

Contents ~

*List of Illustrations* ix

*Preface* xix

Chapter 1 Introduction 1

Part I Palaces 9

Chapter 2 The Power of Design 11

Chapter 3 The Power of Architectural Style and Decoration 59

Part II Landscapes 99

Chapter 4 Gardens, Parks, and Power 102

Chapter 5 The Power of Forests and the Hunt 136

Part III Cities 169

Chapter 6 Cities, Planning, and Power 171

Chapter 7 Triumphs and Entries: The City as Stage Set 202

Part IV Holy Places 241

Chapter 8 Power, Place, and Relics 242

Chapter 9 Churches, Mosques, and Power 273

Part V Inauguration Places and Burial Places 319

Chapter 10 The Inauguration of Rulers: Places and Rituals 320

Chapter 11 Death and Power: The Burial Places of Rulers 344

Chapter 12 Conclusion 387

*Research and Reading* 391

*References* 417

*Illustration Credits* 449

*Index* 451

*Color plates follow page 168.*

## CHAPTER ~ 1

### Introduction

This book is about the messages of power that sites created by, or associated with, rulers could send to their subjects, to visitors, to ambassadors, and to anyone who saw or entered them. The rulers it considers were principally, although not exclusively, emperors and kings. The period it considers is that reaching from the early Roman Empire to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The sites it considers are, first, what can loosely be termed palaces, whether elaborate stone- or brick-built complexes of buildings, or timber great halls, or earthworks, the residential centers for rulers in one form or another. Second, artificial landscapes around or near the palaces, whether gardens, or parks, or forests managed for hunting. Third, cities founded, enlarged, or patronized by rulers. Fourth, places that rulers made holy, either by endowing them with holy objects, or by constructing or expanding holy buildings there. Fifth and finally, places where rulers were inaugurated into their offices, and places where their remains were placed and memorials to them created.

The book draws on a range of disciplines, including: architectural history, for the light which it can cast on the form and inspiration of rulers' buildings; archaeology, for its role in reconstructing buildings only partially preserved, for providing a deeper context for them from the excavations of the layers in which they sit, and for making possible the interpretation of earthwork sites, for which there is no—or only very limited—written evidence; garden history, for reconstructing the form and assessing the significance of gardens associated with palaces; landscape history, for the understanding of parks and forests; art history, for approaches to understanding the significance of the decoration and embellishment of rulers' buildings, and of the representation of those buildings in paintings or mosaics; literary history, for the light it can cast on images of palaces and their functions conjured up in poems and other writings; and liturgical studies, for their importance in understanding ceremonies and rituals carried out in rulers' holy places.

The book's guiding discipline, however, is history. Its aim is to examine what can be learned from the sites in question about the nature of rulers' power, or at least about how rulers wished to represent their power. Readers will appreciate that the validity of this aim is open to the question of how far such sites were created or modified simply for the enjoyment and gratification of rulers, rather than being designed to send messages of power in the way this book proposes. Readers, in other words, may conclude that, in creating, modifying, or using these sites, rulers were doing no more than fulfilling their personal taste for magnificence, luxury, and self-aggrandizement, and were perceived as doing this by those

who visited the sites. So the palaces, gardens, parks, and forests would have been just the perks of the job of being a ruler and not intended to make any public statement about the rulers' power. The cities founded or enlarged or patronized by the ruler would have been simply for his comfort and convenience. His holy places would have been designed for no more than to guarantee the well-being of the rulers' souls after their deaths. In the end, it is a matter of judgment; for rulers in the period in question have almost never left statements of what their intentions were in building this or designing that. Self-gratification, self-importance, craving for luxury, fears for the fate of the soul after death might have been the real motives for the work undertaken, perhaps even the principal motives.

The case argued in this book, however, is that the sites in question were indeed designed to send messages of power—and consequently functioned as mechanisms by which that power could be consolidated and increased. So, the book argues, the ruler's palace could be an explicit statement of his power. It could be a carefully designed mechanism for presenting him and his power in particular ways and to particular groups, whether his high-ranking subjects or the ambassadors of other rulers (Part I). Gardens could function similarly, especially where they served as open-air stages for courtly meetings and rituals; and so too could parks and forests, especially in what were the ritualized proceedings of the imperial and royal hunts (Part II). The cities built by, or modified by, rulers were similarly expressions of the rulers' power to control cityscapes and the built environment in which some of their subjects lived. And, like the palaces, they were mechanisms for displaying that power. This could be achieved through great buildings and piazzas built in the ruler's name and serving to impress and overwhelm those who saw them. But it could also be achieved through the creation in the cities of processional ways in which the rituals of rulership could be played out to the greatest effect (Part III). The holy places created or patronized by rulers were, the book argues, no less committed to representing and reinforcing rulers' power. In them, a ruler could associate his power with especially holy objects and with divinities themselves (Part IV). Messages of power could be sent too by the places where the rulers were inaugurated, and the places in which their remains were deposited—all the more when inauguration places and funerary places were fixed sites associated with the rulers' dynasties. A ruler's burial place could send a message of power not only about the deceased ruler, but also about his successors in office who were, of course, responsible for the implementation of the funerals (Part V).

In exploring these matters, the book makes no claim to being a definitive statement, for it is by no means a comprehensive survey of the types of site in question, valuable and illuminating as that would no doubt be. Such a survey, examining developments over time and space and the interrelationships of sites over time and space, would require research of many years' duration and a multivolume work much larger than the present study. This book's objective is more limited. It is to bring together the best and most illuminating examples of these sites, in order to examine the most productive approaches that scholars have used to draw significance from them.

These examples are taken from Europe and from a wide range of historical periods. The earliest considered are Roman imperial sites from the first to the fourth century AD, such as the Imperial Fora in Rome and the Palace of Diocletian in Split. These are followed in

time by sites from the Byzantine Empire, which constituted the continuation of the Roman Empire in the eastern Mediterranean, such as the Great Palace of Constantinople, and the great church of Haghia Sophia in that city. Alongside these, the book considers sites of the “barbarian” kingdoms that succeeded the Roman Empire in western Europe, such as the mausoleum of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths (454–526), in Ravenna (Italy), and the great palace site of Yeavering (England) in the kingdom of Northumbria. Moving on in time again, the book examines sites of the great empire of Charlemagne (768–814) in western Europe, especially the palaces of Aachen and Ingelheim (Germany). It looks too at sites created or modified by the newly emerged Muslim caliphate in southern Spain in the tenth century, notably the palace city of Madīnat al-Zahrā, and the Great Mosque of Córdoba. Outside the area of the Roman Empire, the book considers sites such as the timber halls at Lejre (Denmark), the massive royal mausoleum of Jelling in the same kingdom, and the earthworks, which gave the Hill of Tara in Ireland its central importance for Irish kingship. For the later Middle Ages, the book examines sites from the kingdoms of France and England as they emerged from the twelfth century onward, especially the great French palaces in Paris and at nearby Vincennes, and the equally imposing Westminster Palace, which became the chief royal palace of the kingdom of England. For less enduring kingdoms, the book ranges across the thirteenth-century kingdom of Majorca, with one of its principal centers at the palace of Perpignan in south-west France; and the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with royal and imperial sites at Naples itself, at Palermo where a complex of palaces grew up, at Capua where the triumphal gateway built by the king of Sicily and Germany and Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II (1198–1250), still stands in mutilated form, and at the Castel del Monte, where that ruler’s octagonal castle palace still dominates the surrounding landscape. The book also considers the sites created by the kings of Bohemia in and around Prague, especially those built or enlarged by the king of Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor, Charles IV (1346–78), at Prague itself but also at Karlštejn, the castle developed to guard his collection of relics and his regalia. For sites created for rulers other than kings and emperors, the book considers the Palace of the Doge in Venice, and the immensely important monument which is the Palace of the Popes at Avignon, built by Benedict XIII (1334–42) and Clement VI (1342–52), during the period when the papacy was in exile in France. The intention of ranging so widely is to permit the book to use the work of scholars specializing in different centuries and in different countries. That work and the conclusions the scholars draw from it can be very different for different periods and areas, but they can also be revealingly similar, so that bringing them together to an extent that has not often been attempted before can prove revealing and illuminating.

The book’s practical aim is to provide a sort of handbook to how sites created or modified by rulers can yield essentially historical conclusions about the nature of their power, or at least about the power they were claiming to possess. It guides readers around the sites in question, or sometimes around the artistic and literary representations of such sites, in as hands-on a way as is possible without actually taking readers in person to these places. The book attempts to draw to the attention of readers the individual features of these sites, always striving to extract from them the historical conclusions about rulers’ power which they might be perceived as offering. It supports descriptions of the sites with as lavish a col-

lection of photographs and diagrams as has been possible. These are often labeled, and always fully captioned, so that they are an essential part of the fabric of the book.

It is also intended that a reader should be able to go on to consider sites that this book has not considered, and to press further the line of historical questioning that the book has sketched out. For this reason, the book largely provides references for the themes and sites discussed in a discrete section entitled “Research and Reading” (below, pp. 391–416). In addition to providing the equivalent of footnotes to the material in the chapters, this section offers a critical commentary on the most exciting scholarly literature, archaeological reports, or collections of sources bearing on the themes discussed in each chapter, as well as providing a similar commentary on the scholarly literature relating to the individual sites examined.

The book nevertheless has aspirations to provide some sort of answers to two fundamental questions about rulership even if, given that it is not a coherent history of the types of site in question, they must be only provisional. First, its wide geographical and chronological scope permits it to address, in the context of the sites with which it is concerned, the question of how unchanging rulership was across the centuries from the first century AD to the end of the Middle Ages; and how unchanging it was also across the wide area this book embraces, from Bohemia to Andalusia, from Sicily to Scotland and Norway. For scholars have often treated the manifestations of rulership in various areas and periods as very different, so that Roman emperors have been interpreted as radically different rulers from kings of France and England, for example, or from caliphs of Córdoba. Irish kings have been seen, at least for certain periods, as a quite different type of ruler from the rulers of Continental kingdoms or even of Anglo-Saxon England. It may be that these differences of perception are justified by the evidence; but it may equally be that they are illusory. They could arise from differences in the type of evidence that has survived from the areas in question; or from modern interpretations of the past which, for example, have sometimes seen Muslim states such as the caliphate of Córdoba as being of completely different origin and type from those of non-Muslim areas of Europe; or from the simple fact that specialists are often focused on their areas of specialization and too rarely look beyond. This book, in short, has a mission, first, to break down the various chronological and geographical—and cultural—divides apparent in the scholarly literature; and, second, to place squarely on the agenda the hypothesis that rulership was in important respects unchanging across Europe in the millennium and a half or so from the early Roman imperial period to the end of the Middle Ages.

If the book's contention that sites created by rulers were expressions of, and therefore tools of, their power is sustainable, it becomes necessary to ask what sort of power was in question, and how far this differed from period to period and place to place. To approach this, it has been necessary to adopt a framework within which to describe the power of rulers, so that like can be compared with like across the book's chronological and geographical range. The framework adopted here is a threefold categorization of types of power. First, the type of power that derives from the exercise of law and the creation of bureaucratic and fiscal machinery to enable the ruler to impose his will on his subjects. It may be given the shorthand label “bureaucratic power.” This is the type of power most familiar in the modern

period, when people obey their governments, because those governments possess the means to make them obey—that is, the complex record-keeping, all the more developed in the present computerized age, which allows them to follow the affairs of their subjects and above all to extract taxation from them. Then there are the hierarchies of officials that allow the governments' instructions to be made known, and the police or military personnel, authorized to use force to ensure that they are followed. And, finally, the system of prisons and other places of punishment to coerce those who do not obey or to punish those whose actions fall outside the laws. An impersonal system of offices and officeholders, regulated by impersonal procedures, regulations, and laws, is a defining feature of bureaucratic power.

But, even in the present, this is by no means the only type of power in existence, and in the past it may not always have been the dominant one. A second type of power, to which we can assign the shorthand label “personal power,” derives from the hold rulers have through their personal relationships with their subjects—a hold which ensures that those subjects (or at least a sufficient number of them) are, as a result of these personal relationships with the holders of power, either constrained to support them, or see it as in their interests to do so. This may have been the type of power that sustained the rulers of the barbarian kingdoms of Western Europe from the fifth century onward, for example, when they developed war bands of military retainers who were committed to them through strong personal bonds, reinforced by oaths of loyalty. Such war bands might thus have been essentially personal in nature, yet they would have assured the power of the ruler in the same way as police forces do in the case of bureaucratic power. It is arguable that throughout the Middle Ages personal relationships created power for lords over their vassals, that is, the military retainers sworn by oath to support their lords especially in warfare. And it is observable too in the early modern period in the relationship between a ruler and the members of his court, like the courtiers of Louis XIV (1643–1715) at his palace at Versailles where they lived, often in personal intimacy with their monarch.

A third type of power is encompassed under the shorthand term, “ideological power,” which is not rationally based on bureaucratic machinery or on personal relations with the ruler, but is based rather on a sense, or a belief, that the rulers occupied a special position relative to the gods or to God. It was this that made their position legitimate and meant that they had to be obeyed, for failure to obey risked supernatural retribution at the hand of the divinity that had granted power to the ruler. So, for example, the Roman emperors were closely associated with pagan gods, and were believed to become gods themselves after their deaths. The barbarian kings who ruled in the areas outside the Roman Empire and, after the end of that empire in Western Europe, in the kingdoms that replaced it, may themselves have been believed to have been descended from gods or to have been closely associated with them. There are indications in the first-century Roman writer Tacitus' account of them that barbarian kings functioned as priests as well as rulers, that they were, for example, close enough to the gods to interpret the neighings and snortings of sacred white horses (Mattingly and Handforth 1970, *Germania*, ch. 10). There are traces of similar ideological aspects of power in the Viking kingdoms of Scandinavia.

Such pagan aspects of ideological power were no doubt disrupted by the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity in the course of the fourth century, and by the subse-



quent conversion of the barbarians to the same religion. But even after this rulers could be viewed—or at least could view themselves—as having received their power from the Christian God, who also guided and supported their rule. For example, the development of the ritual of anointing a king with holy oil developed and represented in symbolic form the idea that the ruler received his power from God.

So, the categorization of power set out above can be summarized as follows:

- (1) Bureaucratic power, which came into existence through the creation of bureaucratic machinery, and the development of laws and ideas about them.
- (2) Personal power, which originated through circumstances that made it desirable for influential members or classes of society to forge personal relations with the ruler.
- (3) Ideological power, which was made possible by ways in which rulers were able to merge their power with existing or new religious beliefs.

There is nothing fixed about this categorization, and the distinctions between the categories are often blurred. Personal power, for example, may shade into bureaucratic power, when subjects of a ruler served him by being appointed to what appeared to be impersonal offices, but still swore oaths of allegiance to him. Were the oaths, then, simply fossilized formalities, or were they the core of the relationship between ruler and subject? Also, some subjects may have perceived and accepted the power of rulers in different ways from others. Some may have devoutly accepted the ruler's divinely given power; others may have been skeptical of this, but nevertheless have felt bound to the ruler by personal bonds, or have been constrained to obey him by virtue of his bureaucratic machinery.

If the aim of this book is to cast light on the nature of rulership across a wide chronological and geographical range, viewing it in the framework of these types of power, readers may object that there are more obvious ways to approach it than through the sites with which it is concerned. It would, for example, be possible to concentrate on how the political theorists of the past explained the power of rulers in their writings. For modern scholars, this has often proved very illuminating, especially for periods like the ninth century, or the thirteenth century, when political theory was an important subject of contemporary scholarship. So it would be possible to study the writings of a scholar such as Hincmar, archbishop of Reims, in the ninth century, or of the English specialist in law, Bracton, or of Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century. But such an approach is always dependent on the opinions of these theorists. There is no guarantee that what these scholars wrote was representing accurately the nature of rulers' power, rather than describing or discussing what they wished to exist as distinct from what actually did.

Alternatively, it is possible to examine the archives of administrative documents that past governments have left behind them, and scholars have often done this for particular periods and particular states. They have looked at the law codes that particular rulers and their governments produced, at the tax records, at the treasury accounts, and at the accounts of the rulers' landed holdings. But not all the states this book is concerned with left such archives, and in any case documents of this kind are necessarily going to give the impression that power was primarily bureaucratic power, because the documents are themselves the prod-



uct of bureaucratic machinery. They may provide an important part of the answer, but not necessarily a complete one.

Another possible source of information is the narrative writings from the past, the histories and chronicles, the biographies and epic poems, that pertain to rulers and their power. These too can be very illuminating, but once again they are always at one remove from the rulers themselves, and it is never absolutely clear whether the writers in question were portraying those rulers and their power as they actually were, or as they wanted or imagined them to be. In short, documents, chronicles, and other written texts from the past—even apparently impartial ones like law codes—can present prejudiced views of the reality of power. And, for some periods and some parts of Europe, there are no documents and chronicles, either because the societies in question were not literate ones, or because little or nothing in the way of written sources for them has survived the passage of time.

So, while still drawing on these sources, this book takes a different approach. Its aim is to get as close as possible to the rulers themselves, and to understand the nature of their power through the places and buildings they themselves created, or that were created for them. A ruler was after all a real person, living and working in particular places, in particular buildings and indeed in particular rooms or apartments within them. Enormous resources were devoted to these buildings, which were often glowing with rich decorations, and embellished with spectacular images and sculptures. Rulers visited or lived in—and sometimes founded or developed—particular cities, often bearing their names, to which equally enormous resources were devoted. They made ceremonial use of forests, parks, and gardens, which were often the product of their own organization of the landscape. They were crowned in particular places, and buried in particular places, often in great monuments or churches, which they themselves had built. These sites were, in other words, very close to rulers, very much part of their own actions rather than of other people's reflections on them. Understanding them in detail, as this book tries to do, may represent a more direct approach to understanding what kind of power rulers exercised, or at least claimed to exercise.

Were the palaces and cities of rulers designed to accommodate and to give precedence to the bureaucratic offices and the courts of lawyers? Were they dominated by strong rooms for the treasury and cubicles for the treasury clerks? Were their principal spaces given over to law courts? Can we identify the sort of government offices that are so dominant an aspect of the modern city? If so, this would point toward the prime importance of bureaucratic power. Or were the planning and the architecture of centers of power primarily designed to provide the contexts in which rulers could meet with their subjects and forge those personal relationships that made up what is here called personal power? Were palaces, for example, dominated by great halls in which rulers entertained their subjects, enjoyed entertainments with them, held meetings with them, and received oaths of loyalty from them? Were cities characterized by places where subjects could be in the presence of their ruler, perhaps as the latter processed through the city, or held meetings in great public concourses? Were forests and parks primarily designed so rulers could fraternize with their subjects, providing contexts in which messages of personal power could be conveyed? Or was the primary intention of palaces, cities, and planned landscapes, as well as rulers' holy places such as temples

and churches, to emphasize the divinity of the ruler, or at least his relationship to God or the gods? Did the ruler make his appearances in contexts where he was surrounded by priests, in close association with holy objects, and among images that represented his holiness, or at least his divinely chosen status? Did his throne look out from the gallery of some holy building, allowing the ruler to gaze on images of the divine? Were his palaces and cities dominated by holy places—temples, churches, mausolea—which underlined in more or less explicit ways the ruler's relationship with the deity? If so, this would point toward the prime importance of ideological power.

Of course, in all of this we may still be obtaining only partial clues to the nature of power. Especially in the case of ideological power, what the ruler wanted his subjects to believe about his power may not have been what they actually did believe. Building great churches and palaces to express this power was not a guarantee against their destruction by subjects who did not share his view of his power. For all the resources lavished by Charles IV, king of Bohemia (1346–78), on his palace and cathedral of Prague, much of what he had achieved was swept away in the Hussite Wars of the following century. For all the efforts devoted to the creation of a magnificent church and palace at Westminster by King Henry III (1207–72), none of this stopped an attack on the palace by citizens who destroyed at least some of what the king had created. Perhaps such incidents show that the importance of these sites was accepted by rebellious subjects, even if they had no sympathy for them. Nothing is ever simple. Nevertheless, it is the contention of this book that the study of such sites leads to the heart of what rulers saw the nature of their power as being. It is bringing us as close to them as we are likely to get—to stand in the spaces they made, to look at what remains of the landscapes they shaped, to understand the layout of the cities they conceived and the holy places they created.

## Index ~

- Aachen (Germany), 402–3  
 —city, 157; forests around, 138, 140–41, 154, 157; position of, 140–41; street plan of, 275, 276  
 —inaugurations at, 323–27  
 —palace: corridor, 277, 324; great hall and Tower of Granus, 274, 275, 324, 325, 326; layout of, 274, 275; menagerie at, 108; park at, 103, 134–35  
 —palace church (St. Mary's), 91, 92, 273–89; ambassadors at, 154; atrium (Domhof) of, 274, 275, 277–78, 279; basilicas attached to, 274, 275; bronze doors of, 278–79, 280; burials at, 365; canons at, 288; coronations at, 286; dating of, 274; dome of, 281, 283, 285–86, 287; nave of, 279–82; parochial functions of, 289; priority given to, 274–76, 277; relic displays at, 270–71; throne in, 277, 286–89, 339–41  
 Abbeville (France), 398  
 'Abd al-Rahmān I, emir of Córdoba (756–88), 312, 313  
 'Abd al-Rahmān II, emir of Córdoba (822–52), 312  
 'Abd al-Rahmān III, emir of Córdoba (912–29), caliph (929–61), 121, 171, 186–87, 312  
 'Abdullāh, emir of Córdoba (888–912), 312  
 Æthelflæd, “lady of the Mercians,” 377  
 Æthelred, king of Mercia (675–704), 375, 377  
 Æthelred, lord of the Mercians, 377  
 Aigues Mortes (France), 90  
 Alberti, architect (1404–72), 60–61, 194, 198  
 Alexander I, king of Scots (1107–24), 337  
 Alexander III, king of Scots (1249–86), inauguration of, 338  
 al-Farabi, Arabic scholar, 179  
 Alfonso III the Great, king of Asturias (d. 910), 250  
 Alfonso V, king of Leon (999–1028), 365  
 Alfonso X the Wise, king of Castile (1252–84), 71, 378  
 Alfonso the Magnanimous, king of Aragon (1416–58), triumph of, 207–08, 209  
 Alfred, king of the West Saxons (871–99): and hunting, 157; and towns, 187–90  
 al-Hakam II, caliph (961–76), 312, 315  
 al-Mahdi, caliph (909–34), 186  
 al-Manṣūr, caliph (d. 775), 186  
 al-Manṣūr, *hayib* of caliph Hisham II (966–1009), 313  
 al-Mutasim, caliph (833–42), 186  
 Altdorfer, Albrecht (d. 1538), *St. George and the Dragon* by, 165–66  
 Ambrose, bishop of Milan (373/4–397), 90–91, 243, 249  
 Anastasius, Byzantine emperor (491–518), inauguration of, 321–22  
 anointing: in Byzantine Empire, 322; in western inaugurations, 322, 324, 325, 329, 330  
 Antioch (Turkey), entry of relics into, 247; Golden Octagon at, 63, 284  
 Apamea (Turkey), True Cross at, 244, 249  
 apotheosis, of Roman emperors, 357  
 Arechis, duke of Benevento (758–87), obtains relics, 248, 251–52  
 Arnegund, Frankish queen (d. 565 x 570), 365  
 Arthurian romances, 127–28, 129, 138–39, 156–57, 166  
 Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, 157, 188–90  
 Assyrians, kings of, 108, 155, 393  
 Attila, king of the Huns (435/40–453), 355–56  
 Aucklandshire (England), 142  
 Augustus, Roman emperor (27 BC–AD 14), 183, 344, 353  
 Avignon (France), Palace of the Popes, 403–04; bureaucratic offices in, 51–53; façades of, 65–66; gardens of, 106–07; Great Tinel in, 43–44; menagerie of, 108; private apartments in, 46–47, 51, 61, 113, 114, 161  
*Baile Chuinn Chétchathaig* (“Vision of Conn of the Hundred Battles”), 335  
 Baldwin I, Latin emperor of Byzantium (1204–5), inauguration of, 322  
 Balliol, John, king of Scots (1292–96), 337  
 Bamburgh (England), 375, 376, 404  
 Bardney (England), 375–76, 377  
 Basil I, Byzantine emperor (867–86), 255  
 Beaumaris (Wales), 190  
 beds, state, 46, 62, 78, 80, 380  
 Bellver Castle (Mallorca), 90, 91  
 Benedict XII, pope (1334–42), 43, 106, 108  
 Benedictional of the Duke of Bedford, 253  
 Benevento (Italy), 248, 251–52, 404  
*Beowulf*, epic poem, 37–38, 39, 166, 352, 353–54, 355–56  
 Beresford, Maurice, historian, 190

- Bodiam Castle (England), 110  
 Bollilhope Common, Stanhope (England), altar from, 145–45  
*Book of the Ceremonies*, 31, 33, 50, 53, 295–97  
*Book of Lismore*, poem in, 93–94  
 Borre (Norway), burial mounds at, 352, 404  
 Brian Bóruma, king of Munster (978–1014), 335  
 Bruges (Belgium), entry into in 1127, 224; entry of Philip the Good into, 237–38; Holy Blood at, 249  
 burial places, 344–86; cosmic associations of, 363–64; domed mausolea, 12, 359–64; mounds, 344–57; necropolises, 307, 310, 364–77
- Caernarfon (Wales), 68–69, 107, 190, 404  
 Cannock Chase (England), 145  
*Capitulaire de Villis*, 104, 149  
*Capture of the City of Orange*, Old French epic poem, 118, 119  
 Capua (Italy), Porta di Capua, 90, 220–21, 229–32, 404  
 Carloman, king of the Franks (d. 771), 368, 369  
 Carloman, king of the Franks (d. 884), 368, 369  
 Cassiodorus, Roman senator (d. c.580), 59–60  
 Castel del Monte (Apulia, Italy), 86–90, 404–05  
 Castelreagh Hill (Northern Ireland), throne from, 336  
 Castiglione, courtier and author (1478–1529), 194  
 Castle Howard (England), 97, 405  
 Castruccio Castracani, lord of Lucca, triumph of, 207  
 Cefalu (Italy), 307, 382, 384  
*Charlemagne and Pope Leo*, epic Latin poem, 157  
 Charlemagne, king of the Franks (768–814) and emperor (800–14), 25, 26–27, 76, 77, 78, 79, 104, 108; builds Aachen, 273; burial of, 326–27, 365, 379; continues hunting in old age, 156; crown attributed to, 266; enters Rome, 223; inauguration of, 323; in Notker the Stammerer, 154, 326; receives elephant, 131; as saint, 324, 325, 326–27, 379; in *Song of Roland*, 117, 118–19; sword attributed to, 266, 267  
 Charles IV, king of Bohemia (1346–78) and Holy Roman Emperor (1355–78), 43, 193, 234; building work at Aachen, 326; building work at Prague, 8, 172, 191–93, 234–36, 299; builds Karlštejn, 254, 256; burial of, 216, 370; Golden Bull of, 324; and relics, 234, 235, 259–60, 262, 262, 263, 268–69; represented in art, 235, 261, 262, 300, 301; and St. Wenceslas, 235–36, 370  
 Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor (1519–56), 63, 118  
 Charles V, king of France (1364–80), 21, 47, 177, 191, 192, 197, 198, 342; distributes relics, 255, 259, 261  
 Charles IX, king of France, 342  
 Charles Martel, mayor of the palace (d. 751), 367, 368, 369  
 Charles the Bald, king of West Frankia (840–77) and emperor (875–77), 156, 365, 366, 368, 369  
 Cheddar (England), 145  
 Chrétien de Troyes, *Perceval*, 156–57  
 Christian IV, king of Norway (1588–1648), 390  
 circus, as cosmic image, 363–64  
 cities, 169–239; as capital cities, 191–93, 250–54, 272; founded by caliphs, 186–87; founded by Christian rulers, 187–90; gates of, 210–14; layouts of, 179–82, 187–8, 189, 190, 377; prominent sites of, 171–78; relationship to palaces, 194–200; role of rulers in, 183–90; seals of, 182–83; symbolism of, 178–83; thoroughfares and processional ways in, 198, 200, 214–17, 218, 237–38, 328, 362  
 Clarendon Palace, near Salisbury (England), 139–40, 151, 405; forest of, 140; parks of, 140  
 Clement VI, pope (1342–52), 43, 46, 66, 106, 108, 161  
 Clovis, king of the Franks (468–511): baptism of, 329–30, 331; founds Holy Apostles, 365; triumph of, 207  
 Clovis II, king of the Franks (d. 657), 365, 367, 368, 369  
 Cogidubnus, native British king (first century AD), 104  
 Cologne (Germany): gates of, 212–14; seal of, 182, 183; walls of, 182  
 Conrad II, king of Germany (1024–39), 262, 265  
 Constance, queen of Henry VI, 384  
 Constance of Arles, queen of Robert the Pious, 368, 369  
 Constance of Castile, wife of Philip, son of Louis VI, 368, 369  
 Constans II, Byzantine emperor (641–68), inauguration of, 322  
 Constantine the Great, Roman emperor (306–37), 76, 158–61, 184, 185, 186, 210, 242; elevation of, 321; Golden Octagon of, 63, 284; mausoleum, 360; as saint, 377; and True Cross, 249, 260  
 Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, Byzantine emperor (913–20, 945–59), 206; and True Cross, 260–61  
 Constantine IX Monomachos, Byzantine emperor (1042–55), 108  
 Constantinople (Istanbul, Turkey), 184, 185–86, 405; —Blachernae Palace, 105, 109  
 —Forum of Constantine, 184, 185, 206, 249  
 —foundation of, 186  
 —Great Palace, 31, 250; bureaucratic offices in, 50, 53; Chalke Gate into, 247, 295; garden at, 105; Golden Triclinium (*Chrysotriklinos*) of, 31, 33, 295, 393; Magnaura of, 115; St. Mary of the Lighthouse at, 244, 250–51, 252, 295; St. Stephen's Chapel at, 246–47  
 —Hagia Sophia: architecture of, 283, 284; imperial procession to, 295–99; mosaic over Imperial Doors of, 297, 299; relics at, 250; role in inaugurations, 322, 323  
 —as Heavenly Jerusalem, 252  
 —Hippodrome, 184, 185, 206; role in inaugurations, 321, 322  
 —inaugurations at, 320–23  
 —Holy Apostles (mausoleum of Constantine), 360, 362, 365, 377  
 —land walls of, 68–69, 184  
 —parks near, 105, 108  
 —relics at, 244, 245–47, 249, 250, 251, 252, 255  
 Constantius (293–306), emperor, entry into London, 233–34  
 Conwy (Wales), 107, 190  
 Córdoba (Spain), Great Mosque, 311–17, 405; maqsura of, 315–16; minaret of, 315; mosaics of, 314; relic of Uthmān at, 314  
 Corfe Castle (England), 109  
 Cornut, Gautier, archbishop of Sens, 247, 251  
 coronations: at Aachen, 286; at London, 39, 216; at Monreale, 309; at Prague, 216  
 Coutances (France): park at, 107  
 Cremona (Italy), triumph of Frederick II at, 207

- Criccieth (Wales), 190  
Cúán úa Lochcháin, writer (d. 1024), 335
- Dagobert, king of the Franks (d. 639), 365, 366, 368, 369  
Damascus (Syria), Great Mosque, 313, 314  
David, biblical king of Israel, 163–64, 292, 309  
*De Shíl Chonairi Móir* (“Of the Race of Conaire Mór”), 335, 336  
*Detestandae feritatis*, bull, 378, 401  
Devonshire Hunting Tapestries, 151, 152  
dindsenchas, Old Irish poem, 335, 414  
Diocletian, Roman emperor (286–305), 12, 359  
Dome of the Rock (Jerusalem), 90  
Domitian, Roman emperor (AD 81–96), 12, 144, 156  
*Domus Aurea*. *See* Rome, Golden House  
Dourdan (France), château of, 99–101  
Dunadd (Scotland), 145, 336, 405
- Edmund, king of England (939–46), 145  
Edward, duke of York (d. 1415), hunting manual by, 151  
Edward I, king of England (1272–1307): marriage of, 128; and Scotland, 337, 339; and Wales, 66–67, 190  
Edward II, king of England (1307–27), 366  
Edward III, king of England (1330–77), 128  
Edward IV, king of England (1461–70, 1471–83), 366  
Edward the Confessor, king of England (1042–66), 374; builds Westminster Abbey, 302; crown and ring of, 328; as saint, 80, 302, 327, 373–74, 375; shrine of, 266, 328, 337, 371–74; sword of, 266  
Edward the Elder, king of the West Saxons (899–924), 187  
Einhard, *Life of Charlemagne*, 156, 326  
Eltham (England), palace, 115  
Ennodius, bishop of Pavia (d. 521), 60  
Ermentrude, queen of Charles the Bald, 368  
Ermold the Black, *Poem on Louis the Pious*, 36, 76, 103, 151–54, 155–56  
Exeter Cathedral (England), 41, 42
- Falcandus, Hugo, chronicler, 178, 198  
Feast of the Lance and the Holy Nails, 268–69  
Federico of Montefeltro, duke of Urbino (1444–74), 27, 194, 198  
Feidlimid mac Crimthainn, king of Munster (ninth century), 335  
Ferdinand III, king of Aragon (1199/1201–1252), 211  
Ferdinand III, king of Castile (1217–52), 71  
Fillastre, Guillaume, chancellor of the order of the Golden Fleece, 60  
Fishbourne (England), Roman palace, 102, 103–04, 405–06  
Fisher King, 157  
Flint (Wales), 190  
Flodoard of Reims, chronicler, 330  
Forest of Dean (England), 150  
forests, 136–67; and bureaucratic power, 147–50; definition of, 136–38; in England, 138, 139; forest law, 136–37, 145, 148; and German nationhood, 164–66; and ideological power, 155–66; mineral extraction in, 149, 150; officials for, 148–49; origins of, 145–47; and personal power, 150–55; relationship to palaces, 138–44; royal rights over, 147–50; scale of, 138
- Fortescue, Sir John, *The Governance of England*, 60  
fountains, 120–22, 124, 126, 216, 277  
Framlingham (England), castle, 110  
Francis I, king of France (1515–47), 118; funeral of, 380–81; tomb of, 381, 382, 383  
Frankfurt-am-Main (Germany), 406; forests near, 138, 141; inaugurations at, 324; palace at, 138  
Frederick II, king of Sicily (1198–1250) and Holy Roman Emperor (1220–50): besieges Aachen, 324; builds Castel del Monte, 86, 89–90, 91; builds Porta di Capua, 220, 230–32; enters Jerusalem, 236; hunting treatise of, 155; lays out park and gardens, 105; tomb of, 384, 385; triumph of at Cremona, 207  
Frederick Barbarossa, king of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor (1152–90), 30, 53, 281, 325, 378  
Frederick the Fair, king of Germany (1314–30), 267  
funerals, 353–56; division of bodies preparatory to, 378–79; marking end of reigns, 380–81; ships used in, 356
- gardens and parks, 44, 99–135; automata in, 124, 126; in Carolingian period, 104–05, 134–35; enclosed garden (*hortus conclusus*), 122–23; in Islam, 121; menageries in, 108, 124, 131–32; symbolism of, 119–35; water-features in, 23, 24, 25, 72, 73, 75, 102–03, 111. *See also* fountains  
Garden of Eden, 120  
“Garden of Love” panel, 5, 124–26  
Gaston Phoebus, hunting manual by, 156, 159  
Gelnhausen (Germany), imperial palace, 30, 406  
Geoffrey I de Montbray, bishop of Coutances (1049–93), 107  
Gerald of Wales (c.1146–1220 x 1223), 337, 341  
Gervasius and Protasius, martyrs, relics of, 249  
Ghent (Belgium), 209–10  
gloriettes, 109  
Gloucester (England), 366, 377  
Godescalc Evangelistary, 121, 122  
Gokstad (Norway), 352, 406  
Golden Book of St Emmeram (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14000), 80  
Gonzaga, Ludovico III, duke of Mantua (1412–78), 198  
Gorm, king of Denmark (d. c.958), 350  
Goslar (Germany), 141, 150, 324, 340, 406  
Granada (Spain), Alhambra, 174, 175, 406; Palace of Charles V, 63–65, 174, 175; Palace of Comares, 16–18, 24–25, 61, 82–83, 84, 175; Palace of the Lions, 24, 83, 85, 109, 175  
Gregory IV, pope (827–44), 34  
Guillaume de Passavant, bishop of Le Mans (1142–86), 109–10  
Guntram, king of Orléans (d. 593), 148–49, 266
- Hadrian, Roman emperor (117–38), 23, 117, 158, 159; builds Pantheon; 184, 241; mausoleum of, 346, 358–59  
Hadrian’s Villa. *See* Tivoli  
Haervey (“army-road”), 351  
Hampton Court Palace, Kingston-on-Thames (England), 49, 69–70, 130, 406  
Harald, king of the Danes (early ninth century), 36, 151–54



- Harald Bluetooth, king of Denmark (d. 985/6), 350, 351, 353, 354  
 Harold Godwinsson, king of England (1042–66), 327–28  
 Harun al-Rashid, caliph (786–809), 186  
 Hatfield Forest (England), 137, 150  
 Helen, mother of Emperor Constantine the Great, 243–44, 249  
 Henry I, king of England (1100–1135), 107, 108, 139, 378  
 Henry I, king of France (1031–60), 329, 368, 369  
 Henry I, the Fowler, king of Germany (919–36), 265, 370  
 Henry II, king of England (1154–89), 371  
 Henry II, king of France (1547–59), 341, 380  
 Henry II, king of Germany (1002–24) and Holy Roman Emperor (1014–24), 53, 139, 156, 266, 267, 324  
 Henry III, king of England (1216–72), 46, 107, 108, 139; burial of, 366, 374; inauguration of, 327; devotion to Edward the Confessor, 371, 374; rebuilds Westminster Abbey, 8, 91–92, 302, 304, 305; receives Holy Blood, 248; throne of, 40, 42  
 Henry III, king of France (1574–89), 77  
 Henry III, king of Germany (1028–56) and Holy Roman Emperor (1046–56), 53, 324  
 Henry IV, king of England (1399–1413), 366  
 Henry IV, king of France (1589–1610), 329  
 Henry IV, king of Germany (1084–1105/06) and Holy Roman Emperor (1056–1105/06), 53, 263  
 Henry V, king of England (1413–22), triumph at London, 238  
 Henry VI, king of England (1422–61, 1470–71), 61  
 Henry VI, king of Germany (1169–97), king of Sicily (1194–97), Holy Roman Emperor (1191–97), 384  
 Henry VII, king of Germany (1308–13), Holy Roman Emperor (1312–13), 224  
 Henry VIII, king of England (1509–47), 70, 130, 143, 156  
 Heraclius, Byzantine emperor (610–41), 244  
 Hercules, mythical hero and demigod, 78, 79, 159  
 Hermann von Salm, German ruler (inaugurated 1081), 324  
 Hermann, Duke of Carinthia (inaugurated 1161), 339  
 Hesdin (France), 123–26, 129–30, 406–7  
 hetimasia. *See* thrones  
 Hincmar, archbishop of Reims (845–82), 329–30  
 Holkham Bible Picture Book, 180  
 Hugh Capet, king of France (987–96), 77, 367, 368, 369  
 Hugh the Great (d. 956), 368, 369  
 hunting: in forests, 137–38, 139, 142, 145, 157; as essential part of rulership, 155–67; in parks, 140, 144; in ancient times, 155, 158, 164; and bureaucratic power, 149; and ideological power, 155–66; and personal power, 149–55  
 Ibn Fadlān, account of embassy by, 352  
 Ibn Zamrak, court poet, 109  
 Imperial Cross. *See* Vienna  
 inaugurations, 320–43  
 —early medieval, 323  
 —inauguration stones, 336, 339; Lia Fáil, phallic standing stone, 332, 333, 334, 335; Stone of Scone, 336–39  
 —as marriages, 341–42  
 —places of: Aachen (Germany), 323–27, 337; Constantinople (Istanbul, Turkey), 321–22, 337; Frankfurt-am-Main (Germany), 324; Goslar (Germany), 324; Karnsburg (Austria), 339; Kenelcunill (Tír Conaill, Northern Ireland), 341–42; Kingston-upon-Thames (England), 336; Limoges (France), 323; Mainz (Germany), 324; Metz (France), 323; Noyon (France), 323; Reims (France), 329–31, 327; Rhens (Germany), 339; Soissons (France), 323; Saint-Denis (France), 323, 340; Scone (Scotland), 337–39; Tara (Ireland), 331–35; Westminster, 327–29, 337  
 —Roman and Byzantine, 320–23; by raising on shield, 321, 322  
 Ingelheim (Germany), palace, 25–27, 36, 65, 76, 151–54, 197, 407  
 Isma'il I, sultan of Granada (1314–25), 16, 24  
 Istanbul. *See* Constantinople  
 James I, king of Scots (1406–37), 339  
 James I “The Conqueror,” king of Aragon (1213–76), 18  
 James II, king of Majorca (1276–1311), 18  
 James IV, king of Scots (1488–1513), 49, 110, 111, 174  
 Jelling (Denmark), 347–50, 351, 353, 354, 407  
 Jerusalem, 181, 244, 261, 378; Aqsa mosque, 313, 314; church of Holy Sepulchre in, 243–44, 254, 284; entries into, 236–37; Heavenly Jerusalem, 181–83, 188, 193, 238, 252, 257, 259, 285, 292, 295, 307, 308, 310; temple at, 254, 285  
 John II Comnenos, Byzantine emperor (1122–42), 161  
 John of Luxembourg, king of Bohemia (1310–46), 370  
 Julian, Roman emperor (332–63), elevation of, 320, 321  
 Justin II, Byzantine emperor (565–78), 33  
 Justinian, Byzantine emperor (527–65), 282–83, 284, 295, 397  
 Kaiserwerth (Germany), palace, 53–55, 407  
 Karlštejn Castle (Czech Republic), 255–60, 261, 262, 407  
 Karnsburg (Austria), 339, 408  
 Kaupang (Norway), 352, 408  
 Knockans (Ireland), earthworks at, 334  
 Kutná Hora (Czech Republic), Italian Court, 55–57, 408  
 Ladislav, king of Naples (1414–28), 384–85  
 “Land-Surveyors” (*Agrimensores*), 180  
 Lechfeld, battle of, 265  
 Leeds Castle (England), 110  
 Lejre (Denmark), 10, 37, 142, 166, 408  
 Leo III, pope (795–816), 33, 38, 78, 79, 223  
 Leon (Spain), church of St. Isidore, 365  
 Lindisfarne (Holy Island, England), 375, 376  
 Linlithgow (Scotland), palace, 110, 408  
 Liudprand of Cremona, western ambassador to Constantinople, 115, 132, 265  
 Lodwijk van Velthen, Dutch chronicler, 127–28  
 London (England). *See also* Westminster Abbey, Westminster Palace  
 —Constantius’s entry into, 233–34  
 —thoroughfare and processional way, 200, 216, 217, 238, 328; Cheapside, 216, 217, 238  
 —Tower of London, 176–77, 179, 307, 408; menagerie at, 108, 408  
 —triumph of Henry V at, 238  
 Lorsch (Germany), 218, 219, 408

- Louis III, king of the Franks (d. 884), 368, 369  
 Louis VI the Fat, king of France (1108–37), 191, 368, 329369  
 Louis VII, king of France (1137–80), 329, 365  
 Louis VIII, king of France (1223–26), 366, 368, 369  
 Louis IX, king of France (1226–70): builds Aigues Mortes, 90; builds Sainte-Chapelle, 252–54, 294; burial of, 368; displays relics, 255, 256; obtains relics of Christ's Passion, 247, 251; as saint, 368; at Saint-Denis, 366  
 Louis XII, king of France (1462–1515), 381, 382, 383  
 Louis XIV, king of France (1643–1715), 5, 342  
 Louis XV, king of France (1461–83), 365  
 Louis the German, east Frankish ruler (806–76), 255  
 Louis the Pious, emperor of the Franks (814–40), 36, 77, 151–54, 155–56, 157–58; falls at Aachen, 277; inauguration of, 323  
 Lucca (Italy), triumph at, 207  
 Lucerne (Switzerland), entry of Emperor Sigismund into, 224, 225  
 Lucerne Chronicle of Diebold Schillings the Younger, 224, 225  
 Ludwig IV, king of Germany (1282–1347), 267, 268  
  
*Mabinogion*, cycle of Welsh stories, 154  
 Madinat al-Zahrā (Spain), 121, 408; foundation of, 186–87; gardens at, 121, 123; Great Portico at, 215, 218, 220; Hall of 'Abd al-Rahmān III (*Salon Rico*) in, 121; road from Córdoba to, 215; thoroughfare (ramped street) in, 200, 215; site of, 171  
 Mantua (Italy), 198, 200  
 Marcus Aurelius, Roman emperor (161–80), 205, 210, 211, 228, 230  
 Maurice, Byzantine emperor (582–602), and True Cross, 260  
 Maxentius, Roman emperor (306–12), 362  
 Meinhard II, Duke of Carinthia (inaugurated 1286), 339  
 Milan (Italy), chapel of S. Aquilino, 364  
 miradors, 109  
 Missorium of Theodosius I, 14, 15, 413  
 Modena (Italy), Holy Lance at, 265  
 Monreale (Italy), 307–11, 384, 409; throne at, 308–10, 340  
 Monza (Italy), crown at, 265  
 mqarnas decoration, 16, 17, 83, 111, 112, 292  
 Mudéjar style, 72–76  
 Muhammad V, sultan of Granada (1354–59, 1362–91), 16, 24, 75  
 Muirchu, Life of St Patrick, 335  
  
 Nanthild, queen of Dagobert, 366, 368, 369  
 Naples (Italy): Castel Nuovo, 207, 208, 221–22; relics at, 252; San Giovanni a Carbonara, 384–85; triumph at, 207–8, 209  
 Nendrum (Ireland), monastery, 180–81  
 Nero, Roman emperor (AD 37–68), 27  
 New Forest (England), 138, 140, 409  
 Nicephorus Phocas, Byzantine emperor (963–69), 132  
 Nidaros (Trondheim, Norway), 37  
 North Oxfordshire Grim's Ditch (England), 147, 415  
 Notker the Stammerer, ninth-century writer, 154, 156, 326  
 Nuremberg (Germany), 10, 409; forests around, 142, 143; gardens and park at, 105; relics and regalia displayed at, 269, 270; royal palace at, 172, 173–74  
 Nuremberg Chronicle (fifteenth century), 172, 173  
  
 Odo of Deuil, western writer, 108  
 Odo (Eudes), king of France (888–98), 368, 369  
 Oengus, son of Fergus, king of eastern Scotland (d. 761), 163–64  
 Offa, king of Mercia (757–96), 376  
 Oseberg (Norway), ship burial at, 356  
 Osthryth, queen of Mercia, 375–76, 377  
 Oswald, king of Northumbria (634–42), as saint, 374–77, 378  
 Otto I, king of Germany (936–73) and Holy Roman Emperor (962–73), 265, 324, 340, 378  
 Otto III, king of Germany (983–1002) and Holy Roman Emperor (996–1002): burial of, 365; coronation of, 286; opens Charlemagne's tomb, 326–27, 379  
 Otto IV, king of Germany (inaugurated 1198), 324  
 Oviedo (Spain), holy ark at, 250  
  
 Paderborn (Germany), palace, 38–39, 409  
 palaces, 11–98  
 —components of: basilicas, 34–36; bureaucratic offices and treasuries, 50–57; chapels, 18–19; courtyards, 12, 13, 23–27; entrances, 11–18, 25–26; façades, 11–18, 40, 65–66; galleries, 12–19, 27–30; halls, 25, 36–44; private rooms and apartments, 44–49; staircases, 18–22; triclinia, 31–34, 45, 78, 79, 80–82, 115–16  
 —decoration and style, 59–98; domes, 80–85; geometry, 86–96; iconography of, 76–80; magnificence of, 59–62, 86; stylistic imitation in, 63–76  
 —landscapes around, 99–167; views of, 109–11. *See also* gardens and parks, forests  
 —meaning of word, 9–10  
 Palermo (Italy), 178, 409; Cappella Palatina, 289–94, 340; cathedral, 307, 308, 384, 385; Palace of the Normans, 113, 114, 172, 173; processional ways, 198; Zisa Palace, 111–13, 120, 121, 293  
 Paris (France), 191, 410  
 —Holy Apostles, 365  
 —Hôtel Saint-Pol, 58  
 —Les Halles, 191, 195  
 —Louvre, 21, 47–48, 58, 108, 177–78, 179, 195  
 —Notre Dame, 303–04, 380  
 —Palais de la Cité, 58, 142, 176, 195; bureaucratic offices in, 50–52; gardens of, 105–6; Grands Degrés (Great Staircase) at, 18–20; great hall of, 42–43, 50, 77–78; perron at, 117–18, 339; Sainte-Chapelle at, 252–54, 255, 294–95, 303, 368  
 —processional ways through, 200  
 —walls of, 191, 192–93  
 parks. *See* gardens and parks  
 Parliament Altarpiece (*Retable du Parlement*), 20, fig. 2-7  
 Pedro the Cruel, king of Castile and León (1350–69), 73, 75–76  
 Perpignan (France), Palace of the Kings of Majorca, 18–19, 410  
 perron (perrun), 117–18, 339  
 Pertinax, Roman emperor (275–76), election of, 320



- Philip I, king of France (1060–1108), 365  
 Philip IV the Fair, king of France (1285–1314), 19, 20, 42, 43, 51, 77, 368  
 Philip V, king of France (1316–22), 379, 380  
 Philip, son of Louis VI (d. 1131), 368, 369  
 Philip Augustus, king of France (1180–1223), 77, 177, 191, 192, 330, 366, 367, 368, 369  
 Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy (1419–67): entry into Bruges, 237–38; entry into Ghent, 209–10, 223–24; in park of Hesdin, 124–26  
 Philip von Schwaben, German ruler (1198–1208), 324  
 Phocas, Byzantine emperor (602–10), inauguration of, 322  
 Piazza Armerina (Italy), Villa Romana di Casale, 410; landscape around, 143; mosaics in, 61, 78, 79, 132–34, 143–44; plan of, 195, 196; triclinium at, 31, 32  
 Pippin III, king of the Franks (751–68), 149, 156, 323, 365, 368, 369  
 Plato, *Timaeus*, 179  
 porphyry, 291, 297, 309, 382, 384  
 Prague (Czech Republic), 410–11  
   —Charles Bridge, 175, 194, 216, 234–365  
   —New Town, 193–94, 216: Great Market (Charles Square), 193, 194, 216, 268  
   —palace, 172, 174, 175, 194  
   —Powder Tower, 216, 217  
   —relics at, 268–69  
   —St. Vitus's Cathedral, 174, 175, 234, 299–301, 372; chapel of St. Wenceslas in, 371, 372, 373; as necropolis, 368, 370; relics at, 268, 300; rotunda of St. Vitus under, 371, 372  
   —thoroughfare for processions, 216, 217, 234–35  
   —Vyšehrad, 193, 216  
   —walls, 191–93  
 Pravia (Spain), church of St. John, 365  
  
 Radegund, Frankish queen (d. 587), 249  
 Ravenna (Italy), 411; Arian Baptistry at, 309–11; Mausoleum of Theoderic at, 360, 362, 363; San Vitale at, 90, 282–83, 284  
 Raving Enge (Denmark), bridge, 351, 407  
 Rayonnant (Court) Style, 294–95, 304, 410  
 regalia, 39, 265–71, 309, 380, 381  
   —of Byzantine emperors, 295  
   —crowns and diadems: 320, 321, 325; of Bohemia, 265, 371; attributed to Charlemagne, 270, 324; of Edward the Confessor, 328; of Holy Roman Empire, 259–60, 265–66; of Monza, 265  
   —as relics, 265–71  
   —rings as, 328, 341  
   —of Roman emperors, 321  
   —of Scottish kings, 337  
   —spurs as, 328  
   —stored: at Aachen, 325, 326; at Prague, 371; at Saint-Denis, 330; at Westminster, 328  
   —swords as, 266, 267, 325, 328  
 Reims (France), 411; abbey of Saint-Rémi, 330; cathedral, 302, 303, 330–31; inaugurations at, 329–31; Palace of Tau, 330, 342; Porte de Mars, 218, 219  
 relics, 242–72, 259. *See also* Reliquary Cross of Bohemia  
   —and capital cities, 250–54  
   —of Christ's Passion, 243–44, 247, 250–52, 253–54, 255, 257, 259, 261, 300; associated with rulers, 254–65; Black Rood, 337; Crown of Thorns, 243, 247, 251, 252, 254–55, 259, 261, 265, 300; Holy Blood, 248, 249; Holy Lance, 193, 244, 247, 250, 251, 252, 255, 263–68, 300; Mandylion, 250, 252; nail, 263, 265, 267, 268; swaddling clothes, 250, 252; True Cross, 244, 249–50, 251, 252, 254, 255, 256, 261–62, 263–64, 267, 268, 300  
   —displays (*ostentationes*) of, 255, 256, 267–71; at Aachen, 269–71; at Basel, 267; at Prague, 268–69, 300; at Nuremberg, 269, 270  
   —entries into cities of, 245–48, 268, 272  
   —as guardians, 248–50  
   —of individual saints: Andrew, 377; Benedict of Nursia, 251; Charlemagne, 324; Helianus, 251; Januarius, 252; John the Baptist, 250; Luke, 377; Maixent, 250; Maurice, 263, 265, 268; Mary, Blessed Virgin, 249, 250, 270; Mercurius of Benevento, 252; Oswald, king, 375–77; Samuel, prophet, 250; Stephen, protomartyr, 246–47, 250; Symeon Stylites the Elder, 247; Twelve Martyrs, 251. *See also* Edward the Confessor  
   —power of, 242–43, 245  
   —processions with, 245–47, 249, 255  
   —and regalia, 265–71; in crowns, 265  
   —of royal saints, 266, 328, 337, 371–78  
   —throne as, 340, 341  
   —of Uthmān, caliph, 314  
 Reliquary Cross of Bohemia, St. Vitus's Cathedral, Prague, 260, 261, 262  
 Rémi, archbishop of Reims (459–553), 329  
*Retable du Parlement*. *See* Parliament Altarpiece.  
 Rhens (Germany), 339  
 Rhuddlan (Wales), 190  
 Richard, first earl of Cornwall and king of Germany (1209–72), 324, 371  
 Richard II, king of England (1377–99), 39, 40, 41, 42, 70, 109, 374, 375  
 Richard Fitz Nigel, bishop of London (1189–98) and royal treasurer, 135–36, 137, 150–51, 167  
 Richard of Ware, abbot of Westminster (1258–83), 92–93  
 Rimini (Italy), triumphal arch, 229–30, 232  
 Robert II, count of Artois (d. 1302), 124, 126  
 Robert Bruce, king of Scots (1306–29), 339  
 Robert the Pious, king of France (972–1031), 368, 369  
 Roger II, king of Sicily (1130–54), 289, 307, 382, 384  
 Rome (Italy), 411–12  
   —Arch of Constantine, 158, 203–6, 218, 232; Dacian scenes on, 226, 227; frieze on, 226, 227, 228, 229; hunting tondi on, 158–61; Marcus Aurelius reliefs on, 210, 211; Unconquered Sun on, 232–33  
   —Arch of Titus, 203, 205, 226  
   —Basilica of Constantine and Maxentius, 35  
   —Field of Mars, 130, 203, 204, 241, 320, 350–51  
   —fora, 183–84; Roman Forum, 13, 203, 205, 206; Trajan's Forum, 35, 184, 185  
   —foundation—myth of, 180  
   —Gardens of Pompey, 130  
   —gates, 230  
   —Golden House (*Domus Aurea*), 27, 28, 80–82, 144  
   —Lateran Palace, 33–34, 78, 79, 121

- Mausoleum of Augustus, 344–46, 346–47, 350–51, 353, 357–58
- Mausoleum of Hadrian (Castel Sant'Angelo), 346–47, 348, 351, 358
- Palace of Domitian: *Domus Augustana* within, 44–45, 90, 102–3; entrance to, 12, 13; gardens of, 102–3; situation of, 9; triclinium of, 31
- Palatine Hill, 9, 13, 171, 205
- Pantheon, 184, 241, 357–58
- rostra, 228, 229
- St. Peter's, 323, 324
- Santa Costanza, 360, 361
- Theatre of Balbus, 223
- Theatre of Marcellus, 223
- Theatre and Porticus of Pompey, 184, 205, 223
- Trajan's Column, 184, 185, 354–55
- Trajan's Markets, 184, 185
- triumphs and entries into, 130–31, 203–05, 206, 223, 236
- Villa and mausoleum of Maxentius, 363–64
- Round Table, orders of, 128–29
- Rudolf II, king of Upper Burgundy (880/5–937), 265
- Rudolf von Rheinfelden, German ruler, inaugurated 1077, 324
  
- Sacramentary of Henry II, 267
- Saint Olaf's Saga, 37, 38
- Saint-Denis (France), former abbey church, 412; forest granted to, 149; inaugurations at, 323, 330, 340; as necropolis, 365–68, 369, 379, 380, 381–83; Rayonnant Style at, 294
- Sainte-Chapelle. *See* Paris
- Salic Law, 250
- saltus (uncultivated and lordless land), 137
- Saumur, Château of (France), 21, 22, 412
- Scone (Scotland), Stone of, 336–39, 412
- sebka decoration, 16, 72, 75
- Septimius Severus, Roman emperor (AD 193–211), 184, 185, 186
- Seville (Spain), 70–71, 412–13
- cathedral, 74, 76
- Gothic Palace, 71–72
- Hall of Justice, 72–73
- Palace of Pedro the Cruel: façade, 14, 15, 16, 72; Patio de las Doncellas, 61, 75; Hall of the Ambassadors, 83, 85
- Royal Gate, 210–11
- Sigismund, Holy Roman Emperor (1433–37), entry into Lucerne, 224, 225; inauguration of, 324
- Silo, king of Asturias (774–83), 365
- Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, Middle English poem, 138–39
- Sirmium (Serbia), 184
- Solomon, biblical king, 254, 285, 292; throne of, 292, 309
- Solomon, Breton potentate (ninth century), 250
- Song of Roland*, Old French epic poem, 117–19
- spears (lances), in ancient times, 266. *See also* relics: Holy Lance
- Split (Croatia), Palace of Diocletian, 12–14, 27, 29, 32, 33, 63, 195, 196, 413; mausoleum at, 12, 359–60, 361, 362, 364
- St. Andrews (Scotland), sarcophagus, 163–64, 412
- Stavelot-Malmèdy (Belgium), monastery, 149
- Stirling (Scotland), castle, 49, 110–11, 174, 176, 413
- Suger, abbot of Saint-Denis (1122–51), 330, 340, 366
- sun, association of rulers with, 232–34, 241, 342, 357–59, 362
- Sutton Hoo (England), 356, 358, 359, 413
  
- Tacitus, Roman emperor (192), election of, 320
- Tacitus, Roman historian, 38
- Tamworth (England), 145
- Tara, Hill of (Ireland), 331–35, 413–14
- Termoli (Italy), 90
- Theoderic, king of the Ostrogoths (471–526): 60, mausoleum of, 360, 363, 364; triumph of, 206
- Theodoricus, Master, painter, 258, 259
- Theodosius II, Byzantine emperor (402–50), 246, 247
- Theophilus, Byzantine emperor (829–42), 31
- Thessaloniki (Greece), 184
- thrones: at Aachen, 277, 286–89, 324, 330–41; at the Alhambra, 83; at Cappella Palatina, 290–92, 294; at Constantinople, 115; of Dagobert, 340; of Emperor Theodosius I, 80, 81; at Goslar, 340; hetimasia, 309–10; at Monreale, 308–10, 340; at Rhens, 339; in Revelation of St. John the Evangelist, 285; *sella curculis*, 321; of Solomon, 292, 309' in *Song of Roland*, 118, 119; stones as, 336, 338; at Westminster Abbey, 40, 41, 328
- Tivoli (Italy), Hadrian's Villa (Villa Adriana), 195, 414; Canopus, 115–17; Maritime Theatre, 63, 64; Piazza d'Oro, 23
- tombs, 381–85
- Trajan, Roman emperor (AD 98–117), 183–84, 226
- Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, 266
- Très Riches Heures of the Duke of Berry, 47, 99–101, 105–06, 178, 198, 199, 294
- Tribur (Germany), subsidiary palace, 141
- Trier (Germany), 184, 414; basilica, 35, 66, 67; entry of relics into, 245–47; seal of, 182, 183; Porta Nigra, 211–12
- Trifels (Germany), castle, 268
- Tristan* romances, 127, 166
- triumphal arches, 218–22
- triumphs and entries, 202–39, 381; barbarian, 206–07; Byzantine, 206; city-gates in, 210–14; development of, 202–08; funerals as, 353, 356, 380; imitating Christ, 236–38, 397; medieval, 207–08, 234–38; Roman, 202–05, 208–09, 210, 232, 233–34; theatricality of, 208–10; triumphal arches in, 218–22
- Trundholm Moss (Denmark), chariot from, 358–59
- Turin (Italy), entry of Henry VII into, 224
  
- Unicorn Tapestries, Cloisters Museum (New York), 62, 162–63
- Urbino (Italy), 27–28, 62, 63, 195, 198, 414
- Uthmān, caliph (644–56), relic of, 314
  
- Valentinian I, Roman emperor (421–75), elevation of, 320–21
- Vanbrugh, Sir John (1664–1726), 97
- Venice (Italy), Palace of the Doge, 21, 22, 414
- Vespasian and Titus, Roman emperors, triumph of, 203–4, 205, 208–9, 222–23, 226

- Vienna (Austria), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Schatzkammer, Imperial Cross, 262–68  
 Villa Adriana. *See* Tivoli  
 Villa Romana di Casale. *See* Piazza Armerina  
 Vincennes (France), 9, 142, 197–98, 199, 414  
 Virgil, *Aeneid*, 151  
 Vischer, Peter, Nuremberg relic book of, 270  
 Vitus, St., patron of Prague and Bohemia, 234, 235, 300
- Walafrid Strabo, ninth-century poet, 105, 134–35, 157–58  
 Wallingford (England), 187–88, 189  
 Wamba, king of the Visigoths (672–80), triumph of, 206–7  
 Weald (England), forest area, 150  
 Weardale (England), Forest of, 142, 145–46  
 Wenceslas, St., duke of Bohemia (921–35), 234, 235, 255, 300, 370; chapel of, 371, 372, 373; as saint, 268, 370–71  
 Wenceslas II, king of Bohemia (1278–1305), 55  
 Wenceslas IV, king of Bohemia (1363–1419), 55, 234, 235, 269  
 Westminster Abbey (England), 414–15; architecture and decoration of, 295, 302–4, 327–28; building and rebuilding of, 302; chapter house, 304, 306–7; Coronation Chair, 337, 338, 339; Holy Blood deposited at, 248; inaugurations at, 216, 327–29; as necropolis, 366; Pyx Chamber, 307; royal pew at, 304, 305, 415; sanctuary pavement, 91–96; Stone of Scone at, 337, 338; throne, 328, 329; relics and shrine of Edward the Confessor at, 266, 328, 337, 371–74  
 Westminster Palace (England), 9, 176, 216, 377, 415; Exchequer at, 50; gardens of, 105; pageant at, 143; Painted Chamber at, 46, 61, 76–77, 78, 80; St. Stephen's Chapel at, 307; Westminster Hall at, 39–42, 50; throne at, 40, 42  
 Whitehall Palace, London (England), 130, 131  
 William I, king of Sicily (1140–66), 111, 294; tomb of, 310  
 William I, the Conqueror, king of England (1066–87), 155, 328  
 William II Rufus, king of England (1087–1100), 39  
 William II, king of Sicily (1166–89), 307, 309, 310, 384  
 Wilton Diptych, 374, 375  
 Winchester (England), 187, 188, 377, 415  
 Windsor Castle (England), 9, 140, 415; gardens of, 107, 109; round table at, 128, 129; tournament at, 128  
 Woodstock Palace (England), 108, 140, 151, 415; Everswell garden at, 127; forest around, 146–47  
 Writtle (Essex), 140, 150, 416  
 Wychwood Forest (England), 147, 415
- Yeavering (England), 10, 36–37, 145, 195, 196, 416  
 Yusuf I, sultan of Granada (1333–54), 82  
 Yvelines (France), forest, 149