

# THE SACRAL KINGSHIP

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EXPRESSIONS OF COSMIC KINGSHIP  
IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

BY

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Oslo

1. *The Cosmic City of the Ancient East*

Explaining how the ideal city in the ideal state is to be laid out, Plato in „The Laws” (745 sq.) shows us a „cosmic” city. By the division of the area into 12 sectors cosmic laws and proportions penetrate the city. The inhabitants themselves are put under these cosmic laws. „Now we must think”, says Plato, „of each part as being holy, as a gift from God, which follows the movement of the months and the revolution of the All. So the whole state is directed by its relationship to the All and this sanctifies its separate parts.” (ἐκάστην δὲ τὴν μοῖραν διανοεῖσθαι ἡρώων ὥς οὖσαν ἱερὰν, θεοῦ δῶρον, ἐπομένην τοῖς μηνσὶν καὶ τῇ τοῦ παντὸς περιόδῳ. διὸ καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἄγει μὲν τὸ σύμφυτον ἱεροῦν αὐτάς, 771 b).

In order to understand the cosmic conception incarnated in certain city types of the Ancient East, we should bear in mind these words of Plato, even if when we move towards the Orient we have to give them a somewhat different accentuation. The cosmic pattern is especially clear in the royal residences of circular form.<sup>1)</sup> A number of Median, Parthian, Sassanian and Abbasid cities might here be cited. In the Parthian Darabjird<sup>2)</sup> (fig. 1 b) the wall and fosse form an exact circle with an inner wall marking a concentric circle; the whole area was divided into equal sectors by radial axis streets ending in wall gates, 4 of which were situated at the 4 main points of the compass.

<sup>1)</sup> L'ORANGE, *Studies in the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World*, pp. 9 sqq.

<sup>2)</sup> E. N. FLANDIN - P. COSTE, *Voyage in Perse*, pl. 31. G. LE STRANGE, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 289. F. SARRE - E. HERZFELD, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, pp. 132 sqq. O. REUTLER, in A. U. POPE, *A Survey of Persian Art* 1, p. 441.

Firuzabad<sup>3)</sup> (fig. 2), in the very heart of Persis, originally the fortified residence of the new Sassanian dynasty, is of the same circular type. There was a gate at each of the main points of the compass and, undoubtedly, an axial street-cross connecting them. Residential cities such as Darabjird and Firuzabad must have been the prototype of the most famous of all the cosmic „round cities” of the East: Baghdad, „The Round City” of Mansur (fig. 1c), founded 762, at a moment chosen by Naubakht, the official astrologer of the caliph<sup>4)</sup>. All these kingly cities were fortified cities, maintaining the primeval groundplan of the Oriental military camp — as shown, for instance, in Assyrian reliefs from the Kalach palace (fig. 1a). It is circular,<sup>5)</sup> in contradiction to the Roman rectangular camp.

The kingdom in the Ancient Near East mirrored the rule of the sun in the heavens. The king was titled „The Axis and Pole of the World”. In Babylonian cult the king was titled „The Sun of Babylon”, „The King of the Universe”, „The King of the four Quadrants of the World”, and these titles were repeated in ever new adaptations right up to the Sassanian period when the king was the „Brother of the Sun and Moon”. Is there not a striking correspondence between these cosmic titles of the king and his place in his cosmic city? Wall and fosse are traced mathematically with the compass, as an image of the heavens, a projection of the upper hemisphere on earth. Two axis streets, one running north-south and the other east-west divide the city into four quadrants which reflect the four quarters of the world. At the very point of intersection, in the very axis of the world wheel, the palace is situated, here sits the king, „The Axis and Pole of the World”, „The King of the four Quadrants of the World”, here resides „The King of the Universe”, as the very moving universal power. The city is a sort of οὐρανόπολις.

Under the influence of this ancient tradition of the king's cosmic city, and the domination of its unsurpassable incarnation in Mansur's

<sup>3)</sup> A. GODARD, *Les monuments du feu*, in *Athar-e Iran* 3, 1938, pp. 19 sqq. R. GHURSHMAN, *Firuzabad*, *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 47, 1947, pp. 13 sq; 18.

<sup>4)</sup> G. LE STRANGE, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, pp. 15 sqq. K. A. C. CRESWELL, *Early Muslim Architecture* 2, pp. 1 sqq. F. SARRE - E. HERZFELD l.c., pp. 106 sqq. E. E. BEAUDOUIN - A. U. POPE, in *POPE l.c.* 2, p. 1394.

<sup>5)</sup> Fortified cities of circular form in the direction towards Central Asia: S. P. TOLSTOV, *Ancient Khorezm* (Russian), 1948 pl. 34, pp. 99 sq.

This is the Plan of Heaven  
in Earth

The exact center of a wheel or universe doesn't move  
Time does not exist

\* this is the Hypo. (FAC #2)

FAC #1 - the death of the King FOUNDS CRE & ESTABLISHES order out of Chaos  
FOUNDS the world & Heaven

& his Serva

Baghdad, the greatest and most splendid urban centre of the early Middle Ages, cities and castles of the „Round City” type grew up throughout the East. We may only mention Harun al-Rashid's Hiraqla (fig. 1d) and the third Fatimide Caliph Isma'il's Sabra (Mansuriya)<sup>6)</sup>. The Arab military and commercial expansion seems to have brought its plan to the Western world, which had itself used the circular form for holy places and buildings, thus being well disposed for accepting the new city and fortress plan. We meet it in the recently discovered military camps of the Viking empires of the North. The great Danish Viking castles Trelleborg (fig. 3) and Aggersborg, from the 10th — 11th centuries, show the same severe geometrical plan as the cosmic city of the East.<sup>7)</sup>

About the time of the Arab expansion wondrous tales of revolving castles arise in Western lore.<sup>8)</sup> Are such revolving castles of Western lore not inspired by the wheel-shaped cities of the East? Do they not in the world of myth and poesy correspond to the new Eastern type of castle which now in the world of reality forces its way to the West? Are they not the legendary accompaniment of the invasion of this new, exotic and overwhelming fortress type?

## 2. *The Cosmic Throne Hall of the Eastern King.*

Along with these wondrously revolving castles a related motif captures the imagination of the medieval West: tales are told of a marvellous royal hall, a rotunda domed like the heavens and revolving about its own axis.<sup>9)</sup> Here we are able to state with certainty the Eastern origin of the motif. The crusaders had brought it with them from the East.

The crusaders tell of the revolving rotunda in their legends of Prester John. In the picture of this fabulous king the Ancient Eastern conception of a divine saviour-king is still alive. The revolving halls in

<sup>6)</sup> K. A. C. CRESWELL l.c., pp. 21 sq.; 165 sq. and fig. 154. F. SARRE - E. HERZFELD l.c. 1, pp. 161 sqq.; 2, p. 162.

<sup>7)</sup> P. NÖRLUND, *Trelleborg*, in *Nordisk Fortidsminder* 4, 1, 1948. C. G. SCHULTZ, *Vikingeleiren ved Limfjorden* in *Fra Nationalmuseets Arbeidsmark* 1949, pp. 91 sqq. L'ORANGE, *The Illustrious Ancestry of the Newly Excavated Viking Castles Trelleborg and Aggersborg*, in *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson; Trelleborg-Aggersborg og de kongelige byer i Østen*, in *Viking* 1952, pp. 307 sqq.

<sup>8)</sup> J. L. WESTON, in *Mélanges M. Wilmotte* 1910, 2, p. 888.

<sup>9)</sup> L'ORANGE, *Domus Aurea — der Sonnenpalast*, in *Serta Eitremiana* 1942; *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World*, pp. 18 sqq.

that's why the  
white house is  
House of  
Congress  
have the  
Domed  
Roof  
the seat  
of Law &  
the King

The Plan of Heaven & Earth is Fac #2  
& in the center of the world sets the  
Residence of God where sets the King  
& his servants in Fac #3

the castle of the Priest King are the distant memory — projected into the realms of the fantastic — of a historical reality: of the cosmic throne-room of the Ancient Eastern King. It is mentioned as a historic fact in the account of the Emperor Heraclius' capture of the Persian residence of Ganzaca (Ganjak) in the year 624 A. D. Kedrenos who has preserved Theophanes' account, relates that Heraclius saw in Ganzaca „Khusrau's own image in the domed roof of the palace, as though enthroned in Heaven, and around it the Sun and the Moon and the Stars”. The revolving movement has been handed down in the Martyrologium of St. Ado († 874) and in an Exaltatio Sanctae Crucis which in its original form must have served as a source for Ado. In both we are told that the building „seemed to revolve on its axis with the help of horses pulling with a circular motion in a subterranean room”. Later on we constantly meet this motif in the descriptions of Khusrau's throne-room. Independently of these Western versions, the Persian-Arabian tradition has preserved the memory of such revolving motions in the palace of the Great King. Tabari tells of an architect in the Sassanian service who said himself able to build palaces revolving with the Sun.<sup>10)</sup>

Primarily, however, the marvellous orbit is connected with the royal throne. Firdausi relates that the throne of Khusrau Parvéz — the famous Táqdes — revolved according to the seasons and zodiacal signs. In addition to the circular course of Khusrau's throne itself, it is surrounded by cosmic movements corresponding exactly to the revolving throne-room and probably affording another version of this phenomenon. The fixed stars, the twelve signs of the zodiac, the seven planets and the Moon, each running through its phase, revolve like jewels about the throne (fig. 4). It was possible, we learn, to cast horoscopes and read off the hours of the day from these heavenly bodies, and to tell how far the heavens had wandered across the earth. One may envisage an artificial planetarium, moving against a fixed background.

The ideas actuating the symbolic movements in the throne-room constitute essential features of the astral religion of the Neo-Babylonian kingdom, and had been passed on to the Persians from the Chaldeans. The king amongst his vassals and satraps is a picture of the

<sup>10)</sup> For evidencies see references, Note 9.

The  
Cen  
or  
An  
Kos  
Tir  
exi

pers  
st  
Not of  
sem

round the  
clocks

heavenly hierarchy: just as the stars surround the Sun in the firmament, so the great lords surround the king in his palace. As sun he is an all-determining astral power, cosmocrator. In his hand rests the fate of all his subjects. At the New Year's festival in Babylon which is an image of the universal New Year, he distributes the various official offices. The King „spins out” — like the three fatal sisters — the fates of men. This is expressed by the Persian prince Tiridates to Nero when the latter crowns him King of Armenia (in Rome in the year 66 A.D.): the conception of the Oriental king is transferred to the Roman emperor. On doing obeisance to Nero, Tiridates greets him as Mithra, the royal god of the Iranians, declaring: „I shall be whatever you spin for me, for you are both my Moira and my Tyche”<sup>11</sup>).

### 3. *The Cosmic Movement of the Achaemenian Throne*

From the monuments, in correspondence with literary evidences, we learn that a real movement of the throne belonged to the ceremonial of the Persian king. The king on his throne is solemnly carried in a ceremonial procession. \* Egypt. E. Ae. # 2 Fig. # 1

Rows of carrying servants, supporting the god or the king on their raised arms, are typical of the Ancient Near East.<sup>12</sup> They are met with, for instance, in a Hittite monument in Ilatun in Asia Minor<sup>13</sup> (fig. 5). Three winged solar discs are carried by human figures which are partly placed in two rows above one another. It is characteristic of Ancient Eastern art that a crowd of people grouped in depth is split up into rows of figures arranged in zones one above the other. The supporters of the Ilatun monument must thus be regarded as standing behind, not above each other.

Such rows of supporters stand under the throne of the Achaemenian king as shown in the royal tomb and palace reliefs in Persepolis<sup>14</sup> (fig. 6). We witness a solemn ceremony. On both sides of the throne stand the representatives of the Persian nobility, assisting at the solemnities; they are placed in rows above one another, while in reality they must be imagined as grouped in depth behind each other. The king, in the

<sup>11</sup>) καὶ ἔσομαι τοῦτο ὅτι ἂν σὺ ἐπιλέῃσῃς, σὺ γάρ μοι καὶ μοῖρα εἶ καὶ τύχη· Dio Cass. 63,5. Suet., Nero 15. F. CUMONT, *Rev. di filologia ed istruzione class.* 61 1933, pp. 145 sqq.

<sup>12</sup>) L'ORANGE, *Studies on Iconography etc.*, pp. 80 sqq.

<sup>13</sup>) L'ORANGE, l.c., pp. 80 sqq.

<sup>14</sup>) L'ORANGE l.c., pp. 81 sqq.

wide costume of the Medes, with the cidaris on his head and a bow in his left hand, is standing on a three-tiered platform, placed on a huge stand, in the inscription referred to as a throne (gāthu). Under the platform the servants stand in a tense carrying posture, arranged in two rows above one another, just as seen on the monument in Iflatun. Once again the figures must be imagined as standing behind one another in depth; only an arrangement with two ranks would guarantee the stability of the throne being carried along. It is of special importance to realise that *the feet of the throne hang in the air*, without touching the ground. The figures are all turning to the right and putting their left foot forward, thus marching in step off to the right; the throne is moving in this direction.

Like the Sassanian king on the Tāqdés, so our Achaemenian king is placed in a world of astral symbols. He stands turning towards the Sun and the Moon, both pictured in front of him in the direction of the moving throne: the Sun as a winged solar disc joined to the bust of Ahuramazda, and the Moon as the disc of the full Moon, with the crescent of the new Moon inlaid. The ritual movement must be seen in relation to these gods on the firmament, just as the king's gesture of prayer and the fire altar in front of him apply to them. We witness a solemn act by which the Great King adjusts himself to the movements of the heavens, thus manifesting his own astral power. Just as Sun, Moon and planets in completing their orbits determine the fate of the universe, so the movements of the royal throne reveal the fatal power of the Great King; he is analogous to the heavenly bodies, the Cosmocrator, — he „spins” men's fates, to quote again the words of Tiridates to Nero Cosmocrator. Let us remember once more the functions of the king at the New Year festival (Nauróz = New Day), when he allots state offices just as the Sun God distributes the various spheres of influence for the coming cosmic year. He is part of the all moving orbit of the stars, „Companion of the Stars, brother of the Sun and Moon”, and already from ancient times wears Sun and Moon in his tiara.

A cosmic throne movement of this kind belongs in fact to the festival ritual of the Persian Nauróz celebrations. Palace reliefs in Persepolis, for instance in the „Hall of the hundred columns” and in the „Central Building”, illustrate this ceremony with the bringing of tribute from all parts of the kingdom, the king himself appearing on

Review  
H. P. L'Orange

Nimrod

MAS Nauróz

must be  
a foot stool  
Circumamb

5  
1  
1  
6  
8  
T  
2

Moscah 2:12  
Circumamb  
#14

the same throne structure, supported by the same representatives of the Persian tribes, and in the same movement as on the sepulchral reliefs.

It is superfluous to emphasize that the demonstrative repetition of this throne scene in the very focal point of the royal representation — at the dominant position both in the palace and the mausoleum of the king — clearly proves the fundamental significance of this expression of his astral nature and cosmocratic power.

amulation

#### 4. The Cosmic Throne Hall of the Roman Emperor

Hellenism had developed the astrology of the East into a scientific, religious-philosophic system, which in Roman times had conquered the classical world. Even the empire was permeated with these Eastern ideas. The royal cosmocrator makes his entry into the Palatine. As a striking expression of this theology the revolving rotunda now invades the imperial palace. Suetonius describes a similar rotunda in the Domus Aurea built by Nero in the last years of his reign (started in the year 64 A. D.) hardly a generation before Suetonius' account. The hall is described as a rotunda, revolving about its own axis day and night „just like the world”. *Praecipua caenationum rotunda, quae perpetuo diebus ac noctibus vice mundi circumageretur.*<sup>15)</sup> (means circle)

Word for the  
Place of the King  
The Rotunda  
where the  
King meets  
his guests

At the same time at which this cosmic hall was built, Nero in a number of official images is represented as Apollo-Helios, or he acts *in persona*, in the theatre and circus, as this god. In the astrological conception this Nero-Helios is cosmocrator like the kings of the East. The emperor is the cosmic God of Fate: Moira, Tyche, as Tiridates named Nero, *fatorum arbiter*, as an emperor is called in an inscription.<sup>16)</sup> This imperial ideology received under Nero a poetic form as well, which forms the most striking parallel to the rotunda. Lucan, in a poetic image, attributes to Nero exactly the same cosmic position. The poet exhorts the emperor to choose his seat exactly in the middle of the universe, lest the cosmic system should lose its equilibrium. Let him not choose a star in one of the gates of heaven! „If you rest on a single side of the immeasurable ether, the axis of the world will not stand the weight. Maintain the equilibrium of the firmament in the

The only way  
to seat  
in center  
is to Above  
for All  
Creation

OSAF 2:12  
bracketed  
#14.

<sup>15)</sup> Suet., Nero 31. L'ORANGE I.c., pp. 28 sqq.

<sup>16)</sup> DESSAU 2998.



middle of the universe!" *Librati pondera caeli orbe tene medio!*<sup>17)</sup> This middle circle is the cosmic region of the Sun: in the middle of the planetary system filling the space between the fixed stars and the orbit of the Moon.

### 5. *The Astral Symbols of Power*

The ideas at the back of the revolving throne room assume increasing importance throughout the Empire and achieve a prominent place in the imperial symbolism.<sup>18)</sup> In the façade of Septimius Severus' palace on the Palatine the emperor was represented between the planetary Gods, as though in the middle of cosmos, as Lord of the seven celestial spheres. And in the palace itself he presided as a judge in a cosmic hall: its roof was covered with a picture of the heavens on which it was possible to read horoscopes, though not the emperor's, for he was above the powers of fate. Note that the emperor acts as a judge in this hall (*ἐδίκασεν*)<sup>19)</sup>: he translates the symbolism of the astral painting into a living reality. In his judgments he becomes the fate of men.

This ruler theology gave rise in the course of late Roman times to allegories and symbols of power having ever since followed in the wake of king and emperor and being in fact not even today entirely dead. The sun-moon symbols, originally distinguishing the Eastern king, make the emperor appear a *particeps siderum*, *frater Solis et Lunae*, as the Sassanian kings officially called themselves. And from the Roman emperor the sun-moon symbol was inherited by the medieval rulers of the West.

### 6. *The cosmic clipeus*

One of these cosmic symbols of the Ancient World is of a special interest to us because of its function in the Byzantine coronation ceremony: I mean the symbol of the *clipeus*, the world ring.<sup>20)</sup>

The well known sun symbol of Egypt: the winged solar disk, undergoes a significant transformation in the East: the disk, in Egypt having the plain and simple form of the natural sun, is on Assyrian and Achae-

<sup>17)</sup> Lucan, *De bello civili* 1, 45 sqq. Cf. L. PAUL, *Die Vergöttlichung Neros durch Lucanus*, *Neue Jahrb. Philol. u. Pädag.* 149, 1894, pp. 409 sqq.

<sup>18)</sup> L'ORANGE l.c., pp. 35 sqq.

<sup>19)</sup> Dio Cass. 77, 11.

<sup>20)</sup> L'ORANGE l.c. pp. 90 sqq.

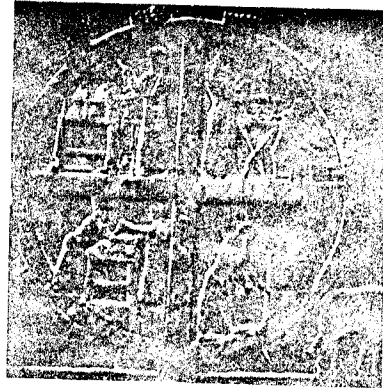


Fig. 1a. Groundplan of the Oriental military camp, Assyrian relief from the Kalach palace.

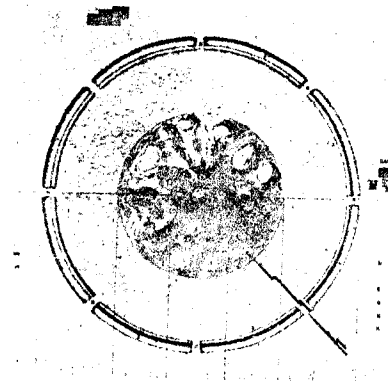


Fig. 1b. The Parthian Darabjird.

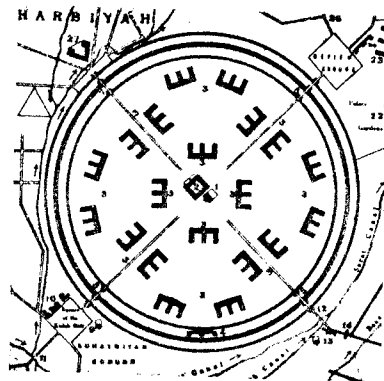


Fig. 1c. Baghdad 'The Round City of Mansur'.

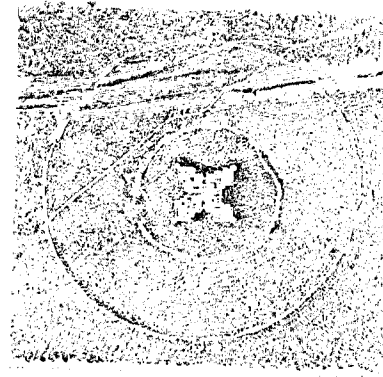


Fig. 1d. Hiraqla: Plan, traced from an air photograph.



Fig. 2. Firuzabad, residence of the Sassanian dynasty.

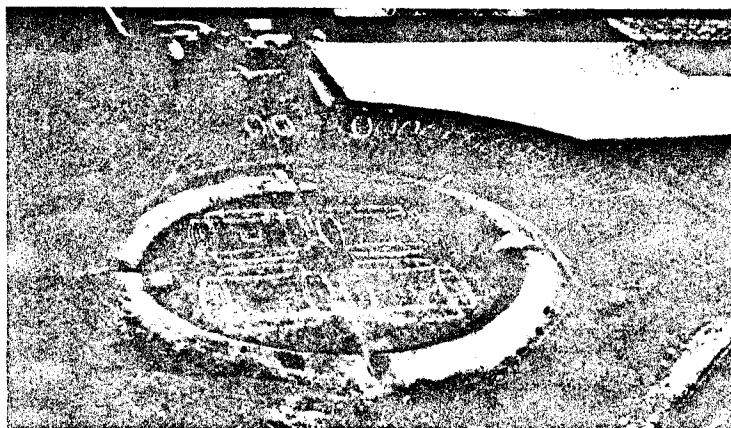


Fig. 3. Trelleborg. Danish Viking Castle.

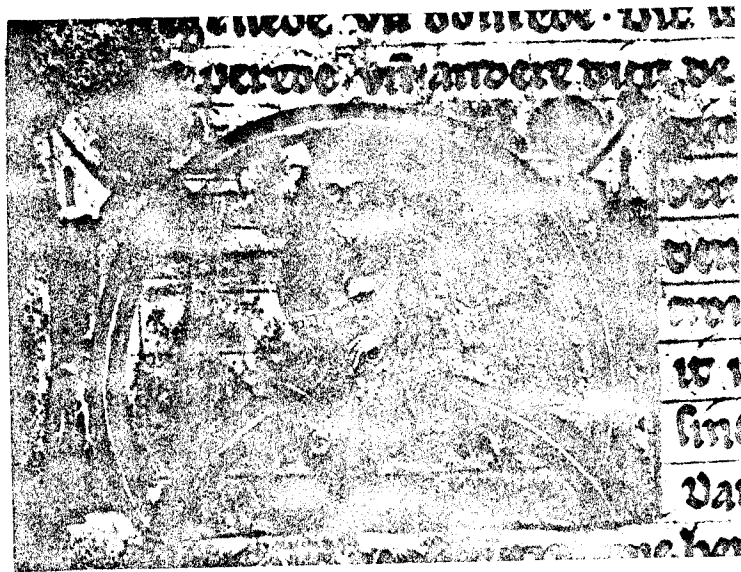


Fig. 4. Khusrāu in the cosmos. Miniature in the Gotha MS. of the Saxon world chronicle.

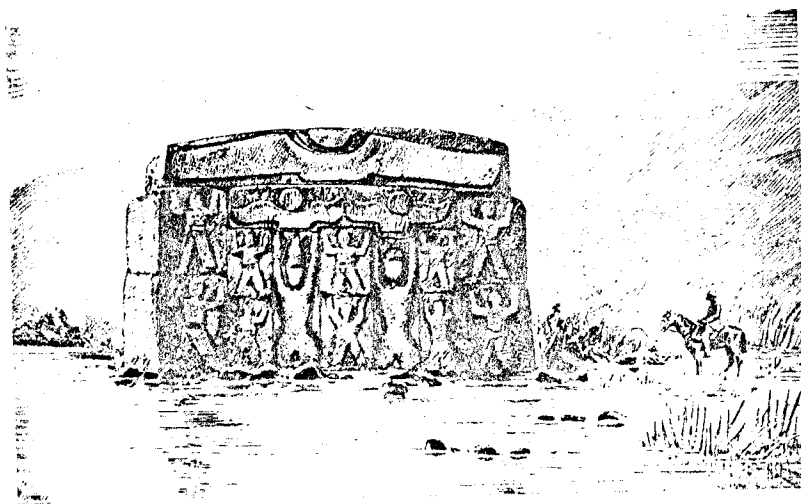


Fig. 5. Hittite monument in Iflatun, Asia Minor.

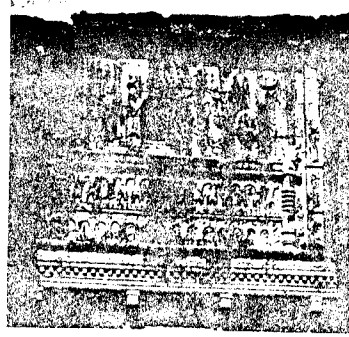


Fig. 6. Front relief on Achaemenian royal tomb, Persepolis.



Fig. 7a-c. Achaemenian seals.



Fig. 8. Ahuramazda in the world ring. Relief from Persepolis. Collection G. L. Winthrop.

*god in center  
of Creation  
with outstretched  
Right Hand -*



Fig. 9. Achaemenian seal.



Fig. 11. Anointment of David. Vaticanus Graecus 752, fol. 82, Psalm 26.



Fig. 10. Painting in Palmyrene tomb.



Alex Great  
Hypo-  
center

First some examples of the god in the clipeus. On a series of small terracotta clipei from the Erotes tomb in Eretria, now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, the radiant head of Helios, now and then surrounded by stars, is put in the centre of the shield<sup>22)</sup> — it is the *Sol in suo clipeo*, to use the words of Tertullianus,<sup>23)</sup> that is the sun in the middle of the heavens. A sculpture in the Villa Albani shows Jupiter enthroned in an enormous world ring having the form of the zodiac<sup>24)</sup>. We may compare the representation of Christ as cosmocrator in the *clipeus caelestis* on a diptych from the sixth century, the inner disk carrying the signs of the Sun, the Moon and a planet<sup>25)</sup>. The clipeus expresses the cosmocrator words of the Gospel: „Into my hands is put all power in heaven and on earth”.

When the *imago* of the living emperor is placed in the clipeus, the idea of the imperial cosmocrator, the Sun-emperor, comes to the fore. This idea is clearly expressed, for instance, in a little bronze portrait of Caracalla in the form of an *imago clipeata*<sup>26)</sup>: the rays of the Sun surround his head, he is, adapting the previously cited words of Tertullianus, *Sol in suo clipeo*.

When the portrait of the dead is placed in the clipeus, the dead appears as elevated to the stars. First heroes and great men receive this honour, but gradually any dead. In imperial sepulchral art, on sarcophagi, in tomb paintings etc., the *imagines clipeatae* are current all over the empire — always as an expression of apotheosis. The celestial character of the clipeus is often indicated by the zodiacal wheel on the border<sup>27)</sup>. The dead in his *clipeus caelestis* is elevated as a new star high above the elemental gods or demons, representatives of the sublunary world. Victories, genii, demons, or Atlantes, are raising the shield, often supporting it on head and outstretched arms, as seen for instance, on tomb paintings in Palmyra (fig. 10).

#### 7. The Solar Significance of the Elevation on a Shield

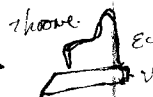
When the emperor himself, not his *imago*, is placed on the *clipeus*, as prescribed at the coronation ceremony, the meaning obviously must

<sup>22)</sup> L'ORANGE l.c. fig. 66

<sup>23)</sup> Apol. 16.

<sup>24)</sup> P. ARNDT - W. AMELUNG, *Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen* 4319. L'ORANGE l.c. fig. 67.

<sup>25)</sup> L'ORANGE, l.c. fig. 69. <sup>26)</sup> L'ORANGE, l.c. fig. 70. <sup>27)</sup> L'ORANGE, l.c. fig. 62.



He is the  
cosmocrator

Share as  
Moses  
the God  
(with the stars)  
has the "imago"  
President in  
the clipeus  
the all seeing eye  
of the cosmocrator

Apotheosis  
means  
Elevation of  
man

the crown  
in the palm  
see below

Abm  
1-2  
sun  
that  
Ruler  
Hem



be the same: the emperor on the shield is the emperor on the world, the cosmocrator, the new sun. Fortunately this conclusion is confirmed by Corippus and Manuel Holobolos explicitly describing the emperor on the shield as a new sun<sup>28</sup>).

That the basic conception of the *imago in clipeo* on the one hand and of the man in *clipeo* on the other, is in reality the same, is confirmed by the very act of elevation, essential to both: beneath the emperor on the clipeus stand his carrying men, beneath the *imago clipeata* carrying Victories, Atlantes, etc. (fig. 10). Both the emperor and the dead are being elevated to the stars. In fact, in some cases the clipeus on which the emperor is standing is clearly declared as being the *imago mundi*. A. Grabar has called my attention to an important miniature showing the anointment of David by Nathan (fig. 11): here David is represented as a Byzantine emperor lifted on shield — and great stars indicate the cosmic function of the shield. Thus the lifting on the shield is an explicit manifestation of the cosmic ideas implicitly contained in the *imago clipeata*. Also, KING SOLOMON ON THE KEVER" 21p ?? HEB

The elevation of the Persian Sun king at the Naurōz feast — as surely at his enthronement — strikingly resembles that of the Byzantine Sun emperor at his coronation. When reading Corippus' encomium on the elevation of the emperor Justinus Minor, we must bear Albiruni's description of the elevation of Jamshid in mind<sup>29</sup>; Albiruni tells that the king Jamshid at the Naurōz feast is lifted on the necks of his supporters and by this elevation becomes a new sun. „He rose on that day like the sun, the light beaming forth from him, as though he shone like the sun. Now people were astonished at the rising of two suns." Compare Corippus' description of the elevation of the Byzantine emperor: elevated on the shield by his supporters, Justinus appears a new sun. „And the mighty prince stood upon the shield, having the appearance of the sun, a sublime light shone forth from the city, and this one propitious day marvelled that two suns should arise together."

*Adstitit in clypeo princeps fortissimus illo  
Solis habens specimen; lux alta fulsit ab urbe.  
Mirata est pariter geminos consurgere soles  
una favens eademque dies.*

<sup>28</sup>) L'ORANGE l.c., pp. 88 sq.

<sup>29</sup>) ALBIRUNI, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, p. 200 sq., translation by C. E. SACHAU, L'ORANGE l.c., pp. 85 sqq.

Temple work  
for living & dead  
Living = Emperor  
a coronation  
the dead =  
same ordinance  
but with  
acceptance &  
exaltation

AE. BLACKMAN  
see Eg. 33  
"Hawel"  
"Mondrag"

3 NE  
"light"  
at birth  
of Christ.

Prophecy  
of that

leads to

Coronatus  
& victor

2nd  
coming  
side.

20th  
century  
date

Abraham  
1:10  
5th  
century  
that which  
Ruler the  
Hebrews

Eg  
2

As is here clearly expressed, the raising on a shield of the Byzantine emperor has been given a cosmic significance. „Raised on high” upon the clipeus and standing „above his servants” he appears as a new Sun. Down through the middle ages this conception of the emperor on the shield as a new sun lives on. In the 13th century Manuel Holobolos in a passage, to which E. Kantorowicz has called my attention, speaks of the raising on shield as an elevation from earth to heaven (*ὑψίτερ . . . ἐν περικλυτοῦ λόγους*), an ascension to the stars, and greets the emperor on the shield as a „great sun.”<sup>30)</sup> *ΕΖΚ. 11-3*

Here we have only established the fact that the ceremony of elevation on a clipeus in Byzantium — at least at the time of Corippus, but probably long before — has been given the cosmic significance peculiar to the *imagines clipeatae*, not, on the contrary, that the ceremony originated in this clipeus complex and has been created as manifestation of the emperor as *Sol in suo clipeo*.

Sol, however, gradually disappears to the advantage of *Sol Justitiae* and the Christian *lux mundi*, and we anticipate Christ and the imperial *χριστοκρατία* behind Corippus' *gemini soles*. Christ, too, is lifted towards heaven in the cosmic clipeus, which often, like the imperial clipeus, is adorned with stars<sup>31)</sup>. On illustrations of the Septuagint, behind old-testamental kings being lifted on shield, Christ himself is shown lifted to heaven<sup>32)</sup>. The words in Corippus which immediately follow his description of the radiant *Sun emperor*, are addressed to the *Christ emperor*:

*Mea carmina, numen,  
mensuram transgressa suam mirabere forsam,  
quod dixi geminos pariter consurgere soles . . .  
Mens iusti plus sole nitet: non mergitur undis  
non cedit tenebris, non fusca obtexitur umbra,  
Lux operum aeterno lucet splendore bonorum.*

<sup>30)</sup> Manuel Holobolos, in J. Fr. BOISSONADE, *Anecdota Graeca* 3, p. 163. Cf. l.c. 5, p. 161.

<sup>31)</sup> L'ORANGE l.c. fig. 69 and fig. 76.

<sup>32)</sup> References L'ORANGE l.c. p. 109 note 2.

## DER ABBAU DES

Von jeher hat jenem  
Jahrh  
ander  
Intere  
Histor  
hat es  
kriege  
Konst  
Zeit d  
Woge  
versuc  
gen, A  
jener I  
Charak  
schaftl  
Patristi  
Konsta  
ganz of  
Beve  
Nachd  
keit der  
Queller  
rung de  
Haltung  
M. Jon  
an die ü

<sup>1)</sup> Vgl.  
ments in I

the sign  
in Doc. ??

KA  
The Rising  
Standing with arms raised  
The shield  
of sun  
The shield  
taken on  
to heaven  
The figure  
is the figure  
& Vernele  
that leads to Ck.