

**ROYAL IMAGES OF THE ARMENIAN KINGDOM OF
CILICIA (1198-1375) IN THE CONTEXT OF MEDITERRANEAN
INTERCULTURAL EXCHANGE**



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Dedicated to Peace

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.E. – Armenian Era.

A.H. – Hijri Year.

B.C. – Before Christ.

MS – manuscript.

MSS – manuscripts.

Institutions and Collections

A – The Cilicia Museum and Manuscript Library of the Catholicosate of Cilicia, Antelias, Lebanon.

ANS – Armenian Numismatic Society, Los Angeles.

BL – British Library, London.

BnF – Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

BSB – Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

BZ – Library of the Monastery of Our Lady of Bzommar, Lebanon.

Ē – Museum of the Armenian Catholicosate, Ējmiacin.

FGA – Freer Gallery of Art, Washington.

GG – Coin collection of Gohar Grigoryan.

HM – State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg.

HMA – History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan.

J – Manuscript Library of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

M – *Matenadaran*. Mesrop Maštoc' Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan.

PB – Coin collection of Paul Bedoukian, New York.

PML – Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

V – Manuscript Library and Museum of the Mekhitarist Congregation in Venice.

W – Manuscript Library and Museum of the Mekhitarist Congregation in Vienna.

YN – Coin collection of Yeghia Nercessian.

Publications

AH – *Azgagrakan handes* (Ethnographic Revue), Tbilisi.

ANJ – Armenian Numismatic Journal, Los Angeles.

BC – *Brief Chronicles, 13th-18th cc. [Manr Žamanakagrut 'yunner, 13-18-rd darer]*, edited by Vazgen Hakobyan. Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1951 (vol. I), 1956 (vol. II).

BM – *Banber Matenadarani* (Bulletin of Matenadaran), Yerevan.

BV – *Bazmavep* (Revue d'études arméniennes), Venice, San Lazzaro.

CAE – *Christian Armenia Encyclopedia*. Yerevan: Armenian Encyclopedia Publishing, 2002.

CAJ – Central Asiatic Journal, Wiesbaden.

DOP – Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Washington.

DOS – Dumbarton Oaks Studies, Washington.

ĒM – *Ējmiacin Monthly*, Mother See of Holy Ējmiacin.

HA – *Handēs Amsoreay*, Monthly Review for Armenian Studies, Vienna.

HHH – *Haygazian Hayagitagan Handes* (Haygazian Armenological Review), Beirut.

HHT – *Hask Hayagitakan Taregirk* (Hask Yearbook for Armenian Studies), Antelias.

JAS – Journal of Armenian Studies, *National Association for Armenian Studies and Research*, Belmont.

JSAS – Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies, California State University, Fresno.

LHG – *Lraber Hasarakakan Gitut 'yunneri* (Herald of the Social Science), Yerevan.

Muséon – Le Muséon: Revue d'études orientales, Louvain-la-Neuve.

PBH – *Patmabanasirakan Handes* (Historical-Philological Revue), Yerevan.

REArm – Revue des études arméniennes, Paris.

TRANSLITERATION

The transliteration of Armenian letters are given according to the Hübschmann-Meillet-Benveniste system, used by the *Revue des études arméniennes*. If in the cited works other transliteration systems are employed, they appear here unchanged.

Ա ա – A a	Խ խ – X x	Չ չ – Č' č'
Բ բ – B b	Ծ ծ – C c	Պ պ – P p
Գ գ – G g	Կ կ – K k	Ջ ջ – Ĵ ĵ
Դ դ – D d	Հ հ – H h	Ռ ռ – Ř ř
Ե ե – E e	Չ ձ – J j	Ս ս – S s
Զ զ – Z z	Ղ ղ – Ł ł	Վ վ – V v
Է է – Ě ě	Ճ ճ – Č č	Տ տ – T t
Ը ը – Ě ě	Մ մ – M m	Ր ր – R r
Թ թ – T' t'	ԅ Ե – Y y	Յ ջ – C' c'
Ժ ժ – Ž ž	Ն ն – N n	Ի ի – W w
Ի ի – I i	Շ շ – Š š	Փ փ – P' p'
Լ լ – L l	Ռ ռ – O o	Ք ք – K' k'
		ՌԻ ռԻ – U u

Օ օ – AW aw = Ō ō

Ֆ ֆ – F f

*They paint the portrait of the king during his childhood,
in order to show his physical appearance at that time,
and also when he is a mature man, and in his old age, and
when he is crowned. Thus each portrait resembles the original.*
Yovhannēs Erzncac'i, 13th century

INTRODUCTION

I. A NEW KINGDOM IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND ITS ARTISTIC HERITAGE

The medieval history of Cilicia is inextricably linked to the Armenians. Traditionally situated within the frontiers and on the crossroads of various empires and civilizations, this north-eastern Mediterranean region came to exist as a separate political entity under the Armenian domination during the High and Late Middle Ages – first as principality (1080-1198), then as kingdom (1198-1375).

Based on multiple relationships between the ancient kingdom of Armenia and the Seleucid and Roman empires, researchers have propounded that a certain number of Armenians could have been living in Cilicia during the Seleucid and Roman periods. The Armenian presence is testified during the first century B.C., when Cilicia shortly became a part of the Kingdom of Greater Armenia under the reign of King Tigranes II (95-55 B.C.)¹. The number of the Armenian population continued to grow also in the following centuries, when the region was ruled by the Romans, Byzantines, and Arabs. In the second half of the tenth century, when the Byzantine Emperor Nikephoros II Phocas reconquered Cilicia and some parts of northern Syria from the Arabs, a large Christian population migrated back to these regions. Because of the growth of the number of the Armenians in Cilicia and surrounding areas, Catholicos Xaç'ik I Aršaruni (973-992) started to ordain bishops and send them to Tarsus, Antioch, and other cities². The mass migration of the Armenians started in the eleventh century, with the fall of the Bagratid kingdom of Ani in 1045 and with the Seljuk advancement into Anatolia. In contrast to previous centuries, this migration was accompanied and sometimes led by former lords of

¹ For the presence of the Armenians in ancient Cilicia, see: Grigor Mikaelyan, *История киликийского армянского государства [History of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia]* (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1952), 25-35; Alexey Sukiasyan, *История киликийского армянского государства и права, XI-XIV вв. [History of Cilician Armenian State and Law, Eleventh-Fourteenth Centuries]* (Yerevan: Mitk', 1969), 15-16.

² *Step'anosi Tarōnec'woy Asolkan Patmut'iwn tiezerakan [Universal History of Step'anos Taronec'i (Asolik)]*, second printing (Saint Petersburg: Publishing House of Skorokhodov, 1885), 258.

Greater Armenia, who were moving to the western parts of the Byzantine Empire, taking their possessions and populations with them³. This ‘organized’ migration must have played an important role in arranging the military, political, and administrative life of the Armenian communities in Cilicia, whose successful representatives managed to create their autonomous principalities there⁴. The most enduring among these political entities is associated with the name of Prince Ēruben, who also gave his name to the future royal dynasty of the Ērubenids⁵.

Upon the coronation of the first king Lewon I Ērubenid in 1198, the Armenian principality of Cilicia was given the status of a kingdom, known in scholarship as the *Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia* or, as some sources call, *Lesser Armenia*, so that to differentiate it from Greater Armenia⁶. During the two centuries of its existence, the Cilician kingdom was ruled by three dynasties, representing the *Ērubenid* (*Ērubenean*), *Het’umid* (*Het’umean*) and *Lusignan* families. Receiving an official recognition from both the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy, the newly founded state had in fact to play the role of an ally of the West, in particular by assisting the participants of the Third Crusade. In the context of his ambitious Levantine policy, Frederick Barbarossa became interested in collaboration with Cilician Armenians, who, in exchange for this, would be granted their own kingdom. With the active presence of Islamic forces in the region, the new Armenian kingdom was seen as playing a certain role in distributing the forces in

³ On the migration of the Greater Armenian lords, see: Gérard Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés: étude sur les pouvoirs arméniens dans le Proche-Orient méditerranéen (1068-1150)*, Volume I – *Aux origines de l’état cilicien: Philarete et les premiers Ērubeniens* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2003), XXXI-XXXII.

⁴ For the Armenian princes who ruled in Cilicia before the Ērubenids, see: Sirarpie Der Nersessian, “The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia,” in *A History of the Crusades*, general editor Kenneth M. Setton, Volume II – *The Later Crusades (1189-1311)* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 630-633; Claude Mutafian, *La Cilicie au carrefour des empires*, vol. I (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1988), 368-372; Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, vol. I, 5-357.

⁵ On Ruben and his successors, see: Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, vol. I, 365-637; Levon Ter-Petrossian, *Xaç’akirnerə ew hayerə [The Crusaders and the Armenians]*, vol. II – *Historico-Political Study* (Yerevan: Archive of the Armenian Republic’s First President, 2007), 63-185.

⁶ See, e.g., *Wilbrand of Oldenburg: Journey in the Holy Land (1211-1212)*, in *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, translated by Denys Pringle, *Crusade Texts in Translation* 23 (Farnham – Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 75: “...there exists another Armenia, better placed in the east, which has very high mountains; there originated those Armenians who, having emigrated from it, took possession of this country [Cilicia], expelling the Greeks. As a result, this is called Lesser Armenia.”

favor of the Crusaders. Although the Cilician Armenian kingdom was not a Crusader state, it came into being within the project of the Third Crusade.⁷

This brief introduction to the historical background reflects the entangled relationships of Armenian Cilicia with the West and the Crusaders, which left its mark on Cilician Armenian culture. As we shall see in the following chapters, this culture was also greatly informed by the exchanges with the Greeks, Seljuks, Mongols, as well as with the local, non-Armenian communities that shaped Cilicia's multicultural environment. All these contacts, be these political, religious, or socio-cultural, played a certain – at times, determining – role in how the Armenian sovereigns of Cilicia were represented in visual-artistic terms. To this question is dedicated the present dissertation, which aims to provide the first systematic study of all preserved royal images originating from Cilician Armenia and to assess the role of artistic images in the construction of royal ideology in this north-eastern Mediterranean state. Non-Armenian images and anachronistic representations of Cilician rulers are also considered in this thesis but, due to methodological incongruities, only episodically and for informative purposes. Some non-Armenian images are published here for the first time, and several textual sources – mostly Armenian – are considered here anew when analyzing various aspects of Cilician Armenian art and history. All translations – though not ideal, I believe – are mine unless otherwise indicated.

As my focus will mainly be on royal imagery produced in an Armenian *milieu*, a few words should be said about the artistic heritage of Armenian Cilicia at the eve of the kingdom's creation at the end of the twelfth century. This will certainly be an incomplete assessment, given that the Cilician Armenian material culture produced prior to the thirteenth century is mainly limited to illustrated manuscripts which, in contrast to other media, are nevertheless preserved better and in a relatively larger number.

One of the rare manuscripts that gives us an idea about the early period of Cilician Armenian miniature painting is a Gospel book, now preserved at the *Mesrop Maštoc' Institute of Ancient Manuscripts (Matenadaran)*, in Yerevan (henceforth M) under the

⁷ Cf. *Introduction to The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa, The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, translated by G. A. Loud, *Crusade Texts in Translation* 19 (Farnham – Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 18.

shelf mark MS 6763 (Figs. 1-2)⁸. The manuscript was created in 1113 in the monastery of Drazark under the patronage of a certain Kiwrakos⁹. As can be expected, the illustrations of this codex are reminiscent of Greater Armenian miniature painting, the tendencies of which have apparently travelled to Cilicia during the above-mentioned migrations. The small size of the Drazark manuscript and its simple decorations speak of the modest means of its commissioner and, so far as we can observe in this sole example, of the lack of artistic idiosyncracies in early twelfth-century Drazark. Besides Drazark, two other scriptoria situated in Skewra and Hromkla, are documented to have produced illustrated manuscripts after the second half of the twelfth century. A considerable progress in Cilician Armenian artistic creations is seen at the end of the twelfth century in such richly illuminated codices as the *Gospels of Skewra* (also known as the *Lviv Gospels*), kept at the Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw (Figs. 19-20), MS V 1635 of the Library of the Mekhitarist Congregation in Venice (henceforth V) (Fig. 21), MS W 538, kept at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, etc.¹⁰.

The end of the twelfth century was a turning point for not only Cilician but also Greater Armenian miniature painting – notably, on account of the established decorative

⁸ Two other manuscripts, M 7737, and MA XIII 1 of the Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen, were previously ascribed to the scriptorium of Drazark and dated from the beginning of the twelfth century. See: Josef Strzygowski, *Kleinarmenische Miniaturenmalerei: Die Miniaturen des Tübinger Evangeliars MA XIII, 1 vom J. 1113, bzw. 893 n. Chr.*, in *Atlas zum Katalog der armenischen Handschriften*, 1. *Armenische Palaeographie* by Franz Nikolaus Fink, 2. *Kleinarmenische Miniaturenmalerei* by Josef Strzygowski (Tübingen: Druck von Max Schmiersow, 1907), 19-43; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens illustrés des XIIe, XIIIe et XIVe siècles de la bibliothèque des pères Mekhitaristes de Venise* (Paris: Librairie E. de Boccard, 1936), 50; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire. A Brief Study of Armenian Art and Civilization*, 2nd printing (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), 121; Lydia Durnovo, *Краткая история древнеармянской живописи [Brief History of Ancient Armenian Painting]* (Yerevan: Armenian SSR State Publishing, 1957), 27; Levon Azaryan, *Kilikyan manrankarč'ut'yunə XII-XIII darerum [Cilician Miniature Painting in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries]*, (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1964), 17-24, 43-52. For clarifications regarding the date and provenance of these codices, see: Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia*, vol. I, DOS XXXI, jointly prepared for publication with Sylvia Agemian, with an Introduction by Annemarie Weyl Carr (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1993), 1.

⁹ *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 5th-12th Centuries [Hayeren jeragreri hišatakaranner, E-ŽB. dar]*, compiled by Artašes Mat'evosyan (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1988), 142-143.

¹⁰ For these and related manuscripts illustrated in Cilician Armenia during the 1190s, see: Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens illustrés*, 51-86; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore: Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery, 1973), 6-9; Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 1-35; Azaryan, *Cilician Miniature Painting*, 65-76. Viktor Lazarev, *История византийской живописи [The History of Byzantine Painting]*, vol. I (Moscow: "Iskusstvo", 1986), 105, etc.

system of Gospel codices¹¹. This system, which would become commonplace for Armenian Gospel books created thereafter, had three main characteristics. The first refers to the lavishly decorated Eusebian canon tables. The second feature is the decorative program of the four incipit pages, each respectively embellished with the sophisticated initials *Q* – *G* (the first letter in the Gospel of Matthew), *U* – *S* (Mark), *Ϸ* – *K'* (Luke), and *H* – *I* (John), as well as with a large marginal ornament (often topped with a cross) and a rectangular or Π-like headpiece on the top of the page, usually filled in with floral, geometric, and zoomorphic motifs. As a rule, the incipit pages occupy the recto, with portraits of the evangelists placed on the opposite page. The third characteristic of illustrated Gospel books is the extensive marginal ornamentations, found throughout the written folios to indicate in this way the beginning or the end of gospel pericopes or other pauses within the text. This almost standardized decorative system was used in the Gospel codices illustrated both in Greater Armenia and Cilicia¹². As we shall see later in this thesis, most of the royal and princely images are found in Gospel manuscripts, although the place of these images within the book varies from one case to another.

The principles of decorating Gospel codices constitute however the most common artistic tradition shared between the Greater Armenian and Cilician Armenian workshops¹³. In many other instances, the formation of Cilician Armenian art was greatly inspired by the intense multi-cultural contacts within the Mediterranean basin and beyond. Situated in a demographically dynamic region, Armenian Cilicia was inhabited by different ethnic and religious groups, who, together with the Armenians, took active part in the political, religious, and cultural life of this new Armenian state¹⁴. By the mid-

¹¹ Seyranush Manukyan, “Орнамент в рубрикации армянских рукописных евангелий [Ornament in the Rubrications of Armenian Manuscript Gospels],” *Византийский временник (Βυζαντινα χρονικα)* 65/90 (2006): 243-146, esp. 244; Seyranush Manukyan, “Армения: Искусство рукописной книги [Armenia: Art of Manuscript Book],” in *Православная Энциклопедия* [Orthodox Encyclopedia], vol. III (Moscow: “Orthodox Encyclopedia” Church Research Center, 2001), 301-306.

¹² For the decoration of incipit pages of twelfth-century Cilician manuscripts, see, for instance, Figs. 19-22.

¹³ On Cilician and Greater Armenian artistic interactions, see also: Lilit Zakarian, “Un épisode de l’histoire des relations culturelles du royaume arménien de Cilicie et de la Grande Arménie,” in *Les Lusignans et l’Outre-Mer: Actes du colloque*, Poitiers-Lusignan 20-24 October 1993 (Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, 1994), 301-304.

¹⁴ On the demographic situation of Cilicia in the early thirteenth century, see, for example, Wilbrand of Oldenburg’s eyewitness account: “*It [Cilician Armenia] is inhabited by Franks, Greeks, Syrians, Turks and Armenians; however, the Armenians alone have domination over the others. They are strongly religious and the best of Christians, observing the law given to them by the lesser Gregory [Gregory the Illuminator].*” See *Wilbrand of Oldenburg*, 74.

thirteenth century, the dynamic cultural and artistic interactions within and outside of Cilicia, as well as the extensive patronage of Armenian ruling aristocracy and high clergy, turned the monastic centers of Drazark, Skewra, and Hromkla into well-organized scriptoria and artistic workshops – the latter sometimes also called miniature schools. The resulting artistic production of this and subsequent decades is now considered by scholars as one of the highly developed periods of medieval Armenian art, which was also remarkable for putting a special emphasize on the visual representations of Cilician rulers and their royal ideologies.

II. THE VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF ARMENIAN ROYAL IDEOLOGY IN THE PRE-CILICIAN PERIOD

Portraying the members of Armenian royal and princely families was not an innovation in the Cilician period. Even though the visual representations of Cilician Armenian sovereigns differ notably from pre-Cilician and contemporaneous portrayals of secular rulers in Greater Armenia, a quick glance at the latter will offer us a useful comparative tool to better understand, in the coming chapters, the representational principles of Cilician kingship and how these principles were informed and impacted by the given socio-political and religious-cultural *milieus* – often considerably different from those in Greater Armenia.

From the early medieval period, a symbolic depiction of royalty, stressing the over-human qualities of the depicted ruler, has been preserved in the Mausoleum of the Arsacid (*Aršakuni* in Armenian) kings. The mausoleum is situated in the village of Aġk' in the present-day Republic of Armenia and, based on textual sources, dates from the year 364, when Prince Vasak Mamikonean salvaged the bones of the Armenian kings from the Sassanid army and reburied them here¹⁵. Until then, the royal tombs of the Arsacids were situated in the Castle of Ani, which was besieged by King Shapur II.

The royal complex of Aġk' consists of the mentioned mausoleum, a memorial, and an early Christian church¹⁶. The sculptural decoration of the mausoleum, which includes both pagan and early Christian motifs, was most probably executed in two phases¹⁷. Among the extant reliefs, on the left slab of the main composition, one can see a hunting scene with a giant man who, accompanied by two dog-like animals, is depicted killing a huge boar with his dart (Fig. 3). The image of the hunter has been interpreted as a representation of Hayk, the mythological pre-ancestor of the Armenians who, in Movsēs Xorenac'i's *History of the Armenians*, is described in a similar manner as portrayed in Aġk', and with whom medieval Armenian historiography associated the

¹⁵ Hakob Simonyan, “*Aġk' i ark'ayakan dambarani hušarjanaxumbə, IV-XVII dd* [The Royal Monumental Complex in Aghtsk, Fourth-Seventeenth Centuries],” *Hušarjan Yearbook* 7 (2011): 21-22.

¹⁶ Simonyan, “The Royal Monumental Complex in Aghtsk,” 5-46.

¹⁷ Der Nersessian Sirarpie, *L'art arménien* (Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1977), 60-63, esp. 63. For English, see: Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art* (Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1978), 60-63, esp. 63.

genealogies of royal dynasties¹⁸. Hayk's nude image, which corresponds to ancient perceptions of the gods, speaks of the pre-Christian period of this part of the relief¹⁹. In Armenian mythology, he is associated with the constellation of Orion, who is often accompanied by his hunting dogs²⁰. The portrayal of Hayk in the royal mausoleum, where both pagan and Christian Arsacid kings were buried, was intended to underscore the divine origins of the Arsacid kingship – much like the historiographical sources did when representing the legendary genealogies of Armenian kings. The royal connotations of the image of the mythological Hayk are further emphasized by the depiction of a bird with the “ribbon of honor” (Fig. 4), a well-known royal motif from contemporaneous Sassanid art²¹.

With the conversion to Christianity in the early fourth century, the idea of the divinely originated rulership continued to shape the Armenian political rhetoric but now it was adapted to the new, Christian ideology. The victory of Christianity, as scholars have interpreted the iconography of the Christian ‘section’ of the Ałjk’ Mausoleum, is one of the dominating ideas of the reliefs, which also includes the depiction of the “peaceful garden” (heavenly kingdom) where the souls of pagan and Christian kings go²².

Interestingly, associations with the mythological Hayk are found in Cilician Armenian textual sources as well, in which Āruben, the founder of the first royal dynasty in Cilicia (Ārubenids), is frequently introduced as a member of the Bagratid family, who, in turn, were seen as descendants of Hayk (see Chapter 1.1.2). Moreover, in the coronation rite of the Armenian kings of Cilicia, which was translated from a version of the so-called *Mainzer Krönungsordo*, a crucial revision was incorporated by the translator, Nersēs of Lambron (Nersēs Lambronac’i), underlining that the newly crowned

¹⁸ Babken Ařak’elyan, *Haykakan patkerak’andaknerā IV-VII darerum [Armenian Relief Sculptures of the 4th-7th Centuries]* (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1949), 78-83. On the image of Hayk as narrated by Xorenac’i, see: *Moses Khorenats’i, History of the Armenians*, Translation and Commentary on the Literary Sources by Robert W. Thomson, revised edition (Ann Arbor: Caravan Books, 2006), 72-73, 81-82, etc.

¹⁹ Der Nersessian, *L’art arménien*, 63.

²⁰ Ařak’elyan, *Armenian Relief Sculptures*, 79-80.

²¹ On this motif in Armenian arts as a symbol of glory and its associations with Sassanid art, see: Matteo Compareti, “The Spread Wings Motif on Armenian Steles: Its Meaning and Parallels in Sasanian Art,” *Iran and the Caucasus* 14 (2010): 201-232. For Iranian examples, observed in textiles, see also: Marielle Martiniani-Reber, *Textiles et mode sassanides: les tissus orientaux conservés au département des Antiquités égyptiennes (Louvre)* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1997), 111-112.

²² Hamlet Petrosyan, “*Ałc’k’i ark’ayakan dambarani xačayin horinvack’nerā* [Cross Compositions of the Royal Sepulcher of Aghtsq],” *PBH* 1 (2005): 215-226.

Cilician king would “reign over the throne of the House of T’orgom²³ and over the race of Hayk.”²⁴ As will be seen later on, the mythological Hayk and his father T’orgom were occasionally evoked in Cilician Armenian official historiography as a means of providing the acting rulers with a prestigious genealogy.

One of the earliest artistic depictions of secular rulers in early medieval Armenia has been preserved on the southern facade of the Church of Ptłni (sixth-seventh centuries). Here, there is a relief portrait of Manuel Amatuni who, in the inscription carved on the same slab, is mentioned as lord of the Amatuni family (Fig. 6)²⁵. The relief is placed on the hood mould, in the center of which we see the image of Christ in the medallion, carried by two angels (Fig. 5). Two secular themes, both of which represent hunting scenes, are depicted on the right and left sides of the arch: Manuel Amatuni on horseback, slaying the beast (left), and another figure, who is shown kneeling and preparing to stick his dart into the lion (right). In the expressive figure of Manuel, one can notice his large headgear, perhaps a sign of his political status. The iconography of the equestrian hero, evidenced in the portraits of Early Christian rulers of the Transcaucasian region, could be inspired by the representations of Sassanid kings, as argued by Nina Garsoïan²⁶.

Another sculpted image of secular rulership is found on the tympanum of the western entrance of the Church of Mren, erected around 638-641. This semi-circular tympanum is embellished with relief portraits of the archangels Michael and Gabriel,

²³ Biblical T’orgom or Togarmah, who, according to Movsēs Xorenac’i, was the father of Hayk. See: *Moses Khorenats’i*, 72. See also: Ruzan Mkrtč’yan and Ašot P’iliposyan, “Ask’anazyān azgi ew T’orgomi tan žarāngabanakan xndirneri šurj [On the Issue of the Azk’anazyān Nation and the House of T’orgom],” in *Hayoc’ srberā ew srbavayrerā [Armenian Saints and Sanctuaries]* (Yerevan: Hayastan, 2001), 383-394.

²⁴ Artawazd Siwrmēean, *Catalog of the Armenian Manuscripts of Aleppo and Antelias and of Private Collections*, volume II (Aleppo: Tēr-Sahakean Press, 1936), 27; Lewond Ališan, *Sisuan: Hamagrut’win haykakan Kilikiy ew Lewon Mecagorc [Sisuan: A Documentary Study of Armenian Cilicia and Lewon the Magnificent]*, (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1885), 473. For the French translation, see: Léonce M. Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique: premier roi de Sissouan ou de l’Arménocilie*, translated by le P. George Bayan (Venice: St. Lazare, 1888), 330. On Cilician Armenian coronation ordo, see Peter S. Cowe, “The Inauguration of the Cilician Coronation Rite and Royal Ideology,” *Armenian Review* 45 – 4/180 (winter, 1992): 49-59.

²⁵ Ařak’elyan, *Armenian Relief Sculptures*, 67-68; Step’an Mnac’akanyan, “Ptłnii tačary [The Cathedral of Ptłni],” *PBH* 3-4 (1961): 232-237, and more extensively in Christina Maranci, *Vigilant Powers: Three Churches of Early Medieval Armenia*, Studies in the Visual Cultures of the Middle Ages – Volume 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 201-254 (Chapter 3).

²⁶ Nina Garsoïan, “Quelques considérations sur la connaissance de l’art arménien médiéval,” in *Atti del terzo simposio internazionale di arte armena*, Milan – Vicenza – Castelfranco V. – Piazzola sul Brenta – Venice, September 25 – October 1, 1981, edited by: Giulio Ieni, Gabriella Uluhogian (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1984), 7.

below which, on the right and left sides of the lower lintel, the images of three noblemen are found, flanking the holy figures (Fig. 7). These noblemen are often identified as princes David Saharuni, Nersēs Kamsarakan and Emperor Heraclius, since they are mentioned in the inscription placed above the same portal²⁷. Christina Maranci's analysis of the Mren reliefs has shown that "the monument functioned to affirm allegiances between Emperor Heraclius and two Armenians: Dawit' Saharuni, a newly appointed imperial official, and the local lord Nersēs Kamsarakan."²⁸ We know that two centuries earlier, another prince from the Kamsarakan family, Sahak Kamsarakan, was portrayed in the Church of Tekor, the construction of which was commissioned by Sahak himself. This now-lost sculpted image was found and photographed in Tekor by Nikolay Marr²⁹, though the contexts of its production remain unexplored.

Several royal and princely images were executed during the tenth and eleventh centuries when, besides the central Bagratid kingdom of Ani, several other Armenian kingdoms existed, such as the kingdom of Vaspurakan (founded in 908), the kingdom of Kars or Vanand (founded in 963), the kingdom of Lori or Tašir-Joraget (founded in 982), and the kingdom of Siwnik' (founded in 987)³⁰. Although these political entities were formally the vassals of the Bagratids of Ani, they were autonomous in their military and economic affairs. From time to time, the local kings rebelled against the Bagratids and maintained contact with the Arabs who, by this time, were still dominant in the region. Although royal images dating from this period have not been preserved in a great number, the extant examples give us an idea of how the idea of kingship was perceived and visualized in tenth- and early eleventh-century Armenia.

In this respect, the best-known image is perhaps that of King Gagik Arcruni of Vaspurakan, depicted on the west façade of the Church of the Holy Cross (915-921) on the island of Aht'amar, where he is shown presenting the model of the church to Christ

²⁷ For recent studies on the Church of Mren and its western reliefs, see: Christina Maranci, "Building Churches in Armenia: Art at the Borders of Empire and the Edge of the Canon," *The Art Bulletin* 88 / No. 4 (2006): 656-675, esp. 663-664; Maranci, *Vigilant Powers*, 23-111 (Chapter 1).

²⁸ Maranci, "Building Churches in Armenia," 659.

²⁹ Babken Aṙak'elyan writes that he saw the photograph of this sculpture in the archives of Nikolay Marr, and that it looked very damaged. See: Aṙak'elyan, *Armenian Relief Sculptures*, 71.

³⁰ For these independent kingdoms and their relationships with the central Bagratid state, see: Nina Garsoïan, "The Independent Kingdoms of Medieval Armenia," in *Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times, The Dynastic Periods: From Antiquity to the Fourteenth Century*, Volume I, edited by Richard G. Hovannisian (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004), 143-171.

(Fig. 8). This monumental composition totally differs from analogous scenes in medieval art, where the commissioners are usually depicted bending or kneeling before Christ. The image of the Arcruni king with his luxurious outfit and crown dominates over Christ's figure, who is depicted as equal, or even on a slightly lower level compared to Gagik³¹. Such a courageous solution, perhaps initiated by the church's architect Manuel, could be motivated by the king's wish to strengthen his questionable legitimacy and to proclaim his independence from the Bagratids, who maintained the status of the officially anointed kings. Gagik's Christ-like figure is in compliance with the rhetoric of contemporaneous Arcruni historians, who have interpreted Gagik's anointment "by the Holy Spirit," as well as his coronation by the Abbasid caliph, as follows: "*I do not hesitate to say that his [Gagik's] anointing was invisibly performed by the Holy Spirit,*"³² and: "*The tyrant [Caliph al-Muqtadir] was forced to do this [to crown Gagik] by the will and command of the All-Highest and the Lord of all.*"³³ The visual demonstration of the Arcrunis' power and legitimacy, which, in fact, was at odds with the existence of the central Bagratid kingdom, is expressed not only in the relief portrait of King Gagik, but also in interior and exterior decorations of the church³⁴.

As for the Bagratids, they too came to the royal throne through the Arabs in the middle of the 880s, when Ašot Bagratid was crowned as king by the Abbasid Caliph al-

³¹ For this and other elements of King Gagik's image, see: Gohar Grigoryan, "King Gagik Arcruni's Portrait on the Church of Aht'amar," in *Le onzième centenaire d'Aht'amar: politique, art et spiritualité au royaume du Vaspourakan, Actes du colloque international*, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Institut d'Études Avancées de Paris, 22-23 September 2014, edited by Zaroui Pogossian and Edda Vardanyan (Leiden: Brill, in press).

³² *Thomas Artsruni. History of the House of Artsrunik'*, translation and commentary by Robert W. Thomson, Byzantine Texts in Translation (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1985), 348.

³³ *Thomas Artsruni*, 348.

³⁴ The issues regarding the political legitimacy of Gagik Arcruni and his representation in Aht'amar are investigated in detail by Lynn Jones: Lynn Jones, "The Church of the Holy Cross and the Iconography of Kingship," *Gesta* XXXIII/2 (1994): 104-117; Lynn Jones, "The Visual Expression of Power and Piety in Medieval Armenia: the Palace and Palace Church at Aghtamar," in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium*, Papers from the Thirty-third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry, March 1999, edited by Antony Eastmond (Aldershot - Burlington USA - Singapore - Sydney: Ashgate, Variorum, 2001), 221-241; Antony Eastmond & Lynn Jones, "Robing, Power, and Legitimacy in Armenia and Georgia," in *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, edited by Stewart Gordon (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 147-191; Lynn Jones, *Between Islam and Byzantium. Aht'amar and the Visual Construction of Medieval Armenian Rulership* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

Mut'amid³⁵. This shall explain why the extant images of the Bagratid kings bear some iconographic associations with the Abbasid kingship, as can be observed, for example, in the statue of King Gagik I (990-1020) (Fig. 12)³⁶. This monumental statue was found in 1906 by Nikolay Marr in the Church of Saint Gregory the Illuminator (Gagkašen) and was long thought to be lost, when at the end of the 1990s a big fragment of it – comprising of the king's beard, chest, left arm, and shoulder – was identified in the Erzurum Archaeological Museum. This revised the previous misinterpretations concerning the 'mysterious' Erzurum statue that had been represented as an Assyrian king, a lion, or even a fish (Fig. 12)³⁷.

Similar tendencies can be observed in the Bagratid kingdom of Lori as well, particularly in the relief portraits of the brothers Gurgēn (Kiwrikē) and Smbat, carved on the Church of the Holy Savior in Sanahin (957-966) (Fig. 10) and on the Church of the Holy Cross in Hałpat (976-991) (Fig. 11). In both portraits, the Bagratid brothers are represented holding a model of the church in their hands. The corresponding inscription of the Sanahin relief reads as follows: "King Kiwrikē, King Smbat." Given that the inscription is not placed symmetrically within the frame (and because during the construction of this church the Bagratid brothers were still children), it is possible that the legends were added later, after the reception of their royal titles: Smbat as king of Armenia, and Gurgēn as subordinate king of Tašir-Joraget. In the Hałpat Monastery, commissioned two decades later by the same family, the two brothers are represented with their new political status, as it is well expressed through their robes and headgears. Indeed, the Arabic inscription on the turban of King Smbat II names him "Shahanshah of Ani."³⁸

³⁵ *Yovhannēs Draxanakertc'i. History of Armenia*, translation and commentary by Rev. Krikor H. Maksoudian, Occasional papers and proceedings 3: Armenian Studies (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 125-126.

³⁶ On Bagratid portraiture, see: Lynn Jones, "The Visual Expression of Bagratuni Rulership: Ceremonial and Portraiture," *REArm* 28 (2001-2002): 341-398; Lynn Jones, "Abbasid Suzerainty in the Medieval Caucasus: Appropriation and Adaptation of Iconography and Ideology," *Gesta* XLIII/2 (2004): 143-150, esp. 146-149.

³⁷ Giorgi Leon Kavtaradze, "The Identity of the Mysterious Statue from the Erzerum Museum," *Caucasica: The Journal of Caucasian Studies* 3 (1999): 59-66.

³⁸ Aram Ter-Ghevondian, "Halbati araberen arjanagrut'yunə yev Bagratuni t'agavorneri titlosnerə [The Arabic Inscription of Halbat and the Titles of Bagratid Kings]," *LHG* 1 (1979): 73-80, esp. 74.

Prior to the mid-eleventh century, only two illuminated manuscripts have been preserved with the royal and aristocratic images. One of them depicts King Gagik-Abas (1029-1065) of the Bagratid kingdom of Kars with his daughter Marem and spouse Goranduxt (Fig. 13). The miniature is painted in the manuscript known as the *Gospels of King Gagik of Kars*, kept at the Library of the Saint James Monastery of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem (henceforth J), under shelf mark MS 2556³⁹. It is the only extant miniature portrait from the Bagratid dynasty and was most probably executed with the intention of demonstrating Princess Marem's special status as successor of King Gagik-Abas, as can be guessed from her central position, *tiraz* fabrics, and other iconographic details⁴⁰. The events that followed the death of King Gagik – notably, Mariun's fight for her hereditary rights – confirm indeed the mentioned interpretation about the image of Princess Marem⁴¹.

The second surviving example of aristocratic portraiture in miniature painting is dating from 1007 and was created outside of Greater Armenia, in Adrianople⁴². It is a

³⁹ Scholars have questioned whether the folio depicting the family of King Gagik of Kars was inserted correctly at the end of the Gospel of Matthew in the manuscript J 2556, when in early twentieth century it was found by Bishop Mesrop Nšanecan in a wooden box in the printing house of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem (see: Mesrop Episkopos (Nšanecan), “*Karuc' Gagig t'agawori manrankarə* [The Miniature of King Gagik of Kars],” *Ararat* 8 (1911): 683-687). Some scholars believe that the folio was cut out from the end of the same manuscript, and Sirarpie Der Nersessian has furthermore suggested that originally there might have been three more royal images placed at the end of each Gospel and that the folio in question was placed at the end of the Gospel of John (see: Garegin Kat'olikos (Yovsēp'ean), “Appendix A. *Gagik Karsec'u antanekan patkerə* [The Family Portrait of Gagik of Kars],” *HHT* 3 (1957): 22; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, “L'évangile du roi Gagik de Kars: Jérusalem N° 2556,” *REArm* XVIII/1 (1984): 89; Bezalel Narkiss (ed.), *Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem*, in collaboration with Michael E. Stone, Historical survey by Avedis K. Sanjian (Jerusalem, Massada Press, 1979), 33; Dickran Kouymjian, “An Interpretation of Bagratid and Artsruni Art and Ceremony: A Review Essay,” *JSAS* 18/2 (2009): 117-119). More recently, Thomas Mathews and Annie-Christine Daskalakis have shown that the family portrait of King Gagik of Kars belongs to a now-lost manuscript commissioned by the same king, dating from around the same period as J 2556. The authors substantiate this view by codicological analysis of manuscript J 2556, which differs in several details from the fragmented miniature in question. See: Thomas F. Mathews & 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*, edited by Jean-Pierre Mahé and Robert W. Thomson (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 475-484. See also: Thomas F. Mathews and Theo Maarten van Lint, “The Kars-Tsamandos Group of Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts of the 11th Century,” in *Der Doppeladler: Byzanz und die Seldschuken in Anatolien vom späten 11. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, edited by Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger and Falko Daim (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2014), 85.

⁴⁰ Mathews & Daskalakis, “The Portrait of Princess Marem of Kars,” 479-480. See also: Mathews and van Lint, “The Kars-Tsamandos Group,” 85-88; Jones, *Between Islam and Byzantium*, 49-50.

⁴¹ On Marem's fight for the throne of the kingdom of Kars, see: Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, vol. I, 299-301.

⁴² Present-day *Edirne* in northwestern Turkey.

full-page image showing Yovhannēs, *protospatharios* of the Byzantine Emperor Basil II, depicted in the *Gospels of Hadrianopolis* – as this codex is commonly referred to (Figs. 14ab)⁴³. Yovhannēs is shown offering the Gospel Book to the Virgin Hodegetria, whose full-page image occupies the opposite folio. He is displayed in military outfit, painted in a particularly detailed manner, which offers us a glimpse into the vestimentary repertory of the high-ranking officials in the Byzantine Empire. Clothing of similar style can indeed be found in contemporaneous Byzantine images, more particularly in one of the images of Basil II, whom the Armenian official served (Fig. 15)⁴⁴.

From the first decades of the thirteenth century, when under Georgian domination some Armenian princes retook the control of Greater Armenia, the creation of aristocratic portraiture started to become a common practice again. Thus, when in 1201 the Zak'arid princes Zak'arē and Ivanē commissioned the construction of the Church of the Holy Mother of God in Harič, they also initiated the installation of their own images on the eastern façade of the church. Here, the Zak'arid brothers are shown facing each other and holding together a decorative frame, which could have initially hosted an image of the Virgin – to whom the church is dedicated (Fig. 16).

Two relief portraits depicting the local rulers have also been preserved on the richly decorated drum of the Church of Saint John the Baptist in the Ganjasar Monastery in Arc'ax, built between the years 1216 and 1238 (Fig. 17). Here, the master has put a special emphasis on interlaced ornaments – a long-lasting and beloved motif in the art of Asia Minor, and has chosen a quite creative position for the images of Prince Hasan Ĵalal Dawla and his son and successor A'tabek, by placing their cross-legged figures in the highest possible place – beneath the sixteen-part cover of the drum. At the time of construction, these princes were the acting and future rulers of Arc'ax and are therefore depicted in an almost identical way: they both hold church models above their heads,

⁴³ Kurt Weitzmann, *Die armenische Buchmalerei des 10. und beginnenden 11. Jahrhunderts*, Istanbuler Forschungen – Vol. 4 (Bamberg: [J. M. Reindl], 1933), 18-19; Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom, ed., *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843-1261* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 357-358.

⁴⁴ For Byzantine military costumes, including the Emperor Basil II's mentioned outfit, see: Maria G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th-15th Centuries)*, *The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1453*, Volume 41 (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2003), chapter 3, esp. 106-107; Ioannis Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 20-26.

have equal positions and sizes, are dressed in similar robes, and have long beards as was the standard of fashioning aristocratic men in Orient. By creating two iconographically resembling images of the father and son, the sculptor of the Ganjaras Monastery was apparently instructed to underscore young At'abek's forthcoming rule and status – similar to those held by his father.

III. SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF CILICIAN ARMENIAN ROYAL IMAGES AND RESEARCH FOCUS

In one of his letters, addressed to the “Christ powered regent” Lewon (1190s), Nersēs of Lambron, the erudite archbishop of Tarsus, speaks of disagreements of the authorities of Greater Armenia about many religious and cultural traditions adopted by Cilician Armenians as a consequence of their close relationship with the Franks. Leaving aside the actual political and religious reasons behind these disagreements, one cannot help but notice that this letter is a precious first-hand source of reconstructing the material realities of rulers’ images but also of exposing the differences between the Greater Armenian and Cilician courtly cultures and etiquettes. Through a polemical narrative, Nersēs’ writing reveals the remarkable level of intercultural contacts in two Armenian societies, one of which represents itself as driven by ‘native’ traditions, while the other by Latin ‘innovations’. The latter, as can be expected, refers to Cilician Armenians. However, what was understood by Greater Armenian ruling aristocracy and high clergy as ‘native Armenian’ was in reality the earlier borrowed Iranian courtly traditions which, by the end of the twelfth century, were opposed to the Latin customs and *titulature* that were newly welcomed by Cilician Armenians. This is how the Cilician archbishop Nersēs, when addressing the accusations of his eastern compatriots, represents and juxtaposes the two Armenian traditions to the future king Lewon I. Lewon himself, as can be understood from this text, appears to be the target of Nersēs’ argumentation:

Die Leute von Dsoroget⁴⁵ wollen uns und auch euch von Lateinern abbringen; sie wollen nicht, dass wir deren Gebräuche annehmen, wohl aber jene der Perser, unter denen sie leben und deren Gebräuche sie übernommen haben... Schreitet nicht einher mit bloßem Kopf wie die lateinischen Fürsten und Könige, die, so sagen die Armenier, die Haltung von Epileptikern haben, sondern bedeckt euch mit dem Scharphusch in Nachahmung der Vorfahren; lasst euch die Haupthaare und den Bart wachsen wie sie! Zieht einen weiten und behaarten Durra an, und nicht einen Mantel oder eine Tunika, die eng um

⁴⁵ *Dsoroget*, *Joroyget* or *Joroget* – district in the province of Gugark’, in the region of Lori in Greater Armenia. It generally refers to the monasteries of Sanahin and Halbat and to other sites in their vicinity.

den Leib geschlungen sind! Besteigt gesattelte Rennpferde mit dem Tschuschan und nicht Pferde ohne Sattel und mit dem fränkischen Lehl. Gebraucht doch Ehrentitel wie Emir, Hetschup, Marzpan, Spajasalar und ähnliche, und benützt nicht Titel wie Sir, Proximos, Gundustapl (=constable), Maradschacht (=marshal), Dsiavor (=knight), Letsch (=ligius), wie es die Lateiner tun! Tauscht die Kostüme und Titel, die ihr ihnen entlehnt habt, gegen die Gebräuche und Titel der Perser und Armenier ein, so kehrt ihr wieder zu den Vätern zurück! Stellt an eurem Hof wieder die Etikette der früheren Zeiten her... Aber Eure Majestät hätte heute wohl Abneigung dagegen, die ausgezeichneten und raffinierten Gebräuche der Lateiner, das heißt der Franken, aufzugeben, und auf die grobschlächtigen Gebräuche der alten Armenier zurückzukommen...⁴⁶.

The images mentioned in the previous section of this Introduction represent secular authorities of Greater Armenia in a similar manner as described in Lambronac'i's letter: wide robes, long beards, oriental headgears and turbans, etc. (Figs. 5-8, 10-12, 16-17). These elements of political portraiture were almost never implemented in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, where the idea of kingship, as shall be seen in the following chapters, was constructed and represented in accordance with artistic tendencies that were sparked by local and transregional socio-political and religious-cultural dynamics. The circulation of models and the intense cross-cultural exchange across the Mediterranean societies played a crucial role in how the royal ideology was materialized and visualized in Cilician Armenia⁴⁷.

⁴⁶ Iso Baumer, trans., *Nerses von Lambron – Die Ungeduld der Liebe. Zur Situation der christlichen Kirchen: Synodale zu Hromkla (1179) und Brief an König Lewon II. (1195)*, in collaboration with Franz Mali, Abel Manoukian, Boghos Levon Zekiyan and Thomas Kremer, SOPHIA: Quellen östlicher Theologie, edited by Thomas Kremer, vol. 36 (Trier: Paulinus Verlag, 2013), 131-165, esp. 158-162. For the original text in Armenian, see: *Teaṛn Nersesi Lambronac'woy Tarsoni episkoposi Atenabanut'win ew T'ult' ew čark'* [*Synodal Discourse' and 'Letter and Speeches' of Nersēs of Lambron, the Bishop of Tarsus*], published together with *Grigori kat'olikosi Tlay koč'ec'eloy Namakani* (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1865), 207-248, esp. 239-243. For the French translation, see: *Saint Nersès de Lampron, Lettre adressée au roi Léon II*, Recueil des historiens des croisades: documents arméniens, vol. I, translated by Édouard Dulaurier, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1869), 579-603, esp. 597-600.

⁴⁷ For these questions within the Eastern Mediterranean context, see especially: Michele Bacci, "L'arte: Circolazione di modelli e interazioni culturali," in *Storia d'Europa e del Mediterraneo. Dal Medioevo all'età della globalizzazione*, a cura di Sandro Carocci, volume IX. *Strutture, preminenze, lessici comuni* (Roma: Salerno Editrice, 2007), 581-632; Michele Bacci, "Images « votives » et portraits de donateurs au

For the present research, Cilician illustrated manuscripts, which have been preserved in greater number than other forms of material-artistic culture, represent the most informative sources to study the life-time images of Armenian rulers. Some of them echo Nersēs of Lambron’s description of Cilician rulers’ outward appearance. Royal images of this Mediterranean state are also extant in such media as coins, bullae, a metal reliquary, a stone relief, and a posthumous tombstone (Appendix I), which will be discussed in respective chapters. Although the repertory of Cilician royal images is not rich in quantity, it is nevertheless remarkable in the diversity of forms and functional contexts, which offer a wide scope of investigations.

On one occasion, Peter Cowe raised the importance of studying Cilician royal representations in fine arts and coinage, stressing that they might “afford a valuable perspective on royal rhetoric and ideology.”⁴⁸ This doctoral thesis is an attempt to understand the royal ideology in Armenian Cilicia through the lens of its rulers’ material images. These images are studied here systematically as source materials, by combining art historical methodologies with historical, philological, and theological approaches, which proved to be useful in shedding light on the patronage and representations of Cilician rulers.

The dissertation is divided into fifteen chapters of differing length, which are organized chronologically, each discussing the images of one monarch. Apart from Epilogue, Conclusions, Bibliography, and Glossary, there are three Appendices at the end. Appendix I is a database of the royal images of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia. Appendix II is a list of illustrated manuscripts commissioned by or for the royal family members, and Appendix III contains general information about the landmark events concerning each monarch – birth, knighting, coronation, and burial.

Levant au Moyen Âge tardif,” in *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin* (Réalités Byzantines 14), Actes du colloque international de l’Université de Fribourg, 13-15 mars 2008, dir. Jean-Michel Spieser et Élisabeth Yota (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 2012), 293-308.

⁴⁸ Cowe, “The Inauguration,” 50.

CHAPTER 1.

IMAGES OF THE FIRST KING LEWON I

*“God wants you to take part in His glory
with all the saints in the everlasting life.”*

Nersēs of Lambron, Letter to Lewon (I), 1190s

1.1. THE CORONATION OF THE FIRST KING AND THE FORMATION OF A ROYAL IDEOLOGY

The coronation ceremony of the Ārubenid Prince Lewon II (1187-1198) took place on 6 January 1198 in the Cathedral of Saint Sophia, in Tarsus (*Tarson* in Armenian spelling). With Lewon’s coronation, the Armenian Principality in Cilicia (1080-1198) was raised to a kingdom. For this and due to his military successes, Lewon I (1198-1219) is referred to by his contemporaries and later narrators as *Lewon the Magnificent*, *Lewon the Great*⁴⁹, *Leo of the Mountains*⁵⁰, *Lord of the Passes*⁵¹, etc.

The coronation of the first king marked a new era in the history of the Armenians, whose new state was now situated on the northeastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea, outside of native lands. This first inauguration was also a landmark event, which materialized, in ceremonial terms, the concept of kingship in the newly founded Armenian kingdom of Cilicia. To this aspect is dedicated the below discussion of the coronation ceremony, which greatly informs the visual representations of Lewon I and those who reigned after him.

⁴⁹ Ališan, *Sisuan*, 529; Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique*, 324.

⁵⁰ *The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick*, in *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa, The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, translated by G. A. Loud, Crusade Texts in Translation 19 (Farnham – Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 114, 117; *The Chronicle of Magnus of Reichersberg*, in *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa, The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, translated by G. A. Loud, Crusade Texts in Translation 19 (Farnham – Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 163; *Wilbrand of Oldenburg: Journey in the Holy Land (1211-1212)*, in *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, translated by Denys Pringle, Crusade Texts in Translation 23 (Farnham – Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 74.

⁵¹ *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fī l-ta’rīkh*, Part 3 – *The Years 589-629/1193-1231, The Ayyūbids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace*, translated by D. S. Richards, Crusade Texts in Translation 17 (Aldershot – Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 111, 279.

1.1.1. Coronation place

The coronation of Lewon I took place in the port city of Tarsus, and not in the royal residence city of Sis (present-day Kozan, Turkey) – an aspect that has not escaped the attention of scholars⁵². In contrast to Tarsus, which had a large population⁵³ and was well known among Cilician cities since Ancient and Biblical times, Sis seems to have been a little town at that time, with a castle on the highly fortified mountain and “a garden of delights”⁵⁴. According to Wilbrand of Oldenburg’s eyewitness account, Sis was mainly inhabited by well-to-do individuals⁵⁵. Apart from being Cilicia’s densely populated city, Tarsus could also have been chosen as coronation city due to the existence of a Latin archbishopric there⁵⁶, which must have played an important role in the inauguration ceremony of the future king, for it was performed according to a Latin pontificale that was brought to Cilicia during the Third Crusade (see below, 1.1.2). At that time, Latin dioceses existed in other Cilician cities as well, but the location of Tarsus – easily attainable through maritime routes, its large population composed of different ethnic and religious communities, including especially that of the Greeks, seem to justify such a choice. No less importantly, the city’s renowned cathedral with its marble floor and a highly venerated image of the Virgin, as well as the presence of Muslim holy sites, increased the prestige of Tarsus from the religious point of view as well.

A detailed description of the Cathedral of Saint Sophia of Tarsus has been preserved in Wilbrand of Oldenburg’s thirteenth-century travelogue, which is also a valuable source of information on religious architecture in Cilicia:

In the centre of the city is the main church, dedicated to St Peter and St Sophia, which is highly decorated and paved completely in marble. At the end of it is a statue, in which angelic hands have represented the image of Our Lady; and it is held in great

⁵² On the choice of Tarsus as coronation city, see also: Cowe, “The Inauguration,” 54-55; 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. Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Alexander Beihammer, Stavroula Constantinou, Maria Parani (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013), 296-297.

⁵³ See, e.g., *Wilbrand of Oldenburg*, 77: “This city [Tarsis=Tarsus] has many inhabitants.”

⁵⁴ “Know also this, that the lord king [Lewon I] has laid out for himself beside this city [Sis] a garden of delights, the delights of which I confess myself inadequate to describe.” See: *Wilbrand of Oldenburg*, 80.

⁵⁵ “This [Sis] is the capital city of the lord king, supporting innumerable rich citizens. ... I would rather call it a town if it did not have in it the archiepiscopal seat of the Armenians.” See: *Wilbrand of Oldenburg*, 78.

⁵⁶ Peter Halfter, “Eine Beschreibung Kilikiens aus westlicher Sicht. Das Itinerarium des Wilbrand von Oldenburg,” *Oriens Christianus: Hefte für die Kunde des christlichen Orients* 85 (2001): 184.

... veneration by the people of that land. This likeness, when any grave danger threatens that land, is accustomed to weep in the presence of all and in great quantities, as many and all have had occasion to witness. This is the image that, so it is said, reformed Theophilus [Luke 1:3. Acts 1:1]. ... In a corner outside the doors of the church is buried Muhammad's sister, whose tomb the Saracens visit in reverence and devotion.⁵⁷

Based on Wilbrand's notion that the cathedral was located in the center of the city, Victor Langlois has suggested in the 1850s that the present-day Grand Mosque of Tarsus, built in the Ottoman period, corresponds most probably to the original place of this church⁵⁸. On one occasion, Robert Edwards has proposed another identification for the church – the Eski Cami, which is also located in the city center of Tarsus and which bears early twelfth-century Frankish architectural features that may refer to the rule of Baldwin I there⁵⁹.

To my knowledge, Wilbrand is the only medieval author who refers to the Cathedral of Tarsus as Cathedral of Saint Peter and Saint Sophia. The accounts of the German traveller in Cilicia are usually explicit, but the name he uses for this cathedral does not match other, at least Armenian, sources⁶⁰. A nineteenth-century travel account by the British archaeologist James Theodore Bent may provide a key to why in the Wilbrandt's text the coronation cathedral is mentioned with double dedication. When speaking about the Makam Cami, believed to host the tomb of prophet Daniel, Bent mentions that this mosque, “and another by a stream close to, are old Armenian churches,

⁵⁷ Wilbrand of Oldenburg, 77.

⁵⁸ Victor Langlois, “Note sur trois inscriptions arméniennes de l'église de la Vierge à Tarse (Cilicie),” *Revue archéologique* 2/10e année (oct. 1853 – mars 1854): 744; Victor Langlois, *Voyage dans la Cilicie et dans les montagnes du Taurus exécuté pendant les années 1852-1853* (Paris: chez Benjamin Duprat, 1861), 317.

⁵⁹ Robert W. Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1987), 44, n. 27.

⁶⁰ Smbat the Constable, Grigor Aknec'i, and Nersēs Palianēnc' call the coronation cathedral of Tarsus after Saint Sophia. Smbat and Grigor mention the Tarsus Cathedral when they describe the consecration ceremony of King Lewon II, and Nersēs Palianēnc' when he refers to the coronation of Lewon I. See: *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk' [Chronicle of the Constable Smbat]*, edited by Serobē Agōlean (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1956), 252. For French translation, see: *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, traduit par Gérard Dédéyan, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades XIII*, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres (Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1980), 123; [Grigor of Akanc'] “History of the Nation of the Archers (The Mongols) by Grigor of Akanc' hitherto ascribed to Malak'ia the Monk,” the Armenian text edited with an English translation and notes by Robert P. Blake, Richard N. Frye, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12, No. 3-4 (Dec., 1949): 379; *Nerses Palienc'i zamanakagrakan hatvacnerə, XIV dar [Excerpts from the Chronicle of Nerses Palienc', 14th Century]*, in *BC*, vol. II, 180.

originally dedicated to Saint Peter and Saint Sophia”⁶¹. He also informs about the presence of two Armenian inscriptions in the first church – that is, the one dedicated to Saint Peter / Makam Cami, one of which mentions King Ošin (1308-1320) (see Chapter 10)⁶². This is most likely the same inscription reproduced in an early twentieth-century Armenian travel account which, however, refers to this site as the Surb Astuatsatsin Church, that is, Holy Mother of God (Figs. 67ab) (see Chapter 2.4).

The account of Wilbrand of Oldenburg and James Theodore Bent, although separated with a distance of seven centuries, are clearly overlapping at a certain point. While Bent refers to two different churches in close proximity to each other, Wilbrand represents it as one monument with double dedication. One may suppose that at the end of the twelfth century the Cathedral of Saint Sophia was somehow physically connected to the nearby-standing Church of Saint Peter, and later, with the urbanization of Tarsus, this connection was lost. In present-day Tarsus, the nearest religious building situated to the Makam Cami is the Eski Cami. The site is also known as Kilise Cami, meaning church-mosque – a designation, which could be used with the intention to refer to, perhaps also to differentiate the greatest church (cathedral) of the city from ‘regular’ ones. If so, then we have a confirmation for Edward’s above-mentioned suggestion that the Eski Cami was built over the Cathedral of Saint Sophia. As for the Makam Cami, identified with the Church of Saint Peter, its earliest extant reference to the tomb-shrine of prophet Daniel is dating from 1517, as observed by Oya Pancaroğlu⁶³.

It is noteworthy to mention that Victor Langlois, though without making any association between the churches of Saint Peter and Saint Sophia, speaks of the city’s other holy sites jointly venerated by local Muslims and Christians. The latter, according to Langlois, visited one of those sites with the belief that Saint Peter was buried there⁶⁴. Over the time, the simultaneous use of the sites by Christians and Muslims resulted in a number of identifications connected with Biblical and Islamic figures⁶⁵. What is sure,

⁶¹ James Theodore Bent, “Tarsus – Past and Present,” *Littell’s Living Age* 187 (1890): 573-574. Cf. Oya Pancaroğlu, “Visible / Invisible: Sanctity, History and Topography in Tarsus,” in *4. Tarih İçinde Mersin Kolokyumu (2011)*, Mersin Üniversitesi, Akdeniz Kentleri: Gelecek İçin Geçmişin Birikimi 1 (2013): 113-114.

⁶² Bent, “Tarsus – Past and Present,” 574.

⁶³ Pancaroğlu, “Visible / Invisible,” 116.

⁶⁴ Langlois, *Voyage dans la Cilicie et dans les montagnes du Taurus*, 330.

⁶⁵ Pancaroğlu, “Visible / Invisible,” 114-115.

however, is that until the twentieth century the veneration of Saint Peter was still alive among the Christians of Tarsus, inviting one to consider Wilbrand's above-quoted account carefully.

It seems thus unlikely that Wilbrand's designation of the coronation cathedral, dedicated to both Saint Peter and Saint Sophia, is a simple misunderstanding of the site, which, in most Cilician Armenian sources, is described as the Cathedral of Saint Sophia. Was his remark intended to associate the Tarsus cathedral with the Basilica of Saint Peter in Rome, where the Holy Roman emperors, starting from Charlemagne, were crowned⁶⁶; or could this designation be inspired from that of the Cathedral of Saint Peter in neighboring Antioch, which, in Wilbrand's words, was the second holy place after Rome? Wilbrand's sojourn in Antioch, from where he moved to Cilicia, is described with a special importance, mentioning also several holy places related to Saint Peter, whose veneration seems to be undermined in Armenian sources, which prefer the Greek dedication of the site – Saint Sophia. The appropriation of the renowned Greek church and its transformation into the coronation cathedral of Armenian kings could, after all, be deemed more important for the ruling Armenian aristocracy, as discussed next.

The miraculous image of the Holy Virgin in the cathedral dedicated to Saint Sophia speaks of the Byzantine origins of the site, as already suggested by Peter Halfter⁶⁷. Without excluding icon veneration practices among the Armenians⁶⁸, we know

⁶⁶ As is shown in the Roman ordo, the Basilica of Saint Peter in Rome played an important ideological role during the coronation ceremony of a new emperor. Moreover, with time, the Roman ritual of coronation was adjusted to the edifice of this basilica. According to some coronation rites dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries, after taking his oath outside the Cathedral of Saint Peter, the future emperor met at its silver door the Cardinal Bishop of Albano, after whose prayer he proceeded to the Basilica's choir, where the main ceremony took place. See: Reginald Maxwell Woolley, *Coronation Rites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915), 45, also 46-47 (for the coronation ceremony of Frederick I), 49-51 (for the coronation ceremony of Henry VI).

⁶⁷ Halfter, "Eine Beschreibung Kilikiens," 183-184.

⁶⁸ Despite the prevailing opinion that the Armenians refused icons and image worship practices, the first-hand source material – poorly studied though – does not support this approach. It is true that both in Greater Armenia and in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, the cross and Christ's images were seen as most venerable and were sometimes juxtaposed with saints' images as a means to underscore the formers' utmost importance. This however did not seem to exclude the production of panel painting and the veneration of holy images in medieval Armenia. The topic is vast, but to the extent it is relevant to the Cilician period, one must note that in the early thirteenth century, at the Council of Sis, the image veneration was officialized by the Armenian church. See: Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "Image Worship in Armenia and Its Opponents," in Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Études byzantines et arméniennes / Byzantine and Armenian Studies*, tome I (Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1973), 415. I am aware of no icons created in

that the Theotokos icon of Tarsus was made available to local Greeks – and perhaps to other Christians – for worship practices, as we learn it from Armenian sources. By offering religious freedom to non-Armenian communities, King Lewon I was likely intent to underline his new political status, for he was now reigning over the territories which, not long ago, were part of the Byzantine Empire. Several decades earlier, the ‘icon-politics’ had already marked the Armeno-Greek uneasy relationships in Cilicia, when in July 1137 the Byzantine Emperor John II Comnenus reconquered Anawarza (Anarzaba) from the Armenian Prince Lewon I Ārubenid (r. 1129-1139), taking him and his family into captivity, along with a holy icon of Theotokos, which he “took back to Constantinople with him”⁶⁹.

1.1.2. Coronation rite

Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, for the coronation ceremony of Prince Lewon a Latin *ordo* was used. When in 1190 the army of Frederick I Barbarossa arrived in Seleucia (Isauria), the Armenian delegation left Tarsus in order to welcome the Holy Roman emperor there, for it was within the territory under the control of Lewon⁷⁰. Within the project of the Third Crusade, the Holy Roman emperor had also intended to crown Lewon, and his delegation seems to be well prepared for that. They supplied Nersēs of Lambron, the archbishop of Tarsus and a member of the Armenian delegation, a Latin *ordo* containing the royal consecration ceremony, with the understanding that Lewon

Armenian Cilicia, but the records of textual sources and a few Cilician Armenian miniatures painted in an icon-like style (see, e.g., Fig. 18), oblige us to be more cautious when treating the image veneration practices among the Armenians.

⁶⁹ “The emperor seized everything, including the Armenian prince Leon [Ārubenid Prince Lewon I (1129-1139)], together with his son and wife and the holy icon of the Theotokos, taking all these back to Constantinople with him.” See: *Matthew of Edessa, Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, translated from the original Armenian with a Commentary and Introduction by Ara Edmond Dostourian (Lanham-New York-London: University Press of America, 1993), 241. For the original text in Armenian, see: *Matt’ēos Urhayec’i, Žamanakagrutiwn [Chronicle]*, 2nd printing, (Vałaršapat: Press of the Mother See of Holy Ējmiacin, 1898), 369.

⁷⁰ *Acta romanorum pontificum: A S. Clemente I (an. c. 90) ad Coelestinum III (1198)*, tomus I – *Introductio, textus actorum, additamentum*, appendix (Vatican: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1943), 812 (No. 395); *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fī’l-ta’rīkh*, Part 2 – *The Years 541-589/1146-1193, The Age of Nur al-Din and Saladin*, translated by D. S. Richards, *Crusade Texts in Translation* 15 (Aldershot-Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 375; *The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick*, 114; *The Chronicle of Magnus of Reichersberg*, 163; *La Chronographie de Bar Hebraeus: Ktābā dMaktbānut Zabnē, L’histoire du monde d’Adam à Kubilai Khan*, traduit du syriaque par Philippe Talon, volume 2 (Fernelmont: Éditions Modulaires Européennes, 2011), 151.

would reign as a (pro-)Western ruler. Although the future coronation (1198) was performed by the representative of Pope, it was not the Pontificale of Rome that was given to the Armenians back in 1190 but a coronation ordo originating from the so-called *Mainzer Krönungsordo*, which was used for the German kings' coronations⁷¹. The untimely death of Frederick I in the *Saleph River*⁷² postponed Lewon's coronation for eight years, until 1198. Before the new emperor, Henry VI, would send the promised crown to Lewon, Nersēs of Lambron by the order of the Armenian Catholicos Gregory IV translated the Latin ordo into Armenian⁷³. As Nersēs mentions, the translation was made from an exemplar that was kept with the bishop of the city of Münster, who had come to Seleucia with Emperor Frederick⁷⁴. The bishop of Münster was Hermann II of Katzenelnbogen who, besides the ordo, had also brought papal letters addressed to Prince Lewon and Catholicos Gregory⁷⁵. The text of the royal consecration rite was, however, translated by Nersēs of Lambron with modifications (see above, Introduction)⁷⁶, which, in the translator's view, would better match the newly restored Armenian kingship⁷⁷. The Armenian translation of this rite has survived in a few manuscripts⁷⁸, and its text,

⁷¹ Cowe, "The Inauguration", 55. The comparison of the Armenian text with the critical edition(s) of the tenth-century *Mainzer Ordo* confirm indeed the latter's strong presence in the Armenian coronation text translated by Nersēs of Lambron. See: Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, volume I: *nn. I-XCVIII* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963), 246-261 (LXXII). For the origins of the *Mainzer Krönungsordo*, see: Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, volume III : *Introduction générale et tables* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1972), 23-28.

⁷² *Saleph* – known also as *Seleph*, *Silifke*, *Calycadnus*, now *Göksu*. The emperor's death is mentioned in an Armenian manuscript colophon, written in Cilicia in 1193. See: *Colophons, 5th-12th Centuries*, 273.

⁷³ *Acta romanorum pontificum*, 813 (No. 395).

⁷⁴ "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*, 813 (No. 395).

⁷⁵ 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*, textes réunis par Damien Coulon, Catherine Otten-Froux, Paule Pagès et Dominique Valérian, tome I, Byzantina Sorbonensia 20 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2004), 192, 196.

⁷⁶ "Ego autem interpretatem hanc Benedictionem regis nolui ipsam alterare, posui cum antea interpretatis ritibus nova accomodatione facta." See: *Acta romanorum pontificum*, 813 (No. 395).

⁷⁷ On this, see also: Azat Bozoyan, "Les documents juridiques du royaume arménien de Cilicie," in *Les Lusignans et l'Outre-Mer: Actes du colloque*, Poitiers-Lusignan 20-24 October 1993 (Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, 1994), 56-57.

⁷⁸ As there is no critical edition of Nersēs's translation of the coronation ordo, the version published by Siwrmēean – and earlier by Ališan with some abbreviations – remains the only available text of that ritual and is used in this thesis here and below. See: Siwrmēean, *Catalog*, 25-31; Ališan, *Sisuan*, 472-475; Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique*, 327-336. There exists another coronation ordo according to the Armenian Church's rite, which was most likely used in the Cilician kingdom concurrently with the one translated

according to Azat Bozoyan's assessment, underlines the four cornerstones deemed important for Cilician Armenian kingship in this formative period: the Pope, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Armenian Catholicos, and the Armenian King⁷⁹. Indeed, all four, in person or through their official representative, were present at the first Cilician coronation ceremony that took place on 6 January 1198: Conrad of Wittelsbach, the official legate of Pope Celestine III and archbishop of Mainz, in the presence of the Armenian Catholicos Gregory VI, crowned the Armenian Prince Lewon with the crown which was sent from the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI⁸⁰. Furthermore, in his many letters sent to the West and to the Papacy, Lewon calls himself "*per romani imperii gratia rex Armeniorum*"⁸¹. If the papal legate crowned Lewon and bestowed upon him the royal regalia, then the anointment and blessing of the new king seem to be reserved for the Armenian Catholicos⁸². Thus, the coronation ceremony of Lewon I was, in certain sense, an ecumenical event, performed according to the Latin rite and accompanied by specific Armenian additions and adjustments. This eclectic ritual, which was not unique in the history of Cilician coronations, reveals a great deal about the nature of the Armenian kingship in Cilicia, to which I will return soon.

Despite its western-oriented character, the royal ideology of Cilician Armenia was also considerably based on its rulers' ancestral lineage, rooted in Greater Armenia,

from the Münster exemplar. The text of the Armenian coronation rite remains largely unknown and unconsidered in scholarship. One of its oldest versions is preserved among the translations initiated by Nersēs of Lambron (M 1026). For Nersēs' translations, see: *Mayr Maštoc' [Ritual Book]*, compiled by Gēorg Tēr-Vardanean, volume I, book I, *Appendix 7: List of the canons translated from the Latin Ritual by Nersēs of Lambron* (Ējmiacin: Mother See of Holy Ējmiacin, 2012), 798-803; Guévorg Ter-Vardanean, "L'intérêt historique et culturel des rituels uniteurs," in *Actes du colloque « Les Lusignans et l'Outre mer », Poitiers-Lusignan 20-24 octobre 1993*, edited by Claude Mutafian (Poitiers: Sipap, 1993), 290-292. See also *General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Maštoc' Matenadaran [Mayr c'uc'ak hayerēn jeragrac' Maštoc'i anvan Matenadaran]*, edited by A. K'yoškeryan, K. Suk'iasyan & H. K'yoseyan, Volume IV - MSS 1001-1500 (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 2008), M 1026.

⁷⁹ Bozoyan, "Les documents juridiques," 57; Peter S. Cowe, "Theology of Kingship in 13th Century Armenian Cilicia," in *Culture of Cilician Armenia*, proceedings of the international symposium, Antelias, Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 14-18 January 2008 (Antelias: Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009) = *HHT XI* (2007-2008): 418.

⁸⁰ On this event see: *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk'*, 207-210; *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 72-80; *Het'um patmič'i žamanakagrut'yunā [Chronicle of Het'um the Historian]*, in *BC*, vol. II, 61; *Wilbrand of Oldenburg*, 77; Gaston Raynaud, *Les Gestes des Chiprois: Recueil de chroniques françaises écrites en Orient aux XIIIe-XIVe siècles*, Livre I – *Chronique de Terre Sainte (1132-1224)* (Genève: Imprimerie Jules-Guillaume Fick, 1887), §56, 16, etc.

⁸¹ Halfter, "Eine Beschreibung Kilikiens," 178; Peter Halfter, "Corona regni Armeniae: Aus der Spätzeit der staufisch-armenischen Beziehungen," *Muséon* 120/1-2 (2007): 137.

⁸² Ališan, *Sisuan*, 471-472.

more particularly in the Bagratid kingdom of Ani. Long before the advent of the kingdom, the Rubenid princes of Cilicia occasionally emphasized their Bagratid origins as a proof of their royal origins and in an attempt to lay basis for their further-going claims for the restoration of the Armenian kingship. The critical reading of sources does not allow confident conclusions on whether the Rubenids were truly descendants of the Bagratids; or whether Ruben, the founder of the first Cilician royal dynasty, was merely a high military officer of the last Bagratid king, Gagik II (1042-1045), having no blood connection with him⁸³. What is certain however is that the Rubenids' self-portrayal as descendents of the last Bagratid king constantly resurfaces in Cilician Armenian historiography⁸⁴. Vahram Rabuni, the thirteenth-century royal chronicler, went so far as to proclaim that with the anointment of King Lewon I the latter came to the royal throne to reign over the House of T'orgom (Togarmah), who, as discussed in the Introduction, was the father of Hayk, the mythological pre-ancestor of the Armenians⁸⁵. The notion

⁸³ On this, see: Ter-Petrosian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, Volume II, 63-75, esp. 66-67; *The Letter of Love and Concord*, A Revised Edition with Historical and Textual Comments and English Translation by Zaroui Pogossian, *The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1500*, Volume 88 (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2010), 9-10.

⁸⁴ Following is a brief list of sources representing the Rubenids as successors of the Bagratid King Gagik II of Ani: *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 13th Century [Hayeren jeragreri hišatakaraner, ŽG. dar]*, compiled by Artasēs Mat'evosyan (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1984), 549, 569, 583, 745; *Vahramay vardapeti atenadpri Lewon ark'ayi Ban i yaytnut'iwn Tearn ew yōcumn Lewoni G. ark'ayi [On the Epiphany of the Lord and on the Benediction of King Lewon III written by Vahram Vardapet, Chancellor of King Lewon]* (Jerusalem: Press of the Armenian Patriarchate, 1875), 54, 56; *Nerses Palienc'i hayoc' t'agavorneri yev iṣxanneri kargə, XIV dar [List of the Armenian Kings and Princes of Nerses Palienc', 14th Century]*, in *BC*, vol. II, 205; *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, Recueil des historiens des croisades: documents arméniens, tome II, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1906), 6; *Yohannu Dardeli Žamanakagrut'iwn hayoc'*, translated by K. Ezeanc' (Saint Petersburg: N. Skorokhodov Publishers, 1891), 9; *The Annals of Anonymous of Sebaste*, in *BC*, vol. II, 136, etc.

⁸⁵ The notion "House of T'orgom (Togarmah)," used by Vahram Rabuni, is the direct reference to the biblical "Beth (house) of Togarmah," described in Genesis and Ezekiel (Ez. 27:14, 38:6, see also Gen. 10:3). According to Movsēs Xorenac'i, T'orgom begat Hayk, the heroic pre-ancestor of the Armenians, whose name the latter took to designate their nation and land (*hay* - Armenian, *Hayastan* - Armenia). The same notion is used by Vahram Rabuni when he narrates the coronation of Lewon II (1271-1289). See: *Vahramay Rabunwoy Patmut'iwn Rubeneanc' [Vahram Rabuni's History of the Rubenids]*, published together with *Taregirk' arareal Smbatay sparapeti hayoc' [Chronicle of Smbat the Constable]*, edited by Karapet Šahnazareanc' (Paris: E. Thunot et Cie, 1859), 215 (for Lewon I), and 228 (for Lewon II). For English translation, see: *Vahram's Chronicle of the Armenian Kingdom in Cilicia during the Time of the Crusades*, transl. by Charles Fried. Neumann (London: printed by J. L. Cox, 1831), 44 (for Lewon I), and 54 (for Lewon II). For Xorenac'i's corresponding text, see: *Moses Khorenats'i*, 72. See also: Thomas J. Samuelian, *Armenian Origins: An Overview of Ancient and Modern Sources and Theories* (Yerevan: Iravunk' Publishing House, 2000). A fourteenth-century Cilician Armenian chronicler, Nersēs Palianēnc' (Palienc'), in his list of Armenian kings, also starts from their Biblical 'predecessors'. See: *Nerses Palienc', List of the Armenian Kings and Princes*, 196-197.

“House of T’orgom”, incorporated into the coronation ceremony translated by Nerses of Lambron on the occasion of Lewon’s coronation, was apparently meant to indicate the origins of the ruling Armenian dynasty and was one of the modifications incorporated by Nersēs into the Latin coronation ordo⁸⁶. As we will see in the subchapters below, the royal images of King Lewon I do not have close parallels with those of the Bagratid kings or other rulers of Greater Armenia, discussed in the Introduction. On the other hand, the memory of the Bagratid kingship, perhaps even some royal insignia having belonged to the Bagratids, played a crucial role when constructing the Cilician royal ideology. Matthew of Edessa records that, in 1111, when the Ārubenid Prince T’oros (1110-1129) besieged the fortress of *Kndrōskawis*⁸⁷ and captured its owners – the sons of Mandalē, he commanded them to bring the royal insignia of the Bagratid King Gagik II, who was killed by Mandalē in 1079 near the same fortress: “*T’oros said to the sons of Mandalē: ‘Bring me the sword and garments of the Armenian King Gagik’. The brothers did so, and when the Armenian prince saw these, he and all his troops wept bitterly.*”⁸⁸ All the treasures the Mandalē princes possessed, including “*brocades, huge silver crosses, and statues [or, icons]*⁸⁹ *cast of gold and silver,*” were then brought by T’oros to the castle of Vahka⁹⁰.

⁸⁶ In the Armenian version of the ordo, we read that, after the king’s oath, two officing bishops turn to the west, where the audience stands, and state that the king is anointed “to reign over the throne of the House of T’orgom and over the race of Hayk and is anointed in similitude to King Trdat, Emperor Constantine and Emperor Theodosius”. See: Siwrmēean, *Catalog*, 27; Ališan, *Sisuan*, 473; Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique*, 330.

⁸⁷ *Kndrōskawis* or *Kondrōskawis* – fortress in northern Cilicia, also known as *Kizistra* (or *Cyzistra*), which at the beginning of the eleventh century belonged to a Greek Prince named Mandalē. See: T. Kh. Hakobyan, St. T. Melik-Bakhshyan, & H. Kh. Barsegyan, *Hayastani ew harakic’ šrjanneri telanunneri bařaran [Dictionary of Toponymy of Armenia and Adjacent Territories]*, vol. 3 (Yerevan: Yerevan State University Press, 1991), 131, 178; See also: Thomas S. R. Boase, “The History of the Kingdom,” in *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, edited by Thomas S. R. Boase (Edinburgh – London: Scottish Academic Press, 1978), 3.

⁸⁸ *Matthew of Edessa*, 209. For the original text in Armenian, see: *Matt’ēos Urhayec’i*, 320. See also Zaroui Pogossian’s comments on this event: *The Letter of Love and Concord*, 8-10.

⁸⁹ The Armenian word *patker*, used in the text of Matthew of Edessa, means “image”, which could be used to designate statue, icon or, simply, painted images.

⁹⁰ *Matthew of Edessa*, 209. For the original text in Armenian, see: *Matt’ēos Urhayec’i*, 321. For these events see also the colophon of MS M 979: *Colophons, 13th century*, 583.

1.1.3. Books used during the coronation ritual

The coronation ordo mentions the presence of the Gospel book and a Common law. The latter was presented to the king-to-be to take on it his oath – a surprising ritual adoption, given that taking an oath was not traditionally welcome by the Armenian church⁹¹. Ališan has suggested that the Common Law could have been the *Assizes of Jerusalem*, which at that time was in use in Cilician Armenia⁹². As for the Gospel book, the text of the coronation ordo mentions it together with the relics of saints, crosses, censers, and candles – all to be carried by bishops who were followed by singing monks toward the main door of the cathedral⁹³.

Günter Prinzing has suggested that the so-called *Gospels of Lviv* might be the very Gospel codex used for the coronation of Lewon I⁹⁴. This sumptuous manuscript, copied on white parchment, is also known as the *Gospels of Skewra*, and is currently kept at the National Library of Poland, in Warsaw (MS Rps 8101 III)⁹⁵. It was copied between 1193 and 1198 in the monasteries of Mlič and Skewra by the scribe Grigor, who is also the author of the illuminations⁹⁶. The Gospel book does not contain any full-page miniatures, but it has many Christological marginal miniatures, among them the first known depiction of the ancestors of Christ in Cilician miniature painting – perhaps a sign of the Rubenids' claims for biblical origins⁹⁷. Depicted in medallions, the ancestors' miniature

⁹¹ Siwrmēean, *Catalog*, 25; Ališan, *Sisuan*, 472; Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique*, 328. The oath of a Cilician king named Lewon (Lewon IV?) is reproduced in two descriptions of the Cilician manuscript known as the *Mayr Maštoc' of Sis*, that is, the Grand Maštoc' (ritual book) of Sis. Apart from Siwrmēean's *Catalog*, 32, it is also published in: Anoushavan vardapet Tanielian, *Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the Collection of the Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia* (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia Press, 1984), 97.

⁹² Ališan, *Sisuan*, 472, n. 4; Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique*, 328, n. 1. On the *Assizes of Jerusalem*, see Marie-Adélaïde Nielen-Vandevorde, "Un livre méconnu des *Assises de Jérusalem* : Les *Lignanges d'Outremer*," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartres* 153/1 (janvier-juin 1995): 103-130, esp. 104.

⁹³ Siwrmēean, *Catalog*, 25; Ališan, *Sisuan*, 472; Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique*, 328.

⁹⁴ Günter Prinzing & Andrea Schmidt, ed., *Das Lemberger Evangeliar: Eine wiederentdeckte armenische Bilderhandschrift des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1997), 18-21. See also: Günter Prinzing & Helen C. Evans, "The L'viv Gospels," in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843-1261*, edited by Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 361.

⁹⁵ The digitized copy of this manuscript is available at (Biblioteka Narodowa, Warszawa): <https://polona.pl/item/5577169/0/> (retrieved on 22.12.2016).

⁹⁶ Prinzing & Schmidt, ed., *Das Lemberger Evangeliar*, 93; Prinzing & Evans, "The L'viv Gospels," 361; Vigen Ghazaryan, "Skewrayi awetaran [The Gospels of Skewra]," in *CAE*, 911.

⁹⁷ The Gospels of Skewra and its associations with the Cilician royal ideology is discussed by Edda Vardanyan in the following conference paper: Edda Vardanyan, "Images des ancêtres: la généalogie du Christ dans l'art et l'idéologie du royaume arménien de Cilicie," conference paper presented during the

is fashioned as a marginal ornament and appears on the incipit page of the Gospel of Matthew (Fig. 19). Among the figures representing Christ's ancestry, the second person is the only crowned one, which might hint at the newly crowned Lewon – an earthly king who is shown under the power of Christ, the King of Heaven.

Another point deserving to be emphasized here is that, on the same incipit page, the title is written both in Greek and in Armenian, whereas the titles of the three other Gospels are given in Armenian only. It is tempting to suppose that the prototype of this Gospels had Byzantine origins. In 1197, Nersēs of Lambron, under orders of the future king Lewon, traveled to Constantinople on a diplomatic and religious mission⁹⁸, from where he may have brought an illuminated model of the coronation Gospel. Some Armenian sources mention that shortly before this, when the Byzantine emperor became aware that Lewon was going to be crowned by the Holy Roman Emperor, he, in turn, hurried to send a precious crown to Lewon – apparently in an attempt to keep the Byzantine influence in Cilicia (see below). It is therefore not excluded that a coronation Gospel appeared in Cilicia when, for example, Nersēs of Lambron returned from his Constantinopolitan mission. Perhaps not accidentally, the *Gospels of Skewra* was produced in the monasteries of Mliç and Skewra, which were within the domains of the Lambron family and where Nersēs himself served as abbot (while being at the same time the archbishop of Tarsus). As we saw earlier, during these years, Nersēs was engaged in another important task, the preparation of the revised translation of the Münster ordo, which would serve during the upcoming coronation. Unfortunately, the text of the principal colophon of the Gospels of Skewra (418v-422v) is lost between folios 418 and 420, but the coronation of Lewon is clearly mentioned in the preserved colophon text⁹⁹. The blind pages now replacing the missing ones were probably inserted during the re-binding and restauration of the manuscript in 1592, or even later¹⁰⁰. The acquirer of the

international conference *Élites chrétiennes et formes du pouvoir en Méditerranée centrale et orientale (XIIIe-XVe siècle)*, Université de Nîmes et Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier, Nîmes-Montpellier, 18-19 June 2015.

⁹⁸ Isabelle Augé, "L'ambassade de Nersēs Lambronatsi, archevêque de Tarse, à Constantinople (1197)," in *L'Église arménienne entre Grecs et Latins: fin XIe - milieu XVe siècle*, textes réunis par Isabelle Augé et Gérard Dédéyan (Paris: Geuthner, 2009), 49-62; See also: Isabelle Augé, *Églises en dialogue: arméniens et byzantines dans la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium - Volume 633 (Louvain: In Aedibus Peeters, 2011), 257-267.

⁹⁹ Prinzing & Schmidt, ed., *Das Lemberger Evangeliar*, 93-94.

¹⁰⁰ Prinzing & Schmidt, ed., *Das Lemberger Evangeliar*, 27, 94.

manuscript is mentioned to be a certain priest Step'annos and not – as might have been expected for a coronation Gospel Book – Nersēs of Lambron, the catholicos, or even the future king. Andrea Schmidt has shown that this Step'annos may have been the deputy of Nersēs of Lambron at the monastery of Skewria¹⁰¹, which would place this important codex into an acceptable context.

A further observation on the miniature painting of the Gospels of Skewria may reinforce Prinzing's and Schmidt's suggestion that we are probably dealing with the actual coronation Gospel of King Lewon. On the headpiece of the incipit page of the Gospel of John, an image of the *Agnus Dei* is depicted on a golden background (Fig. 20) – perhaps a sign of interest in the Latin Church: in the 1190s, after fruitless negotiations with Byzantines, Nersēs had gradually positioned himself in favor of the Armeno-Latin church union, which was the condition imposed by the Pope for the confirmation of Lewon's coronation. It is noteworthy that the symbol of *Agnus Dei* was also depicted on the personal seal of Nersēs of Lambron¹⁰². Another *Agnus Dei* appears in the Gospel manuscript commissioned in 1193 by Nersēs of Lambron and his brother Het'um in the same scriptorium of Skewria (MS V 1635, fol. 249r) (Fig. 21), where also the Lviv Gospels was produced¹⁰³. In both manuscripts, the depiction of the Lamb appears on the title page of the Gospel of John, which says that the Lamb of God takes away the sins of the world (John 1:29). The inclusion of this symbol, relatively new in Cilician book illumination, has been interpreted within the context of the pro-Western policies of those individuals who initiated the creation of the Skewria Gospels¹⁰⁴. A few decades earlier, the motif of the Lamb of God was already used at the miniature school of Hromkla, in the Gospels dating from 1166 (MS M 7347, fol. 265r) (Fig. 22), from where it could have traveled to Skewria. As to the future king Lewon, his gold chrysobull to be discussed below contains an imitation of the contemporaneous images of *Agnus Dei* and could

¹⁰¹ Prinzing & Schmidt, ed., *Das Lemberger Evangeliar*, 131.

¹⁰² Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, 28-29. For further discussion of the *Agnus Dei* in Cilician miniature painting, see: Helen Evans, *Manuscript Illumination at the Armenian Patriarchate in Hromkla and the West* (PhD diss., New York University, 1990), 65-66, n. 188; Prinzing & Evans, "The L'viv Gospels," 362.

¹⁰³ For this manuscript, see: Der Nersessian, *Manuscrits arméniens illustrés*, 51-83, 176-178, esp. 62 (for *Agnus Dei*).

¹⁰⁴ Prinzing & Evans, "The L'viv Gospels," 362.

therefore have thematic and ideological parallels with the *Agnus Dei* depicted in the coronation Gospels of Skewra.

1.1.4. Coronation day

The third issue worth considering is the coronation day – 6th of January, when the Armenian Church celebrates the Christ's Nativity, Epiphany and Baptism. The tradition of a king's consecration on the Nativity day is well known in many Christian societies. As Lewon's coronation was performed according to the Latin rite, this first inauguration ceremony of a Cilician king could be another imitation of the Roman/German inaugurations, performed on December 25¹⁰⁵. It is known that Charlemagne, the first ever Holy Roman emperor to be crowned at the hands of the Pope in Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome, was crowned on the day of Nativity¹⁰⁶. With the compulsory participation of the Pope in the coronation ceremony of the emperor of all Romans on the very day of Christ's birth, the Roman See clearly stressed its intention to share the empire's affairs, thus determining the double nature of the Holy Roman Empire – secular and ecclesiastical. Similarly, the coronation and anointment of Lewon by the representative of the Pope and by the Armenian Catholicos were ceremonial acts to visualize and demonstrate the significant religious aspect in the otherwise secular rulership of the future king. This was particularly fitting to the context of the crusading ideology, and no wonder the coronation rituals of many high and late medieval Christian kings became more and more elaborated in this period. In the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, apart from Lewon I, at least two other kings are documented to be crowned on the Epiphany day (January 6): Lewon II (1271-1289) and Smbat (1296/7-1298) (see Chapter 3.3.1 and Chapter 7).

¹⁰⁵ Among several other disagreements, the Letter of Nersēs of Lambron addressed to the future king Lewon I (see Introduction) refers to the attempts to modify the celebrations of Nativity and Epiphany, which did not find support among the clergy and ruling aristocracy of Greater Armenia. See *Synodal Discourse and Letter and Speeches of Nersēs of Lambron*, 243. For the German and French translations, see: *Nerses von Lambron*, 162, n. 76; *Saint Nersès de Lampron, Lettre adressée au roi Léon II*, 600.

¹⁰⁶ The following Holy Roman emperors were crowned on the Nativity day: Charlemagne (800), Otto II (967), Otto III (983), and Henry III (1046). The tradition seems to also have been in use in Byzantium, particularly in the cases of the emperors Michael II the Amorian (820) and Constantine X (1059). Roger II, the founder of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, had also chosen the Christmas day when he was crowned in 1130.

The symbolic link between the Epiphany and the king's coronation is based on the analogy that Christ is the King of Heaven, while the newly consecrated king is made ruler on earth¹⁰⁷. In the Armenian kingdom, a coronation homily was even composed to underscore this very association (Chapter 3.3.1)¹⁰⁸. It specifically refers to the coronation of King Lewon II, the grandson of Lewon I, which greatly elucidates many aspects of Cilician royal ideology, to which I will return in the following chapters. Until then, the artistic images of the first King Lewon I will be discussed, with a special emphasize on royal insignia and official ceremonial vestments.

¹⁰⁷ The Armenian tradition of sacred kingship is well expressed in the writings of the thirteenth-century author Yovhannēs Erznkac'i who, in this respect, also mentions that a king should be conscious that he is under the power of God, the only true king. On this and relevant questions, see Cowe, "Theology of Kingship," 421; Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, Volume II, 54-62, esp. 55, 58-59. See also: Seyran Zakaryan, "Hovhannes Pluz Erznkac'in iṣṣanut'yan ev kaṙavarman masin [Hovhannes Pluz Yerznkatsi on Power and Governance]," *Bulletin of Yerevan University: Armenian Studies* 1/19 (2016): 3-22.

¹⁰⁸ *Vahramay vardapeti atenadpri Lewon ark'ayi Ban i yaytnut'iwn Tearn ew yōcumn Lewoni G. ark'ayi [On the Epiphany of the Lord and on the Consecration of King Lewon III, written by Vahram Vardapet, Chancellor of King Lewon]* (Jerusalem: Press of the Armenian Patriarchate, 1875).

1.2. THE IMAGE OF LEWON I ON HIS GOLD BULLAE

A well-preserved image of Lewon I is depicted on his gold bullae or chrysobulls (Fig. 23). Four examples of this bulla, together with the king's four letters sent to Pope Innocent III, are preserved at the Vatican Secret Archives under the shelf marks A.A.Arm. I-XVIII, 628, 629, 630, and 631¹⁰⁹. Their weights vary between 15 and 20 g. Iconographically, these are identical to each other and are in good or excellent condition, having survived without restoration¹¹⁰. The two documents to which two of the four royal bullae are still attached were written in the year 1205 and were sent by Lewon to request the Pope's confirmation of Ruben Raymond, Lewon's grandnephew and his designated successor, as prince of Antioch (A.A.Arm. I-XVIII, 630, 631)¹¹¹. The next two letters with Lewon's gold bullae, now preserved separately, were sent to the Pope in 1205 and 1207, in which the Armenian king expresses his disagreement with the count of Tripoli and his discontent related to the papal legate's disposition in the king's dispute with the count (A.A.Arm. I-XVIII, 628, 629)¹¹².

There are at least seven other documents dating from the first two decades of the thirteenth century that were once accompanied with the chrysobulls of King Lewon I¹¹³. All of these documents contain a mention about the gold seal of the Armenian king that originally was attached to them, and, in one case, even a detailed description of it. The latter charter, kept now at the Historical Archives of Genoa, is dated from March 1201 and refers to the trade privileges within the territory of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, particularly in the cities of Sis, Mamestia (Mopsuestia) and Tarsus, granted to Genoese

¹⁰⁹ For the description of each of the four bullae, see: Aldo Martini, ed., *I sigilli d'oro dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano / The Gold Seals of the Vatican Secret Archives*, con una nota storica di Mons. Martino Giusti, prefazione di Alessandro Pratesi (Milano: Franco Maria Ricci, 1984), 48-49, 204-205. See also: Claude Mutafian (ed.), *Roma-Armenia, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 25 Marzo – 16 Luglio 1999* (Roma: Edizioni di Luca, 1999), 142-145; Claude Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant (XIe-XIVe siècle)*, tome II (Paris: Les belles lettres, 2012), Fig. 97.

¹¹⁰ Martini, ed., *I sigilli d'oro*, 49, 205.

¹¹¹ Martini, ed., *I sigilli d'oro*, 48-49, 204-205.

¹¹² Martini, ed., *I sigilli d'oro*, 48-49, 204-205.

¹¹³ Victor Langlois, "Documents pour servir à une sigillographie des rois d'Arménie au Moyen Âge," *Revue Archéologique* 2/11e année (oct. 1854 – mars 1855): 630-632.

merchants by Lewon I¹¹⁴. The description of the seal that was originally attached to this document corresponds to the seals preserved currently in the Vatican: “...regis Armeniorum filli Stephani de genere Rupinorum eius sigilli aurei impressione munitus, in quo erat ab una parte, ymago regia sculpta cum corona in caput, tenens in dextera crucem, in leva, vero tenens formam floris lilii. et erant ibi littere ut creditur armenice conscripte quas ignore. Ab alia vero parte erat quedam forma leonis coronati tenentis crucem in pede, cuius circumscriptio sicut credo litteris armenicis prenotatis.”¹¹⁵

The extant image of King Lewon, depicted on the obverse side of the Vatican bullae, bears a number of iconographic and stylistic parallels with sigillographic imagery of Western and Frankish rulers, such as the king’s seated posture, the animal-shaped *sella curulis*, the royal vestments and insignia, including notably the *fleur-de-lis* and *globus cruciger*, etc. Most of these elements are apparent imitations of the images of the Holy Roman emperors (Figs. 24-26), with whom, as already discussed, the first Cilician king aligned his political orientation at the eve of the kingdom’s creation. The artistic imitation of imperial imagery fits well the recent analysis of Sergio La Porta who, based on a text of Vardan Aygekc’i (1170-1235), shows that at the end of the twelfth century a royal ideology was developed in Cilicia trying to associate the Armenian king with the eschatological figure of “the Last Roman Emperor”¹¹⁶.

As for the reverse image of Lewon’s bulla, a crowned lion is shown here, holding a scepter, topped with a cross. The inscriptions on both sides are separated from the central images by circles of dots. On the obverse, we read: ԼԵՒՆ թԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՅ – LEWON KING OF THE ARMENIANS, and on the reverse side: ԼԵՒՆ Ի ՔՐԻՍՏՈՍ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ թԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՅ – LEWON BY CHRIST GOD KING OF THE ARMENIANS.

On his gold bullae, Lewon I is represented with an almost complete set of royal insignia mentioned in the coronation ordo. These are also depicted with more detail and

¹¹⁴ For this document, see: *Codice diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova dal MCLXIII al MCLXXX*, a cura di Cesare Imperiale di Sant’ Angelo, volume terzo ed ultimo, *Fonti per la storia d’Italia* 89 (Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1942), 188-191.

¹¹⁵ Langlois, “Documents pour servir à une sigillographie,” 631; Victor Langlois, *Le Trésor des chartes d’Arménie ou Cartulaire de la chancellerie royale des Roupéniens* (Venise: Saint-Lazare, 1863), 105-109; *Codice diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*, 191.

¹¹⁶ Sergio La Porta, “King Lewon I: the Last Roman Emperor,” in *La Méditerranée des arméniens (XIIe-XVe siècle)*, sous la direction de Claude Mutafian (Paris: Geuthner, 2014), 85-99.

accuracy than on any other extant image of Cilician Armenian kings. On his shoulders, the king wears a *chlamys* fastened with a central circular fibula. On his *chlamys* and on his belt, many gemstones and filigrees can be seen, which, besides demonstrating the richness of royal clothing, could also have symbolic meanings, as in the case of Byzantine imperial vestments, adorned with precious stones¹¹⁷.

The form of the footwear worn by the Armenian king resembles those known as “scarlet shoes”, attested in Byzantine and Roman coronation rites and preserved in artistic images¹¹⁸. These scarlet shoes or stockings were originally senatorial footwear, which then became a constant item of ceremonial vestment of Byzantine emperors¹¹⁹. The Holy Roman emperors and other western rulers are often depicted with these shoes. An actual example dating from the second half of the twelfth century has survived from Sicily and is currently kept at the Weltliche Schatzkammer of Vienna (Fig. 27). As we will see later, similar footwear of red color appears in thirteenth-century Cilician royal imagery (see, for example, Figs. 28, 131, 154), which gives us some ground to suppose that red shoes were parts of the official outfit of Lewon I too.

On his gold bullae, Lewon I is depicted holding a *fleur-de-lis* in his left hand and a cross-topped orb in his right hand, both of which are mentioned in the Armenian version of the coronation ordo¹²⁰. An important attribute of royalty, the *fleur-de-lis* – used also as a heraldic emblem in the West – took its origins from the lily mentioned in the Song of King Solomon (2:1)¹²¹. Symbolizing both royal dignity and Christian piety¹²², the *fleur-de-lys*, best known for emblemizing the French kingship, perfectly matched the crusading ideology and was soon adopted by Levantine rulers.

On Lewon’s bullae, we also see the royal orb held in his right hand. Known as *Globus Cruciger* or *Reichsapfel*, this insignia has been explained as symbolizing the world under the domination of Christianity, which is expressed by the cross on top¹²³. In

¹¹⁷ On the adornment of Byzantine imperial vestments with precious stones and their symbolism, see: Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, 12, n. 5.

¹¹⁸ Woolley, *Coronation Rites*, 9, 181; Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, 30-31.

¹¹⁹ Woolley, *Coronation Rites*, 9, 181.

¹²⁰ Siwrmēan, *Catalog*, 28; Ališan, *Sisuan*, 474; Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique*, 332.

¹²¹ Michel Pastoureau, *Traité d'héraldique* (Paris: Picard, 1979), 160-165, esp. 160.

¹²² Pastoureau, *Traité d'héraldique*, 162.

¹²³ Percy Ernst Schramm, *Sphaira-Globus-Reichsapfel: Wanderung und Wandlung eines Herrschaftszeichens von Caesar bis zu Elizabeth II* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1958), esp. 15; Hermann

the Armenian version of the translated ordo, this insignia is indeed labeled as “the cross mounted on the golden apple”, stressing the importance of the cross over the orb / world. Among contemporaneous textual sources, there is even a direct reference to the *Reichsapfel* depicted in royal images. Thus, in one of his fables about an apple and a pear, the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Armenian author Mxit’ar Goš refers to the “golden apple, which is depicted in the hands of the kings.”¹²⁴

On his head, Lewon wears a crown topped with cross. The crown is decorated with small round knobs on its rim, possibly reproducing the precious stones that were decorating his real crown (see below). *Pendilia*, or *prependoulia*, hang from the left and right sides of the crown and have three pointed pendants on each side, resembling Lewon’s *pendilia*-crown depicted on his billon coins to be discussed later (Figs. 37-38ab). The royal crown, which the coronation rite considers as the symbol of the glory of the righteous¹²⁵, is depicted a second time, on the reverse side of the bulla, on the head of the lion.

A careful examination shows that, on the obverse of Lewon’s chrysobull, the cross atop Lewon’s crown has an epigraphic feature as well: it serves as an indicator for the commencement of the inscription (Fig. 23a). The second crown depicted on the lion’s head on reverse is similar to the one on Lewon’s head, but it lacks two important elements: the *pendilia* and the central cross – considering that the reverse cross refers to the inscription and not to the crown. The cross of the reverse indicates the starting point of the inscription – a typical feature of medieval circular numismatic and sigillographic inscriptions. It is possible that the designer, when working on the obverse side of the bulla, combined the cross of the crown with the cross of the inscription, saving thus the space for the king’s impressive figure that comes out past the dotted circle into the space reserved for the inscription¹²⁶. At any event, it is obvious that the most important royal insignia is represented in two different forms on obverse and reverse, which calls for

Fillitz, *Die Insignien und Kleinodien des Heiligen Römischen Reiches* (Wien – München: Verlag Anton Schroll & Co., 1954), 23.

¹²⁴ *Arakk’ Mxit’aray Goši [The Fables of Mxit’ar Goš]* (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1854), 12-13; *The Fables of Mkhitar Gosh*, translated with an Introduction by Robert Bedrosian (New York: Ashod Press, 1987), fable No. 11.

¹²⁵ See: Siwrmēean, *Catalog*, 28; Ališan, *Sisuan*, 474; Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique*, 332.

¹²⁶ On one of the silver coins of Lewon I, the head of the king is depicted slightly tilted to the right, in order to align the cross of the crown with the start of the inscription (Fig. 32, also Fig. 34).

further investigation, taking also into consideration the fact that the bullae in question were sent to the Pope whose representative had personally crowned Lewon.

One year before the coronation took place, in 1197, Lewon sent tēr Yovhannēs, the archbishop of Sis, to Acre to deal with the matter of his crown, which was initially promised by the late Frederick Barbarossa¹²⁷. After some diplomatic arrangements, the crown was sent by Henry VI and brought to the Levant by Conrad of Querfurt, who was the bishop of Hildesheim and chancellor of the German emperor¹²⁸. It was with this crown that in 1198 Conrad of Wittelsbach, the legate of Pope Celestine III, crowned Lewon. Some time earlier, Lewon had received another crown from the Byzantine Emperor Alexios III Angelos¹²⁹, which was no less remarkable, given that until this point the Armenian principality of Cilicia, though *de facto* independent for a long while, was *de jure* a part of the Byzantine Empire. Although there is no clarity as to whether a coronation ceremony was performed upon the reception of the Byzantine crown, the silence of most contemporaneous sources, as well as the records of Armenian manuscript colophons which start the reigning period of Lewon I from the year 1198 (that is, from the moment of the reception of the Latin crown), allow one to assume that no widely propagated official ceremony took place upon the arrival of the Byzantine crown¹³⁰. Nevertheless, one first-hand Armenian source, written by *vardapet* Yakovb, claims that Lewon became king “by the will of the valiant nation of the Greeks, who brought him the crown bearing the sign of the cross”. This information is found in Yakovb’s detailed colophon in what is now the manuscript V 1462 (fol. 272r), copied in

¹²⁷ *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk’*, 207-208; *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 73.

¹²⁸ The Holy Roman emperor must have sent the crown already before 1196. According to an account of Kirakas Ganjakec’i, when Byzantine Emperor Alexios III heard that the Franks had sent a crown for Lewon, he, in turn, sent him a precious crown in 1196. See: *Kirakos Ganjakec’i, Patmutyun Hayoc’ [Kirakos of Ganjak, History of the Armenians]*, edited by Karapet Melik’-Ōhanjanyan (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1961), 158; *Guiragos de Kantzag, L’histoire d’Arménie*, Recueil des historiens des croisades: documents arméniens, tome I, trad. par Édouard Dulaurier, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1869), 424.

¹²⁹ For sources mentioning both crowns of Lewon, see: *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 72; *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk’*, 207; *Kirakos Ganjakec’i*, 158; *Guiragos de Kantzag*, 424; *Vahram Rabuni*, 215; *Vahram’s Chronicle*, 44; *Colophons, 5th-12th Centuries*, 302; *The Annals of Anonymous of Sebaste*, 136.

¹³⁰ Karapet Basmadjian mentioned an earlier coronation of Lewon I with the Byzantine crown (1196), but without any indication of sources. See: Karapet Basmadjian, *La Cilicie: son passé et son avenir*, avec deux tables généalogiques des barons et rois de la Petite Arménie (Paris: chez J. Gamber, 1919), 17. Cf. above, n. 128.

Hromkla in 1198¹³¹. The colophon text reveals furthermore that Yakovb, who was a companion of Nersēs of Lambron, was personally present at the coronation ceremony of King Lewon I. His description of the Byzantine cross-bearing crown received by Lewon corroborates well the iconographic sources on the matter.

Other sources composed slightly later, when describing the reception of Lewon's Byzantine crown, do not go into further details but merely mention its beauty, as well as its value as a sign of "alliance and friendship"¹³².

Smbat the Constable: *En l'an 645*¹³³, *le souverain des Grecs [Alexios III] envoya à Lewon une magnifique couronne, en sollicitant son alliance et son amitié. Celui-ci reçut ce présent avec joie*¹³⁴.

Jean Dardel: *...lui apportèrent grans dons et grans presens et une moult belle couronne d'or aournée de perles et de pierres precieuses*¹³⁵.

Interestingly, when describing the events of the kingdom's fall in April 1375, Dardel mentions the existence of two crowns in the treasury of the last King Lewon V Lusignan who, by that time, was in Mamluk captivity. It is not excluded, however, that "by two crowns" Dardel means the crowns of Lewon V and Margaret of Soissons, who was crowned as queen Armenia together with Lewon on September 14, 1375.

*Lors le roy presenta ung escring au dit Mellech l'admirail, ouquel estoient les perles et les pierres precieuses de deux couronnes et plusieurs aultres joyaulz, tant çaintures comme fermaulz, lesquelz joyaulz furent estimes et prisies, quant on les bailla au roy, à la velleur de V^e mille besans d'or*¹³⁶.

As for the crown sent from the Holy Roman Empire, which was politically more significant and which practically made the foundation of the Armenian state possible, it is

¹³¹ For the original text in Armenian, see: *General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Mekhitarist Library in Venice*, Volume VI, compiled by Sahak Čemčemean (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1996), 607-614, esp. 611. The text of Yakovb's colophon, though with no reference to its respective manuscript, has been reproduced in: Ališan, *Sisuan*, 471; *Colophons, 5th-12th Centuries*, 293.

¹³² According to historian Bakuran, on the occasion of his coronation "Lewon accepted presents from the amir of Baghdad as well and came to be befriended with the Tughril shah of Karin." See: Bakuran, *Mi tesut' iwn Kilikiyoy haykakan ishxanut' ean vray [A Theory on the Armenian State of Cilicia]* (Nikosia: Press of the National Educational Orphanage, 1904), 17.

¹³³ The Armenian year 645 corresponds to the period between 1 February 1196 and 30 January 1197.

¹³⁴ *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 72. For the original text in Armenian, see: *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk'*, 207.

¹³⁵ *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 10.

¹³⁶ *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 84; *Yohannu Dardeli Žamanakagrut' iwn hayoc'*, 147.

represented in Armenian sources in a more detailed way, associating the revival of Armenian kingship with this very crown¹³⁷. The most precious account is a colophon written by Nersēs of Lambron, who had orchestrated Armeno-Byzantine, then Armeno-Latin negotiations and who himself had prepared the Armenian version of the coronation rite by using the Latin ordo of the city of Münster. His colophon greatly reveals the complex diplomatic contexts of Lewon’s double crowns and, in doing so, also elucidates why some sources prefer to mention only one crown, if in reality there were two. Remarkable is also that when narrating Lewon’s inauguration, Nersēs represents the two Christian emperors as autocrats of Rome: Henry VI as the emperor of Old Rome, and Alexios III as that of New Rome:

*The fame of his [Lewon’s] courage moved the great autocrats of Old Rome, Heri [Henry VI], and of New Rome, Alēk’s [Alexios III], who crowned him with [crowns of] precious stones at the church of Tarsus, which is under my, the unworthy one’s, pastorship*¹³⁸.

The fourteenth-century account of the royal chronicler Jean Dardel on the crown sent from Henry VI is particularly informative in term of its appearance:

*Et l’empereur de Romme lui envoïa une couronne d’or très precieuse, aournée de pierres precieuses, comme perles, rubis, saphirs, esmeraudes et aultrez pierres*¹³⁹.

Another account about the two crowns of Lewon I is found in the History of Kirakos Ganjakec’i who, although he does not describe the crowns, assesses their importance from the political point of view:

L’empereur [Alexios III] ayant su que les Franks avaient envoyé une couronne à Léon, lui fit parvenir de son côté des présents et une couronne magnifique, rehaussée d’or et de pierreries, avec ces paroles: ‘Ne mets pas sur ta tête la couronne des Latins,

¹³⁷ In his letter addressed to Pope Innocent III, the Armenian Catholicos Gregory VI writes that the coronation of Lewon with the Roman crown revived the Armenian royalty that was lost a long time before. “*Noveritis domine, quod ad nos venit nobilis, sapiens et sublimis archiepiscopus Maguntinus, qui nobis attulit ex parte Dei et ex parte sublimatis ecclesie Romane et ex parte magni imperatoris Roman(orum) sublime(m) coronam et coronavit regem nostrum Leuonem et nobis reddidit coronam, quam nos perdidimus a longo tempore*”. Citation from: Halfter, “Corona regni Armeniae,” 138, n. 23.

¹³⁸ For the original text in Armenian, see: *Colophons, 5th-12th Centuries*, 302. This colophon was replicated in later, non-Cilician manuscripts, such as in the British Library manuscript Or. 8833 dating from 1646. See: Vrej N. Nersessian, *A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the British Library acquired since the year 1913 and of collections in the other libraries in the United Kingdom*, volume I (London: The British Library, 2012), 69.

¹³⁹ *Chronique d’Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 9.

*mais bien la mienne, car tes États sont plus rapprochés de nous que de Rome'. Léon ... fut aux deux souverains une réponse conforme à leurs désirs. Il reçut avec bienveillance les ambassadeurs, combla de présents ceux qui lui avaient apporté l'insigne de la royauté, et fut ainsi ceint d'un double diadème*¹⁴⁰.

This account seems to suggest that the two – Latin and Byzantine – crowns of the Armenian king were used simultaneously, which may also explain the representation of two different crowns on Lewon's gold bullae. The crown with cross and *pendilia*, which decorates the head of Lewon on his bullae, is probably the crown sent by the Byzantine emperor¹⁴¹. As we saw above, the presence of a cross on the Byzantine crown of Lewon is mentioned in the 1198 colophon of Yakovb, who happened to attend the coronation ceremony. As for *pendilia*, these were a characteristic element in Byzantine male crowns, as shown in Maria Parani's much useful study (Fig. 29)¹⁴². The other crown visible on the bullae, which appears on the head of the lion, can perhaps be seen as the crown sent by the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI. Besides the direct association between the name of Lewon and the symbol of lion, the latter is also a constant symbol of royalty, which started to appear on Lewon's coins after the reception of the Latin crown in 1198¹⁴³. The pre-coronation – that is, princely – coins of Lewon represent him as a knight and their legends identify him as “servant of God” and “son of Stefanē” (Fig. 36)¹⁴⁴. Lewon's numismatic imagery was substantially changed after 1198, by introducing into Cilician Armenian coinage the royal symbol of lion¹⁴⁵. This represented a noncompliance with the idea of kingship in Greater Armenia, which was expressed by the symbol of eagle, as

¹⁴⁰ *Guiragos de Kantzag*, 424; For the original text in Armenian, see: *Kirakos Ganjakec'i*, 158. A similar notion is found in the Chronicle of Jean Dardel. See: *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 10.

¹⁴¹ See also: Vardan Hac'uni, *Patmut'iwn hin hay tarazin [History of Ancient Armenian Costumes]* (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1924), 234; Hayk Ter-Ghevondian, “*Kilikean Hayastani mēj gorcacuac ark'ayakan t'agerə ŽB-ŽD dareru ənt'ack'in* [Les couronnes royales de l'Arméno-Cilicie du XIIe au XIVe siècle],” *BV* 3-4 (1984): 308-309; Hayk Ter-Ghevondian, “*Oskerč'ut'iwnə kilikean Hayastani mēj ŽG-ŽD darerun* [Silverwork in Cilician Armenia (13th and 14th Centuries)],” Part III, *BV* 1-4 (1992): 305.

¹⁴² Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, Fig. 31.

¹⁴³ Samvel Grigoryan, “Лев-Агнец среди типических образов монет и печатей Левона II (I)” (“Leo quasi Agnus Dei” among the Images of the Coins and Seals of Lewon II (I)),” *HA* 1-12 (2014): 325.

¹⁴⁴ Ruben Vardanyan, *Sylloge Nummorum Armenorum: Armenia, Yerevan, History Museum of Armenia, Cilicia – Volume I: Levon I the Magnificent* (Yerevan: NAS RA “Gitutyun” Publishing House, 2014), 18-19.

¹⁴⁵ Yeghia T. Nercessian, *Armenian Coins and Their Values*, ANS – Special Publications No. 8 (Los Angeles: Armenian Numismatic Society, 1995), 107-108, Plate 18 (Figs. 250-252). See also: Grigoryan, “Лев-Агнец,” 325, Fig. 1ab.

recorded in the fourteenth-century Chronicle authored by Nersēs Palianēnc¹⁴⁶. The latter's remark on eagle as Greater Armenian symbol of kingship demonstrates that the Armenian rulers of Cilicia were aware of the symbols of secular power in Greater Armenia but opted, nevertheless, for a different repertory of rulership symbols.

The crowned lion of the reverse side may have another association with Latin traditions. The face and posture of the royal beast is represented in imitation of the *Agnus Dei*, holding with its right foreleg a cross-scepter, another important insignia of royalty¹⁴⁷. As we saw above, the supposed coronation Gospels of Skewra contains, in turn, a depiction of the *Agnus Dei* (Fig. 20). It is therefore possible that the crown on this combined image of Leo-Agnus symbolizes the crown of the Holy Roman Empire, while the other one, decorated with *pendilia* and cross, represents the Byzantine crown of Lewon I. The mélange of Latin and Greek symbols in a single insignia shown in the official portrayal of the first Cilician king does not seem unusual if we compare it with the respective Hungarian tradition. The foundation of the Hungarian state – hence the legitimacy of the first and subsequent Hungarian kings – was associated with the crown sent from Pope Sylvester II to King (Saint) Stephen I and approved most likely by the Holy Roman Emperor Otto III. Even if it remains questionable whether this crown (known as the Crown of Saint Stephen) has survived and to what extent its original parts can be identified in the present-day Holy Crown of Hungary (Fig. 30), the later held – and continues to hold today – a highly symbolic meaning for the Hungarian statehood¹⁴⁸. Scholars agree that some parts of the actual Hungarian crown, notably the upper two crossing bands, initially belonged to the so-called *corona latina* acquired from the Pope, which was then elaborated by other parts of the *corona graeca*, received later by King Géza I from the Byzantine Emperor Michael VII¹⁴⁹. The *pendilia* and an elevated cross

¹⁴⁶ Grigoryan, “Лев-Агнец,” 325-330. For the corresponding text of Nersēs Palianēnc', see: *Excerpts from the Chronicle of Nerses Palienc'*, 180.

¹⁴⁷ For a detailed analysis of the combined symbol of Lion and Agnus Dei, see: Grigoryan, “Лев-Агнец,” 317-380.

¹⁴⁸ László Péter, “The Holy Crown of Hungary, Visible and Invisible,” *The Slavonic and East European Review* 81 / 3 (July 2003): 421-424.

¹⁴⁹ Magda von Bárány, *Die Sankt Stephans-Krone und die Insignien des Königreiches Ungarn* (Wien-München: Verlag Herold, 1961), 25-41; Josef Deér, *Die heilige Krone Ungarns*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 91. Band (Wien: Kommissionsverlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1966); Kovács and Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown*, 18-58, 79-82; Péter, “The Holy Crown of Hungary,” 424-431.

are indeed found on the Holy Crown of Hungary, which is also a rare material evidence of the Byzantine-era crowns (Fig. 30)¹⁵⁰. Apart from these elements, the Byzantine crown of Géza was adorned with political images. Thus, the central plaque of the back side of the *corona graeca* depicts the Emperor Michael VII Doukas, flanked from his right and left sides by his son and co-emperor Constantine and King Géza I, respectively (Fig. 30). Unlike the first two, the Hungarian king is however shown without a halo – a visual sign of political hierarchy between his kingdom and the Byzantine Empire.

It is possible that the crown sent by the Byzantine Emperor was also present at Lewon's inauguration ceremony in 1198, but it is hardly imaginable that the papal legate would perform the coronation rite with the Byzantine crown. The Armenian version of the coronation ordo refers to a second crown, which is simply called "the other crown" and is mentioned twice as being carried by the *t'agadir*¹⁵¹ during the solemn procession from the cathedral to the royal palace and during the festive meal in the palace¹⁵². It is tempting to speculate that by "the other crown" the Byzantine crown of Lewon is meant, which could have been displayed during the inauguration ceremony to strengthen Lewon's legitimacy. This however does not seem to be the case, for the presence of two crowns was a rather regular custom for those ceremonial cultures which departed from the influential liturgical manual of the *Mainzer Krönungsordo*, including the twelfth-century Armenian translation, prepared by Nersēs of Lambron. One of those crowns – the more elaborate one – was most likely used for liturgical purposes, and it is this crown which is referred to in the coronation ordo as the symbol of glory of the righteous. Contrary to this religious connotation, "the other crown" is uniquely mentioned in secular contexts, likely meaning the diadem worn by the king during non-religious occasions. Indeed, the Armenian text, as already mentioned, refers to this second crown when describing the post-coronation procession and royal banquet.

¹⁵⁰ Although the actual cross was added on the Holy Crown of Hungary after 1551, it replaced the original one. See: Éva Kovács and Zsuzsa Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia*, Second, revised and enlarged edition (Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1980), 81.

¹⁵¹ The *t'agadir* was a high official at the Armenian court, whose function was to accompany the king during various ceremonies, carrying the latter's crown, and placing it on the king's head when needed. Literally translated, *t'agadir* means coronant, the person who places the crown. Its origins trace back to Ancient Armenia, where it was first used at the time of the Arsacid King Vałaršak (247-225 B.C.). See: Langlois, *Le Trésor des chartes d'Arménie*, 42-43.

¹⁵² Siwrmēean, *Catalog*, 30; Ališan, *Sisuan*, 475; Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique*, 334-335.

Apart from the two crowns received from the Byzantine and Holy Roman emperors, the Armenian king had received a third one that was sent to him by the Emperor Otto IV in 1211¹⁵³. This crown, however, was not denoted for Lewon I himself, but for his grandnephew Ruben Raymond, whom Lewon was intent on raising to the throne of the principality of Antioch and then, after his own death, on having him inherit the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, unifying in this way the two neighboring countries within a single state. Lewon's Antiochian plans did not come to fruition and, in fact, during the many years of the conflict of the Antiochian succession it caused more problems for the Armenian kingdom than brought benefits, but his request for the crown for Ruben Raymond was approved and fulfilled by the German Emperor in 1211.

¹⁵³ *Wilbrand of Oldenburg*, 74, 79; *Colophons, 13th century*, 76-77.

1.3. IMAGES OF LEWON I ON COINS

As images found on royal bullae, so also the numismatic images, represent a king's official images. This also means that the issuance of suchlike images, in which the king's institutional identity was embodied, was most likely approved and authorized by the depicted sovereign himself. Being in constant circulation in internal and international trade, the coins were also the objects which displayed the acting ruler's appearance to a great number of beholders.

Despite the official nature of numismatic images, the coins issued by Lewon I represent this king in more than one fashion, which would become standard portrayals for many subsequent rulers of Cilician Armenia, who were eager to imitate the official images of the first king. For this reason and because of the repetitive onomasticon of Cilician kings, the identification and classification of Cilician coins have often been subject of debates. Most of these debates involve the coinage of the kings called Lewon, for there have been five Cilician kings named Lewon. The attribution of Cilician coins has further been complicated with the absence of date, which means that revisions are still possible. The below discussion of Lewon I's numismatic images and of those to be discussed in the following chapters will be based on the results of recent studies, which do not always agree with identifications suggested in the published catalogues.

There is a class of silver coins, generally called *coronation trams* (Figs. 197, 198, 199)¹⁵⁴, which have been traditionally attributed to Lewon I¹⁵⁵. Recent surveys, based on the comparative analysis of a greater number of specimens preserved at the History Museum of Armenia in Yerevan, show that these coins might have been issued by Lewon

¹⁵⁴ *Tram* or *dram* is the Armenian term used for silver or gold coins (equivalent to *drachma* in Greek and Latin and dirham in Persian and Arabic). There are several types of *tram* coins. In the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, these were mainly made of silver.

¹⁵⁵ For the coronation *trams* attributed to Lewon I, see: Paul Z. Bedoukian, "A Large Hoard of Coronation Trams of Lewon I," *HA* 1-12 (1976): 409-440; Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, revised edition (Danbury, 1979), 50-51; Paul Z. Bedoukian, "The Single Lion Coronation Coins of Lewon I," in Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Selected Numismatic Studies II*, ANS - Special Publications No. 10 (Los Angeles: Armenian Numismatic Society, 2003), 99-107 (first published *JSAS* 2 (1985-1986): 97-105); Philip Grierson, *Münzen des Mittelalters* (München-Fribourg: Office du livre, 1976), 203, 227, Fig. 423; Nercessian, *Armenian Coins and Their Values*, 109-113.

III, and not by Lewon I¹⁵⁶. Additionally, despite the designation of these coins, the iconographic analysis of this series excludes their having been struck to coincide with, or to commemorate, the depicted king's coronation¹⁵⁷. These conclusions could also be supported by the political ideology present at the time of Lewon III, who, in order to propagate the visualization of his fragile kingship, was more 'in need' of the iconography of the Virgin as intercessor than Lewon I, whose kingship was built on a much stronger foundation (see Chapter 9). I will thus omit the discussion of the so-called *coronation trams* previously attributed to Lewon I and will return to these coins in Chapter 9.

The copper coins of Lewon, called *tank* or *dang*¹⁵⁸, were minted in large numbers¹⁵⁹. They have a simpler design, comprised of a big patriarchal cross on the reverse, flanked with stars, and a lion's head on the obverse with an obviously human-looking face (Fig. 31). Furthermore, the latter is represented with a crown and with long beard and hair, humanizing thus the leonine symbol of royalty. As for the patriarchal cross, it appears on other coins of Lewon as well (Figs. 32, 35), but here it is accompanied by two stars, which function as differentiating instrument when identifying this king's coins. The inscriptions of the obverse and reverse read, respectively (often with abbreviations and errors): *ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅԻՆՅ – LEWON, KING OF THE ARMENIANS*, and *ՇԻՆԵՍԻ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՄԻՍ – MADE IN THE CITY OF SIS*.

¹⁵⁶ In his catalogue of the coins issued by Lewon I, kept at the History Museum of Armenia, Ruben Vardanyan did not include the *coronation trams*, arguing convincingly that they were issued under King Lewon III. See: Ruben Vardanyan, *Sylloge Nummorum Armenorum: Lewon I the Magnificent*, 354; Ruben Vardanyan, "Kilikian haykakan dramagitut'ean xndirner (Lewon I-in sxalmamb veragruac t'otarkumner) [Cilician Armenian Numismatic Problems (Issues Mistakenly Attributed to Lewon I)]," *ANJ* 9/39 (2013): 3-19.

¹⁵⁷ See, for example, Dickran Kouymjian's studies, which however consider these coins to be minted by Lewon I: Dickran Kouymjian, "The Iconography of the 'Coronation' Trams of King Levon I," *ANJ – Commemorative Volume dedicated to the Memory of Fr. Clement Sibilian* (Los Angeles: Armenian Numismatic Society, 1980): 67-74; Dickran Kouymjian, "Insignes de souveraineté de Léon le Magnifique, roi arménien de Cilicie," in *Caucasus between East and West: Historical and Philological Studies in Honour of Zaza Aleksidze*, edited by Dali Čitunašvili (Tbilisi: Xelnacert'a erovnuli c'entri, 2012), 417-421.

¹⁵⁸ The name of *tank* coins was derived from the measure of weight. Six *tanks* are equal to one *tram*. *Tank* coins could be struck of different metals, but in Cilician Armenian coinage, these are made of copper. See: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 48.

¹⁵⁹ For Lewon's copper coins minted during the royal period of his governance, see: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 60; Ogotinos Sek'ulean, "Viennayi Mxit'arean t'angarani Lewon A.-i plinjē dangerə [The Copper Tanks of Lewon I of the Mekhitarist Museum in Vienna]," *HA* 1-3 (1970): 99-106; Nercessian, *Armenian Coins and Their Values*, 119-122.

As on the gold chrysobull of Lewon I, so also on his silver coins, the king is shown seated on *sella curulis*¹⁶⁰. On most of the coins, Lewon is represented holding the royal orb in his right hand, and a *fleur-de-lis* in his left hand (Figs. 32, 34, 35) – much like on his gold chrysobull (Fig. 23). The scepter, topped with a cross, is usually depicted on the reverse, in the lion's paw (Fig. 32), resembling again the reverse image of the chrysobull (Fig. 23). Among the other attributes held in the king's hand, one can see on some specimens a cross potent as well, fashioned as a Greek cross with additional bars at the arm-endings (Fig. 33). As to the princely coins of Lewon, these have another element worth mentioning – a banner, the actual design of which, according to Ogotinos Sek'ulean, consisted of a lion's image (Fig. 36)¹⁶¹.

Of particular interest are small-denomination, low silver-content *billons*¹⁶² of King Lewon I, minted in Sis and most probably also in Antioch (Figs. 37, 38ab). When in 1966 billons of Lewon I were found in a hoard of 845 Crusader coins on the territory of medieval Antioch, Paul Bedoukian has published an article, in which he discussed these unique coins, contextualizing them within the relationships between the two Levantine states¹⁶³. This find was not however the first one. A century earlier, in the mid-nineteenth century, a hoard of Crusader coins was already discovered around Antioch, where among many coins of Prince Bohemond IV of Antioch, a well-preserved billon of Lewon I was also found (Figs. 38ab)¹⁶⁴.

The iconography of Lewon I's billons shares a great resemblance with the coins minted by the rulers of the County of Tripoli and the Principality of Antioch. The obverse shows the king's head, while the reverse is occupied with a single cross. On one variety of these billons, those minted in Sis, the cross of the reverse is accompanied with two

¹⁶⁰ Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 56. A specimen of Lewon's silver coins showing the enthroned king on the obverse and double lions on the reverse was found in Spain. See D. Nony, "Une monnaie de Petite-Arménie (Cilicie) découverte en Espagne," *Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique* 7 (1969): 432-433.

¹⁶¹ Ogotinos Sek'ulean, "Ditoht'iwinner Lewon A.-i (1187-1219) dramneru patkeratiperu cagman masin [On the Origins of Iconography Used for the Coins of Lewon I (1187-1219)]," *HA* 10-12 (1970): 480-481.

¹⁶² *Billon* – from old French *bullion* or *vellón*, meaning "unmixed noble metal". See: *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*, herausgegeben von Friedrich Frhr. V. Schrötter, zweiter unveränderte Auflage (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1970), 74-75. These were equivalent to medieval European and Crusader *oboles*.

¹⁶³ Paul Z. Bedoukian, "A Unique Billon of Lewon I of Cilician Armenia and Its Historical Significance," *The Numismatic Chronicle* (Seventh Series) 7 (1967): 189-197, Pl. XIV. See also: Vardanyan, *Sylloge Nummorum Armenorum: Lewon I the Magnificent*, 354.

¹⁶⁴ Gustave Schlumberger, "Monnaies des princes chrétiens d'Orient à l'époque des croisades (Monnaies inédites et rectifications)," *Revue Archéologique* (nouvelle série) 30 (1875): 345-349, Pl. XXV, Fig. 1.

dots (Fig. 37). The legends on this variety are written in Armenian and read as follows: *ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅԻՈՑ* – LEWON, KING OF THE ARMENIANS (obverse); *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՄԻՍ* – MADE IN THE CITY OF SIS (reverse). The legends of the second variety, where the location of the mint is not mentioned, are written in Latin: *LEO DEI GRATIA* (obverse); *REX ARMENIOR* (reverse) (Figs. 38ab)¹⁶⁵. The fact that these billon coins were struck in alloys and denominations consistent with Crusader – particularly with Antiochian – coins illustrate Lewon’s unconcealed ambitions over the Principality of Antioch, hence his attempt to match the issuance of these coins those originating from Antioch, but also from the county of Tripoli, the Armenian king’s principal opponent in the Antiochian conflict. Initiating the issuance of such coins within the ongoing conflict of succession, which in the thirteenth century turned into a series of military confrontations, should be regarded as a propagandistic effort by Lewon as part of his longstanding goal to subordinate the Principality of Antioch to the Armenian kingdom. One may suppose that the “Antiochian” coins of Lewon were minted during one of his short-lived sieges of Antioch, but it is more likely that these came into being after 1216, when after capturing Antioch, the Armenian king managed to install his grandnephew Ruben Raymond on the Antiochian throne (1216-1219). To mark his new status as the prince of Antioch, Ruben Raymond himself issued coins with his name and image (see Chapter 2.1). On these coins, the Armeno-Frankish prince of Antioch is shown, understandably, with a helmet on his head (Figs. 41abc), and not with a crown – a much desired royal insignia for rulers of Antioch, which is prominently displayed on Lewon’s “Antiochian” coins (Figs. 38ab).

¹⁶⁵ There are minor variations in legends between different specimens.

1.4. THE FAKE SWORD(S) OF LEWON I

Among the extant images of Lewon I, there is no depiction of a sword. However, during the coronation ceremony, together with other regalia, a sword is also mentioned, which was conferred to the king to “protect the Holy Church from those who have no faith in Jesus Christ.”¹⁶⁶ As discussed in Introduction, the sword of the Bagratid King Gagik II mentioned by Matthew of Edessa might have been extant at the Cilician royal palace.

In 1908, Bishop Trdat Palean of the Diocese of Kesaria (Kayseri) published an article about a sword of King Lewon I, which is considered to be a later copy or a falsification produced for commercial purposes¹⁶⁷. The sword was seen by Bishop Palean in 1892-1893 in Istanbul at the house of Haġi Karapet efendi Kiwlpēyea from T’alas (Kayseri), who had told the bishop that the real sword of King Lewon the Great was kept at his home, and that he had bought it in Malatya from a Kurd¹⁶⁸. On this sword, according to Palean’s description, there are images of a crowned person with a scepter, and of a religious person, below whose figure is written “Saint Nersēs”, likely meaning Nersēs of Lambron. Another inscription on the sword reads: ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՄԻՍ ԱՄԻ ՏԵԱՌՆՆ ՌՃՂԷ – *Made in the City of Sis in the Year 1197*¹⁶⁹. The fact that in 1197 Nersēs is mentioned as “saint”¹⁷⁰, and that the year of the production of the sword is not given in Armenian Era (646 A.E. = 1197 A.D.), suggests that the sword is a later production. Its description and inscriptions are similar to the sword attributed to the last king of the Cilician kingdom, Lewon V Lusignan, which too is a later creation (Fig. 251).

In 1924, Vardan Hac’uni mentioned that, in several collections and museums of the world, there are other swords ascribed to King Lewon I, but their authenticity as well is suspicious¹⁷¹.

¹⁶⁶ Siwrmēean, *Catalog*, 28; Ališan, *Sisuan*, 474; Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique*, 331.

¹⁶⁷ Trdat Palean, “*Hayoc’ Lewon A. tagawori surə* [The Sword of the Armenian King Lewon I],” *HA* 11 (1908): 332-333.

¹⁶⁸ Palean, “The Sword of Lewon I,” 333.

¹⁶⁹ Palean, “The Sword of Lewon I,” 333.

¹⁷⁰ Although several years after his death (1198), Nersēs of Lambron is called by his disciples with sanctifying epithets, this was rather done for purposes to honor their renowned teacher.

¹⁷¹ Hac’uni, *History of Ancient Armenian Costumes*, 245.

1.5. THE REPRESENTATION OF LEWON I IN MS LAT. ZANETTI 399 (=1610), BIBLIOTECA MARCIANA

A generic image of King Lewon I is depicted in a manuscript dating from the first half of the fourteenth century (Figs. 39ab)¹⁷². This manuscript is one of the first extant examples of the *Chronologia Magna* of Paolino Veneziano and is currently kept at the Biblioteca Marciana, in Venice (MS Lat. Zanetti 399 (=1610), fol. 80v). A mirror image is depicted right nearby, on the left side of Lewon, representing Guy Lusignan, King of Jerusalem and Cyprus. The only intention of these two images was obviously to demonstrate the royal status of the depicted individuals, who are shown identical to each other and to other royal portraits of the same manuscript.

Conclusion: A general conclusion to be drawn from the analysis of Lewon I's extant images is that these portray his official, institutional² identity, reinforced with the prominent presence of royal insignia that were bestowed upon the king during the inauguration ceremony. With no exception, Lewon's regalia, as well as the iconographic models which were used to fashion his posture and appearance, replicate the Western and Frankish imperial and royal imagery. The set of regalia visible in his images closely follows the Armenian version of the coronation *ordo*, which was prepared at the eve of the coronation by using an exemplar deriving from the so-called *Mainzer Krönungsordo*. Thus, the ceremonial-liturgical and visual-artistic evidence reflect well the pro-Western orientation of Cilician kingship during its formative period at the end of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. No wonder therefore that, notwithstanding the awareness of royal symbols and courtly etiquettes of Greater Armenia, the visual representation of Lewon I was predominantly related to those of the Holy Roman emperors, Frederick Barbarossa and Henry VI more particularly, whose expansionist Levantine politics made the creation of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia possible.

Nevertheless, the memory of the previous Armenian kingdom of the Bagratids of Ani, likely also some *realia* belonging to the last Bagratid King Gagik II, played a no less important role in constructing the ideology of Cilician kingship, for the Rubenid

¹⁷² Mutafian (ed.), *Roma-Armenia*, 141; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, tome II, Fig. 93.

sovereigns justified their legitimacy by bringing forth their Bagratid ancestors and, in accordance with the previous Armenian historiographical tradition, by ascribing the ruling royal dynasties legendary and biblical origins. This aspect greatly shaped Cilician political rhetoric during the time of Lewon I but also thereafter.

Another issue regarding the official images of Lewon I is that the subsequent rulers of Cilicia largely made use of the iconographic models implemented on the coins and bullae of this first king, whose idealized person will be recalled more than once in the royal ideology developed in the decades to come. This aspect will become more evident in the following chapters.

King Lewon I died on the 1st of May 1219 and was buried at the monastery of Akner according to his own will. As becomes clear from textual sources, soon after the burial ceremony, Lewon's body was transferred to the capital of Sis to be re-buried at the Church of the Holy Mother of God, while his entrails remained at Akner¹⁷³.

¹⁷³ *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk'*, 222-223; *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 93-94; *Kirakos Ganjakec'i*, 188; *Guiragos de Kantzag*, 427-428; *Vahram Rabuni*, 217; *Vahram's Chronicle*, 45; *Het'um Patmič'. Patmut'iwn azgin Ėrobinanc', tē orpēs tirec'in Kilikio* [*Het'um the Historian, History of the Ėrubenid Dynasty, and of How They Possessed Cilicia*], in *BC*, vol. II, 104. See also: Petros Hovhannisyan, "Ssi kat'olikosaran [Catholicosate of Sis]," in *CAE*, 921. For the burial of Lewon I and relevant aspects, see: Rapti, "Featuring the King," 321-323.

CHAPTER 2.

IMAGES OF KING HET'UM I AND QUEEN ZAPĒL

“They gave the young woman [Queen Zapēl] to He'tum, son of Kostand, a magnanimous and intelligent youth, who was a personable, strong, and handsome young man.”

Vardan Arewelc'i, *Historical Compilation*, 13th c.

“Hethum was an excellent and gracious king; fine and handsome in body and soul; religious, kind, compassionate, upright, bountiful, and generous.”

Vahram Rabuni, *Chronicle of the Armenian Kingdom in Cilicia*, 13th c.

With these words is described the nearly ten-year-old son of Lord Kostandin of Paperon, Het'um, whose accession to the Cilician throne in 1226 was preceded with a deep political crisis, involving the Armenian kingdom, the neighboring principality of Antioch and the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm, and, occasionally, the Crusaders and Ayyubids.

2.1. THE SUCCESSION CRISIS AND THE RISE OF THE HET'UMIDS ON THE RŪBENID THRONE

The military and political success of the Rūbenid princes during the eleventh and twelfth centuries was rewarded with the creation of a kingdom in Cilicia. Lewon I Rūbenid died in 1219, leaving as heiress his four-year-old daughter Zapēl, also known as Elizabeth or Isabella of Armenia. After the assassination of *Palli*¹⁷⁴ Sir Atan (1221), who was responsible for and the guardian of the young Zapēl, the *išxanac' išxan* (Prince of Princes) Konstandin, owner of Barjrberd and Paperon, was named the new *palli* of the young heiress and of the Cilician state.

As Zapēl was the only legitimate successor of Lewon I, the latter was actively engaged in diplomatic negotiations in the last years of his life and reign, trying to forge

¹⁷⁴ From French *bailli*. In Armenian sources, the term is used to designate a regent.

an effective alliance for the future Armenian queen to whom the Cilician kingdom would pass after his death¹⁷⁵. It is worth to remind here that several years before Zapēl was born, Lewon had already named Āruben Raymond his legitimage successor, for whom, in 1210-1211, he had asked and received a crown from the German Emperor Otto IV (see Chapter 1.2)¹⁷⁶. On 14 February 1216, Lewon captured Antioch and initiated the coronation ceremony of Āruben Raymond as Prince of Antioch, which was performed by the Latin Patriarch of Antioch, Peter of Ivrea in the Church of Saint Peter¹⁷⁷. However, a few months after his accession to the throne, Āruben Raymond expelled King Lewon, his erstwhile protector, from Antioch¹⁷⁸ – perhaps in an attempt to demonstrate his faithfulness to the local Franks, who did not have much confidence in their half-Armenian, half-Frankish prince, who occupied the Antiochian throne by the unpeaceful initiative of the Armenian king.

In the same year when Āruben Raymond was installed in Antioch (1216), Princesse Zapēl was born from the second marriage of Lewon I with Sibylle Lusignan, sister of King Hugh I of Cyprus¹⁷⁹. Lewon hurried to proclaim her the new successor to

¹⁷⁵ From his first marriage with Isabelle of Antioch, Lewon had a daughter, Stephanie-Rita of Armenia, whom in 1214 the Armenian king married to John of Brienne, King of Jerusalem (1210-1225) and later co-ruler of the Latin kingdom of Constantinople (1229-1237). In 1216, Stephanie and John of Brienne had a son, named John, whose rights over the Armenian throne preceded those of the newborn Zapēl, given that Stephanie was the eldest daughter of King Lewon. After the latter's death, the king of Jerusalem stood up for the rights of his wife and son, but gave up the following year, in 1220, when Stephanie and John died. On this marriage and the fight of John of Brienne for the Armenian throne, see: Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, Volume II, 242.

¹⁷⁶ In 1194, an agreement was signed between the principalities of Cilicia and Antioch, according to which, Alis (Alice), eldest daughter of Prince Āruben III Ārubenid and niece of the future king Lewon I, would marry Raymond, eldest son of Prince Bohemond III of Antioch: the child born from this marriage would be proclaimed as regent of both Cilicia and Antioch. Although because of the death of Raymond this marriage lasted only two years, the future regent, named Āruben (better known as Āruben Raymond or Raymond Āruben), was born soon after the death of his father (c. 1197). See: *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk'*, 206-207; *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 71-72. For the detailed analysis of this agreement and subsequent events, see: Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la Principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1940), 586; Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, Volume II, 210-226, esp. 210-211; Jochen Burgdorf, "Der antiochenische Erbfolgekrieg," *Ordines Militares XVIII* (2013): 219-239.

¹⁷⁷ Lewon's capture of Antioch is mentioned in an Armenian manuscript colophon dating from 1216. See: Norair Pogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, Volume II (Jerusalem: Armenian Convent Printing Press, 1967), 253. For other Armenian sources, see: *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk'*, 219-220; *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 89-90; *Chronicle of Het'um the Historian*, 63; *General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Mekhitarist Library in Venice*, Volume VI, 225. See also: Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades*, 621.

¹⁷⁸ *La Chronographie de Bar Hebraeus*, volume 2, 208.

¹⁷⁹ The marriage of Lewon I and Sibylle took place in 1210, and Zapēl, according to the chronicles of King Het'um II and Het'um the Historian, was born in 1216. See: *Het'um the Historian, History of the Ārubenid*

his throne, at the same time renouncing his earlier decision about Āruben Raymond's regency¹⁸⁰. The latter's rule as Prince of Antioch lasted three years (1216-1219), during which he issued princely bullae, featuring him as horseman (Fig. 40), as well as coins on which the prince is shown with a helmet (Figs. 41abc)¹⁸¹ – similar to the iconography of those coins minted by the successive rulers of Antioch¹⁸².

After what the Armenians considered as the betrayal of Āruben Raymond, the long-planned goal of Lewon I to unify the Principality of Antioch with the Armenian kingdom fell apart. Having his daughter as heiress, the Armenian king entered into new discussions with King Andrew II of Hungary (1205-1235) with a new succession project in mind. In 1218, when Andrew II was returning from his failed Fifth Crusade, he visited the Armenian kingdom and signed in Tarsus an agreement with Lewon I, according to which his son Andrew would marry the infant Queen Zapēl and share with her the rights over the Armenian throne¹⁸³. But this did not happen, since after the death of Lewon I the Hungarian king refused to send his son to Cilicia¹⁸⁴. Under these circumstances, with the support of *marajaxt* (marshal) Vahram and several Armenian and Greek barons of Cilicia, Āruben Raymond hurried to stand up for his erstwhile rights over the Armenian throne, capturing the cities of Tarsus and Adana. This initiative met with a swift response from *Palli* Kostandin of Paperon, the actual ruler of the state. He suppressed the revolt and imprisoned Āruben Raymond and Marshal Vahram¹⁸⁵.

The royal throne continued to remain vacant, and the members of the Armenian palace turned again to neighboring Antioch. They came to an agreement with Bohemond IV, Prince of Antioch and Count of Tripoli, and married Zapēl to Philip, one of the sons

Dynasty, 104; *Chronicle of Het'um the Historian*, 62-63; *Het'um B-i Taregrut'yunā (XIII d.) [Chronicle of King Het'um II (13th Century)]*, in *BC*, vol. I, 79.

¹⁸⁰ *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk'*, 220; *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 90.

¹⁸¹ For the bullae and coins of Āruben Raymond, see: Gustave Schlumberger, Ferdinand Chalandon & Adrien Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique – tome XXXVII (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1943), 36; D. M. Metcalf, "Three Recent Parcels of Helmet Deniers of Bohemund III of Antioch Concealed at about the Time of Saladin's Conquests," in *Coinage in the Latin East: The Fourth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, edited by P. W. Edbury and D. M. Metcalf, BAR International Series 77 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1980), 137-145.

¹⁸² Compare, for example, with the coins published in: Adrian J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East* (London – New York: Routledge, 2005), 180 (Plate 6.19).

¹⁸³ *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk'*, 221; *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 91-92.

¹⁸⁴ *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk'*, 225; *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 96.

¹⁸⁵ For this rebellion and related events, see: *La Chronographie de Bar Hebraeus*, volume 2, 223-224; *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk'*, 223-224; *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 94-95; *Chronicle of Het'um the Historian*, 64.

of Bohemond. In this way, the two Christian states would be connected by dynastic ties, as was initially planned by Lewon I but, almost ironically, put into execution by Lewon's rival family who were now *de facto* governing the Armenian kingdom. This marriage, arranged by *Palli* Kostandin, took place in 1222 in Tarsus¹⁸⁶. Through his marriage with the Armenian queen Philip became the legitimate ruler of Armenia Cilicia (1222-1225), "being anointed to be the second king," as Het'um the Historian (Hayton of Corycus) would write several decades later¹⁸⁷.

It soon turned out that this marriage too would not help to overcome the succession crisis. During his short-time séjour in the Cilician palace, King Philip seems to have acted with intentions that would put the Armenian kingdom into subordination to the Principality of Antioch. For example, soon after his becoming king, Philip started to transfer to Antioch the royal treasury, including the crown of Lewon I, which, as discussed in Chapter 1, held an important symbolic and legitimizing function for Cilician statehood¹⁸⁸. This caused a revolt among the Armenian nobility, prompting *Palli* Kostandin to gather troops and pursue Philip and his young spouse Zapēl, who had fled the capital. Arresting Philip in the region of Ĵahan (Ceyhan), Kostandin imprisoned him in the Castle of T'il (Fig. 42), situated on the left bank of the Ĵahan River, close to Sis (now Kozan)¹⁸⁹. According to the Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr, Philip's reign as king of Armenia lasted only one year¹⁹⁰. The tension between Antioch and the Cilician Armenian

¹⁸⁶ Sis is sometimes mentioned as the place where the wedding and anointment ceremony of Zapēl and Philip took place. However, this view is not in accordance with the textual sources. Tarsus is the city mentioned for this event by Het'um the Historian. See: *Het'um the Historian, History of the Ĵubenid Dynasty*, 104.

¹⁸⁷ *Het'um the Historian, History of the Ĵubenid Dynasty*, 104; *Chronicle of Het'um the Historian*, 64. On the marriage of Zapēl and Philip and subsequent events, see also: *La Chronographie de Bar Hebraeus*, volume 2, 224; *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk'*, 225; *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 95-96; *Kirakos Ganjakec'i*, 188-189; *Guiragos de Kantzag*, 428-429; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, §80, 20; *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 10; *Yohannu Dardeli Ĵamanakagrut'iwn hayoc'*, 15-16; *Chronicle of Davit' of Baleš*, 344.

¹⁸⁸ *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk'*, 225; *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 96; *Kirakos Ganjakec'i*, 189; *Guiragos de Kantzag*, 428; *Vardan vardapet. Havak'umn patmut'ean Vardanay vardapeti [The Historical Compilation of Vardan Vardapet]*, (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1862), 141. For the English translation, see: [Vardan Arewelc'i] "The Historical Compilation of Vardan Arewelc'i," translation and notes by Robert W. Thomson, *DOP* 43 (1989): 213; *Chronicle of Davit' of Baleš*, 344.

¹⁸⁹ Also known as T'il Hamtun, now Toprakkale in the Osmaniye region, Turkey. On the location of the medieval fortress of T'il, see also: T. Kh. Hakobyan, St. T. Melik-Bakhshyan, & H. Kh. Barsegyan, *Hayastani ev harakic' šrĵanneri telanunneri baĵaran [Dictionary of Toponymy of Armenia and Adjacent Territories]*, Volume 2 (Yerevan: Yerevan State University Press, 1988), 451.

¹⁹⁰ *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr*, Part 3 (1193-1231), 279.

kingdom grew anew, and the Prince of Antioch not only refused to return the royal treasury and royal crown, but prepared an invasion on Cilicia with the intention – or perhaps pretext – to liberate his son¹⁹¹. With the military support of Atabeg Shihāb al-Dīn, the Ayyubid ruler of Aleppo, the Armenians were able to resist, and Bohemond's attack failed¹⁹². In the same year (1225), after two years of imprisonment, Philip was killed in the prison by poisoning, leaving the Armenian throne vacant again¹⁹³.

In 1226, *Palli* Kostandin arranged a new marriage for Queen Zapēl, choosing this time as groom his own son Het'um, who at the time of the wedding was around ten years old. This decision of *Palli* Kostandin was apparently agreed with the Armenian catholicos and barons, who, after the failed alliances with Āruben Raymond and Philip and within the growing Seljuk menace, warmly supported the dynastic union between the two Armenian – formerly rival – houses of the Ārubenids and the Het'umids. The latter are referred to as such after the name of the young King Het'um I (1226-1269/70). However, as it becomes clear from textual sources, the first Het'umid kings, including especially Het'um I, did not hurry to represent themselves as Het'umids, preferring instead to emphasize the maternal line of this union, Queen Zapēl, upon whom was based Het'um I's legitimacy. The wedding ceremony, at which Het'um was also anointed and crowned as king, took place in Tarsus¹⁹⁴, as had been the case of the previous two kings, Lewon I and Philip.

The joint ceremony of wedding and coronation of Zapēl and Het'um was performed by the newly elected Catholicos Kostandin of Barjrbard, who, during the reign of Het'um I, played a significant role in the kingdom's religious, cultural and political life. It was also under his patronage that the art of Armenian book illumination reached a new apogee in Hromkla, the Catholicosial See, where many luxurious manuscripts, some containing royal and princely imagery, were produced in the course of the thirteenth century. It is almost regrettable that from the reigning period of Het'um I – which was the longest in the history of the Armenian kingdom (44 years) – no Armenian manuscript has been preserved with an identified image of this king. This lacuna is covered by Het'um's

¹⁹¹ *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr*, Part 3 (1193-1231), 279-280.

¹⁹² *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr*, Part 3 (1193-1231), 280.

¹⁹³ On the death of Philip, see: *La Chronographie de Bar Hebraeus*, volume 2, 225.

¹⁹⁴ *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk'*, 225; *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 96; *Vahram Rabuni*, 219; *Vahram's Chronicle*, 47; *Het'um the Historian, History of the Ārubenid Dynasty*, 105; *Chronicle of Davit' of Baleš*, 344.

numismatic images, which allow one to trace the strategies of political images during the eventful decades between 1220s and 1260s. Furthermore, Het'um's many portrayals in Western historiographical manuscripts – anachronistic though – give us an idea of how the image of the Armenian king(dom) of Cilicia was perceived in the West. This is particularly visible in the artistic interpretations of the historical realities of the Mongol period, which marked a new turn in Cilicia's foreign politics under Het'um I.

2.2. HET'UM I AND THE POLITICS OF OFFICIAL IMAGES

Queen Zapēl and the legitimizing images of Het'um I

Perhaps none of the Cilician Armenian kings needed to justify his legitimacy more than King Het'um I did. No surprise therefore that the extant portraiture of this king and other artefacts related to him, as well as the contemporaneous textual sources, especially those originating from the royal court, regularly emphasize Het'um's "ideal" rulership, without failing to mention his spouse Zapēl the Ārubenid, the lawful sovereign of the state. In official communication as well, this aspect was well respected: unlike other Cilician rulers who, in official documents, merely mention their own name and ancestry, Het'um I had to make an almost mandatory mention of Queen Zapēl, through whom the Armenian king identified and represented himself¹⁹⁵. Furthermore, Vahram Rabuni (Vahram of Edessa), who was the secretary of Het'um's son and successor Lewon II, mentions Zapēl first when describing the reign of Het'um: "*The lawful heiress of the empire, Isabella, governed the country together with her husband, and led a pious, religious life.*"¹⁹⁶ Similarly, a thirteenth-century colophon mentions that the given manuscript was produced "during the reign of the by-Christ-crowned King Het'um and of the God-loving Queen Zapēl."¹⁹⁷ Another minor text authored by a certain scribe Vahan, twice refers to "Lewon's daughter Zapēl" as "paron", while in the same text King Het'um's name is recalled nowhere¹⁹⁸.

The dynastic union with the Ārubenids in the 1220s was so important for the Het'umid rulers that even a generation later, when identifying Het'um's and Zapēl's firstborn son, King Lewon II (1270/71-1289), the colophon-writers of the royal manuscripts did not forget to mention this crucial union. In the principal colophon of the *Breviary of Lewon II* (see Chapter 3.4), we read that the codex was produced by the order

¹⁹⁵ For example, in a document dating from 1236, addressed to the German Teutonic Order, King Het'um calls himself "*ego Eython [Het'um], Christi Dei fidelis rex Armenie filius Konstantini stirpis regie et Elisabeth regina eiusdem, filia quiescentis in Christo Leonis regis*". Langlois, *Le Trésor des chartes d'Arménie*, 141. For further discussion, see: Halfter, "Corona regni Armeniae," 145, n. 48.

¹⁹⁶ *Vahram's Chronicle*, 47. For the original text in Armenian, see: *Vahram Rabuni*, 219.

¹⁹⁷ For the original text in Armenian, see: Tanielian, *Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts*, 324 (MS A 86).

¹⁹⁸ Norair Pogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, Volume I (Jerusalem: Armenian Convent Printing Press, 1966), 245-246.

of King Lewon, “son of Het’um, who is the son of Kostandin, and – from maternal line – son of Queen Zapēl, who is the son [!] of Lewon, the first Rubenid king of the Armenians.”¹⁹⁹

The Armenian images of Het’um I, preserved exclusively on his coins, underscore various aspects of his kingship, among them his legitimacy, which, because of the above-discussed precarious political situation, needed to be reinforced by other – in this case, visual-material – means. I will start with the analysis of the images in which King Het’um I is portrayed together with Queen Zapēl (Figs. 43-45). One must first notice that such an iconography is unique in Cilician Armenian coinage, for these are the only Cilician coins containing an image of a queen. The intention was clear – to emphasize the legitimacy of Het’um’s rule that was clearly based on Zapēl’s lineage. While the political rhetoric promoted by the state apparatus legitimized young Het’um’s reign by implementing idealizing characterizations, the material images representing this king did the same by – perhaps more influential – visual means.

The Het’um-Zapēl coins are silver *trams* and, according to Paul Bedoukian, were continuously minted until the end of Het’um’s reign (1269/70) – even though the queen died in 1252²⁰⁰. These coins are also believed to be the so-called *bissancios stauratos* (bezants bearing a cross) that are mentioned in several documents dating from the thirteenth century²⁰¹. Slight differences in the iconography and legends – evolved over the long period of issuance of this type of coins – made it possible to classify the Zapēl-Het’um *trams* into seven groups²⁰². I will not go into the details of different dies that have determined numismatic classifications, but will only concentrate on their iconography, which is almost the same in all preserved specimens.

On the obverse, the royal couple is depicted standing and holding together a long cross between them. Het’um is on the right side of the cross, while Zapēl on the left, closely resembling the standard iconography of Emperor Constantine and his mother Empress Helena. That this iconographic model was well known in the artistic *milieus*

¹⁹⁹ For the original text in Armenian, see: Nersessian, *A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the British Library*, volume I, 381.

²⁰⁰ Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 82.

²⁰¹ Paul Z. Bedoukian, “*T’ē inč’ ēin «bissancios stauratos» koč’uac Kilikiyoy haykakan dramnerə* [What Were the Armenian Coins of Cilicia Called “bissancios stauratos”?]” *HA* 5-8 (1959): 241-249, esp. 247.

²⁰² Paul Z. Bedoukian, “*Two Hoards of Hetoum-Zabel Trams*,” *Museum Notes (American Numismatic Society)* 8 (1958): 145-180, esp. 149, 152.

close to the Het'umids can be further confirmed by a royal manuscript, the *Lectionary of Crown Prince Het'um* (the latter was the grandson of Zapēl and Het'um), in which a marginal miniature shows Helena and Constantine holding together a patriarchal cross (Fig. 46, see also Fig. 65). The visual imitation of the Constantine-Helena couple in Het'um-Zapēl coins was apparently aimed at highlighting the Christian aspect of their shared rulership. This is further shown in the accompanying legend, inscribed clockwise around the figures of Zapēl and Het'um: ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԻԲՆՆ ԿՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ Է – THE POWER BELONGS TO GOD – an eloquent statement of the sovereigns' being “under the power of God, the only true king”²⁰³.

There is no textual reference to Zapēl, whereas Het'um is named in the inscription of the reverse side: ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ – HET'UM, KING OF THE ARMENIANS. This side is occupied with the image of a crowned lion, moving to the right. On some coins, the lion holds a cross with its left paw, while in others its left paw is raised in front of its chest.

There exists another type of Cilician *trams* with an identical iconography as Zapēl-Het'um coins but with different legends. The side showing a crowned lion is accompanied with the legend mentioning King Lewon: ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅ – LEWON, KING OF THE ARMENIANS, while the side featuring the royal couple flanking the central cross has the following inscription: ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԻԲՆ ԿՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ – POWER OF GOD. Being iconographically identical to Zapēl-Het'um silver *trams*, these coins have long escaped scholars' attention as an individual type of coins. Although several specimens were catalogued in the previous decades, it was not until 2014 when all documented coins of this type were brought together by Yeghia Nercessian, who referred to them as *pre-coronation trams* of Lewon II²⁰⁴. According to Nercessian, the figures flanking the cross represent Zapēl and Het'um, while the legend on the opposite side mentioning King Lewon refers to their son, Lewon II. I agree with both the designation and the attribution proposed by Nercessian, but it seems to me that the male figure portrayed next to Queen Zapēl may be not her spouse Het'um but her son Lewon, whose name is also written on these mints. As we saw above and will have several occasions to

²⁰³ As stated in the thirteenth-century writings of Yovhannēs Pluz Erznac'i. Cf. above, n. 107.

²⁰⁴ Yeghia T. Nercessian, “Pre-Coronation Trams of Levon II,” ANJ 10/40 (2014): 55-59.

discuss it in the next chapter, Zapēl's dynastic identity played a crucial role in constructing the Het'umid kingship, such that both her husband and, later, their firstborn son, identified themselves through Zapēl and her Rubenid father Lewon. If textual sources, especially those produced in courtly and pro-courtly *milieu*, represented Lewon via her mother Zapēl, why visual sources – especially such official ones on coins – would not depict Lewon with Zapēl? This would be particularly meaningful in the case of the Zapēl-Lewon coins, for the iconographic model chosen for these *trams* takes its origin from the representation of Empress Helena and her son, Emperor Constantine.

Armeno-Seljuk bilingual coins and the equestrian image of Het'um I

Another political context that introduced a novelty in the official images of King Het'um I was the uneasy relationship of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia with the neighboring Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm. The material manifestations of these relations are bilingual silver *trams* with Armenian and Arabic legends, jointly minted by Het'um I and the two Seljuk sultans, Kayqubad I (1220-1237) (Fig. 49) and Kaykhosrow II (1237-1246) (Figs. 50-51). Apart from their historical importance, these coins are also unique in that some of them are the only dated Armenian medieval coins²⁰⁵.

The identities of the Seljuk sultans are represented by uniconic means – by the Arabic inscription, which takes the entire surface of the respective side of the bilingual coins. Considering the side having the ruler's image as the obverse, we see here the Armenian king on horseback holding in his right hand a scepter topped with a *fleur-de-lis*. The equestrian image of Het'um I is also depicted on his copper *kardez* coins, to be discussed shortly after. On various dies, around the figure of Het'um, one can see such symbols and field marks as cross and star (Fig. 49); cross, pellet and crescent (Fig. 50); cross, crescent and forked pellet (Fig. 51). This image of Het'um I is repeated on the

²⁰⁵ Klemēs Sipilean, *Rubinean t'agawornerun minč'ew hima č'hratarakuac dramnerə* [Some Hitherto Unpublished Coins of the Rubenid Kings] (Vienna: Mechitaristen-Buchdruckerei, 1892), 16-22; N. Magsutyan, "Kilikio Het'um arājin t'agavorə ew ir erklezvyan dramnerə [Cilician King Het'um I and His Bilingual Coins]," *ĒM* 1 (1952): 27-29; Paul Z. Bedoukian, "The Bilingual Coins of Hetoum I, (1226-1270) King of Cilician Armenia," *Museum Notes (American Numismatic Society)* 7 (1957): 219-230; Paul Z. Bedoukian, "A Hoard of Bilingual Trams of Hetoum I of Cilician Armenia," *Museum Notes (American Numismatic Society)* 23 (1978): 149-160; For detailed attribution, dating and a large bibliography on these coins, see: Yeghia T. Nercessian, *Attribution and Dating of Armenian Bilingual Trams*, ANS - Special Publications No. 2 (Los Angeles: Armenian Numismatic Society, 1983).

obverse of both Het'um-Kayqubad and Het'um-Kaykhosrow coins. The Armenian legend reads: ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳՍԻՆԻ ՀԱՅՈՅ – HET'UM, KING OF THE ARMENIANS.

The design of the reverse of the Het'um-Kayqubad coins can in turn be divided into two basic groups: coins having ornamental scrolls at the top and bottom of the two-line Arabic legend (Fig. 49), and coins with four-line legends without ornamental scrolls²⁰⁶. Yeghia Nercessian believes that the coins with ornamental scrolls may have been minted earlier than those without scrolls²⁰⁷. The Arabic legends of the first and second groups are translated as follows, respectively: *The Exalted Sultān Kaiqobād, Son of Kaikhusrew* (two lines), and *The Sultān, the Exalted, 'Alā' Al-Dīn Kaiqobād, Son of Kaikhusrew* (four lines)²⁰⁸. The minting of these *trams* should have started soon after Het'um's becoming king (see below) and could have continued until the death of Kayqubad I (1236). Until we reconstruct the historical backdrop of Armeno-Seljuk coins below, let me briefly describe Het'um-Kaykhosrow *trams/dirhams* as well.

The Arabic legends on Het'um-Kaykhosrow *trams* are more informative, as they also bear information about the date and the place of minting. This is mentioned in the circular legend, whose counterclockwise reading, in the specimens published by Nercessian, indicates that the given Het'um-Kaykhosrow coins were struck in the city of Sis between the years A.H. 637 and 641 (1239/40-1243/44 A.D.). The central legend has three lines and reads as follows: *The Sublime Sultān, Protector of the World and the Faith, Kaikhusrew, Son of Kaiqobād*²⁰⁹.

The minting of joint coins by the rival Cilician and Seljuk states requires a brief overview of how Armeno-Seljuk relations developed since the early 1220s, when both Kayqubad and Het'um came to power. Yet, if the youthful Het'um's becoming king was a project of his father aimed at overcoming the succession crisis, the new Seljuk sultan had more ambitious and expansionist plans that would greatly impact neighboring Cilicia, forcing the newly minted Armenian king to recognize Kayqubad's superiority. Various, mostly non-Armenian, sources mention that during the years between 1220 and 1226,

²⁰⁶ Nercessian, *Attribution and Dating of Armenian Bilingual Trams*, 12.

²⁰⁷ Nercessian, *Attribution and Dating of Armenian Bilingual Trams*, 13.

²⁰⁸ Nercessian, *Attribution and Dating of Armenian Bilingual Trams*, 12.

²⁰⁹ Nercessian, *Attribution and Dating of Armenian Bilingual Trams*, 13.

when the Armenians were occupied with finding a suitable candidate for the royal throne, the Cilician frontiers were often attacked by the new Seljuk sultan, who managed to gain control of several important fortresses, among which the sea fortress of Kalonoros (Alanya) is particularly mentioned²¹⁰. These invasions were apparently in line with the Crimean campaign (the Sudak campaign) undertaken by Kayqubad I in the 1220s, with the aim of securing for his sultanate the important commercial routes from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea²¹¹. The regular incursions into Cilicia and Crimea in the first half of the 1220s and their sudden cessation around 1227 apparently resulted in certain commercial regulations and obligation. The issue of the Armeno-Seljuk bilingual coins bearing the names of the “king of the Armenians” and the “exalted sultan” is most likely a reflection of a new geopolitical balance that had been reached. Their issue continued also during the next sultan Kaykhosrov II, who inherited these privileges from his late father, and was stopped sometime after the mid-1240s, when the Mongols took the control over Anatolia, and the Armenians accepted their suzerainty, openly fighting the Seljuks in the decisive battle of Köse Dağ (1243).

Concerning the date when the issue of Het’um-Kayqubad coins started, numismatists generally consider the first year to be 1226 (when Het’um I ascended the throne)²¹², which seems quite possible, given that Kayqubad’s continuous attacks stopped after that year, probably after he received sufficient concessions from the Armenian side. Since at that time King Het’um was a child, the agreement with the Seljuk sultan must have been made by *Palli* Kostandin, Het’um’s father and the actual ruler of the state. Kirakos Ganjakec’i – although he does not mention the minting of Armeno-Seljuk coins, nor does he refer to the Seljuk sultan’s conquest of Cilician fortresses – writes that the Great Prince Kostandin, who wisely took care of the kingdom’s affairs, “*made love and*

²¹⁰ *La Chronographie de Bar Hebraeus*, volume 2, 233 (for the siege of Kalonoros in 1223), and 241 (for the siege of “the majority of Cilician fortresses” in 1226); *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr*, Part 3 (1193-1231), 280 (mentions the conquest of four Armenian fortresses in 1225).

²¹¹ For the Sudak campaign and its commercial-economical context, involving also Cilician Armenia, see: Andrew C. S. Peacock, “The Saljūq Campaign against the Crimea and the Expansionist Policy of the Early Reign of ‘Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 16/No. 2 (Jul. 2006): 133-149, esp. 143-145.

²¹² Bedoukian, “*The Bilingual Coins of Hetoum I*,” 220; Nercessian, *Attribution and Dating of Armenian Bilingual Trams*, 27-28.

*union with the sultun of Rūm, whose name was Aladin [Kayqubad] and who had many lands in his possession.*²¹³

An indirect manifestation of Cilician-Seljuk relations of this period might also be the penetration of the Armenian term *tagawor/takfur* (that is, “king”) into Turkish – a process, which the linguists date to the thirteenth century²¹⁴.

Returning to the equestrian image of Het’um I on the Armeno-Seljuk bilingual *trams* and considering that their issue began soon after, we see that the king is represented here as a mature man, despite the fact that he was a child at the time of his accession. As discussed in Introduction, similar visual illusion was also implemented in Ganjasar, in the image of the young At’abek, the future prince of Arc’ax (Fig. 17). In this respect, it is worth to observe here that on the Zapēl-Het’um coins, Het’um is depicted with a beard – apparently aimed at covering his tender age that could have been perceived as unsuitable for a king. All these examples and several others to be discussed later come to confirm the rejection of natural likeness in artistic images of medieval rulers, which were produced to visualize but also to regularly affirm the political and propagandistic concerns of the depicted individual²¹⁵.

Royal insignia on the copper and gold coins of Het’um I

Het’um I also issued copper coins. According to the inscription carved on the reverse of the *tank* coins, these were struck in Sis, possibly also in Ayas. On the reverse, a single cross is depicted, accompanied with small ornaments. On the obverse, the Armenian king is represented on the throne, holding a *fleur-de-lis*-tipped scepter in his right hand, and a *globus cruciger* in his left (Fig. 52). These are the royal insignia, which Het’um was bestowed with during his coronation in 1226. Het’um’s inauguration ceremony is described in some detail in the Chronicle of Vahram Rabuni. The set of regalia listed by Vahram, as well as his reference to the king’s promise, show that Het’um’s consecration ceremony was performed according to the same rite as that of Lewon I – that is, by using the Armenian version of the *Mainzer Krönungsordo*:

²¹³ Kirakos Ganjakec’i, 190.

²¹⁴ Friedrich von Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, “Armenische Lehnwörter im Türkischen,” *HA* 4-5 (1911): 265-267.

²¹⁵ For the utilization of the rulers’ bodily appearances for consolidating the political and institutional power, see: Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton – New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957).

*Hethum was then anointed king of Armenia; he was crowned with a crown of gold, and held a consecrated sceptre of gold in his hand, with a globe mounted in gold; he was placed on a high gold throne, and having these signs of royalty in his right hand, he promised to deal justice to the people at large and protect the poor from injustice*²¹⁶.

Among the copper coins of Het'um I, a smaller denomination, called *kardez*²¹⁷, was also minted. These were minted in the city of Sis, according to the legend. A variety of *kardez* coins shows the king seated cross-legged on a bench-like throne (obverse) and a cross accompanied with lines and a crescent moon (reverse) (Figs. 53ab). The iconography of the ruler seated in a cross-legged posture, which would gradually replace the Western-like enthroned posture of Cilician kings, appears for the first time in Cilician coinage in the time of Het'um I. Such an iconography might have been chosen in the period of the suzerainty of the Seljuk sultanate over the Armenian kingdom, when Het'um also minted the above-discussed bilingual *trams* with Kayqubad I and Kaykhosrow II. The Armeno-Seljuk economical-political consensus could also mean that the Cilician coins were in circulation within the Seljuk-controlled territories of Anatolia, which could have prompted a representation of the Armenian king in a rather oriental fashion.

A cross on the reverse is also depicted on another variety of *kardez* coins of Het'um I, the obverse of which represents the king on horseback (Figs. 54ab). The reverse legend mentions Sis as the place of minting. The cross is shown here accompanied, in its four quadrants, with stars or pellets.

The gold coins minted by Het'um I are called *tahekans*²¹⁸. The authenticity of these mints has been challenged in the past, but scholars have not yet found a consensus

²¹⁶ *Vahram's Chronicle*, 47. For the French translation, see: *Chronique rimée des rois de la Petite Arménie par le docteur Vahram d'Édesse*, Recueil des historiens des croisades: documents arméniens, tome I, trad. par Édouard Dulaurier, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1869), 517-518.

²¹⁷ *Kardez* or *k'artēz* – generally refers to medium-sized copper coins. See: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 48-49; Ališan, *Sisuan*, 385.

²¹⁸ *Tahekan*, *tahegan* or *dahekan* – gold or silver coin. One *tahekan* is equal to six *tanks*. See: Gabriël Awetik'eān, Xaç'atur Siwrmēlean & Mkrtič' Awgerean, *Nor bargirk' haykazeān lezui* [*New Dictionary of the Armenian Language*], volume 1 (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1836), 592; Victor Langlois, *Numismatique de l'Arménie au Moyen Age* (Paris: chez M. Camille Rollin, 1855), 10-11; Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 44.

on the matter²¹⁹. Iconographically, there is nothing new on these coins: on the obverse, a common image of the enthroned king is depicted, holding in his hands a cross and a *fleur-de-lis*, and on the reverse, a crowned lion, holding a cross-tipped scepter (Fig. 55). More complex are the inscriptions that accompany the described images. Around the image of the enthroned king, the following legend runs clockwise: *ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹՄԳՄԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ* – LEWON, KING OF THE ARMENIANS. On the reverse, where a crowned lion is depicted, the inscription reads as follows: *ՀԵԹ՝ՈՒՄ ԹՄԳՄԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ* – HET'UM, KING OF THE ARMENIANS – repeating thus both the iconography and the legend of the reverse of the Het'um-Zapēl silver coins (see above).

If the name Het'um is to be linked to King Het'um I, then it still remains uncertain which King Lewon is meant here, as the opinions about the Lewon-Het'um gold coins vary. Bedoukian has suggested that the image of the enthroned king represents the first king, Lewon I²²⁰. The other view is that the obverse image shall be identified with King Lewon II, the eldest son and future successor of Hetum I²²¹. If these coins are indeed authentic, then the below observations cast more arguments in favor of this second attribution.

As we saw above, in an attempt to strengthen his legitimacy, Het'um I was often stressing his alliance with the Ārubenids but he was doing this by bringing forth his spouse Zapēl, and not directly the latter's Ārubenid father, Lewon I. Het'um, after all, was a descendant from Lewon's rival family, and a joint image of these two rulers would undermine the legal and propagandistic efforts that the Het'umids made in order to secure

²¹⁹ On one occasion, Perč Karapetean has suggested that the gold coins of Het'um I might be modern inventions, but this view does not seem to be shared by other numismatists. For Karapetean's article, see: Perč M. Karapetean, "*Venetiki Mxit'arean miabanut'ean S. Lazaru t'angaranin haykakan hin dramneru hawak'aconerə. Ārubinean dramner* [The Coin Collections of the Mekhitarist Congregation in Venice, San Lazzaro: Ārubenid Coins]," *BM* 7-9 (1952): 166. Ruben Vardanyan, while considering these coins authentic, highlights the necessity of more in-depth studies. See: Ruben Vardanyan, "*Lewon I-i 'voskē dramnerə*" ["Gold Coins" of Lewon I]," *ANJ* 8/38 (2012): 1-30, esp. 11-12, 26-28.

²²⁰ Paul Z. Bedoukian, "*Kilikioy hay t'agaworneru oskedramnerə* [Gold Coins of Cilician Armenian Kings]," *HA* 1-3 (1960), 16-27, esp. 21-24; Paul Z. Bedoukian, "Medieval Armenian Coins," *REArm* VIII (1971): 386; Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 130.

²²¹ Ogotinos Sek'ulean, "*Lewon B.-i ocman dramnerə* [The Coronation (Anointment) Coins of Lewon II]," *HA* 4-6 (1960), 204-208. In his article dedicated to Cilician Armenian gold coins, Yeghia Nercessian presents both views about these coins but does not particularly support either of them. See: Yeghia T. Nercessian, "*Hašuekšir kilikioy hayoc' oskedramneru* [Inventory of Cilician Armenian Gold Coins]," *HHH* 18 (1998): 60-61, 68.

a smooth passage of the royal power. As for Lewon II (1270/71-1289), his accession to the throne proceeded in such delicate circumstances that his father Het'um I had to take care for an early confirmation of his son's reign, hoping to secure the fate of the Armenian state before the natural termination of his own reign. Notwithstanding that Lewon II was officially consecrated in 1271, he is called king in Armenian sources already in the last years of the 1260s. Furthermore, some textual sources when narrating the events of the 1260s mention the simultaneous reign of Het'um I and Lewon II, which shall be regarded in relation with Mongol overlords, whose confirmation was necessary for Lewon in order to access to his father's throne (see Chapter 3.1.3). Furthermore, at the end of his reign, Het'um renounced the throne in favor of his son, left secular life and became a monk, taking the name of Saint Macarius (*Makar* in Armenian) (Fig. 67)²²². This act has been explained by Het'um's advanced age and by his passion for monastic ideal. Without undermining the Armenian king's religious aspirations, it seems to me more likely that his becoming a monk was a pretext to accelerate the accession of his son to the throne (for more detail, see Chapter 3.1.3). If authentic, the gold *tahekan* coins bearing the names of two Armenian kings should be referred to Lewon II and Het'um I. If so, these could have been minted during the final few years of the reign of Het'um I as *souvenir*, propagandistic, coins and are therefore preserved in small quantities. Portraying the acting ruler and his designated successor was a common practice in the Middle Ages, and one of the precedences of this in the Armenian tradition are the near-identical representations of the rulers of Arc'ax in Ganjasar (see Introduction).

Non-extant images of Het'um I

In the mid-nineteenth century, Victor Langlois published two documents, issued by Het'um I, in which there are mentions of accompanying gold bullae of the king²²³. The first document is the marriage contract of Het'um's eldest daughter, Fimi (Euphemia), with Julian Grenier (Granier), the Count of Sidon, which took place in 1252²²⁴. The second document containing a remark about a gold chrysobul was jointly issued by King

²²² *Het'um the Historian, History of the Ārubenid Dynasty*, 105; *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 10-11; *Yohannu Dardeli Žamanakagrut' iwn hayoc'*, 16.

²²³ Langlois, "Documents pour servir à une sigillographie," 632.

²²⁴ Langlois, "Documents pour servir à une sigillographie," 632. See also: Langlois, *Le Trésor des chartes d'Arménie*, 143-146.

Het'um and Queen Zapēl in March 1245, and concerned the commercial privileges granted to Jacopo Tiepolo, the Doge of Venice²²⁵. Later, Langlois's research revealed another document with a mention of a gold bulla of Het'um I and Elizabeth (Zapēl), which was granted to the Teutonic Knights on 22 January 1236²²⁶. More than a century and a half have passed since Langlois published these documents, but the bullae of King Het'um I, described as being originally attached to these documents, have not yet surfaced.

As to the Queen Zapēl, her artistic representations are limited to the above-discussed Het'um-Zapēl silver *trams*. Textual sources represent her as a great patron of architectural monuments, among them the Church of Saint Mariane in Sis, and a hospital built in 1241, where, some authors claim, she personally took care of sick people²²⁷. This shows that Zapēl's participation in the kingdom's affairs was limited to reinforcing the pious image of the royal family and, as already shown above, to justify and fortify the legitimacy of her husband's rule.

King Het'um I and the Western crown of the Rubenids

The headgears worn by Het'um I in his numismatic images are stylized crowns, aimed at underscoring his royal status. The many dots visible on Het'um's crowns must be indications of the precious stones and pearls on his actual crown or, perhaps better, crowns, for he seems to have owned more than one crown.

As we saw above, when Philip occupied the Armenian throne, he sent the crown of King Lewon I to Antioch, to his father Prince Bohemond IV. At the time of the coronation of Het'um I, another crown must have been used, since Bohemond refused to

²²⁵ Langlois, "Documents pour servir à une sigillographie," 632. See also: Langlois, *Le Trésor des chartes d'Arménie*, 146-147.

²²⁶ Langlois, *Le Trésor des chartes d'Arménie*, 141-143.

²²⁷ *Colophons, 13th century*, 587; *Kirakos Ganjakec'i*, 365. For the English text, see: Boyle, "The Journey of Het'um I," 179; *Samuēl Anec'i ew šarunakolner, Žamanakagrut'yun Adamic' minčew 1776 t' [Samuel Anetsi and Continuator: The Chronicle from Adam to 1777]*, Critical Text, Study and Commentary by Karen Matevosyan, "Matenadaran" Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts (Yerevan: 'Nairi' Publishing House, 2014), 446. For the inscription written on the door of the hospital built by Queen Zapēl in 1241, see: Artashes Mat'evosyan, "Gevorg Skewrac'in Het'um B. t'agavori 'Čaşoc'i' horinič' ev pñazardoġ [Gevorg Skewrac'i as Scribe and Illustrator of the Lectionary of King Het'um II]," *ĒM* 2-3 (2007): n. 2. See also: Akaby Nassibian, "Zabel, Queen of Cilicia and Her Time," *HHH* 14 (1994): 46 (published also in *Les Lusignans et l'Outre-Mer: Actes du colloque*, Poitiers-Lusignan 20-24 octobre 1993 (Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, 1994), 211-217.

return the Armenian crown which Lewon had received from the Holy Roman Empire and which became the symbol of the Cilician statehood since 1198. We are not told which crown was used for the coronation of Het'um, but the story of this most precious regalia owned by Lewon I was fortunately unraveled in recent years thanks to Peter Halfter.

When in 2006 the fourth volume of the manuscript catalogue of the *Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck* was published, the manuscript with shelf mark No. 400 quickly attracted the attention of historians, as it was a compilation of hitherto unknown letters and documents of the emperors Frederick II and Conrad IV²²⁸. This manuscript contains a letter-document (Nr. 61 of the third part of Codex 400), written sometime between the summer of 1252 and autumn of 1253, which concerns King Het'um I and the Armenian crown that once belonged to Lewon I²²⁹. In that letter, Emperor Conrad IV informs the members of the Teutonic Military Order of Jerusalem that he is going to satisfy the request of his “faithful and loyal friend” King Hector (Het'um) of Armenia concerning the Armenian crown, which his father (Emperor Frederick II) had placed at his residence. This document immediately raises a range of interesting questions, such as why the Armenian crown was kept at the residence of Emperor Frederick II? Which of his residences does it actually refer to (Palermo, Foggia, or Acre)? And, finally, why, a few decades later, in the middle of the thirteenth century, his successor Conrad IV decided to send it back to the Armenians? A thorough historical analysis of these and relevant questions was done by Peter Halfter²³⁰. A general conclusion to be drawn from Halfter's studies is that after being transmitted to Antioch, the Armenian crown passed to Emperor Frederick II, probably when he visited the Principality of Antioch in 1228-1229 or on another occasion when he came into contact with Prince Bohemond. Because of the tense Armeno-Frankish relations due to the Antiochian conflict, instead of sending the crown back to the Armenian court, Frederick II seems to have preferred to leave it in the

²²⁸ *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck*, Teil 4 (Cod. 301-400), bearbeitet von Walter Neuhauser & Lav Šubarić, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Denkschriften – 327. Band (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005), 452-470; Josef Riedmann, “Unbekannte Schreiben Kaiser Friedrichs II. und Konrad IV. in einer Handschrift der Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck: Forschungsbericht und vorläufige Analyse,” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 62. Jahrgang / Heft 1 (2006): 135-200, esp. 167.

²²⁹ Peter Halfter, “La couronne d'Arménie: un document récemment découvert illustrant les relations entre l'empereur Frédéric II et le roi Hét'oum I^{er},” in *La Méditerranée des arméniens (XIIe-XVe siècle)*, sous la direction de Claude Mutafian (Paris: Geuthner, 2014), 102-103.

²³⁰ Halfter, “Corona regni Armeniae,” 131-161; Halfter, “La couronne d'Arménie,” 101-120.

Castle of Montfort, an important seat of the Teutonic Order, where the emperor might have gone from Acre. A suggestion has even been made by Shlomo Lotan of a specific location within the Montfort Castle where the Armenian crown may have been kept (Figs. 47-48)²³¹.

Even if in the mid-thirteenth century this Latin crown no longer had the importance it held during the time of Lewon I, its presence at the Armenian royal palace was apparently viewed as important due to its symbolic meaning as the crown of the first king²³². Peter Halfter has suggested that King Het'um and his father, *Palli* Kostandin, may have first requested the crown around 1237-1238, when their relationship with the Principality of Antioch became strenuous again, and the need for the Armenian crown was felt at the Armenian court²³³. The fact that Pope Gregory IX suddenly recognized the marriage of Het'um and Zapēl in 1239²³⁴ – seemingly in an act of defiance against Emperor Frederick II, with whom the Pope was in conflict – may further support this suggestion.

As promised in the document preserved in the Innsbruck manuscript, Conrad IV seems to have satisfied the request of King Het'um I in 1253. This act of the German Emperor must, however, be also viewed in the context of the new political climate affecting the Armenian kingdom which, by now, was entering into a new alliance with the Mongols. The delivery of the Armenian crown may have been initiated by Emperor Conrad IV with the aim of keeping some control on the newly formed Armeno-Mongol relations. In that very year (1253), after long diplomatic preparations, Het'um I undertook a long journey to the Mongol capital of Karakorum in order to meet the Great Khan, in hope to secure relatively favourable conditions for his kingdom. Since the Mongols' arrival substantial geopolitical transformations were taking place in the Eurasian region, obliging the Cilician ruling party to revise its foreign politics accordingly. The new political orientation did not however prevent the Armenian king from accepting from the

²³¹ Shlomo Lotan (with further readings), "The Transfer of the Armenian Crown to the Holy Land – A Text Case for the Strength of the Teutonic Military Order in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 15 (2010): 340, Fig. 2. In the picture (Fig. 48), by the "keep" is meant the room where the royal crown of Armenia is believed to have been kept.

²³² Halfter, "Corona regni Armeniae," 139.

²³³ Halfter, "Corona regni Armeniae," 157.

²³⁴ Bernard Hamilton, "The Armenian Church and the Papacy at the Time of the Crusades," *Eastern Churches Review: A Journal of Eastern Christendom* X/1-2 (1978): 79.

Holy Roman Empire the long-missing crown of Lewon I, which still held its dynastic and legitimizing values for Cilician Armenian kingship. The crown crafted for the first Rubenid king was especially welcome in 1253, for the year before (1252) Queen Zapēl had died, which could have raise questions about Het'um's legitimacy.

2.3. THE SUPPOSED SCEPTER OF HET'UM I AND THE PROBLEM OF STYLE

When discussing the iconography of the coins of Het'um I, the royal scepter was mentioned, topped with a *fleur-de-lis*, and held by the king in his right hand. The scepter, as mentioned earlier, was one of the regalia given to the Cilician king during his coronation ceremony – as was the analogous German tradition described in the *Mainzer Krönungsordo*, on the basis of which the Armenian version of the inauguration rite was prepared at the end of the twelfth century.

At the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem, a scepter is preserved, traditionally referred to as “The Scepter of King Het'um I” (Fig. 56). A good photograph of this scepter was published in the book *Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem* (1979), from where we learn that the scepter is 133.5 cm high and is made of gold and amber²³⁵. The lower part is entirely made of gold, and the upper part of amber, on which very fine gold ornaments are mounted. According to the authors of this book, the gold ornaments were probably added in the fifteenth or sixteenth century²³⁶. Later, Aram Ter-Ghevondian disagreed with this statement, arguing that the scepter and its decorations are original, as after the fall of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia no one would need to commission such an expensive royal symbol²³⁷.

I have not had the opportunity to study the scepter in person, but the ornamentation of its lower part seems to be in accordance with late medieval metallic and wooden objects originating from the Eastern Mediterranean region. This does not apply that I consider the scepter original, but that its post-medieval execution was done with certain knowledge of the decorative patterns widespread in the time of Het'um I.

By the twelfth century, various forms of interlaced ornaments, imitations of which are also found on the scepter in question, became characteristic for Armenian arts in such a variety of media as *xač'k'ars* (cross-stones), stone and wooden sculpture, and miniature

²³⁵ Narkiss (ed.), *Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem*, Figs. 11-12. For German translation, see: Bezalel Narkiss (ed.), *Armenische Kunst. Die faszinierende Sammlung des armenischen Patriarchats in Jerusalem*, in Zusammenarbeit mit Michael E. Stone, Historische Einführung von Avedis K. Sanjian (Stuttgart und Zürich: Belser Verlag, 1980), Figs. 8-9.

²³⁶ Narkiss (ed.), *Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem*, 146; Narkiss (ed.), *Armenische Kunst*, 146.

²³⁷ Ter-Ghevondian, “Silverwork in Cilician Armenia,” Part III, 311-312, 319.

paintings. Formed by geometrical and vegetal ornaments, these interlacing motifs lavishly fill in the surfaces, turning the respective object into a luxurious item. One such object is the wooden door of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, which was made by the masters Abraham and Arak'el in 1227 on the order of King Het'um I (Fig. 57). The door has become damaged over time, but its general style with interlaced and plant ornamentation is still well discernible. The matching inscriptions, written in the Arabic and Armenian languages, are placed on the upper part of the door. The three-line Armenian inscription reads as follows: “*In the Armenian Era 676 (1227 A.D.), this door of the Holy Virgin [Church] was made by the hands of priest Abraham and priest Arak'el during the reign of King Het'um, son of Kostande [Kostandin]. May God have mercy on the workers.*”²³⁸ The Arabic inscription, mentioning the Ayyubid sultan, reads: “This door was finished with the help of God be He exalted, in the days of our Lord the Sultan Malik al-Mu'azzam in the month of Muharram in the year 624.”²³⁹

Another artefact, which has come down to us from the time of King Het'um I and which bears an ornamental resemblance with contemporaneous objects originating from the Eastern Mediterranean, is a gilt silver bowl, kept at the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg (Fig. 58a)²⁴⁰. Richly decorated both inside and outside, this metalwork is also known as the *Vilgort Bowl*, as it was found in the village of Vilgort, in western Russia, in 1925. The high craftsmanship of the bowl and the choice of the engraved scenes, notably that of the biblical king David, speak for a royal object, which based on comparative stylistic analysis, can be dated to the end-twelfth-thirteenth centuries. In the following chapters we will see the importance of David in constructing the political

²³⁸ “Ի թուին շայոց ԶՃՃԶ (1227), կազմեցաւ դռնն սուրբ Աստուածածնիս, ձեռաւր տէր Աբրահամիս եւ տէր Առաքելոյ ի թագաւորութեան հայոց Հեթումոյ՝ որդւոյ Կոստանդէի: Քրիստոս Աստուած ողորմի աշխատաւորաց.” See: Yohannēs-Hannay vardapet, *Girk' patmut'ean srbov yev mec k'alak'is Astucoy Yerusalēmis [Book of History of Jerusalem, the Holy and Great City of God]* (Constantinople: printed by typographer Martiros, 1807), 284-285.

²³⁹ Translation from: Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, 162-163.

²⁴⁰ On this bowl, see: Iosif A. Orbeli, “Киликийская серебряная чаша конца XII века [A Cilician Silver Bowl from the End of the 12th Century],” in *I. A. Orbeli, Избранные труды [Selected Works]* (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1963), 323-330 (first published in *Памятники эпохи Руставели* (Leningrad: State Hermitage, 1938), 263-279); Nikolay Tokarsky, “Серебряная чаша из Вильгорта в собраниях Государственного Эрмитажа [The Silver Bowl from Vilgort in the Collections of the State Hermitage],” *PBH* 3 (1976): 222-236; Ter-Ghevondian, “Silverwork in Cilician Armenia,” Part III, Figs. 26-33. Boris Marshak, *Культурные связи Востока и Европы в торевтике XI-XIII вв. Серебро с чернью [Cultural Contacts between the East and Europe in Toreutics of the 12th-13th Centuries: Silver and Niello]* (Saint Petersburg: Publishing House of the Polytechnic University, 2014), 110-111.

rhetoric but also the artistic images of Cilician kings – a not uncommon trend for medieval rulers. Until then, let me put together some contemporaneous Eastern Mediterranean artworks, which bear striking similarities in style and iconography with the Cilician Bowl of Vilgort: compare, for example, Figs. 58ab, 59, 60.

2.4. NON-ARMENIAN IMAGES OF HET'UM I

The Armenian-Mongol relations, which greatly marked the second period of the reign of King Het'um I, were closely inspected by Western and Frankish rulers. The outcome of these relations could have some impact on the Eastern Mediterranean region's political and economic landscape, which had been put on alert upon the Mongol advancement after their decisive victory over the Seljuks in Köse Dağ (1243). Het'um's pro-Mongolian undertaking was managed rather successfully, at least in the beginning of these relations²⁴¹. When in the mid-1250s Het'um arrived in the Mongol capital of Karakorum, he is described in pro-Armenian sources as being received with honors at the court of the Great Khan.

In the early fourteenth century, Het'um the Historian, known as Hayton of Corycus in non-Armenian literature, received a request from Pope Clement V to write a history of the Orient, which would specifically include the history of Muslim and Mongol conquests. This work, titled *La flor des estoires d'Orient*, was completed by Hayton in 1307 in Poitiers. It draws an idealistic image of the Armenian-Mongol relations of the previous decades, apparently aimed at propagating in European and papal *milieus* the possibilities of a new Crusade, having the Mongols as an ally. These plans were never fulfilled but, so far as it can be understood from the great number of survived copies, Hayton's *Oriental History* enjoyed a great popularity in Western cultures. In some of the illustrated examples, we find the retrospective representations of the episodes involving King Het'um I's pro-Mongolian politics.

Hayton, who was a nephew of King Het'um I and the lord of Korikos (Corycus), writes the following about his uncle's sojourn in Karakorum: “...l'emperor [Mongke Khan] le [King Het'um] *resceut mult benignement et cortoisement; et comanda á plusour de plus nobles de son hostel q'il l'onorassent et lui tenissent compaignie. Et l'emperor ... tantes des graces et honours qe homes en parle jesqe au jour de hui*” (Chapter XVI)²⁴².

²⁴¹ Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220-1335)* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2011); Claude Mutafian, “The Brilliant Diplomacy of Cilician Armenia,” in *Armenian Cilicia*, edited by Richard G. Hovannisian and Simon Payaslian, UCLA Armenian History and Culture Series, *Historic Armenian Cities and Provinces 7* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2008), 104-108.

²⁴² Hayton, *La flor des estoires de la terre d'orient*, Recueil des historiens des croisades: documents arméniens, tome II, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1906), 164.

This description had misled some authors to believe that one of the illuminated copies of this chronicle (BL MS Add. 17971), created in northern France around 1440-1450, depicted King Het'um at the Mongol court (Fig. 61)²⁴³. In reality, the miniature, painted by the Créquy Master of Amiens, represents the Dream of Genghis Khan and the Homage of the Mongols to him, described on the same folio, from where the first chapter of the third book of *La flor* starts (“Comment les tartars vinrent premierement à seignourie”).

Nevertheless, the artistic representation of Het'um's Mongolian journey and his meeting with the Great Khan is extant in several other copies of Hayton's *History*. One such illustration is depicted in one of its earliest illustrated codices, MS NAF 886, kept at the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* (Fig. 62). This parchment manuscript was copied and illuminated sometime between 1301 and 1400. Chapter XVI, which concerns the visit of the Armenian king to the Mongolian court, is accompanied with a corresponding scene depicting Great Khan Mongke seated on a bench and having a conversation with Het'um. Behind the Armenian king, seven high-ranking men are shown with tall hats, typical for oriental aristocrats. They seem to be taking part in the conversation between the two rulers and honoring the Armenian king, as was commanded, according to Hayton, by the Great Khan (“*et comanda á plusour de plus nobles de son hostel q'il l'onorassent et lui tenissent compaignie*”). Mongke and Het'um are depicted with similar clothing and crowns, but the seated position of the Great Khan – unlike Het'um's standing figure – underlines his dominant status. Also his crown has an additional semicircle at the top, which – purposefully enough – is absent on Het'um's crown. Furthermore, in his left hand, the Armenian king holds a paper scroll, which may represent the list of his requests for “piece and love” between the Mongols and the Christians, as described on the same folio: “*Après requist que perpetuel pais e amor feüst fermée entre les Tartars e les Crestiens.*”²⁴⁴ Another reception scene showing the Great Khan seated on a luxurious throne with the Armenian king in his front is to be found in the little-known manuscript, British Library, Cotton Otho D II, dating from the early fifteenth century (Fig. 62a).

The next folio of the manuscript NAF 886 contains a more intriguing illustration – the Baptism of the Great Khan by a Christian bishop in the presence of King Het'um I

²⁴³ Claude Mutafian, *Le royaume arménien de Cilicie, XII^e-XIV^e siècle* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1993), 58-59.

²⁴⁴ Hayton, *La flor des estoires de la terre d'orient*, 164.

(Fig. 63). Although this miniature has no historical grounds, the painter has obviously tried to be faithful to the text of Hayton, which is written immediately above: [in the response of the Great Khan to King Het'um] "*A vous, roi d'Érmenie, disons que nous, qui sumes empereor, nous farons baptizer primerement e croirons à la foi de Crist, e ferons baptizer tous ceaus de nostre ostel, e tenront toute cele foi laquele tienent hui les Crestiens.*"²⁴⁵ In this scene, one can identify Mongke and Het'um by their crowns, which are the same as in the previous miniature. The naked khan is depicted in the center, in a baptismal font. On his left side, a bishop is depicted, wearing a purple cope and red mitre with a gold cross on it. It is true that, before the early fourteenth century when the Mongols had not yet been adhered to Islam, several Mongol rulers are told to be converted to Christianity or are represented as protectors of Christians, which in turn found some echos in Eastern Christian arts in which Christian themes and personages started to be modelled in a Mongolian fashion (see, for example, Fig. 65); but the conversion of the Great Khan Mongke to Christianity is one of the propagandistic narratives developed by Hayton. The illustration of Mongke's Baptism in MS NAF 886, which, incidentally, was produced during the writing of *La flor des estoires d'Orient* or shortly after it, proves that Hayton's propagandistic project might have perceived with some trust in the Latin world. Another visualisation of the Baptism of the Great Khan can be seen in a fifteenth-century French manuscript, kept in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* (Fig. 64).

Turning to the next folio of manuscript NAF 886, we find one more miniature portraying the Armenian king and the Great Khan, accompanied again with courtly officials, depicted on the right side (Fig. 66). Yet one more scene with the image of King Het'um is found on folio 25v, where he is depicted renouncing secular life and entering the church as monk *Makar* (Fig. 67). Here as well, the miniature is placed below the corresponding text of the History: "*...le roi Haïton [Het'um], de bone memoire, qui grans biens avoit fait à la crestienté en sa vie, dona son roiaume e sa seignorie à son fiz Livon [Lewon], devant nomez, e laissant les pompes de cestui siecle, prist habit de religion e changeit son nom, selonc l'usaige d'Ermeins, e fu nomez Machaires.*"²⁴⁶ Het'um is

²⁴⁵ Hayton, *La flor des estoires de la terre d'orient*, 166.

²⁴⁶ Hayton, *La flor des estoires de la terre d'orient*, 178.

portrayed between two groups of people – secular and religious – and is turned towards the elder monk, who holds the hand of the king. Behind the monks, a church is depicted with a large bell in an enclosure above. Judging from their habits, the monks appear to be Franciscans – another elaboration of the past realities.

The manuscript NAF 886 contains other images of the Armenian kings of Cilicia, which are discussed in the corresponding chapters below.

Conclusion: The reign of King Het'um I, which lasted forty-four years, was marked by several political challenges that entangled the Armenian kingdom with the Seljuks, Mongols, Crusaders, and Europeans. The extant material images of Het'um I reflect well Armeno-Seljuk relations, while Armeno-Mongol and Armeno-European political and cultural entanglements are only preserved in Western arts and in an anachronistic manner. As for the self-representation of Het'um's kingship, it can be traced in numismatic images, in a group of which the king is portrayed with Queen Zapēl, the lawful sovereign of the Cilician state, on whose dynastic identity was based Het'um's legitimacy. These are also the only Cilician coins containing images of a queen, allowing one to assess Zapēl's queenship as supporting the political agenda of his spouse. It is hard to insist that this was done by Zapēl's own initiative – given that after the turmoil caused by the succession crisis she adopted monastic lifestyle and distanced herself from the royal palace – but the royal apparatus, orchestrated first by Het'um's father, Lord Kostandin, then by Het'um himself, managed to create a pious image of the Ārubenid queen, whose ancestry will later be evoked on more than one occasion.

King Het'um I died on 29 October 1269²⁴⁷ or 1270²⁴⁸. His body was buried at the Monastery of Drazark²⁴⁹, which, according to the eleventh-century chronicler Matthew of Edessa, was known as “the cemetery of holy *vardapets* [church scholars].”²⁵⁰ Queen Zapēl had died years earlier, on 12 January 1252²⁵¹. Shortly after the Armenian massacres

²⁴⁷ For sources mentioning or hinting at this year, see: Nerses Akinian, “*Het'um t'agawori mahuan tarin* [The Year of Death of King Het'um I],” *HA* 3-6 (1948): 269-279.

²⁴⁸ *Colophons, 13th century*, 384; *The Annals of Anonymous of Sebaste*, 167-168, n. 148.

²⁴⁹ *Het'um the Historian, History of the Ārubenid Dynasty*, 105; *Colophons, 13th century*, 588.

²⁵⁰ *Matthew of Edessa*, 237.

²⁵¹ *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk'*, 229; *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 96.

of Adana in 1909, when Aršakuhi T'ēodik travelled to Cilicia to inspect the situation of the Armenian population, she recorded that in the Church of the Holy Mother of Tarsus are preserved the gravestone of Queen Zapēl, as well as a dated inscription mentioning King Ošin (1319), which were moved to Tarsus from the Lambron Fortress (Figs. 67ab)²⁵².

²⁵² See: Aršakuhi T'ēodik, *A Month in Cilicia [Amis mē i Kilikia]* (Constantinople: Tēr-Nersēsean Press, 1910), 204-207. The inscription and its transcription are reproduced on page 202 of the same publication, in which, however, it is mistakenly attributed to Zapēl's spouse, King Het'um. I suppose this is the same inscription which, as discussed in Chapter 1.1.1, the nineteenth-century British archaeologist James Theodore Bent had documented in his study on Tarsus, correctly identifying the king mentioned therein with Ošin.

CHAPTER 3.

IMAGES OF KING LEWON II AND QUEEN KEĀN

3.1. THE IMAGE OF THE CROWN PRINCE LEWON IN THE GOSPEL MANUSCRIPT M 8321²⁵³

*“Take this desirable
Gospel as sign of kingship.”*
Dedicatory verse, MS M 8321, fol. 14v

From among the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century miniatures portraying Cilician Armenian kings, the earliest extant image depicts the son and successor of Het’um I, Prince Lewon, who later ruled as King Lewon II (1270/71-1289)²⁵⁴. It is a full-page miniature, which occupies the recto of folio 15 of the Gospel manuscript No. 8321, preserved at Matenadaran and often referred to as the *Gospel of Crown Prince Lewon* (Fig. 68a). The identifying inscription is written on the left and right of Lewon’s standing figure and reads as follows: *ԼԵՒՈՆ ՈՐՊԻ ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԱԳ[ԱՐՈՒԻ] – LEWON, SON OF KING HET’UM.*

3.1.1. History of the Manuscript

Like many other Cilician manuscripts that were taken to Crimea in modern times, this Gospel too appeared in Crimea, from where it was later moved to New Naxiĵewan (present-day Rostov-on-Don), in Imperial Russia²⁵⁵. Archbishop Sargis Ĵalaleanc’, while travelling to New Naxiĵewan in the middle of the nineteenth century, reported that in the

²⁵³ This subchapter has been presented at the international conference *Élites chrétiennes et formes du pouvoir en Méditerranée centrale et orientale (XIIIe-XVe siècle)*, Université de Nîmes, Université Paul-Valéry-Montpellier, Nîmes-Montpellier, 18-19 June 2015, under the title “Manifestations of Mongol-Armenian Relations in the Royal Art of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia: Study of the Depiction of the Robe of Prince Lewon in Manuscript No. 8321, fol. 15r (Yerevan, Mesrop Maštoc’ Research Institute of Ancient Manuscripts)”.

²⁵⁴ King Lewon II is sometimes misnumbered as Lewon III. This error comes from Lewon I who, before becoming king, was the last ruling prince of Cilicia, known as Prince Lewon II (1187-1198). In 1198, the latter became the first Cilician king and is therefore called Lewon the First (1198-1219). Prince Lewon portrayed in the miniature in question is consequently the future King Lewon the Second (1270/71-1289).

²⁵⁵ Sargis Ĵalaleanc’, *Čanaparhordut’iwn i Mecn Hayastan [Journey to Greater Armenia]*, part II (Tbilisi: Publishing House of the Nersisean School, 1858), 456-457; Eruand Šahaziz, *Patmakan patkerner [Historical Images]* (Tbilisi: Publishing House of T. M. Rōtineanc’, 1903), 83; Astlik Gevorkian, “*Lewon III t’agavori avetaranā* [L’Évangile du roi Lewon III],” *BM* 8 (1967): 143.

Cathedral of Saint Gregory the Illuminator²⁵⁶, among various precious objects, a Gospel manuscript is kept, copied by Catholicos Kostandin I of Barjrbard who, in the same Gospel, “has also depicted the image of King Het‘um in his royal garment.”²⁵⁷ In fact, Ĵalaleanc‘ had misread the inscription near the royal figure and had misattributed it to Het‘um I: instead of “Lewon, son of King Het‘um” (see above) he read “King Het‘um, son of Lewon.”²⁵⁸ Moreover, Ĵalaleanc‘’s view that the copying and illuminating of the manuscript were done by Catholicos Kostandin has no foundation.

In an article published in 1902, the future catholicos Garegin Yovsēp‘ean wrote that someone had torn off the miniature with the image of Prince Lewon together with the previous page containing the dedicatory inscription of Catholicos Kostandin of Barjrbard and brought it to the Mother See of Holy Ējmiacin²⁵⁹. It later turned out – thanks to the same Yovsēp‘ean – that it was not the manuscript’s parchment folios that had been taken to Ējmiacin but their copies, prepared by Hmayak Arcat‘paneanean, an Armenian painter based in New Naxiĵewan, for educational reasons²⁶⁰. It is from this copy that the photo published in the above-mentioned article of Garegin Yovsēp‘ean was taken. Nowadays, this photograph holds an important value, for it reproduces the original state of the bifolio that suffered substantial damage after Arcat‘paneanean had usefully made his copy. When, in 1903, Mesrop Tēr-Movsisean and Eruand Šahaziz were making a catalogue of the manuscripts kept in the Armenian churches of New Naxiĵewan, it turned out that a local priest (presumably called Sargis) had cut the portrait of Prince Lewon from the

²⁵⁶ The Armenian Cathedral of Saint Gregory the Illuminator (also known as Saint Illuminator) was built in 1783-1807 in the central square of New Naxiĵewan. When the Armenians of Crimea migrated to New Naxiĵewan, they brought with them manuscripts, mainly created in Cilicia and in Crimea, as well as *xac‘k‘ars* (cross-stones) and many other sacred objects, all of which were stored in the Cathedral of Saint-Illuminator. This monument was destroyed in 1966, and its collection was dispersed within Soviet Union, mainly being transferred to Soviet Armenia. For the Monastery of Saint Gregory the Illuminator and the objects kept there, see: Oganēs Xalpaḫč‘yan, *Архитектура Нахичевани-на-Дону [Architecture of Naxičevan-on-Don]* (Yerevan: Hayastan, 1988), 82-86; Vadim S. Kukushin, *История архитектуры Нижнего Дона и Приазовья [History of Architecture of Lower Don and Azov Sea Region]* (Rostov-na-Donu: GinGo, 1996), chapter 12.

²⁵⁷ Ĵalaleanc‘, *Journey to Greater Armenia*, 457.

²⁵⁸ Ĵalaleanc‘, *Journey to Greater Armenia*, 457.

²⁵⁹ Garegin Yovsēp‘ean, “*Manrankarč‘ut‘ean aruestā hayoc‘ mēĵ. Lewon G-i pakteri artiw* [The Art of Miniature Painting among the Armenians: on the occasion of the portrait of Lewon III],” *Lumay* 1 (1902): 199.

²⁶⁰ *Yišatakarank‘ jeragrac‘ [Colophons of Manuscripts]*, volume I: from the fifth century until 1250, compiled by Catholicos Garegin Yovsēp‘ean (Antelias: Publishing House of the Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 1951), 1006.

manuscript, framed it, and hung it on the wall of his house as decoration²⁶¹. Later, thanks to the persistence of Tēr-Movsisean and Šahaziz, the miniature with the royal image was returned to the Cathedral of Saint Gregory the Illuminator. But even after it was returned, the miniature was no longer in its previous state and, moreover, it was not reinserted in its original manuscript. In his book published in 1903, Šahaziz recorded that the miniature was returned to manuscript No. 2 of the New Naxiĵewan collection²⁶², which is now the Matenadaran manuscript M 7690. But in 1910, Tēr-Movsisean wrote that the miniature belonged to the New Naxiĵewan MS 14²⁶³ – now MS M 7663. Apparently, after the miniature was returned to the cathedral, it was moved from one codex to another. In 1910, when Tēr-Movsisean published his article, Lewon’s full-page miniature was already as it is today – cut off in the direction of the arch-forming columns²⁶⁴, the responsibility for which must rest on the above-mentioned priest from New Naxiĵewan.

The mystery of this Cilician manuscript was finally solved in the 1960s. First, Lewon Azaryan figured out that the miniature does not belong to either M 7663 or M 7690 (in which the miniature was present at that time as a single folio)²⁶⁵. Then, Asthik Gevorkian demonstrated that it originally belonged to what is now the Matenadaran manuscript M 8321 (previously MS 23 of New Naxiĵewan)²⁶⁶. In this way, the miniature featuring the Crown Prince Lewon rejoined its original manuscript.

What happened to the preceding folio with the dedication is still unknown. Its content is only available thanks to two 1902 publications by Garegin Yovsēp’ean and Karapet Basmaĵean, in both cases copied from the painting of Hmayak Arcat’panean

²⁶¹ Sometime later, the same priest had told Eruand Šahaziz and Mesrop Tēr-Movsisean that at the time when he took the miniature from the *Gospels of Prince Lewon*, all books were messily scattered behind the altar of the cathedral, and only the manuscripts with silver bindings were kept in boxes. See: Šahaziz, *Historical Images*, 83-84; Mesrop Tēr-Movsisean, “*Haykakan manrankarner. Lewon G. t’agawori, Keṛan ew Mariun t’aguhineri ew Lambronean Vasak iṣxani manrankarnerə* [Armenian Miniatures: the Miniatures of King Lewon III, of the Queens Keṛan and Mariun, and of Vasak, Prince of Lambron],” *AH 2* (1910): 15.

²⁶² Šahaziz, *Historical Images*, 97. Though Eduard Šahaziz does not literally mention that the portrait belonged to the No. 2 manuscript of New Naxiĵewan, he writes that it belonged to a manuscript created in 1249 in Hfomkla and commissioned by Catholicos Kostandin, which can firmly be identified with MS 2 of New Naxiĵewan – now the Matenadaran manuscript M 7690.

²⁶³ Tēr-Movsisean, “Armenian Miniatures,” 15.

²⁶⁴ The photograph of the prince’s portrait published in Tēr-Movsisean’s article was sent by Hrač’eyay Ačarean, who had taken it in New Naxiĵewan. See: Tēr-Movsisean, “Armenian Miniatures,” 15, n. 1.

²⁶⁵ Azaryan, *Cilician Miniature Painting*, 94-95.

²⁶⁶ Gevorkian, “L’Évangile du roi Lewon III,” 143-156, esp. 152.

(Fig. 69)²⁶⁷. The lost text of the dedication, which has been published several times in the past²⁶⁸, is reproduced below anew, for it is unknown in anglophone scholarship but, most importantly, its content serves as a key for understanding the image of Prince Lewon depicted on the opposite page.

*Տեառն Կոստանդեա կաթողիկոսի
Ձաւետարանս այս [ը]ղծալի
Շնորհեալ սանոյն իւր Լեւոնի՝
Որդոյ Հերութ թագաւորի:
Ա՛ն ի նշան արքաութեան
Դատել ըստ հաւատոյ դաւանութեան
Որ յուղղափառացն եղեալ սահման
Ի յիշատակ իւր յաւիտեան.*

*This desirable Gospel
of Catholicos Kostandin
is offered to his godson Lewon,
son of King Het'um.
Take it as sign of kingship
to judge according to the creed of faith,
which determines the Orthodox ones,
and as an everlasting memory of him.*

3.1.2. The Provenance of MS M 8321 and the Identity of Its Master

The principal colophon of the manuscript M 8321 that should have normally been placed at the end of the volume is lost. It is therefore difficult to localize and date the

²⁶⁷ Yovsēp'ean, "The Art of Miniature Painting," 197; Karapet Basmajean, "Mer hnut'iwnnerə [Our Antiquities]," *Banasēr* 4 (1902): 97.

²⁶⁸ Yovsēp'ean, "The Art of Miniature Painting," 199; Basmajean, "Our Antiquities," 101; Tēr-Movsisean, "Armenian Miniatures," 16; *Colophons of Manuscripts* (from the fifth century until 1250), 1004; Garegin Yovsēp'ean, "Kostandin I kat'olikos orpes hay manrankarč'ut'yan mec hovanavor [Kostandin I Catholicos as a Great Sponsor of Armenian Miniature Painting]," in Garegin Yovsēp'ean, *Nyut'er ew usumnasirut'yunner hay arvesti patmut'yan [Materials for the Study of Armenian Art and Culture]*, volume I (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1983), 323; *Colophons, 13th century*, 266.

codex precisely. However, the manuscript's provenance may be disclosed by to the above-transcribed dedicatory verse, which clearly points at the scriptorium of Hromkla. This assumption is based on the information that the manuscript's patron is Catholicos Kostandin I who, during the 46 years of his catholicosate (1221-1266/7), sponsored the miniature school of the patriarchal See of Hromkla²⁶⁹.

Furthermore, full-page dedicatory inscriptions are one of the characteristic features of the Hromkla workshops. As a rule, these occupy two opposite verso-recto pages and are placed before the main content of the manuscript – almost always Four Gospels. The dedications are written with blue *erkat'agir* letters (the so-called “iron-forged” capital letters, used mainly for parchment codices) usually on a golden background, or with golden letters on a blue background, and appear within the ornamental frames that can unmistakably be paralleled with those of the Eusebian canon tables. The dedications praise the manuscript's commissioners and owners, sometimes name both the scribe and the miniaturist, and in some cases provide additional information. In fact, they partially take the function of colophons, becoming thus irreplaceable sources of information especially for those manuscripts whose (principal) colophons have not been preserved, such as the codex M 8321 under consideration. The following is a list of those thirteenth-century Cilician manuscripts which contain full-page dedicatory inscriptions²⁷⁰:

1) *The Barjberd Gospels* dating from 1248, Antelias, Catholicosate of Cilicia, MS 8, fols. 11v-12r²⁷¹,

2) the Gospels of 1251, M 3033, fols. 11v-12r²⁷²,

3) the Gospels of 1253, Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, MS 1944.17, fols. 12v-13r²⁷³,

²⁶⁹ Between 1151 and 1292, Hromkla was the residence of the Armenian patriarchs. In 1293, because of the Mamluk takeover of Hromkla, Catholicos Grigor VII Anawarzec'i (1293-1307) was forced to relocate the patriarchal See from Hromkla to Sis. For Catholicos Kostandin's patronage, see: Yovsēp'ean, “Kostandin I Catholicos,” 314-343.

²⁷⁰ The dedications of Cilician illuminated manuscripts have been investigated in detail by Ioanna Rapti: “La voix des donateurs: pages de dédicaces dans les manuscrits arméniens de Cilicie,” in *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin* (Réalités Byzantines 14), Actes du colloque international de l'Université de Fribourg, 13-15 mars 2008, dir. Jean-Michel Spieser et Élisabeth Yota (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 2012), 309-326. For the dedications of the thirteenth-century Hromkla manuscripts, see esp. 314-321. To the list, we may add the Gospel M 8321.

²⁷¹ Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. II, Figs. 166-167.

²⁷² Rapti, “La voix des donateurs,” Fig. 5.

- 4) *the Zeyt'un Gospels* of 1256, M 10450, fols. 5v-6r (Fig. 70),
- 5) the Gospels of 1260, J 251, fols. 13v-14r²⁷⁴,
- 6) the Gospels of 1262, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W 539, fols. 11v-12r²⁷⁵,
- 7) the Gospels of 1265, J 1956, fols. 11v-12r²⁷⁶,
- 8) the *Maštoc'* (Ritual) dating from 1266, J 2027, fols. 61v, 86v (Figs. 71ab),
- 9) *the Malatya Gospels* of 1268, M 10675, fols. 13v-14r²⁷⁷,
- 10) the Gospels of 1273, Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, MS 122, fols. 9v-10r²⁷⁸,
- 11) the Gospels dating from the thirteenth century, Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS 558, fols. 13v-14r²⁷⁹.

12) The dedicatory page of the *Gospels of Prince Lewon* (M 8321), despite it later being lost (Fig. 69), must also be placed within this group. The comparison with the above-mentioned manuscripts' dedications and the fact of its being ordered by Catholicos Kostandin leave little doubt that this manuscript too was made in Hromkla.

13) Another dedication is preserved on folio 287v of the manuscript J 2660, preceding the full-page miniature showing Prince Lewon and his spouse Keran (Fig. 109). Unlike other dedications written within decorative frames, this one has no frame, but is entirely written in gold, creating an effect of *nomina sacra*.

Most of the listed dedications are found in those manuscripts, the illustrations of which are authored by or attributed to T'oros Ėroslin. To this renowned master of Hromkla is often attributed the illustrations of the *Gospels of Crown Prince Lewon* as well²⁸⁰. Yohanēs, another miniaturist active in the second half of the thirteenth century, is

²⁷³ Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. II, Figs. 168-169 (color); Rapti, "La voix des donateurs," Fig. 4.

²⁷⁴ Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. II, Figs. 285-286; Rapti, "La voix des donateurs," Fig. 6a-b.

²⁷⁵ Rapti, "La voix des donateurs," Fig. 8.

²⁷⁶ Der Nersessian, *L'art arménien*, Fig. 100; Rapti, "La voix des donateurs," Fig. 9.

²⁷⁷ Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. II, Fig. 281-282; Rapti, "La voix des donateurs," Fig. 7.

²⁷⁸ Der Nersessian, *L'art arménien*, Fig. 103.

²⁷⁹ Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. II, Fig. 165.

²⁸⁰ Tēr-Movsisean, "Armenian Miniatures," 17-18, 32; Gevorkian, "L'évangile du roi Lewon III," 153-155; Azaryan, *Cilician Miniature Painting*, 112, n. 1; Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, 15; Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 54; *Colophons, 13th century*, 266; Levon Chookaszian, "Remarks on the Portrait of Prince Lewon (Ms Erevan 8321)," *REArm* 25 (1994-1995): 301; Helen Evans, "Imperial Aspirations: Armenian Cilicia and Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century," in

sometimes considered as well²⁸¹, but Āroslin's candidacy seems to be better supported. Yohanēs²⁸² and a certain Kiwrakos, who was yet another painter enjoying the patronage of Catholicos Kostandin²⁸³, are sometimes considered as Āroslin's teachers²⁸⁴.

It is in Hromkla, where most of T'oros Āroslin's manuscripts are known to be produced. In 1262, Āroslin was trusted with the illustrations of another Gospel codex for Prince Lewon, which is now the Jerusalem MS J 2660 (see Chapter 3.2), and contains, as briefly mentioned above, a full-page miniature showing Lewon with his new spouse Keřan (Figs. 107, 109). The latter miniature has some stylistic associations with Lewon's image in MS M 8321, such as the hairstyle or the sanctifying features of both portrayals. Although Lewon's face is effaced in both manuscripts, and in MS M 8321 it was repainted at an unknown moment of time, one is still able to discern that in this codex he is portrayed younger than in MS J 2660. As we will see in the following discussion (3.1.3), portraying the future sovereign at various moments of his life was common in Cilician art, which was also known to thirteenth-century Armenian theologians. In this regard, in the *Gospels of Crown Prince Lewon* we may well be dealing with one of the first portrayals of King Lewon II, whose extant lifetime images in miniature painting reach five.

The approximate date proposed for the manuscript M 8321 coincides with the period of Āroslin's activities. Thus, in various studies, the manuscript has been dated

Eastern Approaches to Byzantium, Papers from the Thirty-third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry, March 1999, dir. Antony Eastmond (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 246; Irina Drampian, *Торос Рослин [Toros Roslin]* (Yerevan: Tigran Mets, 2000), 71; Levon Chookaszian, "Hay manrankarič' ə mijnadarum [Armenian Miniaturist in the Middle Ages]," *ĒM* 10-11 (2005): 67-68.

²⁸¹ Gevorkian, "L'ėvangile du roi Lewon III," 153, 155.

²⁸² The Gospel Book copied in 1253 is the only preserved manuscript with the signature of the miniaturist Yohanēs (Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, MS 1944.17). See: Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art*, Smithsonian Institution, Washington (Baltimore: Port City Press, 1963), 18-25; Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 48; Evans, *Manuscript Illumination*, 78-79.

²⁸³ Kiwrakos illustrated the following manuscripts: the Gospels dating from 1244 (Venice, Library of Mekhitarist Congregation, MS 69/151), *The Barjrbard Gospels* of 1248 (Antilias, Patriarchate of Cilicia, MS 8), the Gospels of 1249 (M 7690), MS Gospel 613 preserved in the Chester Beatty Library, in Dublin, and probably also MS 558 preserved in the same library. See: Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 46-47; Evans, *Manuscript Illumination*, 76-77.

²⁸⁴ *Colophons of Manuscripts* (from the fifth century until 1250), 1005-1006; Aram Eremyan, "Manrankarič' T'oros Āroslin [Miniaturist T'oros Āroslin]," *ĒM* 2 (1955): 25; Gevorkian, "L'ėvangile du roi Lewon III," 153, 155; Narkiss (ed.), *Armenische Kunst*, 48; Chookaszian, "Armenian Miniaturist in the Middle Ages," 70; Irina Drampian, "Toros Āroslin. Kyank'n u arvestə [T'oros Āroslin: Life and Art]," *PBH* 1 (2011): 191, 192, 203.

between 1245 and 1256. In 1910, Mesrop Tēr-Movsisean dated it to 1250²⁸⁵, which was later accepted by others²⁸⁶. On one occasion, Ioanna Rapti suggested a date around 1245²⁸⁷. Garegin Yovsēp'ean, who discussed this miniature several times, dated it to 1249-1255²⁸⁸. According to Artašes Mat'evosyan, the manuscript was produced in 1252, when the prince was 15 years old and when his mother, Queen Zapēl, passed away²⁸⁹. Astlik Gevorkian, and later Vrej Nersessian, opted for 1254²⁹⁰. Helen Evans, who agrees with the previous opinions that this manuscript is the earliest work of T'oros Ṙoslin, has dated it to 1255-1256, based on the art-historical analysis of the canon tables. She also suggested that the occasion for the creation of this manuscript could be Lewon's knighting ceremony²⁹¹, which deserves a further consideration.

Indeed, when one puts together the events that took place around 1256, not only the proposed date comes to be justified but also the context of this royal manuscript becomes better contextualized. On 15 November 1256, Prince Lewon was solemnly given the title of knight in the city of Msis (Mopsuestia)²⁹². This was an important rite of initiation given that, before becoming king, many Cilician rulers are documented to be

²⁸⁵ Tēr-Movsisean, "Armenian Miniatures," 16-17.

²⁸⁶ Yovsēp'ean, "Kostandin I Catholicos," 323; Azaryan, *Cilician Miniature Painting*, 112, 127; Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 54; Chookaszian, "Remarks on the Portrait of Prince Lewon," 299-301; Levon Chookaszian, "Once Again on the Subject of Prince Lewon's Portrait," *JSAS* 10 (1998-1999): 30; Levon Chookaszian, "The Five Portraits of King Lewon II (1270-89) of Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia and Their Connections to the Art of Mediterranean Area," *Medioevo: immagini e ideologie*, Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 23-27 September 2002, dir. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (Milano: Electa, 2005), 129; Chookaszian, "Armenian Miniaturist in the Middle Ages," 67-68, 70; Drampian, *Топос Рослин*, 71.

²⁸⁷ Rapti, "Featuring the King," 311.

²⁸⁸ Garegin Yovsēp'ean, *Mi ēj hay aruesti ew mšak'oyti patmut'iwnic' [A Page from the History of Armenian Art and Culture]* (Aleppo: Arak's, 1930), 24; *Colophons of Manuscripts* (from the fifth century untill 1250), 1005; Yovsēp'ean, "Kostandin I Catholicos," 323.

²⁸⁹ *Colophons, 13th century*, 266. See also: Dickran Kouymjian, "L'enluminure arménienne médiévale," in *Arménie. Impressions d'une civilisation*, Museo Correr, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, 16 December 2011 – 10 April 2012, edited by Gabriella Uluhogian, Boghos Lewon Zekiyian, Vartan Karapetian (Milano: Skira, 2011), 101, Fig. 25.

²⁹⁰ Gevorkian, "L'évangile du roi Lewon III," 155; Nersessian, *A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the British Library*, volume I, 368.

²⁹¹ Evans, *Manuscript Illumination*, 159; Helen Evans, "Kings and Power Bases. Sources for Royal Portraits in Armenian Cilicia," in *From Byzantium to Iran, Armenian Studies in Honour of Nina G. Garsoïan*, dir. Jean-Pierre Mahé, Robert W. Thomson (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 491-492; Evans, "Imperial Aspirations," 246.

²⁹² *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk'*, 231-232. For the English and French translations, see: *The Armenian Chronicle of the Constable Smpad or of the "Royal Historian"*, transl. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *DOP* 13 (1959): 159; and *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 100; *Chronicle of King Het'um II*, 82; *Samuēl Anec'i*, 250.

ceremonially initiated into knighthood. Becoming a knight, *jiawor* in Armenian sources, meant that the young man had become mature and could use weapons – a necessary condition for the future king, whose inauguration ceremony would publicly proclaim him as “protector of the Church against those who have no faith in Christ” (see above, Chapter 1.4). As a rule, during the knighting ritual, the father of the knight or a close relative gave him the knightly sword, the so-called *arma virilia*²⁹³. Furthermore, in 1256, Lewon was 20 years old²⁹⁴ – the legal age of maturity in the Cilician kingdom²⁹⁵, and this event, along with Lewon’s becoming knight, could well be commemorated by commissioning a special sacred manuscript. Moving forward in time, it should be mentioned that, in 1283, King Lewon himself had carried out the knighting ceremony of his sons Het’um and T’oros, along with other young men²⁹⁶. In the same year, their mother, Queen Keran, commissioned a luxurious parchment manuscript in the Monastery of Skewria – now the Matenadaran manuscript M 6764, the colophon of which makes a special reference to the knighting ceremony of her and Lewon’s first-born son Het’um²⁹⁷.

Thus, Catholicos Kostandin’s present to the Crown Prince Lewon, whom he describes as his godson, could as well be produced to commemorate the future king’s maturity, which was also ceremonially displayed by the knighting ceremony, which is precisely dated to 1256. If we take it for granted that the Cilician knighthood tradition

²⁹³ The solemn bestowal of the sword by the father-king was a practice from the very beginning of knighting ceremonies. Charles the Great, Louis I the Pious and many other kings had themselves performed the knighting rituals of their sons, awarding them the knight’s sword in the final part of the ceremony. See: Josef Fleckenstein, *Rittertum und ritterliche Welt* (Berlin: Siedler, 2002), 197.

²⁹⁴ In some of the manuscripts of Smbat’s Royal Chronicle, there is information that Queen Zapēl gave birth to her first son Lewon in the same year when the army of the Sultan of Aleppo tried to besiege Baghrās – an event that occurred in September 1236. See: *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk’*, 226; *Smbat sparapet, Taregirk’ arareal Smbatay sparapeti Hayoc’*, *vordwoy Kostandey komsin Korikosoy [Chronicle of Smbat, the Constable of the Armenians and Son of Kostandin of Corycus]*, Text and commentary by Karapet Šahnazareanc’ (Paris: E. Thunot et C^e, 1859), 122 (in this edition, however, the events of 1236 are described immediately preceding the events of 1243, with no editorial mention of the lost text in-between. As Lewon’s birth is described in the same paragraph just after this event, one can conjecture that he was born in 1236.) The year 1236 of the Prince Lewon’s birth is also confirmed by later events. Thus, the chronicler Vahram records that during his captivity by the Mamluks in 1266 Lewon was 30, and the Continuator of the *Chronicle of Samuel Anec’i* writes that in 1271 Lewon was 35 years old. See: *Vahram’s Chronicle*, 52; *Samuēl Anec’i*, 255.

²⁹⁵ Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, Volume II, 401.

²⁹⁶ *General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Mekhitarist Library in Venice*, Volume VI, 225. See also: Edvard Baghdassarian, “Hovhannes Erznkac’in Kilikiayi zinvorakan kazmakerput’yunneri masin [Hovhannes Yerzykatsi et les organisations militaires de Cilicie],” *BM* 16 (1994): 44 (in Armenian with summaries in Russian and French).

²⁹⁷ *Colophons, 13th century*, 538.

followed the analogous Western practices (for there is no Armenian knighting custom before the Cilician period), then we may suppose that King Het'um I had himself bestowed the *arma virilia* to his successor Lewon. Het'um's name is well referenced in the inscription that accompanies the crown prince's image, and his new pro-Mongolian policy, as argued below, seems to have played a crucial role in how his son and the future sovereign of the Armenian state is represented in the manuscript M 8321.

A few months before Lewon's knighting ceremony took place in November 1256, his father, King Het'um I, had returned from a three-years-long journey to Mongolia, where an Armeno-Mongol alliance was agreed upon with the Great Khan, with the Armenian kingdom recognizing the overlordship of the Mongols. Het'um's return from Mongolia, which is represented in Armenian sources as triumphal, and Cilicia's new political climate are important for placing MS M 8321 within an acceptable historical context, which, in turn, re-confirms the date 1256 suggested for this codex (see also below, 3.1.3). If the creation of MS M 8321 is associated with Het'um's long-awaited arrival and his participation in Lewon's knighting ceremony a few months later, then one can concretize this manuscript's dating: the second half of 1256. I believe, it could have been produced after, and not before the copying of the so-called *Zeyt'un Gospels*, as it is commonly believed²⁹⁸. The *Zeyt'un Gospels*, which is T'oros Āroslin's first signed codex, was copied in 1256 before the return of King Het'um, as we learn it from the extensive principal colophon²⁹⁹. The catholicos' new order, the MS M 8321, could have been

²⁹⁸ Matenadaran MS M 10450. The canon tables of this Gospel codex are preserved in J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, MS 59.

²⁹⁹ The date when King Het'um I returned from his Mongolian journey varies between 1255 and 1256. Relying on the evidence of Bar Hebraeus and Smbat the Constable, one can argue that Het'um had returned to Cilicia in the period between the end of August and beginning of September of 1256. For a more concrete date, I would suggest the 1st of September of 1256, which was a Friday, because, according to Bar Hebraeus, King Het'um returned to his land on Friday. See: *La Chronographie de Bar Hebraeus*, volume 2, 298-299; *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk'*, 231. For the French and English translations, see: *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 98-100; *The Armenian Chronicle of the Constable Smpad*, 159. The year of 1256 is also confirmed by the colophons of at least two manuscripts dating from 1256, copied in Msis (Bible, formerly MS 4 of the Monastery of the Holy Apostles of Muš) and in Hromkla (the *Zeyt'un Gospels*, MS M 10450, fol. 403v). In the colophon of the first manuscript, the scribe Yovhannès writes that Het'um remained in the lands of the Mongols up to four years and returned in 1256. Also the scribe of the *Zeyt'un Gospels*, T'oros Āroslin, mentions that the manuscript was copied in the year when the Armenian king was returning from the Great Khan. The texts of these colophons are reproduced in: Sahag A. Mouradian and Nazaret B. Mardirossian, *Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of St. Arakelots-Tarkmanchatz Monastery (Moush) and the Environs* (Jerusalem: Sts James Press, 1967), 7-8; *Colophons, 13th century*, 284, 288.

completed soon after, but perhaps before November 15 – the exact date when Lewon was initiated into knighthood. Completing two Gospel books in the course of one year does not seem unlikely, for we know that in 1262, for example, Țoslin copied and illustrated two manuscripts (J 2660 and W 539, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum)³⁰⁰.

3.1.3. The Theological, Political and Artistic Aspects of the Royal Image Depicted in MS M 8321

In one of his homilies, when speaking about how the prophets and righteous personified Christ in His various ages and circumstances, the thirteenth-century Armenian theologian Yovhannēs Erznkac’i draws parallels with a king’s artistic images: “As, for example, they paint the portrait of the king during his childhood, in order to show his physical appearance at that time, and also when he is a mature man, and in his old age, and when he is crowned. Thus each portrait resembles the original” (MS M 2173, fol. 347r)³⁰¹.

Considering Erznkac’i’s legacy in the context of the Cilician kingdom is particularly helpful for the purposes of this thesis, for he greatly contributed to the political theology of this East Mediterranean state³⁰². We know that, on the invitation of the Cilician king and high clergy, he travelled several times to Cilicia, where he also spent the final years of his life³⁰³. Erznkac’i died in 1293 and was buried in the Monastery of Akner³⁰⁴. It is to this renowned monastery that Queen Keřan, the spouse of Lewon II, offered a sumptuous manuscript known as the *Gospels of Queen Keřan* (J 2563), which also contains lifetime images of the royal family members (Fig. 131)³⁰⁵. By the time when Erznkac’i was installed in Cilicia, all five images of King Lewon known to

³⁰⁰ For the production and chronology of Țoslin’s manuscripts, see: Chookaszian, “Armenian Miniaturist in the Middle Ages,” 59-94.

³⁰¹ For the original text in Armenian, see: Edvard Baghdassarian, “Hovhannes Erznkac’in arvesti ew azgagrut’yan masin [Yovhannēs Erznkac’i on Art and Ethnography],” *LHG* 9 (1971): 76. English translation from: Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 154.

³⁰² For the studies on Erznkac’i in the context of Cilician kingship, see above, n. 107.

³⁰³ Seta Dadoyan, “Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Bluz,” in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, volume 4 (1200-1350), ed. David Thomas and Alex Mallett (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2012), 572.

³⁰⁴ Dadoyan, “Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Bluz,” 572-573.

³⁰⁵ We know about the queen’s offer from the principal colophon of the *Gospels of Queen Keřan*, published in: *Colophons, 13th century*, 416. For the English translation of this part of the colophon, see below, Chapter 3.3.4.

us were already extant. Given Erznkac'i's eager interest in visual arts³⁰⁶, he could have well been familiar with these royal images – or, at least with the one depicted in the *Gospels of Queen Keran* that was offered to Akner, Erznkac'i's main dwelling in Cilicia.

Even if we consider that Erznkac'i had never seen Cilician royal images and that Cilician artists were not familiar with Erznkac'i's exegetical homilies as the one quoted above, the artistic evidence related to King Lewon II's portrayals at different moments of his life speaks for the actual practices of documenting those moments in visual terms. The theological construct of the Christ's life cycles, explained by Erznkac'i through a king's painted images, was earlier highlighted in the writings of another important – yet almost unstudied – Cilician theologian, Grigor Skewriac'i, who was the confessor of King Lewon I and one of the main candidates for the position of catholicos in the 1220s (which, as mentioned, came to be occupied by Kostandin, the Het'umids' protégée). When describing Jesus Christ in His various ages, Skewriac'i concludes his reflections by addressing Christ as being “the same and ageless,” stressing thus His unchangeable divine nature rather than the changing circumstances of His earthly life³⁰⁷. In the same spirit is written Erznkac'i's above-quoted text, which highlights a sovereign's innate royal nature in whatever age he is: “*Thus each portrait resembles the original.*” In this respect, the many portrayals of King Lewon II, showing him in different ages and, most likely, in a crucial moment of his life, should not be seen as a mere demonstration of the royal power but also as an attempt to imitate the human ideal of following the respective Christological paradigm.

The image of Prince Lewon in the manuscript M 8321 is the earliest surviving specimen, showing him at the moment of his maturity, which, as mentioned above, was the age twenty in Cilician Armenia. The status of Lewon as future king necessitated the inclusion of such elements as the inscription identifying him as the “*son of King Het'um.*” Both the inscription and the pictorial sanctification, as Ioanna Rapti has observed, “clearly point to Lewon as successor.”³⁰⁸ Indeed, were it not for the identifying legend, one could misinterpret Lewon's full-page appearance with a saint's image, such as the

³⁰⁶ For Erznkac'i's interest in art, see, for example: Baghdassarian, “Yovhannēs Erznkac'i on Art and Ethnography,” 75-81.

³⁰⁷ Grigor Skewriac'i, *Book of Prayers* (Constantinople: Press of Astuatsatur, 1742), 44-46.

³⁰⁸ Rapti, “Featuring the King,” 311.

standing figure of Saint Gregory the Illuminator depicted in the Cilician manuscript M 1568³⁰⁹, or the image of Christ Emmanuel painted by T'oros Rōslin in MS J 251 (Fig. 72). Scholars have justly noted that the presence of halo in Lewon's image and the *flabella* (liturgical fans) held by the two angels over him were aimed at emphasizing the holy nature of kingship³¹⁰.

Indeed, the Gospel M 8321, as its now-lost dedication makes it clear, was offered to Lewon "as sign of kingship." The person who offered it to Lewon was Catholicos Kostandin, who refers to Lewon as his godson and who, if we rely on one primary source, was most likely present at – or was even officiating – Lewon's knighting ceremony in November 1256³¹¹. According to Josef Fleckenstein, in West, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the knighting ceremony and the idea of knighthood in general had become a church affair (he uses the expression *Verkirklichung der Zeremonie*), with a marked involvement of ecclesiastical authorities³¹². Much less is known about the Cilician Armenian tradition of knighthood, but an "oriental version" of socio-military organizations of young men – if we can make such a comparison with *futuwwa* confraternities – did exist among the Armenians in thirteenth-century Anatolia, with an active involvement of the Armenian clergy³¹³.

Unlike other images of Cilician kings, who are shown enthroned, cross-legged or in a posture of supplication, the royal image of MS M 8321 displays Lewon standing at full height in front of the empty cushion-covered seat, with an apparent intention to present the future sovereign. Such a posture chosen for secular authorities is well known from Byzantine (Fig. 73)³¹⁴ and Western arts³¹⁵.

³⁰⁹ Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. II, Fig. 24.

³¹⁰ Rapti, "Featuring the King," 310; Der Nersessian, *L'art arménien*, 148; Chookaszian, "Remarks on the Portrait of Prince Lewon," 301; Chookaszian, "Once Again on the Subject of Prince Lewon's Portrait," 34-35, 41-42.

³¹¹ Speaking about Lewon's knighting ceremony, Constable Smbat, who personally participated in that event, writes: "He [King Het'um] also assembled all the ecclesiastical hierarchy to attend this rejoicing." For the original text in Armenian, see: *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk'*, 231. See also: *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 100.

³¹² Fleckenstein, *Rittertum und ritterliche Welt*, esp. 198.

³¹³ Baghdassarian, "Hovhannes Erznkac'in," 44-57.

³¹⁴ See also, for example, the miniature portraits of Alexius V Ducas in a fourteenth-century copy of the *Chronike diegesis* by Niketas Choniates (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Hist. gr. 53, fol. 291v) or that of Andronikos III Palaiologos in Cod. Hist. 2° 601 of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart, or the marble roundel with the image of John II Comnenus dating from the twelfth century (Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Byzantine Collection, Nr. BZ. 1937.23).

The robe of Prince Lewon and the politics of clothing in Mongol-era Cilician Armenia

The most intriguing detail in the miniature portrait of Prince Lewon is his elaborate attire, composed of a red mantle and a blue robe, which is decorated with regular golden circles that contain the oriental symbol of the *Lion and Sun* (Fig. 68b). There exist several hypotheses about this robe and the possible cultural exchanges that could have inspired its depiction in the codex M 8321. Helen Evans associated the decorative patterns of this attire, as well as the entire miniature, with “the imagery of the Byzantine imperial court as the ultimate standard of kingship.”³¹⁶ Levon Chookaszian suggested that the Cilician painter has revived old Armenian traditions, which in turn were closely connected with Persian culture³¹⁷. He also mentioned that the Lion and Sun symbol on the prince’s attire may symbolize the coat of arms of the Rubenids, to whom Lewon belonged through his maternal lineage³¹⁸. Some time earlier, Emma Korkhmazian had in turn mentioned that young Lewon wears a “traditional Armenian royal costume.”³¹⁹ The recent survey on the subject, by Ioanna Rapti, draws parallels with Seljukid art, and particularly, with Sultan Kaykhosrow II’s coins, on which the same Lion and Sun motif is found³²⁰.

The lion is surely one of the most popular symbols of royalty in ancient and pre-modern times but the combined image of the lion and the sun is most often associated with Persian and Persianate cultures, likely taking its origins from the veneration of *Mithra*, the God of Sun, called *Mihr* in the Armenian mythology. In ancient Armenia, the

See: André Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin: recherches sur l'art officiel de l'empire d'Orient* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1936); Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*. See also: Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*.

³¹⁵ Compare, for example, with the royal images depicted on what is known as *Imperial Sword* or *Mauritiusschwert*, dating from the twelfth-thirteenth centuries (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kaiserliche Schatzkammer, Inv. No. SK-WS-XIII-17). See: Fillitz, *Die Insignien und Kleinodien*, 22-23; Mechthild Schulze-Dörrlamm, *Das Reichsschwert: Ein Herrschaftszeichen des Saliers Heinrich IV. und des Welfen Otto IV* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1995).

³¹⁶ Evans, “Kings and Power Bases,” 496, 492; Evans, “Imperial Aspirations,” 246, 247-248.

³¹⁷ Chookaszian, “Remarks on the Portrait of Prince Lewon,” 299-335, esp. 310-317, 320-327.

³¹⁸ Chookaszian, “Remarks on the Portrait of Prince Lewon,” 305.

³¹⁹ Emma Korchmasjan, Irina Drampjan, Graward Akopjan, *Armenische Buchmalerei des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts aus der Matenadaran-Sammlung, Jerewan* (Leningrad: Aurora Kunstverlag, 1984), Fig. 89.

³²⁰ Rapti, “Featuring the King,” 311.

motifs of Lion and Sun, inspired from the respective Persian tradition, were often displayed as royal symbols, as pointed out by Levon Chookaszian³²¹.

The below discussion, while agreeing in several aspects with the above-mentioned hypotheses, will nevertheless propose a new contextualization for Lewon's robe and this royal portrait in general, which seems to better fit with the newly established Armeno-Mongol relations and the socio-cultural implications resulted from these relations.

As discussed above, the Gospel MS M 8321 was created in the mid-thirteenth century, perhaps in the very year 1256, when the Armenian king Het'um I managed to forge an Armeno-Mongolian cooperation during his long-haul journey to Mongolia. This event and the return of Het'um coincided with a more global event – the creation of the Ilkhanate of Iran by Hülegü, one of the four Mongol states that existed under the auspices of the Great Khan and the immediate superior of the Cilician kingdom³²². It appears that the symbol of the Lion and Sun, which decorates the robe of the Armenian prince, is the main royal emblem depicted on the coins of Mongol ilkhans, who could have appropriated it from the local Iranian courtly traditions³²³. It is found on the coins of Hülegü (1256-1265), Mahmud Ghazan (1295-1304), Öljeitü (1304-1316)³²⁴, Abu Said (1316-1335)³²⁵, and Togha Temür (1336-1353) (Figs. 74-80). Besides the coins, this symbol has been found on the objects produced during the Ilkhanid period, such as on a

³²¹ Chookaszian, "Remarks on the Portrait of Prince Lewon," 315-317.

³²² For the history of the Ilkhanate, see: René Grousset, *L'empire mongol (Ire phase)* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1941), 374-379; John Andrew Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Volume 5: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods, edited by John Andrew Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 303-421; Bertold Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran: Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit 1220-1350* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1968); Peter Jackson, "From Ulus to Khanate: The Making of the Mongol States, c. 1220-1290," in *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy*, edited by Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 12-38; David Morgan, *The Mongols*, Second edition (Oxford – Malden: Blackwell, 2007). For the Armenian-Mongol relations, see especially: Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians*; Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog, "The Mongol Conquerors in Armenia," in *Caucasus during the Mongol Period – Der Kaukasus in der Mongolenzeit*, edited by Jürgen Tubach, Sophia G. Vashalomidze, and Manfred Zimmer (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2012), 53-82.

³²³ About the Mongol adaptation of Iranian and West Asian traditions of investiture ceremonies and their old examples, see: Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 84-87. For coinage more particularly, see, for example: Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Mongols in the British Museum, Classes XVIII-XXII* (Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum), volume VI (London: Longmans & Co.; Paris: MM. C. Rollin & Feuarent, 1881), xlv.

³²⁴ Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Mongols*, 56 (Nr. 158-160), 57 (Nr. 162), PL. III (Nr. 158).

³²⁵ Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Mongols*, 87 (Nr. 264-266), PL. IV (Nr. 264).

tile panel from a tomb in Kashan dating from 1267 (Fig. 81)³²⁶, on the lid of a penbox dating from 1281 (Fig. 82)³²⁷, on a contemporaneous basin (Fig. 83)³²⁸, on an inkwell attributed to Iran (Fig. 84)³²⁹, on a bronze spoon from Syria, dating from the second half of the thirteenth century (Fig. 85)³³⁰, and likely also in a miniature created 1290, in which the royal animal appears on the saddle of an Ilkhanid ruler's horse (Fig. 86)³³¹. The latter seems to echo an information recorded in the *Yuán Shǐ* (The History of Yuán), stating that the court of the Great Khan “*prohibited the weaving of the sun, moon, dragons and tigers on silk and satin fabric and the use of dragons and rhinoceroses to decorate horse saddles*” (Yuán Shǐ, chapter 7)³³². The interdiction of using the mentioned symbols by the Mongol court was likely done with the understanding that these were symbols of royalty and could therefore be used by rulers only, as the dignitary portrayed in the mentioned miniature of MS or. Suppl. persan 205, preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Fig. 86). Incidentally, scholars have suggested that the horseman-ruler depicted in this miniature is one of the first ilkhans, either Hülegü or Abaqa³³³.

A quick overview of the development of Armenian-Mongol relations will help us to understand the possible motivation behind the choice of the prince's attire in MS M 8321 and, with it, some aspects of the Cilician courtly art and culture in the second half of the thirteenth century.

When the Mongols reached the borders of the Sultanate of Rûm and achieved a decisive victory against the Seljuks in the battle of Köse Dağ or *Č'man-katuk* (1243)³³⁴,

³²⁶ Paris, Louvre Museum, Département des Arts de l'Islam, Inv. Nr. OA 6319. See also: Roger M. Savory, “Land of the Lion and the Sun,” in *The World of Islam: faith, people, culture*, ed. Bernard Lewis (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 245, Fig. 1.

³²⁷ London, The British Museum, The Islamic World, ME OA 1891.6-23.5.

³²⁸ New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nr. 91.1.553.

³²⁹ New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nr. 44.131.

³³⁰ Saint Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, ИР 1544.

³³¹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS or. Suppl. persan 205, fol. 1v. See: Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni (eds.), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256-1353*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), Fig. 201.

³³² Citation from: Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 108.

³³³ Komaroff and Carboni (eds.), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, 244.

³³⁴ Kirakos Ganjakec'i seems to be the only contemporaneous chronicler who mentions the exact name of the battle site *Č'man-katuk*, which is probably the village of Chimin, near Erzinka. In the rest of the sources, the site of the battle is mentioned as “Köse Dağ,” which literally means “bald mountain,” closely corresponding to the landscape of the village of Chimin. See: *Kirakos Ganjakec'i*, 282; Ašot Galstyan, “The First Armeno-Mongol Negotiations,” translation by Robert Bedrosian, *The Armenian Review* 1

they posed a serious threat to the Levant. To avoid this, Het'um I, though still being in obligations towards his Seljuk neighbors, hurried to offer his cooperation to the Mongols³³⁵. He sent a delegation and “valuable presents” to the Mongol commander Baiju Noyan, who agreed to a treaty with the Armenian king³³⁶. The consensus was that Het'um would deliver Sultan Kaykhosrow's family (who had come to Cilicia to escape the Mongols) to Baiju Noyan, which was fulfilled soon after³³⁷. This was the first step in establishing the Armenian-Mongol relations and the Mongol suzerainty over the Cilician kingdom³³⁸.

To renew these relations, during 1248-1250, Smbat, the constable of the Armenian state and the brother of Het'um, traveled to the Mongol capital Karakorum to visit the Great Khan Mongke³³⁹. There he married a Mongol princess (by whom he had a son named Vasil the T'at'ar³⁴⁰), which is narrated by Grigor Aknerc'i (Grigor of Akner) as follows: “*He [the Great Khan]... gave him [Smbat the Constable]... a real T'at'ar*

(1976): 28 (originally in Armenian: Ašot G. Galstyan, “*Hay-montolakan arajin banakc'ut'yunnerə,*” *PBH* 1 (1964): 91-106).

³³⁵ *Kirakos Ganjakec'i*, 281-285; *Vahram Rabuni*, 220; *Samuēl Anec'i*, 247. See also: Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians*, 60-66; Mutaſian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, tome I, 133-134; Georg Altunian, *Die Mongolen und ihre Eroberungen in kaukasischen und kleinasiatischen Ländern im XIII. Jahrhundert*, Inaugural-Dissertation (17. Mai 1911), Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin (Berlin: Verlag von Emil Ebering, 1911), 40; Galstyan, “The First Armeno-Mongol Negotiations,” 29-32.

³³⁶ The meeting of Het'um's emissaries and Baiju Noyan took place through the agency of the Armenian Prince of Xaç'en in Arč'ax, Hasan Ĵalal, who participated in the Mongols' campaigns and enjoyed the confidence of Baiju. See: *Kirakos Ganjakec'i*, 285. See also: Iosif A. Orbeli, “hАсан Джалал, князь Хаченский [Hasan Ĵalal, Lord of Xaç'en],” in *I. A. Orbeli, Избранные труды [Selected Works]* (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1963), 153-154 (first published *Известия Императорской Академии Наук* 61 (1909) No VI, vol. III); Ašot Galstyan, *Monlolanakan šrĵani hay divanagitut'yan patmut'yunic' [Armenian Diplomacy during the Mongol Period]*, (Leninakan: Pedagogical Institute, 1945), 28-29, 41-42; Mutaſian, *Le royaume arménien de Cilicie*, 55.

³³⁷ *Kirakos Ganjakec'i*, 285; *Smbat sparapet*, 122; *La Chronographie de Bar Hebraeus*, volume 2, 271, 274. See also: Galstyan, “The First Armeno-Mongol Negotiations,” 32; Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians*, 79; Mutaſian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, tome I, 134.

³³⁸ In the beginning, the idea of cooperation with the Mongols was accepted by some Cilician notables with disbelief. In 1243, before the battle of Köse Dağ, there was disagreement among the Armenian lords of Cilicia about which side to support between the Seljuks and the Mongols. Kostandin, Prince of Lambron, not only opposed the alliance with the Mongols, but cooperated with the Seljuks and attacked with them Cilicia even after the battle of Köse Dağ. See: Galstyan, “The First Armeno-Mongol Negotiations,” 29; Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians*, 62, 79-80, n. 49. For the sources, see: *Kirakos Ganjakec'i*, 287-288; *Smbat sparapet*, 122-123.

³³⁹ *Smbat sparapet*, 124; *Kirakos Ganjakec'i*, 317; *Hayton, La flor des estoires de la terre d'orient*, 164. See also: Mutaſian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, tome I, 138; Claude Mutaſian, “Visites arméniennes aux souverains mongols (1240-1305),” in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, Travaux et mémoires 18 (Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance), dir. Aram Mardirossian, Agnès Ouzounian et C.onstantin Zuckerman (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2014), 476-477.

³⁴⁰ *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 114.

queen with a crown, which for them was a great honor. To whomsoever they honor and esteem they give a wife from their women of station.”³⁴¹ This and many other testimonies confirm the success of Smbat’s mission, which would also provide necessary preparations for King Het’um’s upcoming pro-Mongolian policy. In 1253, Het’um himself traveled to the Mongol capital Karakorum – a long-haul and long-lasting journey, which is described by many authors, among them in Kirakos Ganjakec’i *History of the Armenians*³⁴². In Karakorum, according to the historian Hayton of Corycus, Het’um I and Mongke agreed on seven points related to military cooperation, the exemption of the Armenian and other Christian churches from taxes, the liberation of the Holy Land from the hands of the Muslims, etc³⁴³. While Hayton’s narrative was composed some decades later and for propagandistic purposes, it is not wrong that Het’um’s Mongolian deal was aimed at forging an anti-Muslim alliance against the Mamluks. Promoted both by the Mongols and the West, this anti-Muslim union would soon result in positive but then in negative consequences for the Christians of the Eastern Mediterranean³⁴⁴.

During the above-mentioned meetings between the Mongol and Armenian dignitaries, also on many other occasions that occurred in the following decades³⁴⁵, there were, almost always, acts of gift-exchange and gift-giving, well documented in textual sources. Vardan Arewelc’i, who himself was a member of the Armenian delegation to

³⁴¹ *Grigor of Akanc’*, 314-315. For the original text in Armenian, see: *Grigor vardapet Aknerc’i, Patmut’iwn t’at’arac’*, text and notes by Norair Polarean, 2nd printing (Jerusalem: Press of the Armenian Patriarchate, 1974), 32.

³⁴² John A. Boyle, “The Journey of Het’um I, King of Little Armenia, to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke,” in John Andrew Boyle, *The Mongol World Empire 1206-1370* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977), 177, 181-188 (reprinted from *CAJ* 9 (1964): 175-189); John A. Boyle, “Kirakos of Ganjak on the Mongols,” in John Andrew Boyle, *The Mongol World Empire 1206-1370* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977), 199-214 (reprinted from *CAJ* 8 (1963): 199-214); Zaven Arzoumanian, “Kirakos Ganjakec’i and His *History of Armenia*,” in *Medieval Armenian Culture*, edited by Thomas J. Samuelian and Michael E. Stone, University of Pennsylvania - Armenian Texts and Studies 6 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1984), 267-268. For the original text in Armenian, see: *Kirakos Ganjakec’i*, 364-372, esp. 367-369, 371-372.

³⁴³ Hayton, *La flor des estoires de la terre d’orient*, 164-165. See also: Gérard Dédéyan, “Le rayonnement de l’État arménien de Cilicie,” in *Histoire du peuple arménien*, sous la dir. de Gérard Dédéyan (Toulouse: Édition Privat, 2007), 339; Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians*, 86-87; Mutafian, *L’Arménie du Levant*, tome I, 140-141; Mutafian, “Visites arméniennes aux souverains mongols,” 477-478.

³⁴⁴ Paul Pelliot, “Les mongols et la papauté,” *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* III/XXIII (1922-1923): 3-4; Denise Aigle, “The Letters of Eljigidei, Hülegü and Abaqa: Mongol overtures or Christian Ventriloquism?” *Inner Asia* 7/2 (2005): 150-151.

³⁴⁵ For more meetings between the Armenian and Mongol notables, see: Mutafian, “Visites arméniennes aux souverains mongols,” 476-478, 483-486.

Hülegü in 1264, has devoted a chapter of his *History* to this visit³⁴⁶. The high-level visits and meetings particularly frequent during the reigns of Hülegü (1256-1265) and of his son Abaqa (1265-1282) and continued until the death of Mahmud Ghazan (1304)³⁴⁷.

Below are some excerpts from mainly Armenian sources mentioning the Mongol rulers' offering the Armenian dignitaries clothing or other political gifts, the acceptance of which would mean to accept the Mongol suzerainty. In Mongol culture, the offering of precious cloths to high-ranking officials indicated political orientation and cooperation but also subordination of the leader who received the clothing³⁴⁸. So was the politics of diplomatic clothing among the Mongols, for whom, in Thomas Allsen's words, "clothing was always a key and mandatory element in the establishment of new relationships."³⁴⁹ In his *Description of the World*, Marco Polo writes that during a year the Great Khan organized thirteen celebrations during which he presented to his subordinate princes and noblemen new clothing and belts decorated with precious stones and gold³⁵⁰. The above-mentioned chronicler Vardan Arewelc'i describes as an eyewitness a similar celebration organized in 1264 by Hülegü, on whose invitation the Armenian and Georgian kings and the Prince of Antioch were also participating³⁵¹. The future king Lewon II might have received his robe adorned with the Lion and Sun symbol during one of those meetings but more likely via his father who could have brought it when returning to Cilicia in 1256. The below excerpts referring to Armeno-Mongol high-level visits do not answer the questions related to Prince Lewon's robe but they surely offer a historical context, into which to place suchlike clothing charged with political symbols.

a) 1248-1250 – *Het'um...had first sent his brother Smbat, who was his commander-in-chief, to the Khan Giug with gifts and presents, and he had returned from him with honour and a rescript of acceptance* (Kirakos Ganjakec'i)³⁵²;

³⁴⁶ *Vardan vardapet*, 155-159. For the English translation, see: *Vardan Arewelc'i*, 220-221.

³⁴⁷ Dickran Kouymjian, "Chinese Dragons and Phoenixes among the Armenians," in *Caucasus during the Mongol Period – Der Kaukasus in der Mongolenzeit*, edited by Jürgen Tubach, Sophia G. Vashalomidze, and Manfred Zimmer (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2012), 107-108.

³⁴⁸ Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 46-50.

³⁴⁹ Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 94, also 93.

³⁵⁰ *Marco Polo, The Description of the World*, translated by Arthur Christopher Moule and Paul Pelliot, volume I (London: G. Routledge, 1938), 225-226.

³⁵¹ See above, n. 346.

³⁵² Boyle, "The Journey of Het'um I," 177-178. For the original text in Armenian, see: *Kirakos Ganjakec'i*, 364.

He [Great Khan] made him [Smbat the Constable] a vassal and gave him a great iarłax³⁵³, a golden tablet, and a real Tat'ar queen with a crown... Thus they were giving great honor to the Armenian general (Grigor of Akner)³⁵⁴.

b) 1253-1254 – *And [King Het'um] having visited Baçu Nuin, who was the commander of the T'at'ar army in the East, and other great men, and having been honoured by them... (Kirakos Ganjakec'i)³⁵⁵.*

c) 1254 – *In 703 [Armenian Era] the pious king of the Armenians, Het'um, went to Bat'aw, the great king of the North, a relative of Č'angez-lan, and then on to Manku-lan. He was honored in accordance with his dignity, and returned a year later in peace to his own throne (Vardan Arewelc'i)³⁵⁶.*

d) *And having offered his presents [the king] was suitably honored by him [Mangu Khan] (Kirakos Ganjakec'i)³⁵⁷.*

e) *...l'emperor [Mangu Khan] le [King Het'um] resceut mult benigneement et cortoisement; et comanda á plusour de plus nobles de son hostel q'il l'onorassent et lui tenissent compaignie. Et l'emperor ... tantes des graces et honours qe homes en parle jesqe au jour de hui (Hayton or Het'um of Corycus)³⁵⁸.*

f) 1256 – *He [Het'um] then came back [from the court of Mangu] with great honours and conquered many provinces (Vahram of Edessa)³⁵⁹.*

g) 1264 – *I [Hülegü] shall honor you [Vardan Arewelc'i and the others] with a garment of gold and give you much gold (Vardan Arewelc'i)³⁶⁰.*

h) 1264 – *Now when we [Armenian delegates] desired permission to leave, he [Hülegü] summoned us and spoke with us. In his hand he held a bališ [gold or siver coin], and he had two garments sewn (Vardan Arewelc'i)³⁶¹.*

³⁵³ *Iarłax* – an imperial decree given by the Mongol Khans. See: *Grigor of Akanc'*, 387, n. 34.

³⁵⁴ *Grigor of Akanc'*, 314-315; *Grigor vardapet Aknerc'i*, 32. It should be paid attention to the fact that the Armenian Constable deserved all the honors as a vassal of the Great Khan.

³⁵⁵ Boyle, "The Journey of Het'um I," 179. For the original text in Armenian, see: *Kirakos Ganjakec'i*, 364.

³⁵⁶ *Vardan Arewelc'i*, 216. For the original text in Armenian, see: *Vardan vardapet*, 148-149.

³⁵⁷ Boyle, "The Journey of Het'um I," 181. For the original text in Armenian, see: *Kirakos Ganjakec'i*, 367.

³⁵⁸ *Hayton, La flor des estoires de la terre d'orient*, 164.

³⁵⁹ *Vahram's Chronicle*, 49. For the original text in Armenian, see: *Vahram Rabuni*, 220.

³⁶⁰ *Vardan Arewelc'i*, 221. For the original text in Armenian, see: *Vardan vardapet*, 158.

³⁶¹ *Vardan Arewelc'i*, 221. For the original text in Armenian, see: *Vardan vardapet*, 158.

i) [1269] *La même année, Lewon, baron des Arméniens, se rendit en Orient, auprès du khān Abaqa qui le reçut avec considération et le renvoya en Cilicie avec de nombreux présents* (Smbat the Constable)³⁶².

j) [1269] *...the Khan [Abaqa], and other princes, sent missions of peace to him [Lewon], entreating that he might be crowned king of Cilicia* (Vahram of Edessa)³⁶³.

k) [1267-1268] *And king Haitūm [Het'um] went to pay homage to the King of Kings, in Baghdād, and he gave thanks for the deliverance of his son, and he received a Pūkdānā [an official license] ordering his son to administer the kingdom; and he himself was to dwell in peace because he was an old man and was feeble. And the King of Kings commanded that when he [Lewon] came unto us we were to transfer to him the kingdom* (Bar Hebraeus)³⁶⁴.

l) [1269] *And in the month of Tammūz (July) the lord of the revenue, Lion [Lewon], the son of the king, went to do homage to the King of Kings; and he was received handsomely, and it was decided that he was to rule the kingdom of his father* (Bar Hebraeus)³⁶⁵.

m) *...The Moguls [Mongols] came and destroyed them [the Seljuks] by the sword, sent presents to our king, and behaved in general very kindly to him* (Vahram Rabuni)³⁶⁶.

Some of these sources explicitly mention the necessity of Lewon's confirmation by the Mongol overlords as king of Armenia. This obliged King Het'um to carry out the requirement of a *pūkdānā* during the last years of his reign, which would secure Lewon's succession to the throne. That is why, in some sources, the year 1269 is mentioned as the first year of Lewon's reign, whereas, in reality, Het'um was still the ruling king³⁶⁷. When discussing official images of Het'um I on his coins, we saw that some of them also include the name of Lewon, which was explained as demonstrating the latter's upcoming

³⁶² *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 123.

³⁶³ *Vahram's Chronicle*, 53.

³⁶⁴ *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj*, 448.

³⁶⁵ *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj*, 448.

³⁶⁶ *Vahram's Chronicle*, 58. For the original text in Armenian, see: *Vahram Rabuni*, 235.

³⁶⁷ "This was done in 1269 in Sis, the capital of Cilicia, during the reign of King Het'um and in the first year of the crown-prince Lewon..." writes Kirakos Ganjakec'i in the final part of his *History* (see: Arzoumanian, "Kirakos Ganjakec'i and His *History of Armenia*," 263). See also the colophon of manuscript No. 2, formerly preserved in the Monastery of Saint Magar (Macarius) in Cyprus: Nerses Akinian, *Katalog der armenischen Handschriften in Nikosia auf Cyprus* (Vienna: Mechitharisten-Buchdruckerei, 1961), 7.

rule. For this, however, both Het'um and Lewon had to pay several visits to their Mongol overlords.

Lion and Sun: the wanderings of a royal symbol from Iran to Cilicia

Today, in different museums of the world, one can see various works of art, mainly metal objects, created during the Ilkhanid period, with the combined images of the twelve zodiac signs and celestial bodies ruling them. I have already mentioned above a few artworks representing the symbol of Lion and Sun (Figs. 83-84). In Iran, this motif has been in continued use, not just as a zodiac sign or power symbol, but more likely, both together. During the Ilkhanid period, the astronomy started to re-flourish in Iran, a sign of which is Hülegü's construction of an observatory in Maragha³⁶⁸. By the middle decades of the thirteenth century, the acceptance of Mongol calendar, just as the acceptance of their courtly clothing, became "the basic criterion for submission," as shown by Thomas Allsen³⁶⁹.

To the Mongol astrological and propagandistic efforts may also be related the symbol of the horizontal crescent, shown on Ilkhanid coins in the hands of the cross-legged rulers (Fig. 99)³⁷⁰. In the thirteenth century, such a depiction of the moon symbolized the planet and was greatly spread in some Islamic cultures as well³⁷¹. The crescent was the second most widespread symbol in Mongol coinage after that of the sun, and an information concerning the Great Khan Qubilai preserved in Marco Polo's text reflects well the Mongol rulers' preference for these symbols: "*He had his ensign royal,*

³⁶⁸ See: George Saliba, "Horoscopes and Planetary Theory: Ilkhanid Patronage of Astronomers," in *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, edited by Linda Komaroff (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 357-368. See also: Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), chapter seventeen 'Astronomy', 161-175, esp. 162-163.

³⁶⁹ Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*, 175.

³⁷⁰ Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Mongols*, 21 (Nr. 52, 53), Pl. II (Nr. 53); 31 (Nr. 84), Pl. II (Nr. 84). See also: *Iran moğolları ve altın paraları / The Mongols of Persia and Their Gold Coins*, Numismatik Yayınları No. 4 (Istanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Bankası, 1973), 24, Pl. 12; Komaroff and Carboni (eds.), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, Fig. 236. On one of the coins of Abu Said, at the end of the legend is written *al-Hilaliya* which means 'half-moon'. For the image, see: Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Mongols*, 72 (Nr. 210), Pl. IV (Nr. 210). On *hilāl*, see: Joseph Schacht & Richard Ettinghausen, "Hilāl," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Second edition, Volume III (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 379-385.

³⁷¹ William F. Spengler and Wayne G. Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography*, volume II – *The Zengids* (Lodi: Clio's cabinet, 1996), 121.

with the figure of the sun and of the moon, raised above him so high that it could be well seen from all sides from afar.”³⁷²

Returning to the symbol of the Lion and Sun, it should be mentioned that in Anatolia it long survived in the art of the Artuqids. It is found on many Artuqid monuments and objects, such as on the twelfth-century Malabadi bridge, on coins (Fig. 96)³⁷³, on the thirteenth-century bronze mirror with the twelve zodiac signs, which was made for the last Artuqid ruler of Kharberd and is now kept in The David Collection in Copenhagen (Fig. 97)³⁷⁴.

The Lion and Sun symbol is also depicted on the silver coins of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhosrow II (1237-1246) of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm (Fig. 98)³⁷⁵. When examining the clothing of Prince Lewon depicted in MS M 8321, some parallels have been drawn between this image and the Seljukid coins of Kaykhosrow as a result of the Armenian-Seljuk alliance³⁷⁶. In this regard, Ioanna Rapti makes the following observation: “The dates of the patriarchate of Kostandin [the commissioner of the manuscript] do not allow us to place the portrait in the period of the Seljuk alliance, but perhaps one could propose a date closer to 1245.”³⁷⁷ The patriarchal period of Kostandin (1221-1266/7) do in fact correspond to the Armenian-Seljuk alliance, but some other aspects of this interpretation do not support such a date and attribution. In 1245 and already some time earlier, the Armenian ruling family had become oriented towards the Mongols, and under new political situation Kaykhosrow II was cast in the role of an enemy. The Seljuk Sultan himself, after the battle of Köse Dağ in 1243, considered the Armenians as his enemies

³⁷² Marco Polo, 197.

³⁷³ William F. Spengler and Wayne G. Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography*, volume I (Lodi: Clío's cabinet, 1992), 164, 171, 193.

³⁷⁴ Copenhagen, *The David Collection*, The Collection of Islamic Art, Inv. No. 4-1996. See also: Spengler and Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins*, volume I, 120.

³⁷⁵ For descriptions of the *Lion and Sun* coins of Kaykhosrow II, see: Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Turkoman Houses of Seljook, Urtuk, Zengee etc. in the British Museum, Classes X-XIV* (Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum), volume III (London: Longmans & Co.; Paris: MM. C. Rollin & Feuardent, 1877), 76-86 (Nr. 190-230), PL. V (Nr. 190, 200, 230, 216, 226). For the color image and discussion, see: Antony Eastmond, “Diplomatic Gifts: Women and Art as Imperial Commodities in the 13th Century,” in *Liquid & Multiple: Individuals & Identities In the Thirteenth-Century Aegean*, edited by Guillaume Saint-Guillain and Dionysios Stathakopoulos, Collège de France – Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 35 (Paris: ACHCByz, 2012), Fig. 7.

³⁷⁶ Rapti, “Featuring the King,” 311; Ioanna Rapti, “Image et monnaie dans le royaume arménien de Cilicie (XIII^e-XIV^e siècle),” in *Des images dans l'histoire*, edited by Marie-France Auzépy and Joël Cornette (Saint-Denis : Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, 2008), 47.

³⁷⁷ Rapti, “Featuring the King,” 311.

and accused them of his defeat against the Mongols, which was not completely wrong³⁷⁸. In 1245, Kaykhosrow II attacked Cilicia to take revenge on the Armenians: “*And in this year (1245), the Sultan Ghayath Ad-Din became inflamed with anger, and he sent a multitude of troops to lay waste Cilicia, because they had handed his mother and sister over to the Tatars. And the men of Beth Rhomaye [Rum] went and encamped against the city of Tarsos, and they made fierce war upon it. And there was present there Pali, the father of King Haitum, with the Kontustabl [Constable Smbat], his eldest son, and they also from within successfully resisted those who were outside because of the large number of Franks which they had with them.*”³⁷⁹ It is obvious that after 1243 Armenian-Seljuk relations became increasingly hostile, hence it seems less likely that the royal symbol depicted on the robe of the Cilician crown prince might have been created around 1245 as a result of Armeno-Seljuk contacts.

A search for the Lion and Sun symbol on other Seljuk coins is fruitless, since Kaykhosrow II is the only Rum sultan on whose coins it is depicted. In contrast, the Ilkhanid coins emblazoned with the same motif have been undeservedly disregarded by art historians. Moreover, the Lion and Sun symbol was neither used by the predecessors of Kaykhosrow II nor by himself until their confrontation with the Mongols in the 1240s³⁸⁰. There is another hypothesis, according to which the depiction of the Lion and Sun on Kaykhosrow’s coins may have had an astrological meaning, associated with the zodiac sign of Lion of the sultan’s wife, the Georgian princess Tamar, whose marriage took place in 1240. This presumption is based on a later edited version of the *Chronography* of Bar Hebraeus: “*Sultan Ghiyāt al-Dīn... was so enamoured of her that he wanted to depict her on dirhams, but he was advised to have (instead) the image of a lion against a sun to refer to his good fortune and achieve his aim.*”³⁸¹ Given that figurative images are usually missing from the Seljuk coinage, such an innovation could

³⁷⁸ *La Chronographie de Bar Hebraeus*, volume 2, 275.

³⁷⁹ *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj, the son of Aaron, the Hebrew physician commonly known as Bar Hebraeus, being the first part of his Political History of the World*, transl. Ernest A. Wallis Budge, volume I (New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2003), 410; *La Chronographie de Bar Hebraeus*, volume 2, 274-275. For this event, see also: *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk'*, 226-227.

³⁸⁰ Peacock, “Georgia and the Anatolian Turks in the 12th and 13th Centuries,” *Anatolian Studies* 56 (2006): 141. See also: Judith G. Kolbas, *The Mongols in Iran: Chingiz Khan to Uljaytu, 1220-1309* (London - New York: Routledge, 2006), 123.

³⁸¹ Citation from: Peacock, “Georgia and the Anatolian Turks,” 141.

well be related to his new wife, who is known to have a great influence on Kaykhosrow³⁸².

Thirteenth-century Armenian art and the effects of Pax Mongolica

When discussing the date of MS M8321, I mentioned that, in the colophon of the *Zeyt'un Gospels*, T'oros Țoslin wrote that the manuscript was copied in the year when King Het'um was returning from the court of the great khan. The inclusion of this information into Țoslin's colophon speaks for its importance. At least two other codices signed by Țoslin contain episodes related to Mongols. These are, however, not textual but artistic episodes. In the Gospel Book dating from 1260 (MS J 251), in the full-page miniature of the *Adoration of the Magi* a group of Mongols are depicted coming from the East along with the biblical magi. The accompanying inscription reads as follows (fol. 15v): "*Tatars (Mongols) have arrived today*" (Figs. 87ab).

It appears that in the very year this manuscript was created, a Mongolian delegation had actually come to Cilicia to convey Hülegü's message to the Armenian king about joining the Mongols in their conquest of Syria. The result was that with the help of Het'um I, also of Bohemond VI of Antioch, the Mongols captured Aleppo and the rest of Syria – an event which is documented in the colophon of the same manuscript J 251 (fol. 325r)³⁸³. It is noteworthy that during this military cooperation the Mongol army passed through Hromkla, where the workshop of Țoslin was situated (Fig. 88)³⁸⁴. The mighty progress of the Mongols on one hand and the newly forged Armenian-Mongol alliance on the other seem to have stimulated Țoslin's imagination. Perhaps the four inscriptions in Arabic script which Țoslin inserted into the decorations of this

³⁸² Eastmond, "Diplomatic Gifts," 128-129.

³⁸³ *Colophons, 13th century*, 301. See also: *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk'*, 235-236; Hayton, *La flor des estoires de la terre d'orient*, 170-171; *The 'Templar of Tyre' - Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'*, translated by Paul Crawford, *Crusade Texts in Translation* 6 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 34; Angus Stewart, "Qal'at al-Rūm / Hromgla / Rumkale and the Mamluk Siege of 691 AH / 1292 CE," in *Muslim Military Architecture in Greater Syria from the Coming of Islam to the Ottoman Period*, edited by Hugh Kennedy (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2006), 271.

³⁸⁴ For a map showing the movement of the Mongol troops in 1256-1260, see: Mutfian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, tome II, map 28. See also: Claude Mutfian, "L'Arménie cilicienne et son héritage culturel," in *Arménie. Impressions d'une civilisation*, Museo Correr, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, 16 décembre 2011 – 10 avril 2012, dir. de Gabriella Uluhogian, Boghos Lewon Zekiyian, Vartan Karapetian (Milano: Skira, 2011), 160.

manuscript's canon tables (J 251, fols. 2r, 3v, 12v, 13r, Figs. 89abcd) are also to be associated with these issues (if not *pseudo-kufic*), but I was not able to read them³⁸⁵.

Āroslin depicted Mongols together with biblical magi two years later in the Gospel manuscript created in 1262, which is kept at the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (MS W 539, fol. 19r) (Fig. 90). A Mongolian image appears in the scene of the *Return of the Magi* – a rather rare theme in medieval Armenian art, as if continuing the story from the previous manuscript J 251. In 1262, after his Syrian campagne Hülegü returned to his country (although, on the way, he had to go north to fight against Berke Khan of the Golden Horde), which likely inspired Āroslin to portray a Mongolian personage in the scene of the *Return of the Magi*, paralleling this scene with the Mongols' return from the region. The miniature has an inscription: "*The Magi return to their country.*"

Āroslin's association of the Mongols with the biblical magi, who had arrived from the East – from where the Mongols originated – is obvious. The Armenian miniaturist has given quite a symbolic solution to this political event, combining the images of the Mongols with the biblical magi. The respective biblical story, along with its apocryphal versions, has found an echo in contemporaneous historiographical writings as well, with a special reference to magi's appearance in Cilicia: "... *the Magi, warned to return from Bethlehem by another route, came to Joppe [Iopea], where, embarking on a ship that they found there but that was lacking all its necessary equipment, they entered the port of this Tarshish [Tarsus] without oars and sails, went ashore, and from there returned to their own countries.*"³⁸⁶

The association of the Mongols with the biblical Magi has been found in the art of not only Cilicia but also of other Mediterranean countries. A "mongolized" Magus appears in the scene of the *Birth of Christ* among the wall paintings of the Church of St. Nicholas of the Roof in Kakopetria, in Cyprus (fourteenth century) (Fig. 91)³⁸⁷. Analogous examples are to be found in two icons created after the second half of the thirteenth

³⁸⁵ Prof. Pierre Moukarzel, who has kindly agreed to offer his reading, believes that among the words might be the title of a Mongol khan, but the form of writing is not clear enough.

³⁸⁶ *Wilbrand of Oldenburg*, 77, also 86.

³⁸⁷ Andreas Stylianou and Judith Stylianou, "Differentiated Magi in the Painted Churches of Cyprus," *Αρχαίολογία* 3 (1991): 1791-1795. See also: Andreas Stylianou and Judith Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus: Treasures of Byzantine Art*, Second edition (Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation, 1997), Fig. 28.

century by the so-called Crusader painters (Figs. 92-93)³⁸⁸. The scene depicting the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi appears on an iconostasis, kept at the Monastery of St. Catherine on the Mount Sinai (Fig. 92). Each of the three magi is portrayed in an individual manner and look, for which Jaroslav Folda has suggested that “these three figures represent Hetoum I as the eldest magus in his royal red robe, Bohemund VI in his noble Italianate dress, and Kitbogha, the victorious Mongol general,” as at that time these three leaders were in a remarkable alliance³⁸⁹. As to the second icon from the Mount Sinai (Fig. 93), its painting seems to be familiar with Cilician Armenian art not only due to the presence of a “mongolized” Magus, but also due to its stylistic and thematic parallels, as pointed out on one occasion by Annemarie Weyl Carr³⁹⁰.

The appearance of the “mongolized” magi in at least three Levantine countries reflects how the Mongols were perceived in the Eastern Mediterranean region. In the West as well, the westward advancement of the Mongols found indirect echoes in visual arts. Thus, in the scene of the Crucifixion of Saint Peter, painted on the left back panel of the *Stefaneschi Triptych* and commissioned by Cardinal Giacomo Stefaneschi around 1320, Giotto di Bondone has depicted a Mongol horseman (Fig. 94)³⁹¹. A few years later, in the Basilica of San Francesco in Siena, Ambrogio Lorenzetti depicted a Mongol nobleman in the scene of the Martyrdom of five Franciscan friars³⁹² (Fig. 95).

Another effect of Pax Mongolica was the penetration of Chinese and Far Eastern motifs into Cilician royal art, which has been investigated in detail by Dickran Kouymjian³⁹³. Thus, the symbols of dragon and phoenix are found in several Cilician

³⁸⁸ For the first icon (Fig. 92), see: Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 318-324, esp. 318.

³⁸⁹ Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, 321.

³⁹⁰ Annemarie Weyl Carr, “Icon-Tact: Byzantium and the Art of Cilician Armenia,” in *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Art, Religion, and Society*, papers delivered at The Pierpont Morgan Library at a Symposium organized by Thomas F. Matthews and Roger S. Wick, 21-22 May 1994 (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1998), 74-75.

³⁹¹ The appearance of the Mongol image in Giotto’s art is explained by Lauren Arnold with the fact that “Mongols were noted in Rome during the Jubilee of 1320.” See: Lauren Arnold, *Princely Gifts and Papal Treasures: The Franciscan Mission to China and Its Influence on the Art of the West, 1250-1350* (San Francisco: Desiderata Press, 1999), 54.

³⁹² Roxann Prazniak, “Siena on the Silk Roads: Ambrogio Lorenzetti and the Mongol Global Century, 1250-1350,” *Journal of World History* Volume 21 / No. 2 (June 2010): 177-217.

³⁹³ See: Dickran Kouymjian, “Chinese Elements in Armenian Miniature Painting in the Mongol Period,” in *Armenian studies / Études arméniennes: In Memoriam Haïg Berberian*, edited by Dickran Kouymjian (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1986), 415-468; Dickran Kouymjian, “Chinese Motifs in Thirteenth-Century Armenian Art: The Mongol Connection,” in *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*,

manuscripts, commissioned or owned by Cilician ruling aristocrats or high clergy. These are depicted on two incipit pages of the *Lectionary of Crown Prince Het'um* (Figs. 100-101)³⁹⁴ and on the robe of Yovhannēs, brother of King Het'um I, in the Gospel Book M 197 (Fig. 174). In explaining how the Chinese motifs appeared in Cilician Armenia, Dickran Kouymjian writes: "...the most natural channel was through the exchange of royal gifts between Armenian and Mongol royalty or through commerce. The most transportable of presents would have been Chinese or Central Asia silks, standard presents of honour."³⁹⁵ This explanation can be applied to the robe of Prince Lewon depicted in MS M 8321. It is worth to quote Thomas Allsen's explanation's as well, who based on the texts of *P'eng Ta-ya* and *Yuán Shǐ*, writes that "the Mongols carried these symbols [sun, moon, dragon, phoenix] with them when they turned west and conquered much of the Islamic world in the period 1220-60."³⁹⁶

In Cilician Armenia, not only clothing but also other objects appeared as a result of the Mongol advancement but also of the Armeno-Mongol relations discussed above. In 1248-1250, when Smbat the Constable visited the Great Khan, the latter honored him with a golden tablet – also called *tablet of authority* or *paiza*³⁹⁷. Marco Polo gives detailed information about these tablets, which greatly corroborates the records of the Armenian sources:

For the tablets of authority are so arranged that he who has command of a hundred has a silver tablet; and he who has command of a thousand a tablet of gold, or really of silver gilt; and he who has command of ten thousand has a tablet of gold with a lion's head... And on all these tablets is written an order in this manner, and they say: By the power and strength of the great god and of the great grace which he

edited by Linda Komaroff (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 303–324, 524–526 (Pl. 23–25), 590–599 (Figs. 58–67); Dickran Kouymjian, "The Intrusion of East Asian Imagery in Thirteenth-Century Armenia: Political and Cultural Exchange along the Silk Road," in *The Journey of Maps and Images on the Silk Road*, edited by Philippe Forêt and Andreas Kaplony (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 119–133; Kouymjian, "Chinese Dragons and Phoenixes," 107-127.

³⁹⁴ Kouymjian, "Chinese Dragons and Phoenixes," Figs. 1-2.

³⁹⁵ Kouymjian, "Chinese Dragons and Phoenixes," 117. See also: Kouymjian, "Chinese Elements," 417, 448-449.

³⁹⁶ Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 107.

³⁹⁷ *Grigor of Akanc'*, 314-315; *Grigor vardapet Aknerc'i*, 32.

*has given to our emperor, blest be the name of the great Kaan, and may all those who shall not obey him be slain and destroyed.*³⁹⁸

Then he continues:

*He who has a great command of 100 000 men or who is lord, that is captain, of some province with a great general army, these have a tablet of gold which weighs 300 saggi, and there are letters written which say just as the others of which I have told you above. And below the letters on the tablet is portrayed the lion or the image of the gerfalcon or of different animals, and above the lion on the other side are imaged the sun and the moon. And again beside this they have the great Kaan's warrants of great authority as is seen in this noble tablet and of great power.*³⁹⁹

The *tablets of authority* were also considered to be guarantees of safe passage through the large territories of the Mongol Empire, and several specimens have fortunately come down to us (Figs. 102-103)⁴⁰⁰. The Mongol rulers presented these tablets, along with clothing and other diplomatic gifts, to their subordinate leaders⁴⁰¹.

Concluding this section dedicated to the effects of Pax Mongolica on visual arts and material culture, one must observe that these effects were strongly felt not only in Cilicia but also in Greater Armenia, where the local Armenian rulers had their own political agenda with the Mongols. Many questions concerning the Mongol-era art of Greater Armenia are still unexplored but two artefacts dating from the last decades of the

³⁹⁸ Marco Polo, 203.

³⁹⁹ Marco Polo, 204.

⁴⁰⁰ See: *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben: Das Weltreich der Mongolen*, Ausstellung - 16. Juni bis 25. September 2005, Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn; 16. Oktober 2005 bis 29. Januar 2006, Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde München (München: Hirmer Verlag, 2005), 29, Figs. 6-7; Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, volume I - *Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1963), 239; Yakov Ivanovich Smirnov, *Argenterie orientale. Recueil d'ancienne vaisselle orientale en argent et en or, trouvée principalement en Russie* (Saint-Petersbourg: Édition de la Commission Impériale Archéologique à l'occasion de son jubilé semi-séculaire (1859-1909), 1909), Pl. XCIII-XCIV (Figs. 29-34), CXXVIII (Figs. 70-70a) (in Russian and French).

⁴⁰¹ For the *paiza* rewards by the Mongol rulers, see: George Lane, *Early Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Iran: A Persian Renaissance* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 21, 26, 140-141, 145, 154, 162, 165, 168, 175, 180, 223. For the award of robes of honor and other gifts, see: Lane, *Early Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Iran*, 29, 86, 133, 146, 153, 156, 162, 163, 165, 167, 170, 172, 173, 175. For the miniature showing a Mongol Ilkhan honoring an official with jeweled belt, see: *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben*, 259, Fig. 287.

thirteenth century deserve a brief mention here. On the two *xač'k'ars* (cross-stones) from *Urc'* (1279)⁴⁰² and *Dsel* (1281)⁴⁰³, above the scene of the Crucifixion, under the standard images of the sun and the moon, two animals are depicted identified as eagle and bull⁴⁰⁴ (Figs. 104-105). Striking similarities arose when comparing these images of the eagle and sun with a silver coin of Ilkhan Arghun (1284-1291) (Fig. 106)⁴⁰⁵. Some contemporaneous Armenian authors, such as Step'anos Orbelian, Frik, and Xač'atur Keč'ařec'i, appear to have attached a great importance to a number of events connected with Arghun⁴⁰⁶. In some Armenian sources, Arghun is named the “God-crowned king” or the “ruler who likes the Christians.”⁴⁰⁷ Whether the above-mentioned visual parallels can truly be related to Arghun is speculative, but the reality is that the eagle-sun motif and several other symbols discussed above, such as the Lion and Sun or the Phoenix, appear in Armenian art only episodically and every time in close or remote connection with the Mongols. This tendency considerably weakened by the early fourteenth century with the souring of Armeno-Mongol relations – a change, which is well reflected in Armenian manuscript colophons⁴⁰⁸.

⁴⁰² Now preserved in the Catholicosate of Ējmiacin (Mother See of Holy Ējmiacin).

⁴⁰³ Province of *Lori*, village of *Dsel*, Monument Nr. 5.35.15.1.6 (RA Agency for the Protection of Monuments of History and Culture).

⁴⁰⁴ Hamlet Petrosyan, *Khachkar: The Origins, Functions, Iconography, Semantics* (Yerevan: Printinfo, 2007), 187-191, Figs. 266-271.

⁴⁰⁵ The symbol of the bird in sun depicted on Arghun's coins is identified either as eagle or as mythological raven in the sun known in East Asia. See: *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben*, 207-208, Fig. 235. Another dirham coin with the symbol of the Sun and Eagle struck by Arghun is preserved in a private collection. See: Kathryn Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran*, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs 35 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 388, n. 5.

⁴⁰⁶ Naira Tamamyan, “*Arhūn xani dem kazmakerpvac davadrut'yan ew dra grakan arjagank'neri masin* [To the Plot against Khan Arghoun and Its Literary Responses],” *PBH* 3 (2006): 115-125. Step'anos Orbelian had personally met Ilkhan Arghun. See: Mutafian, “Visites arméniennes aux souverains mongols,” 485.

⁴⁰⁷ Tamamyan, “To the Plot against Khan Arghoun,” 123, 121.

⁴⁰⁸ *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 14th Century* [*Hayeren jeragreri hiřatakaraner, řD. dar*], compiled by Levon Xač'ikyan (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1950), 46 (M 3674), 51 (M 4210), 55 (BL MS. Or. 13804), 56 (M 1590), etc. See also: Nersessian, *A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the British Library*, volume I, 113.

3.2. THE NUPTIAL IMAGE OF PRINCE LEWON AND PRINCESS KEĀN IN THE GOSPEL BOOK J 2660

“*[Christ], accept Lewon, the offspring of the royal kin,
and Lady KeĀn, his spouse, into Your eternity
to take part in Your Glory. Amen.*”
Dedicatory verse written on the folio
opposite the royal image (MS J 2660, fol. 287v)

3.2.1. KeĀn of Lambron, the Spouse of the Future King

As King Het’um I’s accession to the royal throne was accompanied with a succession crisis that was mainly revolving around the identity of the only legitimate successor Zapēl, the choice of the spouse of their firstborn son and future king Lewon II had to be made carefully so that to exclude new dynastic and hereditary turmoil. Any female representative of other aristocratic families, especially that of the erstwhile ruling Ārubenids, to the house of the Het’umids could potentially undermine the newly founded royal branch of this house. Therefore, King Het’um I and his ally, Catholicos Kostandin, did not look far for the spouse of Lewon, even ignoring the fact that this would be a marriage between blood relatives⁴⁰⁹. KeĀn (or, Kir Anna), the daughter of Baron Het’um *sevastavsi*os (from the Greek *sebastos*), owner of the powerful castle of Lambron, perfectly fitted the role of the future queen, since she belonged to the same family as the acting king Het’um – as would be, consequently, the children born into that marriage. If the legitimacy of Het’um I was entirely based on the rights of his Ārubenid spouse Zapēl, then the marriage of KeĀn of Lambron to the future king Lewon II (Ārubenid from maternal and Het’umid from paternal lineage) in fact gave all rights over the Armenian throne to the Het’umids. Some decades later, the eldest son of Lewon and KeĀn, King Het’um II, made this explicit statement about the marriage of his parents: “*In this year [711 A.E. = 1262 A.D.], Lewon, the son of the Armenian king, was given in marriage, and at that same moment Lambron was unified with the [domain of the] Armenian king.*”⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁹ See: Comte Weyprecht Hugo Rüd̄t-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans: The Structure of the Armeno-Cilician Dynasties* (Paris: Imprimerie A. Pigné, 1963), II (H2), III (H2).

⁴¹⁰ *Chronicle of King Het’um II*, in *BC*, vol. I, 82. For the marriage of Lewon and KeĀn, see also: Cowe, “Theology of Kingship,” 418.

3.2.2. The Nuptial Image of Prince Lewon and Princess Keṛan

On the occasion of his marriage to Lady Keṛan of Lambron, Prince Lewon commissioned a sumptuous Gospel codex, which is now kept in the Treasury of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem under the inventory number J 2660. Among many marginal miniatures painted in this manuscript, there is only one full-page image, showing the new-wed couple, which is placed at the end of the volume (Fig. 107). Although in the principal colophon there is no direct reference to the particular occasion of this artistic project, the manuscript is justly referred to by some scholars as the *Wedding Gospels of Lewon and Keṛan*, because it was created in the very year their wedding took place (1262) and because of the miniature in question⁴¹¹. The manuscript was copied and illustrated at the patriarchal See of Hṛomkla, in the monasteries of the Holy Savior, Holy Mother of God and Saint Gregory the Illuminator, as we learn it from the principal colophon (Fig. 108). Both the miniaturist and the scribe of this codex was T'oros Ṛoslin, although the scribe Awetis also took part in the copying of some parts of the text. The binding was done by another demanded master of the time, Aṛak'el Hnazandenc', who says to have completed his work in the same year 1262⁴¹².

Ṛoslin has depicted the young couple standing on red pedestals or footrests and being blessed by Christ, who is flanked by two angels. The forms of the pedestals are different: Keṛan stands on a pedestal in the form of quadrangle, and Lewon on a round pedestal, which is also slightly higher due to the gold stand placed below it. As a result, Lewon's figure is slightly higher than that of Keṛan, which should be seen as prioritizing his identity and stressing his status as future king. On their heads, the royal couple wear stemmas and not elaborate royal crowns which would appear in their next miniature portrait together, created ten years later, in 1272 (Fig. 131). For this reason, the stemmas

⁴¹¹ Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 154-155; Levon Chookaszian, "On the Portrait of Prince Lewon and Princess Keran," *JAS* VI/2 (2000-2001): 73-88; Chookaszian, "The Five Portraits of King Lewon II," 131-132; Evans, "Imperial Aspirations," 247; Thomas F. Mathews, "L'art de la Cilicie: l'Arménie des croisades," in *Armenia Sacra. Mémoire chrétienne des Arméniens (IVe-XVIIIe siècle)*, under the direction of Jannic Durand, Ioanna Rapti and Dorota Giovannoni (Paris: Musée du Louvre Éditions, 2007), 258-260.

⁴¹² *Colophons, 13th century*, 319.

of Lewon and Keran in the manuscript J 2660 have been interpreted as “wedding crowns.”⁴¹³

The gold background and the green garden where the royal couple is shown standing in hint at the Kingdom of Heaven, from where Christ blesses Lewon and Keran. The heavenly connotation is made explicit in the gold-written dedicatory verse as well, which appears on the folio opposite the royal image: “...[Christ], accept Lewon, the offspring of the royal kin, and Lady Keran, his spouse, into Your eternity to take part in Your Glory” (Fig. 109)⁴¹⁴. The expectations for sharing divine glory inspired the artist to opt for an iconography that is typical for saints’ images. Most obvious is the presence of halos in the image of the royal couple. The sanctifying intentions of royal imagery were already implemented in the above-discussed image of Lewon depicted in MS M 8321. However, the halos of Lewon and Keran in MS J 2660 are not the same: Lewon’s halo is entirely gold-made with a red frame, while the halo of Keran, again encircled with a red frame, is filled in with blue and gold interchanging linear ornaments.

The royal couple is shown under a double arch that is guarded by two angels, symbolizing most likely the entrance to the Heavenly Kingdom (Fig. 110). The blue and green floral ornaments of the “Heavenly Kingdom” are repeated in the seventh canon table of the same Gospel manuscript (Fig. 111). Interestingly, this canon table comprises the beginning of the tenth and last canon, which in Armenian Gospel Book illumination stands allegorically for the notion that the paradise is near⁴¹⁵. The identical decorations painted in both this canon table and in the royal image do not therefore fulfill a mere ornamental function but provide an allegorical representation of the soon-to-be-achieved Heavenly Kingdom. This can be confirmed by another particularity of the mentioned flower-like motifs which fill in the space within the headpieces. Thus, in the Gospel Book J 2660, the final Eusebian canon starts, as said, in the seventh canon table (fol. 9v) (Fig. 111) and ends in the next, eighth, canon table (fol. 10r) (Fig. 112). According to the Eusebian system, this last canon table completes the tabular-numerical index of the Four Gospels, indicating thus the end of the evangelical text. Considering the Christ’s Gospel

⁴¹³ Evans, “Imperial Aspirations,” 246; Chookaszian, “On the Portrait of Prince Levon and Princess Keran,” 77.

⁴¹⁴ For the original text in Armenian, see: *Colophons, 13th century*, 318.

⁴¹⁵ Cf. Gohar Grigoryan, “The Roots of *Tempietto* and Its Symbolism in Armenian Gospels,” *Iconographica. Studies in the History of Images* XIII (2014): 11-24.

Book as a way to open the Heavenly Kingdom, the completion of reading that book would also mean to approach the paradise, which is allegorically visualized by the flourishing ornaments in the last Eusebian canon, which are repeated identically in the full-page miniature of Lewon and Keřan that concludes the Gospel codex. While in the last but one canon table these stylized flowers are depicted as imitations of flower buds (Fig. 111), in the last canon table, which symbolically should bring the reader closer to the Heavenly Kingdom, the flower buds are painted open to convey the expectations for the promised Heaven (Fig. 112). Furthermore, these symbolically charged ornaments have the same colors in the two mentioned canon tables, the last of which, however, also has purple in it, likely chosen owing to this color's heavenly connotations⁴¹⁶. As a further support of the proposed reading of floral ornament, it should be noted that the same floral elements are painted by T'oros Ėoslin in the last two canon tables of the Gospel Book J 251 dating from 1260 (Figs. 113ab) and in the *Zeyt'un Gospels* dating from 1256, in which these appear beneath the headpiece of the dedicatory verse, completing again the set of the canon tables that comprises the contents of all four Gospels (Figs. 114, 70).

Such an obvious paradisiac connotation in the image of the future king and queen should come as little surprise, for the Cilician royal apparatus expressed more than once the royal dignitaries' expectations to find a place in the Heavenly Kingdom. For example, the scribe of a colophon written in 1285, the year Keřan died, makes us believe that the Armenian queen went to rest “*in the dwelling place of the angels, in Heavenly Jerusalem.*”⁴¹⁷

The place of the royal image at the very end of the manuscript could be intended to evoke the idea that the newly wed Lewon and Keřan, after being passed down the wisdom of the Christ's Gospel, are ready to encounter the Heavenly Groom – a meeting which, according to Christian eschatology, will take place at the door of the paradise. Putting things into this context, one comes to understand the choice of the objects held in the royal couple's hands. With his right hand Lewon points at the Gospel book that is held in his left hand. The prince carries the book with his *chlamys* so that to avoid contact with his human hand. As for Keřan, she prominently displays – and even shows off with

⁴¹⁶ On the paradisiac meanings of purple, red and blue, see: John Gage, *Color and Meaning. Art, Science, and Symbolism* (Berkeley – Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 70-76.

⁴¹⁷ *Colophons, 13th century*, 574.

her hand gesture – the brightly burning candle, which bears a clear connotation to the Wise Virgins who were awarded by Christ, the Heavenly Groom, with the much desired paradise.

The above proposed theological interpretation of the nuptial image of Lewon and Keṛan finds an eloquent confirmation in another royal codex which, incidentally, was produced to likely commemorate another royal marriage – that of Princess Fimi (also known as Euphemia), the daughter of King Het'um I, who in 1252 had married Julian Grenier, the Count of Sidon (see Chapter 2.2). The biblical codex in question, which is now the manuscript V 21/376 of the Mekhitarist Congregation in Venice, was acquired by Fimi as a present from her uncle Yovhannēs Ark'aēlbayr, the brother of King Het'um I, whom we will have another occasion to deal with in the framework of this doctoral project. Yovhannēs, who was also the scribe of this manuscript, writes the following in the dedicatory verse (fol. 72r): “*The great princess called Fimi, the daughter of brave Het'um who is anointed as king of the Armenians [...] became the bride of the new groom and earned moral paradise.*”⁴¹⁸ As in the *Wedding Gospels of Prince Lewon and Princess Keṛan*, here as well, the idea of royal marriage is associated with the ideas of paradise, which has also inspired the artistic conception of these codices. It makes certainly sense to mention that the *Bible of Princess Fimi* – as the MS V21/376 is often referred to – contains a full-page miniature of the biblical King Solomon and Queen of Sheba, with a short but elucidating legend above the queen's haloed head, which reads “*harsn,*” that is, “the bride” (Fig. 115). The textual and artistic evocations of the biblical rulers, especially those forming the Christ's ancestry, was a typical thread in Cilician royal ideology, as we will have many other occasions to see it in the following pages as well. Until then let me discuss a few more aspects pertaining to the nuptial image of Lewon and Keṛan, by drawing some iconographic and stylistic parallels with analogous images produced in the wider Mediterranean area.

The iconographic model chosen by T'oros Ṙoslin when portraying the future Cilician king and queen was apparently inspired by the Byzantine iconography of the standing royal couples, who are usually portrayed being blessed by Christ. The gold

⁴¹⁸ For the original text in Armenian, see: *General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Mekhitarist Library in Venice [Mayr c'uc'ak hayerēn jeragrac' matenadaranin Mxit'areanc' i Venetik]*, Volume I, compiled by Barseł Sargisēan (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1914), 163.

background as well, symbolizing the divine glory, is an almost mandatory element in these Byzantine images. However, the objects held by Byzantine and Armenian royal couples differentiate the intentions invested in these imperial and royal imagery. In the Byzantine examples we know of this iconography, the emperor holds a *labarum* in his right hand, which symbolizes victory and triumph⁴¹⁹, and an orb or an *akakia*⁴²⁰ in his left hand (see, for example, Figs. 116-119). As for the later Byzantine period, an imperial couple could be depicted without any attributes, simply raising their hands to Christ or Virgin in an act of supplication⁴²¹. In the hands of the empresses, we usually see either an orb (Fig. 116), or a scepter or *baïon* (which is a scepter adorned with precious stones and pearls⁴²²) (Figs. 117, 118, 119). Thus, the attributes depicted in the hands of Byzantine emperors and empresses are essentially stressing their royal status and political authority, whereas the Gospel Book and the candle held, respectively, by Lewon and Keřan in MS J 2660 are missing in many extant Byzantine examples of this iconography. An exception is perhaps the *Barberini Psalter*, in which the Crown Prince John (John II Komnenos) is shown holding a book (Fig. 120); but this eleventh-century group portrait has been explained in the context of the coronation of the five-year-old John in 1092, when his father, Emperor Alexios I, proclaimed him co-emperor⁴²³.

Based on the Byzantine origin of this iconography, the royal garments depicted in the Cilician manuscript J 2660 were often presented as Byzantine ceremonial costumes⁴²⁴. Such items of clothing as the *chlamys*, *fibula*, and *tablion* visible in this

⁴¹⁹ Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, 33.

⁴²⁰ The *akakia* or *mappa*, which is one of the Byzantine imperial insignia, is the scroll depicted in the emperor's hand. Its origin goes back to the Roman period. See: Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, 33.

⁴²¹ Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, Figs. 143, 149.

⁴²² Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, 32.

⁴²³ Ernest de Wald, "The Comnenian Portraits in the Barberini Psalter," *The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 13/1 (Jan.-Mar., 1944): 78-86.

⁴²⁴ Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 154; Evans, "Imperial Aspirations," 247-248; Marielle Martiniani-Reber, "Les tissus médiévaux arméniens: essai d'identification," in *Between Paris and Fresno. Armenian Studies in Honor of Dickran Kouymjian*, edited by Barlow Der Mugardehian, Armenian Studies Series – No. 13 (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2008), 151. In MS J 2660, the portraits of the Evangelists are also painted following the traditional lens of Byzantine iconography. On the analysis of the Evangelists' portraits in J 2660, see: Maria Ciucci, "Un contributo alla conoscenza di Toros Roslin: L'Evangelario di Levon e Keřan' del 1262 del Patriarcato armeno di Gerusalemme (codice 2660)," in *Atti del terzo simposio internazionale di arte armena*, Milan – Vicenza – Castelfranco V. – Piazzola sul Brenta – Venice, 25 September – 1 October, 1981, edited by: Giulio Ieni, Gabriella Uluhogian (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1984), 117-125, Figs. 1-8. See also: Thomas F. Mathews & Avedis K. Sanjian, *Armenian Gospel Iconography*:

Cilician royal image allow indeed confident comparisons with Byzantine art. As for the attire of Lewon and Keřan, these seem to be different from their Byzantine analogues. Here, we do not see the classical *loros*, which was well known in Cilician Armenia and which, incidentally, will appear in another image of Lewon and Keřan, painted ten years later (Fig. 131, see als Fig. 149). Another sign of the popularity of the *loros* costumes in Cilicia is the existence of many miniatures of biblical and holy kings and queens with this item, including the biblical rulers depicted in the above-mentioned *Bible of Princess Fimi* (Figs. 115, 46). Thus, the general standards of Byzantine imperial clothing were clearly known in the Armenian palace, which has led to the general view that the garments worn by Lewon and Keřan in manuscript J 2660 are Byzantine as well. The below observations are hopefully adding more light on the sartorial aspects of the royal image in question.

In manuscript J 2660, T'oros Ėoslin has depicted the royal garments in great detail and with particular accuracy. Lewon wears a deep purple-tinted robe with black ornamental roundels. The beast depicted in these roundels – barely visible under the *chlamys* – has been identified as a lion⁴²⁵. The gold *chlamys* too is decorated with white roundels, in which a mythological creature is seen. In the space created where the four roundels touch, a firmly standing bird is depicted. The *chlamys* of Lewon, most probably also that of Keřan, has a gold *tablion*, adorned with the same precious stones that can be seen on their stemmas.

The textile of which Lewon's *chlamys* is made, and perhaps also the textiles used for the couple's robes, might have been actual articles of clothing existing at that time. A very similar – if not identical – textile appears in another Gospel Book, MS W 539 of the Walters Art Museum, copied and illustrated by T'oros Ėoslin in Hřomkla in the same year when he produced the *Wedding Gospels* (1262). It is depicted covering the altar table in the miniature, which represents the scene of the *Presentation of the Christ in the Temple* (compare Figs. 121-122). The appearance of the same textile in at least two royal manuscripts speaks for its probable circulation in thirteenth-century Cilicia. No less importantly, the use of this expensive-looking textile for covering the holy table on which

The Tradition of the Glajor Gospel, DOS XXIX (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1991), 59.

⁴²⁵ Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 154; Mathews, "L'art de la Cilicie," 260.

Christ is presented shows the careful selection of the future king's sartorial appearance – another visual strategy aimed at stressing the sacred nature of the king(ship).

The mythological creature depicted on the fabric of Lewon's attire could have a specific symbolism of its own, pertaining, first of all, to the idea of royalty (Fig. 122). In its appearance, it is reminiscent of a *xwārrah* – an ancient symbol of divine glory, which “was an essential element of legitimacy and divine sanction in Iranian royal ideology.”⁴²⁶ These artistic parallels, richly testified in Cilician Armenian arts and particularly in the art of T'oros Ğoslin (Fig. 114), can be explained by the enduring impact of Iranian royal symbols along the Silk Road and throughout the Eurasian region in general.

Besides the mythological creature, the fabric of Lewon's attire displays also a bird motif resembling an eagle, which is depicted as standing on splayed feet and looking to the left (Fig. 122). A well-preserved example of this proud-looking bird is depicted on a glazed dish attributed to mid-eleventh century Syria, now kept at the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Fig. 123)⁴²⁷. The spread of similar animal motifs on textiles or on other items has again been explained by the economical-cultural exchanges across the Silk Road and the Mediterranean societies (Figs. 124-126)⁴²⁸. Notwithstanding the general resemblance and parallel usage of the eagle symbol, its utilization does not seem to be the same in the West and in Near Eastern cultures. In West, the standing eagle was first of all the symbol of the Holy Roman Emperor (Fig. 126), widely used also in heraldry (Figs. 127-128)⁴²⁹, whereas, in Near Eastern traditions, to which I believe Lewon's clothing attains more closely, the motif of eagle is associated with Eurasian royal ideologies – Islamic and Christian alike.

As for the bridal robe of Keran, this is decorated with crowned and winged gold sirens (Fig. 129) – yet another Near Eastern motif, which stands in perfect accord with the style of Lewon's attire. A year later, in 1263, a very similar siren appeared in a

⁴²⁶ Michael Alam, “The Political and Cultural Impact of Sasanid Persia along the Silk Road,” in *Oriental Silks in Medieval Europe*, edited by Juliane von Fircks and Regula Schorta, Riggisberger Berichte 21 (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2016), 36, also 36-38.

⁴²⁷ Richard Ettinghausen, Oleg Grabar, Marilyn Jenkins-Madina, *Islamic Art and Architecture, 650-1250*, 2nd edition (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2001), 205-206, Fig. 328.

⁴²⁸ See also: Brigitte Klesse, *Seidenstoffe in der italienischen Malerei des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Schriften der Abegg-Stiftung Bern, Band 1 (Bern: Verlag Stämpfli & Cie, 1967), Figs. 174-175, Kat. No. 228-230.

⁴²⁹ See: Percy Ernst Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik: Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte vom dritten bis zum sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, Band III (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1956), 896-899.

Gospel Book illustrated in the scriptorium of Ġrner under the patronage of Yovhannēs Ark'aełbayr, which is now the manuscript FGA 1956.11 of the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington (Fig. 130). Unfortunately, the names of the painters of this manuscript are (deliberately?) omitted from the otherwise complete principal colophon: “[The Gospel was copied] *by the scribe, the priest T'oros, and illustrated by different painters ... in the province of Cilicia, at the holy hermitage called Ġrner.*”⁴³⁰ The appearance of the similar-looking siren in two contemporaneous manuscripts is perhaps a sign of artistic networks between Ġrner, the atelier of Archbishop Yovhannēs Ark'aełbayr, and Hřomkla, the atelier of Catholicos Kostandin I, where Ġoslin has produced the royal image in question.

⁴³⁰ Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art*, 56.

3.3. THE ROYAL FAMILY PORTRAIT OF THE *GOSPELS OF QUEEN KEĀN (1272)*

*“When I [scribe Awetis] completed this (Gospel book),
I handed it to a skilled master, renowned in the art of writing,
to decorate it with canon tables and flowery decorums and with gold-stamped
splendor, and then I gave it to the monastery called Akner.”*

Colophon of the *Gospels of Queen KeĀn*, MS J 2563, fol. 373v

3.3.1. The Coronation of Lewon II on the Epiphany Day (January 6, 1271)

The coronation of the Crown Prince Lewon took place on the day of Epiphany, January 6, 1271, in the Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Tarsus⁴³¹, as had also been the case of the first King Lewon I. According to the royal chronicle of Smbat the Constable, this event was celebrated with great solemnity and in a multicultural environment: *“Il y avait là, rassemblés, des représentants de toutes les nations chrétiennes venus assister à ces réjouissances qui méritaient d’être vues et qui valurent à beaucoup de recevoir des honneurs et à nombre de prisonniers également d’être libérés de leurs chaînes.”*⁴³²

The thirteenth-century author, Yovhannēs Pluz Erznkac’i who, as mentioned earlier, was well familiar with Cilicia’s ruling family mentions in a homily that on the occasion of a new king’s coronation, the squares and streets of cities are “decorated with linen covers painted with all manner of flowers, with branches of trees and flowers,” and that “various craftsmen hurry to decorate the streets, each with their own art” (MS M 2173, fols. 66r-66v)⁴³³. It is remarkable that Erznkac’i mentions these urban festivities organized on coronation days in a homily that was publicly delivered in Sis at the feast of Epiphany. We have already discussed in the previous chapters the ideological construct of paralleling the earthly king with Christ, the Heavenly King. In Cilician Armenian tradition, this idea has culminated in Vahram Rabuni’s solemn homily, composed on the

⁴³¹ *Vahram Vardapet, On the Epiphany of the Lord and on the Benediction of King Lewon III*, 20; *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk’*, 252; *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 123; *Chronicle of Het’um the Historian*, 75; *Het’um the Historian, History of the Ārubenid Dynasty*, 105.

⁴³² *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 123. On the liberation of prisoners on the occasion of Lewon’s coronation, see also the colophon of MS M 979: *Colophons, 13th century*, 588.

⁴³³ For the original text in Armenian, see: Baghdassarian, “Yovhannēs Erznkac’i on Art and Ethnography,” 77-78.

occasion of Lewon II's coronation, which also exposes the main ideological underpinnings of thirteenth-century Cilician kingship⁴³⁴. The coronation homily begins with Isaiah 11 and is entirely constructed through the lens of the Tree of Jesse and the flourishing branch that is coming up from the root of Jesse. The anticipation of Christ, the central figure deriving from Jesse, is thus paralleled with the newly consecrated ruler's appearance in his new status as king.

As discussed in Chapter 1.1.2, the biblical and legendary origins ascribed to Cilician kings took a special place in Cilician political rhetoric, often relying on such authorities as the biblical T'orgom (Togarmah) and his son Hayk, whose names regularly surface in the Cilician coronation rite and in historiographical sources alike. In his rhythmic *History of the Rubenids*, Vahram makes use of this legend in relation to the coronation of Lewon I and Lewon II⁴³⁵. In the coronation homily, after an illustrative introduction of the great Epiphany, the omnipotence of God, and the offshoots derived from the stump of Jesse, the same author turns to Lewon, the appointee of the Armenian throne, and writes the following on his coronation:

*“As our Holy Council gathered in this church on the day of the Epiphany of our immortal and celestial king Jesus Christ, the stemma-bearing Lewon who came up from the shoot of the pious stump and who is a branch of piety is to be anointed, and the kingdom of the House of T'orgom of the Armenian nation is to be given to him.”*⁴³⁶

The most original section of the coronation homily is perhaps Rabuni's subsequent reflections on secular rulership. Here, he raises such questions as “What is a kingdom? Who was the first king? Why people need a kingdom? What are the rights and the order of a king?” and replies to these questions largely relying on three mandatory conditions that a king needs to possess in order to be able to govern his kingdom. The first, according to Rabuni, is the 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. Unsurprisingly enough,

⁴³⁴ Vahram Vardapet, *On the Epiphany of the Lord and on the Benediction of King Lewon III*. For a detailed discussion of this homily, see: Cowe, “Theology of Kingship,” 421-422.

⁴³⁵ Vahram Rabuni's *History of the Rubenids*, 215 (for Lewon I), and 228 (for Lewon II).

⁴³⁶ For the original text in Armenian, see: Vahram Vardapet, *On the Epiphany of the Lord and on the Benediction of King Lewon III*, 20.

the courtly theologian concludes his public speech by ascribing to the newly appointed king Lewon all listed qualities considered important for an ideal rulership.

“It is worth knowing that there are three things that keep a kingdom firm. The first thing, as we wrote, is the piety of faith and the righteousness of deeds; secondly, that the kingdom is inherited lawfully from ancestors; and the third thing is that the kingdom is to be governed with wisdom and judiciousness.

Now, be reassured about the first thing, for according to our God-loving and good-loving will (which we) devoted to the crown-bearing king we assist him to take the sayings abundantly and to perpetuate them immediately. As to the second thing, it is well known to everyone that he [Lewon] is from the (family of the) Ārubenids, who were related by blood to the great King Gagik Bagratuni-Mamikonean. After the death of the mentioned king [Gagik], the great Āruben came with troops and took possession of the lands here.”⁴³⁷

After listing the rulers who had reigned from Āruben until the newly crowned Lewon and briefly referring to their deeds, the author continues:

“[Queen Zapēl] gave birth to our crown-bearing Lewon, who is now being anointed as king, being the tenth ruler starting from Āruben. [...] By birth, he is the son of Zapēl, daughter of King Lewon who was the son of Step'anē – the son of Lewon – the son of Kostandin – the son of Āruben, who was from the branch of Gagik from the family of the Bagratids, derived from the race of the great king and prophet David.

As to the third thing, he [Lewon] is wisdom and genius himself. He is very receptive and open-hearted insomuch that [he is able] to preach the universal Light to everyone, about which I would better remain silent.”⁴³⁸

The coronation homily of Vahram Rabuni is the apogee of the political propaganda of King Lewon II's reign. This propaganda started to be prepared much earlier than the landmark event of coronation – from the moment of Lewon's birth into the royal family. The two miniature portraits of Lewon created before his coronation served this propaganda by displaying the king-to-be: first, in the miniature created in 1256 on the occasion of his maturity and knighting ceremony (Fig. 68a), and then in 1262

⁴³⁷ Vahram Vardapet, *On the Epiphany of the Lord and on the Benediction of King Lewon III*, 53-54.

⁴³⁸ Vahram Vardapet, *On the Epiphany of the Lord and on the Benediction of King Lewon III*, 56.

on the occasion of his marriage to Keran of Lambron (Fig. 107). As one can notice, the royal court used all of the important occasions in the life of the future king to demonstrate his authority and to gradually prepare him and his future subjects for his upcoming accession to the throne. The same was done in the case of Lewon's eldest son, the future King Het'um II, as will be seen later.

We are fortunate to possess not only textual-rhetorical sources on the coronation of Lewon II but also artistic and iconographic ones, which greatly enrich our knowledge of Cilician kingship as promoted by the king's institution itself. Of these, the *Gospels of Queen Keran* – arguably the best known medieval Armenian manuscript – stands out for its artistic qualities but also for strong political messages, which are discussed next.

3.3.2. A Special Order of the Queen: The *Gospels of Queen Keran* and the Royal Family Portrait

One year after the coronation of Lewon II, in 1272, Queen Keran acquired a sumptuous Gospel Book, known as the *Gospels of Queen Keran*. The manuscript is kept in the Treasury of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem under the shelf mark MS 2563⁴³⁹. At the end of the volume, on folio 380r, the royal family members are depicted, which forms the lower section of the Deesis scene (Fig. 131). The two groups of figures – the Deesis and the royal family – symbolizing respectively the celestial and terrestrial kingdoms, are perfectly connected to each other through the seven rays of light emanating from the enthroned Christ and directed towards each member of the family, as if confirming the divine protection obtained through the intercession of the Virgin and John the Baptist. The rays of light coming from Heaven seem to be a beloved motif of the unnamed miniaturist of this codex, who also uses similar rays in the scene of the Pentecost, displaying them emanating from the dove, the symbol of the Holy Spirit, towards the twelve apostles (Fig. 132). In the royal family portrait, the rays are gold with red roundels, and in the scene of Pentecost these are red with blue roundels. As in the previous two images of Lewon, here as well the sanctifying features of the royal individuals are obvious. This refers especially to the depiction of halos, although only the

⁴³⁹ Mesrop vardapet (Tēr-Movsisean), “*Kiṙan t'aguhu awetaranə* [The Gospel Book of Queen Kiṙan],” *Anahit* Nos. 10-11-12 (1907): 200-204; Norair Pogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, Volume XI (Jerusalem: Armenian Convent Printing Press, 1991), 377-383.

king and the queen are shown with halos (Figs. 133ab). The children are depicted without halos and are symmetrically placed between Lewon and Keřan so that the male children are grouped with their father and the female children with their mother. All family members are portrayed kneeling, with their gazes directed up towards Christ, who is blessing them with both his hands. The fact that all persons depicted here are grouped according to their respective gender may convey the medieval liturgical practice, which prescribed that women and men should pray separately.

All the members of the royal family are crowned: the children with stemmas, and Lewon and Keřan with more elaborate crowns. In the previous chapters, I draw the readers' attention to the existence of liturgical and secular crowns, the former being the "crown of glory of the righteous," as it is characterized in the Armenian version of the coronation ordo translated and revised from a Latin exemplar. The "crowns of glory" depicted in MS J 2563 have different forms: Lewon wears a three-part crown (as it is seen from front), and Keřan a semi-circular crown with *pendilia* on both sides. The form of Keřan's crown resembles a type of Byzantine male crown, testified from the eleventh century on (Figs. 119, 120, 29). At the end of the twelfth century, this semi-circular type of crown is also evidenced in the West, where it was worn as both a male and female crown⁴⁴⁰. In this respect, the striking resemblance of the crowns worn by Keřan in J 2563 and the now-existing crown of Constance of Aragon (d. 1222) should be mentioned (Fig. 134).

The courtly costumes which the members of the royal family wear have been interpreted by Sirarpie Der Nersessian as the ceremonial robes in use during the coronation ceremony of Lewon II⁴⁴¹. Lewon and Keřan are dressed in *loros* costumes (red for Lewon and blue for Keřan), well known from the Byzantine tradition, above which they also wear red mantles with fur lining. The same fur-lined mantle appears in two other aristocratic images representing Prince Vasak (Lewon's uncle) and Marshal Ořin (Figs. 136-138), as well as in other contemporaneous miniatures depicting biblical kings (Fig. 139). In the portraits of Lewon and Keřan, the combination of the Byzantine

⁴⁴⁰ Josef Deér, *The Dynastic Porphyry Tombs of the Norman Period in Sicily*, esp. Appendix III *The Crown Emblems on the Sarcophagi of the Emperors Frederick II and Henry VI* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 170-176, Figs. 120, 121, 209, 210.

⁴⁴¹ Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 156.

loros and the fur mantle, which is associated with royal fashion among the Franks, has been explained by Ioanna Rapti by the intention to gather “different elements of costume as attributes of power rather than real ceremonial dress.”⁴⁴² Given that, from the twelfth century on, such kind of combinations were not unusual in the Eastern Mediterranean aristocrats’ appearances, the actual existence of eclectic costumes cannot be excluded⁴⁴³.

The children’s clothing notably differs from that of their parents. All five wear robes of a similar style but with various ornamentations. The dark blue attire with black and white geometrical decorations, which is worn by two of the children, was associated by Georgette Cornu with Mamluk textiles which, she believes, might have existed in silk⁴⁴⁴. Similar blue attire is worn by young Kostandin, the eldest son of Prince Vasak, as depicted in the Gospel Book J 2568 (Fig. 137). The regular appearance of this textile speaks in favor of its actual existence in the thirteenth-century Eastern Mediterranean region.

Among other elements visible in this group portrait, a particular detail stands out which is unique among the extant royal imagery of the Armenian kingdom. The youngest prince, who could be identified with Āruben (see below, 3.3.3), has a big gold earring and differs from others also by his blond-haired appearance (Figs. 135, 136, 131). While the rest of the royal children are depicted very similar to each other, this marked difference makes one wonder whether the artist did not try to depict little Āruben with some realistic features. In the following section of this chapter, we will see that the principal colophon of the *Gospels of Queen Keṙan* makes a special reference to Āruben as being “extremely beautiful in appearance.” On the other hand, we know that Āruben was born in early 1272⁴⁴⁵, which means that he was still an infant when the royal portrait in question was

⁴⁴² Rapti, “Featuring the King,” 314. Cf. Antony Eastmond, “Art and Frontiers between Byzantium and the Caucasus,” in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557): Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture*, edited by Sarah T. Brooks (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2006), 158-159.

⁴⁴³ See, for example: Maria Paschali, “Crusader Ideology, Propaganda, and the Art of the Carmelite Church in Fourteenth-Century Famagusta,” in *The Harbour of All This Sea and Realm: Crusader to Venetian Famagusta*, edited by Michael J. K. Walsh, Tamás Kiss and Nicholas Coureas (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2014), 136-137.

⁴⁴⁴ Georgette Cornu, “Sources iconographiques pour l’étude des tissus et costumes islamiques du XIe au XIIIe siècle,” in *Islamische Textilkunst des Mittelalters: Aktuelle Probleme*, Riggisberger Berichte 5 (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 1997), 61.

⁴⁴⁵ *Chronicle of King Het’um II*, 84.

made. A further investigation of these particularities of the youngest heir's image may shed some light on the reasons of differences in representational strategies.

Besides being a special order to commemorate the royal family's new status obtained upon his inauguration ceremony on 6 January 1271, the miniature portrait and the entire manuscript J 2563 were also initiated by the queen in order to demonstrate the offsprings and heirs of the royal throne, more particularly the Crown Prince Het'um who at the time of the manuscript's production was seven years old. In the *Gospels of Queen Keřan*, Het'um's presence is emphasized not only in the group portrait where he is shown standing next to King Lewon II but also in the full-page dedicatory verse, as well as in the principal colophon. The rhythmic dedication, written at the beginning of the manuscript, is marked with eschatological concerns by asking Lord to accept King Lewon and Queen Keřan among the righteous on the day of the Second Coming (fol. 6v), which is then continued with a reference to their firstborn son and successor Het'um, who was supposed to replace his father after the latter would depart to God: "*And give their son Het'um, the royal heir of the Armenian race, a long life with his noble brothers*" (fol. 7r).

The special role prepared for young Het'um is once more underlined in the principal colophon written at the end of the volume, which is preceded with a remarkable description of Lewon's kingship which, incidentally is referred to as being shared with his companion Keřan (fols. 374rv). Furthermore, the colophon of the *Gospels of Queen Keřan* makes clear references to the liturgical usage of this codex and, in doing so, discloses the existence of commemoration rituals that were to be performed for those named in the colophon text.

"Now, I [scribe Awetis] beg you to remember before the sacrifice of the innocent lamb Christ the Armenian King Lewon, adorned with all manner of comeliness, who is the life companion and partner of the Word of the blessed Keřan, with whom he also shares the crown. May he govern his kingdom with just laws for a long time and, when he departs from here, let him be accepted within the heavenly vaults to reign there with the holy kings Tēodos [Theodosius II] and Kostandianos [Constantine the Great]⁴⁴⁶. May also

⁴⁴⁶ The importance of these emperors for Armenian royal ideology has been discussed in the previous chapters.

their ciranacin [purple-born] son Het'um reach maturity, and may the divine right hand be upon him when he is at home and when he is on journey, when he sleeps and when he wakes up. (May he) inherit the crown of (his) ancestors and live in accordance with the God's laws, be learned in divine writings and in arms and armaments, be victorious over the enemies of the Cross of Christ."⁴⁴⁷

Once Lewo's kingship was officialized by the inauguration ceremony – an event which is artistically manifested in the *Gospels of Queen Keran* – the question of the next ruler became immediate, and the personality of young Het'um started to be represented with special emphasis and importance, preparing him and his subjects for his own accession to the throne. As we saw earlier, this approach was already used in the case of Lewon II much before his coronation would take place in early 1271.

3.3.3. Identification of the Children Depicted in the Royal Family Portrait

The principal colophon of the *Gospels of Queen Keran* is not only an important document of the political rhetoric developed in the Cilician kingdom but also a precious historiographical and genealogical source. In what follows I will make use of that text in order to identify the five royal children portrayed between their parents in the manuscript J 2563. It should first be noted that this extensive colophon consists of two parts, the first of which was written in 1272 when the codex was completed. The second part of the colophon adds and updates the names of the deceased and newborn family members starting from 1274 (fols. 379r-380r). The royal miniature portrait is placed on folio 380r, which is the page opposite to the principal colophon and, in certain sense, visualization of the colophon's genealogical content – albeit a generic visualization, as will be argued.

Thus, the eldest prince depicted next to King Lewon is to be securely identified with the Crown Prince Het'um (later King Het'um II), who was born in 1265⁴⁴⁸. The second prince depicted in the miniature in question is T'oros (born in 1270 in Msis⁴⁴⁹), later Baron T'oros (r. 1293-1294, 1295-1296), who, like his elder brother, is mentioned in

⁴⁴⁷ For the original text in Armenian, see: *Colophons, 13th century*, 416.

⁴⁴⁸ *Chronicle of King Het'um II*, 83; *Het'um Nlirc'i, Hamarōt patmut'iw n žamanakac'* [Brief Chronicle], in Levon Ter-Petrossian, *Xač'akirnerə ew hayerə [The Crusaders and the Armenians]*, Volume II – Historico-Political Study (Yerevan: Archive of the Armenian Republic's First President, 2007), 542; *Samuēl Anec'i*, 253.

⁴⁴⁹ *Chronicle of King Het'um II*, 83; *Het'um Nlirc'i*, 543 (mentions 1271).

the first part of the colophon dating from 1272 (fol. 375v)⁴⁵⁰. This part of the colophon also mentions two elder daughters of the royal couple, Zapil (Zapēl)⁴⁵¹ and Sipil (Sibylle)⁴⁵², who, according to the same colophon text, passed away at a young age (fol. 375r)⁴⁵³. Thus, the two princesses portrayed next to Queen Keṛan had already died at the time when Awetis wrote the colophon in 1272. This may either mean that the two daughters were still alive during the creation of the miniature portrait but died shortly before Awetis wrote the final colophon, or that the two princesses depicted here represent two other daughters of Lewon and Keṛan, born after 1272. Indeed, except for the above-mentioned four children – Het‘um, T‘oros, Zapēl, and Sipil – no one else is mentioned in the first part of the colophon (1272).

The second part of the principal colophon continues immediately the first one, starting from folio 379r. As mentioned above, this part, composed by the same scribe Awetis, refers solely to the children that were newly born into the royal family. The following is the translation of that part of the colophon (fol. 379r): *“In the Armenian year 723 [1274 AD], on the fifteenth day of the month of May, Ṛovbēn [Ṛuben], the son of this blessed Keṛan, departed to God and left a great sorrow, for he was extremely beautiful in appearance. Also you, saintly assembly, with condolence remember in your prayers that infant child. May he be placed among the innocent children that were offered to the Father God, and may consolation be made for [his] father and mother by liberating them from the deep sadness. Please remember in your prayers Smbat, her son of consolation, who was born after the death of Ṛobēn.”*⁴⁵⁴

We can thus deduce that the third prince depicted after Het‘um and T‘oros is Ṛuben, who died two years after the creation of the royal family portrait. Smbat, who is mentioned here as Keṛan’s “son of consolation” is the future King Smbat (1296/7-1298). In the continuation of this second part of the colophon, we read the following: *“Also offer your supplicaitons to God so that God keeps his [Smbat’s] tender-aged sister S[i]pil untroubled for a long time, for she is extremely beloved in the eyes of [her] father and*

⁴⁵⁰ *Colophons, 13th century*, 417.

⁴⁵¹ Zapēl was the first child of Lewon and Keṛan, who was born in 1262. See: *Chronicle of King Het‘um II*, 82; *Het‘um Nlirc‘i*, 542.

⁴⁵² Sipil was born in 1269. See: *Chronicle of King Het‘um II*, 83; *Het‘um Nlirc‘i*, 542.

⁴⁵³ *Colophons, 13th century*, 416-417.

⁴⁵⁴ For the original text in Armenian, see: *Colophons, 13th century*, 418.

mother. Make heartfelt prayers also for their other sister, Zapēl, who is in [her] third year.”⁴⁵⁵

According to the Chronicle of King Het’um II, both Smbat and Sipil were born in 1276⁴⁵⁶. As to “their other sister” Zapēl, she was born in 1273⁴⁵⁷. It turns out that King Lewon and Queen Keṛan named their daughters after their deceased daughters Zapēl and Sipil, who are mentioned in the first part of the colophon and are likely the ones depicted in the royal family portrait. Given the generic nature of the royal portraiture and the (deliberate?) lack of identifying inscriptions, the associations of the two female princesses shown in MS J 2563 with Zapēl (b. 1262) and Sipil (b. 1269) could well be transmitted to their subsequently born sisters, named again Zapēl (b. 1273) and Sipil (b. 1270s), with apparent intention to replace their deceased namesakes.

The final sentence of the principal colophon continues to list the later born sons of the royal couple, among whom another Āruben, who apparently was similarly named after his deceased brother Āruben, the third, blond-haired, prince portrayed in our miniature: (fol. 379v) “*O, brothers, ask in your prayers to keep safe the youthful sons of the queen, Kostandin, Nersēs, Awšin, and Ārubēn* [380r] *from all the troubles.*” Interestingly, in this subsequent addition, the scribe only lists the male heirs of the royal family, which must be regarded in the context of dynastic succession. Kostandin, who is mentioned in this last sentence, is the future King Kostandin (1298-1299), who was born in 1277⁴⁵⁸. After him, the following children of Keṛan and Lewon were born: Rita and T’efano (both born in 1278), Nersēs (born in 1279), Awšin (Ošin) and Āruben (better known as Alinax) (both born in 1283)⁴⁵⁹. As for Queen Keṛan, she died in August 1285⁴⁶⁰ – two years after giving birth to her last child and 23 years after giving birth to her first child. This speaks itself for the Cilician queen’s role as producing heirs and securing the dynastic continuity.

It turns thus out that three out of the five children depicted in the royal family portrait of the *Gospels of Queen Keṛan* died shortly after its creation. It was perhaps

⁴⁵⁵ *Colophons, 13th century*, 418.

⁴⁵⁶ *Chronicle of King Het’um II*, 84. See also: *Het’um Nlirc’i*, 543.

⁴⁵⁷ *Chronicle of King Het’um II*, 84; *Het’um Nlirc’i*, 543.

⁴⁵⁸ *Chronicle of King Het’um II*, 84; *Het’um Nlirc’i*, 543.

⁴⁵⁹ *Chronicle of King Het’um II*, 84-85; *Het’um Nlirc’i*, 543-544.

⁴⁶⁰ *Chronicle of King Het’um II*, 85; *Het’um Nlirc’i*, 546.

because of these dramatic events that, several years after the completion of the manuscript, the royal scribe, perhaps upon the queen's orders, added the second part to the main colophon, which solely concerns the royal children⁴⁶¹. Based on the above discussion, it can be assumed that the second part of the colophon was written around 1283-1285, when all of the children of Lewon and Keṛan were born.

The very last sentence translated above – either accidentally or deliberately – ends at the next folio, just below the lower frame of the royal family portrait, close to King Lewon and his sons Het'um and T'oros, with these words: ...*(wḥuuuuuḥt)ḥ juuḥtūwḥt yuunwḥuḥg* – ... *from all the troubles* (Fig. 131). These final words of the second principal colophon were not originally intended to be a part of the miniature in question but their placement by the original scribe under the images of the royal family members gave a new – vitalizing – value and function to this ideologically charged image.

3.3.4. The Unknown Miniaturist of the Queen's Gospel and Once Again about the Problem of Artistic Exchange

We do not know who the talented artist of the *Gospels of Queen Keṛan* was. In earlier scholarship, the name of T'oros Ṛoslin has sometimes been put forward as the author of the illuminations of J 2563. Ṛoslin was working at the atelier of Hṛomkla under the patronage of Catholicos Kostandin of Barjrbard, and the last documented mention of him is from the year 1268, whereas the thematic and stylistic characteristics of MS J 2563, including the royal portrait in question, comply better with a different artistic tradition, which stands closer to the manuscripts illustrated by those artists who were working under the patronage of Yovhannēs Ark'aelbayr, brother of King Het'um I.

It should be mentioned, however, that the illustrations of the canon tables and of the four incipit pages of J 2563 clearly remind of Ṛoslin's style, which seem to be well known outside of Hṛomkla (compare Figs. 141 and 142). Several iconographic details implemented in Ṛoslin's paintings also seem to have inspired the artist(s) of the *Gospels of Queen Keṛan* (compare Figs. 131 and 140). The latter, however, stands out for its

⁴⁶¹ On the children born into the marriage of Lewon II and Keṛan, see also: Rüd̄t-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, III (H2).

delicate sense of symmetry and harmony and remarkable ability to organize the space on the parchment folio. A comparative view shows that our master belongs to the generation of miniaturists who were working in Sis and related ateliers of Akner, Grner, Barjrbard and surrounding areas under the auspices of Archbishop Yovhannēs who, as said, was Lewon II's paternal uncle. In the 1270s, these miniaturists appear to have developed an idiosyncratic style which differed, in many details, from the artistic traditions created in mid-century Hromkla⁴⁶². This new style was applied in particular to thematic miniatures and aristocratic portraiture, which, as a rule, were done with a clear familiarity and knowledge of not only Armenian but also Byzantine, Western and Frankish arts – at times creating fine eclecticism. What has remained relatively stable in thirteenth-century Cilician miniature painting is the decorations of the incipit pages of the Gospel Books, the principles of which were refined earlier at the ateliers of Hromkla and were still prevailing in the royal manuscripts produced in the 1270s. It seems that after the death of Catholicos Kostandin in 1267, some miniaturists moved from Hromkla to join the workshops of Archbishop Yovhannēs. This may explain the frequent use of Hromkla's artistic heritage in the manuscripts created under Yovhannēs' patronage in the 1270s. Over time, the impact of the so-called Hromkla traditions weakened and, in the manuscripts dating from the 1280s, we see a completely new style, distant from that of Roslin and his colleagues and disciples.

Sirarpie Der Nersessian once noticed that most of the manuscripts illuminated under the auspices of Yovhannēs Ark'aēlbayr lack information about the miniaturist⁴⁶³. Even though most of the extant manuscripts copied and illuminated under the command of Yovhannēs have reached us with complete colophons, only very few of these colophons do indeed name the painter (see also Appendix II). The lack of the miniaturist's name is understandably not enough to ascribe the *Gospels of Queen Keran* to the miniature school of Yovhannēs, but the below stylistic comparanda will make this attribution more solid. In doing so, we shall nevertheless be careful not to undermine the

⁴⁶² For a stylistic analysis of the Cilician manuscripts produced during the so-called post-Roslinian period, see: Tania Velmans, "Maniérisme et innovations stylistiques dans la miniature cilicienne à la fin du XIIIe siècle," in *The Second International Symposium on Armenian Art: Collection of Reports*, Yerevan, 12-18 September 1978, Volume IV (Yerevan: Publishing House of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1981), 67-81.

⁴⁶³ Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 78.

possible mobility of artists within and outside of Cilicia. A few named artists of Yovhannēs Arkʼaēlbayrʼs scriptoria are among those masters whom we encounter in various Cilician ateliers at various periods⁴⁶⁴.

The royal family portrait depicted in MS J 2563 can easily be associated with two other group portraits of Cilician Armenian aristocratic families, dating from the last quarter of the thirteenth century. As we will see in the next chapter, Yovhannēs was very much engaged in the creation of these two manuscripts, one of which is known as the *Gospels of Marshal Ošin* (MS PML 1111, fol. 1r) (Figs. 138, 164), and the other one as the *Gospels of Prince Vasak*, who was yet another brother of King Hetʼum I and of Yovhannēs himself (MS J 2568, fol. 320r) (Figs. 137, 163). We are certain of the origins of only one of these codices – the *Gospels of Marshal Ošin*, the colophon of which mentions that the manuscript was created in Sis in 1274 but does not name its miniaturist. The similar forms and style used for the portrait of Prince Vasak and his sons allow us to suppose that the *Gospels of Prince Vasak* might also have been created in Sis between the years 1274 and 1284 (see Chapter 4.1). That the *Gospels of Queen Keṛan* could in turn have been produced in Sis becomes easier to substantiate, by taking into account not only the striking stylistic parallels between the miniature paintings of the two mentioned manuscripts (compare Figs. 136-138), but also the fact that it was copied by Awetis (or, Awetikʼ), a prominent scribe at the royal scriptorium of Sis. On folio 373v of the *Gospels of Queen Keṛan*, Awetis wrote the following:

*“And when I completed this [book], I handed it to a skilled master, renowned in the art of writing, to decorate it with canon tables and flowery decorums and with gold-stamped splendor, and then I gave it to the monastery called Akner.”*⁴⁶⁵

Thus, before being transferred to Akner, the manuscript J 2563 was illustrated in a scriptorium where Awetis was working, most probably in Sis. The miniaturist could have been a master working under the patronage of Yovhannēs Arkʼaēlbayr, who was the archbishop of Sis and at the same time the head of the Akner workshop. To conclude, the

⁴⁶⁴ For example, in 1237, master Kostandin was working in Sis, where he illustrated the M 7700 Gospels. In 1263, we already see him in Grner, where he illustrated manuscript FGA 1956.11 for Yovhannēs Arkʼaēlbayr. Or, in Barjrbard another scribe and miniaturist, Stepʼannos Vahkaycʼi, copied a manuscript for the same patron (M 4243), for whom, in the village of Tiroj (in Grner), he illustrated the present-day Matenadaran manuscript M 196 (see also Appendix II).

⁴⁶⁵ For the original text in Armenian, see: *Colophons, 13th century*, 416.

unknown master of J 2563 may well have been belonged to the same atelier, where, in the 1270s, the Gospel Books for Marshal Ošin and Prince Vasak were illustrated.

In 1287, in the Monastery of Akner, a luxurious Gospel Book was created upon the order of Yovhannēs Ark'aełbayr. I believe, the initiators of this codex have used the *Gospels of Queen Keřan* as model for illustrations, taking into consideration also the fact that a decade earlier the Queen's Gospel had been offered to this renowned monastic institution. To spare the reader from page-long comparisons of all of the resembling miniatures, here I would like to mention only two scenes, representing Transfiguration and Crucifixion, in which the iconographic and stylistic parallels are particularly striking (compare Figs. 143-146, also with Figs. 147-148). I am not certain whether the illustrator of both manuscripts is the same master, but at one point the illuminations of these books clearly overlap with each other. In looking for the artistic background of the master of the Queen's Gospel, one can see that it departs from the framework of Cilician art and finds echoes in the arts of other Eastern Mediterranean societies as well. Two icons with the depiction of the Crucifixion, created by the so-called Crusader artists (Fig. 148), as well as the Crucifixion miniature of the *Perugia Missal* (Perugia, Biblioteca Capitolare MS 6, fol. 182v)⁴⁶⁶ are only a few examples of the possible artistic exchanges across the multicultural environment of the Mediterranean Sea⁴⁶⁷.

⁴⁶⁶ For the images of another icon from Sinai and the Perugia Missal, see: Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art: The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1099-1291* (Burlington: Lund Humphries, 2008), Figs. 71, 113.

⁴⁶⁷ The scholars have already noted the iconographic parallels of the *Crucifixion* scene between the mentioned Sinai icons and the two Armenian Gospel Books, J 2563 and J 2568, to which I would like to add the Gospels M 197 (Fig. 146). See: Doula Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," in *Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine*, edited by Konstantinos A. Manafis (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1990), 120; Weyl Carr, "Icon-Tact: Byzantium and the Art of Cilician Armenia," 96-98, Figs. 25-26.

3.4. THE IMAGE OF THE PRAYING KING LEWON II IN THE BRITISH LIBRARY BREVIARY OR. 13993

*“Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Trinity and one indivisible
Godhead, fortify Lewon, king of all the Armenians,
crowned by Christ, together with his children, against
the enemies of the cross of Christ, our God.”*

Breviary of King Lewon II, MS BL Or. 13933, fol. 12v

3.4.1. The Royal Breviary

In March 1981, the British Library acquired an Armenian breviary, which is registered under the shelf mark Or. 13993 and is considered to be the oldest extant breviary in Armenian⁴⁶⁸. According to the colophon, the manuscript was created “by the order and under the sponsorship” of King Lewon II (fol. 190v)⁴⁶⁹ and is therefore referred to as the *Breviary of King Lewon II*, who himself is portrayed in it.

Artavazd Surmeyan, who had seen and described the royal breviary in Paris in 1948, suggested that it was copied and illuminated at the atelier of Hromkla in the course of 1274, and that T'oros Roslin was the author of its miniature painting⁴⁷⁰. Shortly afterwards he reconsidered his hypothesis and proposed that it was produced in Sis or Ark'akaġin around 1274-1275⁴⁷¹. Garegin Yovsēp'ean has suggested that Step'annos Vahkayc'i, who copied this manuscript, is also the author of its miniatures⁴⁷². The principal colophon, of which only the first three folios have been preserved, mentions the name of the scribe – Step'annos Vahkayc'i, who is known to have worked in the scriptoria under the auspices of Archbishop Yovhannēs Ark'aeġbayr (see Appendix II).

⁴⁶⁸ For the history and description of the manuscript, see: Artavazd Surmeyan, “*Levon G. tagavori žamagirk'ə. Hay grč'ut'yan ew manrankarč'ut'yan hamar karevor haytnut'yun mə* [The Breviary of King Lewon III: An Important Discovery for Armenian Paleography and Miniature Painting],” *ĒM* 4-6 (1951): 59 (first published *HHT* 2 (1949-1950): 49-57); Nersessian, *A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the British Library*, volume I, 367-382.

⁴⁶⁹ Nersessian, *A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the British Library*, volume I, 381.

⁴⁷⁰ Surmeyan, “The Breviary of King Lewon III,” 57-63.

⁴⁷¹ Artavazd Surmeyan, *Grand Catalogue des manuscrits arméniens des collections particulières d'Europe*, volume I (Paris: Imprimerie Artistique, 1950), 36-42.

⁴⁷² Garegin Catholicos Yovsēp'ean, “*Step'anos Vahkac'i*,” *ĒM* 4-6 (1951): 64-67.

Thus, the *Breviary of King Lewon* too might well have been created in one of these scriptoria, as suggested by Garegin Yovsēp'ean.

Besides the attribution, the problem of dating MS BL Or. 13993 was a subject of debate as well. Based on Lewon's accession to the throne in 1271 and on the general resemblance between this and his previous image depicted in the *Gospels of Queen Keran* of 1272 (Fig. 131), most scholars date the breviary to the 1270s, in particular to the years between 1271 and 1278⁴⁷³.

3.4.2. The Image of the Praying King

Apart from being the oldest example in its type, the *Breviary of King Lewon II* is also important as an artistic project, which includes a full-page image of Lewon (Fig. 149). This is the fourth known image of Lewon II created during his lifetime. The king is dressed in a red tunic, above which he wears a *loros* decorated with precious stones, closely resembling his previous portrayal in the manuscript J 2563. On his head, he has a white kerchief, while the “crown of glory” is held by the *t'agadir*, the most important courtly official, whom I will discuss soon below.

The crown of Lewon has close resemblance to the one depicted in his image in the manuscript J 2563 (Figs. 131, 133a). However, in the London breviary, the “crown of glory”, the most prominent royal insignia, is taken off from Lewon's appearance most likely to stress the sacramental presence of Christ or “the only true king”, as contemporaneous Armenian theologians would refer to. This is an eloquent reference to the religious origins and sacred nature of royal insignia bestowed upon a king during his inauguration. Were it not for the crown depicted in the hands of the *t'agadir*, one could not be certain that the kneeling figure is the king Lewon. Furthermore, it is perhaps for the purposes of identifying the praying person with the king himself that the *t'agadir*'s image is included into the liturgical *mise-en-scène*, shown in BL Or. 13993.

⁴⁷³ Surmeyan, “The Breviary of King Lewon III,” 59; Surméyan, *Grand Catalogue des manuscrits arméniens*, 37; Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 156, 157; Mutafian, *Le royaume arménien de Cilicie*, 61; Ioanna Rapti, “Un melismos arménien et la politique de l'image de Lewon (Léon) II (1271-1289),” *Cahiers Archeologiques* 50 (2002): 167; Nersessian, *A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the British Library*, volume I, 367.

The king is represented kneeling and praying before the altar table which is painted within a baldachin-like structure symbolizing church. Above the blue eaves of the reddish pink baldachin, a black hemi-spherical roof is depicted which is connected to the opposite building by a red curtain. This structure is painted green, closely resembling the one depicted on folio 1v of the same codex, which shows Saint Nersēs Šnorhali (Nersēs the Graceful), the twelfth-century Armenian Catholicos and theologian (Fig. 150). The haloed image of Saint Nersēs is represented standing before the open door of the church (the green building with pink outlines), his praying body directed towards God, whose right hand is jutting out from the cloud of the upper right corner. Judging from the architectural structures painted in the royal breviary, the space where King Lewon is depicted represents the interior of the church, the holiest part of which is masterfully displayed in the foreground.

On the altar table depicted, the Christ Child is depicted in a gold chalice, towards whom the praying king has stretched out his hands. The newborn Christ painted in the chalice resembles the Byzantine motif of *amnos*, which from the thirteenth century on was also called *melismos*. This is also the only known image of *melismos* in Armenian arts. It has already been suggested by Sirarpie Der Nersessian – to later be confirmed by other scholars – that the miniature portrait in question refers to “the most sacred moment of the liturgy,” not least because of the presence of the *amnos*, which stands for the Eucharistic sacrifice⁴⁷⁴.

Besides the depiction of the *amnos*, another detail that convey an ongoing liturgy is the pedestal of the red-covered altar, which does not represent an architectural form but a mass of rock – an apparent hint at Golgotha where Christ was sacrificed. In Byzantine and other Orthodox architecture, the known images of *amnos* appear exclusively in mural painting, where it is usually depicted near the altar space and has therefore been considered within the context of the *prothesis* rite⁴⁷⁵.

⁴⁷⁴ Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 157. See also: Vrej Nersessian, *Treasures from the Ark: 1700 Years of Armenian Christian Art* (London: The British Library, 2001), 207; Rapti, “Un melismos arménien,” 161-174.

⁴⁷⁵ This rite was probably performed not only in Byzantine churches but also universally, on which see: Vasileios Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople, Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), n. 46.

No material evidence from Cilician Armenian churches that could give us an idea of their inner liturgical space has been preserved or has not been sufficiently studied so far. The Armenian Church of Famagusta – which, though not in Cilicia, was most probably built by the Cilician Armenians in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries – may help us to reconstruct some material realities pertaining to the liturgical spaces that are missing or are still unknown from Cilician ecclesiastical architecture. There, a *prothesis* niche exists, carved inside the northern wall of the church and decorated with a fresco representing the *Akra Tapaeinosis* (dead Jesus), which draws visual parallels between the Christ's burial and the *prothesis* rite⁴⁷⁶.

The sanctuary and the altar table with the *amnos* are the main liturgical elements highlighted in this royal portrait, in which the king's figure is meant to underscore his piety through his participation in the divine liturgy. In Byzantine tradition, which probably provided the inspiration for our miniature, there is rich evidence of the emperor's participation in the liturgy. The preserved texts clearly show that in certain cases, such as celebration of the great feasts, the Byzantine emperor was not only present during the divine liturgy, but was also one of its main performers, who could approach the sanctuary, pray outside it, and actually share the patriarch's main functions⁴⁷⁷.

One can suppose that the Armenian miniaturist could have been aware of the *amnos* motif from the Byzantine Rite churches where, from the twelfth century on, this motif often appears in mural painting (Figs. 151, 152, 153). But this assumption is hard to justify, for the single depiction of the *amnos* in the Armenian breviary has no iconographic or stylistic associations with the extant examples of Byzantine *amnos*, which display the Christ Child at his full height and are certainly depicted more skillfully.

⁴⁷⁶ I am grateful Prof. Michele Bacci who called my attention to the Famagusta example. See: Michele Bacci, "The Painted Program of the Armenian Church in Light of Recent Discoveries," in *The Armenian Church of Famagusta and the Complexity of Cypriot Heritage*, edited by Michael J. K. Walsh (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 106; Michele Bacci, "The Armenian Church in Famagusta and Its Mural Decoration: Some Iconographic Remarks," in *Culture of Cilician Armenia*, proceedings of the international symposium, Antelias, Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 14-18 January, 2008 (Antelias: Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009) = *HHT* 11 (2007-2008): 498.

⁴⁷⁷ For a detailed description of the emperor's participation in the liturgy performed in Saint Sophia of Constantinople, see: *Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité des offices*, Introduction, text and translation by Jean Verpeaux (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1976), 189-241. See also: George P. Majeska, "The Emperor in His Church: Imperial Ritual in the Church of St. Sophia," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, edited by Henry Maguire (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2004), 1-11.

Although the Cilician miniaturist does not seem to be less talented, the *amnos* he painted in this royal manuscript lags far behind the examples testified in wall paintings.

In the British Library breviary, the two full-page miniatures showing King Lewon II (Fig. 149) and Saint Nersēs Šnorhali (Fig. 150) are placed within the manuscript with a certain relevance to each other and to the textual content⁴⁷⁸. The depiction of Nersēs Šnorhali at the very beginning of the manuscript is most natural, since this liturgical codex begins with the prayer *I Confess with Faith* authored by Nersēs Šnorhali. Composed of twenty-four parts, this prayer – which enjoys a great popularity among the Armenians until now – was meant to cover each hour of the day. The text of the prayer ends on folio 9r, after which the reader/beholder can contemplate the image of king Lewon who exemplifies the prayer-saying faithful. After the Confession of the Holy Trinity doctrine (fols. 10r-12v), the content of the breviary continues with another prayer, addressed to the Holy Trinity, asking to “*fortify Lewon, King of all Armenians, crowned by Christ, together with his children, against the enemies of the cross of Christ, our God.*”⁴⁷⁹

Contrary to the previous images of Lewon (Figs. 68a, 107, 131), his image in the London breviary shows him without a halo. Here, there is no visible hint at the traditional association between earthly and celestial kings. Instead, the emphasis is made on the king’s piety and his respect for liturgical discipline. Humbly kneeling before the holy altar, Lewon, as said, has even taken off his royal crown, appearing before Christ in a modest posture and appearance and asking for the protection against the enemies of the Cross of Christ – a formula, which is regularly implemented in relation to this king and his family members.

3.4.3. The Image of the *T’agadir* Accompanying King Lewon II

Another detail that stands out in this fourth portrait of King Lewon II is the depiction of the *t’agadir* accompanying the king. Although a general explanation of the responsibilities of this position was given in Chapter 1, it seems useful to briefly remind

⁴⁷⁸ Although the folios between the portraits of Saint Nersēs and King Lewon are complete, several pages (especially the beginnings of the canons) are missing from the breviary. These, according to Artavazd Surmeyan, could have been cut out because of their illustrations. See: Surmeyan, “The Breviary of King Lewon III,” 59, 62.

⁴⁷⁹ Translation from: Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 156.

the ceremonial duties of this courtly official, as here we are dealing with an actual representation of a *t'agadir*.

In Bagratid Armenia, *t'agadir* was a hereditary title and position. Although the hereditary principle was generally kept in Cilician Armenia, it was never strictly defined that the Cilician kings' *t'agadirs* must always be from the same family. The principal function of the *t'agadir* was to accompany the king during various ceremonies, carrying the latter's crown and placing it on his head whenever needed. Literally translated, *t'agadir* means coronant, the person who "places the crown" (*t'ag* – crown, *dir* (*dnel*) – to put, to place). We are not told who the *t'agadir* of the first king Lewon I was, but that this position was already in existence at the beginning of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia can be determined by the coronation ceremony prepared at the end of the twelfth century, in which we twice read about the *t'agadir* who carries the king's crown (see Chapter 1.2).

In the *Breviary of King Lewon II*, the *t'agadir* is depicted partly out of the frame, as if trying not to disturb the king's intimate prayer. He carefully holds and prominently displays the crown with both of his hands and has directed his gaze to the red-covered altar table with the Christ Child on it. He is dressed in a pink tunic with a blue mantle over it. On his head, he wears a white coif – a very popular headcover among the European and Eastern Mediterranean aristocrats, many examples of which are attested in mural and miniature paintings.

As many details of this miniature seem to be inspired by Byzantine tradition (such as the painted *amnos* or the *loros* costume of King Lewon), this rare image of the Armenian *t'agadir* can be paralleled with the Byzantine civil officials who, as testified in textual sources, could well be present during the solemn celebrations of the divine liturgy, in which the emperor himself participated⁴⁸⁰.

There are two views concerning the identity of the *t'agadir* portrayed in the *Breviary of King Lewon II*. According to the first view, he is Prince Vasak, the uncle of King Lewon II, whose age must have been close to that of Lewon⁴⁸¹. The second view

⁴⁸⁰ Majeska, "The Emperor in His Church," 7, 8.

⁴⁸¹ Surmeyan, "The Breviary of King Lewon III," 61; Mutafian, *Le royaume arménien de Cilicie*, 61; Nersessian, *Treasures from the Ark*, 206; Nersessian, *A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the British Library*, volume I, 380.

considers that the person standing behind the king is Kostandin, the son of Lady Keřan and Prince Geoffrey of Servandik'ar⁴⁸². The second view seems to me more convincing, given that Kostandin of Servandik'ar is documented to be the *t'agadir* of King Lewon II⁴⁸³; hence the search for other candidates for this obvious representation of Lewon's *t'agadir* seems useless. In 1261, Kostandin married Princess Rita, daughter of King Het'um I and sister of Lewon II⁴⁸⁴. In 1265, he is already referred to as the "*t'agadir and son-in-law of King Het'um I*" in the colophon of MS J 1956, which was commissioned by Kostandin's mother, Lady Keřan (not the queen), and illuminated by T'oros Ėoslin in Hřomkla⁴⁸⁵. We know that after Lewon's accession to the throne in 1271 Kostandin continued to hold this position. In 1274, Marshall Ořin, who was the brother of Kostandin's mother (Lady Keřan), commissioned a sumptuous Gospel Book, whose extensive colophon lists *t'agadir* Kostandin along with the members of his family (see Chapter 4.1). The latter manuscript was copied in Sis by Step'annos Vahkayc'i, the same scribe who copied the *Breviary of King Lewon II*. It looks that Kostandin of Servandik'ar held the office of *t'agadir* until his retirement in 1278⁴⁸⁶. This not only helps to identify the image of the *t'agadir* but also to establish the date 1278 as *terminus ante quem* of the British Library Breviary Or. 13993.

⁴⁸² YovsĖp'ean, "*Step'anos Vahkac'i*," 65-66; Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 156-157.

⁴⁸³ Kostandin is mentioned as holding this position in several manuscript colophons. See: *General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Mařtoc' Matenadaran [Mayr c'uc'ak hayerĖn jeragrac' Mařtoc'i anvan Matenadarani]*, edited by Gevorg Ter-Vardanean, Volume VIII (MSS 2401-2700) (Yerevan: 'Nairi' Publishing House, 2013), 809-811; *Colophons, 13th century*, 330, 483; Vrej Nersessian, *Armenian Illuminated Gospel-Books* (London: The British Library, 1987), 24; Nersessian, *Treasures from the Ark*, 210; Nersessian, *A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the British Library*, volume I, 167.

⁴⁸⁴ *Chronicle of Het'um the Historian*, 71; *Chronicle of King Het'um II*, 82; *SamuĖl Anec'i*, 252.

⁴⁸⁵ Norair Pogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, Volume VI (Jerusalem: Armenian Convent Printing Press, 1972), 529, also 525; *Colophons, 13th century*, 330.

⁴⁸⁶ Based on the colophon of MS M 5563, Sirarpie Der Nersessian has suggested that in 1278 Kostandin retired to the hermitage of Yohnanc'. See: Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 103, 157.

3.5. THE *LECTIONARY OF CROWN PRINCE HET'UM (1286)* AND THE ARTISTIC REPRESENTATION OF THE KING'S INSTITUTION

“Remember also the good heir of the crown of our king and queen, the gracious and omniscient firstborn (son), gleeful and gladsome Paron Het'um, who is also the scepter(-bearing) substitute of our king's kingdom. (Remember) also his virtuous brother Paron T'oros, who at his tender age has the sagacity of Joseph; also their other brothers, sons of our King Lewon: Smbat, Kostandin, Nersēs who is ordained by God, Amšin, and Rubēn, together with their sisters.”

Colophon of King Lewon II (1285 AD), MS 6558, fols. 861r⁴⁸⁷

In the previous four subchapters, I discussed four full-page miniatures portraying King Lewon II at various moments of his life: as a crown prince newly achieved his maturity (*The Gospels of Crown Prince Lewon*, 1256); as a new-wed groom (*The Wedding Gospels of Prince Lewon and Princess Keṛan*, 1262); as a newly consecrated king (*The Gospels of Queen Keṛan*, 1272); and as a pious king represented in what would be one of his regular activities of receiving the Holy Communion (*The Breviary of King Lewon II*, 1270s). In two of these lifetime images, Lewon is portrayed with his spouse, Keṛan of Lambron, who is described as sharing her husband's crown – just as instructs the Armenian version of the coronation ordo⁴⁸⁸. The *Gospels of Queen Keṛan*, which this queen commissioned for the purposes of commemoration rituals and offered it to an important monastic center called Akner, features the royal couple along with their children, among whom the personality of the first-born son Het'um is particularly emphasized. The succession was another major concern of the king's institution, and the fifth extant image possibly featuring King Lewon II – or at least hinting at his and his successors' forthcoming kingship – appears to be concerned with this issue but also with the order of the king's institution.

In 1286, that is, three years before Lewon II passed away, a sumptuous royal manuscript was commissioned by his son and successor Het'um. Known as the

⁴⁸⁷ For the original text in Armenian, see: *Colophons, 13th century*, 572.

⁴⁸⁸ Siwrmēean, *Catalog*, 30.

Lectionary of Crown Prince Het'um, the manuscript is now preserved at Matenadaran under the shelf mark M 979⁴⁸⁹. Apart from its liturgical importance, this voluminous codex is also a remarkable artistic project sponsored and conceived by the Cilician king's institution. The lengthy principal colophon does not disclose the identities of the scribe(s) and artist(s).

The silence of the principal colophon did not however prevent scholars from suggesting plausible attributions. The first researchers who investigated the *Lectionary of Prince Het'um* attributed it to Akner, a workshop of Yovhannēs Ark'aēlbayr⁴⁹⁰, or to T'oros Ṙoslin, the renowned master of H'romkla⁴⁹¹. Based on the expression “our pious Paron Het'um” found in the principal colophon (fol. 170v), Sirarpie Der Nersessian and Artašēs Mat'evosyan have proposed the monastery of Skewrā as the place of production, with the understanding that, before becoming king, Het'um was proclaimed the owner of Lambron and was living in neighboring Skewrā – which may indeed explain the wording “our”⁴⁹².

We learn from the principal colophon that the lectionary M 979 was completed “by the order of the God-loving and omniscient, pious and ingenious Paron Het'um, the son of the holy king Lewon, crowned by Christ.”⁴⁹³ The colophon runs for more than ten manuscript pages, which lists and systematically narrates all Cilician rulers and their deeds starting from the time when the Armenian kingship came to be expired in the “Eastern House” and when Ṙuben established himself in Cilicia. Composed as an official chronicle, this lengthy – yet incomplete – colophon exposes the acting king Lewon II's legendary and ancestral pedigree which, if not lost, would most likely conclude with the name of young Het'um, the king-in-waiting, with whose idealizing representation begins

⁴⁸⁹ For the history of the *Lectionary of Prince Het'um*, see: Mat'evosyan, “Gevorg Skewrāc'i as Scribe and Illustrator,” 101-104. The digitized copy of this manuscript is available at: <http://www.matenadaran.am/?id=81&lng=4> (retrieved on 10.04.2017).

⁴⁹⁰ Garegin Yovsēp'ean, “*Hamaṙōt telekut'iwinner Ējmiacni mi k'ani manrankarneri masin* [Brief Information on Some Miniatures of Ējmiacin],” *Anahit* 5-6 (1911): 104.

⁴⁹¹ Durnovo, *Brief History of Ancient Armenian Painting*, 40; Lydia Durnovo, “Портретные изображения на первом заглавном листе Чашоца 1288 г. [Portraits Depicted on the First Incipit Page of the Lectionary of 1288],” *LHG* 4 (1946): 63.

⁴⁹² Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 93; Mat'evosyan, “Gevorg Skewrāc'i as Scribe and Illustrator,” 106.

⁴⁹³ For the original text in Armenian, see: *Colophons, 13th century*, 582.

the same colophon⁴⁹⁴. In its current state as well, the manuscript's illuminations encapsulate the dynastic and institutional concerns that occupied the Armenian royal court in the 1280s – at the eve of Lewon II's retirement and Het'um II's enthronement. These concerns are especially well reflected in one of miniatures showing royal and aristocratic figures, which is discussed next.

The folio 7r of the *Lectionary of Crown Prince Het'um* is adorned with an elaborate marginal miniature comprising of the images of six dignitaries, each holding in his hands an item relevant to his status (Fig. 154). Although all six images are sometimes described as having gold haloes, this impression of haloed heads emanates rather from the golden background of the marginal ornament, which is conveniently matched to the depicted persons's figures. In the *Lectionary of Crown Prince Het'um*, the same visual illusion is applied in many other miniatures⁴⁹⁵. Despite the lack of identifying legends, most scholars have interpreted the highest portrayed figure as King Lewon II⁴⁹⁶, while the remaining five figures have been identified either as sons of Lewon II⁴⁹⁷ or as high officials of the royal court⁴⁹⁸. While my below analysis does not contradict the suggested hypotheses – and in several points supports both of them – I believe that the purposeful lack of identifying inscriptions, the overall generic nature of the images of the depicted secular dignitaries, as well as the chosen iconographic model imitating that of the Tree of Jesse, encapsulate the principal ideological, religious, legal and ceremonial aspects that were deemed important for the well-functioning of the king's institution. In this regard, the royal imagery of the lectionary M 979, fol. 7r, produced in the time of King Lewon II

⁴⁹⁴ However, when three years later, in 1289, Het'um ascended to the royal throne, no coronation ceremony seems to have been performed, for, following his monastic ideal, the new king refused to wear the crown (see Chapter 5.2).

⁴⁹⁵ Drampian, *Lectionary of King Hetum II*, Figs. 1, 4, 8, 14, 15, etc.

⁴⁹⁶ Durnovo, "Portraits Depicted on the First Incipit Page," 63-69; Azaryan, *Cilician Miniature Painting*, 127; Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 157; Chookaszian, "The Five Portraits of King Lewon II," 134-135; Ioanna Rapti, "Lectionnaire du prince Héthoum," in *Armenia Sacra. Mémoire chrétienne des Arméniens (IVe-XVIIIe siècle)*, under the direction of Jannic Durand, Ioanna Rapti and Dorota Giovannoni (Paris: Musée du Louvre Éditions, 2007), 270.

⁴⁹⁷ Yovsēp'ean, "Brief Information on Some Miniatures of Ējmiacin," 104; Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 157, 160; Irina Drampian, *Lectionary of King Hetum II (Armenian illustrated codex of 1286 A.D.)* (Yerevan: 'Nairi' Publishing House, 2011), 78, 98-99; Ioanna Rapti, "Image et liturgie à la cour de Cilicie: Le lectionnaire du prince Het'um (Matenadaran MS 979)," in *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot*, tome 87 (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 2008), 113.

⁴⁹⁸ Durnovo, "Portraits Depicted on the First Incipit Page," 63-69; Azaryan, *Cilician Miniature Painting*, 127, 133; Drampian, *Lectionary of King Hetum II*, 99.

and at the eve of the coronation of his son Het'um may indeed be referred to and identified with these sovereigns. This identification is however generic and symbolic, for the theopolitical ideas codified in this image are universal and are practically applicable to all other Christian sovereigns whose power was constructed upon the principle of the sacred kingship.

Among the six persons depicted in the miniature in question, only the first two figures, portrayed at the top of the stylized flourishing tree, are crowned (Fig. 154a). These two figures represent an aged and a young king, and both are shown in similar fashion and posture: in their left hand they each hold a gold *globus cruciger* topped with a cross, while their right hand is placed on their right leg. The forms of their clothes also closely resemble each other, only differing in the color of the tunics. If we were to apply the previously suggested hypothesis, these royal figures can be identified with King Lewon II and crown Prince Het'um. At the time this manuscript was produced, Lewon was 50 years old, and Het'um 21⁴⁹⁹.

Four out of the six figures, including the supposed images of the acting king and his son, wear red or *scarlet* shoes – an important item of royal and aristocratic outfit, as discussed in Chapter 1. The shoes of the remaining two figures are hidden under their large tunics but their outward appearances too are rendered as aristocratic ones.

The two kings, depicted in the upper part below each other, have directed their gazes to the right, whereas the third person, portrayed kneeling and holding a crown, is looking up to the young, dark-haired king (Fig. 154b). Judging from the item he holds, as well as his posture and the lack of halo, we may identify this person with the holder of the office of *t'agadir* (compare with the image of the *t'agadir* in Fig. 149). He has no headgear and, judging from his smaller figure and beardless face, seems younger than the royal figure whom he ceremonially presents the crown. If we consider this figure to be the second son of Lewon II, Prince T'oros, then he must be 16 years old at the moment of the completion of this manuscript. However, I am aware of no textual sources mentioning T'oros holding the office of the *t'agadir* – a well respected position in the court of Lewon II. Moving forward in time, it should be mentioned that when Het'um II replaced his

⁴⁹⁹ The ruler and his future successor are depicted in an almost identical fashion to each other in the thirteenth-century Ganjasar Monastery, as already discussed in Introduction (Fig. 17).

father in the role of the king, he seems to have never wanted to wear a crown or other regalia⁵⁰⁰, which would cast shadow on the ceremonial duties of the *t'agadir*, whosoever it would be. As to Prince T'oros, he, in turn, occupied the royal throne for a short time (1293-1294, 1295-1296), when his elder brother Het'um, following his monastic ideal, refused the royal throne in 1293 and 1295.

The fourth figure in our miniature is the only one who is depicted standing to full height (Fig. 154b). He holds a gold chalice in his left hand, while his other hand is placed on his chest and is firmly clasped, as if holding something in it. His robe resembles the attire of the children depicted in the family portrait in the *Gospels of Queen Keran* (Fig. 131). If the depicted personages are to be considered Lewon II's heirs, this fourth figure could arguably be identified with Prince Smbat, Lewon's third son, who, in turn, later came to govern the Armenian state for a short time (1296/7-1298). Smbat was born in 1276 and was therefore ten years old when the *Lectionary of Crown Prince Het'um* was created.

The fifth person is depicted kneeling to the left and holding a gold ewer (Fig. 154c). Again, in keeping with the widespread hypothesis that the images in question portray Lewon II's son, this one must be referred to Kostandin, the next son of King Lewon, who, like his elder brothers, also happen to occupy the royal throne at the end of the century (1298-1299). The nine-year-old Kostandin wears a red tunic and a green mantle above it.

The sixth and last figure – probably Prince Nersēs – holds in his left hand a *fleur-de-lis*, another attribute of royalty, which is now partly scraped off (Fig. 154c). His gaze is directed to the right in the same way as the gazes of the two kings portrayed above. Unlike these two, the sixth royal personage is not seated on a throne but is represented cross-legged – a posture, which all the same is associated with the condition of being a ruler. The cross-legged posture entered Cilician royal iconography in the times of King Het'um I and remained popular until the end of the Armenian kingdom (see, for example, Figs. 53ab, 185, 202, 207, 208, 221).

⁵⁰⁰ *The 'Templar of Tyre' - Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'*, 137; *Excerpts from the Chronicle of Nerses Palienc'*, 182.

At first sight, this marginal miniature does not represent a particular scene or theme directly related to the content of the royal lectionary, and this is how most art historical studies approached the miniature in question. I believe, however, that the place of this marginal miniature, portraying royal and courtly authorities, corroborates well the theopolitical interpretation I suggest for this image. The textual content of the folio 7r, where our miniature is depicted, is the beginning of the Proverb 11:2 of King Solomon, who himself is portrayed within the large Π-like headpiece (Fig. 154). The proverb celebrates wisdom and righteousness – two important qualities for secular rulers, which were prominently exposed in Vahram Rabuni's above-discussed coronation homily (1271) but also in the coronation ordo and other textual sources originating from the Cilician courtly *milieu*. The visual emphasis on the figure of Solomon and the biblical text that is written on this folio allow one to see the accompanying royal figures in the light of their possible biblical models, namely those of King David and his son Solomon. I have already demonstrated in the previous chapters and will have several other occasions to discuss below that David and Solomon were deemed significant models of ideal kingship, and the acting Cilician rulers were therefore often associated with them. If these frequent associations were commonplace for the authors of textual sources, they could well be materialized in artistic creations of the courtly miniaturists as well, who, after all, were serving the same institution as their theologian colleagues. In this regard, the first two images showing an aged and a young king should be seen, respectively, as David and Solomon, whose ideal rulerships were supposed to be imitated by the aged Armenian king Lewon II and his successor Het'um. The inclusion of these images and of all other images to be discussed below was a visual statement that the ruling Armenian family is well aware and does follow the biblical principles of governing the state with wisdom and righteousness as did David and Solomon. This dual connotation allowed the beholders to make symbolic associations between David and Lewon and between Solomon and Het'um. Such a visual-ideological strategy of mingling biblical and actual rulers effaces the necessity of a firm identification of the depicted personages, putting instead the main emphasis on the importance of king's institution rather on the exact identities of the secular authorities portrayed here.

This importance has also inspired the implementation of the iconography of the Tree of Jesse, which, incidentally, is painted on the next incipit page, on folio 10r (Fig. 155). The symbolic associations between the Tree of Jesse and the royal posterity is a common thread running through the visual and textual representations of the Cilician Armenian kings, starting already from the first king Lewon I, whose supposed coronation Gospel Book – *The Gospels of Skewra* – has the first known depiction of Christ’s ancestry in Armenian arts (Fig. 19). Moreover, as already discussed above, the coronation homily authored by Vahram Rabuni is constructed through the lens of the Tree of Jesse and the flourishing branch which, in Cilician courtly rhetoric, came to be associated with King Lewon II. The same idea lies behind the creation of the marginal miniature depicted on folio 7r of the *Lectionary of Crown Prince Het’um*, featuring secular authorities and hinting at the forthcoming rule of Het’um, the manuscript’s commissioner, who is described in the principal colophon as “a good and graceful shoot from the root of the kingdom of the race of T’orgom” (fol. 170v)⁵⁰¹.

Het’um’s intended place below his aged father and above the courtly officials who were to serve the king and the king-to-be discloses the importance of the order and hierarchy within the Cilician king’s institution – something which is clearly emphasized in the Armenian coronation ordo as well. Here, after the religious ceremony of consecration, the courtly and military officials accompany the newly crowned king to his palace, where a number of secular rituals take place, in which all participants appear with respective attributes of the position: the *t’agadir* with the king’s crown, the seneschal with the gold or silver serving plate, the chamberlain with the gold or silver ewer, etc⁵⁰². The coronation ordo may in fact explain the appearance of the two figures depicted below the crown-bearing *t’agadir*, who are shown in the miniature in question with gold vessels in their hands. Held by secular individuals, these vessels – among other details – allude to the royal household. These may also symbolize liturgical – namely, Eucharistic – vessels, for the Cilician royal palace was also the place where the king and his retinue practiced their faith, as it is well documented in textual sources and in the same coronation ordo.

⁵⁰¹ *Colophons, 13th century*, 582.

⁵⁰² Siwrmēean, *Catalog*, 30.

3.6. OTHER IMAGES OF KING LEWON II

3.6.1. The Iconography of King Lewon II's Coins

The existence of many silver *trams* of King Lewon II speaks of their extensive minting⁵⁰³. However, the iconography of these coins is very stable in various mints, differing only in small details (Figs. 156-159). On the obverse, Lewon is depicted on horseback facing right, holding a cross or scepter in his right hand. The scepter is usually topped with a *fleur-de-lis*, and the cross is either patriarchal or plain in form. A crowned lion is depicted on the reverse, moving to the right or left, often with a raised paw. Behind the lion stands a cross, sometimes accompanied by different symbols or field marks. Though varying from one specimen to another, the legends generally read as follows: [Obverse] *ԼԵԻՈՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՅ* – LEWON, KING OF THE ARMENIANS, or *ԼԵԻՈՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ* – LEWON, KING OF ALL (ARMENIANS); [Reverse] *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՄԻՄ* – MADE IN THE CITY OF SIS, or *ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ԱՅԱ(Ս)* – MADE IN THE CITY OF AYA(S).

The copper *tank* and *kardez* coins minted under King Lewon II lack any depiction of the king, having only a cross on one side, and a lion on the other (Fig. 160).

To the final years of Het'um I's reign and to the first years of Lewon II's governance are attributed gold *tahekan* and silver *tram* coins, which have already been discussed in Chapter 2.2 and will not be repeated here.

3.6.2. Images of Lewon II in Non-Armenian Manuscripts

Five years before his coronation, in August 1266, a crucial battle took place with the participation of the future king Lewon II, which found a great echo in contemporaneous Armenian sources and literature. This was the battle of Mari between the Armenian and Mamluk armies, with devastating results for the former. Lewon, who was leading the Armenian military forces, was captured and taken to Babylon (Cairo),

⁵⁰³ For the coins of Lewon II, see: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 86-88, Pl. VII-VIII; Nercessian, *Armenian Coins and Their Values*, 136-143.

and T'oros, his younger brother and the next candidate for the royal throne, was killed⁵⁰⁴. King Het'um I, who was absent from his kingdom at the time of the Mari battle, entered into negotiations with the Mamluks in order to free Lewon, who was captured together with the son of Smbat the Constable, Vasil the T'at'ar. After a few attempts, the Armenian delegation led by Prince Vasak, the owner of the fortress of Čanči and brother of King Het'um, it was only in 1268 that Lewon was able to return to Cilicia⁵⁰⁵. The Mamluks agreed to release the crown prince in exchange for “*a great Saracen man named Shams al-Din Sunqur al-Ashqar, whom the Tartars were holding.*”⁵⁰⁶

The Mamluk captivity of the “purple-born” Lewon, but especially his liberation, found an emotional reaction in the manuscript colophons written during these years in Cilicia, but also in those created in Greater Armenia⁵⁰⁷. The dynastic continuity of Het'um I was in danger, and no wonder that the recovery of his successor in 1268 became a joyous event in the Cilician kingdom and added yet one more layer in the courtly rhetoric promoted by the royal apparatus in favor of Lewon, the king-to-be. This propaganda seems to be so strong that Lewon's Egyptian captivity became a popular theme in Cilician Armenian society. Below is the English translation of a popular song commemorating this event and celebrating the liberation of the Armenain crown prince, which was possible – the song says – by the intercession of the Virgin and by the power of the Holy Cross⁵⁰⁸:

On Leo, Son of Haithon I

I say alas! for Leo, who has fallen

⁵⁰⁴ *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 119; *Vahram Rabuni*, 223-223; *Vahram's Chronicle*, 51-52; *Chronicle of Het'um the Historian*, 73; *Het'um the Historian, History of the Ārubenid Dynasty*, 105; *The 'Templar of Tyre' - Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'*, 52, 59. See also: Angus Donal Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks: War and Diplomacy during the Reigns of Het'um II (1289-1397)*, *The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures*, 400-1453, Volume 34 (Leiden - Boston – Köln: Brill, 2001), 48-49.

⁵⁰⁵ *Chronicle of Het'um the Historian*, 74; *Het'um the Historian, History of the Ārubenid Dynasty*, 105.

⁵⁰⁶ *The 'Templar of Tyre' - Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'*, 59, also 94-95. See also: *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 120-122.

⁵⁰⁷ See, for example: *Colophons, 13th century*, 335, 343, 351, 355, 359-360, 362, 364, 366, 588, etc.

⁵⁰⁸ Translation from: Léonce Alishan (trans.), *Armenian Popular Songs*, Third edition (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1888), 4-7. For the French translation, see: *Chronique rimée des rois de la Petite Arménie par le docteur Vahram d'Édesse*, 539-540 (Appendix). A recent English translation of this song is available in Theo Maarten van Lint, “Sis. The Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia,” in *Europe: A Literary History 1348-1418*, Volume II, edited by David Wallace (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 259-281, which was not available to me at the time of writing.

Into slavery into the power of Moslems.

My light, my light, and holy Virgin!

The Holy Cross aid Leo and all!

The Sultan is come into the meydan,

He plays with his golden globe.

My light, my light, and holy Virgin!

The Holy Cross aid Leo and all!

He played and gave it to Leo:

“Take, play and give it to thy papa.”

My light, my light, and holy Virgin!

The Holy Cross aid Leo and all!

“Leo, if thou wilt become Moslem,

“I and my foster father slaves to thee.”

My light, my light, and holy Virgin!

The Holy Cross aid Leo and all!

Leo sitting in the fortress

With a handkerchief to his eyes wept:

“Thou caravan which goest to Sis,

Thou shalt announce to my papa!”

When his father heard it

He collected many troops of horsemen;

He went against the Sultan,

And made many rivers of blood flow.

He took his son Leo,

And obtained the desire of his heart.

My light, my light, and holy Virgin!

The Holy Cross aid Leo and all!

An artistic visualization of Lewon’s capture can be found in a fifteenth-century French manuscript of *La flor des estoires d’Orient* (BnF MS fr. 2810), showing on folio 245v the assassination of T’oros and the capture of Lewon, which is preceded with the corresponding chapter of Hayton’s *La flor* (Fig. 161)⁵⁰⁹. It depicts the aftermath of the

⁵⁰⁹ See also: Mutafian, *L’Arménie du Levant*, tome II, Fig. 104.

Battle of Mari, with the Armenian crown prince in the foreground, surrounded by the Mamluk soldiers.

In the previous chapter dedicated to the portraits of King Het'um I, I discussed another illustrated manuscript of Hayton's *History*, dating from the fourteenth century (BnF, NAF 886), which also contains an image of King Lewon II, depicted on folio 26v (Fig. 162). On the left, Ilkhan Abaqa is depicted with his counselors and, on the right side, the Armenian king on horseback, who had received a request from his Mongol overlord to transmit the ilkhan's letters to the Pope and to Christian rulers of the West, as we learn from Hayton's biased narrative. The meeting of Lewon II with the Mongol Ilkhan took place before the Second Battle of Homs (29 October 1281), at which the Armenian and Georgian armies fought with the Mongols against the Mamluks.

King Lewon II died on February 6, 1289, in Sis and was buried at the monastery of Drazark⁵¹⁰. Queen Keṙan died five years earlier, on August 9, 1285, and was buried in the same royal cemetery of Drazark⁵¹¹.

Conclusion: The extant five images of Lewon II represent this king at various moments of his life – an artistic practice which finds eloquent echoes in thirteenth-century theological writings, which parallel this mode with the life cycle of Christ. The practice of documenting one's presence at various moments also elucidates the fact that four out of five lifetime images of Lewon are found in those codices which commemorate a landmark event in the life of this king. In the manuscript M 8321, which was most likely produced to mark Lewon's maturity and knighting ceremony in 1256, he is represented as the successor of King Het'um I. In 1262, another Gospel manuscript was commissioned to commemorate Lewon's marriage with Keṙan of Lambron, who both are portrayed in it. Ten years later, in 1272, the *Gospels of Queen Keṙan* was created, featuring King Lewon and Queen Keṙan with their children. This luxurious manuscript was clearly aimed at commemorating the coronation of Lewon a year earlier but also demonstrating his successors. This last aspect is well expressed not only in the royal

⁵¹⁰ *Chronicle of King Het'um II*, 85; *Het'um the Historian, History of the Rubenid Dynasty*, 105; *Hayton, La flor des estoires de la terre d'orient*, 206.

⁵¹¹ *Chronicle of King Het'um II*, 85, also n. 112; *Colophons, 13th century*, 571, 705; *Samu'el Anec'i*, 261.

portrait but also in the colophons and dedicatory verses of this Gospel Book, stressing especially the young Crown Prince Het'um who was to replace his father in the future. With this concern is also associated the royal and courtly imagery found on the first incipit page of the *Lectionary of Crown Prince Het'um*, commissioned in 1286 by the future king Het'um II, whose generic representation imitates that of his father Lewon, both of whom are paralleled with Solomon and David, respectively. It was shown that this complex image also hints at the idea of how a king's institution should function, based, first, on the principle of legitimate succession, then on such notions as piety, wisdom, justice, and order.

CHAPTER 4.

IMAGES OF PRINCE VASAK, MARSHAL OŠIN AND ARCHBISHOP YOVHANNĒS

4.1. THE VIRGIN OF MERCY AS PROTECTOR OF LEVANTINE NOBILITY: THE TWO THIRTEENTH-CENTURY CILICIAN EXAMPLES

Two thirteenth-century manuscripts, created in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, preserve the only known examples of the iconography of the Virgin of Mercy in Armenian arts. One of them is depicted in the *Gospels of Prince Vasak*, preserved at the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem, MS J 2568, fol. 320r (Fig. 163). The other occupies a separate parchment folio, kept in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, under the shelf mark MS M. 1111 (Fig. 164).

The original manuscript, which the latter folio initially belonged to, is known as the *Gospels of Marshal Ošin*, which is the manuscript M. 740 of the same library. The parchment leaf with the miniature of the Virgin of Mercy and its original manuscript carry two different shelf marks, because the library acquired them separately at different times. The manuscript was purchased by the Pierpont Morgan Library in December 1928 from Mrs John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and received the shelf mark MS M. 740⁵¹². More than two years before that, in April 1926, this Gospel Book was seen by Frédéric Macler in a Parisian market, where, as the author mentions, it did not remain long⁵¹³. It is not known how the manuscript appeared in Paris, but in 1898 its description was published by Trdat Palean, the Archbishop in Kayseri, Ottoman Turkey, in the Vienna-based Armenian

⁵¹² <http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=146985&V1=1> (retrieved on 01.12.2016). *The Pierpont Morgan Library: A Review of the Growth, Development and Activities of the Library During the Period between Its Establishment as an Educational Institution in February 1924 and the Close of the Year 1929* (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1930), 55-56. See also the curatorial description of this manuscript, completed on 7 November 1951 (page 4). This description is available for download from the website of the Morgan Library and Museum: <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/description/146985> (retrieved on 01.12.2016).

⁵¹³ Frédéric Macler, "Quelques feuillets épars d'un tétraévangile arménien," *REArm* 6/2 (1926): 169.

periodical *Handēs Amsōreay*⁵¹⁴. Palean had seen the manuscript in 1888 in Kayseri and, two years later – on 14 February 1890, more precisely – had bought it from Yartut‘iwn efendi Kiwriwnlean⁵¹⁵. In July 20, 1920, Haykazn Hapēšean purchased the manuscript from Trdat Palean in Małnisa (near modern Izmir), paying for it “171 Ottoman gold coins.”⁵¹⁶ The manuscript must have come to Paris via the same Hapēšean, since, when in 1926 Macler was about to publish his mentioned article, Hapēšean contacted him saying that “it seems to him that he has already seen” the folios of this manuscript and referred to the description of Palean, published in 1898⁵¹⁷.

After appearing in Cilicia, Kayseri, Małnisa, and Paris, the *Gospel of Marshal Ošin* ended its journey in New York. However, the history of this codex does not end at this point. When it was acquired by the Pierpont Morgan Library, some illuminated folios were already missing from it⁵¹⁸. Besides the miniature in question, two full-page miniatures depicting the Evangelists Matthew and Luke were missing as well, which are currently kept in the Fitzwilliam Museum, in Cambridge (MS McClean 201.3)⁵¹⁹. In 1998, seventy years after the purchase of the Gospels of Marshal Ošin, the Morgan Library acquired from the private Feron-Stoclet Collection in Brussels the folio with the illumination of the Virgin of Mercy⁵²⁰. It could have been expected that, after this acquisition, the miniature would be reattached to the original MS M. 740, but it got a new shelf mark (MS M. 1111) and, albeit in the same collection, it continues to be preserved separately from its manuscript.

⁵¹⁴ Palean Trdat, “*Jeragir hin awetaran mē i Kesaria* [An Ancient Manuscript Gospel from Kayseri],” *HA* 8-9 (1898): 244-248.

⁵¹⁵ Trdat Bishop Palean, *A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in Kesaria, Smyrna and in Their Vicinities*, edited by Gevorg Ter-Vardanean, *A Bibliography of Trdat Bishop Balean’s Works* by Karine Avetean (Yerevan: Qnnaser, 2002), 7.

⁵¹⁶ Palean, *A Catalogue*, 7.

⁵¹⁷ Macler, “*Quelques feuillets*,” 172.

⁵¹⁸ Sylvie Merian, “Un feuillet appartenant à la collection Feron-Stoclet acquis par la Pierpont Morgan Library de New York,” *REArm* 27 (1998-2000): 417.

⁵¹⁹ Otto Kurz, “Three Armenian Miniatures in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge,” in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, volume II – Orient chrétien, *Studi e Testi* 232 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1964), 275-279, esp. 279, Figs. 5-6. As we learn from the description of Trdat Palean, by 1898, the portraits of Matthew and Luke at the Fitzwilliam Museum, as well as the portrait of Mark (whose location is still unknown), were already removed from the manuscript, where only the full-page miniature depicting the Evangelist John and Prochorus was present. See: Palean, “An Ancient Manuscript,” 244-248.

⁵²⁰ Merian, “Un feuillet,” 417-422. See also: <http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=160780&V1=1> (retrieved on 01.12.2016).

The extensive colophon, which occupies folios 309r to 319v of the *Gospels of Marshal Ošin*, indicates that the manuscript was copied by the famous scribe *Kostandin* in the capital of *Sis*, in the year 723 of the Armenian era (=1274 AD) “when *Yakob*, the honourable high priest and the great scholar, was on the patriarchal throne of our *Lusaworič’* [Gregory the Illuminator]” (fol. 315v)⁵²¹. As the colophons of many manuscripts produced for the ruling aristocracy, this one too provides detailed information about the genealogy of the manuscript’s commissioner, Marshal Ošin, and of other Cilician families connected to him. In the colophon, Marshal Ošin first mentions “the purple-born King *Lewon II*, who is worthy of his crown” and “his Christ-loved Queen *Keṛan*.” Keṛan was a niece of Ošin and, as already discussed in Chapter 3.2.1, the daughter of Lord Het’um of Lambron. The commissioner then pleads the readers to remember his children *Kostandin*, Het’um and Tēfanaw (Tēfano), his wife *Akac’*, his sister Keṛan, who was the mother of *t’agadir* *Kostandin*, and of *Kostandin*’s brothers Ošin and *Smbat*, also his other sister *Šahanduxt*, mother of a certain *Lewon*, and asks the reader especially not to forget his deceased parents – *Kostandin*, owner of Lambron (Lambron), and *Step’anea*, as well as his brother Het’um “with whom he is perfectly linked by blood” (that is, they were born of the same parents), and his deceased brother-in-law Prince *Čofri* (Geoffrey), owner of the castle of *Sarvand* (*Servandik’ar*).

Besides the ten-page *pedigree* colophon, in the *Gospels of Marshal Ošin*, there is a full-page dedicatory verse as well, written within two lavishly illuminated frames. The two-page dedication is framed in similitude of the Eusebian canon tables and is actually following and, in certain sense, closing the set of the canon tables (Figs. 165ab). Below is the transcription and translation of that rhythmic dedication⁵²²:

Folio 6v: Որ ի Հաւրէ լուսոյ ծագեալ

Եւ ի Կուսէն մարմնով ծնեալ

Ջաւետարանս լուսագարդեալ

Մարդկան կենաց կտակ շնորհեալ

⁵²¹ For the colophon text, see: Avedis K. Sanjian, *A Catalogue of Medieval Armenian Manuscripts in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 586-596; *Colophons, 13th century*, 439-442.

⁵²² Sanjian, *A Catalogue*, 595; *Colophons, 13th century*, 439.

*Որում Աւշինն տենչացեալ,
Որ մարաջախտ Հայոց պատվեալ
Զայս աւետեաց մատեան ստացեալ
Եւ Աստուծոյ ընծայ տուեալ:*

*Folio 7r: Սայ յիշատակ բարեաց լիցի
Աւշին սորին ըստացողի
Եւ Կոստանդեա եւ Ստեֆանի՝
Ծնողաց նորին որ ի յերկնի,
Նաեւ որդոցն իւր ցանկալի՝
Նախ Կոստանդեա մեծ իշխանի,
Այլ եւ Հեթմոյ պատանեկի
Եւ ամենայն նոցին տոհմի.*

*Folio 6v: Originated from the Father's light
and born in body from the Virgin,
This Gospel⁵²³, which is adorned with Light
and is given to mankind as testament of life.
It was desired by Awšin (=Ošin),
who is honoured to be the marshal of Armenia,
and is given to God as offering.*

*Folio 7r: May this (Gospel) be a good remembrance
for Awšin, the acquirer of this (Gospel),
also for his parents Kostandin and Stefanea,
who are in the Heaven,
But also for his beloved sons,
first for Kostandin, the Great Prince,*

⁵²³ Here and in many theological writings, the Gospel Book symbolizes Christ.

*and then for the youthful Het'um,
and for all members of their family.*

As Sirarpie Der Nersessian has already determined, Marshal Ošin was born in 1237 and died in 1294⁵²⁴. He had six children with his wife Akac'. Three of them, Kostandin, Het'um and T'efano, were born before 1274 and are mentioned in the above-discussed principal colophon. Kostandin and Het'um, Ošin's oldest children, are portrayed with their father in the miniature I will deal with shortly below. There is not much known about the eldest son Kostandin, except for his being mentioned in this manuscript as "Great Prince" (fol. 7r) and "Prince of Princes" (fol. 316v). Het'um, Marshal Ošin's second son and the youngest in the below-discussed portrait, later became marshal too and is known to have married Fimi (Femie or Euphemia), the daughter of Balian of Ibelin and Maria de Giblet⁵²⁵. He died in 1307.

Marshal Ošin is portrayed with his two eldest sons Kostandin and Het'um in a full-page miniature, in which they ask for the intercession of the Virgin Mary. The miniature has a wide frame, outlined in gold. The left and right sides of the frame are filled with decorative elements, painted on a dark blue background. Within both the top and bottom frames, a dedication is inserted, written in white *erkat'agir*. The partially preserved text reads as follows:

Within the upper frame:

[ՅՈՂԱՆՆ?] ՆԷՍ ԿՄԻՒԿԵԱՆ Ա[ՉԳ?] ԻՆ Ի ՔԵՉ ՅԱՆՁՆ
ԱՌՆԵՍ ՉՍՈՐԱ

[Mother of God,] TAKE CARE OF [YOVHAN?]NĒS arch[BISHOP] OF THE
CILICIAN [NATION?]

Within the lower frame:

ՉԱԻՇԻՆՆ ԵԻ [... Ա?] Ն Յ[...] ՆՈՐԱ ԵԻ ՀԵԹՈՒՄ:
THE [...] AŖŠIN AND [...] HIS [...] AND HET'UM.⁵²⁶

⁵²⁴ Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "Deux exemples arméniens de la Vierge de Miséricorde," *REArm* n.s. VII (1970): 190; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, tome II, Tab. 32.

⁵²⁵ Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, tome I, 397.

⁵²⁶ For the French translation, see: Der Nersessian, "Deux exemples," 188, n. 2.

The name “Yovhannēs” is not visible, but the prefix “արհի-“ (arch-) added on the corresponding part of the upper frame and the previous “nēs”, as well as the miniature featuring a bishop, indicate that the depicted person is most probably *Yovhannēs*, the archbishop of Sis and brother of King Het’um I, better known as *Yovhannēs Ark’aelbayr*⁵²⁷.

All three secular authorities are depicted kneeling one behind the other, with arms outstretched towards the Virgin of Mercy and the Christ Child. The latter’s position is slightly inclined to their right, and their gaze is directed towards the donors in a sign of protection⁵²⁸. Such a version of the seated Virgin, who spreads her protective mantle over one side only, have been assessed as being rare⁵²⁹. However, the thirteenth-century examples of this iconography, including the Armenian miniature dating from 1274 (Fig. 164), represent the Virgin more often seated. Among other examples are Duccio’s “Madonna dei Francescani” of c. 1280-1290 (Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena) (Fig. 166), the Cypriot icon with ten Carmelite monks, created around 1287 or shortly after (Nicosia, Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation) (Fig. 167)⁵³⁰, and the mural painting with the images of Latin donors in the Panagia Phorbiotissa Church in Asinou, Cyprus, dating from the final quarter of the thirteenth century (Fig. 168)⁵³¹.

Unlike the miniature of 1274, the second Cilician image of the Virgin of Mercy, depicted in the *Gospels of Prince Vasak*, shows Mary in a standing posture. But, here as well, she spreads her cloak over the donors with only one hand – the most characteristic detail of this iconography (Fig. 163). Also, in the two above-listed icons of the

⁵²⁷ Literally translated from Armenian “ark’aelbayr” means “king’s brother.” For these and other words deciphered in the given inscription, see: Der Nersessian, “Deux exemples,” 188.

⁵²⁸ On this, see: Michele Bacci, “La Madonna della Misericordia individuale,” *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* XXI / N.S. 7 (2008): 177.

⁵²⁹ Vera Sussmann, “Maria mit dem Schutzmantel,” *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 5 (1929): 328.

⁵³⁰ Bacci, “La Madonna,” Fig. 3.

⁵³¹ This fresco depicting the Virgin of Mercy has usually been dated to the first decades of the fourteenth century, but the pigment analysis has shown that it was probably painted a little earlier, in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. See: Annemarie Weyl Carr’s conclusion to *Asinou across the Time: Studies in the Architecture and Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus*, edited by Annemarie Weyl Carr and Andréas Nicolaidès, DOS XLIII (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2012), 343. For art historical analysis of this mural painting, see Sophia Kalopissi-Verti’s contribution in the same volume, “The Murals of the Narthex: The Paintings of the Late Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,” 122-130.

Franciscans and the Carmelites these monks are grouped at the Virgin's right, under her extended mantle (Figs. 166, 167).

Before I go into the specificities of the Armenian images of the Virgin of Mercy, a few words should be said about the *Gospels of Prince Vasak*. The main colophon of this manuscript has been lost, but the dedicatory text written below the donors' miniature clearly points to the period following the second half of the thirteenth century (discussed in more detail below). Prince Vasak is portrayed with his two sons, named again Kostandin and Het'um. All three are shown kneeling before Christ, who sits on a throne and blesses these secular individuals with His Right Hand and holds the Gospel Book in his left. The dynamic figure of the Virgin is depicted between Christ and the donors with an obvious gesture of interceding for the princely family. The four-line dedicatory text, written below the group portrait, reads (Fig. 163)⁵³²:

Պարոն Վասակ է արքայեղբայրն Հայոց, ստացող սուրբ Աւետարանիս
այս, եւ աստուածապարգեւ զաւակք նորա՝ Կոստանդին եւ Հեթում, զորս ի
պարս սիրելեացն իւր ընկալցի Քրիստոս Աստուած հայցմամբ սուրբ
ծնողին իւրոյ: Նաեւ զուղղող սորա զՅոհ(աննէս) եպիսկոպոս՝ եղբայր
սորա եւ զմերսն յիշեցէք ի Քրիստոս.

Translation:

(These are) Baron Vasak, brother of the king of Armenia and acquirer of this holy Gospel, and his God-given sons, Kostandin and Het'um, whom Christ may accept among His beloved ones upon the request of His holy parent. Remember also in Christ Bishop Yovhannēs, his brother, who has proofread this (Gospel), and all of our (relatives).

Prince Vasak was the brother of King Het'um I and of Bishop Yovhannēs Ark'aelbayr. The latter was born from the third marriage of Baron Kostandin (called also *Mozon*⁵³³) with a certain Piadris (Beatrice)⁵³⁴. King Het'um, who was the eldest brother

⁵³² For the French translations, see: Der Nersessian, "Deux exemples," 187-188; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, tome II, 277, Fig. 187.

⁵³³ *Colophons, 13th century*, 639.

of Vasak and Yovhannēs, was born from an earlier marriage of Baron Kostandin with Alic (Alice) of Lambron. Vasak is often mentioned as the owner of the fortress of Čanči and is best known for his successful diplomatic mission to Egypt in 1268, from where he brought back the Crown Prince Lewon (later King Lewon II), captured by the Mamluks at the Battle of Maři (see Chapter 3.6.2). The textual sources record that Vasak died on 13 March 1284 in Sis and was buried in the monastery of Akner⁵³⁵. This means that the manuscript in question was created sometime before the year 1284. Levon Azaryan has suggested that the *Gospels of Queen Keřan* dating from 1272 (MS J 2563) could have served as the prototype for the illuminations of the Vasak's Gospel and of another manuscript – M 197, dating from 1287⁵³⁶. Based on this presumption, he comes to a conclusion that the *Gospels of Prince Vasak* was created after 1272 and is chronologically close to the mentioned Gospel book of 1287⁵³⁷. For a more flexible dating of the manuscript J 2568, Sirarpie Der Nersessian considers the period between 1259 and 1284, but based on the stylistic analysis, she is more inclined to date it to the 1270s⁵³⁸. Similar to this is the date suggested by Dickran Kouymjian, who mentions the period between 1268 and 1284⁵³⁹.

In both of these Cilician miniatures dating from the last three decades of the thirteenth century, a new iconographic type was chosen – that of the Virgin of Mercy, known also as *Madonna della Misericordia* or *Schutzmantelmadonna*, which would soon become one of the most preferred iconographies of depicting aristocratic donors across the Mediterranean societies. One of the two Cilician images, the one depicted in the *Gospels of Marshal Ošin*, is the earliest securely dated example of this iconography (1274). As the theological and iconographical aspects are well investigated in art historical scholarship, I will mainly focus on the specificities of the Armenian examples and their relevance to Cilician royal portraiture.

⁵³⁴ There is almost nothing known about Beatrice, the mother of Yovhannēs Ark'aelbayr and probably also of Prince Vasak. As her non-Armenian name suggests, she could have been of Frankish origin. On this, see: Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, tome I, 349-350. See also: Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 95.

⁵³⁵ MS M 195, fol. 118v; MS M 5525, fol. 110v. See: *Colophons, 13th century*, 563, 594.

⁵³⁶ Azaryan, *Cilician Miniature Painting*, 142-143.

⁵³⁷ Azaryan, *Cilician Miniature Painting*, 143.

⁵³⁸ Der Nersessian, "Deux exemples," 189.

⁵³⁹ Kouymjian, "Insignes de souveraineté de Léon le Magnifique," 421.

The emergence of the iconography of the Virgin of Mercy is traditionally related to the mendicants, including especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, in the first decades of the thirteenth century⁵⁴⁰. In 1274, the year the *Gospels of Marshal Ošin* was completed, the Second Council of Lyon took place, which initially had intended to make a critical examination of the mendicant orders but concluded by giving the Dominican and Franciscan orders its support, being especially convinced by the arguments of two prominent mendicant theologians, Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure⁵⁴¹. This was a turning point for the expansion of the mendicant orders. After the mendicants received the much-desired support of the Pope at the Council of Lyon, the “merciful” nature of their preaching came to be increasingly popular among secular and religious authorities who preferred to be represented as seeking protection under the broad mantle of the Merciful Virgin – the central figure on whose image the mendicants constructed their theology and spirituality.

There are two main iconographic types of the Virgin of Mercy: with and without the Child⁵⁴². The childless type of Mary is believed to be more popular from the fourteenth century on⁵⁴³. However, the two thirteenth-century Armenian examples illustrate both types, and show that both were already in use in early depictions of the theme: in the *Gospels of Marshal Ošin*, Mary is depicted with the Child, and in the *Gospels of Prince Vasak* without Him. Another characteristic of the Cilician miniatures is that, in both cases, there is someone portrayed as an intermediary: in MS PML 1111 it is Archbishop Yovhannēs, and in MS J 2568 it is the Virgin herself. The presence of an intermediary does not seem necessary in Frankish and Western examples, in which above

⁵⁴⁰ For a general overview, see: Frank K. Flinn, “Mendicant Orders,” *Encyclopedia of Catholicism* (New York: Infobase publishing, 2007), 449-450; Taryn E. L. Chubb and Emily D. Kelly, “Mendicants and the Merchants in the Medieval Mediterranean: An Introduction,” in *Mendicants and the Merchants in the Medieval Mediterranean*, edited by Taryn E. L. Chubb and Emily D. Kelly (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2012), 1-25.

⁵⁴¹ Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure could not participate in the Second Council of Lyon, since both happened to die in the same year of 1274. Thomas Aquinas died several months before the Council opened, and Bonaventure died shortly before the final session. But their personal meetings and relationship with Pope Gregory X prior to the Council played decisive role and definitely influenced the Council’s outcomes. See: Flinn, “Mendicant Orders,” 449; Kelly, *The Ecumenical Councils*, 96.

⁵⁴² Sussmann, “Maria,” 313.

⁵⁴³ Michele Bacci, “Our Lady of Mercy along the Sea Routes of the Late Medieval Mediterranean,” *MOYΣEIO MIENAKH* 13-14 (2013-2014): 108-109 (in press). I am grateful to Prof. Michele Bacci for letting me read this article in draft.

the Virgin or next to her are usually painted angels holding her mantle⁵⁴⁴. The third characteristic of the Armenian miniatures is that the individuals who are grouped under the Virgin's protective mantle are secular authorities, resembling in this the mural painting in Asinou, in Cyprus (Fig. 168). In other early examples, Madonna protects within her cloak a group of mendicant clergy, such as in the famous panel of the Franciscans painted by Duccio di Buoninsegna (Fig. 166) or the Cypriot icon with the Carmelite monks (Fig. 167). This echoes the Cistercian monk's vision described in the *Dialogus Miraculorum* of Caesarius of Heisterbach, which is the literary source of the iconography of the Virgin of Mercy. In that vision, the Holy Virgin protects under her mantle a throng of monks, *conversi* (lay brothers) and nuns as her beloved ones⁵⁴⁵. In the Armenian images of this type, the only religious person – and in only one of the two miniatures – is Archbishop Yovhannēs, whose portrayal, nevertheless, differs in that that he is shown as a saintly figure who confidently operates as intercessor between the Virgin and the lay persons kneeling in front of her.

The prominent presence of architectural elements, the red curtain which connects the roofs of the sanctuaries, the golden background, the almost identical garments of donors, the style of the Virgin's mantle and her dominant figure, and many other details of the Cilician miniatures allow one to ascribe both of them to the same workshop, if not to the same artist. The colophon of the manuscript of 1274 mentions Sis as the place where the manuscript was copied. The Gospels M 197 completed in 1287 in Akner for Yovhannēs Ark'aelbayr, as well as the *Gospels of Queen Keran* from the year 1272 (MS J 2563), can be classified within the same group of manuscripts, which share a common style and were created between the 1270s and 1280s⁵⁴⁶.

⁵⁴⁴ Bacci, "Our Lady of Mercy," 112 (in press).

⁵⁴⁵ Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum – Dialog über die Wunder*, übersetzt und kommentiert von Nikolaus Nösges und Horst Schneider, 3. Teilband (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2009), 1500-1503.

⁵⁴⁶ Compare the following elements in the corresponding miniatures of MS J 2563 (Fig. 131), MS J 2568 (Fig. 163) and MS PML 1111 (Fig. 164): the throne of the Christ, the robes and postures of the donors, the elongated fingers of all depicted figures, the blue and purple clothing of the Virgin and the golden folds on it, the rich golden background with the decorative endings on the right and left corners of the top, etc. The comparison of other miniatures of the mentioned manuscripts reveals more stylistic and technical parallels. The Gospels M 197 created in 1287, as well as MS M 9422, might also be attributed to the same group of masters, although there is a need for more focused studies.

Prior to that period, Sis seems to have been of lesser importance than, for instance, Hromkla or Tarsus, although the lack of prominent codices might be related to the Mamluk attack of Sis in August 1266, when the city is described to be plundered and burnt down by the army of Sultan *Baybars*⁵⁴⁷. It was several years after this attack that the Cilician capital was rebuilt, regaining its socio-political importance. We know that Prince Vasak built a *kat'olikē* (main) church in Sis and offered to that church precious liturgical objects, vestments, Gospels, and other goods of faith-practicing⁵⁴⁸. The *Gospels of Prince Vasak*, featuring the brother of the Armenian king, might well have been created in Sis, as was the *Gospels of Marshal Ošin*, both of which contain the depiction of the Virgin of Mercy.

The attribution to Sis is also supported by the authority of Yovhannēs Ark'aēlbayr, the archbishop of Sis, whose name is closely tied with the two Gospel manuscripts under consideration. In the *Gospels of Marshal Ošin*, Yovhannēs is portrayed as an authoritative person interceding for donors before the Virgin (Fig. 164), and, in the *Gospels of Prince Vasak*, he is mentioned as being the proofreader of that manuscript – an information that is included in the dedicatory inscription, inserted below the image of the Virgin of Mercy (Fig. 163). Such an intellectual activity as correcting the evangelical text does not come as surprise, for Yovhannēs is well known for his erudition, and a remarkable number of extant manuscripts are documented to have been produced under his patronage or with his direct involvement. I believe a systematic study of the legacy of Yovhannēs Ark'aēlbayr may shed much light on the thirteenth-century Cilician art and culture. Until then, let me observe here that the capital Sis, of which our erudite clerk was the archbishop, was distinguished for its particular multicultural and multireligious environment, with many churches belonging to the Greeks, Genoese, Venetians, Crusader knights and Syrians⁵⁴⁹. In this vivid *milieu*, the local Armenian artists – at least those illuminating Armenian codices – would have had many occasions for artistic interactions, which in turn can explain the penetration of the images of the Merciful Virgin into Armenian art.

⁵⁴⁷ *Vardan vardapet*, 162; *Vardan Arewelc'i*, 223; *Colophons, 13th century*, 342-343.

⁵⁴⁸ Ališan, *Sisuan*, 540.

⁵⁴⁹ Hovhannisyan, "Catholicosate of Sis," 921.

In the aftermath of the Second Council of Lyon (1274), the discussions about the unification of Eastern and Western churches went on in a smoother manner than before, even though this situation lasted only decades. Despite the Pope's invitation, the Armenians were absent from this ecumenical event⁵⁵⁰, which, incidentally, was attended by more than three hundred bishops⁵⁵¹. But the decisions of the Council seem to have been welcomed by some representatives of the Armenian aristocracy and clergy. The personal letters of the Franciscan Pope Nicholas IV, written a few years later to the members of the Armenian royal family and to several aristocrats of Cilicia, show that the Cilician nobility was well-disposed towards the Latin Church, as claimed, for example, by John of Monte-Corvino, the Pope's envoy to the Orient⁵⁵².

With the appearance of the mendicants in Western Europe, iconographic themes associated with mendicant saints and preaching started to be expressed in visual arts⁵⁵³. The iconography of the Virgin of Mercy should have appeared some time later, since its source in literature, the miracle of the Mother of God described in the Seventh Book of the *Dialogus Miraculorum* of Caesarius of Heisterbach, was composed between 1219 and 1223, and widely circulated in the following decades⁵⁵⁴. This miraculous vision seen by a Cistercian monk⁵⁵⁵ was largely adopted by the mendicants in the formation period of their orders, which finally led to the creation of the Madonna's new image, the main element of which was her broad mantle for the protection of "her beloved ones." The Cilician miniature of the Virgin of Mercy, depicted in the *Gospels of Marshal Ošin* and created in

⁵⁵⁰ Hamilton, "The Armenian Church and the Papacy," 82; Peter S. Cowe, "The Armenians in the Era of the Crusades (1050-1350)," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Volume 5: Eastern Christianity, edited by Michael Angold (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 419; Cowe, "Theology of Kingship," 418.

⁵⁵¹ Kelly, *The Ecumenical Councils*, 96.

⁵⁵² Hamilton, "The Armenian Church and the Papacy," 84-85. For the letters of Pope Nicholas IV to Cilician nobility, see: Ernest Langlois, *Les registres de Nicholas IV. Recueil des bulles de ce Pape d'après les manuscrits originaux des archives du Vatican*, 2ème série (Nr. 2231-2239) (Paris: Ernest Thorin Éditeur, 1887), 392-393.

⁵⁵³ For the art of the Dominicans and Franciscans, see the contributions in the following volumes: William R. Cook, ed., *The Art of the Franciscan Order in Italy*, The Medieval Franciscans – Volume 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Trinita Kennedy, ed., *Sanctity Pictured: The Art of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders in Renaissance Italy* (Nashville: First Center for the Visual Arts, 2014).

⁵⁵⁴ For the date of the *Dialogus Miraculorum*, see: *Dialogus Miraculorum*, 1. Teilband, 59-66.

⁵⁵⁵ The vision of the Virgin of Mercy is described in the last chapter (59) of the Seventh Book of the *Dialogus Miraculorum*, entitled "De monacho, qui ordinem Cisterciensem sub eius pallio vidit in regno coelorum" (On a monk who saw the order of the Cistercians under the mantle of the Mary in the sky). For the text, see: *Dialogus Miraculorum*, 3. Teilband, 1500-1503. See also: Paul Perdrizet, *La Vierge de Miséricorde: Étude d'un thème iconographique* (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1908), 18-26.

the very year the Council of Lyon concluded its work (1274), could have been done with the intention of demonstrating the openness of some Armenian aristocrats towards the Council's decisions as related to the unification of churches and to the authentication of the mendicant orders. If this assumption is correct, then the *Gospels of Prince Vasak* with the corresponding miniature should also have been completed no earlier than 1274, probably between 1274 and 1284. If we look at the illumination of these two manuscripts in only Cilician context, we notice that they are stylistically close to the manuscripts produced in the 1270s, the illuminations of which stand out with an innovative character⁵⁵⁶. Thomas F. Matthews has even considered the engagement of the Armenian painters in the development of this iconography⁵⁵⁷. Discussing the imagery of the Virgin of Mercy in Cyprus and its Armenian parallels, Annemarie Weyl Carr has expressed an opinion that "it is surely from the mingled art of the Crusader East, and not from the Gothic West, that this motif migrated to Cyprus."⁵⁵⁸

That the Cilician Armenian nobility was among the first to commission what would be associated with the mendicant orders and even to include their own images therein, should not be perceived as unusual. In 1180, under the protection of the Patriarchate of Antioch, Roman Catholic dioceses had been established in Cilicia⁵⁵⁹. From the mid-thirteenth century, the frequent visits of Catholic missionaries to the Eastern Mediterranean usually included Cilicia, often with the agenda that included the question of the church union. Among the mendicants who visited Armenian Cilicia during the thirteenth century were the Franciscan friars Lorenzo da Orte, John of Montecorvino, Dominic of Aragon and the Dominican friars André de Longjumeau, William

⁵⁵⁶ Valentino Pace, "Armenian Cilicia, Cyprus, Italy and Sinai Icons: Problems of Models," in *Medieval Armenian Culture*, edited by Thomas J. Samuelian and Michael E. Stone, University of Pennsylvania – Armenian Texts and Studies 6 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1984), 293.

⁵⁵⁷ Thomas F. Matthews, "The Genius of the Armenian Painter," in *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Art, Religion, and Society*, papers delivered at The Pierpont Morgan Library at a Symposium organized by Thomas F. Matthews and Roger S. Wick, 21-22 May 1994 (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1998), 170. But see also Jaroslav Folda's observations on the Cypriot icon of the Carmelites, which, according to the author, is done in the "Byzantinizing style" with strongly Frankish characteristics: Jaroslav Folda, "Crusader Art in the Kingdom of Cyprus, c. 1275-1291: Reflections on the State of the Questions," in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, edited by N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1995), 216-221, esp. 219.

⁵⁵⁸ Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Art in the Court of the Lusignan Kings," in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, edited by N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1995), 243.

⁵⁵⁹ Ališan, *Sisuan*, 67.

Freney and Burchard of Mount Sion⁵⁶⁰. By 1292, the Franciscans were already established in at least three Cilician convents in Sis, Tarsus, and a third with location still unknown⁵⁶¹. Jean Richard has shown that, between the years 1266 and 1275, William Freney, an Englishman who was rapidly raised to bishop and, soon, to Archbishop of Edessa by Pope Urban IV, embarked upon a diplomatic career in the Levant, particularly in Cilician Armenia⁵⁶², where a Dominican convent had already been established in around 1265⁵⁶³. Many mendicant friars were sent to Cilicia in the course of the fourteenth century as well⁵⁶⁴. By the time the two Cilician Armenian manuscripts in question were produced, the Armenian Church had adopted a more tolerable attitude towards the Roman Catholic Church, with whom she had friend-and-foe relations since the foundation of the Armenian state in Cilicia in 1198. In the early fourteenth century, within a tense political climate, this tolerable attitude will be transformed into the Armenian Church's acceptance of the church union. In the last decades of the previous century, some Armenian secular and religious authorities seem to have already embraced, if not the Latin creed, at least some of its tendencies in faith-practicing⁵⁶⁵, among them the veneration of the 'mantle-holding' Virgin of Mercy.

⁵⁶⁰ Eugène Tisserant, "La légation en Orient du Franciscan Dominique d'Aragon (1245-1247)," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 3ème série, tome IV, 24 (1924): 347-351; Martiniano Roncaglia, "Frère Laurent de Portugal O.F.M. et sa légation en Orient (1245-1248 env.)," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n. s. VII (1953): 35; Hamilton, "The Armenian Church and the Papacy," 80, 84; Jean Richard, "Deux évêques dominicains, agents de l'Union arménienne au Moyen Âge," *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* XIX (1949): 255-260; Mutaftian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, tome I, 562-563.

⁵⁶¹ Hamilton, "The Armenian Church and the Papacy," 83-84.

⁵⁶² Richard, "Deux évêques dominicains," 255-260, esp. 259.

⁵⁶³ François Tournebize, "Les Frères-Unites (ounithorq, miabanoghq) ou Dominicains arméniens (1330-1794)," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 3ème série, tome 2/22 (1920-1921), 1st part: 145.

⁵⁶⁴ Richard, "Deux évêques dominicains," 260-265; (Tirayr) Anapatakan, *Hamarōt patmut'win hay-latinakan yaraberut'eanc' skzbēn minč'ew 1382 [A Brief History of Armenian-Latin Relationship from the Beginning until 1382]* 2nd printing (Antelias: Tonikian Publishing House, 1981), 172, 179.

⁵⁶⁵ The death of Catholicos Kostandin of Barjrbard in 1266 (*Colophons, 13th century*, 343) seems to have accelerated the Armenian Church's romanization process. Earlier, at the end of 1230s, Kostandin had opposed the Pope, when the Latin Patriarch of Antioch attempted to put the Armenian Church under his jurisdiction. In all probability, it was because of this conflict that shortly after, in 1239, Pope Gregory IX gifted Catholicos Kostandin a pallium and other valuable pontifical insignia, hoping to resolve the tensions between the two neighboring churches. See: Anapatakan, *Brief History*, 140-141; Peter Halfter, *Das Papsttum und die Armenier im frühen und hohen Mittelalter: Von den ersten Kontakten bis zur Fixierung der Kirchenunion im Jahre 1198*, Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters - Beihefte zu Johann F. Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii* 15 (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1996), 154; Peter Halfter & Andrea Schmidt, "Der römische Stuhl und die armenische Christenheit zur Zeit Papst Innozenz IV. Die Mission des Franziskaners Dominikus von Aragon nach Sis und Hromkla und das Lehrbekenntnis des Katholikos Konstantin I. Bardzrbertsi," *Muséon* 116 (2003) Fasc. 1-2: 91-92, n. 4.

Another factor which might have motivated the penetration of the Western-type themes and iconographies is that, by the second half of the thirteenth century, the Cilician Armenian ruling aristocracy was largely issued from the intermarriages with the Franks or was closely related to them by other relations. From one of these intermarriages was born Archbishop Yovhannēs himself, the brother of King Het'um I, whose name is closely tied to the production of the two Cilician manuscripts containing the image of the Virgin of Mercy, in one of which he is also portrayed next to the Virgin. Purposfully or not, the Armenian-language sources do not provide much information about Yovhannēs, whose contribution to the intellectual and artistic culture of Armenian Cilicia is immense. There exist however a few indirect references to this erudite archbishop, which might shed some light on the openness towards the Latin worship practices and on the appearance of the Virgin of Mercy in Armenian art. That indirect evidence comes from a manuscript colophon, written in 1286 by the scribe Barsegh in Barjrberd, the region of which Yovhannēs Ark'aēlbayr was bishop. Moreover, that miscellaneous manuscript, which is now M 10480, was produced for Yovhannēs himself, for whom Barsegh asks for divine protection so that he may share the glory of “his white-robed saints” (Fig. 169)⁵⁶⁶:

May Christ God save the pious Archbishop tēr Yovhannēs, brother of the Armenian king and acquirer of this (manuscript), also his parents and his legitimate brothers with all their offsprings, from illusions and deceit against the Christ. And make them partake and inherit (the glory) of his white-robed saints and dwell in the (heavenly) city to be loved. Amen.

It is well known that the mendicant monks were called by the color of their habits: the Franciscans were/are called “Grey Friars”, the Dominicans “Black Friars”, and the Carmelites “White Friars”⁵⁶⁷. Taking the expression “white-robed” literally and leaving aside the possible reference to its metaphorical usage as pertaining to the righteous, the wording “his white-robed saints” may refer to the Carmelites, with whom Yovhannēs wanted to share the eschatological glory. Being originally formed as a hermit group in

⁵⁶⁶ For the original text in Armenian, see also: *Colophons, 13th century*, 591.

⁵⁶⁷ Cistercian friars too, although not mendicants, were called “White monks” but by the mid-thirteenth century their influence appears to have passed to the mendicants, who started to extensively use in their theology the vision of the Holy Virgin as seen by a Cistercian monk (see above, note 548). It is believed that the Carmelite white habit may have been inspired by the Cistercians’ habits.

Palestine, the Carmelite order might well be known to the Armenian archbishop before this order was installed in Western Europe, which happened in the second quarter of the thirteenth century⁵⁶⁸. There is however a chronological problem in this interpretation: the Carmelites adopted their white cloak in 1287⁵⁶⁹, whereas the Armenian manuscript in which this colophon is written is dated to the year 1286. At any event, such a clear sartorial designation is not characteristic to the Armenian Church clergy⁵⁷⁰, and if my reading of the colophon text is correct, this may also explain Yovhannēs' unhidden preference for the iconography of the Virgin of Mercy (Figs. 163, 164), but also for the Western articles of clothing, such as his luxurious blue cloak decorated with *fleur-de-lis*, which he wears in the same miniature (Fig. 164, compare with Fig. 170).

No other example of the Virgin of Mercy is known from medieval Armenain art. In 1658, five centuries after the two thirteenth-century miniatures of the Merciful Virgin were created, an Armenian Synaxarion was illustrated, which, though it does not represent the Virgin of Mercy, was obviously inspired by that iconography (MS A 214 of the Catholicosate of Cilicia, Antelias, Lebanon, Fig. 172)⁵⁷¹. The Synaxarion miniature depicts the Armenian conversion to Christianity by Gregory the Illuminator, under whose protective mantle are portrayed the royal family members, obviously imitating the Western iconography of the Virgin of Mercy.

⁵⁶⁸ Richard W. Emery, "The Second Council of Lyons and the Mendicant Orders," *The Catholic Historical Review* 39/3 (1953): 260.

⁵⁶⁹ William M. Johnston, ed. *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, Volume 1 (Chicago-London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), 242.

⁵⁷⁰ Armenian clergy wore black garments, which Nersēs of Lambron explains as follows: "accepting his black vestment [...], a monk demonstrates that he is a mourning stranger until he will reach the joy of Christ." For the Armenian text, as well as the color and articles of Armenian ecclesiastical clothing, see: Anania archim. Tsaturyan, "Vanakanneri handerjnern əst Maštoc' cisamatyani [Monks' Vestments according to Maštoc' Ritual Book]," *ĒM* 11 (2015): 19-37, esp. 20-23.

⁵⁷¹ For the study of this manuscript and its miniature painting, see: Sylvia Agémian, *Manuscrits arméniens enluminés du Catholicosate de Cilicie* (Antelias: Edition du Catholicosate arménien, 1991), 87-94.

4.2. OTHER IMAGES OF YOVHANNĒS, BROTHER OF KING HET'UM I

Yovhannēs Ark'aelbayr, the son of the Armenian *išxanac' išxan* (prince of princes) Kostandin and of a certain Beatrice, was born under the name *Baldwin*⁵⁷². He was ordained as Bishop of *Molewon* in 1259 and started to be referred to with the religious name *tēr Yovhannēs*⁵⁷³. After the death of his brother *Barsel*, who was the archbishop of Sis between 1241 and 1274/5⁵⁷⁴, Yovhannēs has replaced him in this role, at the same time continuing to lead the monasteries of Molewon, Barjrberd and Gṛner⁵⁷⁵, as well as the convent of Akner and other churches and villages in their proximity. From the 1260s on, he is mentioned as acquirer, scribe or proofreader of many manuscripts produced in the scriptoria of the mentioned centers (see Appendix II). Having acquired the title of *vardapet*, he was also largely engaged in teaching and scholarly activities of his time⁵⁷⁶. Yovhannēs died in 1289⁵⁷⁷, and was probably buried at Gṛner⁵⁷⁸.

Four manuscripts, created in Gṛner (1263), Barjrberd (1263-1266), Sis (1274), and Akner (1287), have preserved the images of Bishop Yovhannēs (respectively, Figs. 173, 177, 164, 174)⁵⁷⁹. The earliest of these images is found in the Gospel manuscript dating from the year 1263, kept at the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington (FGA 1956.11, fol. 293r) (Fig. 173). The painter of this miniature is Kostandin, who, before working between 1263 and 1270 at the scriptorium of Gṛner under the direction of Bishop Yovhannēs, was illuminating manuscripts in Sis for Baron Kostandin, Yovhannēs' father⁵⁸⁰. Yovhannēs is portrayed here as bishop who ordains two young priests clothed

⁵⁷² “I, Bishop Yohannēs and brother of the Armenian king, formerly named Pal[t]uin [Baldwin]...” (MS M 10480, fol. 159v). See: *Colophons, 13th century*, 590, also 639, 641. See also: *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk'*, 234; *The Armenian Chronicle of the Constable Smpad*, 160; *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 103.

⁵⁷³ *Smbatay sparapeti Taregirk'*, 234. For the English and French translations, see: *The Armenian Chronicle of the Constable Smpad*, 160; and *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 103.

⁵⁷⁴ Ališan, *Sisuan*, 234.

⁵⁷⁵ “Yohannēs, the brother of the king and bishop of the regions of the fortress of Molewon and of a part of Barjrberd, which are under divine protection, as well as the same of the glorious holy convent of Gṛner...” (MS M 4119, fol. 2r). See: *Colophons, 13th century*, 648.

⁵⁷⁶ Yovhannēs' works are listed in: Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art*, 59.

⁵⁷⁷ *Colophons, 13th century*, 642, n. 1.

⁵⁷⁸ Ališan, *Sisuan*, 147; Rüdts-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, 65.

⁵⁷⁹ Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 158; Levon Chookaszian, “Les enlumineurs arméniens au Moyen Âge,” in *L'artista a Bisanzio e nel mondo cristiano-orientale*, edited by Michele Bacci (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2007), 243-247.

⁵⁸⁰ Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art*, 63, 65.

in white. Two other young men stand behind these two and hold tapers in their hands. They too wear white habits but simpler than the two deacons for whom the ordination rite is performed. The sixth person present in this miniature stands next to Bishop Yovhannēs and carefully watches the ceremony, with his right hand on the right frame of the miniature. Such a gesture, as well as the position of buildings that are shown partially out of the miniature frame is characteristic for Cilician miniature painting, and for the ateliers of Bishop Yovhannēs in particular.

The second manuscript in which Bishop Yovhannēs is portrayed was copied for him by the scribe *Step'anos Vahkayc'i* between the years 1263 and 1266 in a scriptorium near Barjrberd⁵⁸¹, probably at the monastery of Lisonka⁵⁸² (Fig. 177). The manuscript is preserved at the Matenadaran under the shelf mark No. 4243 and contains books of the Bible. The commissioner's image appears on folio 15r. Framed by a red frame, it occupies the right column of the page and represents Yovhannēs kneeling before John the Evangelist, his namesake saint. Below these two figures, the following inscriptions are respectively written in red: "*This is Saint Yohannēs, the Theologian and Evangelist,*" and "*This is Bishop tēr Yohannēs, the brother of the king and acquirer of these writings.*" In the text that is written in the left column, Bishop Yovhannēs asks for the intercession of John the Evangelist – a request which is visualized in the nearby miniature. Yovhannēs has stretched out his hands towards the evangelist, who blesses him with his right hand, while himself being blessed by the God'e Right Hand that is visible jutting out from the cloud of the upper right corner. The figures of Bishof Yovhannēs and John the Evangelist and the prominently depicted Hand of the God are smartly placed in the narrow, extremely vertical painting, by creating a dynamic connection through the gestures of their hands that move from the lower right corner to the upper right corner and back. The painter of this manuscript has also illustrated the codices M 10944⁵⁸³, M 345, and No.

⁵⁸¹ *Manuscript Catalogue of the Maštoc' Matenadaran [C'uc'ak jeragrac' Maštoc'i anvan Matenadaran]*, Volume I (MSS 1-5000), edited by Ōnik Eganyan, Andranik Zeyt'unyan & P'aylak Ant'abyan (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1965), 1177.

⁵⁸² Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 83.

⁵⁸³ In the monumental monograph on Cilician miniature painting by Sirarpie Der Nersessian, the manuscripts M 10944 and M 4515 appear to be confounded with each other. The latter is a nineteenth-century codex, which contains transcriptions of manuscript colophons, compiled by Lewond P'irialēmean, who in folios 39-40 of that codex has also copied the colophon of the Cilician manuscript in question. The original manuscript, which in Der Nersessian's monograph is mentioned as M 4515, is now kept at Matenadaran under the shelf mark 10944. In the volume of the thirteenth-century manuscript colophons

122 of the Topkapi Museum of Istanbul, in which the artist's name – *Yovasap'*, has fortunately been preserved⁵⁸⁴.

As discussed in the previous subchapter, in the miniature showing the Virgin of Mercy in the *Marshal Ošin Gospels*, Archbishop Yovhannēs is also depicted, whose dominant figure stands out with a luxurious blue mantle decorated with *fleur-de-lis* (Figs. 164, 170). Sirarpie Der Nersessian has suggested that this chasuble was probably made in Sicily, where similar elegant blue textiles with *fleur-de-lis* were produced for Italian aristocracy⁵⁸⁵. This type of Italian textile appears to have been one of the most widespread articles of clothing among the Mediterranean aristocracy. The most attractive examples are among the images of King Louis IX, depicting him in various mantles made of that very textile (Fig. 171)⁵⁸⁶. A convenient pathway for the Italian textiles to reach Cilicia was through the commerce with Italian merchants⁵⁸⁷ who, since the time of Lewon I, enjoyed special privileges in taxation and warehousing in many Cilician cities⁵⁸⁸.

On his chasuble, Yovhannēs wears an *omophorion*, known as *pallium* in the West⁵⁸⁹. The latter is a papal and episcopal article of clothing, in the form of a long white

published in 1984, the colophon of this manuscript is again given from the compilation of P'irlalēmean (MS M 4515) without reference to its original manuscript (*Colophons, 13th century*, 395-397). Yet, already in 1977, the location of that manuscript was known, when Babken Chookaszian described it in Los Angeles, as MS Nr. 2 of the private collection of Aršak Tigranyan (Babken L. Chookaszian, "*Hayeren jeragrer Amerikayi Miačyal Nahangnerum* [Armenian Manuscripts in the United States of America]," *BM* 12 (1977): 220-222). In 1985, Aršak Tigranean donated to Matenadaran seven manuscripts from his personal collection, among them the Cilician Gospel Book dating from 1270. From that time on, the manuscript was registered under the shelf mark 10944. See: *Manuscript Catalogue of the Maštoc' Matenadaran [C'uc'ak jeragrac' Maštoc'i anuan Matenadaran]*, Volume III (MSS 10409-11077), compiled by Armen Malkhasyan, edited by Armen Ter-Stepanyan (Yerevan: Yerevan University Publishing House, 2007), 149 (for a brief description of the manuscript), 12 (for the acquisition of the manuscript in 1985).

⁵⁸⁴ Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 85.

⁵⁸⁵ Der Nersessian, "Deux exemples," 200-201; Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 158.

⁵⁸⁶ Brigitte Klein & Winfried Wilhelmy, *Die Kreuzzüge: Kein Krieg ist heilig*, Katalog-Handbuch zur Ausstellung im Diözesanmuseum Mainz, 2. April – 30. Juli, 2004, herausgegeben von Hans-Jürgen Kotzur (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2004), 473-474, Fig. 110. For miniatures containing the images of Louis IX in robes decorated with fleur-de-lys, see illuminated copies of the *Grandes chroniques de France*: Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the "Grandes chroniques de France", 1274-1422*, California Studies in the History of Art 28 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), Figs. 43, 49-50, 81, 87, 92.

⁵⁸⁷ Der Nersessian, "Deux exemples," 201; Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 158.

⁵⁸⁸ See the subchapter "Le royaume arménien de Cilicie et le commerce du Levant" of René Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant: Histoire de la question d'Orient* (Paris: Éditions Payot, 2000/reprint), 414-416.

⁵⁸⁹ Joseph Braun S. J., *Die pontificalen Gewänder des Abendlandes nach ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Freuburg im Breisgau: Herder'sche Verlagshandlung, 1898), 155; Joseph Braun S. J., *Die liturgischen*

band marked with black crosses, which bishops wear around their shoulders. As a rule, a *pallium* was granted to a bishop who became the metropolitan or archbishop of a diocese⁵⁹⁰. Yovhannēs Arkʼaelbayr would have received his *omophorion* when he was ordained Bishop of Molewon (1259). In all except one of his portraits, he wears the episcopal omophorion (Figs. 164, 173, 174, 178?). I am not aware whether Yovhannēs was ever bestowed with a *pallium* from the Roman Church, but we know that earlier, in 1239, Catholicos Kostandin I of Barjrbard had received a *pallium* from Pope⁵⁹¹.

The fourth portrait of Yovhannēs was made in 1287, two years before his death. It is found in a Gospel Book copied by Yovhannēs himself at the monastery of Akner⁵⁹². Like his first extant miniature portrait executed in 1263 in Grner, this too presents Yovhannēs in an ordination scene, which occupies the folio 341v of the Matenadaran manuscript M 197 (Fig. 174). Another Armenian miniature with an ordination scene is preserved in the Ordinal copied in 1248 at the monastery Zarnuk, now kept at the Manuscript Library of the Mekhitarist Congregation in Venice (V 1657, frontispiece) (Fig. 175)⁵⁹³. The exact location of Zarnuk monastery is unknown, but it is supposed to have been located not very far from Cilicia, in Malatya (Melitene), which is situated within the Euphrates basin, for one of the rivers there is called Az-Zarnuk (known also as Zarnux in Armenian sources)⁵⁹⁴. This identification of Zarnuk is also confirmed by

Paramente in Gegenwart und Vergangenheit: Ein Handbuch der Paramentik (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder & Co. G.M.B.H. Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1924), 149, 245.

⁵⁹⁰ In the beginning, only the emperor could bestow *pallia* upon a bishop, which would denote his episcopal status. Starting in the sixth-seventh centuries, this function was transmitted to the Pope. For the history, symbolism, function and forms of the pallium-omophorion, see: Pierre Salmon, *Mitra und Stab: Die Pontifikalinsignien im Römischen Ritus* (Mainz: Matthias-Grünwald-Verlag, 1960), 18; Braun, *Die pontificalen Gewänder*, 132-175; Braun, *Die liturgischen Paramente*, 143-151.

⁵⁹¹ See above, Chapter 4.1. In 1185, Catholicos Gregory IV Tġa had also received a *pallium* and a mitre from the Pope Lucius III. See: *Acta romanorum pontificum: A S. Clemente I (an. c. 90) ad Coelestinum III (1198)*, tomus I – Introductio, textus actorum, additamentum, appendix (Vatican: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1943), 811 (No. 395).

⁵⁹² *General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Maštoc' Matenadaran [Mayr c'uc'ak hayerēn jeragrac' Maštoc' i anvan Matenadaran]*, edited by Levon Xaç'ikyan & Asatur Mnac'akanyan, Volume I - MSS 1-300 (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1984), 845-850.

⁵⁹³ For this manuscript, see: *General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Mekhitarist Library in Venice*, Volume III, compiled by Barseġ Sargisean and Grigor Sargsean (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1966), 631-634; Evans and Wixom, ed., *The Glory of Byzantium*, 356-357.

⁵⁹⁴ T. Kh. Hakobyan, St. T. Melik-Bakhshyan, & H. Kh. Barsegyan, *Hayastani ev harakic' šrġanneri telanunneri bararan [Dictionary of Toponymy of Armenia and Adjacent Territories]*, Volume 2 (Yerevan: Yerevan State University Press, 1988), 281.

Arabic and Byzantine sources⁵⁹⁵. Despite the lack of the ordination scenes in Byzantine manuscripts⁵⁹⁶, the Armenian ordination images seem to be inspired by Byzantine iconographic trends. The mentioned Armenian examples bear a close resemblance to a Byzantine icon of Christ consecrating Saint James, the first bishop of Jerusalem. Both Christ and Saint James are depicted in episcopal habits beneath the baldachin, surrounded by two angels holding tapers in their hands (Fig. 176).

One of the most remarkable elements of the ordination miniature of M 197 showing Yovhannēs is his chasuble, decorated with a golden Chinese dragon of a remarkable size. This and a few other miniatures, which most likely reflect the contemporaneous Armenian-Mongol exchanges, have been discussed in Chapter 3.1.3⁵⁹⁷. Both chasubles of Yovhannēs show his passion for luxurious clothing, one decorated with a Far Eastern, the other with a Western symbol of royalty.

Apart from the discussed four images, there is another one which, according to Der Nersessian, probably represents Bishop Yovhannēs⁵⁹⁸. That image is found in the miniature of the Dormition of John the Evangelist, depicted on folio 7r of the manuscript FGA 1956.11, dating from 1263 (in which the ordination scene with the participation of Yovhannēs is also found, on folio 293r). One old and one young bishop are depicted above the tomb of John the Evangelist (Fig. 178) – the same saint whose name Yovhannēs had adopted when he was ordained. The old man in episcopal habit has been identified with James, the elder brother of John the Evangelist⁵⁹⁹, although it is to be noticed that he had died long before the evangelist's death. The presence of a second bishop in this scene allows to infer that it might represent Bishop Yovhannēs, the acquirer of this Gospel Book, who by 1263 was indeed a young bishop. Yovhannēs Ark'aelbayr's special affinity for his patron saint is also reflected in other manuscripts created under his

⁵⁹⁵ Guy le Strange, "Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdād, written about the year 900 A.D. by Ibn Serapion. The Arabic text edited from a MS in the British Museum Library, with translation and notes," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* Jan. (1895), 63; Hakobyan et al., *Dictionary of Toponymy*, 281.

⁵⁹⁶ Christopher Walter, "Church Appointments in Byzantine Iconography," *Eastern Churches Review* X (1978): 116.

⁵⁹⁷ For more details, see: Kouymjian, "Chinese Elements," 415-468; Kouymjian, "Chinese Motifs in Thirteenth-Century Armenian Art," 303-324, 524-526 (pl. 23-25), 590-599 (figs. 58-67); Kouymjian, "The Intrusion of East Asian Imagery," 119-133; Kouymjian, "Chinese Dragons and Phoenixes," 107-127.

⁵⁹⁸ Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art*, 67.

⁵⁹⁹ Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art*, 67.

auspieces, which contain depictions of the Dormition of John the Evangelist – a rather uncommon theme in Byzantine and medieval art. Apart from the Gospels FGA 1956.11, this scene appears also in the Gospel manuscript M 197, which too contains an ordination scene with the participation of Bishop Yovhannēs⁶⁰⁰.

Another sign of Yovhannēs' affinitation for John the Evangelist is the construction of the Saint John church in 1272 in the village of Tiroj, which belonged to the monastery of Grner. Here, Yovhannēs personally copied between 1284 and 1286 what is now the Gospel manuscript M 5525⁶⁰¹ and included the Dormition text as a supplement to the Four Gospels⁶⁰² – a practice that characterizes Armenian biblical manuscripts.

Conclusion: This chapter, deviating from our principal inquiry about Cilician royal imagery, focused on a select group of aristocratic images which share stylistic and artistic similarities but also the provenance with the manuscripts containing royal images. The extant portrayals of the individuals standing close to the king's institution and the openness for iconographic innovations, such as the implementation of the Virgin of Mercy, show that in the Cilician kingdom the production of artistic images was not limited to the sovereigns only but was a common – apparently a prestigious – way to affirm and display one's institutional and dynastic identity. Marshal Ošin, when commissioning his Gospel book, included not only his own image in that codex but also those of his male heirs and made a special reference to his status as marshal of Armenia in the accompanying inscription. So did also Prince Vasak, King Het'um I's brother, whose lifetime image features also his sons, whose clothing and postures are almost identical to those of the King Lewon's sons portrayed in the *Gospels of Queen Keran*. What is different in royal and aristocratic individuals' portraiture is the sanctifying features which, in the first group, appear to be more prominently visualized.

⁶⁰⁰ An earlier example of the Dormition of Saint John was depicted by T'oros Rōslin in the Ritual dating from 1266 (MS J2027, fol. 224v). As for Byzantine manuscripts, the "Death of John the Evangelist" is known in the *Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus* (MS BnF gr. 510), in the *Menology of Basil II* (MS Vat. gr. 1613), and in a *Menaion* (monthly book) kept at the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem (MS Σάββα 208). See: Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art*, 67, n. 168; Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 79-80, vol. II, figs. 298-300.

⁶⁰¹ *Colophons, 13th century*, 592-593.

⁶⁰² *Manuscript Catalogue of the Maštoc' Matenadaran [C'uc'ak jeragrac' Maštoc'i anvan Matenadaran]*, Volume II (MSS 5001-10408), edited by Ōnik Eganyan, Andranik Zeyt'unyan & P'aylak Ant'abyan (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1970), 126.

CHAPTER 5.

IMAGES OF KING HET'UM II

“Hetoum had never wanted to be crowned while he was king, but rather wore the habit of the Franciscans and called himself ‘Brother John of Armenia.’”

The ‘Templar of Tyre’⁶⁰³

5.1. THE ROYAL IMAGES IN THE *LECTIONARY OF CROWN PRINCE HET'UM (1286)*

As the *Lectionary of Crown Prince Het'um* (MS M 979) and the images of the royal and courtly dignitaries depicted on one of its incipit pages have already been analyzed in Chapter 3.5, I will skip the discussion of that image under the present chapter.

5.2. THE KING WITHOUT A CROWN

After the death of King Lewon II, in 1289, his eldest son, Baron Het'um, became king, as was dictated by hereditary rights and as was carefully prepared by the royal apparatus during the previous years. The reign of Het'um II (1289-1307) was marked by several abdications, mostly because this king, following his monastic ideal, became a Franciscan friar and adopted the monastic name “Brother John.” In contemporaneous textual sources, both of his titles are used simultaneously: King Het'um (Hayton) of Armenia and Brother John from the Order of the Minor Friars. Het'um himself, when recalling the death of his father, describes his becoming king in the following words: “*The inheritance of the Armenian kingdom was then succeeded to me. And I, Het'um, seeing my unworthiness, renounced before I was named. And I changed the royal way [of life] to the religious one and altered my name Het'um to Yovanēs.*”⁶⁰⁴ As it becomes clear

⁶⁰³ *The ‘Templar of Tyre’ – Part III of the ‘Deeds of the Cypriots’, 137.*

⁶⁰⁴ For the original text in Armenian, see: *Colophons, 13th century, 705.*

from this and other sources, before the official beginning of his reign, Het'um had already adopted religious lifestyle and, as described by the so-called Templar of Tyre, “never wanted to be crowned.”⁶⁰⁵ Het'um's unwillingness to wear a crown is also documented in an Armenian manuscript colophon, composed in 1296 by the scribe Vasil (Basil). The colophon is preserved in the codex V 1040, which, incidentally, was produced by the command of Het'um⁶⁰⁶:

“And this Het'um, after the death of his father, King Lewon, succeeded on the throne of his father and of his ancestors; yet he was not crowned with a crown, on the account of which it is not pertinent to omit the reason, since from his early years he was trained in the writings of the divine laws, [...] he loved wisdom and was loved by it. That is why he considered his person for something better than the gold and precious stones, and he, with the jewels of the soul, openly and bravely became acquainted with the true and veritable good”.

Claude Mutafian has suggested that the name “Yovanēs” was chosen by Het'um to honor John of Montecorvino⁶⁰⁷ who, before Het'um's accession, had visited the Cilician court and probably played a certain role in the religious inclinations of the future king. I believe however that the choice of Het'um's religious name is simply due to his poverty-based ascetic ideals related to Saint John. This can be confirmed by the colophon of the Matenadaran manuscript M 640, dating from 1296, in which the scribe writes that “*Het'um desired Christ's love very much and became like Yohannēs, the voluntary poor man, so he left everything and went to follow Jesus.*”⁶⁰⁸

Although Het'um's kingship was marked with several abdications, he nevertheless appears to be actively involved in the kingdom's political affairs, no matter in which status. It is also important to mention that the reign of this Franciscan king of the Armenians proceeded with geopolitical changes that greatly impacted the Eastern Mediterranean region. This first of all included the fall of Acre in 1291 and the events prior to that, which practically put an end to the Crusades, as well as the gradual

⁶⁰⁵ *Colophons, 13th century*, 788; *The ‘Templar of Tyre’ – Part III of the ‘Deeds of the Cypriots’*, 137; *Hayton, La flor des estoires de la terre d'orient*, 207; *Excerpts from the Chronicle of Nerses Palienc'*, 182.

⁶⁰⁶ For the original text in Armenian, see: Norair Pogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, Volume VIII (Jerusalem: Armenian Convent Printing Press, 1998), 592; *Colophons, 13th century*, 788.

⁶⁰⁷ Mutafian, *Le royaume arménien de Cilicie*, 71.

⁶⁰⁸ For the original text in Armenian, see: *Colophons, 13th century*, 811.

expansion of the Mamluks, who soon effaced the Mongol dominance which continued to hold sway in the declining Cilician kingdom⁶⁰⁹. If the previous Cilician sovereigns were able to use the moments of geopolitical transformations and even benefit from such situations, the internal instability under Het'um II and his frequent hesitations between the throne and the church put the Armenian kingdom in a situation which can be assessed as the beginning of the end.

It is against this background that the images of King Het'um II and of his ambitious brothers, who occasionally occupied the royal throne, are analyzed in this and following chapters.

⁶⁰⁹ On the political situation in the region at the time of Het'um's accession and the following years, see: Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks*, 65-93; Claude Mutafian, "Entre le trône et le couvent: Het'oum II roi d'Arménie (1289-1307)," in *L'Église arménienne entre Grecs et Latins: fin XIe - milieu XVe siècle*, textes réunis par Isabelle Augé et Gérard Dédéyan (Paris: Geuthner, 2009), 169-172; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, tome I, 174-180, 187-190.

5.3. THE IMAGE OF KING HET'UM II ON THE *RELIQUARY OF SKEWRĀ* (1293)

It is clear from what was said above that the reign of Het'um II was marked by his “little enthusiasm for kingship,” as characterized by Angus Stewart⁶¹⁰. Indeed, the first image I will deal with in this chapter represents King Het'um, although it is hard to refer to that image as royal, for the Armenian king is shown as a monk and, as textual sources describe, without a crown (Fig. 180). That image is engraved on the *Reliquary of Skewra*, which was created in 1293 in the Monastery of Skewra. This silver object is one of the few specimens of decorative metalwork that have come down to us from the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia. After being kept for a long time at the Dominican convent in Bosco Maregno (in Piedmont), the *Reliquary of Skewra* was moved several times within Europe and in 1884, as part of the Basilewsky Collection, was taken to the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg, where it is now preserved under the shelf mark AR 1572⁶¹¹.

The reliquary is made of gilt silver and is very finely engraved. With the doors closed, it is a rectangle box, on the upper part of which two medallions with the busts of Saint Paul and Saint Peter are attached (Fig. 181). These images are also visible when the doors are open, as they are depicted on the immovable upper part, symmetrically surrounding the top of the cross, which is fixed inside the reliquary. Surprisingly, the images of Peter and Paul with corresponding legends are once again depicted below and are visible when the reliquary doors are closed (Fig. 181). The double portrayal of these saints below each other has justly sparked an assumption that the upper portraits were added later, probably replacing the images of other saints⁶¹².

⁶¹⁰ Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks*, 94.

⁶¹¹ On the history of the reliquary, see: Sirarpie Der Nersessian, “Le reliquaire de Skévra et l’orfèvrerie cilicienne aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles,” in Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Études byzantines et arméniennes / Byzantine and Armenian Studies*, tome I (Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1973), 705 (first published *REArm* 1 (1964): 127-147); Alexandr Kakovkin, “Скеврский складень 1293 г. [Skewra Reliquary, 1293],” *LHG* 1 (1978): 92-97; Alvida Mirzoyan, *Le reliquaire de Skevra* (New York: Prélature Arménienne, 1993), 14-15, 93-94 (in Armenian and French); Mutafian (ed.), *Roma-Armenia*, 160-161. On 29 July 2014, an exact copy of the *Reliquary of Skewra* was offered to the Treasury Museum of the Mother See of Holy Ējmiacin. See: (retrieved on 28.05.2017): https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/news/news-item/news/2014/hm11_1_463/?lng=en

⁶¹² Despite the obvious iconography of Saint Paul and Saint Peter, their upper busts are accompanied by different legends which read as follows: “Hēperk’os” (below Paul) and “Varos?” (below Peter), and

The other saints depicted on this part (with doors closed) are associated with the Armenian Church tradition: Saint Gregory the Illuminator (on the right door) and Saint Thaddeus (on the left door), both depicted in full length, and below them, respectively, Saint Eustratius and Saint Vardan, portrayed in the medallions.

When the doors of the reliquary are open, the central scene of the Crucifixion is seen, attached to the wooden cross, around which relics of the saints were kept (Fig. 179). At the base of the cross are the traces of medallions and nails, which might indicate that initially other images were present here as well⁶¹³. Inside the right door is a depiction of the images of Saint John the Baptist, Archangel Gabriel, and King David. Parallel to these images, Saint Stephen, the Virgin Mary (forming the Annunciation with Archangel Gabriel, who is depicted opposite), and King Het'um II are portrayed on the left door. Het'um is represented kneeling to the right and has stretched his hands up to the Virgin, asking for her intercession. To the left and right of the king's image, the following inscription is written: ՀԵԹՈՒՄ, ԹՄԳՄԻՆԸ ՀԱՅՈՅ – HET'UM, KING OF THE ARMENIANS.

As for the king's garment, this resembles religious clothing, with no decoration or precious stones. A contemporaneous author, Hayton of Corycus, writes that Het'um wore the habit of Franciscan friars⁶¹⁴. However, in the image under consideration, the cloak worn by Het'um over his religious attire has interlaced decorations on its edges and a central fibula, which might refer to a royal mantle. The combination of two different habits does not seem unusual if we compare it with the image of (Saint) Louis of Toulouse – another Franciscan king, the son of King Charles II of Anjou, who in 1296 renounced the royal throne in favor of his younger brother, Robert of Anjou. Like

“Sargis” and “Bagos?”, written between their images, beneath the ornamental scrolls at the top of the reliquary. These legends are written in a different script from the other inscriptions on the reliquary. On the images of Saints Paul and Peter depicted on the *Reliquary of Skewra* and their possible replacement, see: Ališan, *Sisuan*, 110; Der Nersessian, “Le reliquaire de Skévra,” 707; Alexandr Kakovkin, “К вопросу о Скеврском складе 1293 года [On the Reliquary of Skewra, Dating from 1293],” *Византийский временник (Вуζαντινα χρονικα)* 30 (1969): 202.

⁶¹³ Der Nersessian, “Le reliquaire de Skévra,” 706-707.

⁶¹⁴ “...pris l'abit des freres menors.” See: Hayton, *La flor des estoires de la terre d'orient*, 208. In the *Martyrologium Franciscanum*, Het'um is described as follows: “In Armenia, Beati Ioannis, Regis Armeniae, qui Regio Diademate dimisso, magna cum pietate habitum Seraphicae Religionis suscipiens, vestigia Beatissimi Patris Francisci ad amussim secutus est, ac sancto fine quieuit in Domino.” See: *Martyrologium Franciscanum*, edited by R. P. Arturi a Monasterio, second edition (Paris: apud Edmundum Couterot, 1653), 481.

Het'um's, so also Louis' decision is explained by his passion for the Franciscan ministry. Remarkably enough, both religious kings appear to be portrayed with garments that are religious and secular at the same time. In a panel painting authored by Simone Martini (Naples, Museo di Capodimonte), Robert of Anjou is depicted being crowned by Louis of Toulouse, who wears a luxurious cope over his Franciscan robe⁶¹⁵.

Besides its many figurative images, the *Reliquary of Skewra* also comprises several inscriptions in verse, the longest of which, written in 104 lines in *erkat'agir* script, covers the whole surface of the back side (Fig. 182). We learn from this lengthy inscription that the reliquary was commissioned by Bishop Kostandin – and not by King Het'um, as it is commonly believed⁶¹⁶ – who, in the same inscription, is referred to as the chief bishop of the Monastery of Skewra, having moved there from Hromkla, the Catholicosial See.

For more than a century, the problem of the commissioner of the *Reliquary of Skewra* was a subject of debate, as most scholars who studied this precious artwork considered it to be produced by the order of Catholicos Kostandin II⁶¹⁷. At first sight, this reasoning is not groundless, since, first, nothing was known about Kostandin (who is mentioned on the reliquary as its commissioner) and thus he was automatically identified with Catholicos Kostandin, who occupied the catholicosial office between the years 1286 and 1289; and second, nevertheless connected to the first point, the creation of the *Reliquary of Skewra* in 1293 was traditionally regarded as a special undertaking by Catholicos Kostandin to express his gratitude toward King Het'um II and to commemorate his liberation from prison in the same year the reliquary was created (1293). This interpretation does not fit the below discussed religious-political contexts of the events prior to the year of 1293, when the *Reliquary of Skewra* was produced.

⁶¹⁵ I thank Prof. Michele Bacci for drawing my attention to Saint Louis of Toulouse. On King Louis and his visual representation, see: Julian Gardner, "Saint Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou and Simone Martini," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 39 / 1 (1976): 12-33; Diana Norman, "Sanctity, Kingship and Succession: Art and Dynastic Politics in the Lower Church at Assisi," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 73 / 3 (2010): 297-334.

⁶¹⁶ Because of the portrait of King Het'um II, the *Reliquary of Skewra* is sometimes called "The Reliquary of King Het'um II." This designation, as shown below, does not reflect the original intention of this production.

⁶¹⁷ Auguste Carrière, "Inscriptions d'un reliquaire arménien de la Collection Basilewski," *Mélanges Orientaux* (September 1883): 196-200; Ališan, *Sisuan*, 107; Hac'uni, *History of Ancient Armenian Costumes*, 234; Hamazasp Oskian, *Kilikiayi vank'erə [The Monasteries of Cilicia]* (Vienna: Mechitharisten-Buchdruckerei, 1957), 11; Der Nersessian, "Le reliquaire de Skévra," 706; Ter-Ghevondian, "Silverwork in Cilician Armenia," Part II, 479-498.

Catholicos Kostandin II was educated in Hromkla and was consecrated as catholicos in 1286. During the short period he led the Catholicosial See, he appears to have been acted as a fervent protector of the Armenian Church tradition. With the accession of the “latinophile” king Het’um in 1289, the supporters of the church union became more powerful in the Cilician royal palace, and it was under their pressure that, in the same year, the catholicos was imprisoned in the Castle of Lambron, where he remained four years⁶¹⁸. As the date when the *Reliquary of Skewra* was created coincided with the date of the liberation of the previous Catholicos Kostandin II, he was identified as the reliquary’s commissioner, and it was suggested that after his liberation Kostandin became the head of the Monastery of Skewra and commissioned the reliquary in question to celebrate the king’s generosity for liberating him.

In his several articles published in the 1960s and 1970s, Alexandr Kakovkin showed that Bishop Kostandin, who commissioned the reliquary and is mentioned as the chief bishop of the Skewra Monastery, was not the previous Catholicos Kostandin but another person⁶¹⁹, whose activities, as pointed out in later studies, are evidenced in the colophons of at least five manuscripts created between the years 1299 and 1314⁶²⁰. This second interpretation, which has remained in the shadow of the first, is in fact in accordance with the individuals and events related to the *Skewra Reliquary* and I would like to focus more on these aspects, for they greatly elucidate the iconography chosen for Het’um’s non-royal representation.

We are not told what happened to Catholicos Kostandin II after his liberation in 1293⁶²¹. The view that in that year he was appointed as Bishop of Skewra is based on his

⁶¹⁸ On these events, see: *Step’annosi Siwneac’ episkoposi Patmut’iwn tann Sisakan [History of the Region of Sisakan by Step’annos, Bishop of Siwnik’]*, edited by Mkrtič’ Ėmin (Moscow: Printing House of the Lazarean Institute of Oriental Languages, 1861), 319-322.

⁶¹⁹ Kakovkin, “К вопросу о Скеврском складе,” 199; Alexandr Kakovkin, “Еще раз к вопросу о заказчике реликвария 1293 г. [Once again on the Commissioner of the Reliquary of 1293],” *LHG* 6 (1972): 77-84; Kakovkin, “Скеврский складень 1293 г.,” 94.

⁶²⁰ Asatur Mnac’akanyan, “Օվ է Տեղրայի 1293 թ. մասնաւոր ի պատրուտոստ Կոստանտին եպիսկոսոս [Who is Bishop Kostandin, the Commissioner of the Reliquary of Skewra of 1293?],” *EM* 9 (1972): 57-65; Mirzoyan, *Le reliquaire de Skevra*, 22-28, 100-105.

⁶²¹ Step’annos Orbelean, the metropolitan bishop of the region of Siwnik’ in Greater Armenia, who records the details of the imprisonment of Catholic Kostandin in 1289 and who himself had been in the Cilician court since 1286 (at the invitation of King Lewon II), writes that the catholicos was unjustly held in prison for four years. Then, in two other chapters, when listing the Armenian patriarchs, there is a short mention of Catholicos Kostandin II “who was expelled,” after which no other record of him is known. See: *Step’annos Siwneac’i*, 326, 366.

long-lasting misidentification with Kostandin who commissioned the *Reliquary of Skewra*. Bishop Kostandin must have moved to Skewra and take up the leadership of this institution sometime before the Mamluk siege of Hromkla, which took place in summer 1292⁶²². As one can deduce from the extensive inscription of the reliquary, Kostandin is also its author, who vividly describes the treasures lost and clerics captured during the fall of the catholicosol see. After describing and mourning the fall of Hromkla, Kostandin mentions the reason why he undertook the production of the reliquary: “*And in order to relieve this sorrow [the fall of Hromkla], which always wounds my thoughtfulness, (I ordered) this magnificent receptacle, the keeper of the holy relics.*”⁶²³

The tragic fall of Hromkla, which this luxurious metalwork commemorates, must have affected Bishop Kostandin not only because of the loss of this important center, where the commissioner himself is said to be educated, but also probably because of personal reasons. As it becomes clear from the colophons of two manuscripts dating from the years 1314 and 1311, the brother of Kostandin, named Sargis, and his godson, named Yakob, died during the defense of the citadel of Hromkla⁶²⁴. In this regard, the context behind the praise of the Armenian warrior saints on the *Reliquary of Skewra* becomes clear. Saint Vardan, who is depicted below Saint Thaddeus, was canonized by the Armenian Church as protector of the Christian faith for his fight against the Persian army in the mid-fifth century. The inclusion of Saint Eustratius in the composition of the reliquary is even more interesting, as this saint is traditionally rarely portrayed in Armenian arts. Like Vardan, Eustratius was a military commander, who under the Emperor Diocletian was martyred together with his soldiers. The Armenian origin of this warrior saint could have inspired Bishop Kostandin to depict him together with Vardan, both personifying (military) protection of faith. For Kostandin, the presence of these saints may also be related to his brother and godson who are mentioned to have died as martyrs during the defense of Hromkla against “the infidels,” as the Mamluks are described in the reliquary inscription. The two warrior saints are depicted below the images of Saint Gregory the Illuminator and Apostle Thaddeus, underscoring in this way

⁶²² This is the view of Asatur Mnac’akanyan, who suggested that Kostandin must have been ordained as bishop in Hromkla and moved to Skewra to take up his new responsibilities before the disaster of Hromkla. See: Mnac’akanyan, “Who is Bishop Kostandin?” 59-60.

⁶²³ For the original text in Armenian, see: Ališan, *Sisuan*, 108.

⁶²⁴ Mnac’akanyan, “Who is Bishop Kostandin?” 61.

the tradition of Armenian Christianity which, at the time of the production of the *Skewra Reliquary* was challenged by the Mamluk menace but also by the ongoing discourse on the church union.

What was the commissioner's original intention in creating the *Reliquary of Skewra* and placing a particular importance on the image of King Het'um? On one occasion Kakovkin suggested that initially there might have been the image of the commissioner Kostandin in the place of the image of King Het'um⁶²⁵. But this view is not in accordance with the inscriptions of the reliquary and especially with the legend accompanying the king's image, which clearly mentions Het'um as asking for intercession from the Virgin, who is depicted above (Figs. 179, 180). That inscription starts just from the roundel encircling the figure of Het'um, as if he is pronouncing the intercession prayer addressed to the Virgin:

*Բարեխաւսեայ մայր Աստուծոյ
Անճառ ճնելոյն ի քեն որդո
Վասն կամաց իւր հաշտելո
Ընդ ծառայիս իւրոյ Հեթմն.*

French translation by Auguste Carrière:

*Intercède, Mère de Dieu,
auprès de ton fils ineffable,
pour qu'il veuille bien être propice
à son serviteur Héthoum.*⁶²⁶

Furthermore, the king's prominent presence on the reliquary is also testified through the acrostic verse, the reading of which reveals the names of ՀԵԹՈՒՄ ԹԳ – KING HET'UM and ՎՈՍ(Ա)ՆԴԻՆ – KOST(A)NDIN. This inscription runs over the framed edges of the doors and reads as follows:

⁶²⁵ Kakovkin, "К вопросу о Скеврском складе," 199.

⁶²⁶ Carrière, "Inscriptions d'un reliquaire arménien," 178.

*(H) Հաւրն անեղի եւ անեղակից բանին ծնաւ
(E) Եւ բոլորից սրբարարի սուրբ մկրտաւ
(T) Թագավորին երկնաւորին նախ վկայաւ
(O) Որք առ Քրիստոս էք համարձակ բարեխաւսաւ:
(W) Էիւթոյ հայցման լերուք նմայ ձիւր նվիրաւ
(M) Միշտ Սկեւոյին խնամաւք լինել անշարժ պահաւ
(T) Թախանձելով առ նոյն լերուք կրկին մաղթաւ
(G) Գոյ զՀեթում յերկար կենաւք հայոց տիրաւ:*

*(K) Կայուն վերին արքայութեան ունաւ փականց
(O) Ով եւ անաթ կրեալ զՅիսուս ի մէջ ազանց
(S) Սուրբ Թաղէոս տվեալ բժիշկ տան Աբգարանց
(T) Տէր սուրբ Գրիգոր նոր առաքեալ Հայաստանեանց:
(N) Նուիրեմ մաղթանք ձեզ որոց աստ սուրբ նշխարաց
(D) Դրոդիս ըզձեզ աստի հանգիստ պատվոյ փառաց
(I) Ի Քրիստոսէ խնդրել ջնջումն իմոց մեղաց
(N) Նոյն եւ բոլոր Հայոց փրկիլ ի փորձութեանց⁶²⁷.*

French translation by Auguste Carrière:

*Mère du Verbe incréé du Père également incréé,
et toi qui as baptisé le sanctificateur de tous les hommes [S. Jean-Baptiste],
premier confesseur du roi céleste [S. Étienne],
vous qui intercédez librement auprès du Christ,
adressez-lui vos plus instantes prières
pour qu'il garde Skevra inébranlable sous sa constante protection,
et demandez-lui, dans vos supplications redoublées,
que Héthum règne pendant une longue vie sur les Arméniens.*

⁶²⁷ Ališan, Sisuan, 110.

*Possesseur des clefs du royaume immuable d'en-haut [S. Pierre],
 Et toi, vase d'élection, qui as porté Jésus au milieu des peuples [S. Paul],
 S. Thaddée, médecin donné à la maison d'Abgare,
 Seigneur S. Grégoire, nouvel apôtre de l'Arménie,
 Je vous en conjure, ô vous dont les reliques sont ici réunies,
 pour moi qui vous ai ici placés dans un repos honorable et glorieux,
 demandez au Christ la rémission de mes péchés,
 et pour tous les Arméniens la délivrance de leurs épreuves.*⁶²⁸

Being created at a crucial time for the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, when the See of the Armenian patriarchs fell into the hands of the Mamluks, and when the country was suffering under religious, political, and military crises, the commissioner Kostandin courageously raised the personality of the state leader. He visually juxtaposed Het'um's ambiguous image with the image of King David, who is the personification of an ideal ruler: righteous, strong, and guarantor of future successors. Yet, none of these qualities were to be associated with King Het'um II. His inability to execute righteousness and justice was expressed by the unjust (as it is qualified in the eyewitness account of Step'anos Orbelean) imprisonment of Catholicos Kostandin II at the very beginning of his reign. The defeat of the Armenian army at Hromkla should have weakened further his reputation as the protector of Christians – a task, which was deemed important in Cilician (and generally Christian) royal ideology. Finally, fervently following his monastic vocation, Het'um never wanted to be married, which understandably could bring into question – and brought a few years later – the issue of future successors of the Armenian throne⁶²⁹. The obvious juxtaposition of Het'um II and biblical King David was a

⁶²⁸ Carrière, "Inscriptions d'un reliquaire arménien," 182-183. We may deduce from this inscription that the *Reliquary of Skewra* also contained the relics of the Apostles Paul, Peter, Thaddeus, and Saint Gregory the Illuminator. The empty wooden box inside the reliquary, in which the scene of the Crucifixion is fastened and where the relics were initially kept, is not the original one but was made during the restoration in 1900. On this see: Alexandr Kakovkin, "Материалы о реставрации Скеврского триптиха в 1900 году [Materials on the Restoration of the Triptych of Skewra in 1900]," *LHG* 4 (1979): 99-104; Mirzoyan, *Le reliquaire de Skevra*, 17-21, 95-99.

⁶²⁹ The chroniclers Hayton and Nersēs Palienc' record that Het'um never approached a woman and never wore a crown. See: *Hayton, La flor des estoires de la terre d'orient*, 207; *Excerpts from the Chronicle of Nerses Palienc'*, 182.

deliberate choice by Bishop Kostandin to emphasize the mentioned ideology and perhaps also to remind the Armenian king about his institutional responsibilities, which had been almost successfully fulfilled by Het'um's predecessors during the past century.

The colophon of a manuscript commissioned by Bishop Kostandin seems to indirectly support the above interpretation concerning Kostandin's discontent attitude of the ruling family members. That colophon is written in 1311, when Ošin, the seventh son of Lewon II and a younger brother of Het'um II, was on the throne of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia:

“[This was written] *in the Armenian Era 760 [=1311 A.D.], during the catholicosate of Kostandin Kesarac'i and during the reign of God-loving and pious Awšin [Ošin], son of Lewon, son of Het'um... Ošin was anointed as king of the House of T'orgom and of the nation of Hayk in the same way as, in ancient times, David was chosen by God among the sons of Jesse, of which the prophet who sang to God [David] said 'I was smaller than my brothers, and younger than the sons of my father [Psalm 151:1].'* And although he [Ošin] was not shepherd over his father's flock, as was David, he nevertheless accepted the anointment and the crown.”⁶³⁰

As one can deduce from this text, even a decade later, Bishop Kostandin did not hesitate to express his reproach toward the royal family and their religious inclinations for not leading the “flock” (nation) of their father Lewon II, as did King David. It is perhaps not by accident that in the extensive dedicatory verse written on the backside of the *Reliquary of Skewra*, Kostandin emphasizes the authority of Saint Gregory the Illuminator as someone from whom the Armenian Catholicosate had started and continues until his times⁶³¹. That the engravings of the *Reliquary of Skewra* contain the above-mentioned ideological hints can be confirmed by other episodes related to Bishop Kostandin. His attitude towards keeping the traditions of the Armenian Church and his disagreement on the union with the Latin Church resulted in his expulsion from the Monastery of Skewra in 1307⁶³². Based on information collected from a few colophons, it turns out that Bishop Kostandin was expelled to “the land of the Franks” because of his

⁶³⁰ For the original text in Armenian, see: *Colophons, 14th century*, 77.

⁶³¹ For the original text in Armenian see: Ališan, *Sisuan*, 108.

⁶³² On this see: Mnac'akanyan, “Who is Bishop Kostandin?” 61-64, esp. 63.

faith and returned to Skewra in 1311⁶³³. In March 1307, upon the initiative of King Het'um II and Catholicos Grigor VII Anawazec'i, a council was gathered in the capital of Sis, the decisions of which would lead to the long-debated union of the Armenian Church with Rome, after which many opponents of this union, including Bishop Kostandin, were subject to imprisonment or expulsion⁶³⁴. Asatur Mnac'akanyan, who revealed some interesting facts about the life of this prominent monk, suggested that when Kostandin was imprisoned and sent to Rome, he probably took along the *Reliquary of Skewra*⁶³⁵. This may perhaps explain why several centuries later the reliquary was found at the Dominican convent in Bosco Maregno, where it might have gone from Rome⁶³⁶.

⁶³³ Mnac'akanyan, "Who is Bishop Kostandin?" 61-64, esp. 63. See also: *Colophons, 14th century*, 106.

⁶³⁴ *Samuēl Anec'i*, 270-273. On the Council of Sis and its religious and political aspects, see: Sergio La Porta, "The Armenian Episcopacy in Mamluk Jerusalem in the Aftermath of the Council of Sis (1307)," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 17 / No. 2 (Apr., 2007): 99-114, esp. 99-105. See also: Gēorg Tēr-Vardanean, "*Ssi ekelec'akan žolovner* [Church Councils of Sis]," in *CAE*, 920-921.

⁶³⁵ Mnac'akanyan, "Who is Bishop Kostandin?" 64.

⁶³⁶ The Dominican Convent of Bosco Maregno was built in the 1560s with the support of Pope Pius V, who was born in that town. See: Lex Bosman, "Spolia and Coloured Marble in Sepulchral Monuments in Rome, Florence and Bosco Maregno. Designs by Dosio and Vasari," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 49 / H 3 (2005): 353-376, esp. 367.

5.4. IMAGES OF HET'UM II ON HIS COINS

The iconography of the coins minted by King Het'um II is limited to two main types. On the first type, encountered in the *billon* and *kardez* coins, the crowned head of the king is represented on the obverse (Figs. 183, 184). The reverse of these coins depicts a cross: a double-barred cross accompanied by two stars on *billon* coins, and an ornate cross on *kardez* coins. The *billons*, issued in a small quantity, comprise a short legend, written on both sides of the coins: ՀԵԹ՝ՈՒՄ ԹՄԳՄԻՈՐ (obv.) ՄՄԵՆԱՅՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ (rev.) – HET'UM, KING (obv.) OF ALL ARMENIANS (rev.). The legends on *kardez* coins with this iconography read as follows: ՀԵԹ՝ՈՒՄ ԹՄԳՄԻՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ (obv.), ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ԳՄՂԱԳՆ Ի ՄԻՄ (rev.) – HET'UM, KING OF THE ARMENIANS (obv.), MADE IN THE CITY OF SIS (rev.)⁶³⁷.

The second type of numismatic images of Het'um II, depicted on copper *kardez* coins, represents the king seated cross-legged on the obverse (Fig. 185). Het'um holds a sword or a scepter in his right hand, while his left hand is shown raised up, probably holding another insignia. In these *kardezzes*, the crown worn by Het'um is bigger than on the previously discussed images, which only show the king's head. The crown of his second image type lacks any *pendilia* and occupies a larger surface, reaching the edges of the coin. The reverse is usually decorated with a cross, with four equal arms. The legends read (with slight variations): ՀԵԹ՝ՈՒՄ ԹՄԳՄԻՈՐ (obv.) ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՄԻՄ (rev.) – KING HET'UM (obv.) MADE IN SIS (rev.).

No silver coin minted by Het'um II is known.

Even though the textual sources mention King Het'um II's dislike of wearing royal garments and crown, the iconography of his coins follows the official iconography of Cilician coinage. This confirms the previous observations that the numismatic images represent not as much the king's personality but the king's institution under the depicted ruler. Both images of Het'um II testified on his coins are indeed inspired by the iconography of the coins of the previous kings. The image that depicts the king's crowned head had already appeared on the *billons* of Lewon I (Figs. 37, 38ab). In size

⁶³⁷ The inscriptions are given synoptically on the basis of various coins.

and workmanship, the *billons* of Het'um II – as those of Lewon I – closely resemble the Crusader *billons*⁶³⁸. As for the iconography showing Het'um II seated in a cross-legged position, it can be linked to a type of the *kardez* coins minted by his grandfather, King Het'um I (Figs. 53ab). The latter, however, are executed in more detail: the royal insignia (scepter and cross) held by Het'um I, as well as the bench-like seat on which the king is seated, are clearly visible, whereas in the corresponding image of Het'um II it is not clear whether the king is seated on something, or, if and what he is holding in his raised left hand⁶³⁹.

⁶³⁸ Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 89.

⁶³⁹ When describing this type of coins of Het'um II, Nercessian mentions that in his left hand the king is holding a cross. See: Nercessian, *Armenian Coins and Their Values*, 144-145.

5.5. OTHER IMAGES OF HET'UM II

The manuscript NAF 886 in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, discussed in the previous chapters, contains a miniature showing King Het'um II on folio 36r (Fig. 186)⁶⁴⁰. According to the accompanying text of *La flor des estoires d'Orient*, this miniature visualizes the meeting of the Armenian king with Ilkhan Ghazan, which took place shortly after the Mongol defeat by the Mamluks in spring 1303: “Il [Het'um II] prist conseil d'aler veoir Casan [Ghazan]... Dont le roi prist son chemin e ala droitement à la cité de Ninive, où Casan demoroit. Adonques Casan reçeüt le roi d'Ermenie benignement, e grant compassion ot du damage que il e sa gent avoient eu (Chapter XLIII).”⁶⁴¹ The damage that Hayton reports most probably concerns the loss of many Armenians when crossing the Euphrates after returning from Syria, where the Mamluks won the final victory to gain control of that country⁶⁴².

Het'um's scholarly and religious activities, as well as his anti-Muslim politics, seem to have gained a retrospective popularity in the aftermath of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia. Thus, in the *Martyrologium Franciscanum*, he appears as “Beati Ioannis Regis Armeniae” among the beatified (blessed) and canonized martyrs to be commemorated in October⁶⁴³. In a fifteenth-century copy of the *Chronologia Magna* by Paolino Veneto, who himself was a Franciscan, this Armenian king is portrayed as a Franciscan monk with a corresponding habit (Figs. 187ab).

Conclusion: The lifetime images representing King Het'um II reflect various aspects of his unstable reigning period. As the crown prince of the Armenian kingdom, a symbolic representation of Het'um appears in the *Lectionary of Crown Prince Het'um* (1286), fashioning his appearance in imitation of the wise king Solomon who was set to replace his father David – another biblical authority who, in the same image, is paralleled with king Lewon II, Het'um's aged father. Yet, the subsequent representations of Het'um II in both textual and visual sources were largely informed by this Franciscan king's

⁶⁴⁰ Mutafian, *Le royaume arménien de Cilicie*, 75, Fig. 3.

⁶⁴¹ Hayton, *La flor des estoires de la terre d'orient*, 204.

⁶⁴² For the Mongol invasions of Syria and the participation of the Armenians under King Het'um II, see: Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks*, 136-153, esp. 149-152.

⁶⁴³ *Martyrologium Franciscanum*, 483.

frequent hesitations between the throne and the church. An intriguing image of him, clothed in both religious and secular habits, is found on the *Reliquary of Skewra* (1293), which was commissioned not by the king himself but by Bishop Kostandin. The analysis of the latter's biographical details revealed his provocative representation of the Armenian king, by juxtaposing Het'um's non-royal figure with that of King David, whose success as secular ruler was based on his capacities of leading "his flock", being courageous in military actions and guaranteeing the dynastic continuity. None of these features, which were deemed important for those who adopted the Davidic model of kingship, were fulfilled by Het'um, whose reign was marked by an increasing decline of the Cilician state. Bishop Kostandin's artistic patronage, which was completed just a year after the loss of Hromkla, was thus a reminder for the acting ruler who, a few years later, would expell Kostandin and his supporters from Cilicia for not supporting his political and ecclesiastical agenda.

On the other hand, the numismatic images of Het'um II display him in royal posture and regalia, which imitate the analogous representaitons of the previous Cilician kings, confirming thus that the official images of coins convey, first of all, the king's institution rather than the personality of the depicted king.

CHAPTER 6.

IMAGES OF BARON T'OROS

As discussed earlier, in 1293, when King Het'um II abdicated, his younger brother, Baron T'oros, came to the royal throne (1293-1294). He was never consecrated as king, which may mean that Het'um did not intend to quit his official responsibilities as the state ruler. Indeed, his presence in the state affairs is well visible during the regency of T'oros but also of the subsequent rulers until Het'um's assassination in 1307.

The fourteenth-century chronicler Nersēs Palienc' records that Het'um gave the kingdom and the baronetage to his brother T'oros, who was the second son born after him into the royal family, and who, three years earlier, had married the sister of the king of Cyprus, Margaret Lusignan⁶⁴⁴. Interestingly, in his *List of the Armenian Kings* the same author does not mention T'oros among the kings, but mentions Smbat and Kostandin, two other brothers of Het'um II, who, like T'oros, occupied the royal throne in the 1290s⁶⁴⁵. The reason for this was probably the fact that Smbat and probably also Kostandin became kings by performing coronation ceremonies, which made their short-lived kingships look legitimate (see Chapters 7 and 8).

In 1294, Het'um returned to the royal throne but abdicated again in 1295, when he went to meet Ilkhan Ghazan, leaving T'oros in his place for a second time⁶⁴⁶. The second period of T'oros' regency lasted another two years (1295-1296).

In my discussion of the royal images depicted in the *Gospels of Queen Keran* and the *Lectionary of Crown Prince Het'um*, I mentioned the young T'oros, identifying him in both miniatures as the second son of King Lewon II, due to his depiction directly right after his elder brother Het'um (Figs. 131, 154) (see Chapters 3.3 and 3.5). Apart from these generic representations, no other image representing T'oros is known. Indeed, this short chapter would not have been written were it not for an obscure mention in 1850 by

⁶⁴⁴ *Excerpts from the Chronicle of Nerses Palienc'*, 182. See also: Hayton, *La flor des estoires de la terre d'orient*, 207-208; *Het'um the Historian, History of the Rubenid Dynasty*, 105; *The 'Templar of Tyre' - Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'*, 137-138.

⁶⁴⁵ *Nerses Palienc'*, *List of the Armenian Kings and Princes*, 205.

⁶⁴⁶ *The 'Templar of Tyre' - Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'*, 137; Hayton, *La flor des estoires de la terre d'orient*, 327 [Latin]. See also: Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks*, 97-98.

Victor Langlois, based on an earlier publication of Domenico Sestini, of a Cilician Armenian coin bearing the name of King T'oros⁶⁴⁷. What Sestini had published in 1789 was the following non-Armenian inscription written on a coin, which he attributed to T'oros: “*I. THOROS... .. (L. A.) THEODORVS. Leo gradiens ad S.*” Then the author adds: “Questa piccola moneta in rame, che sembra dei tempi più propinqui, è fatta e coniatata a similitudine di altre simili appartenenti a Dinasti [the Rùbenids-Het'umids], e Sultani Maomettani, dei quali ricca n'è la serie, oltre quelle Cifuche che sono nella Collezione Ainsliana. La medesima si può chiamare un Pogh, o Follero, o Quattrino [coin types].”⁶⁴⁸ Although the existence of coins minted by T'oros was not accepted by some scholars who found that Sestini's attribution was probably wrong, Langlois supported Sestini's finding by referring to another Cilician coin bearing the name T'oros from the private collection of Mr. M. E. de Cadalvène, published somewhat earlier, in 1847, by Louis Félicien de Saulcy⁶⁴⁹. However, when consulting Saulcy's publication, it becomes clear that the author himself did not identify that coin as belonging to T'oros⁶⁵⁰. The coin published by Saulcy looks quite damaged, and, even though Langlois insisted that the first three letters of the name of T'oros are clearly legible, its non-Armenian legend does not seem to mention his name, as one can infer from the image published in Saulcy's book (Fig. 188). Nonetheless, iconographically, this coin truly resembles Cilician, as well as Crusader, coins – a single lion walking to the right, with its head turned to the front (*lion passant regardant*), and a central cross behind. This image is depicted on both the obverse and reverse of the coin in question.

Some time later, Langlois insisted on his view, writing that during his trip to Little Armenia (Cilicia) he had seen another coin which was similar to that published by Saulcy, and on which the name “T'oros” was perfectly legible⁶⁵¹. He described this copper coin and provided two images, one of which is the same published by Saulcy (Fig. 188), and the other one, on which the author had read the name “T'oros”, is even more

⁶⁴⁷ Victor Langlois, “Lettre à M. Ch. Lenormant, Membre de l'Institut, sur les monnaies des rois arméniens de la dynastie de Roupène,” *Revue Archéologique* 7e année, No. 1 (15 April to 15 September 1850): 263.

⁶⁴⁸ Domenico Sestini, *Lettere e dissertazioni numismatiche sopra alcune medaglie rare della collezione Ainsliana*, Tomo secondo (Livorno: nella stamperia di Tommaso Masi, 1789), 43.

⁶⁴⁹ Langlois, “Lettre à M. Ch. Lenormant,” 263.

⁶⁵⁰ Louis Félicien de Saulcy, *Numismatique des croisades* (Paris: chez M. Camille Rollin, 1847), 173, Pl. XIX, Fig. 7.

⁶⁵¹ Langlois, *Numismatique de l'Arménie au Moyen Age*, 69.

damaged and illegible (Fig. 189)⁶⁵². In the course of the subsequent decades, numismatists do not seem to have encountered any coins of Baron T'oros, and the traditional view is that this ruler never minted a coin⁶⁵³, which seems more plausible to me as well.

The absence of any coins minted by Baron T'oros and any direct mention of his being the official ruler of the state speak for the fact that T'oros' regency was to temporarily cover the abdication moments of his elder brother Het'um. T'oros' identity is however important for the dynastic continuity. As Het'um II never wanted to be married, the lineage of the royal family continued through T'oros, whose eldest son Lewon would soon become King Lewon III at a very young age (1301-1307)⁶⁵⁴.

In 1298, Baron T'oros was imprisoned, then killed, in the Castle of Molewon by his brother, King Smbat (see Chapter 7).

⁶⁵² Langlois, *Numismatique de l'Arménie au Moyen Age*, 69-70, Pl. II – Fig. 12, Pl. III – Fig. 1.

⁶⁵³ Kłemēs Sipilean, *Dasaworut'iwn Ėubenean dramoc'* [*Classification of the Ėubened Coins*] (Vienna: Mechitaristen-Buchdruckerei, 1892), 44-45; Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 89-90; Nercessian, *Armenian Coins and Their Values*, 146.

⁶⁵⁴ *Het'um the Historian, History of the Ėubened Dynasty*, 105.

CHAPTER 7.

IMAGES OF KING SMBAT AND A TEMPORARY RESTORATION OF THE “IDEAL” KINGSHIP

*“Smbat governed rightly by trampling under feet
the irritating and various other passions.”*

Colophon of MS M 4214, fol. 223r

The accession of Smbat to the throne (1297-1298) was another manifestation of internal instability under Het'um II and perhaps one of the most interesting in this series of frequently changing rulers, owing to Smbat's attempts to restore several royal traditions that seem to have been ignored during the previous years. Smbat was the third son of King Lewon II, born after Het'um and T'oros, in 1276. In textual sources, there is some disagreement on the sequence of the events concerning the reign of this king. His accession was initiated by Het'um himself, when the latter went to Constantinople, taking along his second brother and the next candidate to the throne, Baron T'oros. As one can conclude from most of the chronicles, before his journey Het'um left Smbat in his place with the intention of regaining his royal status after his return. Perhaps impacted by the events that happened afterwards, the chroniclers represent Smbat's coronation as being initiated by Smbat himself as a result of a rebellion against his brother Het'um⁶⁵⁵. Yet, according to the colophon of the manuscript V 1040, completed in 1296-1297 by the command of Het'um, he does not seem to have disfavored Smbat's coronation. Moreover, based on this colophon, it seems that Het'um's abdication in favor of Smbat was a definitive decision, at least at that moment, given that his brother's solemn coronation in the presence of the Armenian barons, high clergy, and common people is described without any obvious enmity, if not the contrary. Here is a partial translation of that colophon:

⁶⁵⁵ See, for example: “*Sempad, his [Het'um II's] third brother, whom he had left in his place, thereupon had himself crowned king of Armenia.*” See: *The 'Templar of Tyre' – Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'*, 137.

“[Het’um] summoned his blood brothers and all other lords and, speaking as a vardapet, obtained their accord in making king one of his brothers, the charming and wise Smbat, who was the third brother in line to the throne. And he [Het’um] took his other brother, Paron T’oros, along as his companion, entered a ship and went directly to the royal city [Constantinople] to worship divine relics and images of the saints.

Some days later, the sons and kinsmen of the king [Lewon II], the lords and a crowd of commoners were gathered in the magnificent city of Sis for the celebration of the feast of the Epiphany. And the saintly Armenian Catholicos, tēr Grigor [Grigor VII Anawarzec’i], together with all bishops and the general assembly, bestowed upon him [Smbat] the royal degree and the anointment with the Right Hand of our Saint Grigor [Gregory the Illuminator] and the divine Gospel in his hands. And every rank (of the population) properly rejoiced and honored the universal assembly. May the Right Hand of God keep (him) safe for long years and empower (him) to repel the feet of the enemies of Christ’s cross⁶⁵⁶.

[...] remember in your pure prayers the acquirer of this [book⁶⁵⁷], Paron Het’um, the admirer of ingenious wisdom, and the newly anointed King Smbat, together with their parents and all of their brothers and kinsmen. May they all earn the mercy and justice of God for the glory of His name.”⁶⁵⁸

Thus, at the time Het’um when started his journey to Constantinople, likely sometime at the end of 1296, the accession of Smbat and his coronation on January 6, 1297⁶⁵⁹ were not regarded problematic by Het’um or other members of the royal court. Unlike the chronicles, in which Smbat’s coronation is mainly described as “self-initiated”, the quoted colophon, written before the turmoil between the brothers, shows

⁶⁵⁶ The Right Hand of Gregory the Illuminator containing his relics was taken into captivity when they conquered Hromkla in 1292 and took it along to Egypt with many treasures and manuscripts. This loss found a great echo in Armenian textual sources, where it is compared with the capture of the Ark of the Covenant by the Philistines (see, for example, *Colophons, 13th century*, 711). Based on the Chronicle of Nersēs Palienc’, the Right Hand seems to have been returned to the Armenian kingdom shortly after, when the sultan liberated some Armenian clerics from Babylon (*Excerpts from the Chronicle of Nerses Palienc’*, 181). This is also further confirmed by the cited colophon of MS V 1040, which mentions that Smbat’s anointment on January 6, 1297 was performed with the Right Hand of Gregory the Illuminator.

⁶⁵⁷ The manuscript is a compilation of works by Philo of Alexandria.

⁶⁵⁸ For the original text in Armenian, see: Pogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, Volume VIII, 593-594; *Colophons, 13th century*, 789 (in this volume, the last passage mentioning “Paron Het’um” and “King Smbat” is omitted).

⁶⁵⁹ For the date of Smbat’s coronation, see also: *Colophons, 13th century*, 805.

that Het'um was well aware of Smbat's coronation and well disposed towards him. It looks more as if the break in Smbat's reign was provoked by Smbat himself rather than by Het'um's intention to restore his royal status, though both reasons might well be applicable.

After completing their Constantinopolitan journey, Het'um and T'oros returned to Cilicia but were prevented by Smbat to enter the country. Such an act could be explained by Smbat's concerns regarding the possible indecision of Het'um, who after all was the lawful heir to the Armenian throne and could change his mind, as he already did before. After this rejection, the deposed brothers went back to Constantinople, and from here went to meet Ilkhan Ghazan, the overlord of the Armenian kingdom, in order to receive his support in restoring Het'um's reign. However, Smbat was quicker. He arrived earlier at the court of Ilkhan Ghazan, received confirmation of his rule but also of the arrest of his brothers. In order to reinforce his agreement with Ghazan, Smbat married a Mongol noblewoman, a relative of the ilkhan. On his way back from the Mongol court, Smbat met his brothers and brought them along to Cilicia, imprisoning Het'um in Barjrberd, and T'oros in Molewon⁶⁶⁰. Then we are told that, by the order of the king, T'oros was killed (July 23), and the eyes of Het'um were blinded. These inglorious actions undertaken by Smbat would soon cost him a damaged reputation and the interruption of his reign, as his younger brother Kostandin, the fourth son of King Lewon II, stood up against him on the pretext of taking revenge for his brothers. Kostandin imprisoned Smbat, set half-blind Het'um free, and soon became the new king of the Armenian kingdom⁶⁶¹.

While the chronicles, as said, represent Smbat and his reign in the light of his violent actions toward his brothers, some of the contemporaneous colophons, mainly those originating from courtly *milieus*, underscore Smbat's qualities of being able to control his passions, juxtaposing it with Het'um II, although avoiding citing the latter's name. For example, in the manuscript M 4214, which was copied in Skewria and

⁶⁶⁰ *Sargis Picak Ssec'un veragrvac Žamanakagrut'yunā (XIV d.) [Chronicle Ascribed to Sargis Picak Ssec'i (14th Century)]*, in *BC*, vol. I, 106; *The Annals of Anonymous of Sebaste*, n. 193 (citation from a manuscript colophon dating from 1307).

⁶⁶¹ On these events, see: *Hayton, La flor des estoires de la terre d'orient*, 209; *Chronicle of King Het'um II*, 87; *Excerpts from the Chronicle of Nerses Palienc'*, 183; *Chronicle Ascribed to Sargis Picak Ssec'i*, 106; *Samuēl Anec'i*, 268; *Colophons, 13th Century*, 808; *The 'Templar of Tyre' – Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'*, 137-138; *The Annals of Anonymous of Sebaste*, 150.

completed in Sis in 1298, the commissioner, a certain Vardan, represents King Smbat in a very positive light⁶⁶².

Whatever the courtly rhetoric, Smbat's kingship was remarkable with his unconcealed ambitions to establish himself as a strong and righteous king, perhaps motivated by his elder brothers' controversial reigns. One may draw some parallels with Lewon I, the first Cilician king, who – like Smbat – was not the eldest son in the Ēubenid family and who retaliated with brutality against all “problematic” candidates that could have caused difficulties for his reign. From the ceremonial and propagandistic points of view, Smbat appears to show more ambitions. His coronation was performed on the day of Epiphany, manifestly repeating the tradition established by the previous Cilician kings, while at the same time confronting his eldest brother Het'um, who never wanted to perform this significant rite of kingship. The celebration of the coronation ceremony on the day of the Epiphany gave another legal basis for Smbat's kingship, substantiating his role as an earthly king who would “represent the power of God, the only true king” (Yovhannēs Erznkac'i).

Smbat's attempts to imitate the previous authoritative kings of Cilicia, especially Lewon I, is also expressed in the iconography of his coins, which can be divided into four main types⁶⁶³. The first type represents King Smbat seated on the throne, holding a cross or a cross-topped orb in his right hand, and a *fleur-de-lis* in his left hand (Fig. 190). On another variation of this type the *fleur-de-lis* is replaced with a mace, extended over the

⁶⁶² For the original text in Armenian, see: *Colophons, 13th century*, 832. It seems that in Skewra, where the mentioned manuscript was produced, there was much positive regard for King Smbat, which was probably conditioned by the low level of sympathy toward Het'um and his unsuitable behavior as king. Amid increasing tension in the court of King Smbat, such praise of his personality might have been encouraged by Bishop Kostandin, the head of the Monastery of Skewra and commissioner of the *Reliquary of Skewra*, on which, as discussed in Chapter 5.3, the image of King Het'um II is represented in obvious juxtaposition to King David – the personification of the ideal king, whose symbolic image was adopted into the royal ideology of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia from the very beginning of its formation. Another argument in support of a possible “anti-Het'um” attitude in Skewra could be the conflict of Gēorg Skewrac'i, one of the great intellectuals of the time, with King Het'um II because of the union with the Latin Church. On Gēorg Skewrac'i and his opposition to Het'um, see: Edvard Baghdassarian, “Gevorg Skevrac'u “Vark'ə” [La vie de George de Skevra],” *BM* 7 (1964): 399-435.

⁶⁶³ On the coins issued by King Smbat, see: Langlois, *Numismatique de l'Arménie au Moyen Age*, 70-72; Sipilean, *Classification of the Ēubenid Coins*, 46-47; Sipilean, *Some Hitherto Unpublished Coins of the Ēubenid Kings*, 7-9; Paul Z. Bedoukian, “A Silver Hoard of Smpad of Cilician Armenia,” in Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Selected Numismatic Studies*, ANS – Special Publication No. 10 (Los Angeles: Armenian Numismatic Society, 2003), 135-141 (first published in Armenian *HA* 1-3 (1964): 37-44); Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 90, Plates VIII-IX; Nercessian, *Armenian Coins and Their Values*, 146-148.

left shoulder of the king. On the reverse, double lions are depicted, with a long cross between them. This image is very similar to those of King Lewon I on his silver *trams* (compare with Figs. 32-35). The intention to imitate the first king's coins is also expressed in the legends written on Smbat's coins: *ՍՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ* – SMBAT, KING OF THE ARMENIANS (obv.), and *ԿԱՆՈՂՈՒԹԵԱՄԲՆ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ* – BY THE POWER OF GOD (rev). Because of their close similarity with Lewon I's *trams*, these coins were regarded as the coronation coins of Smbat⁶⁶⁴.

An identical image of Smbat appears on the obverse of his other silver coins, which must again be viewed as having been issued for the purpose of fostering his legitimacy. As for the reverse, it repeats the double-lion iconography of the above-mentioned type. Yet, the legends allow us to separate these coins from the first type, and classify them as a second kind, as they mention the name of King Smbat on the reverse, and the name of King Lewon on the obverse⁶⁶⁵. Bedoukian believes that the obverse inscription must refer to Lewon the Great, probably meaning Lewon I, whose coinage greatly resembles that of Smbat⁶⁶⁶. In my opinion, these coins of Smbat, bearing the names of two kings simultaneously, are to be associated with Lewon II, Smbat's father. Notwithstanding the fact that Smbat adopted the visual forms that were typical for the first king Lewon I, the legitimacy of his reign was based on his hereditary rights inherited from his father, Lewon II. While discussing the image of Het'um I on his gold *tahekans*, we saw that the legends on the two sides of these coins mention both King Het'um I and his son King Lewon II (see Chapter 2.2). While more studies may be needed to prove or deny the authenticity of these coins, there is no doubt about the authenticity of the rare "Lewon-Smbat" coins, which can actually be helpful in confirming the existence of such a practice at the Cilician Armenian court. By minting these double-name coins, the

⁶⁶⁴ Paul Z. Bedoukian, "A Silver Hoard of Smpad of Cilician Armenia," in Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Selected Numismatic Studies*, ANS – Special Publication No. 10 (Los Angeles: Armenian Numismatic Society, 2003), 137-139 (first published in *Armenian HA* 1-3 (1964): 37-44).

⁶⁶⁵ On these coins, see: Paul Z. Bedoukian, "Two Unpublished Coins of King Smpad of Cilician Armenia: Propaganda in the Turbulent Decade 1289-1299," in Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Selected Numismatic Studies*, ANS – Special Publication No. 10 (Los Angeles: Armenian Numismatic Society, 2003), 142-151 (first published in *Armenian HHH* 7 (1979): 111-120).

⁶⁶⁶ Paul Z. Bedoukian, "Two Unpublished Coins of King Smpad of Cilician Armenia: Propaganda in the Turbulent Decade 1289-1299," in Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Selected Numismatic Studies*, ANS – Special Publication No. 10 (Los Angeles: Armenian Numismatic Society, 2003), 147 (first published in *Armenian HHH* 7 (1979): 111-120).

monarchs were seeking to visualize the lawfulness of their current status, by referring to their father, from whom they inherited the kingdom.

The same iconography appears on other dies of this type, on which the legend “*ՄՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ* – SMBAT, KING OF THE ARMENIANS” is written on both obverse and reverse⁶⁶⁷.

The third type of coins issued under Smbat are half *trams*⁶⁶⁸. On these, instead of the king’s image, royal symbols are depicted: a lion walking to the right on the obverse, and a *fleur-de-lis* on the reverse⁶⁶⁹. According to the legend, these coins were minted in Sis.

The fourth type of coin minted by King Smbat are copper *kardezzes*, on which the king is portrayed as a horseman-ruler on the obverse, while a cross decorates the surface of the reverse (Fig. 191). The legends read as follows: *ՄՄԲԱՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ* – KING SMBAT (obv.); *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔԼ Ի ՄԻՍ* – MADE IN THE CITY OF SIS (rev.).

When Kostandin rebelled against Smbat and took control of the kingdom, he imprisoned Smbat in the fortress of Kapan. In 1299 (or 1300), by the command of their eldest brother, Het’um II, who had retaken the kingdom from Kostandin, Smbat and Kostandin were expelled together to Constantinople⁶⁷⁰. According to the *Gestes des Chiprois*, after the assassination of Het’um II (November 1307), Smbat returned to Cilicia in order to hand over the kingdom from his younger brother Ošin, the new king the Cilician kingdom (1308-1320)⁶⁷¹. This attempt was unsuccessful, and Smbat was cast into prison, after which he was released to Sir Nicoletto Morosini, a messenger from Cyprus, and was sent to Cyprus on a Venetian merchant ship. Then the author records that on his way to Cyprus, Smbat died “at sea of an illness.”⁶⁷²

⁶⁶⁷ Paul Z. Bedoukian, “Two Unpublished Coins of King Smpad of Cilician Armenia: Propaganda in the Turbulent Decade 1289-1299,” in Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Selected Numismatic Studies*, ANS – Special Publication No. 10 (Los Angeles: Armenian Numismatic Society, 2003), 147 (first published in *Armenian HHH* 7 (1979): 111-120).

⁶⁶⁸ On the definition of the half *trams*, see below.

⁶⁶⁹ Nercessian, *Armenian Coins and Their Values*, 148, No. 411.

⁶⁷⁰ On these events, see: Hayton, *La flor des estoires de la terre d’orient*, 210; *The ‘Templar of Tyre’ - Part III of the ‘Deeds of the Cypriots’*, 138; *The Annals of Anonymus of Sebaste*, 151, also n. 193.

⁶⁷¹ *The ‘Templar of Tyre’ - Part III of the ‘Deeds of the Cypriots’*, 177-178.

⁶⁷² *The ‘Templar of Tyre’ - Part III of the ‘Deeds of the Cypriots’*, 178.

As for the Mongolian spouse of Smbat, whom he married while visiting Ilkhan Ghazan, the sources are silent about her sojourn at the Armenian court. It seems, however, that, shortly after, Smbat married for a second time, as in a letter dating from October 8, 1298 Pope Boniface VIII confirms the marriage of Smbat and his wife Isabelle⁶⁷³, whose name does not sound particularly Mongolian.

Conclusion: A few images of King Smbat, preserved on his silver and copper coins, are reminiscent of the official imagery encountered on the coins of the previous kings, particularly the first King Lewon I. By restoring the tradition of celebrating the coronation ceremony on the day of Epiphany and representing himself with an iconography similar to those of the authoritative rulers of Cilicia, Smbat sought to cover up the fragility of his occupation of the Cilician throne, which other ambitious heirs were fighting for as well.

⁶⁷³ Victor Langlois, *Essai historique et critique sur la constitution sociale et politique de l'Arménie sous les rois de la dynastie Roupénienne, d'après les documents orientaux et occidentaux conservés dans les dépôts d'archives de l'Europe* (Saint Petersburg: Académie Impériale des sciences, 1860), 30.

CHAPTER 8.

IMAGES OF KING KOSTANDIN

*“[Kostandin] assembled men and came
against Sempad, and defeated him,
and took him and cast him in prison.”*

The ‘Templar of Tyre’⁶⁷⁴

In summer 1298, Kostandin came to the royal throne by rebelling against his brother, King Smbat⁶⁷⁵. He was the fourth brother in the royal family and the lord of the powerful fortress of Kapan (now *Geben*). The status that Kostandin held during his short reigning period is described differently in the textual sources. Nersēs Palienc’, who provides some details of Kostandin’s rebellion, writes that, after capturing Sis, “*Kostandin took from Smbat the baronetage [...] and governed nine months.*”⁶⁷⁶ Regardless of the word “baronetage” used by this chronicler (which, incidentally, is also applied for Smbat), the second part of the cited sentence clearly mentions Kostandin reigning as a king⁶⁷⁷. Moreover, shortly after, when Nersēs Palienc’ records Het’um II regaining power, he mentions that Het’um took over the kingship from Kostandin and made himself a king again⁶⁷⁸. Palienc’ also mentions Kostandin when he lists the Armenian kings, whereas, in the same list, he misses out the name of T’oros⁶⁷⁹.

We are not told whether a coronation ceremony was performed or not, but the issuance of royal coins with corresponding legends and iconography speaks for an “officialized” form of kingship, which could have been achieved through an inauguration ceremony. It is possible that the royal chronicles preferred to remain silent about the coronation of Kostandin, considering the events that happened about a year after Kostandin’s enthronement, particularly the return of Het’um II. T’oros, for example, who

⁶⁷⁴ *The ‘Templar of Tyre’ – Part III of the ‘Deeds of the Cypriots’*, 138.

⁶⁷⁵ Based on the accounts on the Mamluk invasion of Cilicia, Angus Stewart pointed out that Kostandin had come to power by July 30, 1298, as at that time he is already mentioned as leading the negotiations with the Mamluks, which, just a month earlier were still being directed by King Smbat. See: Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks*, 103.

⁶⁷⁶ *Excerpts from the Chronicle of Nerses Palienc’*, 183.

⁶⁷⁷ Literally translated, the word *t’agaworeac’* (to reign) used by Nersēs Palienc’, means “to rule as a king.”

⁶⁷⁸ *Excerpts from the Chronicle of Nerses Palienc’*, 183.

⁶⁷⁹ *Nerses Palienc’, List of the Armenian Kings and Princes*, 205.

was on the royal throne longer than Kostandin or Smbat, is never called king and had no coins issued by him, since he governed as Baron, with no coronation rite.

If there was a coronation ceremony performed for Kostandin, then it must have been done by Catholicos Grigor VII Anawarzec'i. It seems that the catholicos, who, incidentally, had earlier performed the coronation of Smbat, did not support Smbat anymore after his controversial actions. A later chronicler, Anonymous of Sebaste, writes that when Kostandin undertook his rebellion, Smbat “*tried to expel tēr Grigor, Catholicos of the Armenians, without any reason.*”⁶⁸⁰ This attitude by Smbat might have been conditioned by the will to prevent the possible coronation or anointment of Kostandin, which could only be performed by the head of the Armenian Church. In this regard, Catholicos Grigor would have been more inclined to act against Smbat and probably also to perform an anointment ceremony for Kostandin, who had captured Sis, where the patriarchal see and the kings' residence were situated.

On the basis of the above-mentioned arguments, to me it seems more pertinent to consider the status of Kostandin as royal and refer to him as king rather than baron.

Notwithstanding the fact that Kostandin reigned for less than a year, the coins he issued during this short period present certain innovations in Cilician Armenian coinage. Struck in gold, silver and copper, these rare coins stand out thanks to their great mastery, as well as their new design and legends⁶⁸¹.

As only a few Cilician Armenian kings issued gold coins, those minted by King Kostandin must be viewed as a sort of a demonstration of wealth and power⁶⁸². On his gold *tahekans*, Kostandin is represented on horseback, riding to the right, and holding a

⁶⁸⁰ *The Annals of Anonymous of Sebaste*, 150.

⁶⁸¹ On the coins issued by King Kostandin, see: Langlois, *Numismatique de l'Arménie au Moyen Age*, 72-74; Sipilean, *Classification of the Rubenid Coins*, 48-50; Sipilean, *Some Hitherto Unpublished Coins of the Rubenid Kings*, 7-9; Paul Z. Bedoukian, “*Kilikioy t'agawor Kostandin A.-i (1298-1299) dramnerā* [Coins of Kostandin I of Cilicia (1298-1299)],” *HA* 72 (1958): 381-390; Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 91, Plates I, IX; Nercessian, *Armenian Coins and Their Values*, 148-150; Levon Saryan, “An Unpublished Silver Double ‘Tram’ of Gosdantin I (1298-1299), King of Cilician Armenia,” *American Journal of Numismatics* 12 (2000): 195-204; Levon Saryan, “The Unique Silver Double Tram of King Gosdantin I (1298-1299) of Cilician Armenia,” in *Culture of Cilician Armenia*, proceedings of the international symposium, Antelias, Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 14-18 January 2008. Antelias: Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009 = *HHT* XI (2007-2008): 339-348.

⁶⁸² For the gold coins of the Cilician Armenian kings, see: Bedoukian, “Gold Coins of Cilician Armenian Kings,” 16-27; Paul Z. Bedoukian, “Armenian Gold Coins of the Roupenian Dynasty,” *Museum Notes (American Numismatic Society)* 10 (1962): 113-120, Pl. XXV; Nercessian, “Inventory of Cilician Armenian Gold Coins,” 57-73.

sword in his right hand (obverse) (Fig. 192). On the reverse, for the first time in Cilician Armenian coinage, an image of a castle is depicted, with three turrets. The legends read: *ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻՆ ԹՍԳՍԻՆՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՅ* – KOSTANDIN, KING OF THE ARMENIANS (obv.), and *ՍՍՈՅ ԲԵՐԴ(Ի)Ն Է ԹՍԳՍԻՆՈՐ* – HE IS THE KING OF THE CASTLE OF SIS (rev.). This image and inscription on the reverse must in turn have been a demonstration of Kostandin’s coming to the power in 1298, particularly the possession of the Fortress of Sis (Fig. 193), which is described by Nersēs Palienc’ as follows: “*The fourth brother, Kostandin, stood against (Smbat) and came up to the city of Sis with the troops. Near the city of Sis, the Armenians fought against each other, and many brothers and kinsmen killed each other.*”⁶⁸³

On the silver *trams* of King Kostandin, the image on the obverse repeats that of the gold *tahekans* – a horseman-king with a sword in his right hand (Fig. 194). The design of the reverse represents another innovation in the iconography of Cilician Armenian coinage. Here, the king is depicted standing at full height and holding a sword in his right hand and a cross in his left hand. The head of the king is very similar to his horseman image: bearded and with a crown with three peaks. On the reverse, the king’s robe is clearly visible. It is a *loros* costume adorned with precious stones. The clockwise legends of these silver *trams* read: *ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻՆ* (or, *ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻԱՆՈՍ*) *ԹՍԳՍԻՆՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՅ* – KOSTANDIN (or KOSTANDIANOS), KING OF THE ARMENIANS (obv.), and *ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԱՄԲԵՆ ԿՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ Է ԹՍԳՍԻՆՈՐ* – BY THE POWER OF GOD HE IS KING (rev.). This legend on the reverse is yet another innovation invented by this king, who sought to further substantiate his becoming monarch by referring to the power of God.

In the 2000s, Levon Saryan published a new silver coin of King Kostandin: a double *tram*, that is, twice the weight of a usual *tram* and larger in size⁶⁸⁴, on which the king appears with the same iconography as depicted on his silver *trams*, but with more

⁶⁸³ For the original text in Armenian, see: *Excerpts from the Chronicle of Nerses Palienc’*, 183.

⁶⁸⁴ In the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, the weight of a usual *tram* coin was about 2.9 grams. There were half *trams* and double *trams* as well, which were respectively half or twice the weight of a *tram*. The double *tram* of King Kostandin weighs 5.674 grams. See: Saryan, “The Unique Silver Double Tram of King Gosdantin I,” 340-341, 344.

accuracy and in more detail (Fig. 195)⁶⁸⁵. On this double tram, the attire of the king is particularly evident. Besides the same *loros* costume which we saw on Kostandin's silver *trams*, the large surface of this double *tram* gave the engraver the opportunity to add more details to the royal garment by adding a large mantle above the robe. Across his chest, the mantle is attached with a fibula. The horseman image of the king displayed on the obverse of this double *tram* is also well engraved in a detailed manner. Here, the royal robe differs from the *loros* costume of the reverse, but it again has a fibula across the chest. This image also allows us to observe the movement of the king's left hand, which holds the reins of the moving horse. As for the legends of this unique double *tram*, they are the same as on the *trams*, but here the king is named Kostandianos.

The copper coins of Kostandin are *kardezzes*, the obverse depicting the image of the king standing, holding a sword and a cross (Fig. 196), closely resembling the obverse image of his silver *trams*. However, on the copper coins, the details of the king's attire are less visible. The reverse of the copper *kardezzes* depicts a cross with equal arms which, in various dies, are at times accompanied by various tiny decorations. The legends of Kostandin's *kardez* coins read as follows: *ԿՈՍՏԱՆԴԻՍԼՈՍ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ* – KING KOSTANDIANOS (obv.), and *ՇԻՆԵԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ ՄԻՍ* – MADE IN THE CITY OF SIS (rev.).

Among the royal insignia that the kings are usually depicted as holding, Kostandin preferred to be portrayed with a sword, which is present in all three of his extant images that are encountered on gold, silver, and copper coins. Without disregarding the ceremonial aspect of the sword as instructed in the coronation ordo, the mandatory depiction of this insignia held in the right hand of Smbat is probably another hint of his taking control of the state. Interestingly, none of the three numismatic portraits of King Kostandin depicts him enthroned or seated – an iconography which is often encountered on the coins of other Cilician kings.

⁶⁸⁵ Saryan, “An Unpublished Silver Double “Tram” of Gosdantin I,” 195-204; Saryan, “The Unique Silver Double Tram of King Gosdantin I,” 339-348.

In 1299 or 1300, Kostandin was expelled by his brother Het'um II to Constantinople, never to return⁶⁸⁶.

⁶⁸⁶ See above. According to the *Gestes des Chiprois*, Kostandin died in Constantinople soon after the assassination of his brother Het'um II, that is after November 1307. See: *The 'Templar of Tyre' - Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'*, 177.

CHAPTER 9.

IMAGES OF THE “CHILD” KING LEWON III

“And so Hetoum held his own kingdom, always dressed in the habit of the Franciscans, until the son of Thoros [Lewon] was grown. ...King Hetoum had the child crowned king of Armenia during his own lifetime.”

The ‘Templar of Tyre’⁶⁸⁷

In 1306, Het’um II handed over the kingdom to his nephew, the young Lewon⁶⁸⁸. Lewon was the son of Baron T’oros (who occupied the Armenian throne in 1293-1294 and 1295-1296) and Margaret Lusignan, the daughter of Hugh III, King of Cyprus. Nersēs Palienc’ records that when T’oros came to the royal throne for the first time (1293), he had already been married to Margaret Lusignan for three years⁶⁸⁹. According to the *Gestes des Chiprois*, when King Lewon III died (November 1307), he “had not yet reached ten years of age.”⁶⁹⁰ Because of his young age, Lewon was often called the “young king,” “child king,” “little king,” or “boy king.”⁶⁹¹ The accession of young Lewon to the Armenian throne was initiated by Het’um II who in fact continued to govern the state during the boy’s short reign. The decision to make Lewon the successor to the Armenian throne already seems to have been made by Het’um around 1301, as from that time on Lewon is mentioned as the crowned heir to the royal throne. Nersēs Palienc’ mentions that Het’um reigned together with Lewon when the latter was still only

⁶⁸⁷ *The ‘Templar of Tyre’ - Part III of the ‘Deeds of the Cypriots’*, 138.

⁶⁸⁸ *The Annals of Anonymous of Sebaste*, n. 193 (citation from a manuscript colophon dating from 1307).

⁶⁸⁹ *Excerpts from the Chronicle of Nerses Palienc’*, 182. Margaret Lusignan is also mentioned in the following sources: Hayton, *La flor des estoires de la terre d’orient*, 207-208; Het’um the Historian, *History of the Rubenid Dynasty*, 105; *The ‘Templar of Tyre’ - Part III of the ‘Deeds of the Cypriots’*, 137-138.

⁶⁹⁰ *The ‘Templar of Tyre’ - Part III of the ‘Deeds of the Cypriots’*, 176. Rüd̄t-Collenberg mentions January 9, 1288 as the date of the marriage of T’oros and Margaret Lusignan, and indicates 1289 as the year when Lewon was born. See: Rüd̄t-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, III (H2). Toumanoff, in turn, mentions 1290/1292 as the approximate time of Lewon’s birth. See: Cyrille Toumanoff, *Les dynasties de la Caucasic chrétienne de l’Antiquité jusqu’au XIXe siècle: Tables généalogiques et chronologiques* (Rome: 1990), 290.

⁶⁹¹ See, for example: *Colophons, 14th century*, 52, 55, 56; *Het’um Nlirc’i*, 546; *The Annals of Anonymous of Sebaste*, n. 193 (citation from a manuscript colophon dating from 1307); Hayton, *La flor des estoires de la terre d’orient*, 209-210; *The ‘Templar of Tyre’ - Part III of the ‘Deeds of the Cypriots’*, 138, 176, 177.

three years old⁶⁹². In a manuscript colophon written in 1301 in Sis, it is recorded that on June 29 of that year Het'um crowned his nephew Lewon⁶⁹³. However, the anointment ceremony of Lewon III only took place in 1306, after which he was called by the title “King of Armenia”, whereas Het'um started to be referred as Baron or Great Baron⁶⁹⁴. Besides preventing the royal aspirations of his ambitious brothers, this action undertaken by Het'um II must also be viewed in the context of the hereditary succession, given that, after unmarried Het'um (who had no children), the rights and succession of the royal throne would pass to the second brother T'oros. As T'oros was murdered (1298), his eldest son Lewon inherited the succession of the royal throne. On the basis of this somewhat secure legitimacy, under its actual ruler Het'um II, the royal court built up an idealized image for the child-king Lewon III which will be analyzed in the present chapter.

According to the colophon of a manuscript dating from 1307, the anointment ceremony of King Lewon took place on the Feast of the Apostles, on July 30, 1306⁶⁹⁵. The continuator of the *Chronicle of Samuēl Anec'i* mentions Sis as the place where the coronation of 1306 took place⁶⁹⁶. In the previous chapters, we have already seen that the royal ceremonies, especially coronation and knighting rituals, were often celebrated in concomitance with the great church feasts. The Feast of the Epiphany (January 6) was certainly the most preferred time for royal coronations (Lewon I, Lewon II, Smbat), as the double celebration underscored the symbolic link between Christ, King of Heaven, and the newly crowned, earthly king (see Chapter 1.1.4).

The coronation of Lewon III on the Feast of the Apostles was an innovation, which, however, could have been related to the political circumstances of the time, which motivated Het'um to legitimize the status of the young Lewon at that particular moment. Nevertheless, the most important Feast of the Epiphany was not ignored during the reign of King Lewon III, as his knighting ceremony was performed in 1305 together with the

⁶⁹² *Excerpts from the Chronicle of Nerses Palienc'*, 188.

⁶⁹³ *Excerpts from the Chronicle of Nerses Palienc'*, 193-194, n. 69 (citation from two colophons dating from 1307 and 1301).

⁶⁹⁴ *Colophons, 14th century*, 55, 56; *Samuēl Anec'i*, 270; *Chronicle Ascribed to Sargis Picak Ssec'i*, 106.

⁶⁹⁵ *The Annals of Anonymus of Sebaste*, n. 193 (citation from a manuscript colophon dating from 1307).

⁶⁹⁶ *Samuēl Anec'i*, 270.

celebration of this feast⁶⁹⁷. After becoming knight, the young heir was already ready to be anointed as king – a title he was already bearing during the previous years.

There is a class of silver coins, generally called “coronation trams”, on which the name of King Lewon is written (Figs. 197-199). Until recent times, these coins were traditionally attributed to the first king of the Armenian kingdom, Lewon I⁶⁹⁸. However, based on systematic numismatic analysis, Ruben Vardanyan has shown that these coins were most likely issued under Lewon III, and not by Lewon I⁶⁹⁹. He substantiated his view by comparing several elements of the silver coins of Lewon I (1198-1219) and those of the kings who ruled a century later, such as Smbat (1296/7-1298), Kostandin (1298-1299), Lewon III (1301/6-1307), and Ošin (1308-1320), and pointed out that the *coronation trams* could have been minted by the master who had also engraved the coins of the listed four kings. Another argument that speaks in favor of this hypothesis is the choice of the field marks used by the royal engraver: on the *coronation trams*, one can clearly see the Armenian letter Յ (Y) (Fig. 198, obv.), three dots (Fig. 198, rev.), and other marks, which also appear on the silver coins of King Ošin (Fig. 203, obv.) and Lewon III (Fig. 201, obv.). Additionally, the form of the king’s crown on the *coronation trams* is very similar to the crown wore by King Kostandin on his silver coins (Figs. 194, 195). These and other similarities between the *coronation* coins and coins struck at the end of the thirteenth and during the first decades of the fourteenth centuries speak in favor of the same master engraver, who understandably could not have been active since the time of Lewon I.

The attribution of the *coronation* coins to King Lewon III could also be supported by the political ideology present at the time of this “child king” who, in order to propagate his kingship and legitimacy, was more “in need” of the iconography of the

⁶⁹⁷ A well-informed contemporary of Lewon III, Het’um Nłirc’i, records that on the Nativity day of 1305, King Lewon became knight, and he himself became *ĵambřla* (chamberlain) of the Armenian kingdom (see: *Het’um Nłirc’i*, 552).

⁶⁹⁸ Ogostinos Sek’ulean, “*Viennayi Mxit’arean t’angarani Lewon A.-i krknariwc õcman arcat’ dramnerõ* [The Silver Coronation Trams of Lewon I with Double Lions Kept at the Mekhitarist Museum in Vienna],” *HA* 7-9 (1970): 365-370; Bedoukian, “A Large Hoard of Coronation Trams of Levon I,” 409-440; Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 50-51; Bedoukian, “The Single Lion Coronation Coins of Levon I,” 99-107; Grierson, *Münzen des Mittelalters*, 203, 227, Fig. 423; Kouymjian, “The Iconography of the ‘Coronation’ Trams of King Levon I,” 67-74; Necessian, *Armenian Coins and Their Values*, 109-113.

⁶⁹⁹ Vardanyan, “*Cilician Armenian Numismatic Problems*,” 3-19; Vardanyan, *Sylloge Nummorum Armenorum: Levon I the Magnificent*, 354.

Virgin as intercessor – the main element of the *coronation trams* – than Lewon I, whose kingship was built on a much stronger foundation.

On the obverse of the *coronation trams*, the Armenian king is portrayed kneeling in front of the Virgin and stretching his hands toward Her. Iconographically, these coins can be divided into three groups: those with the depiction of God’s Hand (Fig. 197), with the Holy Spirit, symbolized by the dove descending from heaven (Fig. 198), and with the ray of light depicted as before (Fig. 199). The three groups may in turn also display small variations, but these are mainly of a general nature and occur over a series of several mints. Since the nineteenth century, when the *coronation trams* first attracted the attention of researchers, there has been an ongoing discussion as to whether the Virgin or the Hand of God is depicted putting the crown on the head of Lewon. In the vast majority of these coins, this action is not particularly discernible. There are, however, a few well-preserved examples, which clearly show God’s Hand on the crown of Lewon, stressing his coronation by God (Fig. 197)⁷⁰⁰.

The idea of divine investiture, if I may call so the iconography of the *coronation* coins, is strengthened by the presence of either God’s Hand or the Holy Spirit, both presiding over the Virgin and King Lewon (Figs. 197, 198). The divine protection of the king is also expressed in the inscription on the reverse: ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԱՄԲԼ ՍՍՆԻԾՆՅ – BY THE POWER OF GOD. The legend on the obverse reads as follows: ԼԵՒՆԼ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՆՅ – LEWON, KING OF THE ARMENIANS. Though among the extant examples of *coronation* coins the legends vary in small details, they are generally alike. Analogous scenes are to be found on the coin of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143-1180), who is depicted below the outstretched hand of the Virgin (Fig. 200)⁷⁰¹, or in the mosaics in Palermo with the images of kings Roger II of Sicily and William II of Sicily, in the Church of Saint Mary of the Admiral and the

⁷⁰⁰ I express my gratitude to Hrair Hawk Khatcherian for providing me with a high-quality photograph of this coin.

⁷⁰¹ *L’art byzantin, art européen*, 9eme exposition du Conseil de l’Europe, Palais du Zappeion, April 1 to June 15, 1964 (Athens: Palais du Zappeion, 1964), Fig. 678.

Cathedral of Monreale, respectively, where the both monarchs are represented receiving their crowns from Christ⁷⁰².

In all of the types of the *coronation trams*, the Mother of God is depicted *orant* and with a large mantle. Based on this, Dickran Kouymjian has considered the possibility that these coins might have served as a prototype for the iconography of the Virgin of Mercy, which appeared in Cilician miniature painting in the last quarter of the thirteenth century⁷⁰³ (see Chapter 4.1, Fig. 163). However, if we consider that these coins were minted under Lewon III and not Lewon I, then the numismatic image of the *orant* Virgin could have been influenced by miniatures depicting the Virgin of Mercy, rather than the other way round.

As to the reverse sides of the *coronation trams*, they all display lions: either a single lion (Fig. 197), or double lion with a central cross, which is more common (Figs. 198, 199). The two lions are depicted standing, which, in heraldic language, would be called *lions rampants*⁷⁰⁴. The single lion is depicted moving to the right and with its head turned to the front (*lion passant regardant*).

Another type of silver coin, called *takvorin*, was minted under King Lewon III⁷⁰⁵. *Takvorins* differ from *trams* due to the lower quantity of silver (less than 50 percent) and the reduced weight of the coins⁷⁰⁶. These were the main silver coins of the kings that reigned in the fourteenth century. The reduced quantity of silver in the royal coins minted during the fourteenth century was conditioned by the continuing economical crisis within the Armenian kingdom. As for the silver *takvorins* of King Lewon III, they were struck in Sis and represent the king on horseback on the obverse and a lion walking to the right on the reverse (Fig. 201). Behind the lion, usually there is a cross (plain or patriarchal), although in a few extant dies at times the lion is depicted without any attributes. The *takvorins* of Lewon III differ from the silver coins minted by later kings owing to their high-quality workmanship⁷⁰⁷.

⁷⁰² Sulamith Brodbeck, "Le souverain en images dans la Sicile normande," *Perspective: Revue scientifique de l'INHA* 1 (2012): 167-172, Figs. 1, 2.

⁷⁰³ Kouymjian, "Insignes de souveraineté de Léon le Magnifique," 421.

⁷⁰⁴ Michel Pastoureau, *L'art héraldique au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2009), 102.

⁷⁰⁵ For descriptions of the *takvorins* of Lewon III, see: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 91-92, 336-347, Plate IX; Nercessian, *Armenian Coins and Their Values*, 150-153.

⁷⁰⁶ Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 50, 54.

⁷⁰⁷ Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 91.

Copper *kardez* coins, again of a reduced size, represent King Lewon seated cross-legged (sometimes on a cushion) usually on a bench-like throne⁷⁰⁸. There is a great variety in the details and legends. On some coins, the image of the cross-legged king can appear on both the obverse and reverse. However, more often the reverse represents a cross with equal arms, which can be simple, ornate, or with various small elements (Fig. 202). The cross-legged portrait on Lewon's copper coins closely resembles the *kardezzes* of Het'um II (Fig. 185). As for the *kardezzes* depicting the king on the throne (or bench-like throne), according to the descriptions provided by Bedoukian and Nercessian, their reverse is again decorated with a cross.

On November 17, 1307, King Lewon III was assassinated together with his uncle, Het'um II, by the Mongol commander Bularghu near Anawarza⁷⁰⁹. The *Templar of Tyre* records that Ošin and Alinax, the younger brothers of Het'um II, mourned according to the custom and buried their bodies, but does not mention where exactly⁷¹⁰.

⁷⁰⁸ For descriptions of the *kardez* coins of Lewon III, see: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 92, 347-353, Plates IX-X; Nercessian, *Armenian Coins and Their Values*, 153-154.

⁷⁰⁹ *Colophons, 14th century*, 55, 56; *Smbat sparapet*, 127; *Samuēl Anec'i*, 270; *Het'um Ntirc'i*, 546; *Excerpts from the Chronicle of Nerses Palienc'*, 188; *Chronicle Ascribed to Sargis Picak Ssec'i*, 106; *Chronicle of King Het'um II* [Continuator], 88; *The 'Templar of Tyre' - Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'*, 176. For a detailed analysis of this event and the reasons for the change in the Mongol-Armenian relations, see: Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks*, 171-180; Angus Stewart, "The Assassination of King Het'um II: The Conversion of The Ilkhans and the Armenians," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, 15 / No. 1 (Apr., 2005): 45-61.

⁷¹⁰ *The 'Templar of Tyre' - Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'*, 177.

CHAPTER 10.

IMAGES OF KING OŠIN

After the assassination of Het'um II and young King Lewon III, the Cilician royal throne was occupied by Ošin, Het'um's younger brother. Ošin and Alinax (also known as Ruben) were twin brothers and the last born in the royal family of Lewon II and Keřian (see Chapter 3.3.3). The *Templar of Tyre* records that Ošin wanted Alinax to be king, "but Alinax, respecting right and reason, said that authority rested better on Ošin, because he had come first out of the womb of their mother, before Alinax."⁷¹¹ An obstacle that could have stood in Ošin's becoming king was his elder brother and former king Smbat, who was expelled to Constantinople by Het'um II, and who, after hearing of the assassination of Het'um, returned to Cilicia in hope to restore his erstwhile rights over the Armenian throne. However, Smbat was unsuccessful and was soon expelled by the new king Ošin, this time to Cyprus, which, however, he did not reach since he died on the way⁷¹².

The coronation of Ošin took place in 1308⁷¹³. The ceremony was performed in Tarsus, where Ošin's father, Lewon II, and the first King Lewon I had been coronated.

The only preserved images of Ošin are encountered on his coins⁷¹⁴. Regardless of their relatively great quantity, the design of his coins suggests nothing new and is a copy

⁷¹¹ *The 'Templar of Tyre' – Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'*, 176.

⁷¹² On these events, see: *The 'Templar of Tyre' – Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'*, 177-178; *Samuēl Anec'i*, 272.

⁷¹³ *Smbat sparapet*, 127; *Samuēl Anec'i*, 272; *The 'Templar of Tyre' – Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'*, 176. Jean Dardel, the chancellor of the last king Lewon V Lusignan (1374-1375), records that Ošin was crowned after the death of his brother Alinax (*Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 18). However, Het'um Nřirc'i dates the death of Alinax to August 29, 1309 (*Het'um Nřirc'i*, 546), and the continuator of the Chronicle of Samuēl Anec'i to 1317 (*Samuēl Anec'i*, 273). Curiously enough, in a colophon written in Greater Armenia in 1310, Alinax is mentioned as King of the Armenians (*Colophons, 14th century*, 65).

⁷¹⁴ On the coins issued by King Ošin, see: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 92-94, 353-368, Plate X; Paul Z. Bedoukian. "A Hoard of Coronation Trams of Oshin," in Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Selected Numismatic Studies*, ANS – Special Publication No. 10 (Los Angeles: Armenian Numismatic Society, 2003), 152-164 (first published in Armenian *HHH* 4 (1973): 81-96); Paul Z. Bedoukian. "Half Trams of Oshin and Levon IV of Cilician Armenia," in Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Selected Numismatic Studies II*, ANS - Special Publications No. 10 (Los Angeles: Armenian Numismatic Society, 2003), 165-169 (first published *REArm* 18 (1984): 471-474); Paul Z. Bedoukian. "Some Curious Coins from Cilician Armenia," in Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Selected Numismatic Studies*, ANS – Special Publication No. 10 (Los Angeles: Armenian

of the coins minted by Ošin's institutional predecessors. Thus, on his silver *trams*, he is depicted enthroned, holding a cross and a *fleur-de-lis* in his hands (Fig. 203), which we also saw on the coins of Lewon I and Smbat (Figs. 32-35, 190). The reverse represents two lions with a central cross between them.

The *takvorin* coins of Ošin represent the king on horseback, holding a scepter with a *fleur-de-lis* on the top (Fig. 204). According to the legend, these coins were minted in the city of Sis. The image of the horseman king is encountered on the silver coins issued by Het'um I, Lewon II, Kostandin, and Lewon III (respectively, Figs. 49-51, 156-159, 194-195, 201). The reverse of the *takvorins* issued by Ošin display a single lion walking to the right.

As for the copper coins, their obverse represents Ošin seated on a bench-like throne and holding royal insignia, which repeats the iconography of the copper coins of Het'um I, Het'um II, and Lewon III (respectively, Figs. 53ab, 185, 202). The reverse is decorated with a cross with equal arms. Unlike the *kardez* coins issued by the previous kings, the copper coins of Ošin represent a new type, called *pogh*. These are very small copper coins, and the images and legends displayed on them are usually incomplete or imperfect⁷¹⁵.

A feature, which is especially characteristic of the coinage of Ošin, is the frequent use of various mint marks, including Armenian letters.

As in the case of the previous Cilician Armenian kings, Ošin too was concerned with dynastic continuity and aimed to secure his son's smooth succession before his death, for which he entered into negotiations with the Mamluk sultan. This concern of Ošin is also reflected in the courtly rhetoric as preserved in manuscript colophons. Thus, in 1319, Ošin commissioned a manuscript, known as the *Breviary of King Ošin* (Aleppo, Forty Martyrs Cathedral, MS No. 6), whose extant colophons several times mention the king's "God-given son Lewon," the future king Lewon IV (1320/1-1341)⁷¹⁶. Moreover,

Numismatic Society, 2003), 133 (first published in Armenian *ANJ* 16/2 (1990): 16-19); Nercessian, *Armenian Coins and Their Values*, 155-158.

⁷¹⁵ Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 49, 93-94.

⁷¹⁶ Ardavazt Surmeyan, *Description d'un manuscrit de l'an 1319 écrit pour Ochine, roi de l'Arménie de Cilicie, contenant un psautier, des hymnes, un bréviaire, etc.: Manuscrit No. 6 de la Bibliothèque de l'église des Quarante Martyrs d'Alep* (Antelias: Imprimerie du Séminaire, 1933), 76, 92, 101; Artavazd

in one place the words “ՉԱԻՇԻՆ ԵՒ ՋՈՐՂԻՆ ԻԻՐ ԼԵԻՈՆ (Ošin and his son Lewon)” are written in red ink to set them apart from the main text⁷¹⁷.

King Ošin died on 19 June 1320 and was buried in Drazark⁷¹⁸.

Surméyan, *Catalogue des manuscrits arméniens se trouvant à Alep à l'Eglise des Quarante Martyrs, ainsi qu'aupès des particuliers* (Jérusalem: Imprimerie du Couvent Arménien St. Jacques, 1935), 10-13.

⁷¹⁷ Surmeyan, *Description d'un manuscrit de l'an 1319 écrit pour Ochine*, 92.

⁷¹⁸ *Samuël Anec'i*, 274; *Smbat sparapet*, 128; *Het'um Nlirc'i*, 547; *Chronicle of King Het'um II* [Continuator], 88. It is possible that King Ošin was killed by one of his barons, Ošin of Corycus, who after the king's death became the *palli* of the king's son, future King Lewon IV. Jean Dardel mentions that when Lewon IV (1321-1341) murdered Ošin of Corycus in 1330, he did this also because the latter had killed his father, King Ošin, by poisoning. See: *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 20.

CHAPTER 11.

IMAGES OF KING LEWON IV

*“Kings are ordered by God and
are in God’s place on earth.”*

Smbat the Constable, colophon (1265) of the
Assizes of Antioch (copied in 1331)⁷¹⁹

11.1. THE FIRST PERIOD OF THE REIGN OF LEWON IV

Lewon IV was born on 9 April 1310 from the marriage of King Ošin and Zapēl of Corycus. Sources record that soon after his birth, in May 1310, his mother passed away⁷²⁰.

Lewon IV was only eleven years old when, on 1 February 1321, his coronation took place in the royal residence city of Sis⁷²¹. Until the youthful king would reach maturity, the kingdom was governed by four barons whom Lewon’s late father, King Ošin, had proclaimed as *pallis* for a period of ten years (1321-1331). These were Ošin, Lord of Corycus, Kostandin (who would soon become constable), Het’um Nłirc’i, Lord of Nłir, and *Marajaxt Pałtin* (Marshal Baldwin)⁷²². Ošin and Kostandin were brothers, as were Het’um Nłirc’i and Marshal Pałtin. The most significant authority among them was invested in Ošin, who was the son of historian Hayton of Corycus⁷²³, and whose superiority over other *pallis* was expressed on various occasions. On the coronation day of Lewon IV, Ošin gave his daughter, Alic (Alice) of Corycus, in marriage to the new king⁷²⁴. As the acting governor of the state, Ošin moreover made his brother, Kostandin

⁷¹⁹ For the original text in Armenian, see: *Colophons, 13th century*, 328; *General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Mekhitarist Library in Venice*, Volume VII, compiled by Sahak ĆemĆemean (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1996), 755.

⁷²⁰ *Het’um Nłirc’i*, 546; *Chronicle Ascribed to Sargis Picak Ssec’i*, 106; *Smbat sparapet*, 128; *Samuēl Anec’i*, 274, n. 556; *Chronique d’Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 18.

⁷²¹ *Smbat sparapet*, 128; *Het’um Nłirc’i*, 547.

⁷²² In textual sources, the four barons proclaimed as *pallis* of the young king are not always mentioned together. As a rule, one or another is missing. See: *Het’um Nłirc’i*, 546 (mentions Ošin and himself); *Samuēl Anec’i*, 274 (mentions Ošin, Kostandin, and Het’um Nłirc’i); *Chronique d’Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 18-19 (mentions all four barons). On Lewon’s *pallis*, see: Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, Volume II, 395-398.

⁷²³ *Chronique d’Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 19.

⁷²⁴ *Smbat sparapet*, 128; *Samuēl Anec’i*, 274; *Chronique d’Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 19.

of Corycus, constable of the state. He then married Lewon's stepmother, Joan of Anjou, who had been anointed queen of Armenia upon her marriage to King Ošin in 1316⁷²⁵. From this marriage Ošin had a daughter, called Maria (Mariun), the future Queen Mariun and the spouse of the future King Kostandin I (1344-1363)⁷²⁶. After reinforcing his position through self-initiated intermarriages, Ošin in a short period of time took possession of such strategic places as Tarsus, Paperon, and Isauria⁷²⁷. Apparently, these ambitions did not go unnoticed by other members of the royal palace, and this might explain why Ošin killed Zapēl, the sister of King Ošin, and her two eldest sons⁷²⁸. The latter could have been an obstacle to the further plans of the lord of Corycus, which were clearly aimed at bringing him ever closer to the royal throne⁷²⁹. However, the situation changed radically around 1330 when Lewon IV was able to free himself of the services of his ambitious *pallis*. It is from this period – from the year 1331, more precisely – that we possess a lifetime image of Lewon IV, which represents the young king as a righteous ruler who executes justice over his vassal lords.

⁷²⁵ *Samuēl Anec'i*, 274; *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 19.

⁷²⁶ Pogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, Volume VI, 555. Queen Mariun's images are discussed below, in Chapter 13.2

⁷²⁷ *Samuēl Anec'i*, 274.

⁷²⁸ *Samuēl Anec'i*, 274; *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 19.

⁷²⁹ On Ošin's ambitions for the Armenian throne, see: Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, Volume II, 402-404; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, tome I, 203-204.

11.2. THE JURIDICAL IMAGE OF LEWON IV IN MS V 107 (1331)

In the manuscript library of the Mekhitarist Congregation in Venice, a parchment manuscript is kept under shelf mark 107, the frontispiece of which depicts King Lewon IV (Fig. 208)⁷³⁰. The king's image is the only full-page miniature in this codex, whose decorative program mainly consists of ornamental headpieces, many marginal ornaments, and interlaced initials with ornithomorphic motifs (Fig. 212). The colophon informs that the manuscript was copied and illuminated by the priest Sargis (Picak) in 1331 by the order of King Lewon IV. Most probably it originates from Sis, where the king's residence and Sargis Picak's scriptorium were situated. Fifteen years later, Picak would create another royal image in Sis, depicting Queen Mariun (Chapter 13.2).

The manuscript V 107 is a juridical codex, which contains two principal law books in use in the Armenian state of Cilicia: the *Law Code of Smbat the Constable* and the *Assizes of Antioch*. The full-page miniature depicting King Lewon IV is found on the frontispiece to the *Assizes of Antioch*, which was translated into Armenian in the mid-thirteenth century by Smbat the Constable, brother of King Het'um I. The original text in French is lost, and its content is only available in the Armenian translation, the oldest extant copy of which is the manuscript in question⁷³¹.

The frontispiece of MS V 107 represents the Armenian king as a judge, who is shown resolving a conflict between high-ranking officials. The king's gesture points at the Right Hand of God, which is depicted in the upper left corner, jutting out from a blue cloud. Another blue cloud, slightly smaller, is depicted parallelly in the upper right corner, close to King Lewon. The miniature has a decorated blue frame, with two crosses and several floral elements depicted on the upper part. These crosses, the crown of the

⁷³⁰ For the description of the manuscript, see: *General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Mekhitarist Library in Venice*, Volume VII, 747-758.

⁷³¹ For the *Assizes of Antioch* and its Armenian translation by Smbat the Constable, see: Léonce M. Alishan (trans.), *Assises d'Antioche*, reproduites en Français et publiées au sixième centenaire de la mort de Sempad le Connétable, leur ancien traducteur arménien (Venice: Imprimerie arménienne médaillée, 1876); A. Паровуян, "Ассизы Антиохийские [The Assizes of Antioch] (translation into Russian)," *BM* 4 (1958): 331-375; Yarut'iwn K'urtean, "Noragiwt orinak mə Ansiz Antiok'ay ōrinagrk'in [A new-found exemplar of the lawbook *Assizes of Antioch*]," *BV* 114 (1956): 134-137; Yarut'iwn Kurdian, "Assizes of Antioch," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 3/4 (Oct. 1962): 134-137; Mutafian, "L'Arménie cilicienne et son héritage culturel," 161; Agnès Ouzounian, "Les *Assises d'Antioche* ou la langue usage: remarques du propos du texte arménien des *Assises d'Antioche*," in *La Méditerranée des arméniens (XIIIe-XVe siècle)*, sous la direction de Claude Mutafian (Paris: Geuthner, 2014), 133-162.

king, and the background are painted gold. The king's gold crown is well emphasized by the dark blue background, against which one can observe its three-pointed form and the many pearl-like stones attached all around it. The king wears a blue robe, adorned with floral ornaments and a green stripe outlined in red, which is attached to the robe at the neck. Under his blue robe, he wears a pink tunic, which is only visible at the wrists. Above the robe, a red mantle is hanging from the shoulders, covering the king's attire. The red mantle is embroidered with golden patterns that are often found in Cilician and Eastern Mediterranean arts (Figs. 209, 210abc, 211, 236, 238, 240). The forms and colors of the king's attire resemble those worn by the biblical persons in the manuscripts illustrated by Sargis Picak (Figs. 209, 210abc, 211).

The identifying inscription is inserted around the king's figure and reads as follows: ԼԵԻՈՆ ԹԱԳԱԻՈՐ, ՈՒՂԵՂ (on blue background) ԴՍՍՍՍՍ (on red background) – KING LEWON, JUST JUDGMENT. This inscription, while bearing a clear eschatological message – is a verbatim citation from the ninth chapter of the *Assizes of Antioch*, which reads: “*It must be known that God has established the Court for true and **just judgment** for the salvation of the world.*”⁷³² We have already seen in previous chapters that justice and righteousness were one of the main ideas that underpinned the royal ideology in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia. Here we have a visual evocation of this idea, with the imposing figure of the righteous king, whose juridical duties are represented and visualized in the *Assizes of Antioch* as a sort of contribution to the divine project of salvation. As we shall see shortly below, this was particularly compelling in the context of the precarious political situation, in which the young king Lewon IV found himself when commissioning the codex V 107. That situation could well have impacted and informed the iconography of the king's juridical image.

The divine assistance in the execution of the ‘just judgement’ over the members of the royal court is eloquently visualized by Sargis Picak. With his raised right hand, the judge-king shows God's Hand, while his left forefinger points at the three officials depicted below the royal throne. Two of them are depicted seated cross-legged on a green cushion. The one portrayed in the foreground is an elderly man, whose right hand is

⁷³² “Չի գիտել պարտ է, որ Աստուած գղարկասն վասն ճշմարիտ և ուղիղ դատաստանաց է հաստատել, որ փրկի աշխարհ.” See: Alishan (trans.), *Assises d'Antioche*, 28-29.

placed on his chest, while his left hand, holding a red handkerchief, on his leg. Above his brown tunic, he wears a blue robe resembling *tiraz* textile – an apparent sign of his status⁷³³. The other nobleman seated behind him is a middle-aged person in red attire. In front of these two, we see a third man who looks younger and again has an aristocratic appearance, with a red and green garment. He is portrayed kneeling on the ground and having a conversation or perhaps a quarrel with the two men seated nearby. The red and green textile seen in this miniature was apparently a widespread type of clothing among contemporaneous aristocracy, as it can be seen in other manuscripts illustrated by Sargis Picak (Figs. 238, 239, 240) and in Lebanese mural paintings of the Crusader period (Fig. 240a)⁷³⁴.

Finally, a fourth nobleman is also portrayed in this judgement scene, standing and, as can be guessed from the gesture of his hands, intervening between the king and the arguing lords: his right hand is directed toward Lewon, while his left hand rests on the head of the young man. This fourth personage looks elder and obviously has more authoritative status than the others. It has been suggested by Sirarpie Der Nersessian that he can be identified with Chancellor Hanēs (or Yohannēs), an earlier depiction of whom is preserved in a manuscript kept in the British Library, under shelf mark Or. 13804 (Fig. 214)⁷³⁵. This manuscript, known as the *Psalter of King Lewon II*, was copied in 1283 in Sis, and has some stylistic and iconographic parallels with the illustrations of the manuscript V 107, in particular with the scene of royal judgment⁷³⁶. The appearance and clothing of the Armenian chancellor portrayed in MS Or. 13804⁷³⁷ correspond indeed the

⁷³³ *Tiraz* textile (borrowed from the Persian word *tirāz*, which means “embroidery”) was used for the clothing of high-ranking persons, with embroidered bands around the neck or arms, which could be filled in with various ornaments or inscriptions, demonstrating the aristocrat’s status. See: Adolf Grohmann, “Tirāz,” in E. J. Brill’s *First Encyclopedia of Islam (1913-1936)*, edited by M. T. Houtsma, A. J. Wensinck et al. (Leiden – New York – Köln: Brill, 1993/reprint), 785-793.

⁷³⁴ Compare, for example, the attire of the male figure depicted close to Saint George in the Saint Theodore Church, in Behdaïdat, Lebanon. See: Isabelle Doumet-Skaf and Giorgio Capriotti, “Conservation of 13th Century Mural Paintings in the Church of St. Theodore, Behdaïdat,” *Bulletin d’Archéologie et d’Architecture Libanaises* 13 (2009): 280, Figs. 2-3, 69.

⁷³⁵ Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 160, vol. II, Fig. 649.

⁷³⁶ Many details of these two miniatures are stylistically alike, such as the frames, the thrones of Lewon and the Virgin, the cushions, the blue clouds depicted in the two upper corners, the attire worn by the aristocrats, the script of inscriptions, etc. (Figs. 208, 214).

⁷³⁷ The identification of Chancellor Hanēs is based on the accompanying inscription, written on the blue background above his figure, which reads as follows: “ՄՍՏՈՒՄԾԱԾԻՆ, ՊԱՆՈՆ ԶԱՆԷՍ ԶԱՆՍԼԵՐՆ ՔԵՉ ԶԱՆԶԻՆ – MOTHER OF GOD, PARON HANĒS, THE JANSLER (chancellor), RELIES ON YOU” (Fig. 214). See also: Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 160.

image of the standing official, depicted in V 107. Although the British Library Psalter was created in 1283 during the reign of King Lewon II⁷³⁸, we know that the Chancellor Hanēs was active until the 1330s, as he is mentioned as holding this position in at least two documents dating from 1331 and 1333⁷³⁹.

Of particular interest is the bench-like throne, on which the Armenian king is seated cross-legged. Seats of a similar form are seen in contemporary miniature painting (Fig. 211), as well as in other images depicting King Lewon IV or ascribed to him (Figs. 206, 207, 221). The royal seat of MS V 107 has three legs painted blue-red (on both sides) and blue-green (in the middle). On the top, from the right and left sides, it has two raised edges of a blue, green, and purple-pink color. The golden background, on which the enthroned king is portrayed in an elevated posture, creates an illusion of the king being in heaven, from where he receives the divine protection and guidance.

The cross-legged position of the king, the gesture of his hands, as well as the red textile of his mantle draw striking parallels with a Frankish image of the biblical Holofernes, who is depicted receiving Judith in his tent (Fig. 213). The miniature occupies folio 181r of British Library manuscript Add. 15268, which was created in Acre probably on the occasion of the coronation of King Henry II Lusignan⁷⁴⁰. The stylistic similarities between the illustrations of this Crusader manuscript created around the 1280s and the above-mentioned Armenian Psalter dating from 1283 are perhaps testimonies of the possible circulation of artistic models within the Eastern Mediterranean basin. If we admit that the archetype exemplar of the Armenian *Assizes of Antioch* was illustrated, then it must have been created after the mid thirteenth century, given that Smbat the Constable completed the translation of this law book in 1265. It is perhaps not by chance that the model of the cross-legged ruler appears in Cilician visual sources

⁷³⁸ For the *Psalter of King Lewon II*, see: Haykazn Hapēšan, “*Salmosaran gruac Lewon G. t’agawori hamar (1283)* [Psalter Written for King Lewon III (1283)],” *HA* 2-3 (1922): 139-155; Nersessian, *A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the British Library*, Volume I, 107-115. See also Appendix II.

⁷³⁹ Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 160. For the documents mentioning Chancellor Hanēs, see: Langlois, *Le Trésor des chartes d’Arménie*, 190, 194.

⁷⁴⁰ For the illustrations of this manuscript, see: Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, with Liturgical and Palaeographical Chapters by Francis Wormald (London: Pindar Press 1986 / first published Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 79-87; Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d’Acre, 1275-1291* (Princeton – New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1976), 77-116, esp. 77-102; Bianca Kühnel, “The Perception of History in Thirteenth-Century Crusader Art,” in *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, edited by Daniel H. Weiss & Lisa Mahoney (Baltimore – London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 161-186.

during the reign of Het'um I (1226-1269/70). The cross-legged image of Lewon IV, which shares iconographic and stylistic similarities with the reception scenes found in Crusader visual arts, including the image of Holofernes in the British Library manuscript Add. 15268, is just one of many Cilician miniatures showing the ruler – biblical or real – in a cross-legged posture (Figs. 209, 210b).

For the further analysis of the juridical image of Lewon IV, I would like to return to the historical context of its creation. In 1331, when Sargis Picak completed the manuscript V 107 by the order of King Lewon IV, the bequest made by King Ošin, Lewon's father, for the guardianship of Lewon came to its end, as it had been signed for a period of ten years (1321-1331), until the young king reached maturity (twenty years old)⁷⁴¹. This meant that from this moment on Lewon would reign the kingdom alone, without the support of his four *pallis* (Ošin of Corycus, Constable Kostandin of Corycus, Baron Het'um Nīrc'i, and Marshal Pałtin), who, as discussed above, were proclaimed as such by Lewon's late father, King Ošin. It seems to me that the creation of this illustrated copy of the *Assizes of Antioch* and the juridical image of King Lewon IV on its frontispiece was directly related to the fulfillment of the mentioned agreement and to the hereditary rights of the Armenian king.

For Lewon, it would not perhaps have been so important to protect his hereditary rights and to emphasize his being the only lawful ruler of the kingdom, if some of his *pallis* had not demonstrated certain royal ambitions during the previous years. As we saw earlier, soon after King Ošin's death, the *palli* Ošin married Lewon's stepmother, Joan of Anjou, who had been anointed Queen of Armenia when she married King Ošin in 1316. The assassination of King Ošin's sister and her eldest sons by the *palli* Ošin was another reason that warned the young king against his protector, who in a short time took over many fortresses and regions in Cilicia and made his brother Kostandin constable. Shortly before the end of the ten-year agreement, in 1329, King Lewon IV arrested the two Corycus brothers and killed both of them in Adana⁷⁴². Furthermore, to strengthen his authority at the royal palace and perhaps to please his imperial rivals, Lewon sent the

⁷⁴¹ *Het'um Nīrc'i*, 547; *Samuēl Anec'i*, 274. See also: Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, Volume II, 401.

⁷⁴² *Samuēl Anec'i*, 275-276; *Smbat sparapet*, 131; *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 20; *Chronicle of King Het'um II* [Continuator], 88.

head of *palli* Ošin to Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad of the Mamluks, and the head of Kostandin to Ilkhan Abu Said of the Mongols⁷⁴³. After having seen off the barons of Corycus, Lewon IV killed his wife, Alic of Corycus⁷⁴⁴, who, as said, was the daughter of the *palli* Ošin and had been anointed as queen together with Lewon during the latter's coronation ceremony in 1321.

As for two other *pallis* of King Lewon IV, the brothers Het'um Nīrc'i and Pałtin, they continued to hold high positions at the royal court (Het'um as chamberlain and Pałtin as marshal) and played an important role in the kingdom's diplomatic and political affairs during the second period of Lewon's reign. Thus, in 1329, Het'um Nīrc'i was sent to Messina, Sicily, in order to obtain the confirmation of his reign from Emperor Frederick III⁷⁴⁵, most probably taking into consideration that his guardianship agreement would expire soon. Soon after the assassination of the members of the Corycus family, in 1330, King Lewon sent Het'um Nīrc'i to Sicily for a second time, where the Armenian ambassador remained for one year and six months⁷⁴⁶. The aim of this second visit was to negotiate with King Frederick the marriage of Lewon IV to Constance, the eldest daughter of Frederick and former spouse of King Henry II of Cyprus. The Armenian diplomat was successful in his mission. From the detailed chronicle written by Het'um Nīrc'i himself, we learn that, in 1331, he offered a ring to the daughter of Frederick and arrived with her in Cilicia on October 3, 1331⁷⁴⁷. The wedding ceremony of King Lewon IV and Constance of Sicily (also known as Constance of Aragon) took place in Sis on November 3, 1331, during which 110 Cilician princes were also anointed as knights⁷⁴⁸.

It was during these crucial events that manuscript V 107, with the image of Lewon IV, was produced in 1331 by the king's own initiative. Among the extant images of Cilician kings, this miniature introduces a novelty in visual representation of kingship, by depicting the acting ruler as a judge, whose execution of justice is visualized as if

⁷⁴³ *Samuēl Anec'i*, 276; *Chronicle of King Het'um II* [Continuator], 88.

⁷⁴⁴ *Samuēl Anec'i*, 276; *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 20.

⁷⁴⁵ *Het'um Nīrc'i*, 552.

⁷⁴⁶ *Het'um Nīrc'i*, 552-553.

⁷⁴⁷ *Het'um Nīrc'i*, 549. See also: *Samuēl Anec'i*, 276; *Smbat sparapet*, 132; *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 20.

⁷⁴⁸ *Het'um Nīrc'i*, 549. Jean Dardel mentions Tarsus as the wedding place (*Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 20). However, to me the account of Het'um Nīrc'i seems more trustful given that the marriage of the Armenian king was prepared by Het'um himself and that, as the chamberlain of the kingdom, he was probably present at the wedding ceremony.

empowered by divine protection. Perhaps it is worth repeating here that a law book was one of the two ceremonial books used during the coronations of Cilician Armenian kings⁷⁴⁹. It could also have been used during the coronation of Lewon IV in 1321. Ten years later, when Lewon became the only lawful monarch of the state, he commissioned the codex V 107 with his own image on its frontispiece as an eloquent reminder of his new status but also of his highest position as the main executor of justice.

In 1265, when Smbat the Constable completed his translation of the *Assizes of Antioch*, he mentioned in the colophon that he translated “*the laws concerning kings, because kings are ordered by God and are in God’s place on earth.*”⁷⁵⁰ This colophon of Smbat was replicated by Sargis Picak when, in 1331, he copied the manuscript V 107 for Lewon IV – now the oldest extant example of the *Assizes of Antioch*. Besides establishing the rights of the king, it also served to regulate the relationships between the lords and officials of the royal court: “*...to show the customs and the obligations liege lords and serfs have towards each other,*”⁷⁵¹ as is written in the translator’s colophon and explicitly demonstrated in the miniature in question.

⁷⁴⁹ The other book used during the coronation ceremony was the Gospel Book (see Chapter 1.1.3).

⁷⁵⁰ For the original text in Armenian, see: *Colophons, 13th century*, 328; *General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Mekhitarist Library in Venice*, Volume VII, 755. Cf. Cowe, “Theology of Kingship,” 422, n. 36.

⁷⁵¹ Citation from: Kurdian, “Assizes of Antioch,” 134.

11.3. IMAGES OF LEWON IV ON HIS COINS

In the coinage of Lewon IV and of those kings who ruled after him, there is no innovation in design and in the representation of the king⁷⁵². As a rule, the workmanship of these coins is of low quality. The reason for this was the ongoing political and economical crisis affecting the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia. The reign of Lewon IV proceeded under the increasing menace of the Mamluks, who in the 1330s attacked several times the port city of Ayas (Laiazzo), the main source of the state's income, which succumbed definitively in 1337⁷⁵³. After the final fall of Ayas, the Armenian king was forced to sign a humiliating peace treaty and hand over many regions and fortresses to the Mamluks, so that the kingdom lost half of its territories and was limited to the east of the course of the Ceyhan River (Ĵahan in Armenian spelling)⁷⁵⁴. Besides, according to the treaty, the Armenians would no longer be able to maintain relationship with the West. Already in the preceding years, King Lewon IV had been obliged to pay a heavy tribute to the Mamluk Sultan – according to Jacopo da Verona, 200'000 florins and 200'000 horseshoes⁷⁵⁵ – which rapidly emptied the state's coffers. This is the reason of why a part of the silver *takvorin* coins minted under Lewon IV have come down to us with an Arabic overstrike, mentioning the name of the Mamluk Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad. These coins are usually overstruck with a six-pointed star⁷⁵⁶.

As for the original design of the *takvorins* of King Lewon IV, they represent the king on horseback, while the reverse shows a lion (Fig. 205). Both the iconography and the workmanship of Lewon's *takvorins* closely resemble those minted under his father (Fig. 204). The legends on these and other coins of Lewon IV are hardly legible and are

⁷⁵² On the coins minted under Lewon IV, see: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 94-95, 368-380; Nercessian, *Armenian Coins and Their Values*, 158-161.

⁷⁵³ One of the devastating Mamluk invasions on Ayas took place in 1335. In June of that year, Jacopo da Verona, who was visiting King Hugh IV in Famagusta, witnessed the arrival of many ships with 1'500 Armenian refugees from Ayas. See: *Liber Peregrinationis di Jacopo da Verona*, a cura di Ugo Monneret de Villard (Roma: La libreria dello stato, 1950), 17-18, also 59 (refers to "many thousands" of Armenians). On the fall of Ayas in 1337, see: *Het'um Nlirc'i*, 550; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, tome I, 206-207.

⁷⁵⁴ Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, tome I, 207.

⁷⁵⁵ *Liber Peregrinationis di Jacopo da Verona*, 80.

⁷⁵⁶ For a description of some coins of Lewon IV with an Arabic overstrike, see: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 380; Nercessian, *Armenian Coins and Their Values*, 159-160.

considerably abbreviated⁷⁵⁷. They usually repeat those legends written on the coins of previous kings: [obverse] ԼԵՒՈՆ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՅ – LEWON, KING OF THE ARMENIANS, and [reverse] ՇԻՆԵԱԼ Ի ՔԱՂԱՔՆ Ի ՄԻՍ – MADE IN THE CITY OF SIS. Similar inscriptions appear on very rare half *trams*⁷⁵⁸ and many copper *poghs* of Lewon IV, which represent the Armenian king seated on a bench-like throne (Fig. 206). Another type of the *pogh* coin depicts King Lewon IV again on a bench-like throne but seated cross-legged (Fig. 207). Here as well, the iconography repeats the copper coins of the previous kings (Figs. 53ab, 185, 202). As for the reverse of all copper dies, this depicts a cross, sometimes accompanied by simple decorative motifs.

⁷⁵⁷ Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 94.

⁷⁵⁸ Only one specimen of a half *tram* minted by Lewon IV is known (Collection of Paul Bedoukian). For an inventory of the half *trams* of Cilician Armenian kings, including the only example of Lewon IV, see: Bedoukian, “Half Trams of Oshin and Lewon IV of Cilician Armenia,” 165-169.

11.4. THE PORTRAYAL OF THE ARMENIAN KING(DOM) IN THE ILLUSTRATED COPIES OF THE *LIBER SECRETORUM FIDELIUM CRUCIS* BY MARINO SANUDO

After the fall of the Crusader states, the idea of a new crusade did not completely fade out in the Latin West. First for commercial purposes, then for evaluating the chances for a new crusade, the Venetian traveler Marino Sanudo made multiple trips over the Mediterranean Sea. These journeys inspired his major work, the *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis / Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, which he composed between the years 1306 and 1321⁷⁵⁹. In September 1321, Sanudo presented two copies of the first edition of his *Book of the Secrets* to Pope John XXII⁷⁶⁰. Sometime before this but certainly between 1312 and 1318, when Sanudo was preparing his work, he visited Armenian Cilicia⁷⁶¹. This small Christian kingdom, which was to play a certain role in Sanudo's crusading project, is represented in his *Book of the Secrets* as being surrounded by hostile forces, which are allegorically referred to as animals [Book 1]:

*“And it is proper to have respect with your most pious pity to the kingdom of your faithful Armenians because it lies in the jaws of four beasts. On one side below ground it has a lion, namely the Tartars to whom the King of Armenia pays a huge tribute. On another side it has a panther, namely the Sultan who daily ravages the Christians and the kingdom. On the third side there is the wolf, namely the Turks who destroy the lordship and the kingdom. On the fourth side it has a serpent, namely the corsairs of the Mediterranean who daily gnaw the bones of the Christians of Armenia.”*⁷⁶²

This figurative language has greatly influenced the illustrations of Sanudo's *Liber Secretorum*. In several codices, the Armenian king is depicted surrounded by the four beasts, mentioned by Sanudo: Lion symbolizing the Mongols, Panther – the Mamluks, Wolf – the Turks, and Snake – the corsairs of the Mediterranean (Figs. 222, 223, 224). This became a standard image for a generic representation of the unnamed Armenian

⁷⁵⁹ Marino Sanudo Torsello, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross: Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, translated by Peter Lock, *Crusade Texts in Translation* 21 (Farnham – Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 9.

⁷⁶⁰ Marino Sanudo Torsello, 13.

⁷⁶¹ Marino Sanudo Torsello, 9.

⁷⁶² Marino Sanudo Torsello, 65.

king, whose similar portrayals are found in the following manuscripts of the *Liber Secretorum*:

- Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 548, folios 13v-14r, fourteenth century (Fig. 222)⁷⁶³;
- Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 2972, folio 14r, fourteenth century (Fig. 223)⁷⁶⁴;
- London, British Library, Add. 27376, folio 13r, around 1330 (Fig. 224)⁷⁶⁵.

In all illustrated copies of the *Liber Secretorum* known to me, the Armenian king is represented as a young man, almost like a child. This might be a direct reference to the young King Lewon IV, who was already crowned when in 1321 Sanudo completed the first edition of his work. However, the image of the Armenian king can also be identified with Lewon's father, King Ošin, whom Sanudo could have met during his Cilician trip in the 1310s. At any event, the *Book of the Secrets* does not identify the Armenian king, and both the textual narrative and the accompanying images shall be seen as generic representations of the Armenian king(dom). The young king is depicted wearing a red royal mantle and a crown on his head and is usually portrayed kneeling and praying, with his figure facing the left. With such a posture, the miniaturists tried to remain faithful to the text of Sanudo, who represents the Armenians as pious Christians in need of support. Again, in line with Sanudo's crusading plans, the Western artists included images of ships which navigate toward the praying Armenian king as if to liberate him from the menace of the four beasts.

⁷⁶³ Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, tome II, Fig. 111.

⁷⁶⁴ To my knowledge, this miniature has never been published before.

⁷⁶⁵ Catherine Harding & Nancy Micklewright, "Mamluks and Venetians: An Intercultural Perspective on Fourteenth-Century Material Culture in the Mediterranean," *Revue d'art canadienne / Canadian Art Review* Volume 24, No. 2 – *Breaking the Boundaries: Intercultural Perspectives in Medieval Art* (1997): 51, Fig. 4.

11.5. THE ROYAL IMAGE OF YILANKALE

There is a relief with a royal image preserved in the present-day Yılankale, which is situated near the city of Ceyhan, on the east bank of the Ceyhan River (Figs. 215-221). This fortification is also known as Yılanlıkale or Yılan Kalesi and is the best-preserved monument in Cilicia from the period of the Armenian kingdom⁷⁶⁶. Yılankale, meaning “Snake Castle,” is the name given much later, probably in the nineteenth century, by the local Kurds⁷⁶⁷. In the Armenian tradition, the fortress is better known as Lewonkla or Lewonberd, both meaning “Castle of Lewon”⁷⁶⁸. After describing the coronation of King Lewon II (January 6, 1271), Smbat the Constable records that in the same year the king ordered the construction of a strong castle “at the foot of the Taurus Mountain, in front of the tomb of Andrew [Saint Andrew Stratelates]” (the third-century commander who was martyred in the Taurus mountains)⁷⁶⁹. Ališan considered this castle to be Lewonkla or Lewonberd⁷⁷⁰. The latter version is mentioned together with other Cilician castles in a

⁷⁶⁶ The main surveys on Yılankale are: J. Gottwald, “Burgen und Kirchen im mittleren Kilikien,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 41 (1941): 83-93, Figs. 1-5; G. R. Youngs, “Three Cilician Castles,” *Anatolian Studies* 15 (1965): 125-134; Hansgerd Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit in der Grafschaft Edessa und im Königreich Kleinarmenien*, Studien zur Historischen Siedlungsgeographie Südost-Kleinasiens, Geographica Historica 1 (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1976), 169-187, Figs. 37-40, 81-82, 90; Thomas S. R. Boase, “Gazetteer,” in *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, edited by Thomas S. R. Boase (Edinburgh – London: Scottish Academic Press, 1978), 185, Plates 47-48; Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, 269-276, Figs. 274a-286b, 302c; Mikaël Hovhannesian, *Châteaux et places-fortes de la Cilicie arménienne* (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1989), 249-258, 580-581 (in Armenian with French summaries); Samvel Grigoryan, “Named after Lewon the Young: The medieval name and the date of construction of Yılankale,” *REArm* 37 (2016-2017): 215-216 (in press). See also: Jean-Claude Voisin, *Les citadelles du royaume arménien de Cilicie XII^e-XIV^e siècle* (Beyrouth: Editions Terre du Liban, 2002).

⁷⁶⁷ There are various legends as to why the fortress was later called “Yılanlıkale – Snake Castle.” One of them claims that the castle hosted many snakes, and because of this no one wanted to climb up there. The second story tells of a dragon which lived in the fortress and wanted to kidnap the king’s daughter. However, the local people managed to capture the dragon and kill it in Tarsus. There is yet another legend, more popular among the local Turks, which refers to the castle as “Shah Meran” or “Sahmeran”. According to this legend, the founder of the castle was a certain Sheikh Imran, an admirer of snakes, who kept and fed them in the castle. For the legends concerning the name “Yılanlıkale,” see: Langlois, *Voyage dans la Cilicie et dans les montagnes du Taurus*, 468-469; Ališan, *Sisuan*, 251; Hovhannesian, *Châteaux et places-fortes de la Cilicie arménienne*, 249-250.

⁷⁶⁸ The Armenian name of this fortification was still in use in the early twentieth century. Aršakuhi T’ēodik records that, when she passed by this fortress, a local Armenian named Poghos referred to it as “the castle of Lewon, which has now become Eōlan [Yılan]”. See: Aršakuhi T’ēodik, *A Month in Cilicia*, 138.

⁷⁶⁹ *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, 125.

⁷⁷⁰ Ališan, *Sisuan*, 151. See also: Hakobyan et al., *Dictionary of Toponymy of Armenia*, Volume 2, 582.

manuscript colophon dating from the fifteenth century⁷⁷¹. Although Ališan does not relate Lewonkla / Lewonberd to the modern-day Yılkale⁷⁷², these were later considered in some studies to be the same stronghold. The lack of inscriptions complicates the identification of the site. As the medieval name remained contested for long time, it was also difficult to distinguish the castle in the textual sources. Hellenkemper's suggestion that Yılkale is the Castle of Govara (Kovara in Armenian)⁷⁷³ has not been confirmed by other scholars⁷⁷⁴. The earlier suggestions considering Yılkale to be the medieval T'il Hamtun⁷⁷⁵ (Fig. 42) or Telbas (T'lsap or T'lsap)⁷⁷⁶ have not been accepted either.

The recent study by Samvel Grigoryan shows that, in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, there were at least two fortresses called Lewonkla ("Castle of Lewon"), one of which is the above-mentioned Lewonkla built by Lewon II (1269/71-1289). Grigoryan identifies it with modern Maran Kalesi, situated near the town of Feke, 120 km away from Yılkale⁷⁷⁷. As for the second Lewonkla, he identifies it with Yılkale, the construction of which is attributed to the reign of King Lewon IV. The author substantiates his view on the basis of a manuscript colophon and combines that source with the evidence found in the Continuation of the Chronicle of Samuēl Anec'i, which mentions a certain "village of Young Lewon." It was here when in 1329 Constable Kostandin was imprisoned by King Lewon IV before being killed in Adana together with his brother, the *palli* Ošin of Corycus (see above, Chapter 11.2)⁷⁷⁸. As for the localization of the mentioned village belonging to "Young Lewon," Grigoryan makes use of the colophon of an Armenian manuscript dating from 1361, which, among other castles of Cilicia Pedias (the Cilician Plain) (Fig. 218), mentions the unusual toponym of "Tla

⁷⁷¹ *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 15th Century, Part 2 (1451-1480) [Hayeren jeragreri hišatakaranner, ŽE. dar, Mas B. (1451-1480)]*, compiled by Levon Xaç'ikyan (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1958), 273.

⁷⁷² Ališan mentions these castles separately without connecting them to each other. See: Ališan, *Sisuan*, 151 (about Lewonkla-Lewonberd), 251 (about the "Snake Castle").

⁷⁷³ Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit*, 169.

⁷⁷⁴ Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, 271, n. 7 (Edwards identifies Kovara with modern Gökvelioğlu); Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, tome II, 210, Fig. 67; Grigoryan, "Named after Lewon the Young," 216 (in press).

⁷⁷⁵ Langlois, *Voyage dans la Cilicie et dans les montagnes du Taurus*, 468.

⁷⁷⁶ Gottwald, "Burgen und Kirchen im mittleren Kilikien," 89-91.

⁷⁷⁷ Grigoryan, "Named after Lewon the Young," 217, 225-226 (in press).

⁷⁷⁸ Grigoryan, "Named after Lewon the Young," 221 (in press).

Lewonin” (that is, Young Lewon) – which could indeed be a reference to the young King Lewon IV⁷⁷⁹.

Yılankale can truly be considered a royal construction not only because of its immense size and well-defended walls and towers, but also because of the existence of the royal image, which is carved above the main gateway of the fortification (Figs. 217, 219) (between “W” and “E” in Youngs’ ground plan). According to the detailed description of Robert Edwards, this gate is in the upper ward, where the residence of the owner was situated – the largest and the best defended part of the castle⁷⁸⁰. Also the chapel (Fig. 216) and the majority of the castle’s cisterns are situated in this part⁷⁸¹. A comparative iconographic analysis of the Yılankale image along with those of Lewon IV allow to identify the former with this king, which is also in accord with the above-mentioned hypothesis of Grigoryan, suggesting that Yılankale was built by Lewon IV and is probably the second castle named Lewonkla. On the basis of extant information and of a comparative analysis, I will discuss below what is known and what can be assumed about the entrance relief of the royal Castle of Yılankale.

The baldachin-like portal of the main gateway encloses two rows of large blocks (Fig. 220). On the central block of the lower row an exalted cross – now deliberately scrapped off – is just about visible (Fig. 220c). The royal image is engraved right above the cross-bearing block, occupying the central segment of the upper row (Fig. 221). It is flanked by the images of two lions, each of which occupy a single block. The image of the right lion is hardly discernible: only its tail and general outline can now be seen.

Various opinions have been expressed on the image of the Yılankale king, who is depicted in a cross-legged position. The most widespread view is that it represents the first king of Armenian Cilicia, Lewon I, to whom the construction of the fortress has also most often been ascribed⁷⁸². Edwards has dated the fortification to the late thirteenth or

⁷⁷⁹ Grigoryan, “Named after Lewon the Young,” 219-223 (in press).

⁷⁸⁰ Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, 271.

⁷⁸¹ Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, 271. See also: Robert W. Edwards, “Ecclesiastical Architecture in the Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia,” *DOP* 36 (1982): 170-171.

⁷⁸² Youngs, “Three Cilician Castles,” 130; Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit*, 178, 184-185; Boase, “Gazetteer,” Plate 47; Mutafian, *Le royaume arménien de Cilicie*, 52, Fig. 1; Claude Mutafian, “Königreich Kilikien. Zuflucht und Neubeginn,” in *Armenien. Wiederentdeckung einer alten Kulturlandschaft*, January 14 – April 17, 1995, Museum Bochum und das Institut für Armenische Studien, Bochum (Tübingen: Wasmuth Verlag, 1995), 179. However, in his more recent studies, Mutafian does no longer insist on this identification. See: Mutafian, *L’Arménie du Levant*, tome II, 288, Fig. 204.

early fourteenth century, suggesting that it might have been constructed by a king who ruled during this period⁷⁸³. Indeed, the iconography of this royal image does not support its identification with Lewon I (1198-1219) and points at a later date. As discussed above, the cross-legged images of Cilician Armenian kings are first evidenced from the time of Het'um I. This posture appears on the coins of Het'um I, Het'um II, Lewon III, Ošin, and Lewon IV (Figs. 53ab, 185, 202, 207). All numismatic images of Lewon I, as well as his portrayal on his gold bullae, depict him in a manner that is clearly to be associated with contemporaneous imagery of Western and Frankish rulers (Figs. 23-26, 32-38, see also Chapters 1.2-1.3), none of which favor a cross-legged position.

The royal insignia held by the king of Yılkale in his left and right hands are most likely a sword and a *fleur-de-lis* (or, a scepter topped with *fleur-de-lis*), respectively. In the extant visual sources, a sword can be seen in the images of King Kostandin (Figs. 194-196), who was on the Armenian throne for less than a year (1298-1299). On the numismatic images of other kings, especially on copper coins, one can observe a sword-like object in the rulers' hands, which, however, is usually not clear enough and can be interpreted as a scepter as well (Figs. 185, 202).

The sword, which was one of the royal insignia bestowed upon Cilician kings during their coronation ceremonies, is depicted in contemporaneous miniatures of the biblical king Solomon, such as in the Bible M 2627 illustrated by Sargis Picak in the 1330s (Fig. 211). Furthermore, the throne on which Solomon is seated closely resembles the above-discussed juridical image of King Lewon IV (Fig. 208) and the relief portrait of Yılkale (Fig. 221). I disagree with Hellenkemper and Edwards who describe the Yılkale relief as having a frame, with four stylized *fleur-de-lis* below it⁷⁸⁴. What they call frame is in fact a bench-like throne, with four legs. Similar seats are attested in many Cilician miniatures, but also on the copper coins minted under Lewon IV (Figs. 206, 207). It seems that by the fourteenth century, this kind of low seats, which resemble a bench and usually have two elongated sides, came to replace the Western-type *sella curulis*, of which there are many specimens preserved in thirteenth-century Cilician imagery.

⁷⁸³ Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, 273. See also: Robert W. Edwards, "On the Supposed Date of Yılan Kalesi," *JSAS* 1 (1984): 23-33.

⁷⁸⁴ Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit*, 178; Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, 273.

If Yılanlıkale is indeed to be identified with medieval Lewonkla or Lewonberd, as discussed above, then the royal image found there should refer to a king with the name Lewon⁷⁸⁵. Lewon V Lusignan (1374-1375), the last king of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, is to be excluded from the list of candidates, since under his reign the fortress and the surrounding regions were no longer under the control of the Armenians. Besides, the financial means available at his time would not have been sufficient to fulfill such an ambitious architectural project as Yılankale. As for Lewon I (1198-1219) and Lewon II (1269/71-1289), the comparison of their imagery with the iconography of the Yılankale relief does not support a possible identification with these kings either. In addition, Lewon II had already built a castle upon his inauguration, which, as said, is recorded in Smbat the Constable's Chronicle. The candidature of Lewon III, who like Lewon IV was nicknamed "young king", is also less possible, since his reign lasted too short (1301/6-1307). Besides, during the reign of Lewon III the kingdom was de facto ruled by his uncle, the former king Het'um II the Franciscan (see Chapter 9), who would probably have been less keen to initiate such an enormous undertaking under the name of his youthful nephew. King Lewon IV, who reigned for twenty years (1321-1341), seems to boast more arguments in his favor, among them the above-discussed iconographic similarities between his images, contemporaneous portrayals of biblical kings, and the relief portrait of Yılankale. The unhidden ambitions of this young king to demonstrate his legitimacy and power inside and outside the Armenian kingdom (see above, Chapter 11.2) could indeed motivate the construction of a new stronghold in the Cilician Plain.

Conclusion: The extant artistic representations of King Lewon IV stand out for a number of innovations, among them a strong emphasize on secular imagery. This is particularly evident in the ruler's image of Yılankale and in the illustrated copy of the *Assizes of Antioch* created in 1331 (MS V 107), in which Lewon IV is represented as a ruler who executes justice over his lords. While most of the portrayals of Cilician Armenian rulers are to be related to the religious dimension of kingship, this single

⁷⁸⁵ On this, see also observations of Samvel Grigoryan, "Named after Lewon the Young," 215-216 (in press).

example of secular codex containing the lifetime representation of an acting king greatly reveals the representational tendencies of Cilician kingship from a different – secular, juridical – point of view. Created in precarious political circumstances, when the young king had to affirm his legitimacy and secure a certain stability within the king’s institution, this image of Lewon IV made use of both legal-juridical and sacred-biblical models to visualize the idea of righteous rulership.

Despite these idealizing efforts, the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia considerably declined under Lewon IV. In Marino Sanudo’s *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, the Armenian king, who is represented in both textual and artistic narrative as embodying the declining Cilician kingdom, is depicted as a pious Christian ruler in urgent need of support. Such a representation was motivated by Sanudo’s crusading project which never came to fruition but kept the illusion of a new Crusade alive for some more years.

King Lewon died in 1341, leaving no children⁷⁸⁶. One source however records that Lewon had a son, called Het’um, who was “too young” at the time of his father’s death⁷⁸⁷.

⁷⁸⁶ *Het’um Nirc’i*, 551; *Chronique d’Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 21; Ališan, *Sisuan*, 559 (mentions August 28, 1342). See also: Mutafian, *L’Arménie du Levant*, tome I, 210.

⁷⁸⁷ *General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Mekhitarist Library in Venice*, Volume VI, 225 (also precises the date of Lewon’s death: August 28, 1341).

CHAPTER 12. IMAGES OF KING GUY LUSIGNAN

After the death of Lewon IV (1321-1341), the Armenian throne was occupied by Guy Lusignan, a cousin of Lewon IV. Guy was the son of Amaury Lusignan (regent of Cyprus between 1306-1310) and Lady Zapēl. The latter was the daughter of King Lewon II (1269/71-1289) and a sister of King Ošin (1308-1320), whom the *palli* Ošin of Corycus had killed in 1321 together with her two eldest sons, Hugh and Henry (see also Chapter 11.1)⁷⁸⁸. At that time, Guy Lusignan, the third son of Zapēl, had been in Constantinople at the invitation of Empress Rita-Maria of Armenia, his maternal aunt, and was able to escape from the menace of the *palli* Ošin⁷⁸⁹. According to Jean Dardel, before King Lewon IV died, he had proclaimed the eldest son of his aunt Zapēl as successor to the royal throne⁷⁹⁰, and Guy was the eldest among her living sons. Before Guy Lusignan would arrive in Cilicia to take up his royal responsibilities, his younger brother, Jean (also known as Čuan, Ĵehan, Yovhannēs, or John) Lusignan, was proclaimed *palli* of the Armenian kingdom⁷⁹¹ and held this position until the coronation of Guy Lusignan in 1342. The “solemn coronation ceremony” – as described by Dardel – took place in Sis in the month of October 1342⁷⁹².

King Guy Lusignan is sometimes called King Kostandin, because, according to some Armenian authors, during his coronation he was renamed “Kostandin” by the Armenians. However, most of the textual sources, as well as the numismatic evidence, which is certainly more reliable in this matter, name this king as Guy (Guidon) or Ki (Kit) in Armenian spelling⁷⁹³. Despite this, the double designation of this king caused

⁷⁸⁸ *Samuēl Anec'i*, 274; *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 19.

⁷⁸⁹ Upon moving to Constantinople in 1318, Guy Lusignan was appointed governor of Thrace and Macedonia. He actively took part in the conflict for the Byzantine throne in 1341 but gave up after the victory of John Kantakouzenos. After this episode, Guy moved to the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, of which he had earlier been proclaimed regent. See: Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, Volume II, 410-413; Donald M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus), ca. 1100-1460: A Genealogical and Prosopographical Study*, DOS XI (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1968), 49-52.

⁷⁹⁰ *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 21.

⁷⁹¹ *Het'um Nīrc'i*, 551; *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 21; *Samuēl Anec'i*, 278; *Nerses Palienc', List of the Armenian Kings and Princes*, 205; *Chronicle of King Het'um II* [Continuator], 89.

⁷⁹² *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 22.

⁷⁹³ For the sources mentioning the two different names of King Guy Lusignan and further discussions on this subject, see: Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, tome I, 214-215.

some confusions in scholarship, notably resulting in different numbering of the kings with the name Kostandin.

The small quantity of the coins issued under Guy Lusignan is due to his short reign, which lasted only two years (1342-1344). The types of coins of Guy Lusignan are silver *takvorins* and copper *poghs*, whose workmanship, iconography, and legends closely follow those minted by the previous kings, differing only in the king's name – ԿԻ (KI = Guy)⁷⁹⁴. On the obverse of the *takvorin* coins, which were minted in Sis, the king is represented on horseback, holding a *fleur-de-lis* (or a scepter topped with *fleur-de-lis*) in his right hand, while the reverse shows a lion (Fig. 225)⁷⁹⁵. On the copper *poghs*, the details of the king's image and legends are less visible: on the obverse, he is portrayed seated on a bench-like throne, holding a cross and a *fleur-de-lis* in his both hands, while the reverse depicts a single cross (Fig. 226)⁷⁹⁶.

The scarcity of the Armenian images of King Guy Lusignan is in strong contrast to his many portrayals in Western European miniature painting. In his recent book *L'Arménie du Levant*, Claude Mutfian published an image of Guy Lusignan, found in an illustrated copy of the *Roman de Mélusine*, on folio 39v of MS fr. 12575 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Fig. 229)⁷⁹⁷. This medieval tale is about the legendary origins of the French family of the Lusignans, descendants of Mélusine, a fairy from Poitou, who established the House of the Lusignans (Fig. 233)⁷⁹⁸. In the *Romance of Mélusine*, Guy (mentioned as Guyon or Guion) is represented as the third son of the

⁷⁹⁴ For the coins of Guy Lusignan, see: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 95, 380-382; Nercessian, *Armenian Coins and Their Values*, 162.

⁷⁹⁵ A good photograph of silver *takvorin* of Guy Lusignan, corresponding to our Fig. 225, is reproduced in Nira and Michael Stone, *The Armenians: Art, Culture and Religion* (Dublin: Chester Beatty Library, 2007), 29. Compare with the silver *takvorins* of Lewon III, Ošin, Lewon IV, and Kostandin I (Figs. 201, 204, 205, 227).

⁷⁹⁶ Compare with the copper coins of Lewon III, Lewon IV, and Kostandin I (Figs. 202, 206, 207, 228).

⁷⁹⁷ Mutfian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, tome I, 212-213, & tome II, Fig. 114. For the Armenian Lusignans in the *Roman de Mélusine*, see: Gohar Karaguesian, "Les Lusignan arméniens dans le roman chevaleresque français du XIV^e siècle," in *Actes du colloque « Les Lusignans et l'Outre mer », Poitiers-Lusignan 20-24 octobre 1993*, edited by Claude Mutfian (Poitiers: Sipap, 1993), 163-167; Kohar Karagozian, "Arménie et Arméniens dans la littérature médiévale française (XI^e-XIV^e siècle)," in *Arménie entre Orient et Occident*, edited by Raymond H. Kévorkian (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1996), 81.

⁷⁹⁸ *A Critical Edition of Couldrette's Mélusine or Le Roman de Parthenay*, edited, with Foreword and Introduction by Matthew W. Morris, *Medieval Studies* 19 (Lewiston – Queenston – Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2003), 1.

supernatural Mélusine and her husband Raymond (Raymondin), the son of the Count of Forez. Altogether, Mélusine and Raymond had ten sons, many of whom became the lords of different regions, and Guy that of Armenia. The illustrated folio of MS fr. 12575 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, which is the oldest and most richly illustrated manuscript of this medieval legend (created in 1430), displays the scene when Guy Lusignan arrives in the port city of Corycus in order to become the king of Armenia. Here is the corresponding text from the *Romance of Mélusine*, composed by Couldrette⁷⁹⁹:

COMMENT GUION DE LUZIGNEN FU ROI D'ARMENIE

*Et de deul pluseurs en moururent,
Pour ce que moult bien gouverna
Son pay's tant comme il regna.
Une fille avoit moult belle,
Plus belle n'en estoit plus d'elle.
Aultre hoir n'estoit de luy venu.
En Armenye fut conseil tenu
Que devers Cypre envoyroient,
Et au roy requerre feroient
Que son noble frere Guyon
Envoyast en leur region,
Et it aura la demoyselle
A femme, Florie la belle...*

The romance tells us that upon his arrival in Corycus, Guy Lusignan married the beautiful Florie, the daughter of the late Armenian king, and became the new king of Armenia. In the upper right part of the mentioned miniature, Florie is depicted waiting for

⁷⁹⁹ The text is given according to manuscript BnF fr. 18623, published by Matthew Worriss, which corresponds well to the text of the illuminated manuscript BnF fr. 12575. See: *A Critical Edition of Couldrette's Mélusine*, 145-146 (1816-1827), and 54, n. 102 (about the correspondence of the texts of the BnF fr. 18623 and 12575).

Guy in the Castle of Corycus⁸⁰⁰, on which “armenie” is written. Two clergymen, depicted in the foreground, welcome the son of the Lusignan family and offer him a golden crown.

Other images of King Guy Lusignan, both dating from fifteenth century, are found on folio 74r of MS 3353 of the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal in Paris (Fig. 230) and on folio 113v of Cotton MS Otho D II of the British Library, London (Fig. 230a). To my knowledge, none of these two images has been published before. Both manuscripts represent the prose version of the *Roman de Mélusine* composed by Jean d’Arras, also known as *La noble histoire de Lusignan*. In the Paris codex, the king-to-be is portrayed accompanied by many soldiers, arriving in the Armenian kingdom in two ships. The Castle of Corycus is again depicted, but instead of Florie, two men are seen here welcoming Guy Lusignan from the castle window. Like the miniature of MS BnF fr. 12575, the one in the manuscript of the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal also depicts the joy of the local people, who receive Guy Lusignan honorably:

En ceste partie dit l’ystoire que ceulx du Cruq [Courc=Corycus] furent moult joyant quant ilz virent approuchier le navire, car ja sceurent les nouvelles que leur seigneur venoit, car les barons qui estoient aléz en Chippre porter les lettres, dont je vous ay fait mencion, leur avoient mandé pour faire l’ordonnance pour le recueillir honnourablement. Et y estoient tous les haulx barons du pays venuz et les dames et damoiselles pour le honorer (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 3353, folio 74r)⁸⁰¹.

Although the mentioned miniatures depicting King Guy Lusignan are based on the imaginative legend of Mélusine, these illustrations are nevertheless important examples in the series of images of Cilician Armenian kings, in that they embody an allegorical representation of kingship – as promoted by the Lusignans of France. Having no historical basis, this medieval narrative and its illustrations were created to propagate the

⁸⁰⁰ A present-day photograph of the Castle of Corycus is reproduced in Fig. 231.

⁸⁰¹ *Jean d’Arras, Mélusine ou La Noble Hisoire de Lusignan*, Roman du XIVE siècle, nouvelle édition critique d’après le manuscrit de la bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, avec les variantes de tous les manuscrits, traduction, présentation et notes par Jean-Jacques Vincensini (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 2003), 430.

legendary origins of the Lusignan family, becoming a sort of “proof of kingship” for many European aristocratic families⁸⁰².

According to Jean Dardel, King Guy Lusignan was killed in Adana together with his brother Bohemond, Lord of Corycus, on November 17, 1344 by Armenian barons⁸⁰³.

⁸⁰² See the Introduction of Matthew Worriss to *A Critical Edition of Couldrette's Mélusine*, 1-4.

⁸⁰³ *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 30. The most widespread view of why King Guy Lusignan was assassinated by the Armenian barons is based on his Latinophile policy, which, however, is not in accordance with all available textual sources. For the possible reasons for the assassination of the Cilician king in 1344, see: Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, Volume II, 420-424.

CHAPTER 13. IMAGES OF KING KOSTANDIN I AND QUEEN MARIUN

13.1. THE REIGN OF KOSTANDIN I AND HIS IMAGES

After the assassination of King Guy Lusignan, in 1344, Baron Kostandin, the son of *marajaxt* Paltin⁸⁰⁴, was elected as the new king of the Armenian kingdom⁸⁰⁵. There are no particular records of the coronation ceremony of this king. However, in the colophon of the manuscript M 6795 dating from 1353, he is referred to as “*the holy King Kostandin, who was anointed by the Right Hand [of Gregory the Illuminator].*”⁸⁰⁶ Being anointed by the Right Hand of Gregory Illuminator would surely foster the otherwise questionable legitimacy of the new king – as it did, for example, during the inauguration of King Smbat in 1297, which too was performed in tense political circumstances (see Chapter 7).

Though Kostandin might have had some distant blood relations with the royal family members or may have been connected to them through earlier intermarriages⁸⁰⁷, his ascension to the Armenian throne through an election was unprecedented in the history of the Cilician kingdom. Two nephews of King Guy Lusignan, Bohemond and Lewon (the sons of the former *palli* Jean Lusignan), were alive and understandably had more rights over the royal throne than any other nobleman, since their grandmother, Princess Zapēl, was the daughter of King Lewon II Ārubenid-Het’umid (1269/71-1289). It appears that this delicate matter did not escape the attention of the newly elected king. Shortly after coming to the throne, Kostandin tried to assassinate the Lusignan brothers

⁸⁰⁴ As discussed in Chapters 11.1-2, *Marajaxt* Paltin (or Marshal Baldwin) was one of the four *pallis* of King Lewon IV (1321-1341), who died in prison in 1336 in Aleppo while on a failed diplomatic mission. See also: Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, Volume II, 425-426; Mutafian, *L’Arménie du Levant*, tome I, 206.

⁸⁰⁵ *Chronique d’Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 31. Apart from Jean Dardel, who assesses the reign of Kostandin I quite negatively, often juxtaposing him to the “brave and courageous” Lusignan kings, the other sources do not provide any more information on how Kostandin ascended to the throne, merely hastily stating that he succeeded King Guy (Kostandin) Lusignan. See: *Samuēl Anec’i*, 279; “Chronicle of Marajaxt Vasil,” in Artašes Mat’evosyan, “*Het’um Axtuc’ tiroj yev Vasil marajaxti žamanakagrut’yunnerə* [The Chronicles of Het’um (Nlirc’i), Lord of Axtuc’, and of Marajaxt Vasil],” *PBH* 4 (1963): 198.

⁸⁰⁶ *Colophons, 14th century*, 404.

⁸⁰⁷ On this, see: Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, Volume II, 428-434.

and their mother, Lady Sult'an, who left the Armenian kingdom and fled to Cyprus, sheltering in the "Fortress of Simeon."⁸⁰⁸

Kostandin's rule lasted eighteen years. During this relatively long period of reign, only two types of coins are known to be issued by this king: silver *takvorins* and copper *poghs* (ignoring, for the moment, that newer systematic studies may reveal more information). The workmanship of these mints is quite poor, and the design repeats the iconography of the coins minted under the previous kings⁸⁰⁹. The obverse of the silver coins represents the horseman King Kostandin, while the reverse is adorned with the image of a lion walking to the right (Fig. 227)⁸¹⁰. On the copper coins, the king is displayed seated on a bench-like throne and holding royal insignia (Fig. 228)⁸¹¹.

Perhaps the only innovation in the coinage of Kostandin I was that, besides the capital of Sis, a certain quantity of these coins was also minted in Tarsus⁸¹². The coins bearing the inscription mentioning Tarsus must have been issued before 1360, since, in May of that year, Adana and Tarsus were captured by the Mamluks⁸¹³. Soon after the loss of these cities, the inhabitants of the port city of Corycus handed it over to King Peter I of Cyprus, in hope to escape the increasing Mamluk menace. Sometime earlier, in 1347, King Kostandin had tried to re-take Ayas, another port city which had already succumbed to the Mamluk siege in 1337 and whose return could ameliorate the economical situation of the kingdom, back from the Mamluks. However, his success was short lived and in the end his efforts in vain⁸¹⁴. Under Kostandin I, with the loss of these important Cilician cities, the geographical and political isolation of the Armenian kingdom deepened further.

No other visual representations of King Kostandin I are known. From a colophon, whose original manuscript is lost (but which was created in 1290 in the Monastery of Armēn), we learn that King Kostandin was the second owner of that manuscript, which

⁸⁰⁸ *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 32-34.

⁸⁰⁹ For the coins of King Kostandin I, see (mentioned as Gosdantin III): Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 95-97, 382-395; Nercessian, *Armenian Coins and Their Values*, 163-165; Yeghia T. Nercessian, "Two Silver Coins of Gosdantin III of Cilician Armenia," *American Journal of Numismatics* 7-8 (1995-1996): 155-160.

⁸¹⁰ Compare with the silver *takvorins* of Lewon III, Ošin, Lewon IV, and Guy Lusignan (Figs. 201, 204, 205, 225).

⁸¹¹ Compare with the copper coins of Lewon III, Lewon IV, and Guy Lusignan (Figs. 202, 206, 207, 226).

⁸¹² Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 96.

⁸¹³ *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 31; *Colophons, 14th century*, 451; Norair Pogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, Volume V (Jerusalem: Armenian Convent Printing Press, 1971), 415.

⁸¹⁴ Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, Volume II, 436.

he ordered to be richly illuminated before offering it to a church: “*In the Armenian Era 794 [1345], I, Kostandin, King of the Armenians, acquired this holy Gospel, which was covered with magnificent images of silver and gold. I acquired this (book) with means honestly earned by me; it came down to us from our ancestors as a sign of goodness. And I gave this Holy Gospel to cover with beautiful imagery, after which I offered it to the Holy Church according to my heart’s desires and with the great hope that it will always (preserve) the memory of me and of all my kinsmen – my father, tēr Maraĵaxt [marshal] Paltin, deceased in Christ, and my God-given sons, Awšin (Ošin) and Lewon.*”⁸¹⁵

During the reign of King Kostandin, the members of the royal family and court were still able to commission richly decorated manuscripts, most of which were created in Sis, at the atelier of Sargis Picak, the last prominent miniaturist of the Cilician kingdom⁸¹⁶. Sargis Picak is one of the most prolific medieval Armenian artists of whom a great number of signed works have come down to us, indicating that, despite the economic situation of the fourteenth century, the patronage and production of illuminated manuscripts did not stop. Sargis Picak, who is the author of the miniature portrait of King Lewon IV (Fig. 208) (see Chapter 11.2), also portrayed Queen Mariun, the spouse of King Kostandin I, whose images are analyzed next.

King Kostandin I died in 1362 or 1363⁸¹⁷.

⁸¹⁵ For the original colophon text of this now-lost Gospel manuscript, see: *Colophons, 14th century*, 343; Pogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, Volume XI, 17.

⁸¹⁶ On the art of Sargis Picak, see: Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 126-153 (Chapter 5); Vigen Ghazaryan, *Sargis Picak* (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1980); Aram Eremyan, “*Manrankarič’ Sargis Picak* [Miniaturist Sargis Picak],” *ĖM* 9 (1953): 45-50 (part I); *ĖM* 10 (1953): 30-35 (part II); *ĖM* 11-12 (1953): 30-40 (part III).

⁸¹⁷ Rüd̄t-Collenberg mentions 1362 as the year when King Kostandin died (Rüd̄t-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, III (H2)), which was then accepted by other scholars (Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, Volume II, 436). However, in a manuscript created in August 1363 in Crimea, Kostandin is still mentioned as king (*Colophons, 14th century*, 461; Mutafian, *L’Arménie du Levant*, tome I, 217).

13.2. IMAGES OF QUEEN MARIUN

A 14th-century chronicle records that, after the death of King Kostandin I (1344-1362/63), his spouse, Queen Mariun (or Marion), occupied the Armenian throne for one year (1363-1364)⁸¹⁸. We learn from the same source that Mariun also succeeded King Kostandin II (1365-1373) and governed the kingdom for a second time during the years 1373-1374, until the reign of Lewon V Lusignan, the last king of Cilician Armenia⁸¹⁹. Mariun was born from the marriage of Lord Ošin of Corycus and Joan of Anjou, the widow of King Ošin (1308-1320) and former queen of the Armenian kingdom (1316-1320) (see also Chapter 11.1)⁸²⁰.

The Gospel manuscript No. 1973 of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem contains an inscribed image of Queen Mariun, inserted into the scene *Deposition of Christ* (Fig. 236). The manuscript was produced in 1346 at the *Surb Nšan* (Holy Cross) Monastery of Sis⁸²¹. It was initiated by the scribe Nersēs, who writes in the principal colophon that he “copied [this holy Gospel] from an authentic example of the Translators⁸²² and offered it as a gift to the meek and merciful queen of the Armenians, Mariawn [reads as Marion].”⁸²³ The illustrations of this codex were done by Sargis Picak, whose signature appears in two miniatures of MS J 1973, inserted below the scenes of the *Crucifixion* and *Deposition of Christ*: “*Unpu kú žhúkwj dēnwuř* (fol. 77v) *Uwprqhu úrwuun puhwúwujh* (fol. 258v)” – “These are made by (fol. 77v) Sargis, the humble priest (fol. 258v)” (Figs. 235-236). Although these two miniatures now occupy folios 77v and 258v, the initial order of these and other full-page miniatures of the Gospel Book J 1973 was different. In 1392, the second owner of the manuscript, a certain clerk Lewon, changed the order of the illuminated pages, which were all initially assembled “in the first

⁸¹⁸ “Chronicle of Marajaxt Vasil,” 198.

⁸¹⁹ “Chronicle of Marajaxt Vasil,” 198. See also: *Chronique d’Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 41-42.

⁸²⁰ Pogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, Volume VI, 555; *Samuēl Anec’i*, 274; *Chronique d’Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 19.

⁸²¹ For the description of this manuscript and the text of its colophon, see: Pogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, Volume VI, 553-557.

⁸²² The colophon of this “authentic example of the Translators” (meaning, the Armenian translators of the Bible) is replicated on folio 269v of MS J 1973. See: Pogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, Volume VI, 555.

⁸²³ For the original text in Armenian, see: Pogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, Volume VI, 555.

quire,” that is, at the beginning of the volume⁸²⁴. This also impacted the original placement of the folio with the queen’s inscribed image, which now appears at the end of the volume.

In the scene of the *Deposition of Christ*, Queen Mariun is portrayed kneeling at the feet of Christ and has her hands and gaze directed toward Him (Fig. 236). The Armenian queen can easily be identified through the inscription, written in golden letters above her figure, on the black and red background: “Մարիուն թագուհի հայոց է” – “[This] is Mariun, Queen of the Armenians.” She is dressed in a fine royal robe made of a red textile embroidered with golden patterns – similar to those found on the attire of King Lewon IV depicted in the manuscript of the *Assizes of Antioch* (Fig. 208), as well as in other contemporary miniatures (Figs. 209, 210abc, 211, 238, 240). Not only Mariun’s robe but also her crown closely resemble those of King Lewon IV. Both crowns are made of gold and surrounded by white, pearl-like stones, although the queen’s crown is a little more decorated, having additional three blue gemstones in each peak and two red gemstones between them. Such a prominence accorded to the queen’s crown in the miniature showing Christ’s final moment on earth may hint at the crown of glory of the righteous – as the royal crown is characterized in the Armenian version of coronation ordo⁸²⁵ – rather than the real material crown.

Below the crown and around her head and neck, Mariun wears a white kerchief, similar to the kerchief of Queen Keran depicted in the *Gospels of Queen Keran* of 1272 (Fig. 131) and many contemporaneous portrayals of women in the Eastern Mediterranean. Above her red robe, she wears a blue mantle, decorated with white foliated motifs. Like in the mentioned image of King Lewon IV, here too, the ruler wears a pink tunic under her royal robe, which is visible at the wrists. The image of the Armenian queen is depicted in the foreground and, to some extent, appears to be dominant over the other figures due to her particularly elaborate look. Opposite Mariun, the Virgin Mary is depicted, softly holding Christ’s right hand, whereas Joseph of Arimathea, standing on a ladder, is depicted taking the nail out of the hand of Christ and

⁸²⁴ We learn about this from the detailed colophon written by Lewon himself. See: Pogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, Volume VI, 556. See also: Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 145.

⁸²⁵ See: Siwrmēan, *Catalog*, 28; Ališan, *Sisuan*, 474; Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique*, 332.

lifting His body down from the cross. The iconography and the choice of colors of this miniature represent harmonious continuation with the previous scene of the Crucifixion (Fig. 235), which was initially preceding the folio with the *Deposition* scene.

A feature that makes this image of Queen Mariun remarkable is that she appears not merely as a supplicant at the feet of Christ but rather as a participant in one of the most imposing scenes of the Christological cycle, as if she herself was present during the *Descent of Christ from the Cross*. In the *Queen Mariun's Gospels*, there are two other miniatures, in which a female royal personage is similarly incorporated into the Christological scenes, although these have no identifying inscription. These “additional” figurines are found in the scenes of the *Nativity* (Fig. 237) and the *Entry into Jerusalem* (Fig. 239), depicted, again, as taking an active part in the respective events in the life of Christ. Thus, in the *Nativity*, she appears as one of the midwives who are preparing to wash the Christ Child (Fig. 237), and, in the scene depicting the *Entry into Jerusalem*, she appears among the people who joyfully welcome the approaching Christ during His triumphal entry into Jerusalem, by spreading their clothes on the ground (Fig. 239). In both miniatures, this stemma-bearing lady was identified as Princess Femi, the daughter of Queen Mariun⁸²⁶. However, Femi mentioned in the colophon of the *Gospel of Queen Mariun* is not the latter's daughter but the daughter of Lady Mariun, the mother of King Kostandin I, who is similarly named in the colophon⁸²⁷. The identification of the two crowned figurines in the manuscript J 1973 with Mariun's daughter can therefore be dismissed. Like the inscribed image of Queen Mariun, so also the two images depicted within Christological scenes should be identified with the person for whom the codex was created – that is, Queen Mariun.

The unusual inclusion of secondary figures in the scene of the *Nativity* had already been used by Sargis Picak, when he illustrated the so-called *Ark'unakan Gospels* (The Royal Gospels), dating from 1336 – now the manuscript No. 5786 of Matenadaran (Fig. 238). Here, two aristocratic women of a similar appearance and with stemmas on their heads, are portrayed again as midwives, preparing to wash the newborn Jesus. The manuscript M 5786 was illustrated by Sargis Picak upon the request of a certain priest

⁸²⁶ Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, vol. I, 146, 160.

⁸²⁷ For the colophon text mentioning Femi, see: Pogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, Volume VI, 556.

Andrēas from the region of Ayrarat, in Greater Armenia⁸²⁸. It is hard to identify these images with particular individuals but it is perhaps worth observing that several women are mentioned in the colophon of M 5786, such as *Zaltun* (the spouse of Sargis Picak), *Xoyand xat'un* (the late sister of Sargis Picak), *T'ēfanē* (the mother-in-law of Sargis Picak), *Gohar xat'un* (the mother of the commissioner Andrēas), and *Xelawk'* (the mother of Xač'atur, the binder of the manuscript)⁸²⁹.

The female images found in J 1973 and M 5786 bear close resemblance with the images of biblical figures painted by Sargis Picak. For instance, in the Bible M 2627 dating from the late 1330s, the Armenian artist has painted Judith (Fig. 241) in a similar way as he portrayed the women in MS J 1973 (Figs. 237, 239) and in MS M 5786 (Fig. 238). The same fashion of female aristocratic attire, with a stemma and a long veil reaching to the ground, is also encountered in Crusader arts, such as in the earlier mentioned female donor's image depicted in the Asinou church (Fig. 168) (see Chapter 4.1) or a woman's portrayal in a thirteenth-century icon of Saint Sergius from Saint Catherine's Monastery in Sinai (Fig. 234)⁸³⁰.

Although the inclusion of the historical individuals' images into biblical scenes is not testified in many artworks, this nevertheless seems to be a common practice in late medieval Mediterranean societies. Thus, an icon created sometime between 1367-1394 and preserved now in the Metamorphosis Monastery of Meteora depicts the *Incredulity of Saint Thomas*, in which Queen Maria Angelina Palaiologina and her first husband, Thomas Preljubović, have been identified among the apostles accompanying Thomas, as he puts his finger into Christ's side (Fig. 243)⁸³¹. Here Maria Palaiologina and Thomas

⁸²⁸ *Colophons, 14th century*, 284.

⁸²⁹ *Colophons, 14th century*, 283-285.

⁸³⁰ For this icon, see: Folda, *Crusader Art: The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land*, 124-125, Fig. 82; Helen Evans (ed.), *Trésors du Monastère Sainte-Catherine, Mont Sināï, Égypte*, Pierre Gianadda Foundation, Martigny, Exhibition catalogue, October 5 – December 12, 2004 (Martigny: Fondation Pierre Gianadda, 2004), 104-105, Fig. 19.

⁸³¹ For this icon, see: Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, "The Representation of Donors and Holy Figures on Four Byzantine icons," *Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας (Deltion of the Christian Archaeological Society)* IV-17 (1993-1994): 162-164, Fig. 7; Helen C. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2004), 51, Fig. 24A. The parallels between the miniature of Sargis Picak and the mentioned icon were first noted by Annemarie Weyl Carr. See: Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Byzantines and Italians on Cyprus," *DOP* 49 – Symposium on Byzantine and the Italians, 13th-15th Centuries (1995): 347, n. 49. For a similar example

Preljubović are represented as taking part in the very event of the *Incredulity of Thomas* – just as did the above-discussed individuals in some Armenian Christological scenes, among them Queen Mariun. The traditional approach of portraying the donors, even if they are shown in a sacred scene, is to represent them as secondary persons, whose images intended to underscore their donation, asking in exchange for Christ’s protection. As Nancy Ševčenko has pointed out, the commissioner’s (who is identified with Maria Palaiologina) presence on the icon of the Metamorphosis Monastery aimed to underscore her faith, not the donation she made for this icon⁸³². This can be confirmed by the images of Queen Mariun, for the Gospel codex in which she is portrayed in a similar fashion was not directly commissioned by herself but by the royal scribe Nersēs, who, in the principal colophon, identifies himself as the queen’s “*spiritual brother and friend.*”

Depicting Queen Mariun as a participant in the important events of Christ’s life reinforced her pious image, perhaps also aimed to create a visual place for a symbolic pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where the respective Christological events took place⁸³³. If we rely that a pilgrim visiting holy sites would gain blessings through physical contact with these places⁸³⁴, then a visual-aesthetic experience could also be created by incorporating Queen Mariun’s images into the Christological scenes as a means to drawing parallels between the biblical story and Mariun’s own mental and sensorial experience. In 1375, when the capital of the Armenian kingdom was taken by the Mamluks and when Mariun herself was taken into captivity to Cairo, she appeared to ask al-Malik al-Ashraf Shaban for a permission to visit the Holy Land – a request, which was satisfied by the Mamluk Sultan⁸³⁵. We do not know whether this was the former queen’s first pilgrimage, or if there had been earlier visits to the Holy Land, but her request demonstrates a clear interest in such a pilgrimage – and this despite the fact that

from Cyprus, see: Ioanna Christoforaki, “An Unusual Representation of the Incredulity from Lusignan Cyprus,” *Cahiers archaéologiques* 48 (2000): 71-87.

⁸³² Ševčenko, “The Representation of Donors and Holy Figures on Four Byzantine icons,” 164.

⁸³³ I am grateful to Edda Vardanyan for discussing with me the pilgrimage context of the illustrated *Queen Mariun’s Gospel*.

⁸³⁴ The scenes depicted on various objects of so-called “pilgrimage art”, as well as many records of medieval pilgrims, confirm the importance of the physical experience which the believers had during their visit to the particular holy sites. On this, see: Gary Vikan, *Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*, revised edition, Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications 5 (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2010).

⁸³⁵ *Chronique d’Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 87; Norair Pogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, Volume III (Jerusalem: Armenian Convent Printing Press, 1968), 597.

Jerusalem, like Sis and Cairo, were under the control of the Mamluks, the enemies of her erstwhile kingdom.

Most of the Christological scenes of the *Gospels of Queen Mariun* have the legend “Շրջէ էլ կարդու՛,” meaning “Turn the page and read!,” which always appears in red ink (for example, Figs. 239, 242, at the bottom of the page, outside the miniature frame), as if guiding its owner to continue her mental journey through the Gospel Book. The corresponding titles, which are inserted in each miniature, either in the upper or the lower frame, are given in an explanatory manner. For instance, they might read, “*This [image] is the Holy Birth of Christ, Our Lord*” (Fig. 237), “*This is the Holy Resurrection of Christ*” (Fig. 242), etc.

On the basis of the above considerations, it can be assumed that the *Gospels of Queen Mariun*, in which Mariun is represented as an actual participant in some Christological scenes, could have been produced as an object of pilgrimage – virtual or real. The fact that this small-size codex measures only 17x12x6.5 cm makes it an easily portable item, which, incidentally, later appeared in 14th-century Jerusalem. This further confirms that the queen’s Gospel manuscript was not merely created as a luxurious object but might have taken an active part in Mariun’s faith-practicing during her queenship and when she was in exile in Jerusalem.

Conclusion: The iconographic program of *Queen Mariun’s Gospels* and the queen’s active presence in some Christological scenes clearly distinguish Mariun’s imagery from all extant Cilician Armenian royal portraiture, in which the rulers and their family members usually appear as pious supplicants asking for intercession and divine protection. Here, these requests are animated by the acting queen’s direct involvement in the festive scenes of this Gospel book. These participative images, the inscriptions accompanying the full-page miniatures and the overall conception of this small-size codex allow to suggest that the Gospel manuscript J 1973 was produced as an object of virtual – then also real – pilgrimage, offering the Armenian queen to have a more animated experience of Christological events and their respective feasts. 29 years after the creation of the Queen’s Gospel, in 1375-1377, Mariun made indeed a real pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where she spent the final years of her life.

Queen Mariun died on July 19, 1377, and was buried at the Armenian Saints James Monastery in Jerusalem⁸³⁶.

⁸³⁶ For sources mentioning Mariun's sojourn in Jerusalem and her death, see: *General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Mekhitarist Library in Venice*, Volume VI, 225; Pogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, Volume XI, 17; Pogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, Volume III, 597.

CHAPTER 14. IMAGES OF KING KOSTANDIN II

King Kostandin II was born on October 12, 1326⁸³⁷. He was the son of Het'um Nłirc'i, the *palli* and chancellor of King Lewon IV, who served at the royal palace under four Cilician kings: Lewon III, Ořin, Lewon IV, and Guy Lusignan⁸³⁸. Jean Dardel, the Franciscan biographer and confessor of the last Cilician sovereign Lewon V Lusignan, writes that Kostandin was elected as king owing to his wealth⁸³⁹. Although Kostandin II was the cousin of the previous King Kostandin I, this was the second time that a lord who was not a direct descendant of the royal family had occupied the royal throne⁸⁴⁰.

The visual representation of Kostandin II is encountered only on his coins⁸⁴¹. These have the standard design of the last Cilician kings, displaying the horseman king (obverse) and a single lion (reverse) on silver *takvorins* (Fig. 244)⁸⁴², and the enthroned king (obverse) and a cross (reverse) on copper *poghs* (Fig. 245)⁸⁴³. The coins minted under Kostandin I (1344-1362/1363) and Kostandin II (1365-1373) are incomplete or poorly executed, reflecting “the deteriorating fortunes of the realm,” as Levon Saryan contextualizes them⁸⁴⁴. In iconographic terms, both the silver and copper coins of these two kings are almost identical, and it would be hard to distinguish them from one another were it not for the field marks. The silver *takvorin* coins of Kostandin II have either an “L” or an “S,” which are absent from the silver coins of Kostandin I⁸⁴⁵. As for the copper *poghs* of Kostandin II, most of them are marked with the Armenian letter “Թ (T’).”⁸⁴⁶

⁸³⁷ Het'um Nłirc'i, 547-548.

⁸³⁸ Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, Volume II, 535.

⁸³⁹ “Après la mort du dit roy Constant tirant [Kostandin I], firent les Armins ung aultre roy filz de baron Heyton, et fu nommé roy Constant [Kostandin II], et ne l'eslurent point en roy pour noblesse, mais pour richesse.” See: *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 36.

⁸⁴⁰ On the legitimacy issues of King Kostandin II, see (mentioned as Kostandin V/IV): Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, Volume II, 443-444.

⁸⁴¹ For the coins of King Kostandin II, see (mentioned as Gosdantin IV): Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 98-99, 483-489; Nercessian, *Armenian Coins and Their Values*, 168-170.

⁸⁴² Compare with the silver *takvorins* of Lewon III, Ořin, Lewon IV, Guy Lusignan, and Kostandin I (Figs. 201, 204, 205, 225, 227).

⁸⁴³ Compare with the copper coins of Lewon III, Lewon IV, Guy Lusignan, and Kostandin I (Figs. 202, 206, 207, 226, 228).

⁸⁴⁴ Saryan, “An Unpublished Silver Double “Tram” of Gosdantin I,” 200.

⁸⁴⁵ Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 96, 99.

⁸⁴⁶ Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 99.

According to the Chronicle of Jean Dardel – a not unbiased source for the matter, King Kostandin II was killed by the Armenian barons in April 1373, after which “the old queen” Mariun occupied the royal throne for the second time (1373-1374)⁸⁴⁷.

⁸⁴⁷ “... les Armins s’apperçurent et pour ce le [King Kostandin II] tuerent ou moys d’avril l’an mil CCCLXXIII, et donnerent par commun assentement le gouvernement du royaume à la vielle royne d’Armenye [Queen Mariun], qui femme avoit esté du premier roy tirant [King Kostandin I], jusques à la venue du dit messire Lyon [future King Lewon V Lusignan], leur droit seigneur naturel.” See: *Chronique d’Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 41-42.

CHAPTER 15. IMAGES OF KING LEWON V LUSIGNAN

15.1. THE ASCENSION AND CORONATION OF LEWON LUSIGNAN

Many details of the life of King Lewon V Lusignan and of the final years of the Armenian state of Cilicia are known thanks to the *Chronique d'Arménie* authored by Jean Dardel, who was also the confessor of the last Armenian king⁸⁴⁸. In 1377, in Cairo, on his way to Jerusalem, Dardel met Lewon, who had been in Mamluk captivity since the fall of Sis in 1375. The Franciscan priest soon became Lewon's confessor and secretary and managed to successfully orchestrate his liberation from Mamluk captivity with the help of the kings of Aragon and Castile. Despite some biased testimonies, especially on the personage of Lewon V and other Lusignans, it is to Jean Dardel that we owe most of our knowledge about the history of the last decades of the Armenian kingdom. Before describing the ascension of Lewon V to the throne, a few words should be said about his relationship with the royal family, which made his kingship possible.

As we saw earlier, after the death of King Kostandin I (1344-1362/3), Queen Mariun occupied the Armenian throne, until the question of a male successor would be arranged. At that time, there were two candidates for this role, Bohemond and Lewon Lusignan, who were the grandsons of Princess Zapēl, the daughter of King Lewon II (1269/71-1289). Bohemond and Lewon were born from the marriage of the *palli* Jean Lusignan (died in 1344) and Lady Sult'an, and were also the nephews of the assassinated King Guy Lusignan (1342-1344). The last circumstance reinforced the rights of the Lusignan brothers over the Armenian throne, since King Guy had left no children. As

⁸⁴⁸ There exist several extensive studies dedicated to King Lewon V Lusignan. See: Karapet Basmajean, *Lewon E Lusinean. verjin t'agawor hayoc' [Lewon V Lusignan, Last King of the Armenians]* (Paris: Imprimerie D. Doghramadjian, 1908); Andrew Sharf, "An Armenian King at the Court of Richard II," *Bar-Ilan Studies in History* 1 (1978): 115-128; Claude Mutafian, "Léon V Lusignan: un pieux chevalier et/ou un piètre monarque," in *Les Lusignans et l'Outre-Mer: Actes du colloque, Poitiers – Lusignan 20-24 October 1993* (Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, 1994), 201-210; Henriette Kühl, *Leon V. von Kleinarmenien: Ein Leben zwischen Orient und Okzident im Zeichen der Kreuzzugsbewegung, Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Europäische Hochschulschriften (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang – Europäischer Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2000); José Fradejas Lebrero, *León V de Armenia: (primer y único) señor de Madrid* (Madrid: Instituto de estudios madrileños, 2007); Joël Gourdon, *Léon, le dernier roi d'Arménie: biographie* (Aix-en-Provence: Éditions Persée, 2010); Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, Volume II, 450-465; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, tome I, 220-223.

discussed in Chapter 13.1, already after his ascension to the throne in 1344, King Kostandin I, whose legitimacy was quite fragile, had tried to assassinate the young Bohemond and Lewon. However, together with their mother, Lady Sult'an, the two brothers had been able to escape and fled to Cyprus "with some fishermen."⁸⁴⁹ Upon the death of Kostandin I, the Armenian barons asked King Peter I of Cyprus for permission to send Bohemond to Cilicia, in order to crown him as King of Armenia⁸⁵⁰. At that time, King Peter was about to start his journey to Europe and took Bohemond with him with the intention that the new king would receive his kingly consecration from the hands of the Pope. However, this did not happen, since in 1363 Bohemond died on the road to Avignon, in Venice⁸⁵¹. In 1365, the Armenian barons elected Kostandin II as king, who ruled until his assassination in 1373 (see Chapter 14).

After the death of Kostandin II, the candidature of Lewon Lusignan was brought forward again, as, after his brother's death, he remained the only lawful heir to the Armenian throne. Lewon was still in Cyprus, and the Armenian court under Queen Mariun sent a delegation to King Peter II to ask for Lewon's return to Cilicia. The king of Cyprus refused to satisfy this request and, instead, sent Lewon to participate in the war with the Genoese⁸⁵². Lewon was finally able to arrive in Sis on July 26, 1374⁸⁵³.

The coronation ceremony of Lewon Lusignan and his spouse, Margaret of Soissons, took place on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, on September 14, 1374 in the Church of Saint Sophia, in Sis⁸⁵⁴. Jean Dardel, our main source for these years, reveals interesting details on the coronation of the last king. According to him, the Armenian barons wanted Lewon to be crowned "*à la maniere d'Armenye,*" that is, according to the Armenian Church rite⁸⁵⁵. The response of Lewon to this request reveals a

⁸⁴⁹ *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 33.

⁸⁵⁰ *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 35.

⁸⁵¹ *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 35.

⁸⁵² On these events, see: *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 42-47. See also: Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, Volume II, 455-459.

⁸⁵³ *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 65. Before Lewon Lusignan would arrive in Sis, various events took place. During the war with the Genoese, he was taken into captivity and was released after paying a huge ransom. On his way to Sis, he went to Corycus (which was no longer within the territory of the Armenian kingdom), from where he was planning to re-capture Tarsus from the Mamluks. This undertaking was unsuccessful, and in July 1374 he arrived in the Armenian capital. On these events, see: Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, Volume II, 456-457.

⁸⁵⁴ *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 66.

⁸⁵⁵ *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 65.

great deal not only of his political orientation but also of the royal inauguration ceremonies in the declining Armenian kingdom:

*“You know well that in the times of ancient kings, the country of Armenia was in a good situation and did not need the support of others, and the kings could be crowned in the way they wished. But now, as you all know, we are surrounded by opponents who are the enemies of the faith of Jesus Christ and we are in great need of help and security from other Christian kings and princes, and above all from those from France. [...] We are obedient to the Church of Rome and we have the Catholic faith, which you also do and should do. And our lineage derives from France. For these reasons, we must comply with the laws of the [Catholic] Church and be crowned in the way in which other Christian kings are crowned.”*⁸⁵⁶

This answer did not seem to satisfy the Armenian lords who insisted on the coronation ceremony to be held by the Armenian catholicos. Finally, Lewon decided to perform the upcoming ceremony in the presence of both the bishop of Hébron and the Armenian catholicos – a curious case of a mixed inauguration ceremony:

*“When we will be in the church to receive our crown, the mentioned bishop of Nebron will be on our right side (and the catholicos on the left). And each of them will celebrate mass according to his own faith – one on one altar, the other on the other, [after which] the bishop of Nebron will anoint and crown us according to the rite of other Christian kings, and your catholicos will anoint and crown us according to your way.”*⁸⁵⁷

As was the tradition of the previous Cilician inauguration ceremonies⁸⁵⁸, also on the coronation day of Lewon V Lusignan and Margaret of Soissons, new titles and positions were given by the newly minted king. For example, Sohier Doulcart, a follower of Lewon, was given the title of knight and on the same day he married Lady Remye, the widow of Prince Bohemond of Corycos (Lewon’s uncle, who was assassinated together

⁸⁵⁶ For the original text, see: *Chronique d’Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 65.

⁸⁵⁷ For the original text, see: *Chronique d’Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 66.

⁸⁵⁸ For example, during the knighting ceremony of the future King Lewon III, Het’um Nlirci was proclaimed chamberlain of the kingdom (*Het’um Nlirc’i*, 552; see also Chapter 9). Or, during the wedding ceremony of King Lewon IV to Constance of Aragon, 110 Cilician princes were anointed as knights (*Het’um Nlirc’i*, 549, see also Chapter 11.2).

with King Guy Lusignan)⁸⁵⁹. Sohier Doulcart was proclaimed Marshal of the Armenian kingdom at the same time ⁸⁶⁰.

⁸⁵⁹ *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 66.

⁸⁶⁰ *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel*, 66.

15.2. VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF LEWON V LUSIGNAN AND OTHER ARTEFACTS

15.2.1. Coinage

The images of King Lewon V that were created in Cilicia during his less than one-year reign are encountered only on his coins⁸⁶¹. These are the smallest coins struck in the history of the Armenian kingdom⁸⁶². The first type of Lewon's coins are silver *billons*, weighing as a rule less than a gram. The obverse shows the head of the crowned king, and the reverse a cross (Fig. 246), generally resembling the design of the *billons* of Lewon I and Het'um II (Figs. 37-38, 183). On the copper coins minted under Lewon V, the image of the king is missing on the obverse, which is decorated with a single lion walking to the right (Fig. 247). As for the reverse, it again depicts a cross.

Of particular interest are the legends written on the *billon* and *pogh* coins of King Lewon V. Because of the small surface, the place of minting is usually omitted, but these coins must have been issued in Sis. The royal engraver has often used the surfaces of both the obverse and reverse to carve the following legends: *ԼԵԻՈՆ ԹՍԳԱԻՈՐ ԿԱՐՈՂՈՒԹԵԱՄԲՆ (ՍՍՈՒԾՈՅ) – KING LEWON, BY THE POWER (OF GOD)*, and *ԼԵԻՈՆ ԹՍԳԱԻՈՐ ԱՄԵՆԱՅՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ – LEWON, KING OF ALL ARMENIANS*⁸⁶³. Previously, the title “King of All Armenians” had appeared on the coins of Lewon I, Lewon II, and Het'um II.

15.2.2. Sigillography

There exist two wax seals bearing the name of Lewon V Lusignan. Although these seals lack any corporeal image of Lewon and were actually created after the fall of the

⁸⁶¹ An assumption was made by Karapet Basmajean and then Levon Ter-Petrossian, suggesting that a certain quantity of the coins of Lewon V had probably already been minted by the Armenian barons before Lewon's arrival in Cilicia, when he was still in Cyprus. Ter-Petrossian also ascribes to Lewon V Lusignan the coins of the so-called “Lewon the Usurper,” who, for a long time, was mistakenly considered to be on the royal throne during 1363-1365, while in reality, during these years, the throne was occupied by Queen Mariun. See: Basmajean, *Lewon V Lusignan*, 155; Ter-Petrossian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, Volume II, 438-443, 454.

⁸⁶² Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 100. For the coins of King Lewon V Lusignan, see: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 99-100, 489; Nercessian, *Armenian Coins and Their Values*, 170-173.

⁸⁶³ Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, 100.

Armenian kingdom, these are still important artefacts issued by the last Cilician king, whose royal title appears to be used in the post-kingdom period as well.

The first extant seal is attached to a document dating from October 19, 1383 (Fig. 249)⁸⁶⁴, when Lewon was liberated from Mamluk captivity and had become the mayor of Madrid, Villarreal, and Andújar⁸⁶⁵. This document, which is now preserved at the Archivo de Villa of Madrid under the shelf mark Inv. 2-305-30, was issued in Segovia: “*Sobre esto mandamos dar esta nuestra carta firmada de nuestro nombre, e sellada con nuestro sello. Dada en la ciudad de Sevouia, XIX días de otubre, era M CCCC XX VII años* [October 19, 1383 A.D.]. *REY LEON.*”⁸⁶⁶ The wax seal displays two lions holding a shield, with a helmet on it (Figs. 249, 249a). The shield is in turn decorated with two lions on both sides and the images of two turrets, which are depicted on the middle vertical line. These turrets have been interpreted as symbolizing Castile⁸⁶⁷, whose king, together with the King of Aragon, had liberated Lewon a year earlier, in October 1382⁸⁶⁸. The legend on the seal reads “LEONIS QUINTI REGIS ARMENIÆ – LEWON THE FIFTH, KING OF ARMENIA.” As one can see, even as mayor of these Spanish cities, and later on many other occasions, Lewon continued to represent himself as King of Armenia, which could also be viewed in the context of his far-reaching intention to restore the Armenian state in the frame of a new crusade (see below, Chapter 15.2.3).

The other wax seal of King Lewon is preserved in the Collection Clairambault of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Fig. 248)⁸⁶⁹. This seal is attached to a document dating from March 25, 1388⁸⁷⁰. Its design is very similar to the seal of Madrid, differing only in one detail. On the middle line of the coats of arms, instead of the turrets, we see

⁸⁶⁴ For this document, see: Langlois, *Le Trésor des chartes d'Arménie*, 205-206. See also: Langlois, “Documents pour servir à une sigillographie,” 633.

⁸⁶⁵ For Lewon's sojourn in Spain and his becoming the mayor of Madrid, Villarreal, and Andújar, see: Köhl, *Leon V. von Kleinarmenien*, 166-180; Lebrero, *León V de Armenia: (primero y único) señor de Madrid* (Madrid: Instituto de estudios madrileños, 2007).

⁸⁶⁶ Langlois, *Le Trésor des chartes d'Arménie*, 206.

⁸⁶⁷ Basmajean, *Lewon V Lusignan*, 156.

⁸⁶⁸ Köhl, *Leon V. von Kleinarmenien*, 157-159.

⁸⁶⁹ This seal has been published by many scholars. See: Germain Demay, *Inventaire des sceaux de la Collection Clairambault à la Bibliothèque nationale*, tome I (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1885), 30, No. 280; Gustave Schlumberger, “Bulles d'or et sceau des rois Léon II (I) et Léon VI (V) d'Arménie,” *Revue d'Orient Latin* 1 (1893): 163-167; Basmajean, *Lewon V Lusignan*, 156; Mutafian, *Le royaume arménien de Cilicie*, 90; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, tome II, Fig. 113.

⁸⁷⁰ For this document, see: Schlumberger, “Bulles d'or et sceau des rois Léon II (I) et Léon VI (V) d'Arménie,” 165.

the Jerusalem Cross – a large central cross with four small crosses in each quadrant. This coat of arms was also depicted on the funeral monument of King Lewon V in the no longer existing Convent of the Celestines in Paris (see Chapter 15.2.5, Fig. 253). The combination of the Jerusalem Cross and the lions is reminiscent of the coat of arms of the kings of Cyprus and Jerusalem (Fig. 250). It should be noted that after the death of Lewon V Lusignan, the title “King of Armenia” went to the kings of Cyprus, who from now on would be called the “Kings of Cyprus, Jerusalem, and Armenia.” Caterina Cornaro (d. 1510), the last queen of the kingdom of Cyprus and the last titular queen of Armenia, bore this title, which is also written on her funeral monument in the Church San Salvatore in Venice (Fig. 255)⁸⁷¹.

15.2.3. Miniature painting

The name of Lewon Lusignan is not only associated with his status as King of Armenia or Mayor of Madrid, Villarreal, and Andújar, but also as an intermediary during the Hundred Years’ War between England and France⁸⁷². This new role of the Armenian king is well recorded in contemporaneous European sources, which have also inspired Lewon’s visual representations in Western miniature painting. Thus, in a fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Anciennes et nouvelles chroniques d’Angleterre*, which was probably copied in Lille and illustrated in Bruges, Lewon V Lusignan is portrayed being received by King Richard II at Westminster (London, British Library, Royal MS 14 E IV, folio 259v) (Fig. 252)⁸⁷³. This meeting took place in 1385, shortly before the Nativity feast, when Lewon is said to be given a honorable reception⁸⁷⁴. Some scholars who have studied the life of Lewon Lusignan have demonstrated that apart from being on an important diplomatic mission initiated by King Charles VI of France, Lewon himself was

⁸⁷¹ Initially, Catarina Cornaro was buried in the Church of the Santi Apostoli in Venice. On Catarina Cornaro as the last titular Queen of Armenia, see: T’ōrosean Yovhannēs, “*Kilikioy ew Kiprosoi arnč’ut’iwnk’ ew K(atarineay) Kořnaroy t’aguhin* [Relationships between Cilicia and Cyprus and the Queen Catarina Cornaro],” *BV* 11 (1898): 528-533, *BV* 1 (1899): 5-11, *BV* 3 (1899): 97-102; Basmajean, *Lewon V Lusignan*, 161-166; Mutafian, *L’Arménie du Levant*, tome I, 394-395.

⁸⁷² For a detailed analysis of Lewon’s role as an intermediary between England and France, see: Kühn, *Leon V. von Kleinarmenien*, 213-246.

⁸⁷³ For the illustrations of this manuscript and further readings, see: Thomas Kren & Scot McKendrick, *The Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, exhibition catalogue (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 278-280, 527.

⁸⁷⁴ Kühn, *Leon V. von Kleinarmenien*, 219.

particularly motivated to solve the conflict between the two neighboring countries, after which the perspectives of a new crusade and the hope to restore the Armenian state would look more realistic⁸⁷⁵. However, when the so-called Crusade of Nicopolis took place in 1396 upon the initiative of allied European forces, Lewon V had already died, and the crusaders themselves suffered a devastating defeat by the Ottoman army⁸⁷⁶.

15.2.4. The Golden Rose of Lewon V Lusignan and His Fake Swords

During his eleven years' exile in Europe, Lewon Lusignan is documented to be received at various royal courts, during which he was sometimes honored with precious gifts⁸⁷⁷. He also appears to have met Pope Clement VIII who, in 1383, conferred Lewon a Golden Rose – a special papal gift of honor and benevolence⁸⁷⁸. No other information of this object is available, contrary to some other artefacts attributed to Lewon V, the authenticity of which is however questionable.

In Chapter 1.4, I discussed a fake sword of King Lewon I which, as mentioned, is not the only example of unauthentic swords ascribed to this king. Basmajean records several other swords ascribed to King Lewon V and preserved in Athens, London, Venice, Tbilisi, etc.⁸⁷⁹. The existence of so many swords bearing the names of the kings Lewon I and Lewon V is related to the great popularity of these rulers among the Armenians. From the nineteenth century on, particular attention has been given to one of these swords of Lewon V, since it was found in Cilicia and was kept at the Catholicosate of Sis⁸⁸⁰, before appearing in the Mekhitarist Congregation in Venice (Fig. 251). However, this sword must be a forgery too, for paleographic and iconographic

⁸⁷⁵ Basmajean, *Lewon V Lusignan*, 119; Ter-Petrosian, *The Crusaders and the Armenians*, Volume II, 463-465. See also the thoughts of Henriette Kühl on this matter, who, despite Lewon's fervent support for a new crusade, does not believe in his intention to restore the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia. Kühl, *Leon V. von Kleinarmenien*, 262-287, esp. 285-287.

⁸⁷⁶ Kühl, *Leon V. von Kleinarmenien*, 246.

⁸⁷⁷ See: Kühl, *Leon V. von Kleinarmenien*, 188 (Lewon's reception at the court of Charles VI, in 1384), 219-220 (Lewon's reception at the court of Richard II, in 1385-1386), etc.

⁸⁷⁸ Auguste Carrière, "La rose d'or du roi d'Arménie Léon V," *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 9 (1902): 1-5; Elisabeth Cornides, *Rose und Schwert im Päpstlichen Zeremoniell von den Anfängen bis zum Pontifikat Gregors XIII* (Wien: Verlag des wissenschaftlichen Antiquariats H. Geyer, 1967), 85.

⁸⁷⁹ Basmajean, *Lewon V Lusignan*, 151-154.

⁸⁸⁰ On this sword, see: Victor Langlois, "Lettre de M. Victor Langlois à M. Reinaud, sur le sabre de Léon VI de Lusignan, dernier roi arménien de la Cilicie," *Journal Asiatique* XVI (1860): 259-264.

observations do not confirm its authenticity. Furthermore, the legend on this sword mentions the year 1366, which does not correspond to the reign of Lewon V.

15.2.5. The Tombstone of Lewon V Lusignan

Lewon V Lusignan died on November 29, 1393, in the Hôtel des Tournelles, in Paris⁸⁸¹. Today, visitors to the Basilica of Saint Denis in Paris have the opportunity to see the tomb of King Lewon (Fig. 254), the only Cilician king whose gravestone has been preserved. The Basilica of Saint Denis is not however the original place of Lewon's burial, for the current tombstone was moved here from a larger funeral monument in the Convent of the Celestines, where the king was initially buried according to his own testament dating from July 20, 1392⁸⁸². A colorful drawing of this original tomb has been preserved in a nineteenth-century publication by Albert Lenoir⁸⁸³, which was reproduced by Karapet Basmajean in his monograph dedicated to Lewon V Lusignan (Fig. 253)⁸⁸⁴. The funeral sculpture of Lewon V is made of white marble and represents the king lying down and resting his crowned head on a pillow. In his right hand, he holds a scepter and in his left hand two gloves. Only the lower part of the scepter is now preserved. At his feet, double lions face opposite directions, interpreted as symbolizing the two lions on the coat of arms of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia⁸⁸⁵.

The black marble cover, to which the funeral sculpture of Lewon is attached and which covered the original grave, has the following inscription on it: “*Cy gist tres noble et excellet prince Lyon de Lizingne quit roy lati du royaume dArmenie qui redi lame a Dieu a Paris le. XXIXe. jour de nouebre lan de grace. M CCC XX/IIII et XIII. Pries pour lui.*”⁸⁸⁶

⁸⁸¹ Basmajean, *Lewon V Lusignan*, 125.

⁸⁸² For the testament of King Lewon V, see: Langlois, *Le Trésor des chartes d'Arménie*, 207-211; Basmajean, *Lewon V Lusignan*, 127-135 (translation into Armenian). See also: Kühl, *Leon V. von Kleinarmenien*, 246-259.

⁸⁸³ Albert Lenoir, *Statistique monumentale de Paris* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1867), 185-186, Pl. XIV.

⁸⁸⁴ Basmajean, *Lewon V Lusignan*, Plate A.

⁸⁸⁵ Basmajean, *Lewon V Lusignan*, 138, n. 1.

⁸⁸⁶ Basmajean, *Lewon V Lusignan*, 136-137.

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER QUESTIONS

The purpose of this dissertation was to systematically study the royal images of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia (1198-1375) and to explore how the idea of kingship was formed, developed, perceived, and exhibited in this Eastern Mediterranean state through the lens of material images. The first conclusion to be drawn is that for nearly two centuries of the existence of the Cilician kingdom almost all sovereigns were represented in artistic and material media. This itself speaks for the importance of the corporeal representation of Cilician kingship. Royal images also set the terms for aristocratic portraiture, which in turn contributed to multiply the efforts of the state apparatus of promoting the pious image the king's institution, composed of the sovereign and his aristocratic subjects. One aspect however which clearly differentiates the royal and aristocratic imagery is that the former are more prominently marked by sanctifying characteristics, which was aimed at underscoring the divinely confirmed nature of kingship.

The idea of being God's representative on earth came into being together with the formation of the institution of king, which was later adopted for Christian traditions. Similarly, the Cilician king was a secular and saintly authority, who was crowned to govern his kingdom in imitation of Christ, the King of Heaven. The visualization of the divine protection appears in the vast majority of the royal images discussed here. Furthermore, demonstrating the king's God-given power, which would serve to justify his decisions, appears to be one of the main reasons for the creation of royal images. The idea that Christ is the King of Heaven and the acting king is His earthly analogue formed the tradition of celebrating the royal inauguration ceremonies on the Epiphany day, which, in the Cilician kingdom, is documented in the cases of Lewon I, Lewon II, and Smbat.

The vast majority of the royal images discussed here were created in a period which coincided with the crusades to the Holy Land and with the everchanging geopolitical realities that greatly impacted the Eastern Mediterranean region. The creation of the Armenian kingdom itself resulted from the new political climate and, above all, from the expansive claims of the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy in what would be termed in

scholarship as Latin East. Although the Armenian kingdom was not a Crusader state, the first Cilician king Lewon I aligned his political orientation with the West and adopted, at least in the first phase of his reign, a Latin model of kingship, which became standard for subsequent rulers, albeit not without transformations and selective adaptations.

The royal ideology formed in the time of Lewon I was greatly informed by the ceremonial and ideological traditions that are encapsulated in the so-called *Mainzer Krönungsordo*, the tenth-century influential liturgical manual of the Ottonians, a later exemplar of which – namely, that of the city of Münster – was used to prepare the Armenian version of the coronation ordo. No wonder therefore that the Cilician kings' royal insignia and some principal ideological constructs of kingship coincide with those of Western and Frankish traditions, which themselves were strongly informed by the respective German tradition.

Although the manuscript A9, known as the *Grand Maštoc' of Sis*, which has preserved the text of the Armenian version of the *Mainzer Krönungsordo* translated and revised by archbishop Nersēs of Lambron at the end of the twelfth century, is partially available in the publications of Artawazd Siwrmēean (1936) and Łewond Ališan (1888)⁸⁸⁷, the critical edition of this text might shed more light on a number of issues related to the royal ceremonial, such as its development over time but especially its similarities and differences with the Armenian Church's royal consecration rite, which itself remains completely unknown and unstudied. Apart from the great philological, liturgiological and historiographical value that Nersēs' translation of the Latin-language ordo presents, its textual investigation may reveal the exact extent and purpose of the modifications incorporated into the Armenian version⁸⁸⁸. However, the current state of research, not least the results brought forth in this dissertation concerning the Cilician royal ideology, show that the erudite archbishop of Tarsus partially 'armenized' the ordo of the German (and Latin) kings by introducing into liturgical formulas such authorities as King Trdat III – the first Christian king of the Armenians, Gregory the Illuminator – the fourth-century saint who converted the Armenians to Christianity, and the Greek

⁸⁸⁷ Siwrmēean, *Catalog*, 25-31; Ališan, *Sisuan*, 472-475; Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique*, 327-336.

⁸⁸⁸ Nersēs himself speaks of "accommodating" the Latin ordo when preparing its Armenian version: "*Ego autem interpretatem hanc Benedictionem regis nolui ipsam alterare, posui cum antea interpretatis ritibus nova accomodatione facta.*" See: *Acta romanorum pontificum*, 813 (No. 395).

emperors Constantine the Great and Theodosius II – the first for his pan-Christian role and the second for his ‘pre-Chalcedonian’ orientation. No less important as a revision was also the inclusion of the mythological rulers of Armenian origin. Thus, the available Armenian text of the coronation ordo states that the newly anointed Cilician king will “reign over the House of T’orgom and over the race of Hayk”⁸⁸⁹ – a formula, which is often evoked in Cilician courtly rhetoric, as we saw in many chapters of this dissertation.

The utilization of such personages as biblical T’orgom [Togarmah] and his son Hayk, who since Movsēs Xorenaci’s influential *History* were considered as the legendary pre-ancestors of the Armenians, was not an innovation in Armenian royal ideology. It was commonplace for the representations of the previous royal dynasties, including notably the Bagratids of Ani, with whom the Cilician Rubenids and those who came after associated and justified their royal ancestry. Claiming legendary and biblical origins inspired also the instrumentalization of Christ’s ancestry for theo-political purposes, whence comes the strong emphasis on such biblical figures as Jesse, David, Solomon, and, of course, Christ. The images of these biblical authorities are regularly evoked and sometimes manipulated in both textual and visual sources. Making use of biblical models of rulership, the courtly theologians and artists shaped and fashioned – in both verbal and visual-artistic terms – the images of Cilician Armenian kings in similitude to these universally accepted authorities. It is certainly not by accident that the scenes depicting the *Ancestors of Christ* – later elaborated as *Tree of Jesse* – start to appear in Armenian miniature painting from the end of the twelfth century in the newly founded Cilician state. The *Lviv* or *Skewra Gospels*, which is considered to be the very Gospel book used for the coronation Lewon I, contains indeed one of the first depictions of Christ’s ancestors in Armenian arts – if not the earliest one.

In courtly and pro-courtly sources, there are indeed eloquent and regular comparisons between the Armenians kings and the pious and divinely gifted King David, as well as the wise and judicious King Solomon – a not unusual practice for (Christian) rulers of the Middle Ages. Not only the Cilician sovereigns themselves made use of these comparisons to fortify their authorities but also those who were not necessarily content with the acting sovereign. Some non-royal dignitaries could occasionally juxtapose a

⁸⁸⁹ Siwrmēean, *Catalog*, 27; Ališan, *Sisuan*, 473; Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique*, 330.

king's imperfect rulership with that of the ideal King David – to name the most popular biblical model. Most likely, this was the case of Bishop Kostandin, the initiator and commissioner of the luxurious *Reliquary of Skewra* (1293), which was created in the immediate aftermath of the Mamluk takeover of Hromkla (1292) and on which we see a non-royal representation of the Franciscan king Het'um II. On that reliquary, Het'um's image is visually juxtaposed with that of David, as if stressing the former's incapacities and recent failures in his royal and military duties compared to the latter. In 1311, when the Armenian kingdom was cast into a new political, religious, and military crisis, the same Bishop Kostandin, who was the head of the Monastery of Skewra and who was previously expelled from Cilicia for not supporting the Armeno-Latin church union promoted by the royal family, described the anointment of King Ošin (1308-1320) with these words, concluding his passage with a hidden polemic: “*Ošin was anointed as king of the House of T'orgom and of the nation of Hayk in the same way as, in ancient times, David was chosen by God among the sons of Jesse, of which the prophet who sang to God [David] said 'I was smaller than my brothers, and younger than the sons of my father [Psalm 151:1]. ' And although he [Ošin] was not shepherd over his father's flock, as was David, he nevertheless accepted the anointment and the crown*”⁸⁹⁰.

With these considerations in mind, it comes as little surprise that one of the main ideological pillars of Cilician kingship was the associations with the genealogy of Christ and the motif of the *Tree of Jesse*, which appears to be a common thread running through the Cilician kings' visual and textual representations. In iconographic sources, the culmination of this ideology is to be found in the royal and courtly images, fashioned in imitation of the *Tree of Jesse* and inserted into the marginal miniature of the *Lectionary of Crown Prince Het'um* (1286) – an important liturgical codex initiated by the future King Het'um II, who was also a well-trained theologian (Chapter 3.5). As for rhetorical sources, the utilization of the theme of the *Tree of Jesse* is best discernible in the *Homily on the Epiphany of the Lord and on the Consecration of King Lewon*, composed by Vahram Rabuni on the occasion of Lewon II's coronation on 6 January 1271 (Chapter 3.3.1). Vahram, who himself was the secretary of King Lewon, constructed his solemn homily through the lens of the *Tree of Jesse*, not forgetting to evoke the “House of

⁸⁹⁰ *Colophons, 14th century*, 77.

T'orgom" (*Beth Togarmah*, Gen. 10:3, Ez. 27:24, 38:6) and other "Armenized" elements that were already incorporated into the coronation ordo. He goes so far as to claim that the Armenian kings were descendents of not only T'orgom but also of the prophet-king David. Here as well, I would like to highlight the necessity of philological studies and, eventually, of translations into European languages of this forgotten theo-political treatise produced by the Cilician royal apparatus⁸⁹¹.

In both Vahram's coronation homily and many other theological and historiographical writings originating from Cilician courtly *milieus*, the righteous execution of justice is considered as one of the most important moral and practical treats of the secular ruler who was expected to fulfill this duty in imitation of Christ, the true king, whose kingdom is the Heaven – the ultimate place of the righteous. In this respect, the associations with Solomon, the wise and just king of the Old Testament, are also evoked. These associations were revealed in the analysis of the juridical image of King Lewon IV, the only extant royal image depicted in a secular manuscript, in which the royal artist put the emphasis on Lewon's capacities for righteous decisions, which in turn are shown to be dictated by God. The discussion of the precarious political circumstances under Lewon IV demonstrated why this king was eager to stress his status and his superiority over his vassal lords, who are depicted as being judged by Lewon. Indeed, the dominant figure of Lewon representing him as judge appears on the frontispiece to the *Assizes of Antioch*, the very law code which established and defined the relationships between the suzerain and his vassal lords.

The preserved material and artistic evidence show that most of the rulers of Cilician Armenia had – and promoted the creation of – visual images. Furthermore, in the case of Lewon II it was possible to see that royal images served to document the (future) ruler at different moments of his life – a practice, the theological grounds of which can be found in the writings of Grigor Skewrac'i (twelfth-thirteenth century) but, above all, of Yovhannēs Pluz Erznkac'i (thirteenth century). Erznkac'i was not a native Cilician but

⁸⁹¹ The only edition of this homily, based on two manuscripts, is: *Vahramay vardapeti atenadpri Lewon ark'ayi Ban i yaynut'awn Tearn ew yōcumn Lewoni G. ark'ayi [On the Epiphany of the Lord and on the Benediction of King Lewon III [II] written by Vahram Vardapet, Chancellor of King Lewon]* (Jerusalem: Press of the Armenian Patriarchate, 1875). A sign of this publication's forgotten status is that it is not listed in Robert W. Thomson's much useful *A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), 209 (as well as in its supplement published subsequently in 2007), in which only the name of the respective series is referred to (*Nšxark' naxneac'*) but not the work itself.

his many visits and oratorical activities in renowned Cilician cities and monasteries make his writings particularly valuable for understanding the Cilician political theology.

The tradition of (re)presenting the (future) king at his various ages might also explain why most of the royal images are found in the manuscripts that were created to commemorate a landmark event in the life of the ruler. The *Gospels of Crown Prince Lewon* (M 8321) displaying the full-page image of the young prince was most likely produced on the occasion of his knighting ceremony in 1256, when Lewon had also reached twenty – the legal age of maturity in Cilician Armenia. In 1262, when Lewon married Keṛan, the Gospel Book J 2660 was commissioned to commemorate this event and to display the newly wed couple. Ten years later, on occasion of Lewon's coronation, Keṛan sponsored the production of what is known as the *Gospels of Queen Keṛan* (J 2563), in which the new king and queen are represented together with their five children. When analyzing the image of King Lewon IV (1321-1341) in the codex of the *Assizes of Antioch* (V 107), it was shown that this portrayal was initiated to mark the expiration of the regency contract, which freed this young king from the services of his ambitious *pallis*.

The portraiture of Cilician sovereigns and many other artworks commissioned by or for them also reflect the contemporaneous realities and the high level of entanglements with the Europeans, Franks, Byzantines, Syrians, Seljuks, Mongols, and Mamluks. Cilicia's own intercultural and interreligious environment created a fertile ground for artistic exchanges, which can be traced in the royal and aristocratic imagery produced across the Eastern Mediterranean regions and beyond. All this contributed to the production of Cilician royal images that are notably different from those known from Greater Armenia, even though the Cilician royal ideology was also substantially constructed on the respective Greater Armenian traditions, particularly that of the Bagratids of Ani, whom the Cilician kings considered their ancestors.

From among the extant Cilician royal imagery, only three queens' representations are known, showing Zapēl (d. 1252), Keṛan (d. 1285) and Mariun (d. 1377). These are also the female sovereigns whose queenships were propagated most by the king's institution, as much as the textual sources allow one to observe. Owing their dynastic identities, the personalities of Zapēl and Keṛan were often brought forth in both textual

and visual representations of their husbands, King Het'um I and King Lewon II, respectively.

While the support of the king and his institution was the main duty of Queen Mariun as well, her queenship was remarkable in that that she actually governed the Armenian state for a few years until the moments of succession crisis were overcome. Compared to the queenships of Zapēl and Keṛan who always appear next to their spouses, Mariun appears to be autonomous also in her artistic imagery, for the three portrayals of her – all three preserved in a single Gospel manuscript dating from 1346 (MS J 1973) – represent this queen alone, without being accompanied by the king or a successor, as are the cases of the two mentioned thirteenth-century queens. The three images of Mariun underscore her religious identity by showing this “meek and merciful queen of the Armenians” (as the manuscript’s colophon describes her) as an active participant in some landmark events in the life of Christ. Rather than depicting Mariun in traditional supplicating posture, the royal artist Sargis Picak portrayed her pious yet prominent figure in the full-page miniatures of the Nativity, the Entry into Jerusalem, and the Descent from the Cross. This last scene is surely the (visual) culmination of not only Christ’s earthly life but also Mariun’s mental and visual journey through the pages of her personal Gospel codex. Here, the queen is shown in a more elaborate appearance than the nearby standing Virgin Mary but also her previous two images inserted into the scenes of the Nativity and Entry into Jerusalem. Such an animated representation of the Armenian queen in a festive Gospel was explained by the possible use of this small-size codex for pilgrimage purposes – either virtual, as offered by the participative imagery of Mariun in Christological events, or real, when, for example, Mariun travelled to Jerusalem to spend there her final years.

Less ambitious are the visual portrayals of Queen Zapēl, whose only representations are found on her husband Het'um's – then her son Lewon's – silver *tram* coins, with apparent intention to legitimize these kings' status, for it was through the dynastic alliance with Zapēl the Ṛubenid that Het'um and the Het'umids came to the royal power. The iconographic model chosen for Zapēl-Het'um and Zapēl-Lewon coins closely follows Helena-Constantine standard typology, with the depiction of a large central cross held by the royal couple. Despite the design of these coins points to both

Zapēl and Het'um (then Lewon), only the king's name is mentioned in the inscription, omitting that of the queen, the lawful sovereign.

The dynastic alliance and succession concerns inspired also the two portrayals of Queen Keṛan in two Gospel manuscripts created in 1262 and 1272. Unlike Zapēl's forced marriage to Het'um I, their firstborn son Lewon's marriage with Keṛan was a well-agreed Het'umid project, even disregarding the fact that this was a union between close relatives. Compared to Zapēl, whose queenship was mainly used for legitimizing her husband's rule and status, Keṛan's role was to reinforce that status obtained a generation earlier. By giving birth to Het'umid heirs – numbering more than ten – the royal ancestry of the children issued from Lewon-Keṛan marriage would certainly look more prestigious than that of their grand-father Het'um I. The latter, along with the catholicos, should be seen as the principal initiator of the Lewon-Keṛan union. This union did save indeed the Armenian state from the potential turmoils that marked the accession of Het'um in the 1220s, but it did not prevent their children to plunge the kingdom into a new succession crisis at the end of the century.

The succession crises appear to have greatly stimulated the production of royal imagery. Even the shortly reigned kings of Cilicia hurried to issue coins with their image and name so that to comply with the standards and status of legitimate kings. It must be also because of the succession conflicts between the sons of Lewon II that some unique iconographies were worked out in Cilician coinage, aimed at idealizing these sovereigns' institutional authorities, whose fragile kingships could hardly be repaired by material images only. Can this interpretation also explain the surprising lack of painted images of those kings who remained on the Armenian throne for long periods, such as Lewon I or Het'um I? We should nevertheless bear in mind that the extant source material does not certainly reflect what was actually produced as artistic and material imagery. Such are the limits of this and suchlike studies.

While studying the royal images of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, one of the main principles of working was to regard these images as primary sources, able to document the realities of their time. Looking at the material from this point of view, many of the royal images appeared indeed to support and complement the current knowledge of these rulers, otherwise known uniquely from textual sources. Although

mainly keeping with the general standards of God-driven kingship, both rulers and their artists were able to incorporate iconographic elements and selectively chosen symbols and postures that better conveyed the specific concerns of the depicted sovereign. In this regard, Cilician royal imagery, many of which are precisely dated, can be rightly considered as authentic sources of the given moment. It remains to explore in more detail the functional contexts and viewing conditions of these visual representations, to which I hope to return soon.

EPILOGUE

After the fall of the Cilician kingdom, the idea of kingship did not disappear among the Armenians. From the fourteenth century on, it continued to be reflected in literature and visual arts, although now, instead of referring to the holders of secular power, this ideology was expressed in symbolic terms and was merely based on the dream of the revival of the Armenian statehood. One such manifestation is the popularity of the *Alexander Romance* in late medieval and early modern Armenian society, one of the rare books with secular content that was extensively illustrated in Armenian tradition⁸⁹². The memory of the Cilician kingdom and the search for an ideal ruler as Alexander continued to nourish the national and nationalistic dreams and the visions of a state up until the foundation of the First Republic of Armenia in 1918.

⁸⁹² On the ideological implications of the Armenian illustrations of the *Alexander Romance*, see especially: Edda Vardanyan, “La portée politique de l’illustration des manuscrits du *Roman d’Alexandre* arménien,” in *Alexandre le Grand à la lumière des manuscrits et des premiers imprimés en Europe (XII^e-XVI^e siècle). Matérialité des textes, contextes et paratextes: des lectures originales*, sous la direction de Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 223-249.

APPENDIX I.

Visual Sources:

Royal Images of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia

IMAGE	CURRENT LOCATION	DATE	ORIGIN	Illustration (Fig. No.)
MANUSCRIPTS				
Crown Prince Lewon (future King Lewon II)	M 8321, fol. 15r <i>Gospels of Prince Lewon</i>	1256	Hromkla	Fig. 68a
King Lewon II and Queen Keṙan	J 2660, fol. 288r <i>Wedding Gospels of Prince Lewon and Princess Keṙan</i>	1262	Hromkla	Fig. 107
*Bishop Yovhannēs Ark'aeḷbayr, brother of King Het'um I	FGA 1956.11, fol. 293r Gospels	1263	Gīner	Fig. 173
King Lewon II, Queen Keṙan and their five children	J 2563, fol. 380r <i>Gospels of Queen Keṙan</i>	1272	Sis?	Fig. 131
Lewon II praying	BL Or. 13993, fol. 9v <i>Breviary of King Lewon II</i>	1270s	Sis?	Fig. 149
*Marshal Ošin with his sons, Kostandin and Het'um, and Bishop Yovhannēs Ark'aeḷbayr	PML M. 1111, fol. 1r <i>Gospels of Marshal Ošin</i>	1274	Sis	Fig. 164
*Prince Vasak with his sons, Kostandin and Het'um	J 2568, fol. 320r <i>Gospels of Prince Vasak</i>	1274-1284	Sis?	Fig. 163
King Lewon II (?) and the king's institution	M 979, fol. 7r <i>Lectionary of Crown Prince Het'um</i>	1286	Skewra?	Fig. 154
*Bishop Yovhannēs Ark'aeḷbayr, brother of King Het'um I	M 197, fol. 341v Gospels	1287	Akner	Fig. 174
King Lewon IV	V 107, 1r (frontispiece) <i>Assizes of Antioch</i>	1331	Sis	Fig. 208
Queen Mariun	J 1973, fols. 8v, 114r, 258v	1346	Sis	Figs. 236, 237, 239

	<i>Gospels of Queen Mariun</i>			
BULLAE / SEALS				
Lewon I on the throne, holding cross-topped orb in right hand and a <i>fleur-de-lis</i> in left hand (obv.); Lion holding a scepter (rev.)	A. A. Arm. I-XVIII, 628, 629, 630, 631. Vatican, Archivio Segreto	(1198-1219)		Fig. 23
Seal with the coat of arms of King Lewon V Lusignan (*no corporeal representation)	Inv. 2-305-30 Madrid, Archivo de Villa	19 October 1383	Segovia	Figs. 249, 249a
Seal with the coat of arms of King Lewon V Lusignan (*no corporeal representation)	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collection Clairambault	23 March 1388	Paris	Fig. 248
COINS				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The division of coins into different types is based on their general iconography. In most of the cases, there are slight variations in iconography and legends within each type. - The (?) mark indicates that the authenticity of the mentioned coin is uncertain. - The (*) mark indicates the existence of differing attributions. 				
(?) Lewon I on the throne, holding cross-topped orb in right hand and a <i>fleur-de-lis</i> in left hand (obv.); Single lion (rev.)	Gold <i>trams</i> , kept in: BnF, PB, etc.	(1198-1219)		
(?) Lewon I on the throne, holding cross-topped orb in right hand and a <i>fleur-de-lis</i> in left hand (obv.); Double lion (rev.)	Gold <i>trams</i> , kept in: BnF, HM, V, W.	(1198-1219)		
Lewon I's head (obv.); Cross (rev.) Legends in Armenian.	<i>Billons</i> , kept in: PB, etc.	(1198-1219)	Sis	Fig. 37
Lewon I's head (obv.); Cross (rev.) Legends in Latin.	<i>Billons</i> , kept in: BnF, PB, V, W, etc.	(1198-1219)	Antioch?	Figs. 38a, 38b
Lewon I on the	Silver <i>trams</i> , kept in: A,	(1198-		Figs. 34, 35

throne, holding cross-topped orb in right hand and a <i>fleur-de-lis</i> in left hand (obv.); Double lion with a long central cross (rev.)	BnF, GG, PB, V, W, etc.	1219)		
Lewon I on the throne, holding cross-topped orb in right hand and a <i>fleur-de-lis</i> in left hand (obv.); Single lion (rev.)	Silver <i>trams</i> , kept in: A, BnF, HMA, PB, W, etc.	(1198-1219)		Fig. 32
Lewon I on the throne, holding a cross in right hand and a <i>fleur-de-lis</i> in his hand (obv.); Double lion (rev.)	Silver <i>trams</i> , kept in: Ē, etc.	(1198-1219)		Fig. 33
(Lewon I) Lion's head resembling king's face (obv.); Patriarchal cross with two stars (rev.)	Copper <i>tanks</i> , kept in: BnF, Ē, PB, W, etc.	(1198-1219)	Sis	Fig. 31
Het'um I and Queen Zapēl, standing and holding together a long cross (obv.); A crowned lion, holding a cross (rev.)	Silver <i>trams</i> and <i>half trams</i> , kept in: A, Ē, YN, etc. * The same iconography is found on a few copper coins of Het'um I, struck with silver <i>tram</i> die (Collection: PB).	(1226-1270)		Figs. 43, 44, 45
Het'um I on horseback, holding a scepter topped with a <i>fleur-de-lis</i> (obv.); Arabic inscription mentioning Seljuk Sultan Kay Kubad I (rev.)	Silver bilingual <i>trams</i> , with legends in Armenian and Arabic. Kept in: The David Collection (Copenhagen), YN, etc.	1226(?)-1237	Sis?	Fig. 49
Het'um I on horseback, holding a scepter topped with a <i>fleur-de-lis</i> (obv.);	Silver bilingual <i>trams</i> , with legends in Armenian and Arabic. Kept in: A, The David Collection (Copenhagen), YN, etc.	1237-1240s	Sis	Figs. 50, 51

Arabic inscription mentioning Seljuk Sultan Kay Khosrow II (rev.)				
Het'um I on the throne, holding a <i>fleur-de-lis</i> and an orb topped with a cross (obv.); Cross accompanied with four stars or lines (rev.)	Copper <i>tanks</i> , kept in: GG, V, YN, etc.	(1226-1270)	Sis, Ayas	Fig. 52
Het'um I on horseback (obv.); Cross (rev.)	Copper <i>kardezzes</i> , kept in: YN, etc.	(1226-1270)	Sis	Figs. 54a, 54b
Het'um I seated cross-legged on a wide bench-like throne (obv.); Cross (rev.)	Copper <i>kardezzes</i> , kept in: GG, YN, etc.	(1226-1270)	Sis	Figs. 53a, 53b
Het'um I on horseback, (obv.); Mirror image of obverse (rev.)	Copper <i>kardezzes</i> , kept in: PB.	(1226-1270)		
(*) Het'um I – Lewon II: Lewon II on the throne, holding a cross and a <i>fleur-de-lis</i> (obv.); A crowned lion, with a legend mentioning Het'um I (rev.)	Gold <i>tahekans</i> , kept in: V, W.	c. 1269-1271		Fig. 55
Lewon II on horseback (obv.); Crowned lion walking left (rev.)	Gold <i>tahekan</i> (lost).	(1271-1289)	Sis	
'Het'um-Zapel' design, but with legend "Lewon"	Silver <i>trams</i> , kept in: A, PB, V, W, YN, etc.	(1269-1289)	Sis	
Lewon II on horseback, holding a cross or a scepter in right hand (obv.); Crowned lion walking left or right (rev.)	Silver <i>trams</i> , kept in: A, BnF, Ē, GG, PB, V, W, YN, etc.	(1271-1289)	Sis, Ayas	Figs. 156, 157, 158, 159
(Lewon II) Lion walking left (obv.); Cross with stars	Copper <i>tanks</i> , kept in: PB, etc.	(1271-1289)	Sis	

(rev.)				
(Lewon II) Lion walking left or right (obv.); Cross with stars (rev.)	Copper <i>kardezzes</i> , kept in: BnF, PB, YN, W, etc.	(1271-1289)	Sis	
(Lewon II) Cross with stars (obv.); Lion walking left or right (rev.)	Copper <i>kardezzes</i> , kept in: A, YN, etc.	(1271-1289)	Sis	Fig. 160
Het'um II's head (obv.); Cross (rev.)	<i>Billons</i> kept in: BnF, W, YN, etc.	(1289-1307 intermittently)		Fig. 183
Het'um II's head (obv.); Ornate cross (rev.)	Copper <i>kardezzes</i> , kept in: A, GG, PB, V, W, YN, etc.	(1289-1307 intermittently)	Sis	Fig. 184
Het'um II seated cross-legged (obv.); Cross (rev.)	Copper <i>kardezzes</i> , kept in: GG, PB, W, YN, etc.	(1289-1307 intermittently)	Sis	Fig. 185
(Lewon II - Smbat) King on the throne, holding a cross and a <i>fleur-de-lis</i> in his hands, legend mentioning King Lewon (obv.); Double lions, legend mentioning King Smbat (rev.)	Silver <i>trams</i> , kept in: PB, etc.	(1296/7-1298)		
Smbat on the throne, holding a cross-topped orb (or a cross) in right hand and a <i>fleur-de-lis</i> (or a mace) in left hand (obv.); Double lions (rev.)	Silver <i>trams</i> , kept in: BnF, GG, HMA, PB, V, W, YN, etc.	(1296/7-1298)		Fig. 190
(Smbat) Lion walking right, with a cross behind (obv.); Fleur-de-lys (rev.)	Silver half <i>trams</i> , kept in: PB, W, etc.	(1296/7-1298)	Sis	
Smbat on horseback (obv.); Cross (rev.)	Copper <i>kardezzes</i> , kept in: BnF, GG, PB, V, W, YN, etc.	(1296/7-1298)	Sis	Fig. 191
Kostandin on horseback, holding a sword in right hand (obv.); Castle with three turrets (rev.)	Gold <i>tahekan</i> , kept in: Istanbul Archeological Museum, V, etc.	(1298-1299)	Sis	Fig. 192

Kostandin on horseback, holding a sword in right hand (obv.); Kostandin standing, holding a cross in left hand and a sword in right hand (rev.)	Silver <i>trams</i> , kept in: HMA, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, PB, V, YN, etc.	(1298-1299)		Fig. 194
Kostandin – The same iconography as before, but on a larger surface and in more detail.	Silver double <i>tram</i> – only one example is known, which belongs to Dr. Levon Saryan (USA).	(1298-1299)		Fig. 195
Kostandin standing, holding a cross in left hand and a sword in right hand (obv.); Cross (rev.)	Copper <i>kardezzes</i> , kept in: BnF, HMA, PB, V, YN, etc.	(1298-1299)	Sis	Fig. 196
(*) Lewon III, <i>Coronation coins</i> in three variations: I. The Virgin and the king with the depiction of God’s Hand (obv.); Single lion (rev.). II. The Virgin and the king with the symbol of the Holy Spirit (obv.); Double lions (rev.). III. The Virgin and the king with the depiction of a light beam (obv.); Double lions (rev.).	Silver <i>trams</i> , kept in: HMA, V, W, etc.	(1301/6-1307)		Figs. 197, 198, 199
(*) Lewon III enthroned (obv.); Double lions (rev.).	Silver <i>trams</i> , kept in: HMA, etc.	(1306-1307?)		
Lewon III on horseback (obv.); Single lion walking right (rev.).	Silver <i>takvorins</i> , kept in: HMA, YN, PB, etc.	(1301/6-1307)	Sis	Fig. 201
Lewon III seated cross-legged (obv.); either mirror image of the obverse, or a cross	Copper <i>kardezzes</i> , kept in: BnF, PB, V, W, YN, etc.	(1301/6-1307)		Fig. 202

with equal arms (rev.)				
Lewon III seated on the (bench-like?) throne (obv.); a cross with equal arms, often with dots (rev.)	Copper <i>kardezzes</i> , kept in: BnF, PB, W, YN, etc.	(1301/6-1307)		
Ošin on the throne, holding a cross in right hand and a <i>fleur-de-lis</i> in left hand (obv.); Double lions (rev.)	Silver <i>trams</i> and <i>half trams</i> , kept in: BnF, Ē, PB, W, YN, etc.	(1308-1320)		Fig. 203
Ošin on horseback (obv.); Single lion walking right (rev.).	Silver <i>takvorins</i> , kept in: A, BnF, PB, V, W, YN, etc.	(1308-1320)	Sis	Fig. 204
Ošin seated on a bench-like throne (obv.); Cross (rev.)	Copper <i>poghs</i> , kept in: PB, W, YN, etc.	(1308-1320)	Sis?	
Lewon IV on horseback (obv.); Lion walking right or left (rev.) (!) A part of the <i>takvorin</i> coins are with Arabic overstrike, mentioning the name of Mamluk Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad and are decorated with a six-pointed star.	Silver <i>takvorins</i> , kept in: BnF, GG, PB, W, YN, etc.	(1321-1341)	Sis	Fig. 205
Lewon IV seated on bench-like throne, holding a cross and a <i>fleur-de-lis</i> (obv.); Cross (rev.)	Silver <i>half tram</i> – only one example is known (PB).	(1321-1341)	Sis	
Lewon IV seated on a bench-like throne; Cross (rev.) (!) There are large and small <i>poghs</i> with this iconography.	Copper <i>poghs</i> , kept in: BnF, PB, W, YN, etc.	(1321-1341)	Sis	Fig. 206 (large <i>pogh</i>)
Lewon IV seated cross-legged on a bench-like throne;	Copper <i>poghs</i> , kept in: GG, PB, W, YN, etc.	(1321-1341)	Sis	Fig. 207

Cross (rev.)				
Guy Lusignan on horseback (obv.); Single lion walking right (rev.)	Silver <i>takvorin</i> , kept in: BnF, PB, V, W, YN, Collection of Michael E. Stone, etc.	(1342-1344)	Sis	Fig. 225
Guy Lusignan seated on a bench-like throne (obv.); Cross (rev.)	Copper <i>poghs</i> , kept in: PB, W, etc.	(1342-1344)	Sis?	Fig. 226
Kostandin I on horseback (obv.); Single lion walking right (rev.)	Silver <i>takvorin</i> , kept in: BnF, PB, V, W, YN, etc.	(1344-1362/63)	Sis, Tarsus	Fig. 227
Kostandin I seated on a bench-like throne (obv.); Cross (rev.)	Copper <i>poghs</i> , kept in: PB, W, YN, etc.	(1344-1362/63)	Sis, Tarsus	Fig. 228
Kostandin II on horseback (obv.); Single lion walking right (rev.)	Silver <i>takvorin</i> , kept in: GG, W, YN, etc.	(1365-1373)	Sis	Fig. 244
Kostandin II seated on a bench-like throne (obv.); Cross (rev.)	Copper <i>poghs</i> , kept in: PB, YN, etc.	(1365-1373)	Sis	Fig. 245
Lewon V's head (obv.); Cross (rev.)	<i>Billons</i> , kept in: W, YN, etc.	(1374-1375)	Sis?	Fig. 246
(Lewon V) Single lion (obv.); Cross (rev.)	Copper <i>poghs</i> , kept in: W, YN, etc.	(1374-1375)	Sis?	Fig. 247
ENGRAVINGS, RELIEFS				
Het'um II depicted kneeling and asking for intercession	<i>Reliquary of Skewra</i> , gilt silver Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, Inv. AR. 1572	1293	Monastery of Skewra	Figs. 179, 180, 181, 182
Lewon (IV?) seated cross-legged, accompanied with two lions	Above the main gateway of the fortress of Yilankale (Lewonkla?) Adana Province, Turkey	14th century		Figs. 220a, 221
NON-ARMENIAN ROYAL IMAGERY				
Lewon I and Guy Lusignan, king of Cyprus	Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS. Lat. Zanetti 399 (=1610), fol. 80v. <i>Chronologia Magna</i> by Paolino Veneto	1320s	Venice	Figs. 39a, 39b

Meeting of Het'um I with the Great Khan Mongke	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAF 886, fol. 20r Hayton, <i>La flor des estoires d'Orient</i> (1307)	1301-1400	France	Fig. 62
Meeting of Het'um I with the Great Khan Mongke	London, British Library, Cotton MS Otho D II, fol. 21v Hayton, <i>La flor des estoires d'Orient</i> (1307)	1400-1415	France	Fig. 62a
Baptism of the Great Khan Mongke in the presence of Het'um I	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAF 886, fol. 20v Hayton, <i>La flor des estoires d'Orient</i> (1307)	1301-1400	France	Fig. 63
Baptism of the Great Khan Mongke in the presence of Het'um I	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 2810, fol. 242r Hayton, <i>La flor des estoires d'Orient</i> (1307) - The manuscript is a compilation of different medieval chronicles.	1400-1420	Paris	Fig. 64
Capture of Crown Prince Lewon and assassination of Prince T'oros at the Battle of Mari (1266)	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 2810, fol. 245v Hayton, <i>La flor des estoires d'Orient</i> (1307)	1400-1420	Paris	Fig. 161
Great Khan Mongke and King Het'um I	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAF 886, fol. 21r Hayton, <i>La flor des estoires d'Orient</i> (1307)	1301-1400	France	Fig. 66
Het'um I leaves the secular life (1269)	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAF 886, fol. 25v Hayton, <i>La flor des estoires d'Orient</i> (1307)	1301-1400	France	Fig. 67
Abaqa Khan and Lewon II	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAF 886, fol. 26v Hayton, <i>La flor des estoires d'Orient</i> (1307)	1301-1400	France	Fig. 162
Ghazan Khan and Het'um II	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAF 886, fol. 36r Hayton, <i>La flor des estoires d'Orient</i> (1307)	1301-1400	France	Fig. 186

Het'um II	Venice, Biblioteca Marciana MS. Lat. Zanetti 399 (=1610), fol. 84v. <i>Chronologia Magna</i> by Paolino Veneto	1320s	Venice	Figs. 187a, 187b
Armenian king surrounded by four beasts	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. Lat. 548, fols. 13v- 14r <i>Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis</i> by Marino Sanudo	14th century		Fig. 222
Armenian king surrounded by four beasts	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. Lat. 2972, folio 14r <i>Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis</i> by Marino Sanudo	14th century		Fig. 223
Armenian king surrounded by four beasts	BL Add. 27376, folio 13r <i>Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis</i> by Marino Sanudo	c. 1330		Fig. 224
Guy Lusignan	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 12575, folio 39v <i>Couldrette, Roman de Mélusine</i>	1430	France	Fig. 229
Guy Lusignan	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3353, folio 74r <i>Jean d'Arras, Roman de Mélusine</i>	15th century	France	Fig. 230
Guy Lusignan	London, British Library, Cotton MS Otho D II, folio 113v <i>Jean d'Arras, Roman de Mélusine</i>	1400-1415	France	Fig. 230a
Lewon V Lusignan and Richard II of England	BL Royal MS 14 E IV, folio 259v <i>Anciennes et nouvelles chroniques d'Angleterre</i> by Jean de Wavrin	1470-1480	Lille and Bruges (?)	Fig. 252
Tombstone of Lewon V Lusignan	Paris, Basilica of Saint Denis	1393	(Initially in the Convent of the Celestines, Paris)	Figs. 253, 254

APPENDIX II.

Illustrated Manuscripts Commissioned by *or* for the Royal Family Members

This database is gathered from around forty volumes of manuscript catalogues. It is not, however, a complete list of all extant illustrated codices commissioned by *or* for the royal family members of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia but only those which were considered during the writing of this thesis.

FIRST OWNER	MANUSCRIPT, CONTENT, NAME	DATE	SCRIPTORIUM	SCRIBE	ARTIST	SUPPORT
Prince Lewon II (later King Lewon I)	BZ 64/133 Hymnal	1187 ?				Parchment
Kostandin, father of King Het'um I	M 7700 Gospels	1237	Sis	Grigor	Kostandin (the same of FGA 1956.11)	Paper
Kostandin, <i>t'agadir</i> and son-in-law of Het'um I	V 2636 <i>Gregory of Narek</i>	1237	Skewria	Yusik		Paper
Smbat the Constable, brother of Het'um I	V 2637 <i>David the Invincible & Compilation</i>	1239-1244	Adana	Step'anos		Paper
Prince Sir Čofri (Geoffrey)	M 4301 Gospels	1248		Aplmsch		Parchment
Prince Lewon (II) (by the order of Catholicos Kostandin I)	M 8321 Gospels	1256 ?	Hromkla		T'oros Roslin ?	Parchment (later completed with paper folios)
Prince Lewon (II)	J 2660 <i>Wedding Gospels of Crown Prince Lewon</i>	1262	Hromkla	T'oros Roslin	the scribe	Parchment
Yovhannēs (brother of Het'um I)	FGA 1956.11 Gospels	1263	Gıner	Priest T'oros	Kostandin (the same of M 7700)	Parchment
Lady Keřan of Lambron (spouse of Geoffrey of Servandik'ar and aunt of Queen Keřan)	J 1956 Gospels	1265	Hromkla	T'oros Roslin	the scribe	Parchment

Yovhannēs (brother of Het'um I)	M 4243 Books of Bible	1263-1266	Barjrberd (Monastery of Lisonka?)	Step'annos Vahkayc'i	Yovasap'	Parchment
King Het'um I	M 5458 <i>Gospels of King Het'um I</i>	1266	Hrōmkla	T'oros Rōslin ?	the scribe ?	Parchment and paper
For Prince Het'um (II) (by the order of Catholicos Kostandin I)	M 10675 Gospels	1267-1268	Hrōmkla	T'oros Rōslin	the scribe	Parchment and paper
Crown Prince Lewon (II)	V 1232 Compilation	13th c.	Sis ?			Paper
Princess Fimi (daughter of Het'um I)	V 21 / 376 <i>Bible of Princess Fimi</i>	13th c. (1255-1271)		Yovhannēs (brother of Het'um I)		Parchment
T'agadir Kostandin of Servandik'ar (son-in-law of Het'um I)	M 2629 Gospels	13th c.				Parchment
Yovhannēs (brother of Het'um I)	M 345 Bible	1270		Bishop Barseł and the owner	Yovasap' (partly) ?	Paper
Yovhannēs (brother of Het'um I)	M 10944 Gospels	1270	Cicirboyn, Monastery of Lisonka (near Barjrberd)	Bishop Barseł	Yovasap' ?	Parchment
Yovhannēs (brother of Het'um I)	V 1515 <i>Dionysius the Areopagite</i>	1271	Sis ?	Step'annos , Yohannēs and Vasil		Paper
Queen Keřan	J 2563 Gospels	1272	Sis ?	Awetis (Awetik')		Parchment
King Lewon II	BL Or 13993 <i>Breviary of King Lewon II</i>	1274-1276	Sis ?	Step'annos Vahkayc'i		Parchment
Yovhannēs (brother of Het'um I) and Baron Smbat	BSB Cod. Arm. I Gospels	1278	Gřner	the owner	Vasil or Barseł ?	Parchment
Yovhannēs (brother of Het'um I)	M 10773 Gospels	1280	Gřner	the owner		Paper
King Lewon II	BL Or 13804 <i>Psalter of King Lewon II</i>	1283	Sis	Yohan	(<i>Sargis Picak's style</i>)	Parchment
Queen Keřan	M 6764 Gospels (on the occasion of knighting ceremony of Crown Prince Het'um)	1283	Skewřa	Step'anos		Parchment

Baron Ošin (of Corycos)	M 4207 Compilation	1284	Atanay (Adana)	Kostandin K'urat' (or T'urat')		Paper
Yovhannēs (brother of Het'um I)	M 5525 Gospels	1284-86	Village of Tiroj (Gīner)	the owner		Paper
Yovhannēs (brother of Het'um I)	M 195 Books of Bible	1284- 1288	Gīner?	Kostandin and the owner		Parchment
Het'um (II)	M 979 <i>Lectionary of Crown Prince Het'um</i>	1286	Skewra ?	Gēorg of Skewra ?		Parchment
Yovhannēs (brother of Het'um I)	M 10480 Compilation	1286		Vardan, Barsel and the owner		Paper and parchment
Yovhannēs (brother of Het'um I)	M 197 Gospels	1287	Akner	the owner		Parchment
Yovhannēs (brother of Het'um I)	BZ 120/363 Daniel's Commentary on the Psalms of David	1289	Monastery of Otnka	Sargis		Paper
Yovhannēs (brother of Het'um I)	W 245 Lectionary of Yovhannēs Ark'aelbayr	2nd half of 13th c. (1270- 1289)	Gīner			Paper
Yovhannēs (brother of Het'um I)	V 38 of the K'iwrtēan Collection. Lectionary and Acts of the Apostles	2nd half of 13th century				Parchment
Yovhannēs (brother of Het'um I)	M 196 Books of the New Testament	2nd half of 13th c.	Village of Tiroj (Gīner)	Kostandin Awəlc'i	Step'an Vahkayc'i and Grigor Picak	Parchment
Yovhannēs (brother of Het'um I)	M 1315 Compilation	2nd half of 13th century		the owner and Yakob		Paper
Yovhannēs (brother of Het'um I)	M 3710 Compilation	2nd half of 13th century		the owner, T'oros and Step'annos Vahkayc'i		Paper
Smbat the Constable (brother of Het'um I)	M 7644 Gospels	2nd half of 13th century			Awetik'	Parchment
Prince Vasak (brother of Het'um I)	J 2568 Gospels	2nd half of 13th century	Hrōmkla ?			Parchment
Prince Vasak (brother of Het'um I)	FGA 1932.18 Gospels	2nd half of 13th century				Parchment

<i>(a lady from the royal court)</i>	BZ 17/2 Gospels	1290	Adana	Xaç'atur		Paper
King Het'um II	V 1281 Book of Remedies	1294	Sis ?	Vard Mrdišc'i		Parchment
King Het'um II	M 180 Bible of King Het'um II	1295		Step'anos		Parchment
presented by King Het'um II to Marshal Ošin	BL Or. 10960 Gospels + The Vision of Prophet Isaiah	1295		T'oros Vahkayc'i (nephew of Step'anos Vahkayc'i)	Step'annos Vahkayc'i ?	Paper
King Smbat	J 503 Hymnal + <i>Xazgirk'</i> (Book of neumes)	1297				Parchment
King Smbat	M 10975 Equine Medicine Book	1297-98	Sis	T'oros	the scribe ?	Paper
King Het'um II	V 29 Hymnal	13th-14th cc.	Sis ?	Vardan		Parchment
Mariun ⁸⁹³	V 521 Psalter	13th-14th cc. (1295-1351) ?	Skewria or Tarsus ?			Parchment
Alic of Lambron (sister of Queen Keřan and spouse of Philip of Ibelin, seneschal of Cyprus)	MS 15, Cluj-Napoca, Archivele Statului Gospels + Lectionary	1310-12	Famagusta, Cyprus	Step'anos Goynereric'anc'	Sargis (Picak ?)	Parchment
King Ošin and his son Lewon	V 710 Menology	1310-20		Grigor		Parchment
King Ošin	MS 6, Aleppo, Forty Martyrs Cathedral <i>Breviary of King Ošin</i>	1319	Sis ?	Yakob and T'oros Hřomklaye c'i		Parchment
King Lewon IV	V 107 The Assises of Antioch	1331	Sis	Sargis Picak	the scribe	Parchment
King Kostandin I	Gospels *Lost manuscript (see Chapter 13.1).	1345	Sis?	King Kostandin I		

⁸⁹³ This could be either the mother of King Kostandin I and spouse of Marshal Baldwin, or the sister of Queen Keřan. Barseř Sargisean is more inclined to think that Mariun, mentioned in the colophon of MS V 521, is the first one, who died a little before, or in, 1352. See: *General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Mekhitarist Library in Venice*, Volume I, 205-212, esp. 210-212.

Queen Mariun	J 1973 <i>Gospels of Queen Mariun</i>	1346	Sis	Nersēs (who has offered the MS to the queen)	Sargis Picak	Paper and parchment
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APPENDIX III.

BIRTH, KNIGHTING, CORONATION, AND BURIAL OF CILICIAN ARMENIAN RULERS

RULER / REGENT	BIRTH DATE	KNIGHTING DATE AND PLACE	CORONATION DATE AND PLACE	DEATH AND BURIAL PLACE
Lewon I (1198-1219)			6 January 1198 Tarsus, Cathedral of Saint Sophia	1 May 1219 buried in Akner (entrails) and Sis (body)
Ruben Raymond	c. 1197		15 August 1211 (crowned as co- regent with Lewon I by the latter's initiative) 14 February 1216 Antioch, Church of St. Peter (crowned as Prince of Antioch by the initiative of Lewon I)	1222 * killed in prison
Queen Zapēl (Isabella of Armenia) (1219-1252)	1216	-	1219 (became regent after the death of her father, Lewon I)	12 January 1252, Drazark * buried without ceremony
Philip (1222-1225)			1222, Tarsus (became king by the marriage to Queen Zapēl)	1225 * killed in prison in the Castle of T'il
Het'um I (1226-1269/70)			14 June 1226, Tarsus (became king by the marriage to Queen Zapēl)	29 October 1269 or 1270 buried in Drazark
Lewon II (1269/71-1289)	1236	15 November 1256, Msis (Mopsuestia)	6 January 1271 Tarsus, Cathedral of Saint Sophia	6 February 1289 (Sis), buried in Drazark
Het'um II (1289-1307 intermittently)	1265	1283	Succession in 1289 * no coronation took place	17 November 1307 * killed near

				Anawarza, later buried in Cilicia
T'oros (1293-1294, 1295-1296)	1270	1283	Replaced his brother Het'um II twice, in 1293 and 1295 as great baron * no coronation took place	23 July 1298 * killed by his brother, King Smbat, in Molewon
Smbat (1296/7-1298)	1276		6 January 1297 Sis (Church of Saint Sophia?)	* died after 1307 "at sea of an illness" (The 'Templar of Tyre')
Kostandin (1298-1299)	1277		Came to the royal throne by the rebellion against Smbat	* died c. 1307-8 (expelled to Constantinople by Het'um II and never returned)
Lewon III (1306-1307)	c. 1295-1296	6 January 1305	30 July 1306 Sis (Church of Saint Sophia?)	17 November 1307 * killed near Anawarza, later buried in Cilicia
Ošin (1308-1320)	1283		1308 Tarsus 1316 wedding ceremony with Joan of Anjou and her anointment as Queen of Armenia	19 June 1320 buried in Drazark
Lewon IV (1321-1341)	9 April 1310		1 February 1321 Sis (coronation and wedding ceremony with Alic of Corycos) 3 November 1331 Sis (wedding and coronation ceremony with Constance of Sicily, also known as Constance of Aragon)	1341
Guy Lusignan (1342-1344)			October 1342 Sis	17 November 1344, in Adana * killed

Kostandin I (1344-1362/63)				21 December (?) 1362/1363
Queen Mariun (1363-1364, 1373-1374)	after 1320	-		19 July 1377 buried at the St. James Monastery in Jerusalem
Kostandin II (1365-1373)	12 October 1326			April 1373 * killed
Lewon V Lusignan (1374-1375)	1342		14 September 1374 Sis, Church of Saint Sophia	29 November 1393 Basilica of Saint Denis, Paris * Initially buried in the Convent of the Celestines, Paris

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IV. DIGITAL LIBRARIES AND ELECTRONIC RESOURCES

www.asia.si.edu

www.bl.uk

www.davidmus.dk

www.digilib.am

www.digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/start/

www.fondazionezeri.unibo.it

www.gallica.bnf.fr

www.hermitagemuseum.org

www.ica.princeton.edu

www.ica.themorgan.org

www.louvre.fr

www.matenadaran.am

www.memoriademadrid.es

www.mss.vatlib.it

www.museunacional.cat

www.nayiri.com

www.nla.am

www.virtualani.org

www.thedigitalwalters.org

GLOSSARY

ark'aelbayr (arm.) – literally translated means “brother of the king.” In the context of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, it generally refers to Yohannēs Ark'aelbayr, brother of Het'um I.

Astuacacin (arm.) – Mary Mother of God, lit. “the one who gave birth to God” (equivalent to Greek *Theotokos*).

billon – type of coin; from old French *bullion* or *vellón*, meaning “unmixed noble metal.”

catholicos – see *kat'olikos*.

erkat'agir – capital letters, literally translated “iron-forged letters.”

Grabar – Classical Armenian or Old Armenian. It is now used only as the liturgical language of the Armenian Apostolic Church.

ilkhan – ruler of the Mongol Ilkhanate of Iran (1256-1353).

išxan (arm.) – prince, secular ruler.

išxanac' išxan (arm.) – prince of princes.

ĵambřla – chamberlain.

jiawor (arm.) – knight.

kardez or *k'artēz* – generally refers to medium-sized copper coins.

kat'olikos – or *catholicos* (patriarch) of the Armenian Church.

kat'olikosaran – Armenian Catholicosate (Patriarchate).

marajaxt – marshal.

paron – baron, lord.

pũkdânâ – an official license, offered by Mongol rulers.

paiza – also known as *tablet of authority*, offered by the Great Khan or other Mongol rulers.

sparapet (arm.) – head of the Armenian army, constable.

t'agadir (arm.) – courtly official, whose function was to accompany the king during the ceremonies bearing the latter's crown. Literally translated *t'agadir* means coronant, person who places the crown.

t'agawor (arm.) – king.

t'aguhi (arm.) – queen.

takvorin – silver coin minted by the kings of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia of the fourteenth century. *Takvorin* coins differ from silver *trams* with less quantity of silver (less than 50 percent) and reduced weight of coins.

tahekan or *dahekan* – gold or silver coin. One *tahekan* is equal to six *tanks*.

tank – type of coin. The name of *tank* coins was derived from the measure of weight. Six *tanks* are equal to one *tram*. *Tank* coins could be struck of different metals, but in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia *tanks* are mainly in copper.

tram – or *dram* is Armenian term used for silver and gold coins (cf. *drachma* in Greek and Latin, and *dirham* in Persian and Arabic), but in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia *tram* coins are mainly in silver (about 2.9 grams). There exist half *trams* and double *trams* as well, which are respectively half or double the weight of a *tram*.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1. Canon table, displaying canons 8 and 9.
 Gospel Book, Drazark, 1113.
 © Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 6763, fol. 13v.



**Fig. 2. Cross preceding the Gospel of Matthew.
Gospel Book, Drazark, 1113.**

© Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 6763, fol. 23v.



Fig. 3. Mausoleum of the Arsacid kings in Aljk' (4th century), Armenia.
© Photo by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.

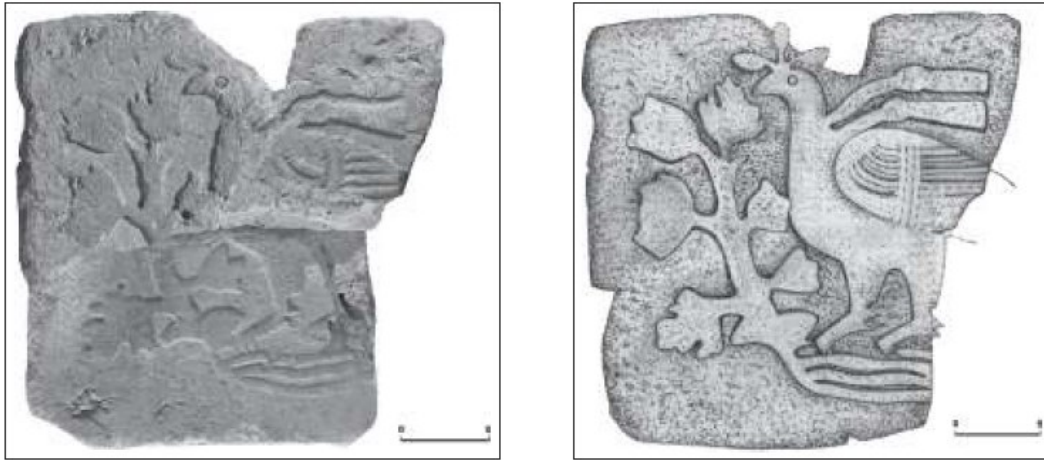


Fig. 4. Mausoleum of the Arsacid kings in Aljk' (4th century), Armenia.
Relief of a bird with royal ribbon of honor (preserved in four fragments).
Reconstruction by Hakob Simonyan
© Simonyan, "The Royal Monumental Complex in Aghtsk," Figs. 43-44.



Fig. 5. Southern facade of the Ptlni Church, 6th-7th centuries, Armenia.
© Photo by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.



Fig. 6. Prince Manuel Amatuni slaying a lion.
Southern facade of the Ptlni Church, 6th-7th centuries, Armenia.
© Photo by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.



**Fig. 7. Tympanum of the western entrance of the Church of Mren (638-641).
© Photo by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.**



**Fig. 8. King Gagik Arceruni presenting the model of the church to Christ.
Church of the Holy Cross (915-921), western façade.
Island of Alt'amar, Turkey. © Photo by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.**



**Fig. 9. Investiture of King Ardashir I by Ahura Mazda,
Naqsh-e-Rostam, Iran.**

© Photo after: Alram, "The Political and Cultural Impact of Sasanid Persia," Fig. 1.



**Fig. 10. Bagratid brothers Gurgin and Smbat.
Sanahin, Church of the Holy Savior (957-966), eastern façade.
Lori, Armenia © Photo author.**



**Fig. 11. Bagratid brothers Gurgin and Smbat, in their new political status. Haghpat,
Church of the Holy Cross (971-991), eastern façade.
Lori, Armenia. © Photo author.**



Reconstruction of the statue by
a member of Marr's
excavation team in Ani
www.virtualani.org



Fragment of the statue in
the Erzurum
Archaeological Museum
www.virtualani.org

Fig. 12. The lost statue of King Gagik I Bagratid (990-1020), found in
1906 by Nikolay Marr in the Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator
(1001), in Ani. Photograph after Marr.
www.virtualani.org



Fig. 13. King Gagik-Abas of Kars with his daughter Marem and spouse Goranduxt. *Gospels of King Gagik of Kars*, mid-11th century.
© Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS J 2556, folio 135v.



Fig. 14a. *Protospatharios Yovhannēs offering the Gospel Book to the Virgin.*

The Gospels of Hadrianopolis (1007).

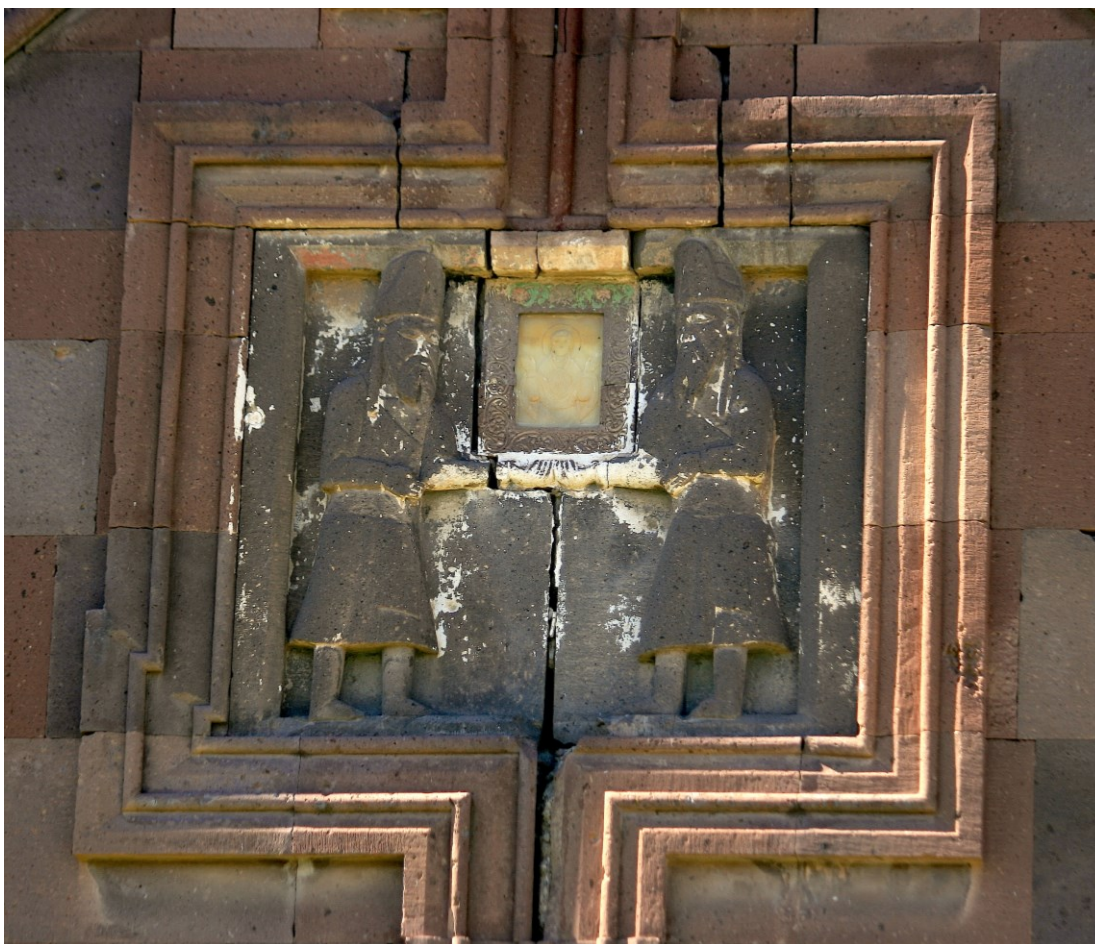
© Venice, San Lazzaro, Library of the Mekhitarist Congregation, MS V 887, fols. 7v-8r.



Fig. 14b. Protospatharios Yovhannēs.
The Gospels of Hadrianopolis (1007).
© Venice, San Lazzaro, Library of the Mekhitarist
Congregation, MS V 887, fol. 8r.



Fig. 15. Emperor Basil II (976-1025).
Psalter, 11th century © Venice, Biblioteca Marciana,
MS gr. Z. 17, fol. 11r.



**Fig. 16. Zak'arid brothers Zak'arē and Ivanē.
Church of the Holy Mother of God (1201) in Hañič, eastern façade,
Širak, Armenia. © Photo author.**



**Fig. 17. Prince Hasan Ĵalal Dawla and his son At'abek.
Drum of the Church of Saint John the Baptist (1216-1238),
Ganjasar Monastery, Arc'ax.
© Photo by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.**



Fig. 18. Saint Basil the Great (?).
Lectionary of Crown Prince Het'um, 1286.
© Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 979, fol. 6v.



Fig. 19. Incipit page to the Gospel of Matthew.
Gospels of Skewra, monasteries of Mlič and Skewra, 1193-1198.
© Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, MS Rps 8101 III, fol. 12r.



Fig. 20. Incipit page to the Gospel of John.
Gospels of Skewra, monasteries of Mlič and Skewra, 1193-1198.
© Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, MS Rps 8101 III, fol. 327r.



Fig. 21. Incipit page to the Gospel of John.
Gospels of Nersēs of Lambron and his brother Het'um, Skewra, 1193.
© Venice, San Lazzaro, Library of the Mekhitarist Congregation,
MS V 1635, fol. 249r.



Fig. 22. Incipit page to the Gospel of John.
Gospels, Hromkla, 1166.
© Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 7347, fol. 265r.



Fig. 23. Gold Bulla of Lewon I (1198-1219), obv. & rev.
Vatican, Archivio Segreto, A. A. Arm. I-XVIII, 628-631.
(exact copy of an original example in the Vatican Archive,
Claude Mutafian Collection, Paris)



Fig. 23a. Gold Bulla of Lewon I. Obverse, detail.



Fig. 24 (obverse).



Fig. 25 (obverse).



Fig. 26 (obverse).

Figs. 24-26. Gold Bullae of Frederick I Barbarossa (Fig. 24), Henry VI (Fig. 25), and Otto IV (Fig. 26).

Vatican, Archivio Segreto, A. A. Arm. I-XVIII, 7;

A. A. Arm. I-XVIII, 8; A. A. Arm. I-XVIII, 22.

Photos: Martini, ed., *I sigilli d'oro dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, Milano 1984.



**Fig. 27. Royal Stockings, part of coronation vestment.
Palermo, Royal Atelier, 12th-13th centuries.
© Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Weltliche Schatzkammer,
SK-WK-XIII-12.**



Fig. 28. *Lectionary of Crown Prince Het'um*, 1286.

**© Yerevan, Matenadaran,
MS M 979, fol. 7r, detail.**

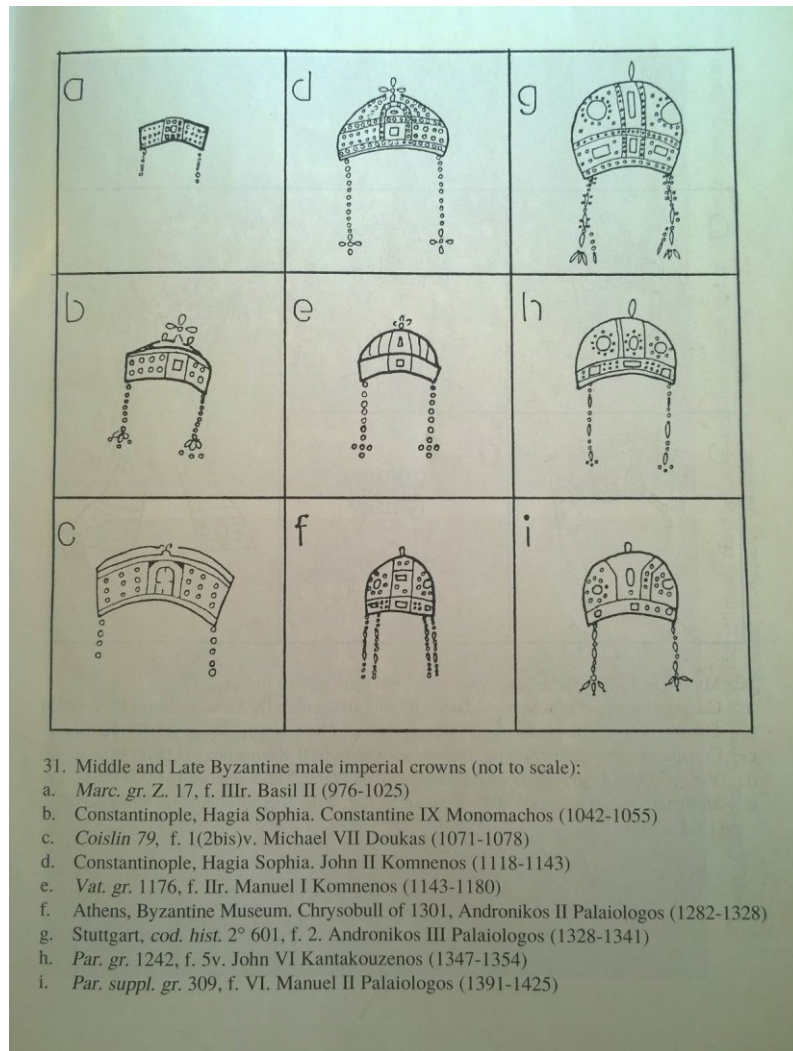


Fig. 29. Byzantine Male Imperial Crowns

© Photo after: Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, Leiden 2003, Fig. 31.



**Fig. 30. Holy Crown of Hungary,
11th/12th century (the back of the crown).
Budapest, Hungarian Parliament Building.**

© Photo: www.wikimedia.org



Fig. 31. Copper *tank* of Lewon I (1198-1219), obv. & rev.
© Ĕjmiacin, Museum of Armenian Catholicosate.



Fig. 32. Silver *tram* of Lewon I (1198-1219), obv. & rev.
© Antelias, Museum of Catholicosate of Cilicia.



Fig. 33. Silver *tram* of Lewon I (1198-1219), obv. & rev.
© Ĕjmiacin, Museum of Armenian Catholicosate.



Fig. 34. Silver *tram* of Lewon I (1198-1219), obverse.
© Antelias, Museum of Catholicosate of Cilicia.



Fig. 35. Silver *tram* of Lewon I (1198-1219), obv. & rev.
© Collection of author.



Fig. 36. Copper Coin of Prince Lewon II (1187-1198).
© Photo after: Vardanyan, *Sylloge Nummorum Armenorum: Lewon I the Magnificent*, 19.



**Fig. 37. Billon of Lewon I (1198-1219), obv. & rev.
With Legends in Armenian**

© Photo after: Bedoukian, "A Unique Billon of Lewon I," Pl. XIV / 1.



**Fig. 38a. Billon of Lewon I (1198-1219), obv. & rev.
With Legends in Latin**

© Photo after: Bedoukian, "A Unique Billon of Lewon I," Pl. XIV / 3.



Fig. 38b. the same billon as in Fig. 38a

© Photo after: Schlumberger, "Monnaies des princes chrétiens d'Orient," Pl. XXV, Fig. 1.





















Imparatores stantinopolitani	Reges francie	Reges castelle	Reges aragonie	Reges portugale	Reges castelle	Reges aragonie	Reges portugale	Reges castelle	Reges aragonie	Reges portugale	Reges castelle	Reges aragonie	Reges portugale	Reges castelle	Reges aragonie	Reges portugale
1190.	 Alaricus fr.	 Rogerus francie	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie
 Alaricus fr.	 Rogerus francie	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	
 Alaricus fr.	 Rogerus francie	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	
 Alaricus fr.	 Rogerus francie	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	
 Alaricus fr.	 Rogerus francie	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	
 Alaricus fr.	 Rogerus francie	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	 Alaricus portugale	 Alaricus castelle	 Alaricus aragonie	

Fig. 39a. Chronologia Magna of Paolino Veneto.

© Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. Zanetti 399 (=1610), fol. 80v.

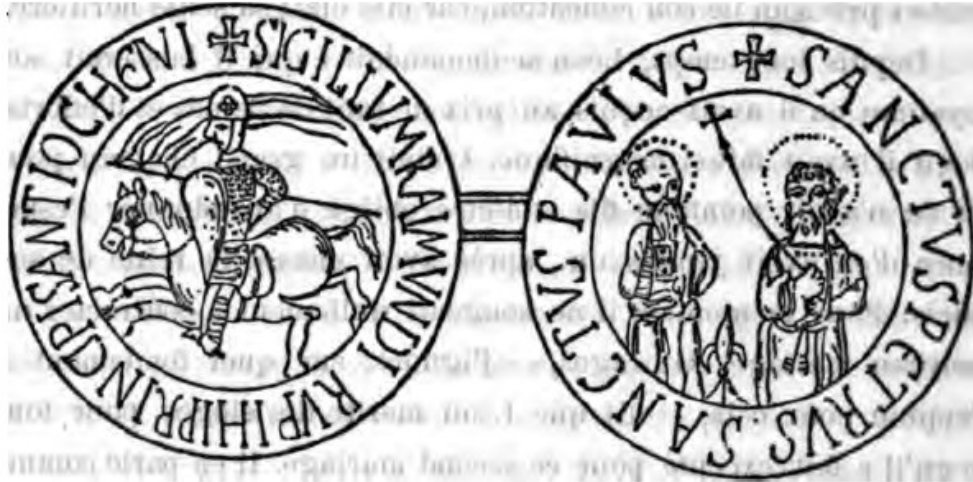


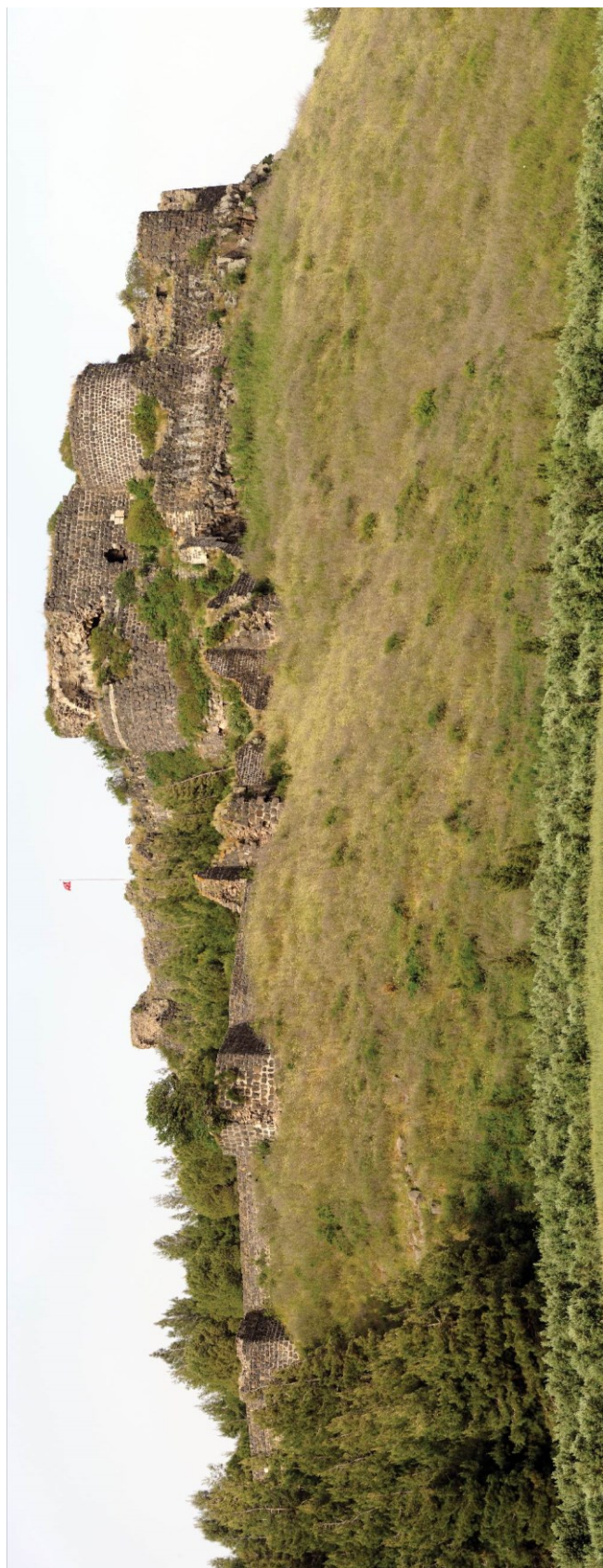
Fig. 40. Seal of Ruben Raymond as Prince of Antioch (1216-1219), obv. & rev.

© Photo after: Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique* (Venice: St. Lazare, 1888), p. 278.



Figs. 41abc. Coins of Ruben Raymond as Prince of Antioch (1216-1219), obv. & rev.

© <https://www.baldwin.co.uk/media/cms/auction-archive/auction-80/Auc%2080%202457-2652%20Paul%20Edis%20Collection.pdf> (Former Paul Edis Collection of Crusader Coins)



**Fig. 42. Castle of T'ıl (T'ıl Hamtun)
Toprakkale, Osmaniye Province, Turkey
© Photo by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.**



Figs. 43-44. Silver *trams* of Het'um I (1226-1270) and Queen Zapēl, obv. & rev.

© Antelias, Museum of Catholicosate of Cilicia.



Fig. 45. Silver *tram* of Het'um I (1226-1270) and Queen Zapēl, obv. & rev.

© Ējmiacin, Museum of Armenian Catholicosate.



Fig. 46. Empress Helena and Emperor Constantine.
Lectinary of Crown Prince Het'um, 1286.
 © Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 979, fol. 305v.

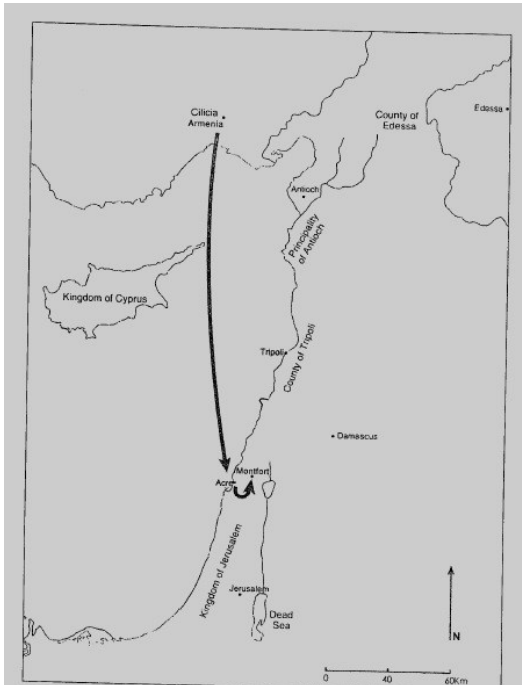


Fig. 1. The Journey of the Armenian Crown from Armenia to the Teutonic Order's strongholds in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (after A.J. Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*).

Fig. 47. Transfer of the Armenian Crown. © Photo: Lotan, "The Transfer of the Armenian Crown to the Holy Land," Fig. 1.

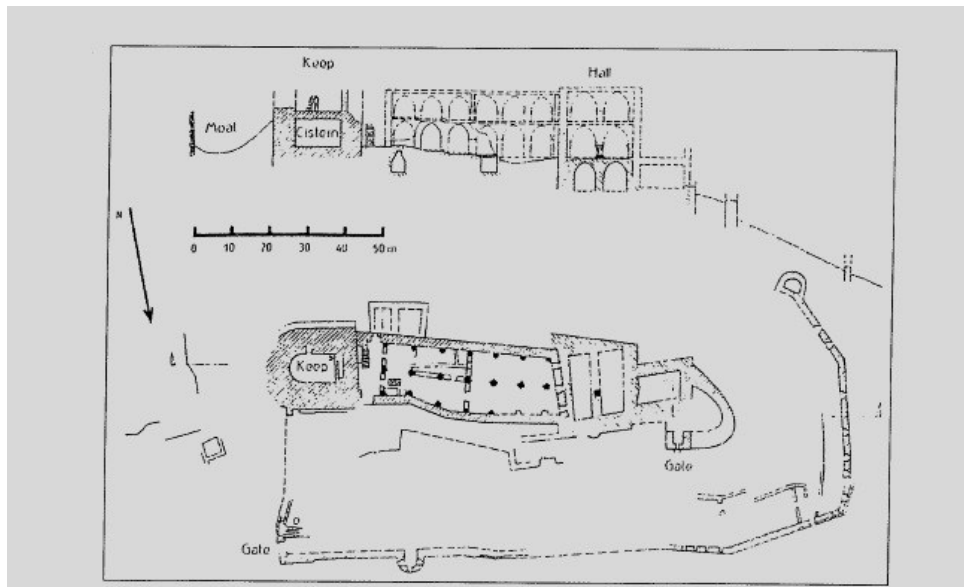


Fig. 2. The suggested place of positioning of the Armenian Crown in the Montfort Castle (after A.J. Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*).

Fig. 48. The Suggested Place of the Armenian Crown in the Montfort Castle. © Photo: Lotan, "The Transfer of the Armenian Crown to the Holy Land," Fig. 2.



**Fig. 49. Silver bilingual *tram* of Het'um I and Kayqubad I, obv. & rev. (1226(?)-1237).
© Copenhagen, The David Collection, Inv. no. C 154.**



**Figs. 50-51. Silver bilingual *trams* of Het'um I and Kaykhusrow II, obv. & rev. (1237-1243/1244).
© Copenhagen, The David Collection, Inv. no. C 228 (Fig. 50, above).
© Antelias, Museum of Catholicosate of Cilicia (Fig. 51, below).**



Fig. 52. Copper *tank* of Het'um I (1226-1270), obv. & rev.
© Venice, San Lazzaro, Museum of the Mekhitarist Congregation.



**Figs. 53ab. Copper *kardez* coins of Het'um I (1226-1270),
obv. & rev. (shown vertically).**

© Photo after: Y. Nercessian, *Armenian Coins and Their Values*, Pl. 30, Figs. 362-363.



Figs. 54ab. Copper *kardez* of Het'um I (1226-1270), obv. & rev. (shown vertically).
 © Photo after: Y. Nercessian, *Armenian Coins and Their Values*, Figs. 359-360.



Fig. 55. Gold *tahekan* of Het'um I and Lewon II, obv. & rev. (?).
 © Photo after: O. Sek'ulean, "*Lewon B.-i ocman dramnerə* [The Coronation (Anointment) Coins of Lewon II]," p. 205.



Fig. 56. The so-called “Scepter of King Het’um I”.
Museum of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem.
© Photo: B. Narkiss (ed.), *Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem*, Figs. 11-12.



**Fig. 57. Wodden door of the Nativity Church in Bethlehem, commissioned by King Het'um I in 1227, carved by masters Abraham and Arak'el.
© Photo by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.**



**Fig. 58a. Gilded silver bowl, interior view.
Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, 12th-13th Century.
© Saint Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, AR 1502.**



Fig. 58b. Gilded silver bowl.
Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia,
12th-13th Century, detail.
 © Saint Petersburg, The State
 Hermitage Museum, AR 1502.



Fig. 59. *Psalter of Queen Melisende.*
Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1131-1143.
 © London, British Library, MS Egerton 1139,
 folio 23v (initial B).

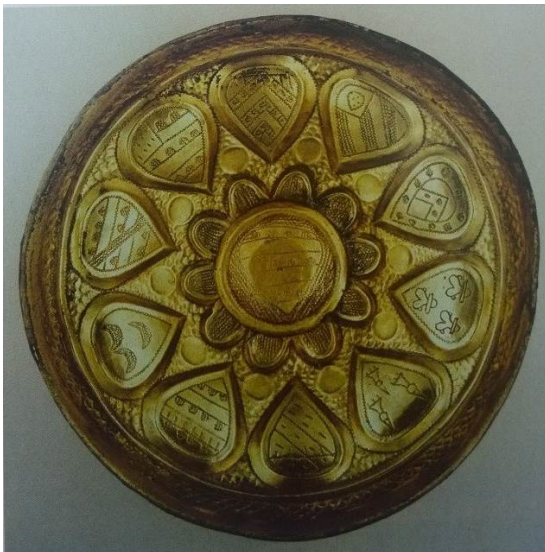


Fig. 60. Gilded silver bowl, interior view.
c. 1195-1223, found in the Holy Land.
The Silver Treasures of Resafa-Sergiopolis,
Madrid, German Archaeological Institute.
 © Photo: J. Folda, *Crusader Art: The Art of the*
Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1099-1291, Fig. 57.



Comment les tartars
vindrent premiere-
ment a seigneurie .i.

Ceste terre
la contree
ou les tar-
tars demourent
premierement est entre la
terre de
belgria de ceste mon-
tagne parlent les
hystoires de alixandre
la ou il fait mencion

des homes sauuaiges q
il trouua en celle con-
tree demourent prem-
ierement les tartars si ce
homes bestiaux qui
nauoient foy ne loy
de lieu en lieu aloient
bestes paissans z esto-
ient vilment tenus des
autres naciones Jusqz
ilz fuoient plus de na-
cions des tartars qui
furent nomez maritols

Fig. 61. Dream of Genghis Khan and Homage of the Mongols to Genghis Khan. Hayton, *La flor des estoires d'Orient*. Créquy Master of Amiens, northern France, 1440-1450 © London, British Library, MS Additional 17971, folio 23r.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. 62. Meeting of King Het'um with Great Khan Mongke.
 Hayton, *La flor des estoires d'Orient*.
 Manuscript copied and illustrated between 1301-1400.
 © Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS NAF 886, folio 20r.

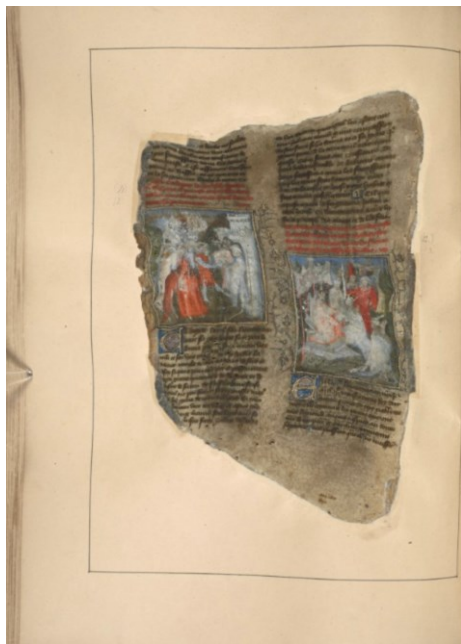


Fig. 62a. Meeting of King Het'um with Great Khan Mongke.
Hayton, *La flor des estoires d'Orient*.
Manuscript copied and illustrated between 1400-1415.
© London, British Library, Cotton MS Otho D II, folio 21v.



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Fig. 63. Baptism of Great Khan Mongke in the presence of King Het'um I (at the Khan's right-hand side). Hayton, *La flor des estoires d'Orient*. Manuscript copied and illustrated between 1301-1400.

© Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS NAF 886, folio 20v.

qui allegast celui d'astel. et ne se print du siege usques a tant que l'astel
pus celui d'astel. Dont les tatars demourerent au siege du dit d'astel sans
partir .xxv. ans. Quant balcon entendit a prendre celui d'astel. le roy
pist au gic de balcon. et retourna en arriere apres trois ans et demy sans
et autres dieu merci par la grace de dieu.



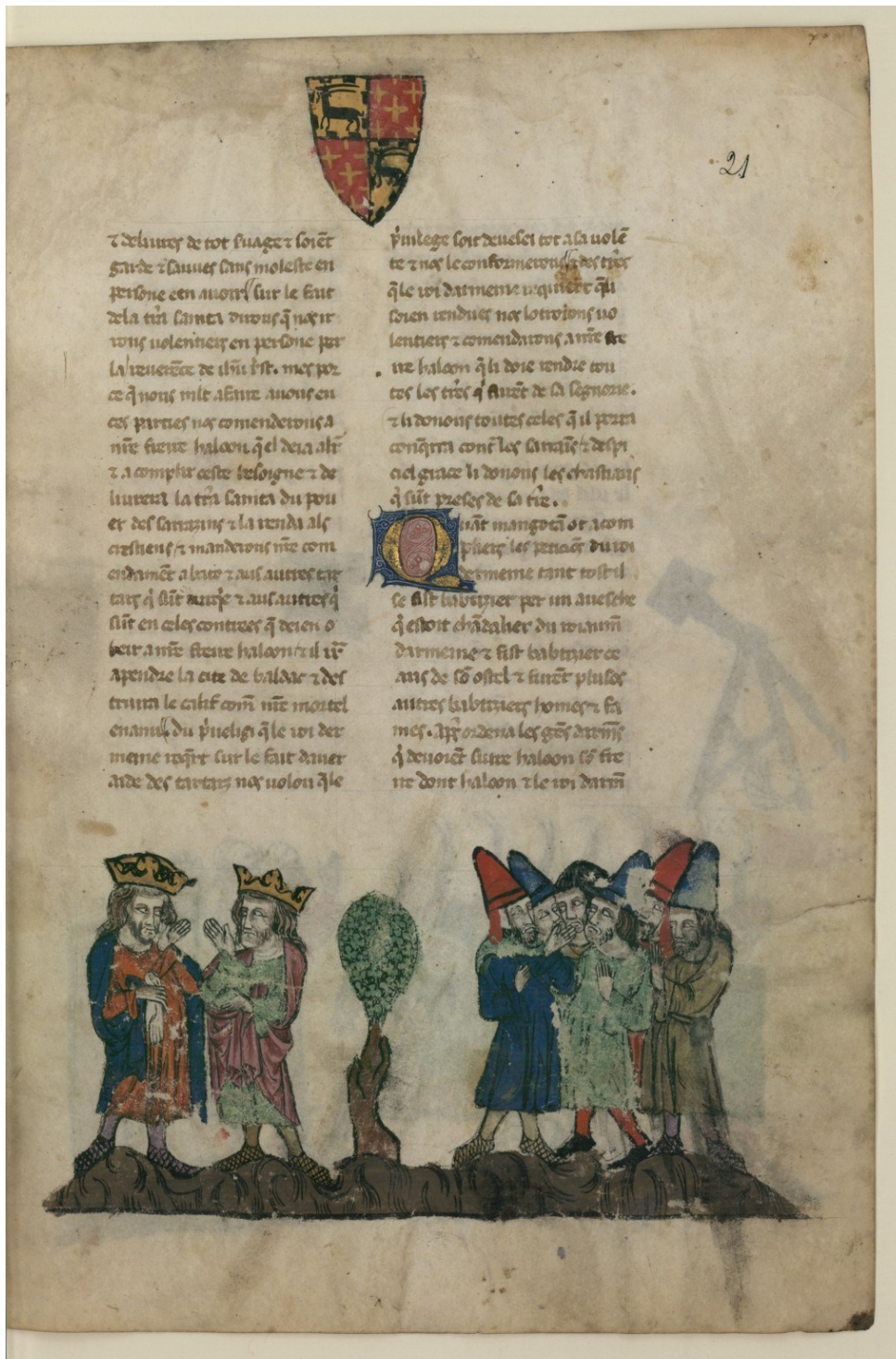
Comment balcon prist la cite de baltach et fist moult de bien le cas pour
l'amour du tresor qui avoit assemble et ne sen estoit point voulu aidier.

Des ce que balcon or ordonne la grace du royaume de
perse il sen ala en une delitable contrée qui est nommée soloch
et la demoura treslong temps. Quant l'air
si vint balcon demanda et allega la cite de baltach. Et
le cas qui estoit meisme et au sagnant de la fausse loy
mahommet. Quant il ot assemble son ost il fist amener
la cite de baltach de toutes parts. et tant fist que l'air prist par force. Quant
les marchans furent deus hommes et de femmes multes a l'esper. Le cas
si amena vers balcon. Et toutes richesses furent amenees en la cite de bal
dach que ce si merveilleuses a regarder. Donc balcon commanda que le cas
amena devant lui. Et fist apporter tout son tresor devant lui. Et lors dit au
cas congnois tu que cestui tresor si tien. Et celui respondi oui. Adonc li dit
balcon. et pourquoy ne fais loies tu ton ost. et ceus d'astel. tant de ruse
puissance. Et le cas respondi que ceus d'astel que belles femmes seules
estoit son frater a attendre la cite. Et lors dit balcon au cas de baltach
pour ce que ceus marchans et au sagnant de la loy mahommet nous te font
pauvre de ces precieuses richesses que tu as tant amees en ta cite. Et comen

Fig. 64. Baptism of Great Khan Mongke in the presence of King Het'um I (right to the Khan). Hayton, *La flor des estoires d'Orient*, Paris, 1400-1420.
© Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 2810, folio 242v.



Fig. 65. St. Helena and Constantine (represented with the features of Ilkhan Hülegü and his Nestorian spouse Doquz Khatun ?). Syriac Gospel-Lectinary.
© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Syriac 559, folio 223r.



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Fig. 66. Great Khan Mongke and King Het'um I, accompanied with court men.
Hayton, *La flor des estoires d'Orient*.
Manuscript copied and illustrated between 1301-1400.
© Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS NAF 886, folio 21r.



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Fig. 67. King Het'um renounces the secular life.

Hayton, *La flor des estoires d'Orient*.

Manuscript copied and illustrated between 1301-1400.

© Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS NAF 886, folio 25v.



Figs. 67ab. Photos from the travel account of Aršakuhi T'ēodik, *Amis m̄ i Kilikia* (Constantinople 1910), pp. 195 and 202, showing “the Astuatsatsin Church” of Tarsus and the inscription of King Ošin (1319), respectively.



Fig. 68a. Crown Prince Lewon (future King Lewon II).
Gospels of Crown Prince Lewon, 1256.
© Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 8321, fol. 15r.



Fig. 68b. Crown Prince Lewon.
Gospels of Crown Prince Lewon, 1256
 © Yerevan, Matenadaran,
 MS M 8321, fol. 15r, detail.



Fig. 69. The lost dedication page copied by Hmayak Arcat'paneán.
Gospels of Crown Prince Lewon, 1256, fols. 14v-15r.

© Photo after: Karapet Basmajean, "Mer hnut'iwinnerə [Our Antiquities]", *Banaser* 4 (1902): 97.



Fig. 70. Two-page dedication.
The Zeyt'un Gospels, illuminated by T'oros Ėoslin, Ėromkla, 1256.
 © Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 10450, fols. 5v-6r.



Figs. 71ab. Dedications.
Mařtoc' (Ritual), illuminated by T'oros Ėoslin, Ėromkla, 1266.
 © Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS J 2027, fols. 61v and 86v.



Fig. 72. Christ Emmanuel between John the Baptist and the Virgin.
Gospels illuminated by T'oros Roslin, Hromkla, 1260.
 © Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS J 251, fol. 14r, detail.



Fig. 73. The Monomachos Crown – Crown of Constantine IX
Monomachos, 11th century.
 © Budapest, Hungarian National Museum.



Fig. 74



Fig. 75



Fig. 76



Fig. 77

COINS OF MONGOL ILKHANS

**Fig. 74. Hülegü (1256-1265); Figs. 75-76. Mahmud Ghazan (1295-1304);
Fig. 77. Öljeitü (1304-1316).**

© Christian Rasmussen Collection. Ilkhanid Coins
www.tokakte.virtualave.net



Fig. 78



Fig. 79



Fig. 80

COINS OF MONGOL ILKHANS

Figs. 78-79. Abu Said (1316-1335); Fig. 80. Togha Temür (1336-1353).

© Christian Rasmussen Collection. Ilkhanid Coins (Figs. 78, 80).

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© Copenhagen, The David Collection, Inv. no. C 89 (Fig. 79).



Fig. 81. The *Lion and Sun* symbol on the panel of a tomb in Kashan (Iran), 1267.
© Paris, Louvre Museum, Département des Arts de l'Islam, Inv. Nr. OA 6319 (detail).



Fig. 82. The *Lion and Sun* symbol on the pen box made by *Mahmud ibn Sunqur*, Western Iran, 1281.
© London, The British Museum, The Islamic World, ME OA 1891.6-23.5 (detail).



Fig. 83. The *Lion and Sun* symbol on a basin with royal titles, late 13th-early 14th cc.
© New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. Nr. 91.1.553 (detail).



**Fig. 84. The *Lion and Sun* symbol with other signs of the zodiac depicted on an inkwell, 13th century.
© New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. Nr. 44.131.**



**Fig. 85. The *Lion and Sun* symbol on a bronze spoon from Syria, second half of the 13th century.
© Saint Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, ИР 1544.**



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Fig. 86. *Tarikh-i jahan-gusha* (History of the World Conqueror), 1290.
© Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS or. suppl. persan 205, fol. 1r.



Fig. 87a. Adoration of Magi and the arrival of the Mongols.
Gospel book illuminated by T'oros Ėoslin, Ėromkla, 1260.
© Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS J 251, fol. 15v.



Fig. 87b. The Mongols depicted in the scene of the Adoration of the Magi with accompanying inscription: “Tatars have arrived today.” Hromkla, 1260.

© Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS J 251, fol. 15v (detail).

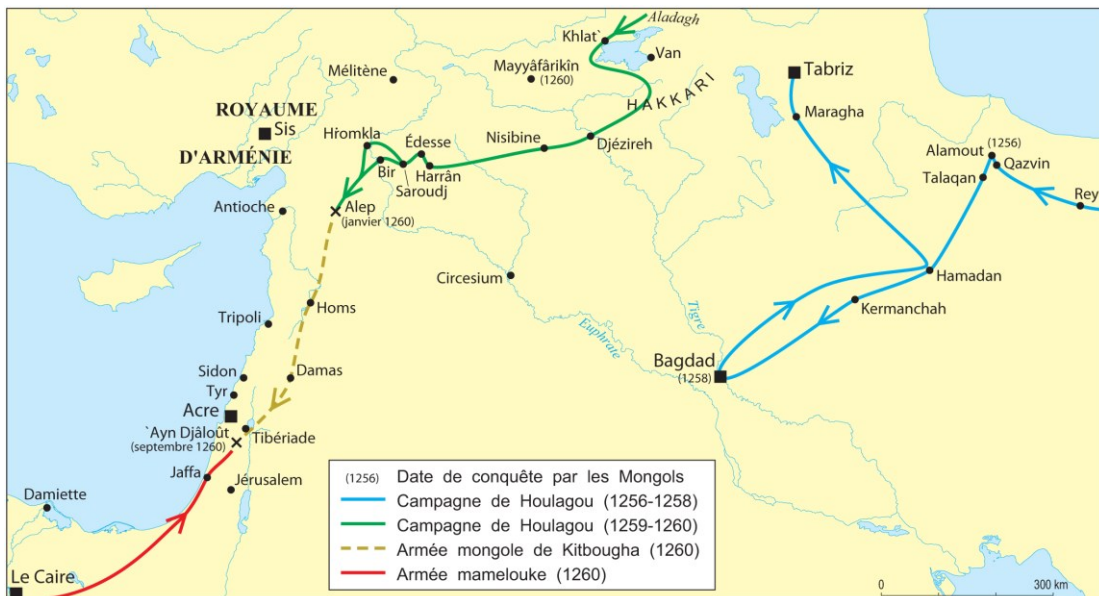


Fig. 88. Mongol conquests between 1256 and 1260.

© Photo after: Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, tome II, carte 28.



Figs. 89abcd. Four legends written in Arabic script, inserted into the decorations of the canon tables. Gospel Book illuminated by T'oros Roslin, Hromkla, 1260. © Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS J 251, fols. 2r, 3v, 12v, 13r.



Fig. 90. Return of the Magi to their country.
Gospel Book illuminated by T'oros Āoslin, Hromkla, 1262.
© Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W 539, fol. 19r (detail).



**Fig. 91. Adoration of the Magi, wall painting (detail).
Church of St. Nicholas of the Roof in Kakopetria (Cyprus),
14th century. © Photo: author.**



**Fig. 92. Nativity and Adoration of
the Magi, icon (detail), second half of the
13th century.
Monastery of St. Catherine
© <http://vrc.princeton.edu/sinai/>
The Sinai Icon Collection,
Michigan Inv. No. 1744.**



Fig. 93. Nativity and Adoration of the Magi, Panel painting (detail), after the second half of the 13th century. Monastery of St. Catherine.

© <http://vrc.princeton.edu/sinai/> *The Sinai Icon Collection*, Michigan Inv. No. 572.



Fig. 94. A Mongol horseman in the scene of the Crucifixion of St. Peter (detail). Giotto di Bondone, *Polittico Stefaneschi*, 1320.
© Pinacoteca Vaticana, Inv. No. 40120.



Fig. 95. A Mongol nobleman depicted in the scene of the *Martyrdom of Franciscan friars* (detail). Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Basilica of St. Francesco in Siena, 14th century.

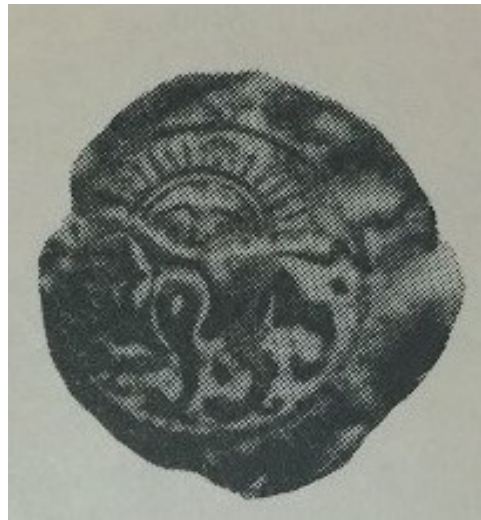


Fig. 96. Bronze coin of Shams al-Din Salih, Artuqid Shah of Mardin (1312-1364).

© Private Collection of Wayne G. Sayles.

Photo after: Spengler & Sayles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins*, vol. I, p. 164.



Fig. 97. The *Lion and Sun* symbol with other signs of the zodiac, depicted on the bronze mirror of Artuq Shah ibn Ahmed, ca. 1220s-30s (detail).
 © Copenhagen, *The David Collection*, Inv. No. 4-1996.



Fig. 98. Silver dirham of Kay Khosrow II. Sivas, 640 AH (1242-1243 AD).
 © Copenhagen, *The David Collection*, Inv. No. C 74.



Fig. 99. Folio from an illuminated manuscript attributed to Iran (Isfahan), 1340-1341 (detail). © New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. Nr. 19.68.1.



Figs. 100-101. *Lectionary of Crown Prince Her'um, 1286.*
© Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 979, fols. 293r and 334r.



Fig. 102. Paiza, late 13th century.
 © New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. Nr. 1993.256.



Fig. 103. Paiza, 13th century.
 © Saint Petersburg, The Hermitage Museum, Inv. Nr. BM-1134.
 Photo after: *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben: Das Weltreich der Mongolen*, 2005, Figs. 6-7.



Fig. 104. *Xaç'k'ar* from Urc', Armenia, 1279 (detail).

© Photo by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.



Fig. 105. *Xaç'k'ar* from Dsel, Armenia, 1281 (detail).

© Photo by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.



Fig. 106. *Dirham* of Ilkhan Arghun (1284-1291).

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Fig. 107. Crown Prince Lewon and Keřan of Lambron.
Wedding Gospels of Prince Lewon,
illuminated by T'oros Āoslin, Hřomkła, 1262.
© Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS J 2660, fol. 288r.

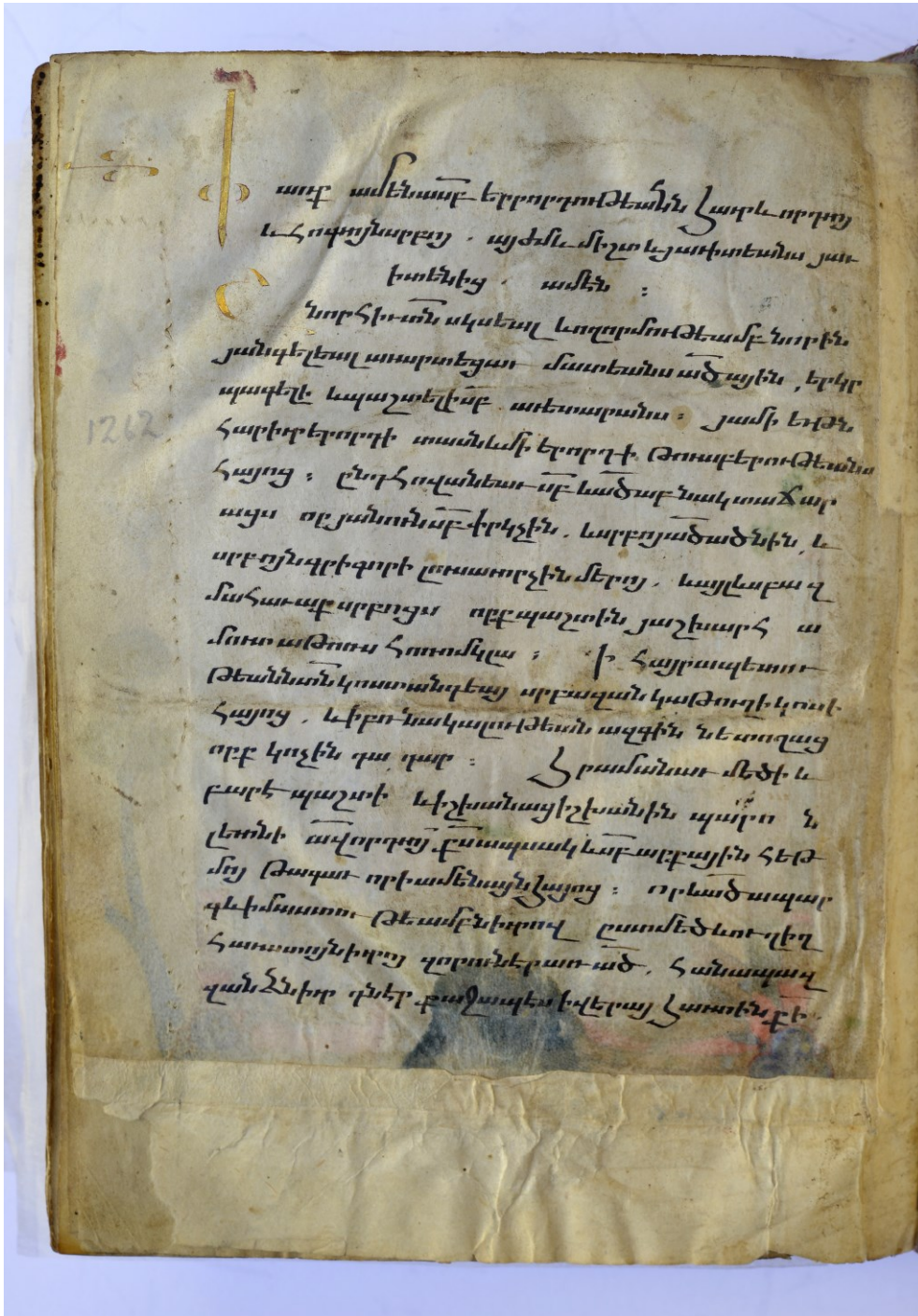


Fig. 108. The principal colophon of the *Wedding Gospels of Prince Lewon*.
© Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS J 2660, fol. 288v.



Fig. 109. *Wedding Gospels of Crown Prince Lewon, 1262, T'oros Roslin.*
 © Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS J 2660, fols. 287v-288r.



Fig. 110. *Wedding Gospels of Prince Lewon, 1262, T'oros Roslin.*
 © Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS J 2660, fol. 288r (detail).



Fig. 111. Headpiece of the canon table (canons 9-10), detail.
Wedding Gospels of Prince Lewon, 1262, T'oros Roslin.
 © Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS J 2660, fol. 9v.



Fig. 112. Headpiece of the canon table (canon 10), detail.
Wedding Gospels of Prince Lewon, 1262, T'oros Roslin.
 © Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS J 2660, fol. 10r.



Fig. 113a. Headpiece of the canon table (canons 9-10), detail.
Gospel Book illuminated by T'oros Āoslin, Hromkla, 1260.
 © Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS J 251, fol. 11v.



Fig. 113b. Headpiece of the canon table (canon 10), detail.
Gospel Book illuminated by T'oros Āoslin, Hromkla, 1260.
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Fig. 114. Headpiece of the dedication page (detail).
The Zeyt'un Gospels, illuminated by T'oros Roslin, Hromkla, 1256.
© Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 10450, fol. 6r.



Fig. 115. *Bible of Princess Fimi*, ca. 1255-1271.
© Venice, Library of the Mekhitarist Congregation, MS V 21/376, fol. 106v.

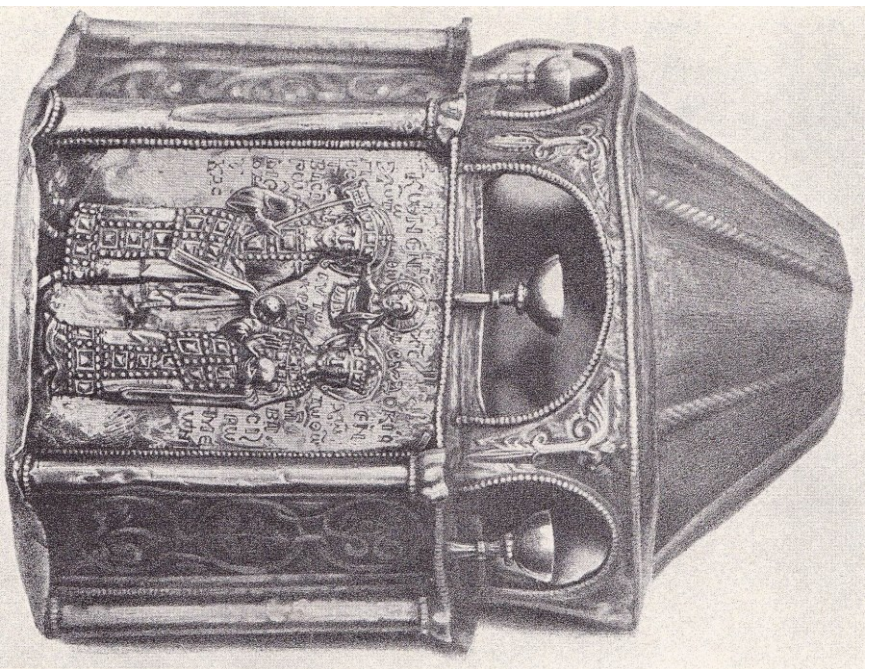


Fig. 116. Constantine X Dukas and Eudokia Makrembolitissa.
Cyborium-Reliquary of St. Demetrios, Constantinople, 11th c.

© Moscow, Kremlin Armoury Museum.

Photo after: Grabar, *Quelques reliquaires de saint Démétrios,*” Fig. 19.

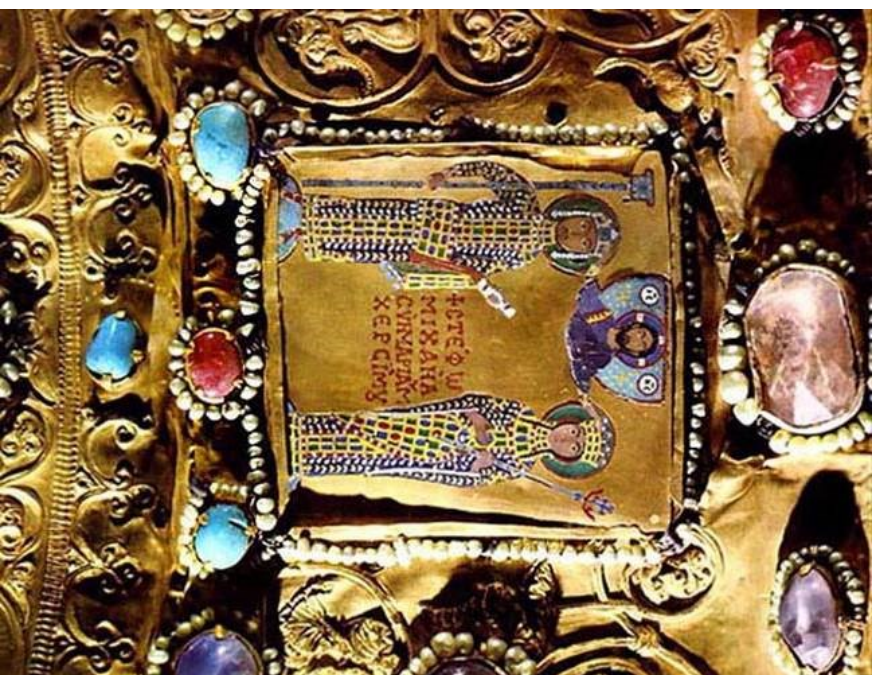


Fig. 117. Michael IX Dukas and Maria of Alanina.
Khakhuli Triptych, 11th c. (detail).

© Tbilisi, Georgian State Museum of Fine Arts.



Fig. 118. Michael VII Dukas and Maria of Alania, 1078-1081.

© Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Coislin 79, fol. 2bis-v.



Fig. 119. Manuel I Komnenos and Maria of Antioch, 12th c.

© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Gr. 1176, fol. 11r.



Fig. 120. Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, young John II Komnenos and Empress Irene. Barberini Psalter, 11th century.

© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. Gr. 372, fol. 5r.

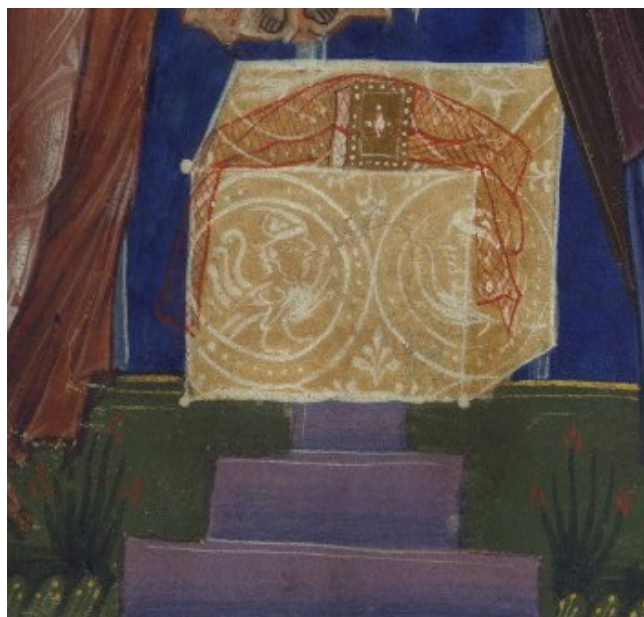


Fig. 121. *Presentation of the Christ in the Temple.*
Gospel Book, illustrated by T'oros Roslin, Hromkla, 1262.
© Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS. W 539, fol. 211r.



Fig. 122. Chlamys of Prince Lewon depicted in MS J 2660, fol. 288r (detail).



Fig. 123. Carved and glazed dish. Syria, mid-11th c. (attr.). © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.
Photo: Ettinghausen et al., *Islamic Art and Architecture, 650-1250*, Fig. 328.



Fig. 124. Enthroned Virgin with the Child. Panel painting, 14th century (detail).
© Faenza, Pinacoteca Comunale. www.catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it



Fig. 125. Examples of textiles painted by Italian masters of the 13th c.

© Photo after: Klesse, *Seidenstoffe in der italienischen Malerei*, Figs. 174-175.



Fig. 126. St. Catherine of Alexandria. Panel painting, 13th century (detail).

© Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo.

Photo: author.



Fig. 127. Silver coin of Peter of Aragon as King of Sicily (1282-1285). Minted in Messina. © Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Inv. Nr. 10 9329-N.



Fig. 128. Coat of arms of the Kingdom of Sicily. Panel painting, last quarter of the 13th c. (detail) © Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Inv. Nr. 11 3150-000.



Fig. 129. The robe of Keran, depicted in MS J 2660, fol. 288r (detail).



Fig. 130. Marginal ornament (detail). Gospel Book, Grner, commissioned by Yovhannēs Ark'aelbayr in 1263. © Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, MS FGA 1956.11, fol. 243r.



Fig. 131. *Deesis* with King Lewon II, Queen Keran and their children.
Gospels of Queen Keran, 1272.

© Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS J 2563, fol. 380r.



Fig. 132. Pentecost.

Gospels of Queen Keřan, 1272.

© Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS J 2563, fol. 349r.



**Figs. 133ab. King Lewon II and Queen Keřan. *Gospels of Queen Keřan*, 1272.
© Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS J 2563, fol. 380r (detail).**



**Fig. 134. The crown of Empress Constance of Aragon (d. 1222). Palermo, Cathedral Treasury.
© Photo: author.**



**Fig. 135. Prince Ėuben. *Gospels of Queen Keřan*, 1272.
© Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS J 2563, fol. 380r (detail).**



Fig. 136. *Gospels of Queen Keřan, 1272.*
© Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate,
MS J 2563, fol. 380r (detail).



Fig. 137. *Gospels of Prince Vasak.*
© Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate,
MS J 2568, fol. 320r (detail).



Fig. 138. *Gospels of Marshal Ořin, 1274.*
© New York, Pierpont Morgan Library,
MS M. 1111, fol. 1r (detail).



Fig. 139. Governor Pilate from the scene of the *Descent of Christ from the Cross*. *Lectionary of Crown Prince Het'um*, 1286. © Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 979, fol. 193r (detail).



Fig. 140. *Deesis*, *Malatya Gospels*. Hromkla, 1267-1268, T'oros Roslin. © Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 10675, fol. 85v.



Fig. 141. Incipit page to the Gospel of Matthew.
Gospels of Queen Keřan, 1272.

© Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS J 2563, fol. 18r.



Fig. 142. Incipit page to the Gospel of Matthew.
Malatya Gospels. Hřomkła, 1267-1268, T'oros Ėoslin.
© Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 10675, fol. 16r.



Fig. 143. *Transfiguration.*

Gospels of Queen Keran, 1272.

© Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS J 2563, fol. 69r.



Fig. 144. *Transfiguration.*

Gospel Book, Akner, 1287.

© Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 197, fol. 132.



Fig. 145. *Gospels of Queen Keřan*, 1272.
© Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate,
MS J 2563, fol. 362v.

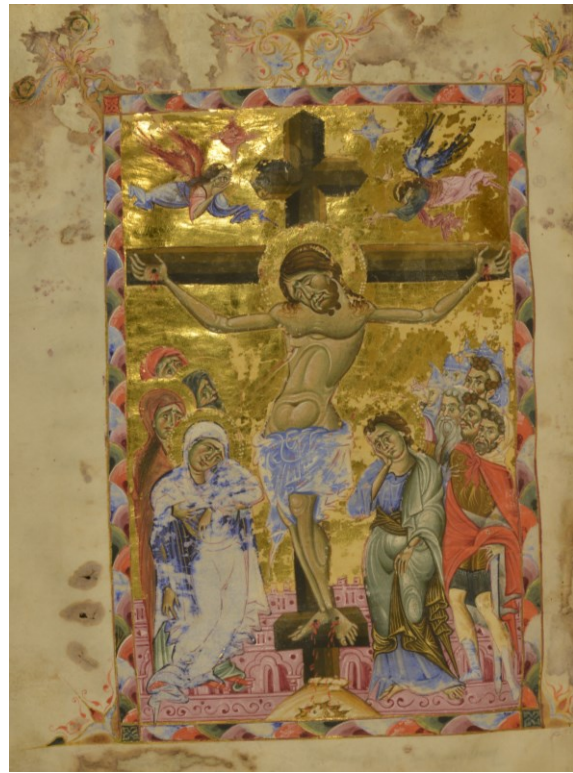


Fig. 146. *Gospel Book, Akner*, 1287.
© Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 197, fol. 97v.



Fig. 147. *Gospels of Prince Vasak*, 13th c.
© Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate,
MS J 2568, fol. 88r.



Fig. 148. *Icon*, 13th c., Monastery of St. Catherine
© <http://vrc.princeton.edu/sinai/>
The Sinai Icon Collection, Michigan Inv. No. 56



Fig. 149. King Lewon II praying. *Breviary of King Lewon II*, 1270s.
© London, British Library, Or. 13993, folio 9v.



Fig. 150. Saint Nersēs Šnorhali. *Breviary of King Lewon II*, 1270s. © London, British Library, Or. 13993, fol. 1v.



Fig. 151. *Amnos*, fresco. Church of the Archangel Michael in Kato Lefkara, 12th century. © Photo: Michele Bacci.



Fig. 152. *Amnos*, fresco. Church of Panagia Phorbiotissa in Asinou. © Photo: Weyl Carr & Nicolaïdès (eds.), *Asinou across the Time*, Fig. 1.7.

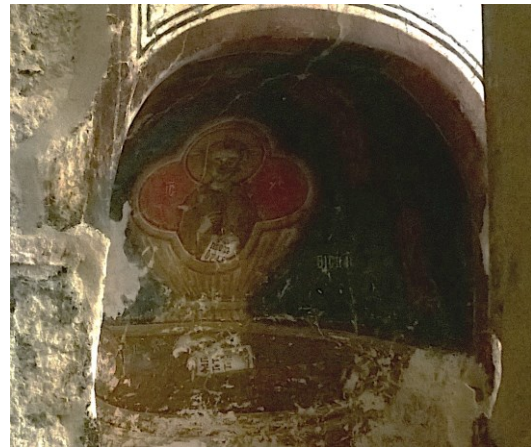


Fig. 153. *Amnos*, fresco. Church of Saint Nicholas of the Roof in Kakopetria. © Photo: author.



Fig. 154. *Lectionary of Crown Prince Het'um, 1286.*

© Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 979, folio 7r.



Fig. 154a



Fig. 154b



Fig. 154c

Figs. 154abc. *Lectionary of Crown Prince Het'um*, 1286.

© Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 979, fol. 7r (detail).



Fig. 155. Incipit page with the depiction of the *Tree of Jesse*.
Lectionary of Crown Prince Het'um, 1286.
 © Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 979, fol. 10r.



Fig. 156



Fig. 157



Fig. 158



Fig. 159



Figs. 156-159. Silver *trams* of King Lewon II (1271-1289)

© Collection of author (Fig. 156).

© Ĕjmiacin, Museum of Armenian Catholicosate (Fig. 157).

© Antelias, Museum of Catholicosate of Cilicia (Figs. 158-159).



Fig. 160. Copper *kardez* of King Lewon II (1271-1289).
 © Antelias, Museum of Catholicosate of Cilicia.



Fig. 161. Assassination of Prince T'oros and capture of Crown Prince Lewon. Hayton, *La flor des estoires d'Orient*, Paris, 1400-1420.
 © Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 2810, fol. 245v (detail).



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**Fig. 162. Ilkhan Abaqa (seated) and King Lewon II (on horseback).
Hayton, *La flor des estoires d'Orient*. Manuscript copied and
illustrated between 1301-1400.**

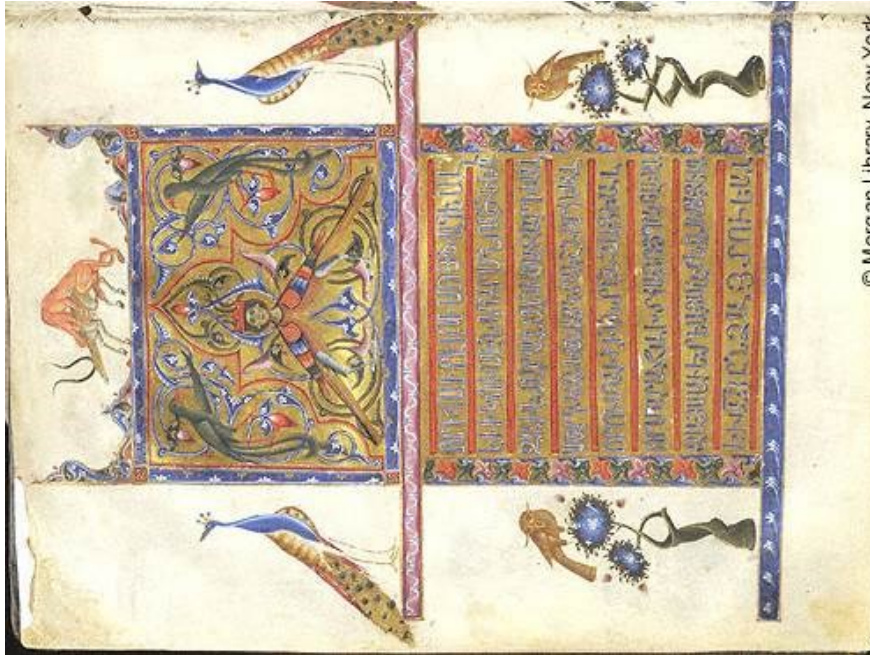
© Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS NAF 886, fol. 26v.



Fig. 163. *Virgin of Mercy*. Prince Vasak and his sons, Kostandin and Het'um. *Gospels of Prince Vasak*, Sis (?), 1274-1284. © Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, Library of St. James Monastery, MS J2568, fol. 320r.



Fig. 164. *Virgin of Mercy*. Archbishop Yohannes intercedes in favor of Marshal Ošin and his sons, Kostandin and Het'um. *Gospels of Marshal Ošin*, Sis, 1274. © New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 1111, fol. 1r.



Figs. 165ab. Dedicatory verse within the canon tables. *Gospels of Marshal Ošin, Sis, 1274.*
 © New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 740, fols. 6v-7r.



Fig. 166. *Madonna of the Franciscans*, c. 1280-1285, Duccio di Buoninsegna. © Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena. Photo: author.



Fig. 167. *Madonna of the Carmelites*, after 1287. Nicosia, Byzantine Museum of the Arch. Makarios III Foundation. © Bacci, “La Madonna della Misericordia individuale,” Fig. 3.



Fig. 168. *Virgin of Mercy with Latin donors*. Mural Painting, Church of Panagia Phorbiotissa, Asinou, Cyprus, late 13th century. © Photo: author.

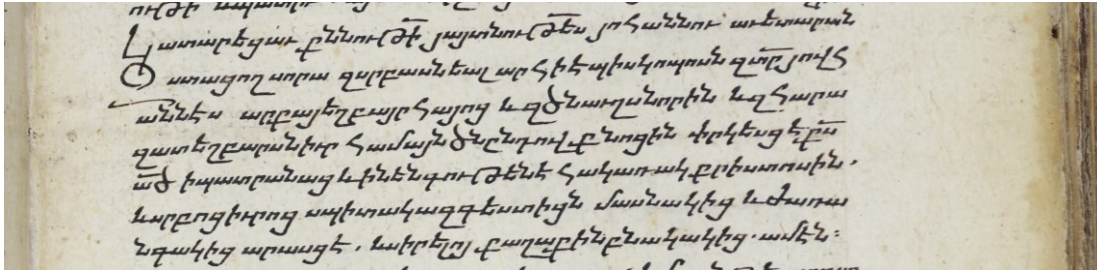


Fig. 169. Colophon of MS M10480, fol. 396r (detail). Copied by the scribe *Barsel* in *Barjrberd* (1286). © Yerevan, Matenadaran.



Fig. 170. Archbishop *Yohannēs*. *Gospels of Marshal Ošin*, Sis, 1274. © New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 1111, fol. 1r (detail).



Fig. 171. King Louis IX of France. Sculpture, Mainneville, 1309. © Paris, Musée national des monuments français, Inv. No. 7092. Photo after: Brigitte Klein & Winfried Wilhelmy, *Die Kreuzzüge*, Fig. 110.



Fig. 172. Conversion of the royal family by Gregory the Illuminator.
Synaxarion, 1658, place of production unknown © Antelias, Manuscript
Library of the Catholicosate of Cilicia, MS A214, fol. 7v.



Fig. 173. Ordination, with Bishop Yovhannēs. Grner, 1263. © Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, MS FGA 56.11, fol. 293r.

Photo after: Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art*, Fig. 644.



Fig. 174. Ordination, with Bishop Yovhannēs. Gospels, Akner, 1287.

© Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M197, fol. 341v.



Fig. 175. Ordination scene. Ordinal, Zarnuk Monastery, 1248. © Venice, San Lazzaro, Library of the Mekhitarist Congregation, MS V1657, frontispiece.

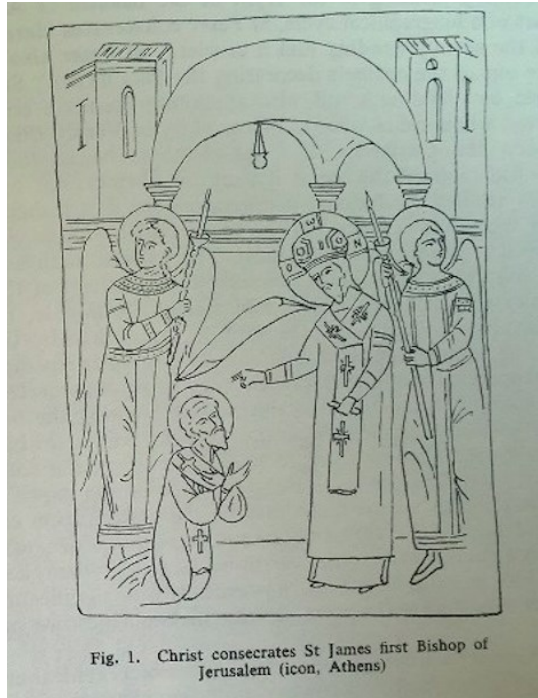


Fig. 1. Christ consecrates St James first Bishop of Jerusalem (icon, Athens)

Fig. 176. © Christopher Walter, "Church Appointments in Byzantine Iconography," p. 111, Fig. 1.



Fig. 177. Bishop Yovhannes asks John the Evangelist for Intercession. Gospels, Barjirberd (Monastery of Lisonka?), 1263-1266. © Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 4243, fol. 15r.



Fig. 178. Dormition of John the Evangelist. Books of Bible, Griner, 1263. © Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, MS FGA 56.11, fol. 7r.
Photo after: Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art*, Fig. 194.



Fig. 180. The image of King Het'um II on *The Reliquary of Skewra*, 1293.



Fig. 180a. Ališan, *Sisuan*, 111, Fig. 23.



Fig. 179. *The Reliquary of Skewra*, 1293, Monastery of Skewra, commissioned by Bishop Kostandin.
© Saint Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, AR 1572 (open).



Fig. 181. *The Reliquary of Skewi'a, 1293*
(closed).



Fig. 182. *The Reliquary of Skewi'a, 1293*
(back).

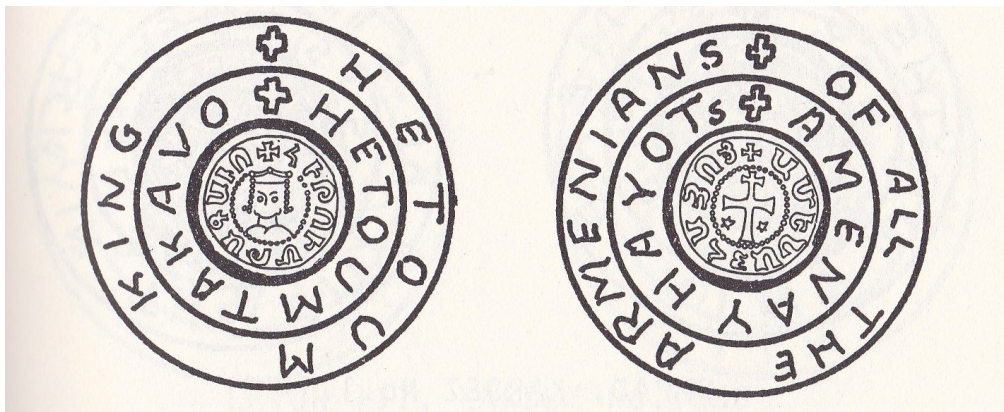


Fig. 183. *Billon* of Het'um II (1289-1307 intermittently), obv. & rev.

© Photo after: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, No. 1568.



Fig. 184. Copper *kardez* of Het'um II (1289-1307 intermittently), obv. & rev. © Antelias, Museum of Catholicosate of Cilicia.

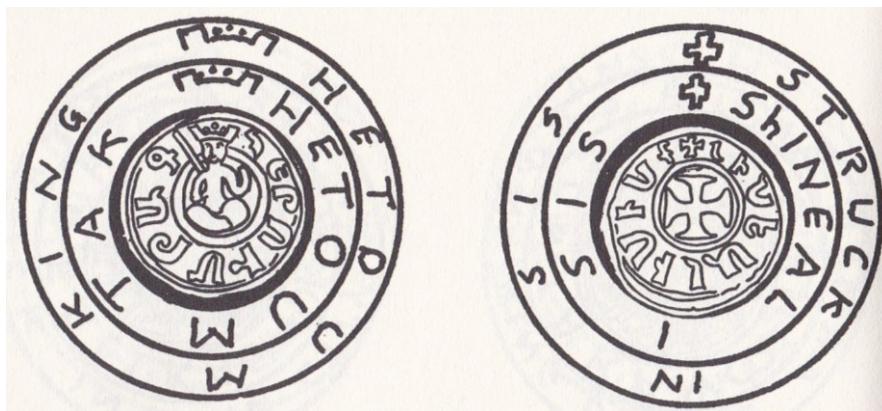


Fig. 185. Copper *kardez* of Het'um II (1289-1307 intermittently), obv. & rev. © Photo after: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, No. 1633.



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Fig. 186. Meeting of King Het'um II with Ilkhan Ghazan.
 Hayton, *La flor des estoires d'Orient*.
 Manuscript copied and illustrated between 1301-1400.
 © Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS NAF 886, folio 36r.

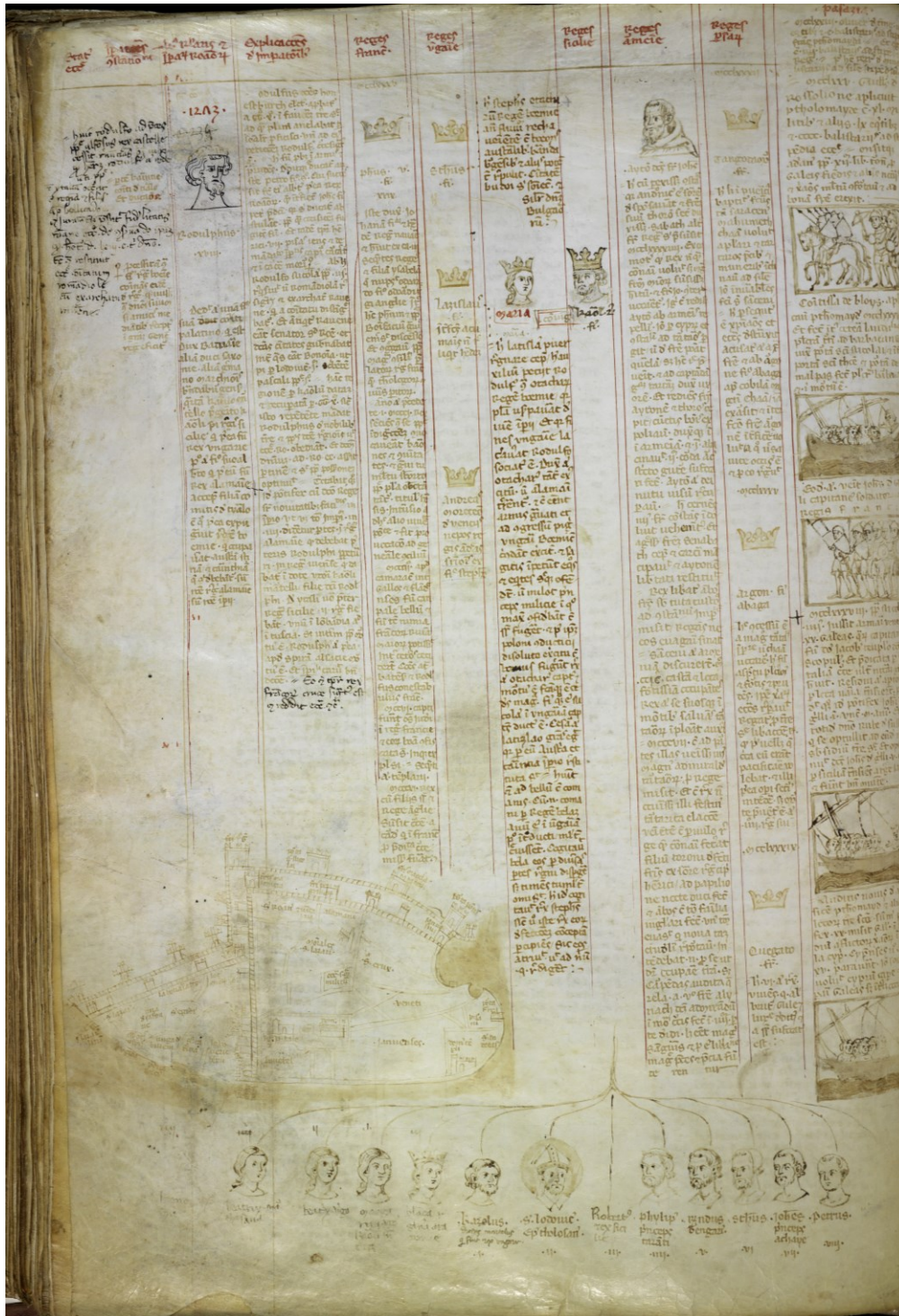


Fig. 187a. Chronologia Magna of Paolino Veneto, 14th century.
 © Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. Zanetti 399 (=1610), fol. 84v.



Fig. 187b. King Het'um II, *Chronologia Magna* of Paolino Veneto.
 © Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. Zanetti 399 (=1610), fol. 84v (detail).

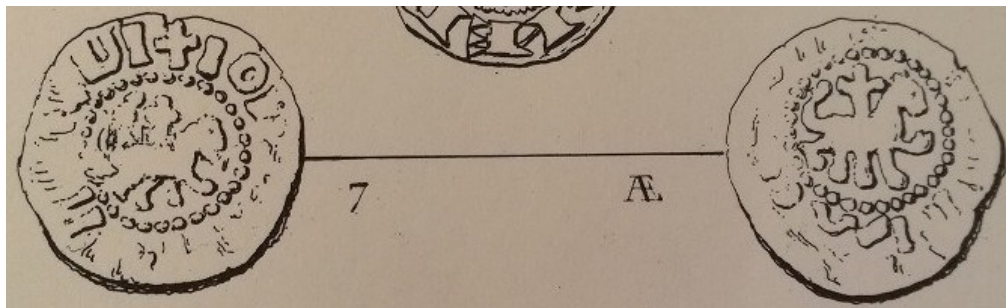


Fig. 188. A crusader coin from the Collection of Cadalvène, obv. & rev.
 © Photo: Saulcy, *Numismatique des croisades*, 1847, Pl. XIX – 7.

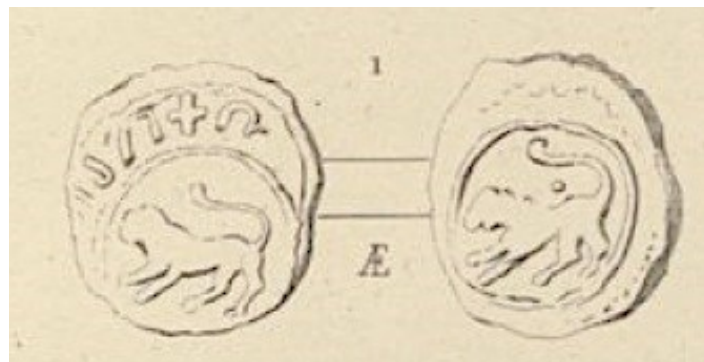


Fig. 189. A copper coin ascribed to Baron T'oros (?), obv. & rev.
 © Photo: Langlois, *Numismatique de l'Arménie au Moyen Âge*, 1855, Pl. III – 1.



Fig. 190. Silver *tram* of King Smbat (1296/7-1298), obv. & rev.
 © Yerevan, History Museum of Armenia.



Fig. 191. Copper *kardez* of King Smbat (1296/7-1298), obv. & rev.
 © Collection of author.



Fig. 192. Gold *tahekan* of King Kostandin (1298-1299), obv. & rev.
 © Venice, San Lazzaro, Museum of the Mekhitarist Congregation.
 Photo after: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, Plate I - 8.



Fig. 193. Fortress of Sis
Kozan, Adana Province, Turkey
© Photo by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.



Fig. 194. Silver *tram* of King Kostandin (1298-1299), obv. & rev.
© Yerevan, History Museum of Armenia.



Fig. 195. Silver double *tram* of King Kostandin (1298-1299), obv. & rev.
© Photo: Saryan, "An Unpublished Silver Double "Tram" of Gosdantin I," Pl. 26.



Fig. 196. Copper *kardez* of King Kostandin (1298-1299), obv. & rev.
© Yerevan, History Museum of Armenia.



Fig. 197. Coronation tram of King Lewon (Lewon III?), obv. & rev.
 © Yerevan, History Museum of Armenia.



Fig. 198. Coronation tram of King Lewon (Lewon III?), obv. & rev.
 © Yerevan, History Museum of Armenia.



Fig. 199. Coronation tram of King Lewon (Lewon III?), obv. & rev.
 © Photo after: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, Pl. II – Fig. 88.



Fig. 200. Coin of Manuel I Comnenus (1143-1180), obv.

© Heraklion, Historical Museum of Crete.

Photo: *L'art byzantin, art européen*, Athènes 1964, Fig. 678.



Fig. 201. Silver *takvorin* of King Lewon III (1301/6-1307), obv. & rev.

© Yerevan, History Museum of Armenia.

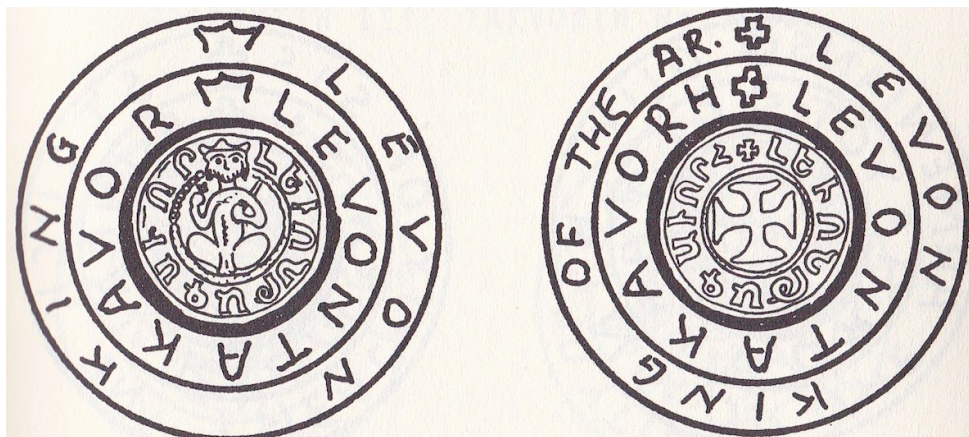


Fig. 202. Copper *kardez* of King Lewon III (1301/6-1307), obv. & rev. ©

Vienna, Museum of the Mekhitarist Congregation.

Photo after: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, No. 1836.



Fig. 203. Silver *tram* of King Ošin (1308-1320), obv. & rev.
© Ējmiacin, Museum of Armenian Catholicosate.



Fig. 204. Silver *takvorin* of King Ošin (1308-1320), obv. & rev.
© Antelias, Museum of Catholicosate of Cilicia.



Fig. 205. Silver *takvorin* of King Lewon IV (1321-1341), obv. & rev.
 © Photo after: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, No. 1989v, Plate XI.

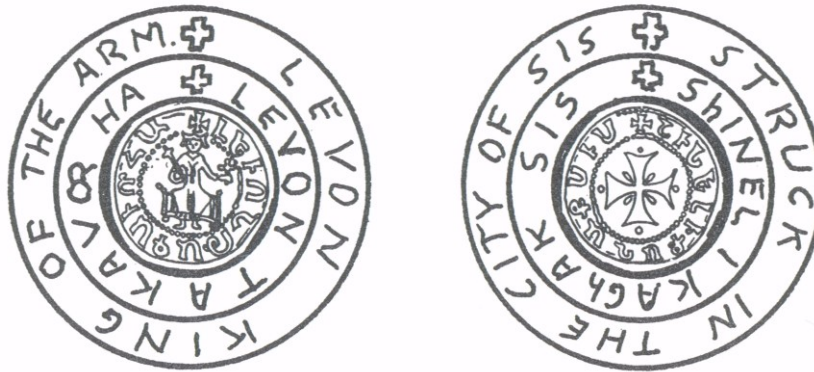


Fig. 206. Copper *pogh* of King Lewon IV (1321-1341), obv. & rev.
 © Photo after: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, No. 2003, Plate 66f.



Fig. 207. Copper *pogh* of King Lewon IV (1321-1341), obv. & rev.
 © Collection of author.



Fig. 208. King Lewon IV as judge.

Assizes of Antioch, copied and illustrated by Sargis Picak, 1331.
© Venice, San Lazzaro, Library of the Mekhitarist Congregation,
MS V 107, frontispiece.



Fig. 209. King Herod (Mark 6:17).
 Manuscript illustrated by Sargis Picak.
 © Ĕjmiacin, Museum of Armenian Catholicosate.

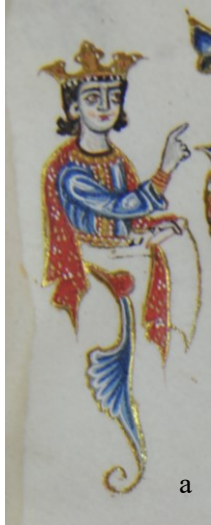


Fig. 210a. King Solomon (2 Chronicles 1:1).

Fig. 210b. Queen Esther (Esther 3:7).

Fig. 210c. King David (Psalm 1).

Bible illustrated by Sargis Picak, 1338(?).

© Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 2627, fols. 180v, 210v, 260v (details).



Fig. 211. King Solomon (Proverb 1).
 Bible illustrated by Sargis Picak, 1330s.
 © Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 2627, fol. 285v.



Fig. 212. Decorated headpiece, marginal ornaments, and ornamented letters.
Assizes of Antioch, copied and illustrated by Sargis Picak, 1331.
 © Venice, San Lazzaro, Library of the Mekhitarist Congregation, MS V 107 (details).
 Photos: author.



Fig. 213. *Histoire universelle*, Acre, before 1291.
 © London, British Library, Add. 15368, fol. 181r (detail).

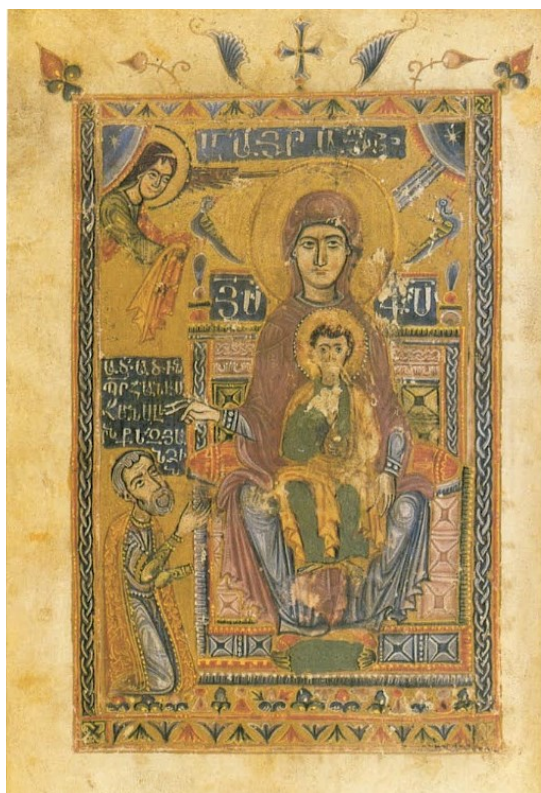


Fig. 214. Chancellor Hanēs in front of the Virgin.
Psalter of King Lewon II, Sis, 1283.
 © London, British Library, Or. 13804, fol. 2v.



Fig. 215. Yilankale (Yılan Kalesi).
Adana Province, Turkey
© Photos by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.



Fig. 216. The chapel of Yilankale (Yılan Kalesi).
© Photo by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.



Fig. 217. The twin towers and gatehouse of Yilankale (Yılan Kalesi).
© Photo by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.

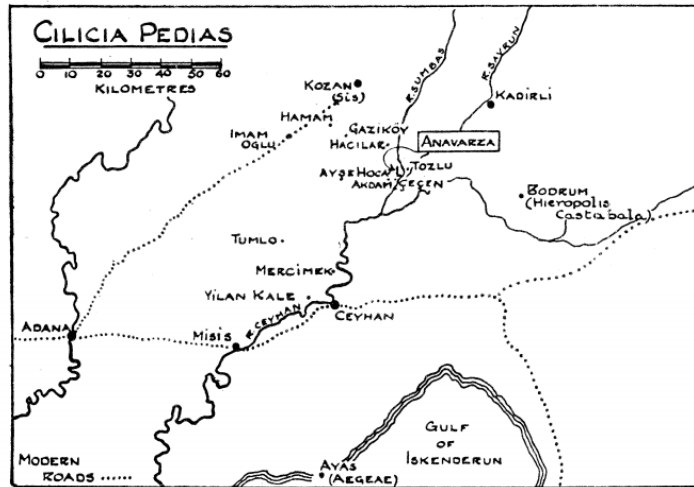


Fig. 218. Cilicia Pedias (Cilician Plain).

© Photo after: Gough, "Anazarbus," *Anatolian Studies* 2 (1952): Fig. 1.

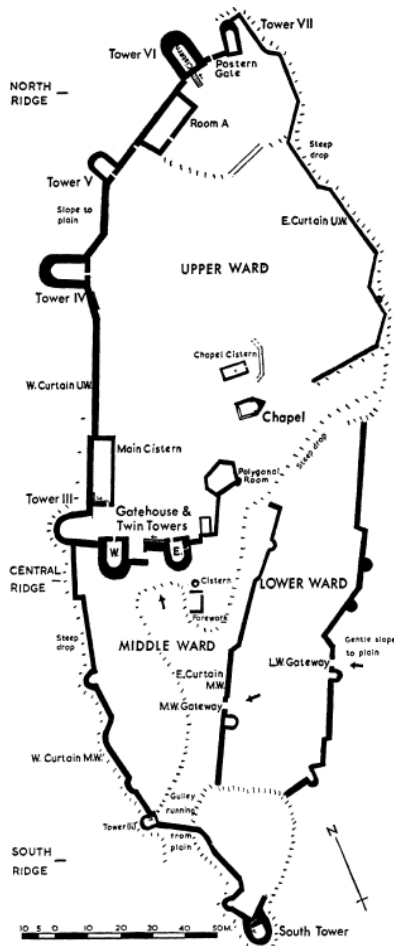


Fig. 219. Ground plan, Yilankale.

© Photo after: Youngs, "Three Cilician Castles," *Anatolian Studies* 15 (1965): Fig. 7.



a



b



c

Figs. 220abc. Reliefs of the main gateway of Yilankale (Yılan Kalesi). © Photo by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.



Fig. 221. Reliefs of the main gateway of Yilankale (Yılan Kalesi).
 © Photo by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.



Fig. 222. *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* by Marino Sanudo
 © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 548, fols. 13v-14r (detail).



Fig. 223. *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* by Marino Sanudo
 © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 2972, folio 14r.

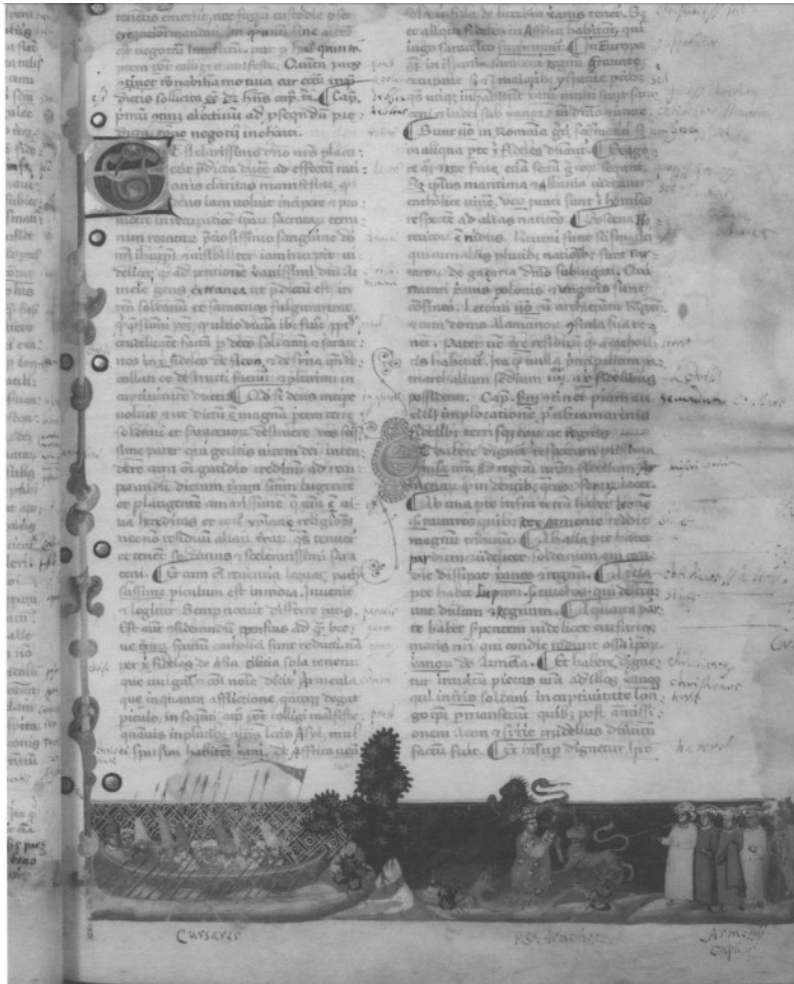


Fig. 224. *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* by Marino Sanudo.

© London, British Library, Add. 27376, fol. 13r.

Photo after: Harding & Micklewright, "Mamluks and Venetians," Fig. 4.



Fig. 225. Silver *takvorin* of King Guy Lusignan (1342-1344), obv. & rev.

Photo after: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, No. 2030.

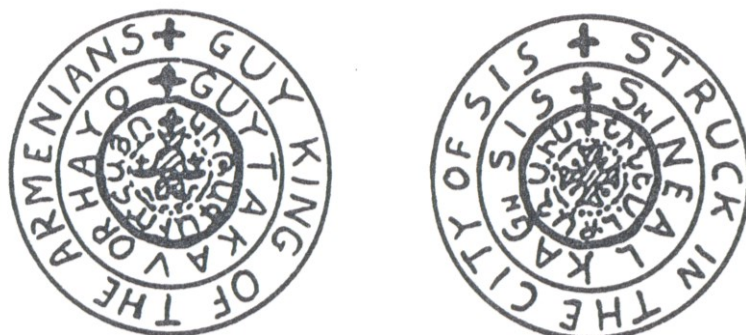


Fig. 226. Copper *pogh* of King Guy Lusignan (1342-1344), obv. & rev.

© Vienna, Museum of the Mekhitarist Congregation.

Photo after: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, No. 2040.

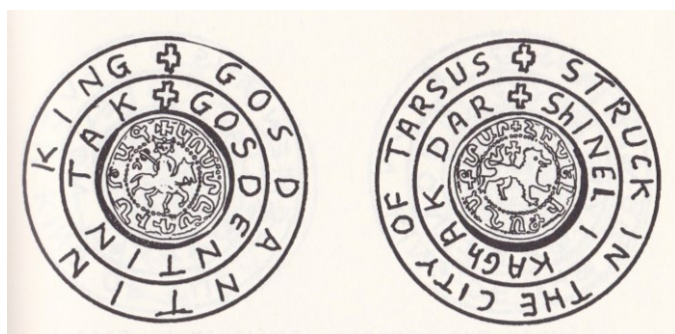


Fig. 227. Silver *takvorin* of King Kostandin I (1344-1362), obv. & rev.

© Photo after: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, No. 2045.



Fig. 228. Copper *pogh* of King Kostandin I (1344-1362), obv. & rev.

© Photo after: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, No. 2121.



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Fig. 229. Arrival of Guy Lusignan in Corycus.
Couldrette's *Le roman de Mélusine*.
Manuscript copied and illustrated in 1430.
 © Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 12575, folio 39v.

Tenfoit la joye plus grant
 de que devant n'avoit este
 Et en ce pendant le Roy co
 manda que on appareillast
 la nef au limacon et fist
 mettre moult de richesses
 dedens les bourses. Et ordonna
 moult noble homme tant
 de portou que de chypre
 Et le marquis de Jodex
 lequelz tous conduirent
 Guyon en armene et se
 vont aux nopces et se
 vont couronner Roy et
 prendre la possession du
 pays et les homages. Et
 sachiez que se fussent
 plus tost partiz bien Guyon
 se ne fust pour atendre
 la Reine de la Royne
 qui fu Reine a grant
 joye et grant feste
 Et pot moult noble
 feste et tresgrande. Et
 donna le Roy de cyprus
 aux hermites. Et apres
 la feste par Guyon
 congrie de sa femme
 la Royne qui fut moult
 dolente de sa deparcie
 Et le condempna le Roy
 mesmes au limacon
 Et alentev en la mer se
 entrebaillierent les deux
 freres. Lors dicta on les

boiles et se furent desambrer
 Et se parmerent en la mer
 a moult noble compagnie
 pour ce que pour la doute des
 païens Et nagerent tant
 que ils virent le conq on ils
 estoient moult de fies des
 nobles du pays qui atten
 dirent leur venue.



Comment guyon arriva
 au conq a noble baron
 Et esponsa sa femme et fu Roy
 d'armene.

En ceste partie du
 l'histoire que ceuz
 d'armene furent
 moult joyans quant ils
 virent approcher le navire
 Et par la sceurent les nouvelles
 que leur seigneur devoit

Fig. 230. Arrival of Guy Lusignan in Corycus.
 Jean d'Arras' *Le roman de Mélusine ou La noble histoire de Lusegnes*.
 Manuscript copied and illustrated between 1401-1500.
 © Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3353, folio 74r.



Fig. 230a. Arrival of Guy Lusignan in Corycus.
Jean d'Arras' *Le roman de Mélusine ou La noble histoire de Lusegnen*.
Manuscript copied and illustrated between 1400-1415.
 © London, British Library, Cotton MS Otho D II, folio 113v.



**Figs. 231-232. Corycus
Mersin Province, Turkey
© Photo by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.**

Demour demour comte ala
 plus grant partie de noz gent
 qui sont les demour a nre feste
 Car il none fault de ordonner
 autre chose que bons beuz
 a nre prochie amonement. Et
 Rmondin respondi ainsi q'il
 bons plann. L'endemain par
 matin parvint melusigne s'es
 gence qui sen alerent. Et en
 Rnest de ceulz que il lui
 ploir. Et atant forast l'ysto
 re des choses de sus des. Et
 comencet a parler et atant
 et comencet la dame comencet a
 fonder la noble forteresse
 de lusignan de quoy par desus
 parvint



Comment la noble forteresse
 de lusignan en porton fu
 fondee par melusigne

En ceste partie dit
 l'ystorie que quant
 la feste fu de par
 et que melusigne ot donne
 a parve de ses gens comte
 que tantost apres fist com
 grant forson domiere terri
 lone couvree de bois q'ille
 fist tout essarter et desfrain
 les quene arbres et fist fe
 toute la roche neite par desus
 les parfont trencher quelle
 avoit par devant for cordon
 nez ainsi come le cur de
 ceulz avoit encient. Et puis
 fist comte grant forson ma
 come p' tallent de pierre et
 fist comencet sur la omme
 roche et bastir les fondamene
 telz et si forz que ce forz me
 neilles a ceom. Et fe forz
 les ouvriers de sus des tant
 domiage et si fondaient
 que tont ceulz qui par la
 passeroient en estoient esbahz
 Et les paront melusigne to
 les samedi si quelle ne le
 deuoit demer de feste. Et
 trouvoient par om esun p'
 toutes choses p'rites que il
 leur faillont par grant la
 bondance Ne nulz home ne
 sauroit dont alz ouvriers
 venoient ne dont ilz esto
 ent. Et en brief temps fu
 faite la forteresse. Non

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal

Fig. 233. The Establishment of the Lusignan Fortress by Mélusine.
 Jean d'Arras' *Le roman de Mélusine ou La noble histoire de Lusegnen*.
 Manuscript copied and illustrated between 1401-1500.
 © Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3353, folio 22v.



**Fig. 234. Icon with Saint Sergius and a female donor,
second half of the 13th c., Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai.**

© <http://vrc.princeton.edu/sinai/>

The Sinai Icon Collection, Michigan Inv. No. 80



Fig. 235. Crucifixion.

The Gospels of Queen Mariun, illustrated by Sargis Picak, Sis, 1346.
© Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, Library of St. James Monastery,
MS J 1973, fol. 77v.



Fig. 236. Deposition of Christ with the image of Queen Mariun
The Gospels of Queen Mariun, illustrated by Sargis Picak, Sis, 1346.
© Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, Library of St. James Monastery,
MS J 1973, fol. 258v.

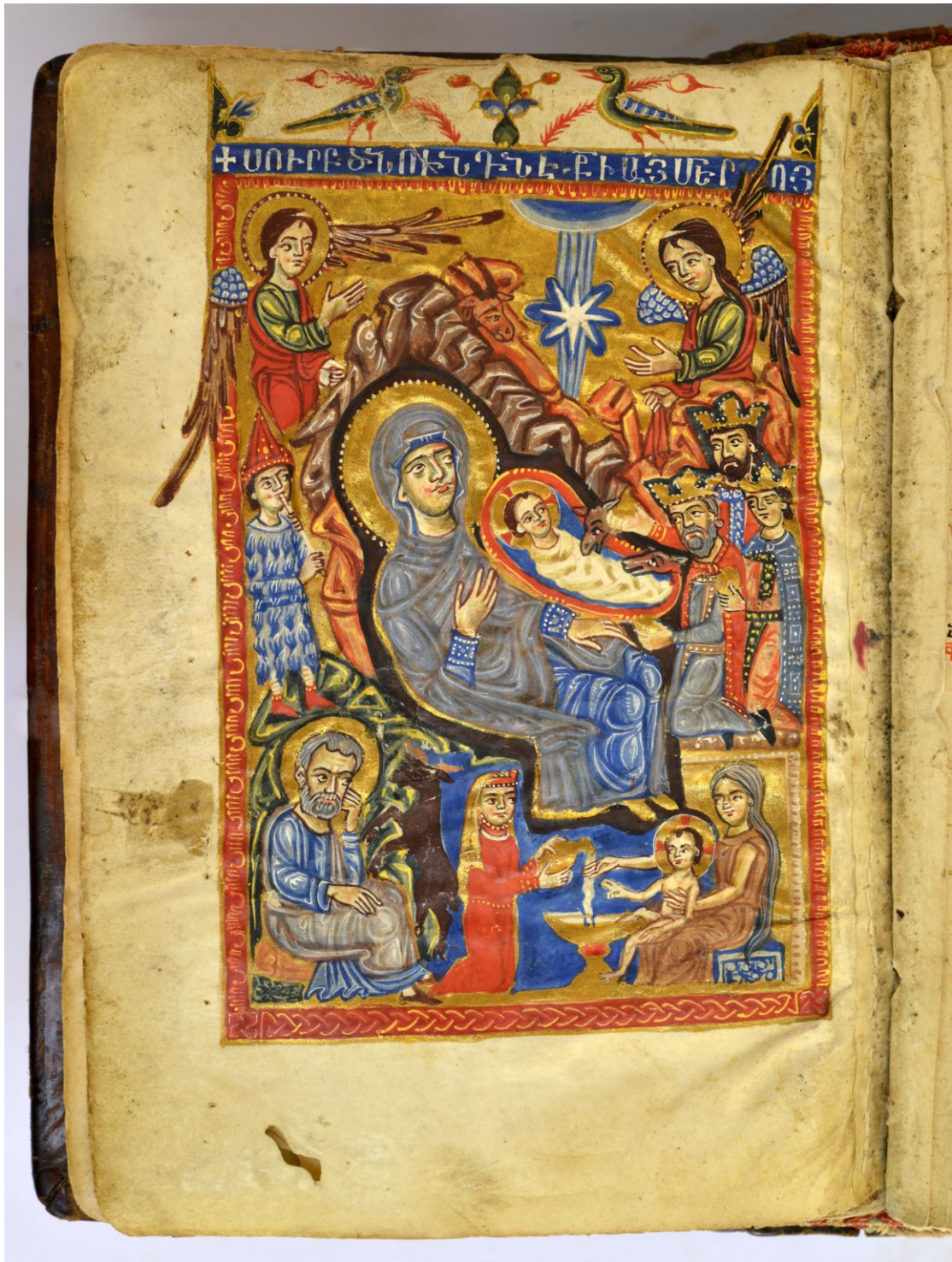


Fig. 237. Nativity.

The Gospels of Queen Mariun, illustrated by Sargis Picak, Sis, 1346.
© Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, Library of St. James Monastery,
MS J 1973, fol. 8v.



Fig. 238. Nativity.

The Royal Gospels, copied and illustrated by Sargis Picak, Sis, 1336.

© Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 5786, fol. 17r.



Fig. 239. Entry into Jerusalem.
The Gospels of Queen Mariun, illustrated by Sargis Picak, Sis, 1346.
© Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, Library of St. James Monastery,
MS J 1973, fol. 114r.

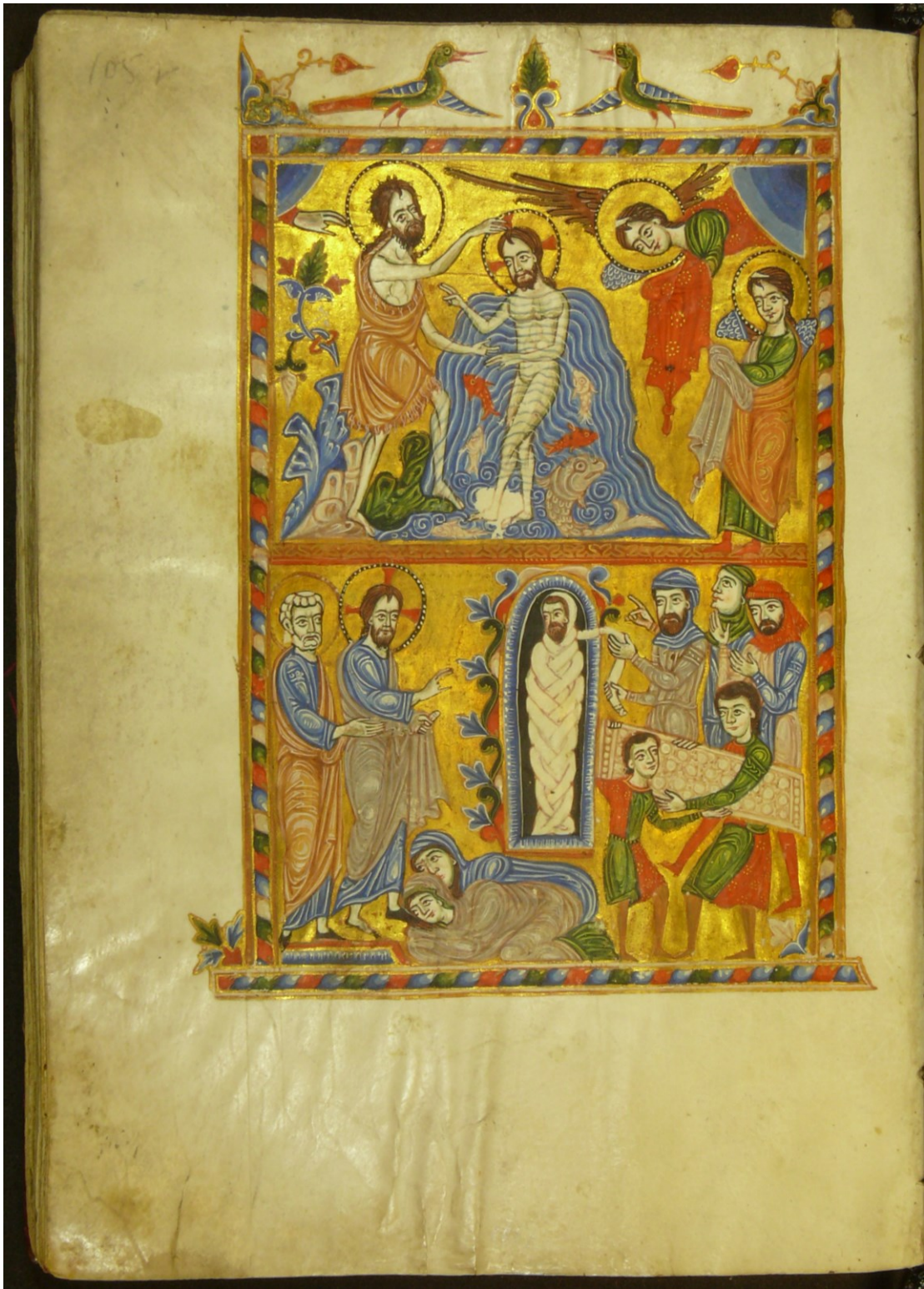


Fig. 240. Baptism and Resurrection of Lazarus.
The Royal Gospels, copied and illustrated by Sargis Picak, Sis, 1336.
© Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 5786, fol. 105(d).

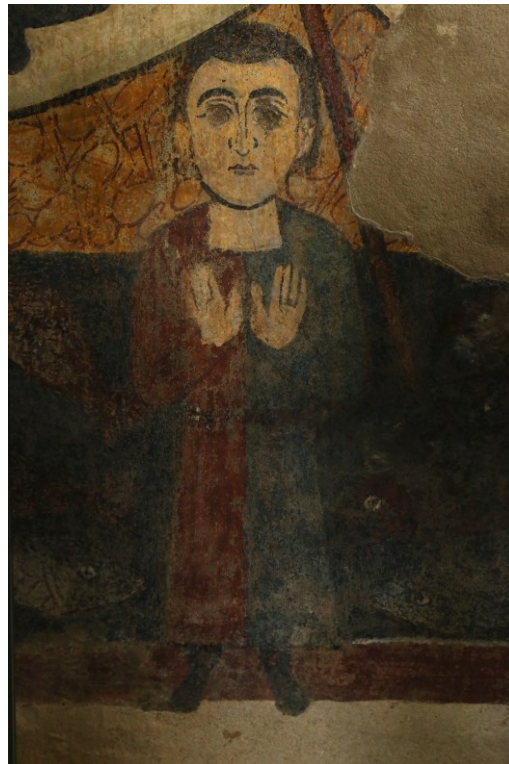


Fig. 240a. Male supplicant near Saint George.
Wall painting, 13th century. Church of Saint Theodore, Behdaidat, Lebanon.
© Photo author.



Fig. 241. Judith (Beginning of the Book of Judith). Bible illustrated by Sargis Picak, 1338 (?). © Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS M 2627, fol. 215r.



Fig. 242. Resurrection of Christ.

The Gospels of Queen Mariun, illustrated by Sargis Picak, Sis, 1346.
© Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, Library of St. James Monastery,
MS J 1973, fol. 81r.



Fig. 243. *Incredulity of Saint Thomas*, icon.

The Metamorphosis (Transfiguration) Monastery of Meteora, Greece.

© Photo after: Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, Fig. 24A.



Fig. 244. Silver *takvorin* of King Kostandin II (1365-1373), obv. & rev.

© Photo after: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, No. 2200.

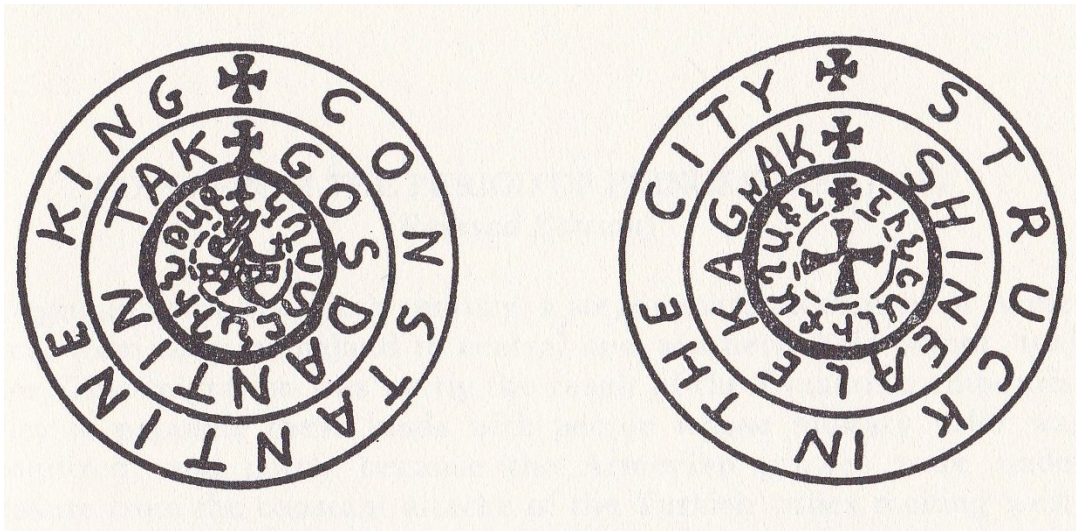


Fig. 245. Copper *pogh* of King Kostandin II (1365-1373), obv. & rev.

© Photo after: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, No. 2236a.

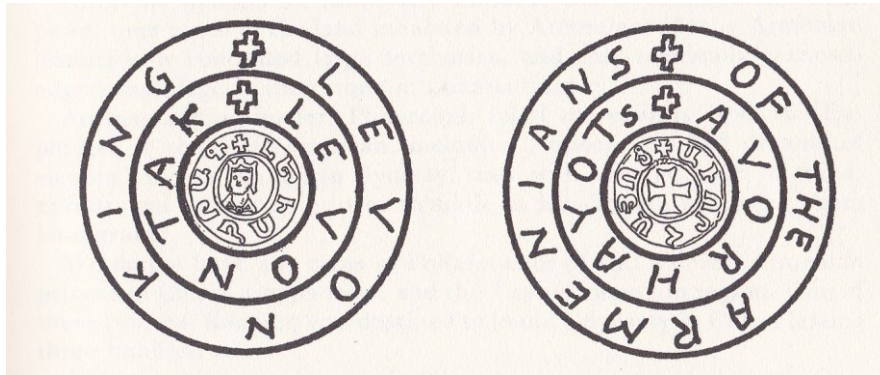


Fig. 246. *Billon* of King Lewon V Lusignan (1374-1375), obv. & rev.
 © Photo after: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, No. 2237.

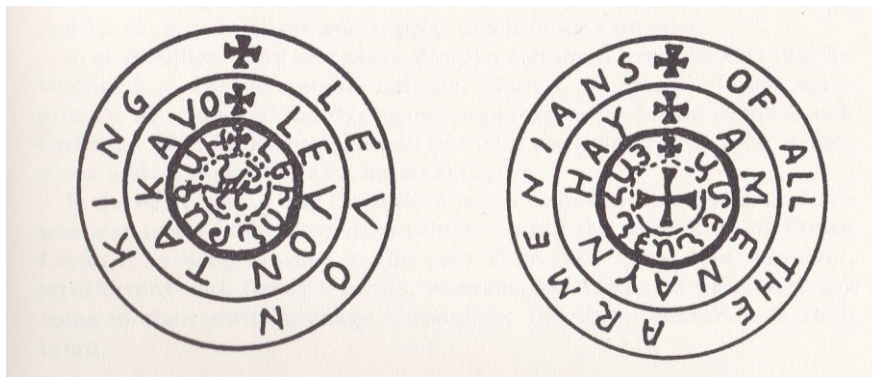


Fig. 247. *Copper pogh* of King Lewon V Lusignan (1374-1375), obv. & rev.
 © Photo after: Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, No. 2242.



Fig. 248. *Wax seal* of King Lewon V Lusignan,
 attached to a document, dating from March 25, 1388.
 © Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collection Clairambault.
 Photo after: Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, tome II, Fig. 113.



Fig. 249. The document issued by King Lewon V Lusignan in Sagovia (October 19, 1383) and his wax seal.

© Madrid, Archivo de Villa, Inv. 2-305-30.

<http://www.memoriademadrid.es/>



Fig. 249a. Sketch of the same seal.

Photo after: Basmajean, *Lewon V Lusignan* (Paris 1908), 156.



Fig. 250. A panel from the Lusignan Palace in Nicosia.
© Nicosia, Medieval Lapidary Museum. Photo: author.



Fig. 251. The so-called “Sword of King Lewon V Lusignan”.
© Venice, San Lazzaro, Museum of the Mekhitarist Congregation.



Fig. 252. Richard II receives Lewon V Lusignan at Westminster. *Anciennes et nouvelles chroniques d'Angleterre* by Jean de Wavrin. Probably copied in Lille and illustrated in Bruges, 1470-1480. © London, British Library, Royal MS 14 E IV, fol. 259v.



Fig. 253. Initial tomb of King Lewon V Lusignan in the Convent of the Celestines (no longer existing), Paris.

Photo after: Basmajean, *Lewon V Lusignan* (Paris 1908), Plate A.



Fig. 254. Tomb of King Lewon V Lusignan in the Basilica of Saint Denis, Paris. © Photo: author.



**Fig. 255. Funeral monument of Catarina Cornaro, the last titular Queen of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia (d. 1510).
© Venice, Church of San Salvatore. Photo: author.**