CONTENTS

List of Illustrations ix
List of Abbreviations xv
Preface xvii

Chapter One Introduction: The Symbolic Language of Carolingian Authority 1
(a) Early medieval politics and modern historiography 4
(b) The symbolic language of authority: Methodological principles 13
(c) The main media of the symbolic language of Carolingian authority 27
(d) *Rex Francorum—imperator Augustus—gratia Dei rex*: The main codes in the symbolic language of Carolingian authority 39

Chapter Two *Vox auctoritatis*: The Carolingian Liturgy of Authority 43
(a) In search of the Carolingian liturgy of authority 46
(b) The Gelasian *Mass for Kings* (*Missa pro regibus*) and its early Carolingian audiences (c. 750–800) 58
(c) The royal masses of Benedict of Aniane and *The Everyday Mass for a King* (*Missa cotidiana pro rege*) 68
(d) Liturgical reform and the issue of liturgical audiences in the first half of the ninth century 74
(e) Regional variations in royal masses after the reform of Benedict of Aniane (c. 821–877) 83
(f) The liturgy of authority and the court of Charles the Bald 89

Chapter Three *Nomen auctoritatis*: Communication of Authority in Carolingian Titles 101
(a) Communicative nature of Carolingian titles 101
(b) *Inscriptio* and *intitulatio* in Carolingian letters 106
(c) The name of authority communicated 120

(d) Standardization of Carolingian intitulature and the growing significance of the symbolic formula of legitimation 140

Chapter Four *Signum auctoritatis*: Changing Signs of Carolingian Authority 157
(a) The developments of the early medieval *signum* before the reign of Charlemagne 161
(b) Charlemagne's monogram: origins and implications 173
(c) A Roman imperial "revival" of the Carolingian *signum* (800–830s) 182
(d) The signs of Carolingian authority in Italy (800–870s) 188
(e) The use of monograms to the north of the Alps and the birth of "medieval" signs of authority (840–870s) 194

Chapter Five *Imago auctoritatis*: Visual Dialogue on Carolingian Authority 203
(a) The portrait image on coins 208
(b) The portrait image on seals and bulls 216
(c) Images of David 224
(d) The image of the ruler in Carolingian imperial art 228
(e) Rulers' portraits in religious manuscripts in the time of Charles the Bald 235

Chapter Six Conclusion: The Transformation of the Symbolic Language of Carolingian Authority 261
(a) *Rex Francorum*: Frankish tradition continued 262
(b) *Rex Francorum*, David, and *populus Christianus*: New trends in the second half of Charlemagne's reign 272
(c) *Imperator Augustus* and *imperium Christianum*: The appropriation of Roman imperial tradition 286
(d) *Gratia Dei rex*: The dawn of "medieval" tradition 305

Epilogue 319
Appendices 323
Selected Bibliography 347
Index 383