

Christus Regnat:
Inauguration and Images of Kingship in England,
France and the Empire *c.1050-c.1250*

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Submitted for examination for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of East Anglia

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November 2013

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Abstract

This thesis challenges the traditional paradigm, which assumes that the period c.1050-c.1250 saw a move away from the ‘biblical’ or ‘liturgical’ kingship of the early Middle Ages towards ‘administrative’ or ‘law-centred’ interpretations of rulership. By taking an interdisciplinary and transnational approach, and by bringing together types of source material that have traditionally been studied in isolation, a continued flourishing of Christ-centred kingship in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries is exposed. In demonstrating that Christological understandings of royal power were not incompatible with bureaucratic development, the shared liturgically inspired vocabulary deployed by monarchs in the three realms is made manifest. The practice of monarchical inauguration forms the focal point of the thesis, which is structured around three different types of source material: liturgical texts, narrative accounts and charters. Rather than attempting to trace the development of this ritual, an approach that has been taken many times before, this thesis is concerned with how royal inauguration was understood by contemporaries. Key insights include the importance of considering queens in the construction of images of royalty, the continued significance of unction despite papal attempts to lower the status of royal anointing, and the depth of symbolism inherent in the act of coronation, which enables a reinterpretation of this part of the inauguration rite.

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List of Abbreviations

ANS	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies</i> (formerly <i>Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies</i>)
CdS	Corpus des sceaux français du Moyen Age
CRAI	<i>Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
MGH DD	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Diplomata</i>
MGH Epp	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Epistolae (in Quart)</i>
MGH Fontes iuris	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi</i>
MGH Ldl	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum</i>
MGH LL	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Leges (in Folio)</i>
MGH SS	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores (in Folio)</i>
MGH SS rer. Germ.	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi</i>
MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S.	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series</i>
MIÖG	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung</i>
OMT	Oxford Medieval Texts
RHF	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France</i>
RRAN	<i>Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum</i>
RS	Rolls Series
SCH	<i>Studies in Church History</i>
SCH Sub	<i>Studies in Church History Subsidia</i>
SHM	Sources d'histoire médiévale
VuF	<i>Vorträge und Forschungen</i>

Preface

King Arthur: I am your king.

Peasant Woman: Well, I didn't vote for you.

King Arthur: You don't vote for kings.

Peasant Woman: Well, how'd you become king, then?

King Arthur: The Lady of the Lake, her arm clad in the purest shimmering samite, held aloft Excalibur from the bosom of the water, signifying by divine providence that I, Arthur, was to carry Excalibur. That is why I am your king.

Dennis the Peasant: Listen. Strange women lying in ponds distributing swords is no basis for a system of government. Supreme executive power derives from a mandate from the masses, not from some farcical aquatic ceremony.

Monty Python and the Holy Grail (1975)

My school teachers David du Croz and Richard Markham first introduced me to medieval history. That fifteen years later I am submitting this thesis bears witness to their enduring influence. As an undergraduate, Roger Lovatt and Elisabeth van Houts nurtured my medieval interests. As my MPhil supervisor Liesbeth oversaw my transformation from flippant undergraduate to studious graduate researcher. My debt to her is great indeed and I would like to thank her for her encouragement and sage advice over the past ten years. In Nicholas Vincent I have had a most stimulating and intellectually ambitious supervisor. Nick's high expectations, and apparent faith in my ability to come somewhere near to reaching them, have been vital driving forces behind this research.

During the course of my doctoral research I have benefitted greatly from both the library and seminar programme at the IHR where David d'Avray, David Carpenter, Miri Rubin and Alice Taylor have all, in one way or another, influenced this thesis through their comments, questions and responses to queries. At UEA, where the award of an AHRC studentship made returning to academia possible,

David Bates, Julie Barrau, Tom Licence, Stephen Church and Sandy Heslop have all been supportive of my work, despite my rather less than frequent presence in Norwich. I am particularly grateful to Jörg Peltzer for inviting me to spend a semester as part of his research group in Heidelberg, an experience that has enhanced the comparative scope of this thesis by enabling me to experience the traditions of German academia at first hand.

In addition to those mentioned above, the following have kindly made me aware of relevant books and articles, shared work or alerted me to opportunities: Michael Borgolte, Stuart Airlie, Levi Roach, Henry Parkes, Björn Weiler, Sophie Ambler, Andreas Büttner, Jonathan Lyon, Simon John and Thomas W. Smith. Simon and Tom have, in addition, been valued tea-drinking companions and friends. I am indebted to Anuschka Gäng, Thorsten Huthwelker and especially Max Wemhöner for making me welcome in Heidelberg. My parents, who have been ever ready to show an interest in my work (particularly before breakfast), have been a source of support over three decades, as have my siblings (with whom I first enjoyed Monty Python). Above all I thank my husband Julian and, accordingly, I dedicate this thesis to the skipper of Blue Owl.

North Fambridge, October 2013

Table 1
List of Reigning Kings and Popes

Date	England	France	Germany	Popes & *Antipopes
1050	Edward (1042-1066)	Philip I (1059-1108)	Henry IV (1056-1105)	Leo IX (1049-54) Victor II (1055-57) Stephen IX (1057-58) *Benedict X (1058-59) Nicholas II (1058-61) Alexander II (1061-73) *Honorius II (1061-64) Gregory VII (1073-85) *Clement III (1080-1100) Victor III (1086-87) Urban II (1088-99) Paschal II (1099-1118)
	William I (1066-1087)			
	William II (1087-1100)			
1100	Henry I (1100-1135)	Louis VI (1108-1137)	Henry V (1105-1125)	*Theodoric (1100-01) *Albert (1101) *Silvester IV (1105-11) Gelasius II (1118-19) *Gregory VIII (1118-21) Calixtus II (1119-24) Honorius II (1124-1130) *Celestine II (1124) Innocent II (1130-43) *Anacletus II (1130-38) *Victor IV (1138) Celestine II (1143-44) Lucius II (1144-45) Eugenius III (1145-53)
	Stephen (1135-1154)	Louis VII (1137-1180)	Conrad III (1138-1152)	
	Henry II (1154-1189)		Frederick I (1152-1190)	Anastasius IV (1153-54) Hadrian IV (1154-59) Alexander III (1159-81) *Victor IV (1159-64) *Pascal III (1164-1168) *Calixtus III (1168-78) *Innocent III (1179-80) Lucius III (1181-85) Urban III (1185-87) Gregory VIII (1187)
1150	Philip II (1180-1223)		Henry VI (1190-1197)	Clement III (1187-91) Celestine III (1191-98) Innocent III (1198-1216)
	Richard I (1189-1199)		Philip of Swabia (1198-1208)	
	John (1199-1216)		Otto IV (1198-1215)	
1200	Henry III (1216-1272)	Louis VIII (1223-1226)	Frederick II (1215-1250)	Honorius III (1216-27) Gregory IX (1227-41)
		Louis IX (1226-1270)		Celestine IV (1241) Innocent IV (1243-54)

Table 2

Simplified Genealogy of the Norman and Plantagenet Kings, 1066-1272

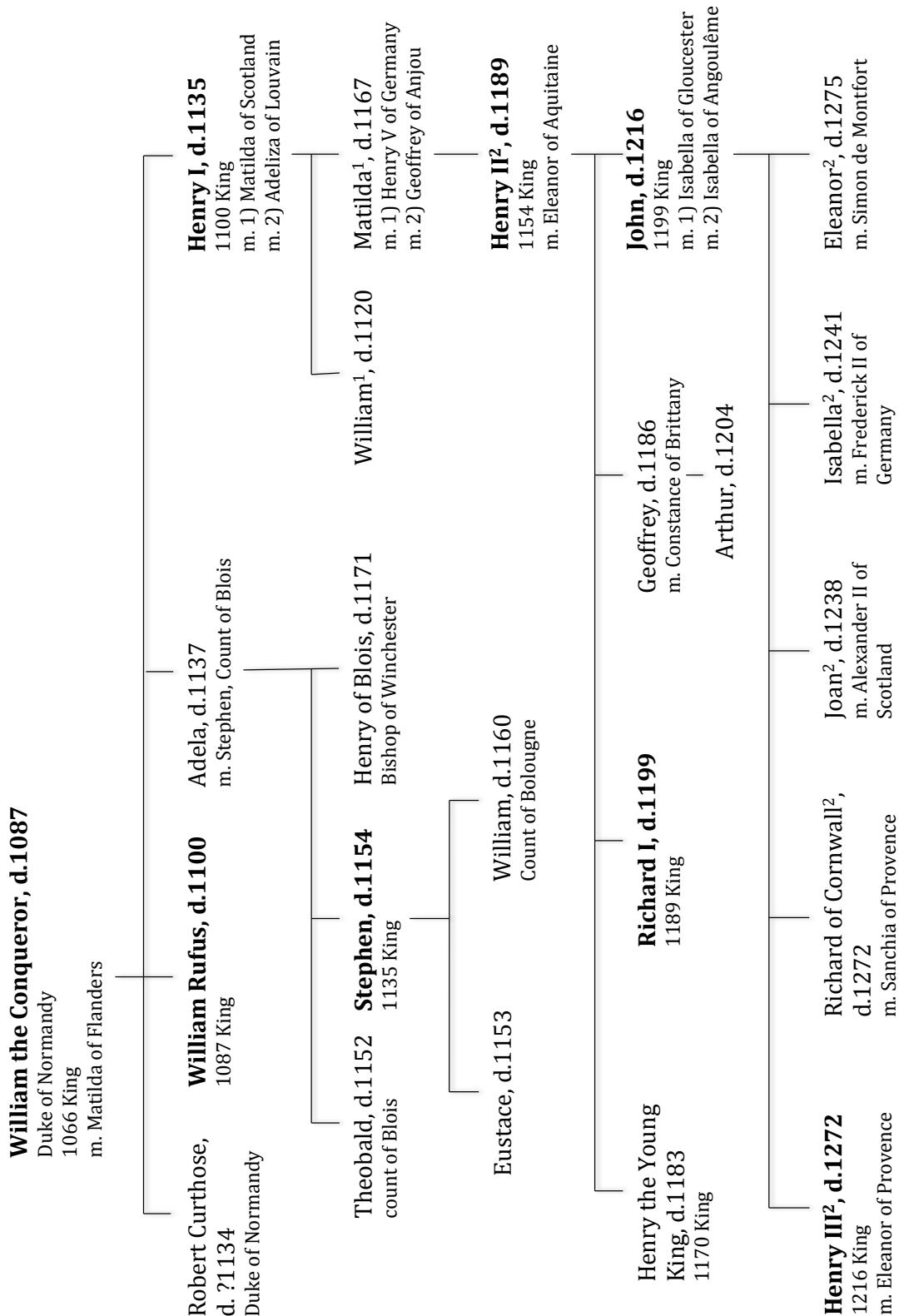


Table 3

Simplified Genealogy of the Capetian Kings, 1060-1270

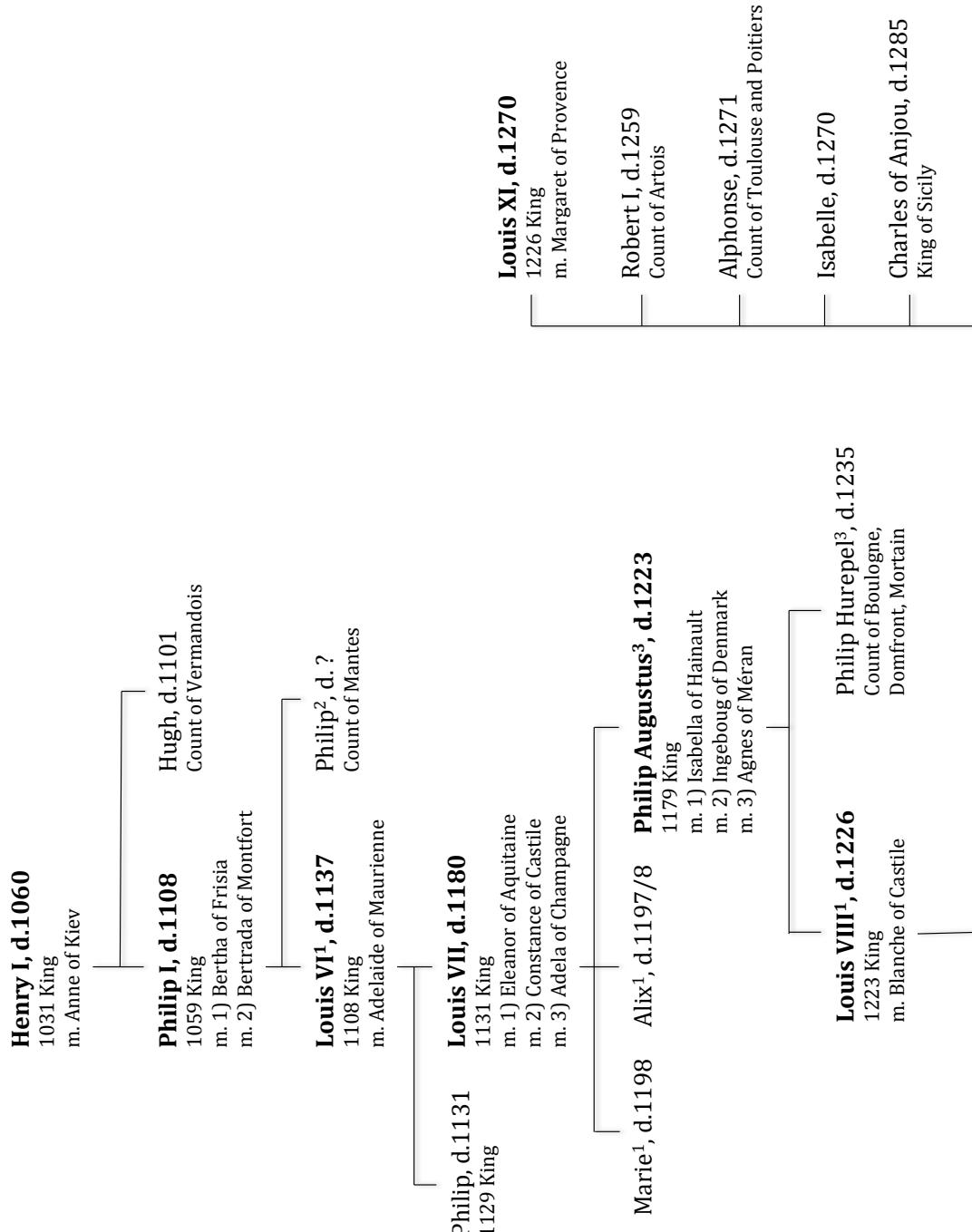


Table 4

Simplified Genealogy of the Salian Kings and Emperors, 1024-1125

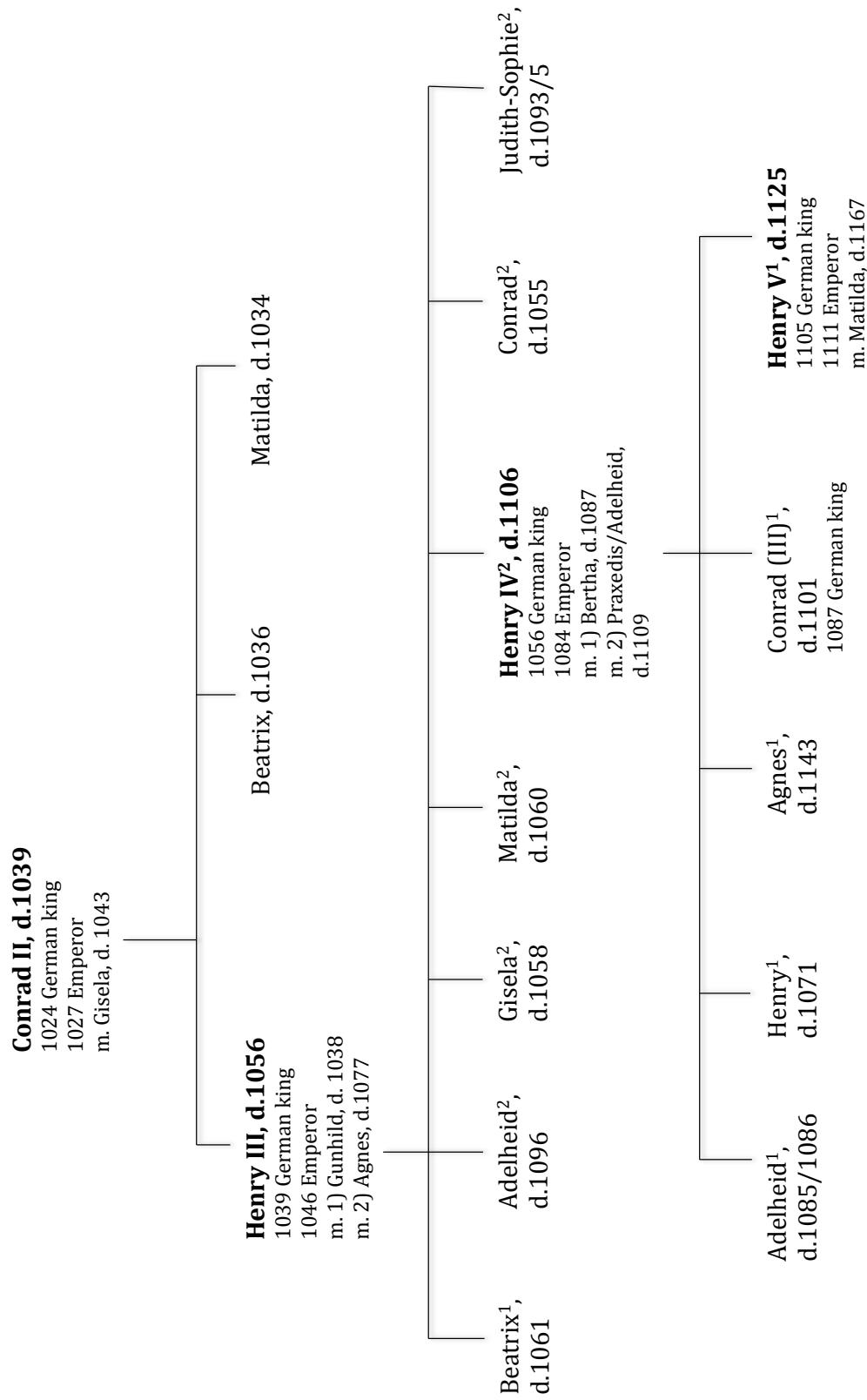
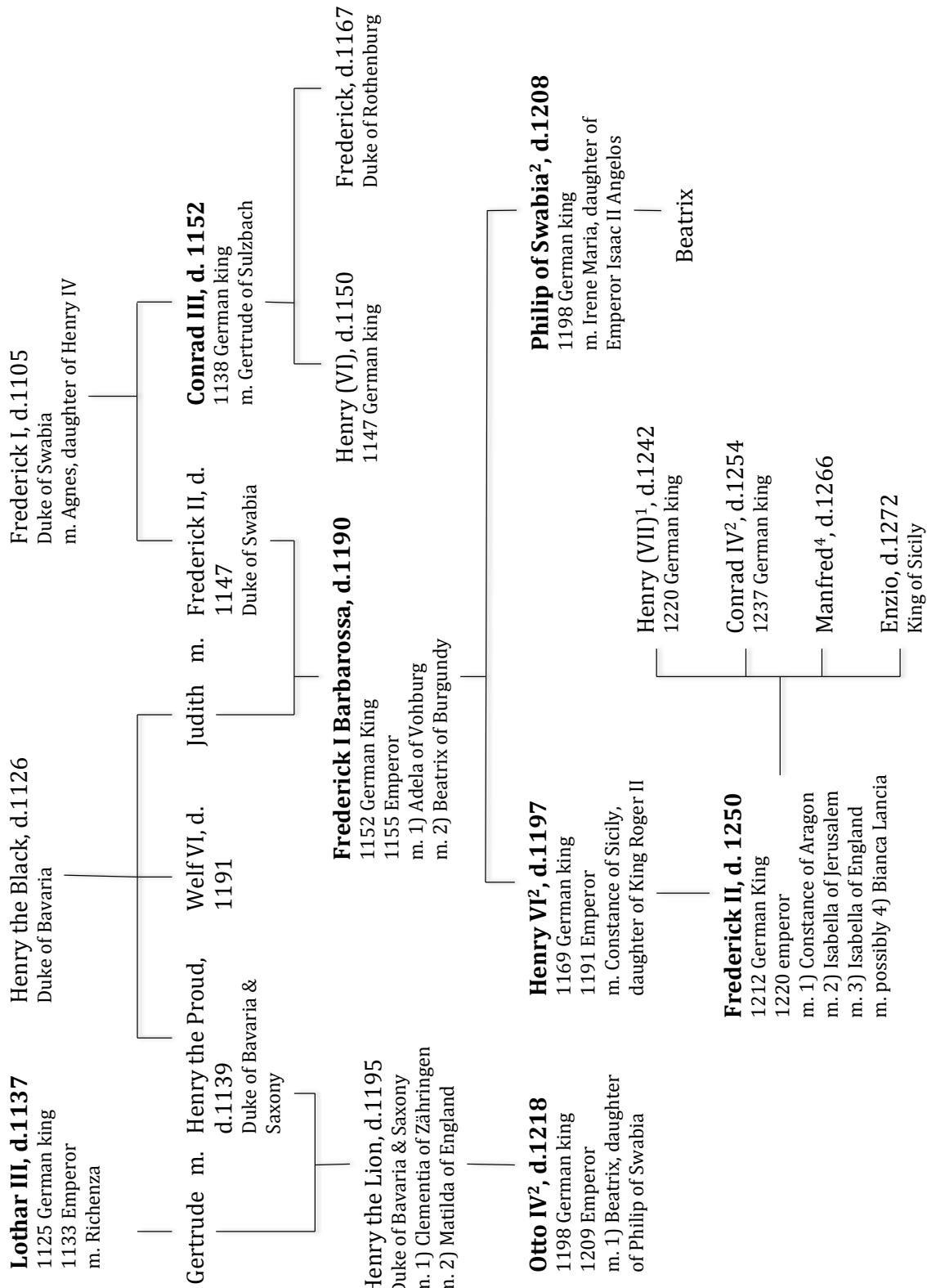


Table 5

*Simplified Genealogy of the Staufen and Welf Kings and Emperors,
1125-1250*



Introduction

Kingship in Comparison

'As to the Hand of St. James about which you wrote to us, we have charged master Heribert and our clerk William to reply for us by word of mouth'.¹ Thus Henry II of England in 1157, responding to a now lost letter of Frederick Barbarossa, employed a rule of correspondence that diplomats and politicians should perhaps observe more often: not to put anything that might be held against one in writing. Instead of denying Frederick his request in a durable form of communication, Henry sent a letter composed almost entirely of obsequious flattery and left it to his trusted envoys discretely to pass a verbal message to Frederick, presumably conveying the information that the Hand of St. James, brought from Germany to England by his mother the Empress Matilda, would remain at her father's foundation at Reading. The letter, containing only a passing mention of this important saintly relic, was copied into Rahewin's continuation of the *Gesta Friderici*, not quite the medieval equivalent of an email going viral, but a sure-fire way of ensuring its prominence in modern scholarship. Until Hans Eberhard Mayer and Karl Leyser's artful debunking of the established interpretation in the 1960s and 1970s, the letter was held up as the ultimate example of the power and influence a medieval German emperor could exercise over kings in neighbouring lands.² There is surely no better proof for Henry II's effectiveness as an international statesman, than the fact that a letter written to deny the request of a fellow monarch could be utilised to boost the prestige of the monarch in question, for it was surely incorporated into the *Gesta Friderici* with that aim.

¹ 'De manu beati Jacobi, super qua nobis scripsistis, in ore magistri Herinerti et Wilhelmi clericorum nostri verbum posuimus'. Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I. Imperatoris*, ed. Georg Waitz, *MGH SS Rer. Germ.* 46 (Hannover, 1912), 171–172; Translation in Karl Leyser, "Frederick Barbarossa, Henry II and the Hand of St. James," in *Medieval Germany and Its Neighbours, 900–1250* (London, 1982), 216–217.

² Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Staufische Weltherrschaft? Zum Brief Heinrichs II. von England an Friedrich Barbarossa von 1157," in *Festschrift Karl Pivec*, ed. Anton Haidacher and Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft* 12 (Innsbruck, 1966), 265–278.

This letter, its earlier interpretation by German scholars and subsequent reassessment by Mayer and Leyser, encapsulates the three major themes of this doctoral thesis: royal sacrality, comparative history, and the special status often accorded to the Empire and its rulers in modern scholarship. The letter, written for an English king and delivered to a German emperor, certainly invites a comparison between the power and status of the two monarchs. It is easy to understand why it became, as Leyser described it, 'the crown-witness for the view that the *imperium* had, if not a direct lordship, at least some kind of indefinable ascendancy over all the *regna*'.³ Henry II himself explicitly compared his power to that of Frederick, writing, 'let there be then between us and between our peoples an indivisible unity of peace and love and of safe commerce, yet in such a way that the authority to command shall go to you who holds the higher rank and we shall not be found wanting in willingness to obey'.⁴ However, as Leyser explained, this letter is only tangentially about the balance of political power, for its central meaning is to be found in the allusion to the Hand of St. James, a reference previously overlooked and ignored by scholars 'who have weighed every word of its portentous ideological passages'.⁵

That the two monarchs exchanged letters concerning the relic, which both desired to possess, is demonstrative of the active manipulation by both monarchs of the cult of saints in the construction and presentation of royal power in the twelfth century. This interest in saintly relics, also exhibited by the French monarchy, only makes sense in the context of the continuation of a sacral understanding of kingship in a period that is often characterised as having witnessed the transformation from sacral to administrative kingship. From Barbarossa's successful attempt to secure the canonisation of Charlemagne in 1165, via Henry III's 1247 procession through the streets of London with a relic of the Holy Blood, to Louis IX having the Crown of Thorns placed on his head at the dedication of the Sainte-Chapelle in 1248, relics and royalty went hand in

³ Leyser, "Frederick Barbarossa, Henry II and the Hand of St. James," 217.

⁴ 'sit igitur inter nos et populos nostros dilectionis et pacis unitas indivisa, commertia tuta, ita tamen, ut vobis, qui dignitate preminentis, imperandi cedat auctoritas, nobis non deerit voluntas obsequendi'. Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta Frederici I. Imperatoris*, 172; Leyser, "Frederick Barbarossa, Henry II and the Hand of St. James," 216–217.

⁵ Leyser, "Frederick Barbarossa, Henry II and the Hand of St. James," 220.

hand. This thesis is predominantly concerned with the inauguration ceremonies in which the kings of England, France and Germany were made. In addition the imperial inauguration of the German kings as emperors is considered. In these ceremonies saints also played an integral role: their names were recited in litanies sung as part of the ceremony, the liturgical resonances inherent in saints' days were frequently exploited, and kings were inaugurated in cathedrals holding the relics of important royal saints.

Aims of the Thesis

In 1995 Geoffrey Koziol commented, in an influential essay, that

'between the sacred liturgies of pontifical kings and the political theatre of statist monarchs lies the twelfth century, whose political rituals we understand scarcely at all. The fundamental difficulty lies in the transitional nature of twelfth-century kingship, which was moving toward the sophisticated administrative apparatus of the late medieval state while still publicly avowing the political morality of the Carolingians'.⁶

First and foremost this thesis is an attempt to understand the ideals and perceptions of the kings of England, France and Germany in the long twelfth century. This period, which saw the explosion of royal administration and an associated growth in bureaucracy, particularly in Anglo-Norman and Angevin England, has typically been characterised as witnessing the development of 'administrative' or 'law-centred' kingship, in opposition to the 'liturgical' kingship of an earlier period. The Investiture Controversy has been seen as another major factor in the perceived 'desacralisation' of kingship in this period, a factor that is traditionally accorded greater significance in the German realm, where royal government failed to develop the intricate bureaucratic structures that sprang up in England and later in France. Koziol himself argued for the importance of knighthood and burgeoning chivalric ideals in precipitating a change in

⁶ Geoffrey Koziol, "England, France and the Problem of Sacrality in Twelfth-century Ritual," in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status and Power in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (Philadelphia, 1995), 124.

monarchical tone.⁷ This thesis aims to demonstrate that the continuity of political rites in the twelfth-century should not be interpreted as ‘unexpected’, against the backdrop of administrative elaboration, ecclesiastical reform and the development of ideals of knighthood, as Koziol suggests, but can instead be taken as evidence for the enduring importance of liturgical ideals of kingship despite such developments.⁸ Ernst Kantorowicz suggested as long ago as 1946 that, ‘it is no longer possible for the medieval historian...to deal cheerfully with the history of medieval thought and culture without ever opening a missal’.⁹ This thesis will demonstrate that a missal is also an invaluable tool in the study of high-medieval kingship.

A further aim of the thesis is to overcome the predominantly national tone that is often evident in the study of kings and royal government by taking a comparative approach to the topic. At times national monarchies seem to be treated as synonymous with incipient nation states. This leads, as Len Scales has forcefully argued in his recent book on German identity, to circular thinking. For Scales the danger lies in assuming that, because monarchical power in Germany was comparatively weak, no sense of national identity could have existed, because national identity must be fostered by centralised monarchical government.¹⁰ The conflation of monarchy and state leads to similar paradoxical thinking in the sphere of monarchical imagery. Given that the growth of administration and centralised government in England is assumed fundamentally to have altered ideas of kingship, the logical conclusion is that the lack of central government in Germany allowed anachronistic ideas to survive. Thus, so the traditional (Anglophone) interpretation, the German emperors, devoid of a sturdy bureaucratic rudder, drifted on a sea of out-dated liturgical ideals, and never far from the rocks of papal desacralization. This is, of course, a simplification of the prevailing wind of historiography, but is, nevertheless, indicative of the enduring

⁷ Ibid., 134.

⁸ Ibid., 125.

⁹ Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley, 1946), vii.

¹⁰ Len Scales, *The Shaping of German Identity: Authority and Crisis, 1245-1414* (Cambridge, 2012), 351.

sense that medieval Germany, with its king-emperors, was somehow, and quite profoundly, different.¹¹

However, as a brief glance across the channel to France makes clear, bureaucratic sophistication was not incompatible with the continuation of liturgical ideals of kingship, a point Nicholas Vincent has emphasised in a number of important publications.¹² It is somewhat ironic that it is historians from a country that still has a monarch as both head of the established church and head of government, in addition to bishops actively involved in legislation, that find it most difficult to accept that administration and sacrality can go hand-in-hand. While the days of bishops sitting in the House of Lords are surely numbered, one only had to open a newspaper in July 2013, filled as the newspapers then were with photos of the crowds of journalists and monarchists waiting outside the Lindo Wing of St. Mary's Hospital, Paddington, for it to be immediately apparent that the spectre of a Weberian charismatic (hereditary) ruler can thrive even in a twenty-first-century bureaucratic democracy. Perhaps English interpretations of medieval monarchy are in some imperceptible way influenced by the very survival of a circumscribed and purely ornamental royal family. French and German historians, whose forbearers dispensed with monarchy in the late-eighteenth and early-twentieth century respectively, have been far readier to populate their high medieval pasts with 'pontifical' kings.

An important subsidiary aim of the thesis is to make extensive use of German-language scholarship and in doing so to make manifest that German difference, while certainly not simply an optical illusion, has been amplified by linguistic divisions. This point has been made most recently by Björn Weiler, who, writing

¹¹ The perceived otherness of medieval Germany is something Timothy Reuter addressed in a number of essays and articles. See in particular Timothy Reuter, "The Medieval German Sonderweg? The Empire and its Rulers in the High Middle Ages," in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (London, 1993), 179–211.

¹² Nicholas Vincent, "Twelfth and Thirteenth-century Kingship: An Essay in Anglo-French Misunderstanding," in *Les idées passent-elles la Manche? Savoirs, représentation, pratiques (France-Angleterre, Xe-XXe siècles)*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genêt and François-Joseph Ruggiu (Paris, 2007), 21–36; Nicholas Vincent, "King Henry III and the Blessed Virgin Mary," in *The Church and Mary*, ed. R. N. Swanson, SCH 39 (Woodbridge, 2004), 126–146; Nicholas Vincent, "The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings of England 1154–1272," in *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, ed. Colin Morris and Peter Roberts (Cambridge, 2002), 12–45.

in the tradition of Timothy Reuter and Karl Leyser, stands out as one of only a handful of British-based scholars engaging seriously with German-language historiography in a comparative context.¹³ Weiler is German by birth, as was Karl Leyser. Timothy Reuter, an Englishman brought up with English as his mother tongue, had a German father and spent over a decade at the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* in Munich.¹⁴ Their backgrounds are important, because they are indicative of the fact that the British education system has produced very few medieval historians who are equipped or inclined to engage with German medieval scholarship. The extent of this malaise, dubbed 'Anglolexia' by Reuter, is made manifest in the fact that German historians are occasionally driven to publishing in English to ensure their research reaches a non-German speaking audience. In the proceedings of a conference held in Heidelberg, Germany, in September 2009, Jörg Peltzer explained his rationale for publishing the contributions of German scholars in English, suggesting that this 'is the most promising way to introduce Anglophone historians to German historiography and to encourage them to take up German for themselves'.¹⁵ English speakers should not be reliant on Anglophilic Germans to act as conduits between the two historical traditions but should also be prepared to play an active role. It is to be hoped that this thesis can make a modest contribution towards enhancing such dialogue.

Rather than being written in the tradition of political and constitutional history, a tradition that has so often framed the study of kingship, especially in England, the land of constitutional monarchy, this thesis is conceived as cultural history. It aims to be interdisciplinary, borrowing particularly from art history where appropriate. Visual images are a fundamentally important source in an attempt

¹³ Weiler often spreads his net more widely than England and the Empire but for his comparative approach see, amongst others, Björn K. U. Weiler, *Kingship, Rebellion and Political Culture: England and Germany, c.1215-c.1250* (Basingstoke, 2007); Björn K. U. Weiler, "The King as Judge: Henry II and Frederick Barbarossa as seen by their Contemporaries," in *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*, ed. Patricia Skinner (Turnhout, 2009), 115–140.

¹⁴ See the editor's introduction in Timothy Reuter, *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), xiv.

¹⁵ Jörg Peltzer, "Introduction," in *Princely Rank in Late Medieval Europe: Trodden Paths and Promising Avenues*, ed. Thorsten Huthwelker, Jörg Peltzer, and Maximilian Wemhöner (Ostfildern, 2011), 14.

to uncover images and ideals of kingship in this period, when literacy was limited. The thesis also strives to integrate topics that have traditionally been studied separately, in particular by considering queenship as an integral element in understanding ideas of kingship in this transitional period.¹⁶ It brings together types of source material, such as liturgical texts and charter evidence, that have traditionally been the preserve of specialists and seeks to make their value apparent to historians more at home with the precise technical vocabulary of royal documents archived at Kew than the nebulous phrases of the liturgy, scattered in manuscripts throughout Europe.

Comparative History in a European Perspective

Comparison is, as Michael Borgolte has stressed, a fact of life. As soon as man recognises that he is not alone in the world, he begins comparing himself to others.¹⁷ This is true on an individual and group level, and in both it is often in comparison with others that ideals, identities and self-perceptions are formed. For Borgolte, founder of the *Institut für vergleichende Geschichte Europas im Mittelalter* at the Humboldt-Universität in Berlin, a comparative approach to the Middle Ages is the only effective method for writing European medieval history.¹⁸ He emphasises the plurality of European history, arguing that a canonistic and definitive history of Europe cannot be written without imposing an artificial unity on the history of a richly varied continent, a danger that can be averted with a comparative methodology.¹⁹ British historians, working in a country where uncertainty over the modern European project abounds, might well view

¹⁶ While queens have undoubtedly been subject to significantly more study than any other group of medieval women, the fact remains that they are often treated in relative isolation from their royal husbands. The two sets of conference proceedings edited by Anne Duggan neatly illustrate this phenomenon: Anne J. Duggan, ed., *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, King's College London Medieval Studies 10 (London, 1993); Anne J. Duggan, ed., *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge, 2002).

¹⁷ Michael Borgolte, "Mediävistik als vergleichende Geschichte Europas," in *Mediävistik im 21. Jahrhundert: Stand und Perspektiven der internationalen und interdisziplinären Mittelalterforschung*, ed. Hans-Werner Goetz and Jörg Jarnut, Mittelalter Studien 1 (Munich, 2003), 313.

¹⁸ Ibid., 321.

¹⁹ Ibid., 322; Borgolte's textbook gives an indication of his approach to the writing of medieval European history: Michael Borgolte, *Europa entdeckt seine Vielfalt 1050-1250*, Handbuch der Geschichte Europas 3 (Stuttgart, 2002).

with scepticism Borgolte's rallying cry to make Europe a prominent research theme, when, as Borgolte himself admits, Europe was not an idea with much currency in the medieval period.²⁰ Replacing multiple national teleologies with a single European teleology is certainly not an attractive proposition. However, comparing in a European context does offer the opportunity to dismantle national schools of historiography, and does not automatically demand the construction of a monolithic European school in their stead. This is certainly not Borgolte's aim and taking a European perspective is not the British historian's equivalent of Westminster politicians surrendering power to Brussels-based technocrats.

This study of royal inauguration in England, France and Germany must be placed in a European context but not mistaken as representing a European norm. It is a comparison in a very traditional form in that it seeks parallels and distinctions between different geographic regions in the same time period.²¹ In addition to this synchronic method, one could compare the same phenomena in different time periods, a diachronic comparison, or, rather than comparing elements of a shared culture as in this thesis, compare elements in a transcultural context. In typically ambitious fashion, David d'Avray has managed to illustrate the potential of all three methods within the scope of a single essay.²² However, a synchronic comparison has been preferred in this study for several reasons. Escaping from national teleologies and cultural solipsism, a major aim of this study, is one of the key advantages of a synchronic comparison. As Chris Wickham has argued, without geographical comparison we end up with 'a Europe – a world – of islands, with no relation to each other... Worse, these insularities in nearly every case match up with national teleologies, the study in each country of the historical reasons why We are special, better than – or at least different from –

²⁰ Michael Borgolte, "Perspektiven europäischer Mittelalterhistorie an der Schwelle zum 21. Jahrhundert," in *Das europäische Mittelalter im Spannungsbogen des Vergleichs: Zwanzig internationale Beiträge zu Praxis, Problemen und Perspektiven der historischen Komparatistik*, ed. Michael Borgolte, *Europa im Mittelalter 1* (Berlin, 2001), 14.

²¹ As d'Avray has commented, 'for most people, comparative history means this sort of comparative history'. David L. d'Avray, "Comparative History of the Medieval Church's Marriage System," in *Das europäische Mittelalter im Spannungsbogen des Vergleichs: Zwanzig internationale Beiträge zu Praxis, Problemen und Perspektiven der historischen Komparatistik*, ed. Michael Borgolte, *Europa im Mittelalter 1* (Berlin, 2001), 220.

²² D' Avray, "Comparative History of the Medieval Church's Marriage System."

the Others'.²³ Synchronic comparison thus provides the opportunity to study shared cultural phenomena and to question orthodoxies implicit in national historiographies. This study is, for the most part, limited to the three kingdoms of England, France and Germany. The reasons for this are partly pragmatic. There is more than enough medieval evidence and modern literature for a three-year doctoral project. But more than this; in modern scholarship, far too many hasty and casual contrasts are drawn between monarchs in England and France and their counterparts in the Empire, so that a trilateral study is urgently needed.²⁴

It would certainly be desirable, as a further step, to extend the comparison to include other kingdoms.²⁵ Where it has been possible to look outside of these three kingdoms, which in many ways can be understood as the cultural heirs to the Carolingian empire, the results are illuminating.²⁶ However, there is much to be said for first establishing what similarities and differences might exist within these 'core' kingdoms, before extending the comparison to those on the cultural 'periphery' or even kingdoms from different cultural spheres.²⁷ Inauguration has often, as the result of the influence of anthropology on historical methodologies, been the subject of transcultural comparison. While the influence of anthropological methodologies has undoubtedly opened up new avenues for comprehending medieval sources, approaches to ritual actions and symbolic communication being good examples of the possibilities, such approaches should not be stretched too far. For transcultural comparison to be meaningful the

²³ Chris Wickham, "Problems in Doing Comparative History," in *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*, ed. Patricia Skinner (Turnhout, 2009), 6.

²⁴ In an insightful paper given at the Leeds International Medieval Congress in July 2013, Levi Roach made the point that often comparisons between England and Germany are like comparisons between apples and oranges. By this he meant that English practice is often compared with German only in passing. The upshot of this is that English and German primary sources are not compared, rather the results of historical scholarship in the two countries.

²⁵ Borgolte suggests it is better not just to concentrate on neighbouring lands, but to cast the comparative net wider. Borgolte, "Perspektiven europäischer Mittelalterhistorie," 23.

²⁶ The three kingdoms are treated as such in Janet L. Nelson, "Kingship and Empire," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350-c.1450*, ed. J.H. Burns (Cambridge, 1988), 211-251.

²⁷ For a consideration of the core-periphery model and its application to medieval contexts see Robert Bartlett, "Heartland and Border: The Mental and Physical Geography of Medieval Europe," in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Rees Davies*, ed. Huw Pryce and John Watts (Oxford, 2007), 23-36; As Peltzer has pointed out, it is not always easy to differentiate between intra- and transcultural comparisons. Peltzer, "Introduction," 13.

parameters must be carefully considered. There is little of value to a historian to be found in comparing medieval kingdoms with pre-modern village societies.²⁸ Historical comparison requires context. It cannot skip blithely between cultures and centuries without diminishing its power to explain complex phenomena that are rooted in time and place.²⁹ Intra-cultural comparisons are perhaps less eye-catching, but they are a necessary antidote to the assumption of homogeneity which is implicit in so many transcultural studies. To take an example relevant to this research, we must first uncover if the anointing of kings as part of the inauguration ceremonies in the 'core' of England, France and Germany was understood in the same way, before we can nonchalantly compare anointed kings with those on the cultural 'periphery' who were not anointed, or who sought the right of anointing in the course of the thirteenth century. A comparison between anointed and non-anointed kings within Latin Christendom assumes homogeneity. We must first establish whether such homogeneity existed.³⁰

The comparison of medieval kings within Latin Christendom has a long history. As Bernd Schneidmüller has pointed out, German historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were far from the first to compare Germany to neighbouring France and draw the conclusion that Germany was not flattered by the comparison.³¹ As early as the 1140s, Suger of Saint-Denis constructed a negative image of the Salian king Henry V, in comparison to whom the Capetian Louis VI could be presented as the most Christian king (*rex christianissimus*).

²⁸ As David d'Avray has commented, if British medievalists look for comparisons, it is often in village societies. D' Avray, "Comparative History of the Medieval Church's Marriage System," 209.

²⁹ Although such comparisons are undoubtedly thought provoking, it is not the job of the historian, but the anthropologist, to compare sixteenth-century English Protestantism, fourteenth-century Javanese Hinduism and nineteenth-century Moroccan Islam as in Clifford Geertz, "Centers, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power," in *Culture and its Creators: Essays in Honor of Edward Shils*, ed. Joseph Ben-David and Terry N. Clark (Chicago, 1977), 150–171.

³⁰ Which is not to say that if such a comparison is carefully structured it cannot bear fruit. Janet Nelson's essay comparing inaugurations in the Western and Eastern Empires is an example of a successful comparison of this kind: Janet L. Nelson, "Symbols in Context: Rulers' Inauguration Rituals in Byzantium and the West in the Early Middle Ages," in *The Orthodox Churches and the West*, ed. Derek Baker, *SCH* 13 (Oxford, 1976), 97–119.

³¹ Bernd Schneidmüller, "Außenblick für das eigene Herz. Vergleichende Wahrnehmung politischer Ordnung im hochmittelalterlichen Deutschland und Frankreich," in *Das europäische Mittelalter im Spannungsbogen des Vergleichs: Zwanzig internationale Beiträge zu Praxis, Problemen und Perspektiven der historischen Komparatistik*, ed. Michael Borgolte, *Europa im Mittelalter* 1 (Berlin, 2001), 315–316.

Even the manner in which the kings were made could be compared by contemporaries. Schneidmüller highlights Matthew Paris's report of an embassy sent from Louis IX of France to Frederick II of Germany. Louis's men were not what one might describe as diplomatic, asserting that their king, from a long line of royal blood, was surely superior to an emperor, who had merely earned his position through election.³² Modern historians have tended to agree with Louis's envoys (and *Monty Python's King Arthur*), but as Schneidmüller explains, medieval commentators did not always concur. The elective element of German kingship could engender pride, as is clear in Otto of Freising's description of the election of Frederick Barbarossa, in which Otto portrayed election as indicative of the special rank of the Empire.³³

Modern scholars have, like their medieval predecessors, at times looked outside of their respective countries to compare elements of kingship and government in England, France and Germany. However, while early medievalists tend to travel unencumbered through the breadth of the Carolingian Empire, high medievalists often end their journeys at the imagined borders of incipient nation states.³⁴ As a result high medieval comparisons have tended to be bilateral. Due both to patterns of foreign language learning in Britain and the possession by English kings of lands in modern-day France, Anglo-French comparisons have vastly outnumbered those dealing with England and the Empire in Anglophone scholarship. Recent work on aspects of kingship in England and the Empire by Björn Weiler and David Warner stands out against a backdrop of scholarship that is Anglo-French in outlook.³⁵ Marc Bloch laid modern foundations for comparisons between English and French kingship with his highly influential

³² 'Credimus enim dominum nostrum regem Galliae, quem linea regii sanguinis provexit ad sceptrum Francorum regenda, excellentiorem esse aliquo imperatore, quem sola provehit electio voluntaria'. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H.R. Luard, vol. 3, RS 57 (London, 1876), 626.

³³ Schneidmüller, "Außenblick für das eigene Herz," 331.

³⁴ This limited border traversing is also apparent in the fact that, as John Gillingham has recently commented, 'international contacts and co-operation were and are more characteristic of the Frankish centuries than of later ones'. John Gillingham, "Seminar in Focus: The Earlier Middle Ages," *Past and Future: The Magazine of the Institute of Historical Research*, 2013, 21.

³⁵ Weiler, "The King as Judge: Henry II and Frederick Barbarossa as Seen by Their Contemporaries"; Weiler, *Kingship, Rebellion and Political Culture*; Björn K. U. Weiler, *Henry III of England and the Staufen Empire, 1216-1272* (Woodbridge, 2006); David A. Warner, "Comparative Approaches to Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian Coronations," in *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876-1947)*, ed. David Rollason, Conrad Leyser, and Hannah Williams (Turnhout, 2010), 275-292.

book on the royal touch, written in 1924 and translated into English in 1973.³⁶ Aspects of comparative Anglo-French kingship have been elucidated by Hollister and Baldwin, Hallam, and Vincent, amongst others.³⁷ It is the existence of this backdrop that makes this trilateral comparison possible.

While a trilateral comparison between England, France and Germany is possible, it is also, as with most attempts at comparison, not unproblematic. There are three main hurdles to overcome, the historiographical, the empirical, and the need to identify things that are meaningful to compare.³⁸ It is due to the need to compare like with like that this thesis, which aims to contribute to a wider debate about sacrality and kingship, has crystallised around the practice of royal and imperial inauguration. In doing so it engages with a tradition which has focused on the development of the inauguration ritual through time and particularly on the elaboration of liturgical texts.³⁹ However, although informed by this important body of scholarship, my aim is not to reconstruct the ritual or trace its changes, but rather to uncover how it was understood in the three realms and whether it can be interpreted as evidence for the continuation of sacral kingship in this period. Inevitably the three hurdles are connected, and another reason for the focus on inauguration is the availability of comparable sources in the three realms. Timothy Reuter, in an essay on the development of England and Germany in the early medieval period, highlighted the fact that a world seen through the rich narrative sources found in Germany 'is bound to look different from one which is seen through law-codes and sparse narrative sources'.⁴⁰ For the period under consideration here, it can hardly be surprising that kings viewed through the lens of administrative documents, appear different from

³⁶ Marc Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges: études sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre* (Strasbourg, 1924); Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. J.E. Anderson (London, 1973).

³⁷ C. Warren Hollister and John W. Baldwin, "The Rise of Administrative Kingship: Henry I and Philip Augustus," *The American Historical Review* 83 (1978): 867–905; Elizabeth M. Hallam, "Royal Burial and the Cult of Kingship in France and England, 1060–1330," *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982): 359–80; Vincent, "King Henry III and the Blessed Virgin Mary"; Vincent, "Twelfth and Thirteenth-century Kingship."

³⁸ Chris Wickham discussed these problems in his 2004 Reuter Lecture at the University of Southampton. Wickham, "Problems in doing Comparative History."

³⁹ This body of scholarship will be discussed in length in the second chapter of the thesis.

⁴⁰ Timothy Reuter, "The Making of England and Germany, 850–1050," in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 295.

those viewed through narrative sources. In this thesis source types that are common to all three realms are considered, predominantly liturgical texts, charters and narrative accounts. This is not to deny that there were real differences between how kings in England, France and Germany exercised their power, but to investigate how the nature of the power they wielded was understood.

The final hurdle, that of historiography, is again closely linked to the issue of source material. The relative wealth of surviving medieval administrative material from both England and later France has, with few exceptions, ensured the triumph of the 'Manchester' over the 'Münster' school of history, so that state and constitution take precedence over 'ritual' or 'pneuma'. As a result, kingship in these countries has often been characterised as 'administrative' or 'law-centred', in opposition to the 'liturgical' kingship of an earlier period. By contrast, historians of the Empire, lacking the detailed administrative records of their English and French counterparts, exploit the anthropological approaches successfully used by early medievalists to compose an image of kingship concerned more with human behaviour than with institutions. A historiographical tradition, in which Germany is presented as exceptional in the light of prevailing Anglo-French norms, has thus been accentuated by the availability of different types of source material. Chris Wickham has suggested how to deal with these issues, emphasising that, if we wish to take a comparative approach,

'firstly, we must go straight to the sources, in a spirit of intense disbelief, to see whether they can give us the comparative elements that the historiography denies us, we must understand the empirical bases of every local debate, not just take our interpretations from the wider syntheses which are always available, and which we doubtless started with. Secondly, we must gain an understanding of why it is that historians argue as they do in any given region; what it is they have seized on as crucial issues, and what these issues have meant to historians across time; how their preoccupations fit into their local Grand

Narratives of nationhood; and why they have chosen not to study certain things, as well'.⁴¹

Before turning to the sources themselves, in the spirit of intense disbelief advocated by Wickham, we must first take time to understand the historiographical traditions in which these differing ideas of medieval kingship have been nurtured.

Scope of the Thesis

The central period under consideration in this thesis is the twelfth century. As alluded to above, the twelfth century is often considered a transitional period in terms of medieval kingship. Having given its name to a renaissance, the twelfth century is also considered a transitional period in a more general sense. It certainly witnessed an exponential growth in biblical commentary in the burgeoning schools, and a widening of devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, two factors that surely must be taken into account when considering the influence of liturgy on images of kingship in the period. Periodisations are, however, often unsatisfactory and periods of stability or change rarely fit neatly into a framework organised by centuries. Thus historians are now accustomed to talking of the 'long' twelfth century, in recognition of the fact that the aspects seen as characteristic of this era can be identified from c.1050-c.1220. Another approach to periodisation is to pick two important events and study the period in between them. This is the kind of periodisation that characterises the English Middle Ages as having run from the Battle of Hastings to the Battle of Bosworth Field. For one country such an approach can be justified, especially given that few historians stick rigidly to such boundaries as 1066 or 1485, recognising that it is rare even for such canonical dates to delineate moments of complete change.⁴² In a study of three different countries, however, attempting to

⁴¹ Wickham, "Problems in doing Comparative History," 9.

⁴² As Len Scales recently commented while discussing the scope of his study on German identity, 'it will also be necessary fairly regularly to step back beyond the book's terminal dates...Assessing the role of an institution which claimed the heritage of the Roman Caesars cannot set off from a standing start in the time of the last Staufer'. Scales, *The Shaping of German Identity*, 4.

periodise using ‘epoch defining’ events would be misguided; there would be little coherence in a study running, for example, from 1066 to 1245 (the year in which Frederick II was deposed by an ecclesiastical assembly at Lyon). Instead this study runs from c.1050, by which point monarchs in all three realms had adopted the image of an enthroned king on their seals, to c.1250 at which point inauguration liturgies, which had hitherto displayed little in the way of ‘national’ characteristics, began to diverge.

The practice of royal and imperial inauguration forms the focal point of this study. Inauguration supplies the clearest evidence of liturgical kingship in this period and for it sufficient source materials and secondary literature are available for the different realms. My study concentrates on the creation of the kings of France, England and Germany and the inauguration of the emperor. It does not encompass an investigation into the myriad additional king-making events within the Empire, such as the German kings being made monarchs of Lombardy or Burgundy, nor the making of sub-kings such as that of Bohemia. However, while inauguration provides the central pillar of the thesis, the aim here is not to delineate every detail of the ceremony and its development, an approach that has been taken many times before. Indeed, the longevity of the ritual has made it particularly attractive to historians taking (national) teleological approaches. This can be seen in Richard Jackson’s valuable edition of the ‘French’ *ordines*, in which he openly admits that a number of the texts cannot really be designated as ‘French’ at all.⁴³ Andreas Büttner’s study of the development of inauguration in the German kingdom is a further example of the developmental method.⁴⁴ Rather than seeking the roots of later developments to the inauguration ceremonies in the separate realms, the twelfth-century evidence will be assessed on its own terms without an assumption of the inevitability of later developments. Björn Weiler has demonstrated the benefits of taking a less teleologically minded approach to the evidence for the development of electoral kingship in Germany, stressing that twelfth-century

⁴³ Richard A. Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1995-2000).

⁴⁴ Andreas Büttner, *Der Weg zur Krone: Rituale der Herrschererhebung im spätmittelalterlichen Reich*, 2 vols. (Ostfildern, 2012).

commentators ‘unlike their modern peers...were clearly aware that they were not dealing with clear cut legal norms and principles’.⁴⁵ As Weiler’s work shows, we are better able to understand the manner of the transition from hereditary to electoral kingship in Germany if we do not assume its inevitability. The same is true for images of kingship in this period. Transition rarely follows a straight line and this is certainly true of medieval ideas about kingship. Rather than taking a direct route from liturgical to administrative kingship, it will be shown that medieval images of kingship continued to be influenced by liturgical ideas, even as Richard fitz Nigel was writing his *Dialogus de Scaccario*, in which he described the workings of the Exchequer, that institution of administrative kingship par excellence.

The first chapter of the thesis encompasses a sketch of historical traditions in the three countries. It provides the comparison of historiographies that must precede any meaningful historical comparison.⁴⁶ As has been discussed above, the issues of historiographical approaches and the availability of source material are to a certain extent two sides of the same coin. The plethora of royal administrative documents in England has contributed to a historical tradition, which focuses on the bureaucratic activities of English kings. The comparative approach chosen for this study demands the assessment of comparable primary sources. The three major types of sources that have been consulted in the writing of this thesis are liturgical texts, narrative texts, and charter evidence, each of which forms the central focus of different chapters of the thesis. The boundaries between such categories are, indubitably, permeable. The texts of charters, for example, are sometimes only known to us from their inclusion in a chronicle, and it is not always apparent whether a given text should be categorised as being narrative or liturgical in nature. These pragmatically chosen categories do, however, allow differing methodological approaches to be applied to source material that is available from all three realms. In any case, the chapters of the thesis are not hermetically sealed off from one another. Where

⁴⁵ Björn K. U. Weiler, “Suitability and Right: Imperial Succession and the Norms of Politics in Early Staufen Germany,” in *Making and Breaking the Rules: Succession in Medieval Europe, c.1000-c.1600*, ed. Frédérique Lauchaud and Michael Penman (Turnhout, 2008), 73.

⁴⁶ Stefan Berger, “Comparative History,” in *Writing History: Theory and Practice*, ed. Stefan Berger, Heiko Feldner, and Kevin Passmore, 2nd ed. (London and New York, 2010), 166.

relevant, liturgical texts are cited to support arguments drawn from narrative sources, and charter evidence to confirm insights gained from reading liturgical texts. In addition to this borrowing between the three major source types considered, additional evidence has been consulted where appropriate, with material culture and visual evidence playing an important role throughout the thesis.

Chapters 2 and 3 thus focus on the liturgy of the consecration ceremony itself. Although early medievalists have studied consecration liturgy with great intensity, it has received considerably less attention in the high medieval period. Liturgies themselves tend to become fossilized. As a result, the high medieval *ordines* are sometimes regarded as a relic from the past with little contemporary relevance. The problematic nature of liturgical texts, which cannot meaningfully be subjected to study by traditional source criticism techniques, has contributed to their neglect. The first chapter of my study of the *ordines* begins with a discussion of the tangled historiography of liturgical scholarship and then presents a methodology that embraces the problematic nature of these texts. Instead of struggling to trace borrowings and to assign dates to different texts (approaches that have dominated the study of consecration liturgy), I take a pragmatic approach, making a virtue of the consecration liturgy's atemporal nature and wide diffusion. Approaching the texts in this way allows me, in the following chapter, to tease out a conceptual link between the sacraments of consecration and marriage. This chapter, which includes a consideration of rubrication and items of regalia, demonstrates that fossilization of prayer formulae did not lead to petrification in interpretation. Recognising that the consecration liturgy was no out-dated relic, but instead was subject to lively debate and reinterpretation makes explicit its continued relevance in the high Middle Ages.

Narrative evidence takes centre stage in the middle segment of the thesis in which I analyse descriptions of royal consecration in chronicles and annals. As these descriptions are often brief, historians have overlooked their importance. I argue, beginning with the banalities, that the cursory nature of such descriptions

highlights the elements of consecration considered to be of most relevance by contemporaries. These were who was involved, what happened and where and when an inauguration took place. Accordingly Chapter 4 is concerned with the participants in an inauguration ceremony and the places chosen for inauguration ceremonies, two elements closely linked to ideas of legitimacy. In Chapter 5 the vocabulary used to describe inauguration is examined, as are the dates chosen for royal and imperial inauguration. It shall be demonstrated that the very choice of words for the making of a king ('coronation', 'consecration', 'inauguration' etc.) is of fundamental significance if we are to understand what these processes singly and collectively involved. Taking inspiration from German scholars who have noted the coincidences between the great events of imperial history and the more important dates in the liturgical calendar, I apply this particular insight to royal acts outside the German kingdom. Recognising that dates were recorded with reference to saints' days and feasts of the church, has enabled me to mine a reach seam of liturgical symbolism that has hitherto remained buried.

The final component of the thesis is a thoroughly interdisciplinary study of charter evidence, in which textual content, physical appearance and seal iconography are all examined. Chapter 6 opens with a discussion of approaches taken to charter scholarship in England, France and Germany, a consideration of methodological issues and an exposition of the need to examine medieval charters holistically, rather than concentrating solely on their textual content. Accordingly this chapter contains an examination of protocols and eschatacols in royal charters, in which textual contents, appearance and visual position within the document are all considered. The final chapter of the thesis offers a detailed investigation of seal iconography.

The preference for German (and to a lesser extent French) methodologies in this thesis should not be interpreted as the author considering them inherently superior to English scholarship. Clearly it is not an entirely pragmatic choice, but one that is also driven, as is the majority of historical scholarship, by personal interest. However, the main justification for a prioritising of German approaches is that it is determined by the source material. Comparative history necessitates

comparing the comparable. The type of documents that have fascinated English historians of kingship are simply not available for all three realms. Thus English approaches cannot possibly be projected onto German evidence. By contrast, types of evidence exploited by German historians do abound in England, and hitherto have been only superficially used. In taking a different approach to English kingship, by placing it in a European perspective and assessing it through the lens of alternative historiographical traditions, this thesis aims to stimulate debate about the nature of kingship in England. Historians of English kingship are blessed with a diversity of sources of which only a limited number can be consulted in the course of a three-year doctoral project. It is my contention, however, that the picture provided by chronicles and liturgical texts can complement that which can be drawn from the records of central government. These records contain information such as when the king paid for the 'Te Deum' to be sung, how much was spent on food for a feast, or what items were held in the royal wardrobe. These concrete facts provide a unique opportunity to assess the accuracy of the image projected in more ephemeral sources.⁴⁷ When English scholars take the tube to Kew to consult the documents of royal administration, they should take with them, not just a knowledge of the bewildering technical language of the pipe rolls. They should also carry a missal.

⁴⁷ Recent articles by Lars Kjær and Benjamin Wild give an idea of the potential of such an approach. Lars Kjær, "Food, Drink and Ritualised Communication in the Household of Eleanor de Montfort, February to August 1265," *Journal of Medieval History* 37 (2011): 75–89; Benjamin L. Wild, "The Empress's New Clothes: A Rotulus Pannorum of Isabella, Sister of King Henry III, Bride of Emperor Frederick II," *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* 7 (2011): 2–31.

Chapter 1

Historiographical Traditions

The traditional battle-cry 'for King and Country' encapsulates the manner in which the threads of monarchy and state are interwoven in popular consciousness. In the more rarefied world of nineteenth-century historical scholarship a similar conflation between monarchy and state was dominant. For this reason, any attempt to understand why kingship has been approached and understood differently in England, France and Germany must begin by considering the origins of professional history in these three countries. The construction of recent work on kingship in England, France and Germany has, to a large extent, been dictated by the foundations laid down by earlier generations of historians.⁴⁸ We must first note how the roots of the historical study of monarchs established themselves in the varying soils of the three countries and grew into national traditions, before we can contemplate the blossoming of recent approaches to kings and kingship. This chapter will thus begin with an outline of the preoccupations of historians in the nineteenth-century, before briefly tracing the development of differing historical traditions. Finally, recent approaches to the broad theme of kingship will be discussed. The aim of this chapter is to provide a flavour of three historiographical traditions and how they have treated the study of kings and kingship. It is intended neither to be (for reasons of space) comprehensive, nor a detailed review of all literature relevant to the narrower topic of the thesis. Differing approaches to particular questions and types of source material will be treated in the appropriate place within the body of the thesis.

⁴⁸ As indeed was the intention of the nineteenth-century historical titans Pollock and Maitland, who wrote in the preface to their comprehensive work on the history of English law that, 'oftentimes our business has been rather to quarry and hew for some builder of the future than to leave a finished building'. Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, vol. 1, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1899), vi.

Patrick Wormald has commented on the inherent tendency of historians working on the Anglo-Saxon period to assume that a kingdom of England always existed.⁴⁹ As Timothy Reuter commented, such views are at least partly a result of geographical determinism 'of the kind which makes historians tend to assume that there ought to be one Spanish state or one Italian state within the respective peninsulas, or to talk quite happily of Irish reunification as if there had ever been a single Ireland'.⁵⁰ Such insular thinking, which Wormald and Reuter are right to criticise, is not a modern phenomenon, but deeply ingrained in how the English have understood their country's history.⁵¹ From H.E. Marshall's 1905 children's history book *Our Island Story* (recently chosen by Prime Minister David Cameron as his favourite children's book), to the BBC Radio 4 series *This Sceptred Isle*, broadcast ninety years later, geography has continued to play a prominent role in framing the English past.⁵²

Insularity aside, it cannot be denied that, in comparison to France and especially Germany, English history is marked by an unusual degree of continuity. As a result, nineteenth-century English historians did not strive, in the manner of their continental counterparts, to build a shared national past. The existence of a shared English past was taken for granted, it was unproblematic. Rather than state-building, it was cultural impulses, such as the historicist bent of the English Common Law, which drove the direction of historical scholarship.⁵³ The intertwining of the legal and historical professions was exemplified in the career of Frederic Maitland, who was called to the bar in 1876 and appointed reader in English law at Cambridge in 1884. His *History of English Law before the time of Edward I*, with the introduction written by Frederick Pollock and first published

⁴⁹ Patrick Wormald, "Engla Lond: The Making of an Allegiance," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 7 (1994): 3.

⁵⁰ Reuter, "The Making of England and Germany, 850-1050," 287.

⁵¹ The danger of conflating 'English' with 'British' is ever present. English is favoured here for several reasons. Firstly, the kings under consideration were themselves kings of the English. Secondly because a focus on the medieval state has entailed a focus on English, rather than British, institutions. Finally, because there are differing cultural and institutional frameworks of academic research in different parts of the UK, which will not be considered in this sketch.

⁵² www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/booknews/8094333/Revealed-David-Camerons-favourite-childhood-book-is-Our-Island-Story.html [accessed 29.5.2013].

⁵³ Matthew Innes, "A Fatal Disjuncture? Medieval History and Medievalism in the UK," in *Mediävistik im 21. Jahrhundert: Stand und Perspektiven der internationalen und interdisziplinären Mittelalterforschung*, ed. Hans-Werner Goetz and Jörg Jarnut, *Mittelalter Studien* 1 (Munich, 2003), 76.

in 1895, delineated the development of English law from 'The Dark Age in Legal History' to 'The Age of Bracton'.⁵⁴ Patrick Wormald's last great project, of which only one of two planned volumes was completed before his death, was *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*.⁵⁵ This demonstrates that even those modern historians who reject the inevitability of an English kingdom so readily accepted and romanticised by their predecessors, remain subject to similar cultural impulses.

Matthew Innes has suggested that there were two characteristics that defined nineteenth-century English medieval historians and continue to influence their modern successors. Firstly, English medieval historians were historians of medieval England, with no more than a nod to pan-Germanic roots and a passing interest in Normandy. Secondly, English medieval history was rooted in the reading and criticism of original documents.⁵⁶ These two characteristics were, inevitably, self-reinforcing, for the original documents of preference were the records of central and local government in England. English political and social structures were seen through the lens of institutional records. Thus William Stubbs, despite editing a number of chronicles for the Rolls Series, is best known for his *Constitutional History of England*, published between 1874 and 1878. Stubbs's three-volume work encapsulates the themes that have obsessed English historians since as early as the seventeenth century, namely political liberty, and how and why England became the land of *Magna Carta*, 'constitutional' monarchy and a freely elected Protestant parliament.⁵⁷

Constitutional history, or *Verfassungsgeschichte*, has also preoccupied German historians since the eighteenth century. As Bernd Schneidmüller has commented, medieval Germany's lack of state-like characteristics can still feel like an affliction to German medieval historians in the twenty-first century.⁵⁸ In German historiography the idea of the state has been very closely related to ideas

⁵⁴ The titles of chapters 1 and 7 from the first book of *The History of English Law before the time of Edward I*.

⁵⁵ Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1999).

⁵⁶ Innes, "A Fatal Disjuncture?" 84.

⁵⁷ Vincent, "Twelfth and Thirteenth-century Kingship," 27.

⁵⁸ Schneidmüller, "Außenblick für das eigene Herz," 316.

of national identity, as Len Scales has recently made clear. In devoting a chapter of his ambitious study, *The Shaping of German Identity: Authority and Crisis, 1245-1414*, to explaining the history behind German historians' approaches to the state and national identity, Scales has done a great service to Anglophone readers in rendering complicated historiographical debates into English.⁵⁹ Somewhat unsurprisingly, changes in the direction of German medieval scholarship can be closely linked to events in modern German history. As with the stress on empiricism that is often seen as inaugurating the era of modern source-based history, the statist fixation of German medievalists can also be traced back to Leopold von Ranke. In stating that, 'es ist die Aufgabe der Historie, das Wesen des Staates...darzutun und das selbe zum Verständnis zu bringen', Ranke set out the orientation of German historiography for years to come.⁶⁰ The decisive moment that ensured the continued prominence of Rankean state-orientated approaches to medieval German history was provided by the foundation of the Second Reich in 1871. That Germany had finally been brought together under the Prussians and taken up its rightful place at the centre of Europe deeply affected German interpretations of history. It was seen as an illustration both of the strength of the nation and the importance of the state, and no one was better placed to explain this than historians, who were highly valued by society and influential in education in the late nineteenth century.⁶¹

It was the German Middle Ages that served the pedagogic ends of the newly formed Second Reich, which looked to the First to provide legitimisation and inspiration.⁶² Scales has pointed to the fact that the chronological focus of these nineteenth-century historical pedagogues was constrained to the period between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, 'when imperial monarchy had attained the

⁵⁹ Scales, *The Shaping of German Identity*, 16-52.

⁶⁰ Cited in Otto Gerhard Oexle, "'Staat'-'Kultur'-'Volk'. Deutsche Mittelalterhistoriker auf der Suche nach der historischen Wirklichkeit 1918-1945," in *Die deutschsprachige Mediävistik im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Peter Moraw and Rudolf Schieffer, *VuF* 62 (Ostfildern, 2005), 72.

⁶¹ Rudolf Schieffer, "Weltgeltung und nationale Verführung. Die deutschsprachige Mediävistik vom ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert bis 1918," in *Die deutschsprachige Mediävistik im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Peter Moraw and Rudolf Schieffer, *VuF* 62 (Ostfildern, 2005), 48; Innes, "A Fatal Disjuncture?" 74.

⁶² Schieffer, "Weltgeltung und nationale Verführung," 48-49.

zenith of its powers: no mere *Kaiserzeit*, but a *deutsche Kaiserzeit*.⁶³ The Ottonian, Salian and Staufer kings or emperors were depicted as 'German' rulers who had ruled over 'Germany' and little attention was paid to ideas of Roman or Christian universalism.⁶⁴ It was in this *deutsche Kaiserzeit* that the state was sought, perhaps in imitation of England and France, both already possessing national histories which were grounded in the medieval period. In any case, the *Reichsgründung* of 1871 certainly precipitated an urgent search for an historical state. As Otto Gerhard Oexle has described it, it was precisely the fact that a state did not exist in Germany before 1870-1 that sent historians scurrying to discover it in the medieval past.⁶⁵ Georg von Below's *Der deutsche Staat des Mittelalters*, the fruit of a quarter of a century teaching constitutional history, first appeared in 1914 with a second edition following in 1925. It ensured that state-orientated history flourished in Germany even beyond the end of the Wilhelmine Reich. An alternative approach to the medieval past was provided by Karl Lamprecht's four-volume study *Deutsches Wirtschaftsleben im Mittelalter*, which appeared in the 1880s. However, Lamprecht met with harsh criticism from, amongst others, von Below, who considered the whole idea of 'material culture' to lack legal clarity.⁶⁶ This criticism led to a famous disagreement at the turn of the century, focussed on the pre-eminence of the political in history. In Rudolf Schieffer's assessment, what had hitherto been merely naively accepted by historians, namely the primacy of political history, became increasingly the accepted dogma of early twentieth-century historians.⁶⁷

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1 and the challenge presented by the newly formed German Second Reich influenced the development of historical writing in France. This 'inglorious disaster' intensified a latent interest in national identity, which had begun to develop under the July Monarchy of 1830-48.⁶⁸ 1870-1 was

⁶³ Scales, *The Shaping of German Identity*, 21.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Oexle, "Staat-'Kultur'-'Volk,'" 77.

⁶⁶ Schieffer, "Weltgeltung und nationale Verführung," 56. Lamprecht's work, mediated through Henri Pirenne, would later influence the French *Annalistes*.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Pim den Boer, "Historical Writing in France, 1800-1914," in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, ed. Stuart Macintyre, Juan Maiguascha, and Attila Pók, vol. 4 (Oxford, 2011), 197.

not, however, the defining moment in French history and was itself understood in connection to the Revolution of 1789. As Pim den Boer has emphasised,

‘not only the subsequent revolutions and counter-revolutions of the July Revolution of 1830 and the February Revolution of 1848 but even the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1 and the Paris Commune forcefully reactivated the ideals of revolution and reaction. All thinking about the past in French society remained dominated by the spectre of the revolution until the new cataclysm of the First World War’.⁶⁹

Historical writing in France in the nineteenth century was dominated by attempts to explain the events of 1789 and the frequent regime changes of the following century. Each of the divergent political administrations invested money in the writing of history and the meaning of the revolution remained disputed.⁷⁰ At each turn the ruling regime was depicted as the logical conclusion of French history, ensuring that French historians were, like their German counterparts, fascinated by the processes of state formation and nation building. Even at this early stage of professionalization, however, French historical writing displayed the openness to other disciplines, which was to become the hallmark of French historical research in the twentieth century.⁷¹

German medieval history was well respected in other countries in the late nineteenth century, most notably for the stress German historians placed on source criticism and philological approaches to texts, as exemplified by the work of the *Monumenta*, which during its most fruitful period from 1875-1914 encouraged participation by historians from across the German-speaking world.⁷² By contrast to England, where Oxford and Cambridge had a stranglehold on medieval scholarship, and France, where the position of Paris was unsurpassed, there were at least thirty universities within German-speaking lands where

⁶⁹ Ibid., 184.

⁷⁰ Den Boer has traced the changing directions of the historical profession under the sponsorship of divergent regimes in the second chapter of his comprehensive study of professional history in nineteenth-century France. Pim den Boer, *History as a Profession: The Study of History in France, 1818-1914*, trans. Arnold Pomerans (Princeton, 1998), 50-117.

⁷¹ den Boer, “Historical Writing in France, 1800-1914,” 186.

⁷² Schieffer, “Weltgeltung und nationale Verführung,” 40-41.

history was taught.⁷³ Although it is not possible to be entirely clear about the number of medievalists in gainful academic employment, there was clearly great potential within the German universities for diverse subjects to be studied. The number of universities and their geographic spread was reflected in the importance of *Landesgeschichte*, a type of regional history that was very different from the English local history practiced by John Horace Round. *Landesgeschichte* was respected for its ability to convey structural insights, and regions were understood as dynamic factors in medieval society. In contrast, the expansion of the university system in England in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did little to alter the state-centred focus of English historical scholarship. For example, Thomas Tout, himself formerly a pupil of Stubbs at Oxford, continued to focus on central government records despite being based in Manchester. Term was spent teaching students in Manchester, and the vacation working on original documents at the Public Record Office (PRO) in London.⁷⁴ Tout's *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*, published between 1920 and 1933, inaugurated a thriving tradition of administrative history that continues to be influential in the twenty-first century.

Similarly Frank Stenton at the newly founded University of Reading continued to focus on central government records. Legend relates that he would regularly, following a morning's teaching, take a train to London to consult original documents at the PRO of an afternoon.⁷⁵ Stenton's influence on the field of Anglo-Saxon history was towering, with his 1943 book *Anglo-Saxon England* framing the study of the period into the late twentieth century. Anglo-Saxon studies have continued to be dominated by a focus on the state, which is most visible in the work of James Campbell. Discussing Campbell's 'maximalist' interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon state, Timothy Reuter characterises his dismissal of the importance of hunting, praying and court ceremony for royal government as being 'a variant

⁷³ As Middell has commented, 'Paris remains even now the desired final destination of any successful academic career (a position that is protected both by the symbolic value and the excellent material research conditions in the capital compared to regional universities)'. Matthias Middell, "French Historical Writing," in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, ed. Axel Schneider and Daniel Woolf, vol. 5 (Oxford, 2011), 284.

⁷⁴ Innes, "A Fatal Disjuncture?", 88.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

of one of the standard tropes of English medievalists: narrative sources unreliable, back to the archives'.⁷⁶ As the archives are those of central government, the insights which they yield relate to central government. Thus central government continues to take centre stage in historical explanations. As Reuter has elucidated, 'English political medievalists are peculiarly state-fixated: the importance of the state in our history becomes self-reinforcing, so that the real substance is seen to lie in administrative practice and innovation rather than in the relations between the members of the political community'.⁷⁷

By contrast to the relatively straight path of English historical scholarship from the nineteenth century to late-twentieth century, German historical scholarship has travelled a winding road and encountered dead ends along the way. The generation of German historians born c.1900, influenced by the *Kulturkampf* and the renewed importance of religion in German society around the turn of the century, brought new themes to the study of medieval history, the most prominent of which was the question of the relationship between politics, society and religion.⁷⁸ One example of this new approach is Carl Erdmann's *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (1938). Now acknowledged as an important work, Erdmann's opposition to the National Socialists deprived him of a pre-war university career and his premature death in 1945 led to a long delay in the work gaining proper recognition.⁷⁹ Percy Ernst Schramm's *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio* (1929) is another example of this approach. In working with both literary and art historical sources, Schramm exemplified a new cultural approach to medieval German rulership, which, despite his close association with the National Socialists, was to remain influential in Germany in the post-war period.⁸⁰ The differing fates of Erdmann and Schramm make clear that with this generation we enter a period in which the directions of the German historical profession were intertwined with those of the National Socialist Reich, a problem that Otto

⁷⁶ Reuter, "The Making of England and Germany, 850-1050," 294.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Oexle, "Staat-'Kultur'-'Volk,'" 84.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ As is well known, Schramm acted as the official staff diarist of the German High Command during the Second World War. Rather unflattering portrayals of both Schramm and Kantorowicz are to be found in Chapter 4 of Norman F. Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages: The Lives, Works, and Ideas of the Great Medievalists of the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1991).

Gerhard Oexle maintains German medievalists have still not adequately dealt with to this day.⁸¹

In addition to an interest in *Geistesgeschichte*, the second innovative breakthrough of this generation was the adoption of the Nietzschean idea that scholarship should serve life. These sentiments were particularly fostered in the circle around Stefan George, and were enthusiastically accepted by a young Ernst Kantorowicz, whose best-selling biography of Frederick II, published in 1927, neglected the traditional themes of monarchical government. Instead he presented the emperor as a spiritual leader for the German nation, thereby providing a model for a hoped-for new leader to restore Germany greatness after the catastrophic defeat of 1918 and the ensuing debilitating peace settlement. Kantorowicz's work met with severe criticism from the traditional academic establishment, particularly from Albert Brackmann, who dismissed it as mere myth-making. In response Kantorowicz, who had originally published the biography without footnotes, brought out a hefty second volume in 1931, providing the scholarly references lacking in the first volume, which had, after all, been aimed at a popular readership. The argument surrounding Kantorowicz's *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite* has been characterised as a struggle between Nietzscheans and Rankeans.⁸² That the Nietzschean idea that scholarship should serve life crystallised around *Volksgeschichte*, which was subsequently instrumentalised for political ends has led to the George circle being seen as composed of proto-National Socialists. However, as the later career of Albert Brackmann demonstrates, Rankeans were no less likely to be caught up in the tentacles of National Socialism, and given his later championing of *Ostforschung* it seems plausible that anti-Semitism could have been a contributing factor in Brackmann's criticism of Kantorowicz.

⁸¹ Commenting on Otto Brunner's association with the National Socialists and German academia's failure to face up to it, Oexle writes that, 'das Denkmuster von Erkenntnisfortschritt minus Zeitgebundenheit beantwortet die wesentlichen Fragen nicht'. Oexle, "Staat-'Kultur'-'Volk,'" 92–93.

⁸² Otto Gerhard Oexle, "German Malaise of Modernity: Ernst H. Kantorowicz and his 'Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite,'" in *Ernst Kantorowicz: Erträge der Doppeltagung Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton/Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt*, ed. Robert Louis Benson and Johannes Fried, *Frankfurter Historische Abhandlungen* 39 (Stuttgart, 1997), 33–56.

What is rather surprising to this English observer is the fact that the German defeat of 1945, by contrast to that of 1918, precipitated no major change in the direction of German medieval scholarship. Academic history in Germany before and after the Second World War flowed together in one uninterrupted stream.⁸³ Oexle identifies a return to Rankeanism in the post-war period, with its traditional focus on political history and the state, as a way of glossing over twelve years of National Socialist rule.⁸⁴ A Rankean mantel cannot, however, disguise the fact that it was 1933 rather than 1945 that was the major turning point for the German historical profession. The ascent of the National Socialists precipitated the ejection of medieval scholars, such as Kantorowicz and the art historian Erwin Panofsky, from their posts, while others, such as Erdmann, failed to find jobs. In Johannes Fried's eyes, the triumph of National Socialism led to a kind of scientific stagnation in Germany, as 'the great human questions, the wider perspectives of life, were left aside or passed over in silence'.⁸⁵ Many of the main proponents of *Geistesgeschichte* had been banished from the historical profession and instead the focus rested on institutions, political themes and histories of popes and emperors. The Third Reich's obsession with *dem deutschen Volk* was reflected in research focusing on race, order, rulership and the formation of the German people.⁸⁶ This focus did not disappear with the Third Reich, with the continuity of personnel (no prominent medievalist lost a university post due to association with the National Socialists) ensuring that *Volksgeschichte* was merely repackaged as *Strukturgeschichte*.⁸⁷ In the memorable analogy of Fried, 'like "Volkswagen", "Volksgeschichte" kept on running, even though under a new name, into the Federal Republic of Germany'.⁸⁸ *Geistesgeschichte*, sociology and anthropology were of little interest to post-war medieval historians in Germany.

⁸³ Johannes Fried, "Ernst H. Kantorowicz and Postwar Historiography. German and European Perspectives," in *Ernst Kantorowicz: Erträge der Doppeltagung Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton/Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt*, ed. Robert Louis Benson and Johannes Fried, *Frankfurter Historische Abhandlungen* 39 (Stuttgart, 1997), 180.

⁸⁴ Oexle, "Staat"-Kultur"-Volk," 100–101.

⁸⁵ Fried, "Ernst H. Kantorowicz and Postwar Historiography," 181.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 181–182.

⁸⁷ Theodor Mayer was removed from his post as president of the MGH, but subsequently founded the *Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte*, which became a respected centre for medieval history. *Ibid.*, 182.

⁸⁸ Fried points out that while Kantorowicz and Otto Brunner worked on similar themes they never cited each other's work. *Ibid.*

The cultural history of Kantorowicz, now established across the Atlantic Ocean at Berkeley, was seemingly read by only a handful of German medievalists.⁸⁹

Twentieth-century events in general and the Second World War in particular also left an indelible mark on the French historical profession, though with a decidedly different outcome from that experienced in Germany. Amongst the chief protagonists of French historical scholarship was Marc Bloch whose service in the Great War had turned his focus away from the traditional contours of individual men and political history towards the mass of mankind, particularly peasants and the rural economy.⁹⁰ His execution by the Gestapo in 1944, shortly before D-Day, ensured the longevity and near canonization of the *Annales* School, named after the journal he had cofounded in 1929 with his one-time Strasbourg colleague Lucien Febvre.⁹¹ Bloch, who had studied for a year in Leipzig and Berlin and was thus familiar with German scholarship, was highly critical of Georg von Below's work, condemning his *Der deutsche Staat des Mittelalters* both for exemplifying the German 'cult of the state' and for its lack of a European perspective. The inter-war generation of historians in France were disillusioned by an older history that was unable to explain the catastrophe of the Great War and were influenced by nineteenth-century social scientists such as Vidal de la Blache and Durkheim. Oexle has contrasted Bloch's *La société féodale* (1939/40) with Otto Brunner's *Land und Herrschaft* (1939), stressing that Bloch and Brunner were in essence asking the same questions, 'auch wenn die *Anworten* bei dem Republikaner und Demokraten Marc Bloch ganz anders ausgefallen sind als bei dem völkisch orientierten Nationalsozialisten Otto Brunner'.⁹² In contrast to continued German enthusiasm for traditional political and constitutional history, French historians of the 1920s and 1930s were interested in the mentalities of groups and of individuals. To these they sought to apply insights from social sciences, linguistics, philology, comparative literature, folklore, geography, agronomy and other disciplines.⁹³ This approach to historical research, which

⁸⁹ Ibid., 183.

⁹⁰ A comprehensive study of Bloch's life and work is to be found in Caroline Fink, *Marc Bloch: A Life in History* (Cambridge, 1989).

⁹¹ Bryce Lyon, "Marc Bloch: Historian," *French Historical Studies* 15 (1987): 199.

⁹² Oexle, "Staat-'Kultur'-Volk," 71.

⁹³ Lyon, "Marc Bloch: Historian," 200.

swiftly became the dominant research paradigm in French scholarship, reached well beyond the confines of the historical profession.

However, as Matthais Middell has recently commented, the label '*Annales* School' has led to a bipolar discourse in which the new historiography stands in opposition to old-fashioned Rankean historiography. This 'impressive collective marketing strategy' disguises fundamental differences between successive generations of disciples of the *Annales*.⁹⁴ In the same manner in which the movements for monastic renewal that periodically swept across medieval Europe all claimed to represent a return to the example of Christ, so too did successive generation of *Annalists* claim to best embody the original ideals of Bloch and Febvre. Following Bloch's premature death in 1944, Febvre was, with American funding, able to institutionalise the *Annales* paradigm.⁹⁵ Even before Febvre's own death in 1956, Fernand Braudel had become the key figure in the French historical profession and Braudel's patronage a prerequisite for aspiring historians. His 1949 work *La méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* exemplified the focus on collective structures and geographical factors that characterised French historical writing in the mid-twentieth century. In conjunction with the economic historian Ernest Labrousse, Braudel published an economic and social history of France in six volumes between 1970 and 1982. By this time 'social structures' and 'economic cycles' had become the fundamental categories of *Annales* history.⁹⁶ However, while introducing new directions in geohistory, social and economic history the *Annales* offered no alternative for writing political history, they simply denied its importance.⁹⁷

The third generation of *Annales* scholars, including medievalists Jacques Le Goff and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie were influenced by the anti-government protests of 1968 and sought to free themselves from Braundel's shadow. Criticism by younger scholars precipitated Braundel's retirement from the board of the *Annales* journal, but historical writing continued to be influenced by the

⁹⁴ Middell, "French Historical Writing," 267.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 271–272.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 274.

⁹⁷ den Boer, "Historical Writing in France, 1800-1914," 200.

geohistorical approach that had characterised his work.⁹⁸ A notable tendency of this generation was the abandoning of comparative approaches and an increased focus on French history. As Middell has suggested, 'to look for the "worlds we have lost" and to assimilate them to the national *patrimonie* was one of the essentials for that generation who was, not least for that reason, so successful in the French society of the 1970s'.⁹⁹ The 1970s witnessed another change in the *Annales* School, with increased criticism of the social history paradigm leading to the development of a *nouvelle historie* focussed on the idea of *mentalité*.¹⁰⁰ However, as early as the 1980s criticisms of this 'new history' began to emerge, particularly concerned with the vague notion of 'mentality' itself. By the end of the decade a debate promoted by the editorial board of the *Annales* led to a change of paradigm and a return to an interest in people and their agency. This shift made possible Le Goff's 1996 biographical study of the French king Louis IX.¹⁰¹

The intellectual inheritance of the *Annales* was not confined to France but was influential beyond its borders, particularly in America but also the UK, where it inspired the founders of the UK-based journal *Past and Present*, established in 1952.¹⁰² Despite the evident importance of *Past and Present* in the development of the historical profession in England in the second half of the twentieth century, the scholarly approaches it championed coexisted with rather than suffocated traditional constitutional research. Whereas the dominance of the *Annales* School in France was as total as their history aimed to be, the economic studies of Rodney Hilton could co-exist in England with the work of R.W. Southern, which although transcending national borders remained focussed on religious and political institutions. One of Southern's teachers at Oxford had been Frederick

⁹⁸ Middell, "French Historical Writing," 275–276.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 276.

¹⁰⁰ This 'new history' was announced in a quasi manifesto of 1974. Ibid., 277.

¹⁰¹ Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris, 1996).

¹⁰² Issue No. 100 of *Past and Present* included two articles on the history of the journal. The first, written by three of the founding editors, highlights the influence of Bloch and Febvre. In the second the close relationship between the *Annales* and *Past and Present* is made clear by Le Goff who writes that, he had 'been a reader from the beginning, an admirer, a friend, almost (if I might say so) a secret lover'. Christopher Hill, Rodney H. Hilton, and Eric J. Hobsbawm, "Past and Present. Origins and Early Years," *Past and Present* 100 (1983): 3–14; Jacques Le Goff, "Past and Present. Later History," *Past and Present* 100 (1983): 15.

Maurice Powicke, whose biography of Henry III has recently been compared to Le Goff's study of Louis IX by Nicholas Vincent.¹⁰³ Vincent contrasts Powicke's study, which he characterises as conveying a vivid sense of the court and political elite, but little in the way of a personal portrait of the king, with Le Goff's focus on the personal, psychological and intellectual life of his subject.¹⁰⁴ For Vincent this pronounced difference of portrayal is illustrative of two things; the dissimilarity in the materials at the disposal of the two authors and the disparity in the questions English and French historians are attempting to answer. As Vincent pithily concludes, 'English historians, tempted to ask when and if King Alfred actually burned the cakes, like French historians inclined to ask what the theoretical cakes may have symbolised, are frequently bewildered by one another's absurdities'.¹⁰⁵ English, French and German historians of medieval kingship had been asking starkly different questions of diverse bodies of source material, a state of affairs that has continued into the present day.

French approaches to kingship have been flavoured by social theory, with theoretical and philosophical approaches provoking more interest than institutional development. Indeed, it is Americans, particularly Joseph Strayer and John Baldwin, who have been, in the past century, most interested in the development of the French medieval state.¹⁰⁶ Baldwin has focused on the administrative elaborations of a French king in his work on Philip Augustus, combining with C. Warren Hollister to draw links between France and England.¹⁰⁷ That the English king Henry I (1100-1135), considered in their jointly-authored article on the rise of administrative kingship, died almost nine decades before Philip Augustus (1179-1223) is demonstrative of a real difference in source material in the two countries. The first English Pipe Roll survives from the reign of Henry I, an outlying indication of a later richness of administrative material

¹⁰³ Vincent, "Twelfth and Thirteenth-century Kingship," 22-26.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 25.

¹⁰⁵ Vincent, "The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings of England 1154-1272," 32.

¹⁰⁶ Strayer's conviction about the relevance of medieval to modern institutions is made explicit in the short book based on his 1961 Witherspoon Lectures. Joseph R. Strayer, *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State* (Princeton, 1970); Strayer's interest in the development of the state was surely connected to his interest in the contemporary American state. For his CIA career see Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages*, 261-262.

¹⁰⁷ John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1986); Hollister and Baldwin, "The Rise of Administrative Kingship."

that is unmatched in France or Germany. Rather than royal finances, it is royal image that has interested recent historians of French kingship. From explications of seal iconography and royal charters to those of chronicles and liturgical texts, manifestations of royal power rather than its financial underpinning have shone through.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, there is another school that has had perhaps as much influence on French approaches to kingship: that found at Saint-Denis, where Abbot Suger laid the foundations for a tradition of historical writing that emphasised the sacrality of the Capetian kings.

Neither England nor Germany possesses an equivalent to the ambitious Abbot of Saint-Denis, who built Capetian kingship into the very masonry of his abbey church. Certainly monarch-centred narratives survive from all three realms, but those from England and Germany are haphazard survivals and part of no grand scheme, in stark contrast to the French *Grandes Chroniques*.¹⁰⁹ While German historians exploit the narrative sources, English historians remain less enamoured with this type of historical record, preferring the clarity and precision of administrative documents to the opaque inexactitude of chronicle accounts. Modern Anglophone writing on kingship revolves around the traditional and overlapping themes of legal and administrative elaboration. This central point is cemented by the continuity of English institutions, which allows Paul Brand, while dispensing with the anachronisms apparent in the work of an earlier generation of legal historians, quite happily to discuss the role of Henry II in the creation of the English Common Law as if Henry were a member of one of the modern Inns of Court.¹¹⁰ Central government and its records continue to attract sustained attention, an entirely understandable phenomena given that a single year's pipe roll contains enough content for an entire PhD thesis.¹¹¹ The

¹⁰⁸ See particularly Bedos-Rezak's work on seals, Gasparri, Guyotjeannin and Parisse on charters, Le Goff and Bonne on liturgy. The work of these historians will be discussed in more detail in later chapters.

¹⁰⁹ On the lack of historical accounts of the Plantagenet kings see Nicholas Vincent, "The Strange Case of the Missing Biographies: The Lives of the Plantagenet Kings of England 1154-1272," in *Writing Medieval Biography: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*, ed. David Bates, Julia Crick, and Sarah Hamilton (Woodbridge, 2006), 237-57.

¹¹⁰ Paul Brand, "Henry II and the Creation of the English Common Law," in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge, 2007), 215-241.

¹¹¹ See for example that of Richard Cassidy, 'The 1259 Pipe Roll' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2012)

seam of governmental records in England runs deep and continues to be mined by a number of scholars, including David Carpenter and Nicholas Vincent. Carpenter has, in effect, established his own school on the Strand, with a number of his former students making important contributions to the study of English government in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹¹²

David Carpenter and Nicholas Vincent are both, however, well aware that there was more to medieval kingship than administrative procedures and, indeed, that bureaucratic documents can in fact shed light on diverse aspects of kingship.¹¹³ Vincent, in particular, has pioneered an alternative approach to the Plantagenet kings, arguing that they should not be seen as a profane and violent equivalent to the holy and pacific Capetians. However, serious engagement with liturgical and narrative sources still remains outside the remit of most historians of English kingship, who pay little more than lip-service to factors that cannot be firmly grounded in the archives. As Geoffrey Koziol has pointed out,

‘D.C. Douglas writing of William the Conqueror, Judith Green writing of Henry I, and W.L. Warren writing of Henry II all dutifully reiterate the traditional beliefs articulated in Carolingian and Ottonian sources: that kings ruled in the image of God and the Old Testament rulers of Israel and that the great ceremony for communicating this typology was royal anointing. Yet when these historians get down to the real business of Norman and Angevin kingship, they describe feudal levies, financial exactions, and judicial reform, with not another word about pontifical kings’.¹¹⁴

The art historian Paul Binski has rightly criticised the often condescending attitude historians exhibit towards visual sources by seeing them only as passive

¹¹² For example, Adrian Jobson, ed., *English Government in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004); Benjamin L. Wild, “Royal Finance Under King Henry III, 1216-72: The Wardrobe Evidence,” *Economic History Review* 65 (2012): 1380-1402; Nick Barratt, “The Revenue of King John,” *English Historical Review* 111 (1996): 835-55; Nick Barratt, “Finance and the Economy in the Reign of Henry II,” in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge, 2007), 242-256. Both Jobson and Barratt worked at The National Archives following the completion of doctorates at King’s College London.

¹¹³ For example, Carpenter examines a list surviving from the Wardrobe of Henry III to illuminate aspects of royal ideology in David A. Carpenter, “The Burial of King Henry III, the Regalia and Royal Ideology,” in *The Reign of Henry III* (London, 1996), 427-462.

¹¹⁴ Koziol, “England, France and the Problem of Sacrality,” 124.

examples of other phenomena and not appreciating their active formative qualities.¹¹⁵ A similar and equally valid point can be made about liturgy and particularly the liturgical ceremony of royal consecration, which, it will be argued, continued to play an active role in the construction of ideas of kingship throughout the period under consideration.

The post-war career of Percy Ernst Schramm at Göttingen ensured the continuation of a cultural and interdisciplinary approach to history in Germany. Schramm's three-volume *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatsymbolik*, which includes contributions from a number of other scholars and was published between 1954 and 1978, is a monument to both his magpie tendencies and his interest in the 'symbolism of the state' from late antiquity to the early modern period.¹¹⁶ Schramm's work is fundamental to any scholar working on royal inauguration or royal image in the medieval period, but, as will be discussed in more detail in an examination of liturgical texts, his methodologies were at times questionable.¹¹⁷ That Schramm used the word '*Staatsymbolik*' is demonstrative of the fact that his cultural history did not stand apart from the focus on the state that permeated German historical scholarship in the post-war period.¹¹⁸ Understandings of what the state was, however, were changing in German historical scholarship. The Austrian historian Theodor Mayer developed the concept of the *Personenverbandsstaat* in opposition to the traditional idea of an institutionalised territorial state. This alternative theoretical framework of statehood shifted the emphasis from institutions to people, a paradigm modification that, coupled with the growing influence of anthropological concepts, was to have a lasting effect on approaches to medieval rulership and political relationships in German-language historical scholarship.

The poster boy for research concerning ritualised behaviour and symbolic communication is Gerd Althoff, who has achieved such prominence in the field that he holds the rare accolade of having one of his most important works

¹¹⁵ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London, 1996), 7.

¹¹⁶ Percy Ernst Schramm, ed., *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatsymbolik. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte vom dritten bis zum sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1954-1978).

¹¹⁷ See chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion of the problematic nature of liturgical texts.

¹¹⁸ Oexle, "Staat‘-Kultur‘-Volk," 100-101.

translated into English, after a delay of only fourteen years.¹¹⁹ An appreciation of the importance of ritual in medieval politics is an established commonplace in German-language medieval scholarship. As an example, a *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* sponsored cluster ‘Ritualdynamik’ has been running in Heidelberg since 2002, with the participation of prominent medieval historians such as Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter, in addition to the young Turk, Andreas Büttner, who has recently published the definitive study of the history of German royal inauguration in the late medieval period.¹²⁰ However, the very idea of what a ‘ritual’ is and does has been a contentious issue in the last decade, and this is not a debate that can be ignored in a study which seeks to examine a particular ritual as evidence for images of kingship. As the title of his book, *Die Macht der Rituale*, makes clear, Gerd Althoff is a firm believer in the efficacy of ritual behaviour in societies in which rulership is exercised face-to-face.¹²¹ Althoff’s use of anthropological paradigms has been highly influential.¹²² The reaction to Philippe Buc’s attack on this position, demonstrates both how persuasive a thesis Althoff’s is, and also how pervasive the idea of ritual as a way in which medieval rulers exercised power is.¹²³ Buc himself concedes that he perhaps over-stepped the line of professional courtesy, which certainly aggravated the reception of his polemical essay.¹²⁴ But there can be no doubt that some of the issues Buc raises about the blanket adoption of the term ‘ritual’ are warranted, and here the words of Christina Pössel are apt: ‘It is always useful, after some years of research, to have somebody like Philippe Buc come along and wonder if it’s not all bunk, after all’.¹²⁵ Buc’s criticisms of the way in which

¹¹⁹ Gerd Althoff, *Verwandte, Freunde und Getreue: zum politischen Stellenwert der Gruppenbindungen im früheren Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 1990); Gerd Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers: Political and Social Bonds in Early Medieval Europe*, trans. Christopher Carroll (Cambridge, 2004).

¹²⁰ Büttner, *Der Weg zur Krone*, 2012.

¹²¹ Gerd Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale: Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 2003), 31.

¹²² It has been an especially popular with historians of the early Middle Ages. Other prominent Anglophone adherents to this style of analysis include Patrick Geary, Geoffrey Koziol and Janet Nelson.

¹²³ Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, 2001); Geoffrey Koziol, “Review Article: The Dangers of Polemic: Is Ritual Still an Interesting Topic of Historical Study?,” *Early Medieval Europe* 11 (2002): 367–388.

¹²⁴ Philippe Buc, “The Monster and the Critics: a Ritual Reply,” *Early Medieval Europe* 15 (2007): 443.

¹²⁵ Christina Pössel, “The Magic of Early Medieval Ritual,” *Early Medieval Europe* 17 (2009): 112.

medieval historians have received the anthropological concept of 'ritual' are not unwarranted. Rituals did not always go to plan, as the scenes at William the Conqueror's inauguration on Christmas Day 1066 make clear. However, inauguration was a ritual that monarchs and churchmen certainly did seek to exploit, and that is what is of central interest in this thesis.

This section on historiographies began with the assertion that the interests of nineteenth-century historians continue to influence approaches to the study of kings and kingship in the twenty-first century. This tendency is particularly strong in England and Germany as can be neatly illustrated by the topics chosen for two exhibitions, one to be held in London in 2015, and one held in Stuttgart in the summer of 2006. 2015 marks, as every English medievalist knows, 800 years since King John assented, albeit only temporarily, to the articles enshrined in what became known as *Magna Carta*. Undoubtedly less familiar to English medievalists was the anniversary commemorated by the Stuttgart exhibition, which marked 900 years since the death of Emperor Henry IV. The exhibition did little to rehabilitate the reputation of the emperor, focussing as it did on his humiliation at Canossa in 1077. The topics commemorated in these two exhibitions demonstrate the extent to which perceptions of kingship in both countries have changed little in almost two hundred years. English medievalists still seek to explain the development of constitutional monarchy and a free parliament, whilst their German counterparts worry about the meaning of Canossa and the development of elective kingship. That *Magna Carta* is interpreted positively and Canossa seen as a humiliating failure sheds more than a little light on the psyche of the historical professions in England and Germany. *Magna Carta* is the foundation stone of parliamentary democracy, Canossa the fateful moment at which Germany embarked on its unhappy *Sonderweg*.

Henry IV's humiliation at Canossa holds a level of importance in German historiography that can at first glance seem incomprehensible to an outsider. In the volume of essays published to accompany the 2006 exhibition, Bernd Schneidmüller went so far as to assert that the events at Canossa changed the course of European history, a claim that seems slightly overdone to English ears,

but is indicative of the huge importance German historians place on Henry's begging Gregory VII to receive him back into the Church.¹²⁶ In the same essay, Schneidmüller traces the manner in which Canossa has been interpreted differently in different epochs and contexts and above all its importance in the *Kulturkampf* between the new German Reich and the Catholic Church in 1871-2.¹²⁷ In this struggle Canossa was invoked by Otto von Bismarck who, in a quarrel with the Holy See about the sending of a German embassy to the Vatican in May 1872, declared 'nach Canossa gehen wir nicht – weder körperlich noch geistig'.¹²⁸ His words found their way into popular language, with 'nicht nach Canossa' remaining a widely understood metaphor in modern Germany.¹²⁹ Schneidmüller is thus well aware that interest in Canossa has a long history. However, he perhaps fails to recognise that it is not just interest in Canossa but the manner in which it has been interpreted that displays a surprising degree of continuity. Recently a new interpretation of events, put forward by Johannes Fried, has been criticised by a number of scholars who remain unmoved by his thesis that Canossa was not, in fact, the pivotal turning point it has traditionally been made out to be.¹³⁰ Fried has accused his critics of approaching the events at Canossa in the manner of Otto von Bismarck. As is thereby made apparent, approaches to the study of kings and kingship, tied as the topic is to debates about national identity and the development of nation states, remain, in Germany as in England and France, starkly influenced by historiographical traditions stretching back many hundreds of years.

¹²⁶ Bernd Schneidmüller, "Canossa - Das Ereignis," in *Canossa 1077: Erschütterung der Welt*, vol. 1 (Munich, 2006), 45.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Reuter emphasises the enduring importance of Canossa in German consciousness at the beginning of his insightful essay on the events of 1077. Timothy Reuter, "Contextualising Canossa: Excommunication, Penance, Surrender, Reconciliation," in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet L Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 147–148.

¹³⁰ Fried further developed and supported his argument in a slender book published last year. Johannes Fried, *Canossa, Entlarvung einer Legende: Eine Streitschrift* (Berlin, 2012).

Chapter 2

Approaches to Liturgical Texts I: The Spoken and Sung Word

In February 1111 Henry V's plan to receive imperial coronation was thrown into disarray when Pope Paschal II refused to crown him emperor unless he first renounced episcopal investiture. Following a tumultuous meeting at St. Peter's on 12 February, Henry took the pope and a number of his cardinals captive. He held them until he had exhorted a privilege allowing him to continue investing bishops with a ring and staff. This privilege (soon after dubbed a *pravilegium*) was formally confirmed during Henry's imperial inauguration, which took place on 11 April. Some details of this ceremony were recorded by David Scottus, bishop of Bangor, and incorporated by William of Malmesbury into his *Gesta Regum Anglorum*.¹³¹ David reported that

‘the king was received at the Silver Gate by the bishops and cardinals and the whole clergy of Rome, and the prayer contained in the ordinal being begun by the bishop of Ostia...he was taken to the middle of the Rota, and there was the recipient of a second prayer from the bishop of Porto, as the Roman ordinal prescribes. They then took him with litanies to the shrine of the Apostles, and there the bishop of Ostia anointed him between the shoulders and on the right arm. Next he was taken by the Holy Father to the altar of the same Apostles, and there the pope himself set the crown upon his head, and he was consecrated emperor. After the crowning a Mass of the Lord’s Resurrection was celebrated, in which before making his communion our lord the pope gave a privilege to the emperor with his own hand’.¹³²

In his report David twice mentions an ‘ordo’, which in the second instance is described as ‘romanus’. These references are to a liturgical text for imperial

¹³¹ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. Michael Winterbottom, Rodney M. Thomson, and R. A. B. Mynors, OMT (Oxford, 1998), 765–771.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 767–769.

inauguration. David has described a number of elements of this rite, including several prayers and the preeminent acts of unction and coronation.

The following two chapters are concerned with liturgical texts written for the inauguration of kings and emperors during the period *c.1050-c.1250*. Once described by Kantorowicz as ‘a magic thicket of prayers, benedictions, and ecclesiastical rites’, their mystical status has been maintained by successive generations of liturgical scholars, whose use of impenetrable terminology has ensured that many politically orientated historians have not engaged with either their work or the texts they work on.¹³³ Even the names given to these texts by liturgical scholars can cause confusion with, for example, the *ordo* for royal inauguration contained within the *Romano-Germanic Pontifical* also being known as the ‘Ottonian *Ordo*’ and the ‘Mainz *Ordo*’.¹³⁴ Possibilities to get lost in this dense thicket certainly abound, but if we do not allow ourselves to be spooked by its magical aura, it can be traversed with the acquisition of merely a few scratches. Like all liturgies, those for royal and imperial inauguration are composed of a number of prayers, blessings and rubrics describing ritual actions. These building blocks could be brought together in a variety of ways, and augmented with both new material and material from other liturgical ceremonies. Liturgies tend to survive in pontificals, which were manuscripts containing details for all kinds of liturgical ceremonies that a bishop might have cause to perform.¹³⁵

The texts we find in pontificals are, however, not full records of what would have been said, sung and done in an inauguration ceremony. Such books provide only a skeleton text, and the performance of a ceremony would have required recourse to other sources. This phenomenon can be witnessed in church services to this day. If we take, as an example, a modern Roman Catholic wedding

¹³³ As Gathagan has commented, ‘the study of medieval sacraments has traditionally fallen to that rarefied breed of historian, the liturgist’. Laura L. Gathagan, “The Trappings of Power: The Coronation of Mathilda of Flanders,” *Haskins Society Journal* 13 (1999): 21.

¹³⁴ For this reason alternative names are included in all modern editions of these texts and in Appendix 1 of this thesis.

¹³⁵ A number of politically charged imperial rites also survive in papal bulls, but these are exceptional.

ceremony, the 'Order of Service', often printed specially for the occasion, assimilates material from a number of sources. To the outline of the marriage service are added readings from the Bible and hymns from a hymn book. The bride and groom can also decide whether they want a Mass as part of the ceremony. Medieval liturgical inauguration texts exhibit similar properties. In the same way that contemporary Roman Catholic marriage ceremonies comprise a collection of prayers, promises, readings and hymns that together stress the solemnity of matrimony in the eyes of the Church, so too did the prayers, promises and rituals associated with royal and imperial inauguration emphasise the solemnity of these most sacred of occasions for high medieval kings and emperors.

Janet Nelson has rightly stressed that, 'successive recensions of *ordines* ought not to be treated like set texts in a Political Ideas course. Liturgy is not the place to look for polemic, and though political ideas can be found in the *ordines*, they are of the most general, uncontentious and normative kind'.¹³⁶ With Nelson's warning ringing in our ears, in this chapter I present a methodology that embraces the problematic nature of liturgical texts and seeks a way to integrate inauguration *ordines* into a comprehensive comparative study of images of kingship in England, France and the Empire c.1050-c.1250. To this end, a brief history of the inauguration rite in the early medieval period, and the development of the modern study of the *ordines*, is in order. Following a discussion of the problems that arise in examining liturgical texts, the mechanism for the comparison and selection of texts to be compared will be set out and justified. The comparison itself makes manifest the many similarities between the rites, not just the three royal rites, but also the close correlation between royal and imperial liturgy. Where imperial liturgy diverges from royal tradition this is due to the participation of the pope. It will also be made apparent that papal influence did not extend to the royal liturgies. The focus of this chapter is the words spoken and sung by participants in an inauguration ceremony. The component ritual acts and performative elements of the liturgy will be considered in the following chapter.

¹³⁶ Janet L. Nelson, "The Rites of the Conqueror," *ANS* 4 (1982): 122.

The genesis of the inauguration ritual, which by Carolingian times had developed to include a ritual crowning and anointing, is shrouded in uncertainty.¹³⁷ The ritual of crowning corresponded to Byzantine practice and the tradition of crown wearing had a long ancestry reaching back through the traditions of ancient Rome and Hellenistic monarchy to the Persian emperors of the sixth century BC. The Byzantine ceremony, however, did not include anointing, and thus another source for this rite must be sought.¹³⁸ The earliest non-biblical reference to royal unction appears in the *Historia Wambae* of Julian of Toledo, who describes the death of King Recceswinth in 672 and the election and later anointing of King Wamba. Roger Collins has argued that Julian's purpose in writing the *Historia* was to defend the right of Toledo to anoint the new king.¹³⁹ That Julian desired to defend such a right suggests that inaugural anointing at Toledo was an established practice in seventh-century Visigothic Spain; however, following this mention, the trail goes cold. Our next firm evidence for royal unction is provided by Pippin's anointing at Soissons in 751 and again by Pope Stephen at St. Denis in 754. Richard Jackson posits that the rite could have come to Gaul via Spain, but given the obvious Old Testament model for such an act (provided by Samuel's anointing of Saul and David), he points out that it is also possible that the rite could have been generated independently.¹⁴⁰

Mary Garrison, however, has argued that despite the clear typological link to the Old Testament, royal anointing had a Roman dimension, evidenced by the author of the *Annales Mettenses priores*, who associated the papal anointing of Pippin

¹³⁷ To begin with only the German kings and emperors, and the kings of France and England were anointed. Then, on the establishment of the kingdoms of Jerusalem in 1100 and Sicily in 1130 their kings were granted the right of unction. Aragon received unction in 1204, Navarre in 1257 and Scotland in 1329. Some of the Norman princes of southern Italy were also anointed. See Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, 162.

¹³⁸ We should perhaps heed Kantorowicz's warning that we should not just assume a Byzantine origin for everything, because 'a continuous taking, giving, and returning is significant of the relations between Byzantium and the West'. *Ibid.*, 28; For the differences between Western and Byzantine inauguration see Nelson, "Symbols in Context: Rulers' Inauguration Rituals in Byzantium and the West in the Early Middle Ages."

¹³⁹ Roger Collins, "Julian of Toledo and the Royal Succession in Late Seventh-century Spain," in *Early Medieval Kingship*, ed. Peter H. Sawyer and Ian Wood (Leeds, 1977), 45.

¹⁴⁰ Richard A. Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:23; Michael J. Enright, *Iona, Tara, and Soissons: The Origin of the Royal Anointing Ritual* (Berlin, 1985) suggests an Irish origin for royal anointing, but this work has been critically received.

with his elevation to the status of *patricius*.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, Garrison highlights a symbolic affiliation to post-baptismal confirmation anointing, a practice that was established in Rome in the fifth century, was next attested in Anglo-Saxon England, and was thereafter re-exported to the Continent by St. Boniface. In contrast, C.A. Bouman rejects this baptismal link, claiming that inaugural anointing had no basis in the baptismal anointing of Clovis by Remigius (St. Rémi) in 496, an incident prominently noticed by Gregory of Tours.¹⁴² But it would be unwise to leap to so categorical a rejection. As Garrison comments, 'it is impossible to say whether the witnesses to a royal anointing would have been struck by their king's relationship to the kings of Israel or by the ceremony's resemblance to a new-fangled and sometimes controversial addition to baptism'.¹⁴³ Bouman has pointed to the fact that royal inaugural anointing appeared concurrently with the introduction of unction into episcopal consecration, which again suggests that the adoption of inaugural unction was more complicated than a direct copying from the Old Testament kingly anointings. The link between episcopal and royal anointing is a topic to which we shall return later in this thesis.

The earliest surviving liturgical texts relating to royal inauguration shed little light on the genesis of the rite. In his edition of the French *ordines*, Richard Jackson includes four texts dating from before 900. These cannot be described as *ordines* proper, but rather are collections of royal blessings. Jackson stresses that his *Ordo I*, taken from the Sacramentary of Gellone, from c.790-800, is the earliest surviving liturgical formula associated with inauguration ceremonial, but that this is a chance survival and that the formulae must all have existed in earlier collections.¹⁴⁴ Of the four prayer formulae in this sacramentary, three reappear in later royal *ordines* from England, France and Germany, and also in the imperial *ordines*.¹⁴⁵ The royal texts in the Sacramentary of Angoulême (Jackson's *Ordo II*)

¹⁴¹ Mary Garrison, "The Franks as the New Israel? Education for an Identity from Pippin to Charlemagne," in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (Cambridge, 2002), 138.

¹⁴² C.A. Bouman, *Sacring and Crowning: The Development of the Latin Ritual for the Anointing of Kings and the Coronation of an Emperor before the Eleventh Century* (Groningen, 1957), x.

¹⁴³ Garrison, "The Franks as the New Israel?," 138.

¹⁴⁴ Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:51.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 1:52-54.

are the earliest texts that specifically state they are for use in an inauguration ceremony and are the earliest witness to the prayer formula *prospice omnipotens Deus*, which reappears in all the *ordines* traditions. While the earliest texts associated with royal inauguration hail from the Frankish kingdom, Janet Nelson has compellingly argued that the earliest surviving royal inauguration *ordo* is of Anglo-Saxon origin and that the earliest surviving Frankish *ordo*, that for the marriage and inauguration of Judith, was largely drawn from the Anglo-Saxon Leofric *Ordo*.¹⁴⁶

That the Leofric *Ordo* makes no allowance for a crowning within the inauguration ceremony must be significant in understanding the coming together of the twin elements of crowning and anointing. Bouman asserted, but frustratingly failed to provide evidence that before the ninth century there existed an understanding that kings were anointed but not crowned, and emperors crowned but not anointed.¹⁴⁷ This assertion is perhaps supported by the Leofric *Ordo*, but in any case, anointing had been included in the imperial coronation by 816.¹⁴⁸ Both crowning and anointing were first certainly combined in a royal *ordo*, based on the Leofric text, for the marriage of the Frankish princess Judith to King Aethelwulf of the Anglo-Saxons on 1 October 856, during which she was also made queen. They remained united in all succeeding western *ordines*. This early interweaving of Anglo-Saxon and Frankish traditions, on the marriage of a Frankish princess to an Anglo-Saxon king, exemplifies the common liturgical vocabulary of the earliest inauguration *ordines*. The Judith *Ordo* is the first of four *ordines* that can all be assigned to specific historical events. All four are considered the work of Hincmar of Reims. As Julie Ann Smith has commented, 'the reign of Charles the Bald was remarkable for its proliferation of liturgical rites, largely through the assiduous creativity of Archbishop Hincmar, liturgist par excellence'.¹⁴⁹ In addition to that for the marriage and coronation of Judith,

¹⁴⁶ Janet L. Nelson, "The Earliest Surviving Royal *Ordo*: Some Liturgical and Historical Aspects," in *Authority and Power: Studies on Medieval Law and Government Presented to Walter Ullmann on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Brian Tierney and Peter Linehan (Cambridge, 1980), 29–48; This *ordo* has been published as part of the missal bearing the same name: Nicholas A. Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, vol. 2, HBS 114 (Woodbridge, 2002), 429–432.

¹⁴⁷ Bouman, *Sacring and Crowning*, ix.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., x.

¹⁴⁹ Julie Ann Smith, "The Earliest Queen-Making Rites," *Church History* 66 (1997): 24.

Hincmar also composed *ordines* for the anointing and coronation of Charles the Bald's wife Ermentrude on 25 August 866, the inauguration of Charles himself as king of Lorraine on 9 September 869, and the inauguration of Louis the Stammerer on 8 December 877. Unfortunately our level of information about the composition and deployment of these early *ordines* is the exception rather than the rule; the subsequent development and usage of inauguration liturgies is significantly less clear.

In his introduction to a collection of essays entitled *Coronations*, János Bak provides a historiographical sketch of the development of the study of *ordines*, tracing the development of the discipline back to the nineteenth-century German constitutional historian Georg Waitz.¹⁵⁰ Given the lack of a recent edition of the German *ordines*, *ordines* scholars still often cite Waitz's *Die Formeln der deutschen Königs- und der römischen Kaiser Krönung vom zehnten bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert*, published in 1872, as a source for the German rite.¹⁵¹ Bak saw this German tradition initiated by Waitz as splitting into three strands; firstly under Percy Ernst Schramm, who looked at medieval coronations in the context of the symbolism of kingship, secondly under Walter Ullmann, who investigated medieval political and legal theory, and thirdly via Ernst Kantorowicz, who developed the concept of 'political theology'.¹⁵² Even in the patriotic haze of the nineteenth century, Waitz had recognised that few nationalist elements could be identified in the *ordines*.¹⁵³ This was reflected in the work of his successors, such as Schramm, who did not confine himself to the study of the *ordines* in Germany, but instead ranged widely across Europe, even offering an English translation of

¹⁵⁰ János M. Bak, "Introduction: Coronation Studies - Past, Present, and Future," in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János M. Bak (California and Oxford, 1990), 1–15. Waitz's most famous work was an eight-volume constitutional history of Germany published between 1844 and 1878.

¹⁵¹ Georg Waitz, *Die Formeln der deutschen Königs- und der römischen Kaiser Krönung vom zehnten bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1872).

¹⁵² A phrase Kantorowicz deployed in the subtitle of his best known work: Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, 3rd ed. (Princeton, 1997).

¹⁵³ Waitz, *Die Formeln*, 3.

the history of the English coronation to coincide with the succession of King George VI to the British throne in 1937.¹⁵⁴

Events in twentieth-century Europe ensured the diffusion of the German tradition, as Ernst Kantorowicz, dissatisfied with the ruling National Socialists, left Germany, via Oxford, for the United States in 1938. In the same year, following the *Anschluss*, Walter Ullmann fled from Austria to England and after the war secured a fellowship at Cambridge. In England, Ullmann's former doctoral student Janet Nelson has been at the forefront of the study of inauguration liturgy in the early medieval period, and Ullmann also encouraged George Garnett to examine the *ordines*.¹⁵⁵ In Germany, an interest in inauguration liturgy endured in the work of Carl Erdmann and Reinhard Elze, a member of the *Monumenta*, who edited the imperial *ordines* and has published several articles on the topic.¹⁵⁶ In the 1980s and 1990s, Richard Jackson, an American, completed his work on the French coronation in the later medieval period and edited the entire corpus of the French *ordines*.¹⁵⁷

The development of the study of inauguration *ordines* has been highly influenced by anthropological approaches and increasingly by a more nuanced understanding of the nature of liturgical texts. Scholars of liturgy continually stress the special nature of liturgy and how it is inappropriate to use the traditional techniques of *Quellenkritik* as favoured by Schramm.¹⁵⁸ Not only does liturgy have a tendency to fossilization, but it was formulated from a limited selection of repetitive formulae, which makes attempts to trace borrowings and developments challenging. Hence Nelson's warning that succeeding versions cannot be dissected to discover the development of political ideas. As demonstrated by the disagreement between Garnett and Nelson over which

¹⁵⁴ Percy Ernst Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, trans. Leopold G. Wickham Legg (Oxford, 1937).

¹⁵⁵ George Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure, 1066-1166* (Oxford, 2007), vii.

¹⁵⁶ Carl Erdmann, *Forschungen zur politischen Ideenwelt des Frühmittelalters*, ed. Friedrich Baethgen (Berlin, 1951); Reinhard Elze, ed., *Die Ordines für die Weihe und Krönung des Kaisers und der Kaiserin, MGH Fontes Iuris 9* (Hannover, 1960).

¹⁵⁷ Richard A. Jackson, *Vive Le Roi: History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X* (Chapel Hill, 1984); Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*.

¹⁵⁸ Bouman, *Sacring and Crowning*, 55.

recension of the English *ordines* was used at the inauguration of William the Conqueror, attempting to tie liturgical texts to actual ceremonial usage is fraught with difficulty.¹⁵⁹ Jackson rightly cautions against using descriptions from other sources to try to associate an *ordo* with a particular inauguration, pointing out that such descriptions would have been written after the event and that an author might have had a copy of an *ordo* in front of him, but not necessarily the *ordo* that was used.¹⁶⁰ Royal and imperial inauguration rites often survive in manuscripts that can never possibly have been used for an actual ceremony but which might have been available to a monastic chronicler. *Ordines* tend to survive in pontificals, which are books containing the orders of service for sacraments administered by bishops or popes. Given that the text in a pontifical was not binding on those leading the ceremonies, it seems impossible to uphold Schramm's distinction between 'received' and 'not-received' *ordines*. Moreover, manuscript evidence suggests older texts could be mined for information, thus continuing to shape the ceremony long after the words were originally transferred from pen to parchment.¹⁶¹

As Jackson comments of the so-called Ratold *Ordo*, that originated c.980, 'the number of surviving twelfth-century manuscripts...strongly suggest that this *ordo* was consulted for the coronations [in France] in that century, although there is no way of determining the degree to which each ceremony adhered to the model'.¹⁶² In this pronouncement the archetypal nature of liturgical texts is highlighted. By making a virtue of this quality we can examine inauguration liturgy not with the aim of teasing out nuanced changes to the texts over time, but as a stockpile of images of liturgical kingship. As a comparison makes explicit, the idealized character of liturgy was not confined to one text, such as the Ratold *Ordo*, but is evident across geographical and temporal divides. Not only are German and French *ordines* derived from a common Frankish source, but the English *ordines* were also subject to continental influence and in turn

¹⁵⁹ George Garnett, "The Third Recension of the English Coronation *Ordo*: The Manuscripts," *Haskins Society Journal* 11 (1998): 43–71; Nelson, "The Rites of the Conqueror."

¹⁶⁰ Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:34. Here echoing similar points made by Reinhard Elze in his edition of the imperial *ordines*.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid., 1:30.

exerted influence on French and German practice. Indeed, designating an *ordo* as coming from a particular country can be far from straightforward, as Jackson acknowledges in his edition of the French *ordines*, suggesting that a transnational approach to the topic is in any case more appropriate than a narrow national investigation.¹⁶³

Moreover, the number of manuscript witnesses of the *ordines* of each of the three kingdoms varies enormously, and although the *ordines* are mostly available in printed editions, the editorial standards applied are far from identical. Only the imperial and French *ordines* have been edited in coherent editions, and even these are not without their problems.¹⁶⁴ These editions have been thoroughly consulted, but there remains a danger that the ready availability of the imperial and French *ordines* may lead to an imbalance in the comparison with the German and English *ordines*. Another issue is how to deal with the difference between the inauguration *ordines* included in the Vogel and Elze edition of the compilation known as the *Romano-Germanic Pontifical* (PRG), compiled from only nine of over forty surviving manuscripts, and the *ordo* included in the H.A. Wilson edition of the Pontifical of Magdalen College, in which only the reading of this one manuscript is presented. The difference between editions of an entire pontifical, such as that from Magdalen College, in which the inauguration *ordo* is presented in the context of a complete liturgical handbook, and Jackson's edition of the French *ordines*, in which they have been divorced from their liturgical setting, present further problems. Given such differences in editorial practice, any precise comparison between the texts is impossible. Not only the nature of liturgy, but the myriad attempts of modern scholars to edit liturgical texts suggest that we should adopt a flexible and general approach to inauguration liturgy.

¹⁶³ He states, 'a number of texts in the present edition should also be included in editions of German royal or Anglo-Saxon/English *ordines*'. *Ibid.*, 1:11.

¹⁶⁴ Elze, *Die Ordines*; Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*. Jackson structured his edition of the French *ordines* to complement the approach taken by Reinhard Elze in his pioneering edition of the imperial *ordines* for the MGH. Jackson makes his editorial decisions explicit and includes all the texts. In contrast Elze repeatedly refers back to the text of other *ordines* and does not include all manuscript variants.

A closer look at the problems of the PRG edition, comprehensively exposed by Henry Parkes in his doctoral thesis, makes clear both the extent of the liturgy's malleability and the dangers inherent in attempting to fit such flexible and adaptable texts between the rigid covers of a modern scholarly edition.¹⁶⁵ The modern edition of the PRG radiates conformity and exactitude whereas the medieval texts are in reality discordant and irregular. Indeed, Vogel and Elze recognised that the PRG actually contains three recensions of the royal inauguration *ordo*: a short recension and two variants of a longer recension. But in consistency with the rest of their edition these are presented as variant readings of the same *ordo*.¹⁶⁶ As Parkes has commented, although the texts for royal coronation (and episcopal ordination) exist in different states in different groups of PRG manuscripts, editorial practice 'actively subdues' such important distinctions.¹⁶⁷ In selecting which texts to compare, I have thus had to make a number of pragmatic decisions, to overcome the problems with the modern editions, the problems with precisely dating texts and the problems of designating an *ordo* as coming from a particular country. Although in choosing texts I have sought to identify a representative sample from all three realms and from across the period c.1050-c.1250, I am aware of the limitations of the material and the subjectivity of these decisions. These texts are highly problematic, but at the same time absolutely fundamental to understanding the liturgical resonances inherent in images of medieval kingship. Despite their difficulties they demand examination.

Selecting texts from the English kingdom is the simplest task, because only three recensions of *ordines* have been identified by scholars as being in use before c.1250: the Leofric *Ordo*, and the so-called Second and Third Recensions. The Third Recension was most probably in use for the majority of the period under consideration and possibly, according to Janet Nelson, for the entire period.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ Henry Parkes, "Liturgy and Music in Ottonian Mainz 950-1025" (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2012).

¹⁶⁶ Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, eds., *Le pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, vol. 3 (Vatican, 1972), 24.

¹⁶⁷ Henry Parkes, "Questioning the Authority of Vogel and Elze's Pontifical Romano-Germanique," in *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. Sarah Hamilton and Helen Gittos (Basingstoke, forthcoming).

¹⁶⁸ Nelson, "The Rites of the Conqueror."

George Garnett, however, has contested the assertion that the Third Recension was used for the inauguration of William the Conqueror.¹⁶⁹ Due to the uncertainty Garnett sows here, the Second Recension has also been considered. Garnett and the late John Brückmann, who also worked on the manuscripts of the Third Recension, agree that it survives in seven manuscripts, but they do not agree on the relationship between these manuscripts, six of which are from the twelfth century with one dating from the early fourteenth century. Neither of them have put forward a definitive reading of the *ordo*.¹⁷⁰ Brückmann divided the manuscripts into three groups, according to whether they contained what he termed 'early' or 'later' versions of the *ordines* for a king and a queen.¹⁷¹ In addition to highlighting the different modes of diffusion for the male and female *ordines*, such a division of the Third Recension manuscripts into 'early' or 'later' versions again raises questions about the extent to which we can precisely define *ordines* texts. If there are several versions of the *ordo*, defining it as the Third Recension is itself an artificial construct. However, as Shane Bobrycki has commented of early medieval liturgy, we should not be too nominalist about these texts, demanding that every version be seen as distinct.¹⁷² The texts of the Third Recension certainly form a coherent group. The accessibility of the manuscript copies of the Third Recension has allowed a number of them to be consulted in the flesh.¹⁷³ Unfortunately a comprehensive examination of all manuscripts containing inauguration texts has not been possible in the timeframe of this thesis.

For the *ordines* of the French kings and the German kings and emperors I have been reliant on published texts and online manuscript repositories. From

¹⁶⁹ Garnett, "The Third Recension of the English Coronation *Ordo*: The Manuscripts."

¹⁷⁰ John Brückmann, "English Coronations, 1216-1308: The Edition of the Coronation *Ordines*" (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1964); John Brückmann, "The *Ordines* of the Third Recension of the Medieval English Coronation Order," in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, ed. T.A. Sandquist and M.R. Powicke (Toronto, 1969), 99-115.

¹⁷¹ Brückmann, "The *Ordines* of the Third Recension of the Medieval English Coronation Order," 109-112. i.e. one group contained the early *ordo* for a king and the later *ordo* for the queen, another group the late *ordo* for a king and the early *ordo* for a queen and his final group the early *ordines* for a king and a queen.

¹⁷² Shane Bobrycki, "The Royal Consecration *Ordines* of the Pontifical of Sens from a New Perspective," *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre* 13 (2009): 131.

¹⁷³ I have viewed the following manuscripts of the Third Recension: Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.II.10; Cambridge, University Library MS EE.II.3; London, British Library MS Cotton Claudius A. III; London, British Library MS Cotton Tiberius B.VIII.

Jackson's edition of the French *ordines* I have chosen to consult the Ratold *Ordo* (composed c.980 but, as has already been alluded to, frequently consulted in the twelfth-century), and three further *ordines* identified by Jackson as composed in France in the period c.1050-c.1250. These are the Royal *Ordo* in Cologne Dombibliothek 141, the *Ordo* of Saint-Bertin, and the *Ordo* of 1200. The *Ordo* of 1200 is the first of a series of French *ordines* for which the place of origin is certain. It was written at Reims, and one of the two surviving manuscripts remained in the coronation cathedral at Reims until the French Revolution.¹⁷⁴ The 'Frenchness' of the other two *ordines* is less clear: the Cologne manuscript contains a combination of texts from the PRG and the Ratold *Ordo*, while the *Ordo* of Saint-Bertin is a variant of the 'German' *ordo* contained within the PRG.¹⁷⁵ The impossibility of assigning a nationality to the Cologne *ordo* is once again suggestive of the shared liturgical traditions of these medieval kings. This text survives in only two manuscripts. The first, from which it takes its name, originated in the first half of the eleventh century. The second manuscript (now Bamberg Staatsbibliothek MS Msc. Lit. 56) dates from the fourteenth century. The most likely place of origin for the text was in the diocese of Cambrai, but as Jackson has made clear, this does not make assigning it a nationality any easier:

'Cambrai was under imperial control in the eleventh century, and its bishops were appointed by the emperor, so one could argue that the *ordo* was not composed in France and does not belong to the sequence of French *ordines*. On the other hand, is it not far more important that Cambrai was a suffragan of Reims and that the bishop of Cambrai and Arras from 1012-1051 was Gerard I, nephew of Adelbérón, archbishop of Reims, making direct influence from Reims very possible when the *ordo* was composed?'¹⁷⁶

The link between Cambrai and Reims at the time the manuscript was written added to the fact that the text was previously unedited prompted Jackson to include the *ordo* in his edition of French texts. In this study, which is not

¹⁷⁴ Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:248.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 1:201 and 240.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 1:202.

concerned with the development of national rites, the *ordo*'s statelessness is of little concern.

For evidence of the German tradition I have consulted the three recensions contained within the PRG edition of Vogel and Elze, in conjunction with texts presented by Erdmann and Waitz.¹⁷⁷ As discussed above, the PRG edition is not without its problems. It does, however, provide a representative edition of inauguration texts circling within the Empire in the high medieval period. In his edition of the imperial inauguration rite Elze presents eighteen texts originating before c.1250. From these texts I have selected five *ordines* that reflect the growing complexity of the imperial ceremony and the increasing influence of the pope. These are the imperial *ordo* in Cologne Dombibliothek 141, the two *ordines* attributed to Cencius, later Pope Honorius III, the so-called Staufen *Ordo* and a final *ordo* originating in the papal curia at the beginning of the thirteenth century. That the Cologne manuscript contains both a royal and imperial rite, not to mention an inauguration rite for a queen, suggests a close relationship between royal and imperial texts.

Having selected the texts, a final issue remains: how to compare texts that differ in length and detail. For example, some *ordines* include the full texts of prayers, others only the incipits. The rubrication can be brief and cursory or lengthy and detailed. Some texts include musical elements and integrate the mass into the *ordo*. By contrast others provide no detail of the antiphons to be sung and make no allowance for a mass. Some male inauguration texts are associated in a manuscript with texts for the inauguration of a queen or empress, while a number of texts envisage the inauguration of king and queen, or emperor and empress, in the same text. The traditional way of presenting *ordines* for comparison in an abbreviated form neglects these divergences between different texts and is for this reason an unsatisfactory technique to use when comparing a dozen diverse texts. To overcome this issue a pragmatic approach has been adopted here, breaking the *ordines* down into their constituent parts, thus

¹⁷⁷ Erdmann, *Forschungen zur politischen Ideenwelt des Frühmittelalters*, 83–91; Waitz, *Die Formeln*.

enabling like aspects to be directly compared. The *ordines* analysed, and the editions of these texts that have been consulted, are summarized in Appendix 1.

The Spoken Word: Prayers and Promises

An examination of prayer formulae contained within the twelve selected *ordines* drives home the extent of their shared liturgical vocabulary. For example, although there are a total of 185 prayers contained within the selected *ordines* relating to male inauguration these are drawn from only 56 discrete prayer formulae. In other words, on average each prayer appears in around three different *ordines*. This picture is reinforced by considering the nine *ordines* that contain prayers associated with female inauguration. A total of 14 distinct prayer formulae are used a total of 51 times, giving us a similar average of each prayer formula appearing in between three and four different *ordines*. Of course such an overview disguises the fact that some prayers appear only once. Others appear again and again in both the royal and imperial *ordines*, some only in the royal *ordines*, and others only in the imperial *ordines*.

In order to analyse the prayer formulae in the twelve *ordines*, I have assigned each distinct formula an alphanumeric code. These numbers in no way assign precedence to prayer formulae in terms of the direction in which copying occurred but are purely a device to enable clearer analysis. In assigning numbers minor variants of the same prayer formula have been given the same number and more major variants different numbers.¹⁷⁸ Variations and adaptions from, for example, an Anglo-Saxon to Frankish or from a royal to imperial context, will be discussed separately. Male and female prayers have been numbered independently as have prayers signalled as being from the Mass. This is due to the fact that not all the selected *ordines* contain female or Mass elements and this would not be clear without making it explicit in the coding system.¹⁷⁹ Prayers for

¹⁷⁸ This is not always an easy decision.

¹⁷⁹ The division of Mass formulae is not perfect due to inconsistent rubrication across the twelve *ordines* – for example male inauguration prayer K49 is the same as mass prayers M16, M17 and M18.

Table 6
Distribution of Prayers in the Royal Ordines

English		German Royal	German/ French	French		
Second	Third	PRG	Cologne 141	Ratold	Saint-Bertin	Ordo of 1200
K1	K4	K34	K34	K1	K34	K34
K2	K22	K35	K35	K2	K35	K35
K3	K23	K36	K36	K3	K36	K36
K4	K24	K22	K1	K4	K24	K22
K5	K25	K4	K2	K37*	K23	K23
K6	K26	K23	K3	K5*	K27	K37
K7	K7	K24	K4	K6	K41	K24
K8	K27	K25	K5	K7	K10	K25
K9	K28	K37	K6	K8	K32	K38
K10	K29	K38	K7	K9	K16	K27
K11	K30	K27	K32	K10	K11	K4
K12	K31	K7	K9	K11	K42	K7
K13	K12	K28	K28	K12	K39	K28
K14	K13	K32	K11	K13	K33	K32
K15	K32	K16	K39	K14	K19	K16
K16	K14	K39	K13	K15		K39
K17	K15	K33	K14	K16	M6	K33
K18	K16	K19	K15	K17	M7	K19
K19	K33	K40	K16	K18	M11	K40
K20	K19		K17	K19		
K21		M6	K22	K20		M6
	Q7	M7	K19	K21		M7
Q1	Q8	M8				M8
Q2	Q9	M9	M6	M1		M9
Q3	Q1	M10	M7	M2		M10
Q4	Q2	M11	M12	M3		M11
Q5	Q3		M11	M4		M13
Q6	Q4	Q7		M5		M14
	Q10	Q8	Q7			M15
M1	Q5	Q9	Q8	Q12		
M2	Q11	Q10	Q1	Q1		Q7
M3	Q6		Q9	Q2		Q8
M4			Q3	Q3		Q9
M5			Q6	Q4		Q11
			Q5	Q5		Q13
* other way round in some MSS			Q11	Q6		
			Q2			

Table 7*Distribution of Prayers in the Imperial Ordines*

<i>Cologne 141</i>	<i>Cencius I</i>	<i>Cencius II</i>	<i>Staufen</i>	<i>Roman Curia</i>
K43	K47	K47	K47	K47
K23	K23	K23	K23	K23
K27	K45	Q7	K50	K54
K44	K7	K45	K51	K52
K45	K46	K7	K45	K45
K46		Q8	K7	K7
K12		Q9	K49	M16
		K48	K52	M17
		K9	K53	M18
		K10	K46	K46
		K11	K28	K25
		K46	Q14	K55
		Q14		K56
		K14		K28
		K15		K46
		K49		Q7
				Q8
				Q9
				Q11

female inauguration need to be considered as more than just a subset of prayers used for male inauguration, especially given the complex relationship between male and female inauguration. In this system male prayers are distinguished with a K, female with a Q, and prayers from the Mass with an M. The numbers assigned to distinct prayer formulae can be found in Appendix 2, which comprises an index of prayer incipits. The alphanumeric designations are then used to provide three tables. Tables 6 and 7 show the distribution of the prayers in the different *ordines* in the position in which they appear in the respective liturgies. The frequency with which individual prayers are used and whether they appear in royal or imperial liturgies is indicated in Table 8.

The prayer formulae that make up the *ordines* are full of such generalised phrases as ‘in hoc regno’, with no qualifying adjective making clear which realm is being referred to. Indeed the very incipits of the *ordines* exemplify this. The

French *Ordo* of 1200, for example, begins, ‘incipit ordo ad benedicendum regem, quando novus a clero et populo sublimatur in regnum’.¹⁸⁰ In agreement with the incipits of the remaining six royal *ordines* under consideration, our text provides no indication as to which kingdom the clergy and people belong. Some of the *ordines* do make reference to particular kingdoms, but these references are not always straightforward. The second English recension, for example, includes several references to its Anglo-Saxon context. In the prayer (K4), which precedes the anointing, reference is made to the ‘regnum Anglorum vel Saxonum’ and it specifies that the ‘regale solium videlicet Anglorum vel Saxonum sceptro non deserat’.¹⁸¹ Later in the *ordo*, in prayer K17, there is a reference to ‘Gregorius Anglorum apostolicus’.¹⁸² By contrast, references to the Anglo-Saxon kingdom and the apostle of the English do not appear in the third English recension, which instead only includes one geographical reference in a prayer (K15) asking that the king be honoured ‘pre cunctis regibus Britannie’.¹⁸³ The same prayer formula appears in the PRG devoid of any geographical qualifier as, ‘honorifica eum pre cunctis regibus gentium’.¹⁸⁴

Perhaps surprisingly the references to an Anglo-Saxon kingdom were to have more influence on the development of inauguration liturgy on the continent than in England, demonstrating once again the extent of the shared liturgical model from which the *ordines* of all three realms sprang. This was a model that was not constrained by the boundaries of kingdoms. The prayers in which the references to the Anglo-Saxon kingdom and St. Gregory are contained (formulae K4 and K17) were assimilated into the Ratold *Ordo*, with the continental scribes copying the *ordo* responding to these references in a variety of ways. Of the twenty manuscripts consulted by Jackson, eleven contain the phrase ‘regale solium videlicet Saxonum, Merciorum Nordan Himbrorumque sceptra’.¹⁸⁵ In one manuscript the sentence has been changed to read ‘Francorum’, in two others to

¹⁸⁰ Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:250.

¹⁸¹ L. G. Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records* (London, 1901), 16.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 35.

¹⁸⁴ Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, eds., *Le pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, vol. 1 (Vatican, 1963), 250.

¹⁸⁵ Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:181.

Table 8*Frequency of Occurrence of Prayers in the Royal and Imperial Ordines*

Prayer	Frequency of occurrence in:		
	Royal texts	Imperial texts	Total
K1	3	-	3
K2	3	-	3
K3	3	-	3
K4	6	-	6
K5	3	-	3
K6	3	-	3
K7	6	4	10
K8	2	-	2
K9	3	1	4
K10	3	1	4
K11	4	1	5
K12	3	1	4
K13	4	-	4
K14	4	1	5
K15	4	1	5
K16	7	-	7
K17	3	-	3
K18	2	-	2
K19	7	-	7
K20	2	-	2
K21	2	-	2
K22	4	-	4
K23	4	4	8
K24	4	-	4
K25	3	1	4
K26	1	-	1
K27	4	1	5
K28	4	2	6
K29	1	-	1
K30	1	-	1
K31	1	-	1

Prayer	Frequency of occurrence in:		
	Royal texts	Imperial texts	Total
K32	5	-	5
K33	4	-	4
K34	4	-	4
K35	4	-	4
K36	4	-	4
K37	3	-	3
K38	2	-	2
K39	4	-	4
K40	2	-	2
K41	1	-	1
K42	1	-	1
K43	-	1	1
K44	-	1	1
K45	-	5	5
K46	-	6	6
K47	-	4	4
K48	-	1	1
K49	-	2	2
K50	-	1	1
K51	-	1	1
K52	-	2	2
K53	-	1	1
K54	-	1	1
K55	-	1	1
K56	-	1	1
Q1	4	-	4
Q2	4	-	4
Q3	4	-	4
Q4	3	-	3
Q5	4	-	4
Q6	4	-	4

Prayer	Frequency of occurrence in:		
	Royal texts	Imperial texts	Total
Q7	4	2	6
Q8	4	2	6
Q9	4	2	6
Q10	2	-	2
Q11	3	1	4
Q12	1	-	1
Q13	1	-	1
Q14	-	2	2
M1	2	-	2
M2	2	-	2
M3	2	-	2
M4	2	-	2
M5	2	-	2

Prayer	Frequency of occurrence in:		
	Royal texts	Imperial texts	Total
M6	4	-	4
M7	4	-	4
M8	2	-	2
M9	2	-	2
M10	2	-	2
M11	4	-	4
M12	1	-	1
M13	1	-	1
M14	1	-	1
M15	1	-	1
M16	-	1	1
M17	-	1	1
M18	-	1	1

read 'Francorum, Burgundiorum, Aquitanorum'.¹⁸⁶ In the final three manuscripts presented by Jackson, no kingdoms are mentioned. In asking for the intercession and protection of the saints, Gregory has been transformed from the apostle of the English to the 'Angelorum apostolicus'.¹⁸⁷

In the differing reactions of scribes and copyists one can perhaps detect an ambivalent attitude to these Anglo-Saxon references. One certainly gains the impression that 'national' allusions were not of particular importance in the *ordines*. Some scribes thought to make the reference relevant to a new context, but the majority did not. Janet Nelson has advanced a semiotic explanation for the presence of these references in French *ordines*, when they had no contemporary political relevance, stating that, 'long after the topical reference to Anglo-Saxon hegemonic rulership had been forgotten, the solemn copying out of these time honoured words in French manuscripts signified the profound respect of the later middle ages for ritual tradition, precisely observed. The medium itself had become

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.; The reference to Franks, Burgundians and Aquitanians has been considered by Elizabeth Brown. Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Franks, Burgundians, and Aquitanians' and the Royal Coronation Ceremony in France," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 82 (1992): 1-189.

¹⁸⁷ Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:188.

the message'.¹⁸⁸ That the medium had become the message does not, however, mean that the message had remained static. Moreover, that a scribe working in a monastic scriptorium copied a text exactly does not mean that the text was ever used in practice. Not only was the text not binding on the archbishop overseeing an inauguration ceremony, but many of these manuscripts were unsuitable for use or consultation for an actual ceremony. This demonstrates once again the dangers of trying to use such liturgical texts to make specific historical points.

That some prayers are found in both royal and imperial *ordines* is indicative of the similarity in the conception of the office of king and that of emperor. The imperial *ordo* Cencius II provides a clear example of the relationship between royal and imperial anointing in its presentation of a prayer (K23) that appears in ten of the twelve selected *ordines* and that was already included in the earliest text identified by Jackson. The rubric tells us that the celebrant should say the prayer *Deus inenarrabilis auctor mundi, 'et cetera sicut in unctione regis'*.¹⁸⁹ In the assertion that the prayer should be said 'just as in the unction of the king' it is made explicit that imperial and royal anointing are concomitant rituals. The correlation between royal and imperial unction is made clear by the presence of the prayer most closely associated with anointing in the text, *Deus Dei filius Ihesus Christus dominus noster qui a patre oleo exultationis unctionis est* (K7), in six out of seven of the royal *ordines* and four out of five of the imperial *ordines*. A number of female *ordines*, such as that in the PRG, were intended for the inauguration of a queen or an empress, showing a similar flexibility in the use of the female *ordines*. Furthermore, the adaptation of oaths from the royal ceremony to the imperial ceremony provides additional evidence for the close relationship between royal and imperial ceremonies. The *Ordo* of Saint-Bertin, a royal *ordo*, includes a promise, which is incorporated in slightly different forms in the imperial *ordines* Cencius I and Cencius II:

¹⁸⁸ Janet L. Nelson, "Ritual and Reality in the Early Medieval *Ordines*," in *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), 333.

¹⁸⁹ Elze, *Die Ordines*, 40.

Saint-Bertin: 'Ego N. in nomine Christi promitto, spondeo atque polliceor coram Deo et beato Petro apostolo, me protectorem ac defensorem esse huius Romanae ecclesiae in omnibus utilitatibus, in quantum divino fultus adiutorio, secundum scire meum et posse'.¹⁹⁰

Cencius I: 'In nomine Christi promitto, spondeo atque polliceor ego N. imperator coram Deo et beato Petro, me protectorem atque defensorem esse huius sancte Romane ecclesie in omnibus utilitatibus, in quantum divino fultus fuero adiutorio, secundum scire meum ac posse'.¹⁹¹

Cencius II: 'In nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi. Ego N. rex et futurus imperator Romanorum promitto, spondeo, polliceor atque per hec evangelia iuro coram Deo et beato Petro apostolo tibi N. beati Petri apostoli vicario fidelitatem tuisque successoribus canonice intrantibus, meque amodo protectorem ac defensorem fore huius sancte Romane ecclesie et vestre persone vestrorumque successorum in omnibus utilitatibus, in quantum divino fultus fuero adiutorio, secundum scire meum ac posse, sine fraude et malo ingenio. Sic me Deus adiuvet et hec sancta evangelia'.¹⁹²

Apart from the absence of the word 'apostolo' and some changes of word order, the promises in Cencius I and the Saint-Bertin *Ordo* are very similar. However, there is one important difference. The promise in Cencius I explicitly mentions the office of the promise maker: he is an *imperator*. This small discrepancy is again evidence of the ease with which the same inauguration prayers and promises could be used in both a royal and an imperial context with little need for alteration. Indeed, the difference between the promises in the two imperial *ordines* is much greater than between Saint-Bertin and Cencius I. In Cencius II the promise has been significantly elaborated and in it the difference in office

¹⁹⁰ Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:243.

¹⁹¹ Elze, *Die Ordines*, 23.

¹⁹² Ibid., 37.

between king and emperor is stressed. The monarch being inaugurated makes the promise as 'king and future emperor of the Romans'. The reason for this emphasis on the difference between the offices is made clear by considering the other additions to the promise. The promise is no longer being made solely in the presence of God and St. Peter, but to a named pope and his successors. Likewise it is not just the Church of Rome that will be protected and defended, but also the pope and his successors. The elaboration of the promise in this way points to the fact that whereas there is one leading man, the king, in royal inauguration, in the imperial inauguration there were two actors, the emperor and the pope, sharing the stage and competing for the limelight.

Promises feature in some form in all of the royal *ordines* under consideration. Although the PRG edition makes no mention of an oath, a number of PRG manuscripts from the eleventh and twelfth centuries do include one. The coronation oath has been intensively studied in an English context and understood as forming an integral part of early English law.¹⁹³ It has been closely linked to the English practice of issuing 'coronation' charters, with the 'Coronation Charter' of Henry I being seen as a specific application of the general three-fold oath clause found close to the beginning of both the second and third recensions of the English *ordines*.¹⁹⁴ By his oath the king-elect promised three things; firstly to protect the peace of the Church and the Christian people, secondly to prevent rapacity and iniquities and, finally, to ensure just and merciful judgments. When the king-elect had finished uttering the oath the congregation responded 'Amen'. In the Third Recension, the role of the congregation is further elaborated. They are asked by one of the bishops if they wish to submit themselves to such a prince and leader and to obey his commands. They respond 'volumus et concedimus'. Oath and acclamation here belong together. This relationship between oath and acclamation in the English

¹⁹³ See amongst others H.G. Richardson, "The English Coronation Oath," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 23, Fourth series (1941): 129–158; H. G. Richardson, "The English Coronation Oath," *Speculum* 24 (1949): 44–75; Pauline Stafford, "The Laws of Cnut and the History of Anglo-Saxon Royal Promises," *Anglo-Saxon England* 10 (1981): 173–190; Felix Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, vol. 1 (Halle, 1906), 215–217.

¹⁹⁴ Raymonde Foreville, "Le sacre des rois anglo-normands et angevins et le serment du sacre (XI–XIIe siècles)," *ANS* 1 (1978): 57. See Chapter 6 for a consideration of coronation charters.

ordines suggests that we should look more closely at the process by which the oath was administered or scrutinized. In *ordines* lacking a traditional standalone oath, this process is often closely associated with the congregation giving their consent. The interrogation is perhaps best understood as a type of structured promise or oath in which the king-elect makes similar general promises to those found in the oaths of the English and German *ordines*. Indeed the interrogation concludes with a short promise in five of the nine manuscripts consulted in the production of the PRG edition. In all nine manuscripts interrogation is immediately followed by the metropolitan asking those present whether they wish to accept such a prince as their ruler.

Unlike the English oath, which was taken close to the beginning of the ceremony, the oath found in manuscripts of the German *ordines* was spoken following the new king's enthronement and before the kiss of peace.¹⁹⁵ This occurs in the same position in the ceremony as the oath envisaged in eighteen manuscripts containing the Ratold *Ordo* and in the *Ordo* of 1200.¹⁹⁶ This placement of the oath is important. In the English tradition the oath was sworn before the king was made and is associated with his acceptance as king by the congregation, whereas in the German tradition, once an oath was added to the liturgy in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, it was sworn after the king's position had already been formalised. In this respect, the German oath could perhaps be seen as the royal equivalent of the practice envisaged in the three detailed imperial *ordines*, of swearing a 'iuramentum Romanis' on Monte Mario following the completion of the ceremony and its ensuing festivities. As in the later imperial *ordines*, this concluding oath does not replace interrogation or an oath earlier in the ceremony. In the imperial tradition this oath is in addition to an oath sworn to the pope near the beginning of the ceremony. When an oath appears in the PRG tradition it does not replace the customary interrogation earlier in the

¹⁹⁵ See Andreas Büttner for details of manuscripts containing the oath and a summary of previous German scholarship on the topic. Andreas Büttner, *Der Weg zur Krone*, 1:108–111.

¹⁹⁶ The oath found in the Ratold *Ordo* is, with the exception of small textual variations, identical to that found in the English tradition. The text of the German oath is, on the contrary, completely independent from the English oath.

ceremony.¹⁹⁷ The similarity in the function of interrogation and oath-swearin in the *ordines* cautions against any attempt precisely to define different spoken elements in liturgical texts or to assign enhanced legal significance to particular elements.

The musicologist Nancy van Deusen has described the Book of Psalms as a stockpile of phrases used as building blocks in the construction of hymns and chants.¹⁹⁸ This metaphor can be expanded to designate the contents of the books of the Old Testament as building material for the fabrication of prayer formulae. The *ordines* are rich in biblical references, and these references are not confined to biblical precedents for the anointing of kings. Indeed, only prayer formula K24, found in the English Third Recension, the PRG and the *Ordo* of 1200, draws a parallel between the anointing of the hands of the monarch with Samuel's anointing of David as king.¹⁹⁹ The remaining seven *ordines* include references to David, but not explicitly to his anointing.²⁰⁰ Given that Old Testament anointing has often been cited as the origin of the medieval practice of inaugural anointing, it is remarkable that the majority of the *ordines* considered here make no reference to it in their prayer formulae.²⁰¹ However, the Old Testament provides more than a narrow Davidic model for the monarch. Although he is the most frequently referred to figure, David appears in conjunction with his son Solomon and earlier leaders of the Israelite people, including most often Abraham, Moses and Joshua. Nelson commented of the anointing of Pippin in 751 that, 'it was not a precise situational model, but a more general one that the Frankish clergy found in the Old Testament. The typological link existed not only between Carolingian and Davidic kingship and between reformed Frankish and Levite

¹⁹⁷ This is the case in, for example, Cologne Dombibliothek MS 139, in which the interrogation appears on f. 23v and the king swears an oath before the altar on f. 37v. Both interrogation and oath were incorporated into the early fourteenth-century Aachen *Ordo*.

¹⁹⁸ Nancy van Deusen, "Laudes Regiae: In Praise of Kings, Medieval Acclamations, Liturgy and the Ritualization of Power," in *Procession, Performance, Liturgy and Ritual*, ed. Nancy van Deusen (Ottawa, 2007), 84.

¹⁹⁹ 'Unguantur manus iste de oleo sanctificato unde uncti fuerunt reges et prophete sicut Samuel David in regem'. This wording is taken from the English Third Recension. Legg, *English Coronation Records*, 32.

²⁰⁰ An antiphon in several of the *ordines* recalls Zadok and Nathan anointing Solomon. See below p. 84.

²⁰¹ One prayer form (K44) in the earliest imperial *ordo* considered here, alludes to biblical anointing and then only in a general context, not specifically linked to David: 'unde unxisti sacerdotes reges et prophetas'. Elze, *Die Ordines*, 22.

priesthood, but between the whole Frankish *gens* and the people of Israel'.²⁰² To take Nelson's point further, if we identify the *populus* of the *ordines* with the Israelite people, we can then understand the biblical allusions, not only to the kings David and Solomon, but also to other non-royal Israelite rulers.²⁰³

These leaders are presented in succession, implying that the monarch is not just a new David, but has inherited a tradition of rulership. The way in which the leaders are often presented in a list is reminiscent of an Old Testament genealogy, emphasising the idea that a broad typological link is being made. In the 1970s, David Dumville highlighted the importance of genealogies in the construction of kingship.²⁰⁴ More recently, C.M. Kauffmann has pointed to the genealogy of King Aethelwulf, who traced his ancestry via Woden to the patriarchs of Genesis.²⁰⁵ The use of such genealogical devices is indicative of the desire to place the monarch in the narrative of biblical and salvation history. The most common combination of Old Testament figures is that of Abraham, Moses, Joshua, David and Solomon, sometimes augmented with Gideon and Samuel, which appears in prayer formulae K4 and K23. Prayer formula K4 makes clear the composite model provided by these Israelite leaders, asking that God bless the king and, linking five qualities desired in a king to the five different Old Testament figures referenced:

'Respice quesumus ad preces humilitatis nostre et super hunc famulum tuum quem supplici devotione in regem eligimus benedictionum tuarum dona multiplica eumque dextere tue potentia semper et ubique circunda quatinus predicti Abrahe fidelitate firmatus Moysi mansuetudine fretus Iosue fortitudine

²⁰² Janet L. Nelson, "Inauguration Rituals," in *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Janet L. Nelson (London, 1986), 291.

²⁰³ C.M. Kauffmann argues that identifying with the Israelites was a peculiar trait of the Anglo-Saxons and that the Carolingians confined their Old Testament allusions to their kings. As Mary Garrison's article makes clear however, identifying with the Israelites was also a trait of the Carolingians. Garrison actually highlights the influence of non-Franks in developing this imagery at the Carolingian court. C.M. Kauffmann, *Biblical Imagery in Medieval England 750-1550* (London, 2003), 36; Garrison, "The Franks as the New Israel?," 120.

²⁰⁴ David N. Dumville, "Kingship, Genealogies and Regnal Lists," in *Early Medieval Kingship*, ed. Peter H. Sawyer and Ian Wood (Leeds, 1977), 72–104;

²⁰⁵ Kauffmann, *Biblical Imagery in Medieval England 750-1550*, 36.

munitus Dauid humilitate exaltus Salomonis sapientia
decoratus'.²⁰⁶

Both Philippe Buc and Markus Saur have highlighted the fact that the Old Testament includes many anti-monarchical themes.²⁰⁷ In presenting the monarch not solely as a successor to biblical kings, but also to the non-royal leaders of Israel, such as Abraham or Moses, the idea of kingship as a negative institution is glossed over in the *ordines*. This is made more explicit in the references to Gideon, in the English Third Recension, the PRG, the *Ordo* of 1200 and all the imperial *ordines*. When he was offered the kingship, Gideon declined the offer (Judges 8:22-23).

One biblical king not mentioned in the *ordines* is Saul. His omission is highly significant. Although Samuel's anointing of David is invoked in the prayer associated with anointing the monarch's hands, David was not the first king to receive unction from Samuel. This distinction belonged to Saul. 1 Samuel 8 recounts how Samuel's sons, Joel and Abijah, were incapable of providing military leadership against the Philistines, leading the Israelites to demand that instead a king rule over them. This request angered the Lord, who saw it as a rejection of his kingship and He told Samuel to warn the Israelites about the rights of the king who would reign over them. Samuel repeated the Lord's warning to the people, making clear that the king would be a tyrant and would exploit them. The Israelites refused to listen to Samuel and continued to demand a king. Shortly thereafter Samuel anointed Saul as king by taking a phial of oil and pouring it over Saul's head (1 Samuel 10:1).²⁰⁸ Saul's reign was not a great success. He quarrelled with Samuel, disobeyed the Lord's orders and was eventually rejected by the Lord (1 Samuel 15:23), who sent Samuel to anoint David as Saul's successor (1 Samuel 16:1-14). Saul's elevation to the kingship is depicted as the introduction of tyranny. It is therefore unsurprising there is no reference to it in the *ordines*.

²⁰⁶ This wording is from the English Third Recension. Legg, *English Coronation Records*, 31.

²⁰⁷ Philippe Buc, *L'ambiguité du livre* (Paris, 1994), 28; Markus Saur, "Königserhebung im antiken Israel," in *Investitur- und Krönungsrituale: Herrschaftseinsetzungen im kulturellen Vergleich*, ed. Marion Steinicke and Stefan Weinfurter (Cologne, 2005), 25.

²⁰⁸ The account of Saul's elevation to the kingship is contradictory with three different versions included in the Old Testament. See Saur, "Königserhebung im antiken Israel," 31-32.

Other figures who are presented together in several of the *ordines* are the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. They appear as a group in the prayer *Prospice omnipotens Deus* (K25). Julie Ann Smith has analysed this prayer to demonstrate that the biblical language used here stresses the fertility of the king in a way that mirrors the language used in the Judith *Ordo*.²⁰⁹ She points out that the invocation ‘tribue ei domine de rore celi et de pinguedine terre abundantiam frumenti vini et olei’ is taken from Isaac’s blessing upon Jacob in Genesis 27:28-29.²¹⁰ The appearance of this trio of patriarchs creates a chain in which the monarch is implicitly a link, and to which his offspring will also belong. The dynastic element in this reference to the patriarchs is made more explicit in the prayer *Deus ineffabilis auctor mundi* (K23), which appears in slightly variant forms in nine of the twelve selected *ordines*. In it God is described as having ‘ex utero fidelis amici tui patriarche nostri Habrahe preelegisti regem seculis profuturum’.²¹¹ This reference to the womb or belly of Abraham reinforces Smith’s point that ‘the blessings of abundance and richness which are called down upon the new queen are no different from those requested for kings or for the Old Testament exemplars’.²¹²

An examination of the Old Testament figures invoked in the female inauguration *ordines* makes clear that the blessings for men and women are not only basically the same, but are actually two complementary blessings that make reference to each other: they are two sides of the same coin. In the prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus fons et origo totius bonitatis* (Q7), which appears in six of the nine female inauguration *ordines*, reference is made to the wives of the three patriarchs: ‘et una cum Sara atque Rebecca et Rachel beatis reverendisque feminis fructu uteri sui fecundari seu gratulari mereatur’.²¹³ These biblical exemplars for a queen or empress are good wives. In her examination of the earliest queen-making rites, Smith stresses the strong nuptial overtones in the

²⁰⁹ Smith, “The Earliest Queen-Making Rites,” 26.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ This wording is taken from the English Third Recension. Legg, *English Coronation Records*, 32.

²¹² Smith, “The Earliest Queen-Making Rites,” 27.

²¹³ This wording is taken from the English Third Recension. Legg, *English Coronation Records*, 37. In the remaining five *ordines* Jacob’s first wife Leah is also included.

Ermentrude *Ordo* (of 866), but asserts that 'the bridal element of the Hincmar rites did not persist in the later queen-making *ordines*'.²¹⁴ The continued reference to Sarah, Rebecca and Rachel in the later *ordines* undermines this assertion and the strong typological link between marriage and female inauguration will be discussed in the following chapter.

Two further biblical figures feature in the prayer formulae of the female *ordines*: Judith and Esther. Smith has discussed their appearance, pointing to the appropriateness of the biblical Judith appearing in the *ordo* composed for the Frankish Judith. But she inexplicably asserts that the Judith *Ordo* 'is the only queen-making *ordo* known which makes reference to this Old Testament queen. The biblical Judith is never again invoked as a model for queenly behaviour'.²¹⁵ This is incorrect; Judith continues to appear in the female inauguration *ordines*, in fact in all of the seven female *ordines* that make biblical allusions. Judith's beheading of the Assyrian king Holofernes, and the subsequent victory of the Israelites over their former oppressors could perhaps be seen as a female counterpart to David's defeat of Goliath and thus Israel's defeat of the Philistines. Smith is also mistaken in describing Judith as a biblical queen. She is not designated as royal in the Old Testament. Perhaps her inclusion really did rest on the name of the queen, Judith, for whom the original *ordo* was composed. Esther, in contrast, was a *bona fide* queen who, having found favour with King Assuerus, had the royal diadem placed on her head.²¹⁶ The importance of Esther as a biblical role-model lies in her intercession with King Assuerus to save the Israelite people. As John Carmi Parsons has demonstrated, intercession with the king was an important queenly role, and one that enabled queens to exercise a degree of power.²¹⁷ Like Judith, Esther continued to be invoked as a model for queenly behaviour, and not solely in the inauguration *ordines*. As Lois Huneycutt has highlighted, Aelred of Rievaulx described Henry I's wife, Matilda of Scotland,

²¹⁴ Ibid., 34 n.78.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ 'et amavit eam rex plus quam omnes mulieres habuitque gratiam et misericordiam coram eo super omnes mulieres et posuit diadema regni in capite eius fecitque eam regnare in loco Vasthi'. Esther 2:17

²¹⁷ John Carmi Parsons, "The Queen's Intercession in Thirteenth-century England," in *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women*, ed. Jennifer Carpenter and Sally-Beth MacLean (Illinois, 1995), 147-77.

as 'another Esther in our time'.²¹⁸ Moreover, correspondence between the queen and Anselm of Canterbury suggests that Matilda herself was aware of the biblical exemplar named in the inauguration *ordines*. Huneycutt comments that 'her threat to throw off her royal robes and tread them underfoot closely parallels the language of Queen Esther's contempt for her own royal robes'.²¹⁹

The Sung Word: Antiphons, Responsories, Litanies and Laudes

The *ordines* provide a one-dimensional view of the musical content of inauguration ceremonies. Indeed the two earlier imperial *ordines* make no allowance for chanting or the singing of antiphons or responsories within the liturgy. The *ordines* in which musical information is included contain only brief incipits. Other types of manuscripts, including antiphonals and graduals, would have been consulted to provide the music and a full text of the antiphons, hymns and chants. This point is important, because it drives home the extent to which an *ordo* as contained within a pontifical does not present the entire ceremony. The musical information contained within the *ordines* can be divided into three groups. The first includes normal elements of the mass, such as the *graduale*, which denotes the chant or hymn used in the liturgical celebration of the Eucharist, and the *Kyrie Eleison*, also a regular component of the mass. These elements are mainly found only in the later imperial *ordines*, and their presence here is surely a product of the fact that these *ordines* are significantly more elaborate and specific. Because they are generic to the mass and not specific to the inauguration ceremony, and because not all the *ordines* are integrated into a mass text, they will not be considered here. The second group comprises the specific antiphons, chants and hymns, where they are designated by their incipits, rather than generically as, for example, an antiphon or an introit. The final group is composed of two genres that have long been recognised to be closely linked: litanies and *laudes*.²²⁰ In a discussion of the *laudes*, Nancy van

²¹⁸ Lois L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge, 2003), 6.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 83.

²²⁰ Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, "Ivories and Litanies," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 61.

Deusen declares 'music, using time and motion as its material makes leadership and rulership plain. Music makes abstractions...concrete and substantial'.²²¹ The analysis offered here is confined to the textual fabric of the liturgy, but, as van Deusen's assertion makes clear, the text does not tell the whole story.

Of the ten incipits that appear in the selected *ordines*, only one incipit is found in both royal and imperial liturgies. This is the incipit 'ecce mitto angelum meum', which is found in four of the royal *ordines* and all three of the later imperial *ordines*.²²² Kantorowicz thought this referred to a verse from Malachi, and indeed Malachi 3:1, 'ecce mitto angelum meum qui praeparabit viam tuam ante faciem tuam', was used as an antiphon, most frequently for the Wednesday of the second week of Advent, a not particularly significant liturgical day.²²³ If one only consulted the imperial *ordines*, Kantorowicz's assertion would be teneable. However, the PRG *ordo* makes explicit that we are dealing with a *responsorium* and this text provides the *versu*, 'Israel si me audieris'.²²⁴ The incipit must thus refer to the responsory 'ecce mitto angelum meum qui praecedat te et custodiat semper observa et audi vocem meam et inimicus ero inimicis tuis et affligeres te affligam et praecedet te angelus meus'.²²⁵ This comes not from Malachi but from Exodus 23:20-21, and the link to Exodus is confirmed by the responsory verse, which reflects the language of Exodus 23:22. This responsory alludes to the observation of Old Testament law and, strengthened by the mention to Israel, reflects the biblical references of the prayer formulae, which were not confined to references to biblical kings, but which numbered patriarchs amongst their list of role-models. It could be argued that the incipit 'ecce mitto angelum meum' in the imperial *ordines* could refer to the antiphon, based on Malachi 3:1. and the same incipit in the royal *ordines* to the responsory based on Exodus 23:20-23. However, the identical position of the incipit in the royal and imperial *ordines* counsels against this interpretation. More significantly, far from being associated

²²¹ Van Deusen, "Laudes Regiae: In Praise of Kings," 116.

²²² It appears in the PRG, Royal *Ordo* in Cologne MS 141, Saint-Bertin *Ordo*, *Ordo* of 1200, Cencius II, Staufen *Ordo*, and the *Ordo* from the Roman Curia.

²²³ Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, 75; CANTUS: A database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant: <http://cantusdatabase.org/node/375840> [accessed 18.4.2012].

²²⁴ Vogel and Elze, *Le pontifical romano-germanique*, 1963, 1:247.

²²⁵ CANTUS: A database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant: <http://cantusdatabase.org/node/381260> [accessed 18.4.2012].

with an ordinary liturgical day, the responsory based on Exodus 23:20 was sung on the Fourth Sunday of Lent, otherwise known as Laetare Sunday.²²⁶ This important feast, with its triumphal introit, was far better suited to providing musical elaboration to the inauguration *ordines*.²²⁷

The royal and later imperial *ordines* have no other musical incipits in common, reflecting, perhaps, papal influence on the composition of the later imperial liturgies. One incipit, in particular, reinforces the idea of the specificity of the imperial *ordines*. All three of the detailed imperial *ordines* include the incipit 'Petre amas me'. This phrase comes from John 21:15 and refers to Jesus giving St. Peter charge of his flock: 'Petre amas me, pasce oves meas, tu scis domine quia amo te'. The attraction to the papacy of including a reference to Peter's supremacy over the church, and by extension to the supremacy of his successors as bishops of Rome, is transparent. It is equally apparent that such an allusion would find no place in the royal rite. 'Petre amas me' emphasises the role of the pope in the inauguration of the emperor. Again we discern that, in contrast to the royal liturgy, the imperial liturgy is a script with two main actors, and the message in the inclusion of this reference to Petrine superiority is obvious: the pope is the lead actor, with the emperor playing only a secondary role.

In the investigation of prayer formulae it was noted that only three of the royal *ordines* referred to the anointing of David, a fact that seems remarkable given the obviousness of this Old Testament model for royal inauguration. When we also consider the musical elements of the *ordines*, however, further references to Old Testament royal anointing come to light. Three of the royal *ordines* – the second English recension, the Royal *Ordo* in Cologne MS 141 and the Ratold *Ordo* – include the antiphon based on 3 Kings 1:45, 'unxerunt Salomonem Sadoc sacerdos et Nathan propheta regem in Gihon et abierunt laeti dicentes vivat rex in aeternum alleluia'. This means that when sung elements are examined in addition to spoken words, six out of seven of the royal *ordines* do actually make reference to Old Testament anointing. It is important that the inaugurations of

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ The importance of Laetare Sunday is discussed further in Chapter 5.

both David and Solomon serve as models, because it is again clear that the *ordines* do not just contain a narrow Davidic paradigm, but a composite one. Moreover, Philippe Buc has discussed the transmission of the throne from David to Solomon, describing it as 'la bonne succession par excellence. David en avait réglé le cérémoniel et fixé les participants'.²²⁸ David's participation could be used to argue that a reigning king himself could choose his successor.²²⁹ Such an interpretation would be attractive to kings seeking to champion the hereditary nature of their power at the expense of any elective elements. Thus, while the role of the priest Zadok and prophet Nathan are emphasised in this antiphon, it should not be understood as a straightforward acknowledgement of priestly superiority in the inauguration ceremony.

The 'Te Deum', which was sung on major feast days such as Easter, Pentecost and Ascension, features in all seven of the royal *ordines* under consideration, but does not appear in any of the imperial liturgies.²³⁰ The incipit 'domine salvum fac regem', which appears in four royal *ordines*, appears to be a straightforward use of Psalm 19:10 and is clearly appropriate in the context of a royal inauguration.²³¹ The same phrase is found in one imperial *ordo*, the Staufen *Ordo*, where it appears as part of a spoken prayer (K50) rather than a sung anthem.²³² Elizabeth Danbury has studied this phrase in the context of its later use as a royal motto under Henry VI of England and his successors. Following its translation into the vernacular, the phrase 'God save the king' became the best known of all English language royal acclamations and was eventually incorporated into national anthem that is still in use today.²³³ Although it does not appear in any of the English *ordines* under consideration here, Danbury pointed to its inclusion in other European *ordines* and in English church liturgy. The phrase is incorporated into several services in the Use of Sarum. It can be

²²⁸ Buc, *L'ambiguité du livre*, 330.

²²⁹ Ibid., 331.

²³⁰ Kantorowicz has suggested that the *laudes* began to be sung as part of the inauguration ceremony due to inaugurations taking place on the days they were already customarily sung. The same reasoning could be applied to the singing of the 'Te Deum'. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, 83.

²³¹ The *ordines* in question are those found in the PRG, Cologne MS 141, the *Ordo* of Saint-Bertin and the *Ordo* of 1200.

²³² Elze, *Die Ordines*, 64.

²³³ Elizabeth Danbury, "'Domine Salvum Fac Regem': The Origin of 'God Save the King' in the Reign of Henry VI," *The Fifteenth Century* 10 (2011): 121–142.

found in the weekday Mass (except between Easter and the first Sunday of Trinity), in some daily offices and on several ceremonial occasions.²³⁴ A manuscript from Cambrai, written between c.1230-c.1250, includes an antiphon with a very similar incipit: 'salvum fac o domine regnum atque regem qui coronae gaudio tuum ditas gregem'.²³⁵ This antiphon, which appears on f.429r of Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 38, is to be sung on the feast of the Crown of Thorns, newly established in France following Louis IX's purchase of the crown for a staggering 135,000 livres in 1239. If these incipits are indeed related, it suggests that the liturgy for the Crown of Thorns was influenced by the inauguration ceremony, and that hearing this antiphon on the feast of the Crown of Thorns would perhaps have reminded listeners of the royal inauguration. Having the Crown of Thorns placed on his head at the dedication of the Sainte-Chapelle was just one of a number of ways in which Louis utilised this Christological relic to enhance his kingship.

The remaining five incipits each appear in no more than two *ordines*, suggesting, perhaps, that when it came to musical elements the *ordines* exhibited a degree of independence from one another.²³⁶ The antiphons 'firmetur manus tua', based on Psalm 88:14-15 and 'confortare et esto vir', based on 1 Kings 2:2-3, have an English origin. The second appears only once in a continental *ordo*, in the so-called Ratold *Ordo*. It does not appear in the other texts for royal inauguration in France or the Empire. With the exception of the English Second Recension and the Ratold *Ordo*, the remaining royal *ordines* envisage the singing of a litany near the beginning of the ceremony while the king lay prostrate before the altar. In the English Second Recension and Ratold *Ordo* the 'Te Deum' was sung at this juncture. The royal *ordo* in Cologne MS 141 and the English Third Recension give no details as to the content of the litany, whereas the PRG and *Ordo* of Saint-Bertin relate that the litany should include the twelve apostles and the same

²³⁴ Ibid., 132-133.

²³⁵ CANTUS: A database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant: <http://cantusdatabase.org/node/125307> [accessed 9.8.2013].

²³⁶ It is likely that, where not specified, antiphons and other musical elements were adopted from the liturgy for the day on which an inauguration occurred.

number of martyrs, confessors and virgins.²³⁷ The *Ordo* of 1200 stands alone in providing the full text of the litany to be sung at this point. It begins by beseeching Christ to hear, before invoking Mary and the three archangels, Michael, Gabriel and Raphael. It then continues to mention individually the twelve apostles, then twelve martyrs, twelve confessors and twelve virgins.²³⁸ In other words, in its detail it conforms to the pattern outlined in the PRG and *Ordo* of Saint-Bertin. This is not, however, to suggest that the litany transmitted in the *Ordo* of 1200 was that which was universally used. Although there were only twelve apostles, there were many more martyrs, confessors and virgins to choose from when composing a litany. This particular litany includes six confessor saints closely associated with Reims. These saints, Remigius (Rémi), Sixtus, Sinicius, Rigobert, Maurilius and Eutropia, are found in the litany to be sung in the ceremony for the dedication of a church in one of the two surviving manuscripts containing this *ordo* and were included in all but two of the succeeding French inauguration *ordines*.²³⁹

The later imperial *ordines* include the chanting of a variety of *laudes*, an element that is absent from the published editions of the *ordines* in England, France and Germany. However, before we see these facts as evidence of differences between the royal and imperial rite, or between different national traditions, we need to consider the manuscript transmission of litanies and *laudes*. As Kantorowicz outlined, the *laudes* were usually placed separately as a special song, perhaps on the fly-leaves of a manuscript, or within a liturgical manuscript, but without a set place in the service.²⁴⁰ Given that the *laudes* were sung on a number of occasions, not just at inaugurations but on major church feasts, not including them within an *ordo* is understandable in that it saved copying them out a number of times in the same manuscript. Again we see the limitations of the liturgical texts with which we work, for we cannot conclude that litanies were a peculiar Frankish inclusion and that the singing of the *laudes* was confined to imperial ceremonies.

²³⁷ 'ceteris in choro letaniam breviter psallentibus, id est XII apostolos ac totidem martyres, confessores et virgines'. Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:242; Vogel and Elze, *Le pontifical romano-germanique*, 1:248.

²³⁸ Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:252–253.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:248.

²⁴⁰ Kantorowicz, "Ivories and Litanies," 62.

Indeed, the survival of *laudes* texts naming William the Conqueror and his queen Matilda of Flanders makes clear that the *laudes* were also an important part of the inauguration ceremony in other realms.²⁴¹

That *laudes* were first included in an *ordo* for the consecration of a pope should alert us to the reason for the inclusion of *laudes* in the later, elaborate, imperial *ordines*.²⁴² Their inclusion in those *ordines*, which originated at the papal curia, is evidence of a papal desire to provide complete *ordines* for imperial inauguration. This was in line with papal attempts to downgrade the status of the imperial inauguration. By prescribing the exact form of the *laudes* to be sung at the imperial inauguration any flexibility was removed from the liturgical *ordo*. By looking at the form of the *laudes* included in the three different imperial *ordines* it is possible to identify a change in the papal approach to the *laudes*. In the Cencius II *ordo* the *laudes* are included in full, following the crowning of the emperor and empress. We learn that they were also sung after the ceremony outside St. Peter's and at San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, presumably using the same text.

Laudes in Cencius II

‘Exaudi Christe

Domino nostro C. a Deo decreto summo pontifici et universalis pape vita (x3)

Exaudi Christe

Domino nostro a Deo coronato magno et pacifico imperatori vita et victoria (x3)

Exaudi Christe

Domine nostre .N. eius coniugi excellentissime imperatrici vita (x3)

Exaudi Christe

Exercitui romano et theutonico vita et victoria (x3)

Salvator mundi

Resp: Tu illos adiuva (x3)

Sancta Maria

Resp: Tu illos adiuva (x3)

Sancte Michael

Resp: Tu illos adiuva (x3)

Sancte Gabriel

Resp: Tu illos adiuva (x3)

Sancte Raphae

Resp: Tu illos adiuva (x3)

Sancte Petre

Resp: Tu illos adiuva (x3)

²⁴¹ Gathagan, "The Trappings of Power: The Coronation of Mathilda of Flanders."

²⁴² Benedict of St. Peter's included a form of *laudes papales* in a rite for the pope. Kantorowicz, "Ivories and Litanies," 63.

Sancte Iohannes	<i>Resp:</i> Tu illos adiuva (x3)
Sancte Gregori	<i>Resp:</i> Tu illos adiuva (x3)
Sancte Maurici	<i>Resp:</i> Tu illos adiuva (x3)
Sancte Mercuri	<i>Resp:</i> Tu illos adiuva (x3)
Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat (x3)	
Spes nostra	<i>Resp:</i> Christus vincit
Salus nostra	<i>Resp:</i> Christus vincit
Victoria nostra	<i>Resp:</i> Christus vincit
Honor nostra	<i>Resp:</i> Christus vincit
Gloria nostra	<i>Resp:</i> Christus vincit
Murus noster inexpugnabilis	<i>Resp:</i> Christus vincit
Laus nostra	<i>Resp:</i> Christus vincit
Triumphus noster	<i>Resp:</i> Christus vincit
Ipsi laus honor et imperium per immortalia secula seculorum'. ²⁴³	

The pope and emperor appear together in these *laudes*, and although the pope is acclaimed first, this priority is perhaps counterbalanced by the inclusion of an empress. Importantly the emperor is described as 'a Deo coronatus'. This phrase was used in the *laudes* from at least as early as the inauguration of Charlemagne in 800, and could also be used to describe saints who had obtained the crown of martyrdom.²⁴⁴ The wording is significant as it implies that the emperor received his crown, and hence power, directly from God. The pope might appear ahead of the emperor in the *laudes* hierarchy, but he is not the source of the emperor's authority. The tricolon 'Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat', which is included in the *laudes* in Cencius II, is normally considered to be the *laudes'* most distinctive element. It is this tricolon that differentiates the *laudes* from a litany of saints. Instead of the penitential spirit of a litany the *Christus vincit* chant imbues the *laudes* with a jubilant character.²⁴⁵ A consideration of the *laudes* contained within the two later imperial *ordines* demonstrates the extent to which the papal curia sought to undermine the association presented in the *laudes* between the emperor, God and Christ.

²⁴³ Elze, *Die Ordines*, 45–46.

²⁴⁴ The phrase was recorded in both the *Life of Pope Leo* and in the *Fulda Reichsannalen*: Bernhard Opfermann, *Die liturgischen Herrscherakklamationen im Sacrum Imperium des Mittelalters* (Weimar, 1953), 21. The multiplicity of ideas inherent in the action of crowning is discussed in the following chapter.

²⁴⁵ Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, 14.

Laudes in the Staufen Ordo

'Exaudi Christe

Domino N. invictissimo Romanorum imperatori et semper augusto salus et
victoria (x3)

Salvator mundi *Resp:* Tu illum adiuva (x3)

Sancta Maria *Resp:* Tu illum adiuva (x2)

Sancte Michael, Sancte Gabriel, Sancte Raphael,

Sancte Iohannes Baptista

Sancte Petre, Sancte Paule, Sancte Andrea,

Sancte Stephane, Sancte Laurenti, Sancte Vincenti,

Sancte Silvester, Sancte Leo, Sancte Gregori,

Sancte Benedicte, Sancte Basili, Sancte Saba,

Sancta Agnes, Sancta Cecilia, Sancta Lucia.

Kyrieleyson *Resp:* Christeleyson

Kyrieleyson'.²⁴⁶

The *laudes* in the *ordo* from the Roman Curia are almost identical. The only disparity is that they lack the *Christeleyson* response.²⁴⁷ The divergence between these two forms of the *laudes* and the *laudes* in Cencius II is striking. The emperor is no longer described as crowned by God, but is styled instead 'semper augustus', like an ancient Roman emperor. The *Christus vincit* tricolon has been completely eradicated; Christ no longer rules through the emperor. The repetitive *Christus vincit* response has also fallen by the wayside, and instead the list of saints has more of the characteristics of a penitential litany. Perhaps most importantly the pope has ceased to be acclaimed in the *laudes*. His absence is not meant to imply imperial independence, but is a symptom of the development of a specific *laudes papales* for acclaiming the pope. H.E.J. Cowdrey commented 'by their exclusive concentration upon either pope or emperor, these high medieval *laudes* illustrate the post-Gregorian tension between the *sacerdotium* and the *regnum* as the constituent elements of Christian society'.²⁴⁸ They certainly illustrate post-Gregorian tension between the pope and the emperor, but it is necessary to consider non-imperial *laudes* before drawing general conclusions.

²⁴⁶ Elze, *Die Ordines*, 67–68.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 82–83.

²⁴⁸ H.E.J. Cowdrey, "The Anglo-Norman Laudes Regiae," *Viator* 12 (1981): 46.

Although *laudes* are most often to be found apart from royal inauguration *ordines*, one manuscript of the Third Recension of the English rite does contain *laudes*, thus allowing us to examine them as part of the inauguration liturgy. That they are included in only one of the seven surviving manuscripts of the English Third Recension is again indicative of the fact that such liturgical *ordines* tended to provide a framework for the ceremony, rather than to specify the contents of a ceremony in its entirety, as was the case in the later imperial *ordines*. The manuscript in question is a pontifical that was written in Canterbury in the twelfth century and is now MS B.II.10 in the library of Trinity College Cambridge. In contrast to the imperial *ordines*, that include the *laudes* in the middle of the ceremony, the *laudes* in the Trinity manuscript come after the *ordo* for the king and before that of the queen.

Trinity laudes

'Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat (x3)

Exaudi Christi (x3)

Summo pontifici et universali pape vitae et salus perpetua

Salvator mundi *Resp: Tu illum adiuva*

Sancte Clemens *Resp: Tu illum adiuva*

Sancte Syxte *Resp: Tu illum adiuva*

Sancte Petre *Resp: Tu illum adiuva*

Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat

Exaudi Christi

.N. Regi anglorum a deo coronato pax salus et victoria

Redemptor mundi *Resp: Tu illum adiuva*

Sancte Eadmunde *Resp: Tu illum adiuva*

Sancte Ermenigelde *Resp: Tu illum adiuva*

Sancte Oswald *Resp: Tu illum adiuva*

Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat

Exaudi Christi

.N. Regine anglorum salus et vita

Redemptor mundi *Resp: Tu illum adiuva*

Sancta Maria *Resp: Tu illum adiuva*

Sancta Felicitas *Resp: Tu illum adiuva*

Sancta Perpetua *Resp: Tu illum adiuva*

Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat

Exaudi Christi

.N. Archiepiscopum et omnem clerum sibi commissum deu-

Salvator mundi	<i>Resp:</i> Tu illos adiuva
Sancte Augustine	<i>Resp:</i> Tu illos adiuva
Sancte Dunstane	<i>Resp:</i> Tu illos adiuva
Sancte Elphege	<i>Resp:</i> Tu illos adiuva
Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat	
Exaudi Christi	
Episcopis et abbatibus et omnibus sibi commissis pax salus et vita concordia	
Sancte Benedicte	<i>Resp:</i> Tu illos adiuva
Omnibus principibus & cuncto exercitui anglorum salus et victoria	
Salvator mundi	<i>Resp:</i> Tu illos adiuva
Sancte Maurici	<i>Resp:</i> Tu illos
Sancte Sebastiane	<i>Resp:</i> Tu illos
Sancte Gregori	<i>Resp:</i> Tu illos
Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat	
Rex regum	<i>Resp:</i> Christus vincit
Rex noster	<i>Resp:</i> Christus regnat
Gloria noster	<i>Resp:</i> Christus imperat
Auxilium nostram	<i>Resp:</i> Christus vincit
Fortitudino nostra	<i>Resp:</i> Christus regnat
Liberatio et redemptio nostra	<i>Resp:</i> Christus imperat
Victoria nostra invictissima	<i>Resp:</i> Christus vincit
Murus noster inexpugnabilis	<i>Resp:</i> Christus regnat
Defensio et exultatio nostra	<i>Resp:</i> Christus imperat
Ipsi soli imperium gloria et potestas per immortalia secula seculorum Amen	
Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat	
Ipsi soli iubilatio et benedictio per infinita secula seculorum	Amen
Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat	
Ipsi soli honor et claritas et sapientia per infinita secula seculorum	Amen'. ²⁴⁹

These twelfth-century English *laudes* give no indication of a post-Gregorian tension between *sacerdotium* and *regnum*. They follow the traditional pattern of the Gallo-Frankish laudes, as outlined by Cowdrey.²⁵⁰ They open with the characteristic *Christus vincit* tricolon, and then seek heavenly aid for the terrestrial hierarchy, with the pope at its pinnacle. The tricolon is repeated between each rank in the hierarchy. Following the pope, the king and queen are acclaimed, then come the archbishops and clerics, the bishops and abbots and, finally, the barons and the whole army. The *laudes* conclude with a celebration of the victorious Christ, into which the *Christus vincit* chant is liberally mixed. It is

²⁴⁹ Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.II.10, f.108v-109r.

²⁵⁰ Cowdrey, "The Anglo-Norman Laudes Regiae," 44-45.

worth stressing that this manuscript originated in Canterbury. The relationship between the English king and archbishop of Canterbury was often strained during the twelfth century. These *laudes* do not, however, reflect the bitterness that led to several archbishops, most famously Thomas Becket, spending years in exile. Instead we find a text in which the pope, king, queen and archbishop are all feted. The triumphant *Christus vincit* tricolon abounds, and the king is described as 'a Deo coronatus'. In the Trinity *laudes*, unlike those emanating from the papal curia, *regnum* and *sacerdotium* are presented in harmony. The *laudes* contained within the inauguration *ordines* thus suggest that the pope heavily influenced the imperial liturgy, but that this influence did not stretch to royal ceremonial.

The Trinity *laudes* can be used to raise one final issue. Although typically papal saints are petitioned for the pope, the saints called upon for the king and archbishop have an undeniably English character. For the king, three royal saints, St. Edmund and St. Oswald, and the rather more obscure saintly princess Ermengild, are invoked. Ermengild was a seventh-century abbess of Ely, and niece of the better-known royal founder of the abbey, St. Etheldreda.²⁵¹ Why Ermengild is invoked rather than her famous aunt is unclear. However, Gábor Klaniczay has seen the cult of the Ely royal saints as epitomising the manner in which a royal cult could spread to embrace other members of a dynasty.²⁵² For kings seeking to bask in an aura of reflected sanctity, this dynastic element might have been attractive. The choice of a princess is also indicative of the importance of female royals in the making of images of kingship. For the Archbishop of Canterbury three of his saintly predecessors, Augustine, Dunstan and Alphege, are called upon. Although the prayer formulae and rubrics of the inauguration *ordines* tend not to exhibit 'national' characteristics, in the composition of *laudes* saints appropriate to the setting could be chosen. We have seen that this is also true of the litany transmitted as part of the French *Ordo* of 1200. The *ordines*, for the most part, present a royal liturgy for England, France and Germany that

²⁵¹ Susan Ridyard has comprehensively discussed the origins and diffusion of the cults of the royal saints of Ely. See Susan Janet Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults* (Cambridge, 1988), 176–210.

²⁵² Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge, 2002), 86.

shows little ‘national’ variation. These royal liturgical texts provided a framework for a ceremony that could be adapted to particular circumstances. While the image of kingship projected in the *ordines* was to a large extent shared across all three realms, the invoking of local saints reminds us that this shared outline could be coloured in different ways.

This investigation into spoken and sung words in the *ordines* has underscored Janet Nelson’s point, that what we find in the *ordines* are ideas ‘of the most general, uncontentious and normative kind’.²⁵³ The prayers urge the king to be faithful like Abraham, mild like Moses, brave like Joshua, humble like David and wise like Solomon, thus providing a composite Old Testament image of kingship. We have also seen that, to a large extent, royal and imperial rites shared this biblical vocabulary. However, in the development of the oath in the imperial *ordines*, in the musical accompaniment, which explicitly associated the pope with St. Peter, and, perhaps most obviously in the rewriting of the imperial *laudes*, the potential of these ideas to be contentious can be glimpsed. The following chapter will examine how the evidence gleaned from increasingly sophisticated rubrics points to papal attempts to suppress the general and normative ideas found in the *ordines*. It will also demonstrate how these ideas could be reinterpreted as part of royal attempts to reassert a Christological image of kingship.

²⁵³ Nelson, “The Rites of the Conqueror,” 122.

Chapter 3

Approaches to Liturgical Texts II: Rubrication, Regalia and Royal Marriage

The previous chapter focused on spoken and sung elements in the *ordines*. As we have seen in the context of litanies of saints, such chants, prayers and oaths were associated with ritual acts, in the case of litanies with prostration before the altar. In this chapter the focus will be on the ritual acts themselves and on items of regalia involved in the myriad mini rituals, which together made up the inauguration ceremony. It has been noted that prayer formulae in the *ordines* remained relatively static from the ninth century to the end of the period under consideration here. This is not to say, however, that monarchical inauguration did not evolve after the Carolingian age. To reveal these changes we need to consider another aspect of the *ordines*: their rubrication. As Jackson has commented, 'it is the rubrics that change most of all, and it is primarily in them that one must seek the changing perceptions of medieval kingship'.²⁵⁴ To take Jackson's point further, mutable rubrics had the effect of making static prayer formulae dynamic. They altered the context in which the prayers were to be understood, allowing innovative materials to be woven from traditional threads. A discussion of rubrics and regalia must thus refer to their associated prayer formulae. This analysis precipitates a consideration of royal marriage, which points to an important reinterpretation of Christological kingship in a period generally considered to have witnessed its decline.

Rubrication

The most striking contrast in rubrication is that found between, on the one hand, the three later imperial *ordines* (Cencius II, The Staufen *Ordo* and the *Ordo* of the Roman Curia) and, on the other, the remaining royal and imperial *ordines*. These

²⁵⁴ Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:35.

three imperial *ordines* outline the ritual elements in the imperial inauguration ceremony to a considerably higher level of complexity than in any of the other *ordines* under consideration. The specificity of these imperial *ordines* explains their elaboration, at least in part. Unlike the royal *ordines*, which, as discussed in the previous chapter, are not country specific and make no mention of a particular inauguration church or celebrant, these three imperial *ordines* are full of detail about St. Peter's and Roman topography, and the actions of the pope and other named episcopal celebrants. In the royal *ordines* the focus is on the monarch, in the imperial *ordines* there is a dual focus. This is made explicit even in the incipit to Cencius II: 'Incipit ordo romanus ad benedicendum imperatorem, quando coronam accipit a domino papa in basilica beati Petri apostoli ad altare sancti Mauritii'.²⁵⁵ The reference to the altar of St. Maurice appears, at first glance, to be innocent enough. On further examination, however, the inclusion of this detail in an *ordo* written at the papal curia and copied by a future pope, can be shown to be charged with the language of papal supremacy.²⁵⁶ For the consecration of the emperor had previously taken place in front of the altar of St. Peter and the change of location of imperial unction to an altar in a side aisle is clearly demonstrative, as Ernst Kantorowicz recognised, of a downgrading of the imperial ceremony.²⁵⁷

A brief glance at Tables 10 to 15 (grouped together in Appendix 3) makes immediately apparent the difference in length and complexity of the three later imperial *ordines* in stark contrast to the earlier imperial *ordines* and to a lesser extent the royal *ordines*. Whereas the royal *ordines* have between fourteen and twenty-three distinct ritual acts (including those related to queens), the later imperial *ordines* have between twenty-nine and thirty-nine (including those related to empresses). The jump from Cencius I to Cencius II is particularly pronounced, suggesting that the increasing specificity of the imperial *ordines* was no organic process of accretion, but rather a deliberate attempt by the papal

²⁵⁵ Elze, *Die Ordines*, 36. Cf. unspecific royal incipit cited above p. 70.

²⁵⁶ The *ordines* Cencius I and II are transmitted in the *Liber Censum* of Cencius, later Pope Honorius III (1216-27). Earlier historians dated the *ordo* Cencius II to the early eleventh century, more recently Elze has dated it to the first half of the twelfth century, a dating I have accepted.

²⁵⁷ Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, 143; Walter Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages: A Study in the Ideological Relation of Clerical to Lay Power* (London, 1955), 253-261.

curia to fix the details of the ceremony. Whereas royal *ordines* continued to provide flexible model texts that could be adapted to circumstances, the later all-encompassing and rigid imperial *ordines* ensured that the primacy of the pope within the event was permanently secured. A symptom of this tendency is to be found in the fact that these later imperial *ordines* go into great detail about acts that took place outside of the walls of St. Peter's. A number of the royal *ordines* include a procession from palace to church without going into much detail. They tell us only that two bishops were to lead the king to the church in a procession carrying the gospel, unnamed relics, crosses and incense.²⁵⁸ In the royal *ordines* all other action is envisaged as taking place within a church. In the later imperial *ordines* important symbolic acts are described that take place outside St. Peter's both before and after the act of consecration itself. The importance of these acts will be discussed presently. Relevant in this context is the papal desire to fix even the non-liturgical elements of an inauguration. Cencius II includes details about the feast to be held following the inauguration. It is well known that such feasts were features of royal inauguration, but such non-liturgical minutiae are not to be found in royal *ordines*.

These later imperial *ordines* contain a wealth of information about the participants involved in the inauguration and the sites, both within and outside St. Peter's, at which particular acts should take place. This is quite different from the royal *ordines*, which are full of general designations such as 'bishop' or 'metropolitan' with no further qualifying words. For instance, the Third Recension of the English *ordines* does not specify that it is the Archbishop of Canterbury that is to anoint the king, and the Saint-Bertin *Ordo*, while making clear that several celebrants were involved, refers generally to 'unus episcoporum' saying one prayer and 'alius episcopus' the following prayer.²⁵⁹ Even the earlier, considerably briefer and less specific, imperial *ordines* mention that it was the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia that anointed the emperor and all imperial *ordines* also mention other celebrants by name. These are the cardinal bishops of Albano and Porto, who say prayers over the emperor elect shortly

²⁵⁸ The *ordines* including this information are those in the PRG, Cologne Dombibliothek 141, Saint-Bertin and the *Ordo* of 1200.

²⁵⁹ Legg, *English Coronation Records*, 32–33; Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:243.

after his entry to St. Peter's. These three Lateran bishops, of Ostia, Porto and Albano, also took part in the consecration of the pope, a surprising parallel, given that these *ordines* in general seek to downgrade the imperial ceremony.²⁶⁰ However, in imperial inauguration the focus is very much on the pope's role rather than the actions of the bishops. As Walter Ullmann long ago recognised, the climax of the imperial inauguration was the coronation, in which 'the pope's function is...brought into clearest possible relief'.²⁶¹ In addition to supplying information about the celebrants, the later imperial *ordines* include precise information about where exactly acts should take place. In the Staufen *Ordo*, for example, we are told that the Bishop of Albano speaks his prayer 'ante ipsam portam argenteam', and the Bishop of Porto within St. Peter's 'in medio rote'.²⁶² A number of different altars within St. Peter's are also mentioned. In addition to the altar of St. Peter where the emperor is crowned by the pope, and the altar of St. Maurice where he is anointed by the bishop of Ostia, Cencius II also has a number of acts taking place at the altar of St. Gregory. Outside of St. Peter's, other Roman churches and sites are also referred to in all three texts.

Comparing ritual acts common to the royal and imperial *ordines* highlights the manner in which the participation of the pope skews the focus away from the elect towards the celebrant. A kiss of peace is included in all but one of the royal *ordines* under consideration here, with only the English Second Recension making no mention of this act, which in all other cases was envisaged as taking place near the conclusion of the inauguration.²⁶³ Unsurprisingly we find no mention of a kiss in the cursory earlier imperial texts in Cologne Dombibliothek MS 141 and Cencius I. A kiss of peace is, however, included in the Staufen *Ordo* and in the *Ordo* of the Roman Curia, where it similarly takes place near the conclusion of the ceremony, directly after the emperor has made an offering of gold to the pope. A kiss of peace appears in Cencius II in a different context, which will be described in the following paragraph. The kiss of peace is a ritual in which participants assume a degree of equality. It does not exalt one

²⁶⁰ The Bishop of Ostia had consecrated the pope since 336. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government*, 226.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Elze, *Die Ordines*, 63–64.

²⁶³ As can be seen from Tables 10 and 11 the exact position varies slightly.

participant above another and instead acts as a clear sign of mutual respect.²⁶⁴ The kiss of peace is the only kissing ritual found in the royal *ordines*. In contrast the imperial *ordines* contain a number of other acts in which kissing features, and in these acts the pecking order of the participants is made apparent.

Before the emperor elect even entered St. Peter's he had first to kiss the feet of the pope, who waited outside the church of St. Maria in Turri, seated at the top of the steps, thereby emphasising his higher position. In the Staufen *Ordo* and the *Ordo* of the Roman Curia the kissing of the pope's feet is immediately followed by the emperor offering the pope 'aurum quantum sibi placuerit'.²⁶⁵ As with the kiss of peace envisaged later in the ceremony in these two *ordines*, kissing and gold go hand in hand. Following this gift of gold the pope responds with a kiss and an embrace.²⁶⁶ This kiss is not the mutual kiss of peace but a kiss given as a sign that the pope accepts the submission and gifts of the emperor elect.²⁶⁷ Cencius II differs from the later two *ordines* in that, following the kissing of feet, the emperor elect swears the oath and is then asked three times by the pope if he would like to be at peace with the church, to which the elect responds 'volo'. The pope then declares that he gives the elect peace 'sicut Dominus dedit discipulis suis'.²⁶⁸ This is a bestowal of peace in which the pope assumes the role of Christ and the elect one of his disciples, rather than the mutual kiss of peace. The kiss itself is one-sided and by kissing the elect on the forehead, chin and cheeks the pope forms a cross.²⁶⁹ The pope then asks the elect three times whether he would like to be a 'filius ecclesie', to which the elect thrice responds in the affirmative, after which he is received as a son of the Church. The visual manifestation of this adoption is that the emperor elect is enfolded under the mantle of the pope and

²⁶⁴ The importance and widely understood meaning of this ritual was clearly demonstrated in the course of the dispute between Henry II of England and Thomas Becket. Timothy Reuter, "Velle Sibi Fieri in Forma Hac: Symbolic Acts in the Becket Dispute," in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 182–183.

²⁶⁵ Elze, *Die Ordines*, 62.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ This embrace is perhaps a simplified version of the enfolding under the pope's mantle as found in Cencius II.

²⁶⁸ Elze, *Die Ordines*, 37.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

kisses the pope on the breast.²⁷⁰ The actions of the pope and emperor elect are far from symmetrical. On the contrary, these kissing rituals make clear that the relationship of pope to emperor is like that of Christ to his disciples or a father to his son.

Although the selected *ordines* vary greatly in detail and length, all twelve describe the two most important ritual acts: anointing and crowning, and in all cases they appear in that order. Even so, these two ritual acts vary across the *ordines* in important ways. Significantly, the manner in which the emperor was anointed has been seen as exemplifying the downgrading of anointing within the imperial inauguration, in which, as noted above, coronation by the pope had become the central rite. In a famous letter of 1204, Innocent III delineated the differences between royal and episcopal anointing and used these divergences to argue for the superiority of bishops over kings.²⁷¹ Writing to the Bulgarian primate, the archbishop of Trnovo about anointing within the Roman church, he declared,

‘Refert autem inter pontificis et principis unctionem, quia caput pontificis crismate consecratur, brachium vero principis oleo delimitur, ut ostendatur, quanta sit differentia inter auctoritatem pontificis et principis potestatem’.²⁷²

As Carl Erdmann long since recognised, there are two issues at stake here, firstly the type of oil used and secondly the part of the body anointed. He noted that according to the *ordo Cencius I*, the emperor was not anointed on the head, but on the right arm and between the shoulders, and with *oleum exorcitatum* rather than with chrism.²⁷³ This manner of anointing appears in all the imperial *ordines* under consideration here. Erdmann argued that the distinction between oil and chrism was not as clear-cut as Innocent III suggested, but this view is refuted by Ullmann who stresses that there are three types of oil used in liturgical contexts

²⁷⁰ See Walter Ullmann’s analysis of the adoption in Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government*, 257.

²⁷¹ This passage is cited by almost all scholars concerned with liturgy or coronation. See for example Erdmann, *Forschungen zur politischen Ideenwelt des Frühmittelalters*, 71; Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies*, 319–320; Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government*, 227.

²⁷² Othmar Hageneder, Andrea Sommerlechner, and Herwig Weigl, eds., *Die Register Papst Innocenz’ III.*, vol. 7 (Vienna, 1997), 11; Innocent’s letter was incorporated into the first book of the *Liber Extra* of Pope Gregory IX (tit. XV, cap. I). Emil Albert Friedberg and Aemilius Ludwig Richter, eds., *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1881), 131–134.

²⁷³ Erdmann, *Forschungen zur politischen Ideenwelt des Frühmittelalters*, 71.

and that the differences must be recognised.²⁷⁴ In any case it is apparent that in the context of imperial inauguration the pope could ensure a lower grade of oil was used and that the emperor was not anointed on the head. The extent to which Innocent's argument can be extended to monarchs in general is, however, questionable. Kings might well exert a pressure over their archbishops that an emperor could not exert over the pope. In this context Koziol's observation that prelates 'were more likely to dispute their own rights of precedence in a king's ceremonies than to dispute the sanctity the ceremonies conferred', is pertinent.²⁷⁵

The type of oil used in royal inauguration is a rather vexing problem as the words employed to describe the oil used rarely conform to the three categories delineated by Ullmann. As Table 9 makes clear, a variety of words were used to describe the oil, with only the royal *ordo* in Cologne Dombibliothek MS 141 specifying that *oleum exorcitatum* be used. This oil has the function of driving out evil spirits and purifying, and was the type used in the imperial inauguration.²⁷⁶ The majority of *ordines* do not stipulate which type of oil was used, preferring vague qualifiers such as 'sacred', 'holy' or the oil 'of anointing'. I would suggest that such opaque descriptions do not categorically rule out the use of chrism in royal anointing and indeed that this vagueness reflects once again the flexibility of the royal *ordines* in this period. Moreover, at least two copies of the English Third Recension do make mention of chrism, albeit in addition to, rather than instead of, *oleum sanctificatum*. These are the versions found in the pontifical Claudio III and the unpublished manuscript copy in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.II.10.²⁷⁷ In these texts, which both originated at Christ Church Canterbury in the twelfth century, the oil is described as 'sanctificatum' in the rubric describing the anointing of the hands. Following a prayer oil is mentioned again in the second stage of anointing: 'Postea vero pectus et scapule ambeque

²⁷⁴ The three types were, following Ullmann, 1) the *oleum infirmorum*; 2) the *oleum catechumenorum* or *exorcitatum*; and 3) chrism. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government*, 227.

²⁷⁵ Koziol, "England, France and the Problem of Sacrality," 127.

²⁷⁶ In the imperial *ordo* contained within Cologne Dombibliothek MS 141 *oleum sanctum* is described as being used in the imperial context.

²⁷⁷ London, British Library MS Cotton Claudio A.III contains three fragmentary pontificals from the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries respectively. It is an artificial composition, probably compiled by Robert Cotton himself. The pontifical fragment known as Claudio III (ff.19r-29v) contains only an *ordo* written in a hand associated with Christ Church Canterbury c.1090-1150. D.H. Turner, ed., *The Claudio Pontificals*, HBS 97 (Woodbridge, 1970).

Table 9

Details from the Ritual of Anointing in the Royal Ordines

		English	German	German/French
King	Type of Oil	Second oleum	Third oleum sanctificatum/ chrisma	PRG oleum sanctificatum
	Place of anointing	not specified	hands head, breast, shoulders & elbows	hands head, breast, shoulders & elbows
Queen	Type of oil	oleum sacri unguinis	oleum sanctum/ sacrum	sacrum oleum oleum sanctum
	Place of anointing	head	not specified	not specified head
French				
King	Type of Oil	Ratold Ordo oleum/oleum sanctificatum	Saint-Bertin oleum sanctum	Ordo of 1200 oleum sanctificatum
	Place of anointing	head, breast, shoulders & elbows	feet, shoulders & elbows	head, breast, shoulders & elbows hands
Queen	Type of oil	oleum ungui	no ordo for queen	sacrum oleum not specified
	Place of anointing	head		

compages brachiorum ipsius unguantur de supradicto oleo et de eodem crux fiat super caput eius et postea de crismate'.²⁷⁸ Although papal teaching might have forbidden the use of chrism in royal inauguration the Trinity *ordo* confirms that chrism continued to be used in practice. We know from other sources that the kings of France, with their Holy Ampoule, and the kings of England, continued to be anointed with chrism in their inauguration ceremonies.²⁷⁹ It is possible that the German kings were too. The 1246 inventory of the regalia held at Trifels contains a tantalising reference to balsam ('den balsam').²⁸⁰ Balsam was mixed with oil to make chrism and was significantly more expensive than the oil with which it was mixed.

Table 9 also makes apparent the variety of body parts anointed in the royal *ordines*. Schramm attributed the most surprising reference to the anointing of the monarch's feet in the *Ordo* of Saint-Bertin to a copyist mistaking *pectus* for *pedes*.²⁸¹ Given that the anointing of feet appears in no other inauguration rite this seems likely, as does the fact that *pedes* occurs here in combination with anointing of the shoulders and arm joints. The trio of breast, shoulders and arm joints occur together in four of the six remaining royal rites.²⁸² The second English recension, and the royal *ordo* in the Cologne manuscript, simply state that the king is anointed, without specifying where. With the exception of the Saint-Bertin *Ordo*, the remaining four *ordines* stipulate that the head should be anointed, along with the breast, shoulders and arm joints. Although the pope could ensure that emperors were no longer anointed on the head, it is apparent that liturgical texts for royal inauguration continued to state that the king's head would be anointed. This is vividly illustrated in one of the miniatures of the thirteenth-century manuscript containing the French *Ordo* of 1250. This

²⁷⁸ Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.II.10, f.106r.

²⁷⁹ For the development of the legend of Clovis's baptism by St. Rémi and the later connection drawn between this event and a relic at Reims that became known as the Holy Ampoule see Francis Oppenheimer, *The Legend of the Ste. Ampoule* (London, 1953).

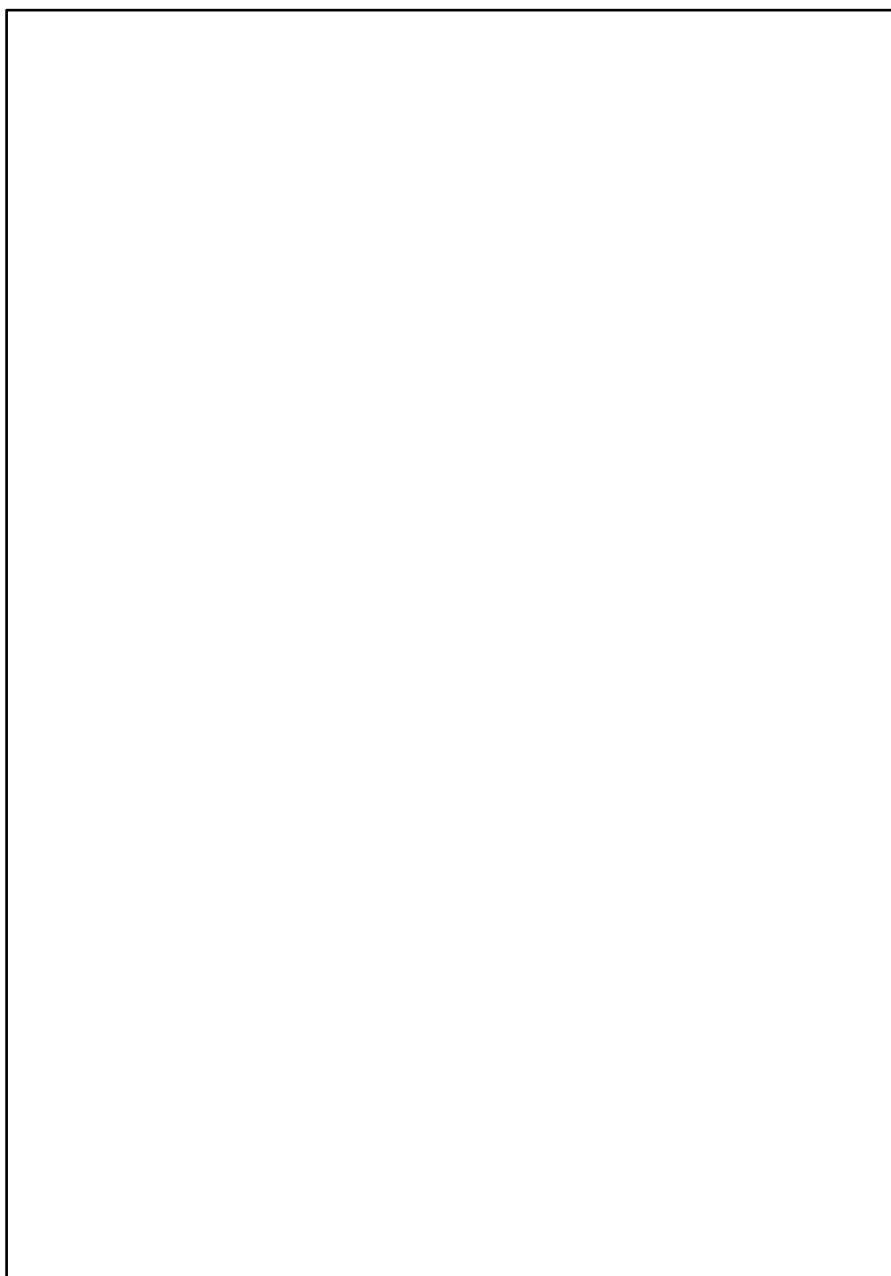
²⁸⁰ Bernhard Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse I: von der Zeit Karls des Großen bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1967), 99.

²⁸¹ Percy Ernst Schramm, "Ordines-Studien II: Die Krönung bei den Westfranken und Franzosen," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 15 (1938): 40.

²⁸² It is possible, but unlikely, that anointing on the feet is an allusion to the biblical story of Jesus having oil poured over his feet, which is recorded in Luke 7:36-50 and John 12:1-8.

Illustration 1

Anointing in the Ordo of 1250



Paris, BNF MS Latin 1246, f.17.

manuscript contains the only surviving witness to a text compilation ‘that was perhaps hastily – and certainly poorly – put together from four sources slightly before 1250’.²⁸³ Rather than for its garbled text that could never have been used to carry out an inauguration, this *ordo* is important for its cycle of images,

²⁸³ Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:341.

including a miniature of a king kneeling before an altar and being anointed on the forehead (Illustration 1).²⁸⁴ Moreover, it is apparent that Innocent's pronouncement that kings should not be anointed on the head was known by at least one thirteenth-century English ecclesiastic. The Trinity College Cambridge manuscript of the Third Recension, itself dating from the twelfth century, contains a marginal gloss in a thirteenth-century hand next to the rubric for the anointing of the breast, shoulders, arm-joints and head. It reads, 'dicit tamen Innocentius III in tit. de sacra unctione quod rex non debet inungi in capite, sed in brachio, humero vel armis'.²⁸⁵ Here papal policy and royal practice clearly diverged.

The Third English recension, the PRG, and the *Ordo* of 1200, also include a separate rubric and prayer for the anointing of hands. This type of anointing played a central role in priestly consecration, following its introduction into the ordination rite in Carolingian times.²⁸⁶ Thus in these *ordines* the king is both anointed on the head, like a bishop, and on the hands, like a priest.²⁸⁷ These manifest parallels with ecclesiastical practice make clear that, whatever papal opinion, liturgical texts continued to enable kings in England, the Empire and France to associate their kingship with episcopal and sacerdotal qualities.

The rubrics for female inauguration exhibit a similar diversity with respect to anointing. The two earlier imperial *ordines* do not include female inauguration, and of the three later *ordines*, two mention female unction. In both Cencius II and the *Ordo* of the Roman Curia, the empress is anointed on the breast. Of the six royal *ordines* that include queenly anointing, three do not specify where. The remaining three specify the head. Rather than seeking parallels with episcopal consecration, implausible given the sex of the anointed, we should perhaps see queenly anointing as symbolic of baptism. In other words, the same act, anointing on the head, could convey alternative meanings in differing contexts.

²⁸⁴ The images from this important manuscript are reproduced along with commentary in Jacques Le Goff et al., *Le sacre royal à l'époque de Saint Louis* (Paris, 2001).

²⁸⁵ Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.II.10, f.106r.

²⁸⁶ Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1993), 142.

²⁸⁷ In priestly consecration the anointing of hands is linked to ideas about purity. Garrison, "The Franks as the New Israel?," 135.

Queenly anointing on the head also suggests, as Garrison highlighted, that a link between baptismal and royal anointing (male or female) should not be categorically denied.²⁸⁸ In any case, it is apparent that despite successful papal attempts to downgrade the status of the emperor at the imperial inauguration, exemplified by his anointing between the shoulders and right arm, the popes did not prevent kings and queens in England, the Empire or France from being anointed on the head.

Regalia

Many of the ritual acts in the *ordines* involved the handing over of items of regalia, and it is to these acts and objects that our attention shall now turn. To understand the meanings of these objects we shall need to consider the rubrics that describe their handing over, and the prayers that accompany their concession. At times material evidence will also aid the analysis. However, although one cannot write about regalia without acknowledging and indeed profiting from the endeavours of Percy Ernst Schramm and his collaborators, the following is not an attempt to trace the story of genuine historical items of regalia.²⁸⁹ Rather than taking the ‘inventarisierend-antiquarischer’ approach of earlier *Insignienforscher*, the focus here is on how the *ordines* present these objects and what their presence in the inauguration liturgy can tell us about images of medieval kingship.²⁹⁰ It will be suggested that, in all three realms, the resonances intrinsic to types of insignia were of as much importance as specific objects themselves.

While there are historical items of regalia, such as the Holy Ampoule in France, that are associated with the rite of anointing, no mention is made of objects

²⁸⁸ See above pp. 56-57.

²⁸⁹ Schramm, *Herrschartszeichen und Staatssymbolik*.

²⁹⁰ Jürgen Petersohn has characterised Schramm’s approach thus. Jürgen Petersohn, “Über monarchische Insignien und ihre Funktion im mittelalterlichen Reich,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 266 (1998): 47.

associated with anointing in any of our *ordines*.²⁹¹ Alongside anointing, the highest-ranking ritual in both royal and imperial inauguration was the coronation, in which the king or emperor received an item of headgear from an archbishop or pope. The crown has come to be seen as the symbol of monarchy *par excellence*, with the word 'crown' being used to designate a monarch's realm and the survival of individual crowns, such as the 'Reichskrone' in Vienna, ensuring a plethora of studies concerning the history and meaning of particular crowns.²⁹² Particularly in the Empire, the historical insignia, and especially the crown, have been seen as fundamental to the transfer of power. In Reuter's words, the regalia 'had to represent the abstract notion of the kingdom in Germany precisely because there was no institutional core round which a transpersonal view of the state could condense'.²⁹³ More recently Jürgen Petersohn has suggested that the focus of German scholarship on the individual objects that make up the *Reichskleinodien* has been misleading.²⁹⁴ Rather than thinking in terms of 'genuine' and 'false' items of insignia, Petersohn argues that a king required *a* crown, not necessarily *the* 'Reichskrone'.²⁹⁵ It has perhaps been historical scholarship, rather than historical reality, that has driven the idea that the insignia were comparatively more important in a German context.²⁹⁶ As will be seen, the *ordines* themselves are concerned with generic symbols rather than with specific physical or historical entities. They make, with one exception, no allowance for specific objects.

The language of the *ordines* makes it difficult to determine even the type of headgear under discussion. As in the case of what type of oil was used in the anointing, the liturgical language lacks the precision modern scholars crave. In the royal *ordines* the word used to describe the headwear imposed is 'corona',

²⁹¹ The Holy Ampoule first appears in a French *ordo* dating from the late thirteenth century. Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 2: 387.

²⁹² See Arno Mentzel-Reuter for an updated study of the 'Reichskrone' and its use. Arno Mentzel-Reuter, "Die goldene Krone. Entwicklungslinien mittelalterlicher Herrschaftssymbolik," *Deutsches Archiv* 60 (2004): 135–182.

²⁹³ Reuter, "The Making of England and Germany, 850–1050," 291.

²⁹⁴ Jürgen Petersohn, "Echte" und "falsche" Insignien im deutschen Krönungsbrauch des Mittelalters?, *Sitzungsberichte der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft an der Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main* 30 (Stuttgart, 1993).

²⁹⁵ Petersohn provides a useful table summarising his findings concerning the use, or lack thereof, of the 'Reichskrone' in German royal coronations from 1198–1486. *Ibid.*, 119.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 101.

whereas in four of the five imperial *ordines* the emperor is crowned with a ‘diadema’. The diadem, originally a purple and white ribbon, can be traced back to ancient Persia and was worn habitually by Constantine, thus cementing its association with Christian imperial power.²⁹⁷ The rubrication of the *ordines* certainly suggests that this distinction was recognised. But a consideration of the variant of prayer form K46 associated with the imperial coronation in the *Ordo* of the Roman Curia raises some doubt about this: ‘Accipe signum glorie, diadema regni, coronam imperii, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti’.²⁹⁸ It seems clear that vocabulary could be used flexibly so that we need to exercise caution in making distinctions and assigning meaning based on vocabulary alone. The variability of the vocabulary must partly stem from the influence of biblical language on the *ordines*. The Old and New Testaments were composed over several centuries and by multiple authors, making it inevitable that words would not be used consistently across time. If the composer of a prayer formula borrowed a biblical phrase, the choice of word to use had already been made for him. In the case of the formula above, a clear biblical parallel for both *corona* and *diadema* being deployed in the same sentence is provided by Isaiah 62:3, which declares ‘eris corona gloriae in manu Domini et diadema regni in manu Dei tui’.

The flexibility of the biblically influenced vocabulary of the *ordines* is made clear when considering another item of regalia. A *virga* is normally considered to be a short rod, in contrast to a *sceptrum*, a longer sceptre. However, prayer formula K14, which appears in four royal and two imperial *ordines* confirms that such a definite distinction cannot be made. Following the delivery of the sceptre in the Ratold *Ordo*, for example, the prayer begins, ‘accipe sceptrum regiae potestatis insigne, virgam scilicet rectam, virgam virtutis, qua te ipsum bene regas’.²⁹⁹ In the PRG, the delivery of the sceptre and staff (‘baculum’) is followed by the prayer (K16), ‘accipe virgam virtutis atque aequitatis’.³⁰⁰ In terms of biblical allusions, Psalm 109 supplies the expression ‘virgam virtutis’ and Hebrews 1:8 the phrase

²⁹⁷ Edward Twining, *European Regalia* (London, 1967), 7.

²⁹⁸ Elze, *Die Ordines*, 77.

²⁹⁹ Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:187.

³⁰⁰ Vogel and Elze, *Le pontifical romano-germanique*, 1963, 1:256.

‘virgam aequitatis’.³⁰¹ The combination of rubrics and prayers makes clear that these words, ‘sceptrum’, ‘baculum’ and ‘virga’, could be used interchangeably and that it is not possible to assign meaning to these items of regalia, as a child colouring by numbers assigns a colour based on a number. In any case, as Sandy Heslop has pointed out, the rod cannot be understood purely as an item of royal regalia. As will be argued below, the multiple meanings inherent in such items need to be recognised more fully in an attempt to uncover high medieval images of kingship.³⁰²

After the crown, the item of insignia that appears most often in the *ordines* is the sword, which is included in all the royal *ordines*, and in the three later imperial *ordines*.³⁰³ Prayer formula K28, which appears following the bestowal of the sword in four of the royal *ordines*, makes clear that this sword is a gift from the Church to be used for the protection of the Church. The king is exhorted to, ‘accipe gladium per manus episcoporum, licet indignas, vice tamen et auctoritate sanctorum apostolorum consecratas, tibi regaliter impositum nostreque benedictionis officio in defensionem sancte Dei ecclesie divinitus ordinatum’.³⁰⁴ Prayer formula K10, which appears in the remaining three royal *ordines* makes similar demands of the recipient, who should protect the ‘fortress of God’ (‘castra Dei’) with the help of ‘invictissimi triumphatoris domini nostri Ihesu Christi’.³⁰⁵ The prayers associated with the handing over of the sword that appear in the three later imperial *ordines* are all found in the royal *ordines*. Cencius II has two prayers associated with the sword, K10 and K11, a pairing that is also found together in the English Second Recension, in the Ratold *Ordo* and in the *Ordo* of

³⁰¹ Psalm 109:2, ‘virgam virtutis tuae emittet Dominus ex Sion dominare in medio inimicorum tuorum’; Hebrews 1:8, ‘ad Filium autem thronus tuus Deus in saeculum saeculi et virga aequitatis virga regni tui’.

³⁰² T.A. Heslop, “The Virgin Mary’s Regalia and Twelfth-Century English Seals,” in *The Vanishing Past: Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology Presented to Christopher Hohler*, ed. Alan Borg and Andrew Martindale (Oxford, 1981), 55–59.

³⁰³ Although not included in the cursory early imperial *ordines*, the handing over of a sword is first evidenced in an imperial inauguration of 823. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government*, 157.

³⁰⁴ This wording is from the English Third Recension. Legg, *English Coronation Records*, 34.

³⁰⁵ This wording is from the English Second Recension. Ibid., 18.

Saint-Bertin.³⁰⁶ The Staufen *Ordo*, and that from the Roman Curia, make use of prayer K28. In the Staufen *Ordo* only a short incipit is given. In contrast, in the *Ordo* from the Roman Curia the entire prayer is written out with a small alteration to suit the papal context in which it was to be used. This *ordo* is also the only one whose rubrics go into any detail about the handing over of the sword. Here it is apparent that prayer and rubric complement one another.

The change made to prayer K28 in the *Ordo* from the Roman Curia is small but nevertheless telling. Instead of merely accepting the sword from the hands of the bishop, the emperor is exhorted to accept the sword 'desuper beati Petri corpore sumptum per nostras manus'.³⁰⁷ The *noster* in question here is the pope, successor of St. Peter, to whose body he refers. The superior position of the pope as the supplier of the sword is thereby stressed through this minor alteration to the prayer formula.³⁰⁸ This minor alteration is, however, significantly magnified by the accompanying rubrics, which describe the pope's role and explain the reference to the body of St. Peter. There is some confusion in the *ordo* about whether the sword should be given before or after the coronation and the handing over of the sceptre and orb.³⁰⁹ Leaving this problem to one side, the rubrics inform us that the pope is seated before the altar of St. Peter 'in supereminenti specula', his high position underlining his superiority.³¹⁰ He then ascends to the altar and picks up the unsheathed sword. It is in this literal sense that the emperor receives a sword assumed from above the body of St. Peter.³¹¹ The pope carries this sword, which is described as embodying the command of

³⁰⁶ In the *Ordo* of Saint-Bertin the order is confused and following the first prayer associated with the sword comes the concession of the ring and sceptre, before the second sword related prayer. Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:244–245.

³⁰⁷ Elze, *Die Ordines*, 80.

³⁰⁸ Ullmann suggests that the idea that the emperor should protect the pope can also be seen in the manner of his anointing on the right arm and between the shoulder blades, which 'symbolizes the sanctification of the physical support and protection of the head'. The head in this case being the pope himself. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government*, 228.

³⁰⁹ Following the bestowal of the sword comes a rubric which reads 'sed sciendum est, quod in aliquibus libris primo datur gladius, postea diadema'. The coronation and handing over of sceptre and orb are subsequently repeated in the text. Elze, *Die Ordines*, 80.

³¹⁰ This phrase is adopted from the papal metaphor of the 'speculum pastoralis' employed by Innocent III in a number of *arengae* and referencing Jeremiah 31:21. See Nicholas Vincent, "Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury," in *Étienne Langton, prédicateur, bibliophile, théologien*, ed. Louis-Jacques Bataillon et al., Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge 9 (Turnhout, 2010), 51–126.

³¹¹ cf. the image of an unsheathed sword on the altar in the *Ordo* of 1250 (Illustration 1)

the whole empire ('coram intelligens imperii totius') and continues to hold it while speaking the prayer.

At the conclusion of the prayer, the pope girds the emperor with the sword while repeating the phrase, 'accingere gladio super femur tuum potentissime', taken from Psalm 44, that was included in the prayer already spoken. This phrase is, however, expanded to stress that it is not by the sword that those consecrated conquer kingdoms, but through faith.³¹² In this context it is manifest that faithfulness to the pope, as much as to God, is demanded.³¹³ This is underlined by the actions that follow. Though there is some confusion over whether the emperor is now crowned, the rubrics describe that he should take the sword out of its scabbard and brandish it three times with manly vigour before immediately re-sheathing the sword.³¹⁴ The triple brandishing symbolises that the sword is to be used in the name of the Trinity, cementing the message transmitted in the prayer formula, that this sword is to be used for the defence of the Church. Further to emphasise this point the emperor is, in the following rubric, described as having been made a 'miles beati Petri'. This is a sword to be brandished to protect the Church, under the command of St. Peter and his successors. Through the small change made to the prayer formula, the papal addition to the reference to Psalm 44, and the actions described in the rubrics, the handing over of the sword in the *Ordo* of the Roman Curia becomes a ritual action that once again, makes explicit that the position of the pope is superior to that of the emperor. This *ordo* can be seen as reflecting papal interpretations of the Gelasian 'two swords' theory, which had played a central role in the polemical writings of both papal and imperial partisans during the Investiture Controversy.³¹⁵

The three prayers associated with the handing over of the sword (K10, K11 and K28) are representative of the symbolism to be found in the prayers associated with other items of regalia. Rather than assigning specific items specific

³¹² 'sancti non in gladio, sed per fidem vicerunt regna'. Elze, *Die Ordines*, 80.

³¹³ See below p. 131 for Psalm 44 in a royal context.

³¹⁴ 'eximit eum de vagina, viriliterque ter illum vibrat et vagine continuo recommendat'. Elze, *Die Ordines*, 81.

³¹⁵ Ian Stuart Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990), 296-299.

meanings, similar exhortations are associated with a variety of items. Thus just as prayer K28 dictates that the sword is to be used to establish equity ('per eundem vim aequitatis exerceas'), the prayer normally associated with the giving of the sceptre, formula K16, tells us that the virga is a sign of virtue and equity ('virgam virtutis atque aequitatis'). In the same way in which prayer K28 claims that the sword should be used to curse and destroy the enemies of the church ('nec minus sub fide falsos quam Christiani nominis hostes execreris et destruas') another prayer (associated with the giving of the ring in both the English second recension and the Ratold *Ordo*) prayer formula K8, makes similar associations for the ring so that it is made to sound as much of a weapon as a sword. By accepting the ring, the seal of holy faith, the king will increase in power and learn to 'hostes repellere, hereses destruere, subditos coadunare, et catholice fidei perseverabilitati concretere'.³¹⁶ Thus the individual items of regalia can be seen to encapsulate a number of virtues. As a result it is inadvisable either to assign fixed meanings to individual items or to assume that meanings, once assigned, remained fixed.³¹⁷ Only by admitting the fluctuations in interpretation of different items of regalia can we hope to understand the ideas at stake here.

As alluded to above, it is, with one exception, impossible to identify actual historical items of regalia in the *ordines*. As Petersohn has warned, it would be folly to take the general descriptors found in the *ordines*, such as 'corona regni' and 'corona imperii', and to conclude that they corresponded to a specific crown, as has occasionally been attempted in German scholarship.³¹⁸ David Carpenter has also warned against trying to trace the history of any particular English coronation crown because, 'crowns could be altered and, in any case, most kings had several of various shapes and sizes'.³¹⁹ Indeed, it is likely that several crowns were used on the very day of a king or emperor's inauguration. Towards the conclusion of the inauguration ceremony, the newly consecrated monarch swapped his cumbersome coronation crown for something rather more suitable

³¹⁶ This wording is from the English Second Recension. Legg, *English Coronation Records*, 18.

³¹⁷ Two of the imperial *ordines*, the Staufen and Roman Curia *ordines*, include the handing over of the imperial orb ('pomum aureum'), an item of regalia that is not found in the royal *ordines*, despite the fact that the kings of Germany and England were depicted with orbs on their seals.

³¹⁸ Petersohn, "Über monarchische Insignien," 52.

³¹⁹ Carpenter, "The Burial of King Henry III, the Regalia and Royal Ideology," 444.

for wearing in procession, while feasting or, indeed, riding a horse around Rome.³²⁰ Not only the *ordines*, but the absence of material evidence, cautions against attributing too much significance to historical items of regalia used during the inaugurations of kings and emperors in this period.

The notable exception here comes from the *ordo* Cencius II. Following the conclusion of the Mass, the count of the palace approaches the emperor and removes his liturgical footwear. He then proceeds to dress the emperor with the imperial greaves and the spurs of St. Maurice ('calcaria sancti Mauricii').³²¹ It is surely no coincidence that spurs associated with St. Maurice should appear in this *ordo*, which in its very incipit also mentions the saint by name. As noted above, this *ordo* is the first to suggest that the emperor's anointing takes place before the altar of St. Maurice rather than that of St. Peter.³²² This link suggests that his subsequent mention in relation to spurs might also be for the benefit of the pope rather than the emperor. That this is the case is further implied by the actions of the emperor and pope following the bestowal of the spurs. The emperor and pope are led to waiting horses and the emperor holds the stirrup for the pope as he mounts his horse.³²³ The pope, also crowned, then rides at the head of a procession, followed by the emperor and behind him the empress. These events are a clear symbolic presentation of the pope's position above the emperor. As with the bestowal of the sword in the *Ordo* from the Roman Curia, dressing the emperor with the spurs of St. Maurice is designed to make clear that his military powers are to be used to serve the pope.

The Holy Lance, known by at least the mid-thirteenth century as the lance of St. Maurice, was one of the most important items of regalia in the Empire, but had no role to play in either the royal or imperial inauguration ceremony. The lance,

³²⁰ Roger of Howden, for example, reports that Richard I swapped his coronation crown for a lighter one before the ensuing feast. Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. William Stubbs, vol. 3, RS 51 (London, 1870), 12; The swapping of crowns is beautifully illustrated in a miniature in the *Ordo* of 1250, which is reproduced as plate 15 in Le Goff et al., *Le sacre royal à l'époque de Saint Louis*.

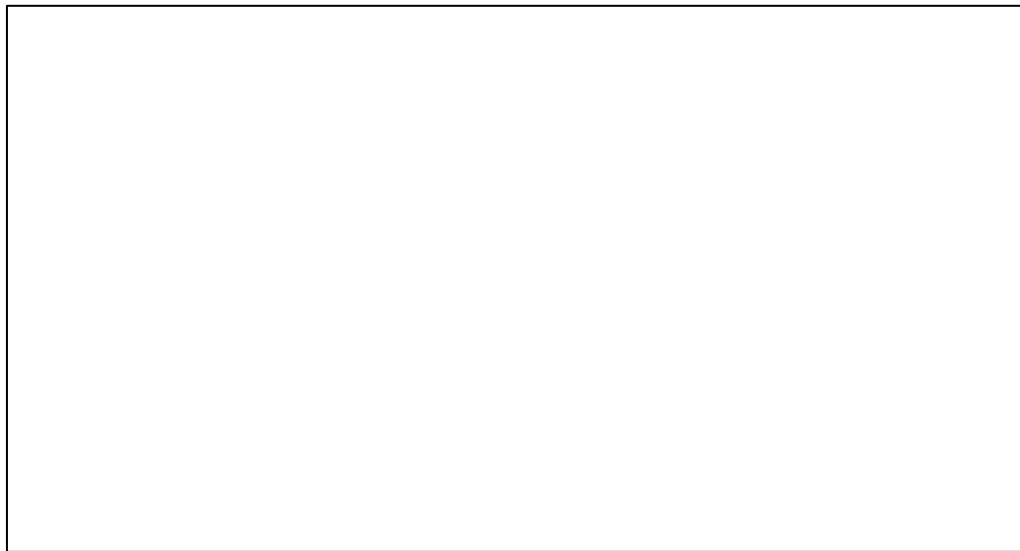
³²¹ Elze, *Die Ordines*, 46.

³²² See above p. 96.

³²³ Both Lothar III and Frederick Barbarossa performed this service, with Lothar III also taking the reins and leading Innocent II's horse when they met at Liege in 1131. Schneidmüller, "Canossa - Das Ereignis," 45.

Illustration 2

The Reichsschwert (so-called Sword of St. Maurice)



a) View of Sword and Scabbard

Scabbard: Italy (?), second half of the eleventh century

Sword: France (?) 1198/1218



b) Detail of Engraving on the Guard

+ C(H)RISTVS . VINCIT . C(H)RISTVS . REIGNAT . CHRIST.(VS) INPERAT [sic]

Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Weltliche Schatzkammer

Inv.-Nr. SK_WS_XIII_17

'Sante Mauricien sper', is included in the 1246 inventory from Trifels, in which mention is also made of three golden spurs.³²⁴ The spurs are not, however, associated with the saint and neither are the two swords, described in the inventory as having scabbards decorated with precious stones.³²⁵ This general description could fit many swords, including the sword known to posterity as the sword of St. Maurice (Illustration 2a). This sword was probably used during the inauguration of Otto IV in Aachen in 1198, and can be dated to between 1198 and

³²⁴ Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, 100.

³²⁵ 'Zwey swert mit zweyn scheiden, gezieret mit edelem gesteyne'. Ibid.

1218 due to the fact that the pommel displays the Welf arms on one side and the royal arms on the other.³²⁶ Setting aside its later erroneous association with St. Maurice, the decoration on the guard of the sword offers a tantalising insight into the language of the royal inauguration ceremony in Germany at the beginning of the thirteenth century (Illustration 2b). The guard is engraved on both sides, with the side displaying the Welf arms bearing the legend + C(H)RISTVS . VINCIT . C(H)RISTVS . REIGNAT . CHRIST(VS) INPERAT.³²⁷ The side displaying the royal arms bears a shortened version of this tricolon: + C(H)RISTVS . VINCIT . C(H)RISTVS . REINAT.

The significance of this triumphant tricolon and its subsequent removal from the *laudes* included in the Staufen *Ordo* has been emphasised in the previous chapter.³²⁸ There are no known manuscript copies of the *laudes* surviving from the German kingdom after c.1100, a fact that has been seen as indicative of the desacralisation of German kingship.³²⁹ However, if we compare the situation to England, where only one *laudes* text survives from the twelfth century, integrated into the *ordo* in the Trinity College Cambridge manuscript, and only two from the thirteenth century, both in the same Worcester antiphonary, it is apparent that the survival of these *laudes* texts is extremely rare.³³⁰ Often written on fly-leaves, and probably also on rolls, the texts themselves were surely frequent victims of damage or rebinding. The rarity of their survival tells us little of how frequently they were recited. In England, despite the scarcity of surviving *laudes* formulae, we know from payments to the king's chaplains recorded in the chancery and exchequer rolls that the *laudes* were very frequently recited, certainly several times a year on significant liturgical days. The fact that the defining *laudes* tricolon, absent from the *laudes* in the Staufen *Ordo*, was engraved on the guard of a sword belonging to a German king dating to a century after the last

³²⁶ Mechthild Schulze-Dörrlamm, *Das Reichsschwert*, Römisch-germanisches Zentralmuseum Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 32 (Sigmaringen, 1995); Petersohn, "Echte" und "falsche" Insignien, 74–82.

³²⁷ The unusual spelling might hint to the place of the sword's origin. Schulze-Dörrlamm, *Das Reichsschwert*, 27.

³²⁸ See above, pp. 88–90.

³²⁹ Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, 97; Cowdrey, "The Anglo-Norman Laudes Regiae," 46.

³³⁰ The Worcester antiphonary is now Worcester Cathedral Library MS F.160. Cowdrey, "The Anglo-Norman Laudes Regiae," 66.

manuscript copy of the text is significant. It suggests that in a royal context the *laudes* did not suffer the same fate that they had in the context of imperial inauguration ceremonies. On the contrary, the German kings continued to use the *laudes* to associate their rule with the victorious Christ.

Royal Marriage

Only two items of regalia, the crown and the ring, regularly appear in female inauguration *ordines*. One of the twenty manuscripts consulted by Jackson in his edition of the Ratold *Ordo* is unique in that it includes the handing over of a sceptre in the inauguration of the queen.³³¹ This manuscript, now Siena Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, MS G.V. 12, is a pontifical from Tyre dating to the first decade of the thirteenth century. It has understandably been associated with the coronation of the Latin monarchs of Jerusalem.³³² The addition of the sceptre, considered to represent broadly the exercise of justice, is perhaps indicative of the frequency with which queens ruled in their own right in the Holy Land.³³³ A crown appears in all of the six royal and three imperial *ordines* that include an *ordo* for a queen or empress. Four of the six queenly *ordines* include a ring. A ring is also found in all royal male *ordines*, with the exception of the English Second Recension, but only in Cencius II in an imperial context. Beyond the monarchical context, a ring played an important role in episcopal consecration, one that was the subject of much debate during the Investiture Controversy. Given the oft-noted links between the rites of episcopal and royal consecration this is surely significant. Of connected importance is the nuptial association inherent in rings and their use in the marriage mass. Indeed, in the *ordo* for the consecration of a bishop in the PRG edition, the prayer associated with investiture with the ring describes it as 'annulum fidei, scilicet signaculum

³³¹ Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:196.

³³² Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Das Pontificale von Tyrus und die Krönung der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem: zugleich ein Beitrag zur Forschung über Herrschaftzeichen und Staatssymbolik," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967): 213–230.

³³³ For the importance of queens in the Crusader states see Bernard Hamilton, "Women in the Crusader States: The Queens of Jerusalem (1100–1190)," in *Medieval Women*, ed. D. Baker (Oxford, 1978), 143–174. Queens were often depicted with sceptres on their seals. See Appendix 4.

quatenus sponsam Dei'.³³⁴ In the final section of this chapter I shall argue that crowns offer similarly important nuptial resonances and that the link between marriage symbolism and royal consecration is key to understanding images of kingship in this transitional period.

A thread that runs through the analysis of the *ordines* is the relationship between male and female inauguration. From our consideration of the prayer formulae it became clear that the male inauguration prayer references to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were complemented by the prayers in the female inauguration *ordines*, in which their wives, Sarah, Rebecca and Rachel, were also invoked. With relation to the musical content of the *ordines* it is noticeable that the *laudes* in the imperial *ordo* Cencius II and the English Third Recension included the acclamation of the empress or queen, whereas the later imperial *laudes* lack any reference to an empress. In the rubrication we see that, in some *ordines*, female inauguration was incorporated into the same *ordo* as male inauguration. In other *ordines* the participation of a queen or empress is not envisaged and a separate *ordo* is provided. Richard Jackson commented that 'the liturgy was frozen in time because its prayers and benedictions came, almost without exception, from the Carolingian age'.³³⁵ However, while he is undoubtedly correct to describe the prayer formulae as 'frozen in time' such a judgement cannot be extended to the liturgy in its entirety as an examination of the changing dynamic between the male and female inauguration *ordines* demonstrates.

The rites for king- and queen-making were inextricably linked, due to the very fact that a queen merited her inauguration by virtue of her relationship to a king. This is made clear in a manuscript of the Third Recension of the English *ordines*, now in the University Library at Cambridge, from which we learn that the queen is anointed for the king's honour: 'Incipit consecratio regine que propter honorificentiam regis ab episcopo sacro oleo super verticem perfundenda est'.³³⁶ This incipit echoes the assertion of William of Poitiers that William the Conqueror did not wish to rush his coronation as king of England as he hoped

³³⁴ Vogel and Elze, *Le pontifical romano-germanique*, 1:109.

³³⁵ Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:35.

³³⁶ Cambridge University Library MS EE.II.3, f.90r.

that 'si Deus ipsi hunc concedit honorem, secum velle coniugem suam coronari'.³³⁷ Although events dictated that William was crowned king on 25 December 1066, without Matilda being present, the conceptual link between the inauguration of a king and his queen is plain to see. Matilda owed her inauguration at Pentecost 1068 to her position as William's wife, and it is this marital relationship that lies at the heart of the relationship between male and female *ordines*.

Smith has highlighted the nuptial language in the Carolingian *ordines* for the inaugurations of Judith and Ermentrude, but she suggests that these elements were no longer present in the so-called Erdmann *Ordo*, which formed the basis of the Anglo-Saxon and West Frankish queen-makings of the tenth and eleventh centuries.³³⁸ In fact, these later *ordines* adopted many of the biblical allusions of the *ordines* for Judith and Ermentrude, and such allusions make it clear that the female inauguration rites remained in direct dialogue with those for a king. A closer look at the vocabulary of the prayer formulae makes clear one important facet of this dialogue. Prayer K23, from the male *ordines*, talks of a king being brought forth from the belly ('ex utero') of Abraham. In the complementary female prayer (Q7), it is hoped that the queen might merit, like Sarah, Rebecca and Rachel, to rejoice in the fruits of her womb ('fructus uteri'). The implication of the use of the word *uterus* is self-evidently linked to the production of an heir, which was, in the succinct words of John Carmi Parsons, the 'guarantee of the integrity and continuity of the realm'.³³⁹

This focus on an heir highlights the dynastic ambitions behind the increasing interweaving of male and female inauguration rites. Raising the status of queenly inauguration by associating it more closely with the inauguration of the king was a way of emphasising the hereditary aspect of kingship. The dynastic aspect was undoubtedly significant. But it was accompanied by a conceptual shift, the importance of which should not be undervalued. In identifying this change our

³³⁷ R. H. C. Davis and Marjorie Chibnall, eds., *The Gesta Gvillelmi of William of Poitiers*, OMT (Oxford, 1998), 148.

³³⁸ Smith, "The Earliest Queen-Making Rites," 34 n.78; Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:142–153.

³³⁹ John Carmi Parsons, "Introduction: Family, Sex, and Power: The Rhythms of Medieval Queenship," in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (Stroud, 1994), 4.

investigation is once again hampered by the very nature of the texts and the manuscripts in which the *ordines* survive. Pontificals were comprehensive liturgical books, in which a multiplicity of rites was assimilated and whose contents are grouped by type.³⁴⁰ The first surviving text that contains both a male and female inauguration ceremony is the so-called Erdmann *Ordo*, composed c.900. The appearance of these texts together led scholars to suggest that the *ordo* must have been composed for a specific joint coronation. However, Jackson has refuted this, pointing out that no meaning can be read into the inauguration rites for kings and queens appearing side by side in a pontifical, and that scholars 'have been led astray by a simple succession of texts in liturgical manuscripts'.³⁴¹ Jackson is absolutely right to counter attempts to tie the Erdmann *Ordo* to a particular historical event, but setting out his argument so forcefully perhaps leads him to dismiss too hastily the evidence in later *ordines*, which demonstrate a growing conceptual link between male and female rites.

For example, Jackson has described the inclusion of elements from the marriage ceremony in the *Ordo* of 1200 as a 'peculiarity', arguing that while there remains a possibility the text could have been deliberately designed this way, it is more likely to be the result of scribal error.³⁴² In the *ordo*, the inauguration of the king is followed by Mass and then by the inauguration of the queen. Once the queen has been blessed, anointed and crowned a reading from Ephesians and a Gospel reading from Matthew normally found in the marriage ceremony follow. That the *missa ad nuptiis* is the next ceremony found in the manuscript has led Jackson to conclude that these readings probably belong to the wedding mass rather than the inauguration rite. However, following the marital offertory, a communion prayer (Q16) appears, which clearly links back to the inauguration rite:

'Deus tuorum corona fidelium, qui quos ad regnum vocas, in misericordia et miseratione coronas, hunc corone plenitudinem tue benedictionis digneris infundere, ut per istam unctionem et nostram benedictionem sanctificetur et in insigne regni habeatur,

³⁴⁰ i.e. similar status changing rites, such as the consecration of a bishop and the consecration of an abbot, tend to appear in succession in pontificals.

³⁴¹ Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:143.

³⁴² Ibid., 1:249.

quatinus eius impositione famulus tuus rex noster insignitus, cetere plebi tue emineat, et memor desponsationis et honoris a te sibi collati, ita tibi devotus existat, ut in diebus suis iusticia et habundantia pacis oriatur, et ad ianuam paradisi de manu tua qui es [rex] regum coronam regni celestis percipere meratur'.³⁴³

Here the part of the marriage ceremony integrated into the inauguration rite is separated from the succeeding marriage mass in the manuscript by a prayer that clearly refers to the coronation and unction of a king and makes reference to a betrothal. This prayer does belong to the marriage mass itself. On the contrary its presence suggests that the inclusion of elements of the marriage ceremony cannot be ascribed to scribal error.³⁴⁴

The *Ordo* of 1200 is, admittedly, exceptional in the extent of the assimilation of marriage liturgy, but it suggests we should examine more closely the relationship between male and female *ordines* in the manuscripts. Of the royal liturgies, all but the Saint-Bertin *Ordo* have associated female *ordines*. Jackson's argument about the simple succession of texts in a liturgical manuscript seems to hold in these cases. The female inauguration text normally follows that of the male. In the Trinity College Cambridge manuscript (of the third English recension), the *laudes*, mentioning both a king and queen, are sandwiched between the two inauguration texts. In the Cologne manuscript the sequence is male royal, male imperial, female royal. However, by the time of the composition of the three later imperial rites, female inauguration appears to have been integrated into the male rite. The *ordo* Cencius II assumes participation of a queen throughout, and while both the Staufen *Ordo* and the *Ordo* of the Roman Curia do not assume a queen will be present, if a queen is to be inaugurated as well, her inauguration is allowed for within the single rite.³⁴⁵ In the light of these integrated imperial *ordines*, the *Ordo* of 1200 might be seen as less of an exception.

³⁴³ Ibid., 1:267.

³⁴⁴ It would be desirable to examine this manuscript in person. Unfortunately time constraints have not enabled me to do so before submitting this thesis for examination.

³⁴⁵ Given that the *ordo* Cencius II is associated with Honorius III it is interesting to note an entry in the papal registers dated 28 August 1220 in which Honorius granted Frederick II's request that his wife Constance be crowned empress alongside him: 'gratianer accepimus quod karissimam in Christo filiam nostram Constantiam illustrem reginam coniugem tuam precum nostrarum intuitu

In any case, the *Ordo* of 1200 is not the only evidence for bridal and nuptial language being utilised in the *ordines*. Prayer formula Q14, which appears in five of the female inauguration rites and two of the imperial rites, references the eternal bridegroom in a prayer following the coronation of the queen:

'Accipe coronam regalis excellentie que licet ab indignis episcoporum tamen manibus capiti tuo imponitur unde sicut exterius auro et gemmis redimita enites. Ita et interius auro sapientie virtutumque gemmis decorari contendas. Quatinus post occasum huius seculi cum prudentibus virginibus sponso perenni domino nostro Ihesu Christo valeas adherere'.³⁴⁶

This link between a crown and the eternal bridegroom lies at the heart of the symbolic vocabulary of inauguration, a fact that has been obscured by the very language used to describe monarchical inauguration. The custom of describing the inauguration of a monarch as a 'coronation' has not only implied the precedence of that ritual act over the act of unction in the making of a king, but it has also smothered the term with royal associations, thus suffocating alternative senses. Madeline Harrison Caviness has stressed that medieval symbols cannot be decoded without recognising the multiple layers of meaning assigned to sacred symbols.³⁴⁷ She points to the widespread twelfth-century tradition of exegesis, that constructed several levels of meaning including the physical, the allegorical and the moral or tropological.³⁴⁸ It is thus apparent that we cannot take the crown as an object to be a purely royal symbol, nor assume that the word 'crown' was used exclusively to designate either an object or a realm. In fact, Cassiodorus' commentary on Psalm 20 makes explicit that 'crown' could also be used to denote the body of the church: 'In hac enim corona et totius mundi circum merito poterimus advertere; in quo generalis significatur Ecclesia'.³⁴⁹

tecum ducis ut et ipsa tecum suscipiat imperialis glorie diadema'. Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registra Vaticana 11, fol. 14v. I am grateful to Thomas W. Smith for this reference.

³⁴⁶ This wording is taken from the English Third Recension. Legg, *English Coronation Records*, 38–39.

³⁴⁷ Madeline Harrison Caviness, "Reception of Images by Medieval Viewers," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Oxford, 2006), 71.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁹ A. Adriaen, ed., *Cassiodori, Expositio Psalmorum I-LXX*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 97 (Turnhout, 1958), 183–184.

In the same way that we should not narrow our understanding of the material evidence by assuming the use of only one coronation crown in this period, we should also not confine ourselves to understanding the crown as an abstraction with purely royal associations. The assortment of both material and abstract crowns was made explicit by Schramm in his 1955 essay on crowns in the early Middle Ages. As he astutely commented, one of the reasons the history of crowns is so complicated is that in the Bible they do not just feature as items of headwear worn by Old Testament kings and high priests, for the word *corona* is also often used metaphorically.³⁵⁰ Schramm highlights the well-known concept of the crown of eternal life, often depicted being worn by saints in medieval images. He then moves on to discuss votive crowns, which he sees as being similar to royal crowns not only in name but also in form.³⁵¹ Votive crowns were mainly found hanging above the altar, which further links them to coronation crowns, placed on the altar during the inauguration ceremony before the act of crowning itself took place.³⁵² Schramm stresses the importance of the biblical-metaphorical understanding of the word crown, suggesting that the multiplicity of associations and links between them was precisely what gave the crown its allegorical depth of meaning.³⁵³

The crowns depicted in a famous image of Henry the Lion and his wife Matilda, daughter of Henry II of England, have long confused scholars (Illustration 3). This image is contained within a sumptuous Gospel book produced between 1173 and 1189 in the scriptorium of the abbey of Helmarshausen. Johannes Fried has vigorously argued that the two crowns being placed on the heads of the kneeling pair are indicative of Henry the Lion's pretensions to the kingship of Germany.³⁵⁴ The couple are flanked on both sides by illustrious relatives. To the right of Matilda are depicted her father, Henry II, her grandmother, the Empress

³⁵⁰ Percy Ernst Schramm, "Die Kronen des frühen Mittelalters," in *Herrschzeichen und Staatsymbolik*, 2:377.

³⁵¹ Ibid., 378.

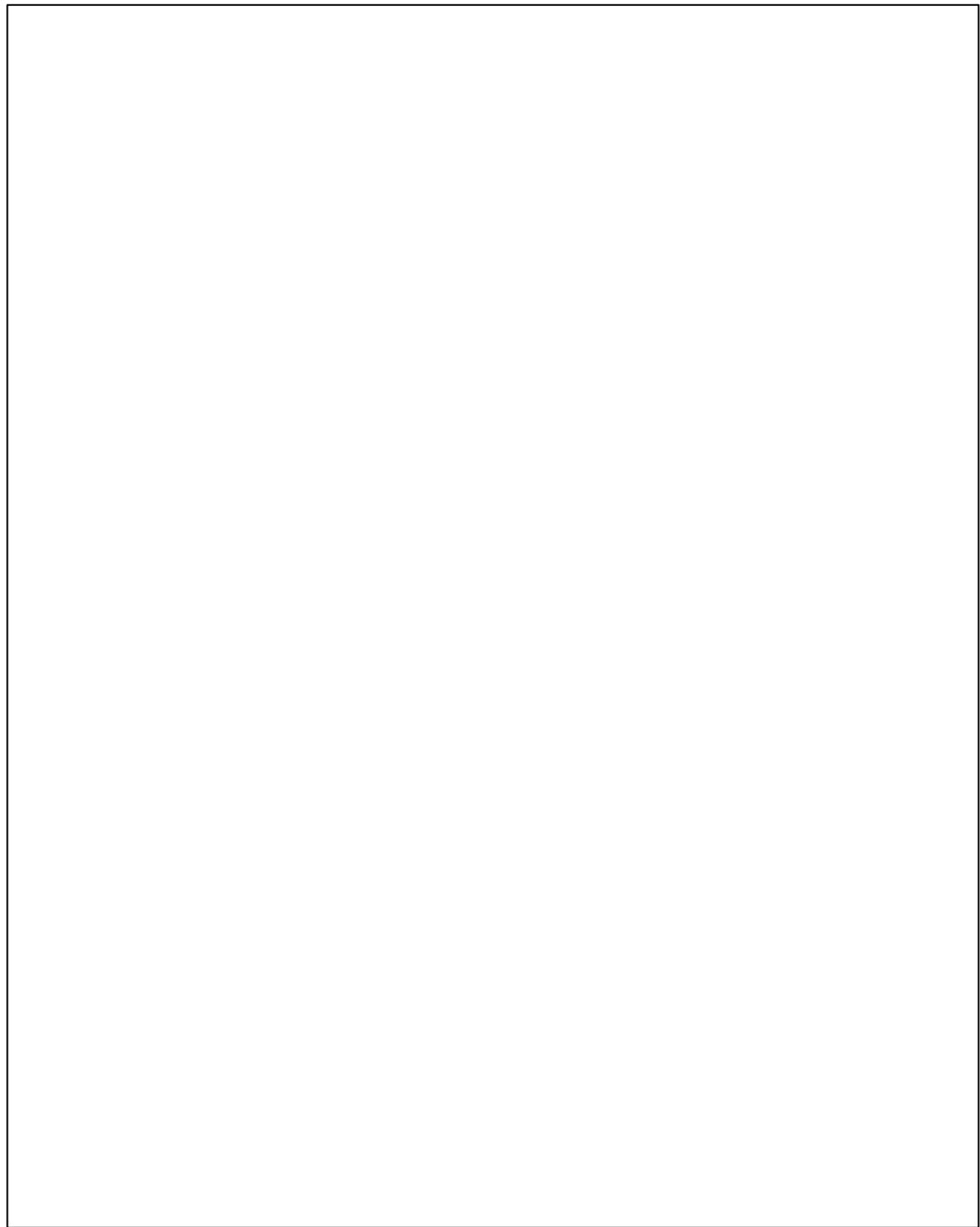
³⁵² In Illustration 1, a miniature from the *Ordo* of 1250, the crown, sword and ring can all be seen prominently placed on the altar during the king's anointing.

³⁵³ Schramm, "Die Kronen des frühen Mittelalters," 378.

³⁵⁴ Johannes Fried, "Königsgedanken Heinrichs des Löwen," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 55 (1973): 312-351.

Illustration 3

Coronation Image from the Evangeliary of Henry the Lion



Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek MS Guelf. 105 Noviss, f.171v

Matilda, and an additional unidentified female. To the left of Henry the Lion we find his parents, Henry the Proud and Gertrude of Süpplingenberg, adjacent to Henry the Lion's maternal grandparents, Emperor Lothar III and Richenza of Northeim. Lothar, Richenza, Henry II and the Empress Matilda all wear crowns, whereas Henry the Lion's parents and the unnamed female are without crowns. That Henry the Proud and Gertrude are uncrowned has been seen as evidence for the regal interpretation of the crowns' meaning in this image. They were not royalty and therefore were not depicted as such.

This interpretation is, however, unsatisfactory. In the dedicatory image on folio 19r of the evangeliary, Henry the Lion is depicted uncrowned, handing the golden gospel book to St. Blasius (Illustration 4). His wife, in contrast, appears next to St. Aegidius wearing a crown, a fact that Bernd Schneidmüller attributes to her being the daughter of a king.³⁵⁵ Why, if Matilda could be depicted crowned as the daughter of a king, could not Gertrude, the daughter of an Emperor, be also so depicted? This dedicatory miniature is divided into two, with the upper rectangle enclosing an image of a crowned Mary with Child in a Mandorla, flanked by John the Baptist and St. Bartholomew. That the two females are the only crowned people depicted leads to the visual association of Matilda with Mary, the mother of Christ. This association can be linked to a dedicatory poem, written in glittering gold lettering. Now folio 4v, this poem was presumably once positioned directly adjacent to the dedicatory image, before later rebinding disrupted the original structure of the manuscript.³⁵⁶ The poem, which makes reference to the illustrious bloodlines of the duke and his wife, then continues in a dynastic vein to claim that 'sobolem que gigneret illam, per quam pax Christi patrieque salus datur isti'.³⁵⁷ In the same way in which Christ, son of Mary gave peace to the world, so shall the progeny of Henry and Matilda bestow peace on

³⁵⁵ Bernd Schneidmüller, "Kronen im goldglänzenden Buch. Mittelalterliche Welfenbilder und das Helmarshausener Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen und Mathildes," in *Helmarshausen. Buchkultur und Goldschmiedekunst im Hochmittelalter*, ed. Ingrid Baumgärtner (Kassel, 2003), 128.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., 127.

³⁵⁷ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek MS Guelf. 105 Noviss, f.4v.

their fatherland.³⁵⁸ The association of the English princess and Queen of Heaven is deliberate and striking.

If Matilda's crown in the dedicatory image should not be seen solely as indicative of her royal status, what other interpretations are possible? The dedicatory poem makes clear that in return for giving this glittering golden book ('fulgens auro liber') to Christ the ducal couple hope to receive eternal life ('perpetuae vitae'). This is surely one layer of meaning in the crowns in both images under discussion here, as has long been recognised.³⁵⁹ The coronation image is also composed of two rectangular sections, with an image of Christ surrounded by eight saints and two angels, symmetrically arranged on three levels, above the image of the ducal couple and their relatives. Christ holds a banner echoing the words of Matthew 16:24: 'Si quis vult post me venire, abneget semetipsum, et tollat crucem suam'. The figures in the lower rectangle beneath Christ hold crosses as an outward demonstration of their readiness to follow Him. This imagery was strikingly innovative at the time of the manuscript's production, with the holding of crosses in hands being previously almost unknown in Western art. According to Olaf Rader, we need to turn eastwards for the origins of this imagery, of which there are plentiful Byzantine examples.³⁶⁰

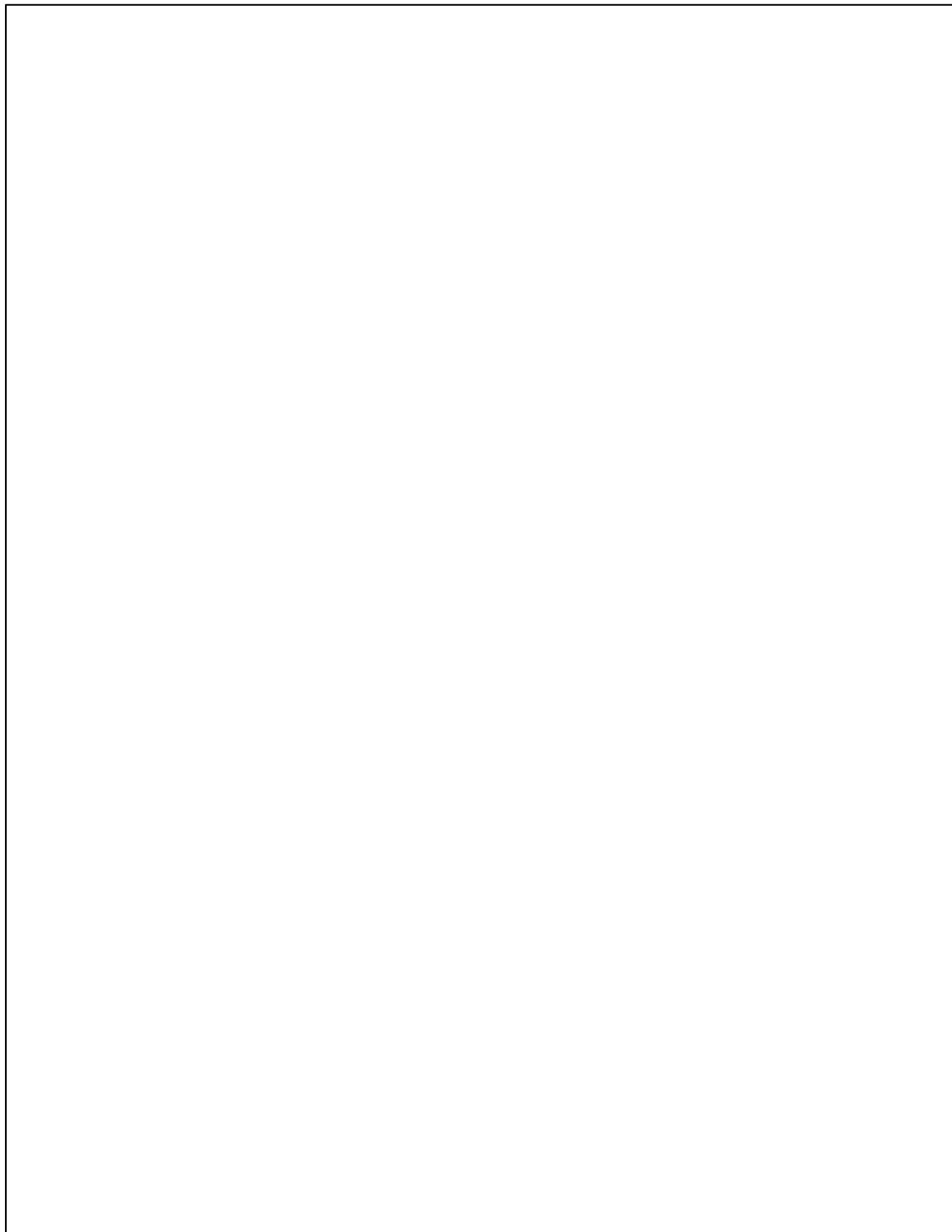
³⁵⁸ Bernd Schneidmüller points to an ambiguity in the Latin grammar here. It is not entirely clear whether this is a wish for the future or in the subjunctive due to the sentence structure. This might seem like a pedantic point but it is important for the exact dating of the manuscript. Schneidmüller, "Kronen im goldglänzenden Buch," 150. In this context a comparison with the description of the marriage of Henry V and Matilda in the anonymous Imperial Chronicle is perhaps fruitful. Following a discussion of her illustrious bloodlines the anonymous author writes 'ut omnibus optaretur romani imperii heredis mater fore'. This is explicitly a wish for the future birth of an heir. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 373, f.95v.

³⁵⁹ Oexle, for example, has seen the Evangelia in the context of pious *memoria*. Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Die Memoria Heinrich des Löwen," in *Memoria in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*, ed. Dieter Geuenich and Otto Gerhard Oexle, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 111 (Göttingen, 1994), 128–177.

³⁶⁰ Olaf B. Rader, "Kreuze und Kronen. Zum byzantinischen Einfluss im 'Krönungsbild' des Evangelia Heinrich des Löwen," in *Heinrich der Löwe: Herrschaft und Repräsentation*, ed. Johannes Fried and Otto Gerhard Oexle, *VuF* 57 (Ostfildern, 2003), 205–211.

Illustration 4

Dedicatory Image from the Evangeliair of Henry the Lion



Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek MS Guelf. 105 Noviss, f.19r.

Rader suggests that the coronation of two symmetrically ordered people in a picture also originated in Byzantium and that this eastern pedigree could be the key to understanding the meaning of the crowns in this Saxon evangeliary. As in Latin Christendom, in Byzantium the crown was associated with both royalty and sanctity. It had an additional association, however, that explains the popularity of the symmetrical image depicting a double coronation or the emperor and empress side-by-side wearing crowns. This additional connection was to marriage, in whose orthodox version a ritual crowning played, and continues to play, an important role. Art historians have previously linked the iconography of the coronation image to marital crowning. However, Rader suggests that, because the ritual of wedding crowning appeared to have played no role in the Western rite, we should not give the idea undue attention. We should instead, with our senses sharpened through the presence of the cross motif, focus on Byzantine influence.³⁶¹

Wedding crowning was, in fact, not unknown in the Western Church. In a letter of 866 responding to Bulgar questions about the Roman Church, Pope Nicholas I described the marriage ceremony, telling the Bulgars that, unlike the Greeks, the bride and groom in the Roman Church do not wear a band of gold, silver or metal around their heads, but rather, after the ceremony, 'de ecclesia egressi, coronas in capitibus gestant'.³⁶² Although the pope mentions that expense often excluded such ceremonial, his letter clearly establishes that the crown as a symbol was associated with marriage in the western Church, albeit over three centuries before the production of the Gospels of Henry the Lion. Attempts have been made to differentiate between the crowns depicted in different images in the Evangeliary.³⁶³ As Rader explains, such attempts are futile, because the same type of crown as worn by the ducal couple and their relatives is depicted, in other

³⁶¹ Ibid., 219.

³⁶² Ernst Perels and Ernst Dümmler, eds., *Epistolae Karolini Aevi (IV)*, MGH Epp 6 (Berlin, 1925), 570.

³⁶³ cf. Petersohn's comments on the impossibility of identifying historical items of regalia from medieval images; 'Mittelalterliche Bildquellen sind, im Gegensatz zu einem von Kunstgeschichtlern und Historikern bis heute genährte Glauben, zu ungenau und zu subjektiv, um auf ihnen bestimmte Stücke des Weiner Insignienschatzes schon im Hochmittelalter erkennen oder mit ihrer Hilfe das Aussehen nicht erhaltener Kronen rekonstruieren zu können'. Petersohn, 'Über monarchische Insignien,' 52.

miniatures, as being worn by the Three Kings, by David and Solomon, by *Sponsus* and *Sponsa*, by *Ecclesia* and *Synagoge*, and by *Concordia* and *Fides*.³⁶⁴ I would suggest that this similarity was not accidental. Rather the crowns in these images were supposed to be understood on a number of levels, royal, sacral and nuptial.

Crowning may not have played a part in western marriage tradition in practice, but I would suggest that its symbolism continued to resonate. Earlier, I referred to the fact that not only kings and queens, but bishops received a ring during their consecrations. So too did nuns, whose rings were described in the liturgy in similar terms to a bishop's ring, as being 'annulum fidei, signaculum spiritus sancti, ut sponsa Dei voceris, si ei fideliter servieris'.³⁶⁵ Following the bestowal of the ring by the bishop, the virgin received a crown to symbolise her marriage to Christ. This crown (here described as a *torques*), was given as the bishop pronounced the words 'accipe signum Christi in capite, ut uxor eius efficiaris et, si in eo permanseris, in perpetuum coroneris'.³⁶⁶ Both ring and crown were symbols of the virgin's marriage with Christ, a fact that she herself proclaimed by reciting the words 'annulo suo subarravit me Dominus meus Jesus Christus, et tanquam sponsam decoravit me corona'.³⁶⁷ Not only was the ring a sign of her marriage contract with Christ; in addition she has been adorned with a crown as his spouse.³⁶⁸ This liturgy for the consecration of virgins makes clear that the symbolism of nuptial crowning was widely known in the central Middle Ages. Moreover, the parallels with queenly consecration are striking. The queen, like the nun, received a ring and a crown as part of her consecration. They were symbols of her royalty, but more than that, they also symbolise, on one level, her union with her husband, upon whom her inauguration was dependent, and, on another level, her union with Christ. The link here was not just abstract: for widowed queens sometimes took the veil towards the end of their lives.

³⁶⁴ Rader, "Kreuze und Kronen," 219.

³⁶⁵ Vogel and Elze, *Le pontifical romano-germanique*, 1:45.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 1:46.

³⁶⁸ See Sarah McNamer for a wider discussion of nuns as *Sponsa Christi*. Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia, 2011), 25–57.

The link between coronation and marriage had a biblical precedent. In the Song of Songs (3:11) the daughters of Zion are exhorted to 'egredimini et videte, filiae Sion, regem Salomonem in diadema quo coronavit eum mater sua in die dispositionis illius et in die laetitiae cordis eius'. The appearance of a marital crown in the Song of Songs was exploited in the developing iconography of the Virgin Mary as Queen of Heaven and Bride of Christ. In his discussion of the early twelfth-century origins of iconography depicting the coronation of the Virgin, Sandy Heslop used a transcription of the verses from a no-longer extant pictorial cycle from the Worcester chapter house, and a similar pictorial cycle surviving in a manuscript dated c.1260 now at Eton College (Illustration 5), to explain this, 'radical Romanesque invention'.³⁶⁹ He suggested that the accompanying verse, 'Dote subarrata fidei meritisque sacrata / sponsa coronatur sponsoque Deo sociatur', makes clear that a coronation and marriage are depicted together in the image, thus linking 'the nuptial and regal transformations into a single event'.³⁷⁰ Here we need to move beyond the understanding of crowning as a purely regal action and consider the possibility that in such early depictions of the Virgin the coronation is as much the nuptial coronation found in the liturgy for the consecration of virgins as a royal one. The dominance of royal associations for crowns in the late Middle Ages has eclipsed any proper recognition of their nuptial symbolism.

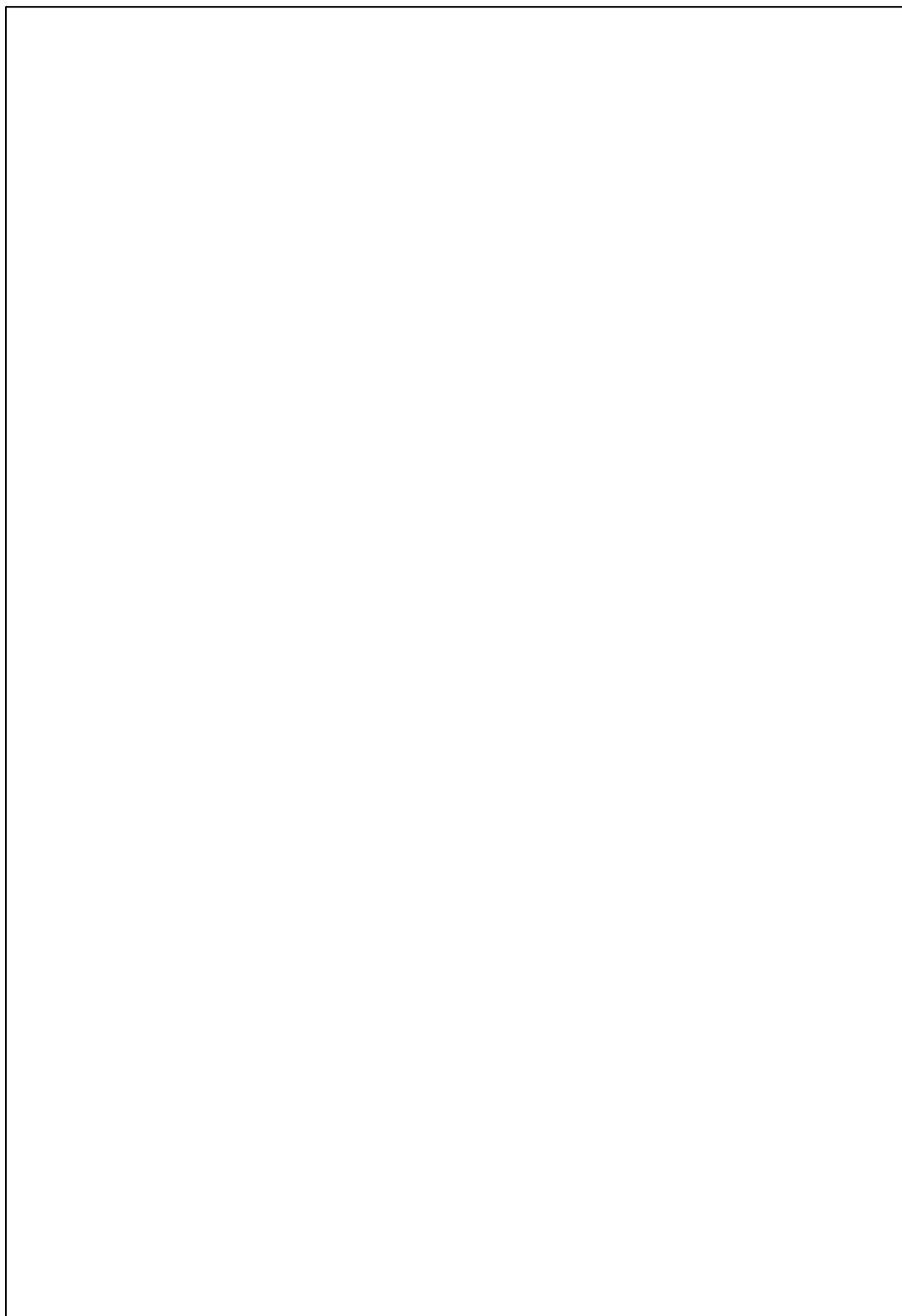
I want to stress the possibility of a nuptial association for coronation because this in turn raises the possibility of reinterpreting royal imagery in the *ordines* and, indeed, more broadly. It has been shown that the queenly *ordines* are loaded with nuptial vocabulary and imagery. The biblical exemplars provided in the *ordines* for queens were the wives of the Old Testament figures included in the male *ordines*. In prayer Q11 following the queen's coronation it is hoped that she might, in the next life, meet the eternal bridegroom, Our Lord Jesus Christ ('sponsus perennis dominus nostrus Ihesus Christus'). During the coronation of a virgin during her consecration it is made explicitly clear that her spouse is Christ.

³⁶⁹ Thomas A. Heslop, "The English Origins of the Coronation of the Virgin," *The Burlington Magazine* 147 (2005): 790.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 791.

Illustration 5

Coronation of the Virgin from a Manuscript in Eton College Library



Eton College Library MS 177, f.7v

The symbolism of the crown, regal, sacral and nuptial, enabled Princess Matilda to be identified with the Virgin Mary in the dedicatory image in Henry the Lion's Gospels. These same complimentary associations allowed the wife of the king to be presented in the *ordines* as both bride and queen and as such explicitly identified her with the Virgin, the Bride of Christ and Queen of Heaven. Such Marian allusions were not confined to the female ceremony. Prayer formula K28, associated with the giving of the sword in the royal *ordines*, invokes the Psalmist, David, exhorting the king to 'accingere gladio super femur tuum potentissime'. As previously discussed, this is a reference to Psalm 44, which also appears in the liturgy on the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, demonstrating, once again, the interweaving of royal and nuptial associations. This association perhaps further explains the papal desire to neutralise the force of this biblical allusion in the *Ordo* from the Roman Curia.³⁷¹ If the earthly queen could be presented as the heavenly Bride of Christ, it was merely a small conceptual shift to identify her mortal husband with the celestial Bridegroom, an identification that was unacceptable to the post-Gregorian papacy.

That such nuptial overtones are demonstrative of a Christological interpretation of the liturgy recognised by contemporaries, is made clear in the most famous work of the Norman Anonymous: 'De consecratione pontificum et regum'.³⁷² The anonymous author opens his work on the consecration of bishops and kings by grounding his argument for the superiority of kings in the language of marriage. It is worth quoting this passage in full to demonstrate the extent of its references:

'Sancta ecclesia sponsa Christi est, qui verus rex et sacerdos, sed non secundum hoc quod sacerdos est sponsa eius dicitur, sed secundum hoc quod rex est. Nam et ideo regina dicitur, sicut

³⁷¹ See above p. 111.

³⁷² The identity of the author of this treatise (preserved with a number of other tracts in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 415) is unknown. The nineteenth-century editor of the tracts, Heinrich Boehmer, suggested that they were written by a cleric associated with York. George Williams argued for a Rouen association for the author and Norman Cantor for the authorship of Gerard of York (who had previously been a canon at Rouen). Their arguments are summarised by Ruth Nineham, who herself favours a Rouen affiliation. She further suggests that there is good reason to reject Cantor's belief that the tracts must have been written by a prominent ecclesiastic, stating that 'his views are too violent and too visionary for the sober world of ecclesiastical diplomacy'. Ruth Nineham, "The So-called Anonymous of York," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 14 (1963): 31–45.

scriptum est: Astitit regina a dextris tuis, in vestitu deaurato, circundata varietate,³⁷³ et beatus Augustinus in sermone, cuius initium est: recte festa ecclesie colunt, reginam eam esse manifeste denuntiat. Hinc est etiam quod cum adventus eius ad sanctam ecclesiam a prophetis predictus, non sacerdos, sed rex venturus prenuntiatus est. Isaias enim et Zacharias prophete ita dixerunt: Dicite filie Syon. Ecce rex tuus venit tibi, iustus et salvator.³⁷⁴ Et Ieremias: Ecce dies veniunt, dicit Dominus, et suscitabo David germen iustum et regnabit rex usque habitabit confidenter.³⁷⁵ Similiter et in aliis cunctis locis repperies, quod ad nuptias sancte ecclesie non sacerdos sed rex venturus esse predictus est. Ideoque nuptie ille regales sunt appellate, sicut in Epiphania Domini canitur: Hodie celesti sponso iuncta est usque ad regales nuptias.³⁷⁶ Regales enim dicuntur iste nuptie, non sacerdotales, et hec sponsa regina dicitur, non sacerdotissa. Unde et sacramentum harum nuptiarum magis convenit regie dignitati, quam sacerdotali, et ideo reges qui Christi regis imaginem preferunt, his nuptiis magi apti sunt, quarum sacramentum magis preferunt'.³⁷⁷

That the Norman Anonymous makes such liberal use of bridal and nuptial imagery in a tract concerned with royal consecration is indicative of a dynamic reinterpretation of the consecration liturgy at the beginning of the twelfth century. Kantorowicz has highlighted the Norman Anonymous' 'unambiguously Christ-centred, and therewith liturgical, philosophy of kingship'. But commented that, 'this philosophy was not that of the time to come. It has often been noticed and held against the Norman Anonymous that his passionately anti-hierocratic pamphlets, carried by a mystical belief in the power of sacramental anointings, had no practical effect on the age in which they were written'.³⁷⁸ But to present

³⁷³ Psalm 44:10.

³⁷⁴ Zacharias 9:9.

³⁷⁵ Jeremiah 23:5-6.

³⁷⁶ This antiphon is discussed below, p. 182.

³⁷⁷ Norman Anonymous, *De consecratione pontificum et regum*, ed. Heinrich Boehmer, *MGH Ldl 3* (Hannover, 1897), 662–663.

³⁷⁸ Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 59–60.

the Norman Anonymous as hopelessly swimming against the tide of progress is an overly teleological judgement. Indeed, it could be argued that the nuptial vocabulary of the Norman Anonymous finds its liturgical counterpart around a century later in the integration of marriage liturgy into the inauguration *Ordo* of 1200.

Marriage imagery was, as we have seen in the context of episcopal rings, an important element of episcopal consecration as well, hence the dual appropriateness of the Norman Anonymous' nuptial imagery. In an episcopal setting this allegorical understanding of consecration is first found in the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals of the ninth century, which denounced the transfer of a bishop from one diocese to another as being tantamount to marital infidelity.³⁷⁹ Writing in 1966, Walter Ullmann asserted that in the context of royal inauguration the ring had no marital associations. He also stressed that royal unction was of a lower status than episcopal, commenting 'perhaps nowhere else are we so much reminded of the truism that appearance and reality should not be confused as in the matter of royal unctions'.³⁸⁰ Here Ullmann has gone too far, for appearance not only helps to shape reality, but in any case there was more than one reality in play here, not just papal but royal. While Innocent III and his learned colleagues sought, for example, to devalue royal unction, high medieval kings did not meekly accept the depreciation of the rite. On the contrary, they continued to be anointed with chrism on the head. Declaring no marital association for the ring in the royal context is also unwise, for, as we have seen, such items of regalia did not have one fixed meaning, but several competing layers of association that could be brought into play. In the following chapters we shall examine the extent to which episcopal and royal consecration were conceived of as a parallel acts. Certainly this conception was not one that found favour in the Lateran, but images of royalty were by no means entirely controlled by the bishop of Rome.

³⁷⁹ Walter Ullmann, *Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages* (London, 1966), 142.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 141.

Chapter 4

Who and Where? Actors, Places and Legitimacy

Roger of Howden provides a detailed description of a procession, which arrived at the doors of Westminster Abbey on 3 September 1189.³⁸¹ In the vanguard were clerics carrying holy water, crosses, candles and thuribles, closely followed by priors, then abbots, then four barons carrying four golden candlesticks processing amongst the bishops. Godfrey de Lucy and John Marshal followed side-by-side, Godfrey carrying a felt cap and John a large pair of heavy spurs made of gold. Then came William Marshal, here described as earl of Striguil, with a golden sceptre topped by a cross, accompanied by William FitzPatrick, earl of Salisbury, carrying a golden rod decorated with a golden dove. Then came the triumvirate of David, earl of Huntingdon, John, count of Mortain, and Robert, earl of Leicester, each bearing a sword from the royal treasury. Behind them came six earls and nobles carrying the royal insignia and clothing, then William de Mandeville, count of Aumale, bearing a large and weighty golden crown, decorated with precious stones. Finally came Richard, duke of Normandy, flanked by Hugh, bishop of Durham to his right and Reginald, bishop of Bath to his left. The duke under a silken canopy, held aloft by four barons, entered the abbey in which he was to be transformed from a duke into a king. His transformation is echoed in the language used by Roger of Howden. Richard arrived at the cathedral as *dux Normanniae*. Following his anointing, crowning and investiture with the objects carried in procession by his barons, he departed Westminster as *dominus rex*. Roger continues his account to tell us that the king swapped his coronation crown for a lighter version and that, 'thus crowned he came to eat, and the archbishops and bishops sat with him on one table, each seated according to his order and dignity. The earls and barons served in the royal household just as their dignities demanded. The citizens of London served in the buttery and the citizens of Winchester in the kitchen'.³⁸²

³⁸¹ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3:9–12.

³⁸² 'sic coronatus venit prandere; et archiepiscopi et episcopi sederunt cum eo in mensa, unusquisque secundum ordinem et dignitate suam. Comites autem et barones serviebant in domo regis prout dignitates eorum exigebant. Cives vero Lundonienses servierunt de pincernaria, et cives Wintonienses de coquina'. Ibid., 3:11–12.

Roger's account is suffused with the language of rank. Richard's rank had been enhanced. The churchmen took their places at the king's table according to their order and dignity. The nobles served in the king's household according to their dignity. The procession to the cathedral was unmistakably a highly choreographed affair with churchmen and nobles assigned roles and positions according to rank, with physical proximity to the king an indication of *Königsnahe*, or power and favour.³⁸³ Even within the groups outlined by Roger there existed internal hierarchies. The three sword bearers, David, earl of Huntingdon, John, count of Mortain, and Robert, earl of Leicester were not of equal rank, for John was the king-elect's brother and his relative importance was shown by the fact that he processed in the middle between the other two sword bearers who were inferior in status to him.³⁸⁴ Roger outlines the myriad distinct rituals that together constituted Richard's inauguration ceremony. His constant repetition of the word 'deinde' in introducing each succeeding ritual element has an almost rhythmical quality, so that we are not just made aware of the order of the ecclesiastical hierarchy within the ceremony, with the aforementioned bishops of Durham and Bath playing subsidiary roles to Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, but also of order in its liturgical sense, in the correct and proper ordering of the liturgy. Alas, how frustrating for the historian that Roger's liturgical order does not accord with the surviving twelfth-century English *ordo*, the so-called Third Recension, that includes investiture with the ring, missing in Roger's account, and makes no mention of spurs, which Roger tells us were carried in procession by John Marshal.³⁸⁵

This disagreement between the surviving liturgical and narrative sources is entirely typical, and is mirrored in the futility of trying to match, with a few prominent exceptions, items of regalia to descriptions in narrative sources. We

³⁸³ i.e. William de Mandeville, charged with carrying the crown walked alone and closest to the duke and was Richard's justiciar until his death in November 1189.

³⁸⁴ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3:9.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., 3:10; Despite not agreeing with surviving texts of the English Third Recension we should bear in mind that so detailed a description of a liturgical ceremony might well have been composed with the aid of a pontifical. This is certainly the opinion expressed in H.G. Richardson, "The Coronation in Medieval England: The Evolution of the Office and the Oath," *Traditio* 16 (1960): 183.

might hope that the variety of sources would complement, rather than contradict one another, thus enabling the construction of a comprehensive picture of an individual inauguration ceremony. The sources, however, do not permit this. Moreover, it is important to recognise that the level of detail in Roger of Howden's chronicle concerning the inauguration of Richard I is highly exceptional. For although Richard Jackson has rightly commented that 'the monarch's inauguration was the greatest and most important ceremony of his reign', the truth is that this importance is rarely reflected in the source materials.³⁸⁶ Confining ourselves to English examples for the time being, we have seen that there are only seven surviving manuscript witnesses to the third recension of the inauguration *ordines*; not a large number for a ceremony believed to have been in use for around two centuries. Non-liturgical evidence is hardly more common. Indeed, as Annette Kehnel has recently emphasised, 'the narrative sources are surprisingly uninterested in the issue. Reports of coronations only become fashionable from the fourteenth century onwards'.³⁸⁷

The cursory account of Richard's inauguration given by Gervase of Canterbury is, in fact, far more typical of contemporary narrative than Roger's full description. Gervase tells us that Richard 'pervenitque Londoniam iiiij^o nonas Septembris et in crastino in ingenti gloria coronatus est a Baldwino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, astantibus et cooperantibus episcopis Angliae'.³⁸⁸ At first glance Gervase's account might appear to add little to our knowledge of monarchical inauguration. Yet this is not the case. In fact, Gervase's economy with words in his description of Richard's inauguration highlights the information that contemporaries considered most important to record. That is: who was involved, what was described as having happened, and where and when an inauguration took place. Instead of lamenting what the sources do not tell us, we should concentrate on what can be gleaned from chronicles, annals and histories. Historians have harvested information from chronicles, collecting descriptions of consecrations that are atypical in their detail. In gathering the grains they have passed over, we

³⁸⁶ Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:32.

³⁸⁷ Annette Kehnel, "The Power of Weakness: Machiavelli Revisited," *German Historical Institute Bulletin* 33 (2011): 20.

³⁸⁸ Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works*, ed. William Stubbs, vol. 1, RS 73 (London, 1879), 457.

shall find that far too many rich kernels have been left unsorted on the threshing-room floor.

Who?

The *Chronica brevi ecclesiae S. Dionysii ad cyclos paschales* has a three-word entry for the year 1059: 'Philippus Rex ordinatur'.³⁸⁹ The chronicler's brevity emphasises the two key ingredients of all narrative records of monarchical inauguration, coronation or crown-wearings: a king (or emperor) and a description of the event, in other words, the 'who' and the 'what'. In this example the Saint-Denis chronicler has pared his description down to the absolute essentials, mentioning only the king even though the use of the passive verb *ordinatur* alerts us to the fact that there must have been other participants. It is no doubt self-explanatory that a monarch is the central figure in a description, however brief, of his inauguration. But it is worth dwelling on how the king is presented. Descriptions of royal inauguration make the transformative nature of the event explicit, as is made manifest in this particular account in the choice of verb. Philip was 'ordained' king. The Waltham Chronicle's account of the inauguration of William the Conqueror encapsulates the importance of change in office in recounting that 'dux ille nobilis consecratus in regem [est]'.³⁹⁰ William had been transformed from a duke into a king. This language finds a parallel in Otto of Freising's account of the elevation of the duke of Bohemia in 1158. Vladislaus II was 'ex duce rex creatur'.³⁹¹ Such a modification of office is not confined to the peculiar circumstances of a king being created anew, or the Conquest in which the duke of Normandy assumed the office of king of England for the first time. As we have seen, Roger of Howden, writing over one hundred years after the Waltham chronicler, emphasised the same change in status in the case of Richard I. In a study of the French *Ordo* of 1250, Jacques Le Goff pointed to the importance of the words to be spoken by the archbishop as he anointed

³⁸⁹ *Chronica Brevi Ecclesiae S. Dionysii ad Cyclos Paschales*, RHF 11 (Paris, 1869), 377.

³⁹⁰ Leslie Watkiss and Marjorie Chibnall, eds., *The Waltham Chronicle: An Account of the Discovery of Our Holy Cross at Montacute and Its Conveyance to Waltham*, OMT (Oxford, 1994), 56.

³⁹¹ Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta Frederici I. Imperatoris*, 183.

the king: 'ungo te in regem'.³⁹² As Le Goff rightly stresses, 'in with the accusative indicates an action toward a goal, but also and especially, a consequence, the end of a transformation'.³⁹³ The vast majority of cursory narrative accounts of royal inauguration include the phrase 'in regem', thus echoing the language of the *ordines* and stressing the importance of the change in office.

This catchphrase of royal inauguration finds its imperial counterpart in the phrase 'in imperatorem'. The *Royal Chronicle of Cologne*, for example, describes how Frederick II made the journey to Rome, where 'ibique a Romano pontifice Honorio et omni senatu honorifice susceptus, in festo sancte Cecilie in imperatorem consecratur'.³⁹⁴ The distinction between the royal and imperial office was widely recognised outside the Empire. William the Breton, chaplain to Philip Augustus of France, explained how the Emperor must first be crowned king in Aachen, before he could be made emperor and that this practice was observed as if a sacrosanct law.³⁹⁵ Anglo-Norman sources were also aware of the numerous different titles to which the German kings and emperors laid claim. Ralph of Diss reports Frederick Barbarossa's inauguration as king of Burgundy at Arles in 1178, and goes on to discuss the four different peoples over whom Barbarossa ruled and the four crowns that corresponded to these peoples.³⁹⁶ He further discourses on the antiquity of the kingdom of Burgundy. It is important that Ralph distinguishes between the kingdoms and that William the Breton recognises the difference between king and emperor, because one thing that can be very clearly gained from the narrative sources is the sense that what is at stake here is a status changing ritual. Importantly, however, the change of status is something that is done to the monarch. His role in the transformation is passive and this is reflected either in the use of the passive voice to describe the

³⁹² Jacques Le Goff, "A Coronation Program for the Age of Saint Louis: The *Ordo* of 1250," in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János M. Bak (California and Oxford, 1990), 48.

³⁹³ Ibid.

³⁹⁴ Georg Waitz, ed., *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, *MGH SS Rer. Germ* 18 (Hannover, 1880), 251.

³⁹⁵ William the Breton, "Gesta Philippi Augusti," in *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton: Historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. H. François Delaborde, vol. 1 (Paris, 1885), 301–302.

³⁹⁶ 'Fredericus imperator Romanus varias regnorum imperio subditorum metas pro varietate linguarum distingues, Longobardos, Baioarios, Austrasios, Burgundiones, diligenter recensuit, et juxta numerum quatuor populorum edoctus est plenius quatuor sibi competere diademata'. Ralph of Diss, *The Historical Works*, ed. William Stubbs, vol. 1, RS 68 (London, 1876), 427.

inauguration, or in the king or emperor being the object of the sentence rather than the subject. Both these techniques are combined in the description of the imperial inauguration of Henry V found in William of Malmesbury: 'unxit eum Hostiensis episcopus inter scapulas et in brachio dextro. Post haec a domino Apostolico ad altare eorundem apostolorum deductus et ibidem imposita sibi corona, ab ipso Apostolico in imperatorem est consecratus'.³⁹⁷

The active participants in the event are thus the churchmen who officiate in the inauguration. William of Malmesbury's account allows for the participation of more than one churchman, but it is clear that it is the pope's actions that transformed Henry V from king to emperor. William of Malmesbury took his account from the lost work of David Scottus, bishop of Bangor, who he considered to have described the event 'magis in regis gratiam quam historicum deceret acclinis'.³⁹⁸ William took particular issue with David's analogy between Jacob wrestling with an angel until he had wrung a blessing from him, and Henry V's holding the pope in captivity to force him to consecrate him emperor. Having dissociated himself from the ensuing description, William includes what is an unusually detailed account of an inauguration, in his *Gesta Regum Anglorum*. What is striking about this account is the extent to which it makes conscious reference to the 'Romanus ordo'.³⁹⁹ William, citing David, relates that the king was received at the Silver Gate, a detail also found in the imperial *ordines*, and that the Bishop of Ostia then recited the first prayer contained within the ordinal, 'quoniam Albanus deerat a quo debuisset dici si adesset'.⁴⁰⁰ Having been led to the middle of the Rota, the Bishop of Porto recited the second prayer 'sicut precipit Romanus ordo'.⁴⁰¹ The description then continues to include his anointing and coronation, which both took place at the altar of St. Peter. David's references to the liturgy are intended to emphasise the liturgical correctness of the inauguration and thereby its legitimacy.

³⁹⁷ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, 768.

³⁹⁸ Ibid., 764.

³⁹⁹ Ibid., 768.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., 766.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 768.

The majority of accounts make no direct reference to a liturgical *ordo*, but do include the active participant in the inauguration ceremony, if only for the simple reason that it was the celebrant who conferred legitimacy on the event. Richard of Devizes' account of Richard the Lionheart's inauguration is typical here.

Richard tells us only that Richard 'consecratus est in regem Anglorum a Baldewino archiepiscopo Cantuarie'.⁴⁰² By contrast, George Garnett has pointed to William of Poitiers' insistence that Harold's anointing was invalid.⁴⁰³ William of Poitiers wrote that Harold, 'ordinatus est non sancta consecratione Stigandi'.⁴⁰⁴ In other words, the participation of Stigand had rendered Harold's ordination illegitimate, whereas in contrast William I's position was strengthened through his consecration by Aeldred of York, 'archiepiscopus aequa sancta vita carus et inviolata fama'.⁴⁰⁵ There were two issues at stake here. The first is, as identified by Garnett, the issue of the liturgical status of the celebrant. William of Poitiers emphasises both Aeldred's holding of the archiepiscopal office (in opposition to Stigand who appears without a title) and, secondly, his spotless reputation.

There was another important difference between the two churchmen that is equally pertinent. This was that Aeldred was archbishop of York and Stigand (had he been correctly consecrated) archbishop of Canterbury. In William of Poitiers' account we can glimpse a trace of the quarrel between the two archbishoprics over which of them had the right to inaugurate a king.⁴⁰⁶ This perhaps explains the stress on Aeldred's 'vita carus et inviolata fama'. It is not enough that he was a legitimately consecrated archbishop. His qualities are also underlined as William of Poitiers strives to legitimise the kingship of the Conqueror.

⁴⁰² Richard of Devizes, *Chronicle of the Time of King Richard the First*, ed. John T. Appleby (London, 1963), 2.

⁴⁰³ George Garnett, "Coronation and Propaganda: Some Implications of the Norman Claim to the Throne of England in 1066," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 36, Fifth Series (1986): 98.

⁴⁰⁴ Davis and Chibnall, *The Gesta Gvillelmi of William of Poitiers*, 100.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁴⁰⁶ In England the right to consecrate the king led to frequent quarrels between the archbishops of Canterbury and York, perhaps at their most violent during the Becket conflict, when, on his return from exile, Becket excommunicated all bishops who had taken part in the consecration of Henry the Young King in 1170.

By the end of the period under consideration in this study, the rights of the archbishops of Canterbury, Reims and Cologne to inaugurate kings in their respective realms were firmly established.⁴⁰⁷ Earlier in the period the situation was rather more fluid, particularly in the Empire, where the archbishops of Cologne, Mainz and Trier all claimed the right of inauguration. All three held the initiative at different points in time and, while by the mid-eleventh century Cologne was firmly in the ascendancy, the making of a number of anti-kings continued to allow Mainz and Trier opportunities to press their claims.⁴⁰⁸ In a final attempt to secure the honour for his see, the archbishop of Trier sought to officiate at the inauguration of Conrad III in 1138, when the archbishoprics of Mainz and Cologne were both vacant. His attempt did not meet with success. The archbishop-elect of Cologne objected and ensured that the papal legate, Dietwin, officiated, rather than his archiepiscopal rival.⁴⁰⁹ In France and England, earlier custom, by which the archbishops of Reims and Canterbury inaugurated kings, was not translated into rights confirmed by the papacy until the pontificates of Urban II and Alexander III respectively.⁴¹⁰

In certain circumstances inauguration was possible without the participation of these figures, but in that event our narrative sources often expand to justify the change. An imperial inauguration was unthinkable without the participation of a pope, hence Henry V's kidnapping of Paschal II. But as we have seen David Scottus was still anxious to explain why the Bishop of Ostia said the first prayer in the ceremony, rather than the Bishop of Porto. We find similar explanations in other narrative sources. The *Royal Chronicle of Cologne* explains the fact that Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz officiated at the inauguration of Frederick II in 1215, stating that 'vacabat enim tunc temporis Coloniensis ecclesia

⁴⁰⁷ These established rights do not find their way into the liturgy in this period. They appear in a German liturgy, the so-called *Ordo* of Aachen, in the early fourteenth century, in the fourth recension of the English *ordines* from the late fourteenth century and in France in the Last Capetian *Ordo* from the late thirteenth century. For editions of these texts see Georg Heinrich Pertz, ed., *Constitutiones Regum Germaniae*, *MGH LL* 2 (Hannover, 1837), 384–393; Legg, *English Coronation Records*, 81–112; Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 2:367–418.

⁴⁰⁸ Egon Boshof has comprehensively traced the contours of these developments. Egon Boshof, "Köln, Mainz, Trier - Die Auseinandersetzung um die Spitzenstellung im deutschen Episkopat in ottonisch-salischer Zeit," *Jahrbuch des kölnischen Geschichtsvereins* 49 (1978): 19–48.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁴¹⁰ For France see Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, 94; For England Legg, *English Coronation Records*, 43–45.

archiepiscopo, cuius iuris erat regem consecrare'.⁴¹¹ No doubt part of the reason that this information appears in the Cologne account is to protect the archbishop of Cologne's role in the inauguration. But it was also necessary to justify a deviation from the accepted norm. The right to inaugurate a king was fiercely guarded by the three archbishops and histories associated with them always sought to protect their rights. However it was also in a king's best interests to ensure that his inauguration was legitimate. This is where the passive/active vocabulary distinction makes clear the importance of the celebrant.

David Scottus's report of Henry V's imperial inauguration echoed the liturgy in making apparent that archbishops or popes seldom acted without assistance. When additional information is given, as to which churchmen supported the celebrant, it is worth noting. In the case of Henry V, we know that the circumstances of his imperial inauguration were not as straightforward as David suggests and that indeed Henry had kidnapped the pope in order to secure the imperial title. In mentioning a co-celebrant, the bishop of Ostia, and in his references to the liturgy, David adds a false veneer of legitimacy. A similar approach was taken in describing the inauguration of Louis VI in the anonymous *Historia regum Francorum ab origine gentis ad annum MCCXIV*, written in 1205 and continued until 1214, through which we learn that no fewer than six bishops assisted Archbishop Dalbert of Sens in anointing the new king:

'Defuncto itaque rege Philippo, apud Floriacense monasterium tumulato, Ludovicus filius ejus, qui nominatus est Grossus, successit, qui unctus est in regem a Dalberto Senonensi archiepiscopo, et a suis coepiscopis, videlicet Vallone Parisiensi, Manasse Meldensi, Johanne Aurelianensi, Hugone Nivernensi, Ivone Carnotensi, Humbaudo Autisiodorensi'.⁴¹²

The grammar in this account is again worth closer consideration. The bishops were not merely witnesses to the event or part of the audience, but co-celebrants. Louis was anointed as king *by* the archbishop of Sens, and *by* his co-bishops. They were actively involved in transforming Louis into a king. One reason for the

⁴¹¹ Waitz, *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, 193.

⁴¹² *Historia Regum Francorum ab Origine Gentis ad Annum MCCXIV*, RHF 12 (Paris, 1877), 218.

naming of the individual bishops was, as with David Scottus, to justify the legitimate nature of what was in fact an exceptional event, in that it did not take place at Reims and that the celebrant was not the archbishop of Reims. In his *Life of Louis the Fat*, Suger includes the same roll-call of six bishops and further mentions the protests of the community at Reims, who arrived too late to stop the inauguration from taking place.⁴¹³ Clearly the inclusion of the bishops was intended to present ecclesiastical consensus in irregular circumstances.

When, in England, King Stephen wanted to have his son confirmed as his successor, a plan that did not come to fruition, he too sought not just the support of the archbishop of Canterbury, but of other bishops. Gervase of Canterbury tells us that Stephen,

‘Postulans autem a praedicto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, ad quem de antiquo jure Cantuariensis ecclesiae regum Angliae pertinet coronatio, et caeteris episcopis quos ibidem congregaverat, ut Eustachium filium suum in regem unguerent et benedictione sua confirmarent, repulsam vehemente indoluit’.⁴¹⁴

Important here is Gervase’s use of plural verbs, *unguerent* and *confirmarent*, through which he makes clear that the bishops were also active celebrants in an inauguration. The use of a plural verb to describe anointing is particularly striking; the royal *ordines* make clear that the actual laying on of hands was the preserve of the archbishop. Even so it seems clear that the other churchmen were perceived as in some way being involved in the consecration. Just as the laying on of hands at an episcopal or archiepiscopal consecration was an entirely communal affair, albeit one governed by a degree of precedence. Beyond the pragmatic seeking for political legitimacy lies a theological explanation. The Holy Spirit descended on the monarch not through the agency of one archbishop, but through the whole community of the Church.

At the time of his inauguration, a king or emperor might already be married, in which case his wife would, more often than not, be made queen or empress in a

⁴¹³ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, ed. Henri Waquet (Paris, 1929), 86.

⁴¹⁴ Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works*, 1:150.

joint ceremony. This clearly altered the dynamic of the inauguration, which now had a dual rather than a single focus. One thing that is striking in the narrative accounts is the way in which female inauguration is presented as a parallel process. The *Royal Chronicle of Cologne*, for example, describes Henry VI's imperial inauguration thus: 'Heinricus rex in Apuliam dicens exercitum, Romae in imperatorem et Constantia, uxor eius, in imperatricem, secunda feria Paschae consecrantur'.⁴¹⁵ The plural verb *consecrantur* is applied to both Henry and Constance, and the catchphrase 'in imperatorem' finds its female foil in 'in imperatricem'. The phrase 'in reginam' appears in the sources as the royal equivalent. Ralph of Diss, for example, records that John had Isabella of Angoulême crowned 'in reginam apud Westmonasterium a domino Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo'.⁴¹⁶ We see, then, that the queen or empress was transformed through her inauguration and that identical language was used to express this transformation as was deployed to describe male inauguration.

Even if a king had been married before he ascended the throne, the short life expectancy of medieval women made it likely that another queen would be inaugurated during any king's reign. In this case, the dynamic shifted again, because although the king took part in the ceremony, his role was liturgically subordinate to that of his queen. Following his divorce from Eleanor of Aquitaine, Suger informs us that Louis VII,

'Proinde rex, volens secundum divinam legem vivere, quae praecipit ut vir adhaereat uxori suae et sint "duo in carne una", propter spem successivae prolis, quae post ipsum regnum Franciae regeret, Constantiam filiam Imperatoris Hispaniae conjugio sibi junxit: et Hugo Senonensis archiepiscopus Aurelianis eam in reginam inunxit, et cum ipsa regem coronavit'.⁴¹⁷

The distinction Suger makes here is important because it suggests that it was the anointing that made Constance queen. Louis VII could be crowned with his wife, but not anointed. His presence in the ritual makes clear however, that his wife

⁴¹⁵ Waitz, *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, 152.

⁴¹⁶ Ralph of Diss, *The Historical Works*, 2:170.

⁴¹⁷ Suger, *Historia Gloriosi Regis Ludovici VII, Filii Ludovici Grossi*, RHF 12 (Paris, 1877), 128. The phrase 'due in carne una' can be found in a number of biblical passages: Genesis 2:24; Matthew 19:5; Mark 10:8; 1 Corinthians 6:16; Ephesians 5:31.

was dependent on him for her office. Thus although liturgically his role was subordinate to that of his wife, the overall effect is that the king became equally the focal point.

In this respect a phenomenon noted by Amalie Fössel in her comprehensive study of queens in the medieval Empire demands further consideration.⁴¹⁸ Fössel brought together a number of instances of a queen being inaugurated before she had even married the king. A prominent example of this is provided by Matilda of England, later wife of the emperor Henry V. Sent from the English court to the Empire in the early spring of 1110, she was received by Henry at Liège before spending Easter with his court at Utrecht.⁴¹⁹ On 25 July her inauguration as queen took place in Mainz, during which she was anointed by Archbishop Frederick of Cologne, while Archbishop Bruno of Trier held her in his arms.⁴²⁰ Matilda and Henry did not marry until three and a half years later, in January 1114. In 1110 Matilda was too young to marry, but this does not explain her seemingly premature inauguration because, as Fössel's research has shown, it was no isolated event. Amongst other examples, Henry V's mother, Bertha of Savoy, had also been made queen before she married king Henry IV. Her inauguration took place on 29 June 1066 in Würzburg, and she married Henry the following month in Trebur (close to Mainz). Frederick Barbarossa's wife Beatrix is another example of a queen inaugurated before her marriage.⁴²¹

This practice of consecrating a queen before her marriage to a king stands the conventional understanding of queenship on its head. We are accustomed to thinking of a queen as a queen due to her marital relationship to a king. Our evidence from the Empire, however, suggests that in order to marry a king, it was preferable first to be a queen. Fössel offered no justification for this phenomenon

⁴¹⁸ Amalie Fössel, *Die Königin im mittelalterlichen Reich. Herrschaftsausübung, Herrschaftsrechte, Handlungsspielräume* (Stuttgart, 2000).

⁴¹⁹ Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English* (Oxford, 1991), 24–25.

⁴²⁰ 'Desponsatam vero archiepiscopum Coloniensis in festivitate sancti Iacobi Maguntie in reginam consecravit, ceteris coepiscopis assistantibus et precipue archiepiscopo Treverensi, qui eam, dum consecraretur, inter sua brachia reverenter tenuit'. Elisabeth M.C. van Houts, ed., *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, vol. 2, OMT (Oxford, 1995), 218.

⁴²¹ Fössel, *Die Königin im mittelalterlichen Reich*, 24–27.

and I too lack a concrete explanation. The cursory narrative accounts from which Fößel has gleaned her data give little away. For this reason it is necessary to consider this unusual form of queenly consecration in light of the image of queenship we found in the liturgy, for the premature inauguration of a queen was clearly of symbolic rather than practical importance. Could it be that such a consecration was intended to heighten the association between the future queen and the Virgin Mary? Or does it echo the practice of the consecration of nuns, in which it is made clear that the bestowal of ring and crown were signs of an impending union with Christ should the postulant prove herself worthy? In the *ordo* for the consecration of a nun the bestowal of the ring was accompanied by the condition that the nun shall be joined to Christ 'si ei fideliter servieris' and the crown with a similar condition 'si in eo permanseris'.⁴²² In this interpretation, if the queen showed herself worthy, and remained in her consecrated state, she could then be joined in union to the king. Here we would again have a play on the shared imagery of royal and nuptial transformations, that stressed the king's similarity to Christ. These explanations remain speculative, but the very existence of the phenomenon makes clear that there are issues at stake concerning monarchical inauguration that modern historians have yet to appreciate.

Another example of a ceremony in which the king did not play the starring role was the inauguration of a son during the reigning king's lifetime. Perhaps because of the difficulties caused by Henry the Young King's inauguration in 1170, as a flashpoint in the Becket dispute, this has been treated in English historiography rather as a failed experiment.⁴²³ However, it is clear from narrative sources that contemporaries did not see such inaugurations as being in any way inferior. Ralph of Diss, for example, reports the Young King's inauguration in a typical way, writing that, 'xiiij^o kalendas Julii, Henricus, primogenitus filius Henrici regis Angliae, consecratus est in regem apud

⁴²² Vogel and Elze, *Le pontifical romano-germanique*, 1:45-46; McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*, 37-38.

⁴²³ According to Anne Duggan, 'in the context of the Becket controversy, most observers saw the coronation as a calculated insult to the archbishop of Canterbury, in contempt of whose rights it was performed'. Anne Heslin [Duggan], "The Coronation of the Young King in 1170," *SCH* 2 (1965): 166.

Westmonasterium a Rogero Eboracensi archiepiscopo'.⁴²⁴ Ralph's description of the inauguration of a junior king thus includes all the usual ingredients we find in the brief narrative accounts. It makes no reference to the uniqueness of this event in English history. One difference from queenly inaugurations is that the reigning king is not mentioned as also being crowned or playing a part in the liturgy. However, the sources do make it clear that the reigning king was, unsurprisingly, integral to the elevation of his son. What is perhaps surprising is that on occasion the king seems almost to have usurped the position of the archbishop. Ekkehard of Aura, for example, writes that in 1099, 'Henricus imperator natalem Domini Coloniae celebravit; in epyphania vero Aquisgrani filium suum iuniorem Henricum quintum regem fecit'.⁴²⁵ This perhaps has more than an echo of Byzantine practice, for in Constantinople a co-emperor could be crowned by the emperor himself, rather than by the patriarch.⁴²⁶

Where?

Most of the brief narrative accounts of royal consecration and coronation inform us of the place where the event occurred. The inclusion of this information demonstrates the importance of location to the consecration ritual. The supremacy of Aachen, Westminster and Reims for royal consecration, as of Rome for the imperial consecration, has long been recognised by historians and it is clear from contemporary accounts that the legitimacy of a consecration could be challenged if it were not carried out by the correct celebrant and in the correct cathedral church. Louis VI's consecration at Orléans, for example, drew protests from the canons of Reims, who having arrived too late to prevent the ceremony, departed and continued to complain. Although Suger tells us, with some satisfaction, that 'quicquid tamen dixerint, nichil utile retulerunt'.⁴²⁷ As discussed above, the irregularity of Louis's consecration (he was the only French king in this period to be consecrated away from Reims) is also suggested by the level of

⁴²⁴ Ralph of Diss, *The Historical Works*, 1:338.

⁴²⁵ Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronica*, ed. Georg Waitz, *MGH SS* 6 (Hannover, 1844), 210.

⁴²⁶ Nelson, "Symbols in Context: Rulers' Inauguration Rituals in Byzantium and the West in the Early Middle Ages," 98.

⁴²⁷ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, 86.

detail given about which bishops were present. Departing from the traditional location for royal inauguration precipitated a need to stress the legitimacy of the event in other ways. That the locations of consecration were known outside of their respective realms is made clear in William the Breton's discussion of the consecration of the emperor Frederick II as king of Germany. William recounted that,

‘A tempore quo Teutonici obtinuerunt dynastiam imperii, haec semper apud eos consuetudo quasi quaedam lex inviolabiliter observatur, quod electus imperator numquam coronatur a papa Romano, nisi prius fuerit rex coronatus Aquisgrani; et postquam ibidem semel tulerit coronam, nihil restat nisi ut in imperatorem Romae a summo pontifice coronetur; et hoc fit propter reverentiam et majestatem Caroli Magni, cuius corpus requiescit ibidem’.⁴²⁸

The fact that an aspiring emperor must first be made king in Aachen was considered in France to be observed as a sacrosanct law. This makes evident the extent to which male inauguration was tied to specific locations.

In describing how the German king must first be crowned in Aachen, William the Breton highlights that Aachen was the burial place of Charlemagne. Indeed, all three royal coronation churches had historical and liturgical associations that increased their importance in legitimising inauguration. The link between Charlemagne and Aachen was of utmost importance to the German kings in this period. Their coronation church, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, had been founded by Charlemagne and designed in emulation of the churches of San Vitale in Ravenna and Santa Sofia in Benevento.⁴²⁹ When the German kings were enthroned, towards the conclusion of the inauguration ceremony, the throne on which they sat was the throne of Charlemagne (Illustration 6). The first firm evidence for the use of Charlemagne's throne in the inauguration of a king at Aachen comes from the 936 inauguration of Otto I.⁴³⁰ This throne, with its seat originally made from oak believed to have been salvaged from Noah's Ark, was

⁴²⁸ William the Breton, “*Gesta Philippi Augusti*,” 301–302.

⁴²⁹ Janet L. Nelson, “Aachen as a Place of Power,” in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Mayke de Jong and Frans Theeuws (Leiden, 2001), 220.

⁴³⁰ Percy Ernst Schramm, “Die Throne des deutschen Königs: Karls des Großen Steintron und Heinrich IV. Bronzethron,” in *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, 1:345.

approached by six steps, in accordance with the description of Solomon's throne in 1 Kings 10:19.⁴³¹ In the twelfth century, in close relation to developments in the English and French realms, association with Charlemagne became increasingly important to the Staufen kings, who sought to reassert their sacrality in the face of papal hostility.⁴³² Godfrey of Viterbo makes apparent the link between Charlemagne and Frederick Barbarossa, who secured Charlemagne's canonisation in 1165, writing 'Rex ut Aquisgrani Karulorum sede resedit / Ordine legitimo Iermania prorsus hobedit'.⁴³³

In a description of Frederick II's second inauguration, in 1215, it is made clear how important both Aachen and Charlemagne had become. Following the unexpected death of the Emperor Henry VI at Messina in 1197, the princes of the Empire had not accepted his infant son, Frederick, as king. Henry had earlier tried to get the position of his son formalised, and to ensure the triumph of hereditary, over elective, kingship in the Empire. Henry was preparing to go on Crusade, and at a court held at Würzburg, in Lent 1196, had made clear that he wished 'ut in Romanum regnum sicut in Francie vel ceteris regnis, iure hereditario reges sibi succederent'.⁴³⁴ His plans did not come to fruition and on his death different parties of princes elected his brother, Philip of Swabia, and the Welf Otto IV as rival kings. Following Philip's death in 1208, the young Frederick began to gain ground in Germany and, following further elections in September 1211 and December 1212, he was inaugurated king at Mainz by the archbishop of Mainz. This inauguration was not deemed sufficient, however, and having finally wrested Aachen from the control of Otto IV in 1215, Frederick 'intronizatus, sollempniter atque gloriose in regem est consecratus'.⁴³⁵ To be a king in Germany, one had first to sit in Charlemagne's throne in the Cathedral of St. Mary in Aachen. Frederick also chose this second inauguration (the use of the phrase

⁴³¹ Ibid., 338–339.

⁴³² Jürgen Petersohn has linked the canonisation of Charlemagne in 1165 to similar developments at St. Denis and Westminster. See Jürgen Petersohn, "Saint-Denis - Westminster - Aachen: die Karls-Translatio von 1165 und ihre Vorbilder," *Deutsches Archiv* 31 (1975): 420–454.

⁴³³ Georg Heinrich Pertz, ed., *Gotifredi Viterbiensis Gesta Friderici I. et Heinrici VI. Imperatorum Metrice Scripta*, *MGH SS Rer. Germ.* 30 (Hannover, 1870), 1.

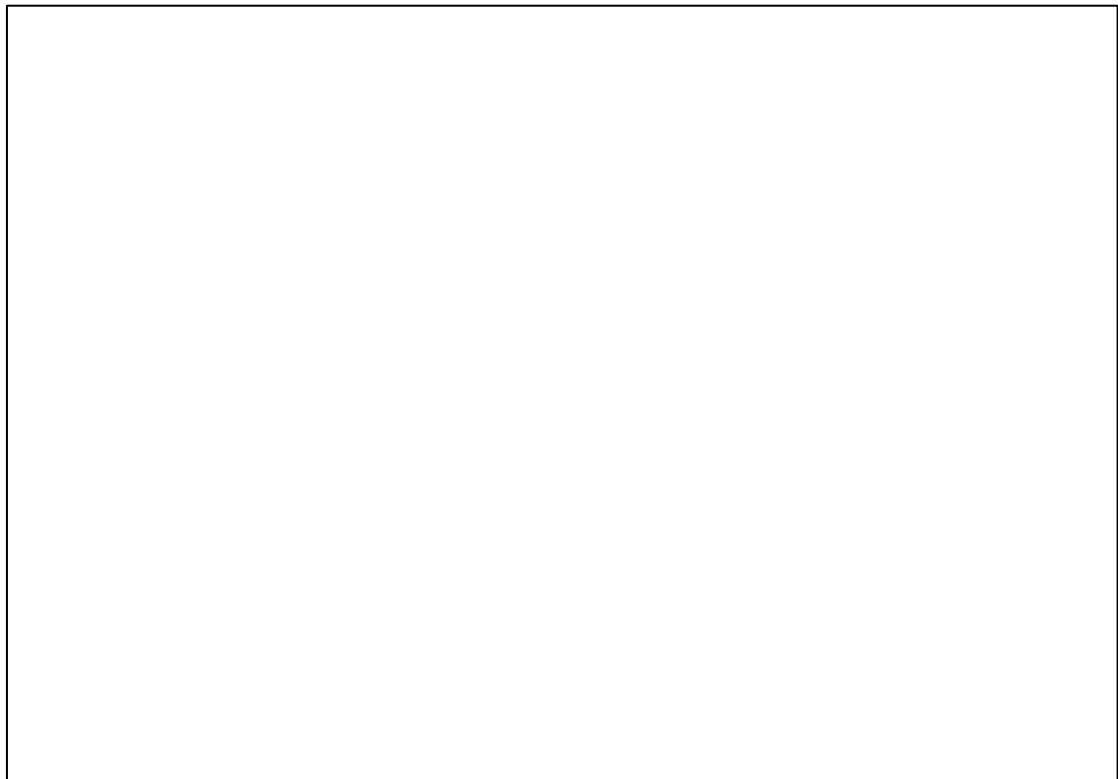
⁴³⁴ Herman Bloch, ed., *Annales Marbacenses*, *MGH SS Rer. Germ.* 9 (Hannover, 1907), 68.

⁴³⁵ Waitz, *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, 193.

'in regem' making clear that this was understood as a constitutive event), as the opportunity to take the Cross.

Illustration 6

The Throne of Charlemagne in Aachen Cathedral



Reiner of Liège describes how Frederick spent the day subsequent to his inauguration in the coronation church listening to the Crusade being preached. The following day, a Sunday, a solemn mass was celebrated,

'Idem rex corpus beati Carlomanni, quod avus suus Fredericus imperator de terra levaverat, in sarcofagum nobillissimum, quod Aquenses fecerant, auro argento contextum reponi fecit, et accepto martello depositoque pallio, cum artifice machinam ascendit, et videntibus cunctis, cum magistro clavos infixos vasi firmiter clausit; reliquum diei predicationi cessit'.⁴³⁶

Charlemagne's splendid shrine is still to be found in the Cathedral of St. Mary in Aachen. At one end of the shrine Charlemagne is depicted flanked by Pope Leo III

⁴³⁶ Georg Heinrich Pertz, ed., *Reineri Annales a. 1215*, MGH SS 16 (Hannover, 1859), 673.

and Archbishop Turpin of Reims, under a blessing Christ. He holds a model of the coronation church in his hands. At the opposite end, the Virgin and Child are depicted enthroned and crowned between archangels. The niches along both lengths of the shrine are not filled with saints, as might be expected, but with the royal and imperial successors to Charlemagne, amongst whom Frederick II is numbered (Illustration 7). By the very fact that Frederick chose to have a second inauguration and his actions in the ensuing days, Frederick, quite literally, hammered home the importance of Aachen as the resting place of Charlemagne and as the sole legitimate site for male inauguration in the German kingdom.

The French coronation church at Reims, similarly dedicated to the Virgin Mary, also possessed important historical resonances. As the cathedral church of the episcopal see of Reims, it was associated with the baptism of Clovis by St. Rémi, himself archbishop of Reims at the time of Clovis' baptism. As is well known, the chrism used during the inauguration of the French kings was supposedly that used by Rémi to baptise Clovis and was brought from the nearby abbey of St. Rémi for the ceremony. In contrast to the historical claims of Reims and Aachen, Emma Mason suggests that the choice of Westminster as the coronation church in England was, for the most part, pragmatic. Mason points to Edward the Confessor's desire to have a royal presence in London thanks to the city's burgeoning economy and considers Westminster's dedication to St. Peter to have been its major attraction for Edward 'who is said to have venerated the saint with exceptional and special love'.⁴³⁷ Soon, however, it was Edward's not St. Peter's association with the abbey that was to prove decisive. As early as 1139, an unsuccessful attempt to have the Confessor canonised was supported by King Stephen, himself in need of legitimacy.⁴³⁸ Edward's saintly status was secured in 1161, and on 13 October 1163, Henry II was present as the Confessor's body was translated into a new shrine.⁴³⁹ The importance of the saintly connections of the three inauguration churches makes manifest the continued emphasis on royal sacrality in the twelfth century.

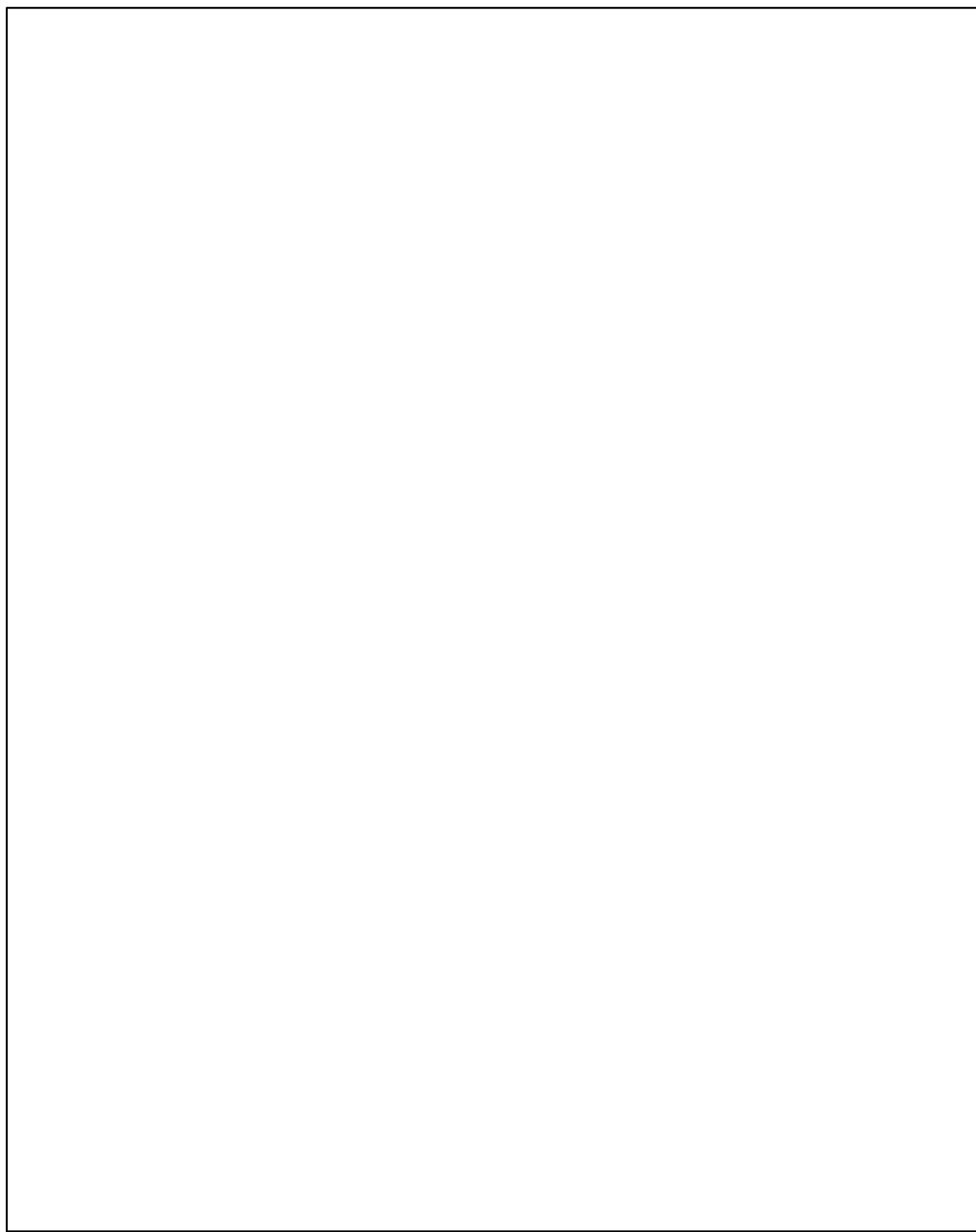
⁴³⁷ Emma Mason, "'The Site of King-making and Consecration': Westminster Abbey and the Crown in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *The Church and Sovereignty: Essays in Honour of Michael Wilks*, ed. Diana Wood, *SCH Sub 9* (Oxford, 1991), 57.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, 75.

Illustration 7

Detail of Frederick II from the Shrine of Charlemagne



Just as four years previously, Frederick II had been inaugurated for the first time in a church that was not the traditional site of royal inauguration in the Empire, so too, in 1216, circumstances dictated that Henry III was consecrated in Gloucester rather than Westminster. The church was, like Westminster, dedicated to St. Peter, but this correspondence in saintly patronage was not

sufficient. Four years later, having regained control of London, Henry III was crowned once more, this time in Westminster. As in the Empire the location of inauguration was an important legitimising factor for kings in England. Matthew Paris only includes a brief account of this second coronation in his *Chronica Majora*, suggesting it did not reach the theatrical heights of Frederick's coronation at Aachen.⁴⁴⁰ Evidence from the pipe rolls suggests, however, that similar ideas were at play here. A list of regalia, the earliest surviving full inventory of English royal ornaments, written early in Henry III's reign, mentions golden spurs ('calcaria aurea'). This item has been struck through and the reader is referred to a letter of the king, stating that the golden spurs, which he wore at his first coronation at Westminster ('primam coronacionem nostram apud Westmonasterio'), should be delivered to the Prior of Westminster to finance new work on the chapel of St. Mary.⁴⁴¹ It is well documented that the rebuilding of Westminster was integral to the construction of the Plantagenet royal image.⁴⁴² Carpenter has further demonstrated how Henry was anxious to finish the rebuilding of the abbey by 13 October 1269, so that Edward the Confessor could be translated to his new shrine on the same liturgical day he had been interred in 1163.⁴⁴³ By giving an item of regalia used in his coronation to finance the work, Henry III made apparent the link between saint, location and inauguration.

William the Breton also knew that the emperor was crowned in Rome. Unlike Aachen, Rome required no explanation. As the seat of the ancient Roman Empire, home of the papacy and place of Charlemagne's imperial coronation in 800, the necessity of travelling to Rome for imperial inauguration was taken for granted. As we have seen, the site of imperial inauguration was specified in the liturgy, in contrast to the general royal rites of this period. Of the German kings made emperor between 1050 and 1250, all but one were crowned, as the liturgy

⁴⁴⁰ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 3:58.

⁴⁴¹ The list of regalia and the accompanying letter are reproduced in Legg, *English Coronation Records*, 54–56. The reference to a first coronation at Westminster is intriguing. Does this suggest that the king thought his coronation at Gloucester invalid, or that he has subsequently been re-crowned at Westminster for a second time, in a festal rather than inaugural context?

⁴⁴² See in particular Binski's magisterial study: Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400* (New Haven, 1995).

⁴⁴³ David A. Carpenter, "Westminster Abbey in Politics 1258-1269," *Thirteenth Century England* 8 (2001): 54.

prescribed, in St. Peter's. The exception was Lothar III, who was crowned by Innocent II on 4 June 1133, in the Lateran basilica. The reason for this was simple: the anti-pope Anacletus held the Leonine city, and St. Peter's was thus closed to Lothar and Innocent.⁴⁴⁴ This event was later commemorated in a mural (no longer extant) in the St. Nicholas chapel of the Lateran. The pope's depiction of the emperor, showing the emperor bowing to receive the imperial crown, caused consternation amongst the German bishops, who wrote to Pope Hadrian IV in 1158, petitioning for its removal.⁴⁴⁵

To be made a king in England, France of the Empire, it was necessary to be inaugurated in Westminster, Reims or Aachen. To become an emperor or empress, a long and hazardous journey to Rome was required. However, if we examine the consecration location of kings' wives, we see that the sites of male royal inauguration did not have a monopoly over female consecrations. If we take the example of France, Louis VI married Adelaide of Maurienne at Notre-Dame in Paris. Louis VII married Eleanor of Aquitaine in Bordeaux, and she was consecrated, at Christmas 1137, in Bourges. Following his divorce he married Constance at Orléans. Suger recounts in his *Historia gloriosi Regis Ludovici VII* that, 'Hugo Senonensis Archiepiscopus Aurelianis eam in reginam inunxit, et cum ipsa regem coronavit'.⁴⁴⁶ Thus, Louis VII's wife was consecrated in the same location as his father. The marriages of Philip Augustus were likewise conducted away from Reims. Philip married Isabella of Hainault at Saint-Denis, having originally planned, according to Roger of Howden, for the marriage to take place at Sens.⁴⁴⁷ His second, ill-fated marriage, to Ingebourg of Denmark, took place at Amiens.⁴⁴⁸ Louis IX chose Sens for his marriage to Margaret, and William of Nangis specifically mentions that Margaret was anointed queen at the same

⁴⁴⁴ Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198*, 447.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., 452.

⁴⁴⁶ Suger, *Historia Gloriosi Regis Ludovici VII, Filii Ludovici Grossi*, 128.

⁴⁴⁷ 'Deinde statuit Philipus rex Franciae, quod ipse et uxor ejus coronarentur die Pentecostes apud Senonem civitatem: sed per consilium comitis Flandriae anticipavit terminum illum, et fecit se et uxorem suam coronari die Ascensionis apud Sanctum Dionysium ab archiepiscopo Senonensi'. Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 2:196-197.

⁴⁴⁸ William the Breton, "Gesta Philippi Augusti," 195.

time.⁴⁴⁹ It is thus clear that female consecration was not tied to Reims, and that Saint-Denis, despite its well-documented importance as a royal necropolis for the Capetians, was not favoured as a place of marriage or female consecration.⁴⁵⁰ Indeed Saint-Denis was only used by Philip Augustus when, fearing opposition to his marriage, he had to postpone his wedding from Ascension Day to Pentecost and moved it from Sens.⁴⁵¹ In France, then, royal marriage and female consecration were not limited to a single location, but could take place in a number of places.

This flexibility gave the Capetians the opportunity to impress their subjects with lavish ceremonial displays that stressed the sacrality of their office, away from their traditional centres of power. The marriage of Louis VII and Eleanor at Bordeaux was a celebration of the (albeit short-lived) joining of the Aquitanian and Capetian houses. Eleanor's consecration and Louis' coronation, at Bourges, at Christmas 1137, was a display of Capetian royal power in a city that had only become part of the royal domain in 1100, when Philip I had purchased it from the vicomte, Eudes Arpin.⁴⁵² The ceremony accompanying Philip Augustus's marriage to Ingebourg of Denmark at Amiens was surely designed to enhance royal power in the area, although Philip's abrupt repudiation of his wife probably weakened the desired effect. Amiens and the south-western part of the Vermandois had been added to the royal domain in 1185, but the division of the county of Flanders remained disputed and it was only with the Peace of Arras in 1192 that competing territorial claims were settled.⁴⁵³ Thus the wedding at Amiens was clearly seen as an opportunity to confirm royal power in an area that, as John

⁴⁴⁹ 'Quam rex paucis diebus revolutis apud Senonensem urbem in uxorem ducens legitimam, ut Francorum dominam et reginam a Galtero, civitatis Senonensis archispiscopo, inungi et regali diademate fecit solemniter coronari'. William of Nangis, *Vita Sancti Ludovici Regis Franciae*, RHF 20 (Paris, 1855), 322.

⁴⁵⁰ It should be noted that until the programme of burials and reinstallations at Saint-Denis in the 1260s queens were not buried there either. Kathleen Nolan, "The Tomb of Adelaide of Maurienne and the Visual Imagery of Capetian Queenship," in *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan (Basingstoke, 2003), 48.

⁴⁵¹ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 2:196–197.

⁴⁵² Robert Branner, *The Cathedral of Bourges and Its Place in Gothic Architecture*, ed. Shirley Prager Branner (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1989), 8–9.

⁴⁵³ Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, 1995), 36–37.

Baldwin has shown, was essential to the development of royal revenues under Philip Augustus.⁴⁵⁴

Illustration 8

The Wedding Feast of Emperor Henry V and Matilda



Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 373, f.95v.

The site of royal consecration in the German kingdom, Aachen, saw few female consecrations. Instead the German kings also used weddings and female consecration as an opportunity for display in other locations. Henry V had his

⁴⁵⁴ Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 99–100.

future wife consecrated at Mainz, on the Feast of St. James in 1110, after they had been formally betrothed but before their marriage in 1114, also in Mainz. We know from the account in the anonymous *Kaiserchronik* that their wedding was a splendid affair. It attracted so great a multitude that no one present could count all those in attendance nor keep track of the number of gifts, some sent to the couple from kings and primates and others distributed by the emperor himself.⁴⁵⁵ An accompanying illustration implies that Henry and his new wife both wore crowns at the ensuing feast (Illustration 8). Würzburg witnessed the consecration of Bertha of Turin in 1066, and the marriage of Frederick Barbarossa to Beatrice of Burgundy in 1156.⁴⁵⁶ Royal weddings in the Empire were most often held in areas in which the king had most power. In the case of Frederick II, his 1209 marriage to Constance of Aragon, at Messina, and his 1225 marriage to Isabella of Jerusalem, at Brindisi, provide further evidence of this, or could be seen as the pragmatic choices necessary in such a large realm, with a journey to Aachen, over 1500km to the north, impractical.

Aachen did, however, see two female consecrations in this period, those of Irene Maria and Margaret of Austria. Irene Maria was the wife of Philip of Swabia, and the circumstances of her consecration once again stress the importance of Aachen in legitimising kingship in the Empire. Following the double election of 1198 Philip had been crowned on 8 September, in Mainz. By 1205, however, Philip's support had grown and plans were made for a second inauguration at Aachen. The king thus travelled to Aachen with his followers and 'in ecclesia Beatae Mariae; ab omnibus eligitur et a Coloniensi archiepiscopo cum Maria, uxore sua, unctione et consecratur'.⁴⁵⁷ Seen in the context of the double election of 1198 and Philip's ensuing struggle with Otto IV for power in the Empire, it becomes apparent why Irene was consecrated alongside Philip in Aachen, rather than elsewhere. The double consecration was a statement of Philip's legitimacy and having his wife at his side during the ceremony emphasised that fact.

⁴⁵⁵ Franz Josef Schmale and Irene Schmale-Ott, eds., *Frutolfi et Ekkehardi Chronica Necnon Anonymi Chronica Imperatorum* (Darmstadt, 1972), 262.

⁴⁵⁶ 'proxima dehinc ebdomada in civitate orientalis Franciae Herbipoli regio apparatu, multa principum astipulatione, iuncta sibi Beatrice Reginaldi comitis filia nuptiae celebrat'. Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta Frederici I. Imperatoris*, 155.

⁴⁵⁷ Waitz, *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, 219.

Moreover, Irene Maria was a member of the imperial dynasty of the Angeli, eastern emperors and key players in the recently triumphant Fourth Crusade. She thus became the first Byzantine princess, since Theophanu in the tenth century, either to rule in Germany or to merit a visit to the chief imperial *Eigenkirche* of the western empire. The reason for Margaret of Austria's inauguration at Aachen in 1227 is rather more opaque. Margaret was the wife of Henry (VII), eldest son of Frederick II, who had himself been consecrated in Aachen five years previously, before their marriage. As Fössel has stressed, Margaret was the first queen since the early Middle Ages to be crowned independently in Aachen.⁴⁵⁸ In having his son's wife consecrated at Aachen, Frederick was perhaps making a statement of his intention to unite the Sicilian and German kingdoms, against the wishes of the papacy.

There was a greater correlation between the sites of male and female consecration in England, reflecting both the pre-eminence of Westminster and the established role of Winchester in royal ceremonial. In this period, only Henry I's second wife, Adeliza, and Richard I's wife, Berengaria, were not consecrated at either of these two locations, and in Berengaria's case this was due to her marriage taking place in Cyprus as Richard travelled to the Holy Land on Crusade. In fact, Richard's queen never set foot in England. The narrative sources give us an indication of the opportunity royal marriage provided for displays of largesse. Eadmer tells us of the joyful crowds at Henry and Adeliza's wedding, which took place at Windsor: 'regina itaque in regnum consecrata est, et dies festivus et hilaris omni populo qui confluxerat habitus est'.⁴⁵⁹ Although location was not a legitimising factor in queenly inauguration in England, it is clear that the English kings made less use of this geographical flexibility.

Another opportunity for the display of royal power was provided by crown-wearings and festival coronations. The nature of these events will be discussed in the following chapter, with the focus here being on the location of such celebrations. The famous formula found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, that

⁴⁵⁸ Fössel, *Die Königin im mittelalterlichen Reich*, 30.

⁴⁵⁹ Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. Martin Rule, RS 81 (London, 1965), 293.

William the Conqueror wore his royal crown three times a year, at Easter at Winchester, at Pentecost at Westminster, and at Christmas at Gloucester, has been shown by Martin Biddle not to be the hard and fast rule it was once considered to be.⁴⁶⁰ Henry I made gifts to the monks and chanters of these three churches explicitly linking these gifts to his predecessors' practice of wearing their crowns at these locations. However, he celebrated the three great feasts of the year, perhaps wearing his crown, in a number of different locations. In addition to festivals spent at Westminster and Winchester, he celebrated at Windsor, Woodstock, St Albans and Dunstable, amongst others.⁴⁶¹ Tracing where these festivals were celebrated and whether the monarch wore his crown is no simple task.

In a German context, Hans-Walter Klewitz attempted, in 1939, to identify residences favoured by the Ottonians and Salians as places to celebrate the major feasts.⁴⁶² As in England, the pattern varies, reflecting both the large size of the Empire, political considerations and personal whims. In any case, it seems unwise to assume that festal coronations were confined to these three feasts. In a charter issued at Regensburg in 1158, Frederick Barbarossa granted the duke of Bohemia the right to wear a circlet on the days that Frederick himself customarily wore his crown. In addition to Christmas, Easter and Pentecost the duke could wear his circlet 'in festivitate sancti Venzelai et sancti Adelberti eo, quod illas sollempnitates propter patronos suos maiori reverentia et celebritate tota Boemia veneretur'.⁴⁶³ Otto of Freising recounts that Frederick had been crowned in Regensburg on the Feast of Ss. Peter and Paul in 1152. In contrast to inaugural coronation, these additional displays were not tied to particular locations.

⁴⁶⁰ Martin Biddle, "Seasonal Festivals and Residence: Winchester, Westminster and Gloucester in the 10th to 12th Centuries," *ANS* 8 (1986): 51–72.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁴⁶² Hans-Walter Klewitz, "Die Festkrönung der deutschen Könige," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung* 28 (1939): 48–96.

⁴⁶³ Heinrich Appelt, Rainer Maria Herkenrath, and Walter Koch, eds., *Friderici I. Diplomata*, vol. 1, *MGH DD* 10 (Hannover, 1975), 337.

In conclusion we return to the double election of 1198. As was discussed in the previous chapter, scholars have traditionally supposed that the regalia was of paramount importance in legitimising a new king in the Empire. In questioning this assumption, Jürgen Petersohn took the struggle between Philip of Swabia and Otto IV as one of his case studies.⁴⁶⁴ Petersohn noted that Philip was in possession of the regalia, which he had brought back from Italy during the lifetime of his brother. By contrast, Otto was forced to fabricate new items, such as the Reichsschwert discussed earlier, or, Petersohn suggests, to borrow insignia from the English treasury.⁴⁶⁵ Otto had, however, two things in his favour. Firstly, he had been consecrated at Aachen. That Philip had tried to prevent this is demonstrated by the fact he had, on hearing of Otto's election, sent three hundred knights to protect the city in early summer 1198. Aachen fell to the Welfs, however, on 10 July, following a siege of about a month. Two days later, Otto IV was inaugurated by the archbishop of Cologne. This was Otto's second advantage, for when Philip was crowned, around two months later, on 8 September, the celebrant was the archbishop of Tarentaise (an Alpine metropolitan with no previous association either with German king-making or German coronations).⁴⁶⁶ Following their elections and inaugurations, the two rival kings petitioned the pope for support. Innocent III's decision, publicised in the decretal 'Venerabilem' of 1202, was resounding. He chose Otto IV over Philip of Swabia because

'dux predictus nec ubi debuit nec a quo debuit coronam et unctionem accepit, memoratus vero rex et ubi debuit, videlicet Aquisgrani, et a quo debuit, scilicet a venerabili fratre nostro .. Coloniensi archiepiscopo, recepit utrumque, nos utique non Philippum, sed Ottonem reputamus et nominamus regem, iustitia exigente'.⁴⁶⁷

Innocent justified his choice of Otto, because the king had been crowned in the right location and by the correct celebrant. The brief entries in chronicles and

⁴⁶⁴ Petersohn, "Echte" und "falsche" Insignien, 74–82.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., 75–76.

⁴⁶⁶ Andreas Büttner suggests that the archbishop of Tarantaise presided rather than the archbishop of Trier due to the fact the archbishop of Mainz was absent in the Holy Land and it was not acceptable to the cathedral chapter that another German archbishop of equal rank should consecrate a king in Mainz. Büttner, *Der Weg zur Krone*, 1:67.

⁴⁶⁷ Friedrich Kempf, *Regestum Innocentii III Papae super negotio Romani Imperii*, *Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae* 12 (Rome, 1947), 60.

annals, that have been the focus of this chapter, make clear that it was not only in the Empire, but also in France and England, that celebrant and location were the key signifiers of legitimate inauguration.

Chapter 5

What and When? Consecration, Coronation and the Liturgical Calendar

The previous chapter concentrated on two of the four items of information most often found in cursory narrative accounts of royal and imperial inauguration. As has been demonstrated, the location and celebrant were the legitimising factors in an inauguration, and it is for this reason we so often find the information in the sources. In this period the narrative sources very rarely allude directly to liturgical texts. The case of David Scottus' account, which William of Malmesbury incorporated into his *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, is a rare exception. Apart from Roger of Howden's account of Richard I's inauguration, we also find no other description encompassing all the ritual actions and handing over of various items of insignia. This is not to say, however, that the narrative sources are not imbued with liturgical resonances. This chapter is concerned with how writers described royal inauguration with a particular focus on the vocabulary employed. It will be argued that careful consideration of the words used by contemporaries to describe inauguration demonstrates that the rite continued to be understood as intimately related to episcopal consecration. The final piece of information we often find in cursory narrative accounts is the date on which an inauguration took place. In returning to the relative chronology of the medieval period, a host of liturgical references will be uncovered. These resonances point to the conscious manipulation of the liturgy in the construction of images of kingship demonstrating that increased bureaucracy did not sound the death knell for liturgical kingship.

What?

Mirroring medieval practice, I have used a number of words in this thesis to describe the constitutive ceremony in which a king or emperor, queen or empress, was made. In line with current scholarly consensus, I deliberately

chose to use the word 'inauguration' in the title of this thesis. The word 'inauguration' is favoured because, as is apparent from the liturgical texts analysed in earlier chapters, coronation was and is but one action in the making of a king. Scholars stress that the word 'coronation' is insufficient in that it prioritises the act of crowning over that of anointing, and as will be demonstrated, a coronation in the medieval sense was not in itself a constitutive ceremony. Furthermore, using the word 'coronation' to describe a monarch's inauguration causes us difficulty when discussing crownings that were not constitutive and that took place without an anointing.⁴⁶⁸ The word 'inauguration' also has its drawbacks. As Jacques Le Goff has commented, it can be applied to many things, even to something as prosaic as the ceremonial opening of a town hall.⁴⁶⁹ The word 'inauguration' fails to capture the status and power-changing nature of royal ceremonial. It is also a word that is never found in the contemporary source material. Nonetheless, its very modernity is of use here. In closely analysing the vocabulary used in the narrative sources we can uncover how contemporaries themselves described royal and imperial 'inaugurations'. By thus taking medieval descriptions on their own terms, we may find ourselves paying closer attention to non-inaugural crownings, once described by Kantorowicz as 'one of the queerest customs of the Middle Ages'.⁴⁷⁰

The vocabulary used to describe monarchical inauguration is varied. Words related to crowning and coronation (the words most often used by modern historians), in fact, represent only a minority of the vocabulary employed. This can be divided into five main groups, four of which are relatively cohesive and consist of words related to ordination, to consecration, to unction, and to crowning. The fifth consists of a diffuse collection of verbs such as *facere*, *sublimare*, *succedere*, *creare*, and *declarare*, amongst others. Words related to ordination (*ordinare*, *ordinatio*) can be found in three sources; two French ecclesiastical annals, the *Chronica brevi ecclesiae S. Dionysii* and the *Chronica Remensi*, and in the *Gesta Guillelmi* of William of Poitiers. William twice uses the

⁴⁶⁸ Liturgists such as Janet Nelson have long recognised the importance of keeping crown-wearings and non-inaugural coronations distinct from coronation as part of the inauguration ritual. Nelson, "Inauguration Rituals," 295.

⁴⁶⁹ Le Goff, "A Coronation Program for the Age of Saint Louis: The *Ordo* of 1250," 52.

⁴⁷⁰ Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, 92.

word as a noun to describe the entire process of inauguration.⁴⁷¹ It is clear from the fact that in his description he specifies that the archbishop of York both consecrated and crowned the Conqueror, that he intended the word 'ordination' to encompass both acts. Similarly in both the French annals, though a verb is used, 'ordination' stands for the whole inauguration. Of the terms used to describe inauguration, ordination is the one that most explicitly reflects ideas of office and hierarchy. Moreover ordination is most often used in an ecclesiastical context, to describe a man being ordained as a priest. This sacerdotal parallel perhaps explains why the use of ordination is limited to William of Poitiers (writing soon after the Norman Conquest) and to entries in two sets of monastic annals that were updated as and when events occurred. Thus the latest use I have found of ordination in the context of monarchical inauguration is in a description of the succession of Louis VII in the *Chronica Remensi* in which the entry for the year 1131 reads: 'Celebratum est Remense concilium a domino Innocentio papa. In eodem concilio ordinatus est Ludovicus puer rex, mortuo fratre suo Philippo rege'.⁴⁷² In the decline of the use of words related to ordination we can perhaps see the effects of the Investiture Controversy on the vocabulary of monarchical inauguration. However, as will be suggested below, a change in language does not necessarily imply a change in understanding.

The most frequently used words are those derived from the closely related verbs *sacrare* and *consecrare*, which are clearly imbued with theological significance. Such words are also used throughout the narrative accounts to denote ecclesiastics ascending to the office of bishop. Thus Eadmer, writing soon after the death of Anselm in 1109, describes William the Conqueror's inauguration as a 'consecratio' and in describing the ceremony in which Anselm became archbishop wrote 'sacratus est'.⁴⁷³ This parallel usage of 'consecratio' and related words to describe monarchical and episcopal inauguration persisted throughout the period under examination. Perhaps the most explicit allusion to the link between monarchical and episcopal inauguration is to be found in Otto of

⁴⁷¹ 'Die ordinationi decreto' and 'Post celebratam ordinationem'. Davis and Chibnall, *The Gesta Gvilelmi of William of Poitiers*, 150.

⁴⁷² *Chronica Remensi*, RHF 12 (Paris, 1877), 275.

⁴⁷³ Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, 9.

Freising's account of Frederick Barbarossa's royal consecration at Aachen in 1152. Otto tells us that,

'eadem die in eadem ecclesia Monasteriensis electus, item Fridericus ab eisdem a quibus et rex episcopis in episcopum consecratur, ut revera summus rex et sacerdos presenti iocundiatati hoc quasi prognostico interesse crederetur, qua in una ecclesia una dies duarum personarum, quae solae novi ac veteris instrumenti institutione sacramentaliter unguntur et Christi Domini rite dicuntur, vident unctionem.'⁴⁷⁴

Otto thus goes further than drawing a parallel between the two *Christi Domini*, king and bishop, to suggest that it was as if the highest king and priest, that is Christ himself, was present at the celebration. Kantorowicz is perhaps unfair in dismissing Otto for 'clinging to an ideal of by-gone days' in making this claim.⁴⁷⁵ It seems unlikely that the twin consecration was a coincidence. Instead it was a carefully choreographed event in which the parallels would have been clear to contemporaries, even if it takes Otto's hyperbole and deliberately contorted language to alert the modern reader to the event's significance.⁴⁷⁶ The audience was meant to draw the conclusion that Otto spells out for us: Christ himself approved of Frederick Barbarossa's kingship.

In many of the narratives *consecratio* and connected verbs seem to encompass the whole ceremony. However, while this is often the case, there is some ambiguity in usage. The *Royal Chronicle of Cologne*, for example, reports that Frederick II went to Rome, 'ibique a Romano pontifice Honorio et omni senatu honorifice susceptus, in festo sancte Cecilie in imperatorem consecratur'.⁴⁷⁷ Likewise Henry of Huntingdon tells us that Henry I went to London and 'sacratus est ibi a Mauricio Lundoniensi episcopo, melioratione legum et consuetudinum optabili repromissa'.⁴⁷⁸ In these examples, *sacrare* and *consecrare* imply the entire ritual. But on other occasions such sacring words appear in conjunction

⁴⁷⁴ Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta Frederici I. Imperatoris*, 105.

⁴⁷⁵ Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 89. fn. 6.

⁴⁷⁶ This is of course echoed in liturgical sources, where the *ordines* for royal and episcopal inauguration are found close together in liturgical manuscripts.

⁴⁷⁷ Waitz, *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, 251.

⁴⁷⁸ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Diana Greenway, OMT (Oxford, 1996), 448.

with a reference to crowning. Roger of Howden, for example, combines consecration and crowning in his descriptions of the inaugurations of Matilda of Scotland, of Henry II, of Henry the Young King, and of John. In these examples Roger's sentence structure appears to assign constitutive significance to consecration over crowning. Henry II, 'coronatus et in regem consecratus [est]'.⁴⁷⁹ Similarly his eldest son was, 'coronari et in regem consecrari'.⁴⁸⁰ In such cases it is tempting to see 'consecrating' as a synonym for 'anointing', which, as we have seen, appears with the phrase 'in regem' in the liturgical texts. However this correlation is not exhibited in all our sources. In the *Historia regum Francorum*, Philip Augustus is described as being both anointed and consecrated: 'fecit inungi et in regem consecrari'.⁴⁸¹ An examination of the *ordines* makes clear that 'consecration' was the term most frequently used to describe the complete ceremony. Indeed 'incipit consecratio regis' is the commonly found opening rubric to the liturgical texts.

Words relating to anointing appear frequently in the sources in conjunction with the phrase 'in regem', or its female and imperial counterparts, accentuating the relationship between anointing and consecration, and reflecting the language of the liturgy itself. By contrast, crowning words are only seldom associated with these phrases. If an author mentions both crowning and unction in his account then the 'in regem' is most often associated with unction, only occasionally with both acts.⁴⁸² The transformative nature of unction is sometimes stressed by the use of the prefix 'in' to strengthen the word.⁴⁸³ Thus we read in Rigord that Philip Augustus 'in regem est inunctus',⁴⁸⁴ or in Otto of Freising that Frederick Barbarossa's son Henry Berengar was 'regem inungi ac coronari'.⁴⁸⁵ That unction was recognised as the constitutive element in the ritual emerges even more

⁴⁷⁹ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 1:213.

⁴⁸⁰ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 2:4–5.

⁴⁸¹ *Historia Regum Francorum ab Origine Gentis ad Annum MCCXIV*, 221.

⁴⁸² I have found only two examples of crowning appearing on its own with the phrase *in regem*. These are the description of John's inauguration in William the Breton and Otto IV's inauguration in Rigord. William the Breton, "Gesta Philippi Augusti," 205; Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, ed. Elisabeth Carpentier, Georges Pon, and Yves Chauvin, SHM 33 (Paris, 2006), 346.

⁴⁸³ The verb *inungere* (to anoint) should not be mistaken for the more common verb *iniungere* (to enjoin/unite).

⁴⁸⁴ Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 128.

⁴⁸⁵ Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta Frederici I. Imperatoris*, 63.

clearly from an examination of descriptions of female inauguration. In the case of a reigning king marrying (a relatively common occurrence), then the king's new wife was usually raised to the office of queen, either at the time of the marriage or in a separate ceremony. Such occasions also provided an opportunity for the king to be crowned. But such coronations were not inaugural. Henry II had his son and namesake made king in 1170. Much to the annoyance of the king of France, the Young King's wife Margaret, Louis VII's daughter, was not inaugurated queen at the same time. To appease the French king, another ceremony was arranged two years later. Ralph of Diss is one of several chroniclers to record both events, and the distinction he draws in his description of the 1172 ceremony is instructive. He writes that 'archiepiscopus itaque memoratus, xii. kalendas Septembris apud Wintoniam, Margaritam reginam Angliae consecravit, et diadema regni capitи filii regis imposuit'.⁴⁸⁶ Margaret was consecrated queen. Henry was merely crowned. Rigord likewise makes the same distinction in his description of Isabella of Hainault being made queen following her marriage to Philip Augustus. According to Rigord, King Philip was crowned for a second time, but Isabella was anointed ('inuncta').⁴⁸⁷

Crowning was an integral part of monarchical inauguration, so it comes as no surprise that words related to crowning and coronation were occasionally used by medieval authors to designate the ceremony in which a king or emperor was made. Their use as the sole identifier is far from universal, although perhaps more evident from the late twelfth century and into the thirteenth century. The increasing prevalence of crowning words in preference to a stress on consecration or unction might perhaps be attributed to clerical writers seeking to undermine the sacrality of the ceremony. Certainly this is the conclusion Andreas Büttner draws. He suggests that the tendency for a shift in these *parapro-toto* descriptions from unction to coronation is indicative of a change in perception of the entire ritual, and can be seen as evidence for desacralisation.⁴⁸⁸ Büttner's knowledge of the sources for the late medieval Empire is

⁴⁸⁶ Ralph of Diss, *The Historical Works*, 1:352–353.

⁴⁸⁷ 'Idem rex Philippus secundo imposuit sibi diadema et tunc inuncta fuit Elisabeth'. Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 138–40.

⁴⁸⁸ Büttner, *Der Weg zur Krone*, 1:6.

unquestionable, but I would suggest that what might well be true of the period after 1250, the main focus of his research, cannot be accepted for the high Middle Ages. As has been demonstrated in relation to the liturgy, the act of coronation and the crown as a symbol were understood on a number of levels. The historical works of Gervase of Canterbury neatly illustrate this point. Writing in the late 1190s, Gervase almost exclusively uses the verb *coronare* in his descriptions of inaugurations. He records in the year 1154, for example, that 'sextodecimo kalendas Januarii coronatus est rex Henricus filius Matildis imperatricis'.⁴⁸⁹ Importantly Gervase uses the same vocabulary to describe another, rather different, event: the martyrdom of Thomas Becket. According to Gervase, in the year 1170, 'Sanctus Thomas...martirio coronatus est'.⁴⁹⁰ This usage serves to remind us, once again, that coronation imagery was not confined to monarchical ceremonial and that the more frequent use of crowning words should not be assumed to indicate a devaluing of the rite in the eyes of contemporaries.

Unction and coronation were the two most important rituals in inauguration ceremonies, and thus using one or other to designate the entire ceremony is no more than synecdochic. As has been seen, however, monarchs only received unction in an inaugural context, whereas crowning could also be non-inaugural. In modern usage in England, France and Germany 'coronation,' 'couronnement,' and 'Krönung' are routinely used to describe monarchical inauguration. But this usage is problematic, in that it prejudices the use of the word in other contexts. Because 'coronation' is commonly equated with 'inauguration' we have to use the invented term *Festkrönung* or 'festival coronation' to describe events that contemporaries just termed 'coronations'.⁴⁹¹ This is no mere pedantic point about correct terminology, but an issue of semantic significance. We ignore at our peril the importance of language in the shaping of meaning. It is clear from

⁴⁸⁹ Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works*, 1:159–60.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., 1:232.

⁴⁹¹ Carlrichard Brühl provides a useful summary of terms used to describe different types of coronations. However, while these terms can certainly be useful in academic discussion we should be cautious before categorising events that contemporaries did not. At what point or under what circumstances, for example, does a 'festival coronation' or *Festkrönung* morph into a 'confirmatory coronation' or *Befestigungskrönung*? Carlrichard Brühl, "Kronen- und Krönungsbrauch im frühen und hohen Mittelalter," *Historische Zeitschrift* 234 (1982): 2–3.

the manner in which *Festkrönungen* have been studied as some kind of independent phenomenon, and treated, to paraphrase Kantorowicz, as ‘queer’ customs, that they suffer by the comparison, almost as if the only proper coronation was an inaugural one, and a non-inaugural crowning or crown-wearing somehow an embarrassing throwback. This is not an attitude reflected in the contemporary narrative sources, which are not troubled by the same issue of vocabulary. Otto of Freising’s unexceptional account of Frederick Barbarossa’s coronation at Regensburg in 1152 is a case in point. He tells us that the king, ‘Baioriam ingreditur ac Ratisponae, Norici ducatus metropoli, in festivitate apostolorum in monasterio sancti Emmerammi – nam maior aecclesia cum quibusdam civitatis vicis conflagraverat – coronatur’.⁴⁹²

Historians seeking a medieval ally in their dismissive attitude to non-inaugural coronations might feel they have found one in Henry II of England. Roger of Howden reports two non-inaugural coronations in Henry’s reign, one just outside Lincoln at Christmas 1157, and another at Worcester, at Easter 1158.

Significantly following his and Eleanor’s crowning at Worcester, Henry and his wife took off their crowns and placed them on the altar, announcing that they did not want to be crowned again: ‘ubi cum ad oblationem venirent, desposuerunt coronas suas, et eas super altare obtulerunt; voventes Deo, quod nunquam in vita sua de caetero coronarentur’.⁴⁹³ These actions might, as Nicholas Vincent has suggested, ‘been motivated by a desire to replace the expensive and dispute-ridden ceremony of coronation at the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury with a no less lavish display of alms-giving to the poor’.⁴⁹⁴ But Howden specifies that Lincoln was the second time that Henry had been crowned and Worcester the third time, so it would perhaps be better not to speak of ‘the abandonment of formal crown-wearings,’ as if they were a routine occurrence, firstly because Lincoln and Worcester saw coronations rather than crown-wearings and secondly because, according to Howden, such events happened only twice in the

⁴⁹² Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta Frederici I. Imperatoris*, 107.

⁴⁹³ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 1:216.

⁴⁹⁴ Nicholas Vincent, “The Court of Henry II,” in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge, 2007), 326.

first three and a half years of Henry's reign.⁴⁹⁵ In any case a decline in the frequency of crown-wearings seems to have already begun under Henry's grandfather Henry I.⁴⁹⁶

Henry II's coronation at Lincoln on Christmas Day 1157 was perhaps a response to Stephen's crowning in Lincoln at Christmas 1146, although unlike Stephen, as Roger of Howden reports, Henry was crowned 'extra muros civitatis in Wikeford'.⁴⁹⁷ Vincent's suggestion that events at Worcester were a spontaneous attempt to avoid the quarrels that had beset the Lincoln crowning is plausible, but I would suggest there was something else at play here. Henry and Eleanor's actions at Worcester would have been highly choreographed rather than spontaneous. Unfortunately neither Howden, nor Ralph of Diss, our other witness to the occasion, elaborate on the reason for Henry's behaviour. Perhaps the key lies in the phrase 'nunquam in vita sua de caetero coronarentur'.⁴⁹⁸ The phrase 'they were never again to be crowned in their lifetimes' leaves open the possibility of coronation in death, a concept, as we have seen, that was applied to saints, such as Thomas Becket. This saintly usage was, moreover, referenced in the *laudes* where the king was described as 'a Deo coronatus'. It is thus plausible that Henry's action was one driven by piety rather than ecclesiastical politics. Whatever the reason, it seems unwise to jump to the conclusion that Henry considered non-inaugural coronation simply too troublesome. That all three of his sons were crowned more than once also suggests that his exploits at Worcester did not put an end to non-inaugural crownings in England.

Henry and Eleanor's actions at Worcester are not recorded in the work of Henry of Huntingdon, who died sometime between 1156 and 1164. Although his *Historia Anglorum* ends with the assertion that 'now a new book must be devoted to a new king', no such book describing the early years of Henry II's reign

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ Biddle, "Seasonal Festivals and Residence," 51.

⁴⁹⁷ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 1:213; The description of Stephen wearing his crown at Lincoln comes from Henry of Huntingdon, who comments 'Duodecimus rex Stephanus anno ad Natale Domini in urbe Lincolensi diademate regaliter insignitus est, quo regem nullus introire prohibentibus quibusdam supersticiose ausus fuerat'. Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, 748.

⁴⁹⁸ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 1:216.

survives.⁴⁹⁹ The third version of his work, written c.1140 does, however, include a story that demonstrates that the laying aside of a crown could be interpreted as a pious act in mid-twelfth-century England. In this version of his history, Henry of Huntingdon includes the first description of the now famous story of Cnut commanding the sea not to rise. As is well known, Cnut's words made no difference to the incoming tide, and the king ended up with wet feet. At this point the king cried out 'Sciat omnes habitantes orbem, vanam et frivolam regum esse potentiam, nec regis quempiam nomine dignum, preter eum cuius nutui celum, terra, mare, legibus obediunt eternis'.⁵⁰⁰ Henry then recounts that the king never again wore his crown 'sed super imaginem Domini que cruci affixa erat, posuit eam in eternum, in laudem Dei regis magni'.⁵⁰¹ Henry of Huntingdon recorded this story, in which Cnut's setting aside of his crown is presented as an act of great piety, around twenty years before Henry II and his wife set their crowns on the altar at Worcester. That such an idea had contemporary currency nonetheless suggests that we should regard Henry II's act as symbolic not just pragmatic.

Henry II was not the only monarch for whom contemporary evidence points to an eschewal of non-inaugural coronations or crown-wearings. Following a description of Frederick Barbarossa being crowned at Pavia at Easter 1162, the historian Acerbus Morena adds that this was the first such coronation in three years. He writes that Frederick had earlier declared that he would not wear his crown again, until he had conquered Milan.⁵⁰² Acerbus's description of this joyful coronation follows directly on from his narrative of the destruction of Milan, and it is worth noting that it is at this point that Acerbus mentions that Frederick has not worn his crown for three years. This fact is not presented in its correct chronological position in the narrative, but appears only after Frederick had destroyed Milan and could thus wear his crown again without breaking his vow.

⁴⁹⁹ 'Et iam regi novo novus liber donandus est. Explicit liber decimus. Hic incipit liber undecimus de Henrico iuniori'. Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, 776.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 368.

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰² 'Proposuerat enim, quod ipse nunquam coronam sumeret in capite, donec Mediolanum superasset', in Ferdinand Güterbock, ed., *Ottonis Morenae et Continuatorum Historia Frederici I*, *MGH SS Rer. Germ. N.S.* 7 (Berlin, 1930), 158–159.

This authorial choice certainly dramatises the vow and augments the significance of the Pavian coronation. It also suggests that there could perhaps have been other episodes, in which monarchs chose not to wear their crowns for a variety of reasons, that went unrecorded. Carlrichard Brühl is absolutely right to stress that there must have been many more coronations and crown-wearings than the sources record. But the reverse is perhaps also true, namely that sometimes kings chose not to wear their crowns or submit to coronation, and that the sources do not always inform us.⁵⁰³

Although a number of different words are used to describe the inauguration of a monarch, significantly a verb is almost always used in preference to a noun, i.e. 'coronatus est', or 'coronavit' rather than 'coronatio'. The use of verbal forms is significant because it makes clear that inauguration is a process, a transformation, rather than something static. If a noun is used, either it is paired with a verb, as in the reference to Philip Augustus's inauguration in the *Chronica Remensi*, which states that, 'MCLXXIX. Celebrata est coronatio regis Philippi per manum Guillelmi Remensis archiepiscopi',⁵⁰⁴ or it refers to the ceremony either before or after it has happened. For example, Richard of Devizes reports that Richard I 'consecratus est in regem'.⁵⁰⁵ However, in the context of recounting a portent that occurred on that day, that the appropriate bells had not been rung during masses, Richard used the formula, 'ipsa die coronationis'.⁵⁰⁶ This distinction is important, because recognising it helps us to distinguish between inaugural ceremonies and non-inaugural coronations or crown-wearings.

Let us consider a short passage from Roger of Howden concerning King Stephen and mentioning a coronation: 'Anno igitur gratiae M^oC^oXXX^oVI^o., die Sancti Stephani, diadematus rex Stephanus, curiam suam tenuit apud Lundoniam, in cuius coronatione, ut dicitur, pax Domini ad missam nec dicta fuit nec data populo'.⁵⁰⁷ This is the only mention Roger makes of Stephen's inauguration, and has led some historians to suggest that Stephen's inauguration took place on 26

⁵⁰³ Brühl, "Kronen- und Krönungsbrauch im frühen und hohen Mittelalter," 10.

⁵⁰⁴ *Chronica Remensi*, 275.

⁵⁰⁵ Richard of Devizes, *Chronicle of the Time of King Richard the First*, 3.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵⁰⁷ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 1:189.

December 1135, or that Roger has supplied an incorrect date for the inauguration. However a closer evaluation of the passage makes clear that neither of these eventualities is implied by Roger's report. What it tells us is simply that King Stephen appeared crowned at the court he held at London on St. Stephen's Day.⁵⁰⁸ It then continues to inform us that it was said that the peace had not been handed around at the coronation mass, a rumour repeated by Gervase of Canterbury, amongst others. The noun *coronatio* does not refer back to the first part of the sentence, but to Stephen's inauguration, which we also know from other sources took place on 22 December. Moreover *diadematus* is an adjective qualifying *rex Stephanus*, rather than a passive participle requiring us to supply the verb 'to be'. This is made even clearer by the fact that *rex* appears in the nominative, rather than in the accusative as in the phrase 'in regem', which Howden uses in every other description of an inauguration. Roger has thus not made a mistake in his dating of Stephen's inauguration. In recognising this, it becomes apparent that his account raises a number of interesting points. Firstly Roger does not actually record Stephen's inauguration; he merely mentions it after the event. This is highly unusual and is perhaps indicative of a certain antipathy to Stephen and a suggestion that his inauguration was unlawful. Secondly it tells us that Stephen appeared crowned at his first royal court, a mere four days after his inauguration. That Stephen felt the need to wear his crown again so soon is suggestive of a desire to emphasise his newly acquired royal status. Finally, Roger states that Stephen wore his crown on St. Stephen's Day, rather than Christmas Day as was customary, and in doing so no doubt sought to draw a parallel between the new king and his saintly namesake.⁵⁰⁹

A close reading of these narrative sources has demonstrated the subtlety of vocabulary used to describe elevation to the royal or imperial throne and the difficulties caused by the modern convention of labelling inaugural anointings and crownings as 'coronations', a word contemporaries used frequently to describe non-inaugural ceremonies. Examining the use of constructions using

⁵⁰⁸ Henry of Huntingdon also suggests Stephen appeared crowned at his first court, although he disagrees with Roger about the date: 'diadematus igitur curiam suam tenuit ad Natale apud Lundoniam'. Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, 702.

⁵⁰⁹ The resonances inherent in saints' days are discussed later in the chapter.

verbs or nouns and active and passive forms is a necessity in decoding whether a chronicler is referring to an inauguration, coronation or crown-wearing. This strikes me as particularly important when we consider ceremonies that are often treated as poor relations to the consecration of a new king following the death of his predecessor. There are two ceremonies of particular significance: the consecration of a new king during the lifetime of his predecessor, and so-called 'festival coronations'. Andrew Lewis has commented upon the complete silence in the source material on the subject of Philip Augustus not having his son consecrated during his own lifetime, something that has been held up as exemplifying the increased strength of the Capetians, who no longer had to consecrate an heir to ensure the succession.⁵¹⁰ Lewis points out that if Philip's inaction was as important as historians have suggested, it would surely have been the subject of discourse by contemporaries.⁵¹¹ I would suggest that the lack of comment in the sources demonstrates that the consecration of associate kings was considered unexceptional – the sources describe it using exactly the same vocabulary as they describe successional consecration, and make no comment if a king did not have his heir consecrated.

The same is true of non-inaugural coronations, which are certainly not presented as a strange custom. Indeed the sources make clear that it is the anointing that transformed a king-elect into a reigning king in England, France and the Empire. For this reason it would be far better to avoid using 'coronation' to designate the inauguration ceremony, best described as a 'consecration'. The word 'consecration' was most frequently used by contemporaries and reflects much more the transformative nature of the combined rituals of anointing and coronation. It also mirrors the language used to describe the sacrament of episcopal inauguration, a point that it is important to stress. Despite successive popes denying the equivalence of episcopal and royal consecration, the churchmen who wrote chronicles clearly considered them to be of equivalent worth. The concept of the priest-king had not been entirely eroded by the Investiture Controversy.

⁵¹⁰ Andrew W. Lewis, "Anticipatory Association of the Heir in Early Capetian France," *The American Historical Review* 83 (1978): 906.

⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*, 924.

When?

In his *Gesta Philippi Augusti* Rigord includes a story concerning the postponement of the young prince's consecration from 15 August to 1 November 1179. The mysterious tale of the illness Philip developed after becoming lost in the forest of Compiègne, and his father's visit to the shrine of Thomas Becket at Canterbury to pray for his safe recovery has understandably intrigued scholars. Less attention, however, has been paid to the importance of the dates, which are stressed by Rigord himself. Rigord twice mentions that the young king should have been consecrated on the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, before invoking Mary as a protector of Philip as he wandered through the forest. He also twice mentions that Philip had been born on the feast of Saints Symphorian and Timotheus and remarks no less than three times that he was eventually consecrated on the feast of All Saints.⁵¹² That Rigord emphasises the liturgical importance of these dates through repetition indicates that, while the story of Philip's adventure and illness might well bear the imprint of chivalric romance, this was not at the expense of a sacral conception of kingship.

In a seminal article of the 1970s, Hans Martin Schaller declared that consecration dates in the German kingdom were not chosen by chance.⁵¹³ He took as his starting point Otto II's German consecration at Aachen on 26 May 961, the date on which Pentecost fell that year, and pointed to the fact that the contemporary *Annales Lobiensis* emphasised the appropriateness of Otto being imbued with the Holy Spirit on the same day as the Holy Spirit had descended upon the disciples of Christ.⁵¹⁴ Schaller concentrated on events within the Empire, but that Philip I of France, in 1059, and Henry III of England, in 1220, also chose to be consecrated

⁵¹² Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 120–128.

⁵¹³ Hans Martin Schaller, "Der heilige Tag als Termin mittelalterliche Staatsakte," *Deutsches Archiv* 30 (1974): 1–24; Schaller's initial observations have been followed up by a number of German scholars including Wolfgang Huschner, "Kirchenfest und Herrschaftspraxis. Die Regierungszeiten der ersten beiden Kaiser aus liudolfingischem Hause (936–983)," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 41 (1993): 24–55, 117–34; Michael Sierck, *Festtag und Politik: Studien zur Tagewahl karolingischer Herrscher*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 38 (Cologne, 1995).

⁵¹⁴ 'Dominus noster Otto, aequivocus patris, consors paterni regni asciscitur et septiformi gratia Spiritus sancti donatur in palatio Aquensi, septem ebdomadibus a pascha transactis, die pentecosten et hora qua Spiritus sanctus super discipulos venit, 7. Kalend. Iun., luna 7, anno aetatis suaee 7', in Georg Waitz, ed., *Annales Lobiensis*, MGH SS 13 (Hannover, 1881), 234.

and crowned at Pentecost indicates that the symbolism of feast days was appreciated across borders and over a wide timespan. Moreover, in the Anglo-Norman realm there was a further consecration at Pentecost, that of William the Conqueror's wife Matilda in 1068. As we have seen, ruling monarchs often took the opportunity to be crowned at the ceremony in which their queen was consecrated. As queens were fundamental to the production of an heir and, it has been argued, royal image, it is unsurprising to find that these dates were also carefully chosen. Pentecost was not the only feast that saw consecrations and coronations in more than one kingdom. Other feasts that found favour without geographical constraint included Christmas Day, the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, and Easter Sunday. This shared utilisation of feast days once again points to the transnational scope of liturgical kingship, and serves to challenge the assumption that sacral self-representation differed significantly amongst European monarchs.

In her inaugural lecture at the Institute of Historical Research, Diana Greenway commented that, 'it has been largely through the activity of historians that the passage of time has come to be measured in dates'.⁵¹⁵ Indeed, historians are accustomed to reading medieval chronicles in editions in which the chronological information provided in the text is annotated in the margin by the date written in common modern form. Such information is obviously essential for placing events in correct chronological order, but it also divorces modern readers from the relative chronology practised in this period. As we have seen in the descriptions of consecrations already considered, dates were recorded with reference to saints' days, feasts of the church, regnal years, and years since the birth of Christ, amongst other things. Bede claims to have written his work, *The Reckoning of Time*, precisely because his readers were not satisfied by his shorter treatise, thereby revealing that there was a strong interest in dating and chronology in the medieval period.⁵¹⁶ This interest was inextricably linked with an understanding of the present time as part of the same continuum as biblical history and the

⁵¹⁵ Diana Greenway, "Dates in History: Chronology and Memory," *Historical Research* 72 (1999): 127. Greenway's italics.

⁵¹⁶ Bede, *The Reckoning of Time*, trans. Faith Wallis, Translated Texts for Historians 29 (Liverpool, 1999), 3.

history of salvation. Another fundamental aspect of the medieval understanding of time was a belief in its cyclicality. Indeed, the most prominent motivation for the medieval *computus* lay in determining the date of Easter, ‘a problem at once scientific, theological, and disciplinary’.⁵¹⁷ The liturgical calendar was divided according to two systems: the sanctoral cycle of saints’ days, and the temporal cycle of moveable feasts and Sunday observations. This dual cyclicality itself opens the possibility that dates, that to modern eyes do not appear significant, were imbued with highly potent meaning.⁵¹⁸ It is worth returning to medieval methods of reckoning dates, in essence to take the dates as they are presented in the narrative sources. Through considering the liturgical importance that was attributed to particular days and cycles of time, we shall uncover an element of monarchical consecration that has previously been camouflaged by the modern convention of recording dates.

The choice of consecration date was rarely entirely free, because it was influenced by the death of the previous king, and in the case of the German kingdom also by election.⁵¹⁹ But a degree of flexibility was possible and of course in the case of the consecration of an heir in the lifetime of a reigning king, the choice was freer still. Sunday was the favoured day of the week for consecration, a fact mentioned in some of the *ordines* and concomitant with episcopal consecration, which was also supposed to take place on a Sunday. As will be shown, some Sundays were imbued with either liturgical or historical significance and clearly quite deliberate choices. But when a monarch deviated from the norm by being crowned on a weekday there were manifestly specific motives for choosing those days. In the case of William the Conqueror, who was crowned on a Monday, the Monday was Christmas Day, and in the case of King John, who was crowned on a Thursday, the Thursday was Ascension Day. Important apostolic feasts were also reasons to deviate from a Sunday. Matilda

⁵¹⁷ Faith Wallis, “Chronology and Systems of Dating,” in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. Frank Mantello and A.G. Rigg (Washington, 1996), 383.

⁵¹⁸ Daniel Sheerins, “The Liturgy,” in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. Frank Mantello and A.G. Rigg (Washington, 1996), 160.

⁵¹⁹ Schaller, “Der heilige Tag,” 5. Elections were often similarly planned for important liturgical days, particularly Pentecost. This period between the death of the old king and the coronation of the new can be understood as a period of interregnum. See Stephen Church, “Succession and Interregnum in the English Polity: The Case of 1141.”(forthcoming).

of England became Henry V's queen on Monday 25 July 1110 and Frederick II was inaugurated at Aachen on Saturday 25 July 1215. In both instances, 25 July was the feast day of the Apostle James the Great.

It appears to have been customary for kings to be consecrated within roughly a month of the death of their predecessor, if they had not already been consecrated, or soon after their election in the case of the German kingdom. Thus it has become usual for historians to see a long gap without a successor being crowned as indicative of strife, and conversely for an apparently rapid consecration to be seen as demonstrative of a successor's weak position and hence their anxiety to formalise rule.⁵²⁰ In England this interpretation owes much to the situation following William Rufus' unexpected death in the New Forest on 2 August 1100, when, despite Henry having a strong claim to the throne, the claims of his eldest brother Robert are often regarded by modern historians as having trumped those of the younger brother. Although C. Warren Hollister emphatically rejected the idea of Henry's kingship as usurpation, the speed with which he assumed the throne has certainly cast a shadow on the interpretation of the early years of his reign.⁵²¹

France provides a useful example with which Henry I's consecration can be compared. In the same decade, the Capetian Louis VI was consecrated within a few days of the death of his father Philip I on 29 July 1108. These two events are both described by Suger in his *Vita Ludovici*, and Suger's modern editors have seen this speedy consecration as indicative of Louis' anxiety to quickly succeed his father.⁵²² Although royal authority in the French kingdom had weakened during the final years of Philip I's rule, Louis did not face an obvious rival, which raises the question as to why he was crowned so swiftly and on a weekday, on

⁵²⁰ Stephen Chruch has made a similar observation about royal burials in England. He argues that rather than interpreting the rapid burial of a deceased king as indicative of a lack of respect for the old king (as Elizabeth Hallam suggested) it should be seen as indicative of the new king's need to get his feet under the table. Stephen Church, "Aspects of the English Royal Succession 1066-1199: The Death of the King," *ANS* 29 (2007): 31-32.

⁵²¹ C. Warren Hollister, *Henry I* (London, 2001), 105. Hollister points out that primogeniture was not universally accepted at this time, that Robert had already been passed over once, that Robert had repudiated his formal agreement with Rufus concerning the succession in 1093 and that Henry had his own justification in the theory of porphyrogeniture.

⁵²² Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, 86.

Monday 3 August. Suger gives one answer to this question. He specifically cites Louis' anointing and coronation as having taken place on the day of the invention of the protomartyr Stephen.⁵²³ The appropriateness of the king being crowned on a day related to a saint whose name derived from the Greek στέφανος (*stephanos*, meaning crown) would surely not have been lost on an educated churchman like Abbot Suger. Not only was Suger abbot of a monastery where the study of Greek was encouraged, not least to strengthen the ties between St. Denis and the writings of the Pseudo-Areopagite, but he would have been familiar with the patristic idea of the 'crown of martyrdom'.⁵²⁴ Indeed, Stephen's name reflects the fact that he was the first to gain such a heavenly crown.⁵²⁵ Describing the end of Louis's life and his desire to care for his own soul by taking up the monastic habit, Suger explicitly draws a parallel between his royal crown and a spiritual crown. Suger writes that Louis wanted to be taken to St. Denis and his companions, 'et ante sacratissima eorum corpora regni et corone depositione, coronam pro corona, pro regalibus insignibus et imperialibus ornamentis humilem beati Benedicti habitum commutando, monasticum ordinem profiteri'.⁵²⁶ Suger's inclusion of the date of the king's consecration in his otherwise dateless account thus signals the symbolic importance of the day.

The kingdom of Jerusalem provides another example of a speedy consecration being linked to an important feast. Following the death of Baldwin IV, on 11 July 1174, Baldwin V was made king a few days later on 15 July. This was the seventy-fifth anniversary of the capture of Jerusalem by the First Crusade.⁵²⁷ This

⁵²³ Suger, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, trans. John Moorhead and Richard Cusimano (Washington, 1992); Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "History as Enlightenment: Suger and the *Mos Anagogicus*," in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium*, ed. Paula Lieber Gerson (New York, 1986), 156.

⁵²⁴ The art historians Otto von Simson and Erwin Panofsky both highlighted the links between Pseudo-Dionysius and Suger's architectural programme at St. Denis. Their views have been moderated by Grover Zinn, Jr, who stressed that Suger was not the only twelfth-century French ecclesiastic influenced by Pseudo-Dionysian thought. Otto von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order*, 3rd ed. (Princeton, 1988), 103-106; Erwin Panofsky, ed., *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St-Denis and Its Art Treasures* (Princeton, 1946), 18-25; Grover A. Zinn, Jr, "Suger, Theology, and the Pseudo-Dionysian Tradition," in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis*, ed. Paula Lieber Gerson (New York, 1986), 33-40.

⁵²⁵ In some version of *laudes* originating in France the king is coupled with St. Stephen suggesting that the saint had established royal associations. Kantorowicz, "Ivories and Litanies," 68.

⁵²⁶ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, 272.

⁵²⁷ Bernard Hamilton, *The Leper King and His Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 2000), 41-42.

was clearly a day that had great resonance in the Crusader kingdom. In a German context, Ernst-Dieter Hehl has forcefully argued that Conrad II's coronation on 8 September 1024, only four days after his election at Kamba, was not motivated by political reasons, but by a desire to be consecrated on the feast of the Nativity of Mary.⁵²⁸ If we accept the premise that religious symbolism was one of the reasons why Louis VI, Baldwin V and Conrad II had hurried to be consecrated on these particular days, then the situation in England following the death of William Rufus is worth re-visiting.⁵²⁹ It is true that Henry I himself wrote to Anselm of Canterbury and explained the speed of his consecration as being due to the fact that 'enemies were intending to rise up against me and the people who were mine to govern, and therefore my people did not want to delay it any longer'.⁵³⁰ Whilst there clearly did exist a threat from Robert Curthose, it should be borne in mind that Henry was writing to Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, the primate usually responsible for consecrating the king. Anselm was in exile in France and thus unable to officiate at the ceremony, and he was attempting to persuade him to return to England. As Karl Leyser so perceptively demonstrated in the case of the famous letter from Henry II to Frederick Barbarossa, with which this thesis began, such obsequious missives should not be accepted uncritically.

Henry I was consecrated on 5 August 1100, which was, as the Battle chronicler observed, 'solemni die martirii beati Oswaldi'.⁵³¹ By this time, the cult of St. Oswald was well developed, as is evidenced by the appearance of his feast day in all pre-1100 English calendars that survive.⁵³² David Rollason has also emphasised that there were particular reasons why Oswald's cult flourished in Norman England, not least due to his prominent position in Bede's *Ecclesiastical*

⁵²⁸ Ernst-Dieter Hehl, "Maria und das ottonisch-salische Königtum. Urkunden, Liturgie, Bilder," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 117 (1997): 272.

⁵²⁹ George Garnett has also made the point that, given that William Rufus and Stephen had to cross the channel before they could be crowned 'the seventeen- and twenty-one-day periods of interregnum respectively do not reveal much less of a sense of urgency than the three-day one in 1100'. Garnett, *Conquered England*, 140.

⁵³⁰ No. 212: Walter Fröhlich, trans., *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, vol. 2, Cistercian Studies Series 97 (Kalamazoo, 1993), 162.

⁵³¹ Eleanor Searle, ed., *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, OMT (Oxford, 1980), 96.

⁵³² Rebecca Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars Before A.D. 1100*, HBS 117 (Woodbridge, 2008).

History.⁵³³ In choosing to be consecrated on St. Oswald's feast day, Henry I invited his identification with the royal saint and indicated that Oswald was his model of kingship. If the *laudes* sung at Henry's coronation were those included in the Trinity College Cambridge manuscript of the third recension of the English *ordines*, Oswald's name would have reverberated around the coronation church.⁵³⁴ Clearly some degree of haste, even of panic, was involved in the speed of Henry's consecration, but the fact that the first Sunday following William Rufus' death coincided with St. Oswald's Day, nonetheless made it a very attractive day on which to be elevated to the royal office.

Being consecrated on St. Oswald's Day and thereby adopting an important pre-Conquest royal saint was but one way in which Henry sought to integrate Norman and Anglo-Saxon kingship. The marriage of Henry I and Matilda of Scotland, several months after Henry's consecration in 1100, epitomised the unification of Norman conquerors and the pre-existing West Saxon royal family. Indeed, The *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* explicitly links the coronation and marriage.⁵³⁵ The nuptials and Matilda's consecration took place on Martinmas, the feast of the saint to whom William the Conqueror had dedicated the great architectural celebration of his Conquest, the abbey at Battle. By having Matilda of Scotland consecrated on this feast day, Henry linked his West Saxon queen to the triumph of his Norman father. Royal weddings and female consecrations were, as has been stressed throughout this thesis, absolutely fundamental to the development of royal image. It is in female consecration that we can most easily identify the competing bridal and royal threads of a new articulation of Christ-centred kingship. It should therefore come as no surprise that, when circumstance allowed, monarchs made use of the resonances of the liturgical calendar when arranging their marriages.

In 1114, the cathedral city of Mainz witnessed Henry V and Matilda of England marrying amid great splendour. The date chosen for this union of emperor and

⁵³³ David Rollason, "St. Oswald in Post-Conquest England," in *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint*, ed. Clare Stancliffe and Eric Cambridge (Stamford, 1995), 176.

⁵³⁴ See above pp. 91-92 for the full text of these *laudes*.

⁵³⁵ 'Ut autem idem rex legaliter viveret, duxit eodem anno venerabilem Matildem, filiam Malcomi regis Scocie et Margarite'. Van Houts, *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, 2:216.

queen (for as we have seen, Matilda had already been consecrated), was 6 January.⁵³⁶ The account in the anonymous *Kaiserchronik* makes explicit the liturgical significance of the day, recounting that once the emperor had celebrated Christmas at Bamberg, he travelled to Mainz, where it had been arranged his wedding should take place 'in proxima epiphanie'.⁵³⁷ Henry had himself been consecrated king at Epiphany 1099 and in marrying Matilda on the same feast day as his consecration fifteen years previously, Henry's marriage appears as a confirmation of his kingship. Moreover, as will be demonstrated, by choosing 6 January for both his consecration and his marriage, Henry made reference to a panopoly of liturgical symbolism, which played on precisely the imagery of nuptial and regal transformation hitherto discussed.

While Bernard Hamilton is right to point out that there was no special cult of the Magi in Western Europe before the translation of their relics to Cologne in 1164, they were widely represented in the iconography of the Nativity.⁵³⁸ The appropriateness of being crowned and anointed on the festival celebrating the Three Kings was therefore manifest. Henry thereby identified himself with the New Testament kings who had brought gifts to the Christ Child. However, Henry also referenced several other layers of symbolism in the liturgical calendar, and these layers have been obscured by the subsequent dominance of the association of the Epiphany with the Three Kings. In Chapter 2 we saw how the sung elements of the inauguration ceremony were, more often than not, not prescribed in the liturgical texts themselves. Instead, relevant antiphons and responsories would have been taken from the liturgy of the day on which the inauguration fell. With this in mind it is instructive to return to the work of the Norman Anonymous, cited at length in Chapter 3. In his robust defence of royal consecration he writes that consecration should be considered a royal (rather

⁵³⁶ One often finds 7 January given as the date for their wedding in secondary literature. This was the date included by von Knonau in his chronology of Henry V's reign, but is the result of a misreading of the Chronicle of Ekkehard of Aura. Ekkehard reports that the wedding took place, 'post epiphaniam Domini', but other evidence suggests this did not mean the day after, as Ekkehard's editor Georg Waitz assumed. Gerold Meyer von Knonau, *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich IV. und Heinrich V.* (Leipzig, 1890); Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronica*, 247.

⁵³⁷ Schmale and Schmale-Ott, *Frutolfi et Ekkehardi Chronica Necnon Anonymi Chronica Imperatorum*, 262.

⁵³⁸ Bernard Hamilton, "Prester John and the Three Kings of Cologne," in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R.H.C. Davis*, ed. Henry Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London, 1985), 181.

than episcopal) wedding, 'sicut in Epiphani Domini canitur: *Hodie celesti sposo iuncta est usque ad regales nuptias*'.⁵³⁹ Henry and Matilda's royal wedding thus took place on a day on which the commemoration of a royal wedding was sung as part of the liturgy.

The Norman Anonymous' late nineteenth-century editor, Heinrich Boehmer, could not identify the antiphon to which the Anonymous referred. Modern research techniques make the discovery straightforward, and as a result of being able to examine the antiphon in its entirety, we can appreciate the depth of symbolism at play here:

'Hodie caelesti sposo iuncta est ecclesia quoniam in Iordane lavit Christus eius crimina currunt cum muneribus magi ad regales nuptias et ex aquo facto vino laetantur convivae'.⁵⁴⁰

In this antiphon links are drawn between the three events commemorated in the liturgy on 6 January. In addition to the Magi bringing gifts to the baby Jesus, the antiphon alludes to Christ's baptism in the River Jordan, and to his first miracle, the turning of water into wine at the wedding at Cana. That the other events commemorated on 6 January were long associated with this date is made apparent through an examination of contemporary sources. Roger of Howden, for example, noted the 1000-year anniversary of Christ's baptism in his chronicle, recording that it had occurred on the 8th Ides of January, that is the Sunday of Epiphany.⁵⁴¹ James de Voragine, author of the *Golden Legend*, writing c.1260 included all three events in his explanation of the meaning of the feast of Epiphany.⁵⁴² This triple allusion was no coincidence, for Christ's baptism and first miracle held important symbolic connotations for the emperor and his new wife.

By contrast to the emphasis upon the Epiphany in western Christendom, Christ's baptism was the dominant commemoration observed on 6 January in Byzantium, where the day was accordingly called the Theophany. Its celebration was closely

⁵³⁹ Norman Anonymous, *De Consecratione Pontificum et Regum*, 663.

⁵⁴⁰ CANTUS: A database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant: <http://cantusdatabase.org/node/376438> [accessed 5.11.2012].

⁵⁴¹ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 1:128.

⁵⁴² Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, vol. 1 (Princeton, 1993), 78.

linked to the eastern emperors.⁵⁴³ Indeed, by the twelfth century there existed a tradition, with sporadic precedents in earlier centuries, of delivering annual panegyrics of the emperor on 6 January.⁵⁴⁴ As the living image of Christ, the emperor played an active role in the Theophany celebrations by representing the baptised Christ. Kantorowicz, in an unpublished paper, saw this baptismal symbolism as being central to the Eastern coronation ritual.⁵⁴⁵ Rather than the western model provided by Samuel's anointing of David, that placed the churchman above the king he was anointing, in Byzantium the emperor was presented as Christ and the patriarch as John the Baptist.⁵⁴⁶ The absence of an anointing in the Byzantine ritual has been seen as the fundamental difference between western and eastern practices. Whereas western kings required the participation of ecclesiastical elites to be crowned, the Byzantine emperors were able themselves to place a crown on their heir's head to make them co-emperor.⁵⁴⁷ This symbolism must have been very attractive to Henry V and his father, and in choosing 6 January for his son's consecration, Henry IV emphasised the Christological model for his son's kingship.

The final event celebrated in the liturgy of 6 January demands special attention in the context of royal marriage, and in light of the importance of nuptial imagery. At the wedding at Cana, Jesus performed his first miracle by changing water into wine at the ensuing feast. In marrying on this day, Henry and Matilda ensured that Christ was, through the liturgy, actually present at their wedding, thereby sanctifying their union and their royal status.⁵⁴⁸ That Christ performed his

⁵⁴³ Acclamations for use during the imperial procession and details of other ceremonial events involving the Byzantine emperor at Epiphany can be found as chapters 3 and 26 in the tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies* compiled and edited by the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII (905-959). Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *The Book of Ceremonies*, trans. Ann Moffatt and Maxeme Tall, vol. 1, *Byzantina Australiensia* 18 (Canberra, 2012), 41-43 and 143-147.

⁵⁴⁴ Dimitar Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium (1204-1330)* (Cambridge, 2007), 31.

⁵⁴⁵ Ihor Ševčenko, "Ernst H. Kantorowicz (1895-1963) on Late Antiquity and Byzantium," in *Ernst Kantorowicz: Erträge der Doppeltagung Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton/Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt*, ed. Robert Louis Benson and Johannes Fried, Frankfurter Historische Abhandlungen 39 (Stuttgart, 1997), 286-287.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁷ Nelson, "Symbols in Context: Rulers' Inauguration Rituals in Byzantium and the West in the Early Middle Ages," 108-110.

⁵⁴⁸ The wedding at Cana was the Gospel reading for the second or third Sunday after Epiphany and sermons from these Sundays became important vehicles for marriage preaching at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. See David L. d'Avray, "The Gospel of the Marriage Feast

miracle at a wedding feast perhaps lies behind the decision of the author of the anonymous *Kaiserchronik* to illustrate his description of the wedding with a miniature of the emperor and his wife crowned and seated side-by-side at their wedding feast (Illustration 8). The wedding at Cana was described in the antiphon chosen by the Norman Anonymous as a 'royal' wedding, demonstrating once again the blending of nuptial and regal symbolism. Henry and Matilda were not the only royal couple to appreciate the symbolism of this day. Almost a century later, in 1205, Philip of Swabia, having finally wrested Aachen from the control of Otto IV, was consecrated in the Cathedral of St. Mary alongside his wife. The day chosen for this dual consecration was 6 January. Philip's need to assert his legitimacy has been discussed above, but in the light of the liturgical symbolism of the feast day, the role of his wife can be shown to have had symbolic as well as dynastic importance. Furthermore, the wedding at Cana was explicitly connected to imperial marriage in Byzantine ceremonial. The tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies* includes an acclamation for the nuptial crowning of an emperor: 'As he alone is supremely good, who once was present at the wedding at Cana and, out of his love for mankind, blessed the water there and turned it into wine for people for enjoyment, so may he bless you, with your wife, and may God grant you children born in the purple'.⁵⁴⁹

The richness of liturgical symbolism invoked in royal inauguration invites an investigation of the imperial inaugurations of those German kings who were elevated to the highest throne in Western Christendom. The first German king to be made emperor in this period was Henry IV, on 31 March 1084, Easter Sunday, suggesting that imperial consecrations were also timed to occur on important feast days. Yet it transpires that Henry IV's imperial sacring was an exception, and that the remaining six imperial consecrations up to 1250 did not take place on significant liturgical dates. As we have seen in our examination of the *ordines*, the fundamental difference between royal and imperial consecrations was that in the imperial theatre the pope had a major role to play. The choice of date for

of Cana and Marriage Preaching in France," in *Modern Questions About Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity*, ed. Nicole Bériou and David L. d'Avray (Spoleto, 1994), 135–153.

⁵⁴⁹ Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *The Book of Ceremonies*, 1:197–198.

imperial inauguration could not be dictated by the emperor alone, and it is apparent that the popes no longer wished to associate imperial inauguration with important liturgical feasts. From the time of Charlemagne's elevation to the imperial office on Christmas Day through to 1084, the emperors had frequently been consecrated on significant church feasts, with a further two Christmas consecrations, three on Easter Sunday, and one each on Pentecost, Candlemas, and Ascension Day.⁵⁵⁰ That this eschewal of feast dates for the imperial consecration, after the ceremony in which Henry IV was made emperor, was a papal innovation can be seen in the case of Henry V, as highlighted by Schaller. He saw Henry V's wearing of the imperial crown in Rome on Easter Sunday 1117, and at Pentecost 1118, as an attempt to make up for the fact that Henry had been consecrated emperor in dubious circumstances, on 13 April 1111, an ordinary weekday.⁵⁵¹ The fact that the imperial consecration required the agreement, or in Henry's case the kidnapping, of a pope meant that the resonances of the liturgical calendar were more difficult to exploit. Moreover, the popes were determined to exploit significant dates to papal rather than imperial advantage. Christmas Day 1075, on which Gregory VII processed through Rome wearing a crown, provides the first evidence for papal crown-wearing, and the *Liber Politicus* of the canon Benedict, dating to around 1140, lists eighteen feasts and holidays on which the pope was to wear his crown.⁵⁵² Wearing a crown in Rome on a major church feast was now the preserve of popes alone.

In discussing the liturgy, the motif of the Coronation of the Virgin was highlighted as integral to images of kingship. The importance of Marian devotion can be seen in the use of her feast days for royal consecration and marriage. Dedication to Mary has traditionally been seen as a Capetian attribute, but Nicholas Vincent has argued the extent to which, for example, Henry II of England's itinerary was shaped by Marian feasts, suggesting it was just as much a Plantagenet attribute.⁵⁵³ That linking Mary to royal power was a tactic also utilised to the east of the

⁵⁵⁰ The coronations were as follows: Christmas Day: Charlemagne (800), Otto II (967) and Henry III (1046); Easter Sunday: Lothair I (823), Louis II (850) and Conrad II (1027); Pentecost: Louis II (872); Candlemas: Otto I (967); Ascension: Otto III (996).

⁵⁵¹ Schaller, "Der heilige Tag," 7.

⁵⁵² Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, 137.

⁵⁵³ Vincent, "King Henry III and the Blessed Virgin Mary," 129.

Capetian and Plantagenet dominions is suggested by the *Royal Chronicle of Cologne*'s account of Henry VI's royal consecration in 1169, which tells us that, 'filius imperatoris Heinricus, adhuc quinquennis existens, unctus est in regem Aquisgrani a Philippo Coloniensi archiepiscopo die assumptionis beatae Mariae'.⁵⁵⁴ That the coronation church at Aachen was also dedicated to the Virgin reinforced the association. Marian feasts were an unsurprisingly popular choice for royal weddings. Philip Augustus's ill-fated wedding to, and coronation with Ingebourg of Denmark took place on 14 and 15 August 1193. In the Empire, the Assumption was chosen by Frederick II for his marriage to Constance of Aragon. Through his marriage to Beatrice of Burgundy Frederick Barbarossa gained the kingdom of Burgundy. He was crowned as king of Burgundy at Arles on the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin in 1178. His wife was also crowned as queen of Burgundy, but separately at Vienne. Her coronation took place on the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin.⁵⁵⁵ Both coronations made reference to Mary.

Having considered the imagery of feast days I now want to turn to another facet of the liturgical calendar. Here it is important that we recognise that dates, which by modern reckoning do not appear to be the same, can be shown to be imitative. In England, according to Gervase of Canterbury's account, King Stephen was consecrated, 'undecimo kalendas Januarii', on the 22 December.⁵⁵⁶ In 1135 the 22 December fell on the last Sunday in Advent. With this in mind let us turn to Ralph of Diss's narrative describing Stephen's death and the consecration of Henry II on 19 December 1154. Ralph recorded that,

'Rex Stephanus viii^o kalendas Novembris obiit, et sepultus est apud Faveresham, quo monasterium ipse a fundamentis aedificaverat. Quo auditio, dux Normannorum Henricus venit Barbefluvium, et ibidem per unum mensem ventum expectavit, et vii^o idus Decembris in Angliam veniens, xiii^o kalendas Januarii, die Dominica ante Nativitatem Domini, apud Westmonasterium ab omnibus electus et in

⁵⁵⁴ Waitz, *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, 120.

⁵⁵⁵ Ralph of Diss includes both these events and feast days in his *Ymagines Historiarum*. Ralph of Diss, *The Historical Works*, 1:426–427.

⁵⁵⁶ Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works*, 1:94–5.

regem unctus est a Theobaldo archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, praesente
archiepiscopo Eboraci et aliis episcopis Angliae'.⁵⁵⁷

Ralph's account thus makes clear that although Stephen and Henry II's consecrations did not take place on the same calendar day, they both occurred on the same liturgical day.⁵⁵⁸ Contemporaneous consecrations in the German kingdom make clear that this was not just coincidence. Three consecutive kings were consecrated in Lent on Laetare Sunday: Conrad III on 13 March 1138, Henry Berengar as co-king on 30 March 1147, and Frederick I on 9 March 1152. What this repetition means is rather elusive, but the fact that we have the same phenomenon in two kingdoms makes apparent the repetition was not mere chance.

Given the popularity of Bede in the twelfth-century, and his work on time, it might be helpful to turn to an episode in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*.⁵⁵⁹ Bede recounts that following the death of King Edwin in 633, Northumbria was split into two kingdoms under Osric and Eanfrith, who both renounced their Christianity. To make matters worse, Caedwalla, king of the Britons, ravaged the kingdom and killed both kings. The twin shocks of the apostasy of the English kings and the vicious ransacking by Caedwalla led Bede to comment, 'unde cunctis placuit regum tempora computantibus ut, ablata de medio regum perfidorum memoria, idem annus sequentis regis, id est Osualdi uiri Deo dilecti, regno adsignatur'.⁵⁶⁰ Historians have disputed whether this passage can be interpreted as evidence for a concerted manipulation of dates by monastic chroniclers, but what is paramount here is that it is clear that Bede saw this year as a stain upon the memory of the Northumbrian past.⁵⁶¹ In assigning it to Oswald the impression is given that Oswald was the rightful heir to Edwin and thus the disruption and turbulence of 'infastus ille annus' is written out of

⁵⁵⁷ Ralph of Diss, *The Historical Works*, 1:298–9.

⁵⁵⁸ John Gillingham recognised that Henry had chosen the same Sunday as Stephen's coronation, and suggested that he did so 'perhaps to symbolize his position as Stephen's heir'. John Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, 2nd ed. (London, 2001), 20.

⁵⁵⁹ Antonia Gransden, "Bede's Reputation as an Historian in Medieval England," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 32 (1981): 397–425.

⁵⁶⁰ Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B Mynors, eds., *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 1992 reprint, OMT (Oxford, 1992), 215.

⁵⁶¹ J. M Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People: A Historical Commentary*, OMT (Oxford, 1988), 87.

history.⁵⁶² Could it be that in choosing to be consecrated on the same liturgical day as Stephen, Henry II could have been asserting his position as the rightful successor to his grandfather, Henry I, claiming Stephen's consecration as his own and thereby erasing the unfortunate years of civil war? It was clearly coincidence that Stephen's reign lasted nineteen years, but that this was the same duration as the lunar cycle used by Bede and the medieval *computus* to reckon the date of Easter heightens the sense of a full cycle having elapsed and hence of Henry II's consecration as a time of renewal.⁵⁶³

The same sense of renewal can be identified in Frederick Barbarossa's consecration, although the fact that Henry Berengar had been made king in his father's lifetime suggests that repetition of dates could also be interpreted as stressing rightful succession. In an insightful article, Werner Goez, recognising that all three German monarchs were crowned on the same liturgical day, tried to use this fact to explain the speed with which Frederick Barbarossa was crowned following Conrad's death.⁵⁶⁴ Henry Berengar had predeceased his father, dying in 1150. Conrad III died at Bamberg on 15 February 1152. Barbarossa was elected king at Frankfurt on 4 March, and five days later consecrated at Aachen, meaning that he had to travel the 300km between Frankfurt and Aachen at 'breathtaking speed'.⁵⁶⁵ Goez points out that throughout the entire period 911-1254, no other king was inaugurated so swiftly following the death of his predecessor, and he goes on to argue that 9 March 1152 must have been designated for a royal consecration even before the death of Conrad.⁵⁶⁶ He suggests that, in the same way Conrad had raised his son Henry to the kingship in preparation for his absence from Germany on the Second Crusade, Conrad sought to elevate a new co-king to rule Germany while he travelled to Rome to secure the imperial crown in late 1152.⁵⁶⁷ On the king's unexpected death, Frederick had to react quickly to

⁵⁶² Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 215.

⁵⁶³ C. R. Cheney and Michael Jones, eds., *A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2000), 6.

⁵⁶⁴ Werner Goez, "Von Bamberg nach Frankfurt und Aachen. Barbarossas Weg zur Königskrone," *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 52 (1992): 61-72.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 67. Conrad never made it to Rome to be consecrated emperor, but he did use the imperial title.

gain support. Meanwhile, the date for royal election drew close to Laetare Sunday, the day Goez claims had already been earmarked for a consecration at Aachen, necessitating the rush from Frankfurt to Aachen, for it would be seen as a bad omen for the new king if this traditional date was not used.⁵⁶⁸

Goez's assertion that a royal consecration had already been planned for the 9 March 1152 is certainly plausible, but the question remains, who was the consecration intended for? Although Conrad's eldest son had died, he had another son, Frederick of Rothenburg, who he could have intended to consecrate king in 1152. It could be that Barbarossa both symbolically usurped the date of his predecessor's consecration and literally took possession of the day of consecration that had been earmarked for another candidate. In choosing to be consecrated on the same day as Conrad III and Henry Berengar, he sought consciously to place himself in the their tradition while at the same time appropriating this tradition for himself. Barbarossa returned to Laetare Sunday for another important occurrence in his reign: the 1188 court at Mainz during which he took the Cross. This was a way of associating crusading with his consecration, something done even more explicitly by Frederick II in 1215. We can also identify further evidence of the exploitation of liturgical resonances here. The appropriateness of taking the Cross on the Sunday named after its introit 'Rejoice Jerusalem' could hardly be more apparent. In 1250, Henry III of England was to make exactly the same connection.⁵⁶⁹

Having recognised the liturgical appropriateness of the day for taking the Cross, it is instructive to see how the court at Mainz is described in two contemporary narrative sources. A continuation of the Annals of Zwettl describes a court held at Mainz on Laetare Sunday ('dominica Letare Ierusalem') to which all the faithful flocked, and at which the emperor 'non loco imperantis, sed ad subveniendum Christianitati exhortantis, affuit, non prefuit'.⁵⁷⁰ The emperor was in attendance, but not in charge; he was not in the place of one commanding, but one

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid., 70.

⁵⁶⁹ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 5:100–101.

⁵⁷⁰ Wilhelm Wattenbach, ed., *Continuatio Zwettensis Altera a. 1170-1189*, MGH SS 9 (Hannover, 1851), 543.

encouraging.⁵⁷¹ Who, then, was in charge at the court at Mainz in 1188? The Zwettl annals do not explicitly reveal the answer to this question and to uncover the meaning of this account we need to turn to another source, this time annals from Cologne. A description of the court written at St. Pantaleon's in Cologne, which also specifically mentions it was held on Laetare Sunday, reveals that the meeting was called the court of Jesus Christ ('curia Ihesu Christi').⁵⁷² The implication is that it was Christ himself who stood in the position of command, just as at Frederick Barbarossa's inauguration, thereby showing his approval for Barbarossa's kingship. In their description of Barbarossa's court at Mainz, in which his two sons also took part, these two narrative sources give us a glimpse into the manner in which liturgical resonances could be exploited in the construction of monarchical image.

A final resonance of the liturgy can also be seen in the dates chosen by monarchs for inauguration. Here we approach two further themes: cyclical and renewal. Although Bede used the beginning of the solar year, 1 January, for his computations, in his *Ecclesiastical History* he considered the year to begin on Christmas Day.⁵⁷³ The birth of Christ was a popular choice for the beginning of the Year of Grace, and it should come as no surprise that it was also a popular day for royal and imperial consecrations. Significantly Christmas Day was chosen as the day of consecration of three monarchs who all established new dynasties or kingdoms in this period: William the Conqueror in England in 1066, Baldwin I of Jerusalem in 1100, and Roger I of Sicily in 1130. In the case of Baldwin I, the fact that he was consecrated in Bethlehem heightens this idea of a new beginning linked to the birth of Christ. That both Baldwin II and Baldwin III were also consecrated on Christmas Day strengthens this association. Given Charlemagne's imperial consecration on Christmas Day 800, such consecrations also had a historical dimension. Though their dynasties were new, these kings sought to present themselves as heirs of the tradition of Christian rulership. Christmas Day was not universally accepted as the start of the Year of Grace, with the

⁵⁷¹ Werner Goez has interpreted the word 'loco' in the sentence literally and thus concluded that Barbarossa's throne was left vacant at this court. Goez, "Von Bamberg nach Frankfurt und Aachen," 65.

⁵⁷² Karl Pertz ed., *Annales Coloniensis Maximi*, MGH SS 17 (Hannover, 1861), 794.

⁵⁷³ Cheney and Jones, *A Handbook of Dates*, 9.

Annunciation on 25 March and Easter providing rival possibilities.⁵⁷⁴ The inaugurations of Matilda of Boulogne in 1136, Louis VI's son Philip in 1129, and Henry IV's imperial consecration in 1084 all fell on Easter Sunday and can be seen to be making similar claims to renewal. That the sanctoral calendar began with the Feast of St. Andrew or its vigil, perhaps explains the choice of 29 November 1226 for Louis IX's coronation, which was also the first Sunday of Advent, the starting point for the liturgical calendar.

That the moveable feast of Easter was considered to be the beginning of the year in France has tended to be viewed by historians concerned with establishing chronology as at best an irritation. In Cheney's *Handbook of Dates* it is described as a system with 'obvious disadvantages'.⁵⁷⁵ The fact that it is unclear when Philip Augustus introduced the system, known as the *mos gallicanus*, complicates matters.⁵⁷⁶ But instead of bemoaning the practice as archaic, the historian should consider why such a system was attractive to the French monarch. Perhaps the 'obvious disadvantages' of the system, that the year varied in length and could contain two dates that were the same, was actually part of the attraction. What better way for the king to demonstrate his piety than by referencing all his dated acts to the Resurrection of Christ? Moreover, although Philip's regnal year was often considered as running, as it was by Rigord, from his consecration on 1 November 1179, an alternative was to count from the consecration of his first wife, Isabella of Hainault, an occasion on which the king was crowned a second time.⁵⁷⁷ The date was 29 May 1180, Ascension Day, another moveable feast, described by Rigord as 'ea die qua Dominus noster Jhesus Christus bajulantibus nubibus celos ascendit'.⁵⁷⁸ The Ascension was closely linked to Easter, both in the computation of the liturgical calendar, and symbolically, in that Christ remained in the world for forty days to bear witness to his Resurrection. In choosing the

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., 9–13.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid., 13.

⁵⁷⁶ Léopold Delisle, *Catalogue des actes de Philippe-Auguste: avec une introduction sur les sources, les caractères et l'importance historique de ces documents* (Paris, 1856), lxvii–lxviii. Delisle points out that the system was definitely in use by the early 1190s, because four letters written by the king survive dated Paris and Fontainebleau in January and February 1191. In the year we consider to be 1191 we know the king was not in France during those months, but in Sicily.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., lxix–lxxiii. Counting from 1st November 1179 was more frequently used.

⁵⁷⁸ Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 138.

Ascension for his own second coronation and the consecration of his queen, Philip thus demonstrated his devotion to Christ, mirrored in his adoption of Easter as the beginning of the year. In this light, King John of England's consecration on 27 May 1199, the date of the Feast of Ascension in that year, and his dating of his regnal years from the moveable feast rather than the ordinal 27th day of the month of May, appears less anomalous. It also provides yet more evidence of the fact that the Plantagenets did not lag far behind the Capetians in advertising the self-consciously sacral nature of their kingship.

In discussing Henry III's devotion to the Virgin Mary, Nicholas Vincent wrote that 'once we know where to look, pious exercises and a resort to the incidental trappings of sacral kingship are as easily found in Plantagenet England as anywhere in Capetian France'.⁵⁷⁹ This chapter has demonstrated that, once we know how to look, a sacramental understanding of inauguration and evidence for conscious reference to the liturgy is as easily found in even the most cursory narrative accounts as anywhere in the *ordines*. The narrative accounts may not provide liturgists with the details they yearn for, but they do make clear that royal and episcopal consecration continued to be understood as parallel transformations. The depth of symbolism inherent in the liturgical days chosen for royal inauguration, and their conscious manipulation, such as at Barbarossa's court at Mainz in 1188, show the extent to which the liturgy continued to shape images of kingship in twelfth-century Europe.

⁵⁷⁹ Vincent, "King Henry III and the Blessed Virgin Mary," 143.

Chapter 6

Charters as Repositories of Ideas about Kingship

Henry of Huntingdon tells us that 'in the year 1100, in the thirteenth year of his reign, King William [II of England] ended his cruel life in a wretched death'.⁵⁸⁰

Henry goes on to describe Rufus's many shortcomings as king, concluding that 'whatever was displeasing to God and to those who loved God was pleasing to this king and those who loved him. Nor did they exercise their unspeakable debauchery in secret, but unashamedly in the light of day. He was buried at Winchester on the day after his perdition'.⁵⁸¹ Within days of Rufus's death, his younger brother Henry was consecrated king at Westminster Abbey, on the following Sunday, the feast of the St. Oswald, king and martyr. In the absence of the exiled archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London officiated, but only after Henry I had 'promised a wished-for amendment of laws and customs'.⁵⁸² This 'wished-for amendment' is better known as the Coronation Charter of Henry I, perhaps the most famous non-liturgical document associated with royal consecration in the central middle ages.⁵⁸³ This being the case, it is striking that no original survives, although there are many manuscript copies from the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Henry's coronation charter was a swiftly negotiated agreement to ensure his consecration, necessary due to his brother Robert Curthose's claim to the throne, and the perceived iniquity of his predecessor Rufus. Many of its clauses claim specifically to remedy wrongs committed by Rufus, as is acknowledged in the charter itself.⁵⁸⁴ Due to its later importance as a source used by the barons in the composition of Magna Carta in 1215, it has often been discussed in the context of legal and constitutional

⁵⁸⁰ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, 446–447.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid., 448–449.

⁵⁸² Ibid.

⁵⁸³ Candidates for the kingship confirming or granting new laws to negotiate support was not an unusual occurrence in England. cf. John Maddicott, "Edward the Confessor's Return to England in 1041," *English Historical Review* 119 (2004): 650–666; Ann Williams, *Æthelred the Unready: The Ill-counselled King* (London, 2003), 122–126.

⁵⁸⁴ 'Et omnes malas consuetudines quibus regnum Anglie iniuste opprimebatur inde aufero, quas malas consuetudines ex parte hic pono'. *Henry I's coronation charter*, ed. R. Sharpe <http://www.earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk/laws/texts/hn-cor/view/#edition,1/translation,1> [accessed 12.12.12]

history.⁵⁸⁵ As with so many English administrative documents, it has become a legal exemplar, hermetically separated from the liturgical context in which it was originally granted.

The text of the charter explicitly links its creation to Henry being made king. The charter informs the king's new subjects that 'by the mercy of God and common counsel of the barons of the realm of England, I have been crowned king of the same realm'.⁵⁸⁶ The charter ends with a witness list and place-date clause, which emphatically links it once again to Henry being made king. The first witness is none other than Bishop Maurice of London, the consecrator, and we learn that the charter was given at Westminster when Henry was crowned: 'Apud Westm[onasterium] quando coronatus fui'.⁵⁸⁷ We need then, to look beyond the detailed clauses in which specific wrongs are righted, to acknowledge the liturgical and performative context in which the document was originally composed. Bishop Stubbs long ago recognised that the charter echoed the three-fold oath of the consecration liturgy, and historians, most recently Judith Green, have often repeated this insight.⁵⁸⁸ However, far from encouraging legal historians to consider the charter as the product of liturgical kingship, this has instead led to a liturgical text being dissected and one part of it being treated, in isolation, as a legal document. The promise contained within the consecration liturgy has been cut from its natural liturgical stem, and grafted on to the rootstock of early legal texts. Thus we find the promise divorced from its liturgical setting in Felix Liebermann's *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, its inclusion in this canonical tome cementing the oath's status as a legal, rather than a liturgical, text.⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸⁵ See, for example, Hollister, *Henry I*, 109.

⁵⁸⁶ 'Sciatis me dei misericordia et communi consilio baronum regni Anglie eiusdem regni regem coronatum esse'. *Henry I's coronation charter*, ed. R. Sharpe <http://www.earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk/laws/texts/hn-cor/view/#edition,1/translation,1> [accessed 12.12.12].

⁵⁸⁷ *Henry I's coronation charter*, ed. R. Sharpe <http://www.earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk/laws/texts/hn-cor/view/#edition,1/translation,1> [accessed 12.12.12].

⁵⁸⁸ William Stubbs, *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History*, 9th ed. (Oxford, 1921), 116; Judith A. Green, "A Lasting Memorial": The Charter of Liberties of Henry I," in *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Marie Therese Flanagan and Judith A. Green (Basingstoke, 2005), 54.

⁵⁸⁹ Felix Liebermann, *Die Gesetze Der Angelsachsen*, vol. 1 (Halle, 1906), 215–217; Recognising the congealing effects of Liebermann's work on legal history, Patrick Wormald commented that 'since

Scholarly treatment of the charter issued by Henry I on his day of consecration exemplifies the approach to royal charters that has been prevalent in English scholarship. As David Bates has noted, Anglophone historians are happy to accept the idea of charters as written records but significantly less familiar with the idea of charters as expressions of royal power, as found in the work of French historians, such as Olivier Guyotjeannin and Michel Parisse.⁵⁹⁰ In English scholarship there has been a tendency to mine texts for detailed information and legal precedents and to discard as irrelevant elements that do not serve the greater historical narrative of bureaucratic development. Given the huge growth in royal documents in this period, as wonderfully quantified by Michael Clanchy in his analysis of sealing wax used by the chancery in the reign of Henry III, it is perhaps understandable that historians continue to be preoccupied by the legal transactions and business deals recorded in surviving charters and their copies.⁵⁹¹

Charters certainly were legal documents first and foremost, and I do not seek to challenge the traditional link between diplomatic and legal history. Charters are, however, considerably more than repositories of legal information. As Herwig Wolfram has rightly commented, 'the whole charter and all of its criteria, both internal and external, can become carriers of political meaning and can contain narrative elements'.⁵⁹² Wolfram's supervisor in Vienna, Heinrich Fichtenau, pioneered the study of political ideas in the *arenga*, and Wolfram himself has worked extensively on royal titles in charters.⁵⁹³ Peter Rück has built on the work of the Fichtenau school in his analysis of charters as works of art, arguing for the

his colossal edition, Anglo-Saxon law has become a statuesque monument to an absorbingly interesting but irretrievably lost past'. Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1999).

⁵⁹⁰ David Bates, "Charters and Historians of Britain and Ireland: Problems and Possibilities," in *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Marie Therese Flanagan and Judith A. Green (Basingstoke, 2005), 2; See, for example, Olivier Guyotjeannin, J. Pycke, and B.-M. Tock, eds., *Diplomatique Médiévale* (Turnhout, 1993); Michel Parisse, "Les chartes des évêques de Metz au XIIe siècle: étude diplomatique et paléographique," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 22 (1976): 272–316.

⁵⁹¹ Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1993), 59. Clanchy shows that almost ten times as much wax per week was used in the period 1265-71 as had been from 1226-30.

⁵⁹² Herwig Wolfram, "Political Theory and Narrative in Charters," *Viator* 26 (1995): 42.

⁵⁹³ Heinrich Fichtenau, *Arenga: Spätantike und Mittelalter im Spiegel von Urkundenformeln*, MIÖG 18 (Graz, 1957); Herwig Wolfram, *Intitulatio I. Lateinische Königs- und Fürstentitel bis zum Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts*, MIÖG Ergänzungsband 21 (Graz, 1967).

importance of the visual characteristics of documents in expressing royal power, pointing to the impression external characteristics must have made upon a largely illiterate society.⁵⁹⁴ Thus English approaches to charter scholarship, with the exception of work by David Howlett, contrast with those both of French and German historians.⁵⁹⁵

The extent to which a royal charter, no longer surviving in its original form, and perhaps initially produced in the scriptorium of a beneficiary, can be considered as an expression of royal image, deserves further thought. As Herwig Wolfram recognised in his study of early medieval *intitulatio*, the form of title used in a charter often appears to have been dependent upon who in the circle of the king actually wrote it.⁵⁹⁶ This leads to the question of whether charters can really be considered as self-expressive. Wolfram asserts that they can, commenting that in general one can assume that a title would have received the agreement of the person in whose name it was written.⁵⁹⁷ If we dissolve the barriers between the work of royal clerks and beneficiaries' scriptoria, it becomes possible to see royal documents as 'products of negotiation', in which the beneficiary sought to produce a charter that met with royal approval.⁵⁹⁸ Moreover, as Simon Keynes has demonstrated in his analysis of the 'Dunstan B' charters, royal charters could be issued in the name of the king even when he was absent.⁵⁹⁹ Elizabeth Danbury has shown how the earliest illuminated grants in England, dating from the 1250s and 1260s were all for East Anglian beneficiaries. She concludes that the impulse

⁵⁹⁴ Peter Rück, "Die Urkunde als Kunstwerk," in *Kaiserin Theophanu: Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, ed. Anton von Euw and Peter Schreiner, vol. 2, (Cologne, 1991), 311–333.

⁵⁹⁵ Howlett has drawn attention to the encoded statements found in insular charters before 1066. The charters Howlett analysed lack seals and autograph signatures or signs manual and he argues that they were authenticated instead by infix devices that were widely understood. After 1066 sealing and autograph signs manual became more common and ultimately replaced such structural devices. David Howlett, *Sealed from Within: Self-authenticating Insular Charters* (Dublin, 1999).

⁵⁹⁶ Wolfram, *Intitulatio I*, 21; This is an observation David Bates has made concerning William the Conqueror's charters. David Bates, ed., *RRAN: The Acta of William I* (Oxford, 1998), 86–87.

⁵⁹⁷ Wolfram, *Intitulatio I*, 21.

⁵⁹⁸ This is David Bates' description. Bates, "Charters and Historians of Britain and Ireland: Problems and Possibilities," 8.

⁵⁹⁹ Simon Keynes, "The 'Dunstan B' Charters," *Anglo-Saxon England* 23 (1994): 185.

for decoration was beneficiary driven.⁶⁰⁰ However, that beneficiaries sought to augment royal documents does not invalidate the importance of such documents in understanding images of royalty. Seeking written authentication of a transaction in their favour, or decorating a charter to impress upon viewers that it carried the weight of royal power, caused beneficiaries to project a conventional image of royal authority. For this reason it is evident that the sentiments in beneficiary-composed charters can reflect ideas current in royal and imperial circles.

Any study of charters associated with royal consecration is hampered by the difficulties in dating undated documents, by the uneven survival of these documents and by the equally uneven extent to which such charters have been published.⁶⁰¹ In any case, Henry I's charter is practically unique, with only a handful of surviving royal charters actually datable to the day of a king or queen's consecration. Although so-called 'coronation charters' survive for both Stephen and Henry II, they do not contain direct internal evidence linking them to the kings' consecrations. Neither contains a date clause, nor mentions the king's inauguration. While Henry I's consecrator acted as one of a number of witnesses to his coronation charter, the charters of Stephen and Henry II were both witnessed by a sole professional administrator. It is only their places of issue, London for Stephen, and Westminster for Henry II, that allows them to be linked to the kings' inauguration.⁶⁰² Taking into account these issues, I have considered a selection of charters, most of which have been dated by scholars to within roughly a year of a king or queen's consecration. These charters have then been analysed for evidence of royal image, particularly in respect to the consecration

⁶⁰⁰ Elizabeth Danbury, "The Decoration and Illumination of Royal Charters in England, 1250-1509: An Introduction," in *England and Her Neighbours 1066-1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplain*, ed. Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale (London, 1989), 159.

⁶⁰¹ The main published sources consulted have been the *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum* series, the *Recueil des actes* series and the *MGH Diplomata* series. These series, often produced over a wide time-span, are inconsistent in their editorial practices. The earliest *RRAN* do not reproduce the text of documents, for example, while the later collections do, and the charters of every king have not yet been published. Alternative sources have also been consulted and the references for these are provided in the accompanying footnotes.

⁶⁰² For Stephen's charter see Stubbs, *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History*, 142. *Henry II's coronation charter*, ed. N. Vincent. <http://www.earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk/laws/texts/hn2-cor/view/#edition,1/apparatus,1> [accessed 12.12.12].

ceremony, with a focus on *intitulatio*, including invocations and royal titles, signing and dating clauses and visual characteristics. In addition, in the following chapter, seal iconography will be analysed.

Protocols

Although no charter survives, we know from Gervase of Reims's memorandum of Philip I of France's consecration, that during the ceremony the newly inaugurated king authenticated a charter.⁶⁰³ Gervase wished, like all ambitious medieval archbishops, to defend and expand the rights of his church and thus ensured that Philip confirmed its possessions 'sicut antecessores sui fecerunt'.⁶⁰⁴ Here we see the ease with which a legal transaction could be embedded in royal consecration, that ritual of sacral kingship par excellence.⁶⁰⁵ Philip granted his charter, at Pentecost 1059, with his immediate ancestor, his father King Henry I, still living. Following the death of the senior king on 4 August 1060, Philip I issued a number of charters in memory of his father. In the first of these, he gave the farm of Courcelles to the abbey of Saint Denis, where his father had been buried, 'pro Dei amore et remedio anime patris mei'.⁶⁰⁶ This charter opens with an invocation of the Trinity: 'In nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis, videlicet Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, amen', alerting us to the fact that, just as charters were not out of place in liturgical ritual, so too liturgical invocations were not excluded from royal charters. As Charles Insley has rightly stressed, charters themselves can be considered as 'quasi-liturgical documents'.⁶⁰⁷ The prayer is directly succeeded by the words 'ego Philippus gratia Dei Francorum rex', this juxtaposition making clear that Philip conceived of himself as making this gift 'in

⁶⁰³ Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:232.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁵ The German kings also customarily granted rights to Aachen within a few days of their inauguration. See, for example, the charter of Frederick II, issued the day after his 1215 consecration. No. 316. Walter Koch, ed., *Friderici II. Diplomata*, vol. 2, *MGH DD* 14 (Hannover, 2007), 291–292.

⁶⁰⁶ No. 4: Maurice Prou and Marie Henri d' Arbois de Jubainville, eds., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, Roi de France (1059-1108)* (Paris, 1908), 14.

⁶⁰⁷ Charles Insley, "Where Did All the Charters Go? Anglo-Saxon Charters and the New Politics of the Eleventh Century," *ANS* 24 (2001): 119.

the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity'.⁶⁰⁸ The king's close relationship with God is further emphasised in the assertion that Philip is king of the Franks, 'by God's grace'.

The *intitulatio* of this charter of Philip I contains the core elements found in the majority of royal charters in the period *c.1050-c.1250*. That is, the name of the monarch, his office (normally qualified by an ethnic or geographic tag), and the fact that he owes his position to God. Further elaborations were possible, such as the inclusion of prayers and other votive formulae, and additional words and phrases exalting the position of the monarch (*augustus, gloriosus, serenissimus* etc.). Wolfram has traced the manner in which such royal titles grew from antique roots, specifically the 'public' titles of late antiquity and those of Roman magistrates, nourished by the flourishing of Christian thought under the Carolingians.⁶⁰⁹ Wolfram's detailed study recognises the diverse origins of composite elements in royal titles and thus avoids the pitfall of Jack Autrey Dabbs' overtly teleological approach to the use of the *Dei gratia* formula.⁶¹⁰ Dabbs' second chapter is misleadingly entitled 'Early use of the *Dei gratia*', when it is actually concerned with ancient Roman formulae.⁶¹¹ Although Roman conventions clearly influenced later royal titles, *divus* cannot be 'classed as a forerunner of the *Dei Gratia*' purely because 'its position immediately after the first name corresponds to the position of the *Dei Gratia* of later times, and its meaning is closely related'.⁶¹² As Dabbs recognised, not only is the origin of the formula Pauline, but it was used by ecclesiastics long before it was embraced by Charlemagne.⁶¹³ It cannot thus be understood as the Christianisation of the Roman *divus*.

Wolfram links the introduction of the *Dei gratia* formula in Carolingian royal titles to the adoption of anointing in the Carolingian consecration ceremony,

⁶⁰⁸ Prou and d' Arbois de Jubainville, *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, 14.

⁶⁰⁹ Wolfram, *Intitulatio I.*, 18.

⁶¹⁰ Jack Autrey Dabbs, *Dei Gratia in Royal Titles* (The Hague, 1971).

⁶¹¹ *Ibid.*, 32–50.

⁶¹² *Ibid.*, 39.

⁶¹³ 1 Corinthians 15:10: 'gratia autem Dei sum id quod sum et gratia eius in me vacua non fuit sed abundantius illis omnibus laboravi non ego autem sed gratia Dei mecum'.

another reminder of the links between how kings conceived and expressed their authority in written form and the liturgical ceremony in which they were made monarch. Fichtenau has traced the first royal use of the formula to a letter of Pippin written c.765 and has suggested that this usage, in a beneficiary-composed document, demonstrates a new understanding of 'kingship as office'.⁶¹⁴ In doing so he rejected the link, drawn by Walter Ullmann amongst others, between the *Dei gratia* formula and ideas of sovereignty, arguing that it is not appropriate to use the modern concept of sovereignty when describing the medieval understanding of royal power.⁶¹⁵ Thus when dukes and earls copied kings by using this formula in their charters we should not talk of them claiming sovereignty but recognise that they were simply mimicking the kings' style and thereby claiming their God-given place in the secular hierarchy. The widespread usage of the formula elicited comment later in the period, with Ludolf of Hildesheim suggesting c.1250 that while some princes and dukes could style themselves *Dei gratia*, lesser men should not use the formula. Half a century later an Italian jurist went further, stating that aside from ecclesiastics only emperors and kings should use the style, because only they had been anointed.⁶¹⁶ By c.1300, when this pronouncement was made, the kings of England had long since joined the French and German monarchs in styling themselves kings *Dei gratia*. The formula had been adopted by Henry the Young King, in deliberate imitation of Capetian practice, on the eve of his rebellion in 1173, and was thereafter adopted by his father Henry II.⁶¹⁷

Klaus Lohrmann has studied the titles of the early Capetians and commented on the qualification of the title *rex* by the ethnic determiner *Francorum* by the reign

⁶¹⁴ Heinrich Fichtenau, "'Dei Gratia' und Königssalbung," in *Geschichte und ihre Quellen. Festschrift für Friedrich Hausmann zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Reinhard Härtel (Graz, 1987), 32.

⁶¹⁵ According to Ullmann, Charlemagne formed the words of St. Paul 'into a governmental principle of the first order by means of the adoption of the royal grace formula'. Walter Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship* (London, 1969), 45; cf. Claus Richter, "Der Sinn der Dei-gratia-Formel in den französischen und deutschen Dynastenurkunden bis zum Jahre 1000 Untersucht mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Geschichte dieser Formel von der paulinischen Zeit an" (unpublished PhD thesis, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, 1974), 109.

⁶¹⁶ Fichtenau, "'Dei Gratia' und Königssalbung," 33.

⁶¹⁷ This is the conclusion of Nicholas Vincent who kindly shared unpublished work with me. See, in due course, the introductory volume to N. Vincent et al., *The Letters and Charters of Henry II* (Oxford, forthcoming).

of Philip I. Lohrmann considered the title in the context of the internal West Frankish political situation, suggesting that by using the ethnic tag, Philip claimed to be king not only of *Francia*, but also Burgundy and Aquitaine, which had been part of ancient *Gallia*.⁶¹⁸ In the same way, he interprets the emphatic use of the personal pronoun *ego* as signifying that the king could also practise successful princely politics outside the Crown demesne.⁶¹⁹ This use of the personal pronoun is not found in England and Germany, and fell out of favour in France during the reign of Louis VII, a change Lohrmann attributes to a vacancy in the chancery between 1172 and 1179.⁶²⁰ It seems possible that a strong French monarch no longer sought to vaunt his status above the other French princes and preferred to present himself on the same level as his English and imperial counterparts.

Moreover, the tension between the use of the singular personal pronoun in the title and the plural form of verbs in the charter text might well have contributed to the demise of *ego*. With this exception, the titles used by the French kings remained relatively constant under Philip I, Louis VI and Louis VII although there are examples when the base formula, *N. Dei gratia Francorum rex*, was ornamented. Philip I issued three charters in 1092 to the monastery of Saint-Corneille in Compiègne, in which the title 'Philippus Dei providentia Francorum rex piissimus' was used. Lohrmann suggests that this supplies evidence that the king wished to stress his piety following his well-documented marital problems, which had brought his religious devotion into question.⁶²¹

Following Philip's death in 1108, his son Louis succeeded him as king. Louis's first recorded act by charter, the original of which has been lost so that we only know of it from a cartulary copy from the seventeenth century, was to make a gift to the abbey of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire for the soul of his father.⁶²² Saint-Benoît was the church that Philip had chosen for his burial, so an appropriate recipient of a grant for the late king's soul. The cartulary copy begins with the invocation

⁶¹⁸ Klaus Lohrmann, "Die Titel der Kapetinger bis zum Tod Ludwigs VII.", in *Intitulatio III. Lateinische Herrschertitel und Herrschertitulaturen vom 7. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Herwig Wolfram and Anton Scharer, *MIÖG* Ergänzungsband 29 (Graz, 1988), 210–211.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., 246.

⁶²⁰ Ibid., 254.

⁶²¹ Ibid., 224.

⁶²² No. 19: Jean Dufour, ed., *Recueil des actes de Louis VI, Roi de France (1108-1137)* (Paris, 1992), 35–37.

'in nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis. Amen', but lacks the name of the king or his title. Instead it progresses straight to the text of the charter itself, suggesting it is not an entirely faithful copy of the original. Another charter issued early in the reign, confirming the privilege of immunity to the abbey of Sens, formerly granted by his predecessors Robert the Pious, Henry I and Philip I, opens with the following *invocatio*: 'In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Ego Hludovicus, gratia Dei et propitia divinitate Francorum rex'.⁶²³ The expanded *gratia Dei* formula was copied from the earlier grants of his father and grandfather, but in the circumstances of his irregular consecration, at Orléans by the archbishop of Sens, it seems evident that Louis might have had other reasons to emphasize his divine sanction to rule through the inclusion of this more elaborate form.

There is another example of Louis VI granting a charter with an unusual *intitulatio*, in which the *Dei gratia* formula was replaced by a more elaborate clause, near in time to another royal consecration, this time that of his wife Adelaide in 1115. The charter, surviving in the original, begins: 'In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis. In Christi nomine. Ego Lucdovicus, Dei dispensante misericordia in regem Francorum sublimatus'.⁶²⁴ Particularly noteworthy is the addition to the opening prayer. Having invoked the Holy Trinity, it is made clear that Louis is being most closely associated with one part of the Trinity: the Son, Jesus Christ. This association is strengthened by the charter layout. The first section of the invocation referencing the Trinity stands alone on the top line, whereas the reference to Christ directly precedes Louis's name and title. Louis is identified with God as man, and he has been 'transformed into a king by the dispensing mercy of God'. Both the choice of words in the invocation and the visual presentation of this charter convey a Christological image of kingship. Moreover, the king explicitly references his inauguration, which had taken place seven years previously.⁶²⁵ One

⁶²³ No. 21: *Ibid.*, 41.

⁶²⁴ No. 102: *Ibid.*, 218.

⁶²⁵ *sublimare* is one of the verbs one occasionally finds in narrative sources to describe inauguration.

interpretation for this might be that through his marriage Louis had once more been raised to the level of a king.⁶²⁶

It was usual for new kings to confirm gifts made by their predecessors and Philip Augustus was no exception. In 1180, following the death of his father, Philip confirmed Louis VII's gift of one hundred measures of wine each year to the monks of the Holy Trinity at Canterbury.⁶²⁷ The link to Canterbury is important here, because the charter recounts that Louis VII had travelled to the tomb of Thomas Becket where he had originally made the gift:

‘Noverint igitur universi presentes pariter et futuri quod, intuitu beatissimi Thome martiris quondam Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, ad cuius tumulum pro salute anime et sanitate corporis impetranda pater noster in multa devotione fuerat profectus, conventui monachorum Sancte Trinitatis ibidem Deo servientium centum modios vini ad mensuram Parisiensem, singulis annis tempore vindemiarum in castellaria Pissaci accipiendo, in eleemosinam concessit’.⁶²⁸

The reason for Louis's journey had been to pray to the saint for the safe recovery of his heir, Philip, who, shortly before his planned consecration, had fallen ill following a night spent lost in the forest of Compiègne.⁶²⁹ As a result the future king was unable to be consecrated as planned on the Feast of the Assumption of Mary and the consecration was instead delayed until the Feast of All Saints 1179, by which time Philip's father was himself too ill to play a part in proceedings.

Philip's confirmation of his father's grant of an annuity of wine to the monks of Holy Trinity, Canterbury, opens with the familiar invocation, 'In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis. Amen. Philippus Dei gratia Francorum rex.' This is in keeping with the standard openings used by his predecessor, although by now the personal pronoun 'ego' has no place in the king's royal style. Bernd

⁶²⁶ See below p. 210-211 for an important change made to Louis VI charters following his marriage.

⁶²⁷ No. 2: H. François Delaborde and Elie Berger, eds., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France (1180-1223)*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1916), 2-3.

⁶²⁸ No. 2: *Ibid.*, 1:3.

⁶²⁹ Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 124-126.

Schneidmüller has pointed to the fact that Philip's title remained constant, despite the fact that he successfully expanded the Crown domain both in westerly and southerly directions, and even though one might have expected to find this expansion of power reflected in an elaboration of the royal style.⁶³⁰ Schneidmüller explains the lack of addition of other ethnic tags in the same terms as Klaus Lohrmann applied to the early Capetian royal titles, namely that the qualifier 'Francorum' already encompassed the people over whom Philip Augustus had now extended his rule. As Schneidmüller concludes, the continuity of the title emphasises far more the consistency and rigour of a theory of lordship, which kept the king aloof from day-to-day business and instead projected the image of the monarch at the head of a *regnum*, defined both in a legal and geographic manner.⁶³¹ Given how other studies have emphasised both the idea of the Franks as a holy people, and the manner in which the term could be used to describe a myriad of ethnic groups, such as crusaders from different areas and kingdoms, I am inclined to agree with Lohrmann and Schneidmüller's assertions of the implicit claim to power outside of the borders of Francia and the royal domain.

With the broad claims of the tag 'Francorum', in contrast to the narrow geographic extent of 'Francia' in mind, it is necessary to reassess the pronouncement, first made by Jean Mabillon in the seventeenth century, that the reign of Philip Augustus witnessed a change in the French royal title, in which the ethnic tag was replaced by a geographical one. This change was seen by Percy Ernst Schramm as signalling the move away from the early Germanic *Personenverbandsstaat* to the medieval territorial state and as such has been accorded a significance in political and constitutional history that it does not deserve. Indeed, as Bernd Schneidmüller has comprehensively proved, such a change cannot even be securely dated to Philip Augustus's reign. To recognise this it is necessary to return to the original documents, rather than accept

⁶³⁰ Bernd Schneidmüller, "Herrsher über Land und Leute? Der kapetingische Herrschertitel in der Zeit Philipps II. August und seiner Nachfolger (1180-1270)," in *Intitulatio III. Lateinische Herrschertitel und Herrschertitulaturen vom 7. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Herwig Wolfram and Anton Scharer, *MIÖG* Ergänzungsband 29 (Graz, 1988), 134.

⁶³¹ Schneidmüller, "Herrsher über Land und Leute?," 134.

uncritically the work of modern editors.⁶³² There is an additional problem inherent in the documents themselves, however, as the frequent use of abbreviation means that ambiguity remains. There are two frequently deployed abbreviations, one of which can clearly be expanded as *Francorum*. The other is, however, ambiguous, and could be expanded as either *Francie*, a geographic qualifier, or *Francorum*, the traditional ethnic tag. Schneidmüller argues strongly in favour of expanding the ambiguous abbreviation as *Francorum*, pointing to the fact that whenever a longer form is found in a charter it is either *Francorum* written out in full, or the abbreviation that can only be expanded to *Francorum*. *Francie* is never found in full.⁶³³ He emphasises that 'Francorum rex' is still part of Louis IX's royal style and points to the presence, previously overlooked, of *Francorum* on the seals of Philip Augustus, Louis VIII and Louis IX, and on the regency seal of Louis IX.⁶³⁴ Schneidmüller also considered the use of ethnic and geographic terms outside of charters, recognising the difference of usage in Latin and the French vernacular, in which the title 'rois de France' is evident from the mid-thirteenth century.⁶³⁵

In his otherwise astute discussion of the titles of Philip Augustus and his successors, Schneidmüller makes an uncharacteristic error, seeking to contrast the Capetian ethnic tag with the territorial title used by their Angevin counterparts.⁶³⁶ As Nicholas Vincent has stressed in his work on the charters of Henry II, determining whether Henry used an ethnic or geographic qualifier is subject to exactly the same issues as Schneidmüller outlined for Philip Augustus. That is to say, the abbreviations are ambiguous.⁶³⁷ Vincent points out that although some twelfth-century beneficiary produced documents qualify the king's title through the use of territorial tags, the only expanded title written by a

⁶³² Schneidmüller points out that one finds 'Francie rex' in Layettes's edition of 1843 and 'Francorum rex' in Delaborde's of 1946: *Ibid.*, 140.

⁶³³ *Ibid.*, 147.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*, 155.

⁶³⁵ *Ibid.*, 142.

⁶³⁶ *Ibid.*, 144. This is a good example of Levi Roach's point about comparing apples and oranges, for Schneidmüller has compared French primary material with English secondary literature.

⁶³⁷ Nicholas Vincent, "Regional Variations in the Charters of King Henry II (1154-89)," in *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Marie Therese Flanagan and Judith A. Green (Basingstoke, 2005), 76.

recognised chancery scribe relates to people.⁶³⁸ If we follow Schneidmüller's lead and consider seal evidence, it is clear that Henry II and his son Richard I continued to use a royal style linked to peoples on their seals and that the use of territorially qualified titles are first witnessed in a great seal inscription in the reign of King John. It seems to me that, as in the Capetian shift from people to territory, we should be on our guard against ascribing too much significance to what was quite possibly simply a linguistic development. Indeed, modern scholars, seeing this change as epitomising constitutional progression, have vastly exaggerated the distinction between the two forms of title. Popes, for example, addressed letters to the kings of Christendom using both ethnic and geographic titles seemingly indiscriminately, and there is no evidence that Scottish kings, normally diligent imitators of English royal chancery practice, moved away from the traditional title of *rex Scottorum*.⁶³⁹ Furthermore, such titles were not mutually exclusive. Henry VI of Germany was styled on his seal both 'HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS' and 'REX SICILIE'. His imperial power was related to a people, the Romans, and his royal power to a territory, Sicily.

In German historiography, the debate has not centred on the difference between ethnic and geographic titles. Instead the focus has been on the nature of the ethnic qualifier, on when it was introduced and why. Territorial titles only appear rarely, as in the case of the German ruler as *rex Sicilie*. Royal and imperial titles in the early part of this period most often lack any qualifier. In the first surviving charter of Henry IV, for example, a confirmation of privileges granted to the monastery of Prüm in December 1056, the boy king is styled 'Heinricus divina favente clementia rex'.⁶⁴⁰ His mother, acting as regent, likewise used a title, this time imperial, without any ethnic tag, in a charter recording a gift made at Speyer in October 1059. Here she is styled, 'Agnes divina favente clementia

⁶³⁸ Ibid.

⁶³⁹ I am grateful to Dauid Broun for discussing this with me following a seminar at the IHR in November 2012.

⁶⁴⁰ No 1: Dietrich von Gladiss and Alfred Gawlik, eds., *Heinrici IV. Diplomata*, vol. 1, *MGH DD* 6 (Berlin, 1941), 1.

imperatrix augusta'.⁶⁴¹ Henry IV's first-born son is likewise styled simply as king, without any qualifying tag in two of his three surviving charters. In the final surviving charter from 1097, granting privileges to the cathedral chapter at Cremona, Conrad is styled, 'Chounradus divina favente clementia rex Italicus'.⁶⁴² In this case the adjective *Italicus* could refer to either a territory or an ethnic group, reminding us that drawing too sharp a distinction is perhaps unwise. In any case, it is clear that it was not necessary to qualify the titles *rex* or *imperator* with either an ethnic or geographic determiner, and indeed we find this in the twelfth century too. Lothar III, for example, in his first surviving charter granting immunity and royal protection to the monastery at Rheinau, was styled 'Lotharius divina favente gratia rex', as late as 1125.

When we do find a qualifying tag in German royal and imperial documents, it tends to relate to a people, the Romans. The introduction of the title *rex Romanorum* has been avidly studied by German historians, who have traced its increasing use throughout the period and interpreted this as a response to papal attempts to label the German monarchs as *rex Teutonicorum*, thereby suggesting that their power did not extend south of the Alps.⁶⁴³ As Brigitte Merta has summarised, the context for the earliest uses of a Roman title under Henry III and Henry IV was Italian. Of eight surviving charters from the two kings' reigns in which the royal or imperial title is qualified by *Romanorum*, seven of them were for Italian or Lombard beneficiaries, with the last a grant to the bishopric of Freising of land near Trieste.⁶⁴⁴ As we have seen, it was also in an Italian context that Henry IV's son Conrad was styled *rex Italicus*. However, in the reign of Henry V we find the title *rex Romanorum* used much more extensively in the German as well as Italian kingdom, and for the first time a German seal

⁶⁴¹ No 1: Dietrich von Gladiss and Alfred Gawlik, eds., *Heinrici IV. Diplomata*, vol. 2, *MGH DD* 6 (Weimar, 1959), 670.

⁶⁴² *Ibid.*, 2:675.

⁶⁴³ Alfred Gawlik, "Ein neues Siegel Heinrichs V. aus seiner Königszeit," in *Geschichte und ihre Quellen. Festschrift für Friedrich Hausmann zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Reinhard Härtel (Graz, 1987), 534.

⁶⁴⁴ Brigitte Merta, "Die Titel Heinrichs II. und der Salier," in *Intitulatio III. Lateinische Herrscheritel und Herrscher titulaturen vom 7. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Herwig Wolfram and Anton Scharer, *MIÖG* Ergänzungsband 29 (Graz, 1988), 185.

inscription referring to the monarch as 'king of the Romans'.⁶⁴⁵ Merta has traced papal usage of the term *rex Teutonicorum* and suggested that Gregory VII purposely differentiated between the *regnum Teutonicorum* and the *regnum Italiae* by, for example, recognising the anti-king Rudolf of Rheinfelden as king in Germany but not in Italy.⁶⁴⁶ Henry V did not accept that his power as king was only to be exercised over a people north of the Alps and thus increasingly used the word *Romanorum* in conjunction with his royal title, a word that had previously been associated with imperial power. German historians have aptly dubbed this facet of the Investiture Controversy as *Titelpolitik*.

Eschatocols

The layout of royal documents in France and the Empire was dynamic. The optical middle point of these solemn documents was normally the authority-bestowing eschatocol. As Peter Rück has described it, the graphic stress is directed from the top to the bottom to the method of legal authentication and 'die statische Ruhe der Schriftfläche durchbrochen'.⁶⁴⁷ The centrality of the eschatocol is seldom reflected in the layout of charters in modern editions, which perhaps explains why they have been undervalued as arenas for royal self-expression. It is in the eschatocol that we find the kings' authority expressed in words and often visually too, sometimes with a monogram or other graphic symbol. It is to these words and symbols, to witness lists, to dating clauses, to monograms and to seals that the eye is drawn. This effect is significantly less pronounced in post-Conquest English royal charters, which lack the dynamic layout and graphic symbols of their continental counterparts. Although plainer at first sight, it will be shown that English documents reflected at least some of the ideas present in continental charters, for a document's authenticity is its most important characteristic, and the manner in which kings guaranteed this authenticity frequently referred back to the ceremony in which they had been made monarch.

⁶⁴⁵ See below pp. 237-239 for a discussion of images of Rome on imperial *bulla*.

⁶⁴⁶ Merta, "Die Titel Heinrichs II. und der Salier," 185-190.

⁶⁴⁷ Rück, "Die Urkunde als Kunstwerk," 330.

The meaning of dating clauses, with the notable exception of nuanced articles on Scottish royal charters by Dauvit Broun and on Catalan specimens by Michel Zimmermann, has been overlooked by historians, who use them only to attempt to date charters using modern chronology, and become frustrated when they do not surrender the necessary evidence.⁶⁴⁸ Perhaps it is the formulaic nature of these clauses that has led to their neglect, for, as Broun demonstrated in his analysis of the royal charters of William the Lion and Alexander II of Scotland, these clauses can reveal a great deal about royal image. In consciously avoiding the use of regnal years, the Scottish kings made a 'carefully calibrated statement of the kingship's status', as inferior to that of the Plantagenet kings, whose chancery practice they so often mimicked.⁶⁴⁹ In this context, Alexander II's adoption of regnal years, alongside his use of the 'royal we', can be interpreted as a claim to equal status with his southern counterpart.⁶⁵⁰ In the Spanish context Zimmermann demonstrated the abrupt change in Catalan dating clauses in 1180, when documents ceased to be dated relative to the reigns of French kings, reflected changed political realities in the Iberian Peninsula.⁶⁵¹ But could it be that regnal years have a significance in and of themselves? As we saw in the previous chapter, modern dating conventions have camouflaged important liturgical allusions. Historians tend to treat relative chronology as an inconvenient system that requires decoding, as the enduring popularity of handbooks such as Cheney's and Grotfend's demonstrate.⁶⁵² In his *Manuel de Diplomatique*, Arthur Giry devoted almost two hundred pages to describing how different systems of dating can be converted to the modern form, but not one line

⁶⁴⁸ Dauvit Broun, "The Absence of Regnal Years from the Dating Clause of Charters of King of Scots, 1195-1222," *ANS* 25 (2003): 47-63; Michel Zimmermann, "La datation des documents catalans du IXe au XIIe siècle: un itinéraire politique," *Annales du Midi* 43 (1981): 345-75; Dating charters is a goal that has understandably interested medieval historians. For a number of methodologies, including dating by word-pattern matching, by formulae and vocabulary, by the association of names, and by palaeographic and sigillographic techniques, see the essays in Michael Gervers, ed., *Dating Undated Medieval Charters* (Woodbridge, 2000).

⁶⁴⁹ Broun, "The Absence of Regnal Years from the Dating Clause of Charters of King of Scots, 1195-1222," 57.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁵¹ Zimmermann, "La datation des documents catalans," 374.

⁶⁵² Cheney and Jones, *A Handbook of Dates*; Hermann Grotfend, *Zeitrechnung des Deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, 2 vols. (Hannover, 1891). Grotfend is available online thanks to Dr Horst Ruth: <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/gaeste/grotfend/grotfend.htm> [accessed 3.1.2013].

to what these systems actually mean.⁶⁵³ Before rushing to run these codes through such handbook ciphers it is worth pausing to see what secrets they reveal in their original form.

Stressing that charters were dated relative to the birth of Christ might strike one as a tedious banality, but perhaps for just that reason, little consideration has been given to this fact. It is taken for granted, as unexceptional, as a method of dating still current today. However, that there is debate over its use in the modern era, with a growing preference for the use of the abbreviations BCE and CE over the traditional western abbreviations BC and AD, should remind us of the centrality of Christ to this system of dating, and that this is not meaningless even today, at least not to the champions of Common Era dating. Medieval documents, dated relative to the birth of Christ, are implicitly positioned within the history of salvation.⁶⁵⁴ These are documents that have a role in God's plan for humanity. This role might be a small one, but it is implicit, and I would argue, a role that was understood by the kings themselves, especially those of France and Germany, who opened their charters, 'in the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity'. These were kings using legal documents to carry out the will of God. With this in mind, it should be recognised that the juxtaposition of years since the birth of Christ and regnal years connects regnal years to salvation history. An early charter of Philip I contains a place-date clause, telling us that the charter was 'actum Silvanectis, anno dominicae incarnationis MLX^{mo} et regis Philippi primo'.⁶⁵⁵ King-centred dating is a close relation of Christ-centred dating. Where Christ's birth is commemorated in the phrase 'anno dominicae incarnationis', the king's consecration is remembered in regnal dating.

Sometimes the reference to the king's consecration is more explicit. Louis VI used the phrase 'anno incarnationis dominice M^oC^oIX^{no}, anno vero consecrationis

⁶⁵³ Arthur Giry, *Manuel de diplomatique*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1894), 81–275.

⁶⁵⁴ cf. Pauline Stafford's discussion of the place of Aethelred's 'penitential' charters of the 990s within the history of salvation. Pauline Stafford, "Political Ideas in Late Tenth-century England: Charters as Evidence," in *Law, Laity and Solidarities: Essays in Honour of Susan Reynolds*, ed. Pauline Stafford, Janet L. Nelson, and Jane Martindale (Manchester, 2001), 70–71.

⁶⁵⁵ No. 4: Prou and d' Arbois de Jubainville, *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, 15.

nostre primo' in a charter to La Charité-sur-Loire in 1108.⁶⁵⁶ Following the consecration of his queen, Louis took the unprecedented step of including her regnal years in dating clauses, concluding a charter 'Actum Parisius, in palacio nostro puplice, anno incarnati Verbi M^oC^oXV^o, anno nostre cunsecracionis VII^o, primo anno cunsecracionis Adelaidis regine [sic]'.⁶⁵⁷ Louis continued to date documents using both his and his queen's regnal years for the duration of his reign, and given that the days of their consecration were different their respective regnal years increased unevenly, underscoring the way in which regnal years inherently referenced royal consecration.⁶⁵⁸

In the German kingdom we also find explicit reference to king-making in dating clauses, which tend to include the indiction number, something not as regularly recorded in French royal documents. The first surviving charter of Henry IV concludes as follows: 'Data nonas Decembris anno dominicae incarnationis millesimo LVI, indictione VIIII, anno autem domini Heinrici regis ordinationis III, regni I; actum Coloniae; in Dei nomine feliciter amen.'⁶⁵⁹ Here we are provided with two 'regnal' years, one relating to the king's ordination and the other to his attaining power. This distinction is significant, because it appears that a regnal year was not enough. The king's right to rule is related back to his ordination, which occurred while this father was still alive, in addition to the moment he assumed independent control on his father's death. Rather than commemorating solely his assumption of power, this manner of regnal dating purposely refers back to his consecration. The symbolic link between Christ and the German king is also alluded to through the parallel language used to describe the 'year of the Lord's incarnation' and the 'year of the lord king Henry IV's ordination'. Of course for some German kings, those not consecrated in the lifetime of a predecessor, their rule began on the day of their inauguration, and it is perhaps for this reason that we cease to find these events distinguished from one another in later royal charters. A distinction that we do find however, is that between

⁶⁵⁶ No. 19: Dufour, *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, 38.

⁶⁵⁷ No. 102: *Ibid.*, 219.

⁶⁵⁸ The precise date of Louis VI and Adelaide's marriage is not known. See Andrew W. Lewis, "La date du mariage de Louis VI et d'Adelaïde de Maurienne," *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes* 148, no. 1 (1990): 5–16.

⁶⁵⁹ No. 1: von Gladiss and Gawlik, *Heinrici IV. Diplomata*, 1941, 1:3.

royal and imperial regnal years. In a charter issued on the day of his wife's imperial consecration in 1167, Frederick Barbarossa authenticated a grant to Archbishop Rainald of Cologne with a dating clause stating that it was the fifteenth year of his royal reign and the thirteenth of his imperial rule.⁶⁶⁰ This distinction is consistently demarcated in imperial charters and points to the fact that royal and imperial powers were understood as separate offices.

English royal documents stand apart from those of France and Germany, in that it was not until the reign of Richard I that we regularly find the use of regnal years in charter dating clauses.⁶⁶¹ Despite coming relatively late to the regnal dating party, the Plantagenets clearly understood the potential of the implicit celebration of the day of their consecration in this method of dating. King John, consecrated on 27 May 1199, did not number his regnal years from the ordinal 27th day of that month, instead stressing his piety and the sacrality of his kingship by dating his regnal year from the moveable Feast of the Ascension, which had fallen on 27 May in 1199. This practice might infuriate historians trying accurately to date John's charters, but it also highlights the extent to which dates were imbued with liturgical significance. Instead of considering John's system of regnal dating as inconvenient, we should be grateful that it so explicitly illustrates the relationship between regnal years and biblical history, a relationship that has often been overlooked. In delineating the different dates used to denote the beginning of a year, Giry singled out Philip Augustus' preferred system of using the moveable feast of Easter as being 'le plus irrationnel' of all the methods used.⁶⁶² But in focusing on the disadvantages, presumably for the modern scholar seeking to convert these dates into a form intelligible to modern readers, the inherent meaning in medieval dating is ignored. For condemning dating relative to the celebration of Christ's resurrection as 'irrational', demonstrates a distinct lack of understanding of the theological importance of this biblical event to medieval kings ruling *Dei gratia*.

⁶⁶⁰ No. 532: Heinrich Appelt, Rainer Maria Herkenrath, and Walter Koch, eds., *Friderici I. Diplomata*, vol. 2, *MGH DD* 10 (Hannover, 1979), 477.

⁶⁶¹ Broun, "The Absence of Regnal Years from the Dating Clause of Charters of King of Scots, 1195-1222," 48.

⁶⁶² Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatique*, 1:110.

I began this section on eschatocols by drawing attention to the layout of royal documents, which is but one of the four visual aspects of such documents that Peter Rück suggests should be considered in any analysis. He further highlights the importance of script, the use of symbols and the employment of different formats, and it is to these features that we shall now turn.⁶⁶³ These aspects are of course seldom clearly indicated in scholarly editions of charters, although modern information technology has made indicating the presence of a Chrismon or monogram in a document considerably easier. However, despite technological limitations, earlier charter scholars clearly recognised the inherent importance of the appearance of documents, as is evidenced by the later volumes in the *RRAN* series, in which a number of charters were reproduced in facsimile.⁶⁶⁴ Current investment in digital forms of reproduction and the development of scholarly standards for reproducing non-textual features will surely result in an increased awareness of the visual impression made by such documents.⁶⁶⁵

The study of diplomatic has always been closely linked to that of palaeography. Scholars of diplomatic have been reliant on palaeographical techniques to date documents, where a date is not clear from internal textual evidence, and to ascertain whether a document originated, for example, in a royal chancery or the scriptorium of a beneficiary.⁶⁶⁶ This interest in script has, however, rarely been extended to the overall visual impact. In his 1957 Lyell lectures at Oxford, Stanley Morison, famous for designing the *Times New Roman* typeface in 1931, sought to explain the development of scripts from the sixth century BC to the present day. Morison's assertion was that all changes in alphabetic lettering in the West were linked to changes in the nature of belief and authority and he accordingly gave the collection of his published lectures the title 'Politics and

⁶⁶³ Rück, "Die Urkunde als Kunstwerk," 313; Hermann Jung provides a useful historiographical sketch of the study of symbols and signs. Hermann Jung, "Zeichen und Symbol: Bestandsaufname und interdisziplinäre Perspektiven," in *Graphische Symbole in mittelalterlichen Urkunden*, ed. Peter Rück, Historische Hilfswissenschaften 3 (Sigmaringen, 1996), 49–66.

⁶⁶⁴ Terence Alan Martyn Bishop and Pierre Chaplain, eds., *Facsimiles of English Royal Writs to A. D. 1100: Presented to Vivian Hunter Galbraith* (Oxford, 1957); H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davis, eds., *RRAN, 1066-1154: Facsimiles of Original Charters and Writs of King Stephen and the Empress Matilda and Dukes Geoffrey and Henry, 1135-1154* (Oxford, 1969).

⁶⁶⁵ The Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) develops and maintains a standard for the representation of texts in digital form. See <http://www.tei-c.org/index.xml> [accessed 18.2.2013].

⁶⁶⁶ For example see the study of royal French documents by Françoise Gasparri: Françoise Gasparri, *L'écriture des actes de Louis VI, Louis VII et Philippe Auguste* (Paris, 1973).

Script'.⁶⁶⁷ His wider conclusion alerts us to the potential of script to convey authority, a quality that is certainly of relevance in a consideration of royal documents. One of the most striking scribal characteristics of royal documents, particularly in France and Germany, is the different treatment afforded to the invocation and royal title. These elements, opening a document, are typically rendered in large letters thereby emphasising, according to Fichtenau, the distance between the monarch, his officials and everyday existence.⁶⁶⁸ Fichtenau further suggested that such treatment would impress upon viewers the sacrality of words issuing from the mouth of the ruler and this is surely linked to the parallel rendering of the sacred invocation. The tall and thin lettering often found in this context is at times difficult to read, but as Peter Rück commented of a script used by popes into the eleventh century that was so difficult to read interlinear transcriptions were also given: 'legibility was secondary when it came to the visualisation of power'.⁶⁶⁹

Rück's observation could equally be applied to the monograms, found on French and German royal documents, in which the letters in a ruler's name were amalgamated to form a visual symbol.⁶⁷⁰ Here legibility was certainly secondary to the visualisation of power. In addition to monograms, the most frequently employed graphic symbols were the cross and Chrismon.⁶⁷¹ That one of the most common styles of monogram was based on the shape of a cross is indicative of the links between the three symbols. Such symbols were firmly rooted in the text of the charter, as can be seen, for example, in the juxtaposition of Chrismon and

⁶⁶⁷ The lectures were posthumously published in revised form in 1972. Stanley Morison, *Politics and Script: Aspects of Authority and Freedom in the Development of Graeco-Latin Scripts from the Sixth Century B.C. to the Twentieth Century A.D.*, ed. Nicholas Barker (Oxford, 1972).

⁶⁶⁸ Heinrich Fichtenau, "Monarchische Propaganda in Urkunden," in *Beiträge zu Mediävistik: ausgewählte Aufsätze*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 1977), 24.

⁶⁶⁹ Rück, "Die Urkunde als Kunstwerk," 316.

⁶⁷⁰ Olivier Guyotjeannin, "Le monogramme dans l'acte royal français (Xe-début du XIVe siècle)," in *Graphische Symbole in mittelalterlichen Urkunden*, ed. Peter Rück, *Historische Hilfswissenschaften* 3 (Sigmaringen, 1996), 293–307.

⁶⁷¹ Of these three symbols only the open cross appears in post-Conquest documents in England and even this is rare in comparison with France and Germany. Jane Sayers does not know of any example of a monogram in an English document and points out that although the Chrisom is found in pre-Conquest documents it disappeared after 1066. Jane E. Sayers, "The Land of Chirograph, Writ and Seal: The Absence of Graphic Symbols in English Documents," in *Graphische Symbole in mittelalterlichen Urkunden*, ed. Peter Rück, *Historische Hilfswissenschaften* 3 (Sigmaringen, 1996), 535.

invocation.⁶⁷² This link between graphic and scribal elements points to the fact that such documents were intended to be both read and seen. In an article on the legal function of graphic symbols in documents, Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand examined illustrations of legal procedures, particularly from the fourteenth century, and highlighted the fact that in images of legal process certain parts of the legal document are drawn most clearly. The parts chosen for special treatment, the opening and closing of the document, are precisely the parts in which graphic signs and symbols appear. Schmidt-Wiegand thus argues that these images reflect reality and thus the importance contemporaries placed on these graphic symbols.⁶⁷³

By way of example, let us consider the visual characteristics of a surviving diploma of the emperor Henry VI (Illustration 9). This document is one of two surviving original engrosmements of a confirmation made to the citizens of Constance, declaring that they were not required to pay tax to the bishop of Constance or his reeve.⁶⁷⁴ Given at Liège in September 1172, one original, sealed with wax, is to be found in the Generallandesarchiv in Karlsruhe, the other, which has a golden bull attached, is now in the Rosgartenmuseum in Constance. This copy, which we shall consider here, is a beneficiary produced document and the fact it is sealed with a golden bull, presumably financed by the citizens of Constance themselves, demonstrates the importance they attributed to its visual appearance. Indeed, as Bartel Heinemann recognised in the early twentieth century, the beneficiary scribe was careful to mimic the visual characteristics of the original, including tracing the monogram and adopting some of the idiosyncrasies of the original chancery scribe.⁶⁷⁵ The document opens with a chrism on the same line as the traditional invocation of the Trinity and the

⁶⁷² Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand, "Die rechtshistorische Funktion graphische Zeichen und Symbole in Urkunden," in *Graphische Symbole in mittelalterlichen Urkunden*, ed. Peter Rück, Historische Hilfswissenschaften 3 (Sigmaringen, 1996), 70.

⁶⁷³ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁴ Although Henry VI's charters are not yet published a PDF forerunner edition of those already edited by Bettina Pferschy-Maleczek (up to 23.7.2013) is available on-line at <http://www.mgh.de/datenbanken/urkunden-heinrichs-vi-fuer-deutsche-empfaenger/> [accessed 19.08.2013].

⁶⁷⁵ Bartel Heinemann, "Der Freiheitsbrief Kaiser Heinrich VI. für die Stadt Konstanz vom 24. September 1192. Ein Beitrag zur Diplomatik der Stauferzeit," *Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte des Bodensees und seiner Umgebung* 44 (1915): 50–52.

Illustration 9

A Diploma of the Emperor Henry VI



Rosgartenmuseum Konstanz

royal title. The invocation and *intitulatio* stand apart from the body of the document and are distinguished by being written in elongated capitals. The eschatocol is similarly distinguished from the body of text, both by its position on the page and again by the use of elongated capitals, which are used to describe the bull as the 'signum domini Henrici sexti romanorum imperatoris invictissimi'. This line, and the four that follow it, are all broken by the emperor's huge monogram, so that on reading each line one's eyes are drawn to the shapes formed by the letters of the emperor's name. That the dating clause is spread over four generously spaced lines of expensive parchment makes clear the importance attributed to this element of an imperial document. In these lines the place of Henry's reign within salvation history is made manifest. These visual elements frame the text of the charter itself and convey, on first glance, the significance of the document they introduce and authenticate.

Graphic symbols such as chrismon and monogram had either invocatory or corroborative functions, with the monogram in French and German monarchical documents being secondary only to the seal as a guarantor of authenticity.⁶⁷⁶ In eschewing graphic symbols, with the exception of the occasional use of the open cross, and instead employing the chirograph, final concord and foot of fine, English royal documents stand visually apart from their continental counterparts.⁶⁷⁷ Jane Sayers sought an explanation for this absence of graphic symbols in English documents in the 'steady growth of a strong monarchy, based upon a unique (and non-Roman) legal system, [that] kept foreign influence at bay'.⁶⁷⁸ In seeing the development of common law as providing the impetus for the difference between English and French and German documents Sayers' work sits firmly in the English legal history tradition discussed earlier. However, her emphasis on the use of seals making graphic symbols redundant seems unsatisfactory, given that these methods of authentication co-existed in the French and German realms. Moreover, foreign influence was hardly 'kept at bay' in English seal design, as will be revealed in the following chapter. Rather than in

⁶⁷⁶ Rück, "Die Urkunde als Kunstwerk," 327–328.

⁶⁷⁷ Sayers, "The Land of Chirograph, Writ and Seal: The Absence of Graphic Symbols in English Documents," 533.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid.

an English propensity to use seals, the lack of graphic symbols in English documents is better explained by a consideration of the type of documents used (a point also made by Sayers).⁶⁷⁹ From the reign of Henry I onwards, English documents developed not from the standard charter formulas, but as a class of instrument derived from the traditions of the Old English writ.

This chapter has sought to provide an introduction to the richness of charter evidence in an examination of royal imagery and has not even touched on the written statements of royal majesty found within charter *arenga*. Both due to the uneven publication of royal charters and the sheer number of monarchs under consideration in this thesis a more detailed investigation has not been possible. This survey has shown, nonetheless, that traces of a sacral and Christological understanding of kingship are to be found in royal charters, whether produced by a royal chancery or in the scriptorium of a beneficiary. It cannot be denied that in the issuing of royal documents English practise diverges from French and German. Not only does the English granting of general rights, traditionally linked to the coronation oath by English historians, find no French or German equivalent, despite their kings swearing similar oaths, but English royal documents additionally lack the dynamic visual features of their continental counterparts. These two examples of English exceptionalism might be the result of precocious legal and bureaucratic development. Henry II's adoption of the *Dei gratia* formula in 1172 and John's later dating by the Feast of the Ascension, nonetheless make clear that the Plantagenet image of kingship was not far removed from that of the Capetians or Staufen.

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid., 535–536.

Chapter 7

Images of Kingship on Royal and Imperial Seals

Eadmer describes Henry I's issuing of a 'coronation' charter in his *Historia Novorum in Anglia*. He recounts that Henry made promises during his consecration and that he then ordered that 'all these promises confirmed by a solemn oath [were] to be published throughout the kingdom with, by way of a lasting memorial, a written document authenticated by his seal in witness of its validity'.⁶⁸⁰ Henry's first seal was two-sided. The obverse depicted him enthroned, clasping items of regalia. On the reverse he was depicted on horseback carrying a banner and shield. By the mid-eleventh century English, French and German kings all used the image of an enthroned monarch on their great seals, and this image was to endure for the rest of the medieval period and beyond. Otto III had been the first Western ruler to be depicted on his seal enthroned in majesty thereby appropriating a previously exclusively religious image for royal purposes.⁶⁸¹ Henry I in France adopted this innovation in 1031 and in England the first surviving royal seal, that of Edward the Confessor, features the enthroned design.⁶⁸² That monarchs in all three realms utilised this iconography, in which they presented their kingship as equivalent to that of Christ, is indicative of their shared liturgical and biblical vocabulary.

The images of monarchs on seals are often considered stereotyped and unrealistic, raising the question of whether it is valid to apply ideas of self-representation to such images. In moving away from this anachronistic judgement of medieval seal iconography it becomes clear that a lack of realism does not condemn monarchical seals as empty of self-representative qualities. Indeed, as Brigitte Bedos-Rezak has rightly stressed,

'realism is, after all, simply a convention, and one that the middle ages did not equate or associate with physiognomic likeness. In the

⁶⁸⁰ Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, 119.

⁶⁸¹ Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "The King Enthroned, a New Theme in Anglo-Saxon Royal Iconography: The Seal of Edward the Confessor and Its Political Implications," in *Kings and Kingship*, ed. J.T. Rosenthal (New York, 1986), 60.

⁶⁸² Ibid., 60–61.

charters themselves, authors refer to their seals as their own image, *imago noster*, which reveals that seals and their depictions incorporated elements meaningful to self-representation'.⁶⁸³

Anyone seeking an accurate idea of what a king or emperor actually looked like is likely to be disappointed by seal representations, in which monarchs are not portrayed as individuals. However, this does not mean that the images do not portray particular people.⁶⁸⁴ Indeed, the function of a seal was to communicate authority and authenticity in relation to a particular person and particular office, leading Percy Ernst Schramm to comment that the actual meaning or a ruler portrait does not lie in the worth of its portraiture.⁶⁸⁵ Rather the meaning lies in its representation of the office of the ruler, with the consequence that portraits on seals have a tendency, like all symbols, to persist in the same form.⁶⁸⁶ As in our investigation of the liturgy, however, we should not assume that broad consistency in form indicates a congealing of interpretation.

The seals of the monarchs of England, France and Germany have all been catalogued and the work in this chapter draws on the relevant volumes from the *Corpus des sceaux français du moyen age* by Martine Dalas and Marie-Adélaïde Nielen, *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser und Könige von 751 bis 1806* by Otto Posse, and Alfred Wyon's *The Great Seals of England*.⁶⁸⁷ Of these catalogues that by Wyon, which is the oldest, is also the most problematic. Several of the great seals in Wyon's catalogue have been shown to be forgeries linked to Westminster Abbey. T.A. Heslop has commented on how accurate an imitator the Westminster forger was, and he has argued that forged seals can be used as evidence because, 'looked at from the point of view of both the forger and his client, the ideal was to

⁶⁸³ Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Identity: A Sign and a Concept," *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 5 (2000): 1528.

⁶⁸⁴ Percy Ernst Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit* (Leipzig, 1928), 5–6.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid., 11.

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid., 8.

⁶⁸⁷ Martine Dalas, ed., *Les sceaux des rois et de régence*, CdS 2 (Paris, 1980); Marie-Adélaïde Nielen, *Les sceaux des reines et des enfants de France*, CdS 3 (Paris, 2011); Otto Posse, ed., *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser und Könige von 751 bis 1806*, 5 vols. (Dresden, 1909); Alfred Benjamin Wyon, *The Great Seals of England: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time, Arranged and Illustrated with Descriptive and Historical Notes* (London, 1887).

produce a document which would raise no suspicions'.⁶⁸⁸ While accepting Heslop's point, this study is confined to a consideration of surviving authentic seals, and in the case of England Wyon's catalogue has thus been mediated by the work of Bishop, Chaplain, Cronne, Davis and Heslop himself.⁶⁸⁹ Unfortunately, by contrast to the seals of queens in France and Germany, the seals of English queens have yet to be systematically catalogued. The German catalogue is not without errors, with, for example, Alfred Gawlik identifying a seal of Henry V not included in Posse's volumes.⁶⁹⁰ Rainer Kahsnitz's contribution on Staufen seals and bulls to the catalogue for the exhibition *Die Zeit der Staufer* has further augmented the information provided by Posse.⁶⁹¹ The confusing nomenclature of 'first seal' and 'so-called first seal' etc. has been replaced by an alphabetical designation of the seals in the currently accepted chronological order of use. Brief descriptions of, and reference information for, all royal and imperial seals and *bullae* from the period c.1050-c.1250 can be found in Appendix 4.

The King in Majesty

In utilising the Christological image of an enthroned ruler on their great seals the monarchs of all three realms implicitly referred back to their inauguration during which, after their unction, coronation and the handing over of a number of items of regalia, they had been enthroned. Royal seals in the three realms shared a number of associated iconographical elements. In addition to a full-length figure seated on a throne of varying ornamentation, the figures are all shown wearing a crown or diadem and holding items of regalia. As the original adoption of the German enthroned motif in France and England demonstrates, developments in

⁶⁸⁸ T.A. Heslop, "Twelfth-century Forgeries as Evidence for Earlier Seals: The Case of St. Dunstan," in *St Dunstan: His Life, Time and Cult*, ed. Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks, and T. W. T Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge, 1992), 302 and 300.

⁶⁸⁹ Bishop and Chaplain, *Facsimiles of English Royal Writs to A. D. 1100*; Pierre Chaplain, "The Seals and Original Charters of Henry I," *English Historical Review* 75 (1960): 260–275; Pierre Chaplain, *English Royal Documents: King John - Henry VI, 1199-1461* (Oxford, 1971); T. A. Heslop, "Seals," in *English Romanesque Art, 1066-1200*, ed. George Zarnecki, Janet Holt, and Tristram Holland (London, 1984), 298–320; Cronne and Davis, *RRAN* 4.

⁶⁹⁰ Gawlik, "Ein neues Siegel Heinrichs V. aus seiner Königszeit."

⁶⁹¹ Rainer Kahsnitz, "Siegel und Goldbullen," in *Die Zeit der Staufer: Geschichte, Kunst, Kultur. Katalog der Ausstellung, Stuttgart 1977*, ed. Reiner Hausscherr and Christian Väterlein, vol. 1, 4 vols. (Stuttgart, 1977), 17–108.

seal design were not confined to one kingdom or another. Given that seals were portable and designed to travel with the documents they authenticated, this cross-border pollination is to be expected. Harvey and McGuinness have pointed to the fact that 'many archives in medieval Britain – royal, ecclesiastical, aristocratic – will have contained papal and other letters from the Continent bearing seals that may easily have directly influenced design'.⁶⁹² This observation can equally be applied to France and the Empire. Thus Byzantine influence is evident in seals from England and Germany in, for example, the contemporaneous introduction of pendilae hanging from the crown or diadem from the reign of Henry II in England and Conrad III in Germany. Birds appear as an attribute on a number of English and German seals, and the lily or fleur-de-lys features on royal seals (male or female) from all three realms. A number of seals of Henry IV and Henry V of Germany depict the king seated on a throne decorated with animal heads, a design feature that is also found on the seals of Henry III of England, and on a number of the French kings. The thrones of the Capetians are ornamented with the heads and feet of lions, which Bedos-Rezak has interpreted as evoking the throne of Solomon, described in 1 Kings 10:18-20 as being decorated with lions.⁶⁹³ Despite the stability of this overall design there are some changes that can give us an insight into developing images of royalty.

That small differences in the design of the enthroned image are important has been emphatically shown by Bedos-Rezak's investigation of the seal design of Louis VII of France.⁶⁹⁴ She has convincingly argued that the throne on which Louis is seated is the throne of the Merovingian King Dagobert, which had recently been restored by Abbot Suger at Saint-Denis, and she suggested that the characteristic X shape of the chair became a symbol of the Capetian monarchy.⁶⁹⁵ By being depicted seated on the throne of Dagobert, Louis sought to identify himself with his royal predecessors and he is even portrayed with long flowing locks, which was the fashionable Merovingian hairstyle.⁶⁹⁶ In addition to its distinctive X form,

⁶⁹² P. D. A. Harvey and Andrew McGuinness, *A Guide to British Medieval Seals* (London, 1996), 6.

⁶⁹³ Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "Suger and the Symbolism of Royal Power: The Seal of Louis VII," in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis*, ed. Paula Lieber Gerson (New York, 1986), 96.

⁶⁹⁴ Bedos-Rezak, "Suger and the Symbolism of Royal Power: The Seal of Louis VII."

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

Dagobert's throne also had Solomonic associations via its lion head decorations. Given the importance of Charlemagne's throne at Aachen, with its six steps identified by Schramm as an allusion to Solomon's throne, the development of the design of the throne on royal seals in the Empire is worth noting. Earlier German kings and emperors are depicted seated on a bench-like throne. From the time of Conrad III, however, the throne always has a back. Although the decoration is more ornate than on Charlemagne's throne (Illustration 6), the fact that the back, once adopted, is to be found in almost all subsequent seals argues for this interpretation, as does the fact that this back is normally curved, reflecting both the shape of Charlemagne's throne and the description of Solomon's throne.⁶⁹⁷ In contrast to these biblical and historical allusions, the thrones found on English seals are notable not for symbolism but for the increasing intricacy of their design, from a simple bench, such as on the seal of Edward the Confessor to the ornate gothic throne on Henry III's 'B' seal. This raises an important issue, that sometimes the explanation for design features can lie not in the philosophy of power but in artistic development or in a desire to differentiate one's seal from that of a predecessor.

Bearing in mind Anna Gannon's warning that, we beware of 'the dangers of bending the interpretation of an image to suit one's particular theory', let us turn to another shared element in the enthroned monarch design, the fact that the monarchs all hold items of regalia in both hands.⁶⁹⁸ An orb, often topped with a cross, is a feature of all German seals from Otto III's introduction of the enthroned monarch and was directly copied from German sources by Edward the Confessor, persisting on English seals up until that of Henry II.⁶⁹⁹ By contrast the French rulers are never depicting holding an orb. As we have seen, the orb was not included as an item of regalia to be bestowed on the king in any of the royal liturgies and is found only in the two later imperial *ordines*. However, the fact that the orb was present on both German royal and imperial seals suggests we

⁶⁹⁷ 1 Kings 10:19: 'et summitas throni rotunda erat in parte posteriori'. The exception is a seal of Otto IV, which is closely related to a seal of Richard I of England, discussed below pp. 229-232.

⁶⁹⁸ Anna Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage: Sixth to Eighth Centuries* (Oxford, 2003), 17.

⁶⁹⁹ Heslop considers the 'orb and sceptre' image to have been borrowed unchanged from the Ottonians. Heslop, "Seals," 301.

should not be too definitive in seeing it as an attribute of imperial rather than royal power. Another attribute, which appears on some German and English seals, is a bird. In the German context the bird is normally interpreted as depicting an eagle, an imperial symbol. In the English tradition it is considered a dove. This is a problematic assertion because the bird is associated with Edward the Confessor, even though the only witness to a bird on his seal is a Westminster forgery, and that the explanation for the presence of the bird on his seal is that it was copied from German seals, an important prototype for Edward's, in which case surely it should be considered an eagle rather than a dove.⁷⁰⁰ William the Conqueror and William Rufus did not adopt the bird motif, but it was readopted by Henry I, Stephen and Henry II.

In her discussion of early Anglo-Saxon coinage, Anna Gannon asked the question, 'is the iconography always unequivocal or can we detect plays and shifts in the layering of meaning, therefore postulating audiences of varying sophistication and multiple roles for the coinage'?⁷⁰¹ This question seems equally relevant in the context of seals. Is it actually possible or even desirable to identify a particular species of bird? Dolley and Jones were certainly right in challenging the description of the birds on the reverse of one of Edward the Confessor's coin types.⁷⁰² Previously the birds had been designated martlets, but it is clearly anachronistic to apply this heraldic description to tenth-century coinage. Dolley and Jones asserted that the birds should be considered eagles and this interpretation would fit with the suggestion that it is an eagle, adopted from the German model, that is found on his seal.⁷⁰³ Instead of fixing one meaning for the bird in a German context and another in an English, we should be open to the fact that, especially in this time before the development of rigid rules for heraldry, competing meanings could be implicit in the same symbol at the same time, and that interpretations could change over time. The bird on English seals is a clear

⁷⁰⁰ Bedos-Rezak, "The King Enthroned," 63.

⁷⁰¹ Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, 3.

⁷⁰² Reginald H.M. Dolley and F. Elmore Jones, "A New Suggestion Concerning the So-called 'Martlets' in the 'Arms of St. Edward,'" in *Anglo-Saxon Coins: Studies Presented to F.M. Stenton on the Occasion of His 80th Birthday, 17 May 1960*, ed. Reginald H.M. Dolley (London, 1961), 215–226.

⁷⁰³ Ibid., 222.

example of the same symbol having different meanings in different contexts. For Edward the Confessor the inclusion of a bird on his seal was clearly a reference to the imperial eagle. By the time of the reintroduction of a bird it was a clear reference to the Confessor himself. The species of the bird was not of importance. Later tradition dictated that in an English context birds on items of insignia were doves. Roger of Howden, for example, describes a sceptre topped with a dove in the procession during Richard I's inauguration.⁷⁰⁴ By this point doves were associated with the Confessor, an association that Henry III would later exploit more fully.⁷⁰⁵

An item of regalia that only appears as part of the enthroned design on English royal seals is the sword. Jane Martindale has seen the presence of the sword on seals and tomb effigies as epitomising the difference between the 'militaristic' self-image of the Anglo-Normans and Angevins and the 'pacific' image the Capetians used on their seals.⁷⁰⁶ But the fact that the sword first appeared on the seal of Edward the Confessor, a king not noted for his war-like demeanour, rather undermines any assertion that its presence is linked to the Norman Conquest. Indeed, in the earlier part of this period its inclusion on the seal might well be in imitation of the Confessor, as with the orb topped with a cross and bird discussed in the previous paragraph. In any case, as we have seen, the sword was an item associated with royal consecration and the defence of the church, it also had Davidic associations, stressed in the inauguration liturgy through the allusion to Psalm 44.⁷⁰⁷ Moreover, Emma Mason, in a discussion of the legendary swords such as Durendal and Excalibur that were connected with the Plantagenet kings, remarked on the fact that swords used ceremonially and those used in battle were differentiated. King John claimed to possess the sword of Tristan, but in instructions concerning the delivery of his regalia listed separately the sword that was made for his coronation.⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰⁴ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 1870, 3:9–10.

⁷⁰⁵ Carpenter, "The Burial of King Henry III, the Regalia and Royal Ideology," 441.

⁷⁰⁶ Jane Martindale, "The Sword on the Stone: Some Resonances of a Medieval Symbol of Power," *ANS* 15 (1992): 229–230.

⁷⁰⁷ See above pp. 109–112 for the role of the sword in the liturgy.

⁷⁰⁸ Emma Mason, "The Hero's Invincible Weapon: An Aspect of Angevin Propaganda," in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood III*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Woodbridge, 1990), 133.

That in the context of the enthroned image this sword should be interpreted as of symbolic rather than martial significance is suggested by the seal of Henry the Young King. The Young King is depicted on his seal crowned, enthroned and holding items of regalia. As only two impressions and a fragment of the Young King's seal survive, none of which are in particularly good condition, there is some disagreement as to what exactly the Young King holds, with some seeing an orb topped with a long cross and others a short sceptre in his right hand.⁷⁰⁹ What is apparent is that he does not hold a sword in either hand. R.J. Smith has linked this to the fact that the Young King lacked a territorial role and has commented, 'if the sword in the royal seal and on the ducal seal were the symbols of active authority, then the Young King's swordless seal was the sign of an heir in waiting'.⁷¹⁰ Smith's explanation for the lack of sword on the Young King's seal is comparable with Grant Simpson's decoding of a seal from the minority of Alexander III in Scotland.⁷¹¹ Simpson noted the fact that the seal from Alexander's minority was physically smaller than the great seal of his majority and also had different iconographical elements. Significantly Alexander III does hold a sword, but it rests across his lap, which Simpson interprets as signifying that the child king could not yet actively dispense justice.⁷¹²

All the reigning kings of England, from Edward to John, featured a sword on their great seals. On the 'B' seal of Henry III the sword was replaced with a sceptre, an item of regalia that had appeared on the seals of Richard and John in place of the orb.⁷¹³ In his adoption of a sceptre Richard I reintroduced an attribute that had appeared on Edward the Confessor's two-sided enthroned design. He also adopted an item of insignia that had appeared on French and German great seals

⁷⁰⁹ The Young King's seal is discussed in detail by R. J. Smith: R.J. Smith, "Henry II's Heir: The Acta and Seal of Henry the Young King, 1170-83," *English Historical Review* 116 (2001): 304-307.

⁷¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 312.

⁷¹¹ Grant G. Simpson, "Kingship in Miniature: A Seal of Minority of Alexander III, 1249-1257," in *Medieval Scotland: Crown, Lordship and Community: Essays Presented to G.W.S. Barrow*, ed. Keith J Stringer and Alexander Grant (Edinburgh, 1993), 131-139.

⁷¹² *Ibid.*, 136.

⁷¹³ Paul Binski has discussed the new design of Henry III's second seal, which was under the express directions of the king. The replacing of the sword with a sceptre was not received positively by contemporaries who interpreted it as fulfilling a prophecy of Merlin. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 84-86.

throughout this period. Sceptres are thus another iconographical element shared by all three sigilliographic traditions, which is unsurprising given that both longer sceptres and shorter rods featured in the inauguration ceremonies in all three realms. The sceptres and rods are topped with a variety of motifs, including a lily, a cross and a bird. It might be tempting to see such details as representing actual royal insignia, but as should be clear by now, such identifications are not sustainable. As suggested above, the varying of sceptre tops might also just reflect a desire to differentiate a seal from that of one's predecessor, though it is notable that the lily or *fleur-de-lys* is the only sceptre design that appears on seals from all three realms. This indicates that the meaning of the sceptre lies not solely in its association with royal power. Heslop has argued, in the context of seals from ecclesiastical communities dedicated to the Virgin Mary, that the rod should not just be seen as an item of royal regalia, but as a reference to the rod of Jesse and the Incarnation.⁷¹⁴ The sacred associations that Heslop posits for conventional and monastic seals should not be ruled out in the context of monarchical seals. Indeed Marian associations are to be expected in this period when monarchs explicitly associated their rule with that of Christ.

Marian references are particularly prominent on French royal seals. Philip I and Louis VI are both depicted holding two sceptres. In their right hands they carry a shorter rod topped with three pointed leaves, that Dalas suggests might represent a palm.⁷¹⁵ In their left hands they hold a longer sceptre, topped with a *fleur-de-lys*. Louis VII's seal saw a further development in the use of the *fleur-de-lys*. The king is no longer depicted with both arms outstretched. Instead his left hand, resting on his knee, grips a sceptre topped by a *fleur-de-lys* enclosed in a square. His outstretched right arm simply holds a *fleur-de-lys*. The flower is no longer the decoration on the end of an item of regalia, but a symbol in its own right, stressing the importance of Mary to Capetian images of kingship. Louis VII's pose and insignia were directly copied by Philip Augustus and Louis VIII, whose seal introduced further embellishment to the *fleur-de-lys* design. Louis IX is similarly depicted, although the lily at the end of his sceptre is no longer surrounded by a

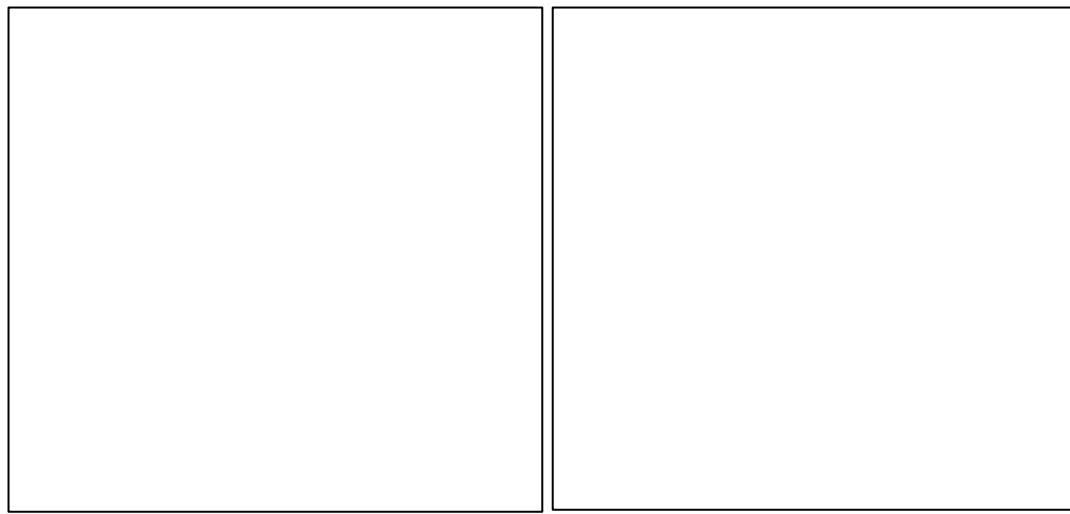
⁷¹⁴ Heslop, "The Virgin Mary's Regalia and Twelfth-Century English Seals," 59.

⁷¹⁵ Dalas, *Les sceaux des rois et de régence*, 143.

square. The edges of Louis IX's tunic are also decorated with a repeating fleur-de-lys design. The reigning kings and emperors in England and France did not deploy the fleur-de-lys with quite such abandon on their seals, using the flower as a decorative feature on items of insignia rather than as an item of regalia in its own right. However, as we shall see when we turn to queenly seals, overt Marian allusions were not restricted to the Capetians.

Illustration 10

Great Seals of Richard I



Richard 'A' (obverse)

Richard 'B' (obverse)

The majority of royal seals from England, France and Germany do not have anything in the background, but occasionally there are iconographic elements in the field that demand explanation. Sometimes they appear to be space-fillers or a way of differentiating a seal from the seal of a predecessor or indeed between successive seals of an individual king. Thus the quartefeuille cross in the field of the seal of Louis VI of France sets it apart from the 'B' seal of his father Philip I, on which it was based, and the 'C' seal of Henry I of England can be distinguished from his earlier two seals due to the addition of two decorative stars or crosses flanking the enthroned king. However, the elements in the field can also convey meaning, and this is surely the case on the seals of Richard I in England (Illustration 10). That the features in the field of Richard's seals should not be considered merely to be 'curious emblematic additions' as asserted by Heslop, is

suggested by the fact that very similar features appear on the imperial seal of Otto IV.⁷¹⁶

On his 'A' seal Richard is shown enthroned flanked by a symmetrical arrangement of plant, crescent moon and either a star or small sun.⁷¹⁷ That this might be a sun rather than a star is suggested by the design on his 'B' seal in which Richard is flanked by a crescent moon on the left and a sun on the right. This design finds an exact imitation on the imperial seal of Otto IV, an iconographical borrowing that is indicative of the close relationship between these two monarchs.⁷¹⁸ It has been suggested that Otto IV's seal matrix was in fact made either in England or in the Plantagenet lands on the continent.⁷¹⁹ Rainer Kahsnitz has interpreted the sun and moon as symbols of world-wide dominion (*Weltherrschaft*) that had been occasionally associated with royal rule from Carolingian times.⁷²⁰ However, the sun and the moon could be seen as an allusion to the Book of Revelation and the breaking of the sixth seal, which saw the sun turn black as sackcloth and the moon red as blood.⁷²¹ The design is also reminiscent of Crucifixion miniatures, in which the crucified Christ is often depicted flanked by the sun and moon, sometimes personified and shown mourning. German royal interest in this motif is evidenced in the depiction of an unidentified king on an ivory panel dating from the early twelfth century.⁷²² On this panel, now part of the Liebieghaus sculpture collection in Frankfurt am Main, a king, who has taken off his crown and placed it on the ground before him, and an abbot kneel on opposite sides at the base of a cross to which Christ is nailed. Christ is flanked by two saints, presumably the

⁷¹⁶ Heslop, "Seals," 304.

⁷¹⁷ The plants have traditionally been considered broom flowers, the flowers from which the Plantagenets are supposed to have drawn their name. For the origin of this name see Jim Bradbury, "Fulk le Réchin and the Origin of the Plantagenets," in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill, Christopher J. Holdsworth and Janet L. Nelson (Woodbridge, 1989), 40-41.

⁷¹⁸ The son of Henry the Lion and the English princess Matilda, Otto IV had grown up at the Plantagenet court and was supported in his struggle for the Empire by his uncle Richard I of England.

⁷¹⁹ Kahsnitz, "Siegel und Goldbullen," 25.

⁷²⁰ Ibid.

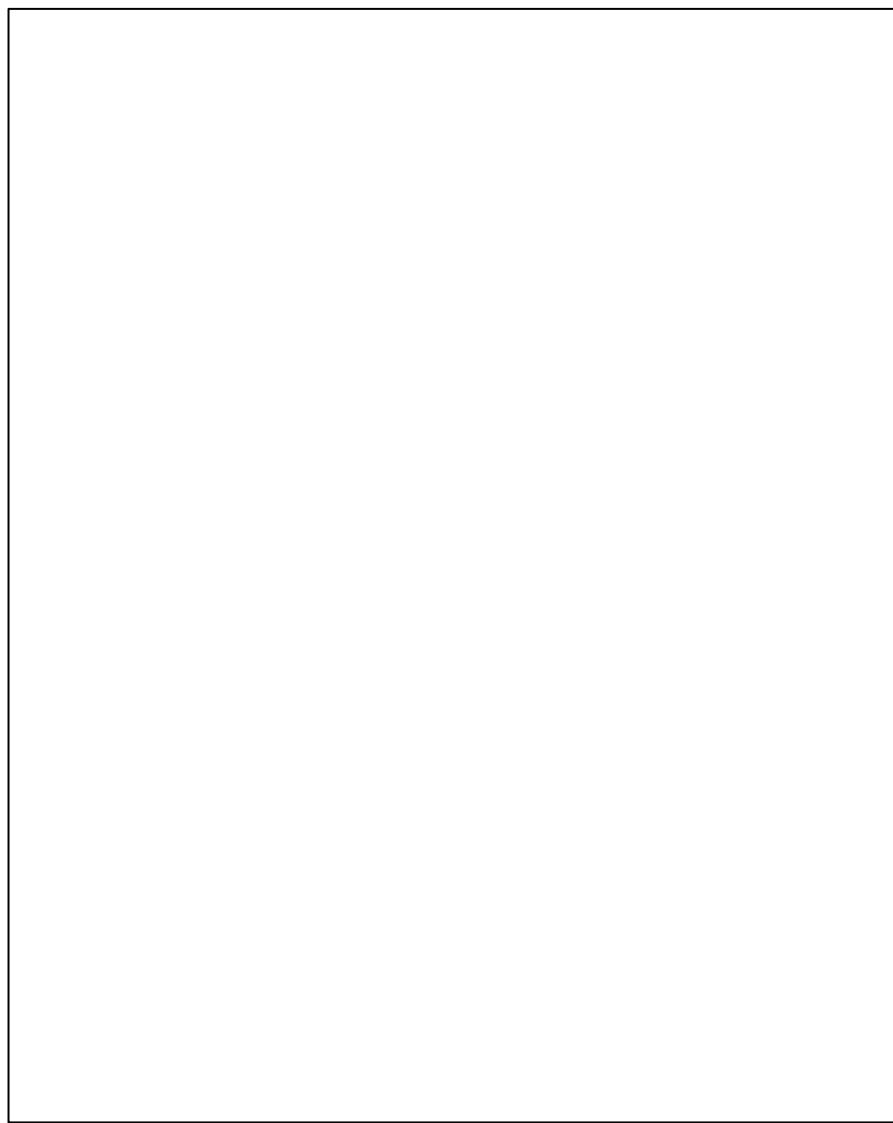
⁷²¹ Revelation 6:12

⁷²² This panel, which was originally a book cover, is reproduced as catalogue entry 33 in Laura Hegg, Simone Heimann, and Sabine Kaufmann, eds., *Die Salier. Macht im Wandel: Katalog* (Munich, 2006), 58-60. It was made in the Maas region and for this reason it has been suggested that the king depicted is Henry IV, who died in Liège in 1106.

Virgin Mary and John the Baptist, and above the arms of the cross are to be found roundels containing personifications of the sun and the moon.

Illustration 11

Crucifixion Miniature from the Arundel Psalter



British Library MS Arundel 60, f. 52v.

A different iconographical motif sometimes found in depictions of the Crucifixion is the presence of two trees, rather than two saints, flanking the Cross. This variation can be seen in a miniature from the Arundel Psalter, produced in Winchester in the final quarter of the eleventh century (Illustration 11). Here the trees represent the two trees of the Garden of Eden; the Tree of Life and the Tree

of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. Their presence either side of the Cross can be interpreted as demonstrating that, through His sacrifice, mankind has been redeemed and can once more enter Paradise. With this iconographical motif in mind it is worth re-examining Richard's 'A' seal, on which he is pictured flanked by plants in addition to the two crescent moons and stars/suns. The way the king is depicted with his arms outstretched echoes the cruciform shape of the Cross. Whether we can go so far as to see the designs of Richard and Otto's seals as deliberately presenting these monarchs as analogous to Christ on the Cross remains a matter of conjecture, but the fact that the crescent moon and star motif was often found on Crusader coins in this period, particularly from Tripoli, suggests that these 'curious emblematic additions' were intentional Christological references.⁷²³ Richard the Lionheart's devotion to Crusading requires no introduction, whereas Otto IV's is less well known. Although his insecure position in Germany meant that he never actively took part in a Crusade, Rudolf Hiestand has pointed out that he had not only taken the Cross in private on the day of his consecration as king, but, remembering his unfulfilled vow, he left gifts in his will to pay for others to fight on his behalf for the Holy Sepulchre.⁷²⁴

A further feature common to the enthroned design from all three realms is the presence of an inscription around the edge of the seal. With the exception of the inscription on William the Conqueror's seal, which comprised two hexameters, the inscriptions are formulaic and link the monarch by title to the peoples or area he claimed authority over, in a fashion consonant with the *intitulatio* discussed in the previous chapter.⁷²⁵ For example, the seal of Henry I of France bears the inscription HENRICUS DEI GRACIA FRANCORUM REX and that of Henry I of England the inscription HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM. Here we see that although the designation *Dei gratia* was not part of the king's title in charters

⁷²³ John Porteous, "Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions," in *A History of the Crusades: The Impact of the Crusades on Europe*, ed. Harry W. Hazard and Norman P. Zacour, vol. 6 (Madison, 1989), 376.

⁷²⁴ Rudolf Hiestand, "Kingship and Crusade in Twelfth-century Germany," in *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp and Hanna Vollrath (Oxford, 1996), 246. The moon and star/sun also feature on Frederick II's first seal as king of Sicily. Here they could perhaps be interpreted as Frederick appropriating symbols from Otto IV's iconographic canon in order to stress his rightful claim to the throne of Germany as well as Sicily.

⁷²⁵ T.A. Heslop, "English Seals from the Mid-ninth Century to c.1100," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 132 (1980): 10.

in England until the 1170s, the kings of England had been so proclaimed on their seals since the reign of William Rufus. The French designation REX FRANCORUM remained static throughout this period, as Schneidmüller has emphasised, whereas in contrast in England John began to style himself REX ANGLIE rather than REX ANGLORUM on his seals. As has been suggested in the previous chapter undue attention should not be paid to this shift.⁷²⁶ Seal evidence confirms this view. The adoption of the shortened territorial form can be linked to John's wish to style himself 'King of England and Lord of Ireland', thus requiring a shortening from *Anglorum* to *Anglie* simply to fit the whole title into one inscription. Moreover, we find a much earlier use of the territorial form on a royal seal. The inscription on the seal of Matilda of Scotland reads + SIGILLUM MATHILDIS SECUNDÆ DEI GRACIA REGINÆ ANGLIE.⁷²⁷ Here Matilda is self-evidently not asserting a claim to territorial lordship at odds with the lordship over people claimed by her husband Henry I.

German kings are described as 'rex' on their seals. If the king was crowned emperor a new seal would be issued identifying him as 'imperator augustus'. On his royal seals Henry IV of Germany was referred to as HEINRICUS REX on seal 'A' and HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA REX on seals 'B', 'C' and 'D'. On his imperial seals he is styled HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA TERCIUS ROMANORUM IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS on seal 'A' and HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA III ROMANORUM IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS on seals 'B' and 'C'. Thus while his emperorship was linked to the Romans, his kingship is not qualified by a people or kingdom. His successor Henry V however, did link his kingship to a people, and rather than the Germans or *Tuetonici* he related his royal rule to the Romans or *Romani*. As Alfred Gawlik has pointed out, the significance of this innovation is that it is a clear response to papal *Titelpolitik*, that sought to confine Salian rule north of the Alps by designating the German monarch as *Tuetonicorum rex*.⁷²⁸ That Henry V adopted the title *Romanorum rex* on his 'B' royal seal, a device retained by his successors on their royal seals, demonstrates that papal efforts during the Investiture Controversy did little to undermine the self-image of German kings and emperors.

⁷²⁶ Schneidmüller, "Herrsher über Land und Leute?", 155. See above pp. 205-207.

⁷²⁷ Heslop, "Seals," 305.

⁷²⁸ Gawlik, "Ein neues Siegel Heinrichs V. aus seiner Königszeit," 534.

As the Staufen expanded their dominions the edge of the seal ceased to be large enough to fit the inscription and it occasionally spills over into the background of the enthroned image. Thus, for example, on the 'B' imperial seal of Henry VI the enthroned king is flanked by the words REX SICILIE in addition to the conventional inscription around the circumference of the seal describing him as HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS. Following his marriage to Isabella of Jerusalem in 1225, Frederick II had ET REX IERUSALEM added to the field of his existing seal matrix.

Methods of Sealing and Alternative Images

Although the three monarchies shared the Christological enthroned monarch motif, there also existed major differences between the seals of the monarchs of England, France and the Empire, that were related to the methods of sealing used. German royal and imperial seals were both one-sided. However, the German kings and emperors also issued documents with *bullae*, that were two-sided and made at least partially of metal. While we might expect the iconographical division to align with the division between royal and imperial power, it in fact aligns with the division between seals and *bullae*. On attaining the emperorship, the most significant change made to the great seal was to change the inscription, as described above, so that the newly inaugurated emperor was described as such. By contrast to the stability of the enthroned motif on royal seals, the design of the *bullae* was dynamic, with the reverse side most frequently featuring a developing architectural motif representing the city of Rome. In addition, the image of an enthroned monarch, introduced on German seals by Otto III, does not appear on the obverse of *bullae* until the reign of Henry VI. As king of Sicily Frederick II also used two-sided *bullae*, that exhibit a huge diversity with regards to the design on the obverse.

The earliest surviving royal seal in England, that of Edward the Confessor, is also two-sided and depicts an enthroned king on both sides, holding different items of regalia. Heslop has commented that, 'in having a two-sided seal [Edward] was

competing with the two-side *bullae* of the Pope and the Byzantine and German emperors'.⁷²⁹ William the Conqueror continued the practise of using a two-sided seal, but with the innovation of an equestrian portrait appearing on the reverse. This combination of enthroned king and equestrian portrait was mimicked by the kings of Scotland, from Alexander I, and uniquely, and briefly, in France during the reign of Louis VII. However, this was an exception as the seals of other French kings were one-sided, albeit that during this period the practise of countersealing with a smaller seal developed in France. These differences were to some extent linked to how the seals were applied to documents. At the beginning of this period, in both France and Germany, seals were attached to the face of documents *en placard* to authenticate them, whereas in England Edward the Confessor sealed his writs as letters patent *sur simple queue*, which meant that two sides of the seal remained visible and could be impressed.⁷³⁰ Following Louis VII of France's experimentation with sealing patent and a double-sided seal, French royal seals also had two visible sides. Instead of impressing both sides with an image covering the whole surface the French kings began to counterseal with a small seal, which Bedos-Rezak has seen as accelerating the development of the fleur-de-lys as the heraldic emblem of the French monarchy.⁷³¹

Louis VII's double-sided seal showed the king enthroned on the obverse and had an equestrian portrait on the reverse. On the enthroned side the inscription identifies him as king of the French, and on the equestrian side as duke of the Aquitanians. This enthroned/royal and equestrian/ducal identification is found of the majority of the seals of the kings of England and it is often asserted that in the English context the enthroned side depicts the Anglo-Norman rulers in their guise as kings of England, and the equestrian side as dukes of Normandy.⁷³² This suggestion is supported by the inscription, which proclaims the king DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM on the obverse and DUX NORMANNORUM (with the addition of DUX AQUITANORUM ET COMES ANDEGAVORUM when appropriate) on the reverse. That following his father's divorce from Eleanor of Aquitaine, and thus

⁷²⁹ Heslop, "Seals," 301.

⁷³⁰ Heslop, "English Seals from the Mid-ninth Century to c.1100," 9.

⁷³¹ Bedos-Rezak, "Suger and the Symbolism of Royal Power: The Seal of Louis VII," 97.

⁷³² Chaplain, *English Royal Documents*, 2.

the loss of the ducal title for the Capetian royal house, Philip Augustus reverted to a seal without the equestrian motif lends further credence to this argument.

However, not all the English kings could claim to be dukes of Normandy. William Rufus did not and for part of his reign neither could Henry I. Pierre Chaplais has thus claimed that, 'the equestrian side of William Rufus's seal had no particular meaning, since Rufus had no claim to the duchy of Normandy'.⁷³³ However, whilst the equestrian motif was often linked to a ducal position by inscription, to claim that it had no particular meaning when not associated with rule of a duchy is rather too sweeping an assertion.

As with the enthroned image, the choice of regalia on the equestrian side of the great seal is certainly significant. Hagen Keller has seen the first step in the development of Otto III's seal of an enthroned monarch as taking place in the reign of his grandfather Otto I.⁷³⁴ For Keller the enthroned image was made possible by Otto I's decision to replace the traditional Carolingian image of the half figure of a warrior or victor in profile with a frontal half figure and to replace the shield and lance brandished by the military monarch with a sceptre and orb.⁷³⁵ In the equestrian depiction on the Conqueror's seal we see the return of the military attributes of a shield and lance. Thus the double-sided majesty/equestrian seal should not just be understood as representing the royal and ducal authority of the Anglo-Norman monarchs. Certainly this is an aspect of the meaning in the Anglo-Norman context, but the equestrian motif should also be seen as a statement of martial kingship rather than condemned as meaningless when a ducal title is not present. That the Scottish kings imitated the double-sided seals of the English kings, when they made no claim to a duchy, emphasises that the division is not as clear-cut as is sometimes suggested. In his 'C' seal Henry I was depicted on the equestrian side brandishing a sword, a feature that was to remain, with one exception, a permanent feature of the equestrian design.⁷³⁶ In contrast to the sword held by the enthroned monarch on the obverse,

⁷³³ Ibid.

⁷³⁴ Hagen Keller, "Die Siegel und Bullen Ottos III.", in *Europas Mitte um 1000*, ed. Hans-Martin Hinz and Alfried Wieczorek (Stuttgart, 2000), 767–773.

⁷³⁵ Ibid., 768.

⁷³⁶ On his 'C' seal Stephen was depicted with a lance topped with a flag decorated with a cross. This item of regalia is copied from earlier versions of Henry I's seals.

it seems fair to consider this sword a ‘militaristic’ symbol. Here is another example of symbols having different meanings in different contexts, even on two sides of the same seal.

The great seals of the German rulers remained single-sided, but the emperors had an alternative to sealing with wax, which was to use double-sided bulls, made either from lead, or wax covered with gold, or occasionally from solid gold. When a metal *bulla* rather than a wax seal should be used does not seem to have been strictly regulated. They tended to be used for ceremonial diplomas and important political deals and, above all, for correspondence with the Holy See.⁷³⁷ As we saw with the diploma of Henry VI discussed in the previous chapter, beneficiaries might themselves pay for a golden bull to be affixed to an important document.⁷³⁸ The use of such seals on letters sent to the popes, who also sealed with two-sided metal *bullae*, can be seen as a clear sigillographic statement that the German monarchs considered themselves to be of equal status to the popes. Moreover, the dynamic iconography of the royal and imperial *bullae* drove home this claim. Both surviving royal bulls of Henry IV display the half-figure of the king as a young man in profile. He holds a sceptre topped with a bird (imperial eagle or otherwise) on the obverse; the reverse features a simple architectural motif representing Rome.⁷³⁹ That the architectural representation of Rome is present on both royal and imperial bulls is indicative of the relevance of the city to the German monarchs as kings as well as emperors. Indeed, that royal power was also linked to Rome is made manifest in the rhyming inscription on the reverse of German *bulla*, which reads ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI. Thus even before Henry V introduced the title *Romanorum rex* onto the obverse of his seal the claim to rulership over the Romans was already clearly announced on

⁷³⁷ Jürgen Petersohn, *Kaisertum und Rom in spätsalischer und staufischer Zeit*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Schriften 62 (Hannover, 2010), 344.

⁷³⁸ See above p. 216.

⁷³⁹ Emanuel Klinkenberg has pointed to the similarity in the depiction of Rome on the *bullae* of Henry IV and Pope Victor II (1055-57), a reminder of a previously harmonious imperial-papal relationship. Emanuel S. Klinkenberg, “Romdarstellung auf Kaiser- und Königsbullen, 800-1250,” in *Mikroarchitektur im Mittelalter: ein gattungsübergreifendes Phänomen zwischen Realität und Imagination*, ed. Christine Kratze and Uwe Albrecht (Leipzig, 2008), 233.

royal bulls, in a phrase that emphasised the idea of the continuity of the Roman Empire and that had been used since the time of Conrad II.⁷⁴⁰

The city design, which appeared on all the bulls of German kings and emperors, developed throughout this period. Following Henry IV the next known imperial bull with a Rome motif is a bull of Lothar III. On the obverse the emperor is depicted in half-figure behind the walls of a city. He is crowned and holding items of insignia. On the reverse are diamond shaped walls and a building with five towers. Each tower incorporates one letter of the word 'AUREA' and the word 'ROMA' is found in the gateway, making clear that the city is Rome. Emanuel Klinkenberg has explained how the five towers are characteristics of the New Jerusalem. Four of the towers represent the four corners of the heavenly city, and the fifth tower, in the middle and adorned with a cross, represents Christ.⁷⁴¹ In the same way in which Christ rules the heavenly Jerusalem, Lothar III will rule the terrestrial kingdom. For the first time on the royal bull of Frederick Barbarossa it is possible to identify an actual building – the Colosseum.⁷⁴² On the matrix for Barbarossa's imperial bull, completed before his departure for Rome in 1154, only the inscription was changed. This depiction of an identifiable building from ancient Rome emphasises the claim of the German monarchs to be the heirs of the Roman emperors. As Jürgen Petersohn has commented, this was a traditional claim, but in depicting an actual historical building on his *bulla* Barbarossa made clear that his claims to the empire were not merely based on a schematic idea, but the real historical Rome, in which buildings such as the Colosseum acted as a witness to the city's antique past.⁷⁴³

In choosing an antique motif for the depiction of Rome on his *bullae*, a motif that was adopted, to all intents and purposes unchanged, by his son Henry VI, Barbarossa made clear that his claim to rule Rome was not dependent on papal

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid., 231; Petersohn, *Kaisertum und Rom*, 344.

⁷⁴¹ Klinkenberg suggests that Old St. Peter's basilica can be identified on Henry IV's bull and the Lateran on Lothar's bull. These are plausible ideas but, following Petersohn's comments about identifying insignia from medieval images, not ones that I think can be accepted as concrete fact. Klinkenberg, "Romdarstellung auf Kaiser- Und Königsbullen, 800-1250," 233-235.

⁷⁴² Ibid., 235.

⁷⁴³ Petersohn, *Kaisertum und Rom*, 345.

approval or coronation. Indeed, in being depicted on the obverse of his bull, as Lothar III had been, as a crowned figure holding items of insignia within the city walls, Barbarossa figuratively took possession of the city and countered papal claims to have a monopoly on the use of these items of regalia.⁷⁴⁴ Although Henry VI adopted the depiction of the Colosseum from his father's *bullae*, he made a striking change to the design on the obverse. On the obverse of Henry VI's imperial *bullae* he was depicted enthroned in majesty, crowned, wearing ornate robes and clasping a sceptre in his right hand and an orb in his left. This innovation must be understood as an iconographical retaliation to papal claims, in the same way that the emphasis on Rome is demonstrative of the *Titelpolitik* of the popes and German monarchs. Previously, correspondence with the Holy See had not been authenticated with the image of the king or emperor in majesty. In deploying the iconography of Christological kingship on his imperial *bullae*, a practice continued by his successors, Henry VI made clear that despite papal arguments to the contrary, the German kings and emperors perceived themselves as *Christi Domini*, ruling in the image of Christ the King.

Seal usage soon spread from the king to other members of the royal family, such as designated kings and queens, and several differences between the practices of the three monarchies can be identified. In the French context Louis VI seems to have been unique in having a seal as an associated king. His seal was of the equestrian design and bore the legend, SIGILLUM LUDOVICI DESIGNATI REGISI, whereas later prospective kings used seals that were linked to their current territorial lordship rather than their future position as king.⁷⁴⁵ The seal of Henry the Young King, discussed earlier was, in contrast to the seal of an English reigning king, one-sided. This is another clear indication of the Young King's lack of independent authority. The seal from the minority of Alexander III of Scotland was, in contrast, two-sided. However, the reverse of the seal does not have the usual equestrian portrait, instead depicting a shield with the royal arms of Scotland, a motif that was also adopted following Alexander's death when the

⁷⁴⁴ A claim famously made by Gregory VII in his *Dictatus Papae*.

⁷⁴⁵ Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "Ritual in the Royal Chancery: Text, Image, and the Representation of Kingship in Medieval French Diplomas (700-1200)," in *European Monarchy: Its Evolution and Practice from Roman Antiquity to Modern Times*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt, Richard A. Jackson, and David Sturdy (Stuttgart, 1992), 39; Dalas, *Les Sceaux des rois et de régence*, 144.

kingdom was ruled by a body of guardians.⁷⁴⁶ Nicholas Vincent has highlighted a similar phenomenon in England, pointing to a seal used by Henry III in Gascony in 1253, which had an equestrian figure on one side and a shield of arms on the other.⁷⁴⁷ This perhaps provided the model for the shield of arms found on the reverse of the surviving gold bull of Henry's son Edmund as King of Sicily, on which Edmund is described as EDMUNDUS NATUS REGIS ANGLIE ILLISTRIS. Edmund, whose kingship of Sicily was never a reality, is depicted in the traditional enthroned form on the obverse of this *bulla*. However, Sicilian *bullae*, like those of the German kings and emperors had diverse images of the reverse. Those of Frederick II feature, for example, a castle representing the kingdom, while the reverse of a later bull takes the form of a map.

Henry III's use of a shield of arms was echoed in the development of a separate design for the Exchequer seal. The *Dialogus de Scaccario* suggests that originally a duplicate of the great seal was used, but the earliest surviving impression of an Exchequer seal, from the reign of Edward I, depicts the king mounted on the obverse and has the royal arms on the reverse.⁷⁴⁸ As in the case of Alexander III's minority, here the exercise of royal power by people other than the king was indicated in seal iconography by the use of non-personal objects. This use of non-figurative symbolism finds an echo in the French seal of regency of Louis IX. This seal, of which only one cast survives, was used by Louis' regents, Matthew de Vendôme and Simon de Nesle, following the king's departure from Paris on 15 March 1270.⁷⁴⁹ On the obverse of the seal a crown is depicted, surmounted with three fleur-de-lys-shaped prongs and decorated with precious stones. The inscription runs + S LUDOVICI DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REGIS IN PARTIBUS TRANSMARINIS AGENTIS. In keeping with other French royal seals, it is countersealed with a shield adorned with a pattern of fleurs-de-lys. Clearly a crown is being used here as a symbol of royal power, but I would suggest we can

⁷⁴⁶ Simpson, "Kingship in Miniature: A Seal of Minority of Alexander III, 1249-1257," 137.

⁷⁴⁷ Nicholas Vincent, *The Magna Carta* (New York, 2007).

⁷⁴⁸ Harvey and McGuinness, *A Guide to British Medieval Seals*, 38; Vincent has pointed to fragmentary Exchequer seals from the reign of Henry III displaying the same devices. Vincent, *The Magna Carta*.

⁷⁴⁹ Dalas, *Les Sceaux des rois et de régence*, 158. Following Louis' death the two regents continued to use the seal having changed the name in the inscription from Louis to Philip.

identify other resonances, which explain the choice of this symbol. Most simply, the fleur-de-lys prongs, in conjunction with the patterned shield counterseal give the symbol Marian associations. More than this, however, the crown on Louis' regency seal makes Christological allusions. The crown is depicted encircled by an architectural motif, echoing the Gothic style of the Sainte-Chapelle, the monument built by Louis to house his most precious relics. This crown is an item of regalia, but one that consciously makes reference to Louis' possession of the Crown of Thorns. The architectural motif has eight niches, with eight being a number associated in architecture with the Temple.⁷⁵⁰ Daniel Weiss has drawn attention to the fact that the architectural programme of the Sainte-Chapelle was intended to equate the building with the Temple and hence to draw a further link between the Passion relics and the Ark of the Covenant.⁷⁵¹ In Louis IX's use of a crown on the seal to be used while he was absent fighting for the Holy Land we can see precisely the depth of meaning and the sacred associations that made the crown such an attractive symbol to medieval kings.

Queenly Sealing

When Philip Augustus left France to go on the Third Crusade his regents, who were his mother, Adèle of Champagne, and the archbishop of Reims, also used a seal of regency. This seal was very similar to his great seal, which he took with him on Crusade.⁷⁵² The obverse shows the king enthroned in traditional Capetian style; the most apparent difference from the king's own seal was the counterseal in the form of an eagle. However, the very fact that Philip had a special royal seal of absence made, rather than, for example, empowering the queen dowager's seal, is indicative of the fact that the seals of queens in France were limited to their personal affairs. Bertrada of Montfort was the first French queen to have a

⁷⁵⁰ Madeline Harrison Caviness has pointed to the importance of this kind of symbolism in medieval art. For example, there are many medieval buildings that viewers claimed to be imitations of the Holy Sepulchre when they varied massively in composition. What was important was less the original form than an essential similarity, which could be numerical or conceptual. Harrison Caviness, "Reception of Images by Medieval Viewers," 67.

⁷⁵¹ Daniel H. Weiss, "Architectural Symbolism and the Decoration of the Ste.-Chapelle," *The Art Bulletin* 77 (1995): 318.

⁷⁵² Dalas, *Les sceaux des rois et de régence*, 152.

seal from c.1115, but significantly this was used in her capacity as a dowager queen, for her personal affairs, rather than for royal matters.⁷⁵³ Eleanor of Aquitaine was the first reigning French consort to seal, but she used her seal exclusively in matters concerning the management of her duchy.⁷⁵⁴ Bertrada of Montfort and Eleanor of Aquitaine's constrained use of sealing has led, as Kathleen Nolan has commented, to a tendency 'to diminish the significance of reginal use of seals, and to reinforce the private versus public dichotomy that has often been used to marginalize women's authority'.⁷⁵⁵ However, it is surely remarkable that, in the early twelfth century, when sealing was not a widespread practice, these women used seals at all. Rather than consider queenly sealing as something divorced from the practice of power, we might instead wonder what the depictions of queens on their seals can tell us about the image of royalty.

Susan Johns has indicated some of the issues that arise in any attempt to study female seals, commenting that, 'there is a need to be aware of the ambiguities inherent in female power, the impact of the female life cycle upon that power, and thus the conflicting, and possibly competing, multiple identities and contexts of power'.⁷⁵⁶ Bertrada is depicted austerely dressed standing, wearing a crown and holding a fleur-de-lys in one hand and a bird on her other wrist. This has been interpreted by Nolan as a dowager queen, estranged from court, recalling for strategic purposes her queenship through the use of royal symbols. It is possible, however, to interpret this iconography in a different way. By the time of this seal's production Bertrada had taken the veil at Fontevraud Abbey. In addition to her royal status, the crown could also be seen as alluding to her role as Christ's bride, symbolised in the ceremony in which she became a nun through the bestowal of both a ring and a crown. Moreover, at the time of the production of Bertrada's seal, the fleur-de-lys as an item of insignia in its own right was not a feature of French kingly seals. Rather than focussing on its royal attributes, we might rather think of its Marian associations, which would have made it an

⁷⁵³ Susan M. Johns, *Noblewomen, Aristocracy and Power in the Twelfth-Century Anglo-Norman Realm* (Manchester, 2003), 125.

⁷⁵⁴ Bedos-Rezak, "Ritual in the Royal Chancery: Text, Image, and the Representation of Kingship in Medieval French Diplomas (700-1200)," 39.

⁷⁵⁵ Nolan, "The Tomb of Adelaide of Maurienne," 56.

⁷⁵⁶ Johns, *Noblewomen, Aristocracy and Power*, 124.

appropriate symbol for a member of a community dedicated to the Virgin. In England, the seal of Matilda of Scotland, wife of Henry I, is the earliest surviving seal of a queen. The seal is similar in general form to that of her sister-in-law, the abbess of Caen, and depicts the queen standing, crowned and holding a sceptre, topped with a bird, and an orb.⁷⁵⁷ These examples remind us of the fact that it is unwise to draw too definite a division between religious and royal imagery.

The seals of queens in England and France had a distinctive 'vesica' shape, which has been seen as a format that emphasises female identity.⁷⁵⁸ The reason for this is unclear, with the consensus suggesting that it was merely because standing figures required the proportions of the pointed oval. In this period there are only two examples of a king's seal having this shape and they are both seals of Frederick II. The first, his first seal as king of Sicily, is in direct imitation of his mother (Constance of Sicily's) seal, thereby stressing the dynastic credentials of the boy king. The second is a seal of similar design dating from 1212, on which Frederick is described as REX ROMANORUM ELECTUS.⁷⁵⁹ Here the reason for the eschewal of the traditional circular shape of a king's seal is perhaps recognition of the fact that, although he had been elected, until he had been consecrated king Frederick could not be presented as one on his seal.⁷⁶⁰ On both these seals Frederick is depicted enthroned, demonstrating that vesica shape and seated figures were not necessarily mutually exclusive.

In contrast to English and French custom, the seals of queens and empresses in the Empire were circular in form. This reflected a difference in iconography for, rather than standing, the German queens and empresses were depicted enthroned. Queenly sealing in Germany is also attested to a century before it is found in England and France, with the first surviving female royal seal belonging to the Empress Kunegund, wife of the Emperor Henry II. This precociously early

⁷⁵⁷ Heslop, "Seals," 305.

⁷⁵⁸ Nolan, "The Tomb of Adelaide of Maurienne," 59; Johns, *Noblewomen, Aristocracy and Power*, 127; Elizabeth Danbury, "Queens and Powerful Women: Image and Authority," in *Good Impressions: Image and Authority in Medieval Seals*, ed. Noël Adams, John Cherry, and James Robinson (London, 2008), 17.

⁷⁵⁹ Posse, *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, 5:27.

⁷⁶⁰ Between his use of vesica-shaped seals in Sicily and Germany Frederick had used the traditional circular format in Sicily.

use of seals was indubitably a symptom of the fact that, in such a large realm, the queen in Germany played a more active role in government than her French and English counterparts.⁷⁶¹ Matilda of England, wife of Henry V, used a circular seal on which she was depicted enthroned, crowned and holding items of regalia as was normal in the German tradition. The unusualness of such a seal in an English context has led historians to see this seal, which Matilda later used in England with an altered inscription, as a statement of her claim to English royal authority. Susan Johns, for example, considers the seal to express 'the authority of the state, and [Matilda's] regalia leave this in no doubt: her seal of 1141-42, critical years in the civil war, depicts her enthroned and holding the sceptre – royal insignia designating royal power'.⁷⁶² The royal association is, however, but one facet of the imagery here. As Elizabeth Danbury has noted, 'an enthroned, crowned woman on seals after 1100 in England, as in France, almost invariably represented not an earthly sovereign, but the Virgin Mary'.⁷⁶³ I would argue that this is exactly the connection that the German queenly seals expected the viewer to make. Rather than seeing these seals as reflecting German queens exercising masculine authority, it should be recognised that they also reflect the male image of kingship. Just as the enthroned image of the king, recalling that of Christ in majesty, made clear the king's claims to rule in Christ's image, so the imagery of these female seals made apparent that any terrestrial queen was made in the image of the Queen of Heaven.

Although queens in England and France did not adopt the German enthroned motif, their seals abound with Marian symbolism. The fleur-de-lys is found on seals from all three realms, emphasising that it was not exclusively a Capetian attribute. In the Empire it is to be found on seals belonging to Constance, wife of Henry VI, Maria, second wife of Otto IV, and of Margaret, wife of Henry (VII). In England it is found on the seal of Matilda of Boulogne, wife of King Stephen. John's second wife, Isabella of Angoulême holds a lily rather than the stylised fleur-de-lys. A fleur-de-lys is also to be found on the unusual seal of Henry II's daughter Joanna. Following the death of her first husband William of Sicily,

⁷⁶¹ Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, 29.

⁷⁶² Johns, *Noblewomen, Aristocracy and Power*, 126.

⁷⁶³ Danbury, "Queens and Powerful Women: Image and Authority," 18.

Joanna married the Count of Toulouse. She used a two-sided vesica-shaped seal.⁷⁶⁴ On the obverse she is depicted seated and holding a decorated cross and the legend describes her as Duchess of Barr, Countess of Toulouse and Marchioness of Provence. On the other side she is depicted standing, crowned holding a fleur-de-lys. Although she was a queen through her marriage to William, the inscription links her queenship to her father Henry II: +S REGINE IOH'E FILIA QVONDAM h REGIS ANGLORUM.⁷⁶⁵ In any case, the deployment of a fleur-de-lys was not the only way to allude to the Virgin. In a study of twelfth-century English seals depicting Mary as a queen, Sandy Heslop has argued that sceptres and rods should not be seen as exclusively royal symbols. Heslop took his evidence from the seals of monastic and cathedral chapters whose churches were dedicated to Mary, and concluded that 'it is on seals...where the attributes are dissociated from queenship that it is most apparent that the rod, for example, is not simply an item of regalia but that it has a prophetic typological significance'.⁷⁶⁶ When we find sceptres associated with queenship on royal seals, we should not dissociate them from the inherent Marian symbolism, which would have been apparent to contemporaries.

Like the seals of their royal husbands, female seals proclaimed that their owners were queens *Dei gratia*. The use in all three realms of the enthroned majesty design for male seals is demonstrative of the shared imagery of Christological kingship, which perceived kings to rule by the grace of God. Bedos-Rezak has pointed to a metaphor used to explain the idea expounded in Genesis 1:26-27, of man being created in the image and resemblance of God, in which man is described as a seal impression, imprinted by Christ.⁷⁶⁷ That the monarchs of England, France and Germany considered their kingship to be based on their resemblance to Christ and their position as God's representatives on earth, despite opposition from the papacy, is made apparent in the manner in which

⁷⁶⁴ The matrix for this seal survives and is in the collection of the British Museum (P&E 1897,5-8,1&2).

⁷⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁷⁶⁶ Heslop, "The Virgin Mary's Regalia and Twelfth-Century English Seals," 59.

⁷⁶⁷ Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "In Search of a Semiotic Paradigm: The Matter of Sealing in Medieval Thought and Praxis (1050-1400)," in *Good Impressions: Image and Authority in Medieval Seals*, ed. Noël Adams, John Cherry, and James Robinson (London, 2008), 3.

they impressed their image onto the documents authenticated by their seals and *bullae*. Indeed, Henry VI's adoption of the enthroned motif for his *bullae* is demonstrative of an attempt to stress the Christ-like nature of his kingship, in direct response to papal attempts to assert the inferiority of kings to bishops. The growth of queenly sealing, and the Marian imagery found on queenly seals, particularly within the Empire, can be seen as another facet of a wider response. The imagery on royal and imperial seals played on the multiplicity of associations attached to medieval symbols to present a Christ-like king whose bride was depicted as the celestial Queen.

Conclusion

unction, Coronation and Christ-centred Kingship

In October 1157, Frederick Barbarossa held a court at Besançon in Burgundy, to which, Rahewin tells us, embassies came from the Romans, the Apulians, the Tuscans, the Venetians, the Italians, the French, the English and the Spanish.⁷⁶⁸ So too came two papal legates, Roland, the cardinal priest of S. Marco (later Pope Alexander III), and Bernard, the cardinal priest of S. Clemente, bringing with them a letter from Pope Hadrian IV. This epistle was to cause consternation for, as Frederick would later complain to the pope, the tenor of the missive was ‘quod pre oculis mentis semper deberemus habere, qualiter dominus papa insigne imperialis coronae nobis contulerit neque tamen penitentia moveretur, si maiora excellentia nostra ab eo beneficia susceptisset’.⁷⁶⁹ The pope’s use of the word *beneficium* in this context was too much for the emperor and his nobles to accept. When one of the papal legates, confused by the sudden tumult asked ‘from who do you hold the empire, if not from the Lord Pope?’ Otto, count-palatine of Bavaria drew his sword in anger.⁷⁷⁰ Barbarossa would claim in his letter to Hadrian that bloodshed was avoided only at his personal insistence. To make things worse, additional letters were then found on the legates, with which they were intending to spread this virus conceived in their iniquity (‘conceptum iniquitatis suae virus respergere’). At this point, to avoid contagion, the legates were sent back to Rome, taking the same route as they had travelled to Besançon.

The Besançon incident and Barbarossa’s response to it demonstrates that papal attempts to relegate the position of the emperor were not meekly accepted. Barbarossa did not consider his empire to be a benefice held from the pope, as he

⁷⁶⁸ The Besançon court is described in detail by Rahewin: Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta Frederici I. Imperatoris*, 173–179. For secondary commentary see Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073–1198*, 462–470; Anne J. Duggan, “Totius christianitatis caput”. The Pope and the Princes,” in *Adrian IV The English Pope (1154–1159)*, ed. Brenda Bolton and Anne J. Duggan (Aldershot, 2003), 127–134; Jochen Johrendt, “The Empire and the Schism,” in *Pope Alexander III (1159–1181)*, ed. Peter D. Clarke and Anne J. Duggan (Farnham, 2012), 101–102.

⁷⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁷⁷⁰ ‘A quo ergo habet, si a domino papa non habet imperium?’ *Ibid.*, 177.

made clear in the opening lines of the letter he wrote to Hadrian that he deliberately circulated widely within the Empire:

‘Cum divina potentia, a qua omnis potestas in caelo et in terra, nobis Christo eius regnum et imperium regendum commiserit et pacem aecclesiarum imperialibus armis conservandam ordinaverit’.⁷⁷¹

The pope was not the source of Frederick's authority, but instead divine power, which had given him the kingdom and the empire to rule. Barbarossa, despite papal attempts to reduce the status of royal unction, describes himself as God's anointed. The vocabulary he used to express this sentiment is telling: Frederick is *Christus eius*. He is anointed like Christ, and in the same way in which God has ordained that Christ shall reign in the celestial kingdom, so too will Barbarossa govern the terrestrial empire.

In the rulership of his earthly kingdom this Christ-like king had an accomplice. Frederick had married Beatrice of Burgundy a year before the calamitous court at Besançon. The *Carmen de gestis Frederici I imperatoris in Lombardia*, written in the 1160s, most likely by an author hailing from Bergamo in northern Italy, describes their joyful union:⁷⁷²

‘Tum proceres regi nupta natisque carenti
Consortem thalami suadent sibi iungere, per quam
Pulchra prole parens celesti rege favente
Esse queat. Quorum exaudit consulta benignus
Ductor et intactam stabili sibi federe iungit
Principis egregii, Raynaldi nomine, natem
Que Venerem forma superabat, mete Minervam
Iunonemque opibus. Numquam fuit altera talis
Excepta Domini Ihesu genetricie Maria,
Quam sibi preferri gaudet regina Beatrix.
Hanc magno procerum conventu rex Fredericus
Dicit et Herbipoli celebrat connubia letus’.⁷⁷³

⁷⁷¹ Ibid., 178.

⁷⁷² Irene Schmale-Ott, ed., *Carmen de Gestis Frederici I. Imperatoris in Lombardia*, MGH SS Rer. Germ. 62 (Hannover, 1965) xi-xx.

⁷⁷³ Ibid., 37–38. Translation in Thomas Carson ed. *Barbarossa in Italy* (New York, 1994), 39.

Frederick's wife-to-be is here described as so beautiful that she would be able to find favour with a celestial king. She is more comely than Venus, cleverer than Minerva and wealthier than Juno. Indeed, none are her equal, except perhaps Lord Jesus' mother Mary, who Beatrice outshines, on account of her happiness. This terrestrial queen marries not the celestial king with whom the poet informed us she would be able to find favour. Instead she marries king Frederick. The author thereby makes manifest that their union mirrors that of Christ and Mary.

In the Spring of 2012, a series of previously unknown frescoes was discovered in the Church of St. Mary attached to the Augustinian Abbey of Altenburg, in Thuringia. Altenburg styles itself a 'Barbarossa city' due to the frequency with which the emperor stayed there. Although the charter suggesting Barbarossa was present at the consecration of the church in 1172 is known to be a forgery concocted in the time of Frederick II, whose seal it bears, it is thought to be a copy of a genuine original.⁷⁷⁴ Given Frederick's frequent sojourns in Altenburg and his connection with this Marian foundation, the subject of the frescoes, which have been dated to the late twelfth century, is particularly striking. One image depicts an enthroned and crowned Christ seated next to an enthroned Mary, whom he crowns and bestows with a sceptre (Illustration 12). Although at the time of writing we still await the published verdict of the specialists, it seems likely that this is one of the earliest surviving depictions of the Coronation of the Virgin. For a king who styled himself as a *Christus Domini* and had a bride said to be equalled only by Mary, the regal and nuptial transformations depicted in this fresco were highly appropriate. Indeed, as Heslop has commented of the first

'Since Frederick had no heir, his men advised him
To lead a consort to the marriage bed
And with God's help beget a pretty baby.
The kind commander followed their advice
And took the daughter of the noble Rainald,
For Venus did not have this virgin's beauty;
Minerva did not have her brilliant mind,
And Juno did not have her wealth. There never
Was another except God's mother Mary,
And Beatrice is so happy she excels her.
The joyful Frederick with a host of nobles
Took his bride to Würzburg for the marriage'.

⁷⁷⁴ RI IV,2,3 n. †1990, in: *Regesta Imperii Online*: http://www.regesta-imperii.de/id/1172-07-00_1_0_4_2_3_215_F1990 [accessed 12.8.2013]

surviving representation of the Coronation of the Virgin in England, on a carved cloister capital from Reading Abbey, 'it would be hard to imagine a better subject to link royal patrons and the dedication to Mary than a representation of the Coronation of the Virgin'.⁷⁷⁵

Illustration 12

Reconstruction of the Fresco Recently Discovered at Altenburg



Residenzschloss Altenburg Museum

Frederick's response to the papal attack on his authority at Besançon is indicative of two features characteristic of twelfth-century images of kingship: a continued stress on the efficacy of unction, and an exploitation of the many layers of meaning in the act of coronation. These developments emerged in direct response to papal attempts to subvert unction and to prioritise coronation. This demotion can be seen firstly in the moving of the ritual of anointing from St. Peter's altar to the altar of St. Maurice in a side chapel, secondly in the change to anointing the emperor on the arm and between the shoulders, and finally in the pronouncement that chrism should not be used. Instead the highpoint of imperial inauguration was to be, as Walter Ullmann indicated, the coronation, in

⁷⁷⁵ Heslop, "The English Origins of the Coronation of the Virgin," 790.

which it was the pope rather than the emperor who was to take precedence.⁷⁷⁶ The papal interpretation of coronation was enshrined in a provocative fresco in the Lateran, which depicted Lothar III receiving a crown from the pope.⁷⁷⁷ Rahewin reports that this image was accompanied by a couplet reading: 'Rex venit ante fores, iurans prius Urbis honores, / Post homo fit papae, sumit quo dante coronam'.⁷⁷⁸ The emperor and his vassals did not accept that coronation made the monarch the 'pope's man' and indeed, in their letter to Pope Hadrian, in the Spring following the court at Besançon, the German bishops voiced their disagreement with the image of kingship embodied in this fresco and in the pope's epistle.⁷⁷⁹

An examination of the royal *ordines* has made clear that such liturgical texts continued to assume that kings in England, France and the Empire would receive unction on the head. Although they are not always explicit about the type of oil used, chrism continued to play a role, being mentioned in two manuscripts of the English *ordines*. The gloss in a thirteenth-century hand in the manuscript of the English Third Recension, now in Trinity College, Cambridge, demonstrates that while Innocent's 1204 pronouncement that kings should not be anointed on the head was known in England, it had no effect on royal practice. In spite of Innocent's attempt to emphasise the superiority of episcopal unction contemporary narrative sources are imbued with the assumption that episcopal and royal consecrations were parallel rites, with the same vocabulary being used to describe these transformations. In addition to anointing on the head like a bishop, rites from all three realms also included anointing of the hands, a ritual that played an important role in priestly consecration. In the French kingdom anointing on the hands, with its sacerdotal associations, first appears in the *Ordo* of 1200, illustrative of an increased interest in anointing in a royal context at the end of the twelfth century.

⁷⁷⁶ Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government*, 226.

⁷⁷⁷ See Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198*, 452-453; Duggan, "Totius christianitatis caput," 131-132

⁷⁷⁸ Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta Frederici I. Imperatoris*, 177.

⁷⁷⁹ 'a pictura cepit, ad scripturam pictura processit, scriptura in auctoritatem prodire conatur. Non patiemur, non sustinebimus; coronam ante ponemus, quam imperii coronam una nobiscum sic deponi consentiamus. Picturae deleantur, scripturae retractentur, ut inter regnum et sacerdotiam aeterna inimiciciarum monimenta non remaneant'. *Ibid.*, 188-189.

Royal interest in unction is also well attested in the century that followed, not least by those kings who sought the right to be anointed. The acquisition of this right was doggedly pursued by some, with Henry, bishop of Ostia, commenting in his *Summa Aurea*, written between 1250 and 1261 that 'if anyone wishes to be anointed for the first time, he obtains the rite by petitioning the pope, as the king of the Aragonese does and the king of Scotland insists upon daily'.⁷⁸⁰ Even in its debased form, unction was considered a worthy prize, and, moreover, a privilege worth guarding, as Henry III's attempts to prevent the anointing of Scottish kings demonstrates.⁷⁸¹ Henry's interest in the meaning of unction is testified in an undated letter he received from Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln.⁷⁸² Grosseteste notes that not all kings are anointed, but that through unction the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit are conferred on a king. He goes on to stress, however, that 'hec tamen unccionis prerogativa nullo modo regiam dignitatem prefert aut etiam equiparat sacerdotali aut potestatem tribuit alicuius sacerdotalis officii'.⁷⁸³ The fact that Grosseteste needed to emphasize this point suggests that the equivalence of priestly and royal unction was, outside of learned clerical circles, commonly assumed.

Rather than in unction, in whose transformational powers monarchs in all three realms continued to believe, the key to understanding shifting images of kingship in this transitional period lies in the rite of coronation. In his painted chamber at Westminster, Henry III chose to depict not Edward the Confessor's anointing, but his coronation.⁷⁸⁴ That Edward was both a king and a saint explains the appropriateness of this motif, which must be understood as representing both

⁷⁸⁰ 'Si quis de novo inungi velit consuetudo obtinuit qui a papa petatur sicut fecit rex Aragonum et quotidie instat rex Scotiae'. Henry de Susa, *Summa Aurea* (Venice, 1570), 57. This reference was first noted by Bloch in Marc Bloch, "An Unknown Testimony on the History of the Coronation in Scotland," *Scottish Historical Review* 23 (1926): 105–106; For a concise summary of the attempts made by the minority government of Alexander III of Scotland to gain unction and coronation see Alice Taylor, "Historical Writing in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-century Scotland: The Dumferline Compilation," *Historical Research* 83 (2010): 19–25.

⁷⁸¹ Taylor, "Historical Writing in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-century Scotland," 21.

⁷⁸² Extracts from this letter are included in Legg, *English Coronation Records*, 66–68. See also, Carpenter, "The Burial of King Henry III, the Regalia and Royal Ideology," 437.

⁷⁸³ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁷⁸⁴ This choice was brought to my attention by David Carpenter. A copy of this painting can be found as Colour Plate 1 in Paul Binski, *The Painted Chamber at Westminster* (London, 1986).

his terrestrial and celestial crownings. These two types of coronation were explicitly linked in the *ordines*. Prayer K12, associated with coronation in three of the royal and one of the imperial texts, presents earthly coronation as a forerunner to a heavenly crowning: 'Coronet te Deus corona glorie atque iustitie honore et opere fortitudinis ut per officium nostre benedictionis cum fide recta et multiplici bonorum operum fructu ad coronam pervenias regni perpetui'.⁷⁸⁵ The image of Edward's coronation in the Painted Chamber incorporates the words 'C'est le coronement Seint Edeward'. The title applied to the Confessor thereby makes apparent that he has fulfilled the hopes outlined in the prayer spoken at the time of his coronation in 1042, and has obtained the crown of an everlasting kingdom. The bestowal of such a crown is described in the thirteenth-century *La estoire de Seint Aedward le rei*, a text attributed to Matthew Paris.⁷⁸⁶ On his entry into heaven, St. Peter opened the gates for Edward, St. John led him before God, and God gave him his kingdom and put a crown on his head.⁷⁸⁷

The tendency to see coronation as the more secular of the two major components of monarchical inauguration has veiled the dynamic symbolism inherent in this act. Twelfth-century images of kingship did not conceive of coronation in the manner in which it was painted on the walls of the Lateran. Like unction, coronation was a symbol of God's grace; it contained the promise of eternal kingship. Coronation had regal, sacral and, importantly, nuptial associations. It was the exploitation of the nuptial resonances in the *ordines*, and particularly the nuptial association of the crown, that enabled twelfth-century queens to be presented as Mary and their husbands as Christ. Louis IX's placing of the Crown

⁷⁸⁵ This wording is taken from the English Second Recension. Legg, *English Coronation Records*, 18. The prayer is also found in the English Third Recension, the Ratold *Ordo* and the imperial *ordo* in the Cologne manuscript. A similar association between terrestrial and celestial crownings is made in Prayer K 39, which is associated with coronation in the remaining four royal texts.

⁷⁸⁶ Binski has used art historical evidence to lend weight to the theory of Matthew Paris's authorship. Paul Binski, "Reflections on 'La Estoire de Seint Aedward le rei': hagiography and kingship in thirteenth-century England." *Journal of Medieval History* 16 (1990): 333-339.

⁷⁸⁷ Kathryn Young Wallace, ed. *La estoire de Seint Aedward le rei*. Anglo-Norman Texts (London, 1983), 111.

'E seint Pere, sis chere amis,
La porte u[v]re de paraïs,
E seint Johan, si druz demeine,
Devant la Majesté le meine,
E Deu sun regne li abandune,
K'eu chef li met la curune'.

of Thorns on his head at the dedication of the Sainte-Chapelle in 1248, was only possible against the background of a multi-layered understanding of the crown as a symbol, refined over the previous 150 years. In his essay on the Evangeliair of Henry the Lion, Bernd Schneidmüller has questioned whether the medieval artist who painted the miniatures perhaps knew rather better than theologising modern viewers what a golden crown meant.⁷⁸⁸ Rather than trying to assign a fixed meaning to this symbol, we need, like the medieval artist, to appreciate the depth and ambiguity of the symbol of the crown.

The aim of this thesis has not been, to borrow Timothy Reuter's words 'to practise a frivolous revisionism by trying to show that German kingship in the high Middle Ages was just like that practised elsewhere'.⁷⁸⁹ There were undeniably real differences in the way in which monarchs in England, France and the Empire exercised their power. However, while realities in all three realms were different and, no doubt, pragmatism often prevailed, the same language of kingship was deployed. To uncover its vocabulary we have to assimilate traces from chronicles and charters, be open to the influence of visual sources and to consider the liturgy as something formative, rather than merely as an out-dated relic from the Carolingian age. In the last decade Franz-Reiner Erkens has increasingly questioned the paradigm of the demise of sacral kingship in the Empire. In an important essay from 2006, he pointed to the scarcity of evidence for sacral kingship outside of historical texts and images even under the late Ottonians and early Salians, a period in which all agree ruler sacrality blossomed.⁷⁹⁰ It is necessary to listen carefully to hear the reverberation of a Christological image of kingship in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, but we should not allow the static noise of diverse bureaucratic source materials, especially from England and France, to drown out this faint echo.

⁷⁸⁸ Schneidmüller, "Kronen im goldglänzenden Buch," 155.

⁷⁸⁹ Reuter, "The Medieval German Sonderweg? The Empire and Its Rulers in the High Middle Ages," 181.

⁷⁹⁰ Franz-Reiner Erkens, "Der 'pia dei ordinatione rex' und die Krise sakral legitimierter Königsherrschaft in spätsalisch- frühstaufischer Zeit," in *Vom Umbruch zur Erneuerung? Das 11. und beginnende 12. Jahrhundert - Positionen der Forschung*, ed. Jörg Jarnut and Matthias Wemhoff (Munich, 2006), 88.

In German scholarship, Roman law has traditionally been seen as the alternative basis for images of kingship following a desacralisation of royal authority supposedly precipitated by the Investiture Controversy. Erkens has, however, convincingly argued that Roman law was not used to develop a separate secular basis for kingly power, but to strengthen ruler sacrality. He suggests this can be seen in, for example, Barbarossa's descriptions of laws as sacred ('sacrae leges') and the description of the empire itself as holy, an attribute first found in a letter sent from Barbarossa to his uncle, Otto of Freising, in 1157.⁷⁹¹ In an Anglo-French context both the development of bureaucratic structures and of 'chivalry', combined with burgeoning ideals of knighthood, have been seen as sounding the death knell for sacral kingship.⁷⁹² Geoffrey Koziol has argued that Suger's description of Louis VI's inauguration signified a change in the understanding of the insignia and commented that 'not even Suger's old-fashioned Carolingian rhetoric...can mask the fact that Louis VI was in love with the image of himself as a heroic knight'.⁷⁹³ Yet in the symbolism of the feast day chosen for Louis VI's consecration, in the inclusion of the regnal dates of his wife Adelaide on his charters, and his charter of 1115, which explicitly associates him with Christ, sacral resonances are still to be found. Suger particularly stressed that Louis was crowned on the feast of St. Stephen, the first martyr to wear God's crown and describes how in his last illness he swapped one crown for another ('coronam pro corona').⁷⁹⁴ Here we see once more the flexibility of this symbol, at once royal, sacral and nuptial. When chanters in England, France and the Empire uttered the words 'Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat', it was with the conviction that the monarchs they were lauding ruled in the image of Christ the King.

⁷⁹¹ Ibid., 94–95; Stefan Weinfurter has discussed the designation of the Empire as sacred in Stefan Weinfurter, "Wie das Reich heilig wurde," in *Die Macht des Königs: Herrschaft in Europa vom Frühmittelalter bis in die Neuzeit*, ed. Bernhard Jussen (Munich, 2005), 190–204 and 387–390.

⁷⁹² Geoffrey Koziol sees knighthood as being the more influential impulse in Koziol, "England, France and the Problem of Sacrality."

⁷⁹³ Ibid., 134.

⁷⁹⁴ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, 272.

Appendix 1

Editions and Manuscripts of the Selected Ordines

The purpose of this appendix is to enable the reader swiftly to find the full texts of the *ordines* consulted in my thesis and to give an idea of the number of surviving manuscripts. As no critical edition of the English *ordines* exists, all printed texts containing readings of individual manuscripts are given. The manuscripts containing witnesses to the English *ordines* are also given in full. For the remaining traditions, only the critical edition used has been included and a summary of manuscripts given. Full details of surviving manuscripts are provided in the relevant critical editions.

English Second Recension (eleventh century)

Editions

1. L. G. Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records* (London, 1901), 15-21
2. V. Leroquais, *Les pontificaux* (Paris, 1937), 2: 160-164
3. H. A. Wilson, *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, HBS 24 (London, 1903), 140-147
4. D. H. Turner, *The Claudius Pontificals*, HBS 97 (London, 1971), 89-95

Manuscripts

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 146 (s. x^{ex})
London, British Library Additional MS 57337 (s. x^{ex}/s. xiⁱⁿ)
London, British Library MS Cotton Claudius A.iii (s. x^{ex}/s. xiⁱⁿ)
London, British Library MS Cotton Vitellius A.vii (s. x^{med})
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS lat. 943 (s. x^{ex})
Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale MS 369 (s. x^{ex})

English Third Recension (twelfth century)

Editions

1. Legg, *English Coronation Records*, 30-39
2. Turner, *The Claudius Pontificals*, 115-122
3. H. A. Wilson, *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, HBS 39 (London, 1910), 89-95

Manuscripts

Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.II.10 (s. xii^{ex})
Cambridge, University Library MS EE.II.3 (s. xiiⁱⁿ)
Dublin, Trinity College MS 98 (formerly B.3.6) (s. xiiⁱⁿ)
London, British Library MS Cotton Claudius A.iii (s. xiiⁱⁿ)
London, British Library MS Cotton Tiberius B.viii (s. xii^{ex})
Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson MS C.400 (s. xivⁱⁿ)
Oxford, Magdalen College MS 226 (s. xii^{ex})

Royal Ordo from the Romano-Germanic Pontifical (c.950)

Alternative names: Ottonian *Ordo*, Mainz *Ordo*

Edition

Vogel & Elze, *Le pontifical romano-germanique*, 1:246-269

Manuscript summary

Texts that can be considered as belonging to the PRG tradition are to be found in around fifty manuscripts.

Royal Ordo from Cologne Dombibliothek MS 141 (1000-1050)

Alternative names: *Ordo of Arras*

Edition

Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:201-216

Manuscript summary

There are two surviving manuscripts, one from the first half of the eleventh century, and one from the fourteenth century.

Ratold Ordo (c.980)

Alternative names: Continental version of the English Second Recension, Fulrad *Ordo*

Edition

Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:168-200

Manuscript summary

There are twenty surviving manuscripts. The earliest dates from *c.980* and was copied for Ratold, abbot of Corbie, from whom the *ordo* got its name. One eleventh-century manuscript survives, seven from the twelfth century, a further seven from the thirteenth century, one from the fourteenth century and three from the seventeenth century.

Ordo of Saint-Bertin (c.1150-1200)

Alternative names: *Ordo* of Senlis

Edition

Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:240-247

Manuscript summary

Two manuscripts survive, one from the mid- or late-twelfth century and one from the mid-fourteenth century.

Ordo of 1200 (c.1200)

Alternative names: Compilation of 1200

Edition

Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, 1:248-267

Manuscript summary

Two thirteenth-century manuscripts of this *ordo* survive, one from the early part of the century and one from the middle.

Imperial Ordo from Cologne Dombibliothek MS 141 (1000-1050)

Alternative names: Ordo of Arras

Edition

Elze, *Die Ordines*, 20-22

Manuscript summary

There are two surviving manuscripts, one from the first half of the eleventh century and one from the fourteenth century.

Cencius I (c.1100)

Edition

Elze, *Die Ordines*, 22-25

Manuscript summary

There are ten surviving manuscripts dating from the late-eleventh to the late-thirteenth centuries.

Cencius II (c.1100-1150)

Alternative names: Ordo C, Ordo Ia

Edition

Elze, *Die Ordines*, 35-47

Manuscript summary

There is one surviving late-twelfth-century manuscript and ten copies from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

***The Staufen Ordo* (late 1100s)**

Alternative names: Ordo of 1209, Ordo D

Edition

Elze, *Die Ordines*, 61-69

Manuscript summary

There are seven surviving witnesses of this text. Only one is a conventional liturgical manuscript, dating from the fourteenth century. The remaining texts are to be found in papal registers and royal and imperial *bullae* and charters, also dating from the fourteenth century.

***The Ordo from the Roman Curia* (early 1200s)**

Alternative names: Ordo of 1209, Ordo D

Edition

R. Elze, *Die Ordines*, 69-87

Manuscript summary

This *ordo* was included in the thirteenth-century *Pontifical of the Roman Curia*, that survives in around twenty four thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts. The *ordo* can also be found in around another twenty manuscript copies of the curial book of ceremonies from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Appendix 2

Prayer Formulae Incipits

Male inauguration prayers (K)	
K1	Te invocamus domine sancte pater omnipotens aeterne Deus
K2	Deus qui populis tuis virtute consulis et amore dominaris
K3	In diebus tuis oriatur omnibus aequitas et iustitia
K4	Omnipotens sempiterne deus creator ac gubernator caeli et terrae
K5	Christe perunge hunc regem in regimen unde unxisti sacerdotes reges
K6	Deus electorum fortitudo et humilium celsitudo
K7	Deus Dei filius Ihesus Christus dominus noster
K8	Accipe anulum signaculum videlicet sanctae fidei
K9	Deus cuius est omnis potestas et dignitas
K10	Accipe hunc gladium cum dei benedictione tibi conlatum
K11	Deus qui prouidentia tua caelestia simul et terrena moderaris
K12	Coronet te Deus corona glorie atque iustitiae
K13	Deus perpetuitatis dux virtutem cunctorum hostium victor
K14	Accipe sceptrum regiae potestatis insigne virgam scilicet rectam regni
K15	Omnium domine fons bonorum cunctorumque Deus institutor profectum
K16	Accipe virgam virtutis atque aequitatis qua intellegas mulcere pios
K17	Extendat omnipotens dominus dexteram suae benedictionis
K18	Benedic domine hunc praelectum principem
K19	Sta et retine amodo statum quem huc usque paterna suggestione tenuisti
K20	Omnipotens det tibi deus de rore caeli et de pinguedine terrae
K21	Benedic domine fortitudinem principis et opera manuum illius suscipe
K22	Benedic domine hunc regem nostrum N. qui regna omnium moderaris
K23	Deus ineffabilis auctor mundi conditor generis humani
K24	Unguantur manus istae de oleo sanctificato unde uncti fuerunt reges
K25	Prospice omnipotens Deus serenis optutibus hunc gloriosum regem
K26	Unguatur caput istud pectus scapule et compages brachiorum
K27	Deus qui es iustorum gloria et misericordia peccatorum
K28	Accipe gladium per manus episcoporum licet indignas

K29	Accipe armillas sinceritatis et sapientiae
K30	Accipe pallium quattuor initios formatum
K31	Deus tuorum corona fidelium qui in capitibus eorum ponis coronam
K32	Accipe regiae dignatis anulum et per hunc in te catholicae fidei signaculum
K33	Benedicat tibi Deus custodiatque te
K34	Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui famulum tuum regni fastigio
K35	Deus qui scis genus humanum nulla virtute posse subsistere
K36	Omnipotens sempiterne Deus caelestium terrestriumque moderator
K37	Ungo te in regem de oleo sanctificato in nomine patris et filii et spiritus
K38	Spiritus sancti gratia humilitatis nostrae officio
K39	Accipe coronam regni quae licet ab indignis episcoporum
K40	In hoc regni solio confirmet et in regno aeterno secum regnare
K41	Exaudi quesumus domine preces nostras
K42	Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui es cunctorum benedictio
K43	Deus in cuius manu corda regum sunt da famulo tuo
K44	Unde unxisti sacerdotes reges et prophetas quatinus iustitiam diligens
K45	Domine Deus omnipotens cuius est omnis potestas
K46	Accipe signum gloriae, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti
K47	Deus in cuius manu corda sunt regum inclina at preces humilitatis nostre
K48	Accipe anulum signaculum videlicet sancte fidei soliditatem regni
K49	Deus regnorum omnium et christiani maxime protector imperii
K50	Salvum fac servum tuum domine
K51	Actiones nostras quesumus domine aspirando preveni
K52	Suscipe domine preces et hostias ecclesie tue
K53	Deus qui ad predicandum eterni regni evangelium romanum imperium
K54	Pretende quesumus, domine, famulo tuo dextram celestis auxilii
K55	Benedic domine quesumus hunc principem nostrum N.
K56	Deus pater eterne glorie sit adiutor tuus et protector
<i>Female inauguration prayers (Q)</i>	
Q1	In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti propositi tibi haec unctionis olei
Q2	Omnipotens sempiterne Deus affluentem spiritum tuae benedictionis

Q3	Accipe anulum fidei signaculum sanctae trinitatis
Q4	Deus cuius est omnis potestas et dignitas da famulae tuae N.
Q5	Accipe coronam gloriae honorem iocunditatis splendida ut fulgeas
Q6	Omnium domine fons bonorum et cunctorum dator profectum
Q7	Omnipotens sempiterne deus fons et origo totius bonitatis
Q8	Deus qui solus habes immortalitatem lucemque habitas inaccessibilem
Q9	Spiritus sancti gratia humilitatis nostrae officio in te copiosa descendat
Q10	Deus tuorum corona fidelium qui in capitibus eorum ponis coronam
Q11	Officio indignitatis nostrae seu congregationis in reginam benedicta
Q12	Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris
Q13	Deus tuorum corona fidelium qui quos ad regnum vocas
Q14	Accipe coronam regalis excellentie, que licet ab indignis episcoporum

Prayers from the mass (M)

M1	Quesumus omnipotens deus ut famulus tuus
M2	Munera domine quesumus oblata santifica
M3	Aeterne Deus qui es fons inmarcescibilis lucis et origo perpetuae bonitatis
M4	Haec domine oration salutaris famulum tuum N.
M5	Omnipotens sempiterne Deus caelestium terrestriumque moderator
M6	Deus qui miro ordine universa disponis et ineffabiliter gubernas
M7	Concede quaesumus omnipotens Deus his salutaribus sacrificiis placatus
M8	Omnipotens Deus qui te populi sui voluit esse rectorem
M9	Concedatque tibi contra omnes fidei christiana
M10	Quatinus te gubernacula regni tenente
M11	Haec domine salutaris sacrificii perceptio famuli tui N.
M12	Benedicat tibi dominus custodiatque te et sicut voluit
M13	Deus cuius regnum regnum est omnium seculorum
M14	Sacrificiis domine placatus oblatis pacem tuam
M15	Deus qui est diligentibus te facis cuncta prodesse
M16	Deus regnum omnium et christiani maxime protector imperii
M17	Suscipe domine preces et hostias ecclesie tue
M18	Deus qui ad predicandum eterni regni evangelium romanum imperium

Appendix 3

Tables of Ritual Elements in the Ordines

This appendix comprises six tables laying out the order of the rituals that together made up the inauguration rite in the different *ordines*. The royal *ordines* are presented side-by-side for ease of comparison. This manner of presentation is not possible for the more detailed imperial liturgies, which are presented individually.

Table 10
Ritual Elements in the Royal Ordines I

English	German Royal
<i>Second</i>	<i>PRG</i>
<i>Third</i>	<i>Cologne 141</i>
King	King
1. entry to church	1. procession from bedchamber to church
2. prostration before altar	2. removal of pallium and weapons
3. oath	3. prostration before altar
4. consecration	4. interrogation/promise
5. anointing	5. proclamation
6. sword	6. anointing
7. crowning	7. sword
	8. armillas, pallium and ring
	8. pallium
	9. crowning
	9. sceptre and baculum
	10. ring
	10. crowning
	11. sceptre
	11. blessing
	12. enthronement
	12. virga
	13. blessing
	13. kiss of peace
	14. mass
	14. enthronement
	15. oath
	15. kiss of peace
	16. kiss of peace
	17. mass
Queen	Queen
1. anointing	1. blessing
2. ring	2. anointing
3. crowning	3. crowning
Mass	Queen
1. anointing	1. anointing
2. ring	2. ring
3. crowning	3. crowning
	4. anointing
	5. ring
	6. crowning
	Imperial (see Table 12)
	1. entry to church
	2. prostration
	3. consecration
	4. anointing
	5. ring
	6. crowning

Table 11
Ritual Elements in the Royal Ordines II

French	<i>Ratold</i>	<i>Saint-Bertrand</i>	<i>Ordo of 1200</i>
King		King	King
1. interrogation/oath 2. congregation asked if they accept king 3. prostration before altar 4. oath (in 4 MS) 5. invocation 6. anointing 7. ring 8. sword 9. crowning 10. sceptre 11. virga 12. blessing 13. designated king 14. oath (in 18 MS) 15. kiss of peace 16. mass		1. procession from bedchamber to church 2. removal of pallium 3. prostration before altar 4. interrogation/promise 5. congregation asked if they accept king 6. anointing 7. sword 8. ring 9. sceptre and baculum 10. banner 11. crowning 12. blessing 13. enthronement 14. kiss of peace 15. mass 16. mass	1. procession from bedchamber to church 2. removal of pallium and weapons 3. prostration before altar 4. interrogation 5. congregation asked if they accept king 6. anointing 7. sword 8. armillas, pallium and ring 9. sceptre and baculum 10. crowning 11. blessing 12. enthronement 13. profession 14. kiss of peace 15. oath 16. mass
Mass		Mass	Mass
		Queen	Queen
		1. entry to church 2. prostration before altar 3. anointing 4. ring 5. crowning 6. sceptre (in 1 MS)	1. entry to church 2. blessing before altar 3. anointing 4. crowning 5. mass

Table 12

Ritual Elements in the Earlier Imperial Ordines

Cologne 141

Emperor

1. procession
2. profession
3. prostration
4. consecration
5. anointing
6. crowning

Cencius I

Emperor

1. profession
2. prostration
3. anointing
4. crowning

Table 13
Ritual Elements in the *Ordo Cencius II*

Emperor & Empress (integrated into a mass)

1. received by dignitaries at Church of S. Maria Transpadina
2. meet pope before bronze doors of S. Maria della Torre
3. kissing of pope's feet
4. withdrawal of queen
5. elect swears oath to pope
6. removal of pallium
7. questioning and kisses
8. entry to S. Pietro by elect
9. queen rejoins husband
10. entry to S. Pietro by pope
11. blessing
12. interrogation
13. pope dresses in his pontifical garments in the *secretarium*
14. elect led to choir of St. Gregory and dressed in liturgical robes
15. elect led before pope
16. queen fetched by Bishop of Ostia and led to altar of St. Gregory
17. pope clothed in planeta and pallium ascends to altar
18. prostration before altar of elect and queen
19. anointing of elect
20. blessing of queen
21. anointing of queen
22. pope proceeds to altar of St. Maurice followed by elect and queen
23. crowns moved from altar of St. Peter to altar of St. Maurice
24. ring
25. sword
26. crowning of elect
27. crowning of queen
28. sceptre
29. pope returns to altar of St. Peter, emperor and empress led away separately
31. emperor and empress remove crowns before reading of Gospel
31. emperor removes sword
32. offerings made to pope by emperor and empress
33. count of palace removes emperor's liturgical footwear and gives him spurs
34. emperor and empress, crowned, led to horses
35. emperor holds stirrup for pope
36. procession with emperor and empresses following crowned pope
37. on arrival at palace emperor holds stirrup as pope dismounts
38. feasts (empress eats separately with bishops and some barons)
39. emperor descends Monte Mario and swears Roman oath

Table 14
Ritual Elements in the Staufen Ordo

Emperor (integrated into a mass)

1. procession with dignitaries from Porta Collina to S. Pietro
2. elect dismounts at steps
3. pope emerges from private chapel
4. kissing of pope's feet and offering of gifts
5. elect receives a kiss and embrace in return
6. entry to S. Maria della Torre
7. elect swears oath before altar
8. pope goes to altar of St. Peter
9. elect remains in S. Maria with three bishops and is clothed with imperial insignia
10. elect enters S. Pietro
11. prostration before altar of St. Peter
12. elect proceeds to altar of St. Maurice
13. anointing
14. elect ascends to altar of St. Peter and receives kiss from pope
15. emperor proceeds to chamber fashioned from wood
16. emperor processes to altar
17. crowning
18. orb and sceptre
19. emperor returns to wooden chamber
20. emperor takes off crown and cloak
21. offering of gold to pope
22. kiss of peace
23. emperor holds stirrup for pope
24. procession to S. Maria Transpadina
25. kiss
26. emperor descends Monte Mario and swears Roman oath

Empress (integrated into emperor's inauguration following his crowning)

1. led to altar before pope
2. crowning
3. return to chamber

Table 15

Ritual Elements in the Ordo of the Roman Curia

Emperor (integrated into a mass)

1. procession with dignitaries from Porta Collina to S. Pietro
2. elect dismounts at steps
3. pope emerges from private chapel
4. kissing of pope's feet and offering of gifts
5. elect receives a kiss and embrace in return
6. entry to S. Maria della Torre
7. elect swears oath before altar
8. pope goes to altar of St. Peter
9. elect remains in S. Maria with three bishops and is clothed with insignia
10. elect enters S. Pietro
11. prostration before altar of St. Peter
12. elect proceeds to altar of St. Maurice
13. anointing
14. elect ascends to altar of St. Peter and receives kiss from pope
15. emperor proceeds to chamber fashioned from wood
16. emperor processes to altar
17. crowning
18. sceptre and orb
19. blessing
20. sword*
21. kissing of pope's feet
22. emperor returns to wooden chamber
23. emperor takes off crown and clock
24. offering of gold to pope
25. kiss of peace
26. emperor holds stirrup for pope
27. procession to S. Maria Transpadina
24. kiss
25. emperor descends Monte Mario and swears Roman oath

Empress (integrated into emperor's inauguration following his crowning)

1. led to altar before pope
2. blessing
3. anointing
4. crowning
5. return to chamber

*An interpolation relates that in some books it is written that the sword should be given before the coronation. The coronation and giving of sceptre and orb are then repeated.

Appendix 4

Brief Descriptions of Royal and Imperial Seals and Bullae

The function of this appendix is to provide the reader with brief descriptions of the iconography and inscriptions of royal and imperial seals and *bullae* from the period c.1050-c.1250 and to point them to the relevant catalogues or literature where fuller descriptions and often reproductions of these seals can be found.

References are made to the following catalogues:

Birch, W. de G., *Catalogue of seals in the department of manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. 1 (London, 1887)

Dalas, M. *Les sceaux des rois et de régence*, CdS 2 (Paris, 1980)

Heslop, T.A. 'Seals' in *English Romanesque Art, 1066-1200*, edited by G. Zarnecki, J. Holt and T. Holland (London, 1984), 298-320.

Kahsnitz, R. 'Siegel und Goldbulle' in *Die Zeit der Staufer*, edited by R. Hausscherr and C. Väterlein (Stuttgart, 1977), 4:17-108

Nielen, M.-A. *Les sceaux des reines et des enfants de France*, CdS 3 (Paris, 2011)

Posse, O. *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser und Könige von 751 bis 1806*, 5 vols (Dresden, 1909-1913)

Wyon, A. B. *The Great Seals of England* (London, 1887)

If a number is given below it denotes the catalogue entry rather than a page reference. In Posse's catalogue of German seals the seals are not numbered sequentially throughout the catalogue. Instead Posse assigns numbers for the seals of individual monarchs and these are what are given here. When reference is made to secondary literature other than these catalogues, the bibliographic reference is accompanied by a page number.

Where seals are grouped together this is not to imply that they are identical, but that the iconography is broadly similar. For the differences between these seals the reader is referred to the relevant catalogues. R and L are used to refer to the

hands of the monarchs depicted on the seal, rather than to sides of the seal itself. Unless otherwise specified, all seals are circular.

Kings and Queens of England

Edward the Confessor

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding an orb (L) and ? (R)

reverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) and sword (L)

inscription: + SIGILLUM EADWARDI ANGLORUM BASILEI (both sides)

reference: Heslop, 328

William I

obverse: mounted figure holding a lance with flag (R) and shield (L)

reverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and orb with cross (L)

inscription: + HOC NORMANNORUM WILLELMUM NOSCE PATRONUM SI / + HOC ANGLIS REGEM SIGNO FATEARIS EUNDEM

reference: Harvey and McGuinness, *A Guide to British Medieval Seals*, 27-28

William II

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and orb with cross (L), two roundels in field

reverse: mounted figure holding a lance with flag (R) and shield (L)

inscription: + WILLELMUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM (both sides)

reference: Heslop, 329

Henry I (A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding an orb with cross and bird (L) and ? (R)

reverse: mounted figure holding a lance with flag (R) and shield (L)

inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM (both sides)

reference: Wyon, 19-20

Henry I (B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding an orb with cross and bird (L) and ? (R)

reverse: mounted figure holding a lance with flag (R) and shield (L)

inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA DUX NORMANNORUM

reference: Heslop, 330

Henry I (C)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding an orb with cross and bird (L), two stars in field

reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield (L)

inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA DUX NORMANNORUM

reference: Wyon, 23-24

Matilda of Scotland

obverse: standing crowned figure holding a sceptre with bird (R) and orb with cross (L), vesica shape

inscription: + SIGILLUM MATHILDIS SECUNDAE DEI GRACIA REGINAE ANGLIE

reference: Heslop, 336

Adeliza of Louvain

Adeliza re-used Matilda of Scotland's seal with a suitably altered inscription.

reference: Heslop, 336

Stephen (A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and orb with cross and bird (L)

reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield (L)

inscription: + STEPHANUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + STEPHANUS DEI GRATIA DUX NORMANNORUM

reference: Heslop, 331

Stephen (B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and orb (L)

reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield (L)

inscription: + STEPHANUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + STEPHANUS DEI GRATIA DUX NORMANNORUM

reference: Heslop, 332

Stephen (C)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and orb with cross and bird (L), one star in field

reverse: mounted figure holding a lance with flag (R) and shield (L)

inscription: + STEPHANUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + STEPHANUS DEI GRATIA DUX NORMANNORUM

reference: Wyon, 27-28

Matilda of Boulogne

obverse: standing crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and bird (L), vesica shape

inscription: ... MATILDIS DEI GRATIA

reference: Johns, *Noblewomen, Aristocracy and Power*, 203.

Matilda of England

This is the same seal she used in Germany

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) with hand (L) in front of body

inscription: + MATHILDIS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REGINA

reference: Danbury, 'Queens and Powerful Women: Image and Authority', 18

Henry II (A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and orb with cross and bird (L)

reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield (L)

inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + HENRICUS DUX NORMANNORUM ET AQUITANORUM ET COMES ANDEGAVORUM

reference: Wyon, 30-31

Henry II (B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and orb with cross and bird (L)

reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield (L)

inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + HENRICUS DUX NORMANNORUM ET AQUITANORUM ET COMES ANDEGAVORUM

reference: Heslop, 333

Henry the Young King

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (L) and ? (R)

inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM

reference: Wyon, 34

Eleanor of Aquitaine

obverse: standing crowned figure holding a bird (L) and ? (R), vesica shape

reverse: same image as obverse

inscription: ALIENOR DEI GRACIA REGINE ANGLORUM DUCISSE NORMAN + / ALIENOR DUCISSE AQUITANORUM ET COMITISSE ANDEGAVOR +

reference: Nielen, 10

Richard I (A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and sceptre with flower and cross (L), two plants, moons and stars/suns in field (R and L)

reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield decorated with coat of arms (L)

inscription: + RICARDUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + RICARDUS DUX NORMANNORUM ET AQUITANORUM ET COMES ANDEGAVORUM

reference: Heslop, 334

Richard I (B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and sceptre with flower and cross (L), sun and moon in field

reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield decorated with coat of arms (L)

inscription: + RICARDUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + RICARDUS DUX NORMANNORUM ET AQUITANORUM ET COMES ANDEGAVORUM

reference: Wyon, 37-38

John

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and sceptre with flower and cross (L)

reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield decorated with coat of arms (L)

inscription: + JOHANNES DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE DOMINUS HIBERNIE / + JOHANNES DUX NORMANNIE ET AQUITANIE ET COMES ANDEGAVIE

reference: Heslop, 335

Isabella of Angoulême

obverse: standing crowned figure holding a flower (R) and bird (L), vesica shape

inscription: ISABELLA DEI GRATIA REGINA ANGLIE DOMINA HIBERNIE

reference: Danbury, 'Queens and Powerful Women: Image and Authority', 20

Henry III (A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and sceptre with flower and cross (L)

reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield decorated with coat of arms (L)

inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE DOMINUS HIBERNIE / + HENRICUS DUX NORMANNIE ET AQUITANIE ET COMES ANDEGAVIE

reference: Wyon, 41-42

Henry III (B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) and orb with elongated cross (L)

reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield decorated with coat of arms (L)

inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE DOMINUS HIBERNIE / + HENRICUS DUX NORMANNIE ET AQUITANIE ET COMES ANDEGAVIE

reference: Wyon, 43-44

Henry III (C)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and sceptre with flower (L)

reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield decorated with coat of arms (L)

inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE DOMINUS HIBERNIE / + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE DOMINUS HIBERNIE DUX AQUITANIE

reference: Wyon, 45-46

Eleanor of Provence (A)

obverse: standing crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and sceptre with orb and bird (L), seated lion at base, vesica shape

reverse: shield of arms decorated with three lions hanging from tree with three branches

inscription: ALIANORA DEI GRACIA REGINA ANGLIE DOMINA HYBERNIE / ALIANORA DUCISSA NORMANNIE ET AQUITANIE COMITISSA ANDEGAVIE

reference: Birch, 791

Eleanor of Provence (B)

obverse: standing crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) under a gothic arch, vesica shape

reverse: same as A seal

inscription: ALIANORA DEI GRACIA REGINA ANGLIE / ALIANORA DEI GRACIA DOMINA HIBERNIE ET DUCISSA AQUITANNIE

reference: Birch, 794

Kings and Queens of France

Henry I

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a virga (R) and sceptre (L)

inscription: HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX

reference: Dalas, 62

Philip I (A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a virga (R) and sceptre (L)

inscription: PHILIPUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX

reference: Dalas, 63

Philip I (B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a virga (R) and sceptre (L)

inscription: PHILIPUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX

reference: Dalas, 64

Bertrada of Montfort

obverse: standing crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and bird (L), vesica shape

inscription: SIGILLUM BERTRADE DEI GRACIA FRANCORUM REGINE

reference: Nielen, 5

Louis VI

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a virga (R) and sceptre (L), cross motif in field

inscription: LUDOVICUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX

reference: Dalas, 66

Adelaide of Maurienne

obverse: standing crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (L), this seal is only known from a rough sketch and descriptions from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

reference: Nielen, 6

Louis VII

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L)

*reverse**: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield (L)

inscription: LUDOVICUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX / ET DUX

AQUITANORUM*

counterseals⁺: a fantastical creature *or* Diana with the inscription +LODOVICUS REX

reference: Dalas, 67-69

* following his divorce from Eleanor of Aquitaine, the king ceased using the ducal title in 1154. The latest imprint of this reverse design dates from 1153.

⁺ having ceased using the equestrian design on the reverse of his seal, Louis counter-sealed instead

Eleanor of Aquitaine

No surviving seal of Eleanor as Queen of France

reference: Nielen, 10

Constance of Castile

obverse: standing crowned figure holding flowers in both hands, vesica shape

inscription: SIGILLUM REGINE CONSTANCIE

reference: Nielen, 11

Adela of Champagne

obverse: standing crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) with hand (L) on waist, vesica shape

inscription: + SIGILLUM ADELE DEI GRACIA REGINE FRANCORUM

reference: Nielen, 12

Philip II (A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L)

inscription: PHILIPUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX

counterseal: a fleur-de-lys

reference: Dalas, 70

Philip II (B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L)

inscription: PHILIPUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX

counterseal: a fleur-de-lys

reference: Dalas, 71

Philip II (seal of regency)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L)

inscription: PHILIPUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX

counterseal: an eagle

reference: Dalas, 72

Isabella of Hainault

obverse: standing crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L),

vesica shape

inscription: +ELIZABEZ DEI GRACIA FRANCORUM REGINA

reference: Nielen, 13

Ingebourg of Denmark

No seal survives although she is known to have had one

reference: Nielen, 14

Louis VIII

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L)

inscription: LUDOVICUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX

counterseal: a shield patterned with fleur-de-lys

reference: Dalas, 75

Blanche of Castile

obverse: standing crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) with hand (L) on breast holding cords, six fleur-de-lys in field, vesica shape

inscription: SIGILLUM BLANCHE DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REGINE

counterseal: a castle between two fleur-de-lys with the inscription BLACHA FILIA REGIS CASTELLE

reference: Nielen, 15

Louis IX (A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L)

inscription: LUDOVICUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX

counterseal: a fleur-de-lys

reference: Dalas, 76

Louis IX (B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L)

inscription: LUDOVICUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX

counterseal: a fleur-de-lys

reference: Dalas, 77

Louis IX (seal of regency)

obverse: crown within an architectural border

inscription: + S LUDOVICI DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REGIS IN PARTIBUS

TRANSMARINIS AGENTIS

counterseal: a shield patterned with fleur-de-lys

reference: Dalas, 78

Margaret of Provence

obverse: standing crowned figure within a gothic niche supported by two columns holding a sceptre with fleur-de-lys (R) with hand (L) on breast holding cords, vesica shape

inscription: S MARGARETE DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REGINE

counterseal: a fleur-de-lys with the inscription + AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA

reference: Nielen, 16

Kings and Emperors and Queens and Empresses of Germany

Henry IV (royal seals A-D)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with bird (R) and orb with cross (L)

inscription: + HEINRICUS REX (A); + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA REX (B-D)

reference: Posse, Heinrich IV., 1-4

Henry IV (imperial seal A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding an orb with cross (R) and sceptre with flower (L)

inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA TERCIUS ROMANORUM IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS

reference: Posse, Heinrich IV., 7

Henry IV (imperial seals B&C)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and orb with cross (L)

inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA III ROMANORUM IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS

reference: Posse, Heinrich IV., 8-9

Henry IV (royal bullae A&B)

obverse: half figure crowned and facing left holding a sceptre with bird (R)

reverse: city gate with three towers

inscription: + HEINRICUS REX / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI

reference: Posse, Heinrich IV., 6-7

Henry V (royal seal A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and orb with cross (L)

inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA...

reference: Posse, Heinrich V., 1

Henry V (royal seal B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with three prongs (R) and orb with cross (L)

inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM QUINTUS REX

reference: Gawlik, 'Ein neues Siegel Heinrichs V. aus seiner Königszeit', 529-36

Henry V (imperial seals A & B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and orb with cross (L)

inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM IIII IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS (A); + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA IIII ROMANORUM IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS (B)

reference: Posse, Heinrich V., 2-3

Matilda of England

This is the same seal she later used in England

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) with hand (L) in front of body

inscription: + MATHILDIS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REGINA

reference: Danbury, 'Queens and Powerful Women: Image and Authority', 18

Lothar III (royal seals A&B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and orb with cross (L)

inscription: + LOTHARIUS DEI GRATIA TERCIUS ROMANORUM REX

reference: Posse, Lothar III., 1-2

Lothar III (imperial bulla)

obverse: half figure crowned and facing forward holding a sceptre (L) and encircled by city walls

reverse: five towered building incorporating the legend 'AUREA ROMA'

inscription: + LOTHARIUS DEI GRATIA... /+ ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI

reference: Posse, Lothar III., 4

Conrad III (royal seal)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and orb with cross (L)

inscription: +CUONRADUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX II

reference: Kahsnitz, 27

Frederick I (royal seal)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and orb with cross (L)

inscription: + FREDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX

reference: Kahsnitz, 28

Frederick I (imperial seal)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and orb with cross (L)

inscription: + FREDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS

reference: Kahsnitz, 30

Frederick I (royal and imperial bullae)

obverse: half figure crowned and facing forward holding a sceptre (R) and orb with cross (L) and encircled by city walls

reverse: the Colosseum inside circular city walls incorporating the legend 'AUREA ROMA'

inscription: + FREDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX / + ROMA CAPUT
MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI (inscription altered on imperial *bullae* to
reflect different status)

reference: Kahsnitz, 29 and 31

Beatrice of Burgundy

No seal survives although she is known to have had one (that the emperor asked
Wibald of Stablo to have made)

reference: MGH DD FI 162

Henry VI (royal seal)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with leaves and flower
(R) and orb with cross (L)

inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX

reference: Kahsnitz, 32

Henry VI (imperial seal)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and orb
with cross (L); 'REX SICILIE' added to field following marriage to Constance of
Sicily

inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM IMPERATOR ET SEMPER
AUGUSTUS

reference: Kahsnitz, 33

Henry VI (imperial bulla)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and orb
with cross (L)

reverse: the Colosseum inside circular city walls incorporating the legend 'AUREA
ROMA'

inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS / +
ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI

reference: Kahsnitz, 34

Constance of Sicily

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with fleur-de-lys (R) with hand (L) on breast, vesica shape

inscription: + CONSTANTIA DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM IMPERATRIX SEMPER AUGUSTUS ET REGINA SICILIE

reference: Posse, Konstanze, Gemahlin Heinrich VI.

Philip of Swabia (royal seal)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L)

inscription: + PHILIPPUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS

reference: Kahsnitz, 35

Irene Maria

Only a fragment of an impression of her seal survives

reference: Posse, Irene, Gemahlin Philipps

Otto IV (royal seal)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and orb with cross (L)

inscription: + OTTO DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS

reference: Kahsnitz, 36

Otto IV (imperial seal)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) and orb with cross (L), sun and moon in field

inscription: + DEI GRATIA OTTO ROMANORUM IMPERATOR ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS

reference: Kahsnitz, 39

Otto IV (royal bulla)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L)

reverse: city gate with three towers incorporating the legend 'AUREA ROMA'

inscription: indecipherable / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA

ROTUNDI

reference: Posse, Otto IV., 2

Otto IV (imperial bulla)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L), sun and moon in field

inscription: + DEI GRATIA OTTO ROMANORUM IMPERATOR ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI

reference: Posse, Otto IV., 4

Maria (seal)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and orb (L), sun and moon in field

inscription: + MARIA DEI GRACIA ROMANORUM IMPERATRIX SEMPER AUGUSTA

reference: Kahsnitz, 41

Frederick II (royal seal A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L), 'ET REX SICILIE' in field

inscription: + FRIDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS

reference: Kahsnitz, 46

Frederick II (royal seal B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) and orb with cross (L)

inscription: +FRIDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS ET REX SICILIE

reference: Kahsnitz, 48

Frederick II (imperial seal)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) and orb with cross (L), 'REX IERUSALEMIAE' added to field following his coronation as king of Jerusalem

inscription: + FRIDERICUS DEI GRATIA IMPERATOR ROMANORUM ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS

reference: Kahsnitz, 50

Frederick II (royal bulla A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with fleur-de-lys (R) and orb with cross (L), 'ET REX SICILIE' in field

reverse: large gate tower incorporating the words 'AUREA ROMA' flanked by two smaller towers, small flowers, circles and crosses in field

inscription: + FREDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI

reference: Kahsnitz, 47

Frederick II (royal bulla B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with leaves and cross (R) and orb with cross (L)

reverse: large gate tower incorporating the words 'AUREA ROMA' flanked by four smaller towers, encircled by city walls

inscription: + FREDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI

reference: Kahsnitz, 49

Frederick II (imperial bulla)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L), 'UTUS ET REX SICILIE' in field, Jerusalem added after 1229 coronation

reverse: large gate tower flanked by two smaller towers encircled by city walls that terminated in two further smaller towers

inscription: + FREDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI
reference: Kahsnitz, 51

Constance of Aragon

No impression survives, but the design is recorded in a later description

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre

reverse: mounted figure carrying a harp

inscription: + CONSTANTIA DEI GRATIA REGINA SICILIE, DUCATUS APULIE ET PRINCIPATUS CAPUE / + CONSTANTIA REGINA FILIA ILLUSTRIS REGIS ARAGONENSIMUM

reference: Posse, Konstanze, Gemahlin Friedrichs II.

Henry (VII) (royal seal)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L)

inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SENPER AUGUSTUS

reference: Kahsnitz, 52

Henry (VII) (royal bulla)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L)

reverse: large gate tower incorporating the words 'AUREA ROMA' flanked by four smaller towers

inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS / ROMA CAPUD MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI

reference: Kahsnitz, 53

Margaret of Austria

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with fleur-de-lys (R) with hand (L) on breast holding cords

inscription: + MARGARETA DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REGINA ET SEMPER
AUGUSTUS

reference: Posse, Margarete, Gemahlin Heinrichs (VII.), 1

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