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# Statements in Stone: The Politics of Architecture in Charlemagne's Aachen

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Statements in Stone: The Politics of Architecture in Charlemagne's Aachen

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of the requirements for the degree of
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by

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# Abstract

Statements in Stone is an intersectional and preliminary study of the architecture and social aspects of the palatine complex of Aachen Germany during the reign of Charlemagne approximately spanning from the 790s to 814CE. The interplay between built space and its social uses inform the larger social understandings and interpretations of power and authority. Court poetry written by contemporaries and courtiers of Charlemagne allow readers to glimpse the court as it moved through and interacted with the built environment. Architectural precedents inform the connotations associated with the spaces of Aachen, while spatial theory will provide a framework for understanding the matter in which a society creates meaning out of social rituals and the importance of space in this process of this creation.

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Introduction

Aachen, Germany, is a town of nearly a quarter million residents according to the 2012 census. Roughly twelve hundred years ago, Charlemagne (ca. AD 748-814) and a group of enterprising individuals established a palace at Aachen, taking advantage of a few Roman buildings from earlier inhabitants. Only a fraction of this palace has been archaeologically recovered. An audience hall, gatehouse and chapel, connected by a two-storied gallery formed the nucleus of the establishment Charlemagne and his magnates built. One of these men was Angilbert (ca. AD 760-814), a trusted and essential individual who recorded aspects of court life at Aachen through poetry. An epistolary poem he wrote during an absence from the Carolingian court at Aachen takes its structure from the arrangement of the palace's buildings, revealing the degree to which these edifices penetrated the mind of one courtier. Angilbert's letter allows his audience to visualize the royal complex and highlights the importance placed on the palace's built environment, both its effect on perceptions of monarchical authority and on the creation of a Frankish aristocratic identity centered at the capital of the real[1] Using the literary devices of anthropomorphized musical pipe and letter, Angilbert leads his audience through Aachen by means of this poem's public recitation. This "talking letter" is equal parts salutation to members of Charlemagne's court and vivid description of a place familiar to its author, allowing him to guide the audience through the aula, solarium and chapel of the royal complex.

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[1]The complete poem may be found at MGH Poetae 1:360:363. My own translation, with consultation of Peter Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), pp. 150-175. For in-depth discussion of poem and its modalities; see Gillian R. Knight, "Talking Letter, Singing Pipe: Modalities of Performance at the Carolingian Court" *AHDLMA 79* (2012) 7-47. Angilbert's career included the positions of lay abbot of St. Riquier, court poet, and diplomat. His relationship with Charlemagne's daughter, Bertha, is well known. Their son, Nithard, wrote an account of the wars between Louis the Pious' sons. For more information about Angilbert, see Rosamond McKitterick *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). Especially Chapter 3, "The Royal Court" pgs. 137- 212

Angilbert's poem illuminates both the physical structures of the court and the social contexts of its courtiers. Poetry such as the verses penned by Angilbert allows historians to glimpse the social dimensions of court life. The spatial dimension of Charlemagne's governance is pivotal to understanding the political and social development of the Carolingian court and its evolving concepts of the nature of kingship, expectations and expressions of court life, and the physical bodies of palace inhabitants. Angilbert's talking letter displays hierarchies of bodies in spaces and the relationship between modes of performance of those bodies within the architecture of the palatine complex. Initially a student of the Anglo-Saxon scholar Alcuin (c. 735-804), Angilbert's career as courtier included several trips to Rome as an emissary to Pope Adrian I (r. 772-795) and eventually being named lay abbot of St. Riquier (c. 790). An intimate of the king and court, Angilbert shows his range of royal access from the public spaces such as the aula to the more private areas, including the gardens and rooms of the young daughters of Charlemagne. The roaming letter, a stand-in for the Angilbert's physical body, opens the entire space of the palace to his peripatetic eye.

Throughout the formal salutations in the poem, the author's pipe sings sweet verses of praise while detailing the appearance of the assembled courtiers. Angilbert describes Charlemagne as the love and lover of poets, "eager to ponder the secrets of holy wisdom."[2] The poet establishes a hierarchy of courtiers as he greets the eldest son, Charles, the "honor (*decus*) of the court," salutes his aunt Gisela, "God's holy virgin" and "distinguished sister" of Charlemagne, and then recognizes the daughters of the Frankish ruler in turn, until the young girls are all praised together.[3] Next, the letter acknowledges three palace officials, each bearing a pseudonym. The archchaplain is called Aaron,

[2] MGH Poetae I, p. 360-3. "Scrutarique sacrae gestit secreta sophiae" line 17. My translation.
[3] Ibid, "Tu decus es aulae" and "tu quoque sacra deo virgo, soror inclita David," respectively: lines 35, 38

the High Priest of Israel, who bears the "ephod, the holy fire, to the altars."[4] The piping letter then calls out to two courtiers, Menalcas and Thyrsis, named after characters in Virgilian pastoral poetry, who share a love of verse. The recitation of Angilbert's poem was performed in a public place with the named individuals in attendance. In his letter, Angilbert describes the palace inhabitants in their own spatial context.

The author shifts from pipe to letter halfway through the poem, commanding his messenger to perform certain actions and to travel to specific places within the palace. Ordered to prostrate itself at the feet of Charlemagne, the letter is both messenger and offering of the poet's gifts while he himself is away from court. The letter journeys through the palace as Angilbert reconstructs the spaces and people who make up the royal complex at Aachen. Forms of address and degrees of deference change multiple times within the poem. When approaching Charlemagne, the letter kisses the ruler's feet in contrast to the attentive tone the letter adopts with the young boys in the gardens, whom its verses formally instruct. Angilbert commands his missive to "see the beautiful flowers growing from the healthy grass, whether they do well [and] whether they grow abundantly."[5] The palace's different spaces condition the human agents in motion there as to the structures of court protocol as well as the ways in which to address diverse audiences.

This thesis argues that the palace of Aachen represents an amalgamation of ancient symbols of authority collated into a single architectural statement expressing distinct messages to specific audiences and conveying political, theological, and cosmological ideologies of Charlemagne and his

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[4] Ibid, "Tu portas effoth, sacrumque altaribus ignem," line 59
[5] MGH Poetae I. pg. 363. cerne salutifero pulchros de gramine flores, si bene se teneant, cresceant se germine laeto

magnates.[6] The Royal Frankish Annals record the first mention of a royal dwelling in this location in 765.  The site originally served as a hunting lodge for King Pippin III.[7] This lodge was located on an ancient Roman villa, featuring thermal baths in three identifiably distinct architectural phases. Aachen was not a site of crucial importance on the Merovingian political map; Charlemagne may have chosen to center his court there both because of the presence of the thermal springs and to make a statement about his regime being different from and superior to that of his Merovingian predecessors. Four hundred and twenty kilometers northeast of Paris, the former epicenter of Merovingian political rule, Aachen sat in the ancestral power base of the Carolingians and was centered on immense land-holdings in the Meuse-Moselle river basin.[8] Close to a pivotal intersection

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[6] For the palace of Aachen see: Charles B. McClendon, *The Origins of Medieval Architecture: Building in Europe, A.D. 600-900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005) esp. pgs 105-127, Ernst Gunther Grimme, *Der Dom Zu Aachen: Architectur und Austattung,* (Aachen: Einhard Press, 1994), esp. pgs. 13-84. See John Onians *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988) esp. pgs 59-113 Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of A European Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), esp. pgs 157-171, Uwe Lobbedey "Carolingian Royal Palaces: The State of Research from an Architectural Historian's Viewpoint" in *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference* ed. Catherine Cubitt (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2003) Richard Krautheimer "Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* Vol. 5 (1942) pp. 1-33 Richard Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture" *The Art Bulletin,* Vol 24. No. 1 (1942), pp 1-38, John Mitchell, "The Power of Patronage and the Iconography of Quality in the Era of 774" in *774, Ipotesti su una Transizione,* ed. S. Gasparri (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2008). Ross Samson "Carolingian Palaces and the Poverty of Ideology" in *Meaningful Architecture: Social Interpretations of Buildings* ed. Martin Locock.(Avebury: Aldershot, 1994), Janet L. Nelson, "Aachen as a Place of Power" in *Courts, Elites, and Gendered Power in the Early Middle Ages: Charlemagne and Others.* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), Stuart Airlie "The Palace of Memory: The Carolingian Court as Political Center" in *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones, Richard Marks, and A.J. Minnis (York:York Medieval Press, 2000) Mayke De Jong "Charlemagne's Balcony: The *Solarium* in Ninth-Century Narratives" in *The Long Morning of Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies* ed. Jennifer Davies and Michael McCormick. (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008)

[7]  MGH SS. rer. Germ. 6, pg. 22. (Hannover, 1895) "Tunc Pippinus rex placitum suum habuit ad Attiniacum et nullum fecit aliud iter. Et celebravit natalem Domini in Aquis villa et pascha similiter. Et inmutavit se numerus annorum in 766.

[8] Patrick Geary, *Before France and Germany: The Creation and Transformation of the Merovingian World* (Oxford:Oxford University Press, 1988) pg. 156. McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a*

of Roman roads within the Ardenne forest and in proximity to major rivers connecting the realm, Aachen was logistically well-situated. A place that Charlemagne could make his own, Aachen's landscape was faintly marked by a Roman past as evidenced by the baths, but had little in the way of the lingering memories of Merovingian kings. Charlemagne layered architectural precedents onto Aachen's unblemished canvas, building an innovative statement of Carolingian authority.[9]

The architecture, iconography, and rituals of Aachen were interdependent aspects that both created and reinforced the message of Charlemagne's royal authority. The physical and mental constructions as well as the social use of spaces in the palace were intricately connected; they were the means by which inhabitants made sense of their immediate reality and surroundings. An individual's sensory information was processed almost simultaneously and subconsciously through their Frankish cultural framework that assigned meaning and dictated behavioral norms. This complex process of receiving, interpreting, and reacting to stimuli is pivotal to the understanding of spatial manipulation of the royal site and its effects on social behavior within this palace complex.

An investigation of the architecture, its relationship to the artistic program, and the social function of the palace will bring the reader to a more dynamic understanding of the spatial inflections of the complex. Social behavior is bounded by culturally defined rhythms and actions; these rhythms also include changes in space as the cycle of courtly activity progresses. Charlemagne's voice, gaze, and body in the spaces of the palace as encapsulated in the textual sources can be placed within the material confines these texts describe. The positioning of Charlemagne's physical body in the spaces of the palatine complex separates it into distinct spaces defined by their function. The court's performances of governance and daily lives enacted within the

_European Identity,_ pg. 182
[9] Nelson, _"Aachen as a Place of Power"_, pg. 8

palace imbue Charlemagne's and his courtiers' bodies with cosmological, political and social meaning. Moving throughout these three spaces, aula, solarium, and chapel, Charlemagne's spiritual obligation to God, his political relationships with his court and other rulers, and his interactions among palace inhabitants shift according to circumstance.

The study of the Carolingian nobility has long been framed in terms of their efficacy of governance, describing the court of the so-called Dark Ages as an unstable social construct, an ever changing and fluid social group without a singularly important and fixed center.[10] These constructs of the historiography downplay the material spaces the court inhabited because of the itinerant nature ascribed to the Carolingian dynasty and aristocracy. Rather than incorporating the spaces in which historical figures acted into their work, historians tend to gravitate toward the abstract and disembodied when describing social actions, such as hearing of cases or the education of noble youth. The spaces accommodating these activities produced culturally specific somatic expectations and limitations. A lack of critical engagement with space typifies the divide occurring within the historiographical tradition. In the publication from the first Alcuin conference of 2002, early medieval historians who specialize in the early medieval court came together to discuss several societies.[11] Essays published from this conference describe the Carolingian court as a gendered, disciplinary and intellectually productive group. One essay covers the material context within which these constructions of the court took place while others investigate the social practices of the court. The essays concerned with the function of the court do not engage in an in-depth analysis of space, however. Likewise, the focus of the essay concerning the material space does not investigate the social use of these buildings beyond mere description, treating these spaces as passive backdrops to

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[10] See note 6.

[11] Cubbit, *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages*

the human behaviors occurring within them. Historians of the Carolingian era are not sensitive to the benefits spatial theory provides when attempting to understand and explain Carolingian culture.

Aachen was the epicenter for the redefinition of cultural identity in the reign of Charlemagne. The royal site clearly defined the intellectual and social expectations of its inhabitants. The events that took place within the palace strengthened royal authority by primarily social and oral avenues of communication. Law, court life, art, and architecture have all been studied individually in the attempt to solve the complex problem of the court and its importance to Charlemagne's reign.[12] By investigating these expressions of royal authority in the spatial contexts in which they were created, the disciplines of history, art and architectural history are no longer divided by academic inquiry, but must be united in the interpretation of the rhythmic cycle of daily life within the palace. The spaces of governance aid in the efficacy of rule through their ability to enthrall the senses and memory of spectators and historical actors alike. The preeminence given to textual evidence within Carolingian history projects onto these sources a modern dependence on the written word.[13] Court poetry, capitularies and royal biography discussing the palace indicate members of the aristocracy were acutely aware of their built surroundings, but their written words obscure the essential role of space in the formation of a court identity.

Each space represented a staging ground for specific functions in the performance of rule. Figure One, below, is a reconstruction of the palace from archaeological evidence. The following spaces can be seen from right to left: the aula, connected by a two-story vaulted walkway through

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[12] For the separation of these endeavors and the unintentional effects it can have see James J. Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory: New Perspectives on the Past.* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992) especially 1-23.

[13] D.H. Green *Medieval Reading and Listening: The Primary Reception of German Literature 800-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

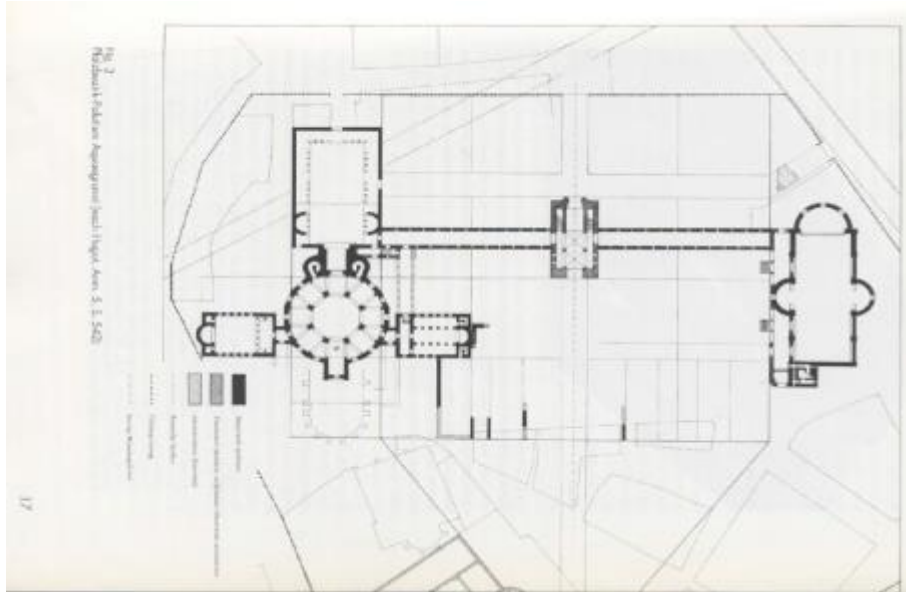the solarium and into the atrium and a centrally-planned chapel.



Figure One is a plan of the Palatine Complex. [14]

The aula was a large, aisle-less structure with a semi-circular apse at its west end measuring 47.42 meters in length and 20.76 meters in width. Modeled on Roman imperial basilicas, this monumental building housed the temporal performances of governance, such as assemblies and great feasts of state.[15] Apsidal half domes, or conches, on the north and south sides of the building recall Roman dining alcoves, or *triclinia*, which served as banqueting and dining spaces for their aristocratic patrons. Collective dining in these *triclinia* presented an occasion to exercise power, allowing hosts to flaunt their wealth and status through the food, utensils and company on display.

The majority of the aula has been built over in succeeding centuries, but aspects of the palatine building remain in the surviving east tower and the eastern wall. Charlemagne's aula

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[14] Grimme, *Der Dom zu Aachen,* 17

[15] While there are no textual sources that place these actions directly within the confines of the aula, assemblies and feasts occurred at Aachen. For more description and analysis see the following chapter.

centered the governance of the Carolingian realm at Aachen with profound effects on later political regimes. Now the Aachen Rathaus, or city-hall, this space has retained its governmental function through several permutations of architecture.[16] Unfortunately, no record or remnant of the artistic program of the interior from Charlemagne's reign has been discovered.

It is a reasonable hypothesis that the aula, the theater of the public voice, functioned to frame the recitation of poetry, law and other governmental acts. The aula had many functions, but was primarily used by Charlemagne for governance of the realm. In this space it was his voice that was the means of rule. He created the authority and power by proclaiming the law, its sound making written words spoken realities. The textual facet of this social action commemorated and codified the business of regular assemblies for magnates and their clerical counterparts.[17]

Before the pronouncement and recording of law, courtiers possibly gathered in an adjacent space to discuss Charlemagne's decisions and statements. Following the architectural spine of the palace, a two-storied gallery constituted the main axis of the structure with a gatehouse occupying its central space (see Figure One). This building's second story may have functioned as Charlemagne's

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[16] Five major building projects have taken place on this site in Aachen. Beginning in the early fourteenth century a gothic structure was built using the foundation walls of Charlemagne's aula. After a great fire in 1656, aspects of the building were replaced in the Baroque style from 1727-1732. By the 1840s the Rathaus had fallen into disrepair and was restored again from 1847-1861. The artistic decoration featured frescoes of Charlemagne's life and is one important example of late Romantic style in Germany. A fire in 1883 heavily damaged the second floor and towers. The building survived the first World War with no damage, but was severely damaged by ransacking separatists of the Rhenish Republic who destroyed both furniture and frescoes. Bombing raids in 1943 and 1944 caused catastrophic damage. The heat within the building twisted the steel and changed the shape of the towers. Reconstruction of the hall was completed by 1953 and the towers were completed in 1978.

[17] Cristina Pössel, "Authors and Recipients of Carolingian capitularies 779-829" in *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*. ed Richard Corradini, Rob Meens, Cristina Pössel and Phillip Shaw. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akadamie der Wisschenshaften, 2006. Innes, *State and Society,* pp.165-241 especially. Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne* pp. 214-288.

solarium with an east to west orientation giving an abundance of sunlight throughout the day. In the

Plan of St. Gall, the abbot's house was also oriented east to west, with a sitting room (*mansio*)

attached to his sleeping quarters. The abbot's house was flanked by porticos to the north and

south.[18] An exclusively royal chamber, Charlemagne exercised surveillance over his courtiers and the

palace as a whole from its lofty walls and balcony.[19] More private than the aula or chapel, the

solarium likely acted as a place of exclusive conversation and business.[20] Measuring thirty meters by

fifteen, the gatehouse was an imposing structure, especially in conjunction with the walkway

connecting the three central buildings of palace, facilitating control over the movements of

inhabitants through the ritualized spaces of the aula and chapel. The walkway was an one hundred

and twenty meter, two-storied structure built of stone on the first level with a timber second story,

as was the planned abbot's house of St. Gall.[21] As with the aula, no record of its interior decoration

remains. Its architectural inspirations span the range of imperial constructions, such as triumphal

arches, gatehouses, and imperial viewing stands (*pulvinares*).[22] Archaeologists uncovered the

foundations of the two-storied walkway that connected the aula, solarium and chapel, during

excavations conducted in the 1960s.[23] The two-storied gallery formed the defining axis of the palace

complex and the entire town. Reminiscent of the walkways between buildings in the Lateran Palace

in Rome, these galleries formed the backbone of Charlemagne's compound, visibly connecting the

three stages of governance.[24]

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[18] Horn and Born, *The Plan of St. Gall* pg. 315.
[19] De Jong,"Charlemagne's Balcony" in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe*
[20] Dutton, *Charlemagne's Mustache,* especially "Whispering Secrets to a Dark Age, pp. 129-150.
[21] Horn and Born, *The Plan of St. Gall* pg. 318.
[22] McClendon, *Origins*, pg. 121.
[23] Ibid, 115.
[24] Ibid, 105-127.

The royal solarium was a place of surveillance, both in terms of its architectural plan and the enduring legacy of Charlemagne. Seventy years after Charlemagne's death, Notker Balbulus(c. 840-912), a monk of St. Gall, penned a life of Charlemagne at the behest of his namesake, Charles the Bald. He cast Charlemagne as the watchful abbot, who "could see through the railing of his solarium what anyone who was entering or leaving was doing."[25] Successive generations perceived this semi-mythical ruler, embodied through the architecture, as defining ideal rule. In the aula, Charlemagne viewed his court while deciding cases; in the solarium his gaze controlled the entire palace courtyard. Within the chapel, Charlemagne watched carefully to ensure correct prayer and ritual practice of the congregation.

Of the three structures examined in here, only the palatine chapel is extant, albeit with substantial additions and several phases of renovation.[26] The most complex of the stone buildings of the palace, this Marian church is composed of a centrally planned octagonal core surrounded by a hexadecagonal drum. Charlemagne's throne sits in a niche framed by columns on the second floor in the west, paralleling the Savior altar in the east. This apocalyptic scene explains the cosmological relationship between Charlemagne as shepherd of his earthly flock liable to Christ for his people at the Last Judgment and the deity. Charlemagne re-used materials from Rome and Ravenna in his chapel, and this spolia was important for the interpretation of the palace held among courtiers.

Ravenna's long and contested history in the early Middle Ages likely contributed to Charlemagne's interest in its material splendor. The Ostrogothic king, Theoderic (AD 454- 526),

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[25] MGH SSrerGerm. NS., pg. 41. it ipse per cancellos solarii sui cincta, posset videre, quecumque ab intrantibus vel exeuntibus quasi latenter fierent. My own translation.

[26] The gothic choir was added in the completed in 1355. Aachen chapel has a sizable treasury. The shrine of Charlemagne is a magnificent specimen of German goldsmithing talent. The decoration of the Aachen chapel has undergone three separate phases. The original mosaic program has been lost, but sketches survive and were the basis of the current program.

built a palace in Ravenna, which then functioned as his primary seat of rule. Educated in

Constantinople during his stay as political hostage, Theoderic forged a close relationship with the

Byzantine emperor Zeno (425-491), who sent the Ostrogoth to subdue the errant King of Italy,

Odoacer (433-493) in 488. By 493, Theoderic controlled Ravenna and had killed Odoacer. In the

middle of the sixth century, the Ostrogothic kingdom established by Theoderic fell to Byzantine

forces, and Ravenna became the center of Byzantine influence on the Italian peninsula, lasting until

751, when the last exarch Eutychius died at the hands of Lombards. Charlemagne had the bronze

equestrian statue of the Ostrogothic king brought to Aachen, where it stood in  in the courtyard in

front of the chapel. The columns Charlemagne took from Ravenna carry physical weight and

symbolic meaning, upholding a new church and kingdom with the authority of antiquity.

As the church of Charlemagne's capital, the Virgin Mary basilica serves as the example  for

all sacred spaces in the empire as to the  efficacy of correct worship and devotion.[27] Measuring one

hundred and forty-four Carolingian feet in diameter the chapel prefigures the Heavenly Jerusalem

that all Christians will enter upon their accession into the heavenly court.[28] A conscious parallel of

Christ and Charlemagne plays out through the didactic iconography. Christ sits in his throne of

Judgment surrounded by the elders of the apocalypse in the mosaic of the dome. Twenty-four elders

surround Christ, genuflecting in adoration.  Designed to heighten Charlemagne's visual and aural

supervision of the priests and canons celebrating Mass through his physical position within space,

the chapel articulates the cosmological relationship and hierarchy of the divine and temporal realms.

While the sacred chapel was a unifying space in the palace, it was far outnumbered by

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[27] Mayke De Jong, "Charlemagne's Church" in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna Story, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005),pgs. 103-136.
[28] BSV REvelation 21:17 Et mensus est murum eius centem quadraginta quator cubitum, mensura hominis, quae est angeli. The length of a Carolingian foot is 33.3 cm, McClendon, *Origins,* p. 109.

profane elements. Angilbert's letter visits several vital locations which were the domain of privileged courtiers and the royal family but the entire palatial complex was much larger and contained many different spaces. The mansions of the magnates, the rooms of Charlemagne's regiment of daughters, and the quarters for numerous servants were likely constructed of timber and, while absent from the archaeological record, they are attested to in textual sources across genres. Aachen also sported a hunting park where Charlemagne led the court on the chase of wild prey and, at times, entertained foreign emissaries. Generations of rulers enjoyed the large thermal baths on this site. Einhard, a prominent courtier and lay abbot, (c. AD 770-840), informs us that Charlemagne loved to swim and converse with his magnates in the pool.[29] This palace and its surrounding town had fluid boundaries, swelling with visitors as the season and the king's presence permitted.

Angilbert's letter is one of three written by Charlemagne's courtiers in which the palace and its inhabitants structure the poem throughout. An accomplished court poet and active statesman, Angilbert was named lay abbot of St. Riquier, and he served in this capacity from approximately 789- 790. Angilbert's case was unique, however, because of his relationship with the king's daughter, Bertha. She bore him two children, one of whom was Nithard, a layman, whose history of the fratricidal war following the death of Charlemagne's son Louis the Pious illustrates the turmoil of a fractured nobility and royal family.[30]

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[29] MGH, SSrerGerm. 1-60. For an in-depth introduction to Einhard and his works see Paul Edward Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier: The Complete Einhard* (Broadview Press: Ontario, 1998) especially "An Introduction to Einhard".

[30] For a thorough introduction to Nithard and his writings, see Bernhard Walter Scholz and Barbara Rogers-Gardner's *Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories.* (Ann Arbor Paperbacks: Ann Arbor, 1970). For the reign of Louis the Pious as a historiographical subject, see Courtney Booker, *Past Convictions: The Penance of Louis the Pious and the Decline of the Carolingians,* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009) For Louis the Pious' reign and its effects on Carolingian culture, see Mayke De Jong *The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814-840,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) For the reign of Louis the

Another such poet, courtier and diplomat was Theodulf of Orléans. As bishop of Orléans from AD 788, he worked to improve the behavior of all his flock, and, as an emissary of Charlemagne, he railed against the moral snares encountered by judges.[31] Theodulf's Carmina 25 is an imaginative work within the same epistolary genre as Angilbert's talking poem. Theodulf's poem commemorates the festivities held in the palace to celebrate the defeat of the Avars in 795.

In Theodulf's poem, he gently poke fun at an influential Anglo-Saxon. Alcuin's presence within the Carolingian kingdom highlights the depth of devotion Charlemagne was capable of evoking from his closest courtiers. First encountered in the historical record in AD 767 as a master of the York school, Alcuin met Charlemagne in Parma in 781. Flaccus, as he was called by the court, died in 804 at the monastery of St. Martin of Tours, which was granted to him by Charlemagne in 794. Alcuin was a close mentor to pupils of various backgrounds, and his poetry reveals these relationships to be long-lasting and attentive on his part.[32] Alcuin's presence at court from 786 until his journey to Northumbria from AD 790-793 cannot be confirmed with certainty, but Theodulf's treatment of him within Carmina 25 suggests that Alcuin was present at Aachen.[33] Despite its abrupt ending, Alcuin's epistolary poem sheds light on the personnel of court and his rapport with his fellow courtiers and their collective patron.

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German (Louis the Pious' son) see Eric Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817-876* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006). See also Janet Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1986).

[31] *Capitula ad prebyteros parochiae suae* Patrologia Latina 105 Cols. 191-208 for translation see Paul Edward Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader.* pgs 94- 105.

[32] Some of his pupils include Angilbert, Hraban Maur, Gisela who was both Abbess of Chelles and Charlemagne's sister, and Einhard.

[33] MGH Poetae 1:162 Sit praesto et Flaccus, nostrorum gloria vatum,  qui potis est lyrico multa boare pede quique potens sensu, quique potens opere est. Contrast this with an affirmed absence from court when skipping over Angilbert (Homer) Dulce melos canerem tibi, ni, absens, dulcis Homere, Esses sed quoniam es, hinc mea Musa tacet. See also Donald A. Bullough, "Unsettled At Aachen" , in *Court Culture*  ed. Catherine Cubitt. pg. 21.

Across the range of genre and author, the spaces of the palace inform the audience of aspects of court life and the power of the king over his domain. . Texts, like the verses penned by Angilbert, could function as prompts for memory and were routinely performed for audiences. Courtiers created new genres, or variations of classical literary styles, meant for consumption by the small and erudite audience of their peers.[34] The exact amount of time these courtiers spent together at the palace of Aachen is unknown, and surviving evidence suggests they wrote prolifically, as their missives provided a proxy in their absence. Each knew and was influenced by another's work. Collectively and separately, they created textual representations of the Aachen palace, and thus produced this space anew with each performance of their work.

The relationships between these powerful statesmen reveal the tight connections fostered within Charlemagne's court. Alcuin was Angilbert's teacher and mentor, and in his epistolary poem, the Anglo-Saxon poet promises another letter, "especially dedicated to you, Homer," upon their reunion at court.[35] In each instance, these poems are a means of being present while absent through the performance of verse. Each poem memorializes the author's recollection of the spatial boundaries of the palace; this awareness is evident through their careful deployment of characters within space and their actions.[36] These connections were specifically staged within a firm spatial context. In a nostalgic and melancholic poem Alcuin writes of his departure from the court and laments the changes of personnel within the palace.

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[34] For an in-depth look at one poet's approach to a classical poetic genre, see James Whitta's 'Ille Ego Naso: Modoin of Autun's Ecologues and the 'Renovatio' of Ovid', *Latomus* pg 703-731 (2002). See also Knight, 'Talking Letter Singing Pipe'.

[35] MGH Poetae 1:245:246 Fistula tunc Flacci proprium tibi carmen, Homere iam faciet, tu dum sacram redieris ad aulam.

[36] Four manifestations of spatial awareness: behavior, orientation within space, aesthetic sense of space and auditory spatial awareness which enhances experience of music and voice. See Blesser and Salter, *Spaces Speak, Are you Listening?* pg. 27.

In you the gentle voices of teachers could once be heard expounding with their hallowed lips the books of Wisdom. In you at set times holy praise of God resounded from peaceful minds in peaceful words. For you, my cell, I now lament with tearful poetry; groaning, I bewail at heart your decline. For you suddenly fled from the songs of the poets and a stranger's hand now has you in its grasp. You shall belong neither to Flaccus not to Homer the poet, and no boys sing songs under your roof.[37]

Alcuin's lament for his cell has been variously interpreted as referring to his cell at Tours, York, or the palace of Aachen, but his use of palace pseudonyms indicates his audience was comprised of fellow courtiers who would have been familiar with both the space and inhabitants of the royal complex. This poem begins with a description of the pastoral grounds generally, narrowing to his cell and community after evoking a sense of place. Instruction and prayer ordered Alcuin's day, as did his fellow teachers and students. His concerns about the palace school were in part because his students, including Angilbert, who was increasingly absent from court, had grown up and had departed the palace. The next generation of courtiers increasingly replaced Alcuin's circle of friends and his pensive poetry encapsulates an aging courtier's perspective on his own obsolescence.

Poetry's unique rules of genre aid in fleshing out aspects of court life not recorded in the annals or other literary or legal texts. Court officials who rarely appear in other sources can be glimpsed through poetry in their social roles within the palace. Two courtiers already mentioned, nicknamed Menalcas and Thrysis, appear in all three epistolary poems.[38] Framed by the space of the

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[37] MGH Poetae 1: 243 in te personuit quondam vox alma magistri quae sacro sophiae tradidit ore libros. in te temporibus certis laus sancta tonantis pacificis sonuit vocibus atque animis. Te, mea cella, modo lacrimosis plango camaenis atque gemens casus pectore fugisti carmina vatum/ atque ignota manus te modo tota tenet. Te modo nec Flaccus ne vatis Homer habebit. nec pueri musas per tua tecta canunt. There is a good deal of controversy over the location of Alcuin's cell in this poem. For other interpretations see McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 140, note 6.

[38] MGH Poetae 1:361.Thrisis amat versus, dicamus carmine Thrisin ardua quippe fides canuto vertice fulget Fulget amor Thirsin quapropter pectore puro. alma fides Thirsin faciet quoque David carum. Surge, meis caris dulces fac, fistula, versus! Uvibus imbrifero veniet de monte Menalcas, ut legat hos versus aulae condignus amore, dignus amor rutilat vatorum in corde Menalce. Translation: Thrysis loves verses, let us speak of Thrysis in song. For his lofty faith shines from his white locks.

palace and the motif of performance, these panegyric poems emphasize the king's palatial community.

The prose texts of Charlemagne's reign are also invaluable sources of information concerning the mechanics of governance as well as the crafting of the king's legacy for future generations. Several types of governmental documents conveyed royal authority through their promulgation and dissemination throughout the realm. Capitularies largely fall into two groups, those addressing specific subjects such as *De Villis*, concerning the efficient management of the royal estates, and those addressing a wide range of topics, such as the first extant capitulary of Charlemagne's reign, the Capitulary of Herstal. *De Villis* catalogues the duties of the stewards of royal estates and lists the provisions for maintaining gardens and animals. In addition to overseeing the estate in his charge, "Every steward is to take pains over anything he has to provide for our table, so that everything he gives is good and of the best quality, and as carefully and cleanly

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Thrysis' love glows from his pure heart. His sweet faith will make him dear to David. Arise, pipe, and make sweet verse for my dear ones. Menalcas will come dripping from the rainy mountain to read these verses and earn the court's affections.
MGH Poetae 1:246. Perpetuum valeat Thyrsis simul atque Menalca,  Ipse Menalca coquos nigra castiget in aula, ut calidos habeat Flaccus per fercula pultes. Translation: May Thrysis and Menalcas always be well, and Menalcas chide the cooks in the black hall so that Flaccus has hot porridge in regular courses.
MGH Poetae 1:488.Thrysis ad obsequium semper sit promptus herile, strenuus et velox sit pede, corde, manu, Pluraque suscipiat hince inde precantia verba, istaque dissimulet, audiat illa libens, and: pomiflua sollers veniat de sede Menalcas sudorem abstergens frontis ab arce manu quam saepe ingrediens, pistorum sive coquorum vallatus cuneis, ius synodale gerit. prudenter qui cuncta gerens epulsaque depesque regis honoratum deferat ante thronum Translation: May Thrysis always be ready to carry out his master's commandments, swift and energetic in step, heart and hand. Let him listen to many words of entreaty from all sides, may he dissemble at some and hear others willingly… Let clever Menalcas some from his estate that is rich in apples, wiping with his hand the sweat of his curved brow. Often entering, surrounded by serried rows of bakers and cooks, he lays down the lay as though in a synod. Organizing everything wisely, let him serve food for the feast before the king's honored throne. Translations courtesy of Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* pgs. 117, 121 and 157, respectively.

prepared as possible."[39] Charlemagne begins the Capitulary of Herstal by reminding metropolitan

and suffragan bishops that they ought to "receive corrections with a willing mind," and then

proceeds to provide the aforementioned corrections in the subsequent twenty-two capitula.[40] While

each expresses ideas of the extent and force of royal prerogative, the Capitulary of Herstal deals

extensively with ecclesiastical and trade matters while *De Villis* catalogs the correct means of running

royal estates.

In addition to the capitularies, an established literary genre known since Roman Antiquity

was used by Carolingian authors in order to prod, with varying degrees of finesse, their kings into

action that the authors felt necessary. These "mirrors for princes" take many forms, but all reveal

insights into the ideal management of self, court, and kingdom. Hincmar's (806-882) *On the*

*Governance of the Palace* elucidates social practices of assemblies and service at court and the

expectations placed upon inhabitants. Hincmar's tract is a fundamental text for Carolingian kings

and their historians alike.[41] His introduction to the court under Abbot Hilduin's care in 822  spanned

several decades and kingdoms. He was a close advisor to Charles the Bald and in 845 became the

archbishop of Reims. Hincmar wrote *De Ordine Palatii* for Carloman upon his ascension to the

throne of Western Francia in 882. In this work, Hincmar carefully explains the manner in which the

palace should be organized, the personnel required and their duties. A treatise written by Adalhard,

another lifelong courtier, served as the basis of Hincmar's administrational work. During assemblies,

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[39] MGH Cap 1:83:90 Quicquid ad discum nostrum dare debet, unusquisque iudex in sua habeat plebio, qualiter bona et optima atque bene studiose et nitide omnia sint conposita quicquid dederint.
[40]MGH. Cap 1:46:51 libenti animo emendent atque corrigant. Both capitularies are translated in *The Reign of Charlemagne: Documents on Carolingian Government and Administration* H.R. Loyn and John Percival, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975) pgs 47-49 and 64-73 respectively.
[41]MGH Fontes 3:33:96 Trans. By Paul Edward Dutton in *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader, Second Edition,* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2009) pgs 516-532 For a discussion of authorship see McKitterick, *Charlemagne,* pgs. 142-145.

the court's population swelled far beyond the stable ranks of court officials.

A courtier and close friend of Charlemagne Einhard wrote of his long tenure at court, meticulously describing both the practice of governance and the palaces in which they occurred. Einhard's *Vita Karoli* is the first extant secular biography of a ruler since the Roman Empire. Charlemagne's biographer took inspiration from classical prototypes, especially Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*. Relying also on Roman means of displaying imperial authority, Einhard portrayed Charlemagne as a law-giving king who concerned himself always with the safety and beauty of his realm. Einhard writes that Charlemagne built "the most beautiful chapel, adorning it with gold and silver, with lamps, railings and doors of solid bronze," parallelling the language of the *Liber Pontificalis*. [42] Aachen's program of art and architecture reflected Charlemagne's desire to display his authority in the manner of great kings and emperors before him. While the chapel continues to be the best documented building of the three currently under investigation, its material splendor was probably commensurate with that of the aula and solarium.

Questions of authorship and troublesome transmission throughout long lives plague the extant textual works from this period. In the case of the capitularies, no original copy remains extant.[43] Each of these works presents an ideal and the gulf between that ideal and the reality is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to grasp. The particular situation regarding the creation of the text has been lost, and with it the ability to understand accurately and completely the complex intentions of authors. The architectural and archaeological evidence has also suffered the ravages of time, with only one building still standing in its entirety; therefore, the stages of the palace are

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[42] MGH SSrerGerm: 30 ac propter hoc plurimae pulchritudinis basilicam Aquisgrani exstruxit auroque et argento et luminaribus atque ex aere solido cancellis et ianuis adornavit.
[43] McKitterick, *Charlemagne,* pg. 232.

rendered mute as to their original appearance and harmony with one another. Archaeological

practices too have changed dramatically since the excavations of Aachen began in the 1920s,

especially after the advent of the "New Archeology" of the 1960s, when Aachen was last excavated.

Practitioners of this "New Archeology" sought to apply anthropological concepts to material

findings.[44] The University of Aachen has partnered with the city to conduct extensive archaeological

digs on the site of the palace with a tentative date of publication in 2016.   The project seeks to

rectify the long lapse in the archaeological investigation of Charlemagne's capital. [45] The research will

hopefully produce the first computer model of these buildings incorporating archaeological records,

archival material, and the extant structures into a chronological format, allowing researchers to view

the palace throughout its different manifestations. This breakthrough in research will offer historians

of the Carolingian era a richer understanding of Charlemagne's capital.

Like every monument constructed by a powerful regime, Aachen is an expression of power:

over materials, people and political discourse. Charlemagne's chief palace represented his mark on

the Frankish topography, encapsulating the monarch's desire to disassociate himself from the

Merovingian past. Aachen stood as another chapter within the larger context of a historical, cultural,

and cosmological saga. Churchman Florus of Lyon (c.810-860) wrote fondly of a united empire

during the strife among Charlemagne's three grandsons in the 840s:

The excellent realm, its diadem sparkling, once prospered; there was a single prince

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[44] Lobbedey, "Carolingian Palaces" Grimme, *Der Dom zu Aachen*, Fentress and Wickham, *Social Reproduction*, John Moreland, "Archaeology and Texts: Subservience or Enlightenment" *Annual Review of Anthropology* Vol. 35 (2006) pgs. 135-151.

[45] Today, the fact that documentation of the original basic building fabric is still lacking and that the processing of the results from earlier excavations and the traditional written sources is rather inadequate, leaves much to be desired.- University of Aachen Palace Research Website: http://arch.rwth-aachen.de/cms/Architektur/Forschung/Verbundforschung/Cultural-Heritage/~cbjv/Pfalzenforschung-in-Aachen/lidx/1/.

and one people as his subjects, both laws and judges did credit to every city, our citizens lived in peace, our might frightened the enemy away.[46]

Florus parallels the health of the capital with that of the realm as a whole. The peace of Frankish citizens was dependent on the crowning achievement of Charlemagne, a testimony to his rule and legacy. Florus' verses characterize the reign of Charlemagne as a Golden Age of order and prosperity predicated on the unity of power and its correct deployment at the center that emanated outwards, enveloping the entire kingdom.

The court designed an entire architectural complex to house and manifest authority, and the material theater of court activity should be as carefully considered as the written evidence. Carolingian political identity depended on the material realm which monarchs and magnates dynamically shaped to express their intentions. Architectural success is not based solely on the soundness of a structure, but also on its ability to create social identity through the spatial practices of a group of historical players. Carolingian historians have typically eschewed both architecture and poetry in favor of legal and narrative texts in order to recover incontrovertible facts about this only partially understood dynasty. This thesis utilizes both types of underappreciated sources to glean ephemeral social information about the interactions of the court. Together, architecture and poetry illuminate the vibrancy of the inhabitants of the palace, from the jocular tone of a feast to the somber awe inspired within the chapel to the melancholic reflections of an aging courtier. Investigating space through various sources expands the historical imagination, coloring authors with emotion, wit, and humor, while grounding social action within firm boundaries.

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[46] MGH Poetae 2:561. Floruit egregium claro diademate regnum, princeps unus erat, populus quoque subitus unus, lex simul et judex totas ornaverat urbes, pax cives tenuit, virtus exterruit hostes.

Refusal to accept the dynamic nature of the palace and its effects on those who lived and labored within its confines amounts to denying this space its function. Charlemagne resided at Aachen regularly during his reign and for the majority of his last four years as emperor. Therefore, his presence marks Aachen as an unequivocal center of the Carolingian Empire. Charlemagne's sedentary retirement changed the manner in which governance occurred, both at court and throughout the realm. Historians of early medieval courts have shrugged Aachen off as an outlier of medieval behavior, but during the last years of Charlemagne's life the site defined a standard of courtliness that would become prevalent in the developed urban capitals of the high and late medieval kings. Aachen is an inspiring testament to Charlemagne's vision and scope as a ruler, one who was deeply engaged in the rhetoric of the material and who incorporated multiple architectural precedents, while maintaining a signature Carolingian style that suited the practical and immediate social and logistical needs of his nobles.

Chapter One Aula: Political Theater

Charlemagne's aula was primarily a space for conducting temporal business, a place where he listened and decided cases and hosted guests, both Frankish and foreign.[47] The aula emphasized the power of the royal mouth in articulating social hierarchy. The Franks operated within an oral culture whose long exposure to Latin culture of classical Rome allowed for the gradual adoption of this linguistic system alongside their well-developed oral tradition. While written Latin became increasingly utilized within Carolingian government, the social and oral nature of this court should not be obscured because of the thickening textual remnants of Carolingian governance. Designed to accommodate large numbers of people, the aula adapted to the use, expression, and social identity of its inhabitants. Attendance for these gatherings of state could easily run into the hundreds and occasionally more than one thousand.[48] Drawing on his own experience as a royal emissary Theodulf of Orléans dramatizes, in over five hundred lines of poetry, the various temptations faced by the empire's judicial authorities. His poem concerning an attempt at bribery reveals his fine appreciation for antiques as well as the range of Carolingian society present at the assemblies.

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[47] Charlemagne hosted emissaries from the courts of Harun al-Rashid, Byzantine emperors and popes in conjunction with Frankish magnates. For more detailed information, see the Royal Frankish Annals. Einhard writes that he hosted so many emissaries that it strained the palace's resources. Tim Reuters writes in *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) that emissaries were publicly received during assemblies, even if they had to wait until the next assembly was held. In the Royal Frankish Annals, emissaries were recorded as visiting Aachen in 797,798,799,802, 804. 807, 810, twice in 811, and 812. See translation by Berhard Sholtz, *Carolingian Chronicles,* see also MGH, SS. rer. Ger., (6), pgs. 100-137

[48] "Even if we discount the implied regularity of annual summer assemblies including aristocrats from all over the empire, the numbers implied would have run into several hundred, maybe sometimes reaching four figures." Nelson, "Was Charlemagne's Court a Courtly Society?" in Cubitt, *Court Culture,* p. 43 Nelson's assumption of the number of attendance at assemblies is not based on architectural footprints, but rather the number of aristocrats in attendance. The large numbers expected at assemblies required monumental architecture large enough to accommodate such a large gathering.

My assemblies are thronged with great droves of people of every age and sex all with something to ask- little children, old men, youths, fathers, spinsters, bachelors, the old and young, adults, crones, husbands and wives.[49]

Theodulf likely presided over assemblies in the political hinterland of the Carolingian realm, drawing whole towns and their surroundings areas together for the proceedings. For many spectators, these assemblies were among the most memorable events of the year, enactments of Frankish rule in a set, time-honored manner.
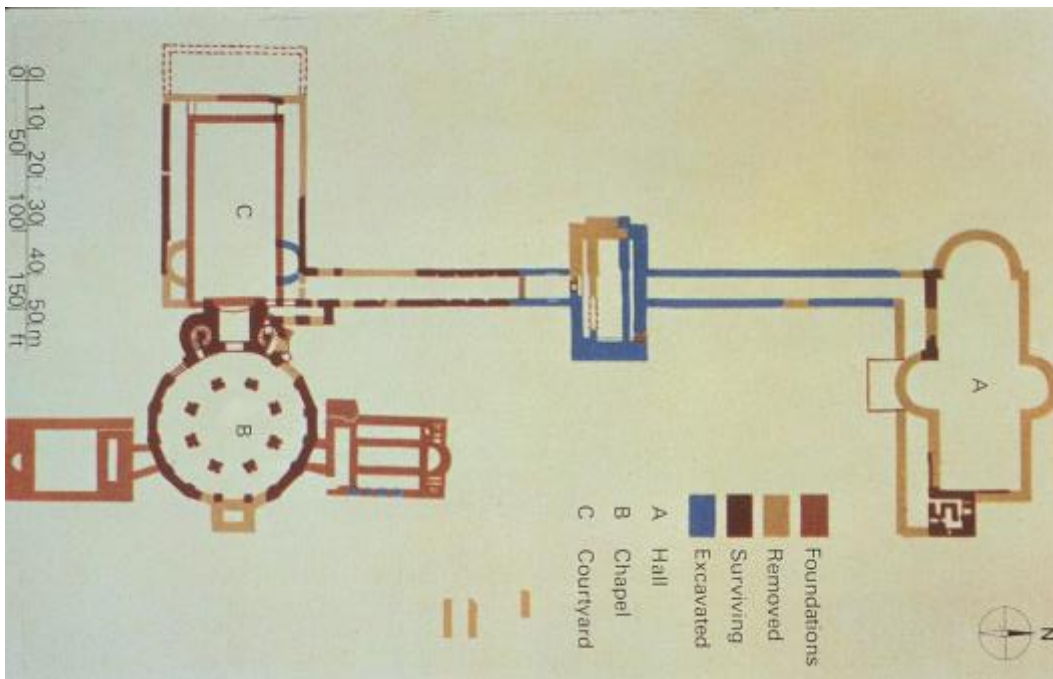


Figure Two is a map of the current archaeological state of the Palatine Complex. [50]

General assemblies, hosted around or within a royal palace and presided over by the king, likely

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[49] MGH *Poetae i,* pp. 401-412. Magna catervatim nos contio saepe frequentat aetas qud dicat sexus et omnis habet- parvulus, annosus, iuvenis, pater, innuba,celebs, maior, ephoebus, anus, masque, marita, minor.

[50] Slide courtesy of the University of California, San Diego. Accessed through Artstor.

gathered many more spectators than assemblies administered by Charlemagne's magnates. Aachen

was the center of the Carolingian political web that connected regional rulers, foreign emissaries, and

the spectators to Charlemagne. Assemblies involved a large congregation of Franks in order to

discuss various topics related to the kingdom in a ritualized context. Collective and public action had

a long history within Charlemagne's realm, although its precise origins are unknown.[51] An annual

assembly known as the Marchfield, and later Mayfield, was a yearly muster for recruiting men into

the army during the decades of Carolingian expansion.[52] Charlemagne's first assembly recorded in

the Royal Frankish Annals occurred at Worms in 770.[53] Assemblies likely lasted for a few days,

including feasts and meetings of magnates and common Franks.[54] These events enforce the

spectacle of rule that the aula was constructed to contain. The convention of Franks was likely to

have taken place in or around a certain palace; Hincmar notes that "if the weather were pleasant, the

assembly was held out of doors," likely held within palace grounds if not convened in the

monumental spaces.[55]

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[51] For Merovingian assemblies, see J M. Wallace Hadrill ed. and trans. *The Fourth Book of the Continuations of the Chronicles of Fredegar*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960). For analysis see Reuter, *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities*, Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, Innes, *State and Society,* Chris Wickham's *The Inheritance of Rome: Illuminating the Dark Ages*, 400-1000, (New York: Penguin, 2009).

[52] Stuart Airlie "Aristocracy in the Service of the Carolingian State" and Nelson's "Was Charlemagne's Court a Courtly Society?" For the connection between the mustering of troops and its relation to assemblies, see Thomas Bisson's "The Military Origins of Medieval Representation" *American Historical Review,* Vol. 71, No. 4 (July 1966) pp. 1199-1218. For the connections between assemblies and the aristocratic social group, see Bernard S. Bachrach's "Charlemagne and the Carolingian General Staff" *The Journal of Military History,* Vol. 66, No. 2 (April, 2002) pp. 313-357

[53] MGH SS. rer. Germ. 6, pg. 30 Tunc domnus Carolus rex habuit synodum in Warmatium civitatem.

[54] Reuter, *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities,* 197, McKitterick *Charlemagne,* pp. 305 *De Ordine Palatii,* MGH fontes iuris pg. 82-84. Hincmar elaborates that two assemblies were expected in a year, one with a general assembly and another composed of leading men.

[55] MGH fontes iuris pg. 82-84. Sed nec illud prætermittendum, quomodo si tempus serenum erat, extra.

The watching public was composed of a broad swath of Frankish society; they participated in the spectacle of rule through their attendance. In *De Ordine Palatii*, Hincmar describes the roles of performers and audience within the ritual of assembly.[56] The art, architecture and social interactions in the aula mutually supported the quasi-egalitarian nature of the assemblies. While hierarchy was probably enacted socially as different groups congregated together, the vantage point of the inhabitants was more equal, allowing individuals to see and possibly interact with others outside their own social strata. The architecture of the aula emphasized the collected assembly rather than the individual with the notable exception being Charlemagne.

Charlemagne's aula measured 17.20 meters by 44 meters on the interior. Figure Two, above, shows the state of archaeological recovery of the original palace complex; the aula has been built over in subsequent centuries, making it difficult to gauge its original appearance.

The aula's exterior emphasized the height of the building through the blind arcades that marched down its length. Two rows of windows illuminated the aula with abundant light. The roof was likely made of pitched timber, rising to an estimated reconstructed height of 20m. The southern corner of the extant building is dominated by a tower containing the majority of extant Carolingian masonry.[57] The Granus tower has been a feature of the aula since its inception and likely served as a vantage point from which to look beyond the courtyard.[58] Charlemagne's aula and its spatial functions are not as well documented as its architectural precedents, such as the Lateran triclinia of

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[56] Ibid, In quo placito generalitas universorum majorum tam clericorum quam laicorum conveniebat: seniores, propter concilium ordinandum; minores, propter idem consilium suscipiendum, et interdum pariter tractandum, et non ex potestate, sed ex proprio mentis intellectu vel sententia confirmandum

[57] Lobbedey, 'Carolingian Palaces', in *Court Culture,* pp.134 See also Grimme, *Der Dom zu Aachen,* p. 23.

[58] A more detailed description of the architectural boundaries of this space can be found in the Introduction, pp. 6-7.

Pope Leo III and basilicas of Rome and the imperial capital of Trier. In order to illuminate the multivalent nature of this royal space, its precedents will be investigated to uncover their influences on Aachen and its courtiers.

Two conches on either side of the length of the building were features of antique feastings halls known as *triclinia*. The most famous of these buildings was the Hall of Nineteen Couches in Constantinople, built by Constantine the Great (d. 337) according to legend.[59] Charlemagne may have helped Pope Leo through generous gifts build two *triclinia* in the Lateran Palace between 795 and 800, which may have influenced Charlemagne's decisions regarding the design of his aula. Einhard wrote that Charlemagne sent a great deal of wealth taken from his enemies to Rome, "so that through his work he could lead Rome to its former glory."[60] After the Avar raid, Charlemagne dispatched Angilbert to Rome with a substantial amount of the spoils. Through architectural patronage, Charlemagne established his presence within the Lateran palace, just as its original owner had. The papal seat of Rome originally belonged to Constantine's wife, Fausta (m. 307-326). Constantine gave the popes their seat of authority after his victory over Maxentius. Pope Militiades (r. 311-314) held the first ecumenical council in 313 in the newly consecrated basilica dedicated to St.John. The Lateran was the papal residence from 313 until the removal to Avignon in 1309.[61] Each new pope desired to make his own mark on the palace, resulting in a nearly constant state of construction and demolition of competing statements of power.[62]

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[59] Onians, *Origins* 134. See also Jeffrey Michael Featherstone, 'The Great Palace as Reflected in *De Cermoniis, F.A.Bauer(Hrsg.), Visualisierungenvon Herrschaft, BYZAS 5* (2006) 47-61

[60] MGH SS. rer. Germ, 25, 32 quicquam duxit antiquius quam ut urbs Roma sua opera suoque labore

[61] Upon the return of the papacy to Rome, the papal seat was relocated to the Vatican in 1377.

[62] TFX Noble "Topography, Celebration and Power: The Making of A Papal Rome in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries" in Frans Theuws, Mayke De Jong and Carin van Rhijin (eds.) *Topographies of*

Figure Three is a photograph of the heavily remodeled apsidal mosaic.[63]

Pope Leo decorated one of his *triclinia* with mosaics and the single surviving testament of this building's artistic program is an apsidal mosaic featuring the relationships between ecclesiastics, temporal rulers and the Church. To the left of the hemicycle on the facing triumphant arch, St. Peter bestows Leo with the *pallium* of his office; he gives Charlemagne a standard, meant to announce his

allegiance with the pope and his position as defender of the church. This is meant to mirror the right

side of the arch, in which Christ hands the keys of heaven to Peter while issuing Constantine a

standard emblazoned with Chi-Rho, the Labarum, that had been central in his victory at the Milvian

bridge (312). In the apse, Christ gives his apostles their marching orders to spread the Gospel to all

those who will hear.[64] The mosaics display power relationships to the right and left of the apse; each

temporal ruler is enlisted to bear arms against all enemies while their ecclesiastical counterparts

receive their own implements of power.

Charlemagne's reedy voice was not the first to resound through halls constructed to echo the

proclamations of power. Basilicas were originally built by Roman censors, officials responsible for

the maintenance of public morality and the registration of Roman citizens and their property. The

office was dissolved in 22 BC, when the emperors assumed their role. Constantine completed the

Basilica Nova (312), the largest building within the ancient Roman forum. During Charlemagne's

visits to Rome he likely saw it intact before it was significantly damaged by the earthquake of 847.[65]

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[64] BSV Mark 16:15 Et dixit eis: Euntes in mundum universum praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae
Translation my own: and he said to them: you shall go unto the entire world and preach the Gospel
to every creature
[65] Jas Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)*,* pg. 65
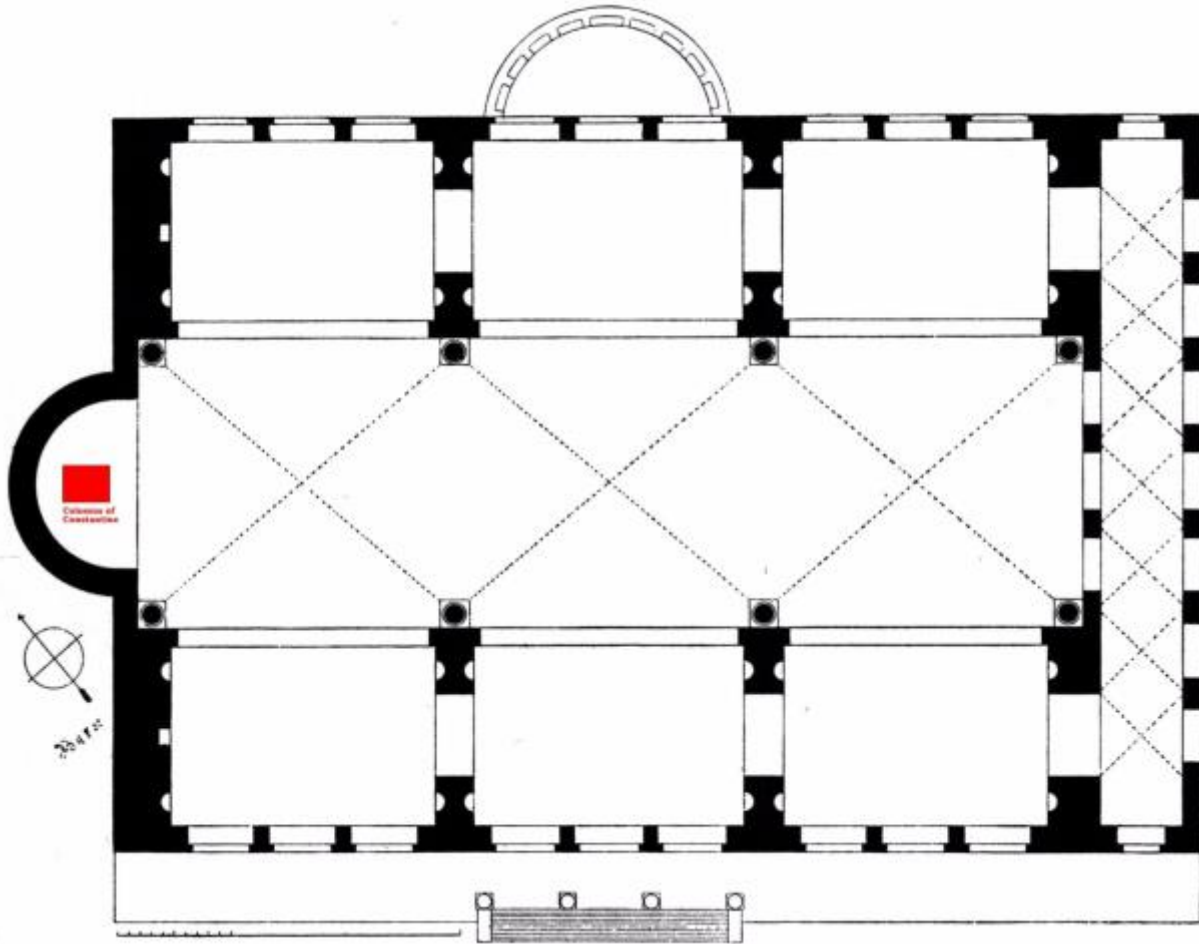
Figure Four is a reconstructed plan of the Basilica Nova.[66]

Currently, the northern aisle is the only surviving element of this late ancient structure. The western apse housed the colossal statue of Constantine, indicated in red in Figure Three, above. The marble remnants of this statue are now on display in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori of the Musei Capitolini. Originally, this sculpture depicted the emperor enthroned, with arms, legs and head sculpted from marble, while the body was constructed of a brick and wooden framework

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[66] Originally found in Georg Dehio and Gustav von Bezold: *Kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes.* Stuttgart:Verlag der Cotta'schen Buchhandlung 1887-1901, Plate No. 6. Accessed throught Wikimedia Commons.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dehio_6_Basilica_of_Maxentius_Floor_plan.jpg

that may have been gilded in bronze. In its seated position, the estimated height of the statue is

approximately forty feet. Constantine's imperial presence marked this basilica in the same manner as

censors, but on a more permanent and awe-inspiring scale. Basilicas communicated the power of

Roman officials throughout the empire, even after its fall. Charlemagne's apsidal dais of Aachen is

an architectural aspect of imperial power evident throughout the precedents discussed here.

The entrances to the Basilica Nova were opposite the apse and through the aisles. Aachen's

entrances have yet to be determined archaeologically; hopefully the forthcoming archaeological

survey by the University of Aachen will settle the question. In Leo Hugot's reconstruction of

Charlemagne's aula, , he places an entrance at the western end of the building, while architectural

historian Uwe Lobbedey offers no hypothesis, but suggests further research.[67]



Figure Five is a photograph of the Trier aula, which has been renovated several times

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[67] See Lobbedey, "Carolingian Palaces," Leo Hugot (1925-1982), was an Aachen Dombaumeister from 1974 to 1982, during which time he created an influential model of the palace.

throughout its long history.[68]

Another building closely related to Constantine offers an alternative for the location of Aachen's entrances. Once an imperial capital of Constantine Chlorus (AD 293- 306), Trier is located one hundred and sixty-seven kilometers southeast of Aachen, and is home to another likely archetype of the aula.[69] Constantine's imperial aula occupies a large footprint in the city to this day and is the last surviving building of a larger palace complex. Blind arcades emphasize the height and length of the structure while framing the large windows of both the ground and clerestory levels. Trier's aula had one entrance at its western end, opposite the apse. Built by rulers to administer temporal business, Trier and Aachen participate in the material rhetoric used by rulers since the Roman censors.

Charlemagne's aula was the space where the king, his nobility and his realm at large performed their relationships. In this capacity, Aachen housed at least five assemblies during the reign of Charlemagne and seventeen under Louis the Pious; if the extant records are fair to Charlemagne's reign, the aula's importance spikes sharply.[70] The spatial composition of the aula was vital to its function as the central meeting place of the realm. The doors opened into a large rectangular space with conches on the northern and southern walls, and the lack of columnar aisles created a strong impression of open space. The aula was the political theater where Charlemagne starred as the first among equals. Emphasizing congregation and social interaction, the open floor plan gave both spectator and actor long perspectives. Because of the open floor plan, spectators

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[68] In 1856 the basilica was converted into a Protestant Church owned by the Evangelical Church in the Rhineland. Slide courtesy Berthold Werner (edited by User: Ibn Battuta) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

[69] The Mosel River was the likely connection between these two cities.

[70] McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pg. 158.

were able to see the majority of the gathered Franks; this promiscuity of gaze and space within the

aula invited both spectatorship and movement throughout the space. The aula was not a strictly

hierarchical place, it could be a unified and single auditory field, but was also a landscape that

allowed for a multitude of auditory subfields.[71] Charlemagne's aula housed many social uses allowing

its inhabitants to shift the aural fields of audience and performer easily. Frankish kings and their

courtiers exercised their voices in this diplomatic space with set boundaries for the behavior of the

king, his entourage and the gathered Franks.[72] Speaking within the aula required the performer to

understand the social rules governing the space. Historians describe politics and governance as

occurring on a personal level within the Carolingian empire, but rarely consider that particular

relationships occurred on a semi-regular basis in specific monumental spaces, or the role these

buildings played in creating ritualized movements of the actors.[73]

The *Admonitio Generalis* was a capitulary promulgated at Aachen after the large assembly held

in March of 789.[74] This assembly marked Aachen's official opening to the public, and inaugural

assemblies were also held at Paderborn and Ingelheim shortly before or after construction of these

complexes was complete, tying these monumental spaces directly to the enactment of assemblies.[75]

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[71] For an in-depth discussion of auditory subfields and social interaction, see Blesser and Salter, *Spaces Speak,* especially Chapter Two: Auditory Spatial Awareness pp.11-66. See also Dutton, *Charlemage's Mustache,* "Whispering Secrets to a Dark Age"

[72] Stuart Airlie, "The Palace of Memory," *Power and its Problems*, see also Innes, "A Place of Discipline" in *Court Culture,* pgs. 59-76

[73] Innes *State and Society*, pp. 51-93, Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

[74] MGH Capitularia I, pp. 53-62. See also Janet Nelson, "Aachen as a Place of Power" n. 7 for an explanation of the exact dating of this capitulary and the correlated assembly. See also McKitterick, *Charlemagne,* pg. 239.McKitterick's opinion differs from Nelson's, viewing the *Admonitio Generalis* as unrelated to a specific assembly.

[75] Paderborn has a fragmented building program due to its destruction twice in late seventh century, but it was likely finished or under construction when the Royal Frankish Annals record an assembly at the palace in 777, "Tunc domnus Carolus rex synodum publicam habuit as Paderbrunnen prima

The *Admonitio Generalis* sets a definitive tone and program Charlemagne intended to implement within his kingdom. A product of the court and king, the *Admonitio* was likely a cooperative effort of magnates called together at the assembly. This legislation announces Charlemagne's role as caretaker of the entire Frankish people. The sixty- second *capitulum*, addressed to all, emphasizes the need for peace throughout the realm.

> That there is to be peace and concord and harmony throughout the whole Christian people between bishops, abbots, counts, *judices*, and all persons everywhere, of greater or lesser degree, for nothing is pleasing to God without peace, not even the offering of the holy sacrifice at the altar…[76]

The officials named specifically within this capitula likely attended the assembly and exerted power over others. Charlemagne reminded these magnates that their duties required they fulfill not just demands of their king, but that by doing so they ensured the efficacy of prayer. Assemblies gathered magnates responsible for aspects of the Carolingian realm. Within the aula, the peace Charlemagne requested that of all his subjects could be enacted under the supervision of the king, to benefit the kingdom and foster correct and effective prayer. The concord developed during this assembly served as a template to be exported throughout the realm by the enactment of Charlemagne's directives by all those who heard them.

During assemblies, a wide swath of the social spectrum was in attendance and rubbing shoulders with one another. These events proceeded according to a social expectation of the ritualized event with which all participants were accustomed. Shaking hands, collective dining and

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vice." Ingelheim was constructed from c.787-807 and the RFA recorded Charlemagne's celebration of Christmas here in 777, and an assembly at the palace in 788. MGH SS.rer. Germ, (6), pg. 80-84 "Et celebracit natalem in villa, quae dicitur Ingilenhaim, similiter et pascha." "Tunc domnus rex Carolus congregans synodum as iamdictam villam Ingilenhaim."

[76] MGH Capit 1:4:58 Omnibus. Ut pax sit et concordia et unianimitas cum omni populo christiano inter episcopus, abbates, comites, iudices, et omnes ubique seu maiores seu minores, quid nihil Deo sine pace placet nec munus sanctae oblationis ad altare. Translation my own.

entertainment were anticipated aspects of a Carolingian assembly. During assemblies Charlemagne circulated among the crowds in the room speaking with everyone who had made the journey.

> The king "was occupied with the remaining throng, receiving presents, greeting important persons, chatting with those rarely seen, sympathizing with the aged, rejoicing with the young, and engaging in similar activities, in regard to both spiritual and temporal affairs."[77]

Hincmar's portrayal of Frankish kings as hosts reinforces their control over the space of the palace. Even if Carolingian kings were not social butterflies in assemblies, propagandists sought to portray them as such. When discussing assemblies in foul weather, Hincmar writes that if held indoors, "different places were designated where the important persons could gather... separate from the remaining throng."[78] He elaborates that these great men could be divided into two sections: "all the bishops, abbots, and more exalted clerics could meet without any lay participation," while "the counts and princes of comparable rank could honorably gather... apart from the throng."[79] The conches on the northern and southern sides of the aula housed private, exclusive conversations. Conducting business required the privacy afforded by the conches, while allowing Charlemagne to consult with the two groups as necessary. The conches are at the intersection of semi-public and the public, fostering a small group with close interaction within the larger public event. The space of the aula was impressive enough to contain the act of creating laws and changes to the kingdom. Before the pressing business of the kingdom was discussed, communal dining likely took place with

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[77] MGH Fontes Iuris 3, pg. 32, capit. 35 ipse princeps reliquae multitudini in suscipiendis muneribus, salutudinis proceribus, confabulando rarius visis, conpatiendo senioribus, congaudendo iunoribus et cetera his similia tam in spiritalibus quamque et in saeclaribus occupatus erat.

[78] Ibid: sin autem, intra diversa loca distincta erant, ubi et hi abundanter segregati semotim, et cætera multitudo separatim residere potuissent,

[79] Ibid: Quæ utraque tamen seniorum susceptacula sic in duobus divisa erant, ut primo omnes episcopi, abbates, vel hujusmodi honorificentiores clerici, absque ulla laicorum commistione congregarentur. Similiter comites, vel hujusmodi principes sibimet honorificabiliter a cætera multitudine primo mane segregarentur

Charlemagne presiding as host.

The feasts and festivities held in the aula inspired Theodulf of Orléans's elegiac Carmen 25 in which he frames the scenes through spatial movement of the audience through the palace. Theodulf wrote to commemorate the victorious arrival in AD 795 of the Avar spoils to Aachen, an event that resonated in poetry and prose for several generations.[80] Although not in attendance the author uses his intimate knowledge of the palace and its personnel to describe the progression of events and social expectations.

The letter begins in the chapel as Charlemagne, "with his eyes, hands and mind raised to Heaven…gives repeated thanks to God."[81] When the mass has ended Charlemagne exits the chapel and travels along the gallery that connected the chapel, solarium and aula. The feast begins with the arrival of the assembled Franks at the aula: "Let the door be opened: although many wish to enter, may only the few go in, raised up in their respective ranks"[82] The social mobility that floor plan advertised could fracture along societal lines while leaving the rhetoric of inclusion intact.

No seating arrangements survive from Carolingian feasts, but literary and architectures clues allow for intelligent speculation. Monastic texts and classical Roman literature could have informed the court on the proper configuration of tables for large feasts. One long table, or possibly two, may have taken up the rectangular body of the aula, with additional seating in the conches and apsidal

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[80] Einhard commemorated both Eric of Friuli's victory and his untimely death in his *Vita Karoli*, Paulinus of Aquiliea wrote a poetic elegy mourning his death, MGH Poetae I, 131-133. Notker writes of the fantastic treasure seized from the Avar rings in his *Gesta Karoli Magni*.

[81] MGH Poetae I, 483-9. Mox oculis cim mente simul manibusque levatis ad caelum, grates fertque refertque deo.

[82] Ibid Consilii celebretur honos, oretur in aula qua miris surgit fabrica pulchra tholis inde palatinae, repetantur culmina sedis plebs eat et redeat atria longa terens. ianua pandatur, multisque volentibus intrent Translated in Peter Godman's *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance,* pg. 151- 163, Although I consulted this work, I disagree with Peter Godman's translation of 'palatinae,' which I take to indicate the aula rather than a palatial residence, as he writes.

dias for smaller groups. In the Plan of St. Gall, the abbot's table differs from the rows of tables for the monks, it forms an angular U-shape, presumably with the abbot sitting in the central and smaller table, with a vantage point overlooking the rest of the refectory. [83]

Feasting was a part of the ritual of assembly with ingrained social codes reflecting rank and honor and yet which accentuate the egalitarian overtones of the aula.[84]According to Hraban Maur's etymologies the Latin word for feast *convictus* is derived from *vitae conlocutio,* "since it includes talking about life. It is also called *convivium* from the multitude of those eating together, *conviescentes*; a private meal is *victus*, not *convivium*."[85] The aula allowed Charlemagne to host large feasts with immense amounts of food, drink and company.[86] During these social events the inherent expectation was that individuals would interact with one another. This habit of talking amongst each other at table was discouraged in Benedictine monasteries, where conversation was, in theory, replaced with readings from scriptures during meals. While talking was not allowed, the monks likely sat in a hierarchical manner that reflected their status within the monastery. Seating according to social rank during feasts displayed ingrained societal divides within the gathered celebrants, while perpetuating the larger sense of communal inclusion. Hraban Maur's *De Universo Rerum* is an etymology modeled on that of Archbishop Isidore of Seville's (560-636) twenty-volume *Etymologiae.* His insights into the social nuances of the Latin language stem from his thorough education under Alcuin while he was abbot of Tours.

Theodulf's poem indicates the fluid atmosphere within the aula as the banquet took place,

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[83] Horn and Born, *The Plan of St. Gall*, http://www.stgallplan.org/en/index_plan.html.
Hrabanus Maurus. *Patrologia Latina*. 1 Vol. 1-11.
[84] Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages* pg. 195
[85]Hrabanus Maurus *De Universo* trans. Pricilla Throop, Book I, pg. 311
[86]For more detail about the fare that may have been served at this and other feasts see the capitulary De Villis.

both spatially and socially. "May those at table take part in the banquet, eat succulent foods and drink wine both standing and sitting."[87] The nobility and high- ranking clerics both took part. Feasts could be raucous events that might have limited courtiers' ability to adhere to social expectations. Alcuin's letter of disapproval to a courtier named Corydon strongly denounced drinking to excess. Alcuin chides "my pupil, a sometimes scholar, sleeps dumbfounded by drink!"[88] According to Einhard, though Charlemagne only rarely hosted great feasts he enjoyed the company and festivities immensely.[89] In these situations of relaxed social codes, Charlemagne may have abandoned his solitary throne and feasted alongside his courtiers. The dias likely accommodated a table large enough for others to share in the king's repast as well. The superficially egalitarian nature of the aula is a reflection of the court as an oligarchic cadre. The aristocracy as a social body was an active participant in the running of the empire, and they were caught up in a web of associations, spanning family, vertical bonds of service to higher ranked officials and the horizontal bonds of confraternity.[90] Charlemagne's aula was a place where the mask of performance of duty and identity could be worn with a certain amount of variation, dependent upon who was watching.

In Theodulf's work, the cohort of Franks continuously became smaller as the function of

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[87] MGH, Poetae 1:483:489 Participent mensis epulas, et dulcia sumant, pabula vina bibant stansque sedensque simul.

[88] MGH Poetae 1:249:250 Every bone in your body, every hair on your head made poetry, now your tongue is silent. Why is your tongue silent? can it be that your tongue-perhaps- just isn't able to sing verse? and- I wonder- isn't your tongue asleep Corydon? Corydon, my pupil, a sometimes scholar, sleeps dumbfounded by drink! Woe upon you, father Bacchus! Viscera tota tibi cecinerunt atque capilli nunc tua lingua tacet, cur tua lingua tact? nec tua lingua valet forsan cantare camenas, atque reor, dormit lingua tibi, Corydon? Dormit et ipse meus Corydon, scolasticus olim. Sopitus Bacho! Ve tibi, Bache pater. Translation by Peter Godman in *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* pg.

[89] MGH SSrerGerm 25:29 "convivabatur rarissime, et hoc praecipuis tantum festivitatibus, tunc tamen, cum magno hominum numero."

[90] Stuart Airlie, "Captains and Kings," "The Aristocracy in the Service of Carolingians" and "Bonds of Power, Bonds of Association" all in *Power and its Problems in Carolingian Europe,* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012).

the space changed.

> When... the food and tables are cleared away may the commoners go outdoors, joy attending them while inside gaiety remains. May Theodulf's Muse sound forth for it wins over kings and flatters important men[91]

Theodulf waits to speak specifically to the other courtiers until they are safely separated from the rest of the crowd. In this final section of his work, Theodulf lampoons two courtiers and this spatial shift may indicate that certain types of performances were only acceptable after the feast had died down. After the doors of the aula are closed to the "inferior guests," Theodulf's poem begins to interact with its audience on a more personal level. The author calls specific individuals by name and occupation and recreates their social placement within space. Flytings, a battle of wits, regularly took place at court, and Theodulf's one-sided exchanges reveal his expectations of his fellow courtiers.[92] He found a target in a lay aristocrat's lack of education:

> Wibod, the brawny hero may chance to hear these lines and shake his thick head three or four times, darting a black look, he may menace me with his expression and words and rain threats upon me in my absence.[93]

Wibod's Latin illiteracy is anticipated by Theodulf who characterizes him as too dull to grasp that he is the butt of the joke. Theodulf's sneering treatment of Wibod may spring from rivalry within the court circle, hinting at the competitive nature of Charlemagne's magnates.[94] Although Theodulf's treatment of Wibod is harsh, the poet saves his rhetorical fireworks to lambast an Irishman, who is

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[91] MGH Poetae 1:483:489 His bene patratis, mensis dapibusque remotis,/ pergat laetitia plebs comitante foras/ Hacque intus remanente sonet Theodulfica Musa, quae foveat reges, mulceat proceres My own translation in consultation with Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*

[92] Nelson, *Was Charlemagne's Court a Courtly Society?* in Cubbit, *Court Culture* pg.

[93] MGH Poetae 1:483:489 Audiat hanc forsan membrosus Wibodus heros, concutiat crassum terque quaterque caput. Et torvum adspeciens vultuque et voce minetur, absentemque suis me obruat ille minis.

[94] Paul Dutton, *Charlemagne's Mustache*, especially "Whispering Secrets to a Dark Age" pp. 129-150.

never identified by name within the letter:

> May it turn now to the reader, now to all the chief men who are there, doing nothing rationally. May that savage enemy seethe with the wish to criticise, but let his ability not match his desire to censure. He has learned many things, but nothing fixed or sure. He, a numbskull, thinks he knows everything. He did not learn in order to be considered a sage, but so that he would have arms ready for the fray.[95]

The Irishman is a weak rhetorician that Theodulf devoured, as he alluded to earlier in the poem that foreshadowed this literary altercation.[96] He launts his mastery of the Latin language, embroidering these stanzas with alliteration and assonance. Theodulf wrote these lines in a synchronic manner, imagining the courtier's reactions as his poem was being read aloud. Bested foes are foregrounded in these poems; the movements and the importance of the glance appear in both. Although these courtiers are subject to a tongue lashing by proxy, they are not embarrassed in front of their inferiors, who have been ushered out of the aula on two separate occasions.

Ritualized performances such as the ones recounted above structure the poetry of Angilbert and Theodulf, adhering to courtly social expectations. These works indicate a greeting to Charlemagne was expected, followed by praise and acknowledgment of his family and high ranking palace officers. Gathered together in celebration, performances of poetry and possibly the old songs Charlemagne ordered to be recorded for posterity entertained the feasting audience.[97] In an

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[95] MGH Poetae 1:483:489 Nunc lectorem, nunc se convertat as omnes adstantes proceres nil ratione gerens. Et reprehendendi studio ferus aestuet hostis, cui sit posse procul, iam quia velle propre est. Plurima qui didicit, nil fixum, nil, quoque certum; quae tamen ignorat omnia nosse putat non ideo didicit, sapiens ut possit haberi sed contendendi ut promptus ad arma foret. Translation courtesy of Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance,* pg. 160.

[96] MGH Poetae 1:483:489. I shall send these kisses to him [Irishman] as long as I live, these the fierce wolf gives you, ass with long ears.cui, dum vita comes fuerit haec oscula, tradam, trux, aurite tibi quae dat, aselle, lupus. Translation courtesy of Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* pg. 150-151.

[97] [Charles] also [ordered] that the very old Germanic poems, in which the deeds and wars of the ancient kings were sung, should be written down and preserved for posterity. MGH SSrerGerm

atmosphere of both jovial conviviality and playful clashes of wit, courtiers articulated their social and

cultural identities within the aula.

After sufficient feasting and discussion, Charlemagne ended the deliberations and assembly

with a proclamation. The *Admonitio Generalis* was likely announced by Charlemagne in just such a

manner from the apsidal dias. As noted above, proclamations were the oral pronouncement of law

that communicated both the general authority and the specific decisions of the king. The dais,

designed to amplify the king's physical presence, drew the gaze of the spectator and encouraged

movement towards Charlemagne.[98] Architecturally separated from the rest of the aula by the

triumphal arch and the three steps leading up to it, the dais arrested the approaching spectator's

forward movement when confronted with the presence of the king.

The dais separated the semicircular apse from the rest of the floor and created a stage for the

king and his verbal performances of authority. The apse's decoration was likely an instructive

program of art emphasizing Charlemagne's place in the larger context of history. Little

archaeological or textual evidence is extant but themes of victory, historical precedent and the role

of God in Frankish victory are likely. Ermoldus Nigellus wrote that the aula at Ingelheim compared

bad rulers against the examples of good rulers each portrayed on opposite walls:

> The deeds of our fathers are a source of wonder and much nearer to what pious faith
> requires. To the imperial conquests of the excellent city of Rome are linked the Franks and
> their marvelous achievements: painted there is Constantine's dismissal of Rome from his
> affectations and his building of Constantinople for himself… then there is a painting of the
> first Charles, masterly victor in the Frisian War, and with him the great exploits he
> performed; then a splendid picture of Pippin, restoring the rule of law to the Aquitanians…

25:33 Item barbara et antiquissima carmina, quibus veterum regnum actus et bella canebantus,
scripsit memoriaeque mandavit.Translation courtesy of Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier,* pg. 34.
[98] Lobbedy, "Carolingian Palaces" Richard Kieckhefer, *Theology in Stone: Church Architecture from
Byzantium to Berkeley.*(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Wise Charlemagne's frank expression is clear to see, his head is crowned, as his lineage and achievements demand.[99]

Placing the Carolingian family in the historical and material discourse alongside the emperors of Rome, these murals announce a new narrative of the Franks as power-players in central Europe and do not mention the Merovingian family they had supplanted in order to gain royal rule. Charlemagne's regal stance is depicted during the surrender of Saxons, who had proved to be an inimical foe. Unfortunately, Ermoldus does not describe the decoration of the apsidal dais or the throne. And, as at Aachen, the Ingelheim thrones are no longer extant.

Charlemagne's throne was likely a piece of didactic artwork illustrating his unique position within Frankish society. In his etymologies, Hraban Maur wrote that "throne in holy scriptures signifies the property of a ruler and the excellence of divine majesty."[100] Charlemagne's grandson, Charles the Bald, commissioned a throne decorated with ceramic tiles depicting animals and heavenly bodies. As Paul Dutton explains, the program of art subsumed the king's body within the order it depicted. Dutton argues that through the artistic representation of the natural and celestial worlds emphasizes themes of royal liminality because the ruler acts as the messenger between the two.[101]

Just as a triumphal arch framed and separated Charlemagne from the spectators as he sat

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[99] MGH Poetae II, 65-66 Parte alia tectu mirantur gesta paterna atque piae fidei proximiora magis. Caesareis actic Romanae sedis opimae Iuguntur Franci gestaque mire simul: Constantinus uti Romam dimittit amore, Constantinopolim construit ipse sibi, Theodosius felix illuc depictus habetur, Actis praeclaris addita gesta suis, Hinc Carolus primum Frisonum Marte magister, Pingitur et secum grandia gesta manus, Hinc Pippine, micas, Aquitanis iura remittens et regno socias Marte favente tuo, Et Carolus sapiens vultus praetendit apertos, fertque coronatum stemmate rite caput. Translation courtesy of Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renassiance*, pg. 252.

[100] Hrabanus Maur, De Universo: Words and their Mystical Significance, trans. Priscilla Throop, Book II, pg. 336 PL 1:111

[101] Dutton, *Charlemagne's Mustache*, pg. 122.

upon his throne, he also displayed his royal persona at these assemblies, through equally ostentatious

attire. Einhard's description of Charlemagne's festal costume placed the king firmly within a

Frankish context of conspicuous consumption meant to flaunt personal wealth and status.

> On high feast days he normally walked in the procession dressed in clothes weaved
> with gold, bejeweled shoes, in a cloak fastened by a golden clasp, and also wearing a
> golden, gem encrusted crown. But on other days his attire differed little from
> people's usual attire.[102]

Charlemagne's rich attire mirrored the program of architecture, creating a unified artistic

presentation of the palace and its ruler. Robed in his finery Charlemagne was easily distinguished

from the rest of the court and Franks. With Charlemagne seated at this throne, the diffuse focus of

the room shifted, and changed the aula into a processional space that ended at the dais, directly

confronting the king. Timing of the proclamation was pivotal for its efficacy. The announcement of

the *capitulum* and public assignment of tasks was an appropriate terminus to the ritual of assembly.

Trust and personal relationships were the foundation of the proclamation built during feasting and

deliberations in the days prior; the audience was primed to react favorably to Charlemagne's

presence. Social protocol fluctuated from more egalitarian in relaxed and inebriated feasts to one of

high pageant and importance centering attention on Charlemagne and his authority.

On his throne Charlemagne was the unrivaled center of attention for the proclamations

which the assembled Franks discussed. In the preamble of the *Admonitio Generalis*, below,

Charlemagne explicitly states his intention to follow the example of King Josiah. In Second Kings,

Josiah is portrayed as a morally upright ruler whose good works delay God's punishment of the

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[102] MGH SSrerGerm 25:28 In festivitatibus veste auro texta et calciamentis gemmatis et fibula aurea
sagum et gemmis ornatus incedebat. Aliis autem diebus habitus eis parum a communi ac plebio
abhorrebat. Translation courtesy of Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier,* pg. 31.

Israelites for breaking the covenant.[103] In his effort to reform the Israelites Josiah went to temple

with the residents of Jerusalem and "in the hearing of them all he read the words of the book of the

covenant, which was found in the house of the Lord."[104] By invoking Josiah within this space,

Charlemagne is correcting, as is his right, but he is also blending the precedents of authority which

he wants to emulate. The Old Testament inspired brand of Carolingian correction was delivered to

the court from Charlemagne's Roman basilica, connecting him to the illustrious emperors of the

heroic past. Charlemagne's performance of governance was designed to align his kingdom and its

hierarchies into a society pleasing to God.  Josiah's story creates a sense of urgency about

submission to Charlemagne's law, lest the Franks repeat the mistakes of the Israelites. Like Josiah,

Charlemagne dispensed the *Admonitio Generalis* to renew the Franks' relationship to God through

correct and harmonious order.

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[103] BSV 2 Kings 22:17-20 Because they have forsaken me, and have sacrificed to strange gods, provoking me by all the works of their hands: therefore my indignation shall be kindled against this place, and shall not be quenched. But to the king of Judah, who sent you to consult the Lord, thus shall you say: Thus saith the Lord the God of Israel: Forasmuch as thou hast heard the words of the book. And thy heart hath been moved to fear, and thou hast humbled thyself before the Lord, hearing the words against this place, and the inhabitants thereof, to wit, that they should become a wonder and a curse: and thou hast rent thy garments, and wept before me, I also have heard thee, saith the Lord: Therefore I will gather thee to thy fathers, and thou shalt be gathered to thy sepulchre in peace, that thy eyes may not see all the evils which I will bring; upon this place. Latin: Quia dereliquerunt me, et sacrificaverunt diis alienis, irritantes me in cunctis operibus manuum suarum: et succendetur indignatio mea in loco hoc, et non extinguetur.Regi autem Juda, qui misit vos ut consuleretis Dominum, sic dicetis: Haec dicit Dominus Deus Israel: Pro eo quod audisti verba voluminis, Et perterritum est cor tuum, et humiliatus es coram Domino, auditis sermonibus contra locum istum, et habitatores ejus, quod videlicet fierent in stuporem et in maledictum: et scidisti vestimenta tua, et flevisti coram me, et ego audivi, ait Dominus:Idcirco colligam te ad patres tuos, et colligeris ad sepulchrum tuum in pace, ut non videant oculi tui omnia mala quae inducturus sum super locum istum.

[104] BSV Second Kings, Chapter 23:2 And the king went up to the temple of the Lord, and all the men of Juda, and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem with him, the priests and the prophets, and all the people both little and great: and in the hearing of them all he read all the words of the book of the covenant, which was found in the house of the Lord. Ascenditque rex templum Domini, et omnes viri Juda, universique qui habitabant in Jerusalem cum eo sacerdotes et prophetae, et omnis populus a parvo usque ad magnum: legitque, cunctis audientibus, omnia verba libri foederis, qui inventus est in domo Domini.

> For we read in the Books of the Kings how the holy Josiah, by visitation, correction and admonition, strove to recall the kingdom God had given him to the worship of the true God. I say this not to compare myself with his holiness but because it is our duty, at all times and in all places, to follow the examples of the holy.[105]

Josiah gathered all of the inhabitants of Jerusalem to the temple to read the covenant aloud to the people, just as Charlemagne announced his decisions to the congregation of Franks gathered to hear the laws of the kingdom. In his capacity as law-giver, Charlemagne was the highest temporal judge of the realm. At Aachen, the aula's basilican form recalled spaces that had been reserved for judgment and the promulgation of laws for centuries, enabling Charlemagne to seamlessly present his reign as the continuation of this practice of authority. Hraban Maur writes that "The judge is called *judex* as if *jus dicens*, saying the law, for the people, or because he decides by law, *jure disceptat*."[106] By pronouncing the capitula of the assembly from this throne, Charlemagne becomes the definition of a judge, enacting his role within the larger context of the assembly. Charlemagne detailed the expectations of judges, including presumably himself, in *capitulum* 63 of the *Admonitio Generalis,* when describing intimate knowledge of the law as the first expectation of judges: "the *judex* is diligently to learn the law composed for the people by wise men, lest he wander from the path of truth by ignorance."[107] As the first among judges, Charlemagne's behavior during the final act of assemblies was the epitome others were expected to emulate.

Charlemagne's voice was the focus of the aula during his promulgation of the law. Aachen

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[105] MGH, Capit 1:54. Nam legimis in regnorum libris, quomodo sanctus Josias regnum sibi a Deo datum circumeundo, corrigendo, ammonendo ad cultum veri Dei studuit revocare: non ut me eius sanctitae aequiparabilem faciam, sed quod nobis sunt ubique sanctorum semper exempla seqenda.

[106] Hraban Maur, *Patrologia Latina* Col.0554D "Judex dictus, quasi jus dicens populo: sive quod jure disceptet." See also *De Universo: The Peculiar Properties of Words and their Mystical Significance.* Translated and Edited by Priscilla Throop, Book Two, 262.

[107] MGH Capit 1:58. Primo namque iudici diligenter discenda est lex a sapientibus populo conponista, ne per ignorantiam a via veritatis erret.

hosted the bulk of Charlemagne's pivotal assemblies and outnumbered the assemblies held at other residences during Louis the Pious' reign. Increasing institutionality was a by-product of the settlement of the court at Aachen during the Charlemagne's later years. The *Admonitio Generalis* is a perfect example of the Carolingian move toward institutionalized systems of government. In its written form the *Admonitio* is addressed as a letter, but its *capitula* were likely delivered by a messenger who had attended the assembly and had more specific oral instructions heard from the king himself. Aulae of the Carolingian realm were the arenas of politics, greasing the social wheels of the kingdom, where powerful people came to speak and listen to the king.

Vocal power was disproportionately granted to inhabitants within the aula, reaffirming the pseudo-egalitarian themes of the architecture. While the open floor plan gives the appearance of communal equality, the social reality hampered the ability of some spectators to speak with their own singular voice. Charlemagne was not the sole official with verbal power, but courtiers also exercised the power of their mouths during assemblies, feasts, and festivities, which reinforced the faux-egalitarianism of the aula. Courtiers spoke largely with one another during assemblies, either in serious debates concerning the realm or in flytings of one-upsmanship and veiled criticism. The open floor plan of the aula allowed the court to expound the rhetoric of community beyond social strata while engaging in behavior that solidified the hierarchy. Spectators without a voice were confined to a limited role, allowed to speak as a group rather than as individuals, much the same as the audience of a theatrical performance. The architecture of this stage of governance was instrumental in the social success of the event. Aachen's hybrid nature of the aula co-opted the Roman architectural precedents into an existing system of social use, incorporating their symbolic connotations into the larger message of legitimate authority. Each precedent centered around the use of the mouth, whether it was entertaining others, eating or speaking the law.

Chapter Two: Solarium and the Eye

Dominating the surrounding landscape, the gallery and gatehouse marked the boundaries of the palace for inhabitants and visitors alike. The closer a visitor approached the palace, the more these structures bounded their field of vision horizontally and vertically. The visual dominance of the walled arcades clearly delineated the confines of open space in comparison to the exteriors of the aula and chapel. Written by Modoin, (c. AD 790-840) a poetic exchange between a successful court poet and a young poet who hopes to make a name for himself in scholarly circles describes the palace of Aachen's first impression on the young upstart. Modoin was Bishop of Autun from around 815 until his death. These lines were taken from one of his two surviving works, the other was addressed to Theodulf of Orléans to comfort him during his exile from Louis the Pious' court. Modoin's nickname among those at court was Naso, an allusion to Ovid.

> My Palaemon looks out from the lofty citadel of the new Rome and sees all the kingdoms forged into an empire through his victories. Our times are transformed into the civilization of Antiquity. Golden Rome is reborn and restored anew to the world![108]

The military successes Charlemagne enjoyed refashioned Aachen into the new incarnation of Rome. Charlemagne is cast as a young Heracles, whose vantage point is exaggerated, all the better to oversee his expansive realm with.

In the young poet's reaction to the palace, Modoin captures the awe with which some spectators viewed Charlemagne's palace. Aachen's formidable entrance was probably seen for miles,

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[108] MGH Poetae 1: 400 See also Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* Prospicit alta novae Romae meus arce Palemon cuncta suo imperio consistere regna triumpho rurus in antiquos mutataque secula mores. Aurea Roma iterum renovata renascitur orbi! Lines 20 -30. For an enlightening study of Modoin's poetic works, see James Whitta's Ille ego Naso : Modoin of Autun's Eclogues and the "Renouatio" of Ovid *Latomus,* T. 61, Fasc. 3 (Julliet-Septembre, 2002), pp. 703-731.

the highly anticipated terminus of the young poet's journey. Modoin's use of the device of a young hayseed poet describes it as Rome, because that is the seat of power. Modoin links royal surveillance to the architecture of the palace. Charlemagne's high vantage point from the walkway and solarium and his intense gaze are foregrounded against the brilliant past of Rome. Use of classical precedents was characteristic of his court, and such allusions were conducted across the artistic spectrum and were particularly evident in the architecture that inspired these lines.

This chapter peers into the lofty citadel of the gallery and gatehouse of the young poet's description, edifices consistently overlooked by scholars in favor of the extant palace chapel and the aula.[109] Forming the spine of the complex, the prominent two galleries connected the aula and chapel via the gatehouse. Confronting the visitor directly, the gatehouse established the royal right of surveillance upon those entering the palace. The second story of the gatehouse will be referred to hereafter as the solarium.

The length of the Aachen gallery was one hundred twenty meters. The first story of the gallery was constructed with stone barrel vaulting that pulled the eye upward.[110] While vertically striking, the width of the structure was proportionally narrow. Small slit windows pierce solid walls in sharp contrast with the more open arches of the second story.[111] This second-story gallery connected the entrance to the second story of the chapel to the atrium of the aula. The gatehouse served as the central entrance and exit of the palace grounds, and was likely a ceremonial space

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[109] See Rosamond McKitterick's treatment of the gallery and gatehouse in *Charlemagne*. Mayke De Jong talks of the solarium of Aachen with little discussion of the architecture itself in *Charlemagne's Balcony: The* Solarium *in Ninth Century Narratives* in Michael McCormick and Jennifer Daves (ed) *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe* pp. 277-290.  Uwe Lobbedy's treatment of these structures is also cursory in her article "Carolingian Palaces: The State of Research from an Architectural Historian's Perspective" in *Court Culture* p. 129-153.

[110] Lobbedey, "Carolingian Palaces" in Cubbit, *Court Culture,* pg. 134 McClendon, *Origins* pg. 108.

[111] McClendon,*Origins,* pg. 109.

during grand entrances and exits. The structure was 15m by 30, and on the western corners two flights of stairs allowed access to the second story.[112] The second story was constructed with two groin masonry vaults; in the vaulting was bisected due to the portal underneath, that Charlemagne could monitor easily from his solarium.

The upper-story solarium was both an aggressive and possessive presence placing the palace complex firmly under Charlemagne's optical control. The palace's builder created a dominant space by breaking the reciprocal nature of sight. By obstructing the ability to view into these spaces, Charlemagne and his courtiers built a space of both public and private interaction. Solaria of the Carolingian era were likely used to conduct business privately among a small group.[113] Due to the height of Aachen's solarium, it was probably an airy, open space flooded with morning and evening light because of its east to west orientation. In contrast, the galleries were likely dark spaces characterized by their narrow length. Textual and architectural evidence indicate a stable expectation of these types of structures and their anticipated positions within monastic and palace complexes.[114] Characterized by height and a sense of expansion the solarium contrasts sharply with the dark and crowded first floor of the gallery. The largely solid walls of the ground floor obscured the inhabitant, while the more open arches of the elevated *porticus* only partially obscured the inhabitant from the gaze of the spectator.

Aachen's gatehouse and solarium condition the palace inhabitants to the reality of royal

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[112] Ibid pg. 121.
[113] Kim Sexton, "Justice Seen: Loggias and Ethnicity in Early Medieval Italy" *Journey of the Society of Architectural Historians,* Vol. 68, No. 3 (September, 2009) pg. 309-337, here at 316.
[114] Susan Rabe *Faith, Art and Politics at St. Riquier: The Symbolic Vision of Angilbert* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania 1995).

surveillance.[115] Pope Gregory took up the subject of correct exercise of surveillance in his manual

for priests, *The Book of Pastoral Rule*, one of the most popular texts throughout the Carolingian

period.[116] While writing on spiritual leaders, Gregory parallels their vision to a creature of heaven,

exhorting them to remember their responsibility for those placed in their care.

> It is appropriate, then, that those who lead should have eyes within them and around them
> so that they can study how to please the inner Judge, and, at the same time, while providing
> an example of good living, they can detect what should be corrected in others.[117]

It is important to note the lack of specificity of the type of leader to whom Gregory addresses his

advice. Charlemagne was probably familiar with this advice manual and applied it to his own actions

as ruler of the palace household and the realm at large.[118]

As the ruler responsible for the correct training of his people, Charlemagne desired to create

a society that adhered to both his law and the commandments of God. In Solomon's Proverbs, the

believer is reminded that "the eyes of the Lord in every place behold the good and the evil."[119]

Smaragdus of St. Mihiel  (760-c.830) was a monk and abbot during the years of Charlemagne and

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[115] For a closer look at how the environment and social interaction are connected see "Günther
Knoblich and Natalie Sebanz, "Evolving Intentions for Social Interaction: From Entrainment to
Joint Action" in *Philosophical Transactions: Biological Sciences,* Vol. 363, No. 1499, "The Sapient Mind:
Archaeology Meets Neuroscience, (Jun, 12, 2008) pp. 2021-2031.

[116] A council held at Aachen in 813 recommended that its study along with other canons be required
of bishops. Hincmar of Rheims writes in a letter that a copy of the Book of Pastoral Rule was to be
given to all newly consecrated bishops.

[117] "Therefore, those who lead should be advised to examine everything carefully and to struggle to
become creatures of heaven. For the creatures of heaven are described as having eyes all around and
within them. Translation: Admonendi sunt itaque qui praesunt ut per circumspectionis studium
oculos pervigiles intus et in circuitu habeant, et coeli animalia fieri contendant. Ostensa quippe coeli
animalia in circuitu oculos habeant, quatenus et interno judici in semetipsis placere studeant et
exempla vita exterius praebentes ea etiam quae in aliis sunt corrigensa deprehendant." Translation
guided by the English edition of the Gregory I, *The Book of Pastoral Rule,*trans. George E.
Demacopoulos (New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2007)pg. 95.

[118] T.F.X Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians* pg. 211.

[119]  BSV Proverbs 15:3 In omni loco, oculi Domini contemplantur bonos et malos.

Louis the Pious' reigns. His commentary was published around 816 in conjunction with the regulation of the monasteries according to the Rule of St. Benedict, which was a larger push toward monastic consolidation within Louis the Pious' reign.  In his Commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict, Carolingian abbot and monastic reformer Smaragdus elaborates upon this verse:

> Because in every hour, and in every place we are aware of the attention of God, we ought not sin in the sight of him and his angels, but ought, in all places, and in every hour and all time live with justice and truth, and to stand with fear and trembling in his sight.[120]

The inherent expectation of surveillance permeated the Carolingian elite, whether clerical or layperson. Similar architectural elements appear in both secular and sacred establishments indicating that the exercise of power was comparable in each type of space. Charlemagne's attentive behavior throughout the palace complex was an expectation of the role of king and the head of the palace. Surveillance was not simply a royal prerogative; it was a task given to Charlemagne by God. Charlemagne's gatehouse marked the end of a journey and the beginning of a different social hierarchy with its own rules. In his *Expositio* on the Benedictine Rule, Hildemar of Corbie (d. 845) writes of these multivalent spaces and their prevalence within large planned establishments when discussing the greeting of guests. "In our region we have a solarium over the gate and also above the oratory."[121] The gatehouse restricts those who may enter the palace, while the solarium allows the

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[120] Expositio in Regulam S. Benedicti. Ed. Alfredus Spannagel and Pius Engelbert. Smaragdi abbatis Expositio in Regulam S. Benedicti. CCM 8. Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1974. Trans. David Barry. Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel: Commentary on the Rule of Saint Benedict. Cistercian Studies Series 212. (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 2007) Quia enim omni hora, et in omni loco nos cognoscimus a Deo respici, non debemus in conspectu ejus et Angelorum illius peccare; sed in omni loco, et in omni hora et omni tempore cum justitia et vertitate debemus vivere, et  timore et tremore in conspectu ejus stare.

[121] Nam in nostra provincia solarium habetur super portam et oratorium ibidem." Hildemar of Corbie, Expositio Regulae, ch. 23, ed. Ruppert Mittermüller, Expositio Regulae ad Hildemaro tradita (Regensburg: Pustet, 1880), pp. 605, revised and corrected by the Hildemar Project. Accessed August 15th, 2014. http://www.hildemar.org/FullText.html#Ch66  See also Kim Sexton " Justice Seen" pg. 316.

watchmen to greet guests in relative comfort. The architecture elevated and expanded the perspective of the watcher, resulting in his dominant optical control of the palace entrance and courtyard. Charlemagne could choose to make himself very visible from this location, but could just as easily watch without detection.[122]

Several archetypes influenced the galleries and gatehouse of Aachen. Charlemagne and his court designed the galleries and gatehouse drawing on both conceptual and concrete precedents. These structures combined the visual audacity of Roman triumphal architecture with the enigmatic gatehouses of Charlemagne's contemporaries while manipulating the optical field to favor the inhabitant of the solarium, suggestive of King David's palatial vantage point as described in Hebrew scripture.

An important Roman landmark Charlemagne likely encountered that may have inspired the entrance of Aachen palace was the Arch of Constantine.[123] Commissioned by the Senate in 312 to celebrate Constantine's victory at the Milvian Bridge, the Arch of Constantine stands on the processional route through the heart of imperial Rome. Triumphal arches marked pivotal stops along the route through Rome for returning emperors, with mythic beginnings attributed to Romulus.

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[122] Stuart Airlie, *Power and Its Problems in Carolingian Europe,* For the role of the court social group in creation of discipline, see Matthew Innes " 'A Place of Discipline:' Carolingian Courts and the Aristocratic Youth" in Cubitt, *Court Culture* pp. 59-76.

[123] In 773 Charlemagne besieged Lombard King Desiderius in the town of Pavia. He traveled to Rome to celebrate Easter as the guest of Pope Hadrian. After this festival, Charlemagne defeated Desiderius and became *Rex Longobardum.*

These monuments were status symbols for Roman emperors and generals from the first

century AD.[124]



Figure Six is a photograph of the extant monument.[125]

Located near the Forum and at the entrance of the Coliseum, this monument's striking

height and artistic detail proclaims Constantine as a triumphant emperor of Rome. The central arch

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[124] Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph,* (Cambridge: Harvard College, 2007.) The oldest extant triumphal arch stands in Pompeii, Italy from around AD 20. These monuments were erected all across the Empire, with extant examples in Lebanon, Turkey, Tunisia and Croatia for example. Beat Brenk, "Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne: Aesthetics versus Ideology" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 41, Studies on Art and Archeology in Honor of Ernst Kitzinger on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday (1987), pp. 103-109 See also Garipzanov, *Symbolic Language of Royal Authority* Jas Eslner *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire A.D. 100–450*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) McClendon, *Origins.*

[125] Slide courtesy of Artstor and The Hartill Archive of Architecture and Allied Arts. See also Eslner *Imperial Rome* see also Beat Brenk, "Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne: Aesthetics versus Ideology" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* Vol. 41, pp. 103-109.

stands at 11.5 meters tall and 6.5 meters wide. Two shorter arches flank the central arch. These

arches emphasize the central arch's height and width by contrast to their heights of 7.4 meters and

widths of 3.4 meters. The attic atop these arches gives the eye a place to rest after the upward thrust

of the arches. The inscription above the central arch is the focus of the attic.

> To the Emperor Caesar Flavius Constantine, the greatest, pious and happy Augustus,
> having been inspired by (a) divinity, in the greatness of his mind, he used his army to
> save the Respublica by the correct force of arms from a tyrant on one hand and
> factionalism on the other; therefore the Senate and the people of Rome have
> dedicated this arch to his triumphs.[126]

Relief panels above the smaller arches depict various scenes of victory celebrations.

Constantine's arch makes use of spolia from several monuments commemorating other emperor's

victories; the roundels atop the flanking arches have been traced to Hadrian's reign and the reliefs

were taken from a structure celebrating Marcus Aurelius' victory over the Marcomanni.[127] The Arch

of Constantine's influence on Carolingian architecture is exhibited in monastic as well as palatial

complexes. The gatehouse and Arch of Constantine marked the cityscapes as billboards of victory,

for all to see. As the rural poet Modoin created exclaims, these buildings announced Charlemagne's

successes as a ruler through recalling Roman monumental architecture. In the case of an Old

Testament precedent, the gaze was not directed toward the space, but guided outward from this

space of royal authority.

The solarium of David is not well described in the Old Testament, but characterized as a

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[126] Translation my own. The inscription reads "Imperatori caesari flavio constantino maximo/ pio felici augusto sentaus populusque Romanus/quod instinctu divinitatis mentis/ magnitudine cum exercitu suo/tam de tyranno quam de omni eius/ factione uno tempore iustis/ rempublicam ultus est armis/arcum triumphis insignem dicavit."

[127] The spolia roundels were retrofitted with Constantine's face in order to integrate them into his monument. Elsner, *Imperial Rome,* especially Chapter 3: Art and Imperial Power, pp.53-63.

place of surveillance, where David saw Bathsheba and fell in love with her. [128] David's wanton eye in his surveillance of his palace set him on a path to strife with his sons and eventual destruction. The king was expected to attain the moral high ground in the palace by virtue of correct surveillance. His malpractice of the royal authority warned Charlemagne that his surveillance was monitored from a higher vantage point. A privileged lookout tower was an aspect of royal palaces both in the Old Testament and the Carolingian architectural canon. In her article "Charlemagne's balcony," Mayke De Jong details the exegetical approach of Carolingian authors to the architecture of the solarium.[129] Paschesius Radbertus and Hraban Maur write exegetical explanations of the incidence that occurred between David and Bathsheba, but neither dwell on the significance of the architecture, and both were careful to skirt David's sin of adultery. Instead, these authors focus on the anagogical meaning, and read Bathsheba as the Church purifying herself, while David prefigures Christ as the expectant Bridegroom. While the sin was swept aside, none of these authors challenged the royal prerogative of surveillance within the palace, but only its misuse.

Imperial and biblical precedents that emphasized the royal gaze were not the only influences of the solarium; Aachen is a settlement that evolved from previous royal constructions and contemporary buildings in conjunction with the demands of the inhabitants. The following examples, those of Paderborn, Lorsch, and St. Riquier express the prerogative of surveillance through spatial characteristics that they have in common with Aachen gatehouse and galleries.

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[128] BSV 2 Samuel 11-13 In the meantime it happened that David arose from his bed after noon, and walked upon the roof of the king's house: and he saw from the roof of his house a woman washing herself, over against him: and the woman was very beautiful. *Dum haec agerentur, accidit ut surgeret David de strato suo post meridiem, et deambularet in solario domus regiae: viditque mulierem se lavantem, ex adverso super solarium suum: erat autem mulier pulchra valde.*

[129] De Jong, "Charlemagne's Balcony" in Davies and McCormick, *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe*, pp. 285-288.

Charlemagne built the palace at Paderborn as a staging post for his protracted wars against the Saxons. [130] Layers of ash in the archaeological stratigraphy indicate the palace was destroyed completely by fire twice in the last decades of the eighth century.[131] Despite their different functions and audiences, Aachen's relationship to this outpost in terms of both function and layout is clear. Paderborn was dyadic, like Aachen, with a chapel and hall built separately but in composition with one another. The rectangular audience hall was 30.9 meters long and 10.3 meters wide. The church, located east of the hall, was small enough to forego aisles, in marked contrast to the ornate chapel at Aachen. The extant church was constructed in the middle of the eleventh century and retains its spatial location.[132] Paderborn's buildings were constructed of rubble and mortar with a final stucco layer, and decorated with murals on the interior. An outdoor throne along the east wall of the courtyard consisting of a six-stepped masonry platform covered by a wooden canopy was likely used to gather courtiers together during fair weather for assemblies.[133] From this throne Charlemagne controlled both visual and aural fields of the courtyard, just as he did from the solarium of Aachen. These spaces were characterized by heightened visibility and royal presentation. Unlike Aachen's solarium, the occupant of the throne at Paderborn was continually confronted with the audience, without any way to screen the view of spectators, as the solarium afforded him at Aachen.

Another royally commissioned building contrasts with the open nature of the throne at Paderborn; the abbey of Lorsch's gatehouse leans toward the secretive and obscured presence of its

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[130] These hostilities were waged on on almost yearly basis from 772 to 804. Saxon tribes continued to cause problems for Charlemagne's heirs; the Stellinga Revolt in 841-845 was a serious threat to Carolingian rule in the Saxon territories. MGH SSrerGerm 25:10:20 Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire* pp. 335-336.

[131] McClendon, *Origins* Chapter Six: "Aachen and Rome, The Poles of an Empire."

[132] For the appearance of the current church, see Kenneth John Conant's classic work *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800-1200,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 4th ed, 1978) Especially Part One.

[133] Ibid 106.

inhabitant. Lorsch gatehouse is an extant building typically dated from the late 880s, commissioned

by Louis the Younger after his father, Louis the German's death and burial at Lorsch in 876.



Figure Seven is a photograph of the extant Torhalle, as it is commonly known.[134]

The exterior's intricate surface pattern provides a vibrant backdrop to the stunning capital

program reminiscent of the Arch of Constantine.[135] The tripartite arches of the ground level are the

same height and width.[136] Embedded columns frame the second-story windows, evoking an upper

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[134] Slide courtesy of Artstor and the Digital Library Federation Academic Image Cooperation. The tall pitched roof as seen above was a later addition. Stalley, Roger *Early Medieval Architecture.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire* pg. 335-337.

[135] McClendon, *Origins,* especially chapters eight and nine. See also John Onians *Bearers of Meaning :The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1988).

[136] McClendon,*Origins* pg. 92.

arcade on the solid wall. With interior measurements of 10 m by 6m, this second story served as a comfortable space for conversation. The arcade theme from the exterior continues in the interior decoration of a frieze of columns.[137] Entrance to this second story is through two short towers on the northern and southern terminations of the gatehouse. The Torhalle emulates the Arch of Constantine through its artistic program, but converts the prime real estate of the attic portion into a secretive and exclusive meeting space. Lorsch's gatehouse stands independently from the rest of the monastic complex, while in Aachen, the gatehouse is connected through the galleries on either side. Louis the Younger built his father's mausoleum concurrently with Torhalle. His dedication of these buildings ties them together as symbols of victory and ascension.[138] By casting his father's death in this light, he reapplied the military triumph evoked by constantine's arch into a Christian triumph over death and anticipates Louis the German's coronation in heaven.

The abbey of St. Riquier illustrates the connections between courtiers, architectural prowess and patronage. Built by Angilbert and consecrated in 799, this monastery was composed of a main basilica, a small, centrally planned Marian chapel and a third church dedicated to Benedict of Nursia. These oratories formed a triangular courtyard joined together with long galleries. The building programs of Aachen and St. Riquier took place concurrently; Charlemagne financed the first and significantly contributed to the second, and attended its inaugural Easter celebration in 800.[139] The monastery Angilbert built is no longer extant, but the buildings are depicted in a sixteenth-century woodcut as shown in Figure Eight, above, and based on a miniature of the twelfth century. Aachen's

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[137] Sexton, *Justice Seen* pg. 319.

[138] Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire* pg. 336. May this king now reign happily throughout the ages with the saints and enjoy God's love as he did in this world. Translation courtesy of Golberg. For the original, see MGH Poetae Latini 4.3:1034.

[139] He also celebrated its inaugural Easter celebration at the monastery in AD 800, see the Royal Frankish Annals, MGH SSrerGerm 7,

elevated arcade serves the same connective and perhaps contemplative purposes as this unique monastic cloister. The interconnectivity of Aachen is also reminiscent of the sprawling Lateran palace with its walkways constructed between the dining hall and basilica. The connective structures of the Lateran palace were a result of the continual building, in contrast to Aachen, which was conceived of as a single project. While these ecclesiastical spaces housed different uses than the palace of Aachen, their architectural similarity may indicate that these structures were aspects of the Carolingian architectural repertoire and whose social uses defined its function.

Figure Eight is an artist's rendition of St. Riquier during Angilbert's time as abbot. [140]

The solarium is the prime location for the executive royal eye enforcing the king's wisdom

and law throughout the palace. Charlemagne's gaze reportedly had the power to turn a spry cleric

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[140] The artist is Paul Petau, a late sixteenth and early seventeenth century French bibliophile and artist. Slide from Artstor Slide Gallery courtesy of University of California, San Diego.

into a member of his armed entourage. Charlemagne witnessed a single action and changed the

course of one courtier's life. From the palace balcony Charlemagne witnessed an elated priest

jumping nimbly onto his horse. After Charlemagne summoned the priest, he praises his agility and

orders him "to lend a hand in our work while you can still leap onto a horse so quickly."[141] The

architecture of the solarium was pivotal in this story by Notker and aids in the creation of

Charlemagne's royal persona. Notker shows Charlemagne practicing an abbatial form of surveillance

while acting with discerning and insightful authority.[142]

The solarium was also a space of collaboration for Charlemagne and his relatively small

group of leading men, a practical place for planning the larger spectacles and actions in a semi-

private location. Large assemblies required coordination and preparation as well as knowledge of

established forms and expectations. The *Admonitio Generalis* was a statement of authority and its

*capitula* were likely drafted by the king and his entourage over time in private conversations or in a

collaborative effort specifically for this purpose. In this exclusive space, Charlemagne and his

courtiers could draft legislation, discuss military campaigns and the state of the realm in relative

secrecy, provided that they could keep their conversations to themselves. Hincmar writes that

magnates and the king agreed 'that whatever they had discussed in confidence...ought not to be

mentioned by any of them...without their consent, not for one day, or two days or more or a year

but forever."[143] Hincmar goes on to elaborate that the secretive nature of these discussions was

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[141] MGH: SSrerGermNS 12:19 Quod per cancellos palatii rex prespciens cito illum ad se vocari praecipit  et sic illum allocutus est. Bone vir, celer es et agilis, pernix et praepes; utque ipse tu nosti turbatus idcirco opus habeo tali clerico in comitatu meo. Esto igitur interim socius laborum nostrorum, dum tam celeriter ascendere potes caballum tuum. Good man, you are swift and agile, active and nimble, and you yourself know that the peace of our empire is disturbed on every side by many military disorders. I certainly have need on such a cleric in my entourage.
[142] Janet Nelson, "Charlemagne: *Pater Optimus?"* in *Courts, Elites and Gendered Power* pg. 373.
[143] MGH Fontes Iuris, 3:86:88 Electi autem consoloarii una cum rege hoc inter se principaliter

necessary because they may touch on an individual who could be greatly disturbed and would be troubled unnecessarily. By keeping these conversations between themselves, magnates ensured the business of the realm was conducted without creating needless tension and possible enemies.

The solarium, smaller and more exclusive than the aula, was a space for quasi-equality at the very top of the political and social pyramid. Einhard affords his readers a brief glimpse into the solarium and its secretive conversations in his account of the relocation and miracles of the saints Marcellinus and Peter. His hagiography records the sacred theft of these relics from Rome to his monastery built to house their remains at Seligenstadt. Einhard writes often of his trips to the palace in this hagiography which differs markedly in style and tone from his biography of Charlemagne. He records his discussion about relic thievery with the Bishop of Paris, Hilduin (775-840), and their meeting at a window with a view:

Only a few days after I had come to court, having risen early as it is the custom of court officials, I went to the palace the first thing in the morning. There I found Hilduin… sitting by the door of the royal chamber (*cubiculum*), awaiting the appearance of the emperor. Having greeted him in the usual way, I asked him to get up and come over to a certain window with me, from which one could look [down] into the lower parts of the palace. [144]

These officials discussed the transfer of holy property from one magnate to another in a neutral space to protect their reputations and keep a potentially embarrassing incident to themselves. While the unsavory nature of relic theft was able to remain between these two courtiers, in other

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constitutum habebant, ut, quicquid inter se familiariter locuti fuissent, tam de statu, regni quamque et de speciali cuiuslibet persona, nullus since consensu ipsorum cuilibet domestico suo vel cuicunque alteri prodere debuisset secundum hoc, quod res eadem sive die duobus sive amplius seu annum vel etial in perpetuum celari vel sub silentio anere necesse fuit.

[144] See also, Kim Sexton, "Justice Seen" and Mayke De Jong, *Charlemagne's Balcony.* While the lack of specificity in the primary source accounts frustrates historians, it is helpful to remember the audience that the author was addressing had no need for them because they likely had intimate knowledge of the palace. For more about the conversation between Einhard and Hilduin, see the Translations of Marceillinus and Peter, translated within Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier*, p. 83.

cases ominous messages were broadcast by the architecture itself.

The galleries of Aachen served as a portent of Charlemagne's death in Einhard's *Vita Karoli*. In the chapter preceding Charlemagne's will, Einhard animates the palace as a complaining, feeble and forgetful edifice predicting its patron's demise.[145] These instances are symptoms of sympathetic aging of the palace. Senescence of the physical world was a large theme of the last years of Charlemagne's life as the generation of courtiers closely associated with Charlemagne grew older.[146] The palace in which he chose to permanently reside warned him of his death but also reminded him of its own age.

The collapse of the gallery predated Charlemagne's death in Einhard's recollection of events, but may have occurred in 817, when the Royal Frankish annals include an account of Louis the Pious and a group of courtiers being injured in a collapse after the celebration of Maundy Thursday.[147] Einhard's account also involves Easter Week but in his version the collapse occurred

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[145]MGH SSrerGerm 25:37 Accessit ad hoc creber Aquensis palatii tremor et in domibus, ubi conversabatur, assiduus laqueariorum. Translation: "The palace at Aachen frequently trembled and the [wooden] ceilings of the buildings in which he lived constantly creaked."
Porticus, quam inter basilicam and regiam operosa mole construxerat, die ascensionis Domini subita ruina ad fundamenta conlapsa." "The arcade that he had erected with great effort between the church and palace fell to the ground in unexpected ruin on the day of Ascension of our Lord." Translations with the help of Paul Dutton's *Charlemagne's Courtier*.
[146] Dutton, *Charlemagne's Mustache* Especially "A World Grown Old with Poets and Kings" Senescence was a trope that influenced an entire generation's artistic outlook toward the end of Charlemagne's life. pp. 151-167.
[147] MGH SSrerGerm 25 :146 "Feria quinta, qua cena Domini celebratur, cum imperator ab ecclesia peracto sacro officio remearat, lignea porticus, per quam incedebat, cut et fragili materia esset aedificata et tunc iam marcida et putrefaca pondus aliquod ferre non possent, incedentum desuper imperatorem subita ruina cum viginti et eo hominibus, qui una ibant, ad terram usque desposuit." Translation:"When the emperor left church on Maundy Thursday after the holy office was over, the wooden arcade through which he was walking collapsed on top of him and knocked him to the ground, with more than twenty of his companions. This happened on account of building's brittle material. The worn-out and rotten cross-beams could no longer hold up the weight of the framework above them." Translated with the help of Bernhard Scholz and Barbara Rogers (trans.)

on an auspicious day for earthly departures, Ascension Sunday. The incongruity of these

recollections may have a very human explanation. Einhard wrote after Charlemagne's death, looking

back on his career nostalgically and fondly. Memory is not a clearly defined set of memories attached

inseparably to its date in linear time. Carolingians saw these spaces as a means of mapping divine

messages onto the physical reality of the built environment. The solarium and gatehouse symbolize

royal authority through the ingrained social expectation that constrained the behavior of spectators

and Charlemagne. Einhard's shifting of this architectural incident indicates that a social memory of

calamity was understood to inform contemporary audiences of divine disposition.[148]

    Galleries manifested the balance of power within these separate stages of governance. When

they fell, imbalance was a physical fact and a message from God that required interpretation. The

solarium was the fulcrum with the galleries as the balance. The architecture of the palace and its role

in creating a social memory of the watchful eyes of an adept ruler are thematically intact across both

generational social and geographic boundaries.[149] Charlemagne used these spaces to extend his visual

power and royal authority to control the actions of his courtiers. At this junction of social

expectation the persona and the spatial environment presuppose and anticipate behaviors of the

social groups in these atmospheres.

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*Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories* University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1971.

[148] Paul Edward Dutton "Observations on Early Medieval Weather in General, Bloody Rain in Particular*"* in Davies and McCormick (ed) *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe* pp. 167-180 See also Paul Dutton "A World Grown Old with Poets and Kings" in *Charlemagne's Mustache,* pp. 151-168 Also Stuart Airlie *The Palace of Memory: The Carolingian Court as Political Centre* in Sarah Rees Jones, Richard Marks and A.J. Minnis (ed) Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe, (York Medieval Press, York, 200) pp. 1-20.

[149] Monasteries in the Carolingian era were not wholly isolated and received information from court. For a more in depth discussion on the role of monasteries as conduits of royal power, see Matthew Innes, *State and Society.*

The ability of kings to see throughout the palace takes on the attributes of the penetrating gaze of the divine eye. In Notker's anecdote of the spry cleric, Charlemagne's analytical observation of a mundane task results in significant and immediate change to the cleric's life. Charlemagne's reputation seventy years after his death as the "most vigilant of men," while indicative of personality type, was linked to the anticipated perspective made possible by the architecture of the solarium. Charlemagne's solarium was also a signifier of his royal authority, which was directly related to the visual dominance afforded to him by the architecture.[150]

The gatehouse of Aachen functioned as entrance, surveillance and show place with the palace. It was at once welcoming and aloof. Connected to the other structures by the long galleries, the central location was the fulcrum of the complex, allowing Charlemagne and his magnates access to either the aula or chapel with ease. While these structures are no longer extant, palace inhabitants used the the galleries and gatehouse daily. Historians have hypothesized about the function and location of Charlemagne's solarium without investigating the architecture in an in-depth manner. The hypothesis put forward in this chapter places the solarium within the larger social and architectural context of Aachen. The solarium and gatehouse enabled Charlemagne to exert royal authority in this space largely due to its tactical advantage to the rest of the palace and the courtyard. In the rush to examine the textual rhetoric of kingship, architectural and spatial facts have been shunted aside. The perfunctory treatment this architectural space within the writings of many Carolingian historians reveals the devaluation of the architectural evidence in favor of the textual, which obscures the spatial perception of the inhabitant and author.

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[150] De Jong, "Charlemagne's Balcony" in Davies and McCormick *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe* pg. 279

Chapter Three: From Your Lips to Charlemagne's Ears

Churches of the early Middle Ages were places of instant reckoning and intense scrutiny,

bridging Heaven and Earth. Their spaces were highly codified and behavior within them was

regulated with an eye towards temporal and divine displeasure. Angilbert's talking letter hails the

resident bishop at Aachen as Aaron, the high priest of the Israelites and brother of Moses.[151] The

letter explains Aaron's role within the social structure of the palace:

> You carry the ephod, and ignite the sacred altars,
> Your mouth carries the key to heaven and your hands the key of the chapel
> You always defend the population from the enemy by means of prayer.[152]

Angilbert's rich metaphor of a key underlines the exactitude required of priests and

spectators in the performance of the liturgy.[153] The author illuminates the anxieties attached to this

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[151] BSV Exodus 4:14-16 "Iratus Dominus in Mosen ait Aaron frater tuus Levites scio quod eloquens sit ecce ipse egreditur in occursum tuum videnaque te laetabitur corde. Loquere ad eum et pone verba mea in ore eius ego ero in ore tuo in ore illius et ostendam vobis quid agere debeatis ipse loquentur pro te ad populum et erit os tuum tu atuem eris ei in his quae ad Deum pertinet.

[152] MGH Poetae I, pg. 360-363 Tu portas effoth , sacrumque altaribus ignem, ore poli clavem portas manibusque capellae tu populem precibus defendis semper ab hoste.

[153] See Eric Palazzo "Performance of the Liturgy" in Thomas F. X. Noble and Julia H.M. Smith eds. *The Cambridge History of Christianity Vol. 3 Early Medieval Christianities c. 600- c.1100,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) Chapter 23, pgs 472-488 Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1977), Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom,* Cecelia Chazelle, *Crucified God in the Carolingian Era,* Thomas F.X. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and Art.* Eric Palazzo, "Art and Liturgy in the Middle Ages: Survey of Research (1980-2003) and some Reflections on Method, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology,* Vol. 105, No. 1. (Jan., 2006) p. 170-184, Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century,* trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1998) Eric Palazzo "Visions and Liturgical Experience in the Early Middle Ages," in *Looking Beyond. Visions, Dreams, and Insights in Medieval Art and History (*Princeton, 2010)Eric Palazzo, "Art, Liturgy and the Five Senses in the Early Middle Ages," Viator 41, 2010 Christina Pössel "The Magic of Early Medieval Ritual" *Early Medieval Europe,* Vol. 17, Issue 2, May 2009 Geoffery Koziol, "The Dangers of Polemic: Is Ritual Still an Interesting Topic of Historical Study" in The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kindom (840-897) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012) Gerd Althoff, "The

space through poetic language. The scene invokes the rituals of the Divine Offices and the priestly performance of this sacred ceremony. Just as a lock requires precision from the various tumblers in order to function, synchrony with the divine hinges on social differentiation and cohesion executed in the mass. By speaking the liturgy, priests opened the vaults of heaven and brought the presence of the Lord into the midst of the chapel. This stanza also captures the ideal division of labor between lay and ecclesiastical magnates. In the chapel those who did not fight prayed for protection and victory while in the aula those who captured glory and spoils in battle planned and prepared for war. Votive masses and the supplication to God for victory and protection were celebrated in the chapel in addition to its regular liturgical functions.[154]

Different social groups operated under specific specifications of behavior and purity. If these requirements were not met communion with the divine was unobtainable. The harmony invoked in liturgical rituals was not inevitable or assured; to achieve communion with the divine correct performance of ritual was a necessity.[155]

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Variability of Rituals in the Middle Ages" in Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, Patrick Geary, *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory and Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) p. 71-87 Richard Kieckhefer, *Theology in Stone: Church Architecture from Byzantium to Berkeley* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1990) Yitzhak Hen,*The Royal Patronage of Liturgy from Frankish Gaul to the Death of Charles the Bald* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2001).

[154] Garipzanov,*Symbolic Language of Authority*, McCormick, *Eternal Victory* ,Hen, *Royal Patronage Of Liturgy.*

[155] Hen, *Royal Patronage of Liturgy* McCormick, *Eternal Victory,* Rosamond McKitterick *The Frankish Church and Carolingian Reforms, 789-895* See also De Jong, "Charlemagne's Church" in Story, *Empire and Society.*
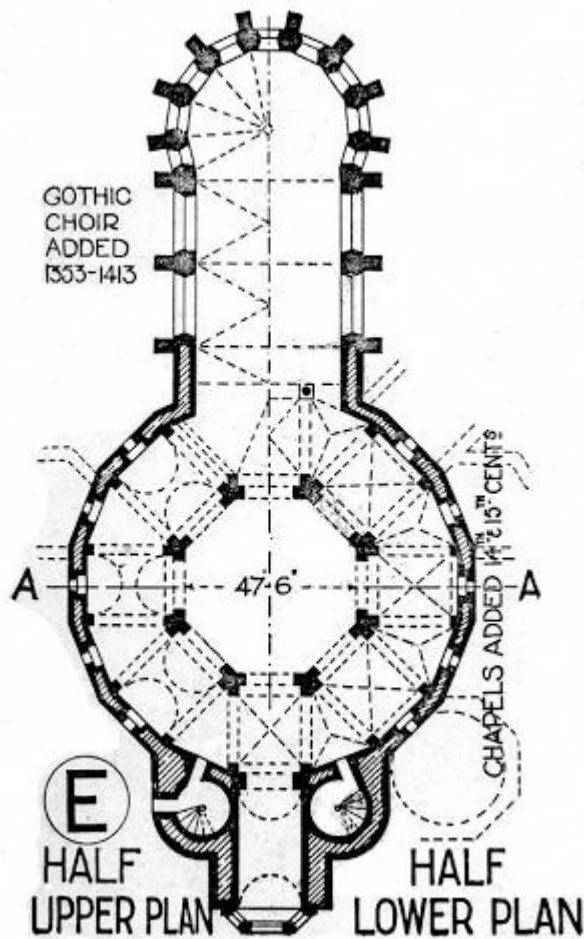
The centrally planned Marian church built by Charlemagne has survived to the present-day largely structurally intact though significant architectural additions have been built over the centuries. Figure Six is a plan of the original building and gothic choir with a bisected vaulting program with the first story on the left and the second on the right. Construction began with the octagon in the mid- to-late 790s.

Figure Nine is a plan of the Chapel with later additions. [156]

The walls are a stunning five meters thick and laid on top of a grid of oak beams supporting the foundation. The walls of the ground floor of the inner and outer drums are not bonded together in contrast to the second stories. The west entrance is known as the Wolfstür for the large bronze statue of a sitting but aggressive she-wolf brought to the palace by Charlemagne. The wolf is a

[156] Originally found in Fletcher, Banister. *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method.* Sixth edition, rewritten and enlarged. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921, p. 105. Provided courtesy of Allan Kohl. Accessed through ARTstor.

symbolically charged creature of the early Middle Ages. Characterized as greedy and ruthlessly cunning wolves posed a threat to the agrarian way of life. In the prologue of the *Admonitio Generali*s, Charlemagne invokes the predatory nature of the wolf as a sharp reminder of what lay in store for the lazy or contrary Christians of the Frankish Empire: "Lest the wolf who lies in wait should find someone transgressing the sanctions of the canons or infringing the teachings of the fathers- perish the thought- and devour him."[157] The residents of Aachen passed by this she-wolf while entering the church and moved underneath Charlemagne's balcony above the western entrance. This wolf also recalls the foundation myth of ancient Rome for the audience, and represents the transfer of legitimacy from one capital to another. This entrance held one of four bronze doors created for the chapel.[158] The Wolfstür continued the feral theme of the chapel complex with its double roaring lion-head doorknockers with delicately worked flowing manes and fierce eyes.

These knockers were framed in acanthus leaves and set within the largest doors of the chapel. Bronze work was an extensive presence within the chapel and possibly throughout the complex. The doors, screens of the domical vault windows, and the screens that compose the railing of the second story testify to the mastery of Carolingian metallurgists. Likely completed over the course of a decade, these pieces indicate that classicizing elements were assimilated into the artistic repertoire over time. The eight railings of the second story transition from abstract patterns into intricate renderings of Corinthian capitals and vine scrolls.[159]

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[157] MGH Capit. I pg. 53 ne lupus insidians aliquem canonicas sanctiones transgredientem vel paternas traditiones univeralium conciliorum excedentem, quod absit, inveniens devoret. See also Dutton's in-depth characterization of medieval views of wolves in Dutton, *Charlemagne's Mustache,* pp. 63-66

[158] McClendon, *Origins,* pg. 115 Archaeological excavations have recovered some of the molds from the casting workshop on the site.

[159] McClendon, *Origins,* 112.

An innovation which would later dominate Romanesque architecture is the vertically impressive western entrance of the palace, with towers flanking either side of the door. This new architectural style was heavily influenced by the verticality of Roman urban walls and towers. Vertically striking towers flanking western entrances and were a lasting effect of Carolingian architecture, being quoted in later Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals.[160] Angilbert built similar towers in St. Riquier's western entrance to the basilica. In the plan of St. Gall a formidable entrance was envisioned as well. Altars within these towers were generally dedicated to angels reflecting their cosmological liminality between humans and God. Charlemagne's second story exedra was clearly visible from the exterior, framed by the towers and created a space that was used as belfry.

For the modern viewer, the difference between the exterior and interior of the chapel is one of stark contrasts. The intricate and glittering mosaics, marble and precious metals decorating the interior are as visually striking as the severity of the exterior masonry.[161] Unfortunately, the program of original Carolingian mosaics has been lost. A drawing from the sixteenth-century survives that sheds light onto apsidal mosaic, without many specifics. The current artwork is the result of an extensive restoration undertaken in the late nineteenth century that removed the Baroque art.[162] While this makes reconstructing the liturgical space of the chapel during mass more difficult, the complementary function of art within the ritual space cannot be denied due to lack of survival. The iconography surrounding the audience aided in creating the illusion of an expanded space, separate from the bounds of the encapsulating architecture.

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[160]  Roger Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture.*

[161] Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture,* 51.

[162]  For an in-depth look at the later art of the chapel see Helmut Mainz, *Sanierung Mosaiken, Marmorverkleidung und Fußböden im Zentralbau des Aachener Doms*, (Aachen: Thouet-Verlag, 2012). Schriftenreihe Karlsverein-Dombauverein, Band 14

The Carolingian approach to visual culture was heavily influenced by early Christian examples of art and architecture. The Frankish audience possessed fertile imagination and memory and interpreted symbols within art in harmony in a singular artistic piece and within the larger experience of the palace.[163] Visual and aural meanings often align and reinforce one another, such as the program of liturgy and the chapel's artwork. The program of art served to enrich the meanings of the rituals enacted through visual stimulation of the spectator's memory dynamically ushering worshippers through biblical and theological interpretations that marked discrete uses of ritual space.[164] The chapel's program and placement of art can be cautiously speculated.  The she-wolf stands before the western entrance, a portal typically embellished by imagery associated with judgment and hell. Decorated with marble revetment, the walls of the chapel were aniconic. The vaulting of the first floor ambulatory likely featured Old Testament vignettes of the Kings of Israel. Currently, the mosaic program of the secondary sources are abstract designs, echoing the early bronze grilles of the gallery rail. Black and white banded arches are present throughout the chapel on both stories.

Charlemagne's chapel is a vertically segregated space with two floors; the second story housed his throne and a Savior altar, in the east, opposite Charlemagne's throne. Upon entrance to the chapel, the upward thrust of the design draws the eye toward Christ in the dome, sitting in glittering mosaic majesty. The sixteen- sided outer drum is separated from the octagonal core by large pilasters that support groin vaulting richly decorated with mosaics. The inner octagon's verticality is balanced by alternating bands of black and white stone on the facing arches of the

[163] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) and also *The Craft of thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
[164] Palazzo, "Art and Liturgy in the Middle Ages" pp. 176-178.

vaulting program. The circumference of the octagon is one-hundred and forty-four Carolingian feet, emulating the dimensions of the Heavenly Jerusalem as seen by John the Revelator.[165] The second floor and clerestory are marked by columnar screens within the tall masonry vaults. Composed of rampant groin vaulting, the ambulatory was of much lower and wider dimensions than the upper gallery. Groin vaults are produced by the ninety-degree angle intersections of two barrel vaults. Tall transverse vaults segregate the space into square and triangular bays in the second story vaulting. This also reinforces the separation between central octagonal space and the drum. The ambulatory's small windows and lower ceiling contrast dramatically with the light filled space of the central octagon. Verticality and centrality are constantly reinforced themes in the experience of the chapel. The second story of the chapel exhibits various differences from the ground floor. Each of the walls of the octagon is pierced with a large window, originally of translucent sheets of gypsum.[166] The second story gallery is enclosed using bronze grilles and the windows of the chapel were also decorated with cast bronze screens of differing designs.

For medieval viewers art and experience are cooperative aspects of performance and the memory derived from the experience.[167] Just as Angilbert's letter leads the reader from place to place within the palatine complex, the art, performance and ritually activated space of the chapel guides viewers by means of coordinated visual and verbal cues. Architectural elements such as columns and capitals are functional messengers taken from other monuments, especially those of Christian

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[165] BSV Revelations 21.17 et mensus est murus eius centum quadraginta quattor cubitorum mensura hominis quae est angeli. A Carolingian foot is equal to 33.3cm, McClendon, *Origins.* p. 109.
[166] Grimme, *Der Dom Zu Aachen,* 34.
[167] Herbert Kessler *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2000) See also Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, Eric Palazzo "Art and Liturgy in the Middle Ages: Survey of Research (1980-2003) and Some Reflections of Method," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology,* Vol. 105, No. 1(Jan, 2006) pg. 170-184. Eric Palazzo "Art, Liturgy and the Five Senses in the Middle Ages" *Viator* No.1  (2010) pg. 25-56.

antiquity, to uphold Charlemagne's chapel.[168] These pieces of *spolia* announced the Franks as heirs to these venerable rulers through appropriation of the materials used for the creation of their legacies.

The chapel's uncommon floor plan creates an unobstructed central space opening abruptly from the low ceiling of the ground floor ambulatory and emphatically separated the space into a center and periphery. The number eight was commonly associated with baptisteries in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. The chapel of Aachen falls into a small but distinct group of centrally planned churches built in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. The specific archetypes chosen by the Carolingian court to create the chapel are highly charged political statements. The most apparent to medieval viewers as well as historians is San Vitale in Ravenna. Figure Two, below, is a plan of this impressive example of late antique architecture.[169] Constructed between 526-547 this octagonal church is resplendent with marble and mosaics, the most famous of which depict Emperor and Empress Justinian and Theodora in the act of presenting offerings for the altar. By the time Charlemagne visited this space, it could have very well been understood that they were the patrons, rather than Bishop Maximilian.[170]

The architectural lines of San Vitale are rounded, giving the interior a soft, billowing effect. The chapel of Aachen incorporates elements of San Vitale with differences in construction techniques, material and technology. Terra cotta tubing was used to construct the vaulting in San Vitale whereas Charlemagne's chapel is completed in stone masonry. The second story gallery

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[168] Einhard writes that the king "was not able to obtain columns and marbles for its construction anywhere else, he managed to have them brought from Rome and Ravenna."

[169] Slide courtesy of University of California, San Diego, ARTstor slide gallery, accessed through ARTstor.

[170] Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) See also Mariëtte Verhoeven *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna: Transformations and Memory* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

receives much more attention in Aachen than it does in San Vitale. The height is reserved for the second story in Aachen, making the building appear to stretch upward and draw the eye toward the domical vault above. The second story gallery runs the whole length in Aachen while arrested in San Vitale to allow the western narthex to open up to the central dome. The chapel's architecture actively works to control the spectator by forcing the eye and body to move in paths specific to this space. The capitals gracing the columns of these imperial churches differ drastically. San Vitale's ground floor capitals are exquisite examples of the Byzantine cushion form, and the upper gallery and narthex are Composite capitals, a mixed order that combines the volutes of the Ionic with the acanthus leaves of the Corinthian.

Another of Aachen's probable architectural prototypes is the Baptistery of the Lateran. Constantine's baptism is traditionally associated with this space, but the extant building dates from the mid-fifth century. This octagonal baptistery is very similar to Aachen, with a clearly delineated center and periphery. The structure's central space is dominated by its massive baptismal font. During one of his four visits to Rome, Charlemagne likely saw this prominent feature of the Lateran Palace. The capitals of these eight columns consist of four pairs, with the western and eastern capitals of Ionic, the northern of Corinthian and the southern pair as Composite. Capitals and columns are stationary but dynamic markers of space. The use of Composite capitals throughout in the Aachen chapel recalls the great Constantinian building projects of Rome. Originally the capital of triumphant Roman emperors, the Composite capital emerges as a signature of early Christian space in late antiquity, a visual co-opting of imperial power to the kingdom of God. Constantine did not employ this capital on his triumphal arch. I Instead he ceded this mark of Christian triumph for

use in consecrated spaces, such as the Lateran.[171] These capitals were associated with the triumphal Christ who grants the victory to his chosen ambassadors on earth.  Composite capitals alluded to the particular bond between Christ and Constantine. Their use in the Aachen chapel places Charlemagne in a hallowed lineage as a descendant of that great ruler while emphasizing his reliance on and trust in Christ for victory.

The domical mosaic is another perceptible sign of the imperceptible reality. Christ sits enthroned in Judgment, a glittering display of gold and jewels, with the elders of the Apocalypse throwing their crowns in a ritual dance of fealty and participating in the liturgy with the chosen people of God, clearly invoking the Revelations of John: "Then the twenty-four elders and the four living figures fell down and worshiped God, where he sits enthroned, crying, Amen, Alleluia."[172] From the perspective of this Christ, Carolingian social hierarchy is carefully ordered and comes together to offer their gifts and worship. Christ's gaze was unrelenting and penetrated the lives and bodies of the Carolingians gathered in this liminal space.

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[171] Onians, *Bearers of Meaning* 59.
[172] BSV "et ceciderunt seniores viginti quattor et quattor animalia et adoraverunt Deum sedentem super thronum dicentes amen alleluia".

Figure Ten is an artist's rendition of the previous mural on Aachen's ceiling. [173]

Charlemagne's throne on the second story directly confronts the mosaic, placing the temporal ruler under the scrutiny of the Eternal Victor. As caretaker of the Lord's Christian kingdom, Charlemagne was a servant who owed a complete reckoning of accounts. In the physical apposition of the portrayed Christ and Charlemagne, "the Pantokrator in Heaven and the Autokrator on earth face each other and become transparent as they stand out against, and become visible through each other."[174] The relationship between these rulers embodied by this dichotomy reinforces the obligations each owed to the other.

The chapel contains, amplifies and operates in rituals of vital importance. For Carolingian audiences, divine and temporal hierarchies interact within this space and the chapel embodies the

[173] Engraving by Giovanni Giustino Ciampini (1633-1698). Slide courtesy of University of California, San Diego and ARTstory slide gallery. Accessed through ARTstor.
[174] Ernst Kantorowitz *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship* (University Of California Press, Los Angeles, 1946) pg. 49

divine approval and support of the Franks.[175] The chapel is a rendition of the Heavenly Jerusalem

orchestrated by Charlemagne and his leading luminaries to allow their people a glimpse of the glory

of Heaven. An offering to Christ, Charlemagne's opulent church is a gift to his Lord with whom he

had a relationship built upon reciprocity.[176]Gift giving was an aspect of social interaction within the

Carolingian court that helped to define relationships and cement alliances. Carolingian culture

cultivated a strong association between material offering and divine benediction. The Frankish

people gathered within the chapel were not separated by a gulf of empty space which they would

have to traverse;  instead, all spectators participated and were close to one another and the altar.[177]

While everyone participated in the rituals within the chapel, as its patron it is Charlemagne's gift to

his flock and his Lord. The chapel's material magnificence was the result of the aggressive stance of

Charlemagne and his armies against the enemies of the Lord. Charlemagne and his nobility waged

war with non-Christians of various stripes, but according to contemporary sources the defeat and

seizure of the wealth of the Avar Rings was the most lucrative conquest of Charlemagne's reign.[178]

As Einhard writes "the mind of man could not recall any war in which the Franks were so endowed

with booty and wealth. Indeed, up to then they had seemed almost poor..."[179] Charlemagne used this

influx of wealth to benefit Roman churches and pontiffs and to endow his chapel with golden

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[175] McCormick, *Eternal Victory,* See also Arnold Angenendt, *Toleranz und Gewalt: das Christentum zwischen Bibel und Schwert.* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2007)

[176] For evidence in poetry, refer to the refrain of this poem, whose ambiguity is discussed compellingly by Gillian R. Knight's work "The modalities of performance in the Carolingian Court" See Arnold Angenendt, "*Donationes pro Anima:* Gift and Countergift in the Early Medieval Liturgy" in Jenniffer Davies and Michael McCormick *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe* pg. 133-154, Florin Curta, "Merovingian and Carolingian Gift Giving" *Speculum* 81, 2006.

[177] In contrast to the longitudinal space which had been and would continue to be the predominant mode of Christian sacred buildings until the various Reformations in the Early Modern period. For an in-depth discussion, see Richard Kieckefer, *Theology in Stone.*

[178] See the notes concerning this famous battle and treasure in Chapter One.

[179] MGH SS. rer. Germ. 25, p. 16 Quippe cum usque in id temporis poene pauperes viderentur, tantum auri et argenti in regia repertum.

vessels refashioned for liturgical purposes.[180] The chapel displayed its plunder, spoils gained through

bloodshed and violence, as trophies of Frankish victory and signs of divine favor.

The liturgical texts and acclamations known as the *Laudes Regiae* illustrate the relationship

between the victorious Christ and His regent. This specific liturgical practice may have Roman

overtones, but not from any singular source. The first attested Carolingian *Laudes* form can be dated

with relative security to 783- 787.[181] Liturgies for kings were profound statements of political and

religious authority while simultaneously being supplications for divine favor. The *laudes* were

undoubtedly performed in this church which embodies the victories granted to Charlemagne by

Christ. During Charlemagne's reign rang with the refrains of liturgy; *Te Deum Laudamus, te dominum,*

*confitemur*, and *Christus vincat, regnat et imperat.* It is through Charlemagne's "unconquered right hand,"

that this justice and peace of the Lord is felt on earth. In this space, Charlemagne's allegiances are

clearly placed on a vertically oriented spectrum. Bearing marked resemblance to the Roman liturgy,

these sacramentaries and *Laudes* reveal an interest in traditions based outside the immediate and

local. These acclamations have  late antique precedent and were likely sung during an *adventus,* the

parade of triumphant conqueror and their armies return to Rome.[182] The arrival of the Avar spoils

probably was celebrated within the chapel with such liturgical pomp.

In the royal box, a columnar screen framed Charlemagne's throne. This throne of the new

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[180] Second Samuel Chapter 8:11 "quae et ipsa sanctivicavit rex David Dominocum argento et auro quae sanctificaverat de universis gentibus quas subjuaverat.

[181] Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae,* pg. 21 Treitler, *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know the Medieval Song and how it was Made.* (Oxford, Oxford University Press) 2007, See also James Grier Source: 'Adémar de Chabannes, Carolingian Musical Practices, and Nota Romana,'*Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 56, No. 1 (Spring 2003), pp. 43-98 and Susan Boynton 'Orality, Literacy, and the Early Notation of the Office Hymns' *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* Vol. 56, No. 1 (Spring 2003), pp. 99-168.

[182] Ibid, 18.

Solomon attested in the Carolingian sources powerfully illustrates how malleable the biblical characters and the past were to Frankish audiences. The relationship between Carolingian kings and their Old Testament heroes is pervasive, if not textually explicit. Old Testament and medieval kingship were both very bloody enterprises. The books of Samuel and Kings record the military activities of the Israelites and their kings. This resonated forcefully with Charlemagne and the experiences of his life. By the time of construction of the chapel, Charlemagne had waged wars against the Lombards, Saxons, Bretons and the Avars. As his pseudonym David implies, he was a warrior king who in his youth devastated armies and in his senescence desired to build a permanent Temple for the Lord. David was not able to build the Temple due to his bloodshed, but was assured his son, Solomon would accomplish his wish. Theodulf likens Charlemagne to both of these Old Testament kings, writing "your noble understanding [recalls] Solomon's, your strength reminds us of Solomon."[183] In the chapel, aspects of these two heroic kings are combined, creating a discreet but powerful declaration of place within their legacy. A palimpsest from the monastery of Reichenau in the early eighth century reveals that special services for the king's victory had gained sufficient currency to warrant the codification of appropriate texts. This specific prayer beseeches the God of the Old Testament to aid Franks gaining victory over the enemy as: "He had once delivered Israel from Egypt."[184] Some historians seem a little hesitant to grant the court of Charlemagne such discernment in the material discourse centered on this throne. "If Charlemagne himself had intended a literal and direct emulation of Old Testament kingship, one might expect that this would be reflected in the design of this throne, and yet the evidence of the throne is equivocal."[185] Mary

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[183]  MGH Poetae 1:483 Salomonem stemmate sensus, viribus et David Translation courtesy of Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance,* pp. 150-151.
[184] McCormick, *Eternal Victory* pg. 343.
[185] Garrison, "Franks as the New Israel?" in Hen and McKitterick, *Uses of the Past* pg. 155.

Garrison focuses her argument about Carolingians portraying themselves as the new chosen people of God on the literal nature of the textual evidence at the expense of the experiential evidence alluded to by the spaces Carolingians inhabited, and without viewing the space of the chapel as a whole. As Richard Krautheimer points out, "the architect of a medieval copy did not intend to imitate the prototype as it looked in reality; he intended to reproduce it *typice* and *figuraliter.*"[186] This scrutinizing stance of historical inquiry does not acknowledge the broader range of associations humans make, regardless of culture or time. As a spectator within the chapel listened to a triumphal liturgy and saw Charlemagne on this throne, the implication was clear.

The chapel houses the enactment of the covenant between Charlemagne, his flock, and Christ. The apex was the liturgy and it continues to be, at least in Catholic churches. Ritually commemorating the crucifixion of the Lord as he had commanded his faithful, the mass celebrates His victory over sin, death, and Satan. For Charlemagne and his court, victories over both Christian principalities and pagan tribes were predicated on divine approval and satisfaction with their oblations and actions.

Texts such as the Sacramentary of Gellone attest to new developments in liturgical practice with apparent ties to the royal court.[187] A hybrid of Gallican and Roman liturgical practices and prayers known as Gelasian, this sacramentary was brought to the monastery by its founder, William of Toulouse, a relative of Charlemagne, around 790. The language used in these prayer books forcefully recalls the Old Testament relationship between the awesome Lord and the tribes of Israel. The militant tone focuses on the victorious and conquering God whose protection congregations

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[186] Richard Krautheimer "An Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture" pg. 17.

[187] For an in-depth analysis of this work in its theological and artistic context, see Celia Chazelle's work *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001.

asked for in order to bring stability and peace. The dependence upon Christ is recurrent throughout,

but the secret of this missal exhorts Christ to "accept the prayers and sacrifices of your church for

the safety of your beseeching servant *N* (name of king here)."[188]Another secret in a liturgy for kings

beseeches God to stretch out his mighty arm, so that after victory is won, the fruits of the king's

labor could further serve God's purpose.

> "O Lord, accept the prayers and sacrifices of your church for the safely of your beseeching servant, *N.,* and perform the ancient miracles of your arm for the protection of faithful peoples, so that, after the enemies of peace are overcome, secure Christian liberty may serve you"[189]

This mass for kings can be found in the Gregorian sacramentaries that were corrected by

Benedict of Aniane (c. 747-821) after the sacramentary given to Charlemagne by Pope Hadrian was

found ill- suited to the needs of Frankish churches.[190] Triumph and its necessary elements and

purpose are the focus of this secret. Success on the battlefield was for Charlemagne a political and

theological exercise. By creating masses for kings, Benedict modified the existing liturgical corpus to

suit the needs of the Carolingian court.

Control over the mass and its reception by audiences, both temporal and ethereal, had been

of concern within Carolingian intellectual circles. While the liturgical rituals emphasize social

cohesion and harmonious hierarchy, the reality of friction and strife between social groups permeate

the shadows.[191]  Charlemagne's placement within space emphasizes his mediation between the courts

of heaven and earth; the apogee of the latter, he is simultaneously a vassal in the former. In the

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[188] Garipzanov *Symbolic Language of Authority* Appendices, pg. 331.

[189] Ibid, 330 and 331 Suscipe domine praeces et hostias aecclesiae tuae pro saulte famuli tui illius supplicantis et in protectione fidelium populorum antiqua brachii tui operare miracula, ut superatis pacis inimicis secura tibi serviat Christiana libertas.

[190] Hen, *Royal Patronage of Liturgy,* p. 92.

[191]  Susan Rankin, "Carolingian Music" in Rosamond McKitterick, *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

chapel, perched on his throne in the upper gallery, Charlemagne acts as the pivot between the two

hierarchies. Various aspects of Charlemagne's rule emphasize his concern over the behavior and

expectations of his ecclesiastical ministers and his Christian flock. The overarching program of

*correctio* presses for liturgical perfection from celebrants and understanding from lay audiences across

the Carolingian Empire. As the head church of the entire realm, the palatine chapel of Aachen helps

define and manifest the relationships between Charlemagne, the Frankish Church, God and the

Franks. The Carolingian desire for perfection is embodied in this physical place and the social

stratification of physical bodies taking place within it. For rituals to have any efficacy, correct

interplay between text and body was required. Alcuin's short poem for scribes is concerned with the

production of a correct text and the importance of punctuation

> May they distinguish the proper meaning by colons and commas, and put each point
> in the place where it belongs so that the lector makes no mistakes nor suddenly
> happens to fall silent when reading before the pious brothers in church.[192]

Illustrating the connection between text and performance, between a comma and a praying body,

Alcuin requires scribes to anticipate the enactment of the words they write. Carolingians believed

correct texts drive correct worship, leading to more consistent and efficient communication with

God. But it was not just the cantors who had obligations within the sanctified space of the church.

The lay participants also could come under the scrutiny of Charlemagne for their proficiency. They

were held to different standards but they were expected to have a basic level of knowledge. Alcuin

wrote an exegesis of the two swords, found in Luke and Matthew, in response to a question posed

by Charlemagne, in which he articulates a sophisticated stance on the social obligations of lay

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[192] MGH Poetae I, p. 320 "per cola distinguant proprios et commata sensus/ et punctos ponant
ordine suo/ ne vel falsa legat, taceat vel forte repente/ante pios fratres lector in ecclesia" See also
Peter Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance.* pg. 138-9.

magnates to uphold and contribute to Christian society.[193] Alcuin strongly advised lay courtiers and others that their behavior set a standard for their social class as well as for those who were peering in from the outside. Correct understanding and memorization of foundational prayers was the beginning of a lifetime of Christian service expected of the educated Carolingian elite. Alcuin's Epistle 136 integrates knowledge of the Bible into the courtly expectations that became increasingly defined throughout Charlemagne's reign. In the chapel, a courtier's orthodoxy came under scrutiny from the king himself.

Charlemagne imitated God when he acted as the *inspector secretorum,* master of secrets, in the space of the chapel.[194] From his throne, Charlemagne had an unobstructed view of the altar and choir in the eastern apse. The relationship between Charlemagne and Christ is one of emulation because "early Carolingian writings invite comparisons between the conquering Christ and lay princes, who are lauded for their divinely blessed governance, virtue, and battles against their and the church's enemies."[195] Nokter's portrayal of Charlemagne vividly emphasizes the emperor's Christ-like behavior in the exercise of royal authority, separating those who excelled at their tasks from those who disappointed him with their efforts. "Charles, the wisest of men, imitated the justice of the eternal judge" and placed his students on his right and left, praising and upbraiding them, respectively.[196] In this small vignette the themes found within the architecture of the chapel are brought into a narrative discourse. While the accuracy of this event is questionable, another incident

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[193] Mary Alberi 'The Sword Which you Hold in your Hand': Alcuin's Exegesis of the Two Swords and the Lay *Milites Christi* in *Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era* pgs 117- 131 See also, Rachel Stone *Morality and Masculinity,* especially Chapter 2, "Moral texts and lay audiences" pp. 29-67.

[194] Dutton, *Charlemagne's Mustache,* "Whispering Secrets to a Dark Age".

[195] Celia Chazelle *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) pg.19.

[196] MGH SSrerGermNS., 12: 4 Tunc sapientissimus Karolus eterni iudicus iusticiam imitatus, bene operatos ad dexteram segregatos his verbis allocutus est... Translated by Thomas F.X. Noble in *Lives of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious* pg. 61.

in which Charlemagne carefully judged the actions of others was recorded in a letter he sent to a bishop concerning troubles at Aachen's baptismal celebrations.

In a particularly telling letter, Charlemagne's role as rector of his flock and the expectations he set upon them were openly discussed between Charlemagne and Bishop Ghaerbald of Liège. Charlemagne writes to Ghaerbald to discuss the Christian education of godparents who are tasked with providing the correct Christian education of their godchild.[197] Carolingian baptism underwent a redefinition in response to the subjugation and forced conversion of the Saxons. To reinforce baptism's relationship with understanding of scripture and dogma, those receiving the sacrament or sponsoring the baptismal candidate were expected to memorize and explain the Lord's Prayer and Creed. Theodulf calls these "the foundation of faith, without understanding and belief of these prayers one cannot be catholic."[198] Upon approaching prospective baptismal instructors sponsoring children, in Aachen, Charlemagne was appalled to discover they were not able to recite the Lord's Prayer and the Creed.

This vignette shows Charlemagne's active involvement within his chapel; the verb, *iussimus, is*

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[197] MGH-Capit 1, no. 122 p. 241 Et sicut in proximo comperimus, in die apparationis Domini multi fuerunt apud nos inventi que volebant suspiere infantes de sacro fonte baptismatis; quod iussimus singulariter et diligenter examinare et requirere; et pluses fuerunt qui nulla exide in memoriam habebant. Quibus praecepimus abstinere, ut antequam orationem et simboloum scirent er recitare potuissent, neque aliquem de sacro fonte baptismatis suscipere praesumerent. Et valde exubescentes fuerunt ex hac re et spondere volebat, ut, si concessum eis fuissete, ad tempus hoc improperium a se potuisset auferre.  For a brief overview of the ties which bound godparents, natal parents and the children they shared, see Julia M.H. Smith *Europe after Rome: A New Cultural History 500-1000* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005) ch. 3 "Friends and Relations" especially 84 See also Joseph H. Lynch *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.).

**[198]** Theodulf, "Precepts for the Priests of his Diocese" *Patrologia Latina* Cols. 105 quod in his duabus sententiis omne fidei Christianae fundamentum incumbit, et nisi quis has duas sententias et memoriter tenuerit, et ex toto corde crediderit, et in oratione saepissime frequentaverit, catholicus esse non poterit. Translation courtesy of Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader,* pg 106-118.

a use of the first-person plural, the royal "we," as Charlemagne questions the baptismal sponsors to ascertain their knowledge of the basic tenets of their faith. By having a baptismal font at the center of his realm, the font points to the rebirth of the Franks as the model Christian nation while hinting at the celebrated thermal baths of the complex, testimonies to the Carolingian absorption of classical culture and spaces for conducting contemporary politics. From the construction of the chapel to the orthodox religion of his people, "Charlemagne strove to create a new infrastructure for transforming Frankish society into a better and more devoted Christian society."[199] Baptism transforms the recipient into a new person, one of the *populum Dei*. A ritual with sixteen steps, Carolingian baptism reinforced the death to the world through a renunciation of the Devil and exorcism before the immersion. After the immersion, the new member of Christ's kingdom had the breath of life breathed into their nostrils and was clothed in white. The gallery of the chapel was dark, and Christ compels the bodies and eyes of the spectators toward the light filled central space of the octagon, directly into his gaze. The baptismal font's importance carried across artistic genres while recalling the chapel for those living within the palace.

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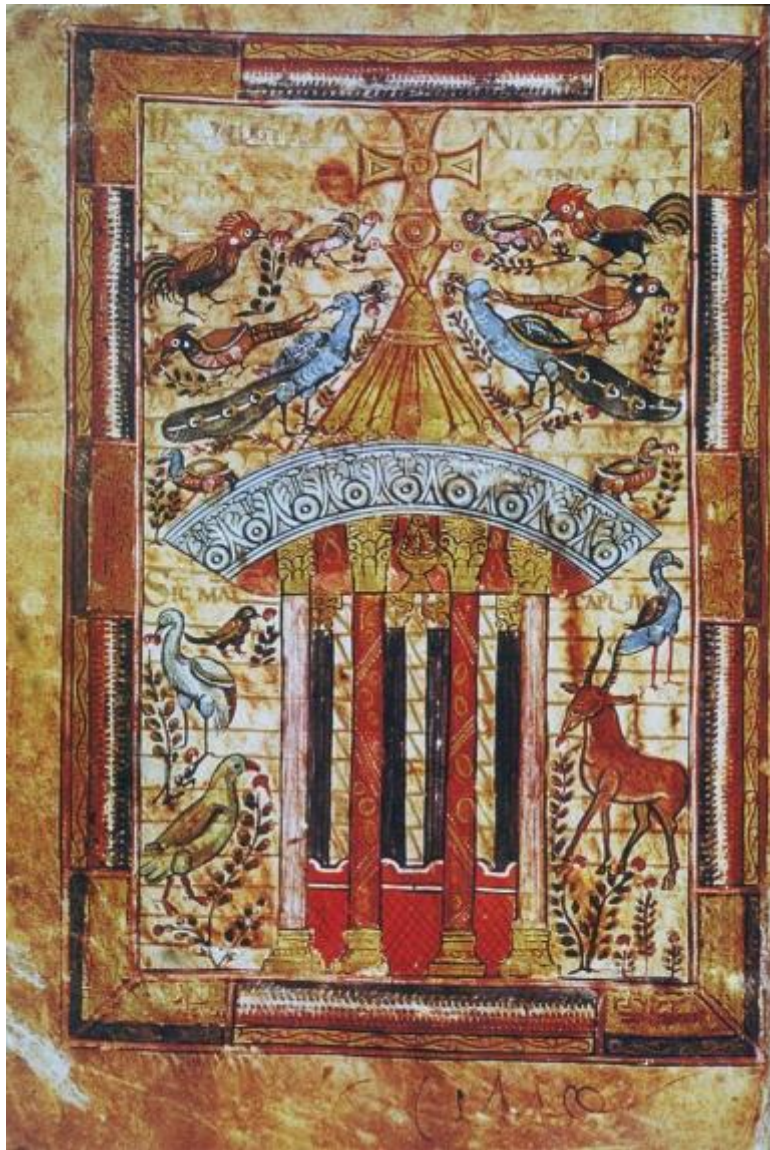[199] Hen, *Royal Patronage of Liturgy,* pg. 71.

Figure Eleven is an illustration in The Godescalc Gospel of the Fountain of Life. [200]

The chapel is an inclusive theater and stage for the commingling of divine and temporal.

Each body is taken out of its relative perspective and channeled into a larger social statement so the

assembled Franks could speak with one voice to the heavenly audience. The bodily movements of

[200] Godescalc Gospels ms. Nouv. Acq. lat. 1203 fol. 3v Fountain of Life (Bibliotheque Nationale de France) Lawerence Nees *Early Medieval Art,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002, especially Chapter 10: Art at Court 173-195. Slide courtesy of University of California, San Diego and ARTstor slide gallery. Accessed through ARTstor.

the priests and spectators invest the gestures of each person with added significance in this charged sacred space. The chapel's singular aural focal point during the liturgy is the eastern altar. Through this singularity of focus, the entire congregation, regardless of their placement within the chapel, is drawn together into unity of experience. In the chapel ritual time supersedes the relative and intrapersonal time of individuals because the gathered social groups of the Franks, visitors and ministers are harmonized into a cohesive state of order. Aachen was the master clock of the realm in liturgical time, within the individual worshippers transcended boundaries and became unified through the shared experience of prayer and communion.[201]

Visions of perfect harmony and their relation to baptism can be found in other specimens of Carolingian art as well. The Godescalc Gospel, a luxurious manuscript written in gold lettering on dyed purple vellum, was created for Charlemagne in the early 780s. Full page illuminations featuring the Evangelists, Christ in Majesty and a Fountain of Life are stunning examples of Carolingian artistry. The fountain of life features a *piscina* with a canopy surrounded by animals of paradise, as seen in Figure Four. The canopy rests of two sets of four columns, with one foregrounded in red and the other shadowed in a purplish hue. The Godescalc Fountain of Life columns, through their different colors, create a sense of depth on the page. The columns and their paired nature could illustrate the conflation between the number four and eight. While Godescalc's conceptualized spaces are intricate and convey spatial relationships within scenes, other mediums were hampered by the limited amount of detail possible, due to technological and size restrictions.

Coinage was a primary means by which the majority of Franks came into contact with Charlemagne's authority; these propagandistic elements convey a royally sanctioned message through highly compact and stylized symbolic medium. A silver denarius issued by Charlemagne

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[201] Mayke De Jong, "Charlemagne's Church' in Story, *Empire and Society*, pp. 103-135

from 812 to 814 celebrated the Byzantine recognition of his imperial title. These coins were minted

for only a short time because of Charlemagne's death in 814. On the reverse of some of these coins

there is a simplified temple with four columns, which others have suggested may represent the

palatine chapel.[202] These imperial coins can be understood to disseminate the chapel and its liturgical

power to a wider audience than those who experienced this space directly. With the reputation of

Charlemagne's chapel preceding itself, the four columns of the denarius could imply the Marian

church by association. The chapel was not able to be encountered directly by everyone within the

Frankish empire. For the audience of visitors who left Aachen and returned home, they carried a

memory of the event. Others experienced the chapel of Aachen through a royally produced artistic

statement of celebration and legitimacy.

The genius of Charlemagne's chapel lies in its synthesis of various and recognizable

quotations of meaningful monumental spaces into a harmonious sanctuary. Social standing was

clearly delineated in order to deliver synchrony but was never a surety. Architecture captures a

concrete and culturally specific concept of the human relation to the divine and the ideal hierarchy

of both heavenly and temporal courts.  Instead of viewing it as a static space, the medieval audiences

understood monumental architecture as a journey, with visual as well as ritual signposts. The

Palatine chapel of Aachen presents several carefully articulated statements combined into a singular

edifice whose variety added to its aesthetic appreciation on both conceptual and sensory levels. But

these aspects of experience cannot be separated from one another in the impression individuals

store as a memory in order to recall it later as an abstraction of a sensory experience.

Charlemagne and his ecclesiastical magnates were constantly negotiating their relationship

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[202]Simon Coupland, "Charlemagne's Coinage: Ideology and Economy" in Story, *Empire and Society*, p. 224.

but the ideal social hierarchy was made clear in the ritually active space of the chapel. Charlemagne combines the sacred duties to instruct and enforce particularly well in this chapel. In this space, the correct performance of the liturgy reinforced messages of legitimacy through a statement of identity predicated on the social harmony within the *gens,* even if this was only true within the space and time of the ritual. The meaning of these rituals were bound to their correct performance and were dependent on the stage in order to convey the full spectrum of messages.

Conclusion

The palace at Aachen endured as a symbol of authority, perpetuating the legitimacy of the Carolingian dynasty for generations after Charlemagne's death. The medieval observer of Aachen and its buildings was aware of a range of connotations within the architectural spaces written in a cultural symbolic language. Constantinian archetypes and themes of triumph in all three monumental spaces were powerful political statements chosen by Charlemagne to construct his persona as a Christian emperor. A center of social interaction, the palace and town accommodated a wide range of spectators and shifting social requirements of affairs of state.[203] The physical boundaries of the palace defined the social dynamic of the court population. Ritualized temporal and sacred events enacted kingship and the exercise of legitimate power for all manner of Franks. A center of the realm both symbolically and politically, the palace was a metaphor for the empire as a whole, molded by the specifications of Charlemagne and his close set of advisors.[204] This court created a masterpiece of engineering and logistical ingenuity.

Historians can no longer imagine these historical players as inhabiting an undifferentiated space, devoid of influence on their social behavior. A shift toward space will ground the study of social behavior in context of geographic location and social framework. The modern mentality concerning space is ill-equipped to describe the Carolingian understanding of their physical surroundings. As D.H. Green notes, the struggle to understand a major shift in communication occurs predominantly when another such shift has occurred for the contemporary historian.[205] The digital age is a brave new world of connectivity and access to vast amounts of information and

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[203] Story, *Empire and Society,* pg. 261, See also notes above.

[204] Nelson, 'Charlemagne as Pater Optimus?', Airlie, 'The Palace of Memory', Innes, *State and Society*

[205] D.H. Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading* pp. 3-5.

resources. As modern-day people begin to interact with one another through the filter of digital screens, questions concerning methods of interpersonal behavior while communicating will shape the historical discourse.

The social dimension of communication cannot be overstated during the Early Middle Ages, and these communications increasingly occurred within a space designed for that purpose during Charlemagne's reign. Space was a means and container of mass media, in expectation that large groups of people would attend the same sonic and social event. Charlemagne's aula, solarium, and chapel exemplify various avenues of interpersonal interaction as a means of social power.

The chapel was the tallest building north of the Alps until the Gothic cathedrals supplanted Charlemagne's creation in the twelfth century.[206] The monumental gatehouse and its upper story solarium recalled the Roman architectural triumphal arches while reinforcing the exclusivity of the palace. Boasting its *Romanitas*, the aula cast Charlemagne as the natural successor to the greatest of Christian emperors. Each of the spaces in the complex represents distinct spheres of power reflecting the ideal order of performance, space and communal memory for Carolingian elites. Harmony within the built environment ensured the rites of the power were communicated clearly and effectively to the audience. As the triangular cloister of St. Riquier illustrates, structures based on sacred proportions and numbers were an effort to create order and bring God into the present by defeating chaos, enabling Carolingian patrons to express spiritual truths with the dimensions of any building.

Charlemagne carefully divided the spaces of the palace complex according to his idea of perfect order. to the needs of social actions staged within them. The gestures, space and art of the

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[206] McClendon, *Origins,* Grimme, *Der Dom zu Aachen*, Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture.*

aula influenced the enactment of Charlemagne's kingship. Correct performance of feasting rituals recall the egalitarian persona with which Charlemagne appeared to rule. This was a socially anxious space containing many mouths with many different messages. The open floor plan made the inhabitants less aware of the vertical nature of hierarchy, and instead invoked a sense of collective belonging. Charlemagne cultivated the image of the first among equals within the aula at the same time the social interactions occurring within the space tended to solidify social differences.

The royal surveillance of the solarium was remembered by authors who had never set eyes on the palace. Due to its centralized location, the solarium and gallery embody the shadowy gaze of the king peering into the palace and kingdom. The solarium had one voice and a selected audience with speaking privileges and many separate messages. A publicly private space, the solarium housed secretive meetings of the highest echelon of palatial society. Invoking the royal authority of David, this space solidifies the royal prerogative of surveillance over the palace and created the anticipation of the watchful gaze for its inhabitants.

At the northern end of the gallery, Charlemagne's relationship and duties in the cosmological hierarchy were related in the chapel. Bodies of those within the church were imbued with theological messages during the liturgy. Communicating with the heavenly court through the correct organization of the terrestrial society, the chapel is a liminal space with many voices sharing one message and two audiences. The three spaces under investigation constructed correct behavior differently.

Charlemagne's uses of these spaces coalesced over time into a ritualized liturgy of state. The palace's spatial distinctions indicate differentiation of action believed appropriate for each space. In his efforts to form a more perfect Christian empire, Charlemagne and his magnates' actions within Aachen increased the codification of the institutions of governance and the realm. Social events

transpired within these arenas of governance that poets and kings memorialized in various genres that served different purposes.

The poetry of Alcuin, Angilbert and Theodulf created a transferable image of the palace able to reach audiences far beyond its walls. The relationship to the written evidence of this time period is filtered by the singular perspective of the author. Aachen as a mental construct traveled through the Carolingian Empire through textual and material avenues; poetry and coinage spread Charlemagne's reputation using the monumental architecture to display his successes.

Their poetry anticipates inclusion within the court circle and guides audiences through the memories presented to the court. Court poetry allowed the nobility of the realm to read or remember these missives and imagine themselves at court again, surrounded by friends in a familiar place. Through these poems messages of symbolic authority travel throughout the physical landscape and the palace is transformed into a conceptual image within a mental framework.

Architecture has a long and illustrious history as means of displaying authority and power. Aachen cast Charlemagne as a reforming ruler that surpassed his predecessors by erecting a new place of power. Its importance resonated across the Frankish kingdoms and was replicated across time and space within the Carolingian lands for generations.[207] The architectural repertoire of the Carolingian elite was remarkably similar across the lay and ecclesiastic divide, as were the expressions and enactment of power, literature and kin groups.

The true size of the palace is larger than what could be properly investigated within this thesis. The gardens through which Angilbert's letter runs as well as the game parks, the horse

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[207] W. Eugene Kleinbauer, "Charlemagne's Palace Chapel at Aachen and Its Copies,"*Gesta* Vol. 4, (Spring, 1965), pp. 2-11.

stables, and sheds for hunting dogs have not been located within the palace grounds. The houses of

nobles, the rooms of Charlemagne's daughters and wives or his own residence have not been

identified with any degree of certainty. The chapel was flanked with two smaller basilicas, only one

of which was aisled. While these spaces are archaeologically identifiable, their investigation would

have involved more speculation than fact and deduction. McClendon and Nelson have hypothesized

that these buildings could have housed the sacristy and the library or chancery of the palace, which

seem highly likely.[208] These basilicas and the atrium to the west of the chapel bear a marked

semblance to the Atrium of Trajan.[209]

Aachen's social milieu was not as static as its buildings; after Charlemagne's death and his

son's ascension, the courtiers and their daily lives adjusted to the new king's wishes. Upon his arrival

at Aachen, Louis almost certainly upset the delicate balance of Charlemagne's court by his

dismissing his sisters and replacing of some officers of the court with his Aquitanian councillors,

making for a tense first few months as sole Emperor.[210]

The architecture of the palace figured into the imagination of later Carolingian courtiers as a

symbol of the realm as a whole. Florus of Lyon wrote his lament over the loss of the unity of the

realm that Aachen symbolized after the disastrous fratricidal war between Charlemagne's grandsons

in the 830s:

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[208] McClendon, *Origins,* Nelson, "Aachen as a Place of Power" in Thews, De Jong and van Rhijin, *Topographies of Power.* pg. 226.

[209] McClendon, *Origins.* pg. 119.

[210] MGH SSrerGerm 64:352. ...The emperor ordered the whole crowd of women- it was extremely large- to be exluded from the palace, except for a very few whom he deemed suitable for royal service. Each of his sisters withdrew to the properties they had received from their father; since the distributions had not yet taken place for each of them, they got what they deserved from the emperor and then departed for the properties they had obtained. Translation courtesy of T.F.X. Noble, *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious* pg. 248.

But now that pinnacle of power, fallen from its great heights, like a garland of flowers cast down from the head, once splendid with the different scents of sweet-smelling herbs, is trodden underfoot by all, stripped of its crown. It has lost both the name and the distinction of empire, and the united kingdom has fallen to three lots.[211]

Louis the Pious died in 840, and the tensions between his sons erupted into a bloody civil war in an attempt to change the boundaries of their respective kingdoms.[212] Louis the German (c. 810-876) and his older brother Lothar (c. 795-855) were products of Louis' first marriage, while Charles (823-877) was a later addition from Louis' marriage to Judith. The shifting alliances among the brothers as they scrapped for more territory reinforced the dissolution of the unity the Carolingian Empire had enjoyed since Pippin II. The palace at Aachen was the site of the coronations of both Louis the Pious and his son Lothar by their fathers. Charlemagne's architectural creation and his corporeal remains housed there were a powerful duet of ritual powerhouse and legitimacy. Until the 870s various Carolingian kings staged rituals of power within the chapel and struggled to maintain control of the town and palace.[213] Charles the Bald used Aachen's architecture as a container of collective memory, stating in the charter of May 5th, 877,

Because our grandfather... established a chapel in honor of the Virgin in the palace of Aachen, we therefore, wanting to imitate the pattern set by him and by other kings and emperors... have built and completed within the territory under our sway, in the palace of Compiègne, a new monastery, to which we have given the name royal… [214]

Compiègne recalled Aachen and its creator in a new context for a different ruler, responding to

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[211] MGH, Poetae 2:561. at nunc tantus apex, tanto de culmine lapsus, florea ceu quondam capiti deiecta corona, quam varius texit redolenti gramine fulgor, cunctorum teritur pedibus diademate nudus. Perdidit imperii pariter nomenque decusque, et regnum unitum concidit sorte triformi Translation courtesy of Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* pg. 51.

[212] Eric Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire* pp. 86-117.

[213] Nelson *Courts, Elites and Gendered Power in the Early Middle Ages,* XIV.

[214] Recueil des Acles de Charles 11 le Chauve, II, no. 425, See also Airlie, "The Palace of Memory: the Carolingian court as political centre," in *Power and its Problems in Carolingian Europe* pp.1-23 Text cited above appears in Airlie's article; translation by Janet Nelson in *Charles the Bald*, (New York: Routledge, 1992) pg. 247.

contemporary political events. Charles' palace reflected the waning gravitation of Charlemagne's capital, where no king visited from 877 to 900, in response to weakening political control of the former center of Carolingian power.

A brutal assault on the palace by foreign invaders shattered the political sanctity of the former capital. The Viking raids that unsettled the land on both sides of the English Channel visited Aachen in 881. Northmen caused significant damage to the surrounding area, setting fire to monasteries, stealing horses, and killing magnates. According to the *Annales Fuldenses,* the raiding army, adding insult to injury, used Charlemagne's chapel as a stable for their horses, an ironic desecration for a chapel financed through war.[215] Aachen palace was a casualty of war, despoiled and stripped of its ritual purity.  To salvage the remaining political integrity of Charlemagne's capital, Charles the Bald had the relics entrusted to Aachen moved to Compiègne soon after the raid. The reliquary in which they were gathered was modeled upon the palace from which they came.[216] The disruptive nature of these attacks in conjunction with the increasing fragmentation of the Frankish realms placed Aachen, a former center of power, within the contentious political periphery for the descendants of Charlemagne.

Aachen was slowly revived as a place of authority by Otto I, crowned in 936, his coronation

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[215] MGH SS rer. Gem. 7. 96-97 Rex am suo nepote Hlodowico apud villam Gundolfi congruum habuit colloquium inde transiens omne tempus aestivum in Baioaria maratus est. Neps vero illius cum Normannis dimicans nobiliter trumphavit nam novem milia equitumes eis occidisse perhibetur. At illi instaurato exercitu et amplificato numero equitum plurima loca in regione regis nostri vastaverunt, hoc est cameracum, Traiectum et pagum Haspanicum totamque Ripuariam, pracipua etiam monasteriam, id est Prumiam, Indam, Stabulaus, Malmundarium et Aquense palatium, ubi in capella regis equis suis stabulum fecerunt. Praterea Agrippiniam Coloniam et Bunnam civitates et aeclesiis et caeteris aedificiis incenderunt.
[216]Simon McLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century*: *Charles the Fat and the end of the Carolingian Empire* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003, pg. 157

was the first in at least fifty years.[217] The gradual integration of Aachen back into the political fabric was a result of its continued relevance as a center of power, but its perception by then had been altered by time and circumstance. Using the time honored rhetoric of monumental gifts, subsequent kings negotiated current politics within Aachen's palace. Frederick I installed the massive gilt copper wheel chandelier that still hangs within the chapel. Frederick's gift merged well with the program of art within Charlemagne's chapel, adding to its glory without seeking to overpower its existing decoration. Frederick wanted to add to the splendor of the chapel built by Charlemagne without attempting to destroy the structural and aesthetic harmony of the chapel. Just as Charlemagne did, he operated within the current model of monumental power for his own political purposes.

Further research of the spatial dynamics of Aachen will benefit from the archaeological survey currently underway by the University of Aachen, equipping historians with concrete data involving the spatial boundaries and material of the palace as it evolved throughout the ages.[218] The implications of the study of space are far-reaching. The spaces in which ritualized events occurred were erected to solidify royal power and should be investigated in order to understand how they achieved these ends.

The description of Charlemagne's court as itinerant has long been an accepted fact among historians that stems from the modern supposition of a single place to live throughout the entire year. This assumption is not borne out by the evidence and fails to consider Charlemagne's movement around

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[217] See Simon MacLean's "Palaces, Itineraries and Political Order in the Post-Carolingian Kingdoms" in *Divergent Paths? The Shapes of Power and Institutions in medieval Christendom and Islam*, ed. John Hudson and Ana Rodriguez, (Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden) 2014 pgs. 291-320

[218] For more information on the progress and focus of the University's project, visit their website, here http://arch.rwth-aachen.de/cms/Architektur/Forschung/Verbundforschung/Cultural-Heritage/~cbjv/Pfalzenforschung-in-Aachen/lidx/1/

the kingdom as a cyclic and anticipated exercise of early medieval kingship.[219] The manipulation of

space by Carolingians constrained behavior and the physical body to suit social function. Exact

movements of individuals cannot be recovered, however; some expectations and ritual constraints

imposed in these social spaces can be. The personal nature of governing in the Early Middle Ages

was ephemeral and as a result is almost totally obscured in legislative records.  The true social nature

of these interactions can be gleaned by investigating sources long overlooked and coupled with

vigorous investigation of the spatial boundaries and their effects on the social expression of power.

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[219] For an investigation into the textual evidence and its reliability in reporting Charlemagne's
presence in order to map his travels, see McKitterick, *Charlemagne,* pg. 177-186.

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