A SONG OF MEMORY & IDENTITY:

ANALYSIS OF THE PREFATORY CYCLE OF THE MELISENDE PSALTER

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Nestled directly off the main stairwell of the Abbey of Saint Mary in the Valley of Jehosaphat, there sits a small chapel dedicated to Saints Anne and Joachim (fig. 1). The original purpose of this chapel has been forgotten with time, as has its original occupant: Queen Melisende of Jerusalem. This Crusader queen wielded power in perhaps the most contentious and spiritually important region in the "Western" world: Jerusalem and the Levant. While very little material evidence of Melisende's reign remains, she did leave behind her psalter.[1] This small, lavishly decorated manuscript like other medieval, royal psalters offers deep insight into the private, spiritual life of its royal owner. Melisende had, in some ways, a more complex identity than most medieval rulers because she sat at the intersection of several seeming incongruous identities. She served as queen-regnant of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, while balancing her duties as ruler with her duty to produce heirs. She was also the daughter of Frankish nobility, ruled over the Latin Kingdoms of Jerusalem, and was raised in the Levant by an Armenian mother. While virtually all primary evidence of Melisende's life has either been lost or never existed at all, the Melisende Psalter provides a glimpse into the inner world of a complicated, medieval queen.

A Brief History of a Crusader Queen

Melisende was born to Count Baldwin of Edessa and his wife Morfia in 1105 in the city of Edessa. Matthew of Edessa, an Armenian monk and contemporary chronicler,

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[1] British Library, MS Egerton 1139.

described Baldwin, a Frankish nobleman, as a "valiant man and a warrior exemplary in conduct, an enemy of sin, and by nature humble and modest."[2] Melisende's mother, Morfia, came from a family of Armenian immigrants who had been forced out of Armenia by the Turks..[3] Conflict was a regular fixture of Melisende's early years. Morfia gave birth to Melisende while Baldwin was being held for ransom in Mosul.[4] Upon his return, their lives were not the easiest as Edessa, having religious significance to all parties and laying on the trade route between Persia and the West, saw very little peace during the Crusader occupation.

In 1118, Baldwin took a trip to Jerusalem from which he would never return. During his trip, Baldwin I the King of Jerusalem died and left the throne to his brother Eustace of Boulogne but stipulated that if Eustace were unable or unwilling that, with the consent of the nobles, Baldwin of Edessa was to become Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem.[5] It is unclear why Eustace never claimed the throne, but the nobles of the Latin Kingdoms elected Melisende's father on Easter Sunday in 1118.[6] By this vote, thirteen-year-old Melisende became not only a princess of Jerusalem, but also, as the eldest child with no brothers, the heir to throne. At this point, the Latin Kingdoms did not yet have laws that entailed inheritances away from daughters. In the absence of a son, the law dictated that the eldest daughter "should have the same rights as an eldest son and should inherit the

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[2] Translated by Malcolm Barber, *The Crusader States*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. 2012) 105.
[3] Sharan Newman, *Defending the City of God: A Medieval Queen, the First Crusades, and the Quest for Peace in Jerusalem*, (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 15.
[4] Newman, *Defending the City of God*, 21.
[5] Newman, *Defending the City of God*, 56.
[6] Newman, *Defending the City of God*, 55.

entire fief."[7] While Morfia could still have given birth to a boy, the fact that Melisende was not engaged in a political marriage at a very young age and the presence of her signature of several edicts indicate that Baldwin II had begun grooming the young princess for her role as Queen of Jerusalem.

Because Melisende was heir apparent to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the choice of her husband held far more political weight than the marriage arrangements of his other daughters; Baldwin was not merely choosing an advantageous match for his daughter, he was choosing the next King of Jerusalem. In 1128, an embassy that Baldwin had sent out presented a proposal of marriage to Count Fulk V of Anjou. [8] Fulk had several children from a previous marriage and had deep connections in France, Flanders, and England. These connections, along with political and military experience, made Fulk an excellent candidate to rule the highly contested territory of the Latin Kingdoms. In the marriage agreement, Fulk was promised that he would not be prince consort but would rule as King of Jerusalem.[9] In the first half of 1129, Melisende, now 24 years old, married the 40-year-old Fulk in Jerusalem.[10] After their marriage, Fulks signature appears on several edicts in accordance with the agreement that Fulk would become Baldwin II's heir.

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[7] Sylvia Schein, "Women in Medieval Colonial Society: The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century" In *Gendering the Crusades*, eds. Susan B. Edginton and Sarah Lambert (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2002), 145.
[8] Malcolm Barber, *The Crusader States*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. 2012), 145.
[9] Han Eberhard Mayer, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem," in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972), 98.
[10] Barber, *The Crusader States*, 146.

Two years after their marriage, Baldwin II, on his deathbed, called Fulk, Melisende, and their son Baldwin to his side and altered the line of succession unilaterally. Although the 1129 agreement indicated that Fulk would have "succession without any limitations,"[11] Baldwin bequeathed the throne to all three members of this new family, which meant that all three would rule as equal co-monarchs of the Latin Kingdoms. Melisende's son, now Baldwin III, was not crowned with his parents in 1131, as he was only two years old. However, Melisende was crowned in the Holy Sepulchre alongside her husband and officially became the queen-regnant of the Latin Kingdoms of Jerusalem at the age of 26.

Although little of her early life appears in the records, Melisende's legacy of power and strength are evident in the chronicler William of Tyre's account of a feud that broke out between her and Fulk in the early years of their reign. Rumors spread through the court regarding Melisende's relationship with Count Hugh of Jaffa, who was accused of conspiring against King Fulk. However, Hans Eberhard Mayer, Margaret Tranovich, and Malcom Barber along with many other scholars have argued that these rumors may have been spread by Fulk in an effort to discredit Melisende and make her removal from power simple. They also note that resulting feud that consumed the court most likely had more to do with a power struggle between the monarchs than any affair or a disagreement regarding Hugh of Jaffa's punishment.[12] According to William of Tyre, the feud

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[11] Mayer, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem," 100.

[12] Margaret Tranovich, *Melisende of Jerusalem: The World of a Forgotten Crusader Queen:* (London: East & West, 2011) 29; Barber, The Crusader States, 155; Mayer, "Studies in the History of Melisende of Jerusalem," 107.

escalated to a point where all nobles who had aided or supported Fulk in this dispute "fell under the wrath of Queen Melisend(e) and were forced to take diligent measures for their safety."[13] Mayer specifically notes that Melisende's severe reaction indicates that this feud between royal spouses resulted from an attempt from Fulk to diminish Melisende's power and reject the line of succession established by Baldwin II on his deathbed.[14]

Fulk's apparent plan had not simply failed but resulted in the exact opposite of its intended affect; rather than stripping Melisende of her power, it appears that Fulk's power diminished as a result. William of Tyre wrote that "from that day forward, the king became so uxorious that, whereas he had formerly aroused her wrath, he now calmed it, and not even in unimportant cases did he take any measures without her knowledge and assistance."[15] Although Melisende won this political battle, she would continue to fight for her throne for the rest of her life. Melisende ruled with her apparently submissive husband until his death in 1143, when she was crowned yet again with her son, Baldwin III. Because the young king was still in his minority, she ruled with apparent autonomy for almost ten years with little interference. However, a bitter civil war broke out between the mother and son in 1152, which resulted in Melisende's apparently removal from political power.[16]

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[13] William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea: Volume II,* trans. and anot. by Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey, (New York: Morningside Heights, Columbia University Press, 1943), 76.
[14] Mayer, "Studies in the History of Melisende of Jerusalem," 107.
[15] William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea: Volume II*, 76.
[16] A detailed account of Melisende's feud with her son can be found in Mayer, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem." More detail has been given to her feud with Fulk as the Melisende Psalter was created long before Baldwin III's attempts to oust his mother.

The Psalter

The Melisende Psalter was created at the tail end of or directly after this public feud with her husband, in roughly 1135, and is one of most elaborate and luxurious manuscript to survive from the Latin Kingdoms of Jerusalem. Currently housed at the British Library, the Melisende Psalter is made up of 218 folios and 9 unfoliated parchment flyleaves. Its original ivory covers (figs. 2-3) also survived. The manuscript measures 215 mm x 145 mm, with the text or image only taking up a 135 mm x 75 mm space on the page. The manuscript begins with prefatory cycle of full-page 24 miniatures, followed by a calendar, prayers to Cross, prayers before the Psalms, Canticles, and an assortment of prayers to various saints. While the luxurious ivory covers inlaid with semiprecious stones and the beautifully detailed miniatures and calligraphy might indicate that the manuscript was intended for public viewing, its small size suggests that it was intended for the personal, devotional practice of Melisende.

The Melisende Psalter is not only an invaluable resource in the study of the theology, art, and history of the crusades, but it also opens a window into the life of a powerful and influential woman who left behind very little. The Book of Psalms, a central aspect of both monastic and secular Christian life, was the first ‘book’ to be widely produced for the laity.[17] While more and more psalters were produced during the Middle Ages, they were not impersonal or ‘mass produced.’ Often produced for a single layperson, a psalter provides unique insight into the private, devotional practice of the

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[17] Richard Marsden, introduction to *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: 600-1450*, eds. Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter, vol. 2*, New Cambridge History of the Bible*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 10.

individual. In his comprehensive analysis of the St. Louis Psalter, Harvey Stahl argues that an illuminated psalters are "highly revealing documents," exposing the views, tastes, "circumstances and self-image of the owner."[18] Because Melisende left so little behind, her psalter offers a rare glimpse into the life, identity, and experiences of the crusader queen.

Previous scholarship has shed light on many aspects of the Melisende Psalter and what it might tell us about its owner. Harvey Buchthal and Jaroslav Folda have both analyzed the psalter from a holistic perspective and noted the integration of Byzantine and Western European influences that permeate the manuscript.[19] Bianca Künhel focused her analysis on the David imagery in the ivory cover.[20] Because of the massive visual program of the manuscript and its covers, I will be examining only a small portion of its contents: the prefatory cycle. These 24 full-page miniatures follow the narratives of the Virgin and Christ's lives, beginning with the Annunciation and ending with an iconic depiction of the Deësis. The structure and presence of a prefatory cycle of this kind is by no means unique, but an analysis of the imagery included in these illustrates provide

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[18] Harvey Stahl, *Picturing Kingship: History and Painting in the Psalter of Saint Louis*. (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008).

[19] Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098-1187* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Folda, "Melisende of Jerusalem: Queen and Patron of Art and Architecture in the Crusader Kingdom," in *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*, ed. Therese Martin (Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninlijke Brill NV, 2012) 429-478; Folda, "No. 121. The Psalter of Melisende, Queen of Jerusalem," in *Jerusalem 1000-1400: Every People under Heaven*, eds. Barbara Drake Boehm and Melanie Holcomb, 244-246 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art in association with Yale University Press, 2016); Hugh Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957).

[20] Bianca Kühnel, "The Kingly Statement of the Bookcovers of Queen Melisende's Psalter," in *Tesserae: Festschrift für Josef Engemann*, eds. E. Dassmann and K. Thraede, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* Ergänzungsband 18. (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagbuchhhandlung, 1991.), 340-457

insight into how Melisende may have used and experienced her psalter as well as her values and self-image.

A Song of Power and Identity

In the first chapter, I contend with the issue of who commissioned this manuscript. While all who have studied the psalter conclude that it was made for and used by Queen Melisende of Jerusalem,[21] the identity of the individual responsible for its commission remains a topic of debate. Most scholars argue that the psalter was commissioned by Fulk for Melisende and analyze the manuscript as a gift. However, I contend that there is not sufficient evidence to prove that Fulk alone organized its production. After addressing the arguments of the scholars that hold the opposing view, I present my argument for Melisende's involvement in the commission. Through comparative analysis of several miniatures in the prefatory cycle to Western European and Byzantine counterparts, I contend that Melisende is just as likely a candidate as Fulk. Furthermore, the relegation of Melisende to the role of recipient strips her of the agency that she appears to have fought for throughout her reign.

The second chapter explores how a medieval Christian may have experienced the 'mirror' of the Psalms, placing the Melisende Psalter in the greater context of medieval theology and philosophy. This theoretical examination provides a backdrop for a more

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[21] Although there is consensus regarding the manuscript itself, there is some discussion surrounding the ivory covers. In her PhD. dissertation, Jean Brodahl proposes that the front cover was produced in England roughly thirty years after the manuscript itself and that the back cover was a nineteenth century addition. While the covers do not figure into my analysis in any substantial way, I am operating under the more common understanding that they were produced as part of the original commission in the 1130s in Jerusalem. Jean Brodahl, "The Melisende Psalter and Ivories (BL Egerton 1139): An Inquiry into the Status and Collecting of Medieval Art in Early Nineteenth-Century France" (PhD. diss., Brown University, 1999).

focused analysis of how Melisende may have viewed and experienced the prefatory cycle in her psalter. Beginning with the basic history of the Psalms and the psalter, the intimate and meditative nature of the Psalms comes into focus. Three concepts are central to the medieval understanding and use of Psalms: meditation, memory, and identity. In many ways, the Psalms lie at the intersection of these three concepts with the language of the Psalms prompts the reader to meditate upon their identity, which in turn involves memory or *memoria*. After examining medieval methods of meditation, I propose that because the intimate, first-person language of the Psalms requires the reader to insert themselves into the text, the psalter functions as a proto-affective meditation guide that specifically incites meditation on one's identity. Citing studies of comparable, royal psalters, I argue that the imagery included in the Melisende Psalter, and specifically the prefatory cycle, was specifically included to bolster this 'identity meditation' and prompt Melisende to see herself in the illustrations.

The final chapter serves as a case study, applying the findings of the first two chapters onto the prefatory cycle. Having established that Melisende likely had influence over the production of her psalter and that the Psalms functioned as 'mirror' to the reader, I propose that, as she meditated on the miniatures in the prefatory cycle, Melisende may have imagined herself at each scene, creating connections between the Gospel narrative and her own. While this may be argued about any comparable prefatory cycle, there is one element of these miniatures and of Melisende's life that sets this prefatory cycle apart: a deep connection with Jerusalem. Building off the work of Robert Ousterhout, I argue that the prefatory cycle of the Melisende Psalter functions much like written

pilgrims' accounts and twelfth-century maps of Jerusalem. The miniatures not only invite the viewer to take a 'mental pilgrimage' to the holy sites pictured but also mimic the atemporality experienced by pilgrims. Due to the presence of a specific piece of crusader iconography in several miniatures, the scenes in the cycle are not set in the biblical Jerusalem but rather in Jerusalem of the Crusaders, collapsing the narrative of the crusaders onto the narratives of the Old and New Testament. Viewing the cycle through this lens, we not only can gain a new perspective of how Melisende may have used her psalter but also can discern how she may have seen her own life reflected in the images.

The goal of this project is to use the Melisende Psalter as a mirror, to see its owner reflected in its imagery. Because she left so little evidence behind, her story has often been forgotten. When it has been told, some historians have warped the narrative to portray her as a pawn in the in the political machinations of others or as a caricature of a "power-hungry Queen Dowager."[22] What is evidenced by the historical record is that Melisende ruled over Jerusalem as regnant and fought to maintain her political position. While the full truth of Melisende's life and reign may have been lost to time, her psalter provides a rare insight into her self-image, values, and spirituality.

[22] Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages.* (London, United Kingdom: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), 107.

A Case for Melisende as 'Maker'

When we look at the powerful, historical women of the Middle Ages, we often acknowledge their exceptional nature. Few women achieved the highest levels of political, social, and religious power. Although the Queen of the Latin Kingdom left behind very little of her life and reign, her psalter remains intact, and in many ways the owner of this book of Psalms is an exception among the exceptions. Melisende is often considered a European queen as she ruled over the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem; but as the daughter of a Frankish nobleman and an Armenian princess born in Edessa, Melisende was truly a native of the Levant. She spoke Arabic, French, and Latin making her the first ruler of the Latin Kingdoms who had the ability to communicate with all of her subjects. Her divisive plays for power in court and her refusal to cede that power to her husband and ultimately her son indicate that she was not only unique in her upbringing but also in her perseverance and influence.

In light of these exceptional aspects Melisende's life, scholars' hesitancy to acknowledge that Melisende may have commissioned her own book of Psalms is surprising. Many art historians argue that King Fulk commissioned the psalter for his wife and analyze its visual program from that perspective. However, I argue that, considering Fulk's apparent submission to his wife and Melisende's general power and influence, Melisende's agency should not be excluded from analysis of her psalter. While most of the scholarship suggests that the psalter was commissioned for Queen Melisende, I argue that the imagery included in the Life of Christ miniatures indicate that Melisende

likely played a role in its creation, allowing us to view the complexities of her identity in the images.

To support this claim, I will begin by addressing the evidence that points to Fulk's involvement in the creation of the psalter. Once I do so, I will compare several miniatures from the Melisende Psalter to corresponding miniatures from three comparable psalters. I will also draw on examples from both Byzantine and Armenian depictions of the same moments in the life of Christ. This comparative analysis will establish the ways in which the Melisende Psalter converges with and diverges from both Western and Eastern influences. Through this analysis, I will draw parallels between the visual evidence in Melisende's Psalter and her unique life experiences order to support the claim that Melisende may have played a role in its creation.

Fulk as 'Maker'

In order to consider who may have commissioned and influenced the production of the Melisende Psalter, we must establish when the manuscript was created. The calendar contained in the psalter includes entries to commemorate the deaths of her parents, Baldwin II and Morfia, which are often cited as proof that it was created for their daughter. However, Fulk's death date is notably absent from the calendar, which implies that the psalter was created between Baldwin II's death in 1131 and Fulk's death in November 1143.[1] Jaroslav Folda, who has produced some of the most in depth research on the Melisende Psalter, argues that it was most likely not created between 1131 and

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[1] Buchthal, *Miniature Painting,* 1.

1134, the years of Melisende and Fulk's reign that were marred by bitter infighting.[2] Instead, Folda and many other scholars argue that the psalter was likely commissioned for Melisende by Fulk as a gift to mark their reconciliation, which occurred around 1135.[3]

An Ivory Fulica

Several aspects of the psalter have led scholars to the conclusion that Fulk commissioned the psalter for his wife, namely: the inclusion of a specific bird in the imagery, the layout and structure of the psalter, and the types of saints that are included in the litany toward the end of the manuscript. The first piece of evidence, the bird, is located on the back cover with roundels depicting the corporal works of mercy (fig. 4). Folda presents the argument that this bird, which is labeled "Herodius," supports the supposition of Fulk's involvement in the psalter. Scholars such as Charles Cahier and others, argue that this bird, also known as a "fulica," could be a rebus for Fulk.[4] Folda posits that the presence of this possible rebus in association with the corporal works of mercy support the argument that Fulk commissioned the psalter as a reconciliation gift.[5] Barbara Zeitler problematizes this notion, arguing that the inclusion of the supposed label "runs counter to an interpretation of this motif as a riddle in which pictures substitute for words," arguing that the inscription of "Herodius" may in fact be a signature of the

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[2] Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders,* 154.
[3] Barbara Zeitler, "The disorienting mirror: reflections on the Queen Melisende Psalter (London, B.L. Egerton 1139)," in *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium Through British Eyes*, eds. Robin Cormack and Elizabeth Jeffreys (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2000), 74.
[4] Charles Cahier and Arther Martin*, Nouveaux mélanges d'archéologie, d'histoire et de littérature sur le Moyen-Age, Vol I.* (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1874), 138-139; T.S.R. Boase, "The Arts in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 35 (1938/1939), 14.
[5] Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, 154.

carver.[6] If we accept the notion that this bird represents Fulk, it is just as likely that Melisende, still recovering from her husband's betrayal, may have placed this rebus in near the Works of Mercy to remind both herself and her husband of the reconciliation and the work that still needed to be done to rectify the situation.

English Influences

While the presence of this bird is an interesting piece of evidence, I find Fulk's connections with England in combination with the English aspects of the psalter more strongly support the argument for Fulk's involvement. Several times, Fulk attempted to marry his children into the English line of succession. His first attempt proved unsuccessful after his daughter Matilda married and then was promptly widowed by Henry I of England's only son. Fulk finally secured his desired connection with English royalty around the same time he married into the royal family of the Latin Kingdom. Fulk's eldest son, Geoffrey Plantagenet, succeeded his father as the Count of Anjou after Fulk left for Jerusalem to marry his young bride. In 1128, Geoffrey married Matilda, the eldest daughter of Henry I and recent widow of Henry V, Holy Roman Emperor.[7] If Folda's suggestion that the psalter was not created until after the feud between Melisende and Fulk settled is correct, Geoffrey and Matilda would have already had a son, securing the connection between the two families and Fulk's connection to English royalty.

The psalter's English influences cannot be denied. The structure of the of the manuscript draws almost exclusively from Western psalters,[8] and the calendar is English

[6] Zeitler, "The disorienting mirror," 76.
[7] Sharan Newman, *Defending the City of God,* 121-122.
[8] Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, 2.

rather than the standard "Jerusalem" calendar used by the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre.[9] While the style of the miniatures depicting the Life of Christ is observably Byzantine, their presence at the beginning of a liturgical manuscript is a Western tradition. Byzantine manuscripts that included illuminations of New Testament scenes typically dispersed them throughout the text, rather than grouping them and placing them at the before the text.[10] Structurally, The Melisende Psalter has more in common with English psalters, like the St. Alban's psalter, than with other Byzantine psalters. Additionally, the presence of several English saints and saints with ties to Anjou in the litany of saints that follows the Psalms also indicate that Fulk had some involvement in the creation of the psalter.

Considering the Evidence

While these ties to English prototypes and Fulk's family are obvious, I cannot concede to Folda in his argument that the combination of these English aspects of the manuscript and the presence of the 'fulica' indicate that the psalter was commissioned *by* Fulk *for* Melisende. However, most scholars that discuss the manuscript proceed from this assumption. Some have taken it even further, arguing that Fulk commissioned the psalter for an English relative rather than for his wife.[11] In the words of Therese Martin, these scholars focused on Fulk as the 'maker' of the psalter.[12] While I accept that the

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[9] Folda, *Art of the Crusades*, 151.
[10] Buchthal*, Miniature Painting*, 2.
[11] Zeitler, "The disorienting mirror," 74. In a footnote, Zeitler cites the M.A. dissertation of J.K Golden, The Melisende Psalter Reconsidered: a reassessment of its patron and its miniaturist.
[12] Therese Martin, "The margin to act: a framework of investigation for women's (and men's) medieval art-making*," Journal of Medieval History* 42, no. 1 (2015): 5.

English aspects of the psalter suggest Fulk likely had some influence over its creation, I cannot capitulate that Melisende was a mere recipient.

Folda's argument centers around her claim that "all aspects of the program of its text and decoration are more meaningful as a sumptuous and personal gift to Melisende from Fulk in the circumstances of the 1135 reconciliation than simply as an expensive commission by Melisende for her own use."[13] He argues that Melisende's tastes and values are reflected in the psalter because Fulk tailored the text and imagery to suit those tastes and "express his highest regard and deepest admiration for her person and her position as queen."[14] While I agree that the psalter provides an excellent window into Melisende as queen and art patron, I propose that the psalter's visual program is more 'meaningful' as a reflection of Melisende's self-image than as a glimpse into Fulk's views of or wishes for his wife. If, as many scholars suggest, Fulk never acted without the consent of his queen after their intense dispute,[15] we should not assume that Fulk commissioned and completely dictated the contents of an incredibly luxurious manuscript such as this one without his wife. Neglecting to analyze the psalter through the lens of Melisende as 'maker' both minimizes the influence of the powerful queen and limits our ability to learn more about her life. By comparing some of the miniatures in the Melisende Psalter's prefatory cycle to those in comparable psalters, we can infer that Melisende is just as likely as Fulk to have been involved in the commission of the psalter.

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[13] Folda, "Melisende," 457.
[14] Folda, 'Melisende," 459.
[15] Tranovich, *Melisende of Jerusalem,* 30.

Comparative Analysis

To examine the unique qualities of the Melisende Psalter, I will examine several of the miniatures in conjunction with comparable 'western' psalters and corresponding 'eastern' examples. The three western psalters included in this project are the St. Albans Psalter, the Copenhagen Psalter, and the Kristina Psalter. Although the Melisende Psalter predates two of these psalters, the three psalters are characteristic of 'western' psalters and their owners represent different aspects of Melisende's identity. The St. Albans Psalter was created between 1120 and 1130 at St. Albans Abbey just north of London for the wealthy anchoress, Christina of Markyate, and has been previously compared to the Melisende Psalter.[16] The Copenhagen Psalter, another English psalter, was produced in the 12th century supposedly as a coronation gift for Canute VI of Denmark. The final western psalter to which I will compare the Melisende miniatures is the Kristina Psalter, which is a 13th century English psalter owned by Kristina of Norway who married into the French royal family.[17] While the St. Albans Psalter offers a solid temporal comparison because it was produced a few years before the Melisende Psalter, the other psalters' owners represent different aspects of Melisende's identity. King Canute VI inherited his throne like Melisende, and Kristina of Norway was also a woman in a royal family.

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[16] Kristen Collins, "Pictures and Devotional Imagination in the St. Albans Psalter," in *The St. Albans Psalter: Painting and Prayer in Medieval England*, eds. Kristen Colins, Peter Kidd, and Nancy K. Turner, (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2013), 11-13; Folda, *Art of the Crusades*, 155.
[17] For more on the Kristina Psalter see Marina Vidas, *The Kristina Psalter: A Study of the Images and Texts in a French Early Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Manuscript* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006)

The Annunciation

I will first examine the Annunciation (fig. 5), the first image in the series of New Testament images in the Melisende Psalter. In the Melisende Annunciation, the Archangel Gabriel greets Mary telling her to "Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found grace with God. Behold though shalt conceive in thy womb, and shalt bring forth a son; and thou shalt call him Jesus."[18] The Archangel Gabriel strides across a courtyard enclosed by a colonnade, holding his customary staff as he stretches out his hand to Mary in blessed greetings. Mary stands in front of a plush red cushion encrusted with what appear to be gemstones and has a white textile of some kind draped over top of it. The cushion sits atop a carved seat, and Mary stands on a heavily decorated floor, which appears to extend from an ornately decorated building behind her. She holds one of her hands up in a moment of protest, before she accepts the miraculous task God sets before her. The sky behind her is an opaque gold, as is common in Byzantine icons and illuminations. At the very top, a vibrant blue semicircle, presumably painted with lapis, sits centered. Upon closer examination, a stream of gold emanates from the semicircle, across the building behind Mary and into her nimbus, symbolizing the moment of the miraculous conception.

The Melisende Psalter is often compared to the St. Albans Psalter, due to their similar structure. Unlike the Melisende Psalter, the St. Albans Psalter begins with the Temptation in the Garden of Eden, rather than the Annunciation.[19] However, the

[18] Luke 1:30-31 Douay-Rheims Bible.
[19] For more on the prefatory cycle of the St. Alban's Psalter see T.A. Heslop, "Saint Anselm's 'Grand Tour' and the Full-Page Miniature Cycle in the Markyate Psalter," in *St. Albans and the Markyate Psalter: Seeing and Reading in Twelfth Century England,* eds. Kristen Collins and Matthew Fisher (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2017), 9-44.

Annunciation does appear as the third full page miniature in the series (fig. 6). In this miniature, Gabriel steps toward Mary with his staff and his hand extended in greeting, as he did in the Melisende Psalter. Mary again holds her hand up at her chest. In this illumination, Mary remains seated on her throne or chair rather than standing in front of it. Apart from these compositional differences, the most obvious difference between the two psalters is the distinctive difference between the Anglo-Saxon style of the St. Albans Psalter and the overtly Byzantine style of the Melisende Psalter.

The prefatory cycle in the Copenhagen Psalter begins with the Annunciation like the Melisende Psalter (fig. 7). The orientation and body positions of Gabriel and Mary are very similar to the two previous renditions of the Annunciation. Unlike Mary in the St. Albans Annunciation, Mary stands rather than sits, but she does not stand in front of a throne as she does in the Melisende Psalter. A dove descends from the heavens to bless Mary. Above the two figures, two arches appear to support several architectural elements that create a kind of skyline behind them. Like the Melisende Psalter, the background is painted a solid gold. The scrolls held by both Gabriel and Mary also differentiate this miniature from those in the St. Albans and the Melisende Psalters.

Like the Copenhagen and Melisende Psalters, the Kristina Psalter begins with a miniature of the Annunciation (fig. 8). The Kristina Psalter splits each miniature into two scenes rather feature than a single scene like the previous psalters. Again, we see Gabriel and Mary in a nearly identical composition. Mary stands in front a chair or throne covered in a white cloth just as she does in the Melisende Psalter, and a dove appears near the head of Mary just as it does in the Copenhagen Psalter. The doves in both

miniatures serve the same function as the beam of golden light that penetrates Mary's nimbus in the Melisende Psalter: to illustrate the Holy Spirit coming to Mary.

After analyzing these Annunciation images from comparable psalters, the Byzantine influences present in the Melisende Psalter become strikingly apparent. The most obvious difference between these western miniatures and the Melisende Annunciation is the setting. While all three scenes are set onto a mono- or dichromatic background, Gabriel and Mary are placed in an identifiable space in the Melisende Psalter. The Copenhagen Psalter does feature architectural elements held aloft by the two arches that separate Mary and Gabriel, but these arches imply the sense of a setting rather than place the figures into a more realistic space like the building and the colonnade do in the Melisende Psalter. These arches and the towers above them are repeated throughout the miniatures that take place in city settings in the Copenhagen Psalter, which indicate that this is more of a stylistic motif rather than a specific location. The realistic setting of the Melisende Annunciation not only adds a narrative quality to the image that the western miniatures lack but is also emblematic of the Byzantine influence present in the Melisende Psalter. Many Byzantine depictions of the Annunciation feature a similar setting and create the same kind of narrative space (fig. 9). According to Folda and Buchthal, this influence is due to the psalter's production in the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre. The artists there would have been working with a large library of Greek manuscripts as references.[20] Folda, Buchthal, and almost all scholars that have analyzed the Melisende Psalter have noted mixture of Western and Byzantine elements present in

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[20] Folda, *Art of the Crusades*, 155. Buchthal, Miniature Painting, 11.

the psalter, describing it as an interwoven textile of East and West.[21] Folda, specifically, explains this mixture with his supposition that the manuscript was commissioned by Fulk and created by an artist trained in the Levant. While I agree that this could have been the case, I posit another reason for this stylistic choice. Melisende, a true native of the Levant, of mixed Western and Armenian heritage, could also be considered an interwoven textile of East and West. The possibility that Melisende worked with her husband on the commission of the psalter cannot be ignored.

The Annunciation also presents a specific detail that supports Melisende's influence on the imagery included in the psalter: the spindle and thread held by Mary (fig. 10). None of the western examples feature these elements, which can be traced back to apocryphal texts that tell the story of the Annunciation. The origins of this particular part of the Annunciation story can be found in the *Protoevangelium* of James. Most likely written in the 2nd century, the text was translated from the Greek to several languages, including Coptic, Georgian, Syriac, and Armenian.[22] The Protoevangelium was extremely popular, particularly in Armenia, by the 6th century, but was banned by the end of the century. However, it was modernized in Armenia in the 10th century and called the *Armenian Infancy Gospel*; this new edition was proliferated throughout Armenia and Armenian culture in the 12th and 13th centuries.[23] In the *Armenian Infancy Gospel*, the story of the Annunciation is far lengthier and more detailed than in the accepted Gospels

[21] Folda, *Art of the Crusades*, 155.
[22] J.K. Elliot, introduction *to A Synopsis of the Apocryphal Nativity and Infancy Narrative*, (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006), xii.
[23], Nira Stone, "Apocryphal Stories in Armenian Manuscripts," In *Studies in Armenian Art: Collected Papers,* eds. Michael E. Stone and Asya Bereznyak (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 92.

in the West. According to this apocryphal text, Mary had been given red thread to make her temple veil upon her engagement to Joseph, and she "took the scarlet and spun it."[24] Mary then grabs a pitcher to fetch water form a well where she hears a disembodied voice calling to her. Frightened, she hurries home to continue her spinning, only to be greeted by Gabriel who announces her pregnancy. The scarlet thread and spindle in the hands of Mary in the Melisende Psalter reference this text.[25] Although it was created a little over a century later, the Gladzor Gospel, which was created in Armenia features an Annunciation (fig. 11) that also borrows from the *Armenian Infancy Story* and bears striking similarities to the rendition in the Melisende Psalter.

Melisende's mother, Morphia, was an Armenian noble woman, and the only language she spoke was Armenian. Since Baldwin II was in prison for the first few years of her life in Edessa, Melisende's first language was most likely Armenian.[26] Although Morphia's family had converted to from Armenian Christianity to Greek Orthodoxy, the nature of this conversion is still up for debate. The increase in the Armenian population of Jerusalem after she became Queen of Jerusalem indicates that she continued to have deep ties with her Armenian heritage.[27] It is easy to imagine that Morphia had read or relayed the story of the *Armenian Infancy Gospel* to her daughter, as its popularity reached its heights in the 12th century during both Morphia and Melisende's lifetimes. Not only was the apocryphal story incredibly popular among the Armenian public, this

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[24] *Armenian Infancy Gospel* (Ch. 10) quoted in Nira Stone, "Apocryphal Stories," 92.
[25] Stone, "Apocryphal Stories," 92.
[26] Newman, *Defending the City of God*, 25.
[27] Newman, *Defending the City of God*, 58.

version of the Annunciation was also favored by Armenian illuminators. While these story elements can be found in some Byzantine renditions of the Annunciation, they appear 80% more in Armenian depictions of the holy event.[28] Fulk, who would have been in Jerusalem for no more than a few years would not likely have been familiar with the Armenian version of the Annunciation.

While some scholars have noted the Armenian influences in the miniatures of the Melisende psalter, they have explained it by arguing that the illuminator may have been trained in the Armenian tradition.[29] While this may be the case, I find it to be just, as if not more, likely that the powerful, half-Armenian queen influenced the production of the psalter. This desire to give agency to Fulk and then to the illuminator while completely disregarding the valid possibility of Melisende's influence reflects the often-subconscious sexism that causes us to believe Medieval women lacked agency.

The Presentation at the Temple

Another miniature that lends credence to Melisende's possible involvement in the commission of this psalter is the Presentation at the Temple (fig. 12). In this miniature, Mary, grasping her mantle, watches as Simeon holds Jesus above the altar. Joseph stands behind Mary, and Anna, the prophetess, stands near Simeon, creating a harmonious symmetrical image containing all the actors in the biblical story of the Presentation. Mary's act of grasping her mantel just above her heart calls to mind Simeon's words in

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[28] Nira Scott, "Apocryphal Texts," 92-95.
[29] W. Grape*, Grenzprobleme der byzantinichen Malerei: über die Grenzen der stilbildenden Rolle der byzantinischen Kunst für einzelen Buchmalereizentren in ihrem Einflussbereich* (Vienna: Grape, 1973) 103-104, 113.

this moment, "And thy own soul a sword shall pierce."[30] Above the figures, an onion-shaped blue dome sits on a red base. This dome represents the dome of the Temple and places this scene in its proper setting. Two other structures lie on either side of the dome, echoing the symmetry of the figures below. These two structures will be examined in conjunction with the central dome in the last chapter.

In the St. Albans Psalter Presentation (fig. 13), the motif of the green and blue that was present in the Annunciation background repeats itself. Like the Melisende Psalter, this miniature depicts Mary presenting Jesus to Simeon. However, in this miniature, the central figures are flanked by two women. The two illuminations have similar symmetry. Directly behind the altar, a central tower rises up from behind the central blue arch. Two identical towers flank the central arch. While this component echoes the three architectural elements present in the Melisende Psalter miniature, both the fact that the towers on each side are identical and the presence of a green break in the central tower cause these towers to feel more ornamental rather than structural. Most importantly, this miniature lacks the unique dome from Melisende's Presentation.

In the Presentation miniature in the Copenhagen Psalter (fig. 14), Mary actively hands Jesus to Simeon, while Joseph and Anna stand behind her. Simeon and Mary hold Jesus aloft over an altar. In the background, two blue arches hold up a repeating architectural element of towers and long rectangular buildings. Similarly, in the Kristina Psalter (fig. 15), Mary hands Jesus to Simeon over the altar, while Joseph and Anna stand behind her. However, the background of this miniature has no architectural features. The

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[30]Luke 2:35 DV.

scene exists on a monochromatic backdrop with no indication of any specific location. Although one can assume the viewer of the miniature would have known that the Presentation occurs in the Temple, nothing apart from the altar establishes this setting. Like the St. Albans Psalter, both of these Presentation miniatures lack the distinctive dome from the Melisende Psalter. Furthermore, in both the Copenhagen and Kristina Psalters, the central action of the presentation takes place to the right of the frame rather than in the center. Because Anna stands behind Simeon in miniature in the Melisende Psalter, Jesus and the altar are centered directly under the blue tiled dome.

While the reader of each psalter would understand that the Presentation occurs in the temple, the blue dome that sits above all of the figures in the Melisende Presentation is a depiction of the Temple of the Lord, or the *Templum Domini*, in Jerusalem. Upon their conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, the crusaders claimed the Dome of the Rock, built by Umayyads in the seventh century, as the Temple of the Lord.[31] While the dome in the Melisende Psalter is a brilliant blue, the Dome that exists in Jerusalem today (fig. 16) features a brilliant, gold dome, but this gold covering was added in the twentieth century. The dome in the Presentation at the Temple in the Melisende Psalter can be identified as the dome of the Temple of the Lord as it resembles the architecture of the building itself as well as the iconography of the Temple that proliferated during and after the crusades, which will be discussed in more detail in the third chapter. A depiction of the Temple that very closely matches the dome in the Melisende Presentation can be seen in Erhard

[31] *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Dome of the Rock, May 24, 2019, accessed December 9, 2019. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Dome-of-the-Rock

Reuwich's woodcut etching of *A map of the Holy Land*, from *Peregrinatio in Terram Sactam* (fig. 17)*,* which was printed in 1486. Although it was made hundreds of years after the creation of the Melisende Psalter and after Jerusalem, this image illustrated how widespread the image of the dome as the Temple of Solomon became in the West and how emblematic the dome was of the city of Jerusalem. Upon closer inspection (fig. 18), the dome is identified by the words *Templum Solomunis*. The Crusaders claimed al-Aqsa mosque, located near the Dome of the Rock, as the Temple of Solomon. After the crusaders lost Jerusalem in 1187, the Temple of the Lord began to be conflated with the Temple of Solomon.

Reuwich's dome shares many distinct characteristics with the dome in the Presentation. Both appear as a curved, blue dome that comes to a point at the very top and sit atop a red architectural base. Reuwich depicts the Temple of Solomon with more perspective than the dome in Melisende Psalter, but that difference is more indicative of trends in Italian art in the fifteenth century than a shift away from the iconography of the Temple. The Holy Land was conquered by the Ayyubids in 1187 and the Latin West lost control of their holy sites in Jerusalem, and yet three hundred years later a map of the city of Jerusalem is not complete without an icnographically consistent depiction of this Temple.

This depiction of the dome of the Temple of the Lord not only differentiates the Melisende Psalter from its western equivalents, but this specific dome is also not found in Byzantine renditions of the Presentation that may have been available to the illuminators at the Holy Sepulchre. The Hamilton Lectionary, which was created in Constantinople at

the end of the 11th century, features a Presentation illumination (fig. 19) to which we can compare the Melisende miniature. In this Presentation, the configuration of the figures resembles that of the Melisende Psalter, and the inclusion of Joseph also shows the influence of Byzantine iconography in the Melisende Psalter. A dome also rises above the altar and the Christ at the center of the image. However, this dome bears no resemblance to the Temple in Jerusalem or the dome from the Melisende Psalter. It is clear that while other illustrations of the Presentation use architectural imagery and even domes to set their scenes in the Temple, Melisende Psalter drew from crusader iconography and, although we have no access to the twelfth century structure, possibly the physical building itself.

Melisende moved to Jerusalem at the age of 13 and lived through the Crusader reconstruction of the city. She watched as the Dome of the Rock was repurposed into the Temple of the Lord, which occurred as she was groomed to rule this holy city. If this psalter was merely a mix of Western structure and Byzantine style, this dome would not have been included as it is not present in the Greek manuscripts available for reference in the library of the Holy Sepulchre. While it is true that both Fulk and the illuminator could have decided to include that element, it is equally likely that the strong queen raised to rule over Jerusalem would insist on the inclusion of an emblem of her city.

The Dormition of Mary

The miniature that sets the Melisende Psalter apart from its Western counterparts most definitively is the inclusion of the Dormition of Mary (fig. 20), which depicts the burial of the Virgin. Depictions of this type first appear at the end of the ninth century,

hundreds of years before the creation of this psalter.[32] In this miniature, the Virgin lies shrouded in a red burial cloth atop a golden pediment. Mourners surround the pediment, grabbing their faces in grief and bowing before her. Two priestly figures flank Jesus, who stands behind the bed of his mother. Behind the two priests, two architectural features rise up. The sky or background glows with gold, as is typical of Byzantine icons, and at the very top of the image a small blue half circle most likely references Heaven, as it does in the Annunciation. Two angels, called down by Christ, descend from Heaven to assume the Virgin's body into the Paradise from whence they came. Mary lies with her head to the right side of the image, and Jesus stands behind Mary holding her spirit.

The Assumption of Mary never occurs in the Bible. In fact, her death is never mentioned. However, *Obsequies of the Holy Virgin,* which scholars date to the beginning of the third century, has the earliest written reference to the Assumption of the Virgin. In this early version of the story, a conversation between Peter, Paul, Andrew, and John occurs at the entrance of Mary's tomb. As they argue, Jesus descends from Heaven and intervenes. While doing so, he calls down Michael the Archangel to bring Mary to Heaven. After arriving in Heaven, "the body of Mary went to the tree of life; and they brought her soul and made it enter her body."[33] Many different versions of Mary's death, resurrection, and assumption exist. What remains consistent, however, is the fact that Mary is the only person to have been granted the reunification of body and soul promised

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[32] Elizabeth Walsh, "Images of Hope: Representations of the Death of the Virgin, East and West." In *Religion & the Arts* 11, no. 1 (March 2007): 2.
[33] Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 1.

after the Second Coming of Christ. The Dormition of Mary included in the Melisende Psalter appears to follow this general narrative. In this miniature, Jesus calls down two angels from Heaven instead of Michael the Archangel, which differentiates it from the story in *Obsequies of the Holy Virgin*. The Melisende Psalter and the iconography of the Dormition of Mary show Jesus and his disciples witnessing the sacred event as they do in in this early version of the Assumption.

If the illuminator was simply following the formula of the English psalters, they would have not included this image as it is included in very few English psalters.[34] This miniature is a faithful copy of the Byzantine iconography of the dormition, or *koimesis* (fig. 21). The earliest extant examples this iconography date to the tenth century (fig. 22), although the mass destruction of icons during the eighth and ninth centuries make establishing its true origin difficult.[35] While Western adaptations of the dormition exist, the scene in the Melisende Psalter closely follows the traditional Byzantine iconographic tradition. It includes the architectural features, the mourning apostles, Peter swinging the censor, Paul hugging the Virgins feet, and John leaning on her chest: all aspects often left

[34] The Dormition is included in the prefatory cycle of the Winchester Psalter, which was produced in England during the middle of the twelfth century. However, the prefatory cycle in the Winchester psalter includes nearly three times as many scenes as the Melisende Psalter and nearly two times as many as the Albans Psalter. It includes scenes from the Old Testament as well as the New Testament. Kristin Edmonson Haney draws a parallel between the Winchester Psalter and the Melisende Psalter and suggests that the illuminator of the Winchester Psalter had access to Byzantine icons, influencing his inclusions and style. Noting that its inclusion of the "Death of the Virgin" was uncommon in twelfth century English psalters, she suggests that the illuminator may have included this scene to complete the cycle of Marian feasts in the liturgical calendar. Kristin Edmonson Haney, *The Winchester Psalter: An Iconographic* Study (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1986), 43-44.
[35] Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Popular Imagery," in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era AD 843-1261*, eds. Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 115.

out of Western depictions.[36] However, it is important to note that the Byzantine Koimesis, while occasionally illustrated in manuscript miniatures, appears far more often in fresco and mosaics.[37]

The inclusion of this image would have been very personal for Melisende, as she would not have seen the setting of this image as theoretical. During Melisende's reign the location of Mary's tomb and, therefore, her Assumption into Heaven was understood to be in the Valley of Josephat. As early as the sixth century, pilgrim accounts indicate that Tomb of Mary was believed to be in that location and that a church had been built there in her honor.[38] The crusader church and monastery that was built there was first commissioned by Baldwin I of Jerusalem in 1115, and was later added onto by Baldwin II, just prior to his death in 1131.[39]

Melisende had a deep, documented connection with the Abbey of Saint Mary. On charter granting the village of Bestella to the Abbey of St. Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the list of witnesses begins with "Melisende, daughter of the king and heir of the Kingdom of Jerusalem."[40] Although this document is undated, scholars have concluded that it is one Melisende's very first documented royal actions and was possibly

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[36] José María Salvador Gonzalez, "Iconography of the Dormition of the Virgin in the 10th to 12th Centuries: An Analysis from its Legendary Sources," *Eikon/Imago* 6, no. 1 (2017): 211.
[37] Gonzalez, "Iconography of the Dormition," 203.
[38] In the account of the pilgrim Theodosius, cited in Ora Limor "Mary in Jerusalem: An Imaginary Map," in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, eds. Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, and Hanna Vorholt (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2014), 12.
[39] Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus, Volume I* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 270.
[40] *Milissenda filia regis et regni Ierosolimitani haeres.* Translated from a quote in Mayer, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem," 99.

issued prior to her marriage.[41] Baldwin II and Melisende likely issued this charter in memory of Morphia, who had died a few years earlier and had been buried in abbey.[42] Not only did she support the abbey through gifts, she was also one of the few laywomen that held membership in the confraternity of the abbey of St. Mary of Jehoshaphat.[43] There is also evidence that she specifically intervened in the appointment of the abbot of the monastery, which is one of the earliest instances of the authority she was known to weild over the religious communities in the Latin Kingdoms.[44] She continued to support the abbey throughout her life, settling legal disputes in favor of the Abbey and its monastery.[45] She also likely sponsored the renovation of the Tomb of Mary that took place before 1150.[46] After her death, Melisende was buried in a tomb in the Abbey of Saint Mary in accordance, we can assume, with her wishes.[47]

While the patronage of royal families is almost always tied to politics, Melisende's support of the Abbey of St. Mary appears be more personally motivated than her patronage of other institutions and building projects. Although she had been removed from power in 1152, she did issue one last charter before her death, which she issued with the consent of Baldwin III. [48] This charter, issued in 1159 and stamped with her own seal,

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[41] Stephen J. Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 102.
[42] The location of Morphia's tomb in the abbey is unknown. Gaudette, Helen A. "The Piety, Power, and Patronage of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem's Queen Melisende" (PhD. diss., New York City: City University of New York, 2005), 181-182.
[43] Folda, "Melisende," 455.
[44] The instance is described in Gaudette, "The Piety, Power, and Patronage,"182-185.
[45] Gaudette, "The Piety, Power, and Patronage," 186.
[46] Folda, "Melisende," 324.
[47] Folda, 'Melisende," 374.
[48] Mayer, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende," 175-177.

granted more land to the abbey as a gift "for the abbey and its monks who would pray for her after her death as they had while she lived" and so that they might be supported as they continued "the work of solemn celebrations and masses to honor Mary, the mother of God."[49] Through this charter, Melisende gave to the abbey a village near Nablus, which some have argued to have been her mother's dower land.[50] It appears that her son, Baldwin III, understood his mother's dedication to the abbey, the shrine, and its monastery. Not only did he, as ruling king, permit her to grant part of her mother's dower land to the abbey, but allowed her to do so as queen rather than doing so on her behalf.

Although many of these events took place after the creation of the psalter, they provide context for a lifelong interest in the site. Helen Gaudette argues in "The Piety, Power and Patronage of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem's Queen Melisende" that Melisende's apparent affection for and "less political" patronage of the Abbey of St. Mary and the Tomb of the Virgin stemmed from her devotion to the Virgin Mary and the fact that it was the final resting place of her mother.[51] At the time of the psalters production, Morphia had already been buried in the tomb, and Melisende had already been a documented donor and member of its confraternity. It is possible that Fulk may or may not have requested that this image be included in the series, deviating from the English structure. However, it is just as likely, if not more likely, that Melisende commissioned the inclusion of this image, reflecting her documented, personal interest in the holy site.

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[49] Gaudette, "The Piety, Power, and Patronage,"186.
[50] Newman, *Defending the City of God*, 215.
[51] Gaudette, "The Piety, Power, and Patronage," 616.

Conclusion

While I accept the possibility of Fulk's involvement in the commission of this psalter, I believe the exclusion of Melisende from conversations surrounding its creation should be rectified. The Armenian influence and the inclusion of sites specific to Jerusalem and Melisende indicate that she likely had some input in the imagery of the psalter. Pictured in these miniatures are visual references to her Armenian heritage and depictions of the holy city that Melisende had fought her husband to rule. Rather than viewing this merely as a reconciliation gift as most scholars do, I argue that these specific inclusions indicate that Melisende should not be discounted as a "maker" of this object. While I acknowledge the English influences, I do not find that to be enough evidence to prove that "it was Fulk, not Melisende," who commissioned the psalter. I do not believe there is enough evidence to conclude that Melisende was the sole commissioner of the psalter, either. It seems most likely, then, that the two worked together on the commission to signify the end of their bitter feud. Even in that case, however, Melisende would have still wielded influence over its production. With the understanding that Melisende should be viewed as 'maker,' it becomes clear this manuscript was created to solidify and reflect her identity as native of the Levant and queen of Jerusalem.

The Mirror of the Psalms

Although this project focuses on the prefatory cycle of the Melisende Psalter, this series of 24 full-page miniatures cannot be divorced from its context. Psalters, the most popular, private devotional book of Middle Ages, were often richly illustrated and featured imagery specific to the owner. These illustrations, which come in the form of historiated initials, marginalia, and full-page miniatures were included "to be viewed and meditated upon."[1] The Psalms, originally composed in Hebrew, played an important role in the spiritual lives of all Christians during the Middle Ages. Psalters were created for those in monastic communities and the royal and wealthy who could afford the hefty price. Because psalters were private, devotional objects, they reveal a great deal about the spiritual life of their owner.[2] The prefatory cycle in the Melisende Psalter was not simply created for aesthetic enjoyment. While it was beautiful, it also served a specific, meditative function.

To a medieval audience, the Psalms were not simply another book of the Bible; they were an intimate prayer that stimulated meditation, acting as a 'mirror' to the readers' souls. This chapter explores both how Melisende may have used this 'mirror' and how we might go about seeing her reflection in its visual program. In order to understand how a medieval Christian may have used their psalter, one must understand not only the history of the Psalms and psalters but also the medieval understandings of

[1] Nigel Morgan and Bronwyn Stocks, "The Personal Prayer Book: the Psalter and the Book of Hours," in *The Medieval Imagination: Illuminated Manuscripts from Cambridge, Australia and New Zealand*, ed. Bronwyn Stocks and Nigel Morgan (Victoria, Australia: Palgrave Publishers Australia, 2008), 119.
[2] Stahl, *Picturing Kingship*, 1.

meditation, memory, and identity. I argue that the medieval psalters, including the Melisende Psalter, and their illustrations functioned as an early form of affective meditation, inviting the reader to insert themselves into the text.

The Psalms

Described in the most basic terms, the Book of Psalms contains 150 poems composed to be sung with a stringed instrument. These poems inherit their Hebrew and Greek names from this association the stringed instrument: *thillim* and *psalmoi* respectively.[3] Originally composed in Hebrew, the Book of Psalms is incredibly unique compared to the rest of the Bible. Most books within the Bible consist of narratives that documented the significant interactions between God and his people written in the third person, while the Psalms, along with the other Books of Wisdom, including Ecclesiastes, Songs of Songs, and others, were written in the first person. However, only the Book of Psalms directly addresses God.[4] Because of its unique language, the Psalms could be recited as prayer. Alcuin of York, an English theologian writing in the eighth century wrote, "In the Psalms you will find intimate prayer, if you study them with an intent mind, such as you could not in any way conceived by yourself."[5] The intimacy of this

[3] Philip Timko, "How Christians Have Used the Psalms for Prayer and Meditation." *American Benedictine Review* 71, 2 (2020): 198.
[4] Diane Reilly, "Meditation, Translation, the Liturgy, and the Medieval Illustrated Psalter in the West," in *A Book of Psalms from Eleventh-Century Byzantium: The Complex Texts and Images in Vat. Gr. 752*, eds. Barbara Crostini and Glenn Peers (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2016), 570.
[5] Alcuin of York, *De laude psalmorum*, 50, lines 125-130. *In Psalmis invenies tam intimam orationem, si intenta mente perscrutaris, sicut non potes ullatenus per te ipsum excogitare.* Trans. by Duncan Robertson, *Lectio Divina: The Medieval Experience of Reading*. (Trappist, KY: Cistercian Publications; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2011), 127.

Biblical text is partially responsible for its importance in Christian liturgy and spiritual life.

Monastic communities produced much of the early literature examining the Psalms, their use in devotional practice, and their place within the Christian faith. Mary Carruthers indicates that while those in monastic communities studied and meditated on the entire Bible, the Book of Psalms held specific importance and was "one book that every monk in the Middle Ages learned by heart."[6] The monks, and the Church at large, did not view these ancient poems as simply another book in the Bible; they were understood to be foundational to spiritual growth and theological understanding. While the Gospels, which contained the narrative of Christ's life and the details of his teachings, were viewed as central to the Christian faith, the Book of Psalms was viewed as their Old Testament predecessor, prophetically fulfilled by the events of the Gospels. Because of the connection between the Gospels and the Psalms and the first personal language, monastic communities saw the Book of Psalms as the "fundamental starting place from which all else sprang."[7]

The monks were not the only medieval community that exhibited a devotion to the Psalms; the lay community encountered them in nearly every aspect of the liturgy. Liturgical worship was divided between Liturgy of the Eucharist, or Mass; and the Divine Office, or the Liturgy of the Hours. While the Mass focused scripturally on the Gospels

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[6] Mary J. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200, (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 67.
[7] Derek Olsen, *The Honey of Souls: Cassiodorus and the Interpretation of the Psalms in the Early Medieval West*. EPub file. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2017),133.

and the sacrament of the Eucharist, Psalms were recited and sung as well. The Divine Office, on the other hand, included readings from the New Testament but centered around the Book of Psalms.[8] The tradition of the Divine Office began as the early Christian practice of gathering to pray at specific times throughout the day.[9] During the "Fourth-Century Psalmodic Movement," these liturgies began to center around the recitation of the Psalms.[10] While most of the early Christian and medieval discussion of the Psalms comes from monastic sources, they were understood to be essential for lay piety as well. Bede, one of the most influential monks and theologians of the early Middle Ages, wrote that knowing the Psalms provided the laity a foundation for understanding Christian doctrine.[11]

The Psalter

Although the Divine Office began as a means for communal prayer, attendance among the laity began to drop off with the introduction of the personal, devotional manuscripts.[12] Breviaries, Books of Hours, and psalters gave wealthy, noble, lay people the ability to pray and meditate upon the Psalms as an act of private, rather than public, devotion. While many surviving psalters were created for communal use by choirs or lectors, psalters were among the most common private, devotional manuscripts during the

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[8] Olsen, *The Honey of Souls,* 27.
[9] Frank K. Flinn, "Prayer of the Hours," in *Encyclopedia of World Religions: Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, by Frank K. Flinn. 2nd ed. Facts On File, 2016.
[10] Jesse D. Billett, "A Spirituality of the Word: The Medieval Roots of Traditional Anglican Worship." *Pro Ecclesia* 27, 2 (2018): 161. In this article, Billet also discusses how the Liturgy of Hours differed between the lay, monastic, and clerical communities. After the fall of the Roman Empire, these different "offices" were slightly consolidated.
[11] M. J. Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*. Medieval Church Studies 10. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 63.
[12] Flinn, "Prayer of the Hours."

Middle Ages. In fact, most extant Byzantine psalters appear to have been produced for personal, instead of public, use.[13] The intimate language of the Psalms grew even more intimate in a private setting. The commentary in a ninth century psalter highlights this intimacy by indicating that "This book is proper for every devout human being, and the divine David speaks in common for all mankind."[14] While public liturgy continued to include the Psalms, the use of a private psalter allowed the reader to focus on their personal relationship with God and their individual quest for salvation.[15] Although manuscripts such as these existed prior, the production and use of personal prayerbooks, such as psalters, proliferated in the twelfth century, the century in which the Melisende Psalter was produced.[16]

These personal psalters not only included the Psalms, but also often included commentary, calendars, and other prayers. Many of these psalters also included illustrated images that could be found in the margins, interspersed with the text, within historiated initials, or as full-page miniatures (the form on which this project focuses).[17] While those in monastic orders and others forms of religious life may have had

[13] Georgi R. Parpulov, "Psalters and Personal Piety in Byzantium," in the *Old Testament in Byzantium*, eds. Paul Magdalino and Robert Nelson, (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection; Harvard University Press, 2010), 82. Because Melisende Psalter represents a kind of fusion of Byzantine and Western styles and structure, I have included discussion of both Western and Byzantine psalters.
[14] Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS gr. 216, fol. 347r. Translated by Parpulov in "Psalters and Personal Piety in Byzantium," 80.
[15] Reilly, "Meditation, Translation, the Liturgy, and the Medieval Illustrated Psalter," 603.
[16] Jeffrey F. Hamburg, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*, (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 150.
[17] Hamburg, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 149. Hamburg also notes that while images played a role in the use of these manuscripts for prayer and meditation, images were not commonly incorporated into prayer or spirituality for the first thousand years of Christianity, citing R. Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 24. Hamburg specifically notes that "Well into the High Middle Ages, illustrated prayer books were genuinely rare."

illuminated manuscripts with these kinds of images, only wealthy, noble lay people had the resources to commission or procure these luxurious manuscripts for personal use. While there exists a somewhat consistent structure, no two medieval illuminated psalters contain truly identical content.[18] Several scholars have noted that this variation may shed light on the specific spiritual needs of the owner.[19] For those with access, these images were not superfluous. Rather, the illustrations augmented the meditative and prayerful purpose of the psalter, preparing "the faithful for the highest contemplation."[20]

Meditatio

> Blessed is the man who hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the chair of pestilence.
> But his will is in the law of the Lord, and on his law he shall meditate day and night.[21]

Within its first two verses, the Book of Psalms explicitly instructs the singer or reader to meditate upon God's "law," or scripture. Before discussion how Melisende might have used her psalter, it is important establish how those reading the Psalms in the Middle Ages, including Melisende, understood this instruction. In the most basic terms, meditation is the use of "mental and physical exercises" in the pursuit of gaining

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[18] Parpulov, "Psalters and Personal Piety in Byzantium," 92. Parpulov specifically says that "hardly any two surviving Psalters of this kind [Byzantine] have the same set of supplementary texts." While Parpulov is only discussing Byzantine psalters, I have found the same to be true regarding Western psalters, over the course of my research.

[19] Parpulov, "Psalters and Personal Piety in Byzantium," 92. Parpulov argues that the presence of "316 different prayers in the 36 Psalter" in his study indicates that "each manuscript may have been tailors to its owner's individual needs or preferences." Reilly, "Meditation, Translation, the Liturgy, and the Medieval Illustrated Psalter," 581. Reilly argues that in some psalters "the decorative scheme provides and interpretive gloss on the Psalms appropriate to the user" during her examination of the Corbie Psalter (Bibliothèques d'Amiens-Métropole, MS 18 C).

[20] Parpulov, "Psalters and Personal Piety in Byzantium," 100.

[21] Ps. 1:1-2 DV.

knowledge.[22] Through meditation on the Psalms, the knowledge one gains is knowledge of God and of oneself. The first-person language requires the individual reading, reciting, chanting, or singing the Psalms to insert themselves into the verse and into communication with God. In the fourth century in his "Letter to Marcellinus," the Alexandrian theologian, Athanasius, wrote that the words of the Psalms "become like a mirror to the person singing them, so that he might perceive himself and the emotions of his soul."[23] In other words, the Psalms act as a 'mirror' in which one can see a reflection of their "true self."[24]

The "exercises" used in meditation by Christians during the Middle Ages and the role of imagination in the practice of meditation remain a topic of debate. Some scholars, like Mary Carruthers, approach medieval meditation from a Platonic/Augustinian perspective.[25] Through this philosophical lens, imagination plays an important role in the cognitive process, but only through its interactions with reason. Imagination is both an aid and a hinderance to mankind because of its associations with the body and its senses.[26] Others, such as Michelle Karnes, approach medieval meditation and the imagination from an Aristotelian perspective. Aristotle argues that *phantasia* is a

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[22] Karl Enenkel and Walter S. Melion, "Introduction: Types and Functions of Meditation in the Transition from Late Medieval to Early Modern Intellectual Culture," in *Meditatio - Refashioning the Self*, eds. Karl Enenkel and Walter Melion. (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011), 1.
[23] Athanasius, A Letter to Marcellinus, in Athanasius: The Life of Antony and The Letter to Marcellinus, trans. by Robert C. Gregg (New York; Ramsey; Toronto: Paulist Press, 1980) 111.
[24] Timko, "How Christians Have Used the Psalms," 207.
[25] Her analysis of medieval meditation from this perspective can be found in Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*.
[26] Michelle Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition in the Middle Ages* (London; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 25-27.

"discrete and reliable faculty" separate from the senses.[27] These philosophical perspectives intermingle in medieval scholarship about imagination but often remain in opposition.[28] This project primarily approaches meditation and imagination from an Aristotelean perspective because imagination plays a central role in the method of meditation that I will discuss: affective meditation.

Affective Meditation

The medieval practice of affective meditation has been defined as a meditative practice that invites one to "imagine themselves present at scenes" that were the subject of the meditation. The most popular subjects of affective meditation were the Gospels and the life of Christ.[29]Affective meditation differs from the formal, learned techniques that are often discussed from a Neoplatonic Christian perspective. Affective meditation was practiced by those in monastic communities, and much of the scholarship discussing the practice approaches it through the lens of the monastic experience. However, Nicholas Watson notes that the specific practice of Gospel meditation was employed by both the more literate communities of those in the religious life *and* the "unlettered" masses.[30] While most research and discussion of affective meditation addresses the efflorescence of this practice in the long thirteenth century, the practice did not spontaneously appear in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

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[27] Karnes, *Imagination*, 31.
[28] For a more detailed analysis of the differences and interactions between Neoplatonic and Aristotelean philosophy in the Middle Ages, see Karnes, "Aristotelean Imagination," in *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition,* 23-61.
[29] Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*, (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 1.
[30] Nicholas Watson, "Conceptions of the Word: The Mother Tongue and the Incarnation of God," *New Medieval Literature* 1 (1997), 93, quoted in Michelle Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognitio*), 11.

Some of the earliest texts that invite the Christian reader to "imagine themselves present at scenes" date back to the fourth century: pilgrims' accounts. Some accounts were written in impersonal language and were used as guides for other pilgrims, while others included more biographical detail and were intended for those "back home" who had never visited the pilgrimage site themselves.[31] These texts, often describing pilgrimages to the Jerusalem and the Holy Land, encouraged the reader to visualize themselves at each holy site and create a mental map of the pilgrimage.[32] One of the earliest pilgrims to author such an account was a female pilgrim from Western Europe traveling in the 380s, only a few decades after Constantine's conversion. Hagith Davin proposes that Egeria likely wrote for a her own small circle of devout women, using vivid descriptions to aid her audience in meditation.[33] Egeria even uses second person language to pull her reader into these detailed descriptions. In her description of the Holy Sepulchre, which she calls the Great Church on Golgotha, she writes:

> All you can see is gold and jewels and silk. The hangings are entirely silk with gold stripes, the curtains the same, and everything they use for services at the festival is made of gold and jewels. You simple cannot imagine the number, and the sheer weight of the candles and the tapers and lamps and everything else they use for the services.[34]

Using expressive, visual language in conjunction with the second person, Egeria encourages her reader to imagine themselves at the holy site, encouraging affective

[31] Rodney Aist, *From Topography to Text: The Image of Jerusalem in the Writing of Eucherius, Adomnán and Bede* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2018), 13-14.
[32] Aist, *From Topography to Text*, 15.
[33] Hagith Sivan, "Holy Land Pilgrimage and Western Audiences: Some Reflections on Egeria and Her Circle," *The Classical Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (1988): 529, 534.
[34] Egeria*, Itinerarium Egeriae*, in *Egeria's Travels*, ed. and trans. John Wilkinson (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, Ltd., 1999), 146.

meditation before the form would be codified roughly ten centuries later. Egeria was not the only pilgrim to author texts that allowed readers to insert themselves into the narrative as a means of meditation. The Bordeaux Pilgrim, Bede, Eucherius, Theodosius, Bernard the Monk, the Piacenza Pilgrim, and many others also wrote accounts of their pilgrimages to the Holy Land that encouraged their readers to imagine themselves in the place of the pilgrim.[35]

The existence of the pilgrim account as a prototype of the more formalized affective meditation guides written in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries illustrate the fact that the use of the imagination in mediation was by no means a foreign concept to those meditating upon the Psalms in the twelfth century. Furthermore, the nature of the Psalms and the early analysis of their use and purpose indicate that the 'self-insertion' used in affective meditation had been employed in contemplation of the Psalms as early as the third century. As previously discussed, the first-person language of the Psalms invites the reader to insert themselves in the same way pilgrims' accounts invited the reader to 'insert' themselves into holy sites, and affective meditation guides invited the participant to 'insert' themselves into the scenes of Christ's life.

It also appears that tradition of affective meditation of the trecento draws upon intimate, imaginative language of the Psalms as they were often written in first person, drawing upon "on the most familiar 'I' of all, in medieval prayer: the 'I' of the Psalms."[36] The connection between affective devotional practice and the Psalms is illustrated in a

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[35] For translations of these pilgrims' accounts see *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, ed. and trans. John Wilkinson (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, Ltd., 2002).
[36] McNamer, *Affective Meditation*, 68.

copy of Anselm's *Prayers and Meditations*, a precursor to the more formalized affective meditation texts of the latee Middle Ages, sent to Adelaide, the daughter of William the Conqueror, in 1071. Anselm added a supplementary collection of Psalms to the primary text, indicating that the "I" of Anselm's "emotionally extravagant" devotional prayers should be understood in terms of the "I" of the Psalms.[37] Due to these connections between the Psalms and the affective meditation tactics of the later Middle Ages, I argue that Melisende likely used her psalter as a prompt for a kind of affective meditation to gain knowledge of God and her "true self." If we view the manuscript as a form of "affective technology,"[38] we can imagine Melisende opening her psalter prepared to insert herself into its narrative.

Images have often been included in analysis of medieval affective meditation and the knowledge of self. Anne Derbes has examined the affective effect of narrative painting in thirteenth and fourteenth century Italy.[39] Holly Flora has discussed how the images in a copy of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* aid the reader in the guided affective meditation, "prompting the reader to pause and visualize the narrative."[40] Flora argues specifically that the illustrations emphasize Mary's role in the narrative and present the Virgin to the audience of "Poor Clares," or Franciscan nuns, as a role model, to whom the nuns were to relate and compare themselves.[41] Mary serves as a visual entry point for the

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[37] McNamer, *Affective Meditation*, 69-70.
[38] McNamer, *Affective Meditation*, 70.
[39] Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
[40] Holly Flora, "The Charity of the Virgin Mary in the Paris 'Meditations on the Life of Christ,'" *Studies in Iconography* 29, (2008), 57.
[41] Flora, "Charity of the Virgin," 55.

nun's affective meditation on the life of Christ. While the prefatory cycle of the Melisende Psalter does not accompany a narrative text, other scholars have used similar methodologies in their examination of similar illuminated psalters. Although they do not specifically address affective meditation, they have examined how figures depicted in the illustrations of psalters specifically included figures with whom the owners should identify, which I will discuss later in this chapter.

Memoria

Memory plays a central role in the Book of Psalms and meditation of all kinds. The call "to remember" appears 64 times throughout the verses of the book.[42] All forms of memory are invoked; the Psalms call upon the reader to remember God and His creation, including humanity, as well as calling upon God to remember His people.[43] The writer of the Psalms explicitly states that God made his works for the purpose of remembrance.[44] Individuals in medieval, monastic communities often fulfilled this call by memorizing the entire book.[45] While Melisende most likely did not memorize the Book of Psalms, memory would play an essential role in her use of the psalter as both a central theme of the text and as a tool in her meditation.

Memory was, in many ways, an essential aspect of medieval meditation. Before I can discuss how memory may have functioned in Melisende's use of her psalter, I must

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[42] Megan I.J. Daffern, "The Semantic Field of 'Remembering' in The Psalms," Journal for the Study of the Old Testament 41, no 1 (2016): 81. Daffern is examining Psalms in Hebrew. The root for "remember," זָכַר, appears 64 times. While Melisende and the general medieval, Christian, European readers would have read the Psalms in Latin, there was still a prevalence of the call to remember in the Latin translation.
[43] Daffern, "'Remembering' in the Psalms," 81.
[44] Ps. 110:4 DV, "He hath made a remembrance of his wonderful works, being a merciful and gracious Lord."
[45] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 67.

discuss the more formalized meditation practices of monastic communities. Although Melisende was a queen and not a monk, the scholarship regarding monastic meditation shed light on how memory was understood and used in the broader medieval, Christian culture. Medieval monks used the memorization and repetition of scripture and prayer in their practices of meditation. The "emotional stances and cognitive activities" that make up monastic meditation are considered part of the work of *memoria.*[46]

Although *memoria* translates to memory, it doesn't perfectly align with the modern understanding of memory, which is deeply tied to the recollection of personal experiences that have already occurred. For example, a modern individual might know the correct information for a history exam, but they would say that they remember the *answers* not the *historical events themselves*.[47] Public, private, spiritual, and historical memory worked together in medieval society, while modern society draws more distinct lines between these cognitive functions. Throughout the rest of this project, I will use both memory and *memoria* but will always be referring to the medieval understanding unless otherwise indicated. Mary Carruthers describes *memoria* as the "engine (in our sense of that word) of the mind" within medieval philosophy.[48] Boncompagno da Signa, a rhetoric professor in Bologna, wrote in 1235 that "*memoria*, the means by which humans comprehend time, enables us to recall past things, embrace present things, and contemplate future things through their likeness to past things."[49] 'Personal' memories

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[46] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 62.
[47] This kind of rhetoric does still appear from time to time but is mostly used in a poetic sense. Think the battle cry of Anglo-Texan pride: "Remember the Alamo!"
[48] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 66.
[49] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 69.

allow one to 'remember' things that have yet to happen, such as Heaven, Hell, and the Final Judgement, and past events never experienced by the individual, such as the events of the Gospels. Public *memoria*, or the communal memory, also aids one in understanding and contextualizing their personal memories or personal behavior.[50] All of these "memories" types work together to allow one to understand and express their identity, an essential function of this complex theory of *memoria*.[51]

Although Boncompagno lived a century after Melisende, theologians of her time also discussed the role of memory in the practice of meditation. Bernard of Clairvaux, the Cistercian abbot preaching and writing in the early and mid-twelfth century, argues that "reflection" and recollection were central components of meditation, especially for the inexperienced or those who have not dedicated themselves to religious life. While Bernard describes meditation on God as the highest form, he does indicate that meditation on oneself and that which surrounds them if beneficial in one's path to salvation.[52] In order fully contemplate or meditate upon oneself, one must reflect upon their relationships with the people in their lives, their society, the earth, God.[53] Bernard argues that one can become more virtuous and in greater harmony with God through the process of self-meditation, which David A. Clairmont describes as a process of accessing and linking the realities of the world with "one's own inclinations and behaviors."[54] All

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[50] Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, (Cambridge; New York; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 185.
[51] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 182.
[52] John R. Sommerfeldt, "Meditation as the Path to Humility in the Thought of Bernard of Clairvaux," *Mystics Quarterly* 15, no. 4 (1989): 178.
[53] Sommerfeldt, "Meditation as the Path," 178.
[54] David A. Clairmont, "Medieval Consideration and Moral Pace: Thomas Aquinas and Bernard of Clairvaux on the Temporal Aspects of Virtue," *The Journal of Religious* Ethics 41, no. 1 (2013): 98.

of this contemplation of self should be done in conjunction with contemplation of God, Christ's life, and the scripture. His description of meditation of oneself requires a person to deeply consider what could be described as *memoria*. He calls upon the meditator to "remember" their lives, relationships, and behaviors, as well past and future events that they have never experienced. Due to the presence of this phrase "remember" that is repeated in discourse regarding meditation and in the language of the Psalms itself, it is likely that Melisende would have contemplated her own experiences in conjunction with the language of the Psalms, meditating on God and her identity.

Identity

Having examined the theological discourse surrounding the Psalms and the role of memory in medieval meditative practices, I argue that the Melisende Psalter can be understood as an "identity meditation object," or a proto-affective meditation guide that prompted her to consider her life, her nature, her role in society, and her relationship with God. Mediation on the Psalms allowed one to gain knowledge of their 'true self,' their identity. However, modern and medieval understandings of identity differ greatly. People of the modern era in the West conceive of their identity in terms of how they exist "outside or next to society," which Franz-Josef Arlinghaus calls "exclusion individuality."[55] Premodern identity was understood in terms of one's place *within* society: "inclusion individuality."[56] This definition of premodern identity does not,

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[55] Franz-Josef Arlinghaus, "Conceptualizing Pre-Modern and Modern Individuality: Some Theoretical Considerations," in *Forms of Individuality and Literacy in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, ed. Franz-Josef Arlinghaus, (Belgium: Brepols, 2015), 1-2.
[56] Arlinghaus, "Conceptualizing Pre-Modern and Modern Individuality," 1-2.

however, imply that individuals living in the medieval, Christian world saw themselves exclusively as a part of the whole, never developing a strong sense of self. As these definitions indicate, premodern people did have a sense of individuality and were capable of "self-reflection," but the manner in which they constructed and reflected upon these identities does differ from that of people in the modern era.[57]

According to the sociologist and philosopher, Georg Simmel, individuals in every premodern and modern society exists within several "social circles." These "circles" can include family, gender, class, and nationality. While all people are placed into circles like these, the circles of modern and premodern people differ in how they relate to one another. Simmel argues that in modern society, a person's identity exists in the overlap of all independently functioning circles. Their individuality is understood through the synthesis of these circles, which results in "individual's distancing from each of the circles."[58] For example, an American citizen might have parents that immigrated from another country. They belong to the circle of American citizenship, but the fact that they also belong to the circle of the children of immigrants and the circle of their parents' birth country distances them from "Americanness." They are, in turn, distanced from the circle of their parents' birth country because of their "Americanness." The social circles of those who lived during the Middle Ages did not 'intersect' and create tension in the same way. Simmel proposes that these circles existed completely separately or were

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[57] Arlinghaus, "Conceptualizing Pre-Modern and Modern Individuality," 2.

[58] Arlinghaus, "Conceptualizing Pre-Modern and Modern Individuality," 20. Arlinghaus is summarizing and discussing Georg Simmel, *Soziologie: Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung,* ed. O. Rammstedt. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1992.

"concentrically organized around the individual."[59] Simmel's paradigm highlights how distance and differentiation define modern identity, while membership and societal roles define medieval identity.

One of the most important mechanisms for understanding identity during the Middle Ages was *memoria*. As previously discussed, *memoria* included the public memory, and public memory plays a central role in medieval identity. Like Simmel and Arlinghaus, Mary Carruthers acknowledges how differently identity functioned in the Middle Ages, arguing the "self" was defined by one's position within society. While Arlinghaus and Simmel focused on a person's social circles, Carruthers focused how societal or public memory constructed the medieval "self."[60] It was through repeated reading, prayer, meditation, or discussion of different aspects of public memory that a person's character was "stamped" onto them. The manner in which public memory was "domesticated or familiarized" with a person's subjective memory resulted in "individuality."[61]

In the previous chapter, I argued that the various intersections of Melisende's identity can be seen in the imagery in her psalter, which seems to contradict Simmel's view of medieval identity. However, even Simmel acknowledges that these social circles could "overlap" on occasion during the Middle Ages.[62] I argue that Melisende's identity comprised of several overlapping circles that were uncharacteristic for the Middle Ages.

[59] Arlinghaus, "Conceptualizing Pre-Modern and Modern Individuality," 20.
[60] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 180.
[61] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 180.
[62] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 21.

However, she still functioned within medieval society and, therefore, likely understood her identity through the lens of "inclusion individuality." A few examples of the "public memory" that would have influenced her are the Old and New Testaments, the history of the crusades, the legacy of great kings, and the gender roles held by her society, to name a few. Melisende's identity would be constructed through remembering these events and ideas and applying them to her specific, societal roles.

While some of these roles appear to be in conflict, this conflict did not distance her from those roles. For example, she was the queen regnant of the Latin Kingdoms. While her status as woman and mother conflicts with the masculinity associated with the authority to rule, her history of fighting for her power as a ruler indicate that this conflict did not lead her to relinquish this role. The intersection of these two aspects of her identity can be read in her correspondence with Bernard of Clairvaux. Writing to her after the death of Fulk in 1143 or 1144, Bernard counsels Melisende, saying:

> You must put your hand to strong things and show a man in a woman, doing what is to be done in the spirit of counsel and fortitude You must dispose all things so prudently and moderately that all who see them with think you a king rather than a queen from your acts.[63]

Bernard acknowledges that, although her gender may appear to be an obstacle to her role as regnant, she must strive to take on the masculine characteristic of a 'king' in order to effectively rule. However, this does not take away from her status as woman. In a later letter, Bernard advises Melisende to embrace the role of widowhood and "learn . . . what

[63] Bernard of Clairvaux, "A letter from Bernard of Clairvaux, abbot (1153)," Epistolæ: Medieval Women's Latin Letters, trans. by Joan Ferrante, Columbia University, accessed June 25, 2021. https://epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/246.html

is mild and humble of heart."[64] In the same letter, Bernard states that a woman gains her blessings from raising children and serving others. He sees no contradictions between these aspects of her identity, calling Melisende "a strong woman, a humble widow, and an exalted queen."[65] In the simplest terms, Melisende did belong to several groups or 'circles' that overlapped; however, her identity was defined by how she conformed and fit into these circles rather than how she differed from others in those circles.

The Illuminated Mirror

Because memory and identity were central components to medieval contemplation of the Psalms, it becomes clear why a psalter and its illumination can be used to examine the experience and identity of its owner. I am by no means the first to argue this nor examine the visual programs of psalters from this perspective. Harvey Stahl and Anne Ruldoff Stanton have both analyzed the psalters of St. Louis[66] and Queen Isabelle of England[67] respectively. Both scholars examined the imagery of these royal psalters through the lens of identity, and their work informs my analysis of the Melisende Psalter in different and yet complimentary ways. Stahl examines a psalter made for a king, and Stanton analyzes a psalter made for a queen. As previously noted, Melisende was both woman and regnant ruler, embodying and fulfilling these seemingly contradictory societal roles.

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[64] Bernard of Clairvaux, "A letter from Bernard of Clairvaux, abbot (1153)," Epistolæ: Medieval Women's Latin Letters, trans. Joan Ferrante, Columbia University, accessed June 25, 2021. https://epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/247.html
[65] Bernard of Clairvaux, "A letter from Bernard of Clairvaux, abbot (1153)."
[66] Harvey Stahl, *Picturing Kingship: History and Painting in the Psalter of Saint Louis*.
[67] Anne Rudloff Stanton, "The Psalter of Isabelle, Queen of England 1308-1330: Isabella as the Audience," *Word & Image* 18, no. 4 (2002), 1-27.

In her analysis of the Isabelle Psalter, Anne Rudolff Stanton argues that the images included likely had "a significant effect" on the viewer.[68] She examines several biblical sequences depicted in the psalter as well as the marginal illuminations. She argues that several of the scenes including animals, such as a Lioness nursing her cub, two rams fighting over a ewe, and a hen surrounded by fighting cocks, illustrate the predominant sentiments about the behavior and temperament that was understood to be appropriate of a woman at the time.[69] She also points out that special attention is given to several female figures of the bible, including Hagar and Eve.[70] Stanton's primary argument is that Isabelle was "capable of understanding the texts and images of her Psalter as a framework and guide for her behavior, as a mirror for a queen."[71]

The Melisende Psalter also employs the imagery of biblical women to act as a 'mirror' to Melisende. Jaroslav Folda has noted how the icon (fig. 23) that precedes the prayer to the Virgin at the beginning of the litany of saints served as a "role model" for Melisende.[72] In this illumination, an enthroned Mary holds the Christ child on her lap. Although this icon communicates Mary's dual role as queen of heaven and mother, the latter is highlighted with Christ raising his hand in blessing, while Mary wraps her arms around her son. Folda argues that Melisende "would have readily recognized and related to" Mary in this image.[73] Another image that might mirror the more 'womanly' aspects of

[68] Stanton, "The Psalter of Isabelle," 2.
[69] Stanton, "The Psalter of Isabelle," 9.
[70] Stanton, "The Psalter of Isabelle," 10-17.
[71] Stanton, "The Psalter of Isabelle," 3.
[72] Folda, "Melisende," 457.
[73] Folda, "Melisende," 457.

Melisende's identity is the final image in the prefatory cycle, a Deësis. While comparable psalters often finish their prefatory cycles with an icon of Christ enthroned, this full-page miniature, the last one Melisende would have encountered and meditated upon before turning to the text of the Psalms, centered around the concept of intercession. In the Deësis, Mary, the ideal mother and queen, raises her hands in a gesture of supplication toward Christ, emphasizing her role as *mediatrix* and her ability to intercede on behalf of humanity.[74] Mary's intercessory role parallels the 'soft power' of queens and their role as intercessor to kings.[75] Just as the image of Mary Enthroned served as role model for Melisende as queen and mother, the Deësis offered Melisende an example of her duty to be soft, persuasive voice to a king.

In his examination of the St. Louis Psalter, Harvey Stahl explicitly argues that illuminated psalters are "high revealing documents" and that "their content and decoration often reflect the religious and aesthetic preferences and, in some cases, the circumstances and self-image of the owner."[76] He also notes that psalters intended for a king specifically should be looked at through this lens because of the intimate relationship between kingship and the source material for a psalter. Medieval Christianity held King David, the supposed author and composer of the Psalms, up as the "prototype for all Christian kings."[77] Due to this connection, all of the messages in both the text and

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[74] Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2009), 154.
[75] Kristen L. Gaeman, "Beyond Good Queen Anne: Anne of Bohemia, Patronage, and Politics," in *Medieval Elite Women and the Exercise of Power, 1100-1400: Moving Beyond the Exceptionalist Debate*, ed. Heather J. Tanner (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave MacMillan, 2019), 76-83.
[76] Stahl, *Picturing Kingship*, 1.
[77] Stahl, *Picturing Kingship*, 1.

images of a royal psalter "might well seem to address the reader directly."[78] Throughout his study of the St. Louis Psalter, Stahl connects the repeated imagery of David and other kings of the Old Testament to Louis IX's role as king. He also connects this imagery to Louis IX's involvement and dedication to the crusades.[79]

As the queen regnant of the "City of David," Melisende likely saw King David as more than a "prototype" or simply as a symbol of Christian kingship. Melisende was, in essence an "heir of David," ruling over his kingdom. The kings of Latin Jerusalem strove to tie themselves to all of the Old Testament kings, explicitly connected their authority to King David. Throughout her childhood and reign, Melisende lived in the royal residence in the Tower of David. Melisende's father, Baldwin I, further solidified his connection with David by choosing Bethlehem, the "birthplace of the house of David," for the site of his coronation.[80] Throughout their tenure in Jerusalem, the crusader kings also referred to their kingdom to the Kingdom of David as well as the Kingdom of Jerusalem.[81] This Davidic connection is evident in the visual program of the front cover of the Melisende Psalter, which features scenes from David's life are carved into the six medallions that decorate the front cover. This Davidic imagery, which has been analyzed by Bianca Kühnel, function as a 'kingly example' for Melisende and connect her to the legacy of Jerusalem.[82] In this way, the depictions of King David, like the images of Mary, serves as

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[78] Stahl, *Picturing Kingship*, 1.
[79] Stahl, *Picturing Kingship*, 11-13, 163-164.
[80] Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099-1187),* Church Faith and Culture in the Medieval West, ed. Brenda Bolton (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2005), 96-97.
[81] Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, 97.
[82] Bianca Kühnel, "The Kingly Statement of the Bookcovers of Queen Melisende's Psalter."

another ‘mirror’ in which Melisende can meditate upon and consider her experiences, memories, and identity.

Conclusion

The existence of prototypical affective meditation texts and theological discussions regarding the importance of memory in meditation indicate that the theories of meditation and thought that experienced a rise in popularity in the thirteenth and fourteenth century can, in many ways, be applied to the Melisende Psalter. An understanding of medieval views of the Psalms, meditation, memory, and identity allow a modern viewer to analyze the imagery included in the Melisende Psalter more clearly. As she picked up the ivory covered manuscript, she would have been prepared to meditate upon her ‘true self’ and her relationship with God and insert herself into the text. Because its language and the common understanding of the Psalms call for this kind of meditation, the illustrations in the psalter likely functioned as aid for this kind of meditation. In essence, the Melisende Psalter was a ‘mirror’ and its imagery to enhanced Melisende’s ability to see her reflection.

A Royal Pilgrim's Journey

If one accepts the premise that Melisende likely had influence over the creation of her psalter as I argued in the first chapter and understands how the Psalms functioned as a 'mirror' to oneself, one can catch a glimpse of Melisende's self-image, values, and concerns in the imagery included in the Melisende Psalter. The prefatory cycle, which is the most richly illustrated section of the psalter, includes some of the most illuminating imagery. As stated in the previous chapter, these miniatures functioned as aids for her meditation of the Psalms, her identity, and her relationship with God. I propose that these 24 full-page miniatures aid this meditation like the pilgrims' narratives discussed in the second chapter, prompting Melisende to meditate upon the physical spaces in which these scenes occurred.

The imagery included in several miniatures invokes the Jerusalem of the Crusaders rather than a biblical or heavenly Jerusalem, collapsing the Gospel narrative onto the narrative of the Latin Kingdoms and, therefore, Melisende's own narrative. As Melisende moved through each scene, she mentally 'traveled' to their physical locations, many of which were directly connected to her life. After with an examination of pilgrims' accounts and visual depictions of Crusader Jerusalem, I will discuss the unique crusader iconography in three of the miniatures and how the inclusion of this iconography results the same atemporality characteristic of pilgrims' accounts and images. At the end, I will discuss how this collapsed narrative functioned in two of the scenes. The scenes and imagery included in this cycle illustrate some of the complex, intersectional aspects of Melisende's identity still present in this 'mirror' of spiritual self-reflection.

Physicality and *Memoria* in Jerusalem

Memoria played a role in virtually all aspects of medieval thought not simply in the meditation on scripture or text discussed in the previous chapter. It could be utilized and experienced *in situ*, and no physical location was more imbued with memory than the city of Jerusalem. As early as the fourth century, Christian pilgrims began to make their way to the Holy Land, visiting the sites sacred to their faith. At these sites, they experienced the narratives of the Old and New Testaments and the promises of salvation. While Christians understood that Jerusalem was, in fact, a physical city, it was also a "mental-construction" of those who understood it to be the "Holy Land."[1] In the minds of medieval Christians, Jerusalem existed within in both the earthly and spiritual realms. It was the backdrop for the events of both the Old and New Testaments, the location of the Christ's sacrifice, the promise of salvation, and the physical representation of the "New Jerusalem" described in Revelations.[2] To medieval Christians, Jerusalem was a city built on *memoria*, the primary locus of the collective Christian memory.

The *memoria* of Jerusalem was most potent at the *loca sancta* that covered the city. *Loca sancta*, or 'sacred places,' were sites "where the powers of heaven were more easily tapped."[3] Although *loca sancta* could be found throughout Christendom, the most important of all existed in Jerusalem: the site of Christ's death and resurrection. By the

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[1] Jeroen Goudeau, Mariëtte Verhoeven, and Wouter Weijers, introduction to *The Imagined and Real Jerusalem in Art and Architecture*, eds. Jeroen Goudeau, Mariëtte Verhoeven, and Wouter Weijers. (Leiden Netherlands; Boston, Massachusetts: Brill, 2014), 1.
[2] Rev. 3:12, 21:2 DV.
[3] Robert Ousterhout, introduction to *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 1.

Middle Ages, the 'sacred map' of Jerusalem had continued to expand and included sites of significance to the Old Testament, New Testament, and apocryphal texts. Pilgrims did not visit these places to simply observe the physical reality of the space but rather sought to experience the "real presence of the celebrated events."[4] In an exploration of the use of mental images in medieval thought, Mary Carruthers argues the *loca sancta* in Jerusalem acted as "powerful cue[s]" that prompted the pilgrim "to 'see,' 'refresh,' and locate the recollective images from their reading, which they already carried in their own memory."[5] Physically interacting with the *loca sancta* allowed them to 'see' biblical events and prompted meditation on salvation and, by physical proximity and individual faith, their place within the story of salvation.

Although pilgrims had been visiting the *loca sancta* in Jerusalem since Constantine's conversion in the fourth century, the twelfth century witnessed a massive expansion of Jerusalem's sacred topography, mirroring the growing interest in Christ's humanity. More and more shrines and churches *memoria*lized the events of the entirety of Christ's life as well as the Passion and Resurrection. As the source of Christ's humanity, Mary became a central figure in the 'holy geography' of Jerusalem as well.[6] Although pilgrims had visited sites associated with the Virgin since as early as the 6th century, Mary's narrative became solidly intertwined with Christ's narrative and the narrative of

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[4] Robert Ousterhout, "'Sweetly Refreshed in Imagination': Remembering Jerusalem in Words and Images," *Gesta* 48, no. 2*, Making Thoughts, Making Pictures, Making Memories: A Special Issue in Honor of Mary J. Carruthers* (2009): 154.
[5] Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 269.
[6] Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, 87.

Jerusalem in the twelfth century.[7] The expansion of Mary's map in Jerusalem can be attributed to a combination of the already popular cult of Mary in the East, the outburst of Marian devotion in the West, and the Crusader's particular piety toward the Virgin.[8] Pilgrims visiting Jerusalem in the twelfth century report visiting the site of her birth, a location where she supposedly breastfed Christ, her school, the place where she met Christ on his walk to Golgotha, and the site where she reportedly tore her hair out during the Crucifixion.[9] The inclusion of these Marian *loca sancta* created a 'map' of Jerusalem that told the story of Christ's humanity as well as his divinity.

As the sacred topography of Jerusalem expanded, the pilgrims' experiences became more complex. The pilgrimage experience did not simply utilize memory but also affected and altered memory. The physical shrines, churches, and buildings became a part of the pilgrims' memory of the biblical events they *memoria*lized. Because most *loca sancta* in Jerusalem were associated with many different events, the narrative of the Gospels collapsed into the narratives of the Old Testament, apocryphal texts, and even the early church. As a pilgrim meditated upon these sites and 'saw' the 'real presence' of several "anachronisms and jarring chronological juxtapositions," the pilgrims memories linked together events that are biblically unrelated.[10] The atemporality of the *loca sancta* essentially 'restructured' the memories of the pilgrims.

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[7] Limor, "Mary in Jerusalem," 12.

[8] The departure of first crusade had been initially planned for the Feast of the Assumption, and crusaders reported frequent visions of the Virgin. During their triumphal procession around Jerusalem in 1099, the crusaders embarked from the Church of St. Mary on Mount Zion and paused at the Church of St. Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, 87-89.

[9] Limor, "Mary in Jerusalem," 16.

[10] Ousterhout, "'Sweetly Refreshed'," 157.

Visualizing Jerusalem in Words and Images

The essential role of sacred space and visualization, both physical and mental, in the act of pilgrimage is evident in the written accounts of pilgrims dating back as early as the fourth century.[11] The written accounts of these pilgrims typically followed the narrative of the pilgrim as they made their way through Jerusalem and often included many vivid descriptions of the exact paths they took and the places they visited. The pilgrims often 'place' each site in their text by indicating its direction and proximity to other sites, which creates a mental 'map' of the city as a whole. For example, the account of an anonymous pilgrim that was published with the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hiersolymitanorum* between 1100 and 1104 indicates that the Temple of the Lord sits "two bowshots" east of the Holy Sepulchre.[12] Pilgrims also often provided details on the appearance and architecture of sites.[13] After visiting Jerusalem in the first few years of the twelfth century, a monk by the name of Daniel included a detailed description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. He not only describes the mosaics and the altar but also makes note of the number of doors and columns. He describes the vaulted ceiling constructed out of wood and notes that the church was "beautifully paved with marble

[11] Both the Bordeaux Pilgrim and Egeria who wrote in the fourth century include architectural descriptions in the narratives of their travels. For analysis of the Bordeaux Pilgrims' account see Natalie Smith, "Revisiting the Anonymous 'Pilgrim' from Bordeaux: Defining Characteristics of Christian Sacred Space and Travel in Early Fourth Century Jerusalem," New Classicists, no. 4 (January 2021): 90-113. For analysis of Egeria's account see Giselle Bader, "Sacred Space in Egeria's Fourth Century Pilgrimage Account," Journal of Religious History 44, no. 1 (March 2020): 91-102.
[12] *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hiersolymitanorum, The Deeds of the Franks and other Pilgrims to Jerusalem,* ed. and trans. Rosalind Hill (London, UK; Edinburgh, UK, Paris, France: Nelson, 1962), 99.
[13] Most translations of pilgrims' accounts are taken from John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage: 1099-1185* (London, UK: The Hakluyt Society, 1988). Manuscript and translation information can be found on pp. 346-355.

slabs."[14] Through narrative structure and descriptions such as these, pilgrims recreated the physical space of Jerusalem textually in their accounts.

These texts did not simply serve as entertaining descriptions of the Holy Land; the visual and spatial descriptions in these pilgrim accounts aided the pilgrims and those who read their accounts to mentally recreate the pilgrimage.[15] Imagining themselves in the place of the pilgrim, the readers would practice a kind of affective meditation. They would encounter each site just as the pilgrim did and could create a 'mental image' of Jerusalem and its *loca sancta*. Applying Mary Carruthers' analysis of the use of the 'mental image' in medieval thought to pilgrimage accounts, Robert Ousterhout has proposed that because Jerusalem "was remembered visually, its visual image created an armature with which to structure memory."[16] The readers would employ *memoria* in a similar manner to a pilgrim that was physically present in Jerusalem, using visual cues (in the case of the reader, mental images) to access their memories of scripture. The memory of Jerusalem, the memory of the pilgrim, and the memory of the reader layered upon on one another, allowing the reader to 'see' the real presence at these holy sites.

Most pilgrims structured their pilgrimages and subsequently their texts around the narrative of the Gospels, attempting to visit the sites in an order that mirrored the linear, chronological narrative of Christ's life. This narrative, however, was impossible to

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[14] Daniel the Abbot, "*The Life and Journey of Daniel, Abbot of the Russian Land*," in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage: 1099-1187*, trans. W.F Ryan, 127.
[15] Robert Ousterhout, "The Memory of Jerusalem: Text, Architecture, and the Craft of Thought." In Jerusalem as Narrative Space: Ezrählraum Jerusalem, eds. Annette Hoffman and Gerhard Wolf, (Leiden; Boston, Massachusetts: Brill, 2012), 140; Bader, "Sacred Space," 99.
[16] Ousterhout, "'Sweetly Refreshed'," 154.

maintain due to the fact that each *loca santa* memorialized several significant events. The pilgrim had to discuss each of these events as they described each site, recreating the collapsed narrative experienced by the pilgrims for the reader. In this way, the readers' memories would become 'restructured' to associate events that were previously unrelated in their mind with the mental image of each building becoming the locus of these new associations. The clearest example of this collapsed and interwoven narrative is the first stop for many pilgrims: the Temple of the Lord. In most descriptions of the Temple of the Lord (*Templum Domini*), pilgrims invariably mention the presentation of Christ, the first event of Christ's life that took place in Jerusalem. However, the Temple is connected with several other events in his life as well as events from the Old Testament and even apocryphal texts. Writing about the Temple, pilgrims jump back and forth temporally as they describe seemingly disparate stories.

The anonymous pilgrim that wrote *Work on Geography* in the early twelfth century illustrates this atemporality. He begins his discussion of the Temple of the Lord with stories about David in Jerusalem and Solomon's construction of the Temple. He then bypassing Christ's life and jumps forward in time, describing the Temple's destruction and then recounting the legend that St. Helena had rebuilt it. The pilgrim then begins to recount the events of Christ's life that occurred in the Temple chronologically, beginning with the presentation and circumcision of Christ. He pauses this linear narrative when he jumps forward again to note that the foreskin was a relic that was now residing in Aquitaine. Returning to the Gospel narrative, he describes the presentation to Simeon before mentioning Jesus driving the merchants out of the temple and saving the

adulterous woman. The pilgrim then mentions that James was thrown off the top of the temple, before jumping back in time to the Annunciation of John the Baptist's birth. The anonymous pilgrim ends his account of the Temple reaching even further back into biblical history, stating that the Old Testament prophet, Zechariah, was murdered in the Temple. [17] This interwoven narrative not only illustrates how the pilgrim's memory was restructured. As a reader followed this seemingly jumbled narrative, their memories would become restructured as well.

The many narratives of the distant past were not the only narratives that experienced this temporal collapse; the recent history and present circumstances of the Latin Kingdoms wove themselves into biblical narratives in the memories of the pilgrims. Several pilgrims' accounts illustrate this phenomenon by referencing clergy and even lay people living in the holy city. An anonymous pilgrim that visited the city in roughly the 1130s, the beginning of Melisende's reign, mentions the sick and impoverished people served by the Hospital of St. John the Baptist as he identifies the shrines, churches, and *loca sancta* that surround the Holy Sepulchre.[18] The writer of *Work on Geography* referenced the tradition of the Holy Fire igniting in the Holy Sepulchre and even indicated that, during his pilgrimage, the citizens, clergy, and pilgrims of Jerusalem were preparing for the ceremony.[19]

Other pilgrims even refer to the political circumstances of the Latin Kingdoms. The Anglo-Saxon pilgrim, Sæwulf, mentions the threat of the 'Saracens' throughout his

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[17] "*Work on Geography*," in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage: 1099-1185,* 198-199.
[18] "*De Situ Urbis Iherusalem*," in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage: 1099-1185,* 178.
[19] "*Work on Geography*," in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage: 1099-1185*, 201.

account.[20] The Russian monk, Daniel, describes how Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem at the time, and his retinue of soldiers, took him into their company on his journey.[21] Toward the end of the century, John of Würzburg incorporates far more crusader history and descriptions of contemporary events. Along with several mentions of the Templars and the citizens of Jerusalem, John recounts finding a monument dedicated to the first king of the Latin Kingdoms, Godfrey of Bouillon, between the Holy Sepulchre and the chapel of St. John the Baptist.[22] Here, we can see how the narratives of the Crusades and the Latin Kingdoms of Jerusalem wove themselves into the religious narrative of the city. Just as Christ supposedly left an impression of his footprint in the Temple of the Lord, the crusaders and the monarch of the Latin Kingdom physically enshrined themselves in the sacred topography of Jerusalem.

As these written accounts became more popular and accessible in the eleventh and twelfth century, the readers ability to create a mental image of Jerusalem was augmented by the inclusion of visual depictions of the city, mostly in the form of maps of Jerusalem.[23] While these maps are often found attached to pilgrimage accounts, they have also been found with miscellaneous religious texts and historical chronicles.[24] The most common and distinctive form of these maps in the twelfth century is the circular or round map. These maps were not intended to guide a pilgrim through the city. Although there is

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[20] Sæwulf, "*A Reliable Account of the Situation of Jerusalem*," in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage: 1099-1185,* 100, 108, 111.
[21] Daniel the Abbot, *The Life and Journey of Daniel,* in J*erusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1187*, 154-155.
[22] John of Würzburg*, "Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saeculis*," in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1187*, 264-265.
[23] Ousterhout, "Sweetly Refreshed," 160.
[24] Pnina Arad, *Christian Maps of the Holy Land: Images and Meaning* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2020), 35.

variation in these circular maps, they share a general format. The walls of Jerusalem form the titular circle, and two main roads meet in the center of the circle creating a cross. Within the circle, the simplified drawings or symbols that represent the landmarks and buildings are often accompanied by toponyms. Although the landmarks included in each map and their depictions different slightly, each map includes representations of the Holy Sepulchre, the Temple of the Lord (*Templum Domini*), the Temple of Salomon (Templum Salomonis), and the Tower of David. [25] Some maps also include roads leading out of the circle of Jerusalem and symbols indicating the holy sites that lay outside of the city.

The depictions of the buildings differ from map to map, indicating that verisimilitude was not the objective. The Uppsala Map (fig. 24) was found directly in front of the *Gesta Francorum*, a pilgrim narrative, in a twelfth century manuscript of *Historia Hierosolymitana*.[26] On this map, we see the Holy Sepulchre represented to left of the horizontal road at the bottom of the circle, near David's Gate. It is depicted with a large circle at the center of an architectural structure. Directly across the road to the right, the Tower of David appears as a walled in castle with a tower rising from the center topped with a battlement, which is buttressed with two smaller towers. Moving up the central road, the Temple of the Lord sits at the top center of the circular map. Enclosed in

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[25] Milka Levy-Rubin and Rehav Rubin, "The Image of the Holy City in Maps and Mapping," in *City of the Great King: Jerusalem from David to the Present*, ed. Nitza Rosovsky (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Harvard University Press, 1996), 357.
[26] Milka Levy-Rubin provides basic details on the history of this map in "The Rediscovery of the Uppsala Map of Crusader Jerusalem," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 111, no. 2 (1995): 162-167.

its own smaller circle, the Temple features a tower on either side of the main body of building. At the top of the central dome, sits a cross. Other maps are even more symbolically rendered. Many of these maps such as the Saint-Omer Map (fig. 25) represent both the Holy Sepulchre and the Temple of the Lord with circles, which symbolize the heavenly realm, rather than architectural units. The tower in this map is still represented with a tower, but it is rendered more simply as a single tower rather than a palace or castle.

Not true representations of Jerusalem, these maps were intended to communicate the spiritual meaning of the city. The creators of these maps included locations that correlated to events in the lives of Mary and Jesus.[27] Using simplified, idealized streets and buildings, these maps acted as devotional images that, like the pilgrims' narratives, "allowed the viewer to retrace Christ's 'footsteps'.[28]" Even in the more symbolic maps, elements of crusader architecture like spires and towers are included. These maps present "Christian tradition and crusader reality" embedded within the circle that symbolizes the "promise of the celestial Jerusalem."[29] This combination allowed the individual viewing the map to 'travel' to a biblical and historical Jerusalem that was ruled by the contemporary Christian crusaders.[30] These maps illustrate the atemporality of Jerusalem and the interwoven narratives of the biblical past and crusader reality experienced by the pilgrims and those who read their accounts.

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[27] Arad, *Christian Maps*, 42.
[28] Arad, *Christian Maps*, 43.
[29] Ousterhout, "The Memory of Jerusalem," 151.
[30] Levy-Rubin and Rubin, "The Image of the Holy City," 361.

Pilgrimage in the Melisende Psalter

The 'Three Domes' of Crusader Jerusalem

The prefatory cycle of the Melisende Psalter functions like these pilgrims' accounts and maps as they guided Melisende not only though the lives of Christ and the Virgin but also through the physical reality of her kingdom. Several miniatures in the series include imagery unique to the crusaders and the Latin Kingdom. The miniatures depicting the Presentation, the Temptation, and the Entry in Jerusalem all feature clear representations of the so called 'three domes' of Crusader Jerusalem: the Holy Sepulchre, the Temple of the Lord, and the Tower of David. The inclusion of these structures, which had become symbols of the Latin Kingdom, in the Melisende Psalter grounds the narrative of Christ's life not in the biblical, or even heavenly, Jerusalem but in the physical, Crusader Jerusalem that lay just outside of Melisende's door. The presence of these structures causes the narrative of Christ's life to collapse onto the narrative of the Latin Kingdoms, which included Melisende's personal narrative. As Melisende viewed and meditated upon each full-page miniature, she was cued not only to insert herself into the Gospel narrative but also to mentally travel to the location of the scene.

The three domes of the Crusaders first appear in the Presentation (fig. 12), the fifth miniature in the series. Three architectural features rise up from behind the five figures in the foreground. I discussed the Temple of the Lord which is represented by the onion-shaped dome that sits atop a red base(fig. 26). While the rest of the image is covered with an opaque layer of pigment, the illuminator appears to have used a lighter hand on the dome, using varying shades of blue and made use of negative space to mimic

the effect of tiles. Curved, darker lines run along the dome horizontally, emphasizing its curves and adding an element of dimension. While the inclusion of this dome on its own is significant, the choice to depict it alongside the two other architectural features implies an explicit desire to tie the scene to Crusader Jerusalem. On the far left, sits an orange tower (fig. 27) with a vaulted blue roof. A structure that resembles a cross extends from the top of this structure. On the far right, only a small portion of a red tower (fig. 28) extends above the head of the prophetess Anna. While a modern reader may be unable to identify these other two buildings, a Crusader audience would have immediately identified them as the Holy Sepulchre and the Tower of David respectively. The combination of these three buildings, referred to as the "three domes," had become of a symbol of the Latin Kingdoms.[31] Presented in simplified forms like the representations of buildings and *loca sancta* on the Crusader maps, the identities and symbolism of these buildings are communicated through their adherence to iconography rather than reality.

By comparing the tower on the left of the image to known depictions of the Holy Sepulchre, it becomes clear that this pointed structure represents the holy site. During the twelfth century, pewter ampullae were produced as souvenirs, or eulogia, for pilgrims.[32] Not only did these ampullae carry holy oil, but they were typically adorned with both scenes from scripture and representations of the Jerusalem itself. The most common

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[31] Iris Gerlitz, "'The King is Dead, Long Live the King': Representing Transfer of Power in the Crusader *Estoire de Eracles*," in *Between Jerusalem and Europe: Essays in Honour of Bianca Kühnel*, ed. Renana Bartal and Hanna Vorholt (Leiden; Boston, Massachusetts: Brill, 2015), 49.
[32] Katja Boertjes, "The Reconquered Jerusalem Represented Tradition and Renewal on the Pilgrimage Ampulae from the Crusader Period," in *The Imagined and Real Jerusalem in Art and Architecture*, ed. Jeroen Goudeau, Mariëtte Verhoeven, and Wouter Weijers (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2014), 174.

image cast onto the surface of these ampullae was the Holy Sepulchre. Of the five surviving ampullae from this period, three feature nearly identical depictions of the Holy Sepulchre (figs. 29-31). Each features three arches. Above the left arch, there is a small domed roof, and a tower sits above the right arch. In the center, Christ's body lies on a tomb. Above this tomb, a conical dome is depicted with several lines radiating down the dome from the top. The structures on the left and right refer to two new elements built onto the Holy Sepulchre by the crusaders: the dome and the tower.[33] Although this rounded, crusader dome symbolizes the Sepulchre to a modern audience, the conical dome remained the primary architectural iconography of the Holy Sepulchre during the period of crusader rule. During the crusader renovation, the Anastasis Rotunda was left as the Byzantines had constructed it in the eleventh century with its "conical" vault (fig. 32).[34] Even though the Anastasis dome was conical, the Holy Sepulchre is also frequently depicted as having a saddle roof. It appears that the most important aspect of its architectural iconography was a pointed or triangular roof or tower, just like that of structure on the left of the Presentation miniature.

The Holy Sepulchre was also depicted with a pointed roof when the three domes were grouped together in the combination that came to symbolize the Latin Kingdoms. Although they are referred to as the 'three domes' of the Latin Kingdom, the three buildings were represented by their differently shaped roofs, possibly to allow for easy identification. The Holy Sepulchre typically featured this conical or pointed roof, the

[33] Boertjes, "The Reconquered Jerusalem," 175.
[34] Robert Ousterhout, "Architecture as Relic and the Construction of Sanctity: The Stones of the Holy Sepulchre," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 62, no.1 (2003): 7,9.

Temple of the Lord always had its rounded or onion shaped dome, and the top of the Tower of David was always its flat or crenelated top. The rulers of the Latin Kingdom propagated this iconography and its association with their kingdom by featuring the 'three domes' on many of their royal seals. As a result, these three monumental buildings presented in a line became a "logo of the kingdom."[35] The coins and seals of the kingdom are therefore one of the best resources for the iconography of these three buildings.

This iconography features on six seals of Baldwin I (reigned from 1100 to 1118).[36] On one seal examined by Arnold Spaer (fig. 33), The Tower of David sits in the middle with its emblematic flat top.[37] The Tower is flanked on the right by the rounded dome of the Temple of the Lord and on the left by the more conical, pointed dome of the Holy Sepulchre. All three of the monuments lay behind a crenelated city wall with a central, arched gate, which represents David's Gate (*Porta David*).[38] This 'logo' also appears on a seal that belonged to one of Melisende's sons, Amaury I (also called Amalric), who reigned from 1163-1174 (fig. 34). Again, the flat-topped Tower of David sits between the Temple of the Lord and the Holy Sepulchre. Although all seals used by Melisende have been lost, Gustave Schlumberger describes one of these now lost seals in *Sigillographie de L'Orient Latin*. On her seal, the Tower of David with a crenellated top sat at the center also flanked by the Temple of the Lord and the Holy Sepulchre. It

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[35] D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in The Ashmolean Museum Oxford* (Oxford; London: Royal Numismatic Society, 1995), 42.
[36] Arnold Spaer, "A Seal of Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem," *The Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. 142 (1982): 159.
[37] Arnold Spaer, "A Seal of Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem," *The Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. 142 (1982): 157-159.
[38] Adrian J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East*, 2nd ed. (London, UK; New York: Routledge, 2017), 195.

differed from the previous two examples due to the fact that it flips the positioning of the two other monuments. According to Schlumberger, the Holy Sepulchre is depicted on the right of the Tower and the Temple of the Lord is depicted on the right.[39] Although we no longer have access to any of her seals, it is more than likely this is a reliable description because this 'logo' is found on most extant seals from all monarchs of the Latin Kingdom.

The combination of these three buildings also occurs in manuscript painting. The Holy Sepulchre, The Tower of David, and the Temple of the Lord feature prominently on virtually all circular maps from the twelfth century, as previously discussed.[40] As these map makers produced idealized representations of Jerusalem as a biblical city ruled by Christians, they made sure to include simplified renderings of the three buildings that had become symbols of the Crusaders authority in the holy city. The 'logo' can also be found in a manuscript produced almost a century after the Crusaders lost Jerusalem to Saladin and the Abuyyids. In a manuscript of the *Estoire de Eracles*, a historiated initial accompanies the written narrative of the death of Baldwin I and the succession of Baldwin II, Melisende's father (fig. 35). The initial depicts three key events in this narrative. In the scene at the top of the initial, several figures attend to the deceased Baldwin I. At the bottom, Baldwin II is crowned king. The central scene illustrates Baldwin II's arrival in Jerusalem prior to his appointment and coronation. On the far right of the initial, Jerusalem is represented by the 'three domes' enclosed by a city wall (fig.

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[39] Gustave Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de L'Orient Latin*, Bibliothéque et historique 37 (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1943), 5-6.
[40] Levy-Rubin and Rubin, "The Image of the Holy City," 357.

36).[41] Closest to the center of the initial, a small grey tower with a red conical dome or saddle roof represents the Holy Sepulchre. The Tower of David with its crenellated roof sits farthest to the right. Between these two buildings, the dome of Temple of the Lord is depicted in a color palate similar to that of the dome in the Presentation miniature in the Melisende psalter with a blue dome and a muted red base. In her examination of this manuscript, Iris Gerlitz compares these buildings to those on the previously mentioned seal of Baldwin I.[42] Although this manuscript was produced long after Melisende's reign in a time when 'Crusader Jerusalem' was no longer a reality, simplified renderings of the Holy Sepulchre, the Tower of David, and the Temple of the Lord continued to symbolize the Latin Kingdom and Jerusalem to the wider audience of western Europe, illustrating the potency of this iconography.

Returning to Melisende's Psalter, the symbolism of the three buildings in the Presentation scene becomes clear. However, these three buildings appear twice more: in the Temptation and the Entry to Jerusalem. In the Temptation (fig. 37), the biblical story is illustrated in continuous narrative. [43] This miniature depicts only two of the three Temptations, leaving out the first Temptation in which Satan tempts Christ to turn stones into bread.[44] In the center of the miniature, Christ stands on the edge of a building while the Devil stands to his right gesturing down at seven stones. This interaction illustrates the Temptation in which the Devil brings Christ to the top of the Temple and asks him to

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[41] Gerlitz, "'The King is Dead'," 48-49.
[42] Gerlitz, "'The King is Dead'." 49.
[43] Matt. 4:1-11; Mark 1:12-13; Luke 4:13 DV.
[44] Matt. 4:3-4; Luke 4:3-4 DV.

prove that he is the Son of God by throwing himself from the Temple. The Devil cites the Psalms, arguing that, if he were the Son of God, angels would come to "bear thee up, lest perhaps thou dash they foot against a stone."[45] The building upon which Christ stands (fig. 37) is rendered with the same flat-topped iconography of the Tower David seen on the royal seals. Although this building does not have the masonry like the Towers found on seals and coins, its general shape and the golden design on its front appear to adapt the numismatic iconography to the medium of manuscript painting. While its patterning and the shape of the cornice vary on coins and seals, the rectangular shape and level top remain consistent in all depictions of the Tower of David by the Latin Kingdom.[46]

On the front of the muted red, rectangular building, two panels of gold meet at an angle just below a semicircular window. The angle of these panels creates the impression of gate with double doors. This stylized rendering appears to be the result of a fusion of the Tower of David with another element in the 'logo' that was absent in the Presentation: David's Gate. Most clearly visible on the seal of Baldwin I, David's Gate sits just below the Tower of David at the very center along the city wall. The vast majority of the twelfth century circular maps, including the Uppsala (fig. 24) and Saint-Omer (fig. 25) maps include this gate. The Uppsala map utilizes a similar visual strategy to symbolize the gate (fig. 39), angling two panels down toward each other to meet in the middle. It is traditionally positioned at the very bottom of the round maps, between the

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[45] Quote from Matt. 4:6 DV. Also referenced in Luke 4:10-11 DV. Both reference Ps. 90:12 DV, "In their hands they shall bear thee up: lest though dash thy foot against a stone."

[46] For discussion of Tower of David iconography on seals and coins see Robert Kool, "The Circulation and Use of Coins in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099-1291 CE" (PhD. diss., Hebrew University, 2013); Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, 56.

Tower of David and the Holy Sepulchre. In reality, this gate is located directly next to the Tower, which was the main citadel of the city. By combining the Tower of David and David's Gate, the illuminator was able to make simple iconography of the Tower of David more recognizable and incorporate another symbol of the Latin Kingdoms.

While the decorated, rectangular building with its golden cornice may not be immediately identifiable on its own, its portrayal in conjunction with the two other architectural structures strongly indicate that this building would have been understood by its audience, the queen of the Latin Kingdom, as the Tower of David. The onion dome of the Temple of the Lord (fig. 38) sits directly behind the Tower of David and the conical dome of the Holy Sepulchre (fig. 40) sits in the bottom right corner of the miniature. While the coloring of each of the buildings is different than their previous depictions in the Presentation, their stylized domes remain consistent.

The combination of the Tower and Gate into one structure becomes more clear in the next and last appearance of the 'logo' imagery in the prefatory cycle: the Entry into Jerusalem (fig. 41). Unlike the previous appearances, the buildings are more difficult to differentiate and identify due to their positioning. However, they maintain iconographic consistency. In this scene, a young boy lays out his cloak for Christ as he rides into Jerusalem on the back of ass, another young man climbs up a tree in order to catch a glimpse of Christ's return.[47] A crowd gathers in front of several architectural structures piled on top of one another (fig. 42). The rectangular, Tower of David sits directly behind the crowd. Painted in the same muted red as the Towers in the Presentation and the

[47] Matt. 21:1-11; Mark 11:1-11; Luke 19:28-44; John 12:12-19 DV.

Temptation, this Tower is topped with a balustrade painted in the same blue as the cornice of the Tower in the Presentation. On the front of this structure, the golden gate is painted in more detail than the gate on the Tower in the Presentation. Its presence and function in this scene clarify its appearance in the Temptation.

The Temple of the Lord rises up from behind the Tower with the same blue onion dome used in both the Presentation and the Temptation. Its red base matches that in the Presentation. Behind the Temple, the Holy Sepulchre is depicted with a saddle roof rather than the conical dome. Although this appears like a deviation at first glance, the saddle roof is still consistent with the traditional iconography of the Holy Sepulchre.[48] Although its coloring does not perfectly match either previous depiction, it does feature a bright red roof like the Holy Sepulchre in the Temptation. By stacking these buildings with David's Gate in the front, the illuminator creates an image that is truer to the iconography of the 'logo' than either the Presentation or Temptation. All three 'domes' are attached to one another with David's Gate at the front just as they are on the royal seals. Viewing the Presentation, the Temptation, and the Entry to Jerusalem together, the identification of these three, repeating structures as the three 'domes' becomes clear. The 'makers' of this psalter chose to incorporate the 'symbol' of the Latin Kingdom into the series of miniatures.

Comparative Analysis

While prefatory cycles in comparable psalters include architectural elements, none found in my research use the iconography of these three buildings to the same

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[48] Boertjes, "The Reconquered Jerusalem," 175.

degree of specificity nor are they depicted in conjunction. The comparative study of the Temple of the Lord in the Presentation miniature in the first chapter, illustrates this. Using the Entry to Jerusalem as an example due to its narrative ties to the Holy City, one can observe that the inclusion of this 'logo' iconography is unique to the psalter made for the queen of Jerusalem. The general iconography of this scene is fairly consistent across all of the psalters. Christ sits atop a donkey, followed by his disciples as he faces a group of people. A figure, usually illustrated as a man or young boy, lays out a tunic so that Christ's donkey may tread upon it.[49] Pictured behind the crowd, an architectural structure or complex symbolizes Jerusalem. These representations often emphasize Jerusalem's status as the heavenly promise rather than the earthly city. In these depictions, Christ's entry into Jerusalem symbolized his triumph over death.[50]

Due to this symbolic representation of Jerusalem, the architectural program of the city varies. In the Entry scene in the Kristina Psalter (fig. 43), a single structure with a saddle roof and rounded doorway represents. No defining architectural features are needed to communicate the narrative and setting of this scene because it features the core elements of the iconography of the Entry into Jerusalem: garments being laid out in front of Christ, whohe rides on a donkey. The Copenhagen Psalter features a much more complex cityscape (fig. 44). Four towers of varying shape and structure rise up from a walled in city. In the center of this city, the heads of many figures are enclosed with a circular, crenellated blue and red wall. The circle or circular city, as mentioned in the

[49] Matt. 21:7; Mark 11:8; Luke 19:36 DV.
[50] Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. 2, trans. Janet Seligman (Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphic Society, Ltd., 1971), 19.

discussion of the circular maps of Jerusalem symbolized the celestial, or heavenly city.[51] While its circular shape invokes the heavenly Jerusalem, the towers lack the iconographic specificity of the 'three domes' of Crusader Jerusalem. The representation of Jerusalem in the Saint Albans Entry most closely resembles that of the Melisende Psalter (fig. 45). In this miniature, several structures are stacked atop the city gate. Although it is topped with a pointed dome and its gate is topped with a blue, crenellated wall like the Entry of the Melisende Psalter, it lacks the three distinctive architectural structures featured on the 'logo' of the Latin Kingdoms.

The Collapsing Narrative

While all of these miniatures invoke Jerusalem through a variety of visually symbolic means, the Melisende Psalter specifically employs an iconographic symbol of the physical reality of Crusader Jerusalem. Although the 'three domes' do not appear until the fifth miniature, they are included as soon as the narrative allows. This scene, the Presentation, depicts the first event in the biblical narrative of Christ's life to occur in the city of Jerusalem. Many pilgrims, in an attempt to follow the Gospel narrative, began their tours of the city with the Temple because it was the site of the Presentation.[52] Although these monuments only appear in three of the twenty-four miniatures, their affect applies to the entire cycle, which is constructed with a linear narrative. Therefore, by tying three scenes to Crusader Jerusalem, the entire biblical narrative is set in the Latin Kingdom of the Crusaders.

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[51] Günter Bandmann, *Early Medieval Architecture as Bearer of Meaning*, trans. Kendall Wallis (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 87.
[52] Ousterhout, "Sweetly Refreshed," 156.

Melisende's 'Restructured' Memory and Identity

Just as being physically present at *loca sancta* 'restructures' and creates new associations the memory of the pilgrim, Melisende's memory was 'restructured' through the collapsed narrative in the prefatory cycle. The collapsed narrative of the cycle forced Melisende to to "consider a meaningful relation" between several previously unrelated events that took place within the same space. Her "scriptural memory [was] augmented and altered" by forging associations between biblical events and the contemporary history and actions of the Crusaders.[53] Unlike a pilgrim, Melisende had political and personal events and memories tied to the locations depicted in the cycle. It is likely that as she mentally 'visited' each location she continued to restructure her memory and create new associations between the events depicted and events in her life.

While I cannot make any definitive arguments about the specific, personal experiences Melisende may have had while using her psalter, I argue that the crusader iconography and the nature of the Psalms themselves would likely have prompted her to create associations between the scenes and moments in her life and the history of the crusades. The Psalms, with their first person, intimate language, call upon the reader to insert themselves into the text and meditate on their identity, and pilgrims had long been mentally inserting themselves into the Gospel narrative by visiting *loca sancta*. Even without the repeated use of the 'three domes' of Crusader Jerusalem, Melisende may have inserted herself into the narrative of the prefatory cycle to aid in her meditation on the Psalms. However, the inclusion of the 'logo' explicitly inserts the Crusader narrative

[53] Ousterhout, "Sweetly Refreshed," 157.

into the images. Together with the 'mirror' of the Psalms, this imagery would have prompted Melisende to insert herself into the settings and narrative presented.

Melisende's Davidic Inheritance

For example, were Melisende to meditate upon the Nativity miniature (fig. 46), Melisende would be prompted to 'travel' to the town of Bethlehem, which was not simply the site of Christ's birth, but also the site of her father's coronation. Many have argued that Baldwin I chose to be crowned in Bethlehem rather than Jerusalem, not because Christ was born there, but because it was the seat of the House of David.[54] As the narratives of the Old Testament, New Testament, and Latin Kingdoms collapse in this image, Melisende's memory may have been restructured to create an association between the Nativity, the birth of David, and the beginning of her royal dynasty. It is impossible to know if she drew this connection but, in her analysis of the royal women of the Latin Kingdom, Deborah Gerish discusses the fact Melisende appears to have been the first monarch of the Latin Kingdoms who was aware of her and her family's identity as royalty.[55] Gerish argues that this 'awareness' manifested in Melisende's attempts to secure the authority of her dynasty by patronizing sites that "connected the royal family to holy sites associated with Old or New Testament figures."[56] It appears that Melisende not only experienced this 'restructuring' herself but also sought to 'restructure' the memories of all who visited these sites in the Latin Kingdom.

[54] Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, 97.
[55] Deborah Gerish, "Royal Daughters of Jerusalem and the Demands of Holy War," *Leidschrift: Met het kruis getekend* 27 (2012): 96.
[56] Gerish, "Royal Daughters," 97.

Hidden Royal Imagery

Another example of the collapsed narrative of the psalter becoming manifest in Melisende's life can be found in the Presentation (fig. 12). The Temple of the Lord, as well as the Presentation story itself, played a significant role in the coronation of the monarchs of the Latin Kingdom. After the monarch was crowned in the Holy Sepulchre, a royal procession brought them to the Temple of the Lord. Once inside, they engaged in a symbolic reenactment of the Presentation, removing their crown and placing it upon the altar just as Mary handed Jesus to Simeon over the altar.[57] Looking upon the Presentation in her psalter, Melisende may have been prompted to meditate upon this aspect of the coronation process, 'restructuring' her memory and creating a link between the scene and the authority of her dynasty. Whether this mental process took place or not, Melisende did display a documented interest in the Temple of Lord, funding the substantial renovation of the Temple after its official its dedication in 1141. Not only is she the likely sponsor of the iron grill that covered the rock beneath the dome, but she is also the most likely patron of the extensive mosaic program installed in the Temple in 1140s,[58] which included a mosaic a depiction of the Presentation accompanied by an inscription.[59]

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[57] Jean d'Ibelin, *Le Livre de Jean d'Ibelin*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Lois*, is. 1, ed. Arthur Beugnot (Paris, France: Académie Royal des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1841-1843), 31. Although this account of the coronation process was written after Melisende's death, it is possible that one, if not both, of her coronations included this element, which was described as tradition at the time of its documentation. Only seven of the nine rulers of the first Latin Kingdom were crowned in Jerusalem, including Melisende. Even if this reenactment was not in place during either of her coronations, it is likely her influence did help shape the ceremony.

[58] Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, 251.

[59] John of Würzburg*, "Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saeculis*," in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1187*, 246.

Although this mosaic has been lost to time, one can imagine that it resembled the scene upon which Melisende had meditated every time she opened her psalter.

Conclusion

Many scholars have noted that kingship and royal identity play an important royal in the visual program of the Melisende Psalter's ivory covers, but the presence of distinctly 'crusader' imagery in the prefatory cycle proves that these themes continue into the manuscript itself. The 'three domes' pictured in three of the miniatures are not simply visual examples of Melisende's pride in her kingdom and dynasty. They also transformed the function of the cycle itself. Rather than a simple pictorial narrative of the lives of Mary and Christ, the cycle became a 'mental' pilgrimage that rooted the narrative in specific physical spaces throughout Melisende's kingdom. Just as pilgrims accounts and maps of Crusader Jerusalem allowed their readers and viewers to 'travel' to the Holy Land by rooting the narrative in the visual, physical spaces of the various *loca sancta*, the crusader iconography in the prefatory cycle rooted the biblical narrative in the physical reality of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

Through the resulting collapsed narrative, the scenes in the cycle represent specific places and moments in crusader history and Melisende's life along with the events pictured. In many ways, this prefatory cycle serves as a small example of Melisende's desire to connect her dynasty with the biblical past of her kingdom. Through this 'mirror' we can catch a glimpse of a queen who was deeply proud of her kingdom and family, a queen who was aware of how history and spirituality came together in

Jerusalem, and a queen who wanted to ‘restructure’ the collective memory of Jerusalem to include the memory of the crusaders and the rulers of the crusader kingdom.

Often left off the list of great, medieval queens, Melisende of Jerusalem remains a mystery to most. While a library may carry several tomes dedicated to the lives and legacies of the likes of Eleanor of Aquitaine, Empress Matilda, and Isabella I of Castile, you will most likely only find Melisende in a few throw-away lines between the military analysis that seems to dominate the published accounts of Crusader history. This dearth of scholarship is likely due to the scant primary evidence in combination with the (possibly implicit) sexism of historians. However, she is slowly becoming a more prominent player in the world of art history because of her architectural patronage and the rich visual program of her psalter.

The Melisende Psalter provides art historians an excellent opportunity not only to explore the life and experiences of an oft-forgotten queen but also to better understand how artistic mediums were used to both support and display medieval spiritual practices and beliefs. Due to their central place in medieval Christian devotion, the Psalms are also central to a modern understanding of medieval Christians lived experiences. Following in the footsteps of Harvey Stahl and Michael Camille, medieval historians and art historians alike should continue to explore the production, use, function of psalters. The prefatory cycle of the Melisende Psalter on its own offers a new avenue to explore the role of physicality and visualization in medieval mediation, pilgrims' experiences with *loca sancta*, and the intersections between the spiritual and the corporeal.

The Melisende Psalter also provides an entry point to examine the art historical legacy of a fraught era: the Crusades. Just like Melisende herself, the Melisende Psalter is

the result of complex cultural interactions that took place as a direct result of violent conquest and religious fervor. Melisende, a Frankish queen and native of the Levant, ruled over Muslims, Jews, Greek Christians, Armenian Christians, and Jacobites (another name for Syrian Christians). Although there is evidence her charitable works extended to all of the Christians sects that resided in her kingdom and she herself was half Armenian, it is still likely that many who lived in and around the Latin Kingdom still viewed her as an invader, the enemy. Religious tension continues to plague Jerusalem and its surrounding areas to this day. While a humanitarian conflict cannot be resolved by examining the material culture of a crusader queen, it can perhaps provide insight into how these cultures and religions have fought, co-existed, and interacted in the past.

Due its length, the scope of this project was limited and did not include a deeper examination of the legacy of the Crusades. Due to the size of the psalter itself, I also limited my analysis to the prefatory cycle. Viewing the Melisende Psalter through the lens of affective meditation and the pilgrims experience can inform the examination of its covers, text, historiated initials, and iconic depictions of saints. The prefatory cycle itself offers much more to explore. For example, the intersection between Melisende's gender and the depiction of women in the cycle is ripe for analysis. The prefatory cycle of the Melisende Psalter includes the Virgin Mary in higher percentage of the scenes than comparable psalters.[1] This draws an interesting parallel with Melisende's documented Marian devotion. The Melisende Psalter also includes women in its depiction of the Entry

[1] The Melisende Psalter features Mary in 46% of scenes in the prefatory cycle. Mary appears in 30% of the scenes in the St. Albans Psalter, 30% in the Kristina Psalter, 43% in the Copenhagen Psalter, and 20% in the Winchester Psalter.

to Jerusalem, whereas they do not appear in any of the other psalters discussed in this project. While women have tended to be erased from any moment in Christian history, they are noticeably absent from any discussion of the Crusades or the Latin Kingdoms whose militaristic legacy has left little room for them. An analysis of depictions of women in the Melisende Psalter may not only shed light Melisende's experience as a woman but also help excavate the voices of the women of the Latin Kingdoms.

Throughout this project, I have sought to use the Melisende Psalter as a mirror. By analyzing the imagery in the prefatory cycle, I attempted to see in it a reflection of how the psalter may have been produced and how Melisende may have used it. However, mirrors can never show us the truth of an object. Not only can we point a mirror in any direction we choose, but we will also only ever see a mirror image, not reality. While we can never see the full truth of Melisende's life, we can hold up her psalter and attempt to catch an elusive glimpse of the complex woman for whom it was made.

Figure 1. Tomb of Melisende off the main staircase of Abbey of Saint Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Digital Image. BibleWalks. Accessed August 24, 2021. https://www.biblewalks.com/MarysTomb

Figure 2. Front cover, British Library MS Egerton 1139/1. Ivory with inlaid semiprecious stones, 215.9 mm x 139.7 mm, ca. 1135 CE.

Figure 3. Back cover, British Library MS Egerton 1139/1. Ivory with inlaid semiprecious stones, 215.9 mm x 139.7 mm, ca. 1135 CE.

Figure 4. Detail from the back cover, British Library MS Egerton 1139/1. Ivory with inlaid semiprecious stones, 215.9 mm x 139.7 mm, ca. 1135 CE.

Figure 5. The Annunciation in the Melisende Psalter, British Library MS Egerton 1139 fol. 1r. Parchment, 215 x 145 mm, ca. 1135 CE.

Figure 6. The Annunciation, The Albans Psalter pg 19. Parchment, 276 mm x 184 mm, 1120-1130 CE. Dombibliothek, Hildesheim, Germany. All images of the St. Albans Psalter have been sourced from https://www.abdn.ac.uk/stalbanspsalter/english/index.shtml

Figure 7. The Annunciation in the Copenhagen Psalter, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Thott 143 2° fol. 8r. Parchment, 286 x 198 mm, 1175-1200 CE.

Figure 8. The Annunciation in the Kristina Psalter, Det Kongelige Bibliotek GKS 1606 4° fol. 13v. Parchment, 295 x 140 mm, ca 1230.

Figure 9. Annunciation, Dumbarton Oaks MS 3, BZ.1962.35 fol. 80v. Vellum, 162 x 103mm, ca. 1084 CE.

Figure 10. Detail from the Annunciation in the Melisende Psalter, British Library MS Egerton 1139 fol. 1r. Parchment, 215 x 145 mm, ca. 1135 CE.

Figure 11. The Annunciation in the Gladzor Gospels, University of California Library MS No. 1 p 305. Parchment, 235 x 176 mm, 1300-1307 CE.

Figure 12. The Presentation in the Melisende Psalter, British Library MS Egerton 1139 fol. 3r. Parchment, 215 x 145 mm, ca. 1135 CE.

Figure 13. The Presentation, The Albans Psalter pg 28. Parchment, 276 x 184 mm, 1120-1130 CE. Dombibliothek, Hildesheim, Germany.

Figure 14. The Presentation in the Copenhagen Psalter, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Thott 143 2° fol. 12v. Parchment, 286 x 198 mm, 1175-1200 CE.

Figure 15. The Presentation in the Kristina Psalter, Det Kongelige Bibliotek GKS 1606 4° fol. 13v. Parchment, 295 x 140 mm, ca 1230.

Figure 16. Michael Freeman, Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem. Encyclopedia Britannica.

Figure 17. Erhard Reuwich, *A map of the Holy Land*, from *Peregrinatio in Terram Sactam* by Bernhard von Breydenback. British Library. Colored woodcut etching on vellum, 1485 CE.

Figure 18. Erhard Reuwich, detail, *A map of the Holy Land*, from *Peregrinatio in Terram Sactam* by Bernhard von Breydenback, British Library. Colored woodcut etching on vellum, 1485 CE

Figure 19. Presentation in the Hamilton Lectionary, Morgan Library Museum MS M. 639 fol. 336v. Vellum, 332 x 255 mm, end of 11th century CE.

Figure 20. The Dormition of Mary in the Melisende Psalter, British Library MS Egerton 1139 fol. 12ar. Parchment, 215 x 145 mm, ca. 1135 CE.

Figure 21. Koimesis, Panagia Phorbiotissa, Asinou (Cyprus), Fresco, 1105-1106. In José María Salvador Gonzalez, "Iconography of the Dormition of the Virgin in the 10th to 12th Centuries: An Analysis from its Legendary Sources," *Eikon/Imago* 6, no. 1 (2017): 204.

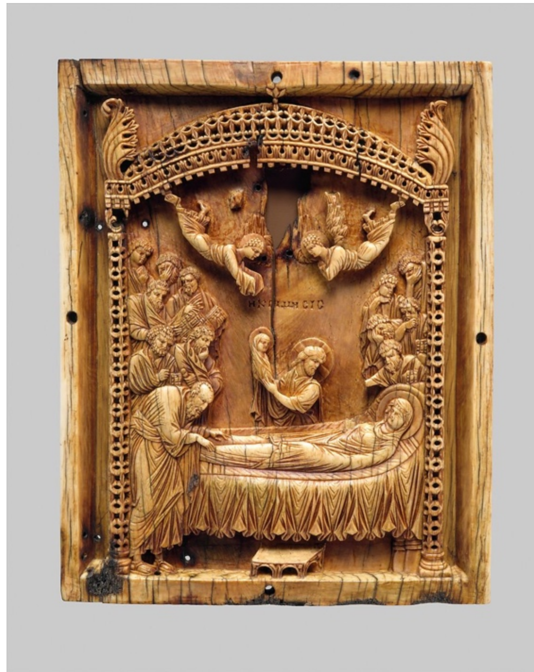

Figure 22. Icon with the Koimesis, Constantinople. Ivory, 186 x 148 x 11 mm, late 900s. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure 23. Mary Enthroned in the Melisende Psalter, British Library MS Egerton 1139 fol. 202v. Parchment, 215 x 145 mm, ca. 1135 CE.

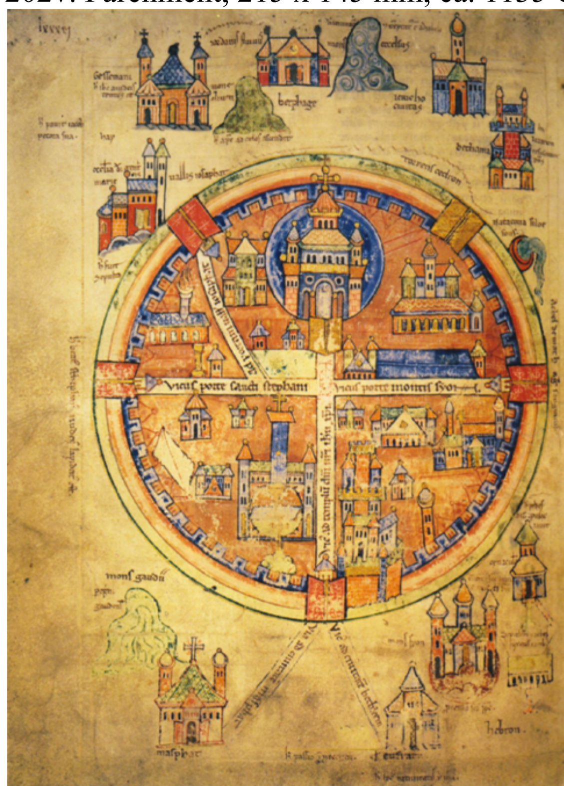

Figure 24. Uppsala Map of Crusader Jerusalem, Uppsala University Library MS C691, fol.39. Parchment, 283 x 230 mm, Twelfth century.

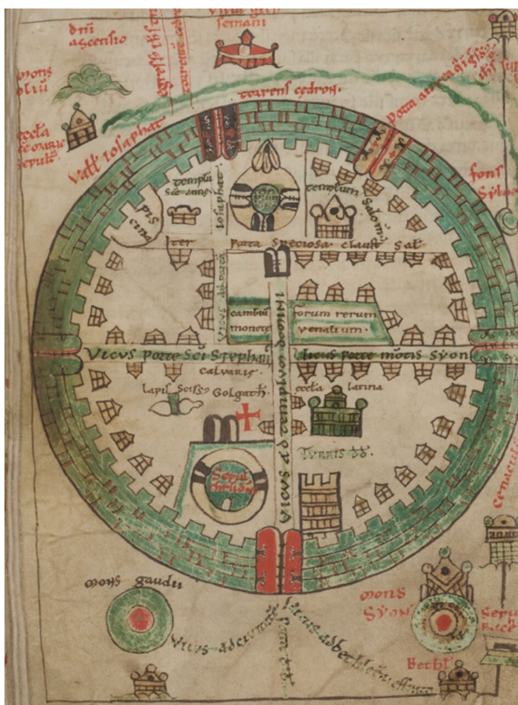

Figure 25. Saint-Omer Map, Bibliothèque d’Agglomeration de Saint Omer MS 776 fol. 50v. Parchment, Twelfth century.

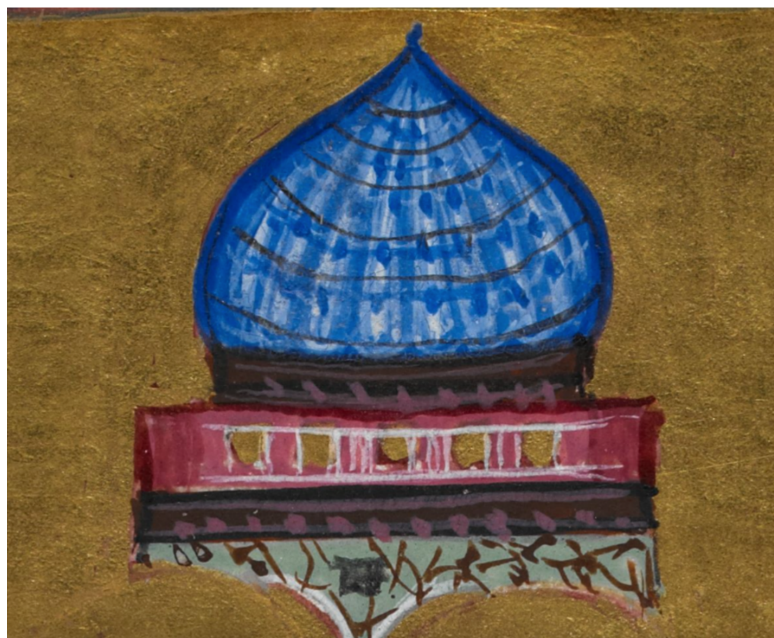

Figure 26. Detail of the Presentation in the Melisende Psalter, British Library MS Egerton 1139 fol. 3r. Parchment, 215 x 145 mm, ca. 1135 CE.

Figure 27. Detail of the Presentation in the Melisende Psalter, British Library MS Egerton 1139 fol. 3r. Parchment, 215 x 145 mm, ca. 1135 CE.

Figure 28. Detail of the Presentation in the Melisende Psalter, British Library MS Egerton 1139 fol. 3r. Parchment, 215 x 145 mm, ca. 1135 CE.

Figure 29. Pilgrimage ampulla from Jerusalem with depiction of the Holy Sepulchre. Pewter alloy, 60 mm x 46 mm, second half twelfth century. Berlin: Skulpturensammlung und Museum Für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. No. 25/73.

Figure 30. Pilgrimage ampulla from Jerusalem with depiction of the Holy Sepulchre. Pewter alloy, 58 mm x 39 mm, second half twelfth century. London, British Museum, inv. No. m&LA 1872, 12-14, 18.

Figure 31. Pilgrimage ampulla from Jerusalem with depiction of the Holy Sepulchre. Pewter alloy, 43 mm x 29 mm, second half twelfth century. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, in. no. 1999.234.

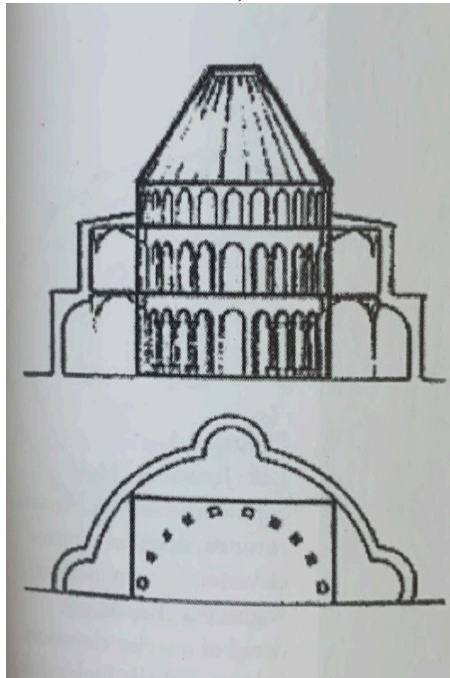

Figure 32. Diagram of the Anastasis Rotunda. (From Neta Bodner, "The Baptistery of Pisa and the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre: A Reconsideration," in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, eds. Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, and Hanna Vorholt. (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2014), 97.)

Figure 33. A Seal of Baldwin I, lead, 44.5 mm diameter, 1100-1118 (from Arnold Spaer, "A Seal of Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem," *The Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. 142 (1982): Plate 42)

Figure 34. Seal of Amaury I. 1163-1174. Lead. (From Benjamin Z. Kedar and Denys Pringle, "1099-1187: The Lord's Temple (*Templum Domini*) and Solomon's Palace (*Palatium Salomonis*)," in *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplandade*, eds. Oleg Grabar and Benjamin K. Zedar (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Yvi Press; Austin, Texas: University of Austin Press, 2009), 139).

Figure 35. Historiated initial depicting the death of Baldwin I and accession of Baldwin II, Acre, *Estoire de Eracles*, Paris, Bibliothécque nationale de France, MS fr. 2628, fol. 103 verso. Parchment, 1260-1270.

Figure 36. Historiated initial depicting the death of Baldwin I and accession of Baldwin II, Acre, *Estoire de Eracles*, Paris, Bibliothécque nationale de France, MS fr. 2628, fol. 103 verso. Parchment, 1260-1270.

Figure 37. Temptation in the Melisende Psalter, British Library MS Egerton 1139 fol. 4r. Parchment, 215 x 145 mm, ca. 1135 CE.

Figure 38. Detail of the Tower and Temple in the Temptation in the Melisende Psalter, British Library MS Egerton 1139 fol. 4r. Parchment, 215 x 145 mm, ca. 1135 CE.

Figure 39. Detail of Uppsala Map of Crusader Jerusalem, Uppsala University Library MS C691, fol.39. Parchment, 283 x 230 mm, Twelfth century.

Figure 40. Detail of the Holy Sepulchre in the Temptation in the Melisende Psalter, British Library MS Egerton 1139 fol. 4r. Parchment, 215 x 145 mm, ca. 1135 CE.

Figure 41. Entry into Jerusalem in the Melisende Psalter, British Library MS Egerton 1139 fol. 5v. Parchment, 215 x 145 mm, ca. 1135 CE.

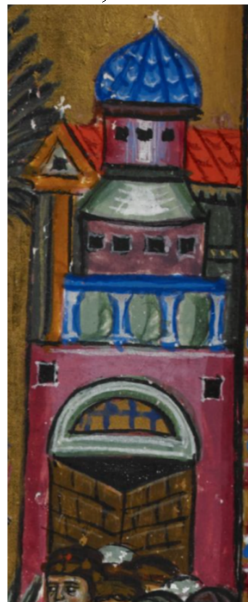

Figure 42. Detail of Entry in Jerusalem in the Melisende Psalter, British Library MS Egerton 1139 fol. 5v. Parchment, 215 x 145 mm, ca. 1135 CE.

Figure 43. Entry into Jerusalem in the Kristina Psalter, Det Kongelige Bibliotek GKS 1606 4° fol. 17r. Parchment, 295 x 140 mm, ca 1230.

Figure 44. Entry into Jerusalem in the Copenhagen Psalter, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Thott 143 2° fol. 8r. Parchment, 286 x 198 mm, 1175-1200 CE.

Figure 45. Entry into Jerusalem, The Albans Psalter pg 37. Parchment, 276 x 184 mm, 1120-1130 CE. Dombibliothek, Hildesheim, Germany.

Figure 46. Nativity in the Melisende Psalter, British Library MS Egerton 1139 fol. 2r. Parchment, 215 x 145 mm, ca. 1135 CE.

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