
*Power, Politics, and Demonstration in Thirteenth-Century Mainz: The Tomb Slab of Archbishop Siegfried III von Eppstein (†1249)**

KATHRYN L. BRUSH

University of Western Ontario

RÉSUMÉ

L'iconographie du couronnement sur la pierre tombale de l'archevêque Siegfried III von Eppstein (1249 apr. J.-C.) dans la cathédrale de Mainz ne possède aucun équivalent parmi les monuments funéraires du moyen âge qui subsistent encore. Curieusement, toutefois, la scène du couronnement illustrée sur la pierre de Siegfried ne correspond pas aux faits historiques. Si le prélat n'a pas couronné les deux rois, pourquoi était-il ainsi représenté dans ce rôle? Alors qu'un nombre de chercheurs se préoccupèrent d'établir la primauté d'une interprétation de l'iconographie de la sépulture basée sur des faits historiques, cet article tente de «lire» le pouvoir démonstratif de l'image de Siegfried par rapport à cet auditoire potentiellement im-

portant du XIII^e siècle à qui elle s'adressait. Dans cet article, nous avançons que la pierre fut conçue de façon à véhiculer simultanément de multiples significations, et que la relative lisibilité de ces messages était conditionnée par une conscience particulière du spectateur des circonstances précises entourant la conception de la pierre, ou à un niveau encore plus complexe, par la reconnaissance du spectateur de quelques-unes ou de toutes les références iconographiques de la pierre. De cette manière, la portée de la polémique idéologique qu'offrait la pierre tombale de Siegfried n'était pas fixe, mais variait selon le degré de sophistication politique et visuelle des spectateurs du XIII^e siècle.

The thirteenth-century tomb slab of Archbishop Siegfried III von Eppstein (1230-49) in Mainz cathedral is one of the most puzzling examples of funerary sculpture to have survived from the Middle Ages (Fig. 68).¹ Indeed the iconography of the slab, which shows the archbishop crowning two kings, is without parallel among funerary monuments executed in both northern and southern Europe during this period. The central figure of Archbishop Siegfried, who dwarfs the kings in both size and presence, dominates the symmetrically organized composition. Only the pillow supporting the archbishop's head alludes to his recumbent position, for he is neither asleep nor is he in repose. Instead Archbishop Siegfried III, vested in bulky pontifical garments, is shown in action trampling resolutely upon a lion and a basilisk in reference to Psalm 90:13 (*Super apsidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem*).² He raises his gloved arms to place

crowns on the heads of the two flanking figures who carry swords and sceptres as symbols of their royal office.³ An accompanying inscription identifies the kings as Landgrave Henry Raspe (1246-47) and Count William of Holland (1247-56), the anti-kings raised to the imperial throne by the papal party following the official condemnation and deposition of the Hohenstaufen emperor Frederick II (1215-50) by Pope Innocent IV in 1245.

However, the coronation scene portrayed on Archbishop Siegfried's tomb slab does not correspond to any combination of historical facts. Henry Raspe was never crowned, and the archbishop of Cologne rather than Mainz was the officiating cleric at the coronation of Count William.⁴ If Archbishop Siegfried did not crown the two kings, then why did he have himself so emphatically depicted in the role of *coronator*?

Answers to this curious question have been sought by several generations of German scholars since the beginning of this century.⁵ They have proposed that the idiosyncratic coronation iconography of Siegfried's funerary monument addressed a political and ideological agenda unique to Mainz, seat of the German primate and archchancellor. A number have argued specifically for an interpretation of the coronation iconography as an expression of the claims asserted by the Mainz archbishops regarding the right to crown the German emperor. However, these interesting hypotheses have not yet taken into account the ways in which local historical conditions and various levels of inherited visual culture may have interacted, with the result that certain connotations would have taken precedence over others, depending on which group of thirteenth-century spectators "read" the slab. In 1978 Gisela Kniffler published the first critical analysis of iconographic prototypes for the coronation imagery of Archbishop Siegfried's tomb slab and suggested some of the ways in which a viewer's knowledge of certain visual prototypes would have had significant implications for an understanding of the meaning of the slab.⁶

I wish to consider here in greater depth than Kniffler the demonstrative power of the Siegfried image in relation to the potentially wide audience it addressed. In doing so, I take my point of departure from recent scholarship dealing with issues of visual literacy in the Middle Ages.⁷ I will attempt to show that the Mainz slab displayed a multiplicity of meanings simultaneously, and that the relative legibility of these messages was conditioned by a particular viewer's awareness of the precise local circumstances surrounding the slab's conception, and on even more complex levels by the viewer's recognition of some or all of the slab's iconographic references. The most specialized readings were almost certainly determined by the thirteenth-century viewer's degree of visual literacy. Indeed it seems very likely that the slab would have carried its most explicit and potentially controversial messages only to a politically and visually informed audience comprised of high-ranking clerics and members of the imperial retinue. Certainly the most "complete" reading would have recognized both what *was* and *was not* being imaged in the coronation iconography of the slab. But in suggesting different levels of interpretative complexity in the image, I do not wish to imply that the meanings themselves existed in any sort of hierarchical framework.⁸ Instead I believe that they were equally present and available, but that with different groups of experienced and unexperienced

readers, certain dimensions of meaning were left to fluctuate as to their accessibility and/or importance.

First, it is important for any assessment of legibility to position the iconography of Archbishop Siegfried's tomb slab in relation to that of other ecclesiastical funerary monuments of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in northern Europe. Surviving monuments contemporary with the Siegfried slab, as well as related documentary evidence, indicate that most effigies of high-ranking clerics of this period showed the single figure of the deceased dressed in his pontificalia and holding the attributes of his office.⁹ Many of the prelates were depicted trampling on lions and/or basilisks. Presumably this was the "normative" type of funerary monument which some, if not most thirteenth-century beholders of Siegfried's tomb slab would have known.

It seems likely that the least educated viewers of Siegfried's slab would have perceived the lion and basilisk as denoting triumph over death and sin, as on other funerary monuments. At the same time, however, most contemporary viewers must have recognized that the visually assertive coronation iconography of Archbishop Siegfried's tomb slab also departed from familiar visual norms. In this connection, it is important to emphasize that during the Middle Ages experience was communicated and processed largely in aural and/or visual terms, even at the most basic level.¹⁰ Indeed I would argue that owing to its easily recognizable departures from familiar extant norms, Siegfried's slab had the potential to be discerned quite readily as an authoritarian image, even by viewers unaware of local particulars of politics at Mainz.

The iconography of Archbishop Siegfried's tomb slab likely had more specific revelations for beholders familiar with the precise situation in the Mainz archbishopric in the mid-thirteenth century. During the 1230s and 1240s, Siegfried III of Mainz, German primate and archchancellor, was incontestably the single most powerful figure in the German realm.¹¹ The second quarter of the thirteenth century was a time of accelerating political fragmentation in the German-speaking territories when the imperial office held by the Hohenstaufen emperor Frederick II was progressively emptied of political substance. Emperor Frederick's almost exclusive concern with the Italian-Sicilian orbit and his conciliating policies with the local princes in Germany meant that the real power came to be concentrated in the hands of the secular and ecclesiastical lords, and increasingly in the hands of the Mainz prelates. During Frederick's absences from the German

territories, Archbishop Siegfried became the *de facto* head of the imperial administration. In the 1230s he actively served the Hohenstaufen cause in a variety of diplomatic and military capacities. In 1235, for instance, he shared in the brilliance of an imperial diet staged at Mainz and in 1237 arranged for the election of Frederick's second son, nine-year-old Conrad IV (1237-54), in Vienna as king of the Romans and emperor-to-be. Before Emperor Frederick recrossed the Alps in late 1237 never to return to Germany, he appointed Archbishop Siegfried III of Mainz imperial vicar and regent for the German lands during the minority of his young son.

Written documents show that Archbishop Siegfried was an extremely ambitious and aggressive individual, as well as a clever political strategist.¹² Although he supported the imperial cause in the 1230s, he placed his own interests first and profited greatly from the decline in imperial authority to consolidate and augment existing rights of the Mainz seat. When Frederick was excommunicated by Pope Gregory IX in 1239, Archbishop Siegfried carefully calculated the privileges and concessions to be won through lending his support either to the imperial or the papal cause. In 1241, a major political shift took place when Siegfried deserted the imperial party in support of the cause of Rome.¹³

Siegfried's shift of allegiance had important consequences almost immediately, for with the accession of Innocent IV (1243-54) to the papal cathedra in 1243, the age-old contest between empire and papacy escalated in intensity. From the outset Pope Innocent adopted a totally uncompromising attitude towards Emperor Frederick II and launched a crusade to destroy the Hohenstaufens. He employed Archbishop Siegfried to play a key role as leader of the anti-imperial opposition in Germany. In 1243 and again in 1245 Innocent named Siegfried papal legate for the German territories, giving him a more or less free hand in spiritual and political affairs in Germany.¹⁴ In the midst of the turmoil of the 1240s Pope Innocent and Archbishop Siegfried arranged for the election of two anti-kings in Germany, Landgrave Henry Raspe of Thuringia and Count William of Holland, the two dwarf-like figures who appear on the Mainz tomb slab. Against this historical backdrop, then, the tomb slab must have been readable by some of Siegfried's most influential contemporaries as a personal and remarkably forceful visual statement of archiepiscopal politics.

However, the archbishop did not actually crown the two anti-kings, and therefore some scholars have interpreted the coronation iconog-

raphy of the Siegfried slab as a calculated political assertion—one referring specifically to the long-standing dispute between the Mainz and Cologne archbishops over the coronation prerogative.¹⁵ Such an interpretation may be very relevant, for the two Rhenish archbishops had been engaged in a political tug-of-war over the right to crown the German emperor since the tenth century.¹⁶ The coronation privilege, however, was effectively won by the Cologne archbishops by the mid-eleventh century.¹⁷ This circumstance has not always been acknowledged in art historical scholarship.¹⁸ The iconography of Archbishop Siegfried's tomb slab might be seen more plausibly to *recall* (rather than *uphold*) a lost but unabandoned claim and to affirm simultaneously the important *subsidiary* coronation privileges retained by the Mainz archbishops.¹⁹ These particular shades of meaning would not have been lost on an audience in touch with strictly local politics. Indeed a number of kings continued to be anointed and crowned by the Mainz archbishops in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as the latter exercised their subsidiary coronation rights.²⁰

Politically sensitive viewers of the period may well have read the imagery chosen for Siegfried's tomb slab as also referring to a constitutional issue which was assuming ever greater political magnitude in these very years: that is, whether the *election* or the *coronation* was the legally decisive act at which the German emperor effectively acquired the powers to govern. At this time of progressively weakening monarchical forces, the election and the coronation became procedurally separated as constitutive acts in the making of a German emperor. Significantly, it was the *election*, controlled by the Mainz archbishop as archchancellor, which became the pivotal act in the king-making process as the empire became based increasingly on electoral rather than hereditary principles.²¹ During the 1230s and 1240s, Archbishop Siegfried systematically consolidated his position as chief elector in the college of electors which was becoming increasingly more formalized at this time.²² Thus, for viewers closely attuned to the political subtleties of constitutional shifts of balance within the empire, the coronation iconography of Siegfried's tomb slab may well have been read as claiming, in view of the growing emphasis placed on the *election* which *preceded* the coronation, that by *electing* the king the Mainz prelate remained in fact the effective "king maker."

The demonstrable complexity of ideological assertions offered by the tomb slab to spectators of varying degrees of historical and/or political so-

phistication is apparent in the choice and manipulation of iconographic prototypes for the imagery. Although I have spoken in favour of a multi-layered significance of widely dispersed visual models, we must be aware that only a relatively small, well-educated and well-travelled group of Siegfried's contemporaries would have had direct prior exposure to them. Thus, while a potentially broad group of spectators may have recognized that the iconography of Archbishop Siegfried's tomb slab departed from "norms" resident in contemporary funerary monuments, only visually educated observers, far smaller in number, would have recognized the slab's models or visual sources. These visual sources, as Kniffler has recently suggested, embraced Ottonian works of different media, including ivories, book illumination, and metalwork.²³

Since the 1930s, German scholars have drawn parallels between the iconographic format of the Mainz slab and a tenth-century ivory plaque, now in the Musée de Cluny, which depicts the coronation of Otto II (973-83) as *imperator Romanorum* and of the empress Theophano (Fig. 69).²⁴ The Ottonian ivory was likely carved in northern Italy around the years 982-83 and closely followed Byzantine depictions of coronations on ivories as well as on coins.²⁵ Under a baldachin a large central figure of Christ is shown crowning smaller figures of the emperor and empress. While all three figures are raised on stools, the nimbed Christ is considerably larger in relative size. The hierarchical ordering, as well as the resulting visual and programmatic significance assigned to the figure on the central axis find certain direct reflections on the Mainz tomb slab. Significantly, the archbishop here assumes the position occupied by Christ in the small-scale work.²⁶

The iconographic links between this ivory and Archbishop Siegfried's tomb slab are very close, and it seems likely, or at least plausible, that this ivory and/or related works were known to the Mainz prelates in view of the traditionally prominent role played by the primatial seat within the German empire and church.²⁷ Moreover, we must recall that it was this closely interconnected class of high-ranking clerics and members of the imperial circle which would have had prolonged exposure to the visual culture of the church and empire, since they were, in an important sense, the class of its creators and propagators. Indeed in the German empire, traditions of ruler iconography, and coronation iconography specifically, displayed a remarkable visual continuity from Carolingian times onwards.²⁸

In her recent study, Kniffler has enumerated a number of coronation scenes appearing in Ot-

tonian and Salian manuscripts and metalwork which displayed an iconographic vocabulary similar to that of the Siegfried slab. Lavish imperial commissions, such as the Pericopes of Emperor Henry II (1002-24) and the so-called Codex Caesareus of Emperor Henry III (1039-56), depicted Christ crowning the emperor and empress in a manner approximating the ivory plaque (Fig. 70).²⁹ Kniffler's discussion of these and other iconographically related images is valuable, for it helps us to establish a far broader visual and historical pretext for Archbishop Siegfried's tomb slab than had been indicated by the "single ivory" source advanced by earlier scholars.

It is particularly interesting here to consider the availability and/or accessibility of a wide range of Ottonian coronation prototypes for a certain group of prelates and royalty, and to suggest some of the ways in which Archbishop Siegfried and his advisors might have drawn on this particular audience's sensitivity to the earlier sources for their own ideological purposes. Whoever was responsible for the conception of the slab intended, it seems, a complex of "copy" relationships to be recognizable by certain "designated" viewers.

The thirteenth-century tomb slab of Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz appears to have been designed to sponsor at least for a certain audience a readable, multi-layered, formal, and contentual dialogue with the Ottonian models executed three centuries earlier. In the Ottonian works, which are based closely on contemporary Byzantine prototypes, the emperor is shown receiving monarchical powers directly from Christ without the intervention of an intermediate body. Thus, in imitation of Byzantine precedents, Ottonian coronation images proclaim the divine origins and fundamentals of the church-state headed by the German emperor. They represent, in an important sense, visual articulations of the political theory envisaged and promoted by the Ottonian dynasty, and adopted somewhat rhetorically by Archbishop Siegfried and/or others for the tomb slab.

A visually informed audience might have read the slab's seemingly deliberate iconographic borrowings, together with its variations, as a sort of symbolic commentary on political shifts of balance which had taken place in the German empire in the intervening period. The Ottonian ideal of terrestrial kingship, which envisaged the powers of the king as being delegated by Christ himself, was subjected by way of the iconographic adaptation in the Mainz slab to a reinterpretation—a reinterpretation clearly in accord with changed political actualities. In my judgment, the

thirteenth-century work undertook to express unequivocally the subservience of the German emperors to the Mainz archbishops by whom they were elected and from whom they received the mandate to govern. Both the Ottonian works and Archbishop Siegfried's tomb slab can be seen, then, to manifest a translation of abstract principles of power and authority into permanently legible form.

Archbishop Siegfried's tomb slab also conversed visually and ideologically with other Carolingian and Ottonian images of imperial sovereignty. Many depictions of German emperors flanked by two high-ranking clerics, such as the one appearing in the Bamberg Pontifical of Henry II (Fig. 71), were patterned on the triadic composition common to coronation scenes and to a wide variety of ceremonial images.³⁰ In the Bamberg manuscript, the emperor occupies the dominant central position with two smaller bishops supporting him as he enters a church. The thirteenth-century tomb slab of Archbishop Siegfried, which portrays the archbishop in the same commanding position as the emperor, would likely have been understood by the most visually literate viewers as a sort of pictorial and ideological inversion of the imperial power embodied and concretized in the iconographic patterns of such earlier, small-scale works.

The expressive potential of varying this triadic scheme may also have been explored by at least one prelate of the Ottonian era. Like the Mainz slab, the ivory plaque of Bishop Sigebert of Minden (1022-36) is without iconographic parallel among the surviving works of its period (Fig. 72).³¹ On this ivory, the larger central figure of the bishop is flanked by two priests, while two deacons spread out drapery beneath his feet. The placement of the bishop in the axial position traditionally associated with Christ or the emperor suggests a certain reciprocity between episcopal self-consciousness and this particular iconographic format. A similar kind of reciprocity was arguably operative later in the imaging of Siegfried's archiepiscopal power on the thirteenth-century slab.

To summarize briefly, the coronation iconography of Archbishop Siegfried's tomb slab was in my judgment meant to display multiple levels of legibility simultaneously, and these levels disclosed themselves more or less completely depending on the experience or visual literacy of the viewer. While modern scholars have been concerned with establishing the primacy of one historically based interpretation of the slab's imagery over another, such as the coronation contest between Mainz and Cologne, I have pro-

posed here that the slab was programmed to carry multiple dimensions of meaning. These meanings were not fixed but sorted themselves out in relation to different groups of thirteenth-century beholders possessing varying levels of political and visual sophistication. In this way, the scope of readings available within Archbishop Siegfried's tomb slab broadened and deepened as the audience became increasingly smaller in number and more specialized.

While commemorating Archbishop Siegfried and the archiepiscopal office at Mainz, the politically charged iconography of the thirteenth-century slab may have also projected an even wider commentary on the relationship between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* in Western medieval Christendom. For the smallest and most sophisticated audience, Archbishop Siegfried's funerary monument put forward in visual terms the papal claim of absolute authority in spiritual and temporal affairs at a time when the revived study of Roman jurisprudence was opening up new avenues of legal and political thought to theorists of royal and papal power. Moreover, the depiction of Siegfried trampling the lion and basilisk underfoot, an image derived from Psalm 90:13 and one persistently associated with triumph and overlordship,³² probably acquired renewed force and coherent political meaning in relation to the particular context in which it was produced and viewed. It seems very likely that the beasts trampled on by Archbishop Siegfried signified a symbolic crushing of the *imperium* by the church and papacy.³³ In a number of written manifestoes issued by Pope Innocent IV, Frederick II was in fact likened explicitly to these beasts and termed an antichrist.³⁴ In its time, the tomb slab would likely have at once celebrated Archbishop Siegfried's individual role in the anti-imperialist campaign and triumphed the papal cause generally.³⁵

It seems fitting to point out in closing that the distinctive iconography of Archbishop Siegfried's tomb slab was echoed in the funerary monuments of at least two of his successors. In the early part of the last century a fragmentary tomb slab was discovered in Mainz cathedral which showed an archbishop crowning two kings of diminutive size.³⁶ Although the slab is now known only through a sketch (Fig. 73), it may be that of Archbishop Gerhard II von Eppstein (†1305) who crowned two kings in 1292 and 1297.³⁷ Also continuing along this same iconographic line is the tomb slab of Archbishop Peter von Aspelt (†1320) from the early part of the fourteenth century which depicts the Mainz *coronator* presiding over not two, but three kings (Fig. 74).³⁸ Although the

three funerary monuments certainly must have differed in the subtleties of their meanings, their common iconographic approach suggests a shared dynastic and "legitimizing" frame of address.³⁹ Viewed as an ensemble the three tomb slabs lend visual continuity to a complex body of political and ecclesiastical concepts of particular concern to the Mainz seat in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, concepts monumentally embodied in the distinctive visual terms of Archbishop Siegfried's tomb slab.

NOTES

* A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the Twenty-Third International Congress on Medieval Studies held at Western Michigan University in May 1988.

1 The tomb slab, carved from fine-grained gray sandstone, is 2.14 metres high and 1.02 metres in width. The original configuration of Archbishop Siegfried's funerary monument, as well as its location within Mainz cathedral, are unknown. According to archaeological evidence, the slab was intended originally for horizontal placement on a free-standing rectangular *tumba*. Alternatively it may have rested on a group of short columns. The slab is now mounted vertically on the first south pier of the nave immediately adjacent to the east choir of the cathedral. See R. Kautzsch and E. Neeb, *Der Dom zu Mainz, Die Kunstdenkmäler im Freistaat Hessen, Stadt und Kreis Mainz*, II.1 (Darmstadt, 1919), 233-34. For the modern restoration of the slab, see note 3 below.

2 O. von Simson, "Das letzte Altarbild von Peter Paul Rubens," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXXVII (1983), 70, has discussed the *redemptio animae* contained in the iconography of Archbishop Siegfried's tomb slab. He argues that the portrayal of Siegfried treading on the lion and basilisk expresses the hope for salvation through its direct identification with the triumphant image of the Resurrected Christ. The lion and basilisk, denoting triumph over death and sin according to the conventional exegesis of the Psalm text, were often imaged on thirteenth-century tomb slabs. See the discussion below. For a recent treatment of the liturgical and intercessory functions served by medieval sepulchral monuments, see the important collection of essays in K. Schmid and J. Wollasch, eds., *Memoria: Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedankens im Mittelalter*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, XLVIII (Munich, 1984).

3 Kautzsch and Neeb, *Dom zu Mainz*, 234, report that during the course of a nineteenth-century restoration, the slab was repainted and parts of the hands of the archbishop, as well as the crook of his crozier and the crowns of the two kings, were replaced in plaster.

4 Consult, for instance, G. W. Sante, "Siegfried III. von Eppstein, Erzbischof von Mainz 1230 bis 1249," *Nassauische Lebensbilder*, I (1940), 17-32, with the earlier scholarship.

5 For the literature on the slab written prior to 1919, see Kautzsch and Neeb, *Dom zu Mainz*, 233. E. Panofsky, *Die deutsche Plastik des elften bis dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1924), I, 138-41, resumes stylistic discussions with references. For later material, see F. Arens, *Die Inschriften der Stadt Mainz von frühmittelalterlicher Zeit bis 1650*, Die deutschen Inschriften, II (Stuttgart, 1958), 27-28, no. 22. Recent treatments of Siegfried's tomb slab with bibliography include O. von Simson, *Das Mittelalter II: Das hohe Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1972), 240, and the entry by W. Sauerländer in the exhibition catalogue *Die Zeit der Staufer: Geschichte-Kunst-Kultur* (Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum, 1977), I, 329-31, no. 450. A number of scholars

have linked Siegfried's slab stylistically to contemporary works of sculpture at, for instance, Bamberg and Magdeburg. Von Simson and Sauerländer resume both interpretative and stylistic arguments.

6 G. Kniffler, *Die Grabdenkmäler der Mainzer Erzbischofe vom 13. bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte, zur Plastik und zur Ornamentik*, Dissertationen zur Kunstgeschichte, VII (Cologne and Vienna, 1978), 1-6 and esp. 15-27.

7 See, for instance, M. Camille, "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Art History*, VIII (1985), 26-49, and the recent issue of *Word & Image*, v, 1 (1989), devoted to the theme of "Reading Ancient and Medieval Art." In the last decade many scholars have been concerned with analyzing medieval literacy with regard to *written* texts. See, for instance, B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983), and D. H. Green, "Orality and Reading: The State of Research in Medieval Studies," *Speculum*, LXV, 2 (1990), 267-80 with bibliography. In the case of Archbishop Siegfried's tomb slab, we are dealing with the reading of a purely "visual text," since no contemporary documentation pertaining to the funerary monument survives.

8 M. Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven and London, 1985), has recently addressed a number of important issues concerning different kinds and levels of perceptual and interpretative processes linking us (the beholders) to the objects of our examination. While Baxandall's case studies focus on the interpretation of paintings dating from the Renaissance to the twentieth century, they clearly have wider relevance. For the problematics of interpreting medieval monuments, see also note 10 below.

9 The bronze tombs of Bishops Evrard de Fouilloy (†1222) and Geoffroy d'Eu (†1236) in Amiens cathedral, which are roughly contemporary with the Mainz slab, are representative of this type of ecclesiastical funerary monument. See K. Bauch, *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild: Figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa* (Berlin and New York, 1976), 76-77, figs. 110-11. For further comparative material, see Bauch, *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild*, esp. chaps. 3 and 5-7 with references, and J. Adhémar, "Les tombeaux de la Collection Gaignières. Dessins d'archéologie du XVII^e siècle, Tome I," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXXXIV (1974), 1-192.

10 W. J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London, 1982), has studied the ways in which oral cultures (including pre-Gutenberg Europe) process experience in terms of mnemonic patterns. Ong is concerned chiefly with hearing as a form of communication and analyzes the ways in which a coded or formulaic system of sounds can serve as memory aids or cues. It seems likely that important analogies can be made between the functionings of aural cues and the "reading" of visual ones during the Middle Ages.

11 For the events of Archbishop Siegfried's episcopate with further references, see E. Fink, "Sigfrid III. von Eppenstein, Erzbischof von Mainz 1230-1249" (diss., Rostock, 1892); Sante, "Siegfried III"; and K. Demandt, "Der Endkampf des staufischen Kaiserhauses im Rhein-Maingebiet," *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*, VII (1957), 102-64. Major studies of historical and political circumstances in the German empire during this period include G. Barraclough, *The Origins of Modern Germany*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1947, repr. 1962); G. Barraclough, ed., *Medieval Germany, 911-1250: Essays by German Historians*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1938, repr. 1961); B. Gebhardt, *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte*, 9th ed. (Stuttgart, 1970), I, esp. 322-476; K. Hampe, *Germany Under the Salian and Hohenstaufen Emperors*, trans. R. Bennett (Totowa, 1973); and J. Leuschner, *Germany in the Late Middle Ages*, trans.

- S. MacCormack (Amsterdam, New York, and Oxford, 1980), esp. Pt. 1.
- 12 See, for instance, the documents from Archbishop Siegfried's episcopate assembled in J. F. Böhmer and C. Will, *Regesta archiepiscoporum Maguntinensium. Regesten zur Geschichte der Mainzer Erzbischöfe von Bonifatius bis Uriel von Gemmingen 742?-1514*, II. Von Konrad 1. bis Heinrich II. 1161-1288 (Innsbruck, 1886). The extent of Siegfried III's participation in imperial affairs can be gauged generally by his frequent appearance in documents issued by the imperial chancery. See J. F. Böhmer and J. Ficker, *Regesta imperii*, v.1 (Innsbruck, 1901).
 - 13 Demandt, "Der Endkampf," 113-14, provides a useful discussion of the territorial and personal interests served by this switch of parties. Siegfried of Mainz deserted the imperial party in alliance with Conrad von Hochstaden, archbishop of Cologne (1238-61). They were joined shortly afterwards by Arnold von Isenburg, archbishop of Trier from 1242. In the following years this triumvirate of Rhenish archbishops, together with some of their suffragans, formed the core of anti-imperial opposition in the German territories.
 - 14 Sante, "Siegfried III," 23, 26.
 - 15 In 1924, Panofsky, *Die deutsche Plastik*, I, 139, suggested that Siegfried's slab may have expressed a "coronation claim," but he did not mention the conflict with Cologne. Specific interpretative links between the Mainz-Cologne coronation dispute and the iconography of Archbishop Siegfried's tomb slab seem to have been made in the scholarship published shortly thereafter, for this argument appears, for instance, in H. Weigert, *Die Kaiserdomen am Mittelrhein: Speyer, Mainz und Worms* (Berlin, 1933), 66, and in H. Keller, "Die Entstehung des Bildnisses am Ende des Hochmittelalters," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, III (1939), 255. Since the 1930s, this hypothesis has appeared repeatedly in discussions of Archbishop Siegfried's tomb slab.
 - 16 See U. Stutz, *Der Erzbischof von Mainz und die deutsche Königswahl: Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Rechts- und Verfassungsgeschichte* (Weimar, 1910), esp. 5-39, for the earliest and most comprehensive examination of the Mainz-Cologne coronation dispute. The Mainz archbishop claimed traditionally as German primate and archchancellor that it was his right to preside over electoral proceedings and to crown the German king, regardless of location. He encountered a serious rival in the archbishop of Cologne, who as metropolitan for Aachen, the customary coronation site of the German kings, asserted his right to anoint and crown the emperor. M. Buchner, "Kaiser- und Königsmacher, Hauptwähler und Kurfürsten," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, LV (1935), 182-223, also provides a detailed analysis of individual events and manoeuvres. It is important to point out that pioneering studies of the Mainz-Cologne dispute such as these from the early part of this century continue to provide the basis for the more recent historical scholarship. Compare, for instance, the discussion in U. Reinhardt, *Untersuchungen zur Stellung der Geistlichkeit bei den Königswahlen im Fränkischen und Deutschen Reich (751-1250)*, *Untersuchungen und Materialien zur Verfassungs- und Landesgeschichte*, IV (Marburg, 1975), esp. 269-79.
 - 17 The Cologne archbishop scored a major gain for his jurisdictional argument in 1052 by obtaining confirmation from Pope Leo IX (1048-54) that the coronation of the German king was to take place in his province. See Stutz, *Der Erzbischof von Mainz*, 28-34, for an assessment of the immediate and far-reaching import of this privilege.
 - 18 In the recent art historical scholarship, the coronation argument is followed, for instance, by E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture* (New York, 1964), 55, and von Simson, *Das Mittelalter II*. The coronation argument has also been repeated in discussions of the slab appearing in recent historical publications, such as H. Boockman, *Stauferzeit und spätes Mittelalter: Deutschland 1125-1517* (Berlin, 1987), 181.
 - 19 These subsidiary privileges were exercised in the event that the Cologne seat was vacant or if exceptional circumstances prevailed. Arens, *Die Inschriften*, 28, and Sauerländer, *Die Zeit der Staufer*, 330, have also drawn attention to these subsidiary privileges and have suggested that the slab may have referred to them. Sauerländer also states that no concrete evidence supports the "coronation argument" and points to the importance of the electoral, rather than coronation, prerogatives of the Mainz archbishops.
 - 20 Stutz, *Der Erzbischof von Mainz*, 36-39, indicates specific instances in which this right was exercised. In 1212, for instance, the Hohenstaufen emperor Frederick II was crowned at Mainz by Archbishop Siegfried II von Eppstein (1220-30; Siegfried III's uncle and immediate predecessor), as both Cologne and Aachen were held by the opposing Guelphs. In 1215 Frederick was crowned for a second time in Aachen. These proceedings were also conducted by Siegfried II of Mainz, who exercised his subsidiary coronation right during the vacancy of the Cologne seat.
 - 21 H. Mitteis, *Die deutsche Königswahl: Ihre Rechtsgrundlagen bis zur Goldenen Bulle*, 2nd ed. (Vienna, 1944), has presented a careful analysis of the historical events and developing precedents and practices which led to the predominance of the electoral process by the mid-thirteenth century. For references to the more recent literature, see O. H. Becker, *Kaisertum, deutsche Königswahl und Legitimitätsprinzip in der Auffassung der späteren Staufer und ihres Umkreises*, *Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe III, Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften*, LI (Frankfurt/M., 1975).
 - 22 For a succinct account of this development, see Buchner, "Kaiser- und Königsmacher," 190-223. Clearly, a corporate electoral body led by the archbishop of Mainz posed important threats to the Cologne prelates who saw their individual coronation prerogative being progressively emptied of genuine legal import.
 - 23 Kniffler, *Grabdenkmäler*, 15-24.
 - 24 Kniffler, *Grabdenkmäler*, 17-19, discusses this comparison but does not provide sources. To my knowledge, German scholars first called attention to the parallels between the thirteenth-century tomb slab and the Ottonian ivory around 1930. The comparison does not appear in Panofsky, *Die deutsche Plastik* (1924), but is treated in some detail in 1933 by Weigert, *Die Kaiserdomen*, 66-67. For a recent discussion of the ivory plaque with bibliography, see *L'antiquité classique, le haut moyen âge et Byzance au musée de Cluny* (Paris, 1985), 141-43, no. 64.
 - 25 F. Dölger, "Die Ottonenkaiser und Byzanz," *Karolingische und ottonische Kunst: Werden-Wesen-Wirkung*, *Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie*, III (Wiesbaden, 1957), 56-59, has studied the relation of the Cluny ivory to Byzantine models, such as the coronation ivory of Romanos II (959-63) and Eudoxia, now in the Cabinet des Médailles, illustrated in A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X. bis XIII. Jahrhunderts*, II (Berlin, 1934), no. 34, pl. XIV. See also P. E. Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit 751-1190*, 2nd ed., ed. F. Mütterich (Munich, 1983), 193-94, no. 91. The iconographic format of the coronation ivory of Otto II and Theophano links it to two contemporary lead medallions which appear to have drawn on similar Byzantine prototypes. See the discussion in Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, 194-95, no. 92.
 - 26 On Archbishop Siegfried's tomb slab the image of Christ the coronator is blended with Christ victorious over the beasts (compare notes 2 and 32 here). Kniffler, *Grabdenkmäler*, 15-19, discusses the triadic format and hierarchical ordering of coronation scenes and notes that in the

- medieval period this scheme was employed for a number of ceremonial images centring around Christ or the Virgin. These images included the Deesis, the Crucifixion, the *traditio legis*, and scenes of the Virgin between saints or angels. I would like to point out that a similar format is followed by an Ottonian ivory from the years around 1000 which shows Christ crowning the martyr saints Victor and Gereon (A. Legner, ed., *Ornamenta Ecclesiae: Kunst und Künstler der Romanik in Köln*, II [Cologne, Schnütgen-Museum, 1985], 238-41, no. E 32).
- 27 Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, 196-97, mentions a manuscript, now lost, which was given to Magdeburg cathedral by Otto II and which is known to have been ornamented with an image of the emperor and his wife. Schramm questions whether the Cluny ivory was once part of this Magdeburg ensemble. Kniffler, *Grabdenkmäler*, 289 n. 12, suggests that the master of the Siegfried slab, whom she describes as "coming from Magdeburg" (this statement is based on the stylistic arguments of earlier scholars, such as Panofsky, *Die deutsche Plastik*, I, 140-41), may perhaps have been familiar with an ivory of this kind. I believe, however, that we should be thinking more closely about the wider purview of those commissioning the monument. It is very likely that the high-ranking prelates at Mainz would have had access over the centuries to a large group of Ottonian coronation images, which may have included the Cluny ivory or ones similar to it, and they may also have had direct knowledge of Byzantine coronation ivories and coins on which the Ottonian imagery was based. See the discussion which follows.
 - 28 See, for instance, the exhibition catalogue by H. Fuhrmann and F. Mütterich, eds., *Das Evangelium Heinrichs des Löwen und das mittelalterliche Herrscherbild* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 1986). This richly illustrated catalogue provides a useful overview of the important and continuous traditions of ruler iconography in the Carolingian and Ottonian periods.
 - 29 Kniffler, *Grabdenkmäler*, 18, refers to the iconographic format of the Pericopes of Henry II. For recent treatment of this coronation scene with references, see Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, nos. 122, 215. The coronation page from the Codex Caesareus of Henry III is reproduced in *Das Evangelium Heinrichs des Löwen und das mittelalterliche Herrscherbild*, 26, fig. 1.
 - 30 See note 26 above. For the Bamberg Pontifical, see Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, nos. 123, 215.
 - 31 *Ornamenta Ecclesiae*, I, 154-55, no. B 6, and the exhibition catalogue *Bilder vom Menschen in der Kunst des Abendlandes* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 1980), nos. 20, 132 (both with references).
 - 32 Christ trampling the beasts underfoot was a universal image of triumph in the thirteenth century. Compare, for instance, the sculpted treatment of this theme on the trumeau of the Last Judgment portal on the south transept of Chartres cathedral. However, the image was often used for specific political references as well. See P. Verdier, "Dominus potens in praelio," *Waltraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XLIII (1982), 35-106, for a comprehensive historical study of the ecclesiastical and secular contexts in which this triumphant image was employed and its diverse meanings.
 - 33 For instance, Kniffler, *Grabdenkmäler*, 26, and generally Sauerländer, *Die Zeit der Staufer*, 330.
 - 34 Kniffler, *Grabdenkmäler*, and F. Graefe, *Die Publizistik in der letzten Epoche Kaiser Friedrichs II: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Jahre 1239-50*, Heidelberg Abhandlungen zur mittleren und neueren Geschichte, xxiv (Heidelberg, 1909), 100, 174.
 - 35 Similar themes seem to have been operative in images of papal triumph in the Lateran palace, especially in the frescoes commissioned for the audience hall (*camera pro secretis consiliis*) of Pope Callixtus II (1119-24) following the conclusion of the Concordat of Worms in 1122. These highly propagandistic frescoes, now known only through sixteenth-century drawings, showed the seven popes of the Investiture conflict trampling underfoot the anti-popes. See Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige*, nos. 187a-b, 251-52, and C. Walter, "Papal Political Imagery in the Lateran Palace," *Cahiers archéologiques*, xx (1970), esp. 162-66, for illustrations and references to the earlier literature. Twelfth- and thirteenth-century texts indicate that the significance of these frescoes was not lost upon visiting prelates, including John of Salisbury and Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis (see Walter, "Papal Political Imagery in the Lateran Palace," 162). It is possible that the cycle was also known to Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz who had visited Rome many times in his capacity as German primate and archchancellor. U. Nilgen, "Maria Regina—Ein politischer Kulturbildtypus?," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, xix (1981), 3, provides an interesting discussion of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa's recognition of and angry reaction to the political implications of a fresco cycle in the Lateran palace commissioned by Pope Innocent II between 1138-43. I believe that the political nuances and innuendoes of Archbishop Siegfried's slab were addressed to this same well-educated and visually literate circle of high-ranking clerics and royalty.
 - 36 The fragments were uncovered in 1804. See E. Neeb, "Ein verschwundenes Erzbischofsdenkmal des Mainzer Domes," *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, III (1908), 111-15, with references. Neeb, however, proceeded to assign the fragments incorrectly to a second tomb slab of Archbishop Siegfried III.
 - 37 Kniffler, *Grabdenkmäler*, 6-11. Archbishop Gerhard II crowned Adolph of Nassau in 1292 and King Wenzel of Bohemia in 1297.
 - 38 Arens, *Die Inschriften*, 36-37, no. 33; Kniffler, *Grabdenkmäler*, 11-15. The archbishop is shown crowning King John of Bohemia (1311, left) and Ludwig of Bavaria (1314, right). Henry VII of Luxemburg, who was crowned the Cologne archbishop in Aachen in 1309, stands beside the Bohemian king.
 - 39 U. Nilgen, "Amtsgenealogie und Amtsheiligkeit: Königs- und Bischofsreihen in der Kunstpropaganda des Hochmittelalters," *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst 800-1250: Festschrift für Florentine Mütterich* (Munich, 1985), 217-34, has recently drawn attention to the propagandistic functions served by series of kings and ecclesiastics appearing on a wide range of medieval monuments, such as reliquary shrines or glazing programmes. See also Keller, "Die Entstehung des Bildnisses," esp. 250-58, for a discussion of demonstrative painted and sculpted imagery in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In this connection, M. Mosel, "Die Anfänge des plastischen Figurengrabmales in Deutschland: Untersuchungen zu den Problemen der Entstehung und Deutung im 12. Jahrhundert" (diss., Würzburg, 1970), has argued that many German funerary monuments of the twelfth century and earlier functioned as visible, three-dimensional assertions of the rights and privileges of individual foundations.



FIGURE 68. Mainz cathedral. Tomb slab of Archbishop Siegfried III von Eppstein, ca. 1250 (Photo: Marburg/Art Resource, N.Y.).

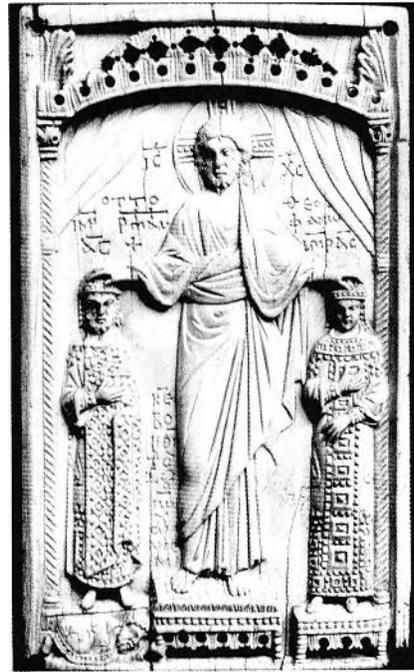


FIGURE 69. Christ crowning Otto II and Theophano, ca. 982-83, ivory plaque, 18 x 10.3 cm. Paris, Musée de Cluny (Photo: Réunion des musées nationaux, Paris).

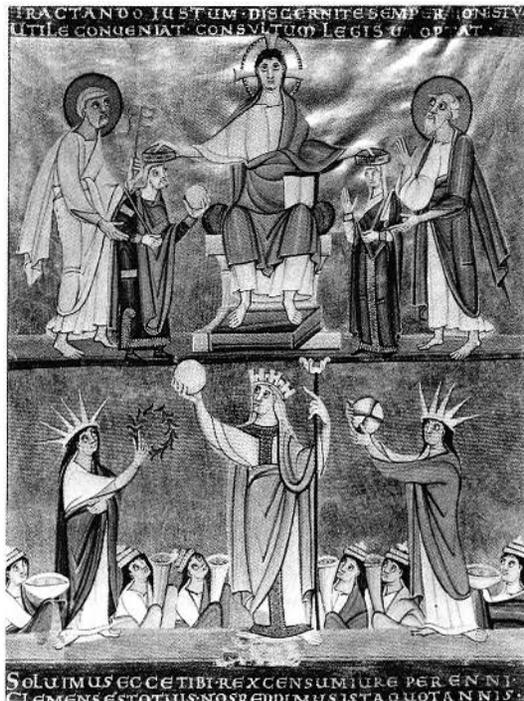


FIGURE 70. Pericopes of Henry II, the coronation of Henry II and Kunigunde, ca. 1007. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4452, fol. 2 recto (Photo: Hirmer Fotoarchiv, Munich).



FIGURE 71. Pontifical of Henry II, Henry II entering a church, ca. 1007-24. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 53, fol. 2 verso (Photo: Hirmer Fotoarchiv, Munich).

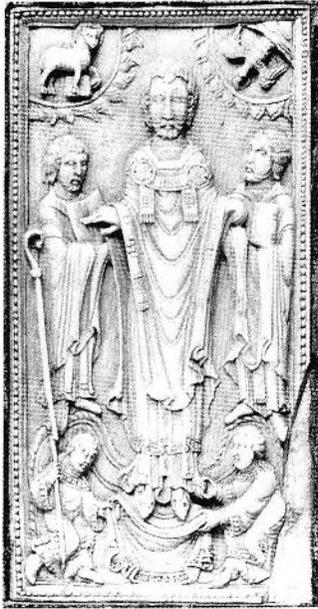


FIGURE 72. Bishop Sigebert of Minden accompanied by two priests and two deacons, ca. 1030, ivory plaque, 14 x 7 cm. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. germ. qu. 42, bookcover (Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Cologne).

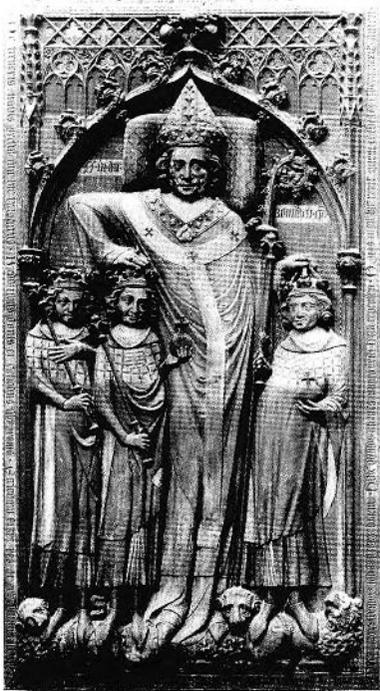


FIGURE 74. Mainz cathedral. Tomb slab of Archbishop Peter von Aspelt, ca. 1320 (Photo: Marburg/Art Resource, N.Y.).



Abb. 88. Zeichnung der Reste des im Jahre 1804 gefundenen Grabdenkmals

FIGURE 73. Sketch of tomb slab formerly in Mainz cathedral, believed to be that of Archbishop Gerhard II von Eppstein (†1305) (Photo: Reproduced from Kautzsch and Neeb, *Der Dom zu Mainz* [Darmstadt, 1919], fig. 88).