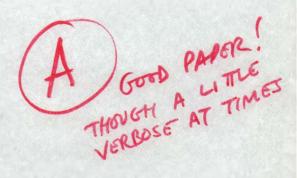CAROLINGIAN IMPERIAL PORTRAITS
AS CARRIERS OF
THE CAROLINGIAN CONCEPT OF KINGSHIP

Elizabeth Ratcliffe
Sem. Carolingian Painting
McKenzie
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(A) GOOD PAPER!
THOUGH A LITTLE
VERBOSE AT TIMES

CAROLINGIAN IMPERIAL PORTRAITS
AS CARRIERS OF
THE CAROLINGIAN CONCEPT OF KINGSHIP

Imperial visual imagery has for all ages served a special
function of Empires. This function involves persuasively presenting
the ruler so that both priest and laity can recognize him as invio-
late holder of the temporal power. A ruler of the ancient East
appears as symbolic cosmocrator--the Roman caesar as pagan imperator--
the Byzantine basilius as nimbed Christian autocrator. Persians,
Romans and Byzantines could understand and accept the particular
forms presented to them.

In Charlemagne's time there was, as yet, no settled pro-
totype for ~~the~~ a western imperial image and apparently no ruler-portraits were
created at his order. Not till the fourth decade of the ninth
century was imperial portraiture added to the standard Carolingian
repertoire, as a visual adjunct to imperial power.* This occured
in the scriptoria of Charles the Bald.

For Charlemagne, assuming the temporal rule in 768, in an
unsettled western world struggling to become Christianized, the
problems of rulership could be likened to those faced by Constantine
dealing with a pagan empire in 324.

> ...after Constantine's conversion, the Christians suddenly
> realized that hitherto within the hierarchy of the Christian
> Church no place was provided for a Christian emperor.[1]

For Charlemagne in eighth-century western Europe the single unifying
force among disparate groups of people was the Roman Church, and

*what about Louvre statuette or Müstair statue?

within the structure of the Church there was no place provided for a
Christian emperor of the West. Again like Constantine, Charlemagne's
resolution of the problems involved assertion of Christian dogma.
For Constantine

> ...a sense of religious mission and his claim to political
> leadership made him seek that peculiar position which is
> precisely characterized in the formula handed down by
> Eusebius..."by the grace of God..."[2]

Charlemagne, drawing on the western Church's precedent-setting anoint-
ment of Clovis and Pepin, revived the same formula. Yet in his eighth
century re-adoption of the intitulation "King by the grace of God",
there was embodied also the Old Testament concept of royal kingship as
exemplified by David. It was David who, selected by Jehovah to succeed
the unworthy Saul, was anointed King of Israel by the priest Samuel,
(I Sam. 16). And, perhaps more important to the subsequent working
through of the power struggle between the Carolingian dynasty and the
western Church, it was the aged King David who, without specific in-
struction from Jehovah, determined that Solomon was to be his successor
rather than Adonijah, who had in fact already successfully seized the
power. Hence, David's order that Zadoc the priest and Nathan the prophet
seek out and anoint Solomon "to come and sit upon my throne; for he
shall be king in my stead" (I Kings 1:32-37), was honored as being the
unquestioned will of Jehovah himself. Once a rulership was accepted as
existing through divine grace, it was assumed that the hand of God
dictated the temporal ruler's important actions. In a sense through
the sacral act of anointing, the temporal ruler was spiritually reborn
so that he became a totally new and different person--the instrument
of God. After

> ...Samuel took the horn of oil and anointed him in the
> midst of his brethren, Jehovah came mightily upon David
> from that day forward. (I Samuel 16:13)

St. Denis monk—

Dungal, poet in the time of Louis the Pious, presents this Carolingian concept in a ninth century poem describing the Abbey Church of St. Denis, begun by Pepin and completed by Charlemagne. Built on the plan of the royal chapel at Aachen, a window had been effectively placed behind the "throne of David" intended for the emperor's visits to the royal abbey. Of the symbolic import of this window Dungan intones:

> The window shows the hand of God--
> The great hand of God guards the church from the enemy,
> The right hand of God on high guards Charlemagne, the
> exalted Augustus,
> The lofty hand of God guards and protects his progeny.[3]

In the Codex Carolinius Pope Adrian I addresses Charlemagne saying, "now a new most Christian emperor Constantine has arisen in our days".[4] Among his intimates of the court Charlemagne was commonly saluted as both "Flavius Ancius Carlus" and "the new David".[5] Preceding Charlemagne, in 754 Pope Paul I, smoothing the way for the usurping Pepin as he assumed the Merovingian hereditary throne of Childeric III, told the Franks that Pepin was both a new Moses and a new David. Three years later on the occasion of Pepin's papal anointment, Pope Stephen II said in formal ceremony, "What else are you but a new Moses and a shining King David."[6]

When Charlemagne assumed the secular power after Pepin's death, Church sanction was automatic for both Pepin and Charlemagne were acceptable Christian rulers and useful to the Church of Rome. When on Christmas day in the year 800 Pope Leo III crowned and anointed Charlemagne Emperor, the sanctioned blessing of the Church was forcefully re-emphasized by the dramatic act in Rome. Yet this restating of papal support came thirty-two years after Charlemagne's actual ascension to the Frankish throne. In the intervening years he had charted his imperial course in the form of a conscious renovatio: in the guise of a Christian, reborn-Old Testament ruler he programmed a return to the

greatness of ancient imperial, and Early Christian Rome, rather than choosing to pattern his reign on the contemporary forms of the Byzantine East. Charlemagne's new churches and palaces were modelled on Early Christian Roman models "in an attempt to revive that city's own glorious past by eliminating the 'foreign' Near Eastern influence in architecture as well as in any other field."[7] Latin became the language of the Aachen court. Antique prose and poetry was revived. The Roman mass and liturgy gradually replaced the Gallian. Contemporaries alluded to the Carolingian house as legitimate successor to the Roman emperors. The famous 804-minted coin bearing the unflattering round-domed likness of Charlemagne represents him as a victorious laurel-wreathed Roman emperor. Succinctly summing up this sweeping program the inscription on Charles I's imperial seal carried the motto: Renovatio Romani Imperii.[8]

Since this renovatio coincided with the Roman Church's goal of cementing western Europe into a cohesive Christian empire based on a western papal blueprint rather than on that of the East where the Byzantine theocrator held absolute control of the Eastern Orthodox Church, Pope Leo III was doing the Roman Church's cause as much good as Charlemagne's secular one by formally crowning and anointing him Emperor of the Romans. It is clear that Charlemagne's selection of an imperial model based on Early Christian Roman, Constantinian, and Old Testament prototypes was designed to support a strong, divinely sanctioned, temporal rule, and that this selection was conveniently prepared for earlier by the Roman Church's revival of the ancient sacrament of anointment (or holy unction), making it a part of western enthronment ritual.

In the Byzantine East where the emperor came to power either by simple inheritance, or, in the case of a successful revolution, by

senate or army proclamation, unction was not a part of the ceremonial
formalization. Placing of the royal diadem was usually, but not
always, by the Patriarch who, in turn, was appointed as well as re-
moved at will by the emperor.[9] Although the Byzantine emperor also
was thought of as the Anointed of God, chosen to fulfil the will of
Heaven, success in achieving the office was in itself his justification,
and no authority was needed other than his own ability to maintain
himself in power, for he was counted among the sacred priesthood once
he had assumed the throne.[10] In this sacral role the Byzantine ruler
could without seeming to be sacrilegious, while still living be de-
picted as a nimbed and holy personage. Had not Constantine himself
set the precedent when he erected in Constantinople a statue of himself
as the majestic Sol Helios with radiant nimbus-crown. By his pagan
subjects the statue was accepted as Apollo Helios, while to the
Christians of his realm he appeared as Christus Invictus.[11] For Con-
stantine himself the statue was merely one vehicle of welding together
his pagan and Christian subjects into a viable empire. And the Justin-
ian San Vitale mosaics presenting idealized, imperious and unassailable
emperor and empress represent an extension of the fourth century
prototype into the sixth.

Though there are extant no wall decorations or manuscripts showing
imperial Carolingian portraits created by Charlemagne during his life-
time, it seems likely that the long-since-destroyed frescoed scenes
of Frankish history chosen by Louis the Pious to decorate the Imperial
Hall of the Ingelheim Palace built by Charlemagne, might well have
depicted Louis' royal father among other great Frankish heroes.[12]
Ample precedent for representing a living western ruler had been set
by Leo III who around 800 had honored Charlemagne in two important
wall decorations in Rome, one an apse-flanking mosaic in the triclinium

of St. John the Lataran and the other a fresco in the main apse of

S. Susanna, based upon the Lataran mosaic. In both scenes Leo and

Charlemagne are represented, yet since the West had never adopted the

Byzantine practice of using the round nimbus for living people, no

matter how holy, both Leo and Charlemagne are topped with a rectangular

nimbus.

This visual method of denoting special sanctity in a living

person had arisen in the West in the late sixth or early seventh

century--the earliest extant example appearing in Salonica in the

mosaic depicting St. Demitrios and two donors, where the deceased

saint wears a round nimbus while the two living donors wear square

ones. By the ninth century it was common practice in Rome to denote

living holy popes and bishops wearing either the square or rectangular

halo. And even outside Rome we see the western device applied in the

two highly individualized and magnificent portraits of a ninth century secular knight

and a church-bearing donor priest in the Swiss Oratory of St. Benedetto

in Malles.

Hence there was well-established precedent for the two Charle-

magne portraits placed by Leo III in Rome. Since both works survive today only

in several sixteenth century sketches, there is some uncertainty about

details of the original compositions. However it is sure that in the

Lataran, angular-nimbed Leo III and Charlemagne kneel on either side

of the enthroned round-nimbed St. Peter who hands the bishops palium

to Leo and the battle standard to Charlemagne. In both scenes Leo

wears the tonsure and the robes of a bishop while Charlemagne wears

the short Frankish tunic and cape, a helmet-type crown, a short decor-

ated sword, and tightfitting stockings. Both men seem to be bearded

and mustachioed. There seems to be no hieratic size differentiation

in the three Lataran figures of St. Peter, Leo and Charlemagne, and the

fact that the Pope is larger than Charlemagne in the sketched S.
Susanna scene, may be due only to an artistic convention of Ciacconio
the artist, since he has made no attempt to recreate the entire compo-
sition in this sketch but shows only the two standing figures.[13]

In any case these two early ninth century representations of
the living Charlemagne already indicate the general direction in which
western imperial portraiture was to go during the next half century.
The ruler is depicted as a specific non-idealized human being, dressed
in what would be his "normal" clothing, rather than in overwhelmingly
regal robes. His role of ruler is indicated by the crown; his role of
military man is indicated by his sword and battle standard. Neither
by gesture nor by surroundings is there any attempt to overwhelm the
viewer by any overstatement though Charlemagne's size and bearing de-
monstrate that he, as secular ruler, is equal in rank to the churchly
Leo, who also kneels humbly before St. Peter. The simple Frankish
garb and the relaxed natural pose of the Emperor indicate that he is
in no way being apotheosized as are the frontal and imposing emperors
of the Byzantine East. Here in Leo's Roman mosaics authority for both
secular and ecclesiastical power is presented as from St. Peter, who
in turn receives his authority from Christ—who was represented with
Constantine and St. Peter in a companion scene on the left side of the
aspe from that of Leo and Charlemagne with St. Peter. The chain of
command for both church and state is indicated, yet neither is presented
as obviously superior to the other.

However, the question arises of how visually to indicate temporal authority
and sanctity once neither Christ, St. Peter nor the Pope is presented
along with the imperial ruler. And it is in the reign of Charlemagne's
grandson, Charles the Bald, that this question is successfully resolved.

Charles the Bald, groomed to succeed his father from the day he was
born to Louis the Pious and his overly-ambitious second wife Judith,
proved to be an enthusiastic art patron as well as a determined ruler.
His royal scriptorium, located first at Tours and after its destruction
by the Vikings in 853, at either Corbie or St. Denis, created royal
Bibles, Gospel Books and Prayer Books containing innovative imperial
portraits as well as Bible stories and traditional pages of Christ
in Majesty and the four Evangelists. In eight pages of royal portraits
Charles the Bald appears four times, Lothar, his half-brother, three
times and an unknown Frankish prince once. Each portrait shows the
ruler as a non-idealized living human being who sits or stands either
alone or in company with people of his realm. Though outfitted with
royal insignia of various sorts, the ruler seems relaxed and his eyes
look about at will. His self-assurance in four cases is accounted for
visually by the hand of God descending from a cloud above the royal
head. It is this ancient motif of the hand of God, representing divine
selection   and divine approval, which Charlemagne and Constantine
before him, had settled upon as appropriate justification for their
Christian temporal rule. The decision to use it or not in a royal
portrait seems to have been determined by the occasion of the portrait
and by the royal status of the person portrayed.

Originally a pagan motif which, when coupled with an upward-
drawn quadriga symbolized apotheosis, the hand of God had been in common
use during imperial Roman times: after the death of an emperor the
senate often voted to honor the deceased by issuing a commemorative
coin showing him as charioteer received into heaven by the descending
hand of God. Following this Roman imperial custom, after Constantine's death
a coin was struck showing him respectfully veiled on the obverse, and
on the reverse, as imperial charioteer welcomed into God's heavenly abode,

this time a Christian heaven. Eusebius reports that following this
Constantinian revival of the imperial commemorative coin, the hand of
God motif became permanently transformed into a specifically Christian
symbol--the chariot disappearing from subsequent Christian assump-
tion scenes since, except for the Old Testament mention of Elijah's
mounting heavenwards in a chariot, there was no Biblical allusion to
chariot-type apotheosis.[14] Interestingly in the first half of the
ninth century, there seems to have been a general proliferation of this
motif in ivory carvings and manuscript illustrations depicting a variety
of iconographic schemes.

In an attempt to account for the enormous output of imaginative
innovations accomplished by the Tours and Corbie-St. Denis scriptoria
of Charles the Bald, J. Porcher states that Charlemagne's grandson had
enlisted for his royal workshop the services of the "Reims painter",
who slightly earlier had been responsible for the Utrecht Psalter and
the Ebbo Gospels in Charlemagne's royal scriptoria at Hautvillers.

> Heir to the old Hellinistic traditions, endowed with a
> fine feeling for the picturesque, a prodigious versatility
> and gift for rapid execution, this man advanced from
> strength to strength in the course of a prolific career
> whose evolution can be traced in the many works unmistakably
> by his hand. He collaborated...in the First Gospel Book
> of Charles the Bald...Alone, or with assistants, he illu-
> minated the Lothar Gospels, then the Prun Gospel Book...
> As Charles' court artist he illuminated the San Callisto
> Bible, the Metz Sacramentary, and lastly, the consummation
> of thirty years of toil, the famous "Golden Gospels of
> St. Emmeram of Regensberg".[15]

Although what is thought to be a portrait of Charlemagne is
extant on a full-page eighth century Merovingian manuscript,[16] this
very early depiction of the at-that-time Frankish prince could not
be considered as really an imperial portrait, for it represents merely
a wide-browed, bare-headed youth dressed and hair-styled in the Frankish
manner standing within a Merovingian decorative arch and accompanied
by what seems to be a prelate with raised hands. There is absolutely

no attempt to portray "royalty", "power", or "sanctity". Rather the double-figured picture seems more a simple visual transcription of a literaly-described young Carolingian heir-apparent. His left hand holds a long staff, his right hand is held low and apparently has no symbolic meaning. However, as in the Leo III Roman wall scenes of some fifty years later, the elements of personal individuality, naturalness of pose and clothing, and directness already are apparent as the emerging "western" approach to portraiture, so clearly in opposition to that of the East.

In discussing the Carolingian "royal effigy" Roger Hinks uses Percy Schramm's divisions in catagorizing the output of Charles the Bald's scriptoria. The three catagories--the Investiture Group, the Devotional Group, and the Satellite Group--continued as typological formats for subsequent medieval western ruler-portraits. The Investiture Group (represented by the Metz Sacramentary), and the Devotional Group (represented by the rulers' portraits in the Psalters of Lothar and of Charles the Bald), Hinks sees as being inventions of the Carolingian age since the concepts they involve are western medieval rather than those of a different age or place. The Satellite Group (represented by the San Callisto Bible's portrait page), Hinks bases on late-antique prototypes which concentrate on representing the emperor in his primary capacity of Ruler.[17] Charles the Bald surrounded by his court, from the Vivian Bible, along with that from the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram, represents a composite type involving two catagories--investiture and satellite--for in both the ruler of the royal court sits enthroned and surrounded by various underlings while at the same time the fact of his holy investiture is stressed by the hand of God descending from above the crown. As in the Metz Sacramentary, the ruler is represented

as invested with divine rule through the intercession of God, thus
pictorializing the Charlemagne formula of "King by the grace of God".

The Tours-produced Vivian Bible(845-6) represents the first in
the series of truly Carolingian typological imperial portraits. It
is not by chance that King Charles sits on a (levetated) high, rounded-
back, draped and fleur-de-lis capped throne, under a twice looped-up
curtain, above which projects the open hand of God flanked by two sus-
pended censers and two heavenly figural busts (probably of personified
virtues). All of these elements contrive to pictorialize the sanctified
role of the flesh and blood Frankish king. Thus presented he no longer
needed any sort of nimbus for it was obvious to all that he held the
temporal power as divine right.

On either side of the throne two Frankish nobles express their
physical support of Charles by gripping the back of the royal seat.
Flanking them at the same level stand two Frankish-armored, Roman-
helmeted soldier-guards--one with spear and shield, the other with
ornate sword. Below these five figures in a relaxed semicircle, stand
ten tonsured members of the clergy and one Frankish-garbed secular
courtier, conversationally gesturing to each other while three of the
clergy present the great book to the enthroned Charles. That the robes
of the king are no longer in Frankish but ornate silken Byzantine style,
reflects Archbishop Hincmar's ninth century report that on Sundays
and ceremonial occasions Charles had adopted the Byzantine court dress.[18]
So that here is reflected an actual fact, not a symbolic one. Naturally
Charles would be ceremonially attired for the reception of such a fine
manuscript. The crown chosen for the occasion is a double-crested,
higharched; fleur-de-lis helmet The royal left hand grasps a long
unadorned staff; with the right the king gestures conversationally
towards the three book-carrying priests. All the actors of the scene

seem unconstrained and psychologically related to one another, one even turns his back naturally to the audience; it is a far cry from the typical Byzantine examples of group-portraiture such as on the sliver Theodosian missorium of 388,where though Theodosius and his sons are represented less frontally rigid than in the later sixth century Justinian mosaics, there is no attempt to inter-relate the figures with one another psychologically and they simply stare straight out from the plate as a symbolically conceived royal family group.

Though strictly speaking not a royal portrait, the Vivian Bible's Charles the Bald companion piece picture of King David amidst court musicians, guards and personified virtues, bears a direct relationship to the page of the Frankish ruler. The long-nosed, small-mouthed, side-glancing, mustachioed face of King David could, except for the fuller beard, have been lifted bodily from the depicted face of King Charles, whose three-pronged fleur-de-lis helmet-crown (minus the double-crested top) David also wears. Although all the figures of the King David page are carefully labeled so that its symbolic intention is not mistaken, its placement next to the page of the Frankish ruler, whose actual visage is repeated on the Old Testament king, would tend to emphasize the allegorical relationship between the two rulers: the Frankish contemporary and the Old Testament king are in fact both embodiments of the "King by the grace of God" maxim.

Throughout the lives of Charles the Bald and his oldest half-brother Lothar strained relations existed over the division of rule. At some point during the 840's when this strain was temporarily relaxed, apparently Lothar was permitted to commission several scriptural books from Charles' Tours workshops.[19] The earliest of these (dated between 840-50), the Lothar Psalter, included a full page portrait of a crowned Lothar seated on a heavy faldstool with griffin heads and

claws. He wears a clamys and tunic covered with large jewel-like
spots, holds a long standard in his right hand and a jeweled sword
in his left. There are no attendants and the dark background is devoid
of any distinctive features. His wide, slightly-popeyed forward gaze
is lively and direct. The face is interesting and from its obvious
attempt to individualize, one senses that the artist drew it from life.
Although Lothar had by royal ordinance in 817 been made co-regent by
his father Louis the Pious and had been anointed and crowned Emperor
of the Romans in 823 by Pope Pascal I,[20] there is nothing to indicate
in this portrait that his claim to his throne is anything other than
that--his claim-- not a claim backed up by"the grace of God". Though
his half-brother Charles would permit him use of the royal scriptorium,
apparently no permission to express any political claims was granted.

A second Tours scriptorium manuscript made for Lothar, the
Lothar Gospels (849-50), shows the same monarch heavily draped and
seated knees wide feet close together, in a large unjeweled, curving,
back-draped throne. On his head the same sort of fleur-de-lis three-
pronged helmet-type crown appears as is worn by King David in the Vivian
Bible. His right hand grasps a long standard while his left, extending
from his long-sleeved tunic, rests against the side of the throne. Two
Roman-helmeted bodyguards project over the top and sides of the throne,
one holding a sword the other a spear and shield. The grouping is strong-
ly reminiscent of an antique Roman councilor diptych. However the
wavy lines at the lower right and left of the throne, reminiscent of
the Utrecht Psalter landscape shorthand, seem to indicate that the
"Reims artist" has chosen to present the Carolingian ruler al fresco
inspite of the heavily architectural throne. Again, as in the Lothar
Psalter, the hand of God is conspicuously absent although on the page
opposite, the Christ in Majesty is represented at no higher level than

King Lothar, indicating a possible intention of raising the earthly
ruler to the level of saints and divine beings.

In the Psalter of Charles the Bald (generally placed as having
been produced somewhere between 842-69), an older version of King
Charles appears with drooping grey mustache and hair, and heavy jowls.
His crown now has changed to a heavily jeweled circlet trimmed with
the three Frankish fleur-de-lis. He sits unattended except for the
open hand of God descending from a small cloud at the center of the
acanthus-leaf gable above his head. His armless throne now has a high
square back and is ornately jeweled. Two curtains are drawn back and
looped about the columns which support the gable. In his right hand
King Charles carries a short fleur-de-lis scepter; in his left he
holds an enormous cross-marked orb. His somewhat troubled glance
is directed to the right towards the facing page which shows St. Jerome
writing in a similarly curtain-draped setting. The nimbed-saint and
the royal-crowned king are of one size and set at the same level on
their respective pages, thus repeating the arrangement of the Lothar
Gospels where Lothar and the majestic Christ appear on one level.

Looking at a contemporary Carolingian manuscript produced
outside of Charles the Bald's royal scriptoria, the Martyrology of
Wandelbert of Prun, we see a full page portrait of Lothar and the
monk Wandelbert, who hands the book to him. This manuscript produced
at Reichenau around 848[21], shows Lothar again wearing the three-pronged
fleur-de-lis crown of the Lothar Psalter. As in the Psalter, he sits
on a faldstool which, in this representation is less sturdy and lacks
griffin heads and claws. The draped and tied-back curtains are remin-
iscent of the Psalter of Charles the Bald. Again the monarch is
equipped with a long standard and wears the ever-present droopy mustace.
Now his hair is no longer dark--perhaps an indication of his advancing

age, though that is uncertain since the whole treatment of the scene
is less skillfully defined than those created in the royal scriptoria.
What is certain is that the two figures, though surrounded by an
architectural frame, are acting out their pantomime in an open land-
scape, for tiny plants can be made out set into the groundline. The
al fresco setting of the Lothar Gospels is, then, picked up in a
scriptorium some distance from Tours by an artist far less skilled than
those employed by the king. It would seem that the royal prototype
travelled far and fast. Also, interestingly, the hand of God is not
presented even though this book produced for Lothar was not created in
the royally-controlled workshops of Charles the Bald, indicating that
by now this motif was tacitly--or possibly by order--reserved only for
specified Carolingian kings.

The San Callisto Bible and the Metz Sacramentary were begun as
specific commemorative works in the Corbie-St.Denis scriptoria in 869-70.
The former was completed much later, and the latter was never finished.
The imperial portrait page of the San Callisto Bible shows an aging
fat-jowled Charles the Bald seated in an enormous ornately-draped,
curving throne topped with a four-arched pedimented baldacchino. In
the arches of the baldacchino four, nimbed virtue-personifications stand, flanked
by two nimbed angels. At the lower left two bare-headed guards stand holding
spear-shield and sword. At the lower right two ladies wearing long
white hair veils stand close together. The ruler's robes have become
more ornate--the under tunic now clearly shot with gold embroidery, the
edging of the outer robe heavily bejeweled. The crown here is similar
to the jeweled three-pronged circlet of the earlier Charles the Bald
Psalter with the additional feature of a cross-piece going over the
top. He holds no standard or scepter but his left hand holds a curious
round orb bearing a rubric of scrambled letters. In size he is much

larger than are his satellite courtiers. Though he sits slightly turned and relaxed, he looks out directly at the viewer rather than at any of the surrounding figures. No hand of God appears with this majestically presented King Charles. What then can be the meaning of this elaborate imperial portrait?

Historical events occuring at this time indicate that the portrait was commissioned to commemorate the about-to-take-place second marriage of Charles the Bald to Richildis, following the death of Queen Hermintrude four months earlier. An inscription below the picture mentions special hopes for future children, for Charles' offspring by his first wife had not fared well and the fate of the empire was therefore in jeopardy. The scrambled letters of the curious orb could be rearranged to read the name of the bride-to-be.[22] It would not be necessary for such a portrait to include the hand of God motif for royal authority was not being reinforced, only the coming marriage honored.

The royal investiture commemorated in the Metz Sacramentary, also produced in 869-70, shows a young bare-headed Frankish prince between two tonsured bishops, one carrying a closed, one an open book. Directly above the head of the prince descends the hand of God tightly grasping a jeweled, but not mid-ninth century fleur-de-lis-type, circlet crown. All three figures are nimbed with circular halos, indicating that all three are deceased holy personages. The scene takes place in open landscape as indicated by the wavy groundlines. A semicircle of white clouds frames the top of the scene. What then was Charles the Bald, now an old man, symbolizing by this deceased and holy triumverate?

Since parts of the Sacramentary are unfinished, including the relatively large space reserved for inscription below the three figures, opinions vary as to who is represented. However it is certain that the youthful prince is not the living Charles the Bald, for even if he had, for some reason wished to show himself as a young man, there was the

well-established western tradition of the rectangular halo when living
people were represented as especially holy. The historical events of
869 included a spectacular new unction and coronation of Charles at
Metz. This September 9, 869 ceremony, engineered by Charles' spiritual
advisor Bishop Hincmar of Rheims, was designed to rush through the some-
what questionable acquisition of the kingdom of Lotharingia whose king,
Lothar II, had died on August 8, 869. In order to emphasize the validity
of Charles' claim to the lands of his nephew, much pomp and circumstance
was enacted amidst the Frankish courtiers and bishops assembled at
Metz for the state occasion. It seems likely that the highly ornate
Sacramentary was planned with a view toward further emphasizing Charles'
right to the appropriated land through his hereditary connections with
earlier Carolingian heroic rulers. Hence the youthful Frankish prince
between the two bishops is thought to represent either Clovis--who was
crowned in 757 by Bishops Arnulf of Metz and Remi of Rheims, thus al-
legorically referring also to the 869 Charles the Bald coronation by
Bishops Adventius of Metz and Hincmar of Rheims--or Charlemagne, whose
concept of "King by the grace of God" could have been here allegorized
by the presence of the closed and open book-carrying St. Gelasius and
St. Gregory both of whose writings had helped propound the Carolingian
doctrine of rulership.[23] The fact that the following year Charles'
claim to new lands was successfully challenged by Louis the German
would account for the fact that the Sacramentary, conceived as an
impressive memorialization of new glories achieved by Charles and his
Archbishop friends, (all of whom were openly chastised for the act by
Pope Hadrian in 870)[24] was never brought to a glorious completion.

In the final and most elaborate sacred book produced in the
Corbie-St.Denis scriptorium of Charles the Bald, the Codex Aureus of
St. Emmeram, again an aged, grey-haired, heavy chinned Charles under a

billowing fish-scaled baldacchino dominates the page. Again he
wears elaborately bejeweled Byzantine silks. His throne has become
an authentically Eastern-derived <u>solium</u>, or sun-king throne, with its
distinctively symbolic rounded knobs, heavily encrusted arms and em-
bellished foot stool. Since in the pages of the Metz Sacramentary
St. Gregory is seated in an exact duplicate of this throne, it seems
likely that such a ~~one~~ throne was actually in use by the monarch who, more and
more, seems to have adopted ostentatious <u>Byzantinisms</u>. Is it even possible,
as Schramm suggests, that the painting of royal thrones was one of the
tasks assigned to the royal workshops,[25] so that the artists would have
been very familiar with the throne assigned to St. Gregory since they
were involved in creating it for the ruler? Flanking the baldacchino
canopy two nimbed angels bend down protectively. Two votive crowns are
suspended from the under canopy. Beneath them stand two bare-headed
guards with symbolic spear-shield and sword. Flanking these, outside
the columns of the baldacchino, stand two crowned personifications of
the realm carrying overflowing cornucopias. A looped curtain hangs
slightly above the three-pronged, fleur-de-lis, cross-banded crown of the
monarch. His lowered left hand rests on his knee. His spotlighted
right hand points upward. There is no need for any specific royal
insignia for with the enlarged hand of God extending down through a
cloud, framed by the curve of the baldacchino, we are reminded that
Charles the Bald is secure in his divinely blessed rulership. In
size only the hand of God is equal to that of the Carolingian ruler,
for every other figure is dwarfed in symbolically lesser rank.

    In itself this final opulent page fittingly culminates/concludes the evo-
lution of the Carolingian imperial portrait, maximizing the importance
of the secular royal portrait placed in a sacred book. But by its
careful placement opposite the spectacularly-conceived Agnes Dei page,

Charles' wide open eyes can stare enraptured at the vision of the
apocalyptic heavenly Lamb, who in turn, lowers His head to stare back
at the earthly king. King meets King. The magnificence of the earth-
ly realm compares favorably with that of dreamlike heavenly one.
Except for the fact that Charles, despite all his efforts, left only
an incompetant stammering Louis to inherit his hard-won throne, the
Carolingian dynasty as envisioned by Charlemagne one hundred years
earlier, might have extended forever!

Yet inspite of all the last strong Carolingian ruler's grand-
iose Byzantinisms, inspite of all the presumptious suggestions that
the temporal ruler and the heavenly one were somehow bound together
in their respective majesticness, between the Carolingian royal por-
trait and the Byzantine one there is a vast world of difference. In
his final portrait Charles the Bald appears as he was, a fatly flabby,
aging king rather than an idealized symbol. He sits regally relaxed
rather than stiffly frontal. Out of all the surrounding confusion of
luxurious panoply, his very human face stands out as a beacon of
familiarity, for we have seen him many times before and have watched
him as he became old and tired. His eyes, turned to gaze at the
Holy Lamb, are more pleading than imperious. Charlemagne's chosen
motif of the hand of God seems now like a reassurance to the ruler
as well as to his subjects, for he is obviously, like them, a mere
mortal rather than an unassailable sacrosanct autocrator.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Johannes Straub, "Constantine As ΚΟΙΝΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, No. 1 (1941), p. 53.

[2] Ibid.

[3] E. Baldwin Smith, Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), p. 83.

[4] Walter Ullman, The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship (London: Metheun & Co. Ltd., 1969), p. 44-n4.

[5] Ibid., p. 44.

[6] Ibid., p. 44-n.1.

[7] Richard Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture, " in Modern Perspectives in Western Art History, ed. by Eugene Kleinbauer (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1971),p.366.

[8] Ibid., p. 358.

[9] Norman H. Baynes, The Byzantine Empire (New York: Henry Holt, 1926), p. 66.

[10] Ibid., p. 65.

[11] Johannes Straub, "Constantine,", p. 44.

[12] J. Hubert, J. Porcher and W.F. Volbach, The Carolingian Renaissance (New York: George Braziller, 1970), pp. 5-6.

[13] Wolfgang Braunfels, Die Welt der Karolinger and ihre Kunst (München: Georg D.W. Callwey, 1968), Illus 49-50.

[14] Johannes Straub, "Constantine," p. 46.

[15] J. Hubert et. al, Carolingian Renaissance, p. 146.

[16] Donald Burroughs, The Age of Charlemagne (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1966), p. 60.

[17] Roger Hinks, Carolingian Art (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962), pp. 131-2.

[18] Percy Ernst Schramm, Kaiser, Koenig und Päpst, Vol I (München: Stuttgart, 1968), p. 117.

[19] André Grabar and Karl Nordenfalk, Early Medieval Painting (Cleveland: Skira, 1957), p. 148.

[20] Walter Ullman, Carolingian Kingship, pp. 78-9.

FOOTNOTES Cont.

[21]
Percy Ernst Schramm and Florentine Mütherich, <u>Denkmal der Deutschen König und Kaiser</u> (München: Stuttgart, 1962), p. 127 notes, & illus. 36.

[22]
H. Kanterwitz,"The Carolingian King in the Bible of San Paolo Fuori Le Mura, " in <u>Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.</u>, ed. by Kurt Weitzmann, <u>et al.</u> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), pp.289-91.

[23]
A.M.Friend, "Two Manuscripts of the School of St. Denis," <u>Speculum,</u> I (1926), pp. 64-69.

[24]
Eleanor Shipley Duckett, <u>Carolingian Portraits</u> (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962), p. 268.

[25]
Percy Ennst Schramm, <u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Schriften,</u> Deutsch Institut für Erfoschung des Mittlealters, Vol. XIII-3 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1956), pp. 694-704.

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