Mariun: An Exiled Queen's Pilgrimage and Death in Jerusalem*

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Abstract

Upon the Mamluk takeover of Sis in 1375 CE, the former Queen Mariun of the Armenian state of Cilicia was taken into captivity and held first in Aleppo and then in Cairo. From there she traveled to Jerusalem, where she lived until her death. Her tomb at the Sts. James Monastery in Jerusalem is often mentioned in medieval and postmedieval texts, but the information in later historiography concerning Mariun and some of her contemporaries who survived the fall of the Armenian kingdom and lived through the fourteenth century has been subject to inaccuracies. This article considers some of these accretions and misrepresentations using textual and archaeological documentation, and reconstructs several key episodes in the life and afterlife of Mariun. The story of this remarkable noblewoman crosses the political realms of at least three Mediterranean communities—Armenian, Mamluk, and Latin—and reflects the scope of the ever-changing geopolitical complexities that continued to mark the eastern Mediterranean under Mamluk domination. Spending the final stages of her life in exile and on pilgrimage, the former queen of Armenia appeared in the Holy City at a time when female spirituality was flourishing within self-organized monastic institutions.

T he Empress Helena's journey to the Holy Land and her vast constructions in fourth-century Jerusalem gave rise to her archetypal image as a royal pilgrim and formed the tradition of Christian aristocratic pilgrimage, which inspired noblewomen in particular.[1] The Crusades to the Holy Land seem to have given birth to various devotional

and ascetic exercises among women, and these resulted in a significant number of female pilgrims. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Jerusalem saw the establishment of religious organizations and special hospices designated for female pilgrims and travelers; secular women, for example, who stayed at the so-called *saeculum*, had now more freedom to exercise their spirituality in these self-organized institutions.[2] The continuous wave of late medieval pilgrims included several European queens and noblewomen, who showed a particular devotion to the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene.[3] Two well-documented pilgrimages, by (Saint) Bridget of Sweden (1372/73) and Margery Kempe from England (1413), have enjoyed a great deal of attention in Western scholarship.[4] Shortly before these

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les manuscrits (Association internationale des études arméniennes): M = Yerevan, Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts; J = Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate; V = Venice, Library of the Mekhitarists; W = Vienna, Library of the Mekhitarists; and LOB = London, British Library. Additionally, in order to facilitate the readers' use of the present article, two different numbers are mentioned for Venice manuscripts. In V1318/923, for example, the first number (1318) indicates the manuscript's inventory number, while the second one is the manuscript's consecutive number (923) in the published catalogue.

1. K. G. Holum, "Hadrian and St. Helena: Imperial Travel and the Origins of Christian Holy Land Pilgrimage," in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed. R. Ousterhout, 66–81 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990). Holum argues also that the concept of Christian pilgrimage in general came into being with Empress Helena. On this, see also Holum's abstract "Imperial Travelers and the Origins of Christian Pilgrimage," in *Tenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, November 1–4, 1984, Cincinnati: Abstracts of Papers*, 1–2 (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1984).

2. S. Schein, "Bridget of Sweden, Margery Kempe and Women's Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 14 (1999): 44–58, at 45–49, esp. 49. See also S. Schein, "Latin Hospices in Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 101, no. 1 (1985): 82–92, esp. 91.

3. Schein, "Bridget of Sweden," 53–54; O. Limor, "Jerusalem," in *Europe: A Literary History 1348–1418*, ed. D. Wallace, 2:217–43 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 231–32. On the phenomenon of pilgrimage to Marian shrines from an anthropological point of view, see V. Turner and E. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), esp. ch. 5 ("Locality and Universality in Medieval Pilgrimages") and ch. 1 ("Introduction: Pilgrimage as a Liminoid Phenomenon") for a discussion of pilgrimage as an institutional form regarded within the concept of liminality. It is noteworthy that during the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, when the cult of Mary Magdalene reached its peak, canticles dedicated to this female saint became commonplace in Cilician Armenia. See A. Arevchatian, "Les cantiques consacrés à Marie-Madeleine dans la pratique musicale des églises arménienne et catholique," *Revue des études arméniennes* 35 (2013): 79-88, at 81.

4. Both women related their pilgrimages to the desire to see the places associated with the Birth and Passion of Jesus Christ. See Schein, "Bridget of Sweden," esp. 54; Limor, "Jerusalem," 231–33 (with previous bibliography). A similar phenomenon is also discernible in late medieval Armenian art and devotion, and the artistic evidence related to Queen Mariun offers a good example. Relevant to Mariun's Holy Land pilgrimage (whose historical circumstances are detailed in this article) may be the three images of her that appear in the *Gospel of Queen Mariun* dating from 1346 (J1973). These images show Mariun as one of the participants in three important Christological scenes– the Nativity, Entry into Jerusalem, and Descent of Christ from the cross (Figs. 4–6)– thus allowing the Armenian queen to virtually experience and visually imitate the pilgrimage to the holy sites that she would undertake in reality twenty-nine years later. It is not impossible that Mariun made more than one pilgrimage, but there is no evidence to support this possibility. The virtual pilgrimage suggested by the festive cycle of this and other manuscripts and by some Mediterranean analogues of this kind are discussed in G. Grigoryan, "Royal Images of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia (1198–1375) in the Context of Mediterranean Intercultural Exchange" (PhD diss., University of Fribourg, Switzerland, 2017), 260–66. For the *Gospel of Queen Mariun*, see also below (§3).

two pilgrimages, in 1372, a journey to the Holy City was undertaken by Isabelle Lusignan, the daughter of the Armenian King Guy Lusignan (r. 1342–44) and the spouse of Manuel Kantakouzenos (despot of Morea).[5] However, the most important Armenian dignitary to appear in this vibrant *milieu* was Queen Mariun, the protagonist of this article.

A systematic history of Armenian female pilgrimage to medieval Jerusalem is yet to be written, but the material discussed in this article may offer some preliminary observations. The story of Mariun crosses the political realms of at least three Mediterranean communities— Armenian, Mamluk, and Latin—and reflects the scope of the ever-changing geopolitical complexities that continued to mark the eastern Mediterranean under Mamluk domination. Without undermining Mariun's pious aspirations, it should be noted that her final pilgrimage and settlement in Jerusalem was an immediate consequence of the Mamluk takeover of the Armenian capital Sis (present-day Kozan, Turkey), which marked the end of the Cilician state. In the present article, this royal pilgrimage is examined through the lens of the specific political circumstances and ambiguous realities of the time but also through devotional manuscripts and objects that accompanied Mariun and eventually kept her memory alive in the centuries that followed.

Upon the Mamluk takeover of Sis in April 1375, Lewon V Lusignan (r. 1374–1375), the last king of the Armenian state of Cilicia, and the rest of the royal court were taken into captivity in Egypt. With the exception of Lewon's subsequent activities, which are well documented and studied, little is known about what happened to the rest of the Armenian nobility after April 1375. We know that when the Catholicos Kostandin was freed in Cairo in the same year and was allowed to return to Cilicia, some Armenian lords accompanied him.[6] Others continued their activities in Europe, as can be seen in various episodes narrated by Jean Dardel in his *Chronique d'Arménie*, our main source for these years.[7] Another destination for the stateless Armenian aristocrats was Mamluk Jerusalem, where also

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5. She is known as Margaret or Mary Lusignan in Cypriot sources, from where her name penetrated Western scholarship in these forms. She is often misrepresented as the sister of the Armenian King Guy Lusignan (as, for example, in the important articles of Schein, "Bridget of Sweden," 50, and Limor, "Jerusalem," 231), but in fact she was his daughter. See W. H. Rüdt-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans: The Structure of the Armeno-Cilician Dynasties* (Paris: A. Pigné, 1963), III (H2), no. 193. For these clarifications and certain circumstances related to Isabelle Lusignan's visit to Jerusalem, see C. Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant (XIe–XIVe siècle)*, vol. 1 (Paris: Les belles lettres, 2012), 392–93.

6. *Chronique d'Arménie par Jean Dardel,* in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Documents arméniens*, 2:1–109 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1906), 87; *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrut'iwn Hayoc'* [Chronicle of Armenia by Yovhan Dardel], trans. K. Ezeanc', Society for the Armenian Book Publication of Tbilisi no. 28 (Saint Petersburg: Skōrōxōdov, 1891), 154. See also the brief excerpt preserved in the manuscript J1255, reproduced in N. Połarean, *Mayr c'uc'ak jeṙagrac' Srboc' Yakobeanc'* [Grand catalog of Sts. James manuscripts], vol. 4 (Jerusalem: Press of Sts. James, 1969), 424, and G. Grigoryan, "Armenian Colophons on the Takeover of Sis (1375)," *Revue des études arméniennes* 40 (2021): forthcoming (text accompanied with English translation).

7. Dardel's *Chronicle* has been published twice, in the original French (1906) and in an Armenian translation prepared by Karapet Ezeanc' (1891). Both the edition and the Armenian translation are based on the same manuscript dating from the early fifteenth century, preserved in the Bibliothèque municipale de Dole. Both publications are cited in the present article.

the former queen Mariun[8] settled and lived until her death. The life of this remarkable noblewoman coincided with the reigns of the last five kings of Cilician Armenia, a period full of vicissitudes that led to the fall of the Armenian state and to Mariun's own exile from the capital Sis. The first, introductory part of this article narrates Mariun's queenship and provides an overview of the situation at the Armenian court in 1374–75, when the court split into two dissident groups, each struggling to preserve the Armenian state in its own way. Though Mariun belonged to the group that supported King Lewon V against the group that contained, among others, the catholicos, she became a beloved personage for later Armenian historiographers, most of whom were followers of the Armenian Apostolic creed.[9] The second and third parts of the article focus on the reasons for this interest. I hypothesize that her popularity is due not only to Mariun's efforts for the preservation of the Cilician state (which, however, proved ineffective) but also to her relevance to the Armenian Holy Land tradition. Her tomb at the Sts. James Monastery in Jerusalem is often mentioned in medieval and postmedieval texts. However, the information found in later historiography concerning Mariun and some of her contemporaries who survived the fall of the kingdom and lived through the fourteenth century has been subject to inaccuracies, which this article seeks to correct on the basis of textual and archaeological documentation.

1. Queen Mariun and the Takeover of Sis (1375)

Mariun was born of the marriage of the *pali* (bailiff) Awšin, the powerful lord of Kořikos (also Corycus, present-day Kızkalesi, Turkey), and Joan of Anjou, the widow of King Awšin (r. 1308–1320) and former queen of Armenia.[10] Mariun's queenship started when her husband Kostandin of Nɫir acceded to the royal throne to reign as King Kostandin I (r. 1344–62/63). However, her queenship turned to be not just a symbolic one, for she actually governed the kingdom for a few years. Thus, a fourteenth-century chronicle records that after the death of Kostandin I, Mariun occupied the Armenian throne for one year (1363–64).[11] We learn from the same source that Mariun succeeded also the next King

8. Also spelled Mariwn, Marun, Mariawn/Marion, Marian, Mariam, Mary, and Maria.

9. I avoid labeling the two rival groups "Latinophile" and "non-Latinophile," because although they are generally known as such, I do not think that the disagreements among the members of the royal court were primarily based on their religious-cultural orientations. This question requires a deeper analysis, but the episodes discussed under §1 (especially in relation to Mathieu Cappe) demonstrate the advisability of adopting a more cautious approach to the straightforward characterization of "Latinophile" versus "non-Latinophile." In addition, Queen Mariun, who supported King Lewon V on various occasions and might therefore be taken as a "Latinophile" (also because of her Angevin mother and her close relationship with the West and the papacy), was a follower of the Armenian Church (not to mention her final installment in the Sts. James Monastery, which functioned then as it does now as the seat of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem).

10. For Mariun's origins, see the principal colophon of the *Gospel of Queen Mariun* (J1973), the relevant parts of which are transcribed and translated below (§3). For other sources, see *Chronique d'Arménie*, 19; *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrutʻiwn*, 28; *Samuēl Anecʻi ew šarunakoɫner: Žamanakagrutʻiwn Adamicʻ minčʻew 1776 tʻ.* [Samuēl Anecʻi and continuators, Chronicle from Adam to 1776], critical text, study, and commentary by K. Matevosyan (Yerevan: Nairi, 2014), 274.

11. A. Matʻevosyan, "Hetʻum Axtucʻ tiroǰ ew Vasil Maraǰaxti žamanakagrutʻiwnnerə" [The chronicles of Hetʻum, Lord of Axtucʻ, and of Vasil Maraǰaxt], *Patma-banasirakan handes* 4 (1963): 183–202, at 198; L.

Kostandin II (r. 1365–73) and governed the state for a second time in 1373–74, until the reign of Lewon V, the last king-to-be.[12] This information is confirmed by Jean Dardel, Lewon's future confessor-companion, who calls Mariun "the old queen of Armenia."[13] This second period of Mariun's rule is especially interesting from the point of view of her legitimacy, since as seen below, the widow of Kostandin II, likewise called Mary, was alive and could have laid a more rightful claim to the throne of her late husband than could Mariun, who was the widow of the previous king. During the reign of Kostandin II and especially in the early 1370s, we see Mariun actively engaged in negotiations with the papacy and the West with the aim of gaining support for and preserving the Armenian state. In view of these initiatives undertaken by the former queen, questions have been raised about the surprising silence in these negotiations of King Kostandin II, who was the acting king and alive until 1373.[14] Mariun's efforts were important also in 1374, when, after some diplomatic arrangements, Lewon was finally able to arrive in Sis and take up his royal responsibilities.[15]

Ter-Petrosyan, *Ananun žamanakagrakan graṙumner, XIV d.* [Anonymous chronicles, fourteenth century], appendix 3 in L. Ter-Petrosyan, *Xačʻakirnerə ew hayerə* [The Crusaders and the Armenians], vol. 2: *Historico-Political Study* (Yerevan: Print-Info, 2007), 555. This and several other excerpts from anonymous chronicles, as well as three larger chronicles attributed to Smbat Sparapet, Hetʻum Nḷircʻi, and Maraǰaxt Vasil, are preserved in a manuscript dating from 1382–1404: MS London, British Museum, Or. 5458, now in the British Library. For the manuscript's description, see Frederick C. Conybeare, *A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913), 290–92. This seems to be the very manuscript on the basis of which the first publication of Smbat's *History* was prepared by Oskan Gēorgean Yovhanniseancʻ (Moscow 1856), although, for the sake of accuracy, a comparative textual analysis is desirable. The two less-known chronicles, preserved in the same manuscript and attributed by Artašes Matʻevosyan to Hetʻum Nḷircʻi and to Maraǰaxt Vasil, were published in 1963. In the same publication, Matʻevosyan also included four important excerpts from anonymous chronicles that occupy various folios of LOB Or. 5458. The reason these texts have been preserved in a fragmentary and mixed state is that the manuscript has missing folios, and the current binding of the folios was done in an incorrect order. Unaware of this edition, in 2007, Levon Ter-Petrosyan prepared a new publication of some chronicles found in LOB Or. 5458, reproducing the text of the Chronicle of Hetʻum Nḷircʻi and five excerpts from anonymous chronicles. The two publications organize and number the excerpts differently, because Matʻevosyan arranged them with an eye to paleographical and scribal peculiarities, whereas Ter-Petrosyan placed the excerpts in the chronological order of the narrated events. Thus, the fourteenth-century chronicle in which Mariun's double rulership is mentioned appears in Matʻevosyan's edition as excerpt 6 (Matʻevosyan, "Hetʻum Axtucʻ tiroǰ," 198) and, in Ter-Petrosyan's edition as excerpt 2 (Ter-Petrosyan, *Ananun žamanakagrakan graṙumner*, 555).

12. Matʻevosyan, "Hetʻum Axtucʻ tiroǰ," 198; Ter-Petrosyan, *Ananun žamanakagrakan graṙumner*, 555.

13. *Chronique d'Arménie*, 41–42: ". . . les Armins s'apperçeürent et pour ce le [King Kostandin II] tuerent ou moys d'avril l'an mil CCCLXXIII, et donnerent par commun assentement le gouvernement du royaume à la vielle royne d'Armenye [Queen Mariun], qui femme avoit esté du premier roy tirant [King Kostandin I], jusques à la venue du dit messire Lyon [future King Lewon V Lusignan], leur droit seigneur naturel." See also *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrutʻiwn*, 68.

14. H. Kühl, *Leon V. von Kleinarmenien: Ein Leben zwischen Orient und Okzident im Zeichen der Kreuzzugsbewegung Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Europäischer Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2000), 34–36, 74, 118–19 (mentioned as Kostandin III); M.-A. Chevalier, *Les ordres religieux-militaires en Arménie cilicienne: Templiers, hospitaliers, teutoniques & arméniens à l'époque des croisades* (Paris: Geuthner, 2009), 661–62, 666 (mentioned as Kostandin III).

15. C. Mutafian, "Léon V Lusignan: Un preux chevalier et/ou un piètre monarque," in *Actes du colloque "Les Lusignans et l'Outre mer,"* Poitiers, 20–24 octobre 1993, 201–10 (Poitiers: Sipap, 1995), 204–205; Kühl, *Leon V.*

When the Armenian capital was taken by the Mamluks in April 1375, the current queen of Armenia was Margaret of Soissons, who had been coronated in the cathedral of Saint Sophia of Sis a year earlier, on September 14, 1374, together with her spouse Lewon V.[16] At the time of the kingdom's fall, two other former queens in addition to Margaret were also present in the royal fortress of Sis: Mariun, the widow of Kostandin I, and Mary, the widow of Kostandin II. These two homonymous noblewomen were widows of two consecutive kings, both called Kostandin. Furthermore, the former queens were daughters of two namesake lords, both named Awšin: Mariun's father, as already noted, was Awšin of Kořikos, whereas Mary was the daughter of Awšin Oÿruy (and the granddaughter of Awšin of Kořikos through the maternal line, which means that Mariun was her aunt). In the genealogical tables of Rüdt-Collenbert and Toumanoff, Mariun is referred to as "the old queen," apparently following Dardel's above-quoted designation, while Mary of Oÿruy is called "the young queen."[17] Between 1374 and 1375, the latter also seems to have been active at the court of the declining state, as shown in the passage summarized below.

On the day of his coronation, Lewon V had given the title of knight to two noblemen, Sohier Doulcart (also known as Soher de Sart) and Mathieu Cappe, who were at the same time also proclaimed *marajaxt* (marshal) of the state and the king's chancellor, respectively. On the same day, the newly minted knights further married two widowed noblewomen. Sohier Doulcart, the new marshal, married the widow of Prince Bohemond of Kořikos,[18] Lady Ephemie (also spelled Femye, Femi, and Fimi), whose name appears in Dardel's Chronicle as Remye.[19] Mathieu Cappe, the new chancellor, married the "young queen" Mary, the widow of King Kostandin II.[20] In the case of Cappe, however, Lewon's generosity was not rewarded with faithfulness. According to Dardel, it was Cappe who, supported by his new spouse Mary, Catholicos Kostandin, and Paron Vasil,[21] initiated an assassination attempt against King Lewon on March 24, 1375.[22] Lewon managed to evade the assassination, and Cappe

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von Kleinarmenien, 119–25; L. Ter-Petrosyan, *Xačʻakirnerə ew hayerə* [The Crusaders and the Armenians], vol. 2: *Historico-Political Study* (Yerevan: Print-Info, 2007), 456; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 220–21.

16. *Chronique d'Arménie*, 66; *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrutʻiwn*, 114.

17. Rüdt-Collenberg, *Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, III (H2), no. 165/175 (for Mariun) and no. 169/192 (for Mary of Oÿruy); C. Toumanoff, *Les dynasties de la Caucasie chrétienne de l'Antiquité jusqu'au XIXᵉ siècle: Tables généalogiques et chronologiques* (Rome, 1990), 291 (table 61).

18. Bohemond of Kořikos was Lewon V's uncle, who was assassinated together with King Guy Lusignan.

19. *Chronique d'Arménie*, 66; see also ibid., n. 5 for the identification of Lady Remye with Ephemie; *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrutʻiwn*, 114–15.

20. *Chronique d'Arménie*, 75; *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrutʻiwn*, 130.

21. Vasil was a son of Constable Tʻoros and the brother of Liparit, the well-known hero of Yovhannēs Tʻlkurancʻiʻs poem about the defense of Sis in 1369. See Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 219–20. For literary interpretations of this event and previous studies, see T. M. van Lint, "Sis. The Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia," in *Europe: A Literary History 1348–1418*, ed. D. Wallace, 2:259–81 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), at 268–70.

22. *Chronique d'Arménie*, 75–76; *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrutʻiwn*, 130–32. The failed assassination attempt was followed by another one, organized by Vasil. See *Chronique d'Arménie*, 77–78; *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrutʻiwn*, 135–36.

himself was killed by falling down from the castle tower.[23] We are not told what happened to the twice-widowed Mary. Unlike Mariun and Margaret of Soissons, she is not listed among the prisoners who accompanied Lewon during his exile from Sis (though she may have been among the twenty exiled aristocrats whom Dardel mentions but does not name[24]).

After this episode, Lewon, along with a small group of guardians, moved to the residence of Mariun, situated in the so-called Second Castle, where he was "accepted very honorably." Soon, Sohier Doulcart and some groups of people and soldiers joined Lewon in Mariun's castle. The tower castle, which was the king's official residence, was occupied by the initiators of the coup, who—according to Dardel—did not want to hand it back to Lewon despite the latter's initially peaceful (and later military) efforts to regain control of it.[25] On the feast of the Annunciation, Lewon could finally enter the royal castle, and his banner was raised atop the tower, as our chronicler proudly describes. But his opponents were there, too, and Dardel accuses the catholicos and Paron Vasil of handing Lewon over to the Mamluks.[26] According to a contemporary manuscript colophon, the royal castle surrendered on Friday, April 16, after several months of blockade.[27]

2. Queen Mariun after the Fall of Sis

According to Jean Dardel, the victorious Mamluk commander ordered one of his officials to replace him in Sis, while he accompanied Lewon's retinue to Aleppo. The commander was ʿAshiq Tamur (ʿAshaqtamur), the emir of Aleppo. On the day of Easter (April 22, 1375), the group of royal prisoners, comprising "the king and the queen [Lewon V and Margaret of Soissons], their children, the former queen of Armenia [Mariun], who was the spouse of the tyrant king Kostandin I, and Sir Sohier Doulcart and his countess [Lady Remye], as well as Armenian barons and great men from the city of Sis, altogether twenty persons," left Sis.[28] At the end of April, the travelers approached Aleppo but did not enter the city immediately, because the emir wanted it to be splendidly decorated before his solemn entry, which Dardel explains by the emir's desire to highlight the significance of his recent victory and to exhibit his glory and magnificence to Lewon.[29] After spending the entire month of May in Aleppo, on the first day of June the prisoners were sent to Cairo at the command of Sultan

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23. *Chronique d'Arménie*, 75–76; *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, 130–32.

24. See below, §2 (n. 28).

25. After his messengers were rejected, Lewon initiated a military attack in order to take back the tower castle. Four attacks were launched in one night, but none of them was successful, because, as described by Dardel, the tower castle was "very strong, and its entrance was so thin that the soldiers could enter only one by one." Because of this, many of the attackers were wounded. See *Chronique d'Arménie*, 76–77; *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, 132–34.

26. *Chronique d'Arménie*, 78–80; *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, 137–41.

27. However, in another Armenian source dating from the fourteenth century, the date of the final surrender of the royal castle is given as April 12. Both texts are reproduced and translated in Grigoryan, "Armenian Colophons."

28. *Chronique d'Arménie*, 84; *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, 148.

29. *Chronique d'Arménie*, 84–85; *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, 149.

al-Ashraf Shaʿbān. They arrived there on Wednesday, July 9, and were given appropriate accommodation, though the sultan did not receive them immediately but only several days later.[30] Dardel writes that it was decided that Lewon would stay in Cairo with a daily subsidy of sixty silver drams, whereas the former queen Mariun, together with Sohier Doulcart and Lady Remye, would head for Jerusalem upon their own request. According to a permission letter issued by al-Ashraf Shaʿbān in April 1375, the sultan guaranteed the safety of Lewon, his queen, and his children.[31] The security of the other members of Lewon's retinue was guaranteed as well, but they were given a modest subsidy to cover the costs of their trip to Jerusalem.[32] Mamluk Jerusalem seems to have been the best destination for these stateless aristocrats, for it boasted an active Armenian community and patriarchate and had become the focus of renewed interest of Western aristocratic pilgrimage. As for the rest of the captured Armenian aristocracy, they soon managed to repatriate to Sis, led by Catholicos Kostandin.[33]

In autumn 1377, a knight called Manuēl, who had in the early 1370s engaged in diplomatic affairs initiated by Queen Mariun, appears to have conducted negotiations with Peter III of Catalonia (known also as Peter IV of Aragon or Peter the Ceremonious) for Mariun's liberation. For this purpose, on November 25 the king signed several letters addressed to recipients whose names are not known but who were to write to the Mamluk sultan to advocate for Mariun's freedom.[34] Madalena Sáez Pommés has observed that Manuēl's negotiations may have been a pretext for him to stay on at the Catalan court for a while.[35] After the fall of Sis, Manuēl himself was held as a prisoner in Aleppo, where, according to Dardel, he became a "sarrasin."[36] Through the intercession of Lewon V, Manuēl managed to gain his liberty and move to Europe. His efforts to liberate Mariun in 1377 are indeed a little surprising. Although Jerusalem was under Mamluk control, the aged queen seems to have lived there not as a prisoner in urgent need of liberation. According to certain manuscript colophons, reproduced and discussed below, Mariun lived a "merciful and charitable" life in the Holy City, which suggests a monastic lifestyle. Indeed, when she died she was buried at the Sts. James Monastery. The events preceding Manuēl's initiative in October-November of 1377 further highlight its apparent lack of purpose. First, in 1375, before the imminent end of his reign, Sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān had already granted Mariun a sort of freedom by allowing her to leave Cairo and to move to Jerusalem upon her own wishes. Second,

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30. *Chronique d'Arménie*, 85–86; *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, 151; see also the brief excerpt preserved in the manuscript J1255, reproduced in Połarean, *Mayr cʿucʿak*, 4:424, and Grigoryan, "Armenian Colophons" (for the English translation). See also Kühl, *Leon V. von Kleinarmenien*, 140–41.

31. The text of the sultan's guarantee letter is reproduced in chapter 104 of Dardel's chronicle. See *Chronique d'Arménie*, 80–81; *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, 141–42.

32. *Chronique d'Arménie*, 87; *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, 153–54.

33. For sources, see above, n. 6.

34. M. Sáez Pomés, "La ayuda de Valencia a León V de Armenia, I de Madrid," *Estudios de edad media de la Corona de Aragón* 3 (1947–48): 386–419, at 400. I thank Sofía Fernández Pozzo for her help with translating this article.

35. Ibid., 400.

36. *Chronique d'Arménie*, 85, 99; *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, 150, 177.

a fourteenth-century manuscript colophon and several later Armenian texts mention that Mariun died in July 1377 (see below, §2.1), which does not fit chronologically with Manuēl's undertaking of efforts to liberate her in autumn 1377. He was either unaware of Mariun's death months earlier or had other intentions, such as to stay at the Catalan court, as suggested by Saez Pommés, or to obtain financial support for himself, as Dardel suggests on one occasion.[37]

2.1. Evidence from Manuscript Colophons and Minor Texts

The final account on Queen Mariun in Dardel's chronicle says that she and her two companions, Sohier Doulcart and his wife, were paid poorly for their trip to Jerusalem.[38] In the Holy City, a certain Vahram acquired from Mariun a now-lost gospel book, which had originally belonged to King Kostandin I, Mariun's late husband.[39] This parchment manuscript had been created in 1290 for the priest Kostandin in the Monastery of Armēn (situated on the eponymous mountain, east of the fortress of Lambron), and according to the colophon's text, it had been richly illustrated in 1345 at the command of King Kostandin I. When Mariun was expelled from Sis, she apparently took her husband's gospel along and carried it with her all the way to Jerusalem. Curiously enough, sometime before the seventeenth century (or perhaps in the seventeenth century) the manuscript was moved back to Sis, the seat of the catholicosate of Cilicia, as two Cilician catholicoi—Yovhannēs Antʿēpcʿi (1601–21) and Kirakos Aǰapahean (1797–1822)—are mentioned as having repaired it.[40] By 1851, the gospel of King Kostandin was still in Sis, for in that year Łewond Pirłalemean documented the manuscript and reproduced its colophon from 1345.[41] Soon thereafter, in 1852, the manuscript—described as having a silver binding—was also mentioned by Victor Langlois, who saw it in the treasury of the Chapel of Surb Grigor (St. Gregory) in Sis.

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37. *Chronique d'Arménie*, 99–100; *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, 177–79. Manuēl's European activities in the post-kingdom period feature several contradictory episodes. On one occasion, he represented himself falsely as King Lewon's messenger (*Chronique d'Arménie*, 99–100; *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, 177–79; see also Kühl, *Leon V. von Kleinarmenien*, 153–54). In another episode, the re-Christianized Manuēl asked for financial support from the royal treasury of the Aragonese court in order to undertake a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. On his activities in Europe, see Mutafian, "Léon V Lusignan," 205; V. Matiossian, "An Overview of Armenian-Spanish Relations during the Cilician Period," *Handēs Amsoreay* 1–12 (1996): 321–25; V. Matiossian, "Santʿiakō tē Gompʿostela ew hayerə" [Santiago de Compostela and the Armenians], *Bazmavēp* 1–4 (2005): 219–23; R. Gulbenkian, "Les relations entre l'Arménie et le Portugal du Moyen-Âge au XVI siècle," *Revue des études arméniennes* 14 (1980): 199–200.

38. *Chronique d'Arménie*, 87; *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, 153–54.

39. A detailed description of this gospel manuscript is to be found in a handwritten notebook compiled in Adana between the years 1919 and 1921 by the later Catholicos Sahak Xapayean. His notebook is preserved as J3602/24. The whereabouts of the gospel belonging to King Kostandin I (and then to Queen Mariun) remain unknown to me. Xapayean's description of the manuscript is reproduced in N. Połarean, *Mayr cʿucʿak jeṙagracʿ Srbocʿ Yakobeancʿ* [Grand catalog of Sts. James manuscripts], vol. 11 (Jerusalem: Press of Sts. James, 1991), 15–18.

40. Colophons about the later restorations are reproduced in Połarean, *Mayr cʿucʿak*, 11:17–8.

41. Pirłalemean's transcription is reproduced in L. Xačʿikyan, *ŽD. dari hayeren jeṙagreri hišatakaranner* [Colophons of Armenian manuscripts of the fourteenth century] (Yerevan: Press of the Academy of Sciences, 1950), 343.

Langlois documented it in his travelogue study, providing a French translation of the same colophon.[42]

But before the manuscript was repatriated to Cilicia in the postmedieval period, sometime in the last decades of the fourteenth century, the aforesaid Vahram composed a colophon that includes a brief eyewitness account of the queen's sojourn in Jerusalem. Of the known sources, this is one of the closest to Queen Mariun, from whom Vahram acquired the manuscript, apparently shortly before her death:[43]

Եւ դարձեալ ի յամին թուականութեանս Հայոց ՊԻԳ [= 1374][44] առաւ Սիս ի քրիստոնէից, և էր յայն ժամանակն կաթողիկոս Հայոց տէր Կոստանդին Լամբրոնացին՝ այր իմաստուն և հանճարեղ, և էր թագաւոր Հայոց պ(ա)ր(ոն) Լևոն՝ որդի բրինձին: Սա թագաւորեաց Հայոց ամիս Է: Սա վարեցաւ զերի յԵգիպտոս թագուհիին իրով և որդւմբ իրովք: Բայց մեծ թագուհին Հայոց Մարիին յԵրուսաղէմ մեծաւ առաքինի ճշմարտութեամբ ամս Գ ?, և հանգեաւ ի Ք(րիստո)ս ի թուաբերութեան Պ(...) և ի յուլիս ամսոյ ԺԸ... [illegible], վասնի յոյժ ողորմած էր և աղքատասէր: Սա թաղեց[աւ] առաջի դրան Ս(ուր)բ Յակոբայ: Սա պարգևեաց մեզ զս(ուր)բ նշան, որ տէր Յակոբ կաթողիկոս:

Ի սմանէ ստացայ եւս զս(ուր)բ և զաստուածախաւս աւետարանս, որ է զարդարած ի յոսկւոյ սրբոյ եւ յարծաթոյ, ի վայելումն անձին իմոյ: Եւ ի ժամ մահուան իմոյ ի լիշատակ հոգւոյ իմոյ և ծնաւղաց իմոց և ամենայն զարմից իմ, և այնոցիկ, որ ի ս(ուր)բ աւետարանս երախտաւոր են ... : Եւ ես՝ մեղաւոր և անպիտան ծառայ Ա(ստուծո)յ և ամենայն զՔ(րիստո)ս Ա(ստուա)ծ դաւանողացդ, Վահրամ անարժան այսմ պատուոյս զոր ընցալայ, որ անուամբ միայն կոչիմ, բայց զործով հեռացեալ մեկուսի եմ ի պատուիրանացն Ա(ստուծո)յ: Բայց իմ յուսալով ի ս(ուր)բ աւետարանս, որ է բերան և բան Ա(ստուծո)յ, որ և ինքն Տէրն մեր և Փրկիչն Յ(իսու)ս Ք(րիստո)ս հրամայեաց իր աստուածային բերանովս ի սուրբ աւետարանիս, թէ՝ Ամենայն որ խնդրէ ... [Mt 7:8 or Lk 11:10]: Նայ կրկին անգամ յերես անգեալ աղաչեմ զամենայն հաւատացեալս Ս(ուր)բ

Երրորդութեանն, որք հանդիպիք ի Ս(ուր)բ և աստուածախաւս աւետարանիս...
խնդրեցէք ի Քրիստոսէ զողորմութիւն մեզ... :

Translation:

And again, in the Armenian year 823 [= 1374],[45] Sis was taken from the Christians; and this happened when tēr Kostandin of Lambron, a wise and ingenious man, was catholicos of the Armenians, and when Paron Lewon, son of the prince, was king of the Armenians. He reigned over the Armenians for seven months. He was taken captive into Egypt together with his queen and children. But the great queen of Armenia, Mariwn, [dwelt] in Jerusalem for three years with truly great virtue and fell asleep in Christ on July 18 in the [Armenian] year eight hundred... [illegible], for she was very merciful and charitable [lit. lover of the poor]. She was buried in front of the door of Saint James. She offered us the holy sign which [had belonged to] Catholicos Yakob.

From her I also acquired for my own enjoyment this holy and God-spoken gospel, which is adorned with pure [lit. holy] gold and silver. And when I pass away, [may this be] a memory of my soul, of my parents, of my relatives, and of all those who are beneficiaries of this holy gospel. ...And I, Vahram, sinful and useless servant of God and of all you who confess Christ [as] God, accepted this honor undeservedly, for I have the name only, but with my deeds I have turned away and isolated myself from God's commandments. But my hope is in this holy gospel, which is God's mouth and word, as He Himself, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, commanded with His divine mouth in the holy gospel: "Everyone who asks [receives]..." [Mt 7:8 or Lk 11:10]. Yet again, falling on my face, I beseech all believers of the Holy Trinity who will come upon this holy and God-spoken gospel... ask Christ to have mercy on us....

The fact that Vahram acquired the now-lost gospel of King Kostandin I in Jerusalem and directly from Queen Mariun shows that she took it with her when leaving Sis, along with a certain "holy sign" (i.e., a cross) that had belonged to Catholicos Yakob. Apart from these two objects, another gospel manuscript, known as the *Gospel of Queen Mariun* and now preserved as J1973, may well have been among the sacred objects that the queen brought with her to the Holy City.[46] These were, moreover, neither the sole manuscripts associated with the former queen nor the only royal codices to have appeared in Jerusalem after the final takeover of Sis. The ritual manuscript J2027, copied in 1266 by the scribe Awetikʻ and illustrated by Tʻoros Ṙoslin, contains a later colophon that was added in the last decades of the fourteenth century, most likely in Jerusalem (where, incidentally, the best collection of Cilician royal manuscripts is currently preserved). This colophon,[47] written on folio 275v in

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45. About the erroneous date of the takeover of Sis, see above, n. 44.

46. For the *Gospel of Queen Mariun* and its relevance to the queen's Jerusalem pilgrimage ~~elsewhere~~, see Grigoryan, "Royal Images," 260–66.

47. In his monumental manuscript catalog, Połarean did not include this colophon in the description of manuscript J2027; see N. Połarean, *Mayr cʻucʻak jeṙagracʻ Srbocʻ Yakobeancʻ* [Grand catalog of Sts. James manuscripts], vol. 7 (Jerusalem: Press of Sts. James, 1974), 59–66. It is, however, reproduced in one of his later essays; see Covakan, *Vanatur*, 276.

a somewhat careless way, is clearly dependent on the above-quoted colophon of Vahram, likely being its revised abbreviation:

Եւ դարձեալ ամին թվականութե(ան) Հայոց ի Պ հարիւր ԻՅ⁴⁸ առաւ Սիս ի քրիստոնէից, եւ էր ի ժամա[նա]կին այնմիկ կաթողիկոս Հայոց տէր Կոստանդին Լամ[բ]րոնացի՝ այր իմաստուն եւ հանճարեղ, եւ էր թագ(աւո)ր Հայոց պարոն Լեւոն՝ որդի բրինձի։ Սայ թագ<u>ո</u>նրեաց⁴⁹ Հայոց ամի[ս] է.։⁵⁰ Սայ վարեց[աւ] գերի յեգիպտոս թագուհիվք իրով եւ որդովք։ Բայց թագուհին Մարուն բնակեցաւ յԵ(րուսաղէ)մ յերեքաւ եւ հագո [=հանգեաւ] ի Ք(րիստո)ս, եւ թաղեցաւ առաջի դրանն Ս(ուր)բ Յակոբ[այ]։

Լեւուն եւ Հեթում որդի Կոս[տ]անդնի:

Translation:

And again, in the Armenian year 82(4),⁵¹ Sis was taken from the Christians; and this happened when tēr Kostandin of Lambron, a wise and ingenious man, was catholicos of the Armenians, and when Paron Lewon, son of the prince, was king of the Armenians. He reigned over the Armenians for seven months.⁵² He was taken captive into Egypt together with his queens and children. But Queen Marun dwelt in Jerusalem for three [years], after which she fell asleep in Christ and was buried in front of the door of Saint James.

Lewun and Het'um, son[s] of Kostandin.

The information on Mariun's death and on her burial in front of the door of St. James that is found in these two manuscripts can also be found in the *Chronological History of Armenian Cilicia*, authored by Yakob erēc' Ssec'i and preserved in the seventeenth-century manuscript V1318/923.⁵³ The events between the years 1375 and 1377

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48. Here, too, the date of the takeover of Sis is copied erroneously: instead of Պ հարիւր ԻԴ (824 = 1375 CE) we read Պ հարիւր ԻՅ, which does not make sense and confirms the questionable writing of the letter/number Դ in the original manuscript (see above, n. 44). Połarean transcribed the date as Պ հարիւր ԻԳ? (823 = 1374 CE), following the unpublished catalog of Sahak Xapayean. However, he added a question mark to indicate the questionable writing of the date. See Covakan, *Vanatur*, 276. See also Aławnuni, *Miabank' ew ayc'eluk'*, 170–71 (who similarly used Xapayean's handwritten catalog of manuscripts).

49. Probably because of the pronunciation, the scribe has written "o" instead of "աւ." However, "աւ" is pronounced "o" when it is followed by a consonant letter. In this case, the correct writing would therefore be թագաւորեաց.

50. Սայ թագոնրեաց Հայոց ամի[ս] է. ("He reigned over the Armenians for seven months") is missing from Połarean's transcription (Covakan, *Vanatur*, 276).

51. For the writing of the date, see above, n. 48.

52. See above, n. 50.

53. The identification of the chronicler was made by Gēorg Tēr-Vardanean, who has also prepared the text of the *Chronological History* to be published soon (private communication with Gēorg Tēr-Vardanean, who also informed me about a relevant soon-to-be-published article entitled "Յակոբ Սսեցու Ժամանակագրութիւնը եւ նրա պատմագիտական արժէքը" ["The chronicle of Yakob Ssec'i and its significance for historiography"]). For the description of V1318/923, see S. Čemčemean, *Mayr c'uc'ak hayerēn jeṙagrac' matenadaranin Mxit'areanc'*

are narrated twice on folios 249 and 250, apparently having been copied from two different sources. To my knowledge, the excerpts from V1318/923 transcribed below have never before been published. Correspondences to other sources and some clarifications about the abovementioned events and persons are given in the notes that accompany the English translation.

Fol. 249 Իսկ ի չորրորդ ամին իւր մելիք չերքէզ Պերխուին եկն ի վ(ե)ր(այ) թ(ա)- q(ա)ւ(ո)րին Լեւոնի ի Սիս եւ էառ զքաղաքն եւ այրեաց: Եւ զերերաց զԼեւոն թ(ա)- q(ա)ւ(ո)րն թ(ա)զուհեան եւ որդովքն իւրովք յեգիպտոս: Եւ արբեցաւ նետն յարենէ, եւ սուրն կերաւ միս յարենէ վիրաւորելոց զերելոց զլխող իշխանաց ն(ո)- ց(ա) ն(ր)պ(էս) երբեմս ընդ Ի(սրայէ)լի: Եւ ընդ զերիս թ(ա)զ(ա)ւ(ո)րին ն(ո)ց(ա) յԵգիպտոս, թազուհին Մարուն հրամանաւ մելիքին զնաց բնակեցաւ յԵ(րուսա)- ղ(է)մ մեծաւ ճգնու(թեամ)բ եւ առաքինի վարուք զամս Գ.: Եւ սպանեցին ի Սիս զԳրող աշակերտն զԿեչաղակ վարդապետն:

...

Fol. 250 Եւ ի միւս ամին եղեւ սով սաստիկ յԱսորեստան ի յՈւրհայ, որ եւ կերան զանս(ուր)բ կենդանիս, այլեւ բազումբ վաճառեցին զորդիս իւրեանց վ(ա)ս(ն) կերակրող: Եւ սպանին զամիր Համն, զորդին Դիոնիս զԲադէշու տիրոջն, որ էր այր բարի եւ իրաւարար քրիստոնէից: Իսկ թազուհին Լենին Մարուն յետ Գ. ամի ճգնութեան փոխեցաւ յԵր(ուսա)ղ(է)մ, ն թաղեցին զնա առաջի դրան Ս(ր)- բ(ո)ն Յակոբայ ի ՊԻՋ. [1377] թվին, յամսեանն Յուլիսի ԺԲ.: Եւ էր յոյժ ողորմած եւ ողբատասէր, սա՛ պարգեւեաց զս(ուր)բ նշանն Յակոբ կ(ա)թ(ո)ղ(ի)կ(ո)- սին՝ վերոյ զրեալ հայրապետին, զոր այժմ կայ ի ս(ր)բատունս Լուսաւորչին: Իսկ մելիք Տահիր Պարիսուին յետ Ձ. ամի ու Է. ամսոյ մելիքութեան կորաւ ի յախոռոյն, որ էառ Ձ. քաղաք այլ ընդ Սսայ եւ Թ. քաղաք այլ մեկմի:

Translation:

Fol. 249 And in the fourth year of his reign, the Circassian mēlikʿ Pērxux[54] came against King Lewon in Sis, took the city, and burned it down. And he took King Lewon captive to Egypt, together with the queen and their children. And the arrow became drunk with blood, and the sword ate the flesh of the heads of the wounded, captured princes, as had happened long ago to Israel. And when their king was taken into captivity in Egypt, Queen Marun, by the order of mēlikʿ, went to dwell in Jerusalem for three years, leading an ascetic life, full of virtuous deeds. And in Sis they murdered vardapet Kečʿałak, who was a student of the Scriptures.[55]

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i Venetik [General catalog of Armenian manuscripts of the Mekhitarist library in Venice], vol. 6 (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1996), 221–26.

54. This is al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, the first sultan of the so-called Circassian dynasty, who seized power and reigned 1382–89 and 1390–99. The chronicler is clearly confusing the events related to the takeover of Sis, which happened during the reign and by the order of a previous Mamluk sultan, al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (1363–77).

55. This episode of a certain *vardapet* Kečʿałak's being killed in Sis during its takeover is also narrated in the continuation of Samuēl Anecʿi's *History*, from where the cited part of the present excerpt is likely taken. See *Samuēl Anecʿi and continuators*, 281: "Յայսմ ամի զՍիս առին Տաճկունքն եւ սպանին զԿեչեղակ

…

Fol. 250 And in the following year there was such a severe famine in Urhay [i.e., Edessa], Assyria, that [people] ate impure animals, and many were compelled to sell their own children for the sake of food. And emir Hačn, son of Di(a)din, lord of Bałēš, who was a kind and righteous man toward the Christians, was killed.[56] And Marun, Queen of Lewon,[57] after three years of ascetic life, passed away in Jerusalem and was buried in front of the door of Saint James in the year 1377, on July 18. She was very merciful and charitable [lit. lover of the poor]. She bequeathed the holy sign of the abovementioned Catholicos Yakob, which is now kept in the sacristy of [Grigor] the Enlightener. And Parxux, mēlikʿ [of] Tahir, who had taken six cities, including Sis,[58] and nine other cities one by one, disappeared from the mēlik's' throne after six years and seven months of reign.

The account referring to Queen Mariun's death and to the cross of Catholicos Yakob that she gave away is apparently taken from the now-lost gospel of King Kostandin I, discussed above. Yakob Ssecʿi, when preparing his *Chronological History*, made a precious addition, writing that "the holy sign" of Catholicos Yakob "is now kept in the sacristy of [Grigor] the Enlightener." He seems to have used the very manuscript of King Kostandin, which, according to Langlois's nineteenth-century description, was kept in the church of Surb Grigor (St. Gregory the Enlightener) of Sis.[59] As for Mariun's stay in Jerusalem, Ssecʿi confirms the previously cited accounts of her dwelling in the Holy City for three years, during which she led an ascetic, merciful, and charitable life, performing "virtuous deeds."

In these sources, Mariun's passing away is dated to 1377, and the initial location of her tomb is mentioned as being in front of the St. James cathedral. This information can also be found in an anonymous continuation of a chronicle attributed to King Hetʿum II:[60]

վարդապետն, որ Գրոց աշակերտեր." (Translation: "In this year, the Tačiks took Sis and killed vardapet Kečʿałak, who was a student of the Scriptures.")

56. A similar narrative of these events is to be found in the continuation of Samuēl Anecʿi. See *Samuēl Anecʿi and continuators*, 282: "Ի ՊԻԴ. [1375] սովս սաստիկ էր յԱսորեստան: Ջամիր Հաճն սպանին, զԴիադնի որդին, Բաղշու տիրոջ որդին, որ էր այր բարի ի քրիստոնէից." (Translation: "In 1375, there was a severe famine in Assyria. Emir Hačn– son of the lord of Bałēš, Diadin– who was a kind man toward the Christians was killed.")

57. Similar misrepresentations of Mariun's relationship with King Lewon V can also be found in the other texts discussed below.

58. Here, too, the author confuses the events related to the takeover of Sis. See above, n. 54.

59. Langlois, *Voyage dans la Cilicie*, 403.

60. Reproduced in *Hetʿum B-i Taregrutʿyuny, XIII d.* [Chronicle of Hetʿum II, thirteenth century], in *Manr žamanakagrutʿyunner, XIII–XVIII dd.* [Brief chronicles, thirteenth–eighteenth centuries], ed. V. Hakobyan, vol. 1 (Yerevan: Press of the Academy of Sciences, 1951), 89, n. 10 (version Գ, based on the text available in manuscript M3079); S. Čemčemean, *Mayr cʿucʿak hayerēn jeṙagracʿ matenadaranin Mxitʿareancʿ i Venetik* [General catalog of Armenian manuscripts of the Mekhitarist library in Venice], vol. 8 (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1998), 365 (based on manuscript V1412/1588, fol. 401, in which the chronicle is attributed to Hetʿum the Historian and not to King Hetʿum II; Vazgen Hakobyan's clarifications in the cited volume seem to have resolved this issue).

...եւ ի վերջին Լեւոնն ԺԱ. ամիս թագաւորեալ. եւ եկեալ սուլտանն Մսրայ եւ զերեաց զթագաւորն: Մարիուն թագուհին տարեալ յԵգիպտոս. եւ խնդրեալ թագուհին ի սուլտանէն, գնաց յԵրուսաղէմ եւ մեռաւ անդ, ԷՃՕԴ., դուռն Սուրբ Յակոբայ թաղեցաւ եւ բարձաւ թագաւորութիւնն ի տանէն Կիլիկեցոց ՈՁԻԳ.:

Translation:

And the last [King] Lewon reigned for eleven months, until the sultan of Msr [i.e., Egypt] came and captured the king. Queen Mariun was taken to Egypt, [where] she requested of the sultan [to go to Jerusalem]; and she went to Jerusalem and died there in 754 [1305?] and was buried at the door of Saint Yakob [i.e., James]. And in 823 [1374?] the kingdom of the house of the Cilicians fell.

Another later narrative referring to the events in question is given by Martiros Łrimecʻi (1620–83) in his rhythmic narrative Կարգ եւ թիւ թագաւորաց հայոց (*Karg ew tʻiw tʻagaworacʻ hayocʻ*, "Order and list of Armenian kings"). Łrimecʻi, who was the patriarch of Jerusalem, provides the following retelling of the events of interest to this study:[61]

> Finally, after Konstandin,[62]
> the miserable King Lewon [came and]
> reigned for eleven months,
> [but] lost the crown and the throne,
> because the sultan of Egypt
> came and captured everyone,
> including the baron
> together with his [family],
> also the queen, their stepmother.
> The tyrant pitied the queen
> and [with these words] let her free:
> "Go wherever you wish!"
> And she headed for Palestine.
> Her life ended in the Holy City of Jerusalem,
> and she was buried under a pillar in the holy cathedral
> of the Holy See of the Armenian nation[63]
> in the Armenian year 823 [1374?].

Although both the continuator of Hetʻum's chronicle and Łrimecʻi commit several errors—notably, in the dates of Lewon V's reign, the alleged participation of the sultan in

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61. For the original version in Armenian, see A. Tēr-Yovhannēseancʻ, *Žamanakagrakan patmutʻiwn S. Erusałēmi* [Chronological history of Holy Jerusalem], vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Press of Sts. James, 1890), 214; Aławnuni, *Miabankʻ ew aycʻelukʻ*, 171. Cf. the brief compilation of chronicles preserved in J995, fols. 468–70: N. Połarean, *Mayr cʻucʻak jeṙagracʻ Srbocʻ Yakobeancʻ* [Grand catalog of Sts. James manuscripts], vol. 3 (Jerusalem: Press of Sts. James, 1968), 597.

62. King Kostandin II.

63. Here meaning Sts. James Cathedral in Jerusalem.

the capture of Sis, and the year of the queen's death—these texts are apparently accretions of earlier accounts, for their vision of the events essentially corresponds to that of the manuscript colophons reproduced above. Another Armenian patriarch of Jerusalem, Minas Hamtʻecʻi (1697–1704), also included information on the takeover of Sis and the capture of the last king, "together with Queen Mariun," in his *Genealogy of Armenian kings*.[64] Remarkably, in these late narratives Mariun continues to be called queen, whereas no specific reference can be found to Margaret of Soissons, who was the actual queen at the time of the kingdom's fall. From the time of Martiros Łrimecʻi (probably even before), there has been persistent confusion about the identities of the noblewomen who accompanied Lewon V during his exile from Sis. Later traditions and stories woven around the last queens of Cilicia resulted in mistaken identifications regarding various episodes of their lives. A point that further deepened this confusion is the mention of a royal heir, traditionally represented in scholarship as Mariun's daughter. As will be seen below, this claim does not in fact accord with contemporary or near-contemporary sources, some of which are explicit in representing the complex genealogy of the royal family and of the court members. These questions are discussed below, taking into consideration—among other evidence— records of several nonsystematic excavations that have taken place at the Sts. James Cathedral since the nineteenth century.

2.2. Archaeological Information

In November 1897, during excavations prompted by renovation works, two skeletons were found in front of the chapel of the Martyrdom of St. James the Great, also known as the chapel of *Glxadir*, the most popular pilgrimage destination in the Cathedral of Sts. James. Małakʻia Ormanean suggested that these were the remains of Queen Mariun and Lady Remye,[65] apparently on the basis of Dardel's account, according to which Remye and her husband accompanied Mariun on her trip to Jerusalem (see above). Tigran Sawalaneancʻ, followed by Kevork Hintlian and Parsegh Kalemderian, attributed the remains to Mariun and "her daughter."[66] Another attribution for the two skeletons found in 1897 was made by Mkrtičʻ Aławnuni, who ascribed them to Mariun and her young relative Pʻenna.[67] Pʻenna has also been

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64. Minas Hamtʻecʻi, *Azgabanutʻiwn tʻagaworacʻ hayocʻ* [Genealogy of Armenian kings] (Constantinople, 1735), 57–58.

65. M. Archbishop Ormanean, *Haykakan Yerusałēm: Nkaragir Atʻoṙoy Srbocʻ Yakobeancʻ* [Armenian Jerusalem: A description of the See of Sts. James] (Jerusalem: Press of Sts. James, 1931), 14–15. See also M. Archbishop Ormanean, *Azgapatum* [History of the nation], vol. 2 (Constantinople: Press of V. and H. Tēr-Nersēsean, 1914), §1346.

66. T. Sawalaneancʻ, *Patmutʻiwn Erusałēmi* [History of Jerusalem], vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Press of Sts. James, 1931), 526, n. 1; K. Hintlian, *History of the Armenians in the Holy Land*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Press of Sts. James, 1989), 53; P. Kalemderian, *The Armenian Sts. James Cathedral of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Press of Sts. James, 2007), 12 (Armenian) and 9 (English).

67. M. Bishop Aławnuni, *Haykakan hin vankʻer ew ekełecʻiner Surb Erkrin mēǰ* [Old Armenian monasteries and churches in the Holy Land] (Jerusalem: Press of Sts. James, 1931), 257–58.

represented as Mariun's daughter[68] (or as her granddaughter[69])—a widespread opinion that is not, however, attested in fourteenth-century sources. A further opinion about the two deceased noblewomen, who were said to have spent the last years of their lives in Jerusalem before being buried in the Monastery of Sts. James, was expressed by Yarutʻiwn Tēr Łazarean, who identified them as Queen Mariun and Countess Fimi.[70]

In November 1957, the newly elected Bishop Šnorhkʻ Galustean undertook renovation work inside the Sts. James Cathedral with the aim of replacing its old pavement, which has since been covered with marble.[71] Coming across a skeleton, Bishop Šnorhkʻ initiated spontaneous excavations, which turned up about a dozen more skeletons and many human bones in the main nave of the cathedral, in the chapel of St. Minas (Menas) and in the Church of Holy Ējmiacin.[72] Modern visitors to the Sts. James Cathedral are told that the massive column standing near the *Glxadir* shrine marks the burial place of Queen Mariun (Fig. 1), a claim that echoes Martiros Łrimecʻi's seventeenth-century narrative.

Within the monastic complex there are, however, two other locations that have been associated with Mariun's tombstone. In his voluminous *Chronological History of Jerusalem* (1890), Bishop Tēr-Yovhannēseanc writes that although the tombs of Queen Mariun and of "her daughter Pʻenna" have since been covered, they were buried in the *gavitʻ* of the Sts. James Cathedral, near a column.[73]

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68. See, e.g., M. Čʻamčʻeancʻ, *Patmutʻiwn hayocʻ* [History of Armenia], vol. 3 (Venice: Press of Yovhan Pʻiacʻeancʻ, 1786), 364; X. Vanecʻi Mxitʻarean, *Hamaṙōt patmutʻiwn Erusałēmi ew storagrutʻiwn srbazan teleacʻ* [A brief history of Jerusalem and description of the holy sites] (Jerusalem: Press of Sts. James, 1867), 185; Tēr-Yovhannēseancʻ, *Žamanakagrakan patmutʻiwn*, 213; R. Ervine, "Women Who Left the World: The Armenian Nuns of Jerusalem," in *Patterns of the Past, Prospects for the Future: the Christian Heritage in the Holy Land*, ed. T. Hummel, K. Hintlian, and U. Carmesund, 124–34 (London: Melisende, 1999), 127, n. 14; Kalemderian, *Armenian Sts. James Cathedral*, 12 (Armenian) and 9 (English).

69. R. Ervine, "The Brotherhood of the Sts. James Monastery and the Symbolism of Armenian Jerusalem," in *Monastic Life in the Armenian Church: Glorious Past–Ecumenical Reconsiderations*, ed. J. Dum-Tragut and D.W. Winkler, 81–104 (Zürich: LIT Verlag, 2018), 89, n. 35.

70. Y. Tēr Łazarean, *Haykakan Kilikia: Tełagrutʻiwn* [Armenian Cilicia: Topography] (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 1966), 294–95.

71. Š. Galustean, "Salarkum S. Yakobay tačarin ew patahakan pełumner ayd aṙtʻiw" [Pavement works at St. James Cathedral and accidental excavations on that occasion], *Sion* 9–10 (1958): 232–38, at 234.

72. Š. Galustean, "Salarkum S. Yakobay tačarin," *Sion* 7–8 (1958): 194–97, and *Sion* 9–10 (1958): 232–38; Bishop Š. (Galustean), "Norogutʻiwnner S. Minasi matran mēj" [Renovations in the Chapel of St. Minas], *Sion* 11–12 (1958): 289–93. The bulk of the 1958 report of Bishop Šnorhkʻ was recently translated into English by Yana Tchekhanovets and Fr. Pakrad Berjekian. See Y. Tchekhanovets and P. Berjekian, "Excavating the Armenian Cathedral of St. James in Jerusalem: The Unknown Report from the 1950s," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 26 (2017): 119–34; Y. Tchekhanovets, *The Caucasian Archaeology of the Holy Land: Armenian, Georgian and Albanian Communities between the Fourth and Eleventh Centuries CE* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 98–106.

73. Tēr-Yovhannēseancʻ, *Žamanakagrakan patmutʻiwn*, 213. It is not clear which part of the Sts. James Cathedral he means with *gavitʻ*. There are two possibilities: the modern *gavitʻ* is where the principal entrance is currently situated (i.e., in the western part of the cathedral), whereas the *gavitʻ* of the original medieval structure was situated where the chapel-church of Holy Ējmiacin is now (i.e., in the southern part of the cathedral). The chapel was constructed in the seventeenth century by walling up the *gavitʻ* and thus closing the main entrance of the original structure. For the cathedral's plan and architectural history, see D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, vol. 3: *The City of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University
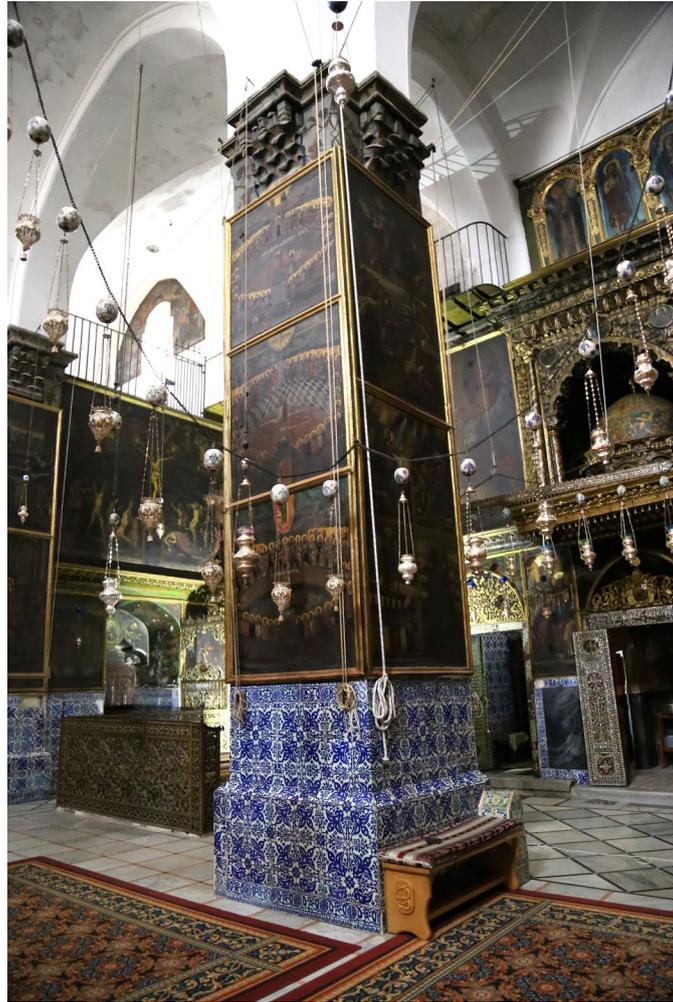
Figure 1: The massive column facing the Chapel of the Martyrdom of St. James the Great, northwestern view, Sts. James Cathedral, Jerusalem. (Photo: Gohar Grigoryan Savary, December 2018)

He also reports that sometime in the nineteenth century the *gałiacik'* (i.e., the Franks/French) made an inquiry about the grave of P'enna.[74] Tēr-Yovhannēseanc''s identification of "Mariun and her daughter P'enna" and his locating their graves within the cathedral's *gavit'* coincide with the mid-nineteenth-century records of Xorēn Mxit'arean, who describes the western *gavit'* as containing the graves of these two women, as well as of three Armenian patriarchs of Jerusalem—Abraham, Yovhannēs, and Dawit' (see below).[75]

Press, 2007), 168–82, esp. 172–78. See also A. Kazaryan, "The Armenian Cathedral of Saints James in Jerusalem: Melisende and the Question of Exchange between East and West," in *Romanesque Patrons and Processes: Design and Instrumentality in the Art and Architecture of Romanesque Europe*, ed. J. Camps, M. Castiñeiras, J. McNeill, and R. Plant, 83–92 (London: Routledge, 2018).

74. Tēr-Yovhannēseanc', *Žamanakagrakan patmut'iwn*, 213.

75. Mxit'arean, *Hamařōt patmut'iwn Erusałēmi,* 185.

Another location for Mariun's gravestone has been indicated by Abraham Terian, who specifies that "an ancient tombstone inscription marks her [Mariun's] grave in the southwestern corner of the courtyard of the Saint James monastery."[76] Currently, that corner of the courtyard is occupied by the tombstone of Patriarch Abraham of Jerusalem, with an inscription mentioning the Armenian year 641, or 1192 CE (see Fig. 2).[77] During my several visits to the Sts. James Monastery, I was unable to discern the supposed gravestone of Queen Mariun in that courtyard.[78]

Figure 2: Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, entrance to the courtyard and the tombstone of Patriarch Abraham, facing the modern principal entrance of the Sts. James Cathedral. (Photo: Gohar Grigoryan Savary, December 2018)

Interestingly, however, in 1867, when the abovementioned restorations of the Sts. James Cathedral had not yet taken place, the *gavitʿ*, where the tombstone of Patriarch Abraham was initially located, is described as follows (translation from Armenian):[79]

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76. A. Terian, "Armenian Writers in Medieval Jerusalem," in *Patterns of the Past, Prospects for the Future: The Christian Heritage in the Holy Land*, ed. T. Hummel, K. Hintlian and U. Carmesund, 135–56 (London: Melisende, 1999), 145, n. 35.

77. The inscription text is reproduced in Aławnuni, *Miabankʿ ew aycʿelukʿ*, 5–6.

78. The information about Mariun's gravestone being located in the southwestern corner of the courtyard was communicated to Abraham Terian by the late Archbishop Norayr Połarean some six decades ago. The tombstone that the savant archbishop identified as the gravestone of Queen Mariun was a poorly inscribed stone, half the size of the tombstone of Patriarch Abraham, which currently occupies the space under the baldachin-like structure (private communication with Abraham Terian, October 5, 2018).

79. Mxitʿarean, *Hamaṙōt patmutʿiwn Erusałēmi,* 185.

First, if you enter the *gavit'* of the holy church of this glorious monastery, you will see the image of the Awesome Judgment, which is situated above the main door of the church. And on each side of this door there is a liturgical table in the form of a built-in closet; one of them is named after Saint Gēorg and the other one after Nikołayos Skanč'elagorc [Nicholas the Wonderworker], and on each of these mass is served on the corresponding feast days. And in this *gavit'* are buried Mariam, the queen of King Lewon, and her daughter Benna, also the patriarchs Abraham, Yovhannēs, and David. And the walls of the *gavit'* are decorated with many wonderful images.

This pre-restoration description of the main entrance by Xorēn Mxit'arean, a scholar of the Sts. James congregation, appears to correspond entirely with the modern appearance of the cathedral's main entrance, with its depiction of the Last Judgment in the upper part and with the two closet-like altars dedicated to St. George and St. Nicholas, respectively (Fig. 3). These closet-altars are still in use for occasional ceremonies. As for the tombstones mentioned by Mxit'arean, apparently they were later moved out of the *gavit'* or around it, as was the case with Patriarch Abraham's tombstone (Fig. 2). Although several written and oral traditions—some of which date back centuries—regarding Queen Mariun's final resting place seem to corroborate each other, only serious archaeological research will help us achieve any level of certainty on this and many other issues related to the multilayered history of the Sts. James Cathedral.

Figure 3: The modern principal entrance of Sts. James Cathedral, flanked on both sides by closet-like altars dedicated to St. George and to St. Nicholas the Wonderworker. (Photo: Gohar Grigoryan Savary, December 2017)

3. Did Queen Mariun Have a Daughter?

As seen above, various narratives and studies mention Mariun's having a daughter who presumably accompanied her to Jerusalem and was even buried in the Sts. James Cathedral together with her mother. The name of this daughter differs from one study to another: she appears as P'enna (Benna), as Fimi (or Euphemie), or simply as "Mariun's daughter." However, neither in the minor texts cited above nor in the extensive chronicle of Jean Dardel can we find anything about a daughter of Mariun. When describing the exile of Lewon's retinue from Sis, Dardel lists the following aristocrats: "the king and the queen [Lewon V and Margaret of Soissons], their children, the former queen of Armenia [Mariun], who was the spouse of the tyrant King Kostandin I, and Sir Sohier Doulcart and his countess [Lady Remye], as well as Armenian barons and great men from the city of Sis." In this account, the former queen Mariun is not said to be accompanied by any child, male or female. If she had been, the child or children would have been mentioned right after her name, like the children of the king and the queen (that is, of Lewon and Margaret) were. Queen Margaret died in Mamluk captivity sometime in the early 1380s: in 1384, two Franciscan pilgrims are said to have visited the graves of Margaret and her daughter Maria in Cairo.[80] The absence of Margaret of Soissons in Armenian historiography and the misrepresentation of Mariun as the spouse of Lewon V may have reinforced later associations connecting the last king's children to Mariun. Let us now consider Mariun's heirs and whether she ever had a daughter, as is often presumed.

A significant primary source for clarifying the genealogy of the royal family is the principal colophon of the *Gospel of Queen Mariun.* This richly illustrated manuscript was produced in 1346 at the Surb Nšan (Holy Sign/Cross) Monastery of Sis and is currently kept at the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem (J1973). I have dealt with this royal manuscript elsewhere, providing also transcriptions and translations of its colophons. Here I will make use of the principal colophon insofar as it pertains to the question of Mariun's "daughter." Another peculiarity of the *Gospel of Queen Mariun* is its remarkable miniature painting, whose interpretations have further confused the issue of Mariun's supposed daughter. Thus, among the illustrations created by the famous Sargis Picak there is an inscribed image of Queen Mariun (fol. 258v; Fig. 6) and two further images of a stemma-bearing female figure (fols. 8v, 114r; Figs. 4–5).

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80. For this account and references to sources, see G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente Francescano*, vol. 5: *dal 1346 al 1400* (Florence: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1927), 230–31; Kühl, *Leon V. von Kleinarmenien*, 145–46; C. Mutafian, "Prélats et souverains arméniens à Jérusalem à l'époque des croisades: Légendes et certitudes (XIIᵉ–XIVᵉ siècle)," *Studia Orientalia Christiana-Collectanea* 37 (2004): 109–51, at 149; C. Mutafian, "Les arméniens et Jérusalem au Moyen Âge (IVᵉ–XIVᵉ siècle)," *Revue arménienne des questions contemporaines* 4 (January 2006): 9–18, at 16. With this account, another widespread error, referring to Margaret of Soissons's and her daughter's deaths in Jerusalem and their burial at Sts. James Cathedral, can be refuted.

Figure 4: *Gospel of Queen Mariun* (1346 CE),
Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, manuscript J1973, fols. 8v–9r.
(Photo: Hrair Hawk Khatcherian, July 2014)

Several art-historical studies have identified these images as representing Mariun's daughter
"Princess Fimi."[81] It turns out, however, that this identification is based on a false reading of
the colophon of the *Gospel of Queen Mariun*, which requires closer consideration. Before we
turn to the relevant passages of that colophon, some remarks must be made to clarify the
reason for the abovementioned confusion.

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81. S. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the
Fourteenth Century*, vol. 1 (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1993), 146, 160,
also 142; I. Rapti, "Le mécénat des princesses arméniennes," in *Impératrices, princesses, aristocrats et saintes
souveraines de l'Orient chrétien et musulman au Moyen Âge et au début des Temps modernes*, ed. É. Malamut
and A. Nicolaïdès (Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 2014), 265 (based on Der Nersessian); I.
Christoforaki, "An Unusual Representation of the Incredulity from Lusignan Cyprus," *Cahiers archeologiques*
48 (2000): 71–87, at 83 (based on Der Nersessian). Another view, however, which was expressed by Sirarpie
Der Nersessian before her monumental study on Cilician miniature painting and which was followed by more
scholars, interprets both stemma-bearing images as depicting Queen Mariun, which seems to me the most
plausible identification. See S. Der Nersessian, *Aght'amar: Church of the Holy Cross* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard
University Press, 1965), 44–45; S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art* (Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1978), 162; N.
Bishop Covakan, "Yišatakaran Nersēs episkoposi" [Colophon of Bishop Nersēs], *Sion* 3–4 (1967): 125–29, at 125;
Covakan, *Hay grič'ner*, 137 (considers both identifications– Mariun or her daughter– possible); B. Narkiss, ed.,
with M. E. Stone, *Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem*, historical survey by A. K. Sanjian (Jerusalem: Massada
Press, 1979), 87; L. Zakarian, "Les arts," in *Le royaume arménien de Cilicie (XIIᵉ–XIVᵉ siècle)*, ed. C. Mutafian,
127–39 (Paris: CNRS, 1993), 136; Terian, "Armenian Writers," 145, n. 35.
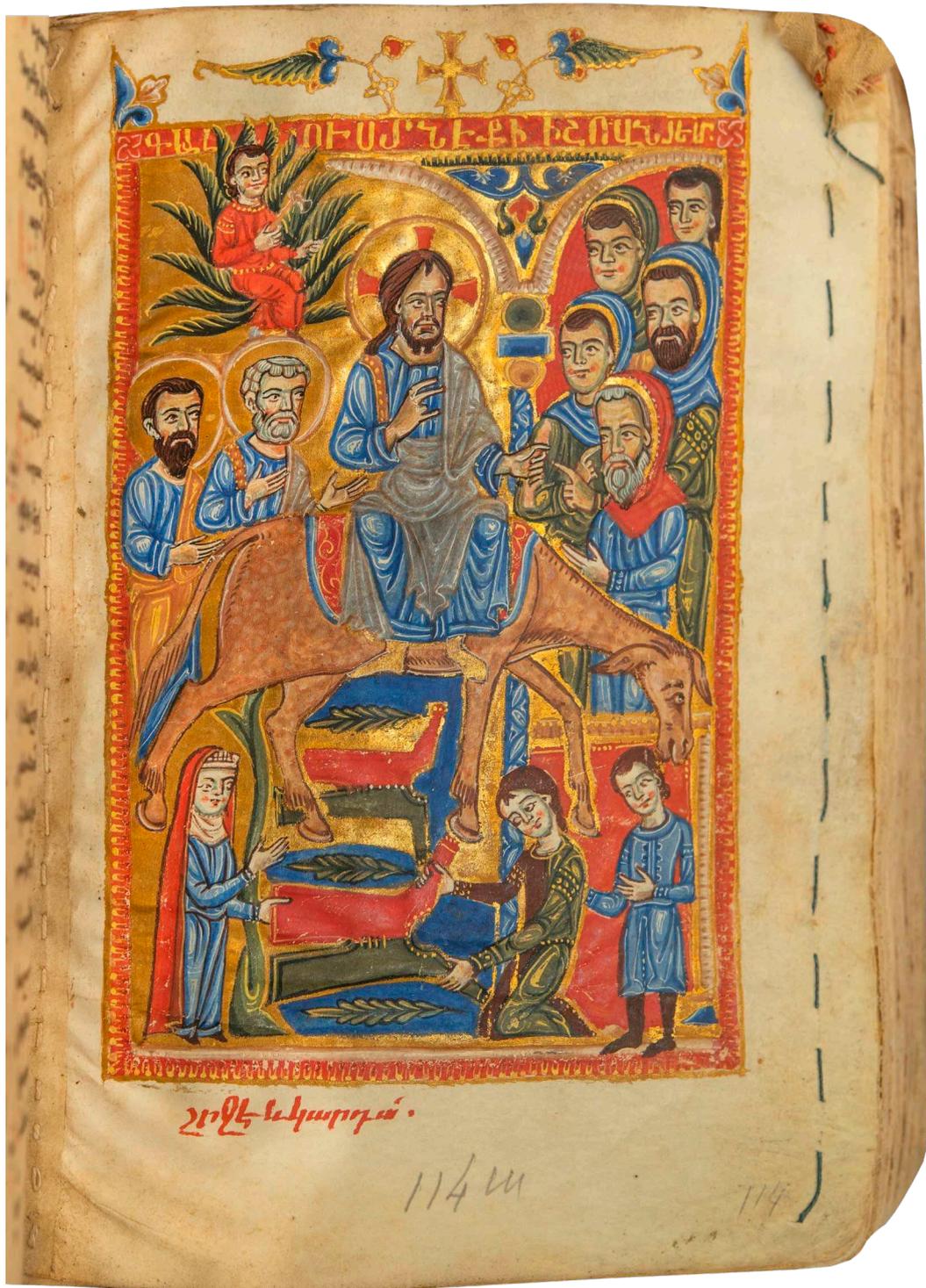
Figure 5: *Gospel of Queen Mariun* (1346 CE),
Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, manuscript J1973, fol. 114r.
(Photo: Hrair Hawk Khatcherian, July 2014)

Figure 6: *Gospel of Queen Mariun* (1346 CE),
Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, manuscript J1973, fol. 258v.
(Photo: Hrair Hawk Khatcherian, July 2014)

The scribe Nersēs composed the principal colophon of J1973 using, first, the genealogy of Queen Mariun (the manuscript's intended owner) and, second, the genealogy of her spouse, King Kostandin I. Reading the colophon in this light, it becomes easier to identify the aristocrats mentioned therein—altogether seventeen persons, whose relationships are visualized in the genealogical chart included in this article (Fig. 7).

Figure 7: Royal family members mentioned in the colophon of the
Gospel of Queen Mariun **(J1973), 1346 CE.**
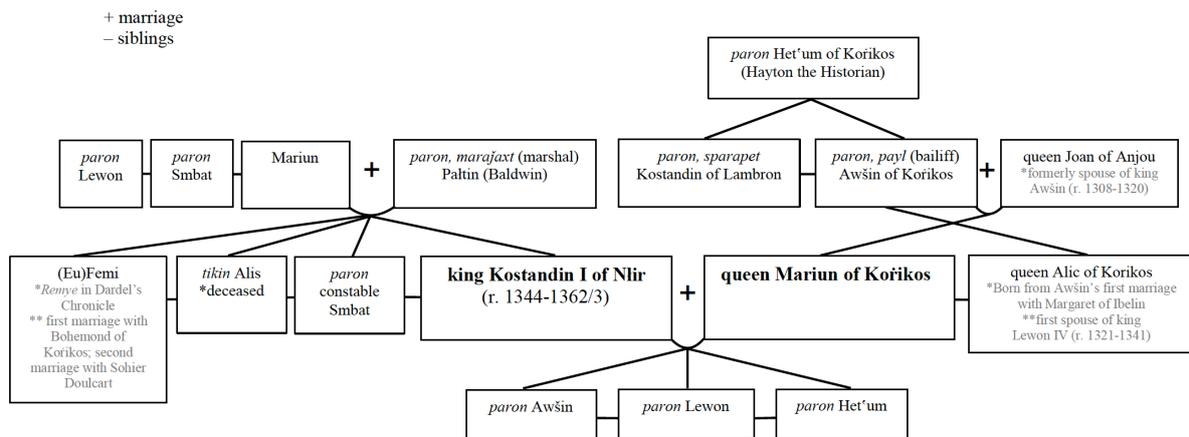
Unsurprisingly, some of these ruling aristocrats have the same first names, popular at that time within the royal court. Thus, the same pedigree colophon mentions not only Queen Mariun (as Mariawn) but also another noblewoman of the same name, Lady Mariawn, and her daughter Femi. The identities of the two homonymous women mentioned in the same colophon were conflated, and the expression "her daughter Femi" was mistakenly connected to Queen Mariun. Lady Mariun was the spouse of Marshal Pałtin (Baldwin) and the mother of King Kostandin I—that is, Queen Mariun's mother-in-law. Consequently, Femi (elsewhere Ephemie) is the daughter of Lady Mariun (not of Queen Mariun) and of Marshal Pałtin and a sister of King Kostandin I;[82] she later appears as Countess Femi (Ephemie/Fimi/Remye) in collaboration with Lewon V and Queen Mariun.[83] Although the colophon translated below has thus been the cause of the misidentification of Queen Mariun with Lady Mariun, it is in fact a precise and invaluable source for reconstructing the relationship between these two noblewomen.[84] The bold part of the text refers to Lady Mariun and her daughter Femi.

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82. See Rüdt-Collenberg, *Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, III (H2), no. 167 (mentioned as Euphemie).

83. *Chronique d'Arménie*, 47, also 61; *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, 78–79, also 105. See also Kühl, *Leon V. von Kleinarmenien*, 123.

84. Already in 1937, when referring briefly to J1973, Archbishop Garegin Yovsēpʿeancʿ noticed that both the spouse and the mother of King Kostandin were called Mariawn. See G. Yovsēpʿeancʿ, *Hawucʿ Tʿaṙi Amenapʿrkičʿə ew noynanun yušarjanner hay aruesti meǰ: Patma-hnagitakan usumnasirutʿiun* [The All Savior of Hawucʿ Tʿaṙ and homonymous monuments in Armenian art: A historical-archaeological survey] (Jerusalem: Press of Sts. James, 1937), 83, n. 1.

The paragraph division is mine, aimed at facilitating the reading of the colophon as conceived by the scribe Nersēs.

Եւ արդ ես՝ յոգնամեղ եւ անպիտան ծառայ Ա(ստուծո)յ Ներսէս, ցանկացող եղէ այսմ սրբոյ աւետարանիս գրել զսա յիշատակ բարի եւ գրեցի ըստ իմում կարի ի ստոյգ աւրինակէ Թարգմանչացն [Fol. 273v] եւ պարզեցի զսա հեզահոգի եւ ողորմած թագաւոյն Հայոց Մարիանոյն, որ բազում բարեգործութ(եամ)բ զարդարեալ, եւ առաւել հեզութ(եամ)բ եւ խոնարհութ(եամ)բ եւ նողորմածութ(եամ)բ եւ որ զայսպիսի առաքինութի(ւն) ստացեալ է, զտ(է)րունական պատմուճանն զգեցեալ է, առաւել եւ սա է զգեցեալ զայս լուսաւոր հանդերձ՝ իբրն զպարիսպ ամուր: Այլն զմեր անարժանութիւնս եղբայր կոչեաց իւր, եւ ինձ այսպէս թուի եթէ ի կամացն Տ(եառ)ն եւ ի շնորհաց Ս(ուր)բ Հոգւոյն յայտնեցաւ մեզ հոգեւոր քոյր եւ կատարեալ բարեկամ: Ես շնորհեցի նմա զայս ս(ուր)բ աւետարանս ի վայելումս անձին իւրոյ եւ յիշատակ բարի, որ եւ յուսամք ի Ք(րիստո)ս զի ընդ երկայն աւուրս պահեսցէ զնա ամբողջ կենդանութ(եամ)բ հոգւով եւ մարմնով, եւ ամենայն սրբոց աղաւթք՝ պահապան լիցի նմա ի տուէ եւ ի գիշերի, եւ զամենայն յանցանս իւր զոր գործեալ է՝ թողցէ Տ(է)ր Ա(ստուա)ծ:

Ողորմեցի Ք(րիստո)ս Ա(ստուա)ծ եւ իւր բարի ծնաւղացն՝ պ(ա)յ(ր)ն Աւշնի, որ տէր եր Կաւիկոսյ եւ այլ Հայոց: Ս(ուր)բ Ա(ստուա)ծածնին բարեխաւսութ(եամ)բ ողորմեցի Տ(է)ր Յ(իսու)ս Ք(րիստո)ս [Fol. 274r] եւ բարեգործութ(եամ)բ զարդարեալ մաւր իւրոյ Ճուանին, որ յառաջն թագուհի էր Աւշին թագաւորին: Հանգուսցէ Տ(է)ր Յ(իսու)ս զհոգիս նորա յարքայութ(ե)ն երկնից: Ողորմեցի Ք(րիստո)ս եւ պարկեշտ քաւրն իւրոյ Ալիծին, որ յառաջն թագուհի էր Լեւոն թագաւորին: Յիշման արժանի արարէք եւ զհաւրեղբայր իւր զպ(ա)յ(ր)ն Կոստա(նդին)՝ սպարապետն Հայոց, եւ զհայր նորին զպ(ա)յ(ր)ն Հեթում՝ զտէրն Կոռիկոսյ, եւ հանգուսցէ զհոգիս նոցա:

Երկնաւոր թագաւորն Ք(րիստո)ս, աւրինեցէ զմեր Հայոց թագաւորս Կոստանդիանոս եւ ընդ երկայն աւուրս արասցէ, եւ պահեսցէ յերկնելի եւ յաներեւոյթ թշնամեաց, եւ զա(ստու)ծատուր որդինն իւր՝ զպ(ա)յ(ր)ն Աւշին, եւ զպ(ա)յ(ր)ն Լեւոն, եւ զպ(ա)յ(ր)ն Հեթում, անվնաս պահեսցէ յամենայն փորձանաց կենցաղոյս: Աւրինեցէ Տ(է)ր Ա(ստուա)ծ եւ զհիրելի եղբայր թագաւորիս զպ(ա)յ(ր)ն Սմբատ զունդստապալ Հայոց եւ ընդ երկայն աւուրս արասցէ: Աւրինեցէ Տ(է)ր Ա(ստուա)ծ եւ զմայր թագաւորին զՄարիանն. եւ է մեր հոգեւոր մայր: Մայրն Ա(ստուծո)յ նմա բարեխաւս եղիցի հանապազ ի տուէ եւ ի գիշերի եւ պահեսցէ ամբողջ կենդանութ(եամ)բ [Fol. 274v] հոգւով եւ մարմնով, եւ ամենայն մեղաց քաւեսցէ: Աւրինեցէ Տ(է)ր Ա(ստուա)ծ եւ զպարկեշտ դուստրն իւր զՖեմին. եւ է մեր հոգեւոր քոյր եւ բարեկամ: Պահեսցէ Տ(է)ր Ա(ստուա)ծ զնա ամբողջ կենդանութ(եամ)բ հոգւով եւ մարմնով յամենայն ազգ փորձութենէ, եւ թողցէ զյանցանս իւր: Ողորմեսցի Ք(րիստո)ս Ա(ստուա)ծ եւ հանգուսցեալ հաւր իւրոյ՝ պ(ա)յ(ր)ն Պաղտին մարաջախստուն Հայոց, եւ հանգուսցեալ քաւրն իւրոյ տիկին Ալիսին, եւ քեռոյն իւրեանց պ(ա)յ(ր)ն Սմբատայ եւ պ(ա)յ(ր)ն Լեւոնի.

 և դասեցէ զհոգիսն նոցա և զծնաւղաց իւրեանց և զամենայն ազգականաց լիր
ս(ուր)բ արքայութիւնն:

Translation:

[Fol. 273r] ...And I, Nersēs, sinful and useless servant of God, desired to copy this holy
gospel as a good remembrance, and I copied it according to my abilities from an
authentic example by the Translators [Fol. 274v] and offered it as a gift to the meek [lit.
meek of soul] and merciful queen of the Armenians, Mariawn, who is adorned with
numerous good deeds and with utmost mildness, humbleness, and charity, and who has
acquired so much virtue and is clothed with the Lordly garment; and yet further, she
is clothed with this luminous cloak as a strong rampart. Despite our unworthiness, she
called us her brother, and it seems to me that it was by the Lord's will and by the grace
of the Holy Spirit that she appeared to us as spiritual sister and perfect friend. I offered
her this holy gospel for her own enjoyment and as a good remembrance, hoping that
Christ will keep her safe with full vitality of spirit and body for long days. And may the
prayers of all the saints be a guardian for her by day and by night; and may the Lord
God pardon all the transgressions that she has committed.

May Christ God also have mercy on her [Queen Mariun's] good parents, Paron Awšin, who
was the lord of Kawřikos and *payl* [i.e., bailiff] of Armenia.[85] Through the intercession
of the Holy Astuacacin [i.e., Theotokos] may the Lord Jesus Christ have mercy [Fol. 274r]
also on her mother, Čuan, who is adorned with good works and who formerly was the
queen of King Awšin.[86] May the Lord Jesus grant her soul rest in the Kingdom of Heaven.
May Christ also have mercy on her [Queen Mariun's] modest sister Alic, who formerly
was the queen of King Lewon.[87] Make also her uncle, Paron Kostandin, the *sparapet*
[i.e., constable] of Armenia,[88] and his father, Paron Het'um, the lord of Kořikos, worthy
of remembrance.[89] May their souls rest in peace.

May Christ, the heavenly king, bless Kostandianos,[90] our king of Armenia, and grant
him length of days, and protect him from enemies visible and invisible. May also his
God-given sons, Paron Awšin, Paron Lewon, and Paron Het'um,[91] be kept unharmed
from all the temptations of this life. May the Lord God bless also Paron Smbat, the

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85. Awšin, lord of Kořikos, father of Queen Mariun. See Rüdt-Collenberg, *Rupenides, Hethumides and
Lusignans*, III (H2), no. 143.

86. This is Joan of Anjou, mother of Queen Mariun. After the death of King Awšin, Joan married *payl* Awšin,
Mariun's father. See ibid., III (H2), no. 143/2. See also above, n. 10.

87. Alic of Kořikos, sister of Queen Mariun and the first spouse of King Lewon IV (r. 1321-1341). See ibid., III
(H2), no. 173.

88. Constable Kostandin, lord of Lambron and uncle of Queen Mariun. See ibid., III (H2), no. 142.

89. Het'um (Hayton) the Historian, lord of Kořikos and father of Constable Kostandin. See ibid., III (H2),
no. 117.

90. King Kostandin I, spouse of Queen Mariun. See ibid., III (H2), no. 165 (mentioned as Constantine III).

91. Three sons of King Kostandin I– Awšin, Lewon, and Het'um. The latter's name is unknown to Rüdt-
Collenberg (ibid., III (H2), nos. 188–190). See also Covakan, "Yišatakaran Nersēs episkoposi," 127, nn. 10–12;
Covakan, *Vanatur*, 273, 276.

beloved brother of the king and the constable of Armenia,[92] and grant him length of days. **May the Lord God bless also the mother of the king, Mariawn, who is our spiritual mother.[93] May the Mother of God intercede for her day and night and may She preserve her with full vitality** ⌐Fol. 274r⌐ **of spirit and body, and may she be cleansed of all her sins. May the Lord God bless also her** [Lady Mariawn's] **modest daughter Femi, who is our spiritual sister and friend.[94] May the Lord God preserve her with full vitality of spirit and body from every kind of temptation, and may He forgive her transgressions.** May Christ God also have mercy on his [King Kostandin I's] deceased father, Paron Pałtin, the *maraǰaxt* [marshal] of Armenia,[95] and his deceased sister, Lady Alis,[96] and their uncle, Paron Smbat,[97] as well as Paron Lewon.[98] And may He enroll their souls and the souls of their parents and of all of their kinsmen in the Holy Kingdom.

Although the Femi mentioned in this colophon was clearly not Queen Mariun's daughter, the question remains whether Queen Mariun ever had a daughter. The names of her and Kostandin's sons—Awšin, Lewon, and Het'um, all bearing the title "baron" (*paron*)—are attested in the colophon. Lewon and Het'um are also mentioned in a later colophon preserved in the manuscript J2027 and reproduced above. Apparently, none of these sons survived the fall of the state: Dardel reports that Kostandin I had many children but they all died at an early age "by the will of God, who did not want these children to reign after King Kostandin, for he had no royal blood."[99] In addition, Yakob Ssec'i, the author of

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92. Constable Smbat, brother of King Kostandin I. See Rüdt-Collenberg, *Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, III (H2), no. 166.

93. Lady Mariawn, the spouse of Marshal Pałtin and the mother of King Kostandin I– i.e., the mother-in-law of Queen Mariun. For both Queen Mariun and Lady Mariun, their relationship, and their family members, see also Rüdt-Collenberg, *Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, genealogical table III (H2), nos. 174 (Queen Mariun), 147/136 (Lady Mariun), 167 (Femi/Euphemie, daughter of Lady Mariun and Marshal Pałtin). On Marshal Pałtin and Lady Mariun, see also the extensive colophon of the lectionary preserved as MS Vatican, Borg.arm. 61, fol. 437v, reproduced in E. Tisserant, *Codices armeni Bybliothecae Vaticanae Borgiani, Vaticani, Barberiniani, Chisiani* (Rome: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1927), 99; *Hayeren jeṙagreri hišatakaranner, ŽD dar* [Colophons of Armenian manuscripts, fourteenth century], part 1: 1301–1325, comp. L. Khachikyan, A. Matevosyan, and A. Ghazarosyan (Yerevan: Nairi, 2018), 389.

94. Femi, the daughter of Lady Mariun and Marshal Pałtin; see the previous note.

95. Marshal Pałtin, spouse of Lady Mariun and father of Femi and King Kostandin I. See Rüdt-Collenberg, *Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, III (H2), no. 136. On Marshal Pałtin and Lady Mariun, see above, n. 93. See also Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 355–56.

96. Alis, sister of King Kostandin I (deceased by 1346). See Rüdt-Collenberg, *Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, III (H2), no. 164.

97. Smbat, brother of Lady Mariawn and uncle of King Kostandin I. See ibid., III (H2), no. 146.

98. Połarean identifies both Smbat and Lewon as brothers of Lady Mariawn (Covakan, "Yišatakaran Nersēs episkoposi," 127, n. 19). Cf. Rüdt-Collenberg, *Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, III (H2), nos. 146–47a (Lewon's name is missing here).

99. *Chronique d'Arménie*, 35–36; *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 58–59. Though Kostandin may have had distant blood relations with the royal family or may have been connected to them through earlier intermarriages (on which see Ter-Petrosyan, *Xač'akirnerə ew hayerə*, 428–34), his ascension to the Armenian throne through election was indeed unprecedented in the history of the Cilician state. Two nephews of the

the seventeenth-century *Chronological History of Armenian Cilicia*, mentions that King Kostandin and his sons died of the plague in 1356 in Sis.[100]

Given that the colophon of the *Gospel of Queen Mariun* names six different female members of the royal court (both living and deceased), the simplest explanation for the absence of a royal princess among them is her nonexistence. In the part referring to the family members of Queen Mariun, the colophon mentions the queen, her mother Joan, and her sister Alic, whereas in the second part, referring to the family of King Kostandin, only his mother Mariun, and his sisters Alis (deceased) and Femi are named. None of the sources known to me or to previous writers on this subject mention Queen Mariun's having a daughter. Had she had a daughter, that information would have been reflected in some sources or at least in those manuscript colophons that refer to royal children. As the material treated in this article demonstrates, the erroneous identification of a daughter of Mariun entered modern scholarship from later narratives and from the misreading of the colophon of the *Gospel of Queen Mariun* and was then reinforced by its circulation from one study to another. Further, the nineteenth-century theory that the two skeletons found in the Sts. James Cathedral belonged to Queen Mariun and "her daughter" can now be dismissed, especially in light of the subsequent discovery of numerous additional skeletons in the cathedral.

4. Conclusion

The available evidence about Queen Mariun's last years allows the following conclusions to be drawn. According to the fourteenth-century sources treated in this article—namely, Jean Dardel's *Histoire d'Arménie* and several manuscript colophons—after the fall of the Armenian kingdom the queen journeyed to Aleppo, Cairo, and then Jerusalem, where she passed away and was buried in the Cathedral of Sts. James. The source closest to her in time is the account of Vahram, the next owner of the now-lost gospel book, since he acquired the manuscript directly from the queen before her death. It is Vahram[101]

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previous King Guy Lusignan– Bohemond and Lewon (the sons of the former *pali* Jean Lusignan)– were alive and could have a stronger claim to the royal throne than any other nobleman did, since their grandmother, Princess Zapēl, was the daughter of King Lewon II Řubenid-Hetʿumid. It appears that this delicate matter did not escape the attention of the newly elected king: shortly after coming to the throne, Kostandin I tried to assassinate the Lusignan brothers and their mother, Lady Sultʿan, who left the Armenian kingdom and fled to Cyprus, taking shelter in the hospice of St. Simeon (see *Chronique d'Arménie*, 32–34; *Yovhannu Dardeli Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, 53–57). King Kostandin's hostile attitude toward the Lusignan heirs is probably one of the reasons Dardel assesses his reign quite negatively, often juxtaposing him with the "brave and courageous" Lusignan kings.

100. See V1318/923, fols. 240–41. Although the chronicler mistakenly dates the death of King Kostandin as 1356, we know that he died in the early 1360s. Whatever the exact date of the king's death, his sons had already passed away by the time of their own succession to the throne and certainly by the fall of Sis in 1375– an event that finds a modified echo in this later *Chronological History* preserved in V1318/923. For clarifications of some relevant errors in the *Chronological History*, see Ter-Petrosyan, *Xačʿakirnerə ew hayerə*, 441, n. 18.

101. It is noteworthy that shortly after the fall of the kingdom, a certain Fimi, who identified herself as the "spouse of Vahram," acquired a gospel manuscript in Ayas (present-day Yumurtalık, Turkey). This manuscript (now V1635/125) is a remarkable specimen of the Skewřay school of miniature painting. It was commissioned in 1193 by Nersēs Lambronacʿi and his brother Hetʿum. According to the later colophon written by Fimi, the

who tells us about Mariun's pious way of life in Jerusalem, such as helping the poor (he calls her *aɫkʻatasēr*, "charitable," lit. lover of the poor). This portrayal became increasingly popular over time, giving rise to the now widespread view that Mariun became a nun in the Sts. James Monastery.[102] Although Vahram does not specifically mention her becoming a nun, the monastic lifestyle adopted by Mariun in the last years of her life appears to support this possibility and reflects similar practices of female spirituality in late medieval Jerusalem. When heading for Jerusalem to lead "an ascetic life, full of virtuous deeds," Mariun carried along from Cilicia several objects, such as two gospel manuscripts and a holy cross, which must have also accompanied her during her final settlement in the Holy City. Crosses and sacred manuscripts are the two most often used objects in the liturgical and devotional practices of the Armenians, but they are also two symbols through which the iconography of monasticism was expressed: thus, in one of the miniatures depicting "Saint Grigor the Hermit" (Սուրբն Գրիգոր Ճգնաւոր, as the accompanying inscription reads), the renowned saint of Narekavankʻ is shown holding a golden cross and a richly adorned book in his hands (Fig. 8). Although the current state of this miniature portrait suggests a later provenance than the twelfth-century manuscript in which it is found, it nevertheless bears traces of the Armenian reception of medieval monasticism.[103]

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manuscript came to Ayas from the captured Lambron castle. One might speculate that Fimi's spouse Vahram is the same person who had acquired from Queen Mariun the now-lost gospel of King Kostandin I. What is certain, however, is that both Fimi and Vahram were of a high social standing and could afford to buy royal manuscripts that had once belonged to the rich library of Sis or that of the powerful Lambron castle. From a contemporary manuscript colophon we learn that after the fall of Sis many churches and scriptures "had fallen into captivity" ("Ի գերութիւն անկան եկեղեցիքն և գրեանքն"); see Ł. Ališan, *Sisuan: Hamagrutʻiwn haykakan Kilikioy ew Lewon Mecagorc* [Sisuan: A documentary study of Armenian Cilicia and Lewon the Great] (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1885), 228, and Grigoryan, "Armenian Colophons." Another interesting, though not uncommon, feature of the colophon is that Fimi describes the act of buying the gospel manuscript as rescuing it from captivity, hoping, in exchange, that she ("her soul") and her parents will be remembered (V1635/125, fol. 322v): "Զվերջին ստացող սուրբ աւետարանիս Ֆիմիս Այասցի՝ կին Վահրամի, ի դառնութեան ժամանակի աւերումս եղաւ Լամբրոն բե[ր]թի և գերի բերին զզաւրբ աւետարանս յԱյաս քաղաքն, նայ ես Ֆիմիս վասրն սիրոյն Քրիստոսի զնեցի զաւրբ աւետարանս յիշատակ հոգոյ իմոյ և ծնողաց իմոց:" (Translation: "The last acquirer of this holy Gospel, I, Fimi Ayascʻi [i.e., from Ayas], spouse of Vahram. In this bitter time, when the castle of Lambron was plundered, this holy gospel was brought to the city of Ayas as a captive, and for the sake of Christ's love, I, Fimi, bought this holy gospel in memory of my soul and of my parents.") The original text in Armenian is reproduced in B. Sargisean, *Mayr cʻucʻak hayerēn jeṙagracʻ matenadaranin Mxitʻareancʻ i Venetik* [General catalog of Armenian manuscripts of the Mekhitarist library in Venice], vol. 1 (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1914), 559–60; Xačʻikyan, *ŽD. dari hayeren jeṙagreri hišatakaranner*, 521. Both scholars consider the possibility that Fimi's colophon might have been written during or shortly after the fall of Sis in 1375.

102. Ervine, "Women Who Left the World," 127; Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 170 (although here, too, Queen Mariun is misrepresented as the spouse of Lewon V). See also Ervine, "Brotherhood of the Sts. James Monastery," 89.

103. The image of Grigor of Narek representing him as a hermit is found in M1568, which is the oldest surviving copy of the *Book of Lamentations*, created in 1173 for Nersēs of Lambron. The same manuscript contains three other images of Grigor, representing him (according to the accompanying inscriptions) as "Grigor the Philosopher" (fol. 7v) and "Grigor the Watchful/Vigilant" (fol. 55v) and as kneeling before Christ (fol. 178v). Unlike these three representations, which are contemporary to the manuscript, the one showing Grigor as a hermit seems to be a result of a later repainting. For the miniature paintings of M1568, see S. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 12–13.

Figure 8: "Saint Grigor the Hermit" in Grigor Narekac'i's *Book of Lamentations*, manuscript M1568, fol. 120v. (Source: Yerevan, Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts.)

~~Although the current state of this miniature portrait suggests a later provenance than the twelfth-century manuscript in which it is found, it nevertheless~~

While a magnifying glass is needed to find any information in the textual sources about Armenian female monasticism in the Holy Land, the archaeological data provide some episodic but valuable details for reconstructing the history of the subject. An example is a tomb inscription in Greek found in 1870 just above the Garden of Gethsemane that mentions a certain "Charate, hegumeness of the chaste monastery of the Armenian women."[104] The existence of the Armenian patriarchate in Jerusalem and of numerous hospices belonging to the Armenian Church—many of which are still available for modern pilgrims[105]—made Jerusalem the preferred abode for the aged queen Mariun, who undertook her Holy Land pilgrimage in the unique circumstances of exile after her former kingdom had ceased to exist. In Jerusalem, as in her native Cilicia, the "merciful" queen was still able to perform one of the most emblematic royal duties, almsgiving, continuing in this way the well-established tradition of her institutional predecessors. In Mariun's new dwelling at the Sts. James Monastery, the Armenian clergy were managing "a large hospital for bringing the poor of their nation," as evidenced by the twelfth-century eyewitness description of John of Würzburg.[106]

A further issue that the present article clarifies is the widespread misidentification of Queen Mariun with other contemporary noblewomen, as well as the misrepresentation of several young ladies as Mariun's daughters. Although it is not impossible that Mariun had a daughter, the current state of research offers little support for such a claim. On the basis of the colophon of the *Gospel of Queen Mariun*, we can affirm with some certainty that by 1346 Mariun had no daughter, only three sons (see the genealogical chart, Fig. 7). This also means that the two portraits of a stemma-bearing female person depicted on folios 8v and 114r (Figs. 4–5) of that manuscript cannot be associated with Mariun's daughter, as has been proposed, but instead most likely represent Queen Mariun herself, the manuscript's intended owner, whose inscribed portrait appears on folio 258v (Fig. 6). Other fourteenth-

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104. See Tchekhanovets, *Caucasian Archaeology*, 107–8, fig. 72.

105. For pilgrim guesthouses belonging to the Armenian convent of Sts. James, see, e.g., Mxitʿarean, *Hamaṙōt patmutʿiwn Erusałēmi,* 184; Uxtawor, *Alēluia yErusałēm* [Hallelujah in Jerusalem] (Constantinople: Mattʿēosean, 1903), 53; J. Prawer, "The Armenians in Jerusalem under the Crusaders," in *Armenian and Biblical Studies*, ed. M. E. Stone, 222–36 (Jerusalem: Press of Sts. James, 1976), 230; Terian, "Armenian Writers," 145–46; Kazaryan, "Armenian Cathedral," 83. The recent archaeological evidence affirms an Armenian presence also in the earliest *xenodochia* (pilgrims' hospices) found in Jerusalem, particularly in the Musrara area, on Mount Scopus, and probably also in Mamilla (see Tchekhanovets, *Caucasian Archaeology*, 213–14, fig. 45, and table 2). This information matches textual and epigraphic sources that provide explicit testimonies of the tradition of Armenian pilgrimage to late antique Jerusalem, which continued to flourish in the following centuries. See M. Stone, "Holy Land Pilgrimage of Armenians before the Arab Conquest," *Revue biblique* 93, no. 1 (1986): 93–110; E. Bonfiglio, J. Preiser-Kapeller, "From Ararat to Mount Zion: Armenian Pilgrimage and Presence in the Holy Land, Fourth to Seventh Century," in *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem: Journeys, Destinations, Experiences across Times and Cultures*, ed. F. Daim, J. Pahlitzsch, J. Patrich, C. Rapp, J. Seligman, 75-85 (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2020).

106. ". . . and beyond another street is a large church built in honor of St. James the Great, where Armenian monks live and also have there a large hospital for bringing together the poor of their nation." See Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 169.

century sources, notably those created after the fall of Sis, are also silent about the existence of a daughter of the queen. It is only in the postmedieval narratives and especially in modern scholarship that we read about women described as Mariun's daughters, but these narratives cite no corroborating primary or near-contemporary sources. The most reliable source on the queen's genealogy is the principal colophon of the *Gospel of Queen Mariun*, and much of the confusion regarding Mariun's supposed daughter can be traced to a misreading of this text. The available archaeological material, though poorly studied, provides no support to the widespread narrative of "Mariun's daughter": the traditional attribution of the two skeletons found at the end of the nineteenth century in the Sts. James Cathedral to Mariun and her daughter can now be rejected, especially since the accidental excavations of 1957 brought to light even more skeletons and human bones. On the basis of the textual sources, we can be certain only about Mariun's being buried at the Sts. James Cathedral. Inside the cathedral, near the massive column facing the Chapel of the Martyrdom of St. James the Great (Fig. 1), Armenian pilgrims continue to pay tribute to Queen Mariun, believing that her grave is somewhere under the pavement, even though the actual location of her tomb is currently unknown. It is to be hoped that it will not remain so forever.

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