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From Tintagel to Aachen: Richard of Cornwall and the Power of Place

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The theme of this volume is legendary rulers, and its principal subjects are the great Frankish emperor Charlemagne (768-814), whose life and reign gave rise to many legends, and the British king Arthur, who may have had a shadowy existence in the post-Roman period but who came to prominence through the legends which developed around him.¹ This paper examines, through the career of Richard of Cornwall (1209-72) which touched on them both, the way in which legends about these rulers contributed to the power of place at two very different sites, Tintagel in Cornwall and Aachen in Germany.

Richard, who was the second son of King John of England and younger brother of King Henry III, was made earl of Cornwall in 1227, elected king of Germany, 'king of the Romans' that is, in January 1257, and crowned as such in May 1257. He was a very wealthy and politically active figure, deeply involved in the struggles between the king of England and his barons, as well as a crusader and an active participant in Continental affairs.²

In May 1233, that is in the early part of his career as Earl of Cornwall, Richard purchased the 'island' of Tintagel, a promontory rather than a real island, on the Cornish coast.³ The fact that the purchase included the 'castle of Richard' could be seen to support a previously-held theory that a castle had already been built on the promontory in the twelfth century; but archaeological and architectural evidence from the castle-ruins there, together with a consideration of the historical context, shows rather that Tintagel Castle must have been built by Richard himself, although he may have done this before he actually purchased

the promontory, perhaps holding it in leasehold, and hence the reference to the 'castle of Richard' in the purchase document.⁴

Why did Richard build the castle on a site which seems to have had no military or strategic significance, and why did he also go to the trouble of obtaining the manor of Bossiney, in which it stood, by an exchange with its previous holder of three manors of the earldom of Cornwall, an exchange confirmed in 1236?⁵ Although there is no direct evidence, it seems possible that Richard was inspired to do this by the supposed connections of the site with King Arthur on the one hand, and the story of Tristan and Iseult on the other. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*, completed in the late 1130s, certainly by 1139, Uther Pendragon, king of Britain, had fallen in love with Igera, wife of Gorlois, duke of Cornwall. To protect her from the king's advances, Gorlois 'placed her in the castle of Tintagel by the sea, for it was his best-protected stronghold', while he himself 'took refuge in the castle of Dimilioc', which Uther Pendragon proceeded to besiege. Overcome by lust for Igera, Uther Pendragon had himself transformed into the shape of Gorlois by the magician Merlin and went to Tintagel, where he was accepted by Igera and together they conceived the future King Arthur.⁶

Geoffrey of Monmouth's work had rapidly become well known and influential, and it is entirely plausible that this story provided part at least of Richard of Cornwall's motivation for acquiring Tintagel and building the castle there. His purpose was, in other words, to associate himself with the fame and glory of King Arthur by becoming the lord of a castle on the site of his conception. For such a purpose, Tintagel provided a truly stunning site, for the promontory was connected to the mainland only by a narrow saddle of rock which has now fallen away. The inner ward of the castle was perched on the promontory, above the precipitous cliffs, while the outer ward was equally vertiginously placed on the mainland, the two parts joined by that saddle of rock (figure 1).



Figure 1: The promontory of Tintagel from the east across the Haven. The sharp nick in the skyline on the left-hand side of the photograph is where the saddle of rock once existed but has now collapsed. The 'island courtyard' of the castle is visible just to the right of it, while the 'lower mainland courtyard' is on the summit on the left of the photograph. (Copyright author).

Geoffrey of Monmouth's description of Tintagel, as put into the mouth of one of Uther Pendragon's followers, corresponded with the site as it actually existed, suggesting that Geoffrey knew it at first hand: 'That fortress is surrounded by sea on three sides, and there is no means of access other than a narrow causeway'. This would have made it possible for Richard of Cornwall, his entourage, and perhaps his important guests vividly to envisage the events described by Geoffrey of Monmouth as they looked at the newly built castle. Maybe they were even able to play out the Arthurian legends, in the same sort of way as the Little Castle was probably used at the great seventeenth-century house of Bolsover. As Mark Girouard comments, 'its mock fortifications, vaulted rooms, carved chimney-pieces and statue of Venus at the centre of a crenellated garden enclosure' make it 'essentially a more solid version of the pasteboard castles that were erected as part of the entertainments put on to celebrate royal events',⁷ entertainments which may well have included enactments of Arthurian legends.

As there was the Fountain Garden at Bolsover, so there seems to have been a walled garden at Tintagel, located on the promontory, outside the Inner Ward, and 50m south of the chapel of St Julitta.⁸ Aside from being the place of conception of King Arthur in Geoffrey of Monmouth's history, Tintagel was also the place where most versions of the story of the lovers Tristan and Iseult located the court of King Mark of Cornwall, Iseult's husband. The lovers are represented as meeting in a garden, or in Iseult's orchard, and it seems entirely possible that the Tintagel garden was intended as a reference to this, and that Richard of Cornwall's castle was equally intended to bring to mind, and perhaps to provide a backdrop for, the lovers' story.⁹

Richard of Cornwall's direct involvement with Tintagel was short-lived, and, after a visit to Launceston in 1256 which may have taken in Tintagel, the castle was scarcely visited, if at all, by him or any of his successors.¹⁰ From December 1256, Richard was pre-occupied with having himself made King of Germany, being offered the crown of that office in London in December of that year, elected at Frankfurt-am-Main in January 1257, and crowned in the city of Aachen on 17 May 1257.¹¹ Since Aachen had been the principal palace, and the burial-place, of the great Frankish emperor, Charlemagne (768-814), Richard of Cornwall's career thus brought together Arthur and Charlemagne.

This may allow us to consider the power of place at Tintagel and Aachen as it throws light on the relationship between myth and reality, between real kings and legendary kings, in the power-politics in which Richard of Cornwall was such a prominent actor. On the one hand, Richard's involvement with Arthur was largely an involvement with a legendary king, a literary creation, whereas there really was a ruler called Charlemagne and we know something at least of what he did and of the real events of his lifetime. But, when it comes to considering the politically powerful associations of places such as Tintagel on the one hand and Aachen on the other, the aim of this paper is to suggest that the distinction between the legendary and the real is not such a clear one as it might appear at first sight. Where was the boundary? How much did it matter to contemporaries and how much should it matter to us? Or was there rather a continuum between the supposed reality of the past and its shaping for, amongst other things, the articulation of power, especially in the context of places of power?

Such questions have been increasingly central to archaeologists, especially those working on early medieval royal sites, or at least sites apparently associated with power, in the British Isles and Scandinavia. Although their work is

widely known, and to an extent accepted, by specialists in the early middle ages, it is much less familiar to specialists in later medieval kingship and royal sites, and its potential importance for considering our present subject makes it worth reviewing here. In discussing the great seventh-century Northumbrian palace of Yeavering, located as it is on a ridge below the beetling prehistoric fortress on the hill known as Yeavering Bell, and in close proximity to prehistoric monuments, some of which its builders seem to have incorporated into their design, Richard Bradley argued that the palace's site was deliberately chosen to exploit the symbolism of power offered by these ancient features of the landscape. Between them and the seventh century, there was no real continuity any more than there was between the supposed period of King Arthur and Richard of Cornwall's castle, but the power of place was effectively being harnessed by the projection of an image of inter-connection between them. Bradley's interpretation was, he argued, equally applicable to early medieval Irish sites such as Newgrange and Knowth in the Boyne Valley, where major prehistoric monuments seem to have been deliberately re-used as foci for places of power, in Knowth's case the capital of the kingdom of the northern Brega.¹² Similar ideas are prominent in a volume of studies on early medieval places of assembly, many of which focus on the use of pre-existing monuments as assembly-places, the exploitation in other words of prehistoric remains like the stone-circle of the Rollright Stones to give a mythically derived authority to the power which the assemblies represented.¹³

Although all we can see in the archaeological record is the use of the earlier monuments themselves, the point of this use was presumably that traditions about earlier rulers or ruling élites were either associated with those monuments or were fabricated to explain them, so that the rulers or the élite who re-used them could claim the kudos and legitimacy of a direct connection with those predecessors, real or imaginary. In the case of Ireland, surviving texts such as *Baile in Scáil* of the late ninth century allow us to glimpse the legends of gods and kings which may have lain behind sites such as Tara, the Irish inauguration-site, also in the Boyne Valley and in some sort of relationship to the spectacular prehistoric monuments of that area.¹⁴

A similar relationship may lie behind the situation of the early medieval Danish royal site of Lejre, where the two successive halls, one of which has been only quite recently discovered by archaeologists, were built in a landscape rich in prehistoric monuments, and the earlier of the halls was built almost up against a great burial-mound, apparently reusing a prehistoric monument in just the same

way as was done at Yeavinger, Knowth, and Newgrange.¹⁵ At Lejre, however, we may be able to see a relationship between the royal site and a literary tradition not so different from the stories of Arthur and of Tristan and Iseult and King Mark which may have provided the background for Tintagel. In the case of Lejre, the literary tradition in question is that lying behind the Old English epic *Beowulf*, the first half of which focuses on the magnificent hall of Heorot, built by King Hrothgar, of the line of the Skjöldung kings of Denmark.¹⁶ Now, later medieval Danish writers represented Lejre as the royal seat of the Skjöldung kings, including Hrothgar, so that there is a possibility that Lejre really was the site of a hall called Heorot.¹⁷ For the argument of this paper, however, it is not important whether that was the case, or whether Heorot was a fictional hall invented by the poet of *Beowulf*. In either case, Lejre offers the possibility that traditions about the Skjöldung kings were being adopted and adapted to add their power and kudos to the royal seat. One, or perhaps both, halls may have been being associated with Heorot, and perhaps even represented as its successors. Just as at Tintagel it would have been possible to relate the topography of the story of Arthur's conception to the site of Richard of Cornwall's castle, or the trysts of Tristan and Iseult to the nearby garden, so at Lejre there may have been a similarly tangible connection between its site and the story of *Beowulf*. In the poem, the hall of Heorot is plagued by the monster Grendel who emerges from the 'fell and fen' (line 103) surrounding Heorot, and specifically from a lake or mere, described later in the poem as a wild and dismal place:

Mysterious is the region they live in of wolf-fells, wind-picked moors and treacherous fen-paths: a torrent of water pours down dark cliffs and plunges into the earth, an underground flood. It is not far from here, in terms of miles, that the Mere lies, overcast with dark, crag-rooted trees that hang in groves hoary with frost (lines 1358-65).

This description of the wilderness in which Grendel lived may owe much in detail to texts such as Virgil's *Aeneid*.¹⁸ But it is nevertheless striking that Lejre occupies a liminal position between settled agricultural land to the east, and the hillocks and meres of a 'dead-ice landscape', created by the deposit of moraine at the end of the last ice age, to the west.¹⁹ At Lejre, the stories of Heorot and its fate may have

corresponded to the real landscape around the royal seat, and this may have increased the power those stories possessed.

If Richard of Cornwall had built his castle at Tintagel because it was believed to be the site of King Arthur's conception and of the court of King Mark, he came to Aachen because it was, by his time, the near-obligatory place of coronation for German rulers. As was set out formally in Charles IV's Golden Bull of 1356/7, a king of Germany had to be elected at Frankfurt-am-Main, and then crowned and anointed at Aachen,²⁰ before (as he generally hoped) being crowned emperor in Rome. Such a pattern had emerged much earlier, and every king of Germany had been crowned and anointed at Aachen since Henry III in 1028, the only exceptions being the claimants to the throne which was then occupied by Henry IV, that is Rudolf von Rheinfelden in 1077 and Hermann von Salm in 1081, who were crowned at Mainz and Goslar respectively.²¹ From 1028 onwards, to be a legitimate king of Germany you had to be crowned in Aachen. The rival kings of the Romans, Otto IV (1198-1218) and Philip von Schwaben (1198-1208), elected by different factions, vied for access to Aachen to be crowned, and Frederick II twice besieged the city in 1214 and 1215 to achieve it.²² Even when, after his own coronation and anointing in Aachen in 1531, Ferdinand I arranged for his son to be crowned and anointed in Frankfurt-am-Main, thus bringing to an end the role of Aachen in this respect, he nevertheless sent assurances to the city that it still in principle retained its role, as did his successors.²³

Yet, Aachen was not powerful in terms of resources. It was not the seat of a bishop until very modern times. It had no particular strategic significance, and no great fortress, although it developed as an important cloth-making centre and a focus of pilgrimage.²⁴ To be sure, it occupied a central situation in the Carolingian kingdom of Lotharingia, which may have made it important to the Ottonian kings of East Frankia in the tenth century when they absorbed Lotharingia into their realms.²⁵ Moreover, the coronation became a bone of contention between the Archbishops of Mainz and Cologne and the Bishop of Trier. The Archbishop of Mainz was successful in crowning Henry II at Mainz in 1002 and Conrad II there in 1024; but ultimately the right of crowning the king of the Romans fell to the Archbishop of Cologne, in whose archdiocese Aachen lay, with the coronation of Henry IV in 1054. The other archbishops were relegated to assistants in the ceremony, and Aachen was consequently confirmed as the place of coronation and anointing.²⁶ The ambitions of canons of Aachen must also have

played their part in the development of the city's claim to its monopoly over coronations and anointings, for it was they who carried forward the construction of the church's soaring fourteenth-century choir, even if it may have been Emperor Charles IV who initiated it.²⁷ Important too must have been the role of the burghers and town government of Aachen, especially as it was they who negotiated around 1300 to take possession of the great hall of Charlemagne's palace, the grant of which they received on condition that, when they should rebuild it as a town-hall, they should incorporate in it a great hall suitable for the coronation feasts – a condition which they fulfilled in a way which made their great hall the grandest of any town-hall in Europe.²⁸

Crucial to such political calculations, however, were the traditions which Aachen embodied about Charlemagne, who had created what was to become the medieval city by constructing in it one of the most renowned palaces of the middle ages, substantial parts of which still survive.²⁹ These traditions are evident in the rituals and ceremonies of consecration and anointing of the ruler, which are known in detail only from the coronation and anointing of Sigismund in 1414,³⁰ but which were clearly elaborate and impressive by the mid-thirteenth century, when Richard of Cornwall was moved to send a series of letters about his coronation back to England.³¹ The picture which emerges from the sources for 1414 and later is indeed an impressive one, and we can best appreciate it if we follow in some detail what is known of the rituals of coronation and anointing as they had developed by the later middle ages.³² After his election at Frankfurt-am-Main, the king elect would have made a slow journey to take him the 250 kilometres to his coronation at Aachen.³³ He would have camped outside Aachen for a period of at least three days, and then have presented himself at the Cologne Gate, one of the entrances through the city walls of the later twelfth century. There, he would have been met by the dean and canons of the church with a processional cross, probably the Lothar Cross now in the cathedral treasury, and (from the time of Charles IV) the Charlemagne bust-reliquary, containing part of the skull of that ruler and topped with a magnificent crown.³⁴ Led by this bust-reliquary, the procession would have made its way to the church of St Mary, the present cathedral, with its polygonal nave and westwork with two spiral staircases. (Often called the 'palace chapel', this church was much more than that, since it was probably served by a monastic community and had baptismal rights).³⁵ These were the parts of the building which Charlemagne had actually had constructed, joined from the late fourteenth century almost incongruously to the enormous

Gothic choir. The new choir was a very grand building, reminiscent of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris.³⁶ Clearly, it would have been possible to have rebuilt the nave also to create a fully Gothic church, but instead the eighth-century nave was retained, presumably as a relic in its own right, a connection in stone with Charlemagne. Around it were constructed at various times a series of late medieval chapels reflecting Aachen's role as a centre of pilgrimage (figure 2).



Figure 2: Aachen Cathedral viewed from the north. The soaring fourteenth-century choir is on the left, with the octagonal nave of Charlemagne's church visible between the two late medieval chapels. The building on the right follows the line of the two-storey corridor linking the westwork of the church to the hall of the palace. (Copyright author).

The king elect would have approached the church from the north and then would have passed through the atrium at its west side (figure 3), with before him the great niche of the westwork, and above it the later medieval gallery, the purpose of which was to display the imperial regalia and relics of saints to those

assembled in the atrium, a ritual repeated every seven years, at any rate from the day before Charles IV's coronation in 1349.³⁷



Figure 3: The site of the atrium of Aachen Cathedral. The Carolingian masonry of the westwork extends just above the great niche. The three-light window in the niche is later, as is the porch in which the bronze doors are now installed. The relic-display gallery is visible above the niche. The buildings at the sides of the atrium are almost wholly modern, apart from some surviving Carolingian masonry in the north-east corner, but they reflect the original form of the space which is known from excavation. For a convincing reconstruction of the original Carolingian form see Charles B. McClendon, *The Origins of Medieval Architecture: Building in Europe, A.D. 600-900* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 117-18. (Copyright author).

The king elect would then have passed through the great eighth-century bronze doors (only one set of four still preserved in the church even today) and so under the gallery, where the symbolic significance of the eighth-century bronze she-wolf (the emperor should guard his people as fiercely as this animal would do her young) and the somewhat later pine-cone fountain (his people would have as many tongues as this pine-cone), and so into the polygonal nave. In the centre of

this was (until it was moved into the new choir in the fourteenth century) the shrine of Charlemagne, adorned with figures of the line of rulers who were his successors.³⁸ Above it was the great candelabra given by Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in the twelfth century, inscribed with words invoking Aachen as the Heavenly Jerusalem.³⁹ Before the shrine, the king elect prostrated himself with his arms outstretched like a cross while a *Te Deum* was sung. After this, he went to his lodging, to return the next day for the actual coronation and enthronement itself.

On the day of his coronation, the king elect was then taken to the high altar of St Mary, the dedicatee of the church to which Charlemagne was supposed to have given relics of the Passion of Christ.⁴⁰ There he swore an oath on the Coronation Gospels, received oaths of obedience from the lay and ecclesiastical lords, and was anointed with holy oil. He was then washed, dressed in the appropriate garments and was crowned by the Archbishop of Cologne. He was girded with the sword believed to be that of Charlemagne, in fact a tenth-century Hungarian weapon, and he used it to dub knights. Taken then up into the gallery of the Carolingian nave, the newly crowned king was enthroned by the Archbishop of Mainz and the Bishop of Trier on the throne which was believed to have been the throne of Charlemagne.

From the church, a two-storied corridor led directly northwards across what is now the open square of the Katzhof to the great hall of Charlemagne's palace, the building converted into the town-hall in the fourteenth century.⁴¹ The king presumably proceeded along the upper storey of this corridor, which opened directly from the western gallery. At the great hall, or from the fourteenth century, in the upper hall of the town-hall, he gave a great feast, at which the principal nobles acted as his servants, and an ox-roast was held outside for the citizens of Aachen.⁴²

The association between the function of Aachen as the coronation-place of German kings and Charlemagne was much more an artificial image of the past than it was a genuine reflection of reality. The palace, of course, really had been built by Charlemagne, and his son Louis the Pious really had been crowned in it in 813, and had in 817 similarly crowned his son Lothar. But, after the break-up of the Carolingian empire later in the ninth century, it had ceased to be a regular place of royal residence, and no ruler was inaugurated in it again until Otto I in 936, followed by Otto II in 961 and Otto III in 983.⁴³ The city's importance from 936 onwards rested more on the posthumous reputation of Charlemagne as a

great and saintly ruler, which reached a climax in the year 1000 when Otto III opened his tomb.⁴⁴ A legend, which soon developed in France but was widely diffused, told of how he had found the great ruler sitting upright like a king enthroned, his body undecayed, robed and adorned with regalia.⁴⁵ Frederick I Barbarossa's successful promotion of his canonisation in 1165 was another such climax.⁴⁶

Although Charlemagne had not been crowned at Aachen, the idea that he was nevertheless the inspiration for the Aachen coronations was made explicit in the creation of the shrine for Charlemagne's relics by Frederick II (1212-50), showing as it did all that ruler's predecessors back to Charlemagne himself, duly crowned and with their royal insignia. On one of the end-panels, Charlemagne sits magnificently enthroned and crowned, flanked by the pope, Leo III, and Archbishop Turpin of Rheims, with God the Father blessing him from above.⁴⁷

Moreover, the link between Charlemagne and coronations was strengthened by the role of his throne in the ceremonies. The contemporary chronicler, Thomas Wykes, is explicit, for example, that a crucial aspect of Richard of Cornwall's coronation was that he was seated on the 'throne of Charlemagne'.⁴⁸ In 1152, Otto of Freising had reported that Frederick I Barbarossa was 'crowned by Arnold, archbishop of Cologne, with others assisting, on the seat of the kingdom of the Franks, which was established in that same church by Charlemagne', presumably a reference in part at least to the actual throne.⁴⁹ And already in the tenth century Otto III had referred to 'our seat, established and ordained by Charlemagne, that most famous emperor and augustus'.⁵⁰ This throne is certainly the one still in the western gallery of the church. Placed on a platform with steps leading up to it (although these are not the originals), with the altar of St Nicasius at the rear of the platform, it has certainly been modified in the course of the middle ages. But in essence it really does seem to be the throne of Charlemagne. It is made of three great re-used Roman marble plates, forming its back and sides. Between them there was formerly a wooden seat, now in the Landesmuseum in Bonn, and within this a cavity for relics, perhaps the relics which Charlemagne had received from Jerusalem. It is even possible that the re-used marble plates themselves had some sort of function as relics, perhaps connecting the throne with Jerusalem, a city with which Charlemagne was particularly associated, and from which it is conceivable that they were *spolia*.⁵¹

The regalia used in the coronations, complicated as its history is, was also bound up with traditions of Charlemagne. The medieval regalia, now in the

Weltlicher und Geistliche Schatzkammer of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, was not kept at Aachen, apart from the reliquary of St Stephen, which was placed on the altar during the coronation, the Coronation Gospels, on which the coronation oath was sworn, and the Sword of Charlemagne, referred to above. Rather it was kept elsewhere and brought to Aachen for some coronations. In the time of Richard of Cornwall, it was guarded at the twelfth-century palace of Trifels; under Charles IV, it was probably kept first in Prague, and then in the magnificently painted and decorated chapel-tower at nearby Karlstejn; and from the time of Sigismund it moved first to Budapest in Hungary, and then to Nuremberg in 1424 where it remained until it was taken to Vienna in 1794.⁵² Establishing at which coronations it was or was not used is a complicated matter, but the so-called Imperial Crown was certainly used in 1024 by Conrad II, whose name appears on the bow of precious metal attached to it; and it was used for the coronation of Rudolf I of Habsburg (1273-91). At that time, it had come to be regarded as the crown of Charlemagne, although in fact it dates from the tenth and eleventh centuries. A chronicler commented of the coronation of Rudolf that 'one cannot be king, it is said, without the crown of Charlemagne',⁵³ and in 1315, when at the coronation of Elizabeth of Aragon in Basel the regalia now kept on Vienna was shown to the people as if it was a collection of relics, the Imperial Crown was called by two chroniclers 'the crown of Charlemagne'.⁵⁴ When Albrecht Durer represented Charlemagne, it was this crown that he was wearing.⁵⁵ A similar legend developed around the so-called Sword of Charlemagne, which by the fourteenth century was believed to have been given to that emperor by an angel.⁵⁶

It is probable that this regalia, apart from the items which remained in Aachen during the middle ages, was not available to Richard of Cornwall as a result of the troubled political circumstances surrounding his election as king of the Romans. In 1262, however, he made the remarkable move of presenting a new set of regalia to Aachen and entrusting it jointly to the city and to St Mary's.⁵⁷ The ostensible reason for the gift was that there should always be a set of regalia available for coronations at Aachen; but the underlying reason was probably that Richard wanted to build up Aachen's role as a coronation-city, which was somewhat impaired by the practice of keeping the regalia elsewhere – a practice which must have detracted from Richard's own coronation if he had no access to it. At the same time as this gift, Richard assisted the burghers in the construction of a new town-hall, now known as the Grashauss, and used as the repository for the

city archives.⁵⁸ This was a magnificent building, decorated with statues of the seven electors of the king of the Romans (figure 4), so that Richard's part in it may have been another aspect of his policy of elevating Aachen's status as a coronation-city.



Figure 4: The Aachen Grashaus in the Fischmarkt, built in 1267. Now housing the city-archives, it was the town-hall before the restoration of the ancient Carolingian *aula* for this purpose in the late fourteenth century. It is heavily restored and the statues of the seven electors are modern replacements of statues known from early drawings.*

That policy itself was no doubt inspired by the fact that Richard's political control did not really extend beyond the Rhineland, so it was entirely in his interests to

build up a centre like Aachen and to diminish the importance of more far-flung centres.⁶⁰

The regalia which Richard of Cornwall gave in 1262 is carefully specified in the document recording the gift. It consisted of a golden crown, a sceptre, an orb, and a coronation-cloak, all of which are described in some detail. There has been lengthy – and sometimes emotionally charged – debate about the fate of these items at Aachen. It seems likely that the staff crowned by a dove, which is still preserved in the Aachen Cathedral Treasury, is the sceptre which Richard gave, for it can be dated on grounds of its style to the thirteenth century, and its form is reminiscent of sceptres described in connection with the coronations of the English kings, Richard I and Richard II.⁶¹ The orb seems to have disappeared, although it may be referred to in cathedral inventories, and the cloak does not seem to have entered St Mary's treasury – at least it was evidently not available to Sigismund in 1414, since he used the so-called *cappa Leonis*.⁶²

The crown given by Richard, however, presents a more difficult problem. It is possible that it is the crown which was from the time of Charles IV kept on the head of the Charlemagne bust-reliquary, which belongs to the mid-fourteenth century and was probably a gift of that emperor. The crown, which does not seem to have been made for the reliquary, has been modified by the addition of a bow and a cross, a modification probably made by Charles IV, since it makes this crown resemble the one which he had made for the head-reliquary of St Wenceslas in St Vitus's Cathedral by his palace at Prague, and therefore suggests that he was involved in its modification.⁶³ The original crown, however, may be Richard's, although similarities in the setting of the precious stones with metalwork from Bohemia has persuaded some scholars that it itself was brought to Aachen by Charles IV. Whatever the truth of the matter, the crown of the bust-reliquary was made part of the Charlemagne legend. It was, as the emissaries of Count Amadaeus VIII of Savoy reported to him, used at Sigismund's coronation, when the Archbishop of Cologne and the other bishops and archbishops 'took the crown from the head of Charlemagne [that is from the bust-reliquary] and placed it on the head of the king'.⁶⁴

One way of formulating what we have been discussing is to the effect that the association of Charlemagne with Aachen, which developed across the centuries, was not a reflection of reality, but an artificial image of the past, serving to create a place of power with a very specific function as the coronation-city. But that formulation immediately leads us into difficulties regarding the distinction

between image and reality, between 'Charlemagne in History',⁶⁵ and Charlemagne as a legendary ruler. For the practice of creating and projecting an image of the past clearly began very early on at Aachen, and may have been part of its very beginning as a palace. What were effectively legendary images of Charlemagne had emerged already in the ninth-century lives of Charlemagne by Einhard and Notker the Stammerer, and the development of his legend and cult was rapid and extensive across the middle ages.⁶⁶ It is arguable that Charlemagne's construction of Aachen was itself an exercise in the shaping of the past which subsequent centuries elaborated and modified in the spirit of its creator. It has often been recognized, for example, that the Carolingian nave and gallery of the palace-church have strong similarities to the sixth-century Byzantine church of San Vitale in Ravenna, a building closely associated with the establishment in Italy of Byzantine imperial rule under the Emperor Justinian, whose court appears in the famous mosaics in the east end.⁶⁷ The Aachen palace-church would then have been itself a shaping of the past by which Charlemagne, crowned as emperor in Rome in 800, was the heir of emperors like Justinian.

Research on the Roman praetorium at Cologne has suggested another dimension to this projection of an image of the past through architecture. Sven Schütte has argued that the model for the Aachen church was in fact the lay-out of that praetorium, which had an octagonal room in the centre, reminiscent of the nave at Aachen, with connected two-storeyed apsidal rooms to north and south, reminiscent of the Aachen annexe basilicas. Schütte's superimposition of the plan of the praetorium over the plan of the Aachen church is striking. Moreover, he argued, the excavations and restoration in the late twentieth century of the fourth-century church of St Gereon in Cologne had revealed a nave which was oval in shape, but which also had a series of niches giving it much more the proportions of the Aachen nave. The superimposition of this plan over that of the Aachen church is equally striking. Schütte noted that both the praetorium and St Gereon belonged to the fourth century, broadly the time of the first Christian emperor, Constantine, whose successors the Frankish kings saw themselves as being. His conclusion was that they were creating in Aachen an image of the past which connected them visually, ritually, and symbolically to that Christian Roman legacy.⁶⁸ That connection was not real; but it was arguably the image on which the power of place at Aachen was founded, just as later the image as Aachen as the coronation-place of the kings of the Romans became its source of strength.

Aachen may not immediately strike us as the same sort of site as Tintagel, or as Yeavinger, or as Lejre, or as Tara. We may, however, be looking at similar mechanisms by which, perhaps from the very inception of these sites, images of the past were created and fostered to create the power of place at them and indeed many other sites across Europe. At Aachen, the image was the connection with the Roman, Christian past, and then the legend and memory of Charlemagne in association with coronations; at Tintagel the image was of an ancient Cornish royal centre, bound up from the twelfth century with legends of King Arthur and of Tristan and Iseult. At Lejre, the image may have been the legendary history of the Skjöldungs which we find in *Beowulf*; at Tara it was perhaps something like the stories of the Irish *Baile in Scáil*.

It may be that we should set aside our pre-occupation with historical reality as we examine the creation of the power of place across Europe and across the centuries. Three points may be worth emphasizing. First, it seems clear from the sites we have considered that their associations and connections with the past were a central part of the power of place residing in them. But it seems equally clear that our distinction between the real past and the imagined past was of little significance. Even if there really had been an early medieval political centre at Tintagel, there can have been no genuine knowledge of it in Richard of Cornwall's time, so that the place's association with the past must have been, in our terms, fictional. Although we have no way of knowing, this must have been just as much the case for the prehistoric monuments associated with our early medieval sites, which can have been no more (in our terms) than the triggers for the growth of legends. For Aachen, there was a real historical background in the activities of Charlemagne in particular, but so overlaid was it with myth and tradition that its core of reality, which is in fact quite small, must have ceased to have been its real importance. We need to ask, then, how much did it matter to the power of place whether the traditions of the past were based on reality or imagination? Maybe, we could argue, the latter was actually the more powerful element.

Secondly, there may or may not be a distinction between the sites we have been considering in terms of the nature of their power. It is tempting to think that Tintagel was, if our argument is correct, about acting out chivalric stories, whereas Aachen was about serious political power. Whether the distinction is as clear as we may think, or indeed if it exists at all, is open to discussion. Much as it mattered deeply to the king elect of Germany, the coronation at Aachen was only a sealing of his position, which had already been established in political terms

with the electors. The elaborate ritual of the coronation with its associations with Charlemagne was as much a piece of play-acting as any re-enactment of the story of Tristan and Iseult may have been at Tintagel. Yet both may have been serious politics in ways which it is hard for us to grasp. The importance of Arthurian reconstructions in the politics of English kings like Edward III may encourage us to think that this was the case,⁶⁹ as may the importance of what we would regard as play-acting in the entry of rulers into cities more widely.⁷⁰ Richard of Cornwall may have perceived his hold on Cornwall as affected by what happened at Tintagel as much as he perceived his hold on Germany as affected by what happened at Aachen.

Thirdly, the question of stake-holders. Rulers could not create power of place on their own. The associations with the past, real or legendary, had to be accepted, and indeed actively fostered, by their entourages and by the groups of subjects or the ecclesiastical or other institutions which were involved with the places in question. It is especially striking at Aachen that some at least of the impetus for the creation of its power of place was coming from the burghers and from the canons of St Mary's. At Tintagel, the stake-holders were presumably limited to Richard's entourage and to the lords of Cornwall, and this may be the real distinction between Aachen and Tintagel. At Yeavinger, Lejre, and the other early medieval sites, the stake-holders were presumably the people gathering for assemblies at those sites, whatever their social status and position may have been. We may here be dealing with a fundamental aspect of the way in which power was created, as a common acceptance of traditions and their accompanying ceremonies and rituals which invested particular places with the sort of power we have been examining.⁷¹

Notes

¹ For Arthur, see, for example, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages: a Collaborative History*, ed. Roger Sherman Loomis (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1959), with attempts to make what can be made of the 'real' King Arthur in Leslie Alcock, *Arthur's Britain: History and Archaeology AD 367-634* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1971). Nicholas J. Higham, *King Arthur: Myth-Making and History* (London, Routledge, 2002) pays more attention to the myth of King Arthur. For Charlemagne, see Matthias Becher, *Charlemagne* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2003), Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008), and Nelson, this volume. I am very grateful to Harald Müller for his comments on this paper and to Clemens Bayer for his guidance and friendship over many years.

² The classic study is Noël Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1947), but for more recent scholarship see Nicholas Vincent, 'Richard, First Earl of Cornwall and King of Germany (1209-1272)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004).

³ Oliver J. Padel, 'Tintagel in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Cornish Studies*, 16 (1988): 61-8 (64).

⁴ Padel, 'Tintagel in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', p. 65, advances the further suggestion that the phrase 'castle of Richard' may have been a later insertion into the text of the charter recording the sale in 1233.

⁵ Padel, 'Tintagel in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', p. 64.

⁶ *The History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of the Historia Regum Britannie*, eds. Michael Reeve and Neil Wright (Woodbridge, Boydell, 2007), sec. 137 (bk viii); *The History of the Kings of Britain: Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. Michael A. Faletra (Peterborough, Ont., Broadview, 2008), sec. 137; for discussion, see Oliver J. Padel, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and Cornwall', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 8, no. Winter (1984): 1-28 (11).

⁷ Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1981), p. 17.

⁸ Other dedications to this saint are found around Tintagel and on the north coast of Cornwall. A Roman martyr, and the mother of another martyr called Cyricus, she seems to have been confused with yet another Roman martyr called Juliot. Although behind her cult there may lie a Breton saint called Guilant, there is no sign that the cult was connected with the Tristan and Iseult stories. See Nicholas Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000) pp. 101-2, p. 154.

⁹ Peter Rose, 'The Medieval Garden at Tintagel Castle', *Cornish Archaeology*, 33 (1994): 170-82; further discussed by Oliver Hamilton Creighton, *Designs upon the Land: Elite Landscapes of the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, Boydell and Brewer, 2009), pp. 31-3.

¹⁰ Charles Thomas, *English Heritage book of Tintagel: Arthur and Archaeology* (London, Batsford, 1993), p. 117.

¹¹ Vincent, 'Richard, First Earl of Cornwall'.

¹² Richard Bradley, 'Time Regained: The Creation of Continuity', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 140 (1987): 1-17, arguing against Brian Hope-Taylor, *Yeaving: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London, HMSO, 1977). The influence of Bradley's ideas is evident in *Yeaving: People, Power and Place*, eds. Paul Frodsham and Colm O'Brien (Stroud, Tempus, 2005).

¹³ *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*, eds. Aliko Pantos and Sarah Semple (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2004).

¹⁴ Michael J. Enright, *Lady with a Mead Cup: Ritual, Prophecy and Lordship in the European Warband from La Tène to the Viking Age* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1996), pp. 273-4; *The Kingship and Landscape of Tara*, ed. Edel Bhreathnach (Dublin, Four Courts, 2005).

¹⁵ John D. Niles, 'Beowulf and Lejre', in *Beowulf and Lejre*, ed. John D. Niles, Tom Christensen, and Marijane Osborne (Turnhout, Brepols, 2007), pp. 169-234 (pp. 189-200).

¹⁶ *Klaeber's Beowulf and The Fight at Finnsburg*, eds. R. D. Fulk, Robert E. Bjork, and John D. Niles, 4th edn (Toronto, Buffalo, and London, University of Toronto Press, 2008). For a modern English translation, see, for example, *Beowulf: A Verse Translation*, ed. Michael Alexander, rev. edn, Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 2003), from which the quotations below are taken.

¹⁷ Raymond Wilson Chambers, *Beowulf: An Introduction to the Study of the Poem with a Discussion of the Stories of Offa and Finn (with a supplement by C. L. Wrenn)* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1959), pp. 16-20; *Beowulf and Lejre*, eds. Niles, Christensen, and Osborne.

¹⁸ Dan Anlezark, pers. comm.

¹⁹ Niles, 'Beowulf and Lejre', pp. 178-9.

²⁰ Nikolaus Gussone, 'Ritus, Recht und Geschichtsbewusstsein: Thron und Krone in der Tradition Karls des Grossen', in *Krönungen: Könige in Aachen: Geschichte und Mythos*, ed. Mario Kramp, 2 vols. (Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 2000), I, 35-47 (40); Golden Bull, ch. 29, translated *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, ed. Ernest F. Henderson, Bohn's Antiquarian Library (London, G. Bell and Sons, 1912), p. 259; edited *Die goldene Bulle Kaiser Karls IV. vom Jahre 1356*, ed. Wolfgang D. Fritz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Fontes iuris Germanici Antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi*, 11 (Weimar, Böhlau, 1972).

²¹ Egon Boshof, 'Aachen und die Thronerhebung des deutschen Königs in salisch-staufischer Zeit', *Zeitschrift der Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, 97 (1991): 5-32 (22-3).

²² Silvius Müller, 'Die Königskrönungen in Aachen (936-1531): ein Überblick', in *Krönungen*, ed. Kramp, I, 49-58 (50); Hans Martin Schaller, 'Der deutsche Thronstreit und Europa 1198-1218: Philipp von Schwaben, Otto IV, Friedrich II', in *Krönungen*, ed. Kramp, I, 398-406.

²³ Mario Kramp, 'Krönungen und Könige in der Nachfolge Karls des Großen: Eine Geschichte und ihre Bilder', in *Krönungen*, ed. Kramp, I, 2-18 (11).

²⁴ Müller, p. 49. Janet L. Nelson, 'Aachen as a Place of Power', in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Mayke De Jong, Franz Theuvs, and Carine Van Rhijn, *Transformation of the Roman World 6* (Leiden, Brill, 2001), pp. 216-41 (pp. 222-3), argues that Aachen was 'geographically central' and strategically significant in the Carolingian period; but in fact it sat only on a minor spur of the Roman road system and, situated in a liminal position between level lands to the north and west and hilly, probably wild land in the fringes of the Ardennes to the south and east, its site can scarcely have been chosen for such reasons. For the Roman road-system, see Josef Hagen, *Römerstrassen der Rheinprovinz* (Bonn, Schroeder, 1923-1926); and the map in Edith Mary Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* (London, Batsford, 1985), pp. xii-xiii. For the situation which Aachen developed in due course as a focus of roads and as a flourishing urban and pilgrimage centre, see M. Kranzhoff, *Aachen als Mittelpunkt bedeutender Strassenzüge zwischen Rhein, Maas und Mosel in Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Aachen, La Ruelle'sche Accidenzdruckerei, 1930).

²⁵ Boshof, p. 9.

²⁶ Boshof, pp. 18-23.

²⁷ Jirí Fajt, 'Karl IV. - Herrscher zwischen Prag und Aachen: der Kult Karls des Grossen und die karolingische Kunst', in *Krönungen*, ed. Kramp, II, 489-500 (497). The construction of the choir may, however, have had more to do with pilgrimages to Aachen than with Aachen's role as a coronation-city (Harald Müller, pers. comm.).

²⁸ Ernst Günther Grimme, 'Das gotische Rathaus der Stadt Aachen', in *Krönungen*, ed. Kramp, II, 509-15. I have not been able to consult Judith Ley, 'Das Rathaus der Freien Reichsstadt Aachen: Der Umbau der karolingischen Aula Regia zum gotischen Krönungspalast', in *Rathäuser und andere kommunale Bauten*, ed. Ulrich Klein, *Jahrbuch für Hausforschung*, 60; Beiträge zur Architektur- und Kulturgeschichte Leibniz Universität Hannover, 6 (Marburg, 2010), pp. 159-73.

²⁹ Charles B. McClendon, *The Origins of Medieval Architecture: Building in Europe, A.D. 600-900* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), ch. 6.

³⁰ Franz-Reiner Erkens, 'Königskrönung und Königsordnung im späten Mittelalter', *Zeitschrift der Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, 110 (2009 (for 2008)): 27-64 (28-9).

³¹ *Annales monastici*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, 5 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1864-9), I, 393-4. See also Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 92, n. 1.

³² For what follows, see Müller, pp. 53-4; and Erkens, pp. 39-42. Also useful is Aloys Schulte, *Die Kaiser- und Königskrönungen zu Aachen 813-1531*, Rheinische Neujaersblätter, 3 (Bonn, K. Schroeder, 1924), pp. 48-53. I am extremely grateful also for the help of my colleague Len Scales.

³³ Gussone, p. 40; Otto Volk, 'Von Grenzen ungestört – auf dem Weg nach Aachen: Die Krönungsfahrten der deutschen Könige im späten Mittelalter', in *Grenzen erkennen - Begrenzungen überwinden: Festschrift für Reinhard Schneider zur Vollendung seines 65. Lebensjahres*, ed. Wolfgang Haubrichs (Sigmaringen, Jan Thorbecke, 1999), pp. 263-97.

³⁴ *Krönungen*, ed. Kramp, I, 342-3, II, 548-9.

³⁵ See Ludwig Falkenstein, *Karl der Grosse und die Entstehung des Aachener Marienstiftes* (Paderborn, Ferdinand Schöningh, 1981) and, on the baptismal functions, Clemens M. M. Bayer, 'Die Aachener Marienkirche in der Diözese Lüttich: zu Funktionen, zur rechtlichen Stellung und zur Stiftsverfassung: eine Skizze', in *Dombaumeistertagung: Europäische Vereinigung der Dombaumeister, Münsterbaumeister und Hüttenmeister: Aachen 2009*, ed. Helmut Maintz (Aachen, Dombauleitung Aachen, 2009), pp. 55-74. The original texts relating to the church are helpfully set out in Julius Ritter von Schlosser, *Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der Karolingischen Kunst*, Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit, n.F.; Bd. 4 (Vienna, C. Graeser, 1892), nos. 99-117.

³⁶ Fajt, p. 497; Norbert Nussbaum, *German Gothic Church architecture*, translated by Scott Kleager (New Haven Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 121-6.

³⁷ Zoë Opačić, 'Karolus Magnus and Karolus Quartus: Imperial Role Models in Ingelheim, Aachen and Prague', in *Mainz and the Middle Rhine Valley: Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology*, eds. Ute Engel and Alexandra Gajewski, British Archaeological Association, Conference Transactions, 30 (Leeds, Maney Publishing, 2007), pp. 221-46 (p. 227).

³⁸ *Krönungen*, ed. Kramp, I, 394 (catalogue 4.29); Domkapitel Aachen, *Der Schrein Karls des Grossen: Bestand und Sicherung 1982-1988* (Aachen, Einhard, 1998).

³⁹ *Krönungen*, ed. Kramp, I, 394 (catalogue 4.28); Herta Lepie and Lothar Schmitt, *Der Barbarossaleuchter im Dom zu Aachen* (Aachen, Einhard, 1998); Georg Minkenber, 'Der Barbarossaleuchter im Dom zu Aachen', *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, 96 (1989): 69-102.

⁴⁰ Boshof, p. 6; Georg Minkenber, 'Der Aachener Domschatz und die sogenannten Krönungsgeschenke', in *Krönungen*, ed. Kramp, II, 59-68 (59).

⁴¹ Grimme, 'Das gotische Rathaus'.

⁴² Schulte, pp. 75-87; Claudia Rothhoff-Kraus, 'Krönungsfestmähler der römisch-deutschen Könige', in *Krönungen*, ed. Kramp, II, 573-82.

⁴³ Müller, p. 50.

⁴⁴ Ludwig Falkenstein, *Otto III und Aachen*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Studien und Texte, 22 (Hanover, Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1998).

⁴⁵ Robert Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'empire germanique médiéval* (Geneva, Slatkine Reprints, 1973), pp. 87-93.

⁴⁶ Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne*, ch. 3.

- ⁴⁷ Domkapitel Aachen, pl. III. The crown itself on the image of Charlemagne is a later addition (p. 51), but there must have been a predecessor to it.
- ⁴⁸ *Annales monastici*, ed. Luard, IV, 116-17. On the crown, see Kramp, 'Krönungen und Könige', pp. 7-8; *Krönungen*, ed. Kramp, I, 162 (catalogue 1.1).
- ⁴⁹ Boshof, p. 27.
- ⁵⁰ Jürgen Petersohn, 'Über monarchische Insignien und ihre Funktion im mittelalterlichen Reich', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 266 (1998): 47-96 (65, n. 71).
- ⁵¹ Sven Schütte, 'Der Aachener Thron', in *Krönungen*, ed. Kramp, I, 213-22. For recent comments on this and on the broader connections between Aachen and Jerusalem, see Michael McCormick, *Charlemagne's Survey of the Holy Land: Wealth, Personnel, and Buildings of a Mediterranean Church between Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Humanities (Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, 2011), p. 192. For discussion of the use of *spolia*, as the marble plates were, see for example Jens Fleischer, 'Spolia as Architectural Memory: A Ritualized Integration of the Past into the Present', in *Negotiating Heritage: Memories of the Middle Ages*, eds. Mette Birkedal Bruun and Stéphanie Glaser, *Ritus et artes*, 4 (Turnhout, Brepols, 2008), pp. 257-86.
- ⁵² Heinrich Schiffers, *Die deutsche Königskrönung und die Insignien des Richard von Cornwallis*, Veröffentlichungen des Bischöflichen Diözesanarchivs Aachen, 2 (Aachen, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv, 1936), pp. 47-52.
- ⁵³ Boshof, p. 7.
- ⁵⁴ Petersohn, 'Über monarchische Insignien und ihre Funktion', pp. 89-90.
- ⁵⁵ Jürgen Petersohn, 'Die Reichsinsignien im Krönungsbrauch und Herrscherzeremoniell des Mittelalters', in *Krönungen*, ed. Kramp, I, 151-60 (153, ill. 2).
- ⁵⁶ Opačić, p. 222.
- ⁵⁷ Denholm-Young, p. 115, and Vincent, 'Richard, First Earl of Cornwall' accept the view that Richard of Cornwall's document of 1262 shows that these regalia were actually given. Albert Huyskens, 'Der Plan des Königs Richard von Cornwallis zur Niederlegung eines deutschen Krönungsschatzes in Aachen', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 115 (1929): 180-204, argued that the document was a will rather than a gift, and there is no evidence that it was ever implemented; but he was attacked *inter alia* by Schiffers, *Die deutsche Königskrönung*, although he has since found some support from Petersohn, 'Über monarchische Insignien und ihre Funktion', p. 84, n. 52. In any case, Richard's intention is clear enough and underlines his commitment to Aachen as a place of coronation.
- ⁵⁸ Denholm-Young, p. 93.
- ⁵⁹ Grimme, p. 509.
- ⁶⁰ Schiffers, pp. 99-109, emphasising especially the political importance for Richard of the election in that year of Pope Urban IV.
- ⁶¹ Schiffers, pp. 135-8.
- ⁶² Schiffers, pp. 138-44.
- ⁶³ Schiffers, p. 20.
- ⁶⁴ Schiffers, pp. 29-30. For more modern discussion, see Kramp, 'Krönungen und Könige', pp. 527, pp. 548-9 (cat. 6.18, 6.65).
- ⁶⁵ See, for example, Nelson, 'Aachen as a Place of Power', *passim*, and Nelson, this volume.
- ⁶⁶ Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne*, pp. 4-15; and Robert Folz, *Études sur le culte liturgique de Charlemagne dans les églises de l'empire* (reprinted edn; Geneva, Slatkine Reprints, 1973). On Einhard, see especially Helmut Beumann, 'Die Historiographie des Mittelalters als Quelle

für die Ideengeschichte des Königtums', *Historische Zeitschrift* (1955): 449-88 (reprinted Helmut Beumann, *Wissenschaft vom Mittelalter: Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Böhlau, Cologne, 1972), pp. 201-40).

⁶⁷ See, for example, McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, p. 123; Xavier Barral i Altet, Claude Huber, Anne Stierlin, and Henri Stierlin, *The Early Middle Ages: from Late Antiquity to A.D. 1000*, Taschen's World Architecture (Cologne and London, Taschen, 2002), pp. 13-5. Nelson, 'Aachen as a Place of Power', pp. 220-2, suggests that Santa Sofia in Benevento may have been another important model.

⁶⁸ Sven Schütte, 'Überlegungen zu den architektonischen Vorbildern der Pfalzen Aachen und Ingelheim', in *Krönungen*, ed. Kramp, I, 203-11.

⁶⁹ See, for example, *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor: the House of the Round Table and the Windsor Festival of 1344*, eds. Julian Munby, Richard Barber, and Richard Brown (Woodbridge, Boydell and Brewer, 2007).

⁷⁰ One of the best treatments remains Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998). For earlier periods, see Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986); for later periods, see Roy C. Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450-1650* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 1984).

⁷¹ I am grateful to the Leverhulme Trust for the grant of a senior research fellowship, 2010-13, to research and write David Rollason, *The Power of Place in Medieval Kingship 500-1500* (forthcoming), where the ideas presented in this paper will be developed more extensively.