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CELICA IHERUSALEM CAROLINA:
Imperial Eschatology and Light Apocalypticism
in the Palatine Chapel at Aachen

“Emperor,” said she (i.e., the Queen), “you hold yourself
in too high esteem;
I know of one who has more presence than you
When wearing his crown amidst his knights:
“Tell me, lady, where is that king? I want you to tell me!
Side by side will he and I wear our crowns;
.....
After praying to God, he rose to his feet;
He put both the nail and the crown on the altar,
And distributed the other relics throughout his kingdom.
The Queen was there; she has crouched at his feet:
The King has completely forgiven her spite,
For the sake of the Sepulchre that he has worshipped”¹.

These verses come from an imaginary poem about the voyage of Charlemagne to Constantinople and Jerusalem, written perhaps in 12th c., in which Charlemagne is spurred by his wife’s boast of the superior splendor of Hugo le Fort, emperor of Constantinople. This sets Charlemagne out to find the emperor; miracle and relics play a major part in the drama. In many respects, the poem is an oddity, a blending of realism and fantasy, a *chanson de geste* of the *Cycle du roi*, as well as a *conte à rire*. While the voyage itself was a parody of heroism and farce, Charlemagne’s cult for the relics was a political reality. His “pro-hierusalemic” policy, his faith, his devotion for the

¹ The Journey of Charlemagne to Jerusalem and Constantinople (Le Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople) / Ed. and transl. by Jean-Louis G. Picherit. Summa Publications, Inc. Birmingham, Alabama, 1984, p. 2, 74.

relics², as well as their use into the political sphere (the practice of swearing oaths on relics)³, remain important features of his imperial strategy, which he embodied in many cultural projects, particularly in his Palatine Chapel at Aachen. This paper will try to define those eschatological aspects of Charlemagne's imperial policy gravitating around his coronation and the crowning of the holy body, the ideas of the New Jerusalem, and the last emperor. Finally, the paper will be devoted to the light candelabrum, the imperial gift offered by Frederick I and his wife to the imperial chapel of Aachen, an image of the Heavenly Jerusalem — a true eschatological *vision of peace*, as well as a powerful rhetorical instrument in the service of the new created *Sacrum Imperium*.

THE CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE — A SPURIOUS MATTER

On December 25, the year 800 AD, the feast of the Nativity, in the holy church of St. Peter in Rome, in the presence of a massive assistance, the Pope Leo III (795–816) consecrated Charlemagne as king. He placed a crown on Charlemagne's head, while the assembled Romans acclaimed him as *imperator augustus* ("august emperor"). The Pope Leo III adored him after the manner of the emperors. After the coronation Charlemagne used the title: "Charles, most serene Augustus, crowned by God, great and pacific emperor, governing the Roman empire". In the eyes of the Byzantines, Charlemagne was however a usurper. He had no right of succeeding to the throne of the Caesars, and the pope had no right either to make him emperor. The coronation of Charlemagne was an illicit business, performed after illegal proceedings. There was no reason why, after the fall of the Roman Empire in the West in 476 and the constitution of Germanic kingdoms, one should have expected a new empire in the West — particularly, a Roman empire, parallel to the existing eastern empire. With the coronation of Charlemagne in 800 — the Roman Empire was in a way replaced by two Roman empires. The consequence of this act was the "problem of the two (Roman) emperors".

What made however possible this political and religious act? The coronation of Charlemagne remains, beyond doubt, a historical fact that cannot be denied — a turning point in the future history of the West. One reason would have been the persistence of the idea of the universal and eternal Roman Empire, despite the fact that it was no longer a political reality. The idea

² Charlemagne established an annual feast during the second week of June, for the veneration of the relics inherited from his father, and those received from Jerusalem or Constantinople.

³ All men were to swear an oath of fealty in front of the relics: "May god and the saints whose relics lie before me grant me their help; for to this end I shall devote and consecrate myself with all the intelligence that God has given me, for the remainder of my life (*Wallace-Hadrill J. M.* The Barbarian West, 400–1000. London, 1952, p. 110–111).

of the *Imperium Christianum* or “Christian Empire”, shaped after the conversion of Constantine the Great was still strong. But according to some scholars, Charlemagne was just the outcome of a conjuncture, a combination of events and circumstances. The rise of Islam was crucial, without Mohammed there would have been no Charlemagne. In Pirenne’s most seminal words, “The Empire of Charlemagne was the critical point of the rupture by Islam of the European equilibrium... It is therefore strictly correct to say that without Mohammed Charlemagne would have been inconceivable”⁴.

But let us come back to the moment of Charlemagne’s coronation — the central theme of this paper — and try to discard its eschatological dimension, and the sources of its apocalypticism. On the holy day of the Nativity, 800, Charlemagne was crowned emperor of Christianity, but the crowning was not performed according to the Byzantine tradition. Charlemagne himself aspired to Byzantine recognition through a marriage alliance⁵, with the prospect of being ranked as the father-in-law of Constantine. Einhard, Charlemagne’s biographer, even states that Charlemagne would never have entered the Church if he had known what was to happen⁶. He said that Charlemagne might have felt some aversion from imperial title (*imperatoris et augusti nomen — primo in tantum aversatus est...*). In fact, the coronation of Charles was entirely a papal project, Pope Leo III refused to recognize

⁴ Pirenne H. *Mohamed and Charlemagne* / Transl. from the French by Bernard Miall. London Unwin University Books, 1968, p. 234.

⁵ A prospect of his marriage with Empress Irene (797–802), and a project involving her son, Constantine VI and Charlemagne’s daughter, but Charles withdrew from the project. The main reason was the decree for the restoration of the orthodox veneration of icons, in which Irene played a major role. Charlemagne’s position is contained in *Libri Carolini*. After the restoration of images in Byzantium by the Second Council of Nicaea (787), the Western point of view concerning this event and the sacred image was expounded in the *Libri Carolini*, apparently written by Theodulf of Orleans at Charlemagne’s court at Aachen in 791/92. The text is a point-by-point refutation of the Council’s main statements. The objections were largely due to deficiencies in the translation from the Greek text: a very poor Latin version of the proceedings made the Byzantine position seem heretical and idolatrous. The *Libri Carolini* were the Western attempt to set up a middle course in approaching the religious image, castigating the position of Byzantine theology as extreme. The text takes its stand on Pope Gregory the Great’s “Western” doctrine: images are useful; they are of historical and didactic value; and they should be neither destroyed nor adored. In this view, the images do not have any divine mystery attached to them; they are simply *material objects*. According to the *Libri Carolini*, images were to serve a double function: to create something beautiful, and to instruct the beholder. The case for Theodulf’s authorship of the *Libri Carolini* is argued by Freeman, “Theodulf of Orleans”, and by Meyvaert. See also Freeman, “Carolingian Orthodoxy”, and Gero. After objections made by Pope Hadrian I, the *Libri Carolini* were slightly revised and issued around 792. The text sent to Hadrian no longer exists.

⁶ Einhard: *The Life of Charlemagne* [Einhardi vita Karoli Magni] translated by Samuel Epes Turner (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1880), Univ of Michigan Press, June 1960, 28.

Irene's reign, and he used the occasion to obtain independence and the protection of Charlemagne. Charlemagne consented only to some formula like *imperator Romanum gubernans imperium*, and his relation with the papacy remained to his death extraordinarily cool, he never returned to Rome⁷. What was at stake was the irreconcilable difference between the imperial Byzantine notion of caesaro-papism and the papal theory of the monarchic form of government of the church, which claimed superiority. As Walter Ullmann astutely observed: "the coronation was aimed against the empire as well as against the Frankish king. The seat of the empire was where the pope wished it to be — the seat of the Roman empire was Rome, not Constantinople, not Aix-la-Chapelle"⁸. Charlemagne's coronation represented another episode in the struggle for independence of the papacy. Werner Ohnsorge has this to say about this complex political context which led to the coronation: "The political ambition of the Carolingians in their consciousness of their position of political supremacy in the West, their pride in being unsurpassed by any other political power on this earth, coincided with the striving of the papacy to replace the politically incapable Byzantine emperorship with a new and better ordering of political conditions which would at the same time take into account the claims of the Roman see"⁹. Thus Europe moved away from the Merovingian profane state and its *rex Francorum* to a religious Carolingian state, in which Charlemagne was acclaimed as *Dei gratia rex Francorum*.

THE MESSIANIC DIMENSION OF THE CORONATION

The eschatological vision of the empire as vehicle of God's will as the last of the world monarchies has played an important role in this conjuncture. According to this vision, the end of the empire would mark the beginning of the kingdom of God. Such ideas were expressed with force in the letters of Charlemagne's adviser Alcuin, particularly that addressed to Charlemagne in June 799, in which he recognizes the power of three persons in the world: the Pope, the Byzantine Emperor, and Charlemagne, of which Charlemagne is the strongest: "Up until now three persons have been at the summit of the hierarchy in the world: 1) The representative of the apostolic sublimity, vicar of the blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, whose seat he occupies. What has happened to the actual holder of that See, your kindness has taken care to let me know. 2) There comes next the titular holder of the imperial dignity, who exercises the secular power in the second Rome (*i.e.*,

⁷ Ohnsorge W. *The Coronation and Byzantium // The Coronation of Charlemagne What Did It Signify?* / Ed. and introd. by Richard E. Sullivan. Michigan State University, 1959, p. 89.

⁸ Ullman W. *The Coronation and Papal Concepts of Emperorship // The Coronation of Charlemagne What Did It Signify?* Michigan State University, 1959, p. 76.

⁹ Ohnsorge, *The Coronation and Byzantium*, p. 81.

Constantinople)¹⁰. In what impious fashion the head of this empire has been deposed, not by strangers, but by his own people and by his fellow citizens, the news has been spread about everywhere. 3) There comes in third place the royal dignity, which our Lord Jesus Christ has reserved *to you* in order that you may govern the Christian people. It triumphs over the other two dignities, eclipses them in wisdom, and surpasses them. It is now upon you alone that the churches of Christ lean, from you alone that they await safety, from you, the avenger of crimes, guide of those who err, consoler of the afflicted, upholder of good”¹¹.

In these circumstances, “the whole salvation of the church of Christ” rested, according to Alcuin, in Charlemagne’s hands (*Ecce in te solo tota salus ecclesiarum Christi inclinata recumbit*), and therefore in the autumn of 800 he set out for Rome “to restore the state of the church which was greatly disturbed”. Alcuin, a friend and advisor, addressed Charlemagne as “*King David*” in his letters¹², Pope Leo III (795–816) saw in him a “new Constantine” in 796. The coronation itself was perceived as a reincarnation of the christianized Roman emperors, in which Charlemagne, like Constantine once, had the mission to defend the Christian faith in the world. In his letter to Charlemagne, Alcuin exalted the imperial idea sponsored by God:

“Forasmuch as imperial rank is ordained by God, its purpose must be to lead and serve the people; hence power and wisdom is given by God to his chosen, power to crush the arrogant and defend the lowly against the wicked, and wisdom to rule and teach his subjects with virtuous care”¹³.

In the eyes of the West, the coronation of Charlemagne was perceived as a lawful thing, the power of the emperor emanating directly from God himself. The institution of the Frankish empire emerged out of these circumstances. One must however insist that the Frankish institution of the empire was shaped under specific international political circumstances, in the context

¹⁰ My emphasis.

¹¹ Letter nr. 174, translated from: *Halphen L.* Charlemagne et l’empire carolingien. Paris, 1947, p. 123–124.

¹² Alcuin reflects on this in a letter to Charlemagne: “Happy is the people ruled by a good and wise prince, as we read in Plato’s dictum that kingdoms are happy if philosophers, that is lovers of wisdom, are their kings or if kings devote themselves to philosophy. For nothing in the world can be compared to wisdom. ...*I know it was your chief concern, my Lord David, to love and preach it.* You were eager to encourage all to learn and stimulated them by rewards and honors, and you invited lovers of wisdom from different parts of the world to help in your plans. Amongst them you brought me, the least of the servants of wisdom, from the remotest part of Britain” (Alcuin of York: His Life and Letters / Ed. Stephen Allott, York, Engl.: William Sessions, 1974, 83–84).

¹³ Alcuin of York: His Life and Letters, 1974, p. 86.

of unstable situation in Constantinople, as well as in Rome, and tensed relations between Byzantium and the West. The immediate consequence of Charlemagne's coronation was a clear separation between East and West, now a *fait accompli* in the political sphere. The year 800 dramatically marked *de facto* the division of the empire. Although the Byzantine emperor Michael I recognized Charlemagne's imperial title in 812, he has never recognized him as emperor of the Romans. The emperor in Constantinople maintained exclusively the claim to be the only true successor to the Roman Caesars. The rivalry between the West and Constantinople grew wider and remained until 1204 a tensed rapport. The future policy of the Frankish empire was largely based on expansion and messianism. Its expansionism was the very precondition of Charlemagne's elevation to the imperial throne. In his zeal for the Christian faith, Charles promoted the idea that paganism must be crush, and this is what he did through numerous, sometimes cruel and unjust, wars of conquest. His policy has had a missionary and a military character. His duty as a Christian Frankish king was to eradicate paganism and to convert the heathen, bearing the sword in one hand and the Scriptures in the other. According to Einhard, Charlemagne was inspired in his missionary zeal by St. Augustine's *City of God*, which remained his most favourite book¹⁴. In his *Holy Roman Empire*, James Bryce states: "Augustine's influence, great through all the Middle Ages, was greater on no one than on Charles. ... It is hardly too much to say that the Holy Roman Empire was built upon the foundation of the *De Civitate Dei*"¹⁵. Some Augustinian principles, presumably mediated by Alcuin, could be grasped in the *Admonitio Generalis* of 789, a statement of Church policy issued under Charlemagne's name (article No. 62): "Let peace, concord, and unanimity reign among all Christian people, and the bishops, abbots, counts, and our other servants, great and small; for without peace we cannot please God". In the words of Wallace-Hadrill, the *Admonitio* was a project, which "envisages something Roman — a society, a Christian society, living at peace with itself, united under its king and fearing nothing but injustice. The force of this inspiration must not be minimized"¹⁶. This policy was the source of the emperor's power and authority, motivated by messianic actions for which he found himself responsible only in front of God. This dimension of his imperialism will become clearer in his policy conducted in relation with the Holy Land.

¹⁴ In his *Vita Caroli*, Einhard writes about Charlemagne's dinner entertainments: "Inter cenandum aut aliquod acroama aut lectorem audiebat. Legebantur ei historiae et antiquorum res gestae. Delectabatur et libris sancti Augustini, praecipueque his qui *De Civitate Dei* praetitulati sunt". Apud. *Sidey Th. K.* The Government of Charlemagne as Influenced by Augustine's *City of God* // *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Nov., 1918), p. 119.

¹⁵ Bryce J. *Holy Roman Empire*, 1864, p. 94.

¹⁶ Wallace-Hadrill J. M. *The Barbarian West, 400–1000*. London, 1952, p. 104.

CHARLEMAGNE AND THE HOLY LAND

On 23 December 800, on the eve of Charlemagne's coronation, Zacharias — the Frankish king's official envoy to the patriarch — arrived from Jerusalem with symbolic gifts, as well as with envoys from the patriarch, a Greek monk from St. Saba and a Latin monk from Olivet. The gifts are described in the Royal Annals, which exists in two forms, the Annals of Laurisheim (Lorsch) and the annals called the *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*, the latter is a careful revision of the former, made no later than 817. According to the Annals of Laurisheim, the envoys brought to Charles "*benedictionis causa claves Sepulchri dominici ac loci Calvariae, claves etiam civitatis et montis cum vexillo*, that is to say, the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and Calvary and of the city and the mountain (Mount Sion), with a banner, as a benediction. But the revised version of the *Annales* does not mention the keys of the city and the mountain, and substitutes *gratiâ* with *causâ*, which leaves the patriarch's gifts to the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and calvary and a banner. It seems highly unlikely, writes Steve Runciman, that the patriarch should send the keys of the city and the mountain, because Jerusalem belonged now to Caliph, who was alone entitled to offer the keys¹⁷. This might explain why the revised Annals leave the keys of the city out. On the other hand, Einhard makes no mention of the gifts from Jerusalem, which makes one think how difficult is to credit medieval chronicles with perfect accuracy. If we are to trust the revised Annals, the gifts from Jerusalem were a symbolic gesture, perhaps an act of blessing on behalf of Jerusalem. The transfer of the keys could be a sign of high esteem for the emperor. According to Colin Morris, the keys to the holy place are "sacred memorials", *eulogiae* from the holy places offered to Charlemagne in recognition of the right to protect the Christians. In exchange, gifts have been sent from the West to the most Holy Sepulchre. This active relation between the Holy Land and Charlemagne's court made Louis Bréhier think that Charlemagne was granted a protectorate over Jerusalem¹⁸. But the exact nature of the rights Charlemagne received from Harun remains unclear. According to Runciman, if Harun had allowed Charlemagne to establish a protectorate over Christians in Palestine, it is impossible to explain why the Annals should leave out so great a triumph¹⁹. The cold relations of Charlemagne with the Eastern Empire, and the Arab conquest activated in a most conspicuous way the relations between the Latins and Jerusalem, shaping them in a specific manner. In 806 both Charlemagne and Harun were at war with Byzantium.

¹⁷ Runciman S. Charlemagne and Palestine // The English Historical Review, Vol. 59, No. 200 (Oct., 1935), p. 610.

¹⁸ Morris C. The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West. Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 95.

¹⁹ Runciman, Charlemagne and Palestine, p. 612.

An interesting point of view is introduced by J. Prawer. According to him, the Latin attitude towards Jerusalem was “to make it much less a holy place, the centre of pilgrimage, and more a symbol of heaven”²⁰. This symbolism was perfectly embodied in the idea of the Heavenly Jerusalem, which was embraced by theologians, artists and politicians as well. It is under these circumstances that the themes of the last emperor and the Heavenly Jerusalem came into being. “Heavenly Jerusalem was gaining ground, relegating earthly Jerusalem to a subservient position”²¹. The loss of Jerusalem to Christian rule generated a “new type of political prophecy” with deep theological and cultural implications. Charlemagne knew how to take advantage of this situation. His advent at the Frankish court opened up no doubt an active political and cultural era in the history of Western Christianity in respect to its relation with the Holy Land. But even if Einhard implies that Charlemagne had been given rights over the Holy Land, his power was not so much political, but rather moral, he possibly provided mere facilities for pilgrims from the West and that Latin priests might be allowed to serve in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. By the 11th century, Sancta Maria Latina, situated to the south of the Tomb, was reserved to the Latin rite, to which Charles gave it a library and built a hostel for Latin pilgrims²². Charlemagne’s financial aid to the Holy Land was substantial. The patriarch of Jerusalem and the church of Jerusalem owed to the Frankish court throughout the 9th century the means with which to restore its sanctuaries. Constantine VII Porphyrogenetus (905–959) in his *De administrando imperio*. XXVI (PG, XIII. 228D–229A) recognized the contribution of the emperor for the restoration of buildings destroyed by wars and the very severe earthquake of 18 January 746, in particular Our Lady of Justinian. With the support from the emperor the patriarch Thomas (807–820) was able to rebuild the dome of the Anastasis and to restore the churches of Jerusalem. The “*Commematorium de Casis Dei vel Monasteriis*” (808)²³ contains important references on Charlemagne’s effective protection over the Holy Land, Jerusalem in particular, which made the conditions of Christians became tolerable for almost a century.

AACHEN — THE IMPERIAL CHAPEL — AN APOCALYPTICAL PROJECT

The embodiment of Charlemagne political and cultural vision is perhaps the Palatine Chapel Aachen, a sacred site in the Rhine Valley, where he took up residence perhaps in 786 or 787. The choice of the place was not only de-

²⁰ Prawer J. Christian Attitudes towards Jerusalem // History of Jerusalem New York, 1996; apud. Morris C. The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West, p. 99.

²¹ Prawer J. Christian Attitudes towards Jerusalem // History of Jerusalem. New York, 1996, p. 311–348.

²² Runciman, p. 612.

²³ Itinera Hierosolymitana et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae / Ed. T. Tobler and A. Molinier. Geneva, J. G. Fink, 1879; reprint, Osnabrueck, 1966, p. 839.

cided by geopolitical, or therapeutic considerations (its baths); it was perhaps the prestige of the old Roman ruins, and most importantly the presence of the relics translated there under his father Pepin²⁴. Aachen was Charlemagne's favourite place, his imperial chapel, as well as his burial place. Einhard's *Vita Karoli Magni* of the 820^s and Notker Balbulus' *Gesta Karoli* of the 880s show the importance of Aachen's palace for their contemporaries, but Aachen was only one of fourteen palaces that Charlemagne (768/771–814) sponsored. Einhard, Charlemagne's biographer and from 791 on also his overseer of works at Aachen, wrote (in his *Vita Karoli*) that the King of the Franks and Lombards took a personal interest in the building of the palace. The construction begun probably in the spring of 789 and was finished by the autumn of 794. But the actual consecration took place in 805, after the other works have been completed.

Charlemagne's palace chapel is a remarkable architecture constructed according to *propria dispositione*, as the "Monk of St.Gall" has stated²⁵. One could however recognize a model at work, perhaps San Vitale, in its polygonal ground plan, domed octagonal center space encircled by the vaulted ambulatory and gallery, the eastern chancel bay, the great west tower or nartex, and the atrium (fig. 1 and 2). The palace chapel was resembled by contemporary sources with the "Lateran", known at the time as the imperial palace of Constantine the Great given by him to the Christian Church. It was, apparently, Charlemagne's intention that the "Old Rome" to be transplanted to Aix: next to the minster and the *sacrum palatium*, the residence of the Frankish king was the Lateran. Aix was to be, like Constantinople, the Second Rome. The court poet Einhard tells us of the "coming Rome", "*ventura Roma*", "*secunda Roma*", which Charlemagne was about to build²⁶. Aachen, or *Roma secunda*²⁷, as Angilbertus also called it, recalled the *Chrysotriclinos* or Golden Triclinium in the sacred palace of Constantinople, built by Emperor Justin II (565–578) as a ceremonial audience hall with ecclesiastical overtones, which was apparently octagonal in plan and decorated with mosaics of Christ and the Virgin. Yet the content of Aachen church was radically new, because of its ecclesiastic function. As Kleinbauer notes, "the palace functioned politically as well as ecclesi-

²⁴ Aachen was a place of pilgrimage, the site of important miraculous relics, which Charlemagne collected during his lifetime, which are still kept in the Aachen Cathedral. The four most important are impressive indeed: the cloak of the Blessed Virgin; the swaddling-clothes of the Infant Jesus; the loin-cloth worn by Christ on the Cross; the cloth on which lay the head of St. John the Baptist after his beheading.

²⁵ *Monachi Sangallensis. De gestis Karoli M. imperatoris*, apud. Kleinbauer W. E. Charlemagne's Palace Chapel at Aachen and Its Copies // *Gesta*, Vol. 4 (Spring, 1965), p. 3.

²⁶ Ullmann W. The Coronation and papal Concepts of Emperorship // *The Coronation of Charlemagen What Did It Signify?* Michigan State University, 1959, p. 76.

²⁷ Kleinbauer, Charlemagne's Palace Chapel at Aachen and Its Copies, note 9, p. 7.

astically in the great cosmic order of medieval government”²⁸. The imperial loge was placed over the entrance bay, where Charlemagne’s marble throne still stands, although much restored (fig. 3). From that holy throne, which had once provided a special compartment for the insertion of relics within it, the emperor had a holy vision. He had a direct line of vision to the altars installed below at the eastern periphery of the center space and across this space to the apse of the gallery, as well as to the mosaic of the cupola above²⁹. The vision Charlemagne must have had from his imperial privileged point would have been magnificent, very similar to the one experienced by the Byzantine emperor in Hagia Sophia. There is little doubt about the ambition of Charlemagne to equal the Byzantine emperors.

A tenth-century document and a lost inscription in the church indicate a certain Eudes of Metz as the architect the chapel³⁰. But particularly interesting for our discussion is the inscription still *in situ*, displayed around the octagonal dome, under the cornice, which separates the rez-de-chausée from the royal floor of the Palatine Chapel of Aachen, composed by Alcuin himself. Painted originally in red color (now a mosaic), the inscription is a veritable theological statement and a political vision (fig. 4). Here is its Latin transcription:

*„Cum lapides vivi pacis conpage ligantur,
inque pares numeros omnia conveniunt,
claret opus domini, totam qui construit aulam,
effectusque piis dat studiis hominum,
quorum perpetui decoris structura manebit,
si perfecta auctor protegat atque regat:
Sic deus hoc tutum stabili fundamine templum,
quod Carolus princeps condidit, esse velit+ “*

The English translation runs as follow:

“Once the living stones have been joined together in peaceful union, and all the measurements and numbers are in agreement throughout, the works of the lord who created this great hall shall shine forth brightly. The completed edifice crowns the pious efforts of the people, whose work shall stand as a monument of eternal beauty if the Almighty protects and rules over it. May it therefore please God to watch over this temple which Charles our emperor (literally, princeps) has established on solid ground”.

²⁸ Kleinbauer, Charlemagne’s Palace Chapel at Aachen and Its Copies, p. 3.

²⁹ Kleinbauer, p. 2.

³⁰ Dümmler E. Mon. Germ. Hist, Poetae latini aevi Carolini, t. I, Berlin, 1889, p. 432.

The inscription refers first to the vision of “living stones,” which sends us to the liturgical hymn *Urbs Jerusalem beata*, probably introduced in the seventh or eighth century, and sung in the Office of the Dedication of a church:

*Urbs beata Jerusalem, dicta pacis visio,
Quæ construitur in coelo vivis ex lapidibus,
Et angelis coronata ut sponsata comite.*

*Blessed City, Heavenly Salem,
Vision dear of Peace and Love,
Who, of living stones upbuilt,
Art the joy of Heav’n above,*

Visio pacis implies tropologically virtue and spiritual peace, peaceful union; allegorically it signifies the church of the faithful; and anagogically refers to the Celestial City, the New Jerusalem from the Apocalypse. It echoes Charlemagne’s statement in the *Admonitio Generalis*, which could be interpreted as his political credo, perhaps inspired by Augustine *via* Alcuin. Like a red thread, this idea of eschatological resonance is carried out in the inscription in the reference to the measurements and numbers in agreement, according to which the chapel was constructed. The actual measurements of the Palatine Chapel reveal indeed symbolic numbers, which allude to the celestial city, the Heavenly Jerusalem. The inner circumference of the Aachen octagone measures 144 feet, which is, according to Kreusch, an apocalyptic number³¹. It corresponds to 144 million square stadia — the transcription in the ancient Greek system of measurement of the base of the New Jerusalem, described in 21:16³². Thus, says the inscription, this church, “*this great hall shall shine forth brightly*”. “Brilliance” is the first attribute by which the New Jerusalem is defined: “brilliance [is] like a very costly stone, as a stone of crystal-clear jasper” (Revelation 21.11). In the space of the chapel, fragments of painted glass were discovered in 1910, presumably placed in the windows of the chapel to create a most powerful lighting effect, together with the gold mosaic. The dome had originally a mosaic based on the fifth chapter of the Apocalypse depicting the Lamb of God surrounded by the four living creatures and the 24 elders offering their crowns in adoration (fig. 5). It has been suggested that the

³¹ Kreusch F. *Das Masz des Engels // Vom Bauer, Bilden und Bewahren*, Mélange Willy Weyres /Ed. J. Hoster, A. Mann. Cologne 1964, p. 64, 71–72. Cf. also: *L'Apocalypse de Jean : traditions exégétiques et iconographiques, IIIe-XIIIe siècles: actes du Colloque de la Fondation Hardt, 29 février — 3 mars 1976*, by Yves Christe, Renzo Petraglio, Fondation Hardt pour l'étude de l'Antiquité classique, Genève: Droz, 1979, p. 231.

³² The angel measures the city with a golden rod or reed, and records it as being 12,000 stadia by 12,000 stadia at the base, as well as 12,000 stadia high.

original mosaic in the dome was a reproduction of that in the dome of the Ronda *Anastasis* in Jerusalem. According to Einhard, the whole project of the temple at Aachen, “is being constructed by the art of the most wise Solomon” (*ubi templum sapientissimi Salomonis arte deo construitur*). As it comes out from his writing, the chapel was the place of manifestation of powerful signs. Here is a passage about the omens of this place, a true site of apocalyptic manifestations:

“Again, the palace at Aix-la-Chapelle frequently trembled, the roofs of whatever buildings he tarried in kept up a continual crackling noise, the basilica in which he was afterwards buried was struck by lightning, and the gilded ball that adorned the pinnacle of the roof was shattered by the thunderbolt and hurled upon the bishop's house adjoining. In this same basilica, on the margin of the cornice that ran around the interior, between the upper and lower tiers of arches, a legend was inscribed in red letters, stating who was the builder of the temple, the last words of which were *Karolus Princeps*. The year that he died it was remarked by some, a few months before his decease, that the letters of the word *Princeps* were so effaced as to be no longer decipherable. But Charles despised, or affected to despise, all these omens, as having no reference whatever to him”³³.

Images and stories of such apocalyptic inspiration might have certainly directed people to think about the last things. Apocalyptic rhetoric was throughout history a way to give religious validation to political and social events. It inherited from the classical and patristic eras a framework, a language and visual paradigms that could provide meaning to provide a powerful justification for imperial rule³⁴. Greek and Latin apocalypses made the expectations turn on the holy places at Jerusalem, and gave a crucial role in the drama to a last emperor. The first appearance of the last emperor theme in Latin literature was the eight-century prophesies of Pseudo-Methodius, prophesizing the restoration of Christians by the “king of the Greeks, that is, the Romans”³⁵. Charlemagne's politics made full use of such rhetorical discourse. The images in the Palatine chapel of Aachen abound in this respect: they suggest, on one hand, the absolute power of God, but inevitably, they point out to the power of the emperor. They portrayed power in light of the apocalypse.

³³ *Einhard: The Life of Charlemagne* [Einhardi vita Karoli Magni] translated by Samuel Epes Turner (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1880), Univ of Michigan Press, June 1960, 32.

³⁴ *McGinn B. Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*. New York, 1979, p. 31.

³⁵ *Alexander P. J. The Medieval Legend of the Last Roman Emperor and Its Messianic Origin* // *Journal of the Warburg and Courtault Institutes*, Vol. 41. (1978), p. 1–15.

CHARLEMAGNE'S *CORONA* — AN IMPERIAL CROWN,
AND AN IMAGE OF THE HEAVENLY JERUSALEM

The death of Charlemagne did not mean the end of the imperial eschatological policy in the West. Quite to the contrary, in life as in death, Charlemagne's body disseminated his aura of apocalyptic power in the sacred space of the Palatine Chapel from Aachen. With Frederick Barbarossa, a new and more exalted conception of the empire was manifested, following Charlemagne's tradition of apocalypticism. In 1157, Frederick Barbarossa brought a new significative addition to the name of the empire, namely, the word *sacrum*, which then became the *Sacrum Imperium* (Holy Empire). Frederick's antipope Paschal III performed also in 1165 the canonization of Charlemagne. After receiving the special status of holy relics, the remains of Charlemagne were translated from his tomb to a shrine placed right in the center of the octagon of the Palatine Chapel. There are no contemporary informations about the event, but later sources report that the shrine was placed in the main altar of the Holy Trinity, and later of All Saints, referred as the altar of Charlemagne, which played a special function during coronation ceremonies: the future king was expected to prostrate in front of the relics before he went to the altar of the Virgin in the choir.³⁶ Barbarossa is directly connected to the spectacular candelabrum placed exactly above the relics of Charlemagne (fig. 4 and 6). The candelabrum is an imperial gift offered to the chapel by the royal couple, Frederick I Barbarossa and his wife Beatrix of Burgundy, as stated in one of the two inscriptions running it circumference, but no date is specified. It was perhaps made sometimes between their marriage in 1156 and her death in 1184.

The candelabrum was obviously intended to be displayed in all its munificence in the middle of the chapel, above the remains of the holy emperor Charlemagne, pointing out rhetorically to them. Candelabrum or *corona*, a crown almost barbaric in its size (more than four meters diameter), is suspended six meters above the floor in the centre of the dome. It has been suggested that the candelabrum might have been commissioned on the occasion of Charlemagne's canonization. The "crowning" of the relics of Charlemagne would have imitated the translation *sub corona*, that is, the candelabrum of the cathedral of Cologne, of the other relics of the Three Kings, and Sts Felix and Nabor, brought from Milan in 1164. Other elements do not sustain this hypothesis, but it is clear Frederick's intention to emphasize the continuity with the Frankish past and to assert his rights as Charlemagne's successor *de jure*.

³⁶ Wimmer H. The Iconographic Programme of the Barbarossa Candelabrum in the Palatine Chapel at Aachen: A Re-Interpretation // *Immediations. The Research Journal of the Courtault Institute of Art*, Vol. I, No. 2, 2005, p. 26 and note 10.

A closer look at the upper rim inscription, which runs around the outside of the candelabrum, reveals direct links with the Heavenly Jerusalem:

+ CELICA IHERVSALEM SIGNATVR IMAGINE TAL
 UISIO PACIS CERTA QVIETIS SPES IBI NOBIS
 ILLE IOHANNES GRACIA CHRISTI PRECO SALVIS
 QVA(M) PATRIARCHE QUA(M)Q(VE) P(RO)PH(ET)E
 DENIQ(VE) VIRTVS
 LUCIS APOSTOLICE FUNDAVIT DOGMATE VITA
 URBEM SIDEREA LABENTEM VIDIT AB AETTHRA
 AVRO RIDENTEM MVNDO GEMMIS QVE NITENTEM
 QVA NOS IN PATRIA PRECIBVS PIA SISTE MARIA

(The Heavenly Jerusalem is signified by this image,
 The vision of peace; the certain hope of rest for us lies there.
 John, grace of Christ, herald of salvation,
 Saw the city which the patriarchs and prophets and finally the power
 Of the apostolic light had founded through teaching and life.
 Descend from the starred skies,
 Shining with pure gold and glistening with gems.
 Into which home guide us by your prayers, pious Mary!)

The inscription refers to St John's vision of the celestial city from Revelation 21.23, which "had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it". This vision is embodied in the gilded candelabrum, which follows the apocalyptical description, although not in its formal aspect³⁷, but in its light symbolism. Unlike the vision of St John, the city descending "out of heaven" is not a rectangular, but an octagonal architectural structure. As specified in the inscription running around on the lower rim "this octagonal regal crown" (ISTIVS OCTOGONE DONV(M) REGALE CORONE) follows the shape of the church, telling the clerics to give attention to both its shape and number:

"The gift of this octagonal regal crown,
 Telling the clerics to give attention to both its shape and number:
 The gift follows the shape of the church.
 (AD TEMPLI NORMAM SVA CVM SPECIE NVMERUM)"

Both inscriptions, Alcuin's and Frederick's, pay a particular attention to the importance of number in the making of sacred space of the chapel, and respectively, of the light *corona* of Aachen. The Divine beauty radiates out from the harmonic power of the holy number, the octagon. Eight and the oc-

³⁷ The nearly circular plan (octagonal) of the New Jerusalem of Revelation appears to be derived from the Arculf sketches of the Holy Sepulchre.

tagon represent resurrection and rebirth, because Christ rose from the grave 8 days after His entry into Jerusalem. According to Carol Heitz³⁸, the liturgy of the imperial chapel incorporated strong references to the ceremonial of Jerusalem, centred on the Resurrection. The octagonal *corona* recalls also the Imperial Crown, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna³⁹. But what could connect the *corona* of light and the crown of the emperor in the sacred space of the chapel, what is the symbolism behind it? According to the *Mitræ* written by Bishop of Cremona, around 1195, there was the tradition of suspending *coronæ* in the form of wheel-shaped candelabra, in the churches, with the meaning that “those who remain in the unity of the church, if they serve God faithfully, will receive the crown of (eternal) life”. The “crown of life” (Revelation 2.10) and the “crown of righteousness” (Timothy 4.8) are soteriological concepts related to the end of times, with a long tradition in Christian theology. In the Early Byzantine Church, these ideas were associated with martyrdom and virginity as a spiritual state of perfection. This perfection was expressed by the circular disposition of the group. Thus, one spoke about the choir (*chorós*) of martyrs or the choir (*chorós*) of the virgins, imitators of Christ, and themselves models for the community of the church. Therefore, *koinônia* (congregation), *ekklesia* (church), and *chorós* were originally used synonymously. In a series of articles, I define the concept of Byzantine *chorós*, from a theological and iconographical point of view⁴⁰. The *corona* of Aachen is a Latin variant of the Byzantine *chorós*, they both point out to the idea of unity for the congregation. It might be possible that the crowning of martyrs, or placing the relics under the *corona*, originates from the Jerusalem custom of placing crowns above the tomb of Christ; the martyrs are in reality imitators of Christ. Petre Guran points out to such custom described in a Greek text, the *Martyrium Arethæ*, dated around the end of the sixth century, where the Ethiopian king Ella Atsbeha, “as he gave up his throne for the monastic life, also sent his crown to the Anastasis church of Jerusalem, to be suspended precisely above

³⁸ Heitz C. Architecture et liturgie processionnelle à l’époque préromane // *Revue de l’Art* 24 (1974), p. 30–47.

³⁹ Minkenbergh G. Der Barbarossaleuchter im Dom zu Aachen // *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*. 96, 1989, p. 101, apud. Wimmer, op. cit., p. 30.

⁴⁰ Isar N. The Dance of Adam: Reconstructing the Byzantine *chorós* // *Byzantinoslavica Revues Internationale des Etudes Byzantine* 6LXI (2003), 179–204; *idem*, *Chorós* of Light: Vision of the Sacred Paulus the Silentiary’s poem *Descriptio S. Sophiae* // *Byzantinische Forschungen, Internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik*, Band XXVIII, 2004, Verlag Adolf M. Hakkert, p. 215–242; *idem*, *Chorós*: Dancing into the Sacred Space of Chôra // *Byzantion Revue Internationale des Etudes Byzantines*, Tome LXXV (2005), p. 199–224; *idem*, *Chorography* (Chôra, Chôros, Chorós) — A performative paradigm of creation of sacred space in Byzantium // *Hierotopy: Studies in the Making of Sacred Space*, Moscow, 2006, p. 59–90.

the tomb of Christ”⁴¹. This might explain also the custom of placing crowns in the altar of Hagia Sophia, which stands for the tomb of Christ. Nicephorus Callistus says that there were crowns in the altar of the Great Church till the taking of the city by the Latins⁴². According to Byzantios, the emperor Leo IV and his wife Irene also suspended crowns there. Nicetas speaks about the “crown of the great Constantine, which hung above the Holy Table”. The Russian pilgrim Anthony reports that just before the Crusade there were thirty crowns suspended from the ciborium of Hagia Sophia. There is also a small enamelled crown for suspension above an altar, which is from the Constantinople treasures at S. Mark inscribed in Greek LEON DECP (OTHC), which probably was Leon VI, who died in 911.

Similar examples could be found in the West. A drawing of the so-called *Écrin de Charlemagne*⁴³, a piece now destroyed except for the crest jewel, shows a five-tiered altarpiece, shaped like the facade of a church, or the arcaded pages of the Carolingian manuscript gospels, with crowns suspended above the reliquary (fig. 7). Likewise, crowns were suspended in the lateral absides of the ciborium of Charles the Bald (fig. 8). Hanging crowns, looking like votive crowns, small circlets of gold incrustated with precious stones, pearls, and pendants hanging from the rim, could be seen at Monza. A spectacular example is the Visigothic polychrome votive crown of Receswinth, King of Toledo, found in 1853 and 1861 at Fuente de Guarrazar, near Toledo in a votive crown hoard c. 670, made of gold and precious stones (Madrid: Mus. Argu) and (Paris: Cluny) (fig. 9). These votive crowns (some of them meant to be actually worn) are consistently associated with the space of the altar or the holy body of the martyrs (or the tomb of Christ). In the East and in the West, the symbolism of the crown was used as a perfect form to express holiness and power, a model for the church space, as well as for the community as a whole. It is on this line of tradition perhaps that one should place the candelabrum crowning the holy body of Charlemagne at Aachen. Its symbolism is once more emphasized by the spectacular representation in the mosaic of the dome at Aachen, the apocalyptic image of the Lamb of God surrounded by the four living creatures and the 24 elders offering their crowns in adoration, perhaps reproducing the same image from the dome of the Rotonda *Anastasis* in Jerusalem.

One more aspect should be however discussed, in order to grasp the greatness of Barbarossa project, and this is the relationship between the

⁴¹ *Guran P.* Genesis and Function of the “Last Emperor” Myth in Byzantine Eschatology // *Bizantinistica* s. II, 8 (2006) 273–303. — Acconcia Longo.

⁴² Migne, S. G. Tom. 147, p. 414, apud. *Lethaby W. R. & Swainson H.* The Church of Sancta Sophia A Study of Byzantine Building. Macmillan & Co. London & New York, 1894, p. 73.

⁴³ Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures / Ed. and transl. Erwin Panofsky. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946; second ed., 1976, p. 21 and figs. 24–25.

light symbolism and imperial power. Barbarossa's candelabrum is a most complex elaborated lighting device, in which apocalypticism and imperial power exalt each other. The relation between light and imperial power was cultivated since antiquity, and continued to be used by the Christians, both the East and in the West. In my article "Chorós of Light"⁴⁴, I discussed the light symbolism and its role in shaping the imperial discourse in the imperial church of Hagia Sophia described by Paulus the Silentiary. In Paulus' *ekphrasis*, light takes a circular movement in the imperial church, which the poet consistently describes using the concept *chorós* (round sacred movement of light). We find the same term *chorós*, designating the lighting devices (*choroi*) in the 12th c. in the *typika* written with the occasion of the consecration of the imperial (Comnenian) churches. These are the *typikon* for the convent of the Mother of God Kecharitomene, "Full of Grace" written in 1110–1116 by the Empress Irene Doukina Comnene, the wife of Alexios I Comnenos; and the *typikon* for the monastery Christ Pantokrator, written by her son the Emperor John II Comnenos in 1136 on the occasion of the consecration of the monastery. Both *typika* present detailed instructions about the lighting at the beginning of the services celebrated in the church, at matins, vespers, at the liturgy and special feasts, with specific prescriptions for the crater lamps that hang around the dome, that is to say, *choros*⁴⁵. The imperial ceremonial must have taken place under the dome of the cross-inscribed church of the Comnenian foundations, in front of the Royal doors, under the *choros*, which was a projection of the dome below, where the *pannychis* of the *basileus* was performed every Friday as part of the vigil or *agrypnia*. The lighting of the *choros* should have been no doubt connected with the meaning of the Pantokrator in the dome. As Thomas Matthews⁴⁶ perceptively suggests, there is under the dome, "around a vertical well of light", on a direct axis with the Pantocrator overhead, that the subjects of the empire might have found themselves at the very centre of creation. The lighting device, *choros*, would have been a suitable symbol to construct the imperial discourse and to affirm the unity of the imperial court in like manner to the heavenly ruler. The space cleared out by the *choros*, the "congregational space" par excellence, was an expression of the unity of the centralized empire.

⁴⁴ Isar N. 'Chorós of Light': Vision of the Sacred Paulus the Silentiary's poem *Descriptio S. Sophiae* // *Byzantinische Forschungen Internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik* 28, 2004, p. 215–242.

⁴⁵ Le *typikon* du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator // *Revue des études byzantines*, tome 32 (1974) / Ed. Paul Gautier, p. 36–41 ; Le *typikon* de la Théotokos Kécharitôménè // *Revue des études byzantines*, tome 43 (1985), p. 112–113.

⁴⁶ Matthews T. The Transformation Symbolism in Byzantine Architecture and the Meaning of the Pantokrator in the Dome // *Church and People in Byzantium* / Ed. R. Morris, Birmingham, 1990, p. 212.

No Comnenian *choros* was so far preserved⁴⁷, but we assume that they were circular in form, which could allow us to make a parallel between the Byzantine imperial *choros* of the Comnenos and Barbarossa's *corona*⁴⁸. In a conspicuous way, they both refer to an imperial crown, as well as to the "crown of life" at the end of time. They both are a model of unity for the congregation. But in the space of Aachen imperial church, the *corona* is not crowning the body of the emperor, but his holy remains, the relics of Charlemagne, which makes the discourse symptomatic for the Western tradition cultivated by Charlemagne himself. This was powerfully expressed in the text of the *Libri carolini* in 794. Opposing the arguments for the Byzantine restoration of holy icons, Charlemagne promoted the cult of relics as vehicles of spirituality and salvation. Relics are holy things belonging to salvation history, while icons are mere artifacts of the hand of man. In the West, the chivalric martyrdom played an immense role in the political life. Through their relics, the martyrs make their presence in the church as a celestial army. This justifies the presence of Saint Michael on the candelabrum holding the scroll with the words: NUNC FACTA E(ST) SAL(US) + VIRT(US) (Now is come salvation and power) (Revelation 12:10)⁴⁹ is the warrior archangel. A reflection of this celestial army is the earthly *ecclesia milians*, represented by the imperial warriors. In a late engraving of the candelabrum (1620), there are representations of soldiers in the towers that once decorated the candelabrum. One can still see them in the Hertwig candelabrum, which preserved almost intact its figural decoration⁵⁰. Frederick himself participated in two crusades, leading them, and died to the third.

Barbarossa's candelabrum, crowning the relics of Charlemagne, is a rhetorical statement, which combines theological notions with elements of political rulership. It is centred on the symbolism of coronation, as well as on the symbolism of light as a means of salvation. Visually, it could be read on a vertical line, which goes upwards, from the centre of the chapel, where the relics of the holy emperor Charlemagne (CAROLUS) are placed under the *corona* of light. Light shines from the holy relics of CAROLUS —

⁴⁷ Lethaby attempts to reconstitute Paulus's *choros* and connects it with the lighting devices called *choros* or the *polyeleos* from the 12th century, and those still in use today in the Serbian churches (Decani, Zica), but also at Athos, and in Greece, swinging about during the chant of the *polyeleos*, the Cherubic, and the Trisagion, or on the great feasts of the year (Lethaby W. R., Swainson H. *The Church of Sancta Sophia A Study of Byzantine Building*. Macmillan & Co. London & New York, 1894, p. 110–121.)

⁴⁸ Barbarossa's candelabrum (1156–1184) is posterior to these Byzantine lighting *choroi* (1110–16–1136) mentioned in the Comnenian *typika*. We don't know, and we don't intend to find out here if the candelabrum from Aachen was of Byzantine inspiration.

⁴⁹ Wimmer, *The Iconographic Programme of the Barbarossa Candelabrum in the Palatine Chapel at Aachen: A Re-Interpretation*, p. 32.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

CAROLUX⁵¹. Like resurrected martyrs live in Christ and are therefore united with God, the faithful is likewise expected to ascend to the crown of life depicted in the mosaic of the dome. By contemplating the lighted *corona*, one is supposed to be united with God in fear and expectation at the end of time. The Western *corona* makes explicit use of the apocalyptic narrative, which is only obliquely suggested in Byzantium, at least until a late period when an apocalyptic iconography is imported. In the space of the Palatine Chapel at Aachen, the *corona* of light, the Imperial Crown, and the Heavenly Jerusalem are brought together in a most complex visual and performative elaboration. In this project, the Holy Emperor Charlemagne (canonized at 1165) provides a powerful and enduring example for the new settled *Sacrum Imperium* (1157).

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CELICA IHERUSALEM CAROLINA:
ИМПЕРСКАЯ ЭСХАТОЛОГИЯ И МИСТИКА СВЕТА
В ПАЛАТИНСКОЙ КАПЕЛЛЕ В ААХЕНЕ

Одним из самых замечательных литургических объектов, представляющих Небесный Иерусалим, без сомнения, можно назвать канделябр XII в. в Палатинской капелле Карла Великого — имперский подарок, преподнесенный капелле царствующей четой, Фридрихом I Барбароссой и его женой Беатрисой Бургундской, в промежутке между их бракосочетанием в 1156 г. и ее смертью в 1184 г. Осветительные устройства такого типа были широко распространены в средневековой Европе, но канделябр из Аахена заслуживает особого внимания в связи с той ролью, которую он играет в пространстве каролингской капеллы в качестве образца, символизирующего перенос священного пространства Святого Гроба. Именно этот светильник и является предметом изучения в данной работе.

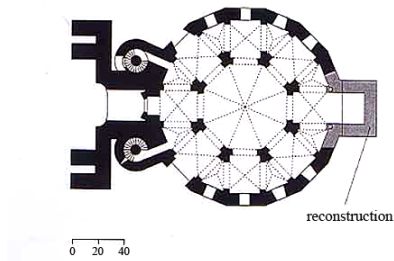
Надпись, помещенная внутри восьмиугольной рамы, дает ясное указание на значение, придававшееся этому священному объекту: *CELICA IHERVSALEM SIGNATVR IMAGINE TALI UISION PACIS...* («Небесный Иерусалим означен сим образом, Видение мира...»). Но, как показывает посвящение канделябра, это эсхатологическое «видение

⁵¹ This pun was applied to Charlemagne that the name CAROLUS came from CARA LUX, or dear light. See: *Silagi G.* Karolus — cara lux // *Deutsches Archiv*, 37 (1981), p. 78–91; and *Dutton P. E.* Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire. University of Nebraska Press, 1994, p. 21.

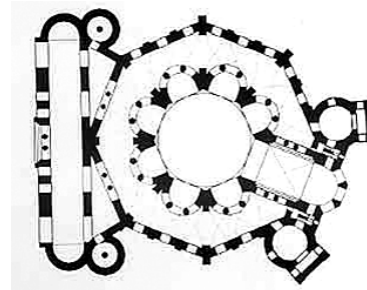
мира» не восходит напрямую к обычному источнику — тексту Апокалипсиса, в котором Небесный Иерусалим описан как квадратный в плане храм. Скорее восьмиугольная форма канделябра отражает архитектурный октагон самой капеллы, построенной с целью воплощения идеи Небесного Иерусалима, по образу и подобию Ротонды Воскресения в Иерусалиме. Помещенный справа от гробницы с останками признанного в 1165 г. святым императора Карла Великого, канделябр-*корона*, возможно, знаменует именно это событие, акцентируя имперский культ Карла Великого, но в то же самое время это сделано так, чтобы отметить «про-иерусалимскую» политику Карла.

В данной работе я хочу показать, что Карл Великий, получивший благословение Святой Земли, в которой хранились символические ключи от святого града, проводил активную политику в связи со Святой Землей. Это нашло отражение и в развитии литургии, в которой решающую роль стал играть восточный обряд под влиянием иерусалимского чина, и в особом культе света.

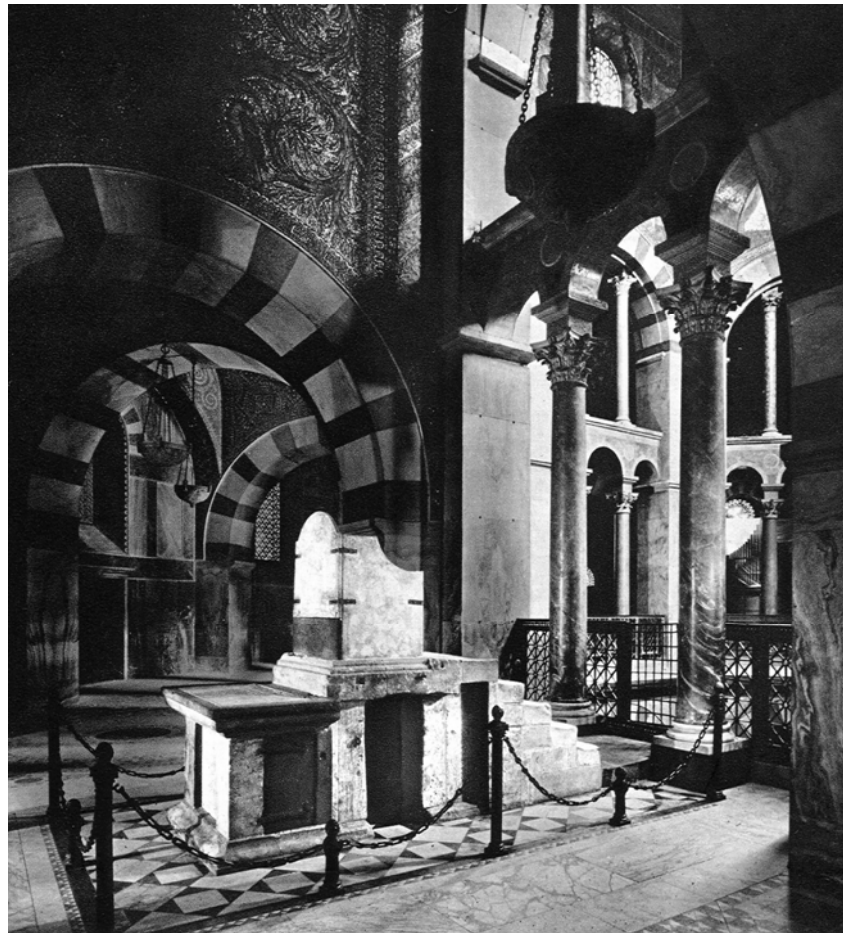
Литургический предмет, имперский дар Барбароссы, подчеркивает роль Карла Великого как основателя многовековой традиции эсхатологического видения Небесного Иерусалима в Палатинской капелле в Аахене.



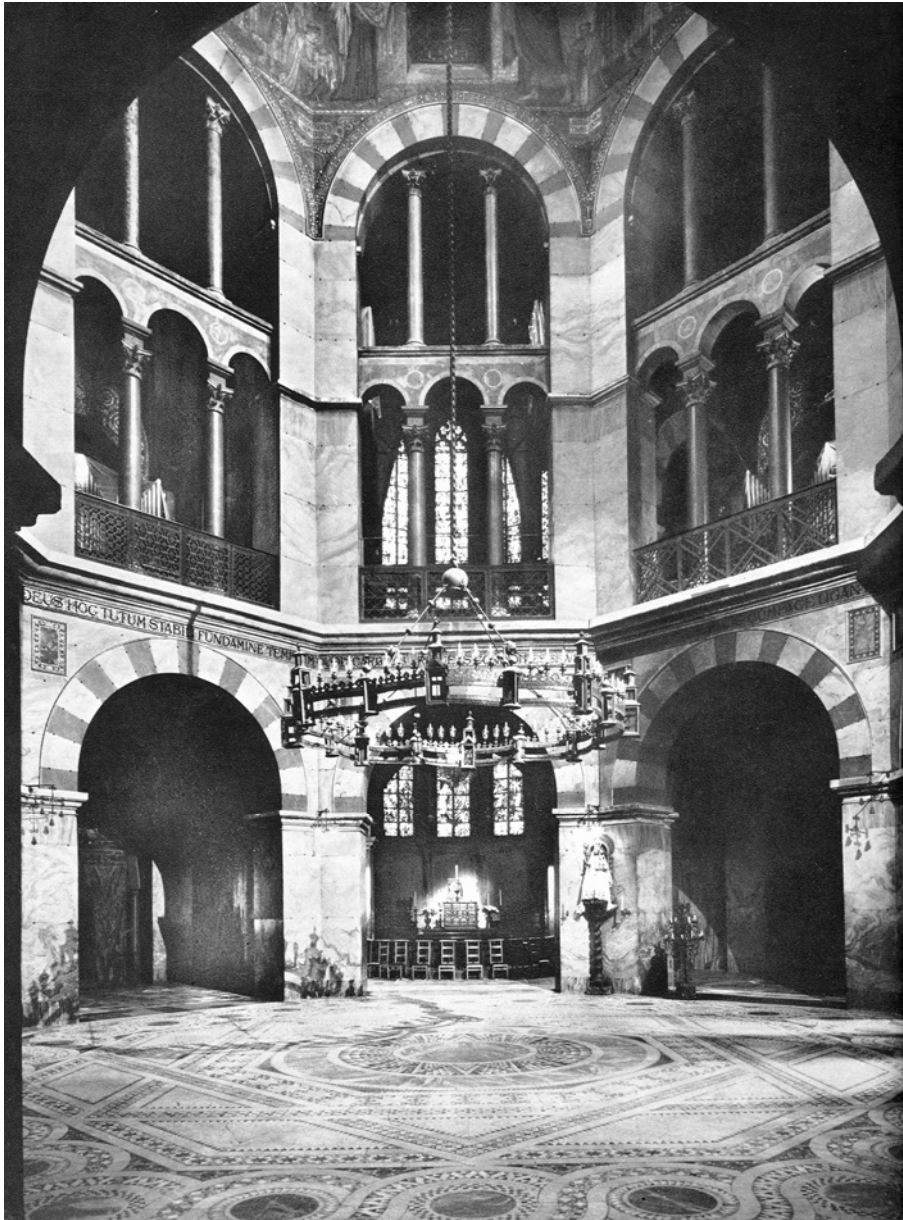
1. The plan of the Palatine Chapel from Aachen



2. The plan of the church San Vitale Ravenna



3. Aachen, Palatine Chapel, Imperial throne (*J. Hubert, J. Porcher, W. F. Volbach. Carolingian Art. Thames and Hudson, 1970, fig. 39, p. 45*)



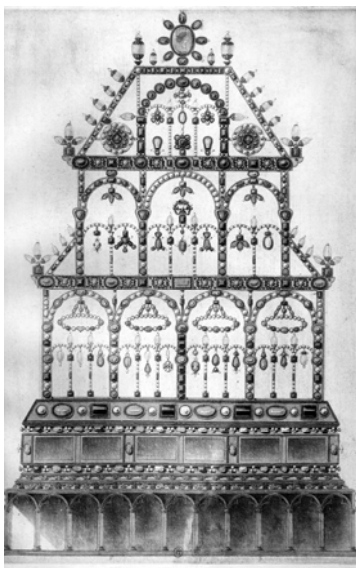
4. View from the interior of the Palatine Chapel with the inscription on the cornice (*J. Hubert, J. Porcher, W. F. Volbach. Carolingian Art. Thames and Hudson, 1970, fig. 35, p. 40*)



5. The dome mosaic with the Apocalypse in the Palatine Chapel in Aachen
(*J. Hubert, J. Porcher, W. F. Volbach. Carolingian Art. 1970, fig. 36, p. 41*)



6. Detail of Barbarossa candelabrum in Aachen (*Donald Bullough. The Age of Charlemagne. Photographs by Edwin Smith and others. London, 1965, fig. 79, p. 192*)



7. «Écrin de Charlemagne» — Drawing by Félibien (*Guibert Joseph. Les Dessins du Cabinet Peiresc au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Paris, 1910*)



8. Saint Denis, Gospel Book of St Emmeram of Regensburg with the ciborium with crowns of Charles the Bald. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (*J. Hubert, J. Porcher, W. F. Volbach. Carolingian Art. 1970, fig. 137, p. 149*)



9. The visigothic crown of king Recceswinth (635–672) — discovered in Guarrazar (Toledo) in 1859, now in Musée de Cluny, Paris (*Paolo Verzone*. *From Theodoric to Charlemagne A History of the Dark Ages in the West*. Methuen London, 1968, p. 153)