergy, moves from the altar towards the throne, placed at the centre of the cathedral. The move is accompanied by Ps. 19(20):5 (*May the Lord grant you according to your heart's desire*).
  Arriving near the throne, the archbishop says the prayer: *Take the throne of your ancestors [...].*

100 The diction of this sentence is ambiguous. The original text reads (fols 219rv): իսկ վաղիւն զան յարքունիսն իշխանքն և տիկնայքն և սպասաւորեն հիւրաքանչիւր գործովն ուրախութեամբ՝ աւուրս որչափ և կամին. բայց գրեմք որ պատշաճն Ը. աւր է.

101 C.f. Vogel and Elze, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique,* I, LXXII.

102 Unlike A1, which describes the golden orb (called *apple;* c.f. *Reichsapfel*) topped with the cross, A2 mentions the *flower* – meaning *fleur-de-lys* – mounted thereon, referring to the *flower* as *ts'etr* (ցետր), that is, *sceptre.* The same scribe added a short clarifying annotation in red about the use of these terms: Մայր և այլալեզու ֆրանգ ցետր, that is '[*flower*] in mother tongue, and *ts'etr* in Frankish tongue' (J2673, fol. 311, reproduced in fig. 6).

B. The Armenian Canon of a King's Ordination, *as preserved in J2673, fols 257-306*

Title in original text (in gold script):
Կանոն թագաւոր ձեռնադրելոյ

- When the appointee is clothed in *all royal garments* (զամենայն թագաւորական հանդերձն), the *chlamys* (զքղամիդն) and the *crown* (զքազն) are brought on a silver charger and put on the altar table. Then they say:
  Ps. 60(61):2 *Hear my prayers, God, and attend [my prayers], Lord.*[103]
  Ps. 124(125):1 *Those who hope in Lord as in the Mount Zion.*[104]
  Ps. 137(138):1 *I confess to You, Lord, with all my heart.*[105]
- The catholicos (հայրապետ), accompanied by the appointee, steps forward to the altar table.
  Diaconal proclamation *Let us ask in faith.*
  Prayer: *Allow us, Lord, to thank You as befits Your goodness [...].*
  Introit *[In the same way] as after the God-loving king [of Israel].*[106]
  Proclamation and prayer.
- Introducing the king-to-be.
  One of the bishops or priests takes the appointee by his right hand and turns towards the assembly, and the chief bishop (եպիսկոպոսապետ) says loudly thrice: *The divine and heavenly grace, poured out on* [the name is left blank], *summons him to the royal throne of the house of T'orgom, anoints him in similitude of Kostandianos and T'ēodos.*[107] Assembly: *So be it! So be it!*
- Turning to the altar table, they say:
  Ps. 20(21):8 *For the king hoped in the Lord.*[108]
  1 Kings 16:1-13.
  1 Tim. 2:1-7.
  1 Jn. 2:20-27.
  Alleluia *kts'urd* Ps. 19(20):2 *May the Lord hear you.*[109]
  Lk. 19:12-28.
  Kts'urd Քահանայապետութեամբ և վշտ.
  Proclamation *Let us ask in faith and with one accord.*
  Prayer by catholicos: *Lord our God, who is king of kings [...]* [110].
  Peace to all. Let us bow down to God.
  Prayer: *God eternal and creator of all creatures [...].*
  Ps. 20:2(21:1) *Lord, [the king shall rejoice] in Your strength.*[111]
  3 Kings 1:32-48.
  4 Kings 9:1-10.
  Wis. 6:1-10.
  Isa. 61:10-62:4.
  1 Pet. 2:13-25.
  Alleluia *aruesti* Ps. 88:20(19) *I have exalted [one chosen among the people].*[112]
  Lk 4:14-22.
- Vesting.
  The catholicos takes the *chlamys* (զքղամիդն) and the *cloak* (զփիլոնն) and gives them to the priests to bestow upon the appointee.
  The catholicos gives 'Peace to all'.
  Deacon: *Let us bow down to God.* Assembly *Before You, Lord.*
  Prayer by the patriarch (պատրիարգն), laying his hand on the appointee's head: *To You, the only eternal king [...].*
- Anointment.
  The catholicos anoints the appointee's head and forehead, saying thrice in a loud voice: *Let this king be blessed, anointed, and consecrated [...].*
  Assembly: *Lord, keep the king and hear us.*
- Coronation with *crown* (թագ).
- Doxology: *Blessing and glory to the Father and to the Son [...].*
- *Patarag* (Divine Liturgy), offered by the catholicos.
- Endnote: *And [the king] must respect the Lord's commandment with fear and holiness and with righteous judgement.*

103 Լուր Աստուած աղաւթից իմոց և նայեաց Տէր.
104 Որ յուսայ ի Տէր որպէս ի լեառն Սի[ոն]. This differs from the Zohrab Bible: Որ յուսայ ի Տէր որպէս լեառն Սիովն.
105 Խոստովան եղէց քեզ Տէր բոլո[րով] սրտիւ իմ[ով].
106 In J2673, this chanted section is referred to as *kts'urd* (fol. 259: Եւ ապա սկսանին կցուրդ Որպէս յետ աստուածասէր թագաւորին). For the meanings and uses of the liturgical term *kts'urd*, see Michael Daniel Findikyan, *The Commentary on the Armenian Daily Office by Bishop Step'anos Siwnec'i (d. 735): Critical Edition and Translation with Textual and Liturgical Analysis* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2004), pp. 525-31. My translation of *kts'urd* as *introit* follows printed Armenian breviaries and *tagharans* (books of *tagh* songs), in which Որպէս յետ թագաւորին աստուածասէր is referred to as *introit* (ժամամուտ). See, for example, *Zhamagirk'* (Ējmiatsin: Grigor Lusaworich' Press, 1785), p. 193, also p. 189 (for *introit*/ժամամուտ) (in Armenian); *Tagharan of the Holy Armenian Church* (Constantinople: Press of Pōghos Arapean, 1850), pp. 42-43, also p. 29 (for *introit*/ժամամուտ) (in Armenian).
107 Constantine and Theodosius are also referred to in a subsequent prayer (*God eternal and creator of all creators*), which, in addition to these two 'holy kings', also mentions Trdat (fol. 280). See also above, n. 95.
108 The Cilician *Lectionary of Crown Prince Het'um* (M979), dating from 1286, mentions the *kts'urd* Ps. 20(21):8 (Թագաւոր յուսացաւ ի Տէր) to be sung on the days of commemoration of King Theodosius and King Constantine (and his mother Helena).
109 Լուիցէ քեզ Տէր.
110 This prayer contains a series of supplications for the king-to-be, beginning every new supplication with a large initial in gold script (fols 274-75).
111 Տէր ի զաւրութեան.
112 Բարձրը արարից (accompanied by musical notations).

Bibliography

Primary sources

Acta romanorum pontificum: A S. Clemente I (an. c. 90) ad Coelestinum III (1198), I: *Introductio, textus actorum, additamentum, appendix* (Vatican City: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1943).

Armenian Classical Authors, VI: *8th Century* (Antelias: The Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2007) (in Armenian).

Assises d'Antioche, ed. and trans. by Léon Alishan (Venice: Imprimerie arménienne médaillée, 1876).

Bogharian, Norair. *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, VIII (Jerusalem: Sts James Press, 1977) (in Armenian).

'Brief Chronicle of Het'um, lord of Akhtuts", in Artashes Mat'evosyan, 'The Chronicles of Het'um, lord of Akhtuts', and of Marajakht Vasil', *Patma-banasirakan handes*, 4 (1963), 188-94 (in Armenian).

Chemchemean, Sahak. *General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Mekhitarist Library in Venice,* VII (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1996) (in Armenian).

'Chronicle Ascribed to Sargis Pitsak Ssec'i (Fourteenth Century)', in *Brief Chronicles, Thirteenth-Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by Vazgen Hakobyan, I (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1951) (in Armenian), pp. 102-6.

'Chronicle of King Het'um II (Thirteenth Century)', in *Brief Chronicles, Thirteenth-Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by Vazgen Hakobyan, I (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1951) (in Armenian), pp. 65-101.

Chronicle of Smbat Sparapet, ed. by Karapet Chahnazarian (Paris: E. Thunot et C., 1859) (in Armenian).

Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel, Recueil des historiens des croisades: documents arméniens, II (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1906), pp. 1-109.

Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts – Fourteenth Century, ed. by Karen Matevosyan, I: *1301-1325* (Yerevan: Nairi, 2018) (in Armenian).

Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts of the Thirteenth Century, ed. by Artashes Mat'evosyan (Yerevan: Press of the Academy of Sciences, 1984) (in Armenian).

Conybeare, Frederick C. *Rituale armenorum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1905).

Danielyan, Gagik. 'The Armenian-Mamluk Diplomatic Correspondence according to Chancery Manuals of Al-'Umārī, Ibn Nāẓir al-Ğayš and Al-Qalqašandī', *Bazmavēp*, 1-2 (2016), 44-98 (in Armenian).

Featherstone, Michael J. 'Δι' ἔνδειξιν: Display in Court Ceremonial (*De Cerimoniis* II, 15)', in *The Material and the Ideal: Essays in Medieval Art and Archaeology in Honour of Jean-Michel Spieser*, ed. by Anthony Cutler and Arietta Papaconstantinou (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 75-112.

Findikyan, Michael Daniel. *The Commentary on the Armenian Daily Office by Bishop Step'anos Siwnec'i (d. 735): Critical Edition and Translation with Textual and Liturgical Analysis* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2004).

General Epistles of Saint Nersēs Shnorhali (Jerusalem: Sts James Press, 1871) (in Armenian).

Grigor Skewṙats'i, *Book of Prayers* (Constantinople: Press of Astuatsatur, 1742) (in Armenian).

Grigor Tat'ewats'i, *Commentaries of the Books of Solomon*, ed. by Khachik Grigoryan (Yerevan: Ankyunacar Press, 2009) (in Armenian).

Grigoryan Savary, Gohar. 'Armenian Colophons on the Takeover of Sis (1375)', *Revue des études arméniennes*, 40 (2021), 85-99.

John of Ibelin, Le Livre des Assises, ed. by Peter W. Edbury (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2003).

Kurdian, Yarut'iwn (Harry). 'A Newly Found Manuscript of the *Assizes of Antioch*', *Bazmavēp*, 1-2 (1956), 15-21 (in Armenian).

Mouradian, Sahag A., and Mardirossian, Nazareth B. *Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of St. Arakelotz-Tarkmanchatz Monastery (Moush) and the Environs* (Jerusalem: Sts James Press, 1967) (in Armenian).

Papovyan, A., and Yuzbashian, Karen, 'The Armenian Translation of the *Assizes of Antioch*', *Banber Matenadarani*, 4 (1958), 331-75 (in Russian).

Samuel Anetsi and Continuators, The Chronicle from Adam to 1776, ed. by Karen Matevosyan (Yerevan: Nairi, 2014) (in Armenian).

Siwrmēean, Artawazd. *Catalog of the Armenian Manuscripts of Aleppo and Antelias and of Private Collections*, II (Aleppo: Tēr-Sahakean Press, 1936) (in Armenian).

Tagharan of the Holy Armenian Church (Constantinople: Press of Pōghos Arapean, 1850) (in Armenian).

Tanielian, Anoushavan. *Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the Collection of the Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia* (Antelias: Press of the Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 1984) (in Armenian).

Tēr-Vardanean, Gēorg. *Grand Mashtots'*, I, book I: *As Preserved in the Oldest Erkat'agir Manuscripts, Compared with the Bible and Accompanied with Annexes* (Etchmiadzin: Press of the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, 2012) (in Armenian).

The Law Code of Smbat the Constable, ed. by Arsēn Ghltchean (Etchmiadzin: Press of the Mother See, 1918) (in Armenian).

The Lawcode [*Datastanagirk'*] *of Mkhit'ar Goš*, trans. with commentary and indices by Robert W. Thomson (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000).

Vogel, Cyrille, and Elze, Reinhard. *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, I: *nn. I-XCVIII* (1963), III: *Introduction générale et tables* (1972) (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

Yovhannēs Erznkats'i, *Speeches and Sermons*, ed. by Armenuhi Yerzynkatsi-Ter-Srapyan and Edvard Baghdasaryan (Yerevan: Nairi, 2013) (in Armenian).

Zhamagirk' (Ējmiatsin: Grigor Lusaworich' Press, 1785) (in Armenian).

Secondary sources

Adontz, Nicholas. *Armenia in the Period of Justinian: The Political Conditions Based on the Naxarar System*, trans. with partial revisions, a bibliographical note, and appendices by Nina G. Garsoïan (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1970).

Agémian, Sylvia. *Manuscrits arméniens enluminés du Catholicossat de Cilicie* (Antelias: Édition du Catholicossat arménien, 1991).

Alishan, Ghewond (Léonce). *Léon le Magnifique: premier roi de Sissouan ou de l'Arméno-Cilicie* (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1888).

Alishan, Ghewond. *Sisuan: A Documentary Study of Armenian Cilicia and Lewon the Great* (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1885) (in Armenian).

Bacci, Michele. 'An Introductory Essay: Mediterranean Perspectives on Royal Images', in *Meanings and Functions of the Ruler's Image in the Mediterranean World (11th-15th Centuries)*, ed. by Michele Bacci and Manuela Studer-Karlen, with the collaboration of Mirko Vagnoni (Leiden: Brill, 2022), pp. 1-32.

Bais, Marco. 'Documents de la chancellerie du royaume d'Arménie en Cilicie : traductions et traducteurs', in *La Méditerranée des Arméniens (XIIe-XVe siècle)*, ed. by Claude Mutafian (Paris: Geuthner, 2014), pp. 231-48.

Bais, Marco. 'Il privilegio ai Siciliani di re Lewon IV (1331): una pagina delle relazioni tra gli Armeni e la Sicilia', in *Testimonianze manoscritte della Sicilia: codici, documenti, pitture*, ed. by Diego Ciccarelli and Carolina Miceli (Palermo, 2006), pp. 47-66.

Boṛnazian, Sargis. *Socio-Economic Relations in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia in the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Centuries* (Yerevan: Press of Academy of Sciences, 1973) (in Armenian).

Bozoyan, Azat. 'La réception du droit franc en Arménie', in *La Méditerranée des Arméniens (XIIe-XVe siècle)*, ed. by Claude Mutafian (Paris: Geuthner, 2014), pp. 121-32.

Bozoyan, Azat. 'Les documents juridiques du royaume arménien de Cilicie', in Actes du colloque *Les Lusignans et l'Outre-Mer* (Poitiers: Sipap, 1994), pp. 54-58.

Bozoyan, Azat, and Arewshatyan, Anna. 'Grigor Skewṛats'i', *Christian Armenia: An Encyclopedia* (Yerevan: Armenian Encyclopedia Press, 2002), 246 (in Armenian).

Brett, Gerard. 'The Automata in the Byzantine *Throne of Solomon*', *Speculum*, 29/3 (1954), 477-87.

Buchthal, Hugo. *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (London: Pindar Press, 1986).

Canavas, Constantin. 'Automaten in Byzanz. Der Thron von Magnaura', in *Automaten in Kunst und Literatur des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Klaus Grubmüller and Markus Stock (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2003), pp. 49-72.

Coulie, Bernard. *Armenian Manuscripts: Catalogues, Collections, Libraries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020, 2nd revised edition).

Cowe, Peter. 'The Inauguration of the Cilician Coronation Rite and Royal Ideology', *Armenian Review*, 45, 4/180 (Winter 1992), 49-59.

Cowe, Peter. 'Theology of Kingship in Thirteenth-Century Armenian Cilicia', *Hask Armenological Yearbook*, 11 (2007-08), 417-30.

Dédéyan, Gérard. 'De la prise de Thessalonique par les Normands (1185) à la croisade de Frédéric Barberousse (1189-1190): le revirement politico-religieux des pouvoirs arméniens', in *Chemins d'outre-mer: Études d'histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, ed. by Damien Coulon, Catherine Otten-Froux, Paule Pagès and Dominique Valérian, I, Byzantina Sorbonensia, 20 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2004), pp. 183-96.

Dédéyan, Gérard. 'Coup d'œil sur les titres et les charges de la noblesse arménienne du début du IVe au début du XXe siècle', *Revue des études arméniennes*, 39 (2020), 271-86.

Der Nersessian, Sirarpie. *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Centuries*, I-II (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 1993).

Eastmond, Antony. *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

Edbury, Peter, W. 'The *Assises d'Antioche*: Law and Custom in the Principality of Antioch', in *Norman Expansion: Connections, Continuities and Contrasts*, ed. by Keith J. Stringer and Andrew Jotischky (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 241-48. Reprinted in Edbury, Peter, W. *Law and History in the Latin East* (London-New York: Routledge, 2020), VIII.

Edbury, Peter, and Folda, Jaroslav. 'Two Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts of Crusader Legal Texts from Saint-Jean d'Acre', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57 (1994), 243-54.

Folda, Jaroslav. *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275-1291* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976).

Folda, Jaroslav. 'The Hospitaller Master in Paris and Acre: Some Reconsiderations in Light of New Evidence', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54 (1996), 51-9.

Gnisci, Jacopo. 'Constructing Kingship in Early Solomonic Ethiopia: The David and Solomon Portraits in the Juel-Jensen Psalter', *Art Bulletin*, 102/4 (2020), 7-36.

Grigoryan, Gohar. 'Royal Images of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia (1198-1375) in the Context of Mediterranean Intercultural Exchange' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Fribourg, 2017).

Grigoryan, Gohar. 'Mariun: An Exiled Queen's Pilgrimage and Death in Jerusalem', *Al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā: The Journal of Middle East Medievalists*, 29 (2021), 217-55.

Grigoryan, Samvel. 'Named for Lewon the Young: The Medieval Name and the Date of Construction of Yilankale', *Revue des études arméniennes*, 37 (2016-17), 213-24.

Grigoryan, Samvel. 'Named for Lewon the Young: The Medieval Name and the Date of Construction of Yilankale', *Historical Reporter*, 31 (2020), 178-97 (in Russian).

Halfter, Peter. *Das Papsttum und die Armenier im frühen und hohen Mittelalter. Von den ersten Kontakten bis zur Fixierung der Kirchenunion im Jahre 1198* (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1996).

Iafrate, Allegra. *The Wandering Throne of Solomon: Objects and Tales of Kingship in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

Illuminated Historical Documents in the Depositories of Georgia, ed. by Darejan Kldiashvili (Tbilisi: Pavorit'i P'rint'i, 2011) (in Georgian).

Innemée, Karel C. *Ecclesiastical Dress in the Medieval Near East* (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

Krueger, Derek, and Nelson, Robert S. 'Chapter 1. New Testament of Byzantium: Seen, Heard, Written, Excerpted, Interpreted', in *The New Testament in Byzantium*, ed. by Derek Krueger and Robert S. Nelson (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2016), pp. 1-20.

Kurdian, Harry. 'Assizes of Antioch', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 3/4 (October 1962), 134-37.

La Porta, Sergio. 'The Chronicle Attributed to Smbat the Constable', in *Franks and Crusaders in Medieval Eastern Christian Historiography*, ed. by Alex Mallett (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), pp. 179-210.

Laustsen, Lasse, and Petersen, Michael Bang. 'Winning Faces Vary by Ideology: How Nonverbal Source Cues Influence Election and Communication Success in Politics', *Political Communication*, 33/2 (2016), 188-211.

Mathews, Thomas F. 'L'art de la Cilicie : l'Arménie des croisades', in *Armenia Sacra: Mémoire chrétienne des Arméniens (IVe-XVIIIe siècle)*, exhibition catalogue, Paris, Musée du Louvre, 21 February-21 May 2007, ed. by Jannic Durand, Ioanna Rapti and Dorota Giovannoni (Paris: Musée du Louvre éditions, 2007), pp. 256-63.

Mathews, Thomas F. and Daskalakis, Annie-Christine. 'The Portrait of Princess Marem of Kars, Jerusalem 2556, fol. 135b', in *From Byzantium to Iran: Armenian Studies in Honour of Nina G. Garsoïan*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Mahé and Robert W. Thomson (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1997), pp. 475-84.

McHaffie, Matthew W. 'The 'Just Judgment' in Western France (c. 1000- c. 1150): Judicial Practice and the Sacred', *French History*, 33/1 (2019), 1-23.

Mutafian, Claude. *L'Arménie du Levant (XIe-XIVe siècle)*, I (Paris: Les belles lettres, 2012).

Ouzounian, Agnès. 'Les *Assises d'Antioche* ou la langue en usage: remarques à propos du texte arménien des *Assises d'Antioche*', in *La Méditerranée des Arméniens (XIIe-XVe siècle)*, ed. by Claude Mutafian (Paris: Geuthner, 2014), pp. 133-62.

Parkes, Henry. *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church: Books, Music and Ritual in Mainz, 950-1050* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Rapti, Ioanna. 'Beyond the Page: Royal Imagery in the Queen Keṙan Gospels and the Rhetoric of the Court in Armenian Cilicia', in *Meanings and Functions of the Ruler's Image in the Mediterranean World (11th-15th Centuries)*, ed. by Michele Bacci and Manuela Studer-Karlen, with the collaboration of Mirko Vagnoni (Leiden: Brill, 2022), pp. 58-94.

Rapti, Ioanna. 'Featuring the King: Rituals of Coronation and Burial in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia', in *Court Ceremonies and*

Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean, ed. by Alexander Beihammer, Stavroula Constantinou and Maria Parani, pp. 291-335 (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

Rapti, Ioanna. 'Image et monnaie dans le royaume arménien de Cilicie (XIIIe-XIVe siècle)', in *Des images dans l'histoire*, ed. by Marie-France Auzépy and Joël Cornette (Paris: Presses universitaires de Vincennes, 2008), pp. 33-56.

Reiss, Michael V., Festic, Noemi, Latzer, Michael and Rüedy, Tanja. 'The Relevance Internet Users Assign to Algorithmic-Selection Applications in Everyday Life', *Studies in Communication Sciences*, 21/1 (2021), 71-90.

Schramm, Percy Ernst. *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, I (Stuttgart: Hiersemann Verlag, 1954).

T'ēodik, Arshakuhi. *A Month in Cilicia* (Constantinople: Tēr-Nersēsean Press, 1910) (in Armenian).

Ter-Petrossian, Levon. *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, II: *Historico-Political Study* (Yerevan: Printinfo, 2007) (in Armenian).

Torosyan, Vahe. 'On the Issue of the Coronation of Levon the Magnificient, Armenian King of Cilicia', *Etchmiadzin*, 7 (2016), 65-83; *Etchmiadzin*, 12 (2016), 84-112 (in Armenian).

Truitt, Elly R. *Medieval Robots: Mechanism, Magic, Nature, and Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

Vandekerckhove, Dweezil. *Medieval Fortifications in Cilicia: The Armenian Contribution to Military Architecture in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

Vardanyan, Edda. 'The Royal Portrait in the Het'um Lectionary (1286) and the Genealogy of Christ in the Art and Ideology of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia', in *Meanings and Functions of the Ruler's Image in the Mediterranean World (11th-15th Centuries)*, ed. by Michele Bacci and Manuela Studer-Karlen, with the collaboration of Mirko Vagnoni (Leiden: Brill, 2022), pp. 95-133.

Waller, Daniel James. 'The Fabulist's Art: Some Brief Remarks on Solomon's Lions (1 Kings 10:18-20) with a Minor Reception History', *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 61/2 (Autumn 2016), 403-11.

JACOPO GNISCI

Royal Imagery and Devotional Spaces in Early Solomonic Ethiopia
The Case of Gännätä Maryam

In the third quarter of the thirteenth century, the son of an Amhara nobleman called Yəkunno Amlak led a rebellion against the Zagwes – a line of rulers that had been in control of most of the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia since at least the first half of the twelfth century. According to local written traditions, Yəkunno Amlak killed the Zagwe king Yətbaräk (r. ca 1240-68), whom he had once served, around 1268 CE after a battle near the precinct of the church of St Qirqos in Gayent. Zagwe loyalists rallied around a successor, but despite their opposition Yəkunno Amlak initiated a lineage that would rule the Ethiopian Empire until the twentieth century: the Solomonic dynasty.[1] Apart from these general facts, we know relatively little about the life of the first emperor of the dynasty. Most of what is known about this figure comes from later sources that combine historical information with literary topoi and mythical elements to create narratives that legitimized the ascent to power of the Solomonic rulers and their allies. According to such traditions, for example, Yəkunno Amlak was a prince who descended from a line of kings that had ruled over Ethiopia since Aksumite times. These accounts characterized the Zagwe kings as usurpers and Yəkunno Amlak as heir to the country's legitimate dynasty.

In this paper I hope to contribute to our understanding of Yəkunno Amlak's reign by analysing his only known contemporary portrait, which is located in the church of Gännätä Maryam ('Garden of Mary') in the Bugna district of Ethiopia (Fig. 1). Crucially, the painting is accompanied by an inscription that allows us to identify the figure at the centre as the emperor and the two figures that flank him as ecclesiastical allies. Scholarship has recurringly considered this caption as a source for studying Yəkunno Amlak's reign, as well as the patronage of Ethiopian rulers more generally, and as evidence for dating the paintings in Gännäta Maryam.[2] However, relatively little has been said about its semantic connection with the portrait, its relation to the iconographical programme of the church and its space, and its broader significance for comprehending the use of the visual by early Solomonic emperors. I hope to show that the

* Funding for this paper comes from the AHRC-DFG project 'Demarginalizing Medieval Africa: Images, Texts, and Identity in Early Solomonic Ethiopia (1270-1527)', co-directed by the author of this essay and Prof. Alessandro Bausi, grant ref. no. AH/V002910/1. I am grateful to Massimo Villa and Vitagrazia Pisani for their advice.

1 On the history of this period, see Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia, 1270-1527* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); Marie-Laure Derat, *Le domaine des rois éthiopiens, 1270-1527. Espace, pouvoir et monachisme* (Paris: Sorbonne Editions, 2003), esp. pp. 64-75; and Marie-Laure Derat, *L'énigme d'une dynastie sainte et usurpatrice dans le royaume chrétien d'Éthiopie du XIe au XIIIe siècle*, Hagiologia, 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).

2 Key studies on this portrait include Claude Lepage, 'Peintures Murales de Ganata Maryam (Rapport Préliminaire)', *Documents Pour Servir à l'histoire de La Civilisation Éthiopienne*, 6 (1975), 59-83 (pp. 63-65);

DOI 10.1484/M.HMSAH-EB.5.135006. This is an open access chapter made available under a CC BY-NC 4.0 International License.

✦ Fig. 1
Ethiopian Painter, Portrait of Yəkunno Amlak, Wall Painting, ca. 1268–85 CE, Gännätä Maryam (Photo: Michael Gervers, Courtesy of the DEEDS Project).

painting encourages us to ask overlooked but important questions about the balance between secular and religious authority and the history of imperial imagery in early Solomonic Ethiopia.

For example, taking for granted that the emperor provided funding for the church's decoration (his role in its construction remains to be demonstrated and is discussed below), did he have an involvement in its pictorial scheme? How did contemporary viewers react to the presence in a sacred space of a portrait of a secular person, not to mention one who was still living? And would such reactions have been different from those intended by the patrons and makers of Gännätä Maryam? Were imperial portraits of this kind common in the context of Zagwe and Solomonic patronage? By addressing these topics, my aim is to draw attention to the functions of imperial imagery in early Solomonic Ethiopia, while also highlighting the presence of grey areas in our understanding of the relations between viewers and spaces of devotion as well as of the networks of patronage that contributed to their making.

The church of Gännätä Maryam is an east-west oriented, monolithic basilica with a nave and two aisles divided by square piers.[3] Similar piers also surround the building on all four

Marilyn E. Heldman and Getachew Haile, 'Who Is Who in Ethiopia's Past, Part III. Founders of Ethiopia's Solomonic Dynasty', *Northeast African Studies*, 9/1 (1987), 1-11; Stanislaw Chojnacki, 'Les portraits des donateurs comme sources de l'histoire politique, religieuse et culturelle de l'Éthiopie du XIIe au XIXe siècle', in *Äthiopien gestern und heute. Akten der 1. Tagung der Orbis Aethiopicus Gesellschaft zur Erhaltung und Förderung der äthiopischen Kultur*, ed. by Piotr O. Scholz, Nubica et Aethiopica, 4-5 (Warsaw: Zaś Pan, 1999), 621-47 (pp. 621-23); Marilyn E. Heldman, 'Gännätä Maryam', in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. by Siegbert Uhlig (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Publishers, 2005), II, pp. 692-93.

3 For a plan, see Lino Bianchi Barriviera, 'Le Chiese in roccia di Lalibelà e di altri luoghi del Lasta', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 19 (1963), 5-118 (pp. 66-71, pls. 52-53).

sides, a design that is reminiscent of Mädḫane ʿAläm in Lalibäla; the latter church was founded by the Zagwe king Lalibäla and, according to many scholars, was built on the model of the cathedral of Maryam in Aksum – Ethiopia's most sacred church, believed, within local traditions, to house the Ark of the Covenant.[4] The church of Gännätä Maryam has been known to Western researchers since at least the 1940s, and a number of articles have been dedicated to its wall paintings and architecture, though it has not been the subject of a monograph.[5] Likewise, Yəkunno Amlak's portrait has been often mentioned in discussions of Ethiopian imperial patronage and art, but it has not been the focus of an in-depth study.[6]

The interior and at least portions of the exterior walls of Gännätä Maryam were originally covered with plaster and painted murals.[7] The exterior paintings of the church, which have not been given detailed scholarly treatment, were probably added at various stages between the late fourteenth and the twentieth century. The interior presents a complex pictorial scheme combining Old and New Testament scenes, such as the Binding of Isaac and the Entry into Jerusalem, with depictions of angels and male and female saints. Most of these paintings were probably executed during the reign of Yəkunno Amlak, though at least those located in the southern side room of the church and datable to the mid-fifteenth century on stylistic grounds belong to a subsequent phase of (re)decoration.[8]

The portrait of Yəkunno Amlak is situated on the eastern face of the central northern pier of the nave (Fig. 1). Since most of the images in Gännätä Maryam are carefully placed in relation to their spatial setting to convey messages that are enhanced by the architectural features of the church, we may surmise that its location is not accidental.[9] Indeed, the positioning of this effigy of Yəkunno Amlak allows him to perpetually gaze towards the sanctuary where the life-giving liturgy takes place. From this particular vantage point, the emperor could both see and be seen

4 On the symbolic and structural connections among these three buildings, see Marilyn E. Heldman, 'Architectural Symbolism, Sacred Geography and the Ethiopian Church', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 22/3 (1992), 222-41. See also David W. Phillipson, *Ancient Churches of Ethiopia. Fourth-Fourteenth Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 112-18. There have been numerous studies on Mädḫane ʿAläm and the other churches of Lalibäla, including Alessandro Augusto Monti della Corte, *Lalibelà: Le chiese ipogee e monolitiche e gli altri monumenti medievali del Lasta* (Rome: Società italiana arti grafiche, 1940); Phillipson, *Ancient Churches*, esp. pp. 153-60; Jacques Mercier and Claude Lepage, *Lalibela, Wonder of Ethiopia: The Monolithic Churches and their Treasures* (London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2012). For a hypothetical reconstruction of the cathedral of Maryam Ṣəyon, see David R. Buxton and Derek H. Matthews, 'The Reconstruction of Vanished Aksumite Buildings', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici,* 25 (1971), 53-77 (pp. 66-76, figs. 19-21).

5 For the analysis of the church architecture, see discussions in David R. Buxton, 'I.—The Christian Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia', *Archaeologia*, 92 (1947), 1-42 (pp. 31-32); and Roger Sauter, 'Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie', *Annales d'Éthiopie*, 5/1 (1963), 235-92 (p. 270). For the wall paintings, the most detailed descriptions and analyses have been published by Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, 'Les peintures murales de l'église rupestre éthiopienne Gännätä Maryam près Lalibela', *Arte medievale*, 12-13 (1998-99), 193-209; Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, 'The Wall-Paintings in the Sanctuary of the Church of Gännätä Maryam near Lalibäla', in *Orbis Aethiopicus: Ethiopian Art – a Unique Cultural Heritage and Modern Challenge*, ed. by Walter Raunig and Asfa-Wossen Asserate, Nubica et Aethiopica, 10 (Lublin: Marie Skłodowska University Press, 2007), pp. 120-35.

6 In addition to the studies in n. 3, see also Marilyn E. Heldman *Marian Icons of the Painter Frē Ṣeyon. A Study in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage, and Spirituality*, Orientalia Biblica et Christiana, 6 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Publishers, 1994), p. 86; Claire Bosc-Tiessé and Marie-Laure Derat, *Lalibela, Site Rupestre Chrétien d'Éthiopie* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Midi, 2019), pp. 101-04.

7 For a preliminary report with some details of an analysis of the pigments used in medieval Ethiopian churches, see Blair Priday, Stephen Rickerby, and Lisa Shekede, 'Saving Tigray's Painted Churches', *Minerva* (2021), 32-39. The church is the main focus of the SolZag project directed by Tania Tribe.

8 Balicka-Witakowska, 'The Wall-Paintings in the Sanctuary', pp. 134-36.

by those officiating priests who benefitted from his patronage and who would have remembered him in their prayers after his death, according to a well-established Christian Ethiopian practice.[10] In fact, Christians in Ethiopia believed that a *täzkar*, a ritual commemoration followed by the consumption of food, helped to 'alleviate the sufferings of the souls of the dead'.[11]

In addition to providing funds for constructing or lands for supporting churches, Christian Ethiopians could commission manuscripts and artworks to help preserve their memory.[12] There is ample evident of the existence of such gift-giving practices during the early Solomonic period (1270-1527). For example, the colophon of a large fifteenth-century octateuch donated to the monastery of Däbrä Bizän by its abbot indicates clearly that the book was commissioned to encourage its readers to commemorate him, just as an inscription on a large liturgical icon painted by Fǝre Ṣǝyon during the reign of Zärʾa Yaʿǝqob (r. 1434-68) solicits its viewers

9 For example, see the cases analysed in Tania Tribe, 'The Word in the Desert. The Wall-Paintings of Debra Maryam Korkor (Ger'alta, Tigray)', in *Ethiopia in Broader Perspective: Papers of the XIIIth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Kyoto, 12-17 December 1997*, ed. by Katsuyoshi Fukui, Eisei Kurimoto, and Masayoshi Shigeta (Kyoto: Shokado, 1997), III, pp. 35-61; Marilyn E. Heldman, 'Wise Virgins in the Kingdom of Heaven. A Gathering of Saints in a Medieval Ethiopian Church', *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, 19/2 (2000), 6-12; Ewa Balicka-Witakowska and Michael Gervers, 'The Church of Yǝmräḥannä Krǝstos and Its Wall-Paintings: A Preliminary Report', *Africana Bulletin*, 49 (2001), 9-47 (p. 26); Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, 'The Wall-Paintings in the Church of Mädhane Aläm near Lalibäla', *Africana Bulletin*, 52 (2004), 9-29 (pp. 11, 16); Jacopo Gnisci and Massimo Villa, 'Evidence for the History of Early Solomonic Ethiopia from Tämben Part II: Abba Yoḥanni', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* (forthcoming).

10 See the discussions in Manfred Kropp, '"... der Welt gestorben". Ein Vertrag zwischen dem äthiopischen Heiligen Iyyäsus-Mo'a und König Yǝkunno-Amlak über Memoriae im Kloster Ḥayq', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 116/3-4 (1998), 303-30 (pp. 304-05); Claire Bosc-Tiessé and Marie-Laure Derat, 'De la mort à la fabrique du saint dans l'Éthiopie médiévale et moderne', *Afriques [Online]*, 3 (2011) https://doi.org/10.4000/afriques.1076; Anaïs Wion, 'Onction des malades, funérailles et commemorations. Pour une histoire des textes et des pratiques liturgiques en Éthiopie chrétienne', *Afriques. Débats, méthodes et terrains d'histoire*, 3 (2011), https://doi.org/10.4000/afriques.921; Alessandro Bausi, 'Kings and Saints. Founders of Dynasties, Monasteries and Churches in Christian Ethiopia', in *Stifter und Mäzene und ihre Rolle in der Religion. Von Königen, Mönchen, Vordenkern und Laien in Indien, China und anderen Kulturen*, ed. by Barbara Schuler (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Publishers, 2013), pp. 161-186, here 180-81. For research on the contemporary commemorative practices of the Ethiopian Church, see Tom Boylston, '*And Unto Dust Shalt Thou Return.* Death and the Semiotics of Remembrance in an Ethiopian Orthodox Christian Village', *Material Religion*, 11/3 (2015), 281-302.

11 Bausi, *Kings and Saints*, p. 180.

12 Without any claim to completeness, see the cases discussed in Carlo Conti Rossini, 'Tre Piccoli Testi Etiopici', *Rivista degli studi orientali*, 23/1 (1948), 46-51; Madeleine Schneider, 'Deux actes de donation en arabe', *Annales d'Éthiopie*, 8 (1970), 79-87; Heldman, *Marian Icons*, pp. 80-90; ead., 'Creating Religious Art: The Status of Artisans in Highland Christian Ethiopia', *Aethiopica*, 1 (1998), 131-47; ead. and Monica S. Devens, 'The Four Gospels of Däbrä Mäʿar. Colophon and Note of Donation', in *Varia Aethiopica. In Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943-2005)*, ed. by Denis Nosnitsin, *Scrinium*. Revue de patrologie, d'hagiographie critique et d'histoire ecclésiastique, 1 (Piscataway, NJ: Georgias Press, 2009), pp. 77-79; Giafrancesco Lusini, 'Scritture Documentarie Etiopiche (Dabra Deḫuḫān e Dabṛa Ṣegē, Sarāʿē, Eritrea)', *Rassegna Di Studi Etiopici*, 42 (1998), 5-55; Bausi, *Kings and Saints*; Donald Crummey, *Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia. From the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century* (Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2000); Vitagrazia Pisani, 'ʾAbbā Salāmā and His Role of Commissioner of the Gǝbra Ḥǝmāmāt. An Additional Evidence from Two Witnesses from Tǝgrāy, Northern Ethiopia', *COMSt Bulletin*, 5 (2019), 129-50; Jacopo Gnisci, 'Constructing Kingship in Early Solomonic Ethiopia. The David and Solomon Miniatures in the Juel-Jensen Psalter', *Art Bulletin*, 102/4 (2020), 7-36 (pp. 12-13); Verena Krebs, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship, Craft, and Diplomacy with Latin Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), pp. 202-03. On the pre-Solomonic character of such practices, see the examples discussed in Marie-Laure Derat, 'Les donations du roi Lālibalā. Éléments pour une géographie du royaume chrétien d'Éthiopie au tournant du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle', *Annales d'Éthiopie*, 25 (2010), 19-42; and Getatchew Haile, 'The Marginal Notes in the Abba Gärima Gospels', *Aethiopica*, 19 (2017), 7-26, which also includes an interesting list of dates for the commemorations of Ethiopian emperors.

to remember its maker in their prayers.[13] From a study of these and similar cases, it becomes apparent that the maker or patron of an object could hope to gain some benefit not only from the prayers of those who engaged with it but also from the very act of donating it to a church.[14] The inscription above the portrait of Yəkunno Amlak attests that this image possessed similar mnemonic and devotional functions:

> In giving thanks to God, it is I who has [this church] built, [I,] Yəkunno Amlak, whom God made king by his [good] will. My father, Nəḥyo Bäkrəstos, was an agent for me to have this church built in the name of Mäṭṭaʿ. May God have mercy upon me in the Kingdom of Heaven with my fathers Mäḥari Amlak and Nəḥyo [Bäkrəstos].[15]

The text specifies that Nəḥyo Bäkrəstos – an otherwise unknown ecclesiastical figure – acted as Yəkunno Amlak's agent in the decoration and construction of Gännätä Maryam (originally dedicated to St Mäṭṭaʿ) and that through this donation Nəḥyo Bäkrəstos, the emperor, together with a third clergyman called Mäḥari Amlak, aspired to improve their own chances of salvation. Close inspection of some of the other images confirms the impression that the church was built to bolster the emperor's soteriological aspirations, since most scenes revolve around the themes of redemption and intercession. For instance, the southern face of the pillar that bears Yəkunno Amlak's portrait features a representation of the Three Jews in the Fiery Furnace: a theme that acknowledges the possibility of divine intervention and deliverance through acts of religious piety.[16] More significantly, most of the portraits of holy men that adorn the church are accompanied by inscriptions of supplication prayers that attest to a belief in the power of intercession. For example, there is an image of St George, located to the emperor's left, that bears the following: 'St George intercede for us; may your prayer embrace us, Amen'; while a portrait of St Cyriacus on horseback is surmounted by a supplication reading 'Holy Cyriacus, martyr of Christ, intercede and pray for us'.[17]

Since there has been little interest in how captions were intended to function in medieval Ethiopian churches, it may be useful to look outside this field at recent research on the interplay

13 On the octateuch, see Alessandro Bausi, 'I colofoni e le sottoscrizioni dei manoscritti etiopici', in *Colofoni armeni a confronto. Le sottoscrizioni dei manoscritti in ambito armeno e nelle altre tradizioni scrittorie del mondo mediterraneo. Atti del colloquio internazionale. Bologna, 12-13 ottobre 2012*, ed. by Anna Sirinian, Paola Buzi, and Gaga Shurgaia, Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 299 (Rome: Pontificio Istitutio Orientale, 2016), 233-260 (p. 248); on the icon, see Heldman, *Marian Icons*¸ p. 25. For another colophon in a fifteenth-century illuminated Ethiopic Octateuch, see Gianfranco Fiaccadori, 'Bisanzio e il regno di ʾAksum. Sul manoscritto Martini etiop. 5 della Biblioteca Forteguerriana di Pistoia', *Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano di Parma*, 7 (1993), 161-199.

14 Bausi, *Kings and Saints*. On this topic, see also Neal Sobania and Raymond Silverman, 'Patrons and Artists in Highland Ethiopia. Contemporary Practice in the Commissioning of Religious Painting and Metalwork', in *Proceedings of the XVth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Hamburg July 20-25, 2003*, ed. by Siegbert Uhlig, Maria Bulakh and Denis Nosnitsin, Aethiopistische Forschungen, 65 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Publishers, 2006), pp. 469-77.

15 Translation taken from Heldman and Getatchew Haile, *Who Is Who*, 4; on this inscription see also Lepage, *Peintures Murales*, 63-64; Bausi, *Kings and Saints*, 173.

16 The votive function of the image is made explicit by its inscription: '[…] the archangel Gabrəʾel, who […] his children from the furnace of fire. And [save] also us [from] the evil. Amen'; translation by Vitagrazia Pisani within the framework of the ITIESE project (personal communication 1 October 2021). For a study of this theme in the Ethiopian tradition, see Stanislaw Chojnacki, 'Les trois hébreux dans la fournaise. Une enquête iconographique dans la peinture éthiopienne', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 35 (1991), 13-40.

17 My translations into English are based on Balicka-Witakowska, *Les peintures murales*, pp. 200-01.

among the visual, material, and communicative properties of texts.[18] In his study of inscriptions in medieval Georgia, Antony Eastmond distinguishes between those that are meant to be read and those that 'stand in for individuals'.[19] Arguably, though we have no evidence beyond the inscriptions themselves, the prayers in Gännätä Maryam performed both these functions: they eternalized the faithful's supplication to God through the intercession of the holy figures with whom they were associated, and they encouraged viewers to sympathetically interact with the church's decorative programme.

It is open to debate who the intended beneficiaries of these prayers were, that is to say, whether the pronoun 'us' should be taken as a specific reference to the patrons of Gännätä Maryam – Yəkunno Amlak, Nəḥyo Bäkrəstos, and Mäḥari Amlak – or as a more generic allusion to the Christian community that gathered within its walls. However, the presence of inscriptions that specifically mention Yəkunno Amlak and members of his family and entourage shows that the emperor and his representatives stood to gain some spiritual advantage for financing the church's decoration. One such inscription is located above an iconic portrait of a saint on horseback: 'St Mercurius, martyr of Christ. Pray and supplicate for Yəkunno Amlak and Nəḥyo Bäkrəstos, Amen' (Fig. 2).[20]

The prayer, like others in the church, is written in a large, though not particularly elegant, script, indicating that it was meant to be viewed and read. The content and legibility of the inscription suggest that literate viewers were called to perform a double role in contemplating it: on the one hand, to silently perpetuate the memory of the emperor in their minds, and, on the other, to activate the intercessory power of the images by directing prayers towards them, reading their inscriptions aloud, and performing devotional activities in the church.[21] In this respect, it is worth noting that the artists of Gännätä Maryam may have been intentionally ambiguous about the referents of most prayers, since the use of an all-encompassing pronoun like 'us' calls beholders into religious action by reminding them that they, too, could obtain blessings through individual and collective worship. If my reading is correct, then the wall paintings and inscriptions of Gännätä Maryam contributed to the creation of a multifunctional space. They recorded and commemorated Yəkunno Amlak's patronage, thereby incorporating him into what Robert S. Nelson has described, with reference to the Byzantine tradition, as a 'medieval mechanism for social and spiritual commemoration'; and they incentivized viewers to become at once witnesses, participants, and beneficiaries of the saints' intercession as well as of their own prayers.[22]

18 Such studies may provide a preliminary framework for research on the Ethiopian tradition as long as we do not take for granted that research on other Christian traditions can be transposed onto the context of Ethiopia. See, for instance, the collected essays in *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*, ed. by Liz James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World*, ed. by Antony Eastmond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

19 Antony Eastmond, 'Textual Icons. Viewing Inscriptions in Medieval Georgia', in *Viewing Inscriptions*, 76-98 (p. 94); as well as Paul Dilley, 'Dipinti in Late Antiquity and Shenoute's Monastic Federation. Text and Image in the Paintings of the Red Monastery', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 165 (2008), 111-28.

20 The inscription is discussed in Heldman and Getatchew Haile, *Who Is Who*, p. 7.

21 There has been limited research on visual literacy in Ethiopia, but pioneering research on these topics for other contexts offers a useful starting point for such analyses. See, for example, Michael Camille, 'Seeing and Reading. Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', *Art History*, 8/1 (1985), 26-49; and William J. Diebold, 'Verbal, Visual, and Cultural Literacy in Medieval Art. Word and Image in the Psalter of Charles the Bald', *Word & Image*, 8/2 (1992), 89-99.

22 Quotation from Robert S. Nelson, 'Image and Inscription. Pleas for Salvation in Spaces of

✦ Fig. 2
Ethiopian Painter,
St. Mercurius, Wall
Painting, ca. 1268–85 CE,
Gännätä Maryam
(Photo: Michael Gervers,
Courtesy of the DEEDS
Project).

✦ Fig. 3
Ethiopian Painter,
Virgin and Child, Wall
Painting, ca. 1268–85 CE,
Waša Mikaʾel
(Photo: Michael Gervers,
Courtesy of the DEEDS
Project).

On the basis of what we know about the foundation of churches by wealthy patrons during the early Solomonic period, it is quite possible that Yəkunno Amlak also provided Gännätä Maryam with lands to sustain its clergy and at least some of the furnishings and books it needed to function as a place of worship.[23] Undoubtedly, this was not the only institution that received financial support from the emperor, who is mentioned, together with Mäḥari Amlak, in an inscription in the nearby church of Waša Mikaʾel (Fig. 3).[24] Moreover, the acknowledgement of Yəkunno Amlak in land grants contained within a Gospel book from the monastery of Däbrä Libanos, in present-day Eritrea, confirms his involvement in such gift-giving activities, which must necessarily have been far more common than the current evidence would suggest.[25] We cannot corroborate this for Gännätä Maryam simply because most of the paraphernalia and manuscripts that survive in its treasury, with the exception of some metal works, appear to date from the fifteenth century onwards. If Yəkunno Amlak did in fact donate such objects, these would, in all likelihood, have borne additional devotional inscriptions that mentioned him in order to further cement his links with this institution and help in paving his way to paradise.[26] The emperor may well have also provided funds to pay for his commemorations. If he did, then the lively banqueting scene that accompanies a representation of the Wedding of Cana located in the north aisle, close to his portrait, may have been viewed as an antecedent to the feasts held in his honour.[27]

So far, I have focused chiefly on the devotional goals and spiritual expectations of the founders of Gännätä Maryam, but also worth thinking about is how the church's intended audience(s) might have responded to its visual prompts.[28] In order to pursue this line of inquiry, the first point to consider is that the church's founding was imbued in equal measure with political and religious meaning. While there can be little doubt that Yəkunno Amlak funded

Devotion', in *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*, ed. by Liz James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 100-19 (p. 110). More generally, images can also encourage participatory action in church, as illustrated by the cases discussed in Henry Maguire, *The Icons of Their Bodies. Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); and Peter Low, '*You Who Once Were Far Off*. Enlivening Scripture in the Main Portal at Vézelay', *Art Bulletin*, 85/3 (2003), 469-89.

23 See n. 13.

24 For an analysis of this image and its caption, as well as a discussion of other historical figures that are represented here, see Jacques Mercier, 'Peintures du XIIIe siècle dans une église de l'Angot (Éthiopie)', *Annales d'Éthiopie*, 18 (2002), 143-48.

25 On the Golden Gospels of Däbrä Libanos, see Carlo Conti Rossini, 'L'evangelo d'oro di Dabra Libānos', *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. 5a/10 (1901), 177-219; Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State*, p. 68; Alessandro Bausi, 'Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea: Parte terza', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 41 (1998), 13-56 (p. 13-23); id., 'Un indice dell'Evangelo d'oro di Dabra Libānos (Šemazānā, Akkala Guzāy, Eritrea)', *Aethiopica*, 10 (2007), 81-91. Most, if not all, churches would have had to hold similar records of their property.

26 A study of the church's treasury is a desideratum. Brian Clark, *Landscape Formation Processes and Archaeological Preservation in the Ethiopian Highlands. A Case Study from the Lalibela Region* (doctoral thesis, Rice University, Houston, TX, 2015), p. 13, reports the presence of 'a large Mamluk Period Egyptian platter supposedly gifted to the king from Egypt and inscribed on the back with a dedicatory inscription to Yekuno Amlak and a list of territories under his control' that is being investigated by Tania Tribe.

27 The fact that this scene is placed near the exit, possibly in the direction where such commemorations were held, and is dislocated from other Christological scenes in the church, further supports this interpretation.

28 For some significant comparable research on the political functions of royal portraiture in other contexts, see, for example, André Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin: Recherches sur l'art officiel de l'Empire d'Orient*, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'université de Strasbourg, 75 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1936); Antony Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998); Christina Maranci, 'Building Churches in Armenia. Art at the Borders of Empire and the Edge of the Canon', *Art Bulletin*, 88/4 (2006), 656-75; Craig Clunas, *Screen of Kings: Royal Art and Power in Ming China* (Honolulu:

its pictorial decoration, we do not know whether he sponsored the construction of the building or whether he took over an existing structure – perhaps one erected with financing from those Zagwe rulers he had just overthrown.[29] Whatever the case, as Georg Gerster and others have rightly observed, the decision to either build or appropriate a church that replicated the features of Mädḫane ʿAläm – the most important church in Lalibäla and the religious stronghold of the Zagwes – must have been spurred by Yəkunno Amlak's desire to consolidate his dynastic ambitions.[30] By claiming Gännätä Maryam as his foundation, Yəkunno Amlak was putting himself on par with his Zagwe predecessors and, more significantly, with those rulers of Aksum, the architectural patrons of the cathedral of Maryam Ṣəyon in Aksum, from whom he claimed to descend.[31]

As for Yəkunno Amlak's portrait in Gännätä Maryam, it seems clear that it, too, served legitimizing functions, since it singles him out as the church's patron. However, I would argue that this image conveyed additional meaning. At least in the intention of its sponsors, the mere presence of such a picture within a sacred space signalled that this was a ruler who had secured divine favour: just to leave no room for doubt, the inscription emphasizes that we are beholding someone 'whom God made king'.

The fact that Nəḥyo Bäkrəstos and Mäḥari Amlak flank the emperor is also significant in several respects, foremost in shoring up the emperor's sacral authority. Out of the dozens of holy figures that appear in Gännätä Maryam, the vast majority is shown standing, while those that are granted the privilege of being seated or enthroned are comparatively few and of high status: Jesus Christ (Fig. 4), the Virgin Mary, and King David, as well as a third figure, who is identified by an inscription as Təḫrəyännä Maryam (Fig. 5) and who – given the way in which she has been single out, along with further evidence discussed below – was probably a wife of Yəkunno Amlak.[32] Even more striking is the fact that, in Gännätä Maryam, the only figure other than Yəkunno Amlak to be shown flanked by two attendants and seated in full-frontal view is Jesus Christ himself (Fig. 4).[33] More generally, as concerns early Solomonic art, the only two personages depicted on a throne and flanked by two or more figures, typically angels, are Jesus and his mother (Figs. 3 and 7).[34] While such Christomimetic rhetoric might not have been uncommon for Christian rulers of Byzantium or the Latin West, it is quite startling in the context of Ethiopia where, by and large, portraiture is characterized by some display of humility before God.[35]

University of Hawai'i Press, 2013); and *Emperors and Emperorship in Late Antiquity: Images and Narratives*, ed. by María P. G. Ruiz and Alberto J. Q. Puertas (Leiden: Brill, 2021).

29 As noted, for example, by Phillipson, *Ancient Churches*, p. 188.

30 Georg Gerster, *Churches in Rock: Early Christian Art in Ethiopia* (London: Phaidon Press, 1970), p. 116; see also Heldman and Getatchew Haile, *Who Is Who*, p. 8.

31 See n. 13; on the engagement of Solomonic rulers with their Aksumite past, see also Gnisci, *Constructing Kingship*, with further references.

32 More specifically, the themes are the Annunciation; Jesus Teaching in the Temple; the Wedding at Cana, in this theme, by necessity, the guests are also seated; the Washing of the Feet; and the Appearance of Jesus to Mary Magdalene. For reproductions, and a discussion of these themes, see Lepage, *Peintures Murales*, figs. 8, 9, 13, 15, 16, 18; and Balicka-Witakowska, *Les peintures murales*, figs. 5, 6, 7, 15.

33 A related observation about this image appeared, after the submission of this article for publication, in Jacques Mercier, *Art of Ethiopia: From the Origins to the Golden Age (330-1527)* (Paris: Éditions Place des Victoires, 2022), p. 80, fig. 76.

34 For some examples, see the discussion in Stanislaw Chojnacki, *Major Themes in Ethiopian Painting. Indigenous Developments, the Influence of Foreign Models, and Their Adaptation from the 13th to the 19th Century*, Äthiopistische Forschungen, 10 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1983), pp. 171-200; and Jacques Mercier, *Vierges d'Éthiopie* (Montpellier: Archange Minotaure, 2004).

35 On Christomimetic images or rulers in other Christian contexts, see, for instance, Alicia Walker,

✦ Fig. 4 ▸
Ethiopian Painter, St. Mercurius, Wall Painting, ca. 1268–85 CE, Gännätä Maryam (Photo: Michael Gervers, Courtesy of the DEEDS Project).

✦ Fig. 5
Ethiopian Painter, Kʷəleṣewon, Təḫrəyännä Maryam and a third figure, Wall Painting, ca. 1268–85 CE, Gännätä Maryam (Photo: Michael Gervers, Courtesy of the DEEDS Project).

Only a small, albeit meaningful, compositional difference differentiates the Transfiguration scene in Gännätä Maryam from the imperial portrait: in the former the adjacent figures are standing, while in the latter they are seated on foldable chairs, a detail which may be as much a reflection of contemporary practice as a concession to the balance of power of the time. Indeed, as much as the ecclesiastical figures in Gännätä Maryam and in other monasteries would have benefitted financially and gained in power from their association with Yəkunno Amlak – as showcased by their eagerness to create visual and textual matter to record such acts of imperial benevolence – it is equally true that the emperor had to rely on such powerful monastic advocates to secure his throne.

As pointed out by Marylin E. Heldman and Getatchew Haile, a number of 'highly celebrated indigenous monks of the Ethiopian church who flourished in those days were relatives of Yəkunno Amlak on his mother's side'.[36] Moreover, several traditions record alliances between the emperor and prominent monastic leaders. The most significant of these accounts is transmitted in a version of the *gädl* (acts) of Iyäsus Moʾa, abbot and founder of Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, a monastery in the Amhara region that provided the bulk of Yəkunno Amlak's army.[37] According to this text, Iyäsus Moʾa prophesized Yəkunno Amlak's accession to the throne and offered prayers to support the cause of the emperor, who in return appointed the abbot to the most important ecclesiastic position at court, that of *ʿaqqabe säʿat* (keeper of hours), and granted several privileges to his monastery, including a third of the lands of his kingdom; the removal of all lay people and women from the island on which the monastery was located; and the right to offer asylum.[38]

As someone affiliated with Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, the author of the *Acts of Iyäsus Moʾa* had an obvious interest in overstating the role of the founding abbot in the establishment of the dynasty that ruled the country at the time of the text's composition; nevertheless, there seems to be little doubt that this abbot was one of the closest allies of Yəkunno Amlak.[39] Other accounts make quite clear that the emperor needed the backing of monastic groups to rally support for his cause. The *Acts of Iyäsus Moʾa* (Fig. 6), the portrait of Yəkunno Amlak with Nəḥyo Bäkrəstos and Mäḥari Amlak in Gännätä Maryam (Fig. 1), as well as the supplication in Waša Mikaʾel (Fig. 3) are, in a sense, all offshoots of this network of alliances between church and state that legitimized both parties in near equal measure. The subsequent history of the Solomonic dynasty shows that widespread monastic opposition could represent a real and serious threat to the ruler's hold on power.[40]

The Emperor and the World. Exotic Elements and the Imaging of Middle Byzantine Imperial Power, Ninth to Thirteenth Centuries C.E. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), esp. pp. 2-3, 13, 52, 158; and Riccardo Pizzinato, 'Vision and Christomimesis in the Ruler Portrait of the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram', *Gesta*, 57/2 (2018), 145-70.

36 Heldman and Getatchew Haile, *Who Is Who*, p. 1.

37 *Actes de Iyasus Moʿa, abbé du Convent de St-Etienne de Ḥayq*, ed. and trans. by Stanislas Kur, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 260, Scriptores Aethiopici, 50 (Louvain: Peeters, 1965), pp. 19-28.

38 *Actes de Iyasus Mo ʿa*, p. 25; Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State*, p. 67; Kropp, *der Welt gestorben*; Derat, *Le domaine des rois éthiopiens*, pp. 88-110.

39 On the use of Ethiopian hagiographies as sources, see Steven Kaplan, 'Hagiographies and the History of Medieval Ethiopia', in *Languages and Cultures of Eastern Christianity: Ethiopian, The Worlds of Eastern Christianity, 300-1500*, ed. by Alessandro Bausi (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 389-98; on the subsequent history of the monastery, see also Taddesse Tamrat, 'The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq 1248-1535', *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, 8/1 (1970), 87-117.

40 Robert Beylot, 'Sur quelques hétérodoxes éthiopiens. Estifanos, Abakerazun, Gabra Masih, Ezra', *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 201/1 (1984), 25-36; Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State*, p. 215; Getachew Haile, 'The Cause of the Ǝsṭifanosites. A Fundamentalist Sect in the Church of Ethiopia', *Paideuma*, 29 (1983), 93-119; Gianfrancesco Lusini, *Studi sul monachesimo*

While these monastic groups may have been prepared to endorse an emperor in return for land and prestige, they would just as readily challenge his authority in the face of decisions that were unacceptable or unfavourable to them. We find evidence of the self-assurance and clout of prominent church leaders in a portrait of Iyäsus Moʾa, produced during the lifetime of the depicted likely with the intention of presenting him as a 'saint', in a Gospel book that he donated to his church (Fig. 6).[41] This illumination asserts authority in a manner comparable to the portrait of Yəkunno Amlak. Significantly, on the opposite page (fol. 6r), a note in a secondary hand commemorates the abbot's alliance with Yəkunno Amlak:

> After St Iyäsus Moʾa made an alliance with Yəkunno Amlak, so that he may fulfil their will, they banned by the power of Peter and Paul any woman from entering this monastery, and any estate owner and anyone who was not a monk from laying down a house [in the monastery].[42]

A few pages later, on fol. 12v, another note articulates that even a king should not dare to challenge the abbot's authority: 'In the year of mercy 237, Iyäsus Moʾa, *ʿaqqabe säʿat* of Ḥayq granted and appointed Ḫirutä Amlak to Daga Ǝsṭifanos. Anyone who attempts to take this by fraud, may he be king or anyone else, may be excommunicated'.[43]

Turning back to the question of how the portrait in Gännätä Maryam would have been viewed, we recognize that, by having themselves represented next to the emperor, Nəḫyo Bäkrəstos and Mäḥari Amlak were showcasing their own eminence as much as his. We can reasonably imagine that those viewers who were most closely affiliated with the emperor's court did not object to such displays of hubris, but what about those monastic groups who backed the Zagwe resistance that opposed Yəkunno Amlak, or those individuals who did not benefit directly from his ascent to power? Surely, these latter factions could have attacked the emperor and his allies for their lack of humility as well as for their nepotistic and clientelist behaviour.

To address this point, let us consider again the aforementioned portrait of Təḫrəyännä Maryam, who is shown seated next her son, Kʷəleṣewon (Fig. 5). Given their prominent visual treatment and placement in the church, it is likely that these two figures were respectively a wife and son of Yəkunno Amlak. While some scholars have questioned this identification, since it is not confirmed by other sources, the captions offer convincing evidence of their relationship with the emperor: 'Kʷəleṣewon with his horse, son of the king. His mother [?]

eustaziano (secoli XIV-XV), Studi Africanistici, Serie Etiopica, 3 (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1993).

41 In an in-depth study of this image, Claire Bosc-Tiessé, 'Sainteté et intervention royale au monastère Saint-Étienne de Ḥayq au tournant du XIIIe et du XIVe siècle. L'image de Iyasus Moʾa dans son Évangile', *Oriens Christianus*, 94 (2010), 199-227 (p. 199), remarks that 'il semble tout à fait inconceivable que Iyasus Mo'a se soit lui- même qualifié de saint'. While it remains open to debate whether the image of Iyäsus Moʾa and its accompanying caption were produced during his lifetime, as I suggest, or afterwards, I believe that the presence of other historical figures in the church paintings considered here (although these are admittedly not identified as saints) shows that it was not an 'inconceivable' practice to blur the boundaries between saints and the living community. I discuss this image in more detail in a study entitled 'Imaging Sanctity in Early Solomonic Ethiopia: The Portrait of "*qəddus*" Iyäsus Moʾa' which I recently submitted for publication.

42 Translation by Massimo Villa (personal communication, 17 September 2020).

43 Translation by Massimo Villa (personal communication, 17 September 2020).

✦ Fig. 6
Ethiopian Painter, Portrait of Iyäsus Moʾa, Gospel Books of Iyäsus Moʾa, 1280/1281. Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, Ethiopia, s.n. [EMML 1832], fols. 5v–6r (Photo: Michael Gervers, courtesy of the DEEDS project).

✦ Fig. 7
Ethiopian Painter, The Virgin and Child with Emperor Dawit II (left) and beginning of a Miracle of Mary (right), Miracles of Mary of Gəšän Maryam, late fourteenth to early fifteenth century, Gəšän Maryam, s.n., fols. ? (Photo: Diana Spencer, courtesy of the DEEDS project).

Təḥrəyanna Māryām [who] raised him. This is the image of Təḥrəyanna Māryām. [?] the Lord, Amen'.[44]

Surely, the fact that Təḫrəyännä Maryam is the only seated woman in Gännätä Maryam, other than the Virgin Mary, and that her son is represented like a saint on horseback must have seemed borderline heretical to some of the emperor's Christian opponents.[45] We also know that early Solomonic Christian artists were extremely conscious about the importance of showing respect to God in their work. Consequently, in painting of this period Jesus is always distinguished from other figures by virtue of size, position, or attributes. A particularly emblematic case of attentiveness to these issues is offered by several early Solomonic representations of the Washing of the Feet, where – out of reverence for God and in contrast with most other Christian traditions – Ethiopian illuminators refused to show Jesus kneeling down to enact the washing, instead opting to depict him seated on a stool or throne to underscore his divine nature.[46] As I have argued elsewhere, such features of early Solomonic art demonstrate that Christian Ethiopians were particularly alert to how the visual could be used to signal hierarchy and, accordingly, took deliberate steps to ensure that no figure received more reverence than God.[47] In view of this, it is highly probable that the Christomimetic character of Yəkunno Amlak's image, perceptible especially in his enthronement, must have been scandalous for some contemporary viewers.

Unfortunately, there are no surviving records of such reactions, and therefore pronouncements on the matter risk amounting to little more than speculation. However, I submit that we possess at least some indirect evidence that the portraits in Gännätä Maryam were met with a degree of opposition. While the loss of a conspicuous portion of early Solomonic art prevents us from reaching definitive conclusions, it is significant that portraits of contemporary figures – whether rulers or holy men – are extremely rare in Christian artworks produced

44 I am grateful to Dr Vitagrazia Pisani for working on this translation within the framework of the ITIESE project (personal communication 1 October 2021). On these images, see also Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, *Les peintures murales*, n. 7; ead., 'The Wall-Paintings in the Church of Mädhane Aläm', p. 28; and Bosc-Tiessé and Derat, *Lalibela, Site Rupestre*, pp. 101-04, who offer a detailed analysis of the interconnection between these images. It cannot be ruled out, though it seems less likely in view of the inscriptions that mention Yəkunno Amlak's patronage, that these two figures played an active role in the church's decorative programme to support their own legitimizing agenda.

45 A later, and still little-understood, conflict between Emperor ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I (r. 1314-44) and some of Ethiopia's most influential monastic groups over his polygamy shows that imperial marital and extra-marital relationships were not exempt from religious and moral condemnation, see Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State*, p. 116. Whereas the case of the Stephanites refusal to bow before images of the Virgin Mary – which admittedly took place over a century after the facts considered here – provides us with some idea of the kinds of religious conflicts that could erupt over the use and content of images; see Steven Kaplan, 'Seeing Is Believing. The Power of Visual Culture in the Religious World of Aşe Zärʿa Yaʿeqob of Ethiopia (1434-1468)', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 32/4 (2002), 403-21; Jacopo Gnisci, 'Cult Images', *Apollo Magazine*, 190/680 (2019), 76-81.

46 Jacopo Gnisci, 'The Liturgical Character of Ethiopian Gospel Illumination of the Early Solomonic Period. A Brief Note on the Iconography of the Washing of the Feet', in *Aethiopia fortitudo ejus. Studi in onore di Monsignor Osvaldo Raineri in occasione del suo 80° compleanno*, ed. by Rafał Zarzeczny, Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 298 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2015), pp. 253-75.

47 For instance, see Jacopo Gnisci, 'Illuminated Leaves from an Ethiopic Gospel Book in the Newark Museum and in the Walters Art Museum', *Manuscript Studies*, 3/2 (2018), 357-82 (p. 379); id., 'Copying, Imitation, and Intermediality in Illuminated Ethiopic Manuscripts from the Early Solomonic Period', in *Illuminating Metalwork: Metal, Object, and Image in Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. by Joseph S. Ackley and Shannon L. Wearing, Sense, Matter, and Medium, 4 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), pp. 129-56; id. and Rafał Zarzeczny, '*They Came*

in the two centuries that followed Yəkunno Amlak's reign.[48] Such a noticeable absence calls for an explanation, the most likely one being that the type of portraits produced for Yəkunno Amlak and Iyäsus Moʾa were not seen as successful precedents worthy of imitation. To further support this hypothesis, let us consider a later portrait of Emperor Dawit II (r. ca 1382-1413) before the Virgin and Child, from a manuscript of the *Miracles of Mary* (Fig. 7). The illustration stands out not only for being practically the only other imperial portrait to survive from the early Solomonic period but also for its depiction of the emperor in submission before Jesus and his mother: he gestures adoration while standing beneath them in garments that lack the gold paint used for decorating theirs.[49] In this way, the portrait adopts a different, and far more humble, approach to representing imperial piety.

In sum, this paper has shown that the imperial portrait of Yəkunno Amlak in Gännätä Maryam was created to support his devotional and political aspirations. It memorializes the emperor as a pious donor in adherence with gift-giving customs of the period, while also signalling his newly acquired status as a ruler – one able to build (or appropriate) monuments on par with those sponsored by his Zagwe predecessors and located near to their political stronghold in Lalibäla. At least in the intention of its patron and makers, the image would sustain the emperor's legitimizing agenda and bolster the standing of the monastic community operative within the church. The portrait is interlinked with the space in which it is situated as well as with the rest of the church's decorative programme. For example, the eastward orientation of the emperor's effigy allows him to gaze in the direction of the sanctuary, while its inscriptions, like those that accompany the other iconic images in the church, entreat acts of reading and commemoration. In this respect, the wall paintings of Gännätä Maryam helped construct a sacred three-dimensional space that enveloped the congregation and brought it into contact with a community of saints. While the church's overall pictorial scheme is ingenious and multi-functional, the decision to show the emperor and some of his family members not as supplicants but as powerful political figures with a right to be visually equated to Christ and the Virgin Mary may have ultimately backfired. This ambitious iconographic solution may have been adopted to meet a need to shore up Yəkunno Amlak's status as a dynastic founder, but the lack of such blatantly panegyrical images in the centuries that followed his reign strongly suggests that this representational approach was not met with widespread approval.

with Their Troops Following a Star from the East. A Codicological and Iconographic Study of an Illuminated Ethiopic Gospel Book', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 83/1 (2017), 127-89 (p. 162).

48 The known examples are those discussed in Chojnacki, *Les portraits des donateurs*; to which one should add the cases discussed in Alessandro Bausi, 'Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 38 (1996), 13-69 (p. 59-62); and Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, 'Le psautier illustré de Belēn Sägäd', in *Imagines medievales. Studier i medeltida ikonografi, arkitektur, skulptur, måleri och konsthantverk*, ed. by Rudolf Zeitler and Jan O. M. Karlsson, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Ars Suetica, 7 (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 1983), 1-46 (p. 21-22). To this list, one should add, as antecedents, the possible portraits of the Zagʷe King Lalibala and his consort described in detail in Claire Bosc-Tiessé, 'Catalogue des autels et meubles d'autel en bois (tābot et manbara tābot) des églises de Lālibalā. Jalons pour une histoire des objets et des motifs', *Annales d'Éthiopie*, 25 (2010), 55-101. There has also been a considerable amount of literature on the significance of portraiture in later periods of Ethiopian history, with some noteworthy contributions such as Earnestine Jenkins, 'Emperor Menilik II and the Art of Manuscript Illumination Politics of Representation 19th Century Ethiopia', *Northeast African Studies*, 18/1-2 (2018), 1-30, which cannot be discussed in detail here.

49 As noted in Gnisci, 'Copying, Imitation, and Intermediality', p. 132.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Actes de Iyasus Moʿa, abbé du Convent de St-Etienne de Ḥayq, ed. and trans. by Stanislas Kur, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 260, Scriptores Aethiopici 50 (Louvain: Peeters, 1965), pp. 19-28.

Secondary Sources

Alessandro Augusto Monti della Corte, *Lalibelà: Le chiese ipogee e monolitiche e gli altri monumenti medievali del Lasta* (Roma: Società italiana arti grafiche, 1940).

Alessandro Bausi, 'I colofoni e le sottoscrizioni dei manoscritti etiopici', in *Colofoni armeni a confronto. Le sottoscrizioni dei manoscritti in ambito armeno e nelle altre tradizioni scrittorie del mondo mediterraneo. Atti del colloquio internazionale. Bologna, 12-13 ottobre 2012*, ed. by Anna Sirinian, Paola Buzi and Gaga Shurgaia, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 299 (Rome: Pontificio Istitutio Orientale, 2016), 233-60.

Alessandro Bausi, 'Kings and Saints. Founders of Dynasties, Monasteries and Churches in Christian Ethiopia', in *Stifter und Mäzene und ihre Rolle in der Religion. Von Königen, Mönchen, Vordenkern und Laien in Indien, China und anderen Kulturen*, ed. by Barbara Schuler (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Publishers, 2013), pp. 161-86.

Alessandro Bausi, 'Un indice dell'Evangelo d'oro di Dabra Libānos (Šemazānā, Akkala Guzāy, Eritrea)', *Aethiopica*, 10 (2007), 81-91.

Alessandro Bausi, 'Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea: Parte terza', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 41 (1998), 13-56.

Alessandro Bausi, 'Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 38 (1996), 13-69.

Alicia Walker, *The Emperor and the World. Exotic Elements and the Imaging of Middle Byzantine Imperial Power, Ninth to Thirteenth Centuries C.E.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Anaïs Wion, 'Onction des malades, funérailles et commemorations. Pour une histoire des textes et des pratiques liturgiques en Éthiopie chrétienne', *Afriques. Débats, méthodes et terrains d'histoire*, 3 (2011), https://doi.org/10.4000/afriques.921.

André Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin: Recherches sur l'art officiel de l'Empire d'Orient* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'université de Strasbourg 75) (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1936).

Antony Eastmond, 'Textual Icons. Viewing Inscriptions in Medieval Georgia', in *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World*, ed. by Antony Eastmond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 76-98.

Antony Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1998).

Art and Text in Byzantine Culture, ed. by Liz James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Blair Priday, Stephen Rickerby and Lisa Shekede, 'Saving Tigray's Painted Churches', *Minerva* (2021), 32-39.

Brian Clark, *Landscape Formation Processes and Archaeological Preservation in the Ethiopian Highlands. A Case Study from the Lalibela Region* (doctoral thesis, Rice University, Houston, TX, 2015).

Carlo Conti Rossini, 'Tre Piccoli Testi Etiopici', *Rivista degli studi orientali*, 23/1 (1948), 46-51.

Carlo Conti Rossini, 'L'evangelo d'oro di Dabra Libānos', *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. 5a/10 (1901), 177-219.

Christina Maranci, 'Building Churches in Armenia. Art at the Borders of Empire and the Edge of the Canon', *The Art Bulletin*, 88/4 (2006), 656-75.

Claire Bosc-Tiessé, 'Catalogue des autels et meubles d'autel en bois (tābot et manbara tābot) des églises de Lālibalā. Jalons pour une histoire des objets et des motifs', *Annales d'Éthiopie*, 25 (2010), 55-101.

Claire Bosc-Tiessé, 'Sainteté et intervention royale au monastère Saint-Étienne de Ḥayq au tournant du XIIIe et du XIVe siècle. L'image de Iyasus Moʾa dans son Évangile', *Oriens Christianus*, 94 (2010), 199-227.

Claire Bosc-Tiessé and Marie-Laure Derat, *Lalibela, Site Rupestre Chrétien d'Éthiopie* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Midi, 2019).

Claire Bosc-Tiessé and Marie-Laure Derat, 'De la mort à la fabrique du saint dans l'Éthiopie médiévale et moderne', *Afriques [Online]*, 3 (2011) https://doi.org/10.4000/afriques.1076.

Claude Lepage, 'Peintures Murales de Ganata Maryam (Rapport Préliminaire)', *Documents Pour Servir à l'histoire de La Civilisation Éthiopienne*, 6 (1975), 59-83.

Craig Clunas, *Screen of Kings: Royal Art and Power in Ming China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013).

David R. Buxton and Derek H. Matthews, 'The Reconstruction of Vanished Aksumite Buildings', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici,* 25 (1971), 53-77.

David R. Buxton, 'I.—The Christian Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia', *Archaeologia*, 92 (1947), 1-42.

David W. Phillipson, *Ancient Churches of Ethiopia. Fourth-Fourteenth Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

Donald Crummey, *Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia. From the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century* (Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

Earnestine Jenkins, 'Emperor Menilik II and the Art of Manuscript Illumination Politics of Representation 19th Century Ethiopia', *Northeast African Studies*, 18/1-2 (2018), 1-30.

Emperors and Emperorship in Late Antiquity: Images and Narratives, ed. by María P. G. Ruiz and Alberto J. Q. Puertas (Leiden: Brill, 2021).

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, 'The Wall-Paintings in the Sanctuary of the Church of Gännätä Maryam near Lalibäla', in *Orbis Aethiopicus: Ethiopian Art – a Unique Cultural Heritage and Modern Challenge*, ed. by Walter Raunig and Asfa-Wossen Asserate, Nubica et Aethiopica 10 (Lublin: Marie Skłodowska University Press, 2007), pp. 120-35.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, 'The Wall-Paintings in the Church of Mädhane Aläm near Lalibäla', *Africana Bulletin*, 52 (2004), 9-29.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska and Michael Gervers, 'The Church of Yəmrähannä Krəstos and Its Wall-Paintings: A Preliminary Report', *Africana Bulletin*, 49 (2001), 9-47.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, 'Les peintures murales de l'église rupestre éthiopienne Gännätä Maryam près Lalibela', *Arte medievale*, 12-13 (1998-99), 193-209.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, 'Le psautier illustré de Belēn Sägäd', in *Imagines medievales. Studier i medeltida ikonografi, arkitektur, skulptur, måleri och konsthantverk*, ed. by Rudolf Zeitler and Jan O. M. Karlsson, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Ars Suetica 7 (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 1983), 1-46.

Georg Gerster, *Churches in Rock: Early Christian Art in Ethiopia* (London: Phaidon Press, 1970).

Getatchew Haile, 'The Marginal Notes in the Abba Gärima Gospels', *Aethiopica*, 19 (2017), 7-26.

Getachew Haile, 'The Cause of the Ǝsṭifanosites. A Fundamentalist Sect in the Church of Ethiopia', *Paideuma*, 29 (1983), 93-119.

Giafrancesco Lusini, 'Scritture Documentarie Etiopiche (Dabra Deḫuḫān e Dabṛa Ṣegē, Sarā'ē, Eritrea)', *Rassegna Di Studi Etiopici*, 42 (1998), 5-55.

Gianfrancesco Lusini, *Studi sul monachesimo eustaziano (secoli XIV-XV)*, Studi Africanistici, Serie Etiopica, 3 (Naples: Ist. Universitario Orientale, 1993).

Gianfranco Fiaccadori, 'Bisanzio e il regno di ʾAksum. Sul manoscritto Martini etiop. 5 della Biblioteca Forteguerriana di Pistoia', *Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano di Parma*, 7 (1993), 161-99.

Henry Maguire, *The Icons of Their Bodies. Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

Jacopo Gnisci, 'Copying, Imitation, and Intermediality in Illuminated Ethiopic Manuscripts from the Early Solomonic Period', in *Illuminating Metalwork: Metal, Object, and Image in Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. by Joseph S. Ackley and Shannon L. Wearing, Sense, Matter, and Medium 4 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), pp. 129-56.

Jacopo Gnisci, 'Constructing Kingship in Early Solomonic Ethiopia. The David and Solomon Miniatures in the Juel-Jensen Psalter', *The Art Bulletin*, 102/4 (2020), 7-36.

Jacopo Gnisci, 'Cult Images', *Apollo Magazine*, 190/680 (2019), 76-81.

Jacopo Gnisci, 'Illuminated Leaves from an Ethiopic Gospel Book in the Newark Museum and in the Walters Art Museum', *Manuscript Studies*, 3/2 (2018), 357-82.

Jacopo Gnisci, 'The Liturgical Character of Ethiopian Gospel Illumination of the Early Solomonic Period. A Brief Note on the Iconography of the Washing of the Feet', in *Aethiopia fortitudo ejus. Studi in onore di Monsignor Osvaldo Raineri in occasione del suo 80° compleanno*, ed. by Rafał Zarzeczny, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 298 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2015), pp. 253-75.

Jacopo Gnisci and Massimo Villa, 'Evidence for the History of Early Solomonic Ethiopia from Tämben Part II: Abba Yoḥanni', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, (forthcoming).

Jacopo Gnisci and Rafał Zarzeczny, '*They Came with Their Troops Following a Star from the East*. A Codicological and Iconographic Study of an Illuminated Ethiopic Gospel Book', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 83/1 (2017), 127-89.

Jacques Mercier, 'Peintures du XIIIe siècle dans une église de l'Angot (Éthiopie)', *Annales d'Éthiopie*, 18 (2002), 143-48.

Jacques Mercier, *Vierges d'Éthiopie* (Montpellier: Archange Minotaure, 2004).

Jacques Mercier and Claude Lepage, *Lalibela, Wonder of Ethiopia: The Monolithic Churches and their Treasures* (London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2012).

Lino Bianchi Barriviera, 'Le Chiese in roccia di Lalibelà e di altri luoghi del Lasta', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 19 (1963), 5-118.

Madeleine Schneider, 'Deux actes de donation en arabe', *Annales d'Éthiopie*, 8 (1970), 79-87.

Manfred Kropp, '«... der Welt gestorben». Ein Vertrag zwischen dem äthiopischen Heiligen Iyyäsus-Mo'a und König Yəkunno-Amlak über Memoriae im Kloster Ḥayq', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 116/3-4 (1998), 303-30.

Marie-Laure Derat, *L'énigme d'une dynastie sainte et usurpatrice dans le royaume chrétien d'Éthiopie du XI*[e] *au XIII*[e] *siècle*, Hagiologia 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).

Marie-Laure Derat, 'Les donations du roi Lālibalā. Éléments pour une géographie du royaume chrétien d'Éthiopie au tournant du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle', *Annales d'Éthiopie*, 25 (2010), 19-42.

Marie-Laure Derat, *Le domaine des rois éthiopiens, 1270-1527. Espace, pouvoir et monachisme* (Paris: Sorbonne Editions, 2003).

Marilyn E. Heldman and Monica S. Devens, 'The Four Gospels of Däbrä Mäʿar. Colophon and Note of Donation', in *Varia Aethiopica. In Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943-2005)*, ed. by Denis Nosnitsin, *Scrinium*. Revue de patrologie, d'hagiographie critique et d'histoire ecclésiastique 1 (Piscataway, NJ: Georgias Press, 2009), pp. 77-9.

Marilyn E. Heldman, 'Gännätä Maryam', in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. by Siegbert Uhlig (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Publishers, 2005), II, pp. 692-3.

Marilyn E. Heldman, 'Wise Virgins in the Kingdom of Heaven. A Gathering of Saints in a Medieval Ethiopian Church', *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, 19/2 (2000), 6-12.

Marilyn E. Heldman, 'Creating Religious Art: The Status of Artisans in Highland Christian Ethiopia', *Aethiopica*, 1 (1998), 131-47.

Marilyn E. Heldman, *The Marian Icons of the Painter Frē Ṣeyon. A Study in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage, and Spirituality*, Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 6 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Publishers, 1994).

Marilyn E. Heldman, 'Architectural Symbolism, Sacred Geography and the Ethiopian Church', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 22/3 (1992), 222-41.

Marilyn E. Heldman and Getachew Haile, 'Who Is Who in Ethiopia's Past, Part III. Founders of Ethiopia's Solomonic Dynasty', *Northeast African Studies*, 9/1 (1987), 1-11.

Michael Camille, 'Seeing and Reading. Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', *Art History*, 8/1 (1985), 26-49.

Neal Sobania and Raymond Silverman, 'Patrons and Artists in Highland Ethiopia. Contemporary Practice in the Commissioning of Religious Painting and Metalwork', in *Proceedings of the XVth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Hamburg July 20-25, 2003*, ed. by Siegbert Uhlig, Maria Bulakh and Denis Nosnitsin, Aethiopistische Forschungen 65 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Publishers, 2006), pp. 469-77.

Paul Dilley, 'Dipinti in Late Antiquity and Shenoute's Monastic Federation. Text and Image in the Paintings of the Red Monastery', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 165 (2008), 111-28.

Peter Low, '*You Who Once Were Far Off*. Enlivening Scripture in the Main Portal at Vézelay', *The Art Bulletin*, 85/3 (2003), 469-89.

Riccardo Pizzinato, 'Vision and Christomimesis in the Ruler Portrait of the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram', *Gesta*, 57/2 (2018), 145-70.

Robert Beylot, 'Sur quelques hétérodoxes éthiopiens. Estifanos, Abakerazun, Gabra Masih, Ezra', *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 201/1 (1984), 25-36.

Robert S. Nelson, 'Image and Inscription. Pleas for Salvation in Spaces of Devotion', in *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*, ed. by Liz James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 100-119.

Roger Sauter, 'Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie', *Annales d'Éthiopie*, 5/1 (1963), 235-92.

Stanislaw Chojnacki, 'Les portraits des donateurs comme sources de l'histoire politique, religieuse et culturelle de l'Éthiopie du XIIe au XIXe siècle', in *Äthiopien gestern und heute. Akten der 1. Tagung der Orbis Aethiopicus Gesellschaft zur Erhaltung und Förderung der äthiopischen Kultur*, ed. by Piotr O. Scholz, Nubica et Aethiopica 4-5 (Warsaw: Zaś Pan, 1999), 621-47.

Stanislaw Chojnacki, 'Les trois hébreux dans la fournaise. Une enquête iconographique dans la peinture éthiopienne', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 35 (1991), 13-40.

Stanislaw Chojnacki, *Major Themes in Ethiopian Painting. Indigenous Developments, the Influence of Foreign Models, and Their Adaptation from the 13th to the 19th Century*, Äthiopistische Forschungen 10 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1983).

Steven Kaplan, 'Hagiographies and the History of Medieval Ethiopia', in *Languages and Cultures of Eastern Christianity: Ethiopian, The Worlds of Eastern Christianity, 300-1500*, ed. by Alessandro Bausi (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 389-98.

Steven Kaplan, 'Seeing Is Believing. The Power of Visual Culture in the Religious World of Aşe Zärʿa Yaʿeqob of Ethiopia (1434-1468)', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 32/4 (2002), 403-421.

Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia, 1270-1527* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

Taddesse Tamrat, 'The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq 1248-1535', *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, 8/1 (1970), 87-117.

Tania C Tribe, 'The Word in the Desert. The Wall-Paintings of Debra Maryam Korkor (Ger'alta, Tigray)', in *Ethiopia in Broader Perspective: Papers of the XIIIth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Kyoto, 12-17 December 1997*, ed. by Katsuyoshi Fukui, Eisei Kurimoto and Masayoshi Shigeta (Kyoto: Shokado, 1997), III, pp. 35-61.

Tom Boylston, '*And Unto Dust Shalt Thou Return*. Death and the Semiotics of Remembrance in an Ethiopian Orthodox Christian Village', *Material Religion*, 11/3 (2015), 281-302.

Verena Krebs, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship, Craft, and Diplomacy with Latin Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021).

Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World, ed. by Antony Eastmond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Vitagrazia Pisani, 'ʾAbbā Salāmā and His Role of Commissioner of the Gəbra Ḥəmāmāt. An Additional Evidence from Two Witnesses from Təgrāy, Northern Ethiopia', *COMSt Bulletin*, 5 (2019), 129-50.

William J. Diebold, 'Verbal, Visual, and Cultural Literacy in Medieval Art. Word and Image in the Psalter of Charles the Bald', *Word & Image*, 8/2 (1992), 89-99.

ANTONY EASTMOND

Staging as Metaphor
The King's Body and the Theatricality of Power

Introduction: Staging as Metaphor

Scholarship has devoted much attention to the king's body, exploring its duality and the ways in which it embodied and performed power.[1] Still largely overlooked is the question of how the body was 'staged', and it is this theatrical metaphor that I will analyse in this paper: staging as a construct for thinking about the presentation and display of royalty and power. The paper has three parts: to consider the mechanics of staging and how this is evident in texts and art; to consider the role of the audience, an essential element of any such production; and finally to consider some of the implications that lie behind the metaphor of staging and their impact on our understanding of the expression of power through the body of the ruler.

The concept of staging is taken from the world of drama and the spectacle and is thus inextricably linked to ideas of theatricality.[2] The term 'theatrical' has both a literal meaning of being related to performance and a metaphorical meaning of something artificial, assumed, or imitated. The first definition asks us to consider the mechanisms of display: how the king was made present and what role the physical world and the external environment played in bringing the royal body to life and ascribing it power and authority. This concerns not only the actual body of the ruler but also its portrayals in art, as well as the requirements and expectations that accompany both forms of representation.

The second, metaphorical meaning points to the fact that a staging is something manufactured and put on, something arranged and displayed. Theatricality therefore centres on the artificiality of the ways in which the king's body was presented and viewed. This artificiality is rooted in social constructs, and the theatrical occurs 'when behaviour is not natural or spontaneous, but composed according to rhetorical or authenticating conventions, to achieve

1 The key theoretical text remains Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957), which has inspired a whole industry, see: Christina Antenhofer, 'The Concept of the Body of the King in Kantorowicz's *The King's Two Bodies*', in *The Body of the King. The Staging of the Body of the Institutional Leader from Antiquity to Middle Ages in East and West*, ed. by Giovanni-Battista Lanfranchi and Robert Rollinger, History of the Ancient Near East / Monographs, 16 (Padua: SARGON Editrice e Libreria, 2016), pp. 1-23; Sergio Bertelli, *The King's Body. Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2001).

2 In what follows I return to the notions of theatricality in: Elizabeth Burns, *Theatricality. A Study of Convention in the Theatre and in Social Life* (London: Longman, 1972).

 DOI 10.1484/M.HMSAH-EB.5.135007. This is an open access chapter made available under a CC BY-NC 4.0 International License.

a particular effect on its viewers'.[3] Theatricality has to be understood in terms of the existing expectations of the society for which and in which it was created. The actions or rituals to be witnessed lie outside those norms even if, as with the Eucharist or the repeating annual cycle of imperial processions in Constantinople, they occur regularly. Much recent literature on imperial ritual has focused on notions of performance and performativity: the ways in which the acting out of rituals creates meaning. However, I am primarily concerned with our understanding of the metaphor itself.

We must also bear in mind that, in every case, our record of a given mise-en-scène comes second hand – either through texts or through images that present rulers to medieval and modern viewers.[4] This necessarily imposes a filter on the event and projects it through the perspective of the writer, artist, or commissioner. To be successful, staging needed the complicity of its audience, and all parties had to understand and agree on the rules and conventions by which it operated. Its outcomes could not, therefore, be guaranteed. Where the body was staged outside expectations, it failed to achieve its aims, often with disastrous consequences for the emperor.[5] Equally, rituals could be perverted by opponents to undermine rulers.

This paper will primarily focus on the early Byzantine Empire, but its issues concern the whole medieval world. Staging was required even in royal cultures whose vision of the king ostensibly eschewed ritual. Jean de Joinville's story of Louis IX of France (r. 1226-70) dispensing justice under an oak tree in the woods at Vincennes is presented as exemplary of a kingdom free of the restrictive trappings of formal procedure and ceremonial: an informal king who is accessible to all. Yet, of course, this image is just as staged as the grand processions and rituals of the Byzantine world, and its effectiveness relied on the way it played against those other conventions and expectations of royal remoteness and inaccessibility.[6]

Staging and Theatricality

It is easy to map an idea of staging onto the public display of all medieval rulers. However, it seems particularly appropriate for Byzantine emperors, the most magnificent actors of power in the medieval Mediterranean.

From its foundation in the early fourth century, Constantinople had been designed explicitly as the backdrop to imperial spectacle. This function was evident in the planning of the city's streets and the regular intervals at which major fora, monuments, and churches were positioned, all enhancing and providing a setting for the various scenes in the imperial

3 Josette Féral, 'Theatricality: Foreword', *SubStance*, 31/2-3 (2002), p. 6.

4 Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

5 Antony Eastmond, 'An Intentional Error? Imperial Art and "Mis"-Interpretation under Andronikos I Komnenos', *Art Bulletin*, 76 (1994), pp. 502-10.

6 Jean de Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. by Jacques Monfrin (Paris: Garnier, 1995), p. 30: §59-60; trans. by Margaret R.B. Shaw, *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), p. 177.

play.[7] The mass import of monuments and sculptures from the fourth to sixth centuries underlined the artificiality of this all-enveloping stage set.[8] The triangular layout of the city ensured that processions had an apparently natural narrative structure, with geographic and topographic features narrowing attention onto the imperial quarter around Hagia Sophia, the Augustaion, the Hippodrome, and the buildings of the Great Palace where the majority of spectacles reached their climax.

The halls, porticos, and spaces of the Great Palace provided a venue for imperial stagings on a more intimate and concentrated, but no less splendid, scale. *De ceremoniis* (The Book of Ceremonies), compiled by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (r. 913-959), provides descriptions of the rooms and their functions that are invaluable for understanding how they were (intended to be) used to structure the court and to frame the life of the emperor.[9] It is the most comprehensive set of stage directions to survive from the Middle Ages.[10] The text effectively provided a model script and instructions that could orchestrate movement and speeches and establish the means by which the ultimate goal of the mise-en-scène was to be achieved. Its compilation of texts from the sixth century (Peter the Patrician) to the ninth (Philotheos) to those compiled for Constantine VII himself in the tenth century shows the longevity of the concept of staging in Byzantium; this can be extended into the fourteenth century with the work of Pseudo-Kodinos.[11] Providing models through which imperial virtues could be enacted, these imperial texts sat alongside the liturgies of the Church as well as the books of the Bible.[12]

From the emperor's birth in the *porphyra*, the imperial birth chamber 'set aside long ago for an empress's confinement',[13] to his death, when his body was to be laid out in the Hall of the Nineteen Couches before being taken for burial, the palace buildings provided specific spaces for each event.[14] In the interim, the actions for each day were set out in the annual litany of rituals and services, whether unique occurrences, such as the first haircut of the emperor's son and heir and services for marriage and coronation, or the regularly occurring annual cycle of receptions, meetings, and feasts. However, we must beware of regarding the rituals as static

7 Cyril Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople: IVe-VIIe siècles* (Paris: Boccard, 1990); Cyril Mango, 'The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 54 (2000), pp. 161-72; Franz Alto Bauer, 'Urban Space and Ritual: Constantinople in Late Antiquity', *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia,* 15 (2001), pp. 63-76; Albrecht Berger, 'Imperial and Ecclesiastical Processions in Constantinople', in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography, and Everyday Life*, ed. Nevra Necipoğlu, The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies, and Cultures, 400-1453, 33 (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill 2001), pp. 73-87.

8 Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

9 Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *The Book of Ceremonies* (*including Greek text of Johann-Jakob Reiske*), *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae*, trans. by Ann Moffatt and Maxene Tall, Byzantina Australiensia, 18 (Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2012).

10 For an example of how it worked: J. Michael Featherstone, 'Δι' ἔνδειξιν: Display in Court Ceremonial (*De Ceremoniis* II, 15)', in *The Material and the Ideal. Essays in Medieval Art and Archaeology in Honour of Jean-Michel Spieser*, ed. by Anthony Cutler and Arietta Papaconstantinou (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2007), pp. 75-112.

11 *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies*, ed. and trans. by Ruth Macrides, Dimiter Angelov and Joseph Munitiz, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs, 15 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

12 Most notably David as a model for imperial virtue and action: Henry Maguire, 'The Art of Comparing in Byzantium', *Art Bulletin,* 70/1 (1988), pp. 93-94; Anthony Cutler, 'The Psalter of Basil II', *Arte Veneta* 30 (1976), 9-19 (pp. 13-14), is more circumspect.

13 A. Komnena, *Anna Comnène: Alexiade*, ed. by Bernard Leib (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1937-76) p. 6. vii; trans. by Edgar R.A. Sewter, *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), p. 196.

14 Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *The Book of Ceremonies*, II.23.

and unchanging. The *Book of Ceremonies* was a record, not a prescriptive text. The ceremonies themselves were adaptive, continually changing and evolving to suit the needs of their time.[15]

The overlap of so many imperial stagings with church services blurred the edges between secular and religious power, adding to the semi-sacral nature of imperial authority in the Byzantine world.[16] Emperors' privileged position enabled them to participate in the other great staging of the medieval world, the celebration of the Eucharist. This is now most apparent in the imperial panels in San Vitale, Ravenna, where the imperial couple present the paten and chalice, and shows how the auras accrued from secular and religious ceremonies cross-fertilized.[17]

Ideas of drama – of revelation and concealment – are central to theatricality: to create a sense of anticipation that will draw in viewers while also engaging, overwhelming, and awing them. The *Book of Ceremonies* constantly revolves around these moments of apparition, concealment, and transformation. To take just one example, the emperor was revealed to his patricians and *strategoi* on the Feast of the Hypapante by an *ostiarios* raising a curtain in the Hall of Anastasios in Blachernai Palace.[18] They were just as important in the Islamic world: the 'draped universe' conjured up by Lisa Golombek served to structure encounters with caliphs and sultans, defining inclusions and exclusions.[19]

The centrality of revelation to the drama of the imperial body is evident from the first centuries of Byzantium. Curtains appear as background details in many imperial depictions. However, they would perhaps better be regarded as indicators of time and movement: they signify the instant of revelation. On the so-called Ariadne ivories and on a number of consular diptychs, for example, much care was taken in depicting the curtains.[20] On the ivory of an empress in Vienna, carved in c.500, the features include the rod and rings from which the textile hangs; the degree of undercutting entailed in this required great artistic skill. The curtains have been pulled back to frame the empress's head and are neatly tied around the columns that mark the limits of the stage to either side (Fig. 1).[21] The artist also paid close attention to the material, texture, and decoration of the textiles. We are given a sense of their weight, their smoothness, and their golden embroidered design, from which we can intuit luxury and rarity – all accentuated by the expense of the material from which they were carved. The ivories embody the theatricality of the event: they dramatize the appearance of the ruler, whether empress or consul, at a moment of revelation.

Transformation was as important as revelation. During the Feast of the Hypapante, the raised curtain displayed the ruler transformed in appearance, as during his moment of

15 Averil Cameron, 'The construction of court ritual: the Byzantine Book of Ceremonies', in *Rituals of Royalty. Power and ceremonial in traditional societies*, ed. by David Cannadine and Simon R.F. Price (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 106-36.

16 Juan Matéos, *Le typicon de la Grande Église*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 165-66 (Paris, 1962-63). For religious processions: Gilbert Dagron, *Emperor and priest: the imperial office in Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 84-114.

17 Otto von Simson, *Sacred Fortress. Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), pp. 27-31.

18 Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *The Book of Ceremonies*, p. 149: I:27.

19 Lisa Golombek, 'The Draped Universe of Islam', in *Content and Context of the Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, ed. by Priscilla Soucek and Carol Bier (University Park, PA, and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988), pp. 25-50.

20 Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, 2nd edition, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum zu Mainz. Katalog, 7 (Mainz: L. Wilckens, 1952), cats. 2, 3, 36, 51, 52, 54, 62, 64, 66, 68.

21 Diliana Angelova, 'The Ivories of Ariadne and Ideas about Female Imperial Authority in Rome and Early Byzantium', *Gesta*, 43/1 (2004), pp. 1-16, with earlier literature.

✦ Fig. 1
Ivory relief of an empress. The 'Ariadne ivory', c.500. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. Antikensammlung, X 39. 26.5 × 12.7 × 1.9cm.

concealment he had changed into the imperial chlamys.[22] Imperial robes could even gain their own status. In *On Buildings*, Procopius reports that a tunic worn by Justinian (r. 527-565) became soaked with sanctified oil that flowed out of a reliquary of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste while the emperor held the object on his lap.[23] The robe was thereafter preserved in the Great Palace, being staged on its own account 'partly as a testimony to what occurred at that time, and also as a source of healing for those who in the future are assailed by any incurable disease'. But there is an interesting blurring about the source of the tunic's miraculous properties: is it that it was a textile saturated with martyrs' oil, or is it that it was a robe that had been worn by the emperor?

Some aspects of imperial power were even more self-consciously theatrical, employing all the tricks of spectacle to make the emperor appear superhuman, once again with the aim of manifesting physically the qualities with which he was invested at his coronation. The most celebrated example of this is Liutprand of Cremona's record of his experience coming into the imperial presence of Constantine VII in 949 as ambassador of Berengar II, ruler of Italy (r. 950-961):

> In front of the emperor's throne was set up a tree of gilded bronze, its branches filled with birds, likewise made of bronze gilded over, and these emitted cries appropriate to their species. Now the emperor's throne was made in such a cunning manner that at one moment it was down on the ground, while at another it rose higher and was to be seen up in the air. This throne was of immense size and was, as it were, guarded by lions, made either of bronze or wood covered with gold, which struck the ground with their tails and roared with open mouth and quivering tongue. Leaning on the shoulders of two eunuchs, I was brought into the emperor's presence. As I came up the lions began to roar and the birds to twitter, each according to its kind, but I was moved neither by fear nor astonishment [...]. After I had done obeisance to the emperor by prostrating myself three times, I lifted my head, and behold! the man whom I had just seen sitting at a moderate height from the ground had now changed his vestments and was sitting as high as the ceiling of the hall. I could not think how this was done, unless perhaps he was lifted up by some such machine as is used for raising the timbers of a wine press.[24]

The many elements here – machines that could move and make noises,[25] fast costume changes, and mechanically shifting furniture and props – were all taken from the worlds of the ancient theatre and the circus.[26] They gained their efficacy through their technological complexity,

22 Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *The Book of Ceremonies*, p. 149: I:27.

23 Procopius, *On Buildings*, trans. by Henry B. Dewing (London: W. Heinemann, 1954), pp. 1, 7, 15-16.

24 Liutprand of Cremona, *Liudprandi Cremonensis Antapodosis; Homelia paschalis; Historia Ottonis; Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana*, ed. by Paolo Chiesa, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 156 (Turnhout, 1998); trans. by Frederick Adam Wright, *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona: Antapodosis; Liber de Rebus Gestis Ottonis; Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana*, (London: George Routledge, 1930), p. 153; James Trilling, 'Daedalus and the Nightingale: Art and Technology in the Myth of the Byzantine Court', in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. by Henry Maguire (Washington, DC: Harvard University Press, 1997), pp. 221-30.

25 Or the mechanics of those described in Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *The Book of Ceremonies*, II.15, see: Gerard Brett, 'The Automata in the Byzantine "Throne of Solomon"', *Speculum*, 29/3 (1954), pp. 477-87.

26 Graham Ley, 'A material world: costume, properties and scenic effects', in *The Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Theatre*, ed. by Marianne McDonald and J. Michael Walton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 268-85; Alan Hughes, *Performing Greek Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 76-80. For the lifts and other devices used in the arena: *The Colosseum*,

which engaged Liutprand in a kind of psychological warfare designed both to entrance him and to make him recognize his inferiority. It was 'a display of artistry explicable only in magical terms'.[27] The complexity of design and manufacture, and Liutprand's inability to explain how the effects were achieved placed the experience outside his everyday knowledge and thus moved it into a new realm; the inadequacy of his imagination to explain it only heightened the encounter.

Depictions of imperial stagings in Byzantine art draw on all the elements outlined above. These images are not merely representations: they are imbued with the same powers as the rulers depicted. As early as 394, we have reference to imperial images being 'consecrated' rather than simply painted or erected, and the ideology of imperial images had long given them the same status as the emperor himself.[28] As the Vienna ivory shows, theatricality is central to their structure. This is equally evident in the imperial panels at San Vitale,[29] produced around the same time (Figs. 2, 3). These play on the ambiguity between the artificiality of the stage and the reality of power. In the Justinian panel, the figures are framed on a stage, raised above the audience, the congregation in the church. The stage's limits are established by the bejewelled columns to either side, and its depth is hinted at by the brown-grey columns in shadow behind them. Above the actors rests an entablature whose perspective is centred on the figure of Justinian to focus all attention on the emperor. The apparent reality of the image is paired with an element of artifice. The figures' solidity is undercut by the background, where the green ground at the actors' feet is transformed into a transcendent, dematerialized gold behind their heads. It is a reminder of the two worlds at play. Reality and artifice recur in the mixture of facial types in both panels. Some are generalized, others individualized, echoing the division between the lead actors and the chorus in the theatre. The variety of faces also invites viewers to speculate as to their identities and relationships. The later insertion of the name of Maximian and of the additional figure to the emperor's left only heightens the desire to associate names with the other faces, a game art historians have been unable to resist.[30]

The uncertain staging allows for other ambiguities: Justinian's arms are shown in front of Maximian's body, but his feet appear to be behind Maximian's (and decisively in front of those of the official to his right), suggesting his position behind the clerics in a procession into the church. Sarah Bassett has compared the Justinian panel to the performance of rhetoric – a verbal staging of the king's body.[31]

ed. by Ada Gabucci (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2001), pp. 127-60.

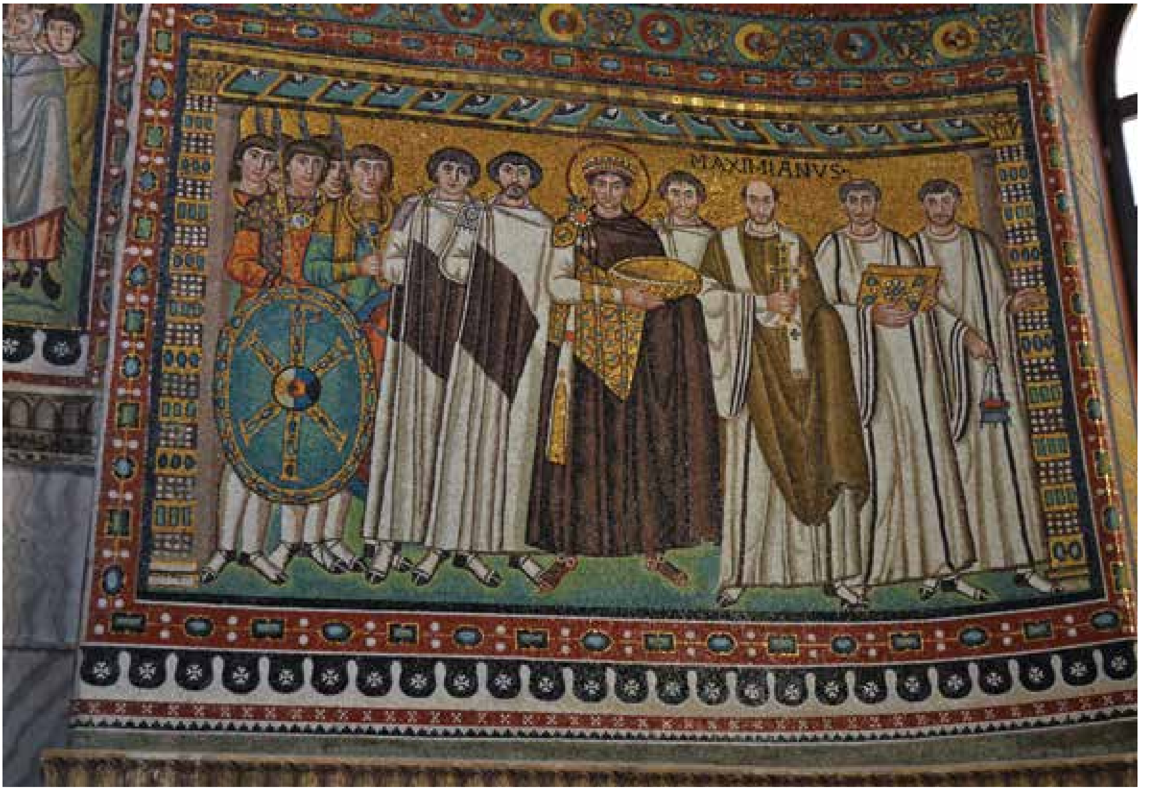
27 Alfred Gell, 'The technology of enchantment and the enchantment of technology', in *Anthropology, Art and Aesthetics*, ed. by Jeremy Coote and Anthony Shelton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 40-63. For a recent critique: Brigitte Derlon and Monique Jeudy-Ballini, 'The Theory of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Theory: the Art of Alfred Gell', *Oceania*, 80/2 (2010), pp. 129-42.

28 *The Codex of Justinian. A New Annotated Translation, with Parallel Latin and Greek Text*, ed. and trans. by Fred H. Blume (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016) 3: 2713: XI, 40, 4 'Si qua in publicis porticibus vel in his civitatum locis, in quibus nostrae solent imagines consecrari […] '; Antony Eastmond, 'Between Icon and Idol: the uncertainty of imperial images', in *Icon and Word. The Power of Images in Byzantium. Studies presented to Robin Cormack*, ed. by Antony Eastmond and Liz James (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 73-85.

29 Irina Andreescu Treadgold and Warren Treadgold, 'Procopius and the Imperial Panels of S. Vitale', *Art Bulletin*, 79/4 (1997), pp. 712-18. Their identifications of alterations to the panel in sixth and tenth/eleventh centuries do not alter the interpretation presented here.

30 Andreescu Treadgold and Treadgold, 'Procopius and the Imperial Panels', pp. 713-20, for the latest attempt to identify the individuals.

31 Sarah Bassett, 'Style and Meaning in the Imperial Panels at San Vitale', *Artibus et Historiae,* 29/57 (2008), pp. 49-57.



✦ Fig. 2
Justinian and his court. North side of the apse, San Vitale, Ravenna, 547 (Photo: David Hendrix/The Byzantine Legacy).

✦ Fig. 3
Theodora and her court. South side of the apse, San Vitale, Ravenna, 547 (Photo: David Hendrix/The Byzantine Legacy).

✦ Fig. 4
Theodosios I and his court in the kathisma.
South-east face of the base of the obelisk of Thutmosis III,
Hippodrome, Constantinople (Istanbul), 399
(Photo: Antony Eastmond).

The setting displayed in the Theodora panel is even more enigmatic. It is also framed by jewelled columns, but the space for the actors is ambiguous. The niche that amplifies Theodora's halo floats above her head, and has no base. The textiles in this scene also disorient the viewer. The hanging curtain above the female attendants undercuts the gold ground behind them: what would elevate them into a different sphere is brought down to earth. More significantly, the curtain pushed aside by the eunuch at the left end of the panel opens up into an empty, black space, revealing nothing to the audience of what lies beyond the doorway that the procession is about to enter.[32] The scene combines the imperial majesty of stasis with the drama of movement as well as with the anticipation of transformation in the next space/scene.

The two imperial panels are generally considered to depict an imagined production, probably of the Great Entrance at the start of the liturgy. The mosaics are effectively a staging of a staging: they conflate and combine, bringing together people who were never beside one another in Ravenna, conjuring up a myth of imperial power across the empire.

The essential power of the panels lies in the fact that they can broadly be read by viewers. Their line-ups of secular, military, and religious authorities and their interplay of imperial and ecclesiastical ceremonies accord with expectations of imperial power and piety. However, they succeed beyond that by playing with those expectations, introducing elements of uncertainty that tease the audience, drawing them further into the play. The superimposition of the real and the artificial in the images requires the viewer to suspend any distinction between the two; they exploit the theatrical to increase the impact of the real. The later additions and alterations to the Justinian panel only add to those ambiguities, thereby heightening its power.

Audiences and Actors

Perhaps the most important element in the staging of the king's body was the need for the presence of a spectator to witness it. Imperial processions were structured around the opportunity for people to encounter them, and representing such processions in art enabled them to have a perpetual audience. Indeed, the only true way to judge the success of a mise-en-scène was to assess its ability to affect its onlookers. If stagings of the king's body failed to overawe, excite, subdue, or overwhelm beholders, then they were pointless. They needed to bolster support among subjects, to provoke wonder, loyalty, and passion, and, among rivals and enemies, to instil fear, inadequacy, and subservience. These objectives were achieved through all the means outlined so far – the setting, the costume and props, the script and stage directions. The unconscious emotional reaction to the staging was as important as any physical response. The effectiveness of this impact beyond conscious reason lay at the heart of John Chrysostom's distrust of the theatre at the end of the fourth century. His attack on the theatre in his *Homily against those who have abandoned the Church and deserted it for hippodromes and theatres* focused on the involuntary effects of a theatrical experience on the audience: 'How can those who do not refrain from looking on, and on the contrary invest so much energy in watching, remain uncontaminated?'[33] His (relatively easy) target was the actress-prostitutes who appeared in the

32 Sabine MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: UCP, 1981), p. 263, for idea that it is 'the veil […] between this life and the next'.

33 *PG* 56, 263-70, at 266: Ὁ γὰρ τοῦ θεωρῆσαι μὴ κρατῶν, ἀλλὰ τοσαύτην σπουδὴν ὑπὴρ τοῦ τοιούτου τιθέμενος, πῶς μετὰ τὸ θεωρῆσαι δυνήσῃ μένειν ἀκηλίδωτος.

theatre and their ability to use their sex to implant ideas and to inflame passions and desires in their male viewers. Royal stagings had just the same goals, but using other techniques to elicit different emotions.

Chrysostom's invective maintains a distinction between actors and audience, yet in reality, royal stagings achieved much of their success by co-opting the spectators into the acting ensemble. The *Book of Ceremonies* is full of stage directions for the audience as much as the actors. Those in attendance were expected to move with the ruler, to respond to his actions and appearances, and to shout their acclamations at the right moments. These reactions affirmed the power of the ruler, while also making the audience complicit in the conferral of that power. This was a double-edged sword, and the audience could be enticed into taking over the production. This was perhaps clearest during the Nika riots of 532, where the shouts of the rival factions in the hippodrome combined against the emperor Justinian. They exploited the ceremony and changed the script to their own ends, and they almost succeeded in dethroning him (only to be massacred instead).[34]

Equally, the ruler crossed over from an actor to a member of the audience. In the kathisma overlooking the hippodrome, one of the leading sites for the presentation of the ruler, the role of the emperor oscillated between the two. The kathisma was the imperial box from which the emperor witnessed what was ostensibly the 'real' action – the entertainments, games, and races fought out on the track – as an audience member, but its true function was as the stage on which the emperor, as actor, was viewed by the populace. He was present both to see and be seen.[35]

This duality is evident in the reliefs on the base of the obelisk that Theodosios I (r. 379-395) re-erected in 390 at the centre of the hippodrome (Fig. 4). All four images portray the emperor in the kathisma, simultaneously as actor and audience.[36] On the northwest and southeast sides, he appears to be watching a chariot race and the erection of the obelisk of Thutmosis III, but the image is structured for the audience in the hippodrome to view the emperor: the centrality, scale, and frontal pose focus all attention on him. The complexity of the status of the ruler in this set of reliefs is shown by its repetition on the second of the surviving statue bases erected on the spina for Porphyrios the Charioteer at the start of the sixth century.[37] A version of the kathisma scene appears below the principal image on the front of the base that depicts the victorious charioteer in his quadriga, being crowned by Victory. The pairing elides Porphyrios's victories with those of the emperor, indicating that they ultimately derived from and so returned to the emperor.

The blurring of roles between actor and audience was exploited on the consular diptychs of the sixth century. These recognized the power of the theatre both to enhance the depiction of power and to stress the importance of the dual role of the ruler. The Anastasios diptych, dating

34 Procopius, *History of the Wars*, trans. by Henry B. Dewing, (London: W. Heinemann, 1914), I, xxiv.

35 Compare: Robin Cormack, 'The Emperor at St Sophia: Viewer and Viewed', in *Byzance et les images*, ed. by Jannic Durand (Paris: La Documentation française, 1994), pp. 223-54.

36 Bente Kiilerich, *The Obelisk Base in Constantinople: Court Art and Ideology*, Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia, 10 (Rome: G. Bretschneider, 1998).

37 Nezih Fıratlı, *La sculpture byzantine figurée au musée archéologique d'Istanbul*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français d'études anatoliennes d'Istanbul, 30 (Paris: Librairie d'Maérique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve, 1990), pp. 32-34 no. 64; for fuller discussion: Alan Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).

to 517 and housed today in the Cabinet des Médailles at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, shows the consul presiding over the games that marked the start to his year of office (Fig. 5).[38] Each leaf of the diptych pairs the presiding consul with the spectacular: the right leaf shows the dangerous spectacles of unarmed men seeking to evade lions and panthers in the arena, while the left shows a dramatic performance with actors wearing antique theatrical masks, as well as a parade of racing horses. The consul is the most prominent actor, both as the dominant figure on the ivory and as the focus of the audience's attention as he prepares formally to inaugurate the entertainments. It is this moment that the diptychs depict, as the consul raises his right hand, holding the *mappa*, to begin the celebrations. The consul was also, of course, the audience, joining the crowds – represented by the dozen or so much smaller figures – to watch the show. Finally, Anastasios functioned as theatrical director as well: he was the organizer and financer of the events, a fact alluded to on other diptychs by the pouring out of money at the consul's feet[39]. The consul is simultaneously impresario, actor and audience.

The conflation of the roles of actor and audience is ubiquitous in portrayals of rulers. Imperial artworks have a distinct advantage here in the way they can exploit the ambiguity between viewer and viewed and show the dual nature of the ruler as the object of the staging and, at the same time, a participant in it.[40] Returning to the imperial panels at San Vitale, the placement in the apse enabled the royal couple both to look, as congregants, onto the altar of the church where the liturgy was celebrated and to officiate in the service itself.

Artificiality, Illusion, Fiction, and Lies

The ubiquity with which the ruler, and particularly the figure of the consul, was depicted with the trappings of spectacle naturalizes the association between power and theatre. Staging takes the ruler out of the everyday and places him in extraordinary settings requiring viewers to see and understand him in a different way. In my discussion so far I have relied on an underlying acceptance of the artificiality of staging and theatricality, which has been treated in a positive way by scholars to highlight the emperor and to accentuate his position.

However, implicit in the notion of artificiality is the idea of separation: the division of the body of the ruler between his institutional and personal bodies, the political and the natural.[41] Such a division between the imperial and personal bodies had been noted by Liutprand of Cremona in the tenth century. He recounts the story of Emperor Nikephoros Phokas (r. 963-69) travelling round the Great Palace in Constantinople in disguise – dressed in rags – to check on the building's security. One palace guard failed to recognize the emperor and imprisoned him as an intruder; the guard had only ever seen the sovereign at a distance where 'it seemed to me then that I was looking at a wonder of nature rather than at a human being'.[42]

38 Richard Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1929), pp. 131-34: no. 21; Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, pp. 36-7, no. 21; for discussion: Antony Eastmond, 'Consular diptychs, rhetoric and the languages of art in sixth-century Constantinople', *Art History*, 33/5 (2010), pp. 742-65.

39 Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, nos. 6, 15, 31, 33.

40 Compare: Cormack, 'The Emperor at St Sophia', pp. 223-54.

41 Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*.

42 Liudprand of Cremona, *Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana*, Antapodosis, 11 (1915 ed); trans. by Wright, *Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana*, pp. 10-11.

✦ Fig. 5
Ivory consular diptych of Anastasios, 517. Cabinet des Médailles, BnF Inv. 55.296 bis. 36 × 26.7 × 1cm.

For the guard, the expectation that the man-as-ruler would appear superhuman was central to his experience. But the theatricality of the emperor's public display could disguise more worrying things. Staging simultaneously implies another kind of artificiality: that the image of the king that is presented is a fiction, that people are acting and impersonating, that they stand in front of sets, that behind the scenes they revert to being a different person. This is a very different definition of the king's two bodies. It implies a hierarchy of reality between the ruler in public (the fiction) and the ruler in private (the 'real' king revealed once he is off stage). It raises the question of whether the presentation of the king at a solemn, public ritual is distinct from that of the king in private, at the hunt or banquet or among friends. Which represents the truth?

There is evidence that this idea of a separation between the public and private emperor existed in late antiquity, with a presumption that the public face was a façade and that the private face revealed the truth. Augustine lamented in his *Confessions* that 'I was preparing a speech in praise of the Emperor, intending that it should include a great many lies which would certainly be applauded by an audience who knew well enough how far from the truth they were'.[43] One hundred and fifty years later, the effectiveness of the scandalous anecdotes in Procopius's *Secret History* was rooted in a similar notion of the public stage as presenting a fiction. The adoption of a new title for the English version (rather than a literal translation of the Greek, *Anekdota*, 'Not published') confirms that bias, with its suggestion that it contains hidden truths.[44]

The perceived distinction between the ruler's public and private personae follows that espoused by Pliny the Younger at the start of the second century in his *Panegyric* of Trajan (r. 98-117):

> It is a man's pleasures, yes his pleasures, which tell us most about his true worth, his moral excellence and his self-control. No-one is so dissolute that his occupations lack all semblance of seriousness; it is our leisure moments which betray us [...]. One of the chief features of high estate is that it permits us no privacy, no concealment, and in the case of princes, it flings open the door not only to their homes but to their private apartments and deepest retreats; every secret is exposed and revealed to rumour's listening ear.[45]

While Pliny gave this a positive interpretation, suited to the moral strengths of his subject, the emperor Trajan, both Augustine and Procopius inverted it: instead of the good being revealed

43 St Augustine, *Confessions*, ed. by James J. O'Donnell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), book 6, chapter 6: cum pararem recitare imperatori laudes, quibus plura mentirer et mentienti faveretur ab scientibus, easque curas anhelaret cor meum et cogitationum tabificarum febribus aestuaret; trans. by R.S. Pine-Coffin, *St Augustine, Confessions*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961), p. 118; MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*, 1-2, argues against the prejudicial effect of these comments.

44 Anne McClanan, *Representations of Early Byzantine Empresses. Image and Empire* (Basingstoke and New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 107.

45 Pliny the Younger: *Pliny: Letters and Panegyricus in two volumes*, vol. II: Books VIII-X and Panegyricus, ed. and trans. by Betty Radice (Cambridge Mass.: William Heinemann, 1969), pp. 82-83: Voluptates sunt enim voluptates, quibus optime de cuiusque gravitate sanctitate temperantia creditor. Nam quis adeo dissolutus, cuius non occupationibus aliqua species severitatis insideat? Otio prodimur [...] Habet noc primum magna fortuna, quod nihil tectum,

in private, now it was the location for the bad to be made evident. This is a pattern that continued into the tenth century, when the author of the *Vita Basilii* contrasted the public demeanour of the emperor Michael III (r. 842-867) with his scandalous behaviour in private, when he and his close friends dressed up as bishops to parody the liturgy and humiliated the emperor's mother with their scatological and sacrilegious acts.[46]

The stories by Procopius and Theophanes Continuatus are salacious and disarming and appear to undercut the authority of power. However, we need to treat them with caution. The edges between the public and private worlds of rulers was a blurred one: no ruler was ever truly in private. The stories are meant to provide revelatory contrasts undermining the public image. But it could be argued that these other behaviours – as outside the norms of life as any royal ritual – were as much stagings of the royal body as wearing the crown and presiding over palace ceremonies. The audiences that witnessed the events – the rulers' intimates and friends – were more limited and the royal actions very different, but the results were the same. The ruler was still staging his power: who else could mock the empress's mother with impunity? Who else could undertake the acts attributed to the empress Theodora without public censure? The ability to mock with no right of reply was as much a royal attribute as a crown or sceptre. To my mind, these are all stagings of the king's body. Some are more formal than others, and the former is what our evidence tends to focus on, but the informal staging is every bit as important. What a ruler can get away with – how far he can step outside societal norms to behave badly (and survive) – is a key way in which he can demonstrate his status.

The final danger of staging and theatricality as a concept also relates to its artificiality. This is the idea of illusion: that we see people playing a role and that the ruler acts his role rather than embodies it. The very notion of theatricality contains within it an opposition between reality and fiction (the play that is being enacted). Theatricality brings with it a sense of superficiality, a feeling that the display of power is all on the surface, with nothing substantive to support it.

This disquiet lay behind John Chrysostom's arguments against public spectacles.[47] He was concerned about the divide between what one witnessed on stage and what existed in the real world beyond the stage: 'but later, when, the night having fallen, the performance is over and everybody goes home, the mask is dropped and he who inside [the theatre] was a king, may be revealed outside to be a coppersmith'.[48] For Chrysostom, the duality was worrying because of the uncertainty it introduced about the true essence of what was seen. This would equally undermine the status of a royal image: what exactly was the nature of the prototype that the image copied? Chrysostom's concern raises wider questions for us about where we can find the truth in an imperial staging or representation.

nihil occultum esse patitur; principum vero non domus modo sed cubicula ipsa intimosque secessus recludit, omnia que arcana noscenda famae proponit atque explicat.

46 Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographiae que Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur liber quo Vita Basilii imperatoris amplectitur*, ed. and trans. by Ihor Ševčenko, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae (Series Berolinensis), 42 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), pp. 82-90: §21-23.

47 Leonardo Lugaresi, 'Rhetoric against the Theatre and Theatre by Means of Rhetoric in John Chrysostom', in *Rhetorical Strategies in Late Antique Literature. Images, Metatexts and Interpretation*, ed. by Alberto J. Quiroga Puertas, Mnemosyne Supplements: Late Antique Literature, 406 (Leiden and New York, NY: Brill, 2017), pp. 127-48.

48 Chrysostom, *Homilies on Lazarus*, 6:5 (*PG* 48, 1027-44 at 1035): ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἑσπέρα καταλάβῃ, καὶ λυθῇ τὸ θέατρον, καὶ πάντες ἀναχωρήσωσι, ῥίπτονται τὰ προσωπεῖα, καὶ ὁ ἔνδον βασιλεὺς εὑρίσκεται ἔξω χαλκότυπος.᾿

It is at this point that the metaphor of staging is at its weakest, even though modern theories of performativity argue that all insight into reality is mediated through appearance.[49] The metaphor separates out the two bodies of the king and places them in discrete spheres. It also makes the act of staging an act of impersonation and illusion. And this reduces it to a fiction: the staging is no longer an embodiment or acting out of power, it is now detached from it and is simply a representation. However, it could be argued that Byzantine ritual aimed to do the opposite. It was not a layer imposed on the natural body of the ruler to present it as royal (or, if we are to believe Procopius, to disguise the truth) but rather was designed to remove artifice, thereby revealing the truth and making reality present. It was to show the inner, supernatural qualities of the ruler that were otherwise hidden in the inadequacy of the human body. It aimed to display the transformation of the personal body into the political one through the revelation of inner qualities.

This belief continues to underpin modern royal ceremonies. The coronation of Elizabeth II as queen of the United Kingdom in 1953 is often presented more as a historical re-enactment than a meaningful event. However, this was not the case for the actors themselves, who ordered that the moment of anointing – the moment of the transformation of Elizabeth into the queen – should not, indeed could not, be televised. That act of omission changed a relatively mundane action (the touching of the queen's head with sanctified oil) into an ineffable mystery.[50] The concealment of the anointing enabled the revelation of the transformed body.

Ideas of transformation, revelation, and truth are central to Corippus's description of the robing of Justin II (r. 565-578) at his inauguration as emperor: 'He stepped out and clothed his pious limbs in a tunic, covering himself with a gilded robe in which he shone out, white all over, and gave off light and dispersed the dusky shadows though the light from the heavens had not yet fully appeared'.[51] To be an emperor was to become a new person, to be imbued with divine qualities that the human body alone could not manifest.

Staging was not just acting; it was a performative exercise that at once acted out a truth while revealing and embodying it.[52] This brings us to the performative power of stagings. Modern theories of performativity argue that reality 'is real only to the extent that it is performed'.[53] Nevertheless, they retain a core notion that the reality acted out in the ritual or event remains a social construction, thus accepting a belief in the ultimate artificiality of any staging. In the context of Byzantine studies, however, we should question whether this is too cynical

49 Bruce Wilshire, *Role Playing and Identity: The Limits of Theatre as Metaphor* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), pp. 3-10.

50 David Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the "Invention of Tradition", *c.* 1820-1977', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 101-64; https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-22764987.

51 Corippus, *In Laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris*, ed. and trans. by Averil Cameron (London : Athlone Press, 1976), 2.100-103:
egreditur, tunicaque pios inducitur artus,
aurata se veste tegens, qua candidus omnis
enituit lumenque dedit, fuscasque removit
aetherea nondum prolat luce tenebras.

52 John L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words: The William James Lectures Delivered at Harvard University in 1955*, ed. by J. O. Urmson and Marina Sbisà (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980); Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1993), p. xxii.

53 Judith Butler, 'Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomonology and Feminist Theory', in *Performing Feminisms. Feminist Critical Theory and Theatre*, ed. by Sue-Ellen Case (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), p. 278. Butler is concerned with gender, but her ideas are applicable to the 'becoming' of the royal body here.

an interpretation. It is certainly at odds with the evidence for profound belief in the divine in Byzantium. The testimony of the early Middle Ages suggests that belief in the transformation of the ruler was both more literal and more profound. The emperor really did become the emperor through staging, whether formal pomp and ceremony or the informal exercise of his privilege. Staging was the one way of manifesting that authority and of enabling the human body to convey its divinely inspired powers. We must therefore be cautious of adopting the language of the theatre to describe these practices, as it tends to privilege ideas of artificiality at the expense of reality. To stage a royal body in Byzantium was to reveal it, not to disguise it through artificial performance.

Bibliography

***Primary Source*s**

Anna Komnena, *Anna Comnène: Alexiade*, ed. by Bernard Leib (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1937-76); trans. by Edgar R.A. Sewter, *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969).

St Augustine, *Confessions*, ed. by James J. O'Donnell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); trans. by R.S. Pine-Coffin, *St Augustine, Confessions*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961).

Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *The Book of Ceremonies* [*including Greek text of Johann-Jakob Reiske, De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae [Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae] (Bonn, 1829-31)*], trans. by Ann Moffatt and Maxene Tall, Byzantina Australiensia: 18 (Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2012).

Corippus, *In Laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris*, ed. and trans. by Averil Cameron (London: Athlone Press, 1976).

Jean de Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. by Jacques Monfrin (Paris, 1995); trans. by Margaret R.B. Shaw, *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963).

St John Chrysostom, *Homily against those who have abandoned the church and deserted it for hippodromes and theatres, PG* 56, 263-70.

St John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Lazarus, PG* 48, 1027-44.

The Codex of Justinian. A New Annotated Translation, with Parallel Latin and Greek Text, ed. and trans. by Fred H. Blume (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

Liutprand of Cremona, *Liudprandi Cremonensis Antapodosis; Homelia paschalis; Historia Ottonis; Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana*, ed. by Paolo Chiesa, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis: 156 (Turnhout, 1998); trans. by Frederick Adam Wright, *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona: Antapodosis; Liber de Rebus Gestis Ottonis; Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana*, (London: George Routledge, 1930).

Matéos, Juan, *Le typicon de la Grande Église*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta: 165-166 (Paris, 1962-63).

Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies, ed. and trans. by Ruth Macrides, Dimiter Angelov and Joseph Munitiz, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs: 15 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

Pliny the Younger: *Pliny: Letters and Panegyricus in two volumes*, ed. and trans. by Betty Radice (Cambridge Mass.: William Heinemann, 1969).

Procopius, *On Buildings*, trans. by Henry B. Dewing (London: W. Heinemann, 1954).

Procopius, *History of the Wars*, trans. by Henry B. Dewing, (London: W. Heinemann, 1914).

Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographiae que Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur liber quo Vita Basilii imperatoris amplectitur*, ed. and trans. by Ihor Ševčenko, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae (Series Berolinensis): 42 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011).

Secondary Sources

Andreescu Treadgold, Irina, and Treadgold, Warren, 'Procopius and the Imperial Panels of S. Vitale', *The Art Bulletin*, 79/4 (1997), pp. 708-23.

Angelova, Diliana, 'The Ivories of Ariadne and Ideas about Female Imperial Authority in Rome and Early Byzantium', *Gesta*, 43/1 (2004), pp. 1-16.

Antenhofer, Christina, 'The Concept of the Body of the King in Kantorowicz's *The King's Two Bodies*', in *The Body of the King. The Staging of the Body of the Institutional Leader from Antiquity to Middle Ages in East and West*, ed. by Giovanni-Battista Lanfranchi and Robert Rollinger, History of the Ancient Near East, Monographs: 16 (Padua: SARGON Editrice e Libreria, 2016), pp. 1-23.

Austin, John L., *How to do things with words* [*The William James lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955*], ed. by J.O. Urmson and Marina Sbisà (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).

Bassett, Sarah, 'Style and Meaning in the Imperial Panels at San Vitale', *Artibus et Historiae,* 29/57 (2008), pp. 49-57.

Bassett, Sarah, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Bauer, Franz Alto, 'Urban Space and Ritual: Constantinople in Late Antiquity', *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia*, 15 (2001), pp. 63-76.

Berger, Albrecht, 'Imperial and Ecclesiastical Processions in Constantinople', in *Byzantine Constantinople: monuments, topography, and everyday life,* ed. Nevra Necipoğlu, The Medieval Mediterranean: peoples, economies and cultures, 400-1453: 33 (Leiden, Boston, 2001), pp. 73-87.

Bertelli, Sergio, *The King's Body. Sacred rituals of power in medieval and early modern Europe* (University Park, PA: Penn State, 2001).

Brett, Gerard, 'The Automata in the Byzantine "Throne of Solomon"', *Speculum*, 29/3 (1954), pp. 477-87.

Buc, Philippe, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

Burns, Elizabeth, *Theatricality. A study of convention in the theatre and in social life* (London: Longman, 1972).

Butler, Judith, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

Butler, Judith, 'Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomonology and Feminist Theory', in *Performing Feminisms. Feminist Critical Theory and Theatre*, ed. by Sue-Ellen Case (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), pp. 270-82.

Cameron, Alan, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).

Cameron, Averil, 'The construction of court ritual: the Byzantine Book of Ceremonies', in *Rituals of Royalty. Power and ceremonial in traditional societies*, ed. by David Cannadine and Simon R.F. Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 106-36.

Cannadine, David, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', *c.*1820-1977', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 101-64.

Cormack, Robin, 'The Emperor at St Sophia: Viewer and Viewed', in *Byzance et les images*, ed. by Jannic Durand (Paris: La Documentation française, 1994), pp. 223-54.

Cutler, Anthony, 'The Psalter of Basil II', *Arte Veneta* 30 (1976), pp. 9-19.

Dagron, Gilbert, *Emperor and priest: the imperial office in Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Delbrueck, Richard, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1929).

Derlon, Brigitte, and Jeudy-Ballini, Monique, 'The Theory of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Theory: the Art of Alfred Gell', *Oceania*, 80/2 (2010), pp. 129-42.

Eastmond, Antony, 'An Intentional Error? Imperial Art and "Mis"-Interpretation under Andronikos I Komnenos', *The Art Bulletin*, 76 (1994), pp. 502-10.

Eastmond, Antony, 'Between Icon and Idol: the uncertainty of imperial images', in *Icon and Word. The Power of Images in Byzantium. Studies presented to Robin Cormack*, ed. by Antony Eastmond and Liz James (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 73-85.

Eastmond, Antony, 'Consular diptychs, rhetoric and the languages of art in sixth-century Constantinople', *Art History*, 33/5 (2010), pp. 742-65.

Featherstone, J. Michael,'Δι' ἔνδειξιν: Display in Court Ceremonial (*De Ceremoniis* II, 15)', in *The Material and the Ideal. Essays in Medieval Art and Archaeology in Honour of Jean-Michel Spieser*, ed. by Anthony Cutler and Arietta Papaconstantinou (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007), pp. 75-112.

Féral, Josette, 'Theatricality: Foreword', *SubStance*, 31/2-3 (2002), pp. 3-13.

Fıratlı, Nezih, *La sculpture byzantine figurée au musée archéologique d'Istanbul*, [Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français d'études anatoliennes d'Istanbul: 30] (Paris: Librairie d'Maérique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve, 1990).

Gabucci, Ada, ed. *The Colosseum*, (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2001).

Gell, Alfred, 'The technology of enchantment and the enchantment of technology', in *Anthropology, Art and Aesthetics*, ed. by Jeremy Coote and Anthony Shelton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 40-63.

Golombek, Lisa, 'The Draped Universe of Islam', in *Content and Context of the Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, ed. by Priscilla Soucek and Carol Bier (University Park PA, London, 1988), pp. 25-50.

Hughes, Alan, *Performing Greek Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 76-80.

Kantorowicz, Ernst H., *The King's Two Bodies. a study in medieval political theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957).

Kiilerich, Bente, *The Obelisk Base in Constantinople: Court Art and Ideology*, Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia: 10 (Rome, 1998).

Ley, Graham, 'A material world: costume, properties and scenic effects', in *The Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Theatre*, ed. by Marianne McDonald and J. Michael Walton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 268-85.

Lugaresi, Leonardo, 'Rhetoric against the Theatre and Theatre by Means of Rhetoric in John Chrysostom', in *Rhetorical Strategies in Late Antique Literature. Images, Metatexts and Interpretation*, ed. by Alberto J. Quiroga Puertas, Mnemosyne Supplements. Late Antique Literature: 406 (Leiden, New York: Brill, 2017), pp. 117-48.

MacCormack, Sabine, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: UCP, 1981).

Maguire, Henry, 'The art of comparing in Byzantium', *The Art Bulletin*, 70/1 (1988), pp. 88-103.

Mango, Cyril, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople: IVe-VIIe siècles* (Paris, 1990).

Mango, Cyril, 'The Triumphal way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 54 (2000), pp. 161-72.

McClanan, Anne, *Representations of Early Byzantine Empresses. Image and Empire* (Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

Trilling, James, 'Daedalus and the Nightingale: Art and Technology in the Myth of the Byzantine Court', in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. by Henry Maguire (Washington DC: Harvard University Press, 1997), pp. 221-30.

Volbach, Wolfgang Fritz, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* [*2nd edition*], Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum zu Mainz. Katalog: 7 (Mainz: L. Wilckens, 1952).

von Simson, Otto, *Sacred Fortress. Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948).

Wilshire, Bruce, *Role Playing and Identity: The Limits of Theatre as Metaphor* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982).

MARIA PARANI

Clothes maketh the emperor?
Embodying and Performing Imperial Ideology in Byzantium through Dress

The Byzantine emperor's body was a site of tension in which 'several different irreducible domains', to quote Lynn Meskell, came together.[1] It was the biological body of a man who ate, slept, felt pleasure and pain, fell sick, aged, and died. It was a gendered-male body that was shaped by, and needed to conform to, social norms regarding what constituted a man in Byzantium. It was the body of a Christian, whose passions had to be controlled in order to ensure the salvation of the soul. It was a lived body, the locus of the emperor's identity and individuality, moulded by his inclinations, interests, choices, his relations to others, and, not least, his embodied experiences.[2] It was the physical body of a ruler, who needed to be (or, at least, to appear to be) capable of shouldering the huge day-to-day burdens of administering the state and keeping its enemies at bay. But, it was also the preternatural body of God's vicar on earth, the brilliantly glowing body of the sun-emperor, the superhuman body of the tireless leader and the triumphant commander, the current incarnation of timeless, ecumenical imperial authority, dignity, and power. It was a political body, constructed and constrained by centuries-old tradition, imperial ideology, and legislation, as well as by current expectations of what a ruler should look like and how he should behave.[3] It was a noble and precious body – perceived, respected, and treated as such – because of the emperor's special relation to God and the mystique that surrounded the

* This article was written while the author was a member of the project 'Network for Medieval Arts and Rituals' (NetMAR) that has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No. 951875. The opinions expressed in this article reflect only the author's view and in no way reflect the European Commission's opinions. The European Commission is not responsible for any use that may be made of the information it contains.

1 Lynn M. Meskell, 'Writing the Body in Archaeology', in *Reading the Body. Representations and Remains in the Archaeological Record*, ed. by Alison E. Rautman, Regendering the Past (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp. 11-21 (p. 21).

2 On the concepts of the lived body, embodiment, and embodied identities from the point of view of archaeology, see, for example: Genevieve Fisher and Diana DiPaolo Loren, 'Introduction', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 13 (2003), Special issue: Embodying Identity in Archaeology, 225-30; Rosemary A. Joyce, 'Archaeology of the Body', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 34 (2005), 139-58; Zoë Crossland, 'Materiality and Embodiment', in *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, ed. by Dan Hicks and Mary Carolyn Beaudry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 386-405; Teresa Dujnic Bulger and Rosemary A. Joyce, 'Archaeology of Embodied Subjectivities', in *A Companion to Gender Prehistory*, ed. by Diane Bolger (Chichester: John Willey and Sons, 2012), pp. 68-85; John Robb, 'Introduction. The Archaeology of Bodies and the Eastern Mediterranean', in *An Archaeology of Prehistoric Bodies and Embodied Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. by Maria Mina, Sevi Triantaphyllou, and Giannēs Papadatos (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016), pp. vii-xii.

3 Ernst Kantorowicz's conceptualization of the physical and political bodies of the ruler within the framework of medieval statehood, first published in 1957, remains a classic: Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957; repr. 1997).

 DOI 10.1484/M.HMSAH-EB.5.135008. This is an open access chapter made available under a CC BY-NC 4.0 International License.

imperial office. At the same time, it was a surprisingly vulnerable body, under constant scrutiny and subject to criticism, ridicule, physical attack, and destruction, especially at any display of weakness or inappropriate behaviour seen to jeopardize God's favour and thereby to lead the state to disaster.

This paradoxical multiplicity – to take a leaf out of Oliver Harris and John Robb's book – that was the Byzantine emperor's body was created and performed as the emperor moved through and acted in a variety of physical and social spaces by means of postures, gestures, facial expressions, speech, activities, and, not least, his dress.[4] In conformity with social custom and prevalent ideas in Byzantium that considered human nakedness shameful,[6] the emperor's body was a dressed body. The emperor's attire allowed him not only to be seen and act in public but also to be visually distinctive and, as such, immediately recognizable. However, he was not simply a stunningly dressed mannequin on display nor a passive surface for the inscription of symbolic messages about the imperial office communicated through his dress. The intimate acts of getting and being dressed in the imperial regalia was one of the ways in which he experienced being the emperor in his own body. Moreover, though his sartorial choices were circumscribed by established custom, normative prescriptions, and current expectations, he was not entirely deprived of agency in the way he employed dress to articulate and present the 'collective' that was the imperial body, his body.[6]

In what follows, I propose to explore how dress was employed to constitute and present the emperor's body, the physical and the politic, the individual and the generic, the temporal and the timeless. Admittedly, studying imperial dress as an embodied practice, especially in its material dimension rather than as a typology of specific forms, is a challenge, given that we have neither the skeletal remains of Byzantine emperors nor their actual imperial dress and insignia. What we do have are representations of Byzantine emperors in word and image, couched in the conventions of Byzantine rhetoric and art.[7] Far from straightforward records of reality, these representations are rather perceptions of and reflections on how the emperor should dress and carry himself in different contexts and situations. It is generally through the filter of the gaze of

4 Oliver J. T. Harris and John Robb, 'The Body in History: Constructing a Deep-Time Cultural History', posted on academia.edu 25 April 2015. The article summarizes the main arguments of the monograph by the same authors, *The Body in History: Europe from the Paleolithic to the Future* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), which was not available to me at the time of writing.

5 On 'shameful nakedness', see Eunice Dauterman Maguire and Henry Maguire, *Other Icons: Art and Power in Byzantine Secular Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 106-09.

6 In addition to the works cited above, notes 1-2, this understanding of the dressed imperial body has also been informed by the studies of Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body. Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), esp. pp. 6-39, and Benjamin Wild, 'Clothing Royal Bodies. Changing Attitudes to Royal Dress and Appearance from the Middle Ages to Modernity', in *The Routledge History of Monarchy*, ed. by Elena Woodacre, Lucinda H. S. Dean, Chris Jones, Zita Rohr, and Russell Martin (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2019), pp. 390-407.

7 See, for example: Constance Head, 'Physical Descriptions of the Emperors in Byzantine Historical Writing', *Byzantion*, 50 (1980), 226-40; Barry Baldwin, 'Physical Descriptions of Byzantine Emperors', *Byzantion*, 51 (1981), 8-21; André Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1936); Paul Magdalino and Robert Nelson, 'The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 8 (1982), 123-83; Henry Maguire, 'Style and Ideology in Byzantine Imperial Art', *Gesta*, 28 (1989), 217-31; Maria G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images. Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th-15th Centuries)*, Medieval Mediterranean, 41 (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2003), pp. 12-34; Maria Cristina Carile, 'Imperial Icons in Late Antiquity and Byzantium. The Iconic Image of the Emperor between Representation and Presence', *IKON*, 9 (2016), 75-98.

other men, whether authors or artists, that we garner these glimpses of the Byzantine emperor;[8] how women may have perceived the ruler's body and how this perception may have differed from that of the men, we cannot really know. Despite these limitations, a critical examination of the available written and visual sources can help us flesh out the dressed imperial body as it was constituted, presented, and perceived both in specific circumstances and within the wider context of Byzantine discourses of imperial power.

Given the vastness of the extant material, here I will focus on one specific emperor, characterized as 'the most heavily eulogised of all Byzantine emperors'.[9] This is Manuel I Komnenos, who reigned from 1143 to 1180. Excluding the effigies on his coins,[10] only one securely identified portrait of this emperor survives (Fig. 1).[11] On the other hand, numerous encomia of Manuel in prose and verse have come down to us, as well as a number of epigrams dedicated to now-lost portraits and artefacts associated with him.[12] These, along with historical accounts of his reign by Byzantine and non-Byzantine authors alike,[13] contain multiple references to the emperor's body and dress. Taking into account the length of his reign (37 years), which ended with his death from natural causes at 62, what was a ripe age for a Byzantine, one could claim that Manuel was successful in 'pulling off the look' and, as such, provides a good case study for the issues that concern us here. References to a number of 'failed appearances' by some of his successors provide a foil to Manuel's own performances. The analysis will concentrate on specific attributes of imperial attire and on examining how these attributes were manipulated in different modalities of imperial representation through ritual, literature, and art either to make or unmake the emperor.

Manuel, the youngest son of John II Komnenos (r. 1118-1143), became emperor at the age of 25 by his father's choice, bypassing his elder surviving brother, Isaak.[14] He was apparently a tall man with a slight stoop,[15] though this was not necessarily perceived as a flaw. In the anonymous fictitious dialogue *Timarion* (first half of the twelfth century), the epitome of manly beauty, the duke of Thessalonike, is presented as being slightly stooped 'as though Nature itself

8 For the one notable exception, see: Anna Komnnene, *Alexias*, ed. by Diether R. Reinsch and Athanasios Kambylis, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis, 40 (Berlin and New York, NY: De Gruyter, 2001).

9 Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 414.

10 Michael F. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*. Volume 4: *Alexius I to Michael VIII, 1081-1261*. I: *Alexius I to Alexius V (1081-1204)* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1999), pp. 275-339.

11 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS gr. 1176, fol. IIr (1166): Iohannis Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), pp. 208-10. MS digitized and available at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1176.

12 For a detailed survey and analysis, see Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, pp. 413-88. For literary descriptions of no-longer-extant portraits, see Magdalino and Nelson, 'The Emperor in Byzantine Art', pp. 132-51.

13 The two principal Byzantine historical accounts of Manuel's reign are those by John Kinnamos (ca 1143-ca 1185) and Niketas Choniates (1155/7-1217): John Kinnamos, *Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Manuele Comnenis gestarum*, ed. by Augustus Meineke, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn: Weber, 1836); translated as: Charles M. Brand, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus by John Kinnamos* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1976). Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. by Ioannes Aloysius van Dieten, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis, 11 (Berlin and New York, NY: De Gruyter, 1975); translated as: Harry J. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniatēs* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1984). Among the non-Byzantine accounts, especially informative is that by the Crusader historian William of Tyre (ca 1130-1186): William, Archbishop of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*, trans. by Emily Atwater Babcock and August C. Krey, 2 vols (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1943).

14 John Kinnamos, pp. 26-29; trans. Brand, pp. 29-31.

tried to avoid any potential deviation from due measure'.[16] Likewise, according to his eulogists, there was nothing in excess in Manuel's body but rather balance, grace, and harmony among its constituent parts.[17] They wax epic in their descriptions of his broad shoulders, his mighty torso, his strong arms, his dexterous hands, equally capable in the works of war and peace, his powerful legs, and his superhuman stamina, even to the point of forsaking sleep in the service of the state.[18] Rhetorical exaggerations – including the popular trope of the emperor shedding rivers of sweat for the sake of his subjects[19] – aside, accounts of Manuel's active participation in campaigns, military displays, and the hunt, in conjunction with his restraint when it came to food and drink, do imply that, at least in his prime, he must have had a well-honed physical body. Combined with his height, he would have cut an impressive figure, made even more distinct by the colour of his skin, his hair, and his eyes. Written sources and the one extant portrait of Manuel (Fig. 1) make clear that he had inherited the dark skin of his father.[20] Michael Italikos and Eustathios of Thessalonike underline that the dark colour of the emperor's skin proclaimed his manliness, white skin being a sign of effeminacy as it alluded to a sheltered and soft existence.[21] Equally manly, according to Eustathios, was the emperor's attitude towards his own hair, which he took care of himself, not favouring elaborate arrangements or having it straightened.[22] Excessive attention to one's hair was a practice conventionally associated in the works of male authors with women and, by association, with foppish men. In his single surviving portrait, the dark hair of the then 48-year-old emperor barely touches his shoulders. The colour of his eyes is not discernible in the image, but written sources suggest that they had a violet-blue colour,[23] which must have offered an interesting twist to the traditional rhetorical topos of the sun-emperor's flashing eyes. Manuel, then, had quite a distinct, striking, and what was perceived at the time as a manly physical appearance. His manliness, however, was not simply a function of his physical strength and his active lifestyle. The trim condition of his body implied a heightened degree of self-discipline and self-control, which in the Byzantine construction of gender distinguished the man from the feminine other as well as from the weak, effeminate man.[24]

15 Niketas Choniates, p. 51; trans. Magoulias, p. 30.
16 *Τιμαρίων ή Περί των κατ' αυτόν παθημάτων*, trans. [Modern Greek] Petros Vlachakos (Thessalonike: (Εκδόσεις Ζήτρος, 2001), p. 64 (lines 241-43). I owe this translation to Georgios Xenis, whom I here thank.
17 See Michel Italikos, *Lettres et Discours*, ed. by Paul Gautier, Archives de l'Orient Chrétien, 14 (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1972), oration 44, p. 281; Eustathios of Thessalonike, *Opera minora, magnam partem inedita*, ed. by Peter Wirth, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis, 32 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2000), pp. 223-24. On the symmetry of the imperial body as an element denoting both beauty and power, see Myrto Hatzaki, *Beauty and the Male Body in Byzantium. Perceptions and Representations in Art and Text* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 60-65.
18 Relevant passages from orations dedicated to the emperor have been collected and discussed by Grammatiki Karla, 'Das literarische Porträt Kaiser Manuels I. Komnenos in den Kaiserreden des 12. Jh.', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 101 (2008), 669-79.
19 Karla, 'Das literarische Porträt', pp. 677-78.
20 Known as 'the Moor', according to William, Archbishop of Tyre, II, 129.
21 Michel Italikos, pp. 281-82; Eustathios of Thessalonike, *Not Composed in a Chance Manner: The Epitaphios for Manuel I Komnenos by Eustathios of Thessalonike*, ed. by Emmanuel C. Bourbouhakis, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia, 18 (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 2017), pp. 26-27.
22 Eustathios of Thessalonike, *Not Composed*, pp. 26-27 and p. 145 [commentary].
23 Michel Italikos, p. 282; Lynn Jones and Henry Maguire, 'A Description of the Jousts of Manuel I Komnenos', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 26 (2002), 104-48 (pp. 106-07).
24 Leonora Neville, *Byzantine Gender* (Leeds: ARC Humanities Press, 2019), pp. 33-36.

✦ Fig. 1
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS gr. 1176, fol. IIr. Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143-1180) and his second wife, Maria of Antioch, 1166 (Photo: © 2021 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

A man needed to be able to rule his own body first, if he wanted to be able to rule others; a man incapable of this control was not fit to rule. This is assumed tacitly in the pathetic image of the usurper John Komnenos (called 'the Fat') conjured by Nicholas Mesarites, who turns on their head some of the traditional tropes of imperial panegyric celebrating the emperor's physical body.[25] After his failed coup, on July 31, 1200, John tried to escape by climbing to the upper story of one of the halls in the Great Palace of Constantinople. Mesarites presents him seated on the floor, unable to bear the burden of his misfortune, gulping a drink, sweating copiously, and falling asleep despite the direness of his situation. The final touch to this damning portrayal of the usurper is that, though crowned, John was not clad in the imperial garb: his transformation into a ruler had been incomplete, because – this description of his physical condition implies – of his inadequacy.

Imperial dress, then, beyond being a means of exalting the emperor as befitted his majesty, had the power to turn a mortal man into the ruler of the *oikoumene*. It was this transformative aspect of imperial dress and insignia that made them so important and explains why the first action of any claimant to the throne, legitimate or otherwise, was the assumption of distinctive imperial attire. Manuel's accession was no different, though it took place far from the capital, where the emperor had been on campaign. When John II, upon his deathbed, announced his decision to raise his youngest son to the throne, Manuel was invested with the imperial crown and the purple imperial state mantle, the *chlamys*, and thus arrayed was presented to the gathered nobles and troops who acclaimed him as emperor.[26] Given the precipitous nature and the context of these events, we may assume that the regalia that Manuel was invested with were not made specifically for him but were actually those of his father. Manuel literally stepped into his father's (red) shoes. We know, admittedly from earlier periods, that Byzantine emperors wore the garments of their predecessors.[27] Through peaceful successions or bloody dynastic changes, the imperial garments and insignia passed from one emperor to the next, adding a veneer of normalcy and serving both as visual statement and material proof of an uninterrupted continuity with an imperial past that justified the exercise of power in the present.[28] This may have made imperial dress impersonal, but being invested with it was nonetheless an intimate, personal, and emotive act for the new incumbent. In the case of Manuel's potentially controversial accession, putting on his father's attire bolstered his claim to legitimacy. At the same time, it placed a great burden on the shoulders of young Manuel, who was called upon to fulfil the expectations raised by his taking on of his father's mantle literally and metaphorically.

25 Nikolaos Mesarites, *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos*, ed. by August Heisenberg, Programm des K. Alten Gymnasiums zu Würzburg für das Studienjahr 1906-1907 (Würzburg: University Press of Stürtz, 1907), pp. 44-45.

26 John Kinnamos, p. 28; trans. Brand, pp. 30-31; Niketas Choniates, p. 46; trans. Magoulias, pp. 26-27.

27 See Liudprand of Cremona, *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, trans. by Paolo Squatriti (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007), pp. 240, 244.

28 In Byzantium, however, for reasons that remain to be explored, this practice did not coalesce into the creation of a specific collection of 'coronation regalia' or 'crown jewels' with constitutional and mystical significance, as may be observed in other medieval monarchies, East and West, on which see Akira Akiyama, 'Relic or Icon? The Place and Function of Imperial Regalia', in *The Nomadic Object: The Challenge of World for Early Modern Religious Art*, ed. by Christine Göttler and Mia Mochizuki, Intersections, 53 (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2018), pp. 430-47, with further bibliography.

This material continuity also had an impact on the actual appearance of imperial dress and the designs of individual items, which were disengaged from current sartorial trends.[29] Again, such conservatism, which resulted in endowing imperial dress with a timeless outlook, rather than fortuitous or simply practical, was deliberate, a means to proclaim the venerable antiquity of the Byzantine state. Especially in his capital, where images of his similarly-dressed predecessors were visible all around, the reigning emperor – appearing in his traditional-looking regalia either in person or in image – would have been recognized as the latest in a long line of rulers. This association served, on the one hand, to empower him and, on the other, to reassure his subjects of the longevity and stability of their state.

Conservative did not mean unchanging, however. Old garments were repaired and replaced with new ones,[30] though the persistence of the same basic designs and of the same names ensured that, even if there was nothing physically left of the original garments, the symbolic potency of the imperial vestments remained undiminished and the semblance of continuity ensured. One can also observe concessions to current trends and imported fashions, like Manuel's shoes with the pointed toes in his portrait of 1166, but these were subtle and limited.[31] More deliberate changes in imperial dress were brought about by emperors who wished to make a statement about their own rule and their style of governance. Such changes are described in terms of 'renovation', transforming, rhetorically, innovation into a renewal of the empire's former glory. In his portrait, Manuel wears the closed-shaped imperial crown that his aunt, Anna Komnene, credited to Alexios I (r. 1081-1118), Manuel's grandfather.[32] Alexios, the founder of the Komnenian dynasty and a usurper, had apparently adopted this new type of crown in order to distinguish the imperial headdress from those granted as a prerogative to the highest dignitaries of the state, who, following his administrative reforms, were all members of the imperial family. The new crown ensured that the figure of the emperor remained distinct, demonstrating clearly, for all to see, his position at the top of the court hierarchy. Looking more closely at Manuel's portrait, however, we observe another change, which likewise could be associated with Komnenian perceptions of the role of the emperor as the head of state. While the imperial *loros*, the bejewelled scarf that the emperor wears around his torso in his guise as God's chosen vicar on earth, is easily recognizable, having been a regular feature of imperial portraiture since the ninth century,[33] the appearance of the tunic over which it is worn has been modified. When we compare this to portraits of eleventh-century emperors,[34] we notice that,

29 On the most characteristic components of Byzantine imperial dress, see Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, pp. 12-34; Timothy Dawson, *By the Emperor's Hand. Military Dress and Court Regalia in the Later Romano-Byzantine Empire* (Barnsley: Frontline Books, 2015), passim.

30 See, for example, 'the renovation' of imperial vestments by Theophilos (829-42): Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453. Sources and Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), p. 161.

31 On the shoes, see Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, p. 71.

32 Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, p. 95.

33 Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, pp. 18-20.

34 See Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, figs. 18-19.

though Manuel remains fully covered from neck to toe, his purple tunic is now tightly fitted, revealing the strong physique and straight lines of the male body beneath it, from the broad shoulders to the narrow waist and shapely arms. This is a development already detectable in portraits of John II,[35] and one is tempted to associate the emphasis on the powerful physical body of the emperor, also observed in contemporary imperial panegyric, with the militarization of the imperial ideal under the Komnenoi, especially under the two most celebrated soldier-emperors of the dynasty, John II and Manuel I.[36] That being said, the written sources do not credit Manuel with any specific change in imperial dress. They do associate him, however, with the use – if not actual creation – of an oversize imperial banner, which was more in keeping with this emperor's military interests and his self-representation as a formidable, if somewhat flamboyant, warrior. This was a great banner with eight parts or tongues, called the 'octopus', which was attached to a long, heavy lance. Manuel is described as manoeuvring this lance and banner with great ease and dexterity in the military games in which he loved to take part, to the great amazement of Byzantine and Western onlookers.[37] In actual battle, this banner associated with the emperor would have effectively signalled his presence on the field to both friend and foe, even from afar.[38]

Just as the dress transfigured the man into a ruler, so did contact with the imperial body impart some of his aura to the garments – integral to the embodied constitution of his imperial identity – making them, in a sense, a material, tactile extension of his body, his grace, and his power. Indeed, to receive a gift of garments that had been worn on the emperor's 'all-noble and most honoured body' was a singular distinction for extraordinary services rendered. In 1083, Gregory Pakourianos proudly records receiving such a gift from Alexios I Komnenos. Far from presuming to wear them himself, Pakourianos donated these garments for the adornment of the main church of the Monastery of the Virgin Petritzonitissa he had founded at Bačkovo.[39] Niketas Choniates's description of a comparable gift from Manuel I plays on the familiarity of his prospective audience with this honorific practice in order to create an image that is unsettling and not especially flattering for the emperor.[40] The exchange was between Manuel and a certain Gabras, the emissary of the victorious sultan of Konya, in the immediate aftermath of the devastating defeat of the Byzantines at Myriokephalon in 1176. Gabras, seeing Manuel's surcoat and camouflaging derision as patronizing concern, comments that its yellowish colour is inauspicious and that it 'militates against good fortune in battle'. Manuel, having already been

35 Especially Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. gr. 2, fol. 19v (1122-42): Spatharakis, *The Portrait*, pp. 79-83. MS digitized and available at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Urb.gr.2.

36 Foteini Spingou, 'The Supreme Power of the Armour and the Veneration of the Emperor's Body in Twelfth-Century Byzantium', in *Premodern Rulership and Contemporary Political Power. The King's Body never Dies*, ed. by Karolina Mroziewicz and Aleksander Sroczyński (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), pp. 47-71 (pp. 47-48, 66-67), with earlier references.

37 John Kinnamos, p. 125; trans. Brand, p. 99; Manganeios Prodromos, poem 17 ('To the same Emperor, when he was brilliantly and nobly jousting at sport, with an outsize flag'), preserved in Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS gr. XI. 22 (thirteenth century). I am grateful to Michael and Elizabeth Jeffreys for generously sharing with me their critical edition and English translation of this poem prior to publication.

38 Whether this is the imperial banner that Kinnamos refers to in relation to the Battle at the Tara River (1150) is unclear: John Kinnamos, pp. 107-08; trans. Brand, p. 86.

39 The quotation is Gregory's description of the emperor's body: Robert Jordan, 'Pakourianos. Typikon of Gregory Pakourianos for the Monastery of the Mother of God Petritzonitissa in Bačkovo', in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, ed. by John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero, 5 vols, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 35 (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), II, 507-63 (p. 526).

40 Niketas Choniates, p. 189; trans. Magoulias, pp. 106-07. See also Alexander Kazhdan and Simon Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and*

defeated by the man's overlord, is forced to overlook the couched insult: he takes off the precious surcoat, adorned with purple and gold, and presents it to Gabras for his service in the negotiations. What the man did with it, Choniates does not say.

In contrast to Choniates's disconcerting portrayal, where the traditional sartorial hallmarks of imperial power – gold and purple – are undermined by the reality of defeat, the representation of Manuel in his single extant portrait is one of imperial magnificence and authority that allows no room for uncertainty or weakness. We can use this image as the basis on which to explore other aspects of imperial dress that cut across functional divisions between the different types of attire, civilian and military, that the emperor wore at various public functions. As already mentioned, the dress covered the imperial body completely: the only parts left uncovered were the face and the hands, being the principal sites at which the emperor's mood and will were made manifest through gestures, facial expressions, speech, and, above all else, his gaze. Nakedness, which was deemed not only shameful but also a sign of vulnerability and humiliation,[41] had no place in the articulation of the Byzantine imperial image. However, even in this two-dimensional image, the emperor's physique is not elided but brought to the fore by his tight-fitting tunic and the ornaments and accessories that draw attention to specific parts of his body, like the face, shoulders, upper arms, and waist.

The near-complete covering of the body was achieved by the length of the tunic and its long sleeves as well as by the multiple sartorial units that constituted any one 'costume'. Since the Early Byzantine period, the superimposition of sartorial units in a single ensemble was emblematic of great wealth and high social rank,[42] hence it is not surprising to find this as a feature of imperial dress. In the case of the latter, these successive layers were made of rare, expensive materials, the use of which was carefully regulated by the imperial government, such as high-grade silks dyed purple, gold and silver thread, pearls, and precious and semi-precious stones. Sources also speak of the softness and suppleness of these gorgeous imperial garments,[43] other aspects of their luxuriousness. Still, the extensive use of metal threads and jewels made them quite heavy and cumbersome. The consistent representation of the metal chain, which would have been used to manipulate the train of the *loros*, as also seen in Manuel's portrait, implies that the heavy weight was an acknowledged, significant attribute of imperial dress.

An equally significant and distinctive feature was colour. As already observed by others, the palette of imperial dress, at least as attested in literature and art, was relatively limited, or rather, exclusive.[44] It included various hues of purple, ranging from violet to blue to purple-red, as well as bright red, green, blue, white, and gold. Other hues appear more rarely, if at all, in textual and pictorial representations of imperial dress. Manuel's surcoat mentioned above was described as having the colour of bile (χολοβάφινον), to be understood as a shade of yellow. In a description of a painting depicting the emperor jousting – in all probability Manuel I – the garment that he

Twelfth Centuries (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 262.

41 As made abundantly clear by accounts of the ritual humiliation of Renauld of Châtillon, prince of Antioch, before Manuel in 1158; see, for instance, Elizabeth Jeffreys and Michael Jeffreys, 'A Constantinopolitan Poet views Frankish Antioch', *Crusades*, 14 (2015), 49-151 (pp. 66-83) (Manganeios Prodromos, Poem 9, esp. lines 42-55).

42 Paraskévé Kalamara, *Le système vestimentaire à Byzance du IVe jusqu'à la fin du XIe siècle*, 2 vols (Lille: Septentrion, Presses Universitaires, 1997), pp. 126-34.

43 Niketas Choniates, p. 221; trans. Magoulias, p. 125: 'τὰ μαλακὰ καὶ ἀρχικὰ ἄμφια' ('soft royal vestments').

44 Kazhdan and Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine Literature*, pp. 257-63.

wears beneath a red mantle is designated as tawny orange (κιρρός).[45] This rhetorical description of a painting is also exceptional in that it is the only text known to me in which the decorative motifs adorning Manuel's garments are recorded in detail and their symbolism disambiguated for the reader.[46] In all other extant references to Manuel's dress, the authors focus on its materials, its colours, and, above all else, its scintillating brilliance;[47] indeed, as we shall see also below, light-related vocabulary is quite prominent in descriptions of imperial dress. The patterns that may have adorned the silks from which the emperor's garments were made or the designs in which the precious stones, pearls, and gold embroidery were arranged on the fabrics receive no mention at all, as if, in the eyes of the dazzled beholder, these details were lost among the glittering magnificence of the imperial performance. One should also consider the probability that those who relayed these accounts did not enjoy close enough proximity to the emperor to have observed the decorative details of the dress.[48] Only when the emperor was frozen in an image could one approach him and make out the patterns adorning his dress. In the description of a painting, where we 'see' the emperor twice removed through the gaze first of the painter and then the orator, whether these patterns – in this case, the cross, the eagles, and, possibly, griffins – were indeed realistic or whether they were chosen by the painter and/or the orator as signs, emblematic of the emperor's virtues, is a different matter altogether. In our one extant portrait, Manuel's tunic appears comparatively simply adorned, with a now faded overall oblong loop design executed in bluish grey.

The familiar, traditional designs and the distinctively coloured garments and accessories made of rare, costly, and gleaming materials ensured that the emperor would stand out in his surroundings and be unmistakable, even when seen from a distance while accompanied by the colourfully dressed members of his entourage. At the same time, the sumptuousness of the emperor's dress was a marker of his authority, emblematic of his ability to control vast material and human resources in the fulfilment of his role. It was an eloquent means of advertising the wealth and consequent power of the imperial office, meant to produce an awe-inspiring effect in the beholders and to command their obedience and respect. Judging by our sources, Manuel was quite capable in mobilizing this aspect of imperial dress to impress foreign rulers paying court to him in Constantinople, while also 'teaching them their place' in relation to the Byzantine ruler.[49] The emperor, seated in his elevated, bejewelled throne, handsome and tall, dressed in purple attire that was 'afire' with red precious stones and 'illuminated' with white pearls, and wearing a large red jewel suspended from his neck on a golden chain, must have looked magnificent when he received Kılıç Arslan II, the sultan of Konya, in 1161.[50] However, Manuel had the personal charisma, the reputation, and, more importantly, the wealth and military power to add substance to the claims made by the orchestration of this ceremonial performance. In the decades after his death, when the situation had changed dramatically

45 Jones and Maguire, 'A Description', p. 108.

46 Jones and Maguire, 'A Description', pp. 107-09. For the Greek text with a German translation, see Peter Schreiner, 'Ritterspiele in Byzanz', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 46 (1996), 227-41 (pp. 235-41).

47 See, for example, John Kinnamos, pp. 205-06; trans. Brand, p. 156.

48 For a different interpretation especially of the animal imagery on the emperor's garments featuring in this text, see Jones and Maguire, 'A Description', pp. 128-35.

49 See William, Archbishop of Tyre, II, 380, apropos the visit of King Amalric of Jerusalem to Constantinople (1171).

50 See above, n. 47.

and Byzantium was no longer a leading power on the international scene, a similar imperial display had the opposite effect. On Christmas day 1196, Alexios III Angelos (r. 1195-1203) tried to dazzle the German ambassadors to Constantinople into accepting a peace agreement by arraying himself and his dignitaries in luxurious garments adorned with precious stones and gold thread. The Germans, however, remained unimpressed, dismissing the sartorial styles of the Byzantine court as effeminate. If we are to trust Choniates, writing with the bitter knowledge of what was to follow a few years later in 1204, even the Byzantines themselves found this display ridiculous, as it demonstrated the emperor's lack of moderation and his failure to appreciate the gravity of the situation faced by the empire at the time.[51]

Still, it was not just what the emperor wore that was meaningful, but how he wore it. The superimposed layers of heavy garments allowed only limited motility and imposed specific postures and gestures on the bearer; the emperor had to be mindful that his garments not become disarrayed so that his dignity would not suffer as a result. This slowness and stateliness of movement befitted the solemnity of the imperial office. What is more, as Henry Maguire has argued, a stillness and lack of violent motion, in portraiture as well as in ceremonial performances, sublimed the emperor's humanity, bringing him closer to the divine within the framework of the imitation of Christ.[52] At the same time, and quite paradoxically, the ability of the emperor to bear the sheer weight of the regalia with dignity and poise affirmed his bodiness, being an unequivocal statement of his physical strength and, more importantly, of his self-command. Both Kinnamos and the anonymous poet known in scholarly literature as Manganeios Prodromos make much of the ease with which Manuel carried the weight of his dress during his triumphal entry into Antioch in 1159.[53] By contrast, it boded ill for the reign of Andronikos I Komnenos (r. 1183-1185) that on his coronation day in 1183, upon returning from Hagia Sophia, he chose to ride at a fast pace when entering the Great Palace through the Chalke Gate, rather than proceeding slowly as was the custom. Though it is impossible to know why Andronikos decided to depart from established protocol, Choniates claimed that he did so either because of fear or because he was unable to suffer the weight of the imperial insignia due to his advanced age (he was around 65 at the time).[54] Andronikos's cruel death two years later at the hands of the Constantinopolitan mob confirmed his failure as a ruler foreshadowed by his perceived inability to carry the weight of the imperial attire. Like the demands of the imperial office, imperial dress made no allowances for age or infirmity.

The powerful sensory impact of the emperor's dressed body and its multi-layered connotations were at the same time magnified and nuanced by the protocols and rituals that regulated imperial appearances and the mise-en-scène of individual ceremonial performances. These

51 Niketas Choniates, pp. 477-78; trans. Magoulias, pp. 261-62.

52 Maguire, 'Style and Ideology', pp. 221-29.

53 John Kinnamos, p. 187; trans. Brand, p. 143; Jeffreys and Jeffreys, 'A Constantinopolitan Poet', pp. 132-33 (poem 10, lines 102-07). See, also, below.

54 Niketas Choniates, pp. 272-73; trans. Magoulias, p. 151: 'others maintained that because of the day-long strain and the fatigue caused by the encumbrance of the imperial trappings, the old man was unable to contain the excreta of his bowels over a long period of time and defecated in his breeches'.

were constructed as a succession of contrasts – between concealment and revelation, light and dark, motion and stillness, silence and noise – aimed to cultivate the emperor's mystique and to dramatize the ideology, structures, and expectations that both shaped him and were brought to life by him. In order to illustrate these points, we can take a closer look at Manuel's triumphal entry into Antioch, shortly after Easter 1159, as narrated by Manganeios Prodromos in a poem composed only a few months after the event and, years later, by Kinnamos. The triumph was the culmination of the emperor's campaign in Cilicia in Asia Minor, seeking to advance Byzantine interests in the region and to bring local rulers, Thoros of Armenia and Renauld of Antioch, into line through a great show of strength.[55]

Though this may appear surprising, the Byzantine emperor did not participate in imperial triumphs in full armour, signalling by his non-militant appearance that the war was over and that a new period of peace and prosperity was ushered in due to the emperor's military successes.[56] Precisely because of this custom, rumours that the emperor might be attacked during his entry into Antioch caused concern and led to Manuel's wearing 'double breastplates' (two superimposed mail shirts?), Kinnamos tells us, hidden beneath his equally heavy, gem-studded outer garment.[57] Wearing body armour overtly would have been an admission of weakness and fear, which had no place in the construction of the formidable and fearless triumphant emperor. Moreover, it could have been perceived as openly aggressive by the already nervous population of the Syrian metropolis. Manganeios Prodromos makes no reference to the hidden armour, just as one would expect if, as suggested by his editors, he was embellishing on official reports released by the emperor's circle. He speaks only of the magnificent mantle that the ruler wore with ease, despite its being weighed down by an abundance of pearls and gold.[58] As for the headdress that the emperor wore, Kinnamos calls it *stephos*, which suggests a crown rather than the traditional *toupha*, or ceremonial crested helmet, worn by earlier emperors during their military triumphs;[59] Manganeios makes no mention of the emperor's headgear.

The ceremony possibly began close to dawn and would have lasted the whole day. A multitude of clergymen and laymen, carrying icons of Christ and the Virgin, Gospel books, and crosses, went out of the city to meet the emperor. He waited for them upon a chariot, surrounded by the imperial banners and the cross, signalling thus his acknowledgement of God as the source of his victory. The wording of Manganeios's poem describing the event suggests that the emperor may have been hidden behind a curtain and then revealed suddenly, his figure lit by artificial lights (or by the natural light of dawn), since the poet speaks of the emperor rising from his chariot and dazzling the onlookers with his light. Nevertheless, he displayed his piety by descending from his chariot and venerating the cross and the icons. Only then did he mount

55 On the historical background of these events, see Magdalino, *The Empire*, pp. 66-76; Jeffreys and Jeffreys, 'A Constantinopolitan Poet', pp. 50-53.

56 Maria G. Parani, 'Dressed to Kill. Middle Byzantine Military Ceremonial Attire', in *The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture. Papers from the Second International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, Istanbul 21-23 June 2010, ed. by Ayla Ödekan, Nevra Necipoğlu, and Engin Akyürek (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2013), pp. 145-56 (pp. 151-52).

57 John Kinnamos, pp. 186-87; trans. Brand, pp. 142-43. Spingou, 'The Supreme Power', pp. 61-63, interprets this passage differently, assuming that the emperor was asked to enter the city unarmed, but he refused to do so 'because [she claims] his armour was part of his body'.

58 See above, n. 53.

59 John Kinnamos, p. 187; trans. Brand, p. 143; on the *toupha*, see Parani, 'Dressed to Kill', p. 152.

his horse, 'clothed in light' to begin the slow procession towards the city.[60] Outside the gates, he dismounted to venerate at a small chapel and to wait, away from spectators, while all was made ready for the next stage of the procession. When the time came, he appeared before the crowd that waited in anticipation to behold him once again, stunning them, according to Manganeios, with the ease with which he mounted his horse, despite the weight of his garments, as if flying high.[61] Given the context and the audience in question – the warlike and troublesome Latins – it is no wonder that the ceremony was organized in such a way as to showcase the emperor's physical build and prowess. In the absence of weapons – which were the soldier's most recognizable external signs – the weight of the dress, the emperor's comportment, and his horsemanship served to convey the image of the victorious, manly warrior.

The next stage of the ceremony shifted to present the emperor as the rising, glorious sun, shedding his beneficial light on the people. Upon entering the city, instead of processing down the main street, the emperor climbed up the city gates and appeared in a glorious epiphany, standing still and shedding his light and grace over the people gathered below. Manganeios has a field day describing the glow of the colourful jewels that adorned the emperor's dress, and it is more than likely that the effects he describes had been achieved using some mechanism of artificial lighting to illuminate the emperor's figure.[62] What we have here is a transposition to Antioch of a traditional imperial ritual, which involved the sun-like imperial ruler 'rising', i.e. appearing from a high place to be seen by his subjects gathered below, most notably, in the imperial box at the Hippodrome in Constantinople.[63] Adjusting to the realities of Antioch's monumental topography, Manuel used the gates as the appropriate, high-rising stage for his spectacular epiphany, ensuring maximum visibility. At the same time, by surmounting and appearing at the gates, he made a rather high-handed statement about the city's vulnerability before his overwhelming power and presence; the Byzantine army stationed outside the city would have added substance to this assertion. Following the imperial manifestation upon the gates, the emperor descended, remounted his horse, and proceeded with great fanfare through the main street laid with carpets, drawing the admiration of the men for his strength and of the women for his beauty.[64] When he arrived at the terminus of the procession, Saint Peter's Cathedral, he once again impressed everyone by dismounting his horse lightly in order to be welcomed by the local prelate.[65]

The last ceremony in which the emperor's body participated and was visible was that of his own funeral. To my knowledge, extant Komnenian sources do not go into detail about imperial

60 Jeffreys and Jeffreys, 'A Constantinopolitan Poet', pp. 127-31 (poem 10, lines 1-65, and editors' comments, where it is suggested that the emperor was hidden and then brilliantly revealed).

61 Jeffreys and Jeffreys, 'A Constantinopolitan Poet', pp. 130-33 (poem 10, lines 87-107).

62 Jeffreys and Jeffreys, 'A Constantinopolitan Poet', pp. 132-35 (poem 10, lines 125-38).

63 Ernst H. Kantorowicz, 'Oriens Augusti. Lever du Roi', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 17 (1963), 117-77; Gilbert Dagron, *L'hippodrome de Constantinople. Jeux, peuple et politique* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 2011), pp. 74-78; Maria Parani, '*Rise like the sun, the God-inspired kingship.* Light-symbolism and the Uses of Light in Middle and Late Byzantine Imperial Ceremonials', in *Hierotopy of Light and Fire in the Culture of the Byzantine World*, ed. by Alexei Lidov (Moscow: Indrik, 2013), pp. 159-84 (p. 174).

64 Jeffreys and Jeffreys, 'A Constantinopolitan Poet', pp. 134-35 (poem 10, lines 139-65).

65 John Kinnamos, p. 187; trans. Brand, p. 143.

attire worn on this occasion.[66] Choniates, however, gives special attention to dress in his loaded account of Manuel's death.[67] Sensing death approaching, the emperor turned his mind towards the salvation of his soul. He thus renounced his imperial identity and became a monk upon his deathbed, assuming the name Matthew.[68] To signal this change, he requested to be attired in monastic garb, yet, given the suddenness of the decision, none could be found in the palace. Thus, always according to Choniates, the emperor's attendants, after removing his soft, imperial vestments, dressed him in a threadbare garment insufficient to cover his tall frame, leaving his calves bare. Though monastic dress was perceived as the armour of the spiritual warrior, the pitiful sight of their dying emperor's half-exposed body brought tears to the eyes of all who saw him, as they contemplated 'the frailty of the human condition and the worthlessness of the body at the time of death'.[69] Divested of his imperial garments yet having failed to assume proper monastic attire, the powerful emperor was reduced to an ordinary man made all the more woeful by his humiliating nakedness.

Having reached the end of our discussion, what can we say in response to the question posed in this essay's title? In Byzantium, clothes indeed turned a man into an all-powerful emperor and ensured that anyone who saw him recognized him as such. But it was the man in the clothes, as well as the state behind the man, that gave them their transformative potency. If either the man or the state proved inadequate to support and fulfil the claims made by the clothes, then those same clothes were the unmaking of the emperor, becoming either the attire of the pompous tyrant or that of the unmanly weakling.

66 According to the tenth-century protocol recorded in the *Book of Ceremonies*, the emperor's body was taken to the place of his interment dressed in a tunic, a golden *chlamys*, the *kampagia* (shoes), and the crown. Before being put to rest, however, the crown, as the symbol of the empire that lived on, was removed. Divested of his crown, the emperor was interred with a plain purple band on his head, as an acknowledgement that he had been a ruler. See Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, *Le Livre des Cérémonies*, ed. by Gilbert Dagron and Bernard Flusin, 5 vols, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Parisiensis, 52 (Paris: ACHCByz, 2020), II, 148-49 (book 1, chap. 69).

67 Niketas Choniates, pp. 221-22; trans. Magoulias, p. 125. On this passage and Choniates's stance, see Bourbouhakis's comments in Eustathios of Thessalonike, *Not Composed*, pp. 2*-3*. Spingou, 'The Supreme Power', p. 69, also discusses this passage as a representation of the emperor's body, but her view is somewhat different from the one presented here. It should be noted that in funerary orations on the emperor's death, unsurprisingly the assumption of the monastic garb by Manuel is presented in a positive light: having achieved great feats as an emperor, he chose to divest himself of the trappings of earthly authority so that he could devote himself to the higher, spiritual fight in the hope of salvation. See Eustathios of Thessalonike, *Not Composed*, pp. 82-85; *Fontes rerum Byzantinarum. Rhetorum saeculi XII orationes politicae*, I, 1-2, ed. by Vasilij E. Regel and Nikolaj I. Novosadskij, Subsidia Byzantina lucis ope iterata, 5 (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1982), I, 2, pp. 206-07. Likewise positive, though with an emphasis on the emperor's humility and his awareness of his inadequacy as God's steward on earth in the face of divine judgement to come, is the account of Manuel's death-bed transformation by the Armenian catholicos Grigor IV Tgha (1173-1193); see Isabelle Augé, *Églises en dialogue: Arméniens et Byzantins dans la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle* (Louvain: Peeters, 2011), pp. 220-23. I am grateful to Gohar Grigoryan Savary for bringing this source to my attention and for sharing her expert understanding of the text with me.

68 Though Choniates does not mention the name, we know it from the funerary oration of Gregory Antiochos for Manuel, see *Fontes rerum Byzantinarum*, I, 2, pp. 191-228. For the identification of the author of this oration with Gregory Antiochos, see the references in Karla, 'Das literarische Porträt', p. 669, n. 6.

69 Adapted by the author from Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium*, p. 125.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, ed. by Diether R. Reinsch and Athanasios Kambylis, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis, 40 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2001).

Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, *Le Livre des Cérémonies*, ed. by Gilbert Dagron and Bernard Flusin, 5 vols, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Parisiensis, 52 (Paris: ACHCByz, 2020).

Eustathios of Thessalonike, *Opera minora, magnam partem inedita*, ed. by Peter Wirth, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis, 32 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2000).

Eustathios of Thessalonike, *Not Composed in a Chance Manner: The Epitaphios for Manuel I Komnenos by Eustathios of Thessalonike*, ed. by Emmanuel C. Bourbouhakis, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia, 18 (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 2017).

Fontes rerum Byzantinarum. Rhetorum saeculi XII orationes politicae, I, 1-2, ed. by Vasilij E. Regel and Nikolaj I. Novosadskij, Subsidia Byzantina lucis ope iterata, 5 (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1982).

John Kinnamos, *Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Manuele Comnenis gestarum*, ed. by Augustus Meineke, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn: Weber, 1836). English translation: Charles M. Brand, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus by John Kinnamos* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976).

Jordan, Robert, 'Pakourianos. Typikon of Gregory Pakourianos for the Monastery of the Mother of God Petritzonitissa in Bačkovo', in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, ed. by John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 35 (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), II, 507-63.

Liudprand of Cremona, *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, trans. by Paolo Squatriti (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007).

Mango, Cyril, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453. Sources and Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986).

Michel Italikos, *Lettres et Discours*, ed. by Paul Gautier, Archives de l'Orient Chrétien, 14 (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1972).

Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. by Ioannes Aloysius van Dieten, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis, 11 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1975). English translation: Harry J. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniatēs* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1984).

Nikolaos Mesarites, *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos*, ed. by August Heisenberg, Programm des K. Alten Gymnasiums zu Würzburg für das Studienjahr 1906-1907 (Würzburg: University Press of Stürtz, 1907).

William, Archbishop of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*, trans. by Emily Atwater Babcock and August C. Krey, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943).

Τιμαρίων ή Περί των κατ' αυτόν παθημάτων, trans. [Modern Greek] Petros Vlachakos (Thessalonike: Εκδόσεις Ζήτρος, 2001).

Secondary Sources

Akiyama, Akira, 'Relic or Icon? The Place and Function of Imperial Regalia', in *The Nomadic Object: The Challenge of World for Early Modern Religious Art*, ed. by Christine Göttler and Mia Mochizuki, Intersections, 53 (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2018), pp. 430-47.

Augé, Isabelle, *Églises en dialogue: Arméniens et Byzantins dans la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle* (Louvain: Peeters, 2011).

Baldwin, Barry, 'Physical Descriptions of Byzantine Emperors', *Byzantion*, 51 (1981), 8-21.

Carile, Maria Cristina, 'Imperial Icons in Late Antiquity and Byzantium. The Iconic Image of the Emperor between Representation and Presence', *IKON*, 9 (2016), 75-98.

Dagron, Gilbert, *L'hippodrome de Constantinople. Jeux, peuple et politique* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 2011).

Dauterman Maguire, Eunice and Henry Maguire, *Other Icons. Art and Power in Byzantine Secular Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

Dawson, Timothy, *By the Emperor's Hand. Military Dress and Court Regalia in the Later Romano-Byzantine Empire* (Barnsley: Frontline Books, 2015).

Dujnic Bulger, Teresa and Rosemary A. Joyce, 'Archaeology of Embodied Subjectivities', in *A Companion to Gender Prehistory*, ed. by Diane Bolger (Chichester: John Willey and Sons, 2012), pp. 68-85.

Entwistle, Joanne, *The Fashioned Body. Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000).

Fisher, Genevieve and Diana DiPaolo Loren, 'Introduction', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 13 (2003), Special Section: Embodying Identity in Archaeology, 225-30.

Grabar, André, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1936).

Crossland, Zoë, 'Materiality and Embodiment', in *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, ed. by Dan Hicks and Mary Carolyn Beaudry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 386-405.

Harris, Oliver J.T. and John Robb, 'The Body in History: Constructing a Deep-time Cultural History'. Article posted on academia.edu 25 April 2015, summarizing the main arguments of the monograph by the same authors, *The Body in History: Europe from the Paleolithic to the Future* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Hatzaki, Myrto, *Beauty and the Male Body in Byzantium. Perceptions and Representations in Art and Text* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

Head, Constance, 'Physical Descriptions of the Emperors in Byzantine Historical Writing', *Byzantion*, 50 (1980), 226-40.

Hendy, Michael F., *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection.* Volume 4: *Alexius I to Michael VIII, 1081-1261.* Part 1: *Alexius I to Alexius V (1081-1204)* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1999).

Jeffreys, Elizabeth and Michael Jeffreys, 'A Constantinopolitan Poet views Frankish Antioch', *Crusades*, 14 (2015), 49-151.

Jones, Lynn and Henry Maguire, 'A Description of the Jousts of Manuel I Komnenos', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 26 (2002), 104-48.

Joyce, Rosemary A., 'Archaeology of the Body', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 34 (2005), 139-158.

Kalamara, Paraskévé, *Le système vestimentaire à Byzance du IVe jusqu'à la fin du XIe siècle* (Lille: Septentrion, Presses Universitaires, 1997).

Kantorowicz, Ernst H., 'Oriens Augusti. Lever du Roi', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 17 (1963), 117-77.

Kantorowicz, Ernst, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957; repr. 1997).

Karla, Grammatiki, 'Das literarische Porträt Kaiser Manuels I. Komnenos in den Kaiserreden des 12. Jh.', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 101 (2008), 669-79.

Kazhdan, Alexander and Simon Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

Magdalino, Paul, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Magdalino, Paul and Robert Nelson, 'The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 8 (1982), 123-83.

Maguire, Henry, 'Style and Ideology in Byzantine Imperial Art', *Gesta*, 28 (1989), 217-31.

Meskell, Lynn M., 'Writing the Body in Archaeology', in *Reading the Body. Representations and Remains in the Archaeological Record*, ed. by Alison E. Rautman, Regendering the Past series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp. 11-21.

Neville, Leonora, *Byzantine Gender* (Leeds: ARC Humanities Press, 2019).

Parani, Maria G., 'Dressed to Kill. Middle Byzantine Military Ceremonial Attire', in *The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture. Papers from the Second International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, Istanbul 21-23 June 2010, ed. by Ayla Ödekan, Nevra Necipoğlu and Engin Akyürek (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2013), pp. 145-56.

Parani, Maria G., *Reconstructing the Reality of Images. Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th-15th Centuries)*, Medieval Mediterranean, 41 (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2003).

Parani, Maria, '*Rise like the sun, the God-inspired kingship.* Light-symbolism and the Uses of Light in Middle and Late Byzantine Imperial Ceremonials', in *Hierotopy of Light and Fire in the Culture of the Byzantine World*, ed. by Alexei Lidov (Moscow: Indrik, 2013), pp. 159-84.

Robb, John, 'Introduction. The Archaeology of Bodies and the Eastern Mediterranean', in *An Archaeology of Prehistoric Bodies and Embodied Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. by Maria Mina, Sevi Triantaphyllou and Giannēs Papadatos (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016), pp. vii-xii.

Schreiner, Peter, 'Ritterspiele in Byzanz', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 46 (1996), 227-41.

Spatharakis, Iohannis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 1976).

Spingou, Foteini, 'The Supreme Power of the Armour and the Veneration of the Emperor's Body in Twelfth-Century Byzantium', in *Premodern Rulership and Contemporary Political Power. The King's Body never Dies*, ed. by Karolina Mroziewicz and Aleksander Sroczyński (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), pp. 47-71.

Wild, Benjamin, 'Clothing Royal Bodies. Changing Attitudes to Royal Dress and Appearance from the Middle Ages to Modernity', in *The Routledge History of Monarchy*, ed. by Elena Woodacre, Lucinda H. S. Dean, Chris Jones, Zita Rohr and Russell Martin (London and New York: Routledge, 2019), pp. 390-407.

MANUELA STUDER-KARLEN

Staging for Commemoration
The *Cherubikos Hymnos*

Among all the functions of royal imagery in service of promoting the power and rule of sovereigns, royal portraits installed within sacred space sought to guarantee the permanent presence of the embodied persona of the ruler, even when he was not physically present. This staging facilitated continuous commemoration of the sovereign.

However, this raises the question of how such commemoration could be ensured. We assume that these images found references in the texts spoken aloud in sacred space, namely as part of the liturgy. Only this interaction with words enabled the integration of the ruler's image into the daily service – and thus also into permanent commemoration. Indeed, remembering the living and the dead is a central component of the Byzantine liturgy, especially in the context of the *Cherubikos Hymnos*. It must be underlined that the portraits nevertheless always had to follow a double strategy: in addition to engaging with the liturgy, they oriented themselves towards representing the status of the depicted.

Staging for Performance

In the case of Byzantium, if we wish to examine the interconnections among ritual space, the acoustically perceptible performance of the liturgy, thematically elaborate iconography, and the representation of the ruler, the west wall of the naos in the church of the Trinity of Resava Monastery, Manasija (1408-17), offers itself as an ideal starting point (Fig. 1).[1] The monastery was conceived as the burial church of the despot Stefan Lazarević (r. 1389-1427), whose tomb is located in the southwest area of the structure.[2] His image next to the western entrance reflects much more than the standard ruler's likeness.[3] With recourse to a well-known motif from propaganda of the period, the despot is shown standing frontally while Christ, appearing from the heavens, places a gold crown on his head. Meanwhile, an angel hands the ruler a sword, and

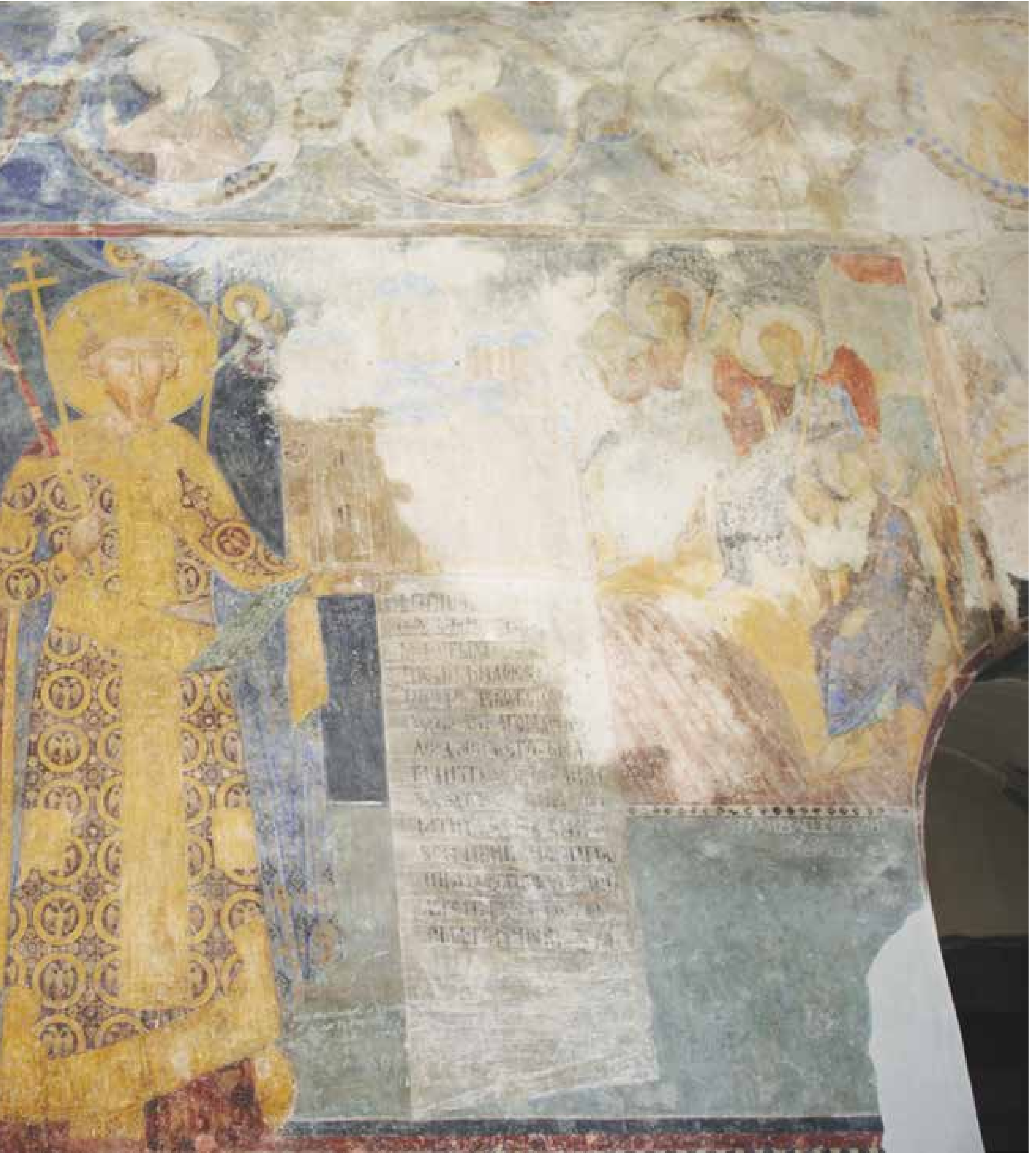
1 On the monastery with a discussion of the bibliography: Branislav Todić, *Manestir Resava* (Belgrade: Draganič, 1995); Branislav Todić and Milka Čanak Medić, *The Dečani Monastery* (Belgard: Muzej u Prištini, 2013); Jadranka Prolović, *Resava (Manasija). Geschichte, Architektur und Malerei einer Stiftung des serbischen Despoten Stefan Lazarević* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2017).

2 Stefan Lazarević was awarded the title of despot by emperor John VII Palaeologos in 1402. The last flourishing of Serbian art began under Lazarević. For historical background, see: Todić, *Manestir Resava*, pp. 3-30; Gordana Simić, Dragoljub Tdorović, Marin Brmbolić and Radojka Zarić, *Monastery Resava* (Belgrade: Draganič, 2011), pp. 5-16; Prolović, *Resava*, pp. 41-48, 55-56.

3 Todić, *Manestir Resava*, pp. 98-103, figs. 6, 82-84; Branislav Cvetković, 'Imago leonis in Despot Stefan's Iconography', in *Ikon*, 2 (2009), 137-46; Prolović, *Resava*, pp. 347-56, fig. 74; Branislav Cvetković, 'The Royal Imagery of Medieval Serbia', in *Meanings and Functions of the Ruler's Image in the Mediterranean World (11th-15th Centuries)*, ed. by Michele Bacci and Manuela Studer-Karlen (Leiden: Brill, 2022), pp. 172-208 (p. 194, fig. 5.10).

DOI 10.1484/M.HMSAH-EB.5.135009. This is an open access chapter made available under a CC BY-NC 4.0 International License.

✦ Fig. 1
Manasija, church of the Trinity of Resava Monastery (1408-17), west wall of the Naos. Stefan Lazarević, Christ Anapeson (Photo: Manuela Studer-Karlen).



a second angel a spear. Along with a cruciform sceptre in his right hand, Stefan holds in his left a realistic model of his church as well as an unfurled scroll inscribed with a deed of donation and a poetic prayer to the Holy Trinity. He is presenting his foundation to the Trinity residing at the New Sion, depicted adjacent to the despot on the northern part of the west wall. The text on the scroll may be a partial copy from the lost original *chrysobull* for the monastery of Resava and therefore may have a direct connection to the founder.[4] While his appearance follows the Byzantine iconographic formula of the ruler victorious over his enemies, it also articulates, due to the spatial organization and the content of these words, his religious humility in his capacity as the institution's founder.[5] On the other side of Stefan's portrait, in the lunette above the main door, are images of Christ Anapeson, God's hand holding the souls of the righteous, and David and Solomon.[6] The source of the iconography of God's hand is the Book of Wisdom 3:1, where Solomon promises salvation to the righteous; thus the image is often found in the context of the Last Judgement.[7] On the scroll of Solomon, the text of Proverbs 21:1 is paraphrased: 'Thus God directs the heart of a ruler'. The importance of the prophets in this context is explained in the despot's *vita*, written by Konstantin of Kosteneć, who drew multiple comparisons between Stefan and both David and Solomon.[8] It is noteworthy that in the *vita* Solomon is referred to twice as often as David, a statistic that accords with the former's closer proximity to the ruler in the painted programme at Resava.[9] Another striking visual feature in the immediate vicinity of the donor is the rather rare portrayal of Christ Anapeson reclining on his left arm in order to orient himself towards Stefan.[10] The text on the scroll of David (Psalm 44[45]:24) bears relevance to the Anapeson and, at the same time, can be understood as a plea for salvation from the mouth of the founder: 'Awaken, Lord! Why do you sleep?' In this context, the image takes on a strongly eschatological character, one that also extends to the founder himself. The despot's *suppedion* is identical in form and colour to the cushion of Christ Anapeson.[11] As Branislav

4 Todić, *Manestir Resava*, pp. 14-15.

5 Cvetković, 'Imago leonis', p. 138; Branislav Cvetković, 'Ideološki modeli i motivi u vladarskoj reprezentaciji despota Stefana', in *Srednji vek u srpskoj nauci,* ed. by Gordana Jovanović, *istoriji, književnosti i umetnosti 7,* (Despotovac: Resavska škola, 2016), pp. 57-78.

6 On the Anapeson: Branislav Todić, 'Anapeson. Iconographie et Signification du Thème', *Byzantion,* 64 (1994), 134-65 (pp. 139, 141, 144-45); Todić, *Manestir Resava*, pp. 103-09, figs. 85-89; Nicolas S. Constas, 'To Sleep, Perchance to Dream: The Middle State of Souls in Patristic and Byzantine Literature', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 55 (2001), 91-124 (pp. 104-05); Manuela Studer-Karlen, 'Le programme des églises byzantines et la liturgie', *Cahiers Archéologiques,* 59 (2022), 103-24 (p. 118); Manuela Studer-Karlen, *Christus Anapeson. Bildprogramm und Liturgie* (Basel: Schwabe, 2022), pp. 163-71.

7 Book of Wisdom 3.1: 'The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God'. Henry Maguire, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton: University Press, 1982; repr. 1994), pp. 57-59; Todić *Manestir Resava*, pp. 106-07, fig. 88; Constas, 'To Sleep', p. 93, n. 8; Prolović, *Resava*, pp. 344-47, 421-26.

8 Konstantin Kostenečki: *Vita des Despoten* (Житије деспота Стефана Лазаревића). For this text, see: Ninoslava Radošević, 'Laudes Serbiae. The Life of Despot Stephan Lazarević by Constantine the Philosopher', *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta,* 24-25 (1986), 445-51; Elka Bakalova, 'King David as Model of the Christian Ruler: Some Visual Sources', in *The Biblical Models of Power and Law,* ed. by Ivan Biliarsky and Radu G. Păun (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2008), pp. 93-131 (p. 122); Prolović, *Resava*, pp. 48-54. Between 1432 and 1439, Konstantin Filosof wrote the *vita* of Stefan Lazarević. The composition corresponds to well-known models, comparable to the panegyric of the patriarch Euthymios of Bulgaria.

9 Cvetković, 'Imago leonis', p. 138.

10 More commonly in the Anapeson image, Christ rests on his right arm. The reversed lying position evident at Resava is extremely rare. It also occurs in the church of St John the Evangelist in Serres (second half of the fourteenth century), on the northern part of the east wall of the narthex. Todić, 'Anapeson', pp. 138, 141, 144, 147, 149, 153-54; Studer-Karlen, *Christus Anapeson*, pp. 192-202.

11 The cushion is a typical imperial attribute in Byzantine art. Christ, prophets, and even archangels are often accompanied by this status symbol, whereas the Theotokos and the saints only

Cvetković has rightly pointed out, the two animal figures embroidered on the *suppedion* are lions, which refer as well to the Anapeson and, in particular, to Gen. 49:9, the main source for the theme.[12] Serbian royal ideology's special connection to this text is evident.[13] In the *vita* of St Simeon Nemanja, Jacob's blessing of his sons exemplifies the divine election of royalty and is consequently paralleled with the dynasty. Therefore, at Resava the visual confrontation staged between Stefan and Christ Anapeson characterizes the former as a God-loving monarch who belongs to the righteous tribe of Judah.[14] The appearance of the Anapeson image near the tomb of the despot can further be explained by Psalm 120(121):4, which is another source for the Anapeson image and was quoted in funerary rites, including those of the founders, especially in the monastic context.[15] If one agrees that the visual-spatial programme of the church constitutes a coherent and clear unity, one must nevertheless ask how it interacted with ritual. What function did this multilayer complex fulfil in the eucharistic performance?

The Theotokos turns to Christ Anapeson with her hands raised in prayer, but simultaneously she looks in the direction of the despot. The Theotokos as intercessor is a visual equivalent to the long *ektenie*, which was recited daily and in which she was invoked to intercede on behalf of mankind.[16] This was followed by the commemoration of certain persons as prescribed in the *typikon*.[17]

At Resava, Jadranka Prolović identifies a depiction of Pentecost in the western vault, which has a liturgical relevance for the founder as well, for on the Saturday before Pentecost, Vespers was sung with a procession that included prayers for the deceased.[18]

sporadically appear with it. Notable at Resava is the fact that the *suppedion* serves as an attribute of a donor who seeks to imitate the image of the emperor. In addition to geometric and floral ornaments, bicephalous eagles also appear as decoration on the *suppedion*. The depiction of the lions at Resava is singular.

12 Cvetković, 'Imago leonis', pp. 137-8, fig. 3; Prolović, *Resava*, pp. 347-56; Cvetković, 'The Royal Imagery', p. 194. While Cvetković correctly identified the animals as lions, Prolović mistakenly recognized a snake and a lion, thus arguing that the royal cushion symbolizes evil. Gen. 49:9: 'Judah is a lion's cub; from the prey my son, you have gone up. He stopped down, he crouched as a lion and as a lioness, who dares rouse him?' For the sources of the theme: Studer-Karlen, *Christus Anapeson*, pp. 13-34.

13 Cvetković, 'The Royal Imagery', p. 187, with the bibliography and the sources.

14 Cvetković, 'Imago leonis', p. 138.

15 Elena Velkovska, 'Funeral Rites according to the Byzantine Liturgical Sources', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 55 (2001), 21-51 (pp. 38-39); Maréva U, 'Images et passages dans l'Espace ecclésial à l'époque médiobyzantine', in *Visibilité et présence de l'image dans l'Espace ecclésial,* ed. by Sulamith Brodbeck and Anne-Orange Poilpré (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2019), pp. 301-27 (pp. 317-18). Psalm 120(121):4: 'Indeed, he who watches over Israel will neither slumber nor sleep.'

16 Dimitris I. Pallas, *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz. Der Ritus – das Bild* (Munich: Institut für Byzantinistik und neugriechische Philologie, 1965), pp. 120-21; Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, 'The Proskynetaria of the Templon and Narthex: Form, Imagery, Spatial Connections, and Reception', in *Thresholds of the Sacred. Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West*, ed. by Sharon E. J. Gerstel (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2006), pp. 107-32 (pp. 129-30). During the liturgy, the Theotokos is invoked in the *Theotokion* in front of the door: U, 'Images et passages', pp. 316-17, 321-22. The text is cited in: Feuillen Mercenier, *La Prière des Églises de Rite byzantin 2, les Fêtes* (Chevetogne: Éditions de Chevetogne, 1947), p. 84.

17 Gordona Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines. Fonction liturgique et Programmes iconographiques* (Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1969), p. 48; Christine Stephan, *Ein byzantinisches Bildensemble. Die Mosaiken und Fresken der Apostelkirche zu Thessaloniki* (Worms: Wernersche Verglagsgesellschaft, 1986), p. 174; Catia Galatariotou, 'Byzantine Ktetorika Typika. A Comparative Study', *Revue des Études Byzantines,* 45 (1987), 89-107 (pp. 93-94); Gail Nicholl, 'A Contribution to the Archaeological Interpretation of Typika: The Case of the Narthex', in *Work and Worship at the Theotokos Evergetis 1050-1200 (Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations, 6.2),* ed. by Margaret Mullet and Anthony Kirby (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1997), pp. 285-308 (p. 306).

18 Babić, *Les chappelles annexes*, pp. 53-54; Prolović, *Resava*, pp. 425-26. On the fact that Pentecost is

Within the three-dimensional architecture, the experience of spatiality was closely intertwined with performative and visual references. Thus, aspects of the king's identity and aspirations were communicated through not only standard modes of representation but also their integration into an image of salvation, a double strategy that only makes sense if the portrait is encountered as part of a continuous ritual format within the space. It is well known that the *typika* determined a monastery's daily routine, being based both on the general principles of the order and on the founder's own form of monasticism. Every foundation was an exchange: a gift in return for continuous prayer on behalf of the founder and, in turn, for a greater chance of securing him eternal life.[19] However, the question arises of how the royal body factored into the daily service.

Cherubikos Hymnos (Χερουβικὸς ὕμνος)

The manner in which the ruler was present in the daily service can be seen in the *Cherubikos Hymnos*, which was audibly sung at the theatrical climax of the liturgical entrance procession known as the Great Entrance.[20] During this portion of the liturgy, the gifts were carried from the prothesis, where the loaf of bread and the chalice had been prepared at the beginning of the rite, to the narthex and then returned to the bema via the naos.[21] The *epitaphios*, the textile adorned with the image of the dead Christ, served to cover the gifts during the procession.[22] *Epitaphioi* sometimes bore an inscription of a *troparion*, a short hymn, from the prayer 'Noble Joseph',

rarely absent from imperial foundations and its significance for the founder: Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, 'Présence et figures du souverain à Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople et à l'église de la Sainte-Croix d'Aghtamar', in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. by Henry Maguire (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1997), pp. 231-46 (pp. 234-36).

19 Galatariotou, 'Byzantine Ktetorika Typika', pp. 92-93; Rico Franses, *Donor Portraits in Byzantine Art. The Vicissitudes of Contact between Human and Divine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 152-93. In this chapter, Franses examines the presence of both lay and holy figures.

20 The *Cherubikos Hymnos* is probably introduced in the sixth century under Justin II and intoned during the Great Entrance since the twelfth century: Robert F. Taft, *The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Preanaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1978), pp. 69, 119-48; Robert F. Taft, 'The Liturgy of the Great Church: An Initial Synthesis of Structure and Interpretation on the Eve of Iconoclasm', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 34/35 (1980/81), 45-75 (p. 54).

21 Thomas Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971), pp. 155-62; Taft, *The Great Entrance*, pp. 178-215; Vasileios Marinis, 'Defining Liturgical Space', in *The Byzantine Word*, ed. by Paul Stephenson (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 284-302 (pp. 285-86, 294); Vasileios Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople. Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 22-23; Vasileios Marinis, 'On earth as it is in heaven? Reinterpreting the Heavenly Liturgy in Byzantine Art', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* 114 (2021), 255-68 (pp. 259-60).

22 Taft, *The Great Entrance*, pp. 69, 119-48; Warren T. Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon. Liturgical Vestments and Sacramental Power in Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 124-25; Richard Barrett, 'Let Us Put Away All Earthly Care: Mysticism and the Cherubikon of the Byzantine Rite', *Studia Patristica,* 64 (2013), 111-24; Robert F. Taft and Stefano Parenti, *Il Grande Ingresso. Edizione italiana rivista, ampliata e aggiornata* (Grottaferrata: Monastero Esarchico, 2014), pp. 155-205; Marka Tomić Đjurić,'To picture and to perform: the image of the Eucharistic Liturgy at Markov Manastir (I)', *Zograf,* 38 (2014), 123-42 (pp. 130-37). Most likely, the use of the *epitaphios* was introduced on Mount Athos at the end of the thirteenth century.

which was recited while the bread and wine were deposited on the altar, commemorating the deposition of Christ.[23] Such inscriptions make clear that the *epitaphios* was meant to be part of the symbolism surrounding the Great Entrance.[24] A similar interaction with the entrance rite can be observed in other liturgical objects, such as the *panagiaria*.[25] On the Disk of Pulcheria from Mount Athos (fourteenth century) in specific, the Great Entrance is depicted in the first register, while the central medallion is encircled by an inscription containing the *Cherubikos Hymnos*.[26] Relevant to the donors' integration into the rite is the fact that the *Cherubikos Hymnos* was rhythmically interrupted – as documented in the manuscripts – by liturgical commemorations for the living and the deceased.[27] References to this custom are evident in the numerous inscriptions on *epitaphioi* pleading for the salvation of the donor, which are to be understood as intercessory formulas.[28] These interjections into the liturgy multiplied over time. Ultimately, to pray for the ruler, bishop, and benefactors became a stable element of the rite, even when they were not present.[29]

Through its inclusion of portraits of rulers within a liturgical narrative, the Sakkos of Photios (1414-17) makes explicit the implication of political figures in the liturgy, especially since the garment was worn and 'performed' by the priest on high feasts.[30] At the bottom front, political figures are portrayed beneath Constantine I and Helena: at right, the Russian grand duke Vasily Dmitrievich I and his wife Sophia Vitovtovna, with Russian inscriptions, and, at left, the future Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaeologos (r. 1425-48) and his wife Anna Vassilyevna (Anna of Moscow, daughter of the Russian grand duke Vassily Dmitrievich I), with Greek inscriptions. The fact that the Byzantine rulers are endowed with halos, in contrast to

23 Taft, *The Great Entrance*, p. 245; Rémi Gounelle, *Les recensions byzantines de l'Évangile de Nicodème* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 52-53; Taft and Parenti, *Il Grande Ingresso*, pp. 244-49.

24 Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon*, p. 126.

25 Marka Tomić Đjurić,'To Picture and to Perform: The Image of the Eucharistic Liturgy at Markov Manastir (II)', *Zograf*, 39 (2015), 129-50 (pp. 139-45). On the *panagiaria*: Ivan Drpić, 'Notes on Byzantine Panagiaria', *Zograf*, 35 (2011), 51-62.

26 Iouli Klavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985), pp. 204-05.

27 Taft, *The Great Entrance*, pp. 78-79, 227-34, 430; Hans Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter. Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion* (Berlin: Mann, 1981), pp. 195-96; Stefanos Alexopoulos, *The Presanctified Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite. A comparative Analysis of its Origins, Evolution, and structural Components* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), pp. 232-35; Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon*, p. 126; Taft and Parenti, *Il Grande Ingresso*, p. 396.

28 Juliana Boycheva, 'L'aer dans la liturgie orthodoxe et son iconographie du XIIIe siècle jusque dans l'art post-byzantin', *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 51 (2003), 169-94 (pp. 169-72).

29 Taft, *The Great Entrance*, p. 232; Taft and Parenti, *Il Grande Ingresso*, pp. 227-34.

30 Warren T. Woodfin, *Late Byzantine Liturgical Vestments and the Iconography of Sacerdotal Power* (Illinois: ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2002), p. 37; Warren T. Woodfin, 'Celestial Hierarchies and earthly Hierarchies in the Art of the Byzantine Church', in *The Byzantine World*, ed. by Paul Stephenson (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 303-19 (pp. 313-14); Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon*, pp. 123, 126-28, fig. 3.4; Aleksej G. Barkov and Inna Vishnevskaya, 'Cat. 104. Sakkos', in *Byzantine Antiquities. Works of Art from the Fourth to Fifteenth Centuries in the Collection of the Moscow Kremlin Museums*, ed. by Irina A. Sterligova (Moscow: Moscow Kremlin Museums, 2013), pp. 488-513; Warren T. Woodfin, 'Orthodox Liturgical Textiles and Clerical Self-Referentiality', in *Dressing the Part: Textiles as Propaganda in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Kate Dimitrova and Margaret Goehring (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 31-51. In the fifteenth century, Simeon of Thessalonica noted that all priests have the right to dress in the *sakkos*. However, he specified that the *sakkos* is 'the mantle of the Passion', which the priest consequently wore during the rite of *Epitaphios Threnos*. Simeon Thessalonicensis Archiepiscopus, De Sacra Liturgia, *Patrologia Graeca* 155, cols 829-52. For this text: Christopher Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church* (London: Variorum Publications, 1982), p. 18; *St Symeon of Thessalonika. The Liturgical Commentaries*, ed. and trans. by Steven Hawkes-Teeples, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 168 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2011), p. 179.

the Muscovites, suggests the work to be of Greek production.[31] It was a diplomatic gift, and its iconography simultaneously invokes secular, divine, and imperial authority.[32] Its iconography, moreover, looks to Orthodox liturgical realism: on the front, the scenes of the Passion and Annunciation, along with the depictions of the Anapeson and the *Epitaphios Threnos*, mirror the mystagogical symbolism of the Great Entrance, while the portraits of the rulers refer to the integration of the donors into this rite via their commemoration during the *Cherubikos Hymnos.*[33]

These implications can also be applied to Resava. The liturgical-spiritual influence of the Athonite tradition was widely evident in the Serbian Empire but was particularly strong at Resava; indeed, as Konstantine (the biographer of Stefan Lazarevic) notes, monks from Mount Athos came to Resava.[34] This connection is also apparent in the pictorial programme, with St Peter Athonites prominently placed on the west wall next to the founder's portrait. The programme refers, in addition, to the Great Entrance: among the figures of saints, the vision of Peter of Alexandria on the south side of the northeast pillar stands out.[35] Encountered by the priest during the Great Entrance as he brought the prepared gifts from the prothesis to the altar for consecration, it is a didactic image reminding him that these are not mere bread and wine but the incorruptible body of Christ. Peter in his dual role as celebrant and martyr becomes a metaphor for Christ, understood, based on the last phrase in the *Cherubikos Hymnons,* as the one who at once sacrifices and is sacrificed.[36]

It is essential to emphasize that the participation of the ruler in the Great Entrance is attested in both *De ceremoniis* (tenth century)[37] and a passage from Pseudo-Kodinos's *De officiis* (fourteenth century).[38]

Mimesis

These questions regarding the significance of the *Cherubikos Hymnos* for the founder as well as for invoking the latter's presence or absence have already been addressed in the case of Markov Monastery. The monastery, founded near Skopje by the Serbian king Vukašin (r. 1365-71) is dedicated to St Demetrios.[39] A procession painted on the south and north walls and consisting

31 Barkov and Vishnevskaya, 'Cat. 104', p. 502.

32 Next to John is a representation of Archbishop Photios with a Greek inscription. Photios, who was from Monemvasia, was unexpectedly appointed Metropolitan of Kiev in September 1408. He held this powerful position until 1431. Cecily Hilsdale, *Byzantine Art and Diplomacy in Age of Decline* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 288-330.

33 Studer-Karlen, *Christus Anapeson*, pp. 31-32, 345-48.

34 Studer-Karlen, *Christus Anapeson*, p. 162.

35 Babić *Les chappelles annexes*, p. 136; Archimandrite Silas Koukiaris, 'The Depiction of the Vision of Saint Peter of Alexandria in the Sanctuary of Byzantine Churches', *Zograf*, 35 (2011), 63-71; Prolović, *Resava*, pp. 237-40.

36 This phrase was introduced in the twelfth century: Studer-Karlen, *Christus Anapeson*, pp. 40-41.

37 Taft, *The Great Entrance*, pp. 195-97. Book I, chapter I qualifies that the patricians stood on either side of the solea during the procession, and the emperor passes between them. The deacon with the gifts met the emperor and his entourage at a point in the centre of the church, just behind the ambo. For the reconstruction of the procession: Mathews, *The Early Churches*, pp. 161-62.

38 Mathews, *The Early Churches*, pp. 142-47; Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual*, p. 31; *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies*, ed. and trans. by Ruth Macrides, Dimiter Angelov and Joseph Munitiz, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs, 15 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 226-31 (p. 230): 'The emperor leads the entire Entrance. All the axe-bearing Varangians and young armed noblemen, about a hundred in number, follow along with him on both sides. Immediately after the emperor come the deacons and priests carrying other holy vessels. Going around the nave, according to the custom, they come to the solea. All the others stand outside; only the emperor traverses the solea

of laypeople, holy martyrs, warriors, the prophet David, and members of the royal family – King Vukašin, his wife, and King Marko[40] – terminates in a composition on the lowest register of the north wall, directly adjacent to the iconostasis; there, Christ is seated on a throne, wearing the *kamelaukion* and the *loros* (Fig. 2). The flanking angels and the wheels of fire at Christ's feet represent the heavenly powers. The winged St John Prodromos turns towards Christ. On the other side of Christ, the Theotokos appears as a queen, crowned, yet clad in the priestly robe. The identification of the textual source for the Royal Deesis has been a subject of scholarly debate.[41] The two images – Christ as priest and Christ as emperor – operate in tandem, the former as a mimetic counterpart to ecclesiastical ritual and the latter as an anagogical evocation of heavenly realities.[42] Particularly noteworthy is the emphasis on the imagery's interaction with the rite of the Great Entrance in this part of the church. The depiction correlates to the Great Entrance celebrated by Christ the Archpriest, a subject illustrated within the central apse.[43] The Royal Deesis specifically evokes the presence of the eschatological Christ and the liturgical theme of the *Cherubikos Hymnos*, which is sung during the Great Entrance and praises the eternal kingdom of Christ.[44] Ida Sinkević has pointed out that in Markov Monastery the missing link in the procession on the south wall – namely in front of the royal door – could have

and meets the patriarch who is standing at the Holy Door'. The axe-bearing Varangians guarded the doors of the emperor's room in the palace and accompanied the emperor to monasteries and churches on certain feasts. On the parallel between the emperor surrounded by the Varangians in the Great Entrance and the sentence 'We are about to receive the king of all invisibly escorted by the angelic host', see: Macrides, Angelov and Munitz, *Pseudo-Kodinos*, p. 231, n. 666.

39 Cvetan Grozdanov, 'Sur l'Iconographie des fresques du Monastère de Marko', *Zograf*, 11 (1980), 82-93; Saska Bogevska, 'Les peintures murales du monastère de Marko: un programme iconographique au service de la propagande royale', in *La culture des commanditaires*, ed. by Quitterie Cazes, Florence Journot and Christiane Prigent (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2011), pp. 1-21; Ida Sinkević, 'Prolegomena for a Study of Royal Entrances in Byzantine Churches: The Case of Marko's Monastery', in *Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and its Decoration. Studies in Honor of Slobodan Ćurčić*, ed. by Mark J. Johnson, Robert Ousterhout and Amy Papalexandrou (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 121-42 (pp. 130-38). The paintings were completed under Vukašin's son, King Marko (r. 1371-95), in 1376/77. Tomić Đjurić, 'To Picture and to Perform (I)', 123-42; Tomić Đjurić, 'To Picture and to Perform (II)', pp. 129-50; Marka Tomić Đjurić, Фреске Марковог манастира. Београд: Балканолошки институт САНУ, Архиепископија охридска и Митрополија скопска (Belgrade: Institute for Byzantine Studies, 2019).

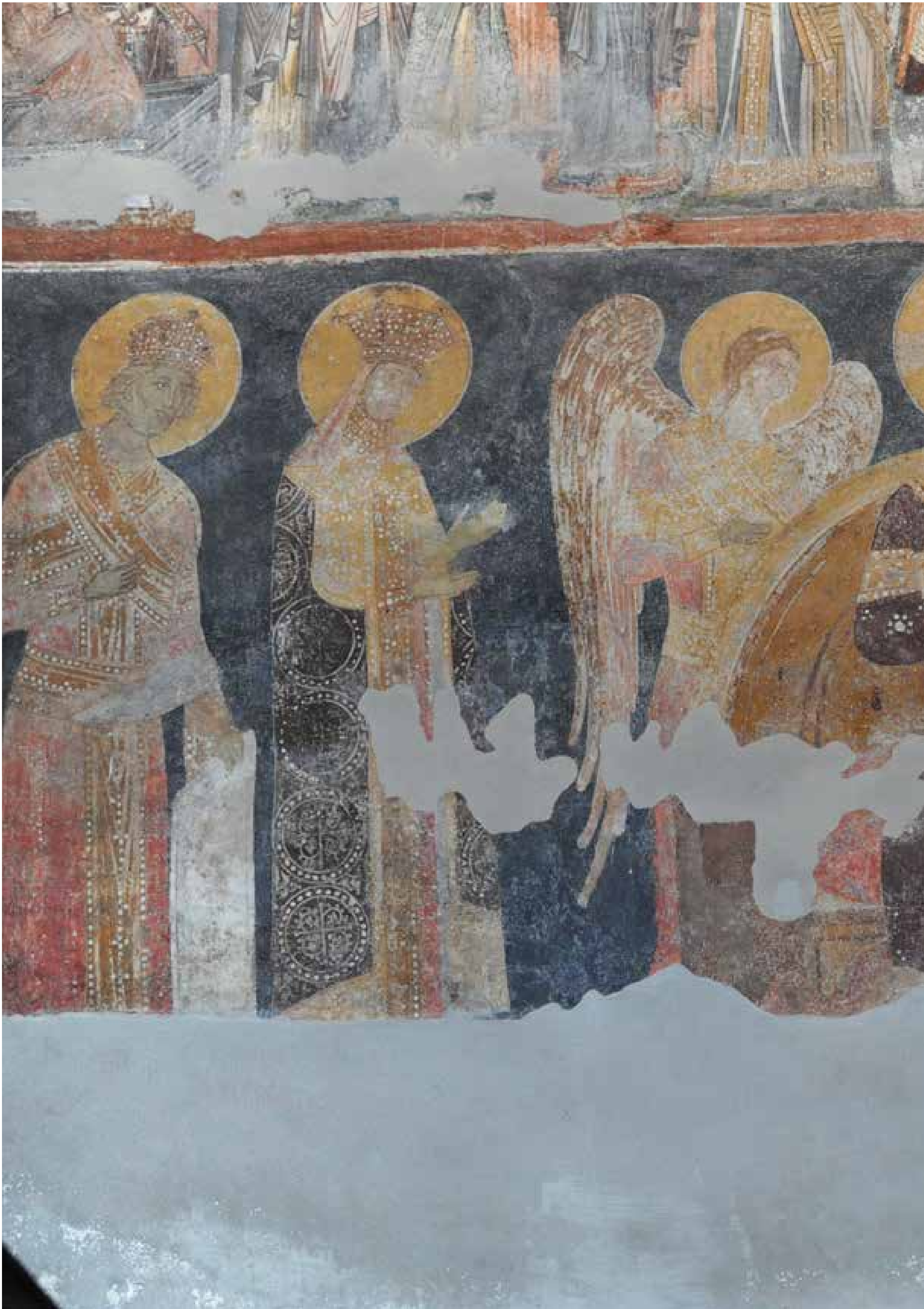
40 On the representations of the donors on the south door as well as on the north wall of the naos: Zaga A. Gavrilović, 'The Portrait of King Marko at Markov Manastir (1376-1381)', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 16 (1990), 415-28; Branislav Cvetković, 'Sovereign Portraits at Mark's Monastery Revisited', *Ikon*, 5 (2012), 185-98.

41 For descriptions and diverse interpretations of the scene, with comparisons and earlier bibliography: Bogevska, 'Les peintures murales', pp. 1-21; Sinkević, 'Prolegomena', pp. 121-42; Konstantinos Vapheiades, 'Sacerdotium and Regnum in Late Byzantium: Some Notes on the Imperial Deesis', *American Journal of Arts and Design*, 2/4 (2017), 79-83; Anes Kriza, 'The Royal Deesis – An Anti-Latin Image of Late Byzantine Art', in *Cross-Cultural Interaction between Byzantium and the West 1204-1669: Whose Mediterranean is it anyway?*, ed. by Angeliki Lymberopoulou (London: Routledge, 2018), pp. 272-90; Konstantinos Vapheiades, 'Sacerdotium and Imperium in Late Byzantine Art', *Niš & Byzantium*, 18 (2020), 55-87. It is important to note that the significance of the scene depends on the iconographical context and the specific rendition, among many variables.

42 Woodfin, 'Orthodox Liturgical Textiles', pp. 40-41.

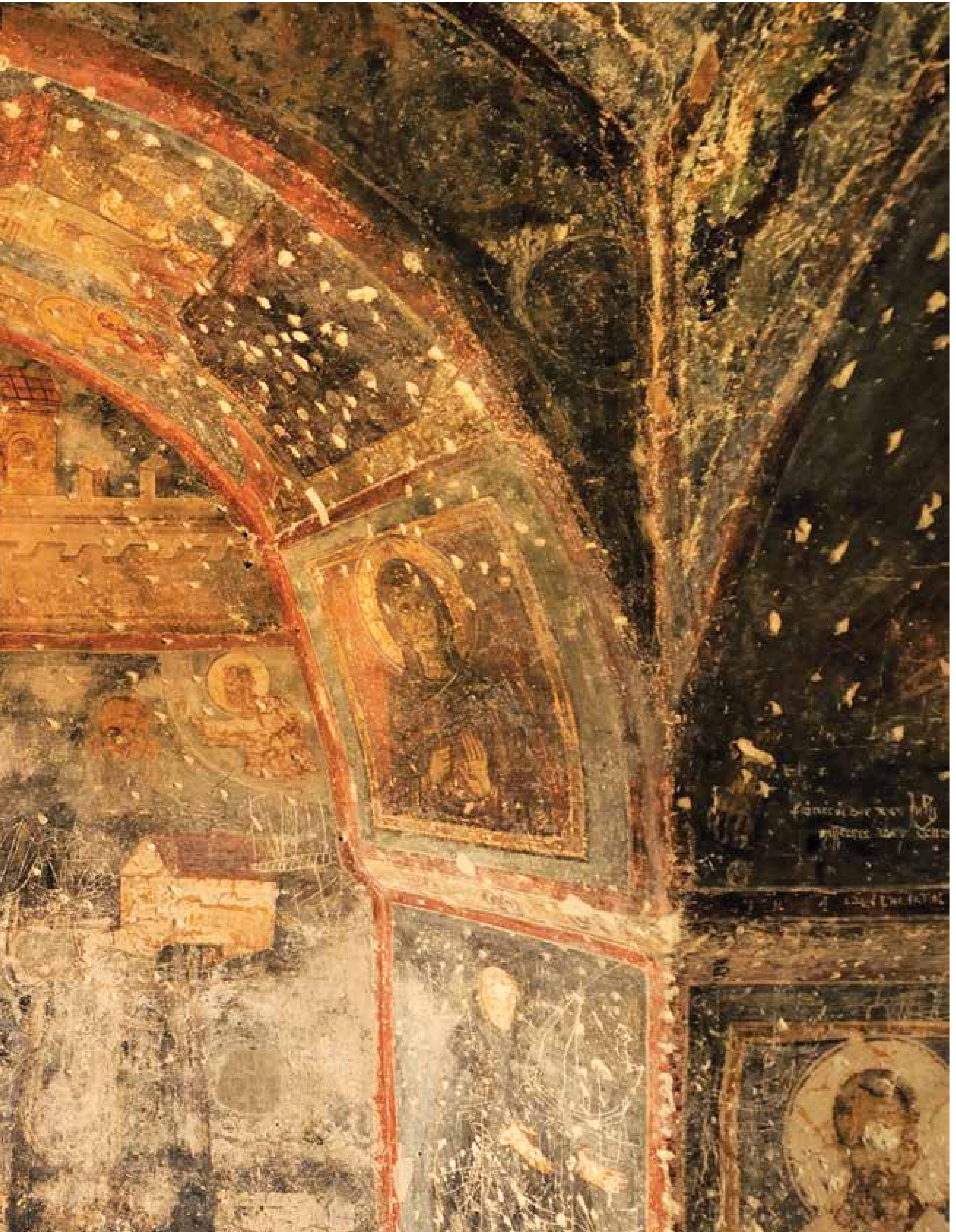
43 Tomić Đjurić, 'To Picture and to Perform (II)', pp. 129-38, fig. 4.

44 Simeon Thessalonicensis Archiepiscopus, De Sacra Liturgia, *Patrologia Graeca* 155, col. 340; Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual*, pp. 22-23. Interpretation as Great Entrance: Grozdanov, 'Sur l'Iconographie', pp. 82-93; Cvetan Grozdanov, 'Hristos car, Bogorodica carica, nebesnite sili I svetite voini vo živopisot od XIV I XV vek vo Treskovec', *Kulturno nasledstvo*, 12-13 (1985-1986), pp. 5-20; Cvetan Grozdanov, 'Isus Hristos car and carevima u živopisu Ohridske arhiepiskopije od XV do XVII veka', *Zograf*, 27 (1998-1999), 151-60; Vojislav J. Đjurić, *Byzantinische Fresken in Jugoslawien* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1976), pp. 80-83; Woodfin, 'Orthodox Liturgical Textiles',



✦ Fig. 2
The royal Deesis, mural painting, 1376-1377.
Markov Manastir, Katholikon, north wall of the naos.

✦ Fig. 3
Nikolaus Panteugenos with his wife Irene Mentoni and her son; nuns, saints, and Mariological episodes, before 1317. Kalamoti, Panagia Agrelopoussiana, north wall of the naos (Photo: Manuela Studer-Karlen).



been filled by King Marko himself upon his entrance into the church, with the ruler thus acting as a living icon and completing the programme of the lowest register of the naos.[45] Meanwhile, the portrait of the king on the north wall, processing towards the altar with the choir of saints as attested by Pseudo-Kodinos, projected the image of a perfect ruler, whose salvation should be pleaded for in the *Cherubikos Hymnos*. Through mimesis, the image at once facilitates permanent commemoration of the donor and reflects the reality of his participation in the ritual. The frescoes of Markov Monastery thus reveal a subtle and fluid relationship among ritual, its spatial framework, and the spoken word.

Appearing on the southern gate of the church are painted portraits of King Vukašin and St Mark standing to either side of the monastery's patron, St Demetrius. They are positioned beneath an arch that is covered with various saints in a dense symbolic structure.[46] Through iconographic analysis, Cvetković concluded that the image of King Mark holding a trumpet must be taken as an allusion to Joshua and his conquering of Jericho, and Vukašin's raised hand as a symbol of his identity as the New Moses.[47] Although the original architectural structure of the south gate is no longer known, it is crucial that the original font for the blessing of the waters, dating to 1393, was discovered here.[48] This indicates that the building may have hosted special services, chief among them the commemoration of the deceased founders.[49]

Diaklysmos for Commemoration

A similar strategy is also found in the narthex of the Panagia Agrelopoussiana in Kalamoti on the island of Chios. The inscription in the church delimits the paintings to between 1295 and 1317 and mentions two members of the local aristocracy: Nikolaos Panteugenos, who was *anagnostes* and *nomikos*, and his wife Irene Mentoni.[50] In the northern niche within the narthex, three donors are depicted standing, all facing the viewer (Fig. 3). The rightmost figure is an elderly man, probably Nikolaos Panteugenos himself, who stands holding the model of a single-nave church with a gabled roof and no narthex. This *ktetor* has long grey hair and a grey

p. 40; Vapheiades, 'Sacerdotium and Regnum', p. 81; Vapheiades, 'Sacerdotium and Imperium', pp. 70-71. For the interpretation as Little Entrance: Rafca Youssef Nasr, 'Priestly Ornaments and the Priesthood of the Mother of God', *Chronos,* 40 (2019), 119-34 (pp. 123-24). Since the *Cherubikos Hymnos* is only sung in the Great Entrance, this interpretation is more likely, especially with regard to the donors. On the south wall of the diakonikon, St Spyridon holds a *rotulus* on which the text of the *Cherubikos Hymnos* is written.

45 Sinkević, 'Prolegomena', pp. 157-58.

46 Cvetković, 'Sovereign Portraits', pp. 186-90, figs. 5-6. At the summit, there is the Virgin of the Passion with the Archangel Gabriel holding the instruments of the Passion. Above the portrait of King Mark, the busts of the Prophet David, St Stephen the Protomartyr, and St Catherine are chosen as protectors of the ruler. On the other side, busts of the Prophet Solomon and St Anastasia Pharmakolytria are depicted.

47 Cvetković, 'Sovereign Portraits', p. 190.

48 Olivea Kandić, 'Fonts for the Blessing of the Waters in Serbian Medieval Churches', *Zograf*, 27 (1998/99), 61-78 (p. 73, fig. 24).

49 Cvetković, 'Sovereign Portraits', pp. 192-93.

50 For an interpretation of the inscription: Olga Vassi, 'Η κτητορική επιγραφή της Παναγίας 'Αγρελωπούσαινας' στη Χίο', *ΔΧΑΕ,* 27 (2006), 463-70 (pp. 468-70); Olga Vassi, 'Ο παλαιολόγειος ναός της Παναγίας Αγρελωπούσαινας στη Χίο: η μνημειακή Ζωγραφική', *ΔΧΑΕ,* 39 (2018), 311-28 (pp. 325-27). From 1304 on, Chios was – with a short Byzantine intermezzo from 1329 and 1346 – under the rule of the rich Zaccaria family from Genoa.

beard and is dressed in a black tunic. Above his left shoulder, the blessing Christ, shown in half-length, appears from a bright segment of sky to receive the endowment.[51] The central figure is another man, but younger, who outstretches his arms towards Christ. He has light-brown, parted hair and a short beard. He wears a long-sleeved, white tunic under a belted red tunic that falls over his black shoes. On the left, a woman, likewise raising her hands in prayer towards Christ, completes the group of three. Her name can still be deciphered over her right shoulder: Irene Mentoni.[52] In keeping with the customs of dress for aristocratic ladies, she wears a wide, white tunic and a red cloak, the latter fixed at her chest with a golden, round brooch. Irene's brown hair falls to her shoulders and is partially covered with a yellow and white, turban-like headdress.[53] The presence of three donor figures, while only two names are given in the donation inscription, is enigmatic. The young man between the two donors could be a close relative of the couple, possibly even their son.[54] The visual treatment of the donors in the decorative programme suggests that they were buried here.[55]

In the opposite niche, as a counterpart to the ruling family, St Constantine and St Helena are portrayed in imperial regalia flanking the Cross.[56] They are accompanied by a hymnographer[57] and St Onouphrios. The iconography of the narthex pays homage to the Theotokos: in addition to a detailed Mariological cycle, particularly noteworthy are the prefigurations of the Theotokos in the east niche, the details of which suggest an association with a liturgical rite (Fig. 4).[58] The Old Testament theophany, adapted to the liturgy, emphasizes the presence of the figures who prophesized the Messianic arrival. Moreover, many scenes would have had a special meaning within the context of the funeral service: the prefigurations of the Virgin were echoed in the hymns that were sung throughout the funeral service.[59] The western door is framed by St Zosimas and St Mary of Egypt. On the one hand, the latter's picture refers to the intercessory role of the Theotokos as evoked in the narrative of the life of Mary of Egypt, who could only enter the church of the Holy Sepulchre after an icon of Our Lady had been adored.[60] On the other hand, her inclusion here, together with the depiction of the Philoxenia of Abraham in the lunette above the west door, conveys significant monastic meaning: these two subjects are often featured in the narthex, where they had a eucharistic function, in particular related to the

51 Charalambos Bouras, 'Μία βυζαντινή βασιλική εν Χίω', Νέον Ἀθήναιον, 3 (1958/60), 129-50 (p. 136).

52 Bouras, 'Μία βυζαντινή βασιλική', pp. 135-36, fig. 7.

53 Maria G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images. Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th-15th centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 74, 77-78, figs. 85-86.

54 Vassi 'Η κτητορική', pp. 466-67. The depiction of children between the donor couple occurs frequently in Byzantine art.

55 Vassi, 'Ο παλαιολόγειος', p. 319.

56 Constantine wears a crossed *loros* and the semicircular crown of the Palaeologian (*Kamelaukion*). Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality*, pp. 29-30, figs. 31-32. The parallel between the holy emperors and the rulers is a known topos; see, for example, the naos of Markov Monastery, where the royal family is represented on the north wall, while the west wall displays the figures of St Constantine and St Helena. Sinkević, 'Prolegomena', p. 135. On these constellations in the Georgian churches: Antony Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in the Medieval Kingdom of Georgia 786-1213* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), p. 212.

57 Though there is no inscription and the figure is badly conserved, the iconographic context with the Mariological typologies speaks in favour of identifying this figure as a hymnographer.

58 Vassi, 'Ο παλαιολόγειος', pp. 323-24; Manuela Studer-Karlen, 'Les typologies mariales dans l'art paléologue', *Byzantina*, 36 (2019), 103-66 (pp. 151-53, fig. 12).

59 *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church*, ed. by Isabel Florence Hapgood (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1975), pp. 379, 382-83, 385; Robert Ousterhout, 'Temporal Structuring in the Chora Parekklesion', *Gesta*, 34/1, 1995, 63-74 (pp. 70-72).

60 There are several versions of her *vita*, the longest and most detailed of which came from Sophronios of Jerusalem from the years 634-38. Sophronii

✦ Fig. 4
Paraklesis, Ezechiel, and Christ Anapeson, mural painting, before 1317. Kalamoti, Panagia Agrelopoussiana, east wall (Photo: Manuela Studer-Karlen).

diaklysmos.[61] Various *typika* specify that the monks took part in a *diaklysmos* in the narthex after the Divine Liturgy, gathering together to await the summons to the *trapeza*;[62] although no consistent information can be found across the *typika*, we know that the *diaklysmos* was a common feature of monastic ceremony.[63] Concerning the spatial and liturgical organization at Kalamoti, the placement of the two eucharistic scenes just mentioned – Philoxenia and St Mary of Egypt – next to the exit door relates to the fact that during the meal in this space, for which St Mary's communion served as an exemplum, the monks waited for the bell to ring before departing the refectory through this door, after the liturgy had ended.[64] An interesting occurrence of the *diaklysmos* is to be found in the Pantokrator *typikon* and can be applied to Kalamoti, where unfortunately no *typikon* has been preserved. The Pantokrator *typikon* states that the ritual of the *diaklysmos* is an occasion for commemorating the ruling family and the donors.[65] We can therefore assume that at Kalamoti, during the *diaklysmos* held in the narthex, prayers were said for the reigning family, the members of which are portrayed, stately and pious, in the northern niche (Fig. 3). At the bottom of the four corner pillars, nuns and monks are depicted, their gestures leading the ruling family to salvation – that is, towards the eastern niche. Here, the clerics are certainly the initiators of the foundation. The triple image of the Theotokos on the east wall, beside the door, emphasizes her role as intercessor, which the ruling family also called upon (Fig. 4).[66] The door is flanked by the Theotokos Paraklesis, shown almost in profile, standing on a suppedaneum with an open scroll in her right hand, and by Christ, who stands on a red cushion with an open book (John 8:2) in his left hand and his right hand raised in blessing.[67] Images with an explicit protective function next to passages tended to convey blessing and intercession.[68]

Patriarchae Hierosolymitani, Βίος Μαρίας Αἰγυπτίας, τῆς ἀπὸ ἑταιρίδων ἀσκησάσης κατά τὴν ἔρημον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, *Patrologia Graeca* 87/3. cols 3697-713. Benedicta Ward, *Harlots of the desert: a study of repentance in early monastic sources* (London: A.R. Mowbray, 1987), pp. 35-56.

61 On the different possible functions of the narthex: Mathews, *The Early Churches*, pp. 138-52; Florence Bache, 'La fonction funéraire du narthex dans les églises byzantines du XIIe au XIVe siècle', *Histoire de l'Art,* 7 (1989), 25-33; Georgi Gerov, 'The Narthex as Desert: The Symbolism of the Entrance Space in Orthodox Church Buildings', in *Ritual and Art. Byzantine Essays for Christopher Walter*, ed. by Pamela Armstrong (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 144-59; Vasileios Marinis, 'Defining Liturgical Space', pp. 294-95.

62 Stephan, *Ein byzantinisches Bildensemble,* pp. 173-75; Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual,* pp. 22-23. This ritual is found in a number of eleventh- and twelfth-century *typika*, see: Paul Gautier, 'Le typikon du Christ Saveur Pantocrator', *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 32 (1974), 1-145 (p. 88, n. 5); Nicholl, 'A Contribution', pp. 287-89.

63 For a discussion of the diversity in terms of occasion and context: Nicholl, 'A Contribution', pp. 289-94.

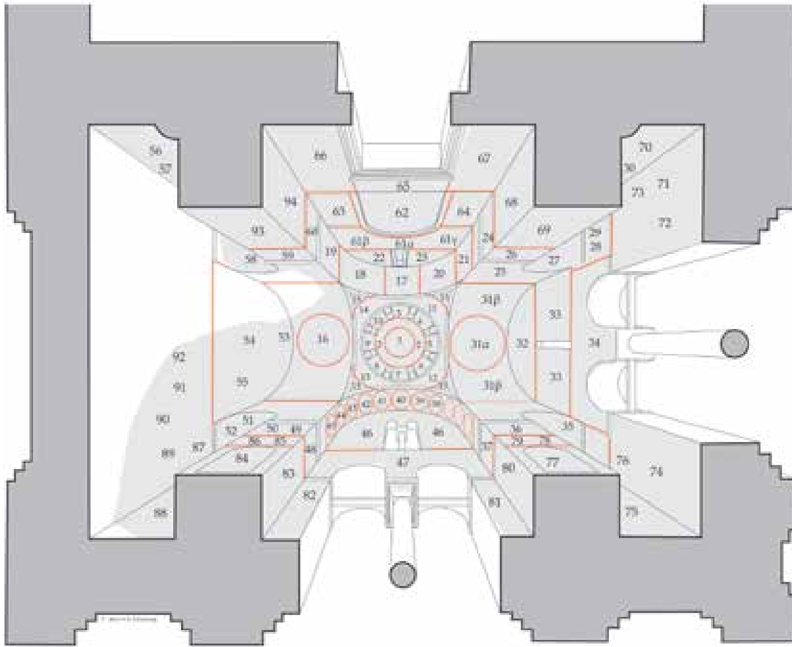
64 Tomeković has already attributed a eucharistic meaning to the *diakysmos*, associating it with the iconography in some narthexes and assuming a relationship between the spatial organization and the community gathering in the narthex for a meal. Svetlana Tomeković, 'Contribution à l'étude du programme du narthex des églises monastiques (XIe-première moitié du XIIIe s.)', *Byzantion,* 58 (1988), 140-54 (pp. 147-49).

65 Gautier, 'Le typikon', p. 89. The commemorations in this specific *typikon* include the monks and laity, who stand in for the staff and patients of the hospital. On the commemoration connected to the *diaklysmos*: Constantin Andronikof, *Le cycle pascal. Le sens des fêtes* (Paris: Édition du Cerf, 1985), pp. 154-56; Stephan, *Ein byzantinisches Bildensemble,* p. 175; Nicholl, 'A contribution', pp. 285-308.

66 The Theotokos Paraklesis, the Theotokos as a bust portrait and the Theotokos in the composition with Ezechiel.

67 Ivan M. Djordjević and Miodrag Marković, 'On the Dialogue Relationship between the Virgin and Christ in East Christian Art. Apropos of the Discovery of the Figures of the Virgin Mediatrix and Christ in the Naos of Lesnovo', *Zograf,* 28 (2000/01), 13-48. The example in Kalamoti is not mentioned. See for this: Studer-Karlen, *Christus Anapeson*, pp. 178-92.

68 Lydie Hadermann-Misguich, 'Images et Passages. Leurs relations dans quelques églises byzantines d'après 843', in *Le Temps des Anges. Recueil d'études sur la peinture byzantine du 12e siècle, ses antécédents, son rayonnement*, ed. by Brigitte D'Hainaut-Zveny and Catherine Vanderheyde (Brussels: Société pour le progrès des études philologues et historiques, 2005), pp. 219-34; Kalopissi-Verti, 'The



✦ Fig. 5
Lesnovo, church of the Archangels (1349), narthex. Plan with the indications of the scenes. 18-21, 37, 60: Prefigurations of the Old Testament; 22: St Anna; 23: St Joachim; 25, 26, 28, 29, 31-36, 73: Depictions of the psalms; 53: Christ; 54: Stefan Uroš IV. Dušan; 55: Jelena; 56-59: Scenes related to the baptism; 61: Christ Anapeson, Gabriel and the Theotokos; 62: Archangel Michel. (Drawing: Georgios Fousteris).

✦ Fig. 6
Christ Anapeson, mural painting, 1349. Lesnovo, church of the Archangels, narthex (Photo: Manuela Studer-Karlen).

✦ Fig. 7
The royal family and the donor's family, mural painting, 1349. Lesnovo, church of the Archangels, narthex, north wall (Photo: Manuela Studer-Karlen).

The Paraklesis is combined with the Anapeson image, depicted above the door leading from the narthex to the naos, and the prefigurations of the Theotokos. These images imply specific supplications that would have been uttered before passing through the door.[69] Above the standing Theotokos and adjacent to Christ Anapeson, the Mother of God as intercessor is represented as a bust portrait with outstretched arms. The subjects presented here also reflect the nuances of the daily Vespers service: as sources attest, immediately following the readings from the Old Testament, which are visualized by the prefigurations, a solemn procession (*lite*) took place through the naos into the narthex while *troparia* were sung.[70] As already mentioned, a long *ektenie* was recited in this part of the church, in which the Theotokos was beseeched to intercede for all mankind and which was related to a commemoration of certain persons as prescribed in the *typikon*. Intercession and commemoration were invoked especially for the ruling family, the members of which directly follow the Paraklesis in the gesture of prayer within the Kalamoti programme. Also relevant is the function of the narthex in the burial of members of the monastic community, including the donors, as well as in the commemoration of the burial of Christ.

A similar composition is known from the narthex of the church of the Archangels in Lesnovo, dating to 1349 (Fig. 5).[71] Significant to that programme is the accentuation of the role of the Theotokos in the Incarnation as well as an emphasis on the baptismal rites. The individual images were actualized here through both prayers spoken and hymns sung. The Theotokos, who was venerated with the Old Testament prefigurations at the entrance, was called to intercede, and certain persons mentioned in the *typikon* were commemorated.[72] The Theotokos Paraklesis and Christ Pantokrator flank the entrance, while in the lunette above is represented the archangel Michael and the Anapeson (Fig. 6).[73] The texts spoken in this space underscored particularly the eucharistic function of the Theotokos. This is probably one reason why the Theotokos is shown in a specific, actively eucharistic role, beside Christ Anapeson. She holds in her hand a eucharistic instrument, the *rhipidon*.[74] The thematic complexity of the wall paintings relates to the colossal compositions on the north wall showing Tsar Uroš IV Dušan and his wife Jelena and – below, reflecting their inferior status – the *ktetor* Jovan Oliver and his family (Fig. 7).[75] The iconography visualizes the Divine Liturgy, and thus it is ritual that connects these impressive donor portraits to the salvific and eschatological character of the larger programme.

Proskynetaria', pp. 123-31, figs. 21-33; Matthew Savage, 'The Interrelationship of Text, Imagery and Architectural Space in Byzantium. The Example of the Entrance Vestibule of Zica Monastery (Serbia)', in *Die Kulturhistorische Bedeutung byzantinischer Epigramme,* ed. by Wolfram Hörandner and Andreas Rhoby (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaft, 2008), pp. 101-12.

69 Studer-Karlen, 'Le programme', pp. 116-18.

70 Pallas, *Die Passion*, pp. 120-21; Babić, *Les chappelles annexes*, p. 42; Bache, 'La fonction funéraire', p. 29; Kalopissi-Verti, 'The Proskynetaria', pp. 29-30.

71 Smiljka Gabelić, *Manastir Lesnovo. Istorija i slikarstvo* (Belgrade: Stubovi kulture, 1998), pp. 15-22.

72 Gabelić, *Manestir Lesnovo*, pp. 172-81; Studer-Karlen, 'Les Typologies', pp. 147-49.

73 Todić, 'Anapeson', pp. 138, 140-41, 145, 147, 154; Gabelić, *Manestir Lesnovo*, pp. 178-79, 280, fig. 98; Djordjević and Marković, 'On the Dialogue Relationship', pp. 13-17, 30-35, figs. 1-6; Studer-Karlen, 'Le programme', p. 116; Studer-Karlen, *Christus Anapeson*, pp. 145-54.

74 There are only two parallel examples of this. One is in the Transfiguration Church in Zrze (1368/69), and the other on the epigonation in Patmos (end of the fourteenth century). Todić, 'Anapeson', p. 147; Studer-Karlen, *Christus Anapeson*, pp. 74-81 (also for the relevant texts).

75 On the portraits in Lesnovo, see: Gabelić, *Manestir Lesnovo*, pp. 167-69, figs. 78, XL-XLII; Branislav Cvetković, 'Christianity and Royalty: The Touch of the Holy', *Byzantion*, 72/2 (2002), 347-64; Cvetković, 'The Royal Imagery', pp. 184-85, fig. 5.3.

In the south arm of the narthex, the illustration of the final three psalms in at least thirteen compositions speaks to the funerary function of the space.[76] The corollary to this is the north arm, which features imagery of Christ's baptism, a short cycle concerning John the Baptist, and, in the vault, the vision of Ezekiel, all reflecting the baptismal rites that took place there.[77] Christ's baptism, highlighting John Prodromos as the herald of Christ and the first witness to the Incarnation, references salvation. The *typika* specify that baptismal rites were performed in the narthex and that baptism, as symbolic of new life, held great significance for the founder.[78] Indeed, a baptismal font is located near the portraits on the north wall.[79] This symbolic correlation among image, baptismal rite, and donor could already be established in the eventual building in front of the southern gate of Markov Monastery.

It can also be assumed that in the narthex of the church of the Archangels in Lesnovo the memory of the ruling family – namely that of Uroš IV Dušan (Fig. 7) – was ever present in the *Cherubikos Hymnos* sung during the daily liturgy. At Kalamoti, the same applies to Nikolaos Panteugenos's family (Fig. 3). The donor, by means of placing his image near that depicting the ruling family, guarantees his own inclusion in the commemorations as part of the hymn. The donor in Lesnovo, Jovan Oliver, and likewise the clergy in Kalamoti, not only wanted to clarify the vassal relationship, but they also wished that the expansion in the prayers and commemorations is legitimized by the image.

Royal and Secular Images

The relationship staged between royal and secular portraits is furthermore relevant to Georgian churches starting in the late eleventh century.[80] What is remarkable is that – as at Kalamoti and

76 Gunter Paulus Schiemenz, 'Die Hermeneia und die letzten Psalmen. Gibt es eine spezifische Athos-Kunst?', in *Byzantinische Malerei. Bildprogramme – Ikonographie – Stil*, ed. by Guntram Koch (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2000), pp. 275-92; Ivana Jevtić, 'Le nouvel ordre du monde ou l'image du cosmos à Lesnovo', in *The Material and the Ideal. Essays in Medieval Art and Archaeology in Honor of Jean-Michel Spieser*, ed. by Anthony Cutler and Arietta Papaconstantinou (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 129-49; Gunter Paulus Schiemenz, 'A New Look at the Narthex Paintings at Lesnovo', *Byzantion*, 82 (2012), 347-96. The following Psalm verses are visualized: Psalm 148(149):1-2, 5, 9-10, 11-12; 149(150):1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8; 150(151):1-2, 3-4, 5.

77 Tomeković, 'Contribution', pp. 147-48; Svetlana Tomeković, 'Place des Saints Ermites et Moines dans le décor de l'église byzantine', in *Liturgie, Conversion et Vie Monastique*, ed. by Alessandro Pistoia and Achille Maria Triacca (Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche, 1988), pp. 307-31 (pp. 322-23); Marinis, 'Defining Liturgical Space', pp. 294-95, 299; Studer-Karlen, 'Les Typologies', p. 138.

78 Zaga A. Gavrilović, 'Kingship and Baptism in the Iconography of Dečani and Lesnovo', in *Studies in Byzantine and Serbian Medieval Art*, ed. by Zaga A. Gavrilović (London: Pindar Press, 2001), pp. 125-45; Zaga A. Gavrilović, 'Divine Wisdom as Part of Byzantine Imperial Ideology. Research into the Artistic Interpretations of the Theme in Medieval Serbia. Narthex Programs of Lesnovo and Sopoćani', in *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe. Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia*, ed. by Jonathan Shepard (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 377-402; Dragana Pavlović, 'Thematic Programmes of Serbian Monumental Painting', in *Sacral Art of Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Dragan Vojvodić and Danica Popović (Belgrade: Instiute for Byzantine Studies, 2016), pp. 249-59 (p. 256).

79 Slobodan Ćurčić, 'The Original Baptismal Font of Gračanica and Its Iconographic Setting', *Recueil du Musée National Belgrade,* 9/10 (1979), 313-32 (pp. 313-24); Kandić, 'Fonts for the Blessing of the Waters', pp. 61-78; Gavrilović, 'Kingship and Baptism', pp. 125-45; Jelena Bogdanović, *The Framing of Sacred Spaces: The Canopy and the Byzantine Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 380-85; Studer-Karlen, 'Les typologies', pp. 137-38.

80 'Secular' is used here as a synonym for 'non-royal'. Eastmond, *Royal Imagery*; Zaza Skhirladze, 'History in Images: Donor Figures in Medieval Georgian Art', in *Cultural Interactions in Medieval Georgia*, ed. by Michele Bacci, Thomas Kaffenberger and Manuela

✦ Fig. 8
The Staging of the patrons, mural painting, second half of the fourteenth or sixteenth century. Zarzma, church of the Transfiguration, north wall (Photo: Manuela Studer-Karlen).

Lesnovo – in almost every church in which a royal portrait can be found, the donor images provide evidence that the imagery was in fact commissioned or paid for by a non-royal donor.[81] The question of what role these royal images played in the process of worship in the church is informed by the fact that each new ruler was taken into the sanctuary for his coronation and, in addition, that his supposed descent from the royal house of David gave him a holy status.[82] An even more obvious explanation is that the image of the royal family echoed the daily commemorations in the *Cherubikos Hymnos*, which was an important part of the Georgian Orthodox liturgy as well.[83] St Euthymios the Athonite (955/60-1028) and St George the Athonite (1009-65), the long-time *higoumenoi* of Iviron Monastery, translated numerous liturgical texts from Greek into Georgian.[84] Iviron became an important centre of Byzantine-Georgian cultural interaction and of the dissemination of texts in Georgian. The far-reaching influence of the work of St Euthymios and the other learned Georgian monks who were based at Mount Athos during the tenth and eleventh centuries led Georgia to adopt the liturgical calendar of Constantinople rather than that of Jerusalem.[85]

Meanwhile, the seculars register their own integration into the rite with their presence both in the visual programme and in the prayers. They thereby sought to ensure their continuous commemoration and thus their salvation. Indeed, a persistent feature of the painting programmes of Georgian churches is that the royal and secular figures are shown engaged in a procession on different walls, with the most important individuals often appearing on the northern wall – opposite the entrance door.[86] Thus, the donors on the north wall in the church of the Transfiguration in Zarzma (second half of the fourteenth century) not only fulfil political and propagandistic functions, centring in particular on the depiction of the victorious Joshua above the entrance of the prothesis,[87] but also visualize the rite of the *Cherubikos Hymnos*. For Zarzma, it is all the more significant that the new founders of the sixteenth century – the members of the Khurtsidze family – updated this area of the church in order to guarantee that they would be the ones to benefit from the commemorations uttered therein (Fig. 8).[88]

Studer-Karlen (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2018), pp. 58-67. Representatives of every social stratum were portrayed: Skhirladze, 'History in Images', p. 64.

81 Eastmond, *Royal Imagery*, pp. 4, 187-88.

82 Eastmond, *Royal Imagery*, pp. 198, 239-44.

83 The *Cherubikos Hymnos* is mentioned in the manuscript Sinai, cod. Georg. 89 from the eleventh century. André Jacob, 'Une version géorgienne inédite de la Liturgie de Saint Jean Chrysostome', *Le Muséon*, 77 (1964), 65-119. The indication is on p. 100.

84 Michael Tarkhnishvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur* (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1955), pp. 149-52, 166-69.

85 For an explanation of the different aspects of the phenomenon, with bibliography: Stephen H. Rapp, 'Caucasia and Byzantine Culture', in *Byzantine Culture. Papers from the Conference 'Byzantine Days of Istanbul'*, ed. by Dean Sakel (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), pp. 217-34 (pp. 231-34); Irene Giviashvili, 'Liturgy and Architecture. Constantinopolitan Rite and Changes in the Architectural Planning of Georgian Churches', in *Georgia as a Bridge between Cultures. Dynamics of Artistic Exchange*, ed. by Manuela Studer-Karlen, Natalia Chitishvili and Thomas Kaffenberger, *Convivium supplementum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), pp. 64-89.

86 Eastmond, *Royal Imagery*, pp. 200-02; Skhirladze, 'History in Images', pp. 59, 65.

87 Manuela Studer-Karlen, 'The Monastery of the Transfiguration in Zarzma. At the Intersection of Biblical Narration and Liturgical Relevance', in *Georgia as a Bridge between Cultures. Dynamics of Artistic Exchange*, ed. by Manuela Studer-Karlen, Natalia Chitishvili and Thomas Kaffenberger, *Convivium supplementum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), pp. 138-67 (pp. 148-54, fig. 2).

88 The new patrons had the murals repainted, with respect for the original themes except for the addition of two new Mariological episodes and the renewal of the composition on the north wall; it was therefore a conscious decision.

Conclusion

The portraits discussed in this paper depict acts of donation and thus record the piety, philanthropy, and generosity of the royal family and the donors. The juxtaposition of certain images and the inclusion of particular saints and scenes were means of enhancing the portrayal of rulers, for example by characterizing and explaining, often in novel ways that extend beyond the political aspects of the portrait, the nature of the ruler's power. In sacred space, the choice and positioning of iconographies are of the utmost importance with regard to activating the real function of the images in that space – namely their ritual function. Here, of course, the commemorations played a crucial role, as is also evident in the *typika*. These entries, as well as the standardization of the commemorations as part of the *Cherubikos Hymnos*, correlate to the rulers depicted. In the fourteenth century, Pseudo-Kodinos's description attests that the ruler played an active role in the Great Entrance. The physical staging of the sovereign in sacred space thus becomes, above all, a visual prayer and a mimetic touchstone for his continuous commemoration in the rite. This offered a guarantee of salvation, extending the original intention of the foundation itself.

Bibliography

Primary sources

Konstantin Kostenečki, *Vita des Despoten* (Житије деспота Стефана Лазаревића).

Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies, ed. and trans. by Ruth Macrides, Dimiter Angelov and Joseph Minitiz Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs, 15 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

Simeon Thessalonicensis Archiepiscopus, De Sacra Liturgia, *Patrologia Graeca* 155, cols 340, 829-52.

Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church, ed. by Isabel Florence Hapgood (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1975).

Sophronii Patriarchae Hierosolymitani, Βίος Μαρίας Αἰγυπτίας, τῆς ἀπὸ εταιρίδων ἀσκησάσης κατά τὴν ἔρημον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, *Patrologia Graeca* 87/3. cols 3697-713.

St Symeon of Thessalonika. The Liturgical commentaries (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies 168), ed. and trans. by Steven Hawkes-Teeples (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2011).

Secondary Sources

Alexopoulos, Stefanos, *The Presanctified Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite. A comparative Analysis of its Origins, Evolution, and structural Components* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009).

Andronikof, Constantin, *Le cycle pascal. Le sens des fêtes* (Paris: Édition du Cerf, 1985), pp. 154-56.

Babić, Gordona, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines. Fonction liturgique et Programmes iconographiques* (Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1969).

Bache, Florence, 'La fonction funéraire du narthex dans les églises byzantines du XIIe au XIVe siècle', *Histoire de l'Art,* 7 (1989), 25-33.

Bakalova, Elka, 'King David as Model of the Christian Ruler: Some Visual Sources', in *The Biblical Models of Power and Law,* ed. by Ivan Biliarsky and Radu G. Păun (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2008), pp. 93-131.

Barkov, Aleksej G. and Vishnevskaya, Inna, 'Cat. 104. Sakkos', in *Byzantine Antiquities. Works of Art from the Fourth to Fifteenth Centuries in the Collection of the Moscow Kremlin Museums,* ed. by Irina A. Sterligova (Moscow: Moscow Kremlin Museums, 2013), pp. 488-513.

Barrett, Richard, 'Let Us Put Away all Earthly Care: Mysticism and the Cherubikon of the Byzantine Rite', *Studia Patristica,* 64 (2013), 111-24.

Belting, Hans, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter. Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion* (Berlin: Mann, 1981).

Bogdanović, Jelena, *The Framing of Sacred Spaces: The Canopy and the Byzantine Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 380-85.

Bogevska, Saska, 'Les peintures murales du monastère de Marko: un programme iconographique au service de la propagande royale', in *La culture des commanditaires*, ed. by Quitterie Cazes, Florence Journot and Christiane Prigent (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2011), pp. 1-21.

Bouras, Charalambos, 'Μία βυζαντινή βασιλική εν Χίω', *Νέον Ἀθήναιον*, 3 (1958/60), 129-50.

Boycheva, Juliana, 'L'aer dans la liturgie orthodoxe et son iconographie du XIIIe siècle jusque dans l'art post-byzantin', *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 51 (2003), 169-94.

Constas, Nicolas S., 'To sleep, perchance to Dream: The middle State of Souls in Patristic and Byzantine Literature', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 55 (2001), 91-124.

Ćurčić, Slobodan, 'The original baptismal font of Gračanica and its iconographic setting', *Recueil du Musée National Belgrade*, 9/10 (1979), 313-32.

Cvetković, Branislav, 'Christianity and Royalty: The Touch of the Holy', *Byzantion*, 72/2 (2002), 347-64.

Cvetković, Branislav, 'Imago leonis in Despot Stefan's Iconography', in *Ikon*, 2 (2009), 137-46.

Cvetković, Branislav, 'Sovereign Portraits at Mark's Monastery Revisited', *Ikon*, 5 (2012), 185-98.

Cvetković, Branislav, 'Ideološki modeli i motivi u vladarskoj reprezentaciji despota Stefana', in *Srednji vek u srpskoj nauci*, ed. by Gordana Jovanović, *istoriji, književnosti i umetnosti 7*, (Despotovac: Resavks škola, 2016), pp. 57-78.

Cvetković, Branislav, 'The Royal Imagery of Medieval Serbia', in *Meanings and Functions of the Ruler's Image in the Mediterranean World (11th-15th Centuries)*, ed. by Michele Bacci and Manuela Studer-Karlen (Leiden: Brill, 2022), pp. 172-208.

Djordjević, Ivan M. and Marković, Miodrag, 'On the Dialogue Relationship between the Virgin and Christ in East Christian Art. Apropos of the discovery of the figures of the Virgin Mediatrix and Christ in the Naos of Lesnovo', *Zograf*, 28 (2000/01), 13-48.

Đjurić, Vojislav J., *Byzantinische Fresken in Jugoslawien* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1976).

Drpić, Ivan, 'Notes on Byzantine Panagiaria', *Zograf*, 35 (2011), 51-62.

Eastmond, Antony, *Royal Imagery in the Medieval Kingdom of Georgia 786-1213* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

Franses, Rico, *Donor Portraits in Byzantine Art. The Vicissitudes of Contact between Human and Divine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

Gabelić, Smiljka, *Manastir Lesnovo. Istorija I slikarstvo* (Belgrade: Stubovi kulture, 1998).

Galatariotou, Catia, 'Byzantine Ktetorika Typika. A comparative Study', *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 45 (1987), 89-107.

Gautier, Paul, 'Le typikon du Christ Saveur Pantocrator', *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 32 (1974), 1-145.

Gavrilović, Zaga A., 'The Portrait of King Marko at Markov Manastir (1376-1381)', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 16 (1990), 415-28.

Gavrilović, Zaga A., 'Kingship and Baptism in the Iconography of Dečani and Lesnovo', in *Studies in Byzantine and Serbian Medieval Art*, ed. by Zaga A. Gavrilović (London: Pindar Press, 2001), pp. 125-45.

Gavrilović, Zaga A., 'Divine Wisdom as Part of Byzantine Imperial Ideology. Research into the Artistic Interpretations of the Theme in Medieval Serbia. Narthex Programs of Lesnovo and Sopoćani', in *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe. Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia*, ed. by Jonathan Shepard (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 377-402.

Gerov, Georgi, 'The Narthex as Desert: The Symbolism of the Entrance Space in Orthodox Church Buildings', in *Ritual and Art. Byzantine Essays for Christopher Walter*, ed. by Pamela Armstrong (London, 2006), pp. 144-59.

Giviashvili, Irene, 'Liturgy and Architecture. Constantinopolitan Rite and Changes in the Architectural Planning of Georgian Churches', in *Georgia as a Bridge between Cultures. Dynamics of Artistic Exchange*, ed. by Manuela Studer-Karlen, Natalia Chitishvili and Thomas Kaffenberger, *Convivium supplementum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), pp. 64-89.

Gounelle, Rémi, *Les recensions byzantines de l'Évangile de Nicodème* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

Grozdanov, Cvetan, 'Sur l'Iconographie des fresques du Monastère de Marko', *Zograf*, 11 (1980), 82-93.

Grozdanov, Cvetan, 'Hristos car, Bogorodica carica, nebesnite sili I svetite voini vo živopisot od XIV I XV vek vo Treskovec', *Kulturno nasledstvo*, 12-13 (1985-1986), pp. 5-20.

Grozdanov, Cvetan, 'Isus Hristos car and carevima u živopisu Ohridske arhiepiskopije od XV do XVII veka', *Zograf*, 27 (1998-1999), 151-60.

Hadermann-Misguich, Lydie, 'Images et Passages. Leurs relations dans quelques églises byzantines d'après 843', in *Le Temps des Anges. Recueil d'études sur la peinture byzantine du 12e siècle, ses antécédents, son rayonnement*, ed. by Brigitte D'Hainaut-Zveny and Catherine Vanderheyde (Brussels: Société pour le progrès des études philologues et historiques, 2005), pp. 219-34.

Hilsdale, Cecily, *Byzantine Art and Diplomacy in Age of Decline* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Jacob, André, 'Une version géorgienne inédite de la Liturgie de Saint Jean Chrysostome', *Le Muséon*, 77 (1964), 65-119.

Jevtić, Ivana, 'Le nouvel ordre du monde ou l'image du cosmos à Lesnovo', in *The Material and the Ideal. Essays in Medieval Art and Archaeology in Honor of Jean-Michel Spieser*, ed. by Anthony Cutler and Arietta Papaconstantinou (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 129-49.

Jolivet-Lévy, Catherine, 'Présence et figures du souverain à Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople et à l'église de la Sainte-Croix d'Aghtamar', in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. by Henry Maguire (Washington, DC, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1997), pp. 231-46.

Klavrezou-Maxeiner, Iouli, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985).

Kalopissi-Verti, Sophia, 'The Proskynetaria of the Templon and Narthex: Form, Imagery, Spatial Connections, and Reception', in *Thresholds of the Sacred. Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West*, ed. by Sharon E. J. Gerstel (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2006), pp. 107-32.

Kandić, Olivea, 'Fonts for the Blessing of the Waters in Serbian Medieval Churches', *Zograf*, 27 (1998/99), 61-78.

Koukiaris, Archimandrite Silas, 'The depiction of the Vision of saint Peter of Alexandria in the sanctuary of Byzantine churches', *Zograf*, 35 (2011), 63-71.

Kriza, Anes, 'The Royal Deesis – An Anti-Latin Image of Late Byzantine Art', in Cross-Cultural *Interaction between Byzantium and the West 1204-1669: Whose Mediterranean is it anyway?*, ed. by Angeliki Lymberopoulou (London: Routledge, 2018), pp. 272-90.

Maguire, Henry, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton: University Press, 1982; repr. 1994).

Marinis, Vasileios, 'Defining Liturgical Space', in *The Byzantine Word*, ed. by Paul Stephenson (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 284-302.

Marinis, Vasileios, *Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople. Ninth to fifteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Marinis, Vasileios, 'On earth as it is in heaven? Reinterpreting the Heavenly Liturgy in Byzantine art', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 114 (2021), 255-68.

Mathews, Thomas, *The early churches of Constantinople, Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971).

Mercenier, Feuillen, *La Prière des Églises de Rite byzantin 2, les Fêtes* (Chevetogne: Éditions de Chevetogne, 1947).

Nasr, Rafca Youssef, 'Priestly Ornaments and the Priesthood of the Mother of God', *Chronos*, 40 (2019), 119-34.

Nicholl, Gail, 'A contribution to the archaeological interpretation of typika: the case of the narthex', in *Work and worship at the Theotokos Evergetis 1050-1200 (Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations, 6.2)*, ed. by Margaret Mullet and Anthony Kirby (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1997), pp. 285-308.

Ousterhout, Robert, 'Temporal Structuring in the Chora Parekklesion', Gesta, 34/1, 1995, 63-74.

Pallas, Dimitris I., *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz. Der Ritus – das Bild* (Munich: Institut für Byzantinistik und neugriechische Philologie, 1965).

Parani, Maria G., *Reconstructing the Reality of Images. Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th-15th centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

Pavlović, Dragana, 'Thematic Programmes of Serbian Monumental Painting', in *Sacral Art of Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Dragan Vojvodić and Danica Popović (Belgrade: Institute for Byzantine Studies, 2016), pp. 249-59.

Prolović, Jadranka, *Resava (Manasija). Geschichte, Architektur und Malerei einer Stiftung des serbischen Despoten Stefan Lazarević* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2017).

Radošević, Ninoslava, 'Laudes Serbiae. The Life of Despot Stephan Lazarević by Constantine the Philosopher', *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta*, 24-25 (1986), 445-51.

Rapp, Stephen H., 'Caucasia and Byzantine Culture', in *Byzantine Culture. Papers from the Conference 'Byzantine Days of Istanbul'*, ed. by Dean Sakel (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), pp. 217-34.

Savage, Matthew, 'The Interrelationship of Text, Imagery and Architectural Space in Byzantium. The Example of the Entrance Vestibule of Zica Monastery (Serbia)', in *Die Kulturhistorische Bedeutung byzantinischer Epigramme,* ed. by Wolfram Hörandner and Andreas Rhoby (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaft, 2008), pp. 101-12.

Schiemenz, Gunter Paulus, 'Die Hermeneia und die letzten Psalmen. Gibt es eine spezifische Athos-Kunst?', in *Byzantinische Malerei. Bildprogramme – Ikonographie – Stil*, ed. by Guntram Koch (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2000), pp. 275-92.

Schiemenz, Gunter Paulus, 'A New Look at the Narthex Paintings at Lesnovo', *Byzantion,* 82 (2012), 347-96.

Simić, Gordana, Tdorović, Dragoljub, Brmbolić, Marin and Zarić, Radojka, *Monastery Resava* (Belgrade: Draganič, 2011).

Sinković, Ida, 'Prolegomena for a Study of Royal Entrances in Byzantine Churches: The Case of Marko's Monastery', in *Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and its Decoration. Studies in Honor of Slobodan Ćurčić,* ed. by Mark J. Johnson, Robert Ousterhout and Amy Papalexandrou (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 121-42.

Skhirladze, Zaza, 'History in Images: Donor Figures in Medieval Georgian Art', in *Cultural Interactions in Medieval Georgia*, ed. by Michele Bacci, Thomas Kaffenberger and Manuela Studer-Karlen (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2018), pp. 58-67.

Stephan, Christine, *Ein byzantinisches Bildensemble. Die Mosaiken und Fresken der Apostelkirche zu Thessaloniki* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1986).

Studer-Karlen, Manuela, 'Les typologies mariales dans l'art paléologue', *Byzantina,* 36 (2019), 103-66.

Studer-Karlen, Manuela, 'The Monastery of the Transfiguration in Zarzma. At the Intersection of Biblical Narration and Liturgical Relevance', in *Georgia as a Bridge between Cultures. Dynamics of Artistic Exchange,* ed. by Manuela Studer-Karlen, Natalia Chitishvili and Thomas Kaffenberger, *Convivium supplementum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), pp. 138-67.

Studer-Karlen, Manuela, 'Le programme des églises byzantines et la liturgie', *Cahiers Archéologiques,* 59 (2022), 103-24.

Studer-Karlen, Manuela, *Christus Anapeson. Bild und Liturgie* (Basel: Schwabe, 2022).

Taft, Robert F., *The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Preanaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom (OC 200)* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1978).

Taft, Robert F., 'The Liturgy of the Great Church: An Initial Synthesis of Structure and Interpretation on the Eve of Iconoclasm', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 34/35 (1980/81), 45-75.

Taft Robert F. and Parenti, Stefano, *Il Grande Ingresso. Edizione italiana rivista, ampliata e aggiornata* (Grottaferrata: Monastero Esarchico, 2014).

Tarkhnishvili, Michael, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur* (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1955).

Todić, Branislav, 'Anapeson. Iconographie et Signification du Thème', *Byzantion,* 64 (1994), 134-65.

Todić, Branislav, *Manestir Resava* (Belgrade: Draganič, 1995).

Todić, Branislav and Čanak Medić, Milka, *The Dečani Monastery* (Belgard: Muzej u Prištini, 2013).

Tomeković, Svetlana, 'Contribution à l'étude du programme du narthex des églises monastiques (XIe-première moitié du XIIIe s.)', *Byzantion,* 58 (1988), 140-54.

Tomeković, Svetlana, 'Place des Saints Ermites et Moines dans le décor de l'église byzantine', in *Liturgie, Conversion et Vie Monastique,* ed. by Alessandro Pistoia and Achille Maria Triacca (Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche, 1988), pp. 307-31.

Tomić Đjurić, Marka, 'To picture and to perform: the image of the Eucharistic Liturgy at Markov Manastir (I)', *Zograf,* 38 (2014), 123-42.

Tomić Đjurić, Marka, 'To picture and to perform: the image of the Eucharistic Liturgy at Markov Manastir (II)', *Zograf,* 39 (2015), 129-50.

U, Maréva, 'Images et passages dans l'Espace ecclésial à l'époque médiobyzantine', in *Visibilité et présence de l'image dans l'Espace ecclésial,* ed. by Sulamith Brodbeck and Anne-Orange Poilpré (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2019), pp. 301-27.

Vapheiades, Konstantinos, 'Sacerdotium and Regnum in Late Byzantium: Some Notes on the Imperial Deesis', *American Journal of Arts and Design*, 2/4 (2017), 79-83.

Vapheiades, Konstantinos, 'Sacerdotium and Imperium in Late Byzantine Art', *Niš & Byzantium*, 18 (2020), 55-87.

Vassi, Olga, 'Η κτητορική επιγραφή της Παναγίας 'Αγρελωπούσαινας' στη Χίο', *ΔΧΑΕ,* 27 (2006), 463-70.

Vassi, Olga, 'Ο παλαιολόγειος ναός της Παναγίας Αγρελωπούσαινας στη Χίο: η μνημειακή Ζωγραφική', *ΔΧΑΕ*, 39 (2018), 311-28.

Velkovska, Elena, 'Funeral Rites according to the Byzantine Liturgical Sources', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 55 (2001), 21-51.

Walter, Christopher, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church* (London: Variorum Publications, 1982).

Ward, Benedicta, *Harlots of the desert: a study of repentance in early monastic sources* (London: A.R. Mowbray, 1987).

Woodfin, Warren T., *Late Byzantine Liturgical Vestments and the Iconography of Sacerdotal Power* (Illinois: ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2002).

Woodfin, Warren T., 'Celestial Hierarchies and earthly Hierarchies in the Art of the Byzantine Church', in *The Byzantine World*, ed. by Paul Stephenson (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 303-19.

Woodfin, Warren T., *The Embodied Icon. Liturgical Vestments and Sacramental Power in Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Woodfin, Warren T., 'Orthodox Liturgical Textiles and Clerical Self-Referentiality', in *Dressing the Part: Textiles as Propaganda in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Kate Dimitrova and Margaret Goehring (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 31-51.

ELEONORA TIOLI

The Khan in the West
The Reception of Mongol Political Power in the Texts and Images of Medieval Latin Europe

The expansion of the Mongol Empire during the thirteenth century represented a serious threat to Christian Europe. Yet fear of the Mongols did not prevent Western authorities, both political and religious, from establishing contact with them. On the contrary, the unification of a large part of Asia and Eastern Europe under the Mongol Empire created more stable conditions for travel and trade, thus offering unprecedented opportunities for cultural and commercial exchanges on a large scale between East and West.

Scholars have studied the relations between Western Europe and the Mongol Empire from various perspectives. Much focus has been placed on the diplomatic contact between the khanates and the papacy, as well as on Western commercial activity within the Mongol Empire.[1] These encounters resulted in an expansion of knowledge in Latin Christendom, with friars and merchants writing of their experiences in travel reports, letters, and treatises that gained popularity across Europe from the mid-thirteenth century.[2] The scholarly literature has approached

1 For the contact between the West and the Mongol Empire, see Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West: 1221-1410* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014); Roxann Prazniak, *Sudden Appearances: The Mongol Turn in Commerce, Belief, and Art* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2019); Anne Dunlop, 'Mongol Eurasia in the Trecento Veneto', *Convivium*, 7 (2020), 114-35. On the Franciscan missions to the Mongol Empire, see Marcellino Da Civezza, *Storia universale delle missioni francescane* (Rome, Prato, and Florence: Tipografia Tiberina, 1857-95), I; Girolamo Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano* (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1906-27), I; 'Les Mongols et la paupeté : Documents nouveaux édités', ed., trans., and with commentary by Paul Pelliot, *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 23 (1922/23), 3-30; 24 (1924), 225-335; 28 (1931/32), 3-84; Anastasius Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica franciscana* (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1929-42), I; Igor De Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1971); Jean Richard, *La papauté et les missions d'Orient au Moyen Âge: XIIIe-XVe siècle* (Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome, 1977); Luciano Petech, 'I Francescani nell'Asia Centrale e Orientale nel XIII e XIV secolo', in *Espansione del Francescanesimo tra Occidente e Oriente nel secolo XIII: Atti del VI convegno internazionale (Assisi, 12-14 October 1978)* (Assisi: Porziuncola, 1979), pp. 213-40.

2 On these writings and their circulation within medieval Europe, see Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Mediaeval Notices of China*, 4 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1913-16); Leonardo Olschki, *Storia letteraria delle scoperte geografiche: Studi e ricerche* (Florence: Olschki, 1937); Leonardo Olschki, *Marco Polo's Precursors* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1943); Folker Reichert, *Begegnungen mit China: Die Entdeckung Ostasiens im Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1992); Michèle Guéret-Laferté, *Sur les routes de l'empire mongol : Ordre et rhétorique des relations de voyage au XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Paris: Champion, 1994); Johan Van Mechelen, 'Yuan', in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, ed. by Nicolas Standaert (Leiden: Brill, 2000), I, pp. 46-51; Christine Gadrat, 'Des nouvelles d'Orient: Les lettres des missionnaires et leur diffusion en Occident (XIIIe-XIVr siècles)', in *Passages: Déplacement des hommes, circulation des textes et identités dans l'Occident Médiéval. Actes du colloque de Bordeaux (2-3 February 2007)*, ed. by Joëlle Ducos et Patrick Henriet (Toulouse: Méridiennes, 2013), pp. 159-72; Marianne O'Doherty, *The Indies and the Medieval West: Thought, Report, Imagination*

 DOI 10.1484/M.HMSAH-EB.5.135010. This is an open access chapter made available under a CC BY-NC 4.0 International License.

✦ Fig. 1
Yuan Painter, *Portrait of Kublai Khan*, ca. 1294. Taipei, National Palace Museum (Photo: © National Palace Museum, Taipei).

these written sources with the purpose of reconstructing the medieval ethnographic gaze on Eastern peoples.[3]

This paper aims to take further the approach just mentioned, namely considering the perception of the Mongol khans in Latin Europe, in both text and image. Among the medieval Western sources on the Mongols, this essay considers the *Ystoria Mongalorum quos nos Tartaros appellamus* by John of Plano Carpini (written after his return in 1247),[4] the *Itinerarium ad partes*

(Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); Alvise Andreose, 'Viaggiatori e testi tra Europa ed estremo Oriente al tempo di Marco Polo', in *La strada per il Catai: Contatti tra Oriente e Occidente al tempo di Marco Polo*, ed. by Alvise Andreose (Milan: Guerini e Associati, 2019), pp. 25-45.

3 Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991); Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003); Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Michele Bacci, 'Cult-Images and Religious Ethnology: The European Exploration of Medieval Asia and the Discovery of New Iconic Religions', *Viator*, 36 (2005), 337-72; Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols of the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 110-1450* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009); Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245-1510* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); Shirin Khanmohamadi, *In Light of Another's Word: European Ethnography in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Medieval Ethnographies: European Perceptions of the World Beyond* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

4 John of Plano Carpini, *Storia dei mongoli*, ed. by Paolo Daffinà and others (Spoleto: Fondazione CISAM, 1989).

orientales by William of Rubruck (1255),[5] *Le Devisement du monde* by Marco Polo (1298),[6] and the *Relatio de mirabilibus orientalium Tatarorum* by Odoric of Pordenone (1330-31).[7] These authors witnessed public ceremonies and political rituals at the court of the khans. The Franciscan friar John of Plano Carpini was received by Batu at his headquarters on the Volga before being sent to Karakorum, where he witnessed Güyük's enthronement in August 1246. In 1253, the Franciscan friar William of Rubruck stopped at the camps of Čagatai, Sartaq, Batu, and Möngke. The following year, Möngke received him at his palace in Karakorum. Marco Polo spent seventeen years in the service of the Great Khan Kublai, becoming acquainted with him and his court. Finally, the Franciscan friar Odoric of Pordenone was received by the Great Khan Yesün Temür (r. 1323-28) at his court in Tatu.

This paper takes a threefold approach to the Western perception of Eastern sovereigns. First, focusing on Kublai Khan, it analyses the reception of his historical and legendary figure in Western medieval sources, both written and visual. Second, it underlines the ways in which Latin travellers described the khan's body as invested with political and even religious authority in the framework of the elaborate mise-en-scène of courtly ceremonies, political rituals, and diplomatic meetings. Third, it shows how the Eastern sovereign embodied a sense of cultural otherness from the point of view of Latin friars, both in terms of its outward appearance and of the cultural habits in which it was involved.

To undertake such an inquiry, I will moreover discuss a group of illuminations accompanying medieval travelogues. Foremost among these are two luxury manuscripts of *Le Devisement du monde* by Marco Polo: Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 2810, and Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 264. The former is the famous travel anthology known as *Livre des merveilles*, commissioned around 1410 by John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, who then gave it as a gift to his uncle Jean, duke of Berry. Its illuminations are attributed to the atelier of the Boucicaut Master.[8] By contrast, in the case of the Bodleian manuscript, Marco's travelogue was added between 1400 and 1410, with illuminations executed by a certain Johannes and his London workshop.[9] Also to be considered is Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. Lat. 1013, a manuscript of the so-called *Libro delle nuove e strane e meravigliose cose* (a vernacular version of the *Relatio* by Odoric of Pordenone) that was produced in Verona before 1368 for a mercantile milieu[10]. It contains seventeenth drawings that, despite their poor quality, are of great iconographic interest.

5 William of Rubruck, *Viaggio in Mongolia*, ed. by Paolo Chiesa (Milan: Einaudi, 2011). For an English translation of the *Itinerarium* with an excellent commentary, see Peter Jackson and David Morgan, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253-1255* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1990).

6 Marco Polo, *Le Devisement du monde*, ed. by Philippe Ménard, 6 vols (Geneva: Droz, 2001-09). This is the French version (Fr), to which the illuminated manuscripts under discussion belong.

7 Odoric of Pordenone, *Relatio de mirabilibus orientalium Tatarorum*, ed. by Annalisa Marchisio (Florence: SISMEL, 2016). For the Old French version, see *Le voyage en Asie d'Odoric de Pordenone traduit par Jean le Long : Itineraire de la Peregrinacion et du voyage (1351)*, ed. by Alvise Andreose and Philippe Ménard (Geneva: Droz, 2010).

8 Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master* (London: Phaidon, 1968), p. 117.

9 Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490: A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles* (London: Harvey Miller, 1996), pp. 68-73.

10 Odoric of Pordenone, *Libro delle nuove e strane e meravigliose cose: Volgarizzamento italiano del secolo XIV dell'Itinerarium di Odorico da Pordenone*, ed. by Alvise Andreose (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2000), pp. 73-74. On Odoric of Pordenone, see Alvise Andreose, *La strada, la Cina, il cielo: Studi sulla Relatio di Odorico da Pordenone e sulla sua fortuna romanza* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2012).

Latin Europe's Cultural Reception of Mongol Rulership

As one of the main figures of *Le Devisement du monde*, Kublai Khan was a character familiar to readers of Marco Polo and was formative in the Western imaginary of the East. Marco Polo spent seventeen years at the khan's service as a diplomat, becoming acquainted with him and his court.[11] He even devoted a section of his book to the sovereign, exalting his rise to power and his political strength, as well as speaking to his habits and physical appearance. Marco wrote that Kublai Khan was neither tall nor short but rather of average height; he was good-looking and well proportioned: his skin was white and red, his eyes grey, and his nose nicely shaped.[12] As described, the emperor's body is stereotyped and idealized. Indeed, the author missed the ethnographic characteristics of Mongol people accounted for in the texts of John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck, such as the traditional Mongolian hairstyle and clothing[13].

The well-known official portrait of Kublai attributed to the Nepalese artist Anige, now kept at the National Palace Museum in Taipei, provides a more naturalistic image of the Mongol emperor (Fig. 1). He is portrayed with a round face, almond-shaped eyes, and a sloping moustache while dressed in a Mongol-style hat and robe, with his hair tied in braids.[14] The narrative choice on the part of Marco Polo (and his co-author, Rustichello da Pisa) not to portray Kublai Khan faithfully, but rather in a favourable light, can be explained in connection with the cultural expectations of his Western audience. More specifically, the description of Kublai should be contextualized within medieval physiognomic theory, according to which moral virtues were reflected in specific physical characteristics, such as medium height, dark eyes, and balanced proportions. Given that, for Western readers, these features were invested with a positive meaning, it is no coincidence that Marco attributed all of them to the khan.[15] The divide between this idealized description and the naturalism of the portrait by the Yuan painter can therefore be interpreted in light of the different cultural patterns and habits of Latin and Mongol audiences, respectively.

Similarly, Marco Polo met his Western audience's expectations by calling upon, and in turn feeding, the stereotype of the East as a land of wonders. For example, the author emphasized the central role of hunting for Kublai Khan and his court, in which hunting trips and parties marked the passing of time.[16] This narrative choice may be explained in light of the importance

11 On the figure of Kublai, see Leonardo Olschki, *L'Asia di Marco Polo: Introduzione alla lettura e allo studio del Milione* (Florence: Olschki, 1957), pp. 391-408.

12 Marco Polo, *Le Devisement du monde : L'empereur Khoubilai*, ed. by Jean-Claude Faucon, Danielle Quéruel, and Monique Santucci (Geneva: Droz, 2004), pp. 68-69.

13 *Storia dei Mongoli*, pp. 232-34; *Viaggio in Mongolia*, pp. 36-38.

14 Antoon Mostaert, 'À propos de quelques portraits d'empereur mongols', *Asia Major*, 4 (1927), 147-56; Maxwell K. Hearn, *Splendors of Imperial China: Treasures from the National Palace Museum* (New York, NY: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), p. 66; Anning Jing, 'The Portraits of Khubilai and Chabi by Anige (1245-1306), a Nepali Artist at the Yuan Court', *Artibus Asiae*, 54 (1994), 40-86; *Chinese Cultural Art Treasures: National Palace Museum Illustrated Handbook* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1966), p. 90.

15 Debra Higgs Strickland, 'Artists, Audience, and Ambivalence in Marco Polo's *Divisament dou monde*', *Viator*, 36 (2005), 493-529. On the meaning of the white and red skin according to physiognomic theory, see Michele Bacci, *The Many Faces of Christ: Portraying the Holy in the East and West, 300 to 1300* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), pp. 157-67; Michele Bacci and Caterina Bay, *Giunta Pisano e la tecnica pittorica del Duecent*o (Florence: Edifir, 2021), p. 30.

16 Marco Polo, *Le Devisement du monde : Traversée de l'Afghanistan et entrée en Chine*, ed. by Jeanne-Marie Boivin, Laurence Harf-Lancner, and Laurence Mathey-Maille (Geneva: Droz, 2003), pp. 44-45; *Le Devisement du monde : L'empereur Khoubilai*, pp. 68-69.

of hunting in courtly life in the West.[17] Contributing to the perception of Kublai as an ideal sovereign according to Western canons, Marco portrayed Kublai's hunting trips as marvellous events involving a spectacular number of retinues and animals.

In the Mongol Empire, however, hunting did not function merely as a ritual that anchored courtly self-representation. Rather, due to the nomadic roots of its people, it was a distinct identity marker born of necessity. It should be stressed that one of the few official portraits of Kublai Khan, namely the hanging scroll executed by the celebrated court painter Liu Guandao around 1280 (Fig. 2), depicts him hunting.[18] The painting, preserved at the National Palace Museum in Taipei, shows the khan and his empress riding horseback on the steppe. One member of their small retinue of Mongol and black attendants carries a muzzled cheetah on the back of his horse. This alludes to a hunting technique that, according to Marco Polo, Kublai himself practised in the park of his palace in Shangdu: upon spotting wild game, the khan released the animal.[19] One of the French masters who illuminated the so-called *Livre des merveilles* represented this passage faithfully, with a cheetah perched behind Kublai Khan on horseback (Fig. 3).

Indeed, the manuscripts of *Le Devisement du monde* present several illuminations of Kublai Khan hunting. One of them is of particular interest here (Fig. 4). Belonging to the previously mentioned Bodleian manuscript, it illustrates a spectacular scene at Khanbaliq, where Kublai Khan and his entourage hunted annually, from December to February, with the help of five thousand dogs.[20] The illumination shows Kublai on horseback, flanked by a large entourage of horsemen and foot soldiers. They look on while the fleet of dogs attacks wild animals, an iconographic detail worthy of attention. Since hunting with dogs was rather common in medieval Europe, representations of this subject in illuminated manuscripts draw from an established and widespread repertoire of motifs.[21] The visual treatment of the hunt in the Bodleian manuscript can be compared with contemporary illuminations of the same subject in copies of the well-known *Livre de chasse* by Gaston Fébus, count of Foix.[22] Therefore, in depicting Kublai Khan's hunt, the illuminator of *Le Devisement* worked from the canon of forms with which he was familiar.

Among the many characteristics of Kublai Khan, Marco Polo provides a particularly indulgent description of his polygamy, specifying that he was married to four women.[23] One of the French illuminators who painted the so-called *Livre des merveilles* portrayed the Mongol empresses as elegant French ladies, richly dressed in the fashions of the day, with white skin,

On these passages of *Le Devisement du monde*, see Olschki, *L'Asia di Marco Polo*, pp. 407-08; Debra Higgs Strickland, 'Text, Image, and Contradiction in the *Devisement du monde*', in *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West*, ed. by Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Amilcare Iannucci (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), pp. 34-35; Philippe Ménard, *Marco Polo : Voyage sur la route de la soie* (Paris: Glénat, 2019), pp. 112-17.

17 Strickland, 'Text, Image, and Contradiction', p. 34.

18 Jing, 'The Portraits', p. 73; Hearn, *Splendors*, pp. 66-67; Ménard, *Marco Polo*, pp. 112-13.

19 *Le Devisement du monde : Traversée de l'Afghanistan et entrée en Chine*, pp. 44-45.

20 *Le Devisement du monde : L'empereur Khoubilai*, p. 86. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 264, fol. 240v.

21 This iconography is attested in the manuscripts of the *Livres de chasse* kept in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (compare MS Fr. 619, fol. 57r, fol. 62r, fol. 64r, fol. 66v, fol. 74v, fol. 75r, fol. 76v, fol. 79r, fol. 82v, fol. 83v, fol. 86v, fol. 89v, fol. 90v; MS Fr. 616, fol. 68r, fol. 73r, fol. 77r, fol. 85r, fol. 85v, fol. 87r, fol. 89v, fol. 94r, fol. 96v).

22 Strickland, 'Text, Image, and Contradiction', p. 35; Baudoin Van den Abeele, *Texte et image dans les manuscrits de chasse médiévaux* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2013), pp. 81-88.

23 *Le Devisement du monde : L'empereur Khoubilai*, pp. 68-69. On this passage, see Olschki, *L'Asia di Marco Polo*, pp. 397-98; Strickland, 'Text, Image, and Contradiction', pp. 29-31.

✦ Fig. 2
Liu Guandao, *Kublai Khan hunting*, 1280. Taipei, National Palace Museum (Photo: © Taipei, National Palace Museum).

✦ Fig. 3
Kublai Khan hunting, ca. 1410. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. Fr. 2810, f. 31v (Photo: © Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France).

✦ Fig. 4
Kublai Khan hunting, from the Devisament du monde, ca. 1400-1410. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 264, f. 240v (Photo: © Oxford, Bodleian Library).

✦ Fig. 5
Yuan Painter, *Portrait of Chabi*, ca. 1294.
Taipei, National Palace Museum (© Taipei, National Palace Museum).

blonde hair, and precious golden crowns.[24] All in all, the French illuminator depicted a courtly and chivalrous scene, appealing to his viewers' visual culture.[25]

The official portrait of Chabi, one of Kublai Khan's wives, probably executed as a pendant to that of Kublai and kept with it today at the National Palace Museum in Taipei, provides a more precise notion of how Mongol noblewomen presented themselves in portraiture (Fig. 5).[26] Notably, Chabi wears the most distinctive mark of female nobility, namely a tall, conical headpiece called a *kuku* or *boqta*.[27] This traditional accessory became particularly elaborate under the Yuan dynasty, as Chabi's portrait shows: her *kuku* is decorated with a floral pattern, adorned with pearls, and plumed.[28] More generally, the *kuku* was an article of dress that captured the attention of Latin travellers, who recalled it in their writings. John of Plano Carpini noted that this headgear differentiated women's fashion from that of their male counterparts.[29] Ten years later, William of Rubruck referenced the *boqta* using the Latin transliterated form *bocca*, describing it in great detail as a headdress typically worn by rich Mongol women. He even evoked a rather fascinating image of Mongol women on horseback: from a distance, each looked like a soldier, since her *boqta* could be mistaken for a helmet, and the feathers at its top for spears.[30]

In the first half of the following century, Odoric of Pordenone remembered the *boqta* as a foot-shaped piece of headgear, richly embellished with feathers and pearls.[31] This description, shared by other Latin travellers, was taken quite literarily by one of the illuminators of the aforementioned *Livre des merveilles*, who painted a Mongol noblewoman with a human foot on her head (Fig. 6).[32] Another image of the *boqta* can be found in the illuminated manuscript of the *Libro delle nuove e strane e meravigliose cose*, in which three Mongol women are shown seated beneath the khan's throne, wearing foot-shaped headpieces (Fig. 7).[33]

The Mise-en-Scène of the Khan's Body

Most Latin travellers to the Mongol Empire were Franciscan and Dominican friars sent by popes and kings. As a fundamental part of their diplomatic missions, they were tasked with introducing the Mongol khans to the Christian faith, as well as with delivering to them diplomatic letters and messages from the West. These encounters often ended in misunderstandings, since the two parties did not share a common linguistic or cultural background.[34] Both on

24 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Fr. 2810, fol. 36r. On the illumination, see Strickland, 'Text, Image, and Contradiction', pp. 29-31.

25 Strickland, 'Text, Image, and Contradiction', p. 57.

26 Jing, 'The Portraits', pp. 71-72; *Chinese Cultural Art Treasures*, p. 90; Ménard, *Marco Polo*, pp. 100-01.

27 The *boqta* might have influenced the *hennin*, the conical hat typically worn by European women in the late Middle Ages: see Jurgis Baltrušaitis, *Il Medioevo fantastico: Antichità e esotismo nell'arte gotica* (Milan: Adelphi, 1993), p. 198

28 Jing, 'The Portraits', p. 72.

29 *Storia dei Mongoli*, p. 234.

30 *Viaggio in Mongolia*, pp. 39-41.

31 *Relatio de mirabilibus orientalium Tatarorum*, pp. 198-99.

32 This illumination shows one passage from the travelogue by Ricoldo da Montecroce, a Dominican friar to the court of the Mongol Il-Khan ruler Arghun; compare Ricoldo da Monte Croce, *Pérégrination en terre Sainte et au Proche-Orient*, ed. by René Kappler (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997), pp. 84-87.

33 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. Lat. 1013, fol. 22r.

34 This was particularly true in the cases of John of Plano Carpini, William of Rubruck, and Odoric of Pordenone, since they integrated into the Mongol Empire much less than Marco Polo did.

✦ Fig. 6
Mongol women, one of whom wearing the boqta depicted as a foot-shaped headgear, ca. 1410. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. Fr. 2810, f. 276r (Photo: © Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France).

✦ Fig. 7
A court ceremony at the Great Khan's palace (Mongol women wearing the boqta), ca. 1350-1375. Vatican City, Vatican Library, Ms. Urb. Lat. 1013, f. 22r (Photo: © Vatican City, Vatican Library).

the Latin and the Mongol sides, the difficulty of communicating with words was, in a certain sense, overcome by a nonverbal language, according to which objects, spaces, and bodies were invested with deep meaning. William of Rubruck was particularly insightful in interacting with the khans using this nonverbal code. By dressing up in liturgical vestments and displaying liturgical furnishings and holy books when first encountering Sartaq Khan, he created a mise-en-scène that impressed the ruler.[35]

Likewise, since the khan's body directly mirrored the khan's power, the Mongol emperors were deeply invested in such nonverbal communication. The travellers remarked on how the khan's body was endowed with a political and even divine power. In particular, they were captivated by how the Mongols showed respect and reverence for their ruler by kneeling and bowing low in front of him.[36] This form of prostration (*kowtow*) was introduced by Genghis Khan and later passed from Mongol to Chinese ceremonial.[37]

The most striking description of the *kowtow* was given by Marco Polo.[38] He recalls how, at the New Year's Eve celebrations, the nobles, astrologers, philosophers, physicians, and dignitaries knelt four times in front of Kublai Khan, thus performing en masse a veritable expression of their submission.[39] After showing admiration for the khan's body, they went on to adore the khan's name, incensing an altar upon which was placed a red tablet with the khan's name written on it.

Marco Polo stressed the ambiguity of the *kowtow* as an act of both political submission and religious devotion, a slippage that is efficaciously captured in the corresponding illumination of the so-called *Livre des merveilles* (Fig. 8).[40] The French illuminator does not depict Kublai but rather a golden idol, thus characterizing the *kowtow* as an idolatrous practice.[41] Mongol nobles and dignitaries are depicted offering an animal sacrifice to the idol through the intermediation of a minister, who receives it with his hands covered as sign of reverence and humility. Given that animal sacrifice is rejected by Christians, who celebrate the Eucharistic sacrifice instead, the illuminator suggests here the pagan nature of the *kowtow*.

Medieval travelogues abound with descriptions of the *kowtow* similar to that of Marco Polo, and these provide insight into how the Western friars might have reacted to, and even engaged with and in, such ceremonies. Indeed, to succeed in their diplomatic missions, the

35 The furnishings included an altar pillow, a cross, a thurible, a Bible, an illuminated psalter, and a missal. *Viaggio in Mongolia*, p. 74.

36 Odoric of Pordenone witnessed the *kowtow* during parties held in honour of Yesün Temür. He wrote that the Mongol nobles bowed in front of the khan three times. One of the ministers (*philosophi*) supervised such a mass demonstration of submission and devotion to the khan's body; see *Relatio de mirabilibus orientalium Tatarorum*, pp. 208-09. The parties described by Odoric of Pordenone were identified thanks to a comparison with the contemporary Eastern sources; see Xiaolin Ma, 'Le feste del Gran Qa'an nei resoconti di Marco Polo e Odorico da Pordenone', in *La strada per il Catai*, pp. 120-23.

37 Leonardo Olschki, *Guillaume Boucher: A French Artist at the Court of the Khans* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969), p. 49. On the Eastern sources pertaining to the *kowtow*, see Christiane Deluz, 'La hiérarchie sociale dans l'empire mongol vue par les voyageurs occidentaux (XIIIe–XIVe s.)', in *Remembrances et resveries : Hommage à Jean Batany*, ed. by Huguette Legros (Orléans: Paradigme, 2006), pp. 85-94.

38 *Le Devisement du monde : L'empereur Khoubilai*, pp. 80-82; Deluz, 'La hiérarchie sociale', pp. 90-91.

39 On the Eastern sources concerning the New Year's Eve party, see Ma, 'Le feste del Gran Qa'an', pp. 119-20.

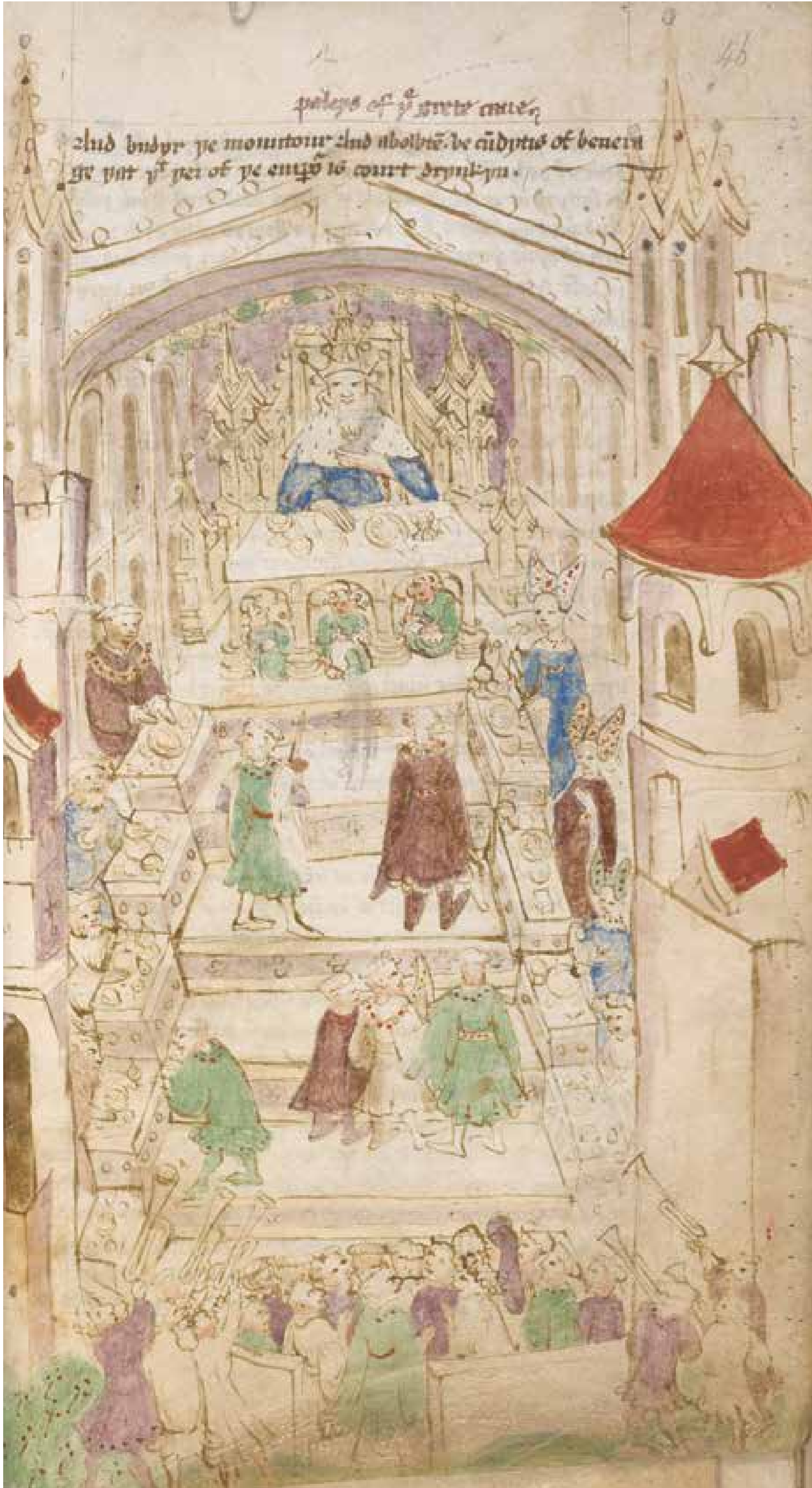
40 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Fr. 2810, fol. 40^r^. On this illumination, see Strickland, 'Text, Image, and Contradiction', p. 41.

41 On the Christian perception of idolatry as opposed to true faith, see Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in the Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

✦ Fig. 8
Noblemen worshipping an idol during the White-Feast, ca. 1410. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. Fr. 2810, fol. 40r (Photo: © Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France).

friars themselves had to perform the *kowtow* in front of the khan, particularly before entering the yurts.[42] William of Rubruck, like Marco Polo, stressed the ambiguity of the *kowtow* as a gesture of political submission and religious veneration throughout his writings. On the occasion of his first diplomatic meeting with Sartaq – when he and his fellows wore liturgical vestments – they were asked to bow down three times.[43] In another encounter, William was asked to kneel before entering Batu's yurt, and since he usually addressed himself to God in such a position, he decided to pray rather than to address himself to the khan.[44] The friar overcame his discomfort only by considering the *kowtow* as a necessary step in the evangelization of the Mongols. Accordingly, he even stated before Möngke Khan that he bowed in front of him in order to serve God rather than to prove his submission.[45] In doing so, and through his actions and words more generally, William of Rubruck reframed the *kowtow* within a Christian value system, thus normalizing the cultural otherness, and even the idolatrous nature, of this political act of submission. When, on the octave of the Epiphany, William met Möngke Khan in the Nestorian church of his camp, he bowed first to the altar and then to the khan. He thereby expressed the hierarchy he espoused as a clerk of the Christian faith.[46]

42 John of Plano Carpini called Qurumši 'Corenza'; on this identification, see Francis Woodman Cleaves, 'The Mongolian Names and Terms in the History of the Nation of the Arches by Grigor of Akanc', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 12 (1949), 433-35. Moreover, John of Plano Carpini had to show his respect to Orda's son (see *Storia dei mongoli*, p. 308), Batu and Güyük (see *Storia dei mongoli*, pp. 311, 320).
43 *Viaggio in Mongolia*, p. 74.
44 *Viaggio in Mongolia*, pp. 94-96.
45 *Viaggio in Mongolia*, p. 154.
46 *Viaggio in Mongolia*, p. 176.



✦ Fig. 9 Hierarchical arrangement of the subjects around the Great Khan, 1400-1450. London, British Library, MS Harley 3954, fol. 46r (Photo: © London, British Library).

Given the divine status William attributed to Möngke Khan, it is not surprising that he compared the emperor's palace in Karakorum to a church.[47] Its architectural structure echoed that of a basilica, consisting of a central nave and two side aisles separated by rows of pillars. In addition, the palace's south façade resembled the western façade of a church, with each of its three doors leading into an aisle. Möngke Khan's throne was located at the northern end of the hall. Following the comparison proposed by William of Rubruck, it should be remarked how the placement of the throne in Möngke Khan's palace corresponded to that of the apse, the most sacred space of a church. In the same way that a sacred image in the apse attracts the gaze of the faithful assembled in the church, Möngke Khan's seat was elevated, putting his body on display as an object of worship – in a certain sense, iconizing it. William described the palace in Karakorum as a temple for the adoration of the emperor. In particular, he stressed how the khan's body represented the focal point of a visual strategy aimed at enhancing the khan's authority.

The body of the khan, moreover, acted as an organizing principle, governing the space of the court and in particular the distribution of the subjects. William recalled how the men and women of the court positioned themselves around Möngke Khan according to their status: the more important they were, the closer to Möngke they had the privilege to sit. Similarly, men usually sat to Möngke Khan's right, and women to his left. One of his wives was seated just next to him, but on a lower level.[48] Möngke Khan's body was the centre of a microcosm reflecting the hierarchy of the Mongol Empire.

These proxemics find correspondences in other Western travelogues.[49] For example, Marco Polo describes banquets held in Kublai's palace in Khanbaliq, emphasizing how the participants were seated according to their hierarchical status. The khan's table was elevated, and the other tables were positioned closer and closer to the ground depending on the status of the guests: in order of importance, the first wife of the Great Khan, his sons, the nobles, his relatives' wives, and finally the nobles' wives.[50] Forty years later, Odoric of Pordenone remembered a similar arrangement of the subjects at Yesün Temür's palace in Tatu. The enthroned ruler was flanked by one of his wives (to the left) and his firstborn (to the right). Two additional wives were seated on a lower level to the left, while the lowest level was occupied by the other women belonging to the khan's family.[51] In a manuscript of the *Libro delle nuove e strane e meravigliose cose* (Fig. 7),[52] this description is accompanied by an illumination showing a raised throne shared by the khan and his firstborn and, on a lower level, three Mongol women, each one wearing a *boqta*.

Similar descriptions of the Mongol court as a space organized around the emperor's body circulated in Latin Europe and were conflated in the *Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, an imaginary travel report written in the middle of the fourteenth century after earlier sources. As is well known, this text circulated widely in medieval Europe, to such an extent that it is attested in several manuscripts written in various vernacular languages, some of them illuminated.[53] An English one (British Library, Harley MS 3954), dating to the first half of the fifteenth century,

47 *Viaggio in Mongolia*, pp. 212-15. See Olschki, *Guillaume Boucher*, pp. 47-48, 51-52.

48 *Viaggio in Mongolia*, p. 214.

49 See Deluz, 'La hiérarchie'.

50 *Le Devisement du monde : L'empereur Khoubilai*, p. 76.

51 *Relatio de mirabilibus orientalium Tatarorum*, pp. 198-99.

52 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. Lat. 1013, fol. 22r.

53 Rosemary Tzanaki, *Mandeville's Medieval Audiences: A Study on the Reception of the Book of Sir John Mandeville (1371-1550)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

presents the travel account along with devotional texts for the laity. One of its full-page illuminations depicts a feast in honour of the Great Khan (Fig. 9).[54] The artist suggests the hierarchical disposition of the guests by distributing the figures of the emperor and his subjects on a six-tiered structure.

The hierarchical arrangement of the subjects around the khan was practised not only in the imperial palaces but also in the encampments and notably in the yurts, where it directly involved the Latin travellers in the context of diplomatic meetings. When John of Plano Carpini first entered Batu Khan's yurt, he was seated to his left, among the women. Later, when he returned after witnessing Güyük Khan's enthronement in Karakorum, his status had changed: he was considered privileged enough to sit to Batu's right. The khan shared a raised chair with one of his wives, while his brothers and sons sat on a bench, and the other subjects on the floor.[55] The ruler's body thus played a pivotal role in the organization of the space and the distribution of its inhabitants. Likewise, while in Čagatai Khan's yurt for a meeting, William of Rubruck witnessed the khan sharing a sort of bed with his wife;[56] and he reports having seen, on another occasion, Batu Khan sharing a raised chair with his wife, under which the men placed themselves to the right of the khan, and the women to his left. John of Plano Carpini, William of Rubruck, Marco Polo, and Odoric of Pordenone each relay visual strategies of staging around the khan's body, the objective of which was to emphasize, promote, and enhance the khan's authority.

Ethnographic Descriptions of the Khan's Body

Latin travellers perceived the emperor's body as invested with political and religious authority. But they also saw it as a bearer of difference, in terms of both physical appearance and cultural habits, such as those around consumption. Medieval travelogues contain numerous descriptions of Mongol khans heavily drinking and eating at feasts. First John of Plano Carpini,[57] and later William of Rubruck,[58] recalled several instances of intoxication at court. Marco Polo, of course, makes no mention of such behaviour: this would have contradicted his account of Kublai as an ideal sovereign.[59]

Kumiss, an alcoholic beverage made from mare's milk, was commonly imbibed in both courtly and religious ceremonies.[60] The travelogue by William of Rubruck shows the extent to which drinking kumiss was embedded in the courtly ceremonies at Möngke Khan's palace in Karakorum.[61] As already stressed, William compared the imperial palace to a temple devoted to the cult of the khan: Möngke Khan's throne was located at an elevated position on the northern end of the building. Opposite this, in the central nave near to the portal, was a golden fountain of kumiss, made by Guillaume Boucher, a Parisian goldsmith who, after being taken prisoner

54 John Mandeville, *Le Livre des merveilles du monde*, ed. by Christiane Deluz (Paris: CNRS, 2000), pp. 371-72. Tzanaki, *Mandeville's Medieval Audiences*, p. 215.

55 *Storia dei mongoli*, pp. 311-12.

56 *Viaggio in Mongolia*, p. 52.

57 *Storia dei mongoli*, p. 312.

58 *Viaggio in Mongolia*, pp. 54, 76, 97, 154, 156, 160, 178, 210-13.

59 Olschki, *Guillaume Boucher*, p. 52. Olschki, *L'Asia di Marco Polo*, pp. 396-97.

60 Henry Serruys, *Kumiss Ceremonies and Horse Races: Three Mongolian Texts* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1974).

61 On the social function of drinking kumiss at court, see Olschki, *Guillaume Boucher*, pp. 52-56.

in Central Europe by the armies of Batu Khan, was active as a craftsman for the khan as well as for the Christian communities of Karakorum.[62] The fountain of kumiss was certainly his most spectacular and technologically advanced creation. It consisted of a great silver tree with four lions at its roots, each of them spurting alcohol. The tree was surmounted by an angel holding a trumpet, an automaton that was activated when more drinks were needed. Among those present in the hall of the palace, Möngke Khan had the privilege of drinking first. This act was regulated by a solemn ritual. Sitting high on his imperial throne, the khan received the cup from the cupbearer, who ascended one of the two rows of steps leading to the throne, and then came down by the other side.

Ceremonies, banquets, and feasts at court were all accompanied by loud music.[63] As reported by Latin travelogues, this musical framework characterized the most impressive political rituals intended to exalt the khan's authority: the *kowtow* and the drinking of the first cup of kumiss. Odoric of Pordenone recalled that the musicians played loudly immediately following the *kowtow*, the mass demonstration of submission to the khan performed by his subjects.[64] Similarly, John of Plano Carpini stated that Batu would drink only when someone played for him.[65] Merging these accounts, Marco Polo noted how the banquets in Khanbaliq were enlivened by musicians who played their instruments every time the noblemen bowed down and every time Kublai Khan took a drink.[66]

Similar descriptions finds correspondence in an extraordinary illumination painted in Genoa in the third decade of the fourteenth century (Fig. 10).[67] It figures in British Library, Add. 27695, an item consisting of seven parchment leaves belonging to the so-called Cocharelli Codex, an illuminated manuscript named after a Genoese family of merchants. The Cocharelli family boasted wide commercial contacts in the Persian East and Cyprus, at that time an economic centre having strong ties with the Mongols.[68] The content and decoration of the manuscript mirror the breadth of these commercial and cultural relations.[69] The manuscript transmits a text on the historical events under Frederick II of Sicily, as well as a moral treatise consisting of seven chapters, each devoted to one of the deadly sins. The image of a Mongol khan eating and drinking while flanked by subjects and musicians was chosen to represent the Allegory of Gluttony. Such an iconographic choice may be explained in light of the Western perception of the Mongols as an extremely voracious people, as reported by John of Plano Carpini

62 On the function and the meaning of this work of art, see Olschki, *Guillaume Boucher*, pp. 63-106. On the status of kumiss in Mongolian culture, see Serruys, *Kumiss Ceremonies*; *Viaggio in Mongolia*, pp. 212-15. On this ceremony, see Olschki, *Guillaume Boucher*, p. 55.

63 This custom has been interpreted as evidence of the original magic and propitiatory implications of music in shamanic rituals of Central Asia. See Olschki, *Guillaume Boucher*, p. 52.

64 *Relatio de mirabilibus orientalium Tatarorum*, pp. 209-10.

65 *Storia dei mongoli*, p. 312.

66 *Le Devisement du monde. L'empereur Khoubilai*, pp. 77-78.

67 London, British Library, MS Add. 27695, fol. 13^{r}. On this manuscript and the wide network of the Cocharelli family, see Francesca Fabbri, 'Il codice Cocharelli tra Europa, Mediterraneo e Oriente', in *La pittura in Liguria: Il Medioevo, secoli XII-XIV*, ed. by Algeri Giuliana and Anna De Floriani (Genoa: De Ferrari, 2011), pp. 266-67; Francesca Fabbri, 'Vizi e virtù in due codici realizzati a Genova nel Trecento: Fra seduzioni d'Oriente e apporti toscani', *Rivista di storia della miniatura*, 17 (2013), 95-106; Anne Dunlop, 'Ornament and Vice: The Foreign, the Mobile, and the Cocharelli Fragments', in *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, ed. by Gürlu Necipoğlu and Alina Payne (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), pp. 228-37.

68 Fabbri, 'Il codice Cocharelli', p. 289.

69 As stressed in the study by Anne Dunlop, 'Ornament and Vice'.

✦ Fig. 10
A Mongol Khan as the Allegory of Gluttony, ca. 1330-1340. London, British Library, Add. MS. 27695, f. 13r (Photo: © London, British Library)

and William of Rubruck alike.[70] According to a stereotype that circulated in Western medieval Europe, they even practised cannibalism.[71]

The naturalism of the illumination showing the Mongol khan is striking: the sovereign is represented with almond-shaped eyes, a forked beard, and a sloping moustache while seated cross-legged on a green pillow.[72] Significantly, the khan raises a cup to his mouth and looks upon a rich banquet enlivened by musicians playing trumpets, drums, flutes, and violins – a narrative scene paralleling the loud banquets in honour of the khan that were described by Latin travellers. It should be stressed that the naturalism of the Genoese illumination is not an isolated case in medieval Italian art. Already in the first half of the twentieth century, a new chapter of historiography – one in which the exchanges between Latin Europe and the Mongol Empire came to be considered in relation to contemporary artistic production – commenced with the observation of the extraordinarily lifelike 'Mongol types' found in medieval art.[73] These types belong to a group of paintings executed by well-known Italian masters between the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. They warrant brief summary here as a means of reconstructing a network of visual references before and after the execution of the Cocharelli Codex, which remains the only naturalistic Western image of a Mongol khan.

To accentuate the Wise Men's origins in the East, the workshop of Giotto di Bondone included two Mongol squires in the fresco of the Adoration of the Magi in the north transept of the lower basilica of Assisi, a scene belonging to the narrative cycle of the Infancy of Christ.[74] Moreover, in the Stefaneschi Triptych, destined for the altar in the canons' choir of Saint Peter in Rome, Giotto painted a Mongol rider among the pagan soldiers involved in the Crucifixion of Christ.[75] In the 1340s, in the transept chapel of Saint Francis in Siena, Ambrogio Lorenzetti completed a fresco of the Martyrdom of the Franciscans in Thane, in which he depicted a Mongol ruler and his soldiers overseeing the execution.[76] About thirty years later, in the chapter house of the basilica of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, Andrea Bonaiuti painted a Mongol type to evoke the evangelizing mission of the Church *ad Tartaros*, in particular in the scene of the *Ecclesia militans et triumphans*.[77] In the 1390s, Altichiero painted several 'oriental'

70 Baltrušaitis, *Il Medioevo fantastico*, pp. 201-02; *Storia dei mongoli*, pp. 248-50; *Viaggio in Mongolia*, pp. 28-29.

71 Strickland, *Saracens, Demons and Jews*, pp. 198-200 (see in particular p. 192, fig. 100).

72 William of Rubruck observed the khans sitting cross-legged in their yurts during diplomatic meetings.

73 Charles Diehl, 'La peinture orientaliste en Italie au temps de la Renaissance', *La Revue de l'Art*, 19 (1906), 5-16; Victor Goloubew, 'Les races mongoles dans la peinture du Trecento', *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1907), 239-45; Gustave Soulier, *Les influences orientales dans la peinture toscane* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1924); George Edgell, 'Le martyre du frère Pierre de Sienne et de ses compagnons à Tana, fresque d'Ambrogio Lorenzetti', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 2 (1929), 307-11; Ivan V. Pouzyna, *La Chine, l'Italie et les débuts de la renaissance (XIIIe-XIVe siècles)* (Paris: Les Editions D'Art et D'Histoire, 1935); Hermann Goetz, 'Oriental Types and Scenes in Renaissance and Baroque Painting', *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 73 (1938), 50-62; Leonardo Olschki, 'Asiatic Exoticism in Italian Art of the Early Renaissance', *Art Bulletin*, 26 (1944), 95-106; Yukio Yashiro, 'The "Oriental" Character In Italian Tre- And Quattrocento Paintings', *East and West*, 3 (1955), 81-87.

74 Giuseppe Palumbo and Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, *Giotto e i giotteschi in Assisi* (Rome: Canesi, 1969), pp. 148-50, fig. 129.

75 Bram Kempers and Sible De Blaauw, 'Jacopo Stefaneschi, Patron and Liturgist: A New Hypothesis Regarding the Date, Iconography, Autorship and Function of His Altarpiece for Old Saint Peter's', *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Institut te Rome*, 47 (1987), 83-113; Christine Smith and Joseph F. O'Connor, *Eyewitness to Old St. Peter's: Maffeo Vegio's 'Rembering the Ancient History of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 272-84.

76 For the fresco in the context of the cultural, political, and commercial exchanges within Mongol Eurasia, see Prazniak, *Sudden Appearances*, pp. 79-102.

77 Margarete Dieck, *Die Spanische Kapelle in Florenz: Das trecenteske Bildprogramm des Kapitelsaals der*

types among the executioners of the martyrdoms frescoed in the oratory of Saint George in Padua, and in particular two Mongol types in the scenes of the Crucifixion and of the Adoration of the Kings.[78] Finally, in the first half of the following century, Pisanello featured a Mongol archer among the figures populating the scene of Saint George and the Princess, frescoed in the Pellegrini Chapel of the church of Sant'Anastasia in Verona. [79] Moreover, a drawing by Pisanello representing the same figure could be found in the so-called Codex Vallardi.[80] Although these figures were assigned naturalistic traits, they were nonetheless conceived as vague visual references to paganism or to the East more generally.

The Mongols' ostensibly heavy drinking and eating were not the only cultural habits that inspired awe among Latin travellers. Indeed, the khan's body was involved in sexual and marital customs that aroused wonder in the friars. They described polygamy as a practice generally in use among the Mongols, with the khans having many wives each.[81] William of Rubruck recalled, with some measure of surprise, that Sartaq Khan's wives numbered six, and Batu Khan's as many as twenty-six.[82] However, the most spectacular account of Mongol polygamy was relayed by Marco Polo. According to him, Kublai was not only married to four women but also had regular sexual relationships with young Mongolian girls, who were selected by the governess of his palace and sent in groups of six to his bedroom every three days.[83] This passage should be understood in the context of Marco's imaginative celebration of Kublai as a magnificent Eastern sovereign of immeasurable wealth whose sexual appetite was as boundless as his empire. Marco did not relate the appearance of these women and girls but rather presented them as passive subjects in this ritual, at once political and erotic.

On the contrary, William of Rubruck assigned greater attention to the physical appearance of one of Čagatai's wives, probably Yesülün Khatun. When he first met her in the yurt, in the presence of Čagatai, he was shocked by the sight of her, her face smeared with some sort of black ointment and her nose so small that it appeared to have been amputated.[84] Perceiving the empress's body according to Western canons of beauty, he emphasizes the dreadfulness of her appearance. William was well aware of the difference between Mongol and European canons in terms of feminine beauty. Indeed, in his *Itinerarium*, he wrote that the less nose a Mongol woman had, the more beautiful she was considered, and elsewhere he criticized the Mongol women who painted their faces black, thereby disfiguring themselves, in his estimation.[85] These judgements demonstrate how the body of the khan's wife elicited cultural shock in William of Rubruck.

Dominikaner von S. Maria Novella (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1997), pp. 114-20.

78 Luca Baggio, *Altichiero da Zevio nell'oratorio di San Giorgio: Il restauro degli affreschi* (Rome: De Luca, 1999), figs XVI and XXV.

79 On the Pellegrini Chapel programme, see Ulrike Bauer-Eberhardt, 'Per l'iconografia di San Giorgio e la principessa di Pisanello', in *Pisanello* ed. by Paola Marini (Milan: Electa, 1996), pp. 151-64.

80 Marini, *Pisanello*, pp. 248-49.

81 *Storia dei mongoli*, pp. 233, 250; *Viaggio in Mongolia*, pp. 42-45.

82 *Viaggio in Mongolia*, pp. 20, 70.

83 *Le Devisement du monde. L'empereur Khoubilai*, pp. 68-69.

84 *Viaggio in Mongolia*, p. 52.

85 On the Mongol canons of beauty described by Rubruck, see *Viaggio in Mongolia*, p. 41; Jackson and Morgan, *The Mission of friar William of Rubruck*, p. 89 n. 3.

Conclusion

The Mongol Empire and its legendary sovereign, the khan, became part of the Western imaginary of the East thanks to the circulation of texts and images, resulting from the experiences of travellers and the invention of artists, respectively. An analysis of this written and visual material allows us to draw the following conclusions. First, such sources on the Mongol Empire were adapted to Western European cultural patterns and traditions. In particular, the figure of Kublai Khan, as shaped by Marco Polo's writings, appealed to his audience's expectations, evoking an idealized sovereign of extraordinary wealth and power who engaged in spectacular hunting trips and banquets as well as countless erotic relationships. As conveyed in text and image, even Kublai Khan's outward appearance, and similarly those of the Mongol empresses, responded to already established Western patterns, such as medieval physiognomic theory and certain iconographic types.

Second, Western travelogues attest to the function of the khan's body as a site of power. Merchants and friars reported the ways in which it was displayed to the public gaze within elaborate mise-en-scènes, involving the senses of both sight and sound and meant to exalt the khan's political and religious authority. Latin travellers recalled – and sometimes even practised – the *kowtow*, the most humiliating act of submission to the khan. They stressed the ambiguity of such a gesture as an act of both political submission and religious devotion, even remarking on their embarrassment in participating in this ceremony of worship directed towards the khan's body. Moreover, Latin travellers remembered how, often through proxemics, the body of the Mongol ruler shaped the space it inhabited – whether the imperial palace or the yurt. As a result of all these practices, Western sources compared the status of Khan to that of a god.

Finally, friars and merchants perceived the Mongol khans not only as men of power but also as foreigners. This perspective resulted in ethnographic descriptions of the khan's body that convey a sense of cultural otherness. This foreignness related both to physical features and to consumption habits, such as heavy drinking and eating, as well as marital and sexual customs.

Bibliography

Primary sources

'Les Mongols et la paupeté : Documents nouveaux édités', ed., trans., and with commentary by Paul Pelliot, *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 23 (1922/23), 3-30; 24 (1924), 225-35; 28 (1931/32), 3-84.

Mandeville, John. *Le Livre des merveilles du monde*, ed. by Christiane Deluz (Paris: CNRS, 2000).

Plano Carpini, John of. *Storia dei mongoli*, ed. by Paolo Daffinà and others (Spoleto: Fondazione CISAM, 1989).

Polo, Marco. *Le Devisement du monde : L'empereur Khoubilai*, ed. by Jean-Claude Faucon, Danielle Quéruel, and Monique Santucci (Geneva: Droz, 2004).

—. *Le Devisement du monde : Traversée de l'Afghanistan et entrée en Chine*, ed. by Jeanne-Marie Boivin, Laurence Harf-Lancner, and Laurence Mathey-Maille (Geneva: Droz, 2003).

—. *Le Devisement du monde : Livre d'Ynde, Retour vers l'Occident*, ed. by Dominique Boutet, Thierry Delcourt, and Danièle James-Raoul (Geneva: Droz, 2009).

Pordenone, Odoric of. *Le voyage en Asie d'Odoric de Pordenone traduit par Jean le Long : Iteneraire de la Peregrinacion et du voyage (1351)*, ed. by Alvise Andreose and Philippe Ménard (Geneva: Droz, 2010).

—. *Libro delle nuove e strane e meravigliose cose: Volgarizzamento italiano del secolo XIV dell'Itinerarium di Odorico da Pordenone*, ed. by Alvise Andreose (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2000).

—. *Relatio de mirabilibus orientalium Tatarorum*, ed. by Annalisa Marchisio (Florence: SISMEL, 2016).

Rubruck, William of. *Viaggio in Mongolia*, ed. by Paolo Chiesa (Milan: Einaudi, 2011).

Secondary sources

Akbari, Suzanne Conklin. *Idols of the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 110-1450* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009).

Andreose, Alvise. *La strada, la Cina, il cielo: Studi sulla Relatio di Odorico da Pordenone e sulla sua fortuna romanza* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2012).

—. 'Viaggiatori e testi tra Europa ed estremo Oriente al tempo di Marco Polo', in *La strada per il Catai: Contatti tra Oriente e Occidente al tempo di Marco Polo*, ed. by Alvise Andreose (Milan: Guerini e Associati, 2019), pp. 25-45.

Bacci, Michele. 'Cult-Images and Religious Ethnology: The European Exploration of Medieval Asia and the Discovery of New Iconic Religions', *Viator*, 36 (2005), 337-72.

—. *The Many Faces of Christ: Portraying the Holy in the East and West, 300 to 1300* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014).

— and Caterina Bay, *Giunta Pisano e la tecnica pittorica del Duecento* (Florence: Edifir, 2021).

Baggio, Luca. *Altichiero da Zevio nell'oratorio di San Giorgio: Il restauro degli affreschi* (Rome: De Luca, 1999).

Baltrušaitis, Jurgis. *Il Medioevo fantastico: Antichità e esotismo nell'arte gotica* (Milan: Adelphi, 1993).

Bauer-Eberhardt, Ulrike. 'Per l'iconografia di San Giorgio e la principessa di Pisanello', in *Pisanello* ed. by Paola Marini (Milan: Electa, 1996), pp. 151-64.

Camille, Michael. *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in the Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Campbell, Mary B. *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991).

Chinese Cultural Art Treasures: National Palace Museum Illustrated Handbook (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1966).

Da Civezza, Marcellino. *Storia universale delle missioni francescane*, 11 vols (Rome, Prato, and Florence: Tipografia Tiberina, 1857-95).

De Rachewiltz, Igor. *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1971).

Deluz, Christiane. 'La hiérarchie sociale dans l'empire mongol vue par les voyageurs occidentaux (XIIIe–XIVe s.)', in *Remembrances et resveries : Hommage à Jean Batany*, ed. by Huguette Legros (Orléans: Paradigme, 2006), pp. 85-94.

Dieck, Margarete. *Die Spanische Kapelle in Florenz: Das trecenteske Bildprogramm des Kapitelsaals der Dominikaner von S. Maria Novella* (Frankfurt am Mein: Lang, 1997).

Diehl, Charles. 'La peinture orientaliste en Italie au temps de la Renaissance', *La Revue de l'Art*, 19 (1906), 5-16.

Dunlop, Anne. 'Ornament and Vice: The Foreign, the Mobile, and the Cocharelli Fragments', in *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, ed. by Gürlu Necipoğlu and Alina Payne (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), pp. 228-37.

—. 'Mongol Eurasia in the Trecento Veneto', *Convivium*, 7 (2020), 114-35.

Edgell, George. 'Le martyre du frère Pierre de Sienne et de ses compagnons à Tana, fresque d'Ambrogio Lorenzetti', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 2 (1929), 307-11.

Fabbri, Francesca. 'Il codice Cocharelli tra Europa, Mediterraneo e Oriente', in *La pittura in Liguria: il Medioevo, secoli XII-XIV*, ed. by Algeri Giuliana and Anna De Floriani (Genoa: De Ferrari, 2011), pp. 289-310.

—. 'Vizi e virtù in due codici realizzati a Genova nel Trecento: Fra seduzioni d'Oriente e apporti toscani', *Rivista di storia della miniatura*, 17 (2013), 95-106.

Gadrat, Christine. 'Des nouvelles d'Orient: Les lettres des missionnaires et leur diffusion en Occident (XIIIe-XIVr siècles)', in *Passages: Déplacement des hommes, circulation des textes et identités dans l'Occident Médiéval. Actes du colloque de Bordeaux (2-3 February 2007)*, ed. by Joëlle Ducos and Patrick Henriet (Toulouse: Méridiennes, 2013), pp. 159-72.

Goetz, Hermann. 'Oriental Types and Scenes in Renaissance and Baroque Painting', *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 73 (1938), 50-62.

Goloubew, Victor. 'Les races mongoles dans la peinture du Trecento', *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1907), 239-45.

Golubovich, Girolamo. *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, 5 vols (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1906-27).

Guéret-Laferté, Michèle. *Sur les routes de l'empire mongol : Ordre et rhétorique des relations de voyage au XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Paris: Champion, 1994).

Hearn, Maxwell K. *Splendors of Imperial China: Treasures from the National Palace Museum* (New York, NY: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996).

Jackson, Peter, and David Morgan, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253-1255* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1990).

Jackson, Peter. *The Mongols and the West: 1221-1410* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014).

Jing, Anning. 'The Portraits of Khubilai and Chabi by Anige (1245-1306), a Nepali Artist at the Yuan Court', *Artibus Asiae*, 54 (1994), 40-86.

Kempers, Bram, and Sible De Blaauw. 'Jacopo Stefaneschi, Patron and Liturgist: A New Hypothesis Regarding the Date, Iconography, Autorship and Function of His Altarpiece for Old Saint Peter's', *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Institut te Rome*, 47 (1987), 83-113.

Khanmohamadi, Shirin. *In Light of Another's Word: European Ethnography in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

Ma, Xiaolin. 'Le feste del Gran Qa'an nei resoconti di Marco Polo e Odorico da Pordenone', in *La strada per il Catai: Contatti tra Oriente e Occidente al tempo di Marco Polo*, ed. by Alvise Andreose (Milan: Guerini e Associati, 2019), pp. 115-30.

Marini, Paola. *Pisanello* (Milan: Electa, 1996).

Meiss, Millard. *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master* (London: Phaidon, 1968).

Ménard, Philippe. *Marco Polo : Voyage sur la route de la soie* (Paris: Glénat, 2019).

Mostaert, Antoon. 'À propos de quelques portraits d'empereur mongols', *Asia Major*, 4 (1927), 147-56.

O'Doherty, Marianne. *The Indies and the Medieval West: Thought, Report, Imagination* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

Olschki, Leonardo. *Storia letteraria delle scoperte geografiche: Studi e ricerche* (Florence: Olschki, 1937).

—. *Marco Polo's Precursors* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Univerisity Press, 1943).

—. 'Asiatic Exoticism in Italian Art of the Early Renaissance', *Art Bulletin*, 26 (1944), 95-106.

—. *L'Asia di Marco Polo: introduzione alla lettura e allo studio del Milione* (Florence: Olschki, 1957).

—. *Guillaume Boucher: A French Artist at the Court of the Khans* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969).

Palumbo, Giuseppe, and Amleto Giovanni Cicognani. *Giotto e i giotteschi in Assisi* (Rome: Canesi, 1969).

Petech, Luciano. 'I Francescani nell'Asia Centrale e Orientale nel XIII e XIV secolo', in *Espansione del Francescanesimo tra Occidente e Oriente nel secolo XIII. Atti del VI convegno internazionale (Assisi, 12-14 ottobre 1978)* (Assisi: Porziuncola, 1979), pp. 213-40.

Phillips, Kim M. *Before Orientalism: Asia Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245-1510* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

Pouzyna, Ivan V. *La Chine, l'Italie et les débuts de la renaissance (XIIIe-XIVe siècles)* (Paris: Editions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1935).

Prazniak, Roxann. *Sudden Appearances: The Mongol Turn in Commerce, Belief, and Art* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2019).

Reichert, Folker. *Begegnungen mit China: Die Entdeckung Ostasiens im Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1992)

Richard, Jean. *La papauté et les missions d'Orient au Moyen Âge : XIIIe-XVe siècle* (Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome, 1977).

Rubiés, Joan-Pau. *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

—. *Medieval Ethnographies: European Perceptions of the World Beyond* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

Smith, Christine, and Joseph F. O'Connor. *Eyewitness to Old St. Peter's: Maffeo Vegio's 'Rembering the Ancient History of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

Serruys, Henry. *Kumiss Ceremonies and Horse Races: Three Mongolian Texts* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1974).

Soulier, Gustave. *Les influences orientales dans la peinture toscane* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1924).

Strickland, Debra Higgs. *Saracens, Demons and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003).

—. 'Artists, Audience, and Ambivalence in Marco Polo's *Divisament dou monde*', *Viator*, 36 (2005), 493-529.

—. 'Text, Image, and Contradiction in the Devisement du monde', in *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West*, ed. by Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Amilcare Iannucci (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), pp. 23-59.

Van den Abeele, Baudoin. *Texte et image dans les manuscrits de chasse médiévaux* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2013).

Van den Wyngaert, Anastasius. *Sinica franciscana*, 4 vols (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1929-42).

Van Mechelen, Johan. 'Yuan', in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, ed. by Nicolas Standaert (Leiden: Brill, 2000), I, pp. 46-51.

Woodman Cleaves, Francis. 'The Mongolian Names and Terms in the History of the Nation of the Arches by Grigor of Akanc', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 12 (1949), 400-43.

Yashiro, Yukio. 'The "Oriental" Character in Italian Tre- And Quattrocento Paintings', *East and West*, 3 (1955), 81-87.

Yule, Henry. *Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Mediaeval Notices of China*, 4 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1913-16).

KAYOKO ICHIKAWA

Staging the Virgin Mary as the Ruler of the Sienese City-State*

The central Italian city of Siena, in Tuscany, is well known as the City of the Virgin. Especially from the mid-thirteenth century on, Siena's flourishing in the visual arts helped shape this Marian civic identity, which derives from an account of the Virgin's miraculous intercession on behalf of the city in the Battle of Montaperti on 4 September 1260.[1] This historical event is proudly described in the Sienese chronicles, which survive in fifteenth-century copies but could be dated as early as the late fourteenth century.[2] According to the chronicle of Paolo di Tommaso Montauri, on the eve of the battle Buonaguida Lucari, the mayor of Siena, urged the Sienese citizens to give over the city and *contado* (countryside) to the queen empress of life eternal, the Virgin Mary: he led the citizens to the cathedral, where the bishop met him at the high altar in front of an image of the Virgin Mary; prostrating himself on the ground, Lucari dedicated to her the keys of the city.[3] This episode is vividly illustrated in the manuscript by Niccolò di Giovanni di Francesco Ventura dated 1442.[4] The following day, the Sienese won an unexpected victory over their rival city, Florence. This memory is still preserved today through art and ritual, most notably the annual celebration of the Palio, the traditional horse race dedicated to the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin.[5]

The image of the Madonna at the high altar of Siena Cathedral, before which the city was surrendered to the Virgin, was subsequently replaced by a new Marian panel. According to the *Anonymous Chronicle* of 1202-1362, when the new panel (Fig. 1) executed by Duccio was installed on 9 June 1310 [*sic*], the one it replaced, known as the 'Madonna delle Grazie' or the

* The research for and writing of this essay were supported by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science Overseas Research Fellowships. I wish to thank the editors, reviewers, and Stefano Colombo for their valuable comments.

1 Important studies on Sienese art in relation to its social and devotional contexts are Masumi Ishinabe, *Seibo no toshi Shiena* [Siena, the City of the Virgin] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Koubunkan, 1988) and Diana Norman, *Siena and the Virgin: Art and Politics in a Late Medieval City State* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999). See also Kayoko Ichikawa, 'Guido da Siena's Narrative Panels and the *Madonna del Voto*: The Formation of the Marian Civic Identity in Sienese Art *c.* 1260' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2015).

2 For a systematic historical analysis of the Sienese chronicles, see Edward B. Garrison, 'Sienese Historical Writings and the Dates 1260, 1221, 1262 Applied to Sienese Paintings', in Edward B. Garrison, *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting* (Florence: L'Impronta, 1953-60), IV (1960), pp. 23-58. See Jane Immler Satkowski, *Duccio di Buoninsegna: The Documents and Early Sources*, ed. by Hayden B. J. Maginnis (Athens: Georgia Museum of Art, 2000), pp. 97-99.

3 Siena, Comunale, A. VII. 4, fols 131-33^{v}, published in *Cronache Senesi*, ed. by Alessandro Lisini and Fabio Iacometti, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, 15, 6 (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1931-39), pp. 201-03, cited in Garrison, 'Sienese Historical Writings', p. 39. Norman, *Siena and the Virgin*, p. 3.

4 Siena, Comunale, A. IV. 5, https://www.wdl.org/en/item/10598/ (accessed 15 August 2021).

5 On the present-day Sienese annual festival, see Gerald Parsons, *Siena, Civil Religion and the Sienese* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. xiv and chapters 5 and 6.

DOI 10.1484/M.HMSAH-EB.5.135011. This is an open access chapter made available under a CC BY-NC 4.0 International License.

✦ Fig. 1
Duccio di Buoninsegna, Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints and Angels (detail), main panel of the front side of the double-sided altarpiece, the *Maestà*, 1308-11. Siena, Museo dell'Opera Metropolitana (Photo: Stefano Colombo. Opera della Metropolitana Aut. N. 134/2023).

'Madonna degli occhi grossi', was relocated to the altar of Saint Boniface.[6] The latter Madonna, conventionally identified as the *Madonna del Voto* (Fig. 2), remains today the most venerated civic icon in the Cappella del Voto of Siena Cathedral.[7] Although the *Anonymnous Chronicle* mentions that this was the Madonna who heard the entreaty of the Sienese people before the Battle of Montaperti, Ventura's account notes that the civic dedication in 1260 took place in front of a smaller ancient image of the Madonna in half-relief, which hung 'on the campanile inside the cathedral by the Porta del Perdono without an altar'.[8] This Madonna is conventionally identified with the *Opera Madonna* (Fig. 3) today in the Museo dell'Opera.[9] According to Ventura, the 'Madonna delle Grazie', namely the *Madonna del Voto*, was made 'to profoundly honour Our Lady [...] and to [respond to] the grace which she has brought to the city of Siena and her citizens'.[10]

Combining the two historical accounts allows us to deduce that the panel at the high altar of Siena Cathedral that in 1260 received the dedication of the city on the eve of the Battle of Montaperti was the same Madonna carved in half relief that, in 1442, hung near the Porta del Perdono; shortly after the battle, this image had been swapped for another, and it was this latter effigy that was relocated to the altar of Saint Boniface in 1311, being replaced at the high altar by Duccio's new panel, the *Maestà* (Fig. 1). The two earlier images of the Madonna on the cathedral's high altar have been identified as the *Opera Madonna* (Fig. 3) and the *Madonna del Voto* (Fig. 2) based on systematic analysis of the cathedral inventories by Edward Garrison.[11]

6 Siena, Comunale, A. III. 26, fol. 43^{v}, published in *Cronache Senesi*, p. 90, cited in Garrison, 'Sienese Historical Writings', p. 37, Satkowski, *Duccio di Buoninsegna*, pp. 99-100, and Monika Butzek, 'Per la storia delle due "Madonna delle Grazie" nel Duomo di Siena', *Prospettiva*, 103-04 (2001), 97-109 (pp. 98-100). English translation in Ichikawa, 'Guido da Siena's Narrative Panels', p. 61. According to Garrison, this chronicle is only known in several manuscript copies from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it was probably compiled around 1362, the date of its last entry. Garrison, 'Sienese Historical Writings', pp. 35-36. Multiple chronicle accounts mention that the new panel was painted by Duccio. Several documents regarding the agreements made between Duccio and the *operaio* (clerk of works) of Siena Cathedral survive from between 1308 and 1309. The record of a payment made to musicians dated 9 June 1311 corroborates the chronicle accounts of the triumphal procession that accompanied Duccio's panel to the cathedral. See Satkowski, *Duccio di Buoninsegna*, pp. 69-76, 80-81, 100-05. This panel is identified as the so-called *Maestà*, the double-sided altarpiece for the cathedral's high altar. See the catalogue entry in Dillian Gordon, *The Italian Paintings before 1400* (London: National Gallery, 2011), pp. 176-77 and 183-84, ns 9-19.

7 Norman, *Siena and the Virgin*, pp. 29-30.

8 Siena, Comunale, A. IV. 5, fols 4-5^{v}, published by Garrison, 'Sienese Historical Writings', p. 43. See above n. 4. Partial English translation in Ichikawa, 'Guido da Siena's Narrative Panels', pp. 60-61.

9 Norman, *Siena and the Virgin*, p. 29. The *Opera Madonna* (fig. 3) is currently labelled mistakenly as the 'Madonna degli occhi grossi', which was a nickname for the *Madonna del Voto* (fig. 2). See ns 6 and 10.

10 See n. 8. These two images of the Madonna central to Sienese civic devotion were both called the 'Madonna delle Grazie' in the fourteenth century, which led to the persisting confusion of their origins. For clarity, the two images will be differentiated here by the denominations according to their current locations: the *Madonna del Voto* and the *Opera Madonna*. Regarding the confusion and the denominations of these two images, see Butzek, 'Per la storia', p. 98 and Machtelt Israëls, *Sassetta's Madonna della Neve: An Image of Patronage* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2003), p. 36, n. 98.

11 Edward B. Garrison, 'Toward a New History of the Siena Cathedral Madonnas', in Edward B. Garrison, *Studies in the History*, IV, 5-22 (p. 5). For a ground plan of the cathedral with the identification of the altars according to the inventory of 1420, see *Gli inventari della sagrestia della Cattedrale senese e degli altri beni sottoposti alla tutela dell'operaio del Duomo: 1389-1546*, Die Kirchen von Siena, Beiheft, 4, ed. by Monika Butzek (Florence: Polistampa, 2012). Henk van Os considered that the change in architectural style and space in Siena Cathedral in the second half of the thirteenth century created the necessity for a new high altarpiece. He presumed that when the old high altar was demolished and a new one was erected, the *Opera Madonna* (fig. 3), which was originally a rectangular antependium, became obsolete and had

✦ Fig. 2
Dietisalvi di Speme (attributed to), Madonna del Voto, ca. 1262-7.
Siena, Cathedral, Cappella del Voto (Photo: Lensini, Siena).

In response to recent scholarship that has argued to the contrary, in this essay I aim to reinforce the claim that the *Madonna del Voto* was in fact originally intended for the high altar and remained there until it was replaced by Duccio's *Maestà*. I do so by examining the function of the high altar of Siena Cathedral as an important setting for staging the Virgin Mary as the ruler of the Sienese city-state.

In order to understand how and why, especially after the Battle of Montaperti, the medieval commune of Siena came to stage as their ruler the Virgin Mary, a heavenly figure, I will firstly analyse the surviving historical documents in which the Virgin Mary is designated as such. Secondly, by looking at the *laude* sung in front of the large-scale Madonna panels and by considering how the viewers were encouraged to interact with these images of the Virgin, I will explore how the idea of praising the Virgin as the city-state's most powerful leader circulated among the citizens. Finally, I will examine the Marian high altarpieces of Siena Cathedral as representations of the ruler of the city-state of Siena and the significant function of such images in embodying the physical presence of the ruler, especially on the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin.

to be replaced by the *Madonna del Voto* (fig. 2), which was a horizontal gabled dossal probably painted on both sides, like Duccio's *Maestà* (fig. 1). Henk van Os, *Sienese Altarpieces 1215-1460: Form, Content, Function* (Groningen: Bouma, 1984-90), I (1984), pp. 15-20. Luciano Bellosi accepted the hypothesis of Van Os and further proposed that the narrative panels from Badia Ardenga – attributed to Guido da Siena and Dietisalvi di Speme, to whom he also attributed the *Madonna del Voto* – formed the reverse of this panel. Luciano Bellosi, 'Per un contesto cimabuesco senese: a) Guido da Siena e il probabile Dietisalvi di Speme', *Prospettiva*, 61 (1991), 6-20 (p. 13 and n. 15). Based on further technical analyses, Holger Manzke proposed a new reconstruction showing the narrative scenes on each side of the centrally placed *Madonna del Voto* surmounted by the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Courtauld Gallery, London (fig. 5). Holger Manzke, 'Die Rekonstruktion der ursprünglichen Gestalt des Altarretabels mit der Madonna del Voto, der Marienkrönung und zwölf Szenen aus dem Leben Christi', in *Claritas. Das Hauptaltarbild im Dom zu Siena nach 1260. Die Rekonstruktion*, ed. by Lindenau-Museum Altenburg (Altenburg: Lindenau-Museum, 2001), pp. 11-88. Barbara John argued that the form and iconographic programme suggested by Manzke were suitable for the new high altar dedicated to the Virgin. Barbara John, 'Die Geschichte des Sieneser Hauptaltarbildes nach 1260 und seiner Rekonstruktion', in *Claritas*, pp. 111-13. However, Monika Butzek argued that the *Madonna del Voto* was originally commissioned for the side altar once in the third bay of the south nave dedicated to Saint Boniface, on whose feast day the Battle of Montaperti occurred. Butzek attached a greater importance to the historical document of the civic statute of 1262, which urged the civic authorities to find a place in the cathedral to build a chapel for the saints who granted victory to the Sienese. For this document, see below 'Representing the Virgin as Ruler: Marian Altarpieces in Siena Cathedral' and n. 58. In Butzek's view, the new chapel was intended from the beginning to be built in the nave, noting that the inventories from 1420 allow us to locate the altar of Saint Boniface with the *Madonna del Voto* in the third bay of the south nave, which corresponds with the provisional location mentioned in the statute. The chapel of Saint James, which had to be demolished in the course of the enlargement of the cathedral, was located in the bishop's palace, adjacent to the south nave, where the palace and the chapel were subsequently rebuilt as recorded in the ground plan of 1659, just before their definitive demolition. The petition of the bishop dated 1277 referring to the reconstruction of the new palace and chapel meant for Butzek that the external wall of the south nave had been completed by then, which corresponds to her date of 1270-80 for the *Madonna del Voto*. Butzek, 'Per la storia', pp. 102-03 and Butzek, 'Di nuovo sulla *Madonna del Voto*: La trasformazione in icona di una tavola da altare', in *Presenza del passato: Political ideas e modelli culturali nella storia nell'arte senese: Convegno internazionale, Siena, 4 maggio 2007* (Siena: Cantagalli, 2008), pp. 147-54 (p. 148). Diana Norman acknowledged the original intention expressed by the commune in the 1262 statute but nevertheless regarded the *Madonna del Voto* as a high altarpiece. In Norman's view, priority was given to the embellishment of the new high altar, which was the focus of devotion. Norman, *Siena and the Virgin*, pp. 31-33. Butzek's interpretation has been accepted by some scholars. See, for example, Silvia Giorgi, 'Dietisalvi di Speme: *Madonna col Bambino* ("Madonna del Voto")', in *Duccio: Siena fra tradizione bizantina e mondo gotico*, ed. by Alessandro Bagnoli and others (Milan: Silvana, 2003), pp. 38-41 (p. 38), Silvia Giorgi, 'Il dossale di San Bonifazio

Defining the Virgin as Ruler of Siena: Historical Documents

The notion of designating heavenly figures as rulers of cities developed in medieval Italian city-states especially from the twelfth century onwards, as urban laymen increasingly took on the political roles of bishops, which came with the responsibility to help obtain celestial guarantees for their cities' growth and well-being.[12] Diana Webb has remarked that the Italian city-states 'went to great lengths to avoid having kings' or queens.[13] As a result, 'saints acquired a key importance in civic ceremonial as surrogate monarchs', who not only had the potential to defend the cities but also 'conveniently received visible demonstrations of homage that governments needed to extract from their subjects' on their annual feast days.[14] Siena was by no means the only city dedicated to the Virgin in medieval Italy, and Webb notes that there was a rather widespread custom of recognizing the authority of communes on the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August) by making offerings at her altars within cathedrals.[15] Moreover, her feast day had long been associated with the celebration and legitimation of both imperial and papal authorities.[16] Nevertheless, it was in Siena, immediately following the Battle of Montaperti, that the Virgin's status as the ruler of the city-state was clearly formulated.[17]

The Battle of Montaperti was fought in 1260 as part of the conflict between the pro-imperial Ghibellines (the Sienese) and the pro-papal Guelphs (the Florentines).[18] Although the relationship with King Manfred, the leader of the Italian Ghibellines, contributed to the Sienese victory, the city opted to surrender itself to the Virgin, an eternal being.[19] This was probably a strategy to avoid further involvement in the papal-imperial conflict. Indeed, the Ghibelline government in Siena was short-lived: after the defeat of the Sienese Ghibellines by the Angevin-Florentine-Sienese Guelphs at Colle Val d'Elsa in 1269, the Sienese government passed to the

in onore della vittoria di Montaperti', in *Le pitture del duomo di Siena*, ed. by Mario Lorenzoni (Milan: Silvana, 2008), pp. 36-45 (pp. 36 and 44), and Dieter Blume, 'Bilder am Ort der Eucharistie. Die vielen Rollen des Altarretabels', in *Die Erfindung des Bildes. Frühe italienische Meister bis Botticelli*, ed. by Ortrud Westheider and Philipp Michael (Munich: Hirmer, 2011), pp. 34-45 (pp. 40-41). Others including myself, still contend that the *Madonna del Voto* was originally intended for the high altar and remained there until it was replaced by Duccio's *Maestà* in 1311. Joseph Polzer considered the possibility that the *Madonna del Voto* monumental in its original size (ca 175 × 310 cm) was intended for the high altar, constituting an intermediate step between the *Opera Madonna* and Duccio's *Maestà*. He also argued that the date suggested by Butzek is too late for the *Madonna del Voto* on stylistic and iconographic grounds. Joseph Polzer, 'Concerning Chrysography in *Dugento* Tuscan Painting and the Origin of the Two Washington *Madonnas*', *Arte medievale*, 4, series 2 (2012), 161-86 (p. 166 and n. 14). On the contrary, Israëls considered that the *Madonna del Voto* was not intended for the high altar, and the *Opera Madonna* remained on the high altar until Duccio's *Maestà* was installed on the high altar in 1311. Israëls, *Sassetta's Madonna della Neve*, pp. 36-37. See Ichikawa, 'Guido da Siena's Narrative Panels' for a fuller discussion.

12 Diana Webb, *Patrons and Defenders: The Saints in the Italian City-States* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1996).

13 Diana Webb, 'Queen and Patron', in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference Held at King's College London, April 1995*, ed. by Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 205-21 (p. 205).

14 Webb, 'Queen and Patron', p. 206.

15 Webb, 'Queen and Patron', pp. 206-07. In Siena, this custom existed at least from the mid-twelfth century. Norman, *Siena and the Virgin*, p. 4. Similar episcopal custom dates back earlier, to the tenth century. See below n. 36.

16 See Kayoko Ichikawa, 'The Political Symbolism of the Coronation of the Virgin', in *Dynamics of Artistic Exchange in the Mediterranean: The Medieval and Renaisance Imprint*, ed. by Charlene Vella (Malta: Midsea Books, forthcoming).

17 Webb, *Patrons and Defenders*, pp. 249-68.

18 On the Battle of Montaperti, see most recently Duccio Balestracci, *La Battaglia di Montaperti* (Bari: Laterza, 2017).

19 Webb, *Patrons and Defenders*, pp. 261-62; Webb, 'Queen and Patron', p. 219.

Guelphs.[20] In a time of such political instability, designating the Virgin as the city-state's ruler must have been a reasonable strategy for retaining as much autonomy as possible.

In fact, the Virgin Mary came to be defined as the ruler of the commune of Siena in its civic documents. According to Webb, the Virgin was first called *gubernatrix* (governor) in a document produced on 8 September 1260, a few days after the Battle of Montaperti, that records the submission of Montalcino, a town situated south of Siena:[21]

> all the undersigned men from the castle of Montalcino [...] assembled at Siena in Campo Fori, before the victorious *carroccio* of the city of Siena, built and made in honour and reverence of almighty God and the blessed Mary ever Virgin, who is defender and governor of this city, and of the blessed George, and to the honour and exaltation of the most invincible lord King Manfred, and to the honour and exaltation and augmentation of the aforesaid city and people [...].[22]

It is worth noting that although the document also acknowledges King Manfred and Saint George, it is only the Virgin Mary whom it specifically defines as the 'defender and governor' of the city.[23]

The victory at the Battle of Montaperti definitively promoted the initiatives of the commune of Siena as well as the active participation of the citizens in the rituals and feasts in honour of their patron saints. The first code of law was compiled in 1262 under the Ghibelline government, which regularized civic devotion to the Virgin.[24] According to the statute, two candles were to remain lit, day and night, before the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the cathedral, at the expense of the commune of Siena.[25] Moreover, a lamp was to burn in front of

20 Webb, *Patrons and Defenders*, pp. 255-56; Daniel Waley, *Siena and the Sienese in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 91, 93, 114-19.

21 Webb, *Patrons and Defenders*, p. 259; Webb, 'Queen and Patron', p. 208. Parsons also emphasized that it was after the Battle of Montaperti that the title of 'CIVITAS VIRGINIS' (City of the Virgin) began to appear on Sienese coins. Parsons, *Siena, Civil Religion and the Sienese*, pp. 1 and 8.

22 '[...] omnes et singuli homines infrascripti de castro Montalcini [...] congregati Senis in campo Fori, ante conspectum victoriosi carroccii civitatis Senarum, constructi et facti ad honorem et reverentiam omnipotentis Dei et beate Marie semper virginis, que est defensatrix et gubernatrix civitatis eiusdem, et beati Georgii, et ad honorem et exaltionem invictissimi domini regis Manfredi, et ad honorem et exaltionem et augmentum civitatis et populi prefati [...]'. Published in *Il Caleffo Vecchio del Commune di Siena*, ed. by Giovanni Cecchini and others (Siena, 1931-91), II (1934), pp. 846-52, n. 628. English translation from Webb, *Patrons and Defenders*, p. 259, with additions of my own for the first phrases.

23 It was stated in the 1262 statute that Saint George, to whom the Sienese attributed aid in their victory in the form of Manfred's German cavalry, was to be specially commemorated by a civic procession with candles to his church on his feast day. Siena, Archivio di Stato (ASS), Statuti di Siena 2, published in Lodovico Zdekauer, *Il constituto del comune di Siena dell'anno 1262* (Milan: Hoepli, 1897), dist. I, r. 123, pp. 54-55. Waley, *Siena and the Sienese*, p. 162; Webb, *Patrons and Defenders*, pp. 265-66.

24 The primary study of the 1262 statute is Lodovico Zdekauer, 'Dissertazione sugli Statuti del Comune di Siena fino alla redazione dell'anno 1262', in Zdekauer, *Il constituto*. According to Zdekauer, its origin can be traced back to the time of the consuls in the twelfth century, and it was formed slowly under the Ghibelline government. It was compiled by September 1262 and was active and already in use in 1264, when the first amendment was made. The amendments occur until 1269, when the Sienese Ghibellines were defeated at Colle Val d'Elsa. Zdekauer, *Il constituto*, pp. vi-viii, xiii-xiv.

25 'Item, statuimus et ordinamus quod duo cerei debeant ardere coram altare beate Marie virginis episcopatus Senarum die et nocte expensis Comunis Senarum'. Zdekauer, *Il constituto*, dist. I, r. 2, p. 26.

the *carroccio* (war chariot) in veneration of God and the Virgin.[26] Except the poor and the ill, all citizens of Siena aged 18-60 were obliged to stay in the city for the August vigil of the Holy Mary and to bring a candle to the cathedral.[27] The code of law also expressed the government's will to construct a chapel, at the expense of the commune, in honour of God, the Blessed Virgin, and saints who had granted victory to the Sienese.[28] Later, it was identified that the Battle of Montaperti had occurred on the feast of Saint Boniface.[29] Records of the *biccherna* dated 1267, concerning the payment made by the commune for the candle in front of the altar of Holy Mary and candles for the feast of Saint Boniface, indicate that such dedications had been introduced by this date.[30]

In the second civic statute – compiled after 1274 under the Guelph government, which ruled nominally under Charles of Anjou – the Virgin is again defined as the governor of the city of Siena:[31]

> Likewise, we establish and order that all candles that are offered in the major church of the city of Siena for the feast of the blessed Boniface and also all candles that are offered as tribute on the vigil of the Blessed Virgin Mary or at any other time are and ought to be of the Opera of the said Blessed Mary, the receiver and governor of the city of Siena, so that she strives for our commune with God himself so that he will govern the city and [its] men, always improving [them] from good to better.[32]

Webb noted the peculiarity of the dual reference to the Virgin as not only *gubernatrix* but also *receptrix* (receiver). The latter designation usually meant 'a receiver of stolen goods or protector of guilty persons', or otherwise could denote an arbiter, mediator, or tax collector.[33] In addition to Webb's interpretation of this word as a reference to Mary's generosity and mercifulness, which are also key qualities of a ruler, I would argue that it could have been consciously used in political terms to clarify that the Virgin was a ruler to whom the citizens and subjects paid homage not only on her feast day but also on that of Saint Boniface, and thus she was the recipient of all tributes made at the cathedral for these occasions.

26 'Item quod debeat ardere lampax die et nocte coram carroccio comunis Senarum, expensis comunis Senarum, ad honorem dei et beate Marie Virginis'. Zdekauer, *Il constituto*, dist. I, r. 3., p. 26

27 'Item, statuimus et ordinamus quod omnes cives Senenses assidui habitatores et cives forenses, qui sunt et erunt a XVIII annis supra usque LX, qui erunt in civitate Senarum, teneantur venire et esse in civitate Senarum in vigilia sancte Marie de augusto et ire cum cereo ad episcopatum Senensem cum hominibus sue contrate, exceptis pauperibus et hodio vel infirmitate gravatis'. Zdekauer, *Il constituto*, dist. V, r. 37, cited in *Der Dom S. Maria Assunta*, ed. by Monika Butzek and others, Die Kirchen von Siena (Munich: Bruckmann, 1985-2006), III (2006), p. 735.

28 See below 'Representing the Virgin as Ruler: Marian Altarpieces in Siena Cathedral' and ns 11 and 58.

29 Webb, *Patrons and Defenders*, pp. 258 and 270, n. 24.

30 'Item XXX libras et XVI soldos quos soluit camerarius dictus fratri Melano operario per CXII libras cere de qua cera facti fuerunt XXVI ceri scilicet duarum librarum pro quolibet, qui ceri conburuntur ante altare sancte Marie et pro uno cero XXV librarum cere pro festo sancti Pelegrini et pro duobus ceris XXV librarum cere pro festo sancti Bonifatii et pro uno cero X librarum cere que deportavit ad festum Sancti Pelegrini'. ASS, Biccherna 41, c. 20r (1267 luglio-settembre), quoted by Butzek, 'Per la storia', p. 108, n. 29.

31 Webb, *Patrons and Defenders*, pp. 257-60.

32 'Item statuimus et ordinamus quod omnes cerei qui offeruntur in ecclesia maiori civitatis Senarum in festo beati Buonifatii et etiam omnes cerei qui offeruntur pro censu in vigilia beate Marie virginis vel alio tempore sint et esse debeant Operis dicte beate Marie virginis receptricis et gubernatricis civitatis Senarum ut ipsa intendat pro Comuni nostro apud ipsum Deum ut civitatem et homines gubernet semper de bono in melius augumentando'. ASS, Statuti di Siena 3, fols 1r-v, published in *Der Dom S. Maria Assunta*, p. 740, n. 44. My translation based on Webb, *Patrons and Defenders*, pp. 259-60.

33 Webb, *Patrons and Defenders*, p. 272, n. 33; Webb, 'Queen and Patron', p. 208.

In the vernacular recension of the Sienese statute produced in 1309-11, according to Webb, the Virgin was designated more conventionally as *capo e difenditrice* (head and defender):[34]

> Before you, gentlemen of the Nine governors and defenders of the commune and people of Siena, it is proposed and said, in honour and reverence to the Virgin Mary, who was, is, and will be, by her grace, head and defender of the city of Siena, that therefore the city of Siena and its citizens are required and obliged to observe and honour the feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and especially the feast that is celebrated in reverence of her in the month of August [...].[35]

The Virgin is here defined as the ruler of the city of Siena for eternity. However, as far as I am aware, it is only in this rubric regarding the feast of the Virgin that she is characterized as 'head and defender'; elsewhere, it is her earthly representatives, the Nine, who are thus designated. This could indicate that, although by then the government of the Nine was well established, the Virgin Mary continued to play an important symbolical role as the ultimate ruler, especially on the feast of the Assumption when citizens and subjects made their annual tribute to the city in the cathedral. Defining the Virgin as the ruler of the city was thus an important strategy by which the Sienese commune elicited consistent homage and tribute from its subjects, especially in times of political turmoil following the Battle of Montaperti.

Praising the Virgin as the Eternal Queen: Monumental Madonna Panels and Laude

Marian devotion and the custom of praising the Virgin as the Queen of Heaven had existed in Siena before the Battle of Montaperti. The dedication of Siena Cathedral to the Virgin can be traced back to the tenth century.[36] The *Ordo Officiorum ecclesiae Senensis*, a collection of precise prescriptions for the cathedral's liturgy compiled in 1215 by a Sienese canon, Odericus, refers to her as *regina nostra* (our queen) in the entry for the feast of the Assumption: 'because of great reverence for our lady queen, on this feast we are visited by a greater crowd of people than in the whole year'.[37] The initial T of the text beginning with 'Transitus Beatae Mariae

34 Webb, 'Queen and Patron', p. 208.

35 'Denanzi a voi signori Nove governatori et difenditori del comune et del popolo di Siena, si propone et si dice, ad onore et reverentia de la Vergine Maria, la quale fue, è et sarà per la sua gratia capo et difenditrice de la città di Siena, che conciò sia cosa che la città di Siena et li cittadini d'essa sieno tenuti et debiano guardare et onorare le feste de la beata Vergine Maria, et spetialmente la festa la quale del mese d'agosto a sua reverentia si celebra [...]'. Published in *Il Costituto del Comune di Siena volgarizzato nel MCCCIX-MCCCX*, ed. by Alessandro Lisini (Siena: Lazzeri, 1903), II, p. 361. Translation my own.

36 The first document that refers to the cathedral as the seat of the Blessed Mary is dated May 913. This document also refers to the annual payment of rent to be made in August, which alludes to the importance of the feast of the Assumption for the Sienese bishopric by this date. Monika Butzek, 'Chronologie', in *Der Dom S. Maria Assunta*, p. 1 and n. 5. See Norman, *Siena and the Virgin*, pp. 3 and 215; Parsons, *Siena, Civil Religion and the Sienese*, pp. 1 and 24.

37 'quoniam propter tantae dominae reginae nostrae reverentiam, in hac festivitate majorem quam in toto anno patimur concursum Populi [...]', Odericus, *Ordo Officiorum Ecclesiae Senensis*, ed. by Joanne Chrysostomo Trombelli (Bologna: Longhi, 1766), p. 348, cited in Raffaele Argenziano, *Agli inizi dell'iconografia sacra a Siena: Culti, riti e iconografia a Siena nel XII secolo* (Florence: SISMEL, 2000), p. 69. Translation my own. See Webb, 'Queen and Patron', pp. 208-09.

✦ Fig. 3
Master of Tressa, Madonna dagli Occhi Grossi (Madonna with Big Eyes), ca. 1215. Museo dell'Opera Metropolitana, Siena, Italy (Photo: 2022©Photo Opera Metropolitana Siena/Scala, Florence).

✦ Fig. 4 ›
Coppo di Marcovaldo, Madonna del Bordone, 1261. Siena, Basilica di Santa Maria dei Servi (Photo: Kayoko Ichikawa. By permission of Ufficio Beni Culturali Ecclesiastici, Arcidiocesi di Siena - Colle di Val d'Elsa - Montalcino).

Virginis antonomastice Assumptio nominatur' is illustrated with an image of the Dormition of the Virgin.[38] Further visual representations testify the existence of Marian devotion in early thirteenth-century Siena. For instance, the *Opera Madonna* (Fig. 3), attributed to the Master of Tressa and dated to around 1215, was most likely the central part of the rectangular antependium of the cathedral high altar, in front of which the civic authorities dedicated the city on the eve of the Battle of Montaperti.[39] Already in 1252, the design of the communal seal was altered to depict the Virgin and Child instead of the old fortress.[40] But it is after 1260 that we see an unprecedented proliferation of monumental Marian panel paintings in Siena.

Three major examples of monumental images of the Virgin and Child Enthroned in Siena survive from soon after 1260: the *Madonna del Bordone* (Fig. 4) at Santa Maria dei Servi in Siena,

38 Odericus, *Ordo Officiorum*, p. 348; Argenziano, *Agli inizi*, p. 115 and fig. 120.

39 See the introduction above. The anonymous master derives his name from the *Virgin and Child* dated 1220-30 in Museo Diocesano d'Arte Sacra, Siena, originally from Santa Maria a Tressa. This panel is also reduced to the central image of the Virgin and Child but retains the fragmentary parts of the original six narrative scenes: the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity of Christ, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, and possibly the Massacre of Innocents. The *Opera Madonna* (fig. 3) might have been flanked by similar Marian scenes. It shares stylistic and formal features with the *Majestas Domini* antependium dated 1215 in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, originally from Badia Ardenga, which has six narrative scenes. Miklós Boskovits, *Mediaeval Panel Painting in Tuscany 12th to 13th Century*, ed. by Sonia Chiodo, A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting (Florence: Giunti, 2021), cat. ns 131, 134 and 136, pp. 392-94, 400-03, 407-09.

40 This seal was depicted in the lower border of Simone Martini's *Maestà* dated 1315 in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena. Webb, 'Queen and Patron', p. 206; Norman, *Siena and the Virgin*, p. 58.

dated 1261 and signed by the Florentine painter Coppo di Marcovaldo (220 × 125 cm);[41] the *San Bernardino Madonna* at the Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena, attributed to Dietisalvi di Speme, having been commissioned in 1262 by the confraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary active in the building situated next to the Franciscan convent in Siena (now reduced to half-length, 140 × 97 cm);[42] and the *Virgin and Child Enthroned* at San Domenico in Siena (the *San Domenico Madonna*, 362 × 194 cm, including gable), signed by Guido da Siena with a date of 1221, but stylistically dated to 1270-80.[43] Large-scale Marian images were often commissioned by the confraternities of the *laudesi*, which had the special purpose of singing *laude* (hymns) in the vernacular before images of the Virgin.[44] In the case of the *Madonna del Bordone* (Fig. 4), the painting was made for the Sienese convent of the Servite friars, whose liturgical practices centred on singing, before an image of the Virgin at the high altar, of Latin antiphons praising her as the Queen of Heaven and vowing to serve her.[45] This new type of imposing full-length Marian imagery probably provided a model for the *San Bernardino Madonna* and the *San Domenico Madonna*. The latter was likely placed on, above, or near an altar dedicated to the Virgin that formed part of the intermediary screen, where it was more regularly accessible to the laity.[46] Joanna Cannon proposed that the image may have been the focus of the devotions of the confraternity of the *laudesi*. The Dominicans of Siena may have been the first to introduce the lay singing of *laude* in honour of the Virgin, and in Cannon's view, the introduction of this activity by the Sienese Dominican Ambrogio Sansedoni (1220-87), probably around 1260, could have been prompted by the devotions offered to the *Madonna del Bordone*.[47] It seems likely, then, that it was the socio-political situation after the Battle of Montaperti that prompted the introduction of monumental Marian panel paintings in Siena, for the purpose of singing *laude*.

The Ghibelline victory at Montaperti caused great political strife and anxiety in society broadly. A few months after the battle, in November 1260, Pope Alexander IV placed Siena under interdict, which resulted in a disastrous situation especially for Sienese bankers, to whom the papal link was an important element in securing repayment, and consequently for the commune, which was dependent on their continued function as lenders.[48] As demonstrated by Gianna Mina, the Servites, who were Florentine and Guelph by origin, had a potential role to play in easing the troubled relationship with the papacy, namely, by linking the opposing

41 It bears the inscription 'A.D. M.CC.LXI. COPP[US]. D[E] FLORE[N]TIA. ME PI[N]X[IT]'. Gianna A. Mina, 'Coppo di Marcovaldo's Madonna del Bordone: Political Statement or Profession of Faith?', in *Art, Politics, and Civic Religion in Central Italy 1261-1352: Essays by Postgraduate Students at the Courtauld Institute of Art*, ed. by Joanna Cannon and Beth Williamson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 237-93; Joanna Cannon, *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches: Art in the Dominican Churches of Central Italy in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 77-78.

42 Cannon, *Religious Poverty*, pp. 78-79. The attribution to Dietisalvi di Speme was proposed by Bellosi, 'Per un contesto'. See Boskovits, *Mediaeval Panel Painting*, cat. n. 156, pp. 453-55.

43 Cannon, *Religious Poverty*, pp. 79-83. See Boskovits, *Mediaeval Panel Painting*, cat. n. 168, pp. 482-85.

44 Webb, 'Queen and Patron', p. 210. Cannon, *Religious Poverty*, pp. 76-79.

45 Their lay confraternity of the *laudesi* was formed much later, ca 1290. Mina, pp. 243-47.

46 Cannon, *Religious Poverty*, p. 74-75, 81-83.

47 The statute of this confraternity was issued in 1267 by the bishop of Siena Tommaso Fusconi, who was himself a Dominican. Cannon, *Religious Poverty*, pp. 76-77, 82-83; Blake Wilson, *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 39-41.

48 Waley, *Siena and the Sienese*, pp. 26-35, 114-19. Jessamyn Conrad, 'The Meanings of Duccio's *Maestà*: Architecture, Painting, Politics, and the Construction of Narrative Time in the Trecento Altarpieces for Siena Cathedral' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 2016), pp. 83-89, provides a summary of the aftermath of the Battle of Montaperti.

political parties through a shared reverence to the Virgin.[49] The Servites were summoned to Siena by Bishop Bonfiglio around 1250, and in September 1259, the *podestà* of Siena insisted that they return to the hill of San Clemente to build a church dedicated to the Virgin. A few months later, the members of the Tolomei banking family announced that they would remain the patrons of the new church in perpetuity, and in February 1260, the convent's prior purchased a house and some land in the area.[50] In 1263, the church of San Clemente was finally handed over to the friars by Fra Tommaso, bishop of Siena, and Pope Urban IV formally acknowledged the meeting of the order's general chapter. Considering the anomalous position of the Servites in Siena, as Mina rightly pointed out, the *Madonna del Bordone* could not have been a civic commission to commemorate the Sienese Ghibelline victory, as argued previously by Rebecca Corrie; rather, it was primarily a profession of faith on the part of the Servite Order, the Florentine origin of which explains the choice of the artist, who proudly noted this origin alongside his signature on the painting.[51] The eagle motif on the veil of the Madonna, which can be identified as that of the Hohenstaufen, may well have had 'a mildly polemical effect, affirming the Virgin's dominant role over earthly rulers, and recalling the everlasting secular aspect of her power'.[52]

The art and devotion of the Servites, manifesting the order's status and identity as the servants of Mary, provided an effective model for others who wished to characterize themselves as the immediate subjects of the Queen of Heaven. For the bishop of Siena, who played the difficult role of mediating between the commune and the papacy, it must have been a favourable solution to persuade the pope to absolve his citizens. It is likely that the bishop considered organizing the *laudesi* confraternities supervised by mendicant friars by appropriating the Servite custom. Ambrogio Sansedoni assisted his fellow Dominican bishop Tommaso Fusconi in this matter.[53] The members of the confraternities supervised by mendicant friars regularly sought salvation, whether individually or collectively, by directly addressing the Virgin before her full-length representation. In the surviving *laude*, the Virgin is typically praised as the 'most powerful queen, exalted above the heavens [...] crowned before the king of glory' who exercised great lordship with mercy and piety.[54] As Cannon has convincingly argued, the viewers were also encouraged to interact with these images and to venerate the represented holy figures by either physically or mentally kissing the foot of the Virgin or of the Christ Child.[55] The

49 Mina, 'Coppo di Marcovaldo's Madonna', pp. 256-57.

50 Mina, 'Coppo di Marcovaldo's Madonna', pp. 241-42.

51 See above n. 41. Mina, pp. 256-59. See Rebecca Corrie, 'The Political Meaning of Coppo di Marcovaldo's Madonna and Child in Siena', *Gesta*, 29 (1990), 61-75; Conrad, pp. 103-08. Because Coppo served as a shield-bearer at Montaperti, it is possible that the Servites paid for the release of Coppo, who in turn painted the panel. Conrad, 'The Meanings of Duccio's *Maestà*', p. 96 and n. 284.

52 In the Servite chant 'Ave novella femina' ca 1271, the Virgin is invoked as 'a mighty eagle'. Mina, 'Coppo di Marcovaldo's Madonna', pp. 254-56.

53 On Ambrogio Sansedoni, see Waley, *Siena and the Sienese*, pp. 142-146; and Michele Pellegrini, 'SANSEDONI, Ambrogio, beato', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 90 (2017), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/sansedoni-ambrogio-beato_(Dizionario-Biografico)/ (accessed 22 September 2021).

54 Webb, 'Queen and Patron', pp. 210-17.

55 Joanna Cannon, 'Kissing the Virgin's Foot: *Adoratio* before the Madonna and Child Enacted, Depicted, Imagined', *Studies in Iconography*, 31 (2010), 1-50.

monumental Marian images thus functioned as surrogate bodies for the Queen of Heaven and allowed the citizens to directly interact with this eternal figure, whom the city of Siena defined as its ruler, in order to demonstrate their submission. This attitude would have been received favourably by the pope. In 1267, Bishop Tommaso Fusconi agreed to negotiate with the curia on behalf of the commune.[56] He also confirmed the *laudesi* confraternity statutes produced at the Sienese Dominican convent.[57] The introduction of *laudesi* activity must have been part of the bishop's peace-making agenda, and his diplomatic strategy would have also been reflected in the making of art for his cathedral.

Representing the Virgin as Ruler: Marian Altarpieces in Siena Cathedral

The Sienese civic statutes not only defined the Virgin as the city-state's ruler but also obliged the government to invest in the mise-en-scène of its ruler through artistic commissions and Marian rituals. The 1262 statute urged the civic authorities to find a place in the cathedral for a chapel in honour of God, the Virgin, and saints who had granted victory to the Sienese, a chapel that would be constructed at the expense of the Opera:

> The priors of the Twenty-Four and the treasurer and the four providers of the Commune of Siena and consuls of both *mercantie* are obliged, if in the future they will be asked by the Bishop of Siena, to find and to decide and to arrange one single place where they should see more suitability to construct and erect at the expense of the Opera of Santa Maria a chapel in honour of and in respect for God and the Blessed Virgin Mary and the saints in whose solemnity Lord granted victory over the enemies to the Sienese, for it should be necessary to demolish the chapel of Saint James for the embellishment of the cathedral. And in that place that the aforesaid people approved and set in order, the aforementioned chapel should be constructed at the expense of the Opera of Saint Mary.[58]

This raises questions about the architectural situation of the cathedral, as well as about the socio-political context. We note that the construction of a new chapel was supposedly proposed by the bishop himself; and additionally, that the new chapel was to be realized in place

56 Waley, *Siena and the Sienese*, p. 129.

57 See above n. 47.

58 'Et teneantur priores XXIIIIor et camerarius et IIIIor provisores Comunis Senarum et consules utriusque Mercantie, si exinde fuerint requisiti a domino episcopo Senarum, invenire et videre et ordinare locum unum in quo eis videretur magis conveniens pro construendo et faciendo fieri expensis Operis Sancte Marie unam cappellam ad honorem et reverentiam Dei et beate Marie virginis et illorum sanctorum, in quorum solempnitate dominus dedit Senensibus victoriam de inimicis, cum oporteat cappellam Sancti Iacobi destrui pro ornatu episcopatus. Et in illo loco quem predicti ordines approbaverint et ordinaverint, dicta cappella fiat expensis Operis Sancte Marie'. ASS, Statuti di Siena 2, fol. 2r, published in Zdekauer, *Il constituto*, dist. I, rubrr. 14, p. 29. Translation my own from Ichikawa, 'Guido da Siena's Narrative Panels', p. 71.

of one of Saint James in order to commemorate saints who had granted the Sienese victory.[59] However, it is unlikely that the bishop would propose the building of a commemorative civic chapel in place of his own chapel: the old urban structure, with the bishop's palace and the independent baptistery close to the cathedral itself, demonstrated the central role of the bishop in the era preceding the establishment of the commune.[60] When the 1262 statute was compiled, the areas to the south and the west of the cathedral, including the bishop's palace, the chapel of Saint James, and the old baptistery, was still untouched.[61] Considering the bishop's important role as mediator between the commune and the papacy after Montaperti, he would not have accepted the commune's proposal as it was.

It is also difficult to believe that a new chapel would have been constructed in the nave, which was under reconstruction around this time. The thirteenth-century renovation of the cathedral started from the eastern end and continued towards the western façade, the construction of which began only in 1284 and was probably completed around 1310.[62] The project to enlarge the eastern end of the cathedral became active after 1255.[63] Documents from 1259 refer to the construction of the choir area, including the altar of the Virgin Mary and the choir stalls. After the cupola was completed, being topped with a copper sphere in 1263, the interior decoration of the newly enlarged crossing area was carried out, including the pulpit by Nicola and Giovanni Pisano, commissioned in 1265 and completed in 1268.[64] If we consider that the cathedral decoration focused on the furnishing of the crossing, it is difficult to imagine that a new chapel would have been constructed in the nave around this time. The *biccherna* document of 1267 refers to candles offered at the altar of Holy Mary and for the feast of Saint Boniface, but not at any altar or chapel dedicated to the latter saint.[65] Nor does the 1274 statute allude to any altar or chapel of Saint Boniface.[66] In my view, it seems likely, then, that as a compromise after Montaperti the bishop suggested the celebration of the feast of Saint Boniface at the Marian high altar, rather than building a new chapel, and encouraged the commune to show special reverence to the Virgin herself.

The *Madonna del Voto* (Fig. 2), which is believed to have been commissioned to commemorate the Virgin's intercession at Montaperti, was therefore most probably intended for the new Marian high altar of Siena Cathedral.[67] The iconographic programme of the altarpiece (as reconstructed today) is appropriate to this original location and function. The reconstruction proposed by the Lindenau-Museum, Altenburg, in 2001 – namely, combining the *Madonna del Voto* with twelve narrative panels dispersed among Siena, Altenburg, Paris, and Princeton and with

59 See n. 11 for Butzek's interpretation.

60 On bishop's palaces in medieval Italy, see Maureen Miller, *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000).

61 Andrea Giorgi and Stefano Moscadelli, *Costruire una cattedrale: L'opera di Santa Maria di Siena tra XII e XIV secolo*, Die Kirchen von Siena, Beiheft 3 (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2005), pp. 78-79.

62 Butzek, 'Chronologie', pp. 24, 33-34; *Der Dom S. Maria Assunta*, pp. 765-66, n. 107. In 1310, the number of masters for the cathedral works was reduced, probably in relation to the completion of the western façade. Giorgi and Moscadelli, *Costruire una cattedrale*, p. 246.

63 Several documents dated between 1255 and 1257 mention the acquisition of the land in the area behind the cathedral for this purpose. *Der Dom S. Maria Assunta*, pp. 726-27, ns. 7, 8, 10, and 11.

64 Giorgi and Moscadelli, *Costruire una cattedrale*, p. 77 and n. 135. *Der Dom S. Maria Assunta*, pp. 736-38, n. 35.

65 See above 'Defining the Virgin as Ruler of Siena: Historical Documents' and n. 30.

66 See above 'Defining the Virgin as Ruler of Siena: Historical Documents' and n. 32.

67 See the introduction above.

✦ Fig. 5 ‣
Guido da Siena (active c. 1250-1300), Coronation of the Virgin, c. 1262-7. London, Courtauld Institute (Photo: Courtauld Institute).

the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Courtauld Gallery, London (Fig. 5) – can be supported from a technical viewpoint, with a slight modification.[68] The reconstructed altarpiece programme includes two extra-biblical episodes: Christ Mounting the Cross and the Coronation of the Virgin.[69] In the former scene, Mary proactively intercedes by embracing Christ with her left arm and fending off an opponent with her right hand.[70] In the latter (Fig. 5), Christ is placing a crown on the Virgin's head within a mandorla held by two angels, which alludes to her Assumption.[71] This is the earliest surviving image of the Coronation of the Virgin in Italy, and in my view, it was introduced to visually assert Siena's choice to place itself directly under the rulership of the Queen of Heaven.[72] The image is, moreover, appropriate to the high altar since this was the focal point of the annual feast of the Assumption of the Virgin. Repositioning this altarpiece at the high altar provides a logical explanation for the subsequent development evident in the stained-glass window installed around 1288 behind the high altar and attributed to Duccio (Fig. 6), which was also commissioned by the commune as stipulated in the 1287 statute.[73]

The role of the Virgin as the ruler and defender of the city, a role clearly defined in the civic statutes, was also visually demonstrated by artworks commissioned for the cathedral high altar. In 1308, the commune of Siena once again commissioned a new high altarpiece from Duccio, the *Maestà* (Fig. 1), which was installed in 1311 accompanied by a solemn civic procession entering through the newly completed western façade.[74] The inscription on the base of the Virgin's throne expresses the will to renew the special relationship with the Queen of Heaven: 'Holy mother of God be thou the cause of peace for Siena, and, because he painted thee thus, of life for Duccio'.[75] Just as the *Opera Madonna* was relocated to the side altar near the Porta del Perdono,

68 Manzke, 'Die Rekonstruktion'; Ichikawa, 'Guido da Siena's Narrative Panels', pp. 28-56; Kayoko Ichikawa, 'Guido da Siena's *Coronation of the Virgin*: Thirteenth-Century Marian Devotion between East and West', *IKON*, 10 (2017), 78-96 (pp. 83-84).

69 See Ichikawa, 'Guido da Siena's Narrative Panels', esp. chapters 3 and 4.

70 See Ichikawa, 'Guido da Siena's Narrative Panels', chapter 3, esp. pp. 144-57.

71 For a fuller discussion, see Ichikawa, 'Guido da Siena's Narrative Panels', chapter 4 and Ichikawa, 'Guido da Siena's *Coronation*'.

72 Gertrude Coor-Achenbach, 'The Earliest Italian Representation of the Coronation of the Virgin', *Burlington Magazine*, 99 (1957), 328-32. I propose that the introduction of the representations of the Coronation of the Virgin could have been mediated by Ambrogio Sansedoni, who would have been aware of the theme's political significance. Ichikawa, 'The Political Symbolism'.

73 Satkowski, *Duccio di Buoninsegna*, pp. 90-92.

74 See the introduction above and ns 6 and 62.

75 'MATER SCA DEI/SIS CAUSA SENIS REQUIEI/ SIS DUCCIO VITA/TE QUIA PINXIT ITA'. John White, *Duccio: Tuscan Art and the Mediaeval Workshop* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), p. 100.

✦ Fig. 6
Duccio di Buoninsegna, Dormition, Assumption, and Coronation of the Virgin with Four Saints, ca. 1288. Stained-glass window originally from Siena Cathedral. Siena, Museo dell'Opera Metropolitana (Photo: Stefano Colombo. Opera della Metropolitana Aut. N. 134/2023).

probably when the *Madonna del Voto* was installed as the new high altarpiece, it is likely that the latter was relocated to the side altar of Saint Boniface, near the western portal, when Duccio's *Maestà* was installed.[76]

The high altar of Siena Cathedral, dedicated to the Virgin, as we have seen, was an important setting where the citizens gathered annually on the feast of the Assumption and paid homage to their ruler with offerings. The Marian altarpieces served this annual event not only as backdrops but also as substitute bodies, making the Virgin's presence perpetual by receiving the reverence of civic authorities in the form of the continuous lighting of the candles before her altar. The rituals and artworks in the cathedral were supervised by the bishop, who acted as mediator between the commune and the papacy, and thus they were not limited to the concerns of the Sienese commune. Staging the Virgin as the ruler of the city-state probably served a higher purpose related to papal matters. In fact, Sienese Marian altarpieces became popular outside Siena Cathedral and were exported beyond Sienese territory, becoming a common feature of the high altars of cathedrals and convent churches in Italy more broadly after 1300. It may have been the case that the network of friars facilitated the dissemination of Marian altarpieces with the aim of bringing together different city-states under the Virgin Mary as a universal leader of the Roman Catholic Church. As pointed out by Cannon, visual consistency also seems to have mattered, as exemplified by the repainting and updating of the faces and hands of the *Madonna del Bordone* and the *San Domenico Madonna* in a Ducciesque style.[77] This was probably an intervention to reassure viewers that they shared a unified vision of their ruler, the Queen of Heaven.

Conclusion

Marian art flourished in Siena especially after the Battle of Montaperti in 1260 both to demonstrate the Virgin's regal status and to manifest the autonomy of the city-state under her heavenly rule. The Virgin Mary was clearly defined as the ruler of Siena in civic documents. The feast of the Assumption of the Virgin had long been associated with the celebration of temporal authority, and the theme of her bodily Assumption and her Coronation in heaven was a central concern in this time of papal-imperial conflict. Her body having been assumed into heaven, she became the most powerful intercessor to whom earthly rulers could turn as a guarantor of their authority. The discussion regarding the Virgin's body also relates to her role in the Incarnation, which, on a theoretical level, is fundamental to the use of images in Christian art. The images of the Virgin could function as vehicles through which people addressed their ruler, an eternal figure. Moreover, the viewers of the early Sienese Madonna panels were encouraged to interact with these images by mentally or physically kissing the foot of the Virgin, which could be perceived as an act of both veneration of the holy figure and submission to the heavenly ruler. A series of monumental Marian images were made in a time of political conflict after 1260, in connection with the proliferation of the confraternities of the *laudesi*, the members of

76 See the introduction above. While the western part of the cathedral was under reconstruction and thus inaccessible in the latter half of the thirteenth century, the portals on the eastern end and the Porta del Perdono on the south side of the transept must have been operational as entrances to the cathedral. The chapel of Saint Boniface, in my view, was realized ca 1311 when the *Madonna del Voto* was removed from the high altar and the western portal became accessible. See Ichikawa, 'Guido da Siena's Narrative Panels', pp. 75-82, 99.

77 Cannon, *Religious Poverty*, pp. 81, 139-60, 339-48.

which sang hymns in the vernacular in front of these images, directly addressing the Virgin and praising her exceptional lordship. The full-length images of the Virgin enthroned thus each functioned as a substitutive body of Mary, whom the citizens officially defined as their ruler.

Siena Cathedral, especially the high altar dedicated to the Virgin, was the central focus of the feast of the Assumption when citizens of Siena annually gathered and demonstrated homage to the Virgin Mary, their ruler. The civic government was actively involved in the staging of this significant space. They obliged themselves to continuously light the altar of the Virgin, for which they commissioned a series of Marian altarpieces that perpetuated their devotion to their eternal queen. The images set the scene for the civic ritual involving the whole body of citizens and led by the bishop and the civic authorities, providing a sense of unity. On the feast of the Assumption, the image of the Virgin on the high altar provided their surrogate monarch a physical presence as her subjects came to pay homage. As the 1274 civic statute implied, the Virgin was considered the 'receiver' of all the offerings made at her altar on various occasions. Especially on the feast of the Assumption, Mary was the recipient of the annual tax paid by all her subjects in the form of candle offerings, brought to the altar that was adorned with her image. There, as they made their offerings, they would have interacted with the Marian image, probably performing a gesture of submission by kneeling, like the four patron saints depicted in Duccio's *Maestà*, and perhaps mentally or physically kissing the foot of the Virgin embodied before them. The Marian images that, one after another, adorned the high altar of Siena Cathedral thus functioned as surrogate royal bodies.

The visual consistency and the wider diffusion of Sienese Marian art beyond Siena's territory could be understood as an attempt to stage the Virgin as the universal leader of the Italian city-states, probably promoted by the mendicant friars to support the ecumenical movement of the papacy. Was the homogeneous style of the Duecento in the wider Mediterranean also a reflection of the aspiration to ecumenism? Considered in this light, the role played by art of the Duecento, and by the religious and secular leaders who commissioned such artworks, might find a new interpretive framework.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Cronache Senesi, ed. by Alessandro Lisini and Fabio Iacometti, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, 15, 6 (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1931-39).

Il Caleffo Vecchio del Commune di Siena, 5 vols, ed. by Giovanni Cecchini and others (Siena, 1931-91).

Il Costituto del Comune di Siena volgarizzato nel MCCCIX-MCCCX, ed. by Alessandro Lisini, 2 vols (Siena: Lazzeri, 1903).

Odericus. *Ordo Officiorum Ecclesiae Senensis*, ed. by Joanne Chrysostomo Trombelli (Bologna: Longhi, 1766).

Zdekauer, Lodovico. *Il constituto del comune di Siena dell'anno 1262* (Milan: Hoepli, 1897).

Secondary Sources

Argenziano, Raffaele. *Agli inizi dell'iconografia sacra a Siena: Culti, riti e iconografia a Siena nel XII secolo* (Florence: SISMEL, 2000).

Bellosi, Luciano. 'Per un contesto cimabuesco senese: a) Guido da Siena e il probabile Dietisalvi di Speme', *Prospettiva*, 61 (1991), 6-20.

Blume, Dieter. 'Bilder am Ort der Eucharistie. Die vielen Rollen des Altarretabels', in *Die Erfindung des Bildes. Frühe italienische Meister bis Botticelli*, ed. by Ortrud Westheider and Philipp Michael (Munich: Hirmer, 2011), pp. 34-45.

Boskovits, Miklós. *Mediaeval Panel Painting in Tuscany 12th to 13th Century*, ed. by Sonia Chiodo, A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting (Florence: Giunti, 2021).

Butzek, Monika. 'Chronologie', in *Der Dom S. Maria Assunta*, 3.1.1.1 (2006), pp. 1-264.

—. 'Per la storia delle due "Madonna delle Grazie" nel Duomo di Siena', *Prospettiva*, 103-04 (2001), 97-109.

—. 'Di nuovo sulla *Madonna del Voto*: La trasformazione in icona di una tavola da altare', in *Presenza del passato: Political ideas e modelli culturali nella storia nell'arte senese: Convegno internazionale, Siena, 4 maggio 2007*, intro. by Roberto de Mattei (Siena: Cantagalli, 2008), pp. 147-54.

Cannon, Joanna. 'Kissing the Virgin's Foot: *Adoratio* before the Madonna and Child Enacted, Depicted, Imagined', *Studies in Iconography*, 31 (2010), 1-50.

—. *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches: Art in the Dominican Churches of Central Italy in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013).

Claritas. Das Hauptaltarbild im Dom zu Siena nach 1260. Die Rekonstruktion, ed. by Lindenau-Museum Altenburg (Altenburg: Lindenau-Museum, 2001).

Conrad, Jessamyn. 'The Meanings of Duccio's *Maestà*: Architecture, Painting, Politics, and the Construction of Narrative Time in the Trecento Altarpieces for Siena Cathedral' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 2016).

Coor-Achenbach, Gertrude. 'The Earliest Italian Representation of the Coronation of the Virgin', *Burlington Magazine*, 99 (1957), 328-32.

Corrie, Rebecca. 'The Political Meaning of Coppo di Marcovaldo's Madonna and Child in Siena', *Gesta*, 29 (1990), 61-75.

Der Dom S. Maria Assunta. Architektur, ed. by Monika Butzek and others, Die Kirchen von Siena, 3 vols (Munich: Bruckmann, 1985-2006).

Garrison, Edward B. *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting*, 4 vols (Florence: L'Impronta, 1953-60).

—— 'Toward a New History of the Siena Cathedral Madonnas', in Garrison, *Studies in the History*, IV, pp. 5-22.

—— 'Sienese Historical Writings and the Dates 1260, 1221, 1262 Applied to Sienese Paintings', in Garrison, *Studies in the History*, IV, pp. 23-58.

Giorgi, Andrea, and Stefano Moscadelli. *Costruire una cattedrale: L'opera di Santa Maria di Siena tra XII e XIV secolo*, Die Kirchen von Siena, Beiheft 3 (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2005).

Giorgi, Silvia. 'Dietisalvi di Speme: *Madonna col Bambino* ("Madonna del Voto")', in *Duccio: Siena fra tradizione bizantina e mondo gotico*, ed. by Alessandro Bagnoli and others (Milan: Silvana, 2003), pp. 38-41.

—. 'Il dossale di San Bonifazio in onore della vittoria di Montaperti', in *Le pitture del duomo di Siena*, ed. by Mario Lorenzoni (Milan: Silvana, 2008), pp. 36-45.

Gli inventari della sagrestia della Cattedrale senese e degli altri beni sottoposti alla tutela dell'operaio del Duomo: 1389-1546, Die Kirchen von Siena, Beiheft, 4, ed. by Monika Butzek (Florence: Polistampa, 2012).

Gordon, Dillian. *The Italian Paintings before 1400* (London: National Gallery, 2011).

Ichikawa, Kayoko. 'Guido da Siena's Narrative Panels and the Madonna del Voto: The Formation of the Marian Civic Identity in Sienese Art c. 1260' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2015).

—. 'Guido da Siena's *Coronation of the Virgin*: Thirteenth-Century Marian Devotion between East and West', *IKON*, 10 (2017), 78-96.

—. 'The Political Symbolism of the Coronation of the Virgin', in *Dynamics of Artistic Exchange in the Mediterranean: The Medieval and Renaisance Imprint*, ed. by Charlene Vella (Malta: Midsea Books, forthcoming).

Ishinabe, Masumi. *Seibo no toshi Shiena* [Siena, the City of the Virgin] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Koubunkan, 1988).

Israëls, Machtelt. *Sassetta's Madonna della Neve: An Image of Patronage* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2003).

John, Barbara, 'Die Geschichte des Sieneser Hauptaltarbildes nach 1260 und seiner Rekonstruktion', in *Claritas*, pp. 111-13.

Manzke, Holger, 'Die Rekonstruktion der ursprünglichen Gestalt des Altarretabels mit der Madonna del Voto, der Marienkrönung und zwölf Szenen aus dem Leben Christi', in *Claritas*, pp. 11-88.

Miller, Maureen. *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000).

Mina, Gianna A. 'Coppo di Marcovaldo's Madonna del Bordone: Political Statement or Profession of Faith?', in *Art, Politics, and Civic Religion in Central Italy 1261-1352: Essays by Postgraduate Students at the Courtauld Institute of Art*, ed. by Joanna Cannon and Beth Williamson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 237-93.

Norman, Diana. *Siena and the Virgin: Art and Politics in a Late Medieval City State* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999).

Parsons, Gerald. *Siena, Civil Religion and the Sienese* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

Pellegrini, Michele. 'SANSEDONI, Ambrogio, beato', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 90 (2017), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/sansedoni-ambrogio-beato_(Dizionario-Biografico)/ (accessed 22 September 2021).

Polzer, Joseph. 'Concerning Chrysography in *Dugento* Tuscan Painting and the Origin of the Two Washington *Madonnas*', *Arte medievale*, 4, series 2 (2012), 161-86.

Satkowski, Jane Immler. *Duccio di Buoninsegna: The Documents and Early Sources*, ed. by Hayden B. J. Maginnis (Athens: Georgia Museum of Art, 2000).

Van Os, Henk. *Sienese Altarpieces 1215-1460: Form, Content, Function*, 2 vols (Groningen: Bouma, 1984-90).

Waley, Daniel. *Siena and the Sienese in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Webb, Diana. *Patrons and Defenders: The Saints in the Italian City-States* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1996).

—. 'Queen and Patron', in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference Held at King's College London, April 1995*, ed. by Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 205-21.

White, John. *Duccio: Tuscan Art and the Mediaeval Workshop* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979).

Wilson, Blake. *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Zdekauer, Lodovico, 'Dissertazione sugli Statuti del Comune di Siena fino alla redazione dell'anno 1262', in Zdekauer, *Il constituto del comune di Siena dell'anno 1262* (Milan: Hoepli, 1897).

MIRKO VAGNONI*

Shaping the Face of Power
The Portraits of King Robert of Anjou (r. 1309-43)

Introduction

Political and psychoanalytic research has emphasized that leadership, and the collective undertakings connected with it, must find material expression in society in order to have a durable effect.[1] Indeed, in order to establish a relationship between himself and his followers and encourage the latter to carry out his political projects, the ruler must produce a tangible trace – a real presence – in which the group can materialize its acceptance of his power. From a semiotic, anthropological, historical, and art-historical point of view, the portrait of the holder of power perfectly exemplifies such material symbols that influence and reinforce the leader's acceptance.[2] Research on the origin of the state in a modern sense has demonstrated that institutional achievement of monarchic authority passes through the disappearance of the king's material body from public space and, concurrently, through the making present of a pictorial body on coins, medals, statues, and in other portrayals.[3] As Brigitte Bedos-Rezak has highlighted, beholders can perceive such images as indicative of the real presence of the depicted, and art historians have often underlined the capacity of an image to recall something that is not physically present but it is in the mind of the beholder.[4] In summary, the royal portrait is one of the tools by which a leader emotionally strengthens his bond with his subjects, both by creating a specific identity and by fostering acceptance of his persona.[5] It is for this reason that

* This work stems from 'Royal Epiphanies in the Kingdom of Sicily and Naples (1130-1343)', a subsection of the project 'Royal Epiphanies. The King's Body as Image and Its Mise-en-Scène in the Medieval Mediterranean (12th-14th centuries)' funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (2017-22).

1 Alexander S. Haslam, Stephen D. Reicher and Michael J. Platow, *Psicologia del leader. Identità, influenza e potere* (Hove and New York 2011; repr. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2013), pp. 279-91.

2 Antonio Pinelli, Gérard Sabatier Gérard, Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, Christine Tauber and Diane Bodart, 'Le portrait du roi: entre art, histoire, anthropologie et sémiologie', *Perspective. La revue de l'INHA*, 1 (2012), 11-28 (pp. 11-12).

3 Louis Marin, *Le portrait du roi* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1981); Louis Marin, *Des pouvoirs de l'image. Gloses* (Paris: Seuil, 1993); Louis Marin, *Politiques de la représentation* (Paris: Kimé, 2005). And in general: Giovanni Careri 'Louis Marin: pouvoir de la représentation et représentation du pouvoir', in *Louis Marin: le pouvoir dans ses représentations*, ed. by Giovanni Careri and Xavier Vert (Paris: INHA, 2008), pp. 4-15 (p. 5). For a recent analysis of this topic, see: Jean-Marie Le Gall, 'L'impossible invisibilité du roi de France 1450-1600', in *Il Principe inVisibile. La rappresentazione e la riflessione sul potere tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, ed. by Lucia Bertolini, Arturo Calzona, Glauco Maria Cantarella and Stefano Caroti (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 453-70.

4 Brigitte M. Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego Was Imago. Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages*, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011); Stephen Perkinson, 'Rethinking the Origins of Portraiture', *Gesta. International Center of Medieval Art*, 46/2 (2007), 135-58.

5 On identity, see: Francesco Benigno, *Parole nel tempo. Un lessico per pensare la storia*, (Rome: Viella, 2013),

 DOI 10.1484/M.HMSAH-EB.5.135012. This is an open access chapter made available under a CC BY-NC 4.0 International License.

dictators tend to focus on circulating portraits of themselves in society, and similarly, when their regimes fall, proponents of the new political order promptly destroy those same images.[6]

Furthermore, researchers have underlined that the visual arts of the medieval period adopted a more or less similar rendering of face as sign of prestige for the men of power and in order to refer to the inner virtues and dignities of the depicted (reserving this right, mainly, to dignitaries established by God as an expression of their sacrality).[7] Moreover, scholars have pointed out that kings sometimes adopted in their portraits particular physiognomic characteristics to convey ideological and political messages aimed at the promotion of kingship.[8] With regard to such practices, we note that in the thirteenth and, above all, the fourteenth centuries European society observed the readoption of modes of representation that can be defined as realistic (representing the subject through physiognomic and realistic elements but in an idealized way) or naturalistic (reproducing the real appearance of the depicted subject).[9]

Robert of Anjou, the third member of the Angevin dynasty on the throne of Sicily, was crowned by Pope Clement V in Avignon on 3 August 1309 and ruled until his death on 20 January 1343.[10] In reality, during those years the Sicilian island was under the domain of Frederick III of Aragon. Therefore, Robert's authority was limited to the continental lands of the Kingdom, mainly concentrating his court in the city of Naples. However, he also held the title of King of Jerusalem and Count of Provence, Forcalquier, and Piedmont and, during some periods, was proclaimed lord of certain cities of central and northern Italy, as well as senator of Rome and papal vicar in the Italian territories of the Empire. Among his contemporaries, Robert was frequently celebrated for his erudition and wisdom – being often compared to the biblical Solomon – and for his marked religiosity, having himself authored numerous sermons

pp. 31-56. For a recent synthesis of concepts around leaders and leadership, see: Joseph Nye, *Leadership e potere. Hard, soft, smart power* (New York, 2008; repr. Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2010); Haslam, Reicher and Platow, *Psicologia*; Benigno, *Parole*, pp. 141-62.

6 See Haslam, Reicher and Platow, *Psicologia*, p. 290; Hans Belting, *Facce. Una storia del volto* (Munich, 2013; repr. Rome: Carocci, 2014), p. 244.

7 Michele Bacci, 'Artisti, corti, comuni', in *Arti e storia nel Medioevo. Tempi Spazi Istituzioni*, ed. by Enrico Castelnuovo and Giuseppe Sergi, I (Turin: Einaudi, 2002), pp. 631-700 (p. 677); Dominic Olariu, 'Réflexions sur l'avènement du portrait avant le XVe siècle', in *Le Portrait individuel: réflexions autour d'une forme de représentation, XIIIe-XVe siècles*, ed. by Dominic Olariu (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009), pp. 83-101; Dominic Olariu, 'Thomas Aquinas' definition of *imago Dei* and the development of lifelike portraiture', *BUCEMA. Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre*, 17/2 (2013), 1-17.

8 For some examples on this topic, see: Robert Suckale, 'Die Porträts Kaiser Karls IV. als Bedeutungsträger', in *Das Porträt vor der Erfindung des Porträts*, ed. by Martin Büchsel and Peter Schmidt (Mainz: Zabern, 2003), pp. 191-204; Emilia Olechnowicz, 'The Queen's Two Faces. The Portraiture of Elizabeth I of England', in *Premodern Rulership and Contemporary Political Power. The King's Body Never Dies*, ed. by Karolina Anna Mroziewicz and Aleksander Sroczyński (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), pp. 217-46.

9 Enrico Castelnuovo, 'Il significato del ritratto pittorico nella società', in *Storia d'Italia*, V, *I documenti*, 2, ed. by Ruggiero Romano and Corrado Vivanti (Turin: Einaudi, 1973), pp. 1031-94 (pp. 1037-40); Claussen, Peter Cornelius Claussen, s.v. 'Ritratto', in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale*, X, ed. Angiola Maria Romanini (Rome: Treccani, 1999), pp. 33-35; Perkinson, 'Rethinking'; Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King. A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Stephen Perkinson, 'Likeness', in *Studies in Iconology. Special Issue: Medieval Art History Today – Critical Terms*, 33 (2012), pp. 15-28; Dominic Olariu, *La genèse de la représentation ressemblante de l'homme. Reconsidérations du portrait à partir du XIIIe siècle* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2013).

10 For the general historical and political framework of the Kingdom of Sicily in the Angevin period, see: Émile G. Léonard, *Gli Angioini di Napoli* (Paris, 1954; repr. Varese: Dall'Oglio, 1967); Giuseppe Galasso, 'Il Regno di Napoli. Il Mezzogiorno angioino e aragonese (1266-1494)', in *Storia d'Italia*, XV, 1, ed. by Giuseppe Galasso (Turin: Utet, 1992); Francesco Paolo Tocco, *Il regno di Sicilia tra Angioini e Aragonesi* (Milan: Monduzzi, 2008); Georges Jehel, *Les Angevins de Naples. Une dynastie européenne 1246-1266-1442*

and two theological treatises.[11] In particular, the Angevin was an active patron in both the scientific-literary and artistic fields, and in the latter sector historians have highlighted his prolific commissioning of his own portrait for political and propagandistic ends.[12]

Although the government of Robert of Anjou was, all in all, fairly stable, he gradually came to face some serious difficulties: the territorial claims of Frederick III of Aragon, supported by the emperors Henry VII of Luxembourg and Louis IV the Bavarian; the dynastic expectations of the Hungarian branch of the house; and restlessness among certain members of the nobility and local communities. In this context, can a political intent be ascribed to his decision to present his image in portrait form? With this representation of his physiognomy, did he aim to express a particular ideological message as a means of legitimizing and strengthening royal power in the face of the aforementioned difficulties? And if so, what specific bodily characteristics did Robert and his entourage opt to stage, and what political messages did these serve to express? This paper aims to provide answers to these questions.

The Portraits of Robert of Anjou

From careful examination of all the figurative identifications of Robert of Anjou,[13] we can identify the following four images as those that were directly commissioned by him – or by whom for him – and that have the character of portraits: Simone Martini's altarpiece *St Louis of Toulouse Crowning Robert of Anjou* (Naples, Museo di Capodimonte);[14] the Master of Giovanni Barrile's panel *St Louis of Toulouse Venerated by Robert of Anjou and Sancha of Mallorca* (Aix-en-Provence,

(Paris: Ellipses, 2014). On Robert of Anjou, see: Romolo Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò e i suoi tempi*, 2 vols (Florence: Bemporad, 1922-30). More in synthesis, see: Michel Hébert, 'Le règne de Robert d'Anjou', in *Les Princes angevins du XIIIe au XVe siècle. Un destin européen*, ed. by Noël-Yves Tonnerre and Élisabeth Verry (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2003), pp. 99-116; Mario Gaglione, *Converà ti que aptengas la flor. Profili di sovrani angioini, da Carlo I a Renato (1266-1442)* (Milan: Lampi di stampa, 2009), pp. 183-249; Jean-Paul Boyer, s.v. 'Roberto d'Angiò, re di Sicilia-Napoli', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani,* LXXXVII (Rome: Treccani, 2017).

11 Darleen N. Pryds, *The King Embodies the Word: Robert d'Anjou and the Politics of Preaching* (Leiden: Brill, 2000). On Robert as Solomon, see: Samantha Kelly, *The New Solomon. Robert of Naples (1309-1343) and Fourteenth-Century Kingship* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003).

12 See most recently (but with references to previous bibliography): Nicolas Bock, 'La visione del potere. Cristo, il re e la corte angioina', in *Cristo e il potere. Teologia, antropologia e politica*, ed. by Laura Andreani and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Florence: SISMEL, 2017), pp. 211-24; Katharina Weiger, 'The portraits of Robert of Anjou: self-presentation as political instrument?', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 9/2 (2017), n. 17, 1-16. On Robert of Anjou's portraits, see also: Alessandra Perricciolі Saggese, 'Il ritratto a Napoli nel Trecento: l'immagine di Roberto d'Angiò tra pittura e miniatura', in *La fantasia e la storia. Studi di Storia dell'arte sul ritratto dal Medioevo al Contemporaneo*, ed. by Giulio Brevetti (Palermo: Palermo University Press, 2019), pp. 37-46.

13 Mirko Vagnoni, *La messa in scena del corpo regio nel regno di Sicilia. Federico III d'Aragona e Roberto d'Angiò* (Potenza: Basilicata University Press, 2021), pp. 97-110 (with further iconographic and bibliographic details).

14 On this image, see: Francesco Aceto, 'Spazio ecclesiale e pale di 'primitivi' in San Lorenzo Maggiore a Napoli: dal 'San Ludovico' di Simone Martini al 'San Girolamo' di Colantonio. I', *Prospettiva. Rivista di storia dell'arte antica e moderna,* 137 (2010), 2-50; Diana Norman, 'Politics and Piety: Locating Simone Martini's *St. Louis of Toulouse* Altarpiece', *Art History,* 33/4 (2010), 596-619; Mario Gaglione, 'Il *San Ludovico* di Simone Martini, manifesto della santità regale angioina', *Rassegna Storica Salernitana,* n.s., 29/2 (2012), n. 58, 9-126; Diana Norman, 'The Sicilian Connection. Imperial Themes in Simone Martini's. *St Louis of Toulouse Altarpiece', Gesta. International Center of Medieval Art*, 53/1 (2014), 25-45; Sarah K. Kozlowsky, 'Circulation, Convergence, and the Worlds of Trecento Panel Painting: Simone Martini in Naples', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte,* 78/2 (2015), 205-38; Francesco Aceto, 'Per Simone Martini pittore: ancora sull'iconografia del 'San Ludovico'

✦ Fig. 1
Simone Martini, St Louis of Toulouse crowning King Robert of Anjou, painting on wood, 1317-1319. Naples, Museo di Capodimonte. Detail of Robert's face (Photo: https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Simone_Martini#/media/File:Simone_Martini_013.jpg, public domain image).

Musée Granet);[15] the Master of the Franciscan Tempera's canvas *Crucified Christ Venerated by Robert of Anjou and Sancha of Mallorca* (private collection);[16] and the so-called Lello da Orvieto's fresco *Christ Enthroned between Saints and Angevin Royals* (Naples, Monastery of Santa Chiara).[17] Each represents Robert of Anjou with straight, light-brown hair that terminates at the top of the neck with a rather tight curl; a shaven, thin, and oblong face; a protruding and pointed chin; an accentuated jaw; thin lips; a pronounced nose; narrow eyes; sunken cheeks, highlighting the cheekbones; a high and spacious forehead; and deep wrinkles around the nose and mouth (Fig. 1).

First of all, it should be pointed out that these portraits did not seek to present the king in an idealized manner. On the contrary, they represented Robert of Anjou with, more or less, his real features (namely, with his natural and individual body). Indeed, the June 1959 report on the bones of the king by the Istituto di Anatomia Umana Normale dell'Università di Napoli established that the remains of the skull perfectly match those in Robert's portraits.[18] Hence, regardless of whether the artists had an opportunity to observe and portray Robert in person or whether some members of his entourage made available to them sketches of his face, we can assume that the decision to represent him with the aforementioned physical features was not meant to express any specific ideological message but rather to simply present the king as he was in reality.

Moreover, it is worthy to underline the marked distinction in the use of the stereotyped and naturalistic depictions of the royal face. While the former was generally connected with images of public employment and representing Robert in his institutional role – for instances,

del Museo di Capodimonte a Napoli', in *Da Ludovico d'Angiò a san Ludovico di Tolosa. I testi e le immagini*, ed. by Teresa D'Urso, Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese and Daniele Solvi (Spoleto: CISAM, 2017), pp. 33-50; Diana Norman, *Siena and the Angevins (1300-1350). Art Diplomacy, and Dynastic Ambition*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), pp. 133-47; Nicolas Bock, 'Simone Martini and Robert of Anjou. Modes of Angevin Portraiture in Naples and Assisi', in *Meanings and Functions of the Ruler's Image in the Mediterranean World (11th – 15th Centuries)*, ed. by Michele Bacci, Manuela Studer-Karlen and Mirko Vagnoni (Leiden: Brill, 2022), pp. 249-93; Vagnoni, *La messa*, pp. 111-30 (with new interpretations).

15 See: Ferdinando Bologna, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli (1266-1414). E un riesame dell'arte nell'età fridericiana* (Rome: Bozzi, 1969), pp. 211-13; *L'Europe des Anjou. Aventure des Princes Angevins du XIIIe au XIVe siècle*, ed. by Guy Massin Le Goff (Paris: Somogy, 2001), p. 297, n. 41; Martin Aurell, Jean-Paul Boyer and Noël Coulet, *La Provence au Moyen Âge* (Aix en Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2005), p. 212; *Giotto e compagni*, ed. by Dominique Thiébaut (Paris and Milan: Officina Libraria, 2013), pp. 184-87, n. 23; Vagnoni, *La messa*, pp. 130-36 (with new interpretations).

16 See: Bologna, *I pittori*, pp. 235-37, 257; Pierluigi Leone de Castris, *Arte di corte nella Napoli angioina* (Florence: Cantini, 1986), pp. 88-89, 409-13; Adrian S. Hoch, 'Pictures of Penitence from a Trecento Neapolitan Nunnery', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 61/2 (1998), 206-26; Pierluigi Leone de Castris, *Giotto a Napoli* (Naples: Electa, 2006), pp. 149, 166, n. 81; Adrian S. Hoch, 'La pittura a Napoli al tempo di Boccaccio e un pittore per Roberto d'Angiò: il Maestro delle tempere francescane', in *Boccaccio e Napoli. Nuovi materiali per la storia culturale di Napoli nel Trecento*, ed. by Giancarlo Alfano, Emma Grimaldi, Sebastiano Martelli, Andrea Mazzucchi, Matteo Palumbo, Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese and Carlo Vecce (Florence: Cesati, 2014), pp. 71-80 (p. 80); Vagnoni, *La messa*, pp. 136-44 (with new interpretations).

17 On this image, see: Bologna, *I pittori*, pp. 131-32; Leone de Castris, *Giotto*, pp. 268-69; Francesco Abbate, *Storia dell'arte nell'Italia meridionale*, II, *Il Sud angioino e aragonese* (Rome: Donzelli, 1998), p. 37; Vinni Lucherini, 'Regalità e iconografia francescana nel complesso conventuale di Santa Chiara a Napoli: il Cristo in trono della sala capitolare', *IKON. Journal of Iconographic Studies*, 3 (2010), 151-68; Vinni Lucherini, 'Il refettorio e il capitolo del monastero maschile di S. Chiara: l'impianto topografico e le scelte decorative', 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*, ed. by Francesco Aceto, Stefano D'Ovidio and Elisabetta Scirocco (Battipaglia: La Veglia & Carlone, 2014), pp. 385-430; Vagnoni, *La messa*, pp. 145-152 (with new interpretations).

18 This report is published in Gaudenzio Dell'Aja, *Cernite Robertum regem virtute refertum* (Naples: Giannini, 1986), pp. 40-42.

coins, bulls, and seals – the latter was largely connected with religious and devotional contexts and tended to be associated with, so to speak, the personal practices of the king and his private sphere.[19] One exception to this interpretation seems to be the stereotyped image on the sarcophagus of Mary of Hungary in the presbytery of the church of Santa Maria Donnaregina in Naples, sculpted by Tino da Camaino around 1325.[20] However, despite its religious context, the image does not represent Robert in devotional or liturgical acts but rather in his institutional role, indeed he is carved in majesty. Therefore, this fully confirms the aforementioned distinction of use.

For the specific subject analysed in this paper, it is mostly interesting to point out that the physiognomic portraits of Robert of Anjou did not seem to be part of a specific political strategy of staging of the royal body for government purposes and with the aims of legitimizing and strengthening the monarchical power. On the contrary, they were used in contexts that seems characterised by liturgical and devotional intents. This use leads us to reconsider some historiographical interpretations that propose the Angevin as actively engaged in the making, through his artistic commissions, of a 'self-constructed image'[21] in order to be physically present and immediately identifiable to his subjects and personally involved in the using of his 'self-presentation as political instrument'[22] in order to strengthen his authority. In summary, that he adopted a 'real and actual "iconographic propaganda"'[23].

If this interpretation can no longer be upheld, what theory can we provide in its place to explain the representation of Robert's individual physiognomy in the portraits? What

19 On the coins, see: *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum. Primo tentativo di un catalogo generale delle monete medievali e moderne coniate in Italia o da italiani in altri paesi*, 20 vols (Rome, 1910-1943; repr. Bologna: Forni, 1969-1971), II, p. 222, XI, pp. 344-345, XV, p. 218, and XIX, p. 21; Arthur Sambon, 'Monetazione napoletana di Roberto d'Angiò (1309-1343)', *Rivista italiana di numismatica e scienze affini*, 25 (1912), 181-202; Henri Rolland, *Monnaies des comtes de Provence, XII*e-*XV*e *siècles* (Paris: Picard, 1956), pp. 137-45, pp. 213-21, nn. 46, 47, 48, 49, 51; Philip Grierson and Lucia Travaini, *Medieval European Coinage. With a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, XIV, *Italy*, 3, *South Italy, Sicily, Sardinia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 221-27, plates 37-38; *L'Europe des Anjou*, p. 325, n. 84e. On bulls and seals, see: Louis Douët D'Arcq, 'Collection de sceaux', in *Archives de l'Empire. Inventaires et documents*, III, ed. by Léon Marquis de Laborde (Paris: Plon, 1868), p. 511, n. 11771; *Le bolle d'oro dell'Archivio Vaticano*, ed. by Pietro Sella (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1934), pp. 47-50, nn. 10, 14, 15; *I sigilli d'oro dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, ed. by Aldo Martini, historical note of Martino Giusti, intr. by Alessandro Pratesi, (Milan: Ricci, 1984), pp. 61-63; Leone de Castris, *Giotto*, p. 164; Christian De Mérindol, 'L'héraldique des princes angevins', in *Les Princes angevins*, pp. 277-310 (p. 292).

20 On this artwork, see: Lorenz Enderlein, *Die Grablegen des Hauses Anjou in Unteritalien. Totenkult und Monumente 1266-1343* (Worms: Wernersche, 1997), pp. 92-98, 191-93; Tanja Michalsky, *Memoria und Repräsentation: die Grabmäler des Königshausen Anjou in Italien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), pp. 161-62, 289-97; Tanja 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*, ed. by Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 61-78; Francesca Baldelli, *Tino di Camaino* (Morbio Inferiore: Selective Art, 2007), pp. 262-76, 415; Francesco Aceto, 'Tino di Camaino a Napoli', in *Scultura gotica senese (1260-1350)*, ed. by Roberto Bartalini (Turin: Allemandi, 2011), pp. 183-231, n. 2, 196-97.

21 Michelle M. Duran, 'The Politics of Art. Image Sovereignty in the Anjou Bible', in *The Anjou Bible. A Royal Manuscript Revealed. Naples 1340*, ed. by Lieve Watteeuw and Jan Van der Stock (Paris, Leuven and Walpole [MA]: Peeters, 2010), pp. 73-94 (p. 77).

22 Weiger, 'The protraits'.

23 Alessandro Tomei and Stefania Paone, 'Paintings and Miniatures in Naples. Cavallini, Giotto and the Portraits of King Robert', in *The Anjou Bible*, pp. 53-72 (pp. 67-68).

functions did this approach to portraiture serve? Stefania Paone has hinted at the role that in the development of the aforementioned portraiture played the artistic relations between the Angevin court of Naples and the papal court of Avignon.[24] For his part, Nicolas Bock has attributed to the creative originality of Simone Martini the portrait of Robert that appears in the altarpiece now in Capodimonte.[25] Whether the introduction of such portraiture resulted from the initiative of a single artist or was a more general characteristic of the art of the period, it is nevertheless productive to seek a greater understanding of the significance of this new iconographic attitude.

In this regard, one might speculate that the renewed attention to physiognomy in European courts of the thirteenth century, supplemented by Robert of Anjou's interest in the natural sciences, may have influenced the decision to create portraits in a naturalistic manner.[26] However, Stephen Perkinson has pointed out that, in general, the demand for an image resembling the sovereign did not come from the sovereign himself but rather emerged from the continuous search for visual *éstrangeté* that characterized the courts during the fourteenth century; in this framework, the initiative arose from the artist or *concepteur* as a means of surprising and astonishing the patron and thereby demonstrating loyalty and affection.[27] However, these explanations do not clarify why, in the case of Robert, his portraits were exclusively connected to religious contexts and presented him in devotional acts.

Dominic Olariu, starting from the thoughts of St Thomas Aquinas on the concept of human soul as *imago Dei*, has highlighted that resemblance was used in the visual arts of the late Middle Ages to refer to the virtues and the inner dignities of the depicted.[28] If, for the contemporary mentality, the God-given dignitaries – as a king solemnly ordained by divine grace – had a legitimate claim to realistic/naturalistic portraiture, such images of Robert of Anjou could have expressed his royal sacrality. However, Klaus Krüger has pointed out that the physiognomic likeness of Robert of Anjou in the altarpiece of Simone Martini emphasized precisely the difference in status between those belonging to the secular sphere (the king) and those belonging to the sacred one (St Louis).[29] More generally, Marco Collareta has connected the frontal portrait with the concept of *maiestas*, in contrast to the profile portrait, which declares

24 Tomei and Paone, 'Paintings', pp. 66-67.

25 Bock, 'Simone Martini'. But, about that, see also: Aceto, 'Per Simone Martini'.

26 On physiognomy, see Danielle Jacquart, 'La fisiognomica: il trattato di Michele Scoto', in *Federico II*, II, *Federico II e le scienze*, ed. by Pierre Toubert and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, (Palermo: Sellerio, 1994), pp. 338-53; Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Il corpo del papa* (Turin: Einaudi, 1994), p. 290; Jole Agrimi, '*Ingeniosa scientia naturae*'. *Studi sulla fisiognomica medievale* (Florence: SISMEL, 2002); Perkinson, 'Rethinking', pp. 136-38. On Robert of Anjou's interest in the natural sciences, see: Francesco Sabatini, *Napoli angioina. Cultura e Società* (Naples, 1975), p. 76. (repr. Francesco Sabatini, 'La cultura a Napoli nell'eta angioina', in *Storia di Napoli*, VI, *Cultura e letteratura. Età classica e Medioevo*, ed. by Ernesto Pontieri (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1980), pp. 411-718).; Alessandro Barbero, 'Il mito angioino nella cultura italiana e provenzale fra duecento e trecento. II. Roberto d'Angiò fra guelfismo e umanesimo', in *Bollettino Storico-Bibliografico Subalpino,* 80/2 (1982), 389-450 (pp. 415-16).

27 Perkinson, 'Rethinking'; Stephen Perkinson, 'Likeness, Loyalty, and the Life of the Court Artist: Portraiture in the Calendar Scenes of the *Très Riches Heures*', *Quaerendo. A Journal Devoted to Manuscripts and Printed Books*, 38 (2008), 142-74; Stephen Perkinson, 'Portrait and their Patrons: Reconsidering Agency in Late Medieval Art', in *Patronage. Power and Agency in Medieval Art*, ed. by Colum Hourihane (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), pp. 236-54.

28 Olariu, 'Thomas Aquinas'.

29 Klaus Krüger, '*A deo solo et a te regnum teneo*. Simone Martinis 'Ludwig von Toulouse' in Neapel', in *Medien der Macht. Kunst zur Zeit des Anjous in Italien*, ed. by Tanja Michalsky (Berlin: Reimer, 2001), pp. 79-120.

humility in the context of a confession-absolution relationship between the faithful and the priest.[30]

If Robert of Anjou was always depicted with the traditional iconographic features of the devotee – with his face in profile, kneeling position, small scale, and proximity to religious subjects – then perhaps the reasoning behind the naturalistic character of these portraits should be sought in the private rather than the public sphere and in that of religious devotion rather than political celebration.[31]

Already in 1973, Enrico Castelnuovo located a greater attention to identifying features of the subject, including physiognomic traits, in those medieval images intended, so to speak, for private use and connected with devotional practices – as, for instance, representations on funerary monuments.[32] Victor Schmidt's more recent analysis of the first independent portraits on panel, for example, pointed out that: that of Rudolf of Habsburg had a funerary function which was connected with his sepulchre at the cathedral of Vienna; that of Richard II, the king of England, probably served as a memento *in effigie* of the royal presence in the choir of Westminster Abbey in London; and the well-known representation of John II, the king of France, presumably had an exclusively private use, restricted to particular occasions and comparable to small-format paintings of religious subjects.[33] Relatedly, Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, investigating the symbolic value of the images of Boniface VIII, demonstrated that the basis for these papal portraits was a desire not to express any ideological or political concept but rather to pass on to posterity the memory of his appearance.[34]

These considerations should lead us to reconsider connecting the naturalistic depiction of men of power with 'il prestigio derivante dalla distinzione [di sé]'.[35] Indeed, such an approach to portraiture appears to have been associated with more intimate and personal aims, likely those related to the sphere of religious feeling of the depicted. On this point, we can look to Albert Châtelet's study of fifteenth-century portrayals of subjects in the act of prayer, which were placed in liturgical spaces. For this author, these images had the purpose of making the depicted visually present during the celebrations.[36] Such images attracted the prayers of priests and faithful in favor of the depicted and, at the same time, they ensured a sort of continuity in his or her devotional activity even when the portrayed was unable to go to a specific place of worship. In practice, the image appealed for the sitter's salvation even when he or she was physically absent.

Following this interpretation, we may consider the naturalistic portraits of Robert of Anjou not as his institutional images but as representations of him in the guise of a simple man who,

30 Marco Collareta, 'Modi di presentarsi: taglio e visuale nella ritrattistica autonoma', in *Visuelle Topoi. Erfindung und tradiertes Wissen in den Künsten der italienischen Renaissance,* ed. by Ulrich Pfisterer and Max Seidel (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2003), pp. 131-49 (pp. 132-34).

31 On the traditional iconographic features of the devotee, see: Tomei and Paone, *Paintings*, pp. 66-67.

32 Castelnuovo, 'Il significato', pp. 1037-40.

33 Victor M. Schmidt, 'Tavole dipinte. Tipologie, destinazione e funzioni (secoli XII-XIV),' in *L'arte medievale nel contesto (300-1300). Funzioni, iconografia, tecniche,* ed. by Paolo Piva (Milan: Jaca Book, 2006), pp. 205-44 (p. 234).

34 Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, 'Les portraits de Boniface VIII. Une tentative de synthèse', in *Le portrait. La représentation de l'individu*, ed. by Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, Jean-Michel Spieser and Jean Wirth (Florence: SISMEL, 2007), pp. 117-40 (pp. 138-39).

35 Bacci, 'Artisti', p. 677.

36 Albert Châtelet, 'Portait et dévotion', in *Le Portrait individuel*, pp. 153-66.

with the help of the saints, seeks divine forgiveness and the deliverance of his soul. Certainly, the medieval iconographic language could not completely dispense with royal attributes in the interest of aiding the identification of the subject – for instance, symbols of power such as the crown and ceremonial robes, designed to highlight his social role, and heraldic emblems, which delineated his dynastic membership. However, despite the inclusion of such attributes, the depiction of Robert's naturalistic appearance probably sought to express the human and transitory nature of the king as he devoutly and humbly offered, far from any political intent or celebration of his monarchical function but just as simple man or private citizen, his prayers to God in the hopes of achieving – also thanks to the prayers of the beholders of these representations – the crown of eternal life in the Kingdom of Heavens.

Although in these portraits Robert is sometimes shown together with his wife Sancha of Mallorca or his granddaughter Joanna I of Anjou and her husband Andrew of Hungary, arguably only the king is depicted in a physiognomic manner. Why did the other members of the royal family not receive the same representational treatment? While their portrayals would certainly have served purposes similar to that of the king, the discrepancy can be explained, following the considerations of Adrian Hoch, by the latter's hierarchically greater importance as well as role as the immediate patron of the artefacts.[37] For these reasons, he received distinctive attention from the artists from an iconographic point of view.

In conclusion, it seems that purely personal motivations which disregarded the daily governmental administration and which were probably connected with religious and devotional feelings – to which the ruler was particularly inclined – were at the basis of Robert of Anjou's naturalistic portraits. Evidently, his double nature, as a king consecrated by divine grace, imposed a visual distinction between his 'two bodies'.[38] When he disrobed of his political role and, consequently, of his political body – as in the naturalistic portraits examined in this essay – his natural body became the subject of representation. Consequently, it appears completely inappropriate to attribute to the physiognomic features evident in these images any specific political or ideological meaning intended to arouse the subjects' approval of royal authority. Though naturalistic royal portraits were introduced in the Kingdom of Sicily for the first time with Robert of Anjou,[39] in reality the attention paid by this king – or by whom for him – towards his physical appearance was not due to the desire to activate a specific strategy of communication that used the royal body to spread political – or even propagandistic – messages. Indeed, as we have seen, only the stereotyped images found a public use.

37 Adrian S. Hoch, 'Sovereignty and Closure in Trecento Naples: Images of Queen Sancia, alias 'Sister Clare', *Arte medievale. Periodico internazionale di critica dell'arte medievale,* s. II, 10/1 (1996), 121-40 (p. 126).

38 Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *I due corpi del Re. L'idea di regalità nella teologia politica medievale* (Princeton, NJ, 1957; repr. Turin: Einaudi, 2012). On the consecration ceremony of the Angevin kings, see: Jean-Paul Boyer, 'Sacre et théocratie. Le cas des rois de Sicile Charles II (1289) et Robert (1309)', in *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques,* 81/4 (1997), 561-607.

39 A precedent could be the statue of Charles I of Anjou made around 1277 by Arnolfo di Cambio, but it was located in the city of Rome. On this sculpture, see: *Arnolfo. Alle origini del Rinascimento fiorentino,* ed. by Enrica Neri Lusanna (Florence: Pagliai, 2005), pp. 182-183; Alessandro Tomei, *Arnolfo di Cambio* (Milan: Giunti, 2006), p. 17.

Conclusions

In these pages, we have pointed out that Robert of Anjou did not use the communicative capacities of his depicted bodily features in the practice of government. In other words, he did not make use of the traits of his body in order to communicate an ideological message towards his subjects, infusing – or responding to – a specific pattern of kingship. What was the cause of this attitude?

The relationship between man and his body in the Middle Ages can be considered rather contradictory and conflictual. On the one hand, Christianity allowed for the glorification of the human body through the Incarnation of Jesus Christ and the conception that the body contained traces of the Holy Spirit;[40] specific bodily characteristics (beauty, brightness, good smell) were understand as markers of sanctity;[41] through the body – namely, the touch of the hand – the kings of France and England performed their thaumaturgical qualities;[42] relics of saints – that were nothing more that hoarded parts of bodies – received great cultic importance;[43] undoubtedly, body has been newly investigated from a medical and biological point of view;[44] as said, it received a new attention thanks to the revival of physiognomy and the re-adoption of realistic/naturalistic portraiture; the royal body played an undisputed political role and, for instance, historians have pointed out its symbolic importance in funerary rituals and, more broadly, in theoretical conceptions of royal power.[45]

On the other hand, Christianity itself taught that salvation came through humiliation of and contempt for the body – mortified through various practices –, and the cultic value assigned to the body in antiquity declined throughout the medieval period;[46] certain related practices, such as tattooing, underwent a notable contraction;[47] from the point of view of the cultural productions, in the physical descriptions of the saints the body was completely spiritualized, mainly referring to general human nature as being made in the image of God, and, for this reason, their language for the body was rather conventional, repetitive, and abstracted;[48] as

40 Jacques Le Goff, *Il corpo nel Medioevo*, in collaboration with Nicolas Truong (Paris, 2003; repr. Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2005), pp. IX-XIV, 3-20.

41 André Vauchez, *La santità nel Medioevo* (Rome, 1981; repr. Bologna: Il Mulino 1989), pp. 427-46.

42 Marc Bloch, *I re taumaturghi. Studi sul carattere sovrannaturale attribuito alla potenza dei re particolarmente in Francia e in Inghilterra*, intr. by Jacques Le Goff, with a contribution by Lucien Febvre (Strasbourg, 1924; repr. Turin: Einaudi, 1989).

43 See, for instance: Patrick J. Geary, *Furta sacra. Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

44 Jack Hartnell, *Medieval Bodies. Life, Death and Art in Middle Ages* (London: Profile Books, 2018).

45 On the political role of royal body, see: Sergio Bertelli *Il corpo del re. Sacralità del potere nell'Europa medievale e moderna* (Florence: Ponte alle Grazie, 1990); Maria Antonietta Visceglia *Riti di corte e simboli della regalità. I regni d'Europa e del Mediterraneo dal Medioevo all'Età moderna* (Rome: Salerno, 2009), pp. 103-57; *Le Corps du Prince*, ed. by Éric Bousmar, Hans Cools, Jonathan Dumont and Alain Marchandisse, *Micrologus. Nature, Sciences and Medieval Societies*, 22 (2014); Jeroen Duindam, *Dynasties. A Global History of Power, 1300-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 168-88, 255-73. On funerary rituals, see at least: Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva: Droz, 1960); Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le rois est mort. Étude sur les funérailles, les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Geneva : Droz, 1975). But compare also: Elizabeth Brown, 'The French Royal Funeral Ceremony and the King's Two Bodies. Ernst H. Kantorowicz, Ralph E. Giesey and the Construction of a Paradigm', in *Le Corps du Prince*, pp. 105-38. On theoretical conceptions of royal power, see at least: Kantorowicz, *I due corpi*; Paravicini Bagliani, *Il corpo.*

46 Le Goff, *Il corpo*, pp. IX-XIV, 3-20.

47 Luisa Gnecchi Ruscone, *Tattoo. La storia e le origini in Italia* (Milan: Silvana, 2017), pp. 23-32.

48 Martino Rossi Monti, 'The Mask of Grace: On Body and Beauty of Soul between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages', in *Face of Charisma. Image, Text, Object in Byzantium and the Medieval West*, ed. by Brigitte M. Bedos-Rezak and Martha Dana Rust (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018), pp. 47-75 (pp. 68-69).

already said, only at the end of the Middle Ages was realistic/naturalistic portraiture taken up again, whereas previously the human face had been rendered in strongly schematized and stereotyped forms, and still in the thirteenth century only deprecated or marginalized characters were commonly represented with marked physiognomic peculiarities.[49]

As regards the royal body more specifically, we note, for instance, that the description of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa written by the chronicler Acerbo Morena is rather conventional and appears in a context where preference is given, above all, to behavioural idiosyncrasies;[50] likewise, the physical appearances of the Norman-Swabian kings of Sicily do not seem to have much interested contemporary historians;[51] even in the case of Louis IX of France, among the most important medieval rulers and one who became also a saint, only a handful of texts evoked the man's real physical traits.[52] In this framework, the real identity – and his legitimacy – of a king was commonly rooted not in specific features of the physical body but in abstracted notions of kingship.[53] Emblematic of the particular relationship that medieval subjects had with the body of their monarchs is the testimony of Pierre de Laon, the equerry of Louis IX. Although he had attended to his king for thirty years, he declared that he had never had occasion to see the latter's body, with the exception of the feet, hands, and calves.[54] To draw a comparison to the medieval tradition in East Asia, a recent study has shown how the monumentality of architectural structures had the function of awing the subjects with the greatness of the monarch, while the ruler himself remained largely hidden or invisible.[55] For their part, the Norman-Swabian kings of Sicily, although they did not disdain to appear in public, do not seem to have been inclined to adopt any particularly spectacular practices for staging their body – whether in reality or 'in immagine'.[56]

49 Martin Büchsel, 'Nur der Tyrann hat sein eigenes Gesicht. Königsbilder im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert in Frankreich und Deutschland', in *Das Porträt vor der Erfindung des Porträts*, pp. 123-40; Willibald Sauerländer, *Phisionomia est doctrina salutis.* Über Physiognomik und Porträt im Jahrhundert Ludwigs des Heiligen, in ibid., pp. 101-21.

50 Glauco Maria Cantarella, 'I ritratti di Acerbo Morena', in *Milano e il suo territorio in età comunale (XI-XII secolo)*, II (Spoleto: CISAM, 1989), pp. 989-1010 (pp. 1005-08). Similarly, the references to Jacqueline of Bavaria's beauty are to be understood in an ideal and not a real sense (Antheun Janse, 'Jacqueline of Bavaria and John of Brabant. The Princely Body as a Political Asset', in *Le Corps du Prince*, pp. 317-40). However, there are also examples in which realistic elements were not completely ignored, as in the descriptions of King Henry II of England (Glauco Maria Cantarella, *Principi e corti. L'Europa del XII secolo* [Turin: Einaudi, 1997], pp. 48-52).

51 Mirko Vagnoni, 'La messa in scena iconica del corpo regio nel regno di Sicilia (1130-1266)', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, 132/2 (2020), 393-412 (pp. 404-05).

52 Pierre-Yves Le Pogam, 'The features of Saint Louis', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 9/2 (2017), n. 17, 1-20 (p. 10). On St Louis in general, see: Jacques Le Goff, *San Luigi* (Paris, 1996; repr. Turin: Einaudi, 2007); Cecilia M. Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis. Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008).

53 Gilles Lecuppre, *L'imposture politique au Moyen Âge. La seconde vie des rois* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2005). Changes in this regard would only occur in the Renaissance (Steven Thiry, 'How to Steal the King's Body? Corporeal Identification of Princely Pretenders in the Renaissance', in *Le Corps du Prince*, pp. 721-46). Compare: Mirko Vagnoni, *Epifanie del corpo in immagine dei re di Sicilia (1130-1266)*, intr. by Giovanni Travagliato (Palermo: Palermo University Press, 2019), pp. 50, 81, 113-14.

54 Daniela Santoro, 'Il corpo di san Luigi a Monreale', in *San Luigi dei Francesi. Storia, spiritualità, memoria nelle arti e in letteratura*, ed. by Patrizia Sardina (Rome: Carocci, 2017), pp. 81-96 (p. 81).

55 Hans Van Ess, 'The Body of the King and the Emperor in Early and Medieval China', in *The Body of the King. The Staging of the Body of the Institutional Leader from Antiquity to Middle Ages in East and West*, ed. by Giovanni-Battista Lanfranchi and Robert Rollinger (Padova: SARGON, 2016), pp. 127-40.

56 See respectively: Vagnoni, 'La messa'; Vagnoni, *Epifanie*.

If it is undeniable that during the Middle Ages there was a decisive interest in the body on the part of both rulers and subjects, this attention seems to have been addressed more to the body in a generic sense than to its distinctive components. This could explain why Robert of Anjou did not use his physiognomic specificities for politic purposes. Following the thoughts of Marco Belpoliti concerning the leaders' body in contemporary society, it was only with the advent of electronic means of communication and, above all, with the representation of the leader's body via television media – the so-called 'corpo mediale' of the leader – that the Kantorowiczian political body lost its aura of sacrality and the natural body of the power holder became politicized.[57]

If the staging of specific physical attributes of the body for governmental purposes is predominantly a contemporary phenomenon, evident in our own attitude towards political leaders today, we must recognize that this approach did not necessarily exist in societies of the past. For this reason, it would seem anachronistic to locate in the medieval Kingdom of Sicily a political and propagandistic function behind the portrayal of the human body in naturalistic terms and it would seem inappropriate to attribute symbolic and ideological messages to the specific features of the royal body. If this interpretation is correct, we might therefore assume, obviously with caution, that the outcomes achieved regarding Robert of Anjou are applicable also to other medieval European kings. Certainly, historians have pointed out the political significance of certain physical elements in representations of medieval rulers, and it is not our intention to deny the political importance of the royal body from a general point of view.[58] However, it is noteworthy that the real and material body – namely, the natural body – of the sovereign does not seem to have played in medieval society a preponderant role in shaping the face of power nor in staging royal authority.

57 Marco Belpoliti, *Il corpo del Capo. Con una nuova introduzione dell'autore* (Milan, 2009; repr. Milan: Guanda, 2018), pp. 117-21. On the 'corpo mediale', see: Giuliana Parotto, *Oltre il corpo del leader. Corpo e politica nella società post-secolare* (Genova: Il Nuovo Melangolo, 2016).

58 See, for instance, the significance of adopting certain beard and hairstyles: Paul Edward Dutton, *Charlemagne's Mustache. And Other Cultural Clusters of a Dark Age* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 3-42; Le Pogam, 'The features'.

Bibliography

Secondary sources

Abbate Francesco, *Storia dell'arte nell'Italia meridionale*, II, *Il Sud angioino e aragonese* (Rome: Donzelli, 1998).

Aceto Francesco, 'Spazio ecclesiale e pale di 'primitivi' in San Lorenzo Maggiore a Napoli: dal 'San Ludovico' di Simone Martini al 'San Girolamo' di Colantonio. I', *Prospettiva. Rivista di storia dell'arte antica e moderna,* 137 (2010), 2-50.

Aceto Francesco, 'Tino di Camaino a Napoli', in *Scultura gotica senese (1260-1350),* ed. by Roberto Bartalini (Turin: Allemandi, 2011), pp. 183-231.

Aceto Francesco, 'Per Simone Martini pittore: ancora sull'iconografia del 'San Ludovico' del Museo di Capodimonte a Napoli', in *Da Ludovico d'Angiò a san Ludovico di Tolosa. I testi e le immagini*, ed. by Teresa D'Urso, Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese and Daniele Solvi (Spoleto: CISAM, 2017), pp. 33-50.

Agrimi Jole, '*Ingeniosa scientia naturae*'*. Studi sulla fisiognomica medievale* (Florence: SISMEL, 2002).

Arnolfo. Alle origini del Rinascimento fiorentino, ed. by Enrica Neri Lusanna (Florence: Pagliai, 2005).

Aurell Martin, Boyer Jean-Paul and Coulet Noël, *La Provence au Moyen Âge* (Aix en Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2005).

Bacci Michele, 'Artisti, corti, comuni', in *Arti e storia nel Medioevo. Tempi Spazi Istituzioni*, ed. by Enrico Castelnuovo and Giuseppe Sergi, I (Turin: Einaudi, 2002), pp. 631-700.

Baldelli Francesca, *Tino di Camaino* (Morbio Inferiore: Selective Art, 2007).

Barbero Alessandro, 'Il mito angioino nella cultura italiana e provenzale fra duecento e trecento. II. Roberto d'Angiò fra guelfismo e umanesimo', in *Bollettino Storico-Bibliografico Subalpino,* 80/2 (1982), 389-450.

Bedos-Rezak Brigitte M., *When Ego Was Imago. Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011).

Belpoliti Marco, *Il corpo del Capo. Con una nuova introduzione dell'autore* (Milan, 2009; repr. Milan: Guanda, 2018).

Belting Hans, *Facce. Una storia del volto* (Munich, 2013; repr. Rome: Carocci, 2014).

Benigno Francesco, *Parole nel tempo. Un lessico per pensare la storia* (Rome: Viella, 2013).

Bertelli Sergio, *Il corpo del re. Sacralità del potere nell'Europa medievale e moderna* (Florence: Ponte alle Grazie, 1990).

Bloch Marc, *I re taumaturghi. Studi sul carattere sovrannaturale attribuito alla potenza dei re particolarmente in Francia e in Inghilterra*, intr. by Jacques Le Goff, with a contribution of Lucien Febvre (Strasbourg, 1924; repr. Turin: Einaudi, 1989).

Bock Nicolas, 'La visione del potere. Cristo, il re e la corte angioina', in *Cristo e il potere. Teologia, antropologia e politica*, ed. by Laura Andreani and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Florence: SISMEL, 2017), pp. 211-24.

Bock Nicolas, 'Simone Martini and Robert of Anjou. Modes of Angevin Portraiture in Naples and Assisi', in *Meanings and Functions of the Ruler's Image in the Mediterranean World (11th – 15th Centuries)*, ed. by Michele Bacci, Manuela Studer-Karlen and Mirko Vagnoni (Leiden: Brill, 2022), pp. 249-93.

Bologna Ferdinando, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli (1266-1414). E un riesame dell'arte nell'età fridericiana* (Rome: Bozzi, 1969).

Boyer Jean-Paul, 'Sacre et théocratie. Le cas des rois de Sicile Charles II (1289) et Robert (1309)', *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques,* 81/4 (1997), 561-607.

Boyer Jean-Paul, s.v. 'Roberto d'Angiò, re di Sicilia-Napoli', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani,* LXXXVII (Rome: Treccani, 2017).

Brown Elizabeth, 'The French Royal Funeral Ceremony and the King's Two Bodies. Ernst H. Kantorowicz, Ralph E. Giesey and the Construction of a Paradigm', in *Le Corps du Prince,* ed. by Éric Bousmar, Hans Cools, Jonathan Dumont and Alain Marchandisse, *Micrologus. Nature, Sciences and Medieval Societies*, 22 (2014), pp. 105-38.

Büchsel Martin, 'Nur der Tyrann hat sein eigenes Gesicht. Königsbilder im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert in Frankreich und Deutschland', in *Das Porträt vor der Erfindung des Porträts*, ed. by Martin Büchsel and Peter Schmidt (Mainz: Zabern, 2003), pp. 123-40.

Caggese Romolo, *Roberto d'Angiò e i suoi tempi,* 2 vols (Florence: Bemporad, 1922-30).

Cantarella Glauco Maria, 'I ritratti di Acerbo Morena', in *Milano e il suo territorio in età comunale (XI-XII secolo)*, II (Spoleto: CISAM, 1989), pp. 989-1010.

Cantarella Glauco Maria, *Principi e corti. L'Europa del XII secolo* (Turin: Einaudi, 1997).

Careri Giovanni, 'Marin Louis : pouvoir de la représentation et représentation du pouvoir', in *Louis Marin: le pouvoir dans ses représentations*, ed. by Giovanni Careri and Xavier Vert (Paris: INHA, 2008), pp. 4-15.

Castelnuovo Enrico, 'Il significato del ritratto pittorico nella società', in *Storia d'Italia*, V, *I documenti*, 2, ed. by Ruggiero Romano and Corrado Vivanti (Turin: Einaudi, 1973), pp. 1031-94.

Châtelet Albert, 'Portait et dévotion', in *Le Portrait individuel: réflexions autour d'une forme de représentation, XIIIe-XVe siècles*, ed. by Dominic Olariu (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009), pp. 153-66.

Collareta Marco, 'Modi di presentarsi: taglio e visuale nella ritrattistica autonoma', in *Visuelle Topoi. Erfindung und tradiertes Wissen in den Künsten der italienischen Renaissance,* ed. by Ulrich Pfisterer and Max Seidel (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2003), pp. 131-49.

Claussen Peter Cornelius, s.v. 'Ritratto', in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale,* X, ed. Angiola Maria Romanini (Rome: Treccani, 1999).

Corpus Nummorum Italicorum. Primo tentativo di un catalogo generale delle monete medievali e moderne coniate in Italia o da italiani in altri paesi, 20 vols (Rome, 1910-1943; repr. Bologna: Forni, 1969-1971).

Dell'Aja Gaudenzio, *Cernite Robertum regem virtute refertum* (Naples: Giannini, 1986).

De Mérindol Christian, 'L'héraldique des princes angevins', in *Les Princes angevins du XIIIe au XVe siècle. Un destin européen*, ed. by Noël-Yves Tonnerre and Élisabeth Verry (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2003), pp. 277-310.

Douët D'Arcq Louis, 'Collection de sceaux', in *Archives de l'Empire. Inventaires et documents*, III, ed. by Léon Marquis de Laborde (Paris: Plon, 1868).

Duindam Jeroen, *Dynasties. A Global History of Power, 1300-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

Duran Michelle M., 'The Politics of Art. Image Sovereignty in the Anjou Bible', in *The Anjou Bible. A Royal Manuscript Revealed. Naples 1340*, ed. by Lieve Watteeuw and Jan Van der Stock (Paris, Leuven and Walpole [MA]: Peeters, 2010), pp. 73-94.

Dutton Paul Edward, *Charlemagne's Mustache. And Other Cultural Clusters of a Dark Age* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

Enderlein Lorenz, *Die Grablegen des Hauses Anjou in Unteritalien. Totenkult und Monumente 1266-1343* (Worms: Wernersche, 1997).

Erlande-Brandenburg Alain, *Le rois est mort. Étude sur les funérailles, les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1975).

Gaglione Mario, *Converà ti que aptengas la flor. Profili di sovrani angioini, da Carlo I a Renato (1266-1442)* (Milan: Lampi di stampa, 2009).

Gaglione Mario, 'Il *San Ludovico* di Simone Martini, manifesto della santità regale angioina', *Rassegna Storica Salernitana,* n.s., 29/2 (2012), n. 58, 9-126.

Galasso Giuseppe, 'Il Regno di Napoli. Il Mezzogiorno angioino e aragonese (1266-1494)', in *Storia d'Italia*, XV, 1, ed. by Giuseppe Galasso (Turin: Utet, 1992).

Gaposchkin Cecilia M., *The Making of Saint Louis. Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008).

Geary Patrick J., *Furta sacra. Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

Giesey Ralph E., *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva: Droz, 1960).

Giotto e compagni, ed. by Dominique Thiébaut (Paris and Milan: Officina Libraria, 2013).

Gnecchi Ruscone Luisa, *Tattoo. La storia e le origini in Italia* (Milan: Silvana, 2017).

Grierson Philip and Travaini Lucia, *Medieval European Coinage. With a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, XIV, *Italy*, 3, *South Italy, Sicily, Sardinia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Hartnell Jack, *Medieval Bodies. Life, Death and Art in Middle Ages* (London: Profile Books, 2018).

Haslam Alexander S., Reicher Stephen D. and Platow Michael J., *Psicologia del leader. Identità, influenza e potere* (Hove and New York 2011; repr. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2013).

Hébert Michel, 'Le règne de Robert d'Anjou', in *Les Princes angevins du XIIIe au XVe siècle. Un destin européen*, ed. by Noël-Yves Tonnerre and Élisabeth Verry (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2003), pp. 99-116.

Hoch Adrian S., 'Sovereignty and Closure in Trecento Naples: Images of Queen Sancia, alias 'Sister Clare', *Arte medievale. Periodico internazionale di critica dell'arte medievale,* s. II, 10/1 (1996), 121-40.

Hoch Adrian S., 'Pictures of Penitence from a Trecento Neapolitan Nunnery', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte,* 61/2 (1998), 206-26.

I sigilli d'oro dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano, ed. by Aldo Martini, historical note of Martino Giusti, intr. by Alessandro Pratesi (Milan: Ricci, 1984).

Jacquart Danielle, 'La fisiognomica: il trattato di Michele Scoto', in *Federico II*, II, *Federico II e le scienze*, ed. by Pierre Toubert and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Palermo: Sellerio, 1994), pp. 338-53.

Janse Antheun, 'Jacqueline of Bavaria and John of Brabant. The Princely Body as a Political Asset', in *Le Corps du Prince*, ed. by Éric Bousmar, Hans Cools, Jonathan Dumont and Alain Marchandisse, *Micrologus. Nature, Sciences and Medieval Societies*, 22 (2014), pp. 317-40.

Jehel Georges, *Les Angevins de Naples. Une dynastie européenne 1246-1266-1442* (Paris: Ellipses, 2014).

Kantorowicz Ernst H., *I due corpi del Re. L'idea di regalità nella teologia politica medievale* (Princeton, NJ, 1957; repr. Turin: Einaudi, 2012).

Kelly Samantha, *The New Solomon. Robert of Naples (1309-1343) and Fourteenth-Century Kingship* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003).

Kozlowsky Sarah K., 'Circulation, Convergence, and the Worlds of Trecento Panel Painting: Simone Martini in Naples', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte,* 78/2 (2015), 205-38.

Krüger Klaus, '*A deo solo et a te regnum teneo.* Simone Martinis 'Ludwig von Toulouse' in Neapel', in *Medien der Macht. Kunst zur Zeit des Anjous in Italien*, ed. by Tanja Michalsky (Berlin: Reimer, 2001), pp. 79-120.

Le bolle d'oro dell'Archivio Vaticano, ed. by Pietro Sella (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1934).

Le Corps du Prince, ed. by Éric Bousmar, Hans Cools, Jonathan Dumont and Alain Marchandisse, *Micrologus. Nature, Sciences and Medieval Societies*, 22 (2014).

Lecuppre Gilles, *L'imposture politique au Moyen Âge. La seconde vie des rois* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2005).

Le Gall Jean-Marie, 'L'impossible invisibilité du roi de France 1450-1600', in *Il Principe inVisibile. La rappresentazione e la riflessione sul potere tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, ed. by Lucia Bertolini, Arturo Calzona, Glauco Maria Cantarella and Stefano Caroti (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 453-70.

Le Goff Jacques, *San Luigi* (Paris, 1996; repr. Turin: Einaudi, 2007).

Le Goff Jacques, *Il corpo nel Medioevo*, in collaboration with Nicolas Truong (Paris, 2003; repr. Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2005).

Léonard Émile G., *Gli Angioini di Napoli* (Paris, 1954; repr. Varese: Dall'Oglio, 1967).

Leone de Castris Pierluigi, *Arte di corte nella Napoli angioina* (Florence: Cantini, 1986).

Leone de Castris Pierluigi, *Giotto a Napoli* (Napoli: Electa, 2006).

Leone de Castris Pierluigi, 'La pittura a Napoli al tempo di Boccaccio e un pittore per Roberto d'Angiò: il Maestro delle tempere francescane', in *Boccaccio e Napoli. Nuovi materiali per la storia culturale di Napoli nel Trecento*, ed. by Giancarlo Alfano, Emma Grimaldi, Sebastiano Martelli, Andrea Mazzucchi, Matteo Palumbo, Alessandra Perricciolì Saggese and Carlo Vecce (Florence: Cesati, 2014), pp. 71-80.

Le Pogam Pierre-Yves, 'The features of Saint Louis', *Journal of Art Historiography,* 9/2 (2017), n. 17, 1-20.

L'Europe des Anjou. Aventure des Princes Angevins du XIIIe au XIVe siècle, ed. by Guy Massin Le Goff (Paris: Somogy, 2001).

Lucherini Vinni, 'Regalità e iconografia francescana nel complesso conventuale di Santa Chiara a Napoli: il Cristo in trono della sala capitolare', *IKON. Journal of Iconographic Studies,* 3 (2010), 151-68.

Lucherini Vinni, 'Il refettorio e il capitolo del monastero maschile di S. Chiara: l'impianto topografico e le scelte decorative', 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*, ed. by Francesco Aceto, Stefano D'Ovidio and Elisabetta Scirocco (Battipaglia: La Veglia & Carlone, 2014), pp. 385-430.

Marin Louis, *Le portrait du roi* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1981).

Marin Louis, *Des pouvoirs de l'image. Gloses* (Paris: Seuil, 1993).

Marin Louis, *Politiques de la représentation* (Paris: Kimé, 2005).

Michalsky Tanja, *Memoria und Repräsentation: die Grabmäler des Königshausen Anjou in Italien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).

Michalsky Tanja, 'MATER SERENISSIMI PRINCIPIS: The tomb of Maria of Hungary', in T*he Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina. Art, Iconography and Patronage in Fourteenth-century Naples,* ed. by Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 61-78.

Norman Diana, 'Politics and Piety: Locating Simone Martini's *Saint Louis of Toulouse* Altarpiece', *Art History,* 33/4 (2010), 596-619.

Norman Diana, 'The Sicilian Connection. Imperial Themes in Simone Martini's *St. Louis of Toulouse Altarpiece', Gesta. International Center of Medieval Art*, 53/1 (2014), 25-45.

Norman Diana, *Siena and the Angevins (1300-1350). Art Diplomacy, and Dynastic Ambition*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).

Nye Joseph, *Leadership e potere. Hard, soft, smart power* (New York, 2008; repr. Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2010).

Olariu Dominic, 'Réflexions sur l'avènement du portrait avant le XVe siècle', in *Le Portrait individuel: réflexions autour d'une forme de représentation, XIIIe-XVe siècles*, ed. by Dominic Olariu (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009), pp. 83-101.

Olariu Dominic, *La genèse de la représentation ressemblante de l'homme. Reconsidérations du portrait à partir du XIIIe siècle* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2013).

Olariu Dominic, 'Thomas Aquinas' definition of *imago Dei* and the development of lifelike portraiture', *BUCEMA. Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre*, 17/2 (2013), 1-17.

Olechnowicz Emilia, 'The Queen's Two Faces. The Portraiture of Elizabeth I of England', in *Premodern Rulership and Contemporary Political Power. The King's Body Never Dies*, ed. by Karolina Anna Mroziewicz and Aleksander Sroczyński (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), pp. 217-46.

Paravicini Bagliani Agostino, *Il corpo del papa* (Turin: Einaudi, 1994).

Paravicini Bagliani Agostino, 'Les portraits de Boniface VIII. Une tentative de synthèse', in *Le portrait. La représentation de l'individu*, ed. by Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, Jean-Michel Spieser and Jean Wirth (Florence: SISMEL, 2007), pp. 117-40.

Parotto Giuliana, *Oltre il corpo del leader. Corpo e politica nella società post-secolare* (Genova: Il Nuovo Melangolo, 2016).

Perkinson Stephen, 'Rethinking the Origins of Portraiture', *Gesta. International Center of Medieval Art*, 46/2 (2007), 135-58.

Perkinson Stephen, 'Likeness, Loyalty, and the Life of the Court Artist: Portraiture in the Calendar Scenes of the *Très Riches Heures*', *Quaerendo. A Journal Devoted to Manuscripts and Printed Books*, 38 (2008), 142-74.

Perkinson Stephen, *The Likeness of the King. A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

Perkinson Stephen, 'Likeness', in *Studies in Iconology. Special Issue: Medieval Art History Today – Critical Terms*, 33 (2012), pp. 15-28.

Perkinson Stephen, 'Portrait and their Patrons: Reconsidering Agency in Late Medieval Art', in *Patronage. Power and Agency in Medieval Art*, ed. by Colum Hourihane (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), pp. 236-54.

Perriccioli Saggese Alessandra, 'Il ritratto a Napoli nel Trecento: l'immagine di Roberto d'Angiò tra pittura e miniatura', in *La fantasia e la storia. Studi di Storia dell'arte sul ritratto dal Medioevo al Contemporaneo*, ed. by Giulio Brevetti (Palermo: Palermo University Press, 2019), pp. 37-46.

Pinelli Antonio, Sabatier Gérard, Stollberg-Rilinger Barbara, Tauber Christine and Bodart Diane, 'Le portrait du roi: entre art, histoire, anthropologie et sémiologie', *Perspective. La revue de l'INHA*, 1 (2012), 11-28.

Pryds Darleen N., *The King Embodies the Word: Robert d'Anjou and the Politics of Preaching* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

Rolland Henri, *Monnaies des comtes de Provence, XIIe-XVe siècles* (Paris: Picard, 1956).

Rossi Monti Martino, 'The Mask of Grace: On Body and Beauty of Soul between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages', in *Face of Charisma. Image, Text, Object in Byzantium and the Medieval West*, ed. by Brigitte M. Bedos-Rezak and Martha Dana Rust (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018), pp. 47-75.

Sabatini Francesco, *Napoli angioina. Cultura e Società* (Naples, 1975; repr. Francesco Sabatini, 'La cultura a Napoli nell'età angioina', in *Storia di Napoli*, VI, *Cultura e letteratura. Età classica e Medioevo*, ed. by Ernesto Pontieri (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1980), pp. 411-718).

Sambon Arthur, 'Monetazione napoletana di Roberto d'Angiò (1309-1343)', *Rivista italiana di numismatica e scienze affini*, 25 (1912), 181-202.

Santoro Daniela, 'Il corpo di san Luigi a Monreale', in *San Luigi dei Francesi. Storia, spiritualità, memoria nelle arti e in letteratura*, ed. by Patrizia Sardina (Rome: Carocci, 2017), pp. 81-96.

Sauerländer Willibald, '*Phisionomia est doctrina salutis*. Über Physiognomik und Porträt im Jahrhundert Ludwigs des Heiligen', in *Das Porträt vor der Erfindung des Porträts*, ed. by Martin Büchsel and Peter Schmidt (Mainz: Zabern, 2003), pp. 101-21.

Schmidt Victor M., 'Tavole dipinte. Tipologie, destinazione e funzioni (secoli XII-XIV),' in *L'arte medievale nel contesto (300-1300). Funzioni, iconografia, tecniche,* ed. by Paolo Piva (Milan: Jaca Book, 2006), pp. 205-44.

Suckale Robert, 'Die Porträts Kaiser Karls IV. als Bedeutungsträger', in *Das Porträt vor der Erfindung des Porträts,* ed. by Martin Büchsel and Peter Schmidt (Mainz: Zabern, 2003), pp. 191-204.

Thiry Steven, 'How to Steal the King's Body? Corporeal Identification of Princely Pretenders in the Renaissance', in *Le Corps du Prince,* ed. by Éric Bousmar, Hans Cools, Jonathan Dumont and Alain Marchandisse, *Micrologus. Nature, Sciences and Medieval Societies*, 22 (2014), pp. 721-46.

Tocco Francesco Paolo, *Il regno di Sicilia tra Angioini e Aragonesi* (Milan: Monduzzi, 2008).

Tomei Alessandro, *Arnolfo di Cambio* (Milan: Giunti, 2006).

Tomei Alessandro and Paone Stefania, 'Paintings and Miniatures in Naples. Cavallini, Giotto and the Portraits of King Robert', in *The Anjou Bible. A Royal Manuscript Revealed. Naples 1340*, ed. by Lieve Watteeuw and Jan Van der Stock (Paris, Leuven and Walpole [MA]: Peeters, 2010), pp. 53-72.

Vagnoni Mirko, *Epifanie del corpo in immagine dei re di Sicilia (1130-1266)*, intr. by Giovanni Travagliato (Palermo: Palermo University Press, 2019).

Vagnoni Mirko, 'La messa in scena iconica del corpo regio nel regno di Sicilia (1130-1266)', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, 132/2 (2020), 393-412.

Vagnoni Mirko, *La messa in scena del corpo regio nel regno di Sicilia. Federico III d'Aragona e Roberto d'Angiò* (Potenza: Basilicata University Press, 2021).

Van Ess Hans, 'The Body of the King and the Emperor in Early and Medieval China', in *The Body of the King. The Staging of the Body of the Institutional Leader from Antiquity to Middle Ages in East and West*, ed. by Giovanni-Battista Lanfranchi and Robert Rollinger (Padova: SARGON, 2016), pp. 127-40.

Vauchez André, *La santità nel Medioevo* (Rome, 1981; repr. Bologna: Il Mulino 1989).

Visceglia Maria Antonietta, *Riti di corte e simboli della regalità. I regni d'Europa e del Mediterraneo dal Medioevo all'Età moderna* (Rome: Salerno, 2009).

Weiger Katharina, 'The portraits of Robert of Anjou: self-presentation as political instrument?', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 9/2 (2017), n. 17, 1-16.

ALEKSANDRA RUTKOWSKA

Staging the Royal Corpse
Reburials of Monarchical Bodies at the Basilica of San Isidoro in León

Since its publication in 1957, *The King's Two Bodies* by Ernst Kantorowicz has been a landmark in the study of kingship in premodern European history.[1] Kantorowicz's conceptualisation of the medieval king as double-bodied has been engaged from innumerable perspectives and in relation to various geographies and time periods, often detaching his claims from their specific contexts.[2] However, scholars have thus far limited their inquiries to living monarchical subjects, consistent with Kantorowicz's presupposition that rulers lose their embodied selves at the moment of death, becoming exclusively a political entity.[3]

I would like to counter this notion by considering the potential methodological usefulness of Kantorowicz's ideas for the analysis of the royal cadavers buried at the monarchical pantheon of the basilica of San Isidoro in León. In the face of the ever-fluctuating alliances with the neighbouring kingdom of Castile from the eleventh to the early thirteenth century, San Isidoro functioned as a repository for Leonese identity. Located at the intersection of physicality and memory, these dead ostentatiously inhabited a prominent religious setting while remaining hidden behind a veil of tombstones. The sepulchres served both as markers for and concealers of the kingly bones within, establishing a matrix of (in)visibility. Recognizing how the sarcophagi projected the status of the royal corpse as at once body natural and body politic can help illuminate the complex relationship between the two. It also raises wider theoretical questions pertinent to the topic of staging the medieval ruler's body, such as those surrounding authenticity, presence, and likeness.

Bodies and Reburials

The Leonese pantheon was rooted in reburial. Although its genealogy is uniquely complex, some key moments can be singled out from its history. The first royal institution founded in this location, dating to the late tenth century, was a double monastery dedicated to St Pelayo and St John the Baptist.[4] It was destroyed soon after by the armies of the chancellor of the Cordoban Caliphate, Abu ʿĀmir Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn Abi ʿĀmir al-Maʿafiri, known

1 Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957; repr. 2016).
2 Bernard Jussen, 'The King's Two Bodies Today', *Representations*, 106/1 (2008), 102-17 (pp. 104-05).
3 Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, p. 371.
4 Therese Martin, *Queen as King: Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain*, The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, 30 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 33-36.

DOI 10.1484/M.HMSAH-EB.5.135013. This is an open access chapter made available under a CC BY-NC 4.0 International License.

in medieval Iberian documents primarily as Almanzor. León and its religious institutions were subsequently rebuilt by King Alfonso V, in the early eleventh century.[5]

According to the *Chronicon mundi*, a monumental chronicle of Iberia written in the 1230s by Lucas of Túy, then a canon of San Isidoro,[6] Alfonso V undertook a major reburial project as part of the restorations:

> He constructed the church of St John the Baptist in the town from lime and brick and assembled all the bones of the kings and bishops who were buried in the city and inhumed them in this church, and above them he erected an altar in honour of St Martin the Bishop and Confessor. He then translated the bones of his father, King Bermudo, who was buried in the Bierzo in Villaboa, and buried them in the western part of that same church in a marble sepulchre, together with his mother, Queen Elvira.[7]

The repetition of the word *ossa*, typically used to refer to human remains, is significant, for it places great emphasis on the materiality of the dead bodies. A similar phrase appears in one of the tomb inscriptions, which does not survive but is preserved in publications preceding the nineteenth century. According to the transcription prepared by Manuel Risco before 1792, one of the two epitaphs on the sarcophagus of Elvira Menédez, wife of Alfonso V, read: 'In this grave lie the ashes and bones of Queen Elvira, descendant of Menedeo and Tuk'.[8] The inscriptions on the other funerary slabs used variations of the standard formula pointing to the presence of the body therein,[9] such as 'here rests' (*hic requiescit*), 'here lies' (*hic jacet*), or 'here has been buried' (*hic situs est* or *hic est conditum*).[10] Appropriate commemoration of the departed Leonese monarchs necessitated the real presence of their cadavers, now congregated in a single, centralised pantheon. In addition, the burial of Alfonso V with his parents suggested that his great enterprise was ultimately intended to create a lineage.

The ancient and venerable remains, once restaged, gained an existence of their own. Instead of preserving Leonese identity in the strict sense envisaged by Alfonso V, they paved the way for its reimagining. After a brief civil war in which Alfonso V's son Bermudo III was killed, the Leonese throne was inherited by his other child, Sancha of León. She was already married to Fernando, count of Castile, who therefore became the reigning monarch, the first of his name.[11] He was an outsider with no dynastic claims to his new kingdom, and as such his legitimacy could be easily questioned. It is telling that chroniclers had to mobilise the figure of Sancha to

5 Julio Pérez Llamazares, *Historia de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, de León* (León: Nebrija, 1927), pp. 10-11.
6 Bernard F. Reilly, 'Bishop Lucas of Túy and the Latin Chronicle Tradition in Iberia', *Catholic Historical Review,* 93/4 (2007), 767-88 (pp. 771-72).
7 *Fecit etiam ecclesiam sancti Iohannis Babtiste in ipsa urbe ex luto et latere, et collegit omnia ossa regum et episcoporum que in ipsa erant ciuitate, et in ipsa ecclesia sepeliuit ea simul, et super ea hedificauit altare ad honorem sancti Martini episcopi et confessoris. Deinde transtulit ossa patris sui Veremudi regis, qui sepultus fuerat in Berizo in Villabona et sepeliuit ea in occidentali parte ipsius ecclesie in sepulchro marmoreo una cum matre sua regina dompna Geloyra.* Lucas of Túy, *Chronicon mundi*, ed. by Emma Falque Rey, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 74 (Brepols: Turnhout, 2003) p. 275. All translations are my own.
8 *Jacet hac in fossa Geloirae Reginae pulvis & ossa, proles Menedi & Tuk*. Transcribed in: Manuel Risco, *Iglesia de León, Monasterios Antiguos y Modernos de la Misma Ciudad* (Madrid: Oficina de Don Blas Román, 1792), p. 149.
9 Antonio Durán Gudiol, 'Las inscripciones medievales de la provincia de Huesca', *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón*, 8 (1967), 45-154.
10 Transcribed in: Risco, *Iglesia de León*, pp. 148-53.
11 Pérez Llamazares, *Historia,* pp. 96-97.

award Fernando a place among the Leonese rulers. The *Historia Silense*, composed from earlier texts between 1109 and 1118[12] and thus more than seventy years after the events, relates how Sancha persuaded her husband to choose the Leonese pantheon as his burial place:

> Queen Sancha, petitioning the lord king for an audience, persuaded him to construct a church in the cemetery of the kings of León, where their own bodies, too, should be buried in like manner and splendidly. For King Fernando had decreed to entrust his body for burial in Oña, a place which he always held dear, or in the church of St Peter of Arlanza; but, since her father of worthy memory, prince Alfonso, and her brother Bermudo, the most serene king in Christ, rested in the cemetery of the Leonese kings, queen Sancha endeavoured with all her strengths so that she herself and her husband would rest with them after death. Therefore, with the king assenting to the petition of his most faithful spouse, masons were assigned so that they would complete this most worthy labour with incessant effort.[13]

If not in life, Fernando I, a Castilian, could hope to become one with the monarchs of León in death. However, during his reign he and his wife managed to secure the translation of the relics of St Isidore, a singularly prominent Visigothic scholar, from Seville to León, prompting the rededication of the church of St John the Baptist to the new patron.[14] Fernando I thereby cemented his own position among the kings of old already during his lifetime, giving a fresh impetus to the project of the Leonese pantheon. New cadavers followed until 1235, when the last burial took place.

Or so the story goes. Pieced together from chronicles and documents, this widely accepted narrative of the establishment and functioning of the Leonese pantheon has been challenged by Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras. She casts doubt on the presence of some of the bodies claimed to have resided there and posits that the medieval keepers of the cemetery, themselves aware of the problem, sought to mask it by commissioning effigies for the problematic individuals. Her main point, however, concerns the authenticity of the tombs, as she argues that the sepulchres more recent in date than the cadavers therein would have been likely to arouse suspicion.[15] I would like to reverse this logic and suggest that what was at stake was the veracity of the bodies and not their encasings – that is, whether the corpses themselves were genuine and not whether the caskets identified them accurately – since the crucial element and the raison d'être

12 Simon Barton and Richard A. Fletcher, *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*, Manchester Medieval Sources (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 9-64.

13 *Interea domini regis colloquium Sancia regina petens, ei in sepulturam regum ecclesiam fieri Legione persuadet, ubi et eorundem corpora iuxta magnificeque humari debeant. Decreverat namque Fredinandus rex vel Onnis, quem locum carum semper habebat, sive in eccle- sia beati Petri de Aslanza corpus suum sepulture tradere; porro Sancia regina quoniam in Legionensi regum cimiterio pater suus digne memorie Adefonsus princeps et eius frater Veremudus serenissimus rex in Christo quiescebant, ut quoque et ipsa et eiusdem vir cum eis post mortem quiescerent, pro viribus laborabat. Rex igitur petitioni fidissime coniugis annuens, deputantur cementarii qui assidue operam dent tam dignissimo labori. Historia Silense*, ed. by Francisco Santos Coco (Madrid: Sucesores de Rovadeneyra, 1921), p. 80.

14 Aida García Martínez, 'El Panteón de San Isidoro de León: cuestión y crítica historiográfica', *Anuario de Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, 16 (2004), 9-16 (p. 10).

15 Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, 'The Eventful Life of the Royal Tombs of San Isidoro in León', in *Church, State, Vellum, and Stone. Essays on Medieval Spain in Honor of John Williams*, ed. by Therese Martin and Julie A. Harris, The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, 26 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 479-555 (pp. 492-96).

of any tomb was, first and foremost, the dead body. After all, the medieval chronicles which that mention burials at San Isidoro never describe the tombs the monarchs were laid in, focusing their accounts instead on the personas of the royal family.

This leads to the question of the identities of the cadavers interred in León. In a travel account composed for Philip II in 1572,[16] the historian Ambrosio de Morales meticulously relates how the Isidorian tombs were arranged and to whom they belonged. De Morales claimed that the first two rows of sepulchres, nearest to the altar, housed the bodies of Leonese kings, queens, infantas, and infantes. He names every single one of them. The last row, on the other hand, was furnished caskets of nonroyal dead, which in his eyes did not merit a comprehensive description.[17] Interestingly, de Morales also notes a discrepancy between what he expected to encounter based on the chronicles and what he found in the pantheon, so many centuries later. He could not locate the tombs of the more ancient kings, said to have been translated to the pantheon by Alfonso V. These royal personages did not have, or no longer had, their own sepulchres, instead being inhumed anonymously in an ossuary located in a corner on the northern wall.[18] Throughout, de Morales identifies the bones by uncritically relying on the sources at his disposal, either tomb inscriptions or medieval accounts, without attempting to verify their accuracy. He questions this received knowledge only once, in another publication where he expresses his suspicions that the tomb of García Sánchez of Castile, the first fiancé of Sancha of León, might be a cenotaph.[19] Thus, his report should be understood as a testament to the beliefs surrounding the pantheon at the time rather than as an objective statement of facts.

Complicating the issue are the claims of other institutions to the possession of some of the bodies supposedly entombed at San Isidoro. Sancho III of Pamplona, father of Fernando I, and García Sánchez have tombs both at León and at the Castilian pantheon of San Salvador in Oña. Their burials at San Isidoro are first mentioned in the *Chronicon mundi*, with their epitaphs strengthening the chronicle's accounts.[20] The inscription of the Pamplonese monarch additionally states: 'He was translated here by his son King Fernando'.[21] However, the earlier sources do not mention this relocation, concentrating on his burial at Oña.[22] He must have had a sepulchre at San Salvador, but it is unclear how long it remained in place. Then, in the second half of the fifteenth century, during major renovations of the Castilian pantheon, elaborate wooden caskets with short, inlaid inscriptions were created for its bodies.[23] One of the epitaphs is thought to refer to Sancho III's remains, and another to those of García Sánchez.[24] In a similar

16 Sylvène Edouard, 'Enquête hagiographique et mythification historique. Le "saint voyage" d'Ambrosio de Morales (1572)', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 33/2 (2003), 33-60.

17 Ambrosio de Morales, *Viage de Ambrosio de Morales por orden del rey D. Phelipe II a los reynos de León, y Galicia, y Principado de Asturias…*, ed. by Henrique Flórez (Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1765), pp. 43-45.

18 de Morales, *Viage de Ambrosio*, p. 45.

19 de Morales, *Los Cinco Libros Postreros de la Coronica General de España*, (Córdoba: Gabriel Ramos Bejarano, 1586), p. 321.

20 Sánchez Ameijeiras, 'The Eventful Life', pp. 495-96.

21 *Translatus est hic á filio suo Rege Magno Fernando*. Transcribed in: Ana Suárez González, '¿Del Pergamino a la Piedra? ¿De la Piedra al Pergamino? Entre Diplomas, Obituarios y Epitafios Medievales de San Isidoro de León', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 33/1 (2003), 365-415 (p. 406).

22 Manuel Zabalza Duque, 'Sepultus est: Oña y León: la tumba del rey Sancho III el Mayor', in *Recuerdos literarios en honor a un gran historiador de Castilla Gonzalo Martínez Díez (1924-2015)*, ed. by José Ignacio Ruiz Rodríguez and Félix Javier Martínez Llorente (Madrid: Dykinson, 2016), pp. 401-17 (pp. 401-02).

23 María Pilar Silva Maroto, 'El Monasterio de Oña en tiempos de los Reyes Católicos', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 47/186 (1974), 109-28 (pp. 124-25).

24 Silva Maroto, 'El Monasterio de Oña', pp. 26-27.

vein, the corpses of Zaida and Isabel, consecutive wives of Alfonso VI, are said to have had their tombs at San Isidoro and in the royal monastery of San Benito at Sahagún, their husband's favoured institution.[25] The latter complex fell into disrepair in the nineteenth century, and no graves survive. Here one should note that, unlike in northern Europe, the posthumous division of the body was a rarity in Iberia;[26] each of these bodies was only interred in one place at a time. However, regardless of which pantheons possessed which bones, the custody of a body could be claimed with a tomb.

The matter of the bones in the ossuary is perhaps even more convoluted. Without epitaphs to put names to the ashes, the potential identities of the deceased can only be tentatively deduced from the chronicles. Gathering all the royal dead from around León, as Alfonso V is described to have done, would have required the abolition of a few monarchical cemeteries. If medieval sources are to be believed, originally buried at San Julián y Santa Basilisa in Ruiforco were Alfonso IV, his wife Onneca, and three sons of Fruela II: Alfonso Froilaz, Ordoño, and Ramiro;[27] and at San Salvador in León – its founder, Ramiro II, his son and successor, Ordoño III, as well as Ordoño IV.[28] Sancho I was probably also inhumed at the latter pantheon before being ostensibly relocated.[29] Ordoño II had been entombed at the first Leonese cathedral, the construction of which he had himself initiated, and it is rather improbable that his bones would have been removed from there. His sepulchre now occupies the present cathedral's ambulatory.[30] In short, the resting places of the royal family of León and of those connected to them cannot be unequivocally established. Nonetheless, for the purposes of understanding the role of San Isidoro, the discourses created to argue for the presence of certain bodies at this pantheon are ultimately more meaningful than the empirical truth (if such ever existed).

Consequently, the problems with the reliability of de Morales's account, when it comes to the names of the monarchical dead of San Isidoro, do not diminish its value. The royal corpses are no longer there to answer questions about their identities since the pantheon was vandalised during the Napoleonic wars. Between 1809 and 1812, the French troops used the chamber as a stable for their horses. They emptied the tombs and transformed them into troughs, depositing the bodies in a corner.[31] The sarcophagi and the bones survived only as fragments, if at all. The rare exception was the sepulchre of Sancha Raimúndez, daughter of Urraca I, for whom San Isidoro was the first and final burial place.[32] I imagine that the stone casket was too heavy and sizeable to be easily destroyed. The cadaver was returned to the tomb in 1868.[33]

25 José Ignacio Gil Pulido, 'Los Epitafios de los Reyes de San Isidoro de León (999-1159). Problemas históricos', in *Santo Martino de León. Ponencias del I Congreso Internacional sobre Santo Martino en el VIII centenario de su obra literaria: 1185-1985*, ed. by Antonio Viñayo (León: Isidoriana, 1987), pp. 399-412 (p. 410).

26 Elizabeth A. R. Brown, 'Death and the Human Body in the Later Middle Ages: The Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse', *Viator*, 12 (1981), 221-70 (p. 235).

27 Julio Pérez Llamazares, 'Panteones Reales Leoneses', *Hidalguía*, 2 (1953), 341-56 (p. 346).

28 Raquel Alonso Álvarez, 'Los enterramientos de los reyes de León y Castilla hasta Sancho IV', *e-Spania* (2007), https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.109.

29 Alonso Álvarez, 'Los enterramientos'.

30 Gerardo Boto Varela, 'Sobre reyes y tumbas en la catedral de León. Discursos visuals de poder politico y honra sacra', in *Congreso Internacional 'La Catedral de León en la Edad Media'*, ed. by Joaquín Yarza Luaces, María Victoria Herráez Ortega and Gerardo Boto Varela (León: Universidad de León, 2004), pp. 305-65.

31 Pérez Llamazares, *Historia*, p. 198.

32 Pérez Llamazares, *Historia*, pp. 390-92.

33 María Encina Prada Marcos, 'La antropología al servicio de la historia: un caso real. Estudio antropológico del Panteón Real de San Isidoro', *ProMonumenta*, 2 (1998), 12-26 (pp. 24-25).

Sancha Raimúndez's sarcophagus was reopened by archaeologists some twenty years ago with a view to conduct multidisciplinary scientific examination.[34] Yet, even with cutting-edge technology at their disposal, they would not have been able to deduce to whom the cadaver belonged had they not known beforehand, thanks to the elaborate inscription occupying the entire surface of the lid. It clearly states: 'Here rests Lady Queen Sancha, sister of Emperor Alfonso, daughter of queen Urraca and Raymond'.[35] But is that mummified skeleton truly the person it is purported to be? Can one trust the monks who placed her there? And are such questions of any relevance? In other words, can a dead body natural of a long-deceased historical figure have an identity, or is it imparted to them through external cues, such as inscriptions, which effectively amount to a body politic, an imagined, symbolic dimension of that person?

As modern as they might seem, such considerations were part and parcel of a medieval business which specialised in marketing and circulating body parts, namely the trade in relics. Omnipresent in Christian worship throughout Western Europe, relics were constantly produced, divided, sold, stolen, gifted, and exhibited. The demand for saintly fragments far exceeded what could naturally be supplied by the cadavers of holy women and men, and forgeries abounded. The cult of relics was permeated by a need to perform authenticating rituals and eliminate fakes and forgeries. This could be achieved through consulting appropriate certificates of authentication, if these were present inside the reliquary, or through reviewing other reliable written sources. Alternatively, a bone's capability to enact miracles could be tested, a method which that usually dispelled all doubts.[36] Direct attacks on relics in the High Middle Ages were rare,[37] since to acknowledge that a fragment in one's possession was not holy was to lose a source of power, prestige, and income, but they did occur nevertheless. A good example comes from a treatise by Guibert of Nogent in which he ridiculed the assertions of Constantinople and St Jean d'Angely in central France that they each possessed the head of St John the Baptist.[38] As long as enough evidence and belief existed to corroborate this identification, these skulls continued to function as such.

It is my belief that a culture as obsessed with the discourse of authenticity of human remains in one domain, namely that of relics, would be similarly preoccupied with it in another, that of the bodies of queens and kings. Arguably, forgeries would have been close to impossible if a monarch lived, died, and was buried surrounded by their retinue, whose role was to monitor the royal body very closely. However, even in such unambiguous cases, tombs would be furnished with inscriptions or other devices like coats of arms so that the body could be identified, or, in the words of Sánchez Ameijeiras, authenticated,[39] by future generations. Sepulchres could become damaged, and as a result the crucial information about the corpse therein could evaporate. Taking into account how ruinous the raids of Almanzor were for León and its region,

34 M. R. Hidalgo-Argüello, N. Díez Baños, J. Fegeneda Grandes, and E. Prada Marcos, 'Parasitological Analysis of Leonese Royalty from Collegiate-Basilica of St. Isidoro, León (Spain): Helminths, Protozoa, and Mites', *The Journal of Parasitology*, 89/4 (2003), 738-43.

35 *Hic requiescit regina domna Sancia, soror inperatoris Adefonsi, filia Urrache regine et Raimundi.* Transcribed in: Suárez González, '¿Del Pergamino a la Piedra?', p. 393.

36 Patrick J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 194-218.

37 Charles Freeman, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 128

38 Colin Morris, 'A Critique of Popular Religion: Guibert of Nogent on *The Relics of the Saints*', *Studies in Church History*, 8 (1972), 55-60.

39 Sánchez Ameijeiras, 'The Eventful Life', pp. 503-04.

Alfonso V's decision to gather the ancient bodies in one location was likely dictated as much by his commemorative and political goals as it was by the need to rehouse them. I am inclined to think that these cadavers had lost their authenticating frameworks and, in reburial, were reendowed with possibly news names or, if placed in an ossuary, no names at all. Regardless of the factual connection between a monarchical corpse and its identity, the fiction of correspondence could be sustained as long as a body natural was assigned to a body politic, and reciprocally a body politic needed material confirmation through a body natural. Here I would like to emphasise that this relationship between a cadaver and its tomb was not a symbolic one. The casket did not stand for the corpse but rather doubled it, enacting and cementing its presence. It was an extension of the dead body, necessary for it to be perceived as such. A tomb seems to have been the insurance of the implied presence of the body natural the vector for the narrative of the body politic.

Effigies, Inscriptions, and Commemoration

In the face of the absence of the majority of the sepulchres, de Morales's and Risco's descriptions are invaluable for ascertaining their appearance. Of the first row, housing twelve graves, de Morales says:

> It has to be understood that although ten of the said sepulchres are of stone, tall and some very large, none is convex; instead, all of them have flat covering slabs and, not having statues, some have the figures of the kings sculpted as drawings.[40]

He also indicates that the tomb of García II of Galicia, son of Fernando I, featured a figural representation of the incumbent. He placed it in the second row,[41] from which only a few other components survive: the sarcophagus of Sancha Raimúndez; the slab of García, son of Fernando II; and a small fragment of the epitaph of this king's second wife, Teresa.[42] Considering their lack of images, echoed in the very short mention of these monuments by de Morales, it is likely that García II's was the only effigy there. Indeed, he pays special attention to only two other tombs in this middle row, which he found remarkable due to their visual characteristics; both were non-figural. According to him, the sarcophagus of Queen Urraca I was 'a smooth marble chest with a smooth lid', which he perceived to contradict her epitaph's claim that she was 'buried in a beautiful sepulchre'.[43] That of Infanta Urraca, on the other hand, struck de Morales as

40 *Hase de entender, que aunque las diez sepulturas de las dichas son tumbas de piedra altas, y algunas muy grandes, ninguna es tumba, sino llanas todas las losas del Cobertor, y no teniendo vultos, tienen algunas de ellas las figuras de los Reyes esculpidas como debujo*; de Morales, *Viage de Ambrosio*, p. 43.

41 de Morales, *Viage de Ambrosio*, p. 44.

42 Maurillo Pérez Gónzalez, 'Las inscripciones medievales latinas de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León. Estudio lingüístico', in *Santo Martino de León*, pp. 422-28 (p. 426). Sánchez Ameijeiras, 'The Eventful Life', pp. 481-82.

43 *una arca de marmol lisa con la cubierta lisa*; de Morales, *Viage de Ambrosio*, p. 44. *enterrada en hermosa sepultura*; de Morales, *Viage de Ambrosio*, p. 44.

> extraordinarily rich. The chest of very excellent white marble. The lid, on which the epitaph runs lengthwise, is convex, and of that purple porphyry which I described in Sahagún. In this way it shines now as if it was just polished yesterday.[44]

Risco provides further details as to the designs of the sarcophagi, though his main focus is the inscriptions. To map their arrangement on the lids when more than one epitaph was present, in some cases he relates them to the positioning of engraved effigies, thus registering that the tombs of Elvira Menédez and of Jímena Sánchez, wife of Bermudo III, both attributed by de Morales to the first row,[45] were endowed with images of the deceased.[46]

This is consistent with the surviving shards. The fragments of the effigies preserved from San Isidoro belong to the tombs of Bermudo II, Elvira Menédez, García Sánchez, and Sancho III,[47] all of whom were buried in the first row.[48] Moreover, the extant pieces of other sarcophagi from this line suggest that the slabs of Alfonso V, Sancha of León, and Bermudo III were devoid of figural representations.[49] This leaves only the tombs of Elvira García, Fernando I, Isabel, and Zaida unaccounted for among the frontmost graves (see table 1).

The dating of the Isidorian sarcophagi continues to constitute a major challenge. It is unclear which corpses remained in the same tomb throughout the medieval period and which ones were moved to new caskets during the renovations in the first half of the thirteenth century. Against José Ignacio Gil Pulido's belief that the graves of all those who died prior to Sancha Raimúndez were replacements,[50] Sánchez Ameijeiras proposes one exception. In her view, the stylistic features assigned by de Morales assigns to the sarcophagus of Infanta Urraca situate it artistically in the years around her death,[51] and I am incrod to agree with her opinion. Yet even the tombs which remained in place underwent changes, for additional epitaphs were engraved on some slabs.[52] These complexities notwithstanding, the surviving effigies are sufficiently uniform to argue that they were carved at the same time by the same craftspeople.[53]

Sánchez Ameijeiras has linked the tomb renovations to purely political transformations in the dynamic between León and Castile, namely the progressive eroding of the former's local identity in favour of stronger ties with its more militarily potent neighbour.[54] Moreover, she has intriguingly connected the peculiarities of the new designs – incised effigies and epitaphs written across, and not lengthwise along, the lid – to the visual practices of the local scriptorium.[55] But I would venture to say that there was more at play at the time which might have prompted the artistic decision to transfer the style usually reserved for codices to particular tombs at San Isidoro, chosen according to a defined set of characteristics.

In her monograph on Romanesque effigies, Shirin Fozi has demonstrated that the images which first appeared on tombs in the eleventh and twelfth centuries served purposes far exceeding, if not directly resisting, personal commemoration.[56] Unlike gisants of the Gothic period, flat

44 *estrañamente rico. El arca de marmol blanco muy excelente. La cubierta, en que está à la larga el Epitafio, es tumbada, y de aquel Porfido morado, que dige en Sahagun. Asi resplandesce agora como si ayer lo acabáran de pulir*; de Morales, *Viage de Ambrosio,* p. 44.
45 de Morales, *Viage de Ambrosio,* p. 43.
46 Risco, *Iglesia de León*, p. 149.
47 Sánchez Ameijeiras, 'The Eventful Life', pp. 481-82.
48 de Morales, *Viage de Ambrosio,* p. 44.
49 Sánchez Ameijeiras, 'The Eventful Life', pp. 481-82.
50 Gil Pulido, 'Los Epitafios', p. 401.
51 Sánchez Ameijeiras, 'The Eventful Life', p. 485.
52 Suárez González, '¿Del Pergamino a la Piedra?', pp. 365-415.
53 Sánchez Ameijeiras, 'The Eventful Life', p. 506.
54 Sánchez Ameijeiras, 'The Eventful Life', pp. 479-555.
55 Sánchez Ameijeiras, 'The Eventful Life', pp. 501-02.
56 Shirin Fozi, *Romanesque Tomb Effigies. Death and Redemption in Medieval Europe, 1000-1200* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021), pp. 10-11.

figural slabs in the years up to 1180 were usually not commissioned by the future occupants but by their local communities some years after their death.[57] The effigies served to gloss over their faults and failures, transforming them into pivotal figures in collective memory.[58] Thus, funerary images were chosen to honour controversial individuals such as Rudolf of Swabia, the unsuccessful anti-king of Germany who died in 1080 following a lost battle with the rightful ruler, his brother-in-law Henry IV, and the long-deceased Merovingian queen Fredegund, rumoured to have been extremely cruel.[59] Rudolf's effigy appeared in Speyer Cathedral shortly before 1084,[60] while Fredegund was encased in a new tomb around 1160, as the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés was eager to visually display its long-running ties to the French monarchy.[61] In both cases, the innovative medium of figural slabs worked to produce a version of history desired by their patrons to foster their own prestige. Where claims to power were uncontested, effigies were not yet installed on tombs.

Fozi's conclusions are based on German and French examples, but they seem to offer the appropriate framework in which to consider the funerary images of San Isidoro. It cannot be stressed enough that Iberia was part of wider European networks, even though scholarly literature does not always acknowledge it. The burial practices of the Castilian-Leonese monarchies are often said to be idiosyncratic.[62] The argument can be sustained because these kingdoms never developed a centralised pantheon akin to Saint-Denis or Westminster, instead opting for individualised royal cemeteries.[63] However, rather than presenting legitimate conclusions, this strand of inquiry builds upon and reproduces the paradigm which animated much of historical research about Iberia in the twentieth century: that Spain was different.[64] In recent years, scholars have begun to dispute this isolationist principle. As a result, much has been revealed about exchanges across the Pyrenees in the domain of funerary cultures. Writing about the Isidorian pantheon, Rose Walker has emphasised the importance of masses said at Cluny in the memory of Fernando I for the meaning of its pictorial cycle.[65] This demonstrates that, in order to understand Iberian ceremonials surrounding royal death in relation to foreign examples, they should be viewed with a lens more ample than one focused solely on the geographical distribution of tombs. The use of chiselled images of some of the deceased monarchs on their sarcophagi at San Isidoro is but one manifestation of these international connections.

Those among the Isidorian deceased who, evidence suggests, were given effigies seem to have been selected according to the criteria illuminated by Fozi. By the thirteenth century, Bermudo II, Elvira Menédez, Jímena Sánchez, García Sánchez, Sancho III, and García II had been dead for around two hundred years. Apart from Bermudo II and García II, none of them was well documented in the Leonese chronicles, and in all probability, the living did not have more than rudimentary knowledge of their deeds. The chronological distance was insurmountable, as it was in the case of Fredegund, albeit by a few centuries less. Moreover, García II had died in

57 Fozi, *Romanesque Tomb Effigies*, p. 10
58 Fozi, *Romanesque Tomb Effigies*, p. 4.
59 Fozi, *Romanesque Tomb Effigies*, pp. 39-41, 71-77.
60 Fozi, *Romanesque Tomb Effigies*, pp. 39-41.
61 Fozi, *Romanesque Tomb Effigies*, pp. 72-77.
62 Xavier Dectot, *Les Tombeaux des Familles Royales de la Péninsule Ibérique au Moyen Âge*, Histoires de famille. La parenté au Moyen Âge, 7 (Turnout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 8-9.
63 Dectot, *Les Tombeaux*, p. 250.
64 Alex Novikoff, 'Between Tolerance and Intolerance in Medieval Spain: An Historiographic Enigma', *Medieval Encounters*, 11/1-2 (2005), 7-36 (pp. 18-24).
65 Rose Walker, 'The Wall Paintings in the Panteón de los reyes at León: A Cycle of Intercession', *The Art Bulletin*, 82/2 (2000), 200-25.

disgrace, imprisoned by his brother Alfonso VI.[66] In many ways, his failure closely resembled the fiasco suffered by Rudolf of Swabia. His fate was visualised in his effigy, as described by de Morales: 'He is drawn with his shackle on his neck, and with chains which fall from there to the shoulders, and then go down to the fetters'.[67] These various levels of detachment, be it temporal or in terms of social status, were reframed by the funerary images. The figural representations rendered the bodies of the dead in question more immediately present, and thus more amenable to being recast to suit the needs of the living.

The similarities in the design of the extant effigy fragments suggest that the usefulness of these cadavers was collective rather than individual. In the slabs of García Sánchez, Sancho III, and Bermudo II, the outlines were engraved, whereas the image of Elvira Menédez was made into a relief through the carving out of the background. No attempt at visual resemblance to the historical figures was made, as all the depictions are based on the same motifs and tropes. The queen, the Castilian count, and the Pamplonese king each wear three-pointed crowns of nearly identical shape, but with various ornaments. That of Sancho III is the most complex (Fig. 1). It rests upon a circlet composed of three bands, the middle one being much wider than those enclosing it. Each prong terminates in a ball, the surface of which is covered with small holes evoking precious stones. Analogous pitted dots and engraved ovals decorate the body of the crown. The headgear gracing the visage of García Sánchez contains fewer contoured adornments, but it is also supported by a tripartite circlet. Its points are capped with fleurs-de-lys, as are those of Elvira Menédez's crown. Her queenly attribute is furnished as richly as Sancho III's, save for the lacking bottom ring of the circlet. Since the fragment with the upper portion of her head is all which that remains of her effigy, it is not possible to provide a definitive answer as to what robes she was depicted in. One can speculate, however, that they were the female equivalent of the attire donned by Sancho III. His tunic, fitted throughout his upper body, is embellished with chiselled shapes evoking gems at the collar and at the cuffs. The piece representing his lower body is missing. A sword in his right hand and a cross in his left, both held upright, complete his regalia. García Sánchez, whose figure survives almost in its entirety, is also dressed in a tunic, with a mantle draped over his shoulders. His arms are bent at the elbows. His left hand holds a sceptre surmounted by a fleur-de-lys, whereas his right hand is clenched, with the index finger pointing upwards.

The pieces of the tomb of Bermudo II, when compared with the others, can provide insight into the overall artistic schemes chosen for the Isidorian figural slabs. Only a very small part of his head is extant, barely enough to glimpse the single-band circlet of the crown. A prong is also visible, terminating in a ball dotted with minute holes; it mirrors that on Sancho III's headgear. I therefore suspect that this prong design might have been used to denote male monarchs. Another standard kingly marker seems to have been the cross, for Bermudo II displays a small fragment of the Christian symbol to his left, again exactly like Sancho III does. It is my belief that he once carried a sword in his right hand as well. Although no trace is left of the upper part of the Leonese ruler's figure, one might infer that he, too, wore a tunic, especially as his lower body is dressed in loosely flowing fabric. In turn, I imagine the missing extension of Sancho's robe to have been like Bermudo's. It is a fortunate coincidence that these effigies survive in complementary pieces. Had

66 G. T. Northup, 'The Imprisonment of King Garcia', *Modern Philology*, 17 (1919), 97-115.

67 *Está debujado con su argolla al cuello, y cadena que desciende de alli à las esposas, y baja à los grillos*; de Morales, *Viage de Ambrosio*, p. 44.

✦ Fig. 1
Sepulchral effigy of Sancho III of Navarre, first half of the thirteenth century. León, Museo de León (Photo: © Museo de León).

García II not perished in disgrace, I would suggest that in his effigy he was dressed similarly and bore the same regalia as his kingly kin: a crown with three ball points, a cross, and a blade. But his was a special case, and the shackles described by de Morales preclude this possibility.

The standardisation in the appearance of the effigies of San Isidoro becomes more apparent when considered alongside the funerary slab of Adelaide of Maurienne, wife of Louis VI of France, at Saint-Pierre of Montmartre in Paris. Adelaide's tomb was created soon after her death in 1154,[68] and so at least seventy years before the Leonese figural sepulchres. The surface of the stone has been damaged, and the effigy is no longer very clear. One can still discern, however, the chiselled shape, the queen's three-pointed crown, her draped tunic, her right palm extended frontally at the hight of her chest. The main difference from the Isidorian effigies lies in the variable width of the engraved lines, with the contour of the shoulders being significantly thicker than the creases in the fabric. Nor does Adelaide's slab possess an epitaph. Despite these divergences, it approximates the style of the funerary images of San Isidoro. Katherine Nolan argues that it was highly unusual, modelled on contemporary sepulchres created for venerable members of the French royal family, such as Fredegund.[69] In this light, its visual resemblance to the Isidorian effigies is of great importance. It should be noted that Adelaide was a cousin of Alfonso VII of León and Castile, which makes the connection all the more plausible.

Taken together, Nolan's and Fozi's observations, the accounts of de Morales and Risco, and the fragments of the Leonese effigies seem to imply that, with the exception of García II's tomb, the only figurative graves in the pantheon of San Isidoro were placed in the first row, housing the most ancient remains. Their use was limited to encasing the bodies of members of the royal family who were of no great relevance for the history of the complex or León. The prominent individuals had sepulchres with inscriptions and no images. These are Alfonso V, the initiator of the first centralised Leonese pantheon; Bermudo III, the last king of León from the Asturian line; and Sancha of León, who cosponsored the translation of the body of St Isidore. Following this logic, the tomb of Fernando I, the other cofounder of San Isidoro in its current form, probably had no effigy, while figural representations were likely placed on the sepulchres of Elvira García, Isabel, and Zaida. I conjecture that the images of these queens would have resembled the chiselled depiction of Elvira Menédez. The individuals in the second row were either too significant or too recently deceased to be confined to sarcophagi with effigies, which in this period were a manner of collectively commemorating the dead.

For a viewer in the twenty-first century, this might seem counterintuitive. But, as Stephen Perkinson has noted, the idea of resemblance was not rooted in visual mimesis before the late thirteenth century.[70] Indeed, the external appearance of a person, the *species*, was not seen to be indicative of their true essence.[71] Words, on the other hand, could capture and reflect one's

68 Fozi, *Romanesque Tomb Effigies*, p. 76.

69 Kathleen Nolan, 'The Tomb of Adelaide of Maurienne and the Visual Imagery of Capetian Queenship', in *Capetian Women*, ed. by Kathleen Nolan, The New Middle Ages (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 45-76 (pp. 53-55).

70 Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King. A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 23-24.

71 Pierre Michaud-Quantin, *Études sur le vocabulaire philosophique du Moyen Âge* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1970), pp. 113-50.

innermost nature with great accuracy, a sentiment traceable back to St Augustine.[72] That standardised images were carved on the graves of the inconsequential and inscriptions were given to the singular dead is coherent with this philosophical stance.

A case in point is the verse epitaph of Sancha Raimúndez, concealed between the lines of her prose inscription, which it predates.[73] It praises the infanta, enumerating her greatest attributes:

> Mirror of Iberia, pride of the globe, glory of the kingdom, acme of justice and summit of devotion. Oh Sancha, famed for merits throughout the vast globe. Alas! You have been enclosed in a paltry tomb. The sun had completed six hundred years twice minus three when this pious one surrendered. It was end of February.[74]

The laudatory words seem to have been written especially for Sancha Raimúndez. Although the epitaph exhibits some lexicological parallels with the poems on the lost tombs of Infanta Elvira, Infanta Urraca, and Urraca I, and uses a similarly convoluted formula for providing the date of her death,[75] it contributes details about the deceased. She is their sole protagonist, and the narrator laments her death. Through the eulogistic epithets, the reader is informed that her passing must have represented a great loss to the world and León. She is described not as an anonymous deceased, one among many, but as a special individual; she is commemorated by herself. This does not mean that the epitaph is truthful and accurate, merely that it functions as such to enact the persistence of the infanta's body politic. An effigy composed of stock elements could not have achieved such a heightened sense of Sancha's personhood.

The funerary images stood in stark contrast not only to the inscribed slabs but also to other containers for storing dead matter at San Isidoro: a collection of reliquary caskets made in the second half of the eleventh century. These were kept closed and their contents concealed, wrapped in luxurious Andalusi textiles.[76] One, a wooden box with ivory panels representing the Apostles, encased the bones of St John the Baptist and St Pelayo. The remains of St Isidore, on the other hand, were contained in a wooden chest with a revetment in gilded silver. Their holy bones could not be seen. Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the visibility of relics within Western Christianity would progressively increase, be it through the manipulation of elaborate shapes or through the use of transparent materials such as glass and rock crystal.[77] This enhanced emphasis on the visual aspect of saintly remains coincided with the greater mimetic verisimilitude desired by patrons across Europe for their tomb effigies.[78] These parallels between the modes of displaying relics and of preserving affluent bodies is yet another manifestation of their interconnectedness.

72 Perkinson, *The Likeness*, p. 39.

73 Suárez González, '¿Del Pergamino a la Piedra?', p. 393.

74 *perie speculum, decus orbis, gloria regni, iusticie cvlmen et pietatis apex. Sancia pro meritis inmensvm nota per orbem. Pro dolor! Exigvo clavderis in tvmvlo. Sol bis sexcentos demtis tri[b]vs egerat annos cvm pia svbcvbvit. Finis erat febrvarii.* Transcribed in Suárez González, '¿Del Pergamino a la Piedra?', p. 393.

75 Sánchez Ameijeiras, 'The Eventful Life', pp. 487-88.

76 Therese Martin, 'Beyond the Treasury of San Isidoro: A Tale of Two Projects', in *The Medieval Iberian Treasury in the Context of Cultural Interchange*, ed. by Therese Martin (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 1-22.

77 Martina Bagnoli, 'The Stuff of Heaven: Material Complexity and Divine Craftsmanship in Medieval Reliquaries', in *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Martina Bagnoli, Holger A. Klein, C. Griffith Mann and James Robinson (London: British Museum Press, 2010), pp. 137-45.

78 Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), pp. 71-106.

I do not intend to represent monarchical tombs as analogous to saints' shrines, but a shared language within the two areas of commemorative practices could be reasonably expected. The new Leonese effigies were more visually suggestive of what was inhumed therein, as compared to the earlier slabs whose decoration relied on the written word. The images centred the emphasis on the cadavers, used collectively as material stuff for writing a new history for León. No attempt was yet made to reveal the bodies natural, assumed to be interred beneath the effigies, for the stone walls of the sarcophagi did not permit the living to empirically grasp the presence of the bones inside. Nonetheless, they gained a more physical, material dimension owing to the chiselled outlines. It could perhaps be said that the divide between the body natural and the body politic was less pronounced in the figural sepulchres than in those lacking images. Such a conclusion has a significant bearing on the controversial question of sacred rulership in medieval Iberia. If a dead monarch was as double-bodied as a living one, new avenues of research could open for pursuing studies of sovereignty across the boundary of death, contributing an ontological approach in addition to the usual epistemological line of inquiry centred around rituals.

In short, considering that the Leonese pantheon began with reburials, it is exceptionally well suited to analysing the interdependence of the body and its encasing. One cannot hope to examine how justified the associations between the cadavers and their ascribed identities were, but the sepulchres cemented them successfully enough that they continue to prevail. Ernst Kantorowicz's framework of the king's two bodies – the body natural and the body politic – has allowed me to make a first foray into this perplexing problem.

Table 1
List of the members of the royal family of León and León-Castile
buried in named tombs at San Isidoro, by date of death

Name	Date of death	Position in life	Familial ties	Position of the tomb	Presence of effigy on the tomb	Survival of the tomb
Bermudo II	999	king of León	son of Ordoño III	first row	yes	yes
Elvira García	1017	queen consort of León	wife of Bermudo II	first row	unknown	No
Elvira Menédez	1022	queen consort of León	wife of Alfonso V	first row	yes	yes
Alfonso V	1028	king of León	son of Bermudo II and Elvira García	first row	No	yes
Bermudo III	1037	king of León	son of Alfonso V and Elvira Menédez	first row	No	yes
Jímena Sánchez	unknown	queen consort of León	wife of Bermudo III	first row	yes	No

García Sánchez	1029	count of Castile	fiancé of Sancha of León	by the altar	yes	yes
Sancho III	1037	king of Pamplona, count consort of Castille	father of Fernando I	first row	yes	yes
Fernando I	1067	king of León	husband of Sancha of León	first row	unknown	no
Sancha of León	1067	queen consort of León	wife of Fernando I, daughter of Alfonso V and Elvira Menédez	first row	No	yes
García II	1069	king of Galicia	son of Fernando I and Sancha of León	second row	yes	no
Elvira	1099	infanta	daughter of Fernando I and Sancha of León	second row	unknown	no
Urraca	1101	infanta	daughter of Fernando I and Sancha of León	second row	unknown	no
Isabel	1107	queen consort of León, Castile, and Galicia	wife of Alfonso VI	first row	unknown	no
Zaida	unknown	queen consort of León, Castile, and Galicia	wife of Alfonso VI	first row	unknown	no
Urraca I	1126	queen of León	daughter of Alfonso VI	second row	unknown	no
Sancha Raimúndez	1159	infanta	daughter of Urraca I	second row	no	yes
Estafania	1180	infanta	daughter of Alfonso VII	second row	unknown	no
Teresa	1180	queen consort of León	wife of Fernando II	second row	unknown	yes
García	1183		son of Fernando II	not included	no	yes
Fernando	1187	infante	son of Fernando II and Teresa	second row	unknown	no
Leonor	1203	infanta	granddaughter of Fernando II	second row	unknown	no
María	1235	infanta	great-grand-daughter of Fernando II	second row	unknown	no

Bibliography

Primary sources

Historia Silense, ed. by Francisco Santos Coco (Madrid: Sucesores de Rovadeneyra, 1921)

Lucas of Túy, *Chronicon mundi*, ed. by Emma Falque Rey, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 74 (Brepols: Turnhout, 2003).

Secondary sources

Alonso Álvarez, Raquel, 'Los enterramientos de los reyes de León y Castilla hasta Sancho IV', *e-Spania* (2007), <https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.109>

Bagnoli, Martina, 'The Stuff of Heaven: Material Complexity and Divine Craftsmanship in Medieval Reliquaries', in *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Martina Bagnoli, Holger A. Klein, C. Griffith Mann and James Robinson (London: British Museum Press, 2010), pp. 137-45.

Barton, Simon, and Richard A. Fletcher, *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*, Manchester Medieval Sources (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

Binski, Paul, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996).

Boto Varela, Gerardo, 'Sobre reyes y tumbas en la catedral de León. Discursos visuals de poder politico y honra sacra', in *Congreso Internacional 'La Catedral de León en la Edad Media',* ed. by Joaquín Yarza Luaces, María Victoria Herráez Ortega and Gerardo Boto Varela (León: Universidad de León, 2004), pp. 305-65.

Brown, Elizabeth A. R., 'Death and the Human Body in the Later Middle Ages: The legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse', *Viator*, 12 (1981), 221-70.

Dectot, Xavier, *Les Tombeaux des Familles Royales de la Péninsule Ibérique au Moyen Âge*, Histoires de famille. La parenté au Moyen Âge, 7 (Turnout: Brepols, 2009).

Durán Gudiol, Antonio, 'Las inscripciones medievales de la provincia de Huesca', *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón,* 8 (1967), 45-154.

Edouard, Sylvène, 'Enquête hagiographique et mythification historique. Le "saint voyage" d'Ambrosio de Morales (1572)', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez,* 33/2 (2003), 33-60.

Freeman, Charles, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

Fozi, Shirin, *Romanesque Tomb Effigies. Death and Redemption in Medieval Europe, 1000–1200* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021).

García Martínez, Aida, 'El Panteón de San Isidoro de León: cuestión y crítica historiográfica', *Anuario de Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, 16 (2004), 9-16.

Geary, Patrick J., *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

Gil Pulido, José Ignacio, 'Los Epitafios de los Reyes de San Isidoro de León (999-1159). Problemas históricos', in *Santo Martino de León. Ponencias del I Congreso Internacional sobre Santo Martino en el VIII centenario de su obra literaria: 1185-1985*, ed. by Antonio Viñayo (León: Isidoriana, 1987), pp. 399-412.

Hidalgo-Argüello, M. R., N. Díez Baños, J. Fegeneda Grandes, and E. Prada Marcos, 'Parasitological Analysis of Leonese Royalty from Collegiate-Basilica of St. Isidoro, León (Spain): Helminths, Protozoa, and Mites', *The Journal of Parasitology*, 89/4 (2003), 738-43.

Jussen, Bernard, 'The King's Two Bodies Today', *Representations*, 106/1 (2008), 102-17

Kantorowicz, Ernst, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957; repr. 2016).

Martin, Therese, 'Beyond the Treasury of San Isidoro: A Tale of Two Projects', in *The Medieval Iberian Treasury in the Context of Cultural Interchange*, ed. by Therese Martin (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 1-22.

Martin, Therese, *Queen as King: Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain*, The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, 30 (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

Michaud-Quantin, Pierre, *Études sur le vocabulaire philosophique du Moyen Âge* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1970).

de Morales, Ambrosio, *Los Cinco Libros Postreros de la Coronica General de España*, (Córdoba: Gabriel Ramos Bejarano, 1586).

de Morales, Ambrosio, *Viage de Ambrosio de Morales por orden del rey D. Phelipe II a los reynos de León, y Galicia, y Principado de Asturias…*, ed. by Henrique Flórez (Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1765).

Morris, Colin, 'A Critique of Popular Religion: Guibert of Nogent on *The Relics of the Saints*', *Studies in Church History,* 8 (1972), 55-60.

Nolan, Kathleen, 'The Tomb of Adelaide of Maurienne and the Visual Imagery of Capetian Queenship', in *Capetian Women*, ed. by Kathleen Nolan, The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 45-76.

Northup, G. T., 'The Imprisonment of King Garcia', *Modern Philology*, 17 (1919), 97-115.

Novikoff, Alex, 'Between Tolerance and Intolerance in Medieval Spain: An Historiographic Enigma', *Medieval Encounters*, 11/1-2 (2005), 7-36.

Pérez Gónzalez, Maurillo 'Las inscripciones medievales latinas de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León. Estudio lingüístico', in *Santo Martino de León. Ponencias del I Congreso Internacional sobre Santo Martino en el VIII centenario de su obra literaria: 1185-1985*, ed. by Antonio Viñayo (León: Isidoriana, 1987), pp. 422-28.

Pérez Llamazares, Julio, *Historia de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, de León* (León: Nebrija, 1927).

Pérez Llamazares, Julio, 'Panteones Reales Leoneses', *Hidalguía*, 2 (1953), 341-56.

Perkinson, Stephen, *The Likeness of the King. A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

Prada Marcos María Encina, 'La antropología al servicio de la historia: un caso real. Estudio antropológico del Panteón Real de San Isidoro', *ProMonumenta*, 2 (1998), 12-26.

Reilly, Bernard F., 'Bishop Lucas of Túy and the Latin Chronicle Tradition in Iberia', *Catholic Historical Review*, 93/4 (2007), 767-88.

Risco, Manuel, *Iglesia de León, Monasterios Antiguos y Modernos de la Misma Ciudad* (Madrid: Oficina de Don Blas Román, 1792).

Sánchez Ameijeiras, Rocío, 'The Eventful Life of the Royal Tombs of San Isidoro in León', in *Church, State, Vellum, and Stone. Essays on Medieval Spain in Honor of John Williams*, ed. by Therese Martin and Julie A. Harris, The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, 26 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 479-555.

Silva Maroto, María Pilar, 'El Monasterio de Oña en tiempos de los Reyes Católicos', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 47/186 (1974), 109-28.

Suárez González, Ana, '¿Del Pergamino a la Piedra? ¿De la Piedra al Pergamino? Entre Diplomas, Obituarios y Epitafios Medievales de San Isidoro de León', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 33/1 (2003), 365-415.

Walker, Rose, 'The Wall Paintings in the Panteón de los reyes at León: A Cycle of Intercession', *The Art Bulletin*, 82/2 (2000), 200-25.

Zabalza Duque, Manuel, 'Sepultus est: Oña y León: la tumba del rey Sancho III el Mayor', in *Recuerdos literarios en honor a un gran historiador de Castilla Gonzalo Martínez Díez (1924-2015)*, ed. by José Ignacio Ruiz Rodríguez and Félix Javier Martínez Llorente (Madrid: Dykinson, 2016), pp. 401-17.

SOFÍA FERNÁNDEZ POZZO

The Presence and Propaganda of Jaime the Conqueror of Aragon (r. 1213-76) in the *Llibre dels Fets*
The Image, Action, and Rhetoric of a King

What makes a king a king at the levels of image, action, and language? What may first come to mind is the pageantry of the coronation, as well as the sombre celebration of the royal exequies. Both are key moments in a monarch's life, marking the beginning and the end of a reign.[1] But between these two poles, what visual and performative practices make a king recognizable? Reflecting on this question, this essay investigates the *Llibre dels Fets* of Jaime I and its narration of different moments in the life of the Aragonese king, the so-called Conqueror.[2] My analysis of the chronicle centres on the actions and events meant to signal the presence of the king to the reader/listener.[3]

Chronicles always prove to be compelling sources since so much information can be drawn from them regarding a king's life. Yet, when we open the cover of an autobiographical text written in the first person, it can be argued that we are opening a door to the personal and individual thoughts of the author. The *Llibre* is one such document. This remarkable text communicates the sovereign's political, moral, and Christian beliefs in an idiosyncratic way. Chief among these was Jaime's view that God had given him the charisma and strength to do what he wanted him to do – and with more determination than any previous king of the Crown of Aragon.[4] The *Llibre* captures this idea through its accounts of Jaime's consistent boldness, certainty, and resolve in his actions.[5] The king dictated the autobiography at two distinct moments, in 1244 and 1274.[6] With this project, he aimed not only to leave a written record of the spiritual benefits that God had granted him but also to offer all the world's kings a manual of exemplary

1 Marta Serrano Coll, *Jaime I el Conquistador. Imágenes medievales de un reinado* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2008), p. 13.

2 Hereafter referred to as the *Llibre*. The English translations are drawn from: *The Book of Deeds of James I of Aragon. A Translation of the Medieval Catalan 'Llibre dels Fets'*, ed. by Damian Smith and Helena Buffery (Farnham: Ashgate, 2003).

3 On the possibility that the *Llibre dels Fets* was conceived to be read aloud, see Manuel Alejandro Rodriguez de la Peña, 'Mecenas, trovadores, bibliófilos y cronistas: los reyes de Aragón del Casal de Barcelona y la sabiduría (1162-1410)', *Revista chilena de Estudios Medievales*, 2 (July-December 2012), 81-120 (p. 95).

4 For an overview of Jaime I's spirituality, see Stefano Cingolani, 'Jaume I fou un rei piadós?', *Catalonia*, 5 (2008), pp. 1-13; Robert I. Burns, 'The Spiritual Life of James the Conqueror King of Arago-Catalonia, 1208-1276. Portrait and Self-Portrait', *Catholic Historical Review*, 1/62 (January 1976), 1-137.

5 Jose Luis Villacañas Berlanga, 'Jaume el rey que forjó la España plural', *Cervantes Virtual*, http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/portales/jaume_i_el_llibre_dels_fets/jaume_i/.

6 Ramón Ferrer Navarro, *Una aproximación a la Crónica de Jaime I* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana. Conselleria de Cultura i Esport, 2008), p. 10.

 DOI 10.1484/M.HMSAH-EB.5.135014. This is an open access chapter made available under a CC BY-NC 4.0 International License.

rulership. Indeed, he intended for this narrative of his deeds to be transmitted to his successors and used as a behavioural model.[7]

Jaime's reign, and his vision for what the Crown of Aragon could become, laid the groundwork for territorial and commercial expansion on the Iberian Peninsula and into the Mediterranean. The related shift in territorial interests away from the Midi region was a clear consequence of the disaster that the Battle of Muret (1213) represented for the Crown.[8] Jaime's focus, and that of his descendants, would fall on the western Mediterranean.[9] These circumstances arose from a mindset that Jaime recorded for posterity in his chronicle, a unique autobiographical text 'written' by a conquering Christian king.[10]

Jaime's Ideals as Reflected in the Llibre dels Fets

The importance of the *Llibre* can hardly be understated, being completely unparalleled in thirteenth-century Europe and the first of its kind to be left by a king of the Crown of Aragon.[11] Though the oldest manuscript that has come down to us dates to 1343, the first composition can presumably be dated to around 1240.[12] By that time, Jaime had already conquered Mallorca and Valencia. The decision to undertake this autobiographical project reflected his awareness of the historical significance of these accomplishments and their worthiness to be recorded in writing. Some thirty years later, around 1270, he wrote the second part, in which he re-elaborated and, finally, finished his literary work.

The *Llibre* begins with a direct explanation of why Jaime wished to write this literary piece:

> And so that, when we will have passed this mortal life, the people may recognize and know the deeds that we have done with the help of the powerful Lord, in whom is the true Trinity, we leave this book as a record for those who might wish to hear of the mercies that our Lord has shown us and to give an example to all the other people of this world, so they should do as we have done: to place their faith in this Lord Who is so powerful.[13]

This prologue clearly reveals the impetus for the project to be, above all, to ensure that Jaime be remembered as an exemplum of a faithful and God-driven king, the fundamental objective

7 Rodríguez de la Peña, 'Mecenas, trovadores, bibliófilos', p. 95; *Book of Deeds*, pp. 7-9.

8 Jaume Aurell, *Authoring the Past: History, Autobiography, and Politics in Medieval Catalonia* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012), p. 40.

9 Juan F. Utrilla, 'Jaime I (1213-1276) y Aragón: Aspectos más sobresalientes de un reinado', in *El rei Jaume I. Fets, actes i paraules*, ed. by Germà Colón Domènech and Tomàs Martínez Romero (Barcelona: Publicaciones de la Abadia de Montserrat, 2008), p. 53.

10 Aurell, *Authoring the Past*, p. 40.

11 Other first-person texts were in circulation at this time, such as the poem by Ulrich von Liechtenstein, a German nobleman and troubadour. Jaime's is still the only royal example to have survived. For one of Ulrich's poems, see Ulrich von Liechtenstein, *The Service of Ladies*, trans. by J. W. Thomas (London: Boydell and Brewer, 2004).

12 *La Guerra contra al-Azraq segons el Llibre dels Fets* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2005), p. 9. This manuscript was created under Pedro IV the Ceremonious, demonstrating this king's interest in carrying on his great-grandfather's memory and binding himself with this prominent legacy.

13 *Book of Deeds*, prologue.

of his life being to affirm his Christian faith through his deeds and to leave a remarkable record that could serve as a model for others.[14] After this compelling opening, these ideas are developed further:

> Of you it is possible to say the same thing as did the Father when He sent Our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, to a mountain called *Excelsis*. Because our Lord, Son of God, and Moses and Elias and St. Peter were there. And St. Peter said: 'It would be very fitting that we made here three places for tabernacles, the first for our Lord Jesus Christ, the other for Moses, the other for Elias'. And immediately a great clap of thunder came from Heaven and all fell to the ground, and when they had fallen, then they all arose full of fear, and the cloud came from heaven and said: *Ecce, Filius Meus dilectus, qui in corde Meo placuit.* The same may be said of you, that you are the son of our Lord, as such time, you wish to pursue the enemies of the Faith and the cross. And I have faith in Him that, for this good proposal that you have, you will come into the celestial kingdom.[15]

Jaime pursued the enemies of the Christian faith and was a blind follower of the 'true religion' and of the Messiah, a combination that rendered him an unstoppable force. The king goes on to portray himself as the saviour of Christianity, waging war against those who opposed the Cross and thereby granting himself a place in the celestial kingdom. Moreover, the chronicle makes evident that Jaime passes the following notions on to his son Pedro the Great:

> firstly how Our Lord had honoured me in this world especially over my enemies, and how He had me reign in His service more than 60 years, longer than in the memory of man any king since David and Solomon had reigned; how I had loved the Holy Church during that length of time; and farther how I have had the love and affection of all my people, and had been honoured by them.[16]

Jaime's self-comparison to the figures of King David and King Solomon, especially the latter, is rooted in a long medieval tradition in which royals sought to promote their well-rounded approach to leadership. As noted in the *Book of Kings*, an association with Solomon emphasized a king's efforts to govern his people with wisdom, meaning an ability to differentiate between good and evil and to conduct oneself without concern for earthly riches.[17] In the passage quoted above, Jaime compares himself with those biblical kings in terms of the longevity of his reign, considering himself to be blessed by God just as his Old Testament predecessors had been. From this understanding of his role vis-à-vis these historical precedents, Jaime did not simply seek to reinforce his connection to this righteous and powerful lineage but in fact conceived of his actions as advancing that lineage.

14 Aurell, *Authoring the Past*, p. 45.
15 *Book of Deeds*, chap. 53.
16 *Book of Deeds*, chap. 562.
17 *Book of Kings* 3:9-13. Allegra Iafrate, *The Wandering Throne of Solomon: Objects and Tales of Kingship in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), p. 215.

The King's Image

Of all the kings of the Crown of Aragon, Jaime I appears to have been the most frequently represented. These images, while taking a diversity of forms, are for the most part retrospective, the majority having been made on the initiative of Pedro the Ceremonious (r. 1336-87), who was deeply interested in the figure of his great-grandfather.[18] Through such commissions promoting the ideal of kingship that Jaime had elaborated in the *Llibre*, Pedro manifested his desire to be associated with the Conqueror's values.[19]

Notable in the *Llibre* are Jaime I's recurring references to his seals, whereby he indicates their importance:

> They took a decision: that in our name and with the new seal that they had minted for us, we should convoke the *Cort* of the Catalans and the Aragonese in Lleida. The archbishop, the bishops, the abbots, and the nobles of each of the kingdoms would attend the *Cort*, and from each city, there would be 10 men, with the authority of the other men, who would fulfil whatever was decided there. All of them came on the day of the *Cort* […] and there they all swore to us that they would defend our body and our members and our land and that they would defend us in all things and above all things.[20]

In this passage, Jaime stresses the crucial role of the seal in the royal ministry ('with the new seal […] we should convoke the *Cort*') and characterizes it as a visual indicator of power. Through the ruler's representation, the seal embodied royal authority, a function attested in the *Partidas* of the Castilian king Alfonso X the Wise (r. 1252-84), Jaime's son-in-law: 'the king's image, like his seal, on which his figure is present, evokes him when he is not there'.[21] Jaime I understood the symbolic relevance of the seal and reshaped its design to include a star near his equestrian image (Fig. 3). It can be assumed that this element alluded to Jaime's devotion to the Virgin Mary. By deliberately opting to display her symbol, the king sought to emphasize her guiding role in his campaigns against the Muslims.[22]

Royal seals are also mentioned in the description of the conquest of the Balearic Islands in chapter 123 of the *Llibre*, in the context of a conversation with some messengers who had just arrived from Menorca:

> And we said to them that the pact that our men had made with them greatly pleased us; and we ordered letters to be drawn up, with my seal, which I gave them, acknowledging them as subjects of me and of my successors for all time to come, they in return agreeing to pay the stipulated tribute to me and to mine forever after.[23]

18 Serrano Coll, *Jaime I el Conquistador*, p. 7.

19 Carmen Morte García, 'La representación del rey en la Corona de Aragón', in *La Corona de Aragón*, ed. by Ernest Belenguer and Felipe V. Garín (Barcelona: Acción Cultura Española, 2006), p. 56.

20 *Book of Deeds*, chap. 11.

21 Serrano Coll, *Effigies Regis Aragonum*, p. 57.

22 Serrano Coll, *Effigies Regis Aragonum*, pp. 70-71. Marta Serrano Coll has also argued for the star as a symbol first introduced by Jaime I on regal seals to evoke the prophecies of Isaiah, the *Book of Daniel*, and the *Book of Revelation*. For a full discussion on the matter, see Serrano Coll, 'James I of Aragon (1213-1276)', *Encyclopedia of Medieval Royal Iconography*, 1/4 (2021), ed. by Mirko Vagnoni, https://doi.org/10.3390/encyclopedia1040092.

23 *Book of Deeds*, chap. 123.

✦ Fig. 1
Vidal Mayor. Ms Ludwig XIV 6, fol. 232v (detail), mid-thirteenth century. J. Paul Getty Museum. (Photo: © https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105WE8).

Jaime demands that the messengers express their vassalage to him as the Aragonese king in the form of letters that were closed with his seal. His image on these letters thus acts as proof of an enforceable contract whereby those holding the letters promise loyalty; the seal becomes a visual and literary medium supporting Jaime's authority.

The King's Surroundings

In various religious, political, and social settings during the Middle Ages, art served to communicate messages in profound and intricate ways. When it came to royalty, however, figurative images were tasked with meeting additional requirements in terms of transmitting messages within certain mise-en-scènes and protocols. This unique way of communicating through the king's body and its surroundings enabled the onlooker to immediately sense the importance and presence of the depicted, who thus assumed unquestionable symbolic control of the space. This authority was conveyed in part through the ruler's surroundings.

The *Llibre* places an emphasis on several circumstances in which Jaime's authority was transmitted by means other than figurative images. One of them pertains to the king's use of speechmaking to evince his power before the *Cortes*:

> And on the day fixed for the meeting of the *Cortes*, the archbishop of Tarragona, the bishops and the nobles came to Barcelona, and the day after they all met in the palace built by the Count of Barcelona. And when they were all before me, I began my discourse in this manner: '*Illumina cor meun, Domine [et verba mea de] Espiritu Sancto*. Wherefore I beseech my Lord God and the Virgin Saint Mary, His mother, that I may speak words to my honour, and to the honour of you who listen, and that they be pleasing to God and to His mother our lady Saint Mary; for I would speak of good works. May it please Him that I can bring the said words to performance'.[24]

Not only did Jaime speak in front of the *Cortes*, but he did so in his own honour, praising his good deeds. The content of the speech demonstrates the importance of sacrality and reminds us that royalty saw itself as enjoying a closer relationship to divinity than did the laity; moreover, as he had done by adding the Marian star to his seals, Jaime points to his Marian devotion, stressing that his words would please the mother of God as well.[25] To understand the weight of Jaime's act of speechmaking, one must bear in mind that the king was mandated to begin with a programmatic discourse about the reasons he had ordered the *Cortes* to assemble.[26] This moment was therefore one of major symbolic significance.

In general, Aragonese kings adopted the *forma sermonis* of popes, bishops, monks, and friars when preaching about the crusade in their speeches before the *Cortes*.[27] This praxis evolved in such a way and so efficiently that, in his *On the Sins of Kings* (1341-44), Alvarus Pelagius, the bishop of Silves, denounced that 'kings usurp the priestly office, by using incense and by preaching'.[28] The fact that the *Cortes* was often held in religious spaces, such as monasteries and even cathedrals, helps elucidate why the clergy understood these 'political sermons' to be infringements on their jurisdiction. Indeed, Bishop Pelagius viewed and experienced them exactly as the Aragonese kings intended: as a strategy of asserting power by claiming proximity to God without the mediation of the religious arm. All of this contributed to the creation of an image of the king as a spiritual leader.[29]

Alongside the importance assigned to royal preaching as a political tool, the *Llibre* also enables us to reconstruct the symbolic framework of the king's body. There are many relevant examples in which the king enters into contact with cities and military camps. In one such occurrence, Jaime explains how, upon entering the military camp in Pantaleu, 'Guillem de Moncada, Ramon de Moncada, and other knights with them came to greet and welcome me. I dismounted and went towards them on foot'.[30] Here the king shows himself in a more

24 *Book of Deeds*, chap. 48.
25 Serrano Coll, 'James I of Aragon'.
26 Esteban Sarasa Sánchez, *Las cortes de Aragón en la Edad Media* (Zaragoza: Güara editera, 1979), p. 1.
27 For more on the relevance of royal sermons in the Crown of Aragon, see Suzanne Cawsey, *Kingship and Propaganda: Royal Eloquence and the Crown of Aragon 1200-1450* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), pp. 35-72.
28 Cawsey, *Kingship and Propaganda*, p. 52.
29 This argument is further contextualized in my doctoral thesis. I examine the exchanges of symbolic connotations between royalty and the clergy in the celebration of the *Cortes* within religious spaces, which I argue transformed the symbolism of the king from that of a political figure to one with both political and religious meaning. Though this hypothesis has been engaged by Marta Serrano Coll for the case of King Pedro the Ceremonious, my approach focuses on the earlier reigns of the dynasty, in which the enactment of *rex et sacerdos* laid a groundwork for the reign of the Ceremonious. For more on this, see Serrano Coll, 'Rex et Sacerdos: A Veiled Ideal of Kingship? Representing Priestly Kings in Medieval Iberia', in *Political Theology in Medieval Europe and Early Modern Europe. Discourses, rites and representations*, ed. by Montserrat Herrero, Jaume Aurell, and Angela C. Minceli Stout (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp. 337-62.
30 *Book of Deeds*, chap. 61.

approachable manner: the gesture of dismounting his horse to greet the knights on foot conveyed a certain equality between Jaime and his military camp, consisting of men who supported the king in his vision of conquest. However, he transmitted something different on his entry into cities like Murcia, where he was very willing to be publicly praised and honoured, or the conquered city of Montpellier, where he was not welcomed. In these instances, he had to create a plan to ensure his protection upon approaching the gates. An example of this occurred at Paterna, where Jaime ordered the gates to be opened for him, setting a clear message of rulership over the city. Notably, not even when he was being officially praised would the king dismount his horse in such contexts.

Another situation surrounding royal authority is described in chapter 271 of the *Llibre*, when a messenger of the 'King of Valencia' visited the Christian king in his chambers. There, the Muslim ruler's proxy was not allowed to touch Jaime but only to prostrate before him. The description of this event emphasizes the hierarchal relationship that Jaime sought to establish with his enemy:

> The next morning early, Rais Abulfamalet came out with the Saracen who had jousted and with 10 other knights, well equipped and dressed, with good horses and good new saddles, fit to go into any court as well-appointed men. I had my house well decked out to receive him. On entering he would not kiss my hand, but prostrated himself and embraced me; then he seated down before me, and saluted me on behalf of Zaen, king of Valencia.[31]

Aside from his visit to King Sancho of Navarre in 1231, there is no documented occasion on which Jaime stood in the presence of someone who possessed a social rank equal to his own. Even upon his visit to the pope in 1274, recorded in chapter 528 of the *Llibre*, Jaime was received with praise. The first-person description offers outstanding insight into the king of Aragon's experience of the event:

> When Friday came, I went there; the archbishops went at dawn, and I was there as soon as the sun was up. The pope would not begin his speech till I came. When I entered the church, the sight was marvellous: I saw archbishops, bishops, abbots, about 500 or more. The pope sat in his Tribune, the cardinals and patriarchs sat on two benches, in face to the Pope, higher than the rest; he had me called up to him, and wanted me to seat on his right hand, very close to him, so close that no one could pass between me and him, his chair was not a palm higher than mine.[32]

Although it is well known that Jaime's visit to the Holy Father was ultimately unsuccessful, it must be pointed out that his enthusiasm in advance of the meeting was palpable. As relayed in the following chapter of the *Llibre*, Jaime asked the pope to crown him as he had in the case of his father, Pedro the Catholic. Jaime describes the crown as 'made of gold, and set with precious stones, worth more than a hundred thousand sous de *torneses*'.[33] It was immediately after this

31 *Book of Deeds*, chap. 271.
32 *Book of Deeds*, chap. 528.
33 *Book of Deeds*, chap. 536. The vanity Jaime demonstrates in the description of the crown and its value is characteristic of the king's personality. *Llibre dels feits del rei En Jaume*, ed. by Ferran Soldevilla (Barcelona, Institut d'estudis catalans, 2007), p. 507, n. 2470. A *tornès* was a silver coin made in the area of Tours and worth 12 *dineros* from Barcelona.

that the pope asked for reaffirmation of the tribute that Jaime's father, Pedro, had paid when he was crowned in Rome, to which Jaime responded:

> I had so freely given him advice and offered aid, that it was not becoming in him to ask for anything, but rather to give me. I would not, however, make new deeds and charters to put myself and my descendants under such an obligation: I had done such service to God and to the Church of Rome, that those trifles should not intervene between me and them. [...] I replied that I had not come to the papal court to put myself under tribute, but for him to make us guests: since he would not do that, I would rather return home without the crown than with it. So, the matter remained, and I refused to be crowned by the Pope.[34]

The frustration in Jaime's words is evident. Not being crowned as he desired could have compromised his sense of legitimacy, but instead he strongly embraced the right of conquest.[35] This notion would echo in the Crown of Aragon from this moment onward. Although Jaime was not crowned as he believed he should have been, he nevertheless added the image of the crown to his seals and created a meaningful revaluation of the significance of the sword as a symbol of royal power.[36]

The King as Military Leader and Señal Real

From a thirteenth-century perspective, imbued with a crusader mentality and animated by military-religious fervour, it is easy to understand the conquest enterprise initiated by Jaime I. The king embraced with absolute faith this crusader ideal, though in more progressive circles this worldview was in decline, being replaced by a more pragmatic outlook.[37] It is also worth pointing out that Jaime I's ambitions to conquer Valencia and Mallorca were not rooted solely in a desire to fight Muslims. As Alvaro Santamaria has noted, this campaign was founded on a strong belief that these were lost Christian territories, the reclamation of which would restore freedom to their oppressed populations.[38] Medieval Spain became a paradigmatic case of Christian military endeavours against Muslims, with the proximity of the two populations on the peninsula lending an everyday character to these events.[39]

34 *Book of Deeds*, chap. 537-38.

35 In the framework of my larger research, I have created an overview of how the significance of the coronation of the kings of Aragon shifted during each reign, up to Alfonso III. He incorporated the greatest innovations to the coronation ceremony, instituting a new *ordo* that was followed by subsequent kings of the dynasty. Here, it is as though Jaime I desired to be crowned only to enhance his symbiological relevance, as he, by conquest, had legitimized himself as a ruling king.

36 For a detailed discussion of the iconographic changes that Jaime I introduced on seals and coins, see Marta Serrano Coll, *Jaime I el conquistador. Imágenes medievales*, pp. 34-57. For the relevance of the sword to Jaime's iconography, see Serrano Coll, 'James I of Aragon'. For the evolution of the use of regal symbols by the kings of the Crown of Aragon, see Martín Palacios Bonifacio, 'Imágenes y símbolos del poder real en la Corona de Aragón', in *Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón, Departamento de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 1993), I, pp. 189-229.

37 Álvaro Santamaria, 'La expansión político-militar de la Corona de Aragón bajo la dirección de Jaime I: Baleares', in *Jaime I y su época* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1979), p. 104.

38 Álvaro Santamaria, 'La expansión político-militar de la Corona', p. 105.

39 *Els enfants s'ajusten e han vestedures per escuts e canyes per lansas. Els uns s'esforsan en defender Malorcha, els alters s'esforsan de combatre, e es dada la victoria als*

✦ Fig. 2
The conquest of Mallorca (detail), mural painting, fourteenth century. Alcañiz (Teruel), Castle (Photo: Sofía Fernández Pozzo).

As Pedro Marsili's chronicle of 1313 states, 'the children are accustomed and use clothing for shields and reeds for spears. Some strive to defend Mallorca, others strive to fight, and victory is given to the Christians'.[40] This encapsulates the social framework of Barcelona in 1229, just before the launch of Jaime's enterprise. Jaime I is represented as a military leader often in his chronicle, but these moments are far more complex than they appear, necessitating many layers of interpretation to reveal their significance.

A telling example of this can be found in chapter 52, where the archbishop of Tarragona equates the salvation of the king to the salvation of all:

> *Viderunt occuli mei salutare tuum*: this phrase is from Simeon when he received Our Lord in his arms and said 'My eyes have seen the salvation, and my eyes likewise have seen yours. And I will add something else, even though scripture does not say it; that in seeing your salvation we see our own. And in this is found your salvation: when you are being to apply your heart to good works. And so is it ours: when you gain in reputation, honour, and worth, for if your courage and your renown are works of God, we have you for our own salvation and renown. This idea that you and these nobles who are here with you have formed and wish to undertake is to the honour of God and all the celestial court and is and will be to the profit of you and your men in this world and the next, which has no end'.[41]

Many references to Jaime's military leadership and gifted kingship appear in the sections of the chronicle that document his conquest of Mallorca. For instance, there is the moment when Jaime, with no protection on his body, moves to the front of the infantry to lead the battalion:

> As I spoke I distinctly heard the clash of arms, and cries, and I said: 'O, Saint Mary! Do thou aid our men, for it seems as if they had met the enemy. 'Don Nuño, Salmau and Jaçpert de Barvera said to me: Why are you here? I said: I came here through the infantry, that I had to stop; it seems now as if they were engaging the Saracens; for God's sake let us be on our guard. Bertran de Naya said; 'Have you your quilted coat here?' I said: 'No, I have not' […] Then take this. I dismounted, put on the coat he gave me and my own coat of mail over it, had my iron cap well secured on my head.[42]

This comes up again in chapter 115, when Don Nuño asks rhetorically, 'Have you already become a lion of arms? You may chance to find yonder as good a one or better than yourself'.[43] The bravery of the Conqueror is a ever-present theme in the *Llibre*, but it plays a particularly important role in chapter 266. The king, injured in battle, continues to fight; laughing in the face of pain, he encourages his knights to proceed in fierce battle:

crestians. Martín Alvira Cabrer, 'Guerra e ideología en la España del siglo XIII: la conquista de Mallorca según la crónica de Bernat Desclot', *En la España Medieval*, 19 (1996), 37-38.

40 Pedro Marsili, 'Historia de la conquista de Mallorca: crónicas inéditas', *Cervantes Virtual*, http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/historia-de-la-conquista-de-mallorca-cronicas-ineditas--0/html/.

41 *Book of Deeds*, chap. 52.

42 *Book of Deeds*, chap. 553.

43 *Book of Deeds*, chap. 115.

✦ Fig. 3
Seal of Jaime I with star, 1200 and 1226, reverse. Paris, Archives nationales, inv. Sc/D/11122/bis (Photo: http://www.sigilla.org).

> As I was coming with the men, I happened to turn my head towards the town in order to look at the Saracens, who had come out in great force, when a crossbowman shot at me, and this the beside of the sun-hood (*capell de sol*) and the shot struck me on the head, the bolt lightning near the forehead. It was God's will it did not pass through the head, but the point of the arrow went half through it. In anger, I stuck the arrow so with my hand that I broke it: the blood came out down my face; I wiped it off with a mantle of *sendat* [a fine mantle made of silk] I had and went away laughing that the army might not take alarm.[44]

Turning now to look further into the military context, we find another key aspect of Jaime's royal image, physical presentation, and propaganda: the coat of arms, or *señal real*.[45] Indeed, the *Llibre dels Fets* contains far more references to the royal coat of arms than the subsequent Aragonese chronicles by Bernat Desclot and Ramón Muntaner. Since the *Llibre* is narrated in the first person, these many references indicate that the coats of arms had a great significance for Jaime I, and particularly so in moments of conquest and battle (Fig. 2). It was with Jaime I that the *signum regium* (*señal real* in the vernacular) was established. While this symbol had already been present in the royal chancery under Ramón Berenguer IV (1113-62), it was with Jaime that it seems to have become a mayor symbol of royalty, being assigned a major presence in battle both above the king's shield and on the blanket worn by the king's horse (Fig. 1). Evidence of this can be found in the description of Jaime's approach to the city of Puig:

> After that I returned to Puig by way of Murviedro. When I was near Murviedro, I proposed passing it by the hill above the castle, not more than two crossbows' shots off; […] But a knight suggested to pass over the hill, His opinion seemed for me the best and I said to them: 'Do as I say. I have here no pennon or banner, but I have a horse cloth, let us make a banner of it, and will go on the side between the horses and the castle, so close to the horses that they will think we are in greater number that we really are'.[46]

For Jaime, the *señal real* was such an eminently important symbol of his presence that he tore apart his horse's blanket to fly it as a banner. Here, it seems that the first element allowing for

44 *Book of Deeds*, chap. 266.
45 For the matter of the Aragonese coat of arms and the debate about its origins, see Alberto Montaner Frutos, *El señal real del rey de Aragón: Historia y Significado* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1995).
46 *Book of Deeds*, chap. 221.

the king to succeed in his conquest was to make himself visible with this sign of the Aragonese dynasty. A similar reference is encountered in chapter 44, when Jaime narrates his capture of the castle of Cabrera and his defeat of its lord, Berenguer Finestres:

> The townsmen also sent word, that if I send my standard; they would have it hoisted on the top of the castle. And thereupon I sent a knight and five squires with the Royal standard, which they were told to keep concealed, and also with a lance on which to fix the said standard when they would get into the castle [...] having sent my standard to the castle, I kept Finestres in parley for some time; he pressed me to dispatch him, as the Count (he said) wished to leave; but I did not grant this request, and kept all time watching for the sight of my standard on the castle, When I saw it I said to him 'Berenguer Finestres, you can go now; for I see that Balaguer is already mine'. 'How, yours?' he said. I said to him: 'Look can you not see our standard on the castle? waving on the battlements'. He was astonished, and experiences great shame and confusion thereat; he went away forthwith without saying another word.[47]

It is almost as though it is the *standart* itself that 'conquers' the castle.[48] Its power as a symbol of the king is implicit, so much so that merely placing it atop a tower enables the king to lay claim to the structure. Jaime seems to perform no action without his banner. Chapter 204 clearly exemplifies this in an anecdote about the king stopping at the seashore near Montcada to display his banners before advancing towards the tower. Or take, as another instance, the episode in chapter 228 in which Jaime has just mounted his horse, with a knight riding behind him and carrying the pennon of Don Pedro Cornell. Don Fortuny Lopez de Sadava addresses this knight, directing him to reposition the pennon in front of the king: 'Blockhead that you are, bear the pennon before the king, not at his back'.[49] Also noted in this chapter, and of major relevance for the questions taken up in this volume, is the fact that Jaime, having none of his own pennons available, opts to carry that of Pedro Cornell. This further reinforces the fact that no movement of the king would be undertaken without a pennon – even if not his own personal one.

By way of concluding, I return to the ideas articulated by the archbishop of Tarragona in his speech, i.e. that the salvation of the king is the salvation of all. We note that the *senyera* becomes the highest symbol of royalty in this chronicle, embodying an outstanding symbolic power. At the mere sight of the pennon, cities would have been expected to surrender.[50] This was so much the case that, even centuries later, annually on December 31 in the context of *La festa de l'estandart d'Aragó*, the Aragonese banner is still praised and celebrated. It flies at the centre of the main square of the Plaza de la Cort in Palma de Mallorca. There, floral arrangements are placed on Jaime I's statue as a symbol of his conquest and subsequent protection over the city.

47 *Book of Deeds*, chap. 44.
48 This fact is also narrated in chapter 282, when Valencia was finally conquered: 'When I saw my standard upon the tower I dismounted, turned myself towards the east and wept, kissing the ground, for the great mercy that had been done to me'.
49 *Book of Deeds*, chap. 227.
50 *Book of Deeds*, chap. 243.

Bibliography

Primary sources

James I (The Conqueror) King of Aragon Chronicle, trans. by John Foster with a historical introduction and notes by Pascual De Gayangos (Cambridge: In Parentheses, 2000).

La Guerra contra al-Azraq segons el Llibre dels Fets (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2005).

Llibre dels feits del rei En Jaume, ed. by Ferran Soldevilla (Barcelona: Institut d'estudis catalans, 2007).

Marsili, Pedro. 'Historia de la conquista de Mallorca: crónicas inéditas', *Cervantes Virtual*, http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/historia-de-la-conquista-de-mallorca-cronicas-ineditas--0/html/.

The Book of Deeds of James I of Aragon. A Translation of the Medieval Catalan 'Llibre dels Fets', ed. by Damian Smith and Helena Buffery (Farnham: Ashgate, 2003).

Von Liechtestein, Ulrich. *The Service of Ladies*, trans. by J. W. Thomas (London: Boydell and Brewer, 2004).

Secondary sources

Alvira Cabrer, Martin. 'Guerra e ideología en la España del siglo XIII: la conquista de Mallorca según la crónica de Bernat Desclot', En la España Medieval, 19 (1996), 37-50.

Aurell, Jaume. Authoring the Past: History, Autobiography, and Politics in Medieval Catalonia (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

Burns, Robert I. 'The Spiritual Life of James the Conqueror King of Arago-Catalonia, 1208-1276. Portrait and Self-Portrait', Catholic Historical Review, 1/62 (January 1976), 1-137.

Cawsey, Suzanne. Kingship and Propaganda: Royal Eloquence and the Crown of Aragon 1200-1450 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002).

Cingolani, Stefano. 'Jaume I fou un rei piadós?', *Catalonia*, 5 (2008), pp. 1-13.

Ferrer Navarro, Ramón. *Una aproximación a la Crónica de Jaime I* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana. Conselleria de Cultura i Esport, 2008).

Iafrate, Allegra. *The Wandering Throne of Solomon: Objects and Tales of Kingship in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill 2015).

Montaner Frutos, Alberto. *El señal real del rey de Aragón: Historia y Significado* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1995).

Morte García, Carmen. 'La representación del rey en la Corona de Aragón', in *La Corona de Aragón*, ed. by Ernest Belenguer and Felipe V. Garín (Barcelona: Acción Cultura Española 2006), pp. 55-96.

Nanu, Irina. 'La Segunda Partida de Alfonso X el Sabio y la tradición occidental de los *specula principum*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidad de Valencia, 2013).

Palacios Bonifacio, Martín. 'Imágenes y símbolos del poder real en la Corona de Aragón', in Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón, Departamento de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 1993), I, pp. 189-229.

Rodriguez de la Peña, Manuel Alejandro. 'Mecenas, trovadores, bibliófilos y cronistas: los reyes de Aragón del Casal de Barcelona y la sabiduría (1162-1410)', *Revista chilena de Estudios Medievales*, 2 (July-December 2012), 81-120.

Santamaria, Alvaro. 'La expansión político-militar de la Corona de Aragón bajo la dirección de Jaime I: Baleares', in *Jaime I y su época* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1979), pp. 91-146.

Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. *Las cortes de Aragón en la Edad Media* (Zaragoza: Güara editera, 1979).

Serrano Coll, Marta. 'James I of Aragon (1213-1276)', *Encyclopedia of Medieval Royal Iconography*, 1/4 (2021), ed. by Mirko Vagnoni, https://doi.org/10.3390/encyclopedia1040092.

—. 'Rex et Sacerdos: A Veiled Ideal of Kingship? Representing Priestly Kings in Medieval Iberia', in *Political Theology in Medieval Europe and Early Modern Europe. Discourses, Rites and Representations*, ed. by Montserrat Herrero, Jaume Aurell, and Angela C. Minceli Stout (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp. 337-62.

—. *Jaime I el Conquistador. Imágenes medievales de un reinado* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2008).

Utrilla, Juan. 'Jaime I (1213-1276) y Aragón: Aspectos más sobresalientes de un reinado', in *El rei Jaume I. Fets, actes i paraules*, ed. by Germà Colón Domènech and Tomàs Martínez Romero (Barcelona: Publicaciones de la Abadía de Montserrat, 2008), pp. 53-73.

Villacañas Berlanga, Jose Luis. 'Jaume el rey que forjó la España plural', *Cervantes Virtual*, http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/portales/jaume_i_el_llibre_dels_fets/jaume_i/.

MARTA SERRANO-COLL

The Royal Presence of Pedro IV (r. 1336-87) in Contemporary Textual and Iconographic Sources

Pedro IV, an energetic and strong-willed man, was born on 5 September 1319 in Balaguer, a fortress that, at the time, still retained part of its eleventh-century Islamic structure. Nothing foreshadowed that he would ascend to the throne of Aragon: he was a second son, and in any case the kingdom was to go to his uncle Jaime, the first son of Jaime II (r. 1291-1327). However, his uncle's renunciation of the throne meant that Pedro's father, Alfonso, count of Urgell, became king. Pedro records in his chronicle that, as a sign of the new primogeniture, Alfonso 'ordered his sons who were there to kiss the hand of the infante Alfonso, our father, and this was done' and that 'royal arms, which came from Barcelona, were placed on him'.[1] The death of his elder brother shortly afterwards made Pedro the legitimate successor.

Jerónimo Zurita summed up Pedro's complex personality as follows:

> Insofar as this prince was of a weaker and more delicate constitution, so too was he more ardent in spirit and possessed of incredible sharpness and liveliness, and great vigour and execution in everything he undertook. He approached any endeavour with spirit and courage and was strangely ambitious and haughty and very ceremonious in preserving royal authority and pre-eminence.[2]

He was nicknamed 'the Ceremonious' because he sought to give due magnificence to the institution he represented as well as to his palatial surroundings, which he organized with great care, as is attested by lavish versions of the Coronation Ceremonial and the exquisite *Ordinacions* of his house and court. The continual references to that which 'corresponds to royal majesty' or 'in accordance with what corresponds to our greatness'[3] reveal his preoccupation with presenting himself with the required decorum and grandeur. This concern extended to his texts, which at his insistence were reviewed to ensure that they were written with 'beautiful rhetoric and good Latin'.[4] It was also evident in his oratory, whether in parliament or in the *Libre en què es contenen tots els grans fets qui són entrevenguts en nostra Casa, dins lo temps de la nostra vida* (Book

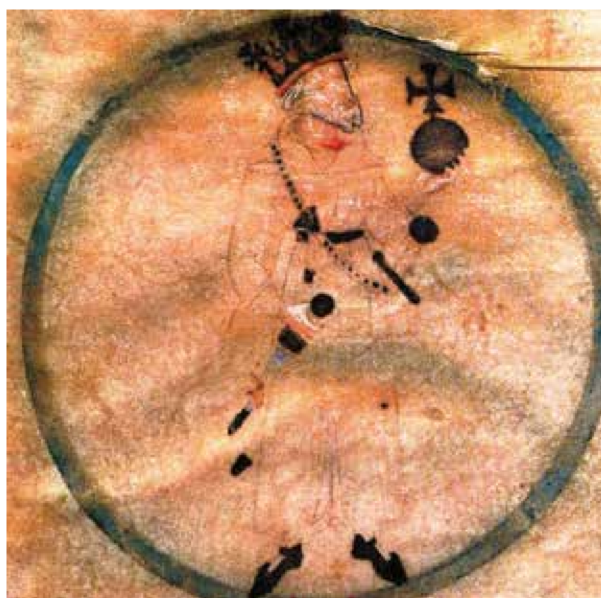
1 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, ed. by Ferran Soldevila, *Les quatre grans Cròniques*, 4 (Barcelona: Selecta 2014), chap. 1, par. 6.

2 Zurita Jerónimo, *Anales de Aragón*, ed. by Ángel Canellas, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, 4 (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico 1978), book 10, chap. 39. All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

3 As he so often says in his *Ordinacions*.

4 *Ordinacions de la Casa i Cort de Pere el Cerimoniós*, ed. by Francisco M. Gimeno, Daniel Gonzalbo and Josep Trenchs, *Fonts històriques valencianes* 39 (Valencia, Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2009), chap. 'De l'offici del prothonotari tinent los segells', p. 123.

 DOI 10.1484/M.HMSAH-EB.5.135015. This is an open access chapter made available under a CC BY-NC 4.0 International License.



✦ Fig. 1
Pedro IV, detail from the *Rotlle genealògic de Poblet*, ca. 1410. Poblet, Monastery of Santa Maria (Photo: © Monasterio de Santa Maria de Poblet).

Containing All the Great Deeds That Have Happened in Our House during Our Lifetime), also known as the *Crònica del rei Pere*, the latter being an account of his reign written in words 'that come from the innermost recesses of our heart'.[5]

Some Notes on the King's Countenance

Pedro was born two months premature and was so weak and feeble that, as he would note in his chronicle, in his own handwriting, 'neither the midwives nor those who attended our birth thought that we would live'.[6] He was baptised in the chamber where he was born and turned out to be an impertinent and surly child, once having gone through no fewer than seven governesses in a single twelve-month period. His childhood was complicated by the death of his mother, Teresa of Entenza, when he was eight years old and by his father's second marriage to Eleanor of Castile in 1329. The new queen was solely concerned with endowing her children with important, semiautonomous possessions, thus generating conflicts and hostilities between the young Pedro and his half-brothers, all of which led him to suspect that his stepmother wanted to poison him.[7] This atmosphere full of confrontations forged his rigid and merciless character; many passages of the chronicle show his irascible nature, such as when he slaps his daughter Juana for defending her husband or when he orders (or perhaps not) his half-brother Fernando to be murdered. In another exemplary episode, involving the Union of

5 For the quotation see Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 24. For more on the intellectual and material authorship of his courtly propositions, also observed in his chronicle, see: Francesc Gimeno, 'Escribir, leer y reinar. La experiencia gráfico-textual de Pedro IV el Ceremonioso (1336-1387)', *Scrittura e Civiltà*, 22 (1998), 119-233; Suzanne F. Cawsey, *Kingship and Propaganda: Royal Eloquence and the Crown of Aragon c. 1200-1450* (Oxford, Oxford Historical Monographs, 2002).

6 Francesc Gimeno, 'Escribir, leer y reinar', chap. 1, par. 40, p. 72.

7 For more on family tensions, see: Jocelyn H. Hillgarth, 'La personalitat política i cultural de Pere III a través de la seva crònica', *Lengua & Literatura*, 5 (1992-1993), 7-102 (pp. 8-13).

Aragon, he wounds his hand with his dagger, leading to his second nickname, the *punyalet* (the one with the dagger). This would come to characterize his iconography, for example, in the *Rotlle de Poblet*, which dates from around 1409 during the reign of his son Martin I (Fig. 1).[8]

We do not know what kind of education Pedro received during his adolescence, which was not free of illness, but we can assume, given the literary, legal, and artistic interests he demonstrated throughout his life, that it was profound and systematic. As king, he reorganized the royal chancellery, insisting that its head be an archbishop or bishop with a doctorate in law, and he promoted literature and authors such as March, d'Averçó, and Eiximenis.[9] His chronicle, the writing of which he supervised in a documented and efficient manner, is a crucial source. It was based on the records of the *Escribania del Racional*, compiled before 1380, and the *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña*, which was written in Catalan, Aragonese, and Latin.[10]

His nicknames indicate his authoritarianism and hot temper, along with his punctilious, formal, and solemn character, perhaps the result of the difficulties he faced in assuming the crown. Aware of the value of gestures and images, and 'despite the fact that God has not made us large in body', he used everything in his power to increase the visibility of the institution of the monarchy from the moment of his coronation.[11] It is illustrative that, in his *Ordinacions de la casa reial*, he stresses how important it is that chapels be bedecked 'with paintings and such things' that could be seen and understood by those who lacked the 'sciences of letters'.[12] Settings, apparatuses, and images were significant for the king. In the more restricted sphere, he wanted 'woollen cloths with stories that might serve us when we are at the table and that can be placed behind us on the walls' or 'at the head of our bed'. Because of their beauty and other qualities, he had these tapestries equipped with curtains, with which he could cover the images without inconvenience on the most solemn days or as needed.[13] His intention was that the tapestries should project the image of a pious king, conscious of his duty to fight against the infidels, and should liken the conquests in the Holy Land to his own on the Iberian Peninsula, thus justifying the expansion of the Crown.[14] Every six years, at Christmas, a new bed was to be made for his chamber, 'with cloth of gold and velvet or other rich silk fabrics, and a coverlet' complemented by five cushions of identical type, fabric, and colour, along with woollen carpets

8 Facsimile edition in: Francisco Gimeno and Amadeo Serra, 'Representar la dinastía: el manuscrito genealógico del monasterio de Poblet', in *Genealogia dels Comtes de Barcelona i Reis d'Aragó* (Valencia, Patrimonio ediciones, 1997). Dated by: Josefina Planas, *El esplendor del gótico catalán. La miniatura a comienzos del siglo XV* (Lleida, Universitat de Lleida, 1998), p. 192. Details in: Marta Serrano-Coll, *Effigies Regis Aragonum. La imagen figurativa del rey de Aragón en la Edad Media* (Zaragoza, Institución Fernando el Católico, 2015).

9 *Ordinacions*, chap. 50, 'Del canceller', p. 119.

10 For the dating of the *Escribanía del Racional*, see: Jocelyn H. Hillgarth, *Pere III of Catalonia (Pedro IV of Aragon), Chronicle* (Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980), p. 125, n. 2.

11 Ricard Albert and Joan Gassion, *Parlaments a les Corts catalanes* (Barcelona, Barcino, 1928), pp. 24-25.

12 For the quotations see *Ordinacions*, chap. 101, 'De la ordinació de la cappella', p. 205. The reasons for this reorganization can be found in: Alexandra Beauchamp, 'Ordonnances et réformes de l'hôtel royal au début du règne de Pierre IV d'Aragon', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 39/2 (2009), 555-73.

13 Ibidem, chap. 81, 'De les vestedures e altres ornaments', p. 165.

14 Thomas Lüttenberg, 'Le tissu comme aura. Les fonctions des tentures à la cour d'Aragon et à Barcelone (XIVe-XVe siècles)', *Persée. Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Age,* 111/1 (1999), 373-92. His son Martin would take advantage of this series of legitimizing dyes by requesting a satin cloth depicting the siege and capture of Catania, in which he played a leading role: Antoni Rubió, *Documents per a la història de la cultura catalana mig-eval* (Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1908), doc. 479.

✦ Fig. 2
Ceremonial de consagración y coronación de los reyes de Aragón, 2nd ½ XIV century. Madrid, Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, MS. 37.6, fols 19r and 35v (Photo: © Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid).

in matching tones and of comparable workmanship. At Whitsuntide, a new bed was to be constructed for the council chamber, again with ornamentation and the royal arms.[15]

He considered it essential to take care of his appearance and thus regulated the trades of those who tended to his person, for example his barber, who was required to comb his hair only with the appropriate instruments.[16] Aware that human frailty meant that bodily health was not everlasting, he appointed two doctors 'instructed and tested in medicine or physics, who would diligently attend to the preservation of our health' and forbade them, except under 'special licence', from publicly disclosing any illness.[17]

The Physical Presence of the King according to the Surviving Records

CEREMONIAL PRECEDENTS: CORONATION LITURGIES

The Coronation of Alfonso IV When Pedro was eight years old, in April 1328, he attended his father's coronation, a fascinating event that he described in his chronicle as 'more honourable than that of any of his predecessors'.[18] It is revealing that, even in a European courtly context in which monarchical exaltation was the norm, the new king understood this ceremony to be

15 *Ordinacions*, chap. 81, 'De les vestedures e altres ornaments', p. 166.
16 *Ordinacions*, chap. 32, 'Del barber', p. 96.
17 *Ordinacions*, chap. 51, 'Del vicecanceller', p. 122; chap. 33, 'Dels meges de phísica', pp. 97-98. On his obsession with health: Amada López de Meneses, *Documentos acerca de la peste negra en los dominios de la Corona de Aragón*, (Zaragoza, Heraldo de Aragón, 1956), doc. 16, (pp. 304-05); Lluis Puig and Luisel·la Puig, 'El rei Pere III «el Cerimoniós» i la medicina', *Actes del III Congrés d'Història de la Medicina Catalana,* 3 (1981), 211-20.
18 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 1, par. 43.

'merely' an act of pomp and magnificence that made visible the extraordinary honour of his sovereignty; indeed, he had already reached the 'apex of royal dignity' upon the death of his father.[19] Moreover, by choosing Easter Day, Alfonso IV established a parallel between, on the one hand, the death and resurrection of Christ and, on the other, the death of his father, Jaime II, and the public resurrection of royalty in his own person.[20]

The sumptuous clothing Alfonso wore at the coronation was highly expressive and recalled that of a deacon, with an alb, a dalmatic, a stole crossed over the shoulder and back, and a maniple.[21] In reality, this resemblance reflected the monarchy's struggle for sovereignty from a pontifical theocracy that promoted the fiction that it was the pope who, through his bishop, conferred the kingdom with the bestowal of the crown. In this regard, it is no coincidence that it was Alfonso IV who introduced the most significant gestural and visual change: by taking the crown from the altar and placing it on his own head, he demonstrated his status as the sole sovereign power. He would do the same with the rest of the insignia. The officiant, Don Juan, archbishop of Toledo and brother of the sovereign, merely blessed the crown, although once it had been placed on the king's head he set about adjusting it, together with his brothers. In no previous ceremony had the bishop been substituted by the king in the act of crowning; soon afterwards, in 1332, the gesture was imitated in Castile by Alfonso XI.[22]

The solemnity of the liturgy also impressed Muntaner, who described the lavish parade, the procession, and the insignia of gold, pearls, and precious stones.[23] In addition, he gave an account of the great banquet that followed the proceedings, where the infante Pedro recited a *serventes* he had himself composed about the allegorical interpretation of the insignia. Already at such a young age, the man who would surprisingly become king already showed his predilection for solemnities, their formulas, and their instrumental protocols.

Pedro's Own Coronations Pedro was well aware of the propagandistic potential of staging a coronation ceremony replete with gestures and symbols of power. He sought to follow his father's example and be crowned in the cathedral of Zaragoza, on Easter Sunday 1336, with the dalmatic and the trousseau that belonged to he who was to take the crown:[24] the verb used by himself *prendre coronació* (to take the coronation) is transitive, unlike *ser coronat* (to be crowned),

19 Bonifacio Palacios, *La coronación de los reyes de Aragón. 1204-1410. Aportación al estudio de las estructuras políticas medievales* (Valencia, Anubar, 1975), p. 207, n. 9.

20 Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica,* ed. by Ferran Soldevila, *Les quatre grans Cròniques* (Barcelona, Selecta, 1983), chap. 294.

21 Muntaner, *Crònica*, chap. 297.

22 Recent study in: Olga Pérez, 'Ceremonias regias en la Castilla Medieval. A propósito del llamado Libro de la Coronación de los Reyes de Castilla y Aragón', *Archivo Español de Arte,* 83/332 (2010), 317-34.

23 Muntaner, *Crònica*, chap. 297.

24 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 9.

which implies a passive attitude on the part of the king. His youth, at only sixteen years old, did not prevent him from showing his courage when the bishop Pedro López de Luna insisted on placing the crown on his head, leading to an argument in the sacristy that delayed the ceremony. He wanted instead to imitate his father's gesture. Recognizing by then that the exercise of power required symbolic practices, he did not hesitate to demonstrate the authority that would come to characterize him and his independence from the Church. Deceiving the prelate, when the time came he crowned himself, telling him 'not to adjust or touch our crown, that we would do it for ourselves'.[25] Mindful of what it meant for the king to be exalted before his subjects, he gathered up the insignia and prevented anyone from touching them while the bishop pronounced ceremonial words that were completely incongruent with the king's actions.[26] As in his father's coronation, the sacred character of the king was emphasized by his clothing, in particular the stole he wore, in which he appeared 'like an evangelist'. With it, Pedro IV demonstrated his longed-for *sacerdotium*: during his reign, we witness a political theology that would become, through the visual manifestation of the monarch as *rex et sacerdos*, one of the most spectacular achievements in the sensory universe.[27]

Pedro had an *ordo* of the ceremony drawn up to regulate and consolidate each phase of the coronation, thus also reinforcing the potency of his act of self-coronation before the audience and separating, as he saw it, the two parts of the ceremony – the spiritual, with the archbishop's anointment, and the temporal, involving only the king as he picked up the insignia from the altar.[28] Three versions were made of these coronation prescriptions, *De la manera como los Reyes de Aragon se faran consagrar e ellos mismos se coronaran*. Two of them feature miniatures depicting the moment when the king takes the crown from the altar (Fig. 2).[29] These illuminations, along with those defining the liturgy for the queen's crowning by the king, are exceptional in medieval art.[30]

After being applauded by his vassals inside the church, Pedro processed away with a 'very beautiful' golden sceptre and an orb, riding a horse guided by long silver chains.[31] His retinue was arranged in hierarchical order, giving rise to certain complaints that Pedro IV, displaying both the authoritative and accommodating facets of his disposition, defused by reorganizing everything. A select few carried his weapons, key among them the sword, which he would value so much during his reign, and the royal arms.[32] The rooms of the Aljafería were curtained with

25 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, par. 12.

26 Palacios, *La coronación*, p. 245, n. 32. In the second draft of the ceremony, and its copies, the words were changed to match what happened.

27 Marta Serrano-Coll, 'Rex et Sacerdos. A veiled ideal of kingship? Representing priestly kings in Medieval Iberia', in *Political Theology in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Discourses, Rites and Representations*, ed. by Montserrat Herrero, Jaume Aurell and Angela C. Micheli (Turnhout, Brepols, 2017), pp. 337-62. The king requested to be buried with the same insignia that was used in his coronation: Ricardo Del Arco, *Sepulcros de la Casa Real de Aragón* (Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1945), p. 532.

28 Jaume Aurell and Marta Serrano-Coll, 'The Self-coronation of Peter the Ceremonious (1336): Historical, Liturgical and Iconographical Representations', *Speculum. A Journal of Medieval Studies,* 89/1 (2014), 66-95.

29 Copies from the Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid (Ms Reg. 14425) and the National Library of France (Paris, BNF, ms. esp. 99). The copy kept by the March Foundation (Ms Phillips 2633) has similar miniatures representing the queen's coronation, but those representing the coronation of the king are different in that he appears kneeling and receiving the crown from the metropolitan.

30 Aurell and Serrano-Coll, 'The Self-Coronation'.

31 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 13.

32 For the sword see Marta Serrano-Coll, 'Art to seal memory. Coronation ceremonies and the sword as symbol of power: Aragon, 1200-1400', in *Memory in the Middle Ages. Approaches from Southwestern Europe*, ed. by Flocel Sabaté (Amsterdam, ARC Humanities Press, 2020), pp. 229-52.

rich cloths of gold, silk, and other materials, and special arrangements were ordered. Whereas in the first version of his chronicle he mentions that these other arrangements, in addition to the customary formalities, 'had been ordered', in the last version he explicitly states, solemnly and formally, that 'we had others made', meaning that it was he who actually ordered them.[33]

Pedro had another coronation ceremony in Mallorca in May 1344, which he described in detail. He was attired in *sede Maiestatis*, that is, with a Roman shirt of fine green silk embroidered with foliate motifs and a dalmatic of red cloth, with foliate patterns in gold and lacking pearls or other ornamentation. Made of the same red cloth was a stole with a girdle, a maniple, and tights. He wore a gold crown featuring precious stones and pearls; in his right hand, he held a golden sceptre topped with a ruby, and in his left a golden orb topped by a cross with pearls and precious stones. He wore a ribbon on which a sword was represented and covered entirely with pearls and precious stones. With this splendid attire and having been crowned king, he sat before the altar and, looking towards the people, said in a voice loud enough to be heard, that he praised and thanked God and the Virgin for favouring justice, a speech that established his right to the Mallorcan crown.[34] He left the cathedral accompanied by barons and other men, who carried a canopy of gold cloth, under which the king rode on a beautiful horse, its saddle covered in gold and pearls. He rode alone, with crown, sceptre, orb, and sword, following the same route that the ordinary processions of the see would follow until the end of the nineteenth century.[35] Wherever the monarch was scheduled to pass by, everything was curtained, palisaded, and covered with cloths of gold, silk, and other fabrics. And 'women and other people of the city' dressed up for the occasion.[36]

PRESENCE DURING THE *MINISTERIUM REGIS*

The king sought to provide his court with regulations that would guarantee institutional decorum with a level of dignity comparable to that of the most important monarchies, and this desire was embodied, as has been said, in the drafting of the *Ordinacions*, the original manuscript of which was drawn up and promulgated in 1344 and to which was added, in 1353, the aforementioned amendment on coronations. There were precedents, but the similarities between this text and the Mallorcan *Leges palatinae* are most evident.[37] By order of the king, several copies of the *Ordinacions* were made, some of them being subsequently repaired due to deterioration, another indication of his concern with keeping the palace and its contents organized.[38] His

33 For 'we had others made' see Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 14, p. 98, n. 272.

34 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 47.

35 Pablo Piferrer and José María Quadrado, *España. Sus monumentos y artes. Su naturaleza e historia. Islas Baleares* (Barcelona, Daniel cortezo y Cia., 1888), p. 174, n. a.

36 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 48.

37 The organization of his chancellery was a crystallization of the practices in use in the time of Jaime II according to: Heinrich Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, 1 (Berlin and Leipzig, Walter Rothschild, 1908), 30-47, and 2 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1922), 16-25; Francisco Sevillano, 'Apuntes para el estudio de la cancillería de Pedro IV el Ceremonioso', *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español,* 20 (1950), 137-41 (p. 139). On the comparison to the Mallorcan *Leges palatinae* see Olivetta Schena, *Leggi palatine di Pietro IV d'Aragona* (Cagliari, Torre Cagliari, 1983).

38 Rubió, *Documents*, 1, docs. 179-180, 349, 350; 2, docs. 107, 124, 280, 304.

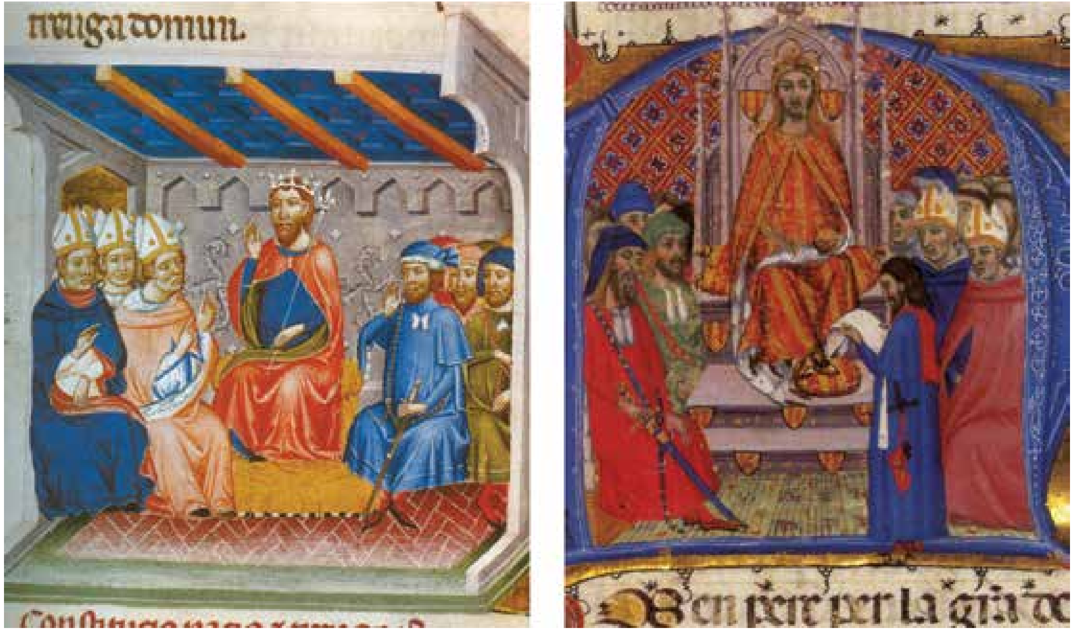
awareness of the importance of ritual and pomp can be seen in one of the first manuscripts, the pages of which are annotated in his own hand, where it is already clear that his material and spiritual well-being stood in harmony with his dignity.[39] Consequently, he often modified the manuscript, innovating old instructions and adding observations to better reflect his status.[40]

His clothing was regulated and inventoried. In the *Llibre de notaments*, the *escriban de ració* lists 'all jewels, gold and silk cloths, and other similar things, swords, gold and silver crockery, and all other jewels and objects that, by his office, he keeps and guards'.[41] Each night, the king decided what he would wear the next day, including his jewels, which had to be carefully maintained and stored.[42] The description of them in his chronicle is brief, but he articulated their importance by noting that 'the beauty and composition of a person's attire shows the condition of that person' and that only those who demonstrated their dignity should wear 'precious clothes'.[43] For this reason he employed a tailor, assisted by two young men and a good seamstress, for his shirts and other cut pieces, such as bed linens and other more intimate garments, which had to be cleaned secretly.[44] The *Llibre de notaments* established the festivities for which new clothes were to be provided and with what kind of lining, ordering the making of cloaks for Christmas, Epiphany, Resurrection, and Pentecost, when 'the king usually dresses himself in his most splendid attire'. On Good Friday, he was to dress in unlined, 'almost dark cloth', and the following day this garment was donated to a poor person.[45]

The Royal Council The Royal Council consisted of trustworthy, wise, and loyal advisors. They were nobles, barons, and solemn officials of the kingdom, joined by a prelate or master of theology and a doctor of decrees who provided ethical guidance, ensuring that the king's actions and justifications were not only good but also legally correct.[46] On rare occasions, Pedro IV recalled that he was alone in making decisions, that the council did not know how to advise him, that there were dissenting voices, or that its members reproached him for acting too severely.[47] He ordered that 'on the right side of my body' there should be counts, barons, and other noblemen, and to his left prelates and other clerics, in order that does not conform with many of the miniatures of the period, such as those in the *Tercer Llibre Verd*, although it does match the one at the frontispiece of his *Ordinacions* (Fig. 3). Moreover, the text establishes if they should be seated, should stand, or should move towards him when addressing him, depending on their status.[48]

According to the records, the courts were held in a range of locations and even sometimes in private settings, such as the 'white chamber of the royal palace of Valencia', whose name describes how its walls were decorated, or 'our chamber in the palace of Barcelona', where, on

39 For the annotations by his own hand see Gimeno, Gonzalbo and Trenchs, *Ordinacions*.
40 Gimeno, Gonzalbo and Trenchs, *Ordinacions*, preface.
41 *Ordinacions*, chap. 75, 'De l'escriban de ració', p. 156.
42 *Ordinacions*, chap. 'Dels escuders de la cambra', p. 93.
43 *Ordinacions*, chap. 38, 'Del Sastre e sos coadjutors', p. 103.
44 *Ordinacions*, chap. 39, 'De la custurera e de la coadjutora', p. 104.
45 *Ordinacions*, chap. 81, 'De les vestedures e altres ornaments', pp. 165-66.
46 For nobles, barons, etc. see Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 51; chap. 23, par. 13. For the others, see *Ordinacions*, chap. 'Dels endreçadors de consciència', pp. 131-32.
47 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 66; chap. 4, par. 40.
48 *Ordinacions*, chap. 89, 'De la manera de seer e proposar en consell nostre', p. 175. Jaume Sobrequés, Sebastià Riera, Manuel Rovira, Tomàs de Montagut and Joaquín Yarza, *Llibre Verd de Barcelona* (Barcelona, Base, 2004), which contains a study of his miniatures by Joaquín Yarza.



✦ Fig. 3
Jaime I, from the *Tercer Llibre Verd*, ca. 1348. Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, MS. 1G-12, fol. 21r (Photo: © Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona).
Pedro IV, from *Ordinacions de Cort*, ca. 1370-1380. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS. Esp. 99, fol. 129r (Photo: © Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

difficult occasions, each councillor gave his advice in secret. His chamber was to be suitably decorated with beautiful curtains and draperies as well as provided with sufficient water, candles for lighting, spices and confectioneries to eat, and weapons 'for the dangers that may sometimes [...] occur'.[49] The Minor Royal Palace had, on the ground floor, a Council Room, where domestic and representative spaces converged in a manner that was by no means exceptional.[50] The room was embellished with chests, cushions, and furniture of all kinds, along with paintings, wall cloths, and tapestries that had been acquired by the king.[51] Another well-known example of such a space is the *Saló del Tinell*, a ceremonial area built by Pedro IV to replace the previous *aula maior*.[52]

49 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 5, par. 17. Perhaps called white chamber because it was plastered or decorated with plaster. There were white chambers, the epicentre of the king's residence, in the minor royal palace of Barcelona, in Perpignan and in Lleida: Francesca Español, 'El palau reial menor de Barcelona: usos i espais representatius. La Sala dels cavalls', *Lambard. Estudis d'Art Medieval,* 28 (2020), 57-82 (p. 72). Among other royal residences: Francesca Español, *Els escenaris del rei* (Barcelona, Angle, 2001); Francesca Español, *Palau reial menor,* pp. 57-82; Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 182. Concerning dangers, *Ordinacions,* chap. 'Dels ajudants de la cambra', p. 95.

50 Daniel Cid, 'La restauració del desaparegut Palau Reial Menor de Barcelona a través del Llibre d'Obra. El cas de la Sala Major (1376-1378)', *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Medievalia.* 18 (1997), 397-425.

51 Marçal Olivar, *Els tapissos francesos del rei En Pere el Cerimoniós* (Barcelona, Artur Ramon i Manuel Barbié, 1986).

52 Josep M. Madurell, 'Las antiguas dependencias del Palacio Real Mayor de Barcelona', *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia,* 14 (1941), 142-48; Anna M. Adroer, 'El palau de la reina Elionor: un monument desaparegut', *Lambard. Estudis d'Art Medieval,* 6 (1994), 247-64 (pp. 33-34).

Courts and Public Parliaments Meetings of the court and public parliaments were also held in various places, although it is significant that Pedro IV specified the church of San Salvador, where his coronation had taken place, for the courts called by the Union, a party that wished to limit his powers. [53] The monarch himself describes the proceedings, in which he was seated on the throne, adorned in gold cloths. It was customary to read from the Gospel, and the attendees were distributed on benches at the doors of the choir, except for the ecclesiastical authorities, who were located on a bench near the altar.[54] The king made his proposal, which was rooted in political theology. This may seem to run counter to his laicization of the coronation ceremony by taking up the insignia himself; however, he understood these proposals as an instrument of propaganda demonstrating the divine sanction of his royal status via the aforementioned binomial *rex et sacerdos*.[55] He showed himself to be familiar with sacred letters, erudite and sententious, with the capacity to argue with subtlety, seeking effects and striving to convince and move his audience, as a preacher on his throne.[56] Nor is it by chance that he held a session in the house of the preachers, at which he forbade the attendees to come *guarnits* (equipped) and ordered the deeds and processes of the Union burned and his seal – which depicted an enthroned king and, below, the people imploring him for justice with their hands raised – smashed and broken. Afterwards, he returned to the church and, 'from the place where it is customary to preach', spoke to the people, before returning to his throne 'to reason in an orderly fashion'.[57]

He never chose his spaces arbitrarily. When justifying his warlike actions against the judge of Arborea in Sardinia, for instance, he addressed the people of Barcelona in the square of Santa Maria del Mar, where one of the foundation stones commemorating the beginning of the church's construction in 1329 refers to the conquest of that island by his father, Alfonso IV.[58] Aware of the value of the place, the king noted that he entered the large square and went up to a platform on which barons, knights, and other officials of the royal household were also seated. He was 'dressed in our royal robes and with our crown on our head. And here we gave the sermon to all our people in the city, who were assembled'.[59] He told them about the rebellion and betrayal and, along with 'other ancient deeds that are worthy of remembrance', used terms from the holy scriptures to describe himself as a 'good shepherd' before announcing the imminent campaign.[60] He almost certainly did this while enthroned on a *solium* decorated with gold and velvet cloths and cushions featuring his royal arms; he insisted on these being available for times when 'we must speak to the people on some matter, or they must come into our presence'.[61]

53 Xavier Barral, 'El marc monumental de celebració de les corts a l'edat mitjana', in *Les Corts a Catalunya: actes del Congrès d'Història Institucional* (Barcelona, Generalitat de Catalunya, 1991), pp. 407-11.
54 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 4, par. 23.
55 Serrano-Coll, 'Rex et Sacerdos'.
56 Antoni Rubió, 'Algunes consideracions sobre la oratoria política de Catalunya en l'Edat Mitjana', *Estudis Universitaris Catalans,* 3 (1909), 213-24 (p. 219).
57 Zurita, *Anales*, book 8, chap. 7. Words of the king in Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 4, par. 27; chap. 4, pars. 49-50.
58 Josep Bracons, 'Santa Maria del Mar', in *L'Art Gòtic a Catalunya. Arquitectura II*, ed. by Antoni Pladevall (Barcelona, Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2003), pp. 72-88.
59 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 5, par. 43.
60 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 5, par. 43.
61 *Ordinacions*, chap. 81, 'De les vestedures e altres ornaments', p. 167.

Scenes of Tribute and the Administration of Justice The texts also refer to ceremonies of homage to the king, in which he sometimes took part personally. The homage that the king of Mallorca paid him is illustrative: although Pedro IV had already prepared the *Saló del Tinell*, he accepted the Mallorcan's request not to hold the event publicly; instead, it was held in the chapel of Santa Ágata, in the Royal Palace.[62] The king gave plenty of thought to the setting, having cushions placed that were 'of a larger shape and nobler than the rest'. However, Pedro IV refused to place one of these for his guest, even when the latter asked him for one. The Mallorcan remained standing 'for a long time' until Pedro finally agreed to give him a cushion, 'although not one of larger ones, but one of the others in our chamber'.[63] As will be seen, this was not the only time that the two came into conflict over matters of protocol.

These acts of homage could take place in unexpected locations, as was the case in Porto Pí. The king, who was at the church of San Nicolás, interrupted his lunch to go out onto the porch, sit on a stone bench, and receive 'homage and the oath of loyalty' from the Mallorcans.[64] Such events also occurred in the tents in which the king resided during campaigns, as at Elna, where 'all the people, men and women […] came to kiss our feet and hands'.[65]

On one occasion, it was the king who had to pay homage on account of his fiefdoms in Corsica and Sardinia. He was received in Avignon by the pope, whom he met 'on his throne and in his pontifical vestments […], and we bowed to him, that is, we kissed his feet, and he kissed us on the mouth'.[66] He was struck by the hierarchical arrangement of the participants: his own chair, like that of the king of Mallorca, was positioned lower than the pope's yet higher than those of the cardinals. The fact that the Holy Father wanted the ceremony to take place 'before many people' struck the king as a displeasing sign of vanity. This boastfulness was punished by God, who 'willed that his palace and the consistory should catch fire that night', which meant that the ceremony ultimately took place elsewhere, namely in 'the chapel that is now old; then it was the largest, but now it is the smallest'.[67]

Pedro IV sometimes administered justice personally. In his trial against the Union of Aragon in Zaragoza, he pronounced a sentence that 'was given by us personally […] in the Aljafería', a palace he would later fortify because he felt insecure there.[68] In Valencia, he likewise handed down a sentence 'in our royal palace, in the lower house, next to the main gate' against the barber Gonzalvo, who had plotted against him and had threatened him in the context of a song, to which the sovereign replied in kind, displaying his poetic talents, after sentencing him to death.[69] Pedro IV warned that, with him on the throne and 'by the work of our Lord God, who does not allow evils to go unpunished', no crime would go unpunished. [70] 'God willed it, and it pleased him to put it in our minds', he said on one occasion.[71]

62 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 34.
63 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 34.
64 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 35.
65 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, par. 160.
66 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 37.
67 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 37. About the chapel, it is perhaps the one dedicated to St John, built by Benedict XII and consecrated in 1336, replaced by the larger chapel of St Peter and St Paul, completed in 1352: Hillgarth, *Chronicle*, p. 224, n. 63.
68 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 4, par. 48; chap. 6, par. 12.
69 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 4, par. 42.
70 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, par. 63.
71 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 6, par. 4.

IN ITINERE: THE KING'S CONSTANT MOVEMENTS

Journeys and Diverse Lodgings In addition to travelling assiduously for his governmental duties, the king of Aragon did so to bring different political entities under his rule. The person in charge of 'the trunk with the clothes for our body that we have ordered to wear' was the barber, although it was the duty of the king's squires to prepare them according to his wishes, and each night they had to ask him what he wanted to wear the following day.[72] He also chose hats for sun or rain, 'decorated with beautiful works and daisies', as well as the sword that he wished to wear during the cavalcades and another that was to precede him.[73] This insignia was augmented by the shield and the lance with the royal standard and by the helmet with the crest of the winged dragon that had been added by Pedro IV in 1337, in keeping with the fashions of the time and to help him overcome the psychological factor of his small stature.[74] His servants always had to carry four saddles with their respective bridles. Two of these were decorated with gold velvet and silk and the royal arms, another with the emblem of St George, and the fourth with the '*senyal antich del rey d'Aragó*' (the old sign of the king of Aragon), that is, the cross of Íñigo Arista, which Pedro IV used as the arms of the kingdom or the royal title of Aragon and as an artificial means of differentiation from the general, for whom he reserved the gold and *gules* pales (the general heraldry of the King of Aragon).[75] This heraldic diversity can be seen in dozens of the artistic works he commissioned.

If he had to make a journey in haste, such as when he fled Valencia to avoid the plague, the king rode with three knights.[76] In very exceptional cases, such as the journey from Saix to Favanella, he was obliged to have lunch without dismounting; satisfied with what he had achieved, he explains, 'we were pleased with the great journey we had made, because all day we did not dismount, we even ate on the saddles, we and all our people'.[77]

Along the way, he had access to a wide variety of residences, many of a religious nature, such as the convent of San Francisco in Zaragoza on the occasion of his father's funeral; the Franciscan convent at Girona, in the orchard of which he learned that the Mallorcan king was entering his lands to attack him; the convent of St Augustin in Avignon, when he went to pay homage to the pope; and buildings that had once been mosques, such as in Viver in the region of Valencia. He also stayed in the houses of bishops, including those of the bishop of Girona, next to the cathedral, where he stayed for six days; in hostels, as at Figueres; and at inns, like that of '*la Bella dona*' en route from Barcelona to Girona, where 'some tents had to be pitched for the companions of our house, as we could not all fit'.[78] It was stipulated that the innkeeper should arrive beforehand to prepare the place with food and comfortable furniture for resting, as well as with the 'ornaments and books and the other things necessary' for Mass.[79] Exceptionally, on

72 *Ordinacions*, chap. 32, p. 97; chap. 30, p. 93.

73 Idem, chap. 81, 'De les vestedures e altres ornaments', p. 165.

74 Agustí Altisent, 'Tres apuntes', in *Studia in Honorem Prof. M. de Riquer II* (Barcelona, Quaderns Crema, 1987), 633-36 (p. 633).

75 *Ordinacions*, chap. 80, 'Dels frens e altres apparellaments de cavals', p. 164 ; Alberto Montaner, *El señal del rey de Aragón: Historia y significado* (Zaragoza, Institución Fernando el Católico, 1995), p. 67.

76 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 4, par. 44.

77 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 6, par. 49.

78 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 2; chap. 3, par. 99; chap. 2, par. 37; chap. 2, par. 26; chap. 3, par. 58; chap. 3, par. 58.

79 *Ordinacions*, chap. 47, 'Del posader', p. 144; chap. 64, 'De l'abbat de Sanctas Creus', p. 139.

the way to Montpellier, at the inn d'En Castelló de Sant Pere, the king slept 'in the sheets of the inn' because his bed and bedlinens had not arrived in time.[80]

He often stayed in his royal tent, located next to those of his men-at-arms in fields, in meadows, or near towns.[81] His chronicle mentions some details about his furniture and its mode of arrangement. For example, he explains that, in Elna, he sat on a bench at the foot of his bed, and in a passage about the conquest of Mallorca in which the island's king fled his tent in haste, Pedro IV describes in detail how he found a table with food served, along with chests containing clothing, some crockery, jewellery, and various harnesses.[82] We know that his bed was to be assembled and disassembled indoors, using recently purchased straw and linen, cushions with fabric, colour, and workings identical to those of his other beds, and with matching carpets.[83] Candles were to be installed for lighting, as were benches 'on which we could sit with our companions' and the essentials for their comfort and enjoyment, these being reeds and green branches in summer and, in winter, 'that which was necessary so that we could put our feet on the ground'.[84] These arrangements also included whatever was required to keep the king safe and healthy, meaning that he had militarily personnel and weapons at his disposal and a surgeon on hand 'near our tent or the place where we are' in times of either war or peace.[85] The tents took some time to be erected. In Santa Ponça, the king notes that while 'our tent was being set up' he received a retinue from the king of Mallorca.[86] And the tents always had to be ready for use. Indeed, he assigned men to Zaragoza, Valencia, and Perpignan to guard them, even in times of peace, 'and to keep them intact and ready, repairing and sewing them if necessary'.[87] They had to be impeccable, as princes, barons, and knights entered them to advise him, as at Viver, where he was attacked and had to flee while the flames burnt his surcoat, or during the capture of Mallorca, a situation in which the king asked the princes Pedro and Jaime to meet him inside his tent, together with rich men and knights 'because we did not want to do anything without their advice'.[88] On one occasion, he indicates that so many people accompanied him that 'there was no room for anyone else', recalling terms used in the *Llibre dels Feyts* and the well-known paintings of the Palau Aguilar in Barcelona, perhaps dating to before 1285-90.[89] The tents may have hosted more solemn actions as well, such as ceremonies of homage, like the one at Elna, when the king of Mallorca came 'clad in armour except for his head. And when he was near, we stood up and he approached, put his knee on the ground, we took him by the hand and lifted him up. And he, without our will, kissed us on the hand, and we, we lifted him up high and kissed him on the mouth' – an *osculum pacis* that did not give rise to the expected consequences.[90]

80 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 4, par. 12.
81 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 66; par. 68; par. 74 and 102.
82 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, par. 162 and 53.
83 *Ordinacions*, chap. 31, 'Dels ajudants de la cambra', p. 95; chap. 81, 'De les vestedures e altres ornaments', p. 166.
84 *Ordinacions*, chap. 31, 'Dels ajudants de la cambra', pp. 95-96.
85 *Ordinacions*, chap. 29, 'De l'offici dels camarlenchs', p. 90; chap. 36, 'De l'armador real', p. 102; chap. 34, 'Dels meges de cirurgia', p. 99.
86 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 28.
87 *Ordinacions*, chap. 37, 'De la guarda de les tendes', p. 103.
88 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 26; chap. 3, par. 116.
89 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, par. 162; Martín Alvira, 'Destruir aquels qui reneguen lo nom de Jhesucrist. El obispo de Barcelona Berenguer de Palou (1212-1241)', in *Hombres de religión y guerra. Cruzada y guerra santa en la Edad Media peninsular (siglos X-XV)*, ed. by Carlos Ayala and Santiago Palacios (Madrid, Sílex Universidad, 2018), pp. 361-418 (pp. 406-14).
90 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, par. 163.

Entrance into Cities Although his descriptions of entries are mostly sparse – for example, 'we were received with great joy and great solemnity' – Pedro sometimes gives more details. In Lleida, they came out to meet him 'with arms, a hundred men on horseback, all decked out and with many people on foot with arms, well and honourably'.[91] More explicit is the entry made by Maria de Montpellier and her two daughters into Perpignan, where the inhabitants wore silk garments and danced merrily. After vespers, they held dances in the courtyard of the castle, 'and we had great pleasure in going down and dancing with them in the mixed dance [of men and women], for which we had great joy and pleasure'.[92] He had wine and confectionery brought so he could share them with the city's inhabitants. On such occasions, there was always an attendant to provide spices, confectionery, fruit, and similar provisions to be enjoyed and shared 'away from the table where we eat'.[93]

Mindful of Pedro's status and what it meant, the pope in Avignon 'did not want us to enter at once' and asked him to wait three days in Tarascon to leave time to prepare for a feast 'befitting to and customary for a king'.[94] A similar concern is evident in his entry into Perpignan together with the not-yet-deposed king of Mallorca, of which he says 'we were ahead of him, and he was close to us, half a horse's length away', a hierarchical victory that was short-lived. Indeed, although each king rode 'on an equal horse' during the solemn journey to be received by the Holy Father, when the Mallorcan saw 'that our horse was ahead of his, his knight took the stick to our horse and to the one who was leading him'. Seeing that his island counterpart did not move a finger, Pedro recounts:

> moved by great anger, we put our hand on our sword to hit and wound the king of Mallorca, but our lord God, who orders all things and knows what is best, did not want us to succeed, and it was good that we carried the sword of our coronation, which was very richly adorned with various fine stones and pearls and was not designed to wound; because the scabbard was narrow, it was so hard to draw from the sheath that we could not, although we tried three times.[95]

He refers to his expressions of anger on other occasions as well. These include incidents in which he similarly did not hesitate to wield his weapon, as well as demonstrations of assertiveness that made onlookers pale.[96]

He emphasized the entries into the towns he had won, such as Argilès, where 'all the people of the town kissed our hands, and then we bowed to the Virgin'. And there, 'our seat was set up, and we said [...] some good words', justifying, like a good orator, his military incursion.[97] His entrance into Mallorca was also sumptuous and ceremonial. He entered without armour, as agreed, 'so that the people would not be shocked or frightened', and he was accompanied by his soldiers and members of his host, except for the Almogavars, who tended to make a very deep impression. 'We were dressed in *a la manera tiesa*, in dimidiated cloth, that is, one part of red velvet and the other of gold cloth, all very fine for the summer heat. We went with our heads

91 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 179; par. 197; chap. 2, par. 23.

92 Pedro IV, *Crònica* , chap. 3, par. 199.

93 *Ordinacions*, chap. 29, p. 89.

94 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 37.

95 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 37.

96 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 4, par. 43; par. 31. Ordering Joan Ximénez to be silent, he explains: 'and he, who heard us talking like this and who was already white, completely discoloured and sat down'.

97 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 125.

uncovered, although, before entering, we first sent our Royal Signal to be placed at the top of the highest tower of the Castle'.[98] The use of the 'foreign' term to describe their clothing is striking: the court introduced modes of dress from different places, especially France and Italy, importing along with them ideas about using one's appearance to surprise. For this, the kings of Aragon relied on foreigntailors, furriers, and shoemakers.[99] There is also the entry he made into Valencia after defeating the king of Castile with the help 'of God and the Virgin Mary, and the blessed St George'. According to him, the Valencians were so happy that 'they ran to kiss our hands and feet, even the skirts of the armour of our person and our horse'.[100] Finally, there is his entry into Perpignan, on which occasion the inhabitants 'were amazed by our people, who were very good and beautiful and well matched'.[101] Proudly, he reports 'we know well that the people took great pleasure in us'.[102]

But there were difficult entries, too. In Perpignan, regicide was planned, the perpetrators intending to shoot 'poisoned arrows' at him from vantage points in buildings, before seizing and killing him. If they failed, 'with false keys they would open the castle to assassinate him'.[103] Upon trying to enter Borriana during the wars with his stepmother and stepbrother in Valencia, the king's advance guard was told that the gates would not be opened and that, if anyone approached, the population would make him flee by throwing stones. Showing his fortitude, Pedro IV advanced and told them: 'I am your king and your lord, King Pedro of Aragon; approach the battlements and you will see that I am. And when they heard these words, they looked out and recognized us'. Identified by his attire and insignia, they opened the 'door of the main gate', after which he dismounted and went to the church, where he was received 'with great joy, weeping and bowing with his elbows on the ground'.[104] The population wept with him, and he with them, because they wanted to remain under his dominion. This was not the only time he would weep as a token of love for his subjects: after hearing the description of the siege of Valencia, 'all our eyes, both mental and bodily, burst into tears'.[105] As at Borriana, the king had to show himself on another occasion, this time to boost the morale of his troops, who thought he was dead: 'We had to go up to a location within the inn, where we appeared in person, and we ordered them [the soldiers] not to move. And then all the companies stayed there, because they saw our person'.[106]

MILES CHRISTI AND THE BATTLE FOR JUSTICE

The context of constant warfare obliged Pedro IV to wear armour on a regular basis. In keeping with his person and dignity, he ordered that the plate covering his body should be neat and beautiful, without corrosion, rust, or deterioration. Kept by the royal armourer, it was to be

98 Emphasis added. Pedro IV, *Crònica*, par. 35.
99 Juan Vicente García, 'El lujo cambiante. El vestido y la difusión de las modas en la Corona de Aragón (siglos XIII-XV)', *Anales de Historia del Arte,* 24 (2014), 227-44 (p. 238).
100 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 6, par. 43.
101 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 163.
102 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 166.
103 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 207.
104 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 30.
105 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 6, par. 40.
106 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 6, par. 35.

✦ Fig. 4
Flahó or main seal. Pedro IV. 1343-1344 (Photo: after Ferran de Sagarra, *Sigil·lografia catalana*, num. 59).

repaired or made new and readied for any occasion, including secret encounters held 'in opportune places', together with other armour that was to be placed near his bed.[107] The *Llibre de notaments* inventories saddles, bridles, spurs, swords, breastplates, helmets, body coverings, as well as the harnesses and barding for the horses, elements that can be seen on the reverse sides of his seals, where he is depicted as an equestrian (Fig. 4).[108] His descriptions are concise: 'we were dressed and bedecked',[109] or 'we were fitted out and ready [...], prepared to inflict injury'.[110] At times, the details he gives are surprising, such as when, after climbing over rocks to conquer Mallorca, he states that 'when we were at the top, our footwear was all torn'.[111]

He revived the idea of divine providence, which had been taken up by Muntaner and by Jaime I, asserting in his chronicle that the kings and subjects of Aragon were guided by and benefitted from the goodness of God – a concept also reflected in the depiction of the star preceding the horseman on the seals of the king of Aragon starting with Jaime I himself.[112] Pedro IV, an admirer of his predecessor and reader of his *Llibre dels Feyts*, states that 'we are responsible for nothing, it is but the result of divine goodness'.[113] His victories were the result of the benevolence of God, the Virgin, and St George, 'who was and is the protector of the battles of our house of Aragon'.[114] His troops followed him with loyalty and conviction even when, before battle, he informed them that they were free to leave.[115] Such was their commitment to him that those who did not disembark to fight the battle of Mallorca 'pulled their hair and beards and made great distress at not being able to come with us'.[116]

He demonstrated his bravery against the Castilians, telling his troops that 'I should be the first to go into battle, and [...] the forequarters of your horses should be with the hindquarters of my horse'. He claimed that his presence caused the enemy to respect him: 'and, we have been told by people of credence that when we were on the battlefield the king of Castile, [...] seeing us there [...] turned away and sought counsel'.[117] This was in spite of his physique. Indeed, at the courts of Monzón in 1363 he warned that 'although God has not made us great in stature, nevertheless, our will and our heart are as great and as full as those of any knight in the world'.[118] He was nonetheless aware of his limitations, as on one occasion when 'we told the barons and knights to follow us on foot and to forgive us for riding, since we were a bad pedestrian'.[119] In this case, however, he ensured that he trotted slowly so that he arrived with his retinue.

107 *Ordinacions*, chap. 36, 'De l'armador real', p. 101.
108 *Ordinacions*, chap. 87, 'De l'argent de la cort nostra', p. 156.
109 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 26.
110 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 6, par. 53.
111 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 6, par. 53.
112 I elaborate on this issue in Marta Serrano-Coll, 'L'*estel* que precedeix el genet en la sigil·lografia dels reis d'Aragó i comtes de Barcelona: problemàtiques interpretatives i metodològiques', in *La sigil·lografia medieval a Catalunya i als territoris de la Corona catalano-aragonesa en un context europeu*, ed. by Xavier Barral and Vinni Lucherini (Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2023).
113 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 193; preface, par. 34.
114 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 5, par. 17.
115 Pedro IV, *Crònica,* chap. 6, par. 41.
116 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, par. 26.
117 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 6, par. 41; 52.
118 Albert and Gassiot, *Corts catalanes*, pp. 24-25.
119 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 28.

✦ Fig. 5
Santa Eulàlia sarcophagus, detail of the top, with Pedro IV, Elisenda de Montcada and Jaime III of Mallorca. ca. 1339. Barcelona Cathedral (Photo: © Barcelona Cathedral. Serie 28, n. 40).

DEVOTIONAL ASPECTS AND COURTLY *PROFITABILITY*

The king was concerned with ensuring that his royal chapel, which also hosted institutional ceremonies, was properly prepared and staffed. When he attended divine offices, an usher-at-arms had to be present near the curtain of his oratory, and if the king was accompanied, the usher had to enter the oratory to protect his master.[120] Pedro IV demonstrated a similar fear for his own safety when he ordered a priest to taste the consecrated host and wine.[121]

Moreover, a chapel escort was to guard the curtains and the other elements necessary to carry out the offices, such as the chair and the oratory, and whatever else was required according to the liturgical season, even when the king was travelling.[122] Every four years, on St Mary's Day in August, three new curtains and four velvet or silk cushions were to be made, two large and two smaller ones, plus a silk cloth to cover the walls of the oratory. In addition, two new woollen cloths were to cover the benches and floor, in the colour most pleasing to the king and decorated with the royal arms, the ancient sign of the king of Aragon, or that of St George.[123] They were to be repaired or made new when necessary, 'considering the decency of our status', as were the red-silk cloths, lacking decoration, and white-silk fabrics with embroidered images for the most solemn festivities.[124] As with the other valuable belongings, the *Llibre de notaments* lists what was maintained by the keeper of the chapel: vestments, altarpieces, ornaments, gold and silver jewellery, and the relics, which were exhibited on rare occasions to demonstrate royal

120 *Ordinacions*, chap. 44, 'Dels uxers d'armes', p. 111.
121 *Ordinacions*, chap. 64, 'De l'abbat de Sanctas Creus', pp. 203-07.
122 *Ordinacions*, chap. 66, 'De l'escolan de la cappella', pp. 142-13.
123 *Ordinacions*, chap. 81, 'De les vestedures e altres ornaments', p. 166.
124 *Ordinacions*, chap. 101, 'De la ordinació de la cappella', pp. 203-07.

power in both the spiritual sphere (through the possession of important remains of saints) and the economic sphere (through the possession of precious gold and silver reliquaries).[125]

Mindful of the need to seek divine favour, he demonstrated his devotion to God in speeches and other actions. His chronicle and his ordinances note that he heard Mass daily and practised charity as well as the *mandatum*.[126] He instituted at court a Mass that he names in his *Ordinacions* the day 'of the advent of the star', a new celebration in which he played the role of the Three Magi by offering 'gold money in a little box, and incense in another, and a small quantity of myrrh in another [...] as the three kings did'.[127] Pedro IV used this ceremony, which had political and religious overtones, as part of his campaign to increase the prestige of the dynasty.[128] He used sacred models to represent himself on the obverse of his seals, the compositions of which clearly refer, for the first time in the Crown of Aragon, to altarpieces (Fig. 4).[129] Moreover, he identified himself with venerable personages, ensuring that his devotions were sufficiently ostentatious to benefit the institution he represented. This can also be seen in his titles, such as *Maiestas* and *Sacra Persona*.[130]

The courtly tone that he wished to give to religious celebrations is evident in his translation of the relics of St Eulàlia to the new crypt in the cathedral of Barcelona on 10 July 1339, during one of his first visits to the city as king. He chose a propitious moment when the highest ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries were present, as well as Jaime III of Mallorca, a key figure who had come to pay him homage.[131] Pedro IV turned the translation into a spectacle of royal power both in terms of its immaterial sacrality and the material objects that featured in it.[132] The political significance of the event is made explicit not only in the chronicle but also in the historical relief on the lid of the reliquary (Fig. 5), in which I identify Elisenda de Montcada and the king of Mallorca, both of whom watch Pedro IV as he prepares to touch the remains of the saint directly and without gloves; he himself proclaimed 'we carry the said holy body in our hands'.[133] Afterwards, there was a banquet, of which he reports that 'a total of twenty-one of us were seated at a solemn table', the remaining guests being seated at other tables, 'since in those times it was not yet customary for any knight to eat with us'.[134] The king would be accompanied by the archbishops and bishops, together with the prescribed doctor, seated on benches with woollen cloths and their cushions of gold cloth and velvet featuring the royal arms.[135] This sumptuousness extended to the table, with the gold and silver tableware, 'which we are accustomed to use in the palace', where 'the best food that can be found' would be served, with attention to variety.[136]

125 *Ordinacions*, chap. 87, 'De l'argent de la cort nostra', p. 156. Albert Torra, 'Kings, saints and relics. Aspectos de la sacralidad de la monarquía catalano-aragonesa', in *XV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza, Gobierno de Aragón, 1996), vol. 3/1, pp. 495-517; Francesca Español, 'El tesoro sagrado de los reyes en la Corona de Aragón', in *Maravillas de la España Medieval*, ed. by Isidro G. Bango Torviso (León, Junta de Castilla y León, 2001), I, pp. 269-88 (pp. 269-68).
126 *Ordinacions*, chap. 69, 'Del servidor de la almoyna', p. 146; chap. 29, 'De l'offici dels camarlenchs', p. 90.
127 *Ordinacions*, chap. 82, 'De les oblacions', p. 168.
128 Joan Molina, *Arte, devoción y poder en la pintura tardogótica catalana* (Murcia, Universidad de Murcia, 1999), p. 166.
129 Serrano-Coll, 'Rex et Sacerdos', pp. 350-54.
130 Felipe Mateu, 'Sacra Regia Aragonum Maiestas. Notas sobre la diplomática y simbología real', in *Homenaje a Johannes Vincke* (Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1962), pp. 201-20 (p. 214).
131 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 35.
132 Serrano-Coll, 'Rex et Sacerdos', pp. 354-56.
133 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 35.
134 Ibidem.
135 *Ordinacions*, chap. 78, 'De les viandes', p. 162; chap. 33, 'Dels meges de cirurgia', p. 98 ; chap. 67, 'Dels almoyners', p. 143.
136 *Ordinacions*, chap. 'Dels rebosters majors', p. 106; chap. 78, 'De les viandes', p. 162.

Brief Conclusions

Pedro IV was a king with a complex personality due to the difficulties he experienced during his childhood, including physical limitations caused by being born two months premature. He overcame these conditions and, conscious of the pre-eminence of his rank and dignity, not only wrote his own chronicle but also ordered the drafting of ordinances for his house and court. The latter structured the order of ceremony, for example prescribing how and with what elements and actions the coronations of the kingdom of Aragon were to be carried out. This study has focused on the most important aspects concerning the king's presence, how he describes his participation in all sorts of events, how these events were to be organized, and how they are corroborated by his iconography. In accordance with the general theme of this volume, special attention has been paid to his physical appearance, that is, his clothing and insignia, as well as to his environment, for example the stages and settings for the events in which he was involved, along with their architecture, furniture, and accessories. Through such means, Pedro IV was able to demonstrate in the eyes of his subjects the political theology he personified. Its visual manifestation during his reign marks a milestone in the saga of the kings of Aragon.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Albert Ricard and Gassion Joan, *Parlaments a les Corts catalanes* (Barcelona, 1928).

Finke, Heinrich, *Acta Aragonensia*, (Berlin-Leipzig, 1908-1922).

Hillgarth, Jocelyn H., *Pere III of Catalonia (Pedro IV of Aragon), Chronicle* (Toronto, 1980).

Muntaner, Ramon, *Crònica,* ed. by Ferran Soldevila (*Les Quatre Grans Cròniques*) (Barcelona, 1983).

Ordinacions de la Casa i Cort de Pere el Cerimoniós, ed. by Francisco M. Gimeno, Daniel Gonzalbo and Josep Trenchs (Valencia, 2009).

Pedro IV, *Chronicle*, ed. by Ferran Soldevila *(Les quatre grans Cròniques, IV*) (Barcelona, 2014).

Rubió, Antoni, *Documents per a la història de la cultura catalana mig-eval* (Barcelona, 1908).

Schena, Olivetta, *Leggi palatine di Pietro IV d'Aragona* (Cagliari, 1983).

Zurita, Jerónimo, *Anales de Aragón*, ed. by Ángel Canellas (Zaragoza, 1978 [1562-1580]).

Secondary Sources

Adroer, Anna M., 'El palau de la reina Elionor: un monument desaparegut', *Lambard. Estudis d'Art Medieval,* 6 (1994), pp. 247-64.

Altisent, Agustí, 'Tres apuntes', in *Studia in Honorem Prof. M. de Riquer II* (Barcelona, 1987), pp. 633-36.

Alvira, Martín, 'Destruir aquels qui reneguen lo nom de Jhesucrist. El obispo de Barcelona Berenguer de Palou (1212-1241)', in *Hombres de religión y guerra. Cruzada y guerra santa en la Edad Media peninsular (siglos X-XV),* ed. by Ayala Carlos and Palacios Santiago (Madrid, 2018), pp. 361-418.

Aurell, Jaume and Serrano-Coll Marta, 'The Self-coronation of Peter the Ceremonious (1336): Historical, Liturgical and Iconographical Representations', *Speculum. A Journal of Medieval Studies,* 89/1 (2014), 66-95.

Barral, Xavier, 'El marc monumental de celebració de les corts a l'edat mitjana', in *Les Corts a Catalunya: actes del Congrès d'Història Institucional* (Barcelona, 1991), pp. 407-11.

Beauchamp, Alexandra, 'Ordonnances et réformes de l'hôtel royal au début du règne de Pierre <IV d'Aragon', in *Anuario de Estudios Medievales,* 39/2 (2009), 555-73.

Bracons, Josep, 'Santa Maria del Mar', in *L'Art Gòtic a Catalunya. Arquitectura II*, ed. by Pladevall, Antoni (Barcelona, 2003), pp. 72-88.

Cawsey, Suzanne F., *Kingship and Propaganda: Royal Eloquence and the Crown of Aragon c. 1200-1450* (Oxford, 2002).

Cid, Daniel, 'La restauració del desaparegut Palau Reial Menor de Barcelona a través del Llibre d'Obra. El cas de la Sala Major (1376-1378)', *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Medievalia,* 18 (1997), 397-425.

Del Arco, Ricardo, *Sepulcros de la Casa Real de Aragón* (Madrid, 1945).

Español, Francesca, 'El palau reial menor de Barcelona: usos i espais representatius. La Sala dels cavalls', in *Lambard. Estudis d'Art Medieval,* 28 (2020), 57-82.

Español, Francesca, 'El tesoro sagrado de los reyes en la Corona de Aragón', in Bango Torviso Isidro G. (dir.), *Maravillas de la España Medieval* (León, 2001), vol. I, pp. 269-88.

Español, Francesca, *Els escenaris del rei* (Barcelona, 2001).

García Juan, Vicente, 'El lujo cambiante. El vestido y la difusión de las modas en la Corona de Aragón (siglos XIII-XV)', *Anales de Historia del Arte,* 24 (2014), 227-44.

Gimeno, Francesc, 'Escribir, leer y reinar. La experiencia gráfico-textual de Pedro IV el Ceremonioso (1336-1387)', in *Scrittura e Civiltà,* 22 (1998), 119-233.

Gimeno, Francisco and Serra Amadeo, 'Representar la dinastía: el manuscrito genealógico del monasterio de Poblet', in *Genealogia dels Comtes de Barcelona i Reis d'Aragó* (Valencia, 1997), pp. 57-74.

Hillgarth, Jocelyn H., 'La personalitat política i cultural de Pere III a través de la seva crònica', in *Lengua & Literatura*, 5 (1992-1993), 7-102.

López de Meneses, Amada, *Documentos acerca de la peste negra en los dominios de la Corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1956).

Lüttenberg, Thomas, 'Le tissu comme aura. Les fonctions des tentures à la cour d'Aragon et à Barcelone (XIVe-XVe siècles)', *Persée. Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Age,* 111/1 (1999), 373-92.

Madurell, Josep M., 'Las antiguas dependencias del Palacio Real Mayor de Barcelona', *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia,* 14 (1941), 142-48.

Mateu, Felipe, 'Sacra Regia Aragonum Maiestas. Notas sobre la diplomática y simbología real', in *Homenaje a Johannes Vincke* (Madrid, 1962), pp. 201-20.

Molina, Joan, *Arte, devoción y poder en la pintura tardogótica catalana* (Murcia, 1999).

Montaner, Alberto, *El señal del rey de Aragón: Historia y significado* (Zaragoza, 1995).

Olivar, Marçal, *Els tapissos francesos del rei En Pere el Cerimoniós* (Barcelona, 1986).

Palacios, Bonifacio, *The Coronation of the Kings of Aragon. 1204-1410. A contribution to the study of medieval political structures* (Madrid, 1975).

Pérez-Monzón, Olga, 'Ceremonias regias en la Castilla Medieval. A propósito del llamado Libro de la Coronación de los Reyes de Castilla y Aragón', *Archivo Español de Arte,* 83/332 (2010), 317-34.

Piferrer, Pablo and Quadrado José María, *Spain. Its monuments and arts. Its nature and history. Islas Baleares* (Barcelona, 1888).

Planas, Josefina, *El esplendor del gótico catalán. La miniatura a comienzos del siglo XV* (Lleida, 1998).

Puig, Lluis and Puig Luisel·la, 'El rei Pere III "el Cerimoniós" i la medicina', *Actes del III Congrés d'Història de la Medicina Catalana,* 3 (1981), 211-20.

Rubió, Antoni, 'Algunes consideracions sobre la oratoria política de Catalunya en l'Edat Mitjana', *Estudis Universitaris Catalans,* 3 (1909), 213-24.

Serrano-Coll, Marta, 'Art to seal memory. Coronation ceremonies and the sword as symbol of power: Aragon, 1200-1400', in *Memory in the Middle Ages. Approaches from Southwestern Europe,* ed. by Sabaté, Flocel (Amsterdam, 2020), pp. 229-52.

Serrano-Coll, Marta, 'Rex et Sacerdos. A veiled ideal of kingship? Representing priestly kings in Medieval Iberia', in *Political Theology in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Discourses, Rites and Representations,* ed. by Herrero Montserrat, Aurell Jaume and Micheli Angela C. (Turnhout, 2017), pp. 337-62.

Serrano-Coll, Marta, *Effigies Regis Aragonum. La imagen figurativa del rey de Aragón en la Edad Media* (Zaragoza, 2015).

Sevillano, Francisco, 'Apuntes para el estudio de la cancillería de Pedro IV el Ceremonioso', *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español,* 20 (1950), pp. 137-41.

Sobrequés, Jaume, Riera, Sebastià, Rovira, Manuel, de Montagut, Tomàs and Yarza Joaquín, *Llibre Verd de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 2004).

Torra, Albert, 'Kings, saints and relics. Aspectos de la sacralidad de la monarquía catalano-aragonesa', in *XV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1996), tom. I, vol. III, pp. 495-517.

SABINE SOMMERER

Staging the Absent King
Effects of Presence on Medieval Royal Thrones

In October 2021, an anti-mafia action group assembled an impressive installation in the square of Palermo Cathedral (Fig. 1). Numerous school desks were presented alongside more than a hundred chairs like those used in Italian classrooms. The backrests of the empty chairs were upholstered with white T-shirts, on which were printed the names of child mafia victims. The location of such a personalized piece of clothing as a T-shirt on the backrest created a material as well as corporeal connection to the deceased by helping the viewer to imagine the person sitting on the chair. In the place where the heart would have been, a red splash further visualized the bleeding heart of the child, while also invoking his or her violent cause of death. As such, these chairs were meant to serve as a reminder of the atrocities and keep alive the memory of the deceased.[1]

Already in ancient times, empty thrones were staged to commemorate those who were absent. In this way, deserving personalities – whether deceased or simply away from the chair's location – could be granted the special honour of being made present via a 'memorial chair', for instance, in the theatre's auditorium, thus occupying a prominent position in the civic community. Written sources document this practice, for example, for Marcellus, the prematurely deceased presumptive successor of the Roman emperor Augustus.[2] As is attested in that case, the *sella* was sometimes additionally adorned with a wreath and a portrait of the honoured person. More than just indicating ownership, these objects were attributes of the absent

* This paper emerged from research on my habilitation project at the University of Zurich concerning the materiality and mediality of medieval chairs, conducted with support from funds of the Research Talent Development Fund (FAN) of the Alumni Association of the University of Zurich and the Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max Planck Institute for Art History in Rome (project number BH-P-2028). Special thanks go to the editors as well as the discussants for their valuable comments. For additional help with literature, photography, and feedback on the written text, I would like to thank Robert Baró, Xavier Barral i Altet, Paul Binski, Giulia Anna Bianca Bordi, Adrian Bremenkamp, Joan Domenge Mesquida, Irene Gonzalez, Matthias Grawehr, Ramon Pujades Bataller, Elisabetta Scirocco, Marta Serrano Coll, Marc Sureda i Jubany and Carola Jäggi, to whom I would like to dedicate this article.

1 See https://vittimemafia.it; see also https://www.palermotoday.it/cronaca/anniversario-omicidio-claudio-domino-cerimonia-2021.html#page (accessed 8 October 2021).

2 Cassius Dio, 53, 30, 6. The same honours were given to other members of the imperial house, e.g. Germanicus, Drusus, Tiberius, and Seianus, but could also be bestowed upon benefactors at a local level, as in the case of Marcus Nonius Balbus at Herculaneum; see Stefan Weinstock, 'The Image and the Chair of Germanicus', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 47 (1957), pp. 144-54 (149-50); Leonhard Schumacher, 'Das Ehrendekret für M. Nonius Balbus aus Herculaneum (AE 1947 p. 53)', *Chiron*, 6 (1976), pp. 165-84; Thomas Schäfer, *Imperii insignia. Sella Curulis und Fasces*, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung, Ergänzungsheft, 29) (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1989), p. 132.

 DOI 10.1484/M.HMSAH-EB.5.135016. This is an open access chapter made available under a CC BY-NC 4.0 International License.

✦ Fig. 1
Palermo, Piazza della Cattedrale, installation with chairs of the Vittimemafia-movement (Photo: Sabine Sommerer).

person, giving them a representative function. Like the T-shirts on the schoolchildren's chairs in Palermo, they concretely referenced the act of sitting or being enthroned.

In this article, I analyse three examples respectively from the ninth, thirteenth, and fifteenth centuries to show how royal portraits and heraldic emblems on medieval seats use different effects to keep the absent or deceased king present. First, I will make a brief detour through the sacred sphere to look at the practice of marking the presence of biblical and historical personalities by means of chairs.

The Paradox of the Present Absentee

In Bari, shortly before 1123, the so-called Throne of Elias (Fig. 2) was created as an empty throne.[3] Yet the cathedra of Archbishop Elias was commissioned not for Bari Cathedral but rather for the more famous pilgrimage church of San Nicola. The most plausible patron is Elias's successor, Abbot Eustasius, who, according to the inscription on the top step of the presbytery,

3 Much has been written on the throne of Elias, but little on its function as an empty chair. Seminal works are Francesco Aceto, 'La cattedra dell'abate Elia; dalla memoria alla storia', in *Medioevo: immagine e memoria*, ed. by Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, I convegni di Parma, 11 (Milan: Mondadori Electa, 2009), pp. 132-43; Rowan W. Dorin, 'The Mystery of the Marble Man and His Hat. A Reconsideration of the Bari Episcopal Throne', *Florilegium*, 25, 1 (2008), 29-52; Lawrence Nees, 'Forging Monumental Memories in the Early Twelfth Century', in *Memory and Oblivion*, ed. by Wessel Reinink and Jeroen Stumpel (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1999), pp. 773-82; Joachim Poeschke, 'Bari, S. Nicola', in *Die Skulptur des Mittelalters in Italien*, 1, Romanik (Munich: Hirmer, 1998), pp. 102-4; Pina Belli D'Elia and Michele D'Elia,

✦ Fig. 2
Bari, San Nicola, so-called Throne of Elias, shortly before 1123, backside with inscription (Photo: Giulia Anna Bianca Bordi).

was responsible for the interior decoration of San Nicola (*pater Eustasius sic decorando regit*).[4] Eustasius, seeking to maintain the great fame of the pilgrimage church after Elias's death in 1105, staged the cathedra as a memorial object to keep his famous predecessor present.

As a ceremonial chair, this cathedra has an extraordinary sculptural quality and also occupies an unusual location, namely in the middle of the presbytery.[5] A majuscule inscription, epigraphically related to the one on the staircase, proceeds around three sides of the throne and testifies to its originally intended all-view reception.[6] It states that 'the illustrious and good patron Elias, bishop of Bari and Canosa, sits on this seat':

> + INCLITVS ATQ[UE] BONVS SE / DET H // AC IN SEDE PATRONVS / PRESVL BARINVS // H / ELIAS ET CANV / SINVS.[7]

Thus far, researchers have used this inscription primarily to identify the patron and owner of the cathedra and to provide information on the context of its creation; however, I believe it also offers decisive clues to the original function of the throne. Contrary to the inscription's statement, the object was not possessed by Elias but rather functioned as an empty showpiece. Had Elias actually sat on this throne, then the inscription would have been nothing more than a pleonastic, meaningless epigraph, one diametrically opposed in character to Eustasius's elaborate and highly sophisticated programme of interior decoration. Indeed, Elias never sat on this throne because, by the time it was created, he was already deceased. As a sculptural monument, the cathedra was intended to make Elias present and to perpetuate his presence in the apsidal semicircle at the centre of the synthronon as a sculptural monument.

This ingenious effect of making present is based on the paradox to stage the presence of the absentee. Dieter Mersch has called this the paradox of embodiment.[8] According to him, the effectiveness of the depiction, beyond merely representing or substituting, explicitly concerns the performance of the depicted.[9] Now, if the inscription on the Throne of Elias evokes such an effect of staging the sitter's presence, we are not dealing here with a singular phenomenon but with a longer tradition that has yet to be sufficiently appreciated within research on thrones. Various authors have already proposed that thrones be interpreted as representative of their owners, at least within the medieval ecclesiastical milieu.[10] In this context, we can

'Aggiunte tranesi al Maestro della Cattedra di Elia. Nuove precisazioni sul romanico pugliese', *Studi e ricerche di storia dell'arte*, ed. by Luciano Tamburini and Cecilia Giudici Servetti (Turin: Associazione amici dei musei civici di Torino, 1981), pp. 4-60; Pina Bellia D'Elia, 'Le cattedre', in *La Puglia fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente*, ed. by Pina Belli D'Elia, Civiltà e culture in Puglia 2 (Milan: Electa, 1980), pp. 217-19 (at 218-9), Pina Belli D'Elia, 'La Cattedra dell'abate Elia: Precisazioni sul Romanico pugliese', *Bollettino d'Arte*, 59 (1974), pp. 1-17.

4 Fabio Coden, *Corpus della scultura ad incrostazione di mastice nella penisola italiana (XI-XIII sec.)*, Humanitas 3 (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2006), p. 458.

5 The majority of monumental, immobile cathedras are attached to the wall in the apse and therefore do not feature any decoration on their reverses.

6 For the dating of the throne, the integration of this inscription into the sculptural decoration must not be neglected. The area bearing the inscription must have been created in the course of decorating the other frame moldings; it could not have been applied either secondarily or in place of an earlier ornamental pattern.

7 Dorin, '*Mystery of the Marble Man*', p. 32.

8 Dieter Mersch, 'Paradoxien der Verkörperung', in *Körper – Verkörperung – Entkörperung*, ed. by Winfried Nörth and Anke Hertzing (Kassel: Kassel University Press, 2005), pp. 17-41.

9 Mersch, *'Paradoxien der Verkörperung'* p. 19.

10 Francesco Gandolfo, 'Cattedra', in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale*, IV (Rome: Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1993), pp. 496-505, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cattedra_%28Enciclopedia-dell'-Arte-Medievale%29/ (accessed 8 October 2021).

identify a close connection to the concept of the empty chair, which Paul Durand introduced into Christian iconography as the so-called Hetoimasia in 1867.[11] This is the motif of the throne prepared for the World Judge (Psalm 9:8), that is, for the Second Coming of Christ.[12] Various attributes, such as the Cross, the instruments of the Passion, and the sealed Book of Life, refer to the absentee, the owner of the throne. For our purposes, it is significant that the iconography of the empty throne can be traced back to the collective rituals of the ancient funerary cult as well as to ancient Near Eastern courtly rituals.[13]

In contrast to the Hetoimasia, the thrones that I will examine here are three-dimensional realia. Sui generis, as they offer actual seating, their nature is inviting, and this gives them a spatial effect.[14] As in the case of depictions of the Hetoimasia, we may assume that thrones featuring royal images were primarily conceived of as empty seats. In what follows, it will be shown that this same practice manifests itself as a long-lasting phenomenon for chairs of secular origin, stretching from the Carolingian Empire in the ninth century to the Spanish court in the fifteenth century.

Three seminal works from the discipline of history have laid the groundwork for numerous art-historical studies on the representation and self-display of rulers: firstly, Percy Ernst Schramm's comprehensive publications on the early medieval image of rulers from the 1920s,[15] secondly, *The King's Two Bodies* (1957) from Ernst H. Kantorowicz, who distinguishes two forms of representation, corresponding to the earthly, mortal, and the institutional, political royal being.[16] Louis Marin, in his 1981 study of sign and representation theory *Le Portrait du roi*, trisects the royal body by contrasting its sacramental, historical, and political dimensions.[17] These seminal works have influenced art-historical research on the aestheticization and instrumentalization of the royal body of the past two decades, such as Tanja Michalsky's monograph on

11 Paul Durand, *Étude sur l'Étimacia, symbole du jugement dernier dans l'iconographie grecque chrétienne* (Chartres: Garnier, 1867).

12 Thomas von Bogyay, 'Etimasie', in *Reallexikon der deutschen Kunst*, VI (Munich: Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, 1969), pp. 144-154 (esp. 144), republished in *RDK Labor*, https://www.rdklabor.de/w/?oldid=89229 (accessed 8 October 2021).

13 Eduard Stommel, 'Die bischöfliche Kathedra im christlichen Altertum', *Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift*, 3 (1952), pp. 17-32 (at 21-22).

14 For the chair's affordance to sit, see J. James Gibson, *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (New York: Taylor and Francis, 1986), p. 128; Donald A. Norman, *Design of Everyday Things* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013 [1988]), p. 11; Carl Knappett, *Thinking through Material Culture: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), p. 49. I elaborated on this in Sabine Sommerer, 'Substitut des Königs. Mittelalterliche Throne mit Königsbildern als repräsentative Agenten', *Convivium*, 8/2 (2021), pp. 34-55 (at 37-38).

15 Percy Ernst Schramm, 'Das Herrscherbild, in der Kunst des frühen Mittelalters', *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 2/1 (1922/23), pp. 145-224; Percy Ernst Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit, 751-1190*, ed. by Percy Ernst Schramm and Florentine Mütherich (Munich: Prestel, 1983 [1928]). See also Adolf Reinle, *Das stellvertretende Bildnis. Plastiken und Gemälde von der Antike bis ins 19. Jahrhundert* (Zürich: Artemis, 1984), especially the chapter 'Repräsentationsbilder', pp. 66-110.

16 German translation: Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Die zwei Körper des Königs. Eine Studie zur politischen Theologie des Mittelalters* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1990).

17 Note in particular the introduction with remarks on 're-presentation', see Louis Marin, *Das Porträt des Königs*, trans. by Heinz Jatho (Berlin: Diaphanes, 2005), pp. 10-27; see also Vera Beyer, Jutta Voorhoeve, and Anselm Haverkamp, *Das Bild ist der König. Repräsentation nach Louis Marin* (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2006), in particular the introduction.

the royal tombs of the Angevins[18] or Kristin Marek's on royal effigies.[19] While these studies of image carriers and the insignia of power provide important insights into the materiality and mediality of artistic artefacts in royal contexts, they do not deal with royal images on thrones.

In the following, I consider three royal chairs to explain the special ability of such objects to make present absent persons by means of royal images. These are the Cathedra Petri in Rome (before 875), the so-called Coronation Chair at Westminster Abbey in London (1297), and the throne offered by King Martin I of Aragon to Barcelona Cathedral (before 1410). Created in a royal context, these three thrones are made from valuable materials and exhibit an outstanding artistic quality. As pediment thrones, they are related to one another both typologically and structurally. Since the chairs were created in different epochs and are, as far as I know, the only surviving such objects featuring royal images, they provide the perfect starting point for a diachronic study of the meaning and presence effected by these royal images. I do not wish to deny that the three thrones might have been used as actual seats during ceremonies held for the rulers' lives – their shape, material, and size certainly allow for this possibility.[20] However, I argue that each of these thrones was originally designed as an empty chair and thereby to serve as a valuable surrogate for its owner, whom the chair represented *in absentia*; and it is this original function that is my primary interest here. The clearest evidence of this purpose is provided by the royal images on the thrones. These images – and this is another commonality among the three cases – are prominently positioned on the chairs, forming the decorative culmination.

The Bust of Charles the Bald on the Cathedra Petri

The Cathedra Petri at the Vatican (Fig. 3) has received comparatively much attention from researchers.[21] Since 1666, it has been enclosed in a Baroque reliquary commissioned by Alexander VII from Gian Lorenzo Bernini for the apse of the Vatican Basilica.[22] While one of two copies, made in 1975, can be found in the treasury of St Peter's Cathedral, the original

18 Tanja Michalsky, *Memoria und Repräsentation. Die Grabmäler des Königshauses Anjou in Italien*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 157 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2000), is also based on this dual concept and distinguishes between sacral kingship and dynastic rule. See also Julian Gardner, 'Seated Kings, Sea-Faring Saints and Heraldry. Some Themes in Angevin Iconography', in *L'État angevin. Pouvoir, culture et société entre XIIIe et XIVe siècle*, Collections de l'École française de Rome, 245 = Nuovi studi storici 45 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1998), pp. 115-26; Stephen Perkinson, 'Representing the Royal Body in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries', in Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King. A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 85-134.

19 Kristin Marek, *Die Körper des Königs. Effigies, Bildpolitik und Heiligkeit* (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2009). In this context, one must also mention Hans Belting, *Bild-Anthropologie. Entwürfe für eine Bildwissenschaft* (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2001), especially the chapter 'Wappen und Porträt. Zwei Medien des Körpers', pp. 115-42.

20 This is especially the case for the Coronation Chair.

21 See references in the following notes.

22 Hugo Brandenburg, *San Pietro. Storia di un monumento* (Milan: Jaca Book, 2015), pp. 286-99; Marcello Fagiolo, *Roma barocca. l protagonisti. gli spazi urbani, i grandi temi* (Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2013), pp. 97-103; Sebastian Schütze, 'Werke als Kalküle ihres Wirkungsanspruchs: die Cathedra Petri und ihr Bedeutungswandel im konfessionellen Zeitalter', in *Sankt Peter in Rom 1506-2006*, ed. by Georg Satzinger and Sebastian Schütze (Munich: Hirmer, 2008), pp. 405-25.

throne has left its chair-shaped shell only on three occasions.[23] The most recent occurrence was on 26 November 1968 during an extensive scientific investigation led by Michele Maccarrone.[24]

With its bench seat, pediment-shaped backrest, and rich pictorial decorations, as well as its lack of armrests, the Cathedra Petri is, typologically speaking, a *solium*.[25] The chair measures 137 centimetres in height, 85.5 in width, 65.2 in depth, and can be seen as consisting of three parts. The structure of oak beams with a seat height of 66.2 centimetres, as well as the backrest, date to the middle of the ninth century; the latter was subsequently shortened.[26] The second component is a wooden panel at the front of the throne, dendrochronologically dated to around 860.[27] Elaborate ivory plates are embellishing this panel. Their ornamentation can also be dated to the late Carolingian period. The third part is a wooden framework that surrounds the chair, having been attached as a carrying device in the thirteenth century.[28]

Both the seat and the backrest feature arcading, while the pediment of the backrest has three large, round openings. The surfaces of the seat and backrest are covered with ivory strips, some of which are worked *à jour*.[29] The decoration of this ivory work varies depending on the degree of visibility: while the ivory strips on the back of the chair exhibit a schematic staircase pattern, those visible from the front are carved and contain tendril patterns along with a wealth of figures. In addition to battle scenes between armed people and hybrid creatures, the decoration of the pediment not only thematizes astrological personifications but also displays a king's bust (Fig. 4). Moreover, we can discern battle scenes on the eighteen ivory panels on the front of the bench. There, the two upper rows depict – to an unusual extent for Carolingian art – the

23 Antje Kluge-Pinsker, 'Die Replik der 'Cathedra Petri' im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum. Ein Objekt, seine Repliken und ihr Publikum', in *Authentisierung im Museum. Ein Werkstatt-Bericht*, ed. by Thomas Eser, Michael Farrenkopf, Dominik Kimmel, Achim Saupe and Ursula Warnke (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2017), pp. 103-11 (here 103). Diego Giovanni Ravelli, *La solennità della Cattedra di San Pietro nella Basilica Vaticana. Storia e formulario della Messa* (Rome: Ed. Liturgiche, 2012), pp. 206-08.

24 *La cattedra lignea di San Pietro in Vaticano*, ed. by Michele Maccarrone and Dante Balboni (Rome: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana, 1971); *Nuove ricerche sulla cattedra lignea di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, ed. by Michele Maccarrone, Bernhard Bischoff, Nazzareno Gabrielli, Elio Corona and Ernst Hollstein (Rome: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana, 1975). The two Vatican monographs were followed only by essays; no monographic studies of the Cathedra Petri have since appeared. The subsequent research therefore had access only to imperfect photographs of uncleaned ivory works, and the throne itself could not be studied in its original form after 1975.

25 For the typology of the *solium*, see Isidore of Seville's, *Etymologiae sive origines, XX.10: De lecticis et sellis*; translated as *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed. by Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 403; Percy Ernst Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1954), I, pp. 318-22.

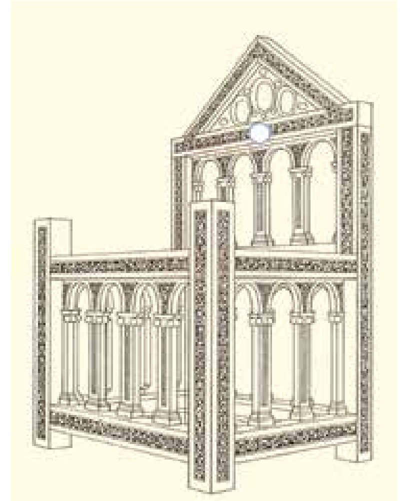
26 The backrest, estimated to measure 170 centimetres in height today, was shortened by 40 centimetres at some point. See Dorothea and Peter Diemer, 'Zwei Throne Karls des Kahlen? Zu Ikonographie, Erhaltungszustand und Rekonstruktion der Cathedra Petri', *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, 72/73 (2018/19), pp. 137-70 (at 164-65, with figs. 37a-c).

27 Elio Corona, 'Indagine dendrochronologica', in *La cattedra lignea*, pp. 165-72. See also the following contributions in the same volume: Antonio Ferrua, 'Esame strutturale e archeologica', pp. 113-19; Marisa Alessio, 'Datazione con il metodo di carbonio-14', pp. 173-85; Vittorio Federici, 'Esami chimici', pp. 185-90. Before the wooden panel was attached, the front of the chair was also arcaded. According to dendrochronological analysis, the panel, a diptych, was made in eastern France (probably Lorraine). See in the same volume: Ernst Hollstein, 'Die Cathedra Lignea von St. Peter im Vatikan', pp. 79-103 (esp. 103); Ernst Hollstein, 'Zur dendrochronologischen Regionaldiagnose der Eichenhölzer der Cathedra Lignea von St. Peter im Vatikan', *Römische Quartalschrift*, 75 (1980), pp. 206-07.

28 Elio Corona, 'Ricerche dendrocronologiche sul rivestimento ligneo (gabbia) della Cattedra di S. Pietro', *Memorie del Museo Tridentino di scienze naturali*, 20 (1979), pp. 37-47, mentions, in addition to pine, components made of chestnut and ash; see especially pp. 37 and 46-47.

29 Pietro Romanelli, 'La decorazione in avorio', in *La cattedra lignea*, pp. 191-216.

✦ Fig. 3
Rome, St. Peter, Cathedra Petri, before 875, state around 1970, with support and carrying frame (Photo: after Margherita Guarducci, *La cattedra di San Pietro nella scienza e nella fede*, Rome 1982, pl. IV).



✦ Fig. 5
Reconstruction of the Cathedra Petri. The position of Charles' portrait is highlighted (CC BY-SA 3.0).

✦ Fig. 4
Rome, St. Peter, Cathedra Petri, before 875, state around 1970, detail of decoration on the backrest: portrait of Charles the Bald (Photo: after Margherita Guarducci, *La cattedra di San Pietro nella scienza e nella fede*, Rome 1982, pl. VII).

twelve labours of Hercules, while the third row is populated by six hybrid creatures.[30] The ornamentation and figurative depictions on these panels were made using a polychrome engraving technique. A few fragments indicate that the bodies of the main figures, in particular, were once covered with gold leaf. This chryselephantine combination makes the Cathedra Petri the only surviving chair decorated with *both* ivory and gold, firmly anchoring it in the Old Testament tradition of the Throne of Solomon, as described in 1 Kings 10:18: 'Then the king made a great throne covered with ivory and overlaid it with fine gold'.[31]

The sumptuously decorated throne apparently changed owners on a symbolic date, namely, it is thought that it found its way to Rome as a gift to St Peter's, together with the Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura and other *multa et pretiosa munera*, to celebrate Pope John VIII's coronation of Charles the Bald as emperor on Christmas Day in 875.[32] The dating of the chair and the wooden plates on the lower front (with the ivory Hercules tablets) suggests that the cathedra was primarily created as a throne for Charles the Bald, and only secondarily was gifted to St Peter's. From the twelfth century onwards, the Cathedra Petri underwent yet another change of function and meaning, becoming venerated as the *ipsa cathedra* of St Peter himself.[33] As a cult object of high rank, it was moved several times within Old St Peter's Basilica.[34]

Since no available written source explains the origin, function, or ownership of this throne, the half-length figure depicted on the backrest (Fig. 4) plays an especially important role. The image is positioned in the middle of the horizontal ivory strip, directly beneath the centremost opening in the pediment (Fig. 5). Most scholars attribute the portrait of the crowned bust to Charles the Bald, an argument based primarily on Charles's unique traits, such as his moustache and royal accessories (e.g. crown, orb, and sceptre).[35] The depiction indeed shows physiognomic similarities

30 Rebecca Müller, 'Mythenrezeption in karolingischer Zeit. Bilder, Texte, und Bilder in Texten', in *Mittelalterliche Mythenrezeption. Paradigmen und Paradigmenwechsel*, ed. by Ulrich Rehm (Cologne: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2018), pp. 81-104 (esp. 92); Müller further elaborates on how the ivory panels dominate the perception of the cathedra in structural, topological, and material terms. See also Ulrich Rehm, *Klassische Mythologie im Mittelalter. Antikenrezeption in der bildenden Kunst* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2019), pp. 93-98.

31 On the cathedra as a special case with drilled and gilt ivory, see Stefan Trinks, 'Eingehüllt in Gold und Bein – die *techné* des Chryselephantin als 'Mitstreit' im Mittelalter', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 79 (2016), pp. 481-507 (at 493-95). For medieval artefacts of the Throne of Solomon in the Christian West, see Allegra Iafrate, *The Wandering Throne of Solomon. Objects and Tales of Kingship in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 215-57.

32 'Karolus […] in die nativitatis Domini beato Petro multa et pretiosa munera offerens […].' In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptores rer. Germ. 5, 1883, ad anno 876: Hincmarus Remensis, Annales Bertiniani, cited from Percy Ernst Schramm, 'Die Cathedra St. Petri in der Peterskirche zu Rom', in Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen*, I, pp. 694-707 (esp. 705).

33 Michele Maccarrone, 'Die Cathedra Sancti Petri im Hochmittelalter. Vom Symbol des päpstlichen Amtes zum Kultobjekt (II)', *Römische Quartalschrift*, 76 (1981), 137-72 (pp. 165-66); Ravelli, *Solennità della Cattedra*, pp. 187-88; and Carola Jäggi, 'Cathedra Petri und Colonna Santa in St. Peter zu Rom. Überlegungen zu „Produktion" und Konjunktur von Reliquien im Mittelalter', in *Erzeugung und Zerstörung von Sakralität zwischen Antike und Mittelalter*, ed. by Armin F. Bergmeier, Katharina Palmberger and Joseph E. Sanzo, *Distant Worlds Journal*, 1 (2016), pp. 109-31 (at 122-24); Sabina Rosenbergová, 'The Myth of the Cathedra Petri', in *Re-Thinking, Re-Making, Re-Living Christian Origins*, ed. by Ivan Foletti, Manuela Gianandrea, Serena Romano and Elisabetta Scirocco (Rome: Viella, 2018), pp. 333-44 (esp. 341-44).

34 Sible De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor. Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), II, pp. 721-22.

35 Raffaele Garrucci, *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della Chiesa* (Prato: Guasti and Giachetti, 1880), VI, p. 12; Schramm, 'Die Cathedra St. Petri', pp. 700-02; Percy Ernst Schramm, 'Kaiser Karl der Kahle der Stifter des Thrones in St. Peter', in *La cattedra lignea*, pp. 277-93 (esp. pp. 277-79); Chiara Frugoni, 'L'ideologia del potere imperiale nella 'Cattedra di S. Pietro'', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 86 (1976-77), pp. 67-181; Lawrence Nees, 'Charles the Bald and the Cathedra Petri', in *Charles the Bald:*

✦ Fig. 6
Charles the Bald enthroned, from the *Codex Aureaus of St Emmeram*, ca. 870. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS. Clm 14000, fol. 5v (Photo: CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

to Charles's portrait in the *Codex Aureus* of St Emmeram (Fig. 6), which was created in Charles's court school in 870, as well as to the small-format equestrian statue of Charles in the Louvre, which also dates from around 870 and is attributed to the so-called Younger Metz School.[36]

On the throne, the bust is flanked by two angels in profile, each offering the sovereign a crown resembling the one on his head.[37] Not much has been written about this motif thus far, but it is striking that it results in a triplication of the crown. There are parallels to the depiction of Charles the Bald in the *Codex Aureus*, where the enthroned person is flanked by two armed soldiers plus the personifications Francia and Gotia. The latter two each wear a jewelled crown, standing respectively for the West and East Frankish empires – territories that together never belonged to Charles the Bald. After the death of his step-nephew Lothar II on 8 August 869, Charles the Bald nearly achieved his goal of ruling over the entire Frankish Empire for a short time. Yet after one year to the day, on 8 August 870, Lorraine was divided up in the Treaty of Mersen, and Charles had to cede part of Lorraine, along with Metz and Aachen, to his half-brother Louis the German. This obviously unattainable possession for Charles must have led to the innovative and idealizing image in the *Codex Aureus* of 870. Accordingly, the use of personifications in depictions of rulers must be understood as an absolute novelty at this date.[38] Also new is that Francia and Gotia personify not the ruled people but rather the ruled territory.[39] In this respect, it is not surprising that the Cathedra Petri, which was created in the same period as the *Codex Aureus*, shows the related and also novel pictorial motif of the figures flanking the king's portrait (Fig. 4). Here, the female personifications of the desired territories have been merged with the angels, becoming winged beings. As such, they no longer wear their crowns but offer them – alias the realms they embody – to the ruler.[40] The third crown, which Charles the Bald wears on his head, stands for the Kingdom of Italy. Charles inherited this possession after the death of his step-nephew Louis II on 12 August 875. His death also paved the way for Charles's coronation as Holy Roman Emperor, which took place on 25 December of the same year, exactly 75 years after that of his grandfather Charlemagne. Such an interpretation of the three crowns seems to support the generally accepted view that Charles bequeathed the throne to St Peter's upon his coronation, on Christmas day 875.

Court and Kingdom, ed. by Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1990), pp. 340-47; Nikolaus Staubach, *Rex Christianus. Hofkultur und Herrschaftspropaganda im Reich Karls des Kahlen*, II: *Die Grundlegung der 'religion royale'* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1993), p. 292; William Diebold, 'The Ruler Portrait of Charles the Bald', *Gesta*, 71/1 (1994), pp. 6-18. Examining the new portrait type of Charles the Bald, Anne-Orange Poilpré limits her study to manuscripts and does not discuss the Cathedra Petri: Anne-Orange Poilpré, 'Le portrait royal en trône sous le règne de Charles le Chauve: L'espace constraint de la royauté', in *L'image médiévale. Fonctions dans l'espace sacré et structuration de l'espace cultuel*, ed. by Cécile Voyer and Éric Sparhubert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 325-40.

36 Schramm, '*Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige*', pp. 50-62. See also the two earlier dated portraits of the enthroned emperor in Vivian's Bible, the so-called First Bible of Charles the Bald (Paris, BnF, Lat. 1, fol. 423r.), and in the Psalter of Charles the Bald (Paris, BnF, Lat. 1152, f. 3v), respectively.

37 Robert Deshman, 'Antiquitiy and Empire in the Throne of Charles the Bald', in *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. by Doula Mouriki, Christopher Moss, and Katherine Kiefer, Publications of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University 15 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 131-41 (esp. 132-33); Riccardo Pizzinato, 'Vision and *Christomimesis* in the Ruler Portrait of the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram', *Gesta*, 57/2 (2018), pp. 145-70 (at 161-62).

38 Schramm, '*Kaiser Karl der Kahle*', p. 279.

39 Schramm, '*Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige*', pp. 54-55, even speaks of a change in the perception of the state, because until then the kings had called themselves Rex Francorum and not Rex Franciae.

40 According to Deshman, this is 'not a coronation, but another kind of imperial rite, the *aurum coronarium*'. Deshman, 'Antiquitiy and Empire', p. 133; Theodor

Edward Enthroned on the Coronation Chair at Westminster Abbey

The throne at Westminster Abbey in London (Fig. 7), which has been used as a coronation chair since the early fourteenth century, was commissioned by Edward I (r. 1272-1307) in 1297.[41] Like the Cathedra Petri, the throne is tripartite in structure and features a pedimented backrest. It measures 205 centimetres in height, 90 in width, and 57 in depth.[42] The frame is flanked by throne pillars and is clad with plank panelling. The planks, inwardly fastened with oak nails, not only stabilized the construction but also served as decorative surfaces on both the exterior and the interior of the throne. The thirteenth-century tracery construction rests on a rebuilt plinth from 1727.[43] The lowest register encompasses all four sides, a series of quatrefoils — originally three each on the front and back sides, two each on the right and left sides — giving the chair a light and graceful structure. Above this quatrefoil register, the back of the chair as well as its narrow sides are embellished with blind arcades, which are shaped like lancet arches and correspond to the axes of the quatrefoil registers below. On the exterior of the backrest, four double lancets are separated by three standing trefoils. Above, the pediment, an isosceles triangle with a height of 41 centimetres, completes the structure.

The account books of 1299-1300 are the earliest source documenting the process entailed in producing the chair. Not only do they name the patron, the date, and the artists who executed the work, but they also state the purpose and significance of the chair as a medium of *memoria* and of legitimizing power:

> To the same (Adam) for various expenses incurred by him concerning a certain throne of copper which the king had previously commissioned in the 25th year (1297) after his return from Scotland, for the stone on which the kings of Scotland were accustomed to be crowned which was found at Scone in the 24th year (1296), which was to be raised next to the altar, namely before the shrine of St Edward in the abbey church of Westminster; and now the same stone sits in a certain wooden throne made by Master Walter, the king's painter, in place of that throne which was previously ordered to be of copper.[44]

Klauser, 'Aurum coronarium', *Römische Mitteilungen*, 59 (1944), pp. 129-53.

41 The throne has never left its location within Westminster Abbey. The first scientific study of the Coronation Chair was by William Burges, 'The Coronation Chair', in *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey,* ed. by George Gilbert Scott (Oxford: Henry and Parker, 1863), pp. 121-26. The first photographic record dates from around 1860, see Warwick Rodwell, *The Coronation Chair and Stone of Scone* (London: Oxbow Books, 2013), pp. 11-12, with fig. 19. Percy Ernst Schramm, 'Der hölzerne Thron König Edwards I. von England (1299) in Westminster mit dem Steinsitz der schottischen Könige', in Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen,* pp. 928-37; Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets. Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200-1400* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 135-40; see also Paul Binski, 'A 'Sign of Victory': The Coronation Chair, its Manufacture, Setting and Symbolism', in *The Stone of Destiny: Artefact and Icon*, ed. by Richard Welander, David Breeze and Thomas Owen Clancy (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003), pp. 207-22, and recently: James Alexander Cameron, '*Sedilia in choro sunt fracta*: The Medieval Nomenclature of Seating in Churches', *Journal of the British Archeological Association*, 168 (2015), pp. 111-30 (esp. 120-2).

42 Rodwell, *The Coronation Chair*, pp. 46-47.

43 The supporting base with the four lions comes from an upgrade of the chair on the occasion of the coronation of George II in 1727; see Rodwell, *The Coronation Chair*, pp. 42 and 191, n. 75.

44 Rodwell, *The Coronation Chair,* p. 36, after the English translation of Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 135-36; for the Latin version see Joseph Hunter, 'King Edward's Spoliations in Scotland in A. D. 1296 – The Coronation Stone – Original and Unpublished Evidence', *Archaeological Journal*, 13 (1856), pp. 245-55 (at 252-53).

✦ Fig. 7
Westminster Abbey, Coronation Chair with Stone of Scone, 1297, state before 1996 (Photo: © Dean and Chapter of Westminster, London).

This source relays that, in 1297, Edward I commissioned the goldsmith Adam to make a throne, originally of bronze, to be placed near the altar in front of Edward's shrine at Westminster Abbey. Remarkable for a medieval source is the mentioned change of plan; now, the throne was not to be made of bronze as originally intended, but of wood, and this time by Master Walter, i.e. Walter of Durham. The chair was to serve as a receptacle for the coronation stone of the Scottish kings, the Stone of Scone, which was 'found' at Scone Abbey in 1296. For the Scots, the Stone of Scone was the imperial insignia par excellence. Following the English victory over Scotland at the Battle of Dunbar in 1296 – in the context of the first Scottish War of Independence, led by King John Balliol against King Edward I of England – the Scots were deprived of their coronation stone, and thus of their centre of power. The stone measures 71 centimetres in length, 26.5 in height, and 43 in depth – quite a large boulder.[45] And while it had neither material nor artistic value when compared to the other looted imperial regalia – which included the crown, sword, sceptre, ring, and vestments – its transfer to England was of the utmost symbolic significance for the new Plantagenet power structure.

Encompassing, in its innermost part, the captured stone as a territorial *spolia*, the chair functioned as a reliquary and became an imperial insignia in its own right. Edward I donated the throne to his namesake, St Edward the Confessor (r. 1042-66), the national saint and principal patron of Westminster Abbey, thereby endowing the chair with divine *virtus* and with the power to protect and preserve the stone. The chair's function as a reliquary is also reflected in its sophisticated decoration.[46] Investigations on the chair published in 2013 have revealed that its surface was originally covered with coloured-glass inlay and punch-marked gilding.[47] The interior faces of both armrests featured a quatrefoil pattern inscribed, on the right side, with hybrid creatures and, on the left, with birds pecking acorns among oak leaves.

Yet the main accent of the throne's original programme is to be found on the inside of the backrest (Fig. 8). Although most of this gold decoration had been lost by the eighteenth century, we are – thanks to detailed drawings, watercolours, and photographs – able to detect here an almost life-size figure seated on a throne (Fig. 9) This figure has been identified with the throne's patron, King Edward I.[48] He wears a cloak with a jewelled hem, while his surviving left foot rests on the back of a lion or leopard.

The above-mentioned account books of 1299-1300 further attest that two leopards were once intended for the armrests: 'two small leopards of wood made, painted and gilt and given over to Master Walter the painter for putting upon each arm of the wooden throne made by

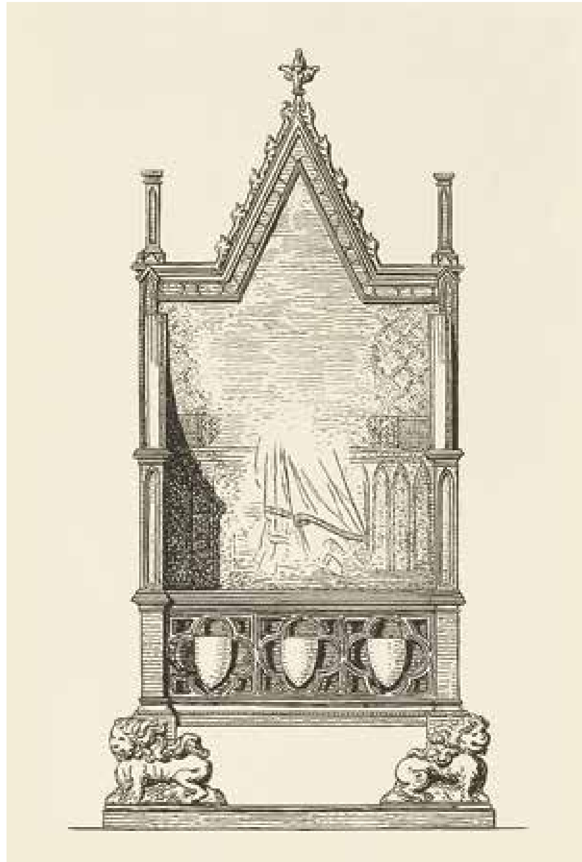
45 The Stone of Scone was brought back to Scotland in 1996 and is exhibited in the Royal Palace of Edinburgh Castle. Alison Marchant, 'Romancing the Stone. (E)motion and the Affective History of the Stone of Scone' in *Feeling Things. Objects and Emotions through History*, ed. by Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway and Sarah Randles (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 192-208 (here 197).

46 A miniature containing a depiction quite similar to the Coronation Chair from 1308 – it is the Corpus Christi College manuscript – could mean that the chair was used as a Coronation Chair at the coronation of Edward II in 1308. See Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 20, f. 68r; reproduced in Rodwell, *The Coronation Chair*, p. 18, fig. 22. This is the earliest source on the function of the throne as a coronation chair. Whether the Stone of Scone was housed in the Coronation Chair, however, is not clear from this illustration. See also Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 128. On the liturgical use of the throne, see Cameron, *Sedilia in choro*, pp. 120-121.

47 Marie Louise Sauerberg, 'The Polychromy of the Coronation Chair', in: Rodwell, *The Coronation Chair*, pp. 82-85.

48 Rodwell, *The Coronation Chair*; see also Francis Wormald, 'The Throne of Solomon and St. Edward's Chair', in *De artibus opuscula XL. Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. by Millard Meiss (New York: New York University Press, 1961), I, pp. 532-39, who, however, assumes that the decoration of the Coronation Chair was executed in two phases and that the depiction of the king is not part of the original decoration of the throne.

✦ Fig. 8
Westminster Abbey, Coronation Chair, 1297, detail of decoration of the backrest: parts of arcades and cushion of the painted seat (Photo: © Dean and Chapter of Westminster, London).



✦ Fig. 9
Westminster Abbey, Coronation Chair, reconstruction of the decoration by John Carter, 1814 (Photo after John Carter, *The Ancient Architecture of England, including the Orders during the British Roman, Saxon, and Norman Eras; and under the Reigns of Henry III and Edward III*, vol. II, London 1887, p. 62, pl. VI, A, frontpage).

the said Master Walter [...]'.[49] The two leopards might have referenced the throne of Edward I's father, Henry III, who had lions placed on his armrests, thus pointing to the Throne of Solomon and to the Plantagenets' heraldic emblem.[50] At the base of the Coronation Chair, we find ten blazons, adding further heraldic motifs to the decorative programme. Until 1767, these blazons adorned the quatrefoil openings of the tracery surrounding the Stone of Scone.[51] This heraldic element makes King Edward's chair the earliest such object to feature depictions of blazons.

Heraldic Emblems of Martin I of Aragon on the Barcelona Cathedra

Since 1421, the treasury of Barcelona Cathedral has housed a monumental tower monstrance.[52] This so-called *custodia* consists of an ostensorium containing the consecrated host. This rests on a gilded cathedra, added in 1480 (Fig. 10) to which two gilded crowns are attached. The 1492 inventory of the treasury identifies the chair, posthumously, as a gift from King Martin I of Aragon (d. 1410).[53] This attribution is quite plausible, as will be shown.

The existence of a chair in the cathedral treasury and its function as a carrier for the monstrance (*manet in altari maiori Sedis* [sic] *ad sustendandum custodiam maiorem*) are remarkable – and this function might be one of the reasons the chair has survived to this day.[54] Unlike many other precious items in the treasury of Barcelona Cathedral, this one survived the Spanish Civil War (1936-39): relocated to Paris, it was displayed in the exhibition *Art catalane du Xe au XVe siècle* at the Jeu de Paume, and again, until 1940, in the exhibition rooms of the Maison Lafitte.[55] It is significant that only the secular parts of the *custodia* – the throne and crowns – were exhibited. These regal insignia were interpreted as a gift from Martin I and, with their accompanying royal aura, as suitable representatives of the Spanish Crown.[56] The scarcity of sources forbids any definitive statements about the Barcelona chair's primary function and

49 Rodwell, *The Coronation Chair*, p. 36; see also Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 215, fn. 104 with further comments.

50 On the leopard as a heraldic motif of the Plantagenets, see Michel Pastoureau, 'Quel est le roi des animaux?', in *Le Monde animal et ses représentations au Moyen Âge (XIe-XVe siècles). Actes du XVème Congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur Public*, ed. by Francis Cerdan (Toulouse: Service des Publications de l'Univ. de Toulouse-Le-Mirail, 1985), pp. 133-42 (esp. 135-37).

51 Rodwell, *The Coronation Chair*, p. 61, with figs. 4 and 66. The corner posts, originally decorated with enamel, once carried other arms, Rodwell, *The Coronation Chair*, fig. 127.

52 Holger Guster, 'Die Hostienmonstranzen des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts in Europa' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Heidelberg, 2009), pp. 269-73; Núria De Dalmases, *Orfebreria catalana medieval: Barcelona 1300-1500, Aproximació a l´Estudi* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1992), I, pp. 298-302; and forthcoming: Ramon Pujades Bataller, 'Una sala del tron sense tron monumental', in Ramon Pujades Bataller, *Un cor en pedra: el Palau Major de Barcelona (924-1954)* (Barcelona: forthcoming). I thank the author for sharing insight into his unpublished text.

53 'Item visitavit cathedram argenti que fuit bone memorie regis Martini, nunc vero continuo manet in altari maiori Sedis ad sustendandum custodiam maiorem ponderis incamerata ducentarum trium marcharum et IIIIor unciarum. [...] Item pese la cadira d.argent daurade la qual stà continuadament en lo tabernacle al altar maior, qui serveix a portar la dita custòdia lo dia de Corpore Christi ab una basa [...]'. Maria J. Torres i Ferrer, 'Una nova aportació per a l'estudi del tresor de la Seu de Barcelona: L'inventari de 1492', *Lambard. Estudis d'art medieval*, 9 (1996), pp. 207-29 (at 223 and 229).

54 Torres i Ferrer, '*Una nova aportació*', 223.

55 *L'art Catalan du Xe au XVe siècle*. Exh. cat. Jeu de Paume des Tuileries (Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1937); and recently: Eva March, 'Guerra, propaganda y nacionalismo catalán en el París de 1937', *Acta/Artis. Estudis d'Art Modern*, 9/5 (2016-17), pp. 205-37.

56 March, '*Guerra, propaganda y nacionalismo*', p. 220, with fig. 10. According to the exhibition catalogue, the throne and crowns were presented separate from each other.

✦ Fig. 10
Barcelona, Treasury of the Cathedral, Throne of Martin I., before 1410 (Photo: © Cathedral of Barcelona, photograph by Guillem F. Gel).

attribution. Contrary to the notion of the chair as a secular gift, Francesca Español has made the thought-provoking suggestion that the object came to the Barcelona treasury as an episcopal cathedra.[57] In her meticulous research into the *custodia*'s historical context, Español points to the lack of heraldic motifs, which one would expect were the chair of royal origin. A closer look at the chair, however, reveals that the goldsmith indeed introduced heraldic allusions. This feature underscores the royal and dynastic character of the chair. With special attention to its material and iconographic features, here I provide a precise – and long overdue – description of this throne, with particular emphasis on the animals represented on it. This description then serves as a starting point for further reflections on the patron, meaning, and function.

Typologically speaking, the chair is a faldstool (*faldistorium*); several hinges, variously placed, indicate that the side rests, among other components, could be collapsed.[58] A source from 1413 mentions the cost of transporting the cathedra to those places where the king held court, that is, Valencia, Segorbe, and Castelló.[59] If we assume that it is really Martin's chair that the source identifies as having been transported from Valencia to Segorbe and, from there, to Castelló, then we must conclude that this chair was used as a ceremonial seat. Both its ability to be disassembled and its dimensions – 124 centimetres high, 59 wide, and 47 deep – clearly insinuate such a function.[60] Moreover, the throne is made of gilt silver and has a light, graceful architecture thanks to its tracery construction, which places it in close structural and material proximity to the Coronation Chair of Westminster Abbey.[61] Apart from their related architectures, the chairs in London and Barcelona also share a similar gilding and glass decoration. Martin's throne, like the Coronation Chair, has polychrome inlay on its interior, as is revealed by a few surviving fragments of transparent blue enamel.[62] The curved armrests terminate in four volute tendrils, each of which winds around a lion's head. A dragon sits in front of the lower volute as if to occupy the last remaining space on the armrest (Fig. 11). The lions displayed here may draw on the same tradition as the leopards originally planned for the Coronation Chair, perhaps also serving as an abbreviated reference to the Throne of Solomon: 'On either side of the seat were armrests, with a lion standing beside each of them' (1 Kings 10:19). The dragons, on the other hand, might allude to the heraldic beast of Aragon as well as to the etymological origin of the house's name, which links *dragó* and *Aragó*.[63]

57 Francesca Español, 'Silla y custodia. Ostensorio turriforme', in *Maravillas de la España medieval. Tesoro sagrado y monarquia*, ed. by Isidro G. Bango Torviso (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2001), pp. 289-93.

58 For the typology of the *faldistorium*, see Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen*, pp. 316-22.

59 '[...] per desfer la cadira en la que lo Rey celebrava les corts als Valencians en Segorb e de portarla de Segorb a Castelló', cited from: Manuel Trens, *Las custodias españolas* (Barcelona: Editorial Litúrgica Española, 1952), p. 33.

60 For her written communication regarding the dimensions, I would like to thank Imma Ferrer, Arxiu Capitular de Barcelona.

61 Parallels have already been noted by Percy Ernst Schramm, 'Der silberne Thron des Königs Martin I. des Humanen von Aragon (1396-1410) in Barcelona', in Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen*, I, pp. 937-38. and Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 136.

62 De Dalmases, *Orfebreria*, p. 299.

63 Amadeo Serra Desfillis, 'A Search for the Hidden King: Messianism, Prophecies and Royal Epiphanies of the Kings of Aragon (circa 1250-1520)', *Arts*, 143/8 (2019), pp. 1-28 (at 17).

Research has proposed Martin's father, Pedro IV of Aragon (r. 1336-87), as the chair's patron.[64] However, I am convinced that Martin's many other commissions make him the more plausible candidate.[65] One example is the helmet with the monumental dragon crest, made in Mallorca around 1407 and kept today in the Armería Real, the royal weapons collection in Madrid.[66] Martin's gift of the gilded chair to Barcelona Cathedral could have been informed by the self-coronations of his ancestors.[67] This tradition was not an Aragonese invention, as the Hohenstaufen king Frederick II (1194-1250) had already crowned himself in Jerusalem in 1229; however, Martin's grandfather, Alfonso the Kind (r. 1327-36), was the first Aragonese king to forbid the archbishop to place the crown on his head. In 1336, Alfonso's son Pedro IV took this practice one step further by refusing, after his self-coronation, to allow the archbishop to adjust the crown. Additionally, he opted not to divide the anointing and coronation into two Masses, as his father had done, but rather side-lined the archbishop by demanding that he personally attend the king's self-coronation after the regular unction had been performed by a Church leader.[68] What is more, Pedro IV was exceedingly keen to visually document his self-coronation, commissioning liturgical books with precious miniatures.[69] With similar ambitions, Martin performed a self-coronation and had it documented in artistic media.

Martin I used this chair as a substitute and personal emblem, as can be gathered from another commission, namely, the so-called Scroll of Poblet, which he donated to the Cistercian monastery of Poblet, the burial place of the Aragonese rulers, in 1409-10.[70] The scroll portrays Martin as the only enthroned king among numerous ancestors.[71] Reflecting his status quo as the reigning king, this differentiation further demonstrates that Martin I attributed a special role to the semantics of the chair as well as to the very act of sitting on the throne, an act reserved for the ruler.[72] The *cadira* in the treasury of Barcelona Cathedral was thus both a luxury object

64 Schramm, 'Der silberne Thron', p. 937. The dragon in the Aragon coat of arms goes back to Pedro IV. See Joan Molina Figueras, 'Memoria visual de una dinastía. Pedro IV el Ceremonioso y la retórica de las imágenes en la corona de Aragón (1336-1387)', *Anales de Historia del Arte*, 23 (2013), pp. 219-41 (at 231).

65 On the artistic environment around Martin I, see the volume *Martí l'Humà. El darrer rei de la dinastia de Barcelona (1396-1410). L'Interregne i el Compromís de Casp*, ed. by Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, Memòries de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica 98 (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2015), in particular the articles by Miguel Raufast Chico, 'Los pliegues de la ceremonia: monarquía, reino y ciudad en tiempos de Martín el Humano', pp. 625-36; Xavier Barral i Altet, 'L'architettura aulica di Martino l'Umano: un miraggio impossibile nell'Europa mediterranea del 1400', pp. 637-58; and Marta Serrano Coll, 'Semblança del rei Martí l'Humà a través de la seva promoció artística', pp. 659-78.

66 Juan Bautista Crooke y Navarrot, *Catálogo Histórico-Descriptivo de la Real Armería de Madrid* (Madrid: De Hauser y Menet, 1898), pp. 139-41; Jaume Riera i Sans, 'Els heralds i les divises del rei Martí (1356-1410)', *Paratge Quaderns D'estudis de Genealogia Heràldica Sigil·Lografia i Nobiliària*, 14 (2002), pp. 41-61 (esp. 54); Encarna Montero Tortajada, 'Noticias sobre la escultura en papel en Valencia y la Corona de Aragón durante la Baja Edad Media', in *Escultura Ligera. Jornadas Internacionales de Escultura Ligera*, ed. by Gemma Contreras (Valencia: Ajuntament de València, Regidoria de Patrimoni Cultural i Recursos Culturals, 2017), pp. 99-108 (esp. 100-101); Sommerer, '*Substitut des Königs*', p. 49.

67 For the Aragonese tradition of self-crowning, see Jaume Aurell and Marta Serrano-Coll, 'The Self-Coronation of Peter the Ceremonious (1336): Historical, Liturgical, and Iconographical Representations', *Speculum*, 89/1 (2014), pp. 66-95.

68 Aurell and Serrano-Coll, '*The Self-Coronation*', pp. 73-76.

69 Aurell and Serrano-Coll, '*The Self-Coronation*', pp. 84-94.

70 Sommerer, '*Substitut des Königs*', pp. 50-51, with further references.

71 Amadeo Serra Desfilis, 'La historia de la dinastía en imágenes: Martín el Humano y el rollo genealógico de la Corona de Aragón', *Locus Amoenus*, 6 (2002-03), pp. 57-74 (at 70).

72 Here, too, there seems to be a connection to the activities of Edward I because he had similarly commissioned a genealogical table, which is preserved in two parts in: Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Bodl. Rolls 3 and in London, British Library,

✦ Fig. 11
Barcelona, Treasury of the Cathedral, Throne of Martin I., before 1410, detail: dragon on the right armrest (Photo: © Cathedral of Barcelona, photograph by Guillem F. Gel).

and a royal insignia, as evidenced not only by its valuable materials and its artistic quality but also by its perceived role as a personal emblem of King Martin I. The chair embodied his office and his person and acted as a mediator to God: the throne visualized the presence of its owner/donor and thereby manifested his *memoria,* and this function was all the more important in the case of Martin I, given that he had no descendants.

Based on Dieter Mersch's dictum that 'depictions perform their depicted', I will now shift to focus on the performative potential of these royal images on the thrones in question.[73] The link between the image and the image carrier, i.e. the chair as an object, will play an important role, as will questions of visibility and tactility and their perception and aesthetics of reception.

Visual and Tactile Performance of Royal Images on the Throne

We can distinguish different modes of representation in the royal images on thrones just described.[74] In the case of the Cathedra Petri, we encounter a half-length royal effigy that exhibits physiognomic or idiosyncratic traits of the depicted. These include, on the one hand, physiognomic features, such as the moustache and shaved chin, and on the other, royal insignia such as the short sceptre and orb. The king shown in *Bedeutungsgrösse* is flanked by winged figures who offer him crowns, and they, too, are idiosyncratic to portrayals of Charles the Bald.[75]

The Coronation Chair at Westminster Abbey bears a full-length, enthroned image of the king in combination with his heraldic motifs. While conclusions concerning physiognomic likeness are impossible to draw in this case, due to the unknown details of the face of the enthroned royal figure, two special features of this royal image should be noted. Firstly, the depiction of the throne is itself almost life-size; and secondly, it has been attempted to create as realistic an image as possible by means of textile and architectural references to the real chair, i.e. the birds often found on gold silk textiles, or arcades on throne fronts.

In the case of Martin I's throne in Barcelona, on the other hand, the king is exclusively made present via animal depictions, which function as heraldic motifs and operate on two different levels. The lions are shown only as heads, with a curtailed and generalized form. As such, they figure *pars pro toto* as symbols of royal majesty and of the institutional royal body. Meanwhile, the full-length dragons operate on an individual level, for they embody Martin I's personal coat of arms. Together, these heraldic motifs represent traits unique to Martin as a royal individual.

Given that all three thrones were intended as highly elite artefacts, their accessibility was limited. Still, I wish to elaborate on the visibility of the royal depictions, which I suggest was an important component of their strategic effect. The placement of these images – which, within the framework of each chair, is far from random – significantly determines their meaning and the way in which they effect presence. Indeed, the placement follows a tradition: already the

Cotton Galba Charter XIV.4. Serra-Desfilis, '*La historia de la dinastía*', p. 64.

73 Mersch, '*Paradoxien der Verkörperung*'.

74 I have discussed these different modes of representation in detail in: Sommerer, '*Substitut des Königs*'.

75 Schramm, '*Kaiser Karl der Kahle*', p. 279; Percy Ernst Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel. Wanderung und Wandlung eines Herrschaftszeichens von Caesar bis zu Elisabeth II. Ein Beitrag zum 'Nachleben' der Antike* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1958), pp. 57–59; Poilpré, '*Le portrait royal*', p. 325.

biblical description of the Throne of Solomon in 1 Kings 10:19 identifies the round end of the backrest as the main area of the throne (*et summitas throni rotunda erat in parte posteriori*). The upper part of the backrest is, at the same time, the most visible part of the chair. This may have been the decisive factor for placing the medallion of Christ in a similar position on Maximilian's cathedra in Ravenna.[76] The so-called nimbus thrones in Rome, which date to the twelfth century, such as the cathedra in San Lorenzo in Lucina, also present their written decoration in the most visible position.[77] We can thus conclude that the royal depictions on the thrones were deliberately placed in highly visible and significant locations on the chair artefacts.

On the Cathedra Petri, Charles's bust is centrally located on the upper part of the backrest (Figs. 4 and 5). In addition to the aforementioned features, which were specific to Charles the Bald, his presence was also effected through a forged depiction of historical events. The motif of the threefold crown, for example, is meant to legitimize the coronation and Charles's claim to the crown through divine approval in the form of angels. The image of the king on the throne is thus both a sign of power and of *memoria*, and as such, it is intended to evoke a re-enactment when viewed. With this forged present, Charles the Bald hopes for God's legitimization and protection of his idealized realm. Above the portrait of the ruler in the *Codex Aureus*, we find written in gold letters on a purple background 'HIC RESIDET Karolus' (Fig. 6). Although, in reality, the ruler himself was not enthroned there, his portrait on the Cathedra Petri proclaims that very intention.

The image and the imagined person on the thrones are closely related. Especially in the case of the subsequently shortened backrest of the Cathedra Petri, it seems that the head of the person seated on the throne would have ended up directly in front of the king's image. This physical doubling is even more pronounced in the case of the Coronation Chair, where the image of the throne occupies the entire surface of the backrest, such that the enthroned person must have overlapped several parts of the body of the royal image. In this way, it aims to manifest the king's presence even more concretely, for here he is embodied by a full-length portrait. By means of an evoked structural and material fusion between throne and image, the moment of the actual throning is anticipated and perpetuated. The performative value of the royal image is thereby constituted in the relation among the image, the throne, and its real owner, a relation that ultimately ignites the process of animation. The image of the enthroned king (Fig. 9) hints at the real act of throning as it is closely interwoven with the materiality of the chair (Fig. 8), and not only symbolically. As with the Cathedra Petri, the image and the envisioned representation of the enthroned person are overlaid. In this process, the moment of sitting becomes permanent, and the two-dimensional image of the king is expanded by a further dimension in the imagination, being seen as a prefiguration of the throne's actual occupant. Triggered by this corporeal superimposition, the three-dimensional, spatial effect gains a tactile impact. Thus, it seems that the body of the real or virtually enthroned king has left a figurative mark on the surface of the seat, for the royal images appear to be the effect of a physical imprint. This imprint

76 Clementina Rizzardi is one of few to elaborate on the location and significance of the Christ medallion; see Clementina Rizzardi, 'Massimiano a Ravenna: La cattedra eburnea del Museo Arcivescovile alla luce di nuove ricerche', in *Ideologia e cultura artistica tra adriatico e mediterraneo orientale (IV-X secolo). Il ruolo dell'autorità ecclesiastica alla luce di nuovi scavi e ricerche*, ed. by Raffaella Farioli Campanati, Clementina Rizzardi, Paola Porta, Andrea Augenti and Isabella Baldini Lippolis (Bologna: Ante Quem, 2009), pp. 229-43 (esp. 232-33).

77 Sabine Sommerer, 'Game of Thrones. Versatzstücke an zwei römischen Bischofsthronen', in *Versatzstücke*, ed. by Iris Engelmann, Torben Kiepke, and Kerstin Vogel (HRMagazin. Festgabe für Hans-Rudolf Meier 4) (Weimar: Universitätsbibliothek Weimar, 2016), pp. 4-15.

can be perceived both visually and tactilely. A synaesthetic perceptual effect is also created in the lower part of the Coronation Chair, where the openings in the tracery allow visual and tactile contact with the Stone of Scone, at the chair's interior. As relic and actual hotspot of this chair, it was originally surrounded by the coats of arms located in close proximity establishing a further reference to the present and offering the stone a new royal coat.

Finally, in the case of the Barcelona chair, the dragons and lions do not sit on the seat, but on the armrests. This brings them closer to the onlooker. While this throne lacks any anthropomorphic and thus also physiognomic references to the king, Martin I is embodied via animal representations. The dragons in particular (Fig. 11) – which, unlike the lion heads, are depicted as whole figures – have a performative potential, likely having been created for collective reception, just like the Madrid crest itself. Thus, the dragons evoke official occasions, such as tournaments and festivals at which Martin I wore the crest, as well as the use of the cathedra as a carrier of the monstrance and as a ceremonial seat for Martin himself. Positioned to coincide with the placement of the hands on the armrests, the dragons also create a tactile moment for the seated person or the imagined seated person.

In the case of the thrones discussed above, the stately semantics inherent in these chair objects are expressed in material terms. The use of these precious materials unfolds a multilayered meaning that, apart from its association with the Throne of Solomon or with the self-portrayal of the ruler as a wise regent, also touches on other semantic fields of rulership. Both the material and its decorated surface thereby interact competitively with the identity or individuality and the memory of the throne's owner. Regarding the location of the royal images on the thrones, we can conclude that, in all three cases, their position is associated with the imagined act of sitting on the throne. Yet the royal image has the capacity to not only represent and stand in for the owner of the chair, but also to explicate the modalities of display and foreground performative acts, such as exhibiting, showing, presenting. Together with the chair's affordance to sit, the images of the king trigger the imagination of the seated by anticipating the actual throning. To put it again in Mersch's terms: the royal images on the thrones perform what they display.[78] As I have shown, the royal images on the thrones are able to initiate this animation and to make present the original, now-absent owner through their mode of display, their location on the chair, and their materiality. With the resulting effect of making the sitter present, they overcome the paradox of the occupied yet empty chair.

78 Mersch, '*Paradoxien der Verkörperung*', p. 19.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Cassius Dio, *Roman History, VI: Books 51-55*, transl. by Earnest Cary and Herbert Baldwin Foster, Loeb Classical Library, 83 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917).

Hincmarus Remensis, *Annales Bertiniani*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptores rer. Germ. 5, 1883, ad anno 876.

Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae sive origines*, ed. by Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Secondary Sources

Francesco Aceto, 'La cattedra dell'abate Elia; dalla memoria alla storia', in *Medioevo: immagine e memoria*, ed. by Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, I convegni di Parma, 11 (Milan: Mondadori Electa, 2009), pp. 132-43.

Marisa Alessio, 'Datazione con il metodo di carbonio-14', in *La cattedra lignea di San Pietro in Vaticano*, ed. by Michele Maccarrone and Dante Balboni (Rome: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana, 1971), pp. 173-85.

Jaume Aurell and Marta Serrano-Coll, 'The Self-Coronation of Peter the Ceremonious (1336): Historical, Liturgical, and Iconographical Representations', *Speculum*, 89/1 (2014), pp. 66-95.

Xavier Barral i Altet, 'L'architettura aulica di Martino l'Umano: un miraggio impossibile nell'Europa mediterranea del 1400', in *Martí l'Humà. El darrer rei de la dinastia de Barcelona (1396-1410). L'Interregne i el Compromís de Casp*, ed. by Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, Memóries de la Secció Histórico-Arqueològica, 98 (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2015), pp. 637-58.

Pina Belli D'Elia, 'La Cattedra dell'abate Elia: Precisazioni sul Romanico pugliese', *Bollettino d'Arte*, 59 (1974), pp. 1-17.

Pina Bellia D'Elia, 'Le cattedre', in *La Puglia fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente*, ed. by Pina Belli D'Elia, Civiltà e culture in Puglia, 2 (Milan: Electa, 1980), pp. 217-19.

Pina Belli D'Elia and Michele D'Elia, 'Aggiunte tranesi al Maestro della Cattedra di Elia. Nuove precisazioni sul romanico pugliese', in *Studi e ricerche di storia dell'arte*, ed. by Luciano Tamburini and Cecilia Giudici Servetti (Turin: Associazione amici dei musei civici di Torino, 1981), pp. 4-60.

Hans Belting, *Bild-Anthropologie. Entwürfe für eine Bildwissenschaft* (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2001).

Vera Beyer, Jutta Voorhoeve and Anselm Haverkamp, *Das Bild ist der König. Repräsentation nach Louis Marin* (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2006).

Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets. Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200-1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

Paul Binski, 'A 'Sign of Victory': The Coronation Chair, its Manufacture, Setting and Symbolism', in *The Stone of Destiny: Artefact and Icon*, ed. by Richard Welander, David Breeze and Thomas Owen Clancy (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003), pp. 207-22.

Sible De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor. Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), II.

Thomas von Bogyay, 'Etimasie', in *Reallexikon der deutschen Kunst*, VI (Munich: Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, 1969), pp. 144-54 = *RDK Labor*, https://www.rdklabor.de/w/?oldid=89229 (accessed 8 October 2021).

Hugo Brandenburg, *San Pietro. Storia di un monumento* (Milan: Jaca Book, 2015).

William Burges, 'The Coronation Chair', in *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, ed. by George Gilbert Scott (Oxford: Henry and Parker, 1863), pp. 121-6.

James Alexander Cameron, '*Sedilia in choro sunt fracta*: The Medieval Nomenclature of Seating in Churches', *Journal of the British Archeological Association*, 168 (2015), pp. 111-30.

Fabio Coden, *Corpus della scultura ad incrostazione di mastice nella penisola italiana (XI-XIII sec.)*, Humanitas, 3 (Padua: II Poligrafo, 2006).

Elio Corona, 'Indagine dendrochronologica', in *La cattedra lignea di San Pietro in Vaticano*, ed. by Michele Maccarrone and Dante Balboni (Rome: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana, 1971), pp. 165-72.

Elio Corona, 'Ricerche dendrocronologiche sul rivestimento ligneo (gabbia) della Cattedra di S. Pietro', *Memorie del Museo Tridentino di scienze naturali*, 20 (1979), pp. 37-47.

Juan Bautista Crooke y Navarrot, *Catálogo Histórico-Descriptivo de la Real Armería de Madrid* (Madrid: De Hauser y Menet, 1898).

Núria De Dalmases, *Orfebreria catalana medieval: Barcelona 1300-1500, Aproximació a l´Estudi* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1992), I.

Robert Deshman, 'Antiquitiy and Empire in the Throne of Charles the Bald', in *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Publications of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University 15), ed. by Doula Mouriki, Christopher Moss and Katherine Kiefer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 131-41.

William Diebold, 'The Ruler Portrait of Charles the Bald', *Gesta*, 71/1 (1994), pp. 6-18.

Dorothea and Peter Diemer, 'Zwei Throne Karls des Kahlen? Zu Ikonographie, Erhaltungszustand und Rekonstruktion der Cathedra Petri', *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, 72/73 (2018/2019), pp. 137-70.

Rowan W. Dorin, 'The Mystery of the Marble Man and His Hat. A Reconsideration of the Bari Episcopal Throne', *Florilegium*, 25, 1 (2008), pp. 29-52.

Paul Durand, *Étude sur l'Étimacia, symbole du jugement dernier dans l'iconographie grecque chrétienne* (Chartres: Garnier, 1867).

Francesca Español, 'Silla y custodia. Ostensorio turriforme', in *Maravillas de la España medieval. Tesoro sagrado y monarquia*, ed. by Isidro G. Bango Torviso (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2001), pp. 289-93.

Marcello Fagiolo, *Roma barocca. l protagonisti. gli spazi urbani, i grandi temi* (Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2013), pp. 97-103.

Vittorio Federici, 'Esami chimici', in *La cattedra lignea di San Pietro in Vaticano*, ed. by Michele Maccarrone and Dante Balboni (Rome: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana, 1971), pp. 185-90.

Antonio Ferrua, 'Esame strutturale e archeologica', in *La cattedra lignea di San Pietro in Vaticano*, ed. by Michele Maccarrone and Dante Balboni (Rome: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana, 1971), pp. 113-19.

Joan Molina Figueras, 'Memoria visual de una dinastía. Pedro IV el Ceremonioso y la retórica de las imágenes en la corona de Aragón (1336-1387)', *Anales de Historia del Arte*, 23 (2013), pp. 219-41.

Chiara Frugoni, 'L'ideologia del potere imperiale nella 'Cattedra di S. Pietro'', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 86 (1976-1977), pp. 67-181.

Francesco Gandolfo, 'Cattedra', in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale* (Rome: Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1993), IV, pp. 496-505.

Raffaele Garrucci, *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della Chiesa* (Prato: F. Giachetti [puis] G. Guasti, 1880), VI.

J. James Gibson, *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (New York: Taylor and Francis, 1986).

Holger Guster, *Die Hostienmonstranzen des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts in Europa* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Heidelberg, 2009).

Ernst Hollstein, 'Die Cathedra Lignea von St. Peter im Vatikan', in *La cattedra lignea di San Pietro in Vaticano*, ed. by Michele Maccarrone and Dante Balboni (Rome: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana, 1971) pp. 79-103.

Ernst Hollstein, 'Zur dendrochronologischen Regionaldiagnose der Eichenhölzer der Cathedra Lignea von St. Peter im Vatikan', *Römische Quartalschrift*, 75 (1980), pp. 206-7.

Joseph Hunter, 'King Edward's Spoliations in Scotland in A. D. 1296 – The Coronation Stone – Original and Unpublished Evidence', *Archaeological Journal*, 13 (1856), pp. 245-55.

Allegra Iafrate, *The Wandering Throne of Solomon. Objects and Tales of Kingship in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

Carola Jäggi, 'Cathedra Petri und Colonna Santa in St. Peter zu Rom. Überlegungen zu "Produktion„ und Konjunktur von Reliquien im Mittelalter', in *Erzeugung und Zerstörung von Sakralität zwischen Antike und Mittelalter*, ed. by Armin F. Bergmeier, Katharina Palmberger and Joseph E. Sanzo *Distant Worlds Journal*, 1 (2016), pp. 109-31.

Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Die zwei Körper des Königs. Eine Studie zur politischen Theologie des Mittelalters* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1990).

Theodor Klauser, 'Aurum coronarium', *Römische Mitteilungen*, 59 (1944), pp. 129-53.

Antje Kluge-Pinsker, 'Die Replik der 'Cathedra Petri' im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum. Ein Objekt, seine Repliken und ihr Publikum', in *Authentisierung im Museum. Ein Werkstatt-Bericht*, ed. by Thomas Eser, Michael Farrenkopf, Dominik Kimmel, Achim Saupe and Ursula Warnke (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2017), pp. 103-11.

Carl Knappett, *Thinking through Material Culture: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

L'art Catalan du Xe au XVe siècle. Exh. cat. Jeu de Paume des Tuileries (Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1937).

La cattedra lignea di San Pietro in Vaticano, ed. by Michele Maccarrone and Dante Balboni (Rome: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana, 1971).

Michele Maccarrone, 'Die Cathedra Sancti Petri im Hochmittelalter. Vom Symbol des päpstlichen Amtes zum Kultobjekt (II)', *Römische Quartalschrift*, 76 (1981), pp. 137-72.

Eva March, 'Guerra, propaganda y nacionalismo catalán en el París de 1937', *Acta/Artis. Estudis d'Art Modern*, 9/5 (2016-2017), pp. 205-37.

Alison Marchant, 'Romancing the Stone. (E) motion and the Affective History of the Stone of Scone' in *Feeling Things. Objects and Emotions through History*, ed. by Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway and Sarah Randles (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 192-208.

Kristin Marek, *Die Körper des Königs. Effigies, Bildpolitik und Heiligkeit* (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2009).

Louis Marin, *Das Porträt des Königs* (translated from the French by Heinz Jatho) (Berlin: Diaphanes, 2005).

Dieter Mersch, 'Paradoxien der Verkörperung', in *Körper – Verkörperung – Entkörperung*, ed. by Winfried Nörth and Anke Hertzing (Kassel: Kassel University Press, 2005), pp. 17-41.

Tanja Michalsky, *Memoria und Repräsentation. Die Grabmäler des Königshauses Anjou in Italien,* Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 157 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2000).

Encarna Montero Tortajada, 'Noticias sobre la escultura en papel en Valencia y la Corona de Aragón durante la Baja Edad Media', in *Escultura Ligera. Jornadas Internacionales de Escultura Ligera*, ed. by Gemma Contreras (Valencia: Ajuntament de València, Regidoria de Patrimoni Cultural i Recursos Culturals, 2017), pp. 99-108.

Rebecca Müller, 'Mythenrezeption in karolingischer Zeit. Bilder, Texte, und Bilder in Texten', in *Mittelalterliche Mythenrezeption. Paradigmen und Paradigmenwechsel*, ed. by Ulrich Rehm (Cologne: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2018), pp. 81-104.

Lawrence Nees, 'Charles the Bald and the Cathedra Petri', in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom,* ed. by Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1990), pp. 340-7.

Lawrence Nees, 'Forging Monumental Memories in the Early Twelfth Century', in *Memory and Oblivion*, ed. by Wessel Reinink and Jeroen Stumpel (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1999), pp. 773-82

Donald A. Norman, *Design of Everyday Things* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2013 [1988]).

Nuove ricerche sulla cattedra lignea di S. Pietro in Vaticano, ed. by Michele Maccarrone Bernhard Bischoff, Nazzareno Gabrielli, Elio Corona and Ernst Hollstein (Rome: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana, 1975).

Michel Pastoureau, 'Quel est le roi des animaux?', in *Le Monde animal et ses représentations au Moyen Âge (XIe-XVe siècles). Actes du XVème Congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur Public,* ed. by Francis Cerdan (Toulouse: Service des Publications de l'Univ. de Toulouse-Le-Mirail, 1985), pp. 133-42.

Stephen Perkinson, 'Representing the Royal Body in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries', in Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King. A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 85-134.

Riccardo Pizzinato, 'Vision and *Christomimesis* in the Ruler Portrait of the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram', *Gesta*, 57/2 (2018), pp. 145-70.

Joachim Poeschke, 'Bari, S. Nicola', in *Die Skulptur des Mittelalters in Italien*, 1, Romanik (Munich: Hirmer, 1998), pp. 102-4.

Anne-Orange Poilpré, 'Le portrait royal en trône sous le règne de Charles le Chauve: L'espace constraint de la royauté', in *L'image médiévale. Fonctions dans l'espace sacré et structuration de l'espace cultuel*, ed. by Cécile Voyer and Éric Sparhubert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 325-40.

Ramon Pujades Bataller, 'Una sala del tron sense tron monumental', in Ramon Pujades Bataller, *Un cor en pedra: el Palau Major de Barcelona (924-1954)* (Barcelona: forthcoming).

Miguel Raufast Chico, 'Los pliegues de la ceremonia: monarquía, reino y ciudad en tiempos de Martín el Humano', in *Martí l'Humà. El darrer rei de la dinastia de Barcelona (1396-1410). L'Interregne i el Compromís de Casp*, ed. by Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, Memòries de la Secció Històrico-Arqueológica, 98 (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2015), pp. 625-36.

Diego Giovanni Ravelli, *La solennità della Cattedra di San Pietro nella Basilica Vaticana. Storia e formulario della Messa* (Rome: Ed. Liturgiche, 2012).

Ulrich Rehm, *Klassische Mythologie im Mittelalter. Antikenrezeption in der bildenden Kunst* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2019).

Adolf Reinle, *Das stellvertretende Bildnis. Plastiken und Gemälde von der Antike bis ins 19. Jahrhundert* (Zürich: Artemis, 1984).

Jaume Riera i Sans, 'Els heralds i les divises del rei Martí (1356-1410)', *Paratge Quaderns D'estudis de Genealogia Heràldica Sigil·Lografia i Nobiliària*, 14 (2002), pp. 41-61.

Clementina Rizzardi, 'Massimiano a Ravenna: La cattedra eburnea del Museo Arcivescovile alla luce di nuove ricerche', in *Ideologia e cultura artistica tra adriatico e mediterraneo orientale (IV-X secolo). Il ruolo dell'autorità ecclesiastica alla luce di nuovi scavi e ricerche*, ed. by Raffaella Farioli Campanati, Clementina Rizzardi, Paola Porta, Andrea Augenti and Isabella Baldini Lippolis(Bologna: Ante Quem 2009), pp. 229-43.

Warwick Rodwell, *The Coronation Chair and Stone of Scone* (London: Oxbow Books, 2013).

Pietro Romanelli, 'La decorazione in avorio', in *La cattedra lignea di San Pietro in Vaticano*, ed. by Michele Maccarrone and Dante Balboni (Rome: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana, 1971), pp. 191-216.

Sabina Rosenbergová, 'The Myth of the Cathedra Petri', in *Re-thinking, Re-making, Re-living Christian Origins*, ed. by Ivan Foletti, Manuela Gianandrea, Serena Romano and Elisabetta Scirocco (Rome: Viella, 2018), pp. 333-44.

Thomas Schäfer, *Imperii insignia. Sella Curulis und Fasces,* Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung, Ergänzungsheft, 29 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1989).

Percy Ernst Schramm, 'Das Herrscherbild, in der Kunst des frühen Mittelalters', *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 2/1 (1922/23), 145-224.

Percy Ernst Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte vom 3. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert,* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1954), I.

Percy Ernst Schramm, 'Der hölzerne Thron König Edwards I. von England (1299) in Westminster mit dem Steinsitz der schottischen Könige', in Percy Ernst Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1954), I, pp. 928-37.

Percy Ernst Schramm, 'Der silberne Thron des Königs Martin I. des Humanen von Aragon (1396-1410) in Barcelona', in Percy Ernst Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1954), I, pp. 937-8.

Percy Ernst Schramm, 'Die Cathedra St. Petri in der Peterskirche zu Rom', in Percy Ernst Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1954), I, pp. 694-707.

Percy Ernst Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel. Wanderung und Wandlung eines Herrschaftszeichens von Caesar bis zu Elisabeth II. Ein Beitrag zum 'Nachleben' der Antike* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1958).

Percy Ernst Schramm, 'Kaiser Karl der Kahle der Stifter des Thrones in St. Peter', in *La cattedra lignea di San Pietro in Vaticano*, ed. by Michele Maccarrone and Dante Balboni (Rome: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana, 1971), pp. 277-93.

Percy Ernst Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit, 751-1190*, ed. by Percy Ernst Schramm and Florentine Mütherich (Munich: Prestel, 1983 [1928]).

Sebastian Schütze, 'Werke als Kalküle ihres Wirkungsanspruchs: die Cathedra Petri und ihr Bedeutungswandel im konfessionellen Zeitalter', in *Sankt Peter in Rom 1506 – 2006*, ed. by Georg Satzinger and Sebastian Schütze (Munich: Hirmer, 2008), pp. 405-25.

Leonhard Schumacher, 'Das Ehrendekret für M. Nonius Balbus aus Herculaneum (AE 1947 p. 53)', *Chiron*, 6 (1976), pp. 165-84.

Amadeo Serra Desfilis, 'La historia de la dinastía en imágenes: Martín el Humano y el rollo genealógico de la Corona de Aragón', *Locus Amoenus*, 6 (2002-2003), pp. 57-74.

Amadeo Serra Desfillis, 'A Search for the Hidden King: Messianism, Prophecies and Royal Epiphanies of the Kings of Aragon (circa 1250-1520)', *Arts*, 143/8 (2019), pp. 1-28.

Marta Serrano Coll, 'Semblança del rei Martí l'Humà a través de la seva promoció artística', in *Martí l'Humà. El darrer rei de la dinastia de Barcelona (1396-1410). L'Interregne i el Compromís de Casp*, ed. by Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, Memóries de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica, 98 (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2015), pp. 659-78.

Sabine Sommerer, 'Game of Thrones. Versatzstücke an zwei römischen Bischofsthronen', in *Versatzstücke*, ed. by Iris Engelmann, Torben Kiepke and Kerstin Vogel, HRMagazin. Festgabe für Hans-Rudolf Meier, 4 (Weimar: Universitätsbibliothek Weimar, 2016), pp. 4-15.

Sabine Sommerer, 'Substitut des Königs. Mittelalterliche Throne mit Königsbildern als repräsentative Agenten', *Convivium*, 8/2 (2021), pp. 34-55.

Nikolaus Staubach, *Rex Christianus. Hofkultur und Herrschaftspropaganda im Reich Karls des Kahlen*, II: *Die Grundlegung der 'religion royale'* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1993).

Eduard Stommel, 'Die bischöfliche Kathedra im christlichen Altertum', *Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift*, 3 (1952), pp. 17-32.

Maria J. Torres i Ferrer, 'Una nova aportació per a l'estudi del tresor de la Seu de Barcelona: L'inventari de 1492', *Lambard. Estudis d'art medieval*, 9 (1996), pp. 207-29.

Manuel Trens, *Las custodias españolas* (Barcelona: Editorial Litúrgica Española, 1952).
Stefan Trinks, 'Eingehüllt in Gold und Bein – die *techné* des Chryselephantin als 'Mitstreit' im Mittelalter', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 79 (2016), pp. 481-507.
Stefan Weinstock, 'The image and the chair of Germanicus', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 47 (1957), pp. 144-54.
Francis Wormald, 'The Throne of Solomon and St. Edward's Chair', in *De artibus opuscula XL. Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. by Millard Meiss (New York: New York University Press, 1961), I.

Index of persons

Abbas I the Great, shah of Persia 63
Abbas II, shah of Persia 68
'Abd al-Raḥmān II, emir of al-Andalus 10
'Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāḥir, emir of al-Andalus 9, 11, 12, 17
Abraham, biblical figure 187
Abu al-Fida 82
Acerbo Morena 256
Achaemenid dynasty 25, 28
Achilles 18
Adam, goldsmith 325, 327
Adelaide of Maurienne, wife of Louis VI of France 274
Alboin, king of the Lombards 15
Alexander IV, pope 236
Alexander VII 319
Alexander the Great 18, 25, 85, 87
Alexandre I, king of Kartli 60
Alexios I Komnenos, Byzantine emperor 162, 163
Alexios III Angelos, Byzantine emperor 166
Alfonso Froilaz 267
Alfonso IV 267, 297, 298, 303
Alfonso V 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 274, 276, 277
Alfonso VI 267, 272, 277
Alfonso VII of León and Castile 274, 277
Alfonso X the Wise, Castilian king 283
Alfonso XI 298
Alfonso, count of Urgell 294
Alfonso the Kind 332
Alishan, Ghewond 86n, 94n, 96n, 108
Alits of Corycus 82, 83
Almanzor, Abu ʿĀmir Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn Abi ʿĀmir al-Maʿafiri, chancellor of Cordoban caliphate 263, 264, 268
Altichiero, painter 219
Al-Umari 82
Alvarus Pelagius, bishop of Silves 285
Ambrogio Lorenzetti, painter 219
Ambrogio Sansedoni 236, 237, 240n
Anāhīd, divinity 31
Anastasios, byzantine emperor 139, 147, 148, 149
Andersen, Hans Christian 15
Andrea Bonaiuti, painter 219
Andrew of Hungary 254
Andronikos I Komnenos, Byzantine emperor 166
Anige, Nepalese artist 205
Anna Komnene 162
Anna Vassilyevna (Anna of Moscow) 179
Apollo, divinity 18
Ardaxšīr I, Sasanian emperor 28, 41
Arsacid dynasty 25, 28
Augustine, saint 150, 275
Augustus, roman emperor 314
d'Averçó, Luys 296
Avitabile, Pietro 56
Awshin, king of Cilician Armenia 81, 82
Awshin, *pali,* lord of Corycus 81, 82, 83
Bacci, Michele 90
Bagrationi family 67, 71
Bais, Marco 103
Baldwin IV 19
Basset, Sarah 142
Batu, Mongol khan 204, 213, 216, 217, 220
Bedos-Rezak, Brigitte 246
Belpoliti, Marco 257
Berengar II, ruler of Italy 141
Bermudo II 270, 271, 272, 276
Bermudo III 264, 270, 274, 276
Bernat Desclot 291
Bertran de Naya 290
Bertrandon de la Broquière 17
Bloch, Marc 19
Bock, Nicolas 252
Bonfiglio, bishop 237
Boniface, saint 227, 229n, 232, 239, 242
Boniface VIII 253
Borrell 11
Boucicaut Master 204
Bozoyan, Azat 86n
Buonaguida Lucari 225
Čagatai, Mongol khan 204, 216, 220
Canepa, Matthew P. 19, 20
Cannon, Joanna 236, 237, 242
Castelnuovo, Enrico 253
Chabi 209, 210
Chardin, Jean 58, 59
Charlemagne 18, 324
Charles of Anjou 232
Charles the Bald 319, 321, 322, 323, 324, 334, 335
Châtelet, Albert 253
Chubinashvili, Giorgi 71
Clement V, pope 247
Cochareli family 217
Collareta, Marco 252
Conrad of Wittelsbach, archbishop of Mainz 108
Constance of Sicily (Constance of Aragon) 83
Constantine / Kostandianos I, emperor, saint 110, 112, 179, 187
Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, Byzantine emperor 138, 141
Coppo di Marcovaldo, painter 234, 236
Corippus 152
Corrie, Rebecca 237
Cunimund, Gepid chief 15

Cvetković, Branislav 176-177, 186
Cyriacus, saint 121
Dadiani family 52, 69
Darius I, king of Persia 39
Darius III, king of Persia 85, 87
David, king-prophet 94, 96, 97, 100, 176, 196, 282
David VI Narin, king of Georgia 60
David XI (Daud-Khan II), king of Kartli 60, 61
Dawit II, emperor of Ethiopia 129, 131
Demetrios, saint 180, 186
De Morales, Ambrosio 266, 267, 269, 270, 272, 273, 274
Der Nersessian, Sirarpie 87n
Dietisalvi di Speme 228, 229n, 236
Duccio di Buoninsegna 225, 226, 227, 229, 240, 241, 242, 243
Durand, Paul 318
Eastmond, Antony 20, 105n, 122
Edward I of England, king 325, 327, 329
Edward the Confessor, saint 327
Eiximenis, Francesc 296
Eleanor of Castile 295
Elias, bishop of Bari and Canosa 315, 316, 317
Elias, prophet 282
Elisenda de Montcada 310, 311
Elizabeth II, queen of the United Kingdom 152
Elvira Menédez, queen 264, 270, 271, 274, 275
Elze, Reinhard 108
Emmeram, saint 324
Erekle, Georgian prince 54
Español, Francisca 331
Eulàlia, saint 310, 311
Eustasius, abbot 315, 317
Eustathios of Thessalonike 159
Euthymios the Athonite, saint 196
Ezekiel, prophet 193
Ferdowsi 28, 45, 46
Fəre Ṣəyon, painter 120
Fernando, count of Castile 264, 265
Fernando I, king 265, 266, 269, 270, 271, 274, 277
Fernando II 269, 277
Fernando, half-brother of Pedro IV 295
Fortuny Lopez de Sadava 292
Fozi, Shirin 270, 271, 274
Fredegund, Merovingian queen 271, 274
Frederick I Barbarossa, Holy Roman Emperor 107, 256
Frederick II of Sicily 217
Frederick III of Sicily (of Aragon) 83, 247, 248
Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor 332
Gabras, emissary of the sultan of Konya 163, 164
Gagik-Abas of Kars, Armenian king 87
García Sánchez of Castile 266, 270, 271, 272
García II of Galicia 269, 271, 273, 274
Gaston Fébus, count of Foix 206
Genghis Khan 212
George, saint 58, 69, 121, 221, 231, 305, 308, 309, 310
George the Athonite, saint 196
George XI, king of Kartli 61, 73
Gerster, Georg 125
Gil Pulido, José Ignacio 270
Giorgi, overseer of Georgian stonemasons 71
Giorgi VIII, king of Georgia 87, 88
Giotto di Bondone 219
Giovanni Pisano 239
Gregory Pakourianos 163
Grelot, Guillaume-Joseph 58, 59
Grigor Tatʿewatsʿi 100
Gian Lorenzo Bernini 319
Golombek, Lisa 139
Gonzalvo, barber 304
Guibert of Nogent 268
Guido da Siena 229n, 236, 240
Guillaume Boucher, goldsmith, 216
Guillem de Moncada 285
Güyük Khan 204, 216
Haile, Getatchew 127
Harris, Oliver 157
Hatshepsut, Egyptian queen 17, 18
Hayton the Historian 82
Heldman, Marylin E. 127
Helena, saint, empress 112n, 179, 187
Henry II Lusignan of Cyprus 83, 87
Henry II of England 256n
Henry III of England 328, 329
Henry IV 271
Henry VI, Holy Roman Emperor 107
Henry VII of Luxembourg 248
Heraclius, East Roman emperor 18, 28, 46, 47, 48
Hercules 322
Hermann II of Katzenelnbogen, bishop of Münster 107
Herzfeld, Ernst 44
Hesychius of Alexandria 45
Hetʿum, Cilician Armenian crown prince 91n, 112n
Hetʿum Nghirtsʿi, lord of Nghir in Cilicia 81, 82, 83
Hetʿum I, Armenian king of Cilicia 86, 96n
Ḫirutä Amlak 128
Hoch, Adrian 54
Hohenstaufen dynasty 237, 332
Holofernes, biblical figure 87, 88
Husraw / Khosrow I, king of Persia 34, 35, 37, 43, 44, 46
Husraw II, king of Persia 28, 31, 32, 34, 35, 45, 46, 47
Jaqeli dynasty 52
Justinian II, emperor 17
ʿIbn al-ʿArabī, sufi mystic 11, 12

Ibn al-Balḵī 43
Íñigo Arista 305
Ioseb Dadiani 53
Ioseliani, Platon 57n, 58
Irene Mentoni 185, 186, 187
Isaak Komnenos 158
Isabel, wife of Alfonso VI 267, 270, 274, 277
Iyäsus Moʾa, abbot and founder of Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos 127, 128, 129, 131
Jacob, biblical figure 177
Jadranka Prolović 177
Jaime the Conqueror of Aragon 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 290, 291, 292, 294, 309
Jaime II 294, 298, 306
Jaime III of Mallorca 310, 311
Jaçpert de Barvera 290
Jean d'Angely, saint 268
Jean Dardel, chronicler 82n 83n
Jean de Joinville 137
Jean, duke of Berry 204
Jelena, wife of the tsar 192
Jímena Sánchez 270, 271
Joan of Anjou, queen of Armenian Cilicia 82
Joanna I of Anjou 254
Johannes, illuminator 204
John, abbot of Saint-Arnoul in Metz 9, 20
John Balliol, king 327
John, Barbara 229n
John Carter 328
John Chrysostom 146, 147, 151
John Kinnamos 158n, 163n, 166, 167
John of Gorze 9, 10
John of Ibelin (Jean d'Ibelin) 91n, 94n, 108
John of Plano Carpini 203, 204, 205, 210, 213, 215, 216, 217
John the Baptist, saint 181, 193, 268, 275
John the Fearless, duke of Burgundi 204
John II, king of France 253
John II Komnenos 158, 161, 163
John VIII Paleologos, emperor 17, 179
John VIII, pope 322
John Mandeville 215
Jovan Oliver 192, 193
Juan, archbishop of Toledo 298
Juana, daughter of Pedro IV 295
Juan Manuel, Dominican friar 15
Judith, biblical figure 87, 88
Justin II, emperor 178n
Justinian I, emperor 34, 46, 142, 143, 147
Kakana, Georgian noblewoman 60
Kantorowicz, Ernst 13, 18, 156n, 263, 276, 318
Kayānid dynasty 25, 28, 36, 44, 46
Yesün Temür Khan 204
Khoshtaria, David 59
Kılıç Arslan II, sultan of Konya 165
Kondakov, Nikodim 71, 72
Konstantin of Kosteneć 176
Konstantine, biographer of Stefan Lazarevic 180
Koshoridze, Irina 65n
Kostandin of Corycus, constable of Armenian Cilicia 81, 82
Kostandin I, king of Armenian Cilicia 82n
Kostandin III Kesaratsʿi, Armenian catholicos 107
Krüger, Klaus 252
Krum, khan of the Bulgars 15
Kublai, Great Mongol khan 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 210, 212, 215, 217, 220, 221
Kʷəleṣewon 126, 128
Lamberti, Arcangelo 54
Lello da Orvieto 250
Leo the Wise, emperor 16
Levan II Dadiani 53, 54, 55, 56, 68n, 71, 73
Lewon I, king of Cilician Armenia 95, 107, 108
Lewon II, king of Cilician Armenia 87n, 91, 92
Lewon IV, king of Cilician Armenia 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 90, 91, 96, 97, 100, 102, 103, 104, 105, 107, 109n
Lewon V, king of Cilician Armenia 108n
Liutprand of Cremona 15, 17, 141, 142, 148
Liu Guandao, painter 206, 207
Lothar II 324
Louis II 324
Louis IV the Bavarian 248
Louis VI of France 274
Louis VII of France 19
Louis IX of France 137, 256
Louis of Toulouse, saint 249
Louis the German 324
Lucas of Túy 264
Maguire, Henry 166
Mäḥari Amlak 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 128
Makhniashvili 69
Mamia II Gurieli 53
Manfred, lord king 230, 231
Manganeios Prodromos 166, 167, 168
Manuchar I Dadiani 52
Manuel I Komnenos 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169
Maccarrone, Michele 320
Marco Polo 204, 205, 206, 210n, 212, 213, 215, 216, 217, 220, 221
Maria de Montpellier 307
Mariam Dadiani 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74
Maria of Antioch 160
Marcellus 314
March, author 296
Marek, Kristin 319
Marin, Louis 318
Mariun, queen of Armenian Cilicia 82n
Mark, evangelist 186
Marko, king 181, 186

Martin, saint 264
Martin I of Aragon, king 296, 319, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336
Mary of Hungary 251
Mary of Trebizond 17
Mary of Egypt, saint 187, 189
Master of Tressa 234
Mäṭṭaʿ, saint 121
Maximian, archbishop of Ravenna 142
McHaffie, Matthew W. 90, 91n
Menedeo 264
Mercurius, saint 122, 123, 126
Mersch, Dieter 317, 334, 336
Meskell, Lynn 156
Michael III, Byzantine emperor 151
Michael Italikos 159
Michael, archangel 192
Michalsky, Tanja 318
Mikel, Georgian nobleman 60
Mkhitʻar Gosh 92, 100n, 103, 105
Mina, Gianna 236, 237
Mirza, Khosrow 54
Mohammad Beg, Grand Vizier 68
Möngke Khan 204, 213, 215, 216, 217
Moses, prophet 186, 282
Muhammad, Prophet 10, 18
Muhammad al-Nasir, Mamluk sultan 82
Muntaner 291, 298, 309
Nəḥyo Bäkrəstos 121, 122, 125, 127, 128
Nelson, Robert S. 122
Nersēs Lambronatsʻi, archbishop of Tarsus 107, 108
Nersēs Shnorhali, Armenian catholicos 105, 106n
Nestan-Darejan Bagrationi 52
Nestan-Darejan, Queen Consort 60, 61, 62
Nicola Pisano 239
Niccolò di Giovanni di Francesco Ventura 225, 227
Niceforo Irbachi (Nikoloz Irubakidze-Cholokashvili) 71
Nicholas Mesarites 161
Nicephorus I, emperor 15
Nikephoros, patriarch 46
Nikephoros Phokas 15, 148
Niketas Choniates 163, 164, 166, 169
Nikolaos Panteugenos 186, 193
Nolan, Katherine 274
Nuño 290
Odoric of Pordenone 204, 210, 215, 216, 217, 233
Ohrmazd, divinity 31
Olariu, Dominic 252
Onneca, wife of Alfonso IV 267
Onouphrios, saint 187
Ordoño II 267
Ordoño III 267, 276
Ordoño IV 267
Otia, son of Queen Mariam Dadiani 53, 64, 65, 66, 69, 73
Otto I, King of East Francia and Holy Roman Emperor 9, 107
Paghtin Marajakht, marshal of Cilician Armenia 81, 82, 83
Paravicini Bagliani, Agostino 253
Parsadan Giorgijanidze 56
Paolo di Tommaso Montauri 225
Paul, apostle 95, 128
Paone, Stefania 252
Paul the Deacon, chronicler 15
Pedro IV of Aragon 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 332
Pedro Cornell 292
Pedro López de Luna, bishop 299
Pedro Marsili, chronicler 290
Pedro the Catholic 286, 287
Pedro the Great 282
Pedro the Ceremonious 283
Pelayo, saint 263, 275
Perkinson, Stephen 252, 274
Peter, apostle 128, 282
Peter III, king of Aragon 17
Peter of Alexandria 180
Peter of Mount Athos 180
Peter the Patrician 138
Philotheos 138
Photios, patriarch 178
Pierre de Laon 256
Pisanello 220
Pišdādiān dynasty 28
Philip II 266
Pliny the Younger 150
Polzer, Joseph 230n
Porphyrios the Charioteer 147
Procopius, Byzantine historian 46, 141, 150, 151, 152
Pseudo-Kodinos 138, 180, 186, 197
Rais Abulfamalet 286
RamiroII 267
Ramon de Moncada 285
Ramón Berenguer IV 291
Raymond 268
Renauld of Antioch 167
Renauld of Châtillon 164n
Richard II, king of England 253
Risco, Manuel 264, 269, 274
Robb, John 157
Robert of Anjou, king 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 257
Rostom, king of Kartli 52, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 62, 63, 65, 67, 68, 74
Rudolf of Habsburg 253
Rudolf of Swabia 271, 272
Rustichello da Pisa 205
Salmau 290
Šābuhr I 28, 32, 36, 39
Safi, shah of Persia 54, 56, 62
Samuel Anetsi 82n, 100
Sancha of León 264, 266, 270, 274, 275, 277
Sancha of Mallorca 248, 250, 254, 264, 265, 290
Sancha Raimúndez, queen 267 268, 269, 274, 275, 277
Sánchez Ameijeiras, Rocío 265, 268, 270

Sancho I 267
Sancho III of Pamplona 266
Sancho III of Navarre 270, 271, 272, 273
Santamaria, Alvaro 287
Sargis Pitsak, painter 84, 86, 90, 97, 98, 102
Sartaq, Mongol khan 204, 212, 213, 220
Sasanian dynasty 28, 29, 34, 41, 42, 44, 47, 48
Sergius, saint 35
Seteman Shervashidze 53
Schmidt, Victor 253
Schramm, Percy Ernst 318
Shahnavaz, king 58, 59
Shervashidze dynasty 53
Simeon Nemanja, saint 177
Simon I of Kartli 60, 61
Simon II Gurieli 53
Simone Martini 248, 249, 252
Siwrmēean, Artawazd 94n, 108
Smbat the Constable (Sparapet) 82, 86, 97
Solomon, biblical king 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 103n, 104, 105, 106, 176, 247, 282, 322, 329, 331, 335, 336
Sophia Vitovtovna, wife of grand duke 179
Stefan Lazarević, despot 173, 173n, 174, 176, 177
Ṯaʿālebi 45, 46
Tamar Jaqeli, wife of Manuchar Dadiani 52
Tamar, Queen of Georgia 60, 68n, 73
Tamar, wife of David VI Narin 60
Tamar, wife of Alexandre I 60
Tbilelashvili family 60
Təḫrəyännä Maryam 125, 126, 128, 130
Teimuraz I 54, 57, 67, 69
Teresa, wife of Fernando II 269, 277
Teresa of Entenza 295
Theodora 143, 146, 151
Theodosios I 145, 147
Theodosius / Tʻēodos II 110, 112
Thomas Aquinas, saint 252
Tʻoros, Cilician Armenian crown prince 91n
Thoros of Armenia 167
Thutmosis III 145, 147
Tino da Camaino, sculptor 251
Tommaso Fusconi, bishop of Siena 236n, 237, 238
Tuk 264
Trajan 150
Urban IV, pope 237
Uroš IV Dušan, tsar 192, 193
Urraca I, queen 267, 269, 270, 275
Urraca, infanta 275
Vahram Rabuni 91, 92
Vakhtang V Shahnavaz 52, 57, 68, 70, 71, 73, 74
Vakhtang VI 61
Vakhushti Bagrationi, prince 58, 63, 70, 71
Vardan of Tarsus, archbishop 107
Vassily Dmitrievich I, grand duke 179
Vogel, Cyrille 108
Vukašin, Serbian king 180, 181, 186
Wahrām Čōbēn 35
Wahrām II, king of Persia 32
Walker, Rose 271
Walter of Durham, master 327, 329
Webb, Diana 230, 231, 232, 233
William I, king of Sicily 12
William of Rubruck 204, 205, 210, 212, 213, 215, 216, 219, 220
Wuzurgmihr ī Bōxtagān 43
Yazdgird I, king of Persia 31
Yesülün Khatun 220
Yəkunno Amlak 117, 118, 119, 121, 122, 124, 125, 127, 128, 131
Yətbaräk, king of Ethiopia 117
Yovhannēs Pluz Erznkatsʻi 91, 92n
Zaida, wife of Alfonso VI 267, 270, 274, 277
Zapēl, sister of king Awshin 82
Zapēl of Corycus, wife of king Awshin 81n
Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, emperor of Ethiopia 120
Zosimas, saint 187
Zurita, Jerónimo 294

Index of Places

Aachen 324
Abkhazia 53
Adana 82, 102n
Ādur Gušnasp 35, 40, 41, 45, 47, 48
Afghanistan 28, 37
Aix-en-Provence
  Musée Granet 250
Akhalkalaki 62
Aksum
  Cathedral of Maryam Ṣəyon 119, 124
Alamut Fortress 60
Al-Andalus 12, 17
Aleppo 108
Aljafería 299, 304
Al-Madā'in 41, 45
Altenburg 239
  Lindenau-Museum 239
Amhara region 117, 127
Anatolia 36
Antelias, Lebanon 79n, 107
Antioch 34, 84, 86, 90, 91, 97, 105, 160, 164n, 166, 167, 168
Apamea
  Hippodrome 34
Aragon, kingdom of 20, 280, 281, 282, 287, 294, 296, 305, 309, 311, 312
Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah 41
Argilès 307
Arlanza
  Church of St Peter 265
Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia 19, 20, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 87, 91, 93, 97, 98, 99, 102, 104, 105, 107, 167
Aspānbar / New Ctesiphon' 45, 46
  'Ayvān' / 'Ṭāq-e Kesrā' / Ayvān-e Kesrā 40, 41, 43, 44, 46
Assisi
  Lower basilica 219
Ateni 60, 61
Avignon 247, 252, 304, 307
  Convent of St Augustin 305
Ayas / Laiazzo 83n
Bačkovo
  Monastery of the Virgin Petritzonitissa 163
Badia Ardenga 229n, 234n
Baghdad, Abbasid 10, 15
Baġlān 37
Balaguer 292, 294
Barcelona 285, 294, 305, 331, 334, 336
  Cathedral 311, 319, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333
  Palace 301, 302n
Palau Aguilar 306
  Square of Santa Maria del Mar 303
Bari 17
  Cathedral 315
  Church of San Nicola 315, 316, 317
Black Sea 56
Bolnisi 64
Bolnisi Cathedral 63, 70
Borriana 308
Byzantium / Constantinople 14, 17, 20, 28, 137, 138, 139, 156, 156, 165, 166, 169, 173, 196, 268
  Augustaion 138
  Chalke Gate 166
  Great Palace 138, 141, 148, 161, 166
  Hagia Sophia 15, 17, 137, 138, 166
  Hippodrome 138, 145, 147, 168
  Hall of Anastasios in
  Blachernai Palace 139
  Magnaura 104, 105n
  Saint Peter's Cathedral 168
Cairo 10
Canosa 317
Castelló 331
Castelló de Sant Pere 306
Caucasus 28
Central Asia 37
Central Asian steppe 33
China 43, 47
Cluny 271
Córdoba 11, 12
  Gate 11
  Residence of Madīnat al-Zahrā 9, 11
  Salón Rico 12
Corsica 304
Ctesiphon 34, 45
Cyprus 217
Däbrä Bizän 120
Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos 127, 129
Daga Ǝsṭifanos 128
Dunbar 327
Elna 304, 306
Egypt, Ancient 17
England 19, 255
Ērānšahr 28
Eritrea
  Monastery of Däbrä Libanos 124
Ethiopia 20, 117, 118, 119, 122
Favanella 305
Florence 225
  Basilica of Santa Maria Novella 219
Gännätä Maryam 117, 118, 119, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 130, 131
Gəšän Maryam 129
Gayent
  Church of St Qirqos 117
Gelati Monastery 60
Georgia 20, 52, 56, 57, 60, 62, 65, 74, 122
Genoa 217
Germany 271
Girona
  Franciscan convent 305
Gori 56, 57, 61, 64, 65

- Church of the Augustinian fathers 57
- Gori Cathedral 65
- Guria 53, 57
- Hāmun, lake 35
- Sanctuary of Lake Kayānsē 35
- Hindu Kush 28
- Iberia 20, 275, 276, 281, 286
- Imereti 53, 56
- Kaka Bridge 56
- India 28, 33, 37, 47
- Iran 21, 28, 56, 62
- Iran Turan 62
- Iranian Plateau 21, 34, 36
- Sasanian Iran 20, 21
- Isauria 82
- Italy 234, 240, 308, 324
- Southern Italy 19
- Jahan (Ceyhan) River 83n, 102
- Jericho 186
- Jerusalem 19, 91n, 94n, 101n, 107, 119, 196, 247, 332
- Holy Sepulchre 19
- Manuscript Library of the Armenian Patriarchate 79n, 81n, 93, 107
- Monastery of the Holy Cross 71, 72
- Kakheti 59, 61
- Kalamoti 189, 193
- Panagia Agrelopoussiana 186
- Karakorum 204, 215, 216
- Möngke Khan's palace 216
- Kartli 52, 54, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 68
- Kavtiskhevi 61
- Kvatakhevi Monastery 60, 74n
- Khanbaliq 206, 215, 217
- Khrami River 63
- Red Bridge 63
- Kingdom of Castile 263, 298, 308, 309
- Kisiskhevi 61
- Konya 163, 165
- Kuh-e Khwājā 35
- Kushan Empire 28, 37
- Kvemo (lower) Kartli 60, 61, 63
- Chkhekvi 61
- Gamoghma Nakhiduri 61
- Gomareti 61
- Opreti 61
- Shua (middle) Bolnisi 61
- Tsintskaro 61
- Urtsevani 61
- Kveshi 60
- Fortress 60
- Lalibäla 131
- Mädḫane ʿAläm 119, 125
- Lebanon 107
- León 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 270, 274, 275, 276
- Basilica of San Isidoro 263, 266, 267, 270, 271, 274
- Church of St John the Baptist 263, 264, 265
- Monastery St Pelayo 263
- Museo de León 273
- Pantheon of San Isidoro 274, 275
- San Salvador 267, 302
- Lesnovo 196
- Church of the Archangels 190, 192, 193
- Liakhvi basin 69
- Lleida 283, 302n, 307
- Lorraine 324
- London 331
- British Library 215, 217
- Courtauld Gallery 240
- Westminster Abbey 253, 271, 319, 325, 326, 327, 328, 331, 334
- Los Angeles
- Paul Getty Museum 284
- Lucina
- Cathedra in San Lorenzo 235
- Madrid 332, 336
- Mallorca 281, 287, 300, 304, 306, 307, 308, 309, 332
- Plaza de la Cort in Palma de Mallorca 292
- Chapel of Santa Ágata in the royal palace 304
- Manasija
- Church of the Trinity of Resava Monastery 173, 174, 176, 177, 180
- Manglisi 61
- Markov Monastery 180, 186, 193
- Mediterranean (Sea) 19, 34, 91, 102n, 105, 137, 281, 243
- Menorca 283
- Mepiskalaki 62
- Mersen 324
- Mesopotamia 34, 36
- Metz 324
- Abbey of Saint-Arnoul 9
- Mongol Empire 10, 202, 206, 221
- Montalcino 231, 234
- Montcada 292
- Montaperti 227, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 239, 242
- Montpellier 286, 306, 307
- Monzón 309
- Mount Athos 178n, 179, 180, 196
- Mtskheta 67
- Svetitskhoveli Cathedral 60 64, 65, 66, 70, 72, 73
- Murcia 286
- Muret 281
- Murviedro 291
- Myriokephalon 163
- Naples 246n, 247, 252
- Church of Santa Maria Donnaregina 251
- Instituto di Anatomia Umana Normale dell'Università di Napoli 250
- Monastery of Santa Chiara 250
- Museo di Capodimonte 248, 249, 252
- Naqš-e Rostam 36
- Nile 28
- Noste 60
- Odishi 52, 53, 56, 57
- Oña 265

Pantheon of San Salvador 266
Oxford
Bodleian Library 204, 206n, 208
Oxus 8
Padua
Oratory of Saint George 220
Palermo
Cathedral 314
Piazza della Catedrale 315
Zisa Palace 12
Pantaleu 285
Papeṛon 82
Paris 14, 239, 329
Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés 271
Archives nationales 291
Bibliothèque nationale de France, cabinet des médailles 148, 149
Bibliothèque nationale de France 204, 208, 210n, 211, 212n, 213, 299n, 302, 324n
Jeu de Paume 329
Maison Lafitte 329
Saint-Denis 271
Saint-Pierre of Montmartre 274
Paterna 286
Perpignan 302n, 306, 307, 308
Persia / Pārs 21, 28, 36, 47
First Persian Empire 21
Persian East 217
Persian Gulf 28
Poblet
Cistercian Monastery of Santa Maria 295, 332
Porto Pí 304
Church of San Nicolás 304
Princeton 239
Puig 291
Pyrenees 271
Qaṣr-e Šīrīn
'Emārat-e Ḵosrow 34, 45
Ravenna
Maximilian's cathedra 335
San Vitale 139, 142, 143, 148
Rome 19, 33, 43, 287, 335
San Paolo fuori le Mura 322
Ruiforco
San Julián y Santa Basilisa 267
Sahagún 270
Royal monastery of San Benito 267
Saix 305
Saleph River 107
Samegrelo 52, 54, 73
Santa Ponça 306
Sapara Monastery 69
Sardinia 304
Arborea 303
Sasanian Empire 21
Scone 325
Scone Abbey 327
Scotland 325
Segorbe 331
Seleucia 107
Seleucia-Ctesiphon 41
Seville 265
Shangdu 206
Shida (inner) Kartli 61, 63, 68
Achabeti 61
Ali 61
Aradeti 61, 68, 69
Kekhvi 61
Ruisi 61
Cathedral of the Mother of God 70, 71
Sadakudeblo 61
Tamarasheni 61
Tskhinvali 61, 69
Saint Jean d'Angely, abbey 268
Sicily 13n, 83, 247, 254, 256, 257
Siena 225, 230, 231, 232, 233, 236 240
Basilica di Santa Maria dei Servi 234
Campo Fori 230
Cathedral 225, 227, 228, 229, 233, 238, 239, 241, 242, 243
Chapel of Saint Francis 219
Chapel of Saint James 238, 239
Church of San Clemente 237
Museo dell'Opera Metropolitana 226, 227, 234, 241
Opera of Santa Maria 238
Pinacoteca Nazionale 236
Porta del Perdono 227
San Domenico 236
Sis / Kozan, Cilicia 81, 82, 83, 84, 87n, 90n, 97n, 107
Skopje 180
South China Sea 28
Spain 17
Speyer
Cathedral 271
Surami 60
Tabori Mountain 58
Church of the Annunciation 58
Church of St John the Baptist 58, 59
King's Square 58
St George Church 58
Taipei
National Palace Museum 203, 205, 206, 207, 209, 210
Taḵt-e Solaymān 46
Taḵt-e Ṭāqdis 44n, 45
Ṭāq-e Bostān 31, 32, 33, 36
Tarascon 307
Tarragona 285, 290, 292
Tarsus 82, 83, 107
Tatu 204
Yesün Temür's palace 215
Tbilisi 57, 58, 59, 60, 61
Anchiskhati Church 57
Georgian National Museum 72, 73
Metekhi Bridge 57
Narikala 57
National Centre of Manuscripts 88

Sioni Cathedral 57, 58, 59, 62
Tedzami 62
Tetrasheni, church 59
Thessalonike 158, 159
Tigris 41, 46
Toledo 298
Tsalenjikha
Church of the Saviour 54, 55
Urbnisi
Cathedral of St Stephen the Protomartyr 69, 70
Valencia 281, 286, 287, 304, 305, 306, 308, 331
Royal palace 301
Vatican
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 158n, 160, 163n, 204, 210n, 211, 215n
Cathedra Petri 319, 320, 321, 322, 324, 325, 334, 335
Choir of Saint Peter 219
Vatopedi Monastery 69
Kashueti Church of St George 69
Venice
San Lazzaro, Manuscript Library of Mekhitarists 79n, 84, 85, 86, 99
Verona 204
Church of Sant'Anastasia 220
Vienna 139, 142
Cathedral 253
Kunsthistorisches Museum 140
Villaboa
Bierzo 264
Vincennes 137
Viver 305, 306
Volga 204
Waša Mikaʾel, church 123, 124, 127
Whitsuntide 287
Yerevan
Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts 79n, 98
Yılankale / Lewonkla, fortification in Cilicia 96n, 101, 102, 103, 104
Zaragoza 304, 306
Cathedral 298
Convent of San Francisco 305
Zarzma 195, 196
Zugdidi 53
Zghuderi 69