

Holy riders

Constantine the Great and the seals of Baldwin II

Benedict Carpenter van Barthold

THIS ARTICLE shares some ideas on the source of the imagery of the famous early French medal of Constantine the Great of 1402 (fig. 1). The connection that is demonstrated here between this object and the equestrian seals of Baldwin II (1217-73), last Latin Emperor of Constantinople, is important. Because the Constantine is so significant to later Italian art medals, the connection lends weight to the emergent view that the early history of the art medal is bound up with ideas surrounding the cause of eastern Christianity.¹ It provides a concrete instance of Byzantine stimulus at the very inception of the art medal as an art form in western Europe.

More generally, the research promotes a broad interpretative engagement with medals. Medals are dense in their imagery and epigraphy, a provocation for iconographic interpretation. Because of sources such as Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum liber*, a stable compendium of interpretation in which images and text form correspondences, there is a temptation to read emblems and devices as unduly literary in their meaning, or to give the word priority.² An attendant solecism is to assume an ulterior meaning, a truth behind the image.³ But other approaches have emerged in art history to warn the viewer against priority of thought. Georges Didi-Huberman, for instance, has drawn our attention to the powerful experience of not-knowing in the face of a material encounter with a painting or sculpture.⁴ Paul Binski has written of the affective poetry of materials in Gothic sculpture and the way this shapes meaning and response.⁵ Mitchel Merback has described Albrecht Dürer's provocation and frustration of denoted meaning, to create in his famous etching *Melencolia I* a ludic puzzle with no fixed meaning, a visual therapy for the melancholic mind.⁶ These interpretative approaches are stimulated by a potential in material art that guides and exceeds the language that surrounds it and which it provokes. It is suggested here that the Constantine medal – like Dürer's etching – is somehow open, so that new content or meaning can be actively constructed through practice and play,

provoking multiple and shifting meanings. In this process, the materiality of the medal is highly significant.

Two related stimuli make the Constantine medal a rewarding subject of enquiry. Firstly, there is the bounded story that is told about the inception of the art form, and the importance of the Constantine as an enigmatic fountain for future work, especially in Italy.⁷ Secondly, there is the way that people invest hope in materials, for instance, in the production of charms and amulets, for good luck or to ward off disease. Byzantine amulets, such as those in the Dumbarton Oaks catalogues, bring these two ideas together and suggest that the image of the rider on the Constantine medal is related to the image of the Holy Rider who is such an important figure on these amulets from the 1st century CE to this day, appearing in the guise of St George among others.⁸ When faced with an actual example of the medal, such as that in the British Museum, its charismatic circle is irresistible, as the present author discovered. This last point is highly relevant, because it reflects what must be the function of the object, and indeed something of medals in general. They are designed to trap attention, to fascinate, and to cast a charismatic halo around their patrons and their subjects.⁹

The medal is eighty-eight millimetres in diameter and made from silver repoussé. It is almost certain that it was commissioned by Jean, Duke of Berry (1340-1416). It is first listed in his inventories of 1402 as a gold repoussé pendant, fringed with gems. It is known that the duke then had gold casts made.¹⁰ The object in the British Museum is not then the 'original' medal, but that is to apply a rather anachronistic concept to a late Gothic object which clearly began to proliferate very shortly after its first creation. Indeed, the medal enjoyed a long after-life as the source image for other medals, as well as architectural medallions.¹¹ Despite its subsequent fortune, the image is distinctly unusual in the context of the late mediaeval period: the emperor's horse appears to be prancing

1. Limbourg brothers(?):
Constantine the Great,
 1402, silver, 88mm., British
 Museum.



rather than charging, and the rider is neither armoured nor armed. Instead, he is wearing an imperial *pallium* (a kind of tabard) and a loose cloak, the ends of which are gathered up in his right hand. He holds the horse's reins very lightly in his left hand, in the lightest of possible open-palmed grips. The reins are gathered through a loop that sits on the horse's thorax in a manner that appears to be completely unique.¹² The strangeness of Constantine's grip and the arrangement of the reins, both of which would appear to leave the rider with no means of controlling his mount, is the cornerstone of Mark Jones' argument that the medal is the work of the Limbourg brothers, as the image is repeated in their work in a manner

that gives some narrative context to the peculiar arrangement of the reins.¹³ Given the degree of scholarly attention that this medal has attracted, and not least Jones' use of its peculiarities, the posture of the rider and the arrangement of the reins have scant precedent in northern or western European art. This point needs to be stressed, because the apparent uniqueness of this image is so important to the argument that follows in establishing its dependency on the seals of Baldwin II. It should be added that the relationship between the early medal and seals is not much written about. There appears to be just one oblique reference to his seals, which in any case refers to a less similar seal and does so in order to make a more general point.¹⁴

2. Seal of Baldwin II, 1240-61, lead. From Zacos and Veglery, *Byzantine lead seals* (1972).



3. Seal of Baldwin II, 1240-61, lead, 53mm., Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC. (Photo: © Dumbarton Oaks)



The focus of this article is the image of Constantine, but, as mentioned already, the medal acts like a trap, folding the viewer into its charismatic field, and an impression of folding arises from visual play between the two sides. The singularity of its obverse stands in relation to an intricate reverse. This is beautiful rather than talismanic. While the late Gothic visual idiom of the two faces is consistent, correspondences in the composition of the two halves regulate the relationship between them: the raised hind leg of the horse is at the same angle and a similar length to the older woman's right leg; the straight foreleg of the horse is similarly mirrored in the younger woman's left leg; and the line formed between Constantine's right hand and the ring at the base of his horse's neck is at the same angle as the leash leading from the young woman's right hand to the bird. The most striking rhyme is that created by the correspondence between the Cross and Constantine's upper torso; these two elements occupy the equivalent space in their respective fields, Constantine's shoulders being translated

into the transverse beams of the Cross. The effect of these visual rhymes is subtler than mere progression. The impression is one of involution, of the reverse opening out from the obverse, as though the more complicated image is nested within it, and so the singularity of the obverse is maintained, nesting a multitude of images inside it.

Turning to the specific connection between the Constantine medal and the seals of Baldwin II, it should first be noted that several of Baldwin's seals survive. Referred to here are two lead seals reproduced by George Zacos and Alexander Veglery in their *Byzantine lead seals* (figs 2, 3), a gold bulla preserved in the National Archives of France (J.419,5) (fig. 4), and a lost gold bulla of 1247 reproduced in Sauveur-Jérôme Morand's *Histoire de la S^{te}-Chapelle Royale du Palais* (fig. 5) and attached to a letter from Baldwin to Louis IX (1214-70) describing the transmission of holy relics from Constantinople to Paris, including a 'magnam portionem' of the True Cross.¹⁵ The *prima facie* evidence for this derivation is visual. Both rulers are mounted on

4. Seal of Baldwin II, 1268, gold, 38mm., Archives Nationales, Paris. (Photo: Sigilla.org)



5. Seal of Baldwin II, 1247, gold. From Morand, *Histoire de la Ste-Chapelle Royale du Palais* (1790).



slow moving, high-stepping horses. The riders hold their arms in a distinctive and similar manner – in the case of the more degraded lead seal, in an identical manner. On closer examination, the argument becomes certain. An examination of the circumstances of production, imagery, epigraphy and means of transmission allow some wider conclusions to be drawn. First though, a note on method will be helpful.

As stated above, the extensive literature relies on two peculiarities in the Constantine medal: firstly, the arrangement of the reins; secondly the unusual epigraphy.¹⁶ The argument here takes these peculiarities as its starting point, and in particular the position of the rider's left hand. Reference to illuminated works shows that the position of the horses' legs is a mediæval convention, though the implicitly slow pace of travel is less usual in western seals.¹⁷ By contrast, an extensive search of image databases confirms the view present in the literature that there is no precedent for the arrangement of the reins or the horseman's arms in the western canon prior to 1400.¹⁸ There are some similar

northern European images *after* the date of the Constantine medal, all of which are related to the iconography of St George. These same databases also show a small number of icons of St George made in and around the Crusader States from about 1250 onwards, but there is nothing from northern Europe. These findings are borne out also by reference to the Warburg Institute's photographic collection, which is arranged to support iconographic research of this nature. However, a more targeted search among the coins and seals of Byzantine and Latin rulers produces: a seal of the sebastokrator Alexios Komnenos Angelos (c.1190) depicting St George (fig. 6),¹⁹ a half-stavrakon of the Byzantine emperor Manuel II showing St Demetrius (fig. 7),²⁰ another warrior saint, and – closest of all – the seals of Baldwin II.

With this link established, consideration may be given to other connections, such as epigraphy, and, indeed, to why such a connection may have been useful. In the medal the rider's crown pierces the band reserved for the legend. Starting immediately to the right of

6. Seal of Alexios Komnenos Angelos depicting St George, c.1190, lead, 35mm., Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC. (Photo: © Dumbarton Oaks)



7. Half stavraton of Manuel II, 1391-1425, silver, 19mm., Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC. (Photo: © Dumbarton Oaks)



this, the inscription reads: + CONSTANTINVS. IN. XPO. DEO. FIDELIS. IMPERATOR. ET. MODERATOR. ROMANORVM. SEMPER. AVGVSTVS (Constantine, faithful in Christ our God, emperor and ruler of the Romans and forever Augustus). As the literature observes, Constantine's epigraphy is unusual in the west. But it is quite like the title given for Baldwin II in a letter formerly stored in Sainte-Chapelle. This styles Baldwin II as: 'BALDUINUS Dei gratiâ fidelissimus in Christo imperator à deo coronatus, Romaniae moderator & semper Augustus'.²¹ This can be compared to Manuel II's title: MANVELIS IN CHRISTO DEO FIDELIS IMPERATOR ET MODERATOR ROMEOORVM PALEOLOGVS.²² Clearly, Manuel's title is closer to the Constantine, but it will be noted that unlike the latter, Baldwin's title employs the construction 'semper augustus', and – like Manuel's – also includes the title 'moderator', which does not appear in western seals or titles. Meanwhile, it should be noted that Manuel's seals are quite unlike those of Baldwin and the Constantine; the only place where there is a reasonable level of correspondence of image *and* epigraphy with the French medal is in the seals of Baldwin II.

Considering the case for the dependency, one can now ask what value there was in the imagery of Baldwin II to the Valois court? Why make the medal? The immediate circumstance

for the production of the Constantine medal is provided by the visit to Europe of the Byzantine emperor Manuel II (1350-1425) at the close of the fourteenth century, a diplomatic mission that was stimulated by the parlous state of the Byzantine empire, which was surrounded by Ottoman forces. The French king Charles VI (1368-1422) entertained Manuel, as this flattered the Valois court's image of itself as holy warriors in the mould of Louis IX.²³ Manuel's presence is likely to have been particularly useful for Jean, Duke of Berry and his brother, Philip the Bold (1342-1404), who were acting at that time as joint regents on behalf of the young and incapable king Charles VI known as Charles the Mad. Before his illness, Charles had planned a crusade to protect Constantinople and reclaim Jerusalem. This policy was continued under Jean and Philip; and under their regency France dispatched ships and men to the city's aid. The presence of the Byzantine emperor in Paris would have served as a useful reminder of the Valois princes' connections to their ancestor, the crusading St Louis, King Louis IX, when, as regents of an insecure king, perceptions of their legitimacy to rule were particularly important.²⁴ In this context, the rediscovery and recirculation of Baldwin II's iconography makes sense, as it is another connection with the Eastern



8. *St George and the youth of Mytilene*, c.1250, tempera on gesso, 268 x 188mm., British Museum.

Empire and its associations with Louis IX, and – by inheritance – to Charles VI, the Duke of Berry and Philip the Bold.²⁵

To make the connection between Baldwin's seals and the Constantine medal, it needs to be shown that they were available to the French court. In fact, one can do better than this. Many of Baldwin's seals were issued in France or sent to France. The lost bulla was preserved until the French Revolution in Sainte-Chapelle, the most sacred building for the Capetian and subsequently Valois courts. The seal was appended to a document transferring the ownership of the relic of the True Cross and other relics to Louis IX issued in 1247.²⁶ These objects were displayed in the Grande Châsse, a structure behind the High Altar of Sainte-Chapelle.²⁷ In other words, these objects – including the lost gold bulla of Baldwin II – worked for the court in promoting the sanctity and power of the monarchy.

Ostensibly the Constantine medal carries an image of the founder of Constantinople, but there can be no sense in which it is a true portrait. In the absence of a likeness of Emperor Constantine, founder of Constantinople, it should be remembered that Manuel II and his retinue were in Paris at the time the medal was made. Thus, there were two available prototypes for the image of an eastern Christian

ruler of that city: the seals of Baldwin II and the living example of Manuel II. The Constantine can usefully be imagined acting as a device for folding these disparate actors – and, through the act of patronage, the Valois prince – into the same visual field. The specific connection with the seals of Baldwin II is couched in a broad language of eastern military sanctity, likely to have been reminiscent of the iconography of the warrior saints, Sts George, Demetrius and Eugenios among others, that developed out of Byzantine culture under Crusader occupation, as, for example, in the icon of *St George and the youth of Mytilene* from the mid-13th century (fig. 8).²⁸ The imagery of the warrior saint has its roots in Byzantine images of rulers as well as other older sources, including the Holy Rider of Byzantine antiquity and Roman imperial imagery such as an emperor's *adventus*.²⁹ It is the imagery of the warrior saints that can be seen in all of the examples found in the image searches, typified by its hieratic grace and peculiarities of deportment; and it is this that can be seen in the medal of Constantine. This image continued to evolve in Byzantine culture under western influence. In an interesting parallel, it can be seen in the unusual equestrian coins of the Palaeologid dynasty and in the half-stavraton of Manuel II issued shortly before his

last mendicant tour of Europe. This coin is an image of the warrior saint Demetrius, adopting a more western, martial stance in imitation of European coins and seals, but retaining the peculiar hand gesture; this feature is clearer on other less well preserved coins issued by this emperor.³⁰ As much as Manuel's coin is curiously northern European, Baldwin's seals are particularly hellenic. Baldwin is the only Latin emperor to be styled ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟΣ, the only Latin emperor to give priority to Greek on his seals, and the only Latin emperor to depart from the image of his kin as armed warriors on charging mounts. The specific connection of the Constantine medal to the seal of Baldwin II and the more general resemblance to a warrior saint would work together to create a sense of military sanctity appropriate for the concerns of the Valois court. It is in this light that the medal should be understood. This connection has clear implications for understanding the early medal, which begins in earnest in Italy, nearly forty years later, with an image of Manuel II's son, John VIII (1392-1448).

There is not space here to elaborate on how Jean may have used the medal of Constantine as a piece within his wider collection of medals of Roman and Byzantine emperors, his own image, and an image of the Holy Mother.³¹ But it should be remembered that the first version of the Constantine medal was made from gold, the same material as Baldwin's lost seal, and that it existed within a collection that contained an image of Jean himself. Seals are a technology to witness and preserve presence. This belief can be read in the text of Baldwin's letter to King Louis: 'In cujus rei testimonium, & perpetuam firmitatem nos signavimus præsentem litteras nostro signo imperiali, & bullavimus nostrâ bullâ aureâ' (In witness whereof, and to be perpetually present, we have signed our imperial signature, and sealed our own golden bull).³²

It is surely significant that a gold seal of Baldwin II was preserved in Sainte-Chapelle and that imagery from Baldwin's seals appears to be repeated on the Cross-focused medal of Constantine that was made for the Valois prince, the Duke of Berry; and, moreover, that the bull

and the original medal, as it is described in the inventories, are made from sheets of the same material: gold. The Constantine medal is an image of a seal. A seal binds event and personality. It makes its subject 'perpetually present'. This inward energy is reflected in the composition of the Constantine medal and its curious trap-like nature. M

NOTES

1. Irving Lavin, 'Pisanello and the invention of the Renaissance medal', in Joachim Poeschke and Francis Ames-Lewis (eds), *Italienische Frührenaissance und noreuropaisches Spätmittelalter: Kunst der frühen Neuzeit im europäischen Zusammenhang* (Munich, 1993), pp. 67-84; Tanja Jones, 'The Constantine and Heraclius medallions: pendants between east and west', *The Medal*, 56 (2010), pp. 3-13; Tanja Jones, 'The Renaissance portrait medal and the court context. On the origins and political function of Pisanello's invention', doctoral thesis, Florida State University, 2011.
2. Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum liber* (Augsburg, 1531). This and subsequent editions can be accessed via the 'Alciato at Glasgow' website: <https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/index.php>.
3. For instance, in relation to the Constantine medal there is a long history of differences of opinion regarding the identities of the people depicted. This is true even in relation to the obverse, where there is a named individual, Constantine himself, but, when considering the repetition of his image by the Limbourg brothers in the *Meeting of the Magi* from their *Très Riches Heures*, there is argument regarding whether this is intended to 'represent' Charles VI, Manuel II or the Duke of Berry himself; see Lavin, 'Pisanello', pp. 71-2; Mark Jones, 'The first cast medals', *Art History*, ii, 1 (1979), pp. 35-44, at p. 39; Lillian Schacherl, *Très Riches Heures* (Munich, 1997), p. 94. There is a similar difference of interpretation in relation to the two women depicted on the reverse: Tanja Jones, 'The Renaissance portrait medal', p. 22; Stephen Scher, *The currency of fame* (London, 1994), p. 35; Mark Jones, 'The first cast medals', p. 37. These lines of enquiry do not generally allow for the opportunity that a figure may stand for more than one person at once.
4. Georges Didi-Huberman, *Confronting images* (University Park, PA, 2005).
5. Paul Binski, *Gothic sculpture* (New Haven and London, 2019).
6. Mitchell Merback, *Perfection's therapy: an essay on Albrecht Dürer's 'Melencolia I'* (New York, 2017).
7. For instance, Mark Jones, *The art of the medal* (London, 1979), pp. 9-11.
8. For example, Marvin Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and early mediaeval antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks collection*, i, *Metalwork, ceramics, glass, glyptics, painting* (Washington, 1962). Such a figure can be seen in a cast bronze apotropaic amulet made in the 4th-5th century in the collection of Dumbarton Oaks (inv. 50.15). This identifies itself as the 'seal of the living God' at volume 1, p. 60. For the relationship of the warrior saint to the Holy Rider, see Christopher Walter, *The warrior saints in Byzantine art and tradition* (Aldershot, 2003).
9. I am indebted to Alfred Gell's ideas here, for instance 'The enchantment of technology and the technology of enchantment', in Glenn Adamson (ed.), *The craft reader* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 464-82. Gell describes the 'halo effect of technical difficulty' as a component of the 'technology of enchantment'; pp. 469-71.
10. There were three inventories taken of the duke's collection, in 1401, 1413 and 1416. These are made available in Jules-Joseph Guifrey, *Inventaires de Jean Duc de Berry*, 2 vols (Paris, 1894-96). The inventory description of the object as a gold pendant is at i, p. 72.
11. See Roberto Weiss, 'The medieval medallions of Constantine and Heraclius', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th series, iii (1963), pp. 129-44, at pp. 136-8.
12. Although there is no precedent for the arrangement of the reins prior to 1402, the present author's research has uncovered one drawing in the Louvre of the mid-15th century, by an anonymous Venetian, of St George slaying the dragon, in which the reins return to the horse's thorax and thence to the rider's single hand in an interestingly similar manner. Other aspects of the scene are utterly different from the Constantine medal: this is St George in action, scales flying. Nevertheless, the saint's single hand grips the reins tightly. The drawing is inventoried as: Ecole vénitienne, *Saint Georges terrassant le dragon*, inv. 20680, r.
13. Mark Jones, 'The first cast medals', pp. 35-44, at p. 38.
14. There is only one reference to gold seals in the numismatic literature: 'As far as their general appearance is concerned, the two medallions [the Constantine and the related Heraclius], and specially the obverse of the Constantine piece, do remind us particularly of the seals of late medieval princes or lords. Like so many of these seals, the obverse with the riding Constantine shows an equestrian figure encircled by an inscription'; Weiss, 'The medieval medallions', pp. 131-2. The connection is not pursued within the main body of the text, but in a footnote Weiss continues: 'Cf., for instance the golden bull of Baldwin II, Emperor of Constantinople... and the seals of Jean, duke of Berry' (n. 132). In this footnote, Weiss provides a reference to a book by Percy Schramm on medieval symbols of state, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik* (Stuttgart, 1956). Pl. 92, e of this book reproduces both faces of a golden bull of Baldwin II. Schramm does not give full details; however, as can be discerned from correspondences in image and epigraphy, but even more securely from identical chips and defects in the rim, this is clearly the same seal as is reproduced by Gustave-Léon Schlumberger in his *Sigillographie de l'orient Latin* (Paris, 1943), at p. 169 and 11, pl. VII, 5, which identifies it as the hitherto mentioned golden bull appended to an act dated Paris 1268 and preserved in the National Archives of France (AN.J.419.5). The similarity with Baldwin's seals is developed no further anywhere in the literature than it is in this rather oblique footnote. It seems that the case for this connection has only been made by the present author; see Benedict Carpenter, 'Understanding material and content in made things', doctoral thesis, Manchester Metropolitan University, 2019, pp. 156-79.
15. See George Zacos and Alexander Vegler, *Byzantine lead seals*, 2 vols (Basel, 1972-85), i, 1, pp. 102-4, nos 114a, 114b; pl. 28. The lost gold bulla of 1247 is reproduced in Sauveur-Jérôme Morand, *Histoire de la Ste-Chapelle Royale du Palais* (Paris, 1790), p. 68 and following plate. The quotation is from p. 8.
16. Mark Jones deals with the reins; see n. 13 above. For the epigraphy, see Roberto Weiss 'The medieval medallions', pp. 138-9.
17. For instance, the illuminated works of the Limbourg brothers; or – for an unconnected source – the Queen Mary psalter of 1310-1320, British Library, Royal MS 2 B VIII.
18. This search was conducted in 2015. The process followed was to refer to several large digitised collections to seek out images of the Emperor Constantine and the Holy Riders of Byzantine culture, the saints George, Theodore, Demetrius or any other saint on horseback. The collections were: the British Museum's Collection Online, which at that time catalogued 3.5 million objects, of which approximately one third were indexed with images; two databases of the Louvre's collection, Arts Graphiques and the Atlas Database, the former indexing 230,000 prints and drawings, and

- the latter all of the works that the Louvre displays, some 30,000 items, these two databases overlapping to a limited extent; the database of the National Gallery, London, which contains images of all but fifty of its paintings; the database of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, which has more than 45,000 indexed works with images; the Victoria and Albert Museum's database, with more than 500,000 indexed works with images; and the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, which provides access to over 250,000 records for medieval and Renaissance manuscripts, with more than 57,000 indexed works with images. This online research was followed by reference to the Warburg Institute's photographic library and use of its excellent library holdings. In other words, the process moved from a general scoping to confirm the prevalent view that the image is unique, to an increasingly narrow search focussed on Crusader material with the strongest affinity to the medal. Full details, including a list of the search terms used, can be found in Carpenter, 'Understanding material and content', pp. 225-8.
19. Zacos and Vegliery, *Byzantine lead seals*, i, 3, p. 1555, no. 2745; pl. 188.
 20. *Dumbarton Oaks*, acc. no. BZC.1966.23.4743.
 21. Morand, *Histoire de la Ste-Chapelle*, p. 8.
 22. Weiss 'The medieval medallions', p. 139.
 23. See Tanja Jones, 'The Renaissance portrait medal', pp. 17, 30; Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The making of Saint Louis. Kingship, sanctity and crusade in the later Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London, 2008), pp. 230-9; John Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969), pp. 397, 479-81, 536.
 24. See Tanja Jones, 'The Renaissance portrait medal', pp. 17, 30; Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, pp. 479-81.
 25. Baldwin II and King Louis IX were allies and blood relations, the latter addressing the former as his 'carissimo amico, & consanguineo' in correspondence; see Morand, *Histoire de la Ste-Chapelle*, p. 8. After Baldwin's ejection from Constantinople in 1261 he returned to France, retaining the title. This title was inherited and remained in use in France until as late as 1384, being carried in turn by three of Jean's cousins. It goes without saying that Jean was related to Louis IX, and therefore, to Baldwin II. See Filip van Tricht, *The Latin renovatio of Byzantium. The empire of Constantinople (1204-1228)* (Leiden, 2011), for family trees and tables showing their titles.
 26. Morand, *Histoire de la Ste-Chapelle*, pp. 8, 68.
 27. Paul Heatherington, 'The image of Edessa: some notes on its later fortunes', in Elizabeth Jeffreys (ed.), *Byzantine style, religion and civilization. In honour of Sir Steven Runciman* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 192-205, at pp. 199-202.
 28. Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader art. The art of Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1099-1291* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 70-125.
 29. See Christopher Walter, *The iconography of Constantine the Great, emperor and saint* (Leiden, 2006), and Walter, *Warrior saints*, for thorough treatments of this material.
 30. See examples of these in Philip Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks collection and in the Whittemore collection*, 5 vols (Washington, 1965-2006), i, pp. 65-9, 78, 217; pl. 70.
 31. Reading across the duke's inventories, the set of related objects includes images of Tibertius, Marcus Julius Philippus, Augustus, Constantine, Heraclius and the duke himself; see Guiffrey, *Inventaires*, i, pp. 72-3, nos 197-200; ii, p. 227, nos 229-234.
 32. Morand, *Histoire de la Ste-Chapelle*, pp. 67-8 and app. 8.