Staging the Ruler's Body in Medieval Cultures

A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

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Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

Political Circumstances under Lewon IV and the Orientation of Representational Strategies

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

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

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

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

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

7 In chronicles and manuscript colophons, Lewon is often referred to as the 'boy king', 'young king', or

with similar designations stressing his tender age. See, for examples, the following fourteenth-century colophons written or reproduced in these Jerusalem manuscripts: J2, J318, J801 (c.f. M1314), J1566, J1822, J1863, J1930, J1953, J2434, J3602/14 (Gospel manuscript no. 4).

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

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

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

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

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

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

12 *Samuel Anetsi*, p. 274.

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

14 For the Armenian translation and further comments on this document, see Gagik Danielyan, 'The Armenian-Mamluk Diplomatic Correspondence according to Chancery Manuals of Al-'Umārī, Ibn

Nāẓir al-Ǧayš and Al-Qalqašandī', *Bazmavēp*, 1-2 (2016), 44-98 (pp. 65-66, n. 44) (in Armenian).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

19 *Brief Chronicle of Hetʿum*, p. 193.

20 *Brief Chronicle of Hetʿum*, p. 193.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

throne, known in medieval Armenia, as in many Persianate societies, as *tʻakht*. In Armenian art, low royal seats are attested since the Bagratid period, such as in the miniature showing the family of King Gagik-Abas of Kars,[26] but the specific type of seat depicted on the frontispiece in question is more often discernible in the art of Lewon's time: it is a low bench that rests on little legs and has two sides that are remarkably tall, rising to the level of the king's head.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Rites and Regalia of the Righteous Ruler

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

40 'The first judge of all is God according to the saying. Whereby it is clear that judgement is a feature of mankind, because there is no judgement of

incorporeal or insensible creatures – although animals which kill are put to death for the sake of instilling fear in mankind'. See *The Lawcode* [*Datastanagirkʿ*] *of Mkhitʿar Goš*, trans. with commentary and indices by Robert W. Thomson (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), pp. 77-78.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

44 J2673, fols 310-1: եւ ասէ կաթողիկոսն առ թագաւորն. «Ա՛ռ մատանի առհաւատչեա արդարութեան թագաւորութեան քո, զի այսաւր աւրհնեալ ես իշխան և թագաւոր ժողովրդեանս: Հաստատուն լեր և աղանական քրիստոնէութեան և քրիստոնէից հաւատոյ, զի փառատրեսցիս ընդ թագաւորին թագաւորաց, ի յաւիտենական կեանս, որում փառք յաւիտեանս»: The version preserved in ANT9, which was previously published by Siwrmēean (and with some abbreviations by Alishan), is almost identical to the quoted text, differing only in the title of the religious

leader: instead of *catholicos*, ANT9 uses *episkoposapet* (եպիսկոպոսապետ, literally 'chief bishop'; fol. 407), likely inspired by the Latin *metropolitano*. For the Latin text, to which this Armenian version is closest, see Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, I: *nn. I-XCVIII* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963), p. 256 (LXXII/19).

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

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

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

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

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

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

47 Թագաւորաց դատել զժողովուրդս քո արդարությամբ ըստ հրամանի սրբոց քոց պատուիրանաց, առնել իրաւունս և զհաս յամենայն ճանապարհս արդարութեան, ուղղել զանձինս և որ ընդ ձեռամբ: Զօրաւոր և յաղթող լինել ի պատերազմունս քշնամեաց ի վանումն ներհակին և ի խաղաղութին աշխարհի՝ յանդորրութիւն նեղելոց և ի հաստատութին եկեղեցւոյ:

Իշխանաց, զինուորաց և որբ չափոր դատողութեան՝ քաջութեամբ և արիութեամբ մարտնչիլ ընդ դեմ հակառակաց ճշմարտութեանն, և ուղղութեամբ և արդարութեամբ դատել զժողովուրդս առանց կաշառոց և ակնառութեամբ. Grigor Skewṛatsʻi, *Book of Prayers* (Constantinople: Press of Astuatsatur, 1742), pp. 183-84 (in Armenian). In another prayer addressed to the Holy Trinity, Skewṛatsʻi speaks of Christ as a victorious king, praising His victory as resulting not so much from His omnipotence but from justice and righteousness. See Grigor Skewṛatsʻi, *Book of Prayers*, p. 19.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ed. by Derek Krueger and Robert S. Nelson (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2016), p. 12, fig. I.4.

52 J2673, fols 311-3: «Ա՛ռ զագաւան զաւրութեան և արդարութեան՝ զարհուրեցուցանել զամբիրաւն և առաջնորդեցես մոլորելոյն, և ձգեցես զգեռն բո վերայ ամբարտաւանից և կործանեցես զնոսա, և բարձրացուցեալ զխոնարհս, մտցես նոքաւբ ընդ դուռն զոր ասաց Տէր մեր Յիսուս Քրիստոս՝ Ես եմ դուռն. ընդ իս եթէ ոբ մտցէ, կեցցէ [Jn. 10:9]: Եւ նա, որ է ծաղիկ ի տանէն Իսրայէլի և ունի զբանալին Դաւթի, փակել՝ զոր ոչ ոբ կարէ բանալ և բանալ՝ զոր ոչ ոբ կարէ փակել, լիցի գործակից բեզ, յարձակել զկապտեալս ի ստուերաց մահու: Եւ արասցես զաս բեզ զագաւան ողդութեան և զագաւան բագաւորութեան բո, զի սիրեցես զարդարութիւն և ատեցես զանիրաւութիւն նմանութեամբ Տեառն մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի, ընդ որում Հաւր և Սուրբ Հոգւոյն վայել է փառք իշխ[անութիւն]». This quotation is almost identical to the version preserved in ANT9 (fols 408-10), reproduced in Siwrmēean, *Catalog*, p. 28. In Alishan's related publications, this part referring to the royal sceptre is substantially abbreviated (Alishan, *Sisuan*, p. 470; Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique*, p. 332). For the original Latin text, see Vogel and Elze, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique*, I, pp. 256-57.

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

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

As Wise and Righteous as King Solomon

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

57 *Samuel Anetsi*, p. 274.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusions

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

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

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

73 For the Magnaura throne and relevant textual sources, see Gerard Brett, 'The Automata in the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

76 Մի՛ զոր անիրաւութեամբ դատիք, այլ ողիդ դատաստանն արարէք, զի և ձերն դատաստան

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

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

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

APPENDIX
The Structures of Cilician Armenian Coronation Rites

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

precious evidence suggesting that it was employed during the coronation of a fourteenth-century king named Lewon, probably Lewon IV himself. This evidence comes at the end of the volume, where Lewon's coronation oath is written in first person.[79]

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

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

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

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

80 For discussion of the date and origins of the *Mainzer Krönungsordo*, see Vogel and Elze, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique*, III, pp. 23-28 (with previous studies). For the long and short recensions of the *Mainzer Krönungsordo*, see Vogel and Elze, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique*, I, pp. 246-61 (LXXII).

For an updated investigation of the original manuscript tradition of the *Pontifical romano-germanique*, which found wide diffusion during the subsequent centuries, see Henry Parkes, *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church: Books, Music and Ritual in Mainz, 950-1050* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

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

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

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

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

Previously, the text available in ANT9 was partially published by Alishan in 1885 and by Siwrmēean in 1936, when the manuscript was kept

in Aleppo.[86] Alishan's partial edition appeared also in French translation in the appendix to his 1888 monograph.[87] Siwrmēean's subsequent publication is more complete, but several long prayers and some liturgical instructions are reproduced with considerable abbreviations.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- Preparations at the royal palace.
  When the king-to-be is appointed, the arch-bishop and high clergy, dressed in their respective vestments and holding crosses, present themselves at the royal palace. While the catholicos is waiting in the coronation cathedral, the appointee is clothed in his knightly vestments: *cloak* (փիլոն), *tunic* (շապշեր), and *riding spurs* (մահմէզ).
- Procession to the coronation cathedral.
  The procession is led by the appointee, who mounts a horse. Other dignitaries, clothed in their festive garments, hold the following regalia and objects: the *king's banner* (թագաւորական նշան) by the constable, the *crown* (թագ) by the crown-bearer, the *fleur-de-lys* (ծաղիկ որ է ֆլարտրիս) by the seneschal, the *king's garment* (թագաւորական զգեստ) by the chamberlain, the *cup* (հանապ) by the butler,

and the *constable's banner* by the marshal.
The archbishop's prayer over the appointee: *Lord almighty of all, who made Your servant* [the appointee's name is left blank] *worthy of coming to the honour of kingdom [...]*.[91]
Two bishops, with relics of saints hanging from their necks, carry a cross and a Gospel book in each of their hands, while others carry censers and candles. Dressed up,
clergymen loudly sing Mk. 1:2 and Ps. 80:2(1).[92]

- Entrance to the cathedral.
  Arriving at the door to the cathedral, the arch-bishop says the prayer: *Lord God, who knows all nations and human tribes [...]*.
  They enter the cathedral singing Ps. 19(20):2-10[93] and stop singing when inside.
- Appointee takes an oath on the Common Law.[94]
  Prayer by the catholicos: *God almighty, eternal, lord of heaven and earth, who raised Your servant* [the name is left blank] *to the honour of kingdom [...]*.
- At the altar.
  The appointee is disrobed before being accompanied by the bishops to the altar, where the former kneels in front of the table. The clerics sing brief litanies of the Twelve apostles, the Twelve martyrs, the Twelve virgins, and the Twelve confessors. And with the same voice, they say: *We beseech You, accept this servant of You as king [...]*. After the litany, they stand up.
- King's promise (a petition-response dialogue between the chief bishop and the appointee).
- 'The divine call'.
  Two bishops take the appointee by the hands

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

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

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

92 Ցնծացէք առ Աստուած ալզ[ն]ակ.

93 Լուիցէ քեզ Տէր յաւուր անձկութեան` ի լման.

94 Several years after the completion of this manuscript, the oath of King Lewon (IV ?) was added in first person at the end of the volume (fol. 220r): Ես Լևոն թագաւոր Հայոց, որ կամաւքն Աստուծոյ լինելոց եմ թագաւոր Հայոց, խոստանամ′ս, ուխտմ′ս և երդնմ′ս առաջի Աստուծոյ և երանելոյն սրբոյն Գրիգորի Լուսաւորչին, որ լինիմ յայսմհետէ պահապա′ն և գերծանո′ղ քահանայապետին և սուրբ եկեղեցւոյն Հայոց և ամենայն կղերիկոսաց նորայ ի յամենայն կարիս և ի յաւգուս իւր` պահելո′վ, խնամելո′վ զիւղրենեւ′ս, զգաստ′ս և զիրաւունս նորա, որչափի կարողացայց աղմակկանութեամբն Աստուծոյ ըստ զիտտութեան և կարողութեան ինմ ուղել խստակ հաստատով, այնպէս Աստուած աղէ ինձ և այս սուրբ աւետարանս Աստուծոյ: Գ. հետ կրկնէ. Cf. Siwrmēean, *Catalog*, p. 32; Tanielian, *Catalogue*, p. 97.

and turn him westwards, towards the assembly, saying loudly: *The divine and heavenly grace, poured out here on* [the appointee's name is left blank], *summons him to the royal throne of the house of Tʻorgom and of the descendants of Hayk, anoints him in similitude of Trdat, Kostandianos, and Tʻēodos according to the choice of the Holy Church and for the benefit of all the people.*[95]
Assembly: *He is worthy!* The same is repeated thrice.
Prayer: *God, creator of all creators, God, maker of the world, God who created man [...].*

- Anointment.
  The chief bishop anoints the appointee's head, chest, shoulders, and arms, and says: *I anoint you as king with the holy oil in the name of the Father, the Son, and Holy Spirit. Amen! Peace to you!* Assembly: *And to your spirit!*
  The chief bishop anoints also the king's hands, saying: *I anoint your hand with the holy oil, with which kings and prophets were anointed, with which Samuel anointed David as king [...].*
  Prayer: *All the might is Yours, God [...].*

- Vesting.
  Two bishops and deacons take the newly anointed king to the sacristy, where he is clothed in *priestly linen cloth* (երասն կտաւի հանդերձ որպէս երիցու), and over that the *subdeacons' red silk* (մետասս կարմիր՝ փոքր սարկաւագի) and the *deacons' honorable red pallium with long-sleeves and left unbelted* (կարմիր պատուական պալյով՝ լայն թեզանի և զատելյոյծ).[96]

- In front of the altar table, the chief bishop says to the king: *May the graces of the Holy Spirit descend abundantly upon you [...].*
  Another prayer: *God who glorifies the righteous and pities the sinful [...].*
  Peace to all. Let us bow down to God.
  Thanksgiving.
  Prayer: *It is proper and right and just to give you thanks every hour and everywhere [...].*

Peace to all. Let us bow down to God.
Prayer: *God and the Son of God, Jesus Christ, our Lord [...].*

- The regalia are bestowed upon the king in the following order:[97]
  sword (սուրն վաղակատ),
  collar (մանեակ),
  ring (մատանի),
  cloak (փիլոն),
  cross mounted on the golden apple/orb (խաչ ի վերայ խնձորոյ ոսկւոյ) in the right hand, and
  sceptre topped with flower/fleur-de-lys (գաւազան և ի ծայր ծաղիկ) in the left hand.[98]

- Coronation with *diadem* (պսակ).

- Benediction: *May God bless you and save you [...].*

- Enthronement.
  The crowned king, accompanied by bishops and clergy, moves from the altar towards the throne, which is placed at the centre of the cathedral. The move is accompanied by Ps. 19(20):5 (*May the Lord grant you according to your heart's desire*).
  Coming to the throne, the chief bishop says the prayer: *Take the throne of your ancestors [...].*
  Once the king occupies the throne, the chief bishop says the prayer: *Our Lord Jesus Christ, who is king of kings and lord of lords [...].*
  Kiss of peace.

- All the city bells are rung while the assembly sings *Te Deum laudamus* (Դէ՛ սե՛ում լատասմնզ).

- *Chant of our great and holy Grigor the Illuminator to the good and holy King Trdat.*[99]

- Solemn *patarag* (Divine Liturgy), offered by the chief bishop.

- Procession back to the royal palace.
  The procession is led by the king, his horse decorated with a caparison. The royal retinue accompanying the newly anointed king consists of: *sparapet* (սպարապետ) / *constable, marshal* (մարաջախտ), *crown-bearer* (թագադիր), *seneschal* (սենեսկալ), *butler* (պաղլեր),

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

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

97 In the tenth-century *Mainzer Krönungsordo*, the regalia are listed in a different order and quantity.

See Vogel and Elze, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique*, I, pp. 255-57, 260, 261.

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

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

chamberlain (ջամբրլայն), and other *liege lords*
(լիճ ձորտեր).

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

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

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

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

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100 The diction of this sentence is ambiguous. The
    original text reads (fols 219rv): իսկ վաղին զամ
    յարքունիսն իշխանքն և տիկնայքն և սպասատրեն
    իւրաքանչիւր գործովն ուրախութեամբ՝ աւուրս որչափ
    և կամին. բայց գրեմք որ պաշաշճան Ը. աւր է.

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

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

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

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

- When the appointee is clothed in *all royal garments* (զամենայն բագաւորական հանդերձն), the *chlamys* (qpղամիդն) and the *crown* (qpագն) are brought on a silver charger and put on the altar table. Then they say:
  Ps. 60(61):2 *Hear my prayers, God, and attend [my prayers], Lord.*[103]
  Ps. 124(125):1 *Those who hope in Lord as in the Mount Zion.*[104]
  Ps. 137(138):1 *I confess to You, Lord, with all my heart.*[105]
- The catholicos (հայրապետն), accompanied by the appointee, steps forward to the altar table. Diaconal proclamation *Let us ask in faith.*
  Prayer: *Allow us, Lord, to thank You as befits Your goodness [...].*
  Introit *[In the same way] as after the God-loving king [of Israel].*[106]
  Proclamation and prayer.
- Introducing the king-to-be.
  One of the bishops or priests takes the appointee by his right hand and turns towards the assembly, and the chief bishop (եպիսկոպոսապետ) says loudly thrice: *The divine and heavenly grace, poured out on* [the name is left blank], *summons him to the royal throne of the house of Tʻorgom, anoints him in similitude of Kostandianos and Tʻēodos.*[107] Assembly: *So be it! So be it!*
- Turning to the altar table, they say:
  Ps. 20(21):8 *For the king hoped in the Lord.*[108]
  1 Kings 16:1-13.
  1 Tim. 2:1-7.
  1 Jn. 2:20-27.
  Alleluia *ktsʻurd* Ps. 19(20):2 *May the Lord*

hear you.[109]
Lk. 19:12-28.
Ktsʻurd Քահանայապետութեամբ ն վշտ.
Proclamation *Let us ask in faith and with one accord.*
Prayer by catholicos: *Lord our God, who is king of kings [...].*[110]
Peace to all. Let us bow down to God.
Prayer: *God eternal and creator of all creatures [...].*
Ps. 20:2(21:1) *Lord, [the king shall rejoice] in Your strength.*[111]
3 Kings 1:32-48.
4 Kings 9:1-10.
Wis. 6:1-10.
Isa. 61:10-62:4.
1 Pet. 2:13-25.
Alleluia *aruesti* Ps. 88:20(19) *I have exalted [one chosen among the people].*[112]
Lk 4:14-22.
- Vesting.
  The catholicos takes the *chlamys* (qpղամիդն) and the *cloak* (qփիլոնն) and gives them to the priests to bestow upon the appointee.
  The catholicos gives 'Peace to all'.
  Deacon: *Let us bow down to God.* Assembly *Before You, Lord.*
  Prayer by the patriarch (պատրիարգն), laying his hand on the appointee's head: *To You, the only eternal king [...].*
- Anointment.
  The catholicos anoints the appointee's head and forehead, saying thrice in a loud voice: *Let this king be blessed, anointed, and consecrated [...].*
  Assembly: *Lord, keep the king and hear us.*
- Coronation with *crown* (բագ).
- Doxology: *Blessing and glory to the Father and to the Son [...].*
- *Patarag* (Divine Liturgy), offered by the catholicos.
- Endnote: *And [the king] must respect the Lord's commandment with fear and holiness and with righteous judgement.*

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103 Լուր Աստուած աղաւթից իմց ն նայեաց Տէր.
104 Որ յուսայ ի Տէր որպէս ի լեառն Սի[ոն]. This differs from the Zohrab Bible: Որ յուսայ ի Տէր որպէս լեառն Սիովն.
105 Խոստովան եղէց բեզ Տէր բոլո[րով] սրտի իմ[ով].
106 In J2673, this chanted section is referred to as *ktsʻurd* (fol. 259: Եւ ապա սկսանին կցորդ Որպէս յետ աստուածասէր բագաւորին). For the meanings and uses of the liturgical term *ktsʻurd*, see Michael Daniel Findikyan, *The Commentary on the Armenian Daily Office by Bishop Stepʻanos Siwnecʻi (d. 735): Critical Edition and Translation with Textual and Liturgical Analysis* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2004), pp. 525-31. My translation of *ktsʻurd* as *introit* follows printed Armenian breviaries and *tagharans* (books of *tagh* songs), in which Որպէս յետ բագաւորին աստուածասէր is referred to as *introit* (ժամամուտ). See, for example, *Zhamagirkʻ* (Ējmiatsin: Grigor Lusaworichʻ Press, 1785), p. 193, also p. 189 (for *introit*/ ժամամուտ) (in Armenian); *Tagharan of the Holy*

Armenian Church (Constantinople: Press of Pōghos Arapean, 1850), pp. 42-43, also p. 29 (for *introit*/ ժամամուտ) (in Armenian).
107 Constantine and Theodosius are also referred to in a subsequent prayer (*God eternal and creator of all creators*), which, in addition to these two 'holy kings', also mentions Trdat (fol. 280). See also above, n. 95.
108 The Cilician *Lectionary of Crown Prince Hetʻum* (M979), dating from 1286, mentions the *ktsʻurd* Ps. 20(21):8 (Թագաւոր յուսացաւ ի Տէր) to be sung on the days of commemoration of King Theodosius and King Constantine (and his mother Helena).
109 Լուիցէ բեզ Տէր.
110 This prayer contains a series of supplications for the king-to-be, beginning every new supplication with a large initial in gold script (fols 274-75).
111 Տէր ի զաւրութեան.
112 Բարձր արարից (accompanied by musical notations).

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