

Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture

Volume One

Edited by

Therese Martin



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON

2012

CONTENTS

List of Color Plates (Full Volume)	ix
Color Plates (1–17)	following xii
List of Black and White Illustrations (Full Volume)	xiii
Acknowledgments	xxxi
Contributors' Biographies	xxxiii
Map	xl

VOLUME ONE

1 Exceptions and Assumptions: Women in Medieval Art History	1
<i>Therese Martin</i>	

PART ONE

DISPLAY AND CONCEALMENT

2 The Non-Gendered Appeal of <i>Vierge Ouvrante</i> Sculpture: Audience, Patronage, and Purpose in Medieval Iberia	37
<i>Melissa R. Katz</i>	
3 Mere Embroiderers? Women and Art in Early Medieval Ireland	93
<i>Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh</i>	
4 Erasures and Recoveries of Women's Contributions to Gothic Architecture: The Case of Saint-Quentin, Local Nobility, and Eleanor of Vermandois	129
<i>Ellen M. Shortell</i>	
5 The Roles of Women in Late Medieval Civic Pageantry in England	175
<i>Nicola Coldstream</i>	

PART TWO

OWNERSHIP AND COMMUNITY

- 6 The Patronage Question under Review: Queen Blanche of Castile (1188–1252) and the Architecture of the Cistercian Abbeys at Royaumont, Maubuisson, and Le Lys 197
Alexandra Gajewski
- 7 Female Piety and the Building and Decorating of Churches, ca. 500–1150 245
Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg
- 8 ‘Planters of great civilitie’: Female Patrons of the Arts in Late Medieval Ireland 275
Rachel Moss
- 9 Reception, Gender, and Memory: Elisenda de Montcada and Her Dual-Effigy Tomb at Santa Maria de Pedralbes 309
Eileen McKiernan González

PART THREE

COLLABORATION AND AUTHORSHIP

- 10 Women as Makers of Church Decoration: Illustrated Textiles at the Monasteries of Altenberg/Lahn, Rupertsberg, and Heiningen (13th–14th c.) 355
Stefanie Seeberg
- 11 Women in the Making: Early Medieval Signatures and Artists’ Portraits (9th–12th c.) 393
Pierre Alain Mariaux
- 12 Melisende of Jerusalem: Queen and Patron of Art and Architecture in the Crusader Kingdom 429
Jaroslav Folda
- 13 Women and the Architecture of al-Andalus (711–1492): A Historiographical Analysis 479
María Elena Díez Jorge

VOLUME TWO

PART FOUR

FAMILY AND AUDIENCE

- 14 Portrayals of Women with Books: Female (Il)literacy in
Medieval Jewish Culture 525
Katrin Kogman-Appel
- 15 Patterns of Patronage: Female Initiatives and Artistic
Enterprises in England in the 13th and 14th Centuries 565
Loveday Lewes Gee
- 16 Concubines, Eunuchs, and Patronage in Early
Islamic Córdoba 633
Glaire D. Anderson
- 17 The First Queens of Portugal and the Building of the Realm 671
Miriam Shadis

PART FIVE

PIETY AND AUTHORITY

- 18 Subversive Obedience: Images of Spiritual Reform by and
for Fifteenth-Century Nuns 705
Jane Carroll
- 19 Elite Women, Palaces, and Castles in Northern France
(ca. 850–1100) 739
Annie Renoux
- 20 Redressing Images: Conflict in Context at Abbess
Humbrina's Scriptorium in Pontetetto (Lucca) 783
Loretta Vandi
- 21 Emma of Blois as Arbiter of Peace and the Politics
of Patronage 823
Mickey Abel

PART SIX

MEMORY AND MOTHERHOOD

22	Nimble-fingered Maidens in Scandinavia: Women as Artists and Patrons	865
	<i>Nancy L. Wicker</i>	
23	The Treasures and Foundations of Isabel, Beatriz, Elisenda, and Leonor: The Art Patronage of Four Iberian Queens in the Fourteenth Century	903
	<i>Ana Maria S.A. Rodrigues</i>	
24	Liturgy as Women's Language: Two Noble Patrons Prepare for the End in Fifteenth-Century Spain	937
	<i>Felipe Pereda</i>	
	Bibliography	989
	Index of People	1069
	Index of Places	1091
	Index of Subjects	1100

CHAPTER TWELVE

MELISENDE OF JERUSALEM: QUEEN AND PATRON OF ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN THE CRUSADER KINGDOM

Jaroslav Folda

Melisende of Jerusalem inherited the crown of the Crusader Kingdom from her father, King Baldwin II, and she became queen, together with her husband, Fulk of Anjou, the new king, in a coronation ceremony held on 14 September 1131 (Fig. 1). For the next thirty years, Melisende played a major role in the political and cultural affairs of the kingdom, until her death on 11 September 1161.¹ Our main concern here is to discern Melisende as art patron. This study will first outline what can be established about her life in order to make a case for the important roles she played as patron of major works of art and architecture. It will also examine the well-known psalter that bears Melisende's name to demonstrate that it was specifically created as a gift for her. I will argue that her role of recipient should not be seen as passive but rather determinant in the design of the manuscript. As the daughter of a king (Baldwin II, r. 1118–1131), the wife (and widow) of a king (Fulk of Anjou, r. 1131–1143), and the mother of two kings (Baldwin III, r. 1143/1152–1163 and Amalric, r. 1163–1174)—in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem she occupied a prominent place in the

¹ The most useful summary of Melisende's life is by Bernard Hamilton, "Queens of Jerusalem," in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford, 1978), pp. 147–57. The most recent consideration of Melisende is found in Natasha R. Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative* (Rochester and Suffolk, 2007), who discusses Melisende, among others, as daughter, wife, mother, and widow. Sarah Lambert, "Queen or Consort: Rulership and Politics in the Latin East, 1118–1228," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge and Rochester, 1997), pp. 153–72, addresses the political role of Melisende. Both Hodgson and Lambert refer to the basic publication of Hans E. Mayer, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 26 (1972), pp. 93–182, who scrutinizes the political career of the queen in some detail in its more significant stages, but not her art patronage. Hans Mayer also published a detailed study of the political situation into which Melisende was thrust in, "The Wheel of Fortune: Seigneurial Vicissitudes under Kings Fulk and Baldwin III of Jerusalem," *Speculum*, 65 (1990), pp. 860–77. There is also an excellent recent dissertation on Melisende, including discussion of her patronage, by Helen Gaudette, "The Piety, Power, and Patronage of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem's Queen Melisende," Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 2005.



Figure 1 Coronation of King Fulk and Queen Melisende by Patriarch William of Jerusalem. London, British Library, Henry Yates Thompson MS 12, fol. 82v (Photo: British Library, London).

Crusader Levant comparable *mutatis mutandis* to Eleanor of Aquitaine in western Europe.² Furthermore, an important part of her role as queen, only partly described by William of Tyre in his *History of Outremer*, was to stimulate and support the artistic development of the new capital city of the Latin Kingdom. It was Melisende who played a substantial role in

² Eleanor was born in 1122 when Melisende was about 12 years old. Eventually she became queen consort of France (1137–1152), and then queen consort of England (1154–1189). She died in 1204, long after Melisende, who died in 1161. Eleanor, however, never reigned in her own right, in contrast to Melisende, Queen Urraca of León-Castile (d. 1126), or Queen Matilda of England (d. 1167). See Therese Martin, “The Art of a Reigning Queen as Dynastic Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain,” *Speculum*, 80 (2005), pp. 1134–71. See also the case of “Queen” Teresa of Portugal, analyzed in the present volume by Miriam Shadis, “The First Queens of Portugal and the Building of the Realm.”

making Jerusalem, with its unique and preeminently important Christian holy sites, its rich multicultural Christian population, its new significance as a political and economic center of the Latin Kingdom, and its incomparable situation at the symbolic center of the Christian world, the source of a new “Crusader” art starting in the 1130s (Fig. 2).

Melisende, for all her importance as queen in the Latin East, never received a biographer in the Middle Ages, and compared to the celebrated Eleanor of Aquitaine—whom she met once, during the Second Crusade—she is little known despite her extraordinary power and influence. But she does figure prominently in the most important historical work written about the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the twelfth century. This work by William II, archbishop of Tyre, was commissioned by King Amalric, Melisende’s younger son, and written in Latin. William started writing it in about 1167, and he left it incomplete when he died in 1184; it is known as the *History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*.³ Sometime after William’s death in 1184,⁴ in the years leading up to 1223 this *opus magnum* was translated into Old French in France, and later also received continuations taking the story up into the second half of the thirteenth century. Known as the *History of Outremer*, the French translation was a work of great popularity for which we have over fifty-five illustrated manuscripts dating from the 1240s to 1500, some done in the Latin East before 1291.⁵

Recent studies have begun to address Melisende as art patron.⁶ William of Tyre celebrates the queen’s rule as strong, wise, and judicious, and he provides limited but very important biographical information about her

³ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens with H.E. Mayer and G. Rösch, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis*, vols. 63 and 63A (Turnhout, 1986); William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. E.A. Babcock and A.C. Krey, *Records of Civilization*, 35, 2 vols. (New York, 1943). For the life and career of William of Tyre, see Peter Edbury and John Gordon Rowe, *William of Tyre, Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 13–31.

⁴ The date remains controversial. See Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, p. 22.

⁵ For the Old French translation, also known as the *Estoire d’Eracles*, see Paulin Paris, ed. *Guillaume de Tyr and ses continuateurs*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1879–1880). For the illustrated manuscripts, see Jaroslav Folda, “The Illustrations in Manuscripts of the History of Outremer by William of Tyre,” 3 vols., Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1968, vol. 2: Catalogue. The translation and its continuations are discussed by Hodgson, *Women, Crusading*, pp. 27–30, with other bibliography.

⁶ Besides Hamilton, “Queens,” pp. 151, 156–57, see Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 119–328; and, Martin, “The Art of a Reigning Queen.” Two dissertations have also addressed this issue: Deborah Gerish, “Shaping the Crown of Gold: Constructions of Royal Identity in the First Kingdom of Jerusalem,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Santa Barbara, 1999, pp. 223–31, and see now especially, Gaudette, “The Piety,” pp. 137–223.

and her political activities. But for much of the story of her life as queen and patron, we must attempt to piece the facts together from various other sources, including extant works of art.⁷ One question we wish to keep in mind as we go along is what factors shaped the story of Melisende as presented by William of Tyre?⁸ And why did he discuss fully only one of her major projects as art patron?

The Basic Facts of the Life of Queen Melisende: Who Was This Remarkable Woman?

Melisende was one of four daughters in the family of King Baldwin II and his wife, Morfia. Her sisters were Alice,⁹ Hodierna,¹⁰ and Yveta.¹¹ William of Tyre does not provide a birthdate for Melisende, but we know she was Baldwin's eldest daughter and she must have been born in Edessa before he became king. Baldwin II, who was French born, had married Morfia when he was count of Edessa, before he became king of Jerusalem in 1118. So we can think of Melisende as born at least by ca. 1110, or perhaps a little earlier. Morfia, her mother, was Armenian, the daughter of Gabriel of Melitene, who was, however, Greek Orthodox. Morfia was also Greek Orthodox and, while married to Baldwin, she was not particularly active in politics or government—perhaps as the result of her eastern upbringing.¹² Since Baldwin's wife Morfia gave birth to four girls but produced no

⁷ Hans Mayer makes it clear that the two most important written sources for the life of Melisende are, first, the *History* of William of Tyre, and second, the royal charters (H.E. Mayer, "Studies in the History," pp. 96 and 98) edited by Reinhold Röhrich, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (1207–1291). Additamentum* (Innsbruck, 1893 and 1904). Each charter cited is given as RRH plus number. Other written sources of more marginal interest include the *Continuatio Praemonstratensis Sigeberti Gemblacensis Chronographia*, discussed by Krijnie Ciggaar, "The Abbey of Prémontré: Royal Contacts, Royal News in the Context of the So-called *Continuatio Praemonstratensis*," in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context, Contacts and Confrontations III: Acta of the Congress held at Hernen Castle, September 2000*, ed. Krijnie Ciggaar, Adelbert Davids and Herman Teule (Louvain, 2003), pp. 21–33.

⁸ Lambert, "Queen or Consort," pp. 155–56, summarizes the uneven coverage William of Tyre gives to Melisende. She comments (p. 155) "... one can see that William was deeply uncertain about the role of the queen in political society and the nature of the relationship between succession and rulership for a queen."

⁹ Alice married Count Bohemond of Antioch in 1127.

¹⁰ Hodierna married Count Raymond II of Tripoli in 1133.

¹¹ Yveta (b. 1120) was the youngest sister, and, having spent a year of her early childhood as a hostage with the Muslims, never married, but instead entered the Convent of St. Anne in Jerusalem ca. 1130. Then in 1143 she entered the Convent of St. Lazarus in Bethany, where she eventually became abbess.

¹² Hamilton, "Queens," p. 148.

male successor, King Baldwin II chose his eldest daughter Melisende as his heir. As the offspring of a French-born king and an Armenian-born Orthodox mother, Melisende admirably reflected the diverse Christian population of the Latin Kingdom which she was called on to rule.

To facilitate Melisende's political role in the kingdom, the king carried out two important duties. First, Baldwin II began to associate her with himself in official documents in the late 1120s. And in one important document from early 1129 she was characterized as "*filia regis et regni Jerosolimitani haeres*" (daughter of the king and heir to the kingdom of Jerusalem).¹³ Baldwin's other important duty was to find a suitable husband for Melisende. To this end he requested that King Louis VI of France select an appropriate noble for this role, one on whom he and the aristocracy of the Latin Kingdom could agree. Count Fulk of Anjou was chosen, a well-connected and substantial member of the French aristocracy whose first wife had died. He was aged about forty at the time (1128–9). Fulk was endorsed not only by Louis VI, but also by the pope, Honorius II. As part of the offer to Fulk, Baldwin indicated that, as Hans Mayer presents it, "he would rule not only as prince consort but as king in his own right."¹⁴ When everyone had agreed to these arrangements, Fulk came to the Latin Kingdom in the spring of 1129, and he and Melisende were married there.¹⁵

By the time she was married, Melisende's mother, Morfia, had died on 1 October. We know the day but not the year; it had to be before 1129, and most likely Morfia died in 1126.¹⁶ Extant documents make it clear

¹³ Charles Kohler, "Chartes de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de la Vallée de Josaphat en Terre Sainte (1108–1291). Analyse et Extraits," *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 7 (1899), no. 21, p. 128, as cited by Hamilton, "Queens," p. 149. Mayer discusses this document at some length: "Studies," p. 99 and n. 15, referring to RRH no. 137a. Even though Melisende is not referred to explicitly in this manner after her marriage to Fulk, her status as heiress continued along with her new role as co-ruler.

¹⁴ Mayer, "Studies," p. 99.

¹⁵ There is ambiguity about where the marriage took place. William of Tyre is unspecific (William of Tyre, Book 13, ch. 24, in *A History*, vol. 2, p. 38, *Chronicon*, LXIII, pp. 618–19), but his text leaves open the possibility that the marriage took place in Acre, in the Church of the Holy Cross (cf. Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 4, *The Cities of Acre and Tyre* [Cambridge, 2009], p. 35). Runciman thought the marriage took place in Jerusalem, presumably in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 2 [Cambridge, 1952], p. 178), but most recent historians prefer not to speculate on the location. Mayer, "Studies," p. 99; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, A History*, 2nd ed. (New Haven and London, 2005), p. 98; Hamilton, "Queens," p. 149.

¹⁶ Mayer, "Studies," p. 99, n. 15, and "Wheel of Fortune," p. 873, based on Rudolf Hiestand, "Chronologisches zur Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem um 1130," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 26 (1970), pp. 220–24, n. 27.

that arrangements for her burial place in the Shrine of Our Lady at Jehoshaphat (also known as the Tomb of the Virgin) were drawn up with the king's approval (Fig. 3). We do not know what role the young Melisende—she would have been about 16 at the time—may have played, if any, in this process, but she well may have worked with her father on the project. Meanwhile King Baldwin II had given Fulk the two important coastal cities of Tyre and Acre as dowry for his daughter, Melisende.

Three years later in August of 1131, Baldwin II became seriously ill. Hans Mayer characterizes what happened then:

He summoned his daughter Melisende, his son-in-law Fulk, and his little grandson Baldwin—born of the marriage of Fulk and Melisende and then in his second year—to his bedside, . . . [Then] the King unilaterally altered the agreement he had with Fulk to the disadvantage of the latter by now conferring the *cura regni* and the *plena potestas*, that is the kingdom and the government, on three persons: Fulk, Melisende, and the little Baldwin, whereas in 1129 Fulk had been promised the succession without any limitations.¹⁷

Shortly thereafter, Baldwin II died, on 21 August 1131. William of Tyre then reports:

On September 14, the day of the exaltation of the Holy Cross, Count Fulk and his wife Melisende were solemnly crowned and consecrated, according to custom, in the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord, by William, patriarch of Jerusalem, of happy memory.¹⁸

This process explains how the inheritance was organized to stay in the family of Baldwin II and specifically how Melisende was given the opportunity to take power.¹⁹ And between 1131 when she became queen and 11 September 1161 when she died, Melisende displayed remarkable political acumen in ruling the kingdom. She established her power in essentially a two-phase process. In phase one, as she understood it, she began with Fulk as co-ruler until he died in 1143, although at the start of their joint reign, from 1131 to about 1135, Fulk attempted to rule individually without her consent. This situation in the early 1130s became her opportunity.

¹⁷ Mayer, "Studies," p. 100.

¹⁸ William of Tyre, Book 14, ch. 2, in *A History*, vol. 2, p. 51. "... Idem comes [Fulk] cum predicta uxore [Melisende] octavo decimo Kalendas Octobris, in die Exaltationis sancte crucis, in ecclesia Dominici Sepulchri a domino Willelmo, bone memorie Ierosolimorum patriarcha, sollempniter et ex more coronatus et consecratus est." *Chronicon*, LXIII, p. 634.

¹⁹ Hans E. Mayer, "The Succession to Baldwin II of Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 39 (1985), pp. 139–47; see also Hodgson, *Women, Crusading*, pp. 76–77.

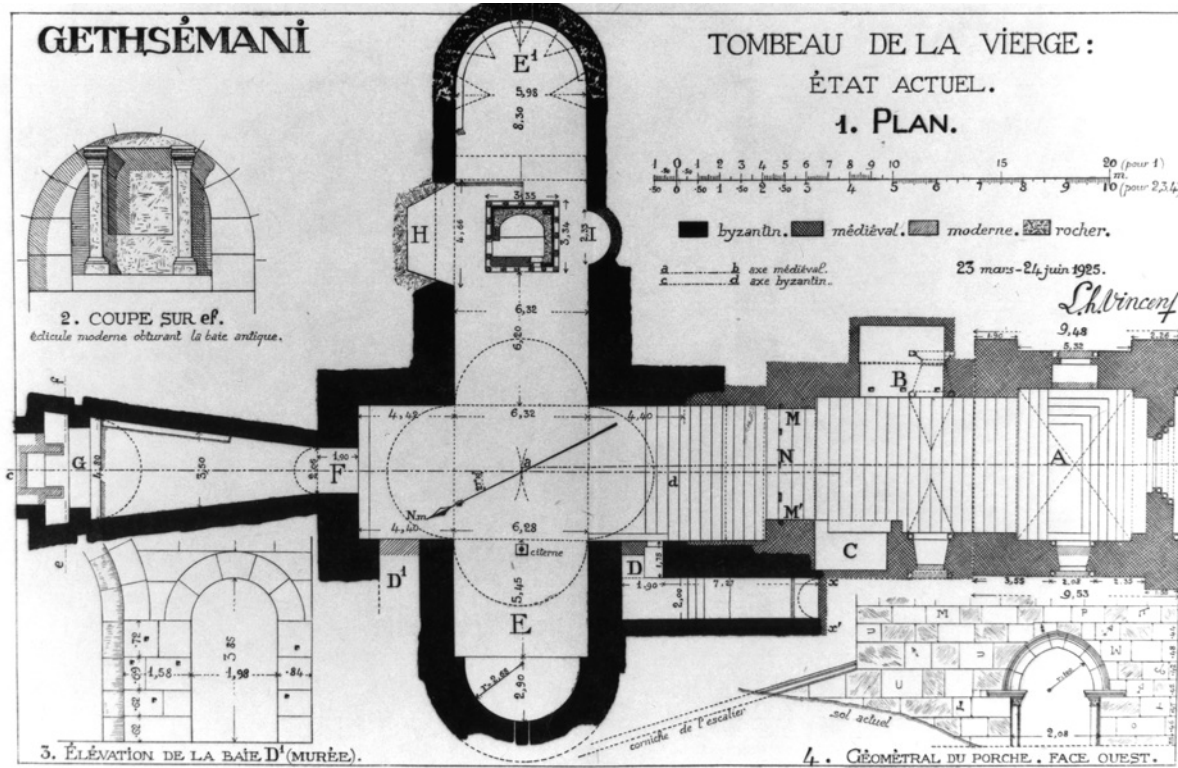


Figure 3 Tomb of the Virgin in Gethsemane with the tomb chambers of Morfia (C) and Melisende (B). After J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 326 (Plan: H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, Paris, 1926, pl. 81).

What happened was that, at first, despite the arrangements lately made by Baldwin II, Fulk essentially excluded Melisende from power. As a result, there was a celebrated revolt led by Hugh II of Le Puiset, count of Jaffa, against the king in 1134. Hugh was a second cousin of Melisende with whom she was very close and who was, as Hamilton puts it, “the natural leader of the queen’s party.” The issue was “not simply a matter of protocol, but also one of patronage: unless the queen had some effective share in the affairs of state she could not reward her supporters with appointments and land.”²⁰ In this troubled situation peace was negotiated by the patriarch, at which time Melisende asserted her power. But even though the king had given Hugh lenient terms for his opposition, there was nonetheless an assassination attempt on Hugh’s life. Despite the fact that officially the king’s name was cleared of any responsibility, William of Tyre reports that Melisende bitterly resented the treatment Hugh had been given, and she was outraged at the unwarranted attempt by Fulk to deprive her of her proper role as queen, that is, as co-ruler. As a result, the king’s supporters—and even the king himself—felt unsafe in the face of her wrath. In 1135 *Fulk energetically sought reconciliation with Melisende* (my emphasis) and thereafter, as William of Tyre puts it, the king “did not attempt to take the initiative, even in trivial matters, without her knowledge and assistance.”²¹ Eventually her wrath was appeased, Fulk gained her pardon, and they ruled jointly together. As we shall see, this political situation was likely the catalyst for the creation and gifting of the illuminated manuscript now known as the Melisende Psalter. And so it was that Melisende could be characterized in the texts—accurately or positively otherwise—on the one hand as Fulk’s “beautiful, wise, sweet, and compassionate” consort, and on the other as the “vigorous, proud, and ambitious” co-ruler of Frankish Jerusalem.²²

Melisende then increased her power again when Fulk died in 1143. Phase two of her establishment of power lasted from 1143 to 1152. William of Tyre remarks:

²⁰ Hamilton, “Queens,” p. 150.

²¹ William of Tyre, Book 14, chs. 15–18, *A History*, vol. 2, pp. 70–76, esp. 76. “... Quod nec in causis levibus absque eius conscientia attemptaret aliquatenus procedure.” *Chronicon*, LXIIIA, pp. 651–56, esp. 656. For the dating of these developments, see Mayer, “Studies,” pp. 104–06.

²² Cited by Andrew Palmer, “The History of the Syrian Orthodox in Jerusalem: Part Two: Queen Melisende and the Jacobite Estates,” *Oriens Christianus*, 76 (1992), pp. 74–94, esp. 76, the former from the Old French text of William of Tyre, Book 15, ch. 26, and the latter from Hans E. Mayer, reflecting the thoughts of William of Tyre.

King Fulk left two children who had not yet attained the age of manhood: Baldwin, the eldest, then thirteen years old, and [Amalric], aged seven. The royal power passed to the Lady Melisende, a queen beloved of God, to whom it belonged by hereditary right.²³

At this critical juncture, Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, wrote a letter to Melisende to encourage her in this time of trial and transition. Starting off by speaking of himself, he says,

No one can give you more loyal advice than one who loves you and not your possessions. The king, your husband, being dead, and the young king still unfit to discharge the affairs of a kingdom and fulfill the duty of a king, the eyes of all will be upon you, and on you alone the whole burden of the kingdom will rest. You must set your hand to great things and, although a woman, you must act as a man by doing all you have to do "in a spirit prudent and strong."²⁴

Melisende had done her duty well, supplying not one, but two male heirs to the kingdom. But now she would rise to the occasion: until the older one came of age, she became queen *regnant*—not just the regent—for her minor son, who was thirteen at the time. Baldwin III and his mother were crowned together on Christmas Day, 1143.²⁵

The remarkable fact was that Melisende, having aggressively taken the reins of government in 1143 when Fulk died, maintained her controlling power well beyond 1145 when, at fifteen, Baldwin III came of age. Melisende was in charge even though many royal charters were issued jointly, but Baldwin III played a leadership role in June 1148 at the Council of Acre where the decision was taken that the Second Crusade should

²³ William of Tyre, Book 15, ch. 27, *A History*, vol. 2, p. 135. "...regia magnificentia... duobus superstitibus liberis adhuc inpueribus relictis, Balduino videlicet primogenitor, annorum tredecim, et Amalrico, annorum septem, reseditque regni potestas penes dominam Milissendam deo amabilem reginam, cui iure hereditario competeat." *Chronicon*, LXIII, p. 711.

²⁴ *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. Bruno Scott James and intro. Beverley M. Kienzle (Spencer, MA, 1998), p. 346, letter 273. "Nullus siquidem tibi fidelior ad consilium esse potest quam qui non tua, sed qui te diligit. Mortuo rege viro tuo, et parvulo rege adhuc minus idoneo ad portanda negotia regni et ad proseguendum regis officium, oculi omnium in te respiciunt et in te solam universa regni moles inclinata recumbit. Opus est ut manum tuam mittas ad fortia et in muliere exhibeas virum, agens ea quae agenda sunt in spiritu consilii et fortitudinis," *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vol. VIII, eds. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais (Rome, 1977), p. 298, esp. CCCLIV. The editors date this letter to 1143–1144.

²⁵ Even though we do not know his exact date of birth, he apparently had to have been born after March and before August, 1130. See Hamilton, "Queens," p. 152, n. 50, and Mayer, "Studies," p. 100, n. 17. For the years 1143 ff., see Hamilton, "Queens," pp. 152–54, and Mayer, "Studies," pp. 114 ff.

attack Damascus.²⁶ In fact Baldwin III ultimately had to resort to military action—indeed, there was a brief civil war—to wrest control of the kingdom away from his mother in 1152.²⁷ At that point Melisende effectively left Jerusalem to take up residence in her newly acquired town of Nablus, fifty miles north of the holy city. For the next ten years the queen-mother lived away from Jerusalem, and her political role and control of government was greatly diminished.

It was during this new phase of her life that St. Bernard wrote Melisende another important letter in 1153. The gist of this communication was to encourage her anew, now that Baldwin III was in charge, and to say that Bernard's uncle, Andrew, had told him the following about her:

...you are providently and wisely meeting the dangers which threaten the Holy Land with sound counsels and help. These are actions which become a strong woman, a humble widow, a great queen. It is not beneath your dignity as a queen to be a widow, and you need not be one if you do not wish it. I believe that it is much to your honour, especially among Christians, to live as a widow no less than as a queen. You are a queen by succession, but a widow by virtue. You are the former by reason of your lineage, the latter by the grace of God. You have the former by the good fortune of your birth, the latter you have obtained by courage. A double honour is yours, the one according to the world, the other according to God: but both are from God.²⁸

In addressing the importance of her widowhood, Bernard was counseling her wisely and helping her see the wisdom of her choice. Whereas she could have attempted to remarry, this would have done serious damage to her older son, Baldwin III, currently in power, and to her younger son, Amalric, who stood to succeed him by inheritance, by factionalizing

²⁶ The kings of Jerusalem came of age at 15 according to the *Assises de Jérusalem*. See the reference to the 13th-century *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* in Mayer, "Studies," p. 114, n. 41. Mayer discusses a number of jointly issued charters by Melisende and Baldwin III, in "Studies," pp. 115 ff. Mayer also discusses the decision to attack Damascus in 1148; see Mayer, "Studies," p. 127. Both Baldwin III and Melisende were present at the council, but it was Baldwin III who took the role of military leader between them.

²⁷ Mayer, "Studies," pp. 144–70, discusses aspects of this civil war in great detail.

²⁸ *Letters of St. Bernard*, p. 347, no. 274. "...salutaribus consiliis et auxiliis provide et sapienter occurras. Talia prorsus, talia decent opera mulierem fortem, humilem viduam, sublimem reginam. Neque enim, quia regina es, indignum tibi viduam esse, quod, si voluisses, non esses. Puto quod et gloria tibi est, praecipue inter christianos, non minus vivere viduam quam reginam. Illud successionis est, hoc virtutis: illud tibi ex genere, istud ex munere Dei; illud feliciter nata es, hoc viriliter nacta. Duplex honor: alter secundum saeculum, alter secundum Deum, uterque a Deo," *Sancti Bernardi Opera*. vol. VIII, p. 205, esp. CCLXXXIX.

power and undermining the political situation. Melisende was, therefore, eventually willing to step back and, as Fulk's widow, to allow Baldwin III his chance to rule.

And indeed, after 1152 she was continually associated with Baldwin III in many public documents.²⁹ Furthermore, her influence was felt in certain political and military actions in 1156 and in 1157.³⁰ For example, she played an important role in choosing the successor to Fulcher, patriarch of Jerusalem, who died in 1157, namely Amalric of Nesle.³¹ On 30 November 1160, King Amalric made a gift to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and the document records that he was joined in this by Melisende.³² Shortly afterwards, she suffered what seems to have been a stroke, ending her participation in political and cultural activity. Lovingly nursed by her sisters Yveta and Hodierna, she died at age fifty-one on 11 September 1161.³³ Her body was brought to Jerusalem where she was buried with great honor in the Shrine of Our Lady in Gethsemane in a tomb more magnificent than any king of Jerusalem ever received.³⁴ This tomb is very likely the last commission she made in the Holy City.

Melisende as a Patron of Art in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem

In light of this review of some of the main points of her life, pieced together with the help of various documents and the work of other historians, two issues arise concerning her involvement with the development of Crusader art and architecture. First, we want to know exactly what aspects of this record William of Tyre provides, as well as those he does not mention, since his is the most important narrative account that includes the deeds of Melisende as queen. Second, we want to know what evidence there is for the summary assertion made by Bernard Hamilton in his study of

²⁹ Mayer, "Studies," pp. 172–74. He concludes by saying that "on the whole, it may be said that after 1152, Baldwin III allowed his mother just enough influence to prevent her feeling totally excluded, without, however, allowing her actually to share in his rule." The fact is however, as we shall see, that Melisende continued to be active in her artistic patronage in Jerusalem after 1152, something Mayer does not discuss.

³⁰ Hamilton, "Queens," p. 155, ns. 61–63.

³¹ Hamilton, "Queens," pp. 155–156, n. 64.

³² See below, n. 72.

³³ Assuming Melisende was born ca. 1110, she was 51 at her death, which was relatively long-lived among Christians in the Holy Land at this time. See Josiah Russell, "The Population of the Crusader States," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, vol. 5 (Madison and London, 1985), pp. 295–314, esp. 297–98 and n. 6.

³⁴ Hamilton, "Queens," p. 156.

Queen Melisende as follows: "Melisende must be given credit for being an important patron of the artists of the young Latin kingdom."³⁵ What art is he thinking of and what was Melisende's role in commissioning it? How important an art patron was she?

Art Patronage Mentioned by William of Tyre

First, the evidence that is provided by William of Tyre is limited but very important. He describes one, and only one, major commission of hers, but he does so at some length. In chapter 26 of Book 15, William tells the story of Melisende's foundation of a convent at Bethany for her youngest sister, Iveta (Fig. 4).³⁶ Iveta had entered the religious life in the Monastery of St. Anne in Jerusalem ca. 1130. Melisende, however, thought—in the words of William of Tyre—"that it was unfitting that a king's daughter should be subject to the authority of a mother-superior, like an ordinary person."³⁷ From Melisende's point of view it was also a case of intense family devotion; she was exemplifying the greatest care and solicitousness for her sister. So the queen

mentally surveyed the whole country and made a careful investigation to find a suitable place where she might found a convent. After much deliberation, she finally decided on Bethany, the home of Mary and Martha and Lazarus their brother, whom Jesus loved... This village is 15 furlongs from Jerusalem... The property belonged to the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord, but the queen gave to the canons Tekoah, the city of prophets and in exchange received Bethany as her own...

Since the place lay on the edge of the desert and thus might be exposed to the attacks of the enemy, the queen at great expense caused to be built a strongly fortified tower of hewn and polished stone. This was devoted to the necessary purpose of defense... When the tower was finished and a place prepared... for carrying on the offices of religion, [Melisende] established consecrated sisters there...

³⁵ Hamilton, "Queens," p. 156.

³⁶ William includes a detailed description of this project, and this is confirmed as Melisende's by charter evidence. But it is notable that in one of the important Old French texts, *La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, the author edits the role of Melisende out completely and attributes this foundation to King Baldwin III. See Lambert, "Queen or Consort," pp. 158–59.

³⁷ William of Tyre, Book 15, ch. 26, *A History*, vol. 2, p. 133. "...Indignum enim videbatur ei, ut regis filia tanquam una ex popularibus in claustro alicui subesset matri." *Chronicon*, LXIII, p. 709.

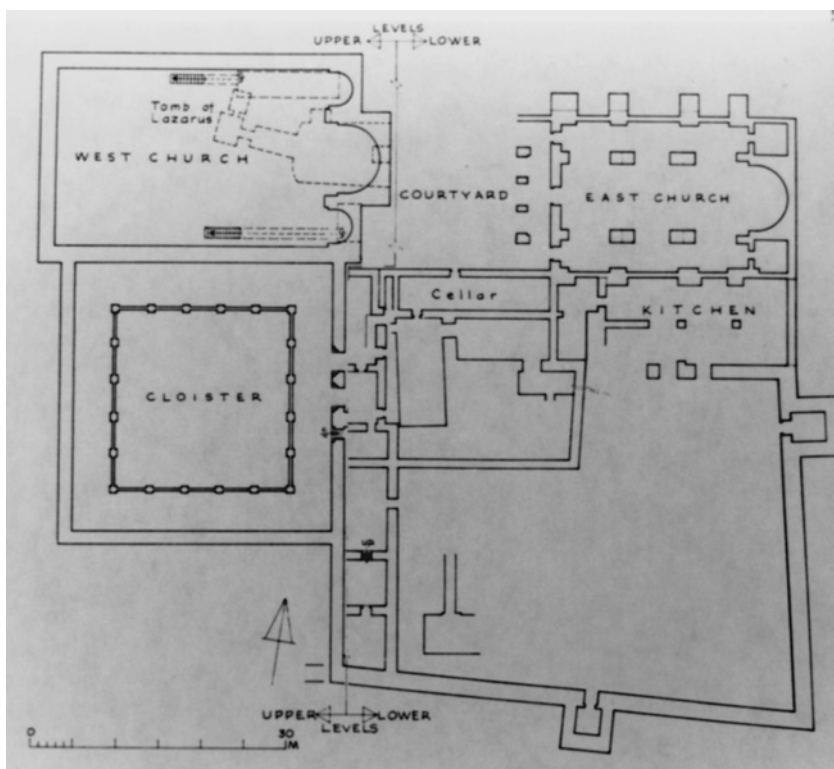


Figure 4 Ground plan of the Convent of St. Lazarus in Bethany: plan at upper level with west church over the tomb of Lazarus, the cloister, and the fortified conventual buildings indicated. After D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, 1993, vol. 1, p. 129 (Plan: R.D. Pringle © and the Cambridge University Press).

She endowed the church with rich estates, so that in temporal possessions it should not be inferior to any monastery, either of men or women; or rather, as it is said, that it might be richer than any other church... She also presented to the convent a large number of sacred vessels of gold and silver adorned with gems. She likewise gave it silken stuffs for the adornment of the house of God and vestments of every description...

On the death of the venerable woman to whom she had entrusted the charge of this convent, the queen put her original intention into effect. With the sanction of the patriarch and the willing assent of the holy nuns, she made her sister the superior of the convent. On that occasion, she made many additional gifts, such as chalices, books, and other ornaments pertaining to the service of the church. As long as she lived she continued to enrich

the place by her favor, in the interests of her own soul and that of the sister whom she so tenderly loved.³⁸

This remarkably detailed record of Melisende's patronage at Bethany is the *only* major commission William discusses fully in his *History*. And it is the only direct narrative description we have of Melisende as patron in writing by anyone. Nonetheless, what it tells us about Melisende is important, and even if William says nothing in similar detail about other major patronage in which she was involved, we should not overlook what those commissions were. So, let us begin with what we learn in this chapter 26.

It is clear that Melisende operated at the very top level of art patronage both in the planning and implementation of the project, but also in the sense that money was no object. We also see that she operated with the full cooperation and support of the church, in particular with the patriarch of Jerusalem. We understand that Melisende's resources were immense and she was prepared to use whatever assets were necessary to meet the standards she had set. Furthermore, her access to artists and works of art by master metalworkers, sculptors, scribes and painters, textile workers, and embroiderers—including very likely some of the same array of artists who had worked on her luxury Psalter—was clearly well established. Finally, it is evident that Melisende's family ties were

³⁸ William of Tyre, Book 15, ch. 26, *A History*, vol. 2, pp. 133–34. “Transcursa ergo mente universa regione et diligenter investigato quisnam inveniretur aptior ad fundandum monasterium locus, tandem post multam deliberationem placuit Bethania, castellum Marie et Marthe et Lazari fratris earum, quem dilexit Iesus, familiare domini diversorium et domicilium Salvatoris. Is autem locus ab Ierosolimis distat stadiis quindecim iuxta verbum evangeliste, ultra montem Oliveti ad orientem situs in declivio eiusdem montis. Erat autem idem locus ecclesie Dominici Sepulchri proprius, pro quo domina regina tradens canonicis urbem prophetarum Thecuam locum in proprium recepit. . . . Ubi, quoniam quasi in solitudine erat et hostium patere poterat insidiis, turrim munitissimam quadris et politis lapidibus, officinis distinctam necessariis, multis sumptibus edificari precepit. . . . Turri ergo constructa, loco ad aliquem modum ad cultum religionis preparato sanctimonialia induxit feminas. . . . multa ecclesie conferens predia, ita ut in bonis temporalibus nulli monasteriorum virorum aut mulierum inferior haberetur, immo, ut dicitur, plus aliarum qualibet ecclesiarum habundaret. . . . Contulit etiam eidem monasterio sacra utensilia ex auro, gemmis et argento ad multam quantitatem simul et oloserica ad decorum domus dei. . . . Defuncta quoque illa venerabili matrona, quam eidem prefecerat loco, ad intentionem rediens sororem suam de consensu domini patriarche et sororum sanctimonialium coniventia eidem prefecit monasterio, cum qua etiam adiecit plura in calicibus, libris et ceteris que ad ecclesiasticos respiciunt usus ornamenta, locum non cessans, quamdiu vixit, intuitu anime sue et sororis, quam unice diligebat, gratia ampliare.” *Chronicon*, LXIII, pp. 709–10.

exceedingly strong and that she was prepared to care for her younger sisters in every way she could.

If we ask the question, why might William have singled out this particular example of her artistic patronage to present in his *History*, we can point to several reasons. First, the Convent of St. Lazarus in Bethany was Melisende's initial major project as patron, and it was a project that was entirely her own individually; most of her other major undertakings were done jointly with others, as I shall discuss below. Second, this example demonstrates both Melisende's personal piety and her devotion to her family. Third, this example reflects Melisende's faithful support of and devotion to the church as a most pious queen. And fourth, this project illustrates the enormous personal, political, and financial resources which Melisende marshalled for her commissions, with great confidence and efficiency, clarity of purpose, and with a true sense of accomplishment from start to finish.

There are additional important factors to consider. William, who became William II, Archbishop of Tyre (ca. late 1120s/1130–1184), was absent from the Holy Land for a period of twenty years while he was in Western Europe pursuing his higher education. These years, 1145 to 1165, were momentous in the life of Melisende and Baldwin III. It is notable that Melisende's foundation of the convent of Bethany took place just before William left to go West; so even though he was extremely young at the time, it was something he could have personally known about and even witnessed. By contrast, much other major patronage by Melisende that took place after 1145 was not mentioned by William, as we shall see below. As noted, William is thought to have written his *History* starting in 1167, after he returned from the West in 1165.

In fact, the process by which William wrote his *History* is also an important factor here. Edbury and Rowe discuss the complexities of this issue at some length,³⁹ and Deborah Gerish provides a useful summation as follows. She identifies two major campaigns of writing for William, as distinct from note-taking, gathering information, and first drafts. The first is the period 1170–1174, where William covered the period 1098 to 1143; the second, 1180–1184, where he covered the years 1143 to 1184.⁴⁰ By splitting the actual writing about the reign of Melisende with 1143 being the pivotal year, William shifts his focus on her, reflecting the difference between the time she was at the peak of her power in the early 1140s and her reputation after her death in 1161.

³⁹ Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, pp. 24–31.

⁴⁰ Gerish, "Shaping the Crown of Gold," p. 102.

Set against this schedule, what exactly was the dating of Melisende's commission at Bethany? This project has been variously dated but presumably it was accomplished shortly before King Fulk died on 10 November 1143. So it is likely that the undertaking began in the late 1130s and was completed by autumn of 1143.⁴¹ As such it falls in the early part of Melisende's active public life. In that period she had fully established herself and her political power as heiress of the kingdom as designated by Baldwin II before he died in 1131. By 1135 she had forced Fulk to recognize her fully as co-ruler through adroit and impressive political actions, in keeping with her father's stated wishes. In the meantime she magnificently fulfilled her royal wifely duty by giving birth to two male heirs to the kingdom. Indeed, I suggest that the birth of her younger son, Amalric, in 1136 may be taken as a dynastic sign of her reconciliation with Fulk immediately following their falling out! Meanwhile she began to associate her older son, Baldwin, with royal acts taken by herself and Fulk, starting in 1138. In this way her power grew, and at the time the project to found and build the convent at Bethany for her sister was underway (1138–1143), Melisende was becoming more powerful and influential.

Nonetheless, as Bernard Hamilton perceptively points out, her power was to grow greater. When Fulk was accidentally killed while on a *chevauchée*⁴² outside of Acre on 10 November 1143, Melisende and her child son, Baldwin III, were then crowned. William of Tyre wrote, "The royal power passed to the Lady Melisende, a queen beloved of God, to whom it belonged by hereditary right."⁴³ And, in fact, Melisende was not a regent, but the queen *regnant*.⁴⁴ This means that Melisende was not willing to be just a passive caretaker for her son, letting prominent men in the kingdom wield the decisive power; she took the reins and was an active, aggressive ruler, a dominant ruler in her own right. Not only this, but

⁴¹ See, Sylvester J. Saller, *Excavations at Bethany (1949–1953)* (Jerusalem, 1957), pp. 67 ff., esp. 71–73, and the archaeological finds from the abbey, pp. 99–116. Helen Gaudette's new article on Melisende reached me after I submitted my text to Therese Martin. She states that the Bethany project "was begun in 1138" with no specific evidence for the date. See her "The Spending Power of a Crusader Queen: Melisende of Jerusalem," in *Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Theresa Earenfight (New York, 2010), pp. 135–48, esp. 139–42.

⁴² Queen Melisende and King Fulk were riding out on horseback from Acre when this accident occurred. It was a promenade for recreation that tragically ended in the king's untimely death.

⁴³ William of Tyre, Book 15, ch. 27, *A History*, vol. 2, p. 135. "... reseditque regni potestas penes dominam Milissendam deo amabilem reginam, cui iure hereditario competebat." *Chronicon*, LXIII, p. 711.

⁴⁴ Hamilton, "Queens," p. 152.

Melisende's public life as a powerful queen *regnant* continued from 1143 to 1152. Baldwin III was a minor in 1143, but when he came of age in 1145, Melisende maintained her grip on power as queen *regnant*. Indeed it was only in 1152 that she finally relinquished power to her son; by that time Baldwin III had not only attained the age of twenty-two, but he imposed his legitimate claim to be king in his own right on his mother by force of arms. In sum, Melisende's period of greatest power and patronage, both political and artistic, spanned a period from 1135 to 1152, during which she founded the convent at Bethany (ca. 1138–1143).

In light of the above, I have proposed that William of Tyre presents this example of Melisende's patronage in his historical narrative because it was the first major example she accomplished on her own. But far from being the only major act of art patronage she performed, I suggest that for William of Tyre it is meant to be representative of her important activity in this sphere, that is, art patronage in support of the church and those Christians, whether family or otherwise, with whom she personally was related, linked to by religious ties, or responsible for. I argue this partly because of the large number of major projects that she obviously must have been involved with in her active role as queen, and partly because of her vigorous and forthright concerns about political patronage, noted above, as well as art patronage. I also argue this because of what William of Tyre has to say about her art and political patronage otherwise. When we consider these points in relation to those major art projects about which William of Tyre has nothing to say, I submit that we can clearly see how William's narrative is selective and not comprehensive, how it is focused on political developments, and how it is essential for us to bring together those other art patronage activities known indirectly from other sources in order to establish Melisende's full record as patron more accurately, both before and after 1143.

First of all, what other patronage does William of Tyre include in his narrative that can further illustrate her artistic and political activity in this regard based on the evidence of his *History*? The one other, albeit much lesser example of Melisende's art patronage that William explicitly mentions is in 1160 near the end of her life. It occurs when Queen Melisende, together with her sister Hodierna and other friends, prepares gifts for the dowry of Melisende of Tripoli, daughter of Hodierna and namesake of her aunt, who had been selected to become the bride of the Byzantine emperor, Manuel. This is what William of Tyre reports:

...an enormous array of ornaments, surpassing those of royalty itself, was prepared at infinite expense by the mother [Hodierna] and aunt [Queen Melisende] of the maiden destined for this exalted position, and by her brother and her many friends as well: bracelets, earrings, pins for her head-dress, anklets, rings, necklaces, and tiaras of purest gold. Silver utensils of immense weight and size were prepared for use in the kitchen and for the service of the table and the toilet, besides bridles and saddles—in short, every kind of furnishing. All these things were prepared at vast expense and with great zeal; the workmanship alone was evidence of their exceeding great cost and easily surpassed the luxury of kings.⁴⁵

This account of Queen Melisende's participation in sponsoring the dowry of her namesake is interesting because it documents her continued activity in the aristocratic life of the Crusader States, long after she had been forced from power in 1152, and only one year before her death in 1161. Furthermore, the details of the objects that are commissioned for this dowry indicate the high level of wealth involved, the richness of the jewelry, and the fine quality of the metalwork. Clearly the Crusaders wished to impress the Byzantine Emperor very favorably with these gifts; the participation of Melisende, no doubt at the request of her sister, Hodierna, showed the queen's continued stature and importance in the royal family.

Queen Melisende's importance to the family, and specifically how she was held in high regard by her son, Baldwin III, even after he had forcibly removed her from power, is indicated much earlier by his action in 1153. After Baldwin III had finally and triumphantly succeeded in taking Ascalon on 12 August, the last major coastal city held by the Muslims in the Latin Kingdom, William says the following:

The king and the patriarch, accompanied by other princes of the realm and the prelates of the church, together with all the clergy and the entire people, then entered the city with hymns and spiritual songs, led by the Cross of the Lord. . . . Within a few days thereafter the patriarch organized the church in Ascalon. . . . By his mother's advice, the king distributed possessions and the

⁴⁵ William of Tyre, Book 18, ch. 31, *A History*, vol. 2, pp. 288–89. "Preparantur interea virgini tanto culmini destinate a matre et amita, fratre et amicis omnibus inmensorum sumptuum ornamenta et modum descientia, supra vires regias, morenule, inaures, spinteres et perischelide, anuli, torques et corone ex auro purissimo, vasa quoque argentea inmensi ponderis et magnitudinis inaudite ad usum coquine, escarum et potuum et lavacrorum obsequium preparantur, exceptis frenis, sellis et ut breviter dicatur omnimoda suppellectile. Que omnia tam infinitis preparabantur impensis et tanto studio procurabantur, ut ipsa etiam opera suum predicarent excessum et regium luxum facile superarent." *Chronicon*, LXIII, p. 856.

lands dependent thereon both within and without the city to those who had well deserved them; to some, also, for a price.⁴⁶

With the taking of Ascalon, Baldwin III had achieved his greatest military success against the Muslims. But he still recognized his mother's importance in matters of political patronage, patronage in which she had been active since the time of the episode pitting King Fulk against Count Hugh in 1134–1135,⁴⁷ and patronage which she had more recently exercised, for example, in her gift of the city of Jaffa to her younger son, Amalric, in 1150, and her gift of the lordship of Ramla and Mirabel to her constable, Manasses of Hierges in 1151.⁴⁸

The only other major artistic project of Melisende's that William of Tyre mentions is her tomb in Jerusalem, built in 1161/1162, which will be addressed below.

Artworks Not Mentioned by William of Tyre: The Psalter of Melisende

Set against this picture of the powerful Queen Melisende presented by William of Tyre as active in political and artistic patronage, with what other major artistic commissions was Melisende involved that we know about, and what evidence do we have to link her with these projects directly? There can be no doubt that the single most famous artistic project with which Melisende's name is associated today is the luxury psalter and prayerbook now in the British Library (Egerton MS 1139), a codex known widely as the Psalter of Queen Melisende.⁴⁹ There can be little

⁴⁶ William of Tyre, Book 17, ch. 30, *A History*, vol. 2, p. 233. "Dominus autem rex, dominus quoque patriarcha cum ceteris regni principibus et ecclesiarum prelatibus una cum universo clero et populo, previo ligno dominice crucis cum hymnis et canticis spiritualibus urbem ingressi, . . . Infra paucos autem dies dominus patriarcha ornans ecclesiam, . . . Rex autem tam in urbe quam in suburbanis, matris consilio, bene meritis, et quibusdam etiam precii interventu, possessionibus et agris in funiculo distributis." *Chronicon*, LXIII, p. 804.

⁴⁷ Hodgson, *Women, Crusading*, pp. 134–35. For a detailed study of this episode, see Mayer, "Studies," pp. 95–182. Hamilton summarizes his view of this episode, "Queens," pp. 149–51.

⁴⁸ Hodgson, *Women, Crusading*, p. 186.

⁴⁹ The bibliography on this codex is quite long and varied, but the following studies are essential: Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 1–14; Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 137–63, 523–28, ns. 88–140; Bianca Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century* (Berlin, 1994), pp. 67–125; Barbara Zeitler, "The Distorting Mirror: Reflections on the Queen Melisende Psalter (London, B.L., Egerton 1139)," in *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium through British Eyes*, eds. Robin Cormack and Elizabeth Jeffreys (Aldershot and

doubt that this handsome book was done for Melisende, and it survives as the most beautiful illuminated manuscript produced in Jerusalem in the scriptorium of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre during the twelfth century. It is also remarkable as the earliest decorated, luxury codex extant from Crusader Jerusalem. The irony is, however, that Melisende's name does not appear in the manuscript, and it is very likely that she herself did not commission the book. Rather, it seems probable that her husband, King Fulk, ordered the codex to be lavishly painted and given sumptuous carved ivory covers with a silver-embroidered silk spine as a special gift from him. What is the evidence for this interpretation?

We have already summarized the story of the confrontation between Fulk and Melisende over political rule in 1134 and 1135.⁵⁰ I continue to interpret the commission of the Melisende Psalter as an important example of Fulk's energetic attempts at reconciliation with his queen in 1135. As evidence for this, I submit the unique personal character of this prayerbook and its lavish production. That is, I invite you to consider the ways in which the powerful personality and the individual spirituality of the recipient, Melisende, were reflected and expressed in the texts and the magnificent decorative program commissioned by King Fulk. It was a royal book executed by the best artists available in the Latin Kingdom, setting the highest possible standard for luxury manuscripts in Jerusalem at the time, and destined for a recipient of the most refined taste and artistic sensibilities. Furthermore, it was done without regard to expense, in a campaign carried out as expeditiously as possible under the circumstances, in the interests of enabling Fulk to regain peace, harmony, and power together with his queen!

The extraordinary artistic program of decoration for this manuscript includes the work of four excellent painters, at least one ivory sculptor (and possibly two), one embroiderer, and an accomplished scribe for the text—a total of seven or eight artists, demonstrating that no effort was spared to make this a luxury manuscript of the very highest quality for which money was no object. When the queen held this book in her

Burlington, 2000), pp. 69–83; Cristina Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 13, 63–64, 104, 121–23, 126, 131, 139, 162–66, 253–66, 331; Janet Backhouse, "The Case of Queen Melisende's Psalter: An Historical Investigation," in *Tributes to Jonathan J.G. Alexander*, eds. Susan L'Engle and Gerald B. Guest (London and Turnhout, 2006), pp. 457–70.

⁵⁰ See also Jaroslav Folda, "A Twelfth-Century Prayerbook for the Queen of Jerusalem," *Medieval Perspectives*, 8 (1993), pp. 1–14.

hands, what she saw on the exterior is a special program of decoration consisting of the front and back ivory covers and the silver-embroidered silk spine. This program expresses a clear message of Crusader royal presence in the Holy Land where Jesus died on the Cross, as the culmination of ancestral dynastic rule from the House of David.⁵¹ On the top cover, the ivory is carved in a style reminiscent of luxury textiles in the Levant from Byzantine and Muslim sources (Fig. 5). The six main medallions tell the story of King David, including his anointing as king and his triumphal victory over Goliath. Imagery of the *Psychomachia*, that is, the battle of the Virtues and Vices, is interspersed around the medallions to provide a moralistic and militaristic context for these pictures of Old Testament kingship. The fact that the victorious Virtues are mostly depicted as armed women (an unexceptional iconography) but with one central image of the figure of Humility crowned like a queen, only reinforces the link to Melisende as a virtuous Crusader queen. On the bottom cover, the royal program is expressed in terms of medallions containing a “modern,” that is, a Crusader king—like Fulk—dressed in Byzantine-style regalia and performing the corporal works of mercy taken from Matthew’s Gospel, chapter 25. Interspersed around these medallions is a decorative program of birds and animals, among which a large bird centered at the top has the

⁵¹ See, e.g., Bianca Kühnel, “The Kingly Statement of the Bookcovers of Queen Melisende’s Psalter,” in *Tesserae: Festschrift für Joseph Engemann*, eds. E. Dassmann and K. Thraede, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, Ergänzungsband, 18 (1991), pp. 340–57. These ivories have come under intense scrutiny in recent years, being the subject of a doctoral study by Jean Brodahl, “The Melisende Psalter and Ivories (BL Egerton 139): An Inquiry into the Status and Collecting of Medieval Art in Early Nineteenth-Century France,” Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 1999, and several M.A. theses. Brodahl raises many important questions about the ivories and doubts the authenticity of the lower cover (chapter 1, pp. 1–93), but despite the undoubted presence of some 19th-century modifications, her arguments are ultimately unconvincing. Anthony Cutler continues to harbor doubts, however. In a recent article, “Problems of Ivory Carving in the Christian East (Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries),” in *Change in the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Proceedings of the First International Byzantine Studies Symposium*, eds. Nevra Necipoglu et al. (Istanbul, 2010), pp. 486–94, esp. 486, n. 4, he comments: “The covers . . . are always assumed to have been carved in Jerusalem at the same time as the manuscript was prepared. This is by no means certain. . . .” Nonetheless for myself, Frederick Madden’s assessment in 1845 for the British Museum Trustees remains in force: “The ivory covers of the volume . . . being undoubtedly coeval with the volume, are of the highest interest and value . . .” (cit. Brodahl, “The Melisende Psalter and Ivories,” Appendix, “Madden’s Description of the Melisende Psalter and Ivories,” November 7, 1845 [BL Add.MS 62026], p. 239.) Janet Backhouse reaffirms this view by saying, “Everything that we can discover about the Psalter of Queen Melisende supports the accepted view that its famous ivory covers were already of great antiquity at the time of its purchase by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1845.” See Backhouse, “The Case of Queen Melisende’s Psalter,” p. 465.



Figure 5 Ivory cover (front) of the Psalter of Queen Melisende with scenes of the life of David. London, British Library, Egerton MS 1139 (Photo: British Library, London).

greatest importance. Labelled “Herodius,” this conspicuous falcon is also known in the Bestiaries as “fulica,” and this appears to be a rebus for Fulk, a subtle way for the king to convey his hand in this project symbolically to his queen. The two ivory covers are joined to each other by a beautifully silver-embroidered silk spine on which blue, red, and green equal-armed crosses, symbolizing the True Cross of Christ in the Holy Land, have been added.⁵² The silk itself is Byzantine, but the embroidery must have been done by a Crusader artist for this book. And such a cross symbol on the spine, in association with David and the Crusader king on the covers, can only refer to Jesus Christ, spiritual king of Jerusalem.

When Melisende opened the book to begin her prayers, she first encountered a handsome set of prefatory miniatures spelling out the life of Christ in twenty-three episodes followed by a final image of Jesus enthroned as ruler, joined by the intercessors Mary and John the Baptist. Psalters with full-page prefatory miniatures like this were a new development in the twelfth century in western Europe, derived from England.⁵³ Presumably because of Fulk’s links to the West, this book provides the earliest such example in the Crusader East. But the most striking feature of these miniatures is their obvious ties to the Byzantine artistic tradition, a visual language that Melisende, raised in the Greek Orthodox Church and a woman of deep piety, would especially appreciate. The twenty-three scenes are inspired by the Byzantine *Dodekaorta*, the great Orthodox festival cycle, simultaneously visualizing the life of Christ in terms of the liturgical year. In addition to the basic Byzantine iconography in each image, some images are purely Byzantine, such as the twenty-fourth miniature mentioned above, which depicts the Deësis prayer with Mary and John interceding with Christ. It is this scene which also carries the name of the artist, Basil, on the top of the footstool at Christ’s feet.⁵⁴ Basil is clearly a first-rank painter who has been trained by Byzantine masters, but some of his images also include western imagery—demonstrating that he is probably a Greek-trained artist from western-born parents in the Holy Land.⁵⁵ His link to the Holy Land is also underlined by iconography

⁵² Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 156–57, 525–26, ns. 108–16. Analysis of the embroidered silk was done at my request by Hero Granger-Taylor in 1989, and her detailed report is available in the British Library Manuscripts Department pamphlet no. 3338.

⁵³ See, e.g., the St. Albans Psalter in England: Otto Pacht, C.R. Dodwell, and Francis Wormald, *The St. Albans Psalter* (London, 1960), pp. 52–53.

⁵⁴ The inscription reads “Basilus me fecit” in red letters.

⁵⁵ Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, pp. 1–14, discusses the imagery in detail.

in certain miniatures that evokes specific details of the holy sites now under Crusader control. One particularly important example is the image of the Anastasis (Fig. 6), the patronage icon of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in which the artist has included two hovering angels each with a labarum inscribed "SSS" for "Holy, Holy, Holy," iconography drawn directly from the Byzantine apse mosaic in the rotunda of the church.⁵⁶

As Melisende continued leafing through her book, the next element she would find, on fols. 13v–19r, was the calendar.⁵⁷ This calendar appears to have been based on an English model and it is secular, that is, not monastic or ecclesiastical; it is not, in other words, based on the standard Jerusalem calendar done for the Augustinian canons in the holy city and known from other extant twelfth-century manuscripts.⁵⁸ Indeed, there are a striking number of English saints commemorated and also St. Martin of Tours is given special prominence. In fact, this calendar appears to reflect the patron of this book, Fulk, who as count of Anjou, had obvious English connections through his family in the West. But the book was done for Melisende and there are two specific entries in the calendar that relate directly to her personally. On 1 October, the death of her mother, Queen Morfia, is commemorated. On 21 August, the death of her father, King Baldwin II, is also commemorated. The only other explicit Crusader reference in this calendar is for 15 July, commemorating the taking of Jerusalem by the First Crusade in 1099.⁵⁹ The western character of this calendar is otherwise clearly expressed by its decoration with a series of medallions containing the signs of the zodiac.⁶⁰ The painter is clearly different from Basil; he is presumably a westerner trained in the Romanesque style of France and thereby reflecting the homeland whence Fulk had come. Taken together then, the introductory miniatures and the calendar strike

⁵⁶ On the program of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre mosaic, see Alan Borg, "The Lost Apse Mosaic of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem," in *The Vanishing Past*, eds. Alan Borg and Andrew Martindale (Oxford, 1980), pp. 7–12. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is also known as the Church of the Anastasis or the Church of the Resurrection.

⁵⁷ Francis Wormald, "The Calendar of Queen Melisende's Psalter," in Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, pp. 122–34.

⁵⁸ See Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, pp. 13, 62–64, 104, 121–23, 162–66, 253–66, and Nigel Morgan, "Notes on the Post-Conquest Calendar, Litany and Martyrology of the Cathedral Priory of Winchester with a Consideration of Winchester Diocese Calendars of the Pre-Sarum Period," in *The Vanishing Past*, pp. 157, 162, n. 17.

⁵⁹ For these commemorations see Wormald, "The Calendar," pp. 125–26, and Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, p. 162. Conspicuously, there is no entry for the death of King Fulk, who died in 1143. Therefore the manuscript must have been done before 1143. I am proposing that it was commissioned by Fulk and given to Melisende in 1135.

⁶⁰ Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, p. 14.

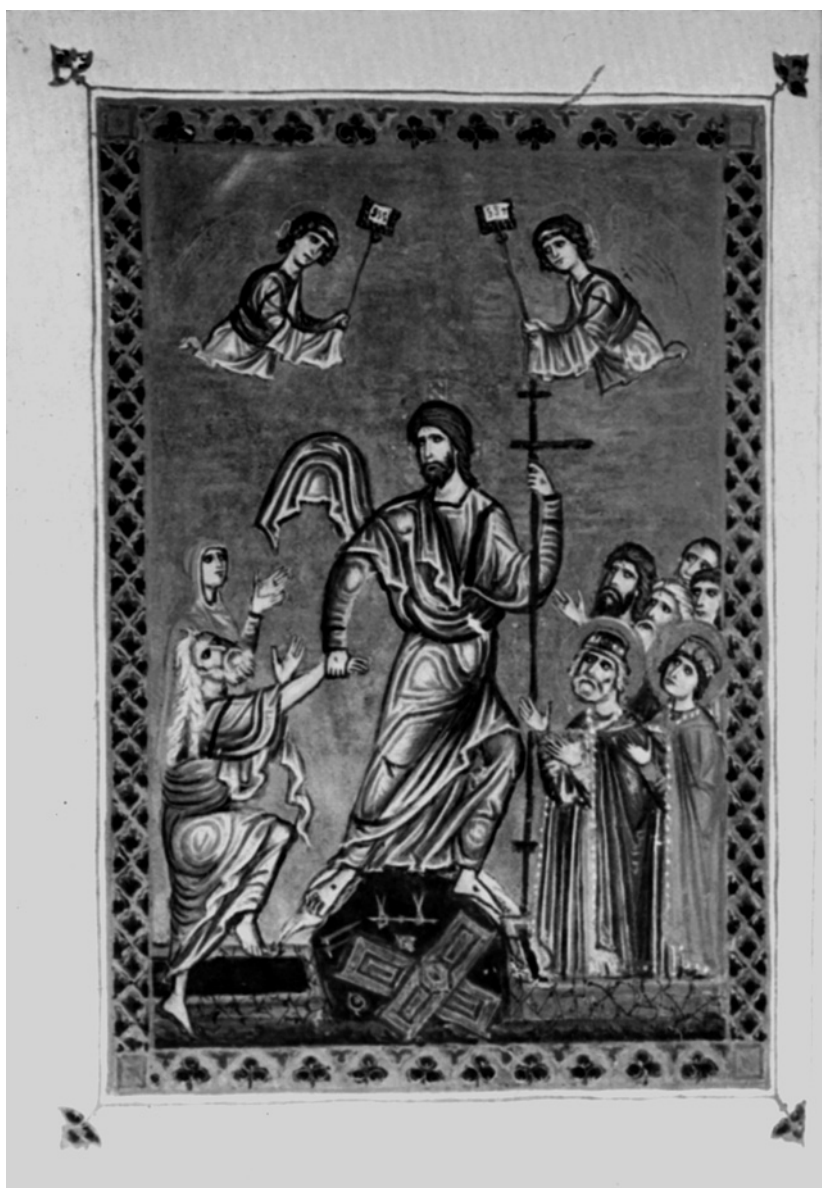


Figure 6 Anastasis with Angels. London, British Library, Egerton MS 1139, fol. 9v
(Photo: British Library, London).

a balance of Byzantine and Western content that mirrored the reality and cultural background of Melisende and Fulk as royal figures in Jerusalem.

Following the calendar, Melisende found a set of prayers to prepare her to read the Psalms, fols. 21–22, and then she arrived at the text of the 150 psalms, which form the core of this prayerbook, on fols. 23v–177r.⁶¹ The psalter was divided into eight sections, reflecting the canonical hours of the day, and a handsome full-page decoration was executed by a third artist at the start of each division. These introductory pages are done entirely in gold on which the initial letters are set out in black pen-drawing. The text that follows immediately is done in gold capitals on strips of purple. These exquisite and impressive pages begin with the “B” of the *Beatus vir* at the start of Psalm 1 (Fig. 7). The figural decoration with King David in the “B” combined with complex interlace inhabited with birds and animals reminds us of Anglo-Italian mosaic work and perhaps Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, but the repertory of geometric forms found on the other seven introductory pages suggests inspiration from the Muslim Levantine world of ornament. It is a decorative ensemble that expresses a Mediterranean ambiente, even though the text of the Psalms is of course in Latin, and the scribe appears to have been trained in northern France.

What follows the Psalms is the canticle of Isaiah (fols. 177v–192), a litany (fols. 192v–197), and a series of private prayers on fols. 197v–218r.⁶² The litany has mostly French saints, in contrast to the calendar, and the prayers themselves are directed to the Virgin Mary and other major saints such as Michael, Peter, and Mary Magdalene. It is important to note that the texts of these prayers are expressly written for a lay-woman of high rank, and the inclusion of special prayers to the Virgin Mary and St. Mary Magdalene suggests a link with the confraternity of the abbey of St. Mary Jehoshaphat. Of the four royal sisters, Melisende was the only laywoman who was also a member of the confraternity of the abbey of St. Mary Jehoshaphat. Her mother, Morfia, was buried there at the entrance to the Tomb of the Virgin, and later she herself would also be buried in a special funerary chamber across from that of her mother. Finally it is notable that yet a fourth artist, no doubt a recent arrival in Jerusalem, painted

⁶¹ Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, pp. 162–63.

⁶² Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, pp. 163–64, and Adelaide Bennett, “Commemoration of Saints in Suffrage: From Public Liturgy to Private Devotion,” in *Objects, Images, and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, 2003), pp. 54–78, esp. 54–55.

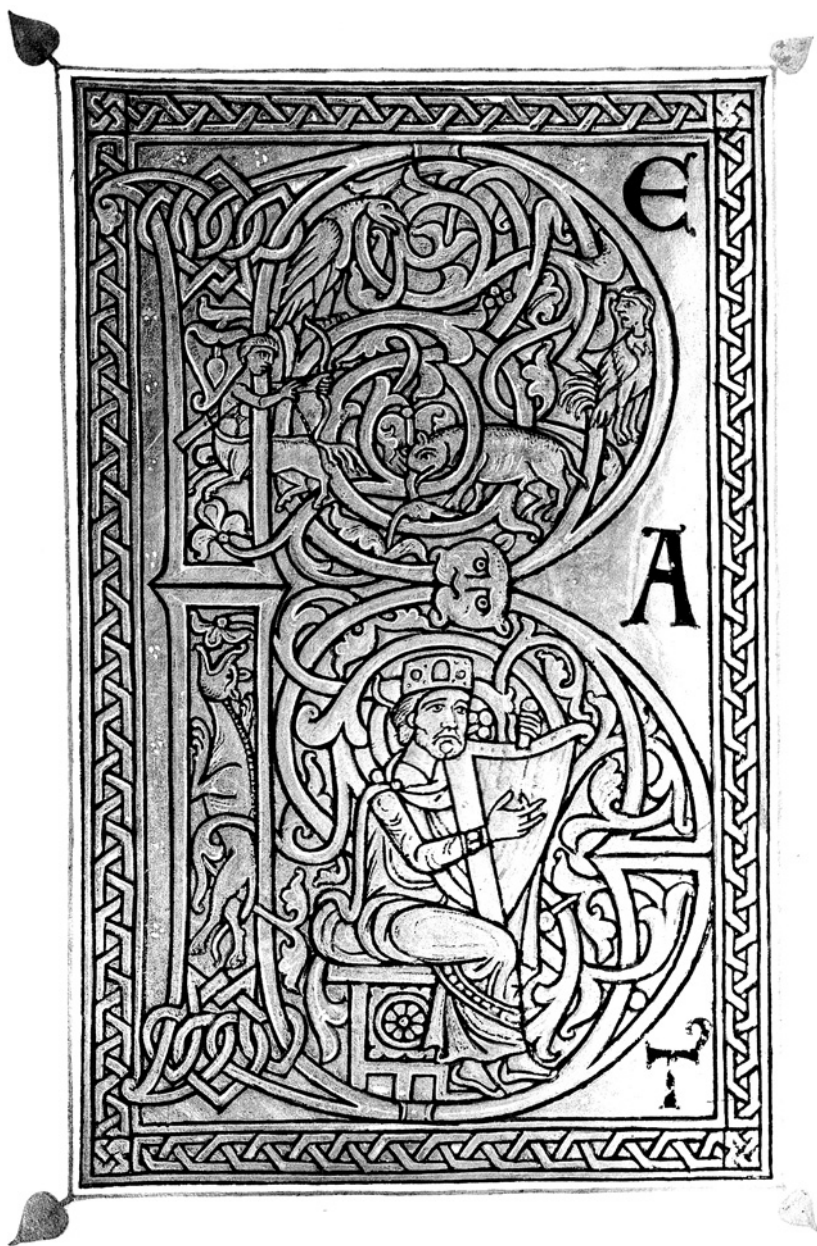


Figure 7 Initial B(eatus vir) for Psalm 1. London, British Library, Egerton MS 1139, fol. 23v (Photo: British Library, London).

the nine headpieces that mark the beginnings of these prayers.⁶³ This artist is clearly trained in the Romanesque style, but he has attempted to emulate Byzantine images of these saints. The resulting figures are frontal, monumental, dressed in saintly garb, and in standard poses as we might find them appearing in Byzantine images. But they have large simplified heads and hands, and the drapery is in an ornamental, decorative strap fold style that is flat and colorful. With this artist, the Byzantine figure style is essentially a surface decoration very much in harmony with the lovely border decorations of these headpieces. And note that the image of the Virgin and Child enthroned with angels as Queen of Heaven on fol. 202v (Fig. 8; Color Plate 17) provided Melisende with an icon of her role model in the Byzantine tradition that she, as Queen of Jerusalem, would have readily recognized and related to.⁶⁴

In sum, this program of decoration, together with its four painters, ivory carver(s), and embroiderer, expresses vividly the richly multicultural kingdom that Melisende ruled over with Fulk in Jerusalem. Furthermore, this prayerbook has been given an intimate personal link to Melisende through the calendar and the prayers, which together with the lavish program of decoration, could not fail to appeal to and impress the great queen. The function of this prayerbook is crucial in assessing the evidence relevant to its commission. I propose that all aspects of the program of its text and decoration are more meaningful as a sumptuous and personal gift to Melisende from Fulk in the circumstances of their 1135 reconciliation than simply as an expensive commission by Melisende for her own use.⁶⁵

Given that, as I am arguing here, it was Fulk, not Melisende, who commissioned this work, what can this outstanding manuscript tell us directly

⁶³ Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, pp. 9–11.

⁶⁴ This miniature stands as one of the two early examples of this imagery executed by Crusader artists for special patrons. See Jaroslav Folda, "Icon to Altarpiece in the Frankish East: Images of the Virgin and Child Enthroned," in *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. Victor Schmidt (Washington, DC, 2002), pp. 122–45, esp. 124–25.

⁶⁵ Most scholars agree this book was done for Melisende; the question is, who commissioned it? The argument for Fulk as patron of the Melisende Psalter as a gift for his queen is still controversial despite its merits, and certain recent scholars continue to claim that Melisende is the patron, without providing any new or definitive evidence. See, e.g., John Lowden, "The Royal/Imperial Book and the Image or Self-Image of the Medieval Ruler," in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (London, 1993), pp. 213–40, esp. 226–29, with great emphasis on the book's ivory covers; Gaudette, "Piety, Power and Patronage," pp. 169–81. I still maintain it was an important personal gift, *un cadeau expiatoire*, for Melisende ordered by the king for the reasons explained above. The fact that William of Tyre says nothing about this luxury prayerbook does nothing to diminish the likelihood that Fulk commissioned it for his queen.



Figure 8 Virgin and Child enthroned with angels headpiece. London, British Library, Egerton MS 1139, fol. 202v (Photo: British Library, London). See color plate 17.

about the queen as an art patron? Clearly the king conceived this commission to appeal directly to his wife's sophisticated artistic taste and aesthetic standards in an effort to express his highest regard and deepest admiration for her person and her position as queen. In doing this, he designed the program to reflect Melisende's individual and royal interests, along with her sensibilities as co-ruler of a diverse population, and as a representative of her people linking Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholics, Armenians, Syrian Melkites, Syrian Jacobites and Arab Christians—hence the multiple artists with their different styles. Fulk also wanted this book to reflect her concerns for Jerusalem and the Holy Sites, hence the introductory miniatures with the life of Christ and the Virgin. And finally, he wanted this book to appeal to the queen because of her devout and sincere piety. For Melisende, a great patron of the arts, these were the values and concerns that the contents of this lavish prayerbook were meant to, and do, express.

Other Major Examples of Melisende's Art Patronage that William of Tyre Does Not Mention

William of Tyre was present in the Holy Land during the early public life of Queen Melisende, but having only been born in the late 1120s at the earliest, he would not have started his church career for many years after this, and would not have begun writing about the events of Melisende's reign until well after 1165, over thirty years later, that is, long after the events themselves and nearly five years after the death of the queen. Besides the case of the Melisende Psalter, which William does not comment on, there were other early instances of her patronage which he also does not include. One example pertains to Melisende's support of the Knights Hospitaller; her involvement with Fulk in the gift of the castle of Bethgibelin in 1136 is worth mentioning here. Following the reconciliation of King Fulk and Queen Melisende in 1135, in addition to the birth of Amalric, their joint gift to the Hospitallers was another symbolic sign of their revitalized co-rulership. Melisende indeed supported the Hospitallers faithfully throughout her reign, but this was the first major example, and although William of Tyre says nothing of her involvement, we learn of her participation from a royal charter, which she confirmed.⁶⁶ Here we should mention

⁶⁶ William of Tyre, Book 14, ch. 22, *A History*, vol. 2, p. 81, *Chronicon*, LXIIIA, pp. 659–61. For the charter, see RRH no. 164, and Joseph Delaville le Roulx, ed., *Cartulaire Générale de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de St.-Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310)*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1894), no. 116.

the important categories that Helen Gaudette establishes for Melisende's gift-giving relative to these charters: exchanges, donations, and confirmations.⁶⁷ And here is a perfect example of an important gift the royal couple made jointly to the Hospitallers, the one which effectively began the militarization of their order,⁶⁸ that William decided to refer to only with regard to the king. Other charters in which she participated in supporting the Hospitallers are known later, for example, in 1147 in which she was jointly involved in confirmations or exchanges, where again William of Tyre, operating selectively, does not mention her role in them.⁶⁹

Another, very different set of circumstances pertains to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. When Fulk and Melisende were crowned as the new king and queen on 14 September 1131, they chose with the consent of the patriarch of Jerusalem, William I, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem as their venue. Whereas earlier coronations had been conducted in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, the great sixth-century pilgrimage site, the shift to Jerusalem marked several important changes in the kingdom.

1. The king could be crowned by the patriarch in the Crusader capital city in the patriarchal church.
2. The ritual of the coronation now expanded to include certain holy sites in Jerusalem, including the *Templum Dominum*.

And 3, perhaps the most important: the installation of the coronation in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre meant that new emphasis was being placed on the site as the state church, where not only the Crusader kings were buried, but also now Crusader rulers were crowned. Most significant is the fact that with this new role to be played, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre would have to be renovated and expanded to meet its major functions. It was, of course, the greatest holy site in all of Christendom—the place of Christ's death, burial, and resurrection—to which pilgrims flocked in ever-increasing numbers. Ecclesiastically it was the seat of the patriarch of Jerusalem. And under Melisende and Fulk, it also became the state church for the Crusader kingdom.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Gaudette, "Piety, Power and Patronage," p. 140.

⁶⁸ Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, p. 123, and ns. 17, 20. Gaudette discusses the Bethgibelin project in some detail: "The Spending Power of a Crusader Queen," pp. 137–39.

⁶⁹ RRH nos. 244 and 245 respectively.

⁷⁰ Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 177–203.

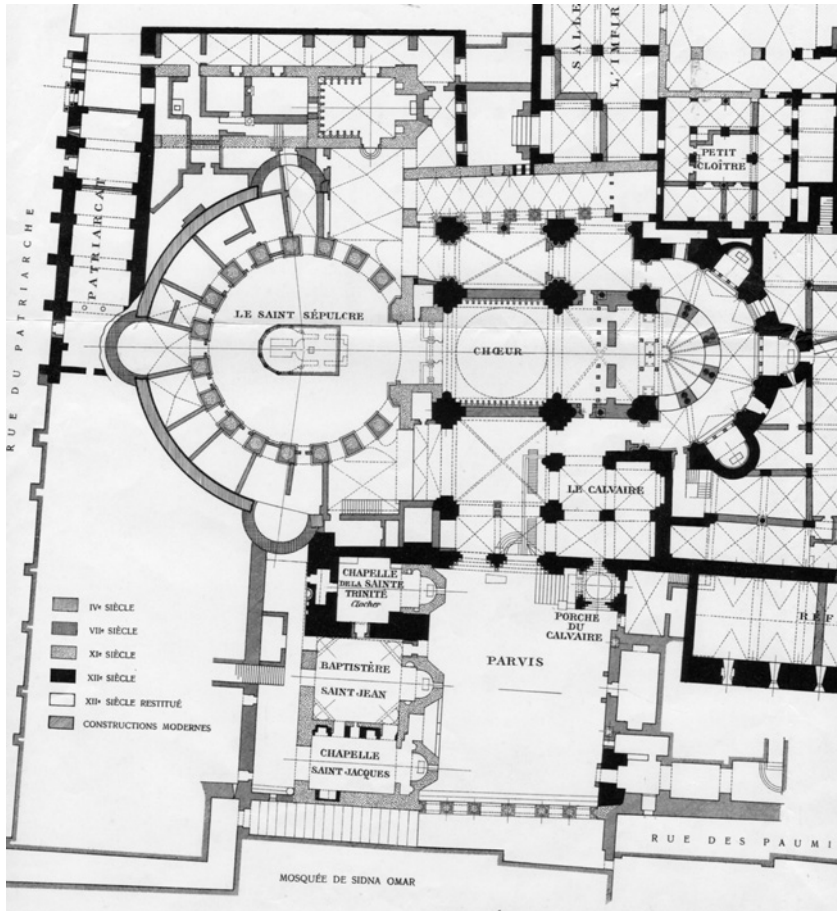


Figure 9 Historical plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, at ground level, showing the new crossing, choir, apse, ambulatory, radiating chapels, and the south transept entrance dedicated in 1149 (After A.W. Clapham, "The Latin Monastic Buildings of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem," *Antiquaries Journal*, 1 (1921)).

Plans may have begun following this coronation ceremony in 1131, but it was probably not until after 1143 when Baldwin III and Melisende were crowned here on 25 December that work had gotten underway to significantly enlarge the church itself. The architectural concept was ambitious, and the result would be worthy of this unique church (Fig. 9). The apse of the rotunda was opened up into the courtyard of the *triporticus*, which was closed in and the main piers were covered with a dome. The

east end of the church was given a western Romanesque plan of the type found in churches on the pilgrimage road with the old apse and its mosaic integrated into a new ambulatory with radiating chapels. A new two-storey, double portal entrance, partly inspired by the Golden Gate in Jerusalem and partly inspired by the Platerías portal at Santiago de Compostela, was configured, giving onto the courtyard off the south transept. A major program of sculptural and mosaic decoration was incorporated on the entry portals, and on the interior of the church as well.

Scholars mostly agree that there was copious royal support by Melisende and cooperation with the patriarch to see this project through.⁷¹ Indeed her support for the Holy Sepulchre continued throughout her life.⁷² Our problem is that no one, including William of Tyre, discusses the role of Melisende in its realization. In fact, William has very little to say at all about this huge and important project, no doubt because he had left Jerusalem to go west in 1145. His only specific observation was the event of a lightning strike on the church at Epiphany, 6 January 1146, an event he mentioned not so much because it referred to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but more because he saw it as a portent of disaster.⁷³ It is truly mysterious why William has so little else to say, but we can be sure of one thing. If, when the then current patriarch of Jerusalem, Aimery, died in 1180, William had been selected to succeed him instead of Heraclius of Caesarea, William would no doubt have made it his business to tell us a great deal more about the patriarch's church in Jerusalem. As it was, William was crushed with disappointment not to have been made patriarch and he chose not to chronicle the transformation of the church, even though it is, of course, the greatest dominical holy site in Christendom.⁷⁴

Meanwhile, what might Melisende's role have been in the planning and construction of the new Crusader Church of the Holy Sepulchre in conjunction with the patriarchs William (d. 1145), Fulcher (d. 1157), and Aimery (d. 1180)? It is not without significance that it was Queen Melisende

⁷¹ Eugène de Rozière, ed., *Cartulaire de l'Église du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem*, Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, first series, 5 (Paris, 1849), nos. 32, 48, pp. 58–60, cited in Hamilton, "Queens," p. 156, n. 68.

⁷² Near the end of her life in 1160, Melisende affirmed a gift her son King Amalric gave to the Holy Sepulchre. See de Rozière, *Cartulaire*, no. 58, pp. 115–17.

⁷³ William of Tyre, Book 16, ch. 17, *A History*, vol. 2, p. 162, *Chronicon*, LXIIIA, p. 738. See Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 178–79. See also Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 3, *The City of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 20.

⁷⁴ A dominical holy site is one directly connected to the physical presence of Jesus Christ during his time on earth.

who had nominated Fulcher in 1145 to succeed William.⁷⁵ And although Fulcher was well known to have stood his ground when it came to ecclesiastical appointments, even in the face of Melisende's assertive wishes, it is not too much to see the aged Fulcher and the vigorous Melisende jointly discussing the ongoing planning and execution of the program for the new Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Melisende was after all a staunch supporter of the church politically, a personal advocate for the various patriarchs elected during her rule, a devout and pious queen as the leader of her people, known and respected by the Christian clergy in Jerusalem, and a great benefactor of the church. As Hans Mayer points out:

She had always behaved lavishly toward the Church, to such an extent that her gifts soon became legendary. Because of these gifts, she was considered a devoutly religious person, which she may have been. But she also was a shrewd politician and her gifts to the Church must be viewed as an attempt to buy its political support.⁷⁶

In sum, it is clear that she wanted to be in a position to wield influence. In this case, she had also been a principal figure in major state rituals and observances in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre from 1129 to the 1150s. With these experiences she would have clearly understood the needs of space and organization for the purposes of the liturgy, pilgrimage access to the holy places, and special state ceremonies. Melisende was at the height of her powers in the years from the mid-1140s to 1149, and Fulcher, no matter how old he was, was determined to run the church according to the highest standards; together they apparently made a formidable team to collaborate on the all-important project of renovating and expanding the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

It was dedicated on 15 July 1149, the day celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. Even though the projected church program of renovation and expansion may not have been fully completed by that day, certainly the main features must have been done very soon thereafter, including the mosaics and sculpture on the south transept façade (Fig. 10). I have argued elsewhere that the program of this façade is a remarkable statement of ecumenical Christianity.⁷⁷ First, it is one that uses the sculptural medium to express the authentic history

⁷⁵ Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, pp. 72–73.

⁷⁶ Mayer, "Studies," p. 131.

⁷⁷ Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 228–29; Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 3, pp. 20 ff., 68.



Figure 10 Church of the Holy Sepulchre: south transept façade viewed from the parvis. After J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 183 (Photo: J. Crook/ Cambridge University Press).

of this church rooted in Early Christian and Byzantine origins. Second, it is one that articulates the façade with sculpture derived from diverse Christian traditions including Early Christian, Byzantine, Romanesque, and Arab Christian sources. Third, it is one that situates the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the context of its associated holy sites and places of pilgrimage.⁷⁸ Indeed, I hold that Melisende must have had a hand in formulating this remarkable program in conjunction with the Patriarch of Jerusalem himself, despite the fact that William of Tyre found nothing to say about it. One possible direct indication of this link may be seen in the program for the figural lintel over the left-hand door of the main entry (Fig. 11). The first two scenes selected for this lintel represent the Raising of Lazarus and the sisters Mary and Martha imploring the help of Jesus (John 11: 20–39). The events not only occupy a remarkably prominent position on this lintel, they also pertain to the holy site of Bethany, that is, the site of the very convent which Melisende established by 1143 for her sister Yveta.⁷⁹ In addition to this, the south transept façade of the Holy Sepulchre, with its rich program of architectural sculpture, is linked very directly in design and sculptural execution to the façade of the Church of St. Anne.

Today as one of the most impressive of the Crusader churches to survive in Jerusalem, St. Anne's was closely linked to Melisende's royal family. Her youngest sister, Yveta, entered this convent in the late 1120s, shortly after she was liberated as a Muslim hostage, and resided there until 1144, at which time she transferred to the newly opened convent at Bethany. St. Anne's had significant royal patronage from early Crusader times because Baldwin I placed his first wife, Arda, there. However, with regard to Melisende, we can suggest that her greatest attention and benefactions were lavished on St. Anne's while her sister was there. It is my proposal that St. Anne's was rebuilt with royal support at least partly derived from Melisende's patronage during the 1130s. However, because during the early years of that decade Melisende was not mentioned on royal charters with Fulk for reasons discussed above, her patronage appears to have been effected privately. As evidence for this proposition, I would draw attention

⁷⁸ Jaroslav Folda, "The South Transept Façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem: An Aspect of Rebuilding Zion," in *The Crusades and Their Sources: Studies Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. John France (London, 1998), pp. 239–57; Alan Borg, "Observations on the Historiated Lintel of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 32 (1969), pp. 25–40.

⁷⁹ On the convent plan, fig. 4, the west church of the convent covers the holy site of the tomb of Lazarus.

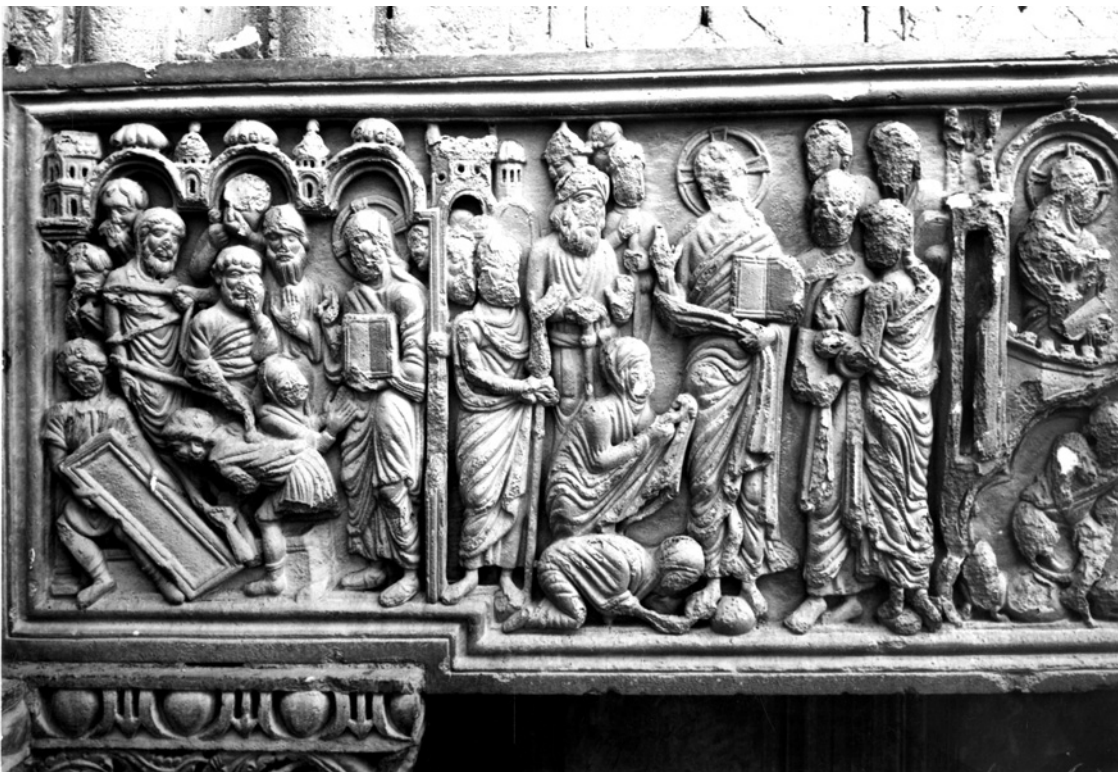


Figure 11 Figural lintel of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: detail, left side with scenes of the Raising of Lazarus and Mary and Martha imploring Jesus. After J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 220 (Photo: Archive of the British Mandate/Israel Antiquities Authority).

to the close architectural links between the façade of the Church of St. Anne and the Holy Sepulchre, and the later support given by Melisende to St. Anne for which documentation exists in the royal charters.

First, there is the close relation that the façade of St. Anne's enjoys with that of the larger and more complex south transept façade of the Holy Sepulchre. We observe that the west façade of St. Anne's offers a set of components and an overall design which includes heavy setback voussoirs over deeply splayed doors and windows as western features, along with pointed arch openings and godroons from Arab sources,⁸⁰ and a decorative repertoire found in other early Crusader churches in the kingdom. St. Anne's also is important as an example of Crusader builders taking over Byzantine characteristics for Latin use, such as a domed crossing integrated with the western longitudinal plan, and the rich eastern decorative repertoire. Indeed, it is likely that the atelier assembled to work on St. Anne's could have moved, in whole or in part, to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre when their work was done at the much smaller building. St. Anne's was likely being finished at a point when the mason's yard of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was getting organized and starting that project.⁸¹

Second, we see Melisende's support in the royal charters from 1152. St. Anne's was an important example of an establishment in the fabric of the city which rented shop space to Frankish burgesses in the downtown markets of Jerusalem.⁸² The income from their rentals helped to fund the needs of the convent. It is likely that some of these shops were a gift to St. Anne's from Melisende, who, according to Denys Pringle, "is recorded completing a 'new street' adjoining the Latin exchange in 1152."⁸³ In making her donation in this royal charter, Melisende enabled the city of Jerusalem to configure three new streets, the Malquisinat (or street of bad cooking) and two side streets. By doing this she accomplished several

⁸⁰ Godroons consist of ornamentation in a convex configuration, the opposite of fluting. Here they appear as voussoirs of an arch in a cushioned shape, found frequently in Arab architecture after c. 1000.

⁸¹ Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, p. 136.

⁸² Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (London, 1972), pp. 82, 410, n. 135. The burgesses were Frankish commoners who were neither members of the aristocracy nor members of the Italian communes.

⁸³ See Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire du Chapitre du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1984), pp. 103–105, no. 36, RRH 70–71, no. 278, and Mayer, "Studies," p. 167. In this street shops can still be seen inscribed "SCA ANNA," indicating they belonged to the convent. Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 3, pp. 154–55.

goals including sustainable support of St. Anne's convent, satisfying the need for public services (access to cooked food for pilgrims and travelers), and greater success in good government of the city.⁸⁴

Once again we note that whereas William of Tyre wrote detailed commentary about the commission of the convent at Bethany for which Yveta was destined, he has little to say about the Convent of St. Anne, other than the fact that it was a holy place located where the immaculate Virgin Mary was said to have been born. William comments that the first wife of Baldwin I was placed there, and as a result, the king "enlarged their possessions and extended their patrimony."⁸⁵ The brevity of his narrative cannot be surprising because again, the building of St. Anne was very early and not something he witnessed or to which his attention was drawn; his clear focus was on the major project at Bethany, which he used as his major example for Melisende's art patronage.

What other benefactions can we identify with Melisende in and around Jerusalem? Bernard Hamilton summarizes his views on Melisende as a patron by saying that

throughout her life she had been a great benefactor of the church. In addition to founding the convent of Bethany she had also given endowments to the Holy Sepulchre, our Lady of Josaphat (= the tomb of the Virgin), the *Templum Domini*, the order of the Hospital, the leper hospital of St. Lazarus, and the Praemonstratensians of Saint Samuel's, Mountjoy.⁸⁶

Hans Mayer independently refers to the reputation she enjoyed among the citizens of Jerusalem for "all she had done to embellish their city."⁸⁷

With regard to these benefactions cited by others I would like to focus on one final, special aspect of her patronage and her interest in the population of the city of Jerusalem that can be related to the scope of the programs in her luxury prayerbook and of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, specifically to the program of the south transept façade. I refer to the interest which Melisende took in the Eastern Christians in the holy city and

⁸⁴ See Gaudette, "Piety, Power, and Patronage," pp. 151–52, and the discussion in her new article, "The Spending Power of a Crusader Queen," pp. 142–44.

⁸⁵ William of Tyre, Book 11, ch. 1, *A History*, vol. 1, p. 461. "...ampliauit possessiones et patrimonium dilatavit," *Chronicon*, LXIII, pp. 495–96.

⁸⁶ Hamilton, "Queens," p. 156.

⁸⁷ Mayer, "Studies," p. 169.

its environs, that is, the Orthodox Greeks,⁸⁸ the Armenians,⁸⁹ the Syrians,⁹⁰ the Jacobites,⁹¹ and others. It is an interest that flowed out of her own family background, and it was manifested in her sponsorship of these various churches of the Eastern Christians in Jerusalem. The problem is that no written evidence survives for most of these projects. Melisende's interest in and beneficent connection with them seems probable, however slender our documentation, based on other types of evidence.

We can see this interest expressed in the architectural links between the Church of St. Anne and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the one hand, projects for which Melisende is known to have made substantial endowments, and a series of other buildings owned by Eastern Christians in Jerusalem. When the mason's yard of the Church of St. Anne sent some or all of its masons to help sustain the mason's yard of the Holy Sepulchre, it is also possible that some of these stone-workers were subsequently hired or loaned out from time to time to other projects at institutions for which Melisende had given substantial financial endowments. The link that these masons created, I submit, can be seen in the style of the architecture they produced at these other churches. What I am referring to as style, as seen in the portals of St. Anne's and the south transept portals of the Holy Sepulchre, is in fact a conceptualization of what a church should look like with regard to its entry portal. It is this element of the church that after all proclaims clearly the nature and function of the structure behind it. So, for example, we find the same elements in the portals of the Eastern Christian churches which Melisende helped sponsor in Jerusalem as we find in St. Anne's and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Compare the south portal entry to the Armenian Church of St. James to the portals of St. Anne's and the Holy Sepulchre with their godrooned

⁸⁸ Melisende gave an endowment to the important Greek Orthodox monastery of St. Sabas, near Jerusalem. St. Sabas maintained a metochion with the same name in the Kidron valley in Jerusalem. See the discussion by Helen Gaudette, "Piety, Power, and Patronage," pp. 202–208. See also Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 2, pp. 258–64, nos. 216–217.

⁸⁹ Melisende gave an endowment to the Armenian patriarchal Church of St. James in the Armenian quarter of Jerusalem. See Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 3, pp. 168–82, no. 318.

⁹⁰ Melisende gave an endowment to the Syrian church in Jerusalem adjacent to the Armenian quarter. Today it is known as St. Mark's, but it was originally dedicated to St. Mary. For the church of St. Mark, see Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 3, pp. 322–26, no. 343.

⁹¹ Melisende gave an endowment to the Jacobite Monophysite church of St. Mary Magdalene in the quarter near Herod's gate. See Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 3, pp. 327–35, no. 344.

arches on the south entrance to the church (Figs. 10 and 12).⁹² Similarly, compare the godrooned arches on the main entry portal to the small Armenian Church of the Angels in the Armenian compound and the main entry portal to the precinct of the Syrian Church of St. Mark in Jerusalem to those same examples.⁹³ I consider these godrooned arches as a distinctive aspect of Melisende's architectural patronage in Jerusalem in the 1140s and 1150s.

Nurith Kenaan-Kedar has made a forceful case that, in fact, the Armenian characteristics of the Cathedral of St. James, which was built mainly by Armenian masons on the site of an earlier Georgian church in the time of Melisende (after 1141, completed by the early 1160s), were largely due to the queen's support and influence. She points to the distinctive dome with its six ribs, so different from the domes in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which she argues is twelfth century, not a thirteenth-century alteration as some have held. This dome is combined with a Byzantine-style centralized church and a Byzantine-type esonarthex—the south narthex—and what she calls an Armenian decoration system including the godroons, “a frieze accompanying the arches and cut on the surface; and ‘elbow colonnettes’.”⁹⁴ Kenaan-Kedar would have us see the godrooned arches as distinctively Armenian, as well as being related to Melisende's patronage.

There were other commissions in and around Jerusalem with which it is likely that Melisende was involved. In 1141, at the time of a papal legate's visit to Jerusalem as reported by William of Tyre, the Dome of the Rock was officially renamed as the church of the *Templum Domini*.⁹⁵ Austin canons had already started building a priory on the north side of the platform, and for the refurbishment of the *Templum Domini* it is likely that Melisende sponsored the great ironwork screen or grille that enclosed the rock on the interior under the dome (Fig. 13). There is no direct evidence

⁹² Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 247–48, Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, “Armenian Architecture in Twelfth-Century Crusader Jerusalem,” *Assaph*, Section B, Studies in Art History, 3 (1998), pp. 80–86.

⁹³ Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 136–37; Kenaan-Kedar, “Armenian Architecture,” pp. 84–86.

⁹⁴ Kenaan-Kedar, “Armenian Architecture,” p. 83.

⁹⁵ William of Tyre, Book 15, ch. 18, *A History*, vol. 2, pp. 122–23, *Chronicon*, LXIIIA, pp. 699–700.



Figure 12 Cathedral of St. James, view of the entrance portal to the main nave from the south porch (Photo: J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 248).

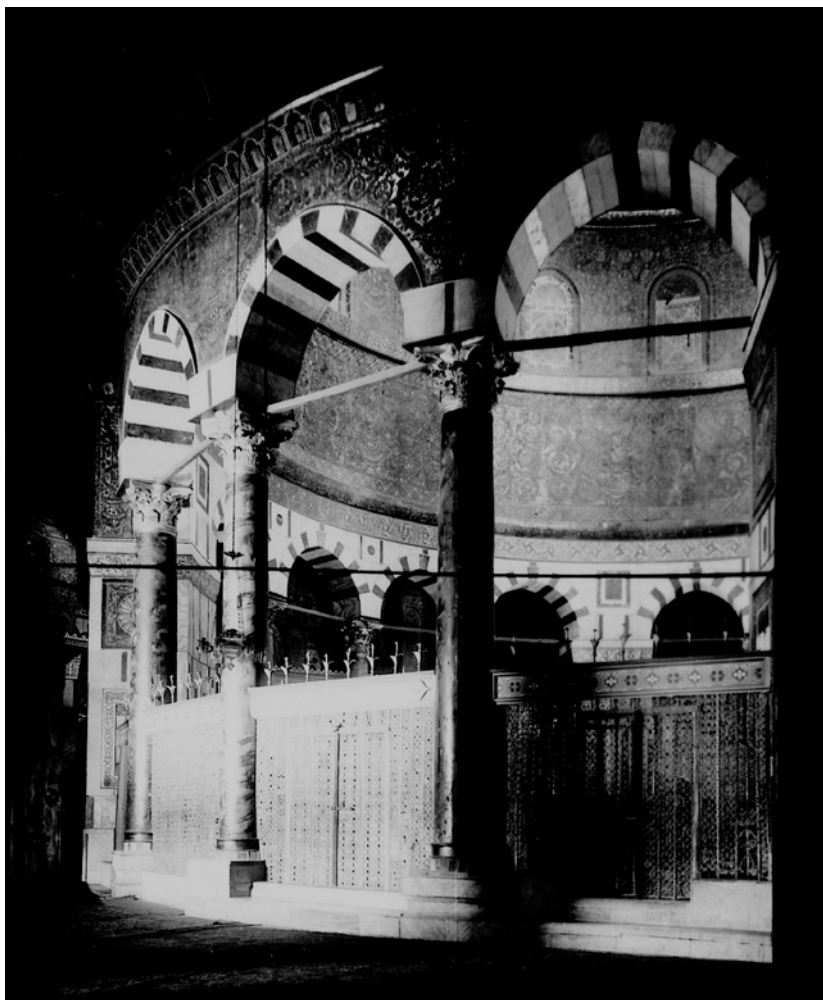


Figure 13 Dome of the Rock, interior view with the Crusader iron grille in situ. After J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 250 (Photo: Archive of Savignac/École Biblique).

for her link to the grille, but her documented endowments to the *Templum Domini* suggest she well may have been a sponsor.⁹⁶

Similarly, it is not clear what specifically Melisende may have had to do with the Premonstratensian Church of St. Samuel on the site of "Montjoie," the hill from which pilgrims coming to Jerusalem first saw the holy city.⁹⁷ We know that St. Bernard of Clairvaux wrote to Melisende ca. 1150 to encourage support for the Premonstratensians, which comprehended the rebuilding of this site.⁹⁸ We also know that they did build a church and a cloister here by about 1150, and that a charter of the Holy Sepulchre refers to this church in 1157.⁹⁹ Melisende's substantial role at the leper house of St. Lazarus just outside the walls of Jerusalem is also known, although this building is now destroyed. Denys Pringle mentions that

it was evidently endowed by the king and queen, for in 1144 Baldwin III and his mother [Melisende] confirmed his parents' donation "to the leprous *confratres* of the church of St. Lazarus that is in Jerusalem" of a piece of land, which the royal pair had purchased from a certain Syrian...¹⁰⁰

These activities, along with the major endowments and commissions discussed above, make clear the extraordinary interest and activity which Melisende took in all aspects of the spiritual and physical well-being of the diverse Christian people she ruled in the Latin Kingdom, and especially those in Jerusalem and its environs.

⁹⁶ Hans E. Mayer, "Zur Frühgeschichte des Templum Domini in Jerusalem," *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem*, Schriften der MGH, 26 (Stuttgart, 1977), pp. 222–29. Pringle has a detailed discussion of the *Templum Domini*, but does not comment on Melisende's possible link or on Mayer's discussion. See Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 3, pp. 397–417, no. 367.

⁹⁷ Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 246–47, and see the discussion in Gaudette, "Piety, Power, and Patronage," pp. 187–93.

⁹⁸ *The Letters of St. Bernard*, pp. 345–46, 348, nos. 272–73, 275. In the Leclercq and Rohais edition, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vol. 8, they are letters CCCLIV, CCLXXXIX, and CCCLV respectively, pp. 297–98, 205–06, 299.

⁹⁹ See Hans E. Mayer, "Sankt Samuel auf dem Freudenberge und sein Besitz nach einem unbekannten Diplom König Balduins V," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 44 (1964), pp. 35–71, esp. 38–39, 55, 59–61, 68–69. See also Bernard Hamilton, "Rebuilding Zion: The Holy Places of Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century," *Studies in Church History*, 14 (1977), pp. 105–16, esp. 113–14, and n. 74. For the charter of 1157, see Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire*, no. 121, pp. 244–45.

¹⁰⁰ Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 3, pp. 215–17. Helen Gaudette discusses Melisende's interest in the Order of St. Lazarus at some length in "Piety, Power, and Patronage," pp. 193–201.

When we come to the end of her life, her tomb in the valley of Jehoshaphat is the culmination of her artistic contributions to Jerusalem, in a major holy place. William of Tyre reports that she

was buried in the Valley of Jehoshaphat on the right as one descends to the sepulcher of the Blessed and Immaculate Virgin Mary, the mother of the Lord. Her body rests in a stone crypt with iron gates. Nearby is an altar where mass is celebrated daily for the healing of her soul and for the souls of all Christians who had died in the Lord.¹⁰¹

William mentions her death but does not discuss her patronage here, possibly because she had died in 1161, four years before he returned to Jerusalem from western Europe, and he did not start writing his history until 1167. Nonetheless, given the fact that Morfia, Melisende's mother, was buried here, Melisende was intensely interested in this foundation.¹⁰² With this in mind and the fact that Melisende was to be buried in a tomb across the stairway from Morfia,¹⁰³ and given the solicitousness of her son, Baldwin III, and especially her sisters, Yveta and Hodierna, for her well-being as she came to the end of her life, it is likely that Melisende's wishes regarding this tomb were sought out and followed. The site of the Virgin's tomb, at the Abbey of St. Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, came to be identified as the place of choice for the tombs of the queens of Jerusalem in the reigns of Baldwin II, Melisende, and Baldwin III.¹⁰⁴ And certainly one can say that whereas the tombs of the kings of Jerusalem were located in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre near the place of Calvary and the Anointing Stone, Melisende's tomb was accorded special prominence by the presence of its own separate chamber, the size of the chapel, and the

¹⁰¹ William of Tyre, Book 18, ch. 32, *A History*, vol. 2, p. 291. "Sepulta est autem inclite recordationis domina Milissendis, angelorum choris inserenda, in valle Iosaphat, descendentibus ad sepulchrum beate et intemerate dei genitricis et virginis Marie ad dexteram, in cripta lapidea ianuis ferreis precepta, altare habens vicinum, ubi tam pro remedio anime eius quam pro spiritibus omnium fidelium defunctorum acceptabiles cotidie creatori offeruntur hostie," *Chronicon*, LXIII, p. 858.

¹⁰² Gaudette, "Piety, Power, and Patronage," pp. 181–87, discusses Melisende's documentation here including a charter on which her personal seal was attached. The charter in question is RRH no. 359, and it is discussed by Gustav Schlumberger, et al., *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin* (Paris, 1943), pp. 5–6.

¹⁰³ Kenaan-Kedar, "Armenian Architecture," p. 87, suggests the possibility that Morfia, Melisende's mother, was also buried in the same chamber with her. Given Kenaan-Kedar's identification of Armenian characteristics for this tomb chamber and for the dome, I think it is more likely Morfia was buried in a chamber on the opposite side of the stairs and that this chamber was solely designed for Melisende (pp. 86–89).

¹⁰⁴ On this church, see Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 3, pp. 287–306, no. 337.

architecture of the round tambour with domed vault and windows over the main space near the tomb of the Virgin Mary (see Figs. 3 and 14).¹⁰⁵

We conclude with the impressive encomium of William of Tyre:

Melisende, the king's mother, was a woman of great wisdom who had had much experience in all kinds of secular matters. She had risen so far above the normal status of women that she dared to undertake important measures. It was her ambition to emulate the magnificence of the greatest and noblest princes and to show herself in no wise inferior to them. Since her son was as yet under age, she ruled the kingdom and administered the government with such skillful care that she may be said truly to have equaled her ancestors in that respect.¹⁰⁶

Bearing in mind that these words were written about Melisende at the start of her "regency" in 1143, not at the end of her life in 1161, what William has to say is truly remarkable.¹⁰⁷ He himself states that she emulated "the magnificence of the greatest and noblest princes," which I interpret to mean that she sought by the power of her rule and by the generosity and abundance of her patronage to equal the greatest kings. To that end we might ask, what was the scope of her patronage? First it is clear that her patronage was wide-ranging, encompassing the political and the artistic world of the Latin Kingdom, but largely focused on Jerusalem and its environs, on the major churches and religious orders of the Latin Kingdom, and, of course, on the royal family. Second, her patronage was lavish and it was more or less continuous from the 1130s until her death in 1161, but was most concentrated in the period from the late 1130s through the 1140s and into the early 1150s. Third, primarily it was focused on the churches,

¹⁰⁵ On the tomb of Melisende, see Albert Prodomo, "The Tomb of Queen Melisenda," in *New Discoveries at the Tomb of Virgin Mary in Gethsemane*, ed. B. Bagatti et al., trans. L. Sciberras (Jerusalem, 1975), pp. 83–93, and Kenaan-Kedar, "Armenian Architecture," pp. 86–89. See also Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 324–28.

¹⁰⁶ William of Tyre, Book 16, ch. 3, *A History*, vol. 2, pp. 139–40. "Erat autem mater mulier prudentissima, plenam pene in omnibus secularibus negociis habens experientiam, sexus feminei plane vincens conditionem, ita ut manum mitteret ad fortia et optimorum principum magnificentiam niteretur emulari et eorum studia passu non inferior sectari. Regnum enim, filio adhuc infra puberes annos constituto, tanta rexit industria, tanto procuravit moderamine, ut progenitores suos in ea parte equare merito diceretur..." *Chronicon*, LXIII, p. 717.

¹⁰⁷ At the time he was writing his account of the 1160s, other than noting the death of the queen, clearly William of Tyre saw no reason to return to a further encomium and summary of the achievements of Melisende. In the early 1140s she was at the height of her political power, whereas by 1161 she had receded from power and influence, but not from beloved memory. William of Tyre states, Book 18, ch. 32: "Queen Melisende of illustrious memory, thenceforward to dwell with the angelic host, was buried in the valley of Jehoshaphat..." (*A History*, vol. 2, p. 291, *Chronicon*, LXIII, p. 858). See above, n. 101.

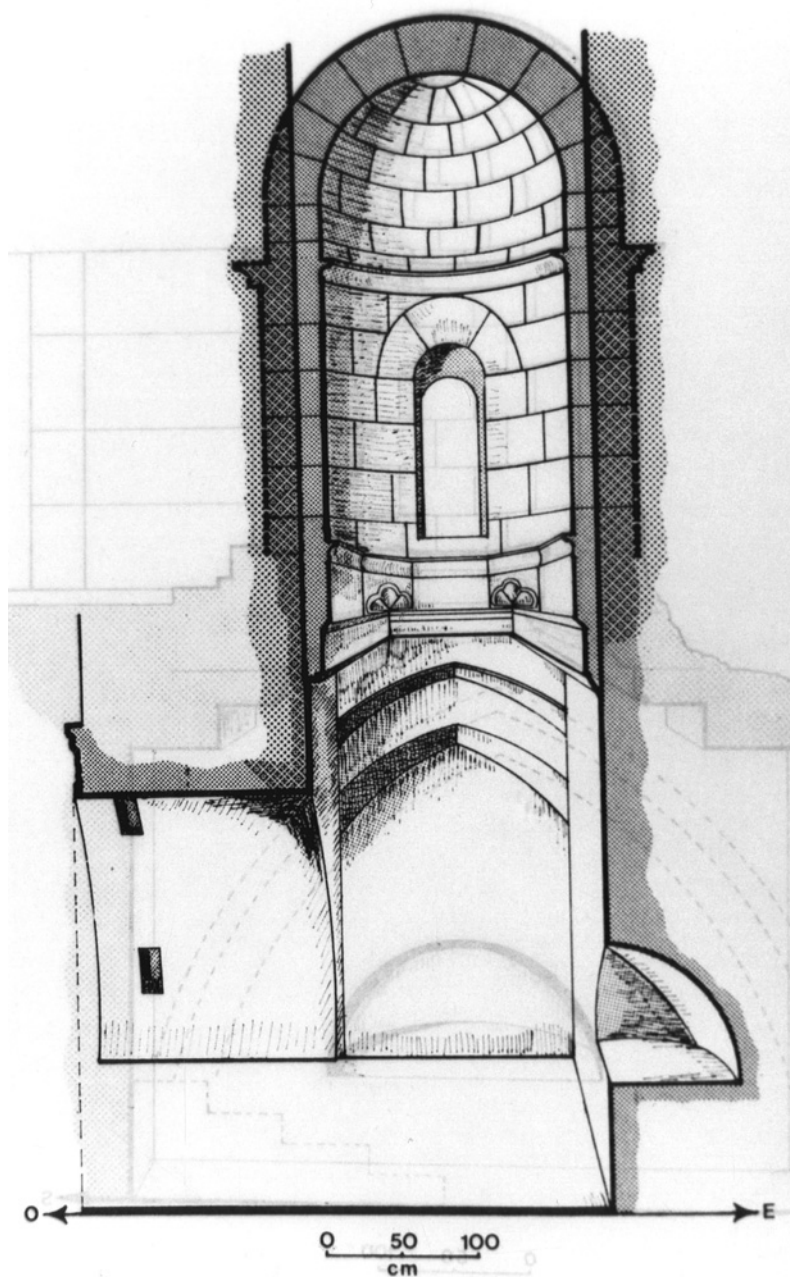


Figure 14 Tomb of Queen Melisende: east-west section reconstructed by A. Prodomo. After J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 325 (Drawing: A. Prodomo).

convents, and monasteries that were associated with the Christian peoples of her kingdom and with major Christian holy sites, and it centered on those ecclesiastical organizations and institutions that serviced and protected the sites.

In the words of William II, Archbishop of Tyre, and St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Melisende was a great queen. But how important finally was her patronage? I propose that her sponsorship was crucial and essential as a major stimulus to the new art and architecture of the Crusaders and that Melisende used her patronage to enhance, strengthen, and unify the people and the religious institutions in her kingdom. Looking carefully at the written and material evidence we have for documentation, I think it is fair to say that Melisende was the greatest art patron in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem during the twelfth century.

Postscript

Hans E. Mayer's magnificent new publication, *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Koenige von Jerusalem: Diplomata regum Latinorum Ierosolymitanorum*, ed. Hans E. Mayer (Monumenta Germaniae Historica) 4 vols. (Hanover, 2010), arrived too late to be incorporated into the documentation for my article. Readers who wish to compare the Roehricht editions of documents cited in the notes above may find the new editions with commentaries and bibliography in Mayer's magisterial publication by utilizing the "Konkordanz" at the end of vol. 4, pp. 1809–12.