Vedran Sulovsky

HOLY, ROMAN, FRANKISH: A SKETCH OF THE POLITICAL ICONOGRAPHY OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Central European University

Budapest

May 2015

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by

Vedran Sulovsky

(Croatia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Chair, Examination Committee

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I, the undersigned, **Vedran Sulovsky**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 20 May 2015

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Signature

Abstract

The political iconography of Frederick Barbarossa has been the subject of innumerable debates since the rise of German romantic nationalism in the wake of the French revolution. I will examine the elements Barbarossa uses in a political context, thereby determining their purpose and their models. In the study of material sources, special focus will be placed on the growth of the cult of Saint Charlemagne in Aachen, which will be interpreted as an imitation of the cult of Constantine the Great in Byzantium. The motifs used in the Aachen objects will be compared to the motifs of courtly poetry and histories of the period, thereby attempting to demonstrate that the cult came into being slowly, its pinnacle being the reliquary shrine of Saint Charlemagne, where a dynastic principle replaced the elective one for the first time since 1125.

Frederick took part in the second crusade, where he came to know Manuel Komnenos' ideology of renovation as well as the traditional Byzantine ideology of a holy empire. He also learned of Louis VII's support of the cult of St. Denis and the imitation of an earlier Frankish expedition to Jerusalem, whereby Louis became renowned as a saintly ruler. It is these two ideologies that Frederick was emulating from the beginning of his reign. The turning points of Frederick's programme were his royal coronation in 1152, the plague in Rome in 1167 and the fall of Jerusalem in 1187. During the first period, Frederick was presenting himself as the elected king who would unite the Hohenstaufen and the Welf parties. After 1167, when his cousin Frederick of Rothenburg died, the importance of a dynastic principle grew as Frederick's son Henry became his father's only possible heir. When Jerusalem fell in 1187, Frederick's self-representation was slightly remodelled as he was now stepping into the role of God's banner bearer while retaining the former elements of his ideology.

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List of Abbreviations

AA SS - *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. Jean Bolland. Antwerp / Brussels / Paris / Rome: Various, 1643-1940.

MGH   - *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover etc.: Hahn etc., 1826-*ongoing*.

PL   - *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Series Latina, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne. Paris: Garnier, 1844-91.

Thesis Goals and Historiography

Even though Aachen has had a central position in the discussion of German ideology for a very long time, not all phases of development within Aachen's long history have received the same amount of attention. The relations between Aachen and Frederick Barbarossa are a case in point: while many objects he commissioned remain there, their meaning within an overarching programme has never been pinpointed. The subject of this thesis will be the existence and nature of Frederick's iconographic programme for, while his goals may have been changing in accordance with daily politics, it is through the iconographic analysis of the works commissioned by Frederick that his ideology may best be discerned. It is the aim of this thesis to answer the following questions: 1) Did Frederick have an identifiable iconographic programme to support his ideology? 2) What elements did he use in order to construct the programme? 3) What changes did the programme undergo and why? 4) What was the role of the cult of Charlemagne within Frederick's programme? 5) What was the role of the *sacrum imperium* in Frederick's ideology? 6) What correlation existed between the cult of Charlemagne and the *sacrum imperium*? 7) After what model was Frederick's programme constructed? 8) Who was the audience for this programme? 9) What did Frederick gain from such a programme?

Before beginning the introduction, however, it is necessary to state the premises of this work: 1) The programme's creator could not have been Frederick himself, even though he was at its centre, as he was neither literate enough nor pedantic enough to construct it himself piece by piece.[1] 2) The programme was created stage by stage by more than one

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[1] Knut Görich, *Friedrich Barbarossa: Eine Biographie* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2011); Peter Felix Ganz, "Friedrich Barbarossa: Hof und Kultur," in *Friedrich Barbarossa. Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen*

person, all of whom were closely linked to the court, if they were not courtiers themselves. Due to limitations of time and length, however, the exact identity of these people and their individual contribution to Frederick's programme will not be addressed as a subject in this thesis. [2] It is the purpose of this thesis to re-evaluate the knowledge of Frederick's iconography not only in the light of his politics, but also in the light of a courtly historiography and ideology. While Barbarossa is a very popular topic in German historiography, his ideology has not been discussed as much as one would suspect. One could argue that Flacius' twelfth book of the *Magdeburg Centuriae* already opened the discussion on Frederick Barbarossa in 1569. [3] Frederick's first biography, the first biography of any medieval German emperor who was not a saint, appeared in 1722 under the overlong title *Probe einer genauer und umständlichen Teutschen Kayser- und Reichshistorie oder Leben und Thaten Friedrichs I. Römischen Kaysers,* written by the prolific historian Heinrich von Bünau. [4] The turbulent Napoleonic era was also the period when Bernhard Hundeshagen's *Kaiser Friedrichs I. Barbarossa Palast in der Burg zu Gelnhausen. Eine Urkunde vom Adel der von Hohenstaufen und der Kunstbildung ihrer Zeit*, the first essay on a building pertaining to Frederick Barbarossa, was published. [5] The Hohenstaufen as a subject then appeared in 1823-1825 in *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen und ihrer Zeit,* the six volume monumental work of Friedrich von Raumer, which sparked the interest of nineteenth century

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des staufischen Kaisers, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1992), 632; Jürgen Petersohn, *Kaisertum und Rom in spätsalischer und staufischer Zeit : Romidee und Rompolitik von Heinrich V. bis Friedrich II* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2010), 320.

[2] For a detailed discussion of Frederick's advisers, see Christian Uebach, *Die Ratgeber Friedrich Barbarossas (1152 - 1167)* (Marburg: Tectum-Verlag, 2008).

[3] Matthias Flacius et al., eds., *Ecclesiastica Historia integram ecclesiae Christi ideam quantum ad locum, propagationem, persecutionem, tranquillit., doctrin., haereses, ceremonias, gubernationem, schismata, synodos, personas, miracula, martyria, religiones extra ecclesiam: singulari diligentia et fide ex vetustissimis et optimis historicis, patribus et aliis scriptoribus congesta per aliquot studiosos et pios viros in urbe*, vol. 12 (Basel: Oporinus, 1559-74).

[4] Heinrich von Bünau, *Probe einer genauer und umständlichen Teutschen Kayer- und Reichshistorie oder Leben und Thaten Friedrichs I. Römischen Kayser*s (Leipzig: Thomas Fritsch, 1722).

[5] Bernhard Hundeshagen, *Kaiser Friedrichs I. Barbarossa Palast in der Burg zu Gelnhausen. Eine Urkunde vom Adel der von Hohenstaufen und der Kunstbildung ihrer Zeit*, 2nd edition (Mainz: 1819).

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Germany for the Hohenstaufen. It was the beginning of an era which was to last until Hitler's demise in 1945.[6]

By the end of the nineteenth century Ranke's *Universal History* included a fifty page-long chapter which deals with Barbarossa, even though the work itself was finished by one of Ranke's students, and not the master himself.[7] More important than Ranke was his younger contemporary Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, who wrote the still most erudite work on the German Middle Ages, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, in six volumes. However, he too died before he wrote the last book dealing with Frederick I, which was ultimately published by Bernhard von Simson in 1895.[8] Finally, the scope of what scholars have been discussing ever since had been thoroughly mapped out by the founding fathers of scientific history, though not in its entirety. In 1922, for example, Robert Holtzmann, one of the greatest historians of the past century, proposed the existence of an early Hohenstaufen court historiography, which has been the subject of debate ever since.[9] In 1943, Gerd Tellenbach's *Von der Tradition des fränkischen Reiches im Hochmittelalter,* the best scholarly work ever written on the Frankish tradition in twelfth century Germany, appeared under the oppressive atmosphere of the Second World War in a volume called *Der Vertrag von Verdun.*[10]

In the post-war period the imperial ideology was much less well-regarded than before the war. The cause of this, I believe, does not need an explanation. On the other hand, great strides in the field were made by Percy Ernst Schramm, who tried to explain political history through 'symbols of state', such as crowns and other objects related to royalty in a

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[6] Friedrich von Raumer, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen und ihrer Zeit*, 6 vols (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1823-25).

[7] Leopold von Ranke, *Weltgeschichte,* vol. 8 (Leipzig: Dunder & Humblot, 1881-88), vii.

[8] Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vols 5-6, (Leipzig: Dunder & Humblot, 1855-95).

[9] Robert Holtzmann, "Das Carmen de Frederico I. imperatore aus Bergamo und die Anfänge einer staufischen Hofhistoriographie," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 44 (1922): 252ff.

[10] Gerd Tellenbach, "Von der Tradition des fränkischen Reiches in der deutschen und französischen Geschichte des hohen Mittelalters," in *Der Vertrag von Verdun 843: 9 Aufsätze zur Begründung der europäischen Völker- und Staatenwelt*, ed. Theodor Mayer (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1943), 181ff.

remarkable number of publications. He stated that the insignia are the most direct route to the worldview of the king, who would commission a new crown once the old one could not contain the meaning necessary for the present time.[11] His 1953-1956 *magnum opus*, however, the milestone work *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik,* does not discuss Frederick I.[12] Being unable to find almost any sign of change in the insignia of the twelfth century, Schramm gave up on commenting the period, and eventually wrote only two pages on the entire Hohenstaufen ideology before Frederick II during his lifetime. [13] The tragically deceased Gottfried Koch wrote the *Auf dem Wege zum Sacrum Imperium*, which became the standard work on how the Holy Roman Empire became just that - the holy empire.[14]

Frederick's ideology itself, however, was discussed in three important works: 1) the *Kaiseridee Friedrich Barbarossas* of Heinrich Appelt, a diplomatic historian,[15] 2) the *St. Denis − Westminster − Aachen* of Jürgen Petersohn, a diplomatic historian and an expert on Rome in the period cca. 1100 - 1250,[16] and 3) Erich Meuthen's *Friedrich Barbarossa und Aachen,* presenting the point of view of a long-standing expert on Medieval Aachen.[17] While the Hohenstaufen cult of Charlemagne was discussed already by the turn of the twentieth century,[18] it became a topic in its own right only in the second half of the twentieth century. The pioneer work has been done by Robert Folz, who wrote *Le souvenir et la légende de*

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[11] Percy Ernst Schramm, "Die Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Herrschertums im Lichte der Herrschaftszeichen," *Historische Zeitschrift* 178, 1 (1954): 1-4, 7, 11.

[12] Percy Ernst Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, 3 vols (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1954-56).

[13] Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte des Mittelalters,* vol. 3, (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1968-71), 435-36.

[14] Gottfried Koch, *Auf dem Wege zum Sacrum Imperium: Studien zur ideologischen Herrschaftsbegründung der deutschen Zentralgewalt im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1972).

[15] Heinrich Appelt, "Die Kaiseridee Friedrich Barbarossas," in *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historisch Klasse,* vol. 252: 4 (Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1967).

[16] Jürgen Petersohn, "Saint-Denis − Westminster − Aachen: Die Karls-Translatio von 1165 und ihre Vorbilder," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 31 (1975).

[17] Erich Meuthen, "Barbarossa und Aachen," *Rheinische Vierteljahresblätter* 39 (1975).

[18] Emil Pauls, "Die Heiligsprechung Karls des Großen und seine kirchlicher Verehrung in Aachen bis zum Schluß des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 25 (1903).

Charlemagne dans l'Empire germanique médiéval in 1950.[19] Petersohn's already mentioned work then combined the discussion of the ideology of Frederick Barbarossa with the discussion of the cult of Charlemagne in a more integral way. The more recent works of Knut Görich, such as *Karl der Große - Ein politischer Heiliger?*, made steps in new directions, questioning the political nature of the cult.[20] Odilo Engels' 1988 and Ludwig Vones' 2003 essays on the canonisation of Charlemagne, however, kept the topic firmly within the boundary of political history.[21] Max Kerner's book on the reception history of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages belongs to the same strain of scholarship.[22]

Somewhat aside from the scholarship discussed above is German art history. While historians and art historians are supposedly dealing with the same topics, it is remarkable how their different approaches lead to starkly contrasting conclusions, even if scholars of a certain period would believe in a presupposed set of ideological and scientific values as the absolute truth. The objects which art history has managed to attribute to Frederick's inner circle are: 1) Frederick's royal seal (1152), 2) Frederick royal golden bull (1152), 3) Frederick's imperial seal (1155), 4) Frederick's imperial golden bull (1155), 5) the Cappenberg bust (1155 - 1157), 6) the Cappenberg baptismal basin (1155 - 1157), 7) Barbarossa's castle and chapel with relief programme in Nuremberg (1150s?), 8) the brachiary of Saint Charlemagne (around 1165), 9) the Barbarossa chandelier in Aachen (around 1165 - 1170), 10) Frederick's

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[19] Robert Folz, *Études sur le culte liturgique de Charlemagne dans les églises de l'Empire* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1951); see also Robert Folz, *Le Souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'empire germanique médiéval* (Genéve: Slatkine Reprints, 1973), and Robert Folz, *The Concept of Empire in Western Europe from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century* (London: Edward Arnold, 1969).

[20] Knut Görich, "Die Kanonisation Karls des Großen 1165: Ein politischer Heiliger für Friedrich Barbarossa?" *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 113/114 (2011/12); Knut Görich, "Karl der Große: Ein 'politischer Heiliger' im 12.Jahrhundert?," in *Religion and Politics in the Middle Ages / Religion und Politik im Mittelalter: Germany and England by Comparison / Deutschland und England im Vergleich*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013).

[21] Ludwig Vones, "Heiligsprechung und Tradition: Die Kanonisation Karls des Großen 1165, die Aachener Karlsvita und der Pseudoturpin," in *Jakobus und Karl der Große*, ed. Klaus Herbers (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 2003); Odilo Engels, "Des Reiches heiliger Gründer: Die Kanonisation Karls den Großen und ihre Beweggründe," in *Karl der Große und sein Schrein in Aachen: Eine Festschrift*, ed. Hans Müllejans (Aachen: Einhard, 1988).

[22] Max Kerner, *Karl der Grosse: Entschleierung eines Mythos* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2000).

armillae (around 1170), 11) the armillae of Andrey Bogoljubsky (around 1170), 12) the reliquary shrine of Saint Charlemagne (1182 - 1215), 12) the illuminated manuscript of Robert of St. Remi's *Historia Hierosolymitana* (before 1189) and 13) the stained glass windows of the Romanesque cathedral at Strasbourg (1180s or 1190s).[23] While a more exhaustive work will cover all of these objects and many others in a more pedantic and complete manner, this thesis will omit the discussion of the Nuremberg programme and the two pairs of armillae.

Most of these objects have been discussed by generations upon generations of art historians and consensuses already exist on many topics.[24] On the other hand, only the brilliant Ursula Nilgen ever discussed the entire Friderician[25] opus in a single essay. Her short work *Staufische Bildpropaganda* from 2010 is a key work in the scholarship for this reason, as her remarks on the developments within the art made the whole approach used in this thesis possible.[26] The typical approach, however, is an object-by-object approach or, better said, the evaluation of one object alone, even when it is compared to the rest of the Friderician opus. The royal seals and golden bulls are an exception to this rule, as they have nearly always been discussed as a set. The Cappenberg head's position in scholarship had been firmly established by 1962, when Herbert Grundmann finally placed it in the correct Cappenbergian and Hohenstaufen context.[27] Appuhn's work of 1973 then opened the question of similar phenomena in other places while discussing the iconography of the head

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[23] Percy Ernst Schramm, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, vol. 1 (Munich: Prestel, 1962), 179-82.

[24] For an overview of older literature, see Percy Ernst Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit: 751 - 1190*, ed. Florentine Mütherich (Munich: Prestel, 1983), 487-93.

[25] Mostly used for the art connected to Frederick II, but here the term refers only to Frederick Barbarossa.

[26] Ursula Nilgen, "Staufische Bildpropaganda: Legitimation und Selbstverständnis im Wandel," in *Die Staufer und Italien: Drei Innovationsregionen im mittelalterlichen Europa*, eds. Alfried Wieczorek, Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter, vol 1. (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 2010).

[27] Herbert Grundmann, *Der Cappenberger Barbarossakopf und die Anfänge des Stiftes Cappenberg* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1959).

in great detail.[28] It was only Balzer's work of 2006 that actually solved the puzzle of the head's meaning connected to the Cappenberg baptismal basin within their own local context.[29] Horch's 2013 monograph on the head, however, reopened the grand debate on the bust's position within an imperial programme in Aachen.[30]

Other parts of the Friderician opus have been less discussed. The best work on the brachiary of Charlemagne can be found in Nilgen's *Staufische Bildpropaganda*, for example.[31] The Barbarossa chandelier was just recently restored and in order to commemorate this event, a book on the topic was published by Herta Lepie.[32] The best-known and most discsussed object of the opus, however, is the Karlsschrein, that is, the reliquary shrine of Saint Charlemagne. Erich Stephany's 1965 monograph on the topic laid the groundwork for all later scholarship by discussing every detail and finding many relevant connections to the other parts of the Friderician opus, including the relation to Barbarossa's *sacrum imperium* ideology.[33] Ernst Günther Grimme, possibly the greatest expert on Aachen ever to have lived, weighed in on the debate on numerous occasions, presenting evidence for the fact that Charlemagne's figure on the reliquary shrine could have stood for Frederick Barbarossa.[34] Nilgen's 1985 article *Amtsgenealogie und Amtsheiligkeit* then suggested a revision of the shrine's programme, suggesting the original programme showed dynastic

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[28] Horst Appuhn, "Beobachtungen und Versuche zum Bildnis Kaiser Friedrichs I. Barbarossa in Cappenberg," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 44 (1973).

[29] Edeltraud Balzer, "Der Cappenberger Barbarossakopf: Vorgeschichte, Geschenkanlass und Funktionen," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 46 (2012).

[30] Caroline Horch, *"Nach dem Bild des Kaisers:" Funktionen und Bedeutungen des Cappenberger Barbarossakopfes* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2013).

[31] Nilgen, "Staufische Bildpropaganda."

[32] Herta Lepie, *Der Barbarossaleuchter im Dom zu Aachen* (Aachen: Einhard, 1998).

[33] Erich Stephany, *Der Karlsschrein* (Mönchengladbach: Einhard, 1965).

[34] Ernst Günther Grimme, "Das Bildprogramm des Aachener Karlsschreins," in *Karl der Große und sein Schrein in Aachen. Eine Festschrift*, ed. Hans Müllejans (Aachen: Einhard, 1988); Ernst Günther Grimme, *Der Dom zu Aachen: Architektur und Ausstattung* (Aachen: Einhard, 1994); Ernst Günther Grimme, *Der Karlsschrein und der Marienschrein im Aachener Dom* (Aachen: Einhard, 2002).

tendencies in addition to the *sacrum imperium*.[35] Renate Kroos declined this suggestion in her fascinating work on the Rhineland reliquary shrines, but, however, showed that a similar shrine, that of Saint Arnulf, existed in Metz.[36] Nilgen has since slightly revised her position in two recent works,[37] but a new approach was already presented by Michael McGrade, whose thought-provoking work on the liturgical use of the works from the Friderician opus decisively opened the question of what function did the objects from the opus have.[38] Finally, Ciresi's 2003 doctoral dissertation dealt with the functions of the shrine, but, unfortunately, did not solve the problem of the Friderician opus and programme itself.[39]

Several problems have hampered the discussion of the programme until now. For example, the diplomata of Frederick Barbarossa have finally been edited only in 1990 by Heinrich Appelt.[40] The Friderician opus itself has rarely been discussed, and the existence of a programme has never been discussed. Moreover, the great scholars of ideology, such as Schramm or Koch, ended their works either with the Salians or with the early years of Frederick's reign. One of the causes of this phenomenon is the scarcity of courtly sources. German scholars tend to discuss Frederick until 1160, when Rahewin's *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris,* a source directly related to the court, was finished.[41] As no comparable work exists for the rest of the twelfth century in Germany, let alone the reign of Frederick Barbarossa, it is no wonder that such an imbalanced approach to the ruler has continued for

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[35] Ursula Nilgen, "Amtsgenealogie und Amtsheiligkeit: Königs- und Bischofreihen in der Kunstpropaganda des Hochmittelalters," in *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst 800-1250: Festschrift für Florentine Mütherich zum 70. Geburtstag,* eds. Katharina Bierbauer, Peter K. Klein and Willibald Sauerländer (Munich: Prestel, 1985).

[36] Renate Kroos, *Der Schrein des heiligen Servatius in Maastricht und die vier zugehörigen Reliquiare in Brüssel* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1985).

[37] Nilgen, "Staufische Bildpropaganda"; Ursula Nilgen, "Herrscherbild und Herrschergenealogie der Stauferzeit," in *Krönungen. Könige in Aachen, Geschichte und Mythos,* ed. Mario Kramp, 1st vol, (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000).

[38] Michael McGrade, "'O rex mundi triumphator:' Hohenstaufen Politics in a Sequence for Saint Charlemagne," *Early Music History* 17 (1998).

[39] Lisa Victoria Ciresi, "Manifestations of the Holy as Instruments of Propaganda: The Cologne Dreikönigenschrein and the Aachen Karlsschrein and Marienschrein in Late Medieval Ritual" (Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers, 2003).

[40] *Friderici I. diplomata*, 5 vols, ed. Heinrich Appelt, MGH DD 10 (Hannover: Hahn, 1975-90).

[41] Charles Mierow (ed. and trans.), *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa* (New York: Norton, 1966), 3-4.

decades. The remaining thirty years of Frederick's reign are, however, covered by multiple sources. The literary sources commissioned by the court or related to the court are, however, only: 1) Otto of Freising's *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus* (1143 - 1146, reworked 1157); 2) Otto and Rahewin of Freising's *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, (1155 - 1160); 3) the Archpoet's *Kaiserhymnus* (1162 - 1163); 4) the *Ludus de Antichristo* (1155 - 1169); 5) the annals of Aachen (1166, reworked 1197); 6) the Aquensian *Vita Karoli magni* (1165 - 1170); 7) Gunther of Pairis' *Ligurinus* (1180s); 8) Godfrey of Viterbo's *Speculum regum* (around 1183 - 1185), 9) *Gesta Friderici* (around 1185), 10) *Memoria seculorum* (around 1185 - 1187) and 11) different versions of the *Pantheon* (around 1187 - 1191); 12) the *Historia peregrinorum* (1189 - 1190), 13) the *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris* (1189 - 1190) and 14) the acts of Frederick I (1152 - 1190). Due to the limited space within the thesis, however, Gunther of Pairis' work and the *Ludus de Antichristo* will not be discussed.

This thesis will contribute to scholarship in several ways. The establishment of the existence of a more or less unified programme should be seen as its primary achievement. By combining the findings of numerous historical disciplines (such as art history, textual history, literary history, diplomatic history, sphragistics, political history, ideological history, history of ideas, legal history, history of religion, Church history, Byzantine studies, social history and anthropology), a more interdisciplinary approach should lead to a re-evaluation of what scholars know about Frederick's programme. The topic of Hohenstaufen ideology, which Schramm left to future generations, will now be approached from an angle which is inspired by his work on earlier German ideology. The Friderician programme will finally be viewed as a whole, meaning that the literary and material objects of the opus will be discussed as a part of a master plan. The programme's development will be directly related to the history of Frederick's politics. Furthermore, while certain influences have been noticed already, a whole

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model has never been discussed until now. I will delineate a Byzantine model for Frederick's ideology, though French and papal influences will not be excluded from the analysis. In order to tie the Aquensian programme to the imperial court, several literary sources will be declared as the programmatic texts of Frederick's ideology. Finally, the thesis will also propose a solution for the diadem-or-wreath question in the discussion of the Cappenberg bust.

Chapter 1 – Historical Introduction: The Empire and Aachen (800 - 1145)

The city of Aachen began as a Roman border fort facing the Germanic peoples, losing its function with the gradual fall of the Western Roman Empire. Under the Merovingians Aachen had a small church, about which not much is known. The ruins of the small church are located under a more famous church today: the palatine chapel of Charlemagne.[42] Charlemagne (king since 768, emperor since 800, died 814), the greatest conqueror the Medieval West had seen since Justinian in the sixth century, built Aachen's entire palatine complex from scratch, decorating the octagonal church (Fig. 1) with marble columns in imitation of Justinian's San Vitale in Ravenna. During the turmoil of the ninth century Aachen lost and gained importance relatively quickly under various descendants of Charlemagne until its establishment as royal coronation place was finally effected under Otto I (king since 936, emperor since 962, died 973).[43]

Aachen's importance rested on its symbolic connection with Charlemagne, who added the realms of the Langobards, Bavarians and Saxons to the Frankish realm, and established the Spanish mark after a lacklustre campaign against the Umayyads of Cordoba. He became emperor on Christmas day of 800, when he was crowned and anointed by Pope Leo III and acclaimed by the people of Rome, thereby claiming to restore the Roman Empire,

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[42] The church, which is a cathedral today, has been an episcopal seat only since 1802, when Napoelon set up a French bishop to preside over the church which the only predecessor he considered worthy, Charlemagne, had erected.

[43] Widukind of Corvey, *Die Sachsengeschichte des Widukind von Korvei*, 5th edition, eds. Paul Hirsch and Hans-Eberhard Lohmann, MGH SS rer. Germ. 60 (Hannover: Hahn, 1935), 63-67; Günther Binding, *Deutsche Königspfalzen: von Karl dem Grossen bis Friedrich II. (765 - 1240)* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1996), 73-78, 85. For the most recent overview of Aachen cathedral, see Grimme, *Der Dom zu Aachen.*

which had fallen centuries ago.[44] And yet the newly acquired imperial title was problematic from the very beginning. Its definition differed radically from one ruler to the next, sometimes meaning hegemony in the Frankish empire, sometimes only a primacy among almost equals, and at other times representing the right to rule over Italy, the homeland of the Roman Empire. Moreover, it was not clear what sort of identity this exalted title should carry.[45] West Francia, which experienced a century-long dynastic conflict between the Carolingians and Capetians / Robertians (888 - 987), never really gave up on the imperial title until the eleventh century, when it started developing a Gallic identity under the victorious Capet dynasty (987 - 1328). Lotharingia, as Middle Francia was increasingly being called, frequently changed allegiance between West and East Francia, finally became a part of the East Frankish kingdom under Henry I (919 - 936), but the West Frankish and, later on, French rulers would never completely drop the claim to this kingdom.[46]

After the dying out of the Ottonian dynasty in 1024, the Salians first presided over the reformation of the Latin Church until they became the reformed papacy's main political opponents.[47] Under Henry IV (1056 - 1106) the empire effectively crumbled during his half-a-century long reign of chaos, during which the most essential question of the High Middle

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[44] Max Kerner, "Karl der Große: Persönlichkeit und Lebenswerk," in *Karl der Große und sein Schrein in Aachen: Eine Festschrift*, ed. Hans Müllejans (Aachen: Einhard, 1988), 16-18, 22, 24-25, 28-29, 31.

[45] Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, 39-40, 43, 50-51, 71, 81, 85-86, 88-89, 92, 106, 115, 119, 124, 127-29: The Carolingians (800 - 911) wavered between a Roman and a Frankish identity, the Ottonians (962 - 1024) between a Roman and a Saxon one, only rarely claiming to be Franks. The Salians (1024 - 1125) returned to claiming the Roman and Frankish identity, which is what the Hohenstaufen (1138 - 1250) did as well.

[46] Helmut Beumann, "Einleitung," in *Beiträge zur Bildung der französischen Nation im Früh- und Hochmittelalter,* ed. Helmut Beumann (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1983), 8; Joachim Ehlers, "Kontinuität und Tradition als Grundlage mittelalterlicher Nationsbildung in Frankreich," in *Beiträge zur Bildung der französischen Nation im Früh- und Hochmittelalter,* ed. Helmut Beumann (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1983), 25-26; Bernd Schneidmüller, "Französisches Sonderbewußtsein in der politisch-geographischen Terminologie des 10. Jahrhunderts," in *Beiträge zur Bildung der französischen Nation im Früh- und Hochmittelalter,* ed. HelmutBeumann (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1983), 52-66 *et passim*; Joachim Ehlers, "Karolingische Tradition und frühes Nationalbewußtsein in Frankreich," *Francia* 4 (1976): 213-35 *passim*; Tellenbach, "Von der Tradition des fränkischen Reiches," 190-92.

[47] Claudia Zey, "Papsttum und Investiturstreit," in *Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation 962 bis 1806: altes Reich und neue Staaten 1495 bis 1806*, vol. 1, ed. Hans Ottomeyer and Jutta Götzmann (Dresden: Sandstein, 2006), 148-52. For a much more detailed work on the Salians, see Johannes Laudage, *Die Salier: Das erste deutsche Königshaus* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2006).

Ages was finally posed: who is God's highest representative on earth, the emperor or the pope? The 1122 Concordat of Worms made peace *inter ecclesiam et regnum,*[48] but solved only the most pressing issue, that of the investiture with ring and staff.[49] When Henry V (1106 - 1125), the last emperor of the Salian dynasty, died childless in 1125, Frederick II of Swabia, Henry V's designated successor and son-in-law, could not prevail over Lothair III of Süpplingenburg (1125 - 1137) in the imperial election. In 1128, upon the return of Conrad, brother of Frederick II of Swabia, all the dynastic wounds opened afresh as he proclaimed himself king in Italy. In 1133 the Hohenstaufen brothers, that is Frederick II and Conrad, finally submitted to Lothair only to gain power upon his death in December 1137.[50] In terms of imperial-papal relations Lothair III spent the latter part of his reign trying to resolve the existing issues, such as the schism of Innocent II and Anaclet II and the overlordship over the Kingdom of Sicily, but could not effect a more permanent solution.[51] Conrad III (1138 - 1152), on the other hand, was not a model ruler himself.[52] His failure to achieve peace in Germany was such that he never visited Italy and was the first king of Germany since Henry I (919 - 936) just over two hundred years earlier not to be crowned as emperor. Meanwhile, the situation in Sicily worsened rapidly since the reign of Henry III, as the Normans established

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[48] Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. Martin Rule, Rolls Series 81 (London: Longman, 1884), 247. The phrasing is taken over from a letter of Pope Gelasius II to the clergy of France from 1118.

[49] Gerd Tellenbach, *Die westliche Kirche vom 10. bis zum frühen 12. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), 224-26. For more recent works on the topic, see Werner Goez, *Kirchenreform und Investiturstreit 910-1122* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000), Wilfried Hartmann, *Der Investiturstreit* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1996), or Rudolf Schieffer, *Papst Gregor VII.: Kirchenreform und Investiturstreit* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2010). The most recent monographic overview of Henry IV can be found in Gerd Althoff, *Heinrich IV* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006). For literature on Henry V, see Gerhard Lubich, ed, *Heinrich V. in seiner Zeit: Herrschen in einem europäischen Reich des Hochmittelalters* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2013).

[50] Görich, *Friedrich Barbarossa,* 54-56, 90. For a more detailed discussion of Lothair III, see Oliver Hermann, *Lothar III. und sein Wirkungsbereich: Räumliche Bezüge königlichen Handelns im hochmittelalterlichen Reich (1125-1137)* (Bochum: Winkler, 2000), Alexander Keller, *Machtpolitik im Mittelalter - das Schisma von 1130 und Lothar III: Fakten und Forschungsaspekte* (Hamburg: Dr. Kovač, 2003), or Wolfram Ziegler, "Studien zur staufischen Opposition unter Lothar III. (1125-1137)," *Concilium medii aevi* 10 (2007).

[51] Jürgen Dendorfer, "Konrad III. und Byzanz," in *Die Staufer und Byzanz*, ed. Karl-Heinz Rueß (Göppingen: Gesellschaft für staufische Geschichte, 2013), 60-62.

[52] For more information about Conrad III, see Jürgen Dendorfer, ed, *Konrad III. (1138-1152): Herrscher und Reich* (Göppingen: Gesellschaft für staufische Geschichte, 2011).

firm control over southern Italy and Sicily, entering into a fateful alliance with the papacy.[53]

The situation was, more or less, a stalemate which lasted from 1080, when Henry IV came to

Italy, to 1186, when Henry, son of Frederick Barbarossa and future Emperor Henry VI,

married Constance, niece of William II of Sicily.[54] The end of this conflict belongs, however,

to a later period.[55]

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[53] Tellenbach, *Die westliche Kirche*, 127-28.
[54] Görich, *Friederich Barbarossa,* 522.
[55] For recent works on the Normans in southern Italy and Sicily, see Gordon S. Brown, *The Norman conquest of Southern Italy and Sicily* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2003), or Graham Alexander Loud and Alex Metcalfe, eds, *The Society of Norman Italy* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

Chapter 2 – The Second Crusade and Its Aftermath: Frederick Becomes King (1145 - 1152)

Lothair III actually conquered southern Italy, but could not end the conflict, as his nobles refused to follow him to Sicily, forcing him to retreat ignominiously.[56] Conrad III had to deal with a new threat: Manuel Komnenos of the Byzantine Empire (1143 - 1180). Manuel, whose grand design was to restore the Byzantine Empire, just as Justinian (527 - 565) had done a long time ago, wanted to retake southern Italy. Conrad and Manuel could not reach an agreement on creating a common front against Sicily as Conrad was unwilling to let Manuel take a piece of Italy for himself. Due to their differences, things were poised for a change at the moment the second crusade (1145 - 1149), led by Conrad III of Germany and Louis VII of France (1137 - 1180), began.[57] The second crusade was, judging by any standard, a complete and utter disaster, which could not be mitigated even by the honour shown to Conrad by Louis, who after some negotiations approached Conrad first, after which Conrad went out to meet him. This small ritual in camp between Nicaea and Ephesus only showed that Conrad, who was not yet (and was never to be) emperor, was still the more prestigious of the two rulers.[58]

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[56] Dendorfer, "Konrad III. und Byzanz," 62.

[57] For the most recent biography of Manuel Komnenos, see Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). The most detailed work on the relations of the Hohenstaufen and the Komnenoi can be found in Paolo Lamma, *Comneni e Staufer: Richerche sui rapporti fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente nel secolo XII*, 2 vols (Rome: Nella sede dell'istituto, 1955-57). For works on the second crusade, see Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951-54)., which is still the standard work for the crusades. For more recent and more specialised literature on the topic, see Hanna Vollrath, "Konrad III. und Byzanz," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 59 (1977) and Jason T. Roche, "Conrad III and the Second Crusade in the Byzantine Empire and Anatolia, 1147" (Ph.D. dissertation, St Andrews, 2008).

[58] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem: The Journey of Louis VII to the East*, ed. and trans. Virginia Gingerick Berry (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1948), 98; Doc. 195 in *Conradi III. et filii eius Heinrici diplomata*, ed. Friedrich Hausmann, MGH DD 9 (Hannover: Hahn, 1969), 354-55.

Things did not go so smoothly for Conrad when meeting Emperor Manuel on the way to the East. Simply put, the two never met while Conrad's army was unscathed as Manuel, the glorious emperor of the Romans, would not receive Conrad, king of Germany, as an equal, but only as a subordinate. Conrad's proposal to meet in a kingly fashion, that is, to have the two rulers ride toward each other, then embrace and exchange the kiss of peace while riding, was flatly refused. After the Crusaders were crushed, they went their separate ways home. Conrad, now severely ill, however, first stopped at the unlikeliest of places: Constantinople. There he was finally received by Manuel, who also personally attended to the illness of his unexpected guest. Fairytale-like as it sounds, the whole event had a more sinister message than would be expected. Manuel was in fact acting out the long-held ideal of the emperor as the healer of the world[59] as no more and no less than the representative of God on Earth. Conrad and his nephew Frederick III of Swabia, later to be known as Frederick Barbarossa, spent some time resting in the City of Kings before they left. According to Görich, the two must have visited the Hagia Sophia and have become acquainted with the Byzantine coronation ritual at this point.[60]

The presence of young Frederick on this Crusade might actually have changed the course of history, as he had earlier fought together with his Welf cousins against his Hohenstaufen uncle, more often than working with him.[61] When Barbarossa's father, Frederick II of Swabia, heard that his son was joining Conrad on the crusade preached by Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux, he angrily reproached his younger brother for allowing his only son and heir to expose himself to the dangers of such an expedition at a time when he himself

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[59] Herbert Hunger, *Prooimion: Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1964), 130-37 *et passim*.
[60] Görich, *Friedrich Barbarossa*, 84-87.
[61] Görich, *Friedrich Barbarossa,* 65-67, 87-89.

was already becoming an old man.[62] Conrad, now a crusader for the second time, took his nephew with him, and let him be the chief negotiator on this trip. This experience must have prepared Frederick for many of the steps he was to take later on in his career, especially as he had the opportunity to see how a Christian empire could function without the pope as a counterbalance to the emperor. It is likely that this very experience defined the young duke's political opinions just before he was to become the heir of both his father and uncle.

At the end of 1148, when Frederick had already returned back to Germany to take possession of his father's heritage, Conrad III and Manuel signed the Treaty of Thessalonica,[63] according to which they were to invade the Kingdom of Sicily together and divide the spoils, including the territory. This was a particularly dangerous agreement for the popes and the Normans, as the two empires were now united in the struggle against their common foes for the very first time. Immediately after Conrad returned to Germany, Pope Eugene III noticed that the king, on whom he relied to restore the temporal power of the papacy in Rome, had changed.[64] Conrad, however, could still not restore peace to Germany, as his Welf opponents were still not placated. Then Conrad's eldest son and supposed heir, Henry (VI), who was crowned as the king of Germany on *Laetare* Sunday in 1147, suddenly died in 1150. Just as Conrad was on his way to Aachen for the coronation of his next son, the seven year old Frederick, he died of his crusading illness on February 15, 1152.[65]

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[62] Otto of Freising, "Ottonis Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," in *Ottonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, ed. Georg Waitz and Bernhard von Simson, MGH SS rer. Germ. 46 (Hannover: Hahn, 1884; reprint 1997), 59-60.

[63] Jan Paul Niederkorn, and Karel Jan Hruza, eds., *Lothar III. und ältere Staufer 1125-1197*, vol 1, *Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Lothar III. und Konrad III.*, bk. 2, *Konrad III. 1138 (1093/94) - 1152*, Regesta imperii, ed. J. F. Böhmer, 4 (Vienna: Böhlau, 2008), 246-47.

[64] Ep. 198 in *Monumenta Corbeiensia*, ed. Philipp Jaffé, Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1864), 316. Pope Eugene III wrote to Wibald of Stavelot about Conrad III: "Nunc autem, sicut domno papae ac nobis significatum est et rumores etiam increverunt, pater ipsius rex C(onradus) mala pro bonis, quod Deus avertat, reddderenititur, et cum Constantinopolitano imperatore sanctam Romanam aecclesiam, catholicorum omnium matrem, graviter si poterit affligere et infestare disponit."

[65] Görich, *Friedrich Barbarossa*, 90-96; Niederkorn and Hruza, eds., *Lothar III. und ältere Staufer*, 1. 2: 340-41.

At the moment of Conrad III's death only two other magnates were present: his nephew Frederick and Eberhard, bishop of Bamberg. The two of them came out of the room recounting the same story that Conrad had given his ring to Frederick, designating him as his heir. As Görich points out, however, it seems that this was a trade-off. Frederick had no time to lose if he wanted to become king, as he had to traverse half of Germany before he got to Aachen, all the while convincing the other possible candidates and electors to choose him. The first order of the day, however, was to obtain the support of Eberhard of Bamberg. Frederick gained his favour in return for the body of the deceased king, who had wanted to be buried in Lorch Abbey, the household monastery of the Hohenstaufen, together with his father. The bishopric of Bamberg already had the body of Pope Clement II and was pushing for the canonisation of Henry II (1002 - 1024),[66] which had been achieved in 1146 in Conrad III's presence.[67]

After meeting with the other main magnates, Frederick managed to receive the support of all of Germany just in time for him to be crowned instead of his young cousin. To put it simply, Barbarossa was the right man for the job. He was young, vigorous, prudent, an experienced leader and, more importantly, not a minor and, even more importantly, closely related to the Hohenstaufens through his father, but also to the Welfs through his mother, Judith. The Welfs were not just a powerful noble family, but also the successors of Lothair III, who gave his only daughter's hand in marriage to Henry the Proud of Bavaria, father of Henry the Lion, who thus received the duchy of Saxony. It is quite possible that Frederick promised to restore Bavaria to Henry the Lion, which Conrad III had taken away from him in 1139.[68] To put it simply: Frederick promised some sort of balance between the Hohenstaufen

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[66] Görich, *Friedrich Barbarossa*, 98-99.

[67] Anonymus, "Kanonisationsbericht," in *Die Vita sancti Heinrici regis et confessoris und ihre Bearbeitung durch den Bamberger Diakon Adelbert*, ed. Marcus Stumpf, MGH SS rerm. Germ. 69 (Hannover, Hahn: 1999), 327-28.

[68] Görich, *Friedrich Barbarossa*, 101-2.

and the Welf parties in order to placate them and become king. Otto of Freising divided the two families into the Henries of Waiblingen and the Welfs of Altdorf, stating that Barbarossa was a descendant of the kings through his father, and of the great dukes through his mother.[69]

After Frederick was elected king in Frankfurt, he went onward to Aachen, where he arrived on the Laetare Sunday of 1152, and was then led by the bishops to the church of St Mary, where he was "coronatus in sede regni Francorum, quae in eadem aecclesia a Karolo Magno posita est, collocatur." Otto of Freising continues describing this marvellous event as follows: "Nec preter eundum estimo, quod, dum finito unctionis sacramento diadema sibi imponeretur, quidam de ministris eius, qui pro quibusdam excessibus gravibus a gratia sua adhuc privati sequestratus fuerat, circa mediam aecclesiam ad pedes ipsius se proiecit, sperans ob presentis diei alacritatem eius se animum a rigore iusticiae emollire posse."[70] After the nobles were amazed at Frederick's humility, but also at his lack of mercy toward a supplicant,[71] the narrative continues by describing the anointment of Bishop Frederick of Münster:

> Sed et hoc silentio tegendum non erit, quod eadem die in eadem aecclesia Monasteriensi selectus item Fridericus ab eisdem, a quibus et rex, episcopis in episcopum consecratur, ut revera summus rex et sacerdos presenti iocunditati hoc quasi prognostico interesse crederetur, qua in una aecclesia una dies duarum personarum, quae solae novi ac veteris instrumenti institutione sacramentaliter unguntur et christi Domini rite dicuntur, vidit unctionem.[72]

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[69] Otto of Freising, "Ottonis Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," 103. For a discussion of the historical construct of the Hohenstaufen and the Welf, see Werner Hechberger, *Staufer und Welfen (1125-1190): Zur Verwendung von Theorien in der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1996).

[70] Otto of Freising, "Ottonis Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," 104.

[71] For the ritual of supplication during the coronation, another famous example can be found in Wipo, "Gesta Chuonradi imperatoris," in *Die Werke Wipos*, 3rd revised edition, ed. Harry Bresslau, MGH SS rer. Germ. 61 (Hannover / Leipzig: Hahn, 1915), 23.

[72] Otto of Freising, "Ottonis Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," 105.

The words chosen to depict the event are no less relevant than the event itself: the two Fredericks who were anointed were the highest secular and the highest ecclesiastical authority on earth, the ruler and the bishop. Moreover, in this remarkable coronation the king was the first to be anointed, the bishop's anointment following after the ceremonious supplication. Otto of Freising then describes the anointment as the sacrament sanctioned by both the Old and the New Testament as reserved for the king and the priest, thereby placing them on equal footing in God's grace. Frederick was not to forget about this sacred and sacramental moment of coronation until his dying breath, as will be shown in the analysis of later sources. As Weinfurter notes, when Frederick notified the realm of his election, he already explicitly stated that the world was ruled by the holy authority of the pope and royal power, thereby restating the Gelasian doctrine of two swords.[73]

For the purposes of the study of ideology and iconography, Frederick's *Umritt*, the ceremony of riding across the country in order to show who the new ruler was, is not very interesting, though it did cement his reputation as a man of peace in Germany.[74] More important is the royal seal (Fig. 2) which he had commissioned Abbot Wibald of Stavelot and Corvey, who had been an important adviser of Conrad III, to design.[75] The elderly abbot had then created a new seal, which, in terms of iconography, looked almost exactly the same as the seal of Conrad III (Fig. 3), the only real difference being the inscription, whose cross was set right above Frederick's crown, just as the cross on the forehead of Constantine the Great in his coinage, a feature which also appeared on the coinage of Charlemagne. The seal showed Frederick sitting on a throne with a backrest, a slight modification of Otto III's

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[73] Stefan Weinfurter, "Wie das Reich heilig wurde," in *Gelebte Ordnung, gedachte Ordnung: Ausgewählte Beiträge zu König, Kirche und Reich* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2005), 369.

[74] Görich, *Friedrich Barbarossa,* 110-14. For a more detailed view of the Umritt ritual, see Roderich Schmidt, "Umfahrt und Umritt fränkischer und deutscher Könige," in *Weltordnung - Herrschaftsordnung*, ed. Roderich Schmidt (Goldbach: Keip, 2004).

[75] For one of the most recent monographs on Wibald, see Martina Hartmann, *Wibald: Studien zu den Briefen Abt Wibalds von Stablo und Corvey sowie zur Briefliteratur in der frühen Stauferzeit* (Hannover: Hahn, 2011).

scheme of enthroned ruler which was introduced by Conrad III under Byzantine influence, according to Nilgen.[76] In his right hand the ruler is holding a sceptre which ends as a lily and in his left hand the *globus cruciger*. His crown had two pendants and his feet were resting on a footstool. Barbarossa is dressed in the traditional royal garments on the seal, wearing his cloak over his left shoulder, but leaving the right arm free for action, as behooved a layperson. The inscription reads "+*FREDERICVS·DEI·GR[ATI]A[E]·ROMANO[RVM]·REX,*" which already designated the young king as the ruler of the Romans, that is emperor, but implied that this was granted by the grace of God, a concept going back to the iconography of Charlemagne, but one which Frederick would use differently later on.[77]

Frederick's golden bull (Fig. 4), which was created in March 1152 just like his seal, was of a different character. On the one side it showed the giant half-figure of the crowned Frederick rising above from within the walls of a city while holding the sceptre-lily in his right hand and *globus cruciger* in his left hand. As on Frederick's seal, his bugle-crown has pendiliae and he wears a layperson's garments. On the verso side the circular walls of the city enclose a circular building, the Coliseum. Inside the three-storey Coliseum one can read the word *AUREA*, while inside the city gate the end of the phrase appears: *ROMA*, a motif dating back to the times of Henry II. The inscription of the recto reads "+*FREDERICVS·DEI·GR[ATI]A[E]·ROMANO[RVM]·REX,*" while the inscription of the verso reads "+*ROMA·CAPVT·MVNDI·REGIT·ORBIS·FRENA·ROTVNDI,*" literally meaning "Rome, head of the world, rules the reins of the round globe." Seeing that Frederick replaced the depiction of a church, which could have been interpreted as a symbol of the papacy, with the Coliseum, a building as closely related to the Roman Empire as no other, it is obvious that

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[76] Nilgen, "Herrscherbild und Herrschergenealogie der Stauferzeit," 358.
[77] Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, 128-29; Rainer Kahsnitz, "Siegel und Goldbullen," in *Die Zeit der Staufer*, vol. 1, ed. Rainer Hausherr (Stuttgart: Württembergisches Landesmuseum, 1977), 20-21; Alfried Wieczorek, ed., *Die Staufer und Italien: Drei Innovationsregionenimmittelalterlichen Europa,* vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 2010), 22-23.

Frederick's idea of Rome was different from the Salian one, but even more so from the original of Henry II, who used the message together with a depiction of Saint Peter. To put it simply, this was a message of Roman imperial hegemony.[78]

As early as 1152, Frederick began to refer to himself as Roman emperor in his letters to the Byzantine emperor, even though he called himself only king of the Romans when addressing the pope. This curious practice was a legacy from the age of Conrad III, who was never crowned emperor, but who desperately needed an equal footing to stand on with the Byzantine emperor. This *intitulatio* with the wording *imperator augustus*, which appears now and then in the imperial chancery from 1144 onward, remained the standard in writing to the Byzantine emperor even under Frederick I. In 1155, finally, the self-titled emperor was actually crowned, and from that moment on some kind of hierarchical parity was achieved. Similarly to the history of this *intitulatio*, Wibald of Stavelot, Conrad's adviser for Byzantine and Papal relations, who introduced the term *imperator augustus* into the chancery in 1144, worked in the chancery under Frederick until his death in 1158. Perhaps more spectacular is the fact that Wibald found the formulation *imperator augustus* in the acts of Roman emperors from Diocletian to Heraclius, his actual source most likely being Justinian.[79] Frederick's first letter to Pope Eugene III, which contains the announcement of his coronation, is a particularly telling document. First comes the *inscriptio*, mentioning the pope as the father, then the *intitulatio*, mentioning "Fredericus dei gratia Romanorum rex et semper augustus" as his son. The relationship between the two is clearly stated via the use of the plural forms for both parties: *nos* for Frederick, *vos* for Eugene.[80] The meaning is as follows: the usage of the

[78] Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, 92-93, 128-29; Alfried Wieczorek, ed., *Die Staufer und Italien,* vol. 2, 24. For another view on the subject, see Matthias Thumser, "Wer macht den Kaiser? Zwei Briefe aus Rom an die staufischen Könige Konrad III. und Friedrich Barbarossa," in *Deutschland und Italien zur Stauferzeit*, ed. Hubert Houben (Göppingen: Gesellschaft für Staufische Geschichte, 2002).
[79] Rainer Maria Herkenrath. *Regnum und Imperium: Das Reich in der frühstaufischen Kanzlei (1138 - 1155)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1969), 5-7, 9, 13-14, 25, 29, 50.
[80] Doc. 5 in *Friderici I. diplomata*, vol. 1, *inde ab 1152 usque ad 1158*, ed. Heinrich Appelt, MGH DD 10 (Hannover: Hahn, 1975-90), 9-11.

plural form for his addressee implies that Frederick was being polite, while the usage of the plural form for himself implied that he was a man of authority. The father and son relationship was typical for laypersons addressing clerics, especially those of higher status. The *dei gratia Romanorum rex et semper augustus*, however, while being typical for the German rulers of the twelfth century, was implying that Frederick was, by virtue of being king of the Romans, also entitled to the imperial title, as he was the "always exalted" king. In contrast, Henry IV, during whose reign the investiture controversy flared up, always declared himself to be just *rex*, with no specific identity tied to his title.[81]

To sum up what one can infer from the first few months of Frederick's rule: 1) Frederick presented himself as the bringer of peace and the restorer of order in the empire, 2) by virtue of his royal coronation on the seat of Charlemagne he became emperor of the Romans by the grace of God, 3) Frederick was God's anointed,[82] just like the bishop of Münster was, 4) Frederick's empire was Roman as it stemmed from the city of Rome, 5) Frederick did not see the pope as his superior. The aim of this thesis is to outline the development of these five motifs through the objects Frederick commissioned and the policies he enacted. While none of these motifs were fundamentally new, it is their transformation under Frederick which really makes him stand out among the medieval emperors.

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[81] *Heinrici IV. diplomata*, vol. 1, *inde ab 1056 usque ad 1076*, ed. Dietrich von Gladiss and Alfred Gawlik, MGH DD6 (Hannover: Hahn, 1941-78), lxxvi. For a discussion of Latin rulers' titles, see Herwig Wolfram and Anton Scharer, eds, *Intitulatio III: Lateinische Herrschertitel und Herrschertitulaturen vom 7. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1988).

[82] For a work on the early history of the term *christus Domini*, see Franz-Reiner Erkens, "Konrad I. als 'christus domini,'" in *Konrad I. - Auf dem Weg zum Deutschen Reich?*, eds. Hans-Werner Goetz and Simon Elling (Bochum: Winkler, 2006).

Chapter 3 – *Sacrum imperium*: The Shadow of Rome (1152 - 1162)

Twelfth-century Rome was not the same city that rose to dominate most of the European continent, nor was it the great Republic which brought law and administration to barbarian nations. Least of all was it the world capital, to which everyone bowed. The city of Rome had resisted its bishop long before the time of Frederick,[83] but the conflict reached its culmination in the period from 1139 to 1155, during which time a senatorial order formed in order to rule over Rome instead of its bishop. Pope Eugene III (1145 - 1153) sought the support of Conrad III against the Romans, but Conrad never came.[84]

The best existing overview of Frederick's ideology related to Rome and, to a lesser extent, Italy, can be found in Jürgen Petersohn's copious work. Unfortunately, as his primary interest is the Roman legacy of the Holy Roman Empire, his approach ignores the Frankish tradition of the empire. However, his many groundbreaking works should definitely serve as a basis for the interpretation of Frederick's ideology. In Petersohn's opinion, Frederick was deeply interested in asserting the Roman nature of his empire against the representatives of the city of Rome, the papacy and the Byzantine Empire. There are several elements of Frederick's 'idea of Rome' which Petersohn identified: 1) Frederick was *imperator Romanorum,* and not *de Romanis imperator*, meaning that it was the people of the empire who elected him, and not the people of Rome.[85] 2) The city of Rome was a key possession of

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[83] Tellenbach, *Die westliche Kirche*, 65-70.

[84] Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. Adolf Hofmeister, MGH SS rer. Germ. 45 (Hannover: Hahn, 1912, reprint, 1984), 358-60, 369; Jürgen Petersohn, "Friedrich Barbarossa und Rom," in *Friedrich Barbarossa: Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen des staufischen Kaisers*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1992), 130-31.

[85] Petersohn, *Kaisertum und Rom,* 327-28.

the empire and could not be abandoned to anybody, not even the pope.[86] 3) The pope was obligated to crown the emperor of the Romans, but the empire was not his to give, but God's.[87] 4) The idea of a *sacrum imperium* necessarily denoted the Roman Empire.[88] 5) The sacralisation of the empire started under Lothair III, appeared in the imperial chancery under Conrad III, and was completed during Frederick's reign.[89] And yet, Petersohn's arguments, irrefutable as they are, do not show the complete picture. Frederick Barbarossa's idea of Rome was not the idea of the Rome of Caesar and Augustus or an imitation of Byzantine Roman identity. It is Rome's position in the *translatio imperii (ad Francos)* theory that dominated the ideological world of Frederick's court.

According to Tellenbach, the legacy of the Franks persisted for a very long time in both France and Germany, even though it was waning by the time Frederick Barbarossa became king. The Roman and German identities became the standard in almost all intellectual domains within Germany.[90] However, a certain amount of prestige clung to the Frankish name at all times, which led German authors to think most highly of the French among all their neighbours, as the French were considered to be western Franks, while the Germans were considered to be the eastern ones.[91] However, after the papacy claimed the highest position in the Christian hierarchy during the Gregorian reform, it became apparent to German rulers that the empire was no longer the leader of Christian peoples. As Tellenbach puts it, it became necessary for a Frankish emperor to become a crusader in order to lead Christianity anew.[92] The French court more or less consistently developed an ideology based on the Carolingian and Frankish heritage, eventually claiming the Frankish name for the

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[86] Petersohn, *Kaisertum und Rom,* 330-31.
[87] Petersohn, *Kaisertum und Rom,* 333-34.
[88] Petersohn, *Kaisertum und Rom,* 340-43.
[89] Petersohn, *Kaisertum und Rom,* 337-43.
[90] Tellenbach, "Von der Tradition des fränkischen Reiches," 182-84.
[91] Tellenbach, "Von der Tradition des fränkischen Reiches," 186-89.
[92] Tellenbach, "Von der Tradition des fränkischen Reiches," 189-90.

French during the course of the crusades. Louis VI even went as far as laying claim to the throne of Germany.[93] French kings were laying claim to the Frankish tradition even through the names of their children, who were often named after Carolingian kings.[94]

German rulers and authors approached the Frankish legacy differently. They often postulated that Charlemagne achieved the *translatio imperii ad Francos*, sometimes even backing this up by bringing up the purported Trojan ancestry of the Franks.[95] During Ottonian times the Saxon identity of the empire threatened the Frankish one, but the imperial identity itself wavered under the Salian rulers, according to Tellenbach.[96] Frederick Barbarossa then finally claimed the Frankish and Carolingian identities for the empire, placing himself at the end of a long line of Frankish emperors of Rome.[97] In Otto of Freising's opinion, Charlemagne won the empire for the Franks, while Otto the Great transferred it to the Germans. For Otto, Aachen and the empire belonged to the eastern Franks, while France belonged to the western Franks. As for the name of the empire, Otto considered both *regnum Francorum orientalium* and *regnum Teutonicum* to be correct, as the Teutons, that is, Germans, were a part of the Franks. For Gunther of Pairis, the author of the epic *Ligurinus*, Germany was the *prima Francia*, whereas *Gallia* seceded from the empire. For Godfrey of Viterbo, Germany was the *vera Francia,* while France was *Francia parva.* Similarly, he took the Germans to be the *primi Franci*, while the French were *Francigeni*, that is, born of the Franks, but not really Franks.[98] To sum up, German rulers were struggling with the French kings over the legacy of the Franks, while they simultaneously struggled with the city of Rome, the papacy and the Byzantine Empire over the legacy of the Roman

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[93] Tellenbach, "Von der Tradition des fränkischen Reiches," 190-92.
[94] Tellenbach, "Von der Tradition des fränkischen Reiches," 193.
[95] Tellenbach, "Von der Tradition des fränkischen Reiches," 194-95.
[96] Tellenbach, "Von der Tradition des fränkischen Reiches," 196.
[97] Tellenbach, "Von der Tradition des fränkischen Reiches," 197-98.
[98] Tellenbach, "Von der Tradition des fränkischen Reiches," 201.

Empire. It is in light of these two processes that I will trace Frederick's iconography in the following passages.

In 1155, three years after Frederick I had been crowned king in Aachen, he marched to Rome to be crowned Roman emperor. Before he would be crowned, however, he met Pope Hadrian IV (1154 - 1158) in Sutri. According to Frederick's letter, there the pope complained to the emperor about the Romans, and an agreement between Hadrian and Frederick was reached.[99] But the emissaries of the city met Barbarossa before he reached Rome, offering him a coronation from their hands in return for the restitution of the privileges of the city, for a large payment in cash and for three oaths. According to Otto of Freising's account, Barbarossa interrupted the emissaries as they were extolling the ancient virtues of the city and stated that this virtue had once existed, before it moved away to the City of Kings in the East, i.e. Constantinople. He responded to the claims of ancient statutes by describing how the Franks had conquered the city and retaken the Empire from the Greeks, thereby taking the Senate, the equestrian order, the glory and the power of the Roman Empire with them over the Alps. Further on, he said that the emperors Charlemagne and Otto the Great had defeated the Langobards and the Greeks, and even captured the tyrants Desiderius and Berengar, with whom the Romans prided themselves. He finished his speech by saying that he will take what God has granted him, and that he will also "punish the Sicilian."[100] According to Petersohn, the speech reflects the politics of 1158, when Frederick was fervently denying that the pope granted the empire. This is why Otto of Freising's literary Frederick is pointing out that the empire was his and his predecessors by right of conquest.[101]

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[99] Otto of Freising, "Ottonis Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," 3-4.
[100] Otto of Freising, "Ottonis Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," 136-39. William I of Sicily (1154 - 1166). The Norman rulers of Sicily were considered tyrants and usurpers by the German kings ever since Henry IV. For a concise account of the German-Norman relations under the early Hohenstaufen, see Kurt Zeillinger, "Friedrich I. Barbarossa, Manuel I. Komnenos und Süditalien in den Jahren 1155/1156," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 27 (1985).
[101] Petersohn, "Friedrich Barbarossa und Rom," 133.

The imperial and papal troops then moved into the city and Hadrian crowned Frederick on the rather inconspicuous date of June 18, a Saturday which had no symbolic meaning whatsoever. Moreover, he was crowned on the side altar of St. Mauritius, because the pope claimed that by virtue of a (spurious) charter of Pope Gregory I (590 - 604), only popes were to be anointed at the high altar of Saint Peter.[102] While battling the Romans during his retreat, Frederick is said to have boasted that he is paying the price for Rome not with Arabic gold, but with Frankish iron.[103] By contrast, while emperors were usually crowned on great holidays such as Easter or Christmas, Barbarossa barely managed to get crowned before he left Rome for good, leaving the pope to fend for himself.[104] Hadrian IV did exactly that: on June 18, 1156, the anniversary of the imperial coronation, he signed a treaty with Frederick's sworn enemy, the Sicilian king, Roger II (1154 - 1166).[105] This led to a break between the two parties, which would have lasting consequences. Nevertheless, Frederick's seal (Fig. 5) and golden bull (Fig. 6) remained virtually unchanged, except for the greater plasticity of the new images, the complete interchangeability of the cross of the crown and the inscription, and a changed inscription, which now read "*+FREDERICVS ·DEI· GRA[TI]A· ROMAN[ORVM] ·IMPERATOR AVG[V]S[TVS]*." Barbarossa was now emperor, but not much else had changed in his presentation.[106]

The position of Rome within Barbarossa's early ideology seems clear: he ruled the city by right of Frankish and German conquest, attributing the present glory of his realm to the emperors Charlemagne and Otto the Great. But a more subtle theory can be glimpsed in his speech: the empire had once moved to the East, to the Greeks, whence the Franks under

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[102] Eduard Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung im Abendland,* vol. 1 (Würzburg: Gesellschaftsdruckerei, 1942), 227.
[103] Otto of Freising, "Ottonis Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*,*" 141.
[104] Petersohn, "Friedrich Barbarossa und Rom," 133.
[105] Ferdinand Opll, *Friedrich Barbarossa* , 4th edition (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Büchgesellschaft, 2009), 54.
[106] Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, 128-29, Kahsnitz, "Siegel und Goldbullen," 20-23.

Charlemagne had recovered it from the tyrant Desiderius. This seemingly illogical leap is precisely the defining point of Barbarossa's conception of Rome: the Greeks may have moved the *imperium* to Constantinople, but ultimately it was the possession of Rome which decided who the emperor of the Romans was. The procedure was repeated under Otto the Great, who had conquered Rome from Berengar, but this time for the Germans. The possession of Rome would remain one of the main points of Frederick's ideology until his death.[107]

The importance of Rome in Barbarossa's ideology can be seen even more clearly in a letter the emperor sent to Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg in late 1156 or early 1157, where Hadrian IV is referred to as "pontifex alme nostre urbis rome," that is, the bishop of *our* city, Rome. Another example of the Roman base of imperial authority can be gathered from the failed meeting on the bridge over the Saône near St. Jean-de-Losne in the summer of 1162, where Louis VII refused to support Frederick's candidate for the papal throne, Victor IV. Saxo Grammaticus reports that Frederick stated that other rulers would protest if he were to appoint bishops in their realms, while they do not seem to have qualms about doing the same thing within his empire by supporting Alexander III as bishop of Rome.[108]

In terms of visual representation, the greatest monument to Barbarossa's ideology of the early years is the Cappenberg head (Figs. 7-8), a portrait bust of Frederick, which can be dated to 1155 - 1156. This dating is based on Balzer's argument that the iconography of the bust was planned by Wibald of Stavelot and provost Otto of Cappenberg while they accompanied Frederick on his Roman journey 1154 - 1156.[109] To be more precise, the whole commission can be dated between June 18, when Frederick was crowned emperor, and

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[107] Petersohn, *Kaisertum und Rom,* 321-25.
[108] Petersohn, "Friedrich Barbarossa und Rom," 135-36.
[109] Not to be confused with Otto of Cappenberg (1156 - 1171?), his successor as provost, who was brother to Godfrey of Cappenberg.

August of 1155, when Wibald left on a diplomatic mission to Byzantium. Frederick then gave the Cappenberg head to Otto of Cappenberg in March 1156, when they met in Münster for Easter. The head's purpose in Cappenberg was, accordingly, to represent Frederick adoring the golden Byzantine staurotheke which Frederick's father used to wear around his neck when going to war (Fig. 9). Duke Frederick II then gave his staurotheke to the Cappenberg brothers in return for Otto of Cappenberg being his son's godfather. Frederick was baptised on December 27, 1122, on the feast of Saint John the Evangelist, who was thus chosen as Frederick's patron, and whose relics were kept in the staurotheke. According to this interpretation, the bust, with its two inscriptions referring to Saint John, lost its memorial function when Frederick drowned in 1190, and could no longer be represented as a live person. That Otto was Frederick's godfather and that this staurotheke served as payment, as Balzer believes, is sufficiently proven by an unusual depiction found on the baptismal basin (Fig. 10), which Barbarossa gave to Otto at the same time as the bust. The image shows a bishop baptising a child, with the bishop being located to the left, while the boy Frederick takes up the centre of the image. Moreover, Frederick is shown wearing a cross around his neck, which is an obvious reference to the cross given to the Cappenbergs. The right side of the image features Henry, future bishop of Troyes, and Otto, Frederick's godfather.[110]

The bust itself, however, is the more relevant object here, as it was not simply created to show Frederick's likeness. Rather, it was an ideological interpretation of the imperial position which was depicted on the bust. The artefact, which has been called the first purpose-free portrait of an emperor, is a 32.4 cm tall gilded silver bust.[111] The bust is mounted on four dragon feet, which are probably depictions of defeated evil now serving God's cause. Directly upon the legs lie the eight-sided crenellation, which reflect the eight-

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[110] Balzer, "Der Cappenberger Barbarossakopf," 253-56, 261, 263, 268, 274, 276, 280-94, 298-99.
[111] Appuhn, "Beobachtungen und Versuche zum Bildnis Kaiser Friedrichs I.," 129.

sided form of the palatine chapel of Charlemagne.[112] Atop the eight-sided crenellation, which have four towers in their corners and three merlons per side making up twenty-four altogether, stand three angels holding the bust itself. The fourth figure, which stood directly at the backside of the bust, was most likely another angel. The angels have been interpreted as the angels guarding the twelve doors of heavenly Jerusalem, which is depicted here in the octagonal shape of the palatine chapel of Charlemagne. The logical meaning of the merging of the images of Aachen and Jerusalem was that both spaces depicted in one image were holy.[113]

On the second level of eight-sided crenellation held up by the angels there are thirteen merlons preserved out of the original sixteen.[114] This level represents the inner octagon and outer hexadecagon of the Aachen chapel, which results in a similar significance as the first level: Aachen and Rome were the same, where Rome stood for the ancient Roman Empire and Aachen for the Charlemagne's Roman Empire. On this level, finally, rests the bust itself. This structure has been interpreted as the depiction of *aurea Roma*, which had been used on both of Frederick's golden bulls, and in which the emperor towers over the city of Rome from within.[115] The lower part of the bust shows a stylised depiction of a body clothed in symmetrical garments tied under the emperor's bearded chin. If one were to guess what kind of person this bust represented, it would undoubtedly have to be a cleric of priestly or episcopal status. However, this is misleading because, as Horch concluded, this knot represents the purpure mantle of the ancient Roman emperors, and not the chlamys.[116]

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[112] Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers,* 163.
[113] Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers,* 145.
[114] Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers,* 41.
[115] Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers,* 31; Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, 260. Conrad III also had a golden bull, but, unfortunately, it has not been preserved.
[116] Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers,* 122-23.

The head itself depicts a lop-eared bearded man with a long moustache, small mouth and long nose, with large inlaid eyes which seem to be looking at the sky and hair divided into round locks.[117] The head once carried some kind of headgear, but is not clear whether it was a diadem or a wreath. Horch declares that a wreath would not fit as the bust had another knot on the back, and that the best possible solution offered for this question so far would be a diadem.[118] Moreover, this has been interpreted as a return to the iconography of Constantine the Great, who was represented wearing the late antique purpure mantle and diadem, having his hair arranged in locks and turning his eyes upward to the sky. These same features, however, were also imitated by Charlemagne on his coins (Fig. 11), as he strove to represent himself as the new Constantine. As Charlemagne did not adopt Constantine's diadem, but only his laurel wreath, Horch states that it was Frederick I who finally introduced this element into medieval iconography. She also adds that the diadem might have been topped by a cross, just as Constantine's had been.[119] Appuhn, on the other hand, seeing the Holy Trinity represented with laurel wreaths on a tympanum in the Cappenberg convent, concludes that this motif was the influence of the Cappenberg head, which was placed but a few meters away from the tympanum.[120] However, the diadem or wreath dilemma can be approached from another point of view.

Grundmann demonstrates the differences the Cappenberg head and Rahewin of Freising's description of Frederick Barbarossa at the very end of the fourth book of the *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, the exception being the moustache.[121] Nilgen, comparing the Cappenberg bust to the depictions of Charlemagne in Aachen in the twelfth century (Fig. 12),

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[117] Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers,* 35. The eyes were replaced in the late nineteenth century and the original state is hard to guess.

[118] Grundmann, *Der Cappenberger Barbarossakopf*, 63-64; Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers,* 34, 117.

[119] Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers,* 122,189-97. Frederick might also have been represented with a pearly diadem on a coin from the later part of his reign, but it is not sure which ruler is represented.

[120] Appuhn, "Beobachtungen und Versuche zum Bildnis Kaiser Friedrichs I.," 146.

[121] Grundmann, *Der Cappenberger Barbarossakopf*, 54, 61, 104-8.

found that this moustache was typical only for Charlemagne, for example on the earliest Aachen seal (Fig. 13), thereby disputing that the head could have represented Frederick.[122] The argument can be resolved by applying Grimme's opinion that Frederick *representat Karolum* on the reliquary shrine of Charlemagne onto the Cappenberg bust: Frederick is likely to have been represented as the new Charlemagne.[123] Since it is certain that Frederick emulated Charlemagne in many of the works which he commissioned, it seems very likely that he would have taken up a Carolingian model for his own depictions. This leads us back to Charlemagne's coins, which sometimes depict him wearing a laurel wreath. Horch's argument that a knot on the back side of the head (Fig. 14) would have prevented a wreath being placed upon the head can also be disputed: looking at Charlemagne's coins, one can notice that his wreaths always have some sort of knot at their rear end.[124] As the artist's of the twelfth century had presumably never seen a golden laurel wreath, it is possible that they would have created a wreath which would be detachable as a regular crown while the knot itself could function as a support for the wreath. The wreath would, according to this interpretation, have been designed as a circlet with leaves and not as two branches with leaves. This kind of object seems to fit well into the imagination and artistic capabilities of twelfth-century Germany than a diadem lined with pearls. Connecting the questions whether the Cappenberg head wore a diadem or a wreath and it represented Frederick or Charlemagne leaves us only one option, that Frederick was imitating Charlemagne's coins on the Cappenberg bust.

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[122] Nilgen, "Staufische Bildpropaganda," 88-89.
[123] Grimme, "Das Bildprogramm des Aachener Karlsschreins," 127.
[124] Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, 273-76. For a more recent view of the matter, see Gerd Stumpf, "Karl der Große auf Münzen und Medaillen," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 104/105 (2002/03).

As for the original meaning, Horch rightly suggests that it was directly related to imperial politics, and that it actually implies the emperor's rule over Rome.[125] It is noticeable that the bust depicts Frederick as a Roman emperor (the aurea Roma motif) by the grace of God (the angels carrying the emperor). Moreover, the four angels seem to be carrying Frederick just like the tetramorphs carry Christ in his majesty.[126] Seemingly a confusing point, it actually stands for Frederick being the representative of God on earth, his anointed. Accepting Appuhn's opinion that the bust once had a laurel wreath over Horch's suggestions of a diadem, and taking the bust's moustache into account, it seems obvious that, for the first time in Frederick's career a more definite connection to Charlemagne is being established here: Frederick Barbarossa is depicted as not only the holy emperor of Rome, but also Charlemagne's heir *and* imitator. This latter motif was to become a mainstay of Hohenstaufen politics, as it will be demonstrated in later chapters.

Frederick's ideology was conditioned by his experiences in the second crusade as well: he had met Emperor Manuel (1143 - 1180), his main political rival in the period 1152 - 1180, who laid claim to the same Roman legacy as Frederick, only from a different point of view. Traditionally for a Byzantine emperor he claimed uninterrupted Roman legacy since Augustus, and the removal of the Senate and capital from Rome to Constantinople by Constantine the Great. [127] Furthermore, Byzantine emperors wore a state crown, the *kamelaukion*, only on Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, the holidays of Christ, as God allegedly sent the *kamelaukion* to Constantine the Great through an angel.[128] To put it bluntly, the emperors of Rome claimed to be crowned by God. Moreover, it was a long-standing

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[125] Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers,* 225.
[126] Horch, *Nach dem Bild des Kaisers,* 153.
[127] Ioannes Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. Charles M. Brand (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 165-67.
[128] Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. Gyula Moravcsik, trans. Romilly James Heald Jenkins (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967), 67-69; Niketas Choniates, *O city of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), 190. For a more detailed discussion of the kamelaukion, see Elisabeth Piltz, *Kamelaukion et Mitra: Insignes byzantins impériaux et ecclésiastiques* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1977).

tradition to call the emperor, the empire itself and imperial agents holy.[129] This tradition, which was decidedly banned by Charlemagne in his *Libri Carolini*, was picked up by Wibald of Stavelot while he lived in Monte Cassino in the 1130s.[130] The sacralisation of the empire progressed slowly under Conrad III as the term *sacer* was used to refer to things related to the empire, but not the emperor or the empire.[131] Schwarz suggests that the Bamberg school of notaries found the term in the work of Otloh of St. Emmeram, who cites a purported charter of Arnulf of Carinthia (895 - 899) which uses the term *sacrum imperium*, and that the Bamberg school finally introduced it into the imperial chancery.[132]

However, Frederick and half the imperial court heard about this custom independently on the second crusade, where the Byzantines were willing to pledge anything for the benefit of 'the holy empire,' according to Odo of Deuil, Louis VII's chaplain and participant on the crusade.[133] As Görich notes, Frederick stayed in Constantinople for a while, so it is hardly likely that he would not notice these elements, or at least become acquainted with them by another participant of the crusade.[134] To conclude, when Frederick used the term *sacrum imperium* for the very first time in a letter to Otto of Freising in March 1157, the sender, the writer and recipient knew of the term's Byzantine provenance, whence the final impulse for the sacralisation of the empire came.[135] As Weinfurter points out, the term *christus Domini* disappeared after the introduction of the *sacrum imperium*, meaning that the two terms had similar meanings. Following this interpretation, Frederick's next step is to be found at the diet of Besançon, where he received a papal letter that claimed that he had received the crown of

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[129] Otto Hiltbrunner, "Die Heiligkeit des Kaisers," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 2 (1968): 1-7ff.
[130] Appelt, "Die Kaiseridee Friedrich Barbarossas," 16.
[131] Petersohn, *Kaisertum und Rom,* 337-38.
[132] Jörg Schwarz, *Herrscher- und Reichstitel bei Kaisertum und Papsttum im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), 86-89.
[133] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, 56.
[134] Görich, *Friedrich Barbarossa,* 86.
[135] Doc. 163 in *Friderici I. diplomata*, vol. 1, *inde ab 1152 usque ad 1158*, 279-80.

the empire from the pope as a *beneficium.*[136] The Germans were outraged at this statement, as

Rahewin states, as they knew that people in Italy thought that it was the pope who granted the

Kingdom of Italy to the emperors, but also because of a fresco cycle in the Lateran palace,

where Lothair III was depicted receiving the crown from the pope, while an inscription stated

"homo fit papae."[137] (Figs. 15-16) When one of the legates asked "A quo ergo habet, si a

domno papa non habet imperium?,"[138] this almost led to his violent death.[139]

Frederick answered that the empire was given to him by God through the election by

the magnates. It was no longer only the emperor who was chosen by God, but the electors

had a role in the divine plan. This idea is reflected in several charters, where the magnates are

referred to as the *fideles domini dei ac sacratissimi imperii*. The magnates now became God's

vassals, an idea which is a variation on the *christus Domini*, where they were vassals of

God's anointed. To sum up, the sacrality of the empire was needed as an ideological weapon

against Byzantium, the papacy and the *sacer senatus.*[140] In Koch's opinion, the term *sacrum*

imperium also came into existence as a part of the institutionalisation of the state in the

twelfth century, as opposed to the *christus Domini*, which was more in line with the less

institutionalised kingship of earlier centuries. [141] On the other hand, Koch states that

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[136] Weinfurter, "Wie das Reich heilig wurde," 361-62, 376-82.

[137] Rahewin of Freising, "Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," in *Ottonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, ed. Georg Waitz and Bernhard von Simson, MGH SS rer. Germ. 46 (Hannover: Hahn, 1884; reprint 1997), 177.

[138] Rahewin of Freising, "Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," 177.

[139] Rahewin of Freising, "Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," 172-79. For a detailed analysis of the conflict at Besançon, see Eleni Tounta, "Thessaloniki (1148) - Besançon (1157): Die staufisch-byzantinischen Beziehungen und die "Heiligkeit" des staufischen Reiches," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 131 (2011), or Walter Heinemeyer, "'Beneficium - non feudum sed bonum factum.' Der Streit auf dem Reichstag zu Besançon 1157," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 15 (1969).

[140] Weinfurter, "Wie das Reich heilig wurde," 361-2, 376-82; Docs. 254, 267, 410 in *Friderici I. diplomata*, vol. 2, *inde ab 1158 usque ad 1167*, 54-55, 74-75, 292-93.

[141] Gottfried Koch, *Auf dem Wege zum Sacrum Imperium: Studien zur ideologischen Herrschaftsbegründung der deutschen Zentralgewalt im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1972), 246-68.

Charlemagne was considered *sancte memorie* already in 1152, but that he was referred to as *sanctissimus* in 1158, just a year after the Cappenberg bust was completed.[142]

In such an ideological background Charlemagne was the obvious choice to counter the ideological consequences of Manuel's restoration of the empire as his ideal. The Byzantines believed that only barbarian tyrants ruled Italy after the Langobards had conquered Italy from Justinian's successors.[143] The Latin opinion was markedly different: the empire and the papacy could not force the other to accept their version of what had transpired under Constantine the Great, thereby leading to a stalemate in the struggle between the claims that 'God crowned Charlemagne' and 'Leo III crowned Charlemagne.'[144] However, in spite of this point, the two universal powers were in agreement that there was a Roman Empire in the West since Charlemagne and Frederick Barbarossa was its current head. Bishop Otto of Freising, who was a relative of Frederick's and who wrote the revised version of his *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus* for Frederick, stated that Charlemagne transferred the Roman Empire from Constantinople to the Franks. He claimed that this was legitimately done as Charlemagne and his people, the Franks, were more virtuous than the Greeks.[145] Similarly, the Cappenberg bust represented Frederick as the rightful ruler of Rome, as it was his birthright by virtue of descent from Charlemagne.

Once Frederick arrived in Italy in 1158, he held an ideologically interesting speech, in which he mentioned that he was the ruler of the Roman Empire according to the will of God, and which he ended by stating that he hopes not to fail in preserving what Charlemagne and Otto the Great have added to the empire. He also described them as the first emperors over

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[142] Koch, *Auf dem Wege zum Sacrum Imperium,* 279.
[143] Ioannes Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, 165-67.
[144] Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, 256; Godfrey of Viterbo, "Pantheon," in *Historici Germaniae saec. XII*, 2, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz and Georg Waitz, MGH SS 22 (Hannover: Hahn, 1872), 218, 221-22.
[145] Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, 276-77.

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the Alps, the former as a Western, the latter as an Eastern Frank.[146] As the *Gesta Friderici*[147] was written on the emperor's commission, which means that it is likely to reflect the opinions held at court, it seems that Frederick was claiming the *imperium* as the legacy of the Franks. However, a closer look at the text shows us that he is already declaring his right to rule to be a consequence of conquest, and not papal coronation. Simply put, according to the *Gesta Friderici*, God gave the empire to Frederick as the heir of Charlemagne (the first emperor) and Otto the Great (who renovated the empire). This empire was gained by conquest, implying that it was neither a papal fief nor a gift. The source thus suggests that it was God's will that the Franks conquer Italy.

Once the Milanese surrendered to Frederick after a short conflict, a great diet was convoked at Roncaglia for November 11, 1158.[148] On the fourth day of the diet, the emperor held another speech, in which he reiterated that he had received the Roman Empire from God. After imposing new taxes and stricter control over the Lombard cities at the diet, Frederick reached the pinnacle of his power.[149] Hadrian IV, however, still denied him the investiture of the archbishop of Ravenna. Frederick reacted in a rather peculiar manner, but one which is of great ideological value: he ordered his notary to first write the name of the emperor, and then that of the pope to whom the letter was addressed, as was customary for the emperors of old. The custom, according to Frederick, disappeared out of reverence for the addressed party, but should the current pope not start addressing Frederick first, and only then writing his own name as sender, the emperor would not desist from his reinstated practice of writing his own name first. Soon imperial agents confiscated papal letters urging the

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[146] Rahewin of Freising, "Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," 202-4.

[147] For a recent discussion of Otto of Freising and his work, see Joachim Ehlers, *Otto von Freising: Ein Intellektueller im Mittelalter* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2013).

[148] For a recent work on the topic, see Jürgen Dendorfer, "Roncaglia: Der Beginn eines lehnrechtlichen Umbaus des Reiches?" in *Staufisches Kaisertum im 12. Jahrhundert: Konzepte, Netzwerke, politische Praxis*, eds. Stefan Burkhardt et al. (Regensburg: Schnell + Steiner, 2010).

[149] Rahewin of Freising, "Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," 239-47.

Lombards to revolt, which means that the conflict between emperor and pope that would last until 1177 finally broke out.[150]

What Barbarossa was aiming at was very much in line with what he had shown up till now: the recognition that the empire was of God, and that the pope did not give the empire to the emperor, but merely crowned him. For this to be official, papal letters were to be fitted with such protocols as one wrote to one's equals or superiors, and not such as one wrote to one's inferiors, as the popes had addressed the rest of the world. To conclude, the early reign of Frederick Barbarossa shows a consistent political line from an iconographical point of view, even though certain subtleties have been overlooked in the past. The empire that Frederick believed in was the Roman Empire of antiquity, which God had created and given to him. The pope was to crown the emperor, but he was in no way giving him anything that he owned, as the emperor had the same immediacy to God as the pope had. The empire was Roman by nature, but had been transferred to the Greeks before Charlemagne won it for the Franks. Finally, Otto the Great had acquired the empire for the Eastern Franks.

When Hadrian IV declined to allow Frederick to receive homage of Italian bishops, Frederick declared that he would not care for the homage of the Italian bishops, were it not so that they possessed his regalia.[151] He then added that "Nam cum divina ordinatione ego Romanus imperator et dicar et sim, speciem tantum dominantis effingo et inane utique porto nomen ac sine re, si urbis Romae de manu nostra potestas fuerit excussa."[152] After a second Milanese revolt, the falling out with Pope Hadrian and the pope's subsequent death on September 1, 1159, one party of cardinals elected Cardinal Octavian (now Victor IV), while the majority quickly elected Cardinal Orlando Bandinelli (now Alexander III). While the

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[150] Rahewin of Freising, "Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," 260-65.
[151] For a recent view of the often debated topic, see David R. Carr, "Frederick Barbarossa and the Lombard League: Imperial regalia, prescriptive rights, and the northern Italian cities," *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 10 (1989).
[152] Rahewin of Freising, "Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," 278.

Lombards increasingly divided themselves into two camps, the Milanese and the Imperial, Frederick made a bold move by convoking a council in Pavia in January of 1160, to which he invited the bishops of the empire, England, France, Spain, Hungary and Denmark to decide upon the matter of the true pope.[153] Frederick opened the council, claiming his right from the emperors Constantine, Theodosius, Justinian and, in newer times, Charlemagne and Otto the Great. He then withdrew, leaving the clergy to decide the controversial question. However, as only Victor IV appeared before the council, he won by a technicality. Victor IV was then proclaimed pope by the council, after which Frederick held his stirrups until the doors of the church, just as Constantine had done for Sylvester I.[154]

At this point Rahewin's text ends with a thorough description of Frederick's appearance and character, which was utterly suffused with quotations from Sidonius Apollinaris' description of Theodoric II, Einhard's description of Charlemagne, and Jordanes' description of Attila.[155] Rahewin's next point is more straightforward: Frederick often read the Bible and histories of the kings of old. It is important to understand at this point, that Frederick consistently saw himself as the restorer of the Roman Empire throughout his lifetime, never accepting anything less than restoration even in defeat. Further on, the biographer states that his subject loved conquest and was always on the lookout for new lands to add to his realm, but also that he spent a lot of money on making the empire more beautiful, while also honouring his ancestors. Moreover, Frederick restored Charlemagne's palaces in Nijmegen and Ingelheim, built a great new one in Kaiserslautern, and worked on restoring palaces and churches in Monza, Lodi and elsewhere in Italy. Rahewin adds that the kings of Spain, England, France, Denmark, Bohemia and Hungary were always suspicious of

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[153] Rahewin of Freising, "Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," 275-91, 296-97, 309-18.
[154] Rahewin of Freising, "Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," 284, 318-19. For a now already classic view of the topic, see Robert Holtzmann, "Zum Strator- und Marschalldienst: Zugleich eine Erwiderung," *Historische Zeitschrift* 145, no. 2 (1932).
[155] Rahewin of Freising, "Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," 284, 318-19, 342-44.

Frederick, but could not but accept his authority.[156] Manuel, the emperor of Constantinople, was even moved to style himself the emperor of New Rome, leaving the Roman title to Frederick. Frederick, Rahewin states, thought that nothing was better than the Roman Empire regaining its former glory.[157] It is very rare for a text to offer such an explicit ideological viewpoint as this one does, but what is truly unique in Rahewin's narrative is that he is able to unite the disparate trends of Barbarossa's ideology into his description of his emperor so well that he almost makes the reader forget that the text was not only commissioned by Frederick himself.

Other authors supportive of Barbarossa do not feature in this discussion as they do not exhibit the same idea of the empire as Frederick and his circle do. To be more precise, while they may even have used the same postulated official source,[158] authors not related to the court did not stress that Frederick's empire was of God, that he inherited the empire of Charlemagne and Otto the Great, that the pope was merely his coronator, that he was the anointed of the Lord or that he was the possessor of the city of Rome. Otto and Rahewin of Freising, on the other, acknowledged these facts every ten pages, as Godfrey of Viterbo would do later on. The probably Bergamasque author of the *Carmen de gestis Frederici I. imperatoris in Lombardia* starts his works by deploring the current situation in Liguria (meaning Lombardy) and attributing it to the lawlessness of the Milanese. He then recounts how Frederick, a scion of the ancient lineage of kings, was elected king of Germany, and in 1155 went to Italy to receive the imperial title from the pope, as no one who had not received

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[156] The most recent monograph on the Hohenstaufen palaces can be found in Walter Hotz, *Pfalzen und Burgen der Stauferzeit: Geschichte und Gestalt* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981).

[157] Rahewin of Freising, "Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," 342-46.

[158] Holtzmann, "Das Carmen de Frederico I. imperatore," 254ff; Thomas Szabó, "Herrscherbild und Reichsgedanke: Eine Studie zur höfischen Geschichtsschreibung unter Friedrich Barbarossa" (Ph.D. dissertation, Freiburg, 1971), 154-57; Heinz Krieg, *Herrscherdarstellung in der Stauferzeit: Friedrich Barbarossa im Spiegel seiner Urkunden und der staufischen Geschichtsschreibung* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), 26-49 *et passim*; Ganz, "Friedrich Barbarossa: Hof und Kultur," 634-36, 638-42.

the holy crown from the pope's hands could be considered emperor.[159] In the *Libellus* of Otto Morena, who was an imperial notary under Lothair III and Conrad III and who was a decided supporter of Frederick's, the ruler may appear as *sanctissimus* already in 1153, but it is only in 1155, after his imperial coronation, that Otto names him emperor, and no mention of Charlemagne is made in the entire text.[160] Italian supporters of the new emperor, apparently, linked the empire exclusively to the papal coronation and not to a German dynastic right. As they were not related to the court, moreover, they did not know or did not care for the Carolingian renovation Frederick was attempting.[161]

Finally, once Milan fell for the second time, the triumphant Barbarossa let everybody know that this happened, even going so far as to include the formulae *post destructionem Mediolani* and *post destructum Medionalum* in all chancery documents written during the rest of his third Italian campaign.[162] But feeling that this by itself would not do, the glorious emperor of the Romans commissioned a poem be written about the fall of the greatest city of Lombardy. Its author, the rather mysterious *Archipoeta*,[163] worked for Rainald of Dassel, Frederick's archchancellor and archbishop of Cologne, who was one of the leading forces in the war against the Milanese. The poem itself, called *Kaiserhymnus* in German, offers

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[159] Anonymus, *Carmen de gestis Frederici I. imperatoris in Lombardia,* ed. Irene Schmale-Ott, MGH SS. rer. Germ. 62 (Hannover: Hahn, 1965), 1-3.

[160] Otto Morena, "Ottonis Morenae eiusdemque continuatorum Libellus de rebus a Frederico imperatore gestis," in *Italische Quellen über die Taten Kaiser Friedrichs I. in Italien und der Brief über den Kreuzzug Kaiser Friedrichs I.*, ed. and trans. Franz-Josef Schmale (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986), 36, 60-62.

[161] For a recent work on the *furor Teutonicus* motif, see Wolfgang Giese, "Rex Ruffe, furoris Teutonici ductor! Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossas Kriegsführung in Italien: Eine Wiederauferstehung des furorteutonicus?" in *Sine ira et studio: Militärhistorische Studien zur Erinnerung an Hans Schmidt*, ed. Uta Lindgren, Karl Schnith and Jakob Seibert (Kallmünz: Lassleben, 2001).

[162] *Friderici I. diplomata*, vol 2, *inde ab 1158 usque ad 1167,* 355-83 and *Friderici I. diplomata*, vol 4, *inde ab 1181 usque ad 1190*, 105-6. An in depth work on the siege itself can be found in Holger Berwinkel, *Verwüsten und Belagern: Friedrich Barbarossas Krieg gegen Mailand, 1158-1162* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 2007).

[163] For a recent literature on the Archpoet, see Johannes Fried, "Der Archipoeta - ein Kölner Scholaster?" In *Ex ipsis rerum documentis: Beiträge zur Mediävistik. Festschrift für Harald Zimmermann zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Klaus Herbers, Hans-Henning Kortüm and Carlo Servatius (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1991).

perhaps the most exalted vision of the empire and emperor the twelfth century would see.[164]

The hymn itself is a document supreme to the legacy of Charlemagne, whom Frederick imitates, obviously, from very early on. The most famous verse of the hymn, however, is the opening one in which the poet greets the ruler of the world: "Salve, mundi domine, cesar noster ave, / Cuius bonis omnibus iugum est suave!"[165] Verses extolling Frederick's exalted position follow, describing him as the ruler of all earthly rulers, an honour which was usually granted only to God: "Princeps terre principum, Cesar Friderice."[166] Basing Frederick's rule on God's grace was, of course, indispensable: "Nemo prudens ambigit te per dei nutum / Super reges alios regem constitutum."[167]

The ideological background of the text becomes increasingly obvious as the Archpoet states that Frederick, as the anointed of the Lord, aimed to restore the Roman Empire, just as Frankish and German rulers had claimed to be doing since Charlemagne:[168]

> Christi sensus imbuat mentem Christianam,
>
> Ut de christo domini digna laudem canam,
>
> Qui potenter sustinens sarcinam mundanam
>
> Relevat in pristinum gradum rem Romanam.[169]

The hero of the poem, Frederick, is not just fighting God's righteous war; he is doing much more than that. He is following the footsteps of Charlemagne by representing him, not only by fighting the Lombards, but also by returning the Roman Empire to its prior state of glory:

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[164] Archpoet, *Der Archipoeta*, ed. and trans. Heinrich Krefeld, Schriften und Quellen der alten Welt 41 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1992), 11-12. Both Rainald and the Archpoet seem to have died of the Roman plague in 1167.

[165] IX, 1, 1-2 in Archpoet, *Der Archipoeta,* 72.

[166] IX, 2, 1 in Archpoet, *Der Archipoeta,* 72.

[167] IX, 3, 1-2 in Archpoet, *Der Archipoeta,* 72.

[168] Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, 39, 51, 81, 85-86, 88 *et passim.*

[169] IX, 8 in Archpoet, *Der Archipoeta,* 74.

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Quanta sit potencia vel laus Friderici,

Cum sit patens omnibus, non est opus dici;

Qui rebelles lancea fodiens ultrici

Representat Karolum dextera victrici.

Hic ergo considerans orbem conturbatum

Potenter aggreditur opus deo gratum,

Etut regnum revocet ad priorem statum,

Repetit ex debito census civitatum.[170]

After shortly evaluating the various Lombard cities, the Archpoet then moves on to call out the Byzantine emperor and tell him that Milan is now in ruins. The conflict between the two emperors who were both planning on restoring their rule in Italy was now gaining momentum:

Interim precipio tibi, Constantine,

Iam depone dexteram, tue cessent mine!

Mediolanensium tante sunt ruine,

Quod in urbe media modo regnant spine.[171]

The closing stanzas then accuse and threaten the Greeks and Sicilians, before they segue into a final exaltation of Caesar Frederick:

Volat fama cesaris velud velox ecus;

Hac audita trepidat imperator Grecus;

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[170] IX, 16-17 in Archpoet, *Der Archipoeta,* 76.
[171] IX, 23 in Archpoet, *Der Archipoeta,* 76.

Iam quid agat nescius, iam timore cecus,

Timet nomen cesaris ut leonem pecus.

Iam tiranno Siculo Siculi detrectant,

Siculo te siciunt, cesar, et expectant;

Iam libenter Apuli tibi genuflectant,

Mirantur, quod detinet, oculos humectant.[172]

In short, according to the poet, Frederick was the lord of the world, the Roman emperor set up by God, who was representing Charlemagne by restoring the empire to its primeval state and reclaiming the legacy of Augustus. In this vein, his enemies, the Milanese, were enemies of God plotting together with the Greek Emperor Constantine and the Sicilian tyrant, neither of whom receives their proper titles in this poem, as one called himself emperor of the Romans, the other the king of Sicily. Furthermore, Constantine refers to the Greek emperor, whose actual name was Manuel, but who was representing the legacy of Constantine the Great. However, Frederick was not assailing the Christian legacy of Constantine, but he was making a point about the *constitutum Constantini*:[173] he was going back beyond Constantine in order to criticise the state of affairs which was brought about by moving the Roman Empire to the East, as Frederick's other policies attest to. Frederick's plans, to say the least, were huge, if not utterly impossible. He himself, however, contributed to their failure by stopping his expedition against Sicily in 1162 when he went to meet Louis VII at St. Jean-

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[172] IX, 31-32 in Archpoet, *Der Archipoeta,* 78-80.

[173] Petersohn, *Kaisertum und Rom,* 326: While Frederick's court was definitely aware of the *constitutum,* It is questionable whether the papacy of Frederick's age ever claimed that the *constitutum* was valid. As Petersohn notes, Gratian himself did not take any part of the *constitutum* into his *Decretum,* and no papal source cites it. For a recent analysis of the *constitutum,* see Johannes Fried and Wolfram Brandes, *Donation of Constantine and Constitutum Constantini: The Misinterpretation of a Fiction and Its Original Meaning* (Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007).

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sur-Losne in order to force Louis to accept Victor IV as pope. Frederick's failure in this regard was, according to John of Salisbury, a cause of great sadness to the emperor.[174]

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[174] Franz-Josef Schmale, "Friedrich I. und Ludwig VII. im Sommer des Jahres 1162," *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 31 (1968): 318-68; Görich, *Friedrich Barbarossa*, 397-402.

Chapter 4 – *O rex mundi triumphator*: Frederick Barbarossa and Aachen (1162 - 1169)

A popular approach to the ideology of a ruler in German historiography in the past half a century has been to count the number of times when a ruler visited a place.[175] However, the Redbeard did not come to Aachen at statistically correct intervals.[176] Rather, he came there when he needed to, just as politician should have done. From March 8 to March 14 of 1152 Frederick made his first royal stay in Aachen, when he came to be crowned on March 9, the *Laetare* Sunday. His next visit is connected to a diet held in Aachen the very next year, probably in August. May 6, 1157, is the date of his third stay. His fourth visit, however, was to capture the imagination of many historians. During the winter stay of 1165/1166 Frederick participated in the canonisation of Charlemagne.[177] Interestingly, it seems that he did not participate in the coronation of his son, Henry VI, on August 15, 1169.[178] In 1171 he stayed several months from August to October, though he visited nearby Liége in the meantime. Frederick's final stay in the royal city was accompanied by a diet held from March 24 to March 31, 1174. And with this all of the visits of Charlemagne's devoted imitator are accounted for, as Frederick never visited Aachen from 1174 to 1190. It would even seem that he had no connection to the place after that. On the other hand, not even the later part of Barbarossa's reign is as one-sided as may be inferred: his successor, Henry VI,

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[175] Meuthen, "Barbarossa und Aachen," 30.

[176] For a detailed work on Frederick's itinerary, see Ferdinand Opll, *Das Itinerar Friedrich Barbarossas (1152-1190)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1978).

[177] Lambert Waterlos, "Annales Cameracenses," in *Annales aevi Suevici, 1*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS 16 (Hannover: Hahn, 1859), 538. For recent detailed analyses of the whole process, see Görich, "Die Kanonisation Karls des Großen 1165, " Görich, "Karl der Große: Ein 'politischer Heiliger' im 12.Jahrhundert?," and Vones, "Heiligsprechung und Tradition."

[178] Ferdinand Oppl, ed., *Lothar III. und ältere Staufer 1125-1197*, vol. 2, *Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Friedrich I. 1152 (1122) - 1190.*, bk. 3, *1168-1180,* Regesta imperii, ed. J. F. Böhmer, 4 (Vienna: Böhlau, 2008), 22.

visited Aachen in 1185, and another son of his, Philip, was educated there and held the position of prior of Saint Mary's church in Aachen from 1186 / 1189 to 1190, and again from 1191 to 1193.[179]

First of all, it is important to understand the territorial politics of the later twelfth century in order to be able to fully grasp why Frederick was so absent from Aachen in his later years. As Jean-Louis Kupper has avidly demonstrated, Frederick tried to create a territorial unit in the Meuse valley, which would counterbalance the Zähringer dukes and the archbishop of Cologne in the region. However, the plan failed due to the unlikeliest of circumstances, which helped Philip of Heinsberg, archbishop of Cologne, prevent the establishment of this unit. Philip had, however, entered into open conflict with his emperor in 1183 and the conflict ended only with Philip's subjugation in 1188, after which Henry VI continued his father's plan for the Meuse valley region.[180] The archbishops of Cologne were, as far as I can tell, quite displeased with Frederick's plans, especially as he had led a more or less consistently anti-English policy since 1175, which meant that the city of Cologne, which profited the most from the English trade, had to suffer the consequences. This was a problem for the archbishops, who would not and could not preside over their own city's demise, so they chose the city over their sovereign.[181]

A further point to be raised in the discussion is perhaps merely a symbolic one, but a relevant one nonetheless. After the fall of Milan in 1162, Frederick gave the relics of Three Kings, which were located in Sant' Ambrogio, to Rainald of Dassel, archbishop of Cologne,

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[179] Meuthen, "Barbarossa und Aachen," 29-30, 32-33, 56.
[180] Jean-Louis Kupper, "Friedrich Barbarossa im Maasgebiet," in *Friedrich Barbarossa: Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen des staufischen Kaisers*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1992), 227-40. The whole essay is an intricate work of scholarship, and contains valuable information for more of Frederick's politics than just what is described in this short paragraph.
[181] Hugo Stehkämper, "Friedrich Barbarossa und die Stadt Köln: Ein Wirtschaftskrieg am Niederrhein," In *Köln - und darüber hinaus: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen*, vol. 1, ed. Hugo Stehkämper (Cologne: Historisches Archiv, 2004), 38-40.

in 1163.[182] Rainald then carried them in a solemn procession along the Rhine toward his episcopal seat in 1164, while Alexander III did everything he could to stop Rainald, but had no success in preventing the cult of the Three Kings being set up in the greatest city of Germany. Alexander may have wanted to prevent Rainald from setting up the cult of the three magi in Germany, as the magi were by that time already considered to be the first kings to have recognised Christ as the Messiah by bringing him gifts and bowing to him, but also the only Biblical rulers to do so.[183] Thus, they had immediacy to Christ, that is, to God, meaning that no intermediary, such as a priest or a pope, stood between them. Now, this seemingly benign, rather frivolous and quite unimportant point is in all actuality so much more than meets the eye. To understand what it meant, however, the modern historian must return to the spiritual world of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the very concept of God's sovereignty was undergoing a fundamental change.

While the Carolingians (751 - 911) and Ottonians (919 - 1024) could derive their authority by virtue of having received God's grace as the rulers of their peoples, the Reform Papacy of the later eleventh century moved swiftly against this worldview, essentially disputing the sacrality of the rulers, thus placing them in an unenviable position in the hierarchy of the world: if their power was not of God, whence did it come from? The typical answers were, in logical order, (1) of Satan, (2) of man's evil or, taking a middle course, (3) of man, but with God's consent. Pope Gregory VII, the *sanctus Satanas* of Pier Damiani,[184] even went so far as to demand the subordination of kings to the pope. In the case of Ladislaus of Hungary (1077 - 1095), Gregory mentioned that the king's first Christian predecessor, who was shortly to become a saint, King Stephen I of Hungary (997 - 1038), granted his crown to

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[182] For a recent work on the medieval cult of the Three Kings, see Hans Hofmann, *Die heiligen drei Könige: Zur Heiligenverehrung im kirchlichen, gesellschaftlichen und politischen Leben des Mittelalters* (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1975).

[183] Engels, "Des Reiches heiliger Gründer," 42, 45-46; Lambert Waterlos, "Annales Cameracenses," 538.

[184] Goez, *Kirchenreform und Investiturstreit 910-1122*, 116.

Saint Peter, which meant that Hungary was a papal fief. Ladislaus, of course, would have none of it. Already when Saint Stephen's first *vita* was written between 1077 and 1083, the Hungarian author responded to the papal claim by stating that Stephen had truly given his crown to a saint, but that this saint was Mary, Mother of God, whose representative the pope could not be.[185] Saint Peter may have been the prince of Apostles, but not even he was hierarchically above the mother of the Saviour himself.

William II of England, who stood to gain nothing by choosing sides in the Investiture Controversy, but who could gain a lot by exploiting the Church of England via appropriation of ecclesiastical property, once famously said that the saints, and among them Saint Peter, had no power, thereby trying to base his rule only on his merits as a ruler *representing* God as the *christus Domini*, and not representing any saint.[186] To conclude, the cult of the Three Kings was possibly an intermediary option, where the ruler would receive God's grace through the three Biblical royal saints. The more likely option, however, is that Frederick wanted to present himself as one of their kind, the royals blessed by Christ. The question, obviously, is why this cult never materialised during the time of the Hohenstaufen, but was quick to gain ascendancy in the reign of Otto IV (1198 /1208 - 1214 / 1218), son of Henry the Lion and chief opponent of Barbarossa's son Philip (1198 - 1208) and grandson Frederick II (1215 - 1250).

On the other hand, while Rainald of Dassel was archbishop of Cologne (1153 - 1167) and Frederick's chief adviser, the situation was different.[187] After Victor IV died in Lucca in 1164, Rainald immediately forced the election of Paschal III (1164 - 1168), without waiting

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[185] Eckhard Müller-Mertens, *Regnum Teutonicum* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1970), 169-70; Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 123-40; Hartvic, "Life of King Stephen of Hungary," in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. and trans. Nora Berend (New York: Routledge, 2001), 375-76, 385.

[186] Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, 101-2.

[187] For more about Rainald of Dassel, see Helmuth Kluger, "Rainald von Dassel (1120-1167): Reichskanzler - Erzbischof von Köln - Erzkanzler für Italien," in *Das Rheinland - Wiege Europas? Eine Spurensuche von Agrippina bis Adenauer*, ed. Karlheinz Gierden (Cologne: Lübbe Ehrenwirth, 2011).

for his sovereign's orders. As he suffered no repercussions from Frederick, it seems logical to assume that Frederick wanted to continue the schism as well. Finally, during the winter of 1165/1166, Frederick, Rainald and host of other magnates visited Aachen for the canonisation of Charlemagne, Frederick's lifelong paragon. This was effected on St. David's day, December 29, 1165, so as to make Charlemagne's entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven even more spectacular, as he would be welcomed on the feast of the first Jewish holy king, who was also his own patron saint and paragon, whose name he adopted for his own courtly pseudonym. This reference could not have been lost on Frederick.

Frederick also used the opportunity to issue two important acts, which must be discussed from an ideological point of view. A mere ten days later, on January 8, 1166, Frederick officially renewed the rights of Aachen, which it purportedly possessed since Charlemagne, but which actually stemmed from a forgery attributed to him.[188] By this *vidimus* Aachen gained several rights: 1) that all legal proceedings may take place in Aachen, 2) that all citizen born in Aachen were free persons, even those who moved away, 3) that Aachen could never be given as a fief to any person.[189] Frederick gained something else by confirming this forgery: Charlemagne's palatine church was officially confirmed as the location where all kings of Germany had to be crowned, and after which they were to be dutifully crowned emperors by the popes in Rome. While the forgery described Aachen as *caput Gallie*, the capital of Gaul, Frederick's act called it the *caput et sedes regni Theutonie*, which could mean only Germany.[190]

The forgery itself antedates September 22, 1158, when Hadrian IV confirmed it as a show of benevolence to Frederick, thereby accepting that the pope *must* crown the German

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[188] McGrade, "O rex mundi triumphator," 194.
[189] Meuthen, "Barbarossa und Aachen," 36-37; Engels, "Des Reiches heiliger Gründer," 38.
[190] Meuthen, "Barbarossa und Aachen," 36; Binding, *Deutsche Königspfalzen*, 79.

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kings crowned in Aachen as emperors.[191] However, the forgery introduced one other element into Aachen's symbolism: the foundation story. In the document, Charlemagne claims to have been hunting near Aachen one day and strayed deep into the thicket, where he found the thermae built by Granus, Nero's and Agrippa's brother. He then renovated them when he built his palace and the church of Saint Mary in Aachen.[192] The story was clearly invented as a parallel to legend of the True Cross, which Saint Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, discovered in a pagan temple in Jerusalem. Her famous son then destroyed the temple so that he could erect the church of the Holy Sepulchre where it once stood. According to McGrade, the story found in the forgery reflects the *translatio imperii* theory, as stated in Saint Augustine's *De civitate Dei*. As this states that the *imperium* migrated from East to West, this meant that Aachen now took Rome's place as the centre of world power.[193] The builder of the thermae, Granus, was written into this legend as Nero's brother, as Nero was considered to be the most unholy of all the Roman emperors.[194]

One day after Frederick issued the *vidimus* containing the legend of Aachen's foundation, on January 9, 1166, he issued a new act, which defined Aachen by its city wall (which was built several years later) and which granted the city two fairs per year under imperial protection and a toll-free regime for merchants. In 1171 the people of Aachen swore an oath to Frederick that they would build the city wall within four years. The emperor, however, visited for the last time in 1174 and did not return later on, most likely due to the conflict with Philip of Cologne.[195]

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[191] Meuthen, "Barbarossa und Aachen," 36, 43.
[192] Doc. 295 in *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni diplomata*, ed. Engelbert Mühlbacher et al., MGH Diplomata Karolinorum, 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1906), 439-43; Anonymus, *Die Aachener "Vita Karoli Magni" des 12. Jahrhunderts*, ed. and trans. Helmut and Ilse Deutz (Siegburg: Schmitt, 2002), 120-24.
[193] McGrade, "O rex mundi triumphator," 199-203.
[194] Meuthen, "Barbarossa und Aachen," 38.
[195] Meuthen, "Barbarossa und Aachen," 31, 46, 48-50, 59.

The forgery itself, however, contains more clues about its context. The fact that it stresses Aachen's relevance as the capital of Germany is a point in case, as it was a typically twelfth-century development. While rulers of previous centuries, such as Charlemagne, travelled from one place to another with their entire court as they could only rule the area they could visit to efficiently oversee their officials,[196] the rulers of the twelfth century increasingly concentrated on establishing territorial units around seats of government, which Barbarossa tried to do with Aachen.[197] In Frederick's peculiar case, more than one city was called the *caput regni*, as Aachen was designated the capital of Germany and the empire, Monza of Lombardy (1159), Arles of Provence (1164) and Burgundy (1178),[198] and Rome of the empire itself.[199] However, to understand why Aachen became the capital of Germany at exactly the same time when Charlemagne became a saint, it is necessary to see it as a part of the struggle between France and Germany to claim the legacy of the Franks.

For our purposes, it is enough to start with the year 1124, when Henry V of the Holy Roman Empire invaded France. Abbot Suger of St-Denis then placed the relics of the saint on the high altar, from where Louis VI took up the banner of Saint Denis, thereby invoking the saint as his patron. After Henry V retreated, Louis returned to the royal abbey victoriously and then personally carried his protector's mortal remains back to their usual place in the crypt. With this Saint Denis finally eclipsed Saint Martin as the patron saint of France.[200] However, Suger mentions another incident in his work: when Louis VI heard that the Germans were attacking, he reportedly exclaimed that they have no right to do so and that

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[196] Kerner, "Karl der Große: Persönlichkeit und Lebenswerk," 32.

[197] Kupper, "Friedrich Barbarossa im Maasgebiet," 234 *et passim*; Stehkämper, "Friedrich Barbarossa und die Stadt Köln," 38-40.

[198] Meuthen, "Barbarossa und Aachen," 39.

[199] Rahewin of Freising, "Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," 345; Petersohn, *Kaisertum und Rom*, 323.

[200] Suger, "Vie de Louis le Gros, par Suger," in *Œuvres complètes de Suger*, ed. Albert Lecoy de La Marche (Paris: Mme. ve. J. Renouard, 1867), 116, 120-21; Engels, "Des Reiches heiliger Gründer," 43.

they should be content that he, the true king of the Franks, was not pressing his claim on Germany.[201] Obviously, the idea that both realms were Frankish still existed.

Abbot Suger, Louis' chief adviser, was probably also responsible for another famous forgery, an act of Charlemagne which claims to stem from 813, but actually seems to have been written between 1127 and 1129. This forgery states that only the abbot of St-Denis 1) may confirm bishops in the kingdom of France, 2) allow them to go see the pope, and 3) judge them. However, it is another part of the forgery which is more to the point at hand. The act not only declares St-Denis to be the official and only coronation site of Charlemagne's successors, but, what is even more interesting, proclaims that Saint Denis possesses the *regnum*, and that Charlemagne received it from the saint. The bestowal of coronation rights on St-Denis directly encroached upon the coronation traditions of Aachen (for Germany) and Reims (for France).[202]

In 1144, the next step was made by Louis VI's son, Louis VII (1137 - 1180), who personally carried the relics of his protector saint, Denis, from their erstwhile location in the abbey's crypt to the Gothic choir, which was only recently rebuilt by abbot Suger.[203] Westminster Abbey, the English counterpart to St-Denis, responded first to the new and extravagant claims raised by their continental rivals. The Kingdom of Leon followed shortly by granting similar right to Santiago de Compostela.[204] It seems likely that the development of the cult of Henry II of the Holy Roman Empire (1002 - 1024) under Conrad III and then under Frederick Barbarossa was the first response of the German court. Conrad III, through whose support Henry became a saint, however, was only present at Henry's canonisation in Bamberg in 1146, but not his translation in 1147, as he already left Germany leading the

[201] Suger, "Vie de Louis le Gros," 116-17; Grimme, *Der Dom zu Aachen,* 137-38.
[202] Engels, "Des Reiches heiliger Gründer," 42-43.
[203] Vones, "Heiligsprechung und Tradition," 93.
[204] Meuthen, "Barbarossa und Aachen," 40-41.

second crusade. Conrad's nephew and political successor, Frederick, was then present at the tenth anniversary of Henry's translation in 1157.[205] However, even though he was glorified by Godfrey of Viterbo in the *Pantheon* (1186 - 1191),[206] the cult of Henry II never really captured the imagination of the court. Another imperial saint, one whose cult could be an answer to Byzantine, French and papal pretensions, was necessary to remedy the situation.

However, the next step in countering the cult of Saint Denis was by Henry II of England (1154 - 1189), who petitioned Pope Alexander III (1159 - 1181) to canonise Edward the Confessor, the last pre-Norman king of England who was accepted as a predecessor by the Norman and Angevin kings. Alexander, wishing to gain an ally against Frederick and Victor IV, canonised Edward on February 7, 1161.[207] That Edward's cult was a political manoeuvre of the English king is apparent from the fact that the saint's ceremonial translation had to be adjourned until 1163, when, according to one source, Henry helped carry his patron's reliquary shrine to its new position in Westminster Abbey.[208] And yet, as Henry tried to assert his power over that of the Church of England by passing the Clarendon constitutions in 1164, he became an enemy of Archbishop Thomas Becket of Canterbury, but also of the papacy. In order to maintain the balance of power, Henry had to quickly strike a blow against Louis VII, who was now sheltering Becket and who had given shelter to Alexander III from Frederick, even going so far as to openly oppose the emperor. It was only logical that Henry should ally himself with Frederick. To do this, Henry offered to recognise the legitimacy of Frederick's pope, but he also petitioned Frederick to canonise Charlemagne, the founder of the Holy Roman Empire.[209] Moreover, Rainald of Dassel, Frederick's chief adviser until

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[205] Balzer, "Der Cappenberger Barbarossakopf ," 296.
[206] Godfrey of Viterbo, "Pantheon," 240-41.
[207] Engels, "Des Reiches heiliger Gründer," 41, 44.
[208] Jürgen Petersohn, "Saint-Denis – Westminster – Aachen: Die Karls-Translatio von 1165 und ihre Vorbilder," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 31 (1975): 433-36.
[209] Engels, "Des Reiches heiliger Gründer," 37, 42-43.; Doc. 502 in *Friderici I. diplomata*, vol. 2, *inde ab 1158 usque ad 1167*, 432-33.

1167, visited Henry II in Rouen in early 1164, where he negotiated a matrimonial plan for the two rulers' children, but where he also probably learned of the details of Saint Edward's cult. Finally, he returned to Germany in the company of English clerics, which makes it improbable that the imperial court was unaware of the cultic developments in France and England.[210]

It was at this point that Charlemagne became the main patron saint of the empire, supplanting Henry II in this role. Charlemagne, whom Frederick had been referring to as of holy memory since 1152,[211] was Frederick's personal hero. He fascinated Frederick up to the point that Otto and Rahewin of Freising's *Gesta Friderici*, written between 1155 and 1160, contained numerous comparisons between Charlemagne and Frederick scattered throughout the text. Rahewin concluded the work with a slightly edited description of Charlemagne's physical appearance used to describe Frederick. If even this were not enough, Rahewin even mentioned that Frederick was renovating the exact same palaces, bridges and other objects which Charlemagne had constructed some 350 years earlier.[212] But this is still not the whole story. In the act issued by Frederick on January 9, 1166, Frederick calls himself an *alter Karolus*, a new Charlemagne, and the Aachen-issued halfdenars started to bear the image of Charlemagne on one side, and of Frederick on the other.[213]

To understand the proceedings around the canonisation of Charlemagne, it is best to examine the emperor's vita, the *Vita Karoli Magni*, a work most likely written by Godfrey of Spitzenburg, provost of Aachen between 1165 and 1170, at Frederick's behest. The vita, which delves into many details of Charlemagne's character and life, presents a twelfth-century image of Charlemagne as desired by the imperial court. While much of its material is

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[210] Petersohn, "Saint-Denis – Westminster – Aachen," 435-36.
[211] Koch, *Auf dem Wege zum Sacrum Imperium,* 279.
[212] Rahewin of Freising, "Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," 342-45.
[213] Vones, "Heiligsprechung und Tradition," 98-101.

taken from various earlier authors, it is the small changes which are introduced in this work that, when combined, really flesh out the new patron saint of the empire. First of all, Charlemagne is depicted as the great and wise ruler who ruled over the Franks, obtained the Roman Empire from the pope, wielded both the spiritual and temporal swords (*ventilator utriusque gladii)*, restored the laws of Justinian and so on. Up to this point no great innovation takes place in imperial ideology. However, several new motifs appear in the story. The first seven chapters of book three, for example, are an almost exact copy of the first part of the Pseudo-Turpin, a text whose first version was written in the 1140s, and which describes Charlemagne's Spanish crusade and discovery of the body of Saint James the Greater for the first time.[214]

Another story incorporated into the *Vita Karoli Magni* is the *Descriptio*, a text dated to the 1050s, which describes Charlemagne's miraculous journey to Jerusalem, his battles to free Jerusalem from the Saracens on behalf of the Roman (*sic*) emperor Constantine and his son Leo. After Charlemagne restores Jerusalem to the Christians, Constantine offers him many gifts, all of which Charlemagne declines. After some confusion as to how to proceed, Charlemagne accepts Constantine's gift of several relics, including a piece of the crown of thorns, the robes of Saint Mary, the diapers of Christ and the cloth in which John the Baptist's head was brought to Herodias. Charlemagne then returns to Frankish (!) southern Italy, then slowly travels to Gaul performing miracles along the way with his newly acquired relics. He finally bequests them to Saint Mary's in Aachen, where a grand synod is held.[215] What the *Vita* leaves out from its St-Denis source is that the story ends with Charles the Bald transferring many of the relics to St-Denis. But the *Vita*, being a pro-Aachen and pro-German text, programmatically leaves out the high praise which Santiago the Compostela and St-

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[214] Anonymus, *Vita Karoli Magni*, 31-38, 88, 104, 204-20; Petersohn, "Saint-Denis – Westminster – Aachen," 447.
[215] Anonymus, *Vita Karoli Magni*, 138-98.

Denis receive in their own respective texts, in order to amplify the symbolic stature of Aachen.[216] According to Knut Görich, who disagrees with the political interpretation of the cult of Charlemagne, the whole canonisation process and the establishment of Charlemagne's cult were only steps toward Frederick announcing his lifelong dream of leading a new crusade, which the emperor was contemplating since 1165, if not before.[217]

On the other hand, it seems rather apparent that the purpose of the *Vita* was not only to strike a blow at the French, but that it was to establish the superiority of Charlemagne to Constantine the Great. This can be noticed at several places in the *Vita*, but is most obvious in the story of the consecration of the church of Aniane, when God appears to Charlemagne in the form of a burning church which could not be consumed by the fire. The author of the *Vita* then openly states that Charlemagne was a new Moses, thereby making a very rare connection of a relatively recent ruler to God's representative on earth.[218] There are other passages which carry a similar message, such as those in which Charlemagne is praised as a new Solomon.[219] However, the passage comparing Charlemagne to Job is far more symbolically pregnant, as it draws on the forgery of Charlemagne which Frederick had confirmed on January 8, 1166, and which was inserted into the *Vita Karoli Magni* as well, as Charlemagne is described as a martyr for the true faith due to his constant warring against the pagans,for 'even though his chest was never pierced,' he never stopped suffering for the faith. Finally, when Charlemagne is qualified as a saint in the text, he is described as a confessor, a martyr, and even an apostle, as he brought Christianity to the Saxons.[220]

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[216] Anonymus, *Vita Karoli Magni*, 354-57.
[217] Görich, *Friederich Barbarossa*, 546.
[218] Anonymus, *Vita Karoli Magni*, 228-30.
[219] Anonymus, *Vita Karoli Magni*, 82.
[220] Doc. 295 in *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni diplomata*, 439-43; Anonymus, *Vita Karoli Magni*, 120-24, 234, 262, 338.

While Charlemagne had already been described as the apostle of the Saxons for centuries, it was only his becoming a saint that made his apostolic status a reality.[221] A similar example is Saint Stephen of Hungary, who was regarded as the Apostolic King of his realm.[222] However, his cult does not otherwise seem to be related to the development of Charlemagne's cult from 1152 onward, as better and more imperial model existed at the time: the cult of Constantine the Great. Constantine, who was baptised at the very end of his life, decreed that he be buried in the centre of church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, where he tried to gather the relics of all twelve apostles and then place them around the centre of the church.[223] The message was remarkably clear: Emperor Constantine was equal to the apostles, if not even the first among them. Constantine's sarcophagus was removed from the centre of the church not long after his burial there, but the erstwhile setting was described by Eusebius of Caesarea.[224]

This example could not have been lost on Otto of Freising,[225] Godfrey of Viterbo[226] and other persons related to Barbarossa's court, where Eusebius' works were apparently read. The question which has to be answered at this point is: did Frederick Barbarossa know about the attitude the Byzantines had toward Constantine? Though it seems improbable at first glance, it is actually quite logical to assume that Frederick knew at least something about Constantine's reputation, as he and many other German nobles spent several weeks in Constantinople while returning from the second crusade. Moreover, constant diplomatic exchanges and squabbles with the Byzantine emperors led the German court to have some knowledge of many of the elements of Byzantine ideology. To sum up, it seems quite

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[221] Anonymus, *Vita Karoli Magni*, 241.

[222] Hartvic, "Life of King Stephen of Hungary," 386-87.

[223] Eusebius of Caesarea, *Life of Constantine*, trans. and comm. Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 176-77 and the editors' commentary on 337-39.

[224] Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, rev. Richard Krautheimer and Slobodan Ćurčić (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 39-40, 69.

[225] Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, 7-8.

[226] Georg Waitz, "Gotifredi Viterbiensis opera," in *Historici Germaniae saec. XII, 2*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz and Georg Waitz, MGH SS 22 (Munich: MGH, 1872), 7.

plausible that the imperial court was aware of the position of Constantine the Great in Byzantine ideology. As Schramm puts it: the Latins might not have liked the Greeks, but Constantinople was still the Versailles of the Middle Ages.[227]

Furthermore, Manuel Komnenos, who styled himself the renovator of the Roman Empire, and who tried to take over Italy, was both Frederick's model and rival. But ideological innovations travelled both ways: Manuel was even prepared to be crowned by the pope, if only he could finally lay to rest the evil spirit which had haunted the Byzantine court for several centuries by his time: the existence of a western Roman Empire, which was ruled by a Frank or German.[228] On the other hand, as Ciresi suggests, the Aquensian liturgy seems to support the apostolicity of the Charlemagne and his imperial successors, the *christi Domini* who ruled the *sacrum imperium*, against the papacy's Petrine apostolicity.[229]

A closer look at the objects which Charlemagne brought back from Jerusalem to Aachen in the *Vita* shows us that they were not picked randomly. They are all essentially priceless objects which could channel God's grace to the person who possessed them. While Charlemagne was their owner in the *Vita*, their remaining Aachen, and not being transferred to St-Denis was more important than just a jibe at the French monarchy.[230] It was the imperial court's way of stressing that the emperor was the direct beneficiary of the grace of God through the secondary relics of Christ Himself, but also through the relics of other Biblical saints. However, there is an even more interesting passage in the *Vita* related to the sanctity of the emperor, where the author explicitly states that the progeny of Charlemagne are more

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[227] Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, 35.
[228] Eleni Tounta, "Byzanz als Vorbild Friedrich Barbarossas," in *Staufisches Kaisertum im 12. Jahrhundert: Konzepte, Netzwerke, politische Praxis*, eds. by Stefan Burkhardt, Thomas Metz, Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter (Regensburg: Schnell + Steiner, 2010), 163; Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 421, 451, 460, 463 *et passim*.
[229] Ciresi, "Manifestations of the Holy as Instruments of Propaganda," 72-73.
[230] Anonymus, *Vita Karoli Magni*, 166-98.

holy than other people, as they descend from such a saint.[231] One would expect that such ideology would not be contained to merely one hagiographical account and it was indeed not. Frederick gave a brachiary, in which Charlemagne's relics were temporarily placed, to Aachen at some point during the later 1160s, but most likely during his winter stay of 1165 / 1166.[232]

The brachiary itself (Figs. 17-20), a rather simple and relatively inconspicuous object in view of Barbarossa's later projects, was a small rectangular chest whose four sides bore half-body figural images under a continuous row of arches. On one of the longer sides, the so called Saint Mary side, the central figure is the crowned Mother of God with Child holding a sceptre-like lily in her right hand, flanked by the archangels Michael (to her right) and Gabriel (to her left). On Michael's right is Frederick Barbarossa, who is carrying a sceptre-lily in his left hand and a *globus cruciger* in his right hand, and who is wearing imperial robes and a double-hooped crown with *pendiliae*. On Gabriel's left is Frederick's wife Beatrix, who is wearing a hoopless crown, gloves and long robes which cover all of her body except her face. In her hands Beatrix is holding a cross with two crossbeams, which supposedly represents the cross which the empress gave to Aachen. On the other long side of the brachiary, the so called Christ side, the central figure is Christ, who is holding the book of life in his left hand while he blesses with his right hand. He is flanked on his right hand side by Saint Peter, who is holding keys in his right hand and a book in his left hand. On Christ's left hand side is Saint Paul, who is holding a book in his left hand, while he implores Christ for the living with a gesture of his right hand. On Saint Peter's right hand side one can see Conrad III depicted wearing imperial robes and holding the same regalia as Frederick does on Saint Mary's side. On Saint Paul's left is Barbarossa's father, Frederick II, duke of Swabia,

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[231] Anonymus, *Vita Karoli Magni*, 240.
[232] Grimme, *Der Dom zu Aachen,* 148; Anonymus, *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS. rer. Germ. 18 (Hannover: Hahn, 1880), 116.

depicted as an armed man holding a military banner in his right hand, that is, as a duke. The two short sides are reserved each for only one person: Otto III, who opened Charlemagne's grave in 1000 and was buried in Aachen in 1002, and Louis the Pious, Charlemagne's son and only heir.[233]

The object, which was apparently located in the centre of the church, carries a relatively straightforward message, which, according to Grimme, is the first depiction of dynastic tendencies in the Hohenstaufen era, as members of the Hohenstaufen family are depicted as the heirs of earlier emperors, such as Charlemagne, Louis the Pious and Otto III. Grimme also noted that the cults of Charlemagne and Saint Mary were connected to each for the first time on this object, which might be interpreted as yet another example of Byzantine influence, as Byzantine emperors were commonly depicted together with Saint Mary.[234] However, this explanation seems superfluous as Saint Mary was the patron saint of Aachen, and was connected to Charlemagne by his dedication of his palatine chapel to her. A possible model for the shrine was the shrine of Saint Edward, whose fragments may have been identified by Nilgen, and which might have exhibited similar dynastic tendencies, only favouring Henry II of England and not Frederick.[235]

To complement the brachiary of Saint Charlemagne, Frederick commissioned another, far more interesting object, the round chandelier made of gilded bronze which was hung in the very centre of the palatine chapel between 1165 and 1170 (Fig. 21). The chandelier is actually not circular, but, rather, an octagon with a semi-circle protruding from each of its eight sides. The octagon is formed by two friezes which run all around it on two levels. According to Horch, they represent the *aurea Roma* motif on the lower register and heavenly Jerusalem on the upper one. Every corner of the octagon has small tower, and every

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[233] Nilgen, "Staufische Bildpropaganda," 90-91.
[234] Grimme, *Der Dom zu Aachen,* 146, 150, 167.
[235] Nilgen, "Amtsgenealogie und Amtsheiligkeit," 225-26.

semi-circle has a large tower in its middle, whereby the chandelier reflects the inner octagon and the outer hexadecagon of the palatine chapel ground plan. The inscription on the chandelier offers wonderful hints as to the interpretation of the object. Starting with "the heavenly Jerusalem is represented by this image,"[236] the inscription obviously means that heavenly Jerusalem is represented by the chandelier. Further on, it mentions the descent of heavenly Jerusalem from the starry sky. The inscription then invokes Saint Mary to pray for everybody to be admitted to this city. The second line of the inscription mentions that Frederick gave this octagonal crown to Saint Mary and that the clergy should note both its number and shape, as the crown takes it from the church. Finally, Saint Mary is implored to pray for Frederick and Beatrix.[237]

The chandelier, according to McGrade, represents heavenly Jerusalem, which is lowered during the liturgical feasts of Charlemagne so as to represent the descent of the heavenly city and Charlemagne's acceptance into it. During this procedure, the clergy sing that heavenly Jerusalem is now present, which differs from the usual chant, which mentions that it is descending.[238] However, McGrade's interpretation needs to be supplemented with some historical details about the connection between Frederick and the space where the chandelier was hung. First of all, after the canonisation of Charlemagne, Frederick went head on toward Rome, let Paschal III crown him emperor and his wife empress in Saint Peter's when tragedy struck. A potent disease took hold of the imperial camp, and most of Frederick's soldiers, long-time allies and advisers died, among them Rainald of Dassel and Frederick, duke of Rothenburg, Conrad III's son whom Barbarossa cheated for his birthright. After Frederick fled Italy in secret, he stayed in Germany several years in order to regroup.[239] His next move, however, was a great achievement. As his potentially dangerous cousin died

[236] McGrade, "O rex mundi triumphator," 219: *Celica Iherusalem Signatur imagine tali.*
[237] Nilgen, "Staufische Bildpropaganda," 90-91, Grimme, *Der Dom zu Aachen,* 146 .
[238] McGrade, "O rex mundi triumphator," 212.
[239] Godfrey of Viterbo, *Gesta Friderici*, 321-25.

without leaving an heir, Frederick could convince the nobles to elect his son king of Germany in 1169. The institution of junior king, which was used by many medieval kings to ensure their legacy, was no great *novum*. Not even Frederick offering to end the schism if Alexander III would only crown his son emperor, in spite of Tounta's brilliant insight, was a definite *novum*, as Charlemagne, Louis the Pious and Otto I had achieved this for their sons. But an innovation was introduced nonetheless: in 1169 Henry VI was crowned king[240] in the very centre of Saint Mary's in Aachen *sub corona*, as stated in the *Formularia ad regem coronandum in ecclesia Aquisgranensis usitata*, a text written around 1350 but reflecting the tradition which was created under Frederick. [241] The crown-chandelier was thereby transmitting the grace of God directly to the new king. As Grimme put it, once the king enters the centre of the church, the motif of *aurea Roma* from Frederick's golden bull becomes reality, as a ruler wearing the regalia stands inside the walls of the chandelier.[242]

Moreover, accepting Grimme's opinion that the Christ in Majesty replaced the Lamb of God on the Aachen dome mosaic among the Elders of the Apocalypse (Fig. 22) and the stars in heaven,[243] offers a new layer of iconographic interpretation: it is Christ himself who is crowning the new king. To explain how this new ritual came to be, it is necessary to look into another aspect of Frederick's iconography, that is, his charters. As Herkenrath proved, the phrase *a deo coronatus*, which Charlemagne adopted from Constantine the Great, was revived by Wibald of Stavelot in 1144, while he was working in Conrad III's chancery. This phrase was then used under Frederick Barbarossa in 1162 and 1170.[244] Simply put, this was an innovation. Compared to how the Salian emperors were portrayed in art, that is, crowned by bishops, Frederick adopted a different tradition, that of the Carolingians and Ottonians,

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[240] Tounta, "Byzanz als Vorbild Friedrich Barbarossas," 166-69.
[241] Grimme, *Der Dom zu Aachen,* 146.
[242] Grimme, "Das Bildprogramm des Aachener Karlsschreins," 133.
[243] Grimme, *Der Dom zu Aachen,* 140-42.
[244] Herkenrath. *Regnum und Imperium,* 52-3; Heinrich Appelt, *Friderici I. diplomata,* vol. 5. *Praefatio. Indices.* MGH DD, vol. 10 (Hannover: Hahn, 1990), 99.

who were crowned by the hand of God in their depictions.[245] On the other hand, even though a Carolingian or Ottonian example may have been the direct model for the new development, the impetus was a contemporary one. Yet again Frederick's experience on the second crusade was the determining factor in his iconographic choices. The *kamelaukion,* the divine crown handed over to Constantine the Great by an angel, was the ideal model for what was introduced into the coronation ritual under Frederick: a crown sent by God to a temporal ruler, the emperor, who was to rule over the whole world. It becomes apparent that this is the case when one considers that Frederick's chandelier is a huge hanging crown, just like Constantine's *kamelaukion* was hung in the Hagia Sophia.[246] Furthermore, the point where the chandelier-crown's hanging chains merge in mid-air is covered with the likeness of an angel, Saint Michael, the greatest of the archangels (Fig. 23).[247] The parallel to Constantinople thus seems undeniable, as both Aachen and Hagia Sophia show God giving the crown to an emperor through an angel.

On the other hand, the crown-chandelier might even have been designed as an answer to the French idea that Saint Remigius anointed Clovis, first king of the Franks, with holy oil which an angel brought him from heaven. Moreover, as Schramm dates the development of the idea into the twelfth century, and its acceptance around the middle of it,[248] it is reasonable to assume that the German emperor might have wanted to achieve parity with the French king in the field of God's grace.[249] However, this is not necessarily so, as Otto of Freising does not mention the story of the heavenly oil in his *Chronica.*[250] The earliest version of Godfrey of

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[245] Rolf Lauer, "Kunst und Herrscherbild in der Salierzeit," in *Krönungen: Könige in Aachen, Geschichte und Mythos*, vol. 1, ed. Mario Kramp (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000), 317.

[246] Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, 67-9; Niketas Choniates, *O city of Byzantium*, 190. See Piltz, *Kamelaukion et Mitra.*

[247] Lepie, *Der Barbarossaleuchter im Dom zu Aachen*, 12.

[248] Percy Ernst Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich*, vol. 1 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960), 146-47.

[249] Thiou of Morigny, "Chronicon Mauriniacense," in *Eugenii III Romani pontificis epistolae et privilegia [etc.]*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, PL 180 (Paris: Garnier, 1902), 162.

[250] Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, 225.

Viterbo's *Pantheon*, on the other hand, cites this as an ancient French tradition.[251] While it might be a coincidence that Godfrey uses the unambiguous *Francigenis* instead of the more typical *Francis* for the Frankish kings, the usage of *Francigeni* shows that the old tradition was linked to the contemporary French coronation ritual.

While the eighty four silver reliefs adorning the lateral sides of the sixteen towers of the chandelier were destroyed in the eighteenth century, the reliefs on their bottom sides still remain. The eight large towers, whose shape alternates between square and quatrefoil, contain depictions of a Christological cycle: 1) the Annunciation, 2) the Nativity, 3) the Adoration of the Magi, 4) the Crucifixion, 5) the Three Maries at the Tomb, 6) the Ascension, 7) Pentecost and 8) Christ in Majesty (Fig. 24). This reinforces the role of Christ as the coronator of the king. The eight small round towers, however, contain depictions of the eight blessings, which Christ promised to the blessed who will reach heavenly Jerusalem. The iconography of these images stems from the Gospel of Matthew, where Christ says to his disciples 'Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid.'[252] Ciresi links this to the royal coronation, suggesting that the king crowned by God became the light of the world.[253] This interpretation, however, cannot be proven as yet.

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[251] Godfrey of Viterbo, "Pantheon," 146-47.
[252] Mat, 5, 14.
[253] Ciresi, "Manifestations of the Holy as Instruments of Propaganda," 121-23.

Chapter 5 – *A deo coronatus triumphator inclitus*: Frederick's Apogee (1169 - 1187)

In spite of this great elaboration of the imperial ritual in Aachen, Frederick was not to return there after 1174, the same year when his open conflict with Manuel in Italy ended. In 1176, Frederick suffered a crippling defeat by the Lombard League, an alliance of North Italian city states, at Legnano. His attempt to subdue Italy was foiled and he had to make peace with all his enemies in Venice in 1177, where a grand peace conference was formed and where Alexander III was recognised as the legitimate pope. Frederick officially made peace with Venice, the Kingdom of Sicily and the Byzantine Empire at this conference, but only made a six-years truce with the Lombard League. Peace with the Lombards was formally proclaimed in 1183, when a compromise was agreed upon.[254] The final squabble between Manuel and Frederick occurred in 1176, when Manuel suffered a crushing defeat against the Seljuks at Myriokephalon. In order to impress Frederick, Manuel wrote him a letter stating that he had defeated the Turks and that they swore to be his vassals who would defend him, should the need arise. Frederick, however, had heard the news of Manuel's defeat from another source and did not believe his Byzantine counterpart one second. Frederick's ireful and mocking response began in the *intitulatio*, where he introduced himself, for the first and only time, as "Fridericus divina favente clementia inclitus triumphator, Romanorum imperator, a Deo coronatus, sublimis, in Christo fidelis, magnus,

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[254] Godfrey of Viterbo, *Gesta Friderici*, 330; Görich, *Friederich Barbarossa,* 496-501; Opll, *Friedrich Barbarossa* , 120-22, 137. For a recent view of the Peace of Venice, see Stefan Weinfurter, "Venedig 1177. Wende der Barbarossa-Zeit? Zur Einführung," in *Stauferreich im Wandel*, ed. Stefan Weinfurter (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 2002).

pacificus, gloriosus, cesar, Grecorum moderator et semper augustus".[255] As Tounta explains it, Frederick, in order to humiliate Manuel, claimed to rule even over Greece, thereby negating the existence of an eastern Roman emperor.[256] This exchange of propaganda and insults, however, did not lead to any further consequence.

After Manuel and Louis VII died in 1180, Alexander III died in 1181, and Henry the Lion was expelled from Germany in 1182, the political constellation which existed since 1159 disappeared. In a sense, it was the end of an era.[257] Frederick now commissioned the last object which can be safely attributed to him: the reliquary shrine of Saint Charlemagne (Fig. 25), which was begun in 1182, but which was finished only by Frederick II in 1215. Due to the long interval between the beginning and the completion of the shrine, its original programme was undoubtedly changed in order to reflect a more current political context. The greater part of the shrine, however, is most likely true to the original intentions of courtly programme. The frontal side of the shrine (Fig. 26) contains the three relief figures located beneath three roundels. The centre relief figure is that of an enthroned Charlemagne wearing imperial robes and a double-hooped crown, and holding a sceptre-lily in his left hand and the model of the Gothic phase of Saint Mary's church.[258] As the Gothic style had not reached Aachen by the time of Frederick I, the church model is obviously a later interpolation. According to Grimme, the object which it replaced was most likely the *globus cruciger*.[259]

The two other relief figures represent Archbishop Turpin of Reims (? - 800) on Charlemagne's left and Pope Leo III (795 - 816) on his right. Turpin is depicted wearing bishop's robes and a mitre, and holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and a book in his left

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[255] Michael Döberl, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae selecta ab anno 768 usque ad annum 1250*, vol. 4, *Zeit Lothars III., Konrads III. und Friedrichs I.* (Munich: J. Lindauersche Buchhandlung, 1889-94), 251-52; Appelt, however, believes that this letter is a fake: *Friderici I. diplomata*, vol 4, *inde ab 1181 usque ad 1190*, 508.

[256] Tounta, "Byzanz als Vorbild Friedrich Barbarossas," 171.

[257] Görich, *Friederich Barbarossa,* 461, 481-85, 533, 542 *et passim.*

[258] Nilgen, "Staufische Bildpropaganda," 92-93.

[259] Grimme, *Der Dom zu Aachen,* 170.

hand. He is depicted here as the purported author of the *Gesta Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*, the part of the Pseudo-Turpin codex which describes the Charlemagne's Spanish crusade, depicted on the reliquary shrine's roof. Pope Leo III, who is depicted on Charlemagne's right, which is traditionally the more prestigious position, is wearing bishop's robes and a papal mitre, while he is holding a pastoral staff in his right hand an *aspergillum*, an instrument which is used to bless and consecrate. The very fact that Leo III is holding the *aspergillum* is a clue as to why he is present in the programme: the forgery of Charlemagne, which Frederick confirmed, stated that Leo III had consecrated the church, even though he was historically not its consecrator.[260] However, Leo III was also the pope who crowned Charlemagne, so the reference might not be as one-sided as it may seem. Another hint to the message can be found in the fact that out of the three persons only Charlemagne is seated and, moreover, he is taller than either of the two clerics.[261]

Of the three roundels above the figures, only the central half-figure of the Christ, who is holding the book of life in his left hand and who is blessing with his right hand, has remained in its place. Judging according to Christ's position, it is certain that this is an image of God giving his grace to Charlemagne, if not an allusion to Charlemagne being crowned by God.[262] In Ciresi's view, this is a perfect visual depiction of the verses *O rex mundi triumphator / Ihesu Christi conregnator* from the canticle *Urbs Aquensis*, making Charlemagne Christ's co-ruler.[263] According to one interpretation, the other two roundels may have contained images of the Sun and the Moon, which would allude to the universality of imperial rule.[264] According to Ciresi, angels could have been flanking Christ, just like they flank him while he is crowning Henry II on the coronation image in the Regensburg

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[260] Kroos, *Der Schrein des heiligen Servatius in Maastricht,* 122-23.
[261] Grimme, "Das Bildprogramm des Aachener Karlsschreins," 127-29.
[262] Grimme, "Das Bildprogramm des Aachener Karlsschreins," 127-29.
[263] Ciresi, "Manifestations of the Holy as Instruments of Propaganda," 89, 143; McGrade, "O rex mundi triumphator," 218.
[264] Grimme, "Das Bildprogramm des Aachener Karlsschreins," 127-29.

sacramentary (Fig. 27). The advantage of this option would be that Henry II was already a saint, as Ciresi notes.[265] A third option, proposed already by Stephany,[266] is that the roundels depicted the saints Peter and Paul, who were flanking Christ on many objects located in Aachen's treasury, such as the Bamberg Apocalypse of Otto III / Henry II (around 1002 - 1020) (Fig. 28) or the pericopes of Henry II (around 1007 - 1012) (Fig. 29), the brachiary of Charlemagne (1165) and the somewhat later reliquary shrine of Saint Mary (around 1235) (Fig. 30).[267] If one takes the Aquensian traditional imagery into consideration, then it seems most likely that Peter and Paul were depicted on the roundels. The flanking roundels notwithstanding, Charlemagne was depicted as God's representative on earth, a theory which we have seen expounded by Otto of Freising when he is discussing Frederick Barbarossa's coronation.[268] The rear side of the shrine (Fig. 31) is rather uninteresting, as the three relief figures on it represent the Mother of God with Child flanked by the archangels Michael and Gabriel, just as on the brachiary of Charlemagne. The three roundels above the figures contain images of the three theological virtues, Faith, Hope and Charity, which is among the typical Marian programmes of the age.[269]

The shrine's gable roof contains eight relief images of Charlemagne's Spanish crusade divided into four images per roof (Figs. 32-39). The images are: 1) Saint James appears to Charlemagne in a dream, telling him to follow the shooting star to his grave in Compostela, 2) Charlemagne takes Pamplona after the walls crumble miraculously, 3) God blesses Charlemagne while the army prays to the cross, 4) the spears of those destined to become martyrs bloom overnight; Charlemagne is depicted in his tent, which is topped by an eagle, the imperial bird, which was especially favoured since Frederick Barbarossa, 5) the

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[265] Ciresi, "Manifestations of the Holy as Instruments of Propaganda," 87-92.
[266] Stephany, *Der Karlsschrein*, 13.
[267] Ciresi, "Manifestations of the Holy as Instruments of Propaganda," 79-80, 86-88, 92; Grimme, *Der Dom zu Aachen,* 177, Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, 89-90, 94, 128-29.
[268] Otto of Freising, "Ottonis Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," 104-5.
[269] Nilgen, "Staufische Bildpropaganda," 92.

battle with the Saracens, 6) Charlemagne's confession to a priest; as Charlemagne did not have the courage to confess his greatest sin, he fears he will end up in hell after he dies; by virtue of Saint Eustace's intervention, while Charlemagne is receiving the holy host, an angel appears carrying a scroll which says that he will be forgiven, 7) Charlemagne receives the crown of thorns from Emperor Constantine; after he leaves he notices that his glove, in which he placed the flowers that he plucked from the crown after it bloomed, was floating in the air, 8) a kneeling Charlemagne gives the model of the church at Aachen to the enthroned Mother of God with Child; Charlemagne is accompanied by Turpin while an archangel stands next to Saint Mary. A large lily, the symbol of Saint Mary, is located in the left corner of the image.[270] This very early depiction of Charlemagne's Spanish crusade, which was definitely inspired by the Pseudo-Turpin text, might have been more than just a series of images. It may have been designed in order to make good on Pseudo-Turpin's claims that Charlemagne ordered that his exploits in Spain be painted in Saint Mary's in Aachen, which, interestingly, the *Vita Karoli Magni*, leaves out.[271] This way Aachen would have at least some kind of memory of Charlemagne's (imagined) expedition. On the other hand, it is certain that the palatine chapel was painted both on the outside and on the inside, but, alas, both of these layers are long lost, even though a fragment or two of the Ottonian fresco paintings on the inside are still preserved.[272]

The truly problematic parts of the reliquary shrine are its long sides, that is, its walls, as the shrine takes the form of a basilica. Each of the two sides contains eight figures of enthroned kings, most of whom have inscription declaring who they are supposed to represent. In chronological order, the rulers are: 1) Louis the Pious, 2) Lothair I, 3) Charles the Fat, 4) Zwentibold, 5) Henry I, 6) Otto I, 7) Otto II, 8) Otto III, 9) Henry II, 10) Henry III,

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[270] Grimme, "Das Bildprogramm des Aachener Karlsschreins," 130-32.
[271] Pseudo-Turpin, *Die Chronik von Karl dem Grossen und Roland: Der lateinische Pseudo-Turpin in den Handschriften aus Aachen und Andernach*, ed. and trans. Hans-Wilhelm Klein (Munich: W. Fink, 1986), 120.
[272] Grimme, *Der Dom zu Aachen,* 34, 43, 85.

11) Henry IV, 12) Henry V, 13) Henry VI, 14) Otto IV, 15) Frederick II, 16) an unnamed ruler, possibly Philip. Now, as Nilgen suggests, the latter four rulers (who collectively ruled from 1190 to 1250) would not make sense in an iconographic programme designed while Frederick Barbarossa was emperor (until 1190), so they must not have been a part of the original programme. Her suggestion to remove them from the scheme and to add Conrad II, Lothair III, Conrad III and Frederick Barbarossa, would fill in all the gaps between Henry I (919-936) and Barbarossa, thereby leading to a well-structured programme. This arrangement would have the advantage that Charlemagne on the frontal side would be flanked by his son Louis the Pious on one lateral side and Frederick Barbarossa on the other side. Saint Mary, on the other hand, would be flanked by Otto III and Henry II, two great patrons of Saint Mary's church in Aachen, one of whom was even a saint in his own right.[273] However, Kroos criticised this rearrangement, as she thinks that the reliquary shrine in Aachen was a commission of the chapter at Aachen, and not the emperor, as the Hohenstaufen had no ideological use for Zwentibold.[274] On the other hand, as Appuhn notes, all the provosts of Aachen during Frederick's reign were closely related to the court, so there might not have been such a discrepancy.[275]

In order to resolve this stalemate, I propose that the annals of Aachen, which were written around 1169, and then continued up to 1196, were the source for the programme of the shrine. The annals, a short and rather inconsequential work from the view of the historian of facts, are a true treasure trove for the historian of ideology. The annals mention the exact same rulers which Nilgen proposed should have been present in the original programme.[276] While the rulers after Otto I (936 - 973) are not problematic, some of the earlier ones are.

[273] Nilgen, "Amtsgenealogie und Amtsheiligkeit," 232.
[274] Kroos, *Der Schrein des heiligen Servatius in Maastricht,* 121-22.
[275] Appuhn, "Beobachtungen und Versuche zum Bildnis Kaiser Friedrichs I.," 139.
[276] Anonymus, "Annales Aquenses," in *Annales aevi Suevici (Supplementa tomorum XVI et XVII). Gesta saec. XII. XIII. (Supplementa tomorum XX-XXIII)*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS 24 (Hannover: Hahn, 1879), 35-39.

Louis the Pious (814 - 841), the son of Charlemagne, whom his father personally crowned emperor in Aachen, was a logical choice. Lothair I (841 - 855) was Charlemagne's grandson, who was also crowned co-emperor to his father, even though this was done by the pope. The problems start with the rulers who follow: if the programme is an imperial one, why are Louis II (855 - 875), Charles the Bald (875 - 877) and Arnulf (896 - 899) missing, while Arnulf's illegitimate son Zwentibold (895 - 900), king of Lotharingia, and Henry I (919 - 936) are present? If the programme is a German one, why are Lothair I and Zwentibold present, while Louis the German (843 - 876), his sons Louis (876 - 882) and Carloman (876 - 880) are missing? Arnulf's legitimate son Louis the Child (900 - 911) and the first non-Carolingian Conrad I (911 - 919) are missing from the programme as well, if its goal had been to include all German rulers.

The annals of Aachen offer an interesting view of the matter. While they are very short and the amount of information they hold about the various Frankish rulers is astoundingly small, the inclusion and exclusion of various rulers from the Hohenstaufen-Aquensian version history is a certain guide to the ideology of the author of the annals. First of all, the annals state that Louis the Pious was crowned emperor by his father, but do not mention that Lothair I was crowned emperor during his lifetime. What is mentioned is Lothair I's war with his brothers Charles the Bald and Louis the German. The death of Pope Nicholas I. is mentioned immediately after Lothair I's death in a monastery. For the year 870, the annals of Aachen mention the most relevant event: the *divisio regni*. The next entry mentions the death of Louis the German and the war which Charles the Bald waged against his nephew Louis III. What follows is the death of Charles the Bald and then that of his successor, Louis II the Stammerer. The entry for 881 then mentions the death of Louis III of

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West Francia and that his brother Carloman II succeeded him. [277] At this point it becomes apparent that the sons of Lothair I do not appear in the annals. While the division of Lotharingia is mentioned, Lothair II's death is not. If this text had no ideological programme, then the choice of information would have to be classified as random. However, this is not the case. Lothair I's sons are not mentioned because they did not belong to the 'German' or 'French' branches of the Carolinigan dynasty, that is, no political entity of the twelfth century could claim to stem from them, as the realm of Lotharingia was divided.

The West Frankish line is the most prominent one up to the year 881, primarily due to the actual historical presence of the West Frankish rulers in Lotharingia. But the 'French' rulers stop appearing immediately after this. The entry for 882 mentions the death of Louis III of Saxony, Bavaria and Lotharingia, but calls him *caput Francie*. The Danish capture of Aachen is recorded for that year as well. That Emperor Charles the Fat blinded Hugh, son of Lothair II, is recorded under the year 885. Apparently, the tumultuous history of Lotharingia was important to the author, though not the dynasty of Lothair I. The really interesting part of the annals comes in 888, when Charles the Fat was *eicitur a regno*, [278] dying shortly after. The next year Arnulf, called Arnold in the annals, became king of Bavaria. A close reading of the text shows that no ruler was named king of the Franks / Francia since Louis III of Saxony. It is only in 894 that Zwentibold, Arnulf's son, was *rex Francorum constituitur*. [279] The annals continue in 896, saying that Arnulf became emperor. His death is then recorded for 897. The entry for 900 contains Zwentibold's death. What comes next is the longest pause in the annals since Dagobert's rule was mentioned. It is very telling that the next entry, the one for 923, say "Henricus primus regnare cepit." The rest of the annals contain the traditional entries about Henry's victory over the Hungarians, his death and the succession of his son

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[277] Anonymus, "Annales Aquenses," 36.
[278] Anonymus, "Annales Aquenses," 36.
[279] Anonymus, "Annales Aquenses," 36.

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Otto the Great. It seems that the East Frankish rule over Lotharingia was the guiding principle of this part of the annals, as Charles the Simple is simply ignored in the text. Because the Germans believed that Lotharingia was finally annexed to East Francia under Henry I, later French attempts to regain it are not mentioned in the annals.[280] This explains why the 'French' Carolingians are not present on the reliquary shrine of Charlemagne, but what of the 'German' rulers who are not represented there?

The Carolingians Carloman of Bavaria and Louis the Child are not mentioned in the annals of Aachen as they never ruled over Lotharingia, just like the non-Carolingian Conrad I. Since Louis the German accepted that Charles the Bald receives Aachen, he is not represented on the reliquary shrine of Charlemagne either. This leaves his sons Louis III and Charles the Fat, and Arnulf of Carinthia and his illegitimate son, Zwentibold, as possibilities for one of the shrine's most enigmatic figures. It seems that Arnulf was excluded from being represented on the shrine as he was king of Bavaria and emperor, but not king of Lotharingia according to the annals. The difference between Louis III and Zwentibold is slight: the former was king of Saxony, Bavaria and Lotharingia before the imperial restoration under Charles the Fat, the latter was king of Lotharingia after the final demise of Frankish unity. If the possession of Lotharingia after the dissolution of the Frankish Empire can be seen as the key to the mystery, then Zwentibold, the single East Frankish ruler who was only the king of Lotharingia and of nothing else, stands for the Eastern Franks, that is, the Germans, inheriting Lotharingia, where Aachen, the most treasured inheritance of Charlemagne, was located. In this interpretation, the iconographic programme refers to the territorial unit which Frederick was trying to form around Aachen, among other things. If so, it is no wonder that work on the shrine was interrupted because of Frederick's conflict with Philip of Cologne.

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[280] Anonymus, "Annales Aquenses," 36.

Another point is to be made about the emperors mentioned in the annals of Aachen. While not all emperors are present in the annals, it is quite striking that only Louis the Pious and Otto II are mentioned as having been emperors during their fathers' lifetimes. Lothair I was also co-emperor to his father, Louis the Pious, which was apparently enough to include him in the iconographic programme of the shrine of Charlemagne, but not enough for the event itself to be mentioned in the annals of Aachen.[281] If the co-emperorship is taken as a starting point for the reliquary shrine's message, then Frederick Barbarossa's priorities remained the same when the shrine was begun about 1182 as when he offered to end the schism with Alexander III around 1170, if Alexander were to crown Henry VI emperor.[282] However, as Frederick attempted to convince Lucius III to crown Henry VI his co-emperor in the early 1180s, [283] it seems reasonable to conclude that co-emperorship is encoded within the message of the shrine. However, this conclsion, in turn, raises yet another question: why does the programme stress the possession of Lotharingia so much if co-emperorship is its goal? The answer, however, is relatively simple: the king who was crowned in Aachen should have been crowned emperor by the pope in Rome without any hindrances, just as the forged act of Charlemagne, which Pope Hadrian IV and then Frederick confirmed, stated. [284] What Frederick wanted was nothing less than hereditary rule over Germany and the Holy Roman Empire. It is also important to stress that the programme depicts the migration of the empire of the Franks to the East Frankish rulers. In this case, Louis II, who belonged to the Italian line, and Charles the Bald who belonged to the French line, were redundant in the grand

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[281] Anonymus, "Annales Aquenses," 36.
[282] Tounta, "Byzanz als Vorbild Friedrich Barbarossas," 167-69.
[283] Görich, *Friederich Barbarossa,* 523-24.
[284] Meuthen, "Barbarossa und Aachen," 36, 43; Doc. 502 in *Friderici I. diplomata*, vol. 2, *inde ab 1158 usque ad 1167*, 430-33.

scheme of things. The inclusion of Henry I, who was not an emperor, is telling, as it was he who finally bound Lotharingia to the East Frankish realm in 925.[285]

However, the comparison of the shrine of Saint Charlemagne with the shrine of Saint Arnulf of Metz may provide interesting analogies for the Lotharingia hypothesis above. Arnulf's shrine was finished around 1167, but was destroyed in the French revolution. The shrine, which depicted Saint Arnulf on the frontal side and Saint Mary on the rear side, is interesting because it portrays all the rulers of the Franks from the Trojan prince Priam the Younger to Charlemagne, then continuing onward to Louis VII of France (1137 - 1180) on its upper and hierarchically more prestigious register, while the lower register is replete with the depictions of the descendants of Saint Arnulf, the Arnulfings, who then segue into the Carolingians and then into the German kings, ending with Frederick Barbarossa.[286] It is appropriate to assume that the bishop of Metz, Thierry of Bar (1161 - 1171), commissioned the shrine for his cathedral.[287] Thierry took part in the second crusade together with his uncle, Stephen of Bar (1120 - 1161), who was bishop of Metz at the time, and who had to accompany Conrad III on his journey east. However, Stephen loathed the German crusaders for one reason or another, and wanted to join Louis VII's forces.[288] It is likely that his nephew Thierry shared his hostility toward the German court.

Taking this into account, it seems very likely that the shrine of Saint Arnulf was designed as a part of the propaganda for the French king. Since the kings of France were shown as the successors of the earliest Frankish rulers while Charlemagne's imperial legacy

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[285] Binding, *Deutsche Königspfalzen*, 148-51.
[286] Martin Meurisse, *Histoire des evesques de l'eglise de Metz* (Metz: Jean Anthoins, 1634), 117-18; Jean-Baptiste Du Sollier et al., "De s. Arnulpho episcopo Metis in Belgica I," in *Acta Sanctorum Julii, tomus quartus quo dies decimus quintus, decimus sextus, decimus septimus, de decimus octavus et decimus nonus*, ed. Jean-Baptiste Carnandet et al. (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1868), 425; Nilgen, "Staufische Bildpropaganda," 93; Krönungen, 361.
[287] Anonymus, "Gesta episcoporum Mettensium," in *Annales et chronica aevi Salici: Vitae aevi Carolini et Saxonici*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS 10 (Hannover: Hahn, 1852), 544-45.
[288] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, 50-52.

was reserved for the German kings, it seem reasonable to assume that France was thought of as the proper legacy of the Franks, thereby making the French kings the more prestigious of the two Frankish rulers. This would be in line with Louis VI's claim that Germany was his by right,[289] but one must not forget that Saint Arnulf was also the progenitor of the dynasty of the counts of Bar, including the bishops Stephen and Thierry, as a 1164 genealogy of Saint Arnulf states.[290] On the other hand, there is no reason why the programme of the shrine of Saint Arnulf could not have been pro-French and pro-Bar at the same time. The perfect counterpart to the shrine's message is to be found in Godfrey of Viterbo's often repeated story that Charles Martel, upon conquering Gaul, renamed its people *Francigeni,* meaning born of the Franks, and the land *Francigena* or even *Francia parva*, meaning little Francia, as opposed to the *Francia vera,* the true Francia, east of the Rhine. In German, however, he renamed the people into *Karlingi* and the land *Karlinga* after himself.[291]

Returning to the shrine of Saint Charlemagne after the detour to discuss the shrine of Saint Arnulf as its possible model, it seems very likely that Nilgen was right in interpreting the shrine through one basic concept: the *sacrum imperium*. The fact that Charlemagne, the founder of the empire, was a saint, and that other rulers also took the place usually accorded to saints on shrines such as this, suggests that the shrine was meant to position the emperor as a holy ruler receiving the grace of God directly from God himself, that is, not through an intermediary saint, such as Saint Peter.[292] Thus the absolute primacy of the emperor among the earthly subjects of God was stressed. Another useful comparison can be made with the iconographic programme of the papal chapel of Saint Nicholas in the Lateran basilica, where

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[289] Suger, "Vie de Louis le Gros," 116-21; Grimme, *Der Dom zu Aachen,* 137-38.

[290] Anonymus, "Genealogia ex stirpe s. Arnulfi descendentium Mettensis," in *Gesta saec. XIII*, ed. Johannes Heller, MGH SS 25 (Hannover: Hahn, 1880), 381-84.

[291] Godfrey of Viterbo, "Pantheon," 203; Godfrey of Viterbo, "Speculum," in *Historici Germaniae saec.XII*, 2, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz and Georg Waitz, MGH SS 22 (Munich: MGH, 1872), 91; "Memoria seculorum," in *Historici Germaniae saec.XII*, 2, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz and Georg Waitz, MGH SS 22 (Munich: MGH, 1872), 104.

[292] Nilgen, "Staufische Bildpropaganda," 93; Grimme, "Das Bildprogramm des Aachener Karlsschreins," 127-29.

the popes of the investiture controversy period were depicted as saints, even though they were never canonised (Fig. 40). [293] The picture becomes complete if it is taken into consideration that the shrine replaced the earlier brachiary in the centre of the church. The crown-chandelier, symbolising heavenly Jerusalem, would now be lowered on Charlemagne's feast day, thereby symbolising God crowning not only Charlemagne, but all of the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire. Simply put, each emperor was *a deo coronatus*, just as Frederick claimed in several documents. They were, moreover, equal to Constantine the Great, whose body was buried in a sarcophagus in the centre of the church of the Holy Apostles according to Eusebius.

The shrine of Charlemagne might be an early example of the relics of a polity's patron saint being used as the permanent keeper of the crown, here represented by the great chandelier-crown, and thereby it can be viewed as a predecessor of Charles IV's reliquary bust of Charlemagne. As Petersohn points out: the visible crown stands for the invisible one: the halo.[294] The difference in this case is that it is not a single person, but the whole empire, being represented by the shrine, which is the holy entity. After all, angels appear on the spandrels above each of the rulers on the lateral sides (Fig. 41), symbolising the divinely ordained rule of each and every one of the rulers. Moreover, the rulers appear beneath the arches on the lateral sides of the shrine, which was a place of honour reserved for the apostles, the prophets or the kings of the Old Testament.[295] Ciresi even suggests that the rulers emulate the Biblical Magi through their role as donators to Saint Mary's in Aachen, that is, to the Mother of God. In this interpretation the rock crystal at the top of the shrine is

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[293] Nilgen, "Amtsgenealogie und Amtsheiligkeit," 223-24; Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Heilige Päpste - päpstliche Kanonisationspolitik," in *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter*, ed. Jürgen Petersohn (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1994), 87-91, Ingo Herklotz, "Bildpropaganda und monumentale Selbstdarstellung des Papsttums," in *Das Papsttum in der Welt des 12. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ernst-Dieter Hehl, Ingrid Heike Ringel and Hubertus Seibert (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 2002), 276-87.
[294] Jürgen Petersohn, "Kaisertum und Kultakt in der Stauferzeit," in *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter*, ed. Jürgen Petersohn (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1994), 113-22.
[295] Ciresi, "Manifestations of the Holy as Instruments of Propaganda," 66, 76, 99-100.

seen as representing the star of Bethlehem.[296] In Grimme's opinion, however, the crystal represents the Christ incarnate.[297] Unfortunately, neither solution can be verified.

Comparing the form of the shrine to a basilica, Ciresi noticed that the two match completely if one merely takes the shrine's surface to mean the inner walls of a basilica. In this case the enthroned Charlemagne wearing his regalia would be looking toward the Mother of God with Child, a view similar to the newly crowned emperor's as he sat on Charlemagne's throne in the western gallery at the end of his coronation, looking toward the altar of Saint Mary in the ground floor sanctuary, and the altar of the Saviour in the gallery right above.[298] Moreover, even before the reliquary shrine of Saint Mary was completed around 1238 - 1239 under Frederick II, there was already a reliquary of Saint Mary, Christ and other saints from the Holy Land located on the high altar of Saint Mary, possibly dating to Charlemagne, who brought a great deal of 'original' relics from the Holy Land to Aachen.[299] Yet even more can be made out of the position of the shrine: Charlemagne's body was probably moved into the centre of the church under Otto III, who was buried in the centre as well.[300] An altar to all saints was consecrated above the grave in 1070. When the Gothic choir was completed in 1414, the altar and the shrine of Charlemagne were moved to the eastern end of the new apsis together, where the altar was officially dedicated to Peter, Paul and all the apostles, but was unofficially called the *altare sancti Karoli in choro*.[301] The choir is known for the statues of the twelve apostles flanking those of Charlemagne and the Mother of God with Child on its pillars. Yet Charlemagne on the pillar in the choir is depicted giving the church in Aachen to Saint Mary, which is not quite the same as he

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[296] Ciresi, "Manifestations of the Holy as Instruments of Propaganda," 119.
[297] Grimme, *Der Dom zu Aachen,* 175.
[298] Ciresi, "Manifestations of the Holy as Instruments of Propaganda," 100-101, 108.
[299] Ciresi, "Manifestations of the Holy as Instruments of Propaganda," 2, 147.
[300] For one of the most recent works on Otto III's opening of the grave of Charlemagne, see Knut Görich, "Otto III. öffnet das Karlsgrab in Aachen. Überlegungen zu Heiligenverehrung, Heiligsprechung und Traditionsbildung," in *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen*, eds. Gerd Althoff and Ernst Schubert (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1998).
[301] Ciresi, "Manifestations of the Holy as Instruments of Propaganda," 76-78.

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appears on the shrine of Charlemagne: if Grimme is correct in that the church Charlemagne is holding in his right hand is a replacement for the *globus cruciger*. If this later programme is any indication to Frederick's programme, then Charlemagne was definitely perceived as being equal to the apostles.[302]

The liturgical arrangements of Charlemagne's feast contain further clues to the shrine's programme. While the greatest feast of Charlemagne, the *triplex*, was originally celebrated on St. David's (December 29), the martyrdom of Thomas Becket, a staunch supporter of Alexander III's policies, on December 29, 1170, led to the transfer of Charlemagne's *triplex* to the date when he died, January 28. This, however, led to further merging of the cults of Charlemagne and the Mother of God, as *triplex* feasts lasted eight day (called an octave), and the feast of Mary's purification in the temple, another *triplex* feast, fell on February 2.[303] The two cults intersect at another point: following Ciresi's reading of the *Formularia*, the coronation of the new king started when the bishop and abbot of the Cornelimünster led the elected ruler through the Wolf's gate into Saint Mary's, where the dean and senior canon received him, and whence they then led him to Charlemagne's altar in the centre of the church. There the elected ruler would prostrate himself on silk and cushion and meditate before the shrine of Charlemagne *sub corona* while the choir sang *Te Deum* (Fig. 42). After they would finish singing, the *electus* would move forward to the high altar of Saint Mary, where he would give an offering to the Mother of God during his coronation mass. This would be followed by a confession of faith, the coronation oath and the investiture of the ruler with the insignia, after which the king would be anointed. He would then proceed to the western gallery and sit upon the throne of Charlemagne (Fig. 43), where he would once again listen to the choir sing *Te Deum*. As Ciresi notes, that the *Te Deum* ends with a

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[302] Ciresi, "Manifestations of the Holy as Instruments of Propaganda," 78, 118.
[303] Ciresi, "Manifestations of the Holy as Instruments of Propaganda," 105-9.

statement that the good ruler (meaning Christ) should save his people and rule well is no coincidence.[304]

For, the *christus Domini* who would now be sitting upon the ancestral throne of the Franks would ultimately be taking the exact same place within the church of Saint Mary which the enthroned Charlemagne had on his shrine: the western throne. But he was not only to look upon a reflection of himself in Charlemagne, but, rather, he was supposed to simultaneously represent the Christ in Majesty. He was also supposed to look at the high altar of Saint Mary with the (old) reliquary shrine of Saint Mary as well as the altar of the Saviour in the upper sanctuary (Fig. 45).[305] When the king looked straight ahead, he would then also be able to see the crown of the empire with which he was just crowned, as well as golden Rome and heavenly Jerusalem all combined coming down from the dome mosaic of Christ in Majesty, at whose feet seven of the Old Men of the Apocalypse dressed in white were laying down their crowns (Fig. 46).[306] Charlemagne, the emperor, the empire: they were now all holy and crowned by God through an angel just as Constantine the Great had been. This is the meaning of the term *sacrum Romanum imperium,* an even more elevated form of the *sacrum imperium,* which appeared in full form for the first time in 1184 and 1186, about the same the shrine of Charlemagne was begun. As Petersohn concludes, the term is merely a heightened form, and can in no case represent the official title of the empire at the time.[307] Frederick might not have won the war against the Lombards, but he restored peace and stability to the Kingdom of Italy after a century of chaos, war and liberty.[308] Frederick repeated Charlemagne's conquest of Italy in a different sense, but, apparently, it was enough.

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[304] Ciresi, "Manifestations of the Holy as Instruments of Propaganda," 202-4.

[305] Ciresi, "Manifestations of the Holy as Instruments of Propaganda," 101, 108, 204.

[306] Ciresi, "Manifestations of the Holy as Instruments of Propaganda," 91.

[307] Petersohn, *Kaisertum und Rom*, 343; Schwarz, 101-3; Jürgen Petersohn, *Rom und der Reichstitel "Sacrum Romanum Imperium"* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994)*,* 77-78, 83; Doc. 881 in *Friderici I. diplomata*, vol. 4, *inde ab 1181 usque ad 1190*, 121-25.

[308] Görich, *Friderich Barbarossa,* 485-501.

The fact that a strict line of rulers was now being followed instead of a few selected emperors representing all of them was a sign of changing times. While Otto of Freising praised the elective principle in the German succession in the 1150s after Frederick became king instead of his child cousin,[309] the situation had changed after the same cousin died in 1167 and Henry VI was crowned in 1169.[310] Finally, in 1179 Philip II of France (1180 - 1223) was crowned (junior) king in Reims, where, for the first time in centuries, the elective principle disappeared altogether, according to Schramm.[311] It was now up to Frederick to achieve the same for Germany, so a strict dynastic view of history replaced the earlier vision. However, just as Frederick failed to persuade Alexander III to crown Henry VI emperor during his father's lifetime, so he failed when he attempted to convince Pope Lucius III (1181 - 1185) to do the same.[312] The other, and very likely main audience, of the whole *sacrum imperium* programme were the nobles at court, who were already being addressed as God's vassals from time to time.

And yet even the Charlemagne depicted on the shrine in Aachen was different than the one imagined by Otto of Freising in the 1150s. While Otto only stated that Charlemagne gained the *imperium* for a different group of Trojans, who were now called Franks,[313] Godfrey of Viterbo went even further by stating that Charlemagne's father Pepin the Short was a Frank, while his mother Berta was the granddaughter of Emperor Heraclius (610 - 641), which led to their son, Charlemagne, uniting both the Teutonic / Frankish and Roman / Greek lines of the Trojan rulers, thereby becoming the perfect Christian ruler.[314] Godfrey was Frederick's notary and chaplain, but also the tutor of the emperor's children. He originally wrote the *Pantheon*, a universal history, for the imperial court, just like his other works, the

[309] Otto of Freising, "Ottonis Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," 103.
[310] Görich, *Friederich Barbarossa,* 124, 134.
[311] Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich*, 108-11.
[312] Görich, *Friederich Barbarossa,* 523-24.
[313] Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, 56-57.
[314] Godfrey of Viterbo, "Pantheon," 207.

Speculum regum, the *Memoria seculorum*, the *Gesta Frederici*, the *Gesta Heinrici* and the later *Catalogus regnorum*. Finally, as Godfrey knew Otto of Freising's works, the *Vita Karoli Magni* and various other pieces of Frederick's propaganda,[315] it stands to reason that his words can be taken as the official opinion of the imperial court in his day, the 1180s.

Godfrey linked Charlemagne's coronation by Leo III to David's anointment by Samuel by saying that God crowned the former just as He anointed the latter, and that neither did Leo III possess the imperial crown nor could he give it, just as Samuel could not anoint any person he chose.[316] The uncanny reference to David, who was Charlemagne's ideal and courtly pseudonym, and on whose day he was canonised, could not be accidental. One only needs to read the history of Augustus and Tiberius to understand how far Godfrey was willing to reinterpret history in the service of the Hohenstaufen. Augustus, at the precise moment when he wanted to call himself a god, just as Jupiter did many generations ago, had a vision of the Mother of God with Child, after which he erected an altar to the true God and renounced the divine title for himself.[317] Tiberius, after being healed by Saint Veronica's veil, even tried to convert the Roman Empire to Christianity, but failed due to senatorial opposition.[318]

However, the very beginning of all of Godfrey's works is that which is the most radically different from the histories written by his contemporaries: he states that God established kingship so that there may be law and order, and that Nimrod, the builder of the tower of Babel, was actually a man of peace.[319] Finally, while Godfrey was still a staunch supporter of the Hohenstaufen, he taught Henry VI that Constantine the Great was a twice-

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[315] Friedrich Hausmann, "Gottfried von Viterbo: Kapellan und Notar, Magister, Geschichtsschreiber und Dichter," in *Friedrich Barbarossa: Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen des staufischen Kaisers*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1992), 604-6, 614-16, 620-61.
[316] Godfrey of Viterbo, "Pantheon," 221-22.
[317] Godfrey of Viterbo, "Speculum," 39, 68-69; "Pantheon," 150-51.
[318] Godfrey of Viterbo, "Pantheon," 152-53.
[319] Godfrey of Viterbo, "Speculum," 30-32.

baptised Arian heretic who plunged the Roman Empire into deep heresy in addition to him being an *alienigena*, who captured the Roman Empire and then transferred it to the *Greculi*, leaving Rome, the source and head of the empire, desolate. On the other hand, he claims that the donation of Constantine was a forgery, as Constantine would not have given the West to two of his sons if he had already given it to Pope Sylvester, and Theodosius would then not have given the West to Honorius almost a hundred years later.[320] Simply put, the Roman Empire was a Christian empire created by God's chosen people, the Trojans, whose rulers received their crown directly from God and who had an irrevocable claim on Rome. At some point in time the empire decayed and it was renovated by Charlemagne, the rightful heir of both branches of the Trojans princes. Charlemagne's holy empire was to be inherited by his proper descendants, those who ruled over the true Francia. Compared to the short summary of Frederick's ideology at the outset of his reign, all of the elements were the still there, but the element of Charlemagne's legacy had by the 1180s grown into a general struggle over the legacy of the Franks. After Frederick's death, it was his young rival, Philip II, who would ultimately and definitely come out of the struggle victorious, and who would use many of the same ideological elements as Frederick did.[321]

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[320] Godfrey of Viterbo, "Speculum," 80, "Pantheon," 175-77.
[321] Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich*, 133, 136, 138-40, 178-80.

Chapter 6 – *Signifer dei*: The Third Crusade and an Epilogue (1187 - 1190)

When news reached Europe that Saladin had taken Jerusalem in 1187, there was a great deal of sadness among the Christians at first. The holy city, which the Christians had "liberated" in 1098, was now back in Muslim hands. Frederick, who was by now embroiled in a conflict with Philip of Cologne and Pope Gregory VIII, managed to enforce his claims by starting to gather his subjects for a new expedition in the East, as Hiestand demonstrates.[322] As Hehl notices, the court where the nobility of the Holy Roman Empire gathered was not a regular one. The terms which sources related to the court used to describe this marvellous event are *curia Dei*, *curia (Iesu) Christi* and *curia Dei et peregrinorum*[323] and they offer immediate clues to the exact ideological nature of Frederick's last great undertaking: he was convoking all of Christianity together to fight the good fight for God. As one source puts it, the court was *singulariter salvatori domino deputata.*[324] While one might think that this is nothing new compared to what earlier crusaders had claimed to be doing, in all actuality a fundamental change happened. Frederick, who claimed to have God's grace and to have been crowned by God, was now taking the ritualistic perception of these two ideological facts to its logical conclusion for a twelfth-century German: if he had received his kingship from God, then he must have become God's vassal.

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[322] Rudolf Hiestand, "*Precipua tocius christianismi columpna*: Barbarossa und der Kreuzzug," in *Friedrich Barbarossa: Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen des staufischen Kaisers*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1992), 56-58.

[323] Ernst-Dieter Hehl, "Kreuzzug - Pilgerfahrt - Imitatio Christi," in *Pilger und Wallfahrtstätten in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed. Michael Matheus (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1999), 47.

[324] Anonymus, "Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris," in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I. (Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris et quidam alii rerum gestarum fontes eiusdem expeditionis)*, ed. Anton Chroust, MGH SS. rer. Germ. N. S. 5 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1928), 12.

This is reflected in the peculiar title which pops up in the court-related sources describing Frederick's crusade, the *signifer Dei*, meaning God's standard bearer,[325] and the words used to denote Frederick's army: *exercitus Christi*, *sanctae crucis exercitus*, *exercitus sanctae crucis*[326] or *militia Christi*.[327] The title was a development on the concept of *miles Christi*, God's soldier, which originally denoted a holy man, but which came to mean a crusader during the late eleventh century.[328] By claiming to be the *signifer Dei*, which combined a feudal and theological interpretation, Frederick became more than a simple *miles Christi*. In fact, he claimed to be God's only standard bearer, that is, the highest authority on earth, reducing all other Christian kings and even the pope to peripheral phenomena in the Christian hierarchy. Frederick's letter to his son and regent, Henry VI, however, contains a more definite clue: when he is complaining about Isaac II, he accuses him not only of damaging Frederick's own honour, but the honour of God, the cross and all of Christianity.[329]

When compared to Frederick's claims in the Treaty of Konstanz (1153), the diet of Besançon (1157), the meeting at St-Jean-sur-Losne (1162) and other symbolically pregnant moments of his reign, it can be argued that Frederick's ideology finally came to full maturity. Frederick otherwise retained the exact same ideology which he believed in when he was first crowned king, as can be gathered from the two versions of his wrathful response to the Byzantine ambassadors who visited him near Philippopolis: he was the true Roman emperor chosen by God, whose empire had been established by Charlemagne and then renovated by Otto the Great.[330] Taking a cue from this letter, it is not difficult to see Frederick's crusade

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[325] Hehl, "Kreuzzug - Pilgerfahrt - Imitatio Christi," 48.
[326] Hiestand, "Precipua tocius christianismi columpna," 102.
[327] Anonymus, "Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris," 33.
[328] Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1935; reprint 1972), 166-211 and especially 301-23.
[329] Anonymus, "Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris," 41.
[330] Anonymus, "Historia peregrinorum," in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I. (Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris et quidam alii rerum gestarum fontes eiusdem expeditionis)*, ed. Anton Chroust, MGH SS. rer. Germ. N. S. 5 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1928), 143-44; Anonymus, "Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris," 49-50.

itself as an imitation of Charlemagne, just as Louis VII had claimed to be imitating earlier

Frankish exploits (possibly meaning Charlemagne!) forty years before on the second crusade,

on which Frederick was present as the young duke of Swabia.[331] Since Frederick openly

stated that he was emulating Charlemagne and Otto the Great when he was warring against

the Lombards,[332] and since Godfrey of Viterbo declares Frederick's war against Henry the

Lion (1180 - 1182) to have been a quicker version of Charlemagne's thirty years long Saxon

wars (772 - 804),[333] it seems very likely that Frederick understood himself as Charlemagne's

imitator once more. Moreover, Ciresi states that even Frederick's magnanimity to Aachen

was an emulation of Charlemagne's activity there.[334] By extending Hehl's theory that the

crusaders went to the Holy Land in order to imitate the passion of Christ[335] to Frederick's

imitation of Charlemagne, the logical conclusion is that Frederick was ultimately trying to

emulate Charlemagne up to the point that he himself, once he conquered Jerusalem, would be

able to become a saint.

However, Frederick ended up drowning in the river Saleph on June 12, 1190, and his

son, Duke Frederick V of Swabia, died leading the German crusaders several months later.

The crusaders still wanted to inter Barbarossa's body in Jerusalem, but as it was rapidly

decomposing and they could not conquer Jerusalem, they buried his organs in St Paul's in

Tarsus, his flesh in St Peter's in Antioch and his bones in the cathedral of Tyre.[336] If it had

been up to Frederick, however, it is most likely that he would have let himself by buried in

Speyer alongside his Salian ancestors Conrad II, Henry III, Henry IV and Henry V, where he

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[331] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, 130.

[332] Otto of Freising, "Ottonis Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," 136-39; Rahewin of Freising, "Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris," 203-4; IX, 16-17 in Archpoet, *Der Archipoeta,* 76.

[333] Godfrey of Viterbo, "Gesta Frederici," in *Historici Germaniae saec. XII*, 2, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz and Georg Waitz, MGH SS 22 (Munich: MGH, 1872), 333.

[334] Ciresi, "Manifestations of the Holy as Instruments of Propaganda," 65.

[335] Hehl, "Kreuzzug - Pilgerfahrt - Imitatio Christi," 49.

[336] Görich, *Friederich Barbarossa,* 590-92, 599-600.

had already buried his wife Beatrix and his daughter Agnes in 1184.[337] That Speyer cathedral, the imperial church which the Salian emperors built in their ancestral county as a symbol of the empire, was the ideal burial place for Frederick can once more be found in Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon*: when discussing German history, Godfrey admits that the Ottonian rulers were Saxons who restored the empire, but he also claims that Conrad II was a Frank by whom the empire was finally brought back into Frankish hands. Moreover, as Conrad's wife Gisela was descendant of Charlemagne, the descendants of the new imperial couple, including Frederick I, were directly linked to the great forbearer.[338]

However, there is one more fragmentary iconographical programme which definitely reflects *sacrum imperium* ideology of the Hohenstaufen. The Romanesque stained glass windows in the transept of Strasbourg cathedral were arranged in two sets: the northern transept's windows depicted twelve German kings from Henry I (919 - 936) to Frederick (1152 - 1190), all of whom had haloes, while the southern transept's windows depicted the twelve prophets of the Old Testament. The kings of Germany were apparently depicted as counterparts to the prophets themselves. However, another stained glass window from the same programme is still preserved: the window of Charlemagne (Fig. 47), who is flanked by two servants in the same way as he was depicted in all Carolingian depictions. The window was once located in the cathedral's westwork,[339] the area traditionally reserved for the emperor in many imperial churches at least since Charlemagne.[340] The dating of the

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[337] Verena Türck, "Die Grablegen," in *Die Staufer und Italien: Drei Innovationsregionen im mittelalterlichen Europa*, vol. 2, ed. Alfried Wieczorek, Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfürter (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 2010), 46; Opll, *Friedrich Barbarossa*, 144.

[338] Godfrey of Viterbo, "Pantheon," 241.

[339] Nilgen, "Staufische Bildpropaganda," 94. The stained-glass window of Charlemagne is now located in the Musée de Strasbourg.

[340] Clemens Kosch, "Überlegungen zu vorromanischen Westwerken und ihrer in der Stauferzeit veränderten Gestalt und Funktion (Ausgehen von St. Pantaleon in Köln)," In *Kunst und Liturgie im Mittelalter*, ed. Nicolas Bock, et al. (Munich: Hirmer, 2000), 101-19 *passim*.

programme varies between the 1180s and 1190s,[341] but, however, as even Frederick was depicted with a halo in this programme, it seems more likely that it was at least completed under Henry VI (1190 - 1197). Obviously, it had become a matter of high importance for the Hohenstaufen to propagate their claims to the legacy of Charlemagne. A Frankish historical cycle was already complete in the monastery of St-Remi in Reims[342] and a stained glass window depicting Charlemagne was designed in St-Denis, probably during Suger's abbacy.[343]

Finally, Frederick Barbarossa lived through many political triumphs and disasters during his reign, but he did not fundamentally change his ideology. The elements that were present at the beginning of Frederick's reign were all still in use at the moment of this death, even though some of them developed into new forms in the meantime. The five elements developed in the following fashion: 1) Frederick, who at first presented himself as the heir of the Hohenstaufen and Welf dynasties who would bring peace to the empire, increasingly kept this image up after his first Italian expedition of 1154 by claiming that he was emulating earlier rulers, mostly Charlemagne and Otto the Great. 2) Frederick originally claimed to have become Roman emperor by virtue of his royal coronation on the seat of Charlemagne, by which he attained God's grace. After the diet of Besançon in 1157 the court increasingly came to rely on the theory that God actually crowned the emperor, while the pope merely performed the physical deed. 3) Frederick presented himself as God's anointed ever since his coronation in 1152. This element followed the same development as the coronation after the diet of Besançon. 4) Frederick never stopped insisting that his empire was Roman as it

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[341] For the 1180s dating see Nilgen, "Amtsgenealogie und Amtsheiligkeit," 226, and Nilgen, "Herrscherbild und Herrschergenealogie der Stauferzeit," 362-64; and Becksmann, *Zeit der Staufer*, 285; For the 1190s dating see Charles Reginald Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West: 800-1200.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 392-94.

[342] Richard Hamann-MacLean, "Die Reimser Denkmale des französischen Königtums im 12. Jahrhundert Saint-Rémi als Grabkirche im frühen und hohen Mittelalter," in *Beiträge zur Bildung der französischen Nation im Früh- und Hochmittelalter,* ed. Helmut Beumann (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1983), 158-60, 182-92ff.

[343] Ernst Günther Grimme, "Das Karlsfenster in der Kathedrale von Chartres," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 19/20 (1960-1961): 13-14.

stemmed from the city of Rome, and the court developed dynastic claims on Rome dating back to the Trojan Franks in the later part of his reign. 5) Frederick never saw the pope as his superior, as was demonstrated at the Council of Pavia in 1159 and on the reliquary shrine of Charlemagne after 1182.

The great *novum* under Frederick is the cult of Charlemagne, which had not been very relevant in Germany before Frederick's reign. While Conrad III (1138 - 1152) supported the cult of Henry II, Frederick, influenced by Louis VII's emulation of their common Frankish ancestors on the second crusade and Manuel Komnenos' renovation of the Roman Empire, decided upon taking up a more appropriate political model, Charlemagne. Frederick, who referred to Charlemagne as being of holy memory already in 1152, went on to effect the canonisation of his predecessor in 1165 and commission his reliquary shrine around 1182. Charlemagne's cult was modeled after Constantine the Great's, not only because Constantine was the first Christian emperor whose cult was still omnipresent in the Byzantine court, but to underpin that Charlemagne ostensibly rectified Constantine's mistake of transferring the *imperium* to Constantinople and away from Rome. When Frederick finally saw his chance to restore the prestige of the Holy Roman Empire on the third crusade, he took up the title of *signifer Dei* in order to lead the Christian forces to Jerusalem. Courtly sources even called this diet the *curia Dei*, whereby they wanted to show that it was God's court which was now meeting under his highest temporal vassal, Frederick.

The last object which can be connected to Frederick is a high quality manuscript of Robert of St-Remi's *Historia Hierosolymitana*, an account of the first crusade and the capture of Jerusalem, which Frederick ostensibly commissioned to serve him as a guide on his way east. The dedicatory page of the manuscript (Fig. 48) contains a depiction of Frederick wearing an unusual crown with three circles above it (?) and military robes with stitched

crosses on his chest and cape. While he is holding the *globus cruciger* in his left hand, his right hand is pointing towards the scribe who is giving him the manuscript.[344] Altogether a picture of a crusading king, just as Frederick would have wanted it. The deeply devout emperor who most probably wanted to become a saint by emulating his forefathers was also the first German ruler since Otto I (936 - 973) to educate one of his sons, Philip, for a church career. To put it in religious terms: Frederick gave his son to God, to serve Him in Charlemagne's palatine chapel[345] where he could oversee the cult of his father's lifelong hero, Charlemagne.

Frederick's ideology was that of Frankish-Roman emperor whose rights were based on Nimrod receiving kingship from God, Jupiter founding the first European kingdom, Augustus founding the Roman Empire and acknowledging Christ, Constantine illegally transferring the *imperium* to the Greeks, Charlemagne claiming the *imperium* for the West Franks, Otto the Great claiming it for the East Franks, Conrad II returning the *imperium* to the chosen Frankish dynasty and Frederick himself uniting the Frankish and Saxon lines. But none of it would have been worth anything if he did not possess the grace of God, which he received through his anointment and coronation by God, whereby he became God's standard bearer and highest temporal vassal, king of kings and lord of the world. To simplify: Frederick Barbarossa was a feudal variation on the heavenly emperors of the late tenth century, such as Otto III, who was portrayed as crowned by God while seated on a throne which was carried by the personification of the whole world, *Terra* (Fig. 49).[346] Grimme's assumption that the Carolingian *civitas Dei* was replaced by the Hohenstaufen *sacrum imperium* is correct but for one element.[347] This element is the fact that the *civitas Dei*

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[344] Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, 130; Schramm, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, vol. 1, 182; Hehl, "Kreuzzug - Pilgerfahrt - Imitatio Christi," 48-49.
[345] Meuthen, "Barbarossa und Aachen," 29-30, 32-33, 56.
[346] Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, 78.
[347] Grimme, *Der Karlsschrein und der Marienschrein*, 16.

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transformed into the *sacrum imperium* under the influence of what Hehl called *imitatio Christi*. And now the *christus Domini* and his court started resembling the court of God in heaven, just like the one in the vision of God's court which Saint Anselm of Canterbury had as a child in the early years of the Church reform movement.[348] After all, this God was a feudal god.

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[348] Eadmer, *The Life of St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed., comm. and trans. Richard W. Southern (London: Nelson, 1962), 4-5.

Conclusion

In terms of ideological developments, Frederick's career was one of the most brilliant episodes of the entire Middle Ages. When he was crowned in Aachen in 1152, he overtook all of the elements that Conrad III used before him. Frederick even adopted his predecessor's seal and golden bull types, and even the same imperial *intitulatio*, which no earlier German king used before an imperial coronation in Rome. By 1155, when Frederick was crowned emperor, not much had changed. His seal and golden bull still showed no change. Frederick's ideology at this point can be described as an interplay between these five elements: 1) the *renovatio imperii*, 2) the *christus Domini,* 3) the *imperator Romanorum,* 4) the emulation of Charlemagne, 5) the hierarchical equality of the emperor and the pope. The 1157 Cappenberg head and baptismal basin, however, represent a significant departure from prior imperial iconography, showing Frederick not as the heir of Charlemagne, but as his emulator. After Frederick's break with Manuel Komnenos after 1156, the appearance of the *sacrum imperium* in the March of 1157 heralded a new approach in imperial ideology. While the sacralisation of the emperor, the empire, and the persons and objects related to them was an ongoing process even in the late Salian era, it was the impression the Byzantines made upon the Latins during the second crusade (1145 - 1149), which made the German court rethink its self-representation.

While all of the five enumerated elements seem to be logically related to inner development of the imperial ideology of the twelfth century, more of them were under the strong influence of the events that transpired during the second crusade. The *imperator Romanorum* had become relevant for Conrad III precisely because he was not crowned emperor, for example. It is the contact with the Byzantine Empire which led him to adopt the

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title without having been crowned by the pope, as Ohnsorge puts it.[349] Conrad III died after having failed completely not only in the second crusade, but also in stabilising the three realms of the empire. While it may have been logical that Frederick would take up the *renovatio imperii* as his goal, it is very likely that the successful reign of Manuel Komnenos provided the final outward influence on him. The *renovatio*, of course, was not a new element in imperial ideology, but it was a product of contemporary politics, and not the antiquarian delights of a dreamer. Frederick's firm belief in imitating the good rulers of the past, however, certainly did make it easier for the court to propose 'tried and true' solutions to new problems. As I have demonstrated earlier, the German court adopted the Byzantine ideology of the *sacrum imperium* after Frederick and Manuel had become enemies in 1156. This term was profusely used by the Byzantines when they were giving their word that they would uphold an agreement during the second crusade. As the Germans thought that the Byzantines had broken it countless times, the *sacrum imperium* must have become a well-known term in the German camp. Its appropriation in 1157 seems to be related to Frederick's refusal to divide the territories of the Kingdom of Sicily with Manuel.

The imperial propagation of the cult of Henry II is another case in point. While Conrad III was present at his holy predecessor's elevation in 1146, he was already underway on his crusade by the time Henry II's remains were translated in July 1147. Frederick would attend the tenth anniversary of his translation in 1157 and Henry II would remain present in imperial propaganda works such as Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon* until the very end of Frederick's reign. However, the second crusade forced the German court to come to terms with the French cult of Saint Dionysius, whose integral part was a crusading Charlemagne who became Dionysius' vassal as king of the Franks. According to his chaplain Odo of Deuil,

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[349] Werner Ohnsorge, "'Kaiser' Konrad III. Zur Geschichte des staufischen Staatsgedankens (1932)," in *Abendland und Byzanz: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte der byzantinisch-abenländischen Beziehungen und des Kaisertums*, ed. Werner Ohnsorge (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1958), 379-81.

Louis VII was emulating an earlier Frankish expedition to the Holy Land when he took part in the second crusade. While this might have been an emulation of Charlemagne, it is also possible that Louis was imitating the leaders of the first crusade. While no development of the cult of Charlemagne can be noticed under Conrad III, Frederick Barbarossa called him *sancte memorie* already in 1152, but also *sanctissimus* in 1158. By the time the *sacrum imperium* ideology had developed, a holy Charlemagne was its integral part. After the stormy diet of Besançon, where the papal legates had claimed that the empire is a papal fief, Frederick openly proclaimed the sacred nature of the empire and its status as a gift from God, given through the empire's nobles. During his conflict with the Lombards, Frederick allegedly held speeches in which he stated that his right to rule over Lombardy stemmed from the conquests of Italy by Charlemagne and Otto the Great. However, if Petersohn is correct, this is the ideological viewpoint of 1158 - 1160. By 1162 - 1163, when the *Kaiserhymnus* was written, the view was refined some more: Frederick was now *representat Karolum*, supported by God and punishing the Lombards, just as Charlemagne had done. While his experiences on the second crusade did not stop being a source of new ideas, the struggle with the Lombards impressed the ideal of Charlemagne even more firmly into the ideological discourse of imperial court.

After the failed meeting at St. Jean-sur-Losne Frederick's chief opponent seemed to be Louis VII, as the Lombards were beaten and Alexander III was living in France under royal protection. At this point Frederick struck an alliance with Henry II of England and received detailed information on the translation of Edward the Confessor, which happened in 1163. Under the guidance of Rainald of Dassel, archbishop of Cologne, the relics of the three magi were translated to Cologne in 1164. Their connection to Frederick's ideology is disputed at the moment, but perhaps future research will overturn this view. Rainald, however, was also the person most responsible for Charlemagne's canonisation on Saint

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David's day, December 29, 1165. On that day the imperial court stood watching as Frederick was personally carrying his predecessor's body to its new location. However, as the canonisation itself was not a long-standing plan, only a brachiary, whose purpose was to contain the relics of the new saint, was completed in time for the ceremony. The brachiary, while it definitely shows dynastic tendencies, does not necessarily depict the principle of primogeniture, as the presence of Conrad III might indicate that Frederick of Rothenburg was still a possible candidate for the next royal election, or at least that he was at the time when the brachiary was designed. The situation then changed after Rainald of Dassel and Frederick of Rothenburg died near Rome in 1167, making it possible for Frederick to have his son, Henry VI, crowned king in 1169.

It seems likely that the Barbarossa chandelier, whose inscription identifies the object itself both as a crown and as heavenly Jerusalem, was hanging in the centre of the church at the time. Moreover, it was designed so that is would represent the crown which Christ, seated in majesty in the dome, would send down from the heavens through Saint Michael, who was depicted on an enamel where all the chains holding the chandelier connected. This was the counterpart to the traditional Byzantine ideology that God sent the *kamelaukion* type crown through an angel to Constantine the Great as a sign of his grace. It was also a counterpart to the French idea that Saint Remigius anointed Clovis, the first king of the Franks, with heavenly oil. Frederick's choice may be said to have been a remarkably good one, as Saint Michael was the first among the angels and thus the best possible option for an intermediary between God and his anointed, the new king. The proof that Frederick considered the coronation of his son the paramount political goal is that he even promised to end the schism with Alexander III, if only the pope would crown his son emperor. As Alexander III declined, however, the schism continued and Frederick's control over the empire was not as complete as he would have wished. It can be postulated that the chandelier was actually understood as

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a crown given by God since the phrase *a deo coronatus* appeared in Frederick's chancery in 1162 and 1170, years whose proximity to the development of the entire Aquensian programme should make one suspicious, to say the least.

It is also notable that the *Vita Karoli Magni,* a vita of Charlemagne which also glorifies Frederick Barbarossa, was probably written between 1165 and 1170. One of its paragraphs offers an interesting addition to the elective principle in imperial succession, which Otto of Freising lauded in the 1140s and 1150s. The vita states that the descendants of Charlemagne are more virtuous and holy than other people, as they stem from such a saint. However, the *Vita Karoli Magni* makes even greater contribution to the courtly ideology. It describes Charlemagne as a confessor, martyr and apostle. While his apostolicity was a traditional motif in Germany, this time around it was the Byzantine and papal models of the founder's apostolic status which forced Charlemagne to become an actual apostle in the full meaning of the word. While Charlemagne was buried in the centre of Saint Mary's in Aachen most probably already under Otto III, his elevation to a saint and the placement of his relics on the altar of all saints (again in the centre of the church) seems to reflect Eusebius' text which states that Constantine the Great, the founder of Constantinople and, in the German court, the person who robbed Rome of her empire, was buried in a sarcophagus in the centre of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, where he was revered as equal to the apostles. Otto of Freising and Godfrey of Viterbo, two authors related to Frederick's imperial court, both knew this text and were avid proponents of Frederick's ideology. It seems reasonable to conclude that this model was picked up for Charlemagne, the apostle who had to achieve sacral parity with Constantine the Great and Saint Peter in order that the Holy Roman Empire become as holy as the other two universal entities, the Byzantine Empire and the papacy. France would also suffer from this blow, as Charlemagne now had his own cult,

and it was definitely incompatible with the one in St-Denis, where Charlemagne was described as a vassal of the abbey's patron saint.

As no courtly source dated to the 1170s survives except for the diplomata, one can only guess whether Frederick's ideological programme underwent any changes in that decade. Frederick's political situation changed greatly after Manuel Komnenos, Louis VII of France and Pope Alexander III all passed away in the early 1180s. Moreover, having defeated and exiled Henry the Lion from Germany, Frederick was now at the pinnacle of his power. The reliquary shrine of Saint Charlemagne was finally begun shortly after 1182, in the midst of all these changes. Its original programme included all the kings of Germany from Henry I to Frederick, but also the Carolingian rulers who could somehow fit into a German national tradition. While Charles the Bald, who was not merely a king, but an emperor, was excluded because he was considered to be French, Zwentibold was included because he was the only ruler of the East Frankish line to rule only over Lotharingia. Charlemagne is presented as the enthroned co-ruler of God on the front of the shrine. The annals of Aachen have been identified as the textual basis for the programme in this thesis, as their dating corresponds to when the brachiary and the reliquary shrine were designed. The annals mention exactly those rulers who appear on the reliquary shrine of Charlemagne and leave out the others, making it likely that this is indeed the textual basis for the shrine's iconographic programme. If one imagines the exterior of the shrine to represent a church interior, as Ciresi proposes, the whole shrine starts imitating Saint Mary's in Aachen, meaning that the figure of Charlemagne is representing the *christus Domini* in the western gallery of the Aachen palatine church as he is looking toward the Mother of God with Child in the eastern sanctuary. As the Charlemagne's reliquary shrine replaced his brachiary on the altar to all saints, it was then set into an even greater programme, where Christ on the dome mosaic crowns the whole empire with a gigantic crown, which also represents heavenly Jerusalem. Finally, the elements *a deo*

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coronatus, *sacrum imperium*, *christus Domini* and *Iesu Christi conregnator* are all combined in this singular image of the empire as the holy state under God's direct protection. The whole programme became apparent on coronation day, when the new king would prostrate himself before Charlemagne's reliquary shrine before giving gifts to Saint Mary and being led to his throne in the western gallery, whence he could look up at Christ in Majesty, his only superior.

Finally, after Jerusalem fell in 1187, Frederick forced his opponents into quick submission so that a crusade may be attempted. The diet in Mainz in which the crusade was formally proclaimed was not considered to be a regular one, but, rather, it was called the *curia Dei*, *curia (Iesu) Christi* and *curia Dei et peregrinorum*. Frederick took up the title *signifer Dei*, claiming to be God's highest vassal and representative on earth. While the speeches he allegedly held during the expedition to the east repeated all of the five elements which have been outlined at the beginning of this thesis, Frederick now showed an even more exalted understanding of himself. When he thought that Isaac II insulted him by his behaviour, he accused Isaac of not only damaging his own honour, but the honour of Christianity and even that of God himself. Frederick now represented himself as God's representative on earth, just as the Byzantine emperors had traditionally been doing. And yet it is impossible to overlook that he was still emulating Charlemagne by going on this crusade. Frederick was imitating Charlemagne's successes against the Langobards / Lombards in the early 1160s and against the Saxons / Henry the Lion in the early 1180s. The crusade was an imitation of Charlemagne's expedition to the East, where Frederick's predecessor allegedly obtained all the bountiful relics he later gave to Aachen. It seems that through the constant imitation of Charlemagne Frederick wanted to achieve personal sanctity, similarly to how Louis VII attempted to become a holy king by taking part in the second crusade half a century earlier.

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While scholars have previously analysed the Frederick Barbarossa's ideology and its elements very rigorously, the attempts to define a Friderician programme have been rare. In fact, one could even say that Appelt's *Die Kaiseridee Friedrich Barbarossas* and Szabó's *Herrscherbild und Reichsgedanke* are the only recent works in the highly studied field to have actually tried to synthesise the various elements into a complete picture of the emperor. Krieg's *Herrscherdarstellung in der Stauferzeit* explored these elements even further, contributing particularly to the analysis of Frederick's diplomata. The refined methods of contemporary scholarship may have made recent works more exact and of higher quality than those of the past, but the quantity of investigated sources has been declining steadily since Giesebrecht. Narrow specialisation is a toll all scholars working on the extremely well-documented Frederick Barbarossa have to pay. This, however, leads to various subdisciplines presenting results which are contrasting, if not even incompatible with one another. The demarcation line between art history and diplomatics seems to be an especially present one in the minds of scholars today. While art history seems to be entering a period of methodological experimentation, diplomatics seems to be revered as an old and traditional discipline which is not in line with these new approaches, even though Fichtenau demonstrated the value of diplomatic sources as sources for the history of ideas and mentality already in 1957.[350]

Other boundaries between historical subdisciplines exist as well: historians of the crusades have rarely weighed in on the more general debate on imperial ideology, for example.[351] More matter-of-factly historians, such as Görich or Petersohn, have rarely exploited the 'artistic' sources to their full extent. Even a cursory reading of Binding's work on the imperial palaces shows that ideological discussions need not shy away from

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[350] Heinrich Fichtenau, *Arenga: Spätantike und Mittelalter im Spiegel von Urkundenformeln* (Graz: Böhlau, 1957).

[351] Idea inspired by Nikolas Jaspert, "Reformbwegungen des 11. Jahrhunderts" (seminar, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, February 2, 2015).

archaeological remains. It is to be hoped that another scholar redress this *sfortuna critica*. Shortly, the unique contributions of these many fields should all have a place within the discussion of Frederick's ideology, even if this thesis ultimately came short of this ideal. On the other hand, this thesis is the first systematic attempt to unite the findings of various subdisciplines. While art historians have previously noticed many elements peculiar to Frederick Barbarossa, a more intimate knowledge of the literary sources led me to the discovery of the presence of the *a deo coronatus* complex of ideas in Saint Mary's in Aachen. The tracing of gradual changes within the programme also led to the linking of the Aachen objects to the royal coronation in a different manner than before: while the chandelier has been described as a huge crown and as heavenly Jerusalem in the past, it is only now that its relation to the dome mosaic has been established. Moreover, it is now apparent that the *a deo coronatus* element appears in almost every important courtly source, including the coronation, the historical accounts of various authors and the diplomata. As far as one can tell, the element reappeared during Conrad III's reign and was remarkably vital during the next fifty years, even if it appeared only two times in Frederick's charters. Its Carolingian provenance, however, tended to obscure the Byzantine inspiration of its reintroduction into the chancery of the Holy Roman Empire. However, the Byzantine influence becomes obvious when the innovations in the Aquensian ritual are compared to what the German imperial court of the twelfth century was likely to know about the Byzantine coronation ritual.

It seems impossible to distinguish between the *a deo coronatus* and the sanctity of Charlemagne during Frederick Barbarossa's reign. It is deplorable that no courtly source from Conrad III's era has come down to us, especially as Conrad failed in his great undertakings, such as the second crusade. While it seems likely that Frederick's appropriation of the cult of Charlemagne was inspired by Louis VII's actions and ideology on the second crusade, there seems to be no reason to rule out the possibility that Conrad III embraced this

new ideology before his nephew did. In a sense, it might be that Frederick's reputation among present-day historians combined with the vast number of sources available for the investigation of his reign will completely obfuscate Conrad's contribution. While a monographic biography of Conrad III has not appeared in more than a century, the rhythm in which Frederick's biographies are being published nowadays is almost unprecedented for a medieval ruler. Returning to the twelfth century, one might conclude that the crusading movement was ideologically much more important for the rulers of France and the Holy Roman Empire than scholars have supposed until now. The connection between the crusades and the glorification of Charlemagne is another point which might have to be addressed sometime in the future. While I have pointed out the relevance of *imitatio* in Frederick's ideology, a complete study of the problem would have to take into account the ideologies of all of Frederick's contemporaries, or at least those of the rulers with whom he frequently came into contact.

Art historians have admired the Aquensian objects of Frederick Barbarossa's programme for many generations now, but no reconstruction of a larger Friderician programme has been attempted before this thesis. While St-Denis has been the object of study of innumerable scholars, Aachen lingered on in the shadow. One might say that Charlemagne's fame obscured that of his successors so much that they have been unjustly neglected by scholars. However, as reception history is gaining moment at present, significant changes are likely to be introduced to the way scholars approach the study of the Middle Ages. While scholars have once viewed the whole thousand year period as a long era of darkness with a few isolated spots of light, the development of reception history offers the scholars of today the opportunity to challenge some aspects of this view. Tradition might have been the keyword of the Middle Ages, but sometimes the mask of tradition only served to obscure contemporary developments and a great deal of painstaking research is needed to

uncover 'how it had actually happened.'[352] Hopefully this thesis deserves to be mentioned alongside such works. Of course, none of it would have been possible without the contributions of countless scholars on whose shoulders the Friderician programme has been reconstructed in this thesis.

Now that the Friderician programme as outlined in this thesis is hopefully proven to have existed, it should lead to an informed comparison of the Aachen and St-Denis programmes of the twelfth century. The deficiencies of the few present comparisons are that as the programmatic texts of the Aquensian programme were unknown, the comparison could never be complete. Since the Aquensian programme apparently followed a Byzantine model, and since abbot Suger openly proclaimed that his work in St-Denis was competing with the Hagia Sophia,[353] it seems likely that the ideological history of the twelfth century itself has to be revised even further. One might even consider Louis VII and Frederick Barbarossa as acting out two different modes of piety within the established model, the *imitatio.* A detailed comparison of the two seems like a much needed *desideratum* in the study of the remarkable period that the twelfth century is. Moreover, it is now high time that scholars re-examine medieval Latin Christendom in relation to Byzantium, 'the Versailles of the Middle Ages,' just as Ohnsorge suggested over fifty years ago. [354] The break between Rome and Constantinople in 1054 did not mark the end of Christian unity in Europe. Diversity progressed in almost insignificantly small steps. Ideologically speaking, Byzantium would be eclipsed as the centre of the Christian world only after the fall of Constantinople in 1204. As for Frederick, he will hopefully remain one of the bridges that scholars use to investigate how

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[352] Leopold Ranke, *Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1514* (Leipzig / Berlin: G. Reimer, 1824), vii.

[353] Suger, "Mémoire de Suger sur son administration abbatiale," in *Œuvres complètes de Suger*, ed. Albert Lecoy de La Marche (Paris: Mme. ve. J. Renouard, 1867), 199-200.

[354] Werner Ohnsorge, "Byzanz und das Abendland im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert. Zur Entwicklung des Kaiserbegriffes und der Staatsideologie (1954)," in *Abendland und Byzanz: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte der byzantinisch-abenländischen Beziehungen und des Kaisertums*, ed. Werner Ohnsorge (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1958), 1-8.

and why the heritage of the ancient Romans was slowly rediscovered in what has been called

'the Renaissance of the twelfth century' almost a hundred years ago.[355]

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[355] Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, 2nd edition (New York: Meridian Books, 1957).

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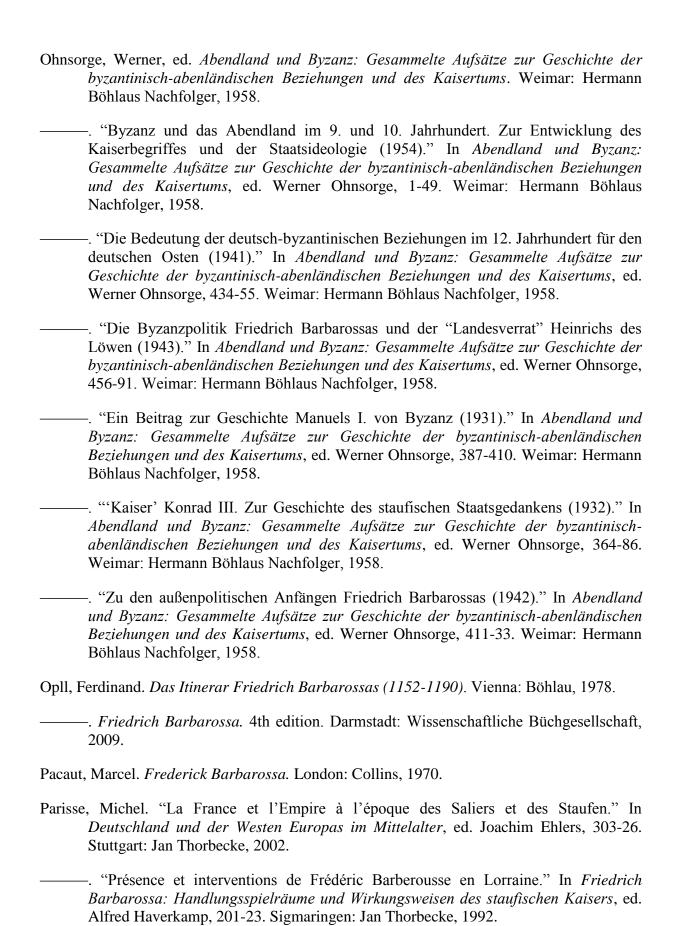Keupp, Jan Ulrich. "Das Kaisertum steckt im Detail: Imperiale Kleiderformen im 12. Jahrhundert." In *Staufisches Kaisertum im 12. Jahrhundert: Konzepte, Netzwerke, politische Praxis,* eds. Stefan Burkhardt, Thomas Metz, Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter, 361-82. Regensburg: Schnell + Steiner, 2010.

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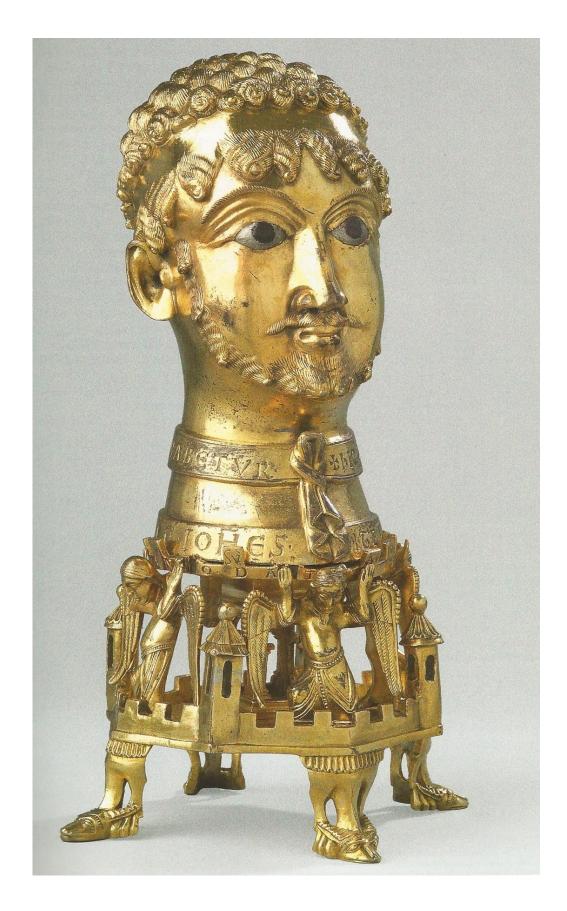
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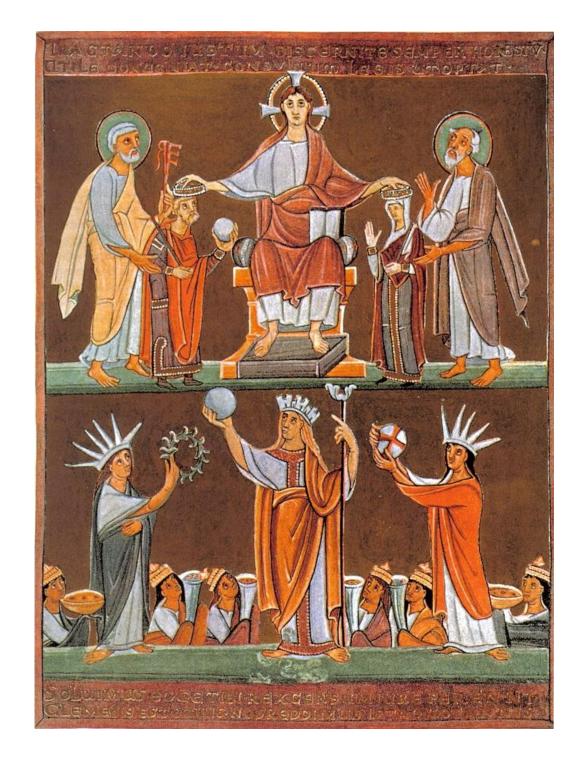*accessed May 19, 2015.*

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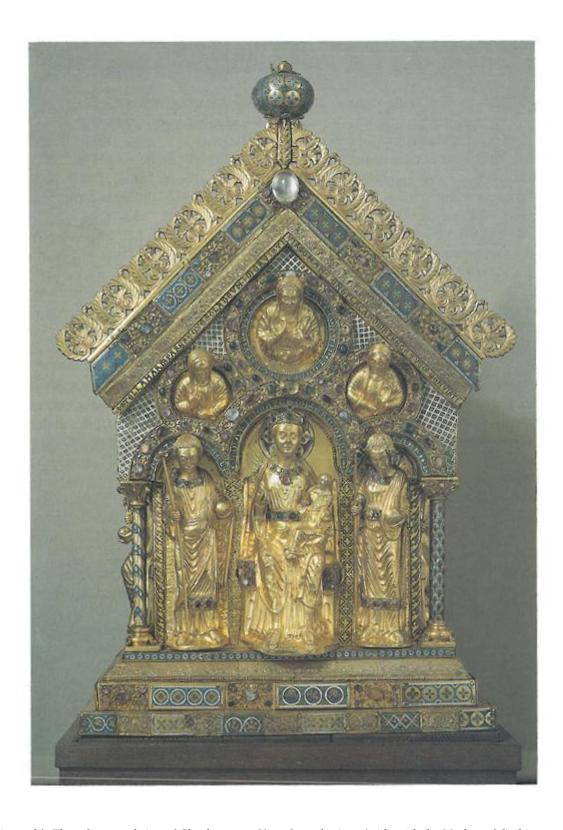
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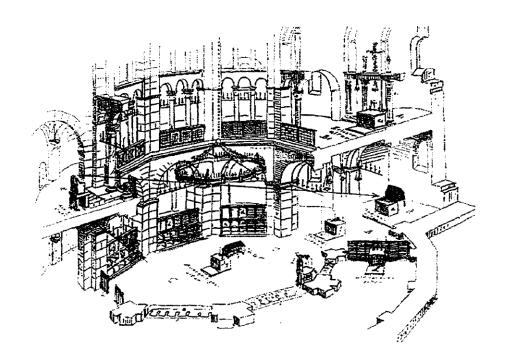
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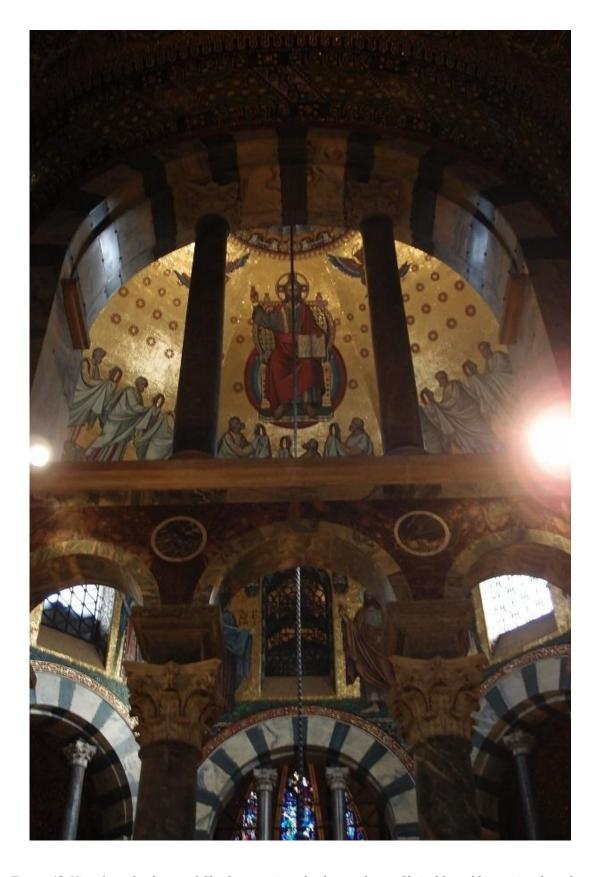
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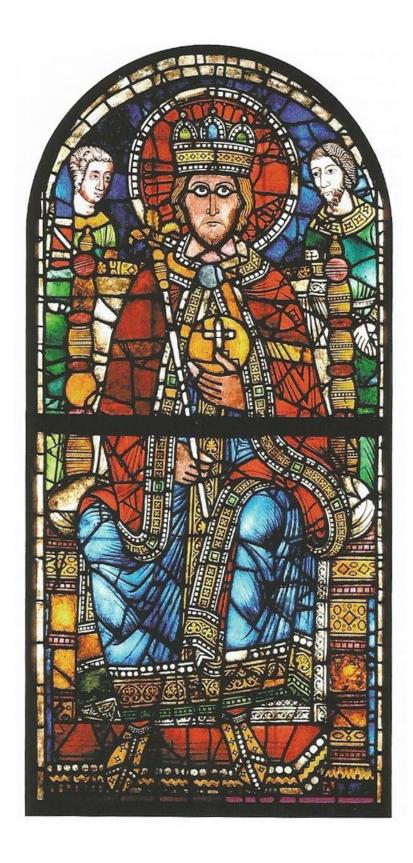
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