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HENRY THE LION AND THE ART OF POLITICS IN NORTHERN EUROPE, C. 1142-1195

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## **DEDICATION**

*For Jean Duncan MacNair Crampton (1924-2015).*

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines a range of objects made in north Germany and southern Scandinavia during the second half of the twelfth century, advancing the new concept of “coercive form” to describe the political work of sculptural aesthetics in the period. It makes the case that the formal qualities of some sculptures were invested with political significance during a time when politics were grounded in the material and visual world and forms of compulsion governed artistic production. Writers, political theorists, and secular elites noticed this fact, and the dissertation draws on their jokes and poems in order to propose a new vocabulary for medieval sculpture’s formal properties. In a milieu characterized by rapid historical change—colonization, Christianization, class conflict—art increasingly modeled the processes that bound subjects into new social orders. Examining questions of figuration and scale, the first two chapters analyze monumental metal works erected at Brunswick and Erfurt, placing both in relation to the political administration of Duke Henry the Lion of Bavaria and Saxony (d. 1195). I demonstrate that large works of sculpture assumed the tasks of staking out sovereign centers and visualizing class hierarchies (particularly with respect to the legally unfree *ministeriales* who performed administrative labor and strove against proscriptions about the alienation of property in order to behave as patrons). Moreover, I argue that comprehending the role of the art historical *unicum* is key to making sense of the visual force of works that were made as risky experiments in both artistic and political rhetoric. The third chapter turns to boundary markers and other inscribed public monuments that aimed to delineate territory in newly and tenuously Christianized spaces east of Saxony. Producing new regimes of measurement, property, and signification, these carved stones transformed the experience of spectatorial orientation into a coercive encounter with political and religious hierarchies. The fourth chapter examines a corpus

of fonts carved in southern Scandinavia that responded to local conflicts arising from the introduction of new Christian *formas vivendi*. Ultimately, the dissertation argues that sculpture played an unusually prominent role in late-twelfth century projects of political subjugation, subject constitution, and aesthetic domination in northern Europe; these ambitions, in turn, dramatically expanded the mandate of sculptural form in the period.

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In his *De nugis curialium*, Walter Map analogizes his own text to a hulk of unhewn timber. He frames his writing as raw material, awaiting a reader to carve (*exculpo*) its mass and transform its wisdom into something that might circulate in the world with a beautiful appearance (*bona facie*).<sup>1</sup> The text's import is forged by this triad of author, reader, and text. My own process of dissertation writing has proceeded much the same; I am profoundly grateful to a team of generous readers who has challenged and refined my ideas, in many cases handing back better versions of what I only half-knew I wanted to say.

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<sup>1</sup> Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, trans. M. R. James (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), dist. 2, xxxii.

Diebold, Eliza Garrison, Giles Gaspar, Anne Harris, Jacqueline Jung, Catherine Karkov, Christopher Lakey, Christine Normore, Julie Orlemanski, Karen Overbey, Lucy Pick, Benjamin Saltzman, Lisa Scott, Andrew Sears, Tristan Sharp, Joe Stadolnik, Benjamin Tilghman, Nancy Thompson, Matthew Vanderpoel, Matthew Westerby, and Maggie Williams. The Medieval Studies Workshop deserves special mention, affording a discursive space unmatched for its genuine camaraderie. For advice on specific points of medieval art history, I am indebted to Joseph Ackley, Barbara Bruderer-Eichenberg, Nathan Dennis, Shirin Fozi, Cynthia Hahn, Jitske Jasperse, Jacqueline Lombard, Gerhard Lutz, Joanna Olchawa, Conrad Rudolph, Harriet Sonde de Torrens, and Jörg Widmaier, many of whom I am pleased to count as friends.

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States was supported by too many archivists, churchwardens, curators, librarians, and helpful parties to be listed by name here; suffice to say, I leave the dissertation process with a humble respect for the many who labor to preserve and sustain, often with little thanks, the medieval works of art that I have studied. My final year of residence in Washington, DC was made a thoroughly enjoyable one by the ministrations of Dean Steven Nelson, Associate Dean Peter Lukehart, and the rest of the CASVA staff. There, I benefited immeasurably from the generous feedback of the postdoctoral and senior fellows, many of whom appear in the dissertation's footnotes. I would like especially to single out Nisa Ari, Kaira Cabañas, Juliet Koss, Jeffrey Moser, Christopher Nygren, and Lowery Stokes-Sims, whose insights materially advanced my thinking. I could have asked for no better friends during the final year than my pre-doctoral cohort, immortalized as #SevenDeep, whose brilliance transformed the work: Christine Garnier, Isabella Llores-Chavez, Mohit Manohar, Rachel Patt, Catherine Popovici, and Erhan Tamur.

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Three individuals deserve special mention. I have repeatedly counted on the commitment, conversation, and intellectual capaciousness of my friend and co-teacher Jason LaFountain. Jacqueline Dragu patiently worked through countless theoretical texts with me; her acerbic wit and incisive reading have proven much needed companions over the years. And nearly every idea in the dissertation was refined in discussion with Shira Brisman, who read drafts at the eleventh hour, critiqued what needed critiquing, and reminded me at crucial junctures of what was good in the work. This project's present and future iterations owe more to her than can be said.

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than she will ever know to this work. Finally, my parents, Nina Crampton and Roger Fidler, and my siblings, Annie and Sita Fidler, have kept me going in times dark and light.

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of Jean Duncan MacNair Crampton (1924-2015). Her infectious passion for the languages and literature of the past bears fruit in these pages.

## INTRODUCTION

*To be unaware of one's form is to live a death.*

- Ralph Ellison<sup>1</sup>

Writing in the mid-twelfth century, an anonymous monk in Regensburg described how the ancient Romans commanded the inhabitants of the lands they had conquered to “cast out of bronze” (*giezen ûzzer êre*) statues for them.<sup>2</sup> Each of these personifications stood in for the subjected territory.<sup>3</sup> Gathered in a colossal lineup in Rome, the statues were supplemented by

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<sup>1</sup> Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* [1952] (New York: Vintage, 1995), 7.

<sup>2</sup> For the full episode, see: *Die Kaiserchronik eines Regensburger Geistlichen*, ed. Edward Schröder, in MGH DC 1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1892), lines 217-46. The tale circulated in Latin accounts, at least some of which depended directly on the *Kaiserchronik* version. See, for example: Hans F. Massmann, *Der Keiser und der kunige buoch oder die sogenannte Kaiserchronik*, vol. III (Leipzig: Gottfried Basse, 1854), 296-302. It is derived from a similar account in the *Salvatio Romae*: Ernst Friedrich Ohly, *Sage und Legende in der Kaiserchronik: Untersuchungen über Quellen und Aufbau der Dichtung*. Forschungen zur deutschen Sprache und Dichtung 10 (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1940), 40-2. The chronicle, which survives in three recensions, was speedily rewritten; it is more properly a multi-authored work. See: Mark Chinca and Christopher Young, “Uses of the Past in Twelfth-Century Germany: The Case of the Middle High German *Kaiserchronik*,” *Central European History* 49.1 (2016), 25; Christoph Joseph Pretzer, “Between Artifice and Manifestation: Literary Composition in the Prologue of the *Kaiserchronik* and Other Early Vernacular Prologues,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 119.4 (2020): 514-34.

<sup>3</sup> The story draws on the Roman practice of representing provinces through personifications. See: Liane Ruth Houghtalin, “The Personifications of the Roman Provinces” (PhD. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1993); Marco Vitale, “Personifikationen von provinciae auf den Münzprägungen unter Hadrian: Auf den ikonographischen Spuren von 'Statthalterprovinzen' und 'Teilprovinzen',” *Klio* 94, no. 1 (2012): 156–74. Personifications of cities, regions, and territories were also used to proclaim victory and control: Janusz A. Ostrowski, “Personifications of Countries and Cities as a Symbol of Victory in Greek and Roman Art,” in *Griechenland und Rom. Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Entwicklungstendenzen und -höhepunkten der antiken Geschichte, Kunst und Literatur*, ed. Ernst Günther Schmidt (Tbilissi: Universitätsverlag Tbilissi, 1996), 264–72. A striking medieval example is the opening in the Gospels of Otto III, made around 1000, depicting female personifications of the imperial provinces (including Rome) rendering tribute to the emperor: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm. 4453, p. 23. For an example of twelfth-century writing where speakers ventriloquize cities and territories, acting out personifications,

golden bells hung above their heads and inscribed with the names of the conquered provinces. “Whenever any land would do the least thing opposing Roman interests, its bell would ring on the spot without the touch of any human hand,” transforming each sculpture into a surveillance tool, the display hall into a scene of scopic violence.<sup>4</sup> The Romans could therefore monitor insurrections, large or small, “as if every deed were done in Rome itself.”<sup>5</sup> Forewarned of a distant threat, the Romans would promptly dispatch a “noble lord” (*edelen hêrren*) to shore up the empire’s control.<sup>6</sup>

Although this story from the rhymed vernacular *Kaiserchronik* has been read as exemplifying the allure that Rome’s overwhelming might held for twelfth-century theorists of the *Regnum Teutonicum*, it also imagines a number of ways in which sculptures might be embedded in the project of coercion.<sup>7</sup> I choose the term ‘coercion’ rather than the more general

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see the plea made to Frederick Barbarossa by the ambassadors of the Roman commune: Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici*, ed. Georg Waitz, in MGH SSrG 46 (Hanover: Hahn, 1912), II.29, 136.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Allen Myers, trans., *The Book of Emperors: A Translation of the Middle High German Kaiserchronik* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2013), 70.

<sup>5</sup> *The Book of Emperors*, 70.

<sup>6</sup> *Die Kaiserchronik eines Regensburger Geistlichen*, line 231.

<sup>7</sup> Gesine Mierke, “Magische Säulen, sprechende Steine. Zum Zusammenhang von Architektur und Macht in der ‘Kaiserchronik,’” in *Erzählen von Macht und Herrschaft: Die “Kaiserchronik” im Kontext zeitgenössischer Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsdichtung*, ed. Elke Brüggem (Göttingen: VetR unipress, 2019), 54. Harmonizing the accounts of Augustine and Orosius, Otto of Freising’s *Historia de duabus civitatibus* makes for an instructive contrast with the *Kaiserchronik*. Composed in 1146, it conceives the relation between the classical and medieval empires in terms of *translatio imperii* (“transference of empire”). Empires, from Babylon to Rome to the Germans, follow a set pattern of rise and decline, smoothing the path for the age of Christ. Otto of Freising, *Chronica: sive, de duabus civitatibus*, ed. Adolf Hofmeister, in MGH SSrG 45 (Hanover: Hahn, 1912). For an account of the terms *sacrum imperium* and *sacrum Romanum imperium* (first used in 1184 and not established in imperial usage until 1254), see: Jörg Schwarz, *Herrscher- und Reichstitel bei Kaisertum und Papsttum im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2003). Schwarz’s view has recently been revised: Vedran Sulovsky, “*Sacrum imperium*: Lombard Influence and the ‘Sacralization of the State’ in the Mid-Twelfth Century Holy Roman Empire (1125–1167),” *German History* 39, no. 2 (2021).

‘control’ because *arcere*, the verb at the root of *coercere*, means to confine, contain, shut down.<sup>8</sup> It thus emphasizes that the force is a constraining one, that the effect of a sculpture—however monumental or diminutive—is the shrinking of the subject who beholds it. When used by twelfth-century German authors, *coercere* means punishing, constricting, or holding subjects in check; Helmold of Bosau writes that the emperor “restrained with a powerful hand” (“potenti manu coercuerat”) the forces of the Hungarians, Bohemians, and Slavs.<sup>9</sup> Coercion is a means of controlling behavior from above or outside, a reactive rather than preemptive exertion. It carries spatial associations, in the sense both of forcefully imposing restrictions on something that’s gotten out of hand and, thanks to the term’s connection (via *arcere*) to words like *ark* and *arcane*, of reaching into enclosed recesses to manipulate what is ostensibly kept private and close.<sup>10</sup> It presumes a *voluntas* that must be manipulated. Consider then, that the *Kaiserchronik*’s statues are crafted as a consequence of conquest, made by subjected peoples to be displayed in an imperial center. They are made on order; the Romans are said to have “compelled” (*bidwungen*) their facture.<sup>11</sup> They reveal and publicly restate asymmetrical power relations. They surveil and report, betraying their makers to their patrons. And, with their capacity to collapse linear, territorial distance, the sculptures become a technology of rule.

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<sup>8</sup> ‘Arceo,’ in Michiel de Vaan, ed., *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages*, Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2016). I am grateful to Shira Brisman for discussions about coercion’s conceptual specificity.

<sup>9</sup> Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. Bernhard Schmeidler, in MGH SSrG 32 (Hanover: Hahn, 1937), I.22. A search of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica electronic database reveals that the twelfth century marks the most frequent use of *coercere* and its derivatives.

<sup>10</sup> Burton M. Leiser, “On Coercion,” in *Coercion and the State*, ed. David A. Reidy and Walter J. Riker (New York: Springer, 2008), 34. The foremost twentieth-century theorist of coercive state power, Antonio Gramsci, cited psychoanalysis and the “increased moral coercion exercised by the apparatus of State and society on single individuals” as key factor of analysis in interwar Europe: Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 280.

<sup>11</sup> *Die Kaiserchronik eines Regensburger Geistlichen*, line 220.

The story's fantasy about coercive statuary is not simply about *what* sculpture can offer the powerful; art also has a place in the process of political subjugation because of *how* cast and shaped figures bridge, command, and manipulate space. How they set the terms of obligations, assert authority, or figuratively position subjects in their place. As I detail later in the dissertation, twelfth-century poets enjoyed describing invented objects that magically rendered the large into the small, or the distant near. Bernard Silvestris's *Cosmographia* features both a Mirror of Providence (*Speculum Providentiae*), a polished device of "vast circumference" and boundless breadth that bears "images of things not born in time" and a Table of Destiny (*Tabula Fati*), carved from wood with colored images showing "the shapes of all creatures."<sup>12</sup> These are encyclopedic fantasies that corral vast reaches of time and space into crafted things. Compression, connection, and control are also the animating dreams of central governance, a condition to which twelfth-century German rulers increasingly aspired.

A pair of candlesticks cast in copper alloy in the Mosan region around the 1160s shows how sculpted figures could, as with the *Kaiserchronik* statues, condense the world into a cognizable constellation of forms (fig. 0.1).<sup>13</sup> On one candelabrum, three robed women perch on the rounded, hemispherical base, each holding an inscribed tablet identifying them as one of the three continents (Africa, Asia, and Europe).<sup>14</sup> A massive geographical roster is shrunken down, shaped into anthropomorphic form, and then organized—regulated, even—into subunits as part

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<sup>12</sup> Bernard Silvestris, *Poetic Works*, trans. Winthrop Wetherbee, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 38 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 145; 147.

<sup>13</sup> Peter Barnet, Michael Brandt, and Gerhard Lutz, eds., *Medieval Treasures from Hildesheim* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 68 (cat. no. 22).

<sup>14</sup> Each figure bears an additional inscribed attribute. Europe holds a sword and shield bearing the legend *BELLVM* (war), Asia carries a vessel branded with *DIVITIE* (likely connoting fertility when applied to land rather than riches *per se*), and Africa a book labeled *SCIENTIA* (knowledge). Europe's robes are overlaid by a suit of mail.

of a functional object. Its twin ranges three allegories of medicine, conflict or war, and philosophy in the guise of similarly seated figures. Philosophy bears two male busts, one labeled *THEORICA* (“theory”) and the other *PRACTICA* (“practice”), staging a *mise en abyme* wherein sculpted personifications proudly display yet more markedly sculptural personifications to the viewer in order to illustrate the concordance of theoretical and practical mastery (fig. 0.2).<sup>15</sup> Sculpture itself is thematized as the site of knowledge, produced through comparison between orders of cast representation. “The candlesticks’ complex and rare iconographic program may well evoke the totality of the universe,” suggests Christine Descatoire, but her claim pales when the personifications are compared to other, much more exhaustive twelfth-century programs of universalized intellection.<sup>16</sup> Rather, lit from above, semantic supports for a flame that would flicker over their heads and concentrate light on different figures in turn, the allegories aver that geographic and philosophical relations could be readily grasped—both conceptually apprehended and physically manipulated—when concepts are materialized in modeled human form.

The *Kaiserchronik*’s fictive statues and the candlesticks’ program of personifications knit together a series of interlocking ambitions for how sculpture could assert relations of domination and subjugation, ambitions that I explore through this dissertation by concentrating on a series of objects made in various media during the second half of the twelfth century. Treating northern Germany, southern Scandinavia, and the regions east of the Elbe undergoing both colonization and Christianization, I argue that a particular corpus of figural sculptures was invested with

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<sup>15</sup> On the bust’s complex inheritance as a sculptural form in medieval visual culture, see: Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 276-77.

<sup>16</sup> Christine Descatoire, catalogue number 22, in Barnet, Brandt, and Lutz, eds., *Medieval Treasures from Hildesheim*, 68.

political significance during a period when political theory was only just beginning to take shape as a cohesive body of thought. They were so invested by their patrons, by their sculptors, sometimes by their materials which came freighted with the pall of conquest or commodification, and sometimes by their beholders who sought to name and dispute the connections that knit form to power. As reports of courtly gossip, descriptions of antique wonders, guides to pilgrimage, and chronicles demonstrate, twelfth-century spectators of varying social status told stories and jokes about even the most regal and revered works of art.<sup>17</sup>

Earlier writers had already looked to the world of built, carved, hewn, and cast things to find conceptual models for political behaviors and systems, as when Isidore of Seville traced the etymology of *proceres*, the city's leading men, to the verb *praecedere*, to "take precedence."<sup>18</sup> He refracted the act of standing out before and from the masses through an architectural image; the tips of beams that extend past the walls of buildings are also called *proceres* and "therefore, a transfer of sense was made in applying the term to the leading men, because they jut out beyond the multitude of others."<sup>19</sup> He played on the qualities of relief, structure, and, quite literally, figure and ground. The organized disposition of form itself served as a medium for expressing political thought. But, isomorphic with the spectacular rise of analogical thinking about bodies—from the macrocosmic imagery that came to govern philosophical and scientific discourse to

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<sup>17</sup> Respectively: Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, trans. M. R. James (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983); Francis Morgan Nichols, ed., *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, 2nd ed. (New York: Italica Press, 1986); Conrad Rudolph, "The Tour Guide in the Middle Ages: Guide Culture and the Mediation of Public Art," *The Art Bulletin* 100, no. 1 (2018): 36–67. A joke told about the *Braunschweiger Löwe*, recorded in Arnold of Lübeck's *Chronica slavorum*, will be analyzed at length in the first dissertation chapter, with additional bibliography.

<sup>18</sup> Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, ed. J. P. Migne, in *PL* 82 (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1850), IX.iv, cols. 350A-B.

<sup>19</sup> "Hinc autem ad primores facta translatio, quod a caetera multitudine praeeminent." Isidore, *Etymologiae*, IX.iv, col. 350B.

John of Salisbury's famous anthropomorphic model of society in his *Policraticus*—the twelfth century witnessed an increasing investment in the logic of *figural* form.<sup>20</sup>

The dissertation thus advances two main claims. First, that during a particular period (roughly the late 1150s to the mid-1180s) in a particular place (the uppermost reaches of the Holy Roman Empire and the regions that bordered them to the north and east) sculpture became an arena for political action. Second, that the politics advocated—and at times disputed—through sculpture was, at root, coercive. I attempt to capture this mutually informative conjuncture of art and power by theorizing the category of what I term “coercive form.” For a brief period, shaped stone and figured metal were thought really capable of transforming their beholders in ways substantially different from the powers of mimetic identification that would be claimed for Gothic sculpture in succeeding decades.<sup>21</sup> They neither seduced nor enchanted, persuaded nor

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<sup>20</sup> On the earliest twelfth-century macrocosmic diagram, composed at Prüfening, see: Adam S. Cohen, “Making Memories in a Medieval Miscellany,” *Gesta* 48, no. 2 (2009), 135. From a large bibliography on macrocosmic imagery, see: J. H. Chajes, Adam S. Cohen, and Marcia A. Kupfer, *The Visualization of Knowledge in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Studies in the Visual Cultures of the Middle Ages 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020); Karl Clausberg, “Mittelalterliche Weltanschauung im Bild, z.B. die Visionen der Hildegard von Bingen, oder: Mikrokosmos-Makrokosmos ‘Reconsidered’ und auf den neuesten (Ver-)Stand gebracht,” in *Bauwerk und Bildwerk im Hochmittelalter: anschauliche Beiträge zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte*, ed. Karl Clausberg and Dieter Kimpel (Giessen: Anabas, 1981), 237–58; Conrad Rudolph, “Macro/Microcosm at Vézelay: The Narthex Portal and Non-Elite Participation in Elite Spirituality,” *Speculum* 96, no. 3 (2021): 601–61, Fritz Saxl, “Macrocosm and Microcosm in Mediaeval Pictures,” in *Lectures*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1957), 58–72. For John of Salisbury, see: Andreas Musolff, “Political Metaphor and Bodies Politic,” in *Perspectives in Politics and Discourse*, ed. Piotr Cap and Urszula Okulska (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2010), 23–42; Tilman Struve, *Die Entwicklung der organologischen Staatsauffassung im Mittelalter*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 16 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1978). For the long history of the body-state metaphor, see: Klaus Bergdolt, “Mikrokosmos und Makrokosmos,” in *Staat und Schönheit: Möglichkeiten und Perspektiven einer Staatskalokagathie*, ed. Otto Depenheuer (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2005), 131–44.

<sup>21</sup> Whitney Davis, “The Subject in the Scene of Representation,” *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 4 (1994): 570–75. For Gothic sculpture and transformative mimesis, see: Jacqueline E. Jung,

didactically instructed, but aimed to subdue spectators and transfigure them from outside in.<sup>22</sup> Published in 1952, Ernst Bloch's idiosyncratic account of vital materialism defined opposing "left-wing" and "right-wing" medieval traditions that accorded agency to matter (the former) or form (the latter); form's imposition stood, in ways alternately prized and reviled, for a set of conceptual operations that enacted political authority.<sup>23</sup> Form held the "privilege of determination" (*privilegium discretionis*), as John of Salisbury put it in his *Metalogicon* of 1159; "form exists *through* matter, just as matter is *determined by* form."<sup>24</sup> Without endorsing Bloch's argument wholesale, I show that sculpture's form—usually as part of an assemblage of reinforcing elements, to be sure—administered authority.

My claims are not, I wager, generalizable; the sculptures I discuss responded to, and in many cases were precisely calibrated to, seismic historical shifts in how the world was organized and subjects constituted. They visualized particular relations of domination, both exemplifying how those relations were intended to reproduce themselves and testing the special resources of

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*Eloquent Bodies: Movement, Expression, and the Human Figure in Gothic Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020).

<sup>22</sup> Art historical studies of enchantment, persuasion, and imitation in the high-medieval period have increasingly relied on studies of pedagogy and manners: C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939-1210* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985); C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideas in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).

<sup>23</sup> Ernst Bloch, *Avicenna und die Aristotelische Linke* (Berlin: Rütten & Loenig, 1952). Bloch assigns art a special role in uncovering potential futures of matter and form, but this theory has less to do with his reading of medieval thought than dialogues with his Frankfurt School colleagues and, correspondingly, will not be treated here. Recently, medieval art historians have explored issues such as the philosophical interest in primordial matter, the signification of materials, and the embodied conditions of beholding, often taking their lead from anthropological theories about agentive objects. See, with bibliography: Ittai Weinryb, "Living Matter: Materiality, Maker, and Ornament in the Middle Ages," *Gesta* 52, no. 2 (2013): 113–32.

<sup>24</sup> Emphasis mine. "per materiam existit forma, sicut discernitur materia ipsa per formam." John of Salisbury, *Metalogicus*, ed. J. P. Migne, in *PL* 199 (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1855), II.xx, col. 883B.

figuration to enforce new modes of behavior. Consider the shifting fortunes of the seal (*signum*), which most obviously aligns the pressing of matter into form with the work of political power.<sup>25</sup> Wax receives the matrix's impression, usually a combination of imagery and text that sanctions a transaction by attesting the seal owner's presence and witnessing their authority. What was practically the preserve of the ecclesiastical and secular elite at the twelfth century's outset was well on its way to becoming a widely accessible practice by its close, as even peasants came to possess and wield their own *signa*.<sup>26</sup> Those pressed into service came to hold the power to impress, and sigillographic use no longer distinguished those who could ratify transactions from those who could not.

It is no coincidence that the largest, most charismatic objects I discuss are *unica*. Emerging from novel social conditions, sometimes as oddly scaled up versions of much smaller objects, they left few imitations. Genealogy and representation became thoroughly entwined projects in the twelfth century, general systems of signification unthinkable apart from questions of lineage and origins, and so the sudden flaring up of new images that neither depended on, nor found, obvious precursors or progeny poses a new set of problems for medieval art historians.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> For seals and political identity, see especially: Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego Was Imago: Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

<sup>26</sup> Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066-1307*, 2nd ed (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 2.

<sup>27</sup> Howard R. Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 30-44; Kilian Heck and Bernhard Jahn, eds., *Genealogie als Denkform in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur 80 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2000); Joan A. Holladay, *Genealogy and the Politics of Representation in the High and Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Jan M. Ziolkowski, *Alan of Lille's Grammar of Sex: The Meaning of Grammar to a Twelfth-Century Intellectual* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1985). I note also the language of high-medieval German poets, for whom a character's beautiful form usually signals the conjunction of appearance and genealogy. See, for example: Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Titirel*, ed. Helmut Brackert and Stephan Fuchs-Jolie (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2002), Fragment I, stanza 94.

How ought we to account for medieval practices of innovation? For objects that did not wish to be duplicated but rather to construct singular situations? Why did some sculptures selectively disengage from certain features of existing regimes of visual and political culture while remaining deeply invested in others? How did new forms of sculptural representation acquire—or, as I will argue, impose—meaning?

I do not mean to suggest that works like the *Braunschweiger Löwe* (fig. 1.1) or the *Wolframleuchter* (fig. 2.1), discussed in chapters one and two respectively, have *nothing* in common with other works of high-medieval art. Or, indeed, with each other.<sup>28</sup> Rather, I argue that they have been overlooked or misread by art historians in part because they are not easily assimilated to narratives of medieval sculpture constructed from larger bodies of evidence that yield taxonomies predicated on divisions of material, making, or function.<sup>29</sup> When it comes to recent studies of *aquamanilia*, bronze doors, or tomb sculptures, for example, the guiding models are archaeological: the assemblage with its organizing strata, and the corpus with its relations of resemblance (constructed so as to appear natural).<sup>30</sup> In a previous generation, Erwin Panofsky's

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<sup>28</sup> I am indebted to Fredric Jameson's account of how ambitious literary texts enshrine both conservative and radical features; the point is to identify the relations between them and parse their operations. Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981).

<sup>29</sup> The problem is discussed at length in the first chapter.

<sup>30</sup> Respectively: Joanna Olchawa, *Aquamanilien. Genese, Verbreitung und Bedeutung in islamischen und christlichen Zeremonien* (Regensburg: Schnell + Steiner, 2019); Ursula Mende, *Die Bronzetüren des Mittelalters, 800-1200* (München: Hirmer, 1983); Shirin Fozi, *Romanesque Tomb Effigies: Death and Redemption in Medieval Europe, 1000-1200* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021). For art history and archaeology, see: Richard Neer, "Connoisseurship and the Stakes of Style," *Critical Inquiry* 32.1 (2005): 1-26. Ungenerous critiques have been leveled at "corpus scholarship," unfairly deprecating its valuable contributions to knowledge; this is not my intent. See: Fred Orton, "Rethinking the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monuments: Some Deprecation of Style, Some Consideration of Form and Ideology," in *Anglo-Saxon Styles*, eds. George Hardin Brown and Catherine E. Karkov (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 31-67; Fred Orton, "Rethinking the Ruthwell and

profound struggle to account for unfamiliar, seemingly unprecedented, modes of twelfth-century tomb sculpture left him casting about for invented traditions.<sup>31</sup> The odd combination of metalwork and lithic inlay that makes up the tomb of Queen Fredegonde, originally sited at St-Germain-des-Près in Paris and now housed in the Abbey Church of St-Denis, left it literally unrecognizable as a new, high-medieval practice in his eyes (fig. 0.3).<sup>32</sup> I am interested, however, in seeing how the post-medieval struggle to explain away the novelty of objects like the *Löwe* and *Leuchter* has occluded an impressive feature of their medieval rhetoric. In a time when significance was adjudicated in terms of lineage and origins, confecting something unique—even experimental—was already a statement about the ambitions of those who could conceive such deviance.

### **The Art of Politics**

Before turning fully to sculpture, I should note that to speak of “politics” in the twelfth century is to invite two forms of skepticism. According to one line of thinking, the category of the political is anachronistic; its use to characterize the acts, institutions, or social arrangements of the high-medieval German north wildly overestimates their cohesion. I discuss sculptures made before the great works of medieval political philosophy—Dante, Giles of Rome, John of Paris, Marsilius of Padua, and William of Ockham are the figures who populate surveys and syllabi—as well as the diverse array of texts, such as moralized books of chess or hunting, that

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Bewcastle Monuments: Some Strictures on Similarity; Some Questions of History,” in *Theorizing Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, eds. Catherine E. Karkov and Fred Orton (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2003), 65–92.

<sup>31</sup> Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1964), 47-50.

<sup>32</sup> I am grateful to Shirin Fozi for discussions about Panofsky and Fredegonde’s tomb.

advanced specific political theories through strategies of allegory, criticism, and the circulation of exempla.<sup>33</sup> Plato's *Republic* exerted only indirect influence, and neither Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* nor his *Politics* would be translated into Latin until the thirteenth century.<sup>34</sup> Arguing that earlier scholars have been misled by their quest for "origins and semblances" of legislation, offices, and policies, Thomas Bisson notes the danger of mistaking the recurrence of words like *administrare*, *gubernare*, and *res publica* in charters and chronicles for the reality of a functional political sphere.<sup>35</sup> When twelfth-century writers used these inherited terms, they named much debased versions of their classical referents. Turning to the realm of practice, long-running debates about the shape of the medieval German state have exposed the spectral contingency of the institutions that scholars of formal politics like to study.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> R. W. Dyson, *Normative Theories of Society and Government in Five Medieval Thinkers: St. Augustine, John of Salisbury, Giles of Rome, St. Thomas Aquinas, and Marsilius of Padua*, *Mediaeval Studies* 21 (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003); D.E. Luscombe, "City and Politics Before the Coming of the Politics: Some Illustrations," in *Church and City, 1000-1500: Essays in Honour of Christopher Brooke*, ed. David Abulafia, Michael J. Franklin, and Miri Rubin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 41–55; Cary J. Nederman, *Lineages of European Political Thought: Explorations along the Medieval/Modern Divide from John of Salisbury to Hegel* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2009). For medieval political theory before the twelfth century, see: Hans-Werner Goetz, "Regnum: Zum politischen Denken der Karolingerzeit," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Germanistische Abteilung* 104 (1987): 110–89. The "mirrors for princes" (*specula principum* or *Fürstenspiegel*) genre is a notable exception; for a selection of early medieval examples, see: Hans Hubert Anton, ed., *Fürstenspiegel des frühen und hohen Mittelalters* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006).

<sup>34</sup> See the helpful overview: John Kilcullen and Jonathan Robinson, "Medieval Political Philosophy," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*: <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/entries/medieval-political/> (accessed April 2, 2022).

<sup>35</sup> Thomas N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 12-13.

<sup>36</sup> Jonathan R. Lyon, "The Medieval German State in Recent Historiography," *German History* 28, no. 1 (2010): 85–94.

According to another view, politics is everywhere. Scholars have built up a nuanced picture of how medieval German power brokers negotiated each other's authority.<sup>37</sup> In an influential account, Gerd Althoff argues that elite figures acted according to unwritten "rules of the game" (*Spielregeln*) which helped to govern a vast range of social relationships between those who maintained and exercised power.<sup>38</sup> Heavily choreographed personal encounters, drawing on the resources of ritual and other dimensions of performance, produced a distinctive form of political discourse which has been carefully explicated by historians, like Althoff and Knut Görich, who draw on anthropological and sociological methods.<sup>39</sup> (The approach has its critics; Ludger Körntgen, for example, has queried just how relevant the notion of politics is to Ottonian ritual and sovereignty.)<sup>40</sup> Twelfth-century readers accessed models of political thinking in the Hebrew Bible and the Pauline Epistles, as well as in texts passed down from the classical period and late antiquity (especially Augustine, Boethius, Cicero, and Seneca). Scholars have also traced the contours of twelfth-century political philosophy by studying canon and civil law. And a few twelfth-century writers, notably Godfrey of Viterbo and John of Salisbury, *did*

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<sup>37</sup> Bernd Schneidmüller, "Konsensuale Herrschaft. Ein Essay über Formen und Konzepte politischer Ordnung im Mittelalter," in *Reich, Regionen und Europa in Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Festschrift für Peter Moraw*, ed. Paul-Joachim Heinig et al. (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2000), 53–87.

<sup>38</sup> Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1997); Gerd Althoff, *Verwandte, Freunde und Getreue: zum politischen Stellenwert der Gruppenbindungen im frühen Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990).

<sup>39</sup> Knut Görich, *Die Ehre Friedrich Barbarossas: Kommunikation, Konflikt und politisches Handeln im 12. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2001). For a strong critique of sociological approaches to medieval sources, see Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

<sup>40</sup> Ludger Körntgen, *Königsherrschaft und Gottes Gnade: zu Kontext und Funktion sakraler Vorstellungen in Historiographie und Bildzeugnissen der ottonisch-frühalsalischen Zeit* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001).

produce systematic works of political theory.<sup>41</sup> Whether defined as the “theory or practice of government or administration,” “public life and affairs involving matters of authority and government,” or “actions concerned with the acquisition or exercise of power, status, or authority,” politics seems to saturate any number of high-medieval discourses.<sup>42</sup>

Works of art played important roles in political endeavours.<sup>43</sup> Opulent objects carried subtle—and sometimes unsubtle—messages across cultural borders in the form of diplomatic gifts.<sup>44</sup> Secular and sacred leaders commissioned, collected, and displayed works that could certify their claims to power and enshrine their *memoria* for future viewers.<sup>45</sup> The controversial frescoes commissioned for the Lateran after the Concordat of Worms that contributed so vitally to Frederick Barbarossa’s contretemps with the pope in 1155 show that art could pointedly take up contemporary political topics.<sup>46</sup> The twelfth century also witnessed an explosion of visual media, such as genealogical diagrams, that sought to represent the past in order to address

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<sup>41</sup> From a larger bibliography see, respectively, the overviews: Jean Dunbabin, “The Distinctive Elements Among Godfrey of Viterbo’s Political Ideas,” in *Godfrey of Viterbo and His Readers: Imperial Tradition and Universal History in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Thomas Foerster (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 37–46; Henning Ottmann, *Geschichte des politischen Denkens. Das Mittelalter*, vol. 2.2 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2001), 104-17.

<sup>42</sup> Definitions of the term “political” from the Oxford English Dictionary online (accessed April 18, 2022).

<sup>43</sup> For a robust treatment of the role images played in political culture (in the English case), see: Laura Slater, *Art and political thought in medieval England, c. 1150-1350* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2018).

<sup>44</sup> Cecily J. Hilsdale, *Byzantine Art and Diplomacy in an Age of Decline* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

<sup>45</sup> Eliza Garrison, *Ottonian Imperial Art and Portraiture: The Artistic Patronage of Otto III and Henry II* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012). On *memoria*, see especially: Michael Borgolte, *Stiftung und Memoria*, ed. Tillmann Lohse (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012).

<sup>46</sup> On the murals, which depicted the imperial coronation ritual, see, with bibliography: John B. Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa: The Prince and the Myth* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 206-7. See also: Gerhard Ladner, “I mosaici e gli affreschi ecclesiastico-politici nell'antico Palazzo Lateranense,” *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 12 (1935): 265-92. Useful for a papal perspective is: Mary Stroll, *Symbols as Power: The Papacy Following the Investiture Contest* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991).

political claims in the present.<sup>47</sup> It's not hard, then, to find arguments about the twelfth-century politics of representation, the shoring up of political legitimacy through deluxe manuscript commissions, or the cultivation of dynastic legitimacy through fabulated visual narratives. A diverse array of art historical projects has definitively shown the value of interpreting works of art in specific political contexts.

But to treat politics *as* a context, as a given discourse that exists prior to a sculpture and supplies an interpretive key to its effects and semantics, is to profoundly circumscribe the political work that art aims for and, sometimes, achieves. In this dissertation, I try neither to take art as forensic evidence—statues as repositories of the traces politics leaves behind—nor to parse the “political” properties of a sculpture’s iconography or placement from its “aesthetic” qualities. The sculptures I discuss *comprised* a political economy of representation.<sup>48</sup> In regions where neither languages, religious commitments, nor legal systems were necessarily held in common, public and semi-public sculptures intervened in the terrain.<sup>49</sup> They advanced specific political propositions (a secular lord’s claim to sovereignty, the church’s polemical conjoining of baptism with inheritance law), modelled how beholders should participate in the political order (submitting to its structures, behaving accordingly), and, in doing so, committed to an ethics of depiction less invested in drawing people together than in drawing distinctions between those who might come under its purview.

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<sup>47</sup> Holladay, *Genealogy and the Politics of Representation in the High and Late Middle Ages*.

<sup>48</sup> Richard T. Neer, *Style and Politics in Athenian Vase-Painting: The Craft of Democracy, ca. 530-460 B.C.E* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 25-6.

<sup>49</sup> See, for example, the account of multilingualism and power: Sébastien Rossignol, “Bilingualism in Medieval Europe: Germans and Slavs in Helmold of Bosau’s Chronicle,” *Central European History* 47, no. 3 (2014): 523–43.

Nevertheless, I don't want to claim too much coherence for the political projects I adduce. There is no such thing as a well-articulated, common theoretical approach behind the sculptures I analyze. With the possible exception of the Scandinavian baptismal fonts that make up the bulk of the fourth chapter's evidence, they are not carefully designed solutions to neatly specific problems. Rather, they responded to, and sometimes exacerbated, a profound *messiness* in the determination of rulership and ruled. They were made in times and places where social order was in flux and authority often tenuous. Boundary stones show especially clearly how this indeterminacy made its way into objects; the desire to impose order through carved, inscribed, piled, and placed objects was often frustrated by the very conditions that motivated their production. Provisional politics, artistic experiment, and semiotic frustration are the watchwords of my case studies.<sup>50</sup>

### **Duke Henry the Lion**

My dissertation takes up these questions by examining art in relation to the ambitions and rule of Duke Henry the Lion (ca. 1129-1195).<sup>51</sup> Born to Duke Henry the Proud (d. 1139) and Gertrude of Süpplingenburg (daughter of Lothair III, d. 1143), and thus heir to substantial properties in Bavaria and Saxony, he not only wielded exceptional power as a non-imperial ruler in the Holy Roman Empire but also participated in a series of broader geopolitical projects. He

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<sup>50</sup> As Jonathan Lyon reminds me, most medieval politics could be characterized as provisional in a milieu where authority was more often tenuous than not.

<sup>51</sup> The bibliography on Henry is vast; for useful accounts of Henry's life, see Joachim Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe: eine Biographie* (München: Siedler, 2008); Johannes Fried and Otto Gerhard Oexle, eds., *Heinrich der Löwe: Herrschaft und Repräsentation* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003); Karl Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe: Eine Biographie* (München: Beck, 1979); Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, eds., *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235: Katalog der Ausstellung, Braunschweig 1995*, 3 vols. (München: Hirmer, 1995).

married into royalty (as did his daughter), waged campaigns against other polities throughout the north, made pilgrimages east and west, and cultivated strong relationships with neighboring monarchs.<sup>52</sup> Two marriages strategically grew his power base. He first wed Clementia of Zähringen in 1147, expanding his influence further into Swabia. He then received Bavaria in 1156 from his newly ascendant cousin, Frederick Barbarossa; under pressure from the emperor, he divorced Clementia and, later, married Matilda, daughter of Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine, in 1168. This close connection to the Angevin court would stand Henry in good stead once he was deprived of his lands and exiled in 1181 following a protracted power struggle with his peers and the emperor. Staying with his wife's family during periods of expulsion from Brunswick, his presence at the Angevin court is noted by figures like Walter Map and recorded in the Pipe rolls.<sup>53</sup> After his death in 1195, his third son by Matilda became emperor Otto IV (d. 1218).

I take Henry's elevation to the position of Duke of Saxony in 1142 as my starting point and his death in 1195 as my end date; following the general consensus of historians that Henry's influence was far more pronounced in the north than in his Bavarian holdings (despite his contemporary prominence as Munich's ostensible founder), I take the northern regions as my

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<sup>52</sup> Henry's movements are exhaustively tracked in Johannes Heydel, "Das Itinerar Heinrichs des Löwen," *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 6 (1929): 1–166. I treat his relations with English and Scandinavian monarchs elsewhere in the dissertation; for his connections to the French court, see: Joseph P. Huffman, *The Social Politics of Medieval Diplomacy: Anglo-German Relations (1066-1307)* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 77.

<sup>53</sup> See the many financial references to Henry and his family in: Robert William Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II: Instancing Also the Chief Agents and Adversaries of the King in His Government, Diplomacy, and Strategy* (London: Taylor and Company, 1878). Henry also appears at the English court in Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, ed. Robert Bartlett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), II.26; Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, V.6. For Henry's relationship with the English court more generally, see: Jens Ahlers, *Die Welfen und die englischen Könige, 1165-1235* (Hildesheim: A. Lax, 1987).

geographical focus. Nevertheless, Henry's endeavors trace a particular geographical scope. He was unusually interested in creating permanent centers for his rule, most notably Brunswick, and founding or refounding towns, most famously the mercantile town of Lübeck. But his travels also chart the major axes of cultural and military conflict in the empire's northern reaches. He participated in the 1147 Wendish Crusade and made repeated incursions across the Elbe and along the Baltic coast, sometimes in collaboration with Scandinavian allies, making war on Christian and non-Christian polities alike. He facilitated settlement and trade in the east and, famously, in other northern sites such as Gotland. The productive tension between retrenchment and expansion threads my dissertation, much as the *Kaiserchronik*'s statues make telescoping the near and far their métier. Henry's activity in the north also makes him a good candidate for mapping art's relationship with the procedures of conversion, colonization, and conquest that so profoundly transformed European economic and political life.<sup>54</sup>

Henry's geographical reach is witnessed by the works of art he patronized and collected. Henry, Matilda, and their court occasioned an impressive range of artistic, architectural, and literary commissions. A famous portrait of the pair in a deluxe manuscript painted at Helmarshausen in the 1170s or 1180s shows a counterfactual coronation (fig. 0.4). Drawing on Ottonian *Herrscherbilder* (fig. 0.5), it depicts Henry and Matilda flanked by a selection of their royal ancestors, receiving crowns below a somber Christ. If not quite world-spanning, then, Henry certainly had his sights set on the world. As the chronicler Arnold of Lübeck put it in his eulogy for the duke, “[even] *ultima thule* acknowledged you / which gave itself to you; Greece

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<sup>54</sup> Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). For a recent re-assessment of Bartlett's influential account, see Len Scales, “Ever Closer Union? Unification, Difference, and the ‘Making of Europe,’ c.950-c.1350,” *The English Historical Review* 137, no. 585 (2022): 321-61.

has glorified you.”<sup>55</sup> Byzantine envoys brought gifts to his court, and he carried silks and relics back from Byzantium to Saxony where they galvanized new commissions in turn.<sup>56</sup> An elaborate metalwork arm reliquary, for example, was fabricated in Lower Saxony to hold a relic of St. Lawrence that Henry procured on his pilgrimage in the early 1170s (fig. 0.6). Henry donated gifts in Jerusalem, while works made under his patronage circulated north to Scandinavia.<sup>57</sup> As I discuss in the first chapter, he gathered artisans from foreign locales, while artists and works from Saxony circulated to the north. But if some of the works of art associated with Henry’s patronage, most notably a spectacular gospel book produced at Helmarshausen and the liturgical objects that entered the treasury of St. Blasius (part of the so-called *Welfenschatz*), are well-known to medieval art historians, others are still little studied.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, many of the works of material and visual culture that are importantly related to the unfolding of politics throughout Henry’s sphere of influence have neither been adequately analyzed nor connected to better-known objects like the *Braunschweiger Löwe*. Rather than focusing narrowly on works that can be concretely ascribed to Henry and his court, I begin at the urban seat of his power then move

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<sup>55</sup> “Te noverat ultima Thyle, / Que sua donavit; te Grecia magnificavit.” Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. Johannes M. Lappenberg with Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SSrG 14 (Hanover: Hahn, 1912), V.24.

<sup>56</sup> Leonie von Wilckens, “Textilien im Blickfeld des Braunschweiger Hofes,” in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235: Katalog der Ausstellung, Braunschweig*, ed. Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, vol. 2, 3 vols. (München: Hirmer, 1995), 293-94.

<sup>57</sup> MGH DD HdL, no. 94.

<sup>58</sup> For the *Welfenschatz*, see: Joachim Ehlers and Dietrich Kötzsche, eds., *Der Welfenschatz und sein Umkreis* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998); Otto von Falke, ed., *Der Welfenschatz: der Reliquienschatz des Braunschweiger Domes aus dem Besitze des Herzoglichen Hauses Braunschweig-Lüneburg* (Frankfurt: Frankfurter Verl.-Anst., 1930); Dietrich Kötzsche, “Der Welfenschatz,” in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235: Katalog der Ausstellung, Braunschweig*, vol. 2, eds. Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff (Munich: Hirmer, 1995), 511–28. The major study of Henry’s artistic patronage remains: Georg Swarzenski, “Aus dem Kunstkreis Heinrichs des Löwen,” *Städel-Jahrbuch* 7/8 (1932): 241–397.

out, tracking the various political operations of art in spaces increasingly distant from Brunswick.

My dissertation thus contributes to the current reassessment of the art world of twelfth-century Saxony, as well as of high-medieval German sculpture more generally.<sup>59</sup> Recent scholarship has recognized the pivotal role played by women in Henry's administration and in shaping cultural production in his court, for example.<sup>60</sup> The study of art associated with Henry has long been dominated by arguments about patronage following Georg Swarzenski's seminal description of a *Kunstkreis* of artists associated with Henry's court.<sup>61</sup> Attending primarily to the manuscripts produced at Helmarshausen on Henry's command and the sumptuous liturgical implements of the *Welfenschatz*, Swarzenski proposed that a coherent program could be discerned across media as an outcome of Henry's visual taste. Although path-breaking, his analysis omitted numerous relevant and important elements of material and visual culture (e.g. architecture, coins, seals) and provided a deceptively straightforward account of the relationship between object, patron, and style. Scholars rapidly assimilated Swarzenski's model during the 1930s, seeing it both as an historically-specific description of Henry's power and a methodological model for explaining how a range of diverse works could be brought into the

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<sup>59</sup> The former will be cited in subsequent footnotes; for the latter, see especially the recent crop of Anglophone studies: Thomas E. A. Dale, *Pygmalion's Power: Romanesque Sculpture, the Senses, and Religious Experience* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019); Fozi, *Romanesque Tomb Effigies*; Heidi C. Gearhart, *Theophilus and the Theory and Practice of Medieval Art* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017).

<sup>60</sup> Jitske Jasperse, *Medieval Women, Material Culture, and Power: Matilda Plantagenet and Her Sisters, Gender and Power in the Premodern World* (Leeds: ARC Humanities Press, 2020); Bernd Schneidmüller and Harald Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, *Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen und Mathildes von England* (Darmstadt: wbg, 2018)

<sup>61</sup> Swarzenski, "Aus dem Kunstkreis Heinrichs des Löwen."

sphere of a prominent political actor.<sup>62</sup> Although the model has been implicitly challenged by new attributions, it has generally been superficially revised rather than squarely confronted.<sup>63</sup> Its framework endures in the term *Umkreis*, which scholars have simply substituted for *Kunstkreis*.<sup>64</sup>

This flurry of interest in Henry helped him become a popular figure during the Third Reich, when his programs of eastward expansion were taken as a model by Nazi *Ostforschung*.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> For a representative example, see William Anderson, "Schonen, Helmarshausen und der Kunstkreis Heinrichs des Löwen," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 11/12 (1938): 81–102.

<sup>63</sup> Franz Niehoff, "Heinrich der Löwe. Herrschaft und Repräsentation. Vom individuellen Kunstkreis zum interdisziplinären Braunschweiger Hof der Welfen," in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235: Katalog der Ausstellung, Braunschweig*, ed. Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, vol. 2, 3 vols. (München: Hirmer, 1995), 213–36.

<sup>64</sup> Uwe Albrecht, "Halle, Saalgeschoßhaus, Wohnturm. Zur Kenntnis von westeuropäischen Prägetyphen hochmittelalterlichen Adelssitze im Umkreis Heinrichs des Löwen und seiner Söhne," in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235: Katalog der Ausstellung, Braunschweig*, ed. Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, vol. 2, 3 vols. (München: Hirmer, 1995), 492–501; Ehlers and Kötzsche, eds., *Der Welfenschatz und sein Umkreis*.

<sup>65</sup> See Karl Arndt, "Mißbrauchte Geschichte: Der Braunschweiger Dom als politisches Denkmal 1935/45," in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit. Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235. Katalog der Ausstellung Braunschweig 1995*, ed. Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, vol. 3, 3 vols. (München: Hirmer, 1995), 88–95; Stefanie Barbara Berg, *Heldenbilder und Gegensätze: Friedrich Barbarossa und Heinrich der Löwe im Urteil des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Münster: Lit, 1994); Hartmut Boockmann, "Heinrich der Löwe in der Geschichtsschreibung des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts," in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit. Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235. Katalog der Ausstellung Braunschweig 1995*, ed. Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, vol. 3, 3 vols. (München: Hirmer, 1995), 48–57; Jochen von Grumbkow, "Die Umgestaltung des Grabmals Heinrichs des Löwen in Dom zu Braunschweig 1935 bis 1940," *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 79 (1998): 167–216; Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe*; Niels C. Lösch, "Die 'Erbgesundheit' Heinrichs des Löwen. Eine Retrospektive zu den Interpretationen der Grabungsbefunde von 1935 in der Gruft des Welfenherzogs," *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 78 (1997): 227–48. For *Ostforschung* in particular, see: Michael Burleigh, *Germany Turns Eastwards: A Study of Ostforschung in the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). Nationalist interpretations of Henry's rule date to the nineteenth century, when he was the subject of grandiose history paintings by artists such as Peter Janssen (ca. 1875), Max Koch (1892-94), Wilhelm Lindenschmidt (ca. 1830), Heinrich Anton Mücke (1829), and Hermann Wislicenus (1885-87).

“If Germany’s reputation grew again under Frederick Barbarossa, it was due to Henry the Lion in particular,” argued Ekkehart Staritz in 1935, “the fall of Henry the Lion destroyed everything that had been achieved in the way of success.”<sup>66</sup> Staritz, the historian of the German Workers’ Front, envisioned Henry as a wellspring of Teutonic inspiration. SS recruits participated in mandatory discussions on Henry; Hitler commissioned a new crypt for Henry and his wife at St. Blasius in Brunswick; the 1941 issue of *Historisches Jahrbuch* reviewed no less than three new books on Henry.<sup>67</sup> Henry offered the NSDAP real ideological resources. For propaganda reasons, the Nazi historian Albert Brackmann preferred a vocabulary of “re-settlement” to “colonization” when describing the invasion of Poland in 1939, Henry’s earlier eastward incursions into Slavic territory licensing this terminological sleight of hand.<sup>68</sup> Albrecht Penck, a geography professor at Berlin, argued explicitly that twelfth-century Germans who moved eastwards prefigured the movements of Germans during the Third Reich.<sup>69</sup> Although my dissertation is not primarily

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<sup>66</sup> Quoted and translated in Horst Fuhrmann, “*Quis Teutonicos constituit iudices nationum?* The Trouble with Henry,” *Speculum* 69, no. 2 (1994), 356.

<sup>67</sup> When Wilhelm Fuhrländer, an SS training officer with a doctorate from the University of Bonn and a long history of concentration camp work, was tasked with designing a political indoctrination program for SS soldiers in the infamous Totenkopfdivision, he began his program of Germany history with a unit on “Henry the Lion and the Germanic Knight Orders.” See Charles W. Sydnor, *Soldiers of Destruction: The SS Death’s Head Division, 1933-1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 143. The books reviewed are Ursula Jentzsch, *Heinrich der Löwe im Urteil der deutschen Geschichtsschreibung von seinen Zeitgenossen bis zur Aufklärung* (Jena: Fischer, 1939); Karl Jordan, ed., *Die Urkunden Heinrichs des Löwen. Herzogs von Sachsen und Bayern*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Laienfürsten- und Dynastenerkunden der Kaiserzeit C3 (Leipzig: Verlag Karl W. Hiersemann, 1941); Fritz Rörig, *Reichssymbolik auf Gotland. Heinrich der Löwe, “Kaufleute des Römischen Reichs,” Lübeck, Gotland und Riga* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1940). There were also reviews of books on the Hanseatic League, the medieval Baltic, medieval colonization of the Slavic world, and high-medieval *Ostkriege*.

<sup>68</sup> Michael Burleigh, “Albert Brackmann (1871 -1952) *Ostforscher*: The Years of Retirement,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 23, no. 4 (1988), 576.

<sup>69</sup> Albrecht Penck, “Deutscher Volks- und Kulturboden,” in *Volk unter Völkern. Bücher des Deutschstums*, ed. K. C. von Loesch, vol. 1 (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1925), 69-70.

historiographic, my revision of the scholarly literature inevitably involves grappling with the legacy of the 1930s and 40s, the period when Henry's diplomatics were edited for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* by Karl Jordan (one of the duke's two post-war biographers).<sup>70</sup>

From the nineteenth century on, Henry's political ambitions have been the subject of intense study. He has been taken to have laid the groundwork for the international organizations of diplomacy and trade that nourished capitalism's rise (e.g. the Hanseatic League), to have set down important precursors of constitutional government (e.g. the rights he granted to towns like Lübeck), and to have spurred the business of nation founding (e.g. the so-called *Privilegium minus*). Crucially, it was not just Henry's policies (especially territorial policies) but his political strategies of constraint and suppression that stood out to his contemporaries as remarkable.<sup>71</sup>

Drawing on classical models, the chronicler Rahewin contrasted the duke with his uncle (Welf VI) during the late 1150s: "Welf obtained fame by giving, supporting, pardoning; Duke Henry, by severity and the suppression of evildoers."<sup>72</sup> An intriguing, if muddled, reference to Henry's strategies appears in the first book of Gerald of Wales's *Expugnatio Hiberniae*, chronicling John Lackland's disastrous invasion of Ireland in 1185:

...it is safer to govern willing, rather than unwilling, subjects. Nero perceived this, Domitian perceived this, and in our own times Duke Henry of Saxony and Bavaria also came to know it. It is expedient for a prince to be loved rather than feared by his

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<sup>70</sup> MGH DD HdL; Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe*. The volume devoted to Henry is, to date, one of only two to appear in the MGH's Laienfürsten/innen series.

<sup>71</sup> Werner Hechberger, "Princely Lordship in the Reign of Frederick Barbarossa: A Historiographical Analysis," in *The Origins of the German Principalities, 1100-1350: Essays by German Historians*, ed. Graham A. Loud and Jochen Schenk (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 58; Bernd Schneidmüller, "Heinrich der Löwe. Innovationspotentiale eines mittelalterlichen Fürsten," in *Staufer und Welfen: zwei rivalisierende Dynastien im Hochmittelalter*, ed. Werner Hechberger and Florian Schuller (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 2009), 50–64.

<sup>72</sup> "Gwelfo dando, sublevando, ignoscendo, dux Heinricus severitate et malorum pernitie gloriam adeptus est." Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici*, ed. Georg Waitz, in MGH SSrG 46 (Hanover: Hahn, 1912), IV.46.

subordinates; but it is expedient also to be feared, provided that the fear proceeds from love rather than from coercion (*cohercione*).<sup>73</sup>

Gerald wrote with full knowledge of Henry's fall and exile, suggesting that his political failure stemmed from an overabundance of repressive rule. Even as recent historical analyses of Henry have begun to challenge long-held orthodoxies, calling into question notions of a feud with Frederick Barbarossa and the coherence of 'Welfish' or 'Staufer' identity categories, he remains enshrined as a figure who repeatedly invented new, coercive solutions to political problems.<sup>74</sup> Experiments in art were not simply homologous to these maneuvers; they were integral to them.

## Sources

As Karl Leyser observed, far fewer textual sources survive from medieval German polities than, say, the English, French, or Sicilian courts.<sup>75</sup> In contrast to the prolific Angevin (or even Capetian) crown, German chanceries did not leave behind fiscal records and produced far fewer charters and letters. Henry is, however, a remarkably well documented figure for a secular lord in the twelfth-century empire; as noted above, his diplomatics were edited and published by the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. I draw on these documents where possible, attending to their constructed status as rhetorical, corporate products. North Germany also features strong chronicle coverage; earlier texts by Thietmar of Merseburg and Adam of Bremen discuss the region's history through the eleventh century, while the so-called *Chronica Slavorum* of

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<sup>73</sup> "...tucius esse volentibus quam invitis imperare. Sensit hoc Nero, sensit Domitianus, sensit et nostris temporibus tam Saxonum quam Bavariorum dux Henricus. Expedit a subditis principi cuilibet potius amari quam timeri. Expedit siquidem ex timeri, dum tamen ex dilectione potius timor ille proveniat quam cohercione." Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hiberniae*, London, British Library, Royal MS 13 B VIII, fols. 38r-8v.

<sup>74</sup> Jonathan R. Lyon, *Princely Brothers and Sisters: The Sibling Bond in German Politics, 1100-1250* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 89-119.

<sup>75</sup> Karl J. Leyser, "Frederick Barbarossa and the Hohenstaufen Polity," *Viator* 19 (1988), 156-57.

Helmold of Bosau and Arnold of Lübeck (who continues the text after 1172) pays sustained attention to Henry's reign.<sup>76</sup> Additional chronicles, especially those by Saxo Grammaticus and Henry of Livonia, build up a nuanced picture of the region's political and religious history through the early thirteenth century, extending north and east respectively.<sup>77</sup> I also draw on other genres of writing, including advice manuals, saints' *vitae*, and, especially, inscriptions in order to explore how works of art were interpreted, used, and refused.

My evidence is, however, derived in the main from sculptures themselves. I make no hard distinctions between genre or medium, examining the monumental and the miniscule, the singular and the serial, works made from casting, carving, and modeling, and sculptures rendered in bronze, precious metal, stone, wax, and wood. Few come with a ready apparatus of surrounding text. I draw, instead, on close looking, epigraphy, and the results of technical study (where available). I pay careful attention throughout to the sites in which sculptures are situated, from Henry's complex in Brunswick to small parish churches to larger episcopal buildings. This attention extends to other ways of conceiving a sculpture's location, including the imaginative

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<sup>76</sup> These writers are often grouped together in the historiography; see: David Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden: Vorstellungen und Fremdkategorien bei Rimbert, Thietmar von Merseburg, Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bosau* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005); Ildar H. Garipzanov, "Christianity and Paganism in Adam of Bremen's Narrative," in *Historical Narratives and Christian Identity on a European Periphery: Early History Writing in Northern, East-Central, and Eastern Europe (c. 1070-1200)*, ed. Ildar H. Garipzanov, *Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe* 26 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 13–32; Stanisław Rosik, *The Slavic Religion in the Light of 11th- and 12th-Century German Chronicles (Thietmar of Merseburg, Adam of Bremen, Helmold of Bosau): Studies on the Christian Interpretation of Pre-Christian Cults and Beliefs in the Middle Ages*, *East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450* 60 (Leiden: Brill, 2020); Volker Scior, *Das Eigene und das Fremde: Identität und Fremdheit in den Chroniken Adams von Bremen, Helmolds von Bosau und Arnolds von Lübeck*, *Orbis mediaevalis: Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters* 4 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002).

<sup>77</sup> Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, ed. Karsten Friis-Jensen, trans. Peter Fisher, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2015); Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon Livoniae*, in MGH SSrG 31 (Hanover: Hahn, 1955).

orientation of objects to cardinal points, their proximity to unseen landmarks, and the notional borders they tried to make visible. The point in each case is to see how sculptures produced particular kinds of spaces; not merely the *experience* of space, but particular, configured, semantically dense *places*.<sup>78</sup>

Finally, in the absence of a contemporary discourse of art theory—the contentious case of Theophilus aside—I turn to poetry to provide a conceptual vocabulary for the aesthetic ambitions of sculpture.<sup>79</sup> Narrative texts like the Munich *Oswald* and the Strassburg *Alexander* depict the fantastic operations of imagined works of sculpture.<sup>80</sup> While these literary objects sometimes resemble ‘real-world’ counterparts, they more usefully yield a set of criteria for adjudicating sculpture’s ambitions and effects as vernacular poets intensely engaged issues of craft, labor, scale, public display, and aesthetic experience.<sup>81</sup> The second half of the twelfth century saw an explosion in the writing of Middle High German poetry, as new chivalric source texts were

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<sup>78</sup> For studies of embodiment and orientation in medieval sculpture, see: Beate Fricke and Urte Krass, eds., *Das Publikum im Bild: Beiträge aus der Kunst der Antike, des Islam, aus Byzanz und dem Westen* (Zürich: diaphanes, 2015); Michael Grandmontagne, *Claus Sluter und die Lesbarkeit mittelalterlicher Skulptur: das Portal der Kartause von Champmol* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 2005); Christopher R. Lakey, *Sculptural Seeing: Relief, Optics, and the Rise of Perspective in Medieval Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018).

<sup>79</sup> Gearhart, *Theophilus and the Theory and Practice of Medieval Art*; Andreas Speer, ed., *Zwischen Kunsthandwerk und Kunst. die “Schedula diversarum artium,”* *Miscellanea mediaevalia* 37 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014); John Van Engen, “Theophilus Presbyter and Rupert of Deutz: The Manual Arts and Benedictine Theology,” *Viator* 11 (1980): 147–63.

<sup>80</sup> Michael Curschmann, ed., *Der Münchner Oswald*, *Altdeutsche Textbibliothek* 76 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1974); Irene Ruttman, ed., *Das Alexanderlied des Pfaffen Lamprecht: (Strassburger Alexander)* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1974).

<sup>81</sup> Jutta Eming, Ann Marie Rasmussen, and Kathryn Starkey, eds., *Visuality and Materiality in the Story of Tristan and Isolde* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012); James A. Rushing, Jr., *Images of Adventure: Ywain in the Visual Arts* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); Kathryn Starkey and Horst Wenzel, “The Visuality of German Courtly Literature,” *Oxford German Studies* 37, no. 2 (2008): 130–59; Haiko Wandhoff, *Ekphrasis: Kunstbeschreibungen und virtuelle Räume in der Literatur des Mittelalters* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003); Horst Wenzel, *Hören und Sehen, Schrift und Bild: Kultur und Gedächtnis im Mittelalter*, *C. H. Beck Kulturwissenschaft* (München: C.H. Beck, 1995).

imported from France and writers strove for ever more sophisticated formal experiments in rhyme and metaphor.<sup>82</sup> Henry's court has long been recognized as a hub for the production of new literature, even if scholars no longer agree on precisely which texts were written there.<sup>83</sup> The court comprised a scene for public reading and oral performance, where individual texts migrated across languages and cycled through different genres.<sup>84</sup> The cleric and chronicler Arnold of Lübeck even complained as he was made to translate an incest epic into Latin by Henry's son, William of Lüneburg (d. 1213).<sup>85</sup> (It siphoned time from his more serious pursuits.)

That epic had been written in Middle High German during the 1180s or 90s by Hartmann von Aue (d. ca. 1210-20), the poet on whom I draw most frequently. Woven into the fabric of

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<sup>82</sup> Joachim Bumke, *Höfische Kultur: Literatur und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1986). The 1170s have generally been taken to inaugurate the so-called *Blütezeit*, the flowering of chivalric romances and lyric poems that transformed vernacular literature. See: L. Peter Johnson, *Die höfische Literatur der Blütezeit* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999). Characterized by secular noble patronage and a dependence on French models, the model of the *Blütezeit* has dominated scholarly assessments of Middle High German; sometimes to the exclusion of earlier work. See the remarks in Chinca and Young, "Uses of the Past in Twelfth-Century Germany," 31-2.

<sup>83</sup> From a larger bibliography, see the key works: Karl Bertau, "Das deutsche Rolandslied und die Repräsentationskunst Heinrichs des Löwen," in *Literarisches Mäzenatentum. Ausgewählte Forschungen zur Rolle des Gönners und Auftraggebers in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*, ed. Joachim Bumke (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982), 331-70; Dieter Kartschoke, "Deutsche Literatur am Hof Heinrich des Löwen?" in *Heinrich der Löwe: Herrschaft und Repräsentation*, ed. Johannes Fried and Otto Gerhard Oexle (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), 83-134; Volker Mertens, "Deutsche Literatur am Welfenhof," in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit. Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235. Katalog der Ausstellung Braunschweig 1995*, ed. Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, vol. 2, 3 vols. (München: Hirmer, 1995), 204-12.

<sup>84</sup> Bumke, *Höfische Kultur*.

<sup>85</sup> Arnold von Lübeck, *Gesta Gregorii Peccatoris*, ed. Johannes Schilling (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 67-8. William, sometimes called William of Winchester, married Helena of Denmark. Although not explored in the dissertation, I am convinced that a study of the new taste for incest literature which accompanied a spreading crisis in the adjudication of consanguinity would ground a productive retheorization of *similitudo* in twelfth-century art. I am grateful to Christopher Nygren and Rachel Catherine Patt for conversations on this score.

later texts by his successors, who deployed him as a revered character while revising his work, he acquired outsize significance for his inventive images as much as his skillful manipulation of conventional narratives.<sup>86</sup> In his long chivalric narratives and shorter lyric poems, Hartmann obsessively explored the depiction of finely crafted works of art, vessels, bodies, and scenes of artisanal labor, as well as ways that figures could be redescribed in terms of the burgeoning monetary economy. He portrayed scenes of alienation, forms divided against themselves, and, significantly for my third chapter, “small ruses” that poetically produce outsize effects on spectators. His worlds, Arthurian and otherwise, are plotted by complex objects that slowly disclose an implicit theory of form’s possibilities; I take his words as a warrant for my account of sculpture’s coercive capacities in the decades contemporary with his texts.

### **Coercive Form**

How could *sculpture* coerce its beholders? The question does not simply devolve to the power of the image in general. Nor do recent art historical studies of animation, enchantment, or agentive objects adequately explain how sculpture could realize coercive ambitions in the twelfth century.<sup>87</sup> The model of the Benedictine theologian Rupert of Deutz’s ecstatic encounter with a crucifix that seems miraculously to come to life, assimilated to stories of wonder-working statues, has profoundly marked the interpretation of twelfth-century sculpture.<sup>88</sup> The conditions

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<sup>86</sup> On Hartmann, see the indispensable: Christoph Cormeau and Wilhelm Störmer, eds., *Hartmann von Aue. Epoche - Werk - Wirkung*, 3. Auflage (München: Beck, 2007).

<sup>87</sup> I have explored the concept of coercive medieval sculpture in earlier decades: Luke A. Fidler, “The Coercive Function of Early Medieval English Art,” *Radical History Review*, no. 137 (2020): 34–53. References to recent studies will be given in the discussion that follows.

<sup>88</sup> Dale, *Pygmalion’s Power*; Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, *Romanische Skulptur in Oberitalien als Reflex der kommunalen Entwicklung im 12. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen zu Mailand und Verona* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1994); Sara Lipton, “‘The Sweet Lean of His Head’: Writing

under which Rupert's religious vision unfolded are, however, hardly typical of the experience of beholding sculpture; his narrative is not easily generalized, particularly when it comes to work encountered outside the monastery's confines. There is no evidence that viewers or sculptors expected any of the sculptures under discussion in this dissertation to stir to life. They aren't assigned agency or voice in the manner of early medieval English 'speaking crosses,' inscriptions like those on the *Wolframleuchter* explicitly ventriloquizing the patrons who commissioned them rather than the shaped matter itself.<sup>89</sup> When I describe a sculpture's coercive capacities, I do not mean to suggest that political energy was displaced into an object that could act under its own literal or metaphorical steam. I suggest instead that the sculpture's figural qualities, scale, disposition, setting, and spatial configuration produced subjugating effects that looked and felt political.

Medieval art historians have argued that works of art were widely used in projects of violence and social control. Barbara Abou-El-Haj shows that illustrated saints' lives performed ideological work, shoring up specific institutional mechanisms of control, while Assaf Pinkus turns to later medieval work that, he claims, aggressively enacts violence upon the spectator through the depiction of extreme torment.<sup>90</sup> Ittai Weinryb's study of colonialism at Hildesheim,

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about Looking at the Crucifix in the High Middle Ages," *Speculum* 80, no. 04 (2005): 1172–1208.

<sup>89</sup> Respectively: Benjamin C. Tilghman, "On the Enigmatic Nature of Things in Anglo-Saxon Art," *Different Visions*, no. 4 (2014), <http://differentvisions.org/on-the-enigmatic-nature-of-things-in-anglo-saxon-art/>; Michael Matscha, "Zur Textgestalt der Inschrift des Wolfram-Leuchters," in *Der Wolfram-Leuchter im Erfurter Dom. Ein romanisches Kunstwerk und sein Umfeld*, ed. Falko Bornschein, Karl Heinemeyer, and Maria Stürzebecher (Neustadt an der Aisch: Verlagsdruckerei Schmidt, 2020), 229–39.

<sup>90</sup> Barbara Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (Binghamton: State University of New York, 1994); Assaf Pinkus, *Visual Aggression: Images of Martyrdom in Late Medieval Germany* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2021). Pinkus's account is only the most recent entry in a series of studies of the relationship between

on the other hand, demonstrates how monumental sculptures could be produced from, and publicly attest to, conditions of superexploited labor.<sup>91</sup> Conrad Rudolph's studies of high-medieval public art—from elite stained-glass windows to the mediation of sculpture through tour guides—suggest that the desire to regulate narratives about accessible art, and to constrain its interpretation in order to produce social effects, was widespread during the twelfth century.<sup>92</sup> Even as they focus largely on thirteenth-century phenomena, Nina Rowe's study of architectural sculptures of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* and Jacqueline Jung's of the Gothic choir screen both argue that sculpture could nominate spectatorial communities by performatively excluding and including members of their viewing public.<sup>93</sup> These studies should be differentiated from what I seek to describe here, in that they do not account for the means by which form constrains the political behavior of beholding subjects.

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late-medieval art and spectacular violence: Daria Dittmeyer, *Gewalt und Heil: bildliche Inszenierungen von Passion und Martyrium im späten Mittelalter* (Wien: Böhlau, 2014); Mitchell B. Merback, *The Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Valentin Groebner, *Ungestalten: die visuelle Kultur der Gewalt im Mittelalter* (München: Carl Hanser, 2003).

<sup>91</sup> Ittai Weinryb, "Hildesheim Avant-Garde: Bronze, Columns, and Colonialism," *Speculum* 93, no. 3 (2018): 728–82. Ideological fictions circulating in the twelfth century also served to justify the exploitation of labor for large ecclesiastical building projects: Conrad Rudolph, "Building-Miracles as Artistic Justification in the Early and Mid-Twelfth Century," in *Radical Art History: Internationale Anthologie. Subject: O.K. Werckmeister*, ed. Wolfgang Kersten (Zürich: Zurich InterPublishers, 1997), 398–411.

<sup>92</sup> Conrad Rudolph, "Inventing the Gothic Portal: Suger, Hugh of Saint Victor, and the Construction of a New Public Art at Saint-Denis," *Art History* 33, no. 4 (2010): 568–95; Conrad Rudolph, "Inventing the Exegetical Stained-Glass Window: Suger, Hugh, and a New Elite Art," *The Art Bulletin* 93, no. 4 (2011): 399–422; Rudolph, "The Tour Guide in the Middle Ages."

<sup>93</sup> Jacqueline E. Jung, *The Gothic Screen: Space, Sculpture, and Community in the Cathedrals of France and Germany, ca. 1200-1400* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Nina Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Jung's recent work on Gothic sculpture takes up the question of how life-size (or near life-size) carved figures produced specific effects on their viewers; effects that solicited behavioral and imaginative responses without devolving to full-blown interpellation.<sup>94</sup> Drawing on twelfth-century models of pedagogical imitation, particularly those used in the classroom where *magistri* exhibited exemplary models for their students, she supposes that viewers would be compelled to mimetically adopt the values of the figures who beautifully flaunt them.<sup>95</sup> Jung's argument attempts to explain the force of naturalism and the power exerted by exaggeratedly expressive human forms; it rests on a cognitive model of viewer-response that presumes the figure's persuasive, compelling powers.<sup>96</sup> This is more compulsion than coercion, although her model retains the hierarchical relationship of teacher to student that subordinates the beholder to the fixed beheld.<sup>97</sup>

Examining sculpture closer in time and ambition to the works in my dissertation, O. K. Werckmeister's extended analysis of a lintel fragment from Autun comes nearest to advancing a theory of coercive form (fig. 0.7).<sup>98</sup> Eve's lithe body extends horizontally, weaving behind trees and vegetal strands. Werckmeister glosses the scene in terms of its activation in penitential rituals; as the penitent lay prostrate before the sculpture, the formal resemblance between Eve's pose and the beholder's recumbent body initiated a cascading chain of analogies between

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<sup>94</sup> Jung, *Eloquent Bodies*. For interpellation, see the classic study: Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)," in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, trans. Ben Brewster (London: Monthly Review Press, 1971), 127–86.

<sup>95</sup> The *imitatio Christi* vogue that governed much late-medieval devotion was not in full sway during the twelfth century; it arguably owes much to these models of pedagogical instruction that permeated twelfth-century schoolrooms.

<sup>96</sup> See: Paul Binski, "Eloquence and Affect in Jacqueline Jung's *Eloquent Bodies*," *Oxford Art Journal* 44, no. 1 (2021): 147–53.

<sup>97</sup> On the distinction between coercion and compulsion, see Leiser, "On Coercion," 33.

<sup>98</sup> O. K. Werckmeister, "The Lintel Fragment Representing Eve from Saint-Lazare, Autun," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972): 1–30.

Biblical precursor and post-lapsarian Christian. Ultimately, the church's present-day dominance laid the spectator's body low and, conversely, was displayed on the lintel as the ritual's charge accrued back to the figure.

I have already gestured to Ernst Bloch; my reading of art's coercive work is still more indebted to his Frankfurt School colleagues Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, as well as the more recent Marxist criticism of Fredric Jameson and Sianne Ngai.<sup>99</sup> These writers all share a commitment to thinking the aesthetic, the economic, and the political in terms of form's resources. Ngai, for example, theorizes the capitalist "gimmick" as a device for "highlighting how other judges, abstract figures standing in for our relations to others in general, are already 'inside' our most spontaneous, affectively immediate experiences of form."<sup>100</sup> What is true of Magic Bullet blenders or P. T. Barnum's hoaxes in the post-Kantian world holds for the magic stones in Hartmann's poems or the *Braunschweiger Löwe*, not because beholding selves, social relations, or the possibilities of aesthetic judgment remain stable across the centuries (they do not). But because the insidious configuration of the experience of form, the conscription of encounters with crafted objects, is best witnessed in the contrived works of art that aimed to subjugate their spectators and, in so doing, made visible the convergence of aesthetic and political orders.

## Chapter Summaries

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<sup>99</sup> Especially: Theodor W. Adorno, *Minima Moralia: Reflections from Damaged Life*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (London: Verso, 1978); Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002); Fredric Jameson, *Marxism and Form: Twentieth-Century Dialectical Theories of Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971); Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*; Sianne Ngai, *Theory of the Gimmick: Aesthetic Judgment and Capitalist Form* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020); Sianne Ngai, *Our Aesthetic Categories: Zany, Cute, Interesting* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012).

<sup>100</sup> Ngai, *Theory of the Gimmick*, 18.

The dissertation guides the reader from Henry's court in Brunswick through other sites in Saxony to the contested territories of today's central and eastern Germany, before concluding in southern Scandinavia. It thus maps an itinerary of increasing distance from the person of Henry himself, even as his frequent incursions and mercantile representatives traversed the Baltic. Each chapter treats a specific cluster of objects that bring a coercive dimension of political sculpture to the fore. They do not add up to an encyclopaedic picture of twelfth-century political art; the chapters do, however, provide a synthetic account.

Chapter one examines the *Braunschweiger Löwe*, the monumental metal lion erected at the heart of the ducal complex in Brunswick. Comparing the rooted, singular sculpture to its rapid remediation through poems, drawings, and, especially, coins, I argue against existing interpretations of the object as *symbolic* or *proto-heraldic*. Rather, noting its doubled form of depiction—the way it simultaneously expels and devours space—I argue that it was understood to subject the terrain to a novel form of political subjugation. Sovereignty was newly identified with the experience of submitting to sculpture.

The second chapter turns to the problem of how political agency and freedom were claimed and qualified through anthropomorphic form. Examining two cases, artistic patronage by the legally unfree subjects who made up a crucial administrative class in Henry's polity and the spectacular monumental, figural candleholder in Erfurt (the so-called *Wolframleuchter*), I describe a constellation of sculptural practices for visualizing the social order. Figures are shown bearing up, reinforcing, and deferring; operations that also made a new social hierarchy tick.

Laying bare a specific tension between (cultural and economic) agency and (legal) freedom, these works probe the very same gap between matter and form that Ernst Bloch would come to insist on in 1952.

The third chapter analyzes the production of place (*locus*) by inspecting boundary markers and other public relief sculptures. Noting how new genres of large, incised objects appeared in disputed territories east of the Elbe, where Christianization and colonization were both underway, I argue that novel strategies of signification were coined in order to polemically remap the experience of space. Locative art exposed faultlines in the structure of the *signum*; what constellation of signs could reliably tell you precisely where you were? Turning to Hartmann von Aue's poetry, I place these bounding and orienting objects in relation to a flourishing discourse about force and proximity.

The fourth chapter journeys to southern Scandinavia, where a series of elaborate stone baptismal fonts were carved for small parish churches between the 1160s and 80s. This was a region marked by political upheaval and uneven Christianization; it was also folded into Henry's diplomatic efforts thanks to his patchy alliances with Danish monarchs and his daughter's marriage to the Danish crown prince (and subsequent retirement to a nearby community). The fonts are carved by a single workshop, and each responds in unusually pointed ways to specific political events associated with the subjection of the populace to Christian norms. Tithing, inheritance law, and the production of new kinship relations are all brought to the fore.

Ultimately, the fonts' visual programs and liturgical function inscribe the objects into a ritual refashioning of the subject.

My conclusion briefly sums up the argument with a final image from Hartmann's poetry, noting how the advent of capitalist forms of equivalence would transform the circuits routing figuration through coercion that I describe in the twelfth century.

## CHAPTER 1: *Effigies*

*Additionally, let us observe what a magnificent accomplishment of the rational mind is the subjunctive. It would permit even a lion to become a protector of men.*

- Hans Blumenberg<sup>1</sup>

Few art historical accounts of the high-medieval Holy Roman Empire leave out the monumental lion erected at Duke Henry the Lion's command in Brunswick (fig. 1.1); the sculpture plays as singular a role in histories of politics as it does for sculpture. By far the best-studied object in my dissertation, the *Löwe* has received only passing mention in Anglophone scholarship despite its pivotal role in the German historiography and its significance for the history of medieval sculpture, and this dissertation chapter represents the monument's first full-length treatment in English. Its facture, iconography, reception, and ritual significance have all rated analysis, and scholars have devoted special attention to the ways in which the sculpture *expresses, projects, or reflects* the power that Henry so confidently wielded during the 1160s and 70s, a period when his star shone brighter even than the emperor's.<sup>2</sup> In my chapter on fonts, I draw attention to the ways that scholars use verbal constructions to mask assumptions about how

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<sup>1</sup> "Nebenbei sieht man, welche gewaltige Errungenschaft der Vernunft der Konjunktiv ist. Er würde sogar einem Löwen ermöglichen, Menschenschützer zu werden." Translation (slightly modified) from Hans Blumenberg, *Lions*, trans. Kári Driscoll (London: Seagull Books, 2018), 2. For the German, see: Hans Blumenberg, *Löwen* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2001), 10.

<sup>2</sup> I will give relevant bibliography about the sculpture in the course of discussion. Modern study begins afresh with its conservation and scholarly reassessment in the 1980s: Martin Gosebruch, ed., *Der Braunschweiger Burglöwe: Bericht über ein wissenschaftliches Symposium in Braunschweig vom 12.10. bis 15.10.1983* (Göttingen: Goltze, 1985); Christof Römer, *Der Braunschweiger Löwe, Welfisches Wappentier und Denkmal* (Braunschweig: Landesmuseum, 1982). Although beyond the scope of this chapter, it is worth noting that the *Löwe* has a rich history of post-medieval reception and replicas adorn sites across the United States and Germany, especially in locations identified with Henry the Lion's influence (e.g. Goslar, Harvard University, Lübeck, Ratzeburg, and Schwerin).

medieval sculptures affected beholders. Here, I turn to period accounts of viewing and a close reading of the sculpture's production and form in order to ask: how does a novel object emerge from, and exert pressure on, a set of artistic and political conditions? And, if the language of expression and reflection is startlingly insufficient to account for its conception, form, or effects, how might a conceptual vocabulary of constitution and production furnish us with some better tools to comprehend an ambitious political sculpture?

After a brief introduction that situates the *Löwe* in recent scholarship, I examine the sculpture in a tripartite schema of production, installation, and reception up to the 1250s.<sup>3</sup> First, I discuss twelfth-century histories of sculpture that accommodate and prize innovation, then explore how the *Löwe* was produced by trial and error in a spectacular undertaking. Turning to questions of beholding, I show how its form, figuration, and constitution of virtual space solicited particular responses, especially when considered in light of Henry's building campaigns in Brunswick. Finally, I analyze the visual and textual record of the *Löwe*'s reception in order to argue that scholars have largely overlooked how the sculpture's suturing of formal and political projects produced a spectatorial shockwave. The chapter, therefore, tries to go beyond the "normal science" of social art history.<sup>4</sup> I am not interested in issues of "puzzle-solving;" the predilection for seeing medieval art in terms of political instrumentalization has yielded an exhausted paradigm in which scholars can no longer tell art from other forms of visual and

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<sup>3</sup> I will refer to the sculpture as the *Löwe* throughout this chapter.

<sup>4</sup> The term is drawn from Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962). For social art history as 'normal science,' see: Paul Wood, "Moving the Goalposts: Modernism and 'World Art History,'" *Third Text* 25, no. 5 (2011): 503–13. I am grateful to Matthew Hunter for conversations about Kuhn and experimentation more generally.

material culture, and the *Löwe* was itself the kind of unexpected novelty that Thomas Kuhn famously saw as the prime mover of a paradigm shift.<sup>5</sup>

## Historical Introduction

By the beginning of the 1160s, Henry had cemented his position as the foremost secular authority in the empire's northern reaches, rising to a position commensurate with his father's imperial ambitions without achieving the crown.<sup>6</sup> Although his power would be challenged over the course of the next few decades, he went from strength to strength, divorcing his Zähringer wife in 1162 and marrying the daughter of the English king in 1168.<sup>7</sup> Generations of German historians and schoolchildren took a moral lesson from Henry's heady rise, which presaged a spectacular fall at Erfurt in 1181, but suffice it to say that the *Löwe* sculpture was made at a time

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<sup>5</sup> Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 35-42. Relevant recent studies of medieval political art include: Sonja Drimmer, "A Political Poster in Late-Medieval England: British Library, Harley MS 7353," in *Performance, Ceremony and Display in Late Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2018 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Julia Boffey (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2020), 333-59; Sonja Drimmer, "The Severed Head as Public Sculpture in Late Medieval England," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 50, no. 2 (2020): 293-321; Gillian B. Elliott, "Victorious Trampling at Sts. Peter and Paul at Andlau and the Politics of Frederick Barbarossa," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 72, no. 2 (2009): 145-64; Laura Slater, *Art and Political Thought in Medieval England, c. 1150-1350* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2018). I am grateful to Sonja Dimmer for her comments on this score.

<sup>6</sup> The definitive biography of Henry the Lion is Joachim Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe: eine Biographie* (München: Siedler, 2008). See also the earlier biography Karl Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe: eine Biographie* (München: Beck, 1979). Henry's father, Henry the Proud (d. 1139), was a failed candidate for the imperial throne in the 1138 election that brought Conrad III (d. 1152) to power. For Henry, see: Ehlers, 41-6. On the election and Henry's ensuing trial, see: Jan Paul Niederkorn, "Der 'Prozeß' Heinrichs des Stolze," in *Diplomatische und chronologische Studien aus der Arbeit an den Regesta Imperii*, ed. Paul-Joachim Heinig (Köln: Böhlau, 1991), 67-82; Jutta Schlick, *König, Fürsten und Reich (1056-1159): Herrschaftsverständnis im Wandel* (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2001), 131-45.

<sup>7</sup> Henry's extended conflict with a coalition of his Saxon peers from roughly 1165 to 1170 is most relevant for the period covered by this chapter; see: Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 141-49.

when Henry's political gambits appeared to be paying off.<sup>8</sup> Rooted decisively in place, the *Löwe* helped to produce a specific kind of site as part of Henry's innovative construction of a court in Brunswick. The new complex, including a church and a castle as well as a prominent sculptural focal point, sought to make a quasi-imperial *sedes* for the duke before such strategies were popular. Ironically, however, the *Löwe* achieved fame through its mediation via texts, coins, and at least one spectacular map; in the final part of my chapter, I trace its polemical and political dimensions through comparison with the many circulating objects that distributed Henry's authority and the *Löwe*'s image in tandem.

The question of politics animates much of the thinking in my dissertation, and this chapter tackles the problem head-on. Since I wade into a contested and well-populated field, I think it important to begin by outlining what I will *not* do in this chapter. Scholars have long described the *Braunschweiger Löwe* in terms of a politics of power. As Henry expanded his territorial influence, the story goes, he made use of an increasingly broad range of mechanisms for arrogating and wielding power, beginning with his daring seizure of the Stade inheritance as an opening salvo against his northern peers.<sup>9</sup> Karl Jordan codified this reading in his influential 1979 biography of the duke, portraying him as a ruthless, violent, power-hungry figure.<sup>10</sup> By

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<sup>8</sup> The literature on Henry's fall and exile is large and particularly well represented in studies published before 1945. For sober recent assessments, see: Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 317-74; Jonathan R. Lyon, *Princely Brothers and Sisters: The Sibling Bond in German Politics, 1100-1250* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 89-119; Stefan Weinfurter, "Die Entmachtung Heinrichs des Löwen," in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235: Katalog der Ausstellung, Braunschweig*, ed. Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, vol. 2, 3 vols. (München: Hirmer, 1995), 180-89.

<sup>9</sup> Gerd Althoff, "Heinrich der Löwe und das Stader Erbe. Zum Problem der Beurteilung des 'Annalista Saxo,'" *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 41 (1985): 66-100; Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 65-9; Michael Hohmann, "Das Erzstift Bremen und die Grafschaft Stade im 12. und frühen 13. Jahrhundert," *Stader Jahrbuch* 59 (1969): 49-118.

<sup>10</sup> Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe*. For an earlier version of this thinking, see: Editha Gronen, *Die*

2008, when Joachim Ehlers published a new biography that revised many of Jordan's conclusions, Henry had come to look much more like a representative figure in the twelfth-century scene of elite politics, albeit one still practicing a politics that turned on the ostentatious exercise of power.<sup>11</sup>

Here, I break with existing scholarship on the *Löwe* by coming to politics through art rather than the other way around.<sup>12</sup> Beginning in the mid-1990s, a wealth of studies conjoined the concepts of *Herrschaft* and *Repräsentation*, creating a fertile environment in which the *Löwe* has been read as a straightforward exemplar of Henry's sovereign power.<sup>13</sup> Glossing the

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*Machtpolitik Heinrichs des Löwen: und sein Gegensatz gegen das Kaisertum* (Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1919).

<sup>11</sup> Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe*. His biography is a useful summation of recent research in the field, and I generally privilege it over Jordan in this chapter. For a provocative reinterpretation of the role of power in twelfth-century governance, see: Thomas N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009). As will become clear, I subscribe to the argument that Henry should still be treated as a distinctive, even exceptional, figure, a position also taken in: Lyon, *Princely Brothers and Sisters*, 89-119; Bernd Schneidmüller, "Heinrich der Löwe und sein Politikmodell im Norden des Reichs," in *Die Staufer und der Norden Deutschlands*, ed. Karl-Heinz Rueß, *Schriften zur staufischen Geschichte und Kunst* 35 (Göppingen: Gesellschaft für staufische Geschichte, 2016), 12-46.

<sup>12</sup> Ehlers and Jordan are, of course, historians rather than art historians.

<sup>13</sup> For Henry the Lion, see: Johannes Fried and Otto Gerhard Oexle, eds., *Heinrich der Löwe: Herrschaft und Repräsentation*, *Vorträge und Forschungen* 57 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003); Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, eds., *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235: Katalog der Ausstellung, Braunschweig 1995*, 3 vols. (München: Hirmer, 1995). From a larger bibliography that deals with other case studies from medieval German-speaking lands, see: Jiří Fajt and Andreas Langer, eds., *Kunst als Herrschaftsinstrument: Böhmen und das Heilige Römische Reich unter den Luxemburgern im europäischen Kontext* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009); Ludger Körntgen, *Königsherrschaft und Gottes Gnade: zu Kontext und Funktion sakraler Vorstellungen in Historiographie und Bildzeugnissen der ottonisch-frühsalischen Zeit* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001); Dirk Schumann, *Herrschaft und Architektur. Otto IV. und der Westgiebel von Chorin*, *Studien zur Backsteinarchitektur* 2 (Berlin: Lukas, 1997). The limitations of this approach are dealt with sensitively in: Knut Görich and Romedio Schmitz-Esser, eds., *Barbarossabilder: Entstehungskontexte, Erwartungshorizonte, Verwendungszusammenhänge* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2014). This mode of investigation owes a good deal to earlier interdisciplinary

*Braunschweiger Löwe* as a martial monument that thumbed its nose at the Saxon aristocrats who failed to unseat Henry in the 1160s, or as a “very specific statement” that flaunted his virility, these arguments explain less than they appear to.<sup>14</sup> They reproduce what Fredric Jameson identifies as the “modest” claim of political scholarship, namely the banal notion that certain objects (for Jameson, “texts”) have historical, political, and social “resonance.”<sup>15</sup> Much like the

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investigations of *Staatsymbolik*, exemplified by Percy Schramm’s monumental post-war catalogue, as well as formative studies of the role of ritual in royal rule. For the former, see: Percy Ernst Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatsymbolik: Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte vom dritten bis zum sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, 3 vols., Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae historica 13 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1954); Percy Ernst Schramm and Florentine Mütterich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Ein Beitrag zur Herrschergeschichte von Karl dem Grossen bis Friedrich II, 768-1250*, Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte in München 2 (München: Prestel, 1962). For the latter, see the key works: Gerd Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale: Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Primus, 2003); Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1997); Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992). For a critical take and the ensuing debate over this approach, see: Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Philippe Buc, “The Monster and the Critics: A Ritual Reply,” *Early Medieval Europe* 15, no. 4 (2007): 441–52; Geoffrey Koziol, “The Dangers of Polemic: Is Ritual Still an Interesting Topic of Historical Study?,” *Early Medieval Europe* 11, no. 4 (2002): 367–88.

<sup>14</sup> “Eine ganz bestimmte Aussage.” See, respectively: Peter Seiler, “Richterlicher oder kriegerischer Furor? Untersuchungen zur Bestimmung der primären Bedeutung des Braunschweiger Burglöwen,” in *Heinrich der Löwe: Herrschaft und Repräsentation*, ed. Johannes Fried and Otto Gerhard Oexle, Vorträge und Forschungen 57 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), 197; Gosbert Schüssler, “Der «Leo Rugiens» von Braunschweig,” *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 42 (1991), 46.

<sup>15</sup> Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 17. As Jameson points out, analyses of political affiliation, religious conflict, and historical events provide useful interpretative data but do not constitute interpretation as such. Much of what passes for ‘social art history’ is susceptible to the charge of making context or resonance explanatory, although the problem is dealt with substantially in the subfield’s *locus classicus*: Arnold Hauser, *The Social History of Art [1951] Vol. 1: From Prehistoric Times to the Middle Ages*, trans. Stanley Goodman, 3rd ed. (London: Routledge, 1999), 89. In the case of Romanesque art, for example, Hauser cautions: “Here, the notion of a parallel with the authoritarian form of rule is close to hand. It would be a simple matter to bring the functional relationship of the elements in a Romanesque building, and their subordination to architectonic unity, in connection with the authoritarianism of the age, and to attribute it to the

oft vilified term ‘influence,’ ‘resonance’ here simply names a form of resemblance without charting how and why this resemblance came to be or to matter. The correspondences that scholars have detected between the *Löwe* and north Italian stone lion sculptures or Henry’s predatory practices of conquest generally turn out to prove the very assumptions about politics that are brought to bear on the sculpture in the first place.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, the very conjunction of *Herrschaft* and *Repräsentation* was never adequately theorized except as a resonant pair.

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principle of amalgamation, which dominates social forms and is expressed in collective structures such as the universal Church and monasticism, the feudal system and the ‘closed household.’ But such an interpretation would be rather misleading. The sculptural work in a Romanesque church is ‘dependent’ on the architectural design in a very different sense from that in which peasants and vassals are dependent on their feudal lords.” (“Auch hier liegt der Gedanke des Parallelismus mit den autoritären Herrschaftsformen nahe. Es wäre wieder das Einfachste, den funktionellen Zusammenhang der Elemente eines romanischen Bauwerks und ihre Subordination unter die architektonische Einheit mit dem Autoritätsgeist des Zeitalters in Verbindung zu bringen und auf das Prinzip des Zusammenschlusses zurückzuführen, das die gleichzeitigen Gesellschaftsformen beherrscht und in Kollektivgebilden wie der Universalkirche und dem Mönchtum, der Feudalität und dem Fronhof zum Ausdruck kommt. Eine solche Deutung bliebe aber in einer Äquivokation befangen. Die Skulpturen einer romanischen Kirche sind von der Architektur in einem ganz anderen Sinne ‘abhängig,’ als es die Bauern und Vasallen von den Feudalherren sind.”) I have slightly modified the translation; for the German, see: Arnold Hauser, *Sozialgeschichte der Kunst und Literatur*, vol. 1 (München: C.H. Beck, 1953), 194. For a sensitive framing of context and politics in a case study closer to this chapter’s topic, see: Joan A. Holladay, *Genealogy and the Politics of Representation in the High and Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 1-52.

<sup>16</sup> For ‘influence’ in art history, see especially: Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985). For useful discussions, see: Kirk Ambrose, “Influence,” *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 197–206; Michelle P. Brown, “An Early Outbreak of ‘Influenza’? Aspects of Influence, Medieval and Modern,” in *Under the Influence: The Concept of Influence and the Study of Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. Alixe Bovey and John Lowden (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 1–10; William J. Diebold, “The Anxiety of Influence in Early Medieval Art? The Codex Aureus of Charles the Bald in Ottonian Regensburg,” in *Under the Influence: The Concept of Influence and the Study of Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. Alixe Bovey and John Lowden (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 51–64. It is a fundamental point of order in the work of Nelson Goodman, Ludwig Wittgenstein, and Richard Wollheim that anything can be said to resemble anything else unless the proper criteria are supplied; I do not think the claim needs to be argued here.

Jameson's solution is to frame politics as "the absolute horizon of all reading and all interpretation" in a way that goes beyond identifying this or that discourse of control or social coercion.<sup>17</sup> As I will show, the *Löwe* appeared as a novel response to political conditions that do not fully explain its making or circumscribe its meaning. It flummoxed and impressed viewers. It shaped the public image of Henry the Lion in ways that scholars have largely failed to notice. It is proof that the erection of an unprecedented object—a fantastic lion "skillfully wrought of

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<sup>17</sup> Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, 17. I am grateful to Jacqueline Dragu and Aden Kumler for conversations about Jameson. Marxist aesthetics has long struggled with the problem of causality, attesting broader Marxist disputes over modes of production, the vexed binary of base and superstructure, and the fundamental problem of the 'final instance.' Key texts here include Engels' 1890 to letter to J. Bloch (available at [https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1890/letters/90\\_09\\_21a.htm](https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1890/letters/90_09_21a.htm)) and Althusser's much-criticized notion of 'overdetermination.' See: Louis Althusser, *Pour Marx* (Paris: F. Maspero, 1965). But what appears to Marxists as a general issue of how to correlate notions of class, politics, and history shows up for art historians in the specific quandary of how artists conceive and make the works they do. Marx's famous, vulgarly Platonic example of the bees and the craftsman has guided writers into a dead end (the bees instinctively produce exquisitely made hives, while the human craftsman renders objects according to a pre-calculated design): Karl Marx, *Capital Volume 1: A Critique of Political Economy*, trans. Ben Fowkes, vol. 1 (London: Penguin Books, 1981), 284. For a recent illustration of Marx taken literally in the medieval case, see: Carlos Astarita, "Origins of the Medieval Craftsman," in *Studies on Pre-Capitalist Modes of Production*, ed. Laura da Graca and Andrea Paula Zingarelli, Historical Materialism Book Series 97 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 112–40. Even sensitive critics like Austrian Communist Ernst Fischer, who tried to repurpose the eleventh thesis on Feuerbach for art history ("muß auch die Kunst...die Welt als veränderbar darstellen und zu ihrer Veränderung beitragen"), still fell back on the language of "reflection" when he came to describe how art changed. Writing of how different representations of love appear in art, he argues: "in den besonderen Formen und Ausdrucksweisen des Liebesgefühls spiegelt sich jedoch der gesellschaftliche Zustand wider, die gesellschaftliche Atmosphäre, in der die Sexualität sich zu komplizierten, reicherer, höheren Beziehungen erhebt, die Atmosphäre der Sklavenhaltergesellschaft oder des Rittertums oder des Bürgertums, der jeweilige Grad der Unterdrückung oder der Gleichberechtigung der Frau, die Struktur der Ehe, der Familie, des Eigentums usw. usf." Like Max Raphael, Fischer saw a properly dialectical model of art at work in prehistoric society, where tools and pictures changed humans as they were used, but he floundered when it came to later art. See, respectively: Ernst Fischer, *Von der Notwendigkeit der Kunst*, ed. Karl-Markus Gauss, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Sandler Verlag, 1985), 55, 53; Max Raphael, *Prehistoric Cave Paintings*, trans. Norbert Guterman (New York: Pantheon Books, 1945); Max Raphael, *Prehistoric Pottery and Civilization in Egypt*, trans. Norbert Guterman (New York: Pantheon Books, 1947).

gleaming gold,” such as that which populated a vernacular epic composed about a Bavarian duke soon after—could transform the politics of medieval art.<sup>18</sup>

### **Producing the *Löwe***

Cast from a heterogeneous, unusually zinc-rich copper alloy, the *Braunschweiger Löwe* took center stage in the complex of ecclesiastical buildings, fortifications, and secular residences that constituted Henry’s court at Brunswick (fig. 1.2).<sup>19</sup> Measuring 2.79 meters long and standing 1.78 meters high, weighing close to a metric ton, the sculpture would have cast an imposing shadow from atop a column, held in place by prongs protruding from the feet (fig. 1.3).<sup>20</sup> Its

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<sup>18</sup> Carolyn Thomas Dussère and J. W. Thomas, trans., *The Legend of Duke Ernst* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 90.

<sup>19</sup> On Henry’s court, see primarily: Bernd Schneidmüller, ed., *Die Welfen und ihr Braunschweiger Hof im hohen Mittelalter* (Wiesbaden: Harrossowitz, 1995). I will cite additional bibliography in the course of the chapter where relevant. Although the *Löwe*’s material has generally been described as bronze, the modern nomenclature of copper alloys is imprecise and the Latin term *aes* covered brass, bronze, and other alloys during the Middle Ages. For technical studies of the *Löwe*’s metal composition, see: Josef Riederer, “Die Metallanalyse des Braunschweiger Löwen,” in *Der Braunschweiger Löwe*, ed. Gerd Spies (Braunschweig: Städtisches Museum Braunschweig, 1985), 167–79; D. W. Zachmann, “Der Braunschweiger Löwe — Umwelt und Korrosion,” *Materials and Corrosion* 50, no. 1 (1999): 17–26. For medieval copper alloys more generally, see: Joseph Salvatore Ackley, “Copper-Alloy Substrates in Precious Metal Treasury Objects: Concealed and Yet Excessive,” *Different Visions*, no. 4 (January 2014), <http://differentvisions.org/copper-alloy-substrates-precious-metal-treasury-objects/>; Ursula Mende, *Die Bronzetüren des Mittelalters, 800-1200* (München: Hirmer, 1983); W. A. Oddy, Susan La Niece, and Neil Stratford, *Romanesque Metalwork: Copper Alloys and Their Decoration* (London: British Museum, 1986); Ittai Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages: Sculpture, Material, Making* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Otto Werner, “Analysen mittelalterlicher Bronzen und Messinge Teil 1. Werkstoffe und Analysen,” *Archäologie und Naturwissenschaften* 1 (1977): 144–220.

<sup>20</sup> The precise configuration of the base is debated. See: Mathias Haenchen, “Der Sockel des Braunschweiger Löwenmonuments. Aus Elementen vergangener Kulturepochen entstand ein eigenständiges Werk,” *Braunschweigische Heimat* 84 (1998): 8–10; Walter Kühn, “Der Braunschweiger Burglöwe und die Löwenbrakteaten: Die Aussage der Brakteaten zur ursprünglichen Form des Denkmalssockels,” *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift des Braunschweigischen Landesmuseums* 4 (1997): 21–30.

gleaming, gilded surface would have caught the light, particularly in the dense concentration of grooved and chiseled locks of hair that mass around the lion's face and set off the animal's smooth flanks and linear ribs, so that it shone from its elevated perch (figs. 1.4-1.5). The mouth gapes open in a striking gesture that contemporaries remarked (Arnold of Lübeck uses the word *hiatum*) and preserved in their depictions of the monument (fig. 1.6).<sup>21</sup> With front legs firmly planted, rear legs stretched back, tail curling up, the lion's posture has been variously read as energetic or staid, life-like or artificial, poised to strike or rooted in place.

Although scholars once dated the sculpture by Albert of Stade's lapidary note in his thirteenth-century *Annales Stadenses* that Henry "raised the likeness (*effigies*) of a lion upon a pedestal (*basis*)" in 1166, Klaus Naß's analysis of Albert's tenuous chronology throughout the text eroded any real confidence in the entry's accuracy.<sup>22</sup> Godfrey of Viterbo's poetic appropriation of the *Löwe* in his *Gesta Friderici* during the 1190s establishes a *terminus ante quem* but most scholars moot a date during the 1160s or 70s, sometimes connecting the sculpture's commission with the 1173 construction of the nearby collegiate church or, in Bernd Schneidmüller's suggestive proposal, to the "creation of a new sovereign *ornatus*" in Brunswick modeled on Anglo-Norman, Italian, or Brunonian models following Henry's marriage to the daughter of the English king in 1168.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. Johannes M. Lappenberg with Georg Heinrich Pertz, in MGH SSrG 14 (Hanover: Hahn, 1912), VII.16.

<sup>22</sup> "Duke Henry raised the likeness of a lion upon a pedestal and enclosed the city with a moat and rampart." ("Heinricus dux super basem leonis effigiem in Brunswic erexit et urbem fossa et vallo circumdedit.") Albert of Stade, *Annales Stadenses*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, in MGH SS 16 (Hanover: Hahn, 1859), 345. Klaus Naß, "Zur Cronica Saxonum und verwandten Braunschweiger Werken," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 49, no. 2 (1993): 557–582.

<sup>23</sup> "der Schaffung eines neuen herrschaftlichen ornatus." Bernd Schneidmüller, "Der Ort des Schatzes. Braunschweig als brunonisch-welfisches Herrschaftszentrum," in *Der Welfenschatz*

The sculpture's novelty has long been highlighted by scholars. Even if medieval tables groaned under smaller copper alloy objects like candlesticks and *aquamanilia*, larger metal sculptures were rare.<sup>24</sup> Medieval viewers could see bells in churches, large fountains in town squares, and remnants of the classical bronze industry at Rome, but apart from some rare episodes (e.g. Charlemagne's Aachen and Bernward's Hildesheim), few monumental figural

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*und sein Umkreis*, ed. Joachim Ehlers and Dietrich Kötzsche (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998), 48. Acknowledging the lack of hard evidence, I do not commit to a specific date in this chapter, but I am generally persuaded by the argument that Henry might have wanted the *Löwe* in place by Matilda's arrival in 1168.

<sup>24</sup> The literature on small metalwork objects is vast. For *aquamanilia*, key publications include: Peter Barnet and Pete Dandridge, eds., *Lions, Dragons, and Other Beasts: Aquamanilia of the Middle Ages, Vessels for Church and Table* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Peter Barnet, "Medieval Lion *Aquamanilia* with Hebrew Inscriptions," *Images* 3, no. 1 (2009): 29–37; Claudia Höhl, Gerhard Lutz, and Joanna Olchawa, eds., *Drachenlandung: ein Hildesheimer Drachen-Aquamanile des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 2017); Michael Hütt, *Aquamanilien: Gebrauch und Form: "Quem lavat unda foris"* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1993); Ursula Mende, "Aquamanilien," in *Mittelalter. Kunst und Kultur von der Spätantike bis zum 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. Daniel Hess, Schausammlungen des Germanischen Nationalmuseums 2 (Nürnberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 2007), 163–74; Joanna Olchawa, *Aquamanilien. Genese, Verbreitung und Bedeutung in islamischen und christlichen Zeremonien* (Regensburg: Schnell + Steiner, 2019). For candlesticks, see Otto von Falke and Erich Meyer, *Romanische Leuchter und Gefässe, Giessgefässe der Gotik* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1983); Jennifer P. Kingsley, "VT CERNIS and the Materiality of Bernwardian Art," in *1000 Jahre St. Michael in Hildesheim: Kirche - Kloster - Stiftung*, ed. Gerhard Lutz and Angela Weyer, Schriften des Hornemann Instituts 14 (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2012), 171–84; Ursula Mende, "Minden oder Helmarshausen. Bronzeleuchter aus der Werkstatt Rogers von Helmarshausen," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 31 (1989): 61–85; Ursula Mende, "Der Osterleuchter von Parc und Fragen der Lokalisierung romanischer Bronzen zwischen Maasgebiet und Niedersachsen," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* 67 (1996): 57–68; Ursula Mende, "Der Leuchter von Elsenfeld und sein Umkreis: zu Hildesheimer Bronzearbeiten des 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Romanik in Nieder-Sachsen. Forschungsstand und Forschungsaufgaben. Symposium an der Technischen Universität Carolo-Wilhelmina, Braunschweig, 17-30 März, 1993*, ed. Harmen Thies, Quellen und Forschungen zur braunschweigischen Geschichte 33 (Braunschweig: Selbstverlag des Braunschweigischen Geschichtsvereins, 1997), 175–95; Ursula Mende, "Die Bronzeleuchter von der Burg Eberbach am Neckar," *Eberbacher Geschichtsblatt* 99 (2000): 35–59.

works were cast after late antiquity.<sup>25</sup> Artists began to make sizable metal sculptures again in the ninth century, but it was the twelfth century that saw a concerted attempt to experiment with figuration in bronze, from the so-called *Wolframleuchter* at Erfurt (fig. 2.1) and the Magdeburg workshop's accomplished doors and tomb monuments to Rainer of Huy's bronze font at Liège and the quasi-industrial production of Barisanius of Trani.<sup>26</sup> Even amongst this expanding corpus, the *Löwe* is exceptional as a freestanding work placed outdoors without obvious ecclesiastical content or purpose. Its figuration distinguishes it from the fountains and perrons that organized civic space, and its closest comparandum in these respects is the twelfth-century *Lupa Capitolina*.<sup>27</sup> When Henry's peers in the *Regnum Teutonicum* commissioned sumptuous

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<sup>25</sup> Exceptions include bells, a smattering of doors (especially at Aachen, Hildesheim, and Mainz), and *unica* like Rudolf of Swabia's tomb slab at Merseburg. See: Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*.

<sup>26</sup> Each of these examples has a large bibliography. Useful discussions include, respectively: Hans Drescher, "Zur Herstellungstechnik des Erfurter Wolfram-Leuchters," in *Halberstadt. Studien zu Dom und Liebfrauenkirche*, 1997, 186–204; E. Meyer, "Romanische Bronzen der Magdeburger Gießhütte," in *Festschrift Friedrich Winkler*, ed. Hans Möhle (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann Verlag, 1958), 22–28; Bruno Reudenbach, *Das Taufbecken des Reiner von Huy in Lüttich* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1984); Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 173–80; Albert Boeckler, *Die Bronzetüren des Bonanus von Pisa und des Barisanus von Trani, Die frühmittelalterliche Bronzetüren 4* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft Marburg, 1953).

<sup>27</sup> For fountains and *perrons*, see Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 180–91. The bibliography on the *Lupa Capitolina* is vast; for recent key publications that grapple with the sculpture's decisive re-dating to the medieval period, see: Maria R.- Alföldi, Edilberto Formigli, and Johannes Fried, *Die römische Wölfin: Ein antikes Monument Stürzt von seinem Sockel* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2011); Gilda Bartoloni, ed., *La lupa capitolina: nuove prospettive di studio: incontro-dibattito in occasione della pubblicazione del volume di Anna Maria Carruba, La lupa capitolina, un bronzo medievale: Sapienza, Università di Roma, Roma 28 febbraio 2008* (Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2010); Lucio Calcagnile et al., "Solving an Historical Puzzle: Radiocarbon Dating the Capitoline She Wolf," *Nuclear Instruments and Methods in Physics Research Section B: Beam Interactions with Materials and Atoms* 455 (2019): 209–12; Anna Maria Carruba, *La Lupa capitolina: un bronzo medievale* (Roma: De Luca editori d'arte, 2006); Anna Maria Carruba, "Die Kapitolinische Wölfin in Rom," in *Löwe, Wölfin, Greif: Monumentale Tierbronzen Im Mittelalter*, ed. Joanna Olchawa (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020), 121–64.

works in metal, they generally ordered ecclesiastical *ornamenta* like the massive candelabrum donated to Aachen by Frederick Barbarossa or Wibald's remarkable Stavelot Triptych.<sup>28</sup> The *Löwe's* novelty was both conceptual and technological.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the *Löwe* played a role in nationalist historiographic traditions that vigorously—and mistakenly—established it as the first work of monumental, freestanding, figural sculpture in the Middle Ages and thereby claimed it as a distinctively German achievement.<sup>29</sup> For Wilhelm Bode, the *Löwe* and the *Wolframleuchter* (fig. 2.1) show how German sculpture developed out of prior metalwork traditions by scaling up smaller metal objects into large constructions.<sup>30</sup> Versions of this argument recur in the long-standing disputes over the *Löwe's* connection to *aquamanilia*. Wilhelm Pinder, calling it “unser Chartres” in response to Wilhelm Vöge's description of a pioneering *Monumentalstil* in Gothic France, used Bode's arguments about casting practices to claim that the *Löwe* instantiated a uniquely German

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<sup>28</sup> Both examples have substantial bibliography. See: Herta Lepie and Lothar Schmitt, *Der Barbarossaleuchter im Dom zu Aachen* (Aachen: Einhard, 1998); Cynthia J. Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400-circa 1204* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 209-22.

<sup>29</sup> The major historiographical account of the problem is Peter Seiler, “Der Braunschweiger Löwe: ‘Epochale Innovation’ oder ‘Einzigartiges Kunstwerk?’” in *Studien zur Geschichte der europäischen Skulptur im 12.-13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Herbert Beck and Kerstin Hengevoss-Dürkop (Frankfurt am Main: Henrich, 1994), 533–64. The literature on the post-classical emergence of monumental sculpture, a long-standing disciplinary riddle, is vast. See, from a larger bibliography: Ilene H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972); Beate Fricke, *Ecce fides: die Statue von Conques, Götzendienst und Bildkultur im Westen* (München: Wilhelm Fink, 2007); Harald Keller, “Zur Entstehung der sakralen Vollskulptur in der ottonischen Zeit,” in *Festschrift für Hans Jantzen*, ed. Kurt Bauch (Berlin: Mann, 1951), 71–91; Willibald Sauerländer, *Gotische Skulptur in Frankreich. 1140-1270* (München: Hirmer, 1970); Hubert Schrade, “Zur Frühgeschichte der mittelalterlichen Monumentalplastik,” *Westfalen: Hefte für Geschichte, Kunst und Volkskunde* 35 (1957): 33–64; Linda Seidel, *Songs of Glory: The Romanesque Façades of Aquitaine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

<sup>30</sup> Wilhelm Bode, *Geschichte der deutschen Plastik* (Berlin: Historischer Verlag Baumgärtel, 1887).

artistic tradition that could be mined for ideological resources in the run-up to the Third Reich.<sup>31</sup> As Peter Seiler notes, Pinder’s case for the *Löwe* as the first monumental sculpture rests less on the object’s literal size than the “power of monumental expression” which distinguished the Brunswick version from other medieval lions, like those at St. Mark’s in Venice.<sup>32</sup> In a *tour de force* of tautological reading that resounded through later literature on Henry the Lion, Pinder located the *Löwe*’s monumentality precisely in its visualization of “a strong man, a ruler, and his sovereign notion (*herrscherischer Gedanke*).”<sup>33</sup> These claims culminated in Nazi-era enthusiasm for Henry the Lion and his sculptural commissions alike.<sup>34</sup>

How then do we explain the emergence of a novel work of art without falling prey to the nationalist fetish for “firsts” on the one hand, or gesturing to vague “conditions of possibility” on the other?<sup>35</sup> Turning to the facts of the sculpture’s making, an experimental affair that coupled

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<sup>31</sup> For Vöge’s *Monumentalstil*, see especially: Wilhelm Vöge, *Die Anfänge des monumentalen Stiles im Mittelalter. Eine Untersuchung über die erste Blütezeit französischer Plastik* (Strassburg: J.H.E. Heitz, 1894). For Pinder generally, see: Marlite Halbertsma, *Wilhelm Pinder und die deutsche Kunstgeschichte* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1992).

<sup>32</sup> Seiler, “Der Braunschweiger Löwe.”

<sup>33</sup> Quoted and discussed in Seiler, “Der Braunschweiger Löwe,” 539.

<sup>34</sup> Nazi interest in Henry the Lion warrants its own treatment. See: Karl Arndt, “Mißbrauchte Geschichte: Der Braunschweiger Dom als politisches Denkmal 1935/45,” in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit. Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235. Katalog der Ausstellung Braunschweig 1995*, ed. Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, vol. 3, 3 vols. (München: Hirmer, 1995), 88–95; Hartmut Boockmann, “Heinrich der Löwe in der Geschichtsschreibung des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts,” in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit. Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235. Katalog der Ausstellung Braunschweig 1995*, ed. Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, vol. 3, 3 vols. (München: Hirmer, 1995), 48–57; Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa*, 532–33; Jochen von Grumbkow, “Die Umgestaltung des Grabmals Heinrichs des Löwen in Dom zu Braunschweig 1935 bis 1940,” *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 79 (1998): 167–216; Niels C. Lösch, “Die ‘Erbgesundheit’ Heinrichs des Löwen. Eine Retrospektive zu den Interpretationen der Grabungsbefunde von 1935 in der Gruft des Welfenherzogs,” *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 78 (1997): 227–48.

<sup>35</sup> Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, 148. Neither Jameson’s capacious opening gesture in *The Political Unconscious* nor the picture of politics that emerges immanently from his argument afford anything like a precise definition of the term. On this strand of Jameson’s thought, which

risky facture with political ambition and transformed labor and resources into a legible public spectacle, offers a new purchase on the Löwe's eruption on the mid-twelfth century scene. Ittai Weinryb argues that, a century and a half earlier, the bronze column and doors in Bernward's Hildesheim were made using coerced labor (1.7). These spectacular works of art, evidencing what Weinryb terms a medieval 'avant-garde,' demonstrate that original, artful ventures could triumphantly perform their own production; sculpture attests and affirms the rectitude of exploitation.<sup>36</sup>

Although practiced workshops could achieve a high level of finish and sophistication, twelfth-century monumental metal casting implicated artists in a new and risky activity. The lost-wax casting method consists of a complex series of steps, each ripe with the opportunity for error, particularly during a period when artisanal knowledge was mostly transmitted orally or experientially and techniques had to be discovered (or rediscovered) through trial and error.<sup>37</sup>

Written in the first half of the twelfth century, Theophilus's lengthy instructions for bell founding

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owes a good deal to Kant, see Michael D. Gordin, Gyan Prakash, and Helen Tilley, eds., *Utopia/Dystopia: Conditions of Historical Possibility* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); Robert Kaufman, "Red Kant, or the Persistence of the Third 'Critique' in Adorno and Jameson," *Critical Inquiry* 26, no. 4 (2000): 682–724.

<sup>36</sup> Ittai Weinryb, "Hildesheim Avant-Garde: Bronze, Columns, and Colonialism," *Speculum* 93, no. 3 (2018), 729. Weinryb's proposal shows how the triumphal rhetoric of the avant-garde might also capture violent logics of social conservatism in the medieval context.

<sup>37</sup> For medieval trial and error, see: G. R. Evans, *Getting It Wrong: The Medieval Epistemology of Error* (Leiden: Brill, 1998). For experimental making and experiential knowledge, see: Peter Dear, "The Meanings of Experience," in *The Cambridge History of Science*, ed. Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston, vol. 3: Early Modern Science (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 106–31; Tim Ingold, *Making: Anthropology, Archaeology, Art and Architecture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013); Pamela O. Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Michael Polanyi, *The Tacit Dimension* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966); Pamela H. Smith, *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). I am grateful to Tamara Golan for discussions of tacit knowledge.

includes cautionary notes about indolent workmen “for fear the mould be broken by carelessness of any kind.”<sup>38</sup> He warns of the consequences of making mistakes: after the metal solidifies in the mold, the clay should be swiftly removed “for, if this were allowed to get cool inside, it would swell from the dampness of the earth and the bell would undoubtedly be cracked.”<sup>39</sup> When artists came to adapt the skills they honed for founding bells or casting smaller vessels to large, freestanding sculptures, they had to do another round of practical research; the evidence for this is in the surviving objects. Hans Drescher and Ittai Weinryb describe, for example, how the massive Hildesheim doors archive a process of trial and error, preserved in the bulging plane of the left valve which contrasts with the smoother surface and the evenly poured mold of the right.<sup>40</sup>

Numerous clues suggest that the *Löwe* was made experimentally. It was cast in a single piece (fig. 1.8), then detailed and gilded, with hammered bronze sheets inserted into the eye sockets. General consensus holds that it was made by bell founders who could easily have repurposed some of their skills—especially the finishing steps of polishing, hatching, and surface etching—but who would have struggled with the challenges of casting a closed, rather than open, form.<sup>41</sup> They couldn’t, for example, have rotated the cast to produce a symmetrical shape with

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<sup>38</sup> “Ne cuiusquam incuria vel forma frangatur.” Theophilus, *The Various Arts (De diversis artibus)*, trans. C. R. Dodwell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986). My reading of Theophilus has been profitably informed by Heidi C. Gearhart, *Theophilus and the Theory and Practice of Medieval Art* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017).

<sup>39</sup> “Quia si permetteretur in ea refrigerari, ab humore terrae inflaretur, et campana absque dubio finderetur.” Theophilus, *The Various Arts*, 157.

<sup>40</sup> Hans Drescher, “Zur Technik bernwardinischer Silber- und Bronzegüsse,” in *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen: Katalog der Ausstellung, Hildesheim 1993*, ed. Michael Brandt and Anne Eggebrecht, vol. 1 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993), 337–54; Weinryb, “Hildesheim Avant-Garde,” 739.

<sup>41</sup> The alternative proposal that the *Löwe* was cast by the Magdeburg workshop responsible for the grave of Archbishop Friedrich of Wettin and the doors at Novgorod has not been accepted by

even walls as, with a bell; correspondingly, the thickness of the *Löwe*'s walls fluctuates wildly. Similarly, while *aquamanilia* attest lions of all different body shapes, keeping the structural integrity of a far larger and narrower body proved difficult. In 1951, scholars noted that the rectangular patch affixed to the *Löwe*'s left rear thigh was added at the time of production to repair a mistake (fig. 1.9).<sup>42</sup> If even expertly made bronzes are sometimes patched, lengthy cracks along the sculpture's side also dating to the original casting signal just how hard the artists struggled (figs. 1.10-1.11). It is also clear that the artists tried to introduce features that would have read as ambitious adventures in their medium, such as the long tail that extends downward, independent of the body, before rounding up at its tip.

Size caused problems for the artists, but making the *Löwe* large was crucial. The novelty of the *material* enterprise was epiphenomenal of the novelty of the *political* enterprise, the installation of a monumental figurative sculpture in semi-public space.<sup>43</sup> No other massive bronze set up in public during the twelfth century made risk such a constituent feature of its rhetoric. Consider the large basin cast for the twelfth-century market fountain in Goslar (fig. 1.12) that supersedes the *Löwe* in terms of sheer weight and size but which, as Drescher shows, represents a fairly straightforward application of bell-founding technology (fig. 1.13).<sup>44</sup> Looking

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most scholars: Frank Neidhart Steigerwald, "Der Braunschweiger Löwe: riquin me fecit?," in *Der Braunschweiger Burglöwe. Bericht über ein wissenschaftliches Symposium in Braunschweig vom 12. bis 15. Okt. 1983*, ed. Martin Gosebruch, Schriftenreihe der Kommission für Niedersächsische Bau- und Kunstgeschichte bei der Braunschweigischen Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft 2 (Göttingen: Goltze, 1985), 109–34.

<sup>42</sup> Wilhelm Hofmann, Otto Schmitz, and Kurt Seeleke, "Chemische und metallographische Untersuchung des Braunschweiger Burglöwen, gegossen im Jahre 1166," *Abhandlungen der Braunschweigischen Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft* 3 (1951): 177–81.

<sup>43</sup> For a case study of a similar phenomenon, see: Suzanne Preston Blier, *Art and Risk in Ancient Yoruba: Ife History, Power, and Identity, c. 1300* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

<sup>44</sup> Hans Drescher, "Zur Herstellungstechnik mittelalterlicher Bronzen aus Goslar. Der

at the fragments of a colossal bronze statue of Constantine in Rome, the twelfth-century writer known as Magister Gregorius exclaims: “What is particularly astonishing about this piece is how so great a mass could have been cast, how it was raised, and how it could stand.”<sup>45</sup> If we take Gregorius at face value, it appears that medieval beholders recognized the difficulty of scaling up figurative metalwork.<sup>46</sup> He might well have been describing the *Löwe*, whose experimental features index a scalar ambition that would have been intelligible to its makers and earliest viewers.<sup>47</sup>

Twelfth-century writers narrated the origins of the craft of metalwork by referring to these very procedures of experience, experiment, and observation. Accounts of Tubalcain, described in the Hebrew Bible as “a hammerer and artificer in every work of brass and iron,” (Genesis 4:22) stressed that he discovered how to cast weapons and “sculptures to delight the eyes” from an inductive process of witnessing and reasoning: “[Tubalcain] worked out how to sculpt metals from the work of clearing brush; for when he was burning bushes on the pasture, veins of metal flowed out in rivulets and turned into sheets that, when picked up, retained the

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Marktbrunnen, der neugefunde Bronze-Vogel-Greif vom Kaiserhaus und der Kaiserstuhl,” in *Goslar, Bergstadt-Kaiserstadt in Geschichte und Kunst*, ed. Frank Neidhart Steigerwald (Göttingen: Goltze, 1993), 251–301; Ursula Mende, “Der Marktbrunnen in Goslar. Formanalyse und Entstehungsgeschichte. Mit einem Beitrag zum Bronze-Vogel vom Kaiserhaus,” in *Goslar, Bergstadt-Kaiserstadt in Geschichte und Kunst*, ed. Frank Neidhart Steigerwald (Göttingen: Goltze, 1993), 195–250; Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 189.

<sup>45</sup> Master Gregorius, *The Marvels of Rome*, trans. J. Osborne, *Mediaeval Sources in Translation* 31 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1987), 22.

<sup>46</sup> For the recent argument that Gregorius’s text is, in fact, a parody of learned travel literature, see: William Kynan-Wilson, “Subverting the Message: Master Gregory’s Reception of and Response to the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*,” *Journal of Medieval History* 44, no. 3 (2018): 347–64.

<sup>47</sup> On scale and size in art history, see: Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, *Colossal: Engineering the Suez Canal, Statue of Liberty, Eiffel Tower, and Panama Canal* (Pittsburgh: Periscope, 2012); Andrew James Hamilton, *Scale and the Incas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018); Jennifer L. Roberts, ed., *Scale*, *Terra Foundation Essays 2* (Chicago: Terra Foundation for American Art, 2016).

shapes [*figuras*] of the places in which they had lain down.”<sup>48</sup> Petrus Comestor included the story in his *Historia scholastica*, drawing on the *Revelationes* of Pseudo-Methodius, and Gervase of Tilbury repeated it in the *Otia imperialia* he composed for Henry the Lion’s son.

Both Petrus and Gervase use the verb *excogito* to describe Tubalcain’s discovery, implying a process of intellection that appears as a *thinking out* or *thinking from*. *Excogito* comes to characterize inventive solutions to difficult problems in the writings of twelfth-century authors: the devising of a truce, the concoction of a ruse, the invention of a subtle military strategy, the design of siege engines, a clever battlefield stratagem, the fashioning of a subterfuge.<sup>49</sup> The verb names a response to difficult conditions rather than an abstract form of

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<sup>48</sup> This sentence quotes three separate texts, respectively the Hebrew Bible, Petrus Comestor, and Gervase of Tilbury: 1) “Malleator et faber in cuncta opera aeris et ferri.” While the Genesis reference does not specify that Tubalcain *invented* metalwork, twelfth-century writers did. 2) “In libidinem oculorum [fabricavit].” Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, ed. J. P. Migne, in *PL* 198 (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1855), Liber Genesis, XXVIII, col. 1079B. In addition to Petrus Comestor’s account, Ekkehard of Aura and Heimo of Bamberg both say that Tubalcain “was the inventor of bronze and iron work” (“aeris ferris que inventor fuit”): Ekkehard, *Chronicon universale*, ed. Georg Waitz, in *MGH SS 6* (Hanover: Hahn, 1844), 35.11; Heimo, *De decursu temporum*, ed. Hans Martin Weikmann, in *MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 19* (Hanover: Hahn, 2004), 1.7, 145.8. 3) The full quote runs: “Sicut et ex opere fruticum excogitavit operari, id est sculperere in metallis. Cum enim fructices incendisset in pascuis, venae metallorum fluxerunt in rivulos et sublatae laminae figuras locorum in quibus jacuerant referebant.” Compare Gervase: “Sic et ex opere fruticum excogitavit operari in metallis; cum enim fructices incendissent in pascuis, vene metallorum fluxerunt in rivulos et sublatae laminae figuras locorum in quibus iacuerant referebant.” Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia: Recreation for an Emperor*, trans. S. E. Banks and J. W. Binns (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 108.

<sup>49</sup> Respectively: Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, ed. Kartsen Friis-Jensen, trans. Peter Fisher, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2015), xiii, 8.5; xiv, 6.8; xiv, 30.8; xiv, 39.34; “igitur excogitavit dolum” in *Annalista Saxo*, ed. Georg Waitz, in *MGH SS 6* (Hanover: Hahn, 1844), 700.58; “sibi aliam e contra tergiversationem truculentam et omnino execrabilem excogitavit” in Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Georg Waitz, in *MGH SS 20* (Hanover: Hahn, 1882), VII.63.28.

knowledge.<sup>50</sup> Gervase uses the story of Tubalcain and his brother to introduce a discussion of various inventions, including astronomy, bagpipes, and the first stamping of coins with portraits, since “we observe that it belongs to our human nature, eager as it is to investigate all things, to take pleasure in knowing the first causes of things and how the things we use came to be invented.”<sup>51</sup> His narrative encompasses anxieties about how new technical knowledge is encoded and passed down. He details, for example, the pains Tubal and Zoroaster took to preserve their ideas against a range of natural disasters by inscribing their ideas in duplicate on different materials (brick and bronze or marble).<sup>52</sup> Art historians have stressed the cast bronze as an object of contemplation, closely related to the soteriological metaphors of resurrected medieval bodies.<sup>53</sup> As in the common medieval trope where the bronze statue exemplifies how causation works, Gervase implicitly connects the origin of metalwork to issues of invention that surely impinged on other modes of scrutinizing bronzes for meaning.

Moreover, Gervase includes the sculptural achievements of Daedalus in his discussion of inventions that follow the story of Tubalcain. This introduces the notion of a developing history of sculpture. He ascribes to Daedalus the kind of cunning, quasi-magical work in metal that

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<sup>50</sup> On twelfth-century theories of practice as knowledge, see: Cary J. Nederman, “Practical and Productive Knowledge in the Twelfth Century: Extending the Aristotelian Paradigm, c. 1120–c. 1160,” *Parergon* 31, no. 1 (2014): 27–45; Sigbjørn Olsen Sønnesyn, “Word, Example and Practice: Learning and the Learner in Twelfth-Century Thought,” *Journal of Medieval History* 46, no. 5 (2020): 513–35.

<sup>51</sup> “quia uero primas rerum causas et eorum quibus utimur inuentiones scire delectabile videmus esse nature hominum, libenter cuncta rimanti...” Gervase, *Otia imperialia*, 108. For the first stamped coin, see 120.

<sup>52</sup> Gervase, *Otia imperialia*, 106–7.

<sup>53</sup> Thomas E. A. Dale, “The Individual, the Resurrected Body, and Romanesque Portraiture: The Tomb of Rudolf von Schwaben in Merseburg,” *Speculum* 77, no. 3 (2002): 707–43; Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*.

medieval authors often assigned to artist-scientist figures like Virgil and Roger Bacon.<sup>54</sup>

According to Gervase, not only did Daedalus make moving statues and confine spirits in metal birds so that they flew, he “was the very first to divide the feet of statues from each other: up to then they were fashioned (*fiabant*) joined together.”<sup>55</sup> Here are the glimmerings of a history of sculpture that accounts for innovation. Classical and Late Antique authors commonly invoked Daedalus to justify weak forms of relativism when it came to judging art, but in the fourth century CE Themistius made an explicit case for recognizing that the arts *ought* to evolve. They “advance, still developing right down to the present and constantly creating something new to add to the old. Before Daedalus, all statues, not only herms, were square-cut. When Daedalus

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<sup>54</sup> Hannah Baader and Ittai Weinryb, “Images at Work,” *Representations* 133, no. 1 (2016): 1–19.

<sup>55</sup> “Ipse primus omnium pedes statuarum a se diuisit, quia ante conjuncti fiebant.” Gervase, *Otia imperialia*, 120. The notion that Daedalus was the first to manipulate the limbs of sculptures recurs throughout classical and Late Antique literature, with significant discussions by Pausanias and Plato (among others); see: A. A. Donohue, *Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 165-6 and 179-87; R. L. Gordon, “The Real and the Imaginary: Production and Religion in the Graeco-Roman World,” *Art History* 2, no. 1 (1979), 8-9; Sarah P. Morris, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); Peter Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 64-5. The topos likely entered the medieval Latin historiographic tradition through Jerome’s translation of Eusebius of Caesaria’s chronicle: *Interpretatio chronicae Eusebii*, ed. J. P. Migne, in *PL* 27 (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1846), col. 236B. Eusebius’s wording (as given by Jerome), which Gervase largely reprises, appears in various chronicles throughout the early and high Middle Ages: e.g. Freulf of Lisieux, *Chronica*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1851), II.xvi, col. 959C; Ekkehard of Aura repeats the claim in his *Chronicon universale*, 42.26. Medieval readers and viewers would have known Daedalus more generally through works by Ovid and Virgil, as well as antique cameos, reliefs, and wall paintings. In twelfth-century Germany, Otto of Freising complained that story of the Minotaur “is a very familiar one, not only in consequence of this war [Athens vs. Crete] but also in fables because of the ingenious devices of Daedalus, and is a theme worn threadbare by boys in the schools.” Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities: A Chronicle of Universal History to the Year 1146 A.D.*, ed. Austin P. Evans and Charles Knapp, trans. Charles Christopher Mierow (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), 1.21, 141. Petrus Comestor returns to this episode much later in the *Historia scholastica*, in the course of his discussion of Gideon, essentially severing the connection between the *invention* and *refinement* of sculpture that Gervase sketches: Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, col. 1281A.

first spread apart the feet of statues, he was thought to be fashioning living beings.”<sup>56</sup>

Significantly Daedalus, the exemplar of an artist who tries and fails, who spectacularly correlates risk, invention, and *excogitatio*, often appears in the corpus of twelfth-century artist signatures.<sup>57</sup>

For every claim that high-medieval art prized conservatism, there is evidence to suggest a hunger for novelty.<sup>58</sup>

### Productive Spectacles

Although claims have been advanced for the *Löwe* as a paradigmatic public object, scholars have yet to consider how its very making would have been a public affair. Medieval foundries and smithies were difficult to ignore, for they gathered a large body of people around a bustling, smelly, and smoky temporary workspace, “the most clamorous artisanal locale in

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<sup>56</sup> Themistius, *The Private Orations of Themistius*, trans. Robert J. Penella (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 26.316a-b.

<sup>57</sup> See the passage in Virgil’s *Aeneid* that concludes: “bis conatus erat casus effingere in auro / bis patriae cecidere manus.” (“Twice he attempted to shape what befell you, in golden relief-work; / Twice, what fell were your father’s hands.”) Virgil, *Aeneid*, trans. Frederick Ahl (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 6.32-3. For Daedalus in medieval artist signatures, see: Albert Dietl, “‘In arte peritus’. Zur Topik mittelalterlicher Künstlerinschriften in Italien bis zur Zeit Giovanni Pisanos,” *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 29 (1987): 75–125; Albert Dietl, *Die Sprache der Signatur: die mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften Italiens* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009), I.186-208. Daedalus famously also appears in the ca. 1200 inscription on San Martino at Lucca (ca. 1200) next to a drawing of the labyrinth: HIC • QVEM • / CRETICVS / EDIT • DEDA/LVS • EST /LABERINT/HVS :DE Q[u]/O • NVLLV/S • VADER/E • QVTVTT • / QVI • FVIT • / INTVS •NI THESE/VVS GRAT/IS ADRIAN/E • STAMI/NE IVTVS. (“This is the labyrinth that the Cretan, Daedalus, built, from which no one who was within was able to escape, except for Theseus freely helped by Ariadne’s thread.”) Calvin B. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and Their Verse Inscriptions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), no. 71.

<sup>58</sup> Two twelfth-century examples are often adduced to represent these two poles: Henry of Blois, who treasured the antique past and collected Roman statues, and the sculptor Guillelmus who claimed in his inscribed signatures to excel in “modern art” (*arte modernis*). See: Dietl, “‘In arte peritus,’” 89-90.

medieval urban and monastic environments.”<sup>59</sup> How could those who lived near the *Löwe* not have heard, smelled, seen, or gossiped about the monumental undertaking of casting such a large thing? Something that devoured so much raw material in terms of labor, metal, and vast quantities of charcoal or wood over the multiyear casting process?<sup>60</sup> Whatever secrecy might have gathered around the particulars of metallurgy, however closely guarded the knowledge of bronze working might have been, the casting site would have been easily noticed.<sup>61</sup> Medieval authors wrote that the *Löwe* was “poured” (*fuderat*) out of bronze and that it was cast from molten metal (*fusilis*), demonstrating that its mode of making was fairly intelligible.<sup>62</sup> Soon after the Second World War, technical studies of the casting core concluded that the sculpture must have been cast in or near the town of Brunswick.<sup>63</sup> While scholars had once assigned it to the bronze workshops of Hildesheim, or even proposed an eastern origin, Paul Dorn’s petrographic investigation of the rocks filling the rear thigh demonstrated that, whatever the provenance of the artists, the cast was made near the spot where it would be erected.<sup>64</sup>

The spectacle of production itself would have attested Henry the Lion’s power. Made in Brunswick, the *Löwe* demonstrated Henry’s ability to gather resources and skilled workers to a small town in a remote corner of the Empire, far from Europe’s major cultural centers and absent

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<sup>59</sup> Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 98.

<sup>60</sup> For estimates about the time needed to cast the object, see: Ehlers, *Heinich der Löwe*, 261.

<sup>61</sup> The partial or rationed visibility of the casting site (a casual onlooker could see, smell, and hear that something monumental was happening, but could not get close to the details) might well have amplified curiosity.

<sup>62</sup> Godfrey of Viterbo, *Gesta Friderici*, ed. Georg Waitz, in MGH SS 22 (Hanover: Hahn, 1872), 43, vers. 1144; Arnold, *Chronica*, VII.16.288. *Fusilis* was also used in twelfth-century Latin versions of the *Kaiserchronik*’s story of the statues and warning bells with which I open the dissertation. See Hans F. Massmann, *Der Keiser und der kunige buoch oder die sogenannte Kaiserchronik*, vol. III (Leipzig: Gottfried Basse, 1854), 302.

<sup>63</sup> Paul Dorn, “Zur Frage der Herkunft des Braunschweiger Burglöwen,” *Abhandlungen der Braunschweigischen Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft* 6 (1954): 68–72.

<sup>64</sup> Dorn, “Zur Frage der Herkunft des Braunschweiger Burglöwen.”

even from the itinerary of the emperor, Frederick Barbarossa.<sup>65</sup> The successful completion of the project should not be taken for granted; archives of twelfth-century patronage abound with stalled projects, slow work, and evaporating funds. Wibald's famous epistolary exchange with a delinquent goldsmith in 1148 and Bishop Maurice de Bosen's desperate plea to the chapter at Poitiers for a loan to re-found the cathedral's bells are but two cases in point.<sup>66</sup> While Henry's patronage of artists and workshops has been hotly debated in the wake of Georg Swarzenski's influential description of the duke's "artistic circle" (*Kunstkreis*), contemporary chronicles suggest that he assented vigorously to period norms for elite behavior, commissioning sumptuous objects for carefully staged environments.<sup>67</sup> He commissioned luxurious manuscripts and

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<sup>65</sup> Frederick Barbarossa's first visit to Brunswick was a military incursion against Henry in 1179.

<sup>66</sup> Wibald of Corvey, *Epistolae*, ed. J. P. Migne, in *PL* 189 (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1854), cols. 1193A-1194A; Henry Kraus, *Gold Was the Mortar: The Economics of Cathedral Building* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), 160.

<sup>67</sup> Georg Swarzenski, "Aus dem Kunstkreis Heinrichs des Löwen," *Städel-Jahrbuch* 7/8 (1932): 241-397. Swarzenski's argument was taken up swiftly in the literature; see: William Anderson, "Schonen, Helmarshausen und der Kunstkreis Heinrichs des Löwen," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 11/12 (1938): 81-102. For more recent discussions of the *Kunstkreis*, see: Michael Brandt, "Aus dem Kunstkreis Heinrichs des Löwen? Anmerkungen zu Laurentius- und Apostelarm aus dem Welfenschatz," in *Der Welfenschatz und sein Umkreis*, ed. Joachim Ehlers and Dietrich Kötzsche (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998), 353-68; Franz Niehoff, "Heinrich der Löwe. Herrschaft und Repräsentation. Vom individuellen Kunstkreis zum interdisziplinären Braunschweiger Hof der Welfen," in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235: Katalog der Ausstellung, Braunschweig*, ed. Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, vol. 2, 3 vols. (München: Hirmer, 1995), 213-36; Anton von Euw, "Zur Problematik stilverwandter Phänomene. Vom Evangeliar Ludwig MS. II 3 in Malibu zum Evangeliar Herzog Heinrichs des Löwen (1139-1195)," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 29/30 (1987): 37-46. For a sober reassessment of Henry's artistic patronage, see: Hiltrud Westermann-Angerhausen, "Heinrich der Löwe - ein Mäzen?" in *Heinrich der Löwe: Herrschaft und Repräsentation*, ed. Johannes Fried and Otto Gerhard Oexle, *Vorträge und Forschungen* 57 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), 1-26. A striking episode of Henry's patronage and display appears in Saxo Grammaticus' account of an 1165 meeting between Henry and the Danish king Valdemar: "After a few days' interval Valdemar approached Duke Henry to have a talk with him and, accompanied only by Absalon [the Danish archbishop], was conducted into Henry's tent, where he was given a feast, at which a large flock of noblemen performed the role of servants. Though the banquet contained a brilliant variety of many different dishes, there was rather more

donated expensive reliquaries. When Arnold of Lübeck reports the name of the man (Frederick) who constructed Henry's siege engines, he provides indirect evidence that Henry employed notable skilled figures.<sup>68</sup>

Compelling or convincing artisans to make work conferred prestige on a patron. Skilled metalworkers circulated through monastic and secular networks as patrons borrowed or recruited them. Joseph Ackley has drawn attention to the significance of a passage from the Munich *Oswald* in which a king disguises himself and his entourage as goldsmiths in order to travel safely abroad during a time when ethnic origin was identified with proficiency in specific skills.<sup>69</sup> Wherever the *Löwe's* casters hailed from, they probably knew a wider world than Brunswick. Italian sculptors were recruited to work on German churches, most famously at Königslutter where the duke's recent ancestors lay buried.<sup>70</sup> A tiny *Spinario* attached to the base

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splendour in the attendance than in the feast itself, and particular regard was paid to ostentation at the expense of enjoyment. Valdemar's retinue were entertained at tables that were set apart." ("Interiectis diebus Henricus Waldemaro sermonis inuicem conferendi gratia se accedenti cum Absalone solo in tabernaculum suum perducto epulum prebuit, ingenti magnatum frequentia amministratorum officio fungente. Que coena, licet multigena ciborum uarietate splenderet, aliquanto tamen plus luxus in obsequiis quam epulis habuit, presertim quum glorie, non usui seruiretur. Clientela uero seorsum discubitu excepta.") Saxo, *Gesta Danorum*, xiv.25.10.

<sup>68</sup> Arnold, *Chronica*, II.4. The other named artist closely associated with Henry's patronage is Herimann, the monk responsible illustrating for the spectacular *Gospels* commissioned for St. Blasius: Martin Gosebruch, "'Labor est Herimanni'. Zum Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen [1984]," in *Aufsätze und Vorträge*, ed. Christian Lenz (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2010), 15–28.

<sup>69</sup> Joseph Salvatore Ackley, "Tuotilo Caelator, Early Medieval Monastic Metalworking, and the Precious-Metal Book-Cover of the *Evangelium Longum* (Cod. Sang. 53)," in *Tuotilo: Archäologie Eines Frühmittelalterlichen Künstlers*, ed. Cornel Dora and David Ganz, Monasterium Sancti Gallen 8 (St. Gallen: Verlag am Klosterhof, 2017), 219. For the text, see: J. W. Thomas, trans., "The Munich Oswald," in *The Strassburg Alexander and the Munich Oswald: Pre-Courty Adventure of the German Middle Ages* (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1989), 104. For the idea that Germans, French, etc., have their own artistic specialties, see: Theophilus, *The Various Arts*, 4.

<sup>70</sup> Königslutter was the occasional recipient of patronage from the duke; see: Bruno Klein, "Die ehemalige Abteikirche von Königslutter. Die Grablage eines sächsischen Kaisers am Beginn der

of Friedrich of Wettin's crozier on the tomb sculpture cast at Magdeburg shows just how closely artists in north Germany scrutinized classical bronzes (fig. 1.14).<sup>71</sup>

In addition to aggregating workers, the *Löwe's* patron concentrated a vast quantity of material. The amounts of tin, lead, and zinc incorporated into the sculpture's fabric vary depending on the sample site, and the quantity of copper ranges from 69.19 to 83.76%, a substantially larger proportionate range than obtains between the two valves of the Willigis door at Mainz and the Bernward doors at Hildesheim.<sup>72</sup> Although cast in a single piece, the *Löwe* was made from a series of heterogeneous molten alloy mixtures that were added sequentially to the mold and no study has yet accounted for the unusual variation in quaternary alloys across the lion's body. Josef Riederer identifies seven distinct stages of pouring into the cast, each with its own chemical signature.<sup>73</sup> I propose here three solutions to the problem of how and why the *Löwe* was made, each of which underscores the production's nature as spectacle as well as providing ammunition for a political reading of the sculpture.

Scholars generally assume that the *Löwe* was cast with copper-rich ore mined from the nearby Harz mountains.<sup>74</sup> Twelfth-century miracle stories efface the labor, organization, and coercive forces necessary to obtain to resources for large construction projects, as when Abbot Suger recounts the wondrous provision of trees, stones, and the spontaneous desire of the

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Stauferzeit," in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit. Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235. Katalog der Ausstellung Braunschweig 1995*, ed. Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, vol. 2, 3 vols. (München: Hirmer, 1995), 105–19; Steigerwald, "Der Braunschweiger Löwe."

<sup>71</sup> Thomas E. A. Dale, *Pygmalion's Power: Romanesque Sculpture, the Senses, and Religious Experience* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019), 78-9.

<sup>72</sup> Riederer, "Die Metallanalyse des Braunschweiger Löwen." The *Löwe* also contains trace amounts of iron, nickel, silver, antimony, and arsenic.

<sup>73</sup> Riederer, "Die Metallanalyse des Braunschweiger Löwen."

<sup>74</sup> Riederer, "Die Metallanalyse des Braunschweiger Löwen."

populace to dig them out.<sup>75</sup> In reality, sourcing and transporting materials meant mastering networks of trade and lavishing sums on labor and travel. Likely refined on-site, the ore would have been carried to Brunswick in a manner that would itself have evidenced Henry's power.<sup>76</sup> It is unlikely, however, that different raw materials from the Harz could account for the striking variation among the batches of molten alloy. Rather, the variation might reflect multiple casting traditions brought to bear on a collaborative work by artisans collected from different sites. The carefully calibrated ratios for preparing alloys written down by medieval authors like Theophilus may not have been standard knowledge, although more consistent ratios are found in other bronze objects.<sup>77</sup>

Or might townspeople have provided the *Löwe's* raw materials in the form of copper-alloy ornaments and vessels to be melted down as a civic donation?<sup>78</sup> Archaeological excavations of workshops at Magdeburg suggest that even non-elite people could have owned small copper-alloy things, and textual evidence affirms that medieval townspeople regularly

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<sup>75</sup> The highly selective translation of Suger's writings by Erwin Panofsky does not give a well-rounded picture of the abbot's activities as Saint-Denis. On this score, see: Andreas Speer, "Les Écrits de Suger comme source d'une esthétique médiévale," in *Suger en question: Regards croisés sur Saint-Denis*, ed. Rolf Grosse (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2004), 95–107. For an insightful discussion of miracles and construction, see: Conrad Rudolph, "Building-Miracles as Artistic Justification in the Early and Mid-Twelfth Century," in *Radical Art History: Internationale Anthologie: Subject: O.K. Werckmeister*, ed. Wolfgang Kersten (Zürich: Zurich InterPublishers, 1997), 398–411.

<sup>76</sup> Ore was brought from the Harz to Brunswick and Lübeck for use in a variety of projects, including lead glass production: Gerald Hartmann, Ingeborg Krueger, and Karl Hans Wedepohl, "Medieval Lead Glass from Northwestern Europe," *Journal of Glass Studies* 37 (1995): 65–82. For the organization of medieval industry in the Harz mountains, see, from a larger bibliography, the crucial essay: Christoph Bartels, "*Montani und Silvani* im Harz. Mittelalterlicher und frühneuzeitlicher Bergbau und seine Einflüsse auf die Umwelt," in *Bergbau, Verhüttung und Waldnutzung im Mittelalter: Auswirkungen auf Mensch und Umwelt; Ergebnisse eines internationalen Workshops (Dillenburg, 11.-15. Mai 1994, Wirtschaftshistorisches Museum "Villa Grün")*, ed. Albrecht Jockenhövel (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1996), 112–27.

<sup>77</sup> For the process of making brass and bronze, see: Theophilus, *The Various Arts*, 124-26.

<sup>78</sup> I am grateful to Ittai Weinryb for suggesting this possibility to me.

repurposed their metal objects.<sup>79</sup> True, when civic contributions went towards decorating city watchtowers with gargoyles in twelfth-century Amiens this signaled a broader commitment to communal rule than obtained in Brunswick, but Arnold of Lübeck tells of a siege of Lübeck that wives rode out with bags full of “treasure...intended for the hauberks of their husbands.”<sup>80</sup>

Although the precise meaning of the passage is unclear, the most plausible reading is that Lübeck’s women made off with metal objects to be melted down into armor. Sven Aggesen, the twelfth-century chronicler, reports a similar episode during the Danish preparations to invade England. The king declares that his men should have shining weapons:

And all at once, the cities echo with the sound of hammering from the smithies. For every ornament already made of shining gold is melted down to ingots by sweating smiths, so that the metal which the proud warriors formerly esteemed useless should be made to grace axe heads and sword hilts by the choice artistry of goldsmiths.<sup>81</sup>

The *Löwe* might also have emerged as the product of votive giving or votive taxing; Henry controlled many ecclesiastical institutions, serving as *advocatus* for over fifty churches and monasteries, and many lords in similar positions treated their churches as storehouses to be raided at will.<sup>82</sup> Whether gifts were compelled or strategically offered, they would shift the

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<sup>79</sup> Daniel Berger, “Composition and Decoration of the So-Called *Zinnfigurenstreifen* Found in Magdeburg, Saxony-Anhalt, Germany,” *Restaurierung und Archäologie* 7 (2014): 65–80; G. Ditmar-Trauth, “Die Ausgrabungen 2004 an der Regierungsstraße in Magdeburg,” *Archäologie in Sachsen-Anhalt* 6 (2012): 221–36.

<sup>80</sup> Kraus, *Gold Was the Mortar*, 56. Arnold, *Chronica*, V.10, 173.

<sup>81</sup> Sven Aggesen, *The Works of Sven Aggesen, Twelfth-Century Danish Historian*, trans. Eric Christiansen, Viking Society for Northern Research Text Series 9 (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1992), 33.

<sup>82</sup> I am grateful to Jonathan Lyon for this suggestion. See: Joachim Ehlers, “Heinrich der Löwe und der sächsische Episkopat,” in *Friedrich Barbarossa. Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen des staufischen Kaisers*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp, Vorträge und Forschungen 40 (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1992), 435–66.

notion of a ‘communal’ or ‘public’ object from an exclusive focus on reception to encompass production.

Finally, could the sculpture have been cast from plundered copper-alloy Slavic objects? Plenty of circumstantial evidence frames Henry as a rapacious collector of Slavic booty. Helmold of Bosau famously skewers the young duke for seeking riches on his campaigns of conversion, upon which “nothing of Christianity has been mentioned, but only money,” and Arnold of Lübeck opens his continuation of Hemold’s chronicle by esteeming Henry as the man who “vanquished the harsh Slavs” and “compelled them to pay tribute.”<sup>83</sup> In June of 1171, Henry met the Danish king Valdemar I on the Eider to settle an argument over the distribution of the spoils of Rügen, the Slavic stronghold of the Ranove.<sup>84</sup> The pair had agreed to “jointly divide the tribute of whatever peoples they subjugated by land and sea” in the 1160s, but Valdemar refused to share the Ranove’s substantial treasure.<sup>85</sup> Metal-working industries flourished on Rügen and, although the bulk of surviving pieces are ferrous or silver, a short list of surviving copper-alloy objects includes scales and weights, decorated weapons, small sculptures, and jewelry.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Helmold: “In variis autem expeditionibus, quas adhuc adolescens in Slaviam profectus exercuit, nulla de Christianitate fuit mentio, sed tantum de pecunia.” Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. Bernhard Schmeidler, in MGH SSrG 32 (Hanover: Hahn, 1937), I.68. Arnold: “duritiam Sclavicam perdomuit, et...ad tributa solvenda coegit,” Arnold, *Chronica*, prologue.

<sup>84</sup> Hemold, *Cronica*, II.110. The standard history of Christian incursions during this period is: Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, 2nd ed. (London: Penguin, 1997).

<sup>85</sup> “Et inierunt pactum rex et dux, ut, quascumque gentes terra marique subiugassent, tributa socialiter partirentur.” Helmold, *Cronica*, II.102. For a discussion of textual evidence about the wealth of the Ranove, see: Roman Zaroff, “Politics and Priests in a Pagan Slavic Principality,” *Collegium Medievale* 20 (2007): 3–28.

<sup>86</sup> A large collection of metalworking evidence and small objects is preserved at Schloss Gottorf in Schleswig, as well as in museums on Rügen and in nearby Stralsund and Greifswald. See also: Janisław Osieglowski, *Wyspa słowiańskich bogów* (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1971), 260-5. In earlier decades, bronze-workers in Wolin imported copper from Saxony: John Broich, “The Wasting of Wolin: Environmental Factors in the Downfall of a Medieval Baltic Town,”

Valdemar finally delivered a portion of the Rügen treasure to Henry. Although Karl Jordan speculated that Henry used this windfall, together with Matilda's dowry from the English crown, to finance a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1172, it is just as possible that a large quantity of plundered metal went into the *Löwe*, the diverse collection of small copper-alloy objects yielding an exceptionally varied series of pours.<sup>87</sup>

If so, this refashioning of pagan objects would have inscribed Christian triumph into a monument that has no obvious Christian content, particularly since chroniclers stress the close connection between Slavic plunder and religious cult. Although most surviving non-Christian cult statues are carved from wood or stone that were once painted and covered with materials like tar, Leszek Paweł Słupecki argues from textual evidence that some statues would have been gilded or covered with metal sheets.<sup>88</sup> In the tenth century, Widukind of Corvey mentions a statue in Starigard “molded of copper,” a century later Adam of Bremen describes the effigy of Radogast as “golden” (*simulacum eius auro*), and in Henry's time Helmold reports that

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*Environment and History* 7, no. 2 (2001), 193. The inhabitants of Rügen not only obtained objects from raiding and trading but also had their own history of metalworking. Excavations of Ralswiek, a sizable settlement on Rügen, revealed well-established iron smelting and tool forging industries. Other sites have yielded a plethora of small copper-alloy objects as well as traces of metalwork; see, for example: David F. Hölscher, “From Prosperity to Oblivion: The Slavic Settlement at Gaarz in Ostholstein,” *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoiviensia* 13 (2018): 215–42. Slavic copper-alloy goods were traded throughout the Baltic; for finds in Scandinavia, see: Leszek Gardela, Kamil Kajkowski, and Bengt Söderberg, “The Spur Goad from Skegrie in Scania, Sweden: Evidence of Elite Interaction between Viking Age Scandinavians and Western Slavs,” *Fornvännen* 114, no. 2 (2019): 57–74.

<sup>87</sup> Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 150.

<sup>88</sup> Leszek Paweł Słupecki, *Slavonic Pagan Sanctuaries*, trans. Izabela Szymańska (Warsaw: Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, 1994), 227. Surviving objects have traces of paint and other decorative media, and textual accounts by Christian chroniclers make clear that they were painted, dressed in clothes, loaded with precious jewelry, and otherwise adorned. Many Christian sculptures in the medieval west likewise consist of metal sheets over a wooden or wax core.

Radigast's great temple has, at its heart, an "image...ornamented with gold."<sup>89</sup> A small bronze figurine in the shape of a horse excavated from eleventh-century Wolin demonstrates that copper-alloy objects existed adjacent to, if not part of, a cult that encompassed hippomancy (fig. 1.15).<sup>90</sup>

Moreover, twelfth-century authors identify Slavic treasure with cult worship more generally.<sup>91</sup> Helmold's descriptions of the Ranove's treaties with the nearby Obodrites suggest that temples did double duty as public treasuries, and the Danish chronicler Saxo Grammaticus records that the Ranove had to relinquish their treasury (*thesaurus*) dedicated to the god

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<sup>89</sup> For Widukind, see: "urbis predam suis militibus donavit, simulacro Saturni ex aere fuso, quod ibi inter alia urbis spolia repperit, magnum spectaculum populo prebuit." *Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum*, ed. H. -E. Lohmann and Paul Hirsch, in MGH SSrG 60 (Hanover: Hahn, 1935, III.68. (Margrave Hermann Billung, after sacking Starigard in 967, "gave the loot from the city to his soldiers, [and] offered a great spectacle to the people, thanks to an image of Saturn cast in bronze which he obtained along with other spoils from the city.") Translated and discussed in Stanisław Rosik, *The Slavic Religion in the Light of 11th- and 12th-Century German Chronicles (Thietmar of Merseburg, Adam of Bremen, Helmold of Bosau): Studies on the Christian Interpretation of Pre-Christian Cults and Beliefs in the Middle Ages*, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450 60 (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 54. Scholars debate whether Widukind's mention of a Saturn statue refers to a Roman survival or simply reflects a denigratory word for a cult image; in "The Song of Ste-Foi," for example, Saturn and Asclepius stand in for idol worship more generally: Pamela Sheingorn, ed., *The Book of Sainte Foy*, trans. Robert L. A. Clark and Pamela Sheingorn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 280. For the Roman position, see: Erwin Wienecke, *Untersuchungen zur Religion der Westslawen* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1940), 179. Opposing this, see: Henryk Łowmiański, *Religia Słowian i jej upadek: (w. VI-XII)* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979). The debate over the passage in Adam of Bremen is summarized in Rosik, *The Slavic Religion*, 212-26. Finally, see: Kamil Kajkowski and Paweł Szczepanik, "The Multi-Faced So-Called Miniature Idols from the Baltic Sea Area," *Studia Mythologica Slavica* 16 (2013): 55-68. For Helmold, see his *Cronica*, 50. Finally, period accounts of conversion on the frontier expressly describe metal objects gifted to temples and then repurposed.

<sup>90</sup> On hippomancy in Slavic cult, see Rosik, *The Slavic Religion*, 129-131. On the finds, see: Sebastian Brather, *Archäologie der westlichen Slawen: Siedlung, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008); Władysław Filipowiak and Heinz Gundlach, *Wolin Vineta: die tatsächliche Legende vom Untergang und Aufstieg der Stadt* (Rostock: Hinsterff, 1992).

<sup>91</sup> Helmold specifies that the Ranove add gold and silver to the treasury following successful raids: Helmold, *Cronica*, I.38.

Svantevit to the conquering Danes.<sup>92</sup> This, presumably, made its way to Henry via the settlement with Valdemar. Much as Saxo reports the public destruction of the Ranove's wooden cult statues on Arcona, Henry's public repurposing of Slavic treasure would have proclaimed victory over his pagan neighbors. It would also have connected the *Löwe* to narratives about classical bronze production that abounded during the twelfth century. The vernacular *Kaiserchronik* with which I began the dissertation, read at Henry's court, reprised the fiction that the Romans ordered their conquered victims to cast bronze statues inscribed with the name of their newly subject, to be arrayed alongside each other in Rome.<sup>93</sup> Elsewhere, documents preserved the supercessionary logic of Christian building projects deliberately funded by confiscations from Jews, and Bernward's Hildesheim bronzes may well have commemorated the eleventh-century conquest of Slavs whose conscripted labor helped make them and whose religious sculptures they semiotically inverted.<sup>94</sup>

Whether cast from locally sourced raw materials, civic donations, Slavic plunder, or some combination of all three, the making of the *Löwe* would have been a spectacle in itself, the

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<sup>92</sup> The Ranove's arrangement with Henry of Lübeck is described in Helmold, *Cronica*, I.38. See also: Zaroff, "Politics and Priests in a Pagan Slavic Principality," 16-17. For Saxo Grammaticus, see: *Gesta Danorum*, 1301.

<sup>93</sup> The passage is discussed in my introduction. For the *Kaiserchronik*'s reception at Henry's court, see: Dieter Kartschoke, "Deutsche Literatur am Hof Heinrich des Löwen?," in *Heinrich der Löwe: Herrschaft und Repräsentation*, ed. Johannes Fried and Otto Gerhard Oexle (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), 83–134.

<sup>94</sup> Kraus, *Gold Was the Mortar*, 22; Weinryb, "Hildesheim Avant-Garde."

particulars of its production legible to beholders.<sup>95</sup> Medieval beholders wondered at making.<sup>96</sup>

Writing in the late twelfth century, the German poet Hartmann von Aue exemplifies this form of cultural appreciation when he describes a saddle in *Erec*: “The metalwork was as it should be: of red gold. What good would a long story be of how it was crafted? I must keep silent about much of that, because if I were to tell you everything, the story would be much too long.”<sup>97</sup> Objects often exceed the narrator’s descriptive facility in Hartmann’s oeuvre.<sup>98</sup> Significantly, Hartmann

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<sup>95</sup> Henry, like his twelfth-century peers, often remade art into art. When the Sultan of Iconium gave him a “mantle and tunic of the best silk,” he ordered them made into a chasuble and dalmatic. Returning to Saxony from Jerusalem bearing deluxe foreign goods, he again had “chasubles, dalmatics, and *subtilia* made from the most precious cloths” and donated them to churches. None of these transformations effaced the source material, as witnessed on a luxurious mantle made for Henry’s son Otto IV that plainly overlays English embroidery on Byzantine silk. See: Arnold, *Chronica*, I.9, 12. On textiles at Henry’s court, see: Leonie von Wilckens, “Textilien im Blickfeld des Braunschweiger Hofes,” in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235: Katalog der Ausstellung, Braunschweig*, ed. Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, vol. 2, 3 vols. (München: Hirmer, 1995), 292–300. The medieval transformation of objects was often accompanied by forms of memorialization that specified where the original material (or object) came from: George T. Beech, “The Eleanor of Aquitaine Vase, William IX of Aquitaine, and Muslim Spain,” *Gesta* 32, no. 1 (1993): 3–10; Philippe Buc, “Conversion of Objects: Suger of Saint-Denis and Meinwerk of Paderborn,” *Viator* 28 (1997): 99–144.

<sup>96</sup> Meyer Schapiro, “On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art,” in *Art and Thought: Issued in Honour of Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, ed. K. Bharatha Iyer (London: Luzac, 1947), 130–50.

<sup>97</sup> Hartmann von Aue, *Ereck. Textgeschichtliche Ausgabe mit Abdruck sämtlicher Fragmente und der Bruchstücke des mitteldeutschen “Erek,”* ed. Andreas Hammer, Victor Millet, and Timo Reuvekamp-Felber (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), lines 2435-2447. Translation from Hartmann von Aue, *Arthurian Romances, Tales, and Lyric Poetry: The Complete Works of Hartmann von Aue*, trans. Richard H. Lawson, Frank J. Tobin, and Kim Vivian (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 70.

<sup>98</sup> On the relationship between Hartmann and visuality, see: James A. Rushing, Jr., “Hartmann’s Works in the Visual Arts,” in *A Companion to the Works of Hartmann von Aue*, ed. Francis G. Gentry (Rochester: Camden House, 2005), 161–82. On the visual preoccupations of Hartmann and his peers more generally, see: James A. Rushing, Jr., *Images of Adventure: Ywain in the Visual Arts* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); Kathryn Starkey, *Reading the Medieval Book: Word, Image, and Performance in Wolfram von Eschenbach’s Willehalm* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004); Kathryn Starkey and Horst Wenzel, eds., *Visual Culture and the German Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Kathryn

uses these indescribable objects to single out impressive moments of artistic production. Of another saddle that took the master Umbriz three and a half years to “complete it as he had imagined it,” Hartmann says: “if I wanted to tell you exactly how this saddle was made, that would be too difficult for such a simple fellow like me.”<sup>99</sup> This touches off a humorous dialogue as the narrator’s interlocutor tries to guess what the saddle looks like. Hartmann then describes its facture, before devoting over two hundred lines to its engravings, stirrup straps, girth, buckles and breastplate. His obsession with mysteriously crafted works of art that exceed verbal description, or call forth excessive narration, attests a kind of beholding.

The scenarios I have sketched above also point up the sculpture’s economic qualities, its capacity to store value and, correspondingly, to take valuable materials out of circulation. Twelfth-century aesthetic theories stressed the skill that subtended the refashioning of one thing into another, neatly expressed in the commonplace “materiam superabat opus” (“the work surpassed the material”).<sup>100</sup> A second slogan, “bis dat qui cito dat” (“he who gives twice gives promptly”), does double duty in discussions of art, used to haggle over delivery and to name the

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Starkey and Horst Wenzel, “The Visuality of German Courtly Literature,” *Oxford German Studies* 37, no. 2 (2008): 130–59; Haiko Wandhoff, *Ekphrasis: Kunstbeschreibungen und virtuelle Räume in der Literatur des Mittelalters* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003); Horst Wenzel, *Hören und Sehen, Schrift und Bild: Kultur und Gedächtnis im Mittelalter*, C. H. Beck Kulturwissenschaft (München: C.H. Beck, 1995).

<sup>99</sup> Hartmann von Aue, *Ereck*, lines 8457-8461. Translation from: Hartman von Aue, *The Arthurian Romances*, 135-36. For a discussion of this passage’s textual history, which deals with some of its complex transmission, see “Einleitung,” in *Ereck*, xiv.

<sup>100</sup> “Materiam superabat opus” is drawn from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (II.5). Its most widely-cited appearance is in Suger’s *Liber de rebus in administratione sua gestis*; see: Suger, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures*, ed. Gerda Panofsky-Soergel, trans. Erwin Panofsky, 2nd edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979). See also: Aden Kumler, “Materials, Materia, ‘Materiality,’” in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph, 2nd ed. (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2019), 95–118.

value of labor.<sup>101</sup> Both Latin phrases found vernacular equivalents in twelfth-century literature, as when Hartmann says of an artful saddle, “if one were to pay its weight in gold, one would not pay the right price for it.”<sup>102</sup> Art historians have not generally noticed that these slogans appear in twelfth-century discussions of *justum pretium* (“just price”) before the arrival of Aristotelian theories of exchange.<sup>103</sup> Flourishing concerns over how to estimate the fair and ‘true’ prices of goods and regulate bargaining and exchange meant ferreting out ways to arrive at communally acceptable standards for valuing labor and materials.

In a classical metaphor about art criticism that circulated widely in the twelfth century, well known to Henry’s contemporaries like Wibald of Corvey, Cicero discusses judgment and standards.<sup>104</sup> Ordinary people praise certain forms of behavior without realizing how short of perfection they are, just as they praise mediocre art because they do not know what to look for until experts instruct them. Similarly, some people might have the “semblance” (*similitudo*) of

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<sup>101</sup> Wibald of Corvey (Henry the Lion’s sometime antagonist) and a pseudonymous goldsmith play with the “bis dat qui cito dat” formula in a famous epistolary exchange: Wibald, *Epistolae*, cols. 1193A-1194A. See: Anette Erler, “Zur Geschichte des Spruches *bis dat, qui cito dat*,” *Philologus* 130, no. 1–2 (1986): 210–20.

<sup>102</sup> Hartmann, *Ereck*, lines 8407-8409. Translation: Hartmann, *Arthurian Romances*, 135.

<sup>103</sup> John W. Baldwin, *The Medieval Theories of the Just Price: Romanists, Canonists, and Theologians in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1959). Aristotele’s theories did, of course, travel silently through Patristic sources, but thirteenth-century translation campaigns brought his ideas to new prominence.

<sup>104</sup> Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De officiis*, trans. Walter Miller, Loeb Classical Library 30 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), III.iii-iv, 283-85. Wibald was a famous collector of Cicero’s works, and numerous manuscripts preserve his efforts to compile his writings (notably Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 2<sup>o</sup>.252, the most comprehensive assemblage of Cicero’s works to survive from the Middle Ages). A well-known letter to Rainald of Dassel preserves his wide-ranging attempts to gather Ciceronian material from his contemporaries. For the medieval reception of *De officiis*, see: Jessica Ammer, *Der deutsche Cicero: Untersuchungen zu Ciceros “De Officiis” in der Rezeption des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit nebst Edition der ersten deutschen Übersetzung* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress; Bonn University Press, 2020). Ammer discusses Wibald on 186-87.

wise men, simply because they discharge their duties well.<sup>105</sup> Cicero uses the estimation of art to bring out how we should measure the wisdom of those around us and reckon the virtue of their behavior. I cite this example both to point out that the rhetoric of calculation and the judgment of art traveled together from classical antiquity to the Middle Ages, and to connect economic ideas to aesthetic ones. Bearing in mind Isidore's argument (discussed in the dissertation's introduction) that language 'transfers sense' from art to political categories, I want to suggest that it is insufficient to define the *Löwe*'s value for twelfth-century beholders in distinct aesthetic, economic, material, and political terms. Rather, as the product of spectacular labor and experimental facture, it embodied the mutually constitutive nature of these categories.

### **Roaring and Devouring**

It mattered how the *Löwe* was made. It also mattered how the *Löwe* looked. Hunting down sources for the sculpture has been a lively trade, whether comparing it to the vast corpus of ancient lion statues, querying if its lively demeanor attests observation *au vif* (perhaps, as Swarzenski suggests, the sculptor met a lion in a western menagerie?), or comparing it to *aquamanilia* and manuscript illustrations.<sup>106</sup> Scholars have looked to the general significance of

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<sup>105</sup> Cicero, *De officiis*, III.iii, 285.

<sup>106</sup> Swarzenski, "Aus dem Kunstkreis Heinrichs des Löwen." On medieval art made from life, see: Jean A. Givens, *Observation and Image-Making in Gothic Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Noa Turel, "Living Pictures: Rereading 'Au Vif,' 1350-1550," *Gesta* 50, no. 2 (2011): 163–82. Lions could certainly be found in medieval Europe. A lion skull from the Royal Menagerie in the Tower of London has been dated as early as 1280 CE: Ross Barnett et al., "Ancient DNA Analysis Indicates the First English Lions Originated from North Africa," *Contributions to Zoology* 77, no. 1 (2008): 7–16; H. O'Regan, A. Turner, and R. Sabin, "Medieval Big Cat Remains from the Royal Menagerie at the Tower of London," *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 16, no. 5 (2006): 385–94. The general consensus is that the thirteenth century saw an influx of lions in western Europe: Eric Baratay and Elisabeth Hardouin-Fugier, *Zoo: A History of Zoological Gardens in the West* (London: Reaktion, 2002).

lions, noting the animal’s frequent appearance in medieval fiction, its attributes of strength and power, its extensive deployment in heraldry, and its use as an epithet for various twelfth-century rulers.<sup>107</sup> Medieval artists drew, painted, modeled, and carved lions in a staggeringly diverse range of contexts, from Mark’s evangelist symbol to the grimacing heads that graced church doors, gripping knockers between their teeth (fig. 1.16).<sup>108</sup> As I noted earlier, the relationship between the *Löwe* and the most populous medieval category of cast lions, in the form of *aquamanilia*, has long vexed scholars. (Although vessels in leonine form predate the *Löwe*, a distinguished interpreter of medieval German bronzes confidently describes the Brunswick sculpture as “standing behind the tradition” of north German *aquamanilia*.)<sup>109</sup> Scholars have

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Frederick II, who had ample access to North African animals via his Sicilian domain, gifted large cats (either leopards or lions) to the English king in 1235: Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, ed. Felix Lieberman, in MGH SS 28 (Hanover: Hahn, 1888), 131.2. A lion pelt is attested in Avignon in the late fourteenth century: Aleksander Pluskowski, “Narwhals or Unicorns? Exotic Animals as Material Culture in Medieval Europe,” *European Journal of Archaeology* 7, no. 3 (2004), 293. Arnold of Lübeck records that Henry the Lion was gifted six camels and two leopards (*leopardos*)—“these having been instructed how to sit on horses” (*docti enim erat sedere in equis*)—by the sultan of Iconium: Arnold, *Chronica*, I.9. For comparisons to ancient sculpture, see: Volker Michael Strocka, “Antikenbezüge des Braunschweiger Löwen?,” in *Der Braunschweiger Burglöwe: Bericht über ein wissenschaftliches Symposium in Braunschweig vom 12.10. bis 15.10.1983*, ed. Martin Gosebruch (Göttingen: Goltze, 1985), 65–88. For comparisons to *aquamanilia* and illuminations, see: Seiler, “Der Braunschweiger Burglöwe;” Seiler, “Richterlicher oder kriegerischer Furor?” Finally, Villard de Honnecourt’s famous drawings of lions likely date to the 1230s: Carl F. Barnes, ed. *The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Fr 19093)* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), fol. 24r-24v, 26v.  
<sup>107</sup> Gerd Althoff, “Löwen als Begleitung und Bezeichnung des Herrschers im Mittelalter,” in *Die Romane von dem Ritter mit dem Löwen*, ed. Xenja von Ertzdorff (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), 119–34. For lions in bestiaries, see Margaret Haist, “The Lion, Bloodline, and Kingship,” in *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature*, ed. Debra Hassig (New York: Routledge, 2000), 3–21.

<sup>108</sup> For doorknockers, and their role in civic rituals, see: Hans R. Hansloser, “Urkunden zur Bedeutung des Türings,” in *Festschrift für Erich Meyer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag, 29. Oktober 1957; Studien zu Werken in den Sammlungen des Museums für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg*, ed. Werner Gramberg et al. (Hamburg: E. Hauswedell, 1959), 125–46.

<sup>109</sup> Ursula Mende, “Zu Gestalt und Nachfolge des Braunschweiger Löwen, speziell zur Kragenform seiner Mähne,” in *Der Welfenschatz und sein Umkreis*, ed. Joachim Ehlers and Dietrich Kötzsche (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998), 387–424.

catalogued a surfeit of potential biblical, classical, and sculptural referents lurking in the sculpture's bronze form, but they have rarely supplied much supporting evidence to secure any particular interpretation. Seiler, the art historian who has dealt most extensively with the *Löwe*, has produced careful iconographic analyses, but ultimately characterizes the *Löwe* as a martial monument in an argument that neither refers to, nor accounts for, its formal qualities.<sup>110</sup> To critically appraise a large body of scholarship: nothing proposed so far has justified a strong iconographic reading of the *Löwe* and the hunt for sources has foreclosed other hermeneutic possibilities. "Reading iconography," suggests Alexander Nemerov, "can be synonymous with failing to see."<sup>111</sup>

In his 1991 article, Gosbert Schüssler makes the rare case for an iconographic reading that depends on the *Löwe*'s form, drawing attention to specific points of correspondence between the sculpture's *Gestalt* and the description of lions in encyclopedias and natural histories.<sup>112</sup> Isidore of Seville distinguishes between small, peaceful lions with curly manes and fierce lions

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<sup>110</sup> Seiler, "Richterlicher oder kriegerischer Furor?"

<sup>111</sup> Alexander Nemerov, "The Dark Cat: Arthur Putnam and a Fragment of Night," *American Art* 16, no. 1 (2002), 37. On the problem of iconographic interpretation that prioritizes "knowing" over "seeing," see: Daniel Arasse, *Le détail: pour une histoire rapprochée de la peinture* (Paris: Flammarion, 1992). I thank Tamara Golan for reminding me of this latter text.

<sup>112</sup> Schüssler, "Der «Leo Rugiens» von Braunschweig." Schüssler makes good use of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, Hildegard of Bingen's *Liber subtilitatum diversarum naturarum creaturarum*, and Hrabanus Maurus's *De universo libri*, all of which depend to varying degrees on the *Physiologus*. For Hildegard, see: Hildegard von Bingen, *Physica: Liber subtilitatum diversarum naturarum creaturarum*, ed. Thomas Gloning and Reiner Hildebrandt (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010). On Hildegard's zoology, see: Yoan Boudès, "Hildegarde de Bingen et l'encyclopédisme médiéval. Le cas des livres animaliers de la Physica," *Médiévales* 70 (2016): 233–50; Kenneth F. Kitchell and Irvén Michael Resnick, "Hildegard as a Medieval 'Zoologist'. The Animals of the Physica," in *Hildegard of Bingen: A Book of Essays*, ed. Maud Burnett McInerney (New York: Garland, 1998), 25–52; Peter Rieth, *Hildegard von Bingen: eine aufschlussreiche Begegnung mit ihrem naturkundlich-medizinischen Schrifttum* (Marburg: Tectum Verlag, 2011). For the *Physiologus*, see Michael J. Curley, trans., *Physiologus* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Friedrich Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus* (Strassburg: K. J. Trübner, 1889).

with elongated bodies and straight manes.<sup>113</sup> The comparison derives from Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* and would become a staple of medieval zoological writings, from Hrabanus Maurus's *De universo* and Martin of Leon's twelfth-century sermons to the so-called second family of bestiaries that emerged in the third quarter of the twelfth century.<sup>114</sup> A lion painted in a twelfth-century bestiary depicts the 'fierce lion' genus with a purposeful stride, legs outstretched, tail coiling like a whip, and mane ranged in neat rows around the neck (fig. 1.17).<sup>115</sup> These features, coupled with the leg's sweep into a smooth arc across the body and the toes terminating in rounded pads, would seem to substantiate Schüssler's argument that the *Löwe* was meant to

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<sup>113</sup> Schüssler, "Der «Leo Rugiens» von Braunschweig," 46. The relevant passage from Isidore is: "Cujus genus trifarium dicitur, et juba crispa, imbelles sunt; longi, et coma simplici, acres. Animos eorum frons et cauda indicat. Virtus eorum in pectore, firmitas in capite. Septi a venatoribus terram contuentur, quo minus conspectis venabulis terreantur. Rotarum timent strepitus, sed ignes magis. E quibus breves." *Etymologiae*, ed. J. P. Migne, in *PL* 82 (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1850), XII.ii.

<sup>114</sup> The comparison does not appear in the *Physiologus*; Pliny ascribes it to Aristotle. "Leonum duo genera: compactile et breve crispioribus iubis—hos pavidiores esse quam longos simplicique villo, eos contemptores vulnerum." ("There are two kinds of lions, one thickset and short, with comparatively curly manes—these being more timid than the long, straight-haired kind; the latter despise wounds.") Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library 353 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), VIII.18. The text is repeated with only minor variations in Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo*, ed. J. P. Migne, in *PL* 111 (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1852) VIII.1, col. 217C; Martin of Leon, *Sermones*, ed. J. P. Migne, in *PL* 208 (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1855), col. 888C; and the Second-Family Bestiary text: "Cuius genus trifarium dicitur: e quibus breves et juba crispa imbeles sunt, longi et coma simplici acres; animos eorum frons et cauda indicat. Virtus eorum in pectore, firmitas autem in capite. Rotarum timent strepitus, sed ignes magis." ("His [the lion's] species is said to have three types, of which the small ones and the ones with curly [sic] mane are peaceful, the rangy ones with straight hair are fierce; it is the foreparts and tail that indicate their dispositions. Their courage is in the breast, their firmness in the head. They fear the noise of wheels, but even more [they fear] fires.") Willene B. Clark, *A Medieval Book of Beasts: The Second-Family Bestiary: Commentary, Art, Text and Translation* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), 119.

<sup>115</sup> Made in England in the fourth quarter of the twelfth century. London, British Library, Add. MS. 11283, fol. 1r. See the online reproduction: [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add\\_ms\\_11283\\_fs001r](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_11283_fs001r)

represent the second, more dynamic kind of lion.<sup>116</sup> He gestures to the *Löwe*'s hair (figs. 1.4 and 1.18), shaped to fall against the body rather than sticking out wildly (presumably thinking of comparanda, like door knockers) (fig. 1.16), the long body with outstretched hind legs, and the purposefully curling tail, so unlike contemporary *aquamanilia* where the tail usually clings close to the body for support.<sup>117</sup> That slender, unfurling tail, bearing its own weight, was surely a demonstration of artistic skill (fig. 1.19).

Isidore identifies the head, chest, and tail as the lion's key anatomical sites, each of which attests the qualities, respectively, of spirit (*animus*), strength (*virtus*) and steadfastness (*firmitas*).<sup>118</sup> The artists who made the *Löwe* did, indeed, pay special attention to these areas of the body and Schüssler's reading does take stock of the way the *Löwe* looks, the way it was purposefully sculpted and shaped. But I think it unlikely that the correspondences Schüssler tallies are evidence of causation. We ought not to imagine Henry specifying the "fierce" genus of

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<sup>116</sup> For the argument that the *Löwe* was modeled after two-dimensional images, see: Peter Seiler, "Der Braunschweiger Burglöwe. Spurensicherung auf der Suche nach den künstlerischen Vorbildern," in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235: Katalog der Ausstellung, Braunschweig*, ed. Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, vol. 2 (München: Hirmer, 1995), 251.

<sup>117</sup> Vernacular authors who incorporated zoological rhetoric into their narratives drew on bestiary descriptions of lions to convey character. Describing Alexander the Great as a boy, the author of the Strassburg *Alexander* notes that "his hair was red and bristly...and it was quite thick and curly like the mane of a wild lion." ("Strûb unde rô't was ime sîn hâr, / nâh eineme vische getân, / den man in den mere sehet gân, / und was ime ze mâzen dicke / und crisp als eines wilden lewen locke.") J. W. Thomas, trans., *The Strassburg Alexander and the Munich Oswald: Pre-Courtly Adventure of the German Middle Ages* (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1989), 22. The so-called Vorauer *Alexander*, which pre-dates the Strassburg *Alexander*, has a similar formula: *Lamprechts Alexander: nach den drei texten, mit dem fragment des Alberic von Besançon und den lateinischen quellen*, ed. Karl Kinzel, Germanistische handbibliothek, VI (Halle an der Salle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1884), lines 150-54. Similarly, Bucephalus's wondrous wildness and ferocity is shown by "the curly hair on its neck" which "resembled a lion's mane." ("sîn hals was ime lockehte, / ih wêne iz wêre lewingeslehte.") *The Strassburg Alexander*, 23, lines 288-89.

<sup>118</sup> Quoted in Schüssler, "Der «Leo Rugiens» von Braunschweig," 54.

lion for his monument in order to telegraph his prowess, as Schüssler does; we have no evidence that medieval patrons behaved like this, and such a textually inspired specification would have been largely illegible to non- or semi-literate viewers anyway. Interpreting the sculpture iconographically begs the question; it assumes that we know what the work represents, and this point is not at all clear.<sup>119</sup> Nevertheless, the rendering of details like the mouth is clearly key to the monument's interpretation. When viewed from the front or below, the open mouth and bared teeth stand out, the refulgent surface setting off the dark oral cavity. When viewed from the side, the mouth noticeably breaks up the sculpture's silhouette (fig. 1). One of the earliest written reports of the *Löwe* specifically notes the lion's gaping (*hiatum*) maw.<sup>120</sup> Setting aside the search for precise iconographic referents, I argue that these features become meaningful when read in terms of other consuming, expelling, and finely detailed objects. (I deal later in the chapter with the sculpture's relation to the duke's leonine epithet.)

A yawning mouth invites speculation about what it bodes. Schüssler's description of the sculpture as *Leo rugiens* reprises the biblical topos of the roaring lion as tyranny personified ("as a roaring lion, and a hungry bear, so is a wicked prince over the poor people") or, more generally, as a signifier of the king's wrath and martial prowess.<sup>121</sup> The connection of roaring with ruling recurs in bestiary descriptions of the lion: "His voice naturally holds such terror, that many of the

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<sup>119</sup> For an important discussion about what and how sculpture represents, with special attention to the depiction of people and animals, see the treatment of Susanne Langer's view in: Robert Hopkins, "Sculpture and Space," in *Imagination, Philosophy, and the Arts*, ed. Matthew Kieran and Dominic Lopes (London: Routledge, 2003), 286-287. Hopkins responds to: Susanne K. Langer, *Feeling and Form: A Theory of Art* (New York: Scribner, 1953).

<sup>120</sup> Arnold, *Chronica*, VII.16.

<sup>121</sup> "Leo rugiens et ursus esuriens, princeps impius super populum pauperem." (Proverbs 28:15) For wrath and martial prowess, see: Proverbs 19:12 and Proverbs 20:2, and 1 Machabeus 3:4. These passages were explicitly connected to discussions of rulers in twelfth-century texts; see: Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, ed. Robert Bartlett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), I.6.

animals, which by their speed are able to avoid his attack, <are> terrified and overcome at the sound of his roar, <and> are immobilized, as though by some power.”<sup>122</sup> Male lions could bring their cubs to life with a roar.<sup>123</sup> Strikingly, at least two large metal sculptures cast around the Mediterranean—the Pisa Griffin and the Mari-Cha Lion—conceal an internal vessel that transforms them into sound-producing automata meant to howl and moan in the wind.<sup>124</sup> Small bronze statues (*aeolipilia*) blew steam when heated.<sup>125</sup> A wooden lectern at Freudenstadt, carved around the middle of the twelfth century, concealed a chamber from which incense flowed down tubes and out of the mouths of evangelist symbols.<sup>126</sup> *Aquamania* held and dispensed liquid. Although a look at the *Löwe*’s interior makes clear that it was *not* a sound-producing or wine-dispensing vessel, its open mouth conjures analogies with roaring lions and the many contemporary objects that expelled sound, smoke, wine, and hot air (fig. 1.20).

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<sup>122</sup> “Cuius voci tantus naturalità inest terror, et multa animantium, quae per celeritatem possunt evadere eius impetum rugitus eius sonitu velut quadam vi attonita atque victa deficient?” Quoted from: Clark, *A Medieval Book of Beasts*, 122.

<sup>123</sup> The myth of the lion’s revivifying power comes from the *Physiologus*: Curley, *Physiologus*, 4.

<sup>124</sup> Both the Pisa Griffin and Mari-Cha Lion have been tentatively assigned to al-Andalus. From a larger bibliography, see especially: Anna Contadini, *The Pisa Griffin and the Mari-Cha Lion: Metalwork, Art, and Technology in the Medieval Islamicate Mediterranean* (Ospedaletto: Pacini Editore, 2018).

<sup>125</sup> On *aeolipilia*, see: Michael Brandt, *Bild und Bestie: Hildesheimer Bronzen der Stauferzeit* (Regensburg: Schnell + Steiner, 2008), 317-19; W. L. Hildburgh, “II.—Aeolipiles as Fire-Blowers,” *Archaeologia* 94 (1951): 27–55; Ines Jucker, “Der Feueranbläser von Aventicum,” *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 21, no. 2 (1961): 49–56; Arthur MacGregor, “Jack of Hilton and the History of the Hearth-Blower,” *The Antiquaries Journal* 87 (2007): 281–94; Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 160-63.

<sup>126</sup> Johannes Tripps demonstrates, over prior objections, that this function was integral to the object’s original design: Johannes Tripps, “Silent Assistants. The Wolfram Candelabra in the Erfurt Cathedral in the Context of the 12th and 13th centuries,” in *Medienphantasie und Medienreflexion in der Frühen Neuzeit. Festschrift für Jörg Jochen Berns*, ed. Thomas Rahn and Hole Rößler (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2018), 353.

An open mouth also signals an interior. The *Löwe* served as a kind of vessel according to three overlapping and mutually reinforcing definitions: it was an oversize hollow-cast figure with an invisible inside and polished exterior, it stored valuable materials and labor, and its gaping mouth spurred the spectator to imagine what lies within.<sup>127</sup> Rare though they may have been in real life, large metal statues loom large in German vernacular literature as technological marvels stuffed with surprises. In the Strassburg *Alexander*, written in the third quarter of the twelfth century, Alexander coins an ingenious plan to defeat elephants in battle by ordering that “hollow figures be made in the shape of warriors, filled with Grecian fire, and placed on iron chariots.”<sup>128</sup> Described as “burning figures,” their hot metal bodies singe the skin of the battle-crazed elephants.<sup>129</sup> Alexander’s inventive stratagem incorporates the physical properties of cast metal and the capacity of hollow sculptures to hold and hide their contents.

The notion that forms could conceal hidden depths was crucial to twelfth-century hermeneutics, as theologians and poets (often the same people) argued over the concept of the *integumentum* (literally, ‘covering medium’).<sup>130</sup> Sometimes analogized to the shell of a nut that

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<sup>127</sup> On vessels, see: Claudia Brittenham, ed., *Vessels: The Object as Container* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); Adrian W. B. Randolph, *Touching Objects: Intimate Experiences of Italian Fifteenth-Century Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); Gerhard Wolf, “Image, Object, Art,” *Representations* 133, no. 1 (2016): 152–59; and the special issue on containers edited by Andrew Shryock and Daniel Lord Smail: *History and Anthropology* 29 (2018).

<sup>128</sup> “...êrine bilede, / gescaffen also helide. / enbinnen wâren si hol / und wâren griechisches fûris vol. / mit den bilden hier er laden / manigen îsenînen wagen...” (lines 4394–4399). *The Strassburg Alexander*, 58.

<sup>129</sup> Ironically, plenty of bronze candlesticks take the form of martial elephants: Ursula Mende, “Mittelalterliche Elefantenleuchter und die Magdeburger Gußwerkstatt,” *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1986), 7–18.

<sup>130</sup> From a much larger bibliography on the twelfth-century theorization of the *integumentum*, see: Edouard Jauneau, “L’usage de la notion d’*integumentum* à travers les gloses de Guillaume de Conches,” *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, no. 32 (1957): 35–100; Willemien Otten, *From Paradise to Paradigm: A Study of Twelfth-Century Humanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Brian Stock, *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century; a Study of Bernard Silvester* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

protects the kernel within, sometimes to a cloth that wraps around a body, in the twelfth century the *integumentum* came to be invoked in increasingly sophisticated analyses of surface and depth, similarity and dissimilarity, meaning and form. Hartmann von Aue uses the analogy of a boiling kettle in his *Lament* to address the disjunction between outward presentation and interior life. The poem is a courtly love dialogue between a young man's heart and his body: "if someone puts a kettle full of water on the coals and then it froze, this would be unbelievable, because the heat which the water receives from the kettle forces it to boil up inside it."<sup>131</sup> This kettle is one of a series of metaphors used by the Body—which also likens itself to the shell that protects a nut, the classic *integumentum*—as it reproaches the Heart for stranding it in a hopeless love affair. The vessel stands for a certain inscrutability; the poem's protagonist complains that his friends "do not understand what is going on inside me," and the Body goes on to say "I often use these two images [i.e. the kettle and the nut] as examples, and yet I still don't understand how things really are."<sup>132</sup> The poet's recourse to vessels gestures to a philosophical problem where the interpretative task *just is* to properly construe the relationship between a vessel's inside and out. It also suggests that an interior could be a vividly imagined space, boiling with turmoil.

Talk about roaring and inner life raises the question of how the sculpture presumes or suggests fictions of animacy.<sup>133</sup> In the Munich *Oswald*, another vernacular text probably composed in the same decades as the *Löwe*, goldsmiths repeatedly turn animals into living works of art. They disguise the king's miraculously loquacious raven by adorning its plumage with gold

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<sup>131</sup> Hartmann von Aue, *Die Klage*, ed. Kurt Gärtner, Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 123 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), lines 465-71. Translation: Hartmann von Aue, *Arthurian Romances*, 8.

<sup>132</sup> Hartmann von Aue, *Die Klage*, lines 350; 478-84. Translation: Hartmann von Aue, *Arthurian Romances*, 7, 8.

<sup>133</sup> On the animacy of medieval bronze generally, see Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*.

thread and a golden crown so that people would “stare...in wonder” instead of capturing or shooting the bird.<sup>134</sup> In a battlefield tactic reminiscent of Alexander’s hollow soldiers, the king’s goldsmiths then gild a stag with golden hoofs, golden antlers “hollow and beautiful,” and a golden blanket in order to lure a heathen king from his city.<sup>135</sup> These episodes point up the complex discourse of sculptural animacy in the twelfth century, for the enemy king first judges the stag a device “made by goldsmiths, all of whom are very clever,” a hollow creature “that runs when the wind blows.”<sup>136</sup> He mistakes a real, gilded animal for a clever work of *ars*, and consequently fails to catch the stag that has all the speed and unpredictable movement of a living deer.

It is not quite correct to see texts like this as valorizing lively or lifelike sculpture. Rather, they specify criteria for assessing cast metal sculptures in terms of the animacy that they could imply. Magister Gregorius is explicit on this score. He describes the bronze bull on the Castel Sant’Angelo as “so skillfully made that it appears to its viewers *likely* to bellow and move” (“tanto pollet artificio ut inspicientibus mugituro et moturo similis uideatur”), a colossal head that “gives the appearance of being *about to* move and speak” (“moturo et locuturo simillimum uidetur”).<sup>137</sup> Gregorius repeatedly uses the language of expectation and counterfactual construction; sculptures do not come to life but seem like they might.

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<sup>134</sup> *Munich Oswald*, 87.

<sup>135</sup> *Munich Oswald*, 106-7.

<sup>136</sup> *Munich Oswald*, 107.

<sup>137</sup> Gregorius, *The Marvels of Rome*, 19, 23. Emphases mine. For the Latin: G. Rushforth, “Magister Gregorius de Mirabilibus urbis Romae: A New Description of Rome in the Twelfth Century,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 9 (1919), 46, 49. See also: Dale Kinney, “The Horse, the King and the Cuckoo: Medieval Narrations of the Statue of Marcus Aurelius,” *Word & Image* 18, no. 1 (2002): 372–98.

Importantly, the sense that the sculpture might spring to life is part of what makes the *Löwe* a “technical masterpiece” (*technisches Bravourstück*).<sup>138</sup> Although they are impossible to see clearly from below, the ribs rippling along its back evidence the sculptors’ commitment to lifelikeness (fig. 1.21), as do the mane’s differentiated locks, subtly modulating from smaller forms clustered around the face to larger ones below (figs. 1.4 and 1.22). Twelfth-century authors picked up on the classical idea that well-wrought hair marked a particularly accomplished bronze sculpture; John of Salisbury (d. 1180), busily theorizing the republic as macrosmic body, opens the sixth book of his *Polycraticus* by citing Horace’s description of the sculptor who skilfully molds fingernails and soft hair in bronze.<sup>139</sup> Gregorius notes of the fragmentary pieces of a Colossus that Henry could have seen in Rome, “it’s quite amazing how the fluid craftsmanship can simulate soft hairs in solid bronze.”<sup>140</sup> Each lock of the *Löwe*’s mane is individually molded and finely etched in a feat of wondrous artifice.<sup>141</sup> Setting aside the vexing question of who or what the *Löwe* represents, I argue instead that it is a paradigmatically impressive work of art. Shifting attention to what it did, formally, phenomenologically, and semantically, also helps us

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<sup>138</sup> Seiler, “Der Braunschweiger Burglöwe,” 247.

<sup>139</sup> John of Salisbury, *Polycraticus*, ed. J. P. Migne, in *PL* 199 (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1855), VI, prologue, col. 587D.

<sup>140</sup> Gregorius, *The Marvels of Rome*, 23. “Miro enim modo ars fusilis in ere rigido molles mentitur capillos.” Rushforth, “*Magister Gregorius*,” 49.

<sup>141</sup> David Summers, “Pandora’s Crown: On Wonder, Imitation, and Mechanism in Western Art,” in *Wonders, Marvels, and Monsters in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Peter G. Platt (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), 45–75. I have tried to discuss animacy carefully, and do not mean to assimilate the sculpture to discourses of the miraculous that characterize some discussions of medieval wonder; see: Caroline Walker Bynum, “Wonder,” *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 1 (1997): 1–26. More helpful, although dealing with later material, is: Paul Binski, *Gothic Wonder: Art, Artifice, and the Decorated Style, 1290-1350* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014). I am grateful to Isabella Llores-Chavez for discussions about sculpture and animacy.

see what kind of political work it made possible; this is where it begins to exceed the paradigms from which it emerges.

### Organizing the *Burgplatz*

“A vessel,” as Claudia Brittenham puts it, “may define a particular kind of space.”<sup>142</sup> She cites examples from ancient Greece (the mixing of wine in a *dinos* produces a symposium), Buddhist and Christian sacred traditions (reliquaries produce a shrine), and Chinese burial practices (the proper assemblage of ritual vessels produces a tomb). Brittenham’s formulation reverses the process of predication as it appears in common-sense art-historical arguments, where the tomb is the context for the vessel. As I have started to suggest, we might approach the *Löwe* in a similar light, asking what kind of spaces it defined or produced rather than casting about for prior contexts. Now displayed indoors at the Herzog-Anton-Ulrich-Museum’s medieval department in Henry’s renovated Dankwarderode castle, the sculpture once coordinated a spatial complex at the geographical and conceptual heart of Brunswick.<sup>143</sup> In order to substantiate this claim, in what follows I discuss the *Löwe* in terms of urban space, arguing that it was intended to shape a special kind of imagined community.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Claudia Brittenham, “Introduction,” in *Vessels*, 3. On the production of space by sculptures, see (from a larger bibliography): Robert Hopkins, “Sculpture and Space”; Langer, *Feeling and Form*; Richard T. Neer and Leslie Kurke, *Pindar, Song, and Space: Toward a Lyric Archaeology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019).

<sup>143</sup> Aside from its storage in the Harz Mountains during the Second World War, the *Löwe* did not leave the *Burgplatz* until its 1980 conservation. A replica stands on the spot where it was originally erected.

<sup>144</sup> Although Benedict Anderson’s seminal formulation of the ‘imagined community’ proceeds from quite different evidence, I use the term advisedly to name how forms of media conscript people into notional forms of filiation and belonging: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983). For

Arguments about the *Löwe*'s site-specificity assume that Henry constructed a strong representation of his personal power in order to sanction civic rituals or advertise his claim to rule.<sup>145</sup> Schneidmüller, for example, argues that the “staging of sovereignty in visible, tangible, legible monuments” like the *Löwe* is a leitmotiv of Henry's rule and therefore key to understanding his “princely existence” (*fürstlicher Existenz*).<sup>146</sup> Johannes Fried, on the other hand, reads backwards from later written sources that describe the dispensation of justice before the sculpture, essentially updating earlier crude descriptions of the *Löwe* as a *Rechtssymbol*.<sup>147</sup> Finally, Peter Seiler argues that it served as a military monument derived from Italian examples, especially the stone lion at Este, erected in connection with Henry's struggle against the Saxon princes “as a symbol of martial aggression.”<sup>148</sup>

Tracing the connections between the *Löwe*'s erection and the reconstruction of the *Burgplatz*, Brunswick's fortified core where Henry presided over his Saxon domains, offers a more fruitful path. Writing in the thirteenth century, Albert of Stade explicitly identifies the sculpture with Henry's building campaigns in Brunswick, reporting that the duke erected the *Löwe* and the town walls at the same time in 1166.<sup>149</sup> Henry did, indeed, transform the town

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Anderson's use by medievalists, see: Catherine E. Karkov, *Imagining Anglo-Saxon England: Utopia, Heterotopia, Dystopia* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2020), 1-2.

<sup>145</sup> In recent decades, scholars have thoroughly dispatched the notion that the *Löwe* was intended as a family monument to the Welfs, recognizing this reading as the product of thirteenth-century retrospection; likewise, few scholars seriously consider it a *Wappentier* or heraldic device nor, given the vast array of leonine epithets applied to twelfth-century rulers, including Henry's father, a straightforward proto-portrait.

<sup>146</sup> Schneidmüller, “Der Ort des Schatzes, 30.”

<sup>147</sup> Johannes Fried, “Königsgedanken Heinrichs des Löwen,” *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 55 (1973): 312–51.

<sup>148</sup> “...als Sinnbild des kriegerischen Furor.” Seiler, “Richterlicher oder kriegerischer Furor?” 197. Henry likely saw the Este lion.

<sup>149</sup> For comparison with other towns in Lower Saxony, see: Peter Aufgebauer and Martin Last, “Niedersächsische Städte bis zum frühen 13. Jahrhundert,” in *Stadt im Wandel, Kunst und Kultur*

during the 1160s and 70s.<sup>150</sup> First named in writing in 1031 and likely founded as a mercantile appendage to a farming village a few years earlier, Brunswick grew into a small but significant market settlement for long distance trade at the junction of the Oker river and roads leading to Magdeburg, Halberstadt, and Bardowick.<sup>151</sup> The Brunonians, from whom Henry descended in the female line, dominated the eleventh- and twelfth-century town.<sup>152</sup> Nevertheless, when Henry came to power in 1142, Brunswick was just one of several important sites for his family and it was hardly the dynastic seat that it would later become. The Welfs, for example, patronized Königslutter as a burial site and the Brunonians preferred Meißen.<sup>153</sup> Wetlands and the overflowing Oker defined Brunswick's topography (fig. 1.23). The town's center of gravity had already shifted west by the 1140s, away from the early urban nucleus in the Altewiek to today's Altstadt, but little of the urban environment was enclosed and much of its area was uninhabitable.<sup>154</sup>

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*des Bürgertums in Norddeutschland 1150-1650: Ausstellungskatalog Landesausstellung Niedersachsen 1985*, ed. Cord Meckseper, vol. 3, 4 vols. (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Cantz, 1985), 81–94.

<sup>150</sup> In addition to textual evidence, dendochronological investigation has dated the timbers of the Fallersleber Tor to 1178 and bank fortifications of the Oker to 1180 +/- 2.

<sup>151</sup> Wolfgang Meibeyer, "Im Jahre 1026 begann Braunschweigs Stadtentwicklung in der Altewiek," *Braunschweigische Heimat* 99 (2013), 3; Wolfgang Meibeyer, "Der Stadtname Braunschweig und die Siedlungsanfänge in der Altenwiek," *Braunschweigische Heimat* 88 (2002): 19–21. For a more robust treatment, see: Wolfgang Meibeyer, "Siedlungsgeographische Beiträge zur vor- und frühstädtischen Entwicklung von Braunschweig," *Braunschweiger Jahrbuch* 67 (1986): 7–40.

<sup>152</sup> Religious foundations, fortifications, market privileges, a version of the palace on the *Burgplatz*, and the core of the *Welfenschatz* date from the Brunonian period.

<sup>153</sup> On Königslutter, see: Klein, "Die ehemalige Abteikirche von Königslutter"; Hartmut Rötting, "Die Grablege Lothars III. in der Stiftskirche zu Königslutter," in *Kirchen, Klöster, Manufakturen. Historische Kulturgüter im Lande Braunschweig*, ed. Uwe Kampfer (Braunschweig: Braunschweigischer Vereinigter Kloster- und Studienfonds, 1985), 61–82.

<sup>154</sup> To the south, the Benedictine cloister of St. Aegidius would not be enclosed until Otto IV fortified the city after Philip of Swabia's incursions.

Henry's intervention in the town's urban fabric was decisive (fig. 1.24). He doubled the size of the settlement on the west bank and erected thick stone walls that still provide the base for fifteenth-century fortifications around the Altstadt (fig. 1.25).<sup>155</sup> He drained the wetlands north of the Altewiek in order to found the neighborhood of Hagen, constructing a system of embankments and drainage ditches that were expanded in later decades.<sup>156</sup> Most dramatically, he razed the Brunonian castle on the Oker's west bank and transformed the Dankwarderode palace into a spectacular center of power.<sup>157</sup> Comparable in size to the imperial palace at Goslar and a model for other German princes, Henry's new palace was constructed sometime during the 1160s and 70s.<sup>158</sup> The site has not been properly excavated, but a surviving capital shows that it featured the kind of carved sculpture and decorative trappings that an impressive palace would

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<sup>155</sup> Dirk Rieger, "Stadt in der Niederung. Braunschweigs Feuchtbodenarchäologie," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Archäologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* 21 (2009), 144.

<sup>156</sup> It is likely that he imported Flemish experts on wetland reclamation; see: Rieger, "Stadt in der Niederung," 144. Excavations have shown the intensive process that this entailed; the land was drained, earth moved, and layers of wooden staves laid down, and wattle posts used to reinforce the area against flooding and sand movement. The struggle with water left important traces in the town; streets were aligned with watercourses, diverted waterways still fed fountains like that in the Kohlmarkt.

<sup>157</sup> Preserving the name of an older village, the Dankwarderode palace ("castrum Tanquaderoth") is first mentioned as a site of importance in an 1134 charter: *Diplomata Lotharii III*, eds. Hans Hirsch and Emil von Ottenthal, in MGH re. imp. Germ. 8 (Hanover: Hahn, 1927), no. 67.

<sup>158</sup> The relationship between the palace and Goslar has been hotly debated: Fritz Viktor Arens, "Die Königspfalz Goslar und die Burg Dankwarderode in Braunschweig," in *Stadt im Wandel, Kunst und Kultur des Bürgertums in Norddeutschland 1150-1650: Ausstellungskatalog Landesausstellung Niedersachsen 1985*, ed. Cord Meckseper, vol. 3, 4 vols. (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Cantz, 1985), 117–49; Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 254; Cord Meckseper, "Die Goslarer Königspfalz als Herausforderung für Heinrich den Löwen?" in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235: Katalog der Ausstellung, Braunschweig 1995*, ed. Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, vol. 2, 3 vols. (München: Hirmer, 1995), 237–43. Both palaces are imprecisely dated; for the argument that other German elites looked to Dankwarderode for inspiration, see Joan A. Holladay, "Hermann of Thuringia as Patron of the Arts: A Case Study," *Journal of Medieval History* 16, no. 3 (September 1990): 191–216.

have warranted (fig. 1.26).<sup>159</sup> In 1173, after his return from Jerusalem, Henry ordered the building of a fine new collegiate church that stood perpendicular to the new *Pfalz*.<sup>160</sup> It would serve as his burial site.

By building up the town and refashioning the *Burgplatz*, Henry signaled that he meant to make Brunswick his seat of power. Joachim Ehlers has traced a shift in Henry's thinking about the town: although the duke's first wife, Clementia, stayed in Lüneburg in 1150 when Henry left for Bavaria, a pregnant Matilda (his second wife) stayed in Brunswick in 1172 during his pilgrimage to Jerusalem; important prisoners were kept elsewhere in the 1140s but, by 1163, the Slavic prince Wartislav was installed in Brunswick.<sup>161</sup> He would overwhelmingly draw from his own court and sponsored institutions in Brunswick when making ecclesiastic appointments to sites in Lübeck and beyond. By the 1160s, in other words, Henry was concentrating important people in the town.

Without delving into the vast literature on the notions of *Hof* and *Hofkultur*, it is clear that something unusual was happening in that decade, as Henry transformed Brunswick during a time

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<sup>159</sup> Henry's palace succumbed to neglect, fire, and early modern reconstruction as the centuries wore on. In the nineteenth century, Ludwig Winter rebuilt the palace in a romantic vision of its twelfth-century past. It was destroyed by Allied bombing in 1944. Portions of the medieval fabric were auctioned off: Hans Adolf Schultz, "Der Abbruch des Haupttores der Burg Dankwarderode," *Braunschweigische Heimat* 42 (1956): 137–39. For the post-medieval history, see: Uwe Beitz, *Zur Zierde der Stadt: Baugeschichte des Braunschweiger Burgplatzes seit 1750* (Wiesbaden: Vieweg+Teubner Verlag, 1989).

<sup>160</sup> Although the assumption has always been that the 1173 church replaced a Brunonian predecessor on the Burgplatz, Bernd Schneidmüller has suggested, based on a careful reading of the textual evidence, that the church may have been *relocated* to the Burgplatz. Like the Dankwarderode, the church of St. Blasius has never been properly excavated and, despite the longstanding assumption that some of the larger stones in its fabric are repurposed remains of the previous church, there is no firm evidence either way. Some episcopal palaces, such as those at Minden and Osnabrück, are also oriented perpendicularly to churches.

<sup>161</sup> Ehlers concludes that, although Henry strategically used other sites, Brunswick did indeed become "his seat" ("seine *sedes*"). Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 250.

when itinerant courts were more the norm. The conventional view, outlined by Ehlers, is that Henry intended the new *Burgplatz* as a representation (*Darstellung*) of his position (*Rang*), plotting *fama* onto *memoria*. Thomas Küntzel has shown that Henry's enclosure of the town described a roughly circular shape that, in its proportions, reproduced a model of Jerusalem with the *Burgplatz* at its core (fig. 1.27).<sup>162</sup> Henry's new palace and church were thus placed in a semantically significant urban schema, perhaps connected to the Second Crusade (1147-50) or the duke's 1172 pilgrimage to the Holy Land.<sup>163</sup>

Seiler argues that Henry really “marked (*kennzeichnete*) Brunswick as the center of his sovereignty” when he erected the *Löwe*; an act that visually and spatially organized the *Burgplatz* in turn (figs. 1.2 and 1.28-1.29).<sup>164</sup> The building complex pivoted around a sculpture that faced east, towards the palace and down the *Steinweg* beyond the *Burg*'s walls. It probably towered atop a column; as noted above, Albert calls its pedestal a *basis*, and a roughly contemporary inscription on the central column of the north portal of Sts. Simon and Jude at nearby Goslar refers to its support as a *basis* (fig. 1.30).<sup>165</sup> Mounted on high, gilded and gleaming, the *Löwe* would have shone as a marker of the *Burgplatz*'s central concentration of power. Reflective objects were singled out for praise in medieval writing about sculpture, and other works of art

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<sup>162</sup> Thomas Küntzel, “1166 - Heinrich der Löwe und der Ausbau Braunschweigs zum ‘sächsischen Jerusalem,’” *Concilium medii aevi* 19 (2016): 1–51; Cord Meckseper, “Die Gestalt der deutschen Stadt im frühen Mittelalter,” in *Die Stadt im Mittelalter. Kalkar und der Niederrhein*, ed. Gerhard Kaldewei, Schriften der Heresbach-Stiftung Kalkar 1 (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1994), 101–25.

<sup>163</sup> Henry participated in the 1147 Wendish Crusade.

<sup>164</sup> “Durch die Errichtung des Burglöwen kennzeichnete Herzog Heinrich Braunschweig als zentrum seiner Herrschaft.” Seiler, “Der Braunschweiger Burglöwe,” 246. It should be noted that, by turning the *Löwe* into a *Burglöwe*, a communal monument identified with the town, Seiler presumes his argument's outcome in advance.

<sup>165</sup> •+• HARTMANNVS • STA/TVAM • FECIT • BASIS / • QVE • FIGVRAM • (“Hartmann made the image and the figure of the base.”). Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, no. 56.

were said figuratively to shine.<sup>166</sup> These gleaming qualities also plotted ethical or moral worth, as seen in one of Cato's *disticha* that circulated widely during the twelfth century: "that virtue may shine, let the rest be free from rust."<sup>167</sup> Discussing sculptures seen at Rome, Magister Gregorius quotes Ovid: "the palace of the Sun towered on lofty columns, made bright by gleaming gold and flame-like bronze."<sup>168</sup> Finally, medieval visitors to Rome thought that Caesar's remains were housed in a bronze sphere on top of the granite obelisk now in front of St. Peter's, literally identifying an elevated bronze object with the body of the ruler.

The *Löwe* is part of a corpus of monumental bronze animals placed in civic spaces during the High Middle Ages.<sup>169</sup> Some were objects from antiquity (Frederick II's ram) and others were specially manufactured (the Goslar 'Griffin'), some were used to display the workings of justice and punishment and others were not (figs. 1.31-1.32).<sup>170</sup> Significantly, art historians have imagined a public role for the revival of monumental sculpture in a range of materials and media during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, from Emile Mâle's celebration of cathedral façades as theological pedagogy carved in stone to Henri Focillon's influential argument that Romanesque

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<sup>166</sup> For example, the inscription on the west facade of San Geminiano in Modena, carved ca. 1099, sees Wiligelmo claiming that the building "shines" with his sculptures. CLA/RET SCVTVRA NV[n]C WILIGELME TVA. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, no. 87.

<sup>167</sup> *Ut niteat virtus, absit rubigo quietis*. Cato, "Dicta Catonis," in *Minor Latin Poets*, trans. Arnold M. Duff and J. Wight Duff, Loeb Classical Library 434 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 629. I deliberately set aside the problematic issue of twelfth-century "light metaphysics" associated with Erwin Panofsky's reading of Abbot Suger: Suger, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures*.

<sup>168</sup> Gregorius, *The Marvels of Rome*, 29. He references Ovid's *Metamorphoses* II.1-2.

<sup>169</sup> Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 140-43.

<sup>170</sup> The former is currently in the Goslar Kaiserpfalz; the latter in the Museo archeologico regionale Antonio Salinas in Palermo. For examples of objects used to display justice, see the entries in the *Liber Pontificalis*. Imperial statues had served as sites of refuge as well as landmarks before which ceremonies—like the freeing of slaves—could take place. See: Jaś Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire AD 100-450* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 57. On the use of bronze objects to stage or enact forms of justice during the Middle Ages, see: Hansloser, "Urkunden zur Bedeutung des Türings."

carving arose as an architectural adjunct.<sup>171</sup> Of course, defining terms like ‘civic’ and ‘public’ in twelfth-century Germany is a thorny business. I use ‘civic’ here to name widely accessible sites like markets, but also more restricted places like Henry’s court, where the town’s justice was dispensed. Weinryb redefines the medieval public sphere “as an actual geographic locale, a space in which people gathered, economic exchanges took place, and communal encounters were staged.”<sup>172</sup> This definition, which works well for thinking about medieval spaces in general, is of limited value for thinking about public *art*, however. We do not generally define art as public simply because people gather around it. Although some high-medieval sculptures presided over economic exchanges or were beheld by large groups of people, and although the *Löwe* might have been visible beyond the *Burg*’s walls (archaeologists have noted a preoccupation with sight-lines in Brunswick’s twelfth-century urban fabric), I do not treat these facts as definitive criteria to assess ‘public-ness.’<sup>173</sup> Rather, I turn to ways that the *Löwe* constituted a kind of community through procedures that were not predicated on its immediate function. Tracing the means by which it became public will also yield a previously undescribed politics.

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<sup>171</sup> Émile Mâle, *L’art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France; étude sur l’iconographie du moyen âge et sur ses sources d’inspiration* (Paris: Librairie A. Colin, 1908); Henri Focillon, *L’art des sculpteurs romans, recherches sur l’histoire des formes*, Études d’art et d’archéologie (Paris: E. Leroux, 1931).

<sup>172</sup> Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 13. Medieval historians and sociologists have repeatedly queried the relationship between private and public in the Middle Ages: Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, eds., *A History of Private Life*, 5 vols. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987); Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1962). Thomas Bisson points out that Habermas, for whom the medieval/modern divide is constituent, never read medieval charters: “The truth is that what he calls ‘feudal society’ is problematic precisely because it is pervaded by, indeed occupies, the ‘public sphere.’” Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century*, 29.

<sup>173</sup> Rieger, “Stadt in der Niederung.” For works that were paradigmatically public in their function and mode of address, see: Nina Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Choir screens and public sculptures of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* clearly nominated, excluded, and produced medieval communities during later centuries.<sup>174</sup> Inscriptions, like that on the mid-thirteenth century bell from the Wallfahrtskirche in Gottsbüren, show that a town's inhabitants could come together to commission objects and name themselves communally. "Oh glorious king," proclaims the bell, "come in peace. / God was made man and suffered for us. / The town (*sivitas*) of Duderstadt gave me. / Lenisco made me."<sup>175</sup> The crucial word is *civitas/sivitas*. Twelfth-century political thinkers had already theorized a town's community under this term, drawing on Cicero's *De officiis* and Calcidius's gloss of the *Timaeus*.<sup>176</sup> Cicero argued that, even more than people who shared a tribe (*natio*) or language (*lingua*), people who lived in the same *civitas* shared a special bond, "for fellow-citizens have much in common—forum, temples, colonnades, streets, statutes, laws, courts, rights of suffrage, to say nothing of social and friendly circles and diverse business relations with many."<sup>177</sup> Physical infrastructure and

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<sup>174</sup> Jacqueline E. Jung, *The Gothic Screen: Space, Sculpture, and Community in the Cathedrals of France and Germany, ca. 1200-1400* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City*. See also: Horst Bredekamp, "Die nordspanische Hofskulptur und die Freiheit der Bildhauer," in *Studien zur Geschichte der europäischen Skulptur im 12.-13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Herbert Beck and Kerstin Hengevoss-Dürkop, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Henrich, 1994), 263–74.

<sup>175</sup> The Gottsbüren inscription: O REX GLORIE · VENI · CVM · PASE · DEVS · HOMO · FACTVM · EST · QVI · PRO NOBIS · PASSVS · EST · + SIVITAS · DE · DVDERSTAT · ME · DEDIT + LENSICO · ME · FESIT. DI 66, Landkreis Göttingen, Nr. 1a. Entry by Sabine Wehking: <http://www.inschriften.net/zeige/suchergebnis/treffer/nr/di066-0001a.html#content>. Bells, of course, were paradigmatically communal. See: Niall Atkinson, *The Noisy Renaissance: Sound, Architecture, and Florentine Urban Life* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016); Chloé M. Pelletier, "The Pilgrim's Badge: Water, Air, and the Flow of Sacred Matter," *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies* 8, no. 2 (2017): 240–53.

<sup>176</sup> Cicero, *De officiis*; Calcidius, *On Plato's Timaeus*, trans. John Magee, *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library* 41 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016). John of Salisbury, who read Cicero with special care, is exemplary here. For the reception of Cicero during the Middle Ages, see Horst Fuhrmann, *Cicero und das Seelenheil, oder, Wie kam die heidnische Antike durch das christliche Mittelalter?* (München: Saur, 2003).

<sup>177</sup> "multa enim sunt civibus inter se communia, forum, fana, porticus, viae, leges, iura, iudicia,

networks of law, justice, and business wove citizens into a communal fabric. Commenting on Plato, Calcidius bequeathed an image of the *civitas* as fundamentally circumscribed by walls, a spatial map of social stratification.<sup>178</sup> When Frederick Barbarossa granted Aachen's citizens the right to mint coinage in 1166, he simultaneously promised to fortify the town with walls and towers.<sup>179</sup> (His charter uses the word *civitas*.)<sup>180</sup>

Henry's Brunswick was a glorified *Burg* and only a *civitas* in ducal rhetoric. It really only became a *civitas*, a *Stammsitz* ("dynastic seat"), and, as Schneidmüller argues, a *Vaterland*, in the thirteenth century.<sup>181</sup> But the rhetoric is significant; when an 1175 charter refers to *civitas nostra*

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suffragia, consuetudines praeterea et familiaritates multisque cum multis res rationesque contractae." *De officiis*, I.xvii. While Henry had ample opportunity to get acquainted with Cicero later in life, when he is said to have studied ancient texts, he also corresponded with figures who were at the forefront of twelfth-century scholarship on Cicero, especially his sometime antagonist Wibald who served as the abbot of Corvey while Henry was the abbey's *advocatus*. As noted above, Wibald sought out and compiled Cicero's works. His epistolary exchanges – famously with Frederick's ally Rainald of Dassel – evidence the desire to acquire more of Cicero's works. He also lamented that Ciceronian rhetoric could no longer be showcased as widely or as effectively as in Republican Rome. "Secular jurisdiction," he complains in a letter to a canon of Paderborn in 1149, "is carried out by uneducated people (though sometimes very able speakers by nature), but among the Germans the habit of declamation is rare." See: Jean Meyers, "Une leçon rhétorique d'ironie dans la correspondance de Wibald de Stavelot (Ep. 167)," *Latomus* 67, no. 2 (2008): 435–54.

<sup>178</sup> Paul Edward Dutton, "Illustre Ciuitatis et Populi Exemplum: Plato's Timaeus and the Transmission from Calcidius to the End of the Twelfth Century of a Tripartite Scheme of Society," *Mediaeval Studies* 45 (1983): 79–119.

<sup>179</sup> *Friderici I Diplomata*, ed. Horst Appelt, in MGH Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae 10 (Hanover: Hahn, 1979), part 1, no. 5. See Michael McGrade, "'O Rex Mundi Triumphator': Hohenstaufen Politics in a Sequence for Saint Charlemagne," *Early Music History* 17 (1998): 183–219.

<sup>180</sup> For the charter, see fn. 280. The investment that Aachen's citizens had in claiming the term is evidenced by an inscription on the Stadtmauer, dated to the end of the 12th century: [.....MV / R]VM CVM SVIS TVRI/BVS [...] ANTE / CAE[S]ARIS IN GAL/[LI]AS AD[V]ENT[V]M / CIVITAS [...]AE / FOSI[.....]a). DI 32, Stadt Aachen, Nr. 4, entry by Helga Giersiepen: <http://www.inschriften.net/zeige/suchergebnis/treffer/nr/di032-0004.html#content>

<sup>181</sup> Bernd Schneidmüller, "Stadtherr, Stadtgemeinde und Kirchenverfassung in Braunschweig und Goslar im Mittelalter," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung* 79 (1993): 135–88; Bernd Schneidmüller, "Burg - Stadt - Vaterland: Braunschweig und die Welfen im hohen Mittelalter," in *Heinrich der Löwe: Herrschaft und Repräsentation*, ed.

*Brunesvich* (“our *civitas* Brunswick”), the duke claims Brunswick as his own and claims it as something different than an *urbs* (town).<sup>182</sup> Albert of Stade’s insistent connection of the *Löwe* to the town’s walls preserves a strain of thinking about how to make community that runs from Cicero and Calcidius through Frederick’s actions at Aachen: “Duke Henry raised the likeness of a lion upon a pedestal and enclosed the city with a moat and rampart.”<sup>183</sup> Weinryb argues that the public monument “functioned within a medieval environment constituted through community,” and reading Henry’s building campaigns alongside discussions of the *civitas* underscore how a notional community was produced in Brunswick during the 1160s and 70s.<sup>184</sup>

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Johannes Fried and Otto Gerhard Oexle (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), 27–81; Bernd Schneidmüller, “Hütte oder königliche Stadt?: Die Welfen und Braunschweig 1198 - 1235,” in *Otto IV: Traum vom Welfischen Kaisertum*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Derda, Stefanie Hahn, and Bernd Ulrich Hucker (Petersberg: M. Imhof, 2009), 239–48. Schneidmüller revises an older view of the city as a Welfish stronghold during the twelfth century. See especially: Karl Schmid, “Welfisches Selbstverständnis,” in *Adel und Kirche. Gerd Tellenbach zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein and Karl Schmid (Freiburg: Herder, 1968), 389–416.

<sup>182</sup> For *Burgen*, see: Hans-Wilhelm Heine, “Burgen und Wehrbau zur Zeit Bernwards unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Bistums Hildesheim,” in *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen: Katalog der Ausstellung, Hildesheim 1993*, ed. Michael Brandt and Anne Eggebrecht, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993), 313–22; Cord Meckseper, “Burgen - Symbole der Macht? Zur Ikonologie der Burg,” in *Burgen im Breisgau. Aspekte von Burg und Herrschaft im überregionalen Vergleich. Archäologie und Geschichte*, ed. Erik Beck et al., *Freiburger Forschungen zum ersten Jahrtausend in Südwestdeutschland* 18 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2012), 403–18. For the medieval *civitas*, see: D.E. Luscombe, “City and Politics Before the Coming of the Politics: Some Illustrations,” in *Church and City, 1000-1500: Essays in Honour of Christopher Brooke*, ed. David Abulafia, Michael J. Franklin, and Miri Rubin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 41–55.

<sup>183</sup> “Heinricus dux super basem leonis effigiem in Brunswic erexit et urbem fossa et vallo circumdedit.” Albert of State, *Annales Stadenses*, 345. Earlier sources cite Henry’s wall building, notably the dedication poem to the luxury gospels he later donated to St. Blasius. Archaeological excavations show that both the *Burgplatz* and the larger town received walls and moats around this time.

<sup>184</sup> Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages*, 9. Historians of recent public art have usefully problematized the notion of “community;” see, especially: Miwon Kwon, *One Place After Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002).

The *Löwe* was literally the central nexus of the *Burgplatz*. But it produced space conceptually too; this is one of the special capacities of large figural sculpture.<sup>185</sup> Each sculpture, Susanne Langer argues, “has a complement of empty space that it absolutely commands, that is given with it and only with it, and is, in fact, part of the sculptural volume.”<sup>186</sup> She goes on to suggest that, if places are always contingent, created things, then sculptures make and define places by transforming the space that surrounds them.<sup>187</sup> A visitor to the *Burgplatz* would encounter the *Löwe* before entering the palace or the church, navigating the castle complex under the lion’s watchful eyes and gaping mouth. Its orientation brought the palace into the *Löwe*’s domain.

Its eastward gaze also extended the space that the sculpture commanded and shaped. Arnold of Lübeck—who knew Henry personally—reports a jest told about the sculpture by the duke’s successor, Duke Bernhard of Saxony. After a contentious meeting, Bernhard turns to the lion and asks it: “For how long will you turn your gaping mouth (*hiatum*) to the east? Stop, you’ve had what you want already, now you ought to turn to the north.”<sup>188</sup> He defuses the tension, the gathered princes probably understanding Bernhard’s joke as a reference to Henry’s campaigns against the Slavs in the east and the looming threat of the Danes in the north. Bernhard’s quip frames the *Löwe* as a hungry object, ready to devour whatever lies before it.

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<sup>185</sup> Hopkins, “Sculpture and Space”; Langer, *Feeling and Form*; Neer and Kurke, *Pindar, Song, and Space*.

<sup>186</sup> Langer, *Feeling and Form*, 88.

<sup>187</sup> See also: Edward S. Casey, *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); David Summers, *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism* (London: Phaidon, 2003).

<sup>188</sup> “Cum igitur omnium letitia abundaret, Bernardus dux intuitus leonem fusilem, qui a duce Heinrico ibi sublimatus est, ait: ‘Quousque hiatum vertis ad orientem? Desine, iam habes quod voluisti, convertere nunc aquilonem.’ His verbis omnes in risum convertit, non sine admiratione multorum, qui hoc dictum altius intelligebant.” Arnold, *Chronica*, VII.16.

Inspecting the *Löwe*'s mouth in person, I find it just as easy to read the gaping mouth as *drawing in* as well as *expelling*, its oversize teeth gleaming. (After all, lions were characteristically avaricious predators who wolfed down Christians in apocrypha and sermons.) Characterizing the direction of sculptural action—whether it begins or resolves the events it depicts, for example—has been a problem for philosophical aesthetics since Lessing's *Laocoön*.<sup>189</sup> The stakes of deciding whether a figure rises or descends, sucks in or thrusts out, are given historical heft in a striking passage from Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*:

In my mind's eye I see the bronze statue of the college Founder, the cold Father symbol, his hands outstretched in the breathtaking gesture of lifting a veil that flutters in hard, metallic folds above the face of a kneeling slave; and I am standing puzzled, unable to decide whether the veil is really being lifted, or lowered more firmly in place; whether I am witnessing a revelation or a more efficient blinding.<sup>190</sup>

Here, the question of whether a looming figure lifts or lowers a veil might seem less pressing than the composition's inscription of a hierarchical social structure. Whether the veil rises or descends, the sculpture—which strongly resembles real-world statues celebrating Lincoln's beneficence—accords agency to a singular actor literally placed above a subservient subject.<sup>191</sup> But the indeterminacy matters to Ellison's protagonist, who not only infers two different propositions about the history of a social order from the sculpture's possible readings but implicitly connects its ambiguity to the duplicitous appearance that white supremacy presents to

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<sup>189</sup> Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoön: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry*, trans. Edward Allen McCormick (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).

<sup>190</sup> Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man [1952]* (New York: Vintage, 1995), 36.

<sup>191</sup> Kirk Savage, "Molding Emancipation: John Quincy Adams Ward's 'The Freedman' and the Meaning of the Civil War," *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 27, no. 1 (2001): 26-39+101; Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

the world. His encounter with the sculpture augurs the character's dawning awareness that veils are often lowered even as they appear to be lifted.

Roaring and devouring are implied or imagined actions that multiply the sculpture's space outward, much as its superficial similarity to a vessel encouraged viewers to imaginatively expand its interior. Bernhard's joke also extends the *Löwe's* space beyond Brunswick, far beyond its immediate beholders, across the swathe of land and sea conquered by Henry's troops and colonized by the merchants he sponsored. The sculpture's capacity to initiate both centripetal and centrifugal action indexes the sovereign ambition to coerce subjects at a distance.

### **Reception in Images**

Conrad Rudolph's recent analyses of medieval public art have explored how works were mediated (e.g. through tour guides) or rendered semantically accessible (e.g. through typological organization) for diverse audiences.<sup>192</sup> Rudolph, Walter Cahn, and Dale Kinney have shown that twelfth-century beholders argued over what sculptures meant, told stories about them, and invented histories to explain illegible features.<sup>193</sup> This talk is itself part of what makes a sculpture public, as are the various attempts to constrain or solicit interpretation by authorities like tour guides and devices like captions. Significantly, a consensus about the *Löwe's* meaning seems to have formed rapidly. This consensus hardened in the thirteenth century as the Welfs

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<sup>192</sup> Conrad Rudolph, "Inventing the Exegetical Stained-Glass Window: Suger, Hugh, and a New Elite Art," *The Art Bulletin* 93, no. 4 (2011): 399–422; Conrad Rudolph, "Inventing the Gothic Portal: Suger, Hugh of Saint Victor, and the Construction of a New Public Art at Saint-Denis," *Art History* 33, no. 4 (2010): 568–95; Conrad Rudolph, "The Tour Guide in the Middle Ages: Guide Culture and the Mediation of Public Art," *The Art Bulletin* 100, no. 1 (2018): 36–67.

<sup>193</sup> Walter Cahn, "Romanesque Sculpture and the Spectator," in *The Romanesque Frieze and Its Spectator: The Lincoln Symposium Papers*, ed. Deborah Kahn (London: Harvey Miller, 1992); Kinney, "The Horse, the King and the Cuckoo."

retrospectively refigured Brunswick into a dynastic seat. Noting how art historians have misconstrued evidence of the *Löwe's reception* for evidence about the conditions of its *making*, I argue that tracing the sculpture's afterlife in images and texts shows how it essentially produced a kind of political public.

The *Löwe's* image was immediately distributed through coins. Although Henry and his father before him both minted coins bearing pictures of lions, a number of silver bracteates issued by Henry's mints clearly depict the sculpture on a pedestal. In one example, the lion stands in profile, chest thrust out and tail curled up, surrounded by the town walls and towers and standing on a pedestal (fig. 1.33). Rulers used coins as engines of analogy, implying connections between themselves and other exemplars of power in dense constellations of text and image; in the charter cited above, Frederick Barbarossa mandated that the citizens of Aachen mint coins with his name and image on one side, and Charlemagne's image and seal on the other.<sup>194</sup> One of Henry's bracteates features the *Löwe* poised between two towers, encircled by a legend that reads: "I, Henry of Brunswick, am the lion" (*HAINNRICVS DE BERWNESWII SVVM EGO*) (fig. 1.34).<sup>195</sup> Image and inscription mark out a series of connections between the duke, the town of Brunswick, and the sculpture.

A resilient strand of interpretation, favored more by historians than art historians of late, sees the *Löwe* as an image of the duke derived from his leonine sobriquet.<sup>196</sup> Scholars have long

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<sup>194</sup> *Friderici I Diplomata*, part 1, no. 5.

<sup>195</sup> I quote from a well-preserved example held in the Münzkabinett in Berlin (Ident. Nr. 18204993). On the inscription more generally, see: Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe*; Gerhard Welter, *Die Münzen der Welfen seit Heinrich dem Löwen*, vol. 1 (Braunschweig: Klinckschmidt & Biermann, 1971), nr. 11.

<sup>196</sup> Noting that Henry shared the nickname 'the Lion' with other relatives (Helmold of Bosau even referred to Henry's father, Henry the Proud, as "Heinricus Leo") and that lions feature prominently on the coinage of his father and uncle, historians have queried whether the *Löwe*

used terms like *Selbstdarstellung* (“self portrait”) or *stellvertretendes Bildnis* (“proxy portrait”) to describe the sculpture.<sup>197</sup> Georg Dehio’s entry for the sculpture in his 1919 handbook *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* asks the reader to imagine the satisfied duke turning to the sculpture and sighing, “dies bin Ich.”<sup>198</sup> Summing up the state of research in 2003, Seiler concludes that most scholars agree that the sculpture is “an allegorical artwork...that acts as the personal representation (*Repräsentationsfigur*) of the duke.”<sup>199</sup> As I have already suggested, I do

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might have been conceived as a proto-heraldic monument: Matthias Becher, “Der Verfasser der ›Historia Welforum‹ zwischen Heinrich dem Löwen und den süddeutschen Ministerialen des welfischen Hauses,” in *Heinrich der Löwe: Herrschaft und Repräsentation*, ed. Johannes Fried and Otto Gerhard Oexle (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), 356-57. After all, speculative medieval etymologies derived the family name “Welf” from the Latin *catulus* (a term referring to a young wolf or dog), making the Welfs an early example of family whose identity was disseminated through symbols and shared histories. The author of the *Carmen de bello Saxonico* gives the following description of Welf IV, Henry’s eleventh-century forebear: “They followed Duke Welf, from ancient Roman stock, resounding through name and customs and origin.” (“Hos Romanorum sequitur de gente vetusta / Dux Catulus nomen referens moresque genusque.”) Edited by Oswald Holder-Egger, in MGH SSrG 17, III.v; III, vers. 63. For Welf IV, see: Bernd Schneidmüller, “Welf IV. 1101-1201. Kreationen fürstlicher Zukunft,” in *Welf IV. -- Schlüsselfigur einer Wendezeit: Regionale und europäische Perspektiven*, ed. Dieter R. Bauer and Matthias Becher, Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte. Beiheft 24 (München: C.H. Beck, 2004), 1–29. Medieval writers sometimes clarified the term *catulus* by describing the Welfs as *catuli leonum*; Arnold of Lübeck refers to Otto IV as “roaring like a lion cub” (“rugiens ut catulus leonis”). *Chronica*, VI.2. The classic study of Welfish family identity is Schmid, “Welfisches Selbstverständnis.” For the medieval Welfs in general, see Bernd Schneidmüller, *Die Welfen: Herrschaft und Erinnerung (819-1252)*, Kohlhammer Urban-Taschenbücher 465 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000).

<sup>197</sup> Althoff, “Löwen als Begleitung und Bezeichnung des Herrschers im Mittelalter,” 120; Harald Keller, “Denkmal,” in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Otto Schmitt (Stuttgart: Druckemüller, 1954), 1274. Karl Schmid picked up strains of this argument in his influential 1968 article, asserting that the lion “testifies” to the duke’s self-image: Schmid, “Welfisches Selbstverständnis,” 414-15. More qualified arguments still describe the sculpture as a “personal monument” that “represents the count himself,” a step away from the *Stilwillen* that Georg Swarzenski argues animated artistic production in the duke’s *Kunstkreis*: Seiler, “Der Braunschweiger Burglöwe,” 246; Georg Swarzenski, “Aus dem Kunstkreis Heinrichs des Löwen.”

<sup>198</sup> Georg Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* (Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1919), 171.

<sup>199</sup> Seiler, “Richterlicher oder kriegerischer Furor?” 136.

not think these arguments hold water. They do not contribute much to the interpretation of the numismatic evidence either. Seals, much more than coins, constructed the subject's personal identity through a visual schema, and lions feature in Henry's sealing practice only during the last years of his life when the duke was confined to Brunswick, decades after the *Löwe's* commission.<sup>200</sup>

None of Henry's charters use the duke's sobriquet; Arnold of Lübeck occasionally deploys leonine imagery, but never calls Henry "the Lion." Helmold's entire chronicle refers to the duke as "Henry the Lion" just seven times, and the one passage that might mark his appellation's invention—Henry is given a *nomen novum*: "Henry the Lion, duke of Bavaria and Saxony"—most likely refers to his accession to Bavarian office.<sup>201</sup> Instead, coins circulated the image of the sculpture in order to expand the community notionally subject to Henry's rule. They did this by literally expanding the *civitas* (in medieval usage, the term encompassed the *urbs* and surrounding territory) and reinforcing the image of Brunswick as a *civitas*.<sup>202</sup> The best parallel is

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<sup>200</sup> Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego Was Imago: Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

<sup>201</sup> Helmold, *Cronica*, I.56. Another passage in Helmold's chronicle does use similar phrasing to signal the bestowal of a new name, but the circumstantial evidence in the passage noted above militates against a neat equation of meaning: "Et factus est Hericus ea victoria insignis, et creatum est ei nomen novum, ut Hericus Emun, hoc est memorabilis, appellaretur." Helmold, *Cronica*, I.51.

<sup>202</sup> The spread of finds suggests that Henry's coinage circulated mostly in the vicinity of Brunswick, Bardowick, and Lüneburg, with a mint also attested in Hannover: Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 263. Since 1150, at least 55 different coins were minted at Brunswick. Neither an absolute nor relative chronology has been worked out for Henry's coins. On Henry's numismatics in general, see: Walter Kühn, *Die Brakteaten Heinrich des Löwen, 1142 - 1195: Zeugnisse aus Kultur und Wirtschaft in den Ländern um Braunschweig und Lüneburg*, Schriftenreihe der Münzfreunde Minden 16 (Minden: Münzfreunde Minden, 1995); Walter Kühn, "Münzen und Geld zur Zeit Heinrichs des Löwen im Raum um Braunschweig und Lüneburg," in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235: Katalog der Ausstellung, Braunschweig 1995*, ed. Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, vol. 2, 3 vols. (München: Hirmer, 1995), 401–7.

Henry's founding of the failed town of Löwenstadt in 1158, of which Helmold reports: "he called the city Löwenstadt after his own name, that is, the city of the Lion."<sup>203</sup> Henry appeared as "the Lion" specifically when he expanded his space of sovereignty.

Henry's coinage was also the source for the depiction of the *Löwe* on the Ebstorf world map (fig. 1.3). Scholars have argued at length over the map's date, some seeing a late thirteenth- or even fourteenth-century date, others ascribing it to Gervase of Tilbury and placing its creation as early as 1214/15.<sup>204</sup> The map's image of Brunswick is implicated in these debates. Jürgen Wilke, who prefers a much later date, argues that it was modeled on the 1231 *Stadtsiegel* of Brunswick (fig. 1.35).<sup>205</sup> But the image might just as easily have been drawn from one of Henry's coins, which were far more plentiful around Lüneburg than the town's seals, and from which the seal derived its iconography (if at a remove).<sup>206</sup> Recognizing this fact permits an earlier dating of the map, but it also points to the wide distribution of the *Löwe*'s image and underscores how quickly the sculpture came to symbolize the town.

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<sup>203</sup> Helmold, *Cronica*, I.86.

<sup>204</sup> Key texts in the dating dispute include: Hartmut Kugler, ed., *Ein Weltbild vor Columbus: die Ebstorfer Weltkarte, Interdisziplinäres Colloquium 1988* (Weinheim: VCH, 1991); Hartmut Kugler, ed., *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2007); Marcia Kupfer, "Reflections in the Ebstorf Map: Cartography, Theology and Dilectio Speculationis," in *Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond*, ed. Keith D. Lilley (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 100–126; Jürgen Wilke, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte*, 2 vols. (Gütersloh: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2001); Armin Wolf, "Kriterien zur Datierung der Ebstorfer Weltkarte: Zur Konzeption des Gervasius von Tilbury," in *Kloster und Bildung im Mittelalter*, ed. Nathalie Kruppa and Jürgen Wilke, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 218 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 425–69; Armin Wolf, "The Ebstorf Mappamundi and Gervase of Tilbury: The Controversy Revisited," *Imago Mundi* 64, no. 1 (2012): 1–27.

<sup>205</sup> Wilke, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte*, 1.158.

<sup>206</sup> It is possible that the coined image was remediated in turn; given the speed with which rulers recalled and reissued coins, Henry's coins may not have been widely available after 1195.

## Textual Reception

During the thirteenth century an inscription was added to the sculpture's base that dedicated the work "for the eternal memory of his [Henry's] origin and name" ("ad sempiternam et originis et nominis sui memoriam").<sup>207</sup> This text shaped later perspectives on the *Löwe*, as did Albert of Stade's thirteenth-century connection of the sculpture to Brunswick's walls. These texts are not simply misleading prisms through which to view the twelfth century; they are part of a horizon of responses to the sculpture that attest just how quickly its fame spread. Medieval beholders argued about what public sculptures meant and told stories about them.<sup>208</sup> The *Pilgrim's Guide* to Santiago de Compostela explained the cathedral's architecture to visiting pilgrims by telling lurid anecdotes about the more enigmatic figures carved on the facade, and visitors to Rome transcribed a whole range of conflicting narratives about classical *spolia*.<sup>209</sup> Of note, given how quickly the *Löwe* came to be identified with Henry the Lion himself, is Gregorius's report that medieval Romans understood large bronze sculptures of horses to commemorate specific figures from the past.<sup>210</sup> He and his interlocutors were perhaps aware that accounts of the origin of sculpture in Isidore's *Etymologiae* and the Book of Wisdom both accorded the earliest sculptures a memorial function.<sup>211</sup>

Discursive accounts of the *Löwe* soon identified it with its patron.<sup>212</sup> The three earliest textual descriptions of the monument make Henry the agent of its making. Godfrey of Viterbo

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<sup>207</sup> Schmid, "Welfisches Selbstverständnis," 398.

<sup>208</sup> Cahn, "Romanesque Sculpture and the Spectator," 45–60, 194–96; Kinney, "The Horse, the King and the Cuckoo."

<sup>209</sup> Rudolph, "The Tour Guide in the Middle Ages," 58–9.

<sup>210</sup> Gregorius, *The Marvels of Rome*, 26.

<sup>211</sup> Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 51–53.

<sup>212</sup> For Henry as patron, see: Swarzenski, "Aus dem Kunstkreis Heinrichs des Löwen;" Westermann-Angerhausen, "Heinrich der Löwe - ein Mäzen?"

states in the *Gesta Friderici* that the duke “poured a large lion out of bronze,” with Henry the subject of the verb *fuderat*, while Albert of Stade says that Henry “raised” (*erexit*) the lion and “enclosed” the town with walls (*vallo circumdedit*).<sup>213</sup> While Arnold of Lübeck uses a passive construction in relating an anecdote about the sculpture, writing that the *Löwe* was “raised there by Duke Henry” (*a duce Heinrico ibi sublimatus est*).<sup>214</sup> As noted above, generations of scholars have, for different reasons, made Henry the sculpture’s prime mover.<sup>215</sup> Contemporary writers often assigned artistic innovations to patrons, as when Sven Aggesen credits the Danish king Valdemar as the first person to build in a new medium, fired bricks.<sup>216</sup> Medieval writers did not simply construe the *Löwe* as analogous with the duke, but credited him as its innovative maker. Godfrey blurs the lines between these strategies, poetically connecting the sculpture’s casting to Henry’s rage (*furor*). The duke casts a lion sculpture and exercises his wrath, *leonem* and *furorem* paired as end rhymes and each preceded by the insistent *ipse* (himself).<sup>217</sup> Godfrey explicitly uses the sculpture to bring out Henry’s leonine qualities.

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<sup>213</sup> “Fuderat ex ere magnum dux ipse leonem,” in *Gesta Friderici*, vers. 1144. On this passage, see: Schüssler, “Der «Leo Rugiens» von Braunschweig,” 41; Seiler, “Welfischer oder königlicher Furor?” 137-138. For Godfrey more generally, see: Friedrich Hausmann, “Gottfried von Viterbo: Kapellan und Notar, Magister, Geschichtsschreiber und Dichter,” in *Friedrich Barbarossa: Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen des staufischen Kaisers*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1992), 603–21.

<sup>214</sup> Arnold, *Chronica*, VII.16. The text’s English translator misses the significance of *sublimatus*, translating it simply as “placed.” Arnold of Lübeck, *The Chronicle of Arnold of Lübeck*, trans. Graham A. Loud (London: Routledge, 2019), 295.

<sup>215</sup> Gosebruch, “‘Labor est Herimanni’”; Seiler, “Der Braunschweiger Löwe”; Swarzenski, “Aus dem Kunstkreis Heinrichs des Löwen.”

<sup>216</sup> Sven Aggesen, *The Works of Sven Aggesen*, 72.

<sup>217</sup> The full reference in Godfrey’s poem: “Fuderat ex ere magnum dux ipse leonem, / Cuius et acta movens exercuit ipse furorem; / Talia Welfones rite fovere solent. / Dicitur Henricus, dum cesaris esset amicus, / Federis oblitus Greco sociatus iniquo, / Ledat ut imperium Romuleosque situs...” Godfrey of Viterbo, *Gesta Friderici*, vers. 1144.

It is worth considering, then, that the sculpture was responsible for initiating or, at the very least, confirming the identification of the duke with leonine traits rather than working the other way around. If Henry had been known as “Henry the Lion” before the *Löwe* was erected, writers only elaborate the connection metaphorically *after* the sculpture’s creation. Arnold of Lübeck, educated in Brunswick, repeatedly used leonine metaphors to describe Henry and his children. When the duke burned Halberstadt, in 1180, Arnold alluded to several scriptural passages when he wrote: “behold that most savage lion, at whose roar the earth trembles.”<sup>218</sup> He went on to describe Henry’s son Otto IV as a man “audacious in spirit, roaring like a lion cub.”<sup>219</sup> The metaphors do double duty, punning on Henry’s epithet and forwarding the analogies between duke, animal, and biblical tyranny. In 1188 Henry and Matilda donated an altar to St. Blasius, and a set of images incised on the bronze disc containing the altar’s relics suggestively concatenate duke and lion (fig. 1.36). A bearded, elderly head might well suggest Henry’s visage—it certainly rhymes with the model of the aged, contemplative, insomniac duke, poring over ancient texts by night that Gerhard of Stederburg summons in his account of Henry’s final years.<sup>220</sup> Engraved below it, arranged as if the two images pivot around the disc’s center, is a delicate rendering of a lion that closely resembles the bestiary drawing I discussed above (fig. 1.17). The pictures inflect each other, perhaps equating or at least aligning lion and duke.

Arnold’s most intriguing reference to the *Löwe*, however, comes in the course of the joke told by Henry’s rival and successor discussed above: “For how long will you turn your gaping

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<sup>218</sup> “Ecce enim Leo ille sevissimus, ad cuius rugitum contremuit terra...” Arnold, *Chronica*, II.14.

<sup>219</sup> “audax animo, rugiens ut catulus leonis.” Arnold, *Chronica*, VI.2.

<sup>220</sup> Gerhard of Stederburg, *Annales Stederburgenses*, 230. Gerhard, who died in 1209, knew the duke personally and served as his emissary in the 1190s. For the altar, see, with bibliography: Luckhardt and Niehoff, *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit*, vol. 3, no. D 26.

mouth (*hiatum*) to the east? Stop, you’ve had what you want already, now you ought to turn to the north.”<sup>221</sup> While Arnold’s language is interesting in its own right—he describes the sculpture as “elevated” (*sublimatus*) rather than simply installed during the joke’s setup, and the adjective he adds to the lion, “molten” or “liquid” (*fusilis*), suggestively signals that it was cast—the anecdote tells us most importantly that the statue could easily stand in for Henry and his legacy when pointed out in a public arena.<sup>222</sup> In short, the strong association between Henry and the lion might plausibly be framed as one of the sculpture’s *effects*.<sup>223</sup> By the thirteenth century, probably shortly after Arnold’s chronicle was written, the inscription dedicating the *Löwe* to Henry’s name, origins, and memory, shaping the sculpture into a commemorative monument explicitly tied to Henry’s *persona* and a Welfish *Herkunftsbewusstsein* (sense of heritage).<sup>224</sup> The sculpture

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<sup>221</sup> The full passage: “Cum igitur omnium letitia abundaret, Bernardus dux intuitus leonem fusilem, qui a duce Heinrico ibi sublimatus est, ait: ‘Quousque hiatum vertis ad orientem? Desine, iam habes quod voluisti, convertere nunc aquilonem.’ His verbis omnes in risum convertit, non sine admiratione multorum, qui hoc dictum altius intelligebant.” Arnold, *Chronica*, VII.16.

<sup>222</sup> *Fusilis* can also mean, by inference, that an object was cast from molten metal. This is probably the sense Arnold intends.

<sup>223</sup> In a suggestive case study, Len Scales argues that visual programs associated with Emperor Charles IV were, in fact, produced by local patrons; the image of the king is an effect of prior pictorial and political campaigns: Len Scales, “Wenceslas Looks Out: Monarchy, Locality, and the Symbolism of Power in Fourteenth-Century Bavaria,” *Central European History* 52, no. 2 (June 2019): 179–210.

<sup>224</sup> Schmid, “Welfisches Selbstverständnis,” 398. In a typical move, Matthias Becher assumes that the lion sculpture symbolically represents Henry’s Welfish commitments, then uses this assumption to prove that the duke was more invested in the southern Welfs of Bavaria than previously supposed; otherwise, why resurrect this symbol of family tradition? Becher, “Der Verfasser der ›Historia Welforum‹ zwischen Heinrich dem Löwen und den süddeutschen Ministerialen des welfischen Hauses,” 357–58. For the inscription, see primarily Dieter von der Nahmer, “Heinrich der Löwe – Die Inschrift auf dem Löwenstein und die geschichtliche Überlieferung der Welfenfamilie im 12. Jahrhundert,” in *Der Braunschweiger Burglöwe: Bericht über ein wissenschaftliches Symposium in Braunschweig vom 12.10. bis 15.10.1983*, ed. Martin Gosebruch (Göttingen: Goltze, 1985), 201–19. The inscription is attested in the early modern period, but scholars have noted parallel wording in the late thirteenth-century *Braunschweiger Reimchronik*. See Schneidmüller, “Burg - Stadt - Vaterland: Braunschweig und die Welfen im hohen Mittelalter.”

was retrospectively cast as an early portrait, projecting an aggrandized image of the duke into the thirteenth-century public sphere and picturing Henry as an exemplary Welf.<sup>225</sup>

## Conclusion

The *Löwe* was an experimental monumental production that connected Brunswick to other places. It put Brunswick, quite literally, on the map (fig. 1.6). It consumed resources in ways that were obviously spatial, bringing workers and resources to the town, and thereby drew the world into Brunswick. An impressive sculpture that solicited wonder and trumpeted (with more than hint of coercive intent) Henry's new *civitas*, the *Löwe* rose over the town he

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<sup>225</sup> Most medieval portraits were more dense constellations of signs than attempts at physiognomic likeness; Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009). Thomas Dale's important articles on the topic of Romanesque portraiture, which treat objects close in time and place to the sculpted lion, must be qualified by the growing consensus that the so-called *Cappenberger Barbarossakopf* likely depicts the head of St. John the Baptist rather than Frederick Barbarossa: Dale, "The Individual, the Resurrected Body, and Romanesque Portraiture"; Thomas Dale, "Romanesque Sculpted Portraits: Convention, Vision, and Real Presence," *Gesta* 46, no. 2 (2007): 101–19. For recent re-attributions of the *Cappenberger Barbarossakopf*, see Edeltraud Balzer, "Der Cappenberger Barbarossakopf. Vorgeschichte, Geschenkanlass und Funktionen," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 46 (2012): 241–99; Caroline Horch, ... "... caput argenteum ad imperatoris formatum effigiem... - Der Cappenberger Barbarossakopf: Bild oder Bildnis?" in *AufRuhr 1225! Ritter, Burgen und Intrigen* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 2010), 107–20. The long-standing argument that the *Löwe* was made as a Welfish monument holds little art historical or historical water. As Werner Hechberger demonstrates in a series of polemical articles, coherent family identities like "Welf" and "Staufer" are misleading fictions more informative about later political desires rather than twelfth-century realities; "Man sollte sie daher besser aufgeben" ("one would do better to give them up"): Werner Hechberger, "Die Vorstellung vom staufisch-welfischen Gegensatz im 12. Jahrhundert. Zur Analyse und Kritik einer Deutung," in *Heinrich der Löwe: Herrschaft und Repräsentation*, ed. Johannes Fried and Otto Gerhard Oexle (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), 381–425. See also: Werner Hechberger, *Staufer und Welfen, 1125-1190: Zur Verwendung von Theorien in der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Köln: Böhlau, 1996); Werner Hechberger and Florian Schuller, eds., *Staufer und Welfen: zwei rivalisierende Dynastien im Hochmittelalter* (Regensburg: Pustet, 2009). For an art historical critique of the notion of the sculpture as a "Welfish" image, see: Peter Seiler, "Welfischer oder königlicher Furor? Zur Interpretation des Braunschweiger Burglöwen," in *Die Romane von dem Ritter mit dem Löwen*, ed. Xenja von Ertzdorff (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), 135–83.

transformed as a conceptual and physical beacon. Its energies were directed outward as well as inward (roaring as well as devouring) through coins, poems, and, differently but no less importantly, the formal logic of the composition. In this conclusion, I gather together the chapter's threads in order to outline how the sculpture's innovative shaping of public space produced a new form of political art.

“*Politikmodell!*” exclaims Bernd Schneidmüller in a recent study of Henry's political experiments. “For modern historians of the Middle Ages, this word seems provocative.”<sup>226</sup> Staking out the position that twelfth-century people behaved politically (rather than, say, with mostly economic or religious motivations) is, surprisingly, itself a provocation.<sup>227</sup> But delineating a *Politikmodell*, a well-elaborated theory of politics or an ideologically coherent program for realizing a particular political order, is a provocation of a different sort. Attempts to define Henry's political activity have generally overstated his personal agency. Nevertheless, as Schneidmüller points out, there *was* something unusual about Henry's politics and, as Lyon argues, the duke was placed in an unusually precarious situation when he came of age without a large horizontal kinship network.<sup>228</sup> He was forced, instead, to find non-standard ways to shore up and expand his power.

While it stretches the evidence to say that Henry had a well-elaborated theory of politics, he had a robust and transgressive political practice that amounted to a pragmatic *Politikmodell*. What Henry “tried out” became common practice in later decades, including colonization, the

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<sup>226</sup> “Politikmodell! Für moderne Historikerinnen und Historiker wirkt dieses Wort provozierend.” Schneidmüller, “Heinrich der Löwe und sein Politikmodell im Norden des Reichs,” 12.

<sup>227</sup> I cover this problem in my introduction, with attention both to the historiography and the analytic issues entailed in definitions of high-medieval politics.

<sup>228</sup> Lyon, *Princely Brothers and Sisters*; Schneidmüller, “Heinrich der Löwe und sein Politikmodell im Norden des Reichs.”

consolidation of power through mercantile expansion and town founding, the widespread use of *ministeriales*, and rule from residential towns (*Residenzstädten*) like Brunswick.<sup>229</sup> His cultivation of a political site at the *Burgplatz*, in which the *Löwe* played such a key role, took center stage in the crafting of a new *Politikmodell*. Other German lords would later imitate him but, importantly, these efforts read to Henry's contemporaries at the time "as tremendous audacity, even a breach of law."<sup>230</sup> The *Löwe* played a constitutive role in at least some of his efforts, ambitious art enabling and shaping the duke's experimental politics.<sup>231</sup> Godfrey of Viterbo's description of the sculpture frames it as an audacious object, contiguous with the duke's other breaches of normative political behavior.

Accounts of the rise of monumental figural sculpture have often gestured to the specter of idolatry.<sup>232</sup> In this vein, an illustration from the *Rolandslied*—a late twelfth-century German retelling of the *Song of Roland* often thought to have been composed at Henry's court—seems to suggestively frame the *Löwe* as idol (fig. 1.37). Pagans cluster around a column, pointing to the rather stubby lion that perches atop it; can it be that the artist glosses the text's nondescript

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<sup>229</sup> Schneidmüller, "Heinrich der Löwe und sein Politikmodell im Norden des Reichs," 12.

<sup>230</sup> Schneidmüller, "Der Ort des Schatzes," 30; Schneidmüller, "Heinrich der Löwe und sein Politikmodell im Norden des Reichs."

<sup>231</sup> Although I do not have space to fully treat it here, art historians have framed the analogy between Henry's experimental politics and artistic commissions in facile terms *as* an analogy. See, for example, Elizabeth Monroe's interpretation of the image of Mary Magdalene in the *Evangelary* donated by Henry and Matilda to St. Blasius: "Henry naturally comes to mind in this context. It is easy to see the appeal of an 'unfixed' set of significations for a monarch whose legitimacy (and territories) were constantly under threat. The Magdalene's discursive flexibility fits Henry's shifting needs; within the context of twelfth-century Germany, she figures not so much as 'sign' but rather as a sign of the referential mutability of representation. Ultimately, Henry's improvisational politics mandated an emblematic language, which, like him, would not rest." Elizabeth Monroe, "Mary Magdalene as a Model of Devotion, Penitence, and Authority in the Gospels of Henry the Lion and Matilda," in *Mary Magdalene in Medieval Culture: Conflicted Roles*, ed. Peter Loewen and Robin Waugh (New York: Routledge, 2014), 112.

<sup>232</sup> Camille, *The Gothic Idol*; Fricke, *Ecce Fides*.

language of idolatry by referring to Brunswick's most prominent work of art?<sup>233</sup> Is a critique intended or, perhaps, a sly joke?

In either case, I read the drawing as indirect evidence that *Löwe* sculpture became good to think with. The *Löwe*'s audacity initiated a new kind of public, political sculpture. Its legacy may be found in the flourishing tradition of large figural sculptures that came to dominate public space by the late Middle Ages, as well as in the (by now banal) notion that claiming public space, making political assertions, and impressing spectators are functions proper to monumental medieval sculpture.<sup>234</sup> Making Henry's conquests part of its depictive content and its process of production, then enacting these conquests through its reproduction in different media, the *Löwe* newly asserted the power of art to define centralized places (courts) and distributed territories (networks of merchants and tributaries). In this sense, reckoning the sculpture's political qualities simply is the same thing as specifying its public dimensions; becoming aware of the *Löwe* meant orienting yourself to it and, by extension, to Henry's claims. The *Löwe*'s gaze and gaping mouth are no mere adjuncts to the duke's political practice, but rather the artful means of carving out space and subjugating it. Its novel formal and material features are integral to the business of imagining sculpture as capable of doing this kind of work at all.

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<sup>233</sup> Jeffrey Ashcroft, "Konrad's Rolandslied, Henry the Lion, and the Northern Crusade," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* XXII, no. 2 (1986): 184–208; Karl Bertau, "Das deutsche Rolandslied und die Repräsentationskunst Heinrichs des Löwen," in *Literarisches Mäzenatentum. Ausgewählte Forschungen zur Rolle des Gönners und Auftraggebers in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*, ed. Joachim Bumke (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982), 331–70. For the illustrations to the manuscript, see: Paul Bertemes, *Bild- und Textstruktur: eine Analyse der Beziehungen von Illustrationszyklus und Text im Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad in der Handschrift P* (Frankfurt am Main: R.G. Fischer, 1984); Wilfried Werner, *Das Rolandslied in den Bildern der Heidelberger Handschrift* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1977).

<sup>234</sup> See, from a vast bibliography: Assaf Pinkus, "The Giant of Bremen: Roland and the 'Colossus Imagination,'" *Speculum* 93, no. 2 (2018): 387–419; Assaf Pinkus, *Sculpting Simulacra in Medieval Germany, 1250-1380* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014); Scales, "Wenceslas Looks Out," *Central European History* 52, no. 2 (2019): 179–210.

## CHAPTER 2: *Ministerialis*

*They keep their gold in me, the dullness of riches. Beware it.*

- Sean Bonney<sup>1</sup>

One of the *Braunschweiger Löwe*'s closest technological counterparts is the so-called *Wolframleuchter* (fig. 2.1).<sup>2</sup> A monumental candelabrum cast from a copper alloy in the 1160s or 70s, it stands in Erfurt Cathedral where documents attest its place from the fourteenth century on.<sup>3</sup> A slender male figure, hunching slightly forward, proffers candleholders in each

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<sup>1</sup> Sean Bonney, "Hölderlin After Meinhof/Lyrics for Kruk," in *Our Death* (Oakland: Commune Editions, 2019), 14.

<sup>2</sup> The bibliography on the *Wolframleuchter* is extensive. See the major works: Falko Bornschein, Karl Heinemeyer, and Maria Stürzebecher, eds., *Der Wolfram-Leuchter im Erfurter Dom. Ein romanisches Kunstwerk und sein Umfeld* (Neustadt an der Aisch: Verlagsdruckerei Schmidt, 2020); Hans Drescher, "Zur Herstellungstechnik des Erfurter Wolfram-Leuchters," in *Halberstadt, Studien zu Dom und Liebfrauenkirche. Königtum und Kirche als Kulturträger im östlichen Harzvorland-Halberstadt*, ed. Ernst Ullmann (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997), 186–204; Hans Gerhard Meyer, "Der Erfurter Wolfram und die Magdeburger Wettinwerkstadt," in *Der Braunschweiger Burglöwe: Bericht über ein wissenschaftliches Symposium in Braunschweig vom 12.10. bis 15.10.1983*, ed. Martin Gosebruch (Göttingen: Goltze, 1985), 135–53; Sabine Poeschel, "Der Wolfram-Leuchter von Erfurt. Überlegungen zu Funktion und Identifikation," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Thüringische Geschichte* 54 (2000): 15–44; Norbert Schmidt, "Der Wolfram-Leuchter. Untersuchung eines 800 Jahre alten Kunstwerkes," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde von Erfurt* 63 (2002): 65–86. The *Wolframleuchter* has frequently been paired with the *Löwe* in accounts of monumental German sculpture; see the historiographical remarks in: Peter Seiler, "Der Braunschweiger Löwe: 'Epochale Innovation' oder 'Einzigartiges Kunstwerk'?", in *Studien zur Geschichte der europäischen Skulptur im 12.-13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Herbert Beck and Kerstin Hengevoss-Dürkop (Frankfurt am Main: Henrich, 1994), 533–64.

<sup>3</sup> Scholarly consensus has long held that the *Leuchter* was placed in the cathedral from the outset. Two recent studies of the inscription's contents and paleography affirm a twelfth-century date for the object's facture: Michael Matscha, "Zur Textgestalt der Inschrift des Wolfram-Leuchters," in *Der Wolfram-Leuchter im Erfurter Dom. Ein romanisches Kunstwerk und sein Umfeld*, ed. Falko Bornschein, Karl Heinemeyer, and Maria Stürzebecher (Neustadt an der Aisch: Verlagsdruckerei Schmidt, 2020), 229–39; Frank-Joachim Stewing, "Spuren zum Erfurter Wolfram-Leuchter in der schriftlichen Überlieferung des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters," in *Der Wolfram-Leuchter im Erfurter Dom. Ein romanisches Kunstwerk und sein Umfeld*, ed. Falko

outstretched hand, prickets surmounted by real waxen tapers. His face is carefully modeled with wide, bulging eyes, incised eyebrows that sweep in dramatic arches from a furrowed brow, his hair and beard rendered in thick locks and his robe animated by a profusion of folds and pleats reminiscent of the recumbent effigies cast around the same decades in Magdeburg (fig. 2.2).<sup>4</sup> Characteristic of this workshop's ambition is the pronounced contrast drawn between smooth passages—the *Leuchter* figure's glinting cheeks and falling sheafs of cloth—and densely concentrated marks, such that the sculpture's bodily comportment is inflected and activated by a kaleidoscopic assortment of complementary surfaces (fig. 2.3-2.4). Both *Löwe* and *Leuchter* gleam as monumental figures rendered in a complex, definitively sculptural vocabulary that plays bodily form and finish against each other.

Although slightly smaller than life-size, the *Wolframleuchter* cuts a disconcerting figure when first encountered. The effect of spectatorial dislocation is predicated not just on its proto-naturalistic passages; it is also an artifact of the sculpture's novelty. Like the *Löwe*, the *Leuchter* is a *unicum*. No other monumental, free-standing, anthropomorphic, metal sculpture survives

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Bornschein, Karl Heinemeyer, and Maria Stürzebecher (Neustadt an der Aisch: Verlagsdruckerei Schmidt, 2020), 65–134. For the fourteenth-century documentary evidence, see: Meyer, “Der Erfurter Wolfram,” 137.

<sup>4</sup> For the sculpture's costume, see: Katrin Kania, “Die Kleidung des Erfurter Wolfram-Leuchters,” in *Der Wolfram-Leuchter im Erfurter Dom. Ein romanisches Kunstwerk und sein Umfeld*, ed. Falko Bornschein, Karl Heinemeyer, and Maria Stürzebecher (Neustadt an der Aisch: Verlagsdruckerei Schmidt, 2020), 215–27. For the Magdeburg effigies, see: Kurt Bauch, *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild Figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1976), 27-31; Shirin Fozi, *Romanesque Tomb Effigies: Death and Redemption in Medieval Europe, 1000-1200* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021), 56-7; R. Hagedorn, “Zur Ikonographie von Figurengrabplatten. Deutsche Beispiele zwischen dem Ende des 11. und der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts,” in *Erzbischof Wichmann (1152-1192) und Magdeburg im hohen Mittelalter: Stadt, Erzbistum, Reich: Ausstellung zum 800. Todestag Erzbischof Wichmanns vom 29. October 1992 bis 21. März 1993*, ed. Matthias Puhle (Magdeburg: Magdeburger Museen, 1992), 124–55; Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1964), 52-3.

from the twelfth century. For the high-medieval viewer, the *Leuchter* would have loomed up as a self-consciously exceptional case, a figure unexpectedly peeled away from the church walls, columns, and crucifixes where large carved bodies typically lived.<sup>5</sup> As I discuss in greater detail in the chapter, the sculpture calibrates its claims to other, non-figural liturgical objects, purposefully qualifying its resemblance to living bodies; its crenellated base, for example, elevates the sculpture from the church floor, borrowing strategies from other monumental candelabra and working somewhat like the modernist base that asserts the sculpture's autonomous, artificial status (fig. 2.5).<sup>6</sup>

But much as the *Löwe*'s novelty was epiphenomenal with a new mode of representing and enacting coercive political sovereignty, I argue in this chapter that the *Leuchter*'s unusual appearance witnesses a new configuration of art, social class, and political personhood. Examining the artful relations between people and property, I propose that sculptures (from the large, cast *Leuchter* to precious-metal reliefs), sculptural techniques, and the assorted operations of laboring and valuation that underwrote sculptural production played an important role in visualizing, effecting, and constituting the capacities of subjects to act under shifting social conditions. Indeed, they yielded fundamental models for imagining the subject as such. The property of being property impelled, in turn, new sculptural properties. The *Leuchter* was donated by a legally unfree patron, and its innovative enlistment of monumental figuration for

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<sup>5</sup> Hiltrud Westermann-Angerhausen, "Der Erfurter 'Wolfram-Leuchter' - Funktion und Verortung in der Bronzeplastik des 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Der Wolfram-Leuchter im Erfurter Dom. Ein romanisches Kunstwerk und sein Umfeld*, ed. Falko Bornschein, Karl Heinemeyer, and Maria Stürzebecher (Neustadt an der Aisch: Verlagsdruckerei Schmidt, 2020), 137. For the candelabrum illustrated in figure 2.5, see: Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235: Katalog der Ausstellung, Braunschweig 1995* (München: Hirmer, 1995), no. D 27.

<sup>6</sup> Rosalind Krauss, "Sculpture in the Expanded Field," *October* 8 (1979), 34. The analogy is, of course, imprecise.

liturgical action takes the striking form of a laboring figure who bears up some of the most visibly commodified worked objects in the high-medieval world: deluxe waxen candles.

The chapter consists of two bodies of evidence that, when conjoined, tell a story about form. I first trace the emergence of a new unfree class that rose to prominence in Henry the Lion's administration, the *ministeriales*. Although many medieval people had their freedoms curtailed in profound ways, the *ministeriales* present the paradox of a culturally and economically powerful class whose legal status approximated that of property. Seeing how they negotiated the ability to commission art objects, alienate things of value, and strategically position themselves through regimes of representation reveals art's place at the nexus of action, property, and social formation during Henry's reign.

I then turn back to the *Wolframleuchter*, arguing that it indexes a series of "socially binding processes," including the reproduction of class, the subordination of agency, and the effacement of labor.<sup>7</sup> Analyzing the form of a phonograph record in 1934, Theodor Adorno argued that its compressed physical properties corresponded to a "two-dimensional model of a reality" that could be multiplied, circulated, and traded as a commodity (fig. 2.6). This smooth adaptation of music to market demands, both facilitated and dramatized by its flattened form, came "at the price of sacrificing its third dimension: its height and its abyss."<sup>8</sup> By the chapter's end, I hope to show that attending to the *Wolframleuchter*'s formal properties, its dimensions and

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<sup>7</sup> Sianne Ngai, *Our Aesthetic Categories: Zany, Cute, Interesting* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 1. Ngai tracks how the aesthetic categories of zany, cute, and interesting become "sensuous, affective relations of the ways in which contemporary subjects work, exchange, and consume." Each category indexes an important feature of economic life (production, circulation, and consumption, respectively).

<sup>8</sup> Theodor W. Adorno, "The Form of the Phonograph Record," trans. Thomas Y. Levin, *October* 55 (1990), 57.

orientation as well as its shape and function, similarly reveals a nexus of the aesthetic and economic.

### *Ministeriales*

In 1146, Henry the Lion gifted the town of Riddagshausen to the newly-established abbey nearby.<sup>9</sup> His donation enabled the community to develop into a thriving institution, capable of financially supporting the new abbot and twelve brothers who had been sent from the motherhouse at Amelungsborn and, later, supplying northern Europe with prominent churchmen.<sup>10</sup> In February 1164, for example, Henry used his remarkably expansive authority to name bishops in the north by promoting the abbot of Riddagshausen to the bishopric of Lübeck.<sup>11</sup> Notable as an early Cistercian institution in Lower Saxony, at a time when Cistercian missionaries from Amelungsborn and elsewhere played an outsized role in converting Slavic populations and facilitating activities of colonization, Riddagshausen is also an important representative of another phenomenon; the patronage of *ministeriales*.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the charter that conveyed the town to the religious community explicitly credits Henry's *ministerialis* Ludolf von Dahlum, "by whose contrivance and petition this was begun," with founding the abbey.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> MGH DD HdL, no. 7.

<sup>10</sup> For the early history of Riddagshausen, see Joachim Ehlers, "Die Anfänge des Klosters Riddagshausen und der Zisterzienserorden," *Braunschweiger Jahrbuch* 67 (1986): 59–85.

<sup>11</sup> Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. Bernhard Schmeidler, in MGH SSrG 32 (Hanover: Hahn, 1937), II.97. Helmold also notes that the abbot's predecessor in the Lübeck see (his brother, who had previously served as chaplain to the duke) had contemplated becoming a monk at Riddagshausen before Henry nominated him as bishop of Oldenburg.

<sup>12</sup> For Cistercian missionaries, see Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades, 1147-1254* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 51-2. The classic English-language survey of the crusades is Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, 2nd ed. (London: Penguin, 1997).

<sup>13</sup> "...cuius machinatione et petitione istud inchoatum est." For more on Ludolf, who is not named as "von Dahlum" in the document but likely the same person, see Claus-Peter Hasse, *Die*

*Ministeriales* (German: *Dienstmannen* or *Ministerialen*) formed a class of unfree subjects who have occasioned vigorous debate in French and German historiography while receiving scant attention from Anglophone authors.<sup>14</sup> Unlike their French counterparts, German *ministeriales* were not bound by obligations of homage and vassalage but rather were, quite literally, owned by the lord whose patrimony they made up.<sup>15</sup> Their ties of dependence were a *ius proprietatis*, a proprietary right, and *ministeriales* were referred to as *homines proprii*, “owned people,” whose service, possessions, and even reproductive rights were legally held by those they served.<sup>16</sup> They weren’t bound contractually, but rather were inherited along with land, traded to other lords, or purchased outright. Features of social life, such as marriage, were heavily regulated; *ministeriales* often faced opprobrium for marrying outside their lord’s *familia*.<sup>17</sup> (Although scholars have largely attended to the male *ministeriales* who appear most frequently in administrative and literary documents, the status of *ministerialis* encompassed women, children, and entire family units.) Their prominence exemplifies the degree to which twelfth-century German society was distinguished by a social system that featured marked

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*welfischen Hofämter und die welfische Ministerialität in Sachsen: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, Historische Studien 443 (Husum: Matthiesen, 1995), 100-2. The *Annales Palidenses*, written some decades later, also record 1145 as the date when Ludolf founded the abbey.

<sup>14</sup> For notable exceptions, see most importantly: Benjamin Arnold, *German Knighthood, 1050-1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); John B. Freed, *Noble Bondsmen: Ministerial Marriages in the Archdiocese of Salzburg, 1100-1343* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Joseph P. Huffman, *Family, Commerce and Religion in London and Cologne: Anglo-German Emigrants, c. 1000-c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

<sup>15</sup> Arnold, *German Knighthood*, 17.

<sup>16</sup> The precise meaning of the term *homo proprius* is difficult to pin down, generally serving as a synonym for *servus* in the eleventh century and changing definition unevenly over the course of the twelfth century. Dominique Barthélemy, *The Serf, the Knight, and the Historian*, trans. Graham Robert Edwards (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 90-4.

<sup>17</sup> Freed, *Noble Bondsmen*, 64-88.

relations of unfreedom even more so than neighboring polities like Angevin England and Capetian France.<sup>18</sup>

There was a great deal of economic and social variation among *ministeriales*. Each lord (who might as easily be an ecclesiastic as a secular figure) seems to have installed a slightly different set of legal regulations for their *familia* and surviving twelfth-century customals archive a variety of rules.<sup>19</sup> Some *ministeriales* ascended to positions of political influence, acquired education and wealth, and were able to obtain noble status (especially through intermarriage with free partners), although this was the exception rather than the norm.<sup>20</sup> But, as John Freed observes, the *ministeriales* are best characterized by the “disjunction” between their legal condition and social status.<sup>21</sup> When legal and social freedom were decoupled, a series of faults ramified. Freed notes, for example, that seigneurial customs usually required *ministeriales* to

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<sup>18</sup> “Unfreedom” is a controversial term in this context. Its use in the German historiography begins in earnest with Karl Bosl, “Die adelige Unfreiheit. Zur Erneuerung der politischen Führungsschichten im Mittelalter,” *Bohemia - Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der böhmischen Länder* 16, no. 1 (1975): 11–23. For the first rigorous comparison of French and German examples, see: Marc Bloch, *La société féodale: la formation des liens de dépendance* (Paris: A. Michel, 1939); Marc Bloch, *La société féodale: les classes et le gouvernement des hommes* (Paris: A. Michel, 1940). Bloch’s model has been substantially revised in past decades. The literature on feudalism is too large to cite; for a landmark revision and a good recent analysis of the German situation see, respectively: Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001); Steffen Patzold, *Das Lehnswesen* (München: Beck, 2012).

<sup>19</sup> The earliest surviving customal is from Bamberg and was written around 1060 with later interpolations and additions. No comparable document remains from Henry the Lion’s court, but examples survive from Ahr (1154) and Cologne (1165). Gerhard of Stederburg makes an intriguing reference in his *Annales*, however, when he records a free man and his two brothers giving himself into the power of Henry the Lion according to the *ius ministerialium*. Gerhard of Stederburg, *Annales Stederburgenses*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, in MGH SS 16 (Hanover: Hahn, 1859), 217. On customals for *ministeriales*, see: Karl Bosl, “Das *ius ministerialium*. Dienstrecht und Lehnrecht im deutschen Mittelalter,” *Vorträge und Forschungen* 5 (1960): 51–94; Karl Bosl, *Frühformen der Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Europa: ausgewählte Beiträge zu einer Strukturanalyse der mittelalterlichen Welt* (München: R. Oldenburg, 1964), 277–326.

<sup>20</sup> Arnold, *German Knighthood*, 99.

<sup>21</sup> Freed, *Noble Bondsmen*, 26.

marry within their lord's *familia*, against the proscriptions of canon law that required exogamous marriage.<sup>22</sup> More generally, what did it mean for the *ministeriales*, who filled important courtly positions, held advocacies, and carried out high-level military maneuvers, to be unfree and yet integral to the exercise of elite power? To amass wealth and property that could not, legally, be disposed of without permission? Coercion presupposes that a coerced subject possesses a will that can be constrained; the *ministeriales* offer a test case of a variegated unfreedom in which agency was qualified at every turn, in which subjecthood was grounded in an artificially restrained *voluntas*.

Riddagshausen's pomp, then, came from servile beginnings. And so transactions like Liudolf's complicate the dominant paradigms within which medieval art historians have tended to situate acts of patronage. Gravitating to prominent, named patrons like Abbot Suger at St-Denis or Maximian of Ravenna, scholars have largely stressed questions of agency and intention.<sup>23</sup> This has not only lead to an overdependence on the unusual cases where we can plausibly connect patrons to extant works—with a corresponding overrepresentation of elite figures—but has constrained the very interpretive possibilities of patronage in the historical record. Focusing on exceptional examples of elite patronage steers us away from the mass of

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<sup>22</sup> For the conflation of *familiae*: Freed, *Noble Bondsmen*, 1-29.

<sup>23</sup> I have in mind the classic studies: *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures*, ed. Gerda Panofsky-Soergel, trans. Erwin Panofsky, 2nd edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979); Otto Georg von Simson, *Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948). The historiographical literature is too large to adequately cite, but some helpful recent discussions are: S. Bagci, Beat Brenk, and Anthony Cutler, "Committenza," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, ed. Angiola M. Romanini, vol. 5, 12 vols. (Rome: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1994), 203–31; Jill Caskey, "Medieval Patronage and Its Potentialities," in *Patronage: Power and Agency in Medieval Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Index of Christian Art, Department of Art & Archaeology, Princeton University, 2013), 3–30; Jill Caskey, "Whodunnit? Patronage, the Canon, and the Problematics of Agency in Romanesque and Gothic Art," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 193–212.

artworks that were commissioned by and for less notable figures whose activity yielded the bulk of the art historical record.

Besides the obvious problem of oversampling, this trend has fundamentally distorted the stories art historians tell about how images and objects can be made to yield structures and subjects. Ernst Kitzinger's analysis of the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo made for Roger II, published in 1949, exemplifies how an influential patronage study rehearses a problematic set of hermeneutic assumptions. Analyzing details like the figure of Christ *Pantokrator* in the chapel's apse, Kitzinger interprets the visual program's stress on Christ's royalty as a "subjective" arrangement, "designed to gratify the king, who apparently was to find reflected in the sacred images his own militant power and his own real and anticipated triumphs."<sup>24</sup> (Fig. 2.7) Moreover, he takes the mosaics' designers to be deploying a "practical politics" in their use of Byzantine imagery and stylistic forms, a politics tied to Sicilian social life:

Where there were so many different peoples and creeds religious dogma could not play the role of a universal and objective norm which it played in Byzantium. The state became viable only on the basis of extreme religious tolerance, avoidance of theological argument, and an extraordinary emphasis on the person of the ruler.

For all his careful attention to iconography, style, and spatial arrangement, Kitzinger secures his argument by invoking the "'enlightened' atmosphere of King Roger's court" to lend his argument "a certain inner plausibility."<sup>25</sup> Art is understood, in the end, to reflect a patron's

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<sup>24</sup> Ernst Kitzinger, "The Mosaics of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo: An Essay on the Choice and Arrangement of Subjects," *The Art Bulletin* 31, no. 4 (1949), 291.

<sup>25</sup> Kitzinger, "The Mosaics of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo," 291.

political preoccupations even as it is made to serve as evidence of those very concerns.

Assuming this relationship licenses the interpretive move in the first place.

Influential accounts like Kitzinger's have guided the discipline towards a hegemonic notion of patronage that celebrates powerful individuals as the agentive authors of meaning. As Aden Kumler observes, however, "medieval monuments and portable objects propose a heterogeneous, even contradictory, series of accounts of the relative primacy of artists or patrons."<sup>26</sup> Recent attention to the gift as an analytic category has made productive use of anthropological frameworks in order to extend the range of ways in which objects helped to construct—or, in Kumler's formulation, to "effect"—patrons.<sup>27</sup> In another vein, Bernd Carqué's discussion of art at the court of Charles V figures *style* as something like a language that a patron might select, allowing art historians to place choices of content and presentation with respect to both diachronic and synchronic discourses.<sup>28</sup> But these are partial solutions to a broader problem. Reconceiving the object as an engine for generating investments, ideological operations, and

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<sup>26</sup> Aden Kumler, "The Patron-Function," in *Patronage: Power and Agency in Medieval Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Index of Christian Art, Department of Art & Archaeology, Princeton University, 2013), 303.

<sup>27</sup> The classic statement is Marcel Mauss, "Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques," *L'Année sociologique* 1 (1923): 30–186. I am grateful to Carlo Ginzburg for his advice on this topic. For recent analyses of medieval giving see (from a larger bibliography): Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner, and Bernhard Jussen, eds., *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003); Philippe Buc, "Conversion of Objects: Suger of Saint-Denis and Meinwerk of Paderborn," *Viator* 28 (1997): 99–144; Florin Curta, "Merovingian and Carolingian Gift Giving," *Speculum* 81, no. 3 (July 2006): 671–699; David Ganz, *Buch-Gewänder: Prachteinbände im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Reimer, 2015), 226–257; Cecily Hilsdale, *Byzantine Art and Diplomacy in an Age of Decline* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Cecily J. Hilsdale, "Gift," *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 171–82; Barbara H. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).

<sup>28</sup> Bernd Carqué, *Stil und Erinnerung: französische Hofkunst im Jahrhundert Karls V. und im Zeitalter ihrer Deutung*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 192 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004).

identities holds out the promise not simply of recuperating new actors but newly describing action and constraint as constituent—even artistically constituted—features of historically contingent subjects.

How do the gifts and commissions of the twelfth-century *ministeriales* square with prevailing notions of patronage? Recognizing the roles that patrons played in making, modifying, and consuming works of art has dramatically expanded the range of figures who count in the discipline, with notable consequences for the study of gender; but this recuperative work is not what I have in mind.<sup>29</sup> Rather, I take as my starting point the peculiar constraints of a legal unfreedom focused on property and the ministerial's inability to alienate goods, land, or people without explicit permission. A ministerial could not freely give, even when they might be said to own or preside over the substance of a potential gift.<sup>30</sup> These conditions also make it difficult to compare a ministerial's gift to, say, the spectacular diplomatic exchanges between courts.<sup>31</sup> Further, *ministeriales* rarely occupied a social stratum sufficiently elite to permit donations worthy of special celebration, nor did they tend to commit their deeds to writing in the manner of an Abbot Suger. Inscriptions which name their commissioners, like that on the base of the arm reliquary of St. Innocent ordered by Henry the Lion which testifies *DVX HEINRICVS ME FIERI IVSSIT AD HONOREM DEI* ("Duke Henry ordered me to be made for the honor of God"), play an outsize role in art historical discussions of medieval patronage (fig. 2.8).<sup>32</sup> But these sorts of objects, usually sumptuous donations to ecclesiastical institutions, are exceptional. Indeed, I have

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<sup>29</sup> Michael Camille, "For Our Devotion and Pleasure': The Sexual Objects of Jean, Duc de Berry," *Art History* 24, no. 2 (2001): 169–94; Therese Martin, ed., *Reassessing the Roles of Women as "Makers" of Medieval Art and Architecture*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

<sup>30</sup> Arnold, *German Knighthood*, 141–59.

<sup>31</sup> Hilsdale, *Byzantine Diplomacy*.

<sup>32</sup> For more on the inscription, see:

<http://www.inschriften.net/zeige/suchergebnis/treffer/nr/di035-0016.html#content>

been able to locate a mere handful of extant art objects from the twelfth century that name a *ministerialis* as their patron, most notably the *Wolframleuchter* and the so-called *Niellokreuz* from the Abbey of St. Trudpert in Münstertal (fig. 2.9).<sup>33</sup>

To be sure, given the power, pretensions, and desired pedigrees of many *ministeriales*, it would be surprising if they did *not* make commissions and donations. Within the salvific economy of high-medieval piety, gifts to ecclesiastical donations functioned as vital investments in the future of one's soul.<sup>34</sup> Artistic patronage served as a significant form of conspicuous consumption for the nobles with whom *ministeriales* increasingly intermarried as the twelfth century wore on.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, while few written statements by *ministeriales* survive to inform us about their self-understanding in straightforward ways—and attempts to enlist *ministeriales* in notions of Welfish *Selbstverständnis*, for example, are broadly unconvincing—we have a good deal of evidence demonstrating how other twelfth-century writers tried to make sense of their status.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> I am grateful to Jonathan Lyon for bringing this object to my attention; a full bibliography for the cross is given below.

<sup>34</sup> For comparable studies of secular architectural sculpture in France during this period, see Pierre Garrigou Grandchamp, "Sculpture monumentale et programmes: Les façades des demeures urbaines médiévales (XIIe–XIVe siècles)," in *Ex quadris lapidibus: la pierre et sa mise en œuvre dans l'art médiéval: mélanges d'histoire de l'art offerts à Éliane Vergnolle*, ed. Yves Gallet (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 375–86. Richard A. Leson, "'Partout la figure du lion': Thomas of Marle and the Enduring Legacy of the Coucy Donjon Tympanum," *Speculum* 93, no. 1 (2017): 27–71. For the latter, see Michael Brandt, *Bild und Bestie: Hildesheimer Bronzen der Stauferzeit* (Regensburg: Schnell + Steiner, 2008). Ursula Mende, "Die Bronzeleuchter von der Burg Eberbach am Neckar," *Eberbacher Geschichtsblatt* 99 (2000): 35–59; and the multi-volume series *Bronzegeräte des Mittelalters* which has so far run from 1935 to 2014.

<sup>35</sup> Freed, *Noble Bondsmen*.

<sup>36</sup> Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Adliges Selbstverständnis und seine Verknüpfung mit dem liturgischen Gedenken - das Beispiel der Welfen," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 134 (1986): 47–75; Karl Schmid, "Welfisches Selbstverständnis," in *Adel und Kirche. Gerd Tellenbach zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein and Karl Schmid (Freiburg: Herder, 1968), 389–416. The problem of delineating something like a Welfish "self-

Broaching issues of status and conduct imaginatively rather than prescriptively, the literary output of *ministeriales* gained steam over the course of the twelfth century.<sup>37</sup> Hartmann von Aue, for example, specifically introduces himself as a *ministerialis* in the prologue to his long poem, *Iwein*, where he notes his knowledge of Latin.<sup>38</sup> Although scholars have debated the degree to which their legal status left traces in their literary work, it is clear that many *ministeriales* were at least alert to the political possibilities of cultural production.<sup>39</sup> While I think it unlikely that we can recover the sort of evidence about commissioning and spectatorship that facilitates our understanding of some twelfth-century noble courts, it is certain that *ministeriales* ordered art objects made as gifts.<sup>40</sup> Indeed, many of the twelfth-century objects that have traveled anonymously or under the names of more illustrious figures might well have originated as commissions by *ministeriales*.

To the particulars. Scholars have spilt much ink trying to properly define terms like *ministerialis* and *miles* (“knight”). Did the *ministeriales* comprise a social class? A legal category? How did these identities shift and function in different times and places? By concentrating on the ways that individual *ministeriales* behaved in Henry’s ambit, I hope to circumvent these discussions by avoiding treating them as an artificially coherent unit of people. *Ministeriales* appear as a class when they *act* in ways that claim the privileges of a class or when

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consciousness” may be connected to broader discussions about the general difficulty of identifying definable, self-aware kin-groups in the early- and high-medieval periods: Franz Irsigler, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des frühfränkischen Adels* (Bonn: L. Röhrscheid, 1969).

<sup>37</sup> Notable examples include Hartmann von Aue and Friedrich von Hausen.

<sup>38</sup> “Ein rîter, der gelêret was / unde ez an den buochen las.” Hartmann von Aue, *Iwein*, ed. Thomas Cramer, 4th edition (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), lines 21-2.

<sup>39</sup> For a skeptical view see: Joachim Bumke, *Ministerialität und Ritterdichtung. Umriss der Forschung* (München: Beck, 1976).

<sup>40</sup> Joan A. Holladay, “Hermann of Thuringia as Patron of the Arts,” *Journal of Medieval History* 16.3 (1990): 191-216.

their actions are denied. At a minimum, the *ius proprietatis* (“proprietary law”), which characterized their ties of dependence to lords, had special entailments in the area of patronage. That the *ius proprietatis* also acted on key hermeneutic categories like family and memory—some of the categories most salient to practices of medieval artistic patronage—strengthens my case for considering the *ministeriales* as a special group of patrons.

Before turning to art, I should note that discussions of donations by *ministeriales* have tended to focus on transactions of land, of fief and allod, no doubt because most surviving charter and custumal evidence dwells on moments when land and rights changed hands.<sup>41</sup> By the end of the twelfth century, *ministeriales* were regularly giving *pro anima* (“for the soul”) donations to ecclesiastical institutions; in 1186, for example, Bertold of Sigerdessen gave a manse in Machterseim which was valued at twelve *talenta* to the church at Stederburg.<sup>42</sup> Lords sometimes made explicit provisions for land donations by their *ministeriales*, in part because the holdings of most *ministeriales* could revert to their lord’s possession if they were deemed of unfit mind, committed various offences, or failed to produce male heirs. Conditions of unfreedom were, perhaps, dramatized most clearly in this regard. In the thirteenth century, Count Otto of Tecklenburg referred to “the rules of our *ministeriales* and the declarations approved” for when *ministeriales* alienated fiefs for the benefit of monasteries.<sup>43</sup> Without putting too much weight on later documents, or the notion that most lords would have codified prescriptive rules for the behavior of their *ministeriales*, it is clear that lords were concerned to limit the ways in which *ministeriales* could make gifts. They were often successful in this endeavor.

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<sup>41</sup> Arnold, *German Knighthood*.

<sup>42</sup> Gerhard von Stederburg, *Annales Stederburgenses*, 216.

<sup>43</sup> Cited in Arnold, *German Knighthood*, 85.

Whereas Marc Bloch singled out the practical and ideological implications of land gifts for the relations between lords and their dependents, Florin Curta has recently argued that early-medieval forms of gift-giving constituted a kind of public-facing political economy (partially) at odds with Bloch's feudal model.<sup>44</sup> Neither scholar took up the problem of twelfth-century *ministeriales*, whose status as *homines proprii* ("owned men") would surely have been sharply felt in the context of land grants, but their arguments usefully demonstrate how donations of land always carried political dimensions whatever else they may have also meant economically or theologically. The very power to gift was at stake.

Donation was an important dimension of high-medieval patronage. It is far more common to find donations of income, land, raw materials, and objects that will undergo forms of conversion, than to see gifts of finished art objects that memorialize a patron's particular desires.<sup>45</sup> The arm reliquary of St. Innocent mentioned above is, again, more the exception than the norm. Even objects made significant by their association with prominent patrons underwent repeated intervention, as with the so-called baptismal bowl (*Taufschale*) of Frederick Barbarossa (fig. 2.10). An engraving in the center of the gilt-silver bowl depicts the baptism of a child, labeled *FRIDERIC[US]*, and an inscription circling the scene identifies the bowl as a gift first conveyed from the emperor to his godfather Otto, and then "consecrated...to God."<sup>46</sup> Otto likely

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<sup>44</sup> Curta, "Merovingian and Carolingian Gift Giving," 677, 699.

<sup>45</sup> See, from a larger bibliography: Buc, "Conversion of Objects;" William S. Heckscher, "Relics of Pagan Antiquity in Mediæval Settings," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 1, no. 3 (1938): 204–20; Stephanie Lynn Luther, "Gifts and Giving in Architectural Sculpture of the Holy Roman Empire, ca. 1150-1235" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2015); Ilana F. Silber, "Gift-Giving in the Great Traditions: The Case of Donations to Monasteries in the Medieval West," *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 36, no. 02 (1995): 209–243.

<sup>46</sup> The text of the inner inscription: QVEM LAVAT UNDA FORIS HOMINIS MEMOR INTERIORIS VT SIS Q(V)OD N(ON) ES ABLVE T(ER)GE Q(V)OD ES. The text of the inner inscription: CESAR ET AVGVSTVS HEC OTTONI FRIDERICVS MVNERA PATRINO CONTVLIT ILLE D(E)O.

added this label when he gave the bowl to Premonstratensian abbey at Cappenberg in 1171.<sup>47</sup> Few patrons would have imagined donation as offering a finished article that would retain its form permanently in its new life, and most would be aware that sumptuous gifts could be pawned, sold, or stolen. Countess Judith, the daughter of the Czech king, dedicated two especially noteworthy gifts to God and St. James by laying them on the altar of the church of the monastery of Pegau. These gifts, “a crown inlaid with gold and gems, and a robe woven with gold, resembling a dalmatic of the most precious workmanship” were variously used to buy the monastery possessions in Thuringia, almost lost to the wandering eye of a young local lord, and sold to the bishop of Münster.<sup>48</sup> The same *vita* which chronicles these events goes on to describe a cloak “extraordinarily and quite skillfully woven with gold” which was turned into “the best chasuble” and had its “very extensive gold-embroidery” stripped for another cloak.<sup>49</sup>

As evidence from a variety of twelfth- and thirteenth-century sources indicates, other kinds of high-profile patronage activity were characterized by corporate intervention. Bianca Else’s study of patronage by Wettin family traces the difficulty of bringing monastic communities into being, distinguishing between the legal act of foundation (often preserved with much fanfare in charters) and the material endowments needed to realize and sustain

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<sup>47</sup> Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa*, 16; Jan Ulrich Keupp, “‘Sie scheint sich auszulegen ...’. Die Cappenberger ‘Taufschale’ als Ermöglichungsinstanz der Mediävistik,” in *Barbarossabilder: Entstehungskontexte, Erwartungshorizonte, Verwendungszusammenhänge*, ed. Knut Görich and Romedio Schmitz-Esser (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2014), 290–305.

<sup>48</sup> “The Deeds of the Margrave Wiprecht of Groitzsch,” in *Noble Society: Five Lives from Twelfth-Century Germany*, ed. Jonathan Lyon, trans. Jonathan Lyon and Lisa Wolverson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 63-4.

<sup>49</sup> “The Deeds of the Margrave Wiprecht of Groitzsch,” 74. Corroborating examples of extant high-medieval textile work are too numerous to mention: see, from a much larger bibliography, the case of the so-called *Chormantel* of Kunigunde: Warren T. Woodfin, “Presents Given and Presence Subverted: The *Cunegunda Chormantel* in Bamberg and the Ideology of Byzantine Textiles,” *Gesta* 47, no. 1 (2008): 33–50.

communities.<sup>50</sup> In his *Otia Imperialia*, composed in the second decade of the thirteenth century, Gervase of Tilbury follows Gratian's *Decretum*, noting that "it is sometimes by founding a church, and sometimes by endowing it, that a person becomes its patron."<sup>51</sup> In another famous example, Count Frederick of Arnstein attempted to halt Godfrey of Cappenberg's transformation of his holdings into Premonstratensian monasteries.<sup>52</sup>

Other donations by twelfth-century *ministeriales* demonstrate the range of gifts that they could make, some of which may have been designed to circumvent restrictions placed on land donation by lords. Berthold's chronicle of Zwiefalten Abbey (written 1137-38, with later redactions by the author) records the gift of "twenty pounds of silver" by Wimar de Grouningin, *ministerialis* of Werinherus.<sup>53</sup> Elsewhere in the chronicle, Berthold carefully notes when an object already made of silver is donated, whether it be a silver plate (*scutella argentum*), a gilded chalice and pitcher (*urceus*), or a gilded, gemmed cross (*cruces argente*). Since the phrase "pounds of silver" almost never refers to currency in the text, Wimar probably gave either potential resources, in the form of objects to be melted down, or the equivalent value of some other commodity.

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<sup>50</sup> Bianca Else, *Wettinische Klöster im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert: die Gründungen Dietrichs des Bedrängten (gestorben 1221) und Heinrichs des Erlauchten (gestorben 1288)* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition, 2016).

<sup>51</sup> "...sicut alias fundatio patronum ecclesie constituit, alias locupletatio..." Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia: Recreation for an Emperor*, trans. S. E. Banks and J. W. Binns (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 117.

<sup>52</sup> Theodore James Antry and Carol Neel, trans., "The Life of Godfrey of Cappenberg," in *Norbert and Early Norbertine Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 2007), 85–119.

<sup>53</sup> "Wimar de Grouningin, ministerialis Werinheri comitis, viginti libras argenti dedit." Luitpold Wallach, "Berthold of Zwiefalten's Chronicle: Reconstructed and Edited with an Introduction and Notes," *Traditio* 13 (1957), 211. Zwiefalten was the beneficiary of Welfish patronage (a dubious privilege, as it turns out, when Henry the Proud served as the abbey's advocate). Werinherus was a follower of Henry IV.

These gifts importantly provided the means by which ecclesiastical communities could *generate* art. Not only did monasteries need income and materials to commission, maintain, and transform their collections, but their resources to reshape or reinterpret gifts (through highly skilled artisanal labor as well as the ability to confer institutional prestige) were sought after by patrons. Philippe Buc’s description of the process of “object-conversion” not only highlights how procedures of pious donation endowed particular objects with “a new and higher meaning and status” that redounded on the giver, but shows how the very transformation of gifted things into new objects “can enshrine a particular political relationship or constellation” that might well include the memorialization of a patron.<sup>54</sup> Buc’s insights assume greater significance in light of the fact that many *ministeriales*, who constituted a category analogous to property, often gave *themselves* to institutions. The *Deeds of the Margrave Wiprecht of Groitzsch* presents two of the margrave’s *ministeriales* conferring amongst themselves before deciding “that they ought to give themselves to the aforesaid Betheric, together with the town of Groitzsch.”<sup>55</sup> Some free subjects offered land, money, or services in order to move into the category of *ministerialis*.<sup>56</sup> But most recorded donations by *ministeriales* inhabit a middle ground between art and land, a fact that did not preclude *ministeriales* from procuring their own memorialization or forming relationships with ecclesiastical communities.

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<sup>54</sup> Buc, “Conversion of Objects.” 100, 141. For *memoria*, which has governed most discussions of pious donations, see Otto Gerhard Oexle, “Memoria und Memorialbild,” in *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter (Bestandteil des quellenwerkes Societas et Fraternitas)*, ed. Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 48 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1984), 384–440.

<sup>55</sup> “The Deeds of the Margrave Wiprecht of Groitzsch,” 37.

<sup>56</sup> Arnold, *German Knighthood*. The movement of subjects between categories may have been an occasion for negotiation, as new *ministeriales* attempted to assert control over their properties and rights.

As the example of Ludolf von Dahlum demonstrates, Henry's *ministeriales* practiced the especially significant form of patronage of ecclesiastical foundation. Besides Ludolf's provisions for Riddagshausen, Leimar von Flechtorf founded a community in Bokel, in the diocese of Hildesheim, and Henry also issued a privilege together with his uncle, Welf VI, for the Premonstratensians of Weissenau whose community was founded by his *ministerialis* Gebezo of Peissenberg-Ravensburg.<sup>57</sup> The act of foundation generally ensured that a patron would hold a privileged place in a community's memorial practices—although it was not unknown for communities to trade their founders in for more elite figures in order to enhance their own prestige—and advertised both a patron's means and devotion.<sup>58</sup> Communities could selectively revise their histories in order to take advantage of changing family fortunes. By the thirteenth century the Weissenau community had developed a foundation story that retroactively elevated Gebizo from the status of *ministerialis* to the position of nobleman.<sup>59</sup> His ministerial status was actively suppressed.

Often terrestrial power was at stake. In 1152, Henry's *ministerialis* Liemar founded a community at Bokel, in a gesture that ensured Liemar's heirs would inherit the position of *advocatus*.<sup>60</sup> A foundation could provide a central node for the patron's *familia*; members of the

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<sup>57</sup> Hasse, *Die welfischen Hofämter und die welfische Ministerialität in Sachsen*, 29-30; Karl Jordan, *Henry the Lion: A Biography*, trans. P. S. Falla (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986) 44.

<sup>58</sup> Amy G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995). Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

<sup>59</sup> Arnold, *German Knighthood*, 73.

<sup>60</sup> Hasse, *Die Welfische Hofämter*, 29. The office of *advocatus* entailed a range of responsibilities, including protection, the administration of justice, and carrying out death sentences (in the case of monastic advocates). The literature on the position of the high-medieval *advocatus* is large but scattered. See: Jonathan R. Lyon, 'Advocata, advocatrix, advocatissa: Frauen als Vögtinnen im Hochmittelalter,' *Vorträge und Forschungen* 86 (2019): 143-68; Jonathan R. Lyon, 'Noble Lineages, Hausklöster, and Monastic Advocacy in the Twelfth

Dahlum family were interred at Riddagshausen from the thirteenth century on, and may have been buried there earlier.<sup>61</sup> During a time when the familial structure of the *ministerialis* was closely regulated, with lords working out agreements about the division of children among their jurisdictions and punishing *ministeriales* who married without permission, ecclesiastical foundations may have represented a tantalizing opportunity to exercise some control over *familia* and *memoria* alike. Twelfth-century chroniclers like Gerhard of Stederburg recalled that *ministeriales* had sometimes been part of the founding gift to establish a community, and the irony of unfree subjects themselves now establishing foundations of their own volition may not have been lost on contemporary viewers.<sup>62</sup>

To what degree were these practices of foundation distinctive to Henry's *ministeriales*? If scholarly discussion of the *ministeriales* has tended to focus on issues like their origin as an *ordo* prior to the twelfth century, their genealogical antecedents, and the roles they played in the Hohenstaufen imperial administration, previous research on the Welfish *ministeriales* has delineated a valuable prosopographical corpus from which to work.<sup>63</sup> Commentators have

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Century: The *Garsten Vogtweistum* in its Dynastic Context,' *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 123, no. 1 (2015): 1-29; Charles R. West, 'Monks, Aristocrats, and Justice: Twelfth-Century Monastic Advocacy in a European Perspective,' *Speculum* 92, no. 2 (2017): 372-404. For the longer history of the position, see: Jonathan R. Lyon, *Corruption, Protection and Justice in Medieval Europe: A Thousand Year History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

<sup>61</sup> The current church building dates to the thirteenth century and our state of knowledge about the community's twelfth-century configuration is poor. Ehlers, "Die Anfänge des Klosters Riddagshausen und der Zisterzienserorden."

<sup>62</sup> Arnold, *German Knighthood*.

<sup>63</sup> See the key studies: Karl Bosl, *Die Reichsministerialität der Salier und Staufer; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des hochmittelalterlichen deutschen Volkes, Staates und Reiches*, 2 vols., *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, deutsches Institut für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 10 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950); Otto Haendle, *Die Dienstmänner Heinrichs des Löwen. Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Ministerialität*, *Arbeiten zur deutschen Rechts- und Verfassungsgeschichte* 8 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1930). I have relied on the vital

repeatedly singled out Henry's *familia ministerialium* for its plenitude of resources. Benjamin Arnold cites the high ransom cost of the duke's seneschal Jordan of Blankenburg in 1190 to suggest that certain of Henry's *ministeriales* had accumulated unusual wealth.<sup>64</sup> Jordan commanded double the price of the freeborn Count of Schwerin. Henry's *ministeriales* negotiated with important ecclesiastics, held advocacies (suffice it to mention his *ministerialis* Anno of Heimburg who held the imperial advocacy of Goslar for over a decade), and presided over fortresses in contentious border regions.<sup>65</sup> It is in this context that Claus-Peter Hasse reads Ludolf's foundation at Riddagshausen as exemplifying a "certain prosperity" (*gewissen Wohlstand*) characteristic of Welfish *ministeriales*.<sup>66</sup> Hasse's reading may, in part, be an accurate way to frame the difference between their patronage and the actions of their peers who served other masters. Most twelfth-century *ministeriales* who founded communities seem to have pooled their efforts in order to facilitate new monastic ventures, as exemplified by the Bremen *ministeriales* who combined to endow the Saxon nunnery of Osterholz in 1185.<sup>67</sup>

But a closer examination of the foundations established by Henry's *ministeriales* does not seem to suggest that their special resources allowed them to act alone. Ludolf's founding gift at Riddagshausen consisted of a mere two hides of land scraped together from trades with the

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groundwork laid in Hasse, *Die welfischen Hofämter*. Additional sources include: Günther Bradler, "Welfische Ministeriale in Schwaben," in *Die Welfen. Landesgeschichtliche Aspekte ihrer Herrschaft*, ed. Karl-Ludwig Ay, Joachim Jahn, and Lorenz Maier (Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 1998), 117–34; Karel Hruza, "'Omne patrimonium suum cum Ministerialibus': Zur Herkunft welfischer Dienstmannen in Oberschwaben am Beispiel der Herren von Wallsee," in *Welf IV. Schlüsselfigur einer Wendezeit*, 2004, 382–419; Herwig Lubenow, *Die welfischen Ministerialen in Sachsen. Ein Beitrag zur Standesgeschichte der Stauferzeit*, Ph.D. diss., Universität Kiel, 1964.

<sup>64</sup> Arnold, *German Knighthood*, 134.

<sup>65</sup> Helmold, *Chronica*, I.69; Jordan, *Henry the Lion*, 43; Helmold, *Chronica*, I.88, II.101.

<sup>66</sup> Hasse, *Die welfischen Hofämter*, 28.

<sup>67</sup> Arnold, *German Knighthood*.

Aegidienkloster in Brunswick, trades which, as Joachim Ehlers points out, would already have required Henry's consent; did these singular foundations really owe their existence to exceptionally wealthy Welfish ministerial conditions?<sup>68</sup> Rather, we ought to ask why Ludolf looked to his lord, instead of his fellow *ministeriales* and why, in turn, Henry deferred credit to Ludolf so clearly in his charter that made a much more substantial gift to the nascent community. What good is a gift that requires a supplementary gift to make its mark? Why did Henry so consistently seek to establish his *ministeriales*' claims to patronage?

The *ministeriales* comprised a substantial segment of Henry's power base. He held the advocacies of around fifty churches, some of which were delegated to *ministeriales*, and was served by around four hundred ministerial lineages.<sup>69</sup> Much like Frederick Barbarossa, Henry seems to have been especially interested in cultivating his ministerial lineages, perhaps to the exclusion of his noble peers. Jonathan Lyon argues that Henry and Frederick each suffered from a lack of fraternal relations, "both surrounded by relatively small families that provided them with little political support."<sup>70</sup> Following Bernd Schneidmüller's theorization of *konsensuale Herrschaft*, scholars have increasingly pointed to twelfth-century noble politics as an arena where consensus and persuasion were prized above unilateral action.<sup>71</sup> In Gerd Althoff's pithy phrase, "*auxilium* was preceded by *consilium*."<sup>72</sup> *Ministeriales* were legally bound to their lords

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<sup>68</sup> Ehlers, "Die Anfänge des Klosters Riddagshausen und der Zisterzienserorden."

<sup>69</sup> Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa*, 429.

<sup>70</sup> Jonathan R. Lyon, *Princely Brothers and Sisters: The Sibling Bond in German Politics, 1100-1250* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 119.

<sup>71</sup> Bernd Schneidmüller, "Konsensuale Herrschaft. Ein Essay über Formen und Konzepte politischer Ordnung im Mittelalter," in *Reich, Regionen und Europa in Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Festschrift für Peter Moraw*, eds. Paul-Joachim Heinig, Sigrid Jahns, Hans-Joachim Schmidt, Rainer Christoph Schwinges, and Sabine Wefers (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2000), 53-87.

<sup>72</sup> Gerd Althoff, "Establishing Bonds: Fiefs, Homage, and Other Means to Create Trust," in *Feudalism: New Landscapes of Debate*, eds. Sverre Bagge, Michael H. Gelting, and Thomas Lindkvist, *Medieval Countryside* 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 103.

by obligations that went beyond the contractual; and yet Henry seems to have tended to his relations carefully. Recall the lines of the charter conveying the town of Riddagshausen to Ludolf's foundation; Henry acclaims Ludolf "by whose contrivance and petition this was begun." In a world where political life was structured around personal relationships more than stable institutions, and where bonds between various parties could easily supplant or contradict each other, Henry's patronage might represent an attempt to cultivate good relations with his *ministeriales*.<sup>73</sup>

If so, what role might coercion play in this model? Neither persuasion nor the act of coming to consensus are inherently coercive. But Henry did not negotiate with his *ministeriales* as equals, and the collaboration between Henry and Ludolf dramatizes the conditions of corporate or delegated patronage which enshrine a hierarchy. Compare the vocabulary used to describe the patron's role in the inscription of the arm reliquary of St. Innocent, which explicitly positions Henry as sole agent ("Duke Henry ordered me to be made") with the language of a charter he issued in 1155, allowing his ministerials to make donations to St. Laurence at Ittingen. The gifts are made by Henry's "good pleasure" (*beneplacito nostro*) and "permission" (*permissu*).<sup>74</sup> The charter specifies, as is customary, that the duke's seal (*sigillum*) is proof and testimony of the ministerials' right to give, and whatever gifts of material, money, land, or worked objects they donated were routed through his approval.<sup>75</sup> In the religious economy of

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<sup>73</sup> Gerd Althoff, *Verwandte, Freunde und Getreue: zum politischen Stellenwert der Gruppenbindungen im frühen Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990). The importance of keeping one's ministerial *familia* happy is attested by the number of high-medieval bishops who were attacked by ministerial members of their own retinues. For the role of *ministeriales* in episcopal military forces, see: Benjamin Arnold, 'Germany Bishops and their Military Retinues in the Medieval Empire,' *German History* 7, no. 2 (1989): 161-83.

<sup>74</sup> DD HdL, no. 31.

<sup>75</sup> "Ut autem huius concessionis donatio rata et inconvulsa permaneat, kartam hanc conscribi et sigillo nostro insingniri iussimus, testibus his." DD HdL, no. 31.

giving and salvation, then, Henry extracted a soteriological tax. The legal structures of unfreedom that constrain ministerial agency are also reinscribed, the *voluntas* of the ministerial donor wickered away. Just as Henry could dispatch their persons at will, constraining their movement and service, so did he control their access to the world of ecclesiastical patronage—the price of entry to which was the offering of art and material resources.

Scholars have argued over whether ministerial figures are pictured or obliquely referenced in mural campaigns like the *Iwein* cycle at Schloss Rodeneck in Südtirol. The *Wolframleuchter*'s clothing and hairstyle simply mark it as a wealthy, high ranking, secular subject.<sup>76</sup> But as the product of ministerial wealth, the *Leuchter* gave *ministeriales* a place before the high altar in Erfurt. Similarly, monumental inscriptions made *ministeriales* visible in the public sphere.<sup>77</sup> This presentation closely tracked the increasing frequency with which

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<sup>76</sup> Although various proposals have been advanced, identifying the figure as a prophet or even as a portrait of the ministerial donor, it seems unlikely that the sculpture was produced with a specific referent in mind. Nothing about the form or iconography marks it as a *ministerialis*, for example. Kania, "Die Kleidung des Erfurter Wolfram-Leuchters," 227.

<sup>77</sup> I do not treat the murals here, but for bibliography see: Horst Ackermann, "Die Iwein-Fresken auf Schloß Rodeneck.," *Der Schlern* 57 (1983): 391–421; Horst Ackermann, *Iwein der Löwenritter. Ein romanischer Bilderzyklus auf Schloss Rodeneck (Südtirol) im Lichte alter Mythen* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 2014); Anne-Marie Bonnet, *Rodeneck und Schmalkalden: Untersuchungen zur Illustration einer ritterlich-höfischen Erzählung und zur Entstehung profaner Epenillustration in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Tuduv-Studien. Reihe Kunstgeschichte 22 (München: Tuduv-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1986); Michael Curschmann, *Vom Wandel im bildlichen Umgang mit literarischen Gegenständen. Rodeneck, Wildenstein und das Flaarsche Haus in Stein am Rhein*, vol. 6, Wolfgang-Stammler-Gastprofessur für Germanische Philologie. Vorträge (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1997); Freed, *Noble Bondsmen*; Matthias Müller, "Artusritter im Zwiespalt. Die Ambiguität mittelalterlichen Heldentums als räumlich disponierte Bilderzählung und Argumentationsstruktur im Iwein-Zyklus auf Schloss Rodeneck," in *Ambiguität im Mittelalter. Formen zeitgenössischer Reflexion und interdisziplinärer Rezeption*, ed. Oliver Auge and Christiane Witthöft, Trends in Medieval Philology 30 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 241–72; Norbert H. Ott and Wolfgang Walliczek, "Bildprogramm und Textstruktur. Anmerkungen zu den Iwein-Zyklen auf Rodeneck und in Schmalkalden," in *Deutsche Literatur im Mittelalter: Kontakte und Perspektiven. Hugo Kuhn zum Gedenken*, ed. Christopher Cormeau (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1979), 473–500, 548.

*ministeriales* transacted important courtly business, as evidenced by their growing presence in the witness lists of charters and other diplomatic documents. During the first half of the twelfth century, the earlier doors in the so-called *Marktportal* of St. Martin's Cathedral in Mainz were inscribed in Romanesque majuscule with the so-called Adalbert Privilege that granted a set of liberties to the town's citizens (fig. 2.11).<sup>78</sup> Covering the two upper quadrants of the valves, the charter's inscription was modeled on Henry V's similar effort at Speyer and likewise used sumptuous materials (both inscriptions were gilded) to publicly present textually-preserved rights. Because the names of the *ministeriales* come towards the end of the witness list, ranked below counts and bishops, their names therefore gleam around eye-height immediately above the earlier, larger eleventh-century inscription. Bureaucratic ranking, the spatial sorting of a social order into forms of precedence, had consequences for beholding. *Ministeriales* may not have been involved in the making or ordering of the doors or their inscriptions, but their placement in the *Marktportal* paradoxically ensured them a visibility otherwise buried in the privilege's parchment form, while a spectator standing before the doors would have had to strain to see the names of more elite figures. (This stretching and craning itself makes the viewer *feel* the hierarchy inscribed in the document.)

Medieval works of art configured their patrons' presentation in discursive circuits and amplified their social importance. Much attention has been devoted to the images of Henry and

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<sup>78</sup> For the eleventh-century doors, see Ittai Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages: Sculpture, Material, Making* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 23-6. For the inscription, see: <http://www.inschriften.net/zeige/suchergebnis/treffer/nr/dio001-sn1-0012.html#content>. For the doors generally, see Ursula Mende, "'Was das Feuer nahm, das Erz hat es wiedergegeben': Das Bronze-portal am Dom zu Mainz," in *Basilica Nova Moguntina: 1000 Jahre Willigis-Dom St. Martin in Mainz ; Beiträge zum Domjubiläum 2009*, ed. Luzie Bratner, Felicitas Janson, and Barbara Nichtweiß (Mainz: Bischöfliches Ordinariat Mainz, 2010), 79-104.

Matilda in the luxury manuscripts made on their order at Helmarshausen that seem calculated to achieve both ends.<sup>79</sup> One scene in the *Gospels of Henry the Lion* depicts the pair in luxurious patterned robes, Henry's hand clasped by St. Blasius while elevating a gilded copy of the eponymous book towards the enthroned Virgin rendered above (fig. 2.12), Matilda flanking St. Aegidien on the opposite side. The pair appear again in one of the leaves preserved in the British Library from a psalter, each framed by an arch and hoisting dedicatory inscriptions that run up the side of a crucifix (fig. 2.13). Iterated repeatedly across works, holding depictions of donated works or inscriptions that identify them with proper names, garbed in near-regal dress, Henry and Matilda are shown as exemplary patrons produced in and by the objects they commission. Artists helped the couple look like a constituent part of the art-making process. But because so few works of art survive that were identifiably commissioned by Henry's *ministeriales*, it is difficult to know how they might have been figured "within the work of art as a subjective, and multiple effect."<sup>80</sup> Institutions had powerful incentives to transform or obscure ministerial

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<sup>79</sup> Johannes Fried, "'Das goldglänzende Buch'. Heinrich der Löwe, sein Evangeliar, sein Selbstverständnis. Bemerkungen zu einer Neuerscheinung," *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 242 (1990): 34–79; Martin Gosebruch, "'Imperium ducis - labor Herimanni' und die karolingische Vorlage des Krönungsbildes im Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen," in *Helmarshausen und das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen: Bericht über ein wissenschaftliches Symposium in Braunschweig und Helmarshausen vom 9. Oktober bis 11. Oktober 1985*, ed. Martin Gosebruch and Frank Neidhart Steigerwald (Göttingen: Verlag Erich Goltze, 1992), 247–53; Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen als geschichtliches Denkmal," in *Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen: Kommentar zum Faksimile*, ed. Dietrich Kötzsche (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1989), 9–27; Olaf B. Rader, "Kreuze und Kronen. Zum byzantinischen Einfluß im »Krönungsbild« des Evangeliums Heinrichs des Löwen," in *Heinrich der Löwe: Herrschaft und Repräsentation*, ed. Johannes Fried and Otto Gerhard Oexle (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), 199–238; Bernd Schneidmüller and Harald Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, *Das Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen und Mathildes von England* (Darmstadt: wbg, 2018).

<sup>80</sup> Kumler, "The Patron-Function," 317–19. Circumstantial evidence has been adduced to argue that twelfth-century *ministeriales* commissioned other surviving works of art, including, intriguingly, a tomb sculpture that might have been made for the Magdeburg *ministerialis* Hermann of Plothe in Altenplathow: Oskar Doering, "Der romanische Grabstein in Altenplathow," *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst* 20 (1907): 181–88.

*memoria*. By mainly giving the raw material and financial resources out of which art was made, *ministeriales* vitally contributed to the economy of art and its production. They were, however, excluded from the figural, pictorial, and formal processes that made patrons visible *as* patrons, legible as acting subjects whose agency was attested by the transformation of matter through images and inscriptions.<sup>81</sup>

### **The Trudpert *Niellokreuz***

One exception is the so-called *Niellokreuz* from Kloster St. Trudpert in Münstertal (to be distinguished from the more widely known cross from the same community now housed in St. Petersburg) (fig. 2.9).<sup>82</sup> A corpus hangs on each side. One shows the crucified Christ on a cross textured with woody knots, a small relic mounted under a rock crystal cabochon above his head. Square terminals feature evangelist portraits in low relief, with the exception of the plaque beneath Christ's feet where a kneeling figure with upraised hands takes John's place. An

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<sup>81</sup> John Freed has made the most sustained argument so far for patronage by high-medieval *ministeriales*, focusing on the *al secco* murals made during the early thirteenth century in the castle of Rodenegg. The frescoes were discovered in 1972-73 and Freed correctly observes that they have received inadequate attention from art historians. (For bibliography, see footnote 73 above.) Claiming to identify a "ministerial self-consciousness," Freed interprets the depiction of Hartmann von Aue's tale of *Iwein* as a pointed message to the *ministerialis* Arnold III of Rodank from his noble-born wife Mathilda of Hohenburg, noting especially how the artists depart from the conventional *Iwein* narrative in order to present an ambiguous view of knighthood.

<sup>82</sup> Rainer Hauss herr, ed., *Die Zeit der Staufer: Geschichte, Kunst, Kultur*, 5 vols. (Stuttgart: Württembergisches Landesmuseum, 1977), nr. 593; Marc Rosenberg, "Das Kreuz von St. Trudpert. Eine alamannische Nielloarbeit aus spätromanischer Zeit," *Schau-ins-Land: Jahresheft des Breisgau-Geschichtsvereins Schauinsland* 20 (1893): 49-80; Joseph Sauer, "Unbekannte Kunstwerke aus dem Kloster St. Trudpert," *Zeitschrift des Freiburger Geschichtsvereins* 46 (1935): 55-82; Thomas L. Zotz, *Die Zähringer: Dynastie und Herrschaft* (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 2018); Thomas L. Zotz, "Königskrone und Fürstenhut - das gotische Kreuz aus St. Trudpert und die Habsburger im 13. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 153 (2005): 15-42. For the latter, see: Klaus Mangold, ed., *Das Kreuz aus St. Trudpert in Münstertal* (München: Hirmer, 2003).

inscription identifies the figure as the female patron, Anna: “On the cross, Christ, look down mercifully upon me, Anna.”<sup>83</sup> Her upturned gaze and subservient position at Christ’s feet align the inscription’s vertical plea with the object’s compositional hierarchy. The reverse face (fig. 2.14) shows Christ enthroned, three angels in the terminals, the cross shafts decorated with patterned ornament and representations of instruments of the passion. At the base, in apposition to Anna, is a kneeling male figure accompanied by a fragmentary inscription: “...RVM ME (LE)TIFICET GODEF(R)IDVM.” Noting the scene of figures rising from sarcophagi immediately above the relief plaque, Thomas Zotz expands the missing genitive plural noun into *resurrectio mortuorum*, thus translating the inscription as “May the resurrection of the dead fill me, Gottfried, with joy.”

As with portions of the Harz that Henry delegated to ministerial control, the Münstertal’s silver wealth meant that the Zähringer paid close attention to the region’s administration.<sup>84</sup> Gottfried von Staufen, a *ministerialis* who held the office of marshal and died in 1177, is the most plausible candidate for the figure named on the cross. Scholars take Anna to be Gottfried’s (otherwise anonymous) wife and the cross as a luxury *pro anima* gift that memorializes her husband.<sup>85</sup> When *ministeriales* strove to gain access to the restricted world of ecclesiastical patronage, they tried, in part, to access the promise of institutional commemoration.<sup>86</sup> Anna and Gottfried bought their way into the community of St. Trudpert’s liturgical life with the gift of a

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<sup>83</sup> (I)N CR(V)CE XPE (Christe) GEMENS ANNAM ME RESPICE CLEMEN(S).

<sup>84</sup> Zotz, “Königskrone und Fürstenhut,” 20.

<sup>85</sup> Zotz, “Königskrone und Fürstenhut,” 21.

<sup>86</sup> The *do ut des* arrangement that undergirded the exchange of gifts for the tending of *memoria* is straightforwardly illustrated in a charter describing Henry’s gift of eighteen hides and two mills to the cloister in Loccum, dated October 2, 1188. “The monks of the same place [Kloster Loccum] will pray for the salvation of our souls in perpetuity,” (“Cenobite vero eiusdem loci pro remedio animarum nostrarum perpetuo orabunt”) runs the refrain: MGH HHdL, no. 119.

cross. Many of the particular constraints of ministerial unfreedom were aimed at reproducing *ministeriales* as a class; the limits placed on their potential marriage partners (“the same customs that applied to all serfs”) were meant to ensure that the lord’s supply of property *and* ministerial labor did not diminish in the present or—looking to ministerial progeny—future.<sup>87</sup> Twelfth-century *ministeriales* were, at least nominally, denied the power to control the future of their own lineages. The apocalyptic content that fills out the cross’s program thus carries a special set of temporal connotations, for the cross depicts the ministerial couple in relation to eschatological time.<sup>88</sup>

Both donor figures, Anna (fig. 2.15) and Godfrey (2.16) are rendered in relief, their bodies protruding from the surface, the illusion of volume exacerbated by their rounded, flowing costumes. The artist carefully cultivates a sense of spatial recession; sweeping folds disappear behind Godfrey’s kneeling leg, and both figures turn at an angle such that their overlapping limbs convey movement not bound to the planar surface. They both engage other elements of the crucifix. Anna’s upward gaze underscores the inscription’s first-person plea; she addresses the corpus dangling above her rather than Christ in general. Godfrey goes one step further, hands almost touching Christ’s nailed feet. As three-dimensional figures, the donors are assimilated to the divine figures of the evangelists and angels (fig. 2.17) and distinguished from the incised

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<sup>87</sup> Freed, *Noble Bondsmen*, 267.

<sup>88</sup> On the twelfth-century German interest in resurrection imagery, see: Lotem Pinchover, “Re-Living Resurrection in Medieval Saxony: The Development of New Imagery of the Resurrected Christ,” in *Devotional Cross-Roads: Practicing Love of God in Medieval Jerusalem, Gaul and Saxony*, ed. Galit Noga-Banai, Lotem Pinchover, and Hedwig Röckelein (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2019), 211–47. See also: Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 115-55.

resurrection scene (fig. 2.18). In the cross's semantic economy, the *ministeriales* are prime movers. They address, manipulate, and visually engage the forms of divinity above them.

Two forms of futurity overlap on the Trudpert cross, as the inscriptions and composition claim a place for the patrons at the coming resurrection and the gift, adorned with their names and (notional) likenesses, ensures that their *memoria* will be maintained past death. The engraved Resurrection scene, shown in a different sculptural register, is set apart but held out as a promise. For members of a class defined in part by the legal restrictions placed on their capacity to control their own genealogical and memorial futures, works of art mapped an alternative constellation of ways to endure.

## Support

“Sculpture,” proposed Herder, “creates *in depth*. It creates *one* living thing, an animate *work* that *stands there* and endures.”<sup>89</sup> His claim paradoxically condenses animation and endurance; the enlivened form's primary sculptural function is to remain static, unchanging, unmoving. Critics from Lessing on have turned this *desideratum* into a criterion of good sculpture, seeking out those moments of tension when patently inanimate sculptures teeter on the precipice of implied action. Sculpting bodies that seem “to look active and alive regardless of the beholder's projections” has long been taken as a defining ambition and achievement of the Gothic sculptors whose work immediately post-dates the objects in my dissertation.<sup>90</sup> In this section of the chapter, however, I argue that a special political force accrued to sculptures that

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<sup>89</sup> Johann Gottfried Herder, *Sculpture: Some Observations on Shape and Form from Pygmalion's Creative Dream*, trans. Jason Gaiger (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 44.

<sup>90</sup> Jacqueline E. Jung, *Eloquent Bodies: Movement, Expression, and the Human Figure in Gothic Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), 2.

made “standing there” and “enduring” their subjects. Returning to the *Wolframleuchter* in light of the previous discussions of ministerial constraint, I ask: what does it mean to show endurance and depict labor by means of a sculpted body that actually performs a supporting function?

The classical forms of the *atlantes* and caryatids, whose bodies did double duty as representation and support, survived in medieval sculpture as both functional and depictive elements.<sup>91</sup> Two squat figure below a cluster of columns in the crypt of Freising Cathedral hinge around a rectangular base (fig. 2.19). Although structurally superfluous, they appear to prop up the columns, knees bent their weight and hands reaching back to grasp the base’s upper molding. Supportive figures and sculpted laborers recur throughout a variety of media. Some simply carry accouterments that transform into candles, like a small copper-alloy knight whose woody staff transitions abruptly into a pricket; the work of bearing up seems incidental, effortless (fig. 2.20).<sup>92</sup> Others, like the four hunched figures who once shouldered the Krodo altar at each corner, are visibly configured by their work (fig. 2.21).<sup>93</sup> And laborers were enlisted as key elements of the *cathedra* at San Nicola in Bari. Kneeling, loincloth-clad *atlantes* grimace from the corners of the bishop’s seat where they contribute powerfully to a visual rhetoric of authority

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<sup>91</sup> Stefan Schweizer, “*Exemplum servitutis?* Zum Nachleben des antiken Atlasmotivs und zur Genese architektonischer Stützfiguren im Mittelalter,” in *Bilder der Macht in Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Byzanz, Okzident, Russland*, ed. Otto Gerhard Oexle and Michail A. Bojcov, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Bd. 226 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 119–86.

<sup>92</sup> A. von Heyden, ‘Ein Romanischer Leuchter,’ *Jahrbuch der Koniglich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 6 (1885): 148–52.

<sup>93</sup> Horst Appuhn, ‘Beiträge zur Geschichte des Herrschersitzes im Mittelalter, 2: Der sogenannte Krodo-Altar und der Kaiserstuhl in Goslar,’ *Aachener Kunstblätter* 54/55 (1986/1987): 69–98; Peter E. Lasko, ‘Der Krodo-Altar und der Kaiserstuhl in Goslar,’ in *Goslar, Bergstadt-Kaiserstadt in Geschichte und Kunst*, ed. Frank Neidhart Steigerwald (Göttingen: Goltze, 1993), 115–18.

(fig. 2.22).<sup>94</sup> (In a striking move, the massive candelabrum offered to St. Blasius by Henry the Lion and Matilda is propped up on four lions; given the pronounced similarity in the disposition of the manes shared by these supporting figures and the *Braunschweiger Löwe*, the sculptor may have meant to enlist the earlier, famous sculpture that rose above a substantial *basis* as, itself, a base [fig. 2.23].)<sup>95</sup>

Donated by Wolfram, most plausibly identified as a *ministerialis* of Mainz named in documents leading up to 1157, and his wife, the Erfurt *Wolframleuchter* is the most striking sculptural example of ministerial patronage to survive from the twelfth century. Cast using a process that likely involved generating a near-life size human figure out of wax, the *Wolframleuchter* at once depicts and enacts the business of holding, of bearing up liturgically significant, light-casting candles (fig. 2.1). The figure's awkward forward hunch makes room for a third candle that once extended from his back, removed during restoration but now considered to be part of the original form. Although earlier scholars (most notably Adolph Goldschmidt) speculated that the sculpture was intended to carry open a book, in the manner of a lectern, it now seems clear that it held candles from the start.<sup>96</sup> We ought therefore to imagine the

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<sup>94</sup> André Grabar, 'Trônes épiscopaux du XIème et XIIème siècle en Italie méridionale,' *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 16 (1954): 7–52.

<sup>95</sup> Peter Bloch, 'Siebenarmige Leuchter in christlichen Kirchen,' *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 23 (1961): 55–190; Hans Pfeifer, 'Der siebenarmige Leuchter im Dome zu Braunschweig,' *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst* 11 (1898): 33–48; Jürgen Rüge and Dieter Zachmann, 'Untersuchung von Marienaltar und siebenarmigem Leuchter in Dom zu Braunschweig,' *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters* 16/17 (1988/1989): 177–84.

<sup>96</sup> A recent study proposed that it was instead originally a Jewish Torah holder, forcibly transformed into an instrument of Christian liturgy before 1425. The argument is unpersuasive and has met with little enthusiasm: Julie Casteigt, Dietmar Mieth, and Jörg Rüpke, "Der Träger der Erfurter Riesentorahrolle: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Hypothese zu einem übersehenen Judaicum," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 68, no. 2 (2016): 97–118.

*Wolframleuchter* as part of a sculptural assemblage, surmounted by candles that it performatively held high.

Despite recent characterizations of the *Leuchter* as a paradigmatic “silent servant,” a mute figure assisting the human actors who conduct the liturgy, it bears an inscription that speaks in the first-person plural: “Wolfram: pray for us, holy mother of God / Hiltiburc: that we may be found worthy of the grace of God.”<sup>97</sup> “Efficiamur,” the passive subjunctive form of *efficio*, also connotes operations of making, effecting, producing, composing, and yielding; the work of the *Wolframleuchter* is to produce effects as much as it is to embody—to give form to—the patron’s wish to be valued in a positive light. The inscription runs vertically down the figure’s belt (fig. 2.3), each strand carrying a line devoted to one of the donors as they limn the male subject’s generative organs, flowing from his crotch much as the maker formula of the near-contemporary Imervard Cross appears on Christ’s dangling belt (fig. 2.24).<sup>98</sup> As Michael Matscha suggests, the disposition of the text on the *Leuchter*—each line extending behind a proper name on its own hanging belt segment—construes the words as prayers spoken by each individual. The object does not speak in its own voice, but rather serves as a conscripted support for the speech acts of its unfree patrons.

Like the Trudpert Kreuz, then, the *Leuchter* was made to bear *memoria*. It does so on two counts; the inscription preserves names and requests for salvific intercession, and it visibly elevates candles. Gifts of money and raw wax were often made to churches specifically for the

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<sup>97</sup> Matscha, “Zur Textgestalt der Inschrift des Wolfram-Leuchters.” WOLFRAMVS ORA P(RO) NOBIS S(AN)C(T)A DEI GENIT(R)IX / HILTIBURC VT DIGNI EFFICIAMVR GR(ATI)A DEI.

<sup>98</sup> Reiner Hausherr, “Das Imervardkreuz und der Volto-Santo-Typ,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 16 (1962): 129-70.

provision of candles, sometimes in order to fashion especially impressive candles.<sup>99</sup> When Henry the Lion visited Jerusalem in 1172, he provided for three lights in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>100</sup> A candle's size sometimes visibly marked the investment of its donor: in 1247, for example, King Henry III of England gave one thousand pounds of wax to Westminster Abbey for the manufacture of a single candle, and the town of Dover regularly donated the materials for a candle the length of its walls.<sup>101</sup> Readymade candles were also offered, whether made, purchased, or modified by donors who might carve poems or images in them.<sup>102</sup> As a paradigmatic gift, candles could also stand for other forms of donation. A sculpted tympanum from the west portal of Saint Castulus at Moosburg an der Isar depicts two kneeling donors, one bearing a model church and the other a large, gently tapering candle that represents the grants of land and rights supposedly given to the community by Henry II (fig. 2.25).<sup>103</sup>

As a device for elevating the most visible *pro anima* donations, the *Wolframleuchter* ensured that its ministerial donors would be memorialized through the ongoing action of service. Period texts framed the body as a machine itself made up of parts in a vertical hierarchy. John of Salisbury's famous analogy of body and state, composed around 1159, makes the feet represent the peasants "constantly bound to the soil, for whom the providence of the head is all the more necessary, in that they more often meet with stumbling blocks while they walk on the earth in

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<sup>99</sup> See the discussion of votive wax candles in: Charlotte Angeletti and Helga Schmidt-Glassner, *Geformtes Wachs* (München: Callwey, 1980).

<sup>100</sup> MGH DD HdL, no. 94.

<sup>101</sup> Alexandra Sapoznik, "Bees in the Medieval Economy: Religious Observance and the Production, Trade, and Consumption of Wax in England, c. 1300–1555," *The Economic History Review* 72, no. 4 (2019), 1159; Sheila Sweetinburgh, "Wax, Stone and Iron: Dover's Town Defences in the Later Middle Ages," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 124 (2004): 183–208.

<sup>102</sup> For an example of a poem carved in a votive candle, see: Rachel Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate: Miracle Stories and Miracle Collecting in High Medieval England* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 53.

<sup>103</sup> Luther, "Gifts and Giving," 54-5.

obedience to the body; and those who raise, support and move forward the mass of the whole body are justly owed shelter and support.”<sup>104</sup> He constructs a reciprocal model, the lower portions of the body laboring to keep the upper ones aloft and receiving protection in return. Writing in England and drawing on classical authors like Cicero, John assigns no place for the *ministeriales* in his metaphor. Moreover, customals specifically exempted *ministeriales* from head taxes and servile labor; they cannot be readily equated with peasants.<sup>105</sup> But *ministeriales* were said to figuratively prop up the social order—specifically, the elites above them—and I find John’s analogy an apt way to think about the *Wolframleuchter*’s work. The conjunction of the figure’s luxurious costume with its perpetual hoisting pose yields an image of elite servitude, the supporting body that erects and sustains the memorial mass above it.

Adolf Reinle places the sculpture in the vanguard of what he calls “acting figures” (“handelnde Figuren”), alongside automata and the mourners who silently process on fifteenth-century Burgundian tombs.<sup>106</sup> Refining Reinle’s analysis, Johannes Tripps instead uses the term “silent servants” (“stummen Dieners”), drawing on the work of Anja Lempges and delineating a

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<sup>104</sup> “Pedibus vero solo jugiter inhaerentibus, agricolae coaptantur, quibus capitis providentia tanto magis necessaria est, quo plura inveniunt offendicula, dum in obsequio corporis in terra gradiuntur, eisque justius tegumentorum debetur suffragium, qui totius corporis erigunt, sustinent, et promovent molem.” John of Salisbury, *Polycraticus*, ed. J. P. Migne, in *PL* 199 (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1855), cols. 540C-540D. Translation adapted from: John of Salisbury, *Policraticus: Of the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers*, trans. Carly J. Nederman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 67.

<sup>105</sup> Benjamin Arnold, “Instruments of Power: The Profile and Profession of Ministeriales within German Aristocratic Society (1050-1225),” in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 40.

<sup>106</sup> Adolf Reinle, *Das stellvertretende Bildnis: Plastiken und Gemälde von der Antike bis ins 19. Jahrhundert* (Zürich: Artemis, 1984), 320-30.

corpus of anthropomorphic liturgical supports.<sup>107</sup> These terms are meant to capture something about the way naturalistic, anthropomorphic sculpture works; in short, Herder's obdurate animacy.<sup>108</sup> What interests me, however, is how problems of narration—is the *Wolframleuchter* silent? is it serving? does it act?—also plot the social problems of agency and servitude. The sculpted figure cannot, after all, freely choose, nor is it *depicted* as having a choice. Arms outstretched, body stolidly planted, the *Wolframleuchter* stands for a comparable set of disjunctions that John Freed identified in the condition of the *ministerialis*.<sup>109</sup>

Crucial to the sculpture's effects are the interarticulated problems of size, similitude, and spatial configuration. Although art historians have largely looked to other metalwork objects for comparanda, from smaller candlesticks to the *Braunschweiger Löwe*, the *Wolframleuchter* also forms a continuum with other near-life size carved figures, including crucifixes (fig. 2.24). Consider the so-called *Herrgott* from Bentheim, an understudied sandstone crucifix depicting Christ in low modeled relief (fig. 2.26).<sup>110</sup> Achim Timmermann stresses the sculpture's condition as a public, cruciform monument but its size and mode of construing figure in relation to ground are features equally significant as its iconography.<sup>111</sup> Because the *Herrgott* is carved out of a column, an uncanny moment of transition appears at Christ's feet where the figure appears to emerge directly out of stone. The columnar base from which it springs embeds the crucifixion in

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<sup>107</sup> Johannes Tripps, 'Der Wolfram-Leuchter des Erfurter Doms innerhalb der Genese autonomer Vollfiguren in romanischer Zeit,' in *Der Wolfram-Leuchter im Erfurter Dom. Ein romanisches Kunstwerk und sein Umfeld*, eds. Falko Bornschein, Karl Heinemeyer, and Maria Stürzebecher (Neustadt an der Aisch: Verlagsdruckerei Schmidt, 2020): 161–76; Anja Lempges, *Der Atzmann: Stummer Diener für lautes Lob* (Regensburg: Schnell + Steiner, 2017).

<sup>108</sup> Herder, *Sculpture*, 44.

<sup>109</sup> Freed, *Noble Bondsmen*, 29.

<sup>110</sup> Shirin Fozi, *Romanesque Tomb Effigies: Death and Redemption in Medieval Europe, 1000-1200* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021), 164-68.

<sup>111</sup> Achim Timmermann, *Memory and Redemption: Public Monuments and the Making of Late Medieval Landscape* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 23.

a stationary architectonic element, unlike the *Wolframleuchter* which, as I have noted, is instead aligned by its crenellated platform with large and small liturgical objects. Strikingly, the *Herrgott* is rendered along a nearly flat plane, almost level with the column itself, its projection limited by the support's diameter. Although the flattened figure is detailed around the sides—note the striations running down the side of the *colobium* which signal how these softly rounded edges are sites of sculptural attention (fig. 2.27)—it is primarily carved to privilege a singular, frontal vantage point.

Beholders approaching the *Herrgott* from the front would meet its fixed gaze, confronting a near-life size counterpart to their own bodies. Any illusion of symmetrical encounter would, however, be broken should the spectator shift even slightly to the side. By contrast, cast fully in the round, the *Wolframleuchter* offers a body apprehensible from all angles, its candles elevated high enough that their waxen bulk and lit wicks would be equally visible from any vantage. Despite this difference, the *Herrgott* and *Leuchter* share the condition of having a face and thus a front and a back, a visage with which to address beholders. Casting a candelabrum in human form inscribed these orienting factors into the arena of liturgical choreography, whether its back was turned to most spectators or whether it faced them like the anthropomorphic lecterns Tripps remarks or the triumphal crosses that topped choir screens and confronted the congregation.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Tripps, 'Der Wolfram-Leuchter des Erfurter Doms innerhalb der Genese autonomer Vollfiguren in romanischer Zeit.' For triumphal crosses, see: Manuela Beer, *Triumphkreuze des Mittelalters: ein Beitrag zu Typus und Genese im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (Regensburg: Schnell + Steiner, 2005). The possibility that the *Wolframleuchter* served as a kind of *Rückenfigur* is a tantalizing one; it brokered anthropomorphic identification in a liturgical space. See: Margarete Koch, *Die Rückenfigur im Bild: von der Antike bis zu Giotto*, Münstersche Studien zur Kunstgeschichte 2 (Recklinghausen: A. Bongers, 1965); Joseph Leo Koerner, *Caspar David Friedrich and the Subject of Landscape* (London: Reaktion, 1990). On directionality in medieval

## Conclusion

Twelfth-century ideas about personhood were proposed through metaphors of form and analogies with art. Gervase of Tilbury distinguished *regnum* from *sacerdotum*, for example, by specifying the emperor as a judge of “clay creations” (*lutea figmenta*) and the priest as someone who “molds souls” (*informat animas*), while the slightly earlier *Annolied* describes God fashioning the saintly bishop Anno as a goldsmith a fine brooch.<sup>113</sup>

He melts gold over a fire.  
His skillful craftsmanship  
increases the value of the brooch with fine gold wires.  
He polishes the topazes smooth.  
He brings out their color  
with all sorts of preparations.  
Thus God polished St. Anno  
with many sorts of travail.<sup>114</sup>

The artistic operations through which the saint’s worth is tested and tended include melting, forging, polishing, and soldering.<sup>115</sup> This is coercion imagined as a positive process, a restraining of Anno’s will and a gradual adjustment of his behavior that’s achieved by forces working from

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sculpture, see: Nancy Ann Thebau, ‘*Non est hic*: Figuring Christ’s Absence in Early Medieval Art’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2019), 53-109.

<sup>113</sup> Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, 2. Translation slightly modified.

<sup>114</sup> “diz golt siudit her in eimi viure; / mit wêhim werki dut her si tiure, / mit wierin also cleinin; / wole slift her die golsteine; / mit mainigir slahtin gigerwa / gewinnit er in die variwa. / also sleif got seint Annin / mit arbedin manigin.” James A. Schultz, trans., “Das Annolied,” in *Sovereignty and Salvation in the Vernacular, 1050-1150* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000), 91 (lines 38.5-12).

<sup>115</sup> These techniques are meaningfully disjunct from those forwarded by the numismatic and sigillistic exempla that have governed recent discussions of high-medieval identity and subjectivity, all of which stress molding, doubling, stamping, and impressing. The *locus classicus* is: Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego Was Imago: Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2011). For the longer history of stamps and seals as identitarian analogies, see: Verity Platt, “Making an Impression: Replication and the Ontology of the Graeco-Roman Seal Stone,” *Art History* 29, no. 2 (2006): 233–57.

the outside in. Figuration, the production of the saint's exemplary form, is a good coercive achievement.

In this chapter, I have argued that the attempts made by *ministeriales* to commission works of art and to make ecclesiastical donations reveal a series of competing strategies, desires, and disjunctions between legal and social status. Scrutinizing a selection of surviving works of art that can be attributed to ministerial patronage, I have tried to show that they at once respond to, and are therefore crucially *about*, the processes of subordination, support, and qualified agency that constituted the *ministeriales*'s unusual social position. The *Wolframleuchter*'s odd place in the history of twelfth-century sculpture can partially be explained by the fact that the laboring body was rapidly becoming a convincing metaphor for the social order, replete with a vertically stratified set of reciprocal political arrangements.

### CHAPTER 3: *Locus, Terminus*

*Just as the sorcerer begins the ceremony by marking out from all its surroundings the place in which the sacred forces are to come into play, each work of art is closed off from reality by its own circumference.*

- Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer<sup>1</sup>

*No land is so small / that it does not have to be divided.*

- Ava, *Das Leben Jesu*<sup>2</sup>

Places were important to Henry the Lion. More even than his peers in the German aristocracy, he cultivated particular sites as places of cultural, economic, and military power and busily invested resources and personnel in founding towns and strengthening institutions.<sup>3</sup> He was keenly aware that networks could connect territorial points, especially those ecclesiastical structures of filiation and fraternity that overlay the European map like gossamer lines in the

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<sup>1</sup> Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 14.

<sup>2</sup> “nehein lant ist so chleine, / man neumuoze in denne teilen.” Ava, “Der Antichrist,” in *Ava’s New Testament Narratives: When the Old Law Passed Away*, trans. James A. Rushing, Medieval German Texts in Bilingual Editions 2 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2003), 202-3 (lines 2.3-4).

<sup>3</sup> Henry’s courts and cultural complexes became a model for his peers and immediate successors: Joan A. Holladay, “Hermann of Thuringia as Patron of the Arts: A Case Study,” *Journal of Medieval History* 16, no. 3 (1990): 191–216. Discussions of Henry’s court at Brunswick demonstrate its unusual cultivation as a center for cultural production and political power: Joachim Ehlers, “Der Hof Heinrichs des Löwen,” in *Die Welfen und ihr Braunschweiger Hof im hohen Mittelalter*, ed. Bernd Schneidmüller (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 43–59; Dieter Kartschoke, “Deutsche Literatur am Hof Heinrich des Löwen?,” in *Heinrich der Löwe: Herrschaft und Repräsentation*, ed. Johannes Fried and Otto Gerhard Oexle (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), 83–134; Volker Mertens, “Deutsche Literatur am Welfenhof,” in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit. Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235. Katalog der Ausstellung Braunschweig 1995*, ed. Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, vol. 2, 3 vols. (München: Hirmer, 1995), 204–12.

Middle Ages.<sup>4</sup> Chronicles and charters show how Henry incorporated the Cistercian monasteries at Riddagshausen and St. Giles at Brunswick into his court, not only tapping their communities for advisors and scribes, but dispatching their members to other foundations where they helped bolster his more secular ambitions.<sup>5</sup> In 1154, he obtained the unusual right to found bishoprics and invest the holders of northern sees, a right he exercised strategically, cultivating a geography of power tended at once by ecclesiastical appointments and military incursions.<sup>6</sup> Core, edge, and the relations that traversed the space between were vital elements of political practice. They were constructed, in part, through sculptures that themselves reflected back the preoccupation with concepts of space. This chapter investigates the vexed category of the boundary stone, exploring how it came to decline expectations of clear, univocal signification inherited from classical and

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<sup>4</sup> A vast literature has accumulated, examining how the epistolary and institutional connections between religious houses produced a series of flourishing international networks. See the representative studies: Cristina Andenna, Klaus Herbers, and Gert Melville, eds., *Die Ordnung der Kommunikation und die Kommunikation der Ordnungen*, vol. 1: Netzwerke: Klöster und Orden im Europa des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2012); Hartmut Beyer, “Nesciunt muta esse munera sapientis Geschenkexegese und Geschenktheorie in der lateinischen Epistolographie des Mittelalters,” in *Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft: Gabentausch und Netzwerkpflege im europäischen Mittelalter*, ed. Michael Grünbart, Byzantinische Studien und Texte 8 (Münster: LIT, 2011), 13–54; Walter Ysebaert, “Friendship and Networks,” in *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms - Methods - Trends*, ed. Albrecht Classen, vol. 1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 580–93.

<sup>5</sup> Joachim Ehlers, *Heinrich der Löwe: eine Biographie* (München: Siedler, 2008); Fritz Hasenritter, *Beiträge zum urkunden- und kanzleiwesen Heinrichs des Löwen* (Greifswald: Panzig, 1936).

<sup>6</sup> Joachim Ehlers, “Heinrich der Löwe und der sächsische Episkopat,” in *Friedrich Barbarossa. Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen des staufischen Kaisers*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp, Vorträge und Forschungen 40 (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1992), 435–66; Karl Jordan, *Die Bistumsgründungen Heinrichs des Löwen: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der ostdeutschen Kolonisation* (Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1939); Jürgen Petersohn, “Friedrich Barbarossa, Heinrich der Löwe und die Kirchenorganisation in Transalbingien Voraussetzungen, Bedeutung und Wirkungen des Goslarer Privilegs von 1154,” in *Heinrich der Löwe: Herrschaft und Repräsentation*, ed. Johannes Fried and Otto Gerhard Oexle (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), 239–79.

early medieval theories of geometric certitude. Understanding boundary stones as sculptures, I argue that they performed the important political work of defining both centers and limits.

My first chapter examined the role of monumental sculpture in producing a particular place, the ducal complex at Brunswick's core. I contrasted a singular, massive work of metal figuration with coins, arguing that smaller mobile multiples enjoyed something like a dialectical relationship with the *Braunschweiger Löwe*; they mapped a more diffuse space of authority that nevertheless helped to produce the central authority staked out by lion and pedestal.

Compensating for a sovereign power's incapacity to be everywhere at once, circulating money creates, in Devin Singh's account, "tendrils of control that penetrate the very exchange relations of subjects and eventually shape evaluations of reality and consequent communal formation."<sup>7</sup> A medieval sonic metaphor from Isidore of Seville helpfully characterizes the point: the *Löwe* and Henry's coinage might be imagined as an apparatus that works like a clear voice, drawn out to fill a space.<sup>8</sup> The very etymology of clear (*perspicuus*) calls surveillance to mind, deriving as it does from the verb "to look at closely" (*perspicere*). Henry's *effigies*, his likeness, rang out from a central node, resounding across the terrain, plotting ocular inspection onto spatial extension.

Unlike the coins issued before the *Löwe* sculpture's erection, upon which a symbolic lion appears as an independent device (fig. 3.1), many of Henry's bracteates minted from the late

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<sup>7</sup> Devin Singh, *Divine Currency: The Theological Power of Money in the West* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018), 5.

<sup>8</sup> For discussions of medieval space in terms of sound, see: Niall Atkinson, *The Noisy Renaissance: Sound, Architecture, and Florentine Urban Life* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016); Andrew J. Hicks, *Composing the World: Harmony in the Medieval Platonic Cosmos* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Ittai Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages: Sculpture, Material, Making* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016). Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, ed. J. P. Migne, in *PL* 82 (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1850), III.xix. Legal codes, such as the Magdeburg Law, also connect space and sound in juridical terms, citing the area where a cry may be heard as a unit of actionable space.

1160s on depict the lion as a placed, located figure.<sup>9</sup> One coin, the so-called *Hochzeitpfennig* celebrating the duke's marriage to Matilda, frames a vigorous lion within the swelling arch of a fortified structure, the couple each raising scepters above (fig. 3.2).<sup>10</sup> The artist has engineered a composition of densely compressed elements to fit the constraints of a compact visual field (the bracteate measuring a mere thirty-two millimetres in diameter), inserting the lion into a castle complex surmounted by sovereign persons. But the newer coin also points to a new referent, the sculpted metal lion that animates a specific, central locality.

This chapter extends my earlier argument by examining objects that were explicitly conscripted into the definition of place through procedures of demarcation. Seeing how they defined places helps point, in turn, to a conceptual vocabulary of twelfth-century 'place.' A flexible, historically contingent term, place has accrued diverse meanings in different milieux and scholarly discourses. High-medieval notions of place were not always explicitly theorized, beyond the identification of place as one of the key Aristotelian categories of substance.<sup>11</sup> Correspondingly, philosophical accounts of place have largely passed over the period in silence; Edward Casey's magisterial *The Fate of Place*, for example, moves briskly from Aristotle to

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<sup>9</sup> Gerhard Welter, *Die Münzen der Welfen seit Heinrich dem Löwen*, 2 vols. (Braunschweig: Klinckschardt & Biermann, 1971), no. 71/72.

<sup>10</sup> Welter, *Die Münzen der Welfen seit Heinrich dem Löwen*, no. 577. On this coin's significance for Matilda's political role, see: Jitske Jasperse, "A Coin Bearing Testimony to Duchess Matilda as Consorts Regni," ed. Laura L. Gathagan and William North, *The Haskins Society Journal* 26 (2015): 169–90; Jitske Jasperse, "To Have and to Hold: Coins and Seals as Evidence for Motherly Authority," in *Royal Mothers and Their Ruling Children: Wielding Political Authority from Antiquity to the Early Modern Era*, ed. Carey Fleiner and Elena Woodacre, Queenship and Power (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 83–104.

<sup>11</sup> Edward S. Casey, *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); L. Michael Harrington, *Sacred Place in Early Medieval Neoplatonism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). For place as a received Aristotelian category, see: Isidore, *Etymologiae*, II.xxvi.

Aquinas.<sup>12</sup> Following David Summers, however, I define place practically.<sup>13</sup> Places, he argues, all share some basic ontological facts. They are enclosures that have somehow been distinguished from the rest of the spatial world, products of facture and refinement that necessarily possess a size and shape. These facts have social consequences: “if places unite groups, they exclude as well as include, and are therefore also fundamental to the institutionalization of differences among groups.”<sup>14</sup> Places articulate, in turn, forms of authority. As Summers puts it, “specific real spatial relations and social relations arise together.” The trick is not simply to identify the constituent parts of a place—its alignments, boundaries, centers, paths of approach, replicated features—but to see how these categories are conditional, chosen, and configured. The very terms of emplacement in the disputed terrain of twelfth-century northern Europe, I argue, were recast through artful operations of dividing, sectioning, and centripetal staging.

Although Henry appears periodically throughout this chapter, and although I read his political endeavours as vitally connected to the phenomena I describe, my ambition in what follows is to propose that sculpture played a significant role in these operations. From large carved stones, bearing images and inscriptions, that publicly staked out newly Christianized places, to smaller marked objects that visualized property boundaries, sculptures forcefully articulated *loci* and *termini*. My cases are largely drawn from the perimeter of Henry’s areas of influence—a perimeter in which he nevertheless took a great interest—and they show how strategies of place-making unfolded differently across northern Germany, responding to different

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<sup>12</sup> Casey, *The Fate of Place*.

<sup>13</sup> David Summers, *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism* (London: Phaidon, 2003), 117-25.

<sup>14</sup> Summers, *Real Spaces*, 117.

demands and historical conditions. Meeting juridical, liturgical, and poetic concerns, sculptures provide, in turn, a monumental counterpart to other projects that claimed to regulate space: the erection of the *Braunschweiger Löwe*, the granting of market rights at Lübeck, and the innovation of site-specific visual programs on Scandinavian fonts, to name a few.<sup>15</sup>

Challenging established narratives of Renaissance art history that valorize particular centers of artistic production and identify artists with the metropolises of Rome, Florence, and Venice, Stephen Campbell argues for a “fluid and dynamic conception of place, whereby it is *places* that are articulated and distinguished by artifacts, rather than vice versa.”<sup>16</sup> Militating against “any sense of the unique, the autochthonous...elemental relation of an artifact to a location,” Campbell addresses the geopolitical terms of center and periphery as well as the Vasarian genealogies that have long structured his subfield. His formulation resembles the process that I describe at work in Brunswick in the previous chapter, but it also exemplifies the increasing sophistication with which art historians have characterized the many possible relations between objects, images, and places. Scholars have examined the production of place in terms of monuments, installations, and environments, dealing with permanent, stationary works as well as ephemeral constructions like tents or catafalques.<sup>17</sup> Tracking mobile objects, artists, and motifs

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<sup>15</sup> The *Braunschweiger Löwe* and the Scanian fonts are treated in chapters one and four respectively. For the granting of rights, see the account in Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. Johannes M. Lappenberg with Georg Heinrich Pertz, in MGH SSrG 14 (Hanover: Hahn, 1912), II.21. Much ink has been spilled over the question of what rights Henry granted and what significance they had for the political organization of civic communities, markets, and trade.

<sup>16</sup> Stephen J. Campbell, *The Endless Periphery: Toward a Geopolitics of Art in Lorenzo Lotto's Italy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2019), 25.

<sup>17</sup> Michael Camille, “Signs of the City: Place, Power, and Public Fantasy in Medieval Paris,” in *Medieval Practices of Space*, ed. Barbara Hanawalt and Michal Kobińska (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 1–36; Bernd Carqué, “Paris 1377–78. Places of Power and the Problems of Visibility between the Middle Ages and Present Day,” *Médiévales* 53, no. 2

through different cultural milieus, especially along trade networks, has also yielded a panoply of ways that premodern artifacts cathect, connect to, converse with, index, disavow, and effect places.<sup>18</sup> A wealth of studies show how medieval artists and architects skilfully staged situations that imaginatively transported viewers to other places, conveying notions of *Romanitas* or evoking Jerusalem's topography in England, for example.<sup>19</sup>

The artworks associated with Henry the Lion certainly repay this sort of study. From the luxury textiles he carried from the Middle East back to Lower Saxony to the reliquaries he

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(2002): 123–42; Megan Cassidy-Welch, "Space and Place in Medieval Contexts," *Parergon* 27, no. 2 (2011): 1–12; Meredith Cohen and Fanny Madeline, eds., *Space in the Medieval West: Places, Territories, and Imagined Geographies* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014); Helen Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>18</sup> The classic text is: Eva R. Hoffman, "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century," *Art History* 24, no. 1 (2001): 17–50. See also: Robyn Barrow, "Gunhild's Cross and the North Atlantic Trade Sphere," *The Medieval Globe* 7, no. 1 (2021): 53–75; Sarah Guérin, "Forgotten Routes: Italy, Ifriqiya, and the Trans-Saharan Ivory Trade," *Al-Masaq, Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean* 25, no. 1 (2013): 71–92; Kathleen Bickford Berzock, ed., *Caravans of Gold, Fragments in Time: Art, Culture, and Exchange across Medieval Saharan Africa* (Evanston: Block Museum of Art, Northwestern University, 2019). Medieval scholars have built on a more general attention to cultural interchange, object biographies, and the pathways forged by trade. See the seminal collection of essays: Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

<sup>19</sup> There is, of course, an archive of these ambitions in medieval art. A non-exhaustive list of studies: Celia Chazelle, "'Romanness' in Early Medieval Culture," in *Paradigms and Methods in Early Medieval Studies*, ed. Celia Chazelle and Felice Lifshitz, *The New Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 61–79; Jane Hawkes, "Iuxta morem romanorum: Stone and Sculpture in the Style of Rome," in *Anglo-Saxon Styles*, ed. George Hardin Brown and Catherine E. Karkov (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 69–100; Jane Hawkes, "Anglo-Saxon *Romanitas*: The Transmission and Use of Early Christian Art in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Freedom of Movement in the Middle Ages. Harlaxton Symposium Harlaxton Medieval Studies*, ed. Peregrin Horden, 15 (Donnington: Paul Watkins, 2007), 19–36; Éamonn Ó Carragáin, "The Necessary Distance: *Imitatio Romae* and the Ruthwell Cross," in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), 191–203; Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch, "Rom und Aachen in der staufischen Reichimagination," in *Verwandlungen des Stauferreichs: drei Innovationsregionen im mittelalterlichen Europa*, ed. Bernd Schneidmüller, Stefan Weinfurter, and Alfried Wiczorek (Stuttgart: WBG (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft), 2010), 268–88.

commissioned, he set objects in motion.<sup>20</sup> Georg Swarzenski's seminal identification of a *Kunstkreis* around Henry construes Henry's court (and its associated subsidiary centers) as a kind of workshop that processed foreign influences, then transformed medieval German art by disseminating their forms back out.<sup>21</sup> This chapter, however, takes a different tack. Proceeding from Campbell's claim that works of art *articulate* and *distinguish* places, I explore a corpus of twelfth-century objects that made spatial demarcation their *raison d'être*, well as the frustration engendered by the desire to make objects index or ventriloquize particular places.

Using objects to define, manipulate, condense, and expand places was a geopolitically and theologically significant endeavour in the high-medieval period. Drawing on recent work by art historians like Emanuele Lugli, Megan McNamee, and Jennifer Nelson, in what follows I reconstruct period practices of boundary, measure, geometry, perambulation, and apperception to see how this happened on the ground.<sup>22</sup> I show that examples like compass needles, small poetic ruses, and weeping wounds afford an aesthetic vocabulary with which to describe a range of

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<sup>20</sup> Henry's transported objects are described in: Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, I.12.

<sup>21</sup> Georg Swarzenski, "Aus dem Kunstkreis Heinrichs des Löwen," *Städel-Jahrbuch* 7/8 (1932): 241–397. See the dissertation introduction for further bibliography.

<sup>22</sup> Emanuele Lugli, *The Making of Measure and the Promise of Sameness* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2019); Emanuele Lugli, "Hidden in Plain Sight: The 'Pietre Di Paragone' and the Preeminence of Medieval Measurements in Communal Italy," *Gesta* 49, no. 2 (2010): 77–95; Megan C. McNamee, "Picturing Number in the Central Middle Ages" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2015); Megan C. McNamee, "Early Romanesque Abstraction and the 'Unconditionally Two-Dimensional Surface,'" in *Abstraction in Medieval Art: Beyond the Ornament*, ed. Elina Gertsman (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 267–84; Megan C. McNamee, "Picturing as Practice: Placing a Square above a Square in the Central Middle Ages," in *Canonical Texts and Scholarly Practices: A Global Comparative Approach*, ed. Anthony Grafton and Glenn W. Most (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 200–223; Megan C. McNamee, "Imaging and Imagining Solidity," in *After the Carolingians: Re-Defining Manuscript Illumination in the 10th and 11th Centuries*, ed. Beatrice E. Kitzinger and Joshua O'Driscoll, *Sense, Matter, and Medium* 2 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), 86–117; Jennifer Nelson, *Disharmony of the Spheres: The Europe of Holbein's Ambassadors* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019).

place-making practices. Finally, I suggest that exploring the connections between *indication* and *location* also reveals how signs both cited and sited along Christendom's disputed borders.

### **Boundaries and *Signa***

Henry the Lion fomented violence along the Baltic coast and east of the Elbe through crusades and other military incursions.<sup>23</sup> Although he cultivated diplomatic relations with Slavic leaders, he also imprisoned them at Brunswick, making and breaking alliances as he saw fit.<sup>24</sup> He intervened in the ecclesiastical administration of bishoprics like Ratzeburg and encouraged emigration from Saxony to regions like Pomerania.<sup>25</sup> Describing the ideal prince who makes up the head of his body-state metaphor, John of Salisbury warns against the avaricious leader who would hunger to “unite house to house, field to field, right up to the boundaries of space, as if they would dwell alone on the surface of the earth.”<sup>26</sup> For better or worse, territorial expansion underwrote a paradigmatic form of sovereignty, and the subsumption of house and field stood for the domination of both civic and agricultural life. When Henry the Lion triumphed over Count

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<sup>23</sup> Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, 2nd ed. (London: Penguin, 1997); Hans-Otto Gaethke, *Herzog Heinrich der Löwe und die Slawen nordöstlich der unteren Elbe* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999); Charles Higounet, *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung im Mittelalter*, trans. Manfred Vasold (Berlin: Siedler, 1986); William Urban, “The Wendish Princes and the ‘Drang Nach Dem Osten,’” *Journal of Baltic Studies* 9, no. 3 (1978): 225–44.

<sup>24</sup> For the imprisonment of a Slavic prince at Brunswick, see: Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. Bernhard Schmeidler, in MGH SSrG 32 (Hanover: Hahn, 1937), II.98.

<sup>25</sup> Marek Derwich, “Sachsen und Polen im 12. Jahrhundert,” in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit. Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235. Katalog der Ausstellung Braunschweig 1995*, ed. Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, vol. 2 (Munich: Hirmer, 1995), 136–43; Jürgen Petersohn, “Die Kirchenpolitik Heinrichs des Löwen in der sächsischen Slawenmark,” in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit. Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235. Katalog Der Ausstellung Braunschweig 1995*, ed. Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, vol. 2 (München: Hirmer, 1995), 144–48.

<sup>26</sup> “Nec avaritiae aut ambitionis stimulo urgebatur, ut domum domui, agrum agro conjungeret, usque ad terminos loci, ac si solus habiturus esset in superficie terrae.” John of Salisbury, *Polycraticus*, ed. J. P. Migne, in *PL* 199 (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1855), V.6.

Bernhard of Ratzeburg in a minor dispute, Arnold of Lübeck reports that he expelled the count's men and took possession of "all the land" ("omni terra").<sup>27</sup>

What I have translated in John as "boundaries of space" is, however, more accurately rendered as "boundaries of place" ("ad terminus loci"). As noted above, boundaries are integral to the definition of place, and the power to determine one's own borders was repeatedly contested by twelfth-century civic and episcopal stakeholders. When Frederick Barbarossa besieged Lübeck in 1181, the citizens negotiated to retain the "civic freedom" ("libertatem civitatem") Henry had granted them; they sought confirmation of their "judicial rights" ("iustitias") and, in narrating the event, Arnold of Lübeck concludes their petition with their desire to "control boundaries, in pastures, forests, and rivers."<sup>28</sup> A large inscription carved on a stone panel embedded in the wall of St. Peter, Heppenheim, proclaims the boundaries of the church's territory (fig. 3.3).<sup>29</sup> Opening with the line "this is the boundary of this church" (HEC E(ST) T(ER)MINATIO ISTIVS ECCL(ESI)E," it goes on to string together demarcating lines that run between named settlements (e.g. Lauten-Weschnitz) and natural features ("the middle of

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<sup>27</sup> "Dux ergo eiectis omnibus solus potitus est omni terra et cepit munire castrum Razesburg, Sygeberch, Plone, plurimum confidens in presidiis illis." Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, II.19.

<sup>28</sup> "Verum priusquam ei civitatem aperuissent, exierunt ad eum rogantes, ut libertatem civitatis, quam a duce prius traditam habuerant, obtinerent et iustitias, quas in privilegiis scriptas habebant, secundum iura Sosatie et terminos quos in pascuis, silvis, fluviis possederant ipsius auctoritate et munificentia possiderent." Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, II.21. Neither the precise wording of their petition nor the rights that Frederick subsequently granted have survived, although forgeries claiming to preserve them were produced almost immediately after the event.

<sup>29</sup> For the full inscription, with discussion and bibliography, see: Heppenheim Nr. 13, *Deutsche Inschriften Online*: <https://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0238-di038mz04k0001302> (last accessed 5/1/22). See also: Enno Bünz, "Grenzenloses Mittelalter?: Beobachtungen und Überlegungen zur Geschichte, Gestalt und Funktion von Grenzen," in *Über Grenzen hinweg – Inschriften als Zeugnisse kulturellen Austauschs. Beiträge zur 14. Internationalen Fachtagung für mittelalterliche und frühneuzeitliche Epigraphik, Düsseldorf 2016*, ed. Helga Giersiepen and Andrea Stieldorf (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 17.

the channel of Wagendenror” [AD MEDIVM FRETVM(M) WAGENDENROR]).<sup>30</sup> The inscription concludes by claiming that the limits had been laid down by Charlemagne in 805, a convenient fiction that points to the kinds of authority that institutions increasingly fabricated during the twelfth century when they cast about for precedents to justify their boundaries.<sup>31</sup> Publicly displayed, the inscription asserted borders that, by implication, were permanently fixed in stone.

Rivers, lakes, roads, and seas were convenient ways to mark boundaries, as witnessed by the Heppenheim inscription and the language of documents that tried to precisely define property.<sup>32</sup> A charter issued at Goslar in 1154, for example, describes the land donated by Henry the Lion to the monastery at Riechenberg by giving its bounds (*termini*) as “from the stream (*torrens*) called Scobike all the way to the brook (*rivus*) called Grana.”<sup>33</sup> But if rivers handily afforded continuous lines in the landscape—recall that the Heppenheim inscription even pins down the border to the “middle” of a channel—space was also regulated by a series of points punctuating notional border lines where neither natural features nor settlements existed.

Marking these points and measuring out lines was nominally the privilege of sovereign power, particularly when a ruler brought juridical power to bear on a conflict. An illumination in the luxurious gospel book made for Henry the Lion at Helmarshausen depicts Justice carrying a

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<sup>30</sup> Heppenheim Nr. 13.

<sup>31</sup> HEC T(ER)MINATIO FACTA E(ST) / ANNO DOMINICE I(N) CARNATIONIS D CCC V A MAGNO KAROLO ROMANOR(VM) I(M)P(ER)ATORE. See: Eric Knibbs, *Ansgar, Rimbert, and the Forged Foundations of Hamburg-Bremen* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

<sup>32</sup> Documents like immunities that were concerned to delineate an inviolable space of jurisdiction had, of necessity, to specify boundary features. When Pope Urban II granted an immunity to Cluny in 1095, for example, the limits of the *sacratus* ban were marked by features like “the road above Bois de Banan.” Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 1-3.

<sup>33</sup> “A torrente, qui dicitur Scobike, usque ad rivum, qui appellatur Grana.” MGH DD HdL, no. 27.

measuring rod as well as scales, connecting the notion of fair measurement to just administration (fig. 3.4).<sup>34</sup> On this score, Helmold of Bosau reports a dispute over the size of a property donated to the Oldenburg bishopric in the newly converted region of Wagria. When the bishop visited the property, he found it much smaller than expected because the donor “had had the land measured by a short line, not familiar to our countrymen.... Therefore, when the matter was referred to [Duke Henry the Lion], the latter judged in the bishop’s favor: measurement should be given according to the custom of the land.”<sup>35</sup> Henry was asked to adjudicate the standards of measurement here, the disagreement over what unit of line (Helmold uses the word “funiculus,” literally a rope or cord) should be used on the frontier exposing a clash of customs, systems, and regimes of authority.<sup>36</sup> Helmold strongly implies that Count Adolph strategically mismeasured the property; when the duke judged in favor of the bishop, he did not simply reinscribe the “custom of the land” but asserted his own power to determine weights and measures in disputed territory.

The Heppenheim inscription summons a distant, but unimpeachable authority: Charlemagne. Affixed to the church which functioned as the center point of the territory it delineated, the Heppenheim panel offered weighty testimony; it was a source of information to be checked and gestured to. But it did not have to orient subjects in the immediate terrain, as boundary markers (*Marksteine* or *Grenzsteine* in the voluminous German literature) did. Alongside a rich vocabulary of borders (*limites, termini, graniciae*), the term *marcstein* appears

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<sup>34</sup> *Gospels of Henry the Lion*, ca. 1188. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 105 Noviss. 2°, fol. 14v.

<sup>35</sup> “Quam ob rem comes fecit mensurari terram funiculo brevi et nostratibus incognito.... Perlata igitur causa ad ducem adiudicavit dux episcopo dari mensuram iuxta morem terrae huius.” Helmold, *Chronica*, I.84.

<sup>36</sup> The power to impose standards is a characteristic prerogative of empire: Daniel Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2019).

as early as the eleventh century and, although most extant examples date from the fourteenth century on, enough evidence survives in twelfth-century illustrations and textual records to suggest a widespread material culture of demarcation.<sup>37</sup> Medieval boundaries might have been sanctioned by centrally issued judgements and recorded in monumental or archival texts, but the work of making them materially and visually intelligible in the landscape required a different sort of work.

The twelfth century inherited a rich tradition of land measurement and border marking. Classical precedents, often grounded in geometric knowledge, encouraged the making of a marked, ordered world organized by uniformly inscribed monuments that would yield information that a clued-in spectator could decode. Illustrated land surveying texts, passed down from the classical world in the motley form of the *corpus agrimensorum*, specified that boundary stones should be “inscribed on top in the manner customary for the *decimanus maximus* and the *kardo*.”<sup>38</sup> An accompanying illustration in the sixth-century *Codex Arcerianus* depicts both a cylindrical marker and its inscribed top, as if viewed from above, showing the cardinal directions

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<sup>37</sup> Bünz, “Grenzloses Mittelalter?” 24. See, with summation of the German bibliography: Achim Timmermann, *Memory and Redemption: Public Monuments and the Making of Late Medieval Landscape* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017).

<sup>38</sup> James N. Carder, *Art Historical Problems of a Roman Land Surveying Manuscript, the Codex Arcerianus A, Wolfenbüttel* (New York: Garland, 1978), 80. I will primarily discuss the oldest surviving illustrated version of the compilation: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 36.23 Aug. 2°. The manuscript may be consulted online:

<https://diglib.hab.de/?db=mss&list=ms&id=36-23-aug-2f>. For a serviceable translation of the texts that most commonly traveled together, see: Brian Campbell, trans., *The Writings of the Roman Land Surveyors: Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary*, Journal of Roman Studies Monograph 9 (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 2000). The corpus has recently been the subject of intensive study: Lugli, *The Making of Measure and the Promise of Sameness*. The corpus was certainly known in Germany; for a twelfth-century copy, which I have been unable to consult in person, see: London, British Library, Add. MS 47679.

(fig. 3.5).<sup>39</sup> The text instructs the surveyor to “inscribe the sides of stones which have more room for larger figures; figures cannot be easily inscribed on top.”<sup>40</sup> The illustrations demonstrate the sorts of signs that the columns’ sides should bear; numbers marking a centuriation system that locates the reader/viewer in a set of notional coordinates ordering the surrounding land (fig. 3.6).

Such systems were, of course, contingent on the equation of land with territory; they transformed the former into the latter. Territories have histories, and the *Codex Arcerianus* notes that when Augustus refounded cities, he found old stones that marked out of date boundaries.<sup>41</sup> The boundary marker thus indexed the workings of time, the impermanence of artificial borders and the properties or empires they delimited. Another fragment compiled in the *Codex* gives a history of boundary stones. The accompanying illustration inventories the vast range of objects deployed by Roman regimes through the ages, from unadorned columns to trees to a mounded cairn of brick (fig. 3.7).<sup>42</sup> Text and image cast boundary markers as culturally specific devices; their form, as well as the information they carry, can slip out of date, and the diagram not only renders the imperial past legible through forms, but also implies the instability of empires *and* borders. Charting space for the classical surveyor meant reckoning with historical time. By the twelfth century, commentators in England, Germany, and Scandinavia were increasingly interested in the vestiges of the past that littered their urban and rural landscapes.<sup>43</sup> I discuss Helmold of Bosau’s description of the *indicia* of prior settlement in Schleswig-Holstein in the next chapter; closer to this chapter’s focus, charters listing boundaries in Pomerania used “tombs

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<sup>39</sup> In some of the medieval recensions of the text, the modeled column is omitted and the illustration is reduced to a schematic diagram rendering the information on the top.

<sup>40</sup> Carder, *Codex Arcerianus A*, 81.

<sup>41</sup> Carder, *Codex Arcerianus A*, 83.

<sup>42</sup> Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 36.23 Aug. 2°, fol. 77v.

<sup>43</sup> Exemplary authors include Gerald of Wales, Helmold of Bosau, and Saxo Grammaticus.

of the ancients” (*sepulcra antiquorum*) as landmarks when articulating boundaries.<sup>44</sup> When boundaries were marked by ruination, they limned the friable edges of the present as much as the permeable borders of the polity.

Other texts preserved in the *Codex Arcerianus A* explore the variety of boundary markers at greater length. Distinguishing what could mark a boundary from what could not was not simply a question of reading the environment; it was an issue of control. The incomplete fragment *De Sepulchris*, for example, claims to speak in the voice of the Emperor Tiberius.<sup>45</sup> It asserts (with some exceptions) that neither monuments set up near public roads nor those near religious sites nor on private land “constitute a boundary system.”<sup>46</sup> Neither form nor inscription nor site necessarily make an object a boundary marker in the classical texts and images that the medieval world inherited. It is, rather, the marker’s participation in a given system of coordinates and political order that sanctions its status and renders its information intelligible.

A well-known group of Byzantine octateuchs dating to the eleventh and twelfth centuries preserve depictions of land surveying and distribution in illustrations accompanying chapters 18 and 19 of Joshua.<sup>47</sup> Typically, the boundary marker is figured as a large marble column, (fig. 3.8).<sup>48</sup> In its evocation of lithic authority, the column calls to mind the many surviving Roman *miliaria* (milestones) that dotted the medieval world. Particularly numerous in parts of the

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<sup>44</sup> *Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 1: 786-1250 (Schwerin: Verein für Mecklenburgische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, 1863), nr. 114.

<sup>45</sup> Carder, *Codex Arcerianus A*, 155.

<sup>46</sup> Carder, *Codex Arcerianus A*, 155.

<sup>47</sup> On the Octateuchs, see the classic publications: John Lowden, *The Octateuchs: A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992); Kurt Weitzmann, *The Byzantine Octateuchs* (Princeton University Press, 1999).

<sup>48</sup> Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 746, fols. 460r, 461v; Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 747, fols. 230v, 231v; Mount Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, Ms. 602, fol. 381v; Izmir, Evangelical School of Smyrna, A.1, fols. 233v, 234v (destroyed).

German-speaking world that fell under Roman control, they generally took the form of columns or blocks bearing Latin inscriptions that name imperial or military authorities and state distances measured in Roman miles or, occasionally, local measurements.<sup>49</sup> A typical example erected southwest of Cologne in the late third or early fourth century marks the distance of one league from the city (fig. 3.9).<sup>50</sup> While not boundary markers proper, these classical remnants served as examples, still visible to medieval spectators, of how to stake out spatial networks (and, correspondingly, territories) through inscribed public monuments.<sup>51</sup>

High-medieval texts describe a complex array of images, marks, objects, and verbal practices that served as boundary signs and route markers. A dispute mediated in 1096 gives a good sense of the kinds of practices that were used to identify boundaries, as well as the ways that these practices were understood and employed in juridical contexts.<sup>52</sup> When a long-simmering conflict between the monks of San Benedetto Po and the secular landowners flared up once more, Countess Mathilda of Tuscany dispatched her *advocatus* to settle affairs with the abbot. Weighing evidence about contested property borders, the document notes the testimony of ancient men (“antiqui homines”) who made signs on trees to mark the boundaries in a circuit (“signaverunt arbores in circuitu”), as well as rivers, old roads, and places where more signs were made on trees and piles of stones were set up (“loca signa arborum et lapidum posita sunt”).

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<sup>49</sup> Otto Hirschfeld, *Die römischen Meilensteine* (Berlin: Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1907); Gerhard Winkler, *Die römischen Strassen und Meilensteine in Noricum - Österreich* (Stuttgart: Gesellschaft für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Württemberg und Hohenzollern, 1985).

<sup>50</sup> Excavated in 1903, the milestone is now housed in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum in Cologne.

<sup>51</sup> For markers as the product of boundary disputes in the Roman empire, see: Thomas Elliott, “Epigraphic Evidence for Boundary Disputes in the Roman Empire” (Ph.D University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2004), 26-31.

<sup>52</sup> *Urkunden und Briefe der Markgräfin Mathilde von Tuszien*, eds. Elke Goetz and Werner Goetz, in MGH DD 2 (Hanover: Hahn, 1998), A6.

A far cry from the orderly columns envisioned in the classical surveyors' manuals, the high-medieval landscape was instead marked by stony piles and incised trees, roads and rivers, all of which had to be activated by verbal testimony and adjudicated.<sup>53</sup> The nomenclature is frustratingly ambiguous; texts rarely specify what trees are signed with and terms like “cumulus lapidum” could cover any number of natural, man-made, or ruined features.<sup>54</sup>

The picture looked very similar in the regions just east of Lower Saxony. A remarkable series of documents issued by Duke Henry I, the Bearded, of Silesia for the communities of Lubiąż and Trzebnica reveal how boundaries had to be defined, redefined, and affirmed by multiple forms of marker. Studied by Piotr Górecki, the charters are especially valuable because they show the duke repeatedly returning to the same places over the course of six years (1202-1208).<sup>55</sup> They describe the duke and his representatives perambulating the edges of disputed areas, in the company of local stakeholders and high-ranking officials who could bear legal witness to the procession. Crucially, the charters describe the boundaries as “strengthened” (“firmitate”) by Henry with “signs” (“signa”).<sup>56</sup> On several occasions, these “signs” comprise mounds (“aggeres,” translated by Górecki as “piles of rocks”) and signs made on trees (“arborum signatione”), as well as rocks carved with his name.<sup>57</sup> As Górecki notes, the carved rocks seem to have been intended to reinforce the boundary's authority in the face of controversy; in 1208, a

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<sup>53</sup> A similar state of affairs characterized the late-medieval Baltic: Patrick Meehan, ‘A Promised Wilderness: Colonial Encounters and Landscape in the Late Medieval Baltic’ (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2021), 192-291.

<sup>54</sup> For examples of heaped stones demarcating boundaries in Henry the Lion's charters, see: MGH DD HdL, nos. 41, 103.

<sup>55</sup> Piotr Górecki, “Communities of Legal Memory in Medieval Poland, c. 1200–1240,” *Journal of Medieval History* 24, no. 2 (1998): 127-54.

<sup>56</sup> Górecki, “Communities of Legal Memory in Medieval Poland, c. 1200-1240,” 146.

<sup>57</sup> Górecki, “Communities of Legal Memory in Medieval Poland, c. 1200–1240,” 148-49. For the monogrammed rocks, which Górecki analyzes separately: “lapides apicibus meis nominis insculptos.”

charter notes that “because these signs (“signa”) seemed to me less than sufficient...I have ordered that stones incised with the letters of my name be placed near some of the mounds.”<sup>58</sup>

The Duke of Silesia’s charters then describe the locations of these stones with reference to other features of the landscape, as well as the earlier aggregate signs.

Górecki argues that the boundary was, for Henry for Bearded, a “geographic palimpsest.”<sup>59</sup> I prefer, however, to think of the boundary markers as facets of a composite sign; each point had to be refreshed, renewed, and sometimes corrected, by an assemblage of material, visual, and mnemonic features. No single marker mentioned in Henry’s charters suffices to mark the boundary, but rather every signifying intervention (marked tree, mound, inscribed stone) reinforces the others. Boundary markers were, in fact, objects that worked in tandem with *other* objects to triangulate a point, rather than straightforwardly materializing a boundary line.<sup>60</sup> The attempt to make a sign correspond to a specific point occasioned an explosion of mutually reinforcing signs, each definitively inadequate. Like cenotaphs, which point to an absent body, the connection tethering a boundary marker to the point it claimed to make visible was never a straightforward, easily apprehensible affair.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> “Cum hec signa michi minus sufficientia sint visa ad maioris habundantiam cautele decrevi lapides nominis mei litteris insculptos iuxta quosdam aggeres ponere.” *Communities of Legal Memory in Medieval Poland, c. 1200–1240*, 149.

<sup>59</sup> Górecki, “Communities of Legal Memory in Medieval Poland,” 150.

<sup>60</sup> For a comparative study of how objects materialize notional boundary lines, see: Seth Estrin, “Horoi and Horizons in Fifth- and Fourth-Century Athens,” in *Shifting Horizons: A Line and Its Movement in Art, History and Philosophy*, ed. Lucas Burkart and Beate Fricke (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2022), 27–54.

<sup>61</sup> Michalis Olympios, “A Tomb for All Seasons: The Cenotaph of Saint Audomarus at Saint-Omer and the Performative Mutability of Art in the Late Middle Ages,” *Viator* 49, no. 1 (J2018): 199–240; Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1964). I am grateful to Shirin Fozi for conversations about tombs and cenotaphs.

The classical texts of the *agrimensores* put their faith in reproducible, orderly systems, their bounding precepts grounded in geometrical knowledge; the twelfth-century boundary marker, by contrast, was an ad hoc affair grounded in local forms of memory and threatened by an ever-advancing tide of uncertainty. Michel de Certeau defines a place in *The Practice of Everyday Life* as “an instantaneous configuration of positions” that “implies an indication of stability.”<sup>62</sup> A place’s most foundational feature for de Certeau is the exclusion “of two things being in the same location.”<sup>63</sup> This fundamental fact is, however, an agon for high-medieval boundary marking projects, which squeezed as many things in the same place as they could in order to signal the location of the *locus*.

Anxiety about how markers could shift, accidentally or due to deception, appears in several clauses of the thirteenth-century *Sachsenspiegel* where a thirty shilling fine is mandated for anyone who “chops down a boundary tree, or digs up stone boundary markers.”<sup>64</sup> An unfinished drawing in a fourteenth-century copy of the *Sachsenspiegel*, discussed briefly by Achim Timmermann, depicts both disruptive activities (fig. 3.10).<sup>65</sup> The figure on the left plunges a spade into the earth in order to excavate a plain, rounded stone while a central figure wields an axe against a tall tree.<sup>66</sup> The scene evokes the panoply of signifying monuments laid out taxonomically in the *Codex Arcerianus A* (fig. 3.11). In the sixth-century manuscript,

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<sup>62</sup> Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven F. Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 117.

<sup>63</sup> de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 117.

<sup>64</sup> Maria Dobozy, trans., *The Saxon Mirror: A Sachsenspiegel of the Fourteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), II.28.

<sup>65</sup> Oldenburg, Landesbibliothek MS Cim I 410, fol. 49v. For the *Sachsenspiegel* illustrations, see the key works: Madeline H. Caviness and Charles G. Nelson, *Women and Jews in the Sachsenspiegel Picture-Books* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018); Dagmar Hüpper and Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand, eds., *Der Sachsenspiegel als Buch* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1991). The scene is analyzed in: Timmermann, *Memory and Redemption*, 206.

<sup>66</sup> Although the faces of the figures are left blank, both a sun and the spade bear facial features.

multiple forms of boundary marker are depicted within delicately rendered landscapes; in the upper half of the page a squared stone block appears alongside two trees with cruciform incisions (fig. 3.11). But the *Sachsenspiegel* artist introduces human figures into the scene, showing how bad faith actors were ever ready to disrupt the logic of demarcation and disturbing the subject-free vision of orderly society conjured in the Roman agrimensores's fantastic world of might and measure.

Issues of secrecy and verification recur in high-medieval discussions of boundary markers. As definitively *public* objects that aimed to make points and lines legible, they relied on claims to juridical and topographical authority that needed to be checked.<sup>67</sup> Scattered references suggest that the practice of burying shards of pottery or other authorizing fragments underneath stones to serve as a clandestinely interred authorizing sign stretched back to the twelfth century.<sup>68</sup> The procedures of discerning and marking boundary points attest the looming danger of frustrated knowledge, more than anything else. The relationship between signifier and signified, between stone and spatial node, had to be repeatedly and publicly insisted on. As Enno Bünz puts it, medieval borders were “nicht sichtbar, aber spürbar.”<sup>69</sup> Rather than thinking of boundary markers as exemplary signs, then, they might be better understood as cases in which signification itself was repeatedly called into question as a constellation of semiotic elements were arrayed before the suspicious beholder. Intended to mark out a place's edges, the place of the boundary sign was itself a quandary.

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<sup>67</sup> The medieval boundary marker thus raises the question of how signs can be both clandestine and definitively public.

<sup>68</sup> Timmermann, *Memory and Redemption*, 205-6. See, with discussions of the twelfth-century Baltic: David Abulafia and Nora Berend, eds., *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices* (London: Routledge, 2016).

<sup>69</sup> Bünz, “Grenzloses Mittelalter?” 39.

## Inscribed Stones

Two extant twelfth-century stones deploy the conjunction of cross and name as monumental *signa* in order to shape space into place. Both are well known to German medievalists but have received little serious study in any language. The first, the so-called *Heinrichstein* at Ratzeburg, is dominated by a deeply incised cross on its large, flat face (fig. 3.12).<sup>70</sup> An inscription arrayed across the four quadrants delineated by the cross marks the stone as a commemorative monument for Count Henry of Badewide (fig. 3.13), enfeoffed with Ratzeburg by a young Henry the Lion in 1143: “In the time of King Conrad and Duke Henry of Saxony, Count Henry came to Ratzeburg and first established Christianity in that place. May his soul rest in peace, Amen.”<sup>71</sup> Some forty miles northeast of the Elbe, Ratzeburg was beyond the early-medieval *limites Saxoniae*, and the introduction of securely Christian administration was a notable occurrence that had come to pass within living memory when the stone was carved.<sup>72</sup>

The context of Christianization is a key to the stone’s verbal and visual rhetoric. Temporal claims about Christian supersession had terrestrial consequences, as particular sites became sanctified in the landscape and territories were annexed for Christian control.<sup>73</sup> Staking

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<sup>70</sup> See: Ludwig Hellwig, “Der Heinrichsstein in Ratzeburg,” *Archiv des Vereins für die Geschichte des Herzogtums Lauenburg* 7 (1902): 77–83; Ferdinand Notz, “Der Heinrichsstein zu Ratzeburg,” *Mecklenburg-Strelitzer Heimatblätter* 8 (1932): 39–46. See also the recent, short discussion in Bünz, “Grenzloses Mittelalter?”

<sup>71</sup> TEMP ORIB / VS CO NRADI / REGIS ET HEI / NRICI DV CIS SAX / ONI[a]E VE NIT HEI / NRICVS COMES / RACEBV RCH ET / IBI XRIA NITATEM / PRIM[us] FU NDAVIT / ANIMA EI[us] REQUI / ESCAT I[n] PACE AM[en].

<sup>72</sup> See DD. Reg. imp. Germ. 6, D. 87.

<sup>73</sup> For a later comparison, see: Mitchell B. Merback, “The Vanquished Synagogue, the Risen Host, and the Grateful Dead at the Salvatorkirche in Passau,” *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 1, no. 4 (2005), <https://digital.kenyon.edu/perejournal/vol1/iss4/5/>.

out a place meant delineating, and occasionally defending, borders, but in the case of recently or tenuously Christianized sites like Ratzeburg, it meant insisting repeatedly on the triumph of religious conversion at the site's center.<sup>74</sup> The inscription's assertion that Henry "established" ("fundavit") Christianity thus warrants closer scrutiny.

The church of St. Georg auf dem Berge, perched on a hill just before the causeway to the island upon which the cathedral, town, and *Heinrichstein* are located, had been a key site for earlier missionary work around Ratzeburg. The martyrdom of Ansvær in 1066 gave the city a missionary figure to venerate, and his remains were translated to Ratzeburg Cathedral in 1170. Henry the Lion patronized St. Georg, investing a bishop there, and contributing to the building's fabric.<sup>75</sup> Massive fieldstones from the twelfth-century campaign are still visible in the church's foundations (fig. 3.14). Ratzeburg was vitally connected to the rest of his territory through the circulation of funds and the extraction of wealth that funneled resources to institutions; he gave a hundred marks in pennies every year for the completion of the cathedral (as he did at Lübeck), granting tolls and tithes generated in other places to the Ratzeburg community.<sup>76</sup> Both the church of St. Georg and the martyred figure of Ansvær predate the *Heinrichstein* by a considerable amount of time, however. That Christianity was well established before the stone's erection is demonstrated by the fact that Adalbert, archbishop of Hamburg, had even appointed a bishop

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<sup>74</sup> For a comparative case, see: Christina T. Halperin, "Circulation as Placemaking: Late Classic Maya Politics and Portable Objects," *American Anthropologist* 116, no. 1 (2014): 110–29.

<sup>75</sup> Ratzeburg became a bishopric in 1154. See: Heinz-Dietrich Groß, "Evermod und die Anfänge des Bistums Ratzeburg," *Lauenburgische Heimat* 91 (1978): 10–28; Uwe Steffen, "Heinrich der Löwe und Ratzeburg," *Lauenburgische Heimat* 97 (1980): 1–35. See also: Rüdiger Moldenhauer, "Die missionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung der Urkunde Heinrich des Löwen vom Jahre 1158 für das Bistum Ratzeburg," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 75 (1964): 240–43.

<sup>76</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, I.13.

from Jerusalem to Ratzeburg in the 1060s.<sup>77</sup> The *Heinrichstein*'s inscription thus distinguishes missionary work, the advance guard of conversion, from other sorts of Christianization; its proclamation that Christianity has been *established* makes the stone a rhetorical punctuation mark at the end of a historical process.

To “establish” (*fundare*) Christianity was to initiate a place into a securely administered legal and social system; the public proclamation that identified Count Henry with Christian patronage also doubled as testimony to his relations with the elite world of Christendom. According to Helmold, Henry of Badewide performatively gifted the island upon which Ratzeburg sits to the bishopric, together with land and tithes, in a competition of one-upmanship that spurred another (non-Slavic) count to match his gifts to another see.<sup>78</sup> The stone's visual and material rhetoric suggest a particular form of building and founding. Almost all of the stone's surface is uncarved, as if the monument had been plucked from a field and only minimally transformed by the sculptor's chisel. In its size and shape (the *Heinrichstein* stands about a meter and a half tall), it roughly resembles the fieldstones that make up the physical foundation of St. Georg; it thereby alludes to a founding predicated on the erection of stable social and economic, as well as architectural, structures.<sup>79</sup>

Writing in the 1150s, Otto of Freising introduced his universal history by citing Daniel's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the conglomerate statue: “I have shown how kingdom was supplanted by kingdom until the Roman *imperium*,” Otto claims; but “the

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<sup>77</sup> Helmold, *Chronica*, I.22.

<sup>78</sup> The arrangement, as Helmold reports it, was complicated; the count gave up three hundred hides of land which Henry the Lion then awarded to the bishopric. Henry of Badewide assigned a set of tithes to the bishopric (beyond the three hundred hides), which he then took back as a benefice and thus served as the bishop's vassal. Helmold, *Chronica*, I.77.

<sup>79</sup> I am grateful to Aden Kumler for suggesting this analogy to me.

fulfilment of what is said of that empire—that it must be utterly destroyed by a stone cut out from a mountain—must be awaited until the end of the ages.”<sup>80</sup> The stone taken from the mountain “without human hands” (“sine manibus”) shatters the statue Nebuchadnezzar had seen composed of clay, iron, brass, silver, and gold, prophetically signaling the breaking of terrestrial polities before the kingdom of heaven (Daniel 2:45). An illustration of the scene appears in a copy of Jerome’s commentary on Daniel, showing the statue in pieces whole on the left and then scattered in fragments on the right (fig. 3.16).<sup>81</sup> The stone rests on the standing statue’s foot, identified by the inscription “lapis sine manibus,” hinging the two scenes. A mountain is rendered in the upper right, a yawning concave aperture labeled “evulsio lapidis” (“the pulling out of the stone”) where the boulder adhered. A rough rock, found not hewn, would shatter empires and found a divine kingdom; the *Heinrichstein*’s minimal marking and resemblance to a foundational fieldstone reinforces the inscription’s claim to initiate a Christian order at Ratzeburg and, by implication, the destruction of other, prior orders.

The *Heinrichstein* has little recorded history; it is, however, a historical record itself. It is placed on a road that ascends to the cathedral, forcing visitors to note Henry of Badewide’s accomplishments (qualified, of course, by an earlier mention of Henry the Lion) before arriving at a building patronized by the Saxon duke (and today guarded by a replica of the

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<sup>80</sup> “Qualiter etiam regnum a regno subplantatum usque ad imperium Romanorum fuerit, ostendi, hoc, quod de ipso dicitur, quia a lapide exciso de monte plenarie subvertendum sit, usque in finem temporum iuxta Methodium expectandum estimans.” Otto of Freising, *Chronica: sive, historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. Adolf Hofmeister, in MGH SSrG 45 (Hanover: Hahn, 1912), 6. For Daniel’s interpretation, see: Daniel 2:31-45.

<sup>81</sup> The manuscript was produced at San Domingo de Silos in the late eleventh or early twelfth century: London, British Library, Add MS 11695, fol. 224v.

*Braunschweiger Löwe*) (fig. 3.15).<sup>82</sup> Indeed, twelfth-century charters often specify that lords erected signs (*signa*) on roads.<sup>83</sup> Boundary markers that loomed up in the landscape had to draw on certifying authorities if they were to convincingly mark out artificial points and lines, and Duke Henry the Bearded used his own name to this end. The prominence of proper names (Conrad and two Henries) on the *Heinrichstein* both embed it in a network of historical actors and sanction its coercive message. Although other inscribed stones were peripatetic in the modern period, and it's not implausible that the *Heinrichstein* was moved around during the Middle Ages, its foundational rhetoric would have been maximally visible and meaningful if it was placed where it is currently sited. Enno Bünz suggests that the cathedral chapter may have relocated the stone in 1439, where it came to mark the boundary between the city and cathedral precinct, but it might just as well as have served that purpose in the twelfth century.<sup>84</sup> If it was originally sited near its contemporary location, the stone would already have amplified rhetorical Christianizing moves, as well as signaling the start of episcopally regulated space.<sup>85</sup>

The stone's long-acknowledged counterpart, some thirty-five kilometers away, is in Wittenburg (roughly equidistant between two of Henry's major cathedral towns, Ratzeburg and Schwerin). There, again, the large flat face of a stone is dominated by a simple cross (fig. 3.17). The inscription on the Wittenburg stone, however, arches around the upper part, loosely

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<sup>82</sup> Paul Steinmann, "Die Ratzeburger Domhalbinsel und ihre mittelalterliche Wohn- und Nebengebäude," in *Der Dom zu Ratzeburg. Acht Jahrhunderte*, ed. Hans Henning Schreiber (Ratzeburg: Kutscher, 1954), 146–53. On routes, see: Aporta, "Routes, Trails, and Tracks;" de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*.

<sup>83</sup> Bünz, "Grenzloses Mittelalter?"

<sup>84</sup> Bünz, "Grenzloses Mittelalter?" 16.

<sup>85</sup> The stone juts into the street; it is next to a historic early modern house. Both road and house were arranged around the stone. A map of Ratzeburg from 1730 shows the stone just inside a wall encircling the Dom; but sixteenth-century maps show the city's street layout more closely resembling that of the present day, situating the stone more in line with its current configuration.

following the rounded top of the stone, reading: “Count Henry has died, pray for him.”<sup>86</sup> (fig. 3.18) It was relocated to the church in 1976.<sup>87</sup> The arrangement of the text around the cross in each case affirms the stone as bearer of the cross, a special *signum* that participates both in the material present and the salvific future.<sup>88</sup> As publicly accessible, prominently displayed markers, both stones produce a point in the landscape while commemorating a specific point in time; for both, a death, and for the Ratzeburg *Heinrichstein*, a death yoked to the temporal establishment of Christianity. Neither stone is, however, a grave marker. Both are early examples of what would become the flourishing genre of the *Gedenkstein*.<sup>89</sup>

The prominence of the cross as a compositional feature that subordinates text, and as a marker that punctuates space, is key to understanding the monument’s function in the landscape. Beatrice Kitzinger describes the medieval cross as a special *signum* that, in its “intrinsic form...transcends the historical event” of the Crucifixion and “multiplies through time.”<sup>90</sup> Contemporary poets writing in the *Kreuzlied* (crusader poem) genre distinguished the cross as exterior sign of martial allegiance to Christ from the alternative sense of the cross as an interior lodestone: “What good does it do to wear the cross on one’s garment / If there is no trace of it in

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<sup>86</sup> O[biit] HEINRICVS COMES ORATE P[ro] EO.

<sup>87</sup> Jochen Iggensen, “Steinkreuze im Kreise Hagenow,” *Deutscher Kulturband. Bezirksleitung Schwerin* 12 (1972): 39-42. Although commonly connected to the Battle of Waschow (1200 or 1201), 1920s popular culture placed it in the “time of Henry the Lion.” Either way, there is no decisive evidence to connect it to a particular “count Henry.” It seems to have originally stood between Waschow and Wittenburg (a 5.7 km/1 hour walk).

<sup>88</sup> Beatrice E. Kitzinger, *The Cross, the Gospels, and the Work of Art in the Carolingian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

<sup>89</sup> Timmermann, *Memory and Redemption*.

<sup>90</sup> Kitzinger, *The Cross, The Gospels, and the Work of Art in the Carolingian Age*, 5.

one's heart."<sup>91</sup> Beyond the banal proclamation of *Christianitis*, the public cross attested a terrain marked with signs of Christian space and time.

Crosses were frequently used to mark boundaries, as I have already noted. Twelfth-century charters that describe boundaries in detail, discursively embedding bounding objects in a narrative of imagined or recorded perambulation, set artificial signs in a landscape of found or received landmarks. Where marks are mentioned as being carved or affixed to trees or stones, the cross is the sign most often specified. When Duke Casimir I of Pomerania outlined the land subject to the Cistercian monastery of Dargun in 1174, his elaborate description of markers included features like “two stones lying to the west.”<sup>92</sup> But most famously, the charter notes an oak tree marked with the sign of the cross, glossed as the sort of marker that the Slavs call “knezegraniza.”<sup>93</sup> The charter preserves a multilingual encounter precisely when it comes to naming a boundary sign. In this respect, it is intriguing that a set of terms entered German Latin during the second half of the twelfth century, ranging from “granicia” (the source of the modern German *Grenze*), “acuties” (sharp edge), and “munities” (rampart), signaling how profoundly the

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<sup>91</sup> Hartmann von Aue, *Arthurian Romances, Tales, and Lyric Poetry: The Complete Works of Hartmann von Aue*, trans. Richard H. Lawson, Frank J. Tobin, and Kim Vivian (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 36 (lines 11-12). Later boundary stones are often marked by crosses, as are the commemorative monuments (*Kreuzsteine*) that marked the late medieval landscape. The Vasmarkreuz in the Focke-Museum Bremen is a compelling example: Günther E. H. Baumann and Werner Müller, *Kreuzsteine und Steinkreuze in Niedersachsen, Bremen und Hamburg: vorhandene und verlorengegangene Rechtsdenkmale und Memorialsteine*, *Forschungen der Denkmalpflege in Niedersachsen* 5 (Hameln: Verlag CW Niemeyer, 1988), 25-6.

<sup>92</sup> “Duos lapides...ad occidentem iacentes.”

<sup>93</sup> “Quercum cruce signatur.” *Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 1: 786-1250 (Schwerin: Verein für Mecklenburgische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, 1863), nr. 114. “Stack” (*capeties*) is another term, suggesting that the piled stones that also marked boundaries might have required an exchange of vocabulary.

new border marking strategies undertaken in conjunction with eastern colonization and conversion marked German thought and practice.<sup>94</sup>

Newly Christianized and conquered places demanded a rethinking of boundaries in ways that set them apart from regions further west. Large inscribed stones bearing Christian *signa* responded to earlier, non-Christian, shaped stones that populated the landscape.<sup>95</sup> A worn example dated roughly to the period before Christianization shows a figure with hollowed out eyes and crossed arms in low relief (fig. 3.19). A second shows how sculptors turned a roughly anthropomorphic silhouette into a schematic human figure fundamentally at odds with the ambition of the Ratzeburg and Wittenburg *Heinrichsteine*, upon which broad, flat faces serve as the ground for reliefs (fig. 3.20). Labeled as border stones (*Grenzsteine*) in the literature, there is little evidence that they were made for this purpose (despite their later use to mark territory). Indeed, other, anthropomorphic, carved stone objects (fig. 3.21) demonstrates a continuum of stone figures, many of which were deposited or erected in the landscape.<sup>96</sup> Their interpretation has largely been restricted to conjectures about their ritual functions, exemplified by discussions of the quadrifacial pillar from Zbruch (fig. 3.22) that accords in many (but not all) respects with

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<sup>94</sup> Katarzyna Jasńska and Dariusz R. Piwowarczyk, “A Note on the Latin *Granicies* ‘Border’ and the ‘(It)ies Formations in the Corpus of Medieval Latin in Poland,” 97; Michał Rzepiela, “Interaction Among Borrowing, Inflection, and Word Formation in Polish Medieval Latin.”

<sup>95</sup> The objects I discuss here are almost all destroyed and are preserved only in photographs. They have been studied primarily by amateur historians of Slavic religion. See, generally, the more circumspect discussion of sculpture in: Leszek Paweł Słupecki, *Slavonic Pagan Sanctuaries*, trans. Izabela Szymańska (Warsaw: Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, 1994).

<sup>96</sup> See the discussion of Cosmas of Prague in the dissertation’s fourth chapter.

eleventh- and twelfth-century accounts of cult objects or even wooden figures like the so-called *Götteridol* in Schwerin (fig. 3.23).<sup>97</sup>

While the *Heinrichstein* claims to commemorate a pivotal moment of conversion, other stones preserved in areas undergoing conversion also demonstrate the cross's role as a crucial rhetorical *signum*.<sup>98</sup> Located in Pomerania, destination of high-profile missions from Otto of Bamberg in 1124 and 1128, the so-called *Wartislawstein* has variously been interpreted as a border stone, a funerary marker, and a *Gedenkstein* (fig. 3.24).<sup>99</sup> (There is no exact English equivalent for the latter term, which combines the sense of a commemorative or memorial

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<sup>97</sup> David Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden: Vorstellungen und Fremdkategorien bei Rimbert, Thietmar von Merseburg, Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bosau* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005); Stanisław Rosik, *The Slavic Religion in the Light of 11th- and 12th-Century German Chronicles (Thietmar of Merseburg, Adam of Bremen, Helmold of Bosau): Studies on the Christian Interpretation of Pre-Christian Cults and Beliefs in the Middle Ages, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450* 60 (Leiden: Brill, 2020); Volker Scior, *Das Eigene und das Fremde: Identität und Fremdheit in den Chroniken Adams von Bremen, Helmolds von Bosau und Arnolds von Lübeck*, *Orbis mediaevalis: Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters* 4 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002). For the Schwerin object, see: Ulrich Schoknecht, "Götteridol," in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235: Katalog der Ausstellung, Braunschweig*, ed. Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, vol. 1, 3 vols. (München: Hirmer, 1995), 175.

<sup>98</sup> On the cross as paradigmatic *signum*, see: Kitzinger, *The Cross, the Gospels, and the Work of Art in the Carolingian Age*.

<sup>99</sup> From a vast bibliography, excluding the primary sources, on Otto's campaigns, see: Felix Biermann and Fred Ruchhöft, eds., *Bischof Otto von Bamberg in Pommern: historische und archäologische Forschungen zu Mission und Kulturverhältnissen des 12. Jahrhunderts im Südwesten der Ostsee: Beiträge einer Tagung aus Anlass des 875. Todestages des Pommernmissionars vom 27. bis 29. Juni 2014 in Greifswald*, *Studien zur Archäologie Europas*, Band 30 (Bonn: Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, 2017); Klaus Guth, "The Pomeranian Missionary Journeys of Otto I of Bamberg and the Crusade Movement of the Eleventh to Twelfth Centuries," in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 1992), 13–23. For the *Wartislawstein*, see: H. Bollnow, 'Die Ermordung Wartislaus I. zu Stolpe in Geschichte und Sage,' *Monatsblätter der Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 6/7 (1939); W. Finger, 'Geschichte und Sage um den Wartislawstein bei Stolpe,' *Unser Pommerland*, 22 (1937), 79–80; Hellmut Hannes, "Auf den Spuren der Greifenherzöge in Pommern. Ein Bericht aus unseren Tagen," *Baltische Studien* 67 (1981): 7–25; Holtz, "Die Pommerschen Bildsteine," 13-14.

marker with an injunction to reflect on historical events; moreover, a *Gedenkstein* need not be physically attached to, say, a grave or battle site.) Long held to commemorate the death of Duke Wartislaw I, the first Christian ruler of Pomerania, it is sited near the ruins of the Cistercian abbey at Stolpe, itself founded as a memorial to the duke.<sup>100</sup> The stone now marks the intersection of a major road (leading to Anklam) and a minor street (leading to the hamlet of Grüttow).

Carved from red granite, the *Wartislawstein* presents two broad faces; the bifacial form has been read speculatively as evidence of its bounding function, the subject matter of each side taken as a statement of identity with, respectively, Christian territory and Slavic land. The two sides preserve different campaigns of carving. A deeply excavated cross organizes one side, with a schematic horn occupying the face's lower left quadrant. Whether the two symbols represent religious synthesis or supersession—the cross, after all, takes scalar and compositional priority—depends on how firmly one is convinced that *signa* were associated with particular religious commitments. The other side's carving is hard to make out, its imagery only discernable in raking light thanks to the shallow carving (figs. 3.24-3.27). Slender lines make up a schematic figure clad in a tunic and bearing an implement in one hand, a border tracing the edge of the pictorial field. The relief bears comparison with a fragmentary sandstone monument at Bühren which shows a small human figure dwarfed by a central cross (figs. 3.28-3.29).<sup>101</sup>

All these stones hold features in common: displayed publicly in the landscape, they present large, flat faces covered in incised reliefs that center on the cross. A series of different

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<sup>100</sup> Rolf Bahler, "Das Kloster Stolpe: das älteste Kloster in Pommern," *Heimatkalender Anklam und Umgebung* 12 (2003): 23–26â. The stone's present location is 2.5 kilometers, or a thirty minute walk, from the cloister.

<sup>101</sup> Baumann and Müller, *Kreuzsteine und Steinkreuze*, 249-50.

elements are concatenated, from nominating inscriptions to human figures. Whatever else they may have meant to twelfth-century beholders, they punctuated the landscape with Christian *signa* carved on massive, obdurate supports. Whether they were intended to bound, limit, commemorate, or witness, they modeled a special sort of inscribed object. This is not the same boundary-marking function as, say choir screens, which segment an already sacred place.<sup>102</sup>

Other marked stones do appear to preserve conversionary encounters. A carved stone found in Krien (fig. 3.30) depicts a living cross carved on a ground across which other, less straightforwardly interpretable symbols are arrayed.<sup>103</sup> Now placed inside a small parish church, the Krien stone ranges a star, rooster, and lily across its surface, all rendered in positive relief (unlike the other carved stones I have discussed). Excavated in 1936 near the southern entrance to the early thirteenth-century church building, it appears to have been deliberately buried more than two meters deep.<sup>104</sup> The stone's flat top has been scooped out, a feature taken advantage of by Krien's modern Christian community who, beginning in 1966, repurposed it as a baptismal font. Walter Kusch, the church's former pastor, preserved valuable community memories of the accidental excavation when he published the lone serious treatment of the stone in 1982.<sup>105</sup> His short article argues that the Krien stone had originally served as a pre-Christian "Opferstein," the surmounting hollow and the rooster dating from its early employment in religious cult with the

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<sup>102</sup> Jacqueline E. Jung, "Beyond the Barrier: The Unifying Role of the Choir Screen in Gothic Churches," *The Art Bulletin* 82, no. 4 (2000), 630-31.

<sup>103</sup> Walter Kusch, "Ein merkwürdiger Taufstein," *Baltische Studien* 68 (1982): 45–50. As Kusch notes, the Krien stone is related to a similar find in Stralsund. Krien is 10.8 kilometers, or a little over two hours walk, from the *Wartislawstein*.

<sup>104</sup> Kusch's short article remains the sole study of the object; it was apparently unknown even to Adalbert Holtz who produced the definitive account of the area's *Bildsteine*: Adalbert Holtz, "Die pommerschen Bildsteine. Der Bestand und seine Stellung zu den östlichen Baba-Steinen und den mittelalterlichen Grabplatten und ihre historischen Hintergründe," *Baltische Studien* 52 (1966): 7–30.

<sup>105</sup> Kusch, "Ein merkwürdiger Taufstein."

more obviously Christian symbols added by a sculptor to transfigure its confessional identity after the founding of Stolpe's community in 1153.

A well-known stone now embedded in the walls of the Petrikirche in Wolgast attests an interventionist aim (fig. 3.31).<sup>106</sup> A figure clutching a pointed spear is rendered in incised lines, their light color standing out crisply against the dark red ground, closely resembling the partially destroyed figure on the Bühnen *Denkstein*. An outsize cross floats above him; this is not a monumental device like the *Heinrichsteine* or the *Wartislawstein*, but a smaller form with swelling arms and rounded terminals that, when the carvings are compared clearly marks it as a later addition (figs. 3.32-3.33). A second non-Christian stone embedded in the church's exterior likewise shows a figure in a tunic holding a spear with a cross incised above their head, although the scene is difficult to decipher in person or in photographs, thanks to its shallow relief and severe surface abrasion (fig. 3.34). Like the *Wartislawstein*, it is framed within an artificial border that loosely, but inexactly, follows the surviving shape of the stone (fig. 3.35). Both stones were inserted into the church's walls when it was constructed in the thirteenth century, and it is possible that these so-called *Gerowitsteine* (named after a non-Christian deity attested at the site) were incorporated as triumphal spolia, witnesses to Christianity's ascension following Otto of Bamberg's evangelization of Wolgast in 1128.<sup>107</sup>

A similar ambition may have motivated the slantwise insertion of a relief into the sacristy walls of the church at Altenkirchen on the island of Rügen (fig. 3.36). Here, a heavily garbed figure clutches a massive horn, tapering to a point. Identified with textual descriptions of the

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<sup>106</sup> These sculptures have largely gone under the radar of scholarly study; the account that follows is based on close observation and discussion with members of the local history society in Wolgast.

<sup>107</sup> Ślupecki, *Slavonic Pagan Sanctuaries*.

deity Svantevit since at least the sixteenth century, the figure is often adduced as a corroborating source for iconographic readings of images like the *Wartislawstein*.<sup>108</sup> In its mode of carving, raised in high relief from a ground but largely rendered as a flat plane, and its disposition of the figure, it resembles a similar stone embedded in the exterior wall of the Marienkirche, a day's walk away, at Bergen auf Rügen (figs. 3.37-3.38).

Four distinct theories about the stone at Altenkirchen's subject and function have been advanced, all focusing on the pivotal events of the twelfth century when waves of Danish and German campaigns—including efforts led by Henry the Lion—decisively converted the *Rani* to Christianity. Their cult centered on a shrine at nearby Arkona. The theories are: 1) the stone served as the gravestone for a priest dedicated to Svantevit, 2) it was the gravestone of Tetzlav, a ruler of the *Rani* who attended the consecration of Lübeck's cathedral with Henry in 1163, 3) it was used for some unspecified non-Christian ritual purpose by the *Rani*, 4) it served as a *Bildstein* ("picture stone"), a capacious term that connects a vast range of stones carved with iconic or narrative scenes in relief.<sup>109</sup> The potential role played by the stone's in pre-Christian cult is ambiguous; Christian commentators focused their ire primarily on three-dimensional objects (*symulachra, ydoliae*), discussing reliefs only in the context of decorative architectural sculpture.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Sebastian Kempgen, "Svantevit oder Svantevid?: Zum Götzen der Rügenslaven," in *Von A wie Aspekt bis Z wie Zdvōřilost: ein Kaleidoskop der Slavistik für Tilman Berger zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Bernhard Brehmer, Anja Gattnar, and Tatiana Perevozchikova (Tübingen: Eberhard Karls Universität, 2021), 385–96.

<sup>109</sup> From a larger bibliography, see: Joachim Herrmann, "Arkona auf Rügen. Tempelburg und politisches Zentrum der Ranen von 9. bis 12. Jh. Ergebnisse der archäologischen Ausgrabungen 1969-1971," *Zeitschrift für Archäologie* 8 (1974): 177–209; Wilhelm Petzsch, *Rügens Burgwälder und die slavische Kultur der Insel* (Bergen auf Rügen, 1927); Roman Zaroff, "The Origins of Sventovit of Rügen," *Studia Mythologica Slavica* V (2002): 9–18.

<sup>110</sup> Camille, *The Gothic Idol*, 42-3.

Earlier, I proposed that cruciform reliefs did not simply inscribe a story about Christianization; it also signaled a historically specific conjunction of publicness, *signum*, and territory. This was meant to extend my claim that boundary markers were special kinds of points that took their conceptual force from theories of the divided sign. But the crosses and carved figures dotting the Christianizing landscape also participated in a pervasive anxiety about the semiotic status of sacred figuration.

For Christopher Wood, Adam of Bremen's famous description of Slavic idols exemplifies the "half blind" distinction between iconographic and typological reading that art history proper will overcome.<sup>111</sup> Adam describes three statues in the temple at Uppsala, connecting their attributes to the representations of Roman deities in order to suggest their conventional status.<sup>112</sup> All representations of non-Christian holy figures are thereby reduced to the status of convention (which Wood glosses as iconography) in contrast to the holy persons of Christ or the saints whose depictions "are enforced by the real, historical appearances of those individuals, carried down to us by chains of copies of authoritative images."<sup>113</sup> For Wood, Adam writes from the vantage of a totalizing perspective: Christian images are of a fundamentally different sort than non-Christian, and it's the inability to reconcile these two kinds of images to a continuum that Wood identifies as the 'half-blind' mode of writing and thinking.

The corpus of stone sculptures I have discussed in this section are often referred to by later names, such as *Bildsteine*, *Denksteine*, *Grenzsteine*, or *Mordsteine*. Each term carries post-

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<sup>111</sup> Christopher S. Wood, *A History of Art History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 47-9. A fuller response to Wood's argument would examine the passages in Helmold and Saxo Grammaticus that narrate the semantic confusion of Saint Vitus and Svantevit, which extended to Christian works of art stranded on the wrong side of *limites* once converts relapsed.

<sup>112</sup> Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ed. Bernard Schmeidler, in MGH SSrG 2 (Hanover: Hahn, 1917), IV.25-6.

<sup>113</sup> Wood, *A History of Art History*, 48.

medieval freight, which it more or less projects back onto the high medieval period. My aim has not been to affirm their secret character as boundary stones. Rather, by putting these objects—all of which appear in conjunction with procedures of Christianization and bear the traces of that process—in dialogue with textual and visual testimony about the way twelfth-century boundary markers functioned, I have attempted to draw more expansive conclusions about sculpture and the status of the sign. The place-making work performed by boundary markers and the monumental, place-bound commemorative claims asserted by the *Heinrichstein* or the *Wartislawstein* share an ambition to refigure territory.

For Johann Gottfried Herder, the “art of sculpture” becomes an art *qua* art precisely when it “separates itself from *signis* [sic].”<sup>114</sup> He glosses *signa* as “religious signs and monuments...blocks and pieces of wood...piles of stone...pilasters and columns.”<sup>115</sup> This is at once a cultural, historical, and psychological account, predicated on Herder’s axioms that 1) the “*history of art* is the same for *all* peoples” and 2) the perceptual processes of learning to interpret the world mimics the acculturative process of comprehending art.<sup>116</sup> These earlier, superseded *signa* are not mere junk to be dispensed with, however; in Herder’s teleology they are sculpture’s necessary prehistory, the “*idolatry*” phase that preserves a genuine trace of the divine before being transmuted into “*art*, then mere *artisanship*.”<sup>117</sup>

## Conclusion: Indicating Instruments

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<sup>114</sup> Johann Gottfried Herder, *Sculpture: Some Observations on Shape and Form from Pygmalion’s Creative Dream*, trans. Jason Gaiger (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 91. The Latin is given as *signis* in Gaiger’s translation, preserving the sense of separation that Herder’s original German text meant to convey.

<sup>115</sup> Herder, *Sculpture*, 91.

<sup>116</sup> Herder, *Sculpture*, 92. Emphasis in original.

<sup>117</sup> Herder, *Sculpture*, 92. Emphasis in the original.

Boundary markers and inscribed public stones tried to tell spectators where they were; in the case of the monuments that defined a Christian present and claimed a founding moment for Christianization, they also told spectators when and who they were. They functioned as contrivances, as indicating instruments and locative devices.<sup>118</sup> In twelfth-century theory and practice, points facilitated a notion of place-making that conceptually tethered center to periphery while inscribing a metaphor in the earth and on the page. The guiding around (*circumducere*) that a point facilitated in terms of artistic making underwrote a sense of place as something one orbits, something constituted both by its limits and its nodal heart, something bounded.<sup>119</sup> Boundary making in the landscape was also sometimes described as a process of leading around (*circumducere*), perambulation of the edges tethered linguistically to the center.<sup>120</sup>

Indicating instruments are more usually thought to be the province of the early modern period, scattered examples of portable medieval timepieces aside. Jennifer Nelson, however, suggests that the sixteenth-century ivory sundials so popular in southern Germany owed something to portable altars.<sup>121</sup> Those made by the polymath Georg Hartmann, in particular, brought out the latent connections between sundial and altar; by crafting small cruciform instruments, Hartmann drew on extant theological discussions in order to stress the practical and soteriological stakes of correctly locating oneself in the world. Nelson notes a shared material (ivory) and scale (relative smallness) between the supports of navigation and worship, but

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<sup>118</sup> An earlier version of this chapter paired boundary stones with portable altars and the overlapping discourses of geometry and devotion. The aim, ultimately, was to trace the life of the *punctum* through a series of twelfth-century case studies, demonstrating why many of the works of art in this dissertation are so concerned to stake out places.

<sup>119</sup> Isidore, *Etymologiae*, III.xii.

<sup>120</sup> Bünz, “Grenzlöses Mittelalter?”

<sup>121</sup> Nelson, *Disharmony of the Spheres*, 67.

portable altars have other qualities in common with sundials, compasses, and other locative devices that predate Hartmann's sixteenth century. Writing in the early fourteenth century, Francesco de Barberino even described the shipboard compass as a "pyx," connecting the forms of salvific orientation proffered by the Eucharist and the magnetic needle.<sup>122</sup>

Sundials, which claimed a similar ambition to delineate the horizons of time that boundary stones claimed for place, inscribed a similar relationship between lines, points, and center points. Byrhtferth of Ramsey's *Enchiridion* describes how the "orderly fashion" of the twenty-four hour day (as opposed to the "day" that stretches from sunrise to sunset) can be observed by watching the shadow of the sundial's gnomon pass through points.<sup>123</sup> An eleventh-century sundial embedded in the wall of St. Bartholomew's, Aldbrough (Yorkshire) segments the circle into eight wedges, a dedicatory inscription encircling its face (fig. 3.39).<sup>124</sup> The sundial instantiates a conception of the marked, divisible line; the movement of time through those spatial points visually overwrites Aristotle's objection to Zeno's paradox of motion, which he formed by distinguishing the punctuated from the continuous line.<sup>125</sup>

Other instruments indicated or initiated action at a distance. In Hartmann von Aue's *Iwein*, the narrator marvels of the titular knight: "so long as a man is not destined to die / he can be saved by a small ruse (*cleiner list*)."<sup>126</sup> Hartmann's term *cleiner list* does double duty. It refers

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<sup>122</sup> Barbara M. Kreutz, "Mediterranean Contributions to the Medieval Mariner's Compass," *Technology and Culture* 14, no. 3 (1973): 367–83.

<sup>123</sup> Quoted and discussed in McNamee, "Picturing Number in the Central Middle Ages," 192.

<sup>124</sup> "Aldbrough 01," *Corpus of Anglo Saxon Stone Sculpture*: [https://chacklepie.com/ascorpus/catvol3.php?pageNum\\_urls=0&totalRows\\_urls=288](https://chacklepie.com/ascorpus/catvol3.php?pageNum_urls=0&totalRows_urls=288)

<sup>125</sup> See the helpful discussion in Nick Hugget, "Zeno's Paradoxes," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2018): <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/paradox-zeno/>.

<sup>126</sup> "unz der man niht veige enist, / sô neri in vil cleiner list." Hartmann von Aue, *Iwein*, ed. Thomas Cramer, 4th edition (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), lines 1299-1300. I have consulted, but modified, the translation in Hartmann von Aue, "Iwein," in *Arthurian Romances*,

to a stratagem and a device, to the complicated, confidence-winning plot initiated on Iwein's behalf by a sympathetic woman at a hostile court as well as to the magic ring of invisibility she gifts him. Where *List* appears elsewhere in twelfth-century vernacular poetry, it names artfully made things and, by extension, the human crafts that inadequately approximate divine creativity. "All that must come to its end / which is made by human crafts (*listen*)" runs Ava's poem on the Last Judgment, after piling up a list of wondrously made gold and silver things from secular jewelry to the "chalices and treasures of the church."<sup>127</sup> A *List* is a contrivance, a meeting of facture and effect.

As ruses go, Iwein's ring is deceptively small; a physically minuscule device, it produces seismically large effects. It's also a singular device, conferred as a special favor and unavailable to most men, its exclusive purchase ironizing Hartmann's general claim. Hartmann's poetry is full of similar objects, usually elaborate, crafted things that activate strangely large forces. Compare the enchanted assemblage that sets Iwein's quest in motion: a "cold and clear" (*kalt und vil reine*) spring, abutted by a chapel and sheltered by a linden tree, surmounted by a "very delicately carved stone" (*harte zierlicher stein*) supported by four marble animals.<sup>128</sup> The stone is later glossed as an emerald (*smâreides*) studded with sparkling rubies.<sup>129</sup> Pouring a splash of water on the stone magically triggers a vast, forest-leveling, life-taking storm that also brings about the quest's precipitating combat with the spring's guardian.

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*Tales, and Lyric Poetry: The Complete Works of Hartmann von Aue*, trans. Richard H. Lawson, Frank Tobin, and Kim Vivian (University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), lines 1299-1300.

<sup>127</sup> Respectively: "muoz daz allez zergan, / daz von listen ist getan," "chelche unde chirchscz." Ava, "Das jüngste Gericht," lines 10-12. I have consulted, but modified James Rushing's translation in the volume.

<sup>128</sup> Hartmann, *Iwein*, lines 568 and 582.

<sup>129</sup> Hartmann, *Iwein*, line 623.

The language of the small ruse and the objects that articulate its density requires slow unfolding. I read it as something akin to the capitalist gimmick, glossed by Sianne Ngai; “an *ambivalent* judgment tied to a *compromised* form,” the gimmick exemplifies how a specific aesthetic “binds value to labor and time, giving rise to a unique set of collectively generated abstractions and peculiarly asocial kinds of sociality.”<sup>130</sup> Small ruses, tiny stratagems, and concentrated objects are not readily assimilable to pre-capitalist modes of economic production in the same way that Ngai’s plot devices and kitchen gadgets appear as devices of late capitalism. But density, compression, and paradoxical collapse are features of privileged Christian subjects, as exemplified by Anselm of Canterbury’s argument that the Trinity could best be imagined as a series of stacked points that, in even when piled on top of each other, took up no more space than a single *punctum*.<sup>131</sup> Ava, a nun who likely died in 1127 and who was copied and read in later stages of the twelfth century, drew on the rhetoric of impossibly nested spaces in her lengthy vernacular poem on the life of Jesus: “He who lay there in the common air, / he has in his hand all the powers of heaven. / He who was enclosed in the maiden’s womb, / he cannot be contained / in heaven and earth.”<sup>132</sup> The *cleiner list*’s indicating, locating power couples form with a way of collapsing and expanding the world so as to produce both aesthetic and semantic effects.

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<sup>130</sup> Sianne Ngai, *Theory of the Gimmick: Aesthetic Judgment and Capitalist Form* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020), 1.

<sup>131</sup> The argument is made in Anselm’s *Epistola de incarnatione verbi*, where he claims that “punctum in puncto non est nisi unum punctum.” *S. Anselmi: Opera Omnia*, ed. F. S. Schmitt, vol. 6 (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1946), 34. I am grateful to Isabella Llores-Chavez, Mohit Manohar, and Catherine Popovici for discussions of stacking and piling.

<sup>132</sup> Der da lach an dem gemeinen lufte, / der hat in siner hant alle himeliske chrefte; / den bifie der magde wambe, / der ist noch unbevungen / in himele unde in erde.” Ava, “Das Leben Jesu,” in *Ava’s New Testament Narratives*, 58-9 (lines 14.1-5).

Hartmann's ring permits him to remain unseen while his enemies search for him, but it operates only at the level of optical vision. A different set of juridical and metaphysical relations reveal his presence to searchers: "Now, one thing / has often been told to us as true: / if a slain man is carried past his murderer, / no matter how long ago his wounds were incurred, / he will start bleeding again. / Now look! Once again his / wounds were bleeding / as he was being carried into the hall: / because he was near the man who had killed him."<sup>133</sup> The spontaneously flowing wounds work as a proximity alarm, pointing out Iwein's position by virtue of a force that tethers one subject to another. Indeed, medieval scholars narrated the corpse's indicative power in terms of attractive forces that governed a host of other phenomena. For Alexander Neckham, the wound of a murdered man, "infected by the exhalations of the one who murdered him," is an accidental sympathetic bond of similitude importantly connected to the oppositional magnetic powers of iron and adamantine.<sup>134</sup> These are the same forces that make statues mysteriously levitate, according to Neckham.<sup>135</sup>

Most famously, in his *De nominibus utensilium* ("On the names of useful things") and *De naturis rerum* ("On the nature of things"), Neckham offers the earliest extended discussion of the magnetic compass in medieval literature. The first treatise simply includes the magnetised needle

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<sup>133</sup> "Nû ist uns ein dinc geseit / vil dicke vür die wârheit, / swer den andern habe erslagen, / und wurder vür in getragen, / swie langer dâ vor waere wunt, / er begunde bluoten anderstunt. / nû seht, alsô begunden / im bluoten sîne wunden, / dô man in in daz palas truoc: / wan er was bî im der in sluoc." Hartmann, *Iwein*, lines 1355-1364. Translated adapted Hartmann von Aue, *Arthurian Romances*, lines 1355-1364.

<sup>134</sup> Translated and discussed in: George Francis Wedge, "Alexander Neckam's 'De naturis rerum': A Study, Together with Representative Passages in Translation" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1967), II.98.

<sup>135</sup> For the trope that Neckam deals with here, see: Dunstan Lowe, "Suspending Disbelief: Magnetic and Miraculous Levitation from Antiquity to the Middle Ages," *Classical Antiquity* 35, no. 2 (2016): 247-78.

(*acus*) in a list of shipboard equipment.<sup>136</sup> The second analogizes the magnetised needle's resolute orientation to the proper behaviour of prelates. Sailors who need to know "toward what cardinal point the ship is headed" in dark or cloudy conditions "put a needle above the lodestone" where it "revolves until, after its motion has stopped, its point faces due north."<sup>137</sup> Similarly, the prelate ought to "guide his subjects in the sea of this life," much like a magnetised needle, so that "his reason" may set them facing north.<sup>138</sup> The compass needle's northward pull both enacts and manifests a force that Alexander compares to the pastoral powers of reproof and exhortation, forms of correction and compulsion that are enacted by the crook or crozier.

The large bronze doors cast for Gniezno Cathedral that feature scenes from the life of the missionary saint Adalbert figure the crozier as a powerful device that at once visualizes the bishop's authority and powerfully transforms those it encounters (fig. 3.40).<sup>139</sup> The missionary saint who evangelized the Prussians in the tenth century, Adalbert was a good figure to think with when it came to problems of conversion and ecclesiastical authority on the eastern frontier. The artists of the doors consistently represent Adalbert's crozier as a plain stave with pronounced knob, the shaft curling round to terminate in a serpent's head that looks back at the holder. One scene shows Adalbert exorcizing a demon from a bound seminude figure (fig. 3.40). Adalbert leans forward, arm raised as he performs the rite, crozier held before his body and slanted in sympathy with it, the staff reinforcing his power to expel and drive out as much as it signals his

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<sup>136</sup> On this passage, see: Rita Copeland, "Naming, Knowing, and the Object of Language in Alexander Neckam's Grammar Curriculum," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 20 (2010), 47-8.

<sup>137</sup> Wedge, "Alexander Neckham's 'De naturis rerum,'" II.98.

<sup>138</sup> Wedge, "Alexander Neckham's 'De naturis rerum,'" II.98.

<sup>139</sup> From a vast bibliography on the Gniezno doors, as well as on Adalbert's missions. See: Tomasz Węclawowicz, "The 'Forest of Symbols' on the Romanesque Bronze Doors at Gniezno Cathedral," in *Romanesque Saints, Shrines, and Pilgrimage*, ed. John McNeill and Richard Plant (New York: Routledge, 2020).

office. The depicted staff dramatizes Alexander's claim that, if the crook shows the prelate "how to draw others to him," it also "turns back towards the one who carries it [to signify] that he should carry the Lord's cross."<sup>140</sup>

When Iwein receives the magic ring in Hartmann's poem, he is instructed: "if you take this ring, the stone is such that whoever holds it in in his bare hand *cannot be seen or located* as long as he keeps it in his bare hand. You will be hidden like wood under bark and you need worry no more."<sup>141</sup> The apparent redundancy is meaningful; vision and location are often coincident in the narrative, but not always. The invisible Iwein's presence is revealed by the same kinds of forces that Neckam aligns with the magnetic power of the compass, for the wounds of a lord injured by Iwein begin to bleed as his body passes close to the invisible protagonist.<sup>142</sup> Damaged bodies, needles, and border stones: all are indicating instruments.

Boundary stones and monuments to conversion witness these consequences more concretely, demonstrating the need to remain alert to pragmatic problems of power and hierarchy. Circumscription and locality were vital determinants that distinguished humans from the divine, as Peter Lombard noted: "God, although he is in every place and time, yet is neither local nor circumscribable, nor is he moved in place and time.... [the divine nature] is not local because it is entirely uncircumscribed by place."<sup>143</sup> Small wonder, then that issues of perception, predication, and the practical problems of landscape bounding were materially connected.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Wedge, "Alexander Neckham's 'De naturis rerum,'" II.98.

<sup>141</sup> Hartmann, *Arthurian Romances*, 250.

<sup>142</sup> Hartmann, *Arthurian Romances*, 251.

<sup>143</sup> Peter Lombard. *Sententiae*, ed. J. P. Migne, in *PL* 192 (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1855), I.37.

<sup>144</sup> Paraphrases of Aristotle's categories were bound together with surveying texts in the twelfth century. See, for example, London: British Library, Add MS. 47679.

## CHAPTER 4: *Baptismus*

*Violence has always been a central part of politics.*

- Niels Jørgensen, Torkil Lauesen, Jan Weimann (members of M-KA)<sup>1</sup>

A bearded figure plunges his spade into the earth, dirt heaped up in spheres around his feet (fig. 4.1). Rendered in low relief on the cupola of a large stone baptismal font, the man seems to excavate the very boundary of the pictorial register, chipping away at the ornamental line that separates the font's upper portion from the sloping underside that contains a different set of scenes.<sup>2</sup> The passage dramatizes a special kind of place-making; it depicts the exhumation of King Cnut of Denmark whose martyrdom cycle is depicted around the font's upper level. Cnut and his entourage were famously massacred by subjects resisting Christianization in the eleventh century.<sup>3</sup> To have a royal martyr interred in Scandinavian soil lent special authority to the church's later claims on land and law, and twelfth-century accounts described how Cnut's wife Adela was miraculously prevented from removing his body to Ghent from Odense.<sup>4</sup> Slain missionaries and kings like Cnut prefigured the advancing Christianization of the twelfth century.

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<sup>1</sup> Niels Jørgensen, Torkil Lauesen, and Jan Weimann, "It Is All About Politics," in *Turning Money into Rebellion: The Unlikely Story of Denmark's Revolutionary Bank Robbers*, trans. Gabriel Kuhn (Oakland: PM Press, 2014), 76.

<sup>2</sup> The font is located in the church at Östra Hoby and is dated roughly to the 1160s-80s. I give bibliography below.

<sup>3</sup> Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, ed. Karsten Friis-Jensen, trans. Peter Fisher, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2015), XI.11.6. Other twelfth-century accounts of Cnut's death (the Roskilde Chronicle and Sven Aggesen, respectively) present Cnut differently.

<sup>4</sup> The legend is first attested by the Benedictine monk Ælnoth in the 1120s. Torkel Eriksson, "Kungen är död, leve helgonkungen! Till tolkningen av en romansk bildfris," *Iconographisk Post* 1 (2015), 16.

The figure's vertical excavation thus signifies how plumbing the earth's depths for authorizing historical objects, whether bodies or ruins, could sacralize the landscape. So far, the story should look familiar to art historians of the high-medieval period.<sup>5</sup> But the digging figure's significance is sharpened by its prominent rendering on a polemical font in southern Scandinavia. If sculpture is often "purpose-built" to stage spatial encounters, the complex, multi-faceted fonts I examine in this chapter did so by constituting a range of imaginative, ritual, and political topographies that intentionally worked against existing spatial regimes.<sup>6</sup> Much as the digging figure visualizes a sanctifying vertical axis—the central point around which circular fonts were oriented, which often referred period viewers to points in the pre-Christian landscape that had been violently overwritten—the heavily decorated faces of the fonts I discuss drew viewers around them and radiated images outward. Sculptures may take up all manner of relations to their environments; these fonts, I argue, were not so much embedded in the built or natural world as imposed on it.<sup>7</sup> They fabricated a complex material, pictorial, and political assemblage that claimed to redefine people by transforming space.<sup>8</sup>

## **Baptismal Politics**

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<sup>5</sup> The literature on relics and authority is vast; rather than citing specific bibliography, I direct the reader to a compelling account of how late-medieval and early modern artists and antiquarians engaged the past: Christopher S. Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

<sup>6</sup> Richard T. Neer and Leslie Kurke, *Pindar, Song, and Space: Toward a Lyric Archaeology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019), 46.

<sup>7</sup> For embedment, see: Michael Fried, *Four Honest Outlaws: Sala, Ray, Marioni, Gordon* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 67-120.

<sup>8</sup> For a critical assessment of consent, repression, and the constitution of the subject as it pertains to religion, see: Talal. Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

Around 1150, small timber churches were rebuilt in stone throughout rural Skåne (also known by its Latin toponym *Scania*).<sup>9</sup> The Danish kingdom's most agriculturally fertile region, Skåne had been subject to intensive campaigns of resettlement and urban organization initiated by the Danish crown from its base on the nearby island of Zealand.<sup>10</sup> This entailed a top-down reorganization of farming practices and a transfer of surplus production to Jutland and the western islands.<sup>11</sup> It accompanied a vigorous attempt to complete the Christian conversion of the Scanian populace, to make social life conform to the normative strictures of canon law that regulated much of Western Europe.<sup>12</sup> The diocese of Lund, in which all of this chapter's focal objects were located, had been elevated to an archiepiscopal see by 1104, and a series of motivated archbishops had tried to enforce their prerogatives in the face of popular resistance.

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<sup>9</sup> Peter Sawyer, "The Organization of the Church in Scandinavia after the Missionary Phase," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12 (1988), 482. The classic study of these churches is Johnny Roosval, *Den baltiska nordens kyrkor*, Föreningen Urds skrifter 2 (Uppsala: J. A. Lindblad, 1924). The rapid medieval deforestation of Skåne meant that good quality timber became expensive and increasingly had to be imported from Germany and Poland: Nils Hybel and Bjørn Poulsen, *The Danish Resources c. 1000-1550: Growth and Recession* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 9-11. Nevertheless, the construction of churches in stone would have represented a significant financial and material outlay. Foreign masons and bricklayers were recruited to Scandinavia during this period, and some stone was brought from long distances.

<sup>10</sup> T. L. Thurston, "Infields, Outfields, and Broken Lands: Agricultural Intensification and the Ordering of Space During Danish State Formation," in *Seeking a Richer Harvest*, ed. T. L. Thurston and Christopher T. Fisher, *Studies in Human Ecology and Adaptation* 3 (New York: Springer, 2007), 155-91. For an archaeological case study of a Scanian village, see Leifh Stenholm, "Önnerup—en skånsk by mellan två revolutioner," in *Medeltiden och arkeologin: festskrift till Erik Cinthio*, *Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology* 1 (Lund: Institute for Medieval Archaeology, 1986), 73-86. For context, see Nils Hybel, "The Creation of Large-scale Production in Denmark, c. 1100-1300," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 20, no. 4 (1995): 259-80; Hybel and Poulsen, *The Danish Resources c. 1000-1550*, 25-43.

<sup>11</sup> Hybel and Poulsen, *The Danish Resources c. 1000-1550*.

<sup>12</sup> For a suggestive comparison, see: Uri Zvi Shachar, *A Pious Belligerence: Dialogical Warfare and the Rhetoric of Righteousness in the Crusading Near East* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021).

According to contemporary chronicles, it was not until the tenure of archbishop Absalon (r. 1178-1201) that Danish churches began to use a uniform office.<sup>13</sup>

These conditions of Christianization and exploitation are the historical context for the baptismal fonts that were carved for Skåne's new stone churches during the ensuing decades. Although medieval theologians debated how necessary fonts really were—"if they do not have stone [fonts], let them use another sort of vessel that has been prepared a little," declared Pope Leo IV in a ninth-century homily—baptism in northern Europe during the second half of the twelfth century was generally a public performance that centered on a large, sculpted object.<sup>14</sup> The rite entailed significant ecclesiastical, economic, and legal commitments, for tithes could be extracted only from Christian communities, and canon law clearly specified that the church had jurisdiction only over baptized Christians.<sup>15</sup> Prominently displayed in church buildings and vital supports for the Christianity's initiatory rite, fonts were privileged works of *ars*. Ecclesiastical patrons in newly Christianized areas in Skåne correspondingly lavished a disproportionate amount of resources on spectacularly carved examples.<sup>16</sup>

In this chapter, I focus on the six Scanian fonts assigned to the so-called 'Majestatis' workshop at Löderup, Östra Hoby, Östra Nöbbelöv, Simris, Tryde, and Valleberga.<sup>17</sup> This small

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<sup>13</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. Johannes M. Lappenberg with Georg Heinrich Pertz, in MGH SSrG 14 (Hanover: Hahn, 1912), V.18.

<sup>14</sup> "...si non potest habere lapideos, habeat aliud vas ad hoc tantummodo praeparatum." Leo IV, *Homilia*, ed. J. P. Migne, in *PL* 115 (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1852), col. 681.

<sup>15</sup> Richard H. Helmholz, "Baptism in the Medieval Canon Law," *Rechtsgeschichte* 21 (2013), 118.

<sup>16</sup> Other frontier areas, such as Pomerania and Latvia, did not generally produce similarly ambitious fonts.

<sup>17</sup> I am grateful to Calum Stevenson and Matthew Vanderpoel for their help photographing these objects during a research trip in the summer of 2017. For the workshop identification, see: Johnny Roosval, *Die Steinmeister Gotlands: eine Geschichte der führenden Taufsteinwerkstätte des schwedischen Mittelalters, ihrer Voraussetzungen und Begleiterscheinungen* (Stockholm: A.-B.C.E. Fritz, 1918).

corpus offers an unusual case study of twelfth-century artworks made around the same time, by the same people, in the same region. The churches all lie on a route that stretches fifty kilometers; one can walk from one end (Valleberga) to the other (Tryde) in about ten hours (fig. 4.2).<sup>18</sup> Carved by well-traveled artists who calibrated their practice to conditions on the ground, they were decorated with iconography that responded polemically to local disputes during the period from roughly 1160 to 1185.<sup>19</sup> By drawing out these specific local conditions, my argument challenges the claim that their programs represent a “standardized vocabulary” derived from the medieval church’s “homogenous approach.”<sup>20</sup> In this telling, sculptors reflexively expressed the desires of an institutional “Church.” Fonts simply taught pre-fabricated sacramental theology at the clergy’s behest.<sup>21</sup> But, unlike the modes of production that developed

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<sup>18</sup> Although many itineraries are possible, the busiest port along this region of the Scanian coast was Ystad, a sixteen kilometer walk from Valleberga. I base my itinerary on a starting point here. An alternative route, starting at Simris and concluding at Tryde, is even shorter.

<sup>19</sup> The dates of the fonts are inexact. Roosval’s major study gives dates of ca. 1170-1200 for the career of the Majestatis workshop, while his revision of 1926 shifts the dates down to 1150-late 1180s. It seems most likely to me that the Scanian fonts are carved in the 1160s following work at Lund, with the bulk of the Gotland carvings dating to the 1170s and 80s; but I do not think that the dates can be precisely specified beyond Roosval’s revised date range (which I accept). Roosval’s even later revisions to the dating scheme, which shifted the careers of all his notional workshops and carvers drastically earlier, have not withstood scholarly scrutiny. Roosval, *Die Steinmeister Gottlands*.

<sup>20</sup> Frances Altvater, *Sacramental Theology and the Decoration of Baptismal Fonts: Incarnation, Initiation, Institution* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2017), 71.

<sup>21</sup> For a concise survey of the notion that medieval artists simply carried out their patrons’ desires, see Walter Cahn, “The Artist as Outlaw and Apparatchick: Freedom and Constraint in the Interpretation of Medieval Art,” in *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century: A Catalogue of the Rhode Island School of Design* (Providence: Rhode Island School of Design, 1969), 10–14. Émile Mâle is the most distinguished expositor of the idea that medieval art was fundamentally didactic; see the classic study Émile Mâle, *L’art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France: étude sur l’iconographie du moyen âge et sur ses sources d’inspiration* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1898). For a trenchant, if occasionally overstated, critique of Mâle’s approach, see Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989). For an important cautionary note against the primacy of the so-called Gregorian dictum, see Celia Martin Chazelle, “Pictures, Books, and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I’s Letters to Serenus of Marseilles,” *Word & Image* 6, no. 2 (1990): 138–53.

in the early thirteenth century on Gotland, where sculptural workshops near quarries mass-produced simple shapes (fig. 4.3) and vegetal motifs for basins and bases before shipping them around the Baltic, the twelfth-century fonts I discuss were carved on site.<sup>22</sup> They feature plenty of subjects that do not repeat from one font to another and are full of passages of careful, sensitive carving performed by itinerant specialists who had to invent artistic solutions to new problems.

Most scholars of Scanian fonts have concentrated on questions of attribution, dating, and iconography.<sup>23</sup> A century of corpus-building work, generally reliant on stylistic analysis and inscriptions, has built up a fairly convincing picture of who made which fonts when. I generally accept the conclusions of Johnny Roosval and those who have patiently refined his attributions.<sup>24</sup> But arguments in the literature have not yet solved many iconographic questions—the Majestatis carvings contain figures and scenes that cannot be decisively connected to surviving texts—and have precluded more ambitious analyses of form, space, and meaning. Moreover, the primacy of iconographic interpretation is linked hermeneutically to the notion that medieval art chiefly served a didactic function, evidence of (as Kirk Ambrose puts it) a long art historical tradition

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<sup>22</sup> Lars Berggren, “The Export of Limestone and Limestone Fonts from Gotland during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,” in *Cogs, Cargoes and Commerce: Maritime Bulk Trade in Northern Europe, 1150-1400*, ed. Lars Berggren, Nils Hybel, and Annette Landen (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2002), 143–80. For examples, see the discussion of the fonts at Tryde and Östra Hoby below.

<sup>23</sup> The path-breaking works of Jonny Roosval are exemplary in this area (see above), but the lion’s share of articles and books published in recent decades also takes up iconographic questions. Representative scholars, whose studies are repeatedly cited in this chapter, include Torkel Eriksson, Anne Lidén, Kersti Markus, Folke Nordström, and Jan Svanberg.

<sup>24</sup> Svenrobert Lundquist, *Medeltida stensmätare & dopfuntar på Gotland: romanska skedet 1100-1200-talen* (Burgsvik: Bocksarve förlag, 2012); Roosval, *Die Steinmeister Gottlands*.

that “cast church sculptures as so many scriptural or exegetical passages in stone.”<sup>25</sup> It has even been argued that complex iconographic programs disappeared from Scanian fonts once the converted population knew Christian stories well enough.<sup>26</sup> Although my dissertation often draws on the techniques of political iconology, this chapter will largely pass over the minutiae of iconographic debate in favor of attention to the carvers’ formal strategies and political investments.

Anders Winroth points out that Christianization, rather than conversion *per se*, was the abiding concern of twelfth-century ecclesiastics in Scandinavia. Although the problem of Christianization in general, and the Christianization of Scandinavia in particular, has generated a series of methodological quandaries, Winroth’s lapidary description of a church working to “implant Christian ideas and practices into the population” accurately characterizes conditions on the ground.<sup>27</sup> The baptismal ritual did not merely re-classify people. It exposed them to new legal

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<sup>25</sup> Kirk Ambrose, “Samson, David, or Hercules? Ambiguous Identities in Some Romanesque Sculptures of Lion Fighters,” *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 74, no. 3 (2005), 132. See also the cautionary comments of Otto Pächt: Otto Pächt, *The Practice of Art History: Reflections on Method*, trans. David Britt (London: Harvey Miller, 1999), 44-45.

<sup>26</sup> Lars Berggren, “I hopp om det eviga livet. Dopfunten som performativt objekt,” *Hikuin* 40 (2017), 44.

<sup>27</sup> For the quandaries, see, from a larger bibliography: Guyda Armstrong and Ian N. Wood, eds., *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000); Peter R. L. Brown, “Aspects of the Christianization of the Roman Aristocracy,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 51, no. 1–2 (1961): 1–11; Anna Marie Johnson and John A. Maxfield, eds., *The Reformation as Christianization: Essays on Scott Hendrix’s Christianization Thesis, Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation* 66 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012); Ramsay MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire: (A.D. 100-400)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984); Frederick S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990); Ingrid Rembold, *Conquest and Christianization: Saxony and the Carolingian World, 772-888* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Nathan J. Ristuccia, *Christianization and Commonwealth in Early Medieval Europe: A Ritual Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); Frank R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization, c. 370-529*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993); John Van Engen, “The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem,” *The American*

obligations, enmeshed them in new social networks, and constrained their behavior in new ways. In addition to the new ecclesiastical hierarchies that were imposed on Christianized societies, competing religious structures modeled alternative hierarchical social models. Both kinds of hierarchy—the episcopal and the cosmological—impinged on the practice of politics. My argument, then, is that under the conditions of late twelfth-century north European social life the baptismal rite made a new kind of person, and that it did so by resorting to the medium of carved relief sculpture.<sup>28</sup>

### Henry the Lion and Skåne

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*Historical Review* 91, no. 3 (1986): 519–52; Lisa Wolverton, “The Christianization of Bohemia: Revising the Narratives,” in *Christianity and Culture in the Middle Ages: Essays to Honor John Van Engen*, ed. David Charles Mengel and Lisa Wolverton (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015), 25–57. For Scandinavian Christianization, see Lesley Abrams, “The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization of Scandinavia,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 24 (1995): 213–49; Sverre Bagge, “Christianization and State Formation in Early Medieval Norway,” *Scandinavian Journal of History* 30, no. 2 (2005): 107–34; Nora Berend, ed., *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus’ c. 900-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Jerzy Gąssowski, ed., *Christianization of the Baltic Region, Castri Dominae Nostrae Litterae Annales* 1 (Pułtusk: Bałtycki Ośrodek Badawczy we Fromborku, 2004); Ruth Mazo Karras, “God and Man in Medieval Scandinavia: Writing - and Gendering - the Conversion,” in *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, ed. James Muldoon (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 100–114; Birgit Sawyer and Peter H. Sawyer, *Medieval Scandinavia: From Conversion to Reformation, circa 800-1500* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993); Birgit Sawyer, Peter Hayes Sawyer, and Ian S. Wood, eds., *The Christianization of Scandinavia: Report of a Symposium, Held at Kungälv, Sweden, 4-9 August 1985* (Alingsås: Viktoria Bokförlag, 1987); Wolfgang Seegrün, *Das Papsttum und Skandinavien bis zur Vollendung der nordischen Kirchenorganisation (1164)*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins 51 (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1967); Nancy L. Wicker, “Christianization, Female Infanticide, and the Abundance of Female Burials at Viking Age Birka in Sweden,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 21, no. 2 (2012): 245–62. For the quotation, see Anders Winroth, *The Conversion of Scandinavia: Vikings, Merchants, and Missionaries in the Remaking of Northern Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 104.

<sup>28</sup> Ian Hacking, “Making Up People,” in *Historical Ontology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 99-114.

If my first dissertation chapter dealt explicitly with an object commissioned for Henry the Lion's court, this chapter looks further afield and queries how monuments staged political encounters in a region that came into increasingly close contact with north Germany. Before turning to the works of art that will comprise the chapter's topic, I will briefly sketch some of the connections that bound Germany and Scandinavia together during the twelfth century. Before the see of Lund was established in 1103-4, Skåne fell under the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen. The cathedral at Lund cultivated strong connections with the north German church even after its independence, using the Germany liturgy, venerating north German saints like Willehad, and maintaining relations of confraternity with German institutions like Helmarshausen.<sup>29</sup> Even as the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen tried, with little success, to recover their influence over Scandinavia, there was a steady flow of German settlers, merchants, and ecclesiastics into Denmark and Sweden.<sup>30</sup> Stylistic evidence, especially from frescoes and metalwork, suggests that both artists and objects traveled between north Germany and Skåne.<sup>31</sup>

Communities around the Baltic were repeatedly exposed to competing religious commitments and practices. In the 1170s, Helmold of Bosau repeated Adam of Bremen's eleventh-century description of Jumne, a trading emporium near Wolin: "alien Saxons also received the right to live there on equal terms with others, provided only that during their sojourn

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<sup>29</sup> Erik Niblaeus, "The German Affiliations of the Cathedral of Lund under Archbishop Asser (1089-1137)," *Quaestio Insularis: Selected Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium in Anglo-Saxon Norse and Celtic* 8 (2007): 94-112.

<sup>30</sup> Eric Knibbs, *Ansgar, Rimbert, and the Forged Foundations of Hamburg-Bremen* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

<sup>31</sup> William Anderson, "Schonen, Helmarshausen und der Kunstkreis Heinrichs des Löwen," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 11/12 (1938): 81-102; William Anderson, "Romanische Metallkunst in Schonen und Sachsen-Westfalen," *Jomsburg* 2 (1938): 66-74.

they did not openly profess the Christian faith.”<sup>32</sup> By the time Helmold was writing, however, this was simply not good enough. Saxon merchants established their own churches in Visby when they began to settle Gotland during the twelfth century, the Wendish Crusades—with Henry a notable participant—swept along the Baltic’s southern shores in 1147, and Henry joined Danish forces in sacking and forcibly converting the populations of sites like Rügen.<sup>33</sup> Much more could be said about Henry’s unusually strong hold on ecclesiastical administration and power in the north, his sponsorship of colonization and conversion campaigns, his diplomatic ties to Scandinavian rulers, and his concerted efforts to facilitate long-distance trade around the Baltic. These issues have been the subject of scholarly study, historiographic debate, and popular enthusiasm (most virulently during National Socialism, when Henry was taken to exemplify the medieval forerunners of *Ostpolitik*).<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. Bernhard Schmeidler, in MGH SSrG 32 (Hanover: Hahn, 1937), I.2. For Jumne’s identification, see: Carl Niebuhr, “Die Nachrichten von der Stadt Jumne,” *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 23 (1917): 367–76; Alexandra Petrulevich, “On the Etymology of at Jóni, Jumne and Jónsborg,” *Namm Och Bygd* 97 (2009): 65–97; Roderich Schmidt, *Das historische Pommern: Personen, Orte, Ereignisse, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Pommern* 41 (Cologne: Böhlau Köln, 2007), 70–72.

<sup>33</sup> The key work on the Wendish Crusades remains: Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, 2nd ed. (London: Penguin, 1997).

<sup>34</sup> A new painting cycle depicting *Ostsiedlung* was commissioned for St. Blasius in Braunschweig, for example, in 1937. Much scholarly debate has focused on the documentary evidence for Henry’s support of merchants on and from Gotland, which has sometimes been taken to augur the Hanseatic League and, by extension, the onset of capitalism itself: Ahasver von Brandt, “Wieder einmal. Die Gotland-Urkunden Heinrichs des Löwen,” *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 74 (1956): 97–106; Karl Jordan, “Zu den Gotland-Urkunden Heinrichs des Löwen,” *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 91 (1973): 24–33; Fritz Rörig, “Gotland und Heinrich der Löwe,” *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 65/66 (1941 1940): 170–86; Fritz Rörig, *Reichssymbolik auf Gotland. Heinrich der Löwe, “Kaufleute des Römischen Reichs,” Lübeck, Gotland und Riga* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1940). Henry’s name does not appear, curiously, in the largest Anglophone study of *Ostforschung*: Michael Burleigh, *Germany Turns Eastwards: A Study of Ostforschung in the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). Several insightful studies have been made of the Nazi interest in Henry, focusing especially on the renovation of the cathedral in Braunschweig: citations are given in the dissertation introduction. For discussions of

Henry is directly connected to several key works of art in Skåne. Several luxury manuscripts accompanied his daughter Gertrude to Skåne when she married the Danish crown prince in 1177, and he is probably depicted as one of the sculpted figures on the Tryde font I discuss in this chapter.<sup>35</sup> Although Henry facilitated points of artistic and political contact, I view the fonts discussed in this chapter primarily as conceptual counterparts to objects like the *Braunschweiger Löwe*. My analysis thus focuses more on the political possibilities of twelfth-century sculpture than Henry *per se*.

### The Violence of Conversion

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Henry's eastward missions, see: Jeffrey Ashcroft, "Konrad's *Rolandslied*, Henry the Lion, and the Northern Crusade," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* XXII, no. 2 (April 1986): 184–208; Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, 50–72; Marek Derwich, "Sachsen und Polen im 12. Jahrhundert," in *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit. Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125–1235. Katalog der Ausstellung Braunschweig 1995*, ed. Jochen Luckhardt and Franz Niehoff, vol. 2 (Munich: Hirmer, 1995), 136–43; Hans-Otto Gaethke, *Herzog Heinrich der Löwe und die Slawen nordöstlich der unteren Elbe* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999); William L. Urban, *The Baltic Crusade* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1975). On the metalwork objects commissioned by Nazi politicians to celebrate Henry—including a new reliquary shrine for locks of his hair—see: Wolfgang Metzger, "Ein Goldschmied auf der Suche nach Dem» Großdeutschen Stil «. Karl B. Berthold und der Nationalsozialismus," *Kritische Berichte-Zeitschrift für Kunst-und Kulturwissenschaften* 28, no. 3 (2000): 70–86.

<sup>35</sup> Two gospel books preserved in Uppsala (Uppsala University Library, C. 83) and Copenhagen (Kongelige Bibliothek, Thott quart. 21) have been convincingly connected to Gertrude's marriage. Adolph Goldschmidt proposed that an additional psalter (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W10) was commissioned for Gertrude's use before the wedding. See, respectively, Heidi C. Gearhart, "From Divine Word to Human Hand: Negotiating Sacred Text in a Medieval Gospel Book," *Word & Image* 32, no. 4 (2016): 430–58; Adolph Goldschmidt, "A German Psalter of the Twelfth Century Written in Helmarshausen," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 1 (1938): 18–23. For the Tryde font, see: Kersti Markus, "Baptism and the King's Coronation: Visual Rhetoric of the Valdemar Dynasty on Some Scanian and Danish Baptismal Fonts," in *Images and Objects in Ritual Practices in Medieval and Early Modern Northern and Central Europe*, ed. Krista Kodres and Anu Mänd (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 122–42.

The so-called Majestatis workshop was active around Skåne in the 1160s, before moving to Gotland where they primarily worked in sandstone quarried from the island's southern part alongside other named artists (e.g. Hegwaldr and Sigrafr) and notional workshops (e.g. 'Byzantios' and 'Semi-Byzantios').<sup>36</sup> Gravestones, architectural reliefs, and fonts have all been attributed to the sculptors, and a date range can helpfully be supplied by their early work on the north portal at Lund cathedral and, later, the tympanum sculpture at Hablingbo on Gotland (fig. 4.4).<sup>37</sup> A brief examination of the font at Löderup discloses some characteristics of their style and major concerns.

During the 1160s, the Majestatis workshop carved a striking font for the church of Löderup that featured Christ's Passion on the upper portion of the basin and a martyrological cycle with special significance for Scandinavian conversion on the basin's lower register (fig. 4.5).<sup>38</sup> Scenes from the *vita* of a martial saint flank an image of the *Etimasia* (fig. 4.6). At right, an angel bears away the saint's swaddled soul as he falls in battle, clutching a hefty axe. His body cuts diagonally across a rank of mail-clad soldiers, while two opponents advance from the opposite direction. Weapons feature prominently, from the saint's axe—held to his body's side as if presented to the viewer—to the shield and taut bow of the rightward figures. A longship, replete with large banner, hoisted sail, and animal figurehead, appears next in the sequence. The next two scenes are ambiguous, culminating in a deathbed scene replete with a small, naked

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<sup>36</sup> Lundquist, *Medeltida stenmästare & dopfuntar på Gotland*, 20, 58. This order reverses the sequence proposed by Roosval.

<sup>37</sup> William Anderson, "Skånska gravstenar ur Majestatis verkstad," *Fornvännen* 108 (1928): 181–84; Roosval, *Die Steinmeister Gottlands*, 145–168.

<sup>38</sup> The church was consecrated in 1140. Noting its size and position, Hilbert Andersson argues that the church was originally intended to serve what are now several parishes, including Valleberga: Hilbert Andersson, "Valleberga und Löderup - eine merkwürdige Gemeinschaft zweier Dörfer," *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography* 50, no. 1 (1968), 10.

figure who may represent either a child or the soul of the dying man.<sup>39</sup> A column with an animal head capital punctuates the cycle, sectioning it off from the *Etimasia*.

Thanks to the prominent axe and ship motifs, scholars have long identified this cycle as representing Olaf Haraldsson's death at the battle of Stiklestad.<sup>40</sup> Olaf's cult flourished in Scandinavia during the twelfth century, when the Norwegian king was venerated as an early Christianizing force who was baptized abroad and brought missionaries and bishops north from Europe.<sup>41</sup> It is tempting to gloss his presence on the Löderup font, literally grounding the Passion, as a polemical nod to the royal martyrs of the Scandinavian past whose death augured the region's Christianization. But, recognizing that the scene doesn't precisely accord with extant texts describing Olaf's life and death, Anne Lidén has argued against this reading.<sup>42</sup> The problem is a pervasive one for Scanian fonts; as noted above, we simply do not have texts that adequately account for their images.<sup>43</sup> Lidén interprets the scenes as a generic reference to the *milites pugnantes* so popular in twelfth-century iconography, and Folke Nordström dispenses with the

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<sup>39</sup> The Majestatis fonts in Scania frequently use this motif, notably in the depiction of Knut at Östra Hoby.

<sup>40</sup> Torkel Eriksson, "Löderupfontens ikonografiska problematik," in *Fra Sankt Olav til Martin Luther: foredrag fremlagt ved det tredje nordiske symposium for ikonografiske studier, Bårdshaug, den 21.-24. august 1972*, ed. Martin Blindheim (Oslo: Universitetets oldsaksamling, 1975), 9–30; Roosval, *Die Steinmeister Gottlands*, 145–168.

<sup>41</sup> According to William of Jumièges, Olaf was baptized in Rouen. See: Lars Boje Mortenson, "The Anchin Manuscript of *Passio Olavi* (Douai 295), William of Jumièges, and Theodoricus Monachus: New Evidence for Intellectual Relations Between Norway and France in the Twelfth Century," *Symbolae Osloenses* 75, no. 1 (2000), 168.

<sup>42</sup> Anne Lidén, "Nordisk stensulptur med Olavsmotiv: Kritik och tolkning kring dopfonten i Löderup," in *Ting och tanke: ikonografi på liturgiska föremål*, ed. Ingalill Pegelow (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1998), 66–81.

<sup>43</sup> For this reason, Lidén also argues against Kersti Markus' reading of the font as showing the death of Knut Lavard. Torkel Eriksson's argument shows how contorted iconographic readings can become; in order to substantiate the Olaf identification, he is forced to posit the font itself as evidence of a lost text narrating Olaf's death before Snorri's seminal thirteenth-century account. The circular logic is obvious.

issue by reading the whole lower register as an example of the bloody martyrdom trope.<sup>44</sup> Both proposals construe the cycle exegetically as a literal/historical narrative surmounted by the New Testament images above.

But what of the carving itself? The sculptors skillfully use the distinction between figure and ground to highlight specific passages. They generally isolate figures from each other, as exemplified by the Three Maries on the upper basin where each woman presents an intact, bounded form (fig. 4.7). Their forms are nestled against each other, abutting rather than overlapping. This makes it all the more noticeable when the sculptor traverses visual boundaries, as where the tip of Longinus's spear just overlaps the crucifix, its diagonal slant paralleling Christ's charged gaze down into the soldier's upturned eyes (fig. 4.8).<sup>45</sup> On the lower portion of the font, the dying saint's recumbent body draws the viewer's gaze as it runs perpendicular to the scene's major compositional thrust (fig. 4.9). The sculptor has carefully organized the chaotic melee of limbs and weapons to stress the saint's significance, the crooked arm of a soldier accentuating the lean of Olaf's head. By angling the large axe in the same direction as the marching soldiers, its haft upright and sharpened blade clearly turned to the right in profile, the sculptor repeats the picture's vertical organization. Planes and compositional elements are stacked, almost gridlike, atop each other, as the saint's right arm grasps the axe that comes, in turn, between body and viewer. Relief carving is made by differentiated excavation of negative space, and these complex passages require strategic sculptural forethought.

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<sup>44</sup> Lidén, "Nordisk stensulptur med Olavsmotiv," 77; Folke Nordström, *Mediaeval Baptismal Fonts: An Iconographical Study*, Acta Universitatis Umensis 6 (Umeå: Universitetet i Umeå, 1984), 116-120.

<sup>45</sup> Longinus accentuates the gaze by pointing to his eyes, reminding viewers of the apocryphal tale that Christ's blood cured his literal blindness and converted him to Christianity.

The play of foreground and background, bodies and space, is thematized strongly in the depiction of bound captives on several of the Majestatis sculptor's fonts. The cord that binds Christ when he is brought before Herod on the Löderup font extends the descending arc of his right arm before looping around the soldier's hand and falling slack (fig. 4.10), its prominence as a compositional element emphasized by the depth of the carving's relief. Protruding high above the Christ's body as well as the scene's ground, the rope describes a distinct cross where it knots his hands and conjures the illusion of spatial recession when it passes over itself at right. The sculptor carves the cord as an unbroken line, the basic syntactic element for most of their figures and costumes, instead of rendering the rope's twisted fibers as they do with the bound devil in the Harrowing of Hell scene elsewhere on the basin (fig. 4.11). A bound figure on the Valleberga font likewise showcases the sculptor's interest in rope's power to snake through space (fig. 4.12). Here, the captive's hands overlap, showing the rope's loop around his wrists and indicating overlapping spatial planes (fig. 4.13), while the captor's left hand is barely hinted in very low relief as the rope passes in front of it then behind his right arm (fig. 4.14). The rope itself seems curiously animate as it echoes the captor's bent stance, runs back up along the captive's front, looping behind his neck, only to re-emerge behind him in the rightward figure's hand, where it folds into a loop.

Close attention to the carvings discovers a sculptural vocabulary characterized by concentrated passages of detail. Roosval describes the Majestatis workshop's style as a distinctive combination of Byzantine "daintiness" (*Zierlichkeit*) with German Expressionism, indebted in part to the influence of imported metalwork.<sup>46</sup> We do not have to resort to such anachronism to marvel at the sculptor's ability to selectively convey features of ordinary visual

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<sup>46</sup> Roosval, *Die Steinmeister Gottlands*, 147, 151.

experience like spatial depth, or to organize the picture-field around extra-pictorial notions like sanctity. Early- and high-medieval references to relief carving in wood and stone commonly describe spectatorship as a matter of making sense of details that come into focus as the beholder gets closer. In Robert Grosseteste's *Hexaemeron*, written slightly later than the Majestatis fonts, he analogizes the unlearned reader to someone looking "from a long way off, across a great intervening space, at a very fine piece of carving: he cannot see the worked extensions of the carving, nor distinguish the varied formed surface of the carving from the rough and unformed wood."<sup>47</sup> The problem of how to distinguish carved material also appears in John of Damascus' eighth-century polemic against Islam, *De centum haeresibus*, which Grosseteste translated.<sup>48</sup> In his description of the Black Stone at Mecca, John claims that the stone bears a representation of Aphrodite and that "traces of the carving appear to those who stare at it intently."<sup>49</sup> The Majestatis fonts are not hard to see; but their dense mass of figural elements, their conjunction of compressed passages (like the arms and sleeves of the Three Maries, teeming with small carved elements), actively solicit the viewer's close inspection.

Around 1160, the Majestatis workshop carved a font from the same stone as those at Löderup and Östra Hoby at the newly rebuilt Tryde church (fig. 4.15). When first installed, the once vividly painted font would have been part of a sumptuous array that included a large

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<sup>47</sup> The text was probably composed in the 1230s. Robert Grosseteste, *On the Six Days of Creation: A Translation of the Hexaëmeron*, trans. C. F. J. Martin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 78. I am grateful to the participants of the symposium "*Aspectus and Affectus: Robert Grosseteste, Understanding and Feeling*," held at Georgetown University in 2017, who commented on my paper about Grosseteste's understanding of sculpture.

<sup>48</sup> For a summary of Grosseteste's translations of John of Damascus, see Neil T. Lewis, "Robert Grosseteste and the Church Fathers," in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, ed. Irena Dorota Backus, 2 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 214–15.

<sup>49</sup> Quoted in Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 205.

polychrome crucifix with a removable metal crown and other stone sculptures.<sup>50</sup> The font was an expensive, impressive commission that tackled of the legal obligations that conversion entailed, as well as some of the new forms of authority that threatened to rearrange Scanian social and political life.

The font is decorated with four figurative panels, each scene framed by a pair of embracing figures, carved nearly in the round, who protrude into the viewer's space.<sup>51</sup> Two panels depict the life of a saint, variously identified as Saint Aya of Hainault, Saint Fridolin, or Saint Stanislaus.<sup>52</sup> In the first, the saint raises a man from the dead, one hand cupped under his

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<sup>50</sup> Although the crucifix is now in the Stockholm Nationalmuseum (inv. 8282), sizable portions of the church's medieval fabric are preserved in the Lund University Historical Museum. Polychromy also survives on the large stone lions that served as column bases in the church.

<sup>51</sup> Roosval, *Die Steinmeister Gottlands*, 145. The bibliography on the Tryde font is surprisingly small; see especially Torkil Eriksson, "Fridolinslegenden i Tryde," *Ale: Historisk tidskrift för Skåneland* 3 (1968): 1–15; Markus, "Baptism and the King's Coronation,"; Nordström, *Mediaeval Baptismal Fonts*, 68–9; Jan Svanberg, "Trydefuntens tolkning," in *Ting och tanke. Ikonografi på liturgiska föremål*, ed. I. Pegelow (Stockholm: Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquity, 1998), 47–65. The font was displayed at the 1867 Paris exposition; for a description, see Charles de Linas, *L'Histoire du travail à l'Exposition Universelle de 1867* (Arras and Paris, 1868), 8.

<sup>52</sup> Johnny Roosval identifies the saint as Saint Stanislaus, but the point is more carefully argued in Svanberg, "Trydefuntens tolkning." The earliest surviving evidence for his cult appears to be the early thirteenth century before his canonization in 1253; the miracle depicted on the font is not mentioned in the twelfth-century *Gesta principum Polonorum*, for which see the critical edition that has superseded the version published in the *Monumenta Germaniae historica*: Karol Maleczyński, ed., *Galli anonymi cronica et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum = Anonima tzw. Galla Kronika czyli Dzieje książąt i władców polskich*, *Pomniki Dziejowe Polski* 2 (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1952). The miracle was, however, included in the two thirteenth-century *vitae* (the so-called *Vita minor* and *Vita maior*) that followed his canonization. The history of this episode, which was refined in late-medieval sermons, is described in Stanislava Kuzmová, "Preaching Saint Stanislaus: Medieval Sermons on Saint Stanislaus of Cracow and Their Role in the Construction of His Image and Cult" (Ph.D., Central European University, 2010). Alternative identifications for the saint depicted on the font include Saint Aya of Hainault and Saint Fridolin. See, respectively, George Zarnecki, *Romanesque Art* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), ill. 130; Eriksson, "Fridolinslegenden i Tryde." Saint Aya, often invoked in lawsuits, notoriously returned from the grave to ratify gifts of land to the church that her descendants attempted to reclaim. See Jane Tibbets Schulenburg, "Female Sanctity:

skull and the other pointing past the sarcophagus's lid (fig. 4.16). The choice is unusual; although resurrection scenes appear on other Romanesque Scandinavian fonts, they rehearse the conventional identification of Lazarus' resurrection with the baptizand's awakening to a new spiritual life.<sup>53</sup> The saint reappears in the next panel leading the same skeletal corpse, drawing his bony hand towards the outstretched finger of a figure collapsing to the ground (depicted symbolically as a stylized bushel) (fig. 4.17). A bishop frames the scene at right, one hand raised in benediction, the other clutching a crozier.

These panels illustrate a narratival formula that circulated in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, recurring in several saints' lives: a pious testator leaves a parcel of land to a church but, after his death, his unscrupulous heir reneges on the agreement. The saint resurrects the donor, whose testimony from beyond the grave shames the heir and secures the land for the church. The bishop appears on the Tryde font, head bowed in thanks, to underscore the important role acts of donation and testimony played in shoring up the church's economic prosperity.

Inheritance and oral testimony were live, contentious issues during the second half of the twelfth century.<sup>54</sup> The Church Law of Skåne, promulgated in 1161, devoted a large section to the problem of bequests:

If a man lying on his deathbed gives his property to God, then he may give half of his capital lot and not more in the sickbed. But if his heirs deny this after his death, and the priest says that it was given, then the heirs shall deny it with twelve prudent men. But if there are witnesses, who heard it and were present there, and if the

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Public and Private Roles, ca. 500-1100," in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carpenter Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 113.

<sup>53</sup> See, for example, Hegwaldr's font at Viklau.

<sup>54</sup> For the development of medieval Danish law in general, and the wholesale changes implemented by the beginning of the thirteenth century in particular, see Per Andersen, *Legal Procedure and Practice in Medieval Denmark*, trans. Frederik Pedersen and Sarah Pedersen, *Medieval Law and Its Practice* 11 (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

heirs still want to deny it against the witness, then it shall be proven with twelve nominated men from the church parish.<sup>55</sup>

Deathbed bequests must have been frequent enough to warrant regulation, and the law treats litigious heirs as a real risk. But if the law stresses the importance of witnesses and verbal testimony, and if witnesses still certified most transactions of property by verbally reproducing memory and disputed them by citing gossip, European churchmen increasingly relied on written documents to assert their property rights.<sup>56</sup> To reproduce this model in Scandinavia meant implementing a documentary culture in a milieu that largely did without these kinds of texts.<sup>57</sup> In 1198, for example, Pope Innocent III complained about the lack of written wills in Denmark, which complicated ecclesiastical foundations' claims to property; Archbishop Absalon of Lund responded by drawing up his own testament in 1201.<sup>58</sup>

Innocent's letter demonstrates the degree to which the introduction of writing was intended to help the church maintain its control over rights and transactions. Newly imposed laws also tried to change *who* could inherit, extending inheritance rights to unmarried women and ruling that only the baptized could receive inheritances.<sup>59</sup> The story depicted on the Tryde font, which celebrates ecclesiastical gifts over familial obligations, squares with the broader shift from the family to the church as the primary arbiter of major life decisions. Christianizing laws

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<sup>55</sup> Ditlev Tamm and Helle Vogt, eds., *The Danish Medieval Laws: The Laws of Scania, Zealand and Jutland* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 53.

<sup>56</sup> Chris Wickham, "Gossip and Resistance among the Medieval Peasantry," *Past & Present*, no. 160 (1998): 3–24.

<sup>57</sup> Written documents and law codes *were* used in Scandinavia before 1200, although very few survive in their original form.

<sup>58</sup> Hybel and Poulsen, *The Danish Resources c. 1000-1550*, 90.

<sup>59</sup> Birgit Sawyer, "Valdemar, Absalon and Saxo: Historiography and Politics in Medieval Denmark," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'histoire* 63, no. 4 (1985), 699-700. For baptism and inheritance, see the Law of Skåne and Anders Sunesen's Latin paraphrase: *The Liber legis Scaniae: The Latin Text with Introduction, Translation and Commentaries*, ed. Ditlev Tamm (London: Routledge, 2018).

and policies tried to advance this new social model, replacing Scandinavian marriage practice, which required the consent of the spouses' families, with a model of individual consent and ecclesiastical sanction.<sup>60</sup>

Importantly, to be baptized was to acquire a new, non-biological family of Christians and with it a new set of legal obligations. Canon lawyers took seriously the relations between godchildren and their godparents, often called *compadres* and *commatres* (literally “co-fathers” and “co-mothers”).<sup>61</sup> Godparents counted as blood connections when lawyers calculated degrees of affinity, and they had special responsibilities as witnesses and surrogates in court.<sup>62</sup> The Scanian laws compiled early in the thirteenth century, which largely deal with crime and property, specify that children should receive a godfather and godmother at the point of

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<sup>60</sup> Sawyer, “Valdemar, Absalon and Saxo,” 700. Additionally, see Mia Korpiola, *Between Betrothal and Bedding: Marriage Formation in Sweden 1200-1600* (Leiden: Brill, 2009). For a useful comparison, see Agnes S. Arnórsdóttir, *Property and Virginity: The Christianization of Marriage in Medieval Iceland, 1200-1600* (Århus: Aarhus University Press, 2010). Historians of law have waged a fierce debate over the interpretation of pre-Christian customs. One position, advanced in early pan-Germanic legal scholarship as well as (on the basis of quite different evidence) in recent archaeological discussions, frames the family as the main social unit. At its opposite pole, represented by the work of Elsa Sjöholm, scholars hold that the family's primacy was, in fact, introduced through continental law codes. Following historians like Sverre Bagge, I find the former point of view more convincing. See Per Norseng, “Law Codes as a Source for Nordic History in the Early Middle Ages,” *Scandinavian Journal of History* 16, no. 3 (1991): 137–166; Ditlev Tamm and Helle Vogt, eds., *How Nordic Are the Nordic Medieval Laws?* (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen Press, 2005).

<sup>61</sup> Helmholz, “Baptism in the Medieval Canon Law,” 118; Joseph H. Lynch, “Hugh I of Cluny's Sponsorship of Henry IV: Its Context and Consequences,” *Speculum* 60, no. 4 (1985), 805.

<sup>62</sup> Peter the Venerable, for example, was deeply concerned with the social implications of godparenthood. See: Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et exclure: Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l'hérésie, au judaïsme et à l'islam, 1000-1150* (Paris: Aubier, 1998). For medieval godparents in general, see Anita Guerreau-Jalabert, “*Spiritus et caritas*: le baptême dans la société médiévale,” in *La parenté spirituelle*, ed. Elisabeth Copet-Rougier and Françoise Héritier-Augé (Paris: Éditions des archives contemporaines, 1995), 133–203; Joseph H. Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

christening.<sup>63</sup> A contemporary example from Germany, the so-called baptismal bowl of Frederick Barbarossa, commemorates a series of exchanges between *compater* and godson (fig. 4.18).<sup>64</sup> Frederick probably gave it to his godfather, Otto of Cappenberg, in 1155. As already noted, the scene in the center depicts Frederick's baptism, and a prominent caption identifies Otto as the bearded figure at left clutching the young emperor's arm in a gesture familiar from manuscript illuminations that show godparents at the font. In compositional terms, the lay sponsor is almost equal to the anonymous bishop who actually performs the rite. Otto probably added an inscription around the edge: "Frederick, Caesar and Augustus, conveyed these gifts to his godfather Otto, who (offered them) to God."<sup>65</sup> Picking Otto as Frederick's sponsor in the 1120s may have helped defuse the Investiture Conflict, and Otto later traded on the prestige he acquired when his godson became emperor.<sup>66</sup> The bowl enshrined these relations in figural, material, and textual form.

In this example, twelfth-century artists use a font as a metonym for disputed processes of social changes around the edges of Christendom. Christianization, the inculcation of behaviors and legal norms rather than private confessional or nominal identity, was the issue, and these

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<sup>63</sup> Tamm and Vogt, eds., *Medieval Danish Laws*, 56.

<sup>64</sup> The bowl is also discussed in this dissertation's second chapter. Jutta Fulsche, "'Barbarossas Taufschale' Neue Details Zur Erwerbungs-geschichte," *Jahrbuch Der Berliner Museen* 39 (1997): 169–73; Werner Goetz, "'Barbarossas Taufschale': Goethes Beziehungen zu den Monumenta Germaniae historica und seine Erfahrungen mit der Geschichtswissenschaft," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters, 50 (1994): 73–88; Jan Ulrich Keupp, "'Sie scheint sich auszulegen ...'. Die Cappenberger 'Taufschale' als Ermöglichungsinstanz der Mediävistik," in *Barbarossabilder: Entstehungskontexte, Erwartungshorizonte, Verwendungszusammenhänge*, ed. Knut Görlich and Romedio Schmitz-Esser (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2014), 290–305.

<sup>65</sup> CESAR ET AVGVSTVS HEC OTTONI FRIDERICUS MVNERA PATRINO CONTVLIT ILLE D(e)O.

<sup>66</sup> John B. Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa: The Prince and the Myth* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 16–27. Freed's reading is speculative but plausible.

problems of inheritance, law, and testimony are figured on objects that serve as the material support for initiation into Christian community and its concomitant world of obligations.<sup>67</sup> A third panel on the basin of the Tryde font depicts a seated archbishop flanked by an armed figure whose crown and throne mark him as a king (fig. 4.19). This group of two seated figures is in apposition to the *majestas domini* scene on the font's fourth panel. If the scenes from the saint's life portray the miraculous workings of the law, sanctioned by divine order, this powerful frontal image confronts the viewer with the twin forces of ecclesiastical hierarchy and violent coercion.

A paradigmatic image of supreme judicial might, the *majestas domini* shows Christ as judge and ruler. It appears elsewhere in contemporary Scanian spaces, such as the painted apse at Lackalänga where it looms over the altar as the visual apex of the church's privileged east end (fig. 4.20). Carving the scene on all the fonts discussed in this chapter (indeed, it has been taken as their signature scene), the Majestatis workshop insisted on the divine and temporal powers who ultimately secured the Christian systems of dispossession and soteriological promise. They presented an emphatic, iconic statement that *asserted* instead of persuading.

Rather than straightforwardly equating church and state, however, we ought to see the Tryde font's combined images of the law, royalty, and ecclesiastical power as an argumentative program about different intertwined kinds of authority. As Birgit Sawyer observes, when "modern historians stress what they call the 'harmonious cooperation' between church and state during this period, they are simply the victims of very successful propaganda."<sup>68</sup> In practice,

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<sup>67</sup> Church Fathers from east (e.g., Basil of Caesarea) and west (e.g., Ambrose), celebrated baptism as the paradigmatic death of the old and birth of the new. For these late antique precedents, see John Van Engen, "Christening the Romans," *Traditio* 52 (1997): 1–45. For twelfth-century baptism, see Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c. 200-c. 1150* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 221–66.

<sup>68</sup> Sawyer, "Valdemar, Absalon and Saxo," 702.

centralized state government was still very much a *desideratum* and Danish bishops and archbishops exerted a good deal of influence over the writing and implementation of laws.<sup>69</sup> As much as contemporary political theorists drew on the notion that royalty and religion were complementary, they tended to reveal contradictions and fissures. Gervase of Tilbury, for example, writes: “The priest binds and looses souls, the king tortures and kills bodies. Each, as an executor of divine law, renders to everyone his due, curbing the wicked and rewarding the good.”<sup>70</sup> But Gervase goes on to articulate a hierarchy, as I have noted earlier in the dissertation, for the priest “molds souls” (*informat animas*) into “clay creatures” (*lutea figmenta*) for the king to judge. (The language of art suggestively pervades Gervase’s metaphor, the priest’s molding of souls into clay creatures analogous to the re-formation of the baptizand in the font.) Submitting to baptism in Skåne during these troubled decades meant being shaped by religious ritual into a particular kind of secular subject too.

The Valleberga font pictures the juncture of royalty, religion, and conversion differently. The basin’s upper and lower registers are decorated with the story of Simon Magus, who appears in the Acts of the Apostles as a bad ecclesiastical actor demanding money for his appointment in the church (fig. 4.21). The scenes take place above a large representation of the martyrdom of St. Laurence, the patron saint of nearby Lund cathedral. The New Testament account figures Simon as a populist heretic who bewitches crowds with “magical practices,” (Acts of the Apostles, 8:11) a tale surely loaded with significance for a Scanian territory prone to uprisings and pre-

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<sup>69</sup> The Danish kingdom was divided into provinces, each subdivided into districts, and royal strength was unevenly distributed. Bishop Gunnar of Viborg helped to redact the Law of Jutland, and Archbishop Anders Sunesen famously wrote a Latin paraphrase of the Law of Scania. See: Tamm and Vogt, *The Danish Medieval Laws*.

<sup>70</sup> Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia: Recreation for an Emperor*, trans. S. E. Banks and J. W. Binns (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 3.

Christian religious survivals.<sup>71</sup> The font illustrates the apocryphal tale of Simon's contest with Peter and Paul (figs. 4.22-4.24), replete with the argument before Nero, Peter's triumph in the contest over the loaf of bread, Simon's false beheading, his flight aided by devils, and his ensuing fall. Medieval homilies, which framed Simon as an antetype of Christ and often placed him in the devil's service, drew special attention to the fact that Simon performed his heretical acts *after* his baptism. A twelfth-century version of Wulfstan's homilies written in England notes:

We ought greatly to fear this idea, brothers. What good is it if we are baptized and we do not display what we promised in baptism. Simon Magus after he was baptized became Antichrist. He called himself God and fell with disaster and into hell in body and soul.<sup>72</sup>

Although we know very little about the homilies and sermons preached in twelfth-century Skåne, the popularity of Simon's tale elsewhere in Europe—from whence many Scanian priests were drawn—suggests that preachers probably deployed it.<sup>73</sup> Whether the Valleberga font served as a visual aid for homilies or not (we should recall that the font was the most elaborate and eye-catching work of art in a small parish church, and it remained permanently on view even when

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<sup>71</sup> “Attendebant aut eum: propter quod multo tempore magiis suis dementasset eos.”

<sup>72</sup> “Istam sententiam fortiter timere, fratres, debemus. Quid prodest si baptizati sumus et quod in baptismo promissimus non ostendemus. Simon Magus postquam baptizatus fuit, deuenit Antichristus. Dicebat se esse Deum et cecidit cum ruina et <in> infernum cum corpore et anima.” Quoted and translated in Aidan Conti, “Revising Wulfstan's Antichrist in the Twelfth Century: A Study in Medieval Textual Re-Appropriation,” *Literature Compass* 4, no. 3 (2007), 641.

<sup>73</sup> The contest between Peter and Simon Magus was a popular theme throughout Scandinavia, rendered in vernacular literature as well as read in Latin texts: Nicolas Meylan, “Magic and Discourses of Magic in the Old Norse Sagas of the Apostles,” *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 7 (2011), 109-111.

not in ritual use), its sculptures conveyed a powerful warning about maintaining one's own post-baptismal commitments and scrutinizing the behavior of others.<sup>74</sup>

If the content and composition of the workshops' sculptures inflected the meaning of baptism, the scenes carved on the Tryde font show how they also reconfigured new juridical and financial topographies. The scene of the dead man's miraculous testimony thematizes the conditions of certain kinds of speech, participating in a flourishing medieval tradition of thinking about language and property as intrinsically public or communal categories. In the *Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58*, Karl Marx argues that "an isolated individual could no more have property in land than he could speak;" a wealth of medieval stories examined precisely this problem by imagining what isolated individuals could or could not do.<sup>75</sup> One famous thought experiment imagined a floating man living in a state of extreme sensory deprivation with no external stimuli or interlocutors.<sup>76</sup> Twelfth-century writers like Otto of Freising cast doubt on stories of children raised by animals (especially Romulus and Remus), extending a strand of skepticism inaugurated by Augustine who provided a well-known account of language-learning in the *Confessions* that relied on a pedagogical community of adults.<sup>77</sup> Contemporary theories of education held that children learn to speak only by gradually correlating signs with spoken words.<sup>78</sup> Speech was understood to be fundamentally contingent on a community of speakers.

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<sup>74</sup> Fonts in high-medieval Scanian parish churches were usually placed in the nave, close to the western entrance: Lars Berggren, "I hopp om det eviga livet," 43.

<sup>75</sup> Karl Marx, "Economic Manuscripts of 1857-58," in *Karl Marx, Frederick Engels: Collected Works*, vol. 28: Marx: 1857-1861 (New York: International Publishers, 1975), 409.

<sup>76</sup> Taneli Kukkonen, "Ibn Sīnā and the Early History of Thought Experiments," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 52, no. 3 (2014): 433-59.

<sup>77</sup> Otto of Freising, *Chronica: sive, historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. Adolf Hofmeister, in MGH SSrG 45 (Hanover: Hahn, 1912), I.2; Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. Sarah Ruden (New York: The Modern Library, 2017), I, 8.

<sup>78</sup> M. F. Burnyeat, "Wittgenstein and Augustine *De magistro*," *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 61 (1987): 1-24.

These ideas motivate the gesture made by the resurrecting saint on the Tryde font.<sup>79</sup> Their arm reaches down, gently describing a fluid curve, hand cupping the skeletal head in a supportive move that might read as tender benediction or firm guidance (fig. 4.25). It resembles that made by the central inhabitant of the volute of the so-called Beverley Crozier, carved in the late eleventh century from walrus ivory (fig.4.26). In this scene, the main figure, barefoot and dressed in flowing robes, cuts diagonally across the space. One arm reaches across his body, his hand grasping the lower jaw of a naked child's upturned face. A third figure looms over his shoulder, bearing witness to a moment of marvelous healing, for the episode is almost certainly drawn from the life of St. John of Beverley.<sup>80</sup> Canonized in 1037, John was an eighth-century bishop of Hexham in Northumberland who, according to Bede, once cured a mute boy through a combination of wonderful signs and therapeutic exercises.<sup>81</sup> In Bede's telling, John first made the sign of the cross over the child's tongue then ordered him to pronounce the word "yes."<sup>82</sup> Miraculously the boy did so. John then led him through the letters of the alphabet before working up to longer sentences. Pilgrims still traveled to Beverley to seek cures for muteness in the twelfth century.

As Irina Dumitrescu points out, Bede's narrative draws on Christ's healing of the deaf-mute in Mark 7:32-35, wherein Christ puts his fingers in the boy's ears and, spitting, touches his

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<sup>79</sup> The Tryde gesture is unusual; here, I propose one genealogy for the chin grasp. There are, of course, alternative visual traditions.

<sup>80</sup> The inscriptions are too damaged to be legible. See Elisabeth Okasha, "A Supplement to Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions," *Anglo-Saxon England* 11 (December 1982), 91-2. For the cult of Joh, see: Susan E. Wilson, *The Life and After-Life of St. John of Beverley: The Evolution of the Cult of an Anglo-Saxon Saint* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

<sup>81</sup> Irina A. Dumitrescu, "Bede's Liberation Philology: Releasing the English Tongue," *PMLA* 128, no. 1 (2013): 40-56.

<sup>82</sup> Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Judith McClure and Roger Collins, trans. Bertram Colgrave (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), V.2.

tongue.<sup>83</sup> Ottonian depictions of the scene, like those found in the manuscripts made at Echternach for Otto III, similarly show Christ's firm grasp of the jaw (fig 4.27).<sup>84</sup> Strikingly, Christ charges the witnesses "that they should tell no man. But the more he charged them, so much the more a great deal did they publish it."<sup>85</sup> Likewise, Bede dwells on the voluble monologues that issued from John's charge after learning to talk. In both cases, the miracle of speech brings about an *excess* of speech.

Both miracles have much to do with the baptismal rite and its emphasis on performing speech acts correctly. In the Roman rite that would most likely have been used in Skåne, the catechumen was asked to give their name and confirm that they sought faith (*fidem*) in the church of God.<sup>86</sup> Signs of the cross were made and exorcisms pronounced over them.<sup>87</sup> Once the catechumen was led into the church, they or their godparents recited the *redditio*, which included the *paternoster* and *credo*. During another round of scrutiny, the catechumen renounced the devil and all his worldly glories and confirmed their desire to be baptized with first-person affirmations: I believe (*credo*) in Jesus Christ, I want (*volo*) to be baptized.

The drama of speaking would have ramped up when adults converted, as was the normative case in twelfth-century Skåne, or completed their conversion by accepting the

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<sup>83</sup> "And spitting, he touched his tongue." ("Et exspuens, tetigit linguam ejus.") (Mark 7:33).

<sup>84</sup> I cite here Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. B. 32, fol. 87r.

<sup>85</sup> "...illis ne cui dicerent. Quanto autem eis praecipiebat, tanto magis plus praedicabant." (Mark 7:36).

<sup>86</sup> "Quid vocaris?" and "Quid petis ab ecclesia Dei?" For an overview of the baptismal rite's organization, see: Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 265-68.

<sup>87</sup> Narratives like Rimbert's *Vita* of Ansgar and Icelandic sagas report that converts often tried to disarticulate this part of the ceremony from the baptism proper: Erik Niblaeus, "German Influence on Religious Practice in Scandinavia, c. 1050-1150" (Ph.D., King's College London, 2010), 36-8.

sacrament amidst a community of peers.<sup>88</sup> Early medieval liturgical texts contained specific rituals for baptizing adult pagans, and the Gelasian Sacramentary famously includes a rite “for making a catechumen out of a pagan” that was incorporated into the Roman-Germanic pontifical used in Scandinavia before the 1160s.<sup>89</sup> Nevertheless, in his careful analysis of Scandinavian liturgical practice Erik Niblaeus points out that “baptism was *always* a ritual of conversion, both because it rescued the candidate from the pre-Christian void into the presence of God, and because the rite was markedly anti-demonic throughout.”<sup>90</sup> The choreographed drama of exhortation and recitation in and around the parish church turned on speech acts that allowed the public to verify their neighbors’ spiritual transformation.

Forms of speech recur in the Latin inscriptions that adorn twelfth-century fonts in Skåne. In some, like the Lokrume font on Gotland assigned to the Majestatis workshop, the font appears to speak in the first person (fig. 4.28). Running in the mandorla around Christ in Majesty are the words: HEC MEA MAIESTAS MEA VIATUS AD QUEM POTESTAS.<sup>91</sup> More multi-layered is the damaged inscription on the rather plain font at Ausås, plausibly reconstructed to read “the Baptist shook and dares not touch the holy head of God, but cries fearfully: ‘Bless me Savior!’”<sup>92</sup> This text is taken from the antiphon for the octave of Epiphany and features in a Benedictine

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<sup>88</sup> Webb Keane, “From Fetishism to Sincerity: On Agency, the Speaking Subject, and Their Historicity in the Context of Religious Conversion,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39, no. 4 (1997): 674–93.

<sup>89</sup> “Ad catechumenum ex pagano faciendum.” Francis Young, *A History of Exorcism in Catholic Christianity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 37-8.

<sup>90</sup> Niblaeus, “German Influence on Religious Practice in Scandinavia,” 42. Emphasis mine.

<sup>91</sup> There is some confusion over how to translate *viatus*. Nordstrom takes it as a crude form of *viaticum*. Where *viatus* appears in the *Patrologia latina*, the editors take it as an error for *victus*.

<sup>92</sup> The inscription is reconstructed by Anna Blennow as: “Bapt[ista c]ontremuit et non audit tangere s(an)c(tu)m D(e)I v[erti]cem sed clamat [cum] t[remo]re [sancti]fica me salvator.” Anna Blennow, “Inskriften på den medeltida dopfunten i Ausås kyrka läst och identifierad,” *Fornvännen* 109, no. 1 (2014), 49.

instruction manual for priests as part of an injunction to reflect on the sacramental mysteries.<sup>93</sup> John's fearful cry –he is said to cry *cum tremore*—diverges substantially from the sedate account given in the Synoptic Gospels. In Matthew 3:14, for example, John the Baptist says to Christ: “I ought to be baptized by thee, and comest thou to me?”<sup>94</sup> *Sanctifica me salvator* is a plaintive address that Christians verbalized in church, but the text does not just crystallize an oral performance; it includes a telling instance of reported speech. The Ausås font's inscription is a verbal equivalent to the scene on the Tryde font, where the viewer witnesses, or rather imaginatively infers, sacred figures speaking and, in so doing, articulating hierarchies of ecclesiastical power that had real soteriological and economic ramifications.

The reliefs on the Tryde font, with their unusual subject matter, aimed to bring out a series of connections between the baptismal ritual, the power of speech, and regulation of life by authorities who demanded tribute and, above all, conformity with a new set of legal and economic norms. Even the raising of the dead, Christianity's ultimate eschatological promise, was conscripted into this program. The font at Fjellie in Skåne, carved around the same time as the Tryde font, is adorned with an inscription that encircles the rim above arcades carved in low relief: “the chains of sin of the one reborn in the font will be dissolved; together with Christ, the one who has been immersed in it will rise.”<sup>95</sup> As the baptizand emerged from the font, they earned a new set of responsibilities as much as a new promise from God. And they were, according to the sculptures on the Tryde font, as likely to be resurrected in the course of an ecclesiastical property dispute as to take their place among the righteous.

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<sup>93</sup> *Instructio sacerdotis*, ed. J. P. Migne, in *PL* 184 (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1854), col. 787a.

<sup>94</sup> “Ego a te debeo baptizari, et tu venis ad me?”

<sup>95</sup> Anna Blennow, *Sveriges medeltida latinska inskrifter 1050-1250: edition med språklig och paleografisk kommentar*, The Swedish History Museum, Studies 28 (Stockholm: Statens historiska museum, 2016).

The Tryde reliefs also transfigure the font into a complex monument possessed of unusual conceptual and semantic density. To fully untangle all of the propositions about the relationship between art and ritual encoded by the Tryde font—how the reliefs gloss baptism’s juridical and financial entailments, how they demand prospective converts accept new regimes of inheritance, how they formulate theses about speech through worked, mute stone—would take more space than this chapter allows. That compression is itself part of the sculpture’s rhetoric. Twelfth-century beholders gestured to visual and material excess, frustrating speech’s capacities, as a defining characteristic of wonderful art: “If I wanted to tell you exactly how this saddle was made, that would be too difficult for such a simple fellow like me,” writes Hartmann von Aue of a masterful saddle, “even if I could tell you exactly, it would take too long for one mouth to say.”<sup>96</sup> All of the fonts carved by the Majestatis workshop similarly present a multiplied, overwhelming set of meaningful relations. The mere appearance of a complex work of art that doubled as a transformative ritual engine warped spectatorial space.

### **Violence, Again**

By combining overlapping images of authority on an object that turned converts into new kinds of juridical subjects through ritual performance, the Majestatis sculptor made the carved stone figures on the Tryde font, quite literally, compelling. The Valleberga font also visualized the risks of not taking baptism seriously. In a striking passage, the sculptor renders Simon Magus’s fall by showing his upturned body, robes gathered around his head by gravity, legs protruding in an allusion to the Judas figure at Löderup (figs. 4.29-30). Immediately to the left,

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<sup>96</sup> Hartmann von Aue, *Arthurian Romances, Tales, and Lyric Poetry: The Complete Works of Hartmann von Aue*, trans. Richard H. Lawson, Frank J. Tobin, and Kim Vivian (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 135-36.

the executioner displays Simon's head against an empty ground, body slumped below. The false beheading exemplifies Simon's trickery (he turned a ram into a simulacrum of himself), and the viewer is made to share in this optical illusion. Peter's intervention—the saint appears at right, pointing to Simon's feet—reveals the magician's sham.<sup>97</sup> Vision comes under suspicion.

But here, I want to point out the powerful juxtaposition of two iconic heads, Simon's inverted visage paired with the severed head held out for inspection. Beheadings recur across the font (fig. 4.31), each head similarly confronting the viewer in a manner analogous to the apotropaic leonine heads that adorned medieval doors and, if Simon's story generally served as a cautionary tale, these heads break the font's fourth wall to drive the point home.<sup>98</sup> The formula for conversionary baptism in the Roman-Germanic Pontifical includes the prayer *Accipe signum crucis Christi*, urging the baptizand: "may you dread idols, refuse images."<sup>99</sup> The act of baptism, reinforced by stories of figures like Simon Magus as well as the threat of violence from above, demanded that Scanian spectators abide by the new legal norms implied by the Tryde font's image of the resurrected testator.<sup>100</sup> The suspended head raises the specter of partial Christianization.

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<sup>97</sup> On this score, it's noteworthy that the sculptor prominently shows the demon bearing Simon aloft (fig. 4.22), granting the viewer visual access to the mechanics of *this* illusion but not the beheading.

<sup>98</sup> For severed heads as medieval 'sculptural' objects in their own right, see: Sonja Drimmer, "The Severed Head as Public Sculpture in Late Medieval England," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 50, no. 2 (2020): 293–321.

<sup>99</sup> "Horresce idola, respue simulacra." See the discussion in Joaquim de Oliveira Bragança, "Le symbolisme des rites baptismaux au Moyen Age: les rites d'admission au catéchuménat," *Didaskalia* 3, no. 1 (1973), 50.

<sup>100</sup> As Jean-Claude Schmitt notes of the problematic twelfth-century *opusculum* purporting to describe the conversion of a Jew from Cologne, baptism "marks the culminating account of his conversion. It is also the most dramatic event." Jean-Claude Schmitt, *The Conversion of Herman the Jew: Autobiography, History, and Fiction in the Twelfth Century*, trans. Alex J. Novikoff (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 145. Thirteenth-century sagas that

Baptismal rites nominally effect the change from non-Christian to Christian, and as in contemporaneous vernacular poems like the Munich *Oswald* and the *Rolandslied*, conversion narratives in art often climax in immersion scenes.<sup>101</sup> The depiction of the baptism of King Harald Bluetooth, the first Christian Danish king, on the fragment of an altar frontal from Tamdrup is a striking example (fig. 4.32).<sup>102</sup> The missionary monk Poppo looms at left, garbed in sumptuous robes that contrast with the king's Christ-like nudity. Harald receives the sacrament in a humble barrel rather than a luxurious stone font. Carefully picking out the nails on its iron bands and hatching its wooden planks, the artist uses the barrel's facture to stress the king's submission to clerical authority signified by such a lowly object (ironically represented in gold). The Majestatis workshop's Simris font—like many other high medieval examples—featured the baptism of Christ in a *mise en abyme* designed to remind the viewer that their participation in the rite mimicked Christ's own, much as Saint Paul famously took John the Baptist to sanction his own baptismal practice.<sup>103</sup>

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recounted earlier Scandinavian conversions rhetorically construed the moment of baptism—rather than the more extended process of education and integration into the Christian religion—as a decisive moment. Karras, “God and Man in Medieval Scandinavia.” But see the discussion of confessional conversion narratives in: Ryan Szpiech, *Conversion and Narrative: Reading and Religious Authority in Medieval Polemic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

<sup>101</sup> Michael Curschmann, ed., *Der Münchner Oswald*, Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 76 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1974); Konrad, *Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad*, ed. Carl Wesle, 3rd ed. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1985).

<sup>102</sup> The story of Harald's baptism and conversion is attested by Widukind of Corvey. Adam of Bremen and Saxo Grammaticus give alternate narratives. The definitive work on the Danish golden altars is: Poul Nørlund, *Gyldne Altre: Jysk Metalkunst fra Valdemarstiden* (Copenhagen: Koppel, 1926). For the Tamdrup fragments, see: *Tamdrup: Kirke og gård*, ed. Ole Schiørring (Horsens: Horsens Museum, 1991), 71-83.

<sup>103</sup> Acts of the Apostles, 19:1-7. It should be noted that not all twelfth-century theologians agreed that the sacrament was first sanctioned by Christ's baptism. Rupert of Deutz, for example, argued in his *De divinis officiis* that baptism stemmed from the effusion of water and blood from Christ's side at crucifixion. It has been suggested (implausibly in my view) that these meta-images of baptism carved on baptismal instruments represent instructions for use: Berggren, “I hopp om det eviga livet,” 48.

Two passages from Helmold of Bosau's *Chronica*, written at the time the Majestatis sculptor was active in Skåne, show how baptism was not merely, as Augustine put it, "simple when performed, inspiring when understood, and holy when practiced."<sup>104</sup> Baptism was a matter of *Realpolitik* as much as faith, particularly on the fringes of western Europe. The first passage narrates an episode from the border wars that pitted Christian Germans and Danes, "signed with the sign of the cross," ("signo crucis insignita") against non-Christian Slavic peoples:

At last, when our men got tired, an agreement was made to the effect that the Slavs should receive the Christian faith and loose the Danes whom they held in captivity. Many of them, therefore, were falsely baptized.<sup>105</sup>

Here, Helmold skewers the transactional approach to conversion, while also voicing the pervasive anxiety about ersatz baptism. He goes on to outline the danger: "immediately afterwards [the Slavs] came together in a worse way: they neither observed their baptism nor kept their hands from plundering the Danes."<sup>106</sup> When small churches in the tenuously

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<sup>104</sup> Augustine, *On Christian Teaching*, trans. R. P. H. Green (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 75.

<sup>105</sup> "Ad ultimum nostris iam pertesis conventio talis facta est, ut Slavi fidem Christianam recipere et laxarent Danos, quos in captivitate habuerant. Multi igitur eorum falso baptizati sunt..." Helmold, *Chronica*, I.65. For Helmold's portrayal of non-Christians in the north, see David Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden: Vorstellungen und Fremdkategorien bei Rimbert, Thietmar von Merseburg, Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bosau* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), 318-354; Volker Scior, *Das Eigene und das Fremde: Identität und Fremdheit in den Chroniken Adams von Bremen, Helmolds von Bosau und Arnolds von Lübeck, Orbis mediaevalis: Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters 4* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002), 138-222. On this passage specifically, see: Nils Blomkvist, *The Discovery of the Baltic: The Reception of a Catholic World-System in the European North (AD 1075-1225)*, *The Northern World* 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 220-21.

<sup>106</sup> "Statim enim postmodum in deterius coaluerunt; nam neque baptismum servaverunt nec cohibuerunt manus a depredatione Danorum." Helmold, *Chronica*, I.65.

Christianized region of Skåne lavished disproportionate resources on the very objects that authorized the ritual, they responded to this perceived risk.<sup>107</sup>

In a second passage, Helmold quotes Pribislav, prince of the non-Christian Obotrites, who railed against the invading forces of the Christian west: “How, therefore, shall we, for whom flight is manifested daily, be free to build churches for this new religion and to experience baptism?”<sup>108</sup> Pribislav points to the fact that violent campaigns of conversion usually involved stripping newly Christian populations of their political autonomy. Samir Amin describes a fundamental “contradiction between the continued existence of the community and the negation of the community by the state” in premodern regions undergoing rapid change, and this problem was urgently felt in border areas where “negation” looked as much like the church demanding sweeping confessional change as it did lords and royals flexing their military muscles.<sup>109</sup>

Some twelfth-century ethnographic images used the visual language of baptism to mark difference.<sup>110</sup> An illumination in a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century manuscript containing Gerald of Wales’ *Topographia hibernica* depicts a striking inversion of the baptismal ritual (fig.

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<sup>107</sup> Twelfth-century theologians spilt much ink on the question of what made baptism efficacious. Peter Lombard, for example, devoted an important to *distinctio* to the issue, opening by decisively separating the ritual words from the “element.” (“Baptismus dicitur intinctio, id est, ablutio corporis exterior, facta sub forma verborum praescripta. Si enim ablutio fiat sine verbo, non est ibi sacramentum; sed accedente verbo ad elementum, fit sacramentum, non utique ipsum elementum fit sacramentum, sed ablutio facta in element.”) Petrus Lombardus, *Sententiae*, ed. J. P. Migne, in *PL* 192 (Paris: Migne, 1855) 4.3.1, col. 843. See: Marcia L. Colish, *Faith, Fiction, and Force in Medieval Baptismal Debates* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2014).

<sup>108</sup> “Quomodo ergo vacabimus huic religioni novae, ut edificemus ecclesias et percipiamus baptismum, quibus cotidiana indicitur fuga?” Helmold, *Chronica*, I.84.

<sup>109</sup> Samir Amin, *Unequal Development: An Essay on the Social Formations of Peripheral Capitalism*, trans. Brian Pearce (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1976), 15.

<sup>110</sup> See: Luke A. Fidler, “*Ut nullum eorum in medio sui stare permittent*: Picturing Missionary Baptism in Twelfth-Century Regensburg,” in *Bildmedien der Taufe im Spannungsfeld von Ort, Ritual und Gemeinschaft*, eds. Kirsten Lee Bierbaum and Susanne Wittekind (Heidelberg: arthistoricum, forthcoming).

4.33), illustrating the section entitled “On a new and monstrous custom of confirming their kings.”<sup>111</sup> A naked, bearded man sits in a vessel made from bound planks, holding a long strip of meat in one hand as he crams the other in his mouth. Two men flank him on either side, each also eating. The image claims to show an Irish enthronement ritual that culminates with the king bathing in the broth made from a slaughtered mare, while he and his followers eat the horse’s flesh.<sup>112</sup> Gerald frames the ruler “not as a prince but as a beast, not as a king but as an outlaw,” using the rhetorical strategy of chiasmus of which he was so fond in order to stress the ironic reversal of Christian norms.<sup>113</sup>

The baptismal reference appears even more striking in the context of the *mise-en-page* of the British Library manuscript, which may have been produced under Gerald’s supervision, for the bulk of the text on the page above it actually belongs to the next section: “How many in the island are not baptized, and have never arrived at knowledge of the faith.”<sup>114</sup> Here, Gerald laments that many Irish remain unbaptized although the Christian faith has “grown up” (*adoleverit*) in Ireland, a striking parallel to the complaints made by chroniclers of the Baltic.

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<sup>111</sup> “De novo et enormi regni et domini confirmationis modo.” *Distinctio* III, cap. XXV. London, British Library 3 fol. 28r. For a discussion of a similar illustration in a different manuscript witness, see: Laura Cleaver, “Kings Behaving Badly: Images of Rulers in Gerald of Wales’ Works on Ireland (c.1200),” *IKON* 5 (2012), 152.

<sup>112</sup> This account of the Cinéal gConaill king-making practice inspired its own set of inversions, as later scholars attempted to refute Gerald by proposing more savory rituals: Elizabeth FitzPatrick, *Royal Inauguration in Gaelic Ireland c.1100-1600: A Cultural Landscape Study* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), 25-26.

<sup>113</sup> “...non in principem sed in beluam, non in regem sed exlegum.” *Distinctio* III, cap. XXV. London, British Library 3 fol. 28r.

<sup>114</sup> “De multis in insula nunquam baptizatis, et ad quos nondum fidei doctrina pervenit.” *Distinctio* III, cap. XXVI. London, British Library 3 fol. 28r. For Gerald’s involvement with this witness, see Michelle P. Brown, “Marvels of the West: Giraldus Cambrensis and the Role of the Author in the Development of Marginal Illustration,” in *Decoration and Illustration in Medieval English Manuscripts*, ed. A. S. G. Edwards, *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700* 10 (London: British Library, 2002), 34–59.

The image of nominal Christians whose Christianization remains incomplete recurs around the Baltic: Helmold of Bosau describes north German fields as “desolate and barren,” inhabited by a “wild and uncultured folk, having nothing of religion except the name of Christianity; for among them is held the manifold error of groves and springs and other superstitions.”<sup>115</sup>

Fonts, then, stood for the broader individual and social changes that baptism sought to effect. Violence haunted period notions of baptism’s efficacy, from theological disputes about forced baptism to Helmold’s narration of pragmatic battlefield conversion.<sup>116</sup> The images on the Tryde and Valleberga fonts narrate a demand for Christianization as yet incomplete in Skåne, doggedly grappling with the slow process of conversion even as high-medieval theologians largely described it as an instantaneous event.<sup>117</sup> Indeed, the reliefs visualize a tension between deep and sudden time. The heir on the Tryde font is depicted as if thrown back by a sudden shock. Much like contemporary depictions of Paul’s revelation on the road to Damascus, the miraculous specter of the resurrected witness functions as a kind of eruption (fig. 4.34). And the *Etimasia*, a visual promise of things to come, appears on the bases of multiple fonts carved by the Majestatis workshop, as if to underscore the long-term promise of conversion (fig. 4.35).

## **Tithing and Rebellion**

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<sup>115</sup> “...campumque vasta et sterili mirica perorridum, preterea accolarum genus agreste et incultum, nichil de religione nisi nomen tantum Christianitatis habentes. Nam lucorum et fontium ceterarumque supersticionum multiplex error apud eos habetur.”

Helmold, *Chronica*, I.47. 149. On Bishop Vicelin, the subject of this passage, see Ulrich Hoppe, ed., *Vicelin. Gottesmann jenseits von Ruhm und Macht* (Husum: Matthiesen, 1999); Wolf Werner Rausch, ed., *Vicelin um 1090 bis 1154. Missionar und Bischof in Ostholstein und Lübeck* (Kiel: Nordelbisches Kirchenamt, 2004).

<sup>116</sup> On baptismal debates, see the indispensable: Colish, *Faith, Fiction, and Force*.

<sup>117</sup> Winroth, *The Conversion of Scandinavia*, 122.

Around the same time as they carved the Tryde and Valleberga fonts, the Majestatis workshop produced the font at Östra Hoby (with which I opened this chapter) from the same Early Jurassic sandstone as the font at neighboring Löderup (fig. 4.1). Quarried less than a day away, near Ringsjön, this stone was also used at Lund Cathedral. Unlike later modes of font production around the Baltic, in which stone was often exported from Gotland and shipped around the region, these fonts were certainly carved on-site. The apse and chancel at Östra Hoby were built from travertine in the early twelfth century, a large outlay for a small parish church, but the font was carved at the same time as a new nave was erected in the second half of the twelfth century. We ought then to imagine the font as a key orienting point around which the new space of the church was organized.

The Östra Hoby font handily demonstrates how sculpture dealt explicitly with some of the more contentious political and economic features of Christianization. Medieval politics were not just treaties and treatises; indeed, the fonts discussed in this chapter demonstrate that works of art confected political discourses with special vigor.<sup>118</sup> One way to see this is by tracing the font's connection to a particular legal consequence of conversion that was fiercely disputed in

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<sup>118</sup> My reading here diverges from the influential arguments of Gerd Althoff and Bernd Schneidmüller: Gerd Althoff, *Verwandte, Freunde und Getreue: zum politischen Stellenwert der Gruppenbindungen im frühen Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990); Gerd Althoff, *Amicitia und pacta: Bündnis, Einung, Politik und Gebetsdenken im beginnenden 10. Jahrhundert*, *Schriften / Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 37 (Hannover: Hahn, 1992); Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1997); Bernd Schneidmüller, "Konsensuale Herrschaft. Ein Essay über Formen und Konzepte politischer Ordnung im Mittelalter," in *Reich, Regionen und Europa in Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Festschrift für Peter Moraw*, ed. Paul-Joachim Heinig et al. (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2000), 53–87. Althoff and Schneidmüller convincingly demonstrate that politics was fundamentally consensus-based at the level of elite social organization. I focus here, however, on the antagonism that obtained between classes as well as between Christian and non-Christian societies, following Samir Amin, *L'Eurocentrisme: critique d'une idéologie* (Paris: Anthropos, 1988).

Skåne: namely, the tithe (*decima*). A subject of particular interest for historians of popular culture and rebellion, later forms of tithe evasion were framed by E. P. Thompson as an example of popular “sub-political” communal behaviors.<sup>119</sup>

Political space was increasingly financial. Ecclesiastical and secular rulers defined their territory by exercising control over minting and currency, while some communities produced networks and routes by tying the value of their coinage to far-off locales in order to facilitate trade.<sup>120</sup> The merchants of Cologne, for example, hoped to collapse the space between themselves and London by this technique.<sup>121</sup> As widely circulating, multiply made works of art, coins at once visualized and enacted monetary worlds. But fonts demarcated financial obligations as *stationary* monuments, staking out claims to converts’ cash. The famous “ten percent” extracted from production—although it often took the form of a fixed obligation rather than an actual percentage—the tithe transferred wealth to the church from Christians of all stripes; unlike, say, recent converts in Latvia, Scanian peasants generally paid their tithes in coin.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage, 1966), 59-60.

<sup>120</sup> See the first chapter of my dissertation for a more in-depth discussion of this thesis.

<sup>121</sup> Joseph P. Huffman, “Documentary Evidence for Anglo-German Currency Movement in the Central Middle Ages: Cologne and English Sterling,” *British Numismatic Journal* 65 (1992): 32–45.

<sup>122</sup> The major Anglophone discussion is Giles Constable, *Monastic Tithes: From Their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964). For a recent study in the high-medieval context, see John Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire: Tithes, Lordship and Community, 950-1150* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Medieval ecclesiastics cited a number of biblical passages that explicitly endorse tithing; for a summary, see Constable, *Monastic Tithes*, 9-19. For Latvian tithes, see, for example: Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon Livoniae*, in MGH SSrG 31 (Hanover: Hahn, 1955), XXI.6.

As noted earlier, the Östra Hoby font's upper register shows a series of episodes from Cnut IV's *vita*, punctuated by a series of front-facing figures and culminating in the workshop's customary *majestas domini*.<sup>123</sup> Two angels, one censuring and the other bearing three small heads adorned with miters or crowns, flank the seated Christ. An *Etimasia* scene is placed directly below the *majestas domini* on the basin's underside, together with the four Evangelist symbols and the Visitation. The depiction of Cnut's martyrdom polemically connected the font to the issue of tithing; Saxo Grammaticus singles out tithes as a major reason for the rebellion that took the king's life in 1086, lamenting that Cnut "tried to accustom the common people, still backward in Church matters, to the religious obligation of paying tithes. But his exhortations to this end were futile, since the beginnings of a new form of worship could not be adapted to a time that was not yet ripe for it."<sup>124</sup> Tithes continued to stick in the craw of other newly converted communities in northern Germany and along the Baltic throughout the twelfth century.<sup>125</sup> In 1145, for example, it took a military excursion by Duke Albert the Bear to force Slavs in the diocese of Halberstadt to pay their tithes, and the Stedinger were declared heretics and subjected to crusades when they refused to pay up.<sup>126</sup>

Cnut's failed attempt to impose tithes lingered in historical memory, returning with a vengeance in the second half of the twelfth century when the demand for tithes resurfaced as part of the attempt to complete Denmark's Christianization. The bishop's tithes—Danish tithes were

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<sup>123</sup> Eriksson, "Kungen är död, leve helgonkungen!"

<sup>124</sup> Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, XI.11.6. Similar accounts can be found in Adam of Bremen.

<sup>125</sup> Giles Constable, "Resistance to Tithes in the Middle Ages," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 13, no. 2 (1962): 172–85. At various points, tithes were seen as forms of tribute levied on converts as, for example, when Alcuin described enforced baptism and tithe-paying in the eighth century. Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 460.

<sup>126</sup> Constable, "Resistance to Tithes," 176–177.

generally divided into portions for the priest, church, and bishop—seems to have been instituted in Skåne in 1161, adding to the ground rent and royal taxes that already burdened peasants.<sup>127</sup>

The violent peasant uprising that convulsed Skåne from 1180 to 1182, targeting both the Archbishop of Lund and the Danish king, was directly connected to this imposition.<sup>128</sup>

According to Saxo Grammaticus, the rebellion began with “a bout of civil insurrection against the royal tax collectors (*regios questores*).”<sup>129</sup> After failed negotiations with the king, the

Scanians

took the step of formally abolishing all taxes that were due. They also proscribed the payment of episcopal tithes and declared that priests should marry. On top of that, rejecting the bishops’ ministry, they proclaimed that priestly rituals were good enough for them. So, attacking divine and human institutions alike, they combined scorn of royalty with violence to religion.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Hybel and Poulsen, *The Danish Resources c. 1000-1550*, 307.

<sup>128</sup> The Archbishop, Absalon, had been educated in Paris and likely seen firsthand the profitable systems of tithing that formed such an extensive part of western European church life.

<sup>129</sup> Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, XV.4.1. All accounts of the Scanian uprising depend on Saxo, who may have witnessed the events firsthand as Archbishop Absalon’s companion. They are also described in sparser detail in the *Annales Lundenses* and the *Vetus chronica Sialandie*. For salutary reminders about how chroniclers and other medieval authors narrate peasant rebellions, see Steven Justice, *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Rolf Köhn, “Freiheit als Forderung und Ziel bäuerlichen Widerstandes (Mittel- und Westeuropa, 11.-13. Jahrhundert),” in *Die abendländische Freiheit vom 10. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert. Der Wirkungszusammenhang von Idee und Wirklichkeit im europäischen Vergleich*, ed. Johannes Fried (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991), 325–87. It ought to be noted that Absalon commissioned Saxo’s text; for an insightful discussion of Saxo’s relationship with archbishop, see Sawyer, “Valdemar, Absalon and Saxo.”

<sup>130</sup> “destringendo omnia uectigalium iura solenniter abroganda curauit. Pontificales quoque decimas execratus sacerdotibus coniugia decernebat. Quorum etiam sacra sibi exploso pontificis ministerio sufficere predicabat. Igitur in diuina pariter humanaque grassatus maiestatis contemptum religionis iniurie sociabat.” Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, XV.4.13.

The peasants—described with words like *plebs*—not only rejected taxes and tithes, but explicitly argued that rituals like baptism and the mass ought to be disconnected from newly-imposed forms of economic exploitation.<sup>131</sup>

The Scanian peasants had a remarkably precise picture of the connections between financial impositions, ecclesiastical structures, religious rituals, and the political forces that bound them all together. Saxo describes them as complaining about their “infringed rights in a rebellious form of accusation,” a phrase that figures peasant violence as tactical.<sup>132</sup> This squares with John Eldevik’s account of a tithe dispute in Schleswig-Holstein, narrated in Helmold’s chronicle, which Eldevik generalizes to describe the conception of high medieval tithes as a “regional political dynamic whose meaning had to be negotiated.”<sup>133</sup> The Scanian peasants rejected tithes not just as a method of exploitation but as a symptom of the rearranged social relations that threatened to consolidate the power of church *and* state.<sup>134</sup>

It is important to note the particularly *local* conditions of carving that produced the fonts in this chapter. Art historians have more often focused on the ways in which objects and artists traveled around the Baltic. Fonts carved by Sigrifr, for example, survive across the Swedish mainland, on several Danish islands, and in Schleswig-Holstein.<sup>135</sup> A striking correspondence

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<sup>131</sup> Some twelfth-century groups rejected tithes and were called heretical, such as the Cathars, Waldensians, and followers of Peter of Bruys and Tanchelin of Antwerp; but heresy does not appear to have been a charge leveled at the Scanian peasants.

<sup>132</sup> “Plebs siquidem acerrimis consternationis fluctibus concitata ciuilis iniurie querelas seditioso accusationis genere prosequebatur.” Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, XV.4.3.

<sup>133</sup> John Eldevik, “Ecclesiastical Lordship and the Politics of Submitting Tithes in Medieval Germany: The Thuringian Dispute in Social Context,” *Viator* 34 (2003), 55.

<sup>134</sup> Chris Wickham, “Looking Forward: Peasant Revolts in Europe, 600-1200,” in *The Routledge History Handbook of Medieval Revolt*, ed. Justine Firnhaber-Baker and Dirk Schoenaers (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 163.

<sup>135</sup> Roosval, *Die Steinmeister Gottlands*, 169-188. Works have continued to be attributed to Sighraf: Harriet M. Sonne, “The Discovery of a Sighraf Graveslab in the Grötlingbo Church on

between two font bases depicting the three Magi in bed, one north of Stockholm and the other surviving in a small north German church in Mölln, demonstrates the wide reach of particular sculptors (figs. 4.36-4.37).<sup>136</sup> By the thirteenth century, workshops on the island of Gotland had thoroughly institutionalized their manufacture and export practices.<sup>137</sup> Stone flowed out from Gotland while the lead pigments used to paint northern fonts and portal sculptures came from mines on the continent.<sup>138</sup> Scandinavian sculptors worked alongside German painters and smiths, Byzantinizing Russian artists, and Lombard stonemasons.<sup>139</sup> A mid-thirteenth century font at Bårse on Zealand features a large inscription in Roman and runic script set in a rudimentary arcade, beginning with the customary maker formula (“Bondo the Frisian made me”) and going on to specify the patron (“Esgerus the Red caused me to be made”) (fig. 4.38).<sup>140</sup> This double ascription makes it clear that a foreign sculptor, perhaps a Frisian settler, was at work in

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Gotland,” *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 64, no. 4 (1995): 197–203. Sigrifr’s signature appears on the font at Aa, and Hegwaldr’s (another well-traveled artist) on the Etelhem font. For other examples of signatures on fonts in runic and Roman letters, see Rikke Steenholt Olesen, “Personal Names in Medieval Runic Inscriptions from Denmark,” in *I Nomi Nel Tempo e Nello Spazio: Atti Del XXII Congresso Internazionale Di Scienze Onomastiche, Pisa, 28 Agosto – 4 Settembre 2005*, vol. 4 (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2010), 331–44.

<sup>136</sup> Hans Wentzel, “Ein Werk des Sighraft in Mölln,” *Fornvännen* 32 (1937): 116-21.

<sup>137</sup> Berggren, “The Export of Limestone and Limestone Fonts from Gotland during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries.”

<sup>138</sup> Recent isotope analyses demonstrate that the lead pigments closely match the signatures of ores mined in the Erzgebirge and Harz mountains. Anders G. Nord et al., “Pigment Traces on Medieval Stonework in Gotland’s Churches – Examination of Seven 12th Century Baptismal Fonts and a Limestone Pew,” *Fornvännen* 111 (2016): 17–26.

<sup>139</sup> The sumptuous gilt copper antependium at Lyngsjö Church, dated ca. 1150-1170 is usually attributed to a German goldsmith. For Russian frescoes on Gotland, see Anthony Cutler, “Garda, Källunge, and the Byzantine Tradition on Gotland,” *The Art Bulletin* 51, no. 3 (1969): 257–66; Erland Lagerlöf, *Gotland och Bysans: bysantinskt inflytande på den gotländska kyrkokonsten under medeltiden* (Visby: Ödin, 1999). Two named Lombard masons (Donatus and Regnerus) helped to build the same cathedral in Lund that several prominent font sculptors worked on.

<sup>140</sup> + BONDO FRISO ME FECIT | ESGERVS RØTH ME FECIT : FIERI. Lis Rubin Jacobsen and Erik Moltke, *Danmarks runeindskrifter, ved Lis Jacobsen og Erik Moltke*. (København: E. Munksgaard, 1942), inscription DR 224.

Zealand.<sup>141</sup> As Nils Blomkvist remarks, the horizons of sculptors around the Baltic were wider even than those of the scholars whose ethnographic and geographical descriptions of the region historians have come to depend upon.<sup>142</sup>

But before these standardized workshop procedures crystallized, carving was done on-site by small groups of artists who often worked local stone *in situ*. Rather than roughing out standardized designs in Gotland, they developed idiosyncratic iconographies calibrated to particular demands. The placement of the six fonts I discuss, each less than a day's walk from another, suggests a scenario in which the Majestatis workshop set up camp, carved, then moved to a nearby community to offer their services. Worldly and well-traveled they may have been, but the sculptors produced art in conversation with local conditions.

Crucially, as we have begun to see, baptism was central to the imposition of tithes and the rite was named in rebellious discourse. This ought to come as no surprise, for churches generally yoked together tithe, baptism, and burial when they asserted rights over a community's tribute.<sup>143</sup> When Archbishop Absalon ordered all the churches in Skåne to bar their doors as a retaliatory move during the rebellion, Saxo reports that the peasants replied that "the priests owed their sustenance to the populace, not to the archbishop," going on to insist that "the laity's charitable

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<sup>141</sup> It is rarely obvious whether the *me fecit* formula refers to an artist, designer, or patron. Friesian and Saxon settlers made up much of the colonizing population in the north and east.

<sup>142</sup> Blomkvist, *The Discovery of the Baltic*, 8.

<sup>143</sup> This dates at least to ninth-century formulae: Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 462. As late as the twentieth century, Rosa Luxemburg raised the issue under the conditions of the so-called 'Second Serfdom' in central and eastern Europe: "Again, everyone knows how the priests themselves make profit from the worker, extract money out of him on the occasion of marriage, baptism or burial. How often has it happened that the priest, called to the bedside of a sick man to administer the last sacraments, refused to go there before he had been paid his 'fee'? The worker goes away in despair, to sell or pawn his last possession, so as to be able to give religious consolation to his kindred." Rosa Luxemburg, "Socialism and the Churches [1905]," in *Socialism or Barbarism: Selected Writings*, ed. Paul C. Le Blanc and Helen Scott (London: Pluto Press, 2010), 105.

gifts furnished them with the essential needs of life.” They threatened priests who refused to perform the “holy rituals” (*divinis*) with expulsion or torture and the “confiscation of all their property.”<sup>144</sup> According to Saxo, the rebels wanted baptism without tithes, and they wanted priests without the ecclesiastical superstructure. Even after the king subdued the rebellion in 1182, Saxo writes that the Scanians accepted all his conditions of peace *except* their obligation to pay tithes.<sup>145</sup>

Putting Cnut’s death on a Scanian font, even one carved in the rebellion’s run-up rather than its aftermath, would have looked polemical. When Valdemar tried to convince Absalon to give up enforcing tithes in 1182, he reminded the archbishop of Cnut’s grisly end.<sup>146</sup> Knowledge of the Christianizing king, as well as the populace’s corresponding resistance to tithes, would have been common currency when the Majestatis workshop carved the font at Östra Hoby. Baptism, at least nominally, rendered the baptizand subject to tithes as part of the Christian

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<sup>144</sup> “Ab his reponsum est sacerdotes alimenta sua plebi, non pontifici debere, quorum munere et beneficio necessariis uide usibus instructi noscantur.” Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, XV.4.24. There was a rich medieval literature examining the relationship between lay offerings and pastoral service. Louis the Pious’ ninth-century capitulary for Aachen specified, for example, that priests “shall not render any service (beyond ecclesiastical service)” in return for tithes and offerings. See the discussion in Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 439. These passages undermine the long-held view that Scandinavian churches were built and maintained near the old cult centers by local communities, argued in Hans Erich Feine, “Die genossenschaftliche Gemeindekirche im germanischen Recht,” *Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 68 (1960): 171–196; Dietrich Kurze, *Pfarrerwahlen im Mittelalter: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gemeinde und des Niederkirchenwesens*. (Köln: Böhlau, 1969). For a more nuanced account, see Peter H. Sawyer, “Dioceses and Parishes in Twelfth-Century Scandinavia,” in *St. Magnus Cathedral and Orkney’s Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, ed. B. E. Crawford (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), 36–45.

<sup>145</sup> Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, XV.4.30. It took until the mid-thirteenth century for Archbishop Jakob Erlandsen (r. 1253-1274) to insist that Christian canon law superseded local custom over tithes: Berge, Pedersen, and Sigurðsson, “Making and Using the Law in the North,” 47. See Niels Skyum-Nielsen, *Kirkekampen i Danmark, 1241-1290: Jacob Erlandsen, samtid og eftertid* (København: Munksgaard, 1971).

<sup>146</sup> Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, XV.4.30.

community, and the font's reliefs decisively connected conversion to tithing in the Danish context.

This history made the font's iconography political; it shows how the font's pictorial content inflected the meaning of the baptismal rite, much like the rendering of the *vita* on the Tryde font. No amount of close looking could draw these polemics out, and they have gone unremarked in the literature. But to see how the fonts intervened in space, demarcating and constituting particular environments, I turn to the self-conscious attempts made by sculptors to bring the past into their work. A sense of Christianization's contingency subtended the archaeological observations made by twelfth-century historians. The Scanian fonts, I argue, respond pointedly to the anxieties incubated by writers who contemplated ruins; their reliefs embody forms of historical thought and their placement enacts a logic of intentional erasure.<sup>147</sup> Art produced the forceful, public argument that melancholic antiquarian speculations could not.

## Spaces

Archaeologists have vigorously disputed the degree to which northern churches replaced pre-Christian sites in the landscape.<sup>148</sup> Some facts are clear. Cistercian monks founded an abbey

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<sup>147</sup> Although I do not have space to explore it fully here, my argument lays the ground for a response to Christopher Wood's placement of Adam of Bremen (and medieval typological thought more generally) in the narrative of art history: Christopher S. Wood, *A History of Art History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019).

<sup>148</sup> For representative descriptions of Christian continuity, see Anders Andrén, "The Significance of Places: The Christianization of Scandinavia from a Spatial Point of View," *World Archaeology* 45, no. 1 (2013): 27–45; Winroth, *The Conversion of Scandinavia*, 146–53. For the "reconsecration" of sacred sites to Christianity elsewhere in Europe, see Randon Matthew Newman Jerris, "Cult Lines and Hellish Mountains: The Development of Sacred Landscape in the Early Medieval Alps," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32, no. 1 (2002): 85–108.

at Roma on Gotland in 1164 at an earlier *ting* site.<sup>149</sup> In Norway, archaeological excavations have demonstrated that the Mære church at Trøndelag replaced a non-Christian site.<sup>150</sup> The church at Lyngsjö was built just south of a pre-Christian spring that soon became associated with Saint Helena.<sup>151</sup> Medieval chroniclers repeatedly deployed substitution as a trope, as when Adam of Bremen describes Archbishop Unwin's campaign against pagan rites in Saxony.<sup>152</sup> The archbishop ordered churches to be refounded throughout the diocese ("ecclesias per diocesam renovari") to replace the sacred groves that remained the focus of worship.<sup>153</sup>

The central miracle of the Middle High German *Munich Oswald* similarly arrogates the pagan landscape to Christian history. The Northumbrian King Oswald triumphs over a pagan army led by his father-in-law, King Aron.<sup>154</sup> After a bloody battle, Oswald resurrects the slaughtered heathens.<sup>155</sup> The astonished Aron consents to convert to Christianity but frets over the logistics of baptism for "the sea is salty, and deep besides.... It has no bottom, and if I were to slip and sink into its depths, your entire host could not save me."<sup>156</sup> He points to a nearby cliff

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<sup>149</sup> Nanouschka Myrberg, "Room for All? Spaces and Places for Thing Assemblies: The Case of the All-Thing on Gotland, Sweden," *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 4 (2008): 133-57.

<sup>150</sup> Hans-Emil Lidén, "From Pagan Sanctuary to Christian Church: The Excavation of Mære Church in Trøndelag," *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 2, no. 1 (1969): 3–21.

<sup>151</sup> Claes Wahlöö, *Skånes kyrkor 1050-1949* (Lund: Domus propria, 2014), 194-96.

<sup>152</sup> Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, II.46. For Adam of Bremen, see Scior, *Das Eigene und das Fremde*. For a good reading of the chronicle, see: Ildar H. Garipzanov, "Christianity and Paganism in Adam of Bremen's Narrative," in *Historical Narratives and Christian Identity on a European Periphery: Early History Writing in Northern, East-Central, and Eastern Europe (C. 1070-1200)*, ed. Ildar H. Garipzanov, *Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe* 26 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 13–32.

<sup>153</sup> Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, II.46.

<sup>154</sup> Oswald was primarily known through Bede's eighth-century account in the *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* and the entries in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, although he was also the subject of Anglo-Saxon and high-medieval *vitae*.

<sup>155</sup> For other examples, see Nancy Caciola, *Afterlives: The Return of the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016), 113-156.

<sup>156</sup> J. W. Thomas, trans., *The Strassburg Alexander and the Munich Oswald: Pre-Courtly Adventure of the German Middle Ages* (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1989), 113.

and challenges Oswald: “If your faultless god makes a spring flow out of that solid rock, I’ll be baptized in it. But if this does not happen, I’ll never accept him.”<sup>157</sup> The saint-king miraculously produces a spring fulsome enough to baptize Aron, four maidens, and the full complement of resurrected corpses over the course of three days.<sup>158</sup> Like Saint Gregory of the twelfth-century vernacular *Kaiserchronik*, who rescues Trajan’s soul from hell, Oswald salvages the heathen dead for Christianity.<sup>159</sup> Unlike Gregory, he is challenged to produce the means of baptism in the form of vessel and water, and the subsequent miracle of the holy spring pointedly reframes the recurring image of pre-Christian veneration of groves and water features throughout central and northern Europe.<sup>160</sup>

Whether or not fonts—as holy water repositories, verbally (they were called *fontes vitae*) and formally analogous to fountains—were generally *understood* to replace the sacred springs that were key to pre-Christian religious practices in the region, Christian polemics described missionary activity in the language of erasure.<sup>161</sup> The skaldic poets called Olaf Tryggvason a

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<sup>157</sup> *The Munich Oswald*, 113.

<sup>158</sup> On this episode, see Mary Boyle, “Converting Corpses: The Religious Other in the Munich *Oswald* and *St Erkenwald*,” *Oxford German Studies* 44, no. 2 (2015): 113–35.

<sup>159</sup> Edward Schröder, ed., *Die Kaiserchronik eines Regensburger Geistlichen*, in MGH DC 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1892), lines 6038-6096. For connections between the *Kaiserchronik* and the *Munich Oswald*, see Ernst Friedrich Ohly, *Sage und Legende in der Kaiserchronik: Untersuchungen über Quellen und Aufbau der Dichtung*, *Forschungen zur deutschen Sprache und Dichtung* 10 (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1940).

<sup>160</sup> This episode clearly references Moses (Numbers 20:7-11). Medieval chroniclers repeatedly described the pagan practice of worshipping springs. Early references include Procopius and Tacitus. Notable medieval contributions include Adam of Bremen, Helmold of Bosau, and Cosmas of Prague. See also Leszek Paweł Ślupecki, *Slavonic Pagan Sanctuaries*, trans. Izabela Szymańska (Warsaw: Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, 1994), 61. Scandinavian archaeologists have long disputed whether Christian churches were built over pre-Christian holy sites, with the identification of special water features playing a key role in these debates.

<sup>161</sup> Tales of the missionary destruction of sacred trees recur in a range of earlier texts—the most notable being St. Boniface’s felling of Donar’s Oak, Charlemagne’s of the Irminsul, and the

breaker of *horgs*, sacrificial stone altars, and the memory of non-Christian material culture survived in various forms.<sup>162</sup> Bronze Age and medieval wells in Scania were made by hollowed out tree trunks.<sup>163</sup> Twelfth-century chroniclers of paganism recognized that non-Christians venerated objects that were both the products of nature and sculptural work. Cosmas of Prague's *Chronica Bohemorum*, composed between 1119 and 1125, describes the work of a sorceress named Tetka:

She taught the stupid and senseless people to adore and worship Oreads, Dryads, and Hamadryads, and established ever superstitious sect and sacrilegious rite. Like many villagers up until now, just like the pagans, this one worships waters or fires, that one adores groves and trees and stones, another sacrifices to mountains or hills, and still another beseeches and prays to the deaf and dumb idols he has made himself, so that they rule both his home and his own self.<sup>164</sup>

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destruction of the sacred tree of Uppsala described by Adam of Bremen. King Cnut's secular laws forbid the worship of idols, published in the third decade of the eleventh century, explicitly forbid the worship of idols which are glossed as stones, wells, and "any kind of forest trees," *inter alia*. These examples resonate with descriptions from the homiletic literature, as when Aelfric conjoins the wrongful making of images in various media (including stone and wood) to idolatry and chides his flock for worshipping trees and stones. It remains open to debate whether the homiletic and hagiographic literature draws more extensively on biblical imagery or observed practice. There is certainly evidence in England, at least, of the ongoing adornment of wooden things, and legal evidence (e.g. Wulfstan's *Canons of Edgar*) heaps up for proscriptions against the worship of trees throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. For a helpful survey of the evidence, see Thomas H. Ohlgren, "The Pagan Iconography of Christian Ideas: Tree-Lore in Anglo-Viking England," *Mediaevistik* 1 (1988): 145–73.

<sup>162</sup> Winroth, *The Conversion of Scandinavia*, 122.

<sup>163</sup> Karl-Magnus Melin, "Holkbrunnar ur ett hantverksperspektiv. Exempel från Sydsandinavien," *Fornvännen* 106 (2011): 85–99.

<sup>164</sup> Cosmas of Prague, *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, trans. Lisa Wolverton (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 39–40. See also János M. Bak, "Christian Identity in the Chronicle of the Czechs by Cosmas of Prague," in *Historical Narratives and Christian Identity on a European Periphery: Early History Writing in Northern, East-Central, and Eastern Europe (C. 1070-1200)*, ed. Ildar H. Garipzanov, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 26 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 167–82.

Cosmas describes a flattening between objects made by people and objects found in the world as itself representative of the idolator's error. It bears comparison to Adam of Bremen's description of a sacred grove in Sweden; he writes: "this grove is so holy for the heathens that *each of the separate trees* is believed to be divine because of the death and gore of the objects sacrificed."<sup>165</sup> If their fluvial function established continuity with the past, fonts' condition as obdurate, singular monuments marked a sharp contrast with the reproducible holy medium of the tree.

Twelfth-century Scandinavians were aware of their landscape's deep history. When Archbishop Absalon erected a runestone in the late twelfth century, an act that likely represented an antiquarian move, he imitated the many runestones that still littered the landscape.<sup>166</sup> Ruins and remains appear frequently in narratives, as when Sven Aggesen's late twelfth-century *Short History of the Kings of Denmark* laments that Lejre was once "the king's most famous residence, but now, near the city of Roskilde, it lies scarcely inhabited among the meanest of villages."<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> My emphasis. Of course, both medieval and contemporary scholars have pointed out that pre-Christian religious practices made extensive use of reproducible, non-sited features of the natural world. Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ed. Bernard Schmeidler, in MGH SSrG 2 (Hanover: Hahn, 1917), IV.27. Both Cosmas' and Adam's discussions of idolatrous objects raise the specter of replication. How were idols made? How was their making to be set apart from the models of the matrix, the cobbler's wooden foot, the goldsmith's design, all favored exempla of Christian apologists, which made the investment of sacred form a reproducible event?

<sup>166</sup> Hybel and Poulsen, *The Danish Resources c. 1000-1550*, 85; Olesen, "Personal Names in Medieval Runic Inscriptions from Denmark," 335.

<sup>167</sup> Sven Aggesen, *The Works of Sven Aggesen, Twelfth-Century Danish Historian*, trans. Eric Christiansen, Viking Society for Northern Research Text Series 9 (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1992).

For many twelfth-century ecclesiastics, ruins demonstrated concretely that colonization and conversion could fail.<sup>168</sup> Helmold of Bosau recalls seeing the wrecked foundations of episcopal buildings in Schleswig-Holstein.<sup>169</sup> He remarks of the area around Schleswig:

There still remain many traces (*indicia*) of that old occupation.... In its vast and barely penetrable solitude traces of the furrows which had separated the plowlands of former times may be descried among the largest trees of the woods. Wall structures indicate the plans of towns and also of cities. In many streams, ancient embankments, once thrown up to collect the tributary waters for the mills, show that all the woodland had once been inhabited by the Saxons.<sup>170</sup>

Accounts of failure appear all around the Baltic rim. Just as Christian art could selectively incorporate pre-Christian objects and images throughout the Middle Ages—famous examples include the reliquary of Sainte-Foi and the Heriman-Ida Cross (fig. 4.39)—so, too, twelfth-century stories conversely abounded with the pagan appropriations of Christian figures. Christians in the north lived among vestiges of the pagan past, urgent reminders that Christianization was no *fait accompli*.

## Conclusion

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<sup>168</sup> Earlier chroniclers, like Adam of Bremen and Thietmar of Merseburg, also described various failures, lapses, and renewals.

<sup>169</sup> Helmold, *Chronica*, I.14.

<sup>170</sup> “Adhuc restant antiquae illius habitacionis pleraque indicia... cuius vasta solitudo et vix penetrabilis inter maxima silvarum robora sulcos pretendit, quibus iugera quondam fuerant dispersita. Urbium quoque seu civitatum formam structura vallorum pretendit. In plerisque etiam rivis qui propter molendina stipandis aquis aggeres congesti sunt ostendunt omnem illum saltum a Saxonibus quondam inhabitatum.” Helmold, *Chronica*, I.12. Translation (slightly modified) from: Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, trans. Francis Joseph Tschan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 72.

Art historians have long justified their work by arguing, to an often implausible degree, that works of art have the power to constitute the subjects that behold them.<sup>171</sup> To claim that a particular work acts on its spectator, reconfigures their identity, and alters their position with respect to social institutions, is to claim a tantalizingly agentive force for art. Nevertheless, sculptures, paintings, and other images that appear in public juridical or religious settings, before which specific kinds of conventions, discussions, and performances are enacted, would seem to hold out real promise of subject constitution.<sup>172</sup> In a telling example from the early fifth century, Severian of Gabala argues that statues of the Roman emperor ought to be erected in law courts, markets, and other sites of public assembly, “so that the emperor may thus confirm what takes place.”<sup>173</sup> These statues would extend the emperor’s power by marking his subjects *as* subjects. Indeed, the many statues that loomed over medieval bridges, town halls (*Rathäuser*), and market squares in late medieval Europe seem to have been erected with this kind of marking and molding in mind.<sup>174</sup> The fonts I describe in this chapter attempted, perhaps uniquely, to

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<sup>171</sup> See the sobering remarks in Whitney Davis, “The Subject in the Scene of Representation,” *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 4 (1994): 570–75. For a skeptical view from outside the discipline, see Jacques Rancière, *Le spectateur émancipé* (Paris: Fabrique, 2008).

<sup>172</sup> Luke A. Fidler, “The Coercive Function of Early Medieval English Art,” *Radical History Review* 137 (May 2020): 34–53.

<sup>173</sup> Quoted in Jaś Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire AD 100–450* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 54.

<sup>174</sup> Stephan Albrecht, *Mittelalterliche Rathäuser in Deutschland: Architektur und Funktion* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004); Ernst Badstübner, “Justinianssäule und Magdeburger Reiter,” in *Skulptur des Mittelalters. Funktion und Gestalt*, ed. Friedrich Möbius and Ernst Schubert (Weimar: H. Böhlau, 1987), 184–210; Christine Verzár Bornstein, *Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City-State: The Sculpture of Nicholas in Context* (Parma: Università degli Studi di Parma, Istituto di storia dell’arte, Centro di Studi Medievali, 1988); Albert Dietl, *Defensor civitatis: der Stadtpatron in romanischen Reliefzyklen Oberitaliens* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1998); Kristina Domanski and Doerte Friese, “Roland und Karl der Grosse am Rathaus in Bremen: Legitimation einer städtischen Oberschicht,” in *Karl der Große als vielberufener Vorfahr: sein Bild in der Kunst der Fürsten, Kirchen und Städte*, ed. Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994), 113–37; Antonius D. Gathen,

transform their beholders. In a period where modern conceptions of the ‘individual’ did not obtain, the fonts deployed sculptural techniques to transfigure the key categories of a subject’s identity: communal, legal, soteriological, and, above all, confessional.

Fonts, as durable public objects upon which the baptismal rite materially depended, were unusually well suited to argue in favor of a Christian future. Those at Löderup and Östra Hoby did so in part by crafting propaganda about a long Christian past. But the story has as much to do with space as time. If places are contingent, created things, then sculptures make and define places by transforming the space that surrounds them.<sup>175</sup> The new kinds of figural monument

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*Rolande als Rechtssymbole. Der archäologische Bestand und seine rechtshistorische Deutung* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1960); Dietrich Kötzsche, “Darstellungen Karls des Grossen in der lokalen Verehrung des Mittelalters,” in *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. Wolfgang Braunfels and Percy Schramm, 2nd ed., vol. 4, 5 vols. (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1966), 157–214; Klaus Niehr, “Der Magdeburger Reiter: Kunstwerk - Mythos - Politisches Denkmal,” *Mitteldeutsches Jahrbuch für Kultur und Geschichte* 10 (2003): 17–45; Carol Stamatis Pendergast, “Outside the Walls: Jurisdiction and Justice on a Gateway at Anzy-Le-Duc,” in *Peace and Negotiation: Strategies for Coexistence in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Diane Wolfthal, *Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 93–124; Dieter Pötschke, ed., *Rolande, Kaiser und Recht: zur Rechtsgeschichte des Harzraums und seiner Umgebung*, Harz-Forschungen 11 (Berlin: Lukas, 1999); Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch, “Karl der Große als Sinnbild des weisen und zornigen Richters,” *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 61 (2004): 31–44; Ernst Schubert, “Magdeburg und der Magdeburger Reiter,” in *Dies diem docet: ausgewählte Aufsätze zur mittelalterlichen Kunst und Geschichte in Mitteldeutschland: Festgabe zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Ernst Schubert and Hans-Joachim Krause, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Sachsen-Anhalts* 3 (Köln: Böhlau, 2003), 146–57; Timmermann, *Memory and Redemption*; Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, *Romanische Skulptur in Oberitalien als Reflex der kommunalen Entwicklung im 12. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen zu Mailand und Verona* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1994).

<sup>175</sup> Susanne K. Langer, *Feeling and Form; a Theory of Art* (New York: Scribner, 1953), 88. See also: Edward S. Casey, *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); David Summers, *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism* (London: Phaidon, 2003). Relief carved on three-dimensional shapes also orients the viewer in particular ways, as explored in: Jules Lubbock, *Storytelling in Christian Art from Giotto to Donatello* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006). For studies of sculptures that produced forms of space through procession and movement in the landscape, see: Ilene H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972); Karen Eileen Overbey, *Sacral Geographies:*

appearing in north Germany, especially the *Braunschweiger Löwe* and the *Wolframleuchter*, accomplished this place-making work by conscripting their immediate environs (and their patrons' territories) into their depictive content; they subjected space by incorporating it.<sup>176</sup> The fonts in this chapter, however, vigorously staked out places by reweaving the fabric of space itself, advocating the social regulations that would structure a Christian future by spectacularly reconfiguring the pre-Christian terrain of the past.

Orientation is a relative spatial term. You are oriented *to* or *by* some contingent schema, and the means by which orienting criteria are produced and used constitute important cultural work.<sup>177</sup> Each font effectively enforced a series of orienting maneuvers, whether by serving as the temporary central node of a liturgical rite or reiterating the cardinal directions in a new church oriented to the east (another notional center point, Jerusalem).<sup>178</sup> All introduced new modes of navigating space to a landscape previously configured by multiple points and networks of sacrality (trees, springs, river routes). The peculiar density that distinguishes the Majestatis fonts encompasses the orienting work they performed as engines of topographic change. A rare

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*Saints, Shrines and Territory in Medieval Ireland*, Studies in the Visual Cultures of the Middle Ages 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012). Finally, for the role of monuments in demarcating late-medieval spaces, see: Achim Timmermann, *Memory and Redemption: Public Monuments and the Making of Late Medieval Landscape* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017).

<sup>176</sup> These objects and their distinctive space-making projects are the subject of my dissertation's first and second chapters.

<sup>177</sup> For key comparative studies of orientation and cultural difference, see: Claudio Aporta, "Routes, Trails and Tracks: Trail Breaking among the Inuit of Igloolik," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 28, no. 2 (2004): 9–38; Casey, *The Fate of Place*; Edwin Hutchins, *Cognition in the Wild* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994).

<sup>178</sup> Of course, the use of ground plans and other architectural features to transform the church into a microcosm of a particular holy site is well attested; the classic study is: Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 1–33. For a discussion of larger northern urban spaces as intentional reiterations of Jerusalem itself, see: Thomas Küntzel, "1166 - Heinrich der Löwe und der Ausbau Braunschweigs zum 'sächsischen Jerusalem,'" *Concilium medii aevi* 19 (2016): 1–51.

corpus of sculptures, they tried to Christianize the world by coercively mapping the future of space.

Each of the fonts carved by the Majestatis workshop is comprised of three stacked units. The base intersperses smaller figural and ornamental scenes between four larger animals or human figures that protrude into the beholder's space. Next comes the underside of the font, decorated with a series of narrative scenes that wrap around the basin. Finally the main portion of the cupola features either continuously running scenes interrupted by the iconic *majestas domini* or four episodes broken up with obvious markers. The Tryde font stands out for the four larger pairs of figures that organize the cupola's pictorial cycle and extend down to the base (fig. 4.15).<sup>179</sup> Layered on top of each other, these units turn the font into a three-dimensional microcosm, grounded in the four cardinal directions like the many contemporary liturgical implements that adorned their bases with personifications of the Four Rivers of Paradise (fig. 4.40).<sup>180</sup> By grounding the fonts in four personified directions, whether explicitly or analogically, the Majestatis workshop oriented the objects and, by implication, the viewer to a Christianized spatial logic.

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<sup>179</sup> The font at Barlingbo similarly features large protruding figures at the cardinal points; they are singular angels rather than pairs.

<sup>180</sup> As scholars have increasingly shown, diagrams played an increasingly large role in high-medieval artistic and philosophical discourse; cartographers and theologians mapped structures of thought onto schematically organized space. Personifications of the Four Rivers also appear on select twelfth-century fonts from Germany, most notably the font from the Neumarktskirche in Merseburg. The Four Rivers were commonly paired with the Cardinal Directions, as witnessed on a spectacular chalice produced in Lower Saxony in the 1160s and now housed in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. 8924). For the illustrated cross base, see: Peter Springer, *Kreuzfüsse: Ikonographie und Typologie eines hochmittelalterlichen Gerätes* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1981), 112-17.

## CONCLUSION

Tracking the relationship between coercive form and coercive politics, from Brunswick to southern Scandinavia, I have argued that sculpture played a primary role in a series of violent procedures of subject constitution. Henry the Lion aimed at crafting a new space of sovereignty that subjected his territory to a subjugating roar, while the uneasy relations between *ministeriales* and works of art revealed a subject riven with disjunctions as legal unfreedom ran up against the class's increasing social power. Boundary stones and inscribed public monuments demarcated property lines, segmenting the land and redefining its spatial and temporal coordinates in terms of Christianization. Finally, a virtuosic series of carved fonts were intended to literally transform people into Christian subjects in a milieu convulsed with conflict.

Even before the widespread advent of capitalist arrangements of production and exchange, people were objectified by forms of art that drew both formal and material resources from laboring bodies. A striking passage from Hartmann von Aue's *Iwein* figures two dueling knights in terms of economic relations, describing them lending each other powerful blows which were "promptly repaid."<sup>1</sup> Alluding to the importance of keeping good credit, Hartmann notes that the knights had no need to send for more money to continue the fight; having brought both principal and interest to the field of combat, they speedily paid off their debts to each other. The knights are good creditors as well as good debtors, able to increase their capital from repeated loans. Steadily offering up shields, then armor, then pledging their own bodies as security, the knights in fact *diminish* each other's capacities as the fight wears on. Bloodied and weary, they expose the fantasy of a closed system of lending and borrowing capable of

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<sup>1</sup> Hartmann von aue, *Iwein*, ed. Thomas Cramer (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), line 7146.

flourishing in self-sustaining fashion. Enlisting bodies and work in a metaphoric of credit and value, during a time when credit was meant to collapse distance and facilitate trade, Hartmann stages the transfiguration of people into monetary exchange as a self-devouring phenomenon.<sup>2</sup>

Hartmann compares bodies to candles, credit circuits, and vessels boiling with competing emotions. Each metaphor bears on a strand of figuration that I have described in this dissertation. But the final example I cite here augurs the capitalist afterlife of coercion—routed, according to Adorno and Horkheimer, through the Enlightenment fetish for equivalence.<sup>3</sup> My arguments, focused as they have been on a specific period of sculptural and political experimentation, demonstrate that coercive art has a richly variegated history; there is no straight line from the *Braunschweiger Löwe* to, say, the rise of the twenty-first century carceral state, but Henry the Lion and the *Wolframleuchter* are lodged firmly in coercion's genealogical tree.

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<sup>2</sup> Joseph P. Huffman, "Documentary Evidence for Anglo-German Currency Movement in the Central Middle Ages: Cologne and English Stirling," *British Numismatic Journal* 65 (1992): 32-45.

<sup>3</sup> Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr and trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002).

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MGH: *Monumenta Germaniae historica*.

MGH DC: *Monumenta Germaniae historica Deutsche Chroniken*.

MGH DD: *Laienfürsten- und Dynastenerkunden der Kaiserzeit*.

MGH DD HdL: *Die Urkunden Heinrichs des Löwen, Herzogs von Sachsen und Bayern*. Edited by Karl Jordan. In MGH DD 1. Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1941.

MGH SSrG: *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptorum rerum germanicarum*.

PL: *Patrologia Latina*.

All Biblical citations are given from the Vulgate and the Douay-Rheims translation.

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