

# Every Inch a King. From Alexander to the King of Kings

## ABSTRACTS

### Royalty reflected in the *Chronicles* of Froissart

Peter Ainsworth

(Sheffield)

The *Chronicles* of Jean Froissart (born ?1337, died ?1404) provide for a predominantly chivalric audience a vivid account of the conflict known to modern historians as the Hundred Years' War – *dont li rois sont cause* ('for the moving of which the kings were responsible'). In an era of contested royal succession the roles, status, actions and relative prestige of the kings of France and England, and of their respective allies of Scotland, Portugal or Castille, are of central significance to the chronicler's presentation of historical events. This paper explores the diverse ways in which royalty and particularly kingship are illustrated in the *Chroniques*, in text but also in image.

**Peter Ainsworth** obtained his BA and MA from the University of Manchester, and doctorat de 3ème Cycle, Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle (Paris-III). After two years at the Université de Bourgogne (Dijon), he returned to the University of Manchester in 1972 as Lecturer, later on becoming Senior Lecturer and Head of Department. In 1996 he went to a Chair of French at the University of Liverpool, where he was appointed Director of the Humanities Graduate School and then Head of the Department of French and Chair of the School of Modern Languages. In January 2001 he came to his Chair at Sheffield, where between 2003 and 2005 he was Director of Research for the Arts and Humanities division. In September 2007 he was appointed Head of French. He holds the title Chevalier dans l'ordre des Palmes Académiques (for services to French culture) and is a member of the Société de l'Histoire de France and Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. His research focuses principally on medieval French historiographical literature, and in particular on the *Chronicles* of Jean Froissart. He is also interested in the application of e-Science methodologies (digitisation and various forms of Grid and internet dissemination) to the study of medieval manuscripts and edited texts.

Recent publications include: *Jean Froissart, Chroniques, Troisième Livre. MS 865 de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Besançon*, ed. Peter Ainsworth, tome 1, Editions Droz, 'Textes Littéraires Français' (Geneva, 2007); 'Patrons, Authors and Workshops. Books and Book Production', in *Paris around 1400*, ed. G. Croenen and P. Ainsworth, 'Synthema' 4 (Louvain – Paris- Dudley MA, 2006); 'Froissart et « ses » manuscrits: textes, images, codex et ressources électroniques', *Froissart dans sa forge*, colloque réuni à Paris, du 4 au 6 novembre 2004 par M. Michel Zink (Paris, 2006), 213-230; 'Rois, reines et capitaines: échos de parti pris dans quelques manuscrits des Chroniques de Froissart', *Actes du colloque international "Jehan Froissart"* (Lille 3 - Valenciennes, 30 sept. - 1er oct. 2004), éd. Marie-Madeleine Castellani et Jean-Charles Herbin, *Perspectives Médiévales*, Supplément au no. 30, mars 2006 (Paris, 2006), 9-51; 'Representing Royalty: Kings, Queens and Captains in Some Early Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts of Froissart's *Chroniques*', *The Medieval Chronicle IV* (Amsterdam/Atlanta, 2006), 1-38; 'Arthurian Nostalgia: Jean Froissart's Meliador', in Ch.

XII (ed. Jane H.M. Taylor): 'Late Medieval Arthurian Literature' of *The Arthur of the French*, *The Arthurian Legend in Medieval French and Occitan Literature*, ed. G.S. Burgess & K. Pratt, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages IV* (Cardiff, 2006), 490-494.

## Dynastic nationalism and the reinvention of charismatic autocracy

Ali Ansari

(St Andrews)

This paper will look at the development of the idea of monarchy under the Pahlavis, looking in particular at the way in which Western ideas of monarchy, modernisation and nationalism were integrated into an Iranian narrative. Particular attention will be paid to Mohammad Reza Shah's reinvention of the idea of Divine Right monarchy and its consequences for the Islamic Revolution and beyond.

**Ali Ansari** is Professor of Iranian History and Director of the Institute of Iranian Studies at the University of St Andrews. He is the author of *Iran, Islam and Democracy* (2000), *Modern Iran since 1921* (2003), *Confronting Iran* (2006) and *Iran under Ahmadinejad* (2007). His articles include, 'Persia in the Western Imagination'; 'Iran and the US since 9/11: Persia and the Persian Question revisited'; 'Iran under Ahmadinejad: Populism and its malcontents'; and 'The Myth of the White Revolution: Mohammad Reza Shah, modernisation and the consolidation of power'. He is currently working on the politics of nationalism in modern Iran, which is due to be published by CUP.

## The anomalous king of post-Conquest England

Laura Ashe

(Worcester College, Oxford)

William the Conqueror seized the English throne with the powerful combination of a claim to political succession and continuity, with a revolutionary change to the terms of lordship and tenure. In declaring that all land was held of the king, and planting a new aristocracy, he created an unprecedented situation of monarchical power. And yet at the same time, the Norman and Angevin kings were vulnerable to internecine strife, and succession over the next century was characterized by civil war and violent interregna. Furthermore, these kings were seen as 'foreign' long after their Norman subjects had assimilated with the English and begun to adopt a self-identification as English. Thus the kings of post-Conquest England presented a severe ideological challenge, to a nation long used, in the pre-Conquest past, both to obedience to a powerful, English king, and to the idea of that king's proper service (and subordination) to the law. This paper sketches out these cultural problems, and suggests that the vernacular literature which appeared and flowered during the twelfth century was a genre which – unlike the literature being developed on the continent - importantly worked with the

concept of kingship, to attempt to address the ideological gap. I suggest, ultimately, that this sort of literature both expresses and nourishes the society which produced Magna Carta, and forced a king to sign it.

**Laura Ashe** works on the literature and culture of the High Middle Ages in England. She graduated from Cambridge in 1999, and spent a year at Harvard before returning to Cambridge for graduate study, completing her PhD in 2004. From 2003 to 2006 she was Research Fellow in English at Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge, and from 2006 to 2008 Lecturer in English at Queen Mary, University of London. She is now Lecturer in English at the University of Oxford and a Fellow of Worcester College. Publications relevant to the present paper include *Fiction and History in England, 1066-1200* (Cambridge University Press, 2007); 'William the Marshal, Lancelot, and Arthur: chivalry and kingship', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 30 (2007), pp. 19-40; 'The Hero and his Realm in Medieval English Romance', in *Boundaries in Medieval Romance*, ed. by Neil Cartlidge (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 129-47; and 'Exile-and-return' and English Law: The Anglo-Saxon Inheritance of Insular Romance', *Literature Compass* 3 (2006), pp. 300-17.

## Envisaging the ideal ruler: St Constantine the Great in Slavia Orthodoxa

Florentina Badalanova

(The British Museum)

The paper will focus on the medieval Slavonic perceptions of the image of St Constantine the Great as the ultimate icon of the ideal ruler, along with the renditions of the concept of 'Byzantium as the New Rome'. It will be based on texts representing the socio-cultural reality of Slavia orthodoxa, with emphasis on the state ideology and political rhetoric of medieval Bulgaria, Kievan Rus and the Moscovite Tsardom. The canonisation of Constantine the Great, despite the fact that it took place on his deathbed, became the ultimate model for future rulers of the converted neighbours of Byzantium; each pagan ruler who embraced Christianity (i.e. the Bulgarian prince Boris, or Vladimir of Kievan Rus), was glorified by his hagiographers as 'the new Constantine' and, more importantly, as a saint. Moreover his kingdom was regarded to be 'the New Constantinople' or 'the New Rome'. In my paper I will analyse the Slavonic interpretations of Vita Constantini as a text-model shaping hagiographies of various tsars canonised as saints; special attention will be paid to the ways in which the life of Constantine was depicted as an ideal model of the monarch in terms of both 'lingua sacra' (i.e. Old Church Slavonic) and 'lingua franca' (vernacular Bulgarian, Russian, Serbian, etc.). Not only was Constantine venerated as a saint in Slavia orthodoxa, but so was his mother, St Helena. They were both worshipped "as equal to the apostles"; the son was considered to be the earthly representative of Christ, whereas his mother was compared with the Virgin Mary.

**Florentina Badalanova** after completing her PhD at the Moscow State University, was appointed to the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and to a lectureship in cultural anthropology and folklore at the University of Sofia. In 1994 she was appointed as British Council Lector at the University of London, where she remained until she took up a position at the Royal

Anthropological Institute. She is responsible for the Slavonic database of the Anthropological Index Online.

Relevant publications include: 'Medieval symbols of power in Slavia Orthodoxa', *Annuaire de l'université de Sofia 'St. Kliment Ohridski', Faculté des Philologies Slaves*, Tome 86, pp. 95-164) [in Russian]; 'Historical formulae in the Middle Ages: "Moscow / Turnovo – The New Constantinople"', Papers Published by the State University of Tartu, vol. 855, *Studies on Sign Systems. Semiotica XXIII. Text - Culture - Semiotics of Narrative*, ed. Y. M. Lotman, Tartu University Press, 1989, pp. 80 - 94 [in Russian]; 'The "Founding of the Kingdom" concept in Medieval Bulgarian ideas', in: *Mechanisms of Culture*, ed. B. Uspensky, Moscow: Nauka, 1990, pp. 137-151 [in Russian]; and 'The Image of Constantine the Great in Bulgarian Folklore; on The Attributes of Kingdom and their Symbolism in the Culture of Slavia Orthodoxa', in *The Ottoman Conquest and the Fortune of the Balkan Nation* (Sofia, 1992), pp. 539-554 [in Russian].

## On the Road Again: Kings, Roads, and Accommodation in High Medieval Germany

Jack Bernhardt

(San José)

Itinerant kingship, a form of governing whereby a king carries out all of the functions and symbolic representations of governing by travelling throughout his dominions, existed to one degree or another throughout Europe during the Middle Ages. Yet, the frequency and extent of the royal progress varied greatly across Europe according to geography and governmental structure and institutions. Indeed, itinerant kingship is not peculiar to Europe and its Middle Ages, but rather is a method of government found widely in pre-modern societies and determined by various economic, social, political, religious, and cultural factors. The kings and emperors of High Medieval Germany (ca. 919-1200), who lacked 'centralized' governmental institutions and never established a permanent capitol, created an extensive and highly developed form of itinerant rulership. Using a network of regularly travelled roads linking the centres of royal power, and taking accommodation and upkeep from royal properties and revenues, and especially those of royal churches, these rulers travelled almost constantly and used their itinerary to manifest the royal will, to convey the sacral nature of their kingship, and to integrate a large and structurally diverse realm. Developed by the Ottonian kings of Saxony and expanded significantly under the Salian dynasty, itinerant kingship reached its highpoint in the mid-eleventh century when it had become the major institution of governing. After the Investiture Struggle, the centre of gravity of kingship shifted permanently to the west and south. Although the Hohenstaufen kings continued to practice this type of kingship, the onus of royal accommodation in the twelfth century shifted increasingly to royal places newly built or restored, to larger towns, some situated on the royal fisc, as well as the traditional episcopal cities.

**John W. Bernhardt** earned his Ph.D. at the University of California, Los Angeles, and he teaches as Professor of Medieval History at San José State University, San José, CA. He specializes in Early and High Medieval Europe, especially the German Empire, and the

history of the Medieval Church. He has written about the relations of German Medieval kings and emperors with monasteries and the Church, including a monograph, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, 936-1075* (1993) and several articles on the late Ottonian period, focusing especially on Emperor Henry II of Germany and his era (1002-1024) in anticipation of a second monograph. Currently, he is researching numerous aspects of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in connection with historiographical work on three twentieth-century medieval historians, Charles Homer Haskins, Ernst H. Kantorowicz, and Robert L. Benson.

## Breaking tradition with poetry: Aethelstan, Abd-ar-Rahman III, Berengar I, and their panegyrists

Shane Bobrycki

(University of Cambridge)

This paper will examine how three early tenth-century rulers known for their novel claims of authority and power as kings were justified by (self-interested) panegyrists, and the implications of that justification, both for kingship and for poetry. The Anglo-Saxon Aethelstan was the first king to go by the title ‘king of the English’ (as opposed to ‘king of the West Saxons’ or ‘king of the Anglo-Saxons’) after he conquered York from the Danes (927), and called himself ‘king of all Britain’ after subjugating Welsh and Scottish kings to his authority. ‘Abd al-Rahman III was the first Umayyad emir of Cordoba to claim the title caliph (929), in opposition not only to the ‘Abbasid caliph in Baghdad but also (since 909) the Fatimids in North Africa. Berengar I began his career as a magnate of the Carolingian emperor Charles the Fat, but was one of several kings, not Carolingian on the male side, to assume royal leadership after the deposition of that emperor, first as king of Italy (888) and then as emperor (915). All these kings made bold, novel claims about their status and powers in a political climate of widespread change, claims which were often challenged by other kings and reluctant new subjects.

All three are served by extant verse panegyrics. The paper would examine what Aethelstan’s, ‘Abd al-Rahman’s, and Berengar’s panegyrists tell us about the legitimation of novelties among early medieval kings. Themes would include the wide, multi-cultural use of panegyric to bolster and justify kingship, the self-interested use of praise by poets seeking their own advancement, and the evidence panegyric gives for the dissemination of ideological claims to the poets themselves (i.e. how did these poets know what to say to please their royal patrons?).

**Shane Bobrycki** is a PhD candidate at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He graduated from Williams College in 2007 with a degree in History. His M.Phil. dissertation (2007) at Cambridge University is about perceptions of kingship in west Frankish liturgical books. His research interests are royal ideology and perceptions of kingship in early medieval Europe. He has a paper forthcoming on ninth-century panegyric: ‘Nigellus, Ausulus: Self-promotion, self-suppression and Carolingian ideology in the poetry of Ermold’, in Corradini/Gillis/McKitterick/Renswoude (eds.), *Ego Trouble* (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters) (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, forthcoming 2009).

## The Parthian King: Hellenisation or Iranisation?

Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis

(British Museum)

The Parthian period (c. 240 BC – 224 AD) and its material culture are one of the least known areas in ancient Near Eastern studies. Because of its close association with the preceding Seleucid dynasty and the consequent influence of Hellenistic art on the iconography of Parthian art, Parthian royal iconography has been studied from a western perspective and in isolation from the traditions of the ancient Near Eastern and, in particular, ancient Persia.

This paper will look at the iconography of Parthian coins, an important primary source, which has at its centre the Parthian king. It will examine how royal Parthian iconography developed and changed over time and how Parthian kingship should be interpreted within an Iranian/Near Eastern religious context. It will also examine how royal Parthian iconography was adopted and transformed by some local kingdoms under Parthian rule, the impact it had on neighbouring kingdoms and their dynastic art, and how it influenced the art of the Sasanian dynasty, which came to power in AD 224.

**Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis** is Curator of Iranian and Islamic Coins in the British Museum and President of the British Institute of Persian Studies. She obtained her M.A. in Near Eastern Archaeology and Ancient Iranian Languages from the University of Göttingen, Germany, and received a PhD in Parthian Art from University College London. From 1983-2004 she was the joint Editor of *IRAN*, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies. Her publications include *Persian Myths* (British Museum Publications, 1993, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2005), *Persian Love Poetry* (British Museum Press, 2005, 2006) and *From Persepolis to the Punjab* (British Museum Press, 2007). She also edited *The Art and Archaeology of Ancient Persia* (I B Tauris, 1997) and the series *The Idea of Iran*, volumes I-III. Her publications include articles on Parthian and Sasanian coins, religion and iconography in *IRAN*, *Iranica Antiqua*, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*. She has also contributed to the Catalogue of the British Museum Exhibition, *Forgotten Empire. The world of Ancient Persia* (2005, 2006). She has been involved in a major collaborative project on Sasanian Coins with the National Museum of Iran and the first volume is currently in press in Tehran. Volume II is expected to go to press in 2009. She has just started a major international project on Parthian Coins with Vienna, Paris, Berlin and New York.

# Female Regency: The transformation of Mongol conceptions of Queenship in medieval Iran

Mr. Bruno De Nicola  
(University of Cambridge)

The arrival of the Mongols in Iran in the 13<sup>th</sup> century brought the mostly sedentary Persian population face to face once more with nomadic social practices that the previous Seljuk ruling dynasty had mainly abandoned. Among these practices were the Mongol conception of female status and the nomadic tradition of female rule and direct implication in politics that can be traced back to Mongolian mythology.

The institution of female regency represents better than any other the high status given by the Mongols to their *khatuns*. Women had been ruling tribes, clans, regions and even empires among the Mongols by the time they invaded Iran in 1250s. In fact, just before the invasion of Iran, two women had been placed in the throne of the Empire for eight years. From Hülegü's invasion of Iran and the Middle East (1256-60) onwards, the Mongols ruled and settled down in the region, beginning a process of acculturation with the native population that affected the status of Mongol women in Iran until the fall of the Ilkhanate in 1335 and beyond.

This paper will focus, therefore, on the different perceptions of queenship held by Mongols and Persians before the establishment of the Ilkhanate in Iran in 1258. It will explore how the Mongols changed some of their traditional conceptions of female status, such as the institution of regency, as part of the process of acculturation that occurred between a Mongol ruling minority and a Persian-Muslim majority during the Ilkhanate.

**Bruno De Nicola** is a graduate in Medieval European History from the University of Barcelona (Spain) and obtained a MA Near and Middle Eastern Studies from SOAS (University of London). At the moment he is a PhD candidate in Persian Studies at the University of Cambridge, researching on the status of women in Iran and Central Asia under Mongol Rule. He has published an article on the women in the family of Chinggis Khan in Spanish (AHAM, 2006/2007, 27/28, Barcelona, pp. 37-64), reviewed books on history of the Middle East and contributed to the ISMC-MCA (Muslim Civilisation Abstract) project.

## Muslim kingship between Iranian and nomadic traditions: The Saljuq case

David Durand-Guédy  
(Tehran)

The Saljuqs (eleventh-twelfth c.) were the first Turkish dynasty of nomadic origin to rule over Iran. The principal issue in understanding the nature of their kingship is its combination of elements taken from Iranian (or Irano-Islamic) and nomadic traditions. Although this combination has long been noted, the issue has never been fully investigated (outside modern Turkish and Iranian scholarship, where questions of this sort raise deeply-felt issues of identity). One way of developing our knowledge is through an a spatial analysis: what were the king's spaces, and how far did they coincide with those of his subjects? This paper will

deal with the nature of royal journeys, the role of the military camps and, above all, the importance of the tent and the gardens as essential elements of the Saljuq way of life and symbolic imagination. The results may help us approach the sensitive issue of the Iranization of the Saljuqs, redefine the place of this dynasty compared with that of their Turko-Mongols followers, and in addition explore the originality of the type of kingship they espoused compared with the Iranian model of kingship, if such a model indeed existed.

**David Durand-Guédy** is currently CNRS Fellow at the French Research Institute in Tehran (IFRI), Iran, where he has lived since 2000. He completed his education in Paris in both history (Ecole Normale Supérieure SC, Sorbonne) and oriental languages (Langues'O). His PhD focused on the transformation of an Iranian city (Isfahan) during the first stage of Turkish rule, from the eleventh through to the beginning of the thirteenth centuries (forthcoming at Routledge, *Iranian Elites and Turkish Rulers, A History of Isfahan in the Saljuq Period*). Since then, he has published several articles in various journals (*Studia Iranica, Iranian Studies*, etc.) on topics related to the same period, such as: private warfare, diplomatic correspondence, the historical use of literary works and Persian poetry. Besides, he has published a partial edition of an Arabic source. His main current research aims to investigate the relationship of Turkish rulers with city and city life in the pre-Mongol Iranian world. He is a member of the German Research Program 'Differenz und Integration' (SFB 586) based in Halle & Leipzig Univ. and dedicated to nomads and nomadism. He is also academic vice-director of a four-year (2008-12) international research project on Diplomatic Correspondences in the Muslim Orient (11-16<sup>th</sup> c.) launched by the French Research Institute (IFAO) in Cairo.

## Seleukos I, Zeus and Alexander:

### The development of Seleukid dynastic imagery

Kyle Erickson

(University of Exeter)

This paper seeks to examine the development of Seleukos I's association with Zeus in order to evaluate how Seleukos sought to develop his own royal identity. This paper will argue that by careful modification of Alexander's Zeus coinage allowed Seleukos to proclaim his claim to Alexander's empire. Furthermore, this paper will examine how Seleukos' use of Zeus imagery placed him in the long tradition of Zeus given kingship in the Greek world and its potential application in the non-Greek portions of the empire. In associating himself with Zeus, and other local deities, particularly the adoption of a bull horned helmet, Seleukos sought to elevate his stature both to the Greco-Macedonians and native groups. The use of horns on the helmet also recalled the Ammon horns which adorned Lysimachus' portraits of Alexander. This paper argues that the bull horns adopted by Seleukos are an attempt to link him with the divine Alexander.

As a result of the lack of successor to Alexander, Seleukos faced the problem of justifying his own empire and was forced to present himself as a legitimate successor to

Alexander and to establish his own identity and win the support of the powerful local elites of the former Persian Empire. The image of Zeus provides Seleukos with a symbol for this project.

**Kyle Erickson** is currently a PhD student in the Department of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Exeter, having completed a MA at Exeter and a BA at UCLA. His PhD thesis focuses on the use of religious symbols by the Seleukids in order to establish and enhance their legitimacy. He has recently co-organised a conference on Seleukid Dissolution at the University of Exeter.

## God and Caesar: The dialectic of Visigothic monarchy

Andy Fear

(University of Manchester)

According to many of our sources, religious piety in the form of obedience to the church provided the mainspring of the legitimacy of the Visigothic monarchy and certainly religious ritual and protestations of piety came to be a point of unity in kingdom with a diverse population. However, as the overwhelming majority of our sources were written by ecclesiastic figures, their stress on the nature of kings' religious behaviour is open to doubt and certainly at times Visigothic kings were happy to disagree with leading clerics, including in matters of religion. This paper examines the idealised picture of kingship as put forward by our ecclesiastical sources such as Isidore of Seville and Julian of Toledo, the reasons for their vision, and questions the degree to which it was fulfilled. It then turns to the historical record to examine how closely kings behaved, or felt themselves constrained to behave, according to these ecclesiastical views of kingship. It also examines whether kings felt that they had a legitimate religious role in the kingdom independent of, and superior to, that supervised by the clergy and, if so, how that role in its turn conditioned the behaviour of the clerics in their realm. In this respect the dynamic of the church councils of Toledo, often erroneously seen as marking the dominance of the clergy over the king, will be re-examined and shown to be a much more neutral, if not regal, instrument of government.

**Andy Fear** is a graduate of New College, Oxford. He received a Junior Research Fellowship at Jesus College, Oxford in 1989 and was awarded his D.Phil for work on Romanisation in Roman Andalusia in 1991. He was lecturer in Classics at the University of Keele from 1991 to 2001 and is current lecturer in Classics at the University of Manchester.

His publications include: *Rome and Baetica: urbanization in Southern Spain c.50 BC-AD 150* (Oxford University Press 1996), *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers - an annotated translation with introduction* (Liverpool University Press, 1997), 'The Ghost of Saint Desiderius', *La Coronica* 29.2 (2001), 'The Christian Optimism of Paulus Orosius', in *From Orosius to the Historia Silense*, ed. D. Hook (HiPLAM, 2005), 'Alexander and the Virtuous Indians', in *Memory as History: the legacy of Alexander in Asia*, ed. Ray & Potts (Aryan Books International, 2007) and 'Taming Rasputin? St Braulio & St Aemilian', *Medium Aevum* 76 (2007).

## A Palatial Prospect: Traces of the King in modern Leadership studies

Jonathan Gosling

(University of Exeter)

Leadership studies in the second half of the 20th century has been dominated by the social sciences, especially psychology and management. Selecting officers for the front lines of trench warfare, and managers for capital-intensive mass-production were crucial in war and peace; so leadership studies has largely been concerned with technical aspects of organisational performance. Where it has strayed into questions of legitimacy, it has been waylaid by attempts to define causal relations linking performance outcomes to factors such as personality, behaviours and styles. In short, leadership studies have become defined more or less by the methods and epistemological assumptions of hypothetico-deductive social sciences.

This has not passed without criticism, in particular from a community of scholars identifying themselves under the banner of ‘critical management studies’. Amongst these are some promoting what has been called ‘retro-organisation theory’, speculating on how (post-) modern predicaments might be addressed from the perspective of pre-modern theory. This is now claiming the centre ground: the current volume (19:4) of *Leadership Quarterly* is subtitled ‘A view from the humanities’, and includes papers from scholars of classics, philosophy and linguistics.

This turn brings with it the concerns of a former age, less dominated by efficiency of production or operation; more focused on the legitimacy of kings, deciding what matters to a polis, and leading a good life. In this paper I will briefly chart the impact of these concerns on current trends in leadership studies, tracing in particular the reappearance of the monad and the monarch.

**Jonathan Gosling** trained as an anthropologist. He worked for several years as a mediator in neighbourhood conflicts in London, founded the UK’s first community mediation service and was the founding Secretary of the European Conference on Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution. After taking a mid-career MBA he moved into management education at Lancaster University, where he directed MBA and other programs for British Airways and other major companies. He co-founded, with Henry Mintzberg and three other malcontents, a new approach to management education, the International Masters in Practising Management. This takes place in six countries around the world, and has been the springboard for several subsequent innovations in helping practising managers to improve the way they manage. Jonathan also played a significant role in the so-called ‘critical management’ movement, launching an influential MPhil and PhD program and contributing to the development of specialist conferences and interest groups. He has published articles in *Harvard Business Review*, *Sloan Management Review*, *Leadership*, *Management Learning*, *Academy of Management Learning and Education*, and in many more practice-oriented outlets, including a regular column in Exeter’s *Leadership Matters*. His 2005 book *Nelson: Leadership Lessons from the Great Commander* was published in time for the bicentenary of Trafalgar, and is the basis of a popular series of lectures and workshops. In 2007 he published *Key Concepts in Leadership studies* and *Foundations in Leadership: Articles in Celebration of John Adair*. He

is currently conducting research into the distribution of leadership in higher education, which emphasises aspects of identity, structure and style. Other on-going research includes the study of change and continuity in large organisations, and the processes by which leadership is legitimized in minority communities. Jonathan advises several companies, international agencies and government departments on their leadership-related issues. As director of the Centre for Leadership Studies he works with a first-rate team of researchers, teachers and consultants collectively making a significant impact on both the understanding and practice of leadership.

## King Alexander: from Homer to the Achaemenids?

Robin Lane Fox

(New College, Oxford)

In recent scholarship, the apparent similarities between kingship in Alexander's Macedon and Homer's epic poems have been challenged both on historical and epigraphic grounds, while Alexander has been presented influentially as the imitator of Persian Kingship and even as the Last of the Achaemenids in his later years. This lecture takes a critical look at the arguments and evidence involved and argues for a continuity of kingship and an ideology in apparent harmony with the Homeric epics throughout, extending into the age of the Early Successors. It then considers whether this continuity is due to the bias of our evidence or whether it made sense in the face of Alexander's circumstances.

**Robin Lane Fox** is Fellow of New College, Oxford and University Reader in Ancient History. His books include *Alexander the Great*, *Pagans and Christians* and *Travelling Heroes: Greeks and their Myths in the Age of Homer* (2008).

## Telling Tales of Adulterous Queens in Medieval England:

From Olympias of Macedonia to Elizabeth Woodville

Joanna Laynesmith

The literature and propaganda of medieval England were rich with tales of adulterous queens. The 'magical' conceptions experienced by Olympias and Ygraine produced heroes. But the conception of the King of Kings was parodied in an anti-Lancastrian legend that Henry VI believed his son to be the child of the Holy Spirit. Edward the Confessor's mother, Emma, supposedly walked over burning ploughshares to prove herself innocent of adultery, while Eleanor of Aquitaine's reputed lovers included her father-in-law and Saladin. Yet when Isabel of France betrayed Edward II contemporaries and chroniclers were almost silent.

This paper examines the reasons for the variety and popularity of queenly adultery narratives and for the silence over Queen Isabel's liaison. It is argued that the majority of these tales tell historians rather less about the queens in question than about their particular kings. But the different adultery topoi more broadly reflect ideals and fears about the nature

of medieval queenship (and certain types of queens were more susceptible to such allegations). In this context, the silence surrounding Isabel of France did not reflect either her discretion or concerns about Edward III's legitimacy, as others have suggested. Instead it arose from a desire to avoid the negative connotations for English kingship that such a tale would imply.

**Joanna Laynesmith** received her DPhil from the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of York in 2000. She has taught medieval history at the universities of York, Oxford, Reading and Huddersfield. She is currently researching the politics of royal adultery in medieval Britain while bringing up two children full time.

Her publications include: *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445-1503* (Oxford, 2004) [joint winner of the Longman-History Today Book of the Year Prize 2005] and numerous articles on late medieval queens, kings' mothers and royal ritual.

## The king as subject, master and model of authority:

### The case of Alfonso X of Castile

Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo

(University of Exeter)

During the Middle Ages the Iberian Peninsula was at the crossroads of several cultures. Particularly, from the first Arabic invasion (711), it experienced a state of lasting harmonious convivencia (co-existence) between Christian, Muslim and Jew. In this paper, the focus will be on the figure of Alfonso X of Castile (1221-1284), probably the best known king of this multicultural Medieval Spain, celebrated as both a dominant political figure and an enlightened practitioner and promoter of several arts. His power as a king was founded on the ancient philosophical ideals and entrenched in the dominant religious beliefs. Both of them constituted the bases of his contemporary supremacy and would cement his legacy in the future. This paper will be particularly concerned with three of the works produced in his scriptorium. We can see kingship tempered by justice in the law-code of the Siete Partidas; the legitimisation of royal power in the historical narrations of the Estoria de España; and the implication of religion on the origins and functions of suzerainty in the poetic collection of the Cantigas de Santa Maria. Each of these supported his socio-political aim to consolidate his authority as ruler, emperor, magister and champion of Christianity. The comparison between these works is fundamental in order to demonstrate how Alfonso X managed to exercise his political power, not only through the imposition of legal norms and the moral teachings provided by his 'history', but also through the Cantigas collection, which has been classified as his spiritual biography, and which represented a piece of cultural, religious and linguistic propaganda. Reduced to its simplest terms, by using instruments of direct and indirect control, Alfonso X managed to promote a model of kingship based on both traditional and innovative elements, which was also dictated by specific historical contingencies.

**Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo** is a graduate from the University of Catania (Italy) in Modern European Languages and Literatures with her final project analysis 'Il tema dell' amicizia tra oriente e occidente'. From 2005 she has been a Graduate Teaching Assistant at the University of Exeter, where she is currently in the final year of her PhD, researching a thesis in Hispanic Studies on the taxonomy and phenomenology of 'friendship' in the works supervised by Alfonso X of Castile. She has delivered papers at national and international conferences and she is part of the international project "*El ejercicio del poder en los reinos de León y Castilla en la Edad Media: ideología, discursos y estructuras políticas (siglos XI-XIII)*", hosted by the University of Salamanca (Spain).

## Iranian kings in Greek dress? Cultural identity in the kingdom of Pontus

Brian McGing

(Trinity College Dublin)

The term 'Hellenistic', employed to describe the period 323-30 BC, is a useful chronological convenience. Beyond that, it can too easily imply the result of a sort of zero-sum identity game, in which 'Hellenistic' culture encounters and is assumed to 'defeat' eastern cultures, in the way that Alexander's invasion force defeated the eastern armies it confronted. The Mithradatid kingdom of Pontus is usually described as a 'Hellenistic' kingdom – and there are good reasons for including it in studies of Mediterranean history – but there are probably just as solid grounds for calling it an Achaemenid kingdom. This paper will examine those grounds, but will not seek to replace one single identity with another. As modern analysts emphasize (often attractively, like Sen or Maalouf) cultural identity is made up of a multiplicity of elements, any one of which can or needs to be employed in different places at different times for different purposes. This certainly applies to the cultural identity of Pontus and its royal family, in its relationships with the gods, with its own people and with its friends and enemies.

**Brian McGing** studied Classics as an undergraduate at Trinity College Dublin. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Toronto in 1981, before returning to Dublin, where he is now Regius Professor of Greek at Trinity College. He is Director of a government funded research project, Mediterranean and Near Eastern Studies, centred on the departments of Classics and of Religions and Theology, which examines the relationships in the ancient world between East and West. He is a Fellow of Trinity College Dublin and a Member of the Royal Irish Academy.

His publications include, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator King of Pontus* (Leiden 1986), *Greek Papyri from Dublin* (Bonn 1995), *The Limits of Ancient Biography* (ed. with J. M. Mossman, Classical Press of Wales 2006). He has just completed a book on Polybius.

# Images of Kingship in Persian illustrated chronicles

Charles Melville

(Cambridge)

Kingship is the dominant model for rule in Iranian political culture, whether at the imperial level of the 'King of Kings', or the petty rulers of the provincial courts who enjoyed varying degrees of autonomy. Kings were necessary, even if they came to be regarded as a necessary evil, to maintain the order of society and deal with the different categories of their subjects with wisdom and justice. Persian literature is replete with exemplary texts in the genre of 'Mirrors for Princes', especially from the Seljuk period (11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries) when most of Iran was ruled by 'foreign' Turkish sultans, and their role models were most frequently the kings of ancient (pre-Islamic) Iran. This didactic rhetoric was increasingly adopted by the chroniclers of Persian history after the Mongol conquests of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, when the ruling dynasty was cast in the role of the Iranian king of kings, to reconnect Iran with her imperial past and reassert the idealised values associated with the Sasanian dynasty (c. 226-641) in particular. The Mongol courts and those that followed saw the production of a rich historiographical literature, much of which was illustrated with miniature paintings, starting with the iconic 'Book of Kings' (*Shahnama*) by the 11<sup>th</sup>-century epic poet, Firdausi, and continuing with such important works as the 'Collected chronicles' of Rashid al-Din (c. 1310) and subsequent dynastic histories.

This paper will briefly explore the main preoccupations of the historians in their narratives of dynastic rule and its legitimising features, and focus on the ways in which the illustrators of these narratives reinforced the message of the texts to create a powerful image of kingship that endured unchanged through to the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

**Charles Melville** read Arabic & Persian at Pembroke College, Cambridge (1969-72) and took an MA in Islamic History at London SOAS (1972-3). He then worked as a research assistant at Imperial College, London, on a project investigating earthquakes in Iran (1974-82). This also became the subject of his PhD dissertation (Cambridge, 1978). He was appointed lecturer in Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies at Cambridge in 1984 and a Fellow of Pembroke College the following year. In 2001 he was appointed Reader in Persian History.

Publications include: *A history of Persian earthquakes* (CUP, 1983), and *The Persian Book of Kings. Ibrahim Sultan's Shahnama* (Oxford, 2008; with F. Abdullaeva), and edited works such as *History and Literature in Iran* (1990), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. VII (1991), *Safavid Persia* (1996) and *Shahnama Studies I* (2006). He is the author of numerous articles and studies on Persian history, particularly in the Mongol and Safavid periods, most relevant of which for the topic in question are 'The itineraries of Sultan Öljeitü, 1304-16', *Iran* 28 (1990); 'From Qars to Qandahar: The itineraries of Shah 'Abbas I (995-1038/1587-1629', in J. Calmard (ed.), *Etudes Safavides* (Tehran-Paris, 1993) and 'Shah 'Abbas and the pilgrimage to Mashhad', in *Safavid Persia* (1996). Current research interests include mediaeval Persian historiography and the illustration of Firdausi's *Shahnama* and other historical chronicles.

# Alexander the Great: A god among men?

Lynette Mitchell

(University of Exeter)

It is often argued that Alexander, in developing a style of kingship that was appropriate for ruling his newly acquired empire, looked to the Achaemenids. It has also sometimes been suggested that Aristotle in the fourth century had Alexander in mind when he described rule through *pambasileia*, Absolute Kingship. However, Greek political thought had long been interested in kingship as a political form as part of the discussion of rule by the 'best', and drew on abstracted and largely imaginary portraits of Persian kings, and especially Cyrus the Great, who was represented as being so superior in virtue and excellence as to be like a god among men, to develop the political typology of rule by the best man. In particular this theoretical discussion of monarchy was interested in how such models of kingship were consistent with that other foundational pillar of Greek political thought, the rule of law.

This paper will argue that Alexander, rather than looking east to Asia, drew instead on Greek models of kingship found in Xenophon and Plato (discussions with which Aristotle also engaged), and especially their representations of Cyrus the Great. It will suggest that Alexander found in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* in particular a way of being king which allowed him to rule through law by becoming a god among men; so while Aristotle ultimately rejects *pambasileia* on the grounds that no man could be so superior to his peers as to justify 'being law', Alexander strove to be the 'best man' after the model of Xenophon's Cyrus in order to legitimise his right to rule – and so became both god and 'law incarnate'.

**Lynette Mitchell** graduated from the University of New England, Australia, in 1991, and completed her PhD at Durham University in 1994 on political friendship in fifth- and fourth-century Greece. After holding a British Academy Post-doctoral Fellowship at Oriel College, Oxford, she was appointed to a lectureship in Greek History at Exeter University in 1998. She is interested in Greek political history (and particularly the ways in which the Greeks related to the non-Greek world), and the development of Greek political thought, especially in the archaic and classical periods, and has published two monographs (*Greeks bearing gifts: the public use of private relationships 435-323 BC*, Cambridge, 1997, and *Panhellenism and the barbarian in archaic and classical Greece*, Swansea, 2007), and co-edited two volumes of essays (*The development of the polis in archaic Greece* [with P.J. Rhodes], London, 1997), and *Greek history and epigraphy. Essays in honour of P.J. Rhodes* [with L. Rubinstein], Swansea, 2008). Her current research is focussed on the development of ideas of kingship and sovereignty among fifth- and fourth-century political thinkers, and she has published articles on tyrannical oligarchs in Athens, ideas of monarchy in Thucydides and freedom and the rule of law in Greek political thought. She has also published on Macedonian kingship and Alexander the Great. She has been the Director of the Centre for Mediterranean Studies, University of Exeter, since May 2007.

## Ruling ‘virtually’? Royal images in medieval English law books

Anthony Musson

(University of Exeter)

Over 400 English law books dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are extant in institutional libraries and private collections across the world. They are usually compendia, bespoke collections of important legal texts compiled for a whole spectrum of ‘consumers’ of legal literature, among whom were public officials, lay landowners, merchants, estate stewards, ecclesiastical institutions and borough corporations as well as legal practitioners. Considering the arcane subject matter, it is perhaps remarkable to find that a proportion of these volume contain some form of illumination: usually a single miniature at the start of the volume or at one of the book divisions within it, but sometimes a comprehensive cycle akin to the artwork in contemporary devotional literature.

This sub-genre of illumination has not gone unnoticed by art historians or legal historians, but to date there has been no systematic study of the images in English law books either with regard to how they function in relation to the accompanying text or in terms of comparing elements of their iconography across the corpus of illuminated volumes. Kings feature in a high proportion of the images accompanying legal texts. They are most prevalent in books of statutes, but some illuminators also employed them effectively in the practitioner-orientated treatises. This paper assesses the role of royal images in a range of English law books and analyses the messages they were probably intended to convey to their owners and viewers. In particular it considers what their employment in various contexts may reveal about perceptions of and attitudes towards kingship and royal justice in late medieval England.

**Anthony Musson** is Professor of Legal History at the University of Exeter, where he has taught in the School of Law for the past ten years. He gained his PhD at King’s College, Cambridge before joining the Middle Temple and training as a Barrister. From 2003 to 2006 he was Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies, University of London. He has held a British Academy Larger Research grant (2002-5) for a project entitled ‘Law and Image in Late Medieval England’, for which he is currently completing a monograph and was recently awarded a two-year research grant from the Economic and Social Research Council to investigate the private lives of lawyers in late medieval and early Tudor England. He has published extensively in the fields of medieval political and legal culture including (with W.M. Ormrod) *The Evolution of English Justice: Law, Politics and Society in the Fourteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 1999) and *Medieval Law in Context: The Growth of Legal Consciousness from Magna Carta to the Peasants’ Revolt* (Manchester, 2001). *Crime, Law and Society in the Later Middle Ages* (with Edward Powell) for Manchester University Press and a volume edited jointly with W. M. Ormrod and Gwilym Dodd entitled *Medieval Petitions: Grace and Grievance* (for Boydell and Brewer) are due out later this year.

Machiavelli and Xenophon's Cyrus:  
Searching for the modern conception of monarchy

Waller R. Newell  
(Carleton University)

It is well known that the classical political philosophers, chiefly represented by Plato and Aristotle, endorsed the neighbourly small republic as their main prescription for virtuous government. Nevertheless, they also display some approbation for monarchy, particularly the kind represented by Cyrus the Great. The Platonic Socrates uses the Great King as a paradigm for clear thinking about the art of ruling, and the Athenian Stranger in the *Laws* considers Cyrus' type of monarchy one of the two mother regime principles along with democracy. Aristotle in his *Politics* defines virtuous kingship as the exercise of the art of household management over "cities and peoples", a passage sometimes taken to allude to Alexander the Great but which could also serve as a brief summary of Xenophon's monarchical utopia, *The Education of Cyrus*. In this paper, I will try to show why Machiavelli prefers Xenophon as his chief source among the ancient thinkers, citing him more often in *The Prince* and the *Discourses* than Plato, Aristotle and Cicero combined. The reason is that, among the ancient thinkers, Xenophon gives considerably more latitude to a rational, expansionist, multi-national monarchy premised on the glory-seeking and material enrichment of its individual subjects, and correspondingly downplays the appeal of the small republic with its non-expansionist foreign policy and economic austerity. Xenophon's idealization of Cyrus' monarchy, in other words, is congenial with one major rubric of Machiavelli's own recommendations for a more realistic art of ruling expressly aimed at the maximization of power and economic well-being. Since Xenophon was widely admired both during classical antiquity and the Renaissance as one of the best writers on monarchy, it is rhetorically convenient for Machiavelli to wrap himself in the venerable Socratic's authority while otherwise undermining the over-all classical preference for the non-expansionist small republic. At the same time, by carefully comparing what Machiavelli terms "the life of Cyrus written by Xenophon" in contradistinction to what Machiavelli would have us understand about the real Cyrus and how he rose to power, we will understand what is distinctively modern about Machiavelli's conception of monarchy, such that he must at the end of the day part ways with even this most congenial of classical precedents.

**Waller R. Newell** is Professor of Political Science and Philosophy and co-director of the Centre for Liberal Education and Public Affairs at Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada. He was educated at the University of Toronto, where he received a B.A. in Arts and Sciences and an M.A. in Political Economy, and at Yale University, where he received a Ph.D. in Political Science. He has been a John Adams Fellow at the University of London (1997), a Fellow of the Eccles Centre at the British Library (1997), a Fellow of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C. (1990-91), the National Humanities Center in Research Triangle Park, North Carolina (1985-86), and a Junior Fellow of Massey College, the University of Toronto (1974-75). He has also held a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship for University Teachers and a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Postdoctoral Fellowship.

His books include *The Soul of a Leader: Character, Conviction and Ten Lessons in Political Greatness* (Harper Collins, forthcoming in 2008), *Return to the Year One: The War*

*Against Modernity from Robespierre to al Qaeda* (Rowman and Littlefield, forthcoming in 2008), *The Code of Man: Love, Courage, Pride, Family, Country* (Harper Collins, 2003), *What Is A Man? 3000 Years of Wisdom on the Art of Manly Virtue* (Harper Collins, 2000), *Ruling Passion: The Erotics of Statecraft in Platonic Political Philosophy* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2000) and *Bankrupt Education: The Decline of Liberal Education in Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 1994, with Peter C. Emberley). He is the author of numerous articles on classical, Renaissance and modern European political philosophy and literature in journals including *The American Political Science Review*, *Political Theory* and *History of European Ideas*.

## The Imperial Mughal Qamaragah Hunt in the Mongol Tradition

Adeela Qureshi

(Wadham College, Oxford)

Being a royal prerogative, it is not uncommon to find the hunt listed amongst the virtues of kings, heroes and noblemen. Hunting bestowed honour upon its practitioners and adroitness in matters of the hunt was a sign of nobility. Thus, the concept and imagery of the hunt provided the painter in particular with a versatile setting in which to convey a didactic lesson, to express romantic feelings or a mystical message.

Numerous references to this courtly pastime are found in the official histories of the Mughal emperors and in paintings commissioned by them. Moreover, the profusion of hunting pictures produced at the imperial court accurately depicted the specialised modes of hunting prevalent amongst the nobility.

This paper will focus largely on late sixteenth-century illustrations of the *qamargah* or ring-hunt, in the tradition of Chingiz Khan and Timur. Furthermore, in his memoirs the emperor Babur affirms that for the *qamargah* hunt the Mughals strictly observed the rules set down by their Mongol predecessors. The analogy between hunting and war is also best defined in terms of the battue and will be discussed in view of literary and historical sources. In addition, reasons for the transition and gradual modification of the idiom will also be considered with reference to 'Mirrors for Princes' and treatises on the 'Art of Governance'. Lastly, by means of these pictorial representations I intend to highlight some of the duties and obligations of the virtuous ruler within this circle of sovereignty - which also functioned in accordance with the hierarchies and codes of behaviour practised at the Mughal court.

**Adeela Qureshi** is at present reading for a DPhil in Oriental Studies at Wadham College, Oxford. The subject of her research is 'The Hunt as Metaphor in Mughal Painting, 1556-1707'. Previously, she was awarded, an MA in Islamic Art History by the London School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), and an MPhil in Medieval European Art History by Christie's Education and the University of Glasgow. Prior to the MPhil, she received a BFA in Miniature Painting from the National College of Arts in Lahore, where she was trained in the traditional manner of manuscript illustration by masters who are still to be found in the Islamic world. Forthcoming publication 2009, 'Bahram's feat of hunting dexterity as illustrated in Firdausi's *Shahnama*, Nizami's *Haft Paykar* and Amir Khusrau's *Hasht Bihisht*' in *Shahnama Studies II*, *Pembroke Papers* 6, ed. Charles Melville, University of Cambridge.

## Aspects of Seleucid Kingship

Gillian Ramsey

(University of Exeter)

Of all Alexander the Great's successors, Seleucus I came closest to reassembling his vast empire by conquest. This territory stretching from the borders of India and Sogdiana to the Asian Greek *poleis* included a wide array of material and political resources, and as the rulers of it all, the Seleucid kings were well aware of the potential contained in their empire, and though not all the kings managed it, some of the dynasty's leading lights did work hard to consolidate their control over the empire. This paper argues that the maintenance of the Seleucid empire, sometimes in spite of the kings, was the result of the administration system set up by Seleucus I and his son Antiochus I and in part a continuation of earlier systems of the Persians, Babylonians and Assyrians. The more successful Seleucid kings were those who utilised this administrative organisation to both their own and their subjects' benefit. The Seleucid administrative organisation was based on personal relationships between the kings and their appointed officials and between the officials themselves, supported by the use of written documentation and communication and the practice of giving material and honourific rewards to long-serving and outstanding officials. The 'dyarchy' or habit of appointing co-rulers was one feature of the Seleucid dynasty which either enhanced the kings' ability to strengthen this administrative system and so benefit from it, or else divided the kings and allowed parts of the empire to drift from royal control.

**Gillian Ramsey** completed her first degree in Canada, and is now a PhD student at Exeter University working on Seleucid administration. She is an experienced epigrapher, and has published with *ZPE*. She recently organised a very successful conference on the Seleucids with other Exeter graduates (including Kyle Erikson).

## Representations of Safavid Kingship during the reign of 'Abbas I

Kishwar Rizvi

(Yale University)

The portrait of the Safavid the king was constructed through various means: textual, visual and spatial. In the sixteenth century all three modes were employed to create an image of imperial authority in which the shah was depicted simultaneously as a charismatic leader, a pious believer, and a noble emperor. The representations chosen by panegyrist, poets, painters, historians and architects were often composite, based on sources about Islamic rulership as well as on Iranian archetypes; the Safavids emulated their Timurid predecessors while mimicking the rituals of sovereignty enacted by their immediate neighbors, the Mughals in Delhi and the Ottomans in Istanbul. This composite image was displayed in the manuscripts the shahs commissioned, the palaces and mosques that they built, and the urban structure of their majestic capital cities.

The reign of the fifth Safavid shah, ‘Abbas I (d. 1629), has been characterized as the ‘golden age’ of Iranian art and culture. At this time literature, the arts of the book, and architecture were construed as sophisticated representations of Shah ‘Abbas’ power and authority. Whether through the construction of the new imperial quarters in Isfahan or through barefoot pilgrimages to holy shrines, myriad aspects of the ruler’s public and private ceremonial were presented in a coherent, if complex, manner. This talk aims to situate the art and architectural production of this unique period of Iranian history within the broader context of Safavid religious and political ideology and to highlight its role in the fabrication of Shah ‘Abbas’s imperial image.

**Kishwar Rizvi** is Assistant Professor of Islamic Art and Architecture at Yale University. Her research is on representations of religious and imperial authority in the art and architecture of Safavid Iran. She is completing her book, *The Safavid Dynastic Shrine: Architecture, piety and power in 16th and 17th-century Iran*. Another book, co-edited with Sandy Isenstadt, *Modernism and the Middle East: Politics of the built environment* (Washington University Press, 2008) was awarded a Graham Foundation publication grant. Rizvi has been awarded a fellowship from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation for research on the 1605 Safavid Shahnama (Book of Kings) at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.

## Defining the divine: Performance-arts of Achaemenid Persian kingship

Margaret Cool Root

(University of Michigan)

This paper offers a preliminary overview/projection of my evolving thoughts on the nature of Achaemenid art as evidence in the longstanding debate on the nature of Achaemenid kingship itself. I briefly review (with fresh insights, I hope) key elements of the iconographical programme of Achaemenid art against the backdrop of earlier Near Eastern traditions with which the Persian vision was engaged in rich creative communication. I delineate here key re-inventions and shifts in ancient message we encounter in Achaemenid art. The aim of this interpretive synthesis is, however, this: to explore these re-inventions and shifts specifically in terms of the power of the performative strategies of representation that activate their symbolic statements about kingship, cosmos, and empire. These strategies reverberated within both natural and built landscapes. They must have had a profound effect on the imaginations and legacies of peoples within the network of Achaemenid hegemonic experience. Ultimately, I aim explicitly to re-open and begin to establish new possibilities in the flailing discourse on the notion of cosmic kingship and ruler cult in Achaemenid Persian court life and its experiential peripheries. There is direct historical relevance here to the understanding of mechanisms of divine kingship and its strategies of social and representational performance in later times, in many places “in this great earth far and wide.”

**Margaret Cool Root** is Professor of Near Eastern and Classical Art and Archaeology in the Department of the History of Art and the Interdepartmental Program in Classical Art and Archaeology at the University of Michigan. She is also Curator of Ancient Near Eastern and

Greek Antiquities for the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology. Her first book, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art: Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire* (1979), began a career that strives on many fronts to enhance our understanding of the significance and pathways of the visual as an historical source in the study of empire and power construction. Current work continues to engage with the official visual traditions of the Achaemenids—their intricate dialogues with usable pasts of earlier Near Eastern and Egyptian cultures as well as their dialogues with Athenian culture of the classical age. At the same time, her Persepolis Seal Project (now in collaboration for many years with Mark B. Garrison) urges the potentials of archival seal study to nuanced approaches to a true social history of art in the Achaemenid empire that may reach well below levels of officialdom. Professor Root also publishes and exhibits for the Kelsey Museum on a broad range of topics from late prehistory to late antiquity. She has won many grants and awards, including a Guggenheim.

## A case study in the downfall of kings: The end of great Saljuq rule

Deborah Tor

(Bar-Ilan University)

Paradoxically, one of the best ways of studying the nature of kingship is through an examination of kingly downfall. In all the annals of royal dynasties, one of the most abrupt and spectacular ends of kingly rule is undoubtedly the fall of the Great Saljuq Empire in the mid-twelfth century in the wake of the captivity, three-year-long imprisonment, and subsequent death of Sultan Sanjar b. Malikshah at the hands of his own unruly Turkish tribesmen. As a result of these dramatic events, the Empire was shattered and Saljuq rule and puissance were essentially ended, although local Saljuq rulers survived in scattered portions of the imperial territories for another few decades.

The downfall of the Saljuqs is particularly illuminating because Sanjar's reign was both one of the longest lasting of any Islamic ruler (1097-1157), and was also considered to be one of the most powerful reigns, not only of the Saljuq dynasty, but of the entire eastern Islamic world of the Persianate dynastic period (c. 850-1250). This paper will trace the developing fault lines within Sanjar's state under its impressive façade of might, and the various factors that led to the utter disintegration of Saljuq rule east of Iraq. In doing so, it will elucidate the strengths and weaknesses of kingly rule and status; the acquiring or loss of political or religious legitimacy; and the difficulties faced by all medieval Muslim kings in their relations with other loci of power, including the caliphs, rival sultans, and their own magnates and subjects.

**D.G. Tor** (PhD, Harvard University, 2002) is an assistant professor in the Department of Middle Eastern History, Bar-Ilan University, Israel. Dr. Tor's research focuses on the pre-Mongol history of greater Iran and the eastern Islamic world. Important recent publications include *Violent Order: Religious Warfare, Chivalry, and the 'Ayyar phenomenon in the Medieval Islamic World* (Würzburg: Orient Institut Istanbul, 2007, *Istanbul Texts and Studies*, vol. 11); 'The Mamluks in the Military of the Pre-Seljuq Persianate Dynasties', *Iran* 46 (2008), forthcoming; 'The Islamization of Central Asia in the Samanid Era and the Reshaping of the Muslim World', *BSOAS*, forthcoming 2009; 'A Tale of Two Murders:

Power Relations Between Caliph and Sultan in the Twelfth Century', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (ZDMG), forthcoming; the entries on 'Ghaznavids' and 'The Seljuq Synasty' in the *Encyclopaedia of Islamic Political Thought*, ed. Gerhard Böwering, Patricia Crone, *et alii*. (Princeton University Press, forthcoming); and several entries for *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Dr. Tor's current research projects include both a thematic history of the Saljuq period, and also a separate numismatic history of the dynasty.

### Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*:

fictive history, political analysis and 'thinking with kings'.

Christopher Tuplin

(University of Liverpool)

Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* was, of course, already complete before the future Alexander the Great was born and it thus technically falls outside a chronological ambit defined by Alexander and Macchiavelli. But it played a significant role in the reception of pre-Alexandrian antiquity at various points within that chronological ambit and this fact certainly justifies our paying it some heed in the present context. The conference web-site highlights eight topics as likely to contribute to our overall aim (a better understanding of actual, theoretical and idealised kings in the Middle East, Iran and medieval Europe), *viz.* justice, power, the choice between absolutism and consultation, religion, warfare, constructions of ideal kingship, artistic patronage, and visual representation. Of these only artistic patronage (interestingly) does not plainly play a role in Xenophon's presentation of the (fictive) history of the founder of the Persian Empire. In these terms too, therefore, it belongs firmly on our agenda. The purpose of my paper will not be to elaborate a radically new interpretation of the work but to provide an introduction to its contents, its rather tantalising relationship to the "historic" Cyrus the Great (and indeed the "historic" Achaemenid Persian empire) and its didactic import. Of course, any implied disjunction between (mere) "introduction" and "interpretation" would be disingenuous. As with any important work of literary art or intellectual analysis, description fairly rapidly morphs into evaluation, and my account will necessarily be coloured by the way of reading the text that has become familiar to me over two decades of intermittent study. But, although I do not aim to provide a balanced *état de la question* account of modern accounts of *Cyropaedia* (a work that has been the object of a remarkable increase in scholarly attention since the 1980s), I hope that my remarks will provide some sort of objective background against which to assess the work's reception and impact in later times.

**Christopher Tuplin** was educated at Oxford and is Professor of Ancient History at the University of Liverpool. He is the author of *Failings of Empire* (1993) and *Achaemenid Studies* (1996), editor of *Pontus and the Outside World* (2004), *Xenophon and his World* (2004) and *Persian Responses: Cultural interaction (with)in the Achaemenid Empire* (2007) and co-editor (with T.E. Rihll) of *Science and Mathematics in Ancient Greek Culture* (2002). He has also written numerous research papers on a variety of topics, including literary and historical and historiographical issues in Xenophon's *Hellenica*, *Anabasis* and *Cyropaedia*, Greek political and military history, Media and "medism", the civil and military

administration of the Persian Empire, several aspects of Achaemenid royal behaviour (nomadism, dress, propaganda), the historian Ctesias, the orator Demosthenes, the role of Delos in classical Athenian imperialism, slavery, and racism. He is currently working on the military dimension of the Persian imperialism and on a historical overview of the Achaemenid Empire. Longer-term projects include a translation of *Anabasis* for Penguin Classics and contributions to Brill's New Jacoby.

## Sasanian kingship

Josef Wiesehöfer

(Kiel University)

As opposed to the Parthians, it was a decidedly Iranian attitude that characterised the Sasanian image of the ruler and his qualities. Ardashir had put himself above all other dynasties of *Eran(shahr)* as the 'King of Kings of Iran', while his son Shabuhr even included newly conquered territories (*Aneran* = 'Non-Iran') and their dynasts. The Sasanians also presented themselves as kings with divine qualities and as descendants and tools of the gods. Out of appreciation for the gods' favours, the Sasanian kings adopted the Zoroastrian cult, bestowed benefits on priests, founded 'fires', and thus multiplied places of worship. Like in Parthian times, 'fires' were also established as 'Fires of Kings' and for the spiritual welfare and salvation of living and dead members of the royal household. Individual rulers derived their legitimacy not only through their descent but also through the 'divine grace' (Middle Persian *xwarrah*), already known to us from the Achaemenids and the Parthians, and through their personal effort in war and at the hunt. The dynasty in general derived its legitimacy by the invocation of earlier heads of the clan and even kings of Iran the Sasanids themselves no longer knew by name, but whom they described as their 'forebears' or their 'ancestors'. Later they would even associate themselves with the mythical kings of Iran, and in the Iranian 'National History', which they themselves decisively helped shape, they thus became the Iranian rulers par excellence, alongside the East Iranian Kayanids, who, like the mythical kings, are also not verifiable historically. They live on in Firdawsi's and Nizami's epics, just as in Islamic chronicles and popular literature. The Sasanians created their own legend also at the expense of the Arsacids, whose legitimate share in the Iranian success story was consciously downgraded.

**Josef Wiesehöfer** is professor of Ancient History at the University of Kiel (Germany) and director of its 'Department of Classics'. He got his PhD from the University of Muenster (Westphalia) in 1977 and his habilitation from the University of Heidelberg in 1988. He is a member of the 'Centre for Asian and African Studies' at Kiel University, editor of 'Oriens et Occidens' (Stuttgart) and co-editor of 'Asien und Afrika' (Hamburg), 'Achaemenid History' (Leiden) and 'Oikumene' (Frankfurt). His main interests are in the History of the Ancient Near East and its relations with the Mediterranean World, in Social History, the History of Early Modern Travelogues and the History of Scholarship.

His main publications include: *Der Aufstand Gaumatas und die Anfänge Dareios' I.*, Bonn 1978 (PhD Münster) - *Friedrich Münzer. Ein Althistoriker zwischen Kaiserreich und Nationalsozialismus*, Bonn 1983 (with A. Knepppe) - *Die 'dunklen Jahrhunderte' der Persis. Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Kultur von Fars in frühhellenistischer Zeit*, München

1994 (,Habilitationsschrift' Heidelberg) - *Das antike Persien von 550 v.Chr. bis 651 n.Chr.*, Zürich/München 1994; 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 2005 (Engl. Transl.: *Ancient Persia. From 550 BC to 650 AD*, London 1996 [3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 2001] – *Das Reich der Achaimeniden. Eine Bibliographie*, Berlin 1996 (with U. Weber) – *Das frühe Persien*, München 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 2006 – (Ed.) *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse – The Arsacid Empire: Sources and Documentation*, Stuttgart 1998 – (Ed.) *Carsten Niebuhr und seine Zeit*, Stuttgart 2003 (with S. Conermann) – (Ed.) *Theodor Mommsen: Gelehrter, Politiker und Literat*, Stuttgart 2005 – *Iraniens, Grecs et Romains*, Paris 2005 – (Ed.) *Ērān ud Anērān. Studien zu den Beziehungen zwischen dem Sasanidenreich und der Mittelmeerwelt*, Stuttgart 2006 – (Ed.) *Getrennte Wege? Kommunikation, Raum und Wahrnehmung in der Alten Welt*, Berlin 2008 (with A. Luther and R. Rollinger).