

IMAGES OF QUEEN MELISENDE

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This essay aims to explore some visual representations of queenship in thirteenth-century Europe. The particular focus will be on some of the images of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem (1131-61) as they appear in the French translations of the Latin chronicle of William of Tyre, which was written by the Archbishop in the first crusader kingdom of Jerusalem in the 1170-80s.¹ The images examined here accompany descriptions of the transfers of royal power in the mid-twelfth century, from Baldwin II (1118-31), to his daughter Melisende and her husband Fulk of Anjou (d. 1143), and subsequently from Melisende and Fulk, on the latter's death, to Melisende and her son Baldwin III (d. 1163).² Some of these illustrated manuscripts have been discussed in detail by Jaroslav Folda.³

William of Tyre's widely studied chronicle is now generally regarded as a key source for the history of the kingdom of Jerusalem. When William was composing the work, he had access not only to some of the major chronicles of the first crusade, including that of Fulcher of Chartres, which continued its account into the 1120s, but also, as he makes clear in the text, to the recollections of participants in the long project of colonisation, to official documents of the Jerusalem chancellery, and probably to some Arabic historical works. He wrote from the perspective of a close supporter and confidant of the royal family, in particular the sons of queen Melisende, kings Baldwin III and Amalric, whom he tutored. This closeness contributed to a clear political agenda which shaped his construction of events throughout the century covered by his work. He was particularly concerned to relate the establishment and consolidation of a ruling dynasty, and to explain the process of state building in twelfth-century Jerusalem as a product of this dynasty. This led him to give considerable prominence to the role of Melisende, seeing her as a crucial connection between the kings of his own day, and those of the earlier era.⁴

The French translation, dating possibly from the 1220s, has been less used and studied, although its continuations extend the chronicle in successive stages into the late thirteenth century and have of course been mined for their insight into the political history of the crusaders' kingdom in its second century when it was centred on Acre.⁵ As with most medieval translations, this work is more of an adaptation and commentary than a direct and accurate transfer in the way we might expect it today, and the illustrations which were incorporated in manuscripts produced in the second half of the thirteenth century can be read as adding another layer of translation to the linguistic one.

Manuscripts of this translated chronicle were produced both in the Holy Land and in francophone Europe; a descriptive hand list was produced by Folda in 1973.⁶ Folda, and Buchthal before him, explored the development of a school of miniature painting and illustration in the crusader kingdom of Acre during the second half of the thirteenth century, of which these William of Tyre manuscripts form a significant part. This school incorporated Byzantine with imported French stylistic and iconographic elements in a vibrant and productive semi-commercial environment. Sponsorship and commissions from visiting European noblemen and royalty, in particular king Louis XI of France, as well as from the settler community, contributed to the production of a wide range of high quality works, including a large number of illustrated versions of the translation and continuation of William's Chronicle.⁷ Folda has already addressed the question of these Acre illustrators' approach to depicting queen Melisende.⁸ However, his primary interest was and is in the work of the Acre scriptorium, rather than in the representation of gender and political power in mainland Europe, whereas my focus will be on those images produced in the west.

The European manuscripts, which are the subject of this paper, were designed and executed at considerable geographical as well as chronological distance from the Latin original and thus reflect the very different concerns and interests of thirteenth-century illustrators and readers.⁹ This paper is therefore about thirteenth-century readership and re-inscription rather than original authorial intent; about translation/interpretation of the text, from Latin to French, academic to more popular genre, local to "exotic", and literary to visual registers, in a process which interposed new "authors" or interpreters for a new readership. Accordingly, this affords a view of how the twelfth century was read through the eyes of the thirteenth, in ways that are sometimes subtly and sometimes radically new.

During her reign, Melisende frequently struggled to maintain control of the kingdom, not only against the external enemies of the surrounding Muslim states, but against her immediate family and local barons who contested the nature of her power. In his retrospective review of this era, William of Tyre, the great chronicler of the Latin east, wrote:

*domina Milissendis regina, mulier provida et supra sexum discreta femineum, que regnum tam vivente marito quam regnante filio congruo moderamine annis triginta et amplius, vires transcendens femineas, rexerat.*¹⁰

Transcending the strength of women, the lady queen, Melisende, a prudent woman, discreet above the female sex, had ruled the kingdom with fitting moderation for more than thirty years, during the lifetime of her husband, and the reign of her son.

I have discussed elsewhere the ambivalence in William's careful use of words in this passage: while her husband *lived* (*vivente*) and her son *reigned* (*regnante*), Melisende *ruled* (*rexerat*).¹¹ This language seems to indicate at least an uncertainty about the relative status of Melisende with respect to her husband and son. This ambivalence was also

clearly an issue for the political classes in the kingdom of Jerusalem, where rivalries coalesced around the key players and roles, and powers were fought over both during Fulk's lifetime and later when Melisende ruled with her son. In the thirteenth century, when William's chronicle was translated, this ambivalence was expressed again. When William wrote of the death of Fulk and its aftermath, he had described it in the following terms:

Defuncto igitur patre... solemniter inunctus, consecratus et cum matre coronatus est. Erat autem mater mulier prudentissima, plenam pene in omnibus secularibus negociis habens experientiam, sexus feminei plane vincens conditionem, ita ut manum mitteret ad fortia... Regnum enim, filio adhuc infra puberes annos constituto, tanta rexit industria, tanto procuravit moderamine, ut progenitores suos in ea parte equare merito diceretur.¹²

After the death of his father, he [Baldwin III] was solemnly anointed, consecrated and crowned with his mother. For his mother was a most prudent woman, having full experience in almost all secular affairs, so entirely overcoming the condition of the female sex that she could extend her hand to forceful action... for while her son was under the age of puberty, she ruled the kingdom with such industry, she guided it with such careful management, that she was rightly said to equal her progenitors in that regard.

However, in one of his more obvious interventions in the text, the French translator wrote:

Baudouin le tiers.... Le jour noel... fu coronéz... Sa mere porta le jor corone avec lui, por ce qu'il n'avoit point de reine qui fust feme à ce jeune roi.¹³

Baldwin III... was crowned on Christmas day... His mother wore the crown with him, because there was no queen as wife of this young king.

This significant alteration by the French translator itself demonstrates how the eye of thirteenth-century France saw events very differently from that of twelfth-century Jerusalem. The translator's understanding of Melisende's position is altered – not just making her less important, but ascribing her importance to a different set of familial relationships: her role as mother was seen as giving her only a temporary importance, which would inevitably be replaced by a new queen when the young king married, rather than a permanent ruling status reflecting her position in the genealogy between one king and another.¹⁴

Melisende was followed on the throne by her sons, but in the years following, five more queens inherited the throne of Jerusalem or the residual kingdom of Acre, and this extraordinary sequence of events made its mark on the medieval historiography of the kingdom. The long term conflicts and succession disputes engendered by female inheritance may explain why no images of Melisende crowned or enthroned appear in the versions of the chronicle produced in the Latin East.¹⁵ However, of those produced in mainland Europe, eight feature Melisende at a moment of coronation, either with her husband, or with her son. This is a remarkable number of images of female rulership and thus worthy of further examination.

Figures 1 and 2 illustrate the way in which those transitions of power were most commonly handled in those manuscripts copied and illustrated in the kingdom of Acre. Figure 1 shows what might be regarded as the "standard" format, in which the mourning of Baldwin II in the left half of the frame is followed to the right by the coronation, alone, of Fulk of Anjou.¹⁶ Some twelve years after his and Melisende's accession, King Fulk's death was caused by a hunting accident, at which queen Melisende's presence was recorded by William. Another of the Acre illustrators picked up salient details of this story as relayed by William (Fig. 2), showing the accident and death.¹⁷ The illustrator, in this manuscript, depicted the hunting accident and Fulk's death as his way of representing the transmission of power, whilst avoiding the problem of representing the continued reign of the queen herself. Whereas both images represent quite closely some elements of the story as relayed by William, with key circumstantial details, there is considerable selectivity involved in both representations. Both illustrators manage to avoid depicting Melisende as a reigning queen, and thus took considerable liberties both with historical "fact" as recorded by William of Tyre, and with the interpretation of these events offered by the translator. These images thus provide an example of that "extra layer of translation" which I mentioned above.

The illustrators working in the West, in constructing images of Melisende, rather than using a standardised programmatic model for illustrating William's work, will be shown to have selected from an eclectic range of materials, looking for new ways to understand and reflect the text, or to present their own particular understanding of events. Folda has argued that the artists might have taken as their sources romances, histories and bibles, but that there was no standard source of images or series of images for them to copy from when dealing with such circumstances as the accession and coronation of a reigning queen and the anticipatory coronation of her infant son.¹⁸ These artists were not able to draw on a standard "ruler-type portrait", as there are relatively few other images of crowned women to compare with before the late thirteenth century and even fewer of women who share a throne with a man. Le Goff has stated that "[t]he normal medieval coronation in France applied to a couple, including a queen and future mother" alongside the king, but adds that before the fourteenth century, images of king and queen together are relatively rare; Chiara Frugoni has gone so far as to describe this as "l'iconographie d'un absence".¹⁹ In consequence of this, our artists made a thoughtful use of the wide range of loosely related available images in what could be described as acts of "creative misprision".²⁰ By examining some of these comparator images, which may have provided material for the invention of the William of Tyre artists, one might reach a deeper understanding of the possible re-readings of the text, and suggest ways that the images themselves may have been read.

In Fig. 3, for example, the coronation scene includes a female observer, presumably Melisende, although she appears only on the sidelines, undistinguished by crown or any particularly royal dress or insignia. The arrangement of this image strongly reflects a European pattern which can be seen exemplified in the repetitive images of English kings found in the *Flores Historiarum* manuscripts made in Westminster and St Albans just a little earlier (Fig. 4).²¹ This format – a seated king accompanied by two clerical figures standing on either side of the throne – was relatively uncommon before the second half of the thirteenth century, but it rapidly became the most common way of illustrating accession and kingly power in European illustrated chronicles.²² (Buchthal and Folda contrast this model with the frequency of the kneeling coronation image frequently used in manuscripts created in the Crusader Kingdom at this time.) In Fig. 1 we can see an example of this format introduced into Acre practice by artists travelling from the West, probably Paris, where they had trained.²³ The western illustrators of William used this format in a variety of different ways to illustrate their views of the role of queen Melisende.

The illustrator of this manuscript has taken the decision to depict Melisende at the coronation, perhaps understanding the fact of her presence from the French text, but has chosen not to represent the translator's words directly, as Melisende is not represented crowned or enthroned. This might be regarded as a deliberate attempt to sideline Melisende, when contrasted with the translator's stress on the need for a purely notional female figure "to wear the crown with him" which apparently reflected French contemporary practice.²⁴ However, careful examination of the image does enable an alternative reading. Melisende does in a sense intervene in the action through her gestures, which clearly echo the hand gestures of the bishops to the left and right of the seated king, and which seem to be answered by the mirroring gesture of the king himself. The visual focus of the king and his mother is not out of frame towards the viewer, as is generally the case in frontal coronation portraits, but instead is fixed on each other. Neither demands the responsive gaze of the viewer, as they seem to be sharing mute communication of their own. Medieval as well as modern readers might interpret this as reflecting the artist's awareness of the queen's importance and presence at the ceremony, but at the same time showing a lack of confidence in the depiction of a balance of power or authority between the queen and her son.

A much more direct representation of William's (or the translator's) text appears in Fig. 5.²⁵ In this image, Baldwin III, crowned, sits between two bishops in the traditional way, as Melisende, enthroned and crowned, sits beside him. A third official stands to her right, apparently bearing the crozier of the officiating bishop, and closely following the events. In illustrations of this "double bishop" type (like those of the English *Flores* tradition noted above), the central seated figure is where the narrative strength of the image usually lies, and where the viewer's attention is primarily demanded – often reciprocated by the outward focus of the sitter – as if engaging directly with the audience. In this image, the painter used that technique of narrative focus to centre our attention on Baldwin, whilst apparently also giving very substantial recognition to the role that Melisende played in the text at this point. The viewer could read from this image either that Melisende, in appropriate royal costume, was an authoritative observer to the central fact of Baldwin's coronation, or that she was a formal participant in the ritual, crowned first, before her son, perhaps in recognition of her age and seniority. Although Baldwin III is certainly the figure at the centre of this frozen action, Melisende's position here is clearly one of importance, possibly even of precedence. This illustration could be regarded as reflecting more closely Melisende's role as queen, as represented in the bulk of the chronicle text, and as expressly detailed by the Latin text of William's quoted above, rather than the French explanation of the translator. The artist certainly recognises Melisende's significance by adapting the established format to include the two monarchs in formal dress and pose, and reinforces her precedence as mother and as already a crowned queen, by indicating that she was crowned first – whereas the spouse (whose role the French translator assumes Melisende is taking) would expect to be crowned second.

This format (used in Figures 1, 3, 4 and 5), of a royal figure flanked by two sacred or ecclesiastical dignitaries, has a long parallel history in biblical illustration where the famous account of the coronation of Solomon by the figures of Zadoc and Nathan is represented in this way repeatedly for many of the Hebrew kings. We can see this clearly illustrated in the famous Old Testament Picture Book where the anointings of Saul (seated) and David (standing) are depicted in this way.²⁶ In these versions of the coronation, the familiar formula focuses the viewer's attention on the central royal figure. Such examples of biblical coronations are found frequently and I would argue that they are as much a source for these French manuscripts of William's chronicle as for the numerous other medieval illustrators who used this format to provide visually recognisable models for royal portraiture. They thus give the imprimatur of sacred rule to the kings (and queen) of Jerusalem.²⁷ The prevalence of this usage testifies to its effectiveness, making this format the most obvious and recognisable type of ruler portrait in the later Middle Ages. Figure 5 is thus an effective development of this traditional format to represent the double coronation of Baldwin and Melisende in a way which more closely matches both Latin and French texts of William of Tyre.

Figures 6 and 7 come from the only one of this manuscript group to present Melisende both at her accession in 1131, and at the coronation of Baldwin III in 1143. This enables us to make a comparison of the two miniatures and draw some suggested conclusions about the very different ways they are constructed. Figure 6 represents in several respects a development of the format of central ruler between two bishops. It uses standing figures rather than enthroned and effectively doubles the group;²⁸ Melisende and Baldwin share the central focus of the image, in mirroring dramas, as each is crowned standing between a pair of supporting figures. The basic format is inventively used here to create a double coronation, telescoping the events into a moment, so that they are crowned almost simultaneously and interestingly with Melisende standing on the right (left as we look at her) rather than the left which is the more usual placing for male/female pairs. Here, as in Fig. 5, Melisende is represented as slightly taller than her

son, showing her seniority and precedence. And as in Fig. 3, the two monarchs are represented as seeking each other's gaze, and mirroring each other's posture, rather than confronting the viewer hieratically – their engagement with each other may be intended to emphasise their joint rulership, or their familial relationship and Baldwin III's dependence.

A further complication of the visual “grammar” is noticeable in Fig. 6, where the supporting/crowning figures are obviously laymen, bare-headed, and wearing fashionable sleeveless surcoats. Comparing this image with that of Melisende's first coronation alongside her husband, Fulk (Fig. 7)²⁹ reveals potentially interesting and significant differences. In Fig. 7, the person who crowns Fulk and Melisende, standing between them and touching their crowns simultaneously, is a mitred bishop, in contrast to the lay figures of Fig. 6. This model of “lay” coronation appears in an earlier image in the same manuscript, at folio 73r. This is a comparable image of the coronation of Godfrey, the first ruler of the kingdom of Jerusalem, who by the thirteenth century had been transformed into a legendary hero of the first crusade. Godfrey was here depicted by the same artist, wearing a crown, but like the image of Melisende and Baldwin, he is being crowned by lay figures. We may assume that the illustrator, by this use of the two contrasting formats, intended to distinguish between degrees or levels of coronation/kingship.

In the case of Godfrey of Bouillon, this distinction was particularly important. Godfrey was believed, from shortly after the successful end of the first crusade, to have refused the name of king of the newly conquered Holy Land. Indeed according to William's text he refused not only the name of king, but the crown itself, and the early crusade chronicles say that he took the title “advocate” rather than king from a sense of humility. This refusal became an important part of his legend and was widely known and commented on in European chronicles.³⁰ The French translator of William's chronicle, who, as noted above, was working in France, expanded this portion of the text considerably, adding many circumstantial details and explanations emphasising Godfrey's sense of humility. In manuscript Paris BN MS Fr. 779, other coronations (for example those of Baldwin I and Baldwin II) are handled in a more standard European way, with a centrally placed frontally facing king crowned by two bishops. The distinctive choice made by this illustrator at the beginning of his programme, presenting the elevation of Godfrey can help us to read the image of Melisende and Baldwin III at Figure 6. This picture seems to imply for them as for Godfrey some lesser quasi-regal status. This image of Melisende with her son might be seen as one of a crown-wearing in which lay lords participated, rather than a sacramental coronation. This in turn could be a recognition that as Melisende was already the ruling queen by inheritance, and had already been officially crowned, Baldwin III was therefore not perceived to be taking on independent royal power at that point. This is certainly a very marked difference from the portrayal discussed above in Fig. 1, where Melisende is not presented actively participating at all at her son's coronation. It contrasts also with the French translator's interpretation which minimised the significance of her role in that ceremony, even while it insisted on the fact of her presence. In Fig. 6, the illustrator's interpretation would appear to be that Melisende not only took precedence as a result of her prior coronation, her age, and her maternal relationship to Baldwin, but that his reign did not really start from this point. This question of the political relationship between this mother and son was a highly contentious one in the twelfth century, and the cause of friction and even violence between Melisende and Baldwin's supporters, as described in detail in William's text.³¹ The designer of the illustrative programme may well have had these details in mind. It certainly seems that he meant to distinguish between the ecclesiastical, formal inauguration of Melisende and Fulk as joint rulers, and Melisende's later crown wearing with her son in anticipation of his future succession. This seems to have been in order to emphasise Melisende's continuing role as Queen, rather than her son's role in taking over that power.

The composition of Fig. 7 differs in significant ways from that of the images previously discussed. In this miniature, an axial figure uses both hands to perform a double coronation. This picture drew on a much older tradition of portraiture. It has as its central focus an earthly bishop, but often in related images this central blessing or crowning role is taken by a divine figure. There are many examples of this format to be found in manuscripts and objects from the ninth to twelfth centuries, representing royal and non-royal couples. In many of these, the central figure is of Christ, or even God, clearly giving sacred sanction to the union and/or reign of favoured political figures. One of the best known royal uses of this formula, and the one which sparked its long term popularity in western European manuscripts is the famous ivory plaque showing the coronation of Otto and Theophanu by Christ (Fig. 8).³² Such is the frequency with which this image was copied and referenced that it was for a while “the most widely recognised visual image of the early medieval ruler and his consort”, and “by mid eleventh century, the iconography of joint ruler portrait had become fully integrated into the canon of western ruler imagery”.³³ Erin Barrett amongst others has suggested plausibly that this reflects a longstanding tradition of classical marriage portraits in which the couple, usually members of the imperial family, flanked the figure of Christ.

Thus the format of the balanced pair, flanking an ecclesiastical or sacred figure who bestows blessing, approval or authority, provides a possible source of inspiration for our artists looking for ways to represent Melisende in such a balanced relationship – with her husband at Fig. 7. The artist of Paris BN MS Fr 779, deciding to create two ruler portraits for Melisende at different stages of her life, thus used two different models of authority to illustrate those relationships. With her husband Fulk, she was pictured in a way which recalled the classical marriage portraits, as well as the early medieval tradition exemplified by the Theophanu ivory. This would surely call to mind in the medieval viewer not only these royal images, but also this related iconography in which Christ either crucified or in a pose reminiscent of crucifixion, with outstretched arms, blessed saints or allegorical figures, as in the example of Christ crowning Ecclesia and unveiling Synagogue from the windows of St Denis in Paris.³⁴ This might be read as bestowing an extremely elevated status on the royal couple, and especially recognising that Melisende's position with respect to her husband was that of an equal.

This way of representing balance or equivalence in power relationships dependent on a higher authority had a longer afterlife, as can be seen from its use for example in the *Grande Chroniques de France* to illustrate the relationship of Charles Martel to his two sons.³⁵ Their future power as rulers was clearly represented as resting on the superior power and achievements of their father. Of course this format was also frequently used to render marriage, not only in the days of the Byzantine Empire, but in the thirteenth century too, as in an Antioch manuscript of William of Tyre, where the marriage of king Amaury and Maria Comnena is depicted.³⁶ Where marriage was the key to succession and transmission of power, as in the case of Melisende and Fulk, this use of a formula whose recognised readings included marriage as well as the bestowal of balanced divided power is perhaps not surprising. What then did this format say to the observer? The central figure was key to the interpretation. Whether it was Christ or bishop, emperor or conqueror, the layout subordinated the flanking pair to that axial figure, so that the crowned couple were subordinated to the bishop who crowned them, just as they were to the imagined figure of Christ blessing their rule. However it also surely represented a pattern of equivalence or balance between the two flanking figures, whether saints, or king and queen. In the case of Ecclesia and Synagogue, this balance is of old and new, redundant and flourishing, but balance is none the less there. When used to depict marriage, this balanced formula reminded the viewer of the theoretically equal obligation of the married pair to each other, even though this balance, while theologically insisted upon, may have been absent in social and economic terms. The format also reflected the sacramental nature of marriage, placing the spiritual figure at the centre of the triad. By looking at the very wide spread of possible comparator images, one might conclude that, when depicting king Fulk and queen Melisende, as in Fig. 7, the illustrator of this manuscript intended to emphasise their balanced roles, by giving them a simultaneous coronation, but in Fig. 6 he intended to show Baldwin III participating in a non-sacral crown wearing alongside his mother.

His depiction of Fulk and Melisende was a way of establishing that balance, demonstrating the prominence of the king as consort, yet not denying the role of the queen and at the same time giving the ecclesiastical central figure a degree of narrative prominence to denote that their royal power was bestowed by the church and thus, indirectly, by God. Figure 9 provides a useful point of comparison for these images, showing the flexibility with which the formulae can be treated in the hands of a skilled artist, who wanted to represent royal power in a slightly unusual way.³⁷ Here, Alfred, Edgar and Ethelred, iconic kings of early medieval England, are blessed by two angels standing on pillars between them, creating a triptych of coronation imagery, combining the centrality, and audience gaze of the later medieval single portrait accompanied by two ecclesiastics, with the hiero-centric format of the earlier tradition in which the sacred figure is flanked by the crowned pair.

The last pair of images to be considered (Figs 10 and 12) present Melisende not just crowned alongside her co-ruler, but actually sharing a throne. This highly unusual format draws on a further wide range of comparators to create a complex range of possible meanings. Figure 10 shows the pair of rulers, Melisende and her husband Fulk, sharing a throne, and crowned most unusually by a single bishop standing to their right.³⁸ The angling of the throne to present a three-quarters view of Melisende and her husband brings the two of them into an intimate proximity which a traditional frontal portrait would hardly allow. It may be regarded as emphasising the complex sharing of a royal role, in which she as heir must retain an integral part, while he as nominated king and military defender of the nascent kingdom of Jerusalem needed also to be given prominence. The artist is representing them almost as one person, indivisible in their complimentary roles. I have found relatively few relevant comparators for this arrangement. One interesting possible example is that of Evander and his queen receiving news of the death of their son which appears in Heinrich von Veldeke's *Eneid*.³⁹ The pose is comparable to another very early example of throne-sharing by a couple whose power is inextricably linked. This is the portrait of Constance and Henry VI in the *Liber ad honorem Augusti* of Peter of Eboli.⁴⁰ Henry's power in Italy was of course dependent on marriage to Constance, the heir to the Sicilian crown. His sharing of her throne thus provides a rare and useful match for the situation of Melisende and Fulk. These very early images predate by at least half a century the Yates Thompson manuscript (Fig. 10), but it is tempting to wonder if our artist was looking to older models of this kind to find exemplars of joint rule on which to base his image. This artist takes a similarly original approach to depicting another unusual accession (Fig. 11) showing the raising of Godfrey to rulership on a shield, in a style reminiscent of ancient legend.⁴¹ This inventiveness and resourcefulness in finding ways to depict unusual events seems thus characteristic of this illustrator, and is exemplified also by his portrait of Melisende and Fulk.

In Fig. 12, the pair who share the throne are Melisende and her son Baldwin III, here depicted as a child, significantly smaller than his mother, reflecting William of Tyre's description of him as *infra puberes annos*.⁴² The throne is placed centrally, as in traditional single coronations, and flanked by both lay and ecclesiastical participants and observers, but it is occupied by two crowned figures. It is possible to read the new young king, Baldwin III, as the central focus of this image; he is positioned almost directly under the apex of the framing arch; the moment of narrative is frozen at the point of his coronation. More interesting, however, is the role of Melisende, sitting at the young king's left hand. Here she plays the role of both crowned and crowner – she shares in putting the crown on the head of her son at the same moment as the bishop to his right. This is comparable to Figs 3, 4 and 5, in which the king sits centrally and is crowned by figures standing to his left and right. However, in this version, the queen is seemingly taking on the role usually played by the second bishop. Both lay and ecclesiastical figures (bishop and queen) perform the coronation simultaneously. The young king faces rigidly to the front, engaging the viewer's eye line directly, whereas Melisende and the accompanying bishop seem to be looking towards one another, sharing understanding and communication as they crown the new young king together.

It is possible to suggest that this image, as was the habit in many medieval illuminations, “telescoped” time, presenting in one painting different moments from the coronation ceremony.⁴³ The fourteenth-century coronation book written and illustrated for Charles V of France gave the most detailed and sophisticated series of images for a royal coronation in this period, and made clear the separate roles of lay and ecclesiastical figures in the coronation ceremony. It clearly showed the role of lay “peers” or “supporters” who collectively held the crown on the ruler’s head, once it had been placed there by the Archbishop of Rheims. The role of these lay supporters was mentioned as early as the Rheims Ordo of 1226, and again in the 1250 Ordo.⁴⁴ In this interpretation, Melisende would be reduced to the level of major baron or peer of the realm, supporting the crown for her son as he became ruler. However, it is possible to draw on other analogies to interpret this framing of the image in very different ways.

The composition might be seen to convey anticipatory coronation of a child in its parent’s lifetime, as was common in France up to the late twelfth century.⁴⁵ This manuscript also depicted (at fol. 87r) another similar moment of nomination, with the passing of royal power from the old king Baldwin II to the young couple. Here, Melisende and Fulk, crowned, kneeling at the old king’s deathbed, are pictured receiving directly from him the authority to succeed, in a way which clearly emphasised continuity of royal power. As has been pointed out above, this was a key theme of William of Tyre’s chronicle and remained important in the translator’s work. The illustrator also chose to depict the coronation of Baldwin V at the death bed of Baldwin IV, so as similarly to emphasise dynastic continuity. Other illustrators also made the choice to depict these moments of anticipatory succession, including Fig. 13, showing the coronation of Baldwin V as a child in the arms of Baldwin IV.⁴⁶ It is likely that these particular moments were chosen for illustration not only because of the artistic possibilities offered by the representation of the child, but also because these were moments of particularly contestable succession where continuity of rule needed to be emphasised. In the case of Baldwin V, his mother Sybilla, arguably the more direct heir, was being passed over in favour of her short-lived son.⁴⁷ Seen from the perspective of the thirteenth century, when the Jerusalem dynasty, in its residual kingdom of Acre, was no longer secure and succession disputes arose frequently, these earlier childhood successions might have attracted the particular attention of the illustrators keen to emphasise continuity and stability.⁴⁸

However, the coronation portrait of Baldwin IV and V (Fig. 13) differs in an important way from that of Melisende and Baldwin III in Fig. 12. The former showed the uncle blessed, not crowned, while the nephew is crowned only by the two bishops who stand on either side of the throne. In this respect the arrangement of the image replicates those single coronations with a pair of ecclesiastics discussed above. There is no suggestion here that the uncle actually played a role in placing the crown on his nephew’s head. Moreover, at no point did the other illustrations of anticipatory succession suggest the role for the older ruler which we can see in the representation in Figure 12, in which Melisende actually crowns her son. The use by the illustrator of this manuscript of this very distinctive and original composition supports my contention that illustrators sought out new (or remodelled old) and inventive ways of interpreting in their own terms the extremely uncommon event of female succession and power-holding. The original structure of William’s Latin text focussed intently on kingship and on the integrity and continuity of the dynasty,⁴⁹ and at least some of the French illustrators seem to have recognised the importance of Melisende in establishing that continuity, as they portrayed her in specific relation to her husband and son. At the point when these manuscripts were made, there had been no possibility of female succession to the throne of France in more than six hundred years. However, French chroniclers and political writers were having to face the consequences of female succession in other parts of Europe, especially Navarre, as well as being aware of its repeated occurrence in Outremer.⁵⁰ This awareness might well be reflected in the attention paid by some to the reign of Melisende.

When looking for sources and analogues of a crowned pair seated together on a throne/thrones, the most obvious comparison is surely with the coronation of the Virgin. From the early twelfth century, this paired coronation/enthronement proliferated around Europe. Figure 14, an image of the coronation of the virgin from around 1295, was made close in time to the William of Tyre manuscripts under discussion, but of course this iconography has a much longer history.⁵¹ It is possible that the earliest example was the rather damaged capital from Reading abbey, dated by Zarnecki to around 1130. This representation of the Virgin and Christ *sunthronos* possibly draws on another biblical illustrative tradition seen for example in the Winchester Bible (c. 1150), where Solomon and Sheba, or perhaps Solomon and Holy Wisdom, were pictured sharing a throne.⁵²

Mary Stroll has cited this tradition of illustrating Christ enthroned with his mother as a possible source for the portrait of Louis IX and Blanche of Castile, which adorns the late thirteenth-century *Bible Moralisee*.⁵³ In fact the *Bible Moralisee* portrait format bears closer comparison with, for example, the famous tympanum carvings at Senlis and Chartres,⁵⁴ whereas the intimacy of the Sancta Maria Maggiore mosaic is closer in conception to the Flanders manuscript illustration of Melisende and Baldwin (Fig. 12), although with an interesting reversal of roles. For in the Flanders manuscript, Melisende is crowning her son, reversing the usual format in which Christ crowns his mother. The delicate gesture with which Melisende touches the crown is very reminiscent of the gesture with which Christ is so frequently represented crowning the Virgin that it seems highly unlikely this parallel was not in the illustrator’s mind. Stroll’s contention does support the argument that the crossover between sacred and secular imagery could go this far. It is of use in exploring this connection to note the relationships between the pictured pairs in all these examples. Blanche was mother to Louis IX as Mary was to Christ, and as Melisende was to Baldwin. We can see this format used again in the Milemete treatise (Fig. 15), in which Isabella was pictured enthroned and crowned with her son Edward III.⁵⁵ These pairings of mothers and sons in roles of authority and intercession must surely be drawing on a common stock of received ideas about the role of the Virgin as queen of heaven, and the use of such a reference in

turn serves to emphasise the authority and status of the queen where she is the heir and thus transmits power to her son.

Weitzman has described the coronation of the Virgin tradition as a thoroughly Western image which was never part of the Byzantine canon. However, an icon produced by a crusader artist in Acre in the later thirteenth century demonstrates that the image was circulating at least in the crusader states of the eastern Mediterranean at this time.⁵⁶ The significance of this is that the image was available to the Acre illustrators of William of Tyre as a possible model for the joint coronation of Melisende and Baldwin III, and of course would also have been familiar to those, like the Hospitaller master, who had received their early artistic education in Europe.⁵⁷ However, despite its availability, it was not apparently used by any of them in their representations of Melisende.

This association by the European illustrators of sacred and secular coronations, and especially the sacred coronation of a female figure, might be read as raising the status of the queen to an extraordinary degree, making a direct comparison between the rulership of heaven and earth (particularly the rulership of the Holy City of Jerusalem). A similar strategy, as noted before, was used by Louis IX amongst others, to encourage the conception of a sacred status for the French monarchy, and to cement the association of the French crown with the rulership and protection of the Latin East and with the role and power of their biblical forbears. However, the use of the strategy in the William of Tyre manuscripts makes a highly unusual statement about the relation of gender to power. If, in Schine Gold's words, "the symmetry of the two figures in the image at Senlis suggests not only the equality of lovers but also a mutuality of power", then this mutuality is also expressed in the Yates Thomson image above (Fig. 10).⁵⁸ There, the illustrator has represented the two figures of Melisende and Fulk exactly equal in pose and degree of deference, although as a sign of her precedence as heiress Melisende has apparently been crowned first. The Flanders manuscript (Fig. 12) seems to go even further, recognising Melisende's maternal role as the source of Baldwin's power.

Given the date of these images in the late thirteenth century, the prominence of Melisende in both, sharing a throne with respectively her husband and son, is even more noteworthy. Schine Gold has argued that as the trend for images of the coronation of the virgin spread across medieval Europe through the thirteenth century, subtle changes reframed the relationship between the mother and son. Specifically, she suggests that the later images abandoned the implication of equality between the couple by giving the Virgin a more humble, even supplicating pose, bowing her head and clasping her hands in prayer toward her son.⁵⁹ Given these changes, it is all the more significant that some of the illustrators of William's chronicle working in the last quarter of the thirteenth century chose from all the possibilities a framing which emphasised to a considerable degree the equality, not only between Melisende and her young son, as she placed the crown on his head, in the Flanders manuscript but also between Melisende and her husband, as they were crowned together in the Yates Thompson manuscript. The artists' use of these balanced presentations must have been their considered choice to represent their interpretation of the situation, unique as far as the artists were concerned, of female rulership.

Looking forward into the fourteenth century, secular double coronation portraits remain rare. The only examples mentioned by Hedeman,⁶⁰ are of Clovis and Clothild, Louis IX and Blanche, and Charles V and Jeanne. It is notable that these three are pairs of extreme iconic significance, who each in their own way embodied critical moments in the transmission of power and holiness at moments of dynastic crisis. Melisende's prominence in the French manuscripts of William of Tyre needs to be interpreted in a similar way. No tradition of illustrating the queen with the kind of prominence and originality which we see in Figs 10 and 12 was developed by later illustrators for the five women who inherited rulership in the crusader kingdom after Melisende. Only one of these later queens was ever illustrated enthroned, in an Acre codex which Folda believes was produced in the very last days of the crusader kingdom of Acre, circa 1291. There is no evidence about who might have commissioned this luxury manuscript, or why its author, largely following a traditional illustrative programme, stepped out of the mould at this point.⁶¹ However, the fact that its image of John of Brienne and his wife Queen Maria is strongly reminiscent of the *Bible Moralisee* and Milemete treatise images discussed above confirms the suggestion that these, and the coronation of the Virgin images from which they derive, were a significant influence on artists wanting to represent female rule. In the fourteenth century, the *Grandes Chroniques* and Charles V's coronation book gradually formalised one specific way of imaging the queen as wife and consort, that is the frontal enthronement, surrounded by numerous ecclesiastics and lay supporters⁶². The images of Melisende demonstrate continued interest in her very special role amongst illustrators of the thirteenth century, in spite of the French translator's idiosyncratic understanding of that role and are truly exceptional. Drawing on a variety of sacred as well as secular topoi, they began to create a genuinely original conception of ruler portraits which could represent the complications of power and gender relations in a variety of subtle ways. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that this flourishing of illustrative experiment came to an end with the close of the thirteenth century. In the next generation, the idea of female rulership was to be decisively condemned by the Valois rulers and the parliament of Paris, using the spurious excuse of the ancient Salic law.⁶³ The Hundred Years war meant that the possibility of regnal queenship became deeply unpopular in later medieval France.

An examination of these images shows artists choosing from a wide range of sources and exemplars, and creating portraits which suggest a range of different interpretative strategies on the part of the artists themselves. Their readings of the text vary from almost total exclusion of Melisende to an extraordinary exaltation of her role. They demonstrate subtle differences in the portrayal of her role as wife and mother, and draw the reader's attention to the exceptional nature of Melisende's rulership. Issues of precedence, status, partnership and balance are implicitly discussed in their complex compositions. Their interpretations thus overlay that of the translator of William's text, in a way which almost editorialises on the text itself, providing a commentary on the significance of carefully selected elements of the

story. This ‘translation’ to a visual register needs to be read as carefully as the translation into French, in order to comprehend the historical perceptions of the twelfth century by its thirteenth century observers.



Fig. 1: Melisende and a companion mourning over the body of Fulk/ Coronation of Baldwin alone, enthroned between two bishops (Paris, BN MS 9084, fol. 197r)



Fig. 2: Fulk and Melisende out hunting/ Fulk thrown from his horse (Paris, BN MS Fr. 2628, fol. 146v)



Fig. 3: Coronation of Baldwin III (Paris, BN MS Fr. 2754, vol. 1r)



Fig. 4: Coronation of King Arthur, Matthew Paris, *Flores Historiarum* (Manchester, Paris, *Flores Historiarum*)

Chetham's Library MS 6712 (A.6.89), fol. 53r)



Fig. 5: Coronation of Baldwin III with Melisende (Bern, Burgerbibliothek MS 163, fol. 152r)



Fig. 6: Coronation of Melisende and Baldwin III (Paris, BN MS Fr. 779, fol. 145v)



Fig. 7: Coronation of Melisende with Fulk (Paris, BN MS Fr. 779, fol. 123v)



Fig. 8: Coronation of Otto II and Theophanu, ivory plaque, c. 982-3 (Fonds A. Du Sommerard CL392: Paris, Musée National du Moyen Âge – Thermes de Cluny (c) RMN-GP / Jean-Gilles Berizzi)



Fig. 9: Blessing of Alfred, Edgar and Ethelred, *Life of Edward the Confessor* (CUL MS Ee 3.59, fol. 3r)



Fig. 10: Coronation of King Fulk and Queen Melisende (London, BL Yates Thompson MS 12, fol. 82v)



Fig. 11: Elevation of Godfrey of Bouillon (London, BL Yates Thompson MS 12, fol. 46r)



Fig. 12: Coronation of Baldwin III with Melisende (Paris, BN MS Fr. 2824, fol. 102v)



Fig. 13: Coronation of Baldwin V (Bern, Burgerbibliothek MS 112, fol. 205r)



Fig. 14: Apse mosaic, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, c. 1295 (photo Frateli Alinari, Rome/ Mary Evans Picture Library, London)



Fig. 15: Edward III and Isabella of France, in Walter Milemete, *De nobilitatibus, sapientiis et prudentiis regum* (Oxford, Christ Church College MS 92, fol. 4v, c. 1325-7). Photo courtesy of Governing Body of Christ Church College, Oxford.

¹ See *Willemi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens. *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis* 38 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1986).

² Sarah Lambert, 'Queen or Consort: Rulership and politics in the Latin East', in *Queens and Queenship*, ed. Anne Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), pp. 153-72.

³ Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098-1187* (Cambridge, New York and Melbourne: Cambridge UP, 1995); idem, 'Images of Queen Melisende in Manuscripts of William of Tyre's History of Outremer: 1250-1300', *Gesta*, 32:2 (1993), 97-112.

⁴ For a close analysis of William's work, including its sources, see Peter W. Edbury and John Rowe, *William of Tyre, Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988).

⁵ Margaret Ruth Morgan, *La continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-1197)* (Paris: Librairie orientale Paul Geuthner, 1982); eadem, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1973); cf. Peter Edbury, 'The Lyon Eracles and the Old French Continuations of William of Tyre', in B. Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith and R. Hiestand, eds, *Montjoie: Studies in the Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997), pp. 139-53.

⁶ Jaroslav Folda, 'Manuscripts of the History of Outremer by William of Tyre: A Handlist', *Scriptorium: Revue internationale des études relatives aux manuscrits*, 27 (1973), 90-5 (p. 94, no. 38).

⁷ Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275-1291* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton UP, 1976); idem, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land: From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005). This second work adds little to Folda's earlier discussion of the western manuscripts of William's chronicle. Cf. Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957).

⁸ Folda, 'Images of Queen Melisende in Manuscripts of William of Tyre's History of Outremer: 1250-1300'.

⁹ The manuscripts under consideration here are: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS 9084 (Acre, c. 1286); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 2628 (Acre, c. 1260-70); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Fr. 2754 (Northern France, c. 1300); Berne, Burgerbibliothek MS 163 (Île-de-France, 1265-1270); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Fr 779 (Central France, 1270-79); London, British Library, Henry Yates Thompson MS 12 (England London?/Channel Area, c. 1275); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr.

- 2824 (Flanders, c. 1300); Bern, Burger Bibliothek MS 112 (Northern France, c. 1270). For discussion of these manuscripts and further bibliography see Folda, 'Images of Queen Melisende in Manuscripts of William of Tyre's History of Outremer: 1250-1300'.
- ¹⁰ *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, xviii: 27, 32 (p. 850). For mostly accurate English version of the chronicle, see William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea* (New York: Columbia UP, 1943). All translations from William's chronicle and its French derivative are mine, unless stated otherwise.
- ¹¹ Sarah Lambert, 'Queen or Consort: Rulership and politics in the Latin East', in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference Held at King's College London, April 1995*, ed. Anne Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), pp. 153-172.
- ¹² *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, xvi:3, 1-17 (p. 717).
- ¹³ *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs, texte français du XIIIe siècle*, revu et annoté par M. Paulin (Paris: Firmin Didot et cie, 1879-80), XVI:3.
- ¹⁴ Lambert, 'Queen or consort', pp. 157-8.
- ¹⁵ See my discussion in 'Queen or Consort', passim.
- ¹⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS 9084, fol. 197r (Acre c. 1286).
- ¹⁷ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 2628, fol. 146v (Acre c. 1260-70).
- ¹⁸ Folda, 'Images of Queen Melisende', 108.
- ¹⁹ Jacques Le Goff, 'A Coronation programme for the Age of Saint Louis', in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 46-57; Chiara Frugoni, 'L'Iconographie de la femme au cours de Xe-XIIIe Siècles', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 20 (1977), 177-188, here at p. 177.
- ²⁰ This understanding of their approach, which attributes an active creativity rather than a passive "influence" has been discussed at length in *Under the Influence: The Concept of Influence and the Study of Illuminated Manuscripts*, eds John Lowden and Alixe Bovey (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007) especially at p. xxvii.
- ²¹ Matthew Paris, *Flores Historiarum*, Chetham's Library, Manchester MS 6712 (A.6.89) fol. 53r, c.1250-52.
- ²² For a detailed account of the writing and illustration of these texts, see Judith Collard, 'Flores Historiarum Manuscripts: The Illumination of a Late Thirteenth Century Chronicle Series', in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 71:4 (2008), 441-466.
- ²³ Folda, 'Images of Queen Melisende', at note 17; Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, p. 90.
- ²⁴ Le Goff, 'A Coronation programme for the Age of Saint Louis', p. 48.
- ²⁵ Berne, Burgerbibliothek MS 163, fol. 152r, made in the Île-de-France, probably between 1265 and 1270.
- ²⁶ New York, Pierrepont Morgan Library, MS M. 638, fols 23v and 38v, made in France, mid-thirteenth century.
- ²⁷ Daniel Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of St. Louis* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), pp. 172-4.
- ²⁸ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Fr 779, fol. 145v, Central France, 1270-79.
- ²⁹ MS Fr 779, fol. 123v.
- ³⁰ On Godfrey's title, see Jonathan Riley Smith, 'The Title of Godfrey of Bouillon', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 52 (1979), 83-86, and Alan V. Murray, 'The Title of Godfrey of Bouillon as Ruler of Jerusalem', *Collegium Medievale* 3 (1990), 163-78.
- ³¹ *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, xiv:15-18. See also H. E. Mayer, 'Studies in the History of Queen Melisende,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxvi (1972), 95-182.
- ³² Fonds A. Du Sommerard CL392: Paris, Musée national du Moyen Âge – Thermes de Cluny (c) RMN-GP/Jean-Gilles Berizzi.
- ³³ Erin Gabrielle Barrett, 'Art and the Construction of Early Medieval Queenship: the Iconography of the Joint Royal/Imperial Portrait and the Visual Representation of the Ruler's Consort' (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1997), p. 134; published as eadem, *Art and the Construction of Medieval Queenship: Dynastic Legitimacy and Family Piety (Women, Power and Politics)*, (Leicester: Continuum, 1998). Also see Thilo Vogelsang, *Die Frau als Herrscherin im hohen Mittelalter: Studien zur "Consors Regni" Formel*, Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Bd. 7 (Göttingen: "Musterschmidt" Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1954), p. 36 ff, and Rosamund McKitterick, 'Women in the Ottonian church: An Iconographic perspective', in *Women and the Church*, ed. Diane Wood, Studies in Church History 27 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), p. 12, showing Henry II and Agnes, from Codex Aureus of Speyer, El Escorial, Bibliotheca del Monasterio, cod. Vit. 17 fol. 3r, with the Virgin as the axial crowning figure.
- ³⁴ See for example Philippe Verdier, 'Suger a-t-il été en France le créateur du thème iconographique du couronnement de la Vierge?' *Gesta*, 15:1/2, Essays in Honor of Sumner McKnight Crosby (1976), 227-36.
- ³⁵ Discussed in Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274-1422* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 33, fig 18.
- ³⁶ See for example the William of Tyre manuscript made in Antioch 125-1268: Rome, Vatican Library, Pal. Lat. 1963, fol. 218v, discussed in J. Folda, 'A Crusader Manuscript from Antioch', in *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, Ser. 3, *Rendiconti*, 42 (1969-70), 283-98.
- ³⁷ Life of Edward the Confessor, Cambridge University Library, Ee. 3.59 fol. 3r, Westminster, c. 1255-60.
- ³⁸ London, British Library, Henry Yates Thompson MS 12, England (London?! Channel area), fol. 82v, c. 1275. This manuscript remarkably remains little studied, but it has been tentatively suggested to belong to the work of an artist resident in Rome in the mid-thirteenth century, who demonstrates a very strong Parisian style, sufficient possibly to classify him as a French migrant to Italy. See Alison Stones, review of F. Avril and M.-T. Gousset, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine italienne*, 2, XIIIe siècle (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1984), in *Speculum*, LXI (1986), 889.
- ³⁹ Discussed in Margareta Hudig-Frey *Die Älteste Illustration Der Eneide Des Heinrich Von Veldeke*, Studien Zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte, heft 219 (Strassburg: J. H. E. Heitz, 1921), and Hugo Buchthal, *Historia Troiana: Studies in the History of Mediaeval Secular Illustration*, Studies of the Warburg Institute, 32 (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1971).
- ⁴⁰ Jeffrey Ashcroft, 'The Power of Love: Representations of Kingship in the Love-Songs of Henry VI and Frederick II and in the Manasses Codex and the *liber ad honorem Augusti* of Peter of Eboli', in Björn K. Weiler and Simon MacLean, eds, *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany 800-1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 211-230. The image is at fol. 110r.
- ⁴¹ Possible Byzantine archetypes for this image are discussed in Christopher Walter, 'Raising on a shield in Byzantine iconography', *Revue des études byzantines*, 33 (1975), 133-176.
- ⁴² See above at note 12.

- ⁴³ On this point see for example Daniel H. Weiss, 'Biblical History and Medieval Historiography: Rationalizing Strategies in Crusader Art', *Modern Language Notes*, 108:4 (1993), 710-737.
- ⁴⁴ Claire Richter Sherman, *The Portraits of Charles V of France (1338-1380)* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State UP, 1969), pp 35-9; Le Goff, 'A Coronation Program for the Age of Saint Louis', p. 49.
- ⁴⁵ See e.g. Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1981), passim.
- ⁴⁶ Bern, Burger Bibliothek MS 112, fol. 205, Northern France, c. 1270.
- ⁴⁷ *Willemi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, xxiii:29. See also my 'Queen or Consort' for further discussion of this point.
- ⁴⁸ Compare the two rather different approaches of Jonathan Riley Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277* (London: Macmillan, 1973, repr. Palgrave, 2002) and of Peter Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991).
- ⁴⁹ Edbury and Rowe, p. 15
- ⁵⁰ See discussion in this volume by Ellie Woodacre.
- ⁵¹ Apse mosaic, Sancta Maria Maggiore, Rome, c. 1295 (photo Frateli Alinari, Rome/Mary Evans Picture Library, London).
- ⁵² Discussed in George Zarnecki, 'The Coronation of the Virgin on a Capital from Reading Abbey', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 13 (1950), 1-12, fig. A, and more recently in T. A. Heslop, 'The English Origins of the Coronation of the Virgin', *The Burlington Magazine* 147:1233, Sculpture (December 2005), 790-797.
- ⁵³ Mary Stroll, 'Maria Regina: Papal Symbol', in Duggan, ed., *Queens and Queenship*, p. 188.
- ⁵⁴ Discussed in Penny Schine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1985), pp. 51-3, passim.
- ⁵⁵ Walter Milemete, *De nobilitatibus, sapientiis et prudentiis regum*, Oxford, Christ Church College MS 92, fol. 4v, c. 1325-7. Discussed in Michael Michael, 'The Iconography of Kingship in the Walter of Milemete Treatise', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57 (1994), 35-47 (p. 37).
- ⁵⁶ Kurt Weitzman, 'Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai', *Art Bulletin*, 45:3 (1963), 179-203, fig. 9.
- ⁵⁷ Jaroslav Folda 'The Hospitaller Master in Paris and Acre: Some Reconsiderations in Light of New Evidence', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54, Essays in Honor of Lilian M. C. Randall (1996), 51-9.
- ⁵⁸ *The Lady and the Virgin*, p. 60.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 56ff, 64.
- ⁶⁰ Hedeman, *The Royal Image*, figs 98, p. 151; 104, p. 159; 106, p. 160; 107, p. 161; 108, p. 162; 113, p. 116.
- ⁶¹ Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 111-116.
- ⁶² Hedeman, *The Royal Image*, passim.
- ⁶³ On French succession in the fourteenth century, see, for example, A. W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State*, Harvard Historical Studies, 100 (Cambridge, Mass; London: Harvard UP, 1981); R. E. Giesey, 'The Juristic Basis of Dynastic Right to the French Throne', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 51 (1961), 3-42; Craig Taylor, 'The Salic Law and the Valois Succession to the French Crown', *French history*, 15:4 (2001), 358-377; idem, 'The Salic Law, French Queenship, and the defence of Women in the Late Middle Ages', *French historical studies*, 29:4 (2006), 543-564.