A FRESCO IN THE VALLEY: THE JEHOSHAPHAT DEĒSIS

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Cover: Detail of the fresco acanthus scroll frieze
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Foreword

It is our pleasure to present this first issue of the *Israel Museum Studies in Archaeology: Occasional Publications*, supplementing the Israel Museum Studies in Archaeology. This issue is devoted to a single subject: an iconographic study by Dr. Avital Heyman of the fresco in the Abbey of the Tomb of Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, within the socio-cultural context of Crusader Jerusalem.

Since its installation, this fresco has become one of the most significant exhibits in the permanent collection of the Crusader period in the Holy Land, which is housed in the Samuel and Saidye Bronfman Archaeology Wing of the Israel Museum. The fresco was discovered during excavations carried out in 1999 by the Israel Antiquities Authority, under the direction of Dr. Jon Seligman, then the Jerusalem Regional Archaeologist. Dr. Seligman was the first to publish the fresco with Prof. Iris Shagrir's reading of the inscription (Seligman 2012; Shagrir 2012). We are greatly indebted to the Israel Antiquities Authority for the permanent loan of the fresco and to the dedicated conservation team who conducted the painstaking and complex restoration process. We offer deepest appreciation to Eng. Jacques Neguer (then the Head of Art Conservation, Israel Antiquities Authority) and to his team: Ghaleb Abu Diab, Mark Avrahami, Vladimir Bitman, Madjed Diab, Hone Finkel, Olga Finkelstein, Alexei Ronkin, Dr. Natalia Ronkin and Elisheva Yardeni. We would also like to thank Haim Kapshitz for graphic documentation, Nicky Davidov, Avraham Hay, Eli Pozner and Zohar Shemesh for photographic documentation, Prof. Maurizio Tagliapietra, from Verona, Italy for conservation consultation and Dr. Pietro Rosano, Padova, Italy for sample analysis and interpretation.

We are thankful to James Snyder, the former director of the Israel Museum, for his support and efforts to secure funds for this costly and complex endeavor.

We acknowledge with gratitude the generosity of the family and friends of Renée D. Beningson, who ensured the display of the fresco, in her memory, with the help of the American Friends of the Israel Museum. Renée and her husband Robert were wholeheartedly committed to the Israel Museum. An active member of the Executive Committee of the American Friends of the Israel Museum, Renée's last project for the Museum was the creation in New York of the "BCE Circle," formed to support and encourage programs relating to the cultures of the ancient world.

We also express our thanks and acknowledge the crucial role of Na'ama Brosh, the former curator of Islamic Art and Archaeology, who recognized the importance of displaying the fresco in the Museum and making it accessible to the public, while also initiating and supporting the academic research of Dr. Avital Heyman, published herein. The current curator of Islamic Art and Archaeology, Liza Lurie, carried on this initiative and ensured that the publication of the fresco came to fruition, with the support of Dr. Haim Gitler and Alison Ashenberg, respectively, Chief Curator of Archaeology and Coordinator of the Archaeology Wing.

The Editor
Israel Museum Studies in Archaeology

A FRESCO IN THE VALLEY: THE JEHOSHAPHAT DEĒSIS

Avital Heyman
Independent Scholar

"Painting is poetry that is seen rather than felt, and poetry is painting that is felt rather than seen."— *Leonardo da Vinci*

This paper is dedicated to Professor Herbert Kessler on his eightieth birthday.*

* **I dedicate this paper to Professor Herbert Kessler**, a giant of art historians and the innkeeper of the *Sancta Sanctorum bellae artis*. As holder of the tabernacle of the Holy of Holies, Professor Kessler is the only person allowed access, owing to his penetrating perception of features and faces in clouds hovering over us, especially in these Covid days: "In sancta sanctorum intrare, et intra ipsum velum arcam Domini videre … et idem nihilominus sit illum se in nebulam, istum se intra velum ingerere … Secretum illud divinae revelationis alloquium subintrabat" (Richard of St. Victor, *Beniamin maior*, bk. 4.23, PL 196, 167A–168C, "To enter into the Holy of Holies, and to see the Ark of the Lord within the very veil. . . and let it be the same, nevertheless, that he cast himself into the cloud, that he cast himself within the veil. . . He entered into that divine revelation's secret"). Thus, not only does Professor Kessler disperse the clouds for us, waiting at the mountain's foot, he even brings us the beauty of the tabernacle that he guards so well, to prettify our solitudes.

I wish to thank Ido Bruno, former director of the Israel Museum, together with Yael Shinar, for encouraging me to pursue this research project, which was initiated by Na'ama Brosh, former curator of Islamic Art and Archaeology. Following Na'ama's vision, the fresco was transported from the valley to the Museum, infecting the entire Archaeology Wing—Silvia Rozenberg and Liza Lurie—and me with her enthusiasm. Liza is to be thanked for her caring, unflinching support and patience throughout the Covid period. I extend my gratitude to Amnon Linder, Esther Cohen, Yvonne Friedman, Rachel Gellert, Iris Shagrir and Yitzhak Hen who offered multiple insights and support, without which I myself would have prolonged my stay in the valley, waiting for the day of judgement. Indeed, when the end of days was looming, Ruth Jackson-Tal and Ezra Marcus offered the most exquisite and attentive editorship in good faith, helping me make my dream come true. Any shortcomings are mine. Unless otherwise specified, translations from the Latin are mine. Following Professor Kessler's suggestion, I hope to work on a monograph on the frescoes. In addition, various aspects of this study are elaborated in my forthcoming books (Heyman, forthcoming a; forthcoming b): *Veiled Kinship: Melisende's Threading Aesthetics*; *Melisende, King of Jerusalem*: *Frankish Aesthetics, Hybrid Performance and Visual Transformations*.

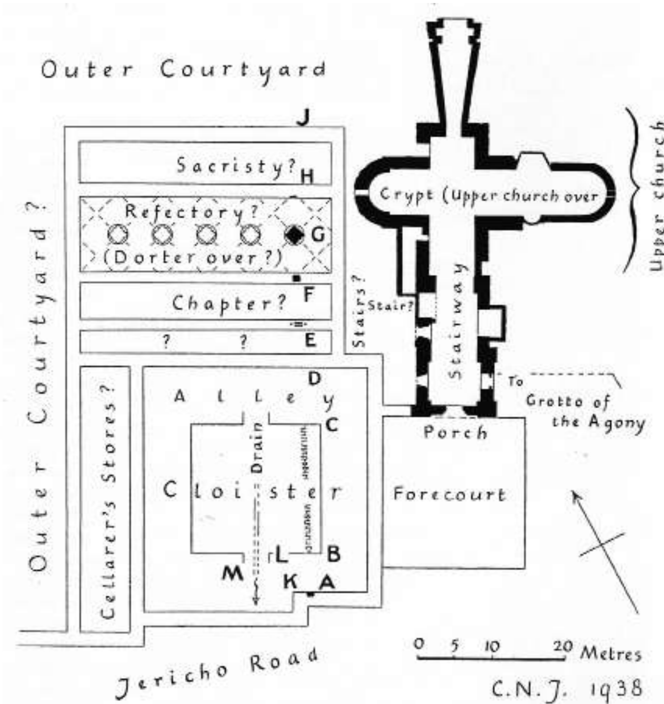
Inundations in the Valley and an Unexpected Discovery

Great archaeological discoveries are often the result of a combination of serendipity and heavy machinery. Such was the case in 2000, when an emergency public works project to alleviate massive flooding and mudslides in the Kidron Valley, which inter alia periodically inundated the Abbey Church enshrining the Tomb of Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (i.e., the upper reaches of the Kidron), demanded the excavation of a drainage ditch with a Caterpillar D2 tractor. Under the keen, watchful eyes of Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) archaeologists, earthmoving equipment cleared off heaps of mud and alluvium until suddenly a beautiful fresco containing a Deēsis was revealed (IAA 2009–1362; Fig. 1). [1] The fresco had adorned the northern wall of a nearly-ruined Crusader hall that formed part of the Abbey's monastic compound (Fig. 2).[2]

Already Bede the Venerable (672–735) recorded that in times of rain, the valley would flood.[3] William of Tyre (1130–1186) described the valley in wintertime as swelling "by torrential rains," and that throngs of pilgrims venerated a "noble church" there, enshrining the sepulcher of Mary. Moreover, citing John 18:1, William added that a garden lay there.[4] The valley's garden topography was conveyed with reflective symbolism, discussed below, probably following William's observation that in "the land where the Lord deigned to appear in the flesh, it is customary to make a free use of parables."[5]

Benedictine monks settled in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, at the base of Gethsemane, in the pre-Crusader period, with the support of Italian merchants from Amalfi.[6] William of Tyre tells us that Godfrey of Bouillon (1060–1100) founded the Abbey and describes generous donations.[7] The first charter of the Abbey's Cartulary recounts the 1112 Crusader rebuilding, thanks to a donation of Patriarch Arnulf of Chocques (d. 1118), at the request of the Abbot Hugh (abbacy: 1112–1117). The charter names several more donors and mentions the unanimous consent of King Baldwin I (r. 1100–1118), the bishops and canons.[8] Confirmation Charter XIX, issued by the Patriarch William (1130–1145), indicates that the Abbot Hugh also established a hospital for the poor, which was supported by a donor confraternity. The confreres were distinguished members of the royal house, beginning with King Baldwin I.[9] The assumption

1. The initial exposure of the fresco (courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority).



2. Jerusalem, Abbey of Tomb of Mary, monastic compound, ground plan (after Johns 1939, Fig. 7).

of this present work is that the destroyed monastic hall was that very hospital, of whose confraternity two confreres flank the central, almost completely ruined, intercessory scene of the Deēsis (Figs. 3, 4), which recurs in Byzantine, Armenian and other eastern compositions, and is later adopted in the West.[10] The lower part shows a beautiful, western acanthus frieze (Figs. 5–7), framed by Latin inscriptions, which were only partially preserved (Figs. 3–7). Imitation fine textiles are depicted beneath the flowering acanthus frieze: a central design evoking embroidered Sasanian-style silk is flanked by two decorated white background draperies (Figs. 3, 4, 8).

In the present study, I propose to place the imagery within the context of contemporary modes of seeing and exegetical scrutiny of the socio-cultural milieu of Crusader Jerusalem.[11] As a visual and historiographic conundrum, I examine first the content and style of the fresco and then discuss its multilayered significance in connection with its possible patron, Queen Melisende of Jerusalem (1105–1161; actual rule: 1131–1153), her kinship, and her Marian devotional vision to convert Jerusalem into a cosmopolitan pilgrimage center.

Born in the Latin East to Baldwin II of Bourcq (Count of Edessa from 1100–1118; King of Jerusalem from 1118 until his death in 1131) and the Armenian noblewoman Morphia of Melitene, cultural diversity was not foreign to Melisende.[12] Fulk of Anjou (1089 or 1092–1143) married Melisende in 1129 and, after the death of her father, became King of Jerusalem in 1131, a title he maintained until his premature death in 1143.[13] Fulk was reluctant to a coregency with Melisende at the beginning of their reign, resulting in the fierce opposition of the queen and her allies. Supported by the Church and the nobility, Melisende became a powerful queen-consort, thus overcoming the limitations of her gender in a male-dominated society. Moreover, representing the Montlhéry clan discussed below, Melisende secured the clan's interests against Fulk's maneuvers, wrestling to install his Angevin compatriots, and dismissing his father-in-law's officials.[14]

The increasing interest of Melisende in acts of patronage was conveyed in the application of core symbols and ideas,[15] associated with pilgrimage, mediation and devotion, such as the Deēsis scene (Figs. 3, 4), along contemplative ornamental patterns, such as the fresco's intrinsic components, the acanthus and imitated silks (Figs. 5–8). Inevitably, the fresco's gradual disposition from bottom to top of silks, acanthus and Deēsis, calls for exegetical scrutiny. The invasive nature of the acanthus, shooting out coils that turn and then grow on the face of the earth, seems decoratively and symbolically to have defined the surfaces of the shrines that Melisende reshaped. Spreading upwards without concern for the drawn boundaries, the acanthus prevailed. Thus, Melisende designed the overall devotional landscape of Jerusalem, and defined its metaphorical confines as a meta-arena of a Christian process, seeking legitimacy in holy figures, such as the Virgin Mary, as well as in reflective biblical and exegetical paradigms of ornament and decor.

3. The maximum preservation of the Deēsis fresco on display in the Israel Museum (Photo © the Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Zohar Shemesh). Center: Remnants of Deēsis Triad: Christ enthroned (center), Virgin (left) and John the Baptist (right). Two additional figures appeared on either side of the Deēsis Triad (probably Patriarch William and King Fulk of Anjou). Left: Donor (William of Buris; see Fig. 10). Right: Donor (Dominus Balian of Ibelin; see Fig. 9). Acanthus frieze (see Figs. 5-7), framed by inscriptions. Bottom (dado): decorative silk curtains. (See the central embroidered tapestry, Fig. 8). (Donor identification is mine; AH)

The Deēsis Hall Decoration (Figs. 2–11)

The fresco is divided into three parts, in various states of preservation:

- The upper part, of which only scanty remains survived, had a five-figure Deēsis group (Figs. 3, 4).
- An acanthus scroll, accompanied by bordering inscriptions (not all of which are legible), is painted beneath the Deēsis (Figs. 5–7).
- Painted textiles cover the lower part (the dado) of the destroyed wall. Two donors complete the scene on either side (Figs. 3, 4, 8–10).
- An additional sketch of a knight was discovered, forming a previous layer of the fresco that was later covered (Fig. 11). We would not have known of this early phase had it not been necessary to transfer the fresco to the museum.

4. Close-up of the Deēsis scene. Center: Christ enthroned. Left: Virgin. Right: John the Baptist (Photo © the Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Avraham Hay).

The Deēsis Group (Figs. 3, 4)

Remnants of the Deēsis scene stand at the center of the Crusader fresco. A central triad, consisting of the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist flanking Christ in supplicatory gestures, forms the essence of the Deēsis, and as in our case, additional figures also appear. However, as only the lower part of the painted wall survived, only the feet of five figures may still be seen in varied states of preservation. A fragmentary and majestically decorated throne occupies the center of the fresco, enthroning the figure of Christ (Fig. 4), of whom only his bare feet survive in faded color, resting on a reddish-brown cushion, which was likely placed over a footstool. The lavish throne that accommodated Christ Pantocrator (in Greek, "the Ruler of All") is decorated with brown architectonic niches and rondures, parts of which include the now worn imitation of precious stones and gems. A fragment of a reddish-brown brocade, dotted with some black circles appears to the right of the throne. Of Christ's sky-blue mantle and royal purple gown, incised with gold lines along the red and black drapery folds, only some traces remain.[16]

To Christ's right, the Virgin's royal purple boots emerge beneath the remnants of her royal gown, comprising a blue undergarment and a red-brown maphorion (Figs. 3, 4). The Virgin's purple footwear recurs in the Psalter of Melisende's Deēsis (British Library, Egerton 1139, fol. 12v. Fig. 12), saliently entwined with Mary's Assumption (fol. 12r), replicating the Jehoshaphat Deēsis (Figs. 3, 4) with the locus of the Virgin's Assumption in the valley, insinuating Mary's paradigmatic role in Melisende's religiosity.[17] The Virgin *Glykophilousa* ("She who kisses [her Child] sweetly") in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, which is dated to the 1130s, wears the same footwear,[18] as she does in the Deēsis at Abu Ghosh (Fig. 13) and the St. Helen Chapel at Bethlehem (Fig. 14).

John the Baptist stood to the left of Christ. Only his bare feet, the lower part of a light-brown garment, and a tiny portion of a gray maphorion with a black border, survive (Figs. 3, 4). Their positions suggest that the Virgin and the Baptist were gesturing

5. Detail of the acanthus, with an earlier blue meandering pattern layer and some vegetal scrolls (Photo © the Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Zohar Shemesh).

6. Detail of the acanthus (Photo © the Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Zohar Shemesh).

7. Detail of the acanthus (Photo © the Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Avraham Hay).

8. Detail of the Sasanian-like embroidery in the center of the fresco (Photo © the Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Zohar Shemesh).

toward the enthroned Christ in supplication. On either side of the central triad are miniscule remains of the shoed feet of two subsidiary figures, presumably churchmen or courtiers who would have been members of the hospital's confraternity.

The Acanthus Scroll (Figs. 3–7)

Over a white background, an impressive, colorful acanthus frieze is painted, immediately beneath the celestial Deēsis. An earlier blue layer, comprising a meandering pattern and some vegetal scrolls, may be discerned beneath the stunning plant (Fig. 5). The acanthus tendrils, emanating from a series of powerful cores, scroll elegantly over the entire horizontal strip (Figs. 3–7). The fine stems and the circular flowers, coils and wisps, are colored in green, reddish-brown, and yellow. Some white dots decorate the greenish and brown leafs, and a cone-like fruit shoots out as a central motif.

The painted acanthus and its cone-like fruit resemble the acanthus of the Holy Sepulcher's eastern lintel (today in the

9. Detail of the right donor, Balian I of Ibelin according to my reconstruction (Photo © the Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Zohar Shemesh).

Rockefeller Museum; Figs. 15, 16).[19] The acanthus, which seems to have scrolled over all the shrines linked with Melisende's patronage, is divided into an elaborated abstract pattern as in our fresco (Figs. 3–7), in the Church of the Nativity (Fig. 17; compare to the later Armenian doors, Fig. 18), in the Templum Solomonis (Al-Aqsa, Dikka pulpit, Fig. 19), or in an inhabited scroll, as in the Holy Sepulcher (Figs. 15, 16), the Tomb of Mary (Fig. 21), and elsewhere (Fig. 20). Floral ornamentation, whose substantial exegetical purpose is discussed below, should be defined as a subtly elastic, undergirded decorum, and a knitting cyclification, interlacing buildings and objects, East and West. We should not underestimate the impact of floral decorations. They are known to have dazzled the viewers in the palace of John I of Ibelin (1179–1236) in Beirut.[20]

A quasi-arabesque decoration whitewashes the acanthus in some parts (Fig. 7). Rather than being part of the original painting, it was added later. Some residues of the acanthus that bordered the Deēsis are visible to the left, together with solely vertical grey-black, blue, red, and yellow lines, the only

10. Detail of the left donor, William of Buris according to my reconstruction (Photo © the Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Zohar Shemesh).

remains of the hall's left wall (Fig. 3), employing the same palette of the larger Deēsis (northern) wall.

The Painted Textiles (Figs. 3, 4, 8)

Beneath the colorful acanthus, on the dado (i.e., the lower part of the wall), are three painted curtains: two white-grounded, almost identical (Figs. 3, 4), attached with round painted rings and flanking a rich Byzantine embroidery (Fig. 8). A repeating black and reddish arrowed pattern and green-circled cross-like forms decorate these draperies. Black and grey lines accentuate the white curtains' clumsy folds, and two greenish-black strokes divide them horizontally. The painted hangings are suspended from a reddish-brown rod, completed with an embroidered heading that evokes pearls and rubies. The dotted stones resemble those of the Deēsis' throne of Christ of the Psalter of Melisende (Fig. 12) and the *Glykophilousa* Virgin's stool in Bethlehem.[21]

A distinct Sasanian-like cloth occupies the center of the dado, beneath the imposing throne of Christ (Figs. 3, 4, 8), decorated with medallions, enclosing heraldic birds of prey.[22] An eight green-pointed foliate anchor-like motif fills in the space between the medallions. The brocade lacks any folds, seeming to be attached directly to the wall. Saint Stephen on one of the frescoed columns in Bethlehem wears a similar bird-patterned robe.[23] Apparently, the falcon-like birds imply the name of King Fulk. Painted and real Byzantine textiles formed a conspicuous feature in Crusader Jerusalem. The documentary evidence shows that the Crusader court exceedingly favored rich textiles, imported from the eastern Mediterranean, for adorning cultic and aristocratic settings alike, as hangings or the preferred regalia.[24]

The Donors (Figs. 3, 9, 10)

Cloaked in ochre-brown tunics, two lay donors genuflect beyond the acanthus frieze, where they flank the white-backgrounded drapery. Only their torsos survived; their heads were completely effaced. The right donor (Fig. 9) is seen from the back, while the left one (Fig. 10) is depicted in a three-quarter view.

Unfortunately, the donors' names were poorly preserved. The inscription (in four incomplete lines) of the donor on the right (Fig. 9) makes use of the abbreviation DS (DOMINUS), while the lower edges of the letters S and C appear above it. The letters IENU[S?], which may be restored to the name BALIENUS, appear in the third row. Dominus Balianus of Ibelin (otherwise known as Barisanus; d. 1150) is mentioned regularly in the Cartulary of the Abbey in the first half of the twelfth century. The fourth row, which includes the letter P with the edges of ET, might have formed the word PETITIO, involving the donors in a petition, which reflects the basic, intercessory idea of the Deēsis, in keeping with one of the donation charter formularies.[25]

The two-line inscription of the left donor (Fig. 10) is more difficult to decipher and reconstruct. Only a double LL survived followed by EMT beneath it. I would complete the letters LL and EM to restore the name [WI]LLE[L]M[US] (of Buris). The T would stand for TIBERIADE. William of Buris was the Prince of Tiberias during the years 1119/20–1157, otherwise known as the Prince of Galilee. William appears alongside Balian I of Ibelin as a major donor in the charters.[26]

The Border Inscriptions (Fig. 4)

A thinner ochre-red band of white-lettered inscriptions frame the acanthus. The upper inscription reads:

> [QU]ISQ[U]IS AMAT [D]ICTIS [?] ABSENT[UM] R[ODE]RE
> VITAM HANC [ME]NSAM INDI[G]NAM NOVERIT ESSE SUAM
>
> "Whoever likes to gnaw with words at the lives of those absent, should know that he is undeserving of this table."

Iris Shagrir traced the source of the inscription to the fifth century *Life of Saint Augustine* written by Possidius,[27] originating from the first Satire of the Roman poet Horace (65–68 BCE).[28] I was able to follow the QUISQUIS AMAT DICTIS, upper inscription in various texts from the seventh through the seventeenth centuries (inscribed also in two seventeenth-

century paintings), which all signify a moral lesson in reference to proper and improper speech.[29]

The upper inscription continues with several legible words:

BEAT[U]S QVI M[AN]SUERIT ORI SUO S[?]

"Blessed is he who keeps his mouth …"

Only a few words of the lower inscription are identifiable, and presumably, one word preserves part of Melisende's name:

[?]ST … E[?]C[?]V[?] [?] FRATRES TACITO REN[OVATIO] C[?] T[?] … DIEM [M]E[LISEN]DES SACRA CE[L]E[S]T[IS] PANIS E[NIM] …

? … Brothers, (while they kept) silent … Renovation … Day Melisende. Sacred Celestial Bread for

Despite the lower inscription's poor preservation, it seems to evoke a triple emphasis on appropriate as opposed to inappropriate modes of speech. The upper inscription refers to the improper gossiping about the lives of the absent and continues with a blessing (BEATUS. Fig. 6) conferred on the one who keeps his mouth shut (the words are missing here), thus avoiding excessive talk. Then it says that while the brothers were silent (FRATRES TACITO; Fig. 7), something happened, which is obscured though by the lacuna.[30] The word RENOVATIO, after which there is again a lacuna, is followed by the word DIEM and the name of Melisende, apparently commemorating Melisende's patronage of the hall's decoration by an act of renovation of the Abbey.

The subsequent words SACRA CELESTIS PANIS ENIM (i.e., sacred celestial bread; Figs. 5, 6), suggest a Eucharistic meaning. The Eucharistic trope is tracked in the antiphon recited during Mass, originating in John, 6:33: "Panis enim Dei est qui descendit de caelo et dat vitam mundo" ("For the bread of God is that which cometh down from Heaven and giveth life to the world"). The hospital's statutes discussed below, regulating liturgical and charitable acts,[31] offer, in my view, a firm reference.

The Mysterious Knight (Fig. 11)

Underneath the painting on the left, the archaeologists exposed an unfinished sketch of a mounted knight (today exhibited in the Israel Museum separately from the Deēsis). Apparently, it was not meant to be seen, as the Deēsis was superimposed over it. The mounted knight holds a spear, positioned diagonally across his body.[32] This skillfully drawn figure might have served as a small study for an image intended to adorn another wall. I propose identifying the figure with King Fulk who died in 1143, when he fell off his horse while hunting.[33] As noted above, the central drape's falcons suggest his name. It may be that the full figure of Fulk appeared on one of the destroyed walls of the hall. Unfortunately, we will never know anything about the remaining three walls' decorations.

The Abbey of the Tomb of Mary

The transformative course of actual pilgrimage through the depths of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the place where the prophet Joel (3:2–12) had maintained that the Last Judgement would take place, was expected to uplift the spirit of the pilgrim to the heights of Heaven. The shrine enclosing the tomb of the Virgin was located at the northern end of the valley. A church had existed there from the late fourth century, destroyed by the Persians in 614 and rebuilt soon after, probably by the Patriarch Modestus of Jerusalem (d. 630).[34] Sacred history, East and West, recounted that the Virgin Mary died on Mount Zion, was buried in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, from where she had been bodily assumed to Heaven.[35] Approaching Mary's Tomb, the Crusaders held a solemn procession around it on 8 July 1099, following the biblical pattern of the Children of Israel, ritually walking around the walls of Jericho (Josh. 6).[36] Having departed on the feast of the Assumption on 15 August 1096,[37] it was only natural that the Crusaders would complete their victorious journey at the place from where the Mother of God, *mediatrix* and protector,[38] was assumed into the celestial kingdom. To appear actually and substantially

11. Detail of the layer preceding the Deēsis fresco with a depiction of a knight (Photo © the Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Avraham Hay).

as glorious spiritually and historically, the Crusaders were keen to erect a bigger, more resplendent edifice at the site.

William of Tyre reports that Duke Godfrey of Bouillon entrusted the sanctuary to an austere group of monks that had accompanied him from Lorraine.[39] In 1102–1103, the first Abbot Hugh (1112–1117) remitted a moving appeal for funds:

> The place where the tomb of the glorious Virgin is situated has been so wantonly laid waste and ruined by the heathen, that it is clear that the brethren in that place have nowhere to live where they may serve God and His Mother in accordance with the Rule of Saint Benedict.

Hugh promised two weekly Masses at the shrine for living and dead donors.[40] His heartbreaking appeal was met willingly, leading him in 1112 to regulate the benefactions within a donor confraternity to support a pilgrim hospital, which, in my view, housed the fresco under discussion. Pope Pascal II confirmed Hugh's foundation in 1113. The papal confirmation

mentioned the Abbey's burial rights and reception of alms from the deceased. Later popes reconfirmed the almsgiving and the burials, which generated special liturgical arrangements, boosting both the Abbey's prosperity and the spiritual reward inherent in such engagements.[41]

The Cartulary names the early officers of the hospital: Ascelinus, the *Gubernator hospitalis* (hospital governor), and Petrus, the *Elemosinarius* (in charge of alms), although no further mention was found of either of them.[42] Among the confraternity's benefactors, we find the royal house and members of the Crusader nobility. The donors, Balian of Ibelin (Constable of Jaffa, Fig. 9), and William I of Buris (Prince of Galilee, Fig. 10) recur in the listings of the Abbey's possessions. In 1114, Roger, Prince of Antioch reconfirmed the almshouse and the donations granted to it, in return for monastic prayers on his behalf.[43] The Abbey acquired rich assets within and without the Kingdom of Jerusalem. In 1165, John of Würzburg recorded that the Abbey owned the entire Kedron Valley.[44] Along the slope of the Mount of Olives, a short distance from the Tomb of Mary, the Crusaders rebuilt the Church of Gethsemane, dedicated to the Savior (*Ecclesia Salvatoris*), mentioned in several medieval maps also as a *hortum* (garden). The monks of Jehoshaphat administered pilgrimage rites and visits at both holy sites.[45]

The Crusaders constructed a great staircase leading to the Byzantine crypt enshrining the Tomb of Mary, a lavish façade, and an upper church (Fig. 2). There was probably no internal communication between the upper and lower churches. This division allowed pilgrims to descend the staircase to venerate the Tomb of Mary, without disturbing the daily routine of the monastic community. Medieval maps dating from c. 1150–1180 suggest that the upper church was a Romanesque basilica, oriented east-west with an eastern apse and bulky twin towers at the west end.[46] The original crypt, in the form of a cross-shaped chapel, was carved into the rock that originally surrounded the traditional Tomb of Mary.[47] It was richly decorated with paintings and inscriptions, none of which survived. The Tomb of Mary itself was reshaped in a new remarkable form: atop, the Crusaders built a baldachin, which also did not survive, that was adorned with marble reliefs and inscriptions, glorifying the Virgin and her Assumption to Heaven.[48] According to the German pilgrim, John of Würzburg (1165), an inscription inscribed on the no-longer extant Crusader ciborium, referred to the mediatory role of the Virgin, specifically in that place:

> Here is the Valley of Jehoshaphat; from here, a path leads to the stars. Here Mary was buried, trusting in the Lord. From here, lifted up inviolate, she sought the Heavens. Hope of captives, their way, light and mother.

The Virgin, light and mother, provides hope to captives (metaphorically, and literally, given the warlike Crusader reality). She directed and lit their way. Theodoric, who followed John of Würzburg to the Holy Land in 1172, indicated a similar epigram.[49] These and other lines engraved around the Tomb of Mary were apparently taken from antiphons recited on the Feast of the Assumption.[50]

Perhaps looking upwards, John of Würzburg interprets the hovering canopy as the starry Heavens that Mary, "via, lux et mater," offers the captives. John of Würzburg, however, was not the only onlooker seeking celestial aspirations. Describing the chapels Gregory the Illuminator (d. c. 332) had built in Valarshapat, after his and King Trdat's conversion, to amend for their previous destruction, Agathangelos enshrouds a visionary ekphrasis, in which columns of clouds, capitals of fire, and crosses of light make up the fictional edifice. Rather than a simple account of the tectonic features, Agathangelos further mystifies it, adding a canopied heavenly city, surmounting the architecturally "calcified" cloud and fire; all the while crosses are shedding their (divine) light. This Armenian cosmic baldachin served as the ultimate meeting place, in anticipation of the Just that will glide there upon the Second Coming of Christ (to occur on the Mount of Olives, located atop the Valley of Jehoshaphat).[51] Virtual spectating through texts and imagery impelled the faithful to cast their eyes and spirit onto the manifestation of the divine (conjured up in Hamlet's pareidolia into a vision of camels, weasels and whales in the clouds. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*. 3.3.367–373). Matter is virtually

transformed into imaginative, loose figures.[52] Clothes make not only the man; like the celestial garments of cloud, rainbow and fire of the Apocalypse's angel (Apoc. 10:1),[53] buildings were clad in the raiment of deific light.

The musing reality of the vault of Heaven above, that mythically arcane, charged space, stretched out "like a curtain" (Isa. 40:22), wrought into "surrealistic" architecture (anachronistically reminiscent of René Magritte's 1956 "Architecture in the Moonlight," or Giorgio de Chirico's metaphysical void cities, 1910–1924),[54] appears figuratively to have accommodated both Latin and Armenian eager viewers (keen to extract some sense of the unknown). The Tomb of Mary in its Crusader canopied form portended the longed-for trail to the stars, vesting the imaged shrine, carved into the valley's core within the Byzantine "cryptologic" crypt, with spiritual awe, or rather a metaphorically mobile *Transitus* in the locus where Mary's Assumption was believed to have eventuated.

The fictitious subterranean "Voyage au centre de la terre" (Jules Verne, 1864), that irradiated lane, might have led the pilgrims to Olympus, as Alan of Lille (1128–1202) envisaged it. Dressing theology with a decorative, ornamental attire of multiple light, Alan affirms that it never ceases to glow above the peaks.[55] Or rather, the pilgrimage experience flagged the shortest way to the moon, as Jules Verne imagined it ("De la terre à la lune, trajet direct en 97 heures 20 minutes," 1865). As a lodestar, Mary was an adept guide to the stars. Stars were always a leitmotif above wistful roads (e.g., Luis Buñuel's 1969 "La voie lactée"), leading to saintly discoveries, as in Saint James' "Field of the Star" (Compostela), or atop the manger in Bethlehem. In Herbert Kessler's words, "looking at a picture evokes feelings for the person [in our case: Mary] depicted in it; at the same time, because it is unable to satisfy those feelings, it sets the viewer in search of the true object of longing."[56]

Alan of Lille phrased this oxymoronic trajectory as the one leading from the visible to the invisible. In other words, what the language negated, the picture granted ("visibus offert invisum, quod lingua nequit, pictura fatetur").[57] The imagined road of the valley, globing the shrine of Mary, was an efficient center for the reproduction of the Virgin's "semblances," as travelers who visited Gethsemane later told another viewer of the sky, King Alfonso X the Wise (1221–1284). Duplicated miraculous "facsimiles" of Mary emerged from the marble columns there.[58] Imbued with legend, the locus's spiritual potential was equated with the pragmatic regulations the Abbey promulgated.

Deēsis Economy in the Valley

To promote benefactions, the community of Jehoshaphat took their spiritual concerns earnestly, deeming the singing of Divine Office and intercession for its benefactors as their principal calling. Invited to celebrate special liturgies by Petrus, Abbot of Jehoshaphat, Amalric, Bishop of Sidon, visited the Abbey in 1169–1170. The charter relating to the latter mentions the cloister, which probably enclosed the almshouse, housing our Deēsis fresco. Abbot Petrus admitted Bishop Amalric and his canons into an association of prayer, so that he should be remembered during his lifetime, the anniversary of his death inscribed in the Abbey's obituary book and his requiem said at both Sidon and Jehoshaphat. In return, Amalric remitted under seal half the tithes owed by Jehoshaphat in his diocese.[59] A negotiable profit, Patriarch William confirmed elaborated obituaries and requiems discussed below,[60] reflecting the prolific activity in the Abbey in the 1130s and 1140s, coinciding with the rule of Melisende and her husband Fulk of Anjou.

Our perception of this historical period is imperfect. That limitation notwithstanding, it is undeniably and intimately linked to the Frankish rule and aristocracy (secular and religious), who dominated the historical stage in Jerusalem and alone documented its records. Aristocratic familial consciousness was bound to the institutions, which fashioned Crusader administrative and political order. To see the social "reality" beyond the indirect and direct records more clearly, that at times is rhetorically "tainted" by obscure or routine documentary formularies, is to view Crusader kin groups as a social module of cosmogenesis.[61] Crusader kinships practically articulated themselves paradigmatically. As the Children of

Israel, Crusaders virtually followed Moses through the parted waters of the Red Sea, or carried the cross beyond the Sea as literally *cruces signati*. Spiritually, they expected judgement and redemption at the End of Days. They were ranked by both political and religious order, so much so that speaking of the former without accounting for vicissitudes in the latter is virtually impossible.

Melisende drew power from her father's northern-French baronial Montlhéry family, which established a cogent network from the Euphrates to Jordan and ruled Edessa and Jerusalem, acquiring a new scale of potency in the Latin East, compared to their humble origins in Champagne.[62] Taking the role of kin-keeper, when Melisende founded the convent of Bethany on the traditional site of the house of Mary Magdalene, Martha, and their brother Lazarus, she advanced the career of her younger sister, Yvette, appointing her as mother superior and instituted familial remembrance Masses, like those discussed below.[63]

Fourteen members of the Montlhéry clan joined the First Crusade and included among them such senior clerics as the second powerful Abbot of Jehoshaphat, Gilduinus (1120–1130).[64] Melisende's ally and kin, Hugh of Puiset, Count of Jaffa and brother of Gilduinus, donated land to the Abbey in 1123,[65] and, as an expression of kinfolk solidarity and cohesion, conceded in 1127 an extensive donation of his vassal, Balian,[66] the fresco's presumed donor (Fig. 9). Reassembled into a patrilineage to spin an identity, the Abbey's Cartulary manifests the habit of "laudatio parentum" (kinsmen's mutual agreement),[67] to secure the kinship's interests.

Herbert Kessler shows that communal gift-giving carried manifold implications about the mutuality of donors and recipients, particularly in relation to a donation recorded both textually and visually in a monastic cartulary.[68] The donors that flank the Jehoshaphat Deēsis (Figs. 3, 9, 10) are contextualized within a fictional, but immediate, visual surrounding, in which they function as spectators, casting their gaze at the celestial realm. In so doing, the "real" donors are not only commemorated as leading deputies of the clan, but also become eternal gazers on a beatific vision, which artfully sustains both their earthly and exegetical expectations, particularly enhanced in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. In Herbert Kessler's wording, this would have been their "Gazing at the Future."[69] Once living on Earth, they shared a chromatic view of Heaven, attempting in their kin-imaged donation to bring the realities of Heaven to Earth. As Christians who did the most for the world of the present, they were precisely those who thought most of the world to come, fathoming with their naked eye what was taking place in the visible sky on the wall: intercession. Paradise, it seems, was never closer. As the tenth-century Armenian Thomas Artsruni would have it,

> For in truth paradise was physical and tangible, and not spiritual or between two worlds, as they report about Origen's view. Nor is it distant, as some suppose who do not know the Lord's saying to the robber: "Today you will be with me in paradise." Appropriate here are also the reports of Alexander of Macedon to Olympias; perhaps he reached a place outside the borders of paradise.[70]

To Alan of Lille, paradise was the brightly shining Olympus; to Thomas Artsruni, it was a non-spiritual, palpable locus. Such heroes as Alexander the Great (and by extension Crusaders and pilgrims) abridged the distance by far. Skillfully, telescoping detachments was made possible by intercession. A wish for thinking, the intercessory prospects of the onlookers lie in the clan's intentionality. A religiously aesthetic experience, the object in the sublimate, cascaded Heaven on the hospital's wall (Fig. 3) redirects the onlooker into contemplation. Bruno of Segni (1045–1123) refers to the

> Manifestation of the ornament of hope ("spei ornamentum"), elevated in contemplation to heavenly things from earthly ones, so that however much the body is in the world, one would boldly venture, "for our conversation is in Heaven" (Philip. 3:20).[71]

In Herbert Kessler's words, "art attracts the earthly mind because it appeals to the senses," and "it can also begin a spiritual ascent by inducing the viewer to contemplate higher, internal images."[72] The pictured image, Kessler explains, is transformative, changing the world (the object), initiating a spiritual perception, as if unsealing a window to another invisible, divine world.[73] Abstract ornamentation played a decisive role in this spectatorship coincidence, emblematizing both earthly good life,[74] and the projected migration to the afterlife.

Given Melisende's hybrid culture, Latin observers of "external" reality shared their spiritual scrutiny with Armenians. William of Tyre styles the Fatimid sultanate in Cairo as of "a nature unknown to our world." Everything perceived there is unknown: the marble pools, the sounds of "manifold birds," the shapes, colors, and marvelous designs. William of Tyre concludes his astute inspection, saying that

> There was a stupendous variety of steeds, such as the playful hand of painters is wont to paint, or poetic license conjures up, or the mind of someone asleep is wont to dream up in nocturnal visions, such as the regions of the East and the South are wont to supply, but which the West is not accustomed ever to see.[75]

Viewing "artfully made" works of art, vestments and precious stones, Artsruni testifies to his incapacity to depict such transcendences because they surpass "the understanding and ability of historians to describe."[76] They also surpass materiality and visibility, lifting the contemporary spectator to higher abodes.

Essentially, donors and patrons were the first to look at the art they commissioned. A member of the Jehoshaphat hospital donor confraternity, probably since her marriage to Fulk in 1129, Melisende was also a patron-spectator. Her affinity with the Abbey had started as early as she was declared "daughter of the king and heir to the Kingdom of Jerusalem," in a charter her father issued in 1129 for the Abbey, also mentioning the burial of her mother Morphia there.[77] Queen Melisende herself was buried across the stairway from the tomb of her mother. Morphia's burial there affirmed the Abbey's ranking and future prosperity, put under the aegis of her descendants and kinship. Given the prominence of the separate tomb chamber, which has survived only partially, along with Melisende's keen interest in the Abbey, it is likely that this was her last commission.[78] In keeping with the Abbey's constant receipt of alms, one charter of the Cartulary specifies her rich donation to the Abbey in 1160, a year before her death. The charter indicates that Melisende named this donation "my alms," which could also be translated into "my almshouse" ("meam helemosinam").[79] Indeed, later western pilgrims ascribed Queen Melisende with the patronage and building of the Abbey-Church, although none mentioned the monastic almshouse.[80]

Collective memory and the sacred connotations of the Deēsis played a vital role in the pilgrimage economy of the holy shrine. The Mother of God (*Theotokos* in Greek), instrumental in the Incarnation, and the *Forerunner*, prophesizing the arrival of Christ, appear to have been the most adequate figures for mediation. In keeping with Christian faith, the Virgin Mary carried the Son of God in her womb, thanks to a miraculous conception to the Holy Spirit (Luke 1:26–38). Accordingly, the Baptism of Christ (Mathew, 3:13–17; Mark, 1:9–11; Luke, 3:21–22), perpetrated by John the Baptist, is considered a second birth. The birth of the Baptist himself (Luke 1:5–25) was miraculous and immaculate, like that of Christ.[81]

According to Christian tradition, the Virgin and the Baptist are prime mediatory figures because they bore witness to the divinity of Christ in his life in the flesh. The gestures of Mary and John are borrowed from the ritual and imperial spheres, supplicating and worshiping the Son of God.[82] In this theological context, the Deēsis scene encouraged the introduction of people of the terrestrial world to the celestial court, as is the case of our painted donors (Figs. 9, 10). The Byzantine formula for the Deēsis shows Mary and John submitting their petitions to Christ *Pantocrator* in the high ranks of Heaven. The Latin West also knew of a petitionary ritualistic procedure, defined in Latin as *petitio*, *peticio*, *postulatio* or *supplicatio*. These invocations appear in the Order of the Latin Mass, as well as in special supplicatory prayers, the litanies, imploring a greater, divine dominion to grant salvation to humankind.

12. Psalter of Melisende, Deēsis (Photo © The British Library Board, Egerton 1139, fol. 12v)

13. Abu Ghosh, Deēsis, left apse (Photo by the author).

14. Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity, Chapel of St. Helen, Deēsis (Photo by the author).

Such entreaties were formulated into a visual image in the West, as, for example, in the Church of St.-Vincenzo at Galliano in Lombardy (region of Como; Fig. 20), and in several churches in Catalonia. Carrying scrolls, inscribed with the aforementioned terms *petitio* (*peticio*) and *postulatio*, archangels (usually Saint Michael) or prophets (Ezekiel in Galliano), act as saintly petitioners. Marcello Angheben showed that the archangel/prophet-advocates transmit liturgically the *Pater Noster's* requests made by the priest on behalf of his community. The *Pater Noster*, which the Gospels assign to Christ himself (Luke, 11:1–4), was indeed recited first by the entire community and then by the celebrant, between the Canon of the Mass and the communion, thus preceding the dramatic moment of the Eucharist. Obviously, the proximity of the church dedicated to the *Pater Noster* to the Abbey, and the intercessory and Eucharistic character of the prayers strengthen the liturgical aspect of the requests. The Mass offertory prayers make a plea that the offerings presented at the altar by mediation of Saint Michael, would be accepted. To obtain salvation, another offertory prayer explicitly mentions Mary and John, the Deēsis protagonists, and asks for further saintly intercession.[83] Thus, pilgrimage is spiritually enhanced and focused in a *locus* and shaped visually in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, sited afoot the Mount of Olives, where the pilgrim would ascend to pray.

In addition, the function of the Deēsis hall as a hospital and its statutes, clearly affirms this liturgical aspect. The term *petitio* (or *peticio*) appears in several donation charters in the Cartulary of the Abbey, signifying the donors' desire to have their gifts enlisted and confirmed by higher authorities. This particular terminology may well have suited donation acts affected by donors (and their kin witnesses) of the donor confraternity of the hospital, to which our two donors obviously belonged (Figs. 9, 10). Thus, for example, the 1112 donation charter documenting the donation of Patriarch Arnulf of Chocques for rebuilding the basilica mentions the petition of Abbot Hugh and assigns pious intentions to the act.[84] The term *peticio* is repeated in the confirmation of the Abbey's possessions by Baldwin I. William of Buris, apparently one of our donors (Fig. 10), is said to have petitioned to make a donation to the hospital of the Abbey, together with his wife Agnes, a request that met royal approval.[85] Hence, the donation charters' context adds an immediate importance of property listing to the intercessory scene of the Deēsis.

A confirmation charter, issued by the great supporter of Melisende, Patriarch William, copied in the thirteenth century by Facundus, prior of St. Mary the Latin at Agira, Sicily, defining the goals and statutes of the Abbey's almshouse, is dated to the active ruling years of Queen Melisende. It indicates that the hospital is situated next to the Abbey of Notre-Dame in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which allows us to identify it with the Deēsis hall (Fig. 2).[86] Based on the decisions taken by the monastic chapter, Patriarch William instituted the chant of weekly Masses in the nearby Church of St. Savior of Gethsemane (which belonged to the Abbey),[87] in favor of the living and the dead. The charter affirms Masses in honor of the confraternity members and other benefactors of the almshouse. It says that the hospital is meant to accommodate the pilgrims and the poor, who could always find there a place to rest, to heal, to eat and to refresh themselves. It also says that in any apostolic solemnity, thirteen poor people would find sustenance there in the name of Christ. The figure thirteen is repeated, to indicate the number of the sustained poor pilgrims, as well as the extent of Masses said in memory of any deceased confrere for thirteen days. Further, a Mass commemorates the anniversary of any member annually, extending it to any other benefactor supporting the hospital. The monastic chapter, convened to specify the almshouse's charitable acts, noted that each confrere was to grant the hospital thirteen bezants (a currency) every year, for the salvation of his soul, whereas the Abbey was to maintain the pilgrims lodging there. The charter then lists distinguished confreres of the Montlhéry clan (such as King Baldwin I), and "many others who died." William of Buris and Domnus Balianus signed (among others) this significant charter as witnesses.[88] The word DIEM, inscribed on the bottom inscription of the fresco (Fig. 4), probably reflects these liturgical arrangements, meant to celebrate the Eucharist, in which the SACRA CELESTIS PANIS descends from heaven (Figs. 5, 6).

Melisende invested her energy in establishing a firm and trusting relationship with Patriarch William, the supreme ecclesiastical authority of Jerusalem. It should be recalled that Patriarch William settled the crisis between Melisende and Fulk in the early days of their rule.[89] It would thus not surprise us to find Patriarch William reconfirming the statutes of the Jehoshaphat almshouse, so favored by Melisende. I would further assume that her involvement with the almshouse, her political engagements with Patriarch William, and her kin interests were among the factors that led to that confirmation. The almshouse is actually a Montlhéry clan foundation.

Byzantine or rather Armenian Deēsis?

Hugo Buchthal defines the Deēsis as "the most Byzantine of Byzantine themes."[90] However, in Melisende's case, it relied on her acquaintance with her Edessan and Armenian religious iconographies and pictorial traditions. In all probability, this half-Armenian queen employed the scene as her own devotional image (Figs. 3–4, 12–14), reflecting her socio-cultural hybridity (the mixed marriage of her parents and her own).[91] The Deēsis was a popular scene in Armenian churches; for example, the twelfth-century wall paintings in the Church of the Holy Cross in Haghpat.[92] Equally, a thirteenth-century fragment from an Armenian carved stone cross (Khatchk'ar) from Eghegnadzor employs the subject. Christ enthroned is framed by two archangels (instead of the more common figures of the Virgin and the Baptist). Khatchk'ars stand foremost as prayers for the salvation of the soul of the departed, in whose memory they were erected. The art of the khatchk'ar seems to have reached its zenith between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries.[93] Though there is no reason to believe that Melisende visited Armenia, she was undoubtedly acquainted with the Armenian khatchk'ars, which sometimes bore the scene of the Deēsis. Khatchk'ars were extensively decorated with floral ornamentation, becoming thus a cosmic carved *flos decor mundi* ("the flower is the world's beauty") or *arcum coelestem* ("the arch of heaven").[94] In the field of manuscript illumination, the Deēsis appears in the twelfth-century Georgian Gospel of Gelati (Tbilissi, Institute of Manuscripts No. Q 908, fol. 10), in which two angels flank the enthroned Christ on either side.[95] The Psalter of Melisende's Deēsis, signed beneath by Basilius, accentuates the Syrian-Armenian style that Buchthal acknowledged.[96]

The thirteen-year-old Melisende had arrived in Jerusalem in 1118 for her father's coronation as king of Jerusalem, carrying with her rich Syrian-Armenian religious and visual traditions. As half-Armenian, Syrian-Jacobite sources praise her for learning "the fear of God from her mother the queen," Morphia of Melitene.[97] Andrew Palmer notes that "this suggests, as many historians of the Crusades have suspected, that Melisende was brought up in the faith of her anti-Chalcedonian Armenian mother, Morphia of Melitene, rather than in that of her father."[98]

Acanthus Grows in the Bible

As socio-cultural agent, Melisende assorted her own polygonal, Armenian-Syrian-Latin cultural identities,[99] weaving an abstract, though tangibly perceptible, patterning of walls and sacred books, absorbing its essential decorum from diverse sources in the East and West. While often portrayed mostly generically, Christian culture has made ample use of the pervasive metaphorical images of plants, textiles and vestments, or, perhaps more relevant to what concerns us here, blossoming gardens, flowers and silks (real and imaginary). To evoke the biblical past, exegetes had no need of any particular horticultural or sericultural knowledge. A garden (including Eden),[100] meadows, flowers, silks, garments, veils or curtains were sufficient for the cause.

Syrian liturgy, for instance, compared the Virgin to the "garden in which grew the Branch of Righteousness, dwelling in which the Mysteries were preserved." Jacob of Serugh (451–521) imagined Eden as a fenced, liminal place, whose doors are to be reopened by the Lord of Paradise.[101] The floral ornament of the later, thirteenth-century Armenian wooden narthex doors in Bethlehem (Fig. 16.1), reminiscent of Thomas Artsruni's doors, "inlaid with detailed ornament and amazing decoration," opened invisibly,[102] eliciting the hedge of both Mary and Christ.[103] The acanthus crowning the small tympanum at the Grotto's southern entrance (Fig. 16) reflects this symbolism. Latin exegesis described Mary as a skillful, noble artwork, red rose, bright lily, the new flower springing out from Earth, dressing the axis of the Ark with precious stones, being the purple dye,[104] referring her thus to the Temple veil she was sewing, and the colored sacerdotal vestments discussed below.

Paradoxically, our fresco provides an opportunity to veer from traditional art history that focuses on the human figure, involved in narrative,[105] because the Deēsis scene did not survive, and to instead focus on the lower ornamental parts of the ruined wall (Figs. 3–8). As a contemplative, abstract tool, medieval exegesis broadened this notion, reflecting on biblical plants, colors and ornamentation, "embroidered with diverse colors" ("retorta opere polimyto," Ex. 28:6), rhetorically abstracted in Bruno's wording into the fertile "ornament of hope," and Alan of Lille's virtuous "ornamentum mentis," by imitation in faith.[106] In exploiting older, indigenous, grander traditions, the immediate visual effect of architectural decoration generated ever more riveting matrixes, in the trimming of larger spans of surface. Such familiar patterns as the acanthus (Figs. 5–7) and the imitation Sasanian-style embroidered silk (Fig. 8) were recreated and joined forces *à la grande manière*.

The increased scale of the visual field endowed these configurations with a vigor absent in lesser formats. Buildings profusely sheathed with extensive acanthus surfaces in the Frankish pictorial hybrid idiom (Figs. 15–19) must have connoted prestige, wealth, and privileged access to skilled architects, artists and decorators. Much taken with the lavish ecclesiastical adornments and rich textiles for liturgical use, Melisende lavished the Church of Bethany, which together with the Jehoshaphat hospital, acted as the Montlhéry clan "kin-center," with every kind of costly embellishment. William of Tyre mentions, among others, the precious gifts of "silken stuffs for the adornment of the house of God and vestments of every description."[107]

The labor-intensive, exquisite decorative acanthus-scroll skins, along with the real and imitated silks, functioned as double-meaning mantles of awe, commensurate with the growing status Melisende acquired as architectural patron, given her struggle to co-rule with her husband in the early days of their marriage,[108] and to promote her kin. Melisende employed revetment aesthetics mainly to transform existing exalted shrines, such as the Holy Sepulcher and the Abbey of Jehoshaphat. As a powerful patron of the arts, she assumed several restoration projects that symbolically appropriated old monuments through the rendering of new decorative casings, which became her unmistakable hallmark.

Visually and religiously, Melisende seems to have incorporated Syrian-Armenian pictorial themes into the Jerusalem she was reshaping. To the Goudron frieze, which was identified as her architectonic feature,[109] we should add the acanthus, linked in its exegetical essence to cosmic vestments and silken textiles, as in our fresco. Architectural coating, then, not only aroused subjective emotional responses, most adequate to the intercessional expectations of pilgrims, donors and kinsmen invoked in the fresco, but also acted as a prompting identity marker that unified the holy sites and completed the territorial boundaries of the holy city into a legible, majestic decorum, denoting multiple exegetical implications. The Jehoshaphat fresco makes evident the amplified impact of these schemes by representing an effectively idealized holy space.

A similar transformation frequently transpired in exegesis, in which the natural world was transfigured into a luxurious, rhetorical, imaginatively fertile terrain. These conversions of the physical world suggest a reflective correlation between a stylized, designed realm and the exclusive queenly domain. Yet the exceptional feature that characterizes Melisende's vision is her hybrid, heterogeneous background. Thus, the pictorial juxtaposition of the western or, rather, the eastern Mediterranean acanthus, covering cult buildings and precious objects since antiquity and forever after, with the imitated, painted form of eastern silks, actually echoes the rich, polyglot exegetical sources Melisende had at her disposal. The same undivided spirit palpitates within the acanthus tendrils and the textual sources, providing us with the opportunity to classify the unifying force, rather than the conflicting one of East-West articulated projections, realized in the Latin East.[110]

15. Jerusalem, Holy Sepulcher, eastern lintel: inhabited acanthus frieze. Rockefeller Museum (Photo courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority and the Zehava Jacoby Collection, Haifa University).

16. Jerusalem, Holy Sepulcher, close-up of eastern lintel: inhabited acanthus frieze, with winged siren, centaur, and naked male figures (Photo courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority and the Zehava Jacoby Collection, Haifa University).

17. Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity, Grotto, southern tympanum: acanthus (Photo courtesy of the Zehava Jacoby Collection, Haifa University).

18. Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity, Armenian wooden doors to narthex, detail: floral ornamentation, acanthus, thirteenth century (dated by inscription to the reign of King Het'um I of Cilicia (1226–1270) (photo courtesy of the Zehava Jacoby Collection, Haifa University).

19. Jerusalem, Al Aqza Mosque (Templum Salomonis), Dikka pulpit, front face: acanthus frieze (Photo courtesy of the Zehava Jacoby Collection, Haifa University).

Literally, the term acanthus appears mainly in classical or classically-related ancient sources, including the Vitruvian legendary source of the Corinthian capital.[111] However, in addition to antique myth, Christianity, ever since its onset, had the quintessential, resourceful, and retrospective mine of religious knowledge—the Bible. Of nearly all the translators of the Hebrew Bible, Jerome (342–420) was probably the poorest botanist. Nevertheless, posterity has hailed him as a leading paradigmatic "linguist." A short, albeit puzzled, look at the Hebrew floral lexis of the sacerdotal vestments of Exodus 28:31–35 paved the way for a serpentine, extraordinary line of both Jewish and Christian commentaries.[112]

The reader should certainly question the reason that a particularly obscure biblical text is mentioned. The answer lies in spelling and misspelling. The Greek acanthus has turned into the Latin *ecinathus kermes* (in Arabic/Persian, *qirmiz* or carmine, the scarlet dye, made from the tiny scale insect called kermes vermilio),[113] which Jerome coined as hyacinthus, confusing three Hebrew flowers, or rather colors, with one another: the pale blue/violet (Heb. *Klil tchelet* – Lat. *Hyacintho* – Eng. *Violet*), the purple (Heb. *Argaman* – Lat. *Purpura*, Eng. *Purple*) and the scarlet (Heb. *Tola'at HaShani*, which is identified as the *ecinathus kermes* – Lat. *Cocco*, Eng. *Scarlet*). The only Hebrew flower though is the non-specified golden head bud (Heb. *Zitz*. Ex. 28:37) of the high priest's tiara. Once more, Jerome crowns him with the purely invented "vitta hyacinthina" ("violet fillet"). However, Jerome was not alone. Greek poets were also poor botanists, from Homer to Theocritus, who sang about eighty-seven botanic species, concluding eventually that the hyacinth was a mountainous flower, confusing it with the kermes.[114] With such a poetical precedent, Jerome walked on perfectly solid, blooming soil.

The highly chromatic deep red color, otherwise known as crimson of the superfamily Coccoidea (*coccus* means a tiny grain, implying both the color and the dyestuff), was often confused with the scarlet worm and Armenian cochineal (in Armenian, *vordan karmir*, also known as Ararat scale, the *porphyrophora hamelii* and related species). Fed on oak trees, the *ecinathus* vermis produced a very strong natural dye (kermes, scarlet). A color of prestige in the Roman Empire, officers wore scarlet cloaks called *paludamenta*, and persons of high rank were referred to as the *coccinati*, "the people of red." The red, Armenian dye is traced back as early as 714 BCE, when the Neo-Assyrian King Sargon II was recorded as seizing red textiles as booty from the kingdoms of Urartu (part of which is the geographic predecessor of Armenia) and Kilhu.[115]

An inducement to unworldly elevation, the pricey scarlet dye (the Hebrew *Tola'at HaShani*), mentioned in the Bible twenty-five times, was widely sourced for religious rituals in the Second Temple period.[116] Solemnly entering the Septuagint and the Vulgate Bibles, the *Shani* dye attracted considerable exegetical attention, inflected to uncover sacred knowledge. The Vulgate reads:

> Facies et tunicam superhumeralis totam *hyacinthinam*, in cuius medio supra erit capitium et ora per gyrum eius textilis sicut fieri solet in extremis vestium partibus ne facile rumpatur. Deorsum vero ad pedes eiusdem tunicae per circuitum quasi mala punica facies ex *hyacintho* et *purpura* et *cocco* bis tincto mixtis in medio tintinabulis . . . Et vestietur ea Aaron in officio ministerii ut audiatur sonitus quando ingreditur et egreditur sanctuarium in conspectu Domini et non moriatur.

And thou shalt make the tunic of the ephod all of *violet*, in the midst whereof above shall be a hole for the head, and a border round about it woven, as is wont to be made in the outmost parts of garments, that it may not easily be broken. And beneath at the feet of the same tunic, around about, thou shalt make as it were pomegranates, of *violet*, and *purple*, and *scarlet* twice dyed, with little bells set between . . . And Aaron shall be vested with it in the office of his ministry, that the sound may be heard, when he goeth in and cometh out of the sanctuary, in the sight of the Lord, and that he may not die. (Ex. 28:31–35. My italics).

Despite the range of colors, which is shared also by the Temple veil ("blue and purple and twisted scarlet," Ex. 26:31),

the Septuagint makes no mention of any hyacinth or worm. Instead, it introduces the trope of "spirit of perception" (the Vulgate's "spiritu prudentiae," Ex. 28:3),[117] which concerns us greatly here, especially as regards the gaze of humans: the high priest, Aaron, the fresco's donors (Figs. 9, 10), and Melisende. Josephus also referred to the cosmic nature of the veil.[118] Embroidered by females, Mary was assigned with the sacred sewing of the purple thread (*Infancy Gospel of James*, 10),[119] a paradigm visualized on the August calendar leaf of the Psalter of Melisende (Egerton 1139, fol. 17r), scripturally and liturgically authorizing the locus of the Assumption held on 15 August.[120]

The half-Armenian queen was, no doubt, aware of the renowned, extremely precious Armenian dye. Dyes, silks and herbs often chart the mobility of artisans, merchants and technologies. Syrian drapers offered their precious silken merchandise in the area ("ruga", meaning also street) Melisende and later her younger son Amalric designated, at the proximity of the covered market, where herbs were sold.[121] Traced back to the eighth century BCE, Sasanian weavers drew on Syrian loom technology and its repertoire of images, such as the opposing birds of our imitated Sasanian silk (Fig. 8).[122]

The Acanthaceae family included various types, such as the *acanthus sativus branca ursina* (bear's breeches; in Arabic: *alchanna*, known in Sicily), the *acanthus Syriacus* (Red Syrian Acanthocyte), the *acanthus montanus*, in both dyeing and medicinal use.[123] Furthermore, herbs, balsams and ornamental flowers were grown in beautiful Crusader gardens, like the Gethsemane *hortum*, owned by the Abbey, forming part of eastern Mediterranean horticulture, drawing the gardening landscape and activity closer to paradise and other biblical prototypes. A remaining impost block from Gethsemane shares the acanthus motif, alongside the vase of lilies associated with Mary (Fig. 23). In addition to medicinal purposes, acanthus was used in the growing dyed silk industry, where the *ecinathus kermes* was highly valued.[124] Paradise (and its phoenix, whose legs were of Tyrian purple in ancient and medieval idylls)[125] was "dyed," to cloak a landscape with poetic disguise, in Heaven as on Earth.

Jerome's mixture of the three flourishing colors, or rather hues of red, twice dyed, together with little bells, woven into the *tunica hyacinthina* (Heb. *Me'il HaEphod*), carries a pragmatic, vivid significance, preventing death upon the high priest's crossing the liminal boundary of the sanctuary, sighting God, whose face cannot be seen (Ex. 33:20). The twice-dyed tunic, accessorized with little bells, shields the high priest from the prohibited sight.[126] Colors, ornaments and bell fixtures lay between the high priest and the invisible God. By paradigmatic extension, the Crusaders who tailored the sign of the cross on their clothing obtained sanctified protection in the Promised Land.

The colors (*Tchelet*/violet, *Argaman*/purple, and *Tola'at HaShani*/scarlet) and the technology involved ("twice dyed"), served the high priest to perceive God and stay alive. Jerome omits the embroidered lace work mentioned in Hebrew (*Ma'aseh oreg ke'fi tachara.* Literally: embroidered work as lace), but introduces the dyeing sericulture technology (not mentioned in Hebrew, though insinuated by the scarlet dye worm), based on his reading of the "scarlet worm" (*Tola'at HaShani*). The vestments are elsewhere described as a multicolored work (e.g., Ex. 39:8, "opere polymito"), repeating the dyes, omitting the Hebrew *Ma'aseh Hoshev* (literally: pondered doing),

20. Jerusalem, Temple Mount, detached frieze (block A): inhabited acanthus frieze. Islamic Museum on Temple Mount (Photo courtesy of the Zehava Jacoby Collection, Haifa University).

and unsuccessfully translating the *Moshzar* ("wrought with embroidery"; "twisted linen").

Ancient writers took the tabernacle and the sacerdotal garments very seriously. Captivated by the rich theme, biblical priestly writers described the tabernacle at length in two parallel sections in the Book of Exodus (Chapters 25–30, 35–39), and felt impelled to reiterate the list of its accessories (Ex. 30:26–30; 31:7–11; 35:11–19; 39:33–41; 40:2–15, 18–33). Then came the elaborated interpretations of Philo, Clement, Origen, Josephus, Methodius, Gregory of Nyssa, Jerome, Mar Jacob of Serugh and Theodoret, and, last, but not least, Herbert Kessler, in modern (art historical) "exegesis."[127]

Probably owing to Jerome's inaccuracies, Isidore of Seville (560–636) was the last Christian "botanist" to have distinguished between the classical acanthus and the sacerdotal hyacinthus. However, Isidore reversed the two plants, associating the trope applied in the Vulgate to the latter, to the acanthus: "In cuius imitatione arte vestis ornatur, quae acanthina dicitur, et acanthis dicta" ("In imitation of the artistically adorned garment, which is called acanthina and acanthus").[128] The art of fashioned, decorated sacerdotal chasubles, imitating the acanthus pattern, was substituted thus by the biblical hyacinth,

21. Jerusalem, Abbey of Tomb of Mary, entrance to the Tomb: inhabited acanthus frieze (Photo courtesy of the Zehava Jacoby Collection, Haifa University).

of which Isidore mentions both the mythological dead boy, Hyacinthus, and the purple flower that his mourning godly lover Apollo created from his spilled blood. Eventually, Apollo resurrected Hyacinthus. His cult, the Hyacinthia, prospered in springtime, to impersonate, as a vegetal deity, the nascent flora in spring, killed by summer's heat. The apotheosis of Hyacinthus indicates that after attaining godhood, he represented the natural cycle of decay and renewal. This pagan feast lasted three days: one day of mourning for the death of Hyacinthus and the others celebrating his rebirth and apotheosis, obviously related in Christianity to the Triduum—the three days from Good Friday until Easter Sunday, during which Christ lay in his grave, until he was resurrected on the third. The affinity of the Hyacinthia to textiles was further established by the Laconian women who weaved a chiton for Apollo and presented it to him, a tradition similar to the peplos offered to Athena at Athens upon the occasion of the Panathenaic Games.[129]

The flowering hyacinthus/acanthus/ecinathus kermes represents the "flos resurrectionis,"[130] predicting the divine fruit of the resurrection. Apart from our fresco and the other architectural revetments, the acanthus is represented in all its glory, scrolling over the parchment leafs of the Missal of the Holy Sepulcher (BNf MS lat. 12056), whose scribe was an Armenian who knew Latin.[131] Christ springs out of an acanthus in the dramatic moment of his Eucharistic resurrection (fol. 169v), suggesting his glorious exit from the grave and prompting the faithful's recollection of his salvific death. The Marys visiting the Tomb, encounter an ornamentally acanthus sky above in the same manuscript (Fol. 122v. Fig. 22). Born to the asexual Virgin, Christ himself was considered "vermis, et non homo" (Ps. 21:7),[132] extending the resurrection symbolism to the pupating virgin silkworm that constructs its cocoon. Once the silkworms have spun their cocoon, they eventually enclose themselves inside, and then start to extract the silk threads.

Unless it was the Eucharistic vine or Mary's spineless red rose, the power of most exegetical flowers lay in their propagative transformation into fruits. This law of nature led my father,

22. Galliano, St. Vincenzo, Apse fresco detail: celestial petitioner, holding an inscribed banderole, PETICIO (after Rossi 2008).

24. Missal of Holy Sepulcher, Marys at the Tomb. Ms. Lat.12056, fol. 121v. gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France (after Folda 1995, Pl. 14).

23. Gethsemane, St. Savior, impost block: acanthus with Mary's vase of lilies. Greek Orthodox (closed) Museum (Photo courtesy of the Zehava Jacoby Collection, Haifa University).

an agriculturist who grew fruit throughout his life, to manure his orchards with a fertilizer designated for flowers. The pomologist he had informed about his peculiar habit scorned him, telling him that it was a compost for flowers, not for fruit. My father then reminded her that the flower was to ripen into a fruit, justifying thus his unorthodox cultivation methods. That professor hurried to establish a research greenhouse to study my father's genius agriculture. Fertilization, however, is the death of the flower, as the petals drop or wither at this point, and the flower ovary starts to enlarge and evolve into what we know as fruit. Precisely this natural fruitful development steered exegetes to hail the fruit of Mary's

womb. A conveyor of multivalent implications, the generic flower signified resurrection, virtues, elegant contemplation, decorative cosmic ornamentation, a genuine marker of grace, articulated into a rhetorical exegetical device, together with colors. The polychromatic "cunning work" textured in "fine twined linen" of the sacerdotal vestments, imbued by mystic sense, suggested scriptural allegory and tropology. Obviously, the red dye (Carmelus/Chermel, related to *kermes* and to the "flos Libani" of Nahum, 1:4) is the color of Christ's blood shed at the Passion.[133]

From there, the road to paradise grew short. A topography of desire, Crusader kinsmen yearned for a final assembly in paradise, to answer paradisaically the rhetorical question Robert the Monk posed: "Are our relatives and brothers to head for martyrdom – indeed for Paradise – without us?"[134] Stewards of God and the Creation, Crusaders and exegetes transformed courses of nature and physical matter into a metaphysical precept,[135] veiling themselves and their writings with the ultimate biblical paradigm of any Christian, and by extension Christian architecture, East and West, the (liminal) Temple veil.[136]

Melisende exploited the imposing nature of the acanthus in the wilderness, and confined it into a repetitive, mediational ornamentation, thus creating a poetical eco-formula, reinforced by exegesis. At the same time, its visual counterpart shared an ontological quality, making the invisible visible and the physically inaccessible accessible. Citing the *Alexander romance*, Thomas Artsruni remarks that the borders of the area were awesome and tangible, altogether outside the [realm of the] senses. They were guarded by diligent and alert, yet invisible, guards like a very secure fence that would have naturally growing roots needing little care that might stand outside a fortified royal garden.[137]

The ornament's liminal quality and its subversive effect in echoing its unruly, natural growth, helps define space as sacred ("templum" or "temenos"), separating it from its exterior surroundings, providing the divine a space to manifest itself within mediational decorations, which are introversive, shutting off feral peripheries.[138] Parallel to the distinguished *hortus conclusus* signifying Mary's virginity, Byzantium had enclosed chaste gardens too. Surrounded by a wall upon which a decorated frieze was raised aloft, the ornamental fencing guaranteed immaculate safety to Anna, the Virgin's mother.[139] Given, however, the untamed nature of "nature" (and acanthus, by extension), Melisende's management of wildness, demarcating its decorative boundaries, whose regulation is doomed to failure, granted the wild the right to remain wild, though abstractly framed, as all the while she strengthened her position as the patron of sacerdotal eco-decorum. In so doing, she conceptually and ornamentally converted Jerusalem into a *Theotokoupolis* (to borrow Cyril Mango's description of Constantinople).[140]

Exegesis teaches us that ornamentation must be treated with awe, in fear of divine castigation. Embellishing the house of God was considered a religiously devotional act, and the iconoclastic removal of decorations connoted sacrilege. The Jacobite Michael the Syrian (1126–1199) reported that for the removal of marbles from a church to use in his palace, Nur ad-Din Muhammad (1167–1185), the Artuqid governor of Hisn Kayfa, was struck down to death as punishment.[141] By contrast, the benevolent Christian king and church builder resembled the high priest Aaron, "with his robe and ephod decorated with twelve pearls, in accordance with the number of the holy apostles."[142]

Together with the imitated silks, Melisende was metaphorically spinning not only the Temple veil, following the Virgin's paradigm (Egerton 1139, fol. 17r), but also wrapped Crusader Jerusalem, and more specifically, the locus of Mary's Assumption to Heaven, with an eco-formula of the persuasive mantle of earth. Mary was described as the *porta coeli*.[143] Melisende had the key to that door, as does Professor Herbert Kessler.

Notes

1 Seligman 2012, 185–220. Earlier inundations in 1972 led to a thorough study by Franciscan archaeologists from the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum (Bagatti et al. 1975). The fresco was found in Structure 'C' (Seligman 2012, Map 1, Plans 1, 2, Figs. 42–45). Johns (1939) initially excavated the site during the British Mandate.

2 For a detailed account of the medieval to modern flooding issues, the discovery, excavations, conservation, and initial interpretations, see Seligman 2012. Flooding in that area of the Kidron Valley was so acute, that, anecdotally, an anosmic priest once told the present author how blessed he felt, having celebrated a particular rite in the torrent-flooded church, while sopped in water, the reeking of which he fortunately could not smell.

3 Beda Venerabilis, Liber de locis sanctis, V, 308.

4 WTC, Book 8.2, Vol. 63, 384 (WTH, Vol. 1, 342).

5 WTC, Book 8.4, Vol. 63, 388 (WTH, Vol. 1, 346).

6 Delaborde 1880, 18; Jacoby 2014b, 107–108; Papsturkunden, No. 12, 112–116) provides the 1112 confirmation to Pope Paschal II of the possessions of the Abbey, which includes a short description of its earlier history.

7 WTC, Book 9.9, Vol. 63, 431 (WTH, Vol. 1, 392). See Mayer and Richard 2010, Vol. 1, No. 16, 117–118.

8 Delaborde 1880, No. I, 21.

9 Delaborde 1880, No. XIX, 47–49. This charter is preserved solely in a copy drawn in St. Mary the Latin at Agira, Sicily. See Hamilton and Jotischky 2020, 175.

10 Cutler 1987; Mouriki 1968; Walter 1968; Walter 1970; Walter 1980.

11 For previous treatments of the fresco, see Neguer 2012 (conservation); Tagliapietra 2012; Rosanò and Pellizzaro 2012 (pigmentation); and Heyman 2017. See n. 86 for the incorrect identification of the ruined hall as a second refectory, recently repeated by Alliata and Yeger 2022, 49–50, 56–57, 64–67, who excavated in Area C, where the fresco was found and defined as Structure C (see Seligman 2012, Map 1, Plans 1, 2, Figs. 42–45), exposing some vestiges of the Abbey's hospital. Contrary to Seligman, Alliata, and others, I identify the fresco as forming part of the hospital, whose remnants they found in the recent collaborative excavation of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum and the IAA.

12 Heyman 2021.

13 WTC, Book 15.26, Vol. 63A, 709–710 (WTH, Vol. 2, 133–134); Mayer and Richard, Urkunden, Vol. 1, No. 102, 257. For the mission sent to Western Europe in 1127 in search of a husband for Melisende, which resulted in her marriage to Fulk in 1129, see Mayer 1985, 140–147; Mayer 1990, 863–869; Koch 2018, 24–29.

14 WTC, Book 14.18, Vol. 63A, 655-656 (WTH, Vol. 2, 76). See Mayer 1972; Mayer 1985; Mayer 1989; Mayer 1990, 861–865; Murray 2015, 138–144; Koch 2018, 67–68, 128–133; Heyman 2022, forthcoming.

15 Current scholarship concurs that Melisende was the chief patron of the rebuilding and decoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, as well as other shrines. See Pringle 1987; Folda 1995, 175–245 (esp. 202–204); Folda 2012, 460–465; Lambert 1997; Gaudette 2010; Tranovich 2011; Koch 2018, 155–156. For core symbols, see Ortner 1973.

16 On the scientific analysis of the pigmentation, see Tagliapietra 2012; Rosanò and Pellizzaro 2012. For the symbolic purports of purple, see Heyman 2022.

17 Heyman, in prep. a. See Folda 1995, Pl. 6.8w on p. 143.

18 Fulcher of Chartres, Historia, Book 1.XXXV.16, 280; Fulcher, A History, 384–385 mention that the Church of the Nativity was dedicated to the Virgin Mary: "Basilica beatae Mariae apud Bethleem." See the discussion of the paintings and illustrations in Folda 1995, 94, and Fig. 5.14.a on p. 91 and Color Pl. 1 (Bethlehem), and Color Pl. 8 (Psalter of Melisende). See Kühnel 1988; Heyman 2017; Heyman 2021. The church underwent an ambitious restoration campaign that was completed in 2016. See Kühnel et al. 2019; Alessandri 2020.

19 Naked male figures, a bird–siren and a centaur inhabit the eastern lintel's acanthus. See Folda 1995, 226–227 and Figs. 7.9k–7.9r, on pp. 222–224; Heyman 2015.

20 For the ekphrasis of the decoration of the non–extant palace, see Hunt 2015. For Byzantium, see various contributions in Littlewood et al. 2002. See Thomson 2019 for the Armenian floral vine frieze englobing the exterior of the Church of the Holy Cross in Ałt'amar, of which Thomas Artsruni and his continuator left an impressive ekphrasis in his History.

21 Folda 1995, 94, and Fig. 5.14.a on p. 91 and Color Pl. 1 (Bethlehem), and Color Pl. 8 (Psalter of Melisende).

22 For Sasanian textiles, see Feltham 2010, 1–23.

23 See the picture documenting the restoration in Alessandri 2020, 291, Fig. 6.3.2.

24 See, for example, WTC, Book 2.22, Vol. 63, 191–192 (WTH, Vol. 1, 148–150). For silks, see Jacoby 1991/1992; Jacoby 2004; Jacoby 2014a.

25 Delaborde 1880, No. I, 21.

26 I elaborate on the donors' theme and the border inscriptions in Heyman in prep. a; in prep. b.

27 Shagrir 2012. See the Latin text and its English translation: Possidius, Vita Sancti Augustini, XXII, 92-94. I wish to thank Iris Shagrir, Amnon Linder, Yvonne Friedman, Yitzhak Hen and Estelle Ingrand Varenne, for discussing the inscriptions with me.

28 Horace, Satires, Opera, 1.4, 81–85, 337.

29 Heyman in prep. a.

30 I was able to trace this wording in exegesis. See Heyman, in prep a.

31 Heyman, in prep. c.

32 Kapitaikin 2016. Surprisingly, the catalogue of the Metropolitan Museum in New York makes no mention of the Deēsis fresco.

33 WTC, Book 15.26, Vol. 63A, 709–710 (WTH, Vol. 2, 133–134).

34 Pringle 2007, 287–288.

35 Shoemaker 2002, 9–78, 98–107.

36 Pringle 2007, 288; Schein 2005, 87–88.

37 Riley-Smith 1997, 106–107; Schein 2005, 87.

38 Philip of Harveng (d. 1183), Commentaria in Cantica Canticorum, 4.5, PL 203, 360D, says that Mary, in her role as mediator, converts her son's wrath into grace, and bitterness into sweetness. For Mary's mediatory role in Byzantium in both theology and the Deēsis image, see Der Nersessian 1960, esp. 74–75.

39 WTC, Book 9.9, Chronicon, Vol. 63, 431 (WTH, Vol. 1, 392).

40 Papsturkunden, No. 6, 101–102; Mayer and Richard, Urkunden, Vol. 1, No. 30, 145–146; Röhricht RRH, Vol. 2, No. 36c. Abbot Hugh's appeal survives in three copies made in Sicily in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the late thirteenth century, the Jehoshaphat brethren had taken their archive to their priory of St. Mary Magdalene at Messina (founded by Count Roger in 1113), where it had remained until 1879, when it was transferred to the state archive of Palermo. See Kohler 1899, 109; Hamilton and Jotischky 2020, 175. Delaborde 1880, No. I, 21 refers to Hugh's petition, discussed below.

41 Röhricht RRH, Vol. 2, No. 36c; Papsturkunden, No. 6, 101–102; Delaborde, 1880, No. I, 21 (1112, foundation by Abbot Hugh), No. II, 22–23 (1113, confirmation of Pope Pascal II).

42 The hospital governor Acelinus is mentioned in 1115 (Delaborde 1880, No. V, 28). Petrus elemosinarius is mentioned in 1158 (Delaborde 1880, XXXII, 79).

43 Delaborde 1880, No. IV, 26–27 (and 18–19 for the list of abbots). The confraternity and its prime members are mentioned in Delaborde 1880, No. XIX, 48; Mayer and Richard 2010, Vol. 1, 175. For the lay confraternity, see Vincent and Abel 1914, Vol. 2.I–II, 313; Pringle 2007, 289–290. The name of Balian of Jaffa appears in the Cartulary in the following years: 1119 (a witness to a donation on the part of Jocelin, Prince of Galilee: Delaborde 1880, No. VII, 32); 1123 (in the confirmation of the Abbey's possessions on the part of Patriarch Guarmond: Delaborde 1880, No. XII, 37); 1127 (in a donation of his domain in Dargerboan to the Abbey: Delaborde 1880, No. XV, 41–42. This charter mentions the name of his lord, Hugh of Puiset, Count of Jaffa, who rebelled against King Fulk in 1134, and his relations with Queen Melisende formed part of the royal marital and governmental crisis (a witness to the confirmation charter of Patriarch William, discussed below: Delaborde 1880, No. XIX, 47–49). Balian is mentioned alongside another important benefactor of the Abbey, William of Buris, Prince of Galilee: Delaborde 1880, Nos. V, X, XI, XIV, XVI, XVIII, XIX (as donor), and Nos. VI–VIII (as witness). See Heyman, in prep. a. For the later papal reconfirmation of the almsgiving and the burial rights, see, Delaborde 1880, No. XXI, 52 (confirmation of Innocent II, dated 1140); Delaborde 1880, No. XXVII, 62 (confirmation of Eugene III, dated 1151); Delaborde 1880, No. XXVIII, 66 (confirmation of Anastasius IV, dated 1154); Delaborde 1880, No. XLIX, 103 (confirmation of Alexander IV, dated 1255).

44 John of Würzburg, Peregrinationes tres, Chapter 5; John of Würzburg, PPTS, Chapter 5. See Pringle 2007, 289–290; Hamilton and Jotischky 2020, 171–190.

45 Arce 1971, 19–38; Vincent and Abel 1914, Vol. 2.I–II, 301–337; Pringle 2007, 358–364. See the pilgrim descriptions of John of Würzburg

(c. 1165), PPTS, Chapter 8; Peregrinationes tres, Chapter 8, and Theodoric, (c. 1172), Peregrinationes tres, Chapter 24. See Boase 1977, 96–98; Hamilton and Jotischky 2020, 173, 180.

46 The maps showing the new Abbey are Cambrai, c.1150; Stuttgart, c.1180; Uppsala, twelfth century. See Levy 1991, 418–507; Levy and Rubin 1996. For the fortified exterior, see Theodoric, Peregrinationes tres, Chapter 23 and John of Würzburg, PPTS, Chapter 23. See Pringle 1987, 350–352.

47 The tomb itself has been isolated in a manner reminiscent of Christ's tomb in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. See Pringle 1987, 351; Shoemaker 2002, 98–107. Following a flood in February 1972, the building underwent a major restoration. The earliest features of the church and its tomb have been described and analyzed by Bagatti et al. 1975, 11–55.

48 The upper Crusader building did not survive because Saladin ordered that its stones be used for the building of the walls of Jerusalem. See Johns 1939; Bagatti et al. 1975, 48–82; Vincent and Abel 1914, Vol. 2.I–II, 309–314, 324–327, Vol. 2.IV, 805–820; Pringle 2007, Vol. 3, 287–306.

49 John of Würzburg, Peregrinationes tres, Chapter 18: "HIC IOSAFAT VALLIS, HINC EST AD SYDERA CALLIS/ IN DOMINO FULTA FUIT HIC MARIA SEPULTA/ HINC EXALTATA CAELOS PETIT INVIOLATA/ SPES CAPTIVORUM, VIA, LUX ET MATER EORUM" (John of Würzburg, PPTS, Chapter 18). See Theodoric, PPTS, Chapter 23 (Peregrinationes tres, Chapter 23); Pringle 2007, 290–292.

50 Huygens, Peregrinationes tres, 25–26.

51 Agathangelos probably wrote his treatise a century and a half later than the period he purports to portray. See Thomson 1979, 102–114.

52 See Kessler 2019b, 62–63, 72, 78–79; Kessler 2020, 336–339.

53 Tvedtnes 1994.

54 Mical 2003.

55 Alan of Lille, Anticlaudianus, 5.3, Theologiae ornatus, PL 210, 531A.

56 Kessler 2000, 125.

57 Alan of Lille, Anticlaudianus, 5.3, Theologiae ornatus, PL 210, 531C.

58 Kessler 2019b, 69–76.

59 Delaborde 1880, No. XXXVII, 84–85; Röhricht RRH, No. 475.

60 Delaborde 1880, No. XIX, 47–49.

61 See Hummer 2018, 1–8 for the historiography of medieval kinship.

62 Riley-Smith 1997, 169–188; Jotischky 2017, 68–71.

63 WTC, Book 15.26, Vol. 63A, 709–710 (WTH, Book 15.26, Vol. 2, 133–134). See Delaborde 1880, No. XXXIII, 80–81.

64 Riley-Smith 1997, 169–188; Jotischky 2017, 68; Hamilton and Jotischky 2020, 176–178.

65 Kohler 1899, No. 9, 119.

66 Delaborde 1880, No. XV, 41–42.

67 Hummer 2018, 65–66, 83–84.

68 Kessler 2019a, 10–12 and Fig. 8, refers to the Cartulary of St. Martin du Canigou.

69 Kessler 2000, 88–103.

70 Thomas Artsruni, Book 1, 91.

71 Bruno of Segni, Sententiae, 2.12, "Ubi, id est in quibus, Ecclesia ornatur," PL 165, 941B.

72 Kessler 2000, 116. See Kessler's Chapter 6, "Real Absence. Early Medieval Art and the Metamorphosis of Vision," 104–148.

73 Kessler 2000, 104–108, 144–148.

74 Maguire 2001.

75 WTC, Book 19.18. Vol. 63A, 887–888 (WTH, Vol. 2, 319–320).

76 Thomas Artsruni, Book 4, 347.

77 Röhricht RRH, Vol. 2, No. 137a; Mayer and Richard, Urkunden, Vol. 1, 109, 268–269: "Milissenda filia regis et regni Ierosolimitani haeres." See Mayer 1972; Mayer 1985, 144; Murray 2015, 140; Koch 2018, 37. Melisende had formally been declared heres regni already in 1127, before the embassy was sent to Fulk of Anjou to offer him the hand of Melisende and a place in the succession of Baldwin II. For the marital crisis, see Mayer 1972, 99–103; Jotischky 2017, 79–80. Morphia's death (1 October 1126 or 1127) is mentioned in the calendar of the Psalter of Melisende (British Library, Egerton 1139, fol. 18r).

78 Bagatti et al. 1975, 83–93; Folda 1995, 324–328; Folda 2012, 474–476, and Fig. 14; Hamilton and Jotischky 2020, 177.

79 Delaborde 1880, 3, and No. XXXIV, 81–82 (during the patriarchate of Amalric); Mayer and Richard 2010, Vol. 1, No. 194, 377. The Abbey's Cartulary testifies to the generous support Melisende extended to the Abbey throughout the years. See, for example, Delaborde 1880, No. XXVI, 60–61 (settling a property dispute in favor of the Abbey, together with her son Baldwin III in 1146. Patriarch Fulcher, elected twenty-six days before issuing the charter, serves as the prime witness); No. XXXIII, 80–81 (a donation of a village named

Casracos to the Abbey, together with her son Baldwin in 1159, during the abbacy of William. The charter indicates the reciting of Masses on behalf of Melisende and her relatives, living and dead).

80 See Pringle 2007, Vol. 3, 290. For the later pilgrim accounts, see John Poloner (1422a), Descriptio Terrae Sanctae, 232–233 and 1422b, 7–8; Fratris Felicis Fabri, Evagatorium, Vol. 1, 228; Fabri, The Book of the Wanderings, Vol. 1/2, 464–469.

81 Kantorowicz 1942, 71. For the Theotokos, see Kalavrezou 1990.

82 Walter 1968, 327–330; Walter 1970; Walter 1980.

83 Ordinary of the Mass. See Angheben 2014. See also Castiñeiras 2009a; Castiñeiras 2009b, Figs. 1, 2, 10, 13. I wish to thank Manuel Castiñeiras for providing me with the picture of Galliano. The Church of the Pater Noster, otherwise known as the Sanctuary of the Eleona, was built in 1874, atop a cave associated with the teachings of Christ. The earlier Byzantine and Crusader churches on the site were destroyed. See Pringle 2007, Vol. 3, "Lord's Prayer," 117–124.

84 Delaborde 1880, No. I, 21: "Siquidem supradicte ecclesie abbatis venerabilis nomine Hugonis peticioni, preclarique regis nostri et episcoporum canonicorumque consilio et assensu, aures pietatis inclinantes, concessimus ecclesie prefate medietatem decime Bervaldi terciamque partem decime Radulfi Aloensis, decimam quoque Gumfredi de Cavis, de Mezera, de Daltim ad ecclesie gloriose Virginis jamdicte reedificationem."

85 Delaborde 1880, No. V, 28: "Concedo etiam ejusdem Willelmi peticione domos quas ipse Willelmus et Agnes nobilis uxor ejus Jherosolimis habebant et predicto hospitali dederant."

86 Delaborde 1880, No. XIX, 47–49; Mayer and Richard, Urkunden, Vol. 1, No. 16, 117–118. See Heyman 2015, 118; Heyman 2017, 263–278; Heyman 2021, 95–101. In addition to serious historical errors, the disregarding of Crusader records and scholarships, inter alia, Manuel Castiñeiras González sadly ignored my identification of the destroyed hall as the Jehoshaphat almshouse. See Castiñeiras 2021, 73–74. It is surprising that in his discussion of the Hospitaller foundation of Sijena, Castiñeiras did not cite the Hospitaller cartulary, which provides precious information about the church and its statutes. In addition, Castiñeiras locates the entombment of Melisende's father in Jehoshaphat, while it is common knowledge that the Crusader kings were buried beneath the Chapel of Calvary in the Holy Sepulcher "with his predecessors," as William of Tyre attests (WTC, Book 13.28, Vol. 63, 625; WTH, Vol. 2, 46), which means that Castiñeiras ignored this important source. Furthermore, Castiñeiras wrongly ascribes the interment of Morphia, Melisende's mother, in Jehoshaphat, to Melisende, ignoring the fact that she was buried there at the command of her husband, King Baldwin II. Regarding my thesis about the Deēsis topography of Crusader Jerusalem, Castiñeiras appropriates my liturgical and historical pilgrimage reconstruction to himself and cites a tour guide instead. Other scholars erroneously identified the ruined hall as a second refectory. See Seligman 2012; Shagrir 2012; Peers 2021. I provide further information about the fresco's inscriptions and identification of the donors in my forthcoming studies, Heyman, in prep. a; in prep. b.

87 Pringle 2007, Vol. 3, 358–364.

88 Delaborde 1880, No. XIX, 47–49, "In nomine Sancte et Individue Trinitatis Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Notum sit omnibus fidelibus tam futuris quam presentibus quod domnus Hugo abbas monasterii Sancte Marie de Valle Josaphat et omnes ejusdem loci fratres, inter alia multum necessaria opera predicti monasterii, hedificaverunt pro necessitate pauperum Christi hospitale quoddam juxta predictam ecclesiam Sancte Marie in quo refectionem aliquam et aliquid refrigerium lassi pauperes et peregrini semper invenire possint et in quo infirmi pro posse ipsius domus procurentur et reficiantur et pausent. Ad cujus hospitalis adjutorium memoratus abbas et alii decimas domibus [omnibus] bonis suis omni tempore in communi capitule suo se donare stabilierunt. In quo etiam capitule et hoc diffinierunt quod quicumque confraternitati pauperum ibi convenientium se associaverint, in primis societatem et participationem orationum et helemosinarum et omnium beneficiorum ecclesie Sancte Marie habeant; deinde, pro salute et prosperitate eorum, semper in unaquaque sollempnitate Apostolorum XIII pauperes in nomine Christi pascantur. Posthac in eodem capitulo constitutum est ut, in die obitus cujuscumque illorum qui in hac confraternitate se miserint, tredecim pauperes iterum pascantur, et usque ad XIII dies quidam pauper quotidie reficiatur, et per XIII dies una missa cantetur et per unumquemque annum, in die obitus illius, pro anima ejus missa una iterum celebretur et unus pauper pascatur. Sed et omni tempore per unamquamque ebdomadam cantabitur missa una pro salute vivorum, alia vero pro requie defunctorum in ecclesia Sancti Salvatoris pro confratribus supradicti hospitalis

et pro omnibus qui in eadem confraternitate intraturi sunt et pro aliis benefactoribus et sustentatoribus hujus sancte helemosine. Nomina vero illorum qui se primitus in hac confraternitate miserunt sunt hec: domnus Balduinus rex primus et domnus Bernardus episcopus de Nazareth, Guillelmus de Buris, Guido de Miliaco, Goscelinus dominus de Tiberiade, domnus Balianus et ceteri plures qui mortui sunt. Unusquisque autem ex illis promisit se daturum in helemosinam pauperibus hujus hospitalis, per unumquemque annum, XIII bisancios pro anima sua. Sed quare aliquibus hoc nimium fortasse videtur, idcirco provisum est et constitutum ut quicumque in hoc hospitali helemosinam suam fecerit aut aliquam sustentationem vel aliquid beneficium contulerit, omnium benefeciorum supradictorum et orationum particeps efficiatur. Factum est hoc et statutum tempore venerabilis patriarcha Gibelini, regnante primo rege Balduino, concedente illud domno Hugone abbate cum omni suo conventu. Et ego Guillelmus patriarcha sigilli mei testimonio hoc idem confirme et concedo et supranominatos benefactores in orationibus et beneficio communi ecclesiarum Jerusalem recipio. Ego frater Facundus prior Sancte Marie de Latina autentico huic transcripto (sic) de verbo ad verbum concordanti (sic) vidi, legi necnon sigillum nostrum apposui." See also Mayer and Richard 2010, Vol. 1, No. 50, 175.

89 Mayer 1972, 108.

90 Buchthal 1957, 2.

91 Heyman 2021.

92 Nersessian 2001, 140.

93 Nersessian 2001, 107. The Deēsis is also represented on the 1254 silver top cover of the Gospels of Kostandin Bardzraberdtsi (Cilicia, Hromklay). See Nersessian 2001, 125–126.

94 The trope was rather popular, e.g., Hrabanus Maurus (780–856), Allegoriae in universam sacram scripturam, PL 112, 929C. Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae, 9, PL 82, 624C, mentions the arcum coelestum.

95 Der Nersessian 1960, 45, n. 8.

96 Buchthal 1939, 138; Buchthal 1957, 7–9. See also Folda 1995, 155, 162, 231, 233, 297; Nersessian 2001, 198–200.

97 Melisende's father married the daughter of the Armenian Gabriel of Melitene, who held the Greek creed, though. William of Tyre calls him an Armenian by birth (natio, lingua, habitus) and Greek by faith, which probably means that he was a Melkite. See MacEvitt 2008, 76–78.

98 Palmer 1992, 6. For the Jacobite community in Jerusalem, see MacEvitt 2008, 122–24. For Edessa, see Phillips 1999; Berend 2006; Ferdinandi 2017. For Melisende's affinity to various indigenous communities, see Folda 2012, 468–69. For the blend of Latin and Byzantine traditions, see Köhler 1941; Demus 1970; Cutler 1981; Zeitler 1994, esp. 680–82; Folda 2006; Jacoby 2014a.

99 Heyman 2021.

100 Kessler 2007; Dolezal and Mavroudi 2002; Maguire 2002.

101 Prayer with the Harp of the Spirit, 55. See Puthuparampil 2005, 258. For the restoration to paradise through Mary as a vessel of the Incarnation, see various homilies of Jacob of Serugh in Puthuparampil 2005, 254, 286–287.

102 Thomas Artsruni, Book 4, 358 and Book. 3, 191, respectively.

103 Alessandri 2020, 412–421.

104 Pseudo-Venantius Fortunatus, Carmina spuria, 1.377, "Benedicta Maria per aevum, ad laudem artificis nobilis artis opus . . . decoris habens, inde rubore rosas, candore hinc lilia vincens, flos novus ex terra, quod polus arce colat, crystallum electrum aurum ostrum concha alba zmaragdus: quo tua forma nitet."

105 Kessler 2020, 331.

106 Alan of Lille, Distinctiones dictionum theologicalium, L, PL 210, 830C. For Bruno of Segni, see n. 70 above. The "opere polimyto" trope was rather popular, e.g., Bruno of Segni, Expositio in Exodum, 28, PL 164, 336D–337A.

107 WTC, Vol. 63A, 709–710 (WTH, Book 15.26, Vol. 2, 133–134).

108 Mayer 1972, 99–103; Mayer 1985, 139–142; Mayer 1989, 1–25; Mayer 1990, 861–865; Murray 2015, 138–144; Koch 2018, 67–68, 128–133; Jotischky 2017, 79–80.

109 Utudjian 1968; Creswell 1952, 1:210–211; Georgopoulou 2004, 122; Kenaan-Kedar 2016.

110 For medieval and late medieval East-West cultural encounters, see the various contributions in Akehurst and Van D'Elden 1997; Jotischky 2017, esp. 133–164; Connell 2015; Classen 2013, 1–216; Murray 2013. For Byzantium and the West, see Köhler 1941; Kitzinger 1966; Weitzmann 1966; Demus 1970; Cutler 1981; Zeitler 1994, esp. 680–682; Kessler 2007; Folda 2006; Jacoby 2014a.

111 Vergilius Maro (70–17 BCE), Georgica, v. 123; Chalcidius (c. 400 CE), Platonis Timaeus, Book 1; Vitruvius (75–15 BCE), De architectura, 4.1.9, 21–22. Professor Herbert Kessler informed me that he was working on the acanthus motif in its liminal and cosmic connotations.

112 Haran 1965; Barker 2014.

113 Jacoby 1991/1992; Jacoby 2004; Epstein 1989; Greenfield 2005, 29–32; Phipps 2010; Barker 2014.

114 Lindsell 1937. See Heyman 2022.

115 Greenfield 2005, 1–4, 18–44.

116 Amar, Gottlieb, Varshavsky and Iluz 2005.

117 NETS 2009; Vulgata 2005; Holy Bible; Hebrew Bible (תנ"ך הברמן).

118 Josephus, War V.219, "It was a Babylonian curtain, embroidered with blue and fine linen, and scarlet, and purple: and of a contexture that was truly wonderful. Nor was this mixture of colors without its mystical interpretation: but was a kind of image of the universe. For by the scarlet there seemed to be enigmatically signified fire; by the fine flax, the earth; by the blue, the air; and by the purple, the sea."

119 Kessler 2000, 12–13; Kessler 2007, 121–122; Barker 2014, 5.

120 Heyman, in prep. a.

121 Röhricht RRH, No. 307; Mayer and Richard, Urkunden, Vol. 1, 371, 435–437, Nos. 187, 237; Vol. 2, 513, No. 285; Richard 1965. See Burns 2009, 1–14, 31, 100–155, for medieval literary implications of silk.

122 Feltham 2010, 1–23.

123 Acanthus has been reported to cure cardiac issues since Antiquity. Caelius Aurelianus (c. 400), Celerum passionum, Book 3, "Qomodo curandi sunt cardiaci," mentions the thorny acantha Aegyptia along the Syriacus, and provides fully detailed instructions. A late medieval English herbarium provides medicinal information to use Acanthus mollis/acanton, known as Scotch Thistle or Wolly Thistle. See Van Arsdall 2002, 217. For the use of acanthus in Sicily, see Epstein 1989, 165.

124 Jacoby 1991/1992; Jacoby 2004; Epstein 1989; Koslin 2002.

125 Kessler 1965, 327–328.

126 On the invisible God, see Kessler 2000; Barker 2014, 5–6.

127 For the typology of the Temple Veil, see Kessler 2000, 145–148, Chapters 6 and 7, 104–189; Kessler 2005, 296–301; Kessler 2019, 56. There are, of course, other moderns. However, Kessler's treatment of the tabernacle's imagery and its multifarious aesthetic implications for modes of seeing and sight concealment might represent the broadest corpus, providing me with a double motivation to dedicate my own study to him, despite the lesser place this theme occupies here for obvious reasons.

128 Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae, 9, PL 82, 625B–626A.

129 Pausanias, Graeciae Descriptio, 3.16.2.

130 The trope recurs in several tracts, e.g., Baldwin of Canterbury (1120–1190), Tractatus diversi, 16, PL 204, Col. 564B.

131 Nersessian 2001, 199–200.

132 The trope was very popular. See, for example, Garnier of Rochefort (1187–1198), Sermones, PL 205, 566B. See Draelants 2019; Kessler 2019a, 52, 56, 126, 140.

133 Alan of Lille, Elucidatio in Cantica canticorum, 7, PL 210, 102C. See Cowell 1999.

134 Robert the Monk, Historia, 2.4, 15 (History, Book 2, 15).

135 Kessler 2019a, 53–56.

136 For the typology of the Temple Veil, see Kessler 2000, 145–148, Chapters 6 and 7, 104–89; Kessler 2005, 296–301; Kessler 2019, 56.

137 Thomas Artsruni, Book 1, 92.

138 Harrington 2013.

139 Dolezal and Mavroudi 2002, 110–11.

140 Mango 2000.

141 Hunt 2015, 276.

142 Thomas Artsruni, Book 4, 376.

143 Kessler 2019b, 75–78.

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