

MAKING THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE HOLY

*Frederick Barbarossa, Saint Charlemagne and the sacrum
imperium*

VEDRAN SULOVSKY

University of Cambridge



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CONTENTS

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	<i>page</i> x
<i>List of Tables</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xiv
INTRODUCTION	
I.1 The <i>sacrum imperium</i> Theory	4
I.2 Beyond <i>sacrum imperium</i>	17
I SACRUM IMPERIUM: LOMBARD INFLUENCE	
AND THE SACRALISATION OF THE STATE IN THE MID-TWELFTH	
CENTURY (1125–1167)	20
1.1 Introduction: Concepts and Categories	20
1.2 Peter the Deacon and Wibald of Stavelot as Intermediaries between the Byzantine Court Style and the German Imperial Chancery	24
1.3 Sacral Terminology in the German Imperial Chancery (1125/1136–1158)	33
1.4 <i>Sacrum imperium</i> and <i>diva res publica</i> at the Imperial Court and in the German Imperial Chancery (April 1155–Autumn 1157)	43
1.5 <i>Sacrum imperium</i> in the Documents of the Imperial Chancery and Legates (1159–1167)	56
1.6 Otto and Acerbo Morena, Judges and Consuls of Lodi, and the Role of Rainald of Dassel	67
2 SACRUM IMPERIUM II: THE BAROMETER OF LOMBARD	
INFLUENCE AT COURT (1167–1190 AND BEYOND)	77
2.1 The Sacral Terminology of the State in the Imperial Chancery (1167–1180)	77

Contents

2.2	The Sacral Terminology of the State in Imperial Documents (1180–1190) and Epilogue	83
2.3	The Poets at the Court of Frederick Barbarossa in the 1180s: Gunther the Poet and Godfrey of Viterbo	98
2.4	Conclusion	107
3	THE CULT OF CHARLEMAGNE FROM HIS DEATH TO THE ACCESSION OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA (814–1152)	118
3.1	Introduction: The Historiography of Saint Charlemagne	119
3.2	Charlemagne's <i>memoria</i> in General and in Aachen up to 1165	120
3.3	The <i>Karlsdekret</i> : The Codification of Aquensisian Tradition	125
3.4	Conclusion	135
4	THE CANONISATION OF CHARLEMAGNE IN 1165	138
4.1	Frederick Barbarossa and Rainald of Dassel Divide the Spoils of the Italian Wars	139
4.2	The Run-Up to the Canonisation (1164–1165)	153
4.3	The Canonisation of Saint Charlemagne in 1165 as a Stage for Imperial Politics	157
4.4	Aachen, the <i>sedes regni Theutonici</i>	171
4.5	The Political Uses of Holy Kings and Holy Kingship in Twelfth-Century Latin Europe	175
4.6	Visualising Saint Charlemagne: The Brachiary of Saint Charlemagne	182
4.7	Conclusion	190
5	THE BARBAROSSALEUCHTER: IMPERIAL MONUMENT AND PIUS DONATION	194
5.1	Form and Inscriptions	196
5.2	The Inscriptions in Detail: Dating the Barbarossaleuchter	198
5.3	Frederick and Beatrix as Donators of Religious Artworks	205
5.4	The Inscriptions in Detail: (Possibly) Alcuin's Inscription Imitated by the Canons	208
5.5	The Engraved Plates: The Christological Cycle and the Beatitudes	213
5.6	The Towers, Their Lost Silver Reliefs and the Iconographic Programme in General	218
5.7	The Barbarossaleuchter and the Carolingian Dome	222
5.8	Liturgical Usage: Lighting the Chandelier	228
5.9	The Symbolic Functions of the Barbarossaleuchter	232
6	THE RELIQUARY SHRINE OF SAINT CHARLEMAGNE: THE HIGH POINT OF THE SACRUM IMPERIUM?	236
6.1	Introduction: The Two Main Interpretations	237
6.2	The Two Narrow Sides: The Marienseite and the Karlsseite	240

Contents

6.3 The Gallery of Kings	247
6.4 The Roof Reliefs	264
6.5 The Order of Rulers on the Gallery of Kings	271
6.6 The Reliquary Shrine as a Type: The Frames and the Ornamentation	279
6.7 Dating the Karlsschrein: The Hereditary Monarchy	284
6.8 Conclusion	292
<i>Conclusion</i>	295
<i>Appendix</i>	343
<i>Bibliography</i>	347
<i>Index</i>	372

ILLUSTRATIONS

1	The Karlssiegel (<i>c.</i> 1125–1127)	page 310
2	First Mariensiegel (<i>c.</i> 1100)	311
3	Second Mariensiegel (<i>c.</i> 1165)	312
4	Third Mariensiegel (between 1191 and 1197)	313
5	First seal of Lothar III (1125)	314
6	Second seal of Lothar III (1130)	314
7	Seal of Conrad III (1138)	315
8	The royal golden bull of Frederick Barbarossa (1152)	315
9	The Barbarossaleuchter (between 1165 and 1174)	316
10	The Barbarossaleuchter – plan after Herta Lepie	317
11	The reconstructed Carolingian dome mosaic (1870–1881)	318
12	Giovanni Ciampini's engraving of the Aquensian dome mosaics (1699)	319
13	The Karlsschrein – the Karlsseite	320
14	The Karlsschrein – plan after Kerstin Wiese	321
15	The Karlsschrein – the Marienseite	322
16	The Karlsschrein – the Ludwigsseite	323
17	The Karlsschrein – the Friedrichsseite	324
18	Buchkremer's 1907 reconstruction of the Karlsmemoria	325
19–26	The Karlsschrein – the eight roof reliefs	326
27–34	The Karlsschrein – kings on the Ludwigsseite	330
35–42	The Karlsschrein – kings on the Friedrichsseite	334
43–47	The Karlsschrein – the five balks of the Ludwigsseite	338
48–52	The Karlsschrein – the five balks of the Friedrichsseite	340

TABLES

I Kings and Aachen *page 252*