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Regnum et sacerdotium

in Alsatian Romanesque Sculpture:

Hohenstaufen Politics in the Aftermath of the

Investiture Controversy (1130-1235)

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Regnum et sacerdotium
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Hohenstaufen Politics in the Aftermath of the
Investiture Controversy (1130-1235)

by

Gillian Born Elliott, B.A.; M.A.

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For my loving family

Benjamin and Milda Bell,
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John and Trenton Elliott

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Regnum et sacerdotium

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During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, two major schisms between the papacy and the empire erupted. The first struggle, the Investiture Controversy, lasting from 1077-1122, set the Church against the Holy Roman Emperor on the issue of the right to choose and install bishops. The second papal/imperial conflict concerned the question of papal supremacy over Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (1159-1179). Because these two conflicts impacted both imperial and papal territories, the churches on imperial soil had to choose to support either the papacy, the spiritual head of the church, or the emperor, the secular lord of these imperial territories. As part of a territorial campaign to win and maintain

the loyalty of Alsace, the homeland of the Hohenstaufen family, Barbarossa directly concerned himself with the affairs of several churches in the region. At the same time that Barbarossa exerted his influence on these churches, artistic programs emerged attesting to the success of the emperor's territorial politics.

The church of St. Peter and Paul at Andlau (1160) in Lower Alsace is of key importance for understanding later sculptural programs designed to please Frederick Barbarossa in the area. Three sculpted motifs at Andlau can be specifically linked to imperial ideology: the *Christus Triumphans*, the *Traditio Legis*, and Dietrich's Rescue of Rentwin. Each of these themes had traditional associations with both the pope and the emperor and had been employed by popes during the Investiture Controversy to advocate papal supremacy over the emperor. Barbarossa and his supporters readapted these three motifs in Alsatian sculptural programs to reiterate the emperor's traditional God-given right to authority in the sacred and secular realms.

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Introduction

> It began with a picture, the picture became an inscription, the inscription seeks to become an authoritative utterance. We shall not endure it, we shall not submit to it; we shall lay down the crown before we consent to have the imperial crown and ourself thus degraded. Let the pictures be destroyed, let the inscription be withdrawn, that they may not remain as eternal memorials of enmity between the empire and the papacy. [1]

Although no longer preserved today, a series of paintings in the St. Nicholas chapel of the Lateran palace in Rome incurred Frederick Barbarossa's wrath because they presented his predecessor, King Lothar of Supplinburg (1025-1137), in a submissive position as the pope's vassal.[2] Not only did imperial records show that King Lothar had refused to swear a feudal oath to Pope Innocent II (1130-1143), but the very notion of imperial homage to the papacy was anathema.[3] Even though the century-long struggle between the papacy and other church reformers (*sacerdotium*) and the Holy Roman Emperor (*regnum*) over the participation of rulers in the investiture of bishops and abbots had been "resolved" in the Concordat of Worms in 1122,[4] this reaction by Frederick Barbarossa

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[1] Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici Imperatoris: The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa by Otto of Freising and his Continuator, Rahewin*, trans. C. C. Mierow, rev. ed. (1956; repr. New York, 2004), 193. Rahewin quotes from a letter written to the pope by Barbarossa's bishops.

[2] For a thorough account of Barbarossa's reaction to the Lateran frescoes, see Ingo Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II. im Lateranpalast und ihre Fresken: Kunst und Propaganda am Ende des Investiturestreits," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 52 (1989): 145-214; "The Aftermath of the Lateran Frescoes and St. Peter's," in Mary Stroll, *Symbols as Power: The Papacy following the Investiture Contest* (Leiden, 1991), chap. 14; I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990), 452 and 464; Christopher Walter, "Papal Political Imagery in the Medieval Lateran Palace," *Cahiers archéologiques* 20 (1970): 166-169; and G. B. Ladner, "I mosaici e gli affreschi ecclesiastico-politici nell'antico palazzo lateranense," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 12 (1935): 265-292. See also a critical review of Stroll's work by Maureen C. Miller in *Speculum* 68 (1993): 265-266.

[3] *Gesta Friderici*, 184. Rahewin records the inscription over the Lateran mural of Lothar, "Coming before our gates, the king vows to safeguard the City, then, liegeman to the Pope, by him he is granted the crown." According to Rahewin, Barbarossa was greatly displeased by this image and its accompanying inscription at the time of his coronation in 1155. He asked the pope in a friendly manner to remove it and received papal assurance that would be done, although the pictures were not removed until much later. See also Robinson, 452-453 and 464.

[4] See Karl Morrison, *The Investiture Controversy: Issues, Ideals, and Results* (New York, 1971), 82-83, or Brian Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300 with Selected Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1964), 91, for a translation of the text of the Concordat at Worms. Although the literature on the Investiture Controversy is vast, the central studies remain Auguste Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, 3 vols.

(1152-1190) and his bishops demonstrates that the power struggle between the *regnum* and *sacerdotium* was far from concluded.

Frederick's anger stemmed from his defensive belief that the German emperor had a divinely ordained role to play as the secular ruler of the world.[5] In the aftermath of the Investiture Controversy, the German emperor had not only lost his right to claim any spiritual authority in the church, but also saw a decrease in his temporal authority. Unlike his imperial forebears, who had conceived of themselves as superior to the pope in all matters, Barbarossa seems to have accepted his lack of authority in sacred matters. It will be maintained in this dissertation, however, that Frederick made the most of every opportunity to articulate a new conception of his role as the secular authority ordained by God and on equal footing with the pope, the spiritual head of the Church. Frederick absolutely did not wish to be perceived as the pope's vassal.

As Gerd Tellenbach asserts in his foundational study of the Investiture Controversy, the long-term conflict between the pope and the emperor was not simply about papal disgust at lay interference in ecclesiastical matters, but a struggle between the two highest powers in Christianity over the "right order of the world."[6] Prior to the pontificate of Leo IX (1049-1054), the sacred half of Christendom had been content to let

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(Paris, 1924-1937); Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, trans. R. F. Bennett, rev. ed. (1940; repr., New York, 1991); *Studi gregoriani per la storia della libertas ecclesiae*, 14 vols. (Rome, 1947-1991); Tierney (1964); Morrison (1971); I. S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest* (Manchester, 1978); Horst Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Timothy Reuter (1978; repr. Cambridge, 1986); Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, 1988); Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford, 1989); and Robinson, *The Papacy* (1990).

[5] Robinson, *The Papacy*, 452, asserts that the only precedent for Lothar's submissive pose before Innocent III was the demand of Gregory VII in 1081 that his anti-king swear an oath of fealty to him.

[6] Tellenbach, 1.

the emperor rule over the secular portion of the world.[7] Furthermore, Ottonian and Salian emperors were even considered "priest-kings," that is, in addition to possessing secular authority, German emperors were held to be vicars of Christ, the sacred representatives of Christ on earth.[8] As priest-kings, Ottonian and Salian emperors were seen as the anointed of God; their sacred role lent German emperors equal or sometimes even superior status to that of the pope. Under Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085), however, the traditional roles of popes and emperors underwent a complete reevaluation.[9]

At the heart of the reevaluation was the question: who had ultimate authority on earth, the priest or the prince? Emperor Henry IV (1050-1106) desired to maintain the status quo, that is, he upheld the traditional view that the pope and the emperor were both God's chosen authorities on the earth. Gregory VII, who was interested in achieving Church reform through a return to ideals of the Early Church, asserted that the tradition of priestly and royal equality was a misinterpretation of God's original purpose.[10] To support their positions, the pope and the emperor waged a war of propaganda; each side reinterpreted God's will in the form of letters, pamphlet literature, liturgies, festivals, plays, and works of art.

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[7] On Leo's unprecedented attempt to head an army himself against the Normans, see Blumenthal, 78-79, and Tellenbach, 106-107.

[8] On the sacred status of the Ottonian and Salian emperors, see Robert Folz, *The Concept of Empire in Western Europe from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century*, trans. Sheila Ann Ogilve, rev. ed. (1953; repr., London, 1969), 69-74; Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The Kings' Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, 7th ed. (Princeton, 1997), 42-86; Tellenbach, 56-60; Robert Deshman, "*Christus rex et magi regis*: Kingship and Christology in Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon Art," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 10 (1976): 367-405; and I. S. Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany, 1056-1106* (Cambridge, 1999), 13-15.

[9] On Pope Gregory VII, see especially *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century: Lives of Pope Leo IX and Pope Gregory VII*, trans. I. S. Robinson (Manchester and New York, 2004), 262-364; H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1185* (Oxford, 1998) and *The Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII: Selected Letters from the Registrum*, trans. Ephraim Emerton 3rd ed. (New York, 1990).

[10] See Gerhart B. Ladner, "Gregory Sought to Revive the Ancient Spirit of the Church," in Morrison, *The Investiture Controversy*, 58. Gregory asserted that his ideas were grounded in canonical truth and the law, not in evil custom, which may have been long-standing, but still misled.

Frederick Barbarossa revealed an awareness that images could be employed to promote political agendas when he balked at the Lateran paintings of Lothar's coronation. His consciousness of the effects of artistic propaganda was neither personal nor new. Ursula Nilgen, in fact, refers to Barbarossa's anger over the Lateran images as part of her examination of papal politics in medieval Roman church programs,[11] and other scholars have investigated the political import of imagery in Northern Italy during the years of the Gregorian Reform.[12] These studies of Italian art programs conclude that churches located within papal territories not surprisingly supported the pope during the Investiture Controversy and that the sculptural programs adorning these churches reflect papal polemics.[13] Because a number of standard iconographic motifs have already been identified as pro-papal in Italian territories, the time is right to weigh the significance of these motifs where they appear in imperial territories. Did sculptural programs on

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[11] Ursula Nilgen, "Maria Regina – Ein politischer Kultbildtypus?" *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 19 (1981): 3.

[12] The Gregorian Reform refers to an era between the office of Pope Leo IX and the Concordat of Worms in 1122 in which the pope advocated new changes in the church, foremost among them being a decreased influence of the laity in church administration. The Investiture Controversy arose because Gregory went so far as to consider the German emperor a lay member of the church. This controversy therefore specifically refers to the conflict between Pope Gregory VII and Emperor Henry IV over the issue of imperial lay influence in church administration, a conflict that was apparently resolved in the 1122 Concordat of Worms. Because the two terms are so closely related, they are used interchangeably in literature.

[13] For a review of literature on the Art of the Reform, see Adam Cohen, "The Art of Reform in a Baviarian Nunnery around 1000," *Speculum* 74 (1999): 992-1020. The earliest studies written to consider South Italian art from the era of the Investiture Controversy in the light of papal polemics are Hélène Toubert, "Le renouveau paléochrétien à Rome au début du XIIe siècle," *Cahiers archéologiques* 20 (1970): 99-154, and Ernst Kitzinger, "The Gregorian Reform and the Visual Arts: A Problem of Method," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 22 (1972): 87-102. Studies on art in Northern Italy and the Gregorian Reform grew out of the work of Toubert and Kitzinger, and such studies include: Francesco Gandolfo, "I programmi decorative nei protiri di Niccolo," in *Nicholaus e l'arte del suo tempo (Atti del seminario tenutosi a Ferrara dal 21 a 24 settembre 1981)*, ed. A. M. Romanini (Ferrara, 1981), 515-559; Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, "L'officina della Riforma; Wiligelmo, Lanfranco," *Lanfranco e Wiligelmo: Il duomo di Modena* (Modena, 1984), 765-834; Christine Verzár Bornstein, *Portal and Politics in the Early Italian City State: The Sculpture of Nicholaus in Context* (Parma, 1988); Carlo Tosco, "Sansone vittorioso sul portale di Nonantola: ricerche sulle funzioni dell'iconografia medioevale," *Arte Cristiana* 80 (1992): 3-8; Glenn Gunhouse, "The Significance of Peter in the Artistic Patronage of Desiderius, Abbot of Montecassino (1058-87)," *RACAR* 22 (1995): 7-18; Anat Tcherikover, "Reflections of the Investiture Controversy at Nonantola and Modena," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 60 (1997): 150-165; and Dorothy F. Glass, "Prophecy and Priesthood at Modena," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 3 (2000): 326-338.

churches within imperial territories advertise imperial policies and beliefs? If so, how can pro-imperial messages be identified?

This dissertation will examine the sculptural programs on churches in the region of Alsace, a sizeable imperial territory nestled between the Vosges mountains and the Rhine (fig. 1).[14] Alsace had been part of the Holy Roman Empire since it was reestablished by Otto I in 961 (after Charlemagne's initial creation), and it remained imperial until the seventeenth century.[15] Alsace was also part of the Staufen patrimonial territory and therefore under the direct control of Frederick Barbarossa.[16] While the historical impact of Alsace on the Investiture Contest has been addressed, ecclesiastical sculptural programs in Alsace have never been linked with this international concern.[17] Iconographic and stylistic similarities between Romanesque sculpture in Alsace and Italy have been casually observed, but never thoroughly explored.[18] My study will investigate

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[14] Because modern Alsace is French-speaking, some locations have both French and German names. Because German was used in Alsace at the time of Frederick Barbarossa, place names in this dissertation will be given German, unless otherwise noted. The exceptions of French spelling for Strasbourg, Haguenau, and Sélestat will be used throughout.

[15] Susanne Tschirner, *Elsaβ:Fachwerkdörfer und historische Städte, Burgen und Kirchen im Weinland zwischen Rhein und Vogesen* (Cologne, 2000), 18 and 27. For overviews of Alsatian history, see also Jean-Paul Grasser, *Une histoire de l'Alsace* (Paris, 1998), and Philippe Dollinger, *Histoire de l'Alsace*, 3rd ed. (Toulouse, 1970).

[16] Tschirmer, 18-19; Grasser, 21; and Dollinger, 88-89. As a reward for his services during the Investiture Controversy, Frederick I of Hohenstaufen received the duchies of Alsace and Swabia and was given the hand of Agnes, the daughter of Emperor Henry IV, in marriage (1079). Barbarossa was the grandson of Frederick I and Agnes.

[17] On the history of the Investiture Controversy in Alsace, see Rudolf Massini, *Das Bistum Basel zur Zeit des Investiturstreites* (Basel, 1946), and Emil Scherer, *Die Strassburger Bischöfe im Investiturstreit: Ein Beitrag zur elsässischen Kirchengeschichte* (Bonn, 1923).

[18] Literature addressing similarities between Alsatian and Italian Romanesque sculpture includes Ernst Cohn-Wiener, "Die italienischen Elemente in der romanische Kirchenarchitektur Elsass-Lothringens," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 4 (1911): 116-122, and René Jullian, "Le portail d'Andlau et l'expansion de la sculpture lombard en Alsace à l'époque romane," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome* 47 (1930): 25-38. Rudolf Kautzsch mentions the connections between Italy and Alsace throughout his two important works on Alsace: *Romanische Kirchen in Elsass: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der oberrheinischen Baukunst im 12. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1927), and *Der romanische Kirchenbau im Elsass* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1944). Robert Will passingly mentions Italian style in Alsace in *Alsace romane* 3rd ed. (La-Pierre-Qui-Vive, 1982), 341, 344, and 348. See also Xavier Barral i Altet, "Architektur, Skulptur und Mosaik," in *Romanische Kunst: Mittel- und Südeuropa, 1060-1220*, eds. Xavier Barral i Altet et al. (Munich, 1983), 1: 34-36; Eduard Spicher, *Das Basler Münster im 12.*

those similarities in light of the later imperial conflict with the Holy See in Rome. As the dates in the title of this dissertation reveal, the Alsatian sculptural programs under investigation here were created during the reign of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, at a time of a renewed conflict between the pope and emperor following the Concordat of Worms (1122).

The Art of Polemics

Although "propaganda" is a modern term heavily laden with cultural significance, historians currently use this word when characterizing the methods used by the pope and the emperor to garner support during the late eleventh-century Investiture Controversy.[19] Pope Gregory VII and Emperor Henry IV (1050-1106), the two main leaders of the struggle, both attempted to rally support from clerics within the Empire. A considerable body of polemical literature written to support both sides of the conflict is preserved today and has been collected in the *Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculis XI et XII conscripti*.[20]

The audience for these writings seems to have been other clerics, although in one pro-papal letter an author relates that a pamphlet from Henry's camp was "hawked about everywhere, broadcast in the streets and more secluded places, and treated like a

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Jahrhundert: Zur Baugeschichte und stilistischen Einordnung (Basel, 1986); Iris Hofmann-Kastner, "St. Peter und Paul in Andlau, Elsass" (Ph. D. diss., University of Cologne, 2001), and Christian Forster, "Die Galluspforte und die Portale im Sundgau," in *Schwelle zum Paradies: Die Galluspforte des Basler Münsters*, ed. Hans-Rudolf Meier and Dorothea Schwinn Schürmann (Basel, 2002) 94-103. I thank Dr. Hans-Rudolf Meier and Christian Forster for allowing me to see a copy of Forster's article prior to publication.

[19] See R. F. Bennett, forward to Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, vii-ix. Bennett writes it is a "well-known fact that the eleventh century was the first great age of propaganda in world-history." Bennett was not the first to use the term "propaganda" in reference to the Gregorian Reform, and the term is still applied in historical literature.

[20] *Monumenta Germania Historica: Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculis XI. et XII. conscripti*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, 3 vols. (Hannover, 1891-1897).

canonical text."[21] Based on this single quotation, Karl Leyser assumes a wide audience for anti-imperial polemicists in the empire.[22] I. S. Robinson, by contrast, believes these polemics were addressed to only a small audience of those in authority, like bishops and princes whose decisions would have affected the outcome of the conflict. According to Robinson, the text quoted by Leyser above is an example of a rhetorical device to discredit an opponent: to claim an author's arguments had reached a low-class audience only demonstrated the low quality of those arguments.[23] Still, Robinson admits that the "official propaganda" spread through pamphlets by the camps of Pope Gregory VII and Henry IV certainly reached an international audience.[24]

Artistic propaganda in the form of images in manuscript or letters probably spread in a similar manner, but one question to be addressed in this dissertation is the way in which polemical arguments embedded in sculptural programs on church portals spread to an audience.[25] Just who was looking at these portals and were the polemical messages obvious or even significant to every viewer? Certainly the audience for sculpture at a women's monastery deep in the forest differed from the public spectators of the portals adorning the Basel Minster. Frederick Barbarossa and officials of his court, however, were important viewers of many of these portals in Alsace. The programs considered in this dissertation were designed after direct dealings with the emperor or members of his

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[21] Manegold of Lautenbach writes about the audience for pro-imperial literature in *Liber ad Gebehardum* as cited in Karl J. Leyser, *Medieval Germany and Its Neighbors*, 900-1250 (London, 1982), 140. For more on Manegold, see note 91 below.
[22] Leyser, 183.
[23] Robinson, *Authority*, 8.
[24] Robinson, *Authority*, 9.
[25] On the Romanesque sculpture and reception theory, see Walter Cahn, "Romanesque Sculpture and the Spectator," in *Romanesque Frieze and Its Spectator: Lincoln Symposium Papers* (London, 1992), 44-60. For a review of relevant literature, see also Karen Rose Mathews, "Reading Romanesque Sculpture: The Iconography and Reception of the South Portal Sculpture at Santiago de Compostela," *Gesta* 39 (2000): 3-12.

court. I argue that these portals were designed by local artists in tandem with clerics and imperial officials as a response to Barbarossa's regional territorial politics. Barbarossa or his officials would have beheld these portals during subsequent visits to the area and the emperor would have been assured that his territorial ambitions were successful. Thus the primary audience for political messages embedded in Alsatian sculpted portals will be considered here as elite and courtly. Because readings of sculpted portals are polysemous, the spiritual messages of the portal and the alternate range of viewers for such messages will be left for future discussion.

Certain political references in literature and art were more obvious to the literate clergy than to others because of the existence of standard rhetorical devices. Eleventh-century polemicists understood history as a source of "exempla", examples of correct or incorrect behavior.[26] Authors would compare contemporary figures and events to Biblical or other historical models to support their positions.[27] For example, the enemies of Henry IV compared the emperor with Saul, an Old Testament king rejected by God and considered a tyrant, and praised the pope as a new Samuel, the prophet God raised up to anoint the new king David.[28] Those on the imperial side naturally chose as the model for Henry the good king David, or Melchizedek, the king of Salem who prefigured Christ as both priest and king.[29] Members of the imperial court would have been made aware of such comparisons through the elite clerics as well.

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[26] Robinson, *Henry IV*, 347.
[27] Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), 128. Constable explains that *exempla* used in sermons or moral tales as well as accounts of dreams and miracles were assembled into collections to serve propagandistic purposes.
[28] Robinson, *Henry IV*, 347.
[29] Robinson, *Henry IV*, 347; Tellenbach, 35.

Because letters contain concrete *exempla* to illustrate polemical arguments, the temptation exists to use such literary comparisons to explain contemporary artistic programs. For example, one could read about a negative comparison of the emperor to Saul and then view every sculptural representation of Saul in ecclesiastical sculpture as an anti-imperial statement. This has been the latest practice in a number of studies of art during the age of the Investiture Controversy, and although in many cases political messages arguably underlie the artistic programs of churches, it is not enough to merely trace related motifs.[30] In the case of King Saul, the artist may have depicted this king for several other non-political reasons: as one character within a narrative series, as a king in a long line of Old Testament kings before Christ, or even simply as a counterpoint to "good" kingly behavior.

A major focus of this dissertation will be on another such "Gregorian" motif called the *Traditio Legis*, an Early Christian theme of Christ giving the Law to his two apostles, Peter and Paul. This theme is a modern invention, but derives from the inscription sometimes included on an open scroll extended by Christ, "*Dominus legem dat*" (Chapter 2). Because of the paucity of extant sculptural programs in Alsace, the *Traditio Legis* appears as a predominant sculptural theme in the region. While this motif has traditionally been considered an illustration of papal primacy, it will be argued that in certain cases in Alsace this motif was revived to demonstrate imperial loyalty.[31] After

[30] See Jean Wirth, *L'image à l'époque romane* (Paris, 1999), 209-213, for a diatribe against authors who look at Gregorian motifs out of context. He suggests only one of the more recent studies to interpret Gregorian art politically in a successful manner did so because of the wealth of documents left describing the loyalties of the church where the program is located. See Heidrun Stein, *Die romanischen Wandmalereien in der Klosterkirche Prüfening* (Regensburg, 1987). In most cases, though, Wirth says original sources are scant at best.

[31] On ways in which the *Traditio Legis* and the *Traditio Clavium* motifs were used to signify Gregorian Reform ideals, see Ingo Herklotz, "Zur Ikonographie der Papstsiegel im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert," in *Für irdischen Ruhm und himmlischen Lohn: Stifter und Auftraggeber in der mittelalterlichen Kunst*, ed. Ph.

the dust of the Investiture Controversy had settled, Barbarossa's court artists revived this Early Christian image, known perhaps through use of model books and portable illuminated manuscripts.[32] As we will see, the attitude of the German emperor changed as he lost more power to the reforming popes. By the era of Barbarossa, the *Traditio Legis*, which may have enraged his Salian predecessors because it did not portray the emperor as superior to the pope, became a standard way for Barbarossa's supporters to demonstrate the direct reception of their emperor's power from Christ himself.

Through an analysis of the local political context of the artistic programs in Alsace, it will become apparent that universal themes involving ideas about a balance of power or a promotion of the emperor's secular power were adapted to conform to the ideals of Frederick Barbarossa. In addition to a local study of such motifs in Alsace, comparisons will be made of similar themes in diverse localities to enhance further our understanding of the potential political messages carried by the motif. In this way the problems associated with "motif-chasing" will be avoided.

Another means of identifying pro-papal polemics in art, particularly in the art of Central and Southern Italy, has been to link the reform ideal of returning to the Golden Age of Christianity with retrospective stylistic and iconographic tendencies. Growing out of the monastic reform movement, Gregory's reform, and indeed papal reform long after Gregory, stressed the concept of the primitive church as the ideal goal for the contemporary church.[33] Gregory's primitive church was based on the early Christian age of the apostles as well as the fourth- and fifth-century period of the institutional church.

Büttner et al. (Berlin, 1995), 116-130.

[32] See Robert W. Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawing and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900 – ca. 1470)*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Amsterdam, 1995). Scenes of the *Traditio Legis* were certainly illustrated in Gratian's *Decretum*. See Chapter 2, 86.

[33] Ladner, 52-60; Constable, 160; Kitzinger, 97, calls the reform papacy's idea the "renovatio."

That medieval church art was modeled on Late Roman or Early Christian art is well documented: the basilica form of medieval churches, for example, derives from the Roman basilica.[34] Art from the era of Constantine was highly appreciated and much quoted in the Romanesque period because Constantine was the first Christian Roman emperor, who had supposedly given the Western empire to Pope Sylvester in his legendary *Donation*.[35] Reform artists paid specific attention to Early Christian mosaic art as well, like the Tree of Paradise in the lost apse of Old St. Peter's or Christ as the Vine at the Lateran.[36]

The skeptic wonders if an artistic reference to Early Christian art necessarily reflects Gregorian Reform polemics. As Jean Wirth puts it, works of art created under Henry IV with the aid of Lombard masons were also designed to recall a return to the grandeur of antique Rome.[37] While Gregory hoped to associate his church with early Christianity, Henry's side emphasized that the authority of the current emperor hailed from ancient Roman emperors including Constantine. The aims may have been different, but the effect of both was to create an art consciously looking back to the golden days of antiquity. Because both parties sought to revive antiquity as part of a propagandistic effort, one cannot simply label an antique reference "papal" or "imperial." Antique and Early Christian references must be understood within the context of the entire artistic program and then compared with similar references elsewhere in the empire.

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[34] Herklotz, 116, says the spirit of reform has been used to explain a kaleidoscope of medieval artistic phenomena, from the basilica form to mosaics and manuscript illuminations.
[35] Anat Tcherikover, "Reflections of the Investiture Controversy at Nonantola and Modena," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 2 (1997): 157. Tcherikover explains that the depiction of Sylvester at Nonantola was part of the Gregorian program to idealize the age of Constantine.
[36] Anat Tcherikover, "Concerning Angoulême, Riders and the Art of the Gregorian Reform," *Art History* 13 (1990): 432-433. See also Toubert, "Le renouveau," 122-154, for a discussion of the vine motif at San Clemente and the Gregorian Reform. The twelfth-century vine at San Clemente was a quotation of a fifth-century mosaic in the narthex of the Lateran baptistery.
[37] Wirth, 209.

Finally, it has been theorized that architectural construction during the Investiture Controversy can be related to papal or imperial allegiances. The work of Edgar Lehmann is critical for the methodology of this dissertation because he describes differences between reform and imperial architecture in the Rhineland region during and after the Investiture Controversy.[38] In his essay Lehmann compares the constructions of the cathedral of Speyer under Henry IV (1082-1104) and the new abbey church of Hirsau under the reform abbot Wilhelm (1082-1091) with the conclusion that Speyer demonstrates an imperial Salian style while the abbey shows a reform style in line with the papal reform ideals. Lehmann points, for example, to the royal *Westwerk* at Speyer, which is absent from Hirsau and Paulinzella.[39] While the lines between "reform" and "imperial" architecture may be more difficult to decipher than Lehmann originally described, the notion that ecclesiastic structures during the age of the Investiture Controversy could display political allegiances in their very construction is an important step towards understanding the sculptural programs in Alsace. As sculptural programs are wedded to the structure of churches, such decoration could display a political loyalty just as much as the edifice to which it is attached.

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[38] Edgar Lehmann, "Über die Bedeutung des Investiturstreits für die deutsche hochromanische Architektur," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 7 (1940): 75-88. For a recent critical consideration of Lehmann's thesis, see Holger Mertens, *Studien zur Bauplastik der Dome in Speyer und Mainz: Stilistische Entwicklung zur Motivverbreitung und Formenrezeption im Umfeld der Baumassnahmen des frühen 12. Jahrhunderts* (Mainz, 1995). See also Peter Kidson, "Architecture and the Visual Arts," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History c. 1024-c. 1198: Part I*, ed. David Luscombe and Jonatha Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), 4: 693-731, who understands Romanesque architecture as architecture of the Investiture Contest. Kidson, 708, explains that Speyer is an interesting case of architecture designed as a statement of imperial authority in the church, particularly in the rearrangement of tombs by Henry IV.

[39] Lehmann, 82.

Romanesque Sculpture in Alsace

Before any assessment of political statements in Alsatian sculptural programs can be made, the question of chronology must be addressed. Political interpretation of sculptural iconography at churches must rely firmly upon church construction dates. It is not possible to claim that a sculptural program responded to a specific political event if the dates of the creation of that sculptural program are uncertain. Although attempts to trace stylistic influences and to date artistic ventures at Romanesque Alsatian churches have been made in the past, it has been only recently that such earlier chronologies have been more carefully and more scientifically revised. Still, these newer dates do not simply discount the stylistic ties identified among churches within Alsace that had been previously identified by scholars.

The five earlier authorities on style and iconography of Romanesque sculpture in Alsace were Rudolf Kautszch, Robert Forrer, Rita Moller-Racke, Marguerite Rumpler, and Robert Will. Kautszch devoted two large volumes in 1927 and 1944 to the stylistic developments of medieval architecture and sculpture in Alsace.[40] His chronological framework was formed by comparison of church plans, architectural spatial relationships, church profiles, decoration, portals, columns, a regional type of column capital called *Würfelkapitelle*, and stone masonry.[41] Based on these categories, Kautzsch grouped churches together into architectural schools. Kautzsch identified four architectural schools from the period 1100-1150, two groups from mid-twelfth century, and three from

[40] On Kautzsch, see note 18 above.
[41] Kautzsch, *Der romanische Kirchenbau*, 104.

the last quarter of the twelfth century.[42] While Kautzsch considered decoration as one component contributing to his chronology, sculpture was not an emphasis of his study.

Robert Will, by contrast, devoted several substantial studies to the analysis of style and iconography of Alsatian Romanesque sculpture. Forrer, Moeller-Racke, and Rumpler each contributed a few works to this end as well, but Will provided a chronological system for Alsatian sculpture in a manner similar to Kautzsch's work on architecture.[43] Will divided Alsatian sculpture of the twelfth century into three periods: before 1140, 1140-1190, and 1190-1240.[44] Within these three periods, Will identified groups of Alsatian ateliers, a number of which are important to this study because of their historic ties to the Hohenstaufen family and the possibility that their iconography reflected pro-imperial politics.

According to Will, the first half of the twelfth century was dominated by two workshops. The workshop at the cloister of Eschau (1130s) embraced a sculptural style that was influential on the slightly later atelier at Andlau (1140s). Among their principal works, the sculptors at Eschau were responsible for the creation of the Adeloch

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[42] Kautzsch, *Der romanische Kirchenbau*, 145-303. Early to mid-twelfth century: 1. Marbach, Geberschweier, Murbach; 2. St. Johann and Dorlisheim; 3. Lautenbach, Maursmünster (Marmoutier) and Alspach; 4. Rosheim. Mid-century: 1. Mutzig, Haguenau, Niedermünster, Odilienberg (Mont-Saint Odile); 2. St. Fides in Schlettstadt (Sélestat), Andlau, Neuweiler. Last quarter of the twelfth century: 1. Turkheim, Sigolsheim, Altorf; 2. Gebweiler and Pfaffenheim; 3. St. Stefan in Strasbourg, St. Thomas in Strasbourg, and the cathedral in Strasbourg.

[43] Robert Forrer, "Les sculptures romanes de l'ancien cloîture d'Eschau," *Cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Alsace* 73-80 (1928-1929): 198-201; Forrer, "Les frises historieés de l'église romane d'Andlau," *Cahiers d'archéologie e d'histoire d'Alsace* 22/23 (1931-1932): 51-79 ; Rita Moller-Racke, "Studien zur Bauskulptur um 1100 am Ober- und Mittelrhein," *Oberrheinische Kunst, Jahrbuch der Oberrheinischen Museen* 10 (1942): 39-70; Marguerite Rumpler, *Sculptures romanes en Alsace* (Strasbourg, 1960); Rumpler, "La frise dans la sculpture romane en Alsace," *Les cahiers techniques de l'art* 4/3 (1962): 37-51; Rumpler, *L'art roman en Alsace* (Strasbourg, 1965). See also Rumpler, *L'architecture religieuse en Alsace* (Strasbourg, 1958).

[44] Robert Will, *Répertoire de la sculpture romane de l'Alsace* (Strasbourg, 1955), vi. He observed that the first period was dominated by simple ornamentation in low relief. Sculpture made between 1140 and 1190, Will observed, grew less attached to the architecture while at the same time the ribbed vault was introduced into Alsatian architecture. Lastly, Will believed the sculpture created at end of the twelfth century was characterized by a local refusal to embrace the new Gothic style of the continent

sarcophagus in the church of St. Thomas of Strasbourg; it will be explained in Chapter 2 that the Hohenstaufen dukes served as advocates at St. Thomas and may have even commissioned the sarcophagus. As we will see in Chapter 3, Emperor Barbarossa served as the advocate of the abbey of Andlau and could have commissioned the reconstruction of the sculptural program in 1160. Will noted a preference for Northern Italian style and iconographic motifs in these ateliers of Eschau and Andlau.[45] Since Lombardy played a large role in imperial politics during and after the Investiture Contoversy, it may be possible that the use of an Italianate style at Eschau and Andlau was a response to these politics.[46]

Among the many sculptural groups Will identified in the second half of the twelfth century, the ateliers formed at Rosheim (1160), Schlettstadt (Sélestat) (1165), Haguenau (1175), and the Basel Minster (1185) also exhibited a preference for Lombard art.[47] While it will be explained in this dissertation that the artistic programs at Andlau, Rosheim, Sélestat, Haguenau, and the Basel Minster can be linked securely to the patronage of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, Will only noted in passing that the atelier at Haguenau, where Barbarossa had a palace, was moved by the emperor from Swabia to Alsace in order to fulfill his artistic commissions there.[48] The style of the Haguenau atelier is reminiscent of sculptural programs in Northern Italy, and because this Italianate style developed at Barbarossa's castles in Nuremberg and Gelnhausen, it has been called the "imperial style".[49] Was a general preference for Italian style in these workshops a

[45] Will, *Répertoire*, vii and xiv. Will cautions that while certain connections exist between the style of the Eschau and Andlau workshops and Italian sculptural style, one should also bear in mind the stylistic dependence of Alsatian sculpture on the Languedoc regional school.
[46] On the connection between Northern Italian sculpture and Alsatian sculptural style, see Appendix A.
[47] See Will, *Répertoire*, ix-xi.
[48] Will, *Répertoire*, x.
[49] Will, *Répertoire*, x.

sign of loyalty to Emperor Barbarossa? Was the style derived from parts of Italy loyal to the emperor?

A number of studies have been written to explain what seems to have been a preference for Northern Italian style in the sculptural programs in Alsace.[50] The question of the stylistic and iconographic influences of Northern Italy must be left open in most cases, however, because the dates for many sculptural programs in Lombardy are still uncertain. Dating by stylistic comparison is the only basis for most early twelfth century church chronologies in Northern Italy, as written documents of church construction in this territory tend only to provide wide ranges of dates.[51] While it has been difficult to draw meaningful chronological connections between Northern Italian sculptural programs and sculpture in German-speaking territory, the wide-ranging dates provided for Italian sculptural programs suffice to indicate a marked preference in Alsace for twelfth-century Lombard ornament. Whenever mid to late twelfth-century sculptural ties between Alsace and Northern Italy are observed in this dissertation, an attempt will be made, therefore, to consider such ties in light of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa's ambitions in Northern Italy.

Although in several cases Lombard church sculpture can not be precisely dated, great strides have been made in dating sculptural programs in Alsace. In recent years Kautzsch's chronology for church construction in Alsace has been challenged one church

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[50] See Appendix A. Throughout this dissertation I will use, as did Barbarossa's contemporaries, the name *Lombardy* interchangeably with Northern Italy. Lombardy is used to refer to the central part of the Po Valley as well as all of Northern Italy in Hans Erich Kubach, *Romanesque Architecture*, trans. Robert Erich Wolf and Ronald Millen (1972; repr. New York, 1975), 63. It is, however, important to note that the Lombard sculptural style is far removed from the style of sculpture in the Emilia-Romagna and other parts of Northern Italy. For these stylistic differences, see J. J. M. Timmers, *A Handbook of Romanesque Art*, trans. Marian Powell (1965; repr. London, 1969), 38-39.

[51] See Mertens, 225-254. On the pattern of exchange between France, Germany, and Lombardy, see also Carlo Tosco, *Architetti e committenti nel romanico lombardo* (Rome, 1997).

at a time.[52] This rather slow reevaluation of Kautzsch's dates has postponed the development of newer theories about the larger significance of Alsatian Romanesque churches. Fortunately Jean-Philippe Meyer's work on vaults in Alsace has been helpful in reconstructing a relative chronological outline for Alsatian Romanesque architecture.[53] Unlike earlier studies by Kautzsch and others, Meyer relies heavily on historical textual sources for his outline of church construction in Alsace. Most importantly, he takes into consideration the new dates proposed for the cathedral of Worms. Whereas Kautzsch had believed the eastern choir and transept at Worms dated to 1171-1191, we now know through dendrochronology that the eastern part of the cathedral dates much earlier to 1132-1137.[54] With these newer dates in mind, Meyer has been able to compare the sculpture of Worms with Alsatian sculpture and provide solid chronological evidence for Alsatian programs at Alspach, St. Thomas in Strasbourg, Maursmünster (Marmoutier), Saint-Jean-Saverne (Zabern), and Rosheim.[55] While Meyer believes that a developmental chronology of sculptural programs in Alsace can never be written due to a

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[52] Both Robert Will and J.-P. Meyer have written several individual articles about churches in Alsace and have reconsidered earlier chronologies. For a bibliography of Robert Will's works, see Théodore Rieger, "Robert Will, l'architecte, l'archéologue et l'historien d'art à l'occasion de son quatre-vingtième anniversaire," *Cahiers alsacien d'archéologie, d'art et d'histoire* 32 (1989): 7-15. See also in note 47 below the bibliographies in Meyer's works for a list of his important articles on Alsatian churches. In addition to articles by Will and Meyer, Norbert Müller-Dietrich attempted to write an alphabetical list of sculptural programs at churches in Alsace and reconsider earlier chronologies. See Norbert Müller-Dietrich, "Die romanische Skulptur des Elsass" (working paper, the Service régional de l'Inventaire des monuments et richesses artistiques de la France, Strasbourg, 1980). I thank Dr. Jean-Philippe Meyer for providing me with access to this unpublished work.

[53] See Jean-Philippe Meyer, "Le development de l'architecture voûtée en Alsace à l'époque romane (an mil - vers 1220)" (Ph. D. diss., University of Paris IV- Sorbonne, 2002); Jean-Philippe Meyer, *Voûtes romanes: Architecture religieuse en Alsace de l'an mil au début du XIIIe siècle* (Strasbourg, 2003).

[54] See J.-P. Meyer, "Worms et les sculpteurs romans d'Alsace," in *Burg und Kirche zur Stauferzeit: Akten der 1. Landauer Staufertagung 1997*, ed. Volker Herzner and Jürgen Krüger (Regensburg, 2001), 20 and note 5. Meyer attributes the new dendrochological findings to Ernst Hollstein, "Dendrochronologische Datierung von Bauhölzern des Wormser Doms," *Neues Jahrbuch für das Bistum Mainz* (1979): 45-46. See also Ernst Hollstein, "Neue Bauholzdaten des Wormser Domes," in *Neues Jahrbuch für das Bistum Mainz* (1981): 125-134.

[55] Meyer, "Worms," 20-30.

lack of information,[56] his analysis of a few extant programs has made it possible to at least begin considering certain Alsatian sculptural programs in light of more specific historical events.

Divided Loyalties in Medieval Alsace

Although Alsace was imperial territory during the Romanesque period, unquestioned loyalty to the emperor during conflicts with the pope can not be simply assumed among Alsatian churches. An overview of the major historical events involving the pope and the emperor in late-eleventh and twelfth-century Alsace will help provide a sense of the dominant political views in the area. Such an overview will also offer the reader a sense of what was at stake for Alsatian churches with divided loyalties. After this historical sketch it will be easier to discuss in subsequent chapters more specific events at individual Alsatian churches.

Most of the historical information pertaining to Alsace derives from eighteenth-century accounts and documents published by Philippe A. Grandidier, J. D. Schoepflin, and S. A. Würdtwein.[57] Charters from many Alsatian churches were copied into these histories, which was fortunate given the destruction of many churches during the first and second world wars as well as the losses in the fire of the Strasbourg Library in 1870.[58] Some original documents exist about church affairs in the two Alsatian dioceses of

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[56] J.-P. Meyer explained his views on dating Alsatian sculpture to me in a conversation on February 27, 2003.

[57] Philippe André Grandidier, *Histoire de l'église et des evêques-princes de Strasbourg*, 2 vols. (Strasbourg, 1776-1778); Grandidier, *Histoire ecclésiastiques, militaire, civile et littérare de la province d'Alsace*, 2 vols. (Strasbourg, 1787); Grandidier, *Oeuvres historiques inédites*, 6 vols. (Colmar, 1865-1868); Grandidier, *Nouvelles oeuvres inédites*, 5 vols. (Colmar-Paris, 1897-1900); Johann Daniel Schoepflin, *Alsatia diplomatica*, 2 vols. (Mannheim, 1772-1775); Schoepflin, *Alsatia illustrata*, 2 vols. (Colmar 1751-1761); Stephan Alexander Würdtwein, *Nova subsidia diplomata ad selecta iuris ecclesiastici Germaniae et hisoriarum capita elucidanda*, 14 vols. (Heidelberg, 1781-1792).

[58] See Thomas Seiler, *Die frühstaufische Territorialpolitik im Elsass* (Hamburg, 1995), 23. Seiler provides an example of such loss. In the fire of 1870 the cartulary of Neuburg was destroyed.

Strasbourg and Basel, (Basel is now part of modern-day Switzerland) and imperial records concerning churches in Alsace are also extant today.[59] Médard Barth reorganized the historical information in these sources into an alphabetized reference for church history in Alsace.[60]

Although so much of the historical documentation was published in the eighteenth century, important modern interpretive literature on medieval Alsace is surprisingly slim. By far the most comprehensive secondary literature on the history of Alsace has been written by Heinrich Büttner; several articles by Büttner were collected recently into a single volume on Alsatian history.[61] General histories of Alsace by scholars such as Rudolf Wackernagel, André M. Burg, and Philippe Dollinger chronicle major events using information recorded by Grandidier, Schoepflin, and Würdtwein, but contribute few original insights.[62] Some independent studies about Alsatian churches are of considerable value when they address historic patronage of prominent churches or the administrative organization of some church complexes.[63] Recent work by Jean-Yves Mariotte, Frank Legl, and Thomas Seiler is of particular use for this study because such

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[59] *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Strassburg*, ed. Wilhelm Wiegand, 7 vols. (Strasbourg, 1879-1900); J. Trouillat, *Monument de l'histoire de l'ancien évêché de Bâle*, vol. 1 (Porrentruy, 1852); Peter Rück, *Der Urkunden der Bischöfe von Basel bis 1213* (Basel 1966); M. Vautrey, *Histoire des évêques de Bâle*, 2 vols. (Einsiedeln, 1884). On papal documents about Alsace, see Heinrich Büttner, "Papsturkunden für das Elsass bis 1198," in *Geschichte des Elsass 1: Politische Geschichte des Landes von der Landnahmezeit bis zum Tode Ottos III. und ausgewählte Beiträge zur Geschichte des Elsass im Früh- und Hochmittelalter*, ed. Traute Edemann, (Sigmaringen, 1991), 228-236. For relevant imperial documents see *Monumenta Germaniae Historiae: Diplomata Friderici I*, ed. Heinrich Appelt, 5 vols. (Hannover, 1975-1990).
[60] Médard Barth, *Handbuch der elsässischen Kirchen im Mittelalter* (Strasbourg 1960-1963).
[61] Heinrich Büttner, *Geschichte des Elsass* as in note 59.
[62] Rudolf Wackernagel, *Geschichte des Elsass* (Basel, 1919); A. M. Burg, *Histoire de l'église d'Alsace* (Colmar, 1946); and Philippe Dollinger, (1970).
[63] See, for example, M.-C. Idoux, "Études sur l'abbaye d'Étival: Relations d'Étival avec les monastère alsaciens d'Andlau et de Hohenbourg," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation du Département des Vosges* 89 (1913): 3-108 and Henri Dubled, "L'avouerie des monastères en Alsace au moyen âge (VIIIe – XIIe siècles)," *Archives de l'église d'Alsace* 10 (1959): 1-88.

sources specifically address the territorial ambitions of the Hohenstaufen family in Alsace.[64]

These sources contribute greatly to our understanding of Alsatian loyalties from the late eleventh to the end of the twelfth centuries. According to such historical works on medieval Alsace it is understood that prior to the Investiture Controversy, Alsace had been strongly supportive of Pope Leo IX, the only Alsatian pope. During the Investiture Controversy, however, the region's loyalties were divided among different groups, while in the decades following after the Concordat of Worms the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa made great strides to reassert his secular authority in the territory.

Leo IX and Henry III in the Mid-Eleventh Century

The Investiture Controversy between Pope Gregory VII and Emperor Henry IV grew out of monastic reform within the Holy Roman Empire. According to Colin Morris, there were already many signs of dissatisfaction within the church in the middle of the eleventh century.[65] The powerful monastic "empire" of Cluny initiated reforms that spread quickly throughout its houses in France. Major objectives of the Cluniac reform were to call sinners to repentance, to wipe out the causes of sin in the church and in feudal society, and to struggle against clerical marriage (nicolaitism) and the purchase of church offices or sacraments (simony).[66] Seeking to fulfill his God-given role as "priest-king", Emperor Henry III (1039-1056) did much to advance the reform movement within

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[64] Jean-Yves Mariotte, "Les Staufen en Alsace au XIIe s. d'après leurs diplômes," *Revue d'Alsace* 119 (1993): 43-74; Frank Legl, *Studien zur Geschichte der Grafen von Dagsburg-Egisheim* (Saarbrücken, 1998) and Seiler as in note 58. These three studies depend on Aloys Meister, *Die Hohenstaufen im Elsass: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Reichsbesitzes und des Familiengutes derselben im Elsass 1079-1255* (Mainz, 1890) as well as articles by Heinrich Büttner.
[65] Morris, 79.
[66] H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970), 135. For a brief overview of the development of Cluny and monastic reform, see Blumenthal, 11-19.

his imperial territories.[67] The result was a fruitful German reform movement in the Lorraine called the Gorze Reform.[68] The Gorze reform was affiliated with Cluny as well as the North Italian reform movement at Montecassino.[69] According to Hampe, Henry III was so supportive of the reform movement in the empire that he used his power to appoint and invest bishops to put pro-reform clerics in higher positions.[70]

Scholars generally agree that the key issues of the Investiture Controversy arose in the latter part of the reign of Henry III, during the pontificate of the only Alsatian pope, Leo IX (1049-1054).[71] Born Bruno of Eguisheim, the pope descended from a noble Alsatian family.[72] Cousin to Henry III, the emperor appointed Bruno to the papal office in 1048.[73] Already in his position as the bishop of Toul, Bruno had firmly

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[67] Tellenbach, 56-60, outlines the early Christian conceptions of the king's role on earth. At the anointing of a king, he became a member of the clergy and was considered the helper of the church in the secular realm.

[68] On the Gorze Reform, see Kassius Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny. Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter*, 2 vols. (Graz, 1971). With the exception of the influence at the church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Wiseenburg, the region of Alsace was not greatly affected by the Gorze movement. See also Blumenthal, 7-11.

[69] On the reform at Monte Cassino, see especially H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Age of Abbot Desiderius: Montecassino, the Papacy, and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford, 1983). For the interest of Henry III in Italy, see Blumenthal, 55-58 and 80. At one point Montecassino had appealed to Henry III for help against the Normans, which he gave in 1047.

[70] Karl Hampe, *Germany under the Salian and Hohenstaufen Emperors*, trans. R. F. Bennett (1923; repr. Oxford, 1973), 49.

[71] Uta-Renate Blumenthal, "The Beginnings of the Gregorian Reform: Some New Manuscript Evidence," in *Reformation and Authority in the Medieval and Reformation Church*, ed. G. F. Lytle (Washington, 1981), 1. Blumenthal states that although the origins of this movement for reform are still debated, no one would deny the impact of Leo IX.

[72] On the life of Pope Leo IX, see *The Papal Reform*, 97-157. For Leo's family connections, see Michel Parisse, *La vie du pape Léon IX (Brunon, évêque de Toul)*, trans. Monique Goullet (Paris, 1997), x-xxvi; L. Sittler and P. Stintzi, *Saint Léon IX: Le pape alsacien* (Colmar, 1950), 26-33 and 47-78; Pierre-Paul Brucker, *L'Alsace et l'église au temps du pape saint Léon IX (Bruno d'Egisheim) 1002-1054* (Strasbourg, 1889). For further literature about the life of Pope Leo IX, see *Millénaire de la naissance du pape Léon IX, exposition organisée au château d'Éguisheim du 15 juin au 15 septembre 2002*, ed. Jean-Luc Eichenlaub and Anne Eichenlaub (Colmar, 2002) and M. Declarc, *Un pape alsacien: Saint Léon IX et son temps* (Paris, 1876). For more bibliography on medieval popes, see also *Enciclopedia dei papi*, vol. 2. (Rome, 2000).

[73] Bruno had been appointed bishop of Toul because he was related to Emperor Conrad II (990-1039). Emperor Henry III, who succeeded Conrad, appointed four German popes, including his cousin Bruno. On these papal appointments, see especially *The Papal Reform*, 5.

supported the Cluniac reform movement.[74] In Leo's first Lateran council of 1049 he rendered all ordinations by simonists invalid and all priests' wives and children became serfs of the church.[75] Leo's rule exhibited the earliest sign of reform concerns about lay investiture as well. Certainly it was important to Leo that the church sanctioned his papal nomination and that his nomination was not merely a decision made by a lay lord. Leo may not have rejected the emperor's right to appoint him to the papacy, but he was careful to insure that churchmen also desired and confirmed this nomination.

Leo's pontificate was also marked by an increase in the respect for the power of the papacy. Although Leo never had ideas about opposing the emperor, he did perceive the papacy as somewhat self-reliant and independent of the empire's military protection.[76] Upon receiving no help from the emperor during a conflict with the Normans in southern Italy over the city of Benevento, Leo decided to take matters into his own hands. Benevento was one of the last cities still under papal protection in southern Italy after the retreat of the Byzantines. To combat "the most evil nation of the Normans", the pope put himself at the head of an army and attempted to suppress the Normans with papal might.[77] Leo justified his actions by referring to the *Donation of Constantine*, a document now known to have been forged in the ninth-century, which stipulated the papal claims to authority in southern Italy.[78] Although the Normans defeated the papal army and Leo himself was captured, the pope set a new precedent for papal military might. Up until the pontificate of Leo IX, the papacy had relied on the

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[74] Sittler and Stinzi, 48.
[75] Fuhrmann, 45.
[76] Tellenbach, 101.
[77] *The Papal Reform*, 8 and 150. See also Morris, 87-88; Blumenthal, 79-84.
[78] On the Donation of Constantine, see Wilhelm Levinson, "Konstantinische Schenkung und Silvester-Legende," *Studi e Testi* 38 (1924): 159-247. See also H. E. J. Cowdrey, "Eleventh-century Reformers' Views of Constantine," in *Conformity and Non-Conformity in Byzantium, Byzantinische Forschungen* 24 (1997): 63-91.

emperor for military protection in keeping with the traditional roles of kings and priests originally laid out in the Gelasius's principle of the two swords.[79] According to Pope Gelasius (492-492), the power of Christ was divided into the material sphere of the emperor and the spiritual realm of the pope. Leo's move against the Normans, no matter how justified, directly contributed to the weakening of these traditionally defined roles. The new secular power now accorded the papacy would only increase over time.

Leo's native land of Alsace was unquestionably affected by his ideals, particularly as Leo strove to elevate the importance of his homeland. Leo IX intentionally journeyed to places in Alsace to link them strongly to the papacy. He would take three trips over the Alps and pass through Alsace each time. During his first trip in the spring of 1049, for example, he consecrated Strasbourg's church of St. Columba and renamed it to honor St. Peter. According to Stinzi, this decision to name the church after St. Peter was a deliberate attempt to promote the strength of Rome in the region.[80] The later medieval artistic program at the church of St. Peter the Young commemorates this early link to the Roman See. A "copy" of Giotto's *Navicella* at Old St. Peter's (c. 1300) was placed on the west wall at St. Peter the Young and would have reminded viewers of Pope Leo's dedication of the church to Peter (figs. 8-9).[81]

Each time Pope Leo visited Alsace, he consecrated churches and altars, sought out churches connected with his family, translated relics to set up new pilgrimage sites, and

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[79] See Tellenbach, 61-76, for the traditional relationship between the two heads of the church, the pope and the emperor. Tellenbach, 64, states "the Church made many demands upon the State; protection, provision for its needs, freedom from all burdens and a liberal preference in the enjoyment of all the benefits which the State had to offer." See also Tierney, 8-10. Tierney explains that the division of two powers was derived from an interpretation of Luke 22:38 by theologians like Ambrose and Augustine, and then later codified by Pope Gelasius (492-496) as the principle of the two swords, or the Gelasian principle.
[80] Sittler and Stintzi, 73.
[81] Giotto's *Navicella* was known as *the* allegory of the Roman papacy because in this scene Christ called Peter as his successor. See Helmtrud Köhren-Jansen, *Giottos Navicella: Bildtradition, Deutung, Rezeptionsgeschichte* (Worms am Rhein, 1993), 159-174.

dedicated churches to St. Peter (fig. 10). Prior to Leo's visits to Alsace, only two official papal monasteries in his homeland, Andlau and Selz, had been directly under papal protection, but the pope brought the count up to five, adding Heiligkreuz, Ottmarsheim and Ölenberg.[82] Pope Leo IX undoubtedly left a legacy of confirmed papal supporters in his native land of Alsace. Even as the emperor ignored Leo's pleas for help, at least 500 Alsatian men were willing to march to Rome to support Leo's war against the Normans.[83] Such willingness to fight for the pope against the threat of the Normans is a clear indication of loyalty to Leo IX.

Gregory VII (1073-1085) and Henry IV (1056-1106)

Leo's influence over Alsace contributed to Alsatian loyalty to Leo's spiritual successor, Pope Gregory VII, during the Investiture Contest with Emperor Henry IV.[84] Central to this conflict between the pope and emperor was the perception of the role of the emperor in ecclesiastical matters.[85] As tradition dictated that the emperor was an anointed priest-king, he believed himself exempt from the reforming censure of lay investiture. As we saw with Henry III's appointment of Leo IX, the emperor traditionally had acted as a priest and install church clerics in accordance with the right order of the

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[82] A. Truttmann, *Kirchengeschichte des Elsasses* (Kehl, 1925), 39. By 1192 three more papal monasteries were added: the old abbey of Murbach, St. Walburg, and Hugshofen.

[83] Burg, 93-94. In the fall of 1052 Leo went on his third trip to Alsace to enlist the aid of the emperor to combat the Norman threat. He also actively recruited support from his native homeland. Five hundred Alsatians were conducted by Rudolf of Ottmarsheim in a company of seven hundred men to Rome. The pope eventually lost.

[84] Blumenthal, 114, calls Gregory the spiritual heir of eleventh-century reforming popes. This idea is debatable particularly as Leo IX never worked against the emperor and did not consider himself superior to the emperor.

[85] Robinson, *Authority*, 7. Robinson observes that at the heart of the investiture contest were two different conflicts: "the political struggle, which the enemies of the Salian emperor represented as a righteous struggle against tyranny; and the rival attempts of the emperor and reforming papacy to impose order on the imperial Church."

church. The German emperor's practice of installing bishops was particularly important because his power base hinged on the support of princely bishops in the empire.[86]

Pope Gregory VII, however, objected to imperial involvement in the investiture of ecclesiastical positions and prohibited the emperor from investing bishops or abbots altogether at the Easter Synod of 1075.[87] Gregory's decree was not completely justifiable according to the New Testament, canon laws, or monastic tradition, but the pope held it to be given divinely to him. Gregory, in fact, considered himself the supreme representative of God's will on the earth, a position lately occupied by the German emperors.[88] Henry IV, however, viewed most of Gregory's ideas as irrelevant since the emperor believed Gregory was not truly God's chosen pope, but rather a usurper.[89] Neither side could back down without loss of power, for as Brian Tierney explains, if Henry had forfeited his right to appoint bishops, he would have lost all hope of unifying Germany under his command; had Gregory conceded that imperial investiture of bishops was a legitimate practice, then the imperial appointment of popes would have become legal as well.[90] Given Gregory's tenuous legal claims to the papal throne and Henry's continual state of excommunion under Gregory, a spirit of caution must have guided the priesthood in imperial territories like Alsace.

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[86] On the importance of bishops to the German emperor, see Robinson, *Henry IV*, 114-115, and Blumenthal, 109.
[87] Tellenbach, 113.
[88] On Gregory's papal supremacy, see Morrison, 38-48.
[89] I. S. Robinson, *Henry*, 128-129. Henry IV challenged the legality of the papal election in 1076 and called on Gregory VII to abdicate. At the synod of Worms in 1076, the synod declared that the election violated the "royal clause" of the Papal Election Decree of 1059, whereby the electors were to obtain the consent of the king. Henry IV had not consented to Gregory's election in 1073. In his letter of 1076, Henry IV calls Gregory, "Hildebrand, not pope by God's ordination, but false monk," and commands Gregory to descend from the papal throne. Karl Morrison, 48-49, provides the text for this letter. See also Phyllis Jestice, *Wayward Monks and the Religious Revolution of the 11th Century* (Leiden, 1997), 266, where she explains the full implications of Henry's accusations against the pope, or Hildebrand, the "false monk."
[90] Tierney, 45. Tierney also explains, 27, that the father of Henry IV, Henry III, had appointed three different popes. Leo IX had been the third pope after the other two were assassinated by factions in Rome.

Certainly the fact that Manegold of Lautenbach, a well-known anti-imperial polemicist, wrote the *Liber ad Gebehardum* in support of the pope from his Alsatian monastery of Lautenbach contributed to the impression that Alsatian reform churches were sympathetic to Gregory's position. In this polemical treatise, Manegold named Henry IV a tyrant and claimed that because the king's role on earth was to defend his people and not to tyrannize them personally, the God-given authority of Henry IV became null.[91] While Gerhoh, prior of Reichersberg, later wrote in his *Epistola ad Innoventium Papam* (1131) that Pope Gregory did not admire Manegold's writing, recent scholars believe that Emperor Henry IV was greatly disturbed by the monk's opinions: the monastery of Lautenbach was laid waste by imperial troops in 1080 and Manegold was imprisoned.[92] Following the destruction of Lautenbach, some monks sought refuge at the neighboring monastery of Murbach, which was also attacked by imperial partisans.[93] Henry's army made a similar attempt to destroy the politically active monastery of Hirsau in the Black Forest because of its monks' strong anti-imperial

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[91] M. T. Stead, "Manegold of Lautenbach," *The English Historical Review* 29 (1914): 8. Stead translates this portion of Manegold's *Liber ad Gebehardum* (1085). For the original passage, see K. Franke, ed., "Liber ad Gebehardum," *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculis XI. et XII.* Vol. 1 (Hannover, 1891), 365. See also I. S. Robinson, "Pope Gregory VII, the Princes and the Pactum 1077-1080," *The English Historical Review* 94 (1979): 738, 746-747, and Phillippe Dollinger and Raymond Oberle, *L'histoire de l'Alsace: De la préhistoire à nos jours* (Colmar, 1985), 60.

[92] Stead, 12, reports on Gerhoh's views. For imperial destruction of Lautenbach, see Robert Will, 347, and Marguerite Rumpler, *L'art roman*, 70. On Manegold's imprisonment, see Dollinger and Oberle, 61. For a thorough account of the extant early Romanesque sculptural program on the portal porch at Lautenbach, see Charles Haaby, "Die romanische Vorhalle der Kirche von Lautenbach: Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der romanischen Symbolik," *Archives de l'eglise d'Alsace* 14 (1964): 1-52.

[93] Will, *Alsace romane*, 124. According to Will, Adelgaud of Murbach, who became the abbot of Ebersmünster, went to crown the anti-king, Rudolf of Swabia, and was chased from Ebersmünster by Henry IV in 1077. Adelgaud sought refuge at Murbach along with the displaced canons of Lautenbach. Meyer, *Voûtes romanes*, 103, recounts that according to tradition, Murbach was ravaged by imperial supporters, but regular life was resumed by the end of the eleventh century. Meyer speculates in his dissertation, "Le development," 100, about the possibility that the abbey of Murbach was deserted around the time of imperial attack (1070-1080), and that the desertion lasted until 1122.

position.[94] Even if Alsatian reform churches had been inclined to support Pope Gregory's anti-imperial program, surely imperial military attacks would have given even the most enthusiastic supporters pause.

Reform clerics like Manegold may have praised Gregory's reform goals and his decision to excommunicate the emperor, but the two Alsatian bishops of Strasbourg and Basel were supportive of Emperor Henry IV throughout the papal-imperial struggle. Bishop Burkhard of Basel (1072-1107) and Bishop Wernher II of Strasbourg (1065-1077) were excommunicated for their loyalty to the emperor, and both accompanied Henry to Canossa to receive pontifical absolution in 1077.[95] Shortly after Gregory's forgiveness in 1077, the two Alsatian bishops directly disobeyed the pope's orders and joined Henry IV once again in his war against Gregory's anti-king, Rudolf of Swabia.[96] Wernher, who was utterly opposed to the reform movement in general, was actually killed en route to attacking the Reform monastery of Hirsau.[97]

On at least one occasion siding with the emperor caused a Strasbourg bishop to come into conflict with the powerful pro-papal nobles in Alsace. Following the death of the anti-king, Rudolf of Swabia, Henry gave the ducal territory of Swabia and Alsace to his loyal supporter, Duke Frederick I of Hohenstaufen, the grandfather of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and chose Frederick's brother, Otto, as the new bishop of

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[94] Jestice, 250. Henry IV ordered Hirsau destroyed in 1077, but it was left standing because of the sudden death of bishop Wernher of Strasbourg, who led the attack.
[95] Dollinger and Oberle, 59. See Trouillat, 1: 192-197 for the excommunication of Bishop Burkhard of Basel and Bishop Werner II of Strasbourg and later forgiveness at Canossa. See also Appendix B. For their letter of reinstatement, see especially Albertus Brackmann, ed., *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, Germania Pontificia*, (Berolini, 1935), 3: 12 no. 24.
[96] Trouillat, 199.
[97] Philippe Dollinger, *Histoire*, 88; Jestice, 250.

Strasbourg (1082?-1090).[98] Even though the Hohenstaufen brothers were related to the Alsatian Eguisheim family on their mother's side, Count Hugh of Dabo-Eguisheim created problems for the new bishop because of Otto's imperial sympathies.[99] Count Hugh attacked the bishop's army at one point, and Otto responded by banning Hugh from his diocese and turning to his ducal brother for aid.[100] Just following reconciliation between the two enemies in 1089, Count Hugh was assassinated in the bishop's rooms.[101] It seems that Bishop Otto was so fed up with the deadly game of politics by this point that he turned against the emperor and embraced the papal side; in 1096 he even went on crusade with Pope Urban II.[102] Scherer suspects that a large faction of the anti-imperial party had come to reside in the city of Strasbourg because of Henry's long absence from this region, an absence that may also account for Otto's change in sympathies.[103] Otto's successors, however, continued to support Henry for the remainder of the emperor's life.[104]

If families in imperial Alsace were so divided over whom to support, it stands to reason that imperial abbeys, which had been founded by German kings and enjoyed the royal privilege of *libertas* were also faced with a difficult decision about how strictly to

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[98] Burg, 98; Robinson, *Henry IV*, 3. On Henry's gift to Frederick, see also Otto of Freising, 41. See Scherer, 76-77, who explains that Otto's accession to the bishopric was a result of Frederick's rise under Henry IV. Scherer, 79, speculates that Henry's antipope, Wibert of Ravenna, invested Otto.
[99] Burg, 98; Scherer, 75. Scherer explains that Duke Frederick and his brother, Otto, were the sons of Frederick of Büren and Hildegard, the daughter of Count Gerhard I of Eguisheim and the sister of Count Gerhard of Nordgau in Alsace. Frederick of Büren was the great-grandfather of Barbarossa. His son, Frederick I, was the first Duke of Swabia.
[100] See Scherer, 91-100, for the conflicts between Count Hugh and Bishop Otto.
[101] Burg, 98; Scherer, 94-95.
[102] Burg, 98; Heinrich Büttner, "Die Bischofsstädte von Basel bis Mainz in der Zeit des Investiturstreites," in *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein (Munich, 1973), 353. Brackmann, 12 no. 27, records that Urban II lifted Otto's excommunion and forgave all his crimes in 1096.
[103] Scherer, 94. In note 94 Scherer lists Henry's visits to the neighboring regions: Metz on January 20, 1085, Mainz in May 1085, Metz again on June 1, 1085, Worms for Christmas 1086, Speyer on January 11, 1087, Mainz on August 10, 1088 and again at Christmas in the same year, and Metz on April 5, 1089.
[104] See Appendix B.

follow the Gregorian ideal.[105] Feierabend catalogues the Alsatian abbeys that belonged specifically to the empire during the conflict of investiture and discovered that, although these abbeys may have had difficulty deciding which party to support, throughout Germany only one imperial abbey officially chose to follow the papacy: Reichenau.[106] Feierabend claims that Henry IV was a good lord and he protected the independence of his abbeys to such a point that they, including Murbach, were content to remain imperial.[107]

Thus, with the exception of some courageous monks at Lautenbach and Hirsau, a fiercely loyal count, one thoroughly disheartened bishop in Strasbourg, and possibly a handful of abbeys with papal immunity, most churches in the imperial territory of Alsace either remained loyal to Emperor Henry IV or remained quiet about any pro-papal sympathies. It may be that imperial loyalty was simply assumed by the emperor since it is remarkable how little he visited Alsace in person or interfered in Alsatian affairs. Still, the divisions of loyalties in Alsace mirrored the overall political situation in Germany. The noble families generally supported the papal position, primarily as they wished to limit imperial power. The bishops tended to support the emperor since they were his appointees. The monasteries were typically divided: some "reforming" monasteries supported the pope while other "imperial" monasteries supported the emperor. Still other monasteries supported both pope and emperor and remained divided in their loyalties.

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[105] Robinson, *Henry IV*, 56. According to Robinson, *libertas* meant royal protection, immunity from interference of secular officials and the right to elect their own abbot. Robinson says such monasteries were also considered *proprietary*, which meant that they were at the king's disposal.
[106] Hans Feierabend, *Die politische Stellung der deutschen Reichsabteien* (Breslau, 1971), 187.
[107] Feierabend, 187 and 220. The abbeys in Alsace that remained imperial were: Murbach and Gregoriusmünster in the diocese of Basel and Selz, Hohenburg, Andlau, Maursmünster (Marmoutier), and Erstein in the diocese of Strasbourg.

Towards the end of Henry IV's life, the emperor sought to invoke peace throughout his kingdom, both with the Gregorian party and with his lords in Germany. In January 1103 Henry IV even called a council in Mainz to legislate peace, where he sought to restore the unity of the church and reclaim the preservation of the peace as a divinely ordained imperial function.[108] This peace was not completely successful, especially as Henry's son, Henry V, rebelled against him and joined with the papacy to dethrone his father. After Henry IV died in 1106, Henry V and Pope Paschal II renewed the conflict over investiture in 1111.[109] So intense were Henry V's feelings about his right to invest bishops that he actually imprisoned Paschal and sixteen cardinals during his own coronation ceremony in Rome (1111).[110] Because of pressure by rebellious German princes threatening civil war, Henry V was finally brought to compromise with Pope Calixtus II over the issue of investiture. In the Concordat of Worms the emperor renounced his right to invest with ring and staff, and the pope agreed that the emperor could be present at elections of German bishops and abbots as well as confer the *regalia* on the elect with a touch of his scepter.[111]

The Second Papal-Imperial Controversy in Alsace (1152-1176)

An increasingly powerful papacy and a decentralized, weak empire characterized the era following the settlement at Worms in 1122. The Concordat of Worms was worded vaguely and left the legal roles of the pope and the emperor undetermined.[112] It was not until thirty years later during the reign of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (1152-

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[108] See Robinson, *Henry IV*, chapt. 9.
[109] Following the death of Gregory VII in 1085, the popes were: Victor III (1085-1087), Urban II (1088-1099), Pascal II (1099-1118), Gelasius II (1118-1119), and Calixtus II (1119-1124). See Robinson, *The Papacy*, 128-129, for the conflict over investiture between Henry V and Paschal II. For a short summary of the reign of Henry V, see Hampe, 108-122.
[110] Robinson, *The Papacy*, 425.
[111] Robinson, *The Papacy*, 436-437. For a translation of the Concordat of Worms, see Tierney, 91-92.
[112] See Robinson, *The Papacy*, 439, for examples of what was left unsaid in the Concordat; Morris, 188.

1190) that all implied imperial rights under the Concordat would be fully asserted.[113] Faced with a weakened government in the wake of the Investiture Controversy and an erosion of imperial authority, Frederick had to establish a new hierarchy of government and forge a new relationship with the papacy.[114] This he did in part by redefining his role in the world and by turning his attention to his neglected imperial territories in Rome and Northern Italy.

Based on the biography of Frederick Barbarossa written by his uncle, Bishop Otto of Freising, Robert Folz explains that Barbarossa attempted to restore the empire and his temporal authority by "assuring the predominance" of Charlemagne's empire, by reestablishing traditional control over Rome and Italy, and by resuscitating the concept of divine monarchy.[115] While Frederick may have made some claims to be superior to the pope in spiritual and temporal matters, particularly by asserting that imperial anointing was sacramental, times had changed and he could no longer claim the "priest-king" status of his Ottonian and Salian forebears. For Barbarossa, it became important to assert his secular right as the material sword of the Gelasian principle because it was an argument he had a chance of winning. As we will see, the emperor now supported his claim to authority in temporal matters on an equal footing with the sacred authority of the pope by reiterating the continuity of the Roman Empire and by consulting Roman law.

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[113] The first Hohenstaufen emperor was Barbarossa's uncle, Conrad III (1138-1152). As a Hohenstaufen, the area of Alsace should have been as important to Conrad as it was to Barbarossa, but unfortunately I can not find too much about Alsace during this period. For a summary of Conrad's reign, see Hampe, 138-152. Certainly Conrad had a close relationship with his nephew, Frederick, for in addition to going on a crusade together, Conrad assured the succession for his nephew over the claims of his own eight-year-old son, Frederick.

[114] Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Origins of Modern Germany*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1947), 167.

[115] See Folz, 102. See also my review of *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, by Otto of Freising and his continuator, Rahewin, ed. and trans. Charles Christopher Mierow, *H-German, H-Net Reviews*, June, 2005. <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=212141126285603.>

During Frederick's first trip to Rome, he took steps to advertise his new role as an emperor with secular power independent of the authority of the papacy. At the urging of the newly elected pope, Hadrian IV (1154-1159), Frederick made his way through Lombardy down to Rome to receive the imperial crown just as his imperial forebears had done.[116] Hadrian had been experiencing difficulty keeping order in Rome because of a "heretic", Arnold of Brescia, whom he asked Frederick to capture. After Frederick obliged, the pope and emperor met near Sutri, but Frederick refused to hold the pope's stirrup and lead his horse, as was the custom.[117] This refusal signaled Frederick's unwillingness to be perceived as a vassal of the pope. Rather the emperor maintained that his secular authority to rule was ordained by God and was therefore as important in the hierarchy of the empire as the pope's spiritual authority. In the end Hadrian went through with Frederick's coronation, but this event led to bad relations between the two.

The conflict between Hadrian and Frederick did not fully erupt until after Frederick had returned to Germany without fighting on behalf of the papacy against the Norman King, William of Sicily, over a perceived slight to papal authority.[118] Having already felt insulted by Pope Hadrian IV at his coronation in Rome over the issue of imperial equality with the papacy, Barbarossa took exception to a letter sent by Hadrian

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[116] Peter Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa: A Study in Medieval Politics* (London, 1969), 79.

[117] Munz, 80; See Stroll, chapt. 14, for discussions of the symbolism of the stirrup. Stroll explains background information about the Lateran frescoes of Lothar holding the stirrup which likely fueled Frederick's wrath.

[118] *Gesta Friderici*, 155. Otto claims Frederick's trip to Italy was a success, but because Frederick had abandoned Hadrian IV against William of Sicily, Hadrian collaborated with the Normans. This shows that Hadrian believed Frederick to be ineffective. Fuhrmann, 144-145, offers further reasons Hadrian was disappointed in Frederick. For papal relations with Sicily, see G. A Loud, "Norman Sicily in the Twelfth Century," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History c. 1024 - c. 1198: Part II*, ed. David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), 4: 442-474, esp. 465. The kingdom of Sicily was technically a papal fief after it was created by a bull from the antipope Anacletus in 1139. Popes chafed at this creation of a Norman kingdom so close to Rome and this led to a number of territorial disputes. Relations collapsed under Adrain IV after the coronation of the king's son as co-ruler without the consultation of the pope.

to the Diet of Besançon in 1157.[119] In the letter, translated by Barbarossa's chancellor, Hadrian lamented the fact that he had not conferred greater *beneficia* upon Frederick at his coronation. In Latin the term *beneficia* signifies a benefit or gift, but in German it connotes a fief, the term a lord would use to grant a fief to his vassal.[120] As this notion, of course, was exactly what Frederick had been trying to put to rest, a dispute broke out between the empire and papacy.

Even though Hadrian later explained that he had not meant to imply that the emperor was his vassal, Barbarossa seized upon this incident as justification for his campaign to take lands in Northern Italy.[121] Barbarossa had already asked lawyers from Bologna, who were well-versed in both Lombard and Roman law, to determine his legal rights to the historically imperial land of Lombardy, the result of which were the Roncaglia decrees of 1158.[122] Barbarossa had inherited his royal rights to Northern Italy through Charlemagne and Otto I, who was the first to be crowned king of the Lombards, and finally the territory was his patrimonial heritage as a blood relation of Henry IV.[123] Thus the Roncaglia decrees legally justified these traditional political and territorial rights

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[119] On the slights to Barbarossa during his coronation by Hadrian IV, see Walter Ullmann, "The Pontificate of Adrian IV," *The Cambridge Historical Journal* 11 (1955): 239-244. In addition to the slights interpreted by Ullmann, Barbarossa was already upset by the Lateran images of Lothar, which he had seen at his coronation and asked to be removed by Hadrian. The quotation at the beginning of this chapter was Barbarossa's response to these Lateran images. See also *Gesta Friderici*, 184. Rahewin records that at the time of the Besançon incident a fight actually broke out over the issue of the paintings when one of the ambassadors remarked, "From whom then does he have the empire, if not from our lord the pope?" Rahewin states that Otto, count palatine of Bavaria, threatened the ambassador with his sword, but Barbarossa quelled the fight and banished the papal ambassadors.

[120] Marcel Pacaut, *Frederick Barbarossa*, trans. A. J. Pomerans (1967; repr. London, 1970), 80; Morris, 191. Morris writes that *beneficium* "was also in Germany the standard term for a fief, and Rainald, who was translating, chose this meaning and rendered it as *Lehen*."

[121] For Hadrian's letter, see *Gesta Friderici*, 198-200; Ullmann, 244; Robinson, *The Papacy*, 469.

[122] Ullmann, 246; Morris, 192; and Fuhrmann, 147. Fuhrmann explains that in 1967 the text of three laws issued in Roncaglia were rediscovered. These laws show a heavy dependence on Roman law.

[123] H. Koeppler, "Frederick Barbarossa and the Schools of Bologna," *The English Historical Review* 54 (1939): 581.

for the emperor in Lombardy, rights which Barbarossa lost no time in enforcing.[124] Frederick not only sought to reclaim imperial authority in Lombardy, but made special attempts to extend the southern border of Lombardy by securing nearby property in the Emilia (the so-called Matildine lands).[125] Before Hadrian could do much more than complain about the emperor's territorial ambitions, he died in 1159, and a new pope was elected.

The election of this new pope caused the second major conflict between Barbarossa and the papacy. Two candidates were chosen to replace Hadrian: Cardinal Roland who became Pope Alexander III, and Cardinal Octavian, who became the antipope, Victor IV.[126] Alexander III won by a majority, but because of some mishandling in the election process, the choice of Alexander was cast into doubt. Frederick claimed that as advocate and protector of the Roman Church, he should call a council in Pavia to reconsider the election results.[127] The emperor perceived this act to elect a pope as part of his traditional rights, but these sacred rights of a ruler had already been disputed by Gregory VII. Alexander III refused to attend claiming that a pope could not be judged, particularly not by a secular lord. Barbarossa's council determined that

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[124] Morris, 192. See Koeppler, 580, for a discussion about the traditional *regalia* of a German king in Italy. A German king could legally appoint justices and administer justice himself. Within his right to administer justice, the king could collect associated fees and fines. He was also entitled to levy taxes and duties.
[125] Munz, 326-327. The Countess Matilda of Tuscany had converted her lands into a papal fief, and later donated them to Emperor Henry V. Emperor Lothair of Supplinburg, however, paid homage to the pope for these lands and had his kinsman, Henry the Proud (father of Henry the Lion), enfeoffed by Pope Innocent II. Later Barbarossa's uncle, King Conrad III tried to reclaim the lands, but failed. Welf VI inherited the Matildine property from Henry the Lion, but he did not care for the land. Barbarossa made an attempt to secure the land from Welf VI, but his intention to expand his influence in Northern Italy met with resistance from the pope, particularly when it was remembered that Countess Matilda had originally converted her land to a papal fief. The subject of the Matildine lands became an issue in treaties between Barbarossa and the pope in 1176, 1183, and 1184. Because the borders of these lands changed constantly, the term "Matildine" will not be used in this dissertation.
[126] Morris, 193. See also Johannes Laudage, *Alexander III. und Friedrich Barbarossa* (Cologne, 1997), 103-122.
[127] Morris, 193-196.

the empire-friendly Victor IV was the true pope, which led to nearly twenty-year schism between the emperor and Alexander III. Victor IV died in 1164, and Barbarossa had Paschal II and later Calixtus III elected as antipopes. Only after his defeat in the Battle of Legnano in 1176 by the pro-papal Lombard League, did Barbarossa finally agree to recognize Alexander III, and relative harmony began to reign once again.[128] One might view Barbarossa's defeat as a concession that he no longer held the status of both priest and king.

Alsatians may have remembered the earlier destruction of reform monasteries under Henry IV; perhaps such fearful memories inspired support for Emperor Frederick during his later conflicts with the papacy. As will be demonstrated throughout this dissertation, though, Emperor Barbarossa also actively sought to influence churches in Alsace as a part of his territorial politics. Whenever ecclesiastical sculptural programs are interpreted in Alsace, Barbarossa's relationship with Alsatian churches will be carefully reviewed. It is my belief that the efforts Barbarossa personally made early in his reign to guide churches in Lower Alsace and later on in Upper Alsace resulted in several imperially supportive artistic programs.[129]

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[128] Munz, 311-312, writes that Barbarossa's defeat at Legnano was not a real military victory for the Lombard League, but rather the result of panic. Munz reiterates that this battle was not a decisive defeat for Frederick, but that Barbarossa must have already had peace negotiations in mind. Immediately after the Battle of Legnano, Barbarossa took steps to negotiate peace with both the Lombard League and Pope Alexander III in the Treaty of Anagni (November 1176). According to Munz, Barbarossa did not give up his plans in Northern Italy after the Treaty of Anagni, but instead planned new ways to maintain his authority in the region in the new terms of the 1184 Peace of Constance.

[129] Upper and Lower Alsace denote geographic location along the Rhine river. Since the Rhine flows north like the Nile River, Upper Alsace (*Haut-Rhin*) corresponds generally to the medieval diocese of Basel in the southern part of the region, while Lower Alsace (*Bas-Rhin*) exists to the north and corresponds to the medieval diocese of Strasbourg. To confuse things further, the German term for the entire territory of Alsace is *der südliche Oberrhein*, while north of Alsace (including the cathedrals of Speyer, Worms, and Mainz) is considered *der nördliche Oberrhein*.

Outline of Chapters

The central idea guiding this study is that key sculptural programs in Alsace reflect Barbarossa's territorial ambitions in the region. At the beginning of his reign Frederick Barbarossa initiated a territorial campaign in Lower Alsace to secure the loyalty of the churches in that area by overseeing their secular affairs. In this very same era the sculptural program at the church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Andlau was reconstructed with direct imperial involvement. By adapting three different motifs traditionally employed by the church, the artists at Andlau were able to express Barbarossa's agenda to equate once again his imperial office with the office of the pope. Having established control over Lower Alsace, Barbarossa turned his attention to churches in Upper Alsace. It will be argued that these churches in the Basel diocese quoted from the sculptural program at Andlau to advertise their new loyalty to the emperor.

In the first chapter, therefore, the motif of the *Christus Victor* will be examined in its traditional ecclesiastical context. It will then be explained that this seemingly papal theme was not only used frequently by Christian emperors to address the king's role in church hierarchy, but was reemployed at the Alsatian church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Andlau to remind viewers of the king's divinely appointed role of *rex* and *sacerdos*. This reference to the king's role in church hierarchy was in line with Frederick Barbarossa's agenda to legitimize his status as both priest and king.

Chapter 2 will examine a second related motif, the *Traditio Legis*, also found at the church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Andlau as well as in nine other regional church programs constructed in Alsace during the reign of Frederick Barbarossa. This theme of

Christ giving the law to his two apostles, Peter and Paul, had been used at various points by popes to advertise papal primacy, but had also been adapted by Christian emperors to address their sacred priestly role and equal importance with the pope. I will propose that this motif was revived in Alsace as a show of loyal support for Emperor Barbarossa's desire to resurrect his waning temporal authority in the Church. Because the *Traditio Legis* also includes a prominent visual reference to the law, this theme was particularly relevant to Barbarossa, who attempted to legitimize his claims to authority through appeals to Roman law.

The historical ties of the church of Andlau to both the pope and the emperor as well as the close ties of the abbey to the emperor in the mid-twelfth century will be addressed in the third chapter. As Andlau was an important church in Lower Alsace, Barbarossa made special attempts to secure its loyalty at the beginning of his reign, and he eventually took over the role of *advocatus* there in the 1170s. It will be argued that the emperor's concern for this abbey led him to aid in its reconstruction, including the elaborate sculptural program on the west and north facades. Reconstructed after the fire of 1160/1161, the present sculptural arrangement at Andlau is the earliest known example of an artistic program in Alsace that can be directly tied to the politics of Emperor Frederick. Subsequent quotations in Alsatian church programs of sculptural motifs at Andlau likewise indicate a loyal attitude towards the emperor.

In Chapter 4 such quotations of sculptural motifs at Andlau in later Alsatian churches will be addressed. Andlau controlled a great number of properties in Alsace including the churches of St. Richarde in Marlenheim and the church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Sigolsheim. Both of these churches display a sculpted scene of the *Traditio Legis*

on their portal tympana. I argue that the scenes of the *Traditio Legis* referred to the main scene of Peter and Paul at the mother church of Andlau. Because Sigolsheim was closely tied to Andlau, but was located at the northernmost tip of the Basel diocese in Upper Alsace, the motif of the *Traditio Legis* was communicated through Sigolsheim to several churches in the Basel diocese, including the Galluspforte of the Basel Minster itself. Because the style of the sculpture at Sigolsheim is close to the Basel Galluspforte, Sigolsheim must have been an important transitional church between Lower and Upper Alsace.

An increasing number of *Traditio Legis* scenes appeared during the latter half of the twelfth century in the Basel diocese at the same time that Barbarossa increasingly turned his attention towards this diocese and its bishop. In Chapter 5 it will be argued that the *Traditio Legis* was adopted by the bishops of Basel to mark the territorial boundaries of the diocese and to proclaim their unflagging loyalty towards the emperor. The specific iconography of the *Traditio Legis* in the tympanum of the *Galluspforte* will also be addressed.

In the last chapter, yet another traditional motif used by clerics to condemn heretics and tyrannical kings will be considered in terms of its function in Alsatian church programs. The motif of "Dietrich's Rescue of Rentwin", which derived from the literary epic of Dietrich von Bern, appears at Andlau as well as a number of later churches in Alsace. The Dietrich epic was based on the life of the historical Ostrogothic king, Theoderich of Ravenna, who ruled Northern Italy in the fifth century. Although Christian emperors from the time of Charlemagne onwards recalled the heroic acts of Theoderich to hearken back to their Germanic roots and to legitimize their rule, the

Church criticized the historical king and viewed him as a heretic. Episodes of Theoderich's ride to hell abound in Northern Italy to demonstrate the figure's punishment for his tyrannical ways. In Alsatian churches, however, the Ostrogothic king is represented as a savior and a hero in the scene of "Dietrich's Rescue". For Alsatians, the historical king continued to be viewed as a heroic figure, and came to be associated with the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Theoderich had ruled the territory of Northern Italy successfully, and Emperor Barbarossa likewise hoped to retake the same area that had been ruled by his Germanic ancestor. The figure of Theoderich/Dietrich von Bern at Andlau and at later Alsatian churches, then, represented Alsatian hope for the imperial enterprise in Italy.

During the reign of Emperor Barbarossa, the emperor struggled with the pope over the issue of his imperial authority and over his territorial rights in Northern Italy. Even though Emperor Frederick was considerably occupied with the pope and the communes in Italy, he still made an effort to win and maintain loyalty in his homeland territory of Alsace. His efforts to establish support in Alsace were successful, for the sculptural programs in Alsace, beginning with the program at Andlau, reflect imperial loyalty. Through the three key motifs of the *Christus Victor*, the *Traditio Legis*, and "Dietrich's Rescue of Rentwin" the artists at Andlau were able to communicate their support for Barbarossa's priestly role in church hierarchy and his right to retake the territorial lands in Northern Italy that had once belonged to his ancestors, King Theoderich and Emperor Charlemagne. The repetition of the *Traditio Legis* theme and the scene of "Dietrich's Rescue" at later Alsatian churches demonstrates that these

churches looked to Andlau to express their support for the emperor's continual struggle to assert his authority in the church and his rights to territory in Italy.

Chapter 1

Imperial Politics in Alsatian Sculpture

Soon after 1122 Pope Calixtus II commissioned a series of fresco paintings for two second story rooms at the Lateran palace adjacent to the chapel of St. Nicholas and directly above the triclinium of Leo III.[1] Sixteenth-century sketches of the four scenes from the original *camera pro secretis consiliis* show four different popes victoriously trampling the bodies of defeated antipopes (figs. 11-12).[2] Intended to commemorate the signing of the Concordat at Worms, the fourth and final sketch shows Pope Calixtus II, who sits enthroned at the center of the scene as he subdues Burdinus (the antipope Gregory VIII). Emperor Henry V stands to the right of the papal throne and holds up the unrolled scroll of the Concordat at Worms (1122).

The pope was visually victorious over the imperial antipope, and according to the fourth fresco scene, the pope also held the upper hand with the emperor.[3] As Ingo Herklotz explains, the inequality between the pope and the emperor is visually expressed through compositional arrangement: the pope is frontally enthroned in a Christ-like fashion while the emperor stands to the side of the papal throne and extends the scroll of

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[1] Ingo Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II. im Lateranpalast und ihre Fresken: Kunst und Propaganda am Ende des Investiturestreits," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 52 (1989): 145-214, esp. 155.

[2] See also Mary Stroll, "The Lateran: Antipopes as Footstools," in *Symbols as Power: The Papacy following the Investiture Contest* (Leiden, 1991), chap. 2. According to Stroll, 20, Gerhart Ladner claimed sketches of the frescoes were made by Pavinius (1530-1568), but Ingo Herklotz, 146, attributes the sketches to Alfonso Chacon (1530-1599). Stroll, 20-21, identifies the four frescoes as Alexander II over Cadalus; Gregory VII, Victor III, and Urban II over Guibert (Clement III); Paschal II over Albert, Maginulf and Theodoric; and Calixtus II over Burdinus (Gregory VIII). See also Christopher Walter, "Papal Political Imagery in the Medieval Lateran Palace," *Cahiers archéologiques* 20 (1970): 162-166 and 21 (1971): 109-136.

[3] Herklotz, 145-154. See Peter Cornelius Claussen, review of *Gli eredi di Costantino: Il papato, il Laterano e la propaganda visiva nel XII secolo*, by Ingo Herklotz, trans. Nicoletta G. Marchioli (Rome, 2000), rev. trans. Joan A. Holladay, in *Speculum* 78 (2003): 515-518. Claussen, 517, explains that Herklotz was the first to understand the image of Calixtus and Henry V as a pro-papal statement and to note that the Concordat held out by Henry only includes the imperial part of the compromise.

the Concordat out to the pontiff like a donor. Further instances of inequality are expressed by their raiment: the pope is shown in full papal regalia while Henry V is not even clothed in imperial garments, but in the clothing of a general.[4] In these Lateran frescoes, then, the emperor is shown as submissive to the authority of the pope, despite the fact that the represented Concordat he extends was meant as a compromise between the two.

Artistic programs like Calixtus's series blatantly reflected papal perspectives within churches in pontifical lands, and they were meant to send a message about papal power to the periphery.[5] Although it seems unlikely that frescoes created for a room called the *camera pro secretis consiliis* would receive public notoriety, Calixtus's two upper story rooms were not all that private in practice.[6] Admittedly the secret council chamber probably did not receive lay visitors who would have had access to the nearby triclinium of Leo III, where public sessions of important judicial proceedings and festive dinners took place.[7] Still, as the *camera pro secretis consiliis* and the *cubicularum* were intended for less formal functions, such as informal judicial sessions, public conclaves, and more private meetings between the pope, his cardinals, and visiting prelates, Calixtus's fresco series would have been known to clerics throughout the empire.

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[4] Herklotz, 153; Claussen, 516.

[5] For a political interpretation of another artistic program by Pope Calixtus II at the chapel of St. Nicholas, see Ursula Nilgen, "Maria Regina – Ein politischer Kultbildtypus?" *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 19 (1981): 1-34. Nilgen describes still other papal commissions designed to demonstrate papal power in the wake of the Investiture Controversy.

[6] On the function of these rooms, see Stroll, 18-19, and Herklotz, 161-166. Walter, 1: 162, says the room was used as an audience hall.

[7] Stroll, 18; Herklotz, 162-164. See also Hans Belting, "Die beiden Palastaulen Leos III. im Lateran und die Entstehung einer päpstlichen Programmkunst," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 12 (1978): 59. Belting says the *Aula Leonina* (triclinium of Leo III) was used as a showplace for church gatherings.

Calixtus's program, which was perhaps known visually through notes and model book sketches made by visiting clerics or members of their retinue,[8] was certainly textually documented and discussed in clerical circles. At least four twelfth-century churchmen in diverse geographic locations wrote responses to Calixtus's series of paintings, so it is clear that Calixtus's message of papal power was known throughout the medieval world.[9] Three of the four responses were made by churchmen writing to explain that because the pope had defeated antipopes victoriously in the past, he could do so again. Suger, abbot of St. Denis, was the earliest to mention these frescos in his life of Louis VII (c. 1144) in reference to the revenge of Pope Calixtus, who crushed Burdinus under his feet.[10] Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux saw the frescos in person during the pontificate of Innocent II (1133-1143) while John of Salisbury viewed them in 1153.[11] Both Arnulf of Lisieux and John of Salisbury wrote about the frescos during a later papal schism between Frederick Barbarossa's antipope, Victor, and Pope Alexander III. Arnulf mentioned the frescoes to Pope Alexander III in 1159 in order to put the papal-imperial conflict of that day in context.[12] In a letter of 1160 to Randulf of Sarre, John of Salisbury

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[8] See Robert W. Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900 – ca. 1470)*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Amsterdam, 1995), 98-108, esp. fig. 11 for an example of a Christian knight trampling a snake in a model book from the Loire region dated to the second half of the ninth century. Scheller identifies this image as a *Miles Christianus*.

[9] Herklotz, 152-153; Stroll, 25-27, records the authors to write about the Calixtus fresco series in the twelfth century were: Abbot Suger of St. Denis, Arnulf of Lisieux (previously canon of Séez), John of Salisbury, and Otto of Freising. Stroll, 26, explains that John of Salisbury wrote that it was good for laymen to view the Lateran frescoes to bear in mind what happened to schismatics in the past. Walter, 1: 162, provides texts for these passages. Walter and Stroll also note that Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo mentioned the frescoes during the Fourth Lateran Council in the thirteenth century. Rodrigo's words were recorded in the *Codex Toledanus*, and two drawings of the fresco series were added into the margins of the text. Walter, 1: 163, says the first drawing shows "Alexander (an error for Calixtus) trampling upon emperor Otto (an error for Henry V) and the other of Burdin in prison, with his mitre and crozier reversed, while Alexander (again an error for Calixtus) points at him."

[10] Herklotz, 151; Stroll, 25-26.

[11] Walter, 1: 162. Herklotz, 153, note 22 explains that John of Salisbury visited Rome on many occasions, particularly during his service for the Curia between 1150 and 1153.

[12] Herklotz, 152; Stroll, 26.

described the Lateran frescos to support his polemic against Barbarossa's decision to elect a pope over Pope Alexander III at the Council of Pavia in 1161.[13] According to John, it was good "that laymen be enabled to see the Lateran paintings so that they could observe what had happened to schismatics in the past."[14] For these three clerics, then, Calixtus's program lent legitimacy to the papal claim of supremacy over the emperor by visual means.

The response by Bishop Otto of Freising in his chronicle of universal history (1143-1146) represents the only imperial reaction to the Lateran frescos.[15] Otto recorded the inscriptions accompanying the frescoes in his historical narrative, although he had probably not viewed the program in person. Rather, the cleric relied on letters and records circulating in Barbarassa's court to compose this part of his history. It will be argued in this chapter that Otto's views of papal-imperial relations correspond well with the political perspective of churchmen living in the imperial territory of Alsace. The Alsatian sculptural programs discussed in this dissertation will be considered, therefore, in light of Otto's political writings about the offices of king and priest.

As the maternal uncle of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and the official court historian and biographer of the emperor, Otto reveals the actual perspective of the imperial court. While three of the four churchmen recalled Calixtus's series to assert ultimate papal authority, Otto ignored the images of antipapal defeat and merely recorded

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[13] Herklotz, 152; Stroll, 26.

[14] Stroll, 26 and esp. note 35; Herklotz, 152-153, note 22; Walter, 1: 162, note 34. Stroll papraphrases the passage taken from John of Salisbury's letter to Randulf of Sarre, 1160, in *The Letters of John of Salisbury. I. The Early Letters (1153-1161)*, ed. W. J. Millar and H. E. Butler, rev. C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford, 1986), 204-215 at 207-298: "*Sic ad gloriam patrum, teste Lateranense palatio, ubi hoc in visibilibus picturis et laici legunt, ad gloriam partum scismatici quos secularis potestas intruisit dantur pontificibus pro scabello, et eorum memoriam reculunt posteri pro triumpho.*"

[15] Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities: A Chronicle of Universal History to the Year 1146 A.D.*, ed. Austin P. Evans and Charles Knapp, trans. Charles Christopher Mierow (1928; repr. New York, 2002), 398 and 423.

and commented on two of the accompanying inscriptions in his chronicle of universal history.[16] To explain the first of these inscriptions, "*Regnat Alexander, Kadolus cadit et superatur*," Otto wrote, "As I have often said, whenever the royal diadem had to be struck by the sacerdotal sword the kingdom was divided against itself."[17] Otto seems to have viewed the Lateran inscription and the historical defeat of antipopes like Cadalus, then, with resignation and some dismay. He was not upset that the pope had defeated an imperial antipope, but rather, as a Cistercian cleric, he was saddened that the Christian sacred and secular realms had become divided and that peace had been broken.[18]

Concerning the inscription accompanying the Lateran representation of the Concordat of Worms, Otto wrote that Henry V had made concessions to the pope merely

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[16] Herklotz, 152, quotes from Otto's *The Two Cities*, VI. 34, 398 and VII, 16, 423 for these two passages. See notes 8 and 10 below for a translation of two texts.

[17] *The Two Cities*, VI. 34, 398-399, "During these days Alexander, at first bishop of Lucca, afterwards by general desire and election advanced to be supreme pontiff, restored the Church, which had long been in a state of servitude, to its ancient liberty and with great resolution checked Cadalus bishop of Parma when he sought to seize the Roman see by armed force. Hence I have found written concerning him in the Lateran palace: Alexander is pope; Cadalus falls and is conquered. As I have often said, whenever the royal diadem had to be struck by the sacerdotal sword the kingdom was divided against itself,..."

[18] Derived from Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, the idea of two realms divided inspired Otto's title, the *Two Cities*. Prior to his passage on Bishop Cadalus, he speaks about the divided realms in Book V. 35 and 36, as well as VI. 3. In the first section, 357, Otto describes the division of the empire into two kingdoms: an eastern and a western. In the second, 359, he writes, "Accordingly, since all the kingdoms of the earth have suffered overthrow, and since even the kingdom of the Franks, who were the last that were privileged to possess Rome, was, as we see, diminished from the time it was divided – let us who are writing a history to display the changes and chances of this world, let us, absolved by this shift in earthly authority as by a sufficient argument from the immutability of the heavenly kingdom, now bring this fifth book to an end." By this second passage, Otto explains that the division between the eastern and western empires had weakened the western empire, which would only become further divided as time went on. In the last passage mentioned here, 363, Otto explains that the already divided kingdom of the Franks in the west was further divided when the Church gained power. He writes, 364, "Observe now that as the State declined the Church became so powerful that it even judged kings." Later in his introduction to his seventh book, 404, Otto summarizes his idea about the two realms, "Let everyone remember that, as I stated above, the history I have put together for the period extending from the time of Theodosius to our own day, is an account not of the Two Cities, but rather, I might almost say, of one – composite, to be sure – the Church." Thus, for Otto, the two cities were ultimately those of heaven and earth, and the city of the earth was represented by the church, which was divided into sacred and secular realms. In his eigth book, Otto continues to use the two-city imagery to discuss what would happen in the end times.

to achieve peace for his kingdom.[19] He maintained that the terms of the Concordat were truly a compromise, for although the emperor had resigned the right of investiture of bishops, the pope had given the emperor an assurance in writing, "that those who should be elected as bishops, both on this side and on the other side of the Alps, should not be regarded as definitely settled as bishops until they received their regalia from his hand through the scepter."[20] According to Otto, then, the emperor had lost very little of his power in the church, for although he could not invest bishops with sacred powers, he still had a voice in their actual appointments.[21] While three of his contemporaries rejoiced in the message of papal triumph embedded in Calixtus's fresco of the Concordat of Worms, Otto chose not to acknowledge the Concordat as a papal victory. Instead he referred to the inscriptions accompanying this Lateran image to commemorate the peace achieved by this papal-imperial compromise and the happy restoration of a unified Church and State.[22]

In Otto's official biography of Frederick Barbarossa, the bishop similarly exercised caution in his descriptions of papal-imperial relations. Despite his unwavering

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[19] Stroll, 26-27, discusses Otto's response to the paintings in his *Two Cities*. See *The Two Cities*, VII, 16, 422-423, "After this, since the Church was now fully restored to freedom and peace was secured anew, we find that under Pope Calixtus II it 'became a great mountain.' Hence it was written concerning him at Rome: See Calixtus, the pride of his country, the Empire's glory! Bourdin the Base he condemns, and peace once more he restores."

[20] *The Two Cities*, VII, 16, 422.

[21] See Stroll, 25 and note 30. According to Stroll, the only time Calixtus admitted to his concessions during the Concordat of Worms was at the Lateran Council of 1123. Gerhoh of Reichersberg recorded the clerical reaction to these concessions during the council. Gerhoh says that when it was read that the German bishops were permitted to be elected in the presence of the emperor, the clerics began to chant "*Non placet, non placet!*" Gerhoh records that for the sake of establishing peace, Calixtus held that such conditions must be tolerated.

[22] On Otto's feelings of happiness at Barbarossa's accession and belief that the emperor would bring about world peace through harmonious cooperation between Church and State, see C. C. Mierow, introduction to Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities*, 61, and Gillian B. Elliott, review of *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, by Otto of Freising and his continuator, Rahewin, trans. and ed. C. C. Mierow (repr. 1953; New York, 2004) *H-German, H-Net Reviews*, (June, 2005). <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=212141126285603.>

loyalty to the emperor, Otto never openly criticized papal actions. For example, Otto's account of events during the Investiture Controversy in Barbarossa's biography is brief, but he included a section on Pope Gregory VII's choice to crown the anti-king, Rudolf of Swabia, to combat the excommunicated Emperor Henry IV. In his version, Otto did not comment on the insulting nature of Gregory's coronation of an anti-king or even on the injustice of the pope in performing such an act against the anointed Salian emperor. Otto recorded the following:

> "But the Roman pontiff Gregory, who, as has been said, was already inciting the princes against the emperor, wrote both secretly and openly to all, instructing them to elect another. Accordingly Rudolf, duke of the Swabians, was made king by them and is said to have received from the Roman Church a diadem with the following inscription: 'Rome gave Peter his crown, Peter bestows one on Rudolf'."[23]

Otto merely wrote what was "said to have" happened; he included a neutral inscription regarding Gregory's claim of authority over emperors to distance his own voice from the potentially dangerous statement of papal supremacy. By recording what had been said about Rudolf's coronation by Pope Gregory, Otto also successfully avoided any strong criticism of papal acts against Emperor Henry IV.

His own views about papal authority over emperors are difficult to isolate from this passage, but are subtly understood from the subsequent passage in which he explained that the anti-king, Rudolf of Swabia, was slain by the emperor. As a consequence, Emperor Henry IV awarded the duchy of Swabia to his loyal supporter,

[23] Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici Imperatoris: The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa by Otto of Freising and his Continuator, Rahewin*, trans. C. C. Mierow, rev. ed. (1956; repr. New York, 2004), 40.

Frederick I of Staufen, the grandfather of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.[24] According to Otto, Henry awarded Frederick the duchy of Swabia and his daughter's hand in marriage because of his loyalty and courage, especially since the rest of the Roman world was "veiled in darkness and devoid of loyalty".[25] Otto quotes Henry's words to Frederick: "No honor is paid to the laws and none to divine ordinances. Now, since all authority is from God, he who resists authority resists the ordinance of God." Henry's second sentence here derives from Romans 13:2 in which Paul urged Christian submission to the governing authorities put in place by God. This passage in Romans 13 had been used repeatedly over the ages to support Christian theocracy.[26]

Perhaps Emperor Henry actually said these words to Frederick, but Otto carefully recorded this paraphrased Biblical passage about kingly authority just after his account of the vanquished anti-king and the imperial redistribution of his lands. Henry's defeat of Rudolf clearly demonstrated that God had favored Henry's ambition to maintain power in the Church because God had chosen Henry to be in authority. Otto's decision to record these words of Henry to Frederick shows his own support for the traditional hierarchy of two equal powers as advocated by German emperors. At a time when the pope sued for supreme authority in the Church, the retention of this traditional belief in co-equal royal and priestly realms was decidedly pro-imperial.

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[24] *Gesta*, 41. Henry gave Frederick I of Staufen, the son of Frederick of Büren, the Duchy of Swabia. Frederick married Henry's daughter, Agnes, in 1079 and she had two sons, Frederick II and Conrad. After Frederick I died, Agnes married Leopold, margrave of Austria, and bore Otto of Freising. Otto of Freising was therefore the half-brother of Frederick II, Barbarossa's father. Barbarossa's other uncle became the first Hohenstaufen emperor, Conrad III. Frederick Barbarossa was the third Hohenstaufen duke of Alsace and the second Hohenstaufen emperor.

[25] *Gesta*, 41.

[26] Romans 13: 2, "Therefore he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. And they that resist, purchase to themselves damnation." On the use of this passage to support Christian theocracy, see Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, trans. R. F. Bennett, rev. ed. (1940; repr., New York, 1991), 26. See also Agobard of Lyons, *On the division of the Empire (to Louis the Pious)*, trans. W. North, *Internet Medieval Source Book* (Fordham University Center for Medieval Studies, [Accessed 5/12/2005]) <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/830agobard.htm.>

Territorial Politics in Mid-Twelfth Century Alsace

As a priest serving in imperial territory under a pope and emperor at odds with one another, Otto chose a political position similar to that of other churchmen living in German-speaking lands. One might assume that since churches in and around Rome responded to conflicts between the pope and the emperor with pro-papal artistic programs, churches in imperial territory would likewise reflect obvious signs of imperial polemics in their ecclesiastical decoration. Like Bishop Otto of Freising, however, churches in imperial territory owed loyalty to both the emperor and the pope. Prior to the Investiture Controversy, the emperor had been revered in imperial land as the divinely appointed ruler of his national church, and he was tied to this church body by proprietary and sacerdotal bonds.[27] After the Concordat of Worms, however, the emperor was no longer able to act in a priestly capacity for his churches; the churches now relied solely on the pope and other priests for sacerdotal authority.

Still, the emperor retained proprietary ties to two main groups of churches in imperial territories: those he inherited as imperial property and those he inherited as personal property.[28] This was certainly the case in Barbarossa's native Alsace. As the supreme *advocatus (Vogt)* of these churches, the emperor exercised his administrative duties through his appointed lay representatives (*advocates* or *ministeriales*) and in certain cases he even served the needs of these churches personally.[29] Loyal to both the

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[27] *Medieval Germany, 911-1250: Essays by German Historians*, trans. Geoffrey Barraclough (1938; repr., Oxford, 1948), 64. Barraclough explains the relationship between emperor and churches in medieval Germany. Before the Investiture Controversy, the German emperors used the church, "not as an unwilling tool diverted from its proper function, but as an instrument placed by God in royal hands for the work of civilization and social organization."

[28] Aloys Meister organizes his dissertation, "Die Hohenstaufen im Elsass" (Ph. D. diss, University of Strasbourg, 1890), around these two types of imperial churches in Alsace.

[29] Constance B. Bouchard, "Advocatus/Avoué," in *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, ed. William W. Kibler and Grover A. Zinn (New York and London, 1995), 9 and Joseph R. Strayer, "Advocate," in

pope for sacerdotal authority and to the emperor for his protection, churches in these two categories in Alsace must have felt papal-imperial conflicts keenly. It remains to be seen what sort of political messages could have been embedded in the artistic programs of such Alsatian churches. Did sculptural programs created for Alsatian churches after the Investiture Conflict reflect, as did the writings of Otto of Freising, a cautiously pro-imperial spirit, or did they side with the pope as the higher spiritual authority?

Before we can attempt to answer this question by looking at specific programs, it would be good to examine in more detail the nature of the emperor's involvement with Alsatian churches in the mid-twelfth century. Because the territory of Alsace had been granted to the Hohenstaufen as a reward for their loyalty to Emperor Henry IV during his conflicts with Pope Gregory VII, the area was particularly important to that family. As a member of the Hohenstaufen family, Barbarossa was not merely the imperial overlord of Alsace, but also the regional potentate. Unlike his ancestor, Henry IV, Frederick Barbarossa kept careful tabs on his Alsatian holdings even while occupied with war in Northern Italy, for he traveled to Alsace frequently during his reign.[30] It seems, in fact, that Barbarossa forged new ties his Alsatian churches as part of his grander territorial

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Dictionary of the Middle Ages, ed. Joseph R. Strayer (New York, 1982), 1: 59. The German for *advocatus* is *Vogt*. An advocate personally acted as the lay agent in the outside world who protected monasteries from enemies. The advocate was rewarded by part of the land and revenues that he protected. On the role of advocates, see also Barraclough, 65-70. For a summary of advocates in Alsace, see Henri Dubled, "L'avouerie des monastères en Alsace au moyen âge," *Archives de l'église d'Alsace* 10 (1959): 1-88. Hans Hirsch, *Die Klosterimmunität seit dem Investiturstreit: Untersuchungen zur Verfassungsgeschichte des deutschen Reiches und der deutschen Kirche* (Darmstadt, 1967), 115, says the only way for German kings in the twelfth century to control churches effectively was by serving as an *advocatus*. On the role of advocates, see also Barraclough, 65-70.

[30] For a complete list of Barbarossa's documented trips through Alsace, see Ferdinand Opll, *Itinerar Friedrich Barbarossas (1152-1190)* (Vienna, 1978), and Alheydis Plassmann, *Die Struktur des Hofes unter Friedrich I. Barbarossa nach den deutschen Zeugen seiner Urkunden* (Hannover, 1998), 130, note 1. See also Jean-Yves Mariotte, "Les Staufen en Alsace au XIIe s. d'après leurs diplômes," *Revue d'Alsace* 119 (1993): 51-53, who prefaces his list of imperial visits to Alsace with the conclusion that the total of Barbarossa's short trips to Alsace in his thirty-seven year reign adds up to at least two or three years in the area.

policy to unify Lothringia, Burgundy, Alsace, Swabia, and Northern Italy.[31] When the political messages of artistic programs are evaluated in this dissertation, then, Barbarossa's territorial ambitions in Upper and Lower Alsace must be considered.

Thomas Seiler proposes that Barbarossa began a new territorial policy among churches in Lower Alsace, those in the diocese of Strasbourg, at the very outset of his reign because important traffic routes existed through the Vosges into Lorraine (figs. 1, 3, 6).[32] Seiler explains that several important ecclesiastic complexes were created or restored by the emperor in Lower Alsace between 1152 and 1167. In addition to his new policies toward churches in Lower Alsace, Barbarossa erected new castles in the area and established Haguenau as a new capital of the empire.[33] Once he had established Lower Alsace as a stronghold and had married a Burgundian princess,[34] Barbarossa began a second enterprise towards the latter part of the twelfth century to bring Upper Alsace, in the diocese of Basel, under his control (figs. 2, 7). His interest in Upper Alsace grew because it was a geographic link between Burgundy and his other territories. The aim of this second enterprise to control the Upper Alsatian region between Basel and Colmar was to unite Northern Italy and Burgundy as well as to connect routes between Italy and Lower Alsace and Germany.

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[31] On Barbarossa's "Great Design" for Swabia and Alsace, see Peter Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa: A Study of Medieval Politics* (Ithaca and London, 1969), 102 and 110.

[32] Thomas Seiler, *Die frühstaufische Territorialpolitik im Elsass* (Hamburg, 1995), 244. See also Alfred Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany, 1056-1273*, trans. Helga Braun and Richard Mortimer (1984; repr. New York, 1990), 155, who says that control over monasteries was an essential part of Staufen territorial policy. Seiler derives his ideas from Aloys Meister's dissertation and from essays on Alsace by Heinrich Büttner now collected in *Geschichte des Elsass I: Politische Geschichte des Landes von der Landnahmezeit bis zum Tode Ottos III. und Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Geschichte des Elsass im Früh- und Hochmittelalter*, ed. Traute Edemann (Sigmaringen, 1991).

[33] See Holger Klitzing, "Die Bedeutung der Klöster für die frühstaufische Territorialpolitik im Elsass," working paper (University of Heidelberg, 2000, 1-17 [Accessed 5/12/2005]) <http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~hklitzin/studium/Ge/ha-staufer.html>. Based on the work of Seiler, Klitzing, 11, asserts that the privilege of Hagenau in 1164 demonstrated Barbarossa's new turn to the establishment of cities as part of his territorial policies, but it represented a parallel development to his church policy.

[34] Klitzing, 11. Barbarossa married Beatrix of Burgundy in 1156.

According to Seiler, Barbarossa first started to assert his influence in Lower Alsace by aiding churches founded by his Hohenstaufen ancestors and by reviving imperial ties to churches founded in earlier periods. Frederick began his program of influence in Lower Alsace by creating a cultural center and an imperial capital at Haguenau, which he had inherited from his father. Barbarossa built a palace, a hospital, and a chapel at Haguenau, and also kept a significant library there.[35] It is also thought that the emperor brought the imperial insignia at the palace chapel at Haguenau in 1153 where they remained until 1208.[36] If this were the case, then Barbarossa's act to keep the symbols of the empire at Haguenau further demonstrates the importance of this city to the emperor. Extant relief fragments from the chapel (c. 1170) and a verbal account by Godfrey of Viterbo concerning the interior decoration of the palace testify to emperor's ongoing interest in artistic commissions at Haguenau.[37] From there he showed concern for a number of nearby monasteries in the Holy Forest around Haguenau, all of which he had inherited along with Haguenau: St. Walburg, Neuburg, and Königsbrück.[38] These he

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[35] Seiler, 200. Godfrey of Viterbo mentions the high culture at Haguenau in a poem about Alsace. See Godfrey of Viterbo, "De castro Haginowa," in *Littérature latine et histoire du Moyen Age*, ed. Léopold Delisle (Paris, 1890), 48-49. On the property gained through Hermann II of Swabia, see Meister, 57-75.

[36] Seiler, 198; Walter Hotz, *Pfalzen und Burgen der Stauferzeit: Geschichte und Gestalt* (Darmstadt, 1981), 65-68; and Robert Will, "Notes complémentaires sur le chateau imperial disparu de Haguenau," *Etudes haguenoviennes* 5 (1965-1970): 97-99. Later in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance era, a few references were made to a "Kammer" on the third floor of the palace chapel at Haguenau and to specific items in it typically associated with the imperial insignia in the "Kammer". See especially the description written by Hieronymus Gebwiler in a letter of 1528 as recorded in Hotz, 66.

[37] For the sculptural fragments from Palatine Chapel at Haguenau, see Hotz, 69-72, and Robert Will, *Répertoire de la sculpture romane de l'Alsace* (Strasbourg, 1959), 22-23. These include fragment of the head of a bearded man, a siren, animals, a female figure with her baby, and a dragon's face. A larger fragment of a bishop or emperor surrounded by clerics may also derive from Haguenau, although it may come from Neuburg as well. For of Viterbo's description of Haguenau castle, see note 35 above. See also Joan A. Holladay, "Rivaling/Reviving Rome" chapter in a book in progress tentatively entitled *Visual Lineage: Images with Genealogical Content in the High and Late Middle Ages*, 1-14. Holladay, 48, note 1, records what Godfrey wrote concerning the interior decoration of the palace: *Aurea pictura thalami laquearia plura / Omnia preterita recolunt mostrantque futura, / Cunctorum regum signat ymago genus.* Holladay, 1, translates this: many golden pictures on the paneling of the room recall the past and show the future, the image indicates the race (descent) of all kings.

[38] Meister, 62-75; Hotz, 62-63; Klitzing, 7-9.

united with two other monasteries which he gained as part of his imperial possessions: Selz and Weißenburg.[39] With possession of Haguenau and these churches in the area of the Holy Forest, Barbarossa was able to create a sphere of influence in the territory to the north of Strasbourg. In addition, the constant loyalty of the Strasbourg bishops to the emperor further contributed to Barbarossa's ultimate control over Lower Alsace.[40]

Around the same time, Barbarossa turned his attention to Odilienberg and Sélestat (Schlettstadt), two complexes south of Strasbourg that he had inherited through his great-grandmother, Hildegard. At both places Barbarossa served as advocate. After an 1153 visit to the large fortress of Odilienburg, he had the destroyed chapel of Hohenburg restored and appointed his relative, Relinde, as its abbess. Imperial sympathies have been detected in artistic work by Relinde's successor, Herrad, who included Barbarossa's antipopes in a comprehensive list of popes in her famous *Hortus Deliciarum* manuscript.[41] Emperor Barbarossa demonstrated specific concern for the church of St. Faith in Sélestat as well, for he commissioned a set of stained glass windows to commemorate his victory over Milan in 1162; he was possibly involved with the construction of the Romanesque church there as well.[42] His restorations and

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[39] The other imperial possessions he inherited were: Murbach, St. Gregor, and Erstein.

[40] See Mariotte, 59-61, on the loyalty of the Strasbourg bishops to Barbarossa. The Strasbourg bishops supported Emperor Frederick until Bishop Conrad of Hunebourg (1190-1202), who came to office just after the death of Barbarossa.

[41] For a compilation of the extant work by Herrad of Landsberg, see the *Hortus Deliciarum (Garden of Delights)*, ed and trans. Aristide D. Caratzaz (New Rochelle, NY, 1977). On Barbarossa's reconstruction at Hohenburg and his ties to Relinde and Herrad, see Fiona Griffiths, "Nuns' Memories or Missing History in Alsace (c. 1200): Herrad of Hohenbourg's *Garden of Delights*," in *Medieval Memories: Men, Women and the Past, 700-1300*, ed. Elisabeth Van Houts (Essex, 2001), 136-137.

[42] Robert Will, *Alsace romane*, 3rd ed. (La-Pierre-Qui-Vive, 1982), 234, and Rudolf Kautzsch, *Romanische Kirchen in Elsass: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der oberrheinischen Baukunst im 12. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1927), 69. According to Kautszch, Beatus Rhenanus recorded the following regarding the windows in 1551: "Visunter illic fenestrae vitreae Friderici Aenobarbi jussu factae, in quarum margine hoc ascriptum est epigramma: Tempore quo rediit superatis Mediolanis; Nos rex Romanus fieri jussit Fridericus." Not much else about the windows is known. It is possible that Barbarossa commissioned windows at Strasbourg Cathedral as well. See Appendix C.

commissions at these two powerful churches show that Barbarossa made a concerted effort to exert influence in the territory between Hohenburg and Sélestat, that is, in the zone south of Strasbourg.

Along with his reconstructive efforts at Odilienburg in the valley of the Breusch, Barbarossa concentrated specific attention on the neighboring abbey complex of Andlau in the Hohwald and its holdings from the Merovingian period. The abbey of Andlau, located just slightly to the south of Odilienburg, owned property that it shared with both Hohenburg and St. Faith in Sélestat. The women's abbey of Andlau, for example, agreed to share the priestly duties of its male-owned monastery in Etival with Herrad's neighboring women's abbey of St. Gorgon, and it shared ownership of the village of Kiensheim with St. Faith in Sélestat.[43] Andlau also held significant property in the Dagsburg forest north of Odilienburg and near Strasbourg, among which was the former Merovingian palace of Marley (later called Marlenheim).[44] Because of its possession of the ancient imperial complex at Marlenheim, the abbey of Andlau had the highest sovereignty and jurisdictional authority in the Dagsburg forest up until the fourteenth century.[45] This long-standing and powerful women's abbey seems to have been important to the Hohenstaufen emperor because it effectively consolidated his territorial influence between Strasbourg and Sélestat. Secondarily, as the advocate of Andlau the emperor gained legal and monetary power through the abbey's possession of

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[43] Meister, 43 and 48; Büttner, 226.

[44] Meister, 20-29. The abbesses of Andlau owned the *Stadelhof* at Marley, which gave them jurisdiction over Kirchheim, Nordheim, Odrazheim and Cronthal. Meister, 29, claims Andlau also possessed the imperial church of Etival. For more on the possessions of Andlau in the Dagsburg forest, including Maursmünster (Marmoutier), see Heinrich Büttner, "Andlau und der Dagsburger Wald: Zur frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte der Landschaft im Quellgebiet von Saar und Zorn," in *Geschichte des Elsass I*, 269-281.

[45] Heinrich Büttner, "Andlauer Besitz und Reichsgut," in *Geschichte des Elsass I*, 287. See also 291, where Büttner establishes that Andlau had rights to Marlenheim from the ninth century. See Chapter 3 below.

Marlenheim. Interpreting the iconography of the extensive sculptural program at Andlau, which was reconstructed during Barbarossa's reign, then, will be essential for this dissertation.

Once he had gained control over Lower Alsace, Seiler proposes, Barbarossa then turned his attention to influencing Upper Alsace in the diocese of Basel. This region, which extended from Colmar down past Basel and into the Jura mountains of modern Switzerland, was a critical area between Italy and Burgundy. On at least two occasions the emperor visited Basel on trips between Italy and Burgundy.[46] Seiler suggests that in order to influence Upper Alsace, Barbarossa worked with the bishops of Basel and the local nobility; he also asserted control through Cistercian churches loyal to him.[47] Since Barbarossa turned to the bishops of Basel to help him govern Upper Alsace, the decorative programs at the Minster at Basel will be as important for this dissertation as the program at Andlau in Lower Alsace. It will be suggested, in fact, that the sculptural programs erected during the latter part of Barbarossa's reign in the diocese of Basel looked to the earlier sculptural ensemble in the Lower Alsatian church of Andlau for inspiration.

As the sculpture at the church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Andlau is the first known program to have been erected during Barbarossa's reign, it makes sense to begin a study of artistic polemics with an examination of its iconography. In this next section we will see that some of the sculptural decoration at Andlau makes reference to papal authority

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[46] Toni Arnet, *Das Basler Münster* (Basel, 2000), 25, notes Barbarossa visited Basel on March 15, 1168 on a return trip from Rome and Lombardy over Mont Cenis and Burgundy and once again in March 1173 on his way from Italy through Lenzburg and on to Burgundy. According to Ferdinand Opll, *Itinerar Friedrich Barbarossas (1152-1190)* (Vienna, 1978), 240, Barbarossa visited Basel in 1153, 1168, 1170, 1173, and 1174.

[47] Seiler, 245.

because of a reuse of traditional imagery employed by popes. It will become clear, however, that the political message of the sculptural program at Andlau is close to Otto of Freising's outlook on church and state relations, one that was shared and enforced by his nephew, Frederick Barbarossa.

Advocating Traditional Church Hierarchy at Andlau in Alsace

The same political caution practiced by Bishop Otto of Freising is recognizable in the sculptural program at the abbey church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Andlau, the western and northern façades of which are extensively decorated with a wide-range of iconographic themes, both sacred and secular. Without even knowing the specific details about Barbarossa's relationship with the nuns at Andlau, which will be discussed in Chapter 3, the viewer immediately understands the militant and potentially propagandistic message conveyed by the sculptural ensemble over the west entrance into the church.

Three massive blocks sculpted in high relief exist in the archway at Andlau that leads to the paradise porch and its ornately sculpted portal (fig. 82). The keystone relief shows Christ enthroned accompanied by a small female figure standing to his right (figs. 84-85). Reminiscent of the antipope trampled by Calixtus at the Lateran, a well-known image by this time, a winged serpent with the beak-like mouth lies victoriously trampled beneath Christ's feet. Lower on the arch and on either side of the keystone relief are two scenes of combat: David overcomes Goliath on the left side of the arch and Samson struggles with a lion to the right (figs. 86-87). These scenes of combat, as will be explained, lend themselves particularly well to issues of power and hierarchy in the church.

The general meaning of these three sculptures is fairly obvious: just as Christ defeated death and the devil, so the faithful have and will continue to combat evil and injustice until His second coming. Offering the charter of her abbey to Christ, the female figure next to Christ is probably the abbess Richardis, who had founded the monastery in the ninth century. Richardis's presence as the founder of the abbey indicates that she continually intercedes with Christ in Heaven on behalf of the community at Andlau. David and Samson represent Old Testament examples of faithful men, both kingly and priestly, who wrestled and won against evil. David and Samson might function as guardians protecting the portal entrance from the evil of the secular world.[48] The two Old Testament heroes could be understood typologically as the forerunners of Christ, protecting the faithful against evil. Joining their ranks under the arch in the present time, the viewer is simultaneously protected from harm, but also faced with the same challenge to combat evil until Christ's return.

A more subtle and secondary level of meaning, however, can be read into these three archway sculptures at Andlau. Each of these motifs individually carried a loaded history of associations for the medieval viewer. As noted above, Christ trampling a basilisk or dragon recalls, among other imagery, the Lateran frescos of Pope Calixtus II.[49] David's triumph over Goliath is a typical example of a king who was anointed by God to defend His people, a key figure for medieval kings during and after the Investiture Contest. Samson's triumph over the lion was used during the Investiture Controversy to

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[48] Robert Will, "Die epischen Themen der romanischen Bauplastik des Elsass," in *Festschrift H. E. Kubach: Baukunst des Mittelalters in Europa*, ed. Franz J. Much (Stuttgart, 1988), 335**.** Will suggests that figures struggling with monsters on church portals may also represent guardians of the entrance.

[49] For a visual example of a basilisk compared to the asp, lion, and dragon, see the papal throne in the Lateran from the time of Pope Nicholas IV (1288-1292) as illustrated in Herklotz, 191, figure 17. Both the dragon and the basilisk have serpent tales and wings. The basilisk in this case has the head of a chicken, while the head of the creature at Andlau seems a cross between a dragon and a bird.

demonstrate papal supremacy. After a closer historical examination of these motifs, it will be suggested that these three reliefs functioned together as a subtle statement of support for the traditional understanding of church hierarchy and secular authority as espoused by Otto of Freising and Emperor Barbarossa.

Christ Trampling the Basilisk

Christ trampling on any sort of creature signified a victory over a malevolent force. A biblical source for this motif is Psalm 90 (91):13, which describes God's protection in treading upon a dragon and a lion, a serpent, and a basilisk.[50] The theme of this psalm is the shelter of God's protection as symbolized by the entire paradise porch at Andlau. Essentially this psalm assures God's people that He will protect and defend the faithful. Christians believed that this psalm referred to the triumph of the Messiah, Christ, over evil, first prophesied in Genesis 3:13. In the Stuttgart Psalter (c. 820), for example, which contains one of the earliest known illustrations of Psalm 90 (91), Christ stands on top of two beasts (fig. 13).[51] Through Christ's death and resurrection, the long-awaited Messiah of the Old Testament had come to triumph over evil and death and usher in His new kingdom on earth.

The keystone at Andlau differs from the Stuttgart Psalter in that Christ is seated on a throne and rests his feet on a single creature as if it were a footstool. This arrangement on a throne is closer to the Utrecht Psalter illustration of Psalm 90 (91) (c. 830), in which Christ is shown seated together with God the Father and framed by a

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[50] Ps. 90 (91):13, "Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk: and thou shalt trample under foot the lion and the dragon." For another passage concerning these animals, see also Isa. 11. For more on Ps. 90 (91) and Christ Trampling, see Herklotz, 180; Christine Verzár Bornstein, "Victory over Evil: Variations on the Image of Psalm 90-13 in the Art of Nicholaus," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Roberto Salvini*, ed. Cristina De Benedictis (Florence, 1984), 45-51; Gertrud Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst 3: Die Auferstehung und Erhöhung Christi* (Gütersloh, 1971), 33; and Walter, 2: 111.

[51] See Kathleen M. Openshaw, "Weapons in the Daily Battle: Images of the Conquest of Evil in the Early Medieval Psalter," *Art Bulletin* 75 (1993): 20-21.

mandorla (fig. 14). At their feet the destroyed enemy is portrayed in the form of two trampled humans. The incorporation of a throne and trampled humans in this second Utrecht Psalter image illustrates Psalm 109 (110):1: "The Lord said to my Lord: Sit thou at my right hand: Until I make thy enemies thy footstool." Instead of the promised protection from evil pitfalls of life in Psalm 90 (91), this second psalm emphasizes that the enemies of God, that is, those who are against Christ, will be subdued at the Second Coming. This passage easily lends itself to the idea that specific groups of people on earth represented the enemies of Christ.

The rest of Psalm 109 (110) addresses the royal and priestly power and authority of God's Chosen One, the Messiah.[52] In Matthew 22:41-46 Christ points to Psalm 109 (110) to indicate that He was the Chosen One with the authority to defeat His enemies.[53] In reference to the second part of the verse in Ephesians 1:22, Paul stated that God put all things under Christ's feet and gave Him the church as the supreme Lord over everything.[54] The relief of Christ at Andlau draws upon images from these two psalms to convey the idea that Christ has and would defeat His enemies because He was given ultimate authority from God to do so. Members of the church were persuaded that this very authority of Christ had been transferred to the apostles while He sat at the right hand of God and waited to return again.

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[52] Ps. 109 (110):2-6. The Lord will send forth the sceptre of thy power out of Sion: rule thou in the midst of thy enemies. With thee is the principality in the day of thy strength: in the brightness of the saints: from the womb before the day star I begot thee. The Lord hath sworn, and he will not repent: Thou art a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech. The Lord at thy right hand hath broken kings in the day of his wrath. He shall judge among nations, he shall fill ruins: he shall crush the heads in the land of many.
[53] Mt. 22:41-46. On these two commandments dependeth the whole law and the prophets. And the Pharisees being gathered together, Jesus asked them, saying: What think you of Christ? Whose son is he? They say to him: David's. He saith to them: How then doth David in spirit call him Lord, saying: The Lord said to my Lord: Sit on my right hand, until I make thy enemies thy footstool? If David then called him Lord, how is he his son? And no man was able to answer him a word: neither durst any man from that day forth ask him any more questions.
[54] See also Heb. 1:13.

At the outset of this chapter, it was explained that Pope Calixtus II similarly employed the motif of trampling to communicate ideas about his God-given authority over the anti-popes and even the emperor. Calixtus's program may have been influenced by earlier large-scale representations of victorious trampling in the city of Ravenna in the Emilia-Romagna of Northern Italy. The mosaic of the militant Christ in the vestibule of the orthodox Archepiscopal Palace Chapel, for example, was created by Bishop Peter II sometime during the reign of Theoderich the Ostrogoth (493-526).[55] Since the Arian king of Italy was not favored by the Orthodox Church, it is likely that the image of Christ trampling evil beasts at the bishop's palace signified the desire for the triumph of orthodoxy over the Arian heresy. Further, Theoderich erected an image of trampling over the main entrance gate to the city to the right of his palace, possibly in response to the triumphant Christ at the orthodox chapel.[56] These two monumental examples of Christian trampling are particularly relevant for our discussion of the similar motif at Andlau, for they were politically motivated and they occurred over entryways.

Sculpted Romanesque portals in Northern Italy likewise display triumphant trampling motifs that have been interpreted politically. Christine Verzár Bornstein argues that sculptural programs in the Emilia-Romagna and Veneto regions of Northern Italy also displayed victorious trampling imagery to show support for the pope against his enemies during the Investiture Controversy.[57] These Romanesque versions, Verzár Bornstein explains, were likely modeled on the Early Christian images of trampling from

[55] On Theoderich's rule and the art of the period, see Mark J. Johnson, "Toward a History of Theoderic's Building Program," Dumbarton Oaks Papers 42 (1988): 73-96. See also Chapter 6 of this dissertation. On the chapel of Peter II at the Palazzo Archivescovile in Ravenna, see Trude Krautheimer-Hess, "The Original *Porta dei Mesi* at Ferrara and the Art of Niccolo," *Art Bulletin* 26 (1944): 171 and Schiller, 33-34.
[56] Schiller, 34; Johnson, 92. Krautheimer-Hess, 171, additionally lists two small-scale occurrences of this trampling motif in Ravenna: a stucco relief from the Orthodox Baptistery (c. 450) and the sarcophagus of the so-called Pignatta sarcophagus, which she calls the sarcophagus of the Prophet Eliseus at St. Francesco.
[57] Verzár Bornstein, "Victory," 45-51.

the nearby city of Ravenna.[58] This connection is especially important in the case of Ferrara, which had a historic relationship of rivalry with the city of Ravenna.

In the no longer extant tympanum of the *Porta dei Mesi* at the cathedral of Ferrara, Nicholaus sculpted an image based on Psalm 90 (91):13, which was accompanied by an inscription. Verzár Bornstein argues that this inscription, *nec deus nec homo est presens quam cernis imago – sed deus et homo est presens quam signat imago*, holds the key to understanding the significance of the image in the twelfth-century.[59] Verzár Bornstein claims that the inscription encourages the viewer to understand the image symbolically and for its message. Since Verzár Bornstein mistakenly holds that Nicholaus worked for Matilda of Canossa, who was a strong papal ally during the Investiture Controversy but died in 1115 well before Nicholaus's portals at Ferrara (1135), she reads the message behind his sculpted *Porta dei Mesi* psalm as a statement of pro-papal support.[60] Although Matilda of Canossa may not have been the patron at Ferrara, understanding the work of Nicholaus as a display of papal support in the aftermath of the Concordat of Worms (1122) is still possible. This area of Northern Italy was continually a point of contention between popes and emperors throughout the twelfth century. In fact, Verzár Bornstein points to the frescos in the audience hall of

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[58] Christine Verzár Bornstein, *Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City-State: The Sculpture of Nicholaus in Context* (Parma, 1988), 104. Krautheimer-Hess, 171, was first to make this connection.
[59] Verzár Bornstein, *Portals*, 104, provides the translation, "this image which you see is neither a god nor man, but it is rather a man *and* a god which the image signifies." See also Calvin B. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1998), 226. Kendall provides the Latin: *Nec Deus est, nec Homo praesens quam cernis imago / Sed Deus est, & Homo praesens quam signat imago*, which he translates, "The image which you see is neither God nor man in the flesh, but it is God and man in the flesh which the image signifies."
[60] On Verzár Bornstein's "tendency to paint with a broad brush," see Dorothy F. Glass, review of *Portals*, by Christine Verzár Bornstein in *Speculum* 66 (1991): 381-383.

Calixtus II as well as a papal illumination of *Ecclesia Romana* trampling beasts to support her thesis that the art of Nicholas at Ferrara was politically motivated.[61]

Verzár Bornstein writes that the same pro-papal message holds for Nicholaus's other sculpted adaptations of Psalm 90 (91), such as the St. George tympanum at Ferrara, as well as on the west façade tympanum at St. Zeno in Verona, where Bishop Zeno tramples a devil, and at Verona cathedral where a statue of Roland tramples a beast.[62] Since the inscription at the *Porta dei Mesi* invites interpretation of Psalm 90 (91), it is likely that the same psalm was used politically in different contexts to support those being portrayed as God's chosen representatives.

While it seems the *Christus Victor* motif from Psalm 90 (91) was used by popes to promote their supreme authority on earth, it has been suggested that victorious trampling derived originally from Roman imperial sources to refer to imperial power. Gertrud Schiller, for example, points to the Life of Constantine by Eusebius where the use of this motif is mentioned in a mosaic over the entrance of the imperial palace in Constantinople. This mosaic showed Constantine and his sons triumphing over a dragon

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[61] Verzár Bornstein, *Portals*, 104, refers to a thirteenth-century illumination in the *Liber Ystoriarum Romanorum* (fol. 123v), which was supposedly a copy of a twelfth century original.

[62] For more on these trampling adaptations, especially at St. Zeno in Verona, as well as a consideration of Verzár Bornstein's theories, see Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, *Romanische Skulptur in Oberitalien als Reflex der kommunalen Entwicklung im 12. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen zu Mailand und Verona* (Berlin, 1994), 170-175. Verzár Bornstein, *Portals*, 104, also mentions that the image of Christ trampling appears on the side portal tympanum of Troia Cathedral in Apulia. Verzár Bornstein's theory concerning the *Christus Victor* motif in Lombardy should also be considered with regard to the relief of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa standing on a basilisk which was once set over the arch of the *Porta Romana* in Milan (1171). This representation of the emperor is believed to be a caricature of the emperor. See Klaus Schreiner, "Friedrich Barbarossa – Herr der Welt, Zeuge der Wahrheit, die Verkörperung nationaler Macht und Herrlichkeit," in *Die Zeit der Staufer: Geschichte, Kunst, Kultur - Katalog der Ausstellung (Stuttgart, Altes Schloss und Kunstgebaude, 26. Marz-5. Juni)*, ed. Reiner Hausherr (Stuttgart, 1977), 5: 524 and Von Hülsen-Esch, 96-109.

and was created to demonstrate Constantine's Christ-like authority over evil.[63] Further, Schiller discusses the fifth-century imperial practice of trampling on one's enemies, the ceremonial *calcatio*.[64] To explain its derivation from Roman imperial sources, Christopher Walter refers to the Arch of Galerius (fig. 19). In the reliefs of this arch two enthroned emperors each sit above a personification of the universe, which is represented as a person with a cloak raised in an arch over his head.[65] Here an emperor placed over a figure of the universe signifies his authority and control over all things. This may seem a bit removed from an image of enemy trampling, but Ingo Herklotz supplies yet another example of victorious trampling in Roman art. Herklotz says that the image of Trajan standing on his barbarian enemies has been found on coins minted during his reign.[66]

Medieval popes were accustomed to thinking about the military might of the Christian emperors in terms of the *Christus victor* motif. Ingo Herklotz explains that Pope Hadrian I (771-775), for example, wrote to Charlemagne using the imagery from Psalm 90 (91).[67] As Pope Leo III (795-816) had written to Emperor Charlemagne, the office of the emperor was to defend the Church against her enemies; thus the Christian conflation of Christ and the emperor trampling enemies made perfect sense in this context.[68] Even after years of strife between the pope and the emperor, Pope Innocent II addressed Emperor Lothar using such triumphal terms in a letter of 1136. The pope

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[63] Schiller, 33. See Eusebius Pamphilus of Caesarea, *The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine*. *Internet Medieval Source Book* (Fordham University Center for Medieval Studies, [Accessed 5/12/2005]) <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/vita-constantine.html> Book 3, chapter 3.
[64] Schiller, 33, describes the ceremony of *calcatio* as it appears illustrated on coins from the fourth and fifth century; Walter, 2: 116, explains the Byzantine practice of *Skyllitzes Matrintensis*, where an enthroned emperor places his foot on the neck of a person. Further, Walter says Ps. 90 (91) was chanted at Constantinople while Emperor Justinian II performed the ceremony of the *Calcatio colli* and trampled the subjected Apsimar (Tiberius II) and Leontius; Herklotz, 175, discounts the idea that the fifth-century ceremonial *calcatio* in the Byzantine courts was influential on later western images of the theme.
[65] Walter, 2: 109.
[66] Herklotz, 173-176.
[67] Herklotz, 181.
[68] Walter, 2: 133-134, especially note 161.

addressed the emperor as *hostium subiugator* and *inclite triumphator*, and he wished that God would help the emperor crush rebels beneath his feet.[69] More than a decade after the Concordat of Worms and the propagandistic frescoes of Calixtus II, then, Pope Innocent II still thought in traditional terms about the emperor's militaristic role in defending the Christian kingdom.

The sculptor at Andlau was likewise referring to this tradition by including the *Christus Victor* motif in the keystone of the entrance arch. Because it was Christ who trampled evil at Andlau, and not a specific priest or king, the keystone relief emphasized Biblical ideas about Christ's kingly and priestly authority over evil while seemingly remaining apolitical. Christ the priest-king is the supreme authority at Andlau, not a specific priest or a king. Yet, the traditional notion that Christ passed on his royal and priestly authority to two different and equal earthly powers, the king and the priesthood, is expressed at Andlau both by the iconography in the tympanum in the portal below and by the two reliefs placed beneath the keystone sculpture.

In the tympanum of the west portal at Andlau, Christ is represented between his two apostles, Peter and Paul, in the act of giving Peter the keys to the kingdom of Heaven and Paul the book of the law (fig. 91). This motif of the *Traditio Legis* dates back to the Early Christian period and was used throughout the Middle Ages to express ideas about the division of Christ's authority into two distinct branches. The development of the *Traditio Legis* as an imperial motif will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. For now, it is enough to observe its connection to the *Christus Victor* motif on an Early Christian sarcophagus from Ravenna. The earliest representation in the West of Christ enthroned and trampling a lion and a dragon is found on the front side of the so-called

[69] Herklotz, 181.

Pignatta sarcophagus in Ravenna (400-410).[70] In this depiction Christ tramples two beasts at the same time that He gives the codex of the law to Peter and Paul in a *Traditio Legis* (fig. 20). Thus in this Early Christian sarcophagus representation, the belief that Christ divided his priestly authority between two powers was already visually combined with the Psalm imagery of the *Christus Victor* to make a statement about the inherited authority of Christ's followers over evil. Following this tradition, the artists at Andlau placed the keystone relief of Christ the priest-king trampling a serpent over the archway into the paradise porch as a visual preface to the tympanum over the main portal inside, which bore a scene of the *Traditio Legis*.[71] To call further attention to the connection between the *Christ Victor* motif and the transfer of Christ's power and authority to earthly powers, the artists at Andlau placed two reliefs below and to either side of the keystone relief on the archway into the church.

David and Samson: King and Priest?

Positioned below Christ trampling over the basilisk, the two reliefs of David and Samson were visual metaphors for the powers of the king and the priest. Although the combination of *Christus Victor* with David and Samson is unusual, independent images of Samson and the Lion and David and Goliath were popular subjects in Romanesque art and theology. In this section it will be shown that artists at Andlau relied upon

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[70] Walter, 2: 117; Schiller, 38-39; Herklotz, 177.

[71] Robert Will, "Recerches iconographiques sur la sculpture romane en Alsace," *Les cahiers techniques de l'art* 1 (1947): 39-41, describes three cases in which the figure of Saint Peter stands on the backs of lions or dragons at Romanesque churches in Alsace. At the church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Neuwiller in Lower Alsace, a pillar in the cloister shows St. Peter framed by an arch; he holds a key and stands on the backs of two lions. Saint Peter stands on the back of a lion in a niche above the west portal at the church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Rosheim. The early thirteenth-century relief of Saint Peter on the *Burgtor* portal into the city of Strasbourg also stands on the backs of two creatures. Will argues that these three reliefs relate to 1 Pet. 5:8, "Be sober and watch: because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, goeth about seeking whom he may devour." He also suggests that these images may be connected to the triumphant Christ motif. Interestingly, as at Andlau, the two scenes of trampling at Neuwiller and Rosheim were accompanied by the *Traditio Legis* scene in a portal tympanum.

widespread familiarity with these two Old Testament figures to send a message about hierarchy and authority in Christendom.

Below and to the left of Christ in the keystone, David is represented slaying the giant, Goliath (fig. 86-87). Perhaps it was David's courage and relationship with God, epitomized by his defeat of the giant, Goliath (1 Sam. 17), that made the scene of this victory a popular theme in twelfth-century sculpture.[72] According to Augustine, the victory over Goliath served as a model for the triumph of Christ over Satan.[73] This relationship is underscored at Andlau, for Christ triumphs over the basilisk in the keystone above the scene of David and Goliath. Because David and Goliath are positioned below Christ in the left corner of a triangular composition, David's ability to triumph over Goliath also seems to stem from Christ, who has, does, and continues to conquer all evil. Christ the Messiah may have descended from the royal house of David, but as the author of Matthew 22:41-46 indicates David knew Christ as the Lord in Psalm 109 (110).[74] According to Matthew, then, David's authority derived from the Lord, who was also Christ from the very beginning.

Opposite the scene of David and Goliath, Samson wrestles with the lion below and to the right of Christ trampling the basilisk. While Samson may have prefigured Christ in the Old Testament, his strength to overcome the lion also appears to stem from Christ above him at Andlau. Twelfth-century images of Samson riding a lion certainly

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[72] For a list of medieval sculptures of David slaying Goliath, see *King David in the Index of Christian Art*. ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, 2005), 149-152. In the twelfth century, Hourihane lists the following: Andlau, Autun, Cambrai, Malmesbury, Moissac, Piacenza, Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, Tournai, Vézelay, Vienne, and a capital in Paris.
[73] Robert L. Wyss, "David," *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Otto Schmitt (Stuttgart, 1950), 2: 1084-1119.
[74] See 82 esp. note 53 above.

abound in Western Europe.[75] One finds at least nine sculpted versions of this motif in Northern Italy alone.[76] A relief of Samson riding the lion is prominently displayed standing alone on the west facade of the cathedral of Modena in the Emilia-Romagna. At the nearby abbey church of St. Sylvester at Nonantola, a relief of Samson and the lion ends a cycle of scenes on the doorjambs of the main portal (fig. 23).[77] Louis Réau records seventeen versions of Samson struggling with the lion in the Romanesque sculpture of France.[78] Reau's list also includes two examples of the Samson scene in Spain, six in Germany, and one in Switzerland.[79] Even so, his list was not comprehensive since he did not include the version at Andlau or the other Alsatian scene of Samson and the lion from the choir capitals at the church of St. Trophime in Eschau (fig. 21).[80] Neither Reau's list nor the *Index of Christian Art Online* takes into consideration more minor scenes of a lion rider incorporated into interlace patterns, an example of which exists in the choir at the Minster in Basel (fig. 22). Possibly such

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[75] Searching the *Index to Christian Art Online* <http://p4505-index4.princeton.edu.content.lib.utexas .edu:2048/ALEPH>. with the phrase "Samson slaying Lion" yields 129 entries ranging in medium and period. Louis Réau, "Samson," *Iconographie de l'art Chrétien 2* (Paris, 1956), 236. The image of Samson seems to have lost popularity in the thirteenth-century. On David and Samson as popular heroes in the twelfth century, see Richard Hamann, *Kunst und Askese: Bild und Bedeutung in der romanischen Plastik in Frankreich* (Worms, 1987), 252-256.

[76] See A. K. Porter, *Lombard Architecture* (1917; repr., New York, 1967), 1: 395. Porter says this motif was popular in Lombardy and was found twice at St. Michele at Pavia (1100), in the rinceaux of Cremona Cathedral (1107-1117), on the north transept of St. Fedele of Como (1115), at St. Giovanni of Borgo in Pavia (1120), Vaprio d'Adda (1115), Nonantola (1121), the cathedral of Parma (1130-1150), St. Salvatore of Brescia (1160), and Modena campanile (1167-1184). The dates for all these churches have been reevaluated in various sources since Porter's work.

[77] See Carlo Tosco, "Sansone vittorioso sul portale di Nonantola: Ricerche sulle funzioni dell'iconografia medioevale," *Arte cristiana* 80 (1992): 3. The relief of Samson and the lion at Modena exists on the west façade (1100-1110); here Samson stands upright while pulling at the lion's jaw. At Nonantola a relief of Samson astride lion is found at the top of the left door jamb on the west portal where it is accompanied by a riddle (1110-1130).

[78] The *Index for Christian Art Online* yields eighteen examples of Samson in French Romanesque sculpture.

[79] Réau, 2: 241. The *Index for Christian Art Online* offers fifty-four sculptural examples of Samson and the lion in Romanesque Europe.

[80] Although Andlau is listed in the *Index for Christian Art Online*, this database excludes Eschau as well. It may be that the database is not as complete as the physical index.

scenes are considered decorative and too difficult to identify. Beyond the scene of Samson astride the lion, the existence of a number of other Romanesque scenes taken from Samson's life in the region of Alsace further attests to the appeal of the Samson story during this era.[81]

Confusion about the identity of the lion rider at Andlau, however, exists today, as it may have done in the Middle Ages. A man riding a lion with his hands in the lion's mouth may represent Samson, but this image was also associated with a boyhood act of King David prior to his defeat of Goliath. In 1 Samuel 17: 34-37 the boy, David, told King Saul that he would be able to defeat Goliath because he had already rescued sheep from the mouths of lions and bears with the Lord's protection.[82] Although this Davidic passage about David's strength prior to his defeat of Goliath is perhaps less descriptive than the story of Samson and the lion, ideas about David's triumph and the triumph of Samson were conflated in the Middle Ages.

According to the twelfth-century author of the *Schedula Diversarum Artium*, Theophilus Rogerus, David and Samson were interchangeable as lion-riders. Theophilus advised craftsmen working on *repoussé* gold and silver vessels to represent:

> "horsemen fighting against dragons, the image of Samson or David tearing the jaws of the lion, also single lions and griffins strangling a sheep, or anything you please

[81] Will, "Recherches iconographiques," 43-48. Will believes the banquet scene in the frieze at Andlau is a scene of Samson's wedding. To defend this theory, he lists other scenes of Samson in Alsace: the key of a vault at Pfaffenheim decorated with an image of Samson and the lion; a scene of Samson lifting a tree on the portal of Alspach; a sculpture of Samson between pillars at Murbach; and a similar scene possibly of Samson between pillars in the cloister of the Fraumünster in Zürich. Will observes, 45, that the figure of Samson at Maienfeld in Switzerland (15th century) was paired with the hero Dietrich von Bern, just as Samson appears with scenes from the Dietrich epic at Andlau. For more on heroes at Andlau, see Chapter 6. Will, *Répertoire de la sculpture romane de l'Alsace* (Strasbourg, 1955), 56, also notes an image of Samson and the lion on the "Zolltor" gate into Strasbourg (c. 1200).

[82] For medieval scenes of David slaying a lion, see *King David in the Index of Christian Art*, 251-254.

> that will be suitable and appropriate to the size of the work."[83]

It was not so much the identity of Samson or David that was important to Theophilus, but rather the action of overcoming evil in general performed by both figures. For medieval viewers, then, a figure fighting a lion or astride a lion may have recalled both David and Samson.

The identity of the lion fighter/lion rider was often accompanied by an inscription identifying him as either David or Samson. In the absence of such an inscription, the figure could be understood from context where it appeared within a series depicting scenes from the lives of either Biblical hero.[84] It is nearly impossible, however, to tell the intention of the sculptor where neither inscription nor context is present. On the late Romanesque portal in the chapel of St. Nicholas at the Minster of Freiburg im Breisgau, for example, it is unclear whether it is Samson or David who is depicted slaying the lion (fig. 24). The presence of a sheep in this case speaks for David's identity, but the long hair of the rider might refer to Samson as well.[85] Because of a similar representation of a lion rider on the north portal tympanum of Lund (c. 1150), it has been argued that the

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[83] See book three, chapter 77 of *Theophilus De Diversis Artibus*, translated from the Latin with introduction and notes by C. R. Dodwell, London, 1961, 141, as cited by Meyer Shapiro, "The Bowman and the Bird on the Ruthwell Cross and Other Works: The Interpretation of Secular Themes in Early Medieval Religious Art," *Art Bulletin* 45 (1963): 351-352.

[84] See Marc Thoumieu, *Dictionnaire d'iconographie romane* (Saint-Léger-Vauban, 1996), 146. One finds the name of David near a scene of the king riding a lion on the eleventh-century floor mosaic of the church of Saint-Gereon in Cologne; in the same mosaic are other scenes taken from the life of David. For other David cycles that include a scene of David riding a lion, see Wyss, 1096-1097. On the confusion between David or Samson riding the lion, see Oscar Reutersvärd, "Simson, styrkebältet och den sakrala kraften," in *Genesis Profeta: Nordiska studier I gammaltestamentlig ikonografi* (Stockholm, 1980), 59-65.

[85] Konrad Kunze, *Himmel in Stein – das Freiburger Münster: Vom Sinn mittelalterlicher Kirchenbauten* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 2000), 91-92. Kunze suggests that the representation of Samson or David riding the lion may be explained a poem by Walter von der Vogelweide (1170-1230). In the poem *Der Bognerton* (c. 1220), the poet made reference to David and Samson slaying the lion: "Wer sleht den lewen? wer sleht den risen? Wer überwindet jenen unt disen? das tuot jener, der sich selber twinget und alliu sîniu lit in huote bringet." The poet asked, "Who slays the lion, who conquers the giant? Who overcomes this and that? He who overcomes himself accomplishes this; he who goes from a state of no discipline to the care of constant training brings control to all his limbs," (my translation).

rider represented a conflation of Christ, David, and Samson triumphing together over evil (figs. 25-26).[86]

Similarly, the main idea behind the triadic group of reliefs over the arch at Andlau is the victory of Christ, David, and Samson over evil. To my mind it makes sense that the lion rider in this case was meant as Samson, for the two side reliefs do not appear as consecutive panels of a narrative of David. Since the continuous frieze scenes on the façade above the arch read left to right, the same should hold true for the archway reliefs of David and Goliath and the lion rider if one wished to read them as narrative scenes. If this were the case, the lion rider as the boy, David, should appear chronologically at the left before the scene of David and Goliath. At Andlau, however, David battles Goliath at the left of the arch, while a man rides a lion at the right. The lion rider in this case, then, seems more likely to represent Samson. Medieval church fathers understood the dominance of Samson over the lion as an Old Testament prototype for Christ, a kind of prefiguration of Christ in Limbo.[87] By examining a passage from the *Glossa Ordinaria* written by a twelfth-century reformer quoting the sixth-century theologian, Isidore of Seville, Carlo Tosco argues that the popularity of the portrayal of Samson and the lion in the twelfth century related to the Investiture Contest.[88] In his *Quaestiones de Veteri et de Novo Testamento* (624-636), Isidore of Seville interpreted Samson and the lion as an allegory of the submission of the Kings of the Earth to the Vicars of Christ, a straightforward goal of the Gregorian Reform.[89]

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[86] Jan Svanberg, "Davids kamp mot lejon och björn," in *Genesis profeta*, 80-81, and note 17.
[87] W. A. Bulst, "Samson," *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum (Freiburg, 1972), 4: 30; Réau, 236.
[88] Tosco, 3-8. Anat Tcherikover summarizes Tosco's arguments in "Reflections of the Investiture Controversy at Nonantola and Modena," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 60 (1997): 158.
[89] Tosco, 5, quotes Isidore: "Quid sibi vult ex ore leonis occisis favus extractus, nisi quia, ut conspicimus, reges ipsi regni terreni, qui adversus Christum ante fremuerunt, nunc iam, perempta feritate, dulcedini

Isidore of Seville's commentary on the lion here was based on Samson's riddle found in Judges 14:14: *et de forte dulcedo de comedente cibus.*[90] This riddle is inscribed around the scene of Samson overcoming the lion at the abbey church of St. Sylvester in Nonantola (1117-1121) (fig. 23). Isidore says that the lion was a force of terrible power, which Samson overcame. In the Biblical narrative, after Samson passed the corpse of the dead lion on his way to marry a Philistine woman, he noticed a swarm of bees around the lion's corpse and a honeycomb inside the body, which he took and ate. His riddle to the Philistines set in motion a series of struggles between the Israelites and the ruling Philistine tribe. Samson, according to Isidore's commentary, prefigures Christ, and Christ destroys the pride of the powers of the earth and extracts the sweetness of submission (the honeycomb which grew in the dead lion's body) using the agent of his hands (the church).

Since the church of Nonantola was where the famous Gregorian author, Placidus, penned his decidedly pro-Reform *Liber de Hononore Ecclesiae*, Tosco reasons that the scene of Samson at Nonantola had overtones of the Gregorian Reform, as did the other images of Samson in Northern Italy.[91] Tosco points out, for example, that Peter Damian, a strong advocate of Gregorian Reform ideals, utilized Isidore's sermon on Samson to condemn simony in his *Liber Gratissimus*. The condemnation of simony, simply defined as the sale and purchase of clerical offices or estates by secular authorities, was one

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evangelicae praedicandae etiam munimenta praebent." Tosco quotes from J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1844-1855), 83, 389-390.

[90] Judg. 14:14: "And he said to them: Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness. And they could not for three days expound the riddle." For Samson and the riddle on the portal of Nonantola, see also Giambattista Moreali, *Il portale dell'abbazia di Nonantola* (Nonantola, 1988), 16-17, and fig. 11.

[91] Tosco, 6. On the reform work by Placidus of Nonantola and the connection to the abbey, see Jörg W. Busch, *Der Liber de Honore Ecclesiae des Placidus von Nonantola: Eine kanonistische Problemerörterung aus dem Jahre 1111* (Sigmaringen, 1990).

portion of Gregory's Reform.[92] Although the scene of the lion rider at Nonantola is unusal because it is accompanied by the inscription of the riddle, it may have had relevance for the church at Andlau. At the far right end of the historiated frieze that runs above the portal at Andlau, Robert Will has identified a banquet that he believes represents the wedding banquet where Samson delivered his riddle to the Philistines after killing the lion (fig. 81).[93] This banquet scene at the end of the portal frieze, in fact, appears in close proximity to the Samson rider lion on the left side of archway over the portal, providing further support for the identity of the lion rider at Andlau as Samson. As we will see in subsequent chapters, the sculptural program at Nonantola may have been known to the artists at Andlau.

Anat Tcherikover independently arrives at another connection of Samson and the Lion to the Gregorian Reform movement. According to Tcherikover, Samson was an accepted symbol of *sacerdotium* for he was a Nazarite who was set apart by God (Judg. 16:17).[94] Further, Samson's strength was imparted by the Holy Spirit, like that of an anointed priest. Tcherikover maintains that the figure of Samson was used to represent the *sacerdotium* in the sculptural programs of five Aquitanian churches, where in each case Samson was paired with a horse rider, which she suggests represented the *regnum*.[95]

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[92] Ute-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, 1988), 48-49.

[93] See Will, *Alsace*, 348; Robert Will, "Recherches iconographiques sur la sculpture romane en Alsace," *Les cahiers techniques de l'art* 1 (1947): 44. Will suggests that the banquet scene of Samson at Andlau is like a later, but similar scene at the Romanesque cloister of Monreale in Sicily (1200). In addition, the *Index for Christian Art Online* records scenes of Samson slaying the lion and the riddle at the banquet in three illuminated manuscripts and a work of metal. See Mount Athos Monastery, Vatopedi, MS 602, fol. 438v and 439rv; Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, lat. 10525, fol. 57v; Rome, Vatican Library, gr. 746, fol. 491rv and 492r; and a vessel in the Schnütgen Museum in Cologne.

[94] Anat Tcherikover, "Concerning Angoulême, Riders and the Art of the Gregorian Reform," *Art History* 13 (1990): 440.

[95] Tcherikover, "Concerning Angoulême," 440, lists Samson as a priest on the south side of the façade of Parthenay-le-Vieux, at the Parthenay church of Notre-Dame-de-la-Couldre, Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes, Châteauneuf-sur-Charente, and Benet.

Tcherikover explains that this pairing of priest and ruler was a popular theme in Aquitaine and that it derived from images at the Lateran in Rome and demonstrated support for the reform movement.[96] This suggestion that Samson and the lion represented *sacerdotium* and was visually paired with a figure that represented *regnum* is most relevant for our own discussion of Samson and David at Andlau.

Tcherikover proposes that the rider figures in Aquitanian churches represented Constantine, who was not only the first Christian emperor, but also the lay donor of the Lateran in Rome. An extensive literature already exists that links sculpted rider figures with Emperor Constantine, for in the medieval period the influential, ancient rider statue of Marcus Aurelius then located near the Lateran was identified as Constantine.[97] Tcherikover provides literary evidence that the riders on the Aquitanian churches were compared to the Lateran rider of Constantine.[98] Tcherikover observes that medieval travelers to Rome were aware of the statue of Samson that once appeared together with a statue of Constantine in front of the Lateran; here Samson was understood to represent the clergy, while Constantine symbolized all lay kings.[99] The Lateran statues,

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[96] Tcherikover, "Concerning Angoulême," 442, calls Aquitaine, "one of the strongholds of the Reform from its beginnings."

[97] See, for example, Herbert von Einem, "Zur Deutung des Magdeburger Reiters," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 16 (1953): 43; Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *La statuette équestre de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1999), 38; and Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France, the Twelfth Century: A Study of the Origins of Medieval Iconography*, trans. and ed. Harry Bober and Louis Grodecki (1928; repr. Princeton, 1978), 248-251. See also Linda Seidel, *Songs of Glory, the Romanesque Facades of Aquitaine* (Chicago and London, 1987), esp. 56-66. Unlike Tcherikover, Seidel argues that the rider sculptures demonstrate lay patronage at these Aquitainian churches, not monastic or reform patronage.

[98] Tcherikover, "Concerning Angoulême," 447.

[99] Tcherikover, "Concerning Angoulême," 438, esp. notes 49 and 50. The report of Samson in front of the Lateran was made by the twelfth-century traveler Benjamin of Tudela. This figure of Samson, though, did not appear astride a lion, but rather as a fragmentary colossus, comprising a head and, separately, a hand carrying a globe. Tcherikover, 447, points out that at La Rochette, both Constantine's horse and Samson's lion trample captives, and the captive beneath Constantine's horse holds a ball in his hand and alludes the Lateran Samson fragment. On the fragmentary colossus, see also a drawing from the workshop of Marco Zoppo now in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena of the antiquities of the Lateran prior to their removal: Herbert Kessler and Johanna Zacharias, *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim* (New Haven and London, 2000), 25, fig. 18.

Tcherikover asserts, were likely the sources for the paired figures of Constantine and Samson at the Aquitanian churches of Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes, Notre-Dame-de-la-Coudre, and Parthenay-le-Vieux.[100] At Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes a female figure accompanies Constantine and Samson; she may represent *Ecclesia*. If this is the case, Tcherikover says, Constantine and Samson are both under the auspices of the Church, from which the authority of both priest and the king derives.[101] This was in accordance with the so-called *Donation of Constantine*, which was used by priests during the Investiture Controversy to support the notion that the ideal ruler was like Constantine, who in his donation acknowledged the pope's spiritual authority over everything including the temporal power of emperors.

If Samson at Andlau is viewed in terms of *sacerdotium*, the priesthood is represented below and to the right of Christ Victorious. David defeating Goliath, on the left at Andlau, as the beloved King of Israel, would then represent *regnum*. As an Old Testament king, David represents *regnum* at Andlau in the same way Constantine would have at the Lateran or at the Aquitainian churches.[102] Unlike the sculptural programs in Aquitaine, an area heavily supportive of the Gregorian reform movement, Samson the priest is balanced on the opposite side of Christ by David, not Constantine. Herein lay the essential difference between the messages of the Aquitainian programs and Andlau. Whereas Constantine was believed to have submitted his temporal authority in the west to the pope, David, as God's anointed king, represented God's choice of ruler over the

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[100] Tcherikover, "Concerning Angoulême," 438, admits this evidence is problematic because Samson at the Lateran was not astride a lion. Rather the figure of Samson at the Lateran was already fragmentary in the Middle Ages and consisted of a head and a hand carrying a globe.
[101] Tcherikover, "Concerning Angoulême," 446.
[102] For more on images of David as models for representations of medieval rulers, see Hugo Steger, *David Rex et Propheta: König David als vorbildliche Verkörperung des Herrschers und Dichters im Mittelalter, nach Bilddarstellungen des achten bis zwölften Jahrhunderts* (Nuremberg, 1961), esp. 135-133.

temporal world. Thus, the overall message of the archway sculptures is that Christ gave his royal authority to David and earthly kings, and his sacred authority priests.

This message was precisely the argument made by Otto of Freising concerning traditional church hierarchy. Emperors up to the time of Frederick Barbarossa had claimed their God-given authority as priest-kings to administer justice in church affairs. During the Investiture Controversy, the pope came to claim superior authority over the emperor in sacred and even in secular matters. Otto longed for a time when the king and priests could work together as God originally intended. He stated in his *Chronicle* that the Church was "exalted and enriched by the strength of the state and the favor of kings." Further, he held that "there are, as is well known, two roles in the Church of God – the sacerdotal and the royal".[103] In this very same discussion about the two authorities on earth, Otto referred to David slaying Goliath,

> "it is quite evident that the Church could not have so deeply humiliated the state until the latter was enfeebled by its love of the priesthood, and so robbed of its strength that it was pierced and destroyed not only by the sword of the Church (that is, the spiritual weapon) but also by its own weapon, namely the material sword. To settle this point or even to discuss it is beyond our strength. However those priests seem altogether blameworthy who attempt to strike the state with its own sword, a sword which they hold by the king's favor – unless perchance they think to imitate David who by God's grace first struck the Philistine and afterwards slew him with his own sword."

Just as Otto used Goliath's death at David's hand to speak about the authority of kings to protect and serve the Church, the artists at Andlau used the same motif to quietly assert the right of the king to a role on equal footing with the priesthood in Church hierarchy. In the chapters to follow, we will see how the motif of the *Traditio Legis* was used in

[103] *Two Cities*, 404.

Alsatian sculptural programs to reinforce this statement about the authority of kings in the Church.

Chapter 2

The Development of the *Traditio Legis* as Imperial Iconography

The Theology of the Investiture Controversy

Writing to defend the roles of kings soon after 1100, the Norman Anonymous, an author whose political tracts aid our understanding of imperial polemics during the Investiture Controversy, called kings the "shadows" of Christ.[1] Whereas the kings of the Old Testament foreshadowed the advent of Christ the King, kings reigning after Christ's ascension were believed to reflect or imitate His kingship in the terrestrial world. As Christ was both God and man, so His "shadow" logically possessed a dual nature that was both divine and secular. Such a view of Christian emperors and kings had been held since it first came to be emphasized by Ottonian rulers in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[2] By the early twelfth century, however, the writings of the Norman Anonymous would quickly grow outdated as the papal reform party swept aside all sacred associations of the king.

After the Concordat of Worms in 1122, Alsatian artists were slow to depart from the traditional Ottonian view of kingship as described by the Norman Anonymous. The sarcophagus of Adeloch (c. 1130-1144) in the church of St. Thomas in Strasbourg, for example, is decorated with a representation of the investiture ceremony of the ninth-century bishop (fig. 27), and it will be argued momentarily that its scenes subtly supported the traditional authority of lay lords. A discussion of the theological

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[1] For a thorough interpretation of the Norman Anonymous's *De consecratione pontificum et regum* and kingship in the twelfth century, see Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, 7th ed. (Princeton, 1997), 42-61.

[2] Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study 2: Themes* (Oxford, 1991), 60. Mayr-Harting writes that ever since Kantorowicz's *The King's Two Bodies*, it has become commonplace to think that the notion of Christ-centered rule developed in the tenth century with the Ottonians. The Carolingian view of kingship, by contrast, was focused on Old Testament kings, primarily on King David.

underpinnings of the Investiture Contest will then reveal that the process whereby kings were stripped of their priestly authority was sluggish, particularly in imperial territories, because the king-priest had been an integral part of both the belief system and the justice system for over two hundred years. Once the theological arguments for the traditional Ottonian kingship as well as for the Gregorian ideal of non-priestly kingship have been examined, I will propose that Frederick Barbarossa made a deliberate attempt to further retard the devolution of the priest-king to secular king by reviving Ottonian artistic motifs and Early Christian portrayals of imperial authority, especially in the region of Alsace.

Two decades or so prior to the accession of Barbarossa in 1152 and following closely after the Concordat of Worms, the artists of the Adeloch sarcophagus had already demonstrated continued imperial sympathies in their depiction of Adeloch's investiture as the ninth-century bishop of Strasbourg.[3] As the original setting of the Adeloch sarcophagus at St. Thomas is unknown, it can not be argued with certitude that these scenes had propagandistic value, but it will be argued here that the scenes demonstrate how the bishops of Strasbourg perceived the sources of their authority in the wake of the Investiture Controversy.[4]

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[3] The fact that the Staufen family served as advocates of St. Thomas as of 1144 might explain these imperial sympathies. See Thomas Seiler, *Die frühstaufische Territorialpolitik im Elsass* (Hamburg, 1995), 227-228. According to Seiler the Staufen were recorded as advocates by Prior Berthold of St. Thomas in 1144. Seiler also discusses Emperor Barbarossa's role as advocate at St. Thomas starting in 1159. See also Jean-Yves Mariotte, "Les Staufen en Alsace, au XIIe siècle d'après leurs diplômes," *Revue d'Alsace* 119 (1993): 50 and 62.

[4] Ernst Adam, *Baukunst der Stauferzeit in Baden-Württemberg und im Elsass* (Stuttgart, 1977), 222. Because fire destroyed much of the eleventh-century building and the late Romanesque reconstruction dates to 1196, we can not tell where the Adeloch sarcophagus once existed in the early twelfth century. Since the twelfth-century scenes of the sarcophagus were made to accompany a cover dating to the Carolingian period, we know that the bishop had to have been important in the Romanesque period.

The investiture of Adeloch with temporal rights is depicted on one of the short sides of the sarcophagus.[5] Kneeling before an enthroned sovereign, Adeloch receives a scepter decorated with a battle flag, a symbol of a princely fief (fig. 28). Based on comparison with similar twelfth-century representations of investiture, Robert Will asserts that the battle flag scepter was the standard means of materially representing episcopal entfeoffments by lay lords.[6] Bannered lances were also the symbol of the transmission of royal power and a sign of divine protection by armed nobles.[7] Within the terms of the Concordat of Worms, the emperor renounced his right to invest bishops with ring and crozier while the pope still allowed the emperor the right to invest bishops with regalia by means of a scepter; by depicting a ruler investing a bishop with a scepter, the artists of the Adeloch sarcophagus demonstrated their familiarity with this new policy. Prior to the Concordat of Worms, the princely fief was typically symbolized by a cross scepter with a lamb, but the artists of the Adeloch sarcophagus duly changed this symbol to a flag scepter to meet the terms of the new agreement.[8]

As if to further recollect the terms of the Concordat, the artists of the sarcophagus included an important witness to the lay investiture. An unidentified hooded female

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[5] For the essential literature on Adeloch's sarcophagus, see Iris Hofmann-Kastner, "St. Peter und Paul in Andlau, Elsass" (Ph. D. diss., University of Cologne, 2001), 210-215; Jean-Philippe Meyer, "L'église abbatiale d'Andlau au XIIe siècle," *Cahiers alsaciens d'archéologie, d'art et d'histoire* 31 (1988): 99; Robert Will, *Répertoire de la sculpture romane de l'Alsace* (Strasbourg, 1955), 54-55; Robert Will, "L'investiture temporelle des évêques de Strasbourg au XIIe siècle," *Revue d'Alsace* 90 (1949): 116-123; and Julius Baum, "The Porch of Andlau Abbey," *Art Bulletin* 17 (1935): 502. On the opposite small side of the sarcophagus one finds a decorative pattern of grape bunches. Perhaps this signifies the bishop's liturgical role. Grapes and wine production were also, as they are today, important to the region of Alsace.
[6] Will, "L'investiture," 120.
[7] See Howard L. Adelson, "The Holy Lance and the Hereditary German Monarchy," *Art Bulletin* 48 (1966): 183-184. According to Adelson, Thietmar of Merseburg records at least two instances of the use of a lance for investiture among German nobility. Adelson also argues that bannered lances were easily understood as symbols of investiture because of the early depictions of such flagstaffs in the Lateran triclinium of Leo III. The bannered lances depicted in the illumination of the Aachen Gospels of Otto III (Liuthard Gospels, fol. 16r) are also employed as symbols of investiture.
[8] Karl Morrison, *The Investiture Controversy: Issues, Ideals, and Results* (New York, 1971), 82-83; Will, "L'investiture," 121, note 9.

figure sits enthroned opposite the seated ruler and to the left of the kneeling bishop. As this woman appears enthroned with a male ruler, she may represent his spouse. She extends with her left hand a leafy flower while in her right she holds a scroll or possibly a scepter. This woman may also represent *Ecclesia* and, if so, her presence in this scene would signify ecclesiastic sanction of this lay investiture, just as the pope had accepted this imperial privilege in the Concordat.[9] Because this figure does not wear a crown, or display any other standard attributes of *Ecclesia*, her identity remains uncertain.

A second scene of investiture, this time ecclesiastic, occurs more prominently on one of the long sides of the sarcophagus (fig. 29). Here Christ sits enthroned in the center with a book in his lap; he points two fingers in blessing towards the kneeling bishop at his right. The bishop carries a ceremonial staff and raises his right hand to receive blessing. An angel stands to Christ's left and carries the bishop's stole. Christ offers the bishop the blessing of the church and thus represents the spiritual side in the investiture process. Christ's investiture takes place somewhere in between the realm of the sea, as represented in the far left corner by a siren riding a fish in the water, and the far ends of the earth where fabulous creatures were thought to exist, as shown by an upright beast

[9] See Susanne Tschirner, *Elsass: Fachwerkdörfer und historische Städte, Burgen und Kirchen im Weinland zwischen Rhein und Vogesen* (Cologne, 2000), 97. It is also possible that the woman is, as Susanne Tschirner suggests in her guidebook, a queen who acts as an intercessor for Adeloch. As the woman appears on a throne in front of a tower structure similar to the building behind the male ruler, perhaps the two were intended to represent a couple within the confines of a castle. I tend to view the woman's hooded head, however, as indicative of a more spiritual status. One long side of the sarcophagus shows the bishop once again with his crozier, now holding the book given him by Christ (fig. 30). Here Adeloch faces a different cloaked female and she raises her right palm to bless the bishop and holds a palm branch, possibly a martyr's palm, in her left. Her palm branch is thin and feather-like while the woman on the small side of the sarcophagus raises a seven-lobed branch. See Rita Moeller-Racke, "Studien zur Bauskulptur um 1100 am Ober- und Mittelrhein," *Oberrheinische Kunst* 10 (1942): 48, who considers the female on the long side to be another representation of *Ecclesia*, although because of the palm branch the woman could merely represent a martyred saint. It may also be that this female holding a palm branch out to Adeloch signifies the ninth-century bishop's martyrdom or in some way honors his passing. Whether the two females on the Adeloch sarcophagus represent the Church or a lay queen must remain an open question.

grasping two snakes in his hands.[10] Perhaps Christ's placement in the center signifies a third realm - Heaven. More likely, though, the scene of Adeloch's spiritual investiture by Christ takes place on the earth somewhere between the sea and land.[11]

Whether Christ's spiritual investiture of the bishop takes place in Heaven or on the earth, the fact that His spiritual action is closely imitated by the ruler in the other, secular investiture scene is important. The ruler on the small side of the sarcophagus gives secular rights to the bishop in this physical world, but Christ, enthroned as a king in the center, grants the bishop spiritual authority in His Church. Although Christ imparts spiritual authority, His position in the center as an enthroned ruler visually echoes the position of the earthly ruler on the small side of the sarcophagus; the physical ceremony of investiture by the king on earth is visually associated with the heavenly investiture of Christ and His Church. Thus the choice to show Christ and a lay lord in similar actions further underscored the traditional Ottonian view that the king was an *imitatio Christi* and was still possessed of a priestly role because he reflected Christ.[12] The artists of this sarcophagus, then, sent the message that, although the pope sought to limit lay involvement in investing bishops within the terms of the Concordat of Worms, rulers

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[10] Will, *Répertoire*, 54.

[11] Robert Deshman, "*Christus rex et magi reges:* Kingship and Christology in Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon Art," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 10 (1976): 372. Deshman describes a full-page miniature from the Gospel book in Hildesheim (Domschatz MS. 18) commissioned by Bishop Bernward (993-1022) wherein Christ lies in a crib in the lower register between a personification of Earth and Ocean. This register represents Christ on earth, incarnate at the Nativity to illustrate John 1:4 ("And the Word became flesh.") The upper level shows Christ in Heaven. Based on this evidence, I assume the Adeloch scene of Christ investing the bishop represents Christ's physical presence on the earth, even if His cross-nimbus signifies His glorified state.

[12] Deshman, 384, employs the term *imitatio Christi*, while Kantorowicz, 89, uses the term *imago Christi*. Kantorowicz spends much time discussing the image of Otto III in Majesty from the Aachen Gospels, Liuthard Gospels, fol. 16r (c. 975-996) in which the dual nature of the emperor is depicted in one image. The head and shoulders of the emperor, who appears like Christ in a mandorla, belong to the realm of heaven, while his lower body, which is separated from his head by means of a banderole, belongs to the earth.

were still mystically linked to Christ and therefore were still both *rex et sacerdos*.[13] By extension, the bishops of Strasbourg held both spiritual power and secular authority to administer justice in the bishopric directly from Christ.[14]

Because for centuries the pope and the emperor were held to have been divinely chosen by God to rule His terrestrial kingdom together, medieval kings had built cases to support their priestly role using the same sources as the Gregorian Reform party used to deprive kings of their priestly role: the Old and New Testaments, historical tradition, the Church Fathers, and the law. The Old Testament account of kings like David or Solomon was certainly a good place for both sides to begin an investigation about God's view of royals.[15] According to Ernst Kantorowicz the Carolingians used David and Solomon as well as other Old Testament kings as models for royal behavior.[16] Melchizedek, the king of Salem who visited Abraham, prefigured Christ as both king and priest (Gen. 14:18-20; Heb. 7).[17] The role of the priesthood was also well outlined in the Old Testament Pentateuch, and judges like Samuel, who anointed King Saul, were held up as models for priestly behavior.[18]

In the New Testament Christ himself contributed to the medieval understanding of proper hierarchy. Christ sanctioned the authority of earthly rulers when He said to

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[13] For more on medieval rulers as *rex et sacerdos*, or as "priest-king", see Fritz Kern, *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages*, trans. S. B. Chrimes (Oxford, 1939), 53-61.
[14] Tschirner, 97, interprets the sarcophagus as propaganda whereby the twelfth-century bishops of Strasbourg pointed to the earlier bishop to justify their legal rights as territorial lords in Strasbourg.
[15] Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Controversy*, trans. R. F. Bennett (1940; repr. New York, 1959), 58.
[16] Kantorowicz, 81; see also Deshman, 389.
[17] Tellenbach, 35 and 58.
[18] I. S. Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany, 1056-1106* (Cambridge, 1999), 141-142. Gregory VII made the analogy between himself and Samuel in letters to Henry IV. The pope also made reference to Henry as the disobedient King Saul. See also Walter Cahn, "The Tympanum of the Portal of Sainte-Anne at Notre-Dame de Paris and the Iconography of the Division of the Powers in the Early Middle Ages," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969): 63. Cahn says the division of powers had precedent in the Old Testament: Abraham and Melchizedech, Moses and Aaron, Nathan and David.

render unto Caesar that which was Caesar's (Mt. 22:21).[19] Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem as a king (Mt. 21:1-11; John 12:12-19) furthered the priestly cause of earthly kings. At the same time, Christ also sanctioned the supreme authority of Peter, and by extension the institution of the papacy, when He granted the apostle the keys of the kingdom of heaven (Mt. 16:19).[20] In this same passage Christ was understood to tell Peter that He would build his Church upon the apostle, the rock, which led to the institutionalization of the Church.

In the process of instituting God's Church on earth various historical figures helped set the course for relations between emperor and pope. Constantine, for example, believed that his role as emperor involved a spiritual aspect. As the first Christian emperor, Constantine regarded himself as a bishop of the secular sphere.[21] In the eighth century, a forged document called the *Donation of Constantine* expanded papal power by claiming Constantine gave Rome to the pope to govern.[22] Interestingly, at the time of Constantine, the office of pope did not even exist.[23] Although many early Christian authors paved the way for Petrine primacy, the concept of a papacy as it is understood

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[19] On rendering unto Caesar and the conflict between the popes and emperors, see Charles J. Reid, Jr., review of *The Spirit of Roman Law*, by Alan Watson, and *The Spirit of Classical Canon Law*, by R. H. Helmholz, *Washington University Global Studies Law Review* 1 (2002): 531.

[20] With these keys, Christ gave Peter power over the universe: "And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shalt be loosed also in heaven" (Mt. 16:19). Christ also said that on the rock of Peter, He would build His church (Mt. 16:18). See also John 21:17 where Jesus told Peter to feed His sheep. For medieval scholars citing these passages to justify Petrine primacy, see Carolyn Kinder Carr, "Aspects of the Iconography of Saint Peter in Medieval Art of Western Europe to the Early Thirteenth Century" (Ph. D. diss., Case Western Reserve, 1978), 9.

[21] Tellenbach, 31. Constantine was the "bishop for all non-spiritual things." Tellenbach uses Eusebius's *Vita Constantini* as his source.

[22] See Brian Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300 with Selected Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1964), 21-22. See also Christopher Brooke, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages, 962-1154*, 3rd ed. (London, 1999), 34 and 233. Brooke claims that all authorities treated the Donation of Constantine as if it were legitimate until the 15th century, with the one exception of Otto III (983-1002), who claimed it was a forgery. Although the *Donation* was commonly held to expand papal power, one could perhaps see the same document as an extension of imperial power as well, particularly as the popes owe their status to the emperor's donation.

[23] Geoffrey Barraclough, ed. and trans., *The Medieval Papacy* (New York, 1968), 10.

today was developed over a long period.[24] A late twelfth-century author, in fact, took note of this historical fact to explain that the authority of emperors could hardly have derived from papal authority if emperors had existed before popes.[25]

By 800 both pope and emperor had settled into roles that would continue for centuries to come. Charlemagne was the first emperor to be crowned by a pope in Rome, and while his court biographer, Einhard, claimed he was opposed to this coronation, such imperial coronations by popes became the standard.[26] Much later, in 1046 the Salian emperor, Henry III of Germany, upset this tradition at his coronation by dismissing three rival candidates for the papal throne and appointing his own pope. To Henry, it was just as much within his rights to install the bishop of Rome as any other bishop in his empire. When Henry appointed three more popes during his reign, including Leo IX, no one questioned the legality of such acts.[27] The traditional rights of emperors over popes and the reverse would, however, overshadow the reign of Henry III's son, Henry IV, in his conflict with Gregory VII.

In the early stages of the Investiture Controversy, authoritative rights were determined primarily by their Biblical validity.[28] Theologians seeking to determine papal or imperial authority were most preoccupied with Christ's words concerning the two

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[24] Barraclough, 9-37, traces the development of the papal position from the apostle Peter to the medieval period. Although the idea of papal primacy was raised in the period of Pope Leo I (440-461), it took a long time for Christendom to be united under a single pope. Barraclough, 9, says that it was only in the sixth century that the title "papa" was first used exclusively to refer to the bishop of Rome.

[25] Tierney, 120. Tierney provides the text of *Summa et est sciendum*, the Commentary on *Dist.* 22.C.1 (1181-1185). Even if one considers the first pope to have been the apostle Peter, the office of Roman Emperor predates the Christian apostle.

[26] Tierney, 17-18.

[27] Barraclough, 73. Henry III installed Clement II (1046-1047), Damasus II (1048), Leo IX (1049-1054), and Victor II (1055-1057).

[28] Kantorowicz, 87-97, argues that the Carolingians defended the priestly role of kings with Davidic and Old Testament examples, the Ottonians and Salians concentrated on a liturgical Christocentric kingship, while twelfth-century rulers after the Concordat of Worms sought to base their priestly roles in the Roman law.

swords at the time of His arrest. The theology of the two swords derives from Luke 22:38, where after the discovery that Christ would be arrested, the apostles offered Him two swords, to which Christ replied, "It is enough." Later in Luke 22:50 it was recounted that at Christ's arrest a disciple cut off the ear of the High Priest's slave, after which Jesus healed the man's ear. In the account of Christ's arrest by Matthew, Christ told His disciple to put away his sword. Because of Christ's words in Matthew, it was assumed that one of the two swords mentioned in Luke 22:38 was non-violent.

Pope Gelasius I had written one of the more famous medieval interpretations of this passage in a letter of 494 to Emperor Anastasius I.[29] Deriving his ideas from Church Fathers like St. Augustine and St. Ambrose of Milan, Gelasius interpreted the two swords as representing sacred authority of the priesthood and royal power.[30] In the same letter Gelasius asserted that of the two powers, the priestly held more weight. This statement would later support the notion that the pope was on a higher ground than the emperor, but Gelasius's letter still codified the tradition that God had ordained two powers in the first place. According to Gelasius, then, the emperor had a right to a certain amount of authority: the priests wielded the spiritual sword of God, a sword that came with the power to save or condemn through excommunication, while the kings defended the Church with the material sword of military might.[31]

During the Investiture Conflict between Henry IV and Gregory VII, the so-called Gelasian principle of the two swords was thoroughly reconsidered. Henry IV's

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[29] Tierney, 13-14, provides a translation of the original text.
[30] John A. Watt, "Spiritual and Temporal Powers," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c. 350-1450*, ed. J. H. Burns (Cambridge, 1988), 370-374. Watt explains the various theological interpretations of the two swords over time. See also Tellenbach, 25-37, on Gelasius and the historical development of the two swords principle.
[31] Such was the traditional interpretation of Gelasius's two swords until the time of Gregory VII and Henry IV. See I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990), 296-297; Tellenbach, 33-37; Watt, 370-371.

supporter, Gottschalk of Aachen, wrote of Pope Gregory's insanity in a broadside of 1076. Gottshalk explained that by excommunicating Henry, the pope had violated the concept of the two swords.[32] This doctrine taught that both powers were equally important before God, not that one power had authority over the other. Gregory countered this argument by claiming the two sword principle actually permitted his excommunication of an emperor.[33] Gelasius had explained that while the emperor had supreme authority over the secular realm, even the emperor must rely on the priest for the sacraments and personal salvation through the sacraments.[34] Not surprisingly, it was Gregory's interpretation of the two swords that was recorded into Gregorian official canon law.

On the issue of the two swords, though, Gratian's official collection of canon law, the *Decretum* of 1140, includes arguments in support of both Gregory's interpretation and Henry's position.[35] Gratian's *Decretum* was compiled after the Concordat of Worms, and like the Concordat, Gratian's law concedes rather ambiguous powers to the pope and to the emperor.[36] As was true of the Alsatian sarcophagus of Adeloch (c. 1140) mentioned above, Gratian's compilation does not come down strongly on either the papal or the imperial side, but rather includes all current interpretations of the Gelasian principle so as to offend no one.

The Gelasian principle of the two swords was illustrated in the *Decretum* with scenes of the king and the pope receiving their powers, and these illustrations probably

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[32] Watt, 372; Robinson, *The Papacy*, 297.
[33] For Gregory's view of the two swords, see the translation of his second letter to Bishop Herman of Metz (1081) in Morrison, 39-46. The original Latin is to be found in *Das Register Gregors VII* (Berlin, 1920-1923), Reg. VII, 21, 544-562. See also *The Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII: Selected Letters from the Registrum*, trans. and ed. Ephraim Emerton (1932; repr. New York, 1990), 166-175.
[34] Robinson, *The Papacy*, 296-297.
[35] Robinson, 299; Tierney, 116-126.
[36] Watt, 375. Watt discusses Gratian's interpretations of the two swords as apolitical.

served as models for larger-scale scenes.[37] A version of the *Decretum* found at the abbey of Clairvaux in the late twelfth century, for example, contains illustrations of proper imperial and papal roles. This manuscript was created in Italy and then traveled north to Burgundy, where its illustrations of the pope and emperor came to inspire the depiction of secular and royal powers on the Romanesque tympanum of the portal of St. Anne at Notre-Dame in Paris. [38]

Images *in Decretum* manuscripts were also the likely model for other scenes of the two swords, such as the mid twelfth-century fresco on the north crossing pier at the church of St. George in Prüfening, near Regensburg (fig. 31). Scholars claim this version of the two swords politically favored the pope because even though St. Peter extends a sword to both the pope and to the emperor, the female personification of *Ecclesia* looms over the enthroned Peter – thus the authority of the emperor derives from the Church.[39] Given the political ties of Prüfening to the Hirsau Reform, this pro-papal expression in the north is predictable even following the peace that came with the Concordat of Worms.

Once Barbarossa renewed conflict with the pope over the issue of his legal rights as emperor in the mid-twelfth century, however, the emperor brought earlier imperial arguments about the two swords back to life. Not only did the Hohenstaufen emperor justify his right to decide between two papal appointees by quoting the Gelasian

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[37] See Cahn, 67-71, and Piotr Skubizsweski, "Ecclesia, Christianitas, Regnum et Sacerdotium dans l'art des Xe-XIe siècles," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 28 (1985): 134 and 149.
[38] Cahn, 70.
[39] On Prüfening, see Cahn, 66, and Heidrun Stein, *Die romanischen Wandmalereien in der Klosterkirche Prüfening* (Regensburg, 1987), as cited in Jean Wirth, *L'image à l'epoque romane* (Paris, 1999), 211-213. See also Warren Sanderson, review of Heidrun Stein, *Speculum* 63 (1988): 1003-1004, and Peter Laskko, review of Heidrun Stein, *Burlington Magazine* 131 (1989): 226.

principle,[40] he made use of the visual tradition of the two swords to suit his own agenda. The symmetrical composition of Peter enthroned between the pope and the emperor at Prüfening, was based on the Early Christian formulaic representation of the *Traditio Legis*, interpreted perhaps through the Carolingian images of the Lateran triclinium of Leo III, as we will see below.

In Chapter 1 we saw that images of Samson and Constantine were popular in reform circles just after the compromise between the pope and the emperor in the Concordat of Worms (1122). At churches in the Aquitaine, the three images of Christ's Church (*Ecclesia*), Samson, and Constantine were arranged in a triangular composition to express the hierarchical relationship between Christ and the sacred and secular branches of His Church on earth. For these Aquitainian reform churches, the message of such programs was the supremacy of the sacred branch because Constantine had "donated" his temporal rights to the Church. In the aftermath of the Investiture Controversy, however, Emperor Frederick Barbarossa reconsidered his role as the secular authority in light of Gelasius's doctrine of the two swords. Perhaps reacting against earlier pro-papal sculptural programs, such as those in Aquitaine, the sculptural program at Andlau reflected a new attempt by imperial supporters to reiterate visually secular authority as equivalent to sacred power in Church hierarchy. For Barbarossa and his supporters, the "reform" expression of the Church and its two branches, the sacred and the secular,

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[40] Benjamin Arnold, *Medieval Germany, 500-1300: A Political Interpretation*, (London, 1997), 104. At the Council of Pavia in 1160, Barbarossa's letters used the Gelasian principle to justify his right to judge between the two popes, Alexander III and Victor IV. See also Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici Imperatoris: The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa by Otto of Freising and his Continuator Rahewin*, trans. C. C. Mierow, 2nd ed. (1956; repr. New York, 1966), 301, who records Barbarbossa's words on this occasion: "That at the time of His passion Christ was content to have two swords, was, we believe, a marvelous revelation regarding the Roman Church and the Roman empire, since by these two institutions the whole world is directed in both divine and human matters. And although one God, one pope, one emperor, is sufficient, and there should be also but one Church of God, we now have – we cannot speak of it without sorrow – two popes in the Roman Church…"

visually confirmed secular power as well as sacred power, particularly as secular authority of the emperor was increasingly challenged by a more powerful papacy. Barbarossa, who quoted the Gelasian principle as support for his right to authority even in sacred matters, would come to favor images of hierarchy in the Church that reflected his relevance as the material sword. The image of the *Traditio Legis*, in particular, would fit his needs and aims.

***Sculptural Themes of the Investiture Controversy in Alsace: The* Traditio Legis**

Among the themes represented in sculpted church portals along the Rhine, the *Traditio Legis* theme of Christ handing the Law to Peter and Paul in the form of a book or a scroll looms large.[41] Appearing in ten different ecclesiastical settings in Alsace, the Schwarzwald of Germany, and the border land of Switzerland, this theme was certainly a preferred sculptural choice in the region.[42] All these sculptural scenes of the *Traditio Legis* post-date 1150, and thus fall within the reigns of Frederick Barbarossa and his son, Henry VI. It will be argued here that the remarkable number of *Traditio Legis* scenes still extant in Alsace was part of Emperor Barbarossa's political agenda to re-equate his

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[41] The term *Traditio Legis* refers specifically to the transmission of the law to an apostle, usually Peter but sometimes Paul. When Peter receives the keys, this is called the *Traditio Clavium*, but as most scenes show Peter receiving the keys simultaneously with the law, we will refer to all versions simply as the *Traditio Legis.* For brief summaries of this theme see J. Poeschke, "Schlüsselübergabe," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum (Freiburg, 1972), 4: 82-84, and W. Schumacher, "Traditio Legis," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 4: 347-352.

[42] Julius Baum, "The Porch of Andlau Abbey," *Art Bulletin* 17 (1935): 495. Baum lists most of the occurrences of the *Traditio Legis* theme in the Upper Rhine region: Andlau, Sigolsheim, Eguisheim, and St. -Morand at Altkirch in Alsace, Schwarzach in Germany, and the Galluspforte at Basel and St. Ursanne in Switzerland. In addition I include Marlenheim and Rosheim in Alsace, and Neuenburg (Neuchâtel) in the diocese of Basel. The version at Neuchâtel includes Peter and Paul on doorjambs, but it lacks its original tympanum. Nine tympana are still extant and in situ; the tenth once existed at the church in Rosheim. For the *Traditio Legis* at Rosheim, see Gilbert Poinsot, *Die romanische Strasse: Die Kirche St.-Pierre-et-St.-Paul und der Kanton Rosheim* (Strasbourg, 2000), 21. See also Will, *Répertoire*, 34, for a scene of Christ between Peter, Paul, and donors in the tympanum on the north transept portal at the church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Neuwiller in Lower Alsace. As this scene at Neuwiller dates to 1250, it is too late to be considered in depth in this dissertation. It may be that the paucity of other extant sculptural programs contributes to the apparent predominance of the *Traditio Legis* theme in Alsace.

stature as equivalent to that of the pope in Rome and thus to restore the damage done to his office in the wake of the Investiture Controversy. The reuse of a traditional Early Christian theme like the *Traditio Legis* lent legitimacy to Barbarossa's claims because the motif became relevant once again in addressing issues of hierarchy in the Church, especially in new legal terms.

The Early Christian scenes that must have served as sources for the twelfth-century programs of the *Traditio Legis* in Alsace first appeared in and near the cities of Rome and Ravenna during the fourth century. According to the latest count, Christ is found giving His Law to Peter and Paul on a total of 25 Early Christian sarcophagi, depicted on a handful of private items, such as bronze amulets or glass plates, and featured in a few catacomb paintings.[43] Three Early Christian scenes of the *Traditio Legis* also appeared within larger mosaic programs: one in a cupola in the Neapolitan Baptistery at St. Giovanni in Fonte, another in an apse of the mausoleum of St. Costanza in Rome, and yet another in the central apse in the basilica of Old St. Peter's (figs. 32-33, 35).[44] In addition, the earliest monumental sculptural relief of the *Traditio Legis* exists as stucco decoration above a niche in the Neonian Baptistery in Ravenna (c. 450).[45] Because the *Traditio Legis* appears in monumental sculptural programs in Alsace, the focus of this discussion will be on representations of the *Traditio Legis* in monumental

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[43] See Mikael B. Rasmussen, "Traditio legis?" *Cahiers archéologiques* 47 (1999): 5, for this total. Rasmussen says these scenes all appeared in the fourth and fifth centuries. See Gertrud Schiller, "Gesetzesübergabe," *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst 3: Die Auferstehung und Erhöhung Christi* (Gütersloh, 1971), 203, for a late fourth-century fresco of the *Traditio legis* at the Zotico catacomb ad Decinum near Grottaferrata. For another depiction of the *Traditio legis* on a grave stele from the catacomb of Priscilla in Anagni, see Cäcilia Davis-Weyer, "Das Traditio-Legis-Bild und seine Nachfolge," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 12 (1961): 7. For a list of the *Traditio Legis* scenes on Early Christian sarcophaghi, see the list at the end of Franz Nikolasch, "Zur Deutung der *Dominus-legem-dat* Szene," *Römische Quartalschrift* 64 (1969): 71-73.

[44] Rasmussen, 5.

[45] Schiller, 209 and fig. 587; Annabel Jane Wharton, "Ritual and Reconstructed Meaning: The Neonian Baptistery in Ravenna," *Art Bulletin* 69 (1987): 362.

artistic programs while the funerary context of the Early Christian sarcophagi will be only treated when relevant to the monumental programs.

Traditio Legis: *Origins and Meaning*

The term "*Traditio Legis*," was coined in the modern era by Walter Schumacher to describe a composition in the apse mosaic in the northern niche at St. Costanza in Rome, a mausoleum built c. 350 to commemorate the daughter of Constantine (fig. 33).[46] In this apse mosaic, Christ, seemingly in the act of ascension, hovers in light-filled clouds above a small hill, from which flow the four rivers of paradise. As if derived from the Biblical account of the Transfiguration, Christ is framed by two robed figures. Unlike the spiritual forms of Moses and Elijah, though, it is clear that these two flanking figures at St. Costanza are earthbound. They are, in fact, easily identifiable as Peter and Paul by the inclusion of the standard physical attributes that came to be associated with the two apostles: St. Paul is balding and has a long dark beard while St. Peter is shown older with white hair. In this scene at St. Costanza it is Peter who receives, or perhaps merely holds, an unrolled scroll from Christ inscribed *Dominus Pacem Dat* and sealed with a Chi-Rho symbol. This inscription, erroneously restored, should probably read *Dominus legem dat*,

[46] In addition to the works cited above, other important literature on the *Traditio Legis* includes: Yves Christe, "A propos des peintures de Berzé-la-Ville," *Cahiers archeologiques* 44 (1996): 77-84; Christa Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 1992); Stefan Heid and Rotraut Wisskirchen, "Der Prototyp des Lämmerfrieses in Alt-St. Peter," *Tesserae: Festschrift für Josef Engemann - Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 18 (1991): 138-160; Yves Christe, "Apocalypse et *Traditio Legis*," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 71 (1976): 42-55; Klaus Berger, "Der traditionsgeschichtliche Ursprung der *Traditio Legis*," *Vigiliae Christianae* 27 (1973): 104-122; Peter Franke, "Traditio Legis und Petrusprimat," *Vigiliae Christianae* 26 (1972): 263-271; S. J. Sotomayor, "Über die Herkunft der *Traditio legis*," *Römische Quartalschrift* 56 (1961): 215-230; Tilmann Buddensieg, "Le coffret en ivoire de Pola: Saint-Pierre et le Latran," *Cahiers archéologiques* 10 (1959): 157-195; W. N. Schumacher, "Dominus legem dat," *Römische Quartalschrift* 54 (1959): 1-39; Johannes Kollwitz, "Christus als Lehrer und die Gesetzesübergabe an Petrus in der konstantinischen Kunst Roms," *Römische Quartalschrift* 44 (1936): 45-66.

as do the inscriptions in a number of representations with similar iconography.[47] The companion scene at St. Costanza in the southern apse niche supports the idea that Christ gave His apostles the Law, or the New Law (fig. 34). In the southern niche God the Creator sits on a globe and extends the Old Law, the Commandments, to Moses. Thus the two leaders of Christ's Church are visually compared to Moses: just as Moses carried God's commandments down from the mountain, Peter and Paul bring Christ's new covenant to His people.[48]

The literature on the *Traditio Legis* is, according to J.-M. Speiser, as abundant as it is contradictory.[49] Essentially the modern term included images of Christ between Peter and Paul, "giving" a scroll or book with His left hand to one or both of the apostles.[50] Typically Christ stands and raises his right hand in a gesture of victory or speech. In several Early Christian versions of this theme, the scroll extended by Christ and held by Peter or Paul is inscribed with the words, "Dominus legem dat," which may refer to Christ's promulgation of his New Covenant. Sometimes the three figures stand alone, while in other cases apostles or contemporary figures appear to either side of Peter and Paul. In this dissertation, any scene that includes Christ between Peter and Paul with

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[47] Rasmussen, 8-9. See also the Neapolitan Baptistery and variations of the same inscription on a fragment of gold glass in Toledo, Ohio, and anther fragment of a glass plate in the Vatican as well as a catacomb fresco in Grottaferrata. Rasmussen, 24, explains that the jury is still out concerning the original words of the inscription at St. Costanza.

[48] See Heid and Wisskirchen, 149-157. The *Traditio Legis* scene with Christ in a paradise setting atop a hill derives from Eusebius (260/65-339). His interpretation of Isaiah 2 connects the hill with Zion in Jerusalem and Old Testament pilgrimage to the city. Isaiah wrote that the law would go forth from Zion and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem, which Eusebius saw in terms of the Old Law of Moses and the New Law of the apostles, who spread the Word from Jerusalem to all people. See also Paul's comments about Moses and the Law in 2 Cor. 3: 7-18 and Gal. 3.

[49] J.-M. Speiser, "The Representation of Christ in the Apses of Early Christian Churches," *Gesta* 37 (1998): 68.

[50] I have documented at least thirty examples of this theme from the Early Christian period to the end of the twelfth century.

some reference to a book or scroll, either held by Christ, by one of His apostles, or by all three, will be considered a scene of the *Traditio Legis*.

Both apostles appear in these Early Christian scenes of the *Traditio Legis*, but scholars have long viewed the *Traditio Legis* as a representation of Petrine primacy for in most Early Christian versions, Christ gives divine Law to Peter while Paul merely stands nearby in acclamation.[51] Both Peter and Paul were martyred in Rome, though, and together came to symbolize the city of Rome and the domain of the bishop of Rome, who became the pope.[52] In the early phases of Christianity, eastern churches, such as Constantinople or Antioch, claimed descent from various other apostles and rivaled the authority of the Church of Rome, so the response by western theologians was to claim special foundations for Peter's church.[53] Tertullian (160-200), for example, was the first writer to comment on Matthew 16:18-19 where Christ tells Peter that He will build his Church upon the apostle. In the same passage Christ gives Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven and the authority to bind and loose; Tertullian interprets this power as a personal commission to Peter, which the apostle passed on to later generations.[54] Charles Pietri, in fact, considers the "*legis*" in such scenes in the context of papal law and legal justification for papal rights.[55] Because the *Traditio Legis* motif appeared in art at roughly the same time that the Church of Rome sought to assert its political authority, it

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[51] Although a few Early Christian examples of Paul receiving the Law without the presence of Peter occur in Ravenna, the arguments made supporting an anti-Roman political agenda in Ravenna have been dismissed. See Schumacher, 30.

[52] On the double martyrdom in Rome, see William R. Farmer and Roch Kereszty, *Peter and Paul in the Church of Rome: The Ecumenical Potential of a Forgotten Perspective on the Church of Rome* (New York, 1990), 4-9. See also Ruth Wilkins Sullivan, "Saints Peter and Paul: Some Ironic Aspects of their Imaging," *Art History* 17 (1994): 59; and Barraclough, 15-18.

[53] Franke, 263-271; Barraclough, 15; Rasmussen, 14.

[54] On Tertullian's *Tu es Petrus*, see Carr, 55; Barraclough, 15; and Sullivan, 64.

[55] Charles Pietri, *Roma Christiana: Recherches sur l'église de Rome, son organization, sa politique, son idéologique de Miltiade à Sixte III (331-440)*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1976), 1482-1518. See also Christopher Walter, "Papal Political Imagery in the Medieval Lateran Palace," *Cahiers archéologiques* 20 (1970): 174, who says the "law" which Christ gave to Peter could be a doctrine, a moral law, or even an office.

seems likely that the image supported the political goals of the bishop of Rome in the Early Christian period.[56]

Scholars may have seen the fourth-century scenes of the *Traditio Legis* as a pictorial argument for Petrine primacy, but some of the same authors have also consistently maintained that the original composition of the *Traditio Legis* derived from Roman imperial models.[57] After all, the mosaic apse at St. Costanza was part of an decorative program inside a mausoleum erected for a member of the imperial family.[58] Although modern scholarship on the *Traditio Legis* is now more focused on the eschatological nature of the theme,[59] one early strain of scholarship has continually examined the connection between emperors and the *Traditio Legis*. Modern discourse has avoided the issue of the assimilation of Christ to the emperor in *Traditio Legis* scene because the early historians who first proposed this connection – especially André Grabar, Ernst Kantorowicz, and Andreas Alföldi – may have created the so-called "Emperor Mystique" out of their own modern nostalgia for the lost empire in the wake of the Second World War.[60]

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[56] Rasmussen, 15, does not agree that Petrine primacy was behind the *Traditio Legis*. For a list of authors who hold this position, see Rasmussen, 14 and Davis-Weyer, 7. Rasmussen explains that these scholars were mostly Catholic archaeologists at the beginning of the twentieth century who understood the images within the context of their faiths. Scholars from the latter half of the twentieth century simply accepted the ideas posited by the earlier generation. In this regard, see also Pietri, 1413-1523.

[57] Rasmussen, 14-16, is the most recent scholar to summarize literature about the *Traditio Legis* and its connection to papal political agendas as well as its derivation from imperial Roman models. See also Davis-Weyer, 7-8, for a similar summary.

[58] Pietri, 1419, although Pietri notes the imperial connection in passing so that he can discuss the funerary aspects of the *Traditio Legis* theme.

[59] The earliest to explain the eschatological nature of the *Traditio Legis* was Schumacher in 1959. His efforts were continued by Sotomayor, Nikolasch, Christe, and Heid and Wisskirchen. That the *Traditio Legis* involves apocalyptic ideas need not in any way diminish its connection to imperial art.

[60] See Spieser, 65. For more about what has been termed the "Emperor Mystique", which describes Early Christian interest in representing Christ like a Roman emperor, see also Thomas F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton, 1993). Mathews, 12-22, explains Andre Grabar's conception of the "Emperor Mystique" as written in *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), 234-236, and restated in *Christian Iconography*, 44-45. Grabar's theory, as well as similar theories expressed by Ernst Kantorowicz and Andreas Alföldi, explained the development of Early Christian art in

Despite this recent trend to downplay the "Emperor Mystique," the evidence presented by Grabar and others remains relevant today, especially in discussions of the *Traditio Legis* motif, where Christ gives his authority to the apostles of His Church.[61] As Johannes Kollwitz explains, it makes sense that medieval Christians would conceive of and depict Christ, the King, as a contemporary earthly ruler.[62] That Christ "gave" the Law to the apostles visually recalls imperial Roman practice of *largitio*, whereby the emperor distributed money to his citizens. One such scene of imperial *largitio* or *liberalitas* is found on the Arch of Constantine. In the frieze a ruler sits on a throne at the center and hands his gift of money to a man at his right; the man at his left raises his arm in a gesture of acclamation (fig. 36). Several versions of the *Traditio Legis*, such as the sarcophagus Lat. 174, display Christ similarly seated on a throne between Peter and Paul (fig. 37).[63] One of the apostles reaches up for the Law while the other apostle, usually Paul, lifts one hand in acclamation.

Imperial Roman scenes of *adlocutio* may have been the sources for the *Traditio Legis* variation that shows Christ standing, not seated, between his two apostles. This

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terms of its reliance upon Roman imperial models. According to Mathews, 21, the *Kaisermystik* of the 1930s remained unchallenged by art historians until his attempt to rectify this oversight. I wish to point out here that while Mathew's deconstruction of "imperial" Christian art may hold true for the Early Christian period, medieval viewers of Early Christian art were likely to come to different conclusions more in keeping with traditional theories about Christ and the emperor. The "Emperor Mystique," in fact, derived from the comparison of emperors to Christ by medieval authors. For further critique of Mathew's deconstruction, see the reviews by Liz James in *Burlington Magazine* 136 (1994): 458-459 and Peter Brown in *Art Bulletin* 77 (1995): 499-502. See also Mathew's response to Brown in *Art Bulletin* 78 (1996): 178

[61] Speiser, 65, sets out to see if Mathew's position necessarily contradicts the older interpretation that Christ is represented as an emperor. In the case of the *Traditio Legis*, Speiser, 66, qualitifes Mathew's conclusions by stating that Christ actually is represented in Early Christian apses as a sovereign, "but in such as way as to avoid confusion with a merely human emperor." On other problems with Mathew's approach, see also note 60 above.

[62] Kollwitz, 56-59; Rasmussen, 15. See also Pietri, 1428-1429, who considers the connection of the *Cosmocrator* and the emperor.

[63] Rasmussen, 16. A similar iconography can be seen on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus. The standard work on Early Christian sarcophagi Josef Wilpert, *I sarcophagi cristiani antichi*, vols. 1-3 (Rome, 1929-1936).

rather famous Roman gesture, where the ruler extends his right hand to signal his readiness to address the crowd, appears in many different settings. An imperial *Ad locutio* scene, in fact, appears in a second frieze on the north side of the Arch of Constantine. Here the ruler raises his right hand, and two men flank him at either side (fig. 38).[64]

A third Roman imperial source for the *Traditio Legis* scene is that of *Sol Invictus*. According to Cäcilia Davis-Weyer, the cult of Sol came to be associated with the emperor as part of imperial victory ideology.[65] Sol was the Roman version of the Greek god, Helios, who rode his quadriga from the east like the morning sun. Roman emperors in the Julio-Claudian era wore cuirasses with depictions of Sol in his chariot to associate themselves with the god of light.[66] Early Christians came to use the pagan image of Sol to represent Christ, who was the Son/Sun of God and the light of the world. In fact, the celebration of Sol's birth was December 25, the same day Christians celebrate Christ's birth.[67] Christ's resurrection and victory over death and the underworld is close to the role of Sol, who lights up the morning sky and conquers the darkness of Hades. In several of the Early Christian apse mosaics of the *Traditio Legis*, Christ stands at the center of the apse composition with an upraised hand. The background of these apse scenes is very often infused with pale light, as at St. Costanza, or flecked with pink or red

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[64] Schumacher, 2-3; Ihm, 20.
[65] Davis-Weyer, 25-26.
[66] Katherine M. D. Dunbabin, "The Victorious Charioteer on Mosaics and Related Monuments," *American Journal of Archaeology* 86 (1982): 70-71. See also Schiller, 3: 203. By the third century, a standardized version of Sol appeared on coins: the god stands full-length in his chariot and waves a hand in a gesture of power while he holds a globe in his other hand to signify his power as a ruler of heaven. Constantine minted several series of coins with images of *Sol Invictus*, and a tondo of the sun god and his quadriga was incorporated into the arch of Constantine as well.
[67] Davis-Weyer, 26.

color to signify the morning mist brought by the resurrected Christ.[68] Other versions of the *Traditio Legis*, such as the fourth-century painting in the catacomb of St. Zotico ad Decinum in Grottaferrata, represent the sun and the moon framing the head of Christ, a symbolism thematically similar to that of *Sol Invictus* (fig. 39).

André Grabar points to yet another possible connection between the *Traditio Legis* composition and Roman imperial models.[69] Roman bronze medallions depicting the portraits of Peter and Paul appeared in the third century. These realistic portraits of Peter and Paul existed at a time when Christ appearing as a graven image was prohibited, and Grabar reasons that the portraits of Peter and Paul reflected a Roman tradition of venerating masters, heroes, or emperors. In the Roman formula, a symbol often appears depicted between two profile busts to indicate the relationship between the two persons represented. In one example of two emperors, a tiny figure raises two wreaths over the heads of the emperors. Likewise Early Christian medallions of Peter and Paul include the Chi-Rho monogram of Christ over the heads of the apostles. Once it became acceptable to render Christ in a human form, the triadic composition of Christ flanked by Peter and Paul in the *Traditio Legis* was the next logical step.

The* Traditio Legis *in Early Medieval Apses: Old St. Peter's and the Lateran

In the early versions of the *Traditio Legis*, then, Christ's New Covenant was given to Peter and Paul as apostles of the Church, the governing of which was visually compared with the authority of the Roman empire. Because Peter and Paul wrote that it was the duty of Christians to submit to earthly authority, they were easily associated with

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[68] For more about the morning light in Early Christian apses, see Jerzy Miziolek, "Transfiguratio Domini in the Apse at Mount Sinai and the Symbolism of Light," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 53 (1990): 42-60.

[69] See André Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins* (Princeton, 1969), 68, and figures 163-167.

a theme that reconciled the domain of God's Church with that of the secular realm. Paul wrote in Romans 15 that God put existing authorities into place and they must be obeyed, for rulers are God's servants working for the good of all. Peter said much the same in 1 Peter 2:13-15, where he wrote that one should submit to every human authority: to the emperor, who is the supreme authority, and to the governors, etc. Peter concluded this passage by exhorting the Christian to honor God and respect the emperor. Peter and Paul receiving God's law in the *Traditio Legis*, then, was a motif particularly well suited to St. Peter's in Rome, the seat of the Roman pope and a gift of Constantine, the first Christian Roman emperor.[70]

Known to us through Giovanni Grimaldi's sketch made just before its destruction at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the mid-fourth century apse at Old St. Peter's once showed an enthroned or standing Christ flanked by Peter and Paul (fig. 40). The setting of the apse scene was paradise for a palm tree stood at either end of the composition and the four rivers of paradise flowed from below Christ's feet. In the lower register the mystic Lamb of God stood at the center, flanked by twelve sheep emerging at either edge of the apse from buildings representative of Bethlehem and Jerusalem. Stefan Heid and Rotraut Wisskirchen have identified the contextual elements of this scene as apocalyptic. For example, Christ sits or stands on mount Zion, where He was to return at the Second Coming. The procession of twelve sheep to the *Agnus Dei* at the center of the

[70] On the decoration and organization of Old St. Peter's in general, see Hugo Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen Roms von 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert: Der Beginn der abendländischen Kirchenbaukunst* (Milan, 2004), 91-102; Herbert L. Kessler, *Old St. Peter's and Church Decoration in Medieval Italy* (Spoleto, 2002); Richard Krautheimer, "The Bulding Inscriptions and the Dates of Construction of Old St. Peter's: A Reconsideration," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 25 (1989): 3-23; William Tronzo, "The Prestige of Saint Peter's: Observations on the Function of Monumental Narrative Cycles in Italy," in *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle* Ages, eds. Herbert L. Kessler and Marianna Schreve Simpson (Washington, 1985), 93-112; and Richard Krautheimer et al, *Corpus basilicarum christianarum Romae*, vol. 5 (Vatican and New York, 1977).

lower register, it is said, represent the twelve tribes of Israel from which stem the 144,000 saved referred to in Apocalypse 14:1.[71] The scene could also be related to the prophecy of a pilgrimage to Zion addressed in Isaiah 2:3, which concerns the law going forth out of Zion and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem.[72] In this way, pilgrims to Old St. Peter's could think of their own journey to Rome in terms of the final journey at the Second Coming.

Grimaldi's drawing shows the apse after the intervention of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) in the late twelfth century, but it is likely that the original apse mosaic of the fourth century incorporated a *Traditio Legis* scene.[73] Scholars believe this to be the case because a fifth-century ivory casket replicates the decorative scheme of the apse at Old St. Peter's; among the casket scenes is a depiction of a *Traditio Legis* in a paradise landscape accompanied by a procession of lambs leading to the *Agnus Dei*.[74] A twelfth-century scene of the *Traditio Legis* at the nearby church of St. Sylvester in Tivoli is also so close to the apse scheme at Old St. Peter's that its creation was probably inspired by the original Early Christian mosaics at Old St. Peter's prior to the late twelfth-century reconstruction under Innocent III.[75]

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[71] On the apocalyptic references in the apse of Old St. Peter's, see Heid and Wisskirchen, esp. 144-146.
[72] Heid and Wisskirchen, 157.
[73] Schiller, 206; Walter N. Schumacher and Joseph Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV.-XII. Jahrhundert*, rev. ed. (1916; repr. Basel and Freiburg, 1976), 62. For Grimaldi's watercolor of the apse, see Stephan Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom* (Vienna and Munich, 1964), fig. 490, (Archivio S. Pietro, Album fol. 50). For Grimaldi's sketches see *Giacomo Grimaldi (1568-1623): Leben und Werk des römischen Archäologen und Historikers*, ed. Reto Niggl (Munich, 1971).
[74] Buddensieg, 157-195; Heid and Wisskirchen, 141; Schumacher and Wilpert, 63; and Maria Andaloro and Serena Romano, *Arte e iconografia a Roma dal tardoantico alla fine del medioevo* (Milan, 2002), 80.
[75] Andaloro and Romano, 80, and Hanspeter Lanz, *Die romanischen Wandmalereien von San Silvestro in Tivoli: Ein römisches Apsisprogramm des Zeit Innocenz III* (Bern, 1983). It should be observed here that Emperor Frederick Barbarossa visited Tivoli during his visits to Rome, roughly the same period as the construction of the apse mosiac there.

In Grimaldi's drawing Christ holds a large book in his lap and the two apostles each hold scrolls while gesturing to Christ in acclamation. Even though no act of giving occurs in the scene, the scrolls and the book Christ holds indicate that the transmission of Christ's new covenant has just taken place. Based on Grimaldi's sketch, in fact, it has long been theorized that the original image on the central apse at Old St. Peter's was an early source for subsequent versions of the *Traditio Legis* theme.[76] As the date of the apse at Old St. Peter's is still uncertain, it is impossible to prove or disprove whether the apse was the original statement of the *Traditio Legis* theme.[77] Still, given the importance of Old St. Peter's throughout the middle ages, the political aspect of its apse paintings merits attention.

Schumacher and Wilpert explain that mosaics once existed in the triumphal arch over the apse niche with Christ and his two apostles and that the central message of the entire building program lay embedded within these mosaics (fig. 41). The original inscription that ran over the triumphal arch was recorded in the eighth century: *Qvod dvce te mvndvs svrrexit in astra trivmphans hanc constantinvs victor tibi condidit avlam.*[78] Thus Constantine donated the basilica to honor St. Peter, whose bones lay buried under

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[76] In a discussion about the origins of the *Traditio Legis*, Sotomayor, 215-216, discounts earlier thoughts about the *Traditio Legis* at Old St. Peter's as the source for later versions by explaining that the scene at Old St Peter's was more about Christ's teaching than about the law. Sotomayor's view, however, does not survive well in later literature on the topic. See Heid and Wisskirchen, 141-142, for a possible chronological progression of this theme.

[77] Schiller, 206; Heid and Wisskirchen, 141, note 24, list authors who date the apse to 319/322 versus those who believe the apse dates to around 350, and therefore after the version at St. Costanza. Early Christian sarcophagi bearing the *Traditio Legis* motif also existed at Old St. Peter's. These may, in fact, have inspired the apse scene. Certainly the *Traditio Legis* had funereal associations early on at S. Costanza, in catacomb paintings, and on sarcophagi. Perhaps Old St. Peter's was the first place the funereal tone of the motif was transformed into a politically charged public message.

[78] Schumacher and Wilpert, 61, interpret the "tibi" as "to you, St. Peter" and provide the following translation in German: "Weil unter deiner Führung die Welt sich triumphierend dem Himmel zugewendet, hat Konstantin, der Sieger, diese Aula dir gestiftet." Herbert Kessler and Johanna Zacharias, *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim* (New Haven and London, 2000), 200, understand "tibi" as Christ and provide a slightly different translation: "The victor Constantine had built this royal hall for Christ, because the world has risen in triumph to the stars with Him as guide and leader."

the high altar. According to Cardinal Jacobacci, who wrote around 1503, the inscription was accompanied by the figure of Constantine as if he were showing a model of the church he had donated to Christ and St. Peter.[79] If Christ once existed at the center of the triumphal arch, probably as Wilpert suggests as a bust within a medallion, it seems logical that Constantine and Peter flanked the bust of the Savior in a manner similar to that of Peter and Paul flanking Christ in the apse niche below.

Constantine's involvement with the basilica was further explained in the inscription at the base of the apse mosaic: *Ivstiitiae sedes fidei domvs avla pvdoris haec est qvam cernis pietas qvam possidet omnis qvae patris et filii virtvtibvs inclyta gavdet avctoremqve svvm genitoris lavdibvs aeqvat*.[80] Schumacher and Wilpert argue that the passage concerning the "virtues of the father and the son" was a reference to Constantine's son, possibly Constans, who helped finish the basilica after his father's

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[79] It is known that founders presented models of churches as early as the beginning of the fifth century, so it is possible that Constantine was rendered in such a manner at Old St. Peter's in the mid-fourth century. For the fifth-century church model presentation, see Schumacher and Wilpert, 61, at the church of St. Lorenzo in Lucina. The existence of such mosaics over the triumphal arch at Old St. Peter's is accepted today, but they are generally held to have been added in the Carolingian period. The inscription, however, dates to the Emperor Constantine's victory at Chrysopolis in 324. Late medieval viewers may not have been aware of the difference in chronology between the inscription and the mosaics. See Kessler, *Old St. Peter's*, 7. Kessler refers to recent discussion of the triumphal arch mosaics by Sible de Blaauw, *Cultus et Décor: Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale* (Vatican, 1994), 41.

[80] Schumacher and Wilpert provide the Latin text and a German translation, which reads, "This church, which you see, is the seat of justice, house of faith and stronghold of the pious tradition is the church, which is proud of the virtues of the father and the son, Constans, for he is honored as the founder in the same manner as his father," (my translation). See also Richard Krautheimer, "A Note on the Inscription in the Apse of Old St. Peter's," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 317, who translates the same inscription: "This which you see and which Mercy undivided inhabits is the Seat of Justice, the House of Faith, the Hall of Chastity (Awe), which delights in the virtues of the father and son and equals its donor with the praise of his sire." Despite the differences between the two translations, Krautheimer, 318, continues to accept the idea that the apse mosaic (not the basilica) was donated by one of Constantine's sons, Constantius, the "filius" of the inscription. Krautheimer ends his article on this translation on a questioning note. For more details concerning this inscription, see José Ruysschaert, "L'inscription absidale primitive de S.-Pierre: Texte et context," *Rendiconti della pontificia academia Romana di archelogia* 40 (1967-1968): 171-190. This inscription by Constantius was replaced during Innocent's reconstruction; the newer inscription read: *Svmma petri sedes est h(a)ec sacra principis aedes mater cvnvtar(vm) devotvs xpo qvi templo servit in isto flores virtvtis capiet frvctvsq(ve) salvatis*. Wilpert explains how he came by the Constantinian inscription.

death. Constan's role in finishing the project demonstrates that imperial support of the Roman basilica was of vital importance to the Holy Roman emperors.[81]

The inscription also explains that in addition to being a house of faith, the basilica was understood to be a "seat of justice" (*ivstitiae sedes*), that is, a place where God's law would be administered. It makes sense that Christ would have given his two apostles the law in the main apse of the "seat of justice", especially as both apostles advocated submission to God's servants of justice. Christ's gift of the law to Peter and Paul in the apse niche is echoed by Constantine's own gift of the basilica to St. Peter in the triumphal arch above. The Christ-like emperor, then, made the administration of Christ's law possible by providing a space for the Church in Rome. Not surprisingly, administration of justice was traditionally the central function of Christian emperors as the Vicars of Christ.[82] As Heid and Wisskirchen put it, the construction of Old St. Peter's was politically motivated to commemorate the emperor as the donor of the basilica, as the Vicar of Christ, and as the highest protector of the Church.[83] This message underlying the apse program at Old St. Peter's was not likely to have been forgotten in ages to come.

A number of Roman church mosaics dating from the sixth to the ninth centuries would, in fact, incorporate elements of the *Traditio Legis* (Christ, Peter, and Paul) and thus recall the apse of Old St. Peter's in their larger apse programs. The apse of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, for example, dates about 530 and shows Christ floating in clouds at

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[81] Krautheimer, "A Note," 318, figures the son was not Constans, but Constantus (352-361). This, however, makes little difference to our understanding of imperial influence at Old St. Peter's.
[82] Kantorowicz, 89. Carolingians probably did not apply the term "vicar of Christ" to kings, but the Ottonians emphasized this term to signify the administration of justice by rulers. Paul, of course, was the first to call the secular ruler "God's servant" in Rom. 13:4.
[83] Heid and Wisskirchen, 159.

the center flanked by Peter at his left and Paul at his right (figs. 42-43).[84] The two apostles each raise arms in acclamation as they introduce the patrons of the church, Cosmas and Damian, to Christ. Perhaps this inclusion of patrons flanking Peter and Paul derived from the triumphal arch rendering of Constantine together with the *Traditio Legis* scene in the apse of Old St. Peter's. In any event, apse mosaics of Christ with his two apostles together with patrons gained increasing popularity in Rome in the ninth century.[85]

Just prior to Charlemagne's coronation in Rome in 800, Pope Leo III (795-816) had variations of the *Traditio Legis* motif depicted in two large audience halls of the Lateran palace (figs. 44, 48-49). Leo's use of this motif lent the *Traditio Legis* yet another level of political meaning. Seventeenth-century drawings and documents of the Lateran palace indicate that Christ appeared together with Peter and Paul in the main apse of a triclinium that came to be called the *Sala del Concilio*, again in the main apse of the triclinium of Leo III (795-800), and once more in a spandrel of the triumphal arch over this apse (figs. 50-51, 45-47). Through these three scenes of the *Traditio Legis* at the Lateran palace, Pope Leo III made a visual statement about the overall mission of the Church on earth and the balance of earthly authorities who inherited this mission and were installed by Christ to carry it out.

Hans Belting proposes that the scenes of the main apse niches in the so-called *Sala del Concilio*, a large banquet hall with eleven apse niches, and in the triconch

[84] Schiller, 3, fig. 593. Schiller also presents the apse mosaic at St. Prassede from the ninth century and S. Marco in Rome from 833-844. See Schiller, 3, figs. 595-596.
[85] Davis-Weyer includes two other examples of apse mosaics that included a version of the *Traditio Legis* from the sixth to the ninth centuries: St. Cecilia in Trastevere (817-824) and the lost apse of St. Andrea on the Esquiline (475-483) as sketched by Ciampini.

triclinium of Leo (the *Aula Leonina*) were meant to be compared to one another.[86] Depicted in the center of the central apse mosaic of the *Sala* was Christ, who stood on a hill from which four rivers of paradise flow (figs. 50-51).[87] As in the *Traditio Legis* at Old St. Peter's, Christ raised His left arm in a gesture of blessing and held a scroll of the law in His other hand. Although Christ was flanked by Peter and Paul in this apse, both of whom also held scrolls, the scene differs from the version at Old St. Peter's in that Paul stood in the favored position to the right of Christ. Two additional donor figures stood to either side of Peter and Paul. In the triumphal arch over the apse, twenty-four elders carried wreaths and acclaimed a second representation of Christ, who was shown above the elders as a bust in a medallion. This apse scene was made relevant in the north by Charlemagne, who after visiting Rome commissioned a scene of the elders with wreaths for the cupola of his palace chapel at Aachen.[88]

Because Paul stood in the favored position in this scene at the *Sala del Concilio,* Belting argues that the main apse depends on the fifth-century apsidal decoration of the church of St. Paul's outside the Walls, where the body of the apostle was buried. Although the thirteenth-century apse at St. Paul's shows Old Testament figures, Belting explains that a *Traditio Legis* once existed there and that, in this variation of the scene, the apostle Paul was favored by Christ. The fifth-century *Traditio Legis* scene at St. Paul's must have been intentionally designed for comparison with the main apse at Old

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[86] Hans Belting, "Die beiden Palastaulen Leos III. Im Lateran und die Entstehung einer päpstlichen Programmkunst," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 12 (1978): 55-83. See also an earlier version of this article, "I mosaici dell'Aula Leonina come testimonianza della prima *renovatio* nell'arte medievale di Roma," in *Roma e l'età carolingia: Atti delle giornate di studio 3-8 maggio 1976 a cura dello Istituto di storia dell'arte dell'Università di Roma* (Rome, 1976), 167-182 and figs. 173-185.
[87] Belting, 69, fig. 3, provides a drawing by D. von Winterfeld of the apse mosaic based on drawing from 1625 by Nicolaus Alemannus.
[88] Belting, 72, note 53.

St. Peter's, where Peter was favored. Similarly, Leo III chose to model the apse in the *Aula Leonina* on the main apse of Old St. Peter's.

Depicted in the apse of this smaller triconch triclinium of Leo III was Christ, who once again stood on a hill at the center above the four rivers of paradise (fig. 45). In this scene Christ stood in the company of his apostles, holding an open book and raising His right hand in a gesture of blessing. Although Belting argues this version derives from the *Traditio Legis* motif at Old St. Peter's, particularly as Peter is favored in the Lateran apse at Christ's right, Belting notes a few important distinctions. The inclusion of the apostles is the most striking; this is the first apse known to show Christ's mission to His apostles found in Matthew 28:19-20.[89] True to the passage in Matthew, only eleven apostles are represented in the apse; Paul does not appear in their company because he was not present in the Biblical narrative.[90]

Because of Paul's notable absence in the *Aula Leonina* apse, this mosaic program clearly emphasized that Christ's authority was given to Peter. In the apse in the *Sala*, by contrast, Christ favored Paul over Peter, reflecting the fifth-century apse at St. Paul's outside the Walls, which in turn visually responded to the Constantinian apse at Old St. Peter's. Thus the scenes of *Traditio Legis* in the two Early Christian basilicas and in Leo's two audience halls visually demonstrated that the authority of Peter and Paul was equal and balanced under Christ. The notion that Peter and Paul represented two separate powers in the church was underscored by the fact that Peter was favored by Christ in programs physically apart from, yet in proximity to programs where Paul was favored.

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[89] Belting, 62-63. The mission is explained in the inscription accompanying the scene, which comes directly from Mt. 28:19-20: "Going therefore, teach ye all nations: baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. And behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world."
[90] Belting, 65.

Further, the spandrel scenes in the triumphal arch above the apse in the *Aula Leonina* proclaimed once more this message of a balance of earthly powers in the Church. A scene of the *Traditio Legis* with Christ between Peter and Paul appeared in the left spandrel of the apse, while to the right of the apse Saint Peter invested Pope Leo III and Charlemagne, who was represented as king, rather than emperor (figs. 45-47).[91] Just as Christ passed His mission and authority to Peter in the apse below, to Paul in the apse of the *Sala del Consilio*, and to both Peter and Paul in the left spandrel scene, so His apostle, Peter, in the opposite spandrel granted Christ's power to two different branches of Christendom, the sacred and the secular authorities. The balanced composition of the two groups on either side of the apse underscored harmony and equality among those represented, that is, Peter did not visually outshine Paul in the *Traditio Legis* scene, nor did the representation of Pope Leo in any way dwarf the figure of the emperor.

Such harmony between the emperor and the pope corresponded to the traditional ideal as laid out by Gelasius.[92] The figures of the two scenes correspond: as Christ offers spiritual and secular authority to Peter and Paul in the *Traditio Legis* scene, so Peter, himself having received all authority from Christ, grants spiritual and secular authority to Pope Leo and Charlemagne. From the visual continuity of these two scenes, the viewer was led to the understanding that the authority invested in St. Paul corresponds to that of the secular ruler. Thus, as in the doctrine of the two swords, the pope received spiritual authority while the emperor received secular authority.

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[91] Belting, 65, says that unfortunately the representation of the spandrel at the left of the apse was lost, but he holds that it represented Constantine and Sylvester flanking Christ. While this may be true, there is still not sufficient evidence to contradict Walter's earlier belief that the scene included Christ flanked by Peter and Paul. See Walter, 159 and 175.

[92] See pages 85-88 above.

According to Christopher Walter, though, the triclinium mosaics of Leo III expressed the political agenda of the eighth-century pope. The *Traditio Legis* in Leo's triclinium was part of a larger illustration about the transmission of authority: as Christ gave authority to Peter and Paul in the *Traditio Legis* scene, Peter, enthroned and invested with the pallium, in turn transmits this authority to the king and the pope.[93] Peter's transmission of Christ's authority to the pope by means of the pallium and to the king with the vexillum is a double act of investiture. Although equality and harmony seem the more obvious message of the two triclinia apse mosaics as well as the spandrel scenes of Peter and Paul opposite Leo III and Charlemagne over the main apse in the triconch triclinium, Walter asserts that Leo's mosaics subtly imply the authority of the pope over the king.[94] The authority of the king as the protector of the Church, according to the mosaics, derives from St. Peter, who is associated with the pope by his pallium. Walter claims that by combining the *Traditio Legis* with a scene of regal and papal investiture, Pope Leo effectively rewrote the original message behind the *Traditio Legis* scene in the apse of Old St. Peter's and created a quiet artistic testimony to papal sovereignty.[95] And yet, it is precisely the *Traditio Legis* scenes in Leo's triclinia and in the Constantinian basilica of Old St. Peter's that captured the imagination of both successive generations of German emperors and papal reformers, all of whom, like Pope

[93] Walter, 175.
[94] Belting, 66-67, concedes this point, stating that the main emphasis of the scene with Charlemagne and Leo was to show Charlemagne as a partner of the pope, although the suggestion that Peter and the pope had authoritative power over the emperor was a subtle secondary message. Belting, however, offers a slightly different interpretation of the mosaic message. He says that the focus of the program was the mission to the apostles, so that Charlemagne and Leo were both understood as instruments of God, equally employed to spread the Gospel.
[95] Belting, 67, argues that the later act of Charlemagne's coronation by Leo III was not anticipated by the triclinium mosaics.

Leo, would adapt the same motif of balanced hierarchy in the Church to suit their own political agendas.

***Adaptations of the Early Christian* Traditio Legis**

Because of Walter's interpretation of the incorporation of the *Traditio Legis* into the Lateran triclinium program and partly due to recent interest in reinterpreting ecclesiastical artistic programs in terms of the Gregorian Reform movement, it has been traditionally assumed that medieval representations of the *Traditio Legis* theme reflected papal reform sympathies. By taking a close look at a few of these medieval programs north of the Alps, however, it will become clear that the Early Christian *Traditio Legis* grew to have no such straightforward meaning or associations. In fact, this theme was employed because of its "traditional" and therefore "correct" reflection of God's divinely ordered world on earth and was then discreetly adapted to meet the political needs of the patron.

Among the earliest and more well-known versions of the *Traditio Legis* appearing north of the Alps is the fresco scene adorning the apse of the chapel at Berzé-la-Ville in Burgundy. Whenever scholars seek to define the art generated by the Cluniac Reform movement, the representation of the *Traditio Legis* at this small chapel is inevitably recalled primarily because of its remarkably good state of preservation and because of the chapel's close proximity to Cluny (fig. 52). Berzé-la-Ville was a grange directly under the authority of Cluny, situated rather remotely on a high hill roughly twelve kilometers away. Wall paintings adorning the chapel may date to around 1100, although stylistic comparison does not rule out a later mid-twelfth century date. Still, the earlier date is favored for the frescos because of the priory's close association with Abbot Hugh of

Cluny (1049-1109), who not only lived there at the end of his life, but arranged for the priory's reconstruction in his will.[96]

Dissatisfaction with the Church had grown in the middle of the eleventh century, and the powerful monastic "empire" of Cluny initiated reforms that spread quickly throughout its houses in France.[97] In its reform efforts, Cluny often collaborated with the papacy; the two were joined in "an active and mutual bond of protection and service."[98] As Eric Palazzo argues, the *Traditio Legis* scene at Berzé-la-Ville naturally reflected Cluniac concern for church reform and Cluniac sympathy for the Gregorian Reform movement.[99] After all, Cluny had been dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul at its foundation, it was placed under the immediate protection of the papacy, and it was also considered exempt from all lay and secular ecclesiastic interference. The order owed allegiance to the pope for protecting it and providing it with *libertas*, or freedom.[100]

In the apse at Berzé-la-Ville, an over-life-sized Christ is enthroned within a mandorla, which is flanked by Peter and Paul, who stand before the other apostles. Quoting the Early Christian versions of the *Traditio Legis*, Christ appears to favor Peter specially, at the right, by bestowing on the prince of apostles an open scroll, which Peter

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[96] Kathryn Morrison: 'Berzé-la-Ville, Priory Chapel', *The Grove Dictionary of Art Online*, (Oxford University Press, [Accessed 8/8/2004]) <http://80-www.groveart.com.content.lib.utexas.edu:2048>. For a good description of the history of Berzé-la-Ville and its frescoes, see Raymond Oursel, *Romanisches Burgund* (Würzburg, 996),149-163 and Ferdinand Nicolas, *Die Wandmalereien in der Chapelle des Moines von Berzé-la-Ville,* trans. Harald Floss (Mâcon, 1994). For a discussion of the entire painting program at Berzé-la-Ville as a Cluniac space, see Daniel Russo, "Espace peint, espace symbolique, construction ecclésiologiques: Les peintures de Berzé-la-Ville (Chapelle-des-moines)," *Revue Mabillon* 72 (2000): 57-87.

[97] Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford, 1989), 79. See also Carr, 76, where she states that the apse at Berzé-la-Ville is the earliest Medieval version of the Early Christian theme of an enthroned Christ handing an open scroll to Peter.

[98] H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970), 39.

[99] Eric Palazzo, "L'iconographie des fresques de Berzé-la-Ville dans le contexte de la reform grégorienne et de la liturgie clunisienne," *Les cahiers de Sainte-Michel de Cuxa* 19 (1988): 169-182.

[100] C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages.* 3rd ed. (Harlow, England, 2001), 87; Brooke, 319.

grasps in his right hand. Peter, who also holds his keys with his left hand, is arguably the focus of the composition because his favored status is emphasized through the prominent white, open scroll. It has always been assumed that the inscription on this scroll related to the passage in Matthew 16:16-20 where Christ declares, "You are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church."[101] The inclusion of four figures in addition to the remaining apostles recalls Sts. Cosmas and Damian in Rome particularly as two of the figures that stand at the foot of Christ offer donations of a book and something on a pillow. The two figures to the left have been tentatively identified as Abbot Odo, founder of the Cluniac order, and Abbot Hugh, and the two men at the right as Benedict of Nursia and Benedict of Aniane.[102] That these donors were the successors to Peter's office is the central message behind the painting. It follows that the apse fresco was a statement about Petrine primacy, which was inherited by the pope and was supported by the Cluniacs.

Yves Christe, however, questions this standardized interpretation propounded by Palazzo and proposes instead that the *Traditio Legis* at Berzé-la-Ville was simply an affirmation of the independence of the church in the exercise of power in religious matters. The emphasis of the apse on St. Peter might not even reflect papal primacy or concern for the papal reform, for Peter was the patron of the Cluniac order. Cluniac monks may have sympathized with the Gregorian Reform movement at times, but they were never bold propagators of the papal reform movement like their brothers at Hirsau in Germany. In fact, Abbot Hugh was caught in the middle of the conflict between Henry IV and Gregory VII and served as a mediator between them.[103] Of noble birth himself,

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[101] Nicolas, 15. L. Lex was the first in 1893 to decipher the inscription on Peter's scroll as "Tu es Petrus".
[102] Carr, 76; Christe, "Berzé-la-Ville," 81. Abbot Odo and Abbot Hugh have been alternately identified as St. Lawrence and St. Vincent, the patrons of this chapel.
[103] Robinson, *Henry IV*, 158-159 and 161.

Hugh was also a long-time friend of Emperor Henry III, who had chosen him to be the godfather of Henry IV.[104] Cluniacs, though, also sympathized with the papal reform agenda, and Hugh served as an advisor to the pope. Cluny, then, was a hesitant supporter of both the imperial and the papal positions during the years of the Investiture Controversy, and Christe argues this compromising attitude can be detected in the paintings at Berzé-la-Ville.

The image of the *Traditio Legis* at Berzé-la-Ville reflects an even-handed understanding of the relationship of Christ and his Church, with a minor emphasis on Peter's primacy, an emphasis which had become traditional by this period. Peter figures prominently as a focus of the apse at Berzé-la-Ville, but he is not the only person to receive Christ's sanction. Unlike the Early Christian sarcophagus, Lat. 174 (fig. 37), where Peter receives the scroll from Christ and Paul stands alone, the figure of Paul at Berzé-la-Ville also holds out an unrolled scroll which he has just received from Christ, and Christ's right hand breaks the frame of His mandorla to bless Paul and those on his side of the apse. While Peter and Paul hold open scrolls of the law, the other apostles also carry scrolls to indicate that the law was passed to all Christ's followers. In addition, the inscription on Peter's scroll does not speak to Petrine primacy, but has recently been discovered to read *ecce ego dispono vobis sicut pater mevs regnum*, a passage in Luke 22:29.[105] In this passage following the Last Supper, Christ tells his apostles that He will confer on them a kingdom, as His Father had conferred on Him. The scroll handed to Peter, then, is not a political statement about the primacy of Peter, but rather a message about Christ's gift of the kingdom to all the apostles, and, by extension, to all Christian

[104] Lawrence, 93-95.
[105] Behold I confer a kingdom on you just as my father conferred a kingdom on me (my translation).

followers, including the monks of Cluny. Such a statement is, of course, familiar when we recall that the Mission to the Apostles in the apse of the *Aula Leonina* at the Lateran was a variation of the *Traditio Legis* motif from Old St. Peter's.

Ecclesiastical hierarchy is of concern in the fresco, for Peter, the first pope, actively receives the scroll from Christ, just as the pope granted exemption and immunity to the Cluniacs. The Cluniacs are represented at the foot of Christ in the persons of the two abbots of the Cluniac order and the two Benedicts. These four figures have direct access to Christ through Peter and Paul, as established in Cluny's charter. The central focus of the image, then, was the right of the Cluniac monks to establish justice in ecclesiastical matters without interference from any but the pope. By focusing attention on Peter and including four figures to represent Cluniac monasticism, this Cluniac version of the *Traditio Legis* subtly reworked the traditional theme to testify to Cluniac immunity and authority.

Thus the *Traditio Legis* at Berzé-la-Ville could not have been a political statement about Cluniac support for the pope during the years of the Gregorian Reform, nor was it likely, as is commonly assumed, that the scene served as a model for subsequent renditions of the theme. As Christe points out, the audience for the fresco scenes at Berzé-la-Ville was small, for the chapel was reserved for the private contemplation of the abbot of Cluny and a few monks. Furthermore, the main apse of the great church at the abbey of Cluny itself originally displayed a scene of the *Maiestas Domini* (Christ in glory between four symbols of the evangelists); it is significant that the Clunaics chose to decorate this public space with a traditional and neutral theme.[106] Far from a

[106] Although Christe, 81, believes the *Maiestas Domini* in the main apse at Cluny was a politically neutral painting, Soren Kaspersen, "*Majestas Domini – Regnum et Sacerdotium*: Zu Entstehung und Leben des

propagandistic statement of Petrine primacy, the *Traditio Legis* at Bérze-la-Ville addressed the larger issue of hierarchy and authority in ecclesiastical matters pertaining to Cluny. It is therefore important for our understanding of this motif to note that the political meaning of the *Traditio Legis* at Bérze-la-Ville, like many other versions of this theme, can only be understood within its original context.

Another contemporaneous fresco of the *Traditio Legis* at Vendôme in the diocese of Chartres, for example, demonstrates that at least one abbot adapted the theme to make a pro-papal statement. Whereas the *Traditio Legis* scene at Berzé-la-Ville was private, the version at Vendôme was set in a public space and embedded in a series of scenes about the life of Christ. In this series, the first scene shows a typical version of the *Traditio Legis* with Christ seated at the center on a globe between Peter and Paul. Christ gives a scroll to Peter, also seated on a globe at the right, while Paul acclaims Christ at the left. To the left of the *Traditio Legis* is a scene of Christ and his apostles fishing in a large boat, a scene that recalls the *Navicella* at Old St. Peter's in Rome.[107] Rome is again recalled in the third scene in this series, where Christ hands the keys and the law to Peter, who is now seated on a throne to the left, and Paul is nowhere to be found. This scene visually depends on the first scene of the *Traditio Legis* to communicate Peter's investiture as the first pope, and Toubert argues this demonstrates a pro-papal position, particularly as the patron of the program, Abbot Geoffrey (1093-1132), was a supporter of Gregory VII.[108]

Motivs bis zum Investiturstreit," *Hafnia: Copenhagen Papers in the History of Art* 8 (1981): 83-146, spends a great deal of time describing the ties of the *Maiestas Domini* to the Gregorian Reform. Kaspersen eventually concludes that it is not easy to assert that Gregorian politics affected this image, but it is still a possibilty.

[107] Hélène Toubert, *Un art dirigé: Réforme grégorienne et iconographie* (Paris, 1990), 371.

[108] Toubert, 365-397; Christe, 81.

Patrons in the twelfth century, then, adapted and used the *Traditio Legis* theme to suit their own agendas. Cluniac patrons at Berzé-la-Ville employed the traditional image of the *Traditio Legis* to speak about the transmission of Christ's authority to Cluny's leaders. The *Traditio Legis* at Vendôme also spoke to ideas about ecclesiastic hierarchy; in this case the scene was part of a series that made a politically favorable statement about the pope during the Investiture Controversy. Just as medieval churchmen felt free to take this Early Christian image and rework it to suit their purposes, so too kings and emperors were able to view the same theme in political terms and adapt it to their own ends.

***Ottonian Imperial Adaptations of the* Traditio Legis**

During the Ottonian era the *Traditio Legis* was employed in several different media to address issues of imperial authority. In the late tenth century at least two sculptural scenes were created in Milan of Peter and Paul in a new relationship with Christ at the center; unlike the Early Christian scenes of the *Traditio Legis*, in these Ottonian examples Peter receives a new object, keys, at the same time that Paul receives the law.[109] Like the Lateran triclinium mosaics in the Carolingian era, the two apostles stand as equals before Christ. As we will see, Peter with his keys represents the office of the pope, while Paul is visually compared with the emperor. The *Traditio Legis* in the ivory antependium of Magdeburg (made in Milan) and the same scene on the ciborium

[109] Carlo Bertelli, *Il ciborio della basilica di Sant'Ambrogio in Milano* (Milan, 1981), 23-24. Bertelli points out that the arrangement of Peter and Paul actively and simultaneously receiving objects from Christ is not an Ottonian innovation. Dating to the mid-fifth century, two ivories now adorn a manuscript from 1078 in the Rouen library. These ivories show Peter with keys and Paul with a scroll. One could point as well to the frescos at Müstair and the Laurentius Oratorium as well as the tenth-century crosses in Ireland. I suggest here, however, that the Ottonian adaptation of the *Traditio Legis* motif, like the Lateran triclinium apses, specifically linked the emperor and the pope to the *Traditio Legis* theme.

over the main altar of St. Ambrogio were specifically associated with the patronage of Emperor Otto II.[110]

The *Traditio Legis* scene from the Magdeburg Antependium shows Christ standing on a hill between Peter, at the left receiving keys, and Paul, at the right receiving an open scroll inscribed: *Dominvs leiem dat smvlvs* (fig. 53).[111] Visually responding to the *Traditio Legis* in the ivory antependium series was a scene of Christ in majesty flanked by Peter with his key and Emperor Otto II, who presented a model of a Magdeburg cathedral to Christ (fig. 54).[112] It is significant here that Otto II appears opposite Peter, for he has, together with St. Mauritius, assumed Paul's place in the *Traditio Legis* scene. The reference to Otto's high imperial authority is difficult to miss, for the emperor wears an ornate imperial crown,[113] and Christ favors him by both turning His head to gaze at him and by extending His right hand to bless him. Otto's imperial importance is also underscored by Christ's own imperial pose, enthroned on a sphere as the Supreme Lord.[114] Emperor Otto II's prominent position in this scene was perhaps due to the fact that the Magdeburg Antependium served to commemorate the patronage and founding of the bishopric of Magdeburg by Otto I.[115]

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[110] For Otto I's commissions in Milan, see Hermann Fillitz, *Die Gruppe der Magdeburger Elfenbeintafeln: Eine Stiftung Kaiser Ottos des Grossen für den Magdeburger Dom* (Mainz, 2001), 1-28. In addition to the objects discussed by Fillitz, see also the reliquary of SS. Cipriano and Giustina from the late tenth century now at Milan's Castello Sforza; illustrated in Carr, fig. 94.

[111] Fillitz, 32-34. The original ivory is incorporated into the cover of the Codex Wittekindeus, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. theol. fol. 1 (Einband des Codex Wittekindeus). The "SMVLVS" on Paul's scroll may actually read "SAVLVS", although scholars do not feel certain about this. One might translate this, "The Lord gives the law to Saul" (my translation), but an additional problem is presented by the fact that SMVLVS is not in the dative case, but the nominative.

[112] Fillitz, 29-31. This ivory plaque is now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. Nr. 41.100.157. The original arrangement of the ivory panels is not known.

[113] Fillitz, 29-30, discusses the crown as a symbol of Otto's imperial authority above his role as patron.

[114] This representation of Christ on an orb derived from imperial models. See the depiction of Christ in the apse mosaic at San Vitale in Ravenna.

[115] Brooke, 225 note 4. Brooke lists further bibliography on the foundation of Magdeburg.

The altar canopy at St. Ambrogio, though, seems to have had a more complicated function. Four polychrome reliefs adorning the stucco ciborium erected in 972-973 each contribute a message about celestial and terrestrial hierarchy. On the front side of the ciborium facing the congregation is a scene of the *Traditio Legis* (figs. 55, 58). This scene contrasts sharply with the same scene found on a fourth-century sarcophagus (fig. 56) that must have been in Milan at the time of the ciborium's creation and was incorporated into the late twelfth-century pulpit (fig. 57).[116] While the sarcophagus version shows Christ favoring Peter with an open scroll, the composition of the ciborium scene is entirely devoted to the notion of balance and symmetrical equality: Christ extends two keys to St. Peter at His left at the same time that He gives an open book to Paul at His right. Like the *Traditio Legis* of the Magdeburg Antependium, the Milan ciborium scene also shows Paul as the intended recipient of the book, which is inscribed: *Accipe librvm sapientiae*.[117] Paul's receipt of the book allows for a division of one power into two. Originally Peter received the law while Paul stood in acclamation, but now Peter receives the power of the keys, *Traditio Clavium*, at the same time that Paul receives the power of the book, or the law, *Traditio Legis*. Whereas the sarcophagus scene shows Christ standing among His apostles on a hill in paradise, Christ in the ciborium scene is seated like a ruler upon a massive throne with His two knees spaced apart to denote His immovability and permanence. His two apostles, by contrast, actively

[116] Anat Tcherikover, "The Pulpit of Sant'Ambrogio at Milan," *Gesta* 38 (1999): 35-66; Sandro Chierici, *La Lombardia: Italia romanica*, 5th ed. (Milan, 1991), 68. The sarcophagus was incorporated into the main pulpit in 1200, so it is clear that the sarcophagus was important to the history of St. Ambrogio and worth at least referencing in the tenth century.

[117] See 'Christ Giving Law #20, Milan: Church, S. Ambrogio', *Index of Christian Art Onlin* (Princeton University, [Accessed 8/10/04]) <http://4505-index3.princeton.edu.content.lib.utexas.edu:2048/ALEPH>. The inscription reads, "Accept the book of wisdom," (my translation).

take steps up the curve of the lower arch of the scene and bend their knees to approach Him with humility.

Three other scenes on the altar canopy shed light on the intended interpretation of this specific *Traditio Legis* scene at St. Ambrogio. On the reverse side of the ciborium and facing the choir end of the church is Saint Ambrose, the founder of the church (fig. 59). Ambrose is Christ-like as he sits enthroned at the center and blesses two kneeling clerics, who mimic the pose of Peter and Paul on the front of the ciborium. Ambrose does not yet wear the robes of a bishop, but a habit. Above his head appears a bust-length person in an aureole and s/he extends both arms down to Ambrose in a gesture of acclamation. This figure may represent the voice of a child written about in the *Vita* of Ambrose who acclaimed, "Ambrosius vescovus!"[118] Perhaps this scene of Ambrose represents his investiture as a bishop, for not only does a spiritual form descend from heaven to recognize his status, but saints Gervasius and Protasius also lift their hands up to Ambrose as they introduce a kneeling bishop at the left and a deacon at the right.[119] Like Peter and Paul crouching before Christ, the bishop and deacon kneel before Ambrose in a state of humble acclamation. The bishop offers a model of the altar canopy to Ambrose, a transaction recalling the gifts received by Peter and Paul in the *Traditio Legis*. Christ gives spiritual and secular authority to His Church, and His Church yields fruits and returns material gifts, like the ciborium, back to Christ.

Related compositionally and thematically as well, the two side panels of the ciborium each show a haloed figure standing in the center flanked by two kneeling

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[118] Carlo Capponi, *La basilica di Sant'Ambrogio a Milano: Guida storico-artistica* (Milan, 1997), 46.
[119] See Cynthia Hahn, "Narrative on the Golden Altar of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan: Presentation and Reception," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999): 171. Gervasius and Protasius were martyrs that Ambrose discovered and translated to his basilica. The two saints lay buried together with Ambrose in the reliquary-altar tomb. Hahn, 169, dates the Golden altar to the ninth century (824-859).

persons. A bishop, possibly the newly invested Ambrose, stands at the center of the south canopy scene; the two crowned and bearded men who pay homage to the bishop are Emperor Otto I and Emperor Otto II (fig. 60). Depicted on the north side of the ciborum is a female figure at the center with a dove over her head, probably the Church or the Virgin; she is flanked by the wives of Emperor Otto I and Otto II, Adelaide and Theophanu (fig. 61). The identification of these imperial members allows for the precise dating of the ciborium to 972-973.[120]

These four imperial figures on the Milan ciborium form part of a larger political message about status and hierarchy. Carlo Bertelli argues that the altar canopy at St. Ambrogio was a political statement of Milan's rivalry for primacy with St. Peter's in Rome.[121] He explains that certain scenes of the *Traditio Legis* in fifth-century Ravenna showed Paul with the law instead of Peter in an attempt to illustrate Ravenna's superiority to Rome; the new shift to Paul receiving the law in Milan was a similar statement about equality or superiority over the Petrine city. Like Rome, Milan had obtained relics of Peter and Paul and could claim the authority of these two apostles as well as Rome could. Further, the opposition of the *Traditio Legis* on the front of the ciborium with Ambrose's investiture on the reverse visually encourages the comparison of Ambrose, the first bishop of Milan, and Christ. From Bertelli's assertions it is clear that the altar canopy appropriated an Early Christian scene to explain hierarchy and order within the church. In other words, the artists at Milan were willing to alter the meaning

[120] Carlo Bertelli, "Una regione italiana nel medioevo europeo," in *Lombardia medievale: Arte e architettura* (Milan, 2002), 81. Bertelli states that the first scholar to identify these figures was Adriano Peroni, but Bertelli does not note in which publication. See also Capponi, 47.
[121] Bertelli, *Il ciborio*, 26.

of the *Traditio Legis* by incorporating it into a new series of scenes emphasizing the organization of ecclesiastical power.

A new Ottonian attitude towards the role of the kings is also revealed in the Milan ciborium. Just as Peter and Paul mediate between Christ and the Church, Bishop Ambrose mediates between the Church and emperors, who in turn will serve as mediators between God's Church and the Christian laity.[122] The message behind the four scenes together is thus about the transmission of Christ's powers from His Church to the emperor, the Vicar of Christ.[123] As it was described in the Mainz *ordo* of 960, Christ was the mediator between God and man, and the king was the mediator between the clergy and the people.[124]

Konrad Hoffmann makes the argument that Ottonian emperors transformed the *Traditio Legis* as it was depicted in the Lateran triclinium, which Walter believed had emphasized the authority of the pope, to a symbol of imperial power.[125] Hoffmann lists several cases in which the Ottonian ruler as the Vicar of Christ is crowned directly by Peter and Paul.[126] According to Hoffmann, the *Traditio Legis* is formulated in three different ways in the Aachen Evangeliary: the emperor receives a scroll of the law from Christ as if he were an apostle, he appears together with Peter as a Vicar of Christ, and the emperor is shown as Christ between two acclaiming figures each bearing a lance on

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[122] Kantorowicz, 88. Kantorowicz explains the idea that the king was considered the mediator between God and his people, as written by the Norman Anonymous and included in coronation orders.
[123] Carlo Bertelli, "Un regione italiana," 81.
[124] Deshman, 387-388. Deshman explains that the Mainz *ordo* was composed in 960 and often used for Ottonian coronations.
[125] Konrad Hoffmann, *Taufsymbolik im mittelalterlichen Herrscherbild* (Düsseldorf, 1968), 26-29. For a summary of Walter's ideas concerning the Lateran triclinium, see 103-108 above.
[126] Hoffmann, 28, refers to a king's prayer book in Pommersfelden, the image of Otto III enthroned between Peter and Paul from the Bamberg Apocalypse (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek MS Bibl 140, fol. 59v), and the Perikopenbuch (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, CLM 4452, Cim. 57, fol. 2r) where Kunigunde is crowned by Christ and Peter and Paul. In addition to Hoffmann's list, one could add the prayer book of Otto III (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, CLM 30111, fol. 2r) where Otto is between Peter and Paul.

his shoulder to signify investiture.[127] Ottonian emperors were certainly adept at transforming the motif of the *Traditio Legis* to serve imperial purposes. Their ideas about kingship and the *Traditio Legis* seem to have prevailed for at least two centuries.

***Hohenstaufen Encounters with the* Traditio Legis**

Faced with a continual papal repression of imperial authority, the court of Frederick Barbarossa looked back to the Ottonian portrayals of the "priest-king" to legitimize and remind citizens of the emperor's claim to his God-given power. His court resurrected the theme of *Traditio Legis* as it had been reinterpreted by the Ottonian emperors because the motif had grown to be associated with imperial rights. Embodying the concept of the law, the *Traditio Legis* theme was also important to Barbarossa because it now spoke to the new twelfth-century audience devoted to the pursuit of justice through Roman law. Thus the image of the *Traditio Legis* was the ideal expression of Barbarossa's conception of the ruler, for it combined the two key foundational elements he used to legitimize his authority: the authority of former kings and the God-given authority of the emperor as protector of the law.

Contemporary authors recalled the Ottonian ideal of priest-king in descriptions relating to Barbarossa's kingship. Barbarossa's biographer and uncle, Otto of Freising, revealed a Hohenstaufen interest in the traditional view of kingship in his description of Barbarossa's coronation at Aachen. In his *Gesta Friderici*, Otto reported that a double consecration took place at Aachen on March 9, 1152. On the same day and in the same church, the bishops consecrated the king, Frederick I, and a bishop, Frederick of Münster. Otto wrote,

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[127] Hoffmann, 28. The development of ruler portrayals has an impressive bibliography. See Hagen Keller, "Herrscherbild und Herrschaftslegitimation: Zur Deutung der ottonischen Denkmäler," *Fruhmittelalterliche Studien* 19 (1985): 290-311, for references to the literature.

> So it was believed that the Highest King and Priest was actually participating in the present rejoicing; and this was the sign, that in one church one day beheld the anointing of the two persons who alone are sacramentally anointed according to the ordinance of the New and of the Old Testament, and are rightly called the anointed of Christ the Lord.[128]

Otto, still clinging to the Ottonian ideal of king-priest, emphasized that Christ was present at the anointing of Frederick the King and Frederick the Priest. This not only demonstrated the equality of the secular and the sacred authorities before Christ, but reiterated the traditional view that the king was set apart like a priest by Christ's anointment.[129]

In a ode to the deeds of Barbarossa in Italy, an anonymous Italian poet in the twelfth century focused attention on Frederick as the mediator between God and the people, an idea that corresponds to the Ottonian ideal of kingship.[130] Just as Ottonian emperors were vicars, or servants of Christ, so Barbarossa was portrayed in this poem as God's vessel bent upon the restoration of peace and justice in his Lombard cities. Throughout the course of the poem, Frederick asks the leaders of Milan to obey his laws and to keep the peace in order to keep his love. Because the Milanese refused to live according to God's laws as laid out by the emperor, Frederick was forced to destroy Milan with God's approval. In the poem God even answers Barbarossa's pious prayer, "Complete the course you started…Unless you fail the rule of law and justice, unless you are seduced by bad advice, I'll give to you the victory you seek, and power will be yours

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[128] *Gesta Friderici*, 117. See also Kantorowicz, 88, note 6.
[129] See Janet Nelson, "Kingship and Empire," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c. 350-1450*, ed. J. H. Burns (Cambridge, 1988), 248, and Sverre Bagge, *Kings, Politics and the Right Order of the World in German Historiography, c. 950-1150* (Leiden, 2002), 375.
[130] See *Barbarossa in Italy*, trans. and ed. Thomas Carson (New York, 1994), 1-119.

for many years."[131] The poet's repeated use of the terms "law" and "justice" were deliberately chosen to express the emperor's new reliance on Roman law in addition to God's grace to justify his position of power.

The Hohenstaufen emperor not only demonstrated an interest in Roman law during his time in Lombardy, but he actively used of Italian lawyers to defend his claim to authority in Northern Italy. In addition to statements about Barbarossa's concern for justice, the anonymous poet of *Barbarossa in Italy* points out that the emperor met with lawyers from the famous law school in Bologna to help determine his legal authority.[132] From a historical standpoint, we know that Barbarossa asked lawyers from Bologna to determine his legal rights to the historically imperial land of Lombardy, the result of which were the Roncaglia decrees of 1158. These decrees claimed political and territorial rights for the emperor in Lombardy, rights that he lost no time in enforcing.[133] That Barbarossa saw himself as a law-giver as well as law-protector is clear from Otto of Freising's account of the Diet at Roncaglia, where the emperor provided new laws to keep peace in Milan.[134]

Perhaps his second papal rival, Alexander III, who as a "lawyer-pope" must have had considerable knowledge of canon law, inspired Barbarossa's continual awareness of

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[131] *Barbarossa in Italy*, 68, lines 1922-1928.
[132] See *Barbarossa in Italy*, 16, lines 452-503, as well as the introduction to the text, xviii. On the revival of the study of Roman law in the medieval period, see Walter Ullman, *Law and Politics in the Middle Ages: An Introduction to the Sources of Medieval Political Ideas* (New York, 1975); Charles M. Radding, *The Origins of Medieval Jurisprudence: Pavia and Bologna, 850-1150* (New Haven and London, 1988); and Stephen Kuttner, "The Revival of Jurisprudence," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 299-323. Law centers and schools that had existed in Italy in Ravenna, Pavia, and Bologna began to standardize curricula on Roman law in 1140 when canon law was added to the study of both Lombard and Roman law.
[133] Morris, 192.
[134] *Gesta Friderici*, 239-242. See also *Barbarossa in Italy*, xvi. Carson mentions that Barbarossa had some of his legislation placed in Justinian's compilation of Roman law, the *Corpus Iuris Vicilis*. I assume Otto of Freising's reference to new laws concerns the laws added to Justinian's compilation.

Roman law.[135] In Otto of Freising's version of Barbarossa's involvement at Chancellor Roland's election as pope in Pavia, where Roland was chosen over Alexander III, the emperor is compared with Justinian, Theodosius, and Charlemagne in his legal authority to call a church council to elect a pope.[136] Barbarossa's words on this occasion reveal his perceived duty to defend the church and uphold the law,

> "Since, by divine preordained favor, we have undertaken the governance of the Roman empire, we must in all our ways safeguard His law, by whose boon and of whose will we have attained the high pinnacle of our station. Therefore, with this most pious purpose, we must not only protect all the churches within our empire, but should also zealously provide for the Very Holy Church of Rome, whose care and defense are believed to have been specially entrusted to us by Divine Providence."[137]

In this quotation, the emperor reveals his obligation to govern the Holy Roman Empire, to defend the Church, and to safeguard the law. These functions were assigned to the emperor by God, not by the pope or any servant of God. As further proof of the Ottonian-derived belief that God appointed the emperor to his position, Barbarossa's court cultivated a cult of kings. After the destruction of Milan in 1162, for example, the bishop of Cologne had the relics of the three Magi transferred to his home church.[138]

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[135] Robinson, *The Papacy*, 221. Alexander III promoted six lawyers to the college of cardinals and has often been considered a "lawyer pope" in the scholarship. The traditional view that Alexander III was a former professor of canon law in Bologna has been questioned in recent years, but the fact remains that legal issues were important during his rule. See also Johannes Laudage, *Alexander III. und Friedrich Barbarossa* (Cologne, 1997), 5-6.
[136] *Gesta Friderici*, 299.
[137] *Gesta Friderici*, 299-300.
[138] Patrick Geary, "I magi e Milano," in *La città del vescovo dai Carolingi al Barbarossa: Il millennio ambrosiano*, ed. Carlo Bertelli (Milan, 1988), 283. See also Dorothy F. Glass, *Portals, Pilgrimage, and Crusade in Western Tuscany* (Princeton, 1997), 17. Interestingly, Glass remarks that two sculpted capitals at the church of St. Jean at Besançon display scenes of the *Adoration of the Magi* in which the magi are dressed as pilgrims. According to Glass, the capitals were ordered by Archbishop Herbert, who had followed Barbarossa on his campaign to Italy. The capitals date to the third quarter of the twelfth century and must have been commissioned in response to the transfer of the three Magi from Milan to Cologne. Besançon was a diocese in Burgundy just west of the diocese of Basel and it became a stronghold of Barbarossa especially after his marriage to Beatrix of Burgundy.

According to Robert Deshman, the motif of the crowned Magi first appeared in the Ottonian period to symbolize the imperial sovereignty of Christ, for these three kings had crowned Christ and were thus important in establishing earthly kingship.[139] Under Barbarossa the authority of the three kings was transferred from the rebellious city of Milan to a loyal and worthy northern city.[140] Thus the emperor now had the most important relic to legitimize his divinely given authority firmly in his possession.

Frederick Barbarossa also showed himself devoted to the kingship of his imperial forefathers when he had Charlemagne canonized at Aachen in 1165 by the antipope he had brought to office. In the *Vita Caroli Magni*, which Barbarossa commissioned to celebrate Charlemagne's canonization, Charlemagne's coronation by Leo III at St. Peter's is described in detail.[141] It is probable, then, that Frederick was aware of the mosaics of Leo and Charlemagne in the triclinium at the Lateran as well as the related scene of the *Traditio Legis*. Barbarossa would have come into contact with these more public mosaics as well as the *Traditio Legis* in the main apse of St. Peter's during his own coronation ceremony in Rome on June 18, 1155.[142] As mentioned in Chapter 1, we know that the emperor paid attention to artistic statements at the Lateran by his angry response to the image of Lothar of Supplinburg holding the pope's stirrup.[143]

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[139] Deshmann, 381.

[140] For information about the fabrication of the remains of the Magi in Milan and the deceit of Cologne's archbishop elect, Rainald of Dassel, see David Lowenthal, 'Fabricating Heritage', *History and Memory Online* 10, (Indiana University Press, [Accessed 7/6/04]) <http://iupjournals.org/history/ham10-1.html#f1> and Geary, 283.

[141] See William M. Hinkle, "The King and the Pope on The Virgin Portal of Notre-Dame," *Art Bulletin* 48 (1966): 9, notes 91 and 92. Hinkle refers to a twelfth-century copy of Einhard's *Vita Caroli Magni* commissioned by Barbarossa in celebration of the canonization rites of Charlemagne in 1165. For the passage on Charlemagen's coronation in Rome, see Bibl. Nat, MS 1 at 17656 fol. 4v. On the life of Charlemagne and his cult, see Robert Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'Empire germanique medieval* (Paris 1950).

[142] Peter Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa: A Study in Medieval Politics* (London, 1969), 79.

[143] Munz, 79; Robinson, *The Papacy*, 452 and 464; and Mary Stroll, *Symbols as Power: The Papacy following the Investiture Contest* (Leiden, 1990), chap. 14. See also the first page of Chapter 1 above.

The mosaics in the triclinium at the Lateran must have fit Barbarossa's ideas about kingship as much as the scenes of his predecessor Lothar had angered him. These triclinium images, the earliest known to detail the equal relationship between the pope and the emperor, not only provided a more palatable representation of secular and papal power to Frederick, but they did so in the person of his revered predecessor, Charlemagne. Although Pope Leo III may have intended the mosaics in his *Aula* to make a political statement about papal supremacy, it is possible that Frederick viewed the group in light of his own coronation. As his uncle recorded, at his coronation Frederick came "to the steps of the church of the blessed Peter, was received with all honor by the supreme pontiff, and led to the tomb of the blessed Peter."[144] Even though Charlemage had been identified as "Rex" in the Lateran mosaics because they were created just prior to his coronation as emperor, it is more than likely that Frederick associated the scene of St. Peter investing Charlemagne and Leo with Charlemagne's subsequent coronation in 800. Seen in these terms, the artistic choice to represent Peter, who was the spiritual ancestor of the pope, above the pope and the emperor presented no threat to Barbarossa's authority. Peter merely symbolizes the physical location of coronation ceremonies at St. Peter's church, where a scene of the *Traditio Legis* appeared in the main apse. Frederick, like Charlemagne, was crowned in the very same place, and the tradition validated his reign in the eyes of the Church.

The Lateran image of Charlemagne invested made an impression on the Hohenstaufen emperor. Ursula Nilgen argues that the shrine Frederick commissioned for Charlemagne's relics quoted the decorative scheme of Leo's triclinium at the Lateran, with Leo III and an archbishop flanking Charlemagne set below a scene of Christ

[144] *Gesta Friderici*, 150.

between Peter and Paul (figs. 62-63).[145] According to Nilgen, Barbarossa's adaptation of the mosaic scenes in the spandrels of the triumphal arch over the main apse in the *Aula Leonina* made a new political statement, for the shrine images intentionally raised Charlemagne above the level of the pope.[146] Frederick also commissioned a reliquary of Charlemagne's arm for the chapel at Aachen to commemorate the emperor's recent canonization and to publicize his own imperial lineage. One side of this reliquary shows Frederick's father, Frederick of Swabia, and his uncle, Emperor Conrad III framing Peter and Paul (figs. 64-65).[147] For an emperor struggling to reassert his equality with the pope, the *Traditio Legis* theme as it appeared in the Lateran was the perfect historical expression to justify his own legitimacy.

The *Traditio Legis* in the Lateran triclinium embodied the traditional, the historical, and the Biblical foundations of the right order of the world, the restoration of which was badly needed at the time of Barbarossa's coronation. Hadrian IV was one of the first popes to apply the Ottonian phrase describing the role of emperors, "Vicar of Christ", to himself in official communications.[148] As the vicar of Christ, the pope

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[145] Ursula Nilgen, "Amtsgenealogie und Amtsheiligkeit: Königs- und Bischofsreihen in der Kunstpropaganda des Hochmittelalters," in *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst, 800-1250: Festschrift für Florentine Mütherich zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Katherina Bierbrauer et al. (Munich, 1985), 218-220. Although Frederick planned the shrine for Charlemagne's canonization, dendrochronological analysis of the interior of the shrine reveals that it was not begun until 1182. Peter and Paul may have existed in the two empty medallions found at either side of Christ and above the scene of Charlemagne and Leo III. Perhaps the two saints carried symbols associated with the *Traditio Legis.* See also Willibald Sauerländer, "Two Glances from the North: The Presence and Absence of Frederick II in the Art of the Empire; The Court Art of Frederick II and the opus francigenum," *Studies in the History of Art* 44 (1994): 189-190. While Nilgen places the figures of the shrine in Barbarossa's period, Sauerländer dates them after 1200 on the basis of stylistic comparison. Still, the plans for the shrine were deigned during Barbarossa's reign.
[146] Nilgen, 218-220.
[147] Nilgen, 217-218. See also Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, "Die Kleinkunst," in *Romanische Kunst 1: Mittel- und Südeuropa 1060-1220*, ed. Xavier Barral i Altet et al. (Munich, 1983), 236-237. In Gaborit-Chopin's opinion, this reliquary was designed to show the spiritual and secular heritage of Frederick Barbarossa.
[148] Walter Ullmann, "The Pontificate of Adrian IV," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 11 (1955): 238. Ullmann makes this observation about Hadrian and notes a papal letter dated January 20, 1155. Apparently Eugenius III called himself the *Vicarius Christi* in a domestic document, but Hadrian was the first to publish this new phrase to a wider audience.

became the direct mediator between God and the people and the need for an emperor vanished. With such ideas floating around the papal office in 1155, it is small wonder that Barbarossa was sensitive to issues of imperial authority at the time of his coronation on June 18 of that year.

Right from the time of Barbarossa's coronation, the apostles of the *Traditio Legis* were an essential part of the Hohenstaufen claim to equality with the pope. Cardinal Boso, the contemporary biographer of Pope Hadrian IV, wrote that following Frederick's coronation, which got off to a shaky start, it was the feast day of Peter and Paul that would restore harmony between the emperor and Pope Hadrian. Both the emperor and the pope wore crowns to celebrate the feast day together, "for it was entirely fitting that the two foremost princes of the world should celebrate the solemnities of those two princes of the apostles with delight and great joy."[149] Otto of Freising also recorded the event, writing that the entire Church celebrated the festival of Peter and Paul (June 29), especially the pope and the emperor of the Roman city.[150] Otto explained the significance of this particular day in 1155:

> "Accordingly, on that day the emperor wore his crown while Pope Hadrian celebrated Mass. It is said that there, during the solemnity of the ceremony, the pope of the Romans absolved all who had chanced to shed blood in the conflict fought with the Romans on the ground that a soldier fighting for his own prince and bound to obey him (warring against enemies not only of the empire but of the Church), though he sheds blood may be declared by divine as well as secular law, to be not a murderer, but an avenger."[151]

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[149] Cardinal Boso, *Vita Adriani IV*, in *Liber Ponificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne (Paris, 1899), 1: 391 as quoted in I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy*, 465.
[150] *Gesta Friderici*, 132.
[151] *Gesta Friderici*, 152.

It is clear from this quotation that Otto believed Peter and Paul related directly to the pope and the emperor, particularly their respective roles as absolving priest and defender of the Church, roles assigned in the Gelasian principle of the two swords and reinforced by the images in the Lateran triclinium. The two apostles were either those who granted the specific powers of Christ to the pope and emperor or they were considered models of equal powers held up to the two high authorities on earth, particularly on the day of imperial coronation.[152]

Just two months prior to Barbarossa's coronation in Rome, he would have viewed a *Traditio Legis* scene at the church of St. Michele Maggiore in Pavia, a church in imperial Lombardy. Pavia was the historical coronation site for the kings of Italy, and on April 17, 1155, Frederick himself was crowned at St. Michele Maggiore.[153] A scene of the *Traditio Legis* (1120-1130) appears in the lintel of the portal on the south side of St. Michele Maggiore (figs. 66-67).[154] Here the upper body of Christ is posed inside a mandorla, and he stretches his arms out to Peter and Paul on either side. Christ extends two keys to St. Peter at his left, the *Traditio Clavium*, and a scroll to St. Paul at his right, the *Traditio Legis*. Directly above the lintel scene of the *Traditio Legis*, the following

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[152] Emperors prior to Barbarossa must have associated the feast day of Peter and Paul with imperial relationship with the papacy, for after Henry IV decided to consecrate the anti-pope, Wibert, he made a point to spend the feast day of Peter and Paul with his chosen pope, even though he must have been in a hurry to continue war with the anti-king. See Robinson, *Henry IV*, 201-202.

[153] *Gesta Friderici*, 142. Following his victory at Tortona, Frederick called for a triumphal celebration at Pavia, which was followed by his coronation as king of Lombardy.

[154] For a thorough and more recent discussion of St. Michele Maggiore in Pavia, see Joachim Poeschke, *Die Skulptur des Mittelalters in Italien, 1: Romanik* (Munich, 1998), 62-66. On the angels in the tympana of the portals at St. Michele, see Mary Louise Wood, "Early Twelfth-Century Sculpture in Pavia" (Ph. D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 1978), 207-127, who explains that although many of the angels at St. Michele were added in later restorations, the angel in the tympanum of the south portal was probably original. This angel on the south flank, 212, is similar to the Archangel Michael trampling a serpent on the west façade by the Master of the Dragons workshop. It might be fruitful to explore the ties between St. Michael and the *Traditio Legis*, particularly as Michael was the highest in the hierarchy of angels and was significant for kings in terms of his military prowess.

inscription appears: *Ordino rex istos super omnia regna magistros*.[155] The inscription demonstrates that Pavia's *Traditio Legis* was unmistakably perceived as appropriate royal iconography, a connection that, given his interests, Barbarossa was unlikely to have missed during his own coronation, or during his subsequent thirty-eight visits to Pavia.[156] He may have kept this inscription in mind as well at his imperial coronation in Rome.

Barbarossa had to have been aware of the significance of the placement of the *Traditio Legis* on the south portal at Pavia. Mary Wood explains that the inscription could be read as an order from Christ to His apostles and, on a second level, as a commandment to the emperor, His vicar on earth.[157] This inscription is a part of the most ornately sculpted portal in the city of Pavia, and the emperor probably went through this portal to enter the church for his coronation. Imperial ceremonies were held in the interior south transept niche, which either served as a throne niche or a chapel for the emperor.[158] On the floor of the nave near the south portal a medieval marker exists to indicate the spot where Barbarossa stood for his coronation.[159]

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[155] I, the king, name these [men] masters over all realms (my translation).

[156] Ferdinand Opll, "Ytalica Expeditia," in *Deutschland und Italien zur Stauferzeit*, ed. Karl-Heinz Reuss (Göppingen, 2002), 105. Opll estimates that Barbarossa stopped in the empire-friendly city of Pavia thirty-nine times. According to Opll's statistics, Barbarossa visited Pavia more than any other Italian city, including Milan.

[157] Wood, 186.

[158] Wood, 186, recalls that at Hagia Sophia the emperor entered the church on the south side and the south aisle, gallery, and doorway were associated with him. It may be that the eastern emperor had a throne on the south side as well. In this regard, see also Slobodan Curcic, "Some Palatine Aspects of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 141. An enormous mosaic scene of Christ flanked by Peter and Paul appears in the Cappella Palatina of Roger II (1130-1154) in Sicily over the royal throne.

[159] For this medieval floor marker, see Flavio Fagnani, *A Historical Artistic Guide to Pavia*, 5th ed. (Pavia, 1985), 47. Although the floor mosaic dates to 1875 and replaces a twelfth-century stone paving, four black circular stones are preserved in the center of the nave. According to an inscription, a royal throne used to be erected on these stones where the king of Italy was crowned with an iron crown. Here the king also received homage and acclaim of the people. It might be useful to think about the relevance of this coronation marker in terms of porphyry marble floors and coronation ceremonies at Old St. Peter's. See Dorothy Glass, "Papal Patronage in the Early Twelfth Century: Notes on the Iconography of Cosmatesque Pavements," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969): 386-390. See also Tronzo, 101-102.

That Barbarossa's court was keenly interested in the political implications of the *Traditio Legis* and its placement above church portals is demonstrated by the emperor's involvement with the north portal at Worms, a city just to the north of Alsace on the same side of the Rhine. In 1184 Frederick granted a privilege to the city of Worms, which inspired the creation of the scene of the *Traditio Legis* in the tympanum of the cathedral's north portal (figs. 68-69). The text of the privilege, incorporated into the tympanum as an inscription, commends the city of Worms for offering the emperor the services of its sword and states that Worms should remain under the protection of its patron, Peter.[160] The tympanum at Worms still shows traces of a painting of the *Traditio Legis*, only here Peter bears a sword, the sword of Worms used to defend emperor Frederick (fig. 70). This combination of *Traditio Legis* and privilege demonstrates that the people of Frederick's empire were willing to interpret the scene of Saint Peter and Paul in current political terms. Peter's sword also serves to remind the viewer of the Gelasian principle of the two swords and that the equality of the emperor and the pope expressed by this principle is an integral part of the scene of the *Traditio Legis* at Worms.

Peter and Paul were depicted at Worms to complement the words of Barbarossa's privilege to the city, but their position in a tympanum over a church portal was also a deliberate choice. Barbara Deimling writes in an essay about medieval church portals and the history of the law that oaths were sworn before the north door at Worms. In the *Niebelungenlied*, an epic tale written around 1200, two queens resolve a quarrel by traveling to the north portal of the cathedral of Worms and calling upon their husbands to

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[160] Walter Hotz, *Der Dom zu Worms*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt, 1998), 76: *Sit tibi wormacia lavs hinc et frvctvs honoris/ qvod pia qvod prudens qvod bene fida manes/ a censv capitvm sis libera mvnere nostro/ libertate frvi digna frvaris ea/ digna bona lavde semper wormacia gavde/ te mihi sacravit crvx te mihi mvcro dicavit/ te sit tvta bono wormacia petre patrono.*

witness an oath sworn at the church doors.[161] According to Deimling, this literary evidence is important because the kings and queens in this account were idealizations of contemporary rulers, like Emperor Barbarossa, who would have sworn oaths, or granted privileges, at the north door of the cathedral. The fact that Peter and Paul appeared together in a scene of the *Traditio Legis* over this same portal clearly shows that the theme of Christ giving the law to his apostles was firmly associated with law-giving and oath-taking at the gates of the church by contemporary rulers of the twelfth century. In the case of Worms, it seems that the contemporary ruler most closely associated with the *Traditio Legis* was Frederick Barbarossa. It is more than likely that the very same emperor was just as involved with the ten scenes of the *Traditio Legis* in his homeland of Alsace as well.

[161] Barbara Deimling, "Medieval Church Portals and Their Importance in the History of Law," in *Romanesque Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, ed. Rolf Toman (Cologne, 1997), 326.

Chapter 3

The *Traditio Legis* at the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul, Andlau: Celebrating the Present in Commemorating the Past

Sheltered beneath a large porch on the west façade of the Alsatian Romanesque abbey church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Andlau, the tympanum set over the main portal of the church portrays the *Traditio Legis* (figs. 71-73, 90-91). This scene held considerable significance for the nuns at Andlau in terms of their early foundation history as well as contemporary political events. Andlau's large property holdings and the abbey's ties to kings insured that the *Traditio Legis* adorning the main portal of the church (figs. 90-91) would survive to testify to its regional importance.

The *Traditio Legis* at Andlau is one element of a complex sculptural program on the west and south facades of the abbey. Sculptural reliefs appear with the *Traditio Legis* framing the main portal, but significant sculpture is also found above the entrance into the porch. In the archway over the porch are the three reliefs of Christ, David, and Samson described in Chapter 1 (figs. 73, 82). Above this arch a long horizontal frieze runs under the cornice of the north and west faces (figs. 74-80). These narrative scenes will be addressed more fully in Chapter 6.

In the center of the tympanum, Christ gives the keys to Peter (at His right) and the book to Paul (fig. 91). To the left of Peter an archer takes aim at a bird in a tree, while at the right of Paul a slingshot thrower marks his prey in another tree (fig. 92). Trees are emphasized once again in the narrative scenes of the Creation and Fall of Mankind in the lintel (fig. 93). The scenes on the lintel begin at the left with the figure of God seated by a tree and pointing to Eve as He creates her from the prostrate form of Adam. Next the Creator leads Adam and Eve through the entrance of Eden, represented as a tower with an

open door. God gestures to the forbidden tree at the center of the garden, which also appears at the center of the lintel. To the right of this tree Eve takes the forbidden fruit from the mouth of the serpent. An angel with a sword escorts the fallen couple, now covering their nakedness with leaves, back out of the gate of the garden. In the final scene the couple sits in lamentation under yet another tree.

Contemporary couples are portrayed below the lintel in the figural reliefs of the doorjambs (figs. 94-101). Ten pairs, each comprising a man and a woman, some of whom are accompanied by inscriptions, appear under vertically-stacked arches; several of the figures gesture to the lintel and tympanum scenes above them. Atlas figures bear the weight of these couples at the bases of the jambs to signify that they are still in the realm of earth (figs. 98, 101). Decorative interlace on the inner doorjambs is likewise supported by atlas figures at the bottom; the interlace terminates at the top in foliage, which frames the lintel scenes of paradise (figs. 94-95, 98).

Predating the north portal at Worms by about thirty years (figs. 68-70),[1] the *Traditio Legis* at Andlau is the earliest known sculpted version on the Upper Rhine and must have served as a model for subsequent portals in the area.[2] Because this scene at

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[1] Walter Hotz, *Der Dom zu Worms*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt, 1998), 75, dates the *Traditio Legis* at Worms to 1184. He says it was repainted after Barbarossa's privilege of that year. J.-P. Meyer, *Voûtes romanes: Architecture religieuse en Alsace de l'an mil au début du XIIIe siècle* (Strasbourg, 2003), 201, dates the north portal at Worms, including its frescoes, to 1150-1160, and says they were repainted in 1184. One assumes the subject of the *Traditio Legis* appeared at Worms in response to Barbarossa's privilege; the original subject of the north portal painting at Worms is unknown. Meyer, however, uses this earlier date of 1150-1160 at Worms to determine the date of the unusual west portal tympanum fresco scene of three figures with sculpted halos at Niedermünster at the foot of Mont Saint-Odile in Alsace. Meyer suspects these figures at Niedermünster were Christ between the virgin and Saint Gundelinde and not a scene of the *Traditio Legis*. If a scene of the *Traditio Legis* existed at Niedermünster or at Worms around 1150-1160, it would have been contemporaneous with the *Traditio Legis* at Andlau.

[2] For the most recent discussion of the chronology at Andlau, see Meyer, *Voûtes romanes*, 169-173, and "L'église abbatiale d'Andlau au XIIe siècle," *Cahiers alsaciens d'archéologie, d'art et d'histoire* 31 (1988): 99. Meyer dates the sculpture at Andlau to 1150-1160 based on stylistic comparison with the work at Mützig (1140-1150 and 1160-1170) and the sculpture at Obernai (1155-1160). He also provides a summary of earlier art historical chronologies, most of which date the sculptures at Andlau to the early

Andlau does not stand alone, but rather is embedded in a larger sculptural program, the entire sculptural program must have also informed later versions of the *Traditio Legis* in Alsatian churches. I propose that the sculptural program at Andlau abbey came to stand for historic Alsatian ecclesiastic loyalty to the authority of both the pope and the emperor as conceived by Frederick Barbarossa in the latter half of the twelfth century. Barbarossa's aid in the reconstruction at Andlau engendered a love for the emperor and loyal support for his political aims in Alsace. It will also be suggested secondarily that the nuns at Andlau were aware of and demonstrated support for the emperor's political endeavors in Lombardy through their sculptural program at Andlau.

One of the more obvious aspects about the *Traditio Legis* at Andlau is that its current setting in the portal is not original. The halos of Christ, Peter, and Paul are cut off by the archivolt above, making it clear that the tympanum was resized to fit a later portal. Julius Baum further suggests that the sandstone used for the three blocks that form the actual *Traditio Legis* scene of Christ, Peter, and Paul differs from the sandstone used for the rest of the portal.[3] Compared to the sculptures on the doorjambs and lintel, Christ, frontally posed and enthroned, and his two standing apostles protrude in a noticeably higher relief. A thick pedestal runs beneath Christ and His two apostles and groups them together as a compositional unit. Because the *Traditio Legis* stands as a

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twelfth century. The only scene of the *Traditio Legis* in Alsace that might have dated as early as the scene at Andlau was the no longer extant fresco on the south portal at the church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Rosheim. Since Meyer argues that the sculptures at Rosheim were modeled after Niedermünster, though, the destroyed portal fresco of the *Traditio Legis* scene at Rosheim would have dated to 1160-1180 after Niedermünster's program and probably well after the tympanum at Andlau. For the *Traditio Legis* at Rosheim, see Gilbert Poinsot, *Die romanische Strasse: Die Kirche St.-Pierre-et-St.-Paul und der Kanton Rosheim* (Strasbourg, 2000), 21.

[3] Julius Baum, "The Porch of Andlau Abbey," *Art Bulletin* 17 (1935): 492. Iris Hofmann-Kastner, "St. Peter und Paul in Andlau, Elsass" (Ph. D. diss., University of Cologne, 2001), 216, recently reiterated this same belief. Dr. Werner Stöckli at the University of Bern agrees with this assessment in his notes on the abbey, which he kindly sent to me in February, 2003.

unified group differentiated from the rest of the portal, some believe that Christ and his apostles once existed on an earlier smaller doorway, and were later incorporated into the present portal.[4]

Several elements of the portal, in fact, contribute to this notion that the *Traditio Legis* was deliberately set apart from the rest of the sculpture as an earlier sculptural group. Two trees frame the scene of Christ and his apostles and were carved to fill in the standard semi-circular tympanum space around the rectangular shape of the three blocks of stone that comprise the *Traditio Legis* group. The stone blocks bearing the two trees do not line up well with the top and bottom of the blocks holding Peter and Paul. Instead, the blocks with the trees were likely inserted together with the two corner reliefs behind them at a later date, particularly as the two corner reliefs with the archer and the sling-shot thrower relate directly to the trees iconographically. A difference in style also distinguishes the corner figures from the *Traditio Legis* group. Christ and His two apostles show more depth and modeling, while their faces and garments appear more naturalistic. By contrast the sling-shot thrower and the archer are less contoured, and the folds of their garments are merely hinted at with simple lines. This simpler style is continued in the figures of the lintel, doorjambs, and the horizontal frieze above.

Although the addition of the trees and the bird hunters to the *Traditio Legis* scene may initially seem merely ornamental and therefore superfluous to the overall meaning of the tympanum at Andlau, at least two good reasons exist for their addition to the original scene. First, the trees recall the palms that traditionally framed Early Christian scenes of

[4] See Florens Deuchler and Jean Wirth, *Elsass, Kunstdenkmäler und Museen* (Stuttgart, 1980), 14-16, as summarized by Hofmann-Kastner, 13. See also Robert Forrer, "Les frises historieés de l'église romane d'Andlau," *Cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Alsace* 22/23 (1931-1932): 54, who suggests that the sculpture may have predated the 1160 reconstruction of the church and was reincorporated into a new program in 1160.

the *Traditio Legis*, as at the lost apsidal mosaic of St. Peter's in Rome (fig. 35) [5] or the northern apse at St. Costanza in Rome (fig. 33).[6] In these Early Christian apses, the two trees framing the *Traditio Legis* are part of a paradisiacal landscape. The idea of paradise regained through Christ in the tympanum serves as a culmination of the scenes of the Creation and Fall of Mankind that occur on the lintel at Andlau (fig. 93). In this way, the *Traditio Legis* in the tympanum becomes the New Testament response to the Old Testament Fall in the lintel: the Fall with its subsequent knowledge of good and evil made God's law necessary, but Christ came to fulfill the law, which He gave to his apostles to administer until His return.[7]

A second reason the trees and hunters were added may have to do with medieval *memoria*.[8] In Mary Carruthers's study of memory in medieval culture, she dwells at length on Hugh of St. Victor's *De Arca Noe Mystica* written in the mid-twelfth century, and she explains that Hugh linked birds to the "Tree of Life" and the "Book of Life"

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[5] Robert Will, "Recherches iconographiques sur la sculpture romane en Alsace," *Les cahiers techniques de l'art* 1 (1947): 38-41; Robert Will, *Alsace romane*, 3rd ed. (La-Pierre-Qui-Vive, 1982), 261.

[6] Stefan Heid and Rotraut Wisskirchen, "Der Prototyp des Lämmerfrieses in Alt-St. Peter," *Tesserae: Festschrift für Josef Engemann, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 18 (1991): 139.

[7] For this theological interpretation of the sculptures at Andlau, see Suzanne Braun, *Sculture romane en Alsace* (Strasbourg, 2002), 31, and Will, *Alsace romane*, 261. Will says the theme of the portal is future paradise contrasted with paradise lost. See also Andrea Bruhin, "Die romanischen Skulpturen der Abteikirche Andlau und das geistliche Spiel: Strukturelle und funktionale Parallelen zwischen zwei verwandten Ausdrucksformen," in *Literatur und Wandmalerei: Erscheinungsformen höfischer Kultur und ihre Träger im Mittelalter*, ed. Eckart Conrad Lutz, Johanna Thali, and René Wetzel (Tübingen, 2002), 1: 92. In her discussion of the influence of the medieval play, the *Jeu d'Adam*, on the sculpture at Andlau, Bruhin mentions that the central idea of the portal involves the Fall and then Salvation. See also Herrad of Landsberg, *Hortus Deliciarum (Garden of Delights)*, ed. and trans. Aristide D. Caratzas (New Rochelle, NY, 1977), 78-84. Two theologically complex wheel-shaped diagrams found in this Alsatian manuscript, composed in the late twelfth century by abbess Herrad of Hohenburg in the vicinity of Andlau, represent a similar outlook on the Old Testament Law of Moses, which was fulfilled by Christ's new Law of Grace (John 1:17). These two wheels demonstrate that the themes of the Old Law and the New Law were very much on the minds of nuns in Alsace. For a good discussion of these two diagrams in the *Hortus Deliciarum*, see Annette Krüger and Gabriele Runge, "Lifting the Veil: Two Typological Diagrams in the *Hortus Deliciarum*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 60 (1997): 1-22.

[8] I thank Dr. Markus Späth at the Justus-Liebig University of Giessen for initially suggesting to me the idea of memory at Andlau.

through the mnemonic technique of collation.[9] Although it is difficult to ascertain whether the nuns at Andlau knew the writings of Hugh of St. Victor, Otto of Freising, who was influential on the court of Barbarossa, was well-versed in the writings of this French theologian.[10] Scholars have observed for some time that the trees at Andlau probably represented the "Tree of Life" and the "Tree of Knowledge" from the books of Genesis and Revelation.[11] Others have compared the trees at Andlau with the "Tree of Death", which is barren, and the "Tree of Life."[12] Viewed in this way, the two trees that frame Christ and His two apostles inform the viewer that Christ saved the world from death caused by the Fall. Since the "Tree of Life" was also associated exegetically by Hugh of St. Victor with the "Book of Life", the trees framing the *Traditio Legis* may

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[9] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 8th ed. (Cambridge, 1999), 246-247. According to Carruthers, Hugh of St. Victor talks about a passage in Matthew 13:32 where Christ likened the kingdom of Heaven to a mustard seed. The seed grows into such a large tree that birds come to rest in its branches. Hugh associates this tree with the Tree of Life, or the Wood of Life, which he links to the Book of Life. See Hugh of St. Victor, "De arca Noe mystica," in *Patrologia cursus completes, series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1841-1864), 176, 681-702, as quoted by Carruthers. For a translation in English, see "Hugh of St. Victor, *A Little Book about Constructing Noah's Ark*," trans. Jessica Weiss, in *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, ed. Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski (Philadelphia, 2002), 41-70.

[10] See the introduction by C. C. Mierow to Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici Imperatoris: The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa by Otto of Freising and his Continuator, Rahewin*, trans. C. C. Mierow, rev. ed. (1956; repr. New York, 2004) 4, who says Otto's own works were most influenced by Abelard, Gilbert de la Porrée, and Hugh of St. Victor. On Otto's importance in the court of Barbarossa and in Alsace, see Chapter 1.

[11] On the Andlau's trees as the "Tree of Life", see Ernst Sommer, *Les sculptures romanes de l'église abbatiale d'Andlau: Un signe de contradiction* (Strasbourg, 1989), 58 and 69-76; Charles Haaby, "Die romanische Vorhalle der Kirche von Lautenbach," *Archives de l'église d'Alsace* 14 (1964): 38-42; Robert Will, "Recherches iconographiques sur la sculpture romane en Alsace: Les représentations du paradis," *Les cahiers techniques de l'art* 1/3 (1948): 29-80; and Meyer Schapiro, "The Bowman and the Bird on the Ruthwell Cross and Other Works: The Interpretation of Secular Themes in Early Medieval Religious Art," *Art Bulletin* 45 (1963): 354.

[12] Braun, 33, points out that the tree on the left of the tympanum at Andlau is pruned and barren and it represents death brought about by the Old Testament Law, but the grape-laden tree on the right reminds the viewer about the new life brought about through Christ's death and resurrection; the grapes also recall Christ's blood in the Eucharist. In Braun's estimation, then, the trees at Andlau signify the "Tree of Death" associated with the Old Adam and the "Tree of Life", which represents the Christ as the New Adam. The sculpted tympanum of Elstertrebnitz near Dresden (c. 1100) makes a similar statement (fig. 102). Here the resurrected Christ appears on a sacrificial altar between a three-lobed tree of life and the tree of the cross, upon which Christ's body hangs in death. A bird, possibly a phoenix, appears at the foot of the cross. For a summary of the sculpture at Elstertrebnitz, see Rainer Budde, *Deutsche romanische Skulptur, 1050-1250* (Munich, 1978), 28, no. 25.

have served as complex visual reminders that the book held by Christ was not only the Book of the Law, but also the Book of Life. Because the three blocks of the *Traditio Legis* were inserted into a later portal at Andlau, the trees were simply added to the *Traditio Legis* like marginalia of a medieval text to provide a new layer of meaning to the earlier scene, meaning that would correspond well to that of the rest of the portal.[13]

Carruthers further suggests that birds had a history of association with memory in medieval book illumination.[14] According to Carruthers, Classical authors compared birds with memory in that they needed to be hunted down or stored in a cage. Hunting such prey does seem the purpose served by the slingshot thrower and the bowman at Andlau. Similar to medieval book illuminations that employed images of birds in the margins to aid textual recollection, the hunted birds at Andlau signal to the viewer that a memory involving the *Traditio Legis* scene should be recalled. Drawing from Carruthers's work on memory in medieval manuscripts, Linda Seidel has argued that sculptural programs on church portals similarly engaged the memory.[15] Given new freedom to interpret the sculpture at Andlau in terms of memory recollection, the portal takes on an entirely different reason for existence. In addition to recalling the theological association of the Book of Life and the Book of the Law, the viewer was perhaps also

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[13] For the rather complex layers of meaning involved with the "Tree of Life" in twelfth-century theology, see J. O'Reilly, *Studies in the Iconography of the Virtues and Vices in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1988), 323-375 and Lottalisa Beling, "Ecclesia als Arbor Bona: Zum Sinngehalt einiger Pflanzendarstellungen des 12. und frühen 13. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 13 (1959): 139-154.

[14] In addition to medieval association of birds with recollection, Carruthers, 247, says metaphors of fishing, hunting, and tracking down prey were also used for recollection by authors such as Aristotle, Quintilian, and Albertus Magnus. It should be noted here that Robert Will and Meyer Schapiro proposed a alternate reason for the birds on the trees at Andlau. Will, *Alsace romane*, 261, talks about an ascension up the cosmic tree, for in the left, barren tree a tiny naked man climbs upwards toward the bird at the top. Will connects this figure with the liberation of the soul from the mortal body towards the heavenly city. Will believes this episode comes from the *Chanson du Graal*, and he says one finds it at the church of Hattstatt in Alsace. Schapiro, 354, merely states that other scholars connected the birds in the trees with human souls. I believe that memory complements rather than contradicts these earlier ideas.

[15] Linda Seidel, *Legends in Limestone: Lazarus, Gislebertus, and the Cathedral of Autun* (Chicago and London, 1999), 63-78.

encouraged to remember the earlier setting of the sculpted Christ and His two apostles before it had been incorporated into the present portal.

The ten couples depicted on the doorjambs further contribute to the notion that something significant should be recalled about the *Traditio Legis* scene at Andlau (figs. 94-101). Five male-female couples appear on each of the doorjambs under vertically stacked arches supported at the base by an atlas figure, a traditional symbol of the earth. In eight of the ten scenes the male figure points up to the *Traditio Legis* in the tympanum as if he were explaining content of the tympanum to his female companion. It is perhaps no accident that the slingshot thrower in the tympanum also points with his index finger to the bird in the tree (fig. 92).

In two pairs on the left doorjamb the male figure mimics the gesture of Paul in the tympanum by raising his palm as if swearing an oath (figs. 96-97). In most of these pairs the female holds her cloak together with both hands, but on two occasions she also raises her palm to swear an oath (figs. 96, 100). Perhaps these scenes represent the initiation ceremony of nuns at Andlau. Andrea Bruhin suggests that these show father-daughter couples on the eve of the daughter's acceptance into the monastery.[16] As it is known that oaths were taken under a *Traditio Legis* scene at Worms, Bruhin's idea has considerable merit.[17] The more traditional view, however, understands these couples as medieval figures who were relevant to the abbey, possibly donors or administrative officials.[18]

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[16] Andrea Bruhin, 89, offers as evidence an image in a fifteenth-century manuscript from a Dominican convent in Diessenhofen where a father offers five of his daughters to the monastery and raises his hands to gesture in a manner similar to the men at Andlau.
[17] See Chapter 2, 130-131.
[18] Baum, 497, proposes that the names inscribed over several of the figures refer to donors at Andlau. He says the women do not wear a clerical costume, but rather the unusual roll of the cloak collar was used for secular women. Baum includes the inscriptions: "HILDEBOT.SVFIA"; "BEREWART.HEMOA."; "ALTERIK.GEDER(A)"; "HVC.ELISABET". Baum admits that only "HVC" corresponds to a known historical person, Count Hugh of Dagsburg, but that the rest of the names are unknown to us. Baum

Whoever these couples may have been, the medieval viewer would surely have understood that contemporary figures in the portal referred to the *Traditio Legis* as important to the early history of Andlau as well as to contemporary ceremony.

History of Saints Peter and Paul at Andlau

One of the sculptures set into the archway over the porch clearly demonstrates the importance of the early history of the abbey to the twelfth-century nuns at Andlau (figs. 83-85). The keystone relief of this arch represents the founder of the abbey giving the donation charter of her abbey to Christ.[19] Richardis emerges from a door set into a tower-like structure to appear before Christ, who is seated on a throne victoriously perched on top of a dragon or basilisk. Christ holds an open book on His lap much like the Christ in the tympanum below and He raises His right hand over Richardis's head in a gesture of blessing.

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compares the couples at Andlau with a similar couple under and arch on a sculpted fragment from Isenheim, now in the same museum at Colmar. The Isenheim relief and the jamb reliefs at Andlau are closely related stylistically. See also Meyer, "L'église abbatiale," 99, who explains that while Baum believes "HVC" corresponds to Count Hugh of Dagsburg and dates the portal correspondingly to 1154, only imprecise information is known about the identity of his spouse. In my opinion, the inscription "HVC" may identify Count Hugh VIII (1123-1178), who was the advocate just prior to the 1160/1161 reconstruction of the portal. This "HVC" could also represent a historic member of Count Hugh VIII's family. If viewed as an historic figure, the reference to "HVC" could be a means of reminding viewers that the Counts of Dagsburg were long-term protectors of this abbey. Around 1160 the advocacy of Andlau passed directly into the hands of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.

[19] Norbert Müller-Dietrich, "Die romanische Skulptur des Elsass," (unpaginated typescript from the 1980s from the Service régional de l'Inventaire des monuments et richesses artistiques de la France, Strasbourg, section on "Andlau."). Müller-Dietrich argues that the female figure handing the book to Christ could not have been Richardis because she had already been canonized by Pope Leo IX in the eleventh century. Müller-Dietrich thinks that as a canonized saint, Richardis would have been represented with a nimbus. Because of this he proposes that the figure is actually the abbess Hadziga, the abbess responsible for the reconstruction of the abbey after the 1160 fire. I do not agree with this identification because the practice of rendering saints with nimbi was not consistent in the twelfth century. In Alsace, for example, a Romanesque stele Hohenbourg abbey shows St. Odile handing a charter to Duke Etichon where Odile does not wear a nimbus. In Herrad's famous twelfth-century *Hortus Deliciarum*, by contrast, Herrad does depict Odile as a saint with a nimbus. For details about the life of St. Odile at Hohenbourg, see Médard Barth, *Die heilige Odilia, Schutzherrin des Elsass: Ihr Kult in Volk und Kirche* (Strasbourg, 1938). For the stele at Mont Sainte-Odile, see Will, *Alsace romane*, 310-312, and for Herrad's depiction of Odile, see *Hortus Deliciarum*, 248-249.

Empress Richardis founded the convent at Andlau in the late ninth century.[20] Together with her husband, Charles the Fat, she reportedly donated Andlau to Pope John VIII on the occasion of the couples' imperial coronation in Rome in 881.[21] Pope John VIII gladly received Andlau and in return for an annual tithe of materials, offered it papal protection.[22] In addition, Pope John VIII accorded the abbey many privileges, among which were the free election of its abbesses.[23] After the ceremony in October 881, Charles the Fat further enriched the holdings of Andlau by granting to his wife the women's convent of St. Marin in Pavia in Northern Italy and the cloister of Zurzach in present-day Switzerland.[24] On February 2, 884, Charles the Fat held a diet at Sélestat in Lower Alsace where he produced a document that officially placed Andlau under the protection of St. Peter in Rome.[25] Charles the Fat then granted to his wife the rights to the men's convent of Etival in 884, which, according to her charter, the empress set under the authority of her nuns at Andlau and the Roman pontiff by extension.[26] Richardis's charter therefore outlined Andlau's loyalty and duty to the pope and also set up a

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[20] For the most recent accounts of the history of Richardis's foundation at Andlau, see Hofman-Kastner, 16, and Meyer, *Voûtes romanes*, 51. The earliest complete record of Andlau's history is Philippe Grandidier, *Oeuvres historiques inédites*, vols. 1-5 (Colmar, 1865-1867), 1: 214-220 and 5: 224-240. Médard Barth provides further references to charters and primary sources associated with Andlau in *Handbuch der elsässischen Kirchen im Mittelalter* (Strasbourg, 1960), 64-71. Concerning the life of Richardis, see Corinne Brogly, "Sainte Richarde: Impératrice, reine, première femme d'Alsace á être montée sur le trône," *Haslach et les reliques de saint Florent* 53 (1997): 17-27; Heinrich Büttner, "Kaiserin Richgard und die Abtei Andlau," *Archives de l'église d'Alsace* 23 (1953): 83-92; and F. J. Charles Deharbe, *Sainte Richarde, son abbaye d'Andlau, son église et sa crypte* (Paris, 1874).

[21] Grandidier, 1: 218-219; Albert Bruckner, *Regesta Alsatiae: Aevi Merovingici et Karolini, 496-918* (Strasbourg, 1949), 1: 369, no. 609. Bruckner states that this document was lost.

[22] Grandidier, 1: 219; M.-C. Idoux, "Études sur l'abbaye d'Étival: Relations d'Étival avec les monastères alsaciens d'Andlau et de Hohenbourg," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation du Département des Vosges* 89 (1913): 8.

[23] A. Brackmann, ed., *Regesta pontificium romanorum, Germania pontificia* (Berlin, 1935), 3: 41.

[24] Büttner, 86-88 and E. Bécourt, *Andlau: Son abbaye, son hôpital, ses bienfaiteurs* (Strasbourg, 1914-1921), 27. Prior to her coronation, Charles the Fat had already granted to Richardis an abbey in Zürich and another in Säckingen.

[25] Bruckner, 372-373, nos. 615-616; Grandidier, 5: 220-223.

[26] Bruckner, 372-373, nos. 615-616; Grandidier, 5: 220-223; Albert Martigny, "Andlau-Étival: Relations entre deux abbayes des deux côtes des Vosges," *Dialogues transvosgiens* 4 (1986): 15.

hierarchical system whereby the churches under the authority of Andlau would tithe to the mother abbey and contribute to the lasting prosperity of its nuns.

Andlau was not only under the authority of the pope, however, but through Richardis's efforts the abbey came to be protected by the emperor as well. Heinrich Büttner explains that since Charles the Fat had been crowned emperor by the pope in 881, he understood his traditional role to be the protector of St. Peter. In this way, the donation of the abbey to St. Peter was merely symbolic because as the emperor and his wife gave the church into St. Peter's protection, they were indirectly putting the abbey under their own protection.[27] Thus Andlau, from its very foundation, had imperial and papal loyalties. The empress's decision to dedicate Andlau to Saints Peter and Paul may have served in her time to remind the nuns that she and the Emperor Charles had given Andlau to the pope in Rome. By the time of Richardis's dedication of Andlau to Peter and Paul, the Lateran representations of the *Traditio Legis* and Pope Leo III with Charlemagne were not yet a century old. Richardis was crowned in Rome in 881 and was likely to have seen firsthand these Lateran mosaics, which held considerable importance for her, as the bride of Charlemagne's great-grandson.

Throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries, Andlau benefited from the faithful protection of both the pope and the emperor at different times. The abbesses of Andlau were highly connected aristocratic women from the early foundations of the abbey through the tenth and eleventh centuries. Their aristocratic connections and the political influence connected with their vast land holdings must have been a central reason why the protection of Andlau remained important to both the pope and the emperor. After

[27] Büttner, 88. See also Georg Wagner, "Studien zur Geschichte der Abtei Andlau," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 27 (1912): 445-469.

Hungarian tribes had raided Alsace, the Abbess Utique in 962 successfully appealed to Emperor Otto I and his wife, Adelaide, for help in renovating the abbey and recovering stolen goods.[28] Later, Pope Gregory V (996-999) made provisions for the abbey's protection by assigning it to the direct control of Bishop Widerold of Strasbourg and directing the bishop to restore religious order.[29] In 999, Pope Sylvester II issued another bull on behalf of the abbey, which placed Andlau under the protection of the bishop of Augsburg.[30] By 1004 an emperor once again took interest in the affairs of Andlau, probably because he was related to the abbess. Emperor Henry II gave Abbess Brigitte, who was his sister, an imperial privilege to hold a market at the convent porch, an act that allowed the nuns to collect revenue.[31] Then the Alsatian pope, Leo IX, involved himself with Andlau in 1050 when he visited the abbey to consecrate the newly erected church and to canonize the foundress, Richardis.[32] As the sister of Emperor Conrad II, Abbess Mathilde of Andlau was also a relative of Pope Leo IX.[33]

During the later years of the Investiture Controversy under Emperor Henry V, one of the monastic properties of Andlau rebelled against the mother abbey and sought protection from the emperor against Andlau.[34] Abbess Mathilde II, the ninth abbess of Andlau (1120-1159?) spent most of her almost forty-year tenure fighting to retain Andlau's rights over Etival, primarily by appealing to the Roman pontiff for aid against

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[28] Joseph D. Schoepflin, *Alsatia Diplomatica: Aevi Merovingici, Carolingici, Saxonici, Salici, Suevici* (Mannheim, 1772), 1: 117-118, no. 145; Martigny, 10.
[29] Wagner, 450.
[30] Hofmann-Kastner, 16; Wagner, 448-450.
[31] Hofmann-Kastner, 16; Wagner, 451; R. Will, *Alsace*, 347.
[32] Hofmann-Kastner, 16; Bruhin 90; and Barth, 65. See also Meyer, "L'église abbatiale d'Andlau," 95, who writes that the present church was constructed under Mathilde around 1049 and was a large building with a rectangular choir, transept, and a west facade. Today the initial plan is preserved, but with a few partial reconstructions which took place up through the Baroque era. In the twelfth century the west façade and parts of the choir and crossing were reconstructed.
[33] Hofmann-Kastner, 16; Bruhin, 90; Martigny, 11; and Baum, 492.
[34] For the struggle between Andlau and Etival, see Martigny, 9-17; Idoux, 6-42; and E. Bécourt, "Premiers développements de l'abbaye d'Andlau," *Revue d'Alsace* 68 (1920): 27-29 and 161-171.

Henry V, who had issued a decree in favor of Etival without regard to Richardis's original charter to Andlau.[35] Mathilde's appeal to the pope against the emperor at a time when the emperor had already been excommunicated also indirectly indicates sympathy for the papal side of the Investiture Controversy.[36] In Eugene III's bull of 1147, the pope reiterated the original rights of Andlau over Etival as established in the ninth century by Richardis.[37] Because a twelfth-century version of Richardis's charter was recreated with significant revisions at the abbey to replace the lost ninth-century original, we know that the stipulations of its foundation document were especially significant to the twelfth-century nuns.[38] The original charter of Richardis might have taken on new importance for the nuns at Andlau as they sought to defend their position over Etival. One wonders, in fact, whether the nuns rewrote the original ninth-century charter specifically to defend their authority over the monastery.

Richardis's charter would also receive renewed interest under Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who as the duke of Alsace and *advocatus* of Andlau would have taken a particularly close interest in the well-being of the abbey. An agreement of 1172 between Andlau and Etival indicates that the abbess of Andlau had visited the emperor and his court in the past and made provisions for future imperial visits.[39] In a diploma written at Hagenau on October 11, 1179, Frederick confirmed the 1172 arrangement made between

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[35] Idoux, 18-19; Martigny, 11; and Bécourt, "Premiers," 28-29. This imperial diploma is dated from Strasbourg on March 18, 1115.
[36] Idoux, 19, suspects such pro-papal leanings on the part of Andlau, a suspicion he bases on Grandidier's assertions.
[37] Idoux, 29.
[38] Büttner, 90-91, calls the twelfth-century version "strongly reworked."
[39] Schoepflin, 260, no. 316. "…si honesta illum excusatio non excusaverit, et si negotium ecclesiae fuerit, ut curiam imperatoris abbatissam contagat adire, abbatem, si ei placuerit, in comitatu suo ducere poterit, nisi illum rationabilis..."

Andlau and Etival.[40] Barbarossa's confirmation was again based on the original charter as laid out by Richardis. This might explain the placement of a sculpture with Richardis and her charter over the twelfth-century portal at the abbey. Certainly "lost" charters were recreated elsewhere in Alsace and throughout the empire in order to justify property rights.[41]

For the twelfth-century nuns at Andlau, then, Richardis's ninth-century charter provided a precedent for retaining their properties and land holdings. Richardis's historical placement of the abbey under the protection of the pope and the emperor also contributed to the continued well-being of the abbey.[42] Further, Richardis's historic dedication of the abbey to Saint Peter and Saint Paul not only commemorated the equal protection of Andlau under the pope and the emperor, but for Barbarossa it fit well into his notion of the proper order of the world, as explained in previous chapters. It is little wonder, then, that the twelfth-century nuns at Andlau felt it important to allude to the history of their foundation in the sculptural program of their abbey. Not only did Richardis's charter detail their rightful authority over Etival, an authority perpetually under dispute in the twelfth century, but her placement of Andlau under the equal

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[40] Schoepflin, 481-483, no. 685**.** Martigny, 15, claims Barbarossa visited Andlau at one point to confirm the rights of Etival. Since Martigny only offers a date of October 10 for this assertion, I am not convinced he has a case.

[41] See Fiona Griffiths, "Nun's Memories or Missing History in Alsace (c. 1200): Herrad of Hohenburg's *Garden of Delights*," in *Medieval Memories: Men, Women and the Past, 700-1300*, ed. Elisabeth Van Houts, (Essex, 2001), 138, for false charters at Hohenburg created to retain rights over its daughter abbey, Niedermünster, in the twelfth century. Niedermünster also forged its own charters to escape the authority of Hohenburg.

[42] Henri Dubled, "L'avouerie des monastères en Alsace au moyen âge," *Archives de l'église d'Alsace* 10 (1959): 10, explains that in Richardis's charter, which was rewritten with additional changes in the 12th century, the abbey was allowed to choose its own *defensor*, or advocate, to run secular affairs. The *advocatus* was traditionally an inherited position, and Emperor Barbarossa may have become the advocate at Andlau through his Eguisheim inheritance. Hadziga already named the emperor her *defensor* by 1160. The emperor called himself the advocate of Andlau in a diploma dated October 12, 1178. For this document, see *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Diplomata Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae: Die Urkunden Friedrichs I (1168-1180)* (Hannover, 1985), 321, no. 768 and Jean-Yves Mariotte, "Les Staufen en Alsace au XIIe s. d'après leurs diplômes," *Revue d'Alsace* 119 (1993): 55.

protection and authority of the pope and the emperor would find favor with their newest *advocatus*, Frederick Barbarossa.

Andlau and Barbarossa: Fire and Reconstruction

It is clear that the Emperor Barbarossa was actively involved in the affairs of Andlau from the time just before the election of the tenth abbess, Hadziga (1159-1172).[43] Frederick Barbarossa wrote to Abbess Matilde II towards the end of her rule in 1158 concerning an agreement over the use of an aqueduct on territory belonging to Andlau.[44] In this same era, the emperor was also involved in administering justice at Andlau. Hadziga recorded that Bernher of Barr, a *ministeriale* of Andlau, was put in charge of the administration of the abbey's goods.[45] Bernher abused his power by fraudulently investing a sum of 15 marcs of gold and by taking over several pieces of land and a garden from the village of Andlau.[46] Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who was in Lombardy at the time, ordered Bernher to be tried before a tribunal of *ministeriales*, which was presided over by Count Hugh VIII (1123-1178), the last *advocatus* of the

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[43] One wonders whether Hadziga, as the tenth abbess of Andlau, was one of the ten women represented on the doorjambs at Andlau.

[44] Bécourt, "Premiers," 166; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Diplomata Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae: Die Urkunden Friedrichs I (1152-1158)* (Hannover, 1975), 346-347, no. 207.

[45] Bécourt, "Premiers,"169, quotes from Hadziga's writings: "Haziga Abbatissa Andlaviensis de misero statu abbatie suae c. annum M.C.LXI: Ex libro salico Abbatiae Andlviensis fol. 2," in *Nova subsidia diplomata*, ed. Stephanus Alexander Würdtwein (Heidelberg, 1787), 9: 371-374. I thank Bernhard Müller-Herkert at the Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe for his help in obtaining a copy of this charter. I also thank Dr. Maria Wenglinsky in the Foreign Language Department at St. Saviour High School, Park Slope, Brooklyn, NY, and the Rev. David J. Born, Director of the Northeast Missions of the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod, Westford, NY, for their help in translating this document. *Ministeriales* were a class of official administrators in the service of the German emperor. For more on this class, see Dubled, 77-78; Geoffrey Barraclough, *Medieval Germany, 911-1250* (Oxford, 1948), 70; and Christopher Brooke, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages, 962-1154*, 3rd ed. (London, 1999), 239, who defines the *ministeriales* as "unfree tenants of king and Church…trained and endowed as knights, given royal offices, promoted to power and wealth." For a list of the ministeriales under the Hohenstaufen in Alsace, see Aloys Meister, *Die Hohenstaufen im Elsass: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Reichbesitzes und des Familiengutes derselben im Elsass 1079-1255* (Mainz, 1890), 111-114.

[46] Bécourt, "Premiers," 169.

monastery prior to Emperor Frederick.[47] Bernher was found guilty and was directed to restore the usurped goods.

Shortly after Frederick Barbarossa invested Hadziga as abbess, a fire ravaged Andlau on the night following Easter, 1160 or 1161; Hadziga recorded the event in the cartulary of the abbey, the *Book of Salique*, along with an account of the subsequent reconstruction of the abbey.[48] Bernher was suspected of arson because he fled the area, though no proof was ever uncovered.[49] In Hadziga's account, the fire in the church consumed the cloister as well as the whole village of Andlau.[50] It seems very likely that the sculpture of the west façade, which is of interest to us in this chapter, was also have been damaged in such a conflagration. After the fire, almost all the nuns and lay people abandoned the abbey. The advocate of Andlau, Count Hugh, had rejoined the emperor in Lombardy in 1159, so that the abbess had to send to Italy to ask for the aid of Emperor Barbarossa.[51] Andlau, which may have seemed sympathetic to the pope during the Investiture Contest, was now clearly reliant upon the goodwill of the emperor.

By her own account, then, Hadziga was in contact with Frederick Barbarossa about the fire and reconstruction of her abbey. At the beginning of her document she explained that after her election and subsequent investiture by Emperor Frederick, she

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[47] Frank Legl, *Studien zur Geschichte der Grafen von Dagsburg-Egisheim* (Saarbrücken, 1998), 257. Although Count Hugh accompanied Barbarossa to Lombardy on his first campaign, he had returned to Alsace by the summer of 1155 and remained there until he rejoined the emperor in Lombardy in 1159-1160.

[48] See Würdtwein, 317-374. For details surrounding "Haziga Abatissa Andlauiensis de misero statu abbatiae suae. c. annum M. C. LXI," recorded in the *Ex libro salico Abbatiae Anlaviensis fol. 2*, see Meyer, "L'église abbatiale d'Andlau," 97. Hadziga's record of the fire of 1160/1161 was kept with a set of charters about the abbey compiled in 1348, which is now lost. A number of the charters from the 1348 compilation, including Hadziga's twelfth-century account, were transcribed by Würdtwein in 1787.

[49] Bécourt, "Premiers," 170.

[50] See Hadziga's account in Würdtwein, 373: "monasterium et claustrum cum officinis sibi adjacentius ac tota fere villa combusta sunt."

[51] Hadziga in Würdtwein, 373; Meyer, "L'église abbatiale d'Andlau," 97. Judging by the dates of Barbarossa's expeditions into Lombardy, Meyer writes that the fire and subsequent events narrated by Hadziga could be situated either between 1160 and 1164 or between 1166 and 1168.

chose him to be her advisor for the protracted negotiations concerning the reform of the monastery, foremost among them being the collections of revenue to help restore or reform the divine service as well as for building projects.[52] Following the fire, she continued to seek advice from the emperor regarding the restoration of the abbey. For example, Hadziga wrote that she sent messengers to Frederick in Lombardy because some workmen refused to render services that they owed, services the emperor had ordered her workmen to perform.

Despite the problems with the workmen and the lack of funding for the reconstruction, Hadziga drew up a contract with architects to repair the church desperately hoping that God would come to her aid.[53] Because of the "alms of the faithful" and what she could take from the church's revenue, she was able to pay the architects a modest sum of 28 talents.[54] The last part of Hadziga's text is missing, but based upon the last extant phrase, "…having made an agreement with the architects for the repair of the monastery, both the whole monastery on the one lower side, and a small part of…", J.-P. Meyer suspects that the reestablishment of Andlau's church was a matter of simple repairs.[55] The passage breaks off before the abbess enumerates the details of the repairs, so we can not know just how extensive those repairs were. Previously

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[52] Hadziga in Würdtwein, 373: "accepta post canonicam electionem a Domino meo Friderico Imperatore prefate Ecclesie potestate, eos mihi ad pertractanda negocia consiliarios elegi, qui ceteris in eadem eo aetate et sapientia maturiores, maxime autem ad divini cultus reformacionem, ad ablatorum requisitionem, redituum quoque suis temporibus collectionem videbantur utiliores." Bécourt, "Premiers," 168, argues that during the long reign of Abbess Matilde II, the abbey fell into a decline in terms of both the spirituality and discipline of the nuns. The abbey also suffered a loss of wealth in the period just before Hadziga because local lords took advantage of the nuns. At the beginning of her term in office, Hadziga sought monastic reform as well as the restitution of the abbey's wealth.

[53] Hadziga in Würdtwein, 373-374: "Interim ergo multa gravamina a Scultetis sustinui, qui debita servitia persolvere noluerunt, pro quo eciam Domino meo nuncios cum litteris in Longobardiam sepe transmisi, ejusque mandata ad ipsos pro satisfactione frustra impetravi...."

[54] Hadziga in Würdtwein, 374 : "tum ex elemosinis fidelium Christi, tum ex reditibus ecclesie XXVIII talenta dedi…"; Meyer, "L'église abbatiale d'Andlau," 97, says the 28 talents was a small sum.

[55] Hadziga in Würdtwein, 374 : "et totum monasterium ad unum latus inferius et particulam etc."; Meyer, "L'église abbatiale d'Andlau," 97.

Hadziga explained that the emperor had sent nuns from the abbey of St. Walburg in Alsace, a long-time Hohenstaufen possession, to help reestablish divine services.[56] Perhaps she hoped the emperor would come through for her once again with funds to cover the rest of her expenses for the repair work. Clearly Barbarossa had helped her in the past; it is possible that he helped her again by contributing financially to the reconstruction of the abbey at Andlau.

Seeking and perhaps receiving further funds from Barbarossa, Hadziga had good reason to demonstrate her allegiance to the emperor in the reconstruction the façade at Andlau. Her loyalty to Barbarossa may have paid off, for as Meyer notes, the abbey promptly regained its prosperity.[57] In a charter of 1167, Hadziga conceded territory to the Cistercian abbey of Baumgarten; in the preamble of this document she noted that the rich must take care of the poor.[58] Just over five years had passed since the fire at Andlau, and already the abbess considered her nuns wealthy enough to donate to others. Surely she had friends in high places if she was able to recover so quickly from the desperation she reflected in her document of 1160/1161. Either that, or her desperation was merely rhetorical. In either case, it seems more than likely that Barbarossa came to her aid financially.

Evidence of the emperor's reconstruction at the nearby fortress complex of Odilienberg, roughly 7 kilometers northwest of Andlau, supports the notion that Barbarossa also contributed directly to the reconstruction at Andlau. Scholars have

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[56] Hadziga in Würdtwein, 373: "…impetratis a Domino meo sororibus de cenobio Sancte Walpurgis, divinum servicium cujus defectu maxime turbata eram recuperavi et eisdem juxta monasterium pro loco…"; Meister, 72-74, for the Staufen private family ownership of St. Walburg.
[57] Meyer, "L'église abbatiale d'Andlau," 97.
[58] The charter of 1167 appears in Würdtwein, *Nova subsidia diplomata* (Heidelberg, 1788), 10: 27, no. 10, quoted in Meyer, "L'église abbatiale d'Andlau," 97.

argued that during the early years of Barbarossa's reign, the emperor paid specific attention to the churches in Lower Alsace where he had inherited the role of *advocatus*, such as at the monastery of Hohenbourg at Odilienberg and Andlau.[59] Barbarossa not only donated gifts and money to such churches, but he improved and restored property to win strong support in Lower Alsace as part of his political agenda in the territory. Such was likely the case for Andlau as much as it was for Hohenbourg and its daughter houses.

At the outset of his reign, Emperor Frederick Barbarossa quickly turned his attention to the fortified complex at Odilienberg, particularly as it had always been of strategic military importance.[60] The chapel of the women's monastery of Hohenbourg, part of the Odilienburg complex, had been almost completely destroyed by Barbarossa's father, Frederick II, the duke of Swabia, after it had been occupied by the enemies of Henry V (1106-1125).[61] Although the actual date of Barbarossa's reconstruction is not known, Frederick had already visited Hohenbourg by 1153 and decided to repair it.[62] Through these repairs the emperor certainly won the loyalty of Hohenbourg, as seen in the manuscript, *Hortus Deliciarum*, created by Abbess Herrad at this monastery (1178-1196).[63] Like Hadziga of Andlau, this abbess of Hohenbourg revealed her sympathies for the emperor over the pope in the *Hortus Deliciarum* (c. 1180), including an image in the manuscript commemorating the repairs to her abbey under her immediate predecessor, Relinde (1125?-1176), a contemporary of Hadziga (fig. 103).[64] The

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[59] Thomas Seiler, *Die frühstaufische Territorialpolitik im Elsass* (Hamburg: 1995), 227-244, esp. 241; Chapter 1, 49-56.
[60] Seiler, 237, traces the historical military importance of Odilienberg on top of a high mountain in Alsace.
[61] Griffiths, 137; Idoux, 71; Meister, 46.
[62] Meister, 47.
[63] Griffiths, 143, argues that in her lists of popes, Herrad originally included the names of Barbarossa's anti-popes and later changed the names once Barbarossa had made peace with the Alexander III.
[64] *Hortus Deliciarum*, 248, fol. 322. Abbess Herrad of Landsberg chose to commemorate Abbess Relinde's repairs at Hohenbourg in her *Hortus Deliciarum* in a manner that is reminiscent of the *Traditio Legis* motif.

extensive repairs to Hohenbourg and its daughter houses took roughly thirty years to accomplish, and if Barbarossa was already supporting a restoration project of such proportions at Hohenbourg, it would also have been within the emperor's scope to aid the reconstruction effort at the nearby abbey of Andlau as well.[65]

Assuming the nuns at Andlau had repaired their church façade with imperial aid, the question remains whether the portal iconography and style truly reflect a Hohenstaufen political agenda. If the reworking of the *Traditio Legis* at Andlau for its present installation suggests that the subject existed here prior to the 1160 reconstruction, we must ask whether its presence on the west portal can still be interpreted in terms of Barbarossa's politics after 1160. As explained in Chapter 2, it is the context of the *Traditio Legis* that ultimately reveals the political agenda of the patron. In the case of Andlau, the sculpture surrounding the earlier scene of the *Traditio Legis* specifically dates to the 1160/1161 reconstruction, the very time in which a statement about the equality of two authorities would have been most pleasing to an emperor battling a pope

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Fol. 322 of the *Hortus Deliciarum* shows Relinde standing next to a cross and the inscription below her reads: "Rilinda, venerable abbess of the monastery of Hohenburg, carefully repaired all the damages to the monastery which she found in her time and with great wisdom reinstituted there the religious spirit which was then almost destroyed." Christ extends a scroll down to Relinde as He does to Paul in scenes of the *Traditio Legis*. On the opposite side Duke Eticho, the founder of the monastery, receives a rod from Christ and in turn gives the keys of the monastery to his daughter, Odile. This reception of the rod and the gift of the keys by Eticho recalls Christ's gift of the keys to St. Peter in the *Traditio Legis*. Herrad need not have looked to the *Traditio Legis* scene at Andlau for inspiration, although given the proximity of these two abbeys this is a possibility. Very near the monastery of Hohenbourg, the church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Rosheim also once displayed a scene of the *Traditio Legis* in its south side portal (1160-1180). On the *Traditio Legis* at Rosheim and the dates of sculpture at Rosheim, see Poinsot, 21, and Meyer, *Voûtes romanes*, 250-251.

[65] J.-P. Meyer, "Notes sur l'ancienne église romane d'Obernai," *Annuaire de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Dambach-la-Ville, Barr, Obernai* 16 (1982): 16. Meyer lists the repairs made to churches in the territory of Hohenbourg and includes Andlau as part of this territory. In addition to the churches listed by Meyer, I would add the church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Rosheim, the reconstruction of which was probably completed under Barbarossa's patronage. On Barbarossa's role at Rosheim, see Edla Colsman, "St. Peter und Paul in Rosheim" (Ph. D. diss., University of Cologne, 1991), 10-14. See also Peter Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa* (London, 1969), 114, who writes that the Hohenstaufen had taken possession of the Odilienberg and its monasteries, and from there they had extended their possessions to Rosheim. Barbarossa, then, merely continued the policy of his family in this territory.

for his authority in Northern Italy. The Northern Italian flavor of the style and motifs chosen for the reconstructed portal at Andlau, as will be seen in the next section, may indicate that the nuns at Andlau were keenly aware of and supportive of Barbarossa's ambitions in Lombardy.

Barbarossa, Italy, and Andlau

In Hadziga's document concerning the repairs made at Andlau in the 1160s, the abbess mentioned that she sent messengers to Barbarossa while he was in Lombardy. Hadziga may have written the emperor because she had chosen him as her advisor while the advocate of Andlau, Count Hugh VIII of Dagsburg-Eguisheim, was with Frederick in Lombardy. During the time of the reconstruction at Andlau, Barbarossa was in the early stages of his nearly thirty-year long conflict with Pope Alexander III and the Lombard League over his legal authority to control Northern Italy and reclaim it as imperial territory. According to the emperor's lawyers and the decrees they promulgated at Roncaglia in 1158, Barbarossa had inherited rights to land in Northern Italy, which had been given away by his predecessor, Lothar of Supplinburg.[66] These imperial lands in Northern Italy extended geographically between the Alps in the north and the Apennines along the Via Emilia to Ravenna.[67] Barbarossa hoped to form an official *terra imperii* consisting of his lands in Alsace and Swabia, Burgundy, and the former imperial territory now claimed in Northern Italy.[68] Prior to the 1160/1161 reconstruction at Andlau, then, a

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[66] See Introduction, 32-34 and Chapter 2, 122. For the precise legal relationship that Barbarossa sought to establish in the imperial cities of Northern Italy, see also Giovanni Tabacco, *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy: Structures of Political Rule*, trans. Rosalind Brown Jensen (Cambridge, 1989), 212-221.
[67] Ferdinand Opll, "Ytalica Expeditia," in *Deutschland und Italien zur Stauferzeit*, ed. Karl-Heinz Reuss (Göppingen, 2002), 94; Gina Fasoli, "Friedrich Barbarossa und die lombardischen Städte," in *Friedrich Barbarossa*, ed. Gunther Wolf (Darmstadt, 1975), 158.
[68] For Frederick's "Great Design" in Swabia, Burgundy, and Italy, see Bernhard Töpfer, "Grundlinien der Politik Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa," in *Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa: Landesausbau – Aspekte seiner Politik – Wirkung.* ed. Evamaria Engel and Bernhard Töpfer (Weimar, 1994), 17. Töpfer reiterates ideas

high priority for the emperor and his court was the reintegration of churches in Northern Italy into the empire. After Frederick's initial conflict with Pope Alexander III at the Council of Pavia in 1160, the pope encouraged the rebellion of a number of cities in Lombardy against the emperor.[69] This Lombard League struggled against the emperor to gain independence, which was achieved through Barbarossa's defeat in the Battle of Legnano in 1176 and the subsequent treaties of Anagni and Venice in 1177 as well as the Peace of Constance in 1183.[70]

The fact that Barbarossa and the advocate of Andlau, Count Hugh VIII were in Lombardy during the reconstruction of the portal at Andlau may account for the undeniable affinity for things Italian at Andlau as well as at other Alsatian churches discussed in this dissertation. Many scholars have drawn numerous stylistic connections between Andlau and other churches all over Europe, yet it is clear that a primary influence came from Northern Italy.[71] Perhaps Count Hugh, who had already been to Lombardy and back between 1155 and 1159, was able to share ideas with the abbess about sculptural programs he had encountered that adorned prominent imperial churches in Emilia. Other members of the imperial court who had returned with Count Hugh could

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about Barbarossa's "Great Design" formulated in Munz, 92 and 102. Since Barbarossa was the Duke of Swabia and Alsace, Munz, 110-114, treats the region of Alsace as part of Barbarossa's greater Swabian patrimony.

[69] On the relationship between Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III, see Johannes Laudage, *Alexander III. und Friedrich Barbarossa* (Cologne and Weimar, 1997). See especially 187-222 for the victory of the Lombard League over Emperor Frederick.

[70] See Introduction, 35, note 128.

[71] Literature addressing similarities between sculpture at Andlau and Nonantola includes Ernst Cohn-Wiener, "Die italienischen Elemente in der romanische Kirchenarchitektur Elsass-Lothringens," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 4 (1911): 116-122 ; Jullian, 25-38 ; Baum, 497-498; Xavier Barral i Altet, "Architektur, Skulptur und Mosaik," in *Romanische Kunst: Mittel- und Südeuropa, 1060-1220*, ed. Xavier Barral i Altet et al., (Munich, 1983), 1: 34-36; Hofmann-Kastner; and Christian Forster, "Die Galluspforte und die Portale im Sundgau," in *Schwelle zum Paradies: Die Galluspforte des Basler Münsters*, ed. Hans-Rudolf Meier and Dorothea Schwinn Schürmann (Basel, 2002), 94-103. Albert Dietl, *Defensor Civitatis: Der Stadtpatron in romanischen Reliefzyklen Oberitaliens* (Munich, 1998), 197, says the Lombard porch at Nonantola may date to the early thirteenth century. Thus it may have had nothing to do with the *Vorhalle* at Andlau.

have also transmitted a fondness for Northern Italian style. Because Frederick was in Northern Italy to reassert officially his claims to this territory, supporters of his cause in Alsace may have promoted a Northern Italian sculptural style to reiterate and promote the sense that Lombardy was, in fact, still part of the empire.

This preference for Northern Italian sculptural style and motifs at Andlau may be exemplified by the lintel scenes of the creation of man on the main portal and their proximity to the Genesis reliefs inserted into the west façade at the cathedral of Modena (1099-1105) in the Emilia-Romagna (figs. 93, 104-105, 128).[72] Baum and Jullian, for example, compare the scene of God creating Eve from Adam at Andlau and Modena and theorize that the sculptors at Andlau were at the very least aware of the sculptures at Modena. This comparison alone, however, does not prove knowledge of Modena at Andlau, for as Baum shows, the scenes at Andlau are even closer to an Early Christian version at the church of St. Paul's outside the Walls. As René Jullian puts it, the similarities between the Genesis scenes at Andlau and Modena are superficial.[73] Still, Baum explains that the "massy heads with the goggle eyes" of the figures at Andlau are a simplified version of the style of Wiligelmus, the chief sculptor at Modena.[74]

Wiligelmus also created an interlace pattern to frame his doorways and tympana at Modena; it bears a striking resemblance to the pattern that adorns the doorjambs at Andlau. Atlas figures struggling to support the weight of the interlace on the doorposts of the west portal at Modena Cathedral remind us of atlas figures at Andlau, which hold

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[72] Baum, 498-502. Baum compares and contrasts these scenes with the relief panels at Modena. Baum, 505, discounts the notion that a Lombard school was important to Andlau, but suggests that Alsatian sculptors must have passed apprenticeship years in Lombard workshops. See also René Jullian, "Le portail d'Andlau et l'expansion de la sculpture lombard en Alsace à l'époque romane," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome* 47 (1930): 29-30.
[73] Jullian, 30.
[74] Baum, 501.

up the lowest ends of the interlace pattern (figs. 106-107). J.-P. Meyer, in fact, notes a stylistic similarity between the folds near the abdomen of the atlas figures at Andlau and those at Modena.[75] In addition, the jamb reliefs of the main portal at Modena display figures of the Old Testament, each framed in an arch stacked vertically along the jamb. Perhaps the decision to set couples in similarly vertically stacked arcades at Andlau was influenced by Wiligelmus's jambs at Modena.[76]

Given these similarities, it may be that the artists at Andlau were at least aware of the sculptural program at Modena. Because the sculptural program at the cathedral of Modena predates the program at Andlau by roughly half of a century, Wiligelmus's reliefs were well-known to travelers by 1160, particularly as Modena was located directly on the Via Emilia, the main route through Northern Italy.[77] At the time of the reconstructed portal at Andlau, Modena was not involved in the Lombard League that had formed against Barbarossa, and its cathedral was still considered a loyal imperial church.[78] Certainly Emperor Barbarossa looked on the diocese of Modena with favor during these early years of his reign, for he wrote a number of letters concerning the affairs of the cathedral and also those of the nearby abbey of St. Sylvester at Nonantola, which was under the direct jurisdiction of the cathedral after 1148.[79]

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[75] Meyer, "L'église abbatiale," 101.
[76] Wiligelmus had likely conceived of this vertical arrangement of scenes by looking at numerous antique steles or sarcophagi remnant throughout his area. See Fernando Rebecchi, "Il reimpiego di materiale antico nel Duomo di Modena," in *Lanfranco e Wiligelmo: Il Duomo di Modena* (Modena, 1984): 319-360.
[77] See Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, *Vie dei pellegrini nell'Emilia medievale* (Milan, 1977), 82-84.
[78] For a brief summary of Barbarossa's dealings with the Lombard League, see Joseph P. Bryne, "Lombard League," in *Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Christopher Kleinholz et. al. (New York and London, 2004), 2: 647. On the involvement of Modena in the Lombard League after 1167, see Cristina Gaiotto, "Modena" in *Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia*, 2: 726.
[79] See Opll, "Ytalica," 118. Barbarossa addressed two letters to Modena and four letters to Nonantola. On the rivalry between the cathedral of Modena and the abbey of St. Sylvester prior to 1148, see Gillian Born, "An Iconographical Analysis of the Portal Sculpture at St. Sylvester's Abbey, Nonantola" (master's thesis, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1997), esp. 18 and 24-25.

Artists at Andlau may also have had some knowledge of similar sculptural programs created in the Emilia-Romagna by Wiligelmus's workshop. At the prominent abbey of St. Sylvester's at Nonantola, not 10 kilometers from Modena, members of Wiligelmus's atelier incorporated couples encased in arches that were vertically stacked in an arrangement similar to that of the doorjambs at Andlau (fig. 108, 94-95). It is true that the jambs at Nonantola are unlike those at Andlau in that they display narrative scenes of the abbey's foundation rather than the repetitive grouping of ten couples at Andlau. J.-P. Meyer, however, maintains that the artists at Andlau certainly must have known the sculptural program at Nonantola, for although the arches over the couples at Andlau and Nonantola may differ, inscriptions exist at both places over these arches to identify scenes.[80] Jullian also states that the program at Nonantola could have inspired the placement of these couples on the outermost jamb at Andlau.[81]

The artists at Andlau also may have had knowledge of other churches with programs sculpted by Wiligelmus's pupil, Nicholaus. Nicholaus's work at St. Zeno in Verona (c. 1138), for example, includes a series of scenes depicting the Creation and Fall of Mankind, to the same subject that appears on the lintel at Andlau. It has also been observed that scenes of combating knights at St. Zeno are close to knights depicted on the frieze at Andlau.[82] Nicholaus continued to design interlace patterns similar to those at Modena at the cathedrals of Piacenza (c. 1122), Ferrara (c. 1135), and Verona (c. 1139). It is documented that Barbarossa, and probably also Count Hugh VIII, visited the cities of

[80] Meyer, "L'église abbatiale," 99. See also Hofman-Kastner, 216. Based on theories by Günther Binding, Hofman-Kastner also suspects Lombard artists were imported to Andlau. Too many direct artistic similarities between Andlau and Nonantola exist for it to be coincidental.
[81] Jullian, 29.
[82] Jullian, 31. See also Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

Piacenza and Verona on three occasions prior to 1160/1161.[83] The cathedral of Piacenza was also familiar to pilgrims traveling along both the Via Emilia and the Via Francigena to Rome.[84] Again, prior to 1160/1161, these Emilian cities were still loyal to the emperor, who up to this point had concentrated his legal and physical actions against Spoleto, Tortona, Asti, Cheri, and Milan.[85]

The sculptural program at Andlau also displays ties to the church of St. Michele in Pavia, where German emperors were traditionally crowned kings of Italy. In addition to visiting Pavia on numerous occasions, Barbarossa was crowned here in 1155 and held the council of 1161 here to choose a pope (see Chapter 2). Pavia was one of the three cities of Northern Italy to remain faithful to Barbarossa.[86] As was mentioned earlier in Chapter 2, the *Traditio Legis* scene at St. Michele may have inspired the use of this motif at Andlau. Both scenes show a relatively rare version of theme where Christ extends the book to Paul and the keys to Peter simultaneously. The panels of the frieze at Andlau, and a number of their iconographic themes, have also been compared to the long, narrow relief panels on the façade of St. Michele (116).[87]

Artists at Andlau may have also looked to Italy when they contemplated ways to incorporate earlier material that survived destruction into their reconstructed portal.

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[83] Ferdinand Opll, *Itinerar Friedrich Barbarossas (1152-1190)* (Vienna, 1978), 239-253.
[84] On the Via Francigena, see Maria Cristina Basteri, *The Via Francigena in the Territory of Parma* (Parma, 1996). On the Via Emilia, see note 77 above.
[85] Giovanni Tobacco, "Northern and Central Italy in the Twelfth Century," in *The New Cambridge Medieval* History, ed. David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), 4: 430. After the destruction of Milan in 1162 and the emperor's installment of German functionaries throughout Northern Italy, rebellion broke out in the cities of the Veneto. After 1167 the Lombard League included Emilian cities such as Modena, Ferrara, Parma, Bologna, and Piacenza.
[86] The other two faithful cities were Lodi and Cremona. Lodi, however, was forcefully coerced into joining the Lombard League in 1167. See *Gesta Friderici*, 238 note 29, and Joseph P. Byrne, "Lombard League," *Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Christopher Kleinhenz et. al (New York and London, 2004), 2: 647.
[87] Hofmann-Kastner, 164.

St. Sylvester at Nonantola has a pieced-together tympanum similar to that at Andlau (figs. 109-110).[88] This also was the result of a reconstruction following a disaster at the abbey. After the collapse in an earthquake of 1117, the sculptors reconstructing the portal at Nonantola obviously reintroduced earlier sculpture into the tympanum.[89] The rectangular block of Christ enthroned at the center of the tympanum at Nonantola is merely set into the space; marble pieces inserted around it fill in the rest of the tympanum. On these rectangular blocks are two angels as well as the symbols of the evangelists. In the case of the symbols of Matthew and John in the uppermost part of the tympanum, the tops of the blocks were cut on a curve to conform to the arch of the tympanum. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle makes the case that the blocks added to the tympanum at Nonantola were originally part of a Romanesque pulpit, which had been disassembled, and that they were reintroduced into the later portal after the earthquake (fig. 111).[90] Reuse of sculpture was, in fact, common elsewhere, probably for economic

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[88] Another example of this "pieced-together" style in Northern Italy is as St. Michele Maggiore in Pavia, which possesses multiple sculpted portals with tympanum arrangements similar to that at Andlau (fig. 116). Meyer, "L'église abbatiale," 101, posits that the angels posed on rectangular blocks in each of the early-twelfth century portals at St. Michele may have inspired the artists at Andlau (fig. 117). In the west portal of the church of St. Stefano in Pavia, which dates from the first half of the twelfth century, the tympanum has a rectangular block of sculpture at the center, which is filled in on its sides with two rounded blocks carved with trees (fig. 118). According to Meyer, "L'église abbatiale," 101, such an arrangement of trees resembles that framing the three rectangular blocks of the *Traditio Legis* at Andlau (figs. 91-92). The remains of sculpture from St. Stefano are now housed at the Musei civici del castello visconteo. See Adriano Peroni, *Musei d'Italia-Meraviglie d'Italia: Pavia, musei civici del castello visconteo* (Bologna, 1975), 69-70. For an image of the portal in its original context, see Renato Sóriga, *Guida storico-artistica alla città di Pavia e alla sua Certosa* (Pavia, 1997), 52. Another angel was sculpted in a rectangular block and flanked by two smaller sculpted blocks on the main portal of the Romanesque church at St. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia (figs. 119-120). See Sóriga, 47-48.

[89] On the portal at Nonantola, see Giambattista Moreali, *Il portale dell'abbazia di Nonantola* (Nonantola, 1988). See also the section on Nonantola in Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. 3, rev. ed. (1923; repr. New York, 1966) and in Sergio Stocchi, *Émile romane, plaine du Po* (La-Pierre-Qui-Vire, 1984).

[90] See Eric Fernie refutes Quntavalle's theory regarding Modena, in "Notes on the Sculpture of Modena Cathedral," *Arte Lombarda* 14 (1969): 88-93. Quintavalle also suggests that the four Genesis reliefs on the façade of the cathedral of Modena were originally part of a large pulpit at Modena. Eric Fernie refutes Quntavalle's theory regarding Modena, in "Notes on the Sculpture of Modena Cathedral," *Arte Lombarda* 14 (1969): 88-93. M. F. Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture: The Revival of Monumental Stone Sculpture in the*

reasons. At the cathedral of Worms, for example, the Romanesque tympanum was carved on the reverse side during the Gothic period.[91] The reuse at Nonantola, however, may have had to do with recalling the past.

In his work concerning medieval memory, Patrick Geary explains one such type of remembering which he calls physical memory, and links it to religious communities interested in claiming rights to land holdings.[92] In the absence of texts, medieval clerics would make use of any other available source to prove legitimacy of property claims. Such sources, or "tools for remembering" included oral traditions, geographical features of the landscape, or some tangible object from the past. I suggest that the reuse of blocks of sculpture is an instance of this concept of physical memory. In the case of Nonantola, the obvious reuse of sculpture from the church interior quickly called to contemporary minds the horror wreaked by the earthquake, which ran throughout the Po Valley. The destruction wrought at Nonantola is underscored by the lintel inscription, which not only mentions the destruction of the portal, but also its restoration four years later.[93] Thus the physical memory of the tympanum sculpture was augmented by a textual source, celebrating the completion of the newly restored church.

Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries (Ithaca, NY, 1981), 85-98, reconsiders Quintavalle's ideas about interior church sculpture. While Hearn confirms that the reliefs at Modena were originally intended for the façade of the cathedral, he proposes, 91, that Wiligelmus's sculpture is still "highly suggestive of marble church furniture". Hearn, in fact, hypothesizes that the façade relief of Eros-Thanatos at Modena once belonged to the marble shrine-altar of San Gimignano. Quintavalle's idea that the portal sculpture at Nonantola once belonged to a pulpit, then, remains relevant today.

[91] See Walter Hotz, *Der Dom zu Worms*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt, 1998), 54-55. Hotz describes the Romanesque tympanum of the south portal which was recarved in the Gothic era.

[92] Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millenium* (Princeton, 1994), 124-128.

[93] See Moreali, 2, for this inscription and its interpretation. For recent interpretations of the sculptural iconography at Nonantola, see Albert Dietl, *Defensor Civitatis, Der Stadtpatron in romanischen Reliefzyklen Oberitaliens* (Munich, 1998), 179-221; Anat Tcherikover, "Reflections of the Investiture Controversy at Nonantola and Modena," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 60 (1997): 150-165; and my own thesis, "An Iconographical Analysis".

Like the carved blocks in the tympanum at Nonantola, the blocks forming the *Traditio Legis* at Andlau, as pointed out previously, were probably placed elsewhere in the church prior to the fire of 1160/1161 and were then reintroduced into the reconstructed portal. The artists of the portal at Andlau could have had Nonantola specifically in mind when they inserted the *Traditio Legis* into the new tympanum space. Beyond the similarity of their tympana, other specific ties between Andlau and Nonantola have been noted above. Both portals contain vertically stacked niches filled with couples supported on the backs of atlas figures. Both portals programs also contain specific references to world history and their own historical relevance.

The main gist of the theme of the doorjamb sculpture at Nonantola was historical, for the scenes on the left jamb trace the history of the abbey's foundation while on the right jamb are scenes depicting the more universal history of Christ's Early Life. The left jamb scenes at Nonantola also portray how the abbey came to have the relics of St. Sylvester, who baptized Emperor Constantine and received his famous donation. The abbey library, in fact, held a copy of the *Donation of Constantine* and the *Acts of St. Sylvester*.[94] Because of this possession, Anat Tcherikover argues that the second panel from the bottom on the left jamb represents the Donation of Constantine, where the emperor hands an orb to Sylvester. This scene is followed above by a depiction of the abbey itself with the founder-monk, Anselm. The left jamb at Nonantola, then, represents more than just a local history of the abbey. Instead the scenes show the relevance of the abbey in terms of universal imperial and papal politics.[95] In fact, Tcherikover maintains that the abbey's scene of Constantine and Sylvester with its

[94] Tcherikover, 156.
[95] Dietl, 200-201; Tcherikover, 155-157.

reference to the *Donation* obviously proclaimed loyalty to the papal reform during the Investiture Controversy. Such a statement of papal support was relevant during the era of the reconstruction of the portal after 1121, particularly after the Concordat of Worms in 1120. By embedding the scene of Constantine's donation in a historical narrative about the abbey's foundation, the artists at Nonantola successfully communicated that their loyalty to the pope was a part of their history.

The jambs at Andlau inspire the viewer to think in historical and political terms as well. Individuals depicted in the jambs, who may represent historic donors or administrators of the abbey, point to the scenes above them representing the history of man's creation in the lintel and the history of Christ's transmission of authority to Peter and Paul, that is, the history of the institution of the Church on earth. Likewise, the keystone relief of the archway above the portal reminds viewers about the abbey's important foundation history. This relief shows Christ receiving the charter of the church from the historical founder of the abbey, Empress Richardis, who originally dedicated the church to Sts. Peter and Paul. Because of Empress Richardis, the abbey had loyal ties to both the pope and the German emperor.

Just as the historic scene of "Constantine's Donation" at Nonantola placed the abbey in a universal political context, Empress Richardis's historic presence in the keystone above the *Traditio Legis* in the portal the arch also marks the relevance of Andlau in universal papal-imperial politics. In this case, however, the abbey of Andlau made a statement about its continual loyalty to both branches of the Church, to the pope and to the emperor. While the sculptural program at Nonantola referred to local and universal history to advertise its pro-papal sympathies at the time of the Investiture

Controvery, the abbey of Andlau similarly referred to local and universal history to make a statement of support in line with the agendas of its advisor, Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.

If the nuns at Andlau followed the example at Nonantola and reintegrated sculpture from an earlier location at the church prior to the fire, where might the *Traditio Legis* have appeared originally? One possibility is that it was part of a ciborium, or canopy, over the original altar.[96] Precedent exists for thematic ties between portal decoration and interior ciboria: after the destruction at Santiago de Compostela in the early twelfth century, Archbishop Gelmírez restored the three entrances into the cathedral with prominent sculpted figures of St. James, who again appeared inside the cathedral on the ciborium.[97] Three examples of ciboria in Lombardy with a *Traditio Legis* scene are found in the cathedral of St. Ambrogio in Milan, at the remote monastery of St. Pietro al Monte at Civate, and at the cathedral of St. Maria Matricolare in Verona (figs. 55, 112-114).[98] At St. Pietro al Monte at Civate, a *Traditio Legis* also appears as a fresco leading into the church (fig. 115). These three ciboria must have served as variations on the mosaics or frescos of the *Traditio Legis* that once appeared in eastern apses as backdrops to the high altar. It is conceivable that the nuns at Andlau erected such an altar canopy with their patron saints, Peter and Paul, over their high altar. On the other hand, the

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[96] All other objects with scenes of the *Traditio Legis* found inside churches were small-scale: manuscript illuminations, ivories, reliquaries, etc. In the late twelfth century a stone barrier existed with a scene of the *Traditio Legis* at the church of Gröningen in Lower Saxony. See 'Christ Giving Law #20, Milan: Church, St. Ambrogio', *Index of Christian Art Online*, (Princeton University, [Accessed 8/10/04]) <http://4505-index3.princeton.edu.content.lib.utexas.edu:2048/ALEPH>. In addition the *Traditio Legis* group appeared on the Ottonian altar antependium at Magdeburg. Both of these scenes were related to an altar context.

[97] See Barbara Abou-el-Haj, "Santiago de Compostela in the Time of Diego Gelmírez," *Gesta* 36 (1997): 165-179.

[98] Baum, 496, says the closest prototype for the *Traditio Legis* scene at Andlau was the ciborium at Milan and its imitation at Civate. For the version at Verona, see Marco Agostino, *Sum pelegrinus ego: Guida al complesso della catthedrale di Verona* (Verona, 2003), 1.

sculpted *Traditio Legis* may have originally appeared in the tympanum over an earlier portal of significance, possibly a portal that prefaced entrance into the sanctuary where mass would have taken place. Whatever its original placement, the *Traditio Legis* scene must have been extremely important to the nuns at Andlau if, after the 1160/1161 reconstruction, they not only reused these reliefs, but also had them placed in such a prominent position over the main portal leading into the church.

Peter and Paul were especially relevant to the abbey in light of the recent disputes with Etival, but the two apostles would also have received renewed importance in the wake of Pope Eugene III's privilege to Andlau in 1147. In this privilege, the pope confirmed that each year the abbot of Etival would sing mass at Andlau on the feast day of Peter and Paul (June 29) and that he would bring with him half of the annual tithe that Etival owed to Andlau.[99] This same provision is reiterated in the 1172 agreement between the abbess of Andlau and the abbot of Etival and restated once again in the privilege of Barbarossa in 1179.[100] Essentially this means that one of the few times the nuns at Andlau celebrated communion was on the feast day of Peter and Paul. In fact, one crucial reason for the nuns to have insisted on continual association with Etival amounts to their utter dependence upon the male priests there to serve them the Eucharist and administer pastoral care.[101]

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[99] Martigny, 14; Idoux, 41; Bécourt, "Premiers," 164. All three of these sources site the text of the papal bull issued at Auxerre on September 6, 1147, after Charles L. Hugo, *Sacri et canonici ordinis Praemonstratensis Annales* (Nancy, 1734-1736), 2: 895. See also Brackmann, 3: 43.
[100] Schoepflin, 259 and 481.
[101] Griffiths, 138-139, explains a parallel situation at Hohenbourg where the nuns were threatened by the monks of Ebersheim. The monks refused to celebrate Eucharist for the nuns if they did not give up their land holdings. The Eucharist was celebrated at Hohenbourg on four days annually. For the relationship of clergy to female monasteries, see Penelope D. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France* (Chicago and London, 1991), 180-188.

For the mid-twelfth-century nuns at Andlau, then, the two apostles were associated not only with their foundation under Richardis, but also with Holy Communion. Given the association of the feast day of Peter and Paul with communion at Andlau, a case could be made for this sculpture to have been originally placed over or near to the high altar of the abbey, which, records indicate, was dedicated to the two patron saints.[102]

After the fire of 1160, the new tympanum combined the concept of the Eucharist with the *Traditio Legis*. To the right of Paul in the present tympanum at Andlau a vine heavy with bunches of grapes was added, perhaps to serve as a reference to the earlier function of the sculpture. The man with the slingshot points to it, not only to mark his prey, but also to alert the viewer that s/he should remember something important about it; he may also be reminding the viewer about the earlier function of the *Traditio Legis* scene. If the earlier scene was erected to commemorate the settlements decreed by the pope in 1147, then its reintroduction into the reconstructed portal in the 1160s may have reminded viewers of papal aid received prior to the fire and the prosperity regained because of the aid of the emperor, who served as the *advocatus* of the abbey after the fire. Significantly, in 1179 Barbarossa restated Pope Eugene III's bull of 1147 as if the emperor's authority were equal to that of the pope.

The *Traditio Legis* at Andlau, then, was important to the nuns at Andlau for several different reasons. First, their foundress, Richardis, dedicated the abbey to Peter and Paul, making them an integral part of the foundation's history. Second, the two apostles in the *Traditio Legis* universally represented the equal authority of the pope and king as illustrated in the late eighth-century mosaics of Leo III at the Lateran (see

[102] Barth, 66, writes of a high altar to Saint Peter and Saint Paul documented in 1144, 1419, and 1421.

Chapter 2). These universal ideas of equal authority were interpreted locally by Richardis's foundation provision that Andlau was equally protected by both the Roman pontiff and the Holy Roman Emperor. Such a view of the *Traditio Legis* was particularly relevant at the time of conflict between Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III in Northern Italy. Third, Peter and Paul were associated with the annual celebration of mass at Andlau and the agreement reached between the nuns at Andlau and the monks of Etival in Lorraine. Finally, the inclusion of the scene in the reconstructed portal symbolized past prosperity and spirituality of the abbey as recovered by the restoration and reform of Abbess Hadziga and her lord, Frederick Barbarossa.

Chapter 4

From North to South: Tracing the *Traditio Legis* from Andlau in Lower Alsace to the Diocese of Basel

The *Traditio Legis* at Andlau has always been considered as the earliest representation of this subject to appear in a sculpted tympanum in Alsace (figs. 90-91).[1] As the earliest *Traditio Legis*, the tympanum Andlau was probably a main iconographic source for the later Romanesque versions of this same subject elsewhere in the region. A unique compositional arrangement of the *Traditio Legis* scene at Andlau and at the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Sigolsheim indicates a relationship between the two churches (figs. 91, 120-124). This chapter will include historical evidence that Andlau had jurisdictional authority over the church of Sigolsheim. It will be argued further that the *Traditio Legis* at Andlau was quoted in the tympanum at Sigolsheim in response to a decision rendered by Emperor Frederick Barbarossa regarding this historical connection between the two churches. In this case, the *Traditio Legis* has particular relevance as a symbol of Christian law because of the legal settlements arranged by the emperor at Andlau and Sigolsheim.

Further, it will be contended that because of Barbarossa's actions in the territory of Rappoltsweiler and Rappoltstein (which included the church of Sigolsheim), the theme of the *Traditio Legis* came to be adopted by the bishop of Basel as a symbol of the continual loyalty of the diocese to both the emperor and the pope as equal powers. Since the *Traditio Legis* theme reflected the ideal of the emperor to be seen on equal footing with the pope, the appearance of *Traditio Legis* scenes in the diocese of Basel at the close

[1] Scholars typically date the portal at Andlau prior to the 1160/1161 fire and reconstruction. All other versions of this motif appear in Alsace after 1160. On the chronology of the portal, see Chapter 3 of this dissertation, 133, note 2.

of the twelfth century and into the early thirteenth century, especially at the Minster of Basel and at the collegiate church of St. Ursanne, can be viewed as a positive response to Barbarossa's territorial ambitions to exert his influence in Upper Alsace towards the latter part of his reign.

Of the ten scenes of the *Traditio Legis* that appear in the Upper Rhineland and the Jura, the version at the church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Andlau is closest to the that at the church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Sigolsheim: both display a rare version of the theme in which Christ holds keys out to St. Peter (*Traditio Clavium*) at the same time that He holds an open book out to St. Paul (*Traditio Legis*) (figs. 91, 124). In this version, the two apostles simultaneously grasp the objects held out to them,forming a symmetrical composition relatively unusual among extant sculptural versions of the *Traditio Legis*.[2] The *Traditio Legis* scene at Sigolsheim represents a transitional stage between Andlau and later scenes. Whereas at Andlau both apostles grasp the objects offered by Christ, at Sigolsheim only Paul grasps the book while Peter has yet to grasp the keys. Peter, however, already possesses a key hanging below his left hand as he reaches with his right hand for two more keys offered by Christ. Although no physical contact between Christ and Peter occurs at Sigolsheim, the apostle is still in the midst of the gift-giving action. By contrast, other scenes of the *Traditio Legis* from this region, such as that at the

[2] J.-P. Meyer, "L'église abbatiale d'Andlau au XIIe siècle," *Cahiers alsaciens d'archéologie, d'art et d'histoire* 31 (1988): 102. Meyer states the uniquely balanced and symmetrical composition at Andlau was unknown in the Romanesque world. His list of eight places where this composition did occur in the medieval period shows that this scene is indeed rare: possibly the Constantinian apse at Old St. Peter's (4th c.), the north apse fresco at Müstair (800), the ciborium at St. Ambrogio in Milan (972), the ciborium at Civate (11th/12th c.), the south portal at Pavia (early 12th c), a reliquary plate at Novare (12th c.), the west portal at Schleswig (1180), and Andlau. After attempting to chart such versions myself (I found over 61 versions of the *Traditio Legis* theme in the medieval period), I discovered several further examples of a double gift scene, but the only large-scale sculptural versions to be added are three Irish crosses from the 10th c., two tympana in Sweden (late 12th c.), and possibly the heavily damaged tympanum at Sévignac-Thèze (12th c.).

Galluspforte at Basel Minster (fig. 146), show Peter and Paul holding their objects as if the gift-giving action had already occurred. The physical transferring of Christ's authority and power to two equally important apostles links the tympana at Andlau and Sigolsheim.

Most of the known medieval scenes of the *Traditio Legis* that show a dual gift-giving composition have a royal context. For example, it was explained in Chapter 2 that the Ottonian ciborium at St. Ambrogio in Milan included a scene of the *Traditio Legis* accompanied by a scene of Bishop Ambrose flanked by Emperor Otto I and his son, Emperor Otto II (fig. 60).[3] Later, in Barbarossa's period, the emperor must have read the *Traditio Legis* scene on the tympanum at St. Michele Maggiore in Pavia in terms of his own coronation in the church in 1155 (fig. 66-67).[4] Even the late twelfth-century tympanum on the south portal (Peter's door) at the former cathedral of Schleswig in northern Germany shows a symmetrically composed scene of the *Traditio Legis* with a king as a side figure (fig. 127).[5] Here Christ gives a banderole to St. Paul at his left, now weathered, which addresses the mission of the king to protect his people from tyranny. At the same time, Christ offers the keys to Peter at his right. A bearded king, possibly the Danish king Knud (who was involved with the foundation and construction of the cathedral), stands behind Peter and offers a model of the church to Christ. In these three

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[3] See Chapter 2, 114-119.
[4] Chapter 2, 128-129.
[5] Rainer Budde, *Deutsche Romanische Skulptur 1050-1250* (Munich, 1978), 75-76. Budde dates this tympanum to around 1180. The weathered inscription in the banderole reads: TUMICHI V VNDIDE PELLE TY and a second inscription behind Paul reads: RÄNNVS. ET. REVOCAGEN...COLLENTES. Budde is not sure of the meaning, but offers this German translation, "Du Mir…vertreibe (mir) den Tyrannen (der Welt)…rufe die Leute." The sense of this in English is, "You, drive away the tyrants of the world for me, call the people."(my translation). See also the translation by Calvin B. Kendall in *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and Their Verse Inscriptions* (Toronto and Buffalo, 1998), 280: "Expel from me the tyrant of the depths (?), and call back the worshipping people." Driving away tyrants and protecting the people on Christ's behalf is the duty of the Christian king.

examples, then, it is clear that the symmetrical double-gift giving *Traditio Legis* was used in connection to the secular authority of kings. A look at the historical ties between Andlau and Sigolsheim as well as contemporary political events will show that the double-gift giving scene of the *Traditio Legis* at these two Alsatian churches likewise functioned to remind viewers about the ecclesiastical and secular role of the emperor in Alsace as well as his God-given authority to render and enforce legal decisions in the empire.

Andlau and Sigolsheim

The churches of Andlau and Sigolsheim are geographically close, for Andlau is located in the center of the diocese of Strasbourg and Sigolsheim appears just north of Colmar on the border between the dioceses of Strasbourg and Basel (figs. 5-7). As at Andlau, the *Traditio Legis* at Sigolsheim is found in a tympanum over the main portal. Unlike the situation at Andlau, where the tympanum scene is slowly revealed to the viewer because it is hidden beneath a porch, the tympanum at Sigolsheim is the first and largest figural scene encountered. The sculptural program at Sigolsheim, however, may have once been as complex as the multiple scenes at Andlau, but since the church was destroyed and reconstructed several times, particularly after the Second World War, very little of the original program remains.

Like the tympanum, the capitals and lintel of the main portal at Sigolsheim are figural (fig. 123). Symmetrical patterns of eagles, lions, and birds with human heads are depicted in the capitals (fig. 126). Christ, in the form of the *Agnus Dei*, appears at the center of the lintel in a medallion (fig. 124). He is flanked by the four symbols of the Evangelists, also in medallions. Christ appears once again at the center of the tympanum

on axis with the Lamb of God in the lintel. Here He is enthroned between Peter and Paul, who are each accompanied by a contemporary medieval figure. As at Andlau, Christ extends the book to Paul at the same time that He offers the keys to Peter.

Even as the symmetrical composition of Christ giving the law to Paul and the keys to Peter at Andlau and Sigolsheim promotes the idea of a connection between these two churches, the differences between the two tympana can also help us understand the relationship between the two churches. The most obvious difference between the two tympana is the addition of identifiable contemporary side figures at Sigolsheim. In the place of the barren vine and archer behind Peter at Andlau, the artist at Sigolsheim inserted a kneeling lay lord who clutches what appears to be a three-leafed flower and wears a money pouch at his side. Peter acts as an intercessor at Sigolsheim as he gestures back to this kneeling lord with his left hand. Dressed as a nobleman, the figure near Peter is identified by an inscription above his head as "VLRIC…" (fig. 125).[6] Georg Weise asserts that "VLRIC" must have been an important and wealthy person from the region, possibly from Rappoltstein.[7] The grape-laden branch and slingshot-thrower behind Paul at Andlau is likewise replaced at Sigolsheim with a kneeling man carrying a large vat, presumably of wine (fig. 125). Although this man appears to wear a hat similar to a bishop's miter, his knee-length garments are typical of a lay person.[8] It will be argued

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[6] Franz Xaver Kraus, *Kunst und Alterthum im Ober-Elsass* (Strasbourg, 1884), 602, first identified this figure as a knight based on the clothing worn.

[7] Georg Weise, "Das Tympanon der Peter- und Paulskirche zu Sigolsheim im Elsass," *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst* 24 (1911): 107.

[8] See Anthony Melnikas, *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Decretum Gratiani* (Rome, 1975), 2: 742 and figure 10, C. XXIII. Melnikas explains that this unusual representation of bishops wearing short tunics from a late twelfth century workshop in Southern Germany may represent two secular bishops waging war on behalf of the Church. In this case, though, the two men not only wear mitres, but also carry croziers to indicate their status as bishops. This image appears in a manuscript in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Clm. 17161, f. 111v. See also Herrad of Landsberg, *Hortus Deliciarum (Garden of Delights)*, ed. and trans. Aristide D. Caratzas (New Rochelle, NY, 1977), 204, Plate LIX.

below that these two side figures at Sigolsheim expressed the traditional legal authority of Andlau over Sigolsheim.

According to legend, the church at Sigolsheim was the property of Andlau from the very beginning. Sts. Peter and Paul in Sigolsheim was founded by Empress Richardis in the ninth century as a church dependent on her foundation at Andlau. As the land around Sigolsheim was already well-known for its vineyards at the time of Charlemagne, goods collected by this church, particularly wine, would have been valuable assets to the abbey of Andlau in the ninth century. Land in the village of Sigolsheim had come into Richardis's hands when she inherited the possessions of her father on his death in 864.[9] According to the twelfth-century chronicle of Ebersmünster, Richardis set up a church in the village of Sigolsheim in 880 and dedicated it to St. Peter; it is called the church of Sts. Peter and Paul today.[10] In the ninth century, three other churches already existed on the

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Depicted in Herrad's image of the Church is a lay lord seated to the left of the king; his cap is similar to the one worn by the man with the vat at Sigolsheim.

[9] Ph. A. Grandidier, *Oeuvres historiques inédites* (Colmar, 1865), 1: 215 ; Anatole Raess, "L'origine de l'église saints Pierre et Paul de Sigolsheim comme église paroissiale en l'an 880," *Annuaire des quatre sociétés d'histoire de la vallée de la Weiss* 1 (1997): 145. According to Raess, in 864 Lothaire II gave the rest of the land owned by the royal family in Sigolsheim to his cousin Berthe, who was the abbess of the convent of St. Felix and Regula in Zurich. In 878 Charles III confiscated the revenues of Zürich and gave them to his wife, Richardis. It seems, then, that eventually all the land in Sigolsheim came to Richardis. For Sigolsheim's reputation for fine vineyards since the time of Charlemagne, see Christian Wilsdorf, "Sigolsheim et son vignoble aux temps carolingiens," in *Media in Francia…Recueil de mélanges offert à Karl Ferdinand Werner à l'occasion de son 65e anniversaire par ses amis et collègues français*, ed. Georges Duby and K. F. Werner (Maulévrier, 1989), 507-524.

[10] Raess, 146, says the church of Sigolsheim was dedicated to Peter and Paul by Richardis; Médard Barth, *Handbuch der elsässischen Kirchen im Mittelalter* (Strasbourg, 1960), 1308, quotes directly from the *Chronicon Ebersheimense* and says Richardis dedicated the church of Sigolsheim to St. Peter alone. In support of Barth, see also Albert Bruckner, *Regesta Alsatiae: Aevi Merovingici et Karolini, 496-918* (Strasbourg, 1949), 1: 386, no. 648, for the *Chronicon Ebersheimense*. It is possible that the dedication came to be regarded as a dual dedication to both Peter and Paul after the installation of the twelfth-century tympanum. Barth, 1308, notes that the information about Richardis's foundation of Sigolsheim in this chronicle relied on a twelfth-century forgery. Barth says, however, that in a charter of 884 Richardis put Sigolsheim under the authority of another church, which demonstrates that the empress owned Sigolsheim.

It must be admitted outright that Richardis's original dedication of the church in Sigolsheim to Peter and Paul, if indeed we even wish to believe in an early dual dedication, may have inspired the later Romanesque scene of the *Traditio Legis* over the west portal tympanum without further ado. As at Andlau, Richardis may have intended to claim the protection of both the emperor and the pope by dedicating Sigolsheim to both Peter and Paul. Anthony Melnikas reminds us in a discussion of the images contained

land of Sigolsheim: the chapel of St. Maurice in the Oberhof, the church of St. Marie, which had been established in a charter of 778 to benefit the monastery of Hohenburg, and a chapel of St. Anne. Richardis estabished the church of St. Peter as the parish church in the village.[11]

Once Richardis had founded a church at Andlau and another at Sigolsheim, her husband, Charles the Fat, granted her the rights to the men's convent of Etival in 884, an abbey near the church of St. Dié on the opposite side of the Vosges in what is today the

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in the twelfth-century illuminated manuscript, *Decretum Gratiani*, that the motif of the *Traditio Legis* was understood by Carolingian emperors as the visual expression of the concept of a division of two powers. In fact, the concept that two different earthly powers were subordinate to one supreme authority, Christ, was first expounded at the Council of Paris in 829. (For this council and miniatures of the *Traditio Legis* in Gratian's *Decretum*, see Melnikas, 1: 29 and 41. Melnikas explains that the first part of Gratian's work is dedicated to the idea of the two earthly powers, sacred and secular. The illumination of the letter, "H", which begins the study is characterized by an image of Christ in the upper part of the "H" initial and the two figures of the pope and the emperor in the lower part of the letter, forming a *Traditio Legis* scene.) Richardis's choice to dedicate the churches at Andlau and Sigolsheim to Peter and Paul may have been a response to the ideas about two powers circulating in imperial courts after the Council of Paris; her dedication to the two leading saints was most probably a conscious act to claim the protection of the sacred and secular powers on earth.

Regardless of Richardis's original intentions, late twelfth-century artists at Sigolsheim need not have commemorated her dedication to Peter and Paul with a scene of the *Traditio Legis*. Certainly other scenes of Peter and Paul existed in the medieval period and could have been incorporated at both Andlau and Sigolsheim to honor the two saints. For example, a number of different scenes could have been chosen from the life of Peter and Paul as one finds in the frescoes on the east wall at St. Johann at Müstair in Switzerland or the interior of the abbey of St. Sylvester at Nonantola. For these examples, see Jürg Goll et al., "Verzeichnis der karolingischen und romanischen Wandbilder in der Klosterkirche," in *Die mittelalterlichen Wandmalereien im Kloster Müstair: Grundlagen zu Konservierung und Pflege,* (Zürich, 2002), 155, and Hélène Toubert, "Gli affreschi romanici scoperti recentemente nell'abbazia di Nonantola e l'illustrazione degli *Atti degli Apostoli*: La *Fuga da Damasco* e la *Prima venuta di Paolo a Gerusalemme,*" in *Wiligelmo e Lanfranco nell'Europa romania: Atti del convegno* (Modena, 1989), 155-170. Countless examples of the two saints merely flanking the Savior exist without any emphasis on Christ's gift of the law or the keys. See Ruth Wilkins Sullivan, "Saints Peter and Paul: Some Ironic Aspects of their Imaging," *Art History* 17 (1994): 59-80. Alsatian artists could also have commemorated a dedication to Peter and Paul with a scene of the mission to all apostles, as one finds at the church of St. Madeline in Vézelay or at Bérze-la-Ville.

While it can be said that Richardis may have originally intended to call attention to the dual protection of the emperor and the pope at her churches of Andlau and Sigolsheim with a dedication to saints Peter and Paul, it can not be simply assumed that this dedication necessarily inspired the Romanesque scenes of the *Traditio Legis* at these two churches. The *Traditio Legis* scenes at Andlau and Sigolsheim may have been created to recall Richardis's dedication, yet we will see the choice to represent Christ simultaneously giving objects of authority to two different apostles was relevant to contemporary twelfth-century politics as well.

[11] Gilbert Meyer and Bertrand Monnet, "L'église Saint-Pierre-et-Saint-Paul de Sigolsheim," *Congrès archéologique de France: Haute-Alsace* 136 (1982): 106; Robert Will, *Alsace romane* (La-Pierre-Qui-Vive, 1966), 36.

Lorraine. Richardis then placed her church at Sigolsheim under the authority of Etival (dedicated to Mary and Peter), which in turn she set under the authority of her nuns at Andlau.[12] Richardis had established a college of secular canons at Etival with a prior to lead them.[13] In Charles the Fat's charter, Richardis reserved for Andlau the right of jurisdiction over Etival and the right to invest the abbot, and she established a system of tithing.[14] Etival was in control of several churches in Alsace including Sigolsheim, which means that the tithing system would also have included Sigolsheim. This arrangement seems to have continued uninterrupted for some time, for in a mid-tenth century charter the Emperor Otto I again outlined the relationship between Etival and Andlau.[15]

By the early twelfth century, though, conflict between the two houses arose when the priors of Etival sought independence from Andlau's primacy. This tension was relieved temporarily by imperial and papal intervention.[16] Years of dispute culminated in

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[12] Raess, 146; Bruckner, 372-373, nos. 615-616; Grandidier, 220-223. Albert Martigny, "Andlau-Étival: Relations entre deux abbayes des deux côtes des Vosges," *Dialogues transvosgien* 4 (1986): 15. Etival was destroyed in 1944.

[13] Martigny, 10; M.-C. Idoux, "Études sur l'abbaye d'Étival: Relations d'Étival avec les monastères alsaciens d'Andlau et de Hohenbourg," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation du Département des Vosges* 89 (1913): 15 ; and Augustin Calmet, *Notice de la Lorraine* (Rambervillers, 1840), 1: 342-346, for one of the earliest historical accounts of the relations of Etival with Andlau.

[14] Idoux, 10-11; J. Trouillat, *Monuments de l'histoire de l'ancien évêché de Bâle* (Porrentruy, 1852), 1: 120, no. 67; Bruckner, 372-373, nos. 615-616; Grandidier, 220-223; Barth, 1308. Barth quotes the 884 charter which gave Etival, "ecclesiam de Sigolsheim cum allodio, in quo sita est ecclesia et quinquaginta duas hubas."

[15] Martigny, 10-11; Joseph Daniel Schoepflin, *Alsatia Diplomatica: Aevi Merovingici, Carolingici, Saxonici, Salici* (Mannheim, 1772), 1: 117-118, no. 145. Otto I confirmed the goods and rights of Andlau in a charter of June 2, 962, after the abbey had been damaged by the Hungarian raids. Andlau's abbess, Uthique, sought the restitution of stolen goods, and Otto I restored the monastery of Etival to her. Otto's document repeats the text of the 884 charter that gave Etival "quinquaginta duas hubas" from Sigolsheim.

[16] Idoux, 19, theorizes that the prior Titmare profited from the political turmoil during the Investiture Controversy by enlisting the aid of Emperor Henry V to free Etival from the authority of Andlau. Writing six years prior to the resolution of the Investiture Controversy in the Concordat of Worms (1122), Titmare petitioned Emperor Henry V to confirm the rights and goods of Etival, which the emperor, without even mentioning Andlau's suzerainty, did in a charter in Strasbourg dated March 18, 1115. For Henry's diploma, see Idoux, 18, Martigny, 11, and E. Bécourt, "Premiers dévelopments de l'abbaye d'Andlau," *Revue d'Alsace* 68 (1920): 29. Pope Eugene III, however, renewed Andlau's authority over Etival in his

the Abbess Hadwige of Andlau (1172-1180) facing conflict over territorial disputes and her authority over Etival.[17] In 1172 the prior Gautier and Hadwige came to an understanding whereby she gave up some of her traditional territorial rights, yet maintained the right to invest the newly elected priors of Etival.[18] Such an investiture was to take place on the feast day of Sts. Peter and Paul (June 29), the traditional day for the annual mass for the nuns to be celebrated by that prior.[19] During this festival, the prior was to present to Andlau a monetary tithe of the holdings of Etival (including Sigolsheim).[20] Perhaps it was the reference in this compromise to the original tithe owed to Andlau as it had been established by Richardis that prompted F. X. Kraus to suggest in 1884 that the supplicant figures at Sigolsheim represented the payment of a tithe, particularly as one of these figures carries a money pouch (fig. 125).[21] It seems doubtful here that the money pouch represents avarice, for St. Peter gestures back to the man and directly to the pouch as if offering it to Christ on the man's behalf.[22]

Kraus views the identity of the supplicant figures in general terms. He reasons that the man with the purse was a knight because of the clothing he wears, but he

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bull of September 6, 1147, a bull that quoted many sections of Henry's 1115 charter, but made sure to state that Andlau was the only sacred or secular authority over Etival. For Eugene's bull, see Idoux, 29, and A. Brackmann, *Regesta pontificium romanorum, Germania pontificia* (Berlin, 1935), 3: 43.

[17] Martigny, 14; Schoepflin, 259-260, nos. 315-316. Abbess Hadwige is not to be confused with her predecessor at Andlau, Abbess Hadziga.

[18] E. Bécourt, "Premiers dévelopments de l'abbaye d'Andlau: II," *Revue d'Alsace* 69 (1921-22): 198; Schoepflin, 260, no. 316.

[19] Schoepflin, 260, no. 316. "…ut XL solidos monatae Argentiniensis praefatae ecclesiae matri suae Andelacensi annuatim persolvat, viginti quidem in festivitate apostolorum Petri et Pauli, dum ad celebrandam missam abbas advenerit, secum deferat…." See also Calmet, 345. For a brief discussion of the feast day of Saints Peter and Paul and its connection to the *Traditio Legis* theme, see Carolyn Kinder Carr, "Aspects of the Iconography of Saint Peter in Medieval Art of Western Europe to the Early Thirteenth Century" (Ph. D. diss., Case Western Reserve, 1978), 82.

[20] Schoepflin, 260, no. 316. The annual tithe consisted of *XL solidos monatae Argentiniensis*.

[21] Kraus, 605.

[22] On the money pouch as a representation of avarice, see Lester K. Little, "Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom," *The American Historical Review* 76 (1971): 16-49. A prime example of money representative of avarice occurs as Moissac in the scene of Lazarus and the rich man.

hesitates to identify the figure with a particular historical personage.[23] Because Sigolsheim was associated with the knights of Rappoltstein, Kraus believes that this kneeling man represents this dynasty in some general way, although he does not identify him as a specific lord. The knights of Rappoltstein still had rights over Sigolsheim at the end of the twelfth and in the early thirteenth century, so it makes sense to connect these side figures with this dynasty.[24] Kraus merely surmises from his dress that this lay lord with a purse represents a local landowner bringing a monetary gift to Sigolsheim while the man with the vat of wine stands for an offering of natural goods, in the manner of the "first fruits" offering of the Old Testament.[25]

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[23] Kraus, 602.

[24] Several theories exist about the identity of the side figures at Sigolsheim. Levrault's early theory that the kneeling figure was female at the left and possibly the abbess of Hohenbourg or Andlau being invested by Peter has been discounted in most literature. Weise, 108, summarizes arguments by Levrault found in Rothmüller's *Musée pittoresque et historique de l'Alsace* (Colmar, n. d.), 52. On Levrault, see also Kraus, 605. Kraus himself dismissed an idea of Woltmann's that the kneeling lord with the purse represented the late-twelfth century knight of Rappoltstein, Count Egelolf of Urslingen (1162-1185). Kraus, 605, refers to Woltmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst im Elsass* (Leipzig, 1876), 85. Kraus calls Woltmann's ideas "idle speculation". Georg Weise, however, returns to Woltmann's identification to support his newer ideas about this side figure. Weise, 107, refers to Woltmann, 85. According to Weise, as we have seen above, the man holding the money pouch was a prominent person from the region of Rappoltstein. He also says that the flower held by this individual is similar to the one held by a deceased prince, Hermann of Thüringen, in a contemporary psalter. Hermann's flower was interpreted by Adolf Goldschmidt as a symbol of eternal life, a meaning Weise believes relevant for the Sigolsheim portal as well. For Weise, this donor of the church at Sigolsheim was therefore eternally honored in the newly erected portal. See Weise, 107, found the image of Hermann of Thüringen in Adolf Goldschmidt, *Der Albanipsalter in Hildesheim und seine Beziehung zur symbolischen Kirchenskulptur des XII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1895), 63. One finds a similar representation of a man holding a three leafed flower on a capital in the south side aisle at St. Ursanne in the Jura. Although it is not clear, the man may also posess a bag of money. See Hans-Rudolf Meier, *Romanische Schweiz* (Würzburg, 1996), 232. One finds an example of Mary holding a trefoil-flower at Guebwiller, and another female holding a flower of five petals in a fragment from Issenheim now in the Unterlinden Museum in Colmar.

As for the man holding the vat of wine, Weise, 107-110, suggests that he was related to the chronicles of Richer of Senones. In the *Gesta Senoniensis ecclesiae*, the chronicler includes a life of St. Deodatus (St. Dié) in which is recounted a tale of a man with a vat. Weise explains that this account is far later than the portal at Sigolsheim, but it may rely on oral traditions that would have been available to the sculptors. Unfortunately, as Weise admits, Sigolsheim had little to do directly with the church of St. Dié in Lorraine, so his theory about the man with the wine vat remains unsubstantiated. Besides, one assumes that a man carring a wine vat would be commonplace in a wine-growing region such as Alsace.

[25] Kraus's theory has found acceptance today. See Carola Jäggi, "HAC PRO STRVCTVRA PECCATA DEVS MEA CVRA: Überlegungen zu Stifterdarstellungen an romanischen Portalen," in *Schwelle zum Paradies*, 110. Jäggi calls the man at the left with a money bag a donor, while the man with the vat represents, "a contraction for an overwritten vineyard or a donation of other material assets," (my

Although Kraus's idea about the tithe was largely ignored until very recently, his suggestion works well with what is known about the historical relationship of Andlau and Sigolsheim. The tithe had been established by Richardis to provide for the nuns at Andlau. Richardis's tithing system also demonstrated the higher jurisdictional rights of Andlau over its dependent churches in the region. Since the priests at Etival had been struggling against the authority of Andlau over her dependent churches for most of the twelfth century, the portal sculpture at Sigolsheim may have commemorated the compromise of 1172 between Andlau and Etival, which continued Andlau's authority over Etival and its dependent churches.

The hierarchical authority of Andlau over Sigolsheim is also demonstrated by the tympana of these churches. It is the very quotation at Sigolsheim of the dual gift-giving *Traditio Legis* scene at Andlau that draws attention to the perpetual authority of Andlau over Sigolsheim. In the tympanum at Sigolsheim, the two side figures do not bring their thank offerings of money and wine to Peter and Paul at the parish church in Sigolsheim. Rather they present their tithes to the two apostles and Christ who were already represented in the portal of Andlau, the mother church of Etival and Sigolsheim. The scene of Christ simultaneously giving gifts to Peter and Paul at Sigolsheim was meant, I suggest, to remind viewers about the original *Traditio Legis* scene at the church of Andlau, where the tithe was brought annually by the priests of Etival on behalf of the other dependent churches including Sigolsheim. The *Traditio Legis* scene at Andlau was not merely the first scene in the area, and as such worthy of quotation at Sigolsheim, but rather it was over the main portal of the physical location where the annual tithes were

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translation). On the first fruits offering, see A. H. F. Griffin, "Offertory Prayer and Offertory Processions: Their History and their Theology," *Medieval History* 4 (1994): 23-33.

gathered. The tithe to Andlau may have been physically carried by priests and high administrative officials, but for the locals at Sigolsheim, bringing a tithe before the tympanum at Sigolsheim symbolized a greater contribution to the mother church at Andlau. Thus the tympanum scene at Sigolsheim and its quotation of the *Traditio Legis* at Andlau signifies the hierarchical relationship between Andlau and Sigolsheim, a relationship which had been recently reestablished in the compromise of 1172.

While this compromise of 1172 addressed the issue of the monetary tithe which appears in the tympanum of Sigolsheim, it makes no reference to a tithe of wine. The vat of wine presented by the kneeling man as his counterpart at the right may, of course, simply symbolize the wine of the eucharist. Yet both a tithe of wine and a monetary offering are mentioned specifically in a diploma written by Emperor Frederick Barbarossa from Hagenau on October 11, 1178, in which the emperor confirmed and further described the 1172 arrangement between Andlau and Etival.[26] Here the emperor outlined Etival's possessions and prescribed rules regarding, among other things, the tithes in grain and wine from Sigolsheim.[27] In the section below it will be argued that the artists at Sigolsheim did not in all likelihood choose to memorialize the 1172 compromise, but rather the more complete 1178 imperial ratification of this earlier compromise between Hadwige of Andlau and Gautier of Etival.

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[26] Schoepflin, 481-483, no. 685; and *Die Urkunden Friedrichs I*, 1: 321, no. 768.

[27] Martigny, 14; Idoux, 41; Aloys Meister, *Die Hohenstaufen im Elsass: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Reichbesitzes und des Familiengutes derselben im Elsass 1079-1255* (Mainz, 1890), 132, no. 121; and Schoepflin, 481, no. 685, "... Confirmamus quoque vobis quindecim mensurias vini pro censu ecclesiae de Sigolsheim, quindecim item alias…Decimam bladi et vini totius allodii vestri…" See also Frank Legl, *Studien zur Geschichte der Grafen von Dagsburg-Egisheim* (Saarbrücken, 1998), 475, who translates the term *bladi* as grain. In addition to Barbarossa's diploma, this term was used for grain in the 1147 bull of Pope Eugene III regarding the possessions of Andlau.

Barbarossa and Sigolsheim

From the emperor's diplomas in the 1170s regarding the hierarchical relationship of Andlau over its satellite churches it is clear that he had returned to a more active role of personally guiding Alsatian churches in Upper Alsace. At the very beginning of his reign, Barbarossa served a few churches in Lower Alsace, such as Hohenburg and the church of St. Thomas in Strasbourg, in the capacity of an *advocatus*.[28] According to Thomas Seiler, Barbarossa established an extensive axis of influence in the Strasbourg diocese in the early 1150s by personally paying careful attention to the churches where he had inherited the office of advocate through his family connections.[29] Once he turned his attention to affairs in Northern Italy, the emperor was content to act generally as the supreme *advocatus* of all imperial churches and administer justice from a distance through his *ministeriales* and a lower order of advocates.

Frederick Barbarossa's struggle with Pope Alexander III in Italy ended in his military defeat in 1176 at the hands of the Lombard League and his subsequent compromise with Alexander III in the treaty of Anagni of 1177.[30] Pope Alexander next attempted to regain control of the two Alsatian dioceses of Strasbourg and Basel by deposing the two bishops, Rudolf of Strasbourg and Louis of Basel, previously invested by Barbarossa's antipopes, in the Lateran council of 1179.[31] Even though their replacements were to prove loyal to the emperor, Barbarossa nevertheless felt the need to

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[28] See Chapter 2 of this dissertation, 78, note 3.
[29] Thomas Seiler, *Die frühstaufische Territorialpolitik im Elsass* (Hamburg, 1995), 241. Seiler refers to a zone of influence created in the 1150s between the Breuschtal and the Lebertal with the control of the cloister of Hohenburg and the advocacy of Andlau. This zone ran from the Dagsburg-Eguisheim fortress of Girbaden just above Hohenburg all the way south to the Hohenstaufen complex established at Sélestat.
[30] Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford, 1989), 196. On Barbarossa's renewed interest in Germany after 1177, see also Karl Hampe, *Germany under the Salian and Hohenstaufen Emperors*, trans. Ralph Bennett, rev. ed. (1923; repr. Totowa, NJ, 1973), 196-219.
[31] Trouillat, 1: 376-377, no. 245; Peter Rück, *Der Urkunden der Bischofe von Basel bis 1213* (Basel 1966), 114 ; and Seiler, 230.

reassert his own influence in Alsace by personally intervening in church matters wherever legally possible. Seiler asserts that the emperor's goal was to control Upper Alsace because it stood between his holdings in Lower Alsace and the territory he had gained in Burgundy through his 1156 marriage to Beatrix of Burgundy.[32] Whatever his reasons, upon his return to his Alsatian homeland in the late 1170s, the emperor once again began to assert himself personally as the direct advocate of certain key churches, particularly churches in the Upper Alsace diocese of Basel.[33] This was precisely his approach with Andlau in the diocese of Strasbourg and its dependent church of Sigolsheim at the northernmost tip of the Basel diocese.

By issuing a diploma in 1178 detailing exactly the jurisdictional rights of Andlau, the emperor seems to have been acting in his role as the personal advocate of this abbey. According to Richardis's statutes from the ninth century, the advocates of Andlau were to be the male descendants of the counts of Metz and Dagsburg.[34] This family was still administering justice at Andlau in the twelfth century. Yet, in the diploma of 1178 Frederick refers to himself as the *advocatus* of Andlau.[35] Frank Legl suggests that Barbarossa considered himself to be the supreme advocate (*Obervogt*), but may have

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[32] Seiler, 245, calls the Basel diocese a "Zwischenstück" between Sélestat and Burgundy.
[33] On Barbarossa's ambitions in Upper Alsace during the 1170s, see also Holger Klitzing, "Die Bedeutung der Klöster für die frühstaufische Territorialpolitik im Elsass," working paper (University of Heidelberg, 2000, 12, [Accessed 5/12/2005]) <http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~hklitzin/studium/Ge/ha-staufer.html>.
[34] Bécourt, "Premiers: II," 200.
[35] Jean-Yves Mariotte, "Les Staufen en Alsace au XIIe siècle d'après leur diplômes," *Revue d'Alsace* 119 (1993): 55; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Diplomata Regum et Imperiatorum Germaniae: Die Urkunden Friedrichs I (1168-1180)* (Hannover, 1985), 1: 321, no. 768; Schoepflin, 483, no. 685. "ad advocatiam nostram Heleonis (Andlau) ecclesiae specialiter pertinentis...."

taken over the duties of the lower advocate as well at the death of Count Hugh VIII of Dagsburg in 1178.[36]

As the *advocatus* of Andlau, of course, the emperor had direct administrative rights over all the churches dependent on Andlau as well. At Andlau his status as the advocate, together with the decree of 1178, demonstrates that the emperor was personally concerned about the welfare of the abbey and its holdings. It was argued in Chapter 3 that the *Traditio Legis* scene at Andlau commemorated the abbey's protection by both the emperor and the pope while at the same time the scene celebrated the restoration of Andlau by Emperor Barbarossa. Because Sigolsheim was under the authority of Andlau, its scene of the *Traditio Legis* must have reflected similar sentiments about loyalty to and support for Emperor Frederick.

Another reason it makes sense to relate the portal at Sigolsheim to the imperial decree of 1178 is that Barbarossa not only mentions therein a tithe of wine, but also one of grain.[37] The importance of this tithe in the mid-twelfth century is certainly supported by Count Hugh VIII of Dagsburg, who, while serving as the *advocatus* of Andlau referred to the tithe of Sigolsheim in a document addressed to Etival.[38] The tithes of grain and wine are also eucharistic symbols, which we see on the on the tympanum at Sigolsheim. One might argue that the man known as "VLRIC" does not hold, as Weise

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[36] Legl, 526. See also note 947, where it is explains that a second imperial document of 1178 claimed Hugh VIII the advocate of Andlau, but was probably a forgery by the priests of Etival to claim rights in their favor. On this forgery, see also Mariotte, 67, note 97, and the *Die Urkunden Friedrich I*, 1: 407-413, no. 1072.

[37] See note 25 above.

[38] Legl, 475. Count Hugh's description of this tithe derived from Pope Eugene's privilege to Etival on September 6, 1147. As part of his donation to Etival the Count prescribed that his fief of Sigolsheim would tithe a tenth to Etival, as well as 52 hides of land (*Hufen*), wine goods, and space for grain cultivation (*Getreideanbauflächen*). The 52 hides of land probably derived from Richardis's original 884 charter. See note 15 above. Legl, 238, also mentions that Count Hugh inherited part of the holdings of Count Ulrich of Eguisheim at his death in 1143. This Count Ulrich is probably not the Ulrich commemorated in the late twelfth century tympanum of Sigolsheim as he would have died at least forty years prior to its creation.

suggests, a three-leafed flower, but rather a stylized stalk of wheat with a head of three grains (fig. 125).[39] One could equally argue that what has been described as a flower is simply the depiction of folds on the top of the bag held by "VLRIC".[40] What is most significant, however, is the content of this bag. The bag may contain money, which would refer to the tithe, or it might also contain seeds of grain, the Old Testament tithe. According to J. M. Powis Smith, the Biblical tithe detailed in Deuteronomy referred to "all the increase of thy seed that cometh forth of the field year by year."[41] A conflation of offerings of grain or money in the bag would form an understandable counterpart to the wine vat on the other side of the tympanum. The bag and the vat are at variance with the more traditional eucharistic symbols of wheat or loaves and a chalice or a cluster of grapes, but depict more exactly the offerings brought by "VLRIC" as recorded in the documents of Emperor Barbarossa and Count Hugh in 1178.

The vat of wine at Sigolsheim already carries eucharistic overtones; the wine together with either a stalk of wheat or a bag of grain, further underscores the eucharistic symbolism also seen on the lintel. As Norbert Müller-Dietrich suggests, Christ's ultimate sacrifice, his role as the sacrificial lamb, is symbolized by the *Agnus Dei* in the center medallion of the lintel, which appears directly below and on axis with Christ enthroned in

[39] This figure is a generic representation of vegetation found in various artistic representations around the region. We see them at the tops of the intertwined patterns on the jambs at Andlau (fig. 128). In the *Hortus Deliciarum*, three-leafed vegetation is depicted as flowers of the field in association with a reaper harvesting grain (fig. 129). See *Hortus Deliciarum*, 124, plate XXXI, fol. 120.

[40] From my first-hand observation of the tympanum at Sigolsheim, the top of the bag seems to extend up through the side figure's hand. A direct line appears at the top of the bag at belt level through the figure's hand to what has been called a three-leafed flower. This " flower" could alternatavely be seen as three folds on the top of the bag. The details of the three folds are concave, not unlike the folds on the hems of the garments of the tympanum figures. These folds of the bag are of equal size, unlike the generic flowers depicted elsewhere in the region, or in depictions of a fleur-de-lis.

[41] J. M. Powis Smith, "The Deuteronomic Tithe," *The American Journal of Theology* 18 (1914): 120.

the tympanum.[42] The *Agnus Dei* functions centrally in the institution of the eucharist. The wine of Christ's blood is also a focal point in the tympanum at Andlau, where a vine heavy with grapes grows to the right of St. Paul.[43] At Sigolsheim, the figure of the man with the vat of wine corresponds to the position of the grape vine at Andlau, and likewise supports the eucharist allusion.

The relationship of the tympana to the eucharist is emphasized when we remember that the tithe (*oblatione)* of Sigolsheim was to be brought by the priest of Etival to Andlau on the feast day of the apostles Peter and Paul when an annual mass would have been celebrated by the priest for the nuns at Andlau.[44] Oblation, a liturgical procession bearing the elements of bread and wine together with the tithe offerings, was brought to the main altar prior to the eucharist to recall ritual sacrifices of the Old Testament that were no longer necessary after Christ's sacrifice on the cross.[45] The contemporary *Hortus Deliciarum*, a manuscript from Hohenburg, contains an image related to such ritual oblations and the eucharist. In this image inscribed with the words, *Ritus legalis* (Ritual Law), Herrad depicted a two-headed figure of Moses and Christ carrying a stalk of grain and a cup of wine at the center (fig. 130).[46] This two-headed man in Herrad's composition represents a conflation of Old Testament ritual oblations, such as grain and wine, and Christ's corporial sacrifice in the eucharist. At Sigolsheim,

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[42] Norbert Müller-Dietrich, "Die romanische Skulptur des Elsass," (unpaginated typescript from the 1980s from the Service régional de l'Inventaire des monuments et richesses artistiques de la France, Strasbourg, section on "Sigolsheim.").

[43] Depictions of Christ in the eucharist were not unheard of in Alsace. The abbey of Murbach in Upper Alsace (third quarter of the twelfth century) also displays a two reliefs of confession and eucharist on its eastern façade. The relief scene of the eucharist shows Melchizedech, a prototype for Christ. See Will, *Alsace romane*, 129.

[44] Barbarossa uses the term *oblatione*, or oblation, for the offering collected at Andlau. See Schoepflin, 483, no. 685.

[45] On such offerings and oblations, see note 25 above.

[46] *Hortus Deliciarum*, 78, Plate XXII, fol. 67a. The superscription states: *vetus et novum testamentum in simul junctum*, which means that the Old and New Testaments were joined together. This idea is expressed in the two-headed figure at the center identified as Moses and Christ.

therefore, the addition of the side figures to the *Traditio Legis* motif encourages the viewer to understand that just as Christ gives His body and blood to His Church, so thank offerings of "first fruits" are the joyful response of the Church for this gift of His presence.[47]

"VLRIC," portrayed in the tympanum as an oblation bearer, may have been the first knight of Rappoltstein to carry the tithe to Sigolsheim under the new terms established by Barbarossa after 1178. In a fourteenth-century charter of Rappoltstein it actually states that the Lord of Hohenrappoltstein, Ulrich, was the patron of the church of Peter and Paul at Sigolsheim and that he, together with Henry, the Lord of Rappoltstein, annually gave red wine from Sigolsheim to the cloister of Etival.[48] According to this evidence, lay lords of Rappolstein still brought a tithe of wine to Etival in the fourteenth century. Because this tithe of Sigolsheim was prescribed in Richardis's ninth-century charters and continued into the fourteenth century, it would appear that the prescription of the tithe was handed down from generation to generation. This Ulrich of 1343, then, was very likely a descendant of the man represented on the portal tympanum at Sigolsheim, possibly Ulrich I of Urslingen.

Ulrich I was the son of Egelolf of Urslingen, the lord of Rappoltstein; father and son both acted as witnesses to a document of reconciliation issued by Emperor Frederick

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[47] On thank offerings, see Ps. 115:12-14, 19; John 6:35; 1 Cor. 10:16. See also Griffin, 23-33. On the tithe as part of a gift-giving exchange, see Menahem Herman, "Tithe as Gift: The Biblical Institution in Light of Mauss's *Presentation Theory*," *AJS Review* 18 (1993): 51-73. Herman holds that the tithers expected invisible or intangible gifts from God in return for their physical tithes.

[48] See G. Dietrich, *Notice historique sur le village de Sigolsheim: Extrait de la Revue Catholique d'Alsace* (Rixheim, 1904), 55, and J.-P. Meyer, "Sigolsheim, " in *Encyclopedia d'Alsace* (Strasbourg, 1985), 11: 6889. See also Idoux, 32, who records that in 1343 Henry and Ulrich of Ribeaupierre and Hohenack conceeded a tithe of wine to Etival.

Barbarossa in 1186.[49] Since we know that Ulrich I witnessed at least one legal proceeding for the emperor, and his father's name appeared as a loyal witness to multiple legal acts by Barbarossa in Alsace, it may be that the two figures bringing the tithe on the portal at Sigolsheim also represented witnesses to Barbarossa's diploma of 1178 regarding the tithe of Sigolsheim to Andlau, and that Ulrich I was the historical figure designated on the *Traditio Legis*.[50] It is, in fact, more than likely that Ulrich I was the witness referred to in the 1178 document as Ulrich the Great.[51]

The tithe presented by Ulrich was, of course, a legal obligation. This legal nature of the tithe is what identifies the scene of the *Traditio Legis* at Sigolsheim with Barbarossa's 1178 diploma. Scholars have remarked that this 1178 document is unusual in its completeness.[52] Barbarossa did not merely reiterate the compromise of 1172, but was careful to describe thoroughly all the legal terms relevant to the disputed matters, terms that were based on earlier papal and imperial decrees.[53] In addition, the emperor stipulated that this decree would be the final word on the litigious affairs of Etival in Lower Alsace. His decree regarding the possessions of Etival in Alsace was permanently

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[49] See Friedrich J. Ortwein, "Die Herren von Rappolstein: Geschichte, Burgen, Herrschaftsgebiet von den Anfängen bis 1500," working paper (Hannover, 1999/2000, [Accessed 6/1/2005]) <http://www.die-herren-zu-rappoltstein.de/b_historie.htm#D2> Ortwein's source is the *Rappoltsteinisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. Karl Albrecht (Colmar, 1891), 1: 24; Mariotte, 55. For unknown reasons, he led a war against the lord of Horburg in Alsace. On October 5, 1186 the two adversaries figured next to each other at the bottom of the same imperial diploma. This is the same document witnessed by Ulrich. Mariotte refers to the 1186 diploma found in *Die Urkunden Friedrichs I*, 1: 221-222, no. 952. For Woltmann's theory, see note 24 above.

[50] Ortwein, 24, writes that Egelolf was a high profile person in the empire. In 1162 he was appointed the *Schultheiss* of Piacenza and was named many times between 1162-1185 as a witness for decisions and documents of Frederick Barbarossa. See also Legl, 264-265, who explains that Egelolf was a trusted and valued servant of the emperor. Egelolf joined Barbarossa in Italy in 1162 where he witnessed a diploma in Pavia for the emperor. He returned in 1163 to Alsace and remained there actively serving the needs of the empire in Alsace until at least 1186. For the imperial diplomas witnessed by Egelolf, see Albrecht, 1: 23.

[51] Schoepflin, 483, no. 685. "Allodium, quod dedit vobis Uolricus Grossus de eadem villa…" In this passage, Ulrich's name is mentioned right after Hugh of Dagsburg. This charter was also witnessed by the bishop of Basel, Louis of Froburg, and Bishop Conrad of Strasbourg.

[52] Idoux, 42; Bécourt, "Premiers: II," 199.

[53] Idoux, 42, writes, for example, that Barbarossa reiterated the rights listed in the 1147 bull of Pope Eugene III. He must have also paid attention to the charters of Richardis.

binding and was intended to be observed in perpetuity.[54] Surely this final detailed resolution of the legal affairs between Etival and Andlau would itself be worth commemorating in a portal tympanum. The choice to represent Peter and Paul in a scene of *Traditio Legis* at Sigolsheim, however, commemorated much more than Barbarossa's legal decrees of 1178.

The terms of Frederick's 1178 diploma were confirmed once again in 1181 by Pope Lucius III (1181-1185), who was favorably inclined toward the Hohenstaufen emperor during his brief term.[55] Because this era after the 1177 treaty of Anagni between Alexander III and Barbarossa was the first period of harmonious relations between the pope and the emperor since Barbarossa's accession to the throne, a legal agreement between both of Christ's earthly authorities, the pope and the emperor, was monumentally important. Peaceful accord between the pope and the emperor over a matter in an Alsatian church was a reflection of the greater ideal of two equal powers continually upheld by Barbarossa.

Barbarossa and the* Traditio Legis *at Marlenheim

Further evidence that the motif of Christ physically and simultaneously donating the law to Paul and the keys to Peter stood for papal and imperial ratification of Andlau's legal authority over its dependent churches can be found at another church dependent on the authority of Andlau. The church of St. Richardis at Marlenheim in Lower Alsace also displays a scene of the *Traditio Legis* in a tympanum (figs. 131-132). Like Andlau and

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[54] Schoepflin, 482, no. 685. "…perpetualieter ibidem observetur. Dehinc vero quacunque possessiones, quaecunque bona eadem ecclesia possidet, aut in futurum concessione pontificum, largicione regum vel principum, oblatione fidelium, feu aliis justis modis poterit adipisci, falca et integra perpetualiter eidem permaneneant."

[55] Idoux, 42; Bécourt, "Premiers: II," 200. On the good relations between Pope Lucius and Barbarossa, see Peter Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter: The Papal State in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance* (London, 1972), 214.

Sigolsheim, Marlenheim was founded in the ninth century by Richardis, and Barbarossa may have been interested in the administration of this church as well.

Located to the north of Andlau near Marmoutier in the Strasbourg diocese, the twelfth-century church in Marlenheim may have once displayed this scene of the *Traditio Legis* in its western portal to mark its ownership by the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Andlau. Appearing today over the door on the south side of the church, the tympanum seems to have been inserted here at a later date although it is likely that the tympanum originally appeared over the main portal, as it did at Andlau and Sigolsheim.[56] This tympanum represents the full extent of the remains of the Romanesque sculptural program at the church. Because the arrangement of Christ and his two apostles in the *Traditio Legis* scene at Marlenheim emphasizes the physical act of Christ's gift of authority to Peter and Paul, the scene has more in common with those of Andlau and Sigolsheim than with the other *Traditio Legis* scenes in the region.[57]

In the tympanum scene at Marlenheim, Christ sits enthroned at the center; He extends a key to Peter, at the left, and an open book to the Paul, at the right. Although

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[56] According to the Service régional de l'Inventaire in Strasbourg, the entire church of Marlenheim was reconstructed in 1716 and restored in 1745. In 1825 a steeple was added and adjustments were made to the nave to accomodate the new steeple. I thank J.-P. Meyer for providing me with information about Marlenheim from this unedited collection of documents. See also the section on Marlenheim in Norbert Müller-Dietrich, who believes the south side wall dates to the nineteenth-century, but he may have been thinking about the nineteenth-century steeple. Of a yellow-reddish sandstone, the late Romanesque tympanum at Marlenheim contrasts with the rest of the relatively modern wall. See Müller-Dietrich's text on Marlenheim. It is Müller-Dietrich's opinion that the Romanesque tympanum was set into the south side wall during the Gothic era because numbers one through eight appear in a Gothic script on the ashlar stone of the archivolts. Müller-Dietrich, in fact, dates the Romanesque tympanum to the second quarter of the thirteenth century because of the Gothic script in the archivolt, although he is not certain about this date. He explains that Kautzsch compared the tympanum with the neighboring church of Türckheim (1200) and came up with the date of 1190. Unfortunately, Müller-Dietrich only cites page 309 of Kautzsch's 1944 work for this theory, a passage with hardly any information about Marlenheim. Kautzsch does not have much more to offer about Marlenheim in the rest of this text, or in any of his other works.

[57] Ten *Traditio Legis* scenes appear in the Upper Rhineland and the Jura, and of these ten scenes only three tympana at Andlau, Sigolsheim, and Marlenheim show Christ in the act of physically bestowing the gifts on the apostles. All the other scenes show Christ at a physical distance from Peter and Paul, and the apostles already hold the keys and the law. For these ten scenes, see Chapter 2, 89 note 42.

Christ does not look at either apostle, Peter at first seems prominent because he makes physical contact with the key extended to him. Paul is shown in the moment before he receives his gift as he raises his arms up to reach for it. The space left empty between Christ's book and Paul's active reaching hand alerts the viewer to the fact that this is the important moment in the scene. Peter just received the key, but the viewer is to anticipate Paul's reception of the Book of the Law from Christ.

The book extended to Paul is open and inscribed with the words: "PAVLVS BS", which has been understood to mean Paul Beatus, or St. Paul.[58] According to the book of Revelation, one's name must be written in the Book of Life in order for one to achieve salvation.[59] The iconographic message of the tympanum at Marlenheim, then, departs slightly from the *Traditio Legis* scenes at Andlau and Sigolsheim in that it addresses the practical application of Christ's Law to achieve eternal salvation, while the two earlier scenes emphasize Christ's sacrifice of the eucharist and man's lawful thanksgiving for Christ's gift in the tithe. Still, with its focal point on the receipt of the Book of the Law/Book of Life at Marlenheim, the legal function of the Law and the resulting judgment that comes from whatever has been recorded in the Book of Life demonstrates that legal issues addressed by a scene of the *Traditio Legis* were as important for Marlenheim as they were for the churches of Andlau and Sigolsheim.

Just as the *Traditio Legis* scene at the cathedral of Worms (see Chapters 2 and 3) reminded the viewer about the legal function of the north portal as well as the role of the

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[58] Müller-Dietrich on Marlenheim. Perhaps the inscription at Marlenheim follows the same pattern as the scene of the *Traditio Legis* on the Magdeburg Antependium. In this earlier Ottonian ivory, Paul holds up a pallium to receive the book, which is inscribed with a reference that may pertain to Paul. See Hermann Fillitz, *Die Gruppe der Magdeburger Elfenbeintafeln: Eine Stiftung Kaiser Ottos des Grossen für den Magdeburger Dom* (Mainz, 2001), 32-34, as well as Chapter 2, 115-116.

[59] Except for Paul's reference to the Book of the Living in Philippians, all other New Testament references to the Book of Life occur in Revelation. See Rev. 3:5; 13:8; 17:8; 20:12-15; 21:27; and 22:19. For the two Old Testament references to the Book of Life, see Psalm 69:28 and 139:16.

emperor in defending and upholding the law, it may be that the original portal at Marlenheim once served as a backdrop for settling legal disputes and administering justice. We will see in the conclusion of this dissertation that similar legal activities took also place at the south portal of Strasbourg Minster. Bécourt claims that in 887 the foundress of Andlau, Empress Richardis, was charged with adultery at the court in Marlenheim.[60] When she was found innocent and given a divorce, she retired to Andlau to live out the rest of her days. A review of the other known historical facts about Marlenheim and its ties to Andlau may contribute to a better understanding of the original purpose of the *Traditio Legis* scene at Marlenheim.

Imperial ties to Marlenheim can be traced back to the Merovingian period: a vast collection of buildings related to the imperial court was known to exist near here from at least the sixth century.[61] Gregory of Tours wrote in 590 about such a royal court at Marlenheim, and in the Carolingian period emperors made periodic visits to the royal village.[62] Emperor Lothar I (795-855) and his wife, Irmengart, who was a member of the Alsatian aristocracy, set up court at Marlenheim in the ninth century, and their son, Lothar II of Lotharingia, (835-869) also spent time at this court.[63] According to the

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[60] E. Bécourt, *Andlau: Son abbaye, son hôpital, ses bienfaiteurs* (Strasbourg, 1914-21), 36. Richardis was supposed to have had an affair with Liutward of Verona, the chief counselor to Charles the Fat. One finds their names mentioned together in letters of Pope John VIII. Richardis claimed she had remained a virgin throughout the course of her marriage to Charles, a claim she "proved" in an ordeal of fire. For more on Richardis's trial and the original sources for her life, see Ekkart Sauser: 'Richardis,' *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon Online* [accessed 9/20/2004] <http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/r/richardis.shtml>.

[61] M. D. Riss, "Marlenheim," in *Encyclopedie de l'Alsace* (Strasbourg, 1984), 8: 4982-4983.

[62] Médard Barth, *Handbuch der elsässischen Kirchen im Mittelalter* (Strasbourg, 1960), 799. Barth provides the quotation of Gregory of Tours taken from the *Historia francorum*. See also C. A. Hanauer, *Marlenheim: La villa mérovingienne et son immunité en partie conservée au 18e siècle* (Rixheim, 1904), 9.

[63] Hanauer, 12. Perhaps this historical fact was related to a relief supposedly at Andlau of Irmengart near Christ. Bécourt, 1914-1921, 64-65; Robert Forrer, "Les frises historiés de l'église romane d'Andlau," *Cahiers d'archeologie et d'histoire d'Alsace* 22/23 (1928-1929): 66; and Müller-Dietrich in his section on Andlau refer to this relief of Irmengart in the south façade at Andlau, but I never found it myself. More recent sources on Andlau do not mention the relief either. In the picture provided by Bécourt, one sees that

statutes of Andlau, Richardis's father Erchangar, the Count of Nordgau and Kirchheim, received the territory around Marlenheim from Emperor Lothaire in 843.[64] Richardis would have inherited this territory from her father and must have passed it to her husband. In a charter of 886, Richardis's husband, Charles the Fat, gave Marlenheim to his vassal, Otpert, who was told to give the territory to the abbey of Andlau upon Otpert's death.[65]

Just after the time of Andlau's foundation in 881, then, it came into possession of this Carolingian court at Marlenheim, probably at the instigation of Richardis. The church at Marlenheim took the name of St. Richardis in the thirteenth century, and Andlau was still in possession of holdings in the village of Marlenheim in the fourteenth century.[66] Given the distinct lack of information concerning the original context of the tympanum of Marlenheim, one can merely surmise that Marlenheim's tympanum reflected the continual ownership of Andlau at Marlenheim. The *Traditio Legis* at Marlenheim would have announced the church's submission to the authority of Andlau because it repeats the subject of the tympanum at Andlau. Perhaps the scene also marked the farthest limit of the jurisdiction of Andlau in the north.

Whether or not the *Traditio Legis* at Marlenheim also recalled the advocacy of Emperor Barbarossa can not be ascertained. Because Marlenheim was an important imperial stronghold in the Merovingian and Carolingian periods, it seems likely that its

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Christ holds a banderole that reads: IRMENGART. DA. REQUIEM. VITE. NOBIS SITIENTIBVS. INTE. The small figure of Irmengart stands to the left of Christ's throne. Forrer, 67, says the style of the relief reflects a twelfth-century date, but he suspects it was a copy of an earlier relief from the tenth century.

[64] Hanauer, 14.

[65] Albert Bruckner, *Regesta Alsatiae: Aevi Merovingici et Karolini, 496-918* (Strasbourg, 1949), 1: 375, no. 620.

[66] Heinrich Büttner, "Andlauer Besitz und Reichsgut," in *Geschichte des Elsass*, ed. Traute Endemann (1943; rev. ed. Sigmaringen, 1991), 287; Hanauer, 19-21, provides a text of 1338 written by Thuring of Ramenstein, the archdeacon of the church of Strasbourg, concerning the official rights of the abbess of Andlau in the villa of Marley (a.k.a. Marlenheim).

history would have been significant to the imperial Hohenstaufen court as well. Meister indicates that, as the advocate of Andlau, the emperor would have been considered the advocate of Marlenheim by extension.[67] Frederick would have, in any case, been in control of Marlenheim because he inherited the old imperial palace complex as imperial property.[68] As all three churches Andlau, Sigolsheim, and Marlenheim were founded by Empress Richardis in the ninth century and were administered by Emperor Frederick as their advocate in the late twelfth-century, it is at least plausible that the double-gift giving scenes of the *Traditio Legis* at each church referred to the legal decisions rendered by the emperor on behalf of Andlau and its satellite churches and their resulting allegiance to him. With Marlenheim to the north and Sigolsheim to the south of Andlau, the *Traditio Legis* scenes at these three churches effectively marked a sphere of influence. The scene marked a zone under the local jurisdiction of Andlau and also a territory legally administered by the emperor.

The Traditio Legis *in the Basel Diocese*

If the three gift-giving scenes at Andlau, Sigolsheim, and Marlenheim marked the borders of Barbarossa's influence in Lower Alsace, could the same be said of *Traditio Legis* scenes in the diocese of Basel? To argue that this was the case, it is necessary to trace the spread of this motif from Andlau and Sigolsheim to the later churches in and near Basel. Unfortunately, the traditional view is just the opposite: that the source for most scenes of the *Traditio Legis* in Alsace, including those at the smaller churches of Sigolsheim and Marlenheim, was the Galluspforte at important urban minster in Basel (fig. 143, 146). Because the scene of *Traditio Legis* at Sigolsheim depends

[67] Meister, 26-27.
[68] Meister, 27. See also 113, where Meister lists a man named Helfricus de Marley (Marlenheim) as one of Frederick's imperial *ministeriales*.

compositionally on Andlau, it will be argued in this section that the church of Sigolsheim, which is now located in the northernmost tip of the Basel diocese, functioned iconographically as a point of transition between Andlau and the Minster of Basel. The historical importance of Sigolsheim to the emperor and to the bishops of Basel will be used to support the artistic evidence; it will support the contention that the *Traditio Legis* at Sigolsheim was indeed the source for later scenes in the Basel diocese.

Before any historical events can be considered, dates must be established for the church sculpture at Sigolsheim and also at other churches with *Traditio Legis* scenes in the Basel diocese. The church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Sigolsheim currently stands in a reconstructed state that offers some sense of its original medieval appearance, but has caused a degree of uncertainty as to its original dates of construction in the twelfth century. Sigolsheim underwent an extensive reconstruction in the nineteenth century and was also heavily damaged by bombing in 1944-1945.[69] The present reconstruction by Bertrand Monnet in 1947-1951 restored the church to its Romanesque state based on new archeological findings revealed by the partially destroyed walls.[70] The tympanum over the west portal displays a sculpted scene of the *Traditio Legis*, which survived destruction and reconstruction, although its present condition is slightly marred.

Although the tympanum at Sigolsheim is iconographically close to the tympana at Andlau and Marlenheim in that Christ physically offers gifts to his apostles, it is widely held that the sculpture at Sigolsheim derives stylistically from the Galluspforte on the

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[69] See Robert Will, "Les monuments d'art de Sigolsheim: L'église paroissiale," in *Sigolsheim* (Colmar, 1958), 73-83; Meyer and Monnet, 104-116.

[70] J.-P. Meyer, *Voûtes romanes: Architecture religieuse en Alsace de l'an mil au début du XIIIe siècle* (Strasbourg, 2003), 339, and Robert Will, "Essai de reconstruction de l'etat roman de l'église St.-Pierre-et-Paul de Sigolsheim," *Annuaire des quatre sociétés d'histoire de la vallée de la Weiss* 3 (1987): 121-133, both attest to the virtues of the latest reconstruction efforts. See also Meyer and Monnet, 104-116.

south side of the minster at Basel (c. 1185) (fig. 136).[71] For instance, the portals at Basel and Sigolsheim both exhibit six stepped columns.[72] Sigolsheim also has the same type of horizontal frieze that one finds at Basel, a decorative band that begins at the lintel, continues over the capitals of the columns in the jambs, and extends out to the ends of the portal space. The north portal of the Grossmünster at Zürich is set in a triumphal arch arrangement (fig. 133).[73] This predates Sigolsheim by more than fifty years and was likely a model for this and other later portals in the region. A horizontal frieze, or decorative band, runs the entire width of the composition at the level of the lintel of the portal. At Sigolsheim we see precisely the same kind of frieze, which leads us to suggest that the main portal at Sigolsheim was once part of a similar triumphal arch arrangement. The overall shape of the Galluspforte has been compared as well to the ancient Roman triumphal arch, such as the one in Besançon, the *Porte Noire* (fig. 134).[74] On the *Porte Noire* the side columns are divided into two levels, a visual effect later mimicked by the horizontal decorative band in the Galluspforte as well as at Zürich, Sigolsheim, and other regional portals.

In addition to this mutual derivation from the *Porte Noire* and the Grossmünster at Zürich, Basel and Sigolsheim also share ornamental similarities. As Robert Will observes, the vegetal and geometric designs of the capitals at Sigolsheim and Basel are

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[71] Will, *Alsace romane*, 36. For the 1185 date of the Galluspforte, see Dorothea Schwinn Schürmann, "Bestand, Restaurierungs- und Forschungsgeschichte," in *Schwelle zum Paradies*, 29.

[72] This six-stepped portal is a typical regional type as it appears at Alspach (dedicated in 1149), Schlettstatt (around 1153-1162), Kaysersberg (end of the 12th c.), Guebwiller (end of 12th c. - 1230), Eguisheim (end 12th c. -1230), as well as the Grossmünster in Zürich (1130/40), St. Ursanne (1190s), and Neuchâtel (1190s) in Switzerland. See Christian Forster, "Die Gallusporte und die Portale im Sundgau," in *Schwelle zum Paradies*, 97, and Daniel Gutscher, *Das Grossmünster in Zürich: Eine baugeschichtliche Monographie* (Bern, 1983), 78.

[73] Gutscher, 78.

[74] See Arthur Lindner, *Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte: Die Basler Galluspforte und andere romanische Bildwerke der Schweiz* (Strasbourg, 1899), 21, and Norberto Gramaccini, "Die Galluspforte und die Porte Noire in Besançon," in *Schwelle zum Paradies*, 56-63.

closely related.[75] For example, the two outer capitals at Sigolsheim show pairs of lion-like creatures, with each lion turning his head backward; a similar pattern of lions exists on the capitals of the two inner columns of the Galluspforte (figs. 126, 135). The capitals on the innermost columns at Sigolsheim bear eagles, which appear again on the middle capitals at Basel. Will says the personal style and technique of the sculptor at Sigolsheim reveals an interest in the style and technique at Basel, particularly in the incised lines and the dotted decoration on the leaves. Even the pattern of raised dots running vertically along the steps behind the columns up into the archivolts at Sigolsheim is similar to the dotted pattern in the outermost archivolt at Basel (fig. 136).

As the sculptor at Sigolsheim shares a style similar to that of the Galluspforte, scholars typically date the portal at Sigolsheim after the 1185 date generally assigned to the portal in Basel. Robert Will also compares the *Traditio Legis* scene at Sigolsheim with another at the church of St. Morand in Altkirch in the Upper Alsace (fig. 137), which he dates to 1191.[76] Since Will assumes Altkirch also depends on the Galluspforte for stylistic inspiration, it makes sense for him to group Altkirch and Sigolsheim together.[77] Other scholars assume that, as the *Traditio Legis* scenes at St. Ursanne (figs. 138-139) and Eguisheim (fig. 140) date after the 1185 date of the Galluspforte, these must also belong to this group of churches modelled after the Galluspforte.[78]

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[75] Robert Will, *Répertoire de la sculpture romane, de l'Alsace* (Strasbourg, 1955), 88.
[76] Will, *Répertoire*, 46. The date of the sculpture at Altkirch corresponds to the renovation after the 1191 fire. Meyer, *Voûtes romanes*, 347, says that in the absence of any original documentation on Altkirch, this date is tenuous at best.
[77] Will, *Répertoire*, 46, derives his ideas about the school of the Galluspforte from Georg Weise, "Studien über Denkmäler romanischer Plastik am Oberrhein,"*Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 1 (1920): 1-3. Also included in this school are the *Traditio Legis* scenes at St. Ursanne in the Jura and Eguisheim in Upper Alsace.
[78] Forster, 92-103, dates the tympanum at Altkirch to the end of the twelfth century, the tympanum at Sigolsheim to 1200, and the former west portal tympanum at Eguisheim to 1230, all of which, he argues demonstrate stylistic dependance on the Galluspforte. Weise, "Studien," 6-7, sees stylistic ties between the

Daniel Gutscher, however, has asserted that the Galluspforte dates later than the portal at Sigolsheim. He believes that the overall composition of the portal at Sigolsheim depends primarily on the Grossmünster at Zürich.[79] For Gutscher, the simpler stepped portals at Zürich and Sigolsheim eventually developed into a more complex design at Basel. Likewise, the simpler and less volumetric style of the figures in the tympanum at Sigolsheim mave have developed into the more refined, perhaps more developed, style of the tympanum figures at Basel. It is, of course, impossible to assert absolutely that the portal Sigolsheim predated the Galluspforte: one could argue that the portal at Basel was more complex because the Minster had more money and better artists.[80] Still, Gutscher's theory of progression from simple to complex can not be so quickly dismissed. In support of an earlier date for Sigolsheim, Walter Hotz compares the style of the sculpted fragments from the palace at Haguenau, which he dates to the 1170s, to the style of the sculpted tympanum at Sigolsheim.[81] J. -P. Meyer arrives at a date of 1180-1190 for the tympanum sculpture at Sigolsheim based on stylistic comparison of the ornament on the interior of the church of Sigolsheim and the decoration of the castle of St. Ulrich in Ribeauvillé.[82] Based on the suggestions of these three scholars, the sculpture at Sigolsheim could date anywhere from 1170 to 1190, which would almost certainly mean that the *Traditio Legis* at Sigolsheim predates the Galluspforte, the construction of which

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Galluspforte, Eguisheim, and St. Ursanne. See also Maurice Moullet, *Die Galluspforte des Basler Münsters* (Basel, 1938), 69-82, who writes a section on the portals at St. Ursanne, Neûchatel (Neuenburg), Sigolsheim, Altkirch, and Eguisheim and how each relates to the Galluspforte.

[79] Gutscher, 78 and 194, note 261.

[80] On the Galluspforte as a model for other portals in the region, see Hans-Rudolf Meier and Dorothea Schwinn Schürmann, "Einleitung," in *Schwelle*, 15. Here Peter Cornelius Claussen's work is considered in light of Basel. See Claussen, "Zentrum, Peripheri, Transperipherie: Überlegungen zum Erfolg des gotischen Figurenportals an den Beispielen Chartres, Sangüesa, Magdeburg, Bamberg und den Westportalen des Domes S. Lorenzo in Genua," in *Studien zur Geschichte der europäischen Skulptur im 12./13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Herbert Beck and Kerstine Hengevoss-Dürkop (Frankfurt a. M., 1994), 2: 670.

[81] Walter Hotz, *Pfalzen und Burgen der Stauferzeit: Geschichte und Gestalt* (Darmstadt, 1981), 72.

[82] Meyer, *Voûtes romanes*, 347.

probably dates after 1185. While the direction of exchange at Sigolsheim and Basel must remain an open question, I would like to consider the possibility of a date of 1178-1181 at Sigolsheim, just prior to the construction of the Galluspforte at Basel. This date for the portal at Sigolsheim would allow its iconography to be viewed in terms of the 1178 diploma of Barbarossa and the 1181 reiteration of this document by Pope Lucius III.

If the sculpture at Sigolsheim predates the sculpture of the Galluspforte, then the close stylistic ties between the two churches demonstrate that the portal in Basel and later portals in the Basel diocese relied on Sigolsheim as a model. Historical events can also provide insight into the willingness of the bishops of Basel to draw on Sigolsheim as a model for the Gallusfporte. The repetition of the *Traditio Legis*, particularly the quotation of the two side figures at Sigolsheim in the tympana at Basel and St. Ursanne, may have been inspired by the territorial politics of Emperor Frederick in the Basel diocese.

During Barbarossa's years in Northern Italy, a local rebellion took place in Alsace that caused much chaos in the region of Colmar including the territory of Sigolsheim. Jean-Yves Mariotte explains that the counts of Dagsburg, who were the descendants of the Eguisheim family and the advocates of Andlau until Barbarossa took over this role in 1178, regularly accompanied the Hohenstaufen emperors on trips through Alsace, Germany, and Italy.[83] The "loyal" Count Hugh VIII of Dagsburg, however, openly rebelled against Barbarossa in 1162.[84] Barbarossa was not aware of the count's

[83] Legl, 257-260, says Hugh VIII accompanied Barbarossa on his first and second trips into Italy (1154-1162), although the count seems to have traveled between Alsace and Italy on several occasions during that period.

[84] Mariotte, 53-55; Seiler, 254; Heinrich Büttner, "Bischof Heinrich von Basel und Münster im Gregorienthal: Ein Beitrag zur staufischen Geschichte im Elsass," in *Geschichte des Elsass* (Sigmaringen, 1991), 306-307.

intentions, apparently, for the emperor had made various gifts of territory, including the lands of Metz, to Hugh as late as 1161.[85] While the emperor was waging war with Milan, Hugh joined with Bishop Stephan of Metz and Duke Berthold IV of Zähringen in a surprise attack on the imperial castle of Horbourg near Colmar and very close to Sigolsheim.[86]

Although Hugh's reasons for this rebellion are uncertain, it is believed that he viewed Barbarossa's ambitions in Burgundy with disfavor; the emperor's interest in consolidating Colmar and the Burgundian territory he gained through his 1156 marriage to Beatrix may have frightened the Alsatian lords in control of Colmar. Thomas Seiler, in fact, claims that in 1156 Barbarossa empowered the lords of Horbourg as regional administrators in support of his plan to unify Burgundy and Colmar under the Staufen.[87] It seems likely, too, that Walter of Horbourg presented more of a direct threat to the authority of the count.[88] Hugh's act was no mere schism with the local lord of Horbourg; rather his rebellion threatened the security of Staufen control in this politically important region of Alsace. The involvement of the duke of Zähringen and the bishop of Metz in Hugh's rebellion also indicates that more universal issues were at stake. The Zähringen were territorial and political rivals to the Hohenstaufen and were openly critical about Barbarossa's Burgundian ambitions.

Barbarossa's immediate response to the rebellion in Alsace may have been to award to Bishop Ortlieb of Basel, a committed supporter of the emperor, the territory of

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[85] Mariotte, 54; Legl, 250-256.
[86] For the original sources on these events, see Herman Bloch, ed. *Annales Marbacenses qui dicuntur Cronia Hohenburgensis cum Continuatione et Additatentis Neoburgensibus* (Hannover, 1907), 50-51. See also Legl, 261-274.
[87] Seiler, 254.
[88] Legl, 261-262, speculates about Count Hugh's reasons for rebellion.

Rappoltstein (including Sigolsheim) near Colmar in the summer of 1162.[89] On the other hand, the emperor may have simply offered Bishop Ortlieb this territory near Sigolsheim because Ortlieb had supported Barbarossa in his decision to elect an antipope at the council of Pavia in 1162. Certainly the emperor had already rewarded Ortlieb for past loyalty in 1160, when he had granted the bishop the territory of Moutier-Grandval and St. Ursanne in the Jura.[90] Barbarossa granted these properties to the bishop because they had once belonged to the diocese of Basel, but in the twelfth century the bishops of Besançon contested the authority of the Basel diocese over Moutier-Grandval and St. Ursanne, and in 1114 Emperor Henry V had seized the territory of Rappoltstein as strictly imperial property.[91] The return of the northernmost and southernmost sections of the diocese of Basel must have been a great relief to Ortlieb.

Still, Heinrich Büttner questions Barbarossa's motives in awarding Rappoltstein to the bishop of Basel and suspects it was politically tied to Count Hugh's rebellion.[92] Thomas Seiler goes so far as to say that the largest political power in Upper Alsace

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[89] Trouillat, 1: 342-343, no. 224; Büttner, "Bishop Heinrich" 307; Seiler, 255. See also Mariotte, 58. Ortlieb accompanied Barbarossa to Pavia to settle a dispute over the papal election of Alexander III. As a reward for his support, Barbarossa gave the bishop of Basel the castle of Ribeaupierre and a part of Ribeauvillé. Legl, 265, says Barbarossa gave Ortlieb the castle of Rappoltstein and a half of the area of Rappoltsweiler, but he refers to Büttner as one of his sources for this information. In terms of Barbarossa's 1162 restoration of area around Sigolsheim to the Basel diocese, it is known that Emperor Henry IV had already given the territory of Ribeaupierre and Rappoltstein to the Basel bishops in 1084, but the area was seized by Emperor Henry V in 1114 during the Investiture Controversy.

[90] Trouillat, 1: 335, no. 219.

[91] See Louis Vautrey, *Histoire des évêques de Bâle* (Einsiedeln and New York, 1884), 1: 170; Büttner, "Bishof Heinrich," 305, esp. note 15; and Heinrich Büttner, "Studien zur Geschichte von Moutier-Grandval und St. Ursanne," in *Geschichte des Elsass*, 324. Moutier-Grandval and St. Ursanne had been given to the bishops of Basel by the king of Burgundy, Rudolph III, in 999. See Trouillat, 1: 139, no. 85, and 167, no. 109 for Rudolph's gift to Basel and its later confirmation by Emperor Henry III in 1040. Although Basel had rights to these two churches in the Jura, it seems that Moutier-Grandval and St. Ursanne were also placed under the authority of the bishop of Besançon by Pope Urban II in 1095. The bishops of Basel and Besançon each tried to secure their authority in the Jura during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was not until Barbarossa gave the territory to Ortlieb that Moutier-Grandval and St. Ursanne were officially restored to the diocese of Basel. Frederick's antipope Victor confirmed Barbarossa's diploma of 1160 in a separate diploma written a few days later.

[92] Büttner, "Bishop Heinrich," 307.

during the mid-twelfth century was the bishop of Basel.[93] Because of Ortlieb's unwavering loyalty to the Hohenstaufen, Barbarossa's decision to extend the bishop's territory was politically savvy, despite the fact that giving Rappoltstein to Ortlieb represented a loss of direct imperial control over this strategically important territory.

The emperor took time to settle pressing matters in Italy and returned in October 1162 to Alsace, which he found in the middle of a feudal war. Frederick destroyed the castle of Girbaden, one of the most important Dagsburg castles, repressed the rebels, and restored peace.[94] The emperor was careful to secure Horbourg once again as a Hohenstaufen property.[95] Mariotte notes that as part of the emperor's repression of Count Hugh, he took over as advocate of Andlau and its dependent churches.[96]

Because the emperor took over this advocacy and issued the 1178 diploma regarding the proper control of Andlau over Etival and Sigolsheim, the resulting scene of the *Traditio Legis* at Sigolsheim may have commemorated the peace achieved by the emperor near Sigolsheim. Once Frederick had turned his attention back to his homeland, the peace he brought in quelling rebellion and in taking an active personal interest in the affairs of his abbeys proved the legitimacy of his imperial status as the protector of the church. This role as protector of the church and enforcer of the law was precisely the role

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[93] Seiler, 249.

[94] Legl, 269, note 694, says Bernhard Metz proposes that the destruction of Girbaden was merely a symbolic act. See also Büttner, 307 on Barbarossa's 1162 victory in Alsace.

[95] In the *Marbacher Annalen* it is recorded that in 1178 Egilolf von Urslingen engaged in struggle with Kuno of Horburg, which he seems to have done in the name of Emperor Barbarossa. Although nothing further is known about this battle, Büttner theorizes that the emperor wanted to give his loyal servant, Egilolf, control of the territory around Colmar to keep it secure. This may have been the time that Egilolf came to be the count of Rappoltstein. See Büttner, 308-309, who refers to the *Annales Marbacenses*, 51.

[96] Mariotte, 58; Legl, 270 and 273, observes as well that in a document the emperor removed the abbey of Salival from the protection of Hugh because the count was considered a rebel. It seems Hugh's function as advocate of Salival was restored by 1177, and it is likely a similar restoration occurred at Andlau. For more about Hugh's function as advocate of Andlau, see also Legl, 525-526.

emperors had traditionally justified with artistic scenes of the *Traditio Legis*, scenes that appeared at Andlau, Sigolsheim, and Marlenheim.

Secondarily, subsequent bishops of Basel may have viewed the scene of the *Traditio Legis* at Sigolsheim and understood Barbarossa's message of legitimacy and peace. Perhaps episcopal loyalty to the emperor inspired the new scene of the *Traditio Legis* on the Galluspforte at Basel, which in turn was used as a model for the other versions of this theme in the diocese. We will see in the next chapter how the Galluspforte at Basel can be interpreted as a scene celebrating the good relationship between the bishop of Basel and the emperor towards the end of the twelfth century. Certainly it is no coincidence that just after the construction of the Galluspforte, a new scene of the *Traditio Legis* was sculpted at the church of St. Ursanne in the southernmost reaches of the diocese of Basel.

In the south portal of the collegiate church of St. Ursanne in the Jura one finds a number of iconographic and stylistic ties to both Sigolsheim and the Galluspforte of Basel Minster (figs. 136, 138). First, the scene of the *Traditio Legis* in the tympanum is similar to the two earlier tympanum scenes in that it includes side figures. The monk kneeling to the left of Christ may represent St. Gallus, while the man to Christ's right may be the founder of the church, St. Ursicinus.[97] Side figures accompanying a *Traditio Legis* scene are not only rare in the Romanesque period, but are only found in Alsace at Andlau, Sigolsheim, and the Basel Galluspforte. At all three churches Christ sits on a lion-headed throne, while in most other Alsatian tympana Christ sits on a less ornate

[97] Lindner, 50; Meier, 1996, 219. Perhaps based on the single angel represented at the Galluspforte, the tympanum at St. Ursanne includes six angels.

chair.[98] The portal at St. Ursanne exhibits eagles and lion figures on its capitals similar to those represented at Sigolsheim and Basel. Finally, the portal at St. Ursanne diplays six stepped columns and a pattern of dots running vertically up the steps behind the columns and into the archivolts above.

Historical ties between these three churches also exist. For example Pope Innocent III confirmed ties between Sigolsheim and St. Ursanne in a bull issued on April 14, 1139. In this bull the pope stated that St. Ursanne owned a courtyard and vineyards in Sigolsheim. It has been mentioned already that both St. Ursanne and Sigolsheim were given back to Bishop Ortlieb of Basel by Emperor Barbarossa in 1160-1162. Following the reconciliation between Frederick and Pope Alexander III in 1177, Alexander issued a bull on March 24, 1178, confirming Frederick's donations to the Basel diocese in 1160-1162 of gifts that had been already confirmed by the imperial antipope.[99] Included in this bull was the confirmation that the church in St. Ursanne was under the temporal and spiritual authority of the bishop of Basel. Alexander III also confirmed all of the possessions of St. Ursanne, including property and wine in Sigolsheim mentioned earlier in the 1139 bull of Innocent III. Bishop Henry I of Basel then issued a diploma in 1184 stating that the canons of St. Ursanne could sell goods from his territory of Sigolsheim and Kientzheim to the cloister of Alspach in Alsace.[100]

From this historical evidence it becomes clear that Sigolsheim in the north and St. Ursanne in the south of the diocese of Basel were important to the emperor, the pope, and the bishops of Basel. Heinrich Büttner, in fact, argues that Bishop Henry of Horburg

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[98] On lion-headed thrones as the throne of King Solomon and Solomon's Temple, see Christine Verzár Bornstein, *Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City-State: The Sculpture of Nicholaus in Context* (Parma, 1988), 35 and note 14.
[99] Trouillat, 365-368, no. 240.
[100] Rück, 135; Vautrey, 180.

worked together with Barbarossa during the emperor's last decade of life to secure the territory within the diocese, particularly from the Gregoirenthal to the fields of Breisach, for the Staufen family.[101] As Klitzing and Seiler explain, the emperor was keenly interested in securing the diocese of Basel after 1170 because it was an important region between Lower Alsace and Burgundy. Because Barbarossa was so actively seeking to establish his authority in Alsace, it makes sense to view the *Traditio Legis* with its emphasis on secular authority, as a symbol of loyalty to this Hohenstaufen emperor.

Certainly the three scenes of the *Traditio Legis* at Andlau, Sigolsheim, and Marlenheim could be understood as visual markers of the authority of the emperor at these three churches. Whenever the emperor or members of his court passed through Andlau, these markers would have signalled the loyalty of the region and the success of the emperor's territorial politics in the area. Similarly, the three Upper Rhineland scenes of the *Traditio Legis* with two supplicant figures at Sigolsheim, Basel, and St. Ursanne, could be read as border markers of the imperially loyal territory of the diocese of Basel. This idea will be further developed when the scene of the *Traditio Legis* at the on the Galluspforte at Basel Minster is examined in its imperial context in the next chapter.

[101] Büttner, "Bischof Heinrich," 311.

Chapter 5

Imperial Commemoration at the Galluspforte of the Minster of Basel

Because the Galluspforte on the north façade at the Minster of Basel displays a scene of the *Traditio Legis* in its tympanum and because this Minster was the diocesan church for the region of Upper Alsace, the portal sculpture of the Galluspforte is particularly relevant to this dissertation (figs. 141-144). In Chapter 4 it was argued that the *Traditio Legis* scene at the church of Sigolsheim (1178-1180) in the northern region of the diocese of Basel was a response to the legal activities of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in Alsace, just as the *Traditio Legis* scenes at the earlier church of Andlau (1160s) in Upper Alsace and at the north portal of the Cathedral of Worms (1184) were understood in Chapter 3 as responses to Hohenstaufen regional politics (figs. 124, 91, 70). Since the *Traditio Legis* motif at Andlau and Sigolsheim has been understood in light of Barbarossa's politics, a reconsideration of traditionally held views of the iconography of the Galluspforte is now in order, particularly if the Galluspforte was modeled after these churches.

In this chapter the iconographic program of the Galluspforte will be seen to address two key concerns of Emperor Frederick. Barbarossa's main preoccupation, as has been asserted throughout this dissertation, was to reiterate the traditional understanding of the Gelasian Principle of the two swords, that is, the emperor desired to reemphasize the equation of his kingly authority with the authority of the priesthood. We will see that the iconographic message of the Galluspforte revolves around this issue of royal authority in God's kingdom of Heaven as well as His terrestrial kingdom. In the portal at Basel, Christ's authority to judge at the end of the world is visually compared with the terrestrial king's divinely granted authority to judge legal matters on earth. The

second important agenda during Barbarossa's reign was to reunite the wealthy imperial lands in Northern Italy, which had been left to develop independently by his predecessors, with the rest of his imperial territory. The prominent Northern Italian style and iconography at the Galluspforte will be interpreted, therefore, in light of this imperial enterprise.

In 2002 Christian Forster argued that the Galluspforte dates later than most scholars have heretofore suspected (fig. 143).[1] Although scholars were never certain about the date of the Galluspforte, the trend in recent scholarship has been to date the portal to around the time of the fire on October 25, 1185.[2] Forster, however, dates the portal after the death of Frederick Barbarossa. He reasoned that if the portal was started after 1185, it was probably not completed until much later, perhaps as late as 1202, roughly contemporaneous with the time that the altar to Mary was consecrated in the newly reconstructed choir. According to Forster, Bishop Luthold I of Aarburg (1191-1213) not only consecrated the altar to Mary in 1202, but commissioned a painting of himself as well to stand in the choir by the painted image of a former bishop, Adalbert II (999-1025). As Adalbert had first consecrated the Ottonian Minster at Basel, so Bishop

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[1] For the new date of as late as c. 1202 for the completion of the *Galluspforte* at Basel, see Christian Forster, "Die Galluspforte und die Portale im Sundgau," in *Schwelle zum Paradies: Die Galluspforte des Basler Münsters*, eds. Hans-Rudolf Meier and Dorothea Schwinn Schürmann (Basel, 2002), 95. Forster argues that the portal may have been started after the fire in 1185 and been completed in time for a dedication in 1202. For evidence he uses the example of the cathedral of Bamberg, which also had a massive fire in 1185. The subsequent reconstruction at Bamberg was not completed until sometime between 1208 and 1213. It would not be unreasonable, then, to argue that the reconstruction at Basel also lasted into the early thirteenth century. See also Hans Reinhardt, "Der Anteil der Bischöfe am Basler Münsterbau: Durch Anmerkungen erweiterter Vortrag, gehalten am 20. Oktober 1969," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 70 (1970): 21, where it is assumed that Bishop Henry of Horburg began construction following the fire of 1185. Although Maurice Moullet, *Die Galluspforte des Basler Münsters* (Basel, 1938), 103, believed individual parts of the Galluspforte may have dated to the mid-twelfth century, he also dated the entire portal to the late twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century.

[2] See Dorothea Schwinn Schürmann, "Bestand, Restaurierungs- und Forschungsgeschichte," in *Schwelle zum Paradies*, 29, for a summary of multiple theories concerning the date of the Galluspforte. See also Forster, 95, esp. note 5.

Luthold consecrated his new construction in 1202. It is possible, then, to place the completion of the Galluspforte in this era. Forster's proposed range of 1185-1202 for the Galluspforte opens up new possibilities for iconographic interpretation.

First, this range of dates allows the program to be viewed in relation to the deaths in 1190 of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and the bishop of Basel, Henry of Horburg (1180-1190). Although it is still possible that the Galluspforte was completed sometime between 1185 and the deaths of Barbarossa and Bishop Henry in 1190, Forster's range of dates for the completion allows for a posthumous commemoration of the two most important aims of the emperor during his lifetime, his sacred and secular authority and his right to Northern Italy. These two aims had had the full support of all of the loyal bishops of Basel from the beginning of the emperor's reign in 1152 when Bishop Ortlieb of Froburg, who had traveled with Frederick on the second crusade, served as a counselor to the emperor in Northern Italy.[3] The bishops of Basel continued to support these two imperial goals up through to the end of Frederick's life in 1190, when Bishop Henry of Horburg joined the emperor on the third crusade.[4]

As the fire of 1185 broke out while Bishop Henry of Horburg was in office, he was probably responsible for the early stages of the new construction at Basel.[5] Henry's interest in a *Traditio Legis* scene at Basel may have stemmed the fact that his home was

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[3] On Ortlieb of Froburg, see Kurt Hasler, "Ortlieb von Forburg, Bischof von Basel (1137-1164): Berater und Begleiter der staufischen Herrscher Konrad und Friedrich Barbarossa," *Jurablätter* 54 (1992): 81-89, Peter Rück, *Die Urkunden der Bischöfe von Basel bis 1213* (Basel, 1966), 76-111, and Louis Vautrey, *Histoire des évêques de Bâle* (Einsiedeln and New York, 1884), 1: 151-172.

[4] For Henry of Horburg, see Rück, 120-155, and Vautrey, 1: 178-184. For Henry's involvement in Italian affairs, see Peter Kurmann, "Das Basler Münster – ein Denkmal staufischer Reichspolitik?" *Unsere Kunstdenkmäler* 43 (1992): 78, especially note 18. Kurmann observes that Henry would have been in office during the 1183 Peace of Constance, and also during the marriage of Barbarossa's son, Henry VI to Constance of Sicily.

[5] For the beginning of the new construction at the Basel Minster under Henry of Horburg, see Reinhardt, 20-21; Kurmann, 78, and Joseph Gantner and Adolf Reinle, *Kunstgeschichte der Schweiz*, rev. ed. (1938; repr., Frauenfeld, 1968), 383.

in Horburg near Colmar, the territory where Barbarossa had repressed a local rebellion.[6] This territory of Horburg was close geographically to where the *Traditio Legis* scene was erected at Sigolsheim to celebrate Barbarossa's legal decisions there. Furthermore, we remember from the last chapter that Bishop Henry issued a diploma in 1184 stating that the canons of St. Ursanne, where there was yet another *Traditio Legis* scene in the portal, could sell goods from his territory of Sigolsheim and Kientzheim to the cloister of Alspach in Alsace.[7] The *Traditio Legis* scene at Sigolsheim, then, was most certainly known to Bishop Henry. After Henry's death in 1190 and the loss of his body on the way to the Holy Land,[8] his successor, Luthold of Aarburg, may have been inspired to memorialize Henry's crusading efforts accompanying the emperor and Henry's support for Barbarossa's political ambitions in Northern Italy and in Alsace by continuing the sculptural project started at the Galluspforte. Since, as Forster pointed out, Luthold commemorated the Ottonian bishop Adalbert in the reconstructed choir, it is all the more likely that Luthold was responsible for continuing Bishop Henry's project at the Galluspforte to commemorate the reign of his late predecessor.

Second, the completion date in or before 1202 makes possible a reconsideration of the close iconographical ties between the sculpture at Basel Galluspforte and at the west portal of the Baptistery of Parma in the Emilia-Romagna (figs. 143, 146, 175-176). Because of the formerly accepted date of c. 1185 for the Galluspforte, scholars traditionally held that Benedetto Antelami, the sculptor and architect of the Baptistery of

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[6] Rück, 120-121; Reinhardt, 120; and Vautrey, 178.
[7] Rück, 135; and Vautrey, 180. See also Chapter 4, 176.
[8] Eduard Spicher, *Das Basler Münster im 12. Jahrhundert: Zur Baugeschichte und stilistischen Einordung* (Basel, 1986), 22, writes that Henry of Horburg died on the way to the Holy Land and was not buried at the Basel Minster. Despite this, his death was noted in the Minster records, "Heinricus episcopus obiit, qui sepultus est in via S. Sepulchri." Spicher refers to this reference in P. Bloesch, *Das Anniversarbuch des Basler Domstifts* (Basel, 1975), 26.

Parma (begun in 1196), may have looked to the Basel Galluspforte as an iconographic model.[9] The programs of these two churches can now be understood as roughly contemporaneous. A closer look at the sculptural programs at Basel and Parma, as well as another contemporary program at Fidenza (c. 1190-1220), will reveal that not only did the artists at Basel look to Northern Italy for iconographic inspiration, but they also responded to a new ideology surfacing in Italian communes at the end of the twelfth century. Through a reconsideration of this new Italian ideology, the artists at Basel were able to present a commemorative message of support for the Hohenstaufen emperors, one that was specifically relevant for the diocese of Basel.

The Iconography of the Galluspforte: Heavenly and Earthly Authority

The complex iconography of the Galluspforte has been interpreted commonly as a sermon on the Last Judgment written in the gospel of Matthew.[10] In either spandrel of the portal arch an angel blows a trumpet to raise the dead, an event predicted in Matthew 27:52-53 to take place at the end of the world (fig. 145). Below, in the center of the tympanum Christ sits enthroned as a judge, for He holds open the Book of Life as described in Matthew 25:31 (fig. 146). A second figure of Christ appears at a doorway in the center of the lintel, on axis with Christ in the tympanum above (fig. 147). Here Christ faces to His right, blessing the five wise virgins mentioned in Matthew 25:1-14. The five

[9] On the iconographic and stylistic ties between the *Galluspforte* and the baptistery in Parma, see Albert Dietl, "La decorazione plastica del battistero e il suo programma: Parensi e iniziazione in un commune dell'Italia settentrionale," in *Benedetto Antelami e il Battistero di Parma*, ed. Chiara Frugoni (Torino, 1995), 75-76; Gantner and Reinle, 1: 414; Geza de Francovich, *Benedetto Antelami e l'arte del suo tempo* (Milan, 1952), 1: 204-205; Werner Weisbach, "Der Skulpturenschmuck der Basler Galluspforte im Rahmen romanischer Portalprogramme," *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 3/1 (1941): 120-122; and Moullet, 62-63.

[10] See, for example, Schürmann, 31; Regine Körkel-Hinkforth, "Sinnbild des Jüngsten Gerichts – Darstellung der Parabel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen am Basler Münster," *Unsere Kunstdenkmäler* 44 (1993): 309-322; Weisbach, 119, 129-130; and Moullet, 51-63.

foolish virgins stand at Christ's left, their condemned status represented by the locked door at Christ's back, as well as by their empty vessels turned toward the ground.

John the Baptist, who announced the first coming of Christ, and John the Evangelist, who announced the second coming, appear in the rectangular niche spaces at either side of the tympanum space (fig. 148). Three scenes appear in niches below John the Baptist on the left, and another three below John the Evangelist on the right. Each of these six smaller niche scenes depicts an act of mercy from the passage concerning the separation of the righteous sheep and the unrighteous goats in Matthew 25:31-46 (fig. 149). According to this passage it is because the righteous treated the King and their neighbors mercifully that they gain eternal life. Images of the four evangelists and their traditional symbols appear on the doorjambs, a practice common in several Romanesque portals in France and Italy, to lend validity and authority to this visual sermon from Matthew.[11]

Because a scene of the *Traditio Legis* exists in the tympanum of the Galluspforte, a secondary theme of earthly authority is subtly introduced. Bruno Boerner, in fact, argues that the *Traditio Legis* in the tympanum contains the key message of the entire portal.[12] Unlike the earlier scenes of the *Traditio Legis* in Alsace, Christ is not depicted in the act of physically giving the key to Peter or the book to Paul; rather Peter already carries his key and Paul stands near the book on Christ's lap.[13] Since other references to

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[11] The evangelist symbols also appear in the lintel at the church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Sigolsheim as well. For more on figures of the evangelists in the doorjambs of Romanesque and early Gothic portals in France and Italy, see Kerstin Richter, "Die Evangelisten und ihre Symbole," in *Schwelle zum Paradies*, 146-149.
[12] Bruno Boerner, "Überlegungen zum Programm der Basler Galluspforte," *Kunst+Architectur in der Schweiz* 45/3 (1994): 238-246, esp. 245. While I agree with Boerner that the *Traditio Legis* is the main point of the portal, I do not understand the message solely as one of donation as he does.
[13] For this reason Körkel-Hinforth, 309-310, has argued that the Galluspforte scene in the tympanum is not a *Traditio Legis.* Körkel-Hinforth says that in other versions of the *Traditio Legis*, Paul receives the law in the form of a scroll, which he does not at Basel. In her opinion, Peter's key represents the apostle's role as

the Last Judgment abound in this portal, one might be inclined to understand the book on Christ's lap simply as the Book of Life typical in such scenes of judgment. Boerner, however, argues that since scenes of Christ giving a book and keys to Peter and Paul accompanied by two side figures already appeared in the region at Andlau and Sigolsheim (see Chapters 3 and 4), viewers of the Galluspforte would have been familiar with the essential message of such scenes: Christ's gift of authority to two earthly powers.[14]

In portraying Christ with a book in his lap, the artists at Basel must have been influenced by Early Christian versions of the *Traditio Legis* motif, as in the apse Old St. Peter's where it is believed that Christ made no physical contact with the apostles. At Old St. Peter's and also at Basel, the idea of transmission is conveyed by the book in Christ's lap as well as the keys held by Peter.[15] Like the *Traditio Legis* scene on the Galluspforte, these Early Christian versions often had eschatological overtones probably derived from the apse at Old St. Peter's.[16] Just as the addition of donor figures at Sigolsheim was a variation of the theme at Andlau, the reversion to the Early Christian separation between Christ and His apostles at Basel is yet another variation.

This idea about the institution of earthly power and authority portrayed in the *Traditio Legis* scenes has been more thoroughly explained in Chapter 2, but it should be

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the gatekeeper to heaven. This theory is built upon the premise that the tympanum is a scene of judgment in keeping with the lintel with its Wise and Foolish Virgins, but it does not explain the lack of scrolls in the *Traditio Legis* scenes at Andlau and Sigolsheim, both of which are clearly *Traditio Legis* scenes with Christ physically extending the objects to his apostles.

[14] Boerner, 240-241.

[15] See also the catacomb of Sts. Peter and Marcellinus, where Christ, who carries a scroll, sits enthroned between Peter and Paul, but makes no physical contact with the apostles. See also the fifth-century sarcophagus at St. Francesco in Ravenna: Christ does not make physical contact with the apostles, but he gestures to Paul with a scroll. See also the twelfth-century apse at St. Sylvester's in Tivoli, where Christ, Peter and Paul each hold scrolls, but Christ does not make physical contact with the apostles.

[16] For the idea of Christ's Second Coming conflated with the *Traditio Legis* in the main apse at Old St. Peter's and also the quotation of this apse at the Lateran palace, see Chapter 2, 97-108.

reiterated here that Christ gave all authority to the apostles represented by Peter and Paul, who in turn promoted submission to the king and those in authority on earth until the final judgment. The message of earthly authority is reiterated by the very actions of Peter and Paul depicted in the tympanum of the Galluspforte. Peter and Paul each actively recommend a prominent person to Christ. Paul clasps the right hand of an individual behind him and points to this figure as well. In a narrative manner, Paul leads this figure over to Christ. An angel stands behind this robed figure and pats the person's shoulder as if to support Paul's recommendation.[17] This individual raises his left hand in an oath-taking gesture similar to the raised palm of Peter on the opposite side. Peter and Paul seem to be in agreement about this presentation to Christ, for they gaze at each other across the lap of Christ. In this way, the two most notable apostles appear to have decided mutually to lend their earthly authority to this important person, whom they now recommend to Christ.

Further, the viewer is led to believe visually that Christ will bless this person promoted by the two apostles. Close to Peter's raised palm Christ holds up a scepter, which fills the space between the heads of Peter and Christ. By contrast, the space between Christ's head and Paul's is empty. Perhaps the empty space left between Christ and Paul underscores the idea that Paul has still not received his gift of the book. And yet, Paul does not extend his hands to receive the book or even the staff. Rather he points to the figure behind him to indicate that the book of the law should go to this person.

[17] Because the figure I have called an angel does not have easily discernable wings, various theories as to the identity of this figure have been proposed (fig. 166). I, myself, initially believed that the figure might be St. Gall, namesake of the portal. It would certainly support my argument that the other figure between Paul and this figure was of great significance if he were being promoted by St. Gall himself. After a personal visit to the portal, however, with the specific goal of scrutinizing this figure, I believe there are indeed wings on this figure suspended downward from the shoulders. Therefore, I have come to concur with the traditional view that this figure is that of an angel.

Potential action is hinted at through an imaginary diagonal line starting at the cross of the staff, running down through Paul's pointed finger to the person behind Paul and that person's upraised hand. This leads one to anticipate that at any moment Christ will swing the flagstaff over to Paul's side to give His authority and/or blessing to the individual standing behind Paul. To support the idea that Christ approves the choice of Peter and Paul, a kneeling figure appears at the extreme left corner of the tympanum holding a model of the Galluspforte, the door of which is open. This open door symbolizes the eventual access to Heaven of Peter's and Paul's worthy candidate.[18]

The King in the Tympanum

But just who is this person, and why is this figure worthy to receive the sanction of Peter and Paul and an angelic advocate? Theories about the identity of the standing figure certainly abound.[19] I believe that this standing figure is a ruler, possibly the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa or even his son, Henry, based on the association of twelfth-century scenes of the *Traditio Legis* in Alsace and elsewhere with Barbarossa,

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[18] Carola Jäggi, "*HAC PRO STRVCTVRA PECCATA DEVS MEA CVRA*: Überlegungen zu Stifterdarstellungen an romanischen Portalen," in *Schwelle zum Paradies*, 104. Jäggi compares the open door by Christ in the lintel with the open door on the model of the portal in the tympanum. This door, like the door into the Minster, is the "porta coeli" or the "porta vitae" that leads to eternal life. Jäggi likens this door to the passage in John 10:9, where Christ says He is the door and whoever enters through Him will be saved.

[19] Jäggi, 106-107, offers a summary of these theories. Arthur Lindner, 16, for example, believed Paul's candidate to be a cleric because he thought the figure wore a dalmatic appropriate for a deacon or a bishop. Maurice Moullet, *Die Galluspforte des Basler Münsters* (Basel, 1938), 58, argued that the garment is not a dalmatic, but rather more closely resembles a noble woman's dress. Expanding upon Moullet's theory, François Maurer-Kuhn, *Galluspforte: Querhausportal des Basler Münsters* (1990; repr. Bern, 2000), 5, proposed that the figure next to Paul is a female, who together with the kneeling man with the model of the portal, commemorated a wealthy and noble donor pair, specifically Count Frederick of Montbéliard and Pfirt (1093-1160) and his wife, Stephania of Vaudémont-Eguisheim (1140-1160). Christian Forster, "Die Basler Galluspforte" (master's thesis, TU Berlin, 1998), 34, recently refuted Maurer-Kuhn's identification of the two figures as a donor pair, holding that the portal bearer was a stone mason, though he failed to offer any new ideas about the identity of the standing figure. Even Forster's theory about the kneeling man as stone mason has been questioned by Jäggi, 108 and 113, who wrote that the dress of the kneeling man is similar to that of a wealthy nobleman, possibly a *ministeriale* to the Minster. Because, as Jäggi remarks, we can never know for certain the true identity of the kneeling figure, the suggestion that this man was a *ministeriale* of Basel seems to me to be the most sensible theory

together with the late date for the Galluspforte. If the figure is indeed a ruler it supports my assertion that the Galluspforte conveyed a message about imperial authority to protect God's church and to administer justice according to the law.

In this section we will first consider the identity of this figure as a ruler on the Galluspforte tympanum with regard to his mode of dress. Then further evidence for his imperial identity will be shown to exist in other scenes of the *Traditio Legis*, both Early Christian and Romanesque, wherein a king or an emperor appears as a flanking figure, perhaps as a donor. Finally, we will see that the liturgical function of the Galluspforte supports the idea that the figure standing next to Paul is royal, possibly even imperial.

A variety of arguments exist debating the identity of this side figure on the Galluspforte tympanum: many of them are based on his clothing. A case can be made for these garments being imperial, supporting my thesis that this figure is a king or even an emperor. In the Imperial Chronicle of Emperor Henry V, Henry is shown receiving a globe from Paschal II. Henry is illustrated wearing long, wide sleeves similar to those worn by the standing figure in the Galluspforte (fig. 164).[20] Of course, this type of wide sleeve was worn by a range of classes in medieval society.[21] In the scene of Emperor Henry V, however, the emperor also wears a cloak draped over his shoulders and a long robe under his cloak, which hangs straight down like the garments worn by the Basel candidate.

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[20] This image of Pope Paschal II and Emperor Henry V is from the Imperial Chronicle, MS 373, fol. 83 in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College. See Mary Stroll, *Symbols as Power, the Papacy Following the Investiture Contest* (Leiden, 1991), plate 17, and Anat Tcherikover, "Reflections of the Investiture Controversy at Nonantola and Modena," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 2 (1997): 157, fig. 7.

[21] See, for example, the long-sleeved figure giving hospitality in one of the six scenes of mercy on the Galluspforte as a male. See Albert Dietl, "Vom Wort zum Bild der Werke der Barmherzigkeit: Eine Skizze zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte eines neuen Bildthemas," in *Schwelle zum Paradies*, 89, esp. note 80. Dietl explains that in courtly circles men wore long sleeves in imitation of female fashion. Dietl refers to Elke Brüggen, *Kleidung und Mode in der höfischen Epik des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg, 1989), 100-105.

Moullet observes that the head of the standing figure was too large for the present body and must have been a later addition. The former head would have been smaller and the extra space would have allowed for a diadem or headcovering. Moullet called attention to lines on the shoulders of this figure which may have been hair, part of a headdress or even veils worn beneath royal crowns (fig. 165-166). In Petrus de Ebulo's *Liber ad honorem Augusti sive de rebus Siculis*, a manuscript that chronicles the Hohenstaufen period just after the death of Barbarossa (1195-1198), the artist renders Frederick between his two sons, Henry and Philipp (fig. 167). The veils worn below both Frederick's and Henry's crown extend down to their shoulders suggesting that such a crown with a veil may have been worn on the original head of the figure at Basel as well.[22]

Not only does this figure appear to wear royal clothes, but his placement in the tympanum is typical of royal figures in other *Traditio Legis* and related scenes in the region. Kings and emperors repeatedly made donations to the Minster at Basel. Emperor Henry II, for example, founded the church of Basel in the early eleventh century, donated a vast forest to the church, and attended its consecration in 1019.[23] A golden antependium, now in the Musée national du Moyen Age in Paris, commemorates Henry's donations to the Minster and his protection of the diocese.[24] Properties were granted to the church by King Rudolph III of Burgundy, Emperor Henry III, Emperor Henry IV, and

[22] See Petrus de Ebulo, *Liber ad honorem Augusti sive de rebus Siculis: Codex 120 II der Burgerbibliothek Bern. Ein Bilderchronik der Stauferzeit.* trans. Gereon Becht-Jördens. ed. Theo Kölzer and Marlis Stähli (Sigmaringen, 1994), fig. 143.
[23] Vautrey, 88.
[24] Vautrey, 88 and 92; Eduard Spicher, *Geschichte des Basler Münsters* (Basel, 1999), 7.

Emperor Henry V.[25] During the reign of Barbarossa, the emperor made a number of donations of land to the bishop of Basel.[26] Between 1153 and 1174 Barbarossa personally visited the Minster of Basel on at least five different occasions, and although nothing specific is recorded about these visits, it is probable that the emperor acted in favor of the Minster.[27] Just three months after the fire of 1185 at the Basel Minster, Emperor Barbarossa's son, King Henry VI of Germany, visited the Minster, probably on behalf of his father. During this visit Bishop Henry of Horburg gave two of the Minster's possessions, namely the lands of Briesach and Eckartsberg, to King Henry VI as fiefs under his protection, which would have continued when he became emperor in 1190.[28] This gift to the Hohenstaufen king was celebrated at the high altar of the Minster with Henry VI personally in attendance. Since Barbarossa visited the Minster of Basel prior to the 1185 fire and his son visited just after the fire, it is plausible that Hohenstaufen donations and protection of the diocese would be commemorated in the late Romanesque reconstruction of the damaged choir and transepts, including the sculpture of the Galluspforte.

The standing figure by Paul in the *Traditio Legis* scene at Basel, however, represents something beyond mere commemoration of lay donation and goodwill. It was not necessary to involve a scene of the *Traditio Legis* in order to commemorate a donation. For example, a ruler appears opposite a bishop on the west portal tympanum at

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[25] Vautrey, 92, 103, 127, 138; and Joseph Trouillat, *Monuments de l'histoire de l'ancien évêché de Bâle* (Porrentruy, 1852), 1: 139, no. 85; 167, no. 109; 178, no. 117; 188, no. 125; 203, no. 136; 204, no. 137; 210, no. 142; and 233, no. 158.

[26] On Frederick's gifts of land to Bishop Ortlieb, see Vautrey, 170, and Trouillat, 1: 316, no. 207; 335, no. 219; and 342, no. 224.

[27] Vautrey, 175; Toni Arnet, *Das Basler Münster* (Basel, 2000), 20. Arnet says Barbarossa's 1168 and 1173 visit occurred during his return from Italy. According to Ferdinand Opll, *Itinerar Friedrich Barbarossas (1152-1190)* (Vienna, 1978), 240, Barbarossa visited Basel in 1153, 1168, 1170, 1173, and 1174.

[28] Kurmann, 1992, 76; Vautrey, 181; and Trouillat, 1: 399, no. 260.

the Bavarian church of Moosberg (1163) in a compositional arrangement similar to the *Traditio Legis* (fig. 168).[29] Two saints of the church, Mary and the martyr Castulus, present a physical barrier between Christ and the two donors, Emperor Henry II and Bishop Albert of Freising. Emperor Henry II, the first donor to the church, kneels at the left and presents either a sword or candle, while Bishop Albert kneels on the right and presents a model of the church. This arrangement at Moosberg seems closest to the composition at the Galluspforte, where a standing royal figure appears opposite a kneeling man carrying a model of the portal and wearing a hat very much like a bishop's mitre. If the kneeling figure at Basel were a bishop, we might easily identify this donor as Bishop Henry of Horburg and the other flanking figure as the donor, Barbarossa. The standing figure in the Galluspforte tympanum is not specifically portrayed as a donor, however, for he offers nothing but himself to Christ.[30] Likewise, the kneeling figure might not be a bishop, but a layman who donates the portal. As Carola Jäggi writes, the dress of the kneeling man is similar to that of a nobleman, such as a *ministeriale* of the Minster.[31] According to Jäggi, though, we can never know for certain the true identity of the kneeling figure, but the suggestion that this man was a *ministeriale* of Basel or a high noble who could afford to fund the reconstruction of the Galluspforte seems to be the most sensible theory.

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[29] Budde, 73, fig. 40, and Sigfrid H. Steinberg and Christine Steinberg-von Pape, *Die Bildnisse geistlicher und weltlicher Fürsten und Herren* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1939), 1: 72 and fig. 67.

[30] See Andreas Theodor Beck, "Baugeschichte des Münsters im 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, Vortrag," in *International Tagung der Dombaumeister, Münsterbaumeister und Hüttenmeister 1992 in Basel*. ed. Peter Burckhardt (Basel, 1993), 32-33. Beck asserts that one need not view Barbarossa as a donor to the Basel Minster, but the emperor was clearly an instigator (*Anreger*) in that he inspired the late Romanesque construction. The Galluspforte and the late Romanesque construction may be viewed as a Hohenstaufen enterprise.

[31] Jäggi, 108 and 113. She compares the clothes of the kneeling figure with those worn by Duke Jaschko on the Jaxa tympanum in Breslau, and lists several other examples. For more on *ministeriales* see Chapter 3, 146, note 45.

Whenever kings appear in the context of a *Traditio Legis* scene, they need not be necessarily understood as donors, but may rather embody the secular arm of the Church on earth. In a few known cases kings were associated with scenes of the *Traditio Legis*, sometimes kings even appear opposite sacred figures. The scene of the *Traditio Legis* corresponding to a similar scene of Peter between Charlemagne and Pope Leo III in the Lateran Triclinium of Leo III is, of course, the most obvious example of this kingly association with the motif.[32] A second less well-known example is a lost ninth-century fresco scene from the Laurentius-Oratorium at Monte Celio in Rome, which showed Christ with Peter and Paul accompanied by Pope Formosus and a ruler (fig. 169).[33] This ruler, who could be a Carolingian Emperor, wore a crown and a full beard, and he clasped a sword. Again, in the fresco on the northeast transept column in the church of St. George in Prüfening, Peter sits enthroned in a Christ-like manner between two side figures.[34] To Peter's right is a crowned ruler, and to his left a bishop depicted wearing a mitre and chasuble. One might be tempted to link this bishop and king to the pair of portraits of Emperor Henry V (1106-1125) and the bishop of Bamberg (1061-1139) in the main choir apse, however, the two figures on the transept column are commonly understood to symbolize the material and spiritual swords of the Gelasian principle.[35]

From these three examples it is clear that scenes of Christ with Peter and Paul were used in connection with rulers. These rulers typically appear opposite sacred figures, in which case the rulers come to represent the material realm of the Church.

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[32] See Chapter 2, 103-108.
[33] Gerhardt Ladner, *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums und des Mittelalters* (Vatican City, 1941-84), 1: 155-156, and Walter Schumacher, "Dominus Legem Dat," *Römische Quartalschrift* 54 (1959): 31. The fresco is only known to us through a drawing made in 1689.
[34] See Heidrun Stein, *Die romanischen Wandmalereien in der Klosterkirche Prüfening* (Regensburg, 1987), 108-111, figs. 24-25; and Chapter 2, 87.
[35] Chapter 2, 86-87; Stein, 58-59 and 109-111.

Likewise, in the *Traditio Legis* of the Basel Galluspforte the standing figure may be a royal personage representing the earthly authority of kings. But if this were true, why would a figure of the king be shown opposite a lay figure carrying a model of the portal?

Two cases of *Traditio Legis* scenes exist that show a king offering a model of a church which he founded to Christ without the presence of a sacred representative of the church on earth. The Magdeburg Antipendium includes two ivory scenes (figs. 53-54), one of the *Traditio Legis* and the other of Emperor Otto II presenting a model of the church. As was explained earlier, the scene of Otto II derived from the scene of the *Traditio Legis.* In the imperial donation scene, the Ottonian emperor takes the place of Paul and appears opposite St. Peter before Christ enthroned.[36]

The other example is the tympanum of the south portal of the cathedral in Schleswig in northern Germany (fig. 127).[37] Here a single ruler appears, this time carrying a model of the church he founded, together with a scene of the *Traditio Legis* (1180). The Schleswig scene emphasizes the ruler as the sole recipient of the intercession of Peter and Paul, while the scroll held by Paul bears an inscription relevant to the role of earthly kings.[38] The ivories of the Magdeburg Antependium and the tympanum of Schleswig as antecedents of the Basel Galluspforte show that the royal donations of churches were depicted by figures bearing models of the donated church. It would then be reasonable to conclude that the donation of the Galluspforte, symbolized by the kneeling figure of the *ministeriale* with a model of the portal, commemorates the

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[36] Chapter 2, 113-114.
[37] Rainer Budde, *Deutsche Romanische Skulptur 1050-1250* (Munich, 1978), 75, figs. 146-147.
[38] For the inscriptions at Schleswig, see Budde, 75. The first inscription on Paul's scroll reads: "TUMICHI V VNDIDE PELLE TY," which a second phrase behind Paul reads: "RÄNNVS. ET. REVOCAGEN…COLLENTES." Budde says these inscriptions are difficult to translate, but offers, "Du Mir…vertreibe (mir) den Tyrannen (der Welt)…rufe die Leute", that is, "You, drive away the tyrants of the world for me, call the people."

generosity of the donor, who may have been a loyal supporter of, or even in noble in service to Barbarossa on the opposite side of the tympanum.

The final argument identifying the standing figure on the tympanum at Basel involves the liturgical function of the Galluspforte in relation to the Hohenstaufen emperors. Dorothy Schwinn Schürmann has investigated the connection between the *Galluspforte* and the function of Roman arches. She asserted that the portal was used for liturgical processions, specifically the Palm Sunday procession, into the church in much the same way that the victorious Roman emperors had entered cities through triumphal arches.[39] Virtually every church would have celebrated Palm Sunday in some way, possibly creating scenes of Christ's entry on a donkey in sculpture, but at Basel the royal association of this ceremony is particularly important for our understanding of the *Traditio Legis* scene in the tympanum of the Galluspforte.

Although Schürmann does not thoroughly explore the theological implications of Palm Sunday, she does observe that this day commemorated the triumphal entry of Christ the King into Jerusalem.[40] During the Palm Sunday procession, celebrants would stop at the Stations of the Cross and then reenact Christ's entry into Jerusalem by entering the Minster through the *Galluspforte*, symbolically entering into the Heavenly Jerusalem.[41] This reenactment of an imagined pilgrimage through the city of Jerusalem would have been important to the people of Basel, whose Bishop Henry of Horburg joined Emperor

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[39] Schürmann, 21. On arches working as entrances to towns, see also Colette Bozzo Dufour, *La porta urbana nel Medioevo: Porta Soprana di sant'Andrea in Genova, immagine di una città* (Rome, 1989) and Julian Gardner, "An Introduction to the Iconography of the Medieval Italian City Gate," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987); 199-213.
[40] Schürmann, 21.
[41] Regine Abegg, "Funktionen des Kreuzgangs im Mittelalter – Liturgie und Alltag," *Kunst und Architektur in der Schweiz* 48/2 (1997): 11. Abegg cites Hieronymus Brilinger, "Ceremoniale Basiliensis Episcopatus," in *Das Hochstift Basel im ausgehenden Mittelalter*, ed. and trans. Konrad W. Hieronimus (Basel, 1938), 147.

Frederick on the third crusade to the Holy Land. Both Bishop Henry and Emperor Barbarossa had only recently died on this crusade.[42]

The Palm Sunday procession not only evoked ideas about pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but applied even more directly to imperial liturgies and royal authority. Christ's entry into Jerusalem signified a coronation parade dating back to King David's royal entry into the city; the Galluspforte may have similarly functioned as a royal gate.[43] Perhaps kings or emperors entered through the north portal at Basel when they visited the city. As explained in Chapter 2, the scene of the *Traditio Legis* at Pavia announced the south portal as the king's entrance into the church, particularly as it was the traditional spot where a German emperor would be crowned the King of Lombardy. In a similar way, if the Galluspforte was used in Palm Sunday processions, the *Traditio Legis* scene in the tympanum may have recalled ideas about kingly entrance. Although a scene of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem was not represented on the Galluspforte[44], the liturgical reenactment of His first entry into that city reminds viewers of His future entry to

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[42] Rück, 126. Barbarossa drowned in 1190 and Bishop Henry died shortly thereafter. The body of Henry was never recovered.

[43] Kantorowicz, 210. See also David J. Born, *Bible Studies on the Feasts of Israel* (St. Louis and Orlando, 1994), 56. Born writes about 1 Kings 1:39. "Solomon's coronation was in itself a re-enactment of a popular Rosh Hashanah observance, where tradition tells us David had represented a sort of "vegetation god" at a dawning of a new year entering the city to the blasts of *shofarim* (trumpets) from the direction of the Mount of Olives, mounted on his mule. The local folklore around Jerusalem saw the King retreating to the Mount of Olives outside the city, barefoot and in mourning for the dead vegetation of the past year. The mythological gate to the underworld (Sheol) was under the Mount of Olives. At the rising of the sun on the day of the New Year, the king would return from Olivet as victorious lord over death. He would process into Jerusalem acting the part of the sun, proclaiming the birth of a new year and the hope of another growing season to come."

[44] For twelfth-century representations of Christ's Entry in Tuscany at San Cassiano a Settimo, Pisa, Sant' Angelo in Campo near Lucca, and San Leonardo al Frigido (now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art), see Alan Borg, "Observations on the Historiated Lintel of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969): 33. See also Dorothy F. Glass, "Cassiano a Settimo," in *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object*, ed. Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas (Ann Arbor, 2002), 143-150. Glass, 11, observes that the scenes in Western Tuscany differ from other scenes that include the Entry of Christ as part of a series of scenes on the passion, such as one finds at Saint-Gilles-du-Gard. See also Christ's Entry into Jerusalem within a cycle of scenes about Christ's life on the baptismal font from Eschau in Lower Alsace (now at the Musée d'Oeuvre Notre-Dame, Strasbourg).

Jerusalem at His Second Coming and also invites comparison with the entry of the contemporary ruler to the local city gate. The open door of the model held by the kneeling man in the tympanum of the Galluspforte and the prominent door in the center of the lintel point to the importance of entry into the gates of Heaven as well.

It is the simultaneous entry of the standing ruler into Heaven and also the physical portal at Basel that most concerns us here. Ernst Kantorowicz wrote that the soul's entrance into heaven, the *adventus animae*, was closely related to the *adventus regis*, or the King's advent, in medieval thought.[45] It has been argued that the tympanum space of the Galluspforte represents the space of Heaven and that the standing figure awaits Christ's judgment on his soul.[46] If we understand this standing figure as an earthly king, the *adventus regis* is simultaneously signified. It may be that the standing figure represented the late Barbarossa, who had recently died along with the Bishop of Basel on crusade to the Holy Land. Surely the fact that this man is accompanied by an angel is suggestive of his passage into the next world.

The angel standing behind the ruler in the Galluspforte also lends support to this theory that the Galluspforte was a royal portal. According to Kantorowicz, the angel was incorporated into what he refers to as the "eschatological" *adventus* of an imperial savior.[47] During Palm Sunday processions, it was typical for the antiphon, "Benedictus

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[45] See Ernst Kantorowicz, "The *King's Advent* and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," *Art Bulletin* 26 (1944): 207-231. The literature on the king's advent during the early and high medieval periods is surprisingly slim, according to Virginia Roehrig Kaufmann, "The Magdeburg Rider: An Aspect of the Reception of Frederick II's Roman Revival North of the Alps," in *Intellectual Life at the Court of Freerick II Hohenstaufen*, ed. William Tronzo (Hanover and London, 1994), 66. For a thorough consideration of the theme in the antique and Early Christian era, see Sabine G. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1981.

[46] Schürmann, 31.

[47] Kantorowicz, 217. On the imperial *advenuts* see also Virginia Roehrig Kaufmann, "The Magdeburg Rider: An Aspect of the Reception of Frederick II's Roman Revival North of the Alps," in *Intellectual Life*

qui venit", to be sung to greet the Vicars of Christ, kings and emperors. Kantorowicz called this an "historical" *adventus*, and writes that in an "eschatological" *adventus*, the words, "Ecce mitto angelum meum…" were inserted as a response to the "Benedictus qui venit". These words, according to Kantorowicz, appear not only in the *Pontificale Romanorum* as an antiphon for the reception of emperors, but also in the Order of Farfa for the reception of kings, and in the Orders of the Royal and Imperial Coronations, where it was used as an *Introitus* when princes approached the altar for consecration. The angel next to the king at Basel, then, may stand for the angel sent to accompany kings during an "eschatological" *adventus*. The angel implies a promise by God in Malachi 3:1 to send His angel to prepare the way for the Messiah, the king. Likewise, the angel at Basel escorts the king as he enters Basel Minster and Paradise.

According to Horst Fuhrmann, Barbarossa played an important eschatological role that would seem to be in keeping with the portrayal of the ruler with an angel at Basel. In several scenes of the *Ludus de Antichristo*, a popular play composed during the reign of Barbarossa, the German king is portrayed as the last emperor prior to the reign of the Antichrist.[48] After the rule of the last Roman emperor, the last days would begin. As Fuhrmann put it, "in God's plan for the universe the German king fulfilled a mission as Holy Roman Emperor."[49] Thus, Barbarossa's role as emperor was seen to be set in place by God, as was his authority to uphold the law on earth.

Kantorowicz asserted that the medieval viewer would have understood the entry of a ruler in an "eschatological" *adventus* as both Christ's historical entry into Jerusalem

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at the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen, ed. William Tronzo (Hanover and London, 1994), 63-88, esp. 76-79.

[48] Horst Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages* (1978; repr. Cambridge, 1986), 346.

[49] Fuhrmann, 352.

and Christ's future entry at the Second Coming.[50] In a sermon by St. John Chrysostom, Christ's descent in the clouds is compared to the entry of the *Basileus*, the Greek emperor or king, into the city. In both cases, Chrysostom wrote, those with honor, that is, the blessed, will go out to meet Christ or the ruler, but the criminals remain in the city and await judgment. For St. John Chrysostom, the coming of Christ or an earthly ruler brings about judgment, for both are in authority and must uphold the law.

This comparison of Christ's coming with the coming of the ruler in judgment works well with the iconography of the portal at Basel. Certainly judgment as it was described in Matthew 25 was an important component of the iconographic message, both in the lintel with the Wise and Foolish Virgins and the angels calling the dead to resurrection in the spandrels. The legal authority of Christ, which was given to the apostles and passed to the ruler standing by Paul, possibly the late Barbarossa, was emphasized by the scene of the *Traditio Legis* in the tympanum. We remember that Paul does not actively reach for the book himself, but gestures to the ruler behind him as if the book should be given to this figure. This ruler would arrive in person during visits to the city, but as Chrysostom wrote, the blessed have nothing to fear from the arrival of Christ or the earthly ruler. Thus the judgment and authority of the earthly ruler displayed during his visits were likened to the final judgment by Christ, when the ruler would rejoin Christ in the heavenly realm. The blessed, who performed acts of mercy such as those represented in the doorjambs of the Galluspforte, will be saved, while those who have not been merciful and have acted criminally will be condemned. The ruler would make such judgments during his personal visits, earthly judgments that foreshadowed or imitated the

[50] Kantorowicz, 225. As evidence for this, he provides text from a sermon by St. John Chrysostom, from which St. Augustine drew heavily.

Final Judgment by Christ at his Second Coming at the end of time. Thus the Galluspforte is not merely about the Last Judgment of Christ, but is a complex sermon on honoring Christ and His earthly authorities by obeying heavenly and earthly law. The overall message concerns preparation for the arrival of both the heavenly king in Jerusalem and the earthly king in Basel.

Authority and Civic Duty in Basel and in Northern Italy

Given the possibility that the standing figure in the tympanum of the Galluspforte at Basel is the contemporary ruler, Frederick Barbarossa, the portal may be understood as a commemorative statement of loyal support for the Hohenstaufen emperor. The sculptural program of the Galluspforte, then, demonstrated the success of Barbarossa's territorial ambitions to win over Basel during the end of his reign and the continuation of Alsatian loyalty to Barbarossa's son, Emperor Henry VI (1190-1197). Certain themes of the Galluspforte, particularly the doorjamb reliefs have been compared sculpture in Northern Italy. Is it likely that the artists at Basel, who went so far as to commemorate the emperor in the tympanum of the Galluspforte, considered incorporating Italianate scenes to please Henry VI, who continued his father's interests in Lombardy? Since it has already been argued at Andlau that the artists there were familiar with Northern Italian sculptural programs and incorporated Italian designs into their program to advertise loyalty to Barbarossa, can a similar phenomenon be detected at the Minster of Basel?

The late Romanesque construction at the Basel Minster does, in fact, exhibit a marked preference for Northern Italian sculpture.[51] A Lombard frieze, for instance, runs

[51] For the Italian influence at the Basel Minster, see Forster, 2002, 97-98; Kurmann, 1992, 67-84; Peter Kurmann, "Le aperture dei matronei della cattedrale di Basilea: Tipo commune o citazione del duomo di

around the exterior of the Romanesque transepts and eastern end of the Basel Minster (fig. 152, 154). The Basel Minster displays a Wheel of Fortune above the Galluspforte similar to the wheel at St. Zeno in Verona (1180), which is over its main porch (figs. 150, 200).[52] The Northern Italian fondness for lions bearing columns, also seen for instance on the porch of St. Zeno in Verona (c. 1138), is included in two window frames on the eastern end of Basel Minster, although such lions are rather generic and are found elsewhere in Italy (figs. 153, 201).[53] A frieze of a vine intertwined with people and animals on the eastern end of Basel Minster is closely akin to the horizontal sculpted frieze at Verona Cathedral (c. 1138) (figs. 155-156). Without doubt the late Romanesque sculptors at the Basel Minster showed considerable interest in Northern Italian sculptural ornament.

Stylistic and iconographic aspects of the Galluspforte at Basel also look to Northern Italy. The vine interlace pattern framing the tympanum, lintel, and doorway was likely derived from similarly decorated arches by the sculptor, Wiligelmus, at Modena cathedral (1099-1106) or at churches in the Emilia or the Veneto later decorated by his follower, Nicholaus. The vertically stacked arches in the jambs framing the six scenes of mercy at Basel are close to the vertical arcades at Modena cathedral and the abbey of St. Sylvester at Nonantola (1117-1122), also by Wiligelmus himself or his school (figs. 170-171). At the top of the Galluspforte one sees John the Evangelist on the

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Modena?" in *Wiligelmo e Lanfranco nell'Europa romanica (atti del convegno)* (Modena, 1989), 171-180; Gantner and Reinle, 390 and 414; Reinhardt, 15-17;

[52] Dorothea Schwinn Schürmann, *Skulpturen des Basler Münsters* (Basel, 1998), 35-36. Dendrochronological analysis of the wood core of the tracery of the Wheel of Fortune at Basel Minster reveals that the wheel dates to around 1225.

[53] Erwin Kluckhohn, "Die Bedeutung Italiens für die romanische Baukunst und Bauornamentik in Deutschland," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 16 (1955): 73-74, notes that the elephants at Basel look towards Apulia. See, for example, the apse window with elephants as telemones at the cathedral of Bari.

left opposite John the Baptist, who holds a medallion bearing a representation of the Lamb of God. The combination of two Johns and the Lamb of God was first represented at the Lateran Baptistery, dedicated to the two Sts. John, and appears throughout Northern Italy in portal programs by Wiligelmus's pupil, Nicholaus.[54] In the spandrels of the Galluspforte angels blow trumpets to resurrect the dead, a motif that Forster has demonstrated derived from earlier examples in Italy, citing the example of a church in Vicenza (fig. 172).[55] Additionally, we will see below that the acts of mercy at Basel are related to similar scenes at the Baptistery at Parma.

This interest in Italian style and iconographic motifs may have been the result of imperial travel to Northern Italy. Certainly Frederick Barbarossa and Alsatian members of his court traveled frequently over the Alps into Lombardy. Perhaps Italian sculptors even traveled north to Basel and worked at the Minster as they had at the cathedral of

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[54] Mary Stroll, *Symbols as Power: The Papacy following the Investiture Contest* (Leiden, 1991), 34, tells us that the heads of John the Baptist and John the Evangelist were preserved at the Lateran in Rome. The first time the two Johns appear as they do at Basel with a Lamb of God is at the Lateran Baptistery from the period of pope Hilarius (461-468). See Christian Heck, "Le portail à l'agneau de la cathédrale de Fribourg-en-Brisgau," *Cahiers alsaciens* 32 (1989): 167, and Sibylle Walter, "Die beiden Johannes an der Galluspforte," in *Schwelle zum Paradies*, 68-69. In Northern Italy the figures occur at Piacenza (1122), Ferrara (1135), Verona cathedral (1138), and San Zeno in Verona (1139). For interpretations of this motif in Northern Italy, see Christine Verzár Bornstein, "Matilda of Canossa, Papal Rome and the Earliest Italian Porch Portals," in *Romanico padano, Romanico europeo: Atti del convegno internationale di studi* (Parma, 1982), 151; Christine Verzár Bornstein, *Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City State: The Sculpture of Nicolas in Context* (Parma, 1988), 335; and Francesco Gandolfo, "Il protiro romanico: Nuove prospettive di interpretazione," *Arte medievale* 2 (1984): 67-77. Gandolfo theorizes that Northern Italian churches quoted the two Sts. John that may have appeared on the triumphal arch of St. John Lateran. The Northern Italian churches did this as an appeal to the papacy for support of their new communal governments. Verzár Bornstein accepts Gandolfo's theory as fact. More recently, see Ursula Nilgen, "Eine neu aufgefundene Maria Regina in Santa Susanna, Röm: Ein römisches Thema mit Variationen," in *Bedeutung in den Bildern Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Jörg Traeger*, ed. Karl Möseneder and Gosbert Schüssler (Regensburg, 2002), 231-246.

[55] Forster, 2002, 98. The resurrection of the dead occurs in spandrels over a tympanum at the church of Sts. Felice and Fortunato in Vicenza (first half of the twelfth century). The same theme occurs on the west portal of the baptistery of Parma, but it is located on a lintel rather than on spandrels.

Speyer under Emperor Henry IV.[56] Because a preference for Northern Italian style existed at Basel and also because of the proven loyalty of the bishops of Basel to Barbarossa and his enterprise into Italy, it is worth taking a look at the ties between the Galluspforte and churches in Northern Italy. In the section below we will focus attention on two churches in Northern Italy with sculptural programs created by Benedetto Antelami, who was working roughly at the same time, if not prior to, the construction of the Galluspforte. It will be argued that a new ideology about the law and civic duty surfaced in Northern Italian communes, an ideology that was translated into the sculpted portals of Benedetto Antelami. This new ideology is also reflected in the sculptural iconography at the Galluspforte, but it was altered to suit the local agenda at Basel.

Although the late Romanesque sculpture at Basel has been linked to several different sculptural programs throughout Northern Italy, the overall arrangement of the portal is closest to the three sculpted portals at the Baptistery of Parma. Whereas the tendency in contemporary Gothic churches in France was to arrange sculpture into a pointed archway, the sculptural programs at Basel and Parma were framed by rounded arches. Just as two sculpted figures stand in niches in the spandrels over the north portal at Parma (figs. 175-176), niches frame sculpted angels in the spandrels of the Galluspforte arch (fig. 145). It has been suggested as well that the portals at the Parma Baptistery share with the Galluspforte a similar division of the lintel and the tympanum space.[57] The symmetrical organization of the lintel with the Wise and Foolish Virgins at Basel has likewise been compared to the same division of space on the west portal at

[56] See Appendix A. Based on stylistic analysis, it has been theorized that Benedetto Antelami traveled to Provence and the Ile-de-France. See Willibald Sauerländer, "Benedetto Antelami: Per un bilancio critico," in Frugoni, *Benedetto Antelami*, 5-6.
[57] Gantner and Reinle, 414, refer to the discussion of the Basel Galluspforte and the baptistery of Parma by de Francovich, 204-205.

Parma, which shows two angels at the center calling two groups of the dead to resurrection.[58]

The sculptural style of the figures in the tympana at Basel and Parma has also been compared. As opposed to the elongated and dynamic figures in a nearly contemporary French example, the west portal of the Gothic cathedral of Notre-Dame at Senlis (after 1170), the figures of Antelami in the exterior portals of the Parma Baptistery and those at the Galluspforte are stocky and static (figs. 173-174, 179-180). Compared to the pencil-thin folds that characterize the graceful style at Senlis, the folds adorning figures at Basel and Parma are thick and conform stiffly to the body. The heads of figures at Basel and Parma are proportionally too large. Christ pivots His body to converse intimately with the Virgin in the tympanum at Senlis, while the figures of Christ in the west portal at Parma and also at Basel stare out distantly and without emotion. The figures at Basel are spaced in a rhythmic pattern similar to the arrangement of figures in the early scene of the *Deposition* by Benedetto Antelami (c. 1178) at the cathedral of Parma and also in the tympanum of the Circumcision of Christ on the interior of the Baptistery (figs. 177-178).

Of the three exterior portals on the Baptistery of Parma, the west portal is closest iconographically to the Galluspforte in Basel (fig. 179-180, 143, 146).[59] Just as the Galluspforte derives its judgment themes from Matthew 25, so does the west portal of the Baptistery. At both Basel and Parma the idea of judgment is conflated with a secondary

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[58] Gantner and Reinle, 414.

[59] For the iconography of the west portal at Parma see note 9 above and also Mario Mazza, *Il battistero di Parma: Fede e arte* (Parma, 1989), 21-28; George Henderson Crichton, *Romanesque Sculpture in Italy* (London, 1954), 64-66; and Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture* (New Haven, 1917), 3: 142-144. For more on the iconography of the baptistery of Parma, see the bibliography listed in Dorothy Glass, "Civic Pride and Civic Responsibility in Italian Romanesque Sculpture," *Le vie del medioevo: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Parma, 28 settembre-1 ottobre 1998* (Parma, 2000), 192, note 10.

theme. The judgment theme at Basel is bound together with ideas about earthly authority in the *Traditio Legis*. At Parma the secondary theme is resurrection. In the tympanum of this portal in Parma, the resurrected Christ sits enthroned at the center. A cross was set to the right of Christ to call attention to His newly resurrected state. To remind viewers about His passion and return from the grave, Christ appears in a garment that exposes the wound in His side. He lifts his palms to display the wounds of the nails. Christ's first resurrection is visually compared to the resurrection of the dead in the lintel at the Last Judgment.[60] In the far left corner of the tympanum at Basel the apostle John sits holding a scroll of the Apocalypse in his hands. John attests to the Second Coming of Christ in judgment.

Judgment is also the message of the sculpture on the right doorjamb at Parma. On the left door jamb, six scenes of mercy appear, where the blessed in the Matthew 25 passage perform deeds of charity. These six acts of mercy receive the most attention in a comparison of the portals at Basel and Parma, primarily because their representation during this period was so rare (figs. 149, 181). In addition representations of the six acts of mercy in illuminated manuscripts, only three other representations of these charitable acts remain from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries: those shown on an ivory cover from the Mélisande Psalter, those on the tympanum of the abbey church in Petershausen near Constance (1173-1180), and those on a baptismal bowl from Hildesheim (1220).[61] Because Petershausen and Basel are not far apart in distance, it has

[60] In the fifteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians, Paul writes that to believe in the resurrection of the dead one must believe in the resurrection of Christ. See verse 52 as well for a reference to the trumpets sounded by angels to call the dead to life.
[61] Otto Schmitt, "Barmherzigkeit, Werke der Barmherzigkeit," *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Otto Schmitt (Stuttgart, 1937), 1: 1457-1468. According to Schmitt illustrations of the works of mercy also exist in manuscripts from the twelfth century. See also Moullet, 62-63.

often been argued that the scenes at Basel derived from the earlier scenes at Petershausen (figs. 182-183).[62] As Albert Dietl noted, however, the scenes at Basel are closer in conception to the scenes of charitable deeds at Parma. For Dietl, the reliefs at Petershausen lack the architectonic and iconographic logic of the acts of mercy on the Galluspforte.[63] Dietl explained that the scenes of charity at Petershausen appear to have been set into the vertical spaces on both sides of the portal as an afterthought, particularly as the scenes are not particularly related to the tympanum scene of Christ's ascension. By contrast, the acts of mercy at Basel and Parma were deliberately planned as part of the larger iconographic message about judgment.

The scenes of charity at Basel and Parma not only remind viewers about Christ's eventual return in judgment, but the scenes also function to promote merciful deeds on earth to the betterment of society. On the cover of the psalter of Queen Mélisande, a private devotional book, the scenes of mercy were included to remind the royal viewer of her responsibilities as the ruler to be charitable. On the front cover of the manuscript were an additional set of six scenes from the life of King David, the model Old Testament ruler.[64] In the scenes of mercy on the reverse, the charitable acts are performed by the contemporary King Fulco V of Anjou, the husband of Mélisande. Illustrations of Christ's life and His actions as the King of Jerusalem were sandwiched between representations of the Old Testament King David and virtuous acts of the

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[62] See Forster, "Die Galluspforte," 97-98 and notes 24-25. The Acts of Mercy reliefs that once adorned the space around the east portal are known to us through drawings, although the portal tympanum and lintel are conserved at the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe.

[63] Albert Dietl, "Vom Wort," 89 and note 84. Dietl says the reliefs at Petershausen must have been based on the Galluspforte, but the question of whether Basel influenced Petershausen or the reverse still remains unanswered.

[64] Dietl, "Vom Wort," 86-87. See London, British Library Egerton Ms. 1139. See also note 69 for a list of the more recent bibliography on this manuscript and also T. S. R. Boarse, "The Arts in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2 (1938): 14-15.

contemporary king. The six scenes of mercy, then, were to be performed by the earthly rulers in the manner of King David and Christ. In the bottom relief of the left doorjamb of the Galluspforte, it is a king who clothes a naked person (fig. 184).

The actual performance of charitable deeds in Northern Italy was the responsibility of the ruler until it was taken over by the members of the communes. Dietl remarks that lay enthusiasm for performing acts of charity was first revived in the twelfth century in the prosperous Italian communes.[65] Because the Church faced great challenges to its authority from heretics during the latter part of the twelfth century, it promoted a new ideal of lay persons who were devoted to performing good deeds in society and who would uphold the laws of God and man. After the Peace of Constance in 1183, Italian communes were no longer under the direct and interfering authority of the German emperor, who had upheld the law, performed acts of mercy, and punished lawbreakers when visiting the cities.[66] In the absence of kingly authority, the communal system lacked a secular enforcer. The emergence of a new ideal of charity among the laity served as a positive model for citizens that contrasted with the abuses of the heretics.[67]

According to Dorothy Glass this new emphasis on the laity behaving properly and upholding the law was incorporated into the two portal programs by Benedetto Antelami

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[65] Dietl, "Vom Wort," 79.

[66] I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation* (1990; repr., Cambridge, 1996), 500; Karl Hampe, *Germany Under the Salian and Hohenstaufen Emperors*, trans. Ralph Bennett (1923; repr. Totowa, NJ, 1973), 207-208. The cities' right of self-government was recognized by the emperor in return for a generous annual tribute and recognition of the emperor's suzerainty. For the terms of the Peace of Constance, see also Giovanni Tabacco, *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy: Structures of Political Rule*, trans. Rosalind Brown Jensen (Cambridge, 1989), 215-216. On Barbarossa's perceived role in Northern Italy, see Chapter 2 of this dissertation, 120-131.

[67] Maureen Miller, *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy* (Ithaca and London, 2000), 164. Miller explains that after the Peace of Constance, the bishops who had always served the emperor redefined their roles in response to heretics. Civic obedience to the church became the new emphasis of bishops and churches in Italian communes. Tobacco, 222-236, also addresses the shift of power in Lombard communes in the wake of the Peace of Constance.

at the baptistery of Parma and at the cathedral of Fidenza (1190-1220) (figs. 186).[68] The acts of mercy and judgment theme at Parma, of course, send the message that performing good deeds will lead to salvation. At Fidenza, Glass sees the idea of judgment as subtle, but present in the scrolls held by David in the left niche and Ezekiel in the right niche of the central porch.[69] The main emphasis of the sculpture at Fidenza, however, is on the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament and their fulfillment in Christ's Beatitudes from Matthew 5:3-12 represented at the top of the arch of the porch over the central portal (fig. 185). In this arch Christ sits enthroned flanked by Biblical figures, Old Testament figures to the left and New Testament figures to the right. The Commandments and the Beatitudes enjoin the viewer to behave properly towards one's neighbors and to obey the laws of society and of the Church. Glass maintains that this new emphasis on prescribed behavior was a complete change from the focus of earlier Northern Italian portals by Nicholaus in the earlier part of the twelfth century.

In such church programs in the Emilia-Romagna and the Veneto, Glass observes that the sculpture was "retrospective, historicizing, and triumphal."[70] Certain iconographic aspects of the sculptural programs of the cathedrals of Ferrara and Verona, as well as at the church of St. Zeno in Verona, could be interpreted in part as reactions against the perceived tyranny of the German emperor and his invasions. The first monumental depiction of St. George trampling a dragon in Italy, according to Glass, appears in the tympanum of Ferrara Cathedral; this representation is militant and triumphal in nature. In Chapter 1 of this dissertation we examined similar militant and

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[68] Glass, 183-192.
[69] Glass, 183. David's scroll quotes Ps. 18:20, "This is the gate of the Lord; the righteous shall enter through it." Ezekiel's scroll derives from Chapter 44:2, "I see the door of the house of God closed."
[70] Glass, 189.

triumphal imagery used by popes and emperors alike to support their cause during the era of the Investiture Controversy. These militant and victorious sculptural programs in mid twelfth-century Northern Italy, then, reflect what Glass refers to as the "last gasp of the Gregorian Reform."[71]

After the powerful influence of Barbarossa dissipated in the region, however, the citizens of Italian communes were once again left to their own governance. No longer afraid of invasion and tyranny, the people looked to the Church for structures of authority. The sculptural programs of the Church, then, began to emphasize obedience to authority and performing good works. While this new appeal to individual acts of charity makes sense in light of Italian history, it can not necessarily be said that the artists of the Galluspforte in Basel had exactly the same ideology in mind. Were the scenes of mercy simply copied wholesale from Antelami's work, or was there a more deliberate purpose for placing these scenes of mercy and judgment on the Galluspforte at Basel?

Whereas after the Peace of Constance in 1183, Emperor Frederick had removed himself from Northern Italy and left the communes free to develop their own system of government, he had turned his attention back on his homeland territory of Alsace, specifically focusing on the diocese of Basel (see Chapter 1). The bishop of Basel, Henry of Horburg, whose predecessors were ever supportive of the emperor's two main goals of reasserting his legitimate authority in Christendom and in reclaiming Northern Italy for the empire, continued to advocate the traditional role of the emperor to administer justice in his diocese. After the fire of 1185, Henry of Horburg would have planned the Galluspforte to reflect his loyalty to the emperor. It is plausible that he based his plan for the portal on the *Traditio Legis* scene at Sigolsheim, a site close to the holdings of

[71] Glass, 191. St. George has also been related to the Crusades.

Henry's family where the emperor had recently rendered a legal decision. Perhaps Henry promoted a plan to represent similar scenes of the *Traditio Legis* at other churches in his diocese, scenes that would show support for the emperor as well. The existence of *Traditio Legis* scenes that appeared later at Altkirch and Eguisheim in Lower Alsace and at St. Ursanne and Neuchâtel (Neuenburg) in the Jura points to the possibility that Henry's plan was carried forward by his successor to the bishopric, Luthold of Aarburg.

Both Henry of Horburg and Luthold of Aarburg had good reason to be influenced by an Italian style and iconography at the Galluspforte. Hohenstaufen ambitions in Italy during the latter part of the twelfth century and into the thirteenth century kept alive the issue of reclaiming the region for the empire. Even though it seems that the emperor's ambitions in Lombardy had come to nothing after the Peace of Constance in 1183, Frederick quickly initiated a second plan to regain South Italian territory. The chronicler Otto of St. Blasien, who wrote a sequel to Otto of Freising's biography, the *Gesta Friderici*, tells us that having failed to make great inroads in Northern Italy, Barbarossa began negotiations in 1184 with the King of Sicily to marry his son, King Henry VI, to Constance, the daughter of King Roger II and aunt of the current King William II.[72]

Furthermore, Barbarossa did not ever truly give up his hope of reclaiming former imperial lands in Lombardy, which had been lost under his predecessor, Emperor Lothar of Supplinburg. Throughout his reign Barbarossa clung tightly to his right to land in Northern Italy as it had recently been reasserted in the Roncaglia Decrees of 1158.[73] Because of Barbarossa's diplomacy, control over these lands in Northern Italy had not

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[72] *Die Chronik des Otto von St. Blasien*, trans. Horst Kohl (Leipzig, 1894), 42-43. See also Bernhard Töpfer, "Friedrich I. Barbarossa," in *Deutsche Könige und Kaiser des Mittelalters*, ed. Evamaria Engel and Eberhard Holz (Cologne and Vienna, 1989), 185. According to Töpfer, the negotiations concerning Henry's marriage began in the fall of 1184, and the wedding took place in January 1186 in Milan.
[73] See Introduction, 4-5.

been determined decisively in the 1183 Treaty at Constance.[74] In the autumn of 1184 Frederick met with Pope Alexander III's successor, Pope Lucius III, to settle once again the question of Lombard ownership as well to plan the third crusade. Although nothing was settled regarding the lands in Northern Italy, it is significant that this meeting took place just prior to the fire of 1185 at Basel.[75] The concerns of this meeting between Barbarossa and Lucius regarding Northern Italy and the third crusade must have been foremost in the minds of his supporters throughout the empire, including the bishop of Basel.

After the Peace of Constance, the emperor also made new alliances with Lombard cities, including Milan, his former enemy, in 1185.[76] According to the terms of the Peace of Constance, the emperor annually received a lump sum from Lombard cities and a token recognition that Northern Italy was part of the empire. In exchange the communes were left to run themselves without continual interference from the emperor. The Northern Italian communes, now free from Barbarossa's direct involvement in their affairs, were happy to crown Barbarossa's son, Henry VI, king of Italy in Milan in January, 1186. This traditional coronation promoted the concept that Northern Italy was part of the empire and was now on good terms with the German emperor. Relations between Barbarossa and the Northern Italian cities were, in fact, so harmonious during this period that, when Pope Urban III enjoined the cities to rebel once again against the emperor later that year, they refused, citing the terms of the Peace of Constance.[77]

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[74] Hampe, 208-209.
[75] Dario Cervato, *Diocesi di Verona: Storia religiosa del Veneto* (Veneto, 1999), 156; Robinson, 501-502.
[76] Robinson, 500; Hampe, 212-213.
[77] Robinson, 504.

After Barbarossa's death in 1190, the question of Hohenstaufen ownership of land in Northern Italy was passed on to his son, Henry VI.[78] Like his father, after his imperial coronation in Rome in 1191, Henry spent the majority of his short reign in Italy fighting for territorial rights to the North Italian lands, and he continued to aim for ultimate authority in Sicily as well. Later, the same two issues about the traditional authority of the German emperor in the Church and his rights to Lombardy surfaced once again under the reign of Barbarossa's grandson, Frederick II of Hohenstaufen.[79] Thus, although the Peace of Constance seems to have effectively ended Barbarossa's hope in Northern Italy, his aim to reclaim the North Italian lands for the empire and his desire to be the equal of the pope was continued by his descendants.

Given this history, it is plausible that the bishops of Basel looked to Italian sculptural programs, particularly those of Benedetto Antelami at Parma and Fidenza, to commemorate the achievements of Barbarossa during his lifetime as the master of Northern Italy and as the secular authority in the Church. The reiteration at Basel of the judgment and charity motifs as displayed at the Baptistery of Parma, which were themes derived from emerging freedoms in Lombardy, were reinterpreted here as an affirmation

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[78] Robinson, 507; Fuhrmann, 175, notes that Pope Clement (1187-1191) drew up a treaty with Barbarossa in April 1189 that put off any decisions about the ownership of land in Northern Italy, but granted the emperor the rights of *spolia* and *regalia*. This treaty essentially signified a victory for the emperor. On the reign of Henry VI and his involvement in Italy, see Peter Csendes, *Heinrich VI.* (Darmstadt, 1993), 86-98. For a brief overview of Henry's reign, see Walter Zöllner, "Heinrich VI." in *Deutsche Könige und Kaiser des Mittelalters*, 188-196, and Hampe 220-231. Although the Lombard cities were important to Henry VI, he devoted a great deal of attention specifically to his lands in Sicily.

[79] On the reign of Frederick II, see Walther Lammers, "Friedrich II. 1212-1250," in *Kaisergestalten des Mittelalters*, ed. Helmut Beumann (Munich, 1984), 199-239; Martin Erbstößer, "Friedrich II." in *Deutsche Könige und Kaiser des Mittelalters*, 209-223; and Ernst Uehli, *Die drei grossen Staufer: Friedrich I. Barbarossa – Heinrich VI. – Friedrich II.* (Goetheanum, Dornach, 1979), 158-213. Frederick II would have encountered the *Traditio Legis* scene in the Galluspforte commemorating his grandfather during his visit to the Minster in 1212 and perhaps he saw other scenes of the *Traditio Legis* in the Basel diocese during his travels throughout Alsace. For the visit of Frederick II to Basel, see Heinrich Büttner, "Basel, die Zähringer und die Staufer," in *Schwaben und Schweiz im frühen und hohen Mittelalter*, ed. Hans Patze (Sigmaringen, 1972), 224. According to Büttner, Bishop Luthold of Basel remained true to the Hohenstaufen cause and extended a warm greeting to Frederick II.

that this same Lombard territory was yet an integral part of Frederick's empire. The judgment and charity motifs at Parma in the south and Basel in the north bear witness to Frederick's legal and moral authority from one end of the empire to the other. Likewise the *Traditio Legis* scene in the Galluspforte tympanum recalled issues of secular authority in the empire. Finally, the reference to the journey of Emperor Frederick's imperial soul to heaven, as advocated by Peter and Paul, commemorated the brave act of the emperor, who died on the third crusade along with the late Bishop of Basel, Henry of Horburg.

Such commemoration of Barbarossa's reign may have been intended to curry favor with the new Hohenstaufen emperor, Henry VI, who was away in Italy for most of his short reign. Henry, who had grown up in Alsace, would have been familiar with North Italian iconographic motifs and style from his own experience attempting to reclaim that region. In addition, Barbarossa's two younger sons, Count Otto of Burgundy and Duke Frederick of Swabia and Alsace, continued to remain active authorities in the region on behalf of their imperial brother. On the death of Henry VI in 1197, his youngest brother, Philip of Swabia, ruled Alsace from 1198-1199. The attempts of the Hohenstaufen family to hold Barbarossa's empire together were rather unsuccessful until the accession of Frederick's grandson, Frederick II, in 1212. In the meantime, the portal at Basel stood as a fond reminder of what a member of the Hohenstaufen had achieved, both locally in Alsace and universally in the empire.

Chapter 6
Dietrich von Bern and Frederick Barbarossa: Legendary Hero as Emperor in Alsace and Northern Italy

A central focus of this dissertation has been to describe ways in which Emperor Frederick Barbarossa's so-called "Great Design" to establish his imperial administration in Swabia and Alsace, Burgundy, and Lombardy left a mark on the Romanesque sculptural programs of Alsace.[1] In Chapter 1 it was suggested that the militaristic and triumphal image of Christ trampling a basilisk, a scene on the façade of the abbey of Sts. Peter and Paul at Andlau, was sculpted as a pro-imperial reaction to similar triumphal motifs in Northern Italian churches that were supportive of papal supremacy over the emperor. Likewise, the *Traditio Legis* was introduced in subsequent chapters as an antique Roman motif adapted by Barbarossa and his Alsatian supporters to draw attention to his assertion of equal authority with the pope, who had opposed him not only on matters involving imperial reacquisition of Lombardy but also on the very status of the emperor and the imperial office.

In this chapter a third iconographic theme will be explored as it appears in sculptural programs of Alsace, that of the hero, Dietrich von Bern, rescuing a man from the mouth of a dragon. The Alsatian scenes of Dietrich's rescue of another knight will be interpreted as a political metaphor for Emperor Barbarossa's role in the perceived rescue and reintegration of Northern Italy into the empire. This northern European view of Dietrich von Bern as hero will be contrasted to a negative representation of this same figure in Lombardy.[2]

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[1] Peter Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa: A Study in Medieval Politics* (Ithaca and London, 1969), 92 and 103, coined this phrase describing Barbarossa's goal to unite these three regions in the empire.
[2] On the architectural and artistic ties between such Late Romanesque German churches and Northern Italy, see Erwin Kluckhohn, "Die Bedeutung Italiens für die romanische Baukunst und Bauornamentik in

The twelfth-century Alsatian scenes of Dietrich's rescue of Rentwin or Sintram derived from northern legendary heroic tales about Dietrich von Bern, a fictional character based on an historical king from the fifth century. Dietrich von Bern is, in fact, the High German name for Theoderic of Verona (454-526), an Ostrogothic king renowned for his ability to conquer and rule Italy after the collapse of the Roman Empire.[3] Because King Theoderic, also known as Theoderic the Great, was the first Germanic king to rule in Italy, his thirty-year reign was of considerable interest to Barbarossa for its parallels to his own ambitions in Northern Italy. Members of his court viewed this Ostrogothic king of Italy as the earliest example of Germanic hegemony in the *terra imperii* of Italy and therefore considered it an important precedent for Barbarossa's own desire to rule Northern Italy.

This view of Theoderic of Verona as a predecessor of the German emperor may account for the popularity of tales about Dietrich in the northern parts of the empire loyal to Barbarossa, particularly Alsace. A passage written in the Alsatian *Annalen von Marbach* (1167), for example, mentions that songs about Dietrich von Bern were beloved in Alsace.[4] At least three Romanesque churches in Alsatian dioceses with documented

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Deutschland," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 16 (1955): 55-67. For the various versions of the Dietrich cycles in Western Europe, see Wolfgang Stammler, *Wort und Bild: Studien zu den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Schrifttum und Bildkunst im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1962), 45-70.

[3] For a short biography of Theoderic's life, see Stefania Salti and Renata Venturini, *The Life of Theoderic*, trans. Steven Copper, 2nd ed. (Ravenna, 2001). For a critical history of Theoderic the Great, see John Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy* (Oxford, 1992). Moorhead has constructed the most thorough political biography of the Ostrogothic king and successfully tied together earlier literature on this subject. For Dietrich von Bern as the High German equivalent of Theoderic of Verona, see F. E. Sandbach, *The Heroic Saga-Cycle of Dietrich von Bern* (London, 1906), 12, and Joachim Heinzle, *Einführung in die mittelhochdeutsche Dietrichepik* (Berlin and New York, 1999), 1. Although the German word for Verona is Bern, it should be observed here that several stories about the hero Dietrich developed out of the city of Bern in Switzerland as well.

[4] "Iste Theodericus (Dietrich) Theutonica extant carmina filius Diethmari, de quo etiam Gregorius in Diologa scribit," cited in Robert Will, "Die epischen Themen der romanischen Bauplastik des Elsass," *Festschrift H. E. Kubach: Baukunst des Mittelalters in Europa*, ed. Franz J. Much (Stuttgart, 1988), 327. On Dietrich's universal fame in the medieval period, see Joachim Heinzle, "Dietrich von Bern

ties to Emperor Frederick display sculpted scenes of Dietrich's rescue of Rentwin derived from such songs. The scene of this rescue appears at the church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Andlau (fig. 193) embedded in a frieze of forty-nine low relief panels that run under the cornice of the first story of the facade on the north and west sides (figs. 73, 75).[5] A similar scene appears on the south side of the church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Rosheim as an exterior relief (figs. 187-192), while yet another exists on a capital in the choir at Basel Minster (figs. 157-162).[6] In the discussion of these scenes, it will be posited that the depictions of Dietrich's rescue were part of larger programs designed to promote allegiance to the emperor at loyal churches in Alsace.

Not all medieval views of Theoderic of Verona were as positive as his description in northern legends as Dietrich von Bern. In the city of Verona for instance, founded by and heavily patronized by the Ostrogothic king, Romanesque sculptural scenes from the life of Theoderic on the façade of St. Zeno Maggiore represent him as a tyrant and as a

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(Dietrichsepik)," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart and Weimar, 1999), 3: 1016; Joachim Heinzle, "Dietrich von Bern," in *Epische Stoffe des Mittelalters*, ed. Volker Mertens and Ulrich Müller (Stuttgart, 1984), 141; and Theodore M. Andersson, "The Politics of Dietrich von Bern," *Northwestern European Language Evolution* 33 (1998): 13-25. Heinzle and Andersson argue that Dietrich outshone Siegfried in the medieval period, but later historians popularized Siegfried and marginalized Dietrich for political reasons.

[5] For brief descriptions of the forty-nine reliefs, see Iris Hofmann-Kastner, "St. Peter und Paul in Andlau, Elsass" (Ph. D. diss., University of Cologne, 2001), 127-148; Robert Forrer, "Les frises historiées de l'église romane d'Andlau," *Cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Alsace* 22/23 (1928-1929): 51-80; and Stammler, 58-59. Iris Hofmann-Kastner carefully describes each sculptural relief at Andlau and compares them in painstaking detail with sculpture at local churches and sculpture from Italian churches. Stammler and Forrer both identify several of the forty-nine panels as episodes from the Dietrich cycle. The various reliefs fall into the following categories with some overlapping: 6 images of single animals; 7 images of fighting animals; 9 vegetation images; 10 scenes of men fighting with animal; 4 scenes of human combat; 5-6 scenes related to the Dietrich narrative; 2 scenes about the devil cheating man; and at least 4 scenes about a banquet.

[6] Forrer, 73, proposes two other possible Romanesque scenes of Dietrich's rescue in Alsace: a capital relief at the destroyed church of Spachbach near Ingwiller and a gargoyle sculpture from the church of Scharrachbergheim to the northwest of Strasbourg. Forrer provides images of these two examples, but I do not include them with the other three scenes above because the scene at Spachbach probably shows lions and not dragons fighting. The scene at Scharrachbergheim only shows a man half-eaten by a monster, but lacks a knight rescuing the swallowed man. These two examples identified by Forrer contribute to the impression that scenes derived of Rentwin's salvation were prevalent in Alsace.

man possessed by demons. Since Barbarossa visited Verona frequently during his reign,[7] and because such negative stories about Theoderic were recorded by Barbarossa's uncle in his chronicle of world history as well as in other popular epic stories about the king as Dietrich von Bern,[8] it is probable that the emperor was aware of these negative views of the Ostrogothic king in the south. As we will see, the images of Theodoric at Verona had local significance. Unlike the representation at Verona, the negative aspects of the life of the Ostrogothic king came to be downplayed in the north. It will be argued that the heroic scenes of Dietrich von Bern in Alsace and Basel were created as a response to the reliefs at St. Zeno in Verona to make an alternative visual statement supportive of Barbarossa's claim to Italy.

Dietrich von Bern in Alsatian Sculpture: Andlau, Rosheim, and Basel

To support the premise that the sculpted scenes of Dietrich von Bern in Alsace were connected to the political ambitions of Frederick Barbarossa in Northern Italy, it is first necessary to describe the context of these scenes and how they might have been understood by medieval Alsatians as well as by the emperor or members of his court. The scenes of Dietrich's rescue of Rentwin appear in three churches in the Alsatian dioceses. Each of the three churches where the Dietrich scenes appear had close historical ties to Emperor Barbarossa and would have been supportive of his policies. As the scenes of Dietrich at Andlau were the earliest to appear in Alsace (c. 1160), we will begin our analysis with this sculptural program, which was based on the northern legends of the hero and his rescue of Rentwin and which formed the polemic for Emperor

[7] Barbarossa visited the city of Verona on at least five different occasions: (1154), (1155), (1158), (1164), and (1184). See the register in Ferdinand Opll, *Itinerar Friedrich Barbarossas (1152-1190)* (Vienna, 1978), 239-253.

[8] For Otto of Friesing's account of Theoderic, see Otto, Bishop of Freising, *The Two Cities: A Chronicle of Universal History to the Year 1146 A.D.*, trans. Charles C. Meirow (1928; repr. New York, 1966), 324-328.

Barbarossa's ambitions in Northern Italy. The later two versions of Dietrich's rescue at Rosheim and Basel derived from the version at Andlau.

Andlau

As seen in Chapter 3, the Romanesque sculptural program at the church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Andlau was reconstructed after 1160/1161 with the aid of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who served the abbey as its advocate. In the reconstruction the original sculpted figures of the *Traditio Legis* were reset in the tympanum of the main portal and enhanced by newly created low-relief sculpture on the lintel and jambs (fig. 90).[9] Other older pieces of sculpture including the David, Samson, and Richardis figures, as well as original fragments of the frieze were given places of prominence on the reconfigured façade (fig. 82). In the reconstruction, new sculpture was evidently added to the frieze on the north and west sides of the façade as it was pieced together from fragments of the original building. This new material is in low-relief and is stylistically consistent with the new sculpture around the portal.[10] Among these new panels of the frieze are those containing scenes from the Dietrich legends, including the rescue of Rentwin. I believe that these panels were sculpted and placed in the frieze to please Frederick Barbarossa, whose patronage allowed the reconstruction of the abbey in the 1160s, as well as officials of his court administering the emperor's affairs in Alsace.

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[9] Forrer, 69, was first to suggest the arrangement of frieze reliefs at Andlau are no longer in their original order.

[10] Julius Baum, "The Porch of Andlau Abbey," *Art Bulletin* 17 (1935): 501, says the style of the figures in the frieze is similar to the style of the figures in the portal. He assumes the same workshop created the frieze panels and the reliefs of the portal. He bases this discussion on Forrer, 55. Hofmann-Kastner, 147-149, however, distinguishes several subtle differences in style among the sculpted reliefs at Andlau. These slight differences may be attributed, of course, to a number of different hands in the Andlau atelier.

The episode of Dietrich's rescue of Rentwin at Andlau represents one of at least seven scenes in the church frieze taken from the Dietrich cycle (figs. 74-80).[11] The individual scene of Rentwin's rescue by Dietrich von Bern is only seen in the northern part of the empire, and the earliest example is at Andlau. Set into the frieze of the north façade, the Rentwin episode is broken into two reliefs: the left panel contains the dragon, Rentwin, and a knight, Dietrich, while the right panel shows a second knight waiting with the horses. A winged dragon that emerges from a cave at the left has swallowed Rentwin up to the shoulders. Posed with his shield raised before him, the rescuing knight grasps a sword that is partially lodged in the dragon's mouth. The heroic knight seems in close conversation with Rentwin, who is likely instructing Dietrich to take the sword and use it to slay the dragon.

Although no written or oral source for the rescue of Rentwin is known from the mid-twelfth century, two later medieval accounts written in the north closely parallel the scene at Andlau: the *Thidreks Saga af Bern* and the *Virginal*.[12] In the Old Norse prose

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[11] For the identification of seven Dietrich episodes in the frieze at Andlau, see Stammler, 58-59. Reading from left to right, the panels related to Dietrich are: 1. Rentwin (Sintram) episode, 2. the fight of a knight and a bear, 3. the hunt of Theoderic, 4. an elephant and a griffin, 5. two fighters on horseback in a tournament, 6. two knights fighting on foot and 7. a feast from the *Virginal*. Forrer, 73-74, speculates about still more scenes that might relate to Dietrich. For example, the two sirens at Andlau might have had to do with Dietrich's mysterious birth in the sea. Forrer also thinks the centaur could be linked to one of Ecke's fights in the Dietrich saga. Not everyone agrees that all these scenes at Andlau relate to the Dietrich cycle. See Marc Späni, "Thidrekr af Bern und der Elefant von Maienfeld: Zur Interpretationsgeschichte einer Bündner Wandmalerei des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts," *Literatur und Wandmalerei: Konversation und Konventionalität. Freiburg Colloquium 2003*, ed. E. C. Lutz, J. Thali and R. Wetzel (Göttingen, 2003), 2: 1-31. Späni refutes that the elephant scene at the early fourteenth-century castle of Brandis in Maienfeld was an episode taken from the Dietrich cycle; his arguments are also valid for the earlier version at Andlau. Späni, 18, also interprets other Dietrich scenes at Andlau in more general terms. Andrea Bruhin, "Die romanischen Skulpturen der Abteikirche Andlau und das geistliche Spiel: Strukturelle und funktionale Parallelen zwischen zwei verwandten Ausdrucksformen," in *Literatur und Wandmalerei: Erscheinungsformen höfischer Kultur und ihre Träger im Mittelalter*. *Freiburger Colloquium 1998*, ed. Eckart Conrad Lutz, Johanna Thali and René Wetzel (Tübingen, 2002), 1: 99-100, remains cautious as well about identifying many of these scenes as specific episodes from the Dietrich cycle. I thank Dr. Hans-Rudolf Meier for providing with copies of the articles by Späni and Bruhin.

[12] Will, "Die epischen Themen," 325-326, and Bruhin, 98. It should be observed here that a number of sculpted Dietrich scenes occur in the Scandinavia and in the United Kingdom, but are beyond the scope of

Thidreks Saga af Bern, a tale compiled for the Norwegian King Hakon around 1250, Thidrek (Dietrich) and Fasold aid a knight who calls to them for help.[13] Rentwin, half-consumed by a winged-dragon explains to the two heroes that the dragon had bitten him while he was sleeping on top of his shield. The two heroes spring from their horses to help. Thidrek's sword lodges in the dragon's throat, wounding it slightly, while Fasold's sword is useless against its impervious skin. Rentwin explains that his own sword is very deadly in the hands of true heroes, whereupon Fasold withdraws the sword from the dragon's neck and easily cuts and dispatches it.

The Swabian-German *Virginal* (mid-thirteenth century) also recounts the episode of the rescue of Rentwin from the dragon.[14] In this epic, the hero Hildebrand travels with Dietrich on several adventures. In one of these, Hildebrand comes across a knight who has been swallowed by a dragon. Although Hildebrand had been traveling with Dietrich, it is unclear where Dietrich is at the moment Hildebrand encounters Rentwin and the dragon. Rentwin calls to the Christian knight from inside the dragon's mouth and Hildebrand eventually slays the dragon. After Rentwin is freed, the rescued knight joins Hildebrand and Dietrich in slaying yet another dragon.

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this dissertation. For more about such scenes, see Maria E. Ruggerini, "L'eroe germanico contro avversari monstruosi: tra testo e iconografia," in *La funzione dell'eroe germanico: storicità, metafora, paradigma (Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio: Roma, 6-8 maggio 1993)*, ed. Teresa Pàroli (Rome, 1995), 201-257.

[13] Michael Curschmann, "Heroic Legend and Scriptural Message: The Case of St. Michael's in Altenstadt," in *Objects, Images, and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, 2003), 95. For two versions of this episode in the *Thidreks Saga*, see Albert Martiny, "A propos de la fries d'Andlau: Théodoric de Ravenne ou Dietrich de Berne/Bonn?" *Annuaire de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Dambach-La-Ville, Barr, Obernai* 17 (1983): 53-59, and Will, "Die epischen Themen," 325-326.

[14] For a quick summary of the *Virginal*, see Edward Haymes and Susann T. Samples, *Heroic Legends of the North: An Introduction to the Nibelung and Dietrich Cycles* (New York and London, 1996), 82-84 and 135-144; and Sandbach, 46-48. On the history of the *Virginal* story, see Heinzle, *Einführung*, 135-144, and Sandbach, 46-48. The main source on the *Virginal* is still Julius Zupitza, *Deutsches Heldenbuch* (Berlin, 1870), 5: 1-200; for the rescue of Rentwin, see especially 29-30, lines 147.1 -151.11. On the relationship between *Virginal* and the Dietrich scenes in Alsace, see Forrer, 72.

Andrea Bruhin points out that while the scene at Andlau is similar to the accounts in the *Thidreks Saga* and in the *Virginal*, differences do exist.[15] According to Bruhin, the Andlau reliefs illustrate neither Rentwin's salvation nor the dragon's death (fig. 193). Dietrich is not the hero who actually saves Rentwin in the written tales, while in the reliefs it is not clear which knight is Dietrich and which holds the horses. For that matter, the tales do not refer to a knight holding the horses at all. Bruhin explains that the two scenes at Andlau show another version of this episode altogether: one in which the hero fights the dragon while another knight waits like a servant holding the horses. Georg Weise and Robert Forrer assume that the heroic knight facing Rentwin was Dietrich, while the knight holding the horses was his assistant, Fasold.[16] Since Fasold is one of Dietrich's loyal knights in the literary cycle, this assumption is viable. In any event, Dietrich is involved in all representations of this historic story of salvation. Such differences between the text and the image, however, suggest that another related source must have been available to the artists at Andlau.[17]

Perhaps in a lost version the hero of the story is Dietrich, while Fasold, as at Andlau, simply holds the horses. Theodore Andersson, in fact, proposes the existence of an earlier twelfth-century version of the *Thidreks Saga* written in Westphalia, the probable source for the later Norse tale.[18] Even though we may never know the exact literary source for the Alsatian scenes of Dietrich's rescue of Rentwin, certain evidence

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[15] Bruhin, 98.
[16] Georg Weise, "Studien über Denkmäler romanischer Plastik am Oberrhein," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 5 (1920): 14, and Forrer, 72.
[17] Will, "Die epischen Themen," 326-327.
[18] Andersson, 18, reiterates an earlier proposition that the origin of the *Thidreks Saga* was in Soest in Westphalia. Andersson explains that both Southern Germany and Westphalia were strongly influenced by Hohenstaufen politics. Earlier legends of Dietrich existed prior to the twelfth century. For example, the *Hildesbrandslied* dates to 770-780. For a descriptive list of the Dietrich poems in the Middle Ages, see Sandbach, 64-65, and Otto L. Jiraczek, *Northern Hero Legends*, trans. M. Bentink Smith (London, 1902), 61-87.

suggests that this particular episode of the Dietrich cycles had a local origin in nearby Switzerland. A local Bernese story, recorded c. 1420 in the *Berner Chronik*, indicates that the Rentwin episode may have originated in Bern.[19] According to this legend two brothers, Sintram (Rentwin) and Baltram, settled in the area of Burgdorf near Bern. These two dukes of Lenzburg battled a dragon, which lived in a nearby cavern. The dragon swallowed Baltram, but Sintram killed the dragon and cut open its belly to free his brother.[20] It seems likely that an early form of this Bernese tale of two brothers intermingled with the other Dietrich "von Bern (of Verona)" stories we have mentioned and formed a new local episode in the Dietrich repertoire. The inclusion of a cave in this early version of the *Berner Chronik* was no doubt the source of the scene in the Andlau frieze, which also depicts a dragon's cave (fig. 193). Certainly the fact that the only sculptural representations of Rentwin's rescue by a knight exist north of Bern in Alsace, Basel, and two provinces in Southern Germany suggests that the story originated in northern European territory.[21]

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[19] Wilhelm Wackernagel, "Die deutsche Heldensage im Lande der Zähringer und in Basel," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 6 (1848): 158, originally pointed this out. Paintings of Dietrich von Bern were made in the fifteenth century to commemorate this tale in the St. Margaretha chapel at the castle of Burgdorf. See Will, "Die epischen Themen," 321 and 335, note 2. See also Heinzle, *Einführung*, 140-141.

[20] Wackernagel, 158, explains that no such "dukes" of Lenzburg existed, but the story was probably borrowed from the *Vilkinasaga (Thidreks Saga)*, where Sintram is swallowed by a dragon.

[21] Dietrich scenes appear in twelfth-century churches in Swabia and other parts of Germany. The scene of Dietrich's Rescue of Rentwin occurs at the Swabian church of St. Michael in Altenstadt near Schöngau, which came under Hohenstaufen ownership just nine years prior to its completion in 1200. On this scene at Altenstadt, see especially Michael Curschmann, "Heroic Legend," 94-104. The same scene occurs as well at the church of St. Peter in Straubing in Lower Bavaria in the west portal tympanum which dates to 1180. For more on Theoderic at these German churches, see also Michael Curschmann, "Oral Tradition in Visual Art: The Romanesque Theodoric," in *Reading Images and Texts: Medieval Images and Text as Forms of Communication*, ed. M. Hageman and M. Mostert (Utrecht, forthcoming), 1-27, and Michael Curschmann, "Theodoric Rescues Sintram – The Epic Hero in Romanesque Church Sculpture," in *Epic Adventures: Heroic Narrative in the Oral Performance Traditions of Four Continents*, ed. Jan Jansen and Henk M. J. Maier (Utrecht, 2004), 46-52. I thank Dr. Curschmann, Professor emeritus at Princeton University, for kindly providing me with copies of these two articles.

The episode of Dietrich's rescue of Rentwin in the panels of Andlau predates two abbreviated sculptural versions at the church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Rosheim (c. 1180) and at the Basel Minster (c. 1185-1200).[22] Both of these later scenes are scaled down to the most rudimentary elements necessary to convey Dietrich's rescue of Rentwin from the dragon's mouth: hero with sword and a man half-swallowed by a winged dragon (figs. 193, 192, 159). Whereas the two relief panels at Andlau actually tell the narrative of the story, the scenes at Rosheim and Basel are mere symbols that refer to the story and rely on the viewer to provide the details of the narrative. As the two scenes at Rosheim and Basel date after the reliefs at Andlau and since they simplify the earlier scene, it is likely that they depended on the earlier, more complex narrative at Andlau. Moreover, the fact that these later scenes are abbreviated is evidence of the public's growing familiarity with the Dietrich story in the region.

Rosheim

Just as the relief of Dietrich's rescue at Andlau appears in the frieze high above the main portal, a similar relief at the church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Rosheim is perched high on the corner gable of the southwest transept of the church overlooking the portal scene of the *Traditio Legis* (figs. 191-192). The considerable distance of this relief from the ground level makes details difficult to distinguish, indicating the sculptor's

[22] For the date of the sculpture at Rosheim, see Bruhin, 100-101, note 73, and Colsman, 234, who provide a date for the sculpture at Rosheim of 1135-1150. See J.-P. Meyer, *Voûtes romanes: Architecture religieuse en Alsace de l'an mil au début du XIIIe siècle* (Strasbourg, 2003), 250-251, who reconsiders this date and argues that the sculpture at Rosheim dates closer to 1180. Meyer's date makes more sense in light of Robert Will's earlier discussions of the sculpture at Hohenbourg. See Robert Will, *Alsace romane*, 3rd ed. (La-Pierre-Qui-Vive, 1982), 225-227. For the date of the capitals at Basel, see Toni Arnet, *Das Basler Münster* (Basel, 2000), 76, who dates the choir capitals at Basel to 1180; Dorothea Schwinn Schürmann, *Das Basler Münster* (Bern, 2000), 35, dates the choir capitals to around 1170/1180. Arnet and Schwinn Schürmann base their dates on the following study: François Maurer-Kuhn, *Romanische Kapitellplastik in der Schweiz* (Bern, 1971), 183.

assumption that the subject matter was familiar to the public. In this scene the hero grasps the hilt of the sword embedded in the mouth of the dragon. Persons entering the church at the south portal with its tympanum scene of the *Traditio Legis* would simply glimpse the essentials of the Rentwin episode in the corner relief above them before proceeding through the portal into the sacred space of the interior. The viewer would be quickly reminded of Rentwin's salvation from the dragon's mouth and would perhaps contemplate his/her own spiritual salvation through Christ.

Because of the proximity of Andlau to Rosheim, it is probable that the artists at the latter church knew the reliefs at Andlau firsthand (fig. 3).[23] The church in Rosheim was part of the thirty-year reconstruction plan by Frederick Barbarossa in Lower Alsace in the neighborhoods around the fortress of Odilienberg, including Andlau.[24] Scholars maintain that the church in Rosheim was connected to Odilienberg and came to be involved with the Hohenstaufen family through this affiliation.[25] It seems likely that Barbarossa, as the *advocatus* of Hohenburg at Odilienberg and the man responsible for reconstruction efforts in the area around Rosheim, would also have been active in the affairs at the church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Rosheim.[26] In fact, Barbarossa's family

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[23] Andlau is roughly 7 km southeast of Odilienberg. Rosheim is at the eastern foot of the fortress of Odilienberg.
[24] See Chapter 3, 150-151.
[25] Edla Colsman, "St. Peter und Paul in Rosheim" (Ph. D. diss., University of Cologne – Kunsthistorische Institut, 1991), 10-14, summarizes earlier arguments by J. M. B. Clauss, *Historisch-topographisches Wörterbuch des Elsass* (Zabern, 1895), 230-917; Hella Fein, *Die staufischen Städtegründungen im Elsass* (Frankfurt, 1939); Wolfgang Meier, "Stadt und Reichsfreiheit: Entstehung und Aufsteig der Hohenstaufenstädte (mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Wirkens Kaiser Friedrichs II.)" (Ph. D. diss., University of Freiburg, Switzerland, 1972); and Christine Muller, "Essai de topographie urbaine et contributions à l'histoire de Rosheim (XIIIe-XVIIe s.)," *Annuaire de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Molsheim et environs* (1978): 13-50 and (1979): 41-82. Thomas Seiler, *Die frühstaufische Territorialpolitik im Elsass* (Hamburg: 1995), 239, explains that Rosheim was a strategically important settlement for the Staufen because it was along the road from Strasbourg to Lorraine over the Breuschtal.
[26] J.-P. Meyer, "Notes sur l'ancienne église romane d'Obernai," *Annuaire de la Sociéte d'histoire et d'archéologie de Dambach-la-Ville, Barr, Obernai* 16 (1982): 16. Meyer discusses Barbarossa's

came to possess the city of Rosheim just after a fire in 1132.[27] Edla Colsman proposes that the Hohenstaufen first started construction on the church at Rosheim after the fire, and Emperor Frederick merely continued the efforts of his family.[28]

It was suggested in Chapter 3 that Barbarossa would have been pleased by the scene of the *Traditio Legis* in the tympanum of the main portal at Andlau. Likewise the slightly later scene of the *Traditio Legis* that once appeared in the tympanum of the south side portal at Rosheim might also have reflected a desire on the part of citizens of Rosheim to demonstrate support for the emperor who had restored their church.[29] Perhaps Barbarossa, who was responsible for the construction at Rosheim, commissioned the *Traditio Legis* scene himself. The artists at Rosheim may have even known the earlier scene of the *Traditio Legis* at Andlau with its association with Emperor Frederick and designed their own version of this theme with Andlau's tympanum in mind. We can also infer that some interaction between Andlau and Rosheim occurred, for in 1178 the

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reconstruction efforts at Hohenburg in 1152 and the subsequent reconstructions made by the abbesses in their neighboring churches.

[27] Colsman, 8.

[28] Colsman, 16, suggests that the Hohenstaufen family built the church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Rosheim to represent their control of the neighborhood. The new church was intended to rival the upper parish church of St. Stephan in Rosheim.

[29] For the *Traditio Legis* at Rosheim, see Gilbert Poinsot, *Die romanische Strasse: Die Kirche St.-Pierre-et-St.-Paul und der Kanton Rosheim* (Strasbourg, 2000), 21. See Meyer, *Voûtes romanes*, 169-173, and the following article by the same author, "L'église abbatiale d'Andlau au XIIe siècle," *Cahiers alsaciens d'archéologie, d'art et d'histoire* 31 (1988): 99. The style of this no longer extant scene in the tympanum at Rosheim was probably similar to that of *Traditio Legis* in the tympanum of the north portal at Worms Cathedral. Here the tympanum scene revealed an unusual combination of a painted fresco, certain details of which, such as halos, are depicted in low relief. Since other aspects of the sculptural program, as well as the vaulting system at Rosheim have been compared to the cathedral of Worms, it is likely that this church served as a model for the portal tympana at Rosheim. A similar style also marks the tympanum scene of St. Gundelinde and the Virgin flanking Christ at the west portal of Niedermünster Abbey. Since Meyer argues that the sculptures at Rosheim were modeled after those at Niedermünster, which in turn was modeled after Worms Cathedral, the destroyed *Traditio Legis* scene at Rosheim would have dated to 1160-1180 after Niedermünster's program and probably well after the *Traditio Legis* in the tympanum at Andlau (reconstructed 1160-1161). Since Emperor Frederick had direct ties to the *Traditio Legis* scenes at Worms and at Andlau, the *Traditio Legis* at Rosheim may also have reflected gratefulness for Hohenstaufen patronage as well.

emperor gave his *ministeriale*, Willebirg of Andlau, a stone house in Rosheim.[30] It has been theorized that Willebirg, after the death of her husband, Bernher, who was also a *ministeriale* at Andlau, was sent by Barbarossa as a new *ministeriale* for the monastery of Hohenburg. The emperor provided her with this house in Rosheim at the same time.[31] In 1181 a certain Rudolf of Andlau was cited in a document by Barbarossa's son, Duke Frederick of Alsace, as yet another *ministeriale* of Hohenburg near Rosheim.

Given the fact that two citizens from Andlau were sent as imperial administers to Hohenburg in the late twelfth century, it is possible to suggest that artists at Rosheim, who were affiliated with Hohenburg, were at least familiar with the sculptural program at the church at Andlau. Completing their work c. 1180 these artists would have had at least two decades in which to view the earlier sculptural program at Andlau.[32] The corner relief of Dietrich rescuing Rentwin from the mouth of the dragon at Rosheim, then, may have been modeled as well after the more complex double-paneled version at Andlau.

Basel

In Basel we see a representation of the Dietrich saga on an interior capital now placed in the choir of the minster. As at Rosheim, the artist at Basel focused specifically on the act of Rentwin's salvation and ignored more minor details about the attendant and

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[30] Nicolas Mengus, *Les sires d'Andlau (fin du XIIe – début du XVIe siècle): Un lignage noble au temps des châteaux forts* (Strasbourg, 2000), 111, Register .5. 1167-1190/12.10.1178(?) and .6. 12.X.1178, Obernai(?) In the latter entry, Barbarossa refers to Willebirg (Willebirc) as "nobilis matrona in villa Andela." See also Aloys Meister, *Die Hohenstaufen im Elsass: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Reichbesitzes und des Familiengutes derselben im Elsass 1079-1255* (Mainz, 1890), 52-53. Meister names Willebirg a *Ministerialin*.

[31] Mengus, 13-14.

[32] On the 1180 *terminus post quem* for sculpture at Rosheim, see Meyer, *Voûtes romanes*, 250-251, who reevaluates Colsman's dates and supports arguments about the sculptural dating first proposed by Robert Will in *Alsace romane*, 225-227. Will stylistically compares a sculpted stele at Hohenburg with sculpture at Rosheim and concludes that the two are related by the same sculptural workshop. The stele at Hohenburg shows abbesses Herrad and Relinde; because Herrad died in 1178 and Relinde began her term at that point, the stele must post-date 1178. Meyer also asserts that the Lombard frieze at Rosheim is similar to the one at Niedermünster, which dates to 1180. He concludes that the sculpture must have been added to the building around 1180.

horses (fig. 159).[33] Here a winged dragon is portrayed at the left corner of the scene; it holds a knight wearing chain mail in its sharp pointed teeth. The rescuer actively pulls on Rentwin's hand to help him out of the dragon's mouth; with his other hand the rescuer brandishes his sword in order to slay the dragon. Medieval viewers with access to this interior capital would have understood that Dietrich von Bern is the hero of this episode because, as Wackernagel points out, the shield of the rescuer bears the sign of a lion, which was the hallmark of the legendary Dietrich.[34] Even lacking knowledge about the significance of the lion on a shield, a viewer beholding this capital with a half-swallowed man and his rescuer would quickly recall the episode of the rescue of Rentwin from the Dietrich tales and associate the hero of the capital with that literary cycle. As Wolfgang Stammler observes, the stories of Dietrich circulated widely during the twelfth century, for Godfrey of Viterbo, a contemporary chronicler in the service of the Hohenstaufen, wrote that Germans frequently told tales of the legendary hero.[35] The popularity of this hero, however, does not adequately account for Dietrich's presence in the sacred space of the minster's choir.

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[33] The Dietrich capital at Basel has four faces: 1. a knight in chainmail fights with two bears, one of which has been killed; a fish is to the right of the bear; 2. a knight fights against two bulls, one of which has already been killed; 3. a knight fights against two lions; 4. the rescue of Rentwin. For a detailed description of the multiple scenes on the other three capitals in the Basel choir, see Konrad Escher, "Der Skulpturenszyklus im Chor des Basler Münsters und seine Deutung," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 19 (1921): 165-166.

[34] Wackernagel, 160-161, derives the notion that Dietrich's shield bore lions from the *Vilkina Saga*. Wilhelm Grimm, *Die deutsche Heldensage*, 4th ed. (Darmstadt, 1957), records the description of Dietrich's shield from the *Vilkina Saga* as red and white with a golden lion. See also Karl Müllenhoff, "Zur deutsche Mythologie," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 12 (1865): 329. Müllenhoff says the figure of Wolfdietrich wore a lion shield.

[35] Stammler, 59 and 69, note 90; Grimm, 16, no. 281: "Von Theoderic, dem Sohn des Theodomar von Verona, erzählen die Deutschen sehr häufig und von seiner ganz wunderbaren Kühnheit." See also Grimm, 49, for Godfrey's other quick reference to Theoderic in *Chronicon*, 16, 481. See also Heinrich J. Zimmermann, "Theoderic der Grosse - Dietrich von Bern: Die geschichtlichen und sagenhaften Quellen des Mittelalters" (Ph. D. diss, University of Bonn, 1972), 120, on Godfrey's texts concerning Theoderic.

While at Andlau and Rosheim the scene of Dietrich's rescue appears on the exterior of the church near portal scenes of the *Traditio Legis,* the abbreviated version of this secular story actually appears in the interior space of the Basel Minster as a scene on a capital in the choir. Accounting for the presence of this secular episode in its current location, deep in the sacred space of the Basel Minster, is no simple matter. These late Romanesque capitals in the choir date to the period of reconstruction following the fire of 1185 at the minster. After the earthquake of 1356 much of the eastern end of the minster, including the choir, was badly damaged. The hasty reconfiguration of the choir accounts for the placement of the preexisting Dietrich capital along with three others in this area. The fact that some of the carved faces of these capitals are hidden assures us that this was not the original placement of these elements. [36]

Perhaps the capital scene now on the interior choir of the church also originally appeared elsewhere in the Basel Minster, possibly near the Galluspforte tympanum scene of the *Traditio Legis*. One can only surmise that the capitals were in proximity to the Galluspforte before the reconstruction. As at Andlau and Rosheim, the Galluspforte on the north side of the Basel Minster displayed a scene of the *Traditio Legis* in its tympanum to demonstrate the loyalty of the minster to Emperor Frederick. It was posited in Chapter 5 that the bishops of Basel sought to maintain Hohenstaufen favor by reconstructing the Galluspforte after the twelfth-century fire. In my opinion the four capitals that now appear in the choir must have originally belonged to this reconstructive effort to commemorate the relationship to Emperor Barbarossa.

Because this choir capital occupies such a sacred space at Basel Minster several scholars have been hesitant to securely identify these three scenes of knights battling

[36] Hans Reinhardt, *Das Basler Münster* (Basel, 1949), 22-23.

dragons at Andlau, Rosheim, and Basel as episodes from the Dietrich cycle. Instead of relating a specific heroic tale to an image of a heroic feat, scholars more recently prefer to entertain generalized theories about the function of secular representations on church facades.[37] For example, François Besson has proposed that certain representations of battling knights signify the Church's condemnation of social violence in favor of spiritual battles against evil.[38] In this regard one might think of representations of King Arthur combating knights on the archivolt over the *Porta della Pescheria* at the cathedral of Modena (c. 1120-1140) or a secular battle scene on a nave capital at Pieve de Trebbio near Modena (c. 1108).[39] Rather than identifying a knight battling a dragon specifically as St. George, Sigurd, or Dietrich von Bern, such scenes can be read as universal symbols of Christian triumph over evil.[40] In the case of the church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Rosheim, where the corner relief scene of a man drawing another man from the mouth of a dragon is but one of several sculpted scenes of devouring lions and monsters, the Dietrich relief could be seen as another universal statement about the spiritual battle against evil.

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[37] Späni, 18; Bruhin, 99-100; and Hella Frühmorgen-Voss, *Text und Illustration im Mittelalter: Aufsätze zu den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Literatur und bildender Kunst* (Munich, 1975), 13-16, and 112-113.

[38] See François Marie Besson, "*A armes égales*: Une representation de la violence en France et en Espagne au XIIe siècle," *Gesta* 26 (1987): 113-126. See also Deborah Kahn, "La *Chanson de Roland* dans le décor des églises du XIIe siècle," *Cahiers de civilization médiévale* 40 (1997): 337-372, esp. 363. This way of viewing combating knights in terms of spiritual warfare derives from Adolf Goldschmidt, *Die Albanipsalter in Hildesheim und seine Beziehung zur symbolischen Kirchenskulptur des XII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1895), 46-52.

[39] See Jeanne Fox-Friedman, "Messianic Visions: Modena Cathedral and the Crusades," *RES* 25 (1994): 77-95. Fox-Friedman understands this sculptural ensemble at Modena as a response to the crusades and as a contemporary counterpart to Biblical history. For the capital at the Pieve di Trebbio, see 90-91, esp. note 64 which lists several other examples of secular representations of battle on churches in twelfth-century Northern Italy.

[40] On the triumphant nature of St. George at Ferrara Cathedral, see especially Dorothy Glass, "Civic Pride and Civic Responsibility in Italian Romanesque Sculpture," *Le vie del medioevo: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Parma, 28 settembre-1 ottobre 1998* (Parma, 2000), 189-190. Ruggerini, 234-238, explains that Sigurd also fought with a dragon in the *Volsungasaga* (chapter 18). For more on Sigurd and the dragon, see also Curschmann, "Oral Tradition," 17-21. Ruggerini, 220-243, also evaluates Beowulf and St. Michael in the context of dragon fights in her article.

In a similar attempt to explain the presence of secular scenes on medieval churches, some have argued that profane stories often have theological implications: Dietrich's rescue of Rentwin is said to recall the sacred belief in Christ's salvation of humankind.[41] Alexander's attempted flight to heaven on a cart carried by winged griffins, a scene found next to the Dietrich scene in the choir of Basel Minster (fig. 163), is thought not to the viewer of the historical feats of Alexander as much as it is meant to demonstrate man's sinful hubris and subsequent fall from paradise.[42] In the context of the Basel choir, Dietrich's rescue of Rentwin is interpreted as the result of Alexander's sinful pride: after the sinful fall from grace, man must continually struggle against evil. After comparing numerous instances in medieval sculpture of dragons swallowing men to the scenes at Andlau and Basel, Maria Ruggerini, in fact, concludes that the artists of the Alsatian scenes must have added a rescuing knight to preexisting scenes of man-eating dragons to enhance the Christian message of salvation.[43]

Still other episodes from the stories of Dietrich von Bern could be likened to the life of Christ. For example, Hugo von Trimberg, a schoolmaster, wrote in 1300 that the women of his time compared the wounds Dietrich and his legendary knights received in battle to the wounds of Christ.[44] Further, one could conceive of Dietrich's mysterious ride into Hell, as depicted at two churches in Northern Italy, in terms of Christ's own

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[41] Curschmann, "Heroic Legend," 94-104, and Escher, 165-174.

[42] Escher, 166, and Norbert Ott, "Epische Stoffe in mittelalterlichen Bildzeugnissen," in *Epische Stoffe des Mittelalters*, ed. Volker Mertens and Ulrich Müller (Stuttgart, 1984), 462-463. Although the scene of Alexander's trip to heaven is relatively common throughout medieval Europe, it only occurs in the Rhine territory on the destroyed portal of the church of Petershausen near Constance (1180), in the Nikolauskapelle at the Minster in Freiburg (1200), and as over a portal at the Romanesque parish church of Remagen. It should be noted as well that the theme appears in the twelfth-century in a relief at Fidenza in Northern Italy and in a relief at San Marco in Venice.

[43] Ruggerini, 247.

[44] Stammler, 59, esp. note 91. See Grimm, 191-192, for the text of this passage in Hugo von Trimberg's *Der Renner*: "Wie her Dietrîch faht mit hern Ecken, und wie hie vor die alten recken, durch frouwen sint verhouwen, daz hoeret man noch manige frouwen, mê klagen und weinen ze maniger stunden, wan unsers herren heilige wunden."

descent to Hell; Christ, of course, is the only one to conquer death. Sculptures of secular stories, then, were incorporated into church decoration to point beyond the heathen myths about the human condition to greater Christian truths.

While it is useful and appropriate to approach secular stories in the light of more universal Christian subjects, the fact remains that the scene of two knights and a dragon at Basel was securely identified by Wackernagel as a Dietrich scene because of the aforementioned shield with the lion. It is understandable that scholars might have misgivings about identifying the capital sculpture in the choir at Basel as a scene from the Dietrich epic because of its sacred location. My view that the choir is not the original location of this sculpture would make such an identification more viable.

The identification of these scenes at Andlau, Rosheim, and Basel with the Dietrich epic is notable not because they are among the many similar sculptural scenes of dragons swallowing men in various locations throughout medieval Europe, but because illustrations of this particular epic appear on the three churches with strong connections and loyalties to the Hohenstaufens. In the following section we will see that for the loyal supporters of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, the heroic and salvific aspects of the Dietrich von Bern epic were equated with the heroism and savior-like qualities of their emperor.

Frederick Barbarossa as Dietrich von Bern

Frederick Barbarossa was popularly identified with the legendary hero, Dietrich von Bern, by his subjects and contemporaries in the northern European territories. That Dietrich was a hero highly idealized by the citizens of this region becomes obvious from a cursory study of the historical records relating to the historical figure of Theoderic the

Great , the sixth-century Ostrogothic king of Northern Italy and the historical figure upon whom the Dietrich legends were based. In fact, Theoderic behaved in some rather unheroic ways, imprisoning a pope, murdering Boethius, a beloved Christian philosopher, and adhering to the heretical Arian sect. This involvement in Arianism caused orthodox churchmen to view his reign with particular disfavor. How this heretical and murderous king eventually came to be associated with heroic character of Emperor Barbarossa, requires one to trace the development from the Ostrogothic king to the medieval legendary figure of Dietrich von Bern.

We will begin with an historical overview of the more significant events in the life of Theoderic and then take a look at how the more negative aspects of Theoderic's life were rationalized in the Dietrich stories of the medieval period. We will see that, although events in the life of the literary character, Dietrich von Bern, were based on the life of Theoderic the Great, the literary figure was not identical to the Ostrogothic king. Rather, Dietrich von Bern was a new creation of the north, a readaptation of the historical figure. He came to be so popular a hero that his character could itself become the basis for an identification with the heroic aspirations of the emperor.

Theoderic the Great

Contemporary histories of the events of Theoderic's life are useful to us for comparison with the later accounts of his life by medieval clerics, as well as with the Dietrich legends.[45] According to the writings of Theoderic's contemporaries, Jordanes and Cassiodorus, King Theoderic's youth was spent as a hostage at the court of the Byzantine emperor Zeno, who adopted the Ostrogoth as his own son and promoted him

[45] Heinz Löwe, *Von Theoderic dem Grossen zu Karl dem Grossen: Das Werden des Abendlandes im Geschichtsbild des frühen Mittelalters* (Darmstadt, 1956), 9, and Zimmermann, 30-52, discuss contemporary histories of Theoderic.

to commander-in-chief and consul.[46] The eastern emperor sent Theoderic to Northern Italy in 487 to regain control of this area in the absence of a western emperor. In order to conquer Italy, Theoderic contended with and defeated King Odoacer, a Hun who had ruled as king of Italy from the capital city of Ravenna since the successful deposition of Romulus Augustulus, the last western Roman emperor in 480.[47] Jordanes writes that although Odoacer later pleaded for mercy, Theoderic first granted it and then killed him anyway.

As the new ruler of Italy, Theoderic sought to unite his Ostrogothic followers with the local Roman population by embracing ancient Roman law and culture.[48] His campaigns to preserve antique Roman monuments, for example, demonstrated to Roman citizens that this barbarian ruler not only valued the traditions of the Roman Empire, but would also work to revive it. Theoderic also cleverly won over leaders of invading tribes in the area (the Franks, the Burgundians, the Visigoths, and the Vandals) through marriage alliances to members of his own family.[49] For thirty years Theoderic maintained relative peace in his territory, and Northern Italy became a center of learning and religious tolerance.[50] The accession of Justinian to the eastern throne in 527 and the new imperial antipathy towards Arians led to Theoderic's eventual downfall. It was in this latter part of his life that the king executed the philosopher, Boethius, and

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[46] Jordanes, 'Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths', *Medieval Sourcebook Online* (Paul Halsall, [Accessed 12/13/2004]) <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/jordanes-theodoric1.html>. For a summary of all historical passages referring to Theoderic the Great, see Zimmermann, 1-135, and Ingeborg Vogel, "Gesta Theoderici: Eine frühe Quelle der Dietrichsage" (Ph. D. diss., University of Heidelberg, 1970), 1-86.
[47] Heinzle, *Einführung*, 3.
[48] Paolo Verzone, *From Theodoric to Charlemagne: A History of the Dark Ages in the West* (London, 1968), 50.
[49] Zimmermann, 31 and Heinzle, *Einführung*, 4.
[50] On Theoderic's artistic enterprises and his building campaign in Ravenna, see Verzone, 54-66; Stammler, *Wort und Bild*, 46-61; and Wolfgang Stammler, "Dietrich von Bern," in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunst-Geschichte*, ed. Otto Schmitt (Stuttgart, 1950), 3: 1479-1483. On thirty years of peace, see Moorhead, 214.

Symmachus, Boethius's father-in law, on the grounds of treason, imprisoned Pope John I, who died in 526, and alienated the Roman senate.[51] Theoderic died after a period of declining health, and he was buried and entombed in a decagonal mausoleum, which still stands in Ravenna today (fig. 196).[52]

Negative opinions of Theoderic grew widespread in medieval ecclesiastic circles after Pope Gregory the Great wrote in his "Dialogues" (593-594), despite the fact that his burial place is known, that the Ostrogothic king had been thrown into a volcano, a mouth of Hell, by Pope John and by Symmachus.[53] Walafried, a cleric in the late Carolingian court of Louis the Pious, likewise characterized the Gothic king as a tyrant and an Arian heretic.[54] Subsequent ecclesiastical writings, including a twelfth-century account by Barbarossa's uncle, Otto of Freising, continued to associate Theoderic with the worst kind of tyranny and heresy.[55] Paradoxically, popular Germanic legends of Dietrich von Bern rose up simultaneously to celebrate the heroic feats achieved by the Ostrogothic king. The coexistence of these two conflicting views of the same historical figure is difficult to reconcile, but it begins to make sense when Dietrich von Bern is understood as the perfected Christian version of Theoderic.

The Transformation of Theoderic of Verona to Dietrich von Bern

The fact the memory of Theoderic was cast in a more positive light in the north may be traced back to Charlemagne. Following his imperial coronation in Rome in 800,

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[51] Moorhead, 216-242; Zimmermann, 31; Heinzle, *Einführung*, 4.
[52] Verzone, 64, tells us Theoderic planned this mausoleum during his life so that it would stand in the center of a Goth cemetery.
[53] Heinzle, *Einführung*, 8.
[54] For this literature, see the bibliography outlined in Stammler, *Wort und Bild*, 49, note 31.
[55] Zimmermann, 71-134, summarizes these early accounts. Haymes and Samples, 32, claim Frutolf of Michelsberg (died 1103) was the priest responsible for introducing the negative story of Theoderic's death at a volcano into medieval German chronicles. Frutolf based his version on the story recorded by Gregory the Great. For Otto of Friesing's account of Theoderic, see *The Two Cities*, 324-328.

Charlemagne imported a statue of Theoderic from its original setting in Ravenna to his imperial palace in Aachen.[56] Abbot Walafrid Strabo of Reichenau recounted Charlemagne's transfer of Theoderic's statue in his poem, *De imagine Tetrici* (c. 838). The existence of such a statue is confirmed by Agnellus of Ravenna in the same period.[57] As the statue depicted Theoderic astride a horse, it may have recalled the other famous rider statue in Rome of Marcus Aurelius, a statue mistaken for Constantine in the medieval period.[58] By removing the statue of Theoderic from Ravenna and placing it in the new capital of the Holy Roman Empire in Aachen, Charlemagne was making the case for his own position as emperor of the revived Roman Empire being inherited both from the first Holy Roman emperor, Constantine, and from the first Germanic ruler in the empire, Theoderic.[59]

It should be observed here that Frederick Barbarossa in turn modeled his own rule after that of his ancestor Charlemagne. Barbarossa's court biographer was careful to note that the emperor was crowned in Aachen at the same chapel as Charlemagne and seated on the very throne placed there by his illustrious ancestor.[60] While addressing the

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[56] See Einhard: 'The Life of Charlemagne', The Internet Medieval Sourcebook Online, trans. Samuel Epes Turner (New York, 1880 [accessed 12/13/04]) <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/einhard.html#Piety>. Einhard records Charlemagne's transport of marbles and columns from Rome and Ravenna in section 26. See Stammler, *Wort und Bild*, 48-49; Löwe, 60-63; and G. Schneege, "Theoderich der Grosse in der kirchlichen Tradition des Mittelalters und in den deutschen Heldensagen," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 11 (1894): 26-28. Stammler, Löwe, and Schneege explain that several antique statues reportedly existed of Theoderic either standing or astride a horse in Pavia, Ravenna, Verona, Rome, and Constantinople. See also Helene Homeyer, "Walahfrids Gedicht über das Theoderich-Denkmal in Aachen," in *Platonismus und Christentum: Festschrift für Heinrich Dörrie* (Munster, 1983), 107. Homeyer says another equestrian statue of Theoderich once existed in front of his mausoleum in Ravenna.
[57] Zimmermann, 149-151; Homeyer, 109-117; and Herbert von Einem, "Zur Deutung des Magdeburger Reiters," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 16 (1953): 52.
[58] Von Einem, 52 and Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *La statuette équestre de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1999), 38.
[59] For comparisons of Charlemagne to Constantine and Theodoric, see Richard Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture,' *Art Bulletin* 24 (1942): 1-38, esp. 35-36, and Linda Seidel, "Constantine 'and' Charlemagne," *Gesta* 15 (1976): 237-239. Seidel, 239, note 7, lists further literature on this topic.
[60] Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici Imperatoris: The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa by Otto of Freising and his Continuator Rahewin*, trans. C. C. Mierow, 2nd ed. (1956; repr. New York, 1966), 117.

citizens of Rome on his first entry into that city, Barbarossa reminded them that Charlemagne and Otto took Rome and "Italy from the Greeks and the Lombards and added it to the realms of the Franks."[61] Twice in his biography Barbarossa reportedly invoked the names of earlier emperors, including Charlemagne, to justify his own actions.[62] To further reinforce this relationship, as mentioned earlier, Barbarossa had Charlemagne canonized in 1165.[63] In a desire to please his imperial patron, Rahewin makes the same connection when, in his physical description of Barbarossa he draws upon an earlier description of Charlemagne by Einhard.[64] Given Barbarossa's detailed knowledge of Charlemagne's reign, he must have been aware of the Theoderic statue at Aachen and the significance of the Ostrogothic king as the first German ruler of Italy.[65]

That Theoderic was part of Barbarossa's polemic is underscored by Theodore Andersson, who claims that the Dietrich stories in the north were written originally to promote Emperor Barbarossa's ambition to assert his authority in Lombardy. In an article about the politics of the Dietrich von Bern epics, Andersson proposes that the Dietrich stories were a South German appropriation of the Nibelung legend. Unlike the focus of the *Nibelungenlied* on Burgundy, the Dietrich epics concentrate on the territory of Italy.[66] Andersson convincingly argues that the main character of the *Nibelungenlied*, Siegfried, embodies the quintessential Frankish hero who was associated not only with

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[61] *Gesta Friderici*, 147.
[62] *Gesta Friderici*, 299 and 308. Otto of Freising records that Barbarossa used the names of these emperors to justify his own convening of a counsel for church matters.
[63] See Chapter 2, 124.
[64] *Gesta Friderici*, 331-332.
[65] See Andersson, 23, who argues that as the statue of Theoderic and his horse was mentioned in the *Thidreks Saga* (II. 357), it must have still existed at Aachen in the twelfth century for the northern author to have been aware of its existence.
[66] Andersson, 18-22. For more on the analysis of politics in Medieval German poetry, see Brian Murdoch, *The Germanic Hero: Politics and Pragmatism in Early Medieval Poetry* (London and Rio Grande, 1996), esp. 1-32.

Charlemagne, but with the contemporary emperor, Frederick Barbarossa. The *Nibelungenlied*, according to Andersson, mirrored Barbarossa's political program to unite Burgundy and Germany. Just as Siegfried leaves his Frankish homeland and marries the Burgundian princess Kriemhild in Worms, for example, Barbarossa, who spent a great deal of time in Worms, married Beatrice of Burgundy in 1156 and successfully united Swabia and Burgundy.

Andersson further holds that, as the *Nibelungenlied* represents Barbarossa's territorial consolidation of Burgundy and Swabia, the *Thidreks Saga* represents the emperor's ambitions in Italy. In the *Thidreks Saga*, mentioned above, Dietrich began his life in Italy, was exiled to Germany where he made his fortune, and then returned to Northern Italy and to Rome to reclaim this territory as his kingdom. Similarly, Barbarossa believed himself to be heir to Lombardy and Rome because his imperial predecessors had held that land. As the legendary Dietrich had been exiled to Germany, so Frederick Barbarossa retreated to the north after his defeat at Legnano in 1176 by Pope Alexander III and the Lombard League.[67] Like Dietrich, Barbarossa also aimed at reincorporating his inherited Lombard territory into his empire. This remained the centerpiece of Frederick's ambitions for the rest of his life even after his 1176 retreat at Legnano.

Andersson's theory is supported by medieval historians. Writing from a monastery in the Schwarzwald c. 1209-1210, the chronicler Otto of St. Blasien compared Barbarossa's Italian politics with those of Theoderic/Dietrich.[68] Otto, writing of the marriage between Henry, Barbarossa's son, and Constance, a relation of King Roger of

[67] Munz, 310-314, suggests that this defeat was more of a deliberately planned retreat by the emperor. See the Introduction to this dissertation, 35, note 128.
[68] *Die Chronik des Otto von St. Blasien*, trans. Horst Kohl (Leipzig, 1894), 43.

Sicily, says that part of Constance's dowry included the duchy of Apulia and Capua. Otto explains that through this marriage the Hohenstaufen clan recovered for the Roman Empire what had been taken away under Emperor Lothar.[69] Otto writes, "Thus, as is read of Theodoric, King of the Goths, all the neighboring kings were linked to the Emperor Frederick, either by relationship, alliance or submission, and under his rule the prestige of the empire was enhanced in all sorts of ways."[70] Although several of Barbarossa's Italian enterprises met with some amount of failure, this last act of his son's marriage did much to recover some of the lost territory in Italy for the emperor.

Frederick is also associated with Dietrich by Rahewin, who continued as the emperor's official biographer where Otto of Friesing left off. Concluding his fourth and last book with a physical description of the emperor, Rahewin uses Einhard's description of Charlemagne as well as another written description of Theoderic as the basis of his characterization of Frederick. Rahewin writes, "Now divine, august Frederick is (as a certain writer says of Theodoric) in character and appearance such a man that he deserves to be studied even by those not in close touch with him."[71] The ambitions of the Frankish Charlemagne and the Italian Theoderic perfectly summarized Barbarossa's own

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[69] On Emperor Lothar depriving the Hohenstaufen of the land in Northern Italy, see Introduction, 57, note 125.

[70] *Die Chronik*, 43.

[71] *Gesta Friderici*, 331. Frederick's uncle, Otto of Freising, wrote an historical account of Theoderic the Ostrogoth and sorted out the differences between this Theoderic and an earlier one, a Visigoth named Theoderic (453-466), who was referred to by Apollinaris Sidonius in his *Epistles*. Several other medieval accounts, however, confuse the Visigothic Theoderic with the Ostrogothic king Theoderic on whom the Dietrich legends were formed. The Theoderic of Rahewin's unidentified source may well have been a minor historical figure, a Visigoth, and not the famous Ostrogothic king. It is improbable that Rahewin would describe Barbarossa in terms of the famous Charlemagne on one hand and a rather unimportant Visigoth on the other. It is more likely Rahewin was aware of the differences between the two Theoderics, but deliberately failed to identify the true source of his description, writing, "as a certain writer says of Theodoric," so that the reader would naturally assume the description referred to the more famous Ostrogothic king. As the biography was intended to please Emperor Barbarossa, one assumes a comparison of his person to Charlemagne would be accompanied by a further comparison to the more legendary Theoderic, the Ostrogothic king of Italy.

ambitions both in Germany and Italy. Rahewin finishes his description by enumerating not only Barbarossa's restoration of Charlemagne's palaces, but also his restoration of churches and palaces in Italy. As Charlemagne was known for constructing the palace at Aachen as the new Rome, Theoderic the Great was famed for his building campaign in Northern Italy.[72] Clearly Barbarossa's own political agenda, the revival of a unified north and south, is at the heart of Rahewin's description of the emperor.

Like Charlemagne, who had claimed Theoderic as his royal Germanic predecessor, but believed himself to be the heir of both Theoderic and Constantine Frederick Barbarossa would have also viewed Charlemagne and Theoderic as his sacred and secular forebears. The negative references to certain moral and spiritual inadequacies in Theoderic's life, noted above, were not threatening to either Charlemagne or to Barbarossa because the two later Christian emperors recognized that Theoderic was not an orthodox Christian king. The fact that he was a Germanic conqueror of Italy, the more positive events from whose life were developed in the figure of Dietrich von Bern, made Theoderic a valuable historical and epic figure to Frederick Barbarossa.

Viewed in this manner, even the relief images of Theoderic in Northern Italy that cast him in a negative light take on new significance for Frederick Barbarossa. Scholars have sought to rationalize the relief panels of Theoderic at St. Zeno in Verona depicting his "Ride to Hell" as examples of bad government (fig. 202),[73] but in the next section it

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[72] On Theoderic's famous constructions in contemporary and later accounts, see Stammler, *Wort und Bild* 46-47, and Isotta Fiorentini and Piero Orioli, *S. Apollinare Nuovo: I mosaici di Teodorico* (Faenza, 2000), 19-21.

[73] For a political interpretation of the Theoderic reliefs at St. Zeno in Verona as examples of bad government, see Jonathan B. Reiss, *Political Ideals in Medieval Italian Art: The Frescoes in the Palazzo dei Priori, Perugia (1297)* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1981), 79-80. Repeatedly the question has been asked why heroic versions of Dietrich von Bern exist in the north, while a negative portrayal of Theoderic appears in

will become clear that these scenes were important to the history of Northern Italy and therefore important to an emperor attempting to reclaim this territory. It was because the reconquest of Lombardy was so pivotal in the success of Barbarossa's "Great Design" that contemporary poets and artists appropriated Italian references to King Theoderic and applied them to Barbarossa in the north.

Theoderic in Verona and Dietrich in Alsace

Unfavorable portrayals of Theoderic of Verona occurred in ecclesiastical sculptural programs in Northern Italy prior to 1160, when the new northern scene of Dietrich's rescue of Rentwin appeared at Andlau. Reliefs at St. Zeno in Verona, St. Peter in Gropina near Arezzo, and St. John in Borgo at Pavia portray Theoderic as an Arian heretic riding his horse to hell.[74] Theoderic's stag hunt and ride to hell illustrated in the two panels at the bottom of a group of sculptural panels to the right of the main portal at St. Zeno, are perhaps the most critical of the Northern Italian versions (fig. 202). The first relief shows the bearded king riding his horse and blowing on his horn. Theoderic's only garment is a great cape billowing behind him in the wind. As if prepared for a hunt, the king is equipped with a bag of arrows slung over his back. The inscription in this panel reads: "O foolish king! He demands a gift from hell. Soon a horse arrives which

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Northern Italy. See Heinzle, *Einführung*, 8-9; Bruhin, 99; and Späni, 19, note 84. See also Hans Szklenar, "Die Jagdszene von Hocheppan – Ein Zeugnis der Dietrichsage?" in *Deutsche Heldenepik in Tirol: König Laurin und Dietrich von Bern in der Dichtung des Mittelalters (Beiträge der Neustifter Tagung 1977 des Südtiroler Kulturinstitutes)*, ed. Egon Kühebacher (Bozen, 1977), 407-465. Szklenar argues that the meaning of scene of Theoderic's ride to hell is too complex to be merely labeled "negative". See also Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, *Romanische Skulptur in Oberitalien als Reflex der kommunalen Entwicklung im 12. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen zu Mailand und Verona* (Berlin, 1994), 220.

[74] For the Dietrich reliefs at St. Zeno in Verona (c. 1138), see A. K. Porter, *Lombard Architecture* (1917; repr., New York, 1967), 3: 531-534. For the version at Pavia, see Ott, 464. Two reliefs exist in the civic museum in Pavia from the façade of San Giovanni in Borgo (2nd quarter of the 12th c.). One shows a horn-blowing rider, behind whom a demon flies, probably Theoderic's ride to hell. The second shows a heathen battle. For the reliefs at Arezzo which date early in the Langobard period, see Fiorentini and Orioli, 18-19. The fourth confirmed representation of Theoderic in Italy is at St. Hilarus in Galatea (11th or 12th c.). This version also involves the king riding his horse in a scene occurring towards the end of his life. See Stammler, *Wort und Bild*, 56.

the wicked Devil sent. The king comes out naked from the water and rides off to hell never to return."[75] The adjoining panel to the right shows a stag chased by two dogs into the gate of hell, where the Devil awaits waving a palm branch.[76]

Although the sculpted representations of Theoderic in Italy display the unhappy ending of a wicked king, evidence suggests that the artists of these three versions at Andlau, Rosheim, and Basel may have had these earlier Italian sculptures in mind. A strong preference for Northern Italian architectural and sculptural ornament can be detected at each of the three churches where the Dietrich scenes occur in Alsatian dioceses. Exterior elements of all three churches compare easily with the façades of the church of St. Zeno in Verona and Verona cathedral (figs. 198-199). Ernst Cohn-Wiener, in fact, calls the façade of Rosheim an exact copy of St. Zeno in Verona.[77] This Italian preference, combined with the known historical ties to these three churches in the Alsatian dioceses with Emperor Frederick, provides support for Barbarossa's ambitions in Northern Italy.

An awareness of the sculptural programs produced by the sculptor, Wiligelmus, and his workshop at churches in the Emilia-Romagna has already been observed at the church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Andlau (see Chapter 3 above). Other aspects of the

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[75] Porter, 3: 531. *O regem stvltv petit infernale tribvtv/ moxq paratvr eqvvs que misit demon iniqvvs / exit aqva nvdvs pe / tit infera non reditv / rvs. nisvs eqvvs cervvs canis hvic / datvr hos dat avf. r. n.* von Hülsen-Esch, 219, provides a slightly different version: *O regem stvltv(m) petit infernale tribvtv(m)/ moxq(ve) paratvr eqvvs qve(m) misit demon iniqvvs/exit aqva nvdvs petit infera non reditvrvs/ nisvs eqvvs vervvs canis hvic dat(vr) hos dat avernus*. Porter, 3: 531, provides the translation: "O foolish king! He demands a gift from hell. Soon a horse arrives which the wicked Devil sent. The king comes out naked from the water and rides off to hell never to return. Hell gives to the king a horse, a stag and a dog."

[76] The devil waving a palm branch before the gate to hell may have existed as to contrast with Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem. See Kahn, 360, who suggests that the panel with Theoderic's ride to hell followed after the Old Testament scenes and therefore represents the world "ante legem", whereas the fighter scenes on the opposite side exist below the New Testament panels and represent the world "sub gratia."

[77] Ernst Cohn-Wiener, "Die italienischen Elemente in der romanische Kirchenarchitektur Elsass-Lothringens," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 4 (1911): 118.

façade at Andlau are reminiscent of Romanesque churches in the Veneto. For example, vertical pilasters (*Lisenen*) similar to those adorning the façade at St. Zeno (c. 1138; 1180) punctuate the west façade at Andlau (figs. 71-72, 199).[78] The horizontal frieze along the cornice of the west and north façades at Andlau is similar to the Italian sculpted frieze, an example of which runs along the west front of Verona cathedral to either side of the portal (figs. 73; 156, 197).[79] The compositional arrangement of the relief sculptures on the west façade and around the portal at Andlau bears a marked resemblance to the arrangement of sculpture at St. Zeno, as we will note later in this section. It will also be argued that some of the Dietrich scenes in the Andlau frieze were modeled after the panels representing Theoderic in the façade of St. Zeno. These reliefs at St. Zeno are believed to have been sculpted by Nicolaus, the pupil of Wiligelmus, the Emilian sculptor mentioned above, between 1138 and 1140.[80]

Similar stylistic comparisons to Romanesque architecture in Northern Italy can also be made at Rosheim in the church of Sts. Peter and Paul and at the Basel Minster, the other two churches in the Alsatian dioceses where Dietrich scenes exist. Of the three churches, the earliest reliefs of Dietrich von Bern, including his rescue of Rentwin from

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[78] On the dating at St. Zeno, see von Hülsen-Esch, 121, and Gianna Suitner-Nicolini, *Romanisches Venetien mit Südtirol* (Würzburg, 1994), 201-204; 207-208; and 244-245. Although scholars have sought to understand the political importance of the sculptural program at the church of St. Zeno in Verona, the chronology of the west façade sculpture is still problematic. The lower part of the west façade of the church of St. Zeno in Verona, for example, is typically dated between 1117 and 1138 because of the regional earthquake in 1117 and an 1178 inscription in the campanile claiming the sculpture forty years earlier was made by Nicolaus. The entire façade of the church was redone in the 1180s by Master Briolotus, including the Wheel of Fortune in the upper part of the façade.

[79] For further stylistic comparison of the frieze at Andlau with the frieze at the cathedral of St. Maria Matricolare in Verona as well as other Italian friezes, see Hofmann-Kastner, 165-167. See Suitner-Nicolini, 259 for the dates of Verona Cathedral. Most scholars date the portal sculpture at Verona Cathedral, sculpted by Nicolaus, between 1138 and 1140.

[80] von Hülsen-Esch, 121; and Suitner-Nicolini, 201-204; 207-208; and 244-245. The reliefs showing the Dietrich legend at St. Zeno seem to have been inserted into the façade after the 1138 construction. Still, art historians have argued that the style of the Dietrich relief scenes is similar to the style of the sculptor, Nicolaus, who was active in Verona from 1138-1140. Others have suggested that Nicolaus was active earlier in Verona, from 1120-1122.

the dragon, appeared at Andlau after the 1160 reconstruction there. These scenes are especially close in style and composition to scenes of Theoderic at St. Zeno in Verona. While Rosheim and Basel display only the single scene of the rescue, the frieze at Andlau includes a hunt scene (fig. 194-195), perhaps modeled upon to the hunt and ride to hell at St. Zeno (fig. 202).[81]

Positioned towards the center of the forty-nine panels of the frieze at Andlau,[82] the hunt scene chronologically follows the two-paneled scene of the Dietrich's rescue of Rentwin at the left and possibly another episode from the Dietrich repertoire in which the knight slays a bear (figs. 75-77; 194-195). The hunt scene at Andlau is most like the corresponding scene at St. Zeno in that both are divided into two panels, as seen in photographs taken during an early twentieth-century reconstruction (figs. 194-195).[83] The first panel at Andlau shows a hunter on horseback riding slightly behind his servant, who blows a horn with one hand and holds the leash of an underfed dog. In the second panel a stag jumps up towards a tree similar to the large stick or branch held up by the devil in the St. Zeno panel.[84] As at St. Zeno, a second dog is shown just beneath the deer at Andlau. This second panel at Andlau has suffered some damage particularly on its right side and one wonders if it, too, once included the figure of the devil at the gate of hell. In this the artists at Andlau probably also followed the trend in German literary accounts.[85]

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[81] See Hofmann-Kastner, 180, for a quick comparison of the Dietrich scenes at Andlau and St. Zeno.
[82] See note 5 above.
[83] Although Dietrich's hunt appears today in one long panel, Robert Forrer's article shows the scene in two panels, as they had once existed prior to modern reconstructions. See Forrer, plate XV.
[84] Modern reconstruction has completely altered the head of the stag.
[85] As Otto of Freising notes in *The Two* Cities, 328, the legend of Theoderic's hunt must have been popular as is demonstrated by the thirteenth-century *Thidreks Saga*. von Hülsen-Esch, 220, and Sandbach, 59, provide the text for the following passage: After he built the arena in Verona, Theoderic received the gift of a horse and a dog from the devil. Upon receiving these gifts, he was filled with such joy that he sprang

Two other scenes in the frieze panels at Andlau bear a remarkable resemblance to the two relief panels on the lower left side of the main porch of St. Zeno. In the center of frieze on the west façade at Andlau, two pairs of fighting knights frame the scene of a lion in profile watching a second lion devour an animal (figs. 78, 82-83). To the left of the lions two knights joust on horseback, while to the right of the lions two other knights fight with swords on foot. This group of reliefs must have been important for they appear in the frieze directly above the main portal of the church. On the right side of the porch at St. Zeno a pair of knights on horseback and a pair of footsoldiers appear in two panels on the opposite side of the porch from the relief of Theoderic's ride to hell (figs. 203-204).

These two scenes at Verona likely represent King Theoderic battling King Odoacer. Pointing to a local Veronese manuscript image of these two kings fighting on horseback, von Hülsen-Esch feels relatively certain that at least the reliefs of the knights on horseback represent King Theoderic and his rival, King Odoacer.[86] Although the

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naked from his bath and rode his horse to some unknown place. People say that even now he hunts in the forest at night seeking nymphs. Sandbach, 59, also discusses other mythological accounts of Dietrich's end. Unlike the version in the *Thidreks Saga*, Haymes and Samples, 33, tell us that most medieval legendary sources emphasized that Theoderic would never again return. Haymes and Samples theorize that the repeated emphasis on Theoderic's failure to return indicates a more widespread belief that the king actually would return in hard times. See Szklenar, 1977, 436, for yet another version of the *Thidreks Saga* in which Theoderic, once he realizes he cannot dismount states, "This must be a devil upon which I sit. I will return, though, if God and Holy Mary desire this." Yet another literary source from 1197 claims that Theoderic appeared riding a black horse along the Moselle and prophesying bad times for the Roman Empire. Stammler, 59; Szklenar, 1977, 433; and Haymes and Samples, 33, explain that the source is the *Cologne Kings' Chronicle* and von Hülsen-Esch, 221, note 618, provides the Latin text for this passage. It is now believed that this episode had to do with the death of Emperor Henry VI (1190-1197), Barbarossa's son and successor. Henry VI's death reportedly brought about much political turmoil and the return of a "good" king was a welcome thought. The 1197 legend of Theoderic's appearance may have been related to this return of a king in bad times, particularly as Henry VI left behind such political chaos. Haymes and Samples, 33, mention as well that the belief of a king returning in hard times was also a popular idea attached to King Arthur, Charlemagne, and Frederick Barbarossa.

[86] See von Hülsen-Esch, 219-220, and Abb. 86. She identifies the scene from a manuscript at the cloister of Santa Trinita Paulus (Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. Pal. Lat. 927, fol. 122r). The scene shows Odoacer and Theoderic with lances and shields on horseback. As at St. Zeno, both men wear chainmail and the

identity of the knights fighting on foot at St. Zeno is still disputed, it makes sense to think of both battle scenes as part of a series on the life of Theoderic.[87] According to the twelfth-century *Chronicon Gozense*, Theoderic had founded Verona.[88] Part of what contributed to Theoderic's right to rule Verona was his triumph over Odoacer. As the two reliefs of Theoderic's ride to hell relate to the end of Theoderic's life, the two contest scenes on St. Zeno's façade may relate to earlier battles defending Verona from Odoacer.[89]

As we will see, visual evidence supports the idea that the four secular reliefs at St. Zeno were probably part of an historical series based on the life of Theoderic, the local founder and ruler of the city. Since a battle between knights on foot typically follows a joust after the riders have fallen off their horses, it seems likely that these two panels were understood as two consecutive scenes. In fact, the scarf flowing from the helmet of the knight at the left in both panels seems intended to mark the same individual in both scenes. The drilled holes used to depict the chain mail in the two left panels are similar to the small pattern of holes adorning the Theoderic's saddle in the hunt scene on the

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figure on the left, Theoderic, seems at a slight advantage. See also Kahn, 362, and Stammler, 111-112 and 159-161.

[87] Rita Lejeune and Jacques Stiennon, *The Legends of Roland in the Middle Ages*, trans. Christine Trollope (1966; repr., New York, 1971), 1: 73-74. Lejeune and Stiennon argue these two reliefs at St. Zeno recall similar scenes of Roland and Ferragut in the windows at Chartres and on a capital at Estella in Spain, both of which are inscribed. Joachim Poeschke, *Die Skulptur des Mittelalters in Italien: Romanik* (Munich, 1998), 1: 92. Poeschke mentions that the knights at St. Zeno have also been interpreted as Hildebrand and Hadubrand. On these knights as Hildebrand and Hadubrand, see also Christine Verzár Bornstein, *Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City State: The Sculpture of Nicolas in Context* (Parma, 1988), 152. Hans Szklenar, "Roland in Verona: Anmerkungen zur Deutung der Reliefs in Saint Zeno Maggiore durch Rita Lejeune und Jacques Stiennon," in *Geist und Zeit, Wirkungen des Mittelalters in Literatur und Sprache: Festschrift für Roswitha Wisniewski zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Carola L. Gottzmann (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), 39-56. Szklenar, 45-46, says these fighters have also been identified as the historical Emperor Otto the Great and King Berengar II of Italy as well as Theoderic and the Langobardic King Alboin. Kahn, 361-364, convincingly argues that the reliefs at Saint Zeno were intentionally left uninscribed so that they could be interpreted on several different levels.

[88] von Hülsen-Esch, 219. On Theoderic in the *Chronicon Gozense* (1135) see also Grimm, 45 and 458. Theoderic was also responsible for the construction of the ampitheater in Verona according to this account.

[89] von Hülsen-Esch, 219, esp. note 610. See Moorhead, 22-26, on Theoderic's battles with Odoacer, particularly in Verona in the latter part of the fifth century.

opposite side of the porch (figs. 202-203). Stylistic unity among the four reliefs is also demonstrated by the depiction of horses in the tournament scene and in the scene of Theoderic's ride to hell, which were most likely to have been sculpted by same hand. These four scenes must have been displayed together as a series prior to their present arrangement on the façade as were the sacred scenes currently set above them on either side of the portal at St. Zeno (figs. 201-205).[90] While the panels of Theoderic's ride to hell contain inscriptions at the top and are therefore taller than the panels to the left of the porch, it seems at least possible that the panels of Theoderic's two battles originally contained inscriptions at the top as well, and that these were cut off to fit a later installation. It is clear that the two battle scenes were cropped to some extent at the sides, for the tails of the horses are missing in the scene of battling horsemen.

Further evidence that the combating knights represent scenes from Theoderic's life is found in two reliefs from the now destroyed church of St. John in Borgo at Pavia that show a scene of two knights facing each other in battle and another scene of Theoderic's ride to hell.[91] Because Theoderic was also an important ruler in the city of Pavia, it cannot be coincidental that a series of scenes related to his legendary history exist there as well as in Verona. We know, for example, that Theoderic was so prominent in Pavia during the early Middle Ages that legal judgments were pronounced

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[90] Evelyn Kain, *The Sculpture of Nicholaus and the Development of a North Italian Romanesque Workshop* (Vienna, 1986), 194-195. Kain suggests that the Genesis reliefs and those from the Life of Christ probably originally decorated a piece of interior church furniture. She suspects as well that the secular reliefs were once part of a sarcophagus, or perhaps they decorated a campanile. Kain does mention that the four secular reliefs differ in size, though, which could mean that they were part of two different projects. I think the stylistic similarity between the four panels precludes this theory.

[91] Ott, 464. Two reliefs exist in the civic museum in Pavia from the façade of San Giovanni in Borgo (2nd quarter of the 12th c.). One shows a horn-blowing rider, behind whom a demon flies, probably Theoderic's ride to hell. The second shows a battle.

under his statue in that city.[92] Additionally two early Lombard capital scenes from the parish church of St. Peter in Gropina near Arezzo also show a tournament scene of Theoderic and the king's undignified ride on a horse into a volcano.[93] It has been argued that these capitals show that Arezzo was yet another of Theoderic's original strongholds.[94]

According to Dorothy Glass, the sculptural trend on church facades in the early twelfth-century was to historicize and reiterate past glories and achievements.[95] Glass points to St. Zeno in Verona as one example of this historicizing trend. At St. Zeno one sees this most clearly in the relief panels describing the history of Creation and of the Life of Christ (man's early history in the Old and New Testaments) as well as in the lintel reliefs on the main portal, illustrating the life of Zeno (c. 371-380), the patron of the city (figs. 201, 204-205). The four panels related to the life of Theoderic could be viewed as just one more example of this Italian historicizing tradition. That the scenes of Theoderic fighting on foot and on horseback visually correspond to the military groups of calvarymen and footsoldiers in the tympanum further contributes to the notion that the history of Theoderic was significant to the contemporary citizens of Verona (figs. 203, 206).

In Alsace, scenes of jousting knights on horseback, knights competing on foot, and Dietrich's hunt at Andlau represent yet another series taken from the life of the

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[92] C. P. Bock, "Die Reiterstatue des Ostgothenkönigs Theoderich vor dem Pallaste Karl d. Gr. zu Aachen," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 5-6 (1844): 14. Bock mentions that a mosaic of Theoderic existed behind a rider statue of the king in Pavia. According to Bock's source, in 968 King Berengar rendered legal judgements *sub Theodorico*.
[93] Fiorentini and Orioli, 18-19.
[94] Fiorentini and Orioli, 18, point to one of Charlemagne's diplomas that placed the church of San Pietro a Gropina under the authority of the archbishop of Ravenna.
[95] Glass, 189. On the historicizing trend of literature and sculpture in Northern Italy, see also Fox-Friedman, 83-84.

Ostrogothic king of Verona. Since this series of reliefs was an historical touchpoint for the cities of Verona, Pavia, and Arezzo, its inclusion at Andlau seems likely to have held some historical importance for that church as well. Certainly an awareness of the Italian historicizing trend can be observed at Andlau in the creation scenes on the portal lintel, the presence of contemporary persons, possibly donors, on the jambs, and the inclusion of the founder of the abbey, Richardis, in the keystone of the arch over the portal (fig. 83-85). Although historical reference to the historical Ostrogothic king of Verona is made in the relief panels of the frieze at Andlau, the figure represented in these reliefs is not historical, but legendary.

As we have seen in this chapter, this paradox may be understood when we view the historical Theodoric as a reinvented legendary hero of the north, Dietrich von Bern. The sculptors at Andlau gave prominence to the Dietrich themes because of their support for their patron and advocate, Frederick Barbarossa, and his "Great Design". Since Frederick's Italian ambitions were central to the "Great Design", specific compositional references at Andlau to the Theoderic series of reliefs at St. Zeno in Verona expressed the imperial desire to unite the empire by appropriating Italian history as his own. The decision at Andlau to portray the historic king, Theoderic, as a northern hero, Dietrich, signaled to the Alsatian viewers that Frederick not only had rights to Italy, but was a ruler of epic proportions.

Conclusion

"It began with a picture, the picture became an inscription, the inscription became an authoritative utterance," wrote Rahewin of the scene at the Lateran depicting an emperor in a submissive position as the pope's vassal.[1] Frederick Barbarossa stood before this scene of papal supremacy in 1155 appalled at its ramifications. Throughout his reign, however, Barbarossa too used artistic portrayals to state a respectful case for the Christian principle of governance by two swords as an equal balance of authority between pope and emperor. How dismayed he would have been just a decade after his death in 1190 when yet another picture in Rome claimed absolute papal authority.

The Reconstructed Apse at Old St. Peter's

The reading of the *Traditio Legis* in Barbarossa's time was changed dramatically with the revisions of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) to the apse at Old St. Peter's around 1200 (figs. 35, 40-41).[2] Generally accepted as the Early Christian source for all later monumental scenes of the *Traditio Legis*,[3] Innocent's changes to this Constantinian apse made a bold statement that deliberately altered the meaning of the scene for generations to come. Despite Barbarossa's continual efforts to restore the damage done to his office in the wake of the Investiture Controversy, Innocent's artistic program marked the dawn of a new era of papal supremacy over the German emperor. As will be seen in an early thirteenth-century sculptural ensemble at the cathedral of Strasbourg, Innocent's

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[1] See Introduction, 1, note 1.

[2] Richard Krautheimer, "A Note on the Inscription in the Apse of Old St. Peter's," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 318. We know of Innocent's new apse program through drawings made just prior to its destruction in 1506. For more on Pope Innocent III's artistic programs in Rome, which were originally recorded in his papal biography, see Antonio Iacobini, "La pittura e le arti suntuarie: Da Innocenzo III a Innocenzo IV (1198-1254)," in *Roma nel Duecento: L'arte nella città dei papi da Innocenzo III a Bonifacio VIII*, ed. Angiola M. Romanini (Turin, 1991), 237-240, and Walter N. Schumacher, "Eine römische Apsiskomposition," *Römische Quartalschrift* 54 (1959): 149.

[3] Christa Belting Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1992), 34. See also Chapter 2, 100.

ambitions proclaimed in the apse of Old St. Peter's even left a mark in Alsace, the heart of imperial Hohenstaufen territory.

The program of the original fourth-century apse at Old St. Peter's, which is described in Chapter 2, detailed the ordained hierarchy of authority governing the church. In the *Traditio Legis* scene, Christ granted His authority to Peter and to Paul, both of whom exhorted Christians to obey God's law and to honor earthly authority in their writings.[4] According to the inscriptions on the apse, Emperor Constantine and his son, Constans, had donated the basilica of Old St. Peter's to be a seat of justice, a place where God's law would be administered. In a similar manner Christ would act as a final judge His Second Coming. Emperor Constantine, then, had as important a role in the administration of earthly justice as had the bishop of Rome who received his imperial donation (fig. 41). Constantine, depicted with his model of the church opposite St. Peter in the archway over the *Traditio Legis* scene, represented all secular power while his counterpart, St. Peter and his papal successors by extension, embodied sacred authority.

The Constantinian associations with the *Traditio Legis* at Old St. Peter's inspired medieval emperors, especially Frederick Barbarossa, to commission this motif in order to express ideas about imperial authority. It is clear from the restorations of Innocent III that the imperial interpretation of this image came to be viewed by this post-Gregorian pope as a threat to his sovereign papal authority. In an early sixteenth-century drawing of the apse, we see that Innocent had replaced the earlier Constantinian inscriptions with words that clearly attested to papal supremacy and authority over all other powers: *Svmma petri sedes est h(a)ec sacra principis aedes mater cvnctar(vm) decor et decvs ecclesiar(vm) devotvs xpo qvi templo servit in isto flores virtvtis capiet frvctvsq(ve)*

[4] Chapter 2, esp. 97-103.

salvtis (figs. 35, 40).[5] In addition to changing the earlier Constantinian inscription to one that attested to the authority of the apostle Peter and the primacy of the basilica of Old St. Peter's in Rome, the pope also had a portrait of himself inserted to the left of the center of the lower register among the apostolic sheep (fig. 207). Although Innocent was responsible for the reconstruction of this apse, he is not marked as a donor holding a model of the church, as other papal donors would have been represented.[6] Rather he is, as Richard Krautheimer explains, *the* Pope, the successor to St. Peter.[7]

Opposite Innocent is the figure of *Ecclesia*, a traditional personification of the Church. *Ecclesia's* position opposite Innocent III is not only new to the program at Old St. Peter's, but crucial to the understanding of Innocent's overall message to the viewer. Though at variance with it, the pope's visual message relies on the viewer's familiarity with the traditional Carolingian scene of the *Traditio Legis* in the Lateran triclinium of Leo III as well as a passing knowledge of the Gelasian doctrine of the two swords. It was explained in Chapter 2 that in the triclinium of Leo III, the *Traditio Legis* scene of Christ giving gifts of His authority to Peter and Paul was placed opposite the scene of Peter

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[5] Joseph Wilpert and Walter Schumacher, *Die römischen Mosaiken der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. – XIII. Jahrhundert*, rev. ed. (1916; repr., Basel and Freiburg, 1976), 62, provide the inscription written for Innocent III to replace an earlier Constantinian inscription and offer the following translation in German: "Petri erhabener Sitz ist dieses heilige Haus den Apostelfürsten, Mutter, Schmuck und Zierde aller Kirchen. Wer in diesem Tempel Christus mit Andacht dient, wird Tugenblüten pflücken und Früchte des Heiles." See Herbert Kessler and Johanna Zacharias, *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim* (New Haven and London, 2000), 202, for a translation of the first sentence of the inscription: "This is the See of St. Peter, this is the Temple of the Prince [of the Apostles] the glory and mother of all Churches." The second sentence reads: "Whoever serves Christ with devotion in this temple will pick the blossoms of virtue and the fruit of salvation," (my translation). For the sketch of the apse by Grimaldi, see Wilpert and Schumacher, 73 (Cod. Vat. Lat. 5408, fol. 29 and 31; Cod. Barb. Lat. 4410, fol. 26). For the watercolor included in Kessler and Zacharias, 202, see BAV, Cod. Barb. Lat. 2733, fols. 158-159.

[6] See, for example, Pope Felix IV carrying a donation on the apse of St. Cosmas and St. Damian (520-30; restored in 1100) (figs. 42-43), or Pope Pelagius II with a model on the apse at St. Lawrence Outside the Walls (579-590; restored c. 1100) (fig. 208).

[7] Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: A Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton, 1980), 206.

giving his authority to both Emperor Charlemagne and Pope Leo III (figs. 45-48).[8] In this program, then, Pope Leo III was visually compared to Peter, while Emperor Charlemagne was likened to Paul. The same idea had been expressed earlier in the fifth century by Pope Gelasius I, who advocated a division of Christ's authority into two branches, the sacred and the secular.

Below the *Traditio Legis* scene in the apse at Old St. Peter's, Pope Innocent III does not appear opposite the German Emperor, but opposite the figure of *Ecclesia Romana*. *Ecclesia*, who stands on level with Pope Innocent III, replaces the secular authority, the German emperor, as the pope's equal.[9] Christopher Walter finds it significant that Innocent had his portrait placed on Paul's side, as if to state that he was not only the successor of St. Peter, but of Paul as well, whose position was traditionally ascribed to the emperor in *Traditio Legis* scenes.[10] Pope Innocent III and his *Ecclesia* inherited both the sacred and secular swords from Christ, and he proclaimed in himself all temporal and ecclesiastical authority

Despite persistent imperial efforts to maintain equality with the pope from the late eleventh century through 1200, later popes such as Innocent advocated papal primacy all the more aggressively. The march towards an imperial pope that had begun in the late eleventh century during the Investiture Controversy between Pope Gregory VII and Emperor Henry IV culminated in Innocent III's "Papal State" and his new role as "*verus*

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[8] See Chapter 2, 103-108.
[9] Christopher Walter, "Papal Political Imagery in the Medieval Lateran Palace," *Cahiers archéologiques* 21 (1971): 135. Walter speculates that before Innocent's revisions an emperor had appeared opposite the fourth-century pope just as Constantine was shown opposite St. Peter in the arch above the apse at Old St. Peter's. If they had once existed in the Early Christian era, these two figures of a pope and an emperor on the same level might have prompted Innocent's revisions.
[10] Walter, 135.

imperator, Emperor-Priest and Ruler of the World."[11] Reflective of Innocent's new politics, his restored mosaic at Old St. Peter's denied the emperor any priestly role and asserted that the pope alone was Christ's vicar of the Church. Because the meaning of the *Traditio Legis* had been altered from a statement of imperial relevance in the ecclesiastical hierarchy to a new assertion of papal supremacy, the original meaning behind all previous versions of the motif consequently was lost to history. Thus as Barbarossa had feared in 1155, Innocent's authoritative utterance promoting papal supremacy also began with a picture and an inscription.

Innocent's propaganda at Old St. Peter's influenced subsequent artistic programs throughout the empire,[12] including those created in Barbarossa's homeland of Alsace. Since scenes of the *Traditio Legis* continued to appear at Alsatian churches for some time after Barbarossa's death in 1190, the emperor's ambitions for the empire must have remained significant for the citizens of Alsace.[13] The new sculptural program on the

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[11] Ernst Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second, 1194-1250*, rev. ed (1931; repr., London, 1957), 45, explains that Innocent used these terms in a number of documents to describe his papal role. Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy*, rev. ed. (1968; repr. New York, 1979) 114, explains that Innocent developed these concepts in the doctrine of *ex plentitudine potestatis* (plentitude of power).

[12] This new understanding of the *Traditio Legis* at Old St. Peter's is reflected by slightly later medieval sculptural programs throughout the empire. For example, the west portal tympanum of the church of St. Peter and St. Alexander at Aschaffenburg in Germany (1220-1240) shows Christ at the center enthroned between St. Peter and Pope Alexander III. See Rainer Budde, *Deutsche Romanische Skulptur 1050-1250* (Munich, 1978), 81, figs. 170-171. As in a *Traditio Legis* scene, Peter stands at the right holding a large key. Standing in the place of St. Paul, Pope Alexander, identified by his liturgical garments and papal tiara, cradles a book in his left hand. Pope Alexander, who wears a halo to underscore his sainthood, now stands on equal footing with St. Peter. See also William M. Hinkle, "The King and the Pope on the Virgin Portal of Notre-Dame," *Art Bulletin* 48 (1966): 1-13. I think the dado relief (c. 1200) of the pope crowning the emperor on the Virgin Portal of Notre-Dame in Paris and the slightly later statues of Philip Augustus and the pope from the same portal could be understood as well in light of Innocent's restoration at Old St. Peter's.

[13] Three scenes of the *Traditio Legis* appeared in the Basel diocese after Barbarossa's death. These include the tympanum fragment at St. Morand in Altkirch (1190-1200), the south portal tympanum of the collegiate church of St. Ursanne (after 1187), and the jambs of the south portal of the collegiate church of Neuchâtel (Neuenburg) (c. 1191). Three late scenes also appeared in the west portal tympanum of the church of St. Peter and Paul at Schwarzach (1209-1220), the former west portal tympanum of the church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Eguisheim (c. 1230), and on the north portal of the church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Neuwiller, a

south portal of the cathedral of Strasbourg, however, incorporated elements of the *Traditio Legis* motif into a new arrangement more in keeping with emerging papal politics.

Frederick II as the Bringer of Peace

Barbarossa's death in 1190 left a power vacuum in the empire that only came to be filled by his grandson, Emperor Frederick II (1220-1250). Before he could reclaim the authority of his grandfather as emperor, though, Frederick II had to solve significant problems that had arisen during the reigns of Barbarossa's immediate successors, particularly in Alsace. During the period between Barbarossa's death and the accession of Frederick II, a strong antipathy had developed toward the Hohenstaufen family in Alsace.[14] Although Barbarossa had made provisions for the governance of the empire by appointing his five sons to positions of authority, they were neither able to instill the same feelings of loyalty in the people of Alsace, nor were they able to carry out Barbarossa's plans.[15] Henry VI (1190-1197) succeeded his father as emperor, but he devoted little attention to Alsace, although he had grown up there, because affairs in Italy kept him preoccupied throughout his short reign.

To administer territory north of the Alps, Barbarossa had chosen his son, Otto, as the count palatine of Burgundy and another son, Frederick, as duke of Swabia and Alsace. According to Thomas Seiler, Barbarossa had hoped that Otto would strengthen

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Gothic scene which may have replaced an earlier Romanesque version. For more on the continuation of *Traditio Legis* scenes between 1190 and 1229 in Alsace, see Appendix C.

[14] Thomas Seiler, *Die frühstaufische Territorialpolitik im Elsass* (Hamburg, 1995), 265-266.

[15] See Peter Csendes, *Heinrich VI* (Darmstadt, 1993), 29. Five sons survived from the marriage of Barbarossa to Beatrix of Burgundy: Henry VI, Frederick (Duke of Swabia and Alsace), Otto (Count Palatine of Burgundy), Conrad (Duke of Rothenburg), and Philipp (who would become Duke of Swabia on the death of Frederick in 1191 and king in 1198).

ties between Alsace and Burgundy, but this never happened.[16] Frederick died along with his father on crusade, leaving Otto responsible as administrator of Alsace and Swabia as well as Burgundy. Count Otto embarked upon a course of unfortunate behavior involving murder and plunder, which caused a number of key Alsatian families to rebel against him.[17] Seiler claims that Emperor Henry VI was preoccupied in Italy and had little control over Otto. Then Henry died in 1197 leaving the empire in a chaotic state of uncertainty regarding his succession. Henry VI's youngest brother, Philipp of Swabia, attempted to regain loyalty in Alsace in 1198 and 1199, but it was not until the beginning of the reign of Henry's son, Frederick II, in 1212 that some order was restored there.

The political ambitions of Frederick II, who restored and rebuilt cities in Alsace, must have reminded Alsatians of the peaceful years of prosperity under his grandfather, Frederick Barbarossa. Once Frederick II was crowned King of Germany in 1212 he began a territorial campaign in the north similar to that of his grandfather. First, he often visited Alsace in the early years of his reign (between 1212 and 1220), and made this land, which he referred to as the most beloved of his inherited territories, his principal seat in the north.[18] He governed the region from his ancestral palace at Haguenau, officially granting the dukedom of Alsace in 1216 to his five-year-old son, Henry VII.[19]

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[16] Seiler, 265-266.

[17] While Seiler, 265, holds the traditional view that Otto of Burgundy was hated in Alsace because he murdered Count Amadeus of Mömpelgard and Cound Ulrich of Pfirt, as well as the brother of Bishop Conrad of Strasbourg, Peter Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa: A Study in Medieval Politics* (Ithaca and London, 1969), 334, offers a different view. Munz believes Otto murdered for political reasons to help secure a new territorial state. While some citizens of Alsace may have appreciated Otto's efforts, Seiler lists a number of local noble families who openly rebelled against the count of Burgundy, including the bishops of both Alsatian dioceses.

[18] Aloys Meister, *Die Hohenstaufen im Elsass: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Reichsbesitzes und des Familiengutes derselben im Elsass 1079-1255* (Mainz, 1890), 16 and 150; Wilhelm R. Valentiner, *The Bamberg Rider: Studies of Mediaeval German Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 1956), 122; Philippe Dollinger and Raymond Oberle, *L'histoire de l'Alsace: De la Préhistoire à nos jours* (Colmar, 1985), 78; and David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (New York, 1992), 123.

[19] Meister, 11.

Once Frederick was crowned emperor in 1220, he continued to administer affairs in Alsace through his son Henry, who became king of Germany in 1220, and through his *ministeriales*.[20] With the aide of imperial officials, Frederick II initiated a program to establish and build up over a dozen cities in Alsace.[21]

It was during a long visit to Alsace in 1235-1236 that the emperor quelled a rebellion that had been forming against his young son in Strasbourg during Frederick II's fifteen-year absence from the area.[22] Meeting with Bishop Berthold of Strasbourg, the emperor restored peace in 1236 through an agreement with the bishop and a proclamation of peace at the cathedral. Because the sculptural program on the south portal of the cathedral dates stylistically to this era, scholars have traditionally viewed the program in light of Frederick's restoration of peace at Strasbourg (fig. 209-210).[23] Reiterating work by Otto von Simson and Adolf Weis, Bernd Nicolai has recently suggested that the south

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[20] Dollinger and Oberle, 78, and Philippe Dollinger, *Histoire de l'Alsace,* 3rd ed. (Toulouse, 1970), 98. Woelfelin was the viceroy of Frederick II in Haguenau for twenty years. Berthold of Hohkönigsburg, an imperial legate under Barbarossa, served Frederick II as well.

[21] On Frederick II's program to build cities in Alsace, see Dollinger and Oberle, 78-81, Hella Fein, *Die staufischen Städtegründungen im Elsass* (Frankfurt am Main, 1939), 83-86, and Meister, 13-18.

[22] Frederick II's palace at Haguenau was so close geographically to Strasbourg that he must have visited the city on numerous occasions during his trips through Alsace. Meister, 141, records an official letter written by Frederick to Pope Innocent III issued from Strasbourg in 1216. Meister, 147-151, also lists a number of documents written by Frederick between 1235 and 1236 regarding the privileges and rights of Strasbourg.

[23] Bernd Nicolai, "Orders in Stone - Social Reality and Artistic Approach: The Case of the Strasbourg South Portal," *Gesta* 41 (2002): 123, and Meister, 14. For more specific historical details of Frederick II's relationship with Strasbourg, see Dollinger and Oberle, 79. The citizens of Strasbourg strove for independence from both the bishop and secular lords beginning in 1201. Philip of Swabia took the city under his direct protection in 1205, but the council of the city repeatedly fought with the bishop of Strasbourg. Frederick II placed the city under interdict, but eventually placed Strasbourg under his special protection in 1219 and again in 1236. For relations between the Bishop of Strasbourg, Berthold of Teck, and King Henry VII of Germany, see Guy Trendel, "Die Burgenpolitik der Staufer im Elsass," in *Stauferburgen am Oberrhein*, ed. Odilo Engels et al (Karlsruhe, 1977), 96-97. On the traditional interpretation of the Strasbourg portal in terms of Frederick's restoration of peace at Strasbourg, see also Otto von Simson, "Le programme sculptural du transept méridional de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," *Bulletin de la Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 10 (1972): 33-50; citations here are from the reprint in *Von der Macht des Bildes im Mittelalter*, ed. R. Haussherr (Berlin, 1993), 78-100; Otto von Simson, "Nuovi temi della scultura monumentale tedesca nell'età di Federico II di Hohenstaufen," in *Federico II e l'arte del duecento italiano: Atti della III Settimana di studi di storia dell'arte medievale dell'università di Roma (15-20 maggio 1978)*, ed. Angiola Maria Romanini (Rome, 1980), 391-401; Valentiner, 122-135; and A. Weis, "Zur Symbolik der Bildwerke am Südportal des Münsters von Straßburg" (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Freiburg, 1946).

portal sculptural program at the Strasbourg Cathedral was created around 1235 to remind viewers of the role of Emperor Frederick II as the *rex pacificus*, or peace-bringing king.[24]

The Double Portal at Strasbourg Cathedral

Frederick II's characterization as the peace-bringer at Strasbourg was based on the traditional role of the emperor as the administrator and enforcer of the law. To underscore their legitimate authority to administer justice in the empire, Frederick's predecessors had used motifs such as the *Traditio Legis* in artistic programs. Because of attacks made on the religious values of kingship, most recently by Innocent III, it now fell to Justinian's law-books to restore the priestly function of rulers.[25] Frederick II, in fact, took his role as the *lex animata* (animate law) seriously by codifying new laws throughout the empire in an effort to bring about further peace.[26] The sculptural program adorning the south portal at Strasbourg Cathedral addressed this role of the ruler in ecclesiastic hierarchy, but the design reveals a change from a balance of two powers to one of kingly submission. While Frederick II's role as law-giver and law-enforcer may

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[24] Nicolai, 111-128. While I accept Nicolai's new date for the south portal of c. 1235, earlier sources date the portal to the 1220s. See especially von Simson, "Le programme," 78-100; von Simson, "Nuovi temi," 391-401; and Valentiner, 122-135.

[25] Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, 7th ed. (Princeton, 1997), 117- 132. Aristotle referred to the perfect judge as the *iustum animatum* (animate justice) in his *Nicomachean Ethics* while Justinian used the term in his *Novel*. This term came to be associated with the office of the Christian emperor in Frederick II's era.

[26] Frederick established two books of civil law, the *Liber Augustalis* (1231) and the code of rules known as the *Landfriede* of Mainz (1235). See Valentiner, 126-132; von Simson, "Le programme," 85, andVirginia R. Kaufmann, "Magdeburg Rider and the Law," in *Kunst im Reich Kaiser Friedrichs II. von Hohenstaufen: Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums (Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, 2. bis 4. Dezember 1994)*, ed. Kai Kappel, Dorothee Kemper and Alexander Knaak (Bonn, 1995), 127-135. Kaufmann, 127, suggests that the *Confoederatio cum principibus ecclesiasticis* of 1220 was also an important legal agreement arranged by Frederick. On Frederick's view of himself as the *lex animata* see Kantorowicz, 97-107. According to Kantorowicz, 131, a South-Italian document referred to the "Lord Emperor" as *lex animata* in 1230. This source can be found in Wolfram von den Steinen, *Das Kaisertum Friedrichs des Zweiten* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1922), 63. Two year's later, the emperor referred to his majesty as "the animate Law on earth…from which the civil laws originate." Kantorowicz quotes from J. F. Böhmer, *Acta imperii selecta* (Innsbruck, 1870), 1: 264, no. 299.

seem the essential message of the Strasbourg portal, we will see that his authority was subtly undermined by new iconography of the Virgin.

The sculptural program of the south transept façade at Strasbourg suits the portal's original function as a backdrop for a law court, for it is rife with judicial references appropriate for a court of law (fig. 210).[27] At the far right of the double portal, for example, the sculpted figure of *Synagoga* holds the tablets of Old Testament law (fig. 218).[28] Opposite *Synagoga* on the left end of the portal stands *Ecclesia*, who represents the fulfilled law of Christ in the New Testament (fig. 217). Set atop a pillar in between the two doors, a king frequently identified as Solomon sits enthroned as a judge bearing an unsheathed sword on his lap (fig. 211). Solomon was known for his wisdom in governing and administering justice (1 Kings 3:9). His sword recalls his wise ruling concerning a mother and her baby which he rendered with a sword (1 Kings 3:16-28). The position of this judge-king on a pillar between two doorways into the Church implies one of two eternal alternatives: death or salvation. To further underscore this notion of judgment, the Death of the Virgin is depicted in the tympanum over the left doorway, while the Ascension and Coronation of the Virgin in Heaven appear over the right doorway (figs. 212-215).

King Solomon, or *rex pacificus* (King of Peace) as he has been alternately identified, may have been understood by contemporary spectators as Emperor Frederick II.[29] Because the king of Sicily was historically associated with King Solomon in artistic

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[27] Nicolai, 113.
[28] Adolf Weis, "Die *Synagoga* am Münster zu Strassburg," *Das Münster* 1 (1947): 66.
[29] On the figure of Solomon at Strasbourg as Frederick II, see Nicolai, 112-113 and 116; Valentiner, 135-136; and von Simson, "Le program," 86. The identification of the figure as Solomon depends on the fact that the king holds a sword and that figures of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* are important personifications in the Song of Songs, which was thought to have been written by Solomon.

programs, it is more than likely that the choice to represent Solomon at Strasbourg was a deliberate reference to Frederick II, who had inherited the kingdom of Sicily from his mother.[30] According to Otto von Simson, Frederick's clemency toward the Jews in the empire would have also struck contemporaries as wise judgment worthy of Solomon.[31] Solomon's sword may have also recalled the emperor's material sword in the Gelasian principle, a power the ruler received directly from Christ.[32]

The king sits on the pillar below a half-length sculpture of Christ, who grants the king spiritual authority to administer justice (fig. 210). This concept of Christ handing down His authority to the king-judge at Strasbourg corresponds to earlier examples of Christ offering His authority to Peter and Paul and to Christian rulers. For example, Christ is shown crowning Frederick's maternal grandfather, Roger II of Sicily (1105-1154), in the mosaic in the Martorana at Palermo (c. 1143-1151).[33] Valentiner observes Emperor Frederick would have been familiar with this work in his youth.[34] Ernst Kantorowicz understands this mosaic as a late variation of the Ottonian priest-king, or *vicarius Christi*, discussed earlier in Chapter 2.[35] The early medieval ruler was thought to be the image of Christ on earth and therefore the ruler mediated between heaven and

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[30] See Slobodan Ćurčić, "Some Palatine Aspects of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 142-143. Ćurčić refers to a throne alluding to Solomon at the Cappella Palatina, the main domed bay of the chapel, as well as a verbal and pictorial association of King Solomon and Frederick II's father, Henry VI, in the *Liber Augusti* by Petrus de Ebulo.
[31] von Simson, "Le programm," 86. The emperor pardoned Jews accused of ritual murder throughout the *Regnum Teutonicum*.
[32] See the sword held by Paul in the scene of the *Traditio Legis* on the north portal of the Cathedral of Worms (1180).
[33] Ernst Kitzinger, "The Mosaics of the Capella Palatina in Palermo: An Essay on the Choice and Arrangement of Subjects," *Art Bulletin* 31 (1949): 286, and Kitzinger, "On the Portrayal of Roger II in the Martorana in Palermo," *Proporzioni* 3 (1950): 30-35.
[34] Valentiner, 135. He would have also known the figure of Christ between Peter and Paul in the west end of the nave at the Capella Palatina. Ćurčić, 140-141, says this scene was located above the royal throne.
[35] Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 65.

earth as a divine and human being.[36] The pillar at Strasbourg, then, might be seen as a readaptation of the Ottonian ideal of the *vicarius Christi*, a king whose authority stems directly from Christ.

As Pope Innocent III had proclaimed himself in canon law to be the sole representative of Christ's authority and had replaced the emperor with *Ecclesia* in the renovated apse at Old St. Peters, however, Frederick II could no longer claim to be the equal of the pope and the *vicarius Christi*.[37] That the emperor emphasized his secular role as the enforcer of Roman law without regard to his priestly status reveals the degree to which Pope Innocent's statement of ultimate supremacy at Old St. Peter's had come to be accepted.[38] Yet the king's place in Church hierarchy is still of central importance in the south portal at Strasbourg.

The king sits at the center of the portal, just below Christ on the pillar and framed on the outer edges of the portal by *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia*, personifications of the Church past and present. An assembly of twelve apostles also originally flanked the ruler in the jambs and lent their spiritual authority to him (fig. 216).[39] Thus the king, the apostles, and the two personifications of the Church were arranged hierarchically on the same level

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[36] Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 88-89.

[37] Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 90-91. The idea that bishops and priests were also Vicars of Christ grew out of the Investiture Controversy. It was not until the pontificate of Innocent III that the papal *vicarius Christi* officially appeared in canon law. Brian Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300 with Selected Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1964), 136-138, publishes the text of the Innocent's letter to King John of England (1214) and also the decretal *Per Venerabilem* (1202) in which the pope refers to himself as the Vicar of Christ.

[38] See Kaufmann, 131, who writes that the legal document, the Peace of 1235, expressed Frederick's conception of his secular role as the peace-bringer and law-enforcer. Kaufmann thinks the sculptural program on the Capuan bridge with its references to justice reflects the ideas in this document.

[39] Sabine Bengel, "Der Marientod am Südquerhausportal des Straßburger Münsters," *Meisterwerke mittelalterlicher Skulptur*, ed. Hartmut Krohm (Berlin, 1996), 151, writes that in 1617 the sketch by Isaac Brun was included in a small book of the cathedral by Oseas Schadeus. This sketch allows us an idea about the arrangement of the pre-Revolutionary portal at Strasbourg. On the apostles sculptured depicted on the jambs in the sketch, see also *Das Strassburger Münster und seine Bildwerke*, ed. Richard Hamann and Hans Weigert (Berlin, 1928), 66.

just above the head of the average spectator to acknowledge the God-given authority of the king in the spiritual matters of the terrestrial Church (fig. 210).[40] Moreover, on the interior of the south transept, a pillar bearing the figures of angels blowing their trumpets at the Last Judgment reminds viewers that the judgments of the king on the exterior of the church are eternal (fig. 219). When a viewer entered through the south portal doors, the stained glass windows in the north aisle tracing Frederick II's descent from Charlemagne through Frederick Barbaorssa would also come into view.[41] This succession of Frederick's imperial ancestors justified his authority to administer justice at Strasbourg and in the empire. Their presence on windows on the sacred interior of the church, however, also lent validity to his decisions in spiritual matters.

Similar arguments have already been advanced in Chapter 5 concerning the authority of the emperor to administer justice both terrestrial and in the spiritual realm, as a theme of the *Traditio Legis* scene at Basel (figs. 143, 146). The liturgical *adventus* of the king on Palm Sunday at the Galluspforte reminded citizens of his Christ-like authority to judge on earth as Christ would judge at the Last Judgment. On Palm Sunday the righteous would come to the gate to meet the king, while the criminals remained in the city to await his judgment.[42] In the same manner, criminals awaited the judgment of the king, or of his representative bishop, in the court held in front of Strasbourg's south

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[40] Nicolai, 117, writes that the apostles function as intercessors for the congregation and as "symbolic pillars of the *ecclesia praesens* or *universalis* that would find its fulfillment at the end of time as *ecclesia aeterna* or *triumphans*." The same idea holds true for *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*.

[41] Gérard Cames, "Les plus anciens vitraux de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," *Cahiers alsaciens d'archéologie, d'art et d'histoire* 8 (1964): 101-116, proposes that the windows representing the German emperors from Charlemagne to Barbarossa were completed under Frederick II's father, Henry VI and lent royal authority to his reign. Cames argues that from the program, Henry VI was understood as both the new Charlemagne and the new Solomon. This conflation of Charlemagne and Solomon remained relevant for Frederick II as well. See also von Simson, "Le programme," 85.

[42] For the historical significance of the medieval church portal as the Old Testament gate to the city where legal proceedings took place, see Barbara Deimling, "Medieval Church Portals and Their Importance in the History of Law," in *Romanesque: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting*, ed. Rolf Toman (Cologne, 1997), 327. Deimling refers to the Old Testament passages Amos 5:15, Ruth 4, and 2 Sam. 15:2-6.

portal.[43] Nicolai explains that the sculpted king on the south portal occupies a mediating position. The king on the pillar would have formed the backdrop for the earthly judge presiding in the court which met in front of the portal at this king's feet, while at the same time this sculpted king sat beneath the figure of Christ, the heavenly judge.[44] This was also the place where penitents and the excommunicated were assembled on Maundy Thursday to be guided by the bishop back into the church for forgiveness.[45] On entering through the south portal, such sinners would have encountered the statue of the king, who held authority both over legal matters on earth and spiritual affairs in heaven.

While the king's judgments at Strasbourg may have been both temporal and eternal, it is significant that he was depicted only on an intermediate level between the passers-by and the heavenly realm represented by the two tympana above. Unlike the focus of the lower register on the king amid the apostles of the Church, the two tympana and their lintels are entirely devoted to scenes of the Virgin, for they show the Dormition, her translation, her ascension, and her subsequent coronation by Christ (figs. 212-215). The Virgin cycle at Strasbourg may initially seem a straightforward tribute to the Queen of Heaven, but its insertion into the south portal forms part of a new iconographic program designed to describe hierarchic authority in the Church. In the right tympanum Christ crowns *Maria Regina* just above the king seated between the two portals. *Maria*

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[43] For Romanesque portals functioning as backdrops to law courts, see Deimling, 324-327, and Christine Verzár Bornstein, *Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City-State: The Sculpture of Nicholaus in Context* (Parma, 1988), 31-50, esp. 40-41 and 49, note 39. Verzár Bornstein notes a specific case in the city of Ferrara where the sculptor, Nicolaus, decorated two large porch portals on the cathedral (1132-1140). Ferrarese documents from the same period refer to legal transactions being held under the portal, or *sub portico*. Legal proceedings took place before the portal on the west façade and the south portal, the lost *Porta dei Mesi*.

[44] Nicolai, 116.

[45] Nicolai, 113; Deimling, 326-327. Deimling writes that the public rite of repentance took place by the church portal. It was considered a judicial act regarding the punishment and reconciliation of the sinner to the church. In the rite of repentance, the sinner was typically driven out of the church on Ash Wednesday as Adam was driven from Paradise. The sinner returned to the church on Maundy Thursday for the rite of reconciliation. Deimling notes a case involving the return of the sinner naked like Adam.

Regina was traditionally conflated with *Ecclesia* as the bride of Christ, the Universal Church.[46] The authority of the Queen of Heaven as the Church is therefore higher than that of the terrestrial king. This hierarchy is not one of equal authority between the pope and the king as it was advocated by Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, but rather a new iconography of supreme sacred authority as promoted by Pope Innocent III's restored apse program at Old St. Peter's. In this way, the king's authority at Strasbourg, although perhaps still priestly in nature, had been greatly diminished.

Frederick II tried to maintain good relations with the popes during the early years of his reign. By the time of the creation of the south portal at Strasbourg the emperor had shown himself to be a king of justice and peace. The program at Strasbourg shows that the emperor was even willing to reconsider his role in church hierarchy from one of equality to the pope to one of subservience, but this, as it turned out, was not enough to pacify the papal hardliners after Innocent III.[47] In 1239 Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) excommunicated Frederick II over the emperor's ambitions in Lombardy and the Papal States.[48] Like Barbarossa before him, Frederick II waged war against the Northern Italian communes and the pope. Pope Innocent IV (1243-1254) deposed Frederick in 1245 at the General Council of Lyons; the emperor's response was less than peaceful. He not only wrote the kings of Christendom defaming the papal office, but he launched new attacks against the Italian communes.[49]

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[46] Ernst Kitzinger, "A Virgin's Face: Antiquarianism in Twelfth-Century Art," *Art Bulletin* 62 (1980): 8-9, and Bengel, 156. See also Ursula Nilgen, "Maria Regina – Ein politischer Kultbildtypus?" *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 19 (1981): 20, note 42, who writes that ideas about *Ecclesia*, the virginal saints, and the Virgin Mary were already conflated in the early Byzantine and early medieval periods.
[47] Tierney, 140, calls Innocent's successors popes of a different stamp: Gregory IX was "a fiery old zealot," while Innocent IV was "a man of hard, inflexible will, renowned for legal craft and diplomatic cunning."
[48] Tierney, 140. Pope Gregory IX had excommunicated Frederick once before in 1227, but lifted the excommunication in 1229 once the emperor fulfilled his promise and went on crusade to the Holy Land.
[49] Tierney, 140-149, publishes the text of Frederick's letters concerning his deposition.

An intense struggle between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* continued until the emperor's death in 1250. When Frederick's heirs died shortly thereafter, the Hohenstaufen dynasty came to an end.[50] Towards the later years of his reign Frederick II may have attempted to assert his traditionally held right to authority in the empire, but in the end his power only waned as the pope grew stronger. The power struggle his imperial predecessors had waged in the aftermath of the Investiture Controversy was already essentially over prior to Frederick II's coronation. The authority of this last Hohenstaufen emperor as it was represented at Strasbourg was now only a dim reflection of what it once had been.

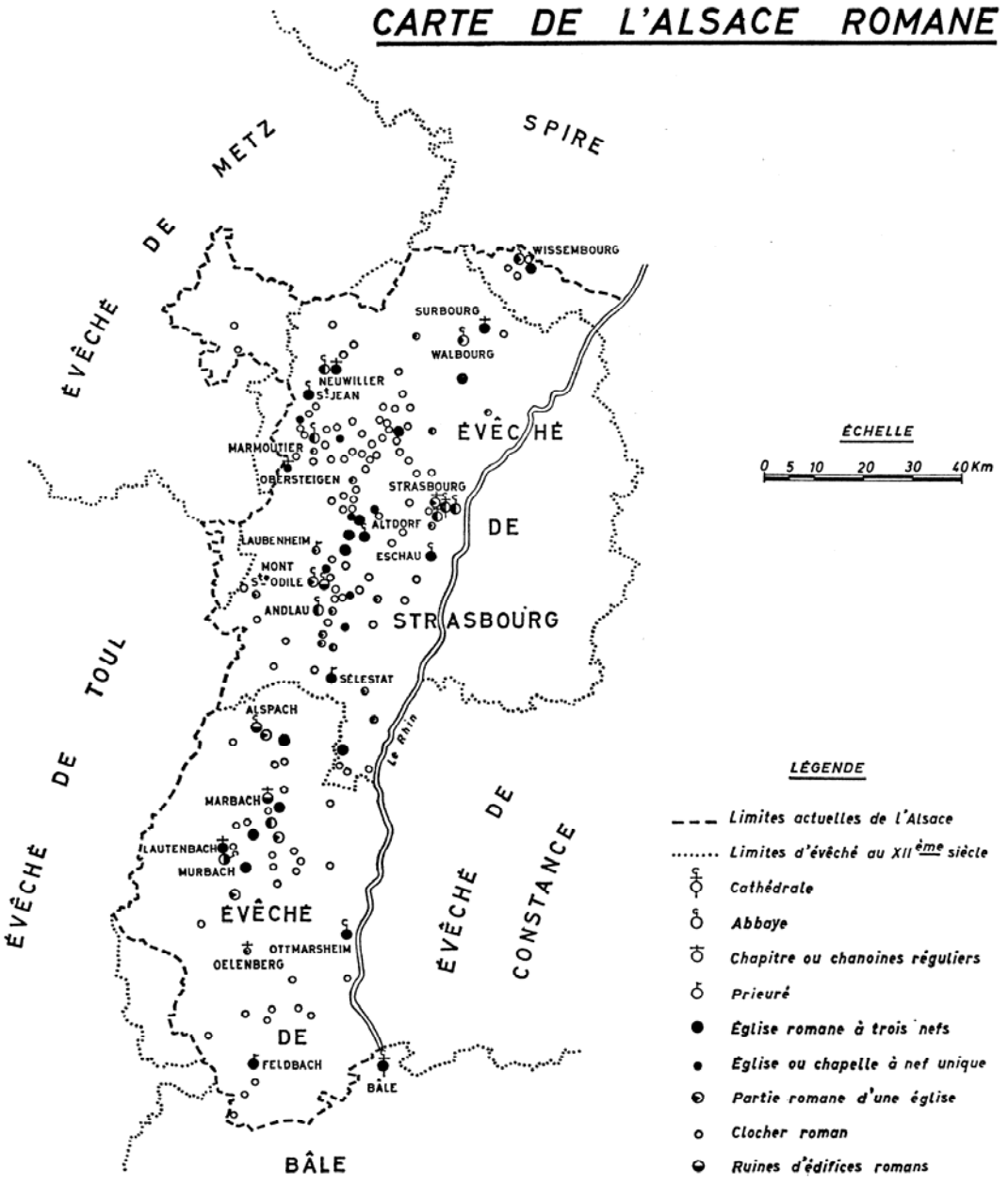


Fig. 1. Map of Alsace (Will, *Alsace Romane*, 1982, 21).

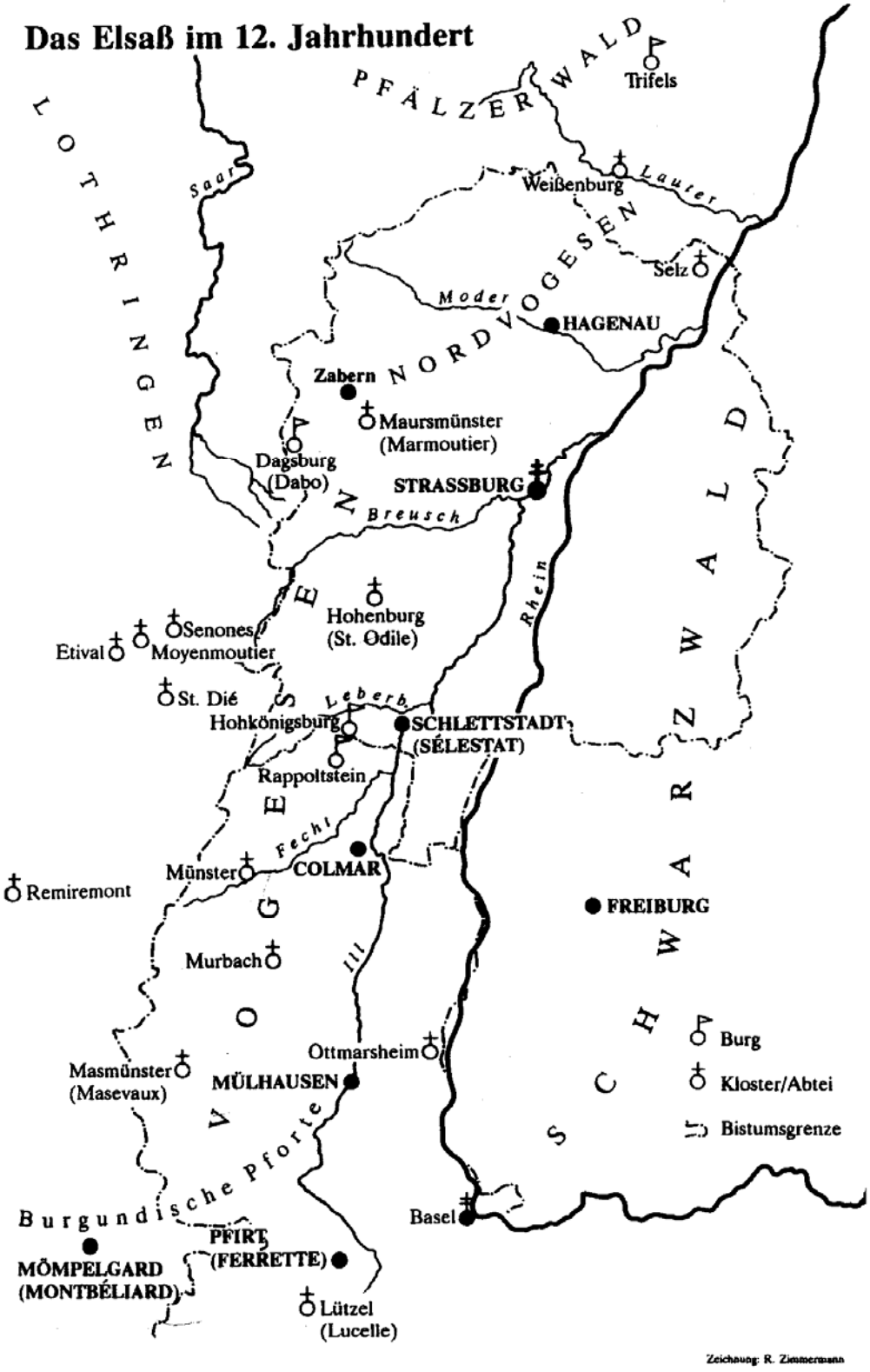


Fig. 2. Map of Alsace
(Seiler, *Die frühstaufische Territorialpolitik im Elsaß,* 1995, 298).

Fig. 3. Map of Lower Alsace
(Seiler, *Die frühstaufische Territorialpolitik im Elsaß,* 1995, 299).

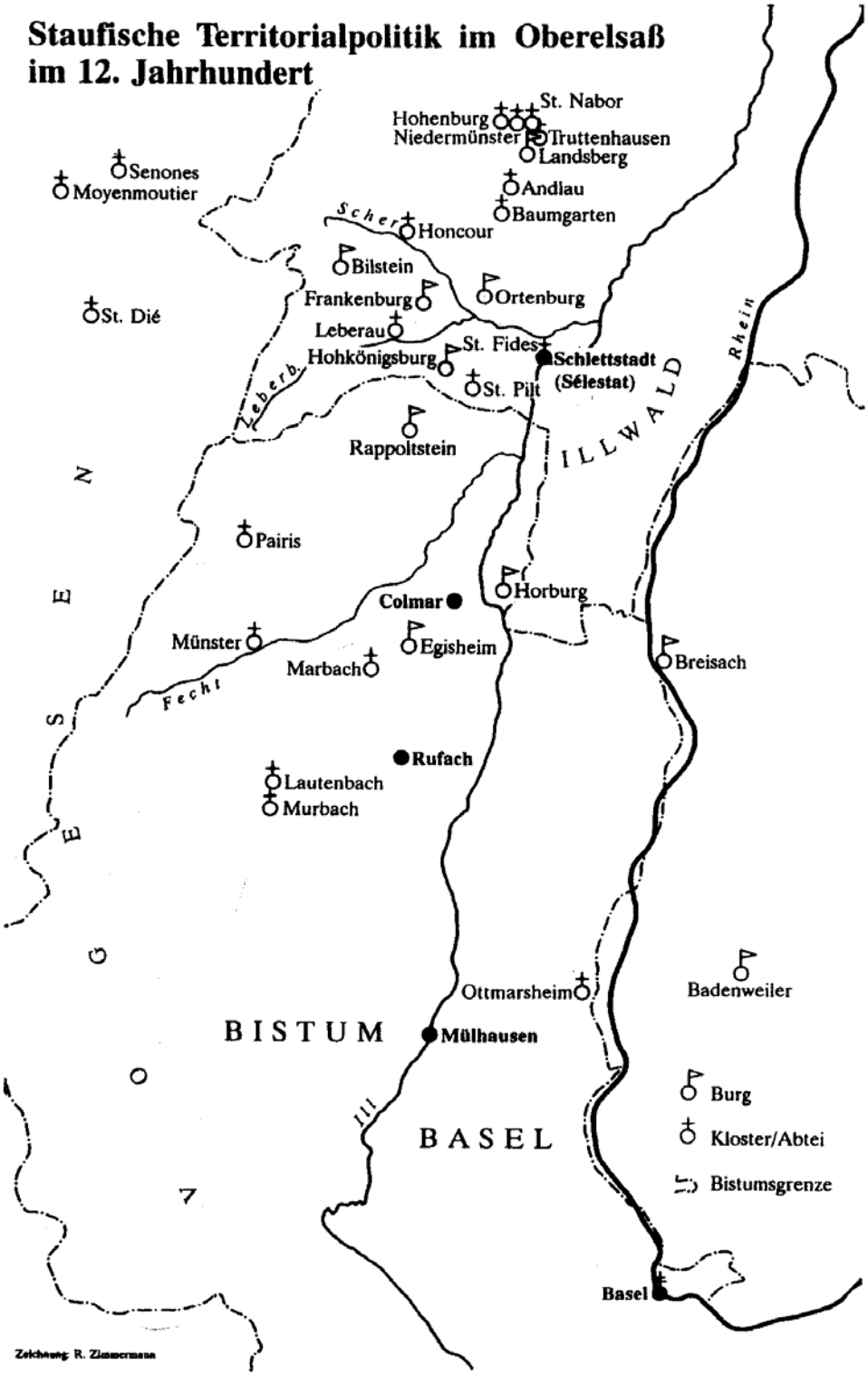


Fig. 4. Map of Upper Alsace
(Seiler, *Die frühstaufische Territorialpolitik im Elsaß,* 1995, 300).

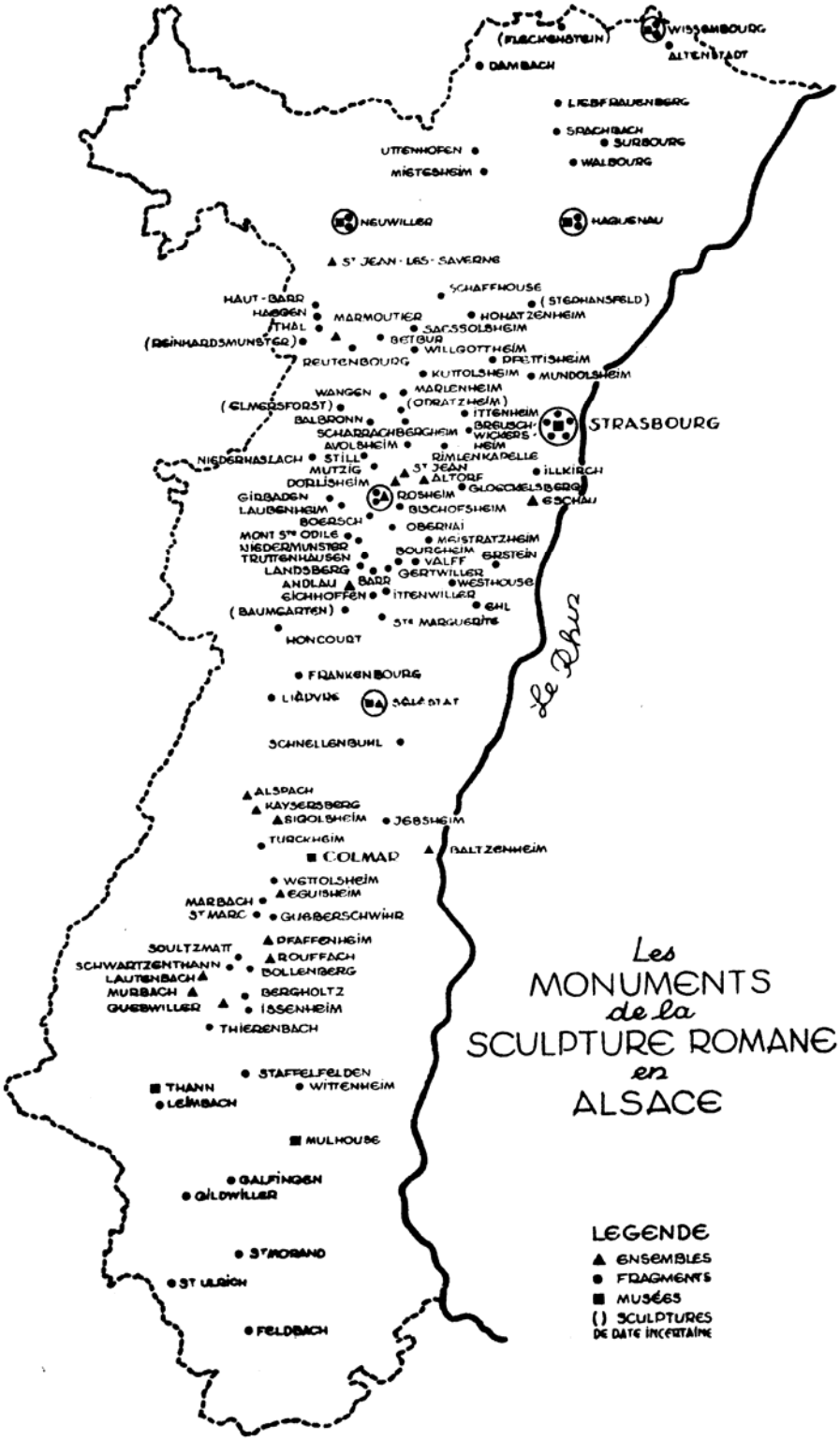


Fig. 5. Sites of Romanesque Sculpture in Alsace
(Will, *Répertoire de la sculpture romane de l'Alsace,* 1955, frontispiece).

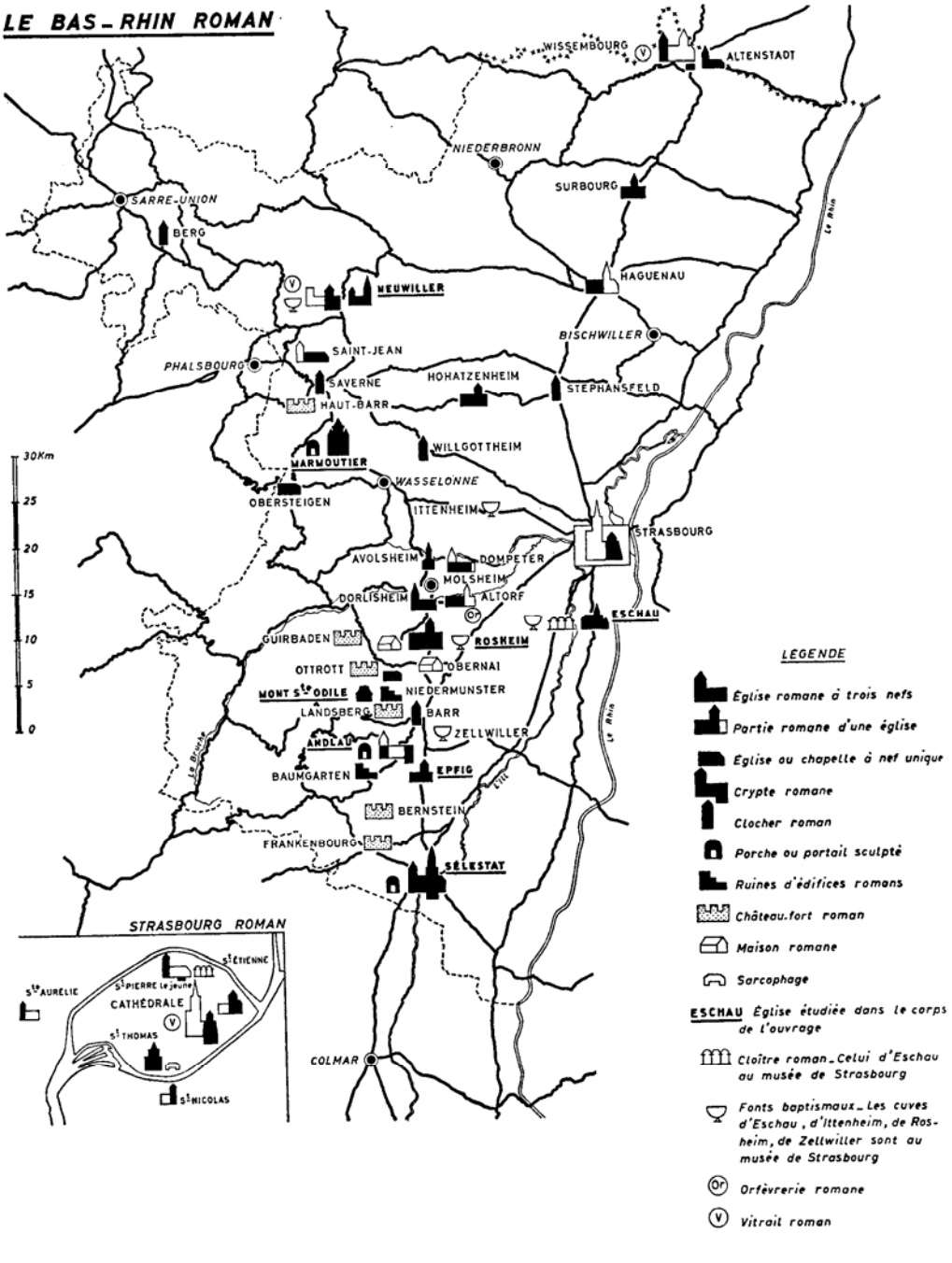


Fig. 6. Map of Romanesque Monuments on the Lower Rhine
(Will, *Alsace Romane,* 1982, 22).

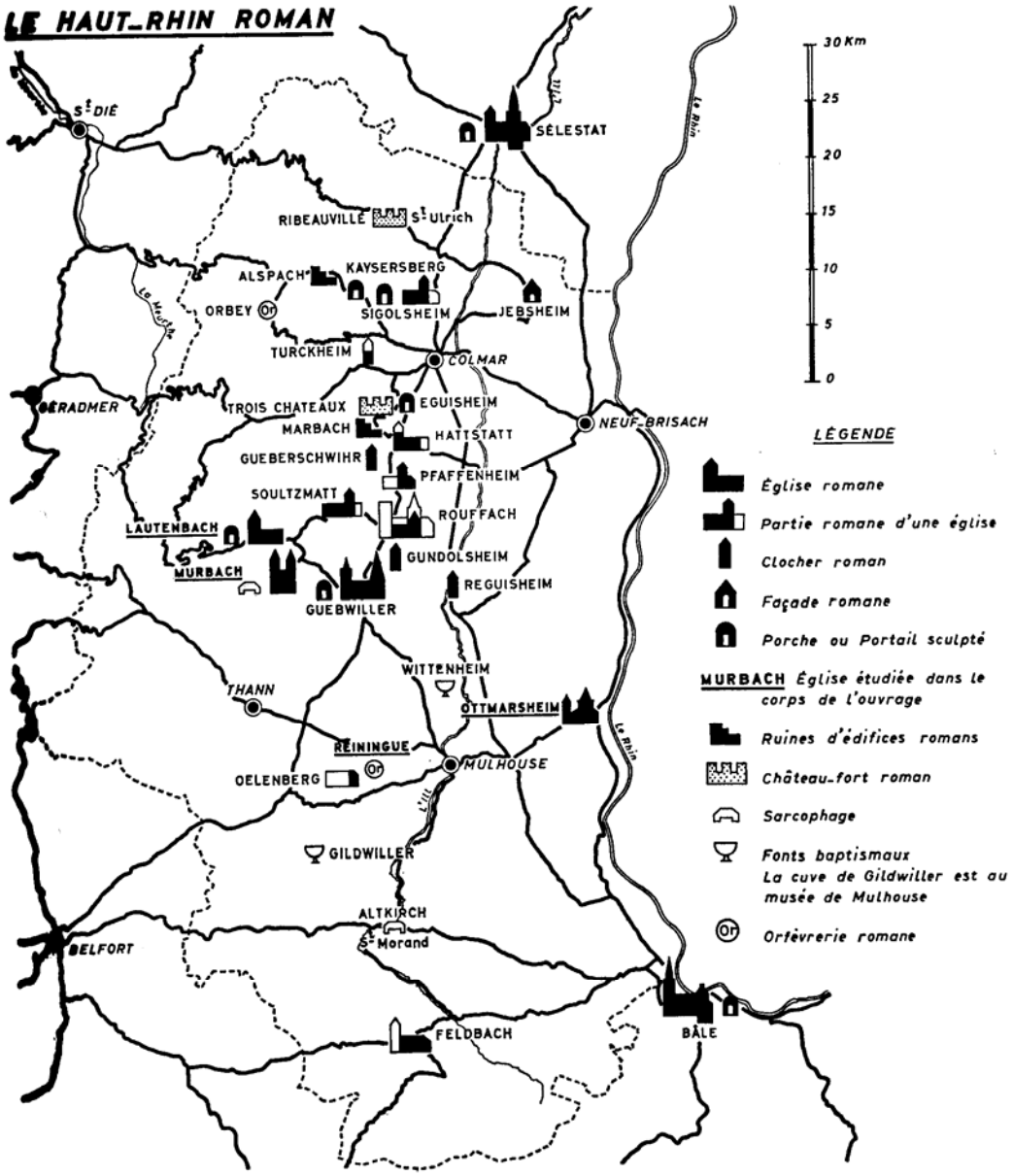


Fig. 7. Map of Romanesque Monuments on the Upper Rhine
(Will, *Alsace Romane,* 1982, 23).

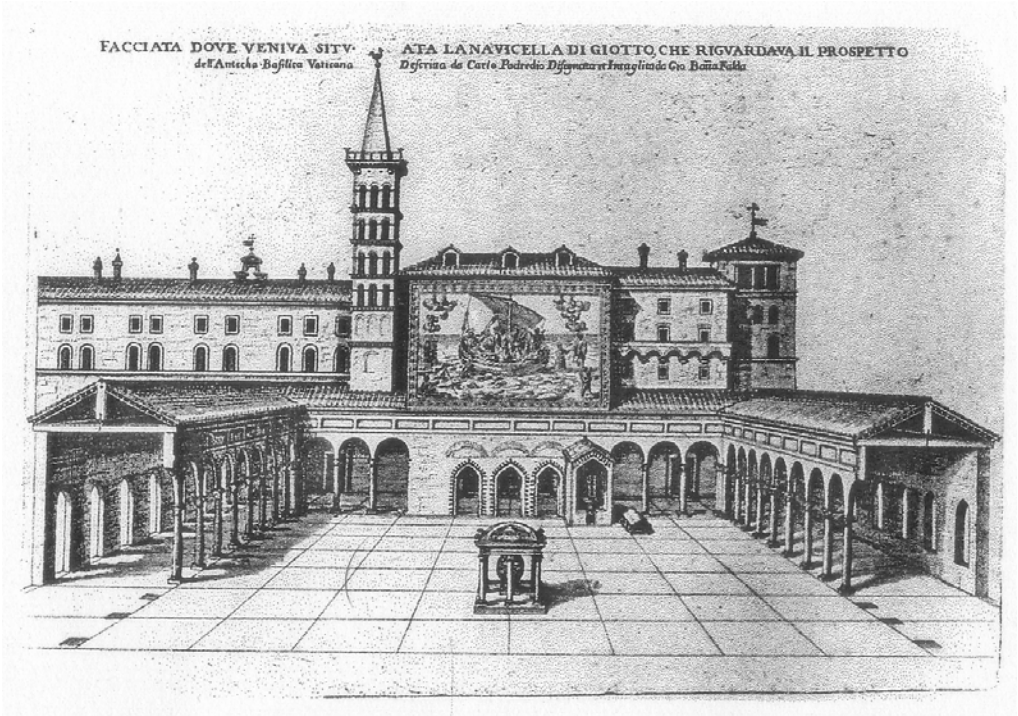


Fig. 8. Carlo Padredio and Ioannes Baptista Falda, view of the atrium of St. Peter's, Rome, view to the east; Rome, Bibliotheca Hertziana, *Pianta della Chiesa di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, 1673 (photo: Kessler and Zacharias, *Rome 1300,* 2000, fig. 223).

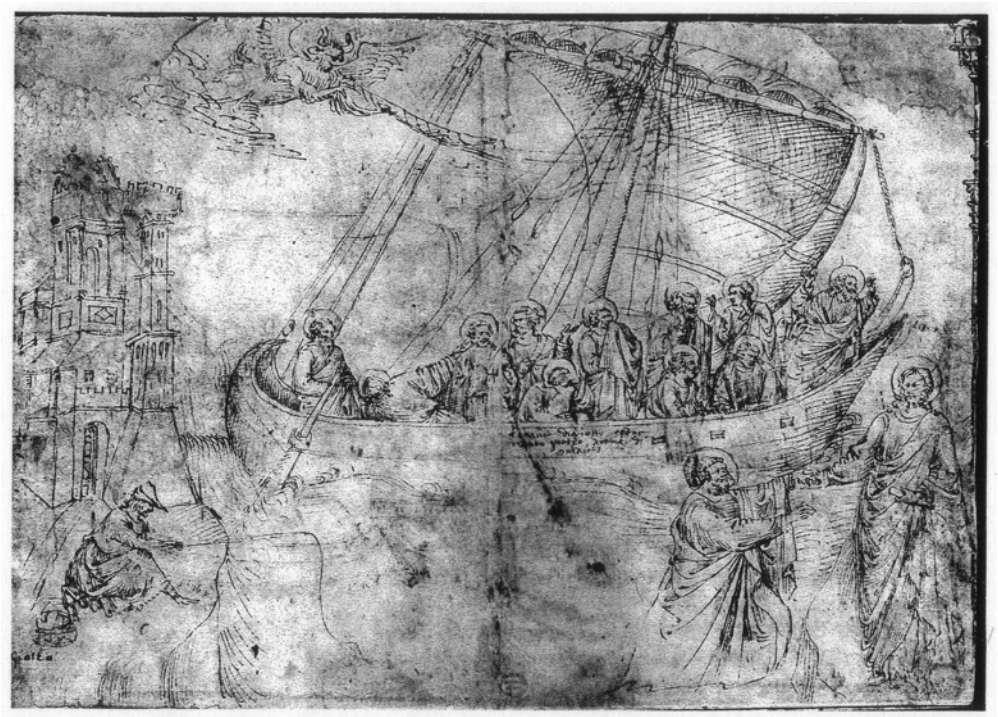


Fig. 9. Aretino Spinelli, drawing of Giotto's *Navicella* in the atrium of St. Peter's, Rome; NY, Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. 19.76.2 (Kessler and Zacharias, *Rome 1300,* 2000, fig. 225).

Fig. 10. Leo IX blessing a model of a church with Warinus, abbot of St. Arnulf of Metz, untitled manuscript from the mid-eleventh century in Metz, Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 292, fol. 73 r (photo: Barraclough***, The Medieval Papacy,*** 1968, fig. 32).

Fig. 11. Panvinius, sketches of frescoes commissioned by Calixtus II for the *camera pro secretis consiliis* in the Lateran Palace, Rome; Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Barb. lat. 2738, fol. 105v (Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 1989, fig. 1).

Fig. 12. Panvinius, sketches of frescoes commissioned by Calixtus II for the *camera pro secretis consiliis* in the Lateran Palace, Rome; Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Barb. lat. 2738, fol. 104r (Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 1989, fig. 2).

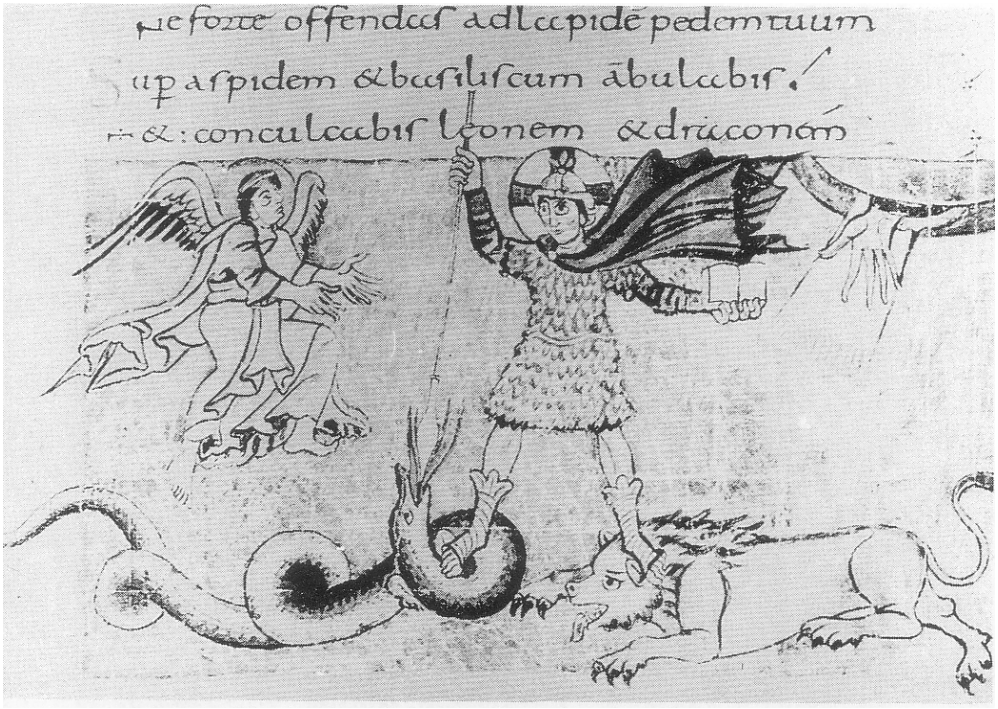


Fig. 13. Illustration to Psalm 90, *Christus miles*, Stuttgart Psalter, fol. 107v, Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. bibl. fol. 23 (photo: Openshaw, "Weapons in the Daily Battle," *Art Bulletin,* 1993, fig. 6).

Fig. 14. Illustration to Psalm 109, Utrecht Psalter, Ms. 32, fol. 64v, Utrecht, Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit (photo: Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte,* 1989, fig. 12)

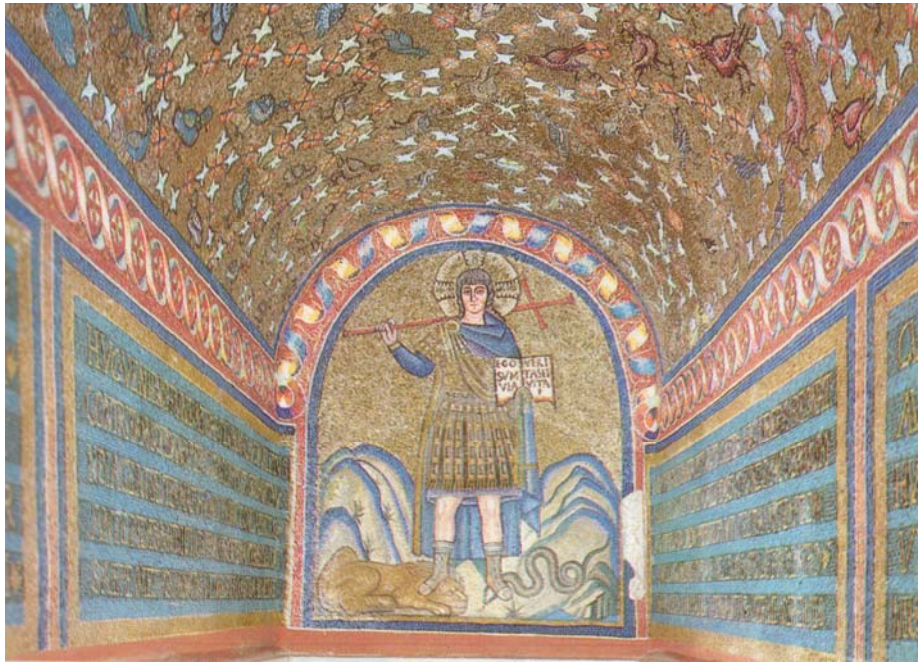


Fig. 15. Ravenna, Archepiscopal Chapel, vestibule mosaic, *Christus triumphans* (photo: Bustacchini, *Ravenna: Mosaics, Monuments and Environment,* 2003, fig. 113).

Fig. 16. Ferrara, cathedral, west façade, central portal.

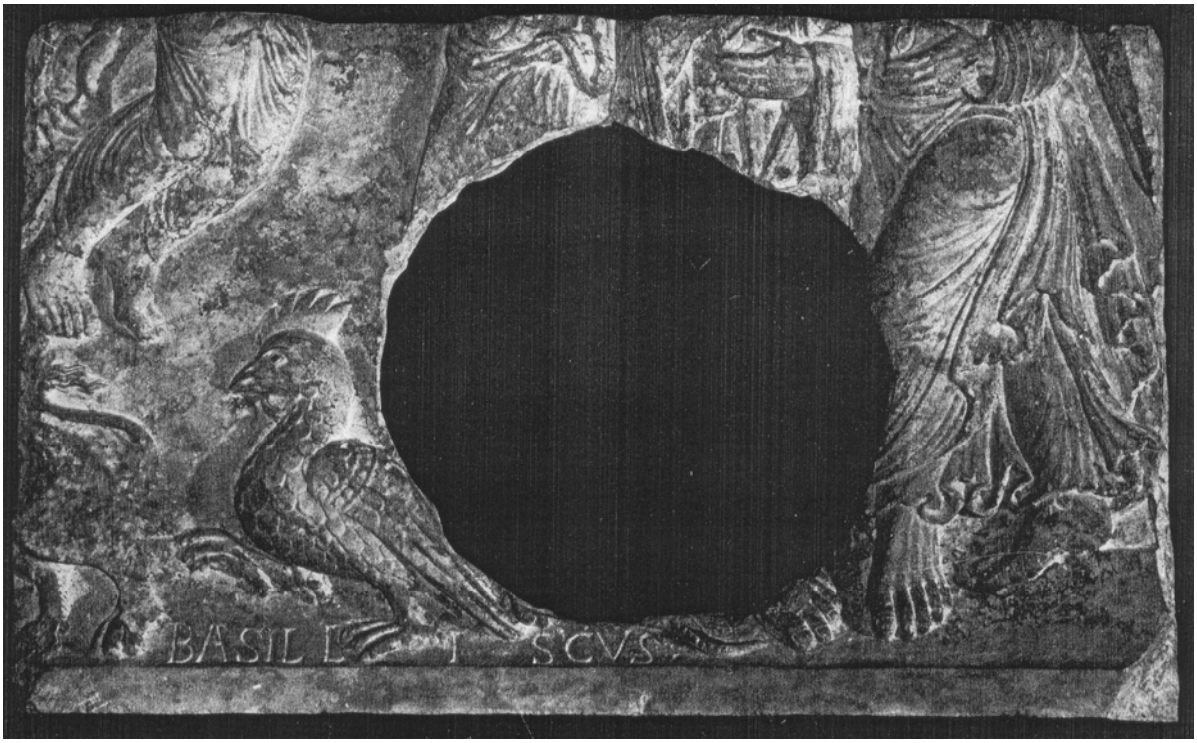


Fig. 17. Ferrara, cathedral, fragment of the tympanum of the destroyed *Porta dei Mesi*, Ferrara Cathedral Museum (photo: Verzár Bornstein, *Portals and Politics,* 1988, fig. 153*).*

Fig. 18. Ferrara, cathedral, west façade, central portal, tympanum, St. George.

Fig. 19. Thessaloniki, Arch of Galerius, detail (photo: courtesy of *Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia,* http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arch_and_Tomb_of_Galerius, 2005).

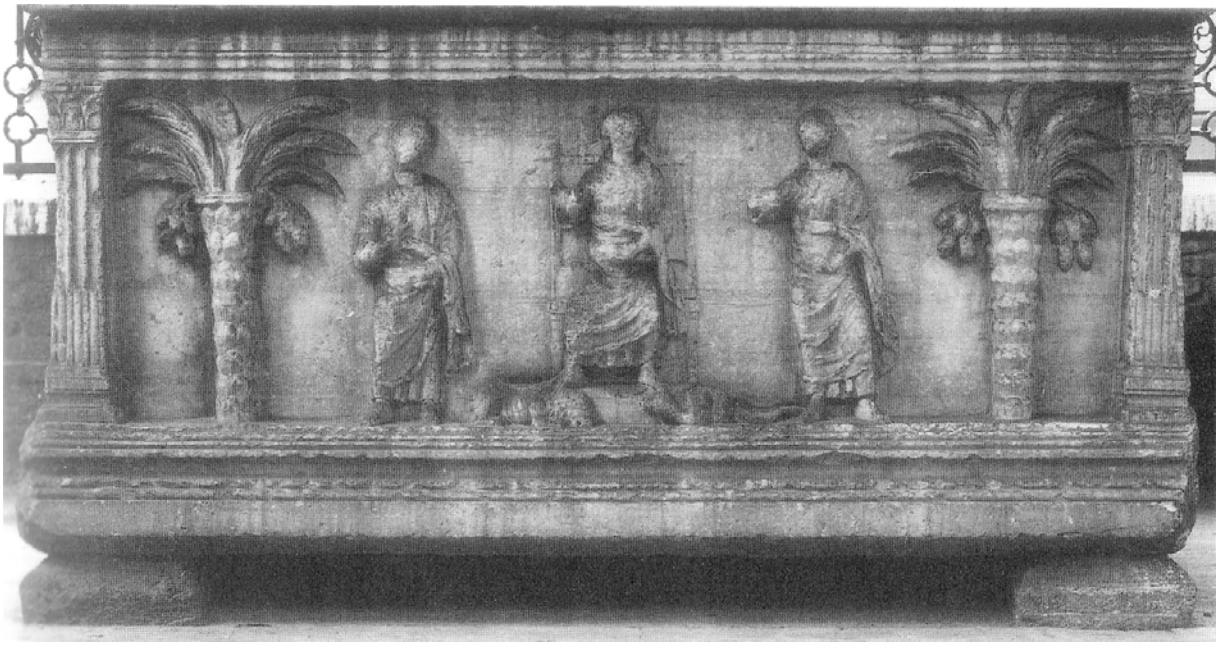


Fig. 20. The so-called Pignatta Sarcophagus, Ravenna, St. Francesco (photo: Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte,* 1989, fig. 11).

Fig. 21. Eschau, St. Trophime, capital, Samson and the lion,
Musée d'Oeuvre Notre-Dame, Strasbourg.

Fig. 22. Basel, minster, choir, Lion Rider in base of choir column.

Fig. 23. Nonantola, Abbey of St. Sylvester, west façade, central portal, Samson and the lion.

Fig 24. Freiburg im Breisgau, cathedral, south transept, Lion Rider.

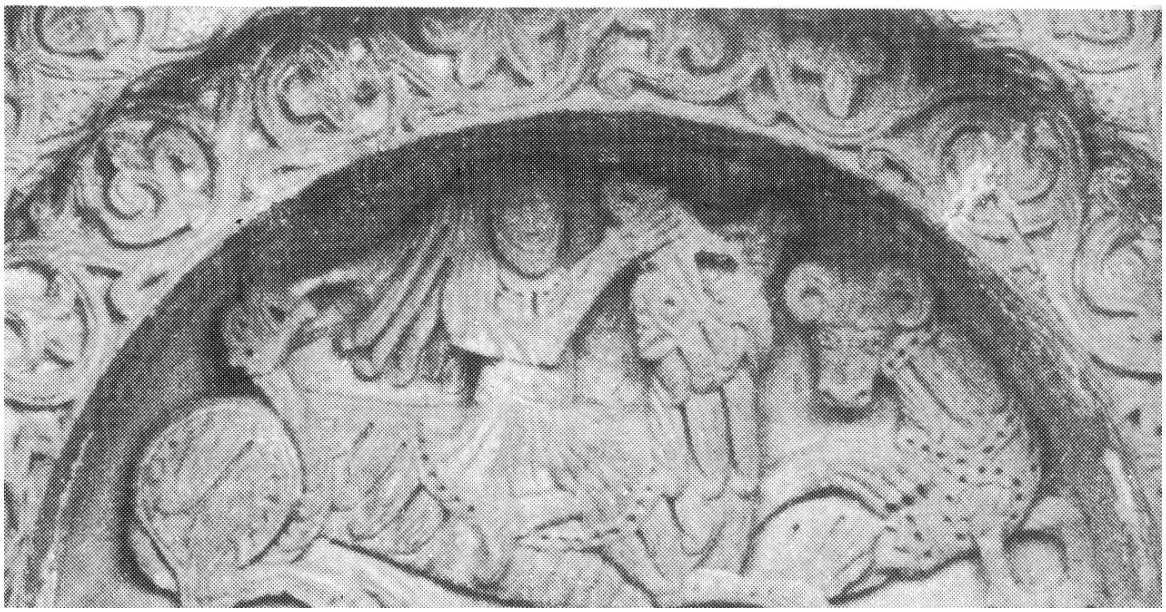


Fig. 25. Lund, cathedral, Lion Rider in north portal, tympanum (photo: Svanberg, "Davids kamp mot lejon och björn," *Genesis profeta,* 1980, fig. 6).

Fig. 26. Lund, cathedral, north portal (photo: Cinthio, *Lunds domkyrka under romansk tid,* 1957, fig. 60).

Fig. 27. Strasbourg, St. Thomas, Adeloch Sarcophagus (photo: postcard, Christophe Hamm).

Fig. 28. Strasbourg, St. Thomas, Adeloch Sarcophagus,
detail: Adeloch receives a scepter.

Fig. 29. Strasbourg, St. Thomas, Adeloch Sarcophagus, detail: Christ enthroned blesses Adeloch.

Fig. 30. Strasbourg, St. Thomas, Adeloch Sarcophagus, reverse side center figure.

Fig. 31. Prüfening, St. George, northeast crossing pier, fresco, the two swords (photo: Stein, "Geistliche und weltliche Gewalt," *Das Münster,* 1982, 247).

Fig. 32. Naples, baptistery, St. Giovanni in Fonte, cupola, mosaic, detail, *Traditio Legis* (photo: Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst,* vol. 3, 1971, fig. 579).

Fig. 33. Rome, St. Costanza, apse mosaic, *Traditio Legis* (photo: Schumacher and Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. – XIII. Jahrhunderts,* 1976, fig. 1).

Fig. 34. Rome, St. Costanza, apse mosaic, Christ and Moses (photo: Schumacher and Wilpert, d*ie römischen Mosaiken der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. – XIII. Jahrhunderts,* 1976, fig. 2).

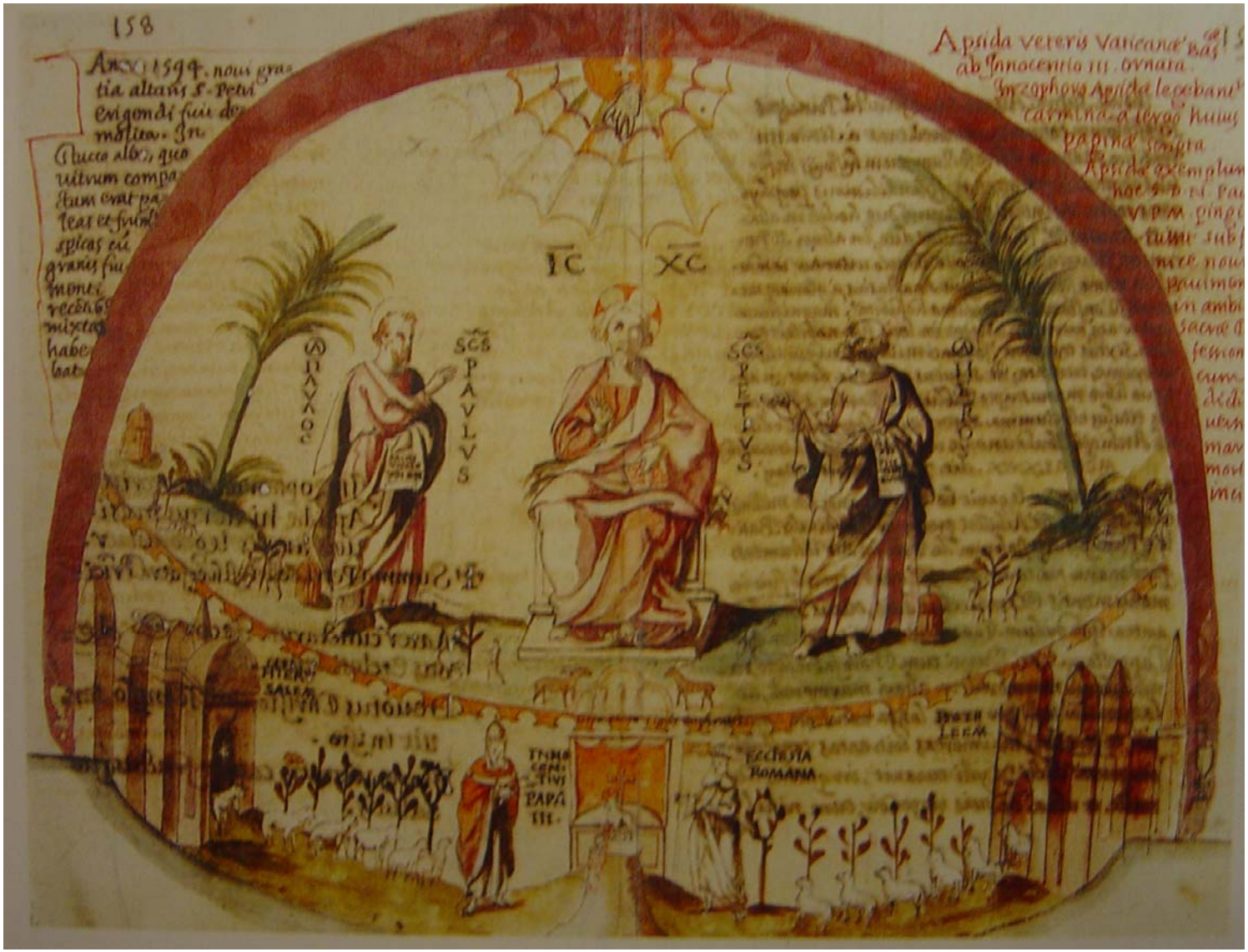


Fig. 35. Rome, Old St. Peter's, watercolor, *Traditio Legis*, Vatican Library, Cod. Barb. lat. 2733, fols. 58-159 (photo: after Kessler & Zacharias, *Rome 1300*, 2000, fig. 206).

Fig. 36. Rome, Arch of Constantine, detail, *Largitio*
(photo: courtesy of Mary Ann Sullivan, http://www.bluffton.edu/~sullivan/italy).

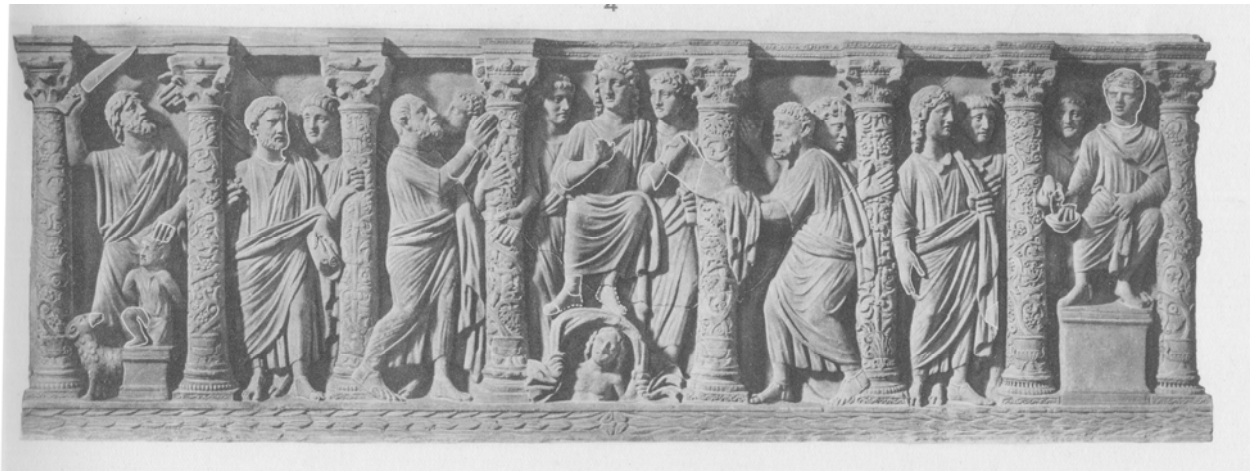


Fig. 37. Rome, sarcophagus, Lateran 174, *Traditio Legis*
(photo: Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst,* vol. 3, 1971, fig. 574).

Fig. 38. Rome, Arch of Constantine, detail, *Ad locutio*
(photo: courtesy of Mary Ann Sullivan, http://www.bluffton.edu/~sullivan/italy).

Fig. 39. Grottaferrata, Catacomb of St. Zotico ad Decinum, *Traditio Legis*
(photo: Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 3, 1971, fig. 574).

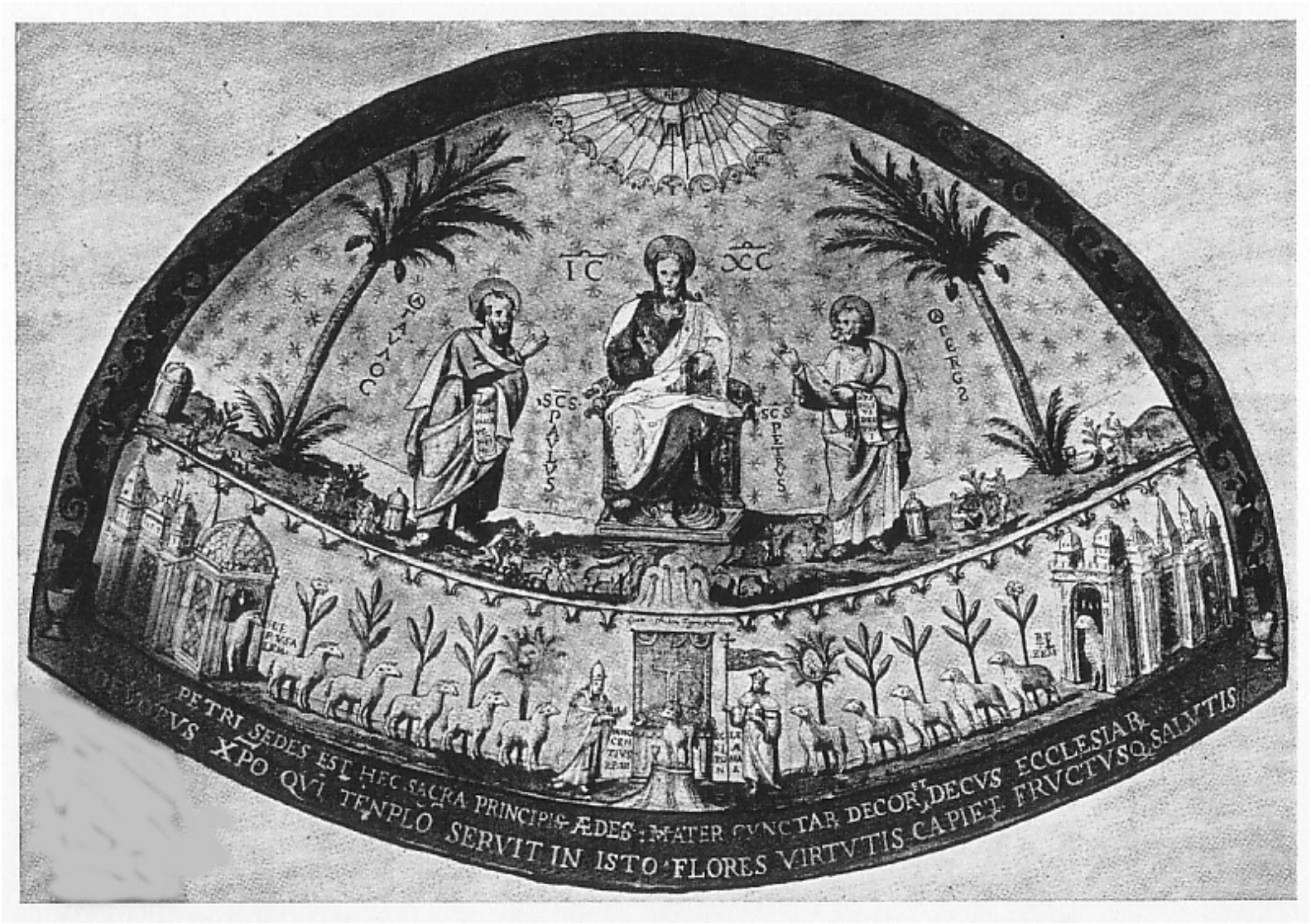
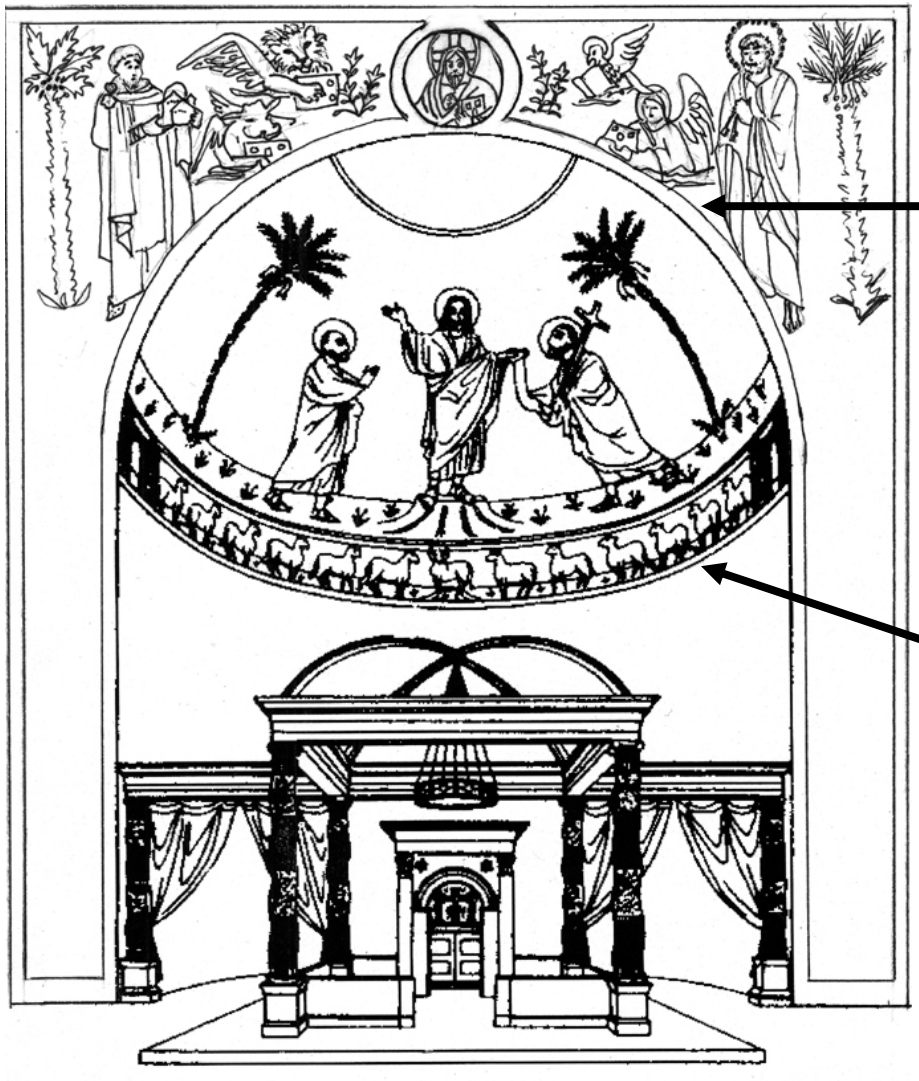


Fig. 40. Grimaldi, watercolor of apse of St. Peter's, Rome, *Traditio Legis,* Rome, Archivio S. Pietro, Album, fol. 50 (photo: Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom,*1964, fig. 490 and cat. no. 943).



QVOD DVCE TE MVNDVS
SVRREXIT IN ASTRA
TRIVMPHANS HANC
CONSTANTINVS VICTOR
TIBI CONDIDIT AVLAM

IVSTITIAE SEDES FIDEI
DOMVS AVLA PVDORIS
HAEC EST QVAM CERNIS
PIETAS QVAM POSSIDET
OMNIS QVAE PATRIS ET
FILII VIRTVTIBVS
INCLYTA GAVDET
AVCTOREMQVE
SVVM GENITORIS
LAVDIBVS AEQVAT

Fig. 41. Rome, Old St. Peter's, sketch of apse with inscriptions (sketch: P.A. Riedl in Buddensieg, "Le coffret en ivoire de Pola, Saint-Pierre et le Latran," *Cahiers archéologiques,* 1959, fig. 13, modified by Anita Born).

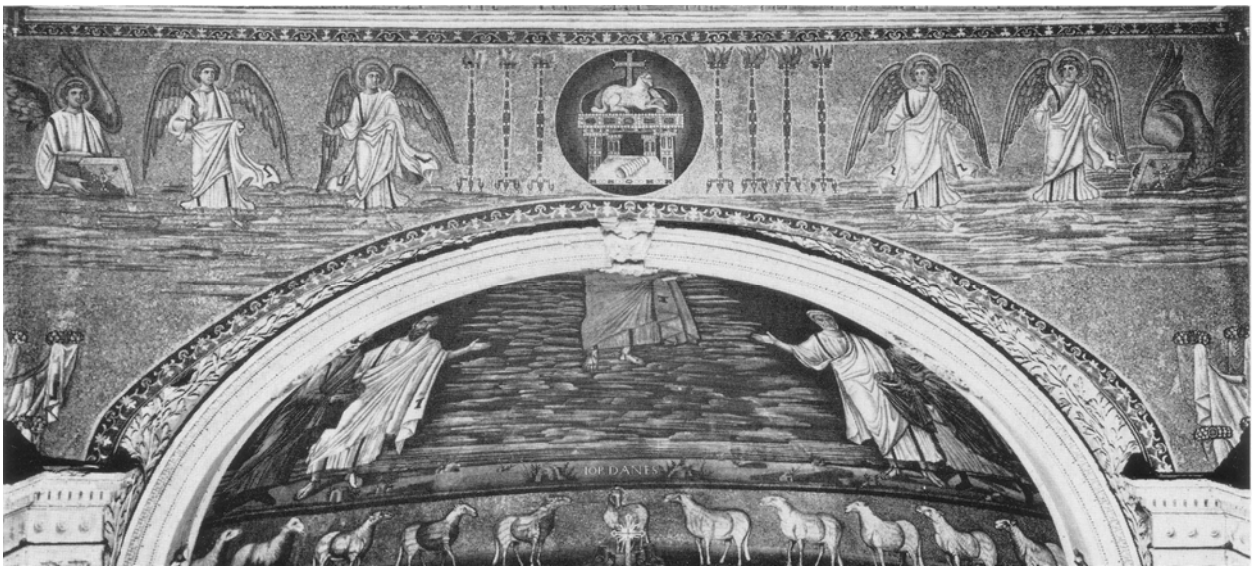


Fig. 42. Rome, Sts. Cosmas and Damian, triumphal arch
(photo: Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst,* vol. 3, 1971, fig. 593).

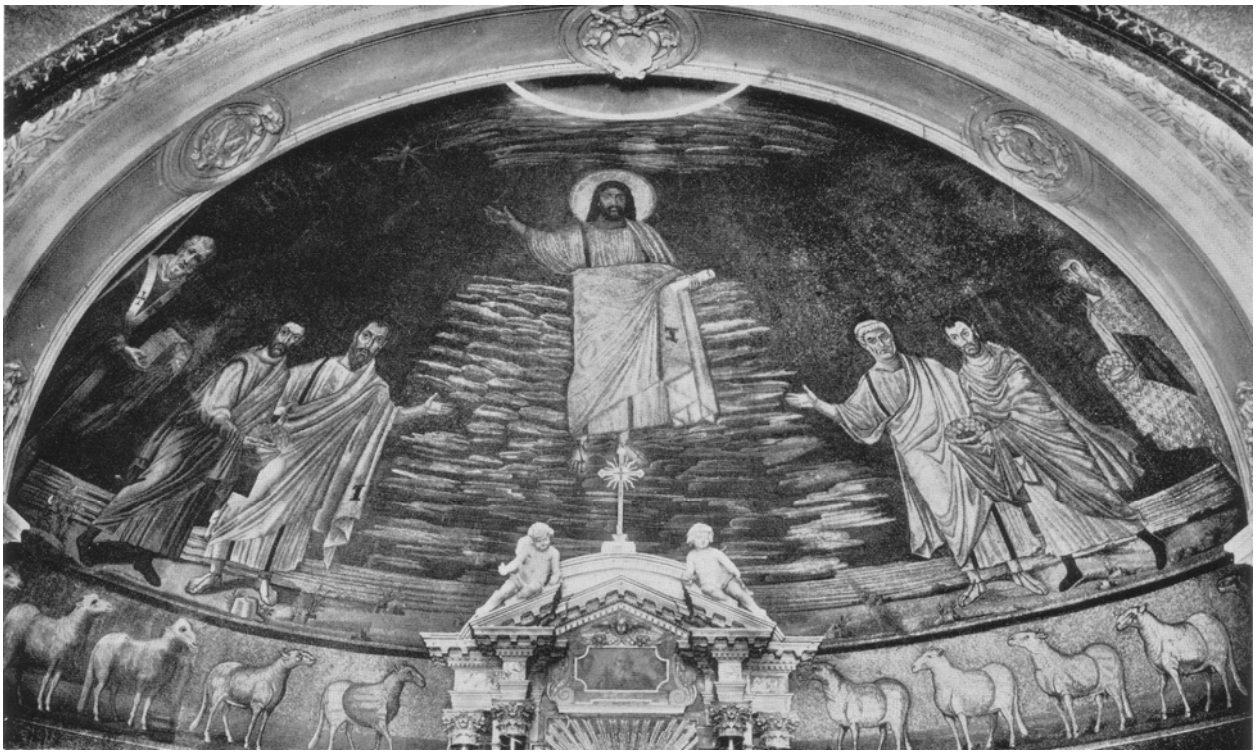


Fig. 43. Rome, Sts. Cosmas and Damian, apse, *Traditio Legis*
(photo: Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 3, 1971, fig. 594).

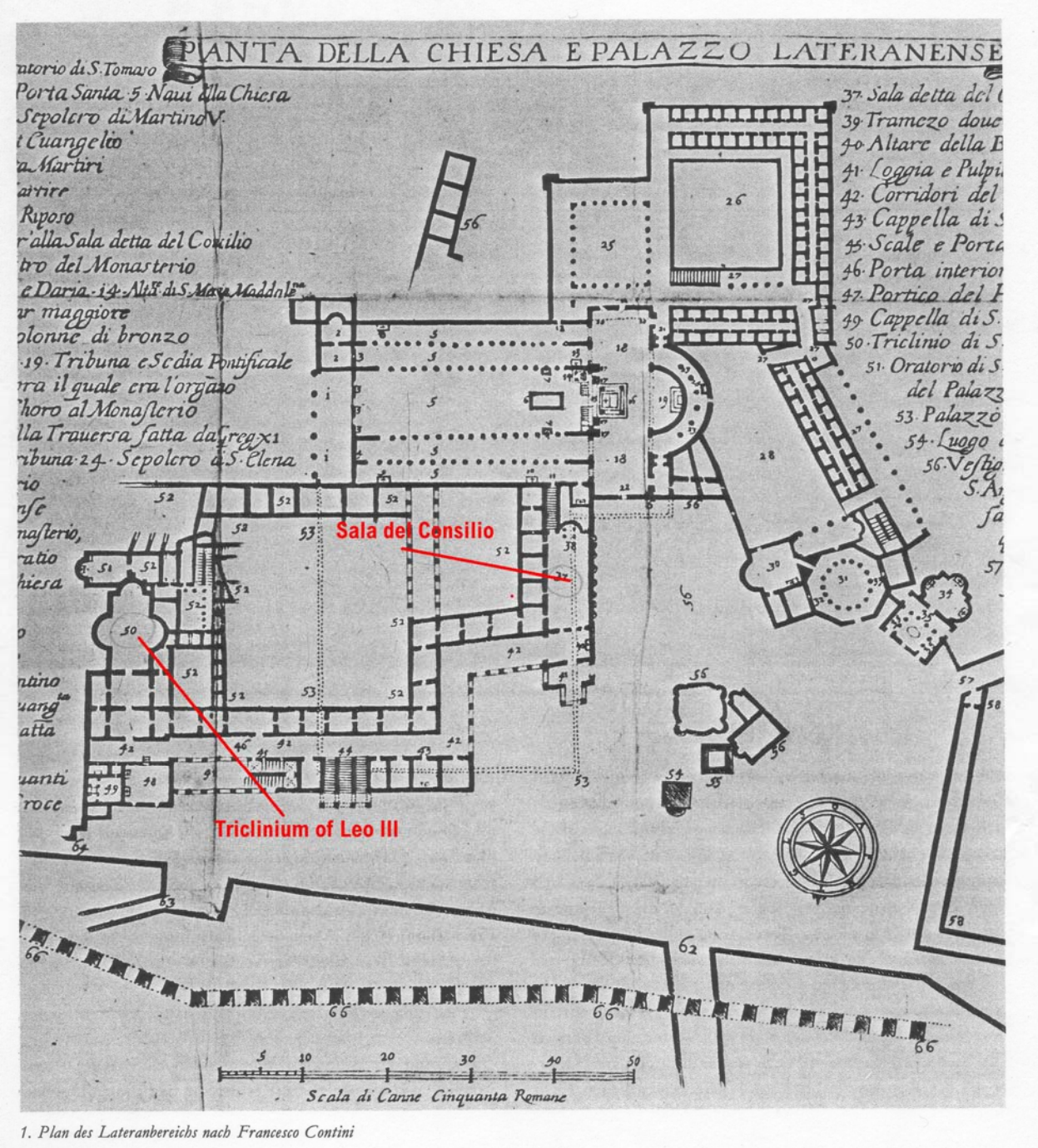


Fig. 44. Francesco Contini, plan of the Lateran Campus, Rome; Rome, Bibliotheca Hertziana, G. Severano, *Memories acre delle sette chiese di Roma*, 1630 (Herklotz, "Der Campus Lateranensis im Mittelalter," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte,* 1985, fig. 1).

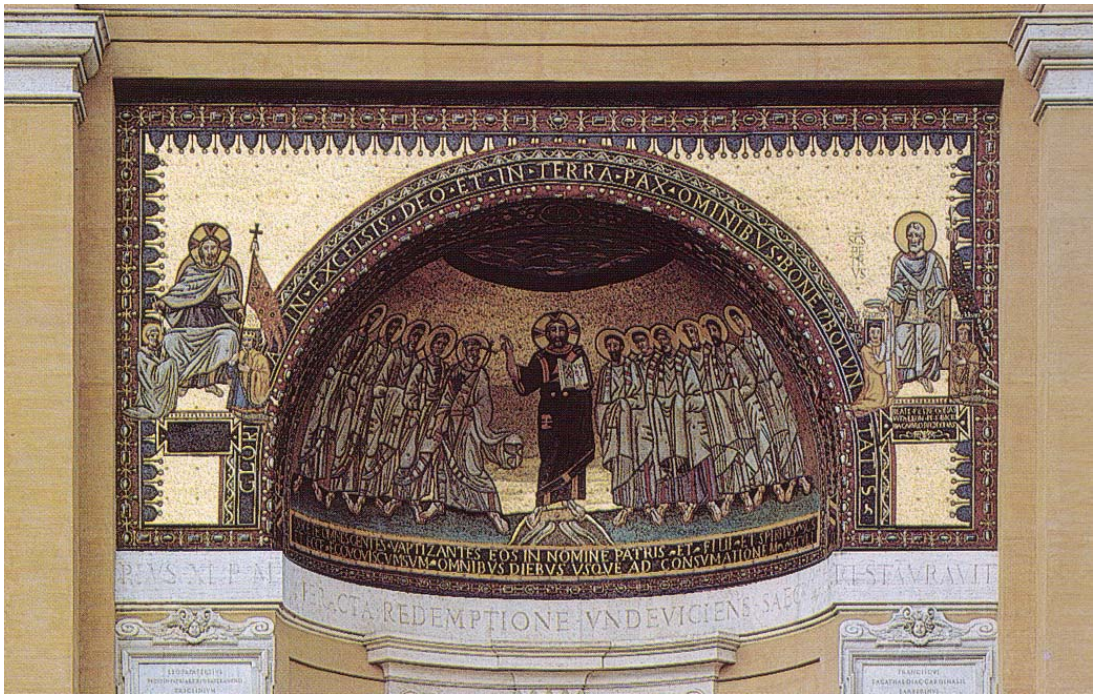


Fig. 45. Rome, Lateran palace, Triclinium of Leo III, apse, reconstructed under Pope Benedict XVI (1740-1758) (photo: Kessler and Zacharias, *Rome 1300*, 2000, fig. 30).

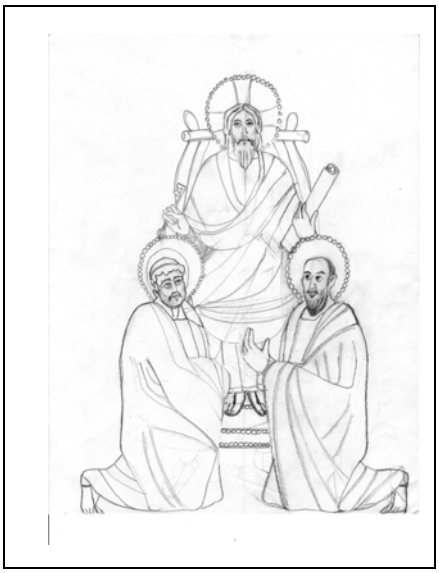


Fig. 46. Alemanni, sketch of *Traditio Legis* in Triclinium of Leo III, triumphal arch, left spandrel, modified drawing by Anita Born (Alemanni sketch in Ladner, *Die Papstbildnisse…*, vol. 1, 1941, fig. 101).

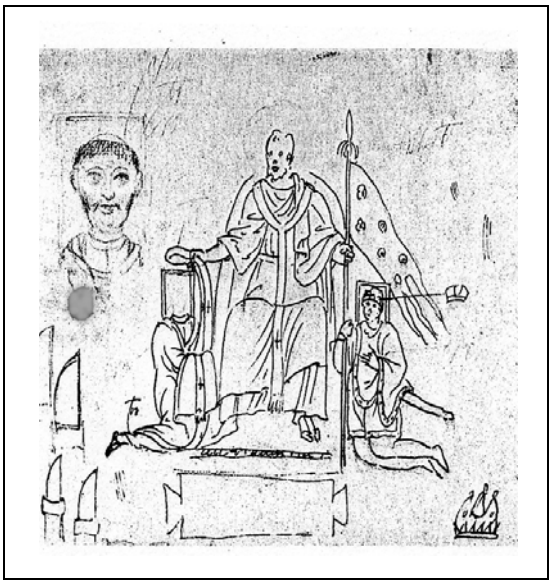


Fig. 47. Panvinius, drawing of Peter blessing Charlemagne and Pope Leo III in Triclinium of Leo III, triumphal arch, right spandrel, Rome, Cod. Barb. lat. 2738, fol. 104r (Walter, "Papal Political Imagery in the Medieval Lateran Palace," *Cahiers archéologiques,* 1970, fig. 1).

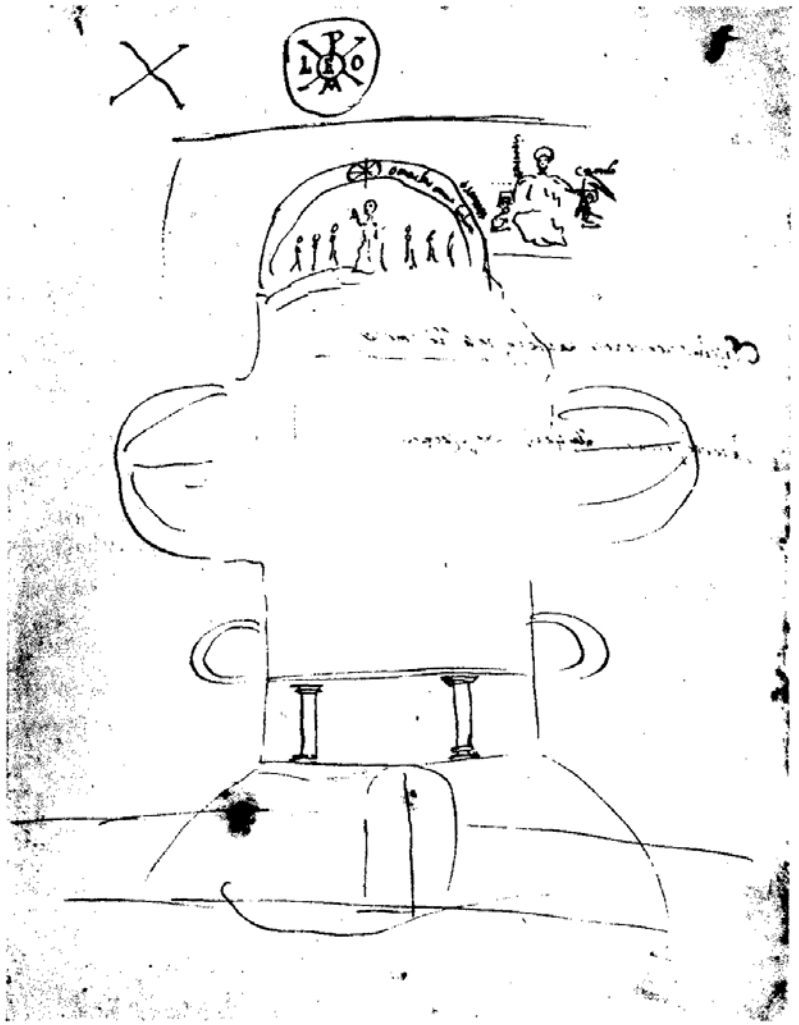


Fig. 48. Ugonio, plan of the Triclinium of Leo III, Lateran palace, Rome (Waetzoldt, /*Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Röm,* 1964, fig. 122 and cat. no. 228).

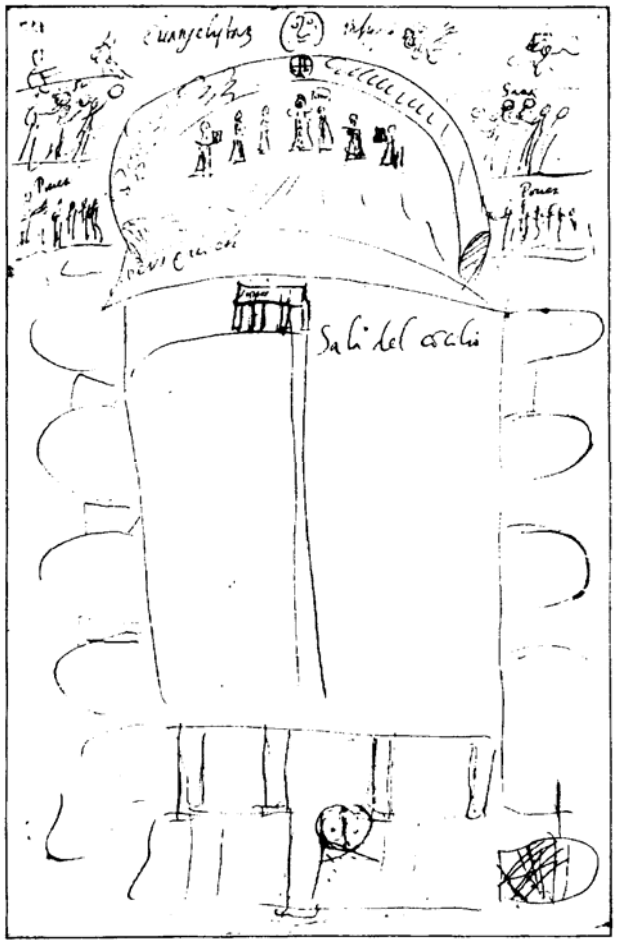


Fig. 49. Ugonio, plan of the *Sala del Consilio,* Lateran palace, Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Barb. lat. 2160 (Belting, "I mosaici dell'Aula Leonine come testimonianza della prima renovatio nell'arte medievale di Roma," in *Roma e l'età carolingia…*, 1976, fig. 183).

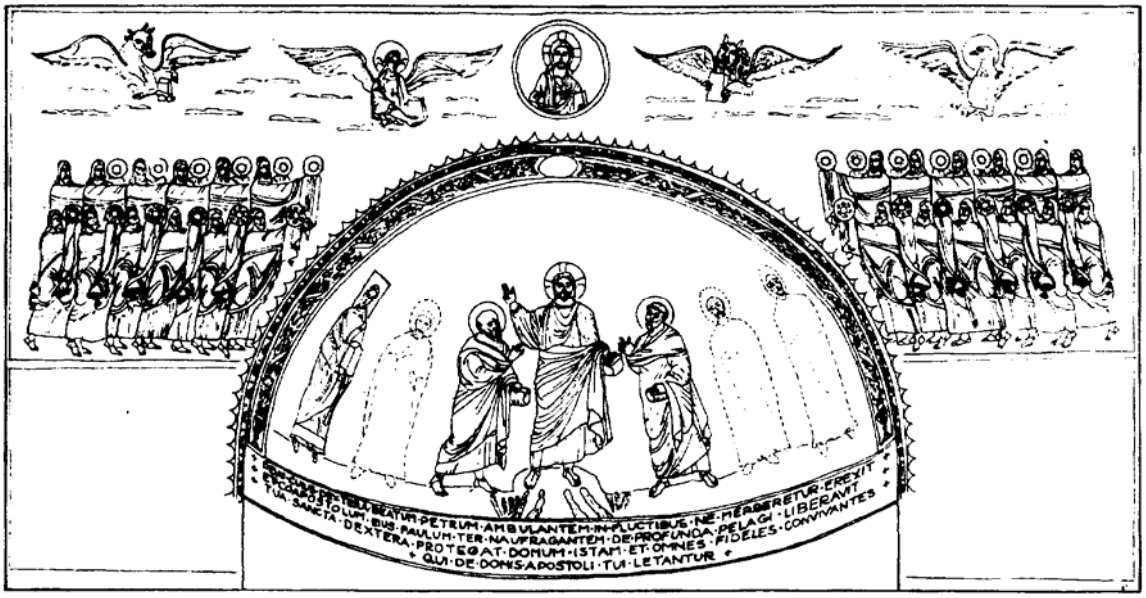


Fig. 50. Rome, Lateran palace, *Sala del Consilio,* apse and triumphal arch, reconstruction by D. von Winterfeld (drawing: Belting, "I mosaici dell'Aula Leonine come testimonianza della prima renovatio nell'arte medievale di Roma," in *Roma e l'età carolingia…,* 1976, fig. 182).

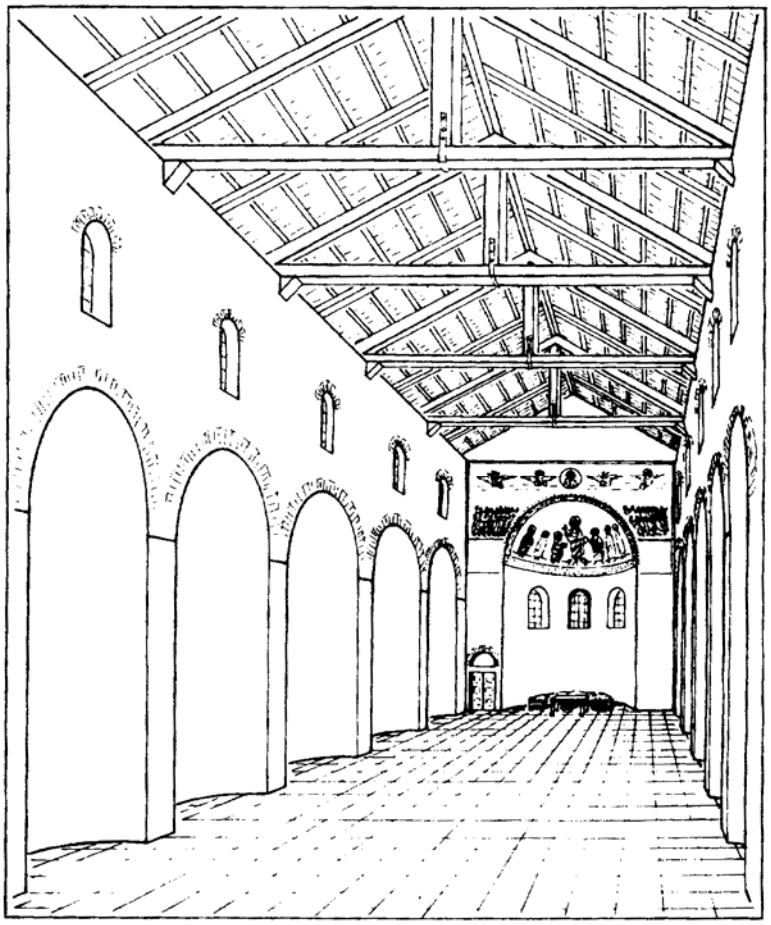


Fig. 51. Rome, Lateran palace, *Sala del Consilio,* interior, reconstruction by D. von Winterfeld, (drawing: Belting, "I mosaici dell'Aula Leonine come testimonianza della prima renovatio nell'arte medievale di Roma," in *Roma e l'età carolingia…,* 1976, fig. 185).

Fig. 52. Berzé-la-Ville, priory church, apse fresco, *Traditio Legis*
(photo: Toman, ed., *Romanesque: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting,* 1997, 411).

Fig. 53. Magdeburg Antependium, ivory panel, *Traditio Legis,* now mounted on the cover of the Codex Wittekindeus, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preuβischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. theol. fol. 1 (photo: Fillitz, *Die Gruppe der Magdeburger Elfenbeintafeln…,* 2001, 33).

Fig. 54. Magdeburg Antependium, ivory panel, *Maiestas Domini,* New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. Nr. 41.100.157 (photo: Fillitz, *Die Gruppe der Magdeburger Elfenbeintafeln…,* 2001, 31).

Fig. 55. Milan, St. Ambrogio, ciborium with *Traditio Legis*.

Fig. 56. Milan, St. Ambrogio, sarcophagus under pulpit, *Traditio Legis*.

Fig. 57. Milan, St. Ambrogio, pulpit and sarcophagus.

Fig. 58. Milan, St. Ambrogio, ciborium, west face, *Traditio Legis* (photo: Capponi, ed., *La basilica di Sant'Ambrogio a Milano,* 1997, 46).

Fig. 59. Milan, St. Ambrogio, ciborium, east face, St. Ambrose (photo: Capponi, ed., *La basilica di Sant'Ambrogio a Milano,* 1997, 47).

Fig. 60. Milan, St. Ambrogio, ciborium, south face, Ottonian emperors (photo: Capponi, ed., *La basilica di Sant'Ambrogio a Milano,* 1997, 44).

Fig. 61. Milan, St. Ambrogio, ciborium, north face, Virgin as Ecclesia and Ottonian empresses (photo: Capponi, ed., *La basilica di Sant'Ambrogio a Milano,* 1997, 47).

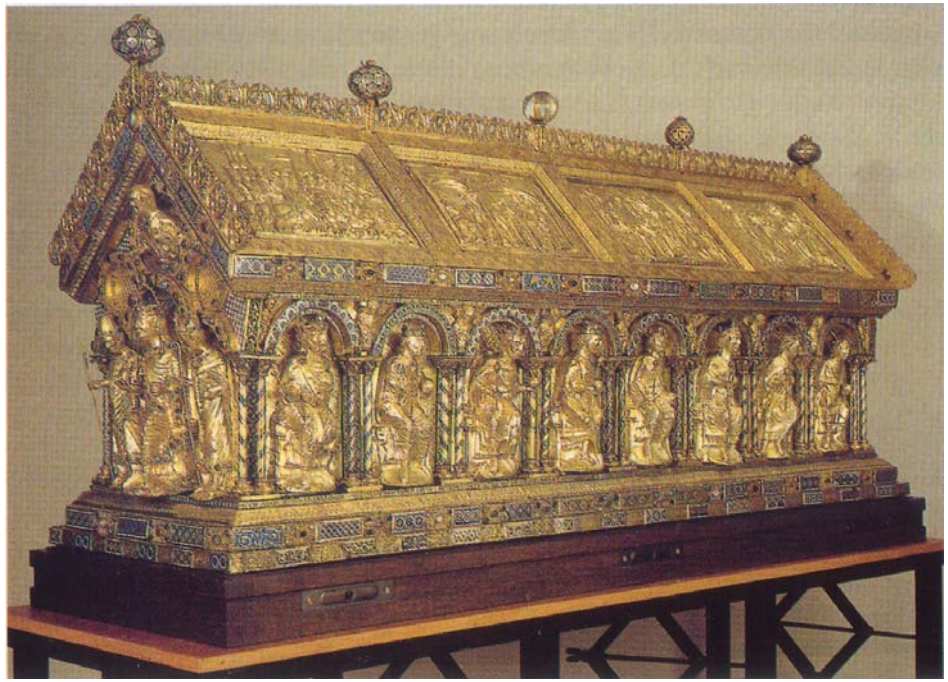


Fig. 62. Shrine of Charlemagne, emperor flanked by Pope Leo III and an archbishop (photo: Grimme, *Aachener Goldschmiedekunst im Mittelalter,* 1957, fig. 10).

Fig. 63. Shrine of Charlemagne (photo: Grimme, *Aachener Goldschmiedekunst im Mittelalter,* 1957, fig. 9).

Fig. 64. Arm reliquary of Charlemagne
(photo: Grimme, *Aachener Goldschmiedekunst im Mittelalter,* 1957, fig. 6).

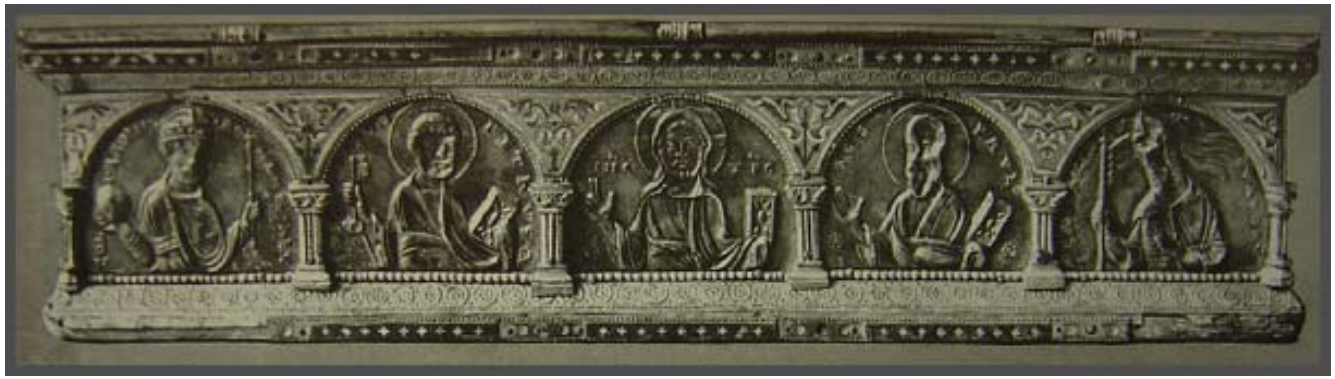


Fig. 65. Arm reliquary of Charlemagne, reverse *Traditio Legis*
(photo: Schramm, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser,* 1962, fig. 176).

Fig. 66. Pavia, St. Michele, south portal, detail, *Traditio Legis*.

Fig. 67. Pavia, St. Michele, south portal.

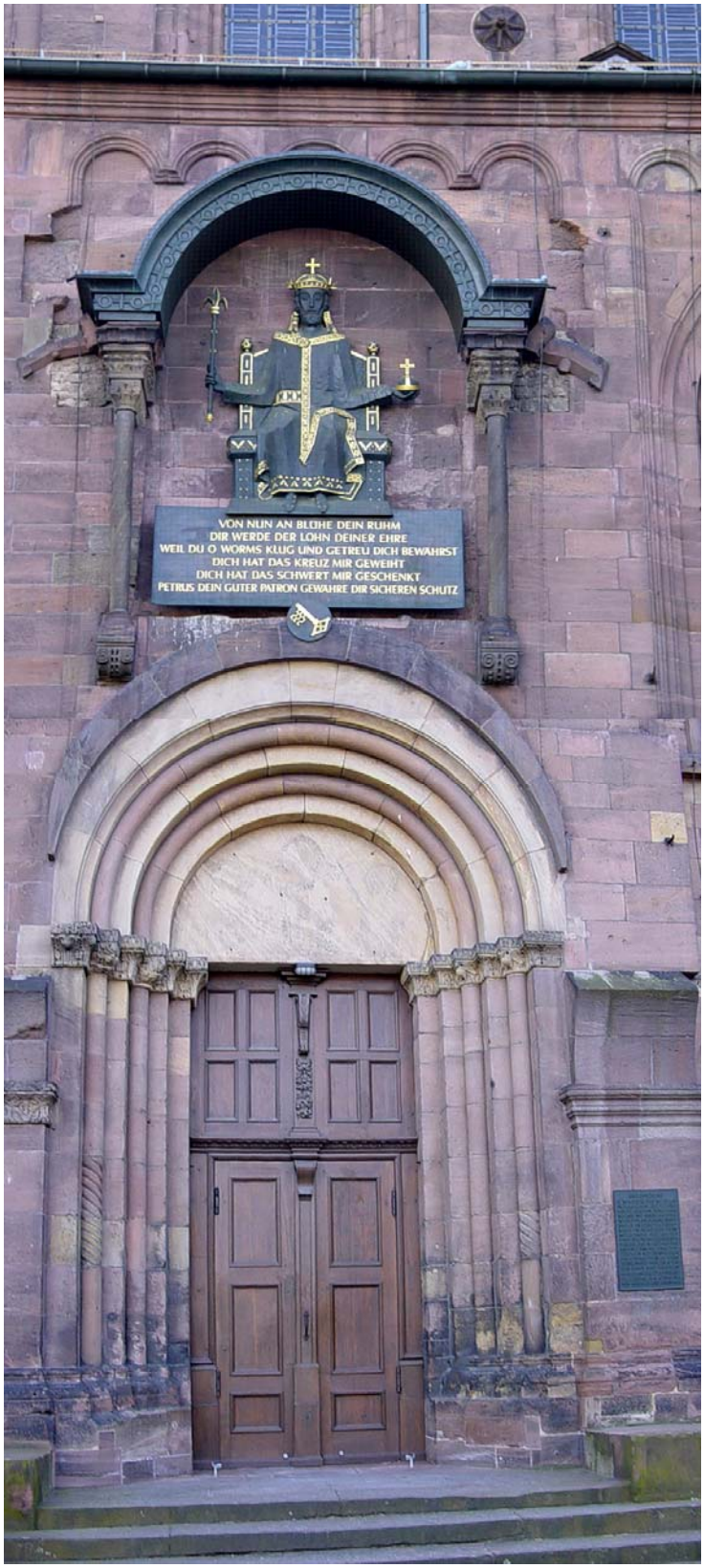


Fig. 68. Worms, cathedral, north portal.

Fig. 69. Worms, cathedral, north flank.

Fig. 70. Worms, cathedral, north portal, tympanum, *Traditio Legis*.

Fig. 71. Andlau, Sts. Peter and Paul, west façade.

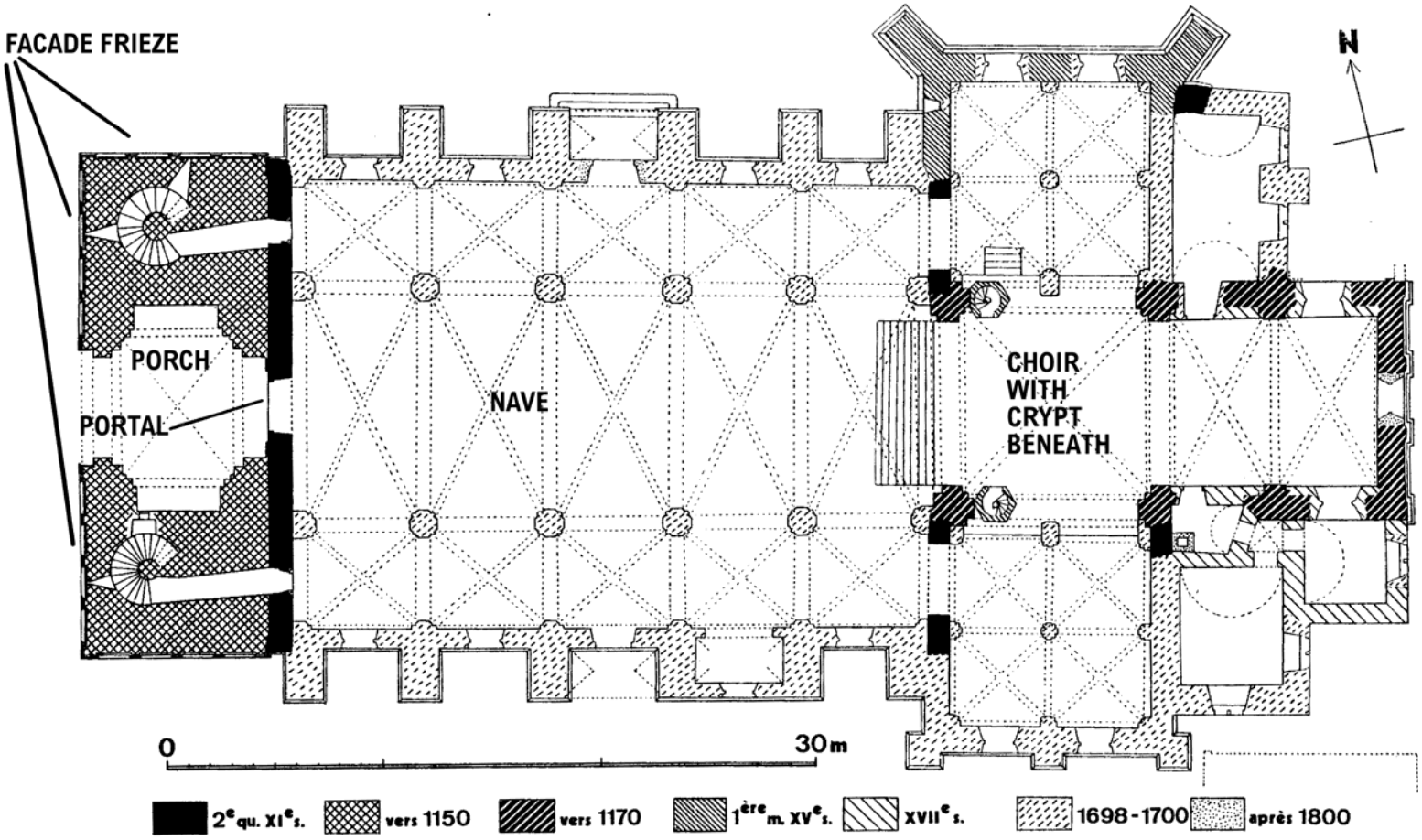


Fig. 72. Andlau, abbey, plan (Meyer, "L'église abbatiale d'Andlau au XIe s.," *Cahiers alsaciens d'archéologie, d'art et d'histoire*, 1986, fig. 1).

Fig. 73. Andlau, abbey, façade with frieze and arch reliefs.

Fig. 74. Andlau, abbey, detail of frieze, north wall.

Fig. 75. Andlau, abbey, detail of frieze, north wall.

Fig. 76. Andlau, abbey, detail of frieze, west wall, north corner.

Fig. 77. Andlau, abbey, detail of frieze, west wall, left of center.

Fig. 78. Andlau, abbey, detail of frieze, west wall, center.

Fig. 79. Andlau, abbey, detail of frieze, west wall, right of center.

Fig. 80. Andlau, abbey, detail of frieze, west wall, south corner.

Fig. 81. Andlau, abbey, detail of frieze above (Fig. 80), Samson's banquet.

Fig. 82. Andlau, abbey, façade center with archway.

Fig. 83. Andlau, abbey, center of frieze and keystone with Richardis and Christ trampling basilisk.

Fig. 84. Andlau, abbey, arch, keystone, frontal view, Christ trampling basilisk and Richardis.

Fig. 85. Andlau, abbey, arch, keystone, view from right, Christ trampling basilisk and Richardis.

Fig. 86. Andlau, left arch relief, frontal view, David and Goliath.

Fig. 87. Andlau, left arch relief, view from right, David and Goliath.

Fig. 88. Andlau, right arch relief, view from left, Samson riding lion.

Fig. 89. Andlau, right arch relief, view from right, Samson riding lion.

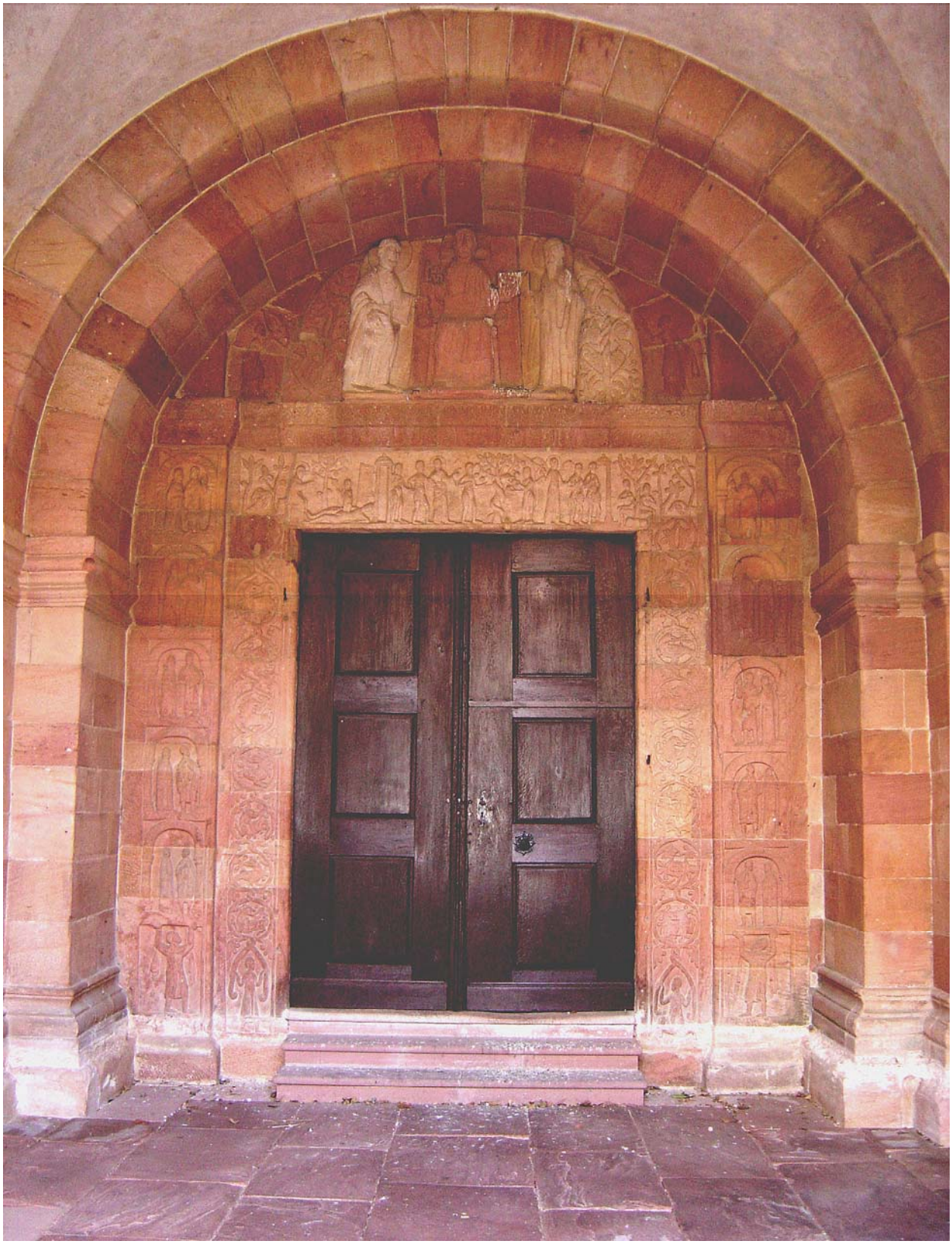


Fig. 90. Andlau, abbey, west façade, main portal.

Fig. 91. Andlau, abbey, main portal, tympanum, *Traditio Legis*.

Fig. 92. Andlau, abbey, main portal, archer and slingshot figures flanking tympanum.

Fig. 93. Andlau, abbey, main portal, lintel, Creation and Fall of Mankind.

Fig. 94. Andlau, abbey, main portal, left jamb.

Fig. 95. Andlau, abbey, main portal, right jamb.

Fig. 96. Andlau, abbey, main portal, left jamb, detail: top.

Fig. 97. Andlau, abbey, main portal, left jamb, detail: middle.

Fig. 98. Andlau, abbey, main portal, left jamb, detail: bottom.

Fig. 99. Andlau, abbey, main portal, right jamb, detail: top.

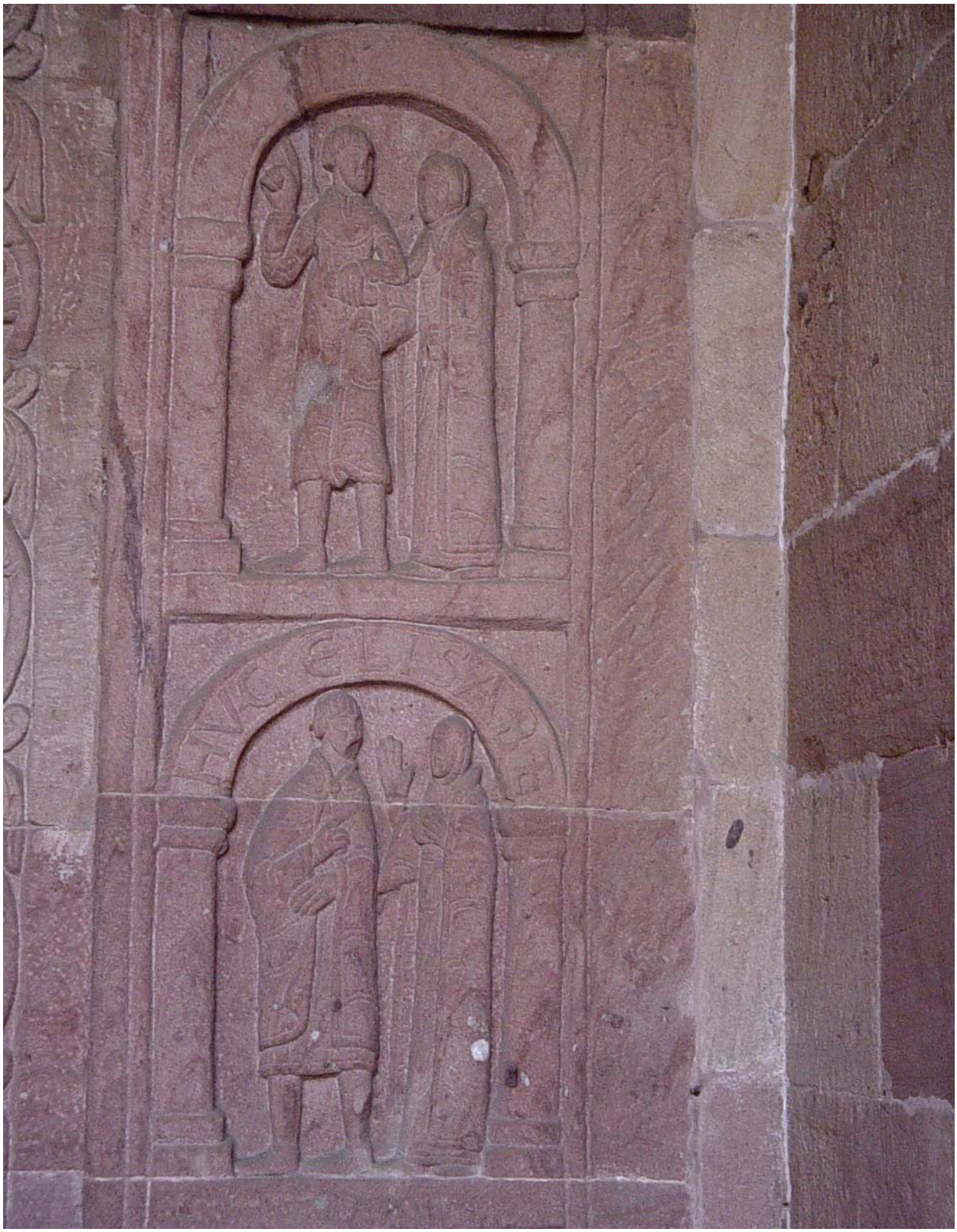


Fig. 100. Andlau, abbey, main portal, right jamb, detail: middle.

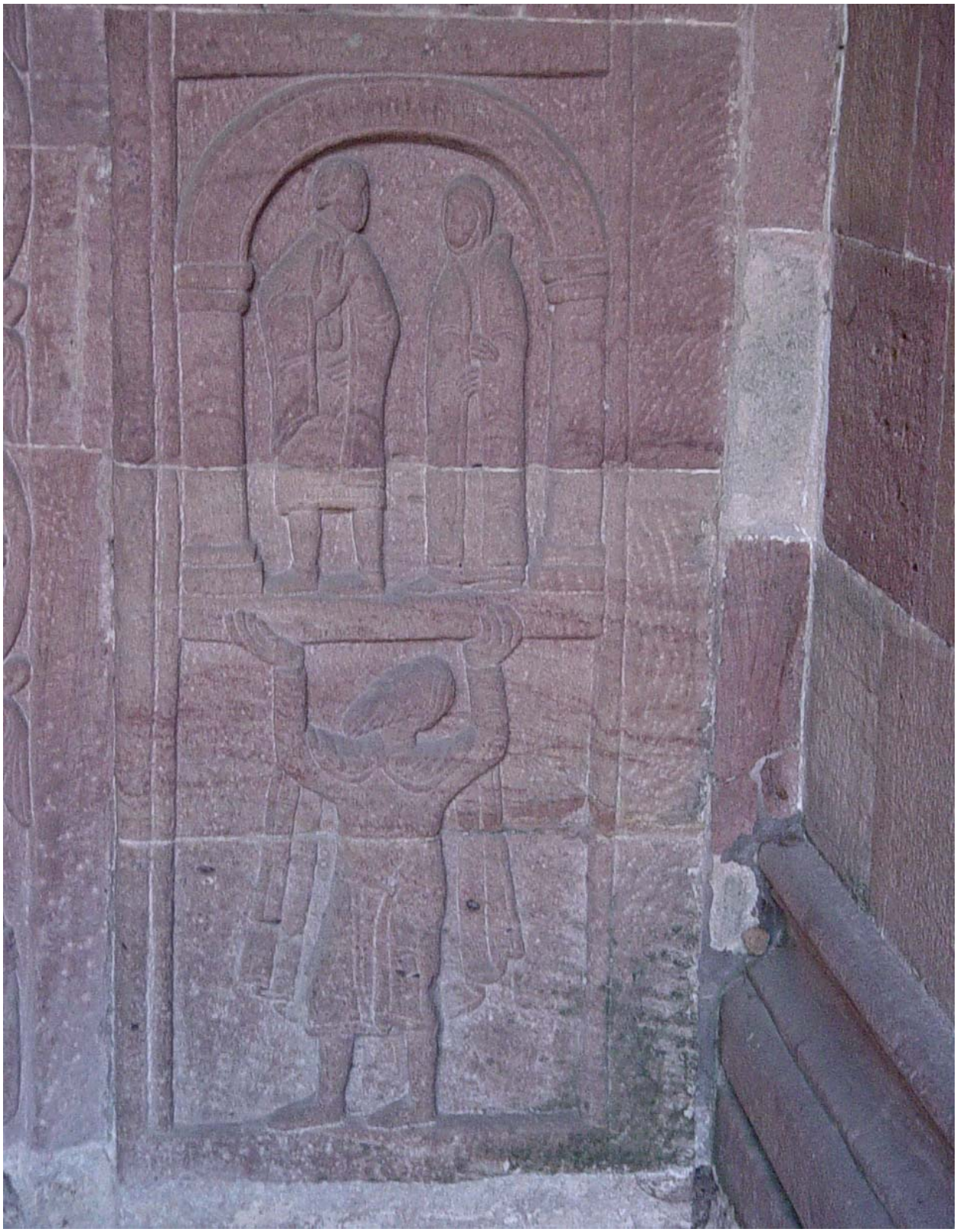


Fig. 101. Andlau, abbey, main portal, right jamb, detail: bottom.

Fig. 102. Elsterstrebniz, former parish church, tympanum fragment, Christ with side figures, now in Dresden, Palais im Groβen Garten (photo: Neubauer, *Die romanischen skulptierten Bogenfelder in Sachsen und Thüringen,* 1971, fig. 20).

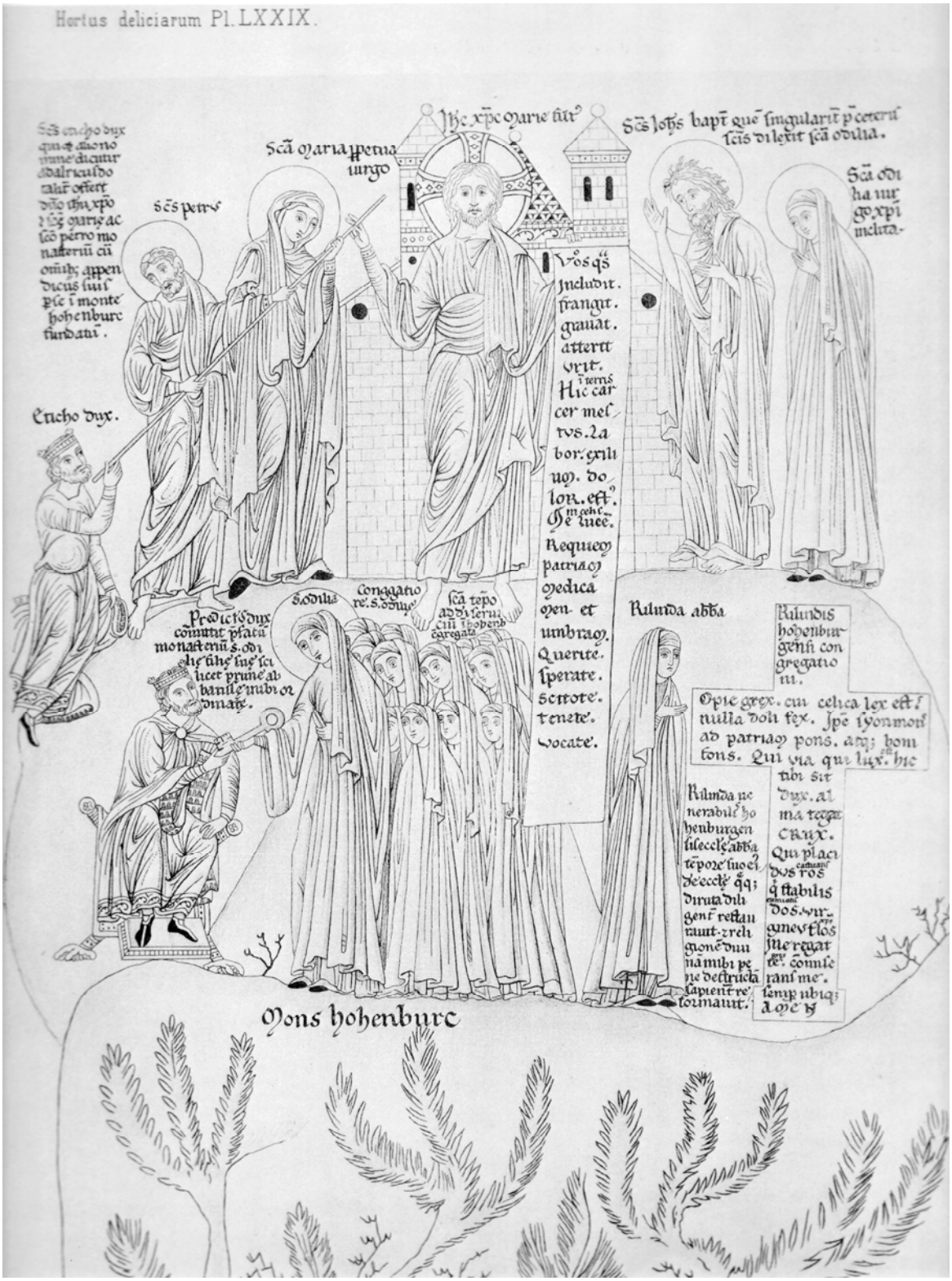


Fig. 103. Herrad of Hohenburg, *Hortus deliciarum*, fol. 322v, Duke Eticho founds the monastery of Hohenburg (photo: Straub and Keller, *Hortus deliciarum,* 1879-1899, pl. LXXIX).

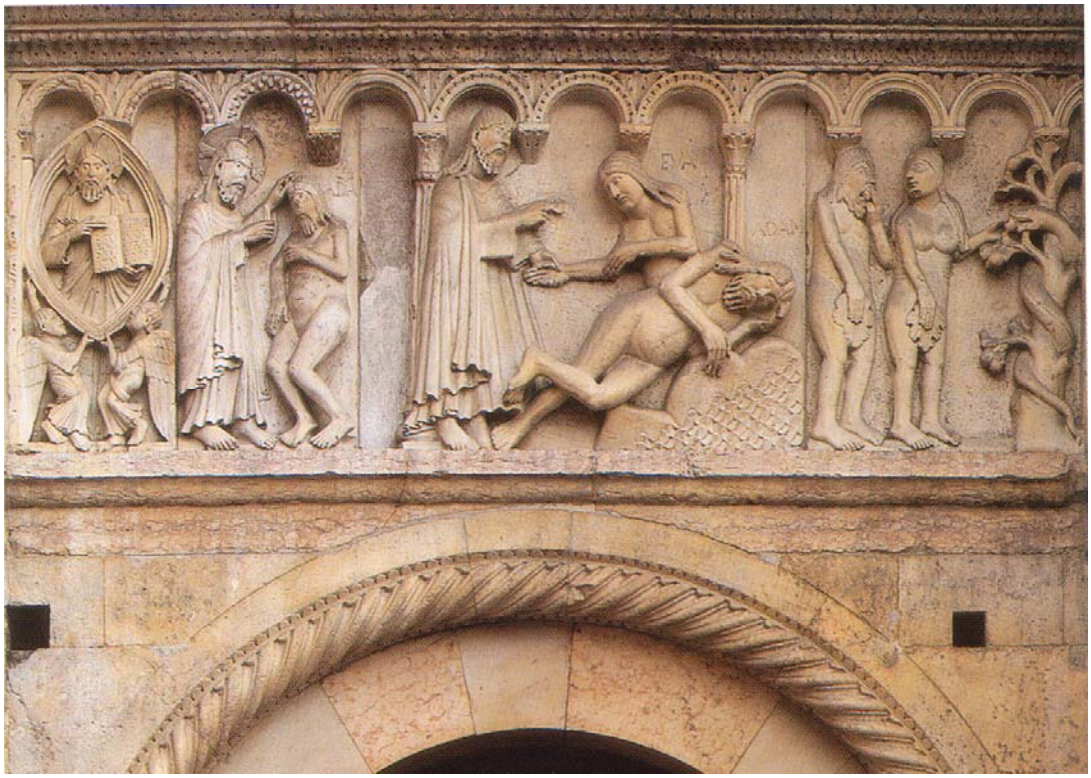


Fig. 104. Modena, cathedral, west façade, left relief, Creation of Mankind (photo: Toman, ed., *Romanesque: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting,* 1997, 301).

Fig. 105. Modena, cathedral, west façade.

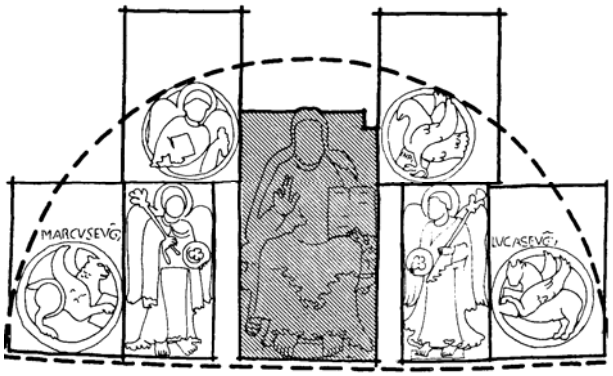
Fig. 106. Modena, cathedral, *Porta Maggiore*, jamb detail, atlas figure holding up interlace pattern.

Fig. 107. Andlau, Sts. Peter and Paul, main portal, jamb detail, atlas figure holding up interlace pattern.

Fig. 108. Nonantola, St. Sylvester, west façade, portal, left jamb, details, history of the abbey.

Fig, 109. Nonantola, St. Sylvester, west façade, main portal.

Fig. 110. Nonantola, St. Sylvester, west façade, portal, tympanum, Christ, angels and symbols of the evangelists.



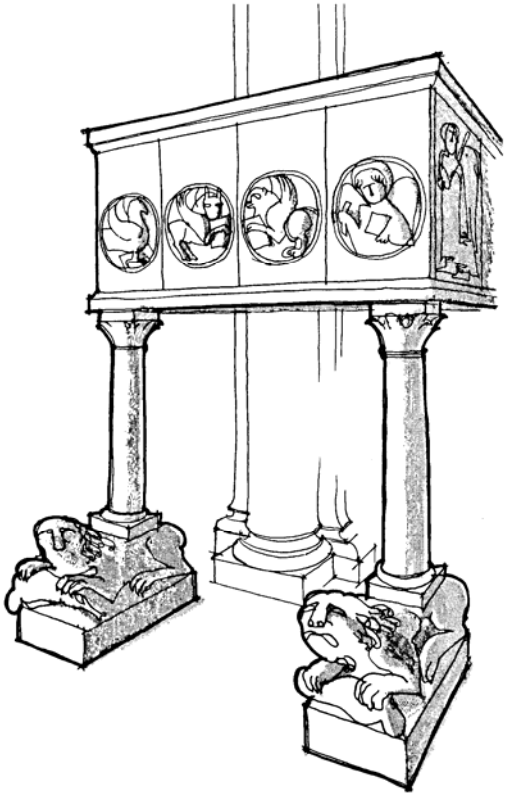


Fig. 111. A.C. Quintavalle, reconstruction of tympanum of the west façade portal at St. Sylvester, Nonantola, from fragments of the pulpit (drawing: Quintavalle, *Romanico padano, civilità d'Occidente,* 1969, figs. 1-2).

Fig. 112. Milan, St. Ambrogio, ciborium, detail, *Traditio Legis*.

Fig. 113. Verona, cathedral, ciborium, detail, *Traditio Legis*, now in Verona Castelvecchio Museum (photo: Agostini, *Sum Pelegrinus ego: Guida al complesso della Cattedrale di Verona,* 2003, 13).

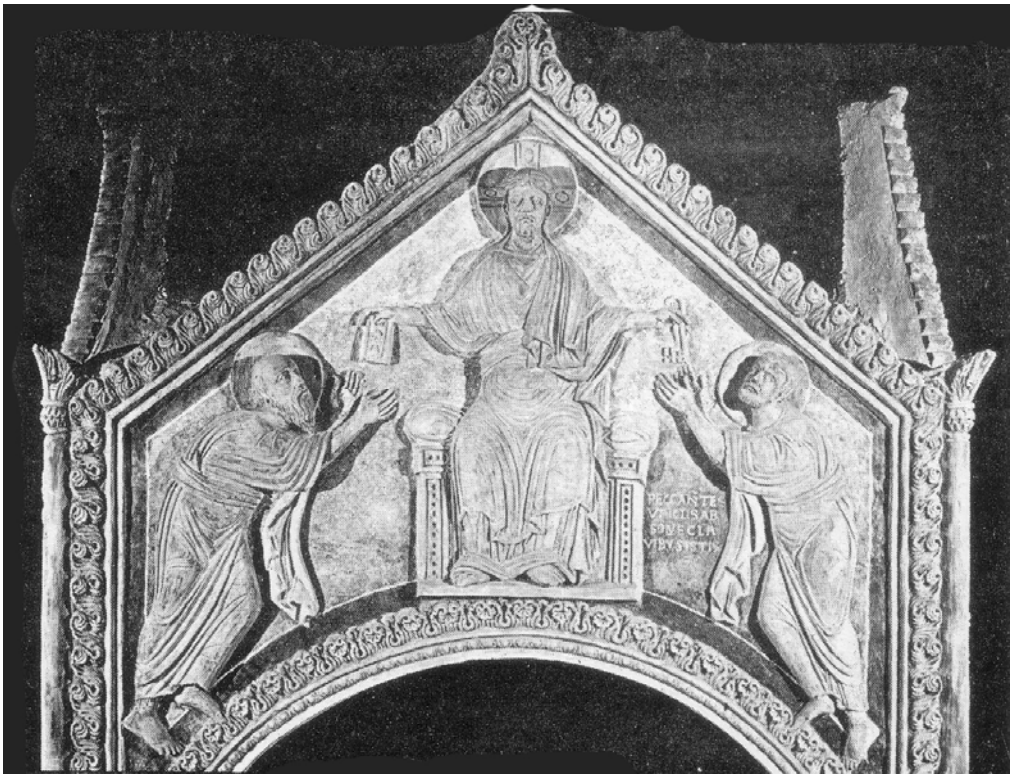


Fig. 114. Civate, San Pietro al Monte, ciborium, detail, *Traditio Legis* (photo: Gatti, "Arte e liturgia nel complesso monastico di Civate," *Arte cristiana,* 1990, fig. 12).

Fig. 115. Civate, San Pietro al Monte, interior, entrance wall, freaco, *Traditio Legis* (photo: Gatti, "Arte e liturgia nel complesso monastico di Civate," *Arte cristiana,* 1990, fig. 2).

Fig. 116. Pavia, St. Michele, west façade.

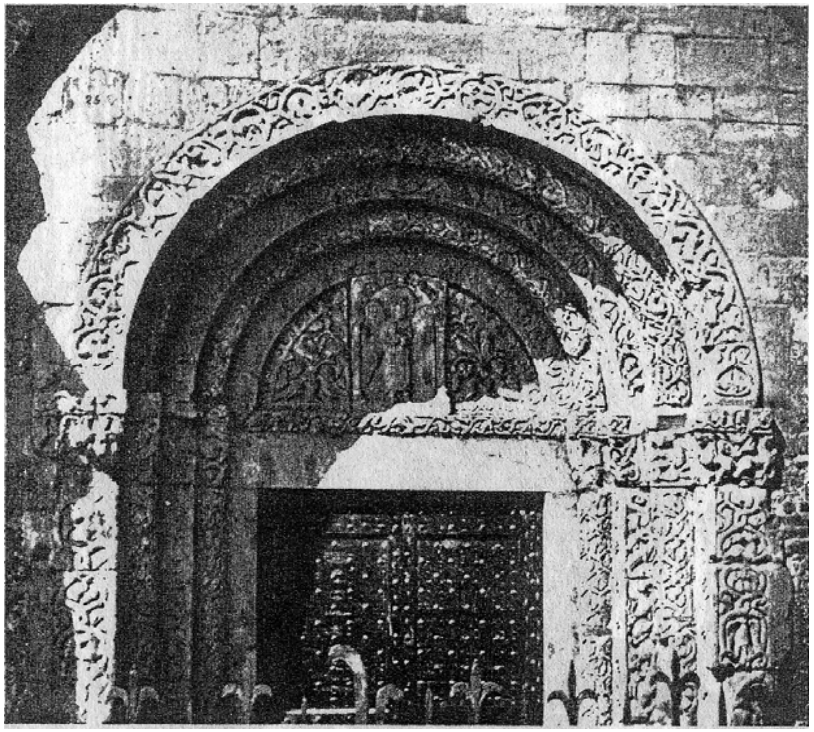


Fig. 117. Pavia, St. Michele, north portal.

Fig. 118. Pavia, St. Stefano, west portal of church demolished in the nineteenth century, extent fragments now in the Musei civici del castello visconteo, Pavia (photo: Sòriga, *Guida storico-artistica alla città di Pavia e alla sua Certosa,* 1997, 52).

Fig. 119. Pavia, St. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, west façade, portal and pediment over portal.

Fig. 120. Sigolsheim, Sts. Peter and Paul, west façade.

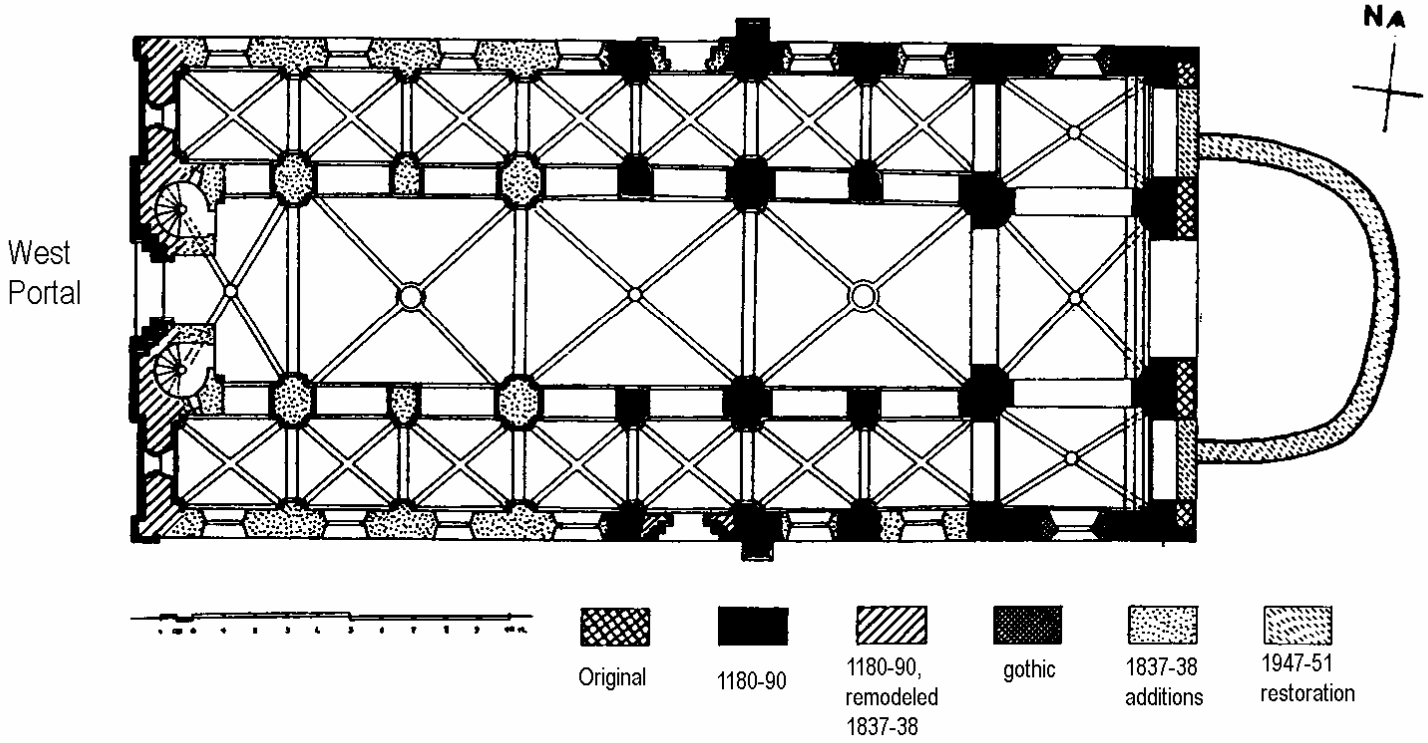


Fig. 121. Sigolsheim, Sts. Peter and Paul, plan (Kautzsch, *Der romanische Kirchenbau im Elsass*, 1944, 267).

Fig. 122. Sigolsheim, Sts. Peter and Paul, south side.

Fig. 123. Sigolsheim, Sts. Peter and Paul, west portal.

Fig. 124. Sigolsheim, Sts. Peter and Paul, west portal, tympanum and lintel.

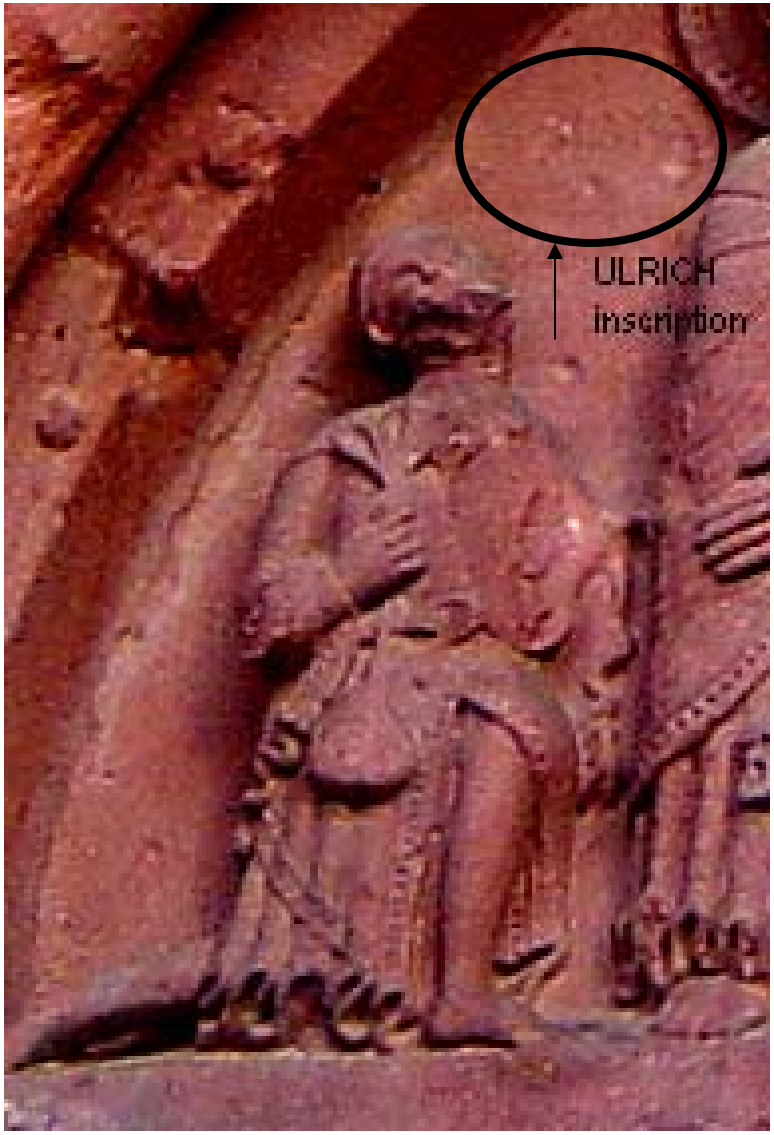


Fig. 125. Sigolsheim, Sts. Peter and Paul, west portal, side figures on tympanum.

Fig. 126. Sigolsheim, Sts. Peter and Paul, west portal, capitals.

Fig. 127. Schleswig, former cathedral of St. Peter, south portal, tympanum, *Traditio Legis* (photo: Budde, *Deutsche romanische Skulptur, 1050-1250,* 1979, fig. 147).

Fig. 128. Andlau, Sts. Peter and Paul, west portal, lintel, detail: Creation of Eve.

Fig. 129. Herrad of Hohenburg, *Hortus deliciarum*, fol. 120, Harvester (photo: Straub and Keller, *Hortus deliciarum,* 1879-1899, pl. XXXI).

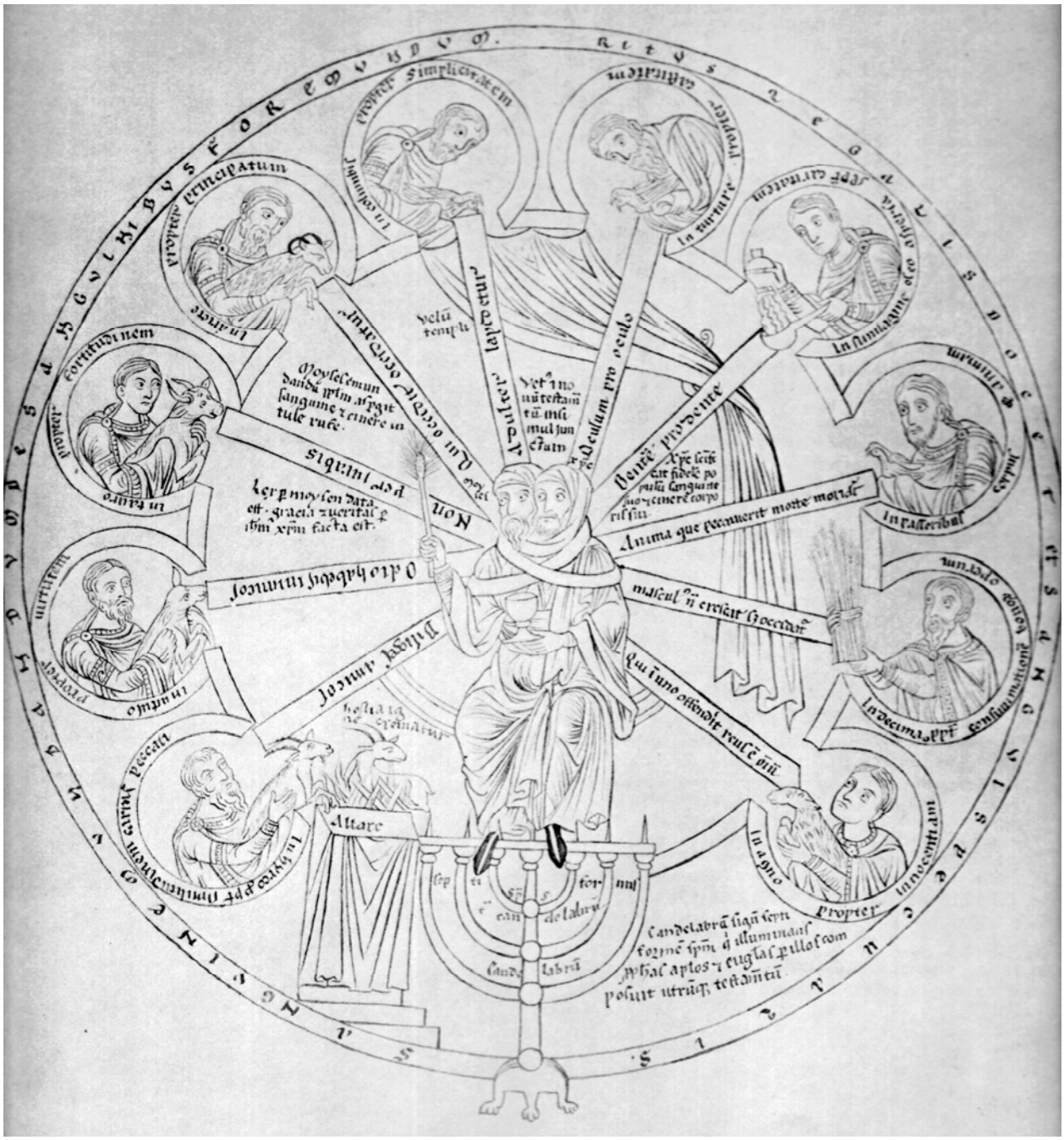


Fig. 130. Herrad of Hohenburg, *Hortus deliciarum*, fol. 67a, Old Covenant or Ritual Law (photo: Straub and Keller, *Hortus deliciarum*, 1879-1899, pl. XXII).

Fig. 131. Marlenheim, St. Richarde, south side.

Fig. 132. Marlenheim, St. Richarde, south portal, tympanum, *Traditio Legis*.

Fig. 133. Zürich, Grossmünster, north portal.

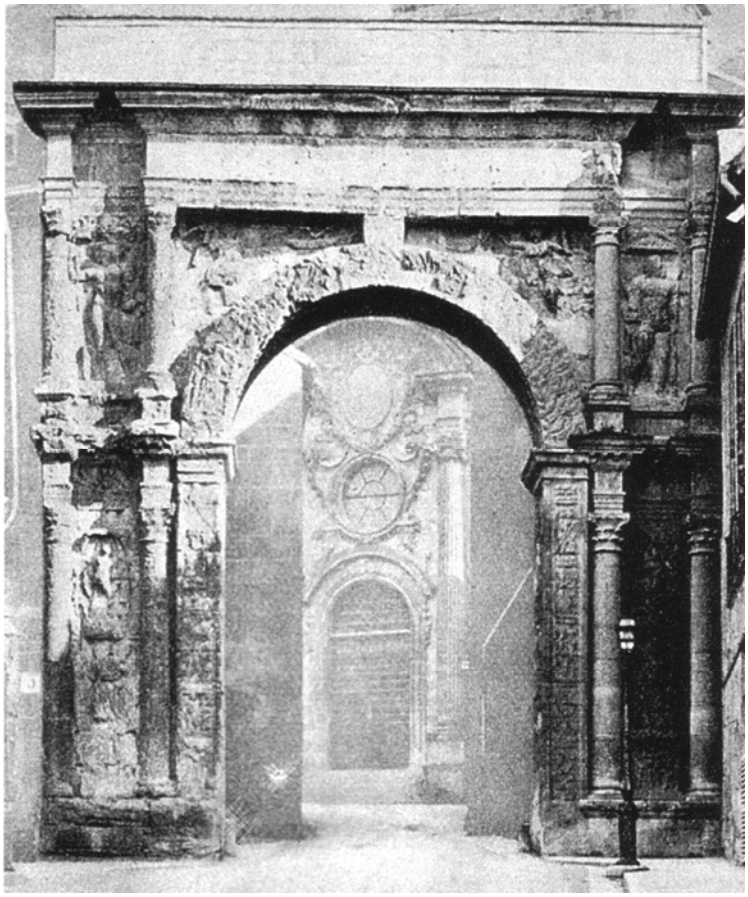


Fig. 134. Besançon, Porte Noire (photo: Meier and Schwinn Schürmann, ed., *Schwelle zum Paradies: Die Galluspforte des Basler Münsters*, 2002, fig. 57).

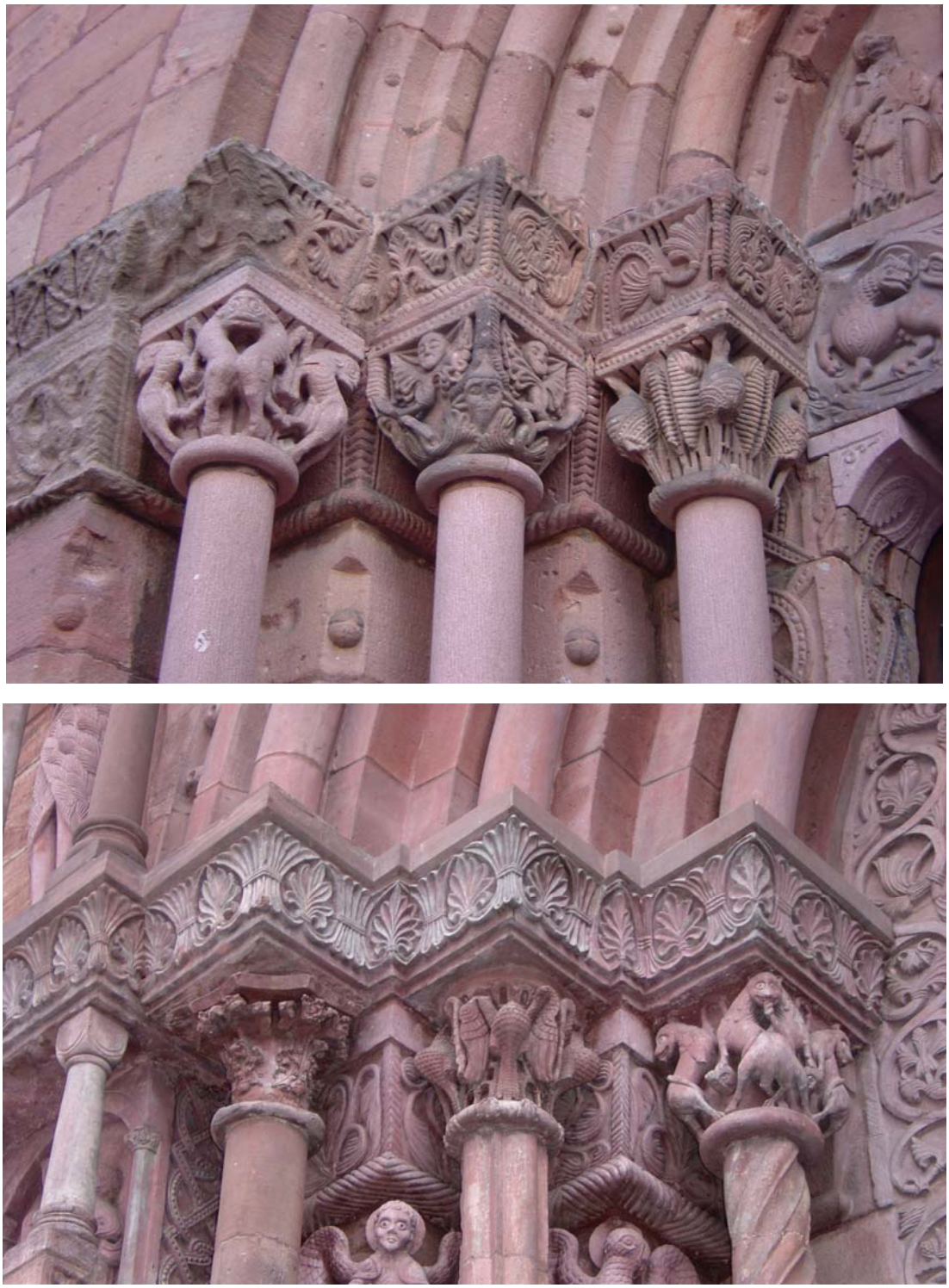


Fig. 135. Comparison of portal capitals, top: Sigolsheim, bottom: Basel Galluspforte.

Fig. 136. Comparison of portal archivolts, top: Sigolsheim, bottom: Basel Galluspforte.

Fig. 137. Altkirch, St. Morand, tympanum, fragment, *Traditio Legis* (photo: Meier and Schwinn Schürmann, ed., *Schwelle zum Paradies: Die Galluspforte des Basler Münsters*, 2002, fig. 61).

Fig. 138. St. Ursanne, collegiate church, south portal, tympanum, *Traditio Legis.*

Fig. 139. St. Ursanne, collegiate church, south portal (photo: Meier and Schwinn Schürmann, ed., *Schwelle zum Paradies: Die Galluspforte des Basler Münsters*, 2002, fig. 34).

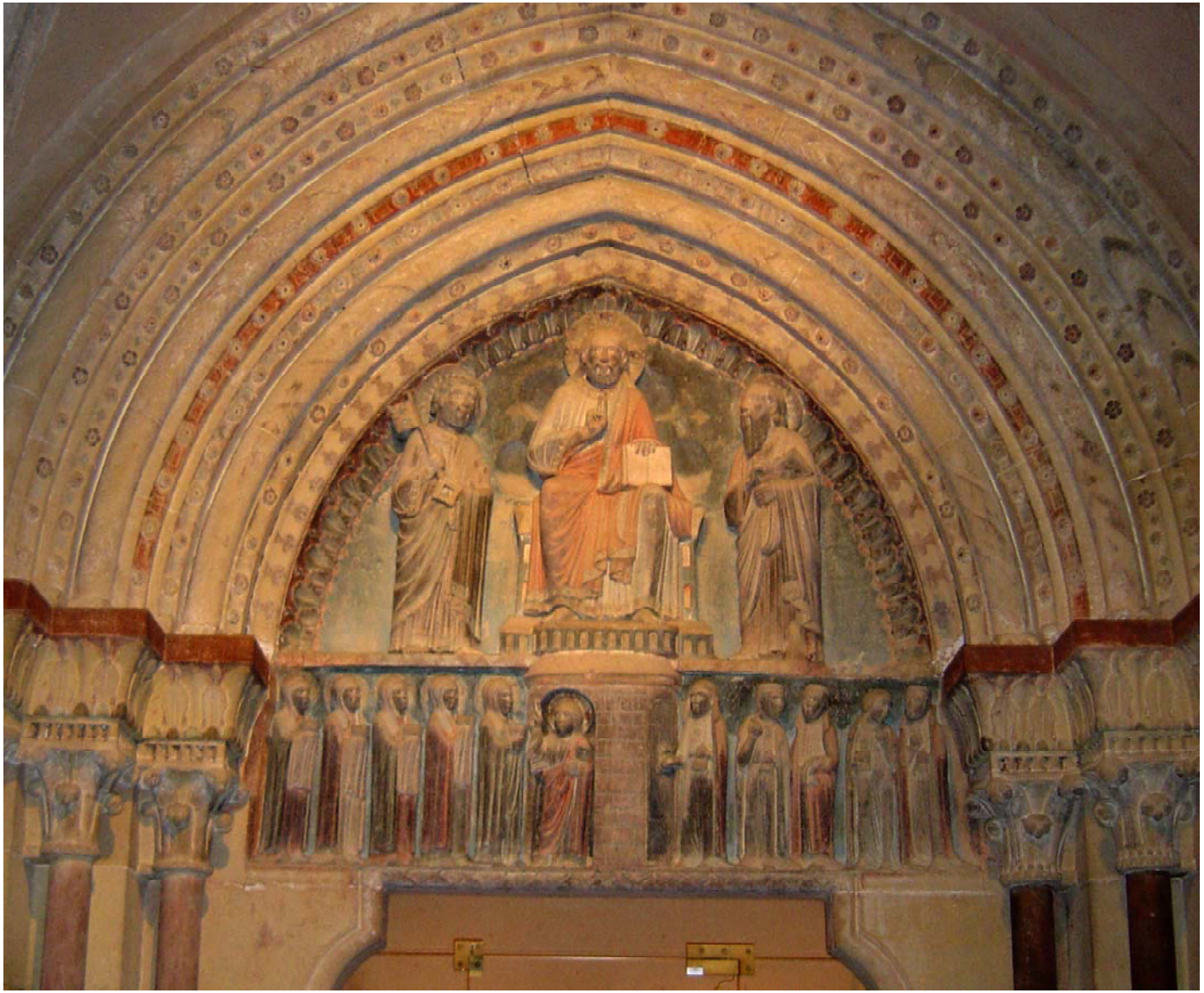


Fig. 140. Eguisheim, Sts. Peter and Paul, former west portal, tympanum, *Traditio Legis*.

Fig. 141. Basel, minster, view from the northeast.

Fig. 142. Basel, minster, north transept, Galluspforte.

Fig. 143. Basel, minster, north portal, Galluspforte.

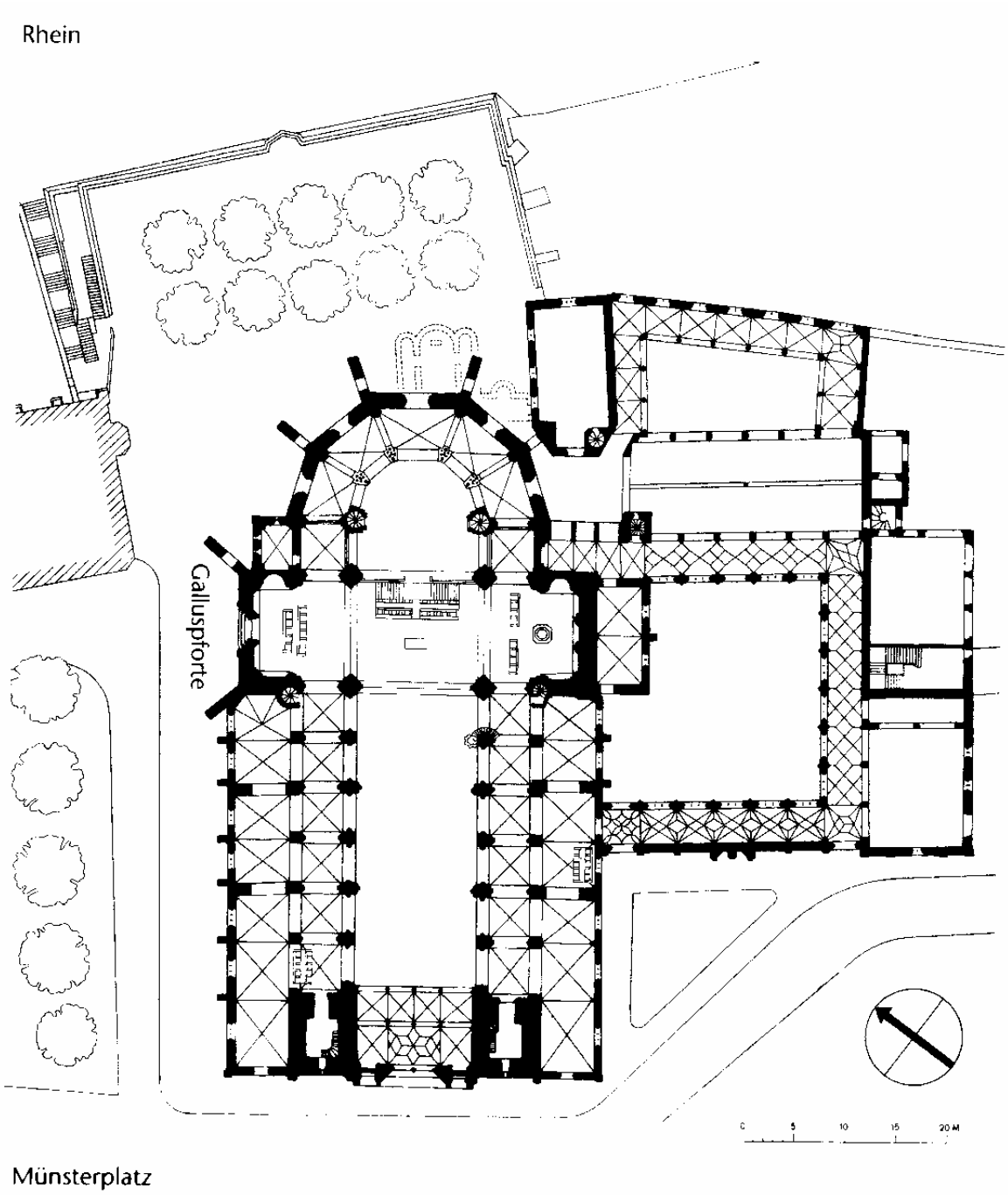


Fig. 144. Basel, minster, plan (Meier and Schwinn Schürmann, ed., *Schwelle zum Paradies: Die Galluspforte des Basler Münsters*, 2002, fig. 11).

Fig. 145. Basel, Galluspforte, spandrels, Angels Calling the Dead to Resurrection.

Fig. 146. Basel, Galluspforte, tympanum, *Traditio Legis*.

Fig. 147. Basel, Galluspforte, lintel, Wise and Foolish Virgins.

Fig. 148. Basel, Galluspforte, upper niches, John the Baptist and John the Evangelist.

Fig. 149. Basel, Galluspforte, jamb niches, Acts of Mercy.

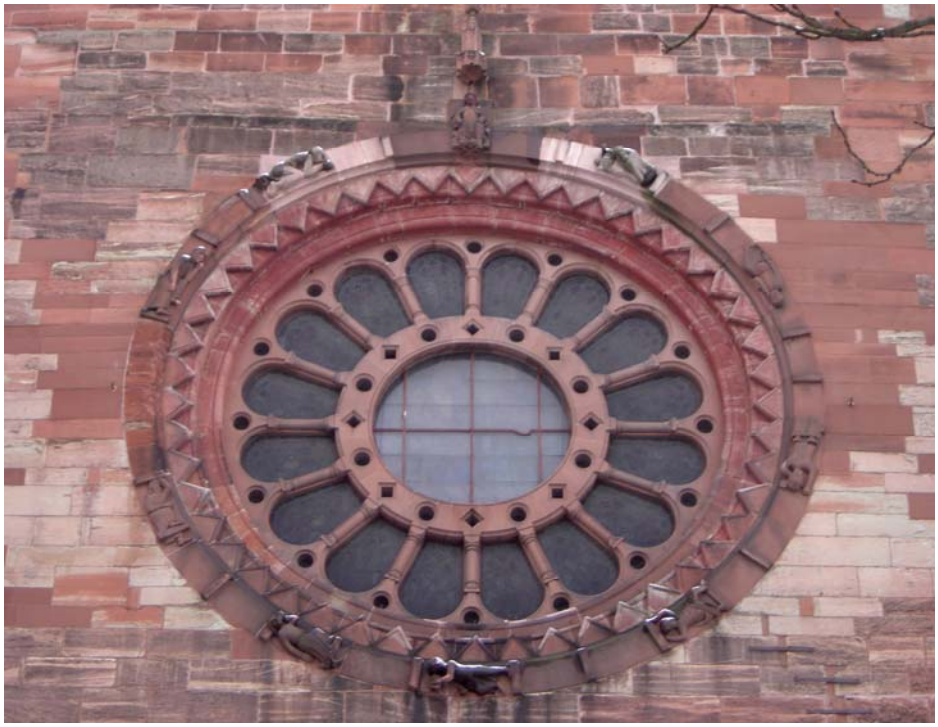


Fig. 150. Basel, minster, north transept, Wheel of Fortune.

Fig. 151. Basel, minster, east end.

Fig. 152. Basel, minster, east end.

Fig. 153. Basel, minster, east end, *telemones*.

Fig. 154. Basel, minster, east end, corbel table.

Fig. 155. Basel, minster, east end, interlace frieze and *telemone*.

Fig. 156. Verona, cathedral, west façade, interlace frieze.

Fig. 157. Basel, minster, choir piers.

Fig. 158. Basel, minster, choir pier with Dietrich capital.

Fig. 159. Basel, minster, choir capital, detail: Dietrich rescuing Rentwin.

Fig. 160. Basel, minster, choir capital, detail: knight and sheep.

Fig. 161. Basel, minster, choir capital, detail: knight and lion.

Fig. 162. Basel, minster, choir capital, partly hidden carved back of Dietrich capital.

Fig. 163. Basel, minster, choir capital, detail:
Alexander's Flight and the Fall of Mankind.

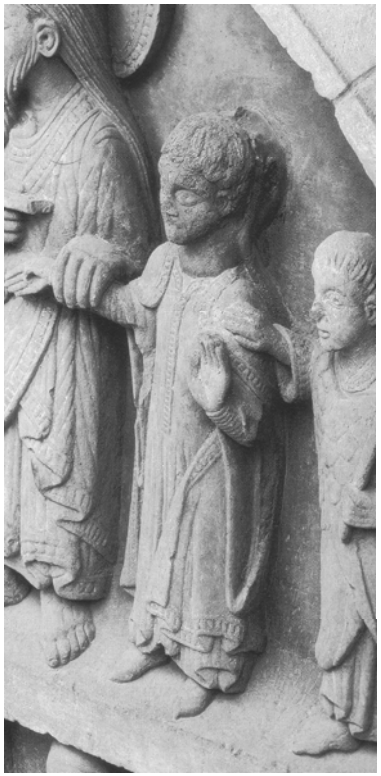


Fig. 164. Henry V receives globe from Paschal II, Imperial chronicle, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 373., fol. 83 (photo: Stroll, *Symbols as Power: The Papacy Following the Investiture Contest*, 1991, fig. 17).

Fig. 165. Basel, minster, Galluspforte, side figure in tympanum, view from above (photo: Meier and Schwinn Schürmann, ed., *Schwelle zum Paradies: Die Galluspforte des Basler Münsters*, 2002, fig. 64).

Fig. 166. Basel, Galluspforte, tympanum, right, detail, views: frontal and from right.

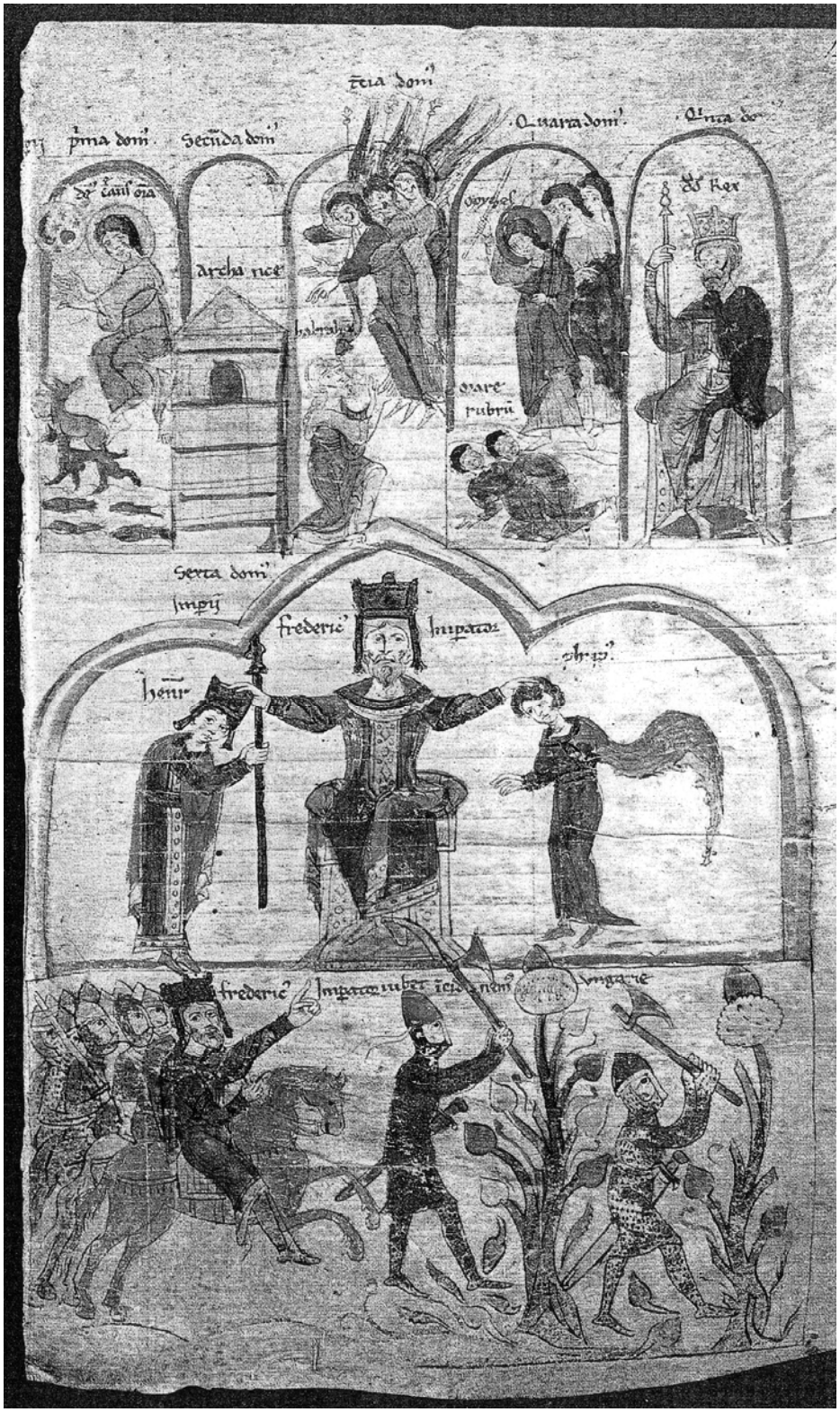


Fig. 167. Petrus de Ebulo, *Liber ad honorem Augusti sive de rebus Siculis*, Barbarossa and Sons, Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 120 II, fol. 143r (photo: Kölzer and Stähli, *Petrus de Ebulo, Liber in honorem…*, 1994, fig. 143).

Fig. 168. Moosburg, St. Castulus, west portal, tympanum, Christ with saints and donors (photo: courtesy of Web Team Moosburg, http://www.moosburg.org/info/tour/castulus.html).

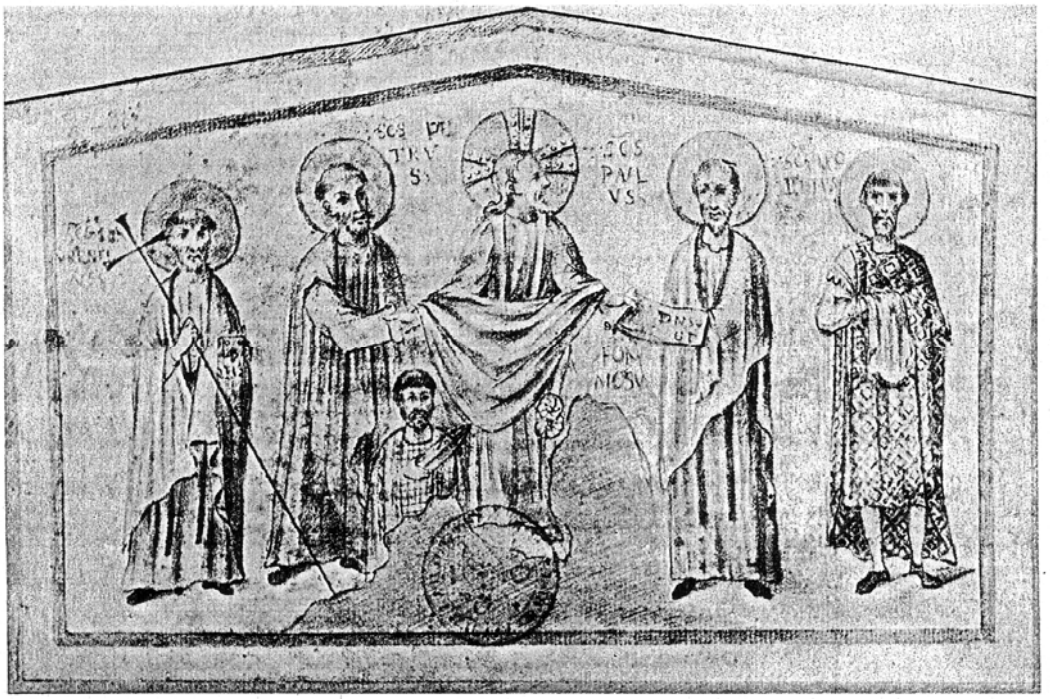


Fig. 169. *Traditio Legis*, sketch of fresco from the Laurentius Oratorium, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 7849, fol. 5r (Ladner, *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums und des Mittelalters*, vol. 1, 1941, fig. XVIb).

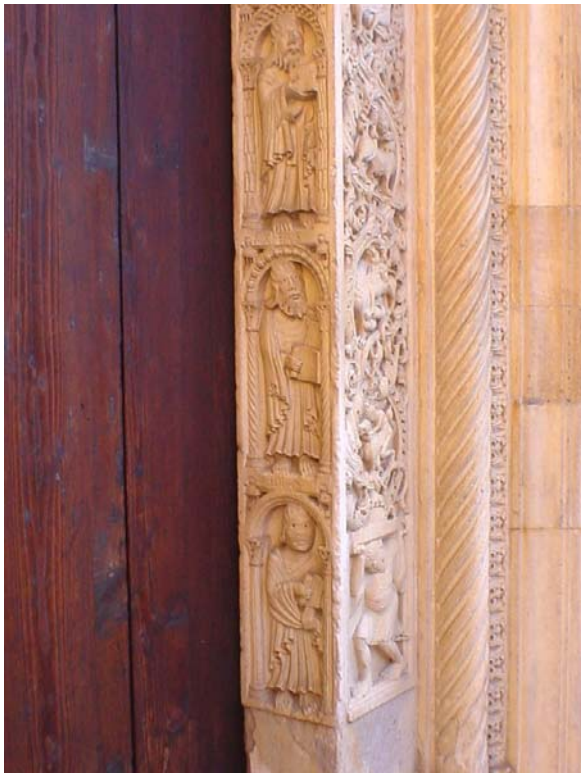


Fig. 170. Modena, cathedral, west portal, jambs, vertically stacked niches.

Fig. 171. Nonantola St. Sylvester, west portal, jambs, vertically stacked niches

Fig. 172. Vicenza, Sts. Felice and Fortunato, west portal, resurrection of the dead frescos in spandrels (photo: Meier and Schwinn Schürmann, ed., *Schwelle zum Paradies: Die Galluspforte des Basler Münsters*, 2002, fig. 59).

Fig. 173. Senlis, Notre-Dame, west portal, tympanum, Coronation of the Virgin (photo: courtesy of Clint Albertson, http://jesuit.lmu.edu/albertson/french_cathedrals/90b.jpg , 2005).

Fig. 174. Senlis, Notre-Dame, west portal, tympanum, Coronation of the Virgin (photo: courtesy of Clint Albertson, http://jesuit.lmu.edu/albertson/french_cathedrals/89b.jpg , 2005).

Fig. 175. Parma, baptistery, north portal with spandrel niches.

Fig. 176. Parma, baptistery, view from north.

Fig. 177. Parma baptistery, interior tympanum, Circumcision of Christ.

Fig. 178. Benedetto Antelami, *Deposition*, Parma, cathedral.

Fig. 179. Parma, baptistery, west portal tympanum.

Fig. 180. Parma, baptistery, west portal
(photo: Mazza, *Il battistero di Parma fede e arte*, 1989, fig. 14).

Fig. 181. Parma, baptistery, west portal, left jamb, Acts of Mercy.

Fig. 182. Ludwig Vogel, watercolor, Petershausen, former abbey church, main portal (photo: Meier and Schwinn Schürmann, ed., *Schwelle zum Paradies: Die Galluspforte des Basler Münsters*, 2002, fig. 7).

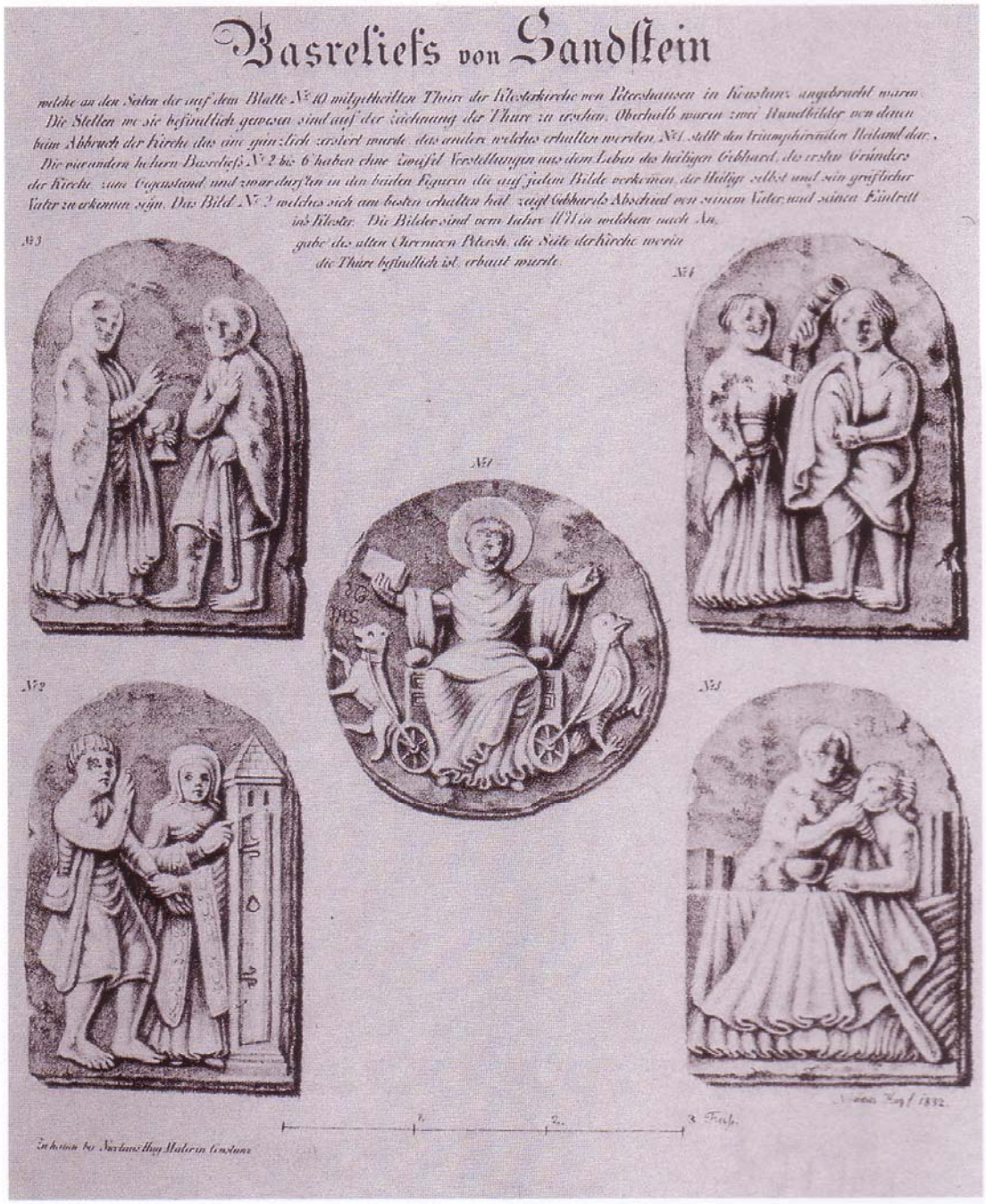


Fig. 183. Nicolaus Hug, lithograph of acts of mercy reliefs surrounding main portal, Petershausen, abbey (photo: Meier and Schwinn Schürmann, ed., *Schwelle zum Paradies: Die Galluspforte des Basler Münsters*, 2002, fig. 55).

Fig. 184. Basel, Galluspforte, niche figures, Act of Mercy, detail: King clothes the naked.

Fig. 185. Fidenza, cathedral, west façade, center portal, arch detail:
Christ enthroned with side figures.

Fig. 186. Fidenza, cathedral, west portal.

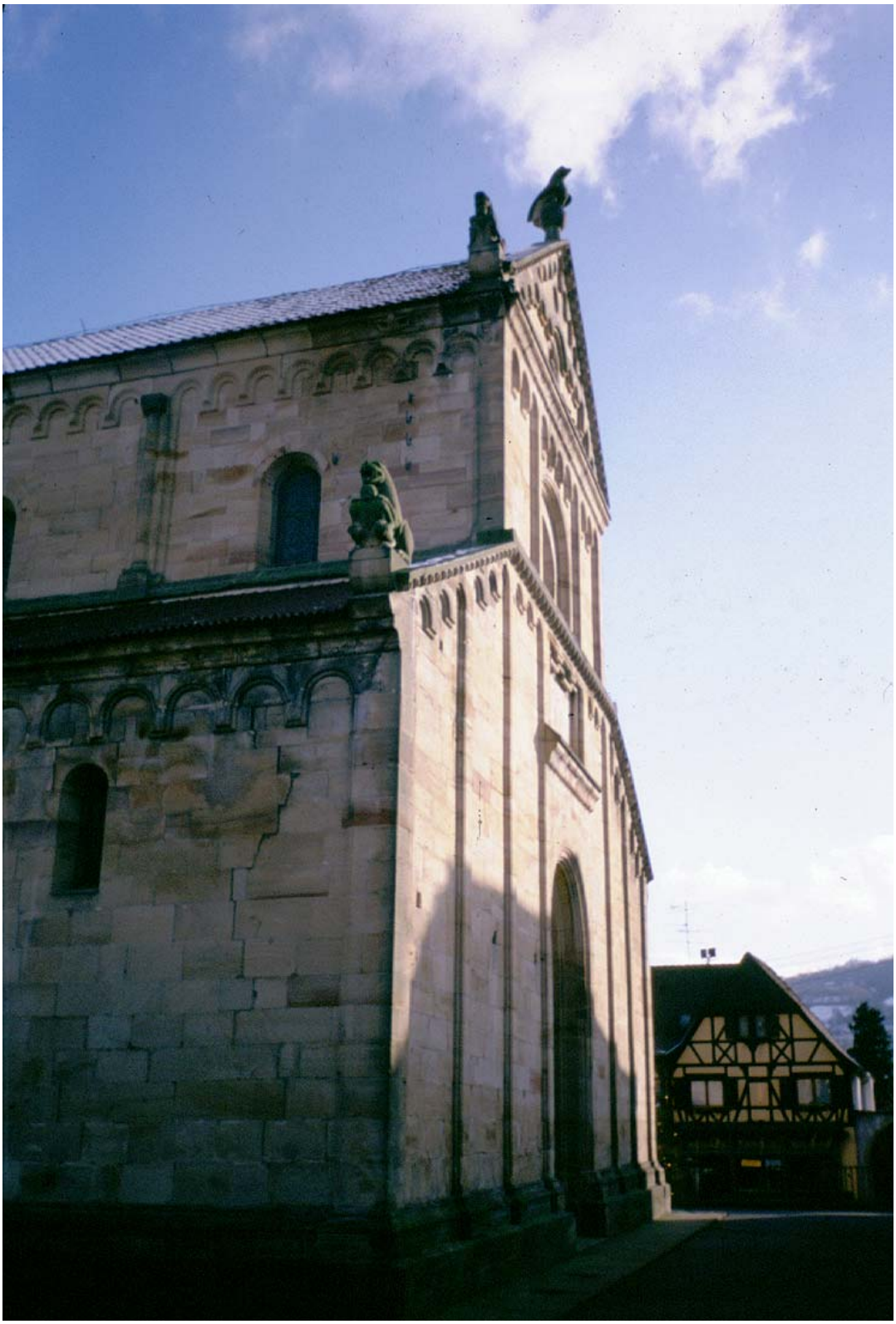


Fig. 187. Rosheim, Sts. Peter and Paul, west façade from the north.

Fig. 188. Rosheim, Sts. Peter and Paul, upper west façade.

Fig. 189. Rosheim, Sts. Peter and Paul, view from southeast.

Fig. 190. Rosheim, Sts. Peter and Paul, view from the northwest.

Fig. 191. Rosheim, Sts. Peter and Paul, detail showing relationship between Dietrich sculpture and the south portal.

Fig. 192. Rosheim, Sts. Peter and Paul, detail on cornice:
Dietrich's rescue of Rentwin.

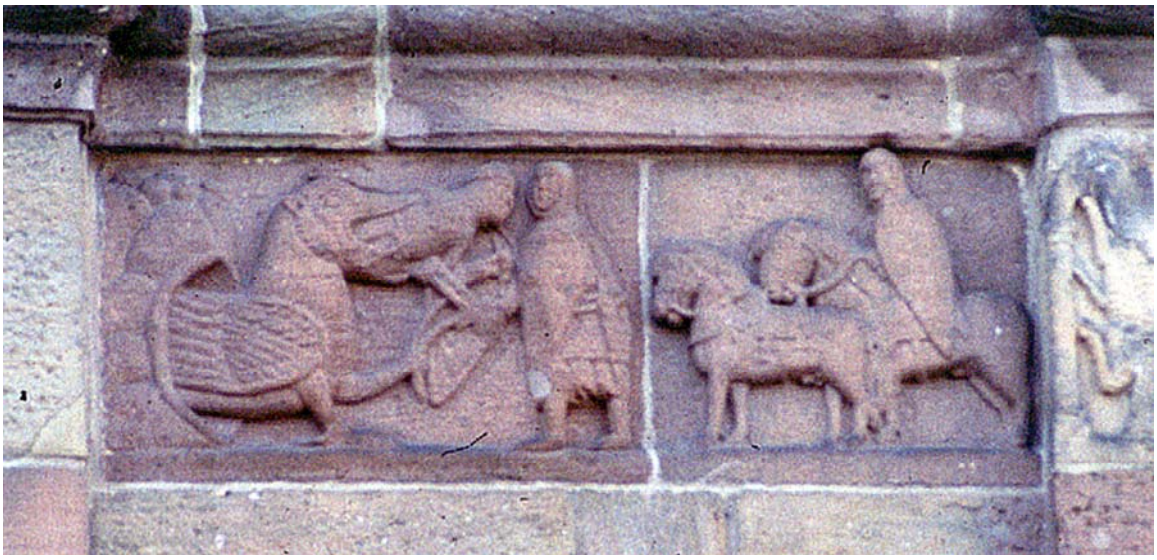


Fig. 193. Andlau, Sts. Peter and Paul, north façade, detail on frieze:
Dietrich's rescue of Rentwin..

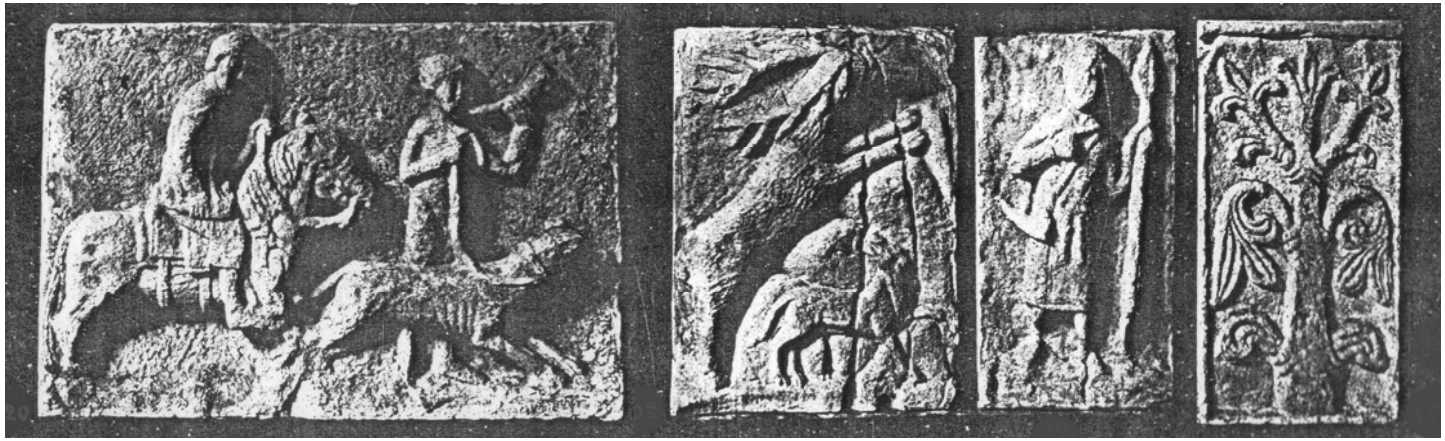


Fig. 194. Andlau, west façade, frieze, detail: Hunt and Ride to Hell prior to the 20th c. reconstruction (photo: Forrer, "Les frises histories de l'église romane d'Andlau," *Cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Alsace*, 1928-1929, plate XIV, fig. 20 and plate XV, figs. 20, 19, 35).

Fig. 195. Andlau, west façade, frieze, detail: Hunt and Ride to Hell, current placement.

Fig. 196. Ravenna, mausoleum of Theodoric.

Fig. 197. Verona, cathedral, west façade, right, frieze.

Fig. 198. Verona, cathedral, west façade.

Fig. 199. Verona, St. Zeno, west façade.

Fig. 200. Verona, St. Zeno, upper west façade, Wheel of Fortune.

Fig. 201. Verona, St. Zeno, west portal, porch with *telemones*.

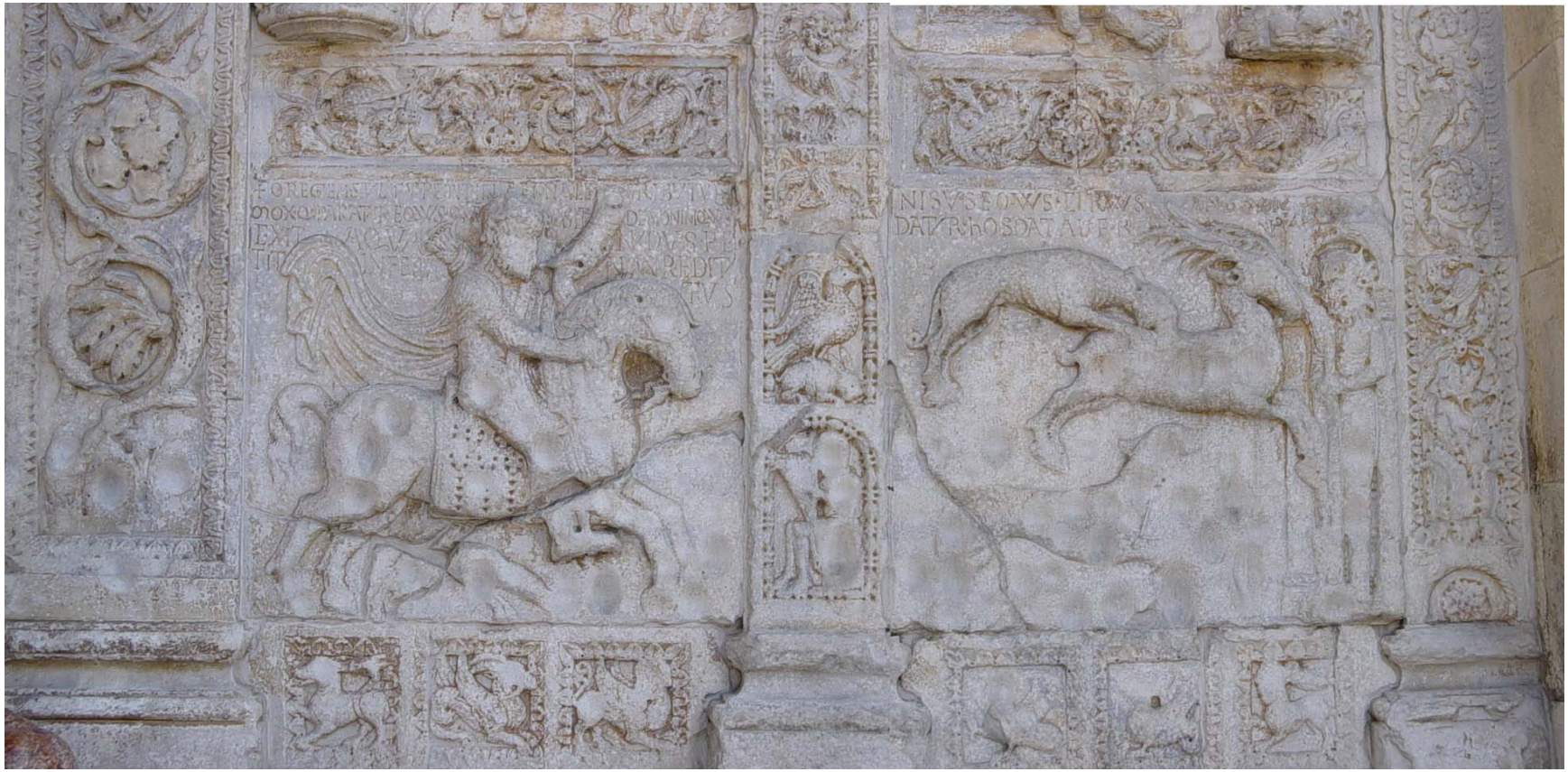


Fig. 202. Verona, St. Zeno, west portal, right, detail: Hunt and Ride to Hell.

Fig. 203. Verona, St. Zeno, west portal, left, detail: jousting knights.

Fig. 204. Verona, St. Zeno, west portal, left, Life of Christ and His Passion.

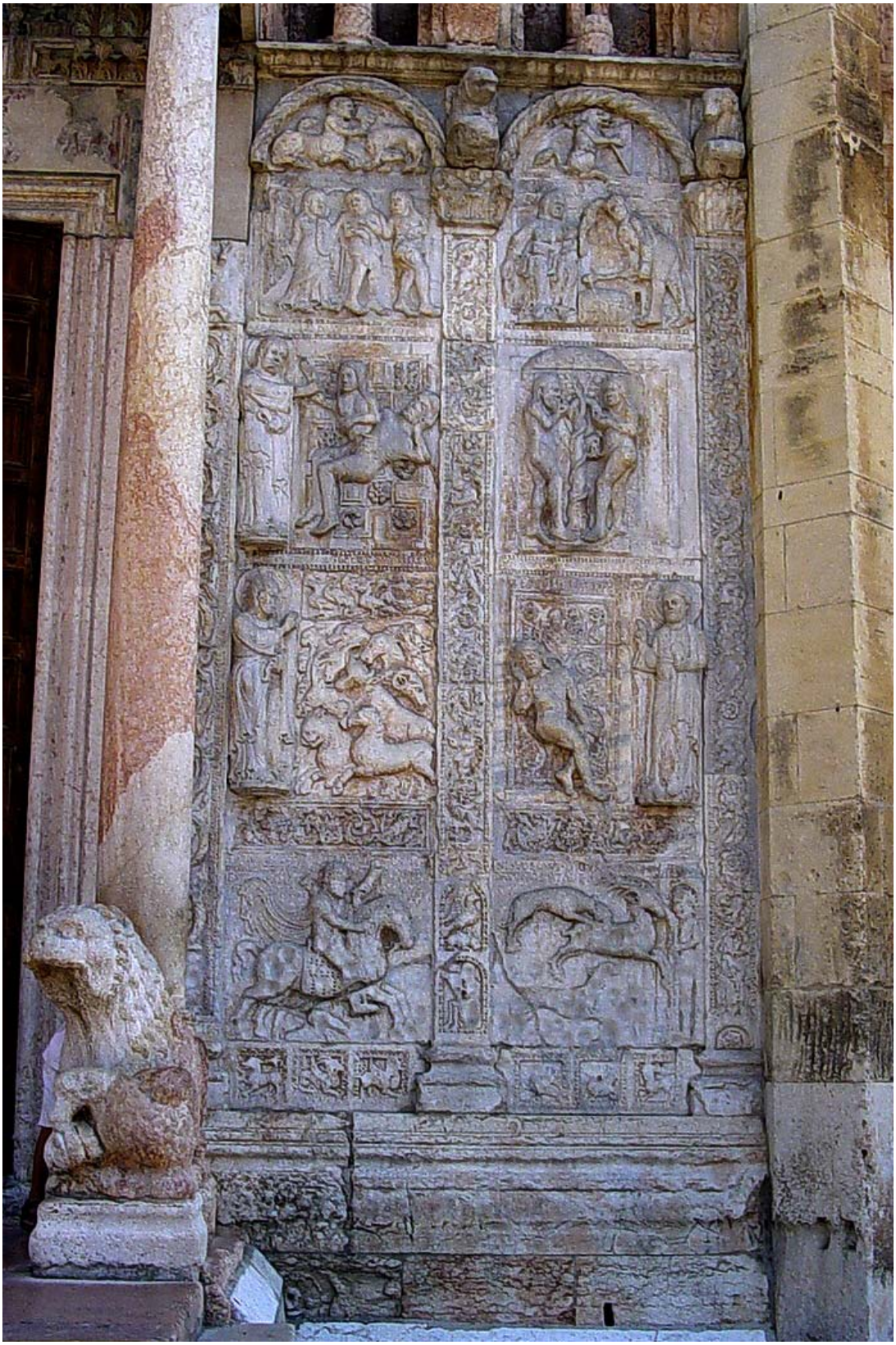


Fig. 205. Verona, St. Zeno, west portal, right, Creation and Fall of Mankind.

Fig. 206. Verona, St. Zeno, west portal, tympanum and lintel.

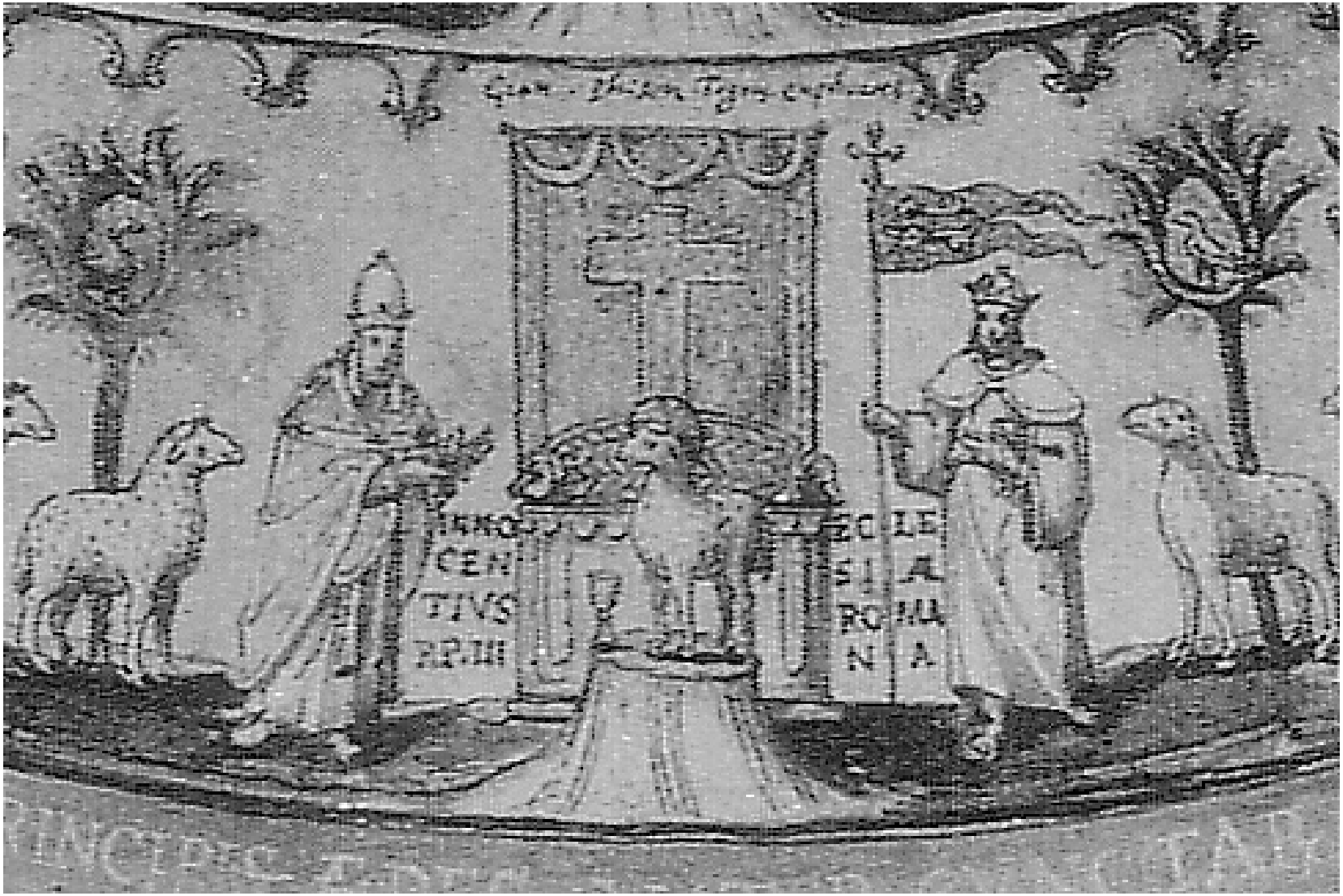


Fig. 207. Grimaldi, watercolor of apse of St. Peter's, Rome, detail: Pope Innocent III and *Ecclesia*, Rome, Archivio S. Pietro, Album, fol. 50 (photo: Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom*, 1964, fig. 490 and cat. no. 943).

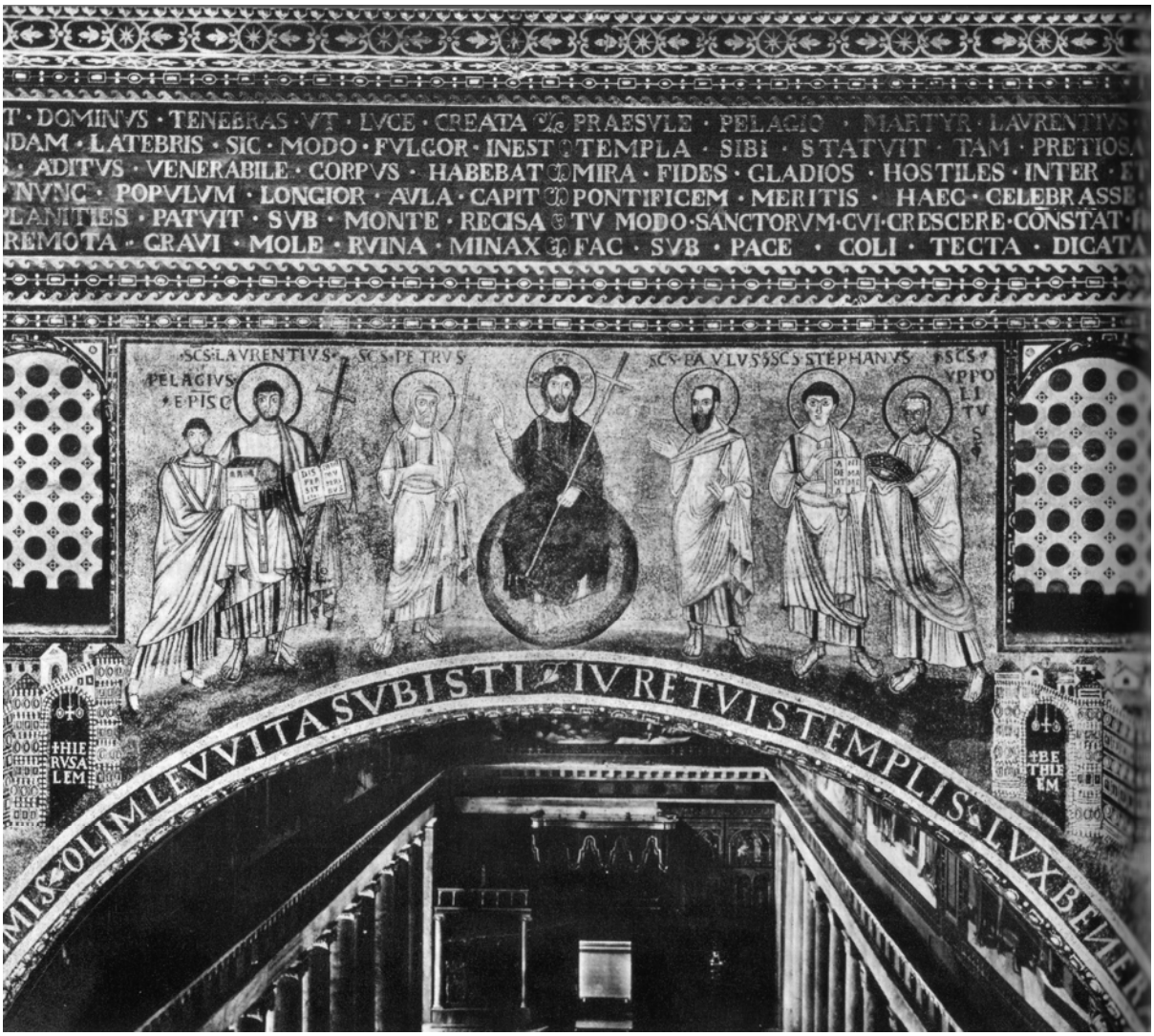


Fig. 208. Rome, St. Lorenzo f.l.m., *Traditio Legis* with Pelagius
(photo: Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 1979, fig. 122).

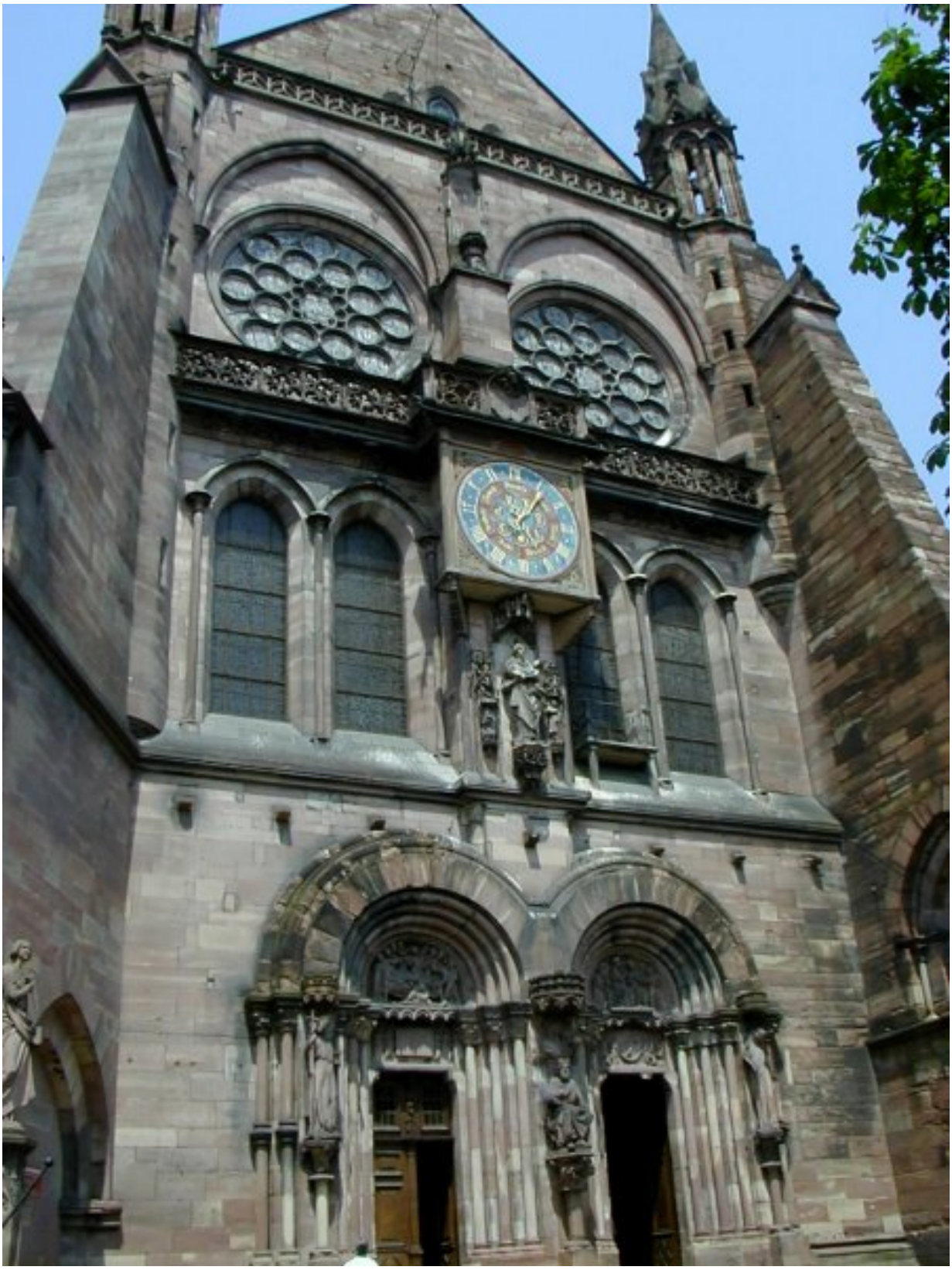


Fig. 209. Strasbourg, cathedral, south transept.

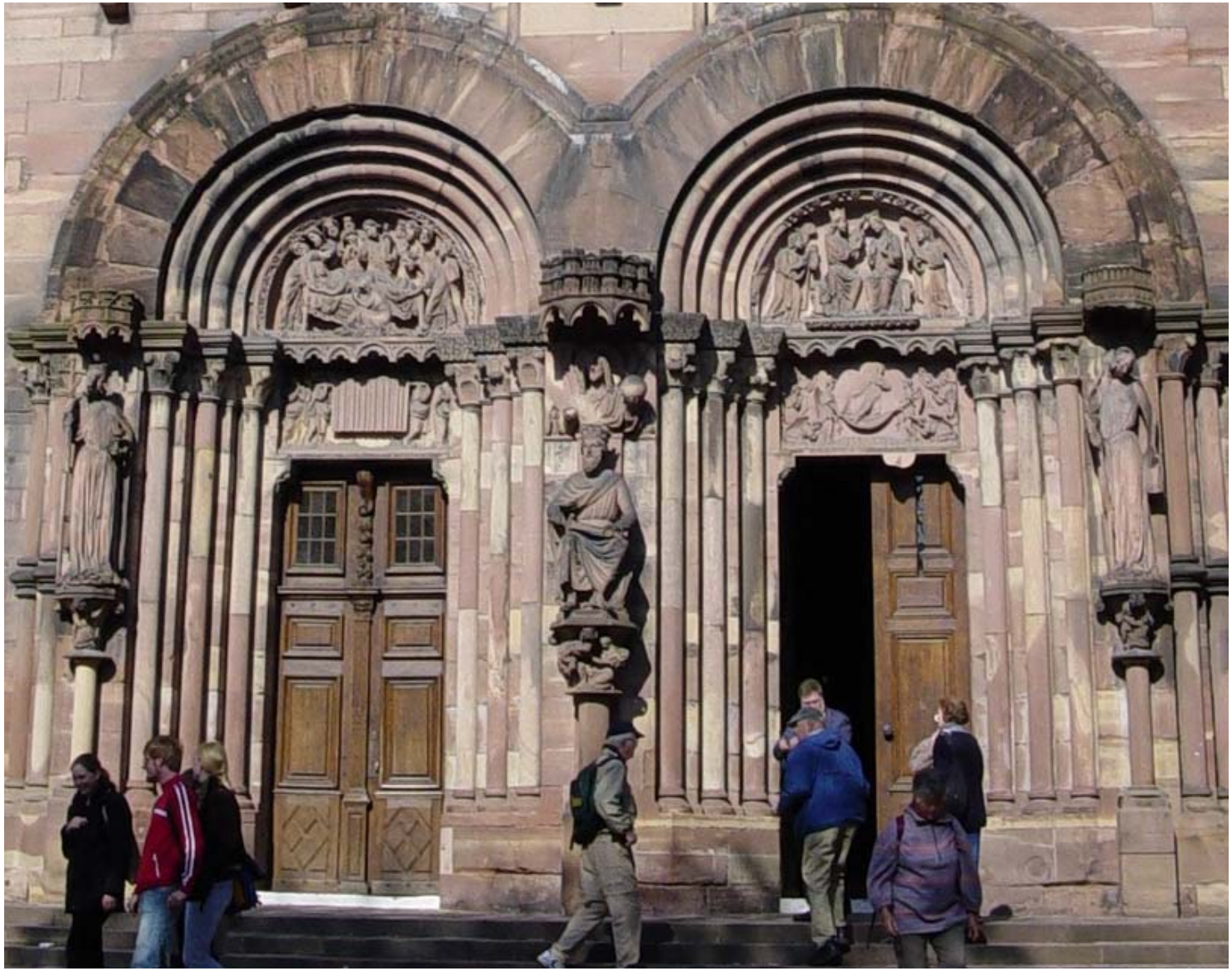


Fig. 210. Strasbourg, cathedral, south transept, double portal.

Fig. 211. Strasbourg, cathedral, south portal, king pillar.

Fig. 212. Strasbourg, cathedral, south portal, left tympanum and lintel, Death of the Virgin and her Translation.

Fig. 213. Strasbourg, cathedral, south portal, left tympanum, Death of the Virgin.

Fig. 214. Strasbourg, cathedral, south portal, right tympanum and lintel, Coronation of the Virgin and her Ascension.

Fig. 215. Strasbourg, cathedral, south portal, right tympanum, Coronation of the Virgin.

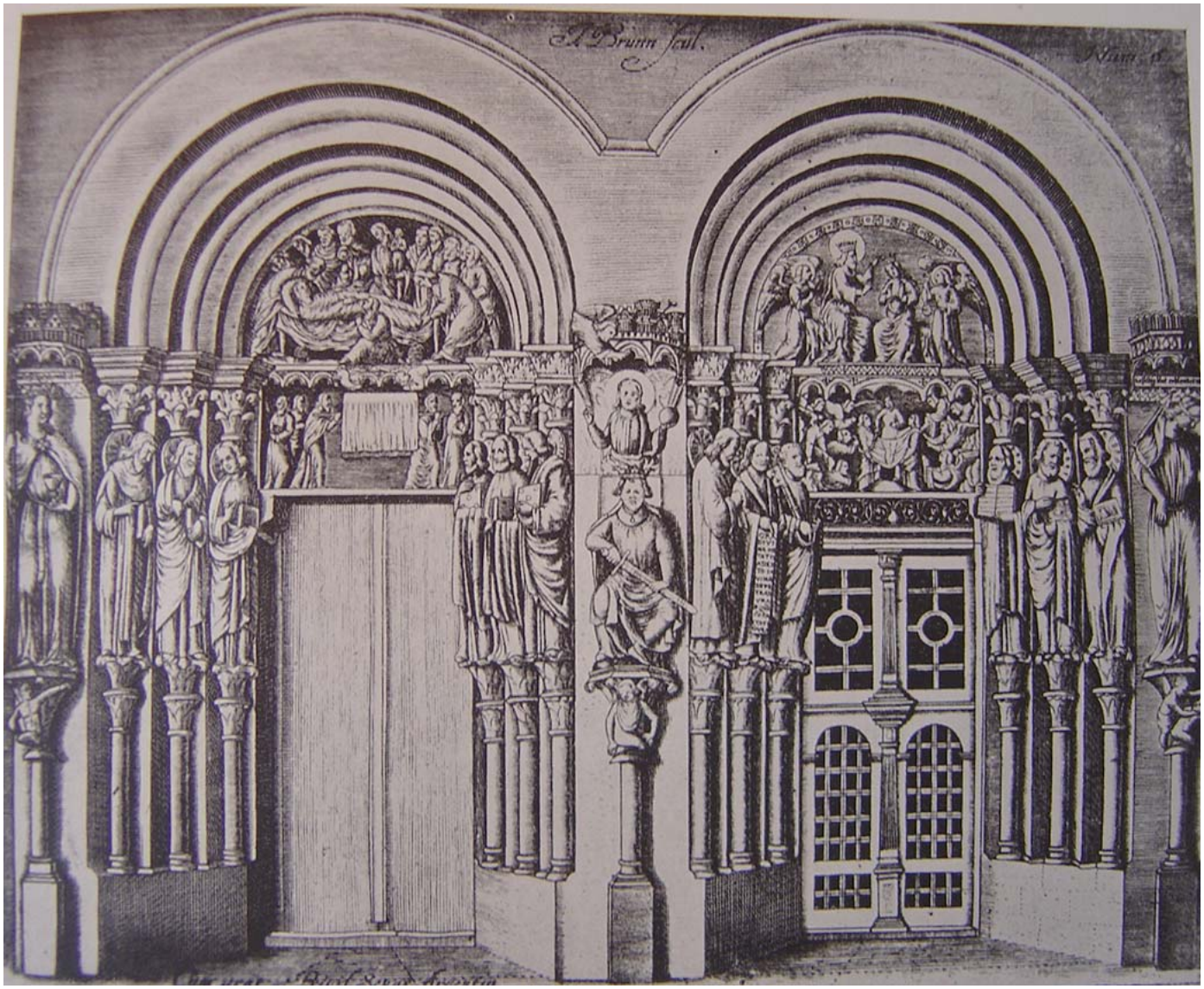


Fig. 216. Isaac Brun, engraving of south double portal, Strasbourg cathedral, University of Trier, bequest Richard Hamann-Maclean (Bernd, "Orders in Stone: Social Reality and Artistic Approach," *Gesta*, 2002, fig. 2).

Fig. 217. *Ecclesia.*

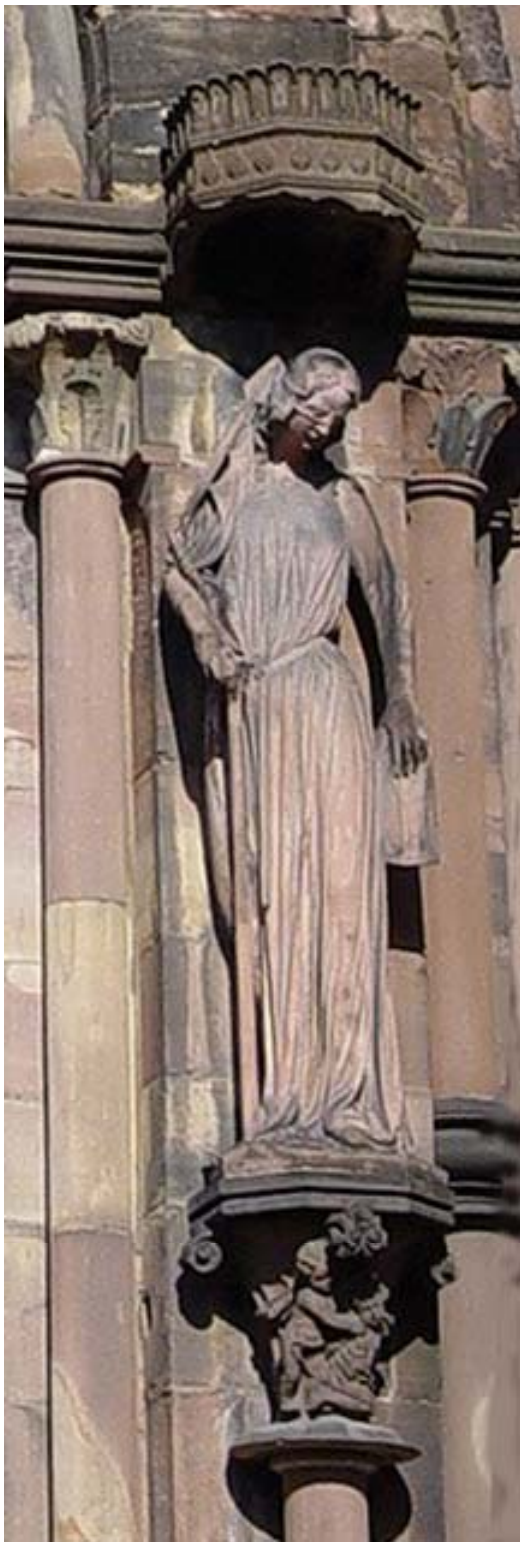


Fig. 218. *Synagoga*

Strasbourg, cathedral, sculptures on the south portal.

Fig. 219. Strasbourg, cathedral, south transept, interior, angel pillar.

Fig. 220. Worms, cathedral, east end.

Fig. 221. Speyer, cathedral, crypt.

Fig. 222. Speyer, cathedral, east end, apse.

Fig. 223. Piacenza, cathedral, east end, apse.

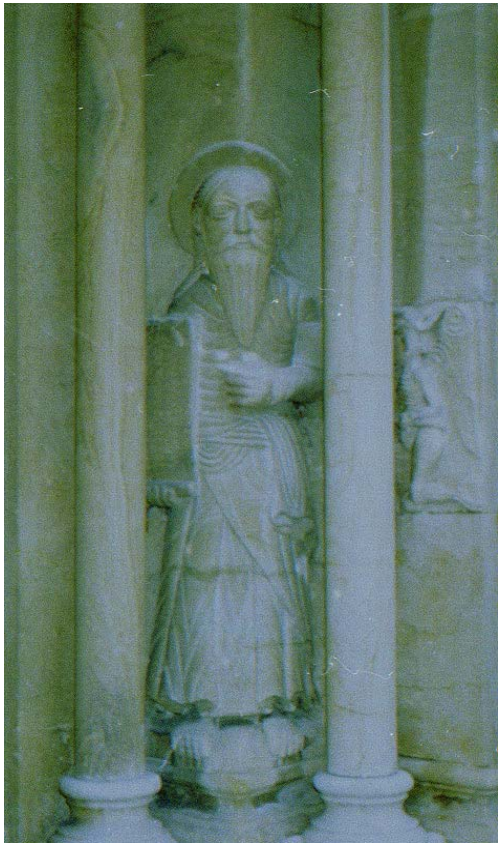


Fig. 224. Neuchâtel, collegiate church, west portal.

Fig. 225. Neuchâtel, collegiate church, west portal, jamb details: Peter and Paul.

Fig. 226. Schwarzach, Sts. Peter and Paul, west facade.

Fig. 227. Schwarzach, Sts. Peter and Paul, west portal, tympanum, *Traditio Legis*.

Fig. 228. Neuwiller, Sts. Peter and Paul, north portal, tympanum, *Traditio Legis*.

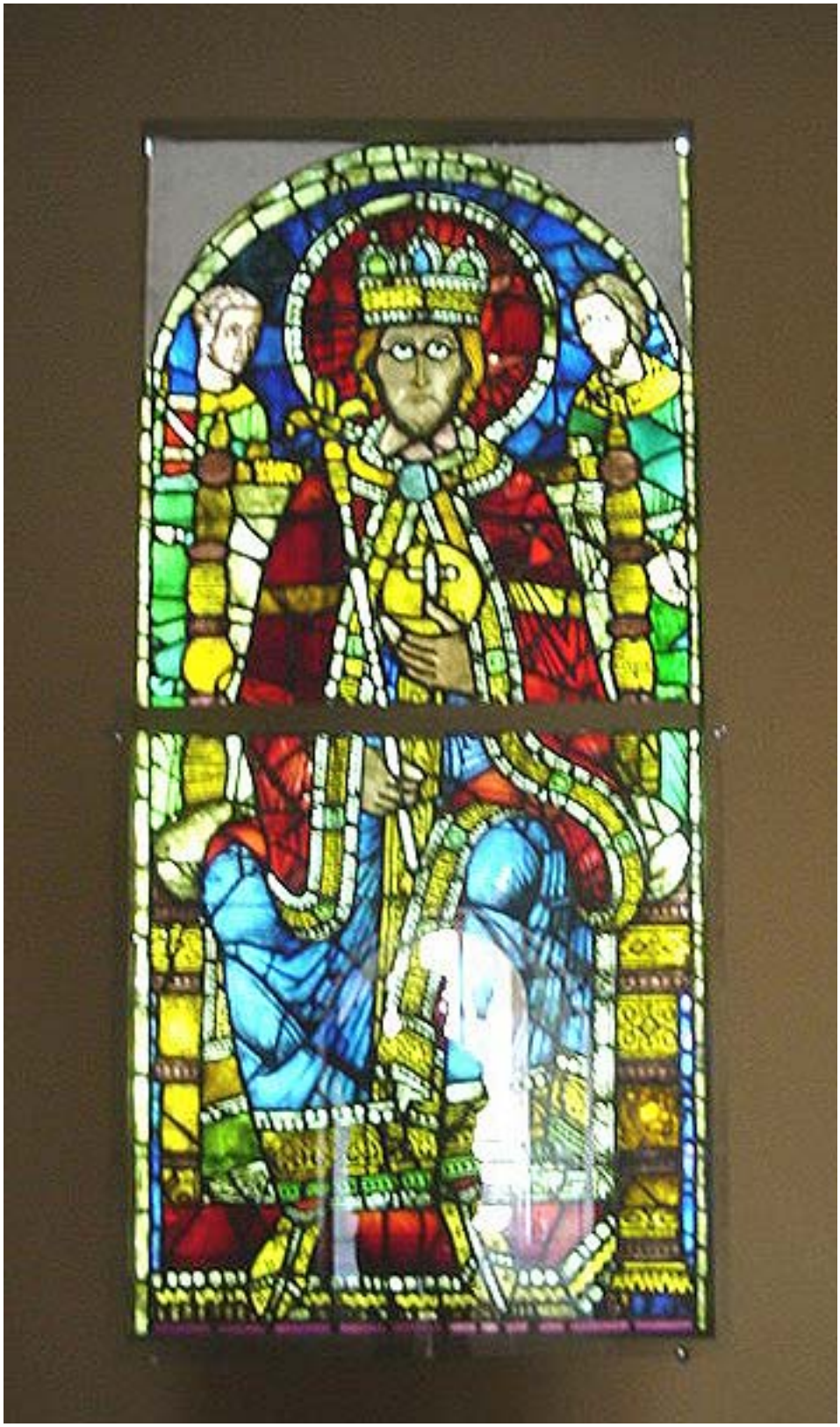


Fig. 229. Strasbourg, cathedral, “Rex” window,
Musée d’Oeuvre Notre-Dame, Strasbourg.

Appendix A

Architecture and Sculpture in Northern Italy and Alsace

Artistic links between Alsace and Northern Italy have long been observed, mostly in passing, although a handful of studies have formally addressed this connection. Ernst Cohn-Wiener (1911), René Jullian (1930), Erwin Kluckhohn (1955), and more recently Holger Mertens (1995) are the main voices to raise the issue of the dependence of Romanesque German art and architecture (and Alsatian art by extension) on Italian models.[1]

Ernst Cohn-Wiener simply makes his case by comparing Alsatian churches with Italian churches. He maintains that the facade of the church in Rosheim in the diocese of Strasbourg, for example, was almost an exact copy of that at St. Zeno in Verona (figs. 187-190, 199-201).[2] The tower at Rosheim is very close to those at St. Zeno, he asserts, as are the strong separation of the side aisle façade from that of the nave, the flat lean-to roofs (*Pultdächer*), the pilaster strip decoration (*Lisenen*), the blind arcade friezes, and the demarcation of the gable fields.[3] Cohn-Wiener also examines sculpture on church portals and quickly concludes that vaulting systems in Alsace rely upon Italian models as

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[1] Ernst Cohn-Wiener, "Die italienischen Elemente in der romanische Kirchenarchitektur Elsass-Lothringens," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 4 (1911): 116-122 ; René Jullian, "Le portail d'Andlau et l'expansion de la sculpture lombard en Alsace à l'époque romane," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome* 47 (1930): 25-38 ; Edgar Lehmann, "Über die Bedeutung des Investiturstreits für die deutsche hochromanische Architektur," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 7 (1940): 75-88; Erwin Kluckhohn, "Die Bedeutung Italiens für die romanische Baukunst und Bauornamentik in Deutschland," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 16 (1955): 1-121; and Holger Mertens, *Studien zur Bauplastik der Dome in Speyer und Mainz: Stilistische Entwicklung, Motivverbreitung und Formenrezeption im Umfeld der Baumassnahmen des frühen 12. Jahrhunderts* (Mainz, 1995), 225-254.

[2] Cohn-Wiener, 118.

[3] Cohn-Wiener, 118-119. In addition to Rosheim, Cohn-Wiener also mentions the similarity between the architectural style of Murbach and San Zeno, and the close connection of Altdorf, Sigolsheim, St. Georg in Hagenau, and Neuweiler to Italian models.

well.[4] He discusses an Italian influence on the sculpted portals of Andlau, Sigolsheim, Kaysersberg, St. Leodegar at Gebweiler, and Neuweiler.

After noting similarities between the north and south, Cohn-Wiener attempts to explain the Italian style in Alsace. First, he holds that Alsace was the most important bridge between Italy and the kingdom of Arelat. This territory, which included Burgundy and parts of Switzerland, was politically important to Frederick Barbarossa.[5] Although Barbarossa's frequent travels into Italy may account for certain Italian flavor in the Alsace, Cohn-Wiener admits it is not easy to explain why the region favored an Italian style.

René Jullian reconsiders Cohn-Wiener's article and dwells more heavily on comparison of Alsatian Romanesque sculpture with sculpture in Lombardy. He discounts the idea that masons from the Emilia-Romagna or Lombardy actually worked at Alsatian churches like Andlau, an idea that is still debated today, but he entertains the proposition that style traveled north over the Alps in a gradual manner.[6] Such would likely account for a proliferation of Lombard friezes (corbels tables) or pilaster strips throughout Germany. Throughout his article, Jullian also maintains that some of the perceived Lombard influences in Alsace were probably Byzantine in origin.

Erwin Kluckhohn outlines multiple aspects shared by the architecture and sculpture of Germany and Northern Italy and tries to account for those similarities. An attempt is made to link certain periods of historical contact between north and south with

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[4] Cohn-Wiener, 120. Cohn-Wiener notes that Viollet-le-Duc had already hinted at the relationship of the vaulting systems in this area, which also appear in Italy.
[5] Cohn-Wiener, 122, says the region of Arelat was so important politically that Barbarossa had himself crowned in Arles in 1178. Barbarossa also traveled an old Roman road that led from Northern Italy through the Alps and Alsace into Arelat in 1167.
[6] Jullian, 36.

Italian style in Alsace. The crypt, for example, from the 1030 construction of Speyer Cathedral begun under Emperor Conrad II reflects and Italian style (fig. 221). This early Italian style at Speyer may be tied to Conrad's trip to Rome in 1026 as well as his travels through Tuscany in that year.[7] Conrad's trips through Italy may have also inspired Italian style in Alsace in the early eleventh century. Conrad's grandson, Henry IV (1083-1106), imported architects, masons, and other workers from throughout his empire to complete the cathedral in Speyer and many of these laborers must have come from Northern Italy.[8] Certainly Speyer possesses multiple Northern Italian stylistic aspects during Henry's period, such as the similarity between its dwarf gallery (*Zwerggalerie*) and the one at Piacenza cathedral (figs. 222-223). It is possible that these features were intentionally used to recall the Roman heritage of the Salian emperor.[9] Similarly, Frederick Barbarossa spent a great deal of time in Northern Italy; the Italian style of late twelfth-century Worms Cathedral was perhaps a response to Barbarossa's interest in Italy (fig. 220).[10]

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[7] See Walter Paatz, "Nachwort zu der Abhandlung von E. Kluckhohn," in Kluckhohn, 105. Paatz reorganizes and summarizes Kluckhohn's arguments. Kluckhohn's writings were published posthumously by his mother, Ella Kluckhohn.

[8] Paatz, 107.

[9] Paatz, 107. See also Kenneth J. Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800-1200*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore, 1966), 77. According to Conant, it has also been theorized that as some sculptors working in Lombardy bear German names during this period, some exchange must have existed.

[10] See Dethard von Winterfeld, "Zur kirchlichen Baukunst der Stauferzeit am Oberrhein," in *Burg und Kirche zur Stauferzeit: Akten der 1. Landauer Staufertagung 1997*, ed. Volker Herzner and Jürgen Krüger (Regensburg, 2001), 11-19. Von Winterfeld argues against the idea that the Staufen influenced the architectural style of churches in the Upper Rhine region including Alsace. He believes stylistic details that may appear *staufisch* are merely the result of a continuous process over time, rather than any conscious attempt of the Staufen family to unify the region with artistic style. When one looks at architectural style alone, this seems a reasonable theory. In this dissertation, however, it is argued that the choice of church sculptural iconography was directly influenced by the patronage of Frederick Barbarossa, who attempted to control the territory of Alsace by personal involvement with its churches. If style and iconography travel together, as is traditionally assumed, then Staufen influence on Alsatian sculptural iconography may indicate a concern for style as well.

Kluckhohn's discussion of German monuments and their ties to Italy is rather general. Even the author states that such relations are often likely, but not conclusively proven. Kluckhohn admits that one reason better studies had not been made of the connections between Italian and German architecture is that Italian Romanesque art was understudied and in dire need of further research.[11] Before one can assert that Italian Romanesque churches served as models for Alsatian churches, one has to be reasonably certain of a dating chronology for Italian churches.[12] Furthermore, how could one begin to relate an Italian style at an Alsatian church to a political event, like an emperor's journey to Rome, if the dates at both the Italian church and the Alsatian church were merely educated guesses?

Fortunately some progress has been made over the last twenty years in researching and restoring churches in the Emilia-Romagna. The cathedral of Modena and the Parma complex, in fact, have been thoroughly documented in monumental studies, and one would think that more recent chronologies would lead to a better understanding of Italian influence in the north.[13] Even while he concedes the leaps made during the eighties and nineties in Italian scholarship, Holger Mertens believes that the relationship between Italy and Germany can still not be evaluated properly.[14] Dating by

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[11] Kluckhohn, 2.

[12] Kluckhohn, 5, note 18. On the specific relationship between Alsace and Northern Italy, Kluckhohn refers to Kautzsch (1944) and says that even Kautzsch's study cannot be the final word on the dependence of Alsace on Italy. To answer this question, Kluckhohn says a technical examination is required.

[13] For recent studies of Modena cathedral and its primary sculptor, Wiligelmus, see Chiara Frugoni, ed., *Wiligelmo: Le sculture del duomo di Modena (*Modena, 1996) and *Lanfranco e Wiligelmo: Il duomo di Modena* (Modena, 1984). For a thorough study on the art of Nicholaus and his school at Piacenza, Ferrara, and Verona, see the collection of articles in *Nicholaus e l'arte del suo tempo: Atti del seminario tenutosi a Ferrara dal 21 al 24 settembre organizzato dalla Deputazione Provinciale Ferrarese di Storia Patria*, ed. Angiola M. Romanini, 3 vols. (Ferrara, 1985). Recent literature on Parma includes see *Benedetto Antelami e il Battistero di Parma*, ed. Chiara Frugoni (Torino, 1995) and Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, *La cattedrale di Parma e il romanico europeo* (Parma, 1974). For a recent survey of Italian Romanesque sculpture, see Joachim Poeschke, *Die Skulptur des Mittelalters in Italien, 1: Romanik* (Munich, 1998).

[14] Mertens, 226.

stylistic comparison is really the only basis for church chronologies in Northern Italy, mostly because written documentation of church construction in this territory tends to provide wide ranges of dates.[15] For this reason, scholars may never be able to draw any solid conclusions about the relationship of sculpture in Northern Italy and in Alsace.

Despite this scholarly hesitancy, attempts are still being made to understand the connection between artistic programs of Northern Italian and Alsatian churches. In Iris Hofmann-Kastner recent study on the architecture and sculpture of the church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Andlau, she compares stylistic elements and iconographic motifs at Andlau with churches throughout the empire.[16] For every connection she observes between Andlau and northern churches, she provides another connection to an Italian church. For example, in her formal analysis of the frieze sculpture at Andlau, Hofmann-Kastner considers three German churches: the parish church at Stuttgart-Plieningen, St. Peter and Paul at Hirsau, and St. Servatius in Quedlinburg.[17] Hofmann-Kastner also compares the Andlau frieze to similar friezes sculpted at three churches in Northern Italy: St. Michele Maggiore in Pavia, the cathedral of St. Maria Matricolare in Verona, and the cathedral of St. Donnino in Fidenza. Unfortunately, Hofmann-Kastner merely documents multiple examples of Italian elements at Andlau, but does not speculate at all about reasons for such similarities. Perhaps in the future scholars can work toward a meaningful analysis of such Italian tendencies observed at churches in Alsace.

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[15] Mertens, 228. Modena, for example, was consecrated in 1099 during a papal visit, but its crypt dates to 1107. Papal consecrations are difficult to evaluate and use in building chronology.
[16] Iris Hofmann-Kastner, "St. Peter und Paul in Andlau, Elsass" (Ph.D. diss., University of Cologne, 2001).
[17] Hofmann-Kastner, 164-167.

Appendix B

The Allegiance of Alsatian Bishoprics under Henry IV

It is frequently surmised that the two bishoprics of Alsace, Basel and Strasbourg, remained supportive of the emperor during the Investiture Controversy while the nobles of Eguisheim supported the papacy.[18] In my opinion, the bishops were not uniformly pro-imperial. Basel's bishop, Burckard of Hasenbourg (1072-1107), was a curious figure in that he was utterly supportive of Henry IV, but also promoted the cause of the Cluniac Reform.[19] Burkhard fell under the papal ban along with the king and even went with Henry to Canossa; yet the same man had founded St. Alban in Basel sometime during 1083 and later gave it Cluny.[20] Bishop Burkhard of Basel also enjoyed good relations with the Hirsau monastery of St. Blasien in Swabia and summoned monks from St. Blasien to his family's monastery of St. John near Erlach in 1105.[21] This demonstrates that before the resolution of the Investiture Controversy it was possible to support both the emperor and the reform movement.

Rudolf of Hombourg, bishop of Basel after Burkhard (1107-1122), however, supported the papacy.[22] In 1115 he made a point of consecrating the All Saints altar of Marbach, which had been founded by the Alsatian reformer, Manegold of Lautenbach, in 1094. Rudolf was also favorably inclined towards the Cluniac and the Hirsau reforms.[23] The bishops following Rudolf in Basel continually sided with the emperor when schisms arose.

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[18] Sittler, 1972, 47.
[19] Rück, 38.
[20] Rück, 38; Edward Spicher, *Geschichte des Basler Münsters: Zum 500. Jahr nach der Vollendung* (Basel, 1999), 8.
[21] Heinrich Büttner, "Die Bischofsstädte von Basel bis Mainz in der Zeit des Investiturstreites," in *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein (Munich ,1973), 352.
[22] Rück, 54.
[23] Rück, 554-555.

In Strasbourg Henry IV installed as bishop Wernher II, who remained a faithful imperial ally.[24] Wernher was so far removed from reform circles that he actually advocated taking women as concubines. The Strasbourg bishop seems to have gotten himself personally in trouble with the pope, for in 1073 Gregory VII summoned Wernher for official repentance of his "carnal offenses" and his "simony". [25] Pope Gregory wrote to his loyal supporters, Beatrice and Matilda of Canossa, asking for safe conduct of Wernher through the Emilia-Romagna, for although Wernher had "shamefully disgraced the dignity of his order by his sins," he had been called to Rome for mercy and proper papal instruction. Good relations appear to have been temporarily restored between Gregory and Wernher, for the pope wrote in 1074 to ask the Strasbourg bishop along with the bishop of Basel to settle a local dispute.[26] Later the Strasbourg bishop joined the camp of Henry IV against Gregory, but in 1077 Wernher, in the company of bishop Burkhard of Basel, once again went with the imperial court to seek papal forgiveness at Canossa.[27] Wernher reneged on his repentance at Canossa and died en route to attacking the Reform monastery at Hirsau.[28] The next bishop of Strasbourg, Thiepald (1078-1082), continued Bishop Wernher's pro-imperial policies.[29]

Otto (1082-1110), however, began his episcopacy in favor of the emperor, but ended his term decidedly pro-papal. Otto was the brother of the duke of Swabia,

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[24] Burg, 97.
[25] *The Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII: Selected Letters from the Registrum*, trans. Ephraim Emerton, 3rd ed. (New York, 1990), 33.
[26] *The Correspondence*, 49. Here Gregory wrote to both bishops in Alsace concerning a local dispute. Within the letter, Gregory twice refers to Pope Leo IX: "We assume that you are aware of the fact that our lord Pope Leo [IX] of blessed memory granted in full sovereignty to the Holy Roman Church, over which he presided with holy fidelity, the convent of the Holy Cross…," and "You are not, however, to deviate in any way from the terms laid down in the privilege of our father, Pope Leo." One assumes that Gregory recalled Pope Leo to strengthen his relationship with the imperially-sympathetic bishops.
[27] Phillippe Dollinger and Raymond Oberle, *L'histoire de l'Alsace: De la préhistoire à nos jours* (Colmar, 1985), 59; Trouillat, 192-197.
[28] Philippe Dollinger, *Histoire de l'Alsace*, rev. ed. (1970; repr. Toulouse-Le Mirail, 2001), 88; Jestice, 250.
[29] Büttner, 1973, 352.

Frederick of Hohenstaufen, and he received his bishopric from Henry IV. He had trouble with the counts of Dabo-Eguisheim, who favored the papacy, and he tried to reconcile with them. At the reconciliation, it seems Count Hugh was assassinated in the bishop's rooms and this caused the bishop to embrace the papal side. In fact, Otto decided to go on Urban II's crusade in 1096 where he died.[30]

Prior to the accession of the local Hohenstaufen dukes to the imperial throne, the Strasbourg bishops after Otto fought outright against the emperors. Bishop Cunon (1100-1123) ended his reign in imperial disgrace under Emperor Lothar while Bishop Bruno (1123-1131) was actually deposed by the pope in the presence of the emperor.[31] Bishop Gebhard of Urach (1131-1141) was installed by Emperor Lothar, but when the dynasty changed and Emperor Conrad III of Hohenstaufen was elected, the bishop engaged in armed warfare against the new emperor. The bishops of Strasbourg continued to be named and invested by the emperors until the term of Eberhard (1125-1127), who was consecrated by the antipope, Anaclet II.[32] He was the last bishop of Strasbourg to be invested by a lay lord. Following the terms of the Concordat of Worms, bishops Guebhard and Burckard were elected by the clergy. Bishop Burckard began his reign in Strasbourg with a violent conflict with Emperor Conrad III, but by the end of Burckard's office relations between the bishop and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa were good.

Basel Bishops (Mid-11th to Late 12th centuries):

Thierry (1041-1057)
Beranger (1057-1072)
Burckard of Hasenbourg (1072-1107)
Rudolphe III, count of Hombourg (1107-1122)

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[30] All information on Otto can be found in Burg, 98. Büttner, 1973, 353, also mentions Otto's reconciliation with Urban II.
[31] Mariotte, 60.
[32] Burg, 98.

Berchtold I, count of Neufchâtel (1123-1134)
Adabéron II, count of Montjoie or Froburg(1133-1137)

Strasbourg Bishops (Early 11th to Late 12th centuries):

Wernher I of Habsburg (1001-1028)
Guillaume I (1029-1047)
Hermann or Hetzel (1047-1065)
Wernher II (1065-1077)
Thiepald or Theébaut (1078-1082)
Otto (1082/84-1100)
Baldwin or Bauduoin (1100)
Cunon or Conrad of Michelsbach (1100-1123)
Brunon (1123-1125)
Cunon
Eberhard (1125, 1126-1127)
Brunon and Eberhard
Eberhard
Brunon
Guebhard or Gérard of Urach (1131-1141)
Burckard I (1141-1162)

Appendix C

Late Romanesque Artistic Programs in Alsace after Frederick Barbarossa

The Continuation of the Traditio Legis

Barbarossa had commissioned artistic scenes of the *Traditio Legis* during his reign because the theme had been favored by emperors throughout the centuries (Chapter 2). To him this theme signified the God-given and legal right of the German emperors to exercise authority on an equal footing with the pope. At the Galluspforte of the Basel Minster the motif of Christ giving the gifts to Peter and to Paul became more than a statement concerning the equal authority between the kingly and the priestly branches of Christendom (Chapter 5). The *Traditio Legis* at Basel memorialized Barbarossa's Christ-like judicial authority to discern and enforce the law, both on earth and in the spiritual realm.

Scenes of the *Traditio Legis* in the Basel diocese after the reconstruction of the Galluspforte were modeled on that scene and must have also carried a similar message about imperial authority. In earlier scenes of the *Traditio Legis* at Andlau and Sigolsheim, Christ and the apostles had been shown in physical contact with the keys and the book. The tympanum at the Basel Galluspforte shows the apostles standing slightly apart from Christ and Peter has already received his key. The later scenes of the *Traditio Legis* in the tympanum fragment at St. Morand in Altkirch (1190-1200), in the former west portal tympanum of the church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Eguisheim (c. 1230), in the south portal tympanum of the collegiate church of St. Ursanne (after 1187), and in the jambs of the south portal of collegiate church of Neuchâtel (Neuenburg) (c. 1191) follow

the example at the Galluspforte and show the apostles at a physical distance from the Savior and carrying their attributes themselves (figs. 136-140, 224-225).[33]

Further stylistic and iconographic ties between these later church programs in the diocese of Basel and the Galluspforte have been observed. Of these *Traditio Legis* scenes, Georg Weise felt that the figures at St. Morand are the closest stylistically to those in the Galluspforte (fig. 137).[34] The tympanum with the *Traditio Legis* at Eguisheim is accompanied by a scene of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in the lintel, sharing this motif with the lintel of the Galluspforte (fig. 140).[35] The tympanum at St. Ursanne, a church in the Jura region and originally part of the Basel diocese, shares with the Galluspforte tympanum the inclusion of angels and side figures (figs. 138-139).[36] The portal at Neuchâtel also in the Jura exhibits jamb figures of Peter with the key and Paul with a book related in position to the apostle figures on the steps behind the jamb

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[33] Robert Will, *Répertoire de la sculpture romane de l'Alsace* (Strasbourg, 1955), 34, discusses a scene of Christ between Peter and Paul in the tympanum at the church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Neuwiller in Lower Alsace. As this scene at Neuwiller dates to 1250 and is not Romanesque in style, it dates too late to be considered in this dissertation. It is, however, possible, that the tympanum which it replaced on the Romanesque north portal originally displayed a scene of the *Traditio Legis* as well.

[34] Georg Weise, "Studien über Denkmäler romanischer Plastik am Oberrhein," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 13 (1920): 2. For more on the dependence of Altkirch on the Galluspforte, see also Maurice Moullet, *Die Galluspforte des Basler Münsters* (Basel, 1938), 77, and Christian Forster, "Die Galluspforte und die Portale im Sundgau," in *Schwelle zum Paradies: Die Galluspforte des Basler Münsters*, ed. Hans-Rudolf Meier and Dorothea Schwinn Schürmann (Basel, 2002), 102-103.

[35] Moullet, 77-78; Forster, 100-101.

[36] The portal at St. Ursanne shows niches to either side of the tympanum with the figures of St. Ursitz and the Madonna and child likely modeled after the niches at Basel containing the two figures of John the Baptist and John the Evangelist. The sculpted jamb capitals at St. Ursanne are also close iconographically and stylistically to those at the Galluspforte. According to Ganter and Reinle, 416, all early literature about St. Ursanne referred to the church's sculptural dependence on the Galluspforte. Georg Weise, "Studien," 3-4, was first to consider the church in connection to the choir sculpture at Basel and at the Minster of Freiburg in Breisgau. See also Hans-Rudolf Meier, "Versetzt oder in situ? Die Galluspforte im baulichen Kontext," *Schwelle zum Paradies*, 42-43, and note 58. The date of the portal at St. Ursanne is unknown, but some work has been done to compare the portal with a sculptural program at the cloister of Schöntal. The iconographic parallels of the sculpture at St. Ursanne to Schöntal (c. 1187) suggest that the south portal at St. Ursanne dates after 1187.

columns of the Galluspforte (figs. 224-225).[37] Since the scenes of the *Traditio Legis* at these four churches in the diocese of Basel are obviously based on the Galluspforte, it is reasonable to assume the message of their sculpture likewise referred to Barbarossa's life and aspirations.[38]

Apart from these four scenes in the diocese of Basel, at least one other scene of the *Traditio Legis* appeared in the Strasbourg diocese after 1190. The west portal tympanum at the church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Schwarzach (1209-1229) shows Christ between the two apostles holding their attributes, but this scene is not stylistically dependent on any of the versions from the diocese of Basel (figs. 226-227).[39] Perhaps the scene at Schwarzach was related to the north portal *Traditio Legis* at the cathedral of Worms or even to the scene at Andlau in Lower Alsace.[40]

The version at Schwarzach is unique, however, in its inclusion of two shining stars above the shoulders of Christ. These two shining stars at Schwarzach could be interpreted as the sun and the moon.[41] In the eleventh century these came to be

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[37] Meier, 43, notes the similarity between the jamb statues at Neuchâtel and Basel. He mentions that a seventeenth-century source recorded an inscription on the portal referring to donors Count Ulrich II and his wife, Bertha. Ulrich died in 1191, so the portal must date to that period.

[38] That Barbarossa's descendants began to think about his life in terms of a golden age worth remembering is clear from the stained glass program at the cathedral of Strasbourg that was finished under Emperor Henry VI.

[39] Julius Baum, "The Porch of Andlau Abbey," *Art Bulletin* 17 (1935): 495. Baum held that the tympanum at Schwarzach was created between 1209 and 1229, but more recently Arnold Tschira, *Die ehemalige Benediktinerabtei Schwarzach* (Karlsruhe, 1977), 44-45, dated the *Traditio Legis* to the late twelfth century.

[40] Robert Will, "L'ancien portail roman de l'église Saint-Étienne de Strasbourg," *Cahiers alsaciens d'archéologie, d'art et d'histoire* 24 (1981): 62-63, argues that the architect and sculptor of the Romanesque church of St. Stephen in Strasbourg was also active at the abbey of Schwarzach. Little else is known about this scene at Schwarzach, but because of its location north of Strasbourg on the German side of the Rhine, it may have been inspired by the earlier *Traditio Legis* scene at Worms. Perhaps the *Traditio Legis* on the north portal of the church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Neuwiller in Lower Alsace (fig. 229), a Gothic scene which could have replaced an earlier Romanesque version, was also inspired by the *Traditio Legis* at Worms Cathedral.

[41] See Chapter 2, 97 (fig. 39) and Walter Cahn, "The Tympanum of the Portal of Saint-Anne at Notre Dame de Paris and the Iconography of the Division of the Powers in the Early Middle Ages," *Journal of the*

associated with the pope and the emperor, the two powers that govern in their own spheres. Just as the moon is dependent on the sun as its source of light, secular authority of the ruler depends on spiritual sanction of the Church. At Schwarzach the light above the head of Paul at the right shines less brightly and with fewer rays of light than the sun over Peter.

If these two stars represented the pope and the emperor, then the scene at Schwarzach could certainly also be linked to the politics of Barbarossa and his descendants. Thomas Seiler writes that Barbarossa himself had specific ties to the abbey.[42] During the first year of his reign, the emperor wrote to the Abbot Conrad of Schwarzach confirming the abbey's possessions. According to Seiler, Schwarzach was among the imperial churches in the diocese of Strasbourg that were heavily influenced by the emperor's territorial politics at the beginning of his reign. One assumes the *Traditio Legis* scene that was erected on its portal after Barbarossa's death signifies a continuing support for imperial Hohenstaufen policies.

The Stained Glass Windows at the Strasbourg Cathedral

After passing through reconstructed cloister arches built to support a set of early twelfth-century sculpted capitals from the church of St. Trophime at Eschau, a visitor to the Museé de l'Oeuvre Notre Dame in Strasbourg encounters a rare example of a stained glass window from the late Romanesque period of an enthroned king wearing a nimbus (fig. 229). This enthroned king, inscribed simply as "Rex", has been identified as Charlemagne. The window is held to have belonged to a genealogical series of twelve

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Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 32 (1969): 60. Cahn says the sun and the moon allude to the two powers, or two *luminaria*, set by God on the fourth day of Creation.

[42] Thomas Seiler, "Die frühstaufishe Territorialpolitik im Elsass," (Ph.D. diss, University of Hamburg), 236.

windows depicting German kings and emperors that once adorning the north aisle of the Romanesque cathedral of Strasbourg.[43] Dated to the end of Barbarossa's rule (c. 1180-1190), the window series originally included a representation of Barbarossa's uncle, Emperor Konrad III, and concluded with a depiction of Emperor Frederick.[44] Although begun by Barbarossa, the series was likely finished under Barbarossa's son, Emperor Henry VI (1190-1197).

As a series of windows at Sélestat had been commissioned by Frederick in 1162 to commemorate his military defeat at Milan, the windows at Strasbourg must also have been commissioned by the emperor himself or by loyal imperial supporters at Strasbourg to commemorate the emperor's political ambitions in the wake of the Investiture Controversy. Whereas the windows at Sélestat addressed the issue of Barbarossa's ambitions in Lombardy in an obvious manner, the windows at Strasbourg concerned Frederick's second major ambition to see his imperial office as sacred as well as secular.

Strasbourg artists emphasized the sacred character of the royal office by portraying each king with a nimbus. These secular German rulers with nimbi were also set on equal footing with Biblical sacred figures and saints for they were placed opposite to window scenes of Old Testament prophets, apostles, and saints in the south aisle of the cathedral. The very placement of a royal lineage of kings on the interior of a church also

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[43] *Krönungen: Könige in Aachen – Geschichte und Mythos*, ed. Mario Kramp (Mainz, 2000), 362; Otto von Simson, "Nuovi temi della scultura monumentale tedesca nell'età di Federico II di Hohenstaufen," *Federico II e l'arte del duecento italiano: Atti della III Settimana di studi di storia dell'arte medievale dell'università di Roma (15-20 maggio 1978)*, ed. Angiola Maria Romanini (Rome, 1980), 392. See also Peter Kurmann, "Deutsche Kaiser und Könige: Zum spätstaufischen Herrscherzyklus und zur Reiterfigur Rudolfs von Habsburg am Straßburger Münster," in *Kunst im Reich Kaiser Friedrichs II. von Hohenstaufen: Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums (Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, 2. bis 4. Dezember 1994)*, ed. Kai Kappel, Dorothee Kemper and Alexander Knaak (Munich and Berlin, 1996), 154. Kurmann writes that the series included nineteen windows of kings and emperors, not twelve.

[44] F. Zschokke, "Un vitrail de la cathedrale romane de Strasbourg," in *Archives alsaciennes d'histoire de l'art* 14 (1935): 159-164; and G. Cames, "Les plus anciens vitraux de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," *Cahiers alsaciens d'archéologie, d'art et d'histoire* 8 (1964): 101-116.

underscores the sacred nature of that lineage. A row of royal portraits on the interior of a church might be compared to the papal portraits that once adorned the interior naves of Old St. Peter's or St. Paul's Outside the Walls.[45]

G. Cames surmises that these windows likely represented a political statement made by Emperor Henry VI about the derivation of his imperial authority.[46] Barbarossa, who had Charlemagne canonized in 1165, had commissioned several artistic works to commemorate his descent from Charlemagne, including this window series at Strasbourg.[47] Charlemagne's canonization remained important for his son. According to Cames, Barbarossa's genealogical descent from Charlemagne was written by Godfrey of Viterbo for his patron, Emperor Henry VI.[48] Because of this, Cames reads the "Rex" window as a conflation of Charlemagne and Barbarossa's son, the new Charlemagne. This reading of the windows would have remained significant as well for Henry's son, Emperor Frederick II.

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[45] See Ursula Nilgen, "Amtsgenealogie und Amtsheiligkeit: Königs- und Bischofsreihen in der Kunstpropaganda des Hochmittelalters," in *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst, 800-1250: Festschrift für Florentine Mütherich zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Katherina Bierbrauer et al. (Munich, 1985), 221 and Herbert Kessler and Johanna Zacharias, *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim* (New Haven and London, 2000), 188-199.
[46] Cames, 101-118.
[47] Nilgen, 282-220, and Chapter 2, 124 in the text.
[48] Cames, 111.

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