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KING, PROPHET OR PRIEST?
THE CHARISMA OF A CONSECRATED RULER
IN THE OTTONIAN MINIATURES:
IDEOLOGICAL CONTENTS AND THE FUNCTIONS
OF PRESENTATIONS OF THE SAXON DYNASTY EMPERORS

INTRODUCTION

The wealth and diversity of Ottonian art from ca. 1000 AD is common knowledge. The diversity includes a group of unique images. They depict the ruler as a sacred person of supernatural qualities. Sacralisation of power was nothing unusual in the middle ages, yet the images in question, puzzling as to their content, may in fact convey a more profound message that goes beyond the iconographic type. The study concerned the following images: a miniature depicting Otto II from the *Registrum Gregorii* (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 14), two miniatures – one with the figure of Otto III and the other with allegories of lands from the so-called Gospels of Otto III (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4453), two similar miniatures in the Gospels bound in the code also containing works by Flavius Josephus (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Class. 79), the miniature with the figure of Otto III found in the Liuthar Gospels, also called the Aachen Gospels (Aachen, Domschatz). The miniatures were the subject of studies which bore fruit with

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extensive literature¹. The aim of the analysis is the reading of the content of the images and the discovery of their functions in the context of codes.

As early as the 1920s, Percy Ernst Schramm announced the results of his studies on the iconography of a ruler.² His major book was one dedicated to the images of kings and emperors of Germany, published in 1928 and renewed in 1983 by Florentine Mütterich. The studies whose results were contained in the publication concerned primarily images of Charlemagne, Charles the Bald, Louis the Pious; still, they abound in many interesting observations.³ The works published as early as the 1960s stress the significance of the ruler's attire. Garments worn by an archbishop were used to create a ceremonial attire. In this way the ceremonial attire of the Saxon dynasty helped to create an image of the person called *rex et sacerdos*.⁴

¹ Aachen Evangelion: Clemens M.M. BAYER, "Untersuchungen zum ottonischen Evangeliar der Aachener Domschatzkammer," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 54/55 (1986/87): 33–46; Johannes FRIED, *Otto III. und Boleslaw Chrobry. Das Widmungsbild des Aachener Evangeliers, der "Akt von Gnesen" und das frühe polnische und ungarische Königtum. Eine Bildanalyse und ihre historischen Folgen* (Stuttgart–Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1989), passim; Ulrich KUDER, "Liuthar-Evangeliar," in *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen. Ausstellungskatalog Hildesheim 1993*, Bd. II, hrsg. von Michael Brandt, Arne Eggebrecht (Mainz: Zabern, 1993), 84–87; Josef ELS, "Das Aachener Liuthar-Evangeliar. Zur Bedeutung des Aachener Evangeliers Ottos III.," *Rheinische Heimatpflege* 48 (2011): 181–194; Rainer KAHSNITZ, "Ungewöhnliche Szenen im Aachener Liuthar-Evangeliar. Ein Beitrag zum Problem des christologischen Zyklus der Reichenauer Buchmalerei," in: *Buchschätze des Mittelalters*, edited by Klaus Gereon Beuckers (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2011), 63–91; so-called Otton III Evangelion: Konrad HOFFMAN, "Die Evangelistenbilder des Münchener Otto-Evangeliers (CLM 4453)," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 20 (1966): 17–46; Konrad HOFFMANN, "Das Herrscherbild im *Evangeliar Ottos III*" (*Clm 4453*). *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 7 (1973): 324–341; Gerhard WEILANDT, "Das Huldigungsbild im Evangeliar Kaiser Ottos III. in seinem geschichtlichen Zusammenhang," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 42 (1991): 535–548; *Das Evangeliar Ottos III. Clm 4453 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, München, hrsg. von Florentine Mütterich, Karl Dachs (München–London–New York: Prestel, 2001); Bamberg Evangelion, Class 79: *Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg*, Bd. I, 1: *Die Handschriften des 8. bis 11. Jahrhunderts der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg*, 1. Teil: *Textel* beschrieben von Gude Suckale-Redlefsen (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), 79–81 (with secondary sources), *Registrum Gregorii*: Carl NORDENFALK, "Archbishop Egbert's *Registrum Gregorii*," in *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst 800-1250. Festschrift für Florentine Mütterich zum 70. Geburtstag* (München: Prestel-Verlag, 1985), 87–100; Henry MAYRHARTING, *Ottonian Book illumination*, part II (London: Miller, 1999), 62–63.

² Percy Ernst SCHRAMM, "Das Herrscherbild In der Kunst des frühen Mittelalters," in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg* (Berlin: Leipzig, 1922–1923), 145–224; IDEM, *Kaiser, Rom and Renovatio*, Bd. I-II (Berlin: Leipzig, 1929).

³ Percy Ernst SCHRAMM, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, Teil I: *Bis zum Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts (751-1152)* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1928), passim 2. Aufl. (München: Prestel, 1983), passim.

⁴ Percy Ernst SCHRAMM, "Die Kaiser aus sächsischen Hause im Lichte der Staatssymbolik," in *Festschrift zur Jahrtausendfeier der Kaiserkrönung Ottos des Großen*, Teil I: *Festbericht*,

In a comprehensive article, Piotr Skubiszewski addressed the topic of depiction of rulers in Ottonian art. He meticulously analysed images of rulers of the Saxon dynasty—Otto II in the *Registrum Gregorii*, Otto III in the Gospels bound in a code with the text by Joseph Flavius, Otto III in the so-called Gospels of Otto III, and Otto III in the Aachen Gospels. Skubiszewski interpreted the images in the context of the concepts of power and of current events.⁵

In a monograph of Ottonian book paintings, Henry Mayr-Harting analysed and interpreted all the above miniatures. He reads the depiction of Otto III, elevated and placed between heaven and earth, following Ernst Kantorowicz, as humanity in the natural order and supernatural qualities in the order of grace. The miniature, according to the author, exemplifies the idea of earthly authority concentrated on Christ. Mayr-Harting sees the figure of the emperor in the Gospels of Otto III as primarily the idea of *renovatio Imperii romani*.⁶

In his article dedicated to the image of Otto III, Wolfgang Christian Schneider analysed miniatures depicting Emperor Otto III—a miniature from the *Registrum Gregorii* and two ones from the manuscript Gospels with the text by Joseph Flavius from Reichenau. He focused mainly on two aspects of the depiction—*representatio* and *procesio*. He also analysed in depth a miniature with a representation of the emperor on the throne and in the mandorla in the Aachen Gospels. He considered the emperor, who connected heaven and earth and was entwined in the Word of God, as an anointed man called *christus Domini*. He moreover evoked the image of Otto's coronation from the Bamberg Apocalypse (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Bibl. 140 fol, 59v–60r).⁷

Ludger Körntgen published a comprehensive study on the depiction of the emperor's figure in Ottonian historiography and Ottonian painting. He de-

Vorträge, Abhandlungen (Graz–Köln, Hermann Böhlau, 1962), 31–52; Percy Ernst SCHRAMM, “Das Alte und Neue Testament in der Staatslehre des Mittelalters,” in *La Bibbia nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1963), 229–255.

⁵ Piotr SKUBISZEWSKI, “W służbie cesarza, w służbie króla. Temat władzy sztuce ottońskiej,” in *Funkcja dzieła sztuki: materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Szczecin, listopad 1970* (Warszawa: PWN, 1972), 17–72.

⁶ Henry MAYR-HARTING, *Ottonian book illumination*, I–II (London: Harvey Miller, 1999), *passim*.

⁷ Wolfgang CH. SCHNEIDER, “Imperator Augustus und Christomimetes: Das Selbstbild Ottos III in der Buchmalerei,” in *Europas Mitte 1000: Handbuch zur Ausstellung*, Bd. II, hrsg. von Alfried Wiczorek und Hans M. Hinz (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2000), 798–086.

voted a lot of attention to the depiction of Otto III in the Liuthar Gospels, recognising the band covering the emperor's chest as a scroll with the text of the Gospel. He set emperors in the liturgical context and showed the relation of the depiction of the emperor in the context of representing Christ; the emperor was to be a reflection of Christ.⁸

Hagen Keller scrutinised the images of Ottonian emperors on seals, their transformation and significance. He read these images as "*imitatio Imperii*" and noted their impact.⁹

In his study, Ludger Körntgen coined the term *royal priesthood*, which was to define the supernatural position of the ruler. He scrutinised it by analysing the images of rulers and ascribed to them the role of representing the founder of the book, of revealing a ruler who was like Christ and of demonstrating that he was an object sanctified by God's actions. Analysing the attributes of the images, the stole, spear and crown, he focused not so much on the priestly role of the emperor but on the person of an addressee of salvation and—using biblical typology—on the dilemma concerning the priestly nature of the ruler. Under this typology the types, or prefigurations, were the persons of the priest and king. The Old Testament figures were read as prefigurations of the Messiah. Within the Ottonian realm, according to Körntgen there was a differentiation between the figure of the emperor, who according to the author is the type of Christ, and that of a priest, who also has a typological function with respect to Christ.¹⁰

Hagen Keller, in an article published in the context of an exhibition dedicated to the work of Bishop Meinwerk from Paderborn, evaluated the relation between the figure of the ruler and bishops, analysing miniatures from the Liuthar Gospels and the king's sacrament book. He stressed the meaning of the term *imperator vicarius Christi, episcopi—vicarii apostolorum*. His point of reference for the interpretation of the figure of the emperor in the

⁸ Ludger KÖRNTGEN, *Königsherrschaft und Gottes Gnade: zu Kontext und Funktion sakraler Vorstellungen in Historiographie und Bildzeugnissen der ottonisch-frühsalischen Zeit* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2001), 161–435.

⁹ Hagen KELLER, "Das neue Bild des Herrschers: zum Wandel der "Herrschaftsrepräsentation" unter Otto dem Großen," in *Ottonische Neuanfänge: Symposion zur Ausstellung "Otto der Grosse, Magdeburg und Europa"*, hrsg. von Bernd Scheidmüller und Stefan Weinfurter (Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern, 2001), 189–211.

¹⁰ Ludger KÖRNTGEN, "König und Priester: Das sakrale Königtum der Ottonen: zwischen Herrschaftstheologie, Herrschaftspraxis und Heilsorge," in *Die Ottonen: Kunst-Architektur-Geschichte*, hrsg. von Klaus G. Bauchner, Johannes Cremer und Michael Imhof (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2002), 51–61.

Aachen miniature are the statements and description of the sacred nature of the emperor in the chronicle of Thietmar of Merseburg.¹¹

In his study of the relationship between liturgy and social life in the Middle Ages, Éric Palazzo stressed the role of Otto III in shaping the cult of the era and the political and cultural role played by the coronation. He raised the foundation of the ruler's type on the Christological model, juxtaposing the concepts of *rex* and *sacerdos*. According to the author, the ruler is similar to Christ in that he receives the features of the priest through anointment.¹²

All of the above authors have made a significant contribution to recognizing the content of the miniatures that are the subject of our research, but there are still many cognitive gaps and doubts that make us take a hard look at the content of these images.

THE RULER—THE ANOINTED ONE OF THE OTTONIAN DYNASTY AND HIS IMAGE AT THE HEIGHT OF POWER

The miniature on the page of the *Registrum Gregorii* (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 14 chart excluded) from the years 983–985 represents Emperor Otto II on a throne with a footrest situated under a ciborium (ill. 1).¹³ The ruler is dressed in a tunic and a pallium tied to his shoulder with a fibula. His head is decorated with a four-sided crown. He uses attributes—a high sceptre and a sphere with a cross. Both his position (the emperor is seated on a throne with a cushion, under a canopy) and the ciborium point to his highest rank, power and glory of rule. He is accompanied on both sides by four female allegorical figures. These are *Germania*, *Francia*, *Italia* and *Alamania*. They carry offerings for the emperor—gold spheres, or *aurum coronarium*, a symbol of the gifts that representatives of provinces, communities and lands offered to the emperor as a token of recognition of his power. The situation displayed (a full set of insignia, position under a canopy, homage of the provinces) seems to be the concluding stage of the consecration

¹¹ Hagen KELLER, “Der König bat und befehl”: über die Einsetzung der Bischöfe in ottonischen-frühsalischen Reich,” in *Für Königtum und Himmelreich: 1000 Jahre Bischof Meinwerk von Paderborn. Katalog zur Jubiläumsausstellung im Museum in der Kaiserpfalz und im Erzbischöflichen Diözesanmuseum Paderborn 2009/2010*, 41–42.

¹² Eric PALAZZO, *Liturgie et société au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Aubier, 2000), 202–212.

¹³ Henry MAYR-HARTING, *Ottonian book illumination. Part two: books* (London: Harvey Miller, 1999), 62–63; Wolfgang CH. SCHNEIDER, “Imperator Augustus und Christomimetes: Das Selbstbild Ottos III. in der Buchmalerei,” in *Europas Mitte um 1000, 798–799*, ill. 514.

celebration of Otto II. The emperor has become the central person, the target of attention and action of social subjects.

The role and position of the emperor are even more prominent in the two adjacent miniatures in the Evangeliary of Otto III from the years 998–1001 (Munich, Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4453) (ill. 3).¹⁴ On chart 24r there is Otto III, on a throne with a cushion and a textile covering the backrest. The tunic, the pallium clasped with a fibula, the angular crown, the tall sceptre, and an orb with a cross are an indispensable set of attributes which define the dignity and glamour of the imperial office. The canopy over the ruler transports him to the realm of the sacred. However, a new quality is introduced by the characters accompanying the emperor. On the right hand side, there are two clergymen wearing albs and chasubles and holding books. The pallia cast on the chasubles describe them as metropolitan archbishops. On the left side there are two armed warriors. One of them holds a sheathed sword, the other holds a spear and a shield. The location and relationship with the emperor of these two categories of people shows that Otto III holds a superior position to the Church and the state.

On the next page (23v) there are four allegorical female figures: *Roma*, *Galia*, *Germania* and *Sclavinia*. They proceed in a solemn procession, carrying *aurum coronarium*, or gifts symbolic of an homage paid by the provinces. The procession and the presentation of the gifts is to demonstrate the recognition of imperial authority and the subordination of the provinces to the emperor.

Very similar images can be found on two charts—0v, 1r, belonging to the Gospels Book sewed in a code with texts by Joseph Flavius from the years 996–1000 (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Class. 79) (ill. 4).¹⁵ Otto III is seated on a throne under a ciborium in the company of two metropolitan bishops and two armed aristocrats. He is being approached by a procession of four personifications with *aurum coronarium*.

Still, the most extensive message can be found in the miniature in the Aachen Gospels Book of Otto III (Aachen, Domschatz) from ca. 1000¹⁶ (ill. 2). The emperor seated on a throne with a footrest is in the upper part of the chart. His footrest is held by a squatting allegorical figure of Earth. The very

¹⁴ Henry MAYR-HARTING, *Ottonian book illuminatio. Part one: themes* (London: Harvey Miller, 1999), 158–159, ill. XX, XXI.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 206.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 59–61, ill. 29; part two, 157–179; Wolfgang Ch. SCHNEIDER, *Imperator Augustus Und Christomimetes*, 803.

figure of the emperor is surrounded by a mandorla, flanked by four apocalyptic animals. They hold an open scroll, which rests on the emperor's chest. The legend in the frame on the neighbouring chart reads: *Hoc Auguste libro/tibi cor Deus indult Otto/Quem de Liuthario te/suscepisse memento*. Above the upper end of the mandorla God's hand (*manus Dei*) in a medallion touches the emperor's head. The enthroned ruler is, then, situated between heaven and earth. Surprisingly, he assimilates Christ's attributes: a throne with a cushion, footrest, and orb. However, two attributes introduce a new situation; these are the mandorla and the four apocalyptic animals. Previously these elements were solely the attributes of Christ. Their attribution to the ruler is testament to a change of his qualifications. His new characteristics are defined by the term *christomimetes*, i.e. *like Christ*. According to the above inscription adjacent to the miniature, God covers Otto's heart with His word. Lutgher Körntgen highlights the fact that the text is no panegyric but rather an intercessory prayer. The emperor is the one whose sanctification is prayed for.¹⁷

As such, he stands above two categories of people, represented by two metropolitan archbishops and two secular dignitaries armed with shields and spears, i.e. princes (*Herzoge*). Wolfgang Christian Schneider sees the archbishops as representatives of ecclesial provinces and the princes as representatives of the lands¹⁸. Above the archbishops and princes, on either side of the emperor at the height of the footrest, there are two crowned lay persons, clad in tunics and overcoats. Importantly, on their spears they carry banners, recognised as fiefdom flags. They are therefore vassals subordinate to the emperor. Schneider sees them as royals.¹⁹ The emperor, like Christ, has authority over both the state and the Church.

What was the source and origin of the emperor's distinction and exaltation, the elevation of his mission and dignity, which is expressed both in the position of the emperor at the level of Saviour and in his characteristics summarised by the terms of *unctio* and *coronatio*? In order to answer this question, we must first reflect on the origins of this approach to authority.

¹⁷ Ludger KÖRNTGEN, "König und Priester," 56.

¹⁸ Wolfgang Ch. SCHNEIDER, *Imperator Augustus und Christomimetes*, 803.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

THE CAROLINGIAN PRELUDE

The *capella palatina* in Aachen, through the disposition of the interior, reveals the position and role of the ruler, who was its user.²⁰ The octagonal, central chapel with an apse, set within robust pillars at the corners, harking back to the shell of the Church of San Vitale in Ravenna, had three tiers. On the first tier, in the basement, opposite the entrance, there was an altar of Our Lady. The emporium on the second floor was the space used by the emperor attending a religious service. His throne was situated on the emporium in the most westward part of the octagon. At the same level, on the opposite side, from the east there was the altar of the Saviour. The emperor sitting on the throne could also see the altar dedicated to the Virgin Mary, standing in the apse at the east side of the octagon on the ground floor. In the back of the chancel there was an altar dedicated to St. Peter. The place where the emperor took part in the liturgy was on the same level as the altar of the Saviour.²¹ This was of major significance for the understanding of the role of the ruler. He was in the angelic zone and at the same time stood contrite before Christ, who rules on the dome in the highest zone, surrounded by the apocalyptic Sages.²² The present mosaic on the dome comes from the end of 19th c. yet records from 1620 and 1699 testify to the existence of a mosaic at the time when the chapel was erected.²³ It depicted the enthroned Christ in the context of the apocalyptic heavenly service (Acts 4–5). All the spatial relations described above, which connect the ruler with places and works dedicated to the supernatural, reveal his spiritual relations with the saints. The position of Charlemagne in the spatial structure of the palace chapel revealed his place in the structure of the universe and elevated him above earthly reality.

A similar elevation of the ruler can be observed in the miniature of the Vivian Bible (Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, MS lat 1, 423r). Charles the

²⁰ Piotr SKUBISZEWSKI, *Sztuka Europy łacińskiej od VI do IX wieku* (Lublin: TN KUL, 2001), 210–211; Harmen H. THIES, “Progressi tecnici ed evoluzione dei sistemi strutturali negli edifici di culto (secoli VI–XVI),” in *Arte medievale nel contesto 300–1300: funzioni iconografia tecniche*, a cura di Paolo Piva (Milano: Jaca Book, 2006), 31–32.

²¹ Carol HEITZ, *L'architecture religieuse carolingienne: les formes et leurs fonctions* (Paris: Picard, 1980), 77.

²² *Ibid.*, 74.

²³ Herman SCHNITZLER, “Das Kuppelmosaik der Aachener Pfalzkapelle,” *Aachener Kunstblätter* 29 (1964) : 17–44; Hubert SCHRADE, “Zum Kuppelmosaik der Pfalzkapelle und zum Theoderich-Denkmal in Aachen,” *Aachener Kunstblätter* 30 (1965): 25–37.

Bald, dressed in a ceremonial coat, holding a long sceptre, wearing a crown, sits on the throne with a footstool. This throne is located in the sphere of clouds. The space in which it is located is marked with a suspended fabric forming a canopy. A *dextera dei* emerges from the heavens above the canopy, between two hanging lamps. In both arches of the arcades two female figures emerge, holding crowns.²⁴

The position of Charles the Bald, his pose and attributes, make him resemble the position of Christ in his majesty. Its rank is emphasized by a group of clergymen in a semicircle, participants of the act of dedication of the book. They stand in a circle, in the lower section of the image. The ruler's exaltation is based on two acts. The first one is performed by a *manus dei*, which gives off rays of light. It seems to fulfil the function of *unctio*. Rooted in the Old Testament, it means a distinction of the man chosen by God to perform the mission of a priest, prophet or king. The second act is performed by the female figures. They turn to him, holding crowns offered to Charles. This gesture, harking back to ancient Rome, is an homage paid to the anointed one. The handing over of a wreath and accepting it was an act of distinction of the person, in particular of the emperor. The anointed one is a dignified person entrusted with a mission.

THE POSITION OF A CONSECRATED KING AND EMPEROR IN THE THEOLOGY AND POLITICS OF THE ERA

The question about the sources of exaltation of the Carolingian and Ottonian emperor brings us back to political theology, which formulated a doctrine of imperial consecration and status. Hinkmar of Reims, who promoted anointment as an integral act of coronation, wrote in his *De regis persona et regio ministerio* that the king, whose authority derives from God, is anointed to rule with the grace of the Holy Spirit. He compares royal anointing to the anointing of priests, Old Testament kings and prophets as well as martyrs.²⁵ Earlier, Smaragdus pointed to three features of the ruler. He is called by God, anointed by Him with chrism and made a son.²⁶ Anointment was a symbol of being chosen by God and of the transformation of the emperor into

²⁴ Piotr SKUBISZEWSKI, *Malarstwo karolińskie i przedromańskie* (Warszawa: Auriga Oficyna Wydawnicza, 1973), 48–49; IDEM, *Sztuka Europy łacińskiej*, 251.

²⁵ HINCMARUS RHEMENSIS, *De regis persona et region ministerio*, PL CXXV, 833–856.

²⁶ SMARAGDUS S. MICHAELIS, *Via regia*, PL CII, 933.

a new man, who as of that moment became the *vicarius Christi* and *christus Domini*.²⁷

God makes him the ruler of mankind and heir to Christ. The anointing with chrism reiterates the anointing of Christ through the Holy Spirit. The Christian Emperor is supposed to protect the community of believers and root out all evil, because he is Christ's deputy on earth.

Alcuin claimed that authority, power and wisdom were given to the ruler to lead people to salvation. He is to rule the subjects in the true religion.²⁸ Moreover, the author claimed that the ruler cannot be seen as Christ's vicar, a term reserved for St. Peter only.²⁹

In his chronicle, Thietmar of Merseburg awarded the right to appoint shepherds only to emperors and kings. He spoke about it in the context of an extraordinary right to appoint bishops, a prerogative of the Bavarian prince Arnulf. Thietmar believed that it would be wrong if bishops, made by Christ the princes of this earth, were subject to someone inferior than the emperor. He, like Christ, and on the strength of anointment and coronation, is of superior dignity than all other mortals.³⁰

The above views help to characterise a Christian ruler. He is a person whose office and charism come from God. His authority is religious. He is God's anointed one, that is, a person who receives a specific gift to fulfil his mission and is thus the Lord's anointed person, or a *christus Domini*. As such, he is like Christ, shaped like Christ, and sometimes considered to be Christ's substitute on earth—*vicarius Christi*. Some aspects of these views may be seen in the representations of rulers from the Ottonian era analysed above.

Both acts, i.e. *coronatio* and *unctio*, were according to political theology the appointment of a charismatic person, who receives assistance in the fulfilment of his mission to rule over a Christian people and to care of the Church. In the light of both the analysed miniatures and the reported views, two important aspects of the emperor's charisma emerge. The first is the internal expression of the gift through the presence of the Holy Spirit and the inclusion of the word of God in the heart of the Emperor. The second aspect

²⁷ Hans H. ANTON, "Salbung," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. VII (Stuttgart–Weimar: Artemis und Winkler, 1999), kol. 1291.

²⁸ ALBINUS FLACCUS [ALCUIN], *De fidae sanctae ei individuae trinitatis libri tres*, PL CI, 11–12 (703).

²⁹ ALBINUS FLACCUS [ALCUIN], *Orationes ad Deum et apostolos*, PL CI, 1167.

³⁰ *Kronika Thietmara [księga I, 26]*, transl., introduction and notes Marian Z. Jedlicki (Kraków: Universitas, 2002), 16.

is the likeness to Christ. The term *vicarius Christi* and the position of the emperor in the mandorla expresses the desire to give the emperor some of the features of Christ. Consequently, he becomes an image of the Saviour.

The highest position of the emperor as a charismatic person is found in the development of the idea of the double personality of the king. This idea was presented in an excellent study by Ernst Kantorowicz.³¹ Two interpretations by this author warrant our special attention.

One is his reading of the miniature representing Otto III in the Aachen Gospel. The author defines the emperor as a person bridging heaven and earth. His position is similar to that of Christ. The fabric stretched at chest level is the screen of the tabernacle. It separates heaven from earth, implying that the ruler, a giant like Christ, belongs to the earthly and heavenly realms, the natural and the supernatural ones. The duality of natures was expressed in the sentence: *pedes in terra caput in coelum*.³²

The other interpretation concerns texts by the Norman Anonymous. One of his treaties is titled *De consecratione pontificum et regum*. The author sees the king as a person of dual personality, where one of his persons derives from nature and the other from grace. The first of the persons is similar to all people, while the other one, due to the supernatural elements and the power of consecration, has priority over an ordinary human being.³³

CONSECRATION LITURGY AS A SOURCE OF THE EMPEROR'S DIGNITY, STATUS AND MISSION

However, neither the analysis of the Carolingian beginnings nor the study of theological and political views provide an answer to the question of the profound meaning of the emperor's representations. In order to read this meaning, it is necessary to place it in two contexts. The first context is liturgy, especially the liturgy of the royal consecration. The coronation act is

³¹ Ernst H. KANTOROWICZ, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Oxford Princeton University Press, 1957); Polish translation: Ernst KANTOROWICZ, *Dwa ciała króla: studium ze średniowiecznej teologii politycznej*, transl. Maciej Michalski and Adam Krawiec (Warszawa: PWN, 2007), *passim*.

³² Ernst H. KANTOROWICZ, *Dwa ciała króla: studium ze średniowiecznej teologii politycznej*, 51–65.

³³ *Ibid.*, 36–51.

the subject of an article by Joachim Otto.³⁴ The author focuses on the genesis of this act. He asks himself whether this is due to the change of dynasty in 919 and the elevation of Henry I. Analysing the sources, he expresses doubts as to whether the anointing and coronation of the first king of this dynasty did take place. The second context is the book which contains a miniature and its content.

The description of the royal coronation is brought by *Le pontifical romano-germanique*. This title refers to a 1966 critical compilation, juxtaposition and comparison of eight pontifical books from different centres of the 10th century and stored in different libraries. The texts seem to be contemporary or earlier than our representations, but they do document and codify the liturgical events that took place during the previous coronations. Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze juxtaposed the pontifical texts from different manuscripts and made their critical assessment.³⁵ This compilation of texts helps to follow the course of the liturgy. The description of royal consecration is titled *Incipit ordo ad regem benedicendo quando novus a clero et populo sublimatus in regno* (*Le pontifical romano-germanique*, LXXII, 1–28). The course of the celebration is as follows: after leaving his chamber, the monarch walked in a procession surrounded by bishops. The procession was accompanied by appropriate orations. Upon arrival at the chancel, the candidate would lay down his coat and weapons and approach the steps of the altar. There he prostrated for the time of singing the Litany of the Saints. After the end of the litany, the candidate rose and the celebrant, a metropolitan archbishop, asked him if he wanted to rule and defend his subjects people and the Church according to the custom of the fathers. After receiving a positive answer, he asked the people whether they wanted such a prince and whether they wanted to obey him. The people answered: “Fiat fiat amen.” Then the celebrant recited a long and extensive consecration prayer.

This prayer consists of three parts, each of which has a supplicative and anamnestic character. The celebrant asks for blessings for the king and recalls the Old Testament rulers, their choice by YHVH and God’s work for them. The first section mentions the following: Abraham, Moses, Joshua, David, and Solomon. The second part recalls the names of Abraham, Moses,

³⁴ J. OTTO, “Kronen und Krönungen in frühottonischen Zeit”, in: *Ottonische Neuanfänge: Symposion zur Ausstellung “Otto der Große, Magdeburg und Europa”*, hrsg. von Bernd Scheidmüller und Stefan Weinfurterm (Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern, 2001), 179–189.

³⁵ Cyrille VOGEL, Reinhard ELZE, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle. Le texte I* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1963), 246–261.

Joshua, Gedeon, Samuel, David, and Solomon. The full content of the prayer reveals that these are elect and exemplary persons, since their lives and actions attest to the help of God, the help given to the human person and the divine action in human history. Similarly, it is to appear in the life of the consecrated king. The three-part prayer was followed by an anointing ceremony. The consecrator anointed the head, chest, shoulders (shoulder blades) and both joints of the arms. The anointing was followed by the next part of the consecration prayer. It consisted of asking for gifts for the king so that he could fulfil his task, and also asking for the Holy Spirit who would enkindle the fire of love in his heart by this anointing. This anointing is compared to the anointing of kings, priests and prophets. In the next part, the prophets and kings are quoted as the anointed ones. A comparison is made here between the pouring out of blessing upon the king through the oil, which was to penetrate into his heart, and the pouring out of the Holy Spirit upon Christ through the Father. This is the interiorization of spiritual gifts, extremely important in this liturgical act. The celebrant asks that just as the consecrated king receives a visible and tangible gift, he might also receive invisible gifts that will be deposited in his heart.

The consecration prayer was followed by the handing over of the insignia, accompanied by appropriate prayers. They expressed the symbolism of these objects and the related tasks of the king. The consecrated king received a sword, coat, shoulder pads, a sceptre and a staff, and finally a crown. All the ceremonies concluded with a solemn blessing, then the king was introduced to the throne through the choir of the church. The appropriate accompanying prayer contained an important statement. There was a request that Christ, the mediator between God and man, should endorse the ruler at the place of his reign (on the threshold of the kingdom) as the mediator between the clergy and the people and allow him to reign with Christ in eternity. The whole event ended with a kiss of peace, and the consecrating metropolitan began the celebration of the Holy Mass.

These themes, clear in the liturgy of the king's consecration, give many indications for the interpretation of his figure in miniatures. The first theme is to emphasize the anointing as the basis for the king's consecration and the religious sanction of his authority. Of course, the anointing is inseparably connected with the extensive consecration prayer, which is its interpretation. It turns out to be a central and decisive act. This act is patterned on the founding act of Old Testament kings, priests and prophets. In fact, the text highlights two charisms—that of the person speaking in the name of God

and acting in the name of God, or a prophet like Abraham, Moses, Joshua, Gedeon, Samuel, and the charism of the ruler, or judge, embodied by Gedeon, and the king, epitomised by David and Solomon. These two charisms are referred to as anointed. While there is a mention of the priestly charism, there is no mention of Aaron.

The rites of royal and imperial consecration, whose texts have been published above, belong to a long liturgical tradition, originating as early as the 7th century. The legal output of synods—Spanish in 672, West Franconian in 848, East Franconian in 911, and Anglo-Saxon in the 1st half of the 10th century emphasizes the role of anointing. In the documents of these synods, anointment was seen as a necessary act of making someone a king. One aspect of the perception of royal anointing was the replacement of the magical power that surrounded the Germanic ruler with supernatural power that protected him from onslaught of evil. But the source of the anointing, the sacramental competence of the anointing consecrator, the bishop, became more and more evident. The idea of convergence of the dignity of a priest and a king, or the intention to make a king a bishop, was not in any way present here. The anointing was taken from the rite of initiation, from the post-baptismal anointing with chrism. The essential content of the king's anointing was to make an unworthy candidate a new man and to enable him to bear the burden of power. The royal anointing should always be read through the prism of the baptismal liturgy.³⁶

The problem is the question of the vestments that the crowned man wore during the liturgy. Percy Ernst Schramm seems to have rightly pointed out that the emperor's clothes originate in those of the high priest of the Old Testament. The analysis of the miniatures shows that the robes used were similar to the liturgical vestments of priests and deacons. However, articles of clothing cannot possibly be a criterion for attributing priesthood to the consecrated emperor. This matter should be examined further.

It follows from the above considerations that the current conviction that the priestly and royal charisms coexist in the person of a Germanic ruler, consecrated in a liturgical act, should be questioned. This undermines the analyses of Luther Körntgen.³⁷ Study results are moreover at variance with the statements made by Érico Palazzo.³⁸ It seems that the most appropriate

³⁶ Janet L. NELSON, *Politics and ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London: Hambledon Press, 1986), 248–252.

³⁷ Ludger KÖRNTGEN, "König und Priester," 51–61.

³⁸ Éric PALAZZO, *Liturgie et société au Moyen Âge*, 202–212.

way to define the royal charism in the Ottonian culture is to describe it as a synthesis of the characteristics and tasks of the Old Testament charismatic—judges, prophets and kings.

However, a problem occurs with the relationship between the two liturgical acts seen as fundamental in the establishment of a ruler—a king and an emperor. These are *unctio* and *coronatio*. The anointment of the ruler has its roots in the Old Testament. Summoned by YHVH, Samuel anointed Saul (1 Sam 9, 15–17; 1 Sam 10, 1–1) and David (1 Sam 11,13). Zadok the priest and prophet Nathan anointed Samuel, son of David, the King of Israel (1 Kgs 1, 38–48). Elijah was entrusted with the mission of anointing Hezekiah the King of Aram, Jehu the King of Israel, and Elisha a prophet, his successor (2 Kgs 19, 15–17). Elisha commands the young prophet to anoint Jehu the King of Israel (2 Kgs 9, 1–13). The anointment of the king was commissioned by YHVH and made by a divine emissary—a prophet³⁹. In the Merovingian kingdom, anointment rooted in the Old Testament was becoming part of the elevation of the ruler. Since 751, an *unction* was used as that this year Pepin III was anointed the first time.⁴⁰ In 754, Pope Stephen II anointed Pepin once more, as well as his sons Charles and Carloman and his wife Bertrada to confirm the reign of the dynasty.⁴¹ Between 768 and 771 his successors received the *unctio*.⁴² In the West Frankian kingdom, the rite was commonly practiced since 848.⁴³ Anointment in the Ottonian monarchy was practiced starting from the act of consecrating Otto I the emperor in 962.⁴⁴

Probably in late 7th and early 8th century a coronation appeared and in 781 Charles and his sons Pippin and Louis received royal diadems from Hadrian II.⁴⁵ A model for the *coronatio* act was the coronation of Charlemagne. On Christmas Day in the year 800, Pope Leo III crowned Charles emperor in St. Peter's Basilica. This was accompanied by the acclamation of the people.⁴⁶ Ever since, the emperor became the guardian of Christianity and its defender

³⁹ HANS H. ANTON, "Salbung," kol. 1289.

⁴⁰ Ibid., kol. 1290.

⁴¹ Ibid.; Rosamond MCKITTERICK, *Królestwa Karolingów: władza, konflikty, kultura 751-987* (Warszawa: PWN, 2011), 68.

⁴² H.H. ANTON, "Salbung," kol. 1289.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid., kol. 1291; Gerd ALTHOFF, *Ottonowie: władza królewska bez państwa*, translated by Marta Tycner-Wolińska (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa UW, 2009), 88.

⁴⁵ Karl SCHNITH, "Krönung," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. V (Stuttgart–Weimar, Artemis und Winkler, 1999), kol. 1548.

⁴⁶ Josef FLECKENSTEIN, "Karl (I) der Große," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. V, kol. 960; Rosamond MCKITTERICK, *Królestwa Karolingów*, 93–94.

against enemies assaulting it from outside and against heresy.⁴⁷ Of great importance was the imperial coronation of Louis the Pious in Reims in 816.⁴⁸

Le pontifical romano-germanique contains the rite of an emperor's coronation. It is *Ordo romanus ad benedicendo imperatorem quando coronam accipit*. (*Le pontifical romano-germanique*, LXXV). The rite had a clear and logical course. All began with a pledge of the prospective emperor. In front of the entrance to the church, of Bishop of Albano recited a prayer over the candidate. Another prayer followed, after the entrance to the church, which was recited by the Bishop of Porto, after which the emperor prostrated himself during the singing of the Litany of the Saints. The Bishop of Ostia then anointed the ruler and said a prayer. Finally, the Bishop of Rome (*pontifex*) placed a crown on the candidate's head. Analysis of the rite indicates a harmony of the anointment (*unctio*) and coronation (*coronatio*), although here the crowning by the pope had a far greater significance than the royal coronation, part of the transfer of the regalia.

In the face of the analysed facts, the question should be asked: what was the foundational act establishing the ruler as a consecrated person? The core of the answer is provided by the king's consecration liturgy, described in the pontifical texts. In the light of this liturgy, the central, fundamental act of establishing the king and making him a person dedicated to God is the anointing—*unctio*, part of an extensive and elaborate consecration prayer. This act makes the chosen person an individual excluded from earthly reality, and at the same time designated to exercise temporal state power and care for the Church. The coronation, on the other hand, is a rite logically following the anointing, subordinate to it and included in a series of explanatory rites. Their aim is to pass on the insignia of power and by demonstrating their possession to communicate the essence and role of their owner. Each of these insignia is interpreted by a specific prayer.

It is important to understand the essence of the king as the anointed one to find his role models contained in the liturgy. In the text of the consecration liturgy of the ruler, Old Testament figures appear. They are Abraham, Moses, Joshua, David, and Solomon in the first part of the liturgy and Abraham, Moses, Joshua, Gedeon, Samuel, David, and Solomon in the second part. What categories of people chosen by YHVH can these people be included in? What charisms did they carry in themselves? Moses, Joshua and

⁴⁷ Karl SCHNITH, "Krönung," kol. 1548.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

Solomon represent the prophetic character. The royal charism of David and Solomon is clearly visible. Gedeon, a judge, who manages the people at the will of YHVH and saves them from oppression and slavery, is different from the two others. Abraham should be considered the forefather of the believers and the head of the clan. Not all of the above mentioned and present in the text of the liturgy were anointed, however. It is characteristic that there is no trace of the priestly charism and no mention of Aaron. There are many indications that the royal charism of the 10th/11th century did not have rigidly assigned patterns, and the presence of Old Testament figures in the liturgical text is conjectural rather than definitive.

There is also no reference to the charisms and ministries of the clergy originating in the New Testament: of a deacon, presbyter and bishop.⁴⁹ *Le Pontifical romano-germanique* contains moreover texts used for their installation—*De officis VII gradus ysidori capitula* (*Le pontifical romano-germanique* XIV) oraz *Ordo qualiter in romana ecclesia sacri ordine fiunt* (*Le pontifical romano-germanique*, XV) as well as *Ordo qualiter in romana ecclesia presbiteri, diaconi vel subdiaconi eligendi sunt* (*Le pontifical romano-germanique*, XVI). We should add to this episcopal ordination, which has its text in the *Pontificale: Ordinatio episcopi* (*Le pontifical romano-germanique*, LXIII). The basic act of liturgical consecration was the laying of the hands and an appropriate consecration prayer. The presence of the ordination texts in the Pontifical indicates the existence of the Ottonian priestly charism in the social and religious culture, which was also represented in iconography.

CHARISMATIC FIGURE OF A PRIEST VS.
THE CHARISMATIC FIGURE OF A KING:
ANTITHESIS OR COMPLEMENTARITY?

At the height of the empire's importance and at the time of the shaping of the emperor's image, a new trend appeared. At the same time, the image of the bishop was shaped in parallel with the image of the emperor as a person superior to the Church and the state. One of the first images of this kind was a miniature depicting Gregory the Great in the *Registrum Gregorii* 983–985

⁴⁹ Cyrille VOGEL, Reinhard ELZE, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle. Le texte I*, 12–36.

(Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 171/1626)⁵⁰ (ill. 5). Pope Gregory is seated *en face* on a throne with a cushion and footrest. He wears a set of liturgical vestments: alb, dalmatic, chasuble, and pallium. On top of the frontal position and hierarchy, his activity is demonstrated as he places his left hand on the book laid on a nearby pulpit. In his right hand he holds a closed code, which becomes an attribute defining the role of the bishop as a theologian, intellectualist and teacher. This activity is highlighted by the presence of a clerical secretary holding a tablet and a stylus. However, the intellectual aspect does not exhaust the definition of Gregory as the Bishop of Rome. The throne to which the emperor is entitled, the aedicula composed of a colonnade and a central arcade, and the crown hung over his head decorated with precious stones place Gregory in a position equal to that of the emperor. However, the key to understanding the charisma is the dove sitting on his shoulders. It is a symbol of the Holy Spirit. His presence and support, described as the Anointing with the Spirit, are the hallmarks of a presbyter. The entire set of means—aedicula, throne, crown—makes the priestly charisma equal to the royal and imperial ones.

Psalterium Egberti (Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, MS CXXXVI) contains many images of the Bishops of Trier.⁵¹ Their series starts with two miniatures. One represents Egbert accepting a book from the monk Ruodprecht. Egbert is seated in a serious and majestic pose on a bulky throne with a cushion. He is wearing an alb, dalmatic and chasuble, and holds a crosier in the left hand. By contrast, Ruodprecht is slightly bent in a pose of respect and humility and hands the book as a gift. The other miniature depicts Egbert handing the book to St. Peter. The archbishop bows respectfully before the apostle much like Ruodprecht. However, the very figure of the enthroned saint becomes a model for the majestic and monarchic pose of the archbishop.

A miniature in Egbert's second manuscript, *Codex Egberti*, 977–993 (Trier Stadtbibliothek, MS 24),⁵² represents Egbert seated on a throne with a cushion. The archbishop is wearing a pallium and holds a crosier. His head is surrounded by a rectangular halo. A marked contrast of scale of the figures separates the archbishop, who appears like an emperor, from the minuscule figures of monks, Keraldus and Heribertus, who hand over books.

⁵⁰ Henry MAYR-HARTING, *Ottonian book illumination Part one*, 30–31, ill. 13.

⁵¹ Henry MAYR-HARTING, *Ottonian book illumination. Part two*, 63–69, ill. 36–39.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 70.

Images representing Archbishop Egbert apply a vast repertory of iconographic measures typical of an emperor—a throne with a cushion, frontal pose, a set of solemn ceremonial vestments. The bishop, who was a figure subordinate to the emperor in the latter's images, in both books funded by Archbishop Egbert has the role equal to the emperor's. We can observe here a process of revealing the value of the priestly charism, another one next to that of a king. Pope Gelasius I stressed the significance and role of the priestly charism. Both priesthood and kingship are autonomous with respect to each other, yet priesthood precedes the royal dignity as it performs a far more important goal.⁵³ Agobard of Lyon in his *De comparatione regimine ecclesiastici et politici* stressed that religious authority represents God on earth and therefore it can judge royal authority.⁵⁴ Fulgentius of Ruspe maintained that the emperor held the highest position in the Christian world, while the pope heads the Church.⁵⁵ The priestly office is more important than the royal office. For the emperor is judged by the bishops, and they themselves are accountable to God.⁵⁶

The priestly charism was thus clearly confirmed and clearly expressed in Ottonian art. At the same time, images appeared that put the emperor in a completely different perspective and in a new relationship with Christ.

THE RULER—LISTENER TO THE WORD AND A CHARISMATIC LIKE CHRIST

A question arises: do all the above analyses entitle us to question the conceptual conglomerate by means of which the consecrated king was defined, i.e. *rex et sacerdos*? It seems that for the time being and in the light of the data quoted, a cautious hypothesis can be accepted, which rejects this double nomination. Many liturgical, iconographic and legal facts examined above may lead us to accept this thesis. However, detailed discernment requires further research, which goes beyond the scope of the present study and is not its primary objective, which remains the reading of a deeper message of images.

What kind of message do these images convey, then? All four analysed miniatures originate from the liturgy of royal consecration. They refer to the

⁵³ Merio SCATTOLA, *Teologia polityczna* (Warszawa: PAX, 2011), 56–58.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁵⁵ FULGENTIUS RUSPENSIS, *De veritate praedestinationis et gratiae*, PL LXV, 647.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

moment when the ruler, anointed and endowed with the insignia, is introduced to the apse and sits on the throne. For this short time, until the archbishop metropolitan-consecrator begins the celebration of Holy Mass, the emperor can be considered the central figure and the main participant of the liturgy. This moment, special and exceptional, shows the ruler not so much in full splendour as in full character. Miniatures are not an illustration of this liturgical moment, but rather a visualization of the essence of the ruler's person in two dimensions—the historical and personal dimension and the supernatural and consecration dimension.

However, the context of all the miniatures cannot be by any means neglected. Each of them is a part of an Evangeliary, a book used in liturgy. Therefore, how can we explain the presence of an image of the consecrated ruler at the beginning of the text of the four Gospels? These representations come from liturgy, are embedded in the tissue of the liturgical text, and can only be read in the context of liturgy.

In the art of the Ottonian era and in the beginnings of the Salian dynasty, a clear and broad content current dominates, which permeates various fields of artistic creativity. It is an art that focuses on the person of Jesus Christ. The most important manifestations of this aspiration are Christological cycles. The Aachen Gospels, created around 996 (Aachen, Domschatz), contains 21 miniatures with scenes from the life of Christ.⁵⁷ *Codex Egberti*—an Evangeliary of the years 997–993 (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 24) is decorated with 51 full-page Christological miniatures.⁵⁸ The Gospels of Otto III, 998–1001 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4453) contains 29 Christological miniatures.⁵⁹ The Gospels of Henry II, 1001–1012 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4452), includes a series of 23 such miniatures.⁶⁰ Christ is the central figure of all the above series of miniatures; He performs miracles, heals and is a master. He is invariably the dominant figure of the composition of a miniature. It is the role of the miniature to draw attention to the Saviour and to foster His contemplation.

So what meaning can the miniatures in question, referring to the context of the book and the groups of Christological images, carry? Two meanings seem most likely. The first one contains the recognition of the ruler as a privileged and important listener of the word of God. The person of the

⁵⁷ Henry MAYR-HARTING, *Ottonian book illumination. Part one*, 57, 69.

⁵⁸ Henry MAYR-HARTING, *Ottonian book illumination. Part two*, 70–81.

⁵⁹ Henry MAYR-HARTING, *Ottonian book illumination. Part one*, 157–178.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 179–201.

ruler directs attention to the word. The second meaning is related to the first. It is the formation of the ruler according to the model of Christ. Christ, the protagonist of the gospel, becomes then the supreme primordial model of the ruler. There is a certain clarification to be made here. Well, none of the presented rulers is a prefiguration of Christ. The properties of the figure, prefiguration or type only apply to Old Testament events and people, and solely with respect to Christ. The monarch, in turn, thanks to the liturgy, is made to resemble Christ and in this respect is subordinate to Christ. We should therefore reject Ludger Körntgen's claim that the king was a type of Christ (*Rex—Tipus Christi*).⁶¹

In the light of these findings, especially given the increasingly dominant Christological trend in the Ottonian culture, we should look at the miniatures that were created a little later in relation to images that are not our primary concern here. The Sacrament Book of Henry II, 1002–1014 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4456) has on its chart 11r a much telling image⁶² (ill. 6). A fill-page miniature depicts Henry II standing facing the viewer and in a hieratic pose, wearing the coronation attire, i.e. a tunic and overcoat clasped with a fibula on the shoulder. His hands, raised in a prayerful gesture, are upheld by saints Emmeram of Regensburg and Ulrich of Augsburg. The emperor receives into his raised hands a spear and a sword offered by angels. The figure of Henry himself is monumental and taller than the two saints. It is located in the sacred zone, as evidenced by the service of the angels. However, the sacred sphere is divided into two sectors—the upper one, with the throne of Christ in the mandorla and the angel handing over the weapons, and the lower one, with the crowned emperor and his servant saints. The position of the emperor in the lower zone means a radical change in the perception and understanding of the ruler's holiness and supernatural qualities. The difference is visible in relation to the miniature from the Aachen Gospels, where Otto III occupied the highest position within the mandorla.

A miniature from the Gospels of Henry II, 1002–1012 (Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4452), on chart 2r shows in the upper section Christ on a throne with a cushion and footrest.⁶³ The Saviour, hieratic and exalted, crowns Henry and Cunigunde. Both the spouses, although depicted

⁶¹ Ludger KÖRNTGEN, *Das sakrale Königtum der Ottonen*, 60–61.

⁶² Henry MAYR-HARTING, *Ottonian book illumination. Part one*, 66–67, ill. 35.

⁶³ Wolfgang Ch. SCHNEIDER, *Imperator Augustus und Christomimetes*, 807.

in coronation attire and with attributes, are smaller than Christ and their protégés, i.e. Apostles Peter and Paul.

Both miniatures testify to a tendency in the perception of the ruler emerging shortly after 1000. For there was a significant central shift and Christ took the highest place of the ruler. He is seated on the throne with a cushion. His pose is frontal, hieratic and exalted, and the people flanking Him, His subordinates, emphasise His distance to earthly reality. Christ occupies a central place and comes to the foreground. This is in line with the important iconographic trend in art, which can be described as art focused on Christ. There was a fundamental and distinct change of places, with Christ occupying the place of both an emperor and a bishop.

CONCLUSION

The overview of miniatures triggers a number of conclusions. The first of them will be a statement that the emperor's majestic representation on a throne with a cushion, under a canopy, surrounded by lay people and clergy, was not the only iconographic type to depict a charismatic person. Yet this type of iconography showed the ruler as a person with both natural and supernatural features. He stood both above the state (armed aristocrats) and above the Church (metropolitan archbishops). However, the emperor presented in this way did not become an intermediary. He was—as the miniature in the Aachen Gospels and the inscription to be found there indicate—the object of the Holy Spirit's sanctifying action.

The second important iconographic type was the representation of the bishop in the majesty and splendour characteristic of the ruler. An enthroned bishop is also a consecrated and a charismatic person. His charism has its origins in sacramental activity. However, he is a mediator between God and people. His mediation is manifested in his teaching, inspired by the Holy Spirit (Gregory the Great), and in accepting the gift and offering it to the person in the heavenly sphere.

Is the majestic representation of the bishop an antithesis to the representation of the emperor? It doesn't seem so. The two representations, of the priest and the emperor, should be treated as parallel and not antagonistic. Thus, the conviction that the emperor was the only dominant charismatic figure in the Ottonian miniatures should be verified. The second charismatic

figure was the bishop. This figure is equal in rank to the ruler, and at the same time he plays the role of a mediator, which is his sole prerogative.

What were the functions of these two fundamental images in the Ottonian iconosphere? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to consider a broader context. The Christological cycles of books mentioned above are the most important cycles of images from Christ's life. However, they are not the only works of the Christocentric trend. One can mention moreover the bronze doors from Hildesheim, with the Christological cycle inscribed in the structure of the typologically linked scenes from the Old and New Testaments, as well as Bernward's paschal candlestick with scenes from the Annunciation to the entrance to Jerusalem. Liana Castelfranchi Vegas supports the function of the column as a candelabra which was the basis for the Passover candle.⁶⁴

In this context, the representation of the ruler and the bishop takes on a deeper meaning. They become representations expressing the presence, glory and majesty of Christ. Can they be called prefigurations or types of Christ? No, they cannot, for this concept can only be used for images and symbols of the Old Testament, announcing Christ or an event from the New Testament. It can be said, however, that they express Christ through imitation. Was the presentation of Christ through the image of the king or the image of the priest an attempt to visualize the kingdom of heaven? It seems that this was not the aim of Ottonian art. The aim of political, artistic and spiritual activities was a political project which was a continuation of the Carolingian Empire. The principle of this project was to be the crowned and anointed emperor, and its parts became the state and the Church. The sublime and full form of this project was to be the vision of Otto III, called *renovatio Imperii Romanorum*.⁶⁵ *Renovatio* was a kind of political and spiritual utopia. As the former, it called for the unification of all European territories under the sceptre of the emperor as the anointed one. As the latter, it assumed the existence of a figure of an emperor, a person embodying Christ. An emperor, *christomimētēs*, was to be the personification of Christ. The very problem of *renovatio* should be subject to separate studies, also by art historians. However, the resemblance to Christ does not justify the attribution of the sacerdotal charism. Previous attributions, joining the notions of *rex et sacerdos*, are undermined by the content of consecration liturgy and

⁶⁴ Liana CASTELFRANCHI VEGAS, *L'arte ottoniana intorno al Mille* (Milano: Jaca Book, 2002), 61.

⁶⁵ Henry MAYR-HARTING, *Ottonian book illumination*. Part one, 160; Liana CASTELFRANCHI VEGAS, *L'arte ottoniana*, 16.

the aforementioned existence of a parallel charism of priest/bishop. It is in order to assume that the vision of the emperor as a consecrated and anointed person provided an impetus for the depiction of the bishop as a second sacred and charismatic person, comparable to the person of the emperor.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Otto II, *Registrum Gregorii* (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 14 chart excluded).
2. Otto III, Liuthar Gospels 16r, called Aachen Evangelion Aachen, Domschatz).
3. Otto III and personifications of lands, 23v, 24r, so-called Gospels of Otto III (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4453).
4. Otto III and personifications of lands, 0v, 1r Evangelion, (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Class. 79).
5. Gregory the Great, *Registrum Gregorii* (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 171/1626).
6. Christ crowning Henry II, 11r, Sacrament Book of Henry II, 1002-14 (Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4456).

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KING, PROPHET OR PRIEST? THE CHARISMA OF A CONSECRATED
RULER IN THE OTTONIAN MINIATURES: IDEOLOGICAL
CONTENTS AND THE FUNCTIONS OF PRESENTATIONS
OF THE SAXON DYNASTY EMPERORS

Summary

The article focuses on miniatures of an enthroned emperor. These are: the miniature showing Otto II from the *Registrum Gregorii* (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 14), two miniatures from the so-called Gospels of Otto III (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4453)—one showing Otto III and the other one showing the allegories of the provinces of the empire, two miniatures (Otto II and the provinces) contained in the Gospels bound in the code also containing works by Flavius Josephus (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Class. 79) and the miniature with the figure of Otto III found in the Liuthar Gospels, also called the Aachener Evangeliary (Aachen, Domshatz). The pictures were studied by Percy Ernst Schramm, Piotr Skubiszewski, Henry Mayr-Harting, Wolfgang Christian Schneider, Ludger Körntgen, Hagen Keller and Eric Palazzo. Exaltation of the emperor has its precedents in the Carolingian art. Placing the royal space in the upper gallery of the Palatine Chapel in Aachen and the miniature showing the exalted Charles the Bald in the Count Vivian Bible witness to the Carolingian approach to the person of the ruler. The sources of the consecration of an exalted ruler over bishops and princes in miniatures should be looked for

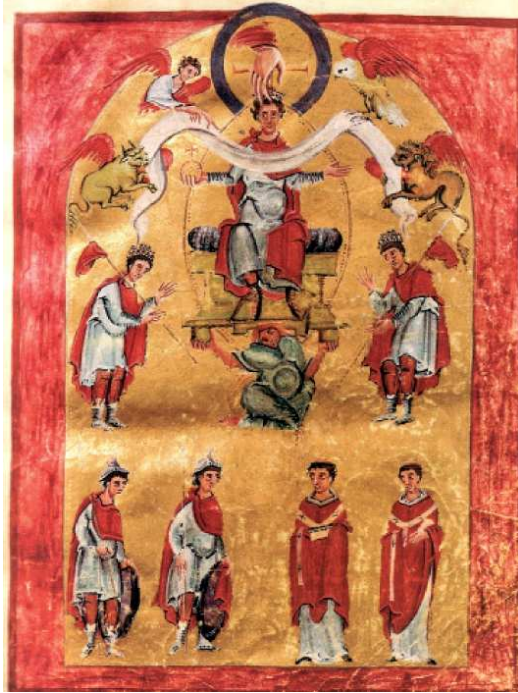
in the theological-political views of the epoch. Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims, Smaragdus, Alcuin and Thietmar of Merseburg define the ruler as one chosen and anointed by God for ruling the people. However, the exaltation of the ruler should be looked for in the liturgy of the consecration of the king that is documented in the *Pontifical Romano-Germanique*. The most important act of this liturgy is the anointing, *unction*, practiced during the consecration prayer. The image of the enthroned emperor mirrors the moment of the liturgy in which the consecrated one, after being anointed and handed the regalia, ascends the throne in the apse, led there by the metropolitans and princes. The anointing is derived from the Old Testament consecration of kings, prophets and judges. However, the consecration of a king is different from the consecration of a bishop, presbyter or deacon, so defining the anointed king as a *sacerdos* is unjustified. The image of the bishop consecrated and exalted on the pattern of a ruler also appears in the Ottonian art—in the *Psalterium Egberti* and the *Codex Egberti*. The analysed and interpreted pictures are put in the context of the set of Christological miniatures found in liturgical books where the mentioned miniatures appear. It follows from the above statements that the figure of the ruler as one who listens to God's Word, and the figure of the ruler who is not a type of Christ, but should be shaped on the pattern of Christ, are the basic features of the contents of all the four miniatures.

Key words: miniatures; liturgy; consecration; ruler.

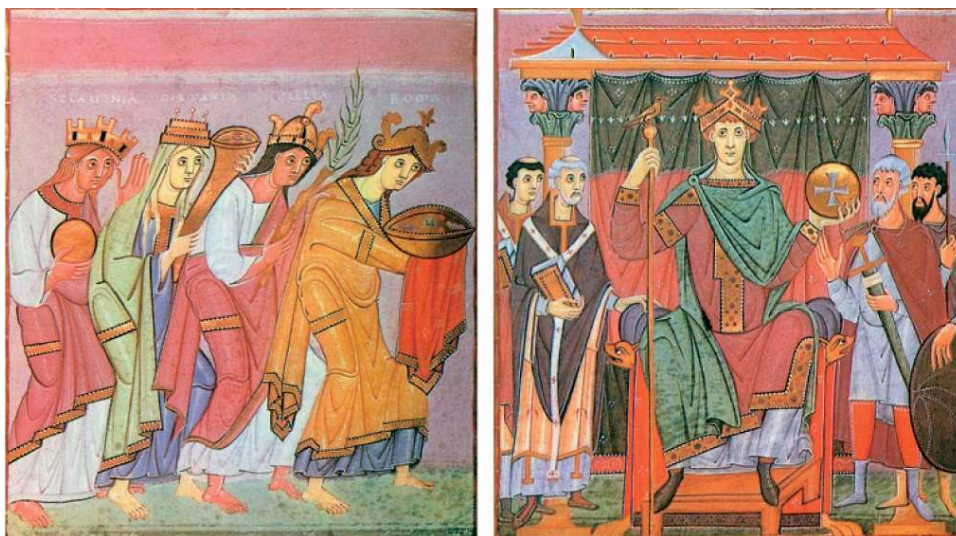
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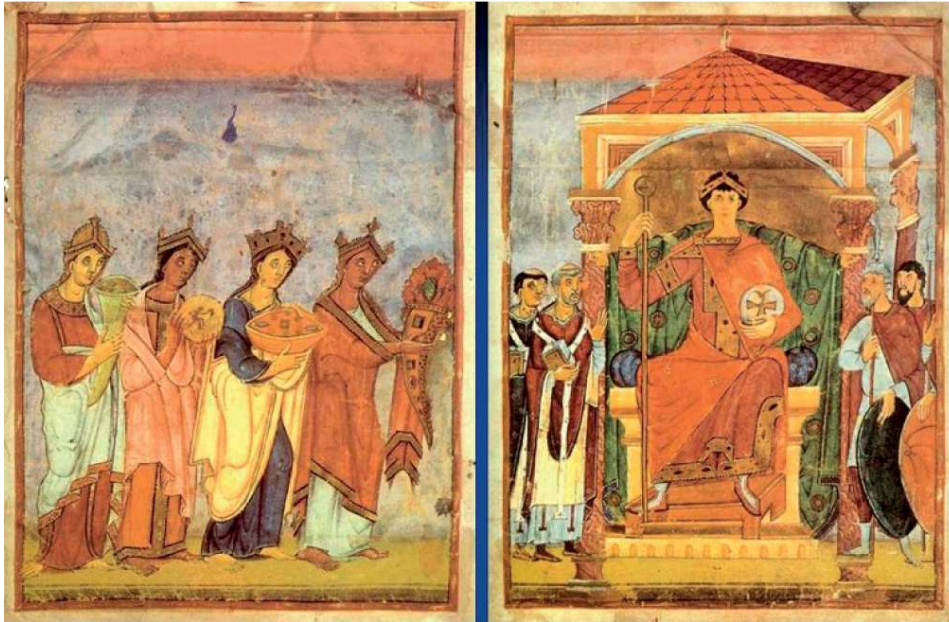
1. Otto II, *Registrum Gregorii* (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 14 chart excluded).



2. Otto III, Liuthar Gospels 16r, called Aachen Evangelary (Aachen, Domschatz).



3. Otto III and personifications of lands, 23v, 24r, so-called Gospels of Otto III (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4453).



4. Otto III and personifications of lands, 0v, 1r Evageliary, (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Class. 79).



5. Gregory the Great, *Registrum Gregorii* (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 171/1626).



6. Christ crowning Henry II, 11r, Sacrament Book of Henry II, 1002–14 (Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4456).



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