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The Charisma in the Middle Ages

Edited by
Jaume Aurell and Montserrat Herrero

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Editorial

Charisma in the Middle Ages: Theories, Practices, and Representations

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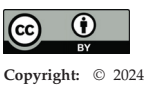

Charisma—a special gift from God that enables some believers to perform prodigious feats such as prophecy, preaching, pardon, and miracles, for the good of the community—was originally conceptualized by St. Paul in the first century. The term charisma is a linguistic variation of *charis*, which was used in ancient Greek literature to refer to a gift, and was always closely related to the experience of beauty. The concept of charisma was later assumed by thirteenth-century scholastic theologians, who preserved Paul's meaning but connected it to the related notion of grace. In the early twentieth century, Max Weber redefined charisma, and its use in historical, social, political, and economic analysis, as captivating attractiveness or charm that enables one to engage in political, economic, and religious leadership. Appropriated and secularized by Weberian and post-Weberian sociology, charisma has since entered the core of the contemporary social sciences, generating an intense and long-lasting debate that lasts to this day—but at the cost of misrepresenting its original meaning.

This Special Issue of *Religions* analyzes the concept of charisma in the Middle Ages based on Paul's original use of the term in the first century, freeing it from its anachronistic post-Weberian definitions. Though governed by medievalists, this collection comprises a solid interdisciplinary group of historians, art historians, classicists, literary critics, and political philosophers. It examines the concept, theory, practice, and representations of charisma in the Middle Ages, including its institutional developments, its religious and political implications, its forms of ritualization, its doctrinal presumptions, its iconographic representations, its projection to the objects, and its paradoxical relationship with authority and law. It also provides a space for interdisciplinary dialogue between history, theology, canon law, art history, political philosophy, and symbolic anthropology, prioritizing examination of the transferences between the spiritual and the temporal; the sacred and the profane; the political and the religious.

Theories

The term "charisma" has a long history. In Biblical Hebrew, it is spelled חנן (Ḥ-N-N) and signifies a "generous benefit of God" or "his forgiveness". It also conveys the more general meaning of "favor" or "charm". In 77 occurrences, often related to the vocabulary of joy, the Septuagint translates it as χάρις and the Vulgate translates it as *gratia*. Paul (Rom 12, 1 Cor 12) defines it as "a gift of God", but more specifically as an extraordinary talent conferred by the Holy Spirit, mainly of speech, but also for governing, healing, or operating miracles, serving as a foundation of the Church. In I Peter 4:10, one receives charisma "for the service of the others". In the New Testament, χάρισμα appears as a gift from God to some Christians, and helps them serve the community.

The sense of the word charisma has changed radically in the modern world. In the nineteenth century, sociology assigned the term a more personal, individual signification:

the capacity for using seduction, influence, and fascination to govern and also to manipulate others. In 1912, in *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen* (*The Social Teachings of Christian Churches and Groups*), the sociologist Ernst Troeltsch (1912) described "charismatic authority" over a sect: a small, deviant religious group. This overtly negative connotation of the word focuses on the profit that a person can obtain from others. Ten years later, Troeltsch's book, paired with discussion within the Church between Catholic and Protestant positions which crystallized in Rudoph Sohm's idea of the charismatic church, inspired Max Weber's use of the concept of charisma in his study of the three types of legitimate rule, published in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (*Economy and Society*). His prestigious thought on charisma has become the doxa in human sciences. It considers an exceptional character whose extraordinary qualities provide him/her with strong leadership and influence over a group. These talents could be related to supernatural powers bestowed by God. They provide infallibility to their holder, who becomes the object of a cult of personality by his adepts or followers. This destructive situation would nonetheless take the form of routinized bureaucratic charisma after the death of the founder. It coexists with the existent legal, rational, and coercive authority. Interesting as it may be, without the proper nuance, this Weberian definition of charisma should be considered anachronistic to the study of medieval political theology.

As David A. Bell has recently argued, while social scientists have generated a massive amount of literature on charisma, the concept has seldom been considered by historians, with a few notable exceptions such as Brigitte Bedos-Rezak. This volume attempts to palliate this lack of historiographical interest, proceeding chronologically through different disciplines. The concept is broadened by C. Stephen Jaeger, who refers to the work of two other authors: Goethe and Clifford Geertz. In his view, both the poet and the symbolic anthropologist offer a superpersonal perspective on the subject—Goethe's idea of "the Demonic", formulated in his autobiography, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, and Clifford Geertz's study of charisma as a determinant in societies and governing orders. Like truth and beauty or good and evil, charisma lends itself to analysis as an abstract concept. While these concepts manifest in people, things, works of art, and human actions, they are also understandable as ideas separate from any personal or social context. This allows the concept of charisma to be extended to the entire aesthetic dimension. The terms "charisma", "aura", and "enchantment" can be profitably rehabilitated as critical concepts for the analysis of art, literature, and films; their aesthetics; their impact on the audience; and the psychology of both stars and fans. In this Special Issue, this field is developed not only by Jaeger but also by Anna-Maria Moubayed and Alfons Puigarnau.

However, perhaps the most important feature of this volume is that it does not simply derive the notion of charisma from the Weberian genealogy; it also revisits the frequently overlooked Pauline's concept by rescuing medieval case studies, since Pauline's concept was only present in the medieval world when speaking of extraordinary elements associated with power, other than magic or the demonic.

Practices and Representations

These theoretical perspectives on charisma, based on an interdisciplinary viewpoint, allow the contributing authors to apply the concept to different aspects of medieval society.

The first topic of discussion is the discourse. Charisma explores the dialectical relation between legacy and merit. C. Stephen Jaeger emphasizes the transformation from sacred to profane charisma during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which represents an end to the life-cycle of charismatic culture, and the transition to intellectual and textual culture. This consists of a very deep mutation, in which charisma surrenders its theological implications in order to infiltrate art and culture.

Antonio Bento relates the modern definition of charisma to its Jewish root of Puritan criticism against idolatry and its suspicion regarding the "hysterical adoration of the great men". This "idol" or "strange" worship was denounced by Moses Maimonides (1138–1204) as an error of substitution or an anthropomorphic conception of God. In pre-Christian society, a supernatural strength emanated from the chief, who shared his power with the

gods thanks to the *σύνθρονον* institution developed by Ernst Kantorowicz and rediscovered by Alfons Puigarnau. Similarly, the bond of Constance I, the army, and the supreme divinity, presented by Álex Corona, coincided with the Roman Empire's transition from an ancient to a new conception of the ruler's charisma. The transfer of the pagan supernatural force of the chief to the medieval kings should be studied from an anthropological perspective, considering the determinant Christian influence. This was the nuanced method that Marc Bloch practiced in works such as *Les Rois Thaumaturges* (*The Thaumaturge Kings*, 1924), while using the numerous data gathered by James Frazer in *The Golden Bough* (1890) from the so-called primitive societies.

The second major subject that governs this volume is that of religious practices in the Middle Ages. The Judaeo-Christian contempt for superstition allows a distinction to be made between sacrality, related to paganism, and sanctity. Amicie Pelissie du Rausas attributes the term "charismatic" to Saint Louis, identifying two sources of charisma: sacred kingship and personal holiness. She questions the nature of the charismatic relationship that linked Louis IX to his contemporaries, concluding that "if the sacrality of Louis IX pre-existed him, his sanctity is a post-death construction". Her work also addresses the question of what attributes of a living character would indicate a charismatic personality. The religious aura of the king, which best echoes the Paulinian version of charisma, was sometimes at odds with the political expectations levied on a medieval ruler, which a Weberian definition of charisma helps to define. Pelissie du Rausas concludes that the crusades provided a unique setting in which the king's Christ-like qualities and his political leadership could be reconciled, as demonstrated by the symptoms of Louis IX's living charisma in the reactions of his contemporaries.

The same model must be adapted to the post mortem devotion to Carlos de Viana studied by María Narbona. There is a magic power inherited by every king or member of a holy dynasty, which acts during his life while, for instance, curing scrofula. However, in Christianity, after-death miracles are indicative of a life during which virtues have been exercised in a heroic degree; these extraordinary events, such as inexplicable healing, are required for canonization.

Because of their extreme ascetical and penitential practices, some medieval individuals, such as the eremitic *loricati*, who wore sturdy hauberks and heavy iron chains (Edina Bozóky), were venerated as saints even during their lifetime. In presenting the posthumous semi-historical and fictional narratives on Godfrey of Bouillon, Sini Kangas demonstrates how he became the personification of chivalric values, and even one of the Nine Worthies. In reality, the Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre was a flat character that avoided provoking his peers, who chose him precisely because of this lack of charisma. By contrast, the discursive strategies of crusade chronicles present negative depictions of most women, even charismatic ones, such as Alice of Antioch, Eleanor of Aquitaine, Sibylla of Jérusalem, and even the fictional Calabra, who practiced Muslim black arts.

In another case study, which explored how charisma influences medieval religion, Peter Scott Brown argues that the invention of Christ's blood and prepuce in 1082 in Charroux offers an insight into some charismatic strategies of religious reform in France in the era of Pope Gregory VII. Gregory's use of standing legates with regional mandates, such as Amatus, was a novelty in papal administration, meaning that their authority was based on legal legitimacy: when they could not induce or coerce cooperation, they frequently confronted the impotence of their legal–canonical mandates. The miracle at Charroux presented an alternative charismatic strategy, harnessing liturgical art and spectacle to magnify the legate's stature as an authority in the context of the Eucharistic controversy and religious reform.

In her work, Montserrat Herrero applies the concept of charisma to a specific object. She echoes recent trends which have projected charisma onto objects, as Stephen Jaeger and Brigitte Bedos-Rezak have argued. Agency—the capacity to act and transform the world and society—is also applicable to relics because of their ability to perform miracles. Their devotion was widely spread in medieval religion. From a Christian perspective,

it seemed more related to the sanctity of the deceased than to the sacrality of the object. However, they could obtain a re-signification because of their semiotic power, as shown by Montserrat Herrero. "All power comes from God" (Rom, 13, 1), and, for this reason, it is embodied in relics whose use is often political and collective.

The projection of charisma to objects is also explored by Anna-Maria Mouyabed from the art-history perspective. Charisma also gives life to pictorial fruits, transformed into "(accidental) actors", especially in paradise. Moubayed addresses object agency and approaches the possible propriety of certain fruits in visual and textual narratives to emanate and/or appropriate charisma. She presents a discussion of the linguistic and conceptual mutability and malleability of the term "charis" and its conceptualization into charisma, as well as its possible manifestations or translations in fruits. This leads her to provide an exploratory reflection on the ambiguity and metamorphic aspect of "charismatic" fruits in the context of myths and the Genesis narrative represented in the visual arts, and their translation into fairytale narratives and modern advertising campaigns.

This Special Issue also explores the application of charisma to other aspects of medieval society as economics and medicine. In Mediterranean ports, the Franciscan spirituality supported a new moral and ethics about work, which considered the commercial, maritime, and financial activities of urban merchants. New ideas about money and poverty were developed in opposition with the rural and lordship economic concepts, as recalled by Jaume Aurell, who applied this phenomenon—which Max Weber believed to be specific to early modern Calvinism or Puritanism—to the Middle Ages context.

Corinne Lamour, for her part, shows that the concept of medical charisma also changed around the year 1300 in relation to laicization of the doctor's charisma. This resulted in an evolution from a "personal charisma" to a "functional charisma", from an "ethic of conviction", based on Christian faith and action of divine grace, to an "ethic of responsibility", in which the surgeon had complete free will to make decisions.

All these case studies raise some fundamental questions about the notion and practice of charisma in the Middle Ages. Is it possible to reconcile the definitions of both St Paul and Max Weber? As these authors and the contributors of this volume have demonstrated, charisma is a rich and shifting concept with numerous meanings. These papers preserve the Paulinian, medieval theology of signification (divine gift to serve the community) and the Weberian, modern sociological definition of charisma, which describes leadership, personal power, and seduction. Historians, and more often philosophers, use words with both archaic and more modern connotations. There is nothing anachronistic about this, as long as we are aware of the semantic shift we have imposed. The evolution of charisma covers several periods of the concept: the myth of an ancient hero, a semi-god; Christian grace, given by the sole gratuity of God; and a talent, inherent to an individual, that offers him fulfillment, but can also be used to serve others or, on the contrary, to take advantage of them; modern charisma focuses on one's own success. Religious or profane, medieval or modern, the richness of the concept is immense.

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Article

Charisma and the Transformation of Western Culture 12th to 13th Centuries

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Abstract: The academic discussion of charisma takes two major voices as the point of departure: Max Weber and St. Paul. In both areas, sociology and religion, charisma is seen as a quality of persons. My argument is that entire cultures can be suffused by this force, and that social life, education, and modes of expression can be bearers and transmitters of charismatic force. I approach the argument conceptually, drawing on a remarkable passage in Goethe's autobiography Dichtung und Wahrheit. What Goethe calls "the demonic" is charisma conceived as a force that can penetrate, unpredictably, either natural phenomena or persons. To these I add institution, cultures, and structures of government. The charisma of larger structures, like personal charisma, has a life-cycle, charisma in its cultural structuring being as unstable as in its personal embodiment. The idea opens cultural transformations to analysis. Clifford Geertz has provided a model. The sea-changes that transformed western European culture from the twelfth to the thirteenth century show us the end of a life-cycle of charismatic culture, and the transition to intellectual or textual culture. Charisma moved out of the realm of the lived and expressed social forms and into art and artifice, rationalizing philosophy, theology, liturgy and other forms of Christian discourse (sermons). Three voices from the later thirteenth century observe this development closely—the loss of charisma as a political–social–cultural force—and lament the loss.

Keywords: charisma; the demonic; historical change; cultural change; charismatic culture; agon; lived illusion; intellectual culture; textual culture

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1. Introduction

Historians of the Middle Ages have mapped the changes from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries with a variety of concepts: the move from an open to a closed society[1]; from humanism to scholasticism[2]; from monasticism to Scholastic humanism from Romanesque to Gothic[3]; from a tolerant to a persecuting society[4]; from a charismatic to a textual or intellectual culture.[5] A persistent strain of thought makes the twelfth century a Renaissance—a term which has a decorative and popularizing effect on thinking about the age, but is misleading since it favors a progressive view of development, and so obscures the character of the period from the tenth to the twelfth centuries.[6] The term inherited from Charles Homer Haskins presupposes darkness, stagnation, and intellectual sleep preceding the twelfth-century awakening,[7] and too often has relieved the historian of the need to understand and explain the culture, religious and secular, which the twelfth-century transformation superseded.

In this essay, I return to the concept of a charismatic culture and the transformation to a textual or intellectual culture. My point of departure is a reconceptualizing of "charismatic". The conventional approaches to that term focus on individual charisma. The two dominant voices are St. Paul and Max Weber, who locate the subject in the context of Christian moral thought, *charismata*, gifts from God (St. Paul) or leadership roles (Weber).[8] Weber extended the thought of Christian theologians to social and political contexts, centering charisma

on persons who possess it, a quality of an exceptional or chosen individual manifested especially in domination (*Herrschaft*).[9]

Some of the obscurities of the concept thus understood are illumined by deriving it from a metaphysical grounding adequate to a much broader view, one that takes in the variety of irrational, powerful, contradictory qualities shared among the three areas in which it manifests, the individual, society, and nature. The conventional bases of study, explicit or implicit, are religion, Platonic metaphysics, or human psychology/biology, all narrowly focused on the charismatic person.

To broaden the view of charisma, I call on two voices, Goethe and Clifford Geertz. Both open a superpersonal perspective on the subject—Goethe's idea of "the Demonic", formulated in his autobiography, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, and Clifford Geertz's study of charisma as a determinant in societies and governing orders.[10] The idea of charisma grounded in society and culture, sheds light on the transformation of Western culture that took place in the course of the twelfth century.

2. Metaphysics of Charisma

Charisma lends itself to analysis as an abstract concept, as do, for instance, truth and beauty or good and evil. While these manifest in people and things, in works of art, and human actions, they are also understandable as ideas apart from any personal or social context. In the case of charisma, however, it is hard to imagine it as an idea separated from its embodiment. No handbook of philosophy includes an article on the subject. But I find a profound model positing a transcendental force of which charisma is a single aspect, in Goethe's autobiography *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Part 4, Bk. 20).[11] Goethe loosely defined an extra-theocentric metaphysical force, manifesting in a variety of forms, personal charisma among them, but far more extensive in its working. It is a force in nature and human life that he calls "the Demonic".[12] He presents it in a casual, almost conversational tone as an insight that develops gradually over a lifetime of seeking the "Transcendental" (*Das Übersinnliche*) in nature, society and the individual.[13] Searching around the peripheries and interstices of religion, he eventually discovered a strong presence which had no place as part of religion, though it seemed most closely related to it. The term "demonic" is misleading, since for the modern reader, it inevitably conjures demons, devils, evil, and the diabolical.[14] That is far from Goethe's intention, which is to assert a metaphysical force alongside but apart from God, gods, devils, and angels, prior to embodied metaphysical forces.

Goethe's term has a complicated derivation.[15] He calls it Demonic in "the sense of the ancients" (a tutoring spirit, Socrates's Daimon), and understands it as a metaphysical force like God, angels, and devils, though he does not personify it as a supernatural being. Goethe himself hesitates to call it by name as a concept or designate it with a single word. It takes some qualification to bring its intended meaning into focus.

Goethe envisions a force or energy or spirit of a kind outside of or alongside conventional moral spheres. Ludwig Otto's idea of "the numinous" is a helpful comparison in defining a metaphysical power, aligned with religious experience, though separable from any object and embodiment. The "Numinous" asserts itself as a mysterious presence, felt but not seen, registering in the awe and fear of the subject—Otto's term for this response is *mysterium tremendum*. Numinous has the advantage of shedding the false implication of a realm of demons positioned alongside the divine and the diabolical.[16] Otto locates the numinous close to the sublime, both of them transcendental qualities; however, both are more focused—the numinous on things divine, the sublime on things aesthetic. Other terms that might have influenced Goethe's thinking on the Demonic are Geist and Genius and the ideas associated with them in the second half of the eighteenth century.[17] Both have a primary reference to an individual quality of mind but also extend to much broader realms, as in Zeitgeist, Volksgeist, and Weltgeist. Genius likewise was, in Herder's usage, a quality not just of gifted individuals, but of particular eras and ethnic groups. He imagined ancient Hebrew society as united by a common Genius or Volksgeist; likewise pre-Christian

Germanic society. He also envisioned contemporary (mid-18th century) Germany in a position to end the barrenness of their post-Thirty-Years' War culture, conflict-torn and woefully dependent on French culture, and to institute a new culture consistent with the national Geist of the Germans:

> Keeping in mind Herder's Historical understanding of cultures and national literatures, it becomes apparent that in calling for a new German genius, he is in effect asking for nothing less than a complete renewal of German language and culture. (Nicholls 2014, p. 103).

Goethe no doubt had in mind in defining the Demonic some similarly comprehensive influence in analogy to Herder's *Geist*. Its qualities may include some features of, but are more extensive and contradictory than, the numinous or a national genius. If a spirit (Geist), then it is a creature of paradox—I am paraphrasing Goethe in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*—resisting enclosure in a concept (which presupposes consistency). It runs contrary to the natural order of the world. It seems to belong in the moral realm, though it has no consistent disposition. It is like Good and Evil, though indifferent to both. It motivates action, like Good and Evil, but is more often than not in rebellion against the moral and social order, now disruptive and transgressive, now radically innovative and constructive. The Demonic destroys and builds, overwhelms, and pacifies. It is a power with great force but no logic. It is awe-inspiring, even terrifying. It can operate through the forces of nature, where it manifests in radical upheavals, such as earthquakes, volcanoes, and storms at sea. Warfare has aspects of the Demonic, though Goethe never mentions it in this context. War has the supra-rational, extra-moral aspect of the Demonic, the destructive and constructive potential, the terrifying and the inspiring force. Like warfare, the Demonic is indifferent to human life and as likely to assert itself in the rescue of life as the destruction of it.

War and the Demonic also share a quality stressed by Goethe: randomness. It is something like chance, unpredictable, but also something like providence, since it shows signs of foresight. The boundaries and limits of human nature are no barrier to it. It contracts time and expands space. "It seemed at home in the impossible and despised whatever was attainable". He implies that the ancients had an understanding of this force—something like *ananké*, forced destiny, necessity, fatedness[18]—but Western Christianity no longer does.

These few comments summarize Goethe's general explanation of the Demonic, which, however, seems to darken more than illuminate the phenomenon. It is a numinous force with no consistent qualities—mention one quality and the next cancels it, as often subversive as constructive, and acting beyond human capacities. A comment by Kirk Wetters captures this paradoxical character of the idea, real but inscrutable: "The demonic in Goethe is an essentially empirical and experiential category of inexplicability" (*Demonic History*, p. 15). A useful point of comparison is gravity—an invisible force, ontologically opaque. Gravity, though invisible and nowhere experienceable apart from its effects, acts in nature on physical objects. Its effects range from vast and cosmic to local. It is a force with no moral valence, attraction and repulsion being neutral forces.[19]

3. The Demonic Embodied

It becomes more tangible in what follows. This awesome, nameless phenomenon was terrifying for Goethe (*furchtbar, unfasslich*). He sought shelter from it, he says, recasting it in a visible presence (*Bild*), as in natural phenomena or in historical figures. Projected into personalities, the Demonic shows its relatedness to, if not identity with, charisma. Manifesting in things and creatures, it can appear in many forms, says Goethe, non-living or living, bodily, natural, supernatural. It takes particularly curious forms in animals. Unfortunately, he leaves this unexplained. But it is strangest, most frightening, when it appears as a dominant, not just an occasional, quality of an individual. Embodied in persons, the Demonic seems identical with charisma. It does not appear necessarily in people who are particularly intelligent or talented. Kindness is rare. A mediocre mind and a raw character do not exclude demonic force; perhaps they encourage it. People with this particular gift project power and command and dominate others in ways unthinkable

for those not subject to them. They can even influence forces of nature, and here Goethe points enticingly to magic and preternatural realms—man commanding nature, nature obeying—without entering them.

The Demonic embodied in a person resists morality and logic in its actions. Enlightened, reasoned thought can accomplish nothing in opposition to the person enspirited by the Demonic. Those not in its spell may expose lies and deceptions in the charismatic person, but to no avail; they are outside of moral judgments, immune to criticism. The masses are drawn to them.[20] They exude an enormous lust for life (*Lebenslust*), boundless confidence in themselves, the gift of attracting and winning over friends or enemies, and they are strongly attractive to the opposite sex. At the end of its nature nearest to individual experience, is charm, seductive, winning power, and the power to persuade, to override individual will. Here, the demonic clearly overlaps with charisma. At its farthest end it has the power of historical transformation.

4. Charisma as an Agent of Historical Change

Goethe recognized the working of this paradoxical force in the great upheavals of history and represented it in his play *Egmont* (1788). He refashioned the historical character, Count Egmont, hero and martyr of the Dutch wars of independence from Spain in the late sixteenth century, into a charismatic, youthful freedom fighter, with boundless self-confidence, immense *Lebenslust*, and the gift of attracting and binding a whole people and individuals, particularly young women, to his person.[21] In Egmont, the qualities of a charismatic personality converged with a revolutionary mission to redirect the fate of his country; a martyr to be sure, but that was a fate that, in Goethe's version, increased his power to effect the transformation of Dutch history and culture. Charisma has been well described as "the specifically creative revolutionary force of history".[22] Goethe's *Egmont* is his best fictional or dramatic representation of that characteristic. Napoleon was the historical character in his own time who best embodied the Demonic.[23] Goethe's Demonic is predictive of revolutionary movements in which a single man places himself in a position to control an entire country, as with Josef Stalin and Adolf Hitler in the 20th century and Donald Trump in the 21st century.

5. Charisma as a Quality of Culture

But while individuals embody the Demonic at single points on the full range of the phenomenon, it is broader. It manifests in the operations of nature, as do gravity and magnetism. It posits a charisma-like force that distributes itself unpredictably in nature (earthquakes, majestic mountains), individuals, and cultures.

Charisma can suffuse an entire society in a particular phase of its historical life-cycle. Imagine charismatic force as a super-personal principle of organization and a driver of behavior circulating through a society, deployed and dominant in many areas, as a mode of expression, performance, and action governing the manners and behavior, especially of its aristocracy, from whom it filters down to other classes.

Emile Durkheim's idea of "force" in totemistic cultures can help understand this societally functioning charisma. Durkheim's ideas apply at the level of primitive religious beliefs and totemistic cultures. But force in Durkheim's sense inhabits cultural beliefs into the modern period, moving from totemic spirits to religion to science.[24] What enspirits and enlivens a culture at this primitive stage, says Durkheim, is "a kind of anonymous and impersonal force" that exists in each creature, constructed object, plant, animal and person, but identical to none of them. If it is called a god in a given society, then "it is an impersonal god, without name, without history, immanent in the world, diffused in a numberless multitude of things". This force of sacredness inhabiting things and people and moving them to act in ways which are a manifestation of that force is proto-religion or "pre-animist religion". The force is not given by a god; it is a kind of substratum of religion prior to embodied gods. If the sun, moon and mountains are worshipped, then not because they are gods but because they participate in the force, whatever name it might be called by.

This is an illuminating parallel to the Demonic, also a force that infuses individuals and societies. It pushes them into behavior and actions that are now ordering, now disordering, that behave with a stringently focused intentionality, but also with a kind of absurd, quirky irregularity. In social charisma, the force resides in the institutions, their rules and customs, and their social and ethical values. At the height of its influence, it dominates and organizes behavior in all segments of society. The charisma of the individual is freer, magnifies personal power, inspires a penchant for revolutionary action, and is consistently exceptional and extraordinary, at least in its early phases.

Human action and expression in charisma-infused societies operate in a modality we can call "heroic", though not heroic in our conventional sense restricted to courage and combat. It includes athletics, education, oratory, religion, intellectual life, poetry, art, friendship, and the erotic. "Heroic" in the context of charismatic social and political structures refers to a heightened energy of action in any and all public activities, in each of which there is a communal and individual striving to excel, to dominate. This striving asserts itself in conflict and competition. The ambition to excel and to win is the driver of activity, the motive that establishes hierarchies of quality. Passivity cannot establish quality; meditation and writing, monastic life, cannot play in the same competitive field. "Heroic" means action and not reflection; presence and not representation; performance and not written texts. The living body and physical presence are the mediators of cultural values and the works of art of charismatic cultures. Admirable action happens when the forces at work are successfully exerted to the maximum. The purpose of that heightened energy of action is to magnify. Widely instilled in individuals and cultivated by social values is an urge to greatness and grandiosity, to victory, fame and conquest, be it in the small or the great affairs of life.[25] That striving, once gratified, settles into the constant urge to dominate. What is won must be defended; you possess only what you can defend.

Common to all areas in this heroic modality is the glorifying of the lived moment, the mastery of the *kairos*, and the elegant or heroic response to challenge and crisis. In the reality of warfare, that means every thrust and parry, on which life and death hang. Every stroke of the sword happens in the mode of a crisis, the *kairos*. Heroic literature adapts this dynamic by making each event a challenge, moving the hero from one test and challenge to the next. *Kairos* is the central moment, or series of moments, in the literature in a heroic modality, be it heroic in our usual genre sense, or romantic. What the modern world has in moments of poems and books that inspire and illuminate, a charismatic culture had in individual acts of courage, wisdom, cleverness, deceit, love and loyalty—acts experienced or remembered, conveyed by communal tradition, or maybe even occasionally by writing.

A help in envisioning the embracing character of a charismatic culture is a short essay by Friedrich Nietzsche, "The Agon of Homer". Competition, he says, is a basic principle of Hellenic culture. Every human talent must develop and exert itself in competitive struggle. Loss in public competition, political or athletic, was a serious, sometimes tragic matter. Success is glory. Nietzsche speaks of "the deification of success". Odysseus wins the weapons of Achilles in public debate with Ajax by superior eloquence, whereas Ajax merited the prize by warrior prowess. Ajax responds to the defeat by killing himself. Pindar supplies Nietzsche with good examples of victory in the games as fame and glory, and of loss as tragedy.[26]

In an agonal culture, conflict undergirds order; combat and conflict are presuppositions of order. Geertz finds this principle powerfully at work in the kingship of Morocco which ended in the late nineteenth century: "Political life is a clash of personalities everywhere. . .struggle was looked upon not as something in conflict with the order of things. . .but as its purest expression. Society was agonistic—a tournament of wills".

It is easy to forget how provocative humanistic ideals, such as "the perfect human" (*homo perfectus)*, the dignity of man, freedom of the will, and "the best knight," are. The static idea gains life only by vigorous, sometimes mortal, struggle. All idealizing of the human presupposes desperate conflict with winners and losers.

Power works through an established order; it bends individuals and classes to its strictures, as though exercised by an anonymous and communal will (which will ordinarily be called tradition, the *mos maiorum*). The structures of society govern the citizens in their manners and actions rather than the reverse. That the source of this awesome power and influence might be beyond the self-interest of a ruling class is addressed nowhere in Geertz's work,[27] but like effects in societies as different as the three on which he focuses call for reflection on a common cause. Here is where the Demonic is a useful tool of analysis.

6. Monarchy and Lavish Display

A charismatic culture[28] is most in evidence in a monarchy, where the monarch—the center and the pawn of power structures—must maintain in their own person the authority and the "sacredness of sovereign power" (Geertz). That force filters through the hierarchy and asserts itself in many aspects of public life. It does not depend on the personality of an individual king. Inborn merit—wisdom, courage, wit—would be a great help to those rulers who must constantly assert charismatic authority but an unreliable means to sustain continuity over the course of a particular dynasty. The individual ruler need not always possess personal charisma, but he must appear to rule through it. Therefore, the gigantic and horrendous spectacle of magnificence and prodigality of dynasties, especially in their decline, meant to project charisma intact and strong, however weak or feeble-minded the monarch, and thus reinforce waning authority.[29]

Appearing to possess this quasi-magical, quasi-divine force is a strong element in maintaining power, but the ruler is in fact its subject, dependent on a symbolic superstructure that asserts the ruler's power. Lavish display combined with the successful assertion of power is an obligatory stabilizing force of monarchy.

Geertz gives three examples of societies where forces outside of individuals impose certain kinds of behavior on subjects, and where the ruler happens to be the first focal point of royal authority, the "center", to use Geertz's term, from which that energy radiates:

- Elizabeth I of England, governed by the virtues of chastity, love, beauty, and pure religion, obligated to put these virtues on lavish display;
- The King of Java, in the fourteenth century, reshaping his court into a model of the god-ordained cosmos, which then asserts cosmic force in the political order;
- The King of Morocco in the late nineteenth century, in all his power and wealth pathetically subservient to the requirements of charisma-projection.

In these cases, charisma takes on an existence of its own—it must be nourished and displayed, and it uses individuals.

7. Charismatic Cultural Forms in the Middle Ages

The approach to defining medieval political and social culture in their charismatic self-representation has produced a rich body of scholarship on the symbolism and rituals of power.[30] The forces enspiriting a ruling aristocracy function within the kind of aesthetic magical poetical thinking that also informs "charisma". But these studies have made only casual, or no, use, of that term.[31] Geertz's approach is a breakthrough. It is about charisma infusing a society, not just driving an individual.

The monarch may be the center of a society governed by charismatic force, but its diffusion is broad. Some select examples from the Middle Ages prior to the thirteenth century can firm up that claim.

The forces driving a ruling aristocracy towards spectacle call forth extravagant forms of display to assert superhuman power. The studies mentioned in n. 29 are not concerned with the charismatic effects of court rituals in the psychology and politics of aristocratic society. These remain a promising topic.[32] Geertz's sources are located in the area of visual display, of interest for the Middle Ages where art history and history of ideas make common cause.

Verbal expression operates in the same modality in different media. Language exerting force and conferring charisma is a large area which remains largely uninvestigated.[33] Speech and writing perform as charismatic forces and have the greatest merit when engaged in a field of competition, wielded as an instrument of the individual to assert and defend itself.[34] To write and read poems and literature means little; to **do** things via writing (the word as deed) counts for a lot. To live a poetic life and shape a novel-like narrative of self is a distinction, not to sit at a desk and create one with ink on parchment. Speech has its own charismatic modality when it operates either in a rhetorical mode that overwhelms and persuades or in the mode of action; language as combat and competition for dominance has a high cachet.[35] Here is William Fitzstephen's description of the education in rhetoric of young men in the city schools of London in the second half of the twelfth century; it is from Fitzstephen's biography of Becket (1174), the unconventional introductory passage that describes at length the city of London and its culture. Rhetoric is taught as a form of combat. Students compete and debate in every area of learning—specifically, in rhetoric:

> Some call on the 'ancient art of eloquence according to the trivium', composing epigrams and poems either rhythmic or metrical. Others put their efforts into mockery and ridicule: 'With biting Socratic wit they touch on the vices and weaknesses of their comrades, perhaps even the vices of great men'.[36]

The witty and ironic response, the barbed quip, the quick-witted put down—these weapons of speech had high value in school learning, but also in public life. Rhetoric and verbal skill are not just means of description and expression, but ammunition in the combat and competition of social and political life. The phrase "verbal dueling" expresses the militant aspect of this rhetoric of attack and conquer.

> The court of Henry II of England and the circle of intellectuals surrounding Thomas Becket, was one large and important cultural sphere where sharp, dangerous speech was a useful tool of domination, of overcoming an adversary. (See esp. Beyer, *Witz und Ironie*, n. 30 above)

Speech striving for domination in verbal contention can shed charisma on the one who masters it and dominates others. So does poetry composed for performance. Many sources attest to the charismatic qualities of poetry prior to the twelfth century.[37] More than is appreciated at present, poetry is a major element in medieval education up to the thirteenth century. Reading and memorizing are important, but composition of poetry is the higher goal. A high level of linguistic virtuosity striven for in school composition is a valuable commodity, widely cultivated in cathedral and monastic schools. It comes to fruition in public life. The highest level of composition is spontaneous—the gift of speaking poetry.

Poetry of a certain kind has near-magical powers to influence reality; the composed work aims at functioning as action, not fiction. Beliefs in the magical efficacy of poetry cluster around the learned poet into the twelfth century. In charismatic poetry, the written or spoken word asserts itself as action. The word strives toward the condition of a deed. The poet Godfrey of Rheims (d. 1094), schoolmaster and chancellor of Rheims cathedral, thanks his friend and fellow poet Bishop Hugh of Langres (d. 1085), because once during a serious illness which no medicine could cure, one of Hugh's songs had cured him.[38] Godfrey wrote of poetry in general, "A powerful thing is genius and stronger than the sharp sword. The eloquent tongue cuts through the armed duke".[39] Poetry also has the power to exalt and to do damage:

> In song if you wish to raise the powerful into the heavens,
> In song you can raise whomever you like to the heavens.
> In song if you wish to do damage to your enemies,
> Then your enemy will be damaged in song.[40]

The above-mentioned Bishop Hugh of Langres featured in an incident in which poetry, seemingly spontaneously composed, served as a weapon in a political dispute in his church. The poet-bishop was angered when the Bishop of Laon refused to confirm a boy whom

Hugh had appointed church exorcist. Hugh "removed the injury with his biting wit, and hurled this riposte into the face of the archbishop". Then the chronicler quotes Hugh's poem of 12 hexameters in rhyming couplets, putting the archbishop in his place.[41] The narrative presents the exchange as if the answer were composed on the spot in the heat of an angry confrontation. This is poetry as a weapon in church politics.[42]

Baudri of Bourgueil was a great admirer of Godfrey. He praised him as "the greatest of all poets". The spirit of Virgil and Ovid lives in him. Surrounded by influential people seeking his favor, he can raise up and bring down whom he wishes. Baudri seeks his patronage and asks expressly for the fame that he can give through his poetry:

> If you should wish it, I shall be set among the stars.
> If I am to be translated, I shall be translated, if you wish it...
> Because my fame will not let me die to future generations...
> And he will survive whom your muse sings.[43]

The use of poetic composition in judicial argumentation, a weapon of another kind, is an understudied feature of early medieval intellectual life. It is a well-known characteristic of legal argumentation in other charismatic societies (Arabic, Indian, Chinese). There is good reason to think that law cases in the high cultures of the East and Near East were particularly compelling when argued in poetic form and sung. There are traces of legal speeches in poetic form in the Latin culture of the West. Jacob Grimm argued that poetic composition had been in use in pre-Christian German legal practice.[44] In the Nordic cultural sphere, the poet-prophet-warrior Egil Skalagrimson rescued himself from a sentence of death before the court of the king of Norway by composing, overnight, his so-called head song. Throughout the saga Egil is depicted as composing poems on the spur of the moment.[45] In continental Europe in general, however, through antiquity and the Middle Ages, law speaks not in a poetic but a rhetorical style. What rhetorical theory knows as the grand style is the bearer of charismatic effects, aiming to take possession of the mind of the listener and sweeping the judge along like a raging stream (Quintilian).

Charismatic poetry magnifies the poet and their patron, teacher or lord. A witty epigram of praise spoken before the king could bring rich rewards for the poet and heightened glory for the king. Court poetry in Latin and Old Norse is notoriously obscure.[46] The purpose of the hermeneutic or obscure style of court poetry is to lend charisma equally to the poet and the ruler. Court poetry is meant to ennoble and to exalt. In the early Middle Ages until the twelfth century, poetry was written for performance, not for publication. That is why so little of it has survived. Its purpose exhausted itself in the glorification of its recipient and in a display of the poet's virtuosity. Poetry is there to lend charisma, not to invite reading or even to invite performance by others than the author. A poem in charismatic culture is for one-time use—more if it becomes famous. It sheds honor on the recipient and confers the aura of virtuosity on its performer, then is not seen or heard again, unless sung again.

The grand style and the prophetic sermon (*sermo propheticus*) are phenomena of the earlier Middle Ages. They aim at grand effects: to captivate and enthrall the reader or listener. It is high praise when a preacher can transport the mind of the listener out of itself: when Aelred of Rievaulx preached, so said Gilbert of Hoyland, "it regularly happened that he subtly snatched away the mind of the listener into an ecstatic rapture of minds alienated and inebriated. You could feel the vehemence of intoxicating grace in his words. His thought was straightforward but his emotions vehement".[47] Roger Bacon, railing against the aridity of scholastic argumentation, called for poetic rhetorical language which can lead the listener to ecstatic ascent: "Arguments must be sublime and decorous... so that the soul is snatched away suddenly and forcefully to the love of the object of persuasion". Eloquence induces what we normally think of as mystical states.

In these and other ways, composed language was seen as having properties close to magic.

Rhetoric must be seen in this light, as well as in its more decorative, aesthetic aspect. At its most primal it wins over the mind and soul of the listener by speech, takes control of

another person's dispositions and convictions, and reshapes them. A comment by Paul Ricoeur puts us in mind of this aspect of persuasive speech: "Before it became futile, rhetoric was dangerous".[48] The power to persuade is the power to manipulate. In "dangerous" rhetoric, a passive charismatic emanation, as of the working of body magic, is transformed into an active force, projects a fascinating voice and imposes itself on another human being, capturing, asserting control.

Other aspects of life in learned culture prior to the twelfth century could with equal force show the charismatic quality shared in many aspects of the culture: education,[49] love and friendship, music, and of course the heroics of combat, athletic competition, vying for political favor, and advocacy (the main purpose of rhetoric for a *curialis*—cf. the letters of John of Salisbury.)

Debates and disputations were "agonal" much more than intellectual prior to the twelfth century, aimed more at determining the better debater than at analyzing some intellectual or theological problem.[50] Analysis of ideas became an issue in the twelfth century and beyond (intellectualized/textualized culture).

8. Transformations

"Individuals seem to gain or lose charismatic power over their life course".[51] So do societies. The charismatic elements of medieval culture, as they developed into the twelfth century, underwent a series of sea changes from the twelfth to the thirteenth century. I am far from claiming a single explanation for these transitions. But casting a general look at the areas and the character of change underscores the loss of charismatic forms of thought and expression.

The period is in many ways the watershed between the ancient and the modern world. Its transitional nature has been the focus of much critical attention. Charles Radding has used Piaget's model of the growth of consciousness to understand a whole variety of trends towards rationalizing, for instance the abolition of the ordeal, in the twelfth century.[52] A profound discussion of the transition in media has made use of the categories of oral culture and literate culture.[53] In education, the formation of the student in manners and speech was superseded by intellectual rationalism. A humanistic formation was replaced by scholastic learning and teaching, logical devising and judging of arguments. The teacher changed from a charismatic model for students to a learned conveyor of knowledge. The divinely inspired teacher, who shaped their students in their own image and likeness, faded out of the picture.[54] By contrast, in intellectual life, the erosion of hierarchy, the transformation of the teacher, a figure never far from a prophet/priest in charismatic culture, drained the charismatic charge of the person of the teacher and made it available to anyone who could successfully assert intellectual dominance, such as Peter Abelard. Teachers were of much lower standing in the thirteenth century than in the preceding centuries, where the schoolmaster was a step or two from bishop. Poor Anselm of Laon, in his teaching and his actions as chancellor at Laon a man of great distinction, was vulnerable to the charge of intellectual mediocrity leveled at him by Abelard, memorably described in the *Historia calamatitum* as foggy of mind, distinguished only by his eloquence and personal presence.[55] In the mid-thirteenth century, the question was seriously debated as to whether it was possible for a teacher to teach anything. The radical position said, no: only God teaches. Thomas Aquinas took a moderated position in a disputed question *De magistro*: students learn by inborn capacities. The teacher has only a mediating role. The teacher is to a student's knowledge and understanding as the doctor is to the patient's health.[56] Gone is the image of the teacher as a transformative model shaping students by the magical–mystical force of his personal presence.

Many areas of intellectual culture, theology, and philosophy experienced a reorientation from "real presence" to symbolic. This is most evident in the area from which I have borrowed the terms: the Eucharist controversy.[57] The belief in the real presence of Christ's

body and blood in the sacrament has to defend itself in opposition to a rising claim that Christ's presence was purely symbolic.

The philosophical discussion of Universals shows a like reorientation from the reality of universal concepts to their quality as mere names. The shift is most prominent in the historical record in the dispute between William of Champeaux and Peter Abelard. Nominalism abolishes universal archetypes or places them in a realm inaccessible to human reason, and it changes language from God-given, thing-like signifiers into a man-made symbolic code.[58]

We see a related transformation in secular and ecclesiastical governance, especially the change from itinerant kingship (real presence of the king) to administrative kingship (the king "represented" through documents, contracts, bailiffs, and magistrates and "symbolized", represented as visually present, in seals).[59] Procedures for electing bishops and abbots change from a system based on charismatic selection (virtue, personal authority, miracle) to one based on bureaucratic selection (canonical procedure formulated in texts and documents).[60] Bernard of Clairvaux objected strongly to canonical procedure because it trivialized the process; legal procedure undermined personal authority.[61] It is a conservative voice protesting the disappearance of subjective judgment (the right candidate divinely revealed), because objective, reasoned judgment according to rules, abolished the element of inspiration.

In written genres, the shift is also evident in the fading from the scene of the dominant genres of the eleventh century, the biography and the personal letter, both of which presuppose real presence, and the emergence of a welter of new fictional forms which do not. By the second half of the twelfth century, a new form of narrative was popular among the aristocracy—the courtly romance. In charming and flowing narratives, knights were shaped, educated, formed into models of chivalrous conduct, and tested at the hands of charismatic damsels, whose mere presence infuses virtue.[62] The new narrative creates a new fashion of imitating romances among the nobles, expressed in pageantry and ceremony, in fashions of clothing and naming. At the same time, a new mode of representing the human body in sculpture was on the rise. It created supple, clinging garments, giving to the curve and posture of the body a grace and elegance not seen in representation since classical antiquity and to the facial expression a life-like realism and a supernatural serenity and beauty. This is a trend we can call the "textualizing" or "enfabulation of charisma". The heroism (in the sense earlier defined) of the passing age entered a textual contract with the scribes, clerics, storytellers, sculptors, and stonemasons of the scholastic age. Charisma of the body, which had previously defined itself as sculpture-like and imagined gods and angels envying it, now was re-incorporated in courtly literature and Gothic sculpture.

What these various historical changes register is an oceanic shift from a charismatic to an intellectual culture. Culture moves away from magical to rational modes of thinking, speaking, and representing.

9. Nostalgia for the Past

This remolding of culture into rational, prosaic, sober, unpoetic, unmagical, and uncharismatic forms was observed by those who lived through the changes. We find texts regretting them but none or few welcoming them. I close by presenting three texts that summarize this negative judgment of the transformations of culture in the twelfth century. This is not to indict or denigrate the thirteenth century, but to confirm from contemporary witnesses that the changes were perceived as the emptying of charisma from the forms of action and expression of an earlier age. The nostalgia was that of prominent, prolific figures living through the changes, not of a modern viewer.

The comments sweep the major areas of intellectual, religious, and creative enterprise.

The first is from a German cleric and schoolmaster of Bamberg Cathedral, Hugo of Trimberg. In a didactic poem called "The Runner" (*Der Renner*, ca. 1300) he expressed a malaise with the world of the present and a longing for earlier days. He noted the disappearance of great men, especially painful among those available for the papacy and

for service to the church. The need for human greatness in a bishop and staff no longer existed. The administration of the church was carried out by administrative machinery set in place and operated by the papacy, and the person of the bishop made very little difference, as long as he was loyal to the papacy. Hugo of Trimberg has a very specific explanation for this change; the age has declined from the glories of the past: "There are no more holy bishops. Good and honored princes were once able to choose honest and outstanding men". The choice of bishops is now given into the hands of the clergy. No longer does court service produce men of high worth, he says, men such as Otto of Bamberg, Anno of Cologne, Godehard of Hildesheim, and Thomas Becket. The writer clearly had a concept of the great man, the great bishop, and the great pope. And the route to that rank and standing, says this schoolmaster of an old imperial church, had been court service. These men, he says, rose to high dignity at court by their courtliness (*zuht*) and honorable actions. He pins the vanishing of a great age precisely on the disappearance of the system of choosing bishops which was dismantled by the investiture controversy. Now it is no longer kings and princes, "in their purity", who choose by special insight (*bekennen*). Who can hope for "holy bishops" when monks and clerics are electing them? Since canonical choice rules, bishops are no longer "holy" in this writer's view.[63]

Also lost with that change in church and empire was a broad system of humanistic education that had arisen at German cathedral schools in alliance with the emperor, spread through Germany and France[64], which all those mentioned by Hugo of Trimberg had studied and made their career in (with the exception of the ascetic Godehard of Hildesheim). That system of education lost its value as preparation for state service. In the new phase of culture, students seek lucrative professions at the universities, in the courts of law and the medical profession, and in the schools of the new monastic orders, philosophy and theology. The figure of the mighty imperial bishop (Hugo von Trimberg: "clerical princes", *pfaffenfürsten*) disappeared from the scene, and with it went the education system that formed such men.

Second text: A Middle High German poet of the mid-thirteenth century, Rudolf von Ems, a prolific narrative poet, laments in a long literary survey that a period of greatness has passed in German poetry. The contemporary (mid to late thirteenth century) poets are a mere shadow of their distinguished predecessors. Now, poets are workmen who paste together words and rhymes, but the substance and high ethical vision of earlier poets elude them. The spirit of art has vanished from poetry. Konrad von Würzburg, a near contemporary, also complains about the proliferation of poetry and the corresponding decline of its quality. The complaint was so widespread as to constitute a shared conviction of this post-classical age.[65] It seemed to contemporaries that the heart and soul had gone out of narrative, and the endlessly long and tedious epics produced by Rudolf and Konrad (to name only the most skilled of these epigones) bore out their judgment. Modern readers tend to agree.

Third text: Roger Bacon, English Franciscan, philosopher, and polymath, wrote a series of tracts in the second half of the 1260s, on the decline of learning in his own time. His *Opus majus* and other tracts responded to a request by Pope Clement VI in 1266 for a proposal to reform the universities and the church. What a chance for a single thinker to sweep the entire spiritual, intellectual, and musical scene of the contemporary world! His answer to the pope, in brief, was that the culture of learning and religion was in steep decline. He delivered a scathing criticism of the thought, theology, devotional practice, and virtually every aspect of intellectual activity of the church and the universities of his time. On church music, he wrote that everything that had been done in the past thirty years was a mockery of the divine office, contrary to the art and contrary to the truth [of music].[66] On preaching, he wrote that the present generation had utterly destroyed the art of preaching. Those who practiced it traded in eccentricities and nonsense of the most extreme order. Scholasticism had saturated and dried out an art that required passion and spontaneity. Bacon called for a return to modes of expression that had persisted since ancient times, but had died out in his own youth—a poetic mode of argumentation: rhetorical persuasion, not

logical demonstration; poetic language, not scholastic sobriety; the Bible in the full passion, majesty and truth of its original languages, not the Book of Sentences of Peter Lombard.

These three texts agree that a period of greatness has passed; gone are great men, great literature, and great religious culture. A duller, more insipid, less inspired culture has supplanted the preeminence of the past. These witnesses have experienced the fading of a charismatic culture and the advent of a textual/intellectual culture.[67] The loss of charismatic modes of thought and action was due at least in part to the separation of the institutions of government from that system of humanistic education. An ideal of formation that shaped students into "vessels of glory" faded with the transfer of education to larger institutions, universities, and the transformation of curriculum to a textual, intellectual culture based on knowledge content, logical argumentation, and systematizing modes

But while its institutional support, the imperial church, collapsed, the old curriculum in "letters and manners" found new homes. It was folded into the court cultures of France, England and Spain. Court education was aristocratic and elitist. It took many of the forms of the old education: letters and manners, literary and poetic expression, that intellectual side joined of course to athletic and military training. Chivalric culture made the formation of character according to classical models (*mores*, manners) into a virtually obligatory course of formation for noblemen. The education was joined with a curriculum in letters, long ignored as a component of the education of knights, but now illumined by Martin Aurell's study, *Le chevalier lettré*.[68] In kingship, the symbolism, rites, rituals and fashions of power, and the superstructure of charisma flourished, probably increasing in extravagant show to the same degree as its rulers shrank in personal charisma.[69]

In each of these countries, the centers of worldly power continued to function, enspirited by a belief in what Clifford Geertz calls "an inherent sacredness of sovereign power". What I referred to earlier as the charge and force of charismatic individuals and the exaltation of actions by heroic ambitions, these charismatic paraphenomena, presupposed a transcendent giving force channeled through and embodied in the king or emperor. Just as the will of the prince had or could have the force of law, it also had the force of charisma. Customs, manners, and fashions, filtered down from the prince, were caught up and absorbed like an emanation of light or electrical power, or by the working of some "Demonic" gravitational pull, in the society of the nobility, and by those at lower levels of the hierarchy.

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Notes

1 Heer (1962), *The Medieval World*.
2 Jaeger (1994), *The Envy of Angels*.
3 Rudolph (2019), "Romanesque and Gothic".
4 Boswell (1980), *Social Tolerance*; Moore (1987), *Persecuting Society*.
5 Knowles (1963), "The Humanism of the Twelfth Century".
6 Jaeger (2002), "Charismatic Body—Charismatic Text".
7 Jaeger (2003), "Pessimism," pp. 1151–83. The area of culture where Renaissance and awakening seem to me valid concepts is monastic, the revival of monasticism which resulted from the church reform and monastic revival, Constable (1996), *The Reformation*; Gillingham (2012), "A Historian of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance."
8 For bibliography and individual studies see Zuquete (2021), ed., *Handbook of Charisma*.
9 See Adair-Toteff (2021), "Max Weber and the Sociology of Charisma," in *Handbook of Charisma*, pp. 7–17.
10 Geertz (1983), "Kings, Centers and Charisma." pp. 121–46.
11 von Goethe (1981), *Werke*, vols. 2, 10, pp. 175–77.
12 I capitalize the term throughout to distinguish it from the contemporary understanding of "demonic."
13 See Wetters (2014), *Demonic History*, pp. 64–67.
14 The term discussed at some length by Wetters (2014), *Demonic History*, Intro.

15 Minutely studied by Nicholls (2006), *Goethe's Concept of the Daemonic*.

16 Otto (1931), *The Idea of the Holy*; Wetters (2014), *Demonic History*, p. 212 and n. 24.

17 Nicholls (2006), *Daemonic*, p. 77ff., discusses these terms in relation to Herder and the intellectual atmosphere of the "Sturm und Drang." *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, p. 176

18 See Wetters (2014), *Demonic History*, pp. 21–39 on "orphic primal words," a series of poems of Goethe on the fundamental limiting laws of human existence. The one entitled *Daimon* relates to the inevitability of given character.

19 Goethe called on such an invisible natural force of attraction and repulsion in the context of love relations, in his novel *Elective Affinities*.

20 I am reminded of Donald Trump's claim that he could "stand in Times Square and shoot somebody and I wouldn't lose any voters."

21 In *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (p. 176) he discusses how he refashioned the historical character to embody the qualities of the Demonic.

22 Bedos-Rezak and Rust (2018), *Faces of Charisma*. Intro., p. 11.

23 Goethe frequently comments on Napoleon as a personality invested with a mission of historical transformation. See the close analysis in Blumenberg (1979), *Arbeit am Mythos*, esp. pp. 504–66. Blumenberg sees Goethe tying himself into a titanic triad of Napoleon, Prometheus, and Goethe.

24 Durkheim ([1912] 1995), *The Elementary Forms*, pp. 190–206. Smith's, discussion in the *Handbook of Charisma*, "Emile Durkheim and Charisma," pp. 18–27, remains Weberian, focusing on charismatic leaders placed in social context. He bypasses the idea of charismatic society determining the individual, strongly implied in Durkheim's study of totemic social orders.

25 Well illustrated in the culture of London in the late twelfth century as depicted by the Becket biographer, William Fitzstephen. See Jaeger (2022b), "William Fitzstephen's London," https://www.academia.edu/55465629/William_Fitzstephens_London. (accessed on 28 June 2023).

26 Nietzsche, Wettkampf Homers (1973), "The Agon of Homer"; Walter Kaufmann's translation of the title, "Homer's Contest," (Nietzsche 1976) is off the mark. Nietzsche's introductory remarks to the essay show the level of sympathy with Goethe's idea of the Demonic: "[It's wrong to distinguish between humanity and nature] Man, in his highest and noblest capacities, is wholly nature and embodies its uncanny dual character. Those of his abilities which are terrifying and considered inhuman may even be the fertile soil out of which alone all humanity can grow in impulse, deed, and work." Trans. Kaufmann, p. 32.

27 Perhaps it originates in the self-interest of a ruling class, though in the cases Geertz discusses, the ruler is the instrument of anonymous, inherited forms of behavior, the driven, not the driver.

28 Characterized generally in *Envy of Angels*, pp. 4–9; and "Dudo of St. Quentin and Saxo Grammaticus, pp. 235–51.

29 See Strong (1984), *Art and Power*, pp. 153–73.

30 Some representative works, Yates (1975), *The Valois Tapestries*; Strong, *Art and Power*; Barber (2020), *Magnificence*. And as a quality specifically bound to the body of the king, Bloch ([1924] 1983), *Les rois thaumaturges*.

31 Durkheim ([1912] 1995), *The Elementary Forms*. Kantorowicz ([1957] 2016), *The King's Two Bodies*.

32 Smith (2020), "Durkheim and Charisma," in *Handbook of Charisma*, pp. 18–27. Kantorowicz ([1957] 2016), *The King's Two Bodies*.

33 Jaeger (2018), "Blitz und Magnifizenz"; and "Sermo Propheticus" (Jaeger 2020).

34 See Jaeger (2016a), "Dudo and Saxo."

35 Some important recent studies bring this neglected topic into focus: Althoff and Meier (2011), *Ironie im Mittelalter*; Beyer (2012), *Witz und Ironie*; Beyer (2014), "Wit and Ironie: Rhetorical Strategies"; Jones (2019), *Laughter and Power*.

36 Fitstephen (1875), *Vita Thomae*, pp. 2–13, here p. 4, chp. 9. See my study, "William Fitzstephen's London" (Jaeger 2022b).

37 Jaeger (2016b), "The Status of the Learned Poet."

38 Godfrey of Rheims (2002), *Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Broecker, pp. 204–5.

39 Poem to Archdeacon Ingelran, ed. Broecker, pp. 179–85, ll. 99–104: "Res valida ingenium strictoque potentior ense/Perculit armatum lingua diserta ducem."

40 To Ingelran, p. 183, ll. 99–104: "Carmine si libeat super ethera ferre potentes,/Carmine quemque super ethera ferre potes./Carmine presignem fieri si intendis amicum,/Carmine presignis factus amicus erit./Carmine si infensum lesisse paraveris hostem, Infensus hostis carmine lesus erit."

41 Hanquet (1906), *Cantatorium*, p. 44, n. 17.

42 See "The Learned Poet," pp. 426–27. Whether the exchange was embroidered, or invented, by the chronicler doesn't matter. It shows the writer's conception of poetry as a weapon of combat in the real life situation depicted.

43 Baudri of Bourgueil ([1998] 2002), *Carmina*, vol. 1, Carmen 99, ll. 74–76, 83–86: "Si velles, inter astra locarer ego,/Si translatus ero, si vis, transferar ipse./. . . /Tunc morerer letus, morerer cum non moriturus,/. . . /Atque superstes erit, quem tua musa canit. . ."

44 Grimm ([1816] 1972), *Von der Poesie im Recht*.

45 Egil's Saga, chp. 59–60. In the North the ability to compose spontaneously was highly valued. Eigil exercises this talent throughout in his saga. Saxo Grammaticus's hero Starkather has the gift of spontaneous composition from Odin.

46 Mundal and Jaeger (2015), "Obscurities."

47 Gilbert of Hoyland on Aelred, Sermo 41 in Cantica Canticorum, PL 184, 218A.

48 Ricoeur (1977), *The Rule of Metaphor*, pp. 10–11.

49 See *Envy of Angels*, pp. 66–70 and passim.

50 Jaeger (2010), "Gerbert und Ohtric: Spielregeln."

51 Smith (2020), "Durkheim and Charisma," p. 19.

52 Radding (1985), *A World Made by Men*.

53 See the classic study by Clanchy (1993), *From Text to Written Record*. Also Stock (1983), *The Implications of Literacy*; Illich (1993), *In the Vineyard of the Text*.

54 For this view of the transformation of the teacher, eleventh to thirteenth century, see Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, pp. 217–36 and *passim*, and idem, "Der Magister," pp. 119–31.

55 *Envy of Angels*, pp. 229–32.

56 Jaeger (1989), "Der Magister."

57 See Southern (1948), "Lanfranc and Berengar," pp. 27–48; de Montclos (1971), *Lanfranc et Bérenger*; Radding (1985), *A World Made by Men*, pp. 165–72; several essays in *Auctoritas und Ratio*, ed. Ganz (1990)., esp. Chadwick (1990), "Symbol and Reality". Radding and Newton (2003), *Theology, Rhetoric and Politics*.

58 Jolivet (1983), *Arts du langage*; Panaccio (2012), "Universals"; Jacobi (2004), "Philosophy of Language"; Marenbon (1997), *The Philosophy of Peter Abelard*, pp. 174–201.

59 Bedos-Rezak (2011), *When Ego Was Imago*; Hollister and Baldwin (1978), *Rise of Administrative Kingship*.

60 See White (1960), "The Gregorian Ideal and Saint Bernard of Clairvaux," pp. 321–48, and Sommerfeldt (1973), "Charismatic and Gregorian Leadership", pp. 73–90. See also Blumenthal (1991), *The Investiture Controversy*. Jaeger (1994), *Envy of Angels*, pp. 272–75.

61 Jaeger (2012), "Charisma und Exemplarität," pp. 119–35.

62 On the parallel of schoolmaster and courtly damsel as administrators of virtue, see Duby (1994), *Love and Marriage*, p. 33.

63 Hugo von Trimberg, *Der Renner*, l. 779ff. Quoting from digitized text by Henrike Lähnemann, https://users.ox.ac.uk/~fmml2152/renner/index.html (accessed on 28 June 2023): "Ze hofe ist manic man verdorben/An der sêle. Sô hât erworben/Maniger daz er bischof wart/Sant Otten, sant Annen, sant Gothart/Und sant Thômas von Kandelberc/Brâhte ir zuht und reiniu werc/Ze hofe an hôhe wirdikeit:/Daz machte der fürsten reinikeit,/Die reine diener bekennen konden/Und in ouch guotes und êren gonden./Sît aber den pfaffen in ir hant/Diu wal geviel, welch mensche vant/Heilige bischöfe sît ûf erden?"

64 *The Envy of Angels*; Steckel (2011), *Kulturen des Lehrens*.

65 von Ems's ([1970] 1985) so-called Literary excursus in *Alexander*, l. 3063 ff. On similar laments on the decline of poetry, see Jaeger (1970), *The Prologue Tradition*. The same trend discussed by Haug (1985), *Literaturtheorie*. Jaeger (2022a), *The Sense of the Sublime in the Middle Ages*, https://www.academia.edu/72974122/Chapter_4_Roger_Bacon_on_Rhetoric_and_Poetics (accessed on 28 June 2023). Power (2013), *Roger Bacon*, pp. 190–93. Johnson (2009), "Roger Bacon's Critique," pp. 541–48. Johnson (2010), "Preaching precedes Theology," pp. 83–95.

66 Hugo von Trimberg would seem to agree. He says that all of the liturgy devised by the ancients/elders (*die alten*) to be sung sweetly in praise of God now seems the work of people singing for their supper. (von Trimberg 1908, n.d.), *Der Renner*, pp. 799–802.

67 On this opposing pair, see *Envy of Angels*, pp. 4–9 and "Charismatic Body—Charismatic Text," pp. 117–37.

68 Aurell (2011), *Le chevalier lettré*. Also on the interpenetration of clerical/courtly, chivalric, and humanistic modes into the Renaissance, Scaglione (1991), *Knights at Court*.

69 See Strong (1984) on the progress from Elizabethan to Stuart kingship in England, *Art and Power*, pp. 153–70.

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Article

Ernst Kantorowicz's *Synthronos*: New Perspectives on Medieval Charisma

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Abstract: In this text, the author analyzes the notion of charisma that appears implicitly in the medieval political theology of Ernst H. Kantorowicz. The text to be analyzed is *Synthronos*, a manuscript from 1951 on the iconography of the sharing-throne between gods and kings, which the author was unable to publish before he died. The notion of charisma is surveyed in St. Paul's theology of grace and Max Weber's sociology of dominion in order to find a third way to broaden the definition of charisma. Finally, a new perspective is proposed, based on literary and artistic representations, along with visual rhetoric, as driving forces of the ruler's gifts.

Keywords: Ernst Kantorowicz; charisma; Middle Ages; iconography; political theology; representation; political sociology; historiography; Max Weber

> "Weber once said that we can judge 'the honesty of a contemporary scholar' by his intellectual 'posture towards Nietzsche and Marx.'" (Baumgarten 1964, pp. 504–5)

1. Introduction

Some notable recent contributions to the topic (Herrero 2015; Bedos-Rezak and Rust 2018; Doyno 2019; Aurell 2022) have prompted reflection on how easily a phenomenon such as charisma can be encapsulated in one or several theoretical positions alone; on whether its semantic origin can be ascribed to the work of one or several authors; or, in this text, if it is possible to enclose the notion of medieval charisma and thus open up new historiographical horizons. The philosophical, semantic, historical–political, sociological, anthropological–cultural, psychological, and iconographic complexity of this phenomenon may lean towards encapsulating it in some way. However, I am also reluctant to think that it can be easily confined without resorting to simplifications or literalist and philological interpretations of the sources of the concept. This topic deserves a more open exploration, with a better future, and less conditioned by doctrinal or school ideologies.

Without going immediately into the vast bibliographical apparatus available on the concept (for example: Camic 1980; Bensman and Givant 1975; Conger 1989), it can be said at the outset that charisma is a kind of divine force that some people possess and that enables them to influence others. A person with charisma has a superior power in all cultures, and this allows them to exert an action on things and people through words, images, or body gestures.

At first glance, charisma is an interdisciplinary, historical (but also trans-historical), political, religious, and cultural phenomenon. Perhaps the first scholar to see connections between charisma and cultural explanation was Talcott Parsons in *The Structure of Social Action* (Parsons 1937). Though it seems difficult to encapsulate, many have tried, without being able to escape either the theological attraction of the concept of grace (that elevates nature) in St. Paul, or the magnetism of its formulation from Max Weber's social science (Weber [1922] 1947; Fleischmann 1964; Smith 2021; Durkheim 1912). In this text, I would like to ask myself whether there are only these two options: either charisma is a special gift

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received from God, or it is a captivating charm that enables the development of political and religious leadership tasks.

It is possible that Ernst Kantorowicz's[1] work on medieval political theology might help to explore a middle way between St. Paul and Weber. I understand the difficulties involved, the prejudices both for and against his work, in embarking on this path of analyzing the history of ideas, and in this case charisma, from his concept of political theology in the Middle Ages. But I am confident of its merits, and perhaps it would be unwise to dismiss it. It is still a valid interlocutor in a present that is immersed in simultaneous processes of accelerated secularization and sacralization.

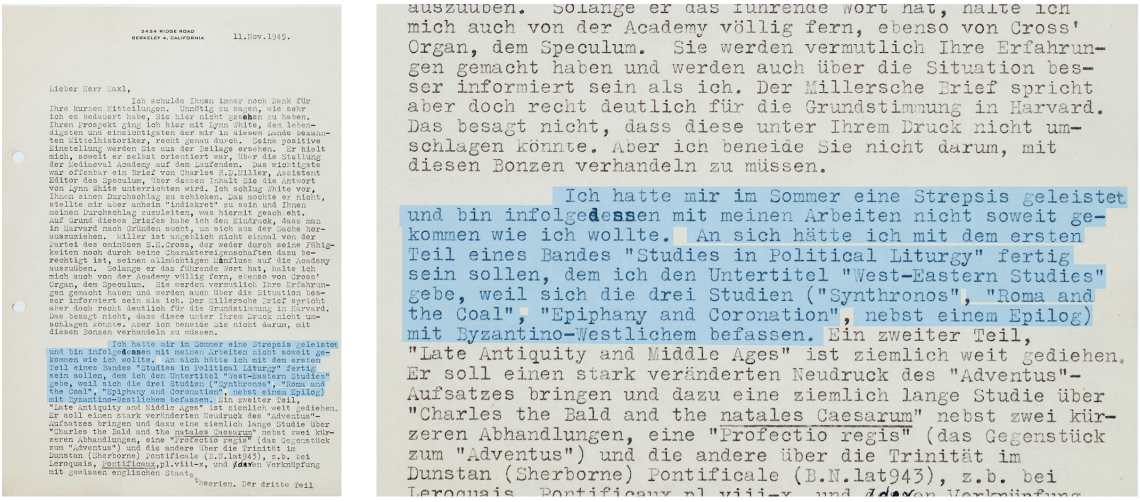
To this end, I am going to place special emphasis on the reading of his text "ΣΨΝΘΡΟΝΟΣ. ON THRONE-SHARING OF GODS AND MEN", which is based on a paper read at Dumbarton Oaks on 5 April 1951 and was to have been the first of the "Studies Eastern and Western in the History of Late Classical and Mediaeval Ideas" (Kantorowicz 1951c). The series was to have included the following other titles: "Roman Coins and Christian Rites", "Epiphany and Coronation", "Charles the Bald and the *Natales Caesarum*", and "Roma and the Coal". Kantorowicz was able to correct the proofs of this text before his death on 9 September 1963. In accordance with his wishes, plans to publish the other studies in the series would be abandoned, although they could be cited occasionally.

I will present this analysis in four distinct parts. First, I will discuss the notion of charisma in Kantorowicz's text and other work relevant to the concept. Next, I will explain the theoretical context in which Kantorowicz developed his idea of charisma, even when he never used this word explicitly. The third part will be dedicated to explaining the notion of representation as a key to Kantorowicz's understanding of medieval charisma, in contrast to early Christian religious and modern sociological ideas. Finally, I will propose the methodological position of Kantorowicz's notion of charisma in counterpoint to those of St. Paul[2] and Max Weber (for example: Weber 1968; Dow 1978; Haley 1980; Bell 2004; Adair-Toteff 2015, 2020; Heurtin 2019). If the result is successful, I will have been able to show a middle way, so that the definition of charisma itself may have been supplemented or extended, especially as applied to the medieval period.[3] It is important to clarify that I do not have a philological interest in researching the word "charisma" in the texts of Kantorowicz, but the concept. I will not trace an archaeology of charisma as a linguistic term in Eka's work, but a conceptual genealogy and development of this very idea in the Middle Ages.

For the reader, this text will be a quite long journey, which may be difficult to simplify in a less extensive adventure or a less intricate structure. Sometimes the branches of this thick tree may seem to grow arbitrarily and, in some way, draw shadows to the piece as a whole. However, so long as the reader perseveres with an increasing interest, it can be progressively seen how everything returns to the basic hypotheses and recovers a sort of final enlightening that allows understanding everything.

2. The Notion of Charisma in Kantorowicz's *Synthronos*

When I decided to study the manuscript "Synthronos". On throne-sharing of gods and men" (Figure 1), my intention was twofold. First, it was to study the phenomenon of medieval charisma through one of its privileged objects: the throne. I thought that the concept of throne-sharing would help me to understand the definition of charisma by exploring the possibility that by sharing the throne, charisma could also be shared. Second, I wanted to ascertain the validity of certain historiographical positions on medieval charisma that postulated its double root, almost exclusively in the writings of St. Paul and Max Weber's definition of charisma.



2424 RIDGE ROAD
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

11.Nov.1945.

Lieber Herr Saxl,

Ich schulde Ihnen immer noch Dank für Ihre kurzen Mitteilungen. Unnötig zu sagen, wie sehr ich es bedauert habe, Sie hier nicht gesehen zu haben. Ihren Prospekt ging ich hier mit Lynn White, den lebendigsten und einsichtigsten der mir in diesem Lande bekannten Mittelhistoriker, recht genau durch. Seine positive Einstellung werden Sie aus der Beilage ersehen. Er hielt sich, soweit er selbst orientiert war, über die Stellung der Mediaeval Academy auf dem Laufenden. Das wichtigste war offenbar ein Brief von Charles R.D.Miller, Assistent Editor des Speculum, über dessen Inhalt Sie die Antwort von Lynn White unterrichten wird. Ich schlug White vor, Ihnen einen Durchschlag zu schicken. Das mochte er nicht, stellte mir aber anheim "indirekt" zu sein und Ihnen seinen Durchschlag zuzuleiten, was hiermit geschieht. Auf Grund dieses Briefes habe ich den Eindruck, dass man in Harvard nach Gründen sucht, um sich aus der Sache herauszuziehen. Miller ist angeblich nicht einmal von der Partei des ominösen R.H.Gross, der weder durch seine Fähigkeiten noch durch seine Charaktereigenschaften dazu berechtigt ist, seinen allmächtigen Einfluss auf die Academy auszuüben. Solange er das führende Wort hat, halte ich mich auch von der Academy völlig fern, ebenso von Gross' Organ, dem Speculum. Sie werden vermutlich Ihre Erfahrungen gemacht haben und werden auch über die Situation besser informiert sein als ich. Der Millersche Brief spricht aber doch recht deutlich für die Grundstimmung in Harvard. Das besagt nicht, dass diese unter Ihrem Druck nicht umschlagen könnte. Aber ich beneide Sie nicht darum, mit diesen Bonzen verhandeln zu müssen.

Ich hatte mir im Sommer eine Strepsis geleistet und bin infolgedessen mit meinen Arbeiten nicht soweit gekommen wie ich wollte. An sich hätte ich mit dem ersten Teil eines Bandes "Studies in Political Liturgy" fertig sein sollen, dem ich den Untertitel "West-Eastern Studies" gebe, weil sich die drei Studien ("Synthronos", "Roma and the Coal", "Epiphany and Coronation", nebst einem Epilog) mit Byzantino-Westlichem befassen. Ein zweiter Teil, "Late Antiquity and Middle Ages" ist ziemlich weit gediehen. Er soll einen stark veränderten Neudruck des "Adventus"-Aufsatzes bringen und dazu eine ziemlich lange Studie über "Charles the Bald and the natales Caesarum" nebst zwei kürzeren Abhandlungen, eine "Profectio regis" (das Gegenstück zum "Adventus") und die andere über die Trinität im Dunstan (Sherborne) Pontificale (B.N.lat943), z.b. bei Leroquais, Pontificaux,pl.viii-x, und [illegible] Verknüpfung mit gewissen englischen Staat[illegible]theorien. Der dritte Teil

Figure 1. Letter from Ernst Kantorowicz to Fritz Saxl 11 Nov. 1945. Eka could not finish his essay *Synthronos* because a strepsis in the summer of 1945. The Warburg Institute Archive, GC_Kantorowicz-Saxl_31.1.1947r.

This essay is a typewritten, double-spaced, 67-page text on white folio with 129 bibliographical and explanatory notes after the text (Kantorowicz 1951c, pp. 823–87). Quotations or expressions in Greek have been added by the author after the English text with a Greek typewriter, as well as some handwritten corrections. Pagination is top right 1–33 (for the text) and 1*–31* (for the notes). After an introduction (fol. 1–6), it is divided into different parts: 1. Kings throne-sharers of Gods (fol. 6–17); 2. The Dead as throne-sharers of God (fol. 17–25); and 3. Christos *Synthronos* (fol. 25–33).

An early version of *Synthronos* (6 December 1945) is held in the Bancroft Library in Berkeley,[4] and the text I use is the 1951 one kept at the Leo Baeck Institute in New York. This means that the ideas in this paper were being developed between WWII or earlier and the 1950s or later: some ten years of thinking about the problem of how the Antique custom of the king sharing the throne with gods in a frontal position and, once Christianized, how the Son and the Father could have the same substance, so that both might sit on the same throne, too. In fact, Eka wrote to Fritz Saxl: in the summer of 1945: "I had afforded myself a strepsis in the summer and as a result I did not get as far as I wanted with my work. In fact, I should have finished the first part of a volume "Studies in Political Liturgy", which I give the subtitle 'West-Eastern Studies', because the three studies ('Synthronos', 'Roma and the Coal', 'Epiphany and Coronation' together with an epilogue) deal with the Byzantine-West". (Figure 1).

The 1951 *Synthronos* text had a before and an after in Kantorowicz's mind. His 1927 biography of Emperor Frederick II (Kantorowicz 1927, 1931; Abulafia 1977) had been a bestseller, and *The King's Two Bodies* (Kantorowicz 1957)[5] achieved classic status in Germany somewhat later, as elsewhere. Between these two, EKa (i.e., Kantorowicz) studied the cultural and political influences through the liturgical unity between the three Norman Churches—Normandy, England, and Sicily (Kantorowicz 1941); the noiseless influence of Plato in the Middle Ages (Kantorowicz 1942a); the liturgy as one of the most important auxiliaries to the study of medieval history (Kantorowicz 1942b, 1946); the *synthronismoi* of two or three emperors in Antiquity, frontally aligned, and their relationship to later images of the Christian Trinity. He also turned his focus to sharing the same throne, the status of the Glorified co-equal with that of the Father and the difficulty of representing at once the two natures and yet avoiding their "frontal" meeting in the same image (Kantorowicz 1947); the old right of the ruler to demand not only the property, but also, *ad usuim publicum*, the lives

of the citizens, as a new manifestation of the contemporary disenchantment of the world (Kantorowicz 1951b); the Dantean metaphor of the two suns (empire and papacy of equal rank) (Kantorowicz 1951a); the secularization of the feudal vassalitic oath (Kantorowicz 1954); and the origins of the absolute state in the medieval background of the concept "Mysteries of State" (Kantorowicz 1955). Other texts dealing with very original topics and deep historical insight were published in this period (Y. M. 1964, p. 8), while yet others remained unpublished, such as *Synthronos*.[6]

In 1957, EKa published *TKTB* (*The King's Two Bodies*), which was to contain many of the previous topics in a synthesis inspired by Edmund Plowden's concept of the "two bodies" of the king (see *infra*). This is thus how *Synthronos* was inserted into the evolutive magma of his texts in the thirty years between 1927 and 1957.

2.1. What Is Throne-Sharing?

The introduction (fol. 1–6) begins with an exemplification of the concept of *synthronos* by explaining the death, possibly tragic, in CE 130 of Antinous, a lover of the emperor Hadrianus, who was subsequently deified and incorporated into the tradition of the kings of the Ptolemaic dynasty, keepers of the tradition of Pharaonic Egypt.

A number of examples in art and literature allow the author to underline the political, rather than poetic, meaning of the term: the investiture of the commander of the Sassanid king's guard; Aides as throne-mate of Zeus (according to Sophocles); Pan, called in the *Orphic Hymns* "throne–sharer" of the Horae; and others.

Finally, in this introduction, EKa discusses the notions of *isotheos* (adding to statues of gods other statues of the same material and size, representing the monarch) and *synnaos* (sharing the temple or altar of the gods, as a synonym for *synthronos*). This episode consequently serves him to didactically introduce the notion of *synthronos* as the one who shares the throne with the gods, whose cult or semi-cult is connected with the cult of the ruler not only in Egypt, but throughout the Hellenistic world.

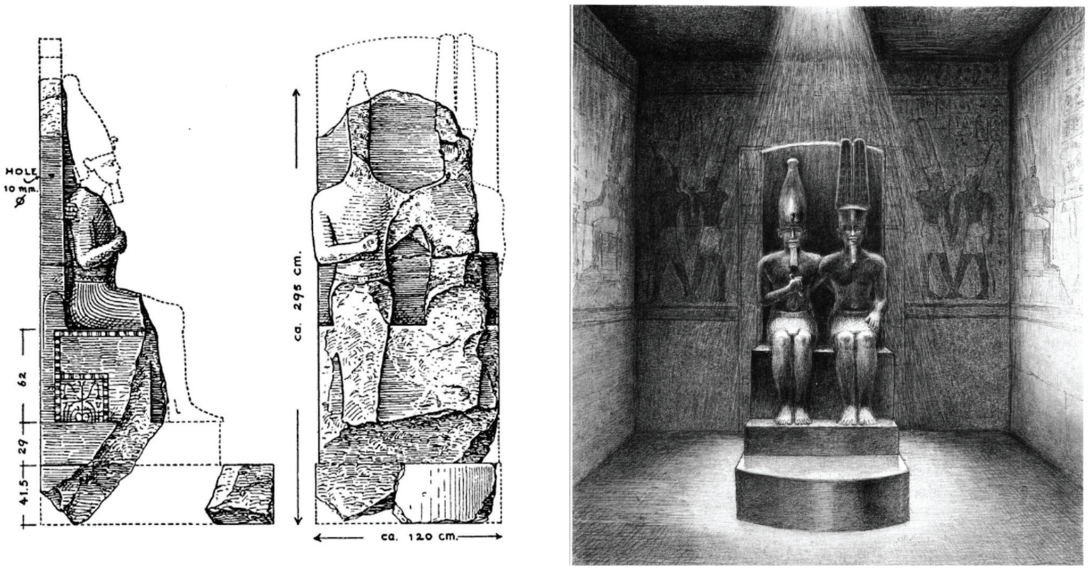
Thinking analogically helps to understand this introduction to *synthronos* as a preliminary key to categorizing charisma in different senses.[7] Firstly, the throne serves to connect the above with the below, gods with men. The gods invite men to share their divine status, and men are deified in the act of being incorporated into the throne. To share the throne is to share the benefit of a personified godhood (in action), or charisma. For men, the benefit of being as gods is the charisma, which is what is shared with them.

Secondly, it follows from this introduction that, for EKa, it is not only the person of the god or man that is important, but also their visual or literary representation. It is relevant that the word *synthronos* is being used in literature, just as it is important that it can be artistically visual. Sharing the throne is not charismatic if it is not known literarily or perceived artistically. Third, there is a cultural continuity among the Antique, Hellenistic, and Christian notion of sharing the throne with God. There may be differences from the point of view of the morphology of religions; however, the concept of charisma as the "shared representation" of God's virtues by men does not vary.

2.2. Kings as Gods

Later in the text, "1. Kings throne-sharers of Gods" (fol. 6–17) discusses at length the case of Philip II of Macedon at the marriage ceremony of his daughter Cleopatra at Aigai in 336 BCE Here, the images of the Twelve Gods seated on their thrones are carried according to custom into the theater, where the thirteenth statue of the king is added as *synthronos*, of the same size and material as those of the other twelve. As regards Alexander the Great, he is only recorded as living on the throne of the gods in the *Alexander Romance* of Pseudo-Callisthenes. But even though this royal style is well attested, perhaps in later times it may only reflect the relative popularity of that term around CE 300, when this work was composed. Kantorowicz cites other examples in relation to Alexander's successors in Egypt.

Kantorowicz is unsurprised by the fact that the *synthronos* with the gods comes from the Pharaonic tradition, as is the case with some monuments of the New Empire, such as the temple *cella* (inner chamber) at Medinet Habu (Thutmose III, 18th Dynasty: 1501–1447), who shares a throne with Amon (Figure 2), or a similar statue in the temple of Amon at Karnak. He also shows that the Hellenistic kings of Egypt of the Ptolemaic dynasty continued the Pharaonic tradition of *synnaos* and *synthronos*, though less frequently.



(**a**) (**b**)

Figure 2. Temple of Medinet Habu. Thutmose III. 18th Dynasty from 1550/1549 to 1292 BCE (**a**) Black granite sculpture with the god Amon and Thutmose III seated side by side on a throne. (**b**) Small double statue of Thutmose III and Amon. Reconstructed in original location by A. Bollacher (Hölscher 1939, pl. 3 and 24). © The University of Chicago. With permission if not used for commercial purposes.

For the author, the most impressive example of royal throne-partnership with the gods is the great monument and inscription of the sanctuary, which Antiochus of Commagene established in the fourth decade of the first century BCE on the summit of Mount Nemrud. The ruins of the *hierothesion* (holy seat) on Nemrud Dagh show the colossal figures sitting side by side on their thrones (Figure 3). Zeus is the central figure, with personified Commagene at his right side and King Antiochus at his left, throne-sharers who are in turn flanked by Apollo and Heracles, respectively.

The technical term *synthronos* rarely appears in the language of the cult of Roman emperors, and its Latin equivalent, *consessor*, has a vague meaning and is hardly found in pre-Christian times. But for EKa, this does not imply that a throne-community of Roman emperors and princes with gods was beyond Roman imagination.

I mentioned above the example of the marriage ceremony of Cleopatra, daughter of Philip II of Macedon (Lane Fox 2011). In this case, EKa underlines a concept that helps to understand his idea of charisma. In the procession of thrones of the Twelve Gods, the thirteenth statue of the king is "of the same size and material" as the other twelve. The author accepts and footnotes[8] the idea of *theoprepes* that Fritz Taeger uses in his book (1957–1960), which is translated by *dignum deo* and means "That which is fitting to a god or worthy of a god" (Dreyer 1970; Van der Horst 2006, p. 129).

Figure 3. Ruins of the *hierothesion* on East Terrace Mount Nemrud. Photo: © M. Sanz de Lara and J. A. Belmonte. With permission for research use.

In this context, charisma is a representation of what is worthy of God. This idea, biblically based and, moreover, dogmatized by Philo of Alexandria (Van der Horst 2006, pp. 130–31), helps EKa to further nuance the concept: "The king *in natura* presided over the show, the king *in effigie*—so to say, his *numen*—was seated in the midst of the gods to watch the performance as a throne-sharing thirteenth."[9] EKa thus equates the meaning of (doubled-) numen[10] and charisma from the point of view of a representation of power, which, equal to God, the king exercises from the same level. A little further on, we will see that, already in the Christian context, not every charisma can be totally shared: the Son will share it with the Father as an equal and, following St. Paul, the Christian will be "son in the Son" by grace.

2.3. Charisma and Death

In the second part ("2. The Dead as Throne-sharers of Gods", fol. 17–25), EKa notes a special triangle among gods, kings, and the dead, the common denominator of which is heroes. Tertullian devoted a whole treatise to the crown as an insignia and stressed correctly that the dead were crowned as a sign of their deification or, as he put it, "because they become idols as soon as they are dead both by their attire and by the service of consecration". The throne became an insignia of their heroization or deification after death because the exalted dead would be visualized as privileged "partners of the seats of the gods below."

The great metamorphosis of eschatological belief, however, was brought about in the Hellenistic age when the human mind was conquered by the doctrine, according to which man's soul might ascend to the skies to become immortal among the stars or gods. The idea of a throne-partnership with the gods began to move away from the nether regions and to seek its materialization in the regions above. To certain gnostic schools, however, whose teaching may well be called a Christianized equivalent of the mysteries, an other-worldly throne-sharing of the dead with secondary deities was known. The notion of passage in the *Stromata* of Clement of Alexandria renders Christian thought, too.

In this second part of *Synthronos*, EKa implicitly refers to aspects of charisma that are crucial in medieval political theology: 1. the funerary element that unfolds in the

idealization of the deceased monarch, 2. the charismatic presentism dependent on an eschatological future, and 3. the concept of transit to the afterlife that reinforces the charisma of the protagonist.

The death of the king is a key fact for understanding the notion of charisma in Kantorowicz. The doctrine of the king's two bodies was devised during the reign of Elizabeth I (1558–1603) and can be found in the account of cases from that period by the jurist Edmund Plowden (Fortin 2021, p. 3). For *TKTB*, EKa chooses as a starting point the *Plowden Reports* (Figure 4), from which he will extract some of the most revealing passages of the arguments and judgments pronounced in the royal courts (Plowden 1816).[11] In these *Reports*, we find the first clear elaboration of that mystique of discourse, with which the jurists of the English crown enveloped and embellished their definitions of kingship and their sovereign powers (Kantorowicz 1957, p. 7).

Figure 4. Les Commentaries, ou Reportes de Edmunde Plowden (. . .) [first part]. London: Richard Tottell, 24 October 1571 folio, 29 × 18.5 cm). First Edition in English. Photo: © British Library Board. With permission.

They are important for our essay because, in fact, the concept of charisma in relation to the death of the king will derive from texts from the *Plowden Reports*:

> "The King has two Capacities, for he has two Bodies, the one whereof is a Body natural, consisting of natural Members as every other Man has, and in this he is subject to Passions and Death as other Men are; the other is a Body politic, and the

> Members thereof are his Subjects, and he and his Subjects together compose the Corporation (. . .) and he is incorporated with them, and they with him, and he is the Head, and they are the Members, and he has the sole Government of them; and this Body is not subject to Passions as the other is, nor to Death, for as to this Body the King never dies, and his natural Death is not called in our Law (. . .), the Death of the King, but the Demise of the King, not signifying by the Word (Demise) that the Body politic of the King is dead, but that there is a Separation of the two Bodies, and that the Body politic is transferred and conveyed over from the Body natural now dead, or now removed from the Dignity royal, to another Body natural. So that it signifies a Removal of the Body politic of the King of this Realm from one Body natural to another". (Plowden 1816, p. 233a; Kantorowicz 1957, p. 13)

The expression "the king never dies" means that his charisma never dies either. That is why the word "demise" (transference, passing away, passing out, fading away, transition) is an efficient euphemism for the idea that, after the death of the physical body, the body politic is "suspended", and pending to join a new biological organism, while not dying as such.

It is interesting to think that charisma is not even suspended because it is not just a body politic. What is more, with the death of the biological body, the charisma is maintained or reinforced, precisely thanks to the absence of the physical person and the corruption of the material. In funeral ceremonies, funerary monuments, and burial mounds, while awaiting the new king, charisma bridges the gap between the mortal physical and the immortal political.

The funerary monument, the liturgy, and the chronicles of the king's death act as a literary and artistic support for the charisma, which is understood as the personal energy of the ruler that survives his physical body and nourishes the body politic awaiting a new investiture. In the removal of the body politic between one physical body (that of the king who dies) and another (the one that succeeds him), the charisma sustains everything, helping the united subjects to continue composing the Corporation.[12]

2.4. Christian Charisma

When EKa reaches the third part of his essay ("3. Christos Synthronos", fol. 25–33), he notices that no verse of the Old Testament was quoted so often and so significantly in the New as Psalm 109, the decisive passage announcing the royal or messianic throne-partnership with Jehovah: "The Lord said unto my Lord: Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool". This verse is referred to so authoritatively in the Gospels, and is repeated or alluded to so often in the apostolic writings, that the celestial throne-companionship of the Son of man with God the Father is explained sufficiently by the Psalter alone.

The decisive factor is not the influence of divine kingship in the ancient Near East as a basis for Hellenistic ruler worship (Carlyle [1841] 1891). It is rather the difference between both Jewish and Hellenistic concepts of human–divine throne-partnership on the one hand, and the image of Christ sharing the throne of the Father on the other. In the Psalm, no matter whether it be interpreted "historically" or "messianically", the throne-sharing of the Lord that is addressed with the Lord that speaks is, as it were, "absolute" and not determined by time. The same is true with regard to the throne-sharing of Hellenistic kings: they are not bound to a definite moment in the life of the ruler, and it does not have any consequences with regard to other men.

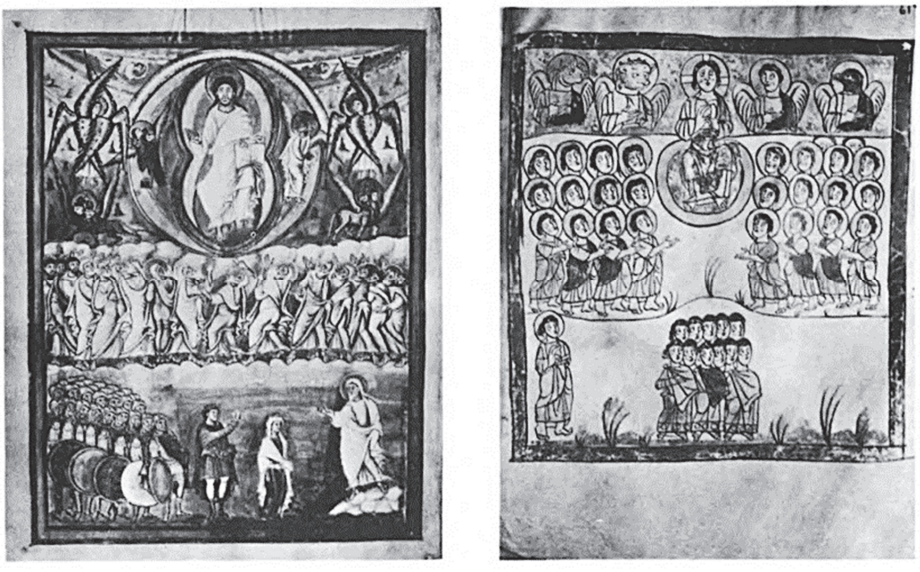
The applications of Psalm 109 in the New Testament, however, deviate from both the Israelite and the Hellenistic traditions insofar as the throne–sharing of the Messiah, the Son of man, with God the Father is bound to a specific moment in the life of Jesus and the history of the human race. The sitting of the man Jesus on the right side of God the Father appears as an ultimate goal, as the last consequence of a tragedy, the last scene of a terrifying drama, which began on earth with the incarnation and ended in the crucifixion,

the resurrection, and the ascension to heaven. The ensuing *synthronismos*, therefore, is meant to appear as the last station of a long journey.

Neither in the tradition of Israel nor in that of Hellenistic kingship has the element of time been effective in the assertion of a throne–fellowship with a god. Jewish Apocalyptic ideas of throne-sharing were primarily messianic and beyond time, whereas Hellenistic ideas were primarily individual and mythical, and without time.

Philo and Origen had used it in a figurative sense. Clement of Alexandria visualized a throne-sharing with the *deuteroi* in the life thereafter for those endowed with gnosis. Eusebius of Caesarea, however, uses the term not only casually or figuratively, but transfers the Hellenistic title of honor almost systematically to Christ. Few authors, it is true, have so consistently designated Christ as the *synthronos* of the Father as Eusebius, who thereby added a Hellenistic cultic–constitutional note to the fundamentals of Christian faith. Gregory Nazianzen, in his diatribe against Emperor Julian, refers to Christ as "the great Father's Son and Logos and high priest and *synthronos*."[13]

This leads us to another thought in EKa's notion of charisma in the Christian concept, typically medieval. Christological charisma is eschatological within a linear and chronological history of salvation.[14] Charisma is thus linked to the earthly human nature of Christ, though united to the heavenly divinity. Charisma is not only social—in the ecclesiological sense that the Church is a society—but also ontological. This means that charisma is historical and trans-historical, social and trans-social, human and divine at the same time. This is shown in the tripartite meaning of the last judgement in two Carolingian manuscripts, the San Paolo Bible and the Trier Bible, where the linear meaning of Cristian time is clear (Figure 5): the four figures below, the princes spiritual and secular, the uppermost plane with a sphere "above all heavens", and the middle plane a sphere below heaven, but reaching "unto the sky" (Kantorowicz 1957, p. 76 and Figure 5).



(**a**) (**b**)

Figure 5. Christ in Majesty with 24 Elders (**a**) Miniature, Carolingian, Rome, San Paolo f. l. m. Bible, fol. 6v. Creative Commons CC0 License; (**b**) Miniature, Carolingian, Trier Apocalypse, Stadtbibliotek, MS 31, fol. 61. Creative Commons CC0 License.

In its historical form, it is represented by both the anthropomorphic image of Christ himself and the institutional image of the Church as his mystical body; trans-historically,

his charisma will clearly be seen: not as in a mirror, but face to face (1Cor. 13.12), "For now we are looking in a mirror that gives only a dim (blurred) reflection [of reality as in a riddle or enigma], but then [when perfection comes], we shall see in reality and face to face! Now I know in part (imperfectly), but then I shall know and understand fully and clearly, even in the same manner as I have been fully and clearly known and understood [by God]" (Bible 1958).

The specific iconography of the side wound of Christ is a metaphor for the unity between the two temporal dimensions of the physical body of Christ and his mystical–institutional body (the Church). Following the spirit of *Synthronos*, medieval charisma can be expressed through the physiological wound of Christ united to its ecclesiological dimension as the fountain of the sacraments; it was not simply "struck" by a lance, but rather "opened" to the new life of grace in the Church. Christ on the cross points to his own side wound as the fountain of life before the kneeling donors and his angels at the *Prayer Book* of Bonne of Luxembourg (Figure 6).[15]

(**a**) (**b**)

Figure 6. (**a**) The Wound of Christ and other symbols of Passion. Fol. 331r. (**b**) The Crucifixion with Christ pointing out his own wound to the donors with angels. Fol. 328r. The Prayer Book of Bonne of Luxembourg, Duchess of Normandy. Attributed to Jean Le Noir. French, before 1349, 12.6 × 9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Photo: The Cloisters Collection 1969, Accession Number: 69.86. Unrestricted commercial and noncommercial use without permission. Unrestricted commercial and noncommercial use without permission.

The reader of *Synthronos* will be left in no doubt about three important ideas: first, that it is a text of political theology; second, that the throne is a typical object of charisma; and third, that the charismatic leader must be invited to share the throne of the gods, because having charisma is not the same standing up as sitting down. This allows us to summarize, before continuing, Kantorowicz's essential ideas on charisma as contained in *Synthronos*.

The concept of charisma comes from the most ancient civilizations, such as Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Israel. The energy of charisma springs, in the first instance, from the gods, who only later can invite some humans to share it on their throne. This concept is subsequently Hellenized in Greek and Roman culture with a new nuance in the form of a more sophisticated mythological narrative. Equalizing with statues of the same proportion and material as the gods (*isotheos*), sharing the temple or altar with the gods (*synnaos*), and sitting on

the same throne (*synthronos*) are consequences derived from charisma, in which the gods attract and make men their equals because they are all-powerful.

When charisma is Christianized, thanks to grace, men can be made equal to Christ as God–man by participating in his relationship with the Father and the Holy Spirit. However, Christian charisma is historical because it is produced in the linear evolution of the history of salvation, particularly in the Middle Ages. Christian charisma has sort of two bodies in Christ: Church, as his mystical and institutional body, and mankind, as his same-nature human incorporation.

There are, however, differences among Hellenistic, Jewish, and Christian charisma. The first is mainly individual and mythical, and timeless; the second is mainly messianic and beyond time; and the third is a final goal, such as the last consequence of a tragedy, the last scene of a terrifying drama. But in all three cases, charisma requires literary or artistic representation.[16] This is the central concept in Kantorowicz's definition of medieval charisma, which could be formulated as "the personal representation of a visible force which enables the leader to act on other men as if he or she was God himself."

EKa's text reflects most of the characteristics of his mature work in three significant ways: (a) temporally, because he covers a wide historical range, from Ancient Egypt to the High Middle Ages; (b) spatially, by developing a strong side interest in the Near and Middle East; and (c) disciplinary, along the scale of scholarly disciplines, as he becomes immersed in archeology (including numismatics), art history, legal history, the history of religion, and the history of ideas (Cf. Y. M. 1964, p. 1).

As on so many occasions, the most difficult thing he manages to do is to choose a term, whose philological origin traces back to a remote past, and to overcome the gravitational force of anachronism. He takes the idea of a "shared throne" through the tunnel of time, explaining all its metamorphoses and the common denominator of all the epochs it has crossed. He finds the idea of gods inviting men to sit beside them as equals fascinating. In choosing the concept of *synthronos*, he finds himself on a terrain that is familiar to him: that of the faint boundary separating the sphere of the sacred and the profane. EKa already has the intuition that the profane tends to be sacralized, while the sacred tends to be secularized, and seeks its crystallizations in literature, history, art, and law. He shows again that there are many concepts of medieval political theology that come from very far away.

He searches in the Egyptian and Mesopotamian world for the biblical idea of the Psalms, in which the God of Israel calls his son to sit at his side. As soon as he finds these coincidences of form and content in Antiquity, he embarks on the interpretation with a powerful discourse and a new pedagogy. In this case, he reveals to the reader three ways of conceiving the idea of *synthronos*: the Hellenistic, the Hebrew, and the Christian. Here again, his hermeneutic approach is the search for the hybridization among different, sometimes contradictory things, which claim to be harmonized. First, he attracts the reader with a resemblance—for example, the presence of the Father and the Son on the same throne of salvation. Immediately, without becoming suspicious of a false dialectic, he provokes the conflict—a God who invites a man to sit with him... who at the same time is as much God as He is! —and inserts the conflict of the Christological subordinationism of Arius and his followers.

Finally, in *Synthronos*, as in many of his writings, the formal structure is clear, the use of primary and secondary sources is very precise, the visual documentation he cites is sufficiently illustrative, and his speculative standard brilliant. It is not surprising that, years after it was written, this text, which EKa did not see published, maintains its hermeneutic potential virtually intact.

3. Charisma as Representation

In EKa's work, charisma considered as representation means three stages of presence of a political substance: *perspectus*, *corpus*, and *persona*.

3.1. Representation Based on Perspectus

The Latin verb *perspicere* comes from per- and speciō, -ere. It means to examine carefully, to look attentively; to examine mentally, study, investigate; to see or look through; to distinguish with the eye, to discern, to perceive; to have or become aware of something, to distinguish with the mind, to recognize (Glare 1983). It is clear that this word involves a physical and a mental approach to reality. The literal translation "to perspective" (sic) is more than "to see" or "to look": it implies visual understanding. This is an aspect of EKa's notion of representation of charisma.

When Erwin Panofsky explained in 1927 how the Renaissance mathematical perspective worked, he used the metaphor of a crime. Following this, pictorial perspective was the scenario of the crime committed by the characters involved in the scene. W. J. T. Mitchell commented on this in the following terms: "To 'see' the crime, we need to remove the figures from the stage and examine the stage itself, the space of vision and recognition, the very ground which allows the figures to appear. The presentation of this empty stage, the foundational image of all possible visual–spatial culture, is precisely what Panofsky offers in the perspective essay"[17] (Mitchell 1994, p. 31).

Panofsky's paper "makes a double (and contradictory) argument about Renaissance perspective: first, that it is simply *part of one particular culture* and has the same status as other modes of spatial depiction developed within other cultures". Second, that it "provides an *absolute viewpoint* for interpreting other constructions" (Podro 1982, p. 196). Perspective is a figure for what we would call ideology—a historical, cultural formation that masquerades as a universal, natural code. The continuum of "homogeneous infinite space" (Podro 1982, p. 187) and the bipolar reduction to a single viewpoint at the "subjective" and "objective" ends of pictorial space provide the structure or space in which Panofsky's three-dimensional iconology makes sense. Representation embodies these two aspects: reality as seen and reality as it is.

Perspective is thus both a *mere symptom* and the *diagnostic synthesis*, which allows interpretation to be scientific and symptoms to be made intelligible. "Perspective made a promising case study not because it described the world correctly, but because it described the world according to a rational and repeatable procedure". This is what Panofsky means when he calls perspective the "objectification of the subjective" (Panofsky [1927] 1991, p. 65) or "the carrying over of artistic objectivity into the domain of the phenomenal" (Panofsky [1927] 1991, p. 72). Perspective encourages a strange kind of identification of the art-object with the world-object. It is perspective, after all, that makes the metaphor of a *Weltanschauung*, a worldview, possible in the first place (Panofsky 1991, p. 13).

Perspective is a way of representation both objective (scientific) and subjective (cultural): it is both physical and ideological. This means, in EKa's case, that it is both the "presence" and "absence" of political power. It is a visual or literary device to be taken into account. It is both a marketing strategy (we are induced to look at a symptom) and an ontological presence (a synthesis). This leads to the thought that in EKa's medieval political theology, charisma is both subjective and relative, but also objective and absolute. That is something different from a simple theology of grace (Pauline) or a recognizable sociological structure (Weberian). All this involves the fact that EKa's notion of *synthronos* does not only mean visibly sharing the throne with God (as pre-iconographical), but also being substantially another god or the same God (though iconological). Such is the power of representation in terms of *Perspectus*.

In his text "The Quinity of Winchester", EKa presents the throne-sharing of the Luttrell Psalter based on Psalm 109: "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool". The Lord that speaks is considered to be God the Father, and the Lord spoken to King David, the "historical" interpretation (David wearing a crown, Figure 7a) as opposed to the "messianic" (Christ with a halo, Figure 7b) on the Offices of Westminster. The commentators on the Psalm hold that David and Christ are almost interchangeable here. *Qui filius Dei est, ipse et filius David est*, writes Jerome. St. Augustine

explains, *Filius David secundum carnem, dominus David secundum divinitatem* (Kantorowicz 1947, p. 75).

(**a**) (**b**)

Figure 7. (**a**) Psalm 109 (110). Left: Luttrell Psalter, Northern England c. 1325–40, 350 × 245 cm., BL Add MS 42130, fol. 203r. © British Library Board (**b**) Breviary with offices of Westminster, 14th century, fol. 32v. Maidstone Museum (Kent). With permission.

Both are representations of the *synthronos*, where "the Lord invites my Lord to seat", and in both God's charisma is shared. The two architectural seats or benches differ from the Albertian sense-developed perspective device in Italy,[18] but they respond to a moment in its development when the Northern painters and book illuminators started absorbing the Italian innovations until, at the end of the fourteenth century, a state of equilibrium was reached (Panofsky 1966, p. 20).[19] In these two cases (mid-14th century), the painters had arrived at a no less "correct" solution on a purely empirical basis—that is to say, not by deriving a workable construction from optical theory, but by subjecting shop traditions and direct visual experience to a consistent schematization (Panofsky 1966, p. 5).

In conclusion, representation was not only the geometry of a mathematical perspective, but also the conceptual penetration of the human gaze that made it possible to approach the literal meaning of the image (differences in wearing crown or halo) with its synthetic results: David is Christ and, therefore, the only God with the Father. Thanks thus to the power of representation, the energy of charisma was explained *visually* rather than just theologically (Paul) or sociologically (Weber). Perspective, whether infinite (mathematical, early modern) or finite (medieval), means that in the throne-sharing, one more human character is incorporated in the visual space of the god. This involves formal symptoms (pre-iconographical) and ontological syntheses. In this, Kantorowicz may be going further in the political theology language efficiency of charisma.

3.2. Representation Based on Corpus

Kantorowicz's importance in the most recent debates on the political and historical meanings of the body[20] is mainly due to Michel Foucault, who rediscovered the *corpus* metaphor in *TKTB*.[21] As the American historian John B. Freed put it, Foucault "made Kantorowicz suddenly fashionable" (Freed 1999, p. 225ff, Quoted in Antenhofer 2016, p. 3). Also, Alain Boureau, the French historian and one of EKa's biographers, coined the term

"pre-Foucauldian" for *TKTB* as a monumental study of the strategies of "theatricalization" in the political regimes—i.e., France and England.[22]

In doing so, Boureau claimed that, as performed embodiments of the dual nature of monarchic authority, secular ceremonies—especially the funerals of kings—had too often been interpreted as having the same "real" consequences and effects as their religious analogies, e.g., in transubstantiation. Bodies and symbols must be preserved, shown, and surrounded by attentive considerations on behalf of powers. The monarchic rites submit to devotion those bodies of kings, and the tactics of power oblige them—natural bodies that they are—to join the perpetual body of the monarchy. Kantorowicz had really accustomed us to understanding the monarchic fiction of the two bodies of the king as individual participation in a perpetual transcendent reality, but Boureau takes up the question by operating a historical criticism of EKa's proposal. The king's body is thus not double, but simple (Cf. Boureau 1988, pp. 24–27).

This critique of Kantorowicz is interesting because it helps us to better understand the notion of charismatic representation as a middle way between the Pauline theological and the Weberian sociological. If for a moment we consider that the king has only one body (his physical, theatrical, dramatic, or aesthetic body) and not two (physical and political), we can better understand EKa's own notion as a fusion of the two bodies of the king into one: the body of representation. The charismatic leader does not have power because he has *only* received a gift from heaven or because he is recognized by a social structure *alone*. The king is powerful because he is represented through his *corpus* that can perform tragic actions in public (Tindemans 2008). His actions are not just *successive stages in social dramas*, but more like *rites of passage*, which render them irreversible *alone*, their sequence being no illusion, and whose unidirectional movement is transformative (Cf. Turner 1982, p. 80).

In this charisma as representation, there must be a "threshold" or liminal phase of ritual, which is not just metaphor. Liminality must be regarded as a serious formulation of ritual as performance, because ritual lays stronger emphasis on the transformative action of "invisible or supernatural beings or powers regarded as the first and final causes of all effects". Without taking liminality into account, ritual becomes indistinguishable from "ceremony", "formality", or what Barbara Myerhoff and Sadly Moore, in their Introduction to *Secular Ritual* (1977), indeed call "*secular* ritual". The liminal phase is the essential, *anti*-secular component in ritual per se, whether it be labeled "religious" or "magical". "Ceremony indicates, ritual transforms" (Turner 1982, p. 80).

Kantorowicz himself recognizes that "we may find ourselves involved in a tangle of intersecting, overlapping, and contradictory strands of political thought", though all of them "somehow converge in the notion of Crown". "The Crown, as the embodiment of all sovereign rights [. . .] of the whole body politic, was superior to all its individual members, including the king, though not separated from them" (Kantorowicz 1957, p. 381).

An example may well help in understanding charisma as an "embodiment" of medieval kingship, with the crown as a special object itself. The legend of Moses throwing down Pharaoh's crown and breaking it appears in a Dutch copy of the *Speculum humanæ salvationis*. The *Speculum* is an early fourteenth–century encyclopedic work on typology, a form of biblical exegesis, in which Old Testament events are interpreted as prefigurating those in the New Testament. This *Mirror* is drawn from Comestor, who gives its source as the *Antiquitate judaica* of Josephus (Cf. Morey 1993).

The scene on the right shows the shattered crown that the child Moses had thrown down at Pharaoh's feet. A soldier prepares to slay him, but a servant holds out hot coals, and Moses proves his favor with God by putting one in his mouth without flinching or being burned (Figure 8). After destroying the symbol of Egypt's sovereignty, the crown, Moses was saved by divine intervention so that he could eventually lead the Israelites out of captivity. This parallels the destruction of the Egyptian idols by the passage of the child Jesus, who was protected so that he could live to redeem mankind (Wilson and Wilson 1984, pp. 87, 163).

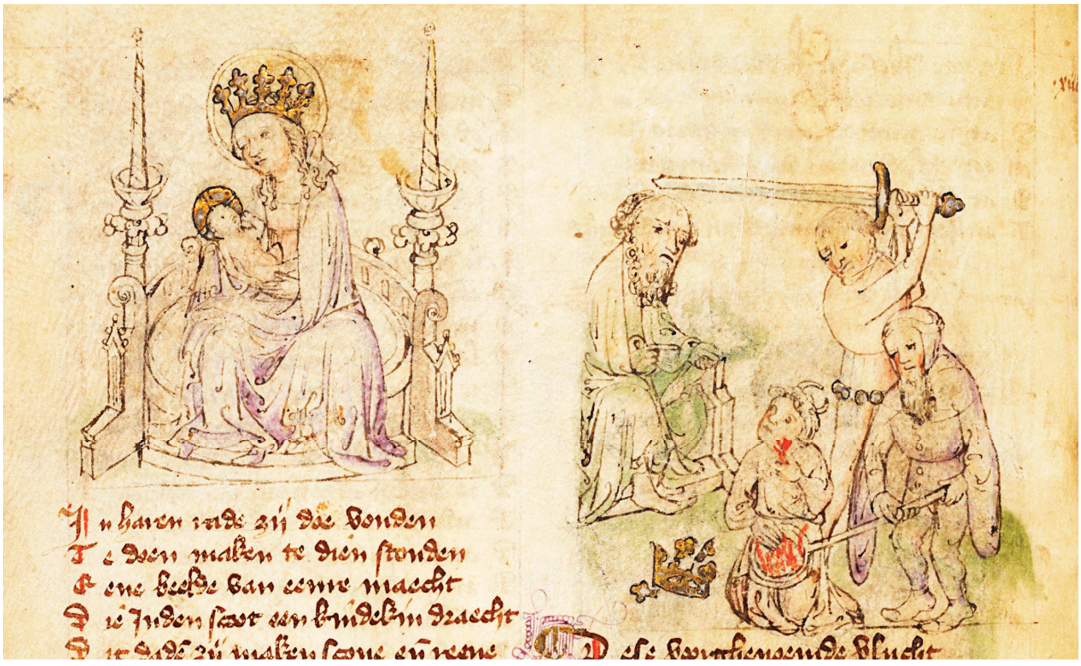


Figure 8. *Moyses projecit coronam Pharaonis et fregit* (Moses threw down the crown of Pharaoh and broke it). *Spieghel der menscheliker behoudenisse*. Middle Dutch verse adaptation of the *Speculum humanæ salvationis*, in the dialect of West Flanders, Netherlands, S. (Bruges), c. 1410, 265 × 190 mm, BL Add MS 11575, fol. 25r. © British Library Board. With permission.

This broken pagan crown is in clear contrast to the scene on the left with Mary and the Child sitting on a throne, showing the integrity of the Mother of God's (and the Church's) crown. Both are exactly the same shape (Figure 9). There is a prefiguration of the child Moses as the child Jesus: the former plays with Pharaoh's crown, which ends up broken, while the latter preserves the integrity of the Church's crown. This original parallelism brings us back to *TKTB*'s consideration of the Crown:

> "The Crown appeared also as a composite body, an aggregate of the king and those responsible for maintaining the inalienable rights of the Crown and the kingdom. As a perpetual minor, the Crown itself had corporational (sic) character . . . As Sir Francis Bacon put it, that king and Crown were 'inseparable, though distinct.' Another thing seems also to emerge quite clearly: that the Crown was rarely 'personified' but very often 'cosified.' Comparable to the *corpus mysticum*, the Crown was and remained a complex body, a body politic which was not separated from either its royal constituent as the head nor from those co-responsible for the *status coronae* as limbs". (Kantorowicz 1957, p. 382)

The destruction of Pharaoh's crown prefigures the destruction of Israel's enemies. Christ, by destroying the crown of the pagan kingdom, destroys its charisma, understood as the bodily representation of evil. On the other hand, the child Jesus in his mother's arms and as a body mystically represented by his Church, of which Mary is also Mother, saves the physical integrity of the Crown of charisma. The mechanism of charisma as embodied representation is not only a social drama enacted in different phases, but a ritual of passage that transforms reality. The corporeal–representative dimension of the crown gives power an ontological charisma that unifies the crown as object and the Crown as an institution. Again, the ceremony indicates, but the ritual transforms.

Figure 9. The crown of Mary as Mother of the Church in Christ is exactly the same shape as Pharaoh's crown that the child Moses broke, prefiguring the child Christ, who will save humanity as the king of Israel and founder of the Church. Details of Figure 8.

3.3. Representation Based on the Persona

Both France and England thus succeeded in abolishing the "little interregnum" that arose between the king's accession and coronation. The coronation ceremonial, of course, was not abandoned. It still remained a task of the Church to solemnize the important coronation oath. As an occasion for the display of courtly pomp and splendor, the coronation gained some new momentum. Coronations served as "the solemnization of the royal descent", that is, as a medium for the manifestation of a dynasty-bound divine right. De facto, both France in 1270 and England in 1272 recognized that the succession to the throne was the birthright of the eldest son. Henceforth, the king's true legitimation was dynastic, independent of approval or consecration on the part of the Church and also of election by the people. "The royal power, is from God and from the people electing the king in his person or in his house, *in persona vel in domo*" (Kantorowicz 1957, pp. 329–30).

This has implications for EKa's concept of the representation of charisma. A different oil will be used, a different series of gestures performed, and a dissimilarity in the background is born: the king is only "as if" (he was) a bishop or Christ. But he is not exactly the same. Charisma is a representation not only in the field of symbols, but in the *formal structure of the sacraments* from the Holy Spirit. There is a real difference between a visual marketing strategy of power and an ontological distinction between the "represented" and the "non-represented". Anointment had no sacramental value because "it left no imprint on the soul."[23] However, it was to prove useful in establishing an analogy between the *formal structure* of a sacrament celebration and the *visual representation* of a royal anointment.

As coronation ceremonies, sacraments have both matter (such as water in baptism) and form (set of words pronounced by the minister in administering the sacrament). In kingly coronations, matter is the chrism for anointment, but also the gloves, the sword, the royal cloak, and the crown. Form is the oath and other words used by the bishop or Pope for the consecration. In addition to this, medieval coronations finish with the sacrament of the eucharist in the holy communion by the king. That is why all these ritual objects (matter) stand on the altar of the holy mass (Figure 10).

A theological distinction may be useful to deepen the *sacramental formal structure* of the charisma considered as representation. Since the very early history of Church, sacramental acts are considered effective irrespective of the intentions and character of the principals. In general, it is worth bearing in mind that the action or effect produced by baptism and ordination is claimed to be so objective and permanent that it cannot be affected or effaced by any possible later change in the recipient's disposition. This view was common in the Fathers and reprised later in the Council of Trent: "If anyone shall say that by the said

sacraments of the New Law, grace is not conferred from the work which has been worked [*ex opere operato*], but that faith alone in the divine promise suffices to obtain grace: let him be anathema."[24]

(**a**) (**b**)

Figure 10. Two different moments in the coronation ritual of King Charles V of France. (**a**) The sword, the oil, and the crown on the altar. (**b**) The holy host for communion, the oil ampoule, and the crown. Respectively, BL Cotton MS Tiberius B VIII/2, fol. 48v and 56v. © British Library Board. With permission.

Ex opere operantis is a term mainly applied to the good dispositions with which a sacrament is received, to distinguish it from the *ex opere operato*, which is the built-in efficacy of a sacrament properly conferred. But it may refer to any subjective factor that at least partially determines the amount of grace obtained by a person who performs some act of piety. This doctrine was based in the *Profession of Faith Prescribed for Durand of Osca and His Waldensian Companions* from the letter "Eius exemplo" to the Archbishop of Terraco in 1208.[25]

To postulate that when the king receives a charisma, the formal structure is similar to the one of the sacraments, is also to imply two other facts: first, that the charisma is received as a gift from above; and second, that the charisma is also received depending on the good dispositions of the king. This would mean that the charisma as representation would also depend on the person to whom eventually it is given. There would be a charisma *ex opere operato* (with the faith alone in the divine promise that suffices to obtain grace) and *ex opere operantis* (depending on the good dispositions or qualities of the leader). This is also a new perspective to contrast with the Pauline supernatural objective gratuity approach (neither sacramental) and the Weberian structuralist proposal of leadership (probably anti-sacramental).

In EKa's work, charisma is a representation that involves personalization or impersonation. "Innocent III granted to the bishops the anointment with chrism and on the head, but denied emphatically the same privilege to the prince. His arguments are interesting not only on account of the lowering of liturgical ceremonial, but also because they reveal a complete reversal of the former idea of Christ-like and Christ-centered kingship [. . .] That is to say, in order to stress the dissimilarity with the anointment of Christ the anointment of the prince was removed from the head to arms and shoulders, and it was performed, not with holy chrism, but with lesser oil" (Kantorowicz 1957, p. 319). Above all, however, the prince was expressly refused a Christ-like representation or the character of a *Christus Domini*. On the bishop's head, however, "the sacramental pouring has been retained because in his (episcopal) office, he, the bishop, represents the person of the Head (i.e., of Christ). There is a difference between the anointments of bishop and Prince: the bishop's

head is *consecrated* with chrism, whereas the arm of the prince is *soothed* with oil. Let it be shown how great is the difference between the authority of the bishop and the power of the prince" (Kantorowicz 1957, pp. 319–20).

The Coronation Book of King Charles V of France has different images that allow us to exemplify the difference between a Christ-like anointment (Pope or bishop) and a Prince-like one in the coronation ritual. The kings of France were traditionally anointed with oil from the Sainte Ampoule (Figure 11a), which legend held to have been angelically provided for the baptism of Clovis.[26] But the oil for the unction of the queen is different (Figure 11b) in terms of the impersonation of charisma.[27] The bishop represents *the person of Christ-Head*; the prince represents *the extension of the person of Christ-members*; and the queen represents *the extension of the person of the king's-members*, her husband. Depending on the *personae*, the representation of charisma through the oil is different.

(**a**) (**b**)

Figure 11. The different oil for the king's and the queen's anointment: (**a**) in fol. 46r, the ampoule with the oil of the baptism of Clovis, and the Abbot of St Remi presenting the holy ampoule to the Archbishop of Reims; (**b**) in fol. 68r, a simple bottle of blessed oil is used for the queen's unction on her breasts. BL Cotton MS Tiberius B VIII/2. © British Library Board. With permission.

The *sacramental formal structure* of this representation is relevant to understanding the power of the notion of *persona*: Christ himself, the bishop–Christ, the king–bishop, the queen–king. Each one of these *personae* lives the reception of charisma *ex opere operantis* (adapted to the dispositions of the receiver). At the same time, the *ex opere operato* dimension changes in the *matter* (different categories of oil; different objects, such as crown, sword, gloves, cloak, etc.) and in the *form* (different words to be pronounced). Both the king and the queen will ultimately receive holy communion, but the *sacramental formal structure* changes due to the different nature of the corresponding *personae*. This is an obvious reason for the non-sharing of their thrones: the bishop's *cathedra*, the king's throne, and the queen's chair—different *personae*, different charismas, different thrones.

The *persona* implies, then, two closely united dimensions. The subject of the coronation, bearer of the charisma, assumes a performative dimension. It is as if they are enacting a role in a play that embodies the investiture of power. In this aspect, the meaning of *persona* resembles the Greek notion of the theatrical mask. However, in the context of the Christian ritual of the coronation of the prince, the new mask or theatrical *persona*, without renouncing its function of representing a new role, has a transformative power that, by analogy, can function as a sacrament: it is an external, aesthetic sign, not only a *performer*, but also a *transformer*.

The second dimension is that the assumption of the theatrical mask by the prince effects in him, at the same time, an ontological transformation so that, ceasing to be who he

was, he is sacredly invested by a charisma that will allow him to exercise power. It seems, then, that in this tragic–ontological dimension of the representation of charisma, the two bodies of the king are indissolubly united in his persona, which is both a selfhood and a new actor in the visual tragedy of the exercise of power.

4. The Theoretical Context in Kantorowicz's Idea of Charisma

It is possible that my *Synthronos* analysis and the proposed definition of charisma in EKa seem naïve. It may also seem that I have a certain eagerness to coin a new or unprecedented definition and to unnecessarily modify the binary (St. Paul–Weber) picture that has already proved effective and accepted by scholars. I have endeavored to explain what my representation means in EKa's medieval charismatic dimension. It is also necessary to attempt a brief, unified explanation of the *critical context* concerning the notion of charisma in St. Paul, Kantorowicz, and Max Weber.

4.1. St. Paul's Theology of Grace

The idea of a "gift of grace" was expressed by the noun *chen* (grace or favor) in the Hebrew Old Testament. This term was usually translated *charis* in Greek. "The dominant idea", as (Smith 1956; 1998, p. 36) explains, "is that God grants favor to the helpless and humble", usually after personal invocation. The first influential writer to use the word charisma was Paul's older contemporary, Philo Judaeus, who wrote that "All things in the world and the world itself are the donation and benefaction and gift of God" (Grieve [1914] 1951, p. 367).

Paul was a Hellenizing Jew to the extent that he lived among Greek–speaking communities of Jews and gentiles, wrote letters to them in Greek, and in doing so, employed both Hellenistic literary conventions and motifs from popular Stoic and Cynic wisdom. Although apparently descending from a prominent diaspora family who had acquired Roman citizenship (Mommsen 1901), his mother tongue, quite probably, was the Hebrew and Aramaic of Jerusalem (Van Unnik 1973). Furthermore, scholars argue a close material relationship between elements of Paul's teaching and Pharisaic–Rabbinic tradition, together with the apocalyptic element, so that he can be called a "Hellenistic Pharisee" (Tomson 1990, p. 53).

Paul later refined and popularized the semantic usage of charisma in the typical New Testament meaning: "Charisma is the result of an act of grace, a favor. Grace is not an object, not some kind of ethereal substance" (Haley 1980, p. 26). Unlike other more generic terms, such as *arché* and *dynamis*, charisma conveys the idea not only of power, but also of the ethical dimension of an influence derived from a High God (Wink 1984). It is not merely power, but power given by the Holy Spirit: grace, not mere force. The Apostle elaborated this idea at a time when miracles and visions were reported everywhere. It is noticeable that the medieval illuminator of the Bible of Jean de Sy differentiates the working attitude of St Paul writing to the Corinthians (Figure 12a) from the charismatic mood of the spiritual leader when he delivers his letter to Timothy and gives him instructions (Figure 12b).

Paul's epistles display a logic that seems homiletical and pastoral, rather than systematic, and they are as ad hoc letters written to various communities in different situations, addressed exclusively to non–Jews. They would reflect Paul's faithfulness to the agreement with the Jerusalem Apostles, according to his own statement: Paul "had been entrusted with the gospel to the uncircumcised, just as Peter with that of the circumcised" (Gal 2.7). In other words, he wrote the extant letters within the boundaries of his specific mission to the gentiles and did not interfere with Peter's mission to the Jews.

First Corinthians is not only remarkable among Paul's letters for its "legal" and "Jewish" character, but also appears very much to reflect Paul's own thinking and was recognized as such in the early Church (Tomson 1990). Paul refers to "spiritual matters" (*pneumaticha*) as *charismata* or "gifts" in 1Cor 12–14. Charisma is synonymous with another word found in early Christian tradition, *doma* (Mat 7.11, Lk 11.13, Eph 4.8, Phil 4.17), both having a Hebrew background.[28] Paul discerns a range of *charismata* including teaching,

prophesying, tongues, and healing (1Cor 12.28–31).[29] In view of their community function and the connection with the Pentecost story (Acts 2), their background in Jewish tradition is evident (Tomson 1990, p. 78).

(**a**) (**b**)

Figure 12. Jean Bondol (First Master), Bible of Jean de Sy, Netherlands, 1372, Bible Historiale, The Hague, Museum Meermanno Westreenianum, 10 B 23 (**a**) Epistle I of St. Paul to the Corinthians, St. Paul writes the epistle using his desk, fol. 531r (**b**) Epistle II of St. Paul to St. Timothy, St. Paul sending a letter to Timothy, fol. 549r. Creative Commons CC0 License.

Following Paul's concept of grace, God extends His *charis* to ungrateful enemies, while still maintaining the righteous demands of His honor. The prized status of righteousness—reserved for those doing good in Antiquity—is "democratized" and extended to the entire Christian community through Christ. Only the grace of Christ—in sharp contrast to the beneficence of the gods and human beings—is unilateral, not reciprocal (Harrison 2017, p. 287). This clearly means that we are in the context of gratuity: "Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse those who have leprosy, drive out demons. Freely you have received; freely give" (Mt 10.8).

Every believer, said Paul, is blessed with one of the many gifts of the Holy Spirit, the *charismata*, which endow their bearers with unique spiritual powers and responsibilities. This term remained in later centuries until Protestant theology in the nineteenth century shifted under the influence of Hegel, Schleiermacher, and the Biblical Higher Criticism of theologians, such as Graf and Baur. A deeply historical rationalism was now counterposed to the belief in miracles, going so far as to cast a chillingly objective eye on the very notion of "gifts of the Holy Spirit."

4.2. The Rationalized Charisma

This brief analysis of the context of St. Paul's notion of charisma can be used as the basis for a consideration of the relationship between Rudolf Sohm and Max Weber. Influenced by Sohm, Weber used the vocabulary of the theology of grace. Many readers, unfamiliar with the nature of Weber's debt to theology, have thought that he, like Sohm, viewed charisma as a divinely given personal quality. However, Max Weber's sociology of charisma is radically opposed to Sohm's theology (Smith 1998, p. 32).

Sohm's stress on reverence for authority coincides perfectly with the view that Weber depicted in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* in one of his earliest references to charisma.[30] But the fabric that enfolds Sohm's theology of charisma emphasizes "organization", which is central to his vision. Far from opposing hierarchy, he hoped to sanctify it: "the true apostolic teaching on the structure of the *ecclesia*, drawn from God's Word, is this, that Christendom is not a legal organization but rather a charismatic organization" (Smith 1998, p. 42).

For Sohm, Christian community "was not a democracy, ruled by the people; it was a *pneumatocracy*, response to Spirit" (Sohm [1923] 1970; Smith 1998, p. 43). Compare this with the contrasting outlook of medieval Christian jurists (Smith 1988), in which it was generally agreed that God spoke through the people: *Vox populi*, *vox dei*. The gift of authority was said to pass from God to the prince via the public. Whether revocably granted or irrevocably alienated, authority was said to pass through human hands. In the true ecclesia, says Sohm, Revelation replaces election (Smith 1998, p. 44). For him, as for Paul, the truly pious "recognition" of charisma is simply "willing submission" (Harnack 1910, p. 196; Smith 1998, p. 46).

This is the point at which Max Weber enters the scene. Where Sohm has posited grace "bestowed" by the Holy Spirit, Weber has seen "sacred psychic states" that were produced by the faithful. In the apostolic age, the spirit did not come upon the solitary individual, but upon the assembly. Speaking in tongues and other gifts of the spirit as prophecy emerged in the midst of the community and obviously resulted from mass influence. The very community was especially productive of these sacred psychic states (Weber [1917–1919] 1952, p. 292).

For Weber, the charisma of the Pauline *ecclesia* was novel in its specific features, but far from sociologically unique in principle. Similar phenomena had been found before in many spheres and eras. Indeed, Weber stresses that the category of charisma in the West is applicable to the entire Judeo–Christian tradition—including Catholic, as well as apostolic, Christianity (Smith 1998, p. 50). In the *Prose Life of Cuthbert* of Durham, the saint's charisma of healing is represented when a monk heals the eye of a youth by touching it with hairs from Cuthbert's head (Figure 13).

Figure 13. A monk healing the eye of a youth by touching it with hairs from Cuthbert's head (Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 4, 32). Bede, Prose Life of Cuthbert. Durham, England. The priory of Durham Cathedral, fourth quarter of the 12th century, BL Yates Thompson MS 26 Fol. 84v. © British Library Board. With permission.

For Sohm, the depersonalization of charisma is "impossible", a mystical subversion of the truth effective only at the level of sacrilegious myth and ritual. For Weber, the "depersonalization" of charisma is no more mystical than its association with an individual. He sees that charisma is a social force. To explain the "divine right of kings" (Figgis

[1896] 1922; Nederman 2018) in this light, Weber refers not to the real traits of kings, but to the "sociologically important phenomenon of clan charisma". Entire dynasties are imagined to possess divine qualities that qualify them for rule. Akin to this, he says, is "the legend of the 'blue blood' of a nobility, [which,] whatever its specific origins, belongs to the same sociological type" (Weber [1916] 1964, p. 49).

All of the above means, in reality, that we are, for the moment, faced with different critical positions regarding the notion of charisma. St. Paul: a Hellenistic Pharisee converted to Christianity who uses the Jewish concept of charisma as a divine gift, already found in Philo of Alexandria. Rudolf Sohm: the theologian, professor of canon law and Germanic law who takes up St. Paul's theology of grace in the context of Protestant historicism applied to biblical studies, and whose main concept is "charismatic organization". Max Weber: sharing Sohm's reverence for authority, his sociologically derived concept of charisma is predominantly political: "[A] certain quality of an individual personality, by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities" (Weber [1922] 1947). While Rudolf Sohm assumes the Pauline theology of grace and the idea of charisma as a gift, for Weber, it is "a certain quality of an individual's personality". These are the two formally accepted ways of defining charisma: as "grace" (theologically) and as "influence" (sociologically).

4.3. Charisma as Imago

Kantorowicz's critical position may contribute something to the state of the question. We can learn from *Synthronos* that a third way of understanding charisma is via imago or representation. This is how EKa quotes Fritz Taeger as a meaningful reference on charisma (Figure 14). Paul would mean "inspiration". Weber would use "domination". And EKa suggests "visualization" (Jaeger 2012, pp. 4, 17, 407). Charisma, especially in the Middle Ages, is the personal energy of the leader that moves alterity through visuality. When developing this scheme further, we soon realize that grace is unavoidable, domination is unbearable, and image is irresistible.

(**a**) (**b**)

Figure 14. Fritz Taeger, *Charisma. Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkultes.* Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer 1957–1960. (**a**) Cover and (**b**) dust jacket. Photo by the author.

If this triad is acceptable, then some well-known ideas on charisma can prove even more helpful than hitherto: Fritz Taeger's notion of "divinization through representation", "divinization in representation,"(Przywara 1960, p. 564) or an immediate connection (of the leader) with divinity, with the miracle considered as an external proof of the charisma (Taeger 1957–1960, I: 439); Clifford Geertz's idea of the leader (although partly borrowed from Weber and Shils) is to be the "active center of the social order" (Geertz 1983, p. 122; Shils 1965); and similarly, Edward Shils' notion about "dispersion and concentration of charisma", (Shils 1958) and "center and periphery" (Shils 1975); and ultimately Stephen Jaeger's idea of the "common features of 'enchantment' through charismatic effects shared across a variety of forms of representation" (Jaeger 2012, pp. 3, 26–47).

If we see charisma as linked to aesthetic representation and isolated from theology and sociology, we can better understand Taeger (the power of representation to divinize the leader), Geertz (the meaning of the social center as in some way theatrical for the king), and Shils (the conquest of the center by performative means). In this way, St. Paul's charisma as "gift from God" and Weber's as "dominion" may be complemented by Kantorowicz's as representation, portrayal, and *simulacrum*.

All this must include Jaeger's use of the notion of *sublimity* as an "astonishment [that] overwhelms the narrow rationalism" (Jaeger 2006, p. 7), *enchantment* as an effect of charisma, "engaging the whole range of meaning of that word from a shallow moment of pleasure [. . .] to a spellbound state of participation and imitation, to idolatry and transformation", and ultimately considering "personal charisma, whether natural or cultivated, or a mixture of both in whatever degree, [as being] itself *a form of representation* and its bearer *a kind of living work of art*" (Jaeger 2012, p. 12).

5. Charisma as Visual Rhetoric in Action

If we can indeed conceptualize the notion of charisma through 1. the Pauline way of the theology of grace, 2. the Weberian idea of domination, and 3. the way of representation proposed by EKa, we are then faced with a new theoretical scenario. It thus seems that the conceptual exploration of the third way of charisma leads us into a quite familiar, though unexpected, territory, as it is the fundamental basis of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, which in the Middle Ages was taken up by St. Thomas Aquinas in the *Summa Theologica* (Aquinas 2014, II–II, q. 177, a. 1c.). It could not be otherwise: the definition of medieval charisma must go through some concept related to personal communication or, in short, a certain kind of rhetoric.

But this, rather than a drawback, may be a great argumentative advantage which, moreover, fits in with tradition: for the apparent discontinuity between the notion of charisma in St. Paul and that of Max Weber does not seem logical. There must be something in between—and we have seen this in *Synthronos* and other works by Kantorowicz on medieval political theology—that allows charisma to be defined without discontinuity between tradition and the present. In other words, the gap between theology and sociology is not only possible to bridge, but furthermore, essential to overcome.

The concept of charisma that EKa uses has the great advantage of being one of the consequences of his own reflection on medieval political theology, with one foot in Antiquity and the other in Modernity. He is aware of the importance of the invisibility of charisma understood in Pauline theology in the sense of unmerited grace to work miracles, prophesy, and speak in tongues.

This idea of charisma in primitive Christianity requires the invisibility or hidden presence of the gift typical of a stoic idea of the human, in which what is important is precisely faith in the things that are hoped for. In his Letter to Hebrews, St. Paul writes that "faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen" (Hb 11,1). The Clementine Latin Vulgate uses the expression *argumentum non apparentium*, which points directly to this invisibility of the charisma of faith, the substance of things that we do not see. "Through faith", Paul continues, "we understand that the worlds were framed by the Word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear".

The expression *ut ex invisibilibus visibilia fierent* (Hb 11.3) underlines the invisible condition of charisma.

When we move into the modern idea of charisma, we understand the priority of relationship instead of invisibility. "It has become a conventional truism to declare that for Weber, 'the charismatic process is [. . .] the natural development of the vertical relationship between charismatic leader and followers'" (Cavalli 1987, p. 318, quoted in Kalyvas 2002, p. 68). In its purely sociological modern form, "the concept [of charisma] itself remains firmly embedded in the quasi-mystical relationship between the call of a leader and the responses of suggestible followers" (Blom Hansen and Verkaaik 2009, p. 7). In the meantime, can we trust visibility in the modern world, where mechanization, repeatability, and lack of originality introduce us to a world of uncertainty? The modern idea of charisma, in other words, seems to be a kind of laboratory of sociality where dominion and disenchantment occupy the very center of socio-political power.

In contrast to St. Paul and Weber, EKa's notion of charisma has the energy of representation as a bridge between a Pauline pneumatology of grace and a Weberian sociology of power. Following Kahn (2009), representation in *TKTB* describes a relationship between political theology and fiction. Fiction means, first of all, the notion of a *legal fiction*, which is central to Kantorowicz's analysis of the notion of the king's two bodies. But it also means literature, in an anachronistic sense, when applied to medieval and Renaissance texts, and the arts (as is the case with *Synthronos*).

In *TKTB*, we read an analysis of both Shakespeare's *Richard II* and Dante's *Divine Comedy*. While Shakespeare depicts the fatal separation of the king's two bodies and, thus, anticipates the regicide of Charles I and the English republic, the *Divine Comedy* articulates Dante's secular religion of humanity and his vision of a world community. There are, thus, two arguments, narratives, or representations: the first concerns the Christological origin of secular constitutionalism in Shakespeare's England; the second concerns the secular religion of humanity best articulated by Dante (Schiller 1990).

This means that *TKTB* advocated a historiography that dealt with *myth* rather than fact, *perceptions* rather than positivist ideas of knowledge. It thus provided a methodological model in its attention to symbolic forms and the pride of place it gave to literature. *TKTB* was influential not only because of the centrality it afforded to myth, literature, and representation, but also because it was essentially about the power of metaphor (Kahn 2009, p. 96), and this might be a middle way between the Pauline and the Weberian ideas of charisma. The metaphors used in the environment of medieval and early modern power (such as liturgies, iconographies, poems, tales, oils for royal anointment, thrones, swords, cloaks, etc.) are meant to bridge and unite the notions of charisma as a gift from heaven and charisma as a social structure. If this charisma as representation is commonly displayed through *perspectus*, *corpus*, and *persona*, we have to face a visual understanding of rhetoric.

5.1. Aristotle's Rhetoric

We must first grasp the nature of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in order to appreciate its reception by a medieval audience accustomed to the Ciceronian tradition of rhetorical handbooks (Cope 1867). In Aristotle's account, rhetoric is a *techne* or tool for evaluating discourses. Rhetoric is "the ability, in each particular case, to see the available means of persuasion", no matter what the subject is (1355b25) (Copeland 2014, p. 97). There are three kinds of proof: from the character of the speaker (*ethos*), from the emotions aroused in an audience (*pathos*), and from argumentation itself (*logos*) (1356a1). Book 2 of the *Rhetoric* represents a comprehensive exploration of *pathos*, or what arouses emotions in the audience (Siss 1910; Braet 1992).

Kantorowicz approaches the problem of *communicating charisma*, or the *rhetoric of charisma*, using a fragment of Henry Bracton's *De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliæ* (The Laws and Customs of England), composed before 1235 and considered the basis for legal literature under Edward I of England (Figure 15). He says that "Bracton's comparison of the king with the humbled Christ before the Roman judge may lead us to yet another

problem of Bracton's concept of kingship, a problem of political 'Christology'. He writes: 'For that end has he been created and elected a king that he may give justice to all, and that in him the Lord be seated (Ps. 9.5 and also 88.15) and that through him the Lord discerns his judgement (III Kings 3.11).'"[31]

Figure 15. Henrici de Bractone de legibus et consuetudinibus Anglicanis libri quatuor, 1272–1307. This opening page of a Bracton manuscript is headed by a miniature of a king holding a sword in one hand and a sealed charter in the other. BL Add MS 11353. © British Library Board. With permission.

This phrase "The Lord be seated" (*Dominus sedeat*) is a keystone to understanding in what sense *Synthronos* can deliver a middle way definition of charisma, between St. Paul and Weber, through the notion of a visual rhetoric of Aristotelian matrix. Aristotle gives a detailed typology of emotions relevant for persuading an audience: anger and satisfaction, or calmness; friendship and enmity; fear and confidence; shame and shamelessness; favor (or kindliness) and its opposite, ingratitude (or unkindliness); pity and indignation; and envy and emulation. He does not say that these are the feelings to be inspired by the sole aesthetic representation of the leader. Aristotle allows the possibility of thinking rather that *pathos* may have priority over *logos* and *ethos* (Aristotle 1991) as well as, by analogy, the *Synthronos* may suggest a similar idea with its strong, visual and textual, metaphor of throne–sharing.

5.2. "The Quinity of Winchester"

Synthronos was a further development of Kantorowicz's text on the "five persons" of the Trinity, which had been a way to approach the Middle Ages with the concept of charisma derived from throne–sharing iconography (Kantorowicz 1947),[32] really a gesture of visual rhetoric. For him, in the medieval period, "The sharing of one bench-throne is found more frequently than the enthronement on two different seats. The two seats are equal in the Stuttgart Psalter" (Kantorowicz 1947, pp. 76–77). But other evidence on charisma as representation of the sharing-throne was displayed as the representation of Psalm 109 in the Psalter (Figure 16).

Theorizing charisma allows us to point at visual narrative and pose questions about pictorial storytelling that narrative scholars since the time of Aristotle have asked: What is a pictorial story? Why do we need pictorial stories? Why do we need the "same" pictorial stories over and over? And finally, why is our need for more pictorial stories never satisfied (Miller 1990, p. 68)? Do they, in the end, give a narrative form to a logically insoluble problem, such as charisma (Smith et al. 2004, p. 346)? This is why the symbolic narrative of *Synthronos*, inspired in notions of medieval political theology, is so important to us. This

is probably Clifford Geertz's reason for writing that "Erst Kantorowicz's extraordinary *The King's Two Bodies*—that magisterial discussion of, as we put it, 'medieval political theology'—traced the vicissitudes of royal charisma in the West over two hundred years and a half–dozen countries" (Geertz 1983, p. 123).

Figure 16. The Stuttgart Psalter, 9th-century, fol. 127v. © Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart. With permission.

In this context, the important thing is to note the three dimensions of charisma mentioned above: logics, ethics, and aesthetics—in other words, the importance of rhetoric for charisma. Logics (Pauline) means that the king will judge with the words of God. Ethics (Weberian) arises when the leader establishes order in the hierarchy of action. Aesthetics and visual rhetoric happen when the body of the king represents the body politic.

5.3. Wagnerian vs. Dantean Approach

By this point in my text, the reader is already aware of the hypotheses suggested. However, they may be somewhat dissatisfied that a crucial aspect to understand is still hanging in the air. I refer to the sharp hermeneutical difference between Kantorowicz and Max Weber. In this respect, it seems that we can leave St. Paul's view aside and devote the last part of this text to a critical analysis of their respective positions in terms that some literature has already suggested: the complementary view that it is possible to analyze between a Wagnerian concept of charisma and a Dantean approach.

On the Italianate, civilizing, or Dantean Emperor Frederick, Ralph Giesey writes: "The German world was made more civilized by the infusion of Mediterranean culture through Frederick II, who was born, raised and lived most of his life in Italy. Kantorowicz presented the character of Frederick II not in Wagnerian but in Dantean terms" (Giesey 1985, p. 193). Landauer adds that the language that Frederick II elevated in his court was not German, but Italian. In essence, Frederick was Dante's predecessor, rather than Goethe's (Boureau 1990, pp. 23, 25; Cf. Landauer 1994).

This distinction is of great help for two reasons. We have first to understand the uniqueness of the notion of medieval charisma in EKa, based on representation, the power of *pathos*, and, ultimately, the visual rhetoric of the leader. In the example of *Synthronos*, this notion relies on the throne as a charismatic object. Second, to appreciate that, on the other hand, Weber's definition of charisma is clearer and more explicit than EKa's, with the drawback of being socio–Marxist in root and of having an uncertain scientific foundation. In reality, EKa's proposal is based on the more solid Burckhardt–derived *Kulturwischenschaft*.[33] If we finally succeed in clarifying these two hermeneutical options, one "Teutonic" and the other "Roman", the middle way between St. Paul and Weber, which Kantorowicz traverses, will have been explained. The key point is to consider the very different intellectual affiliations of EKa and Weber.

5.4. Weber vs. Kantorowicz

EKa is wary of being "Teutonic" in the sense of choosing Frederick II as a topic for his doctoral dissertation and its further development. The book was admired by Hermann Göring and other prominent personalities of the Nazi regime. Göring's high estimation of Kaiser Friedrich is evidenced by his sending a copy of it to Mussolini, as Kantorowicz himself remarked in a letter of 1963 (Kantorowicz 1963; Ruehl 2000, p. 188). According to the same letter, another copy "was on Himmler's night table" and "Hitler himself apparently read it twice" (Picker 1963, p. 69). But "Frederick II stands forth in Kantorowicz's work not as the Teutonic hero but as a Roman Emperor" (Giesey 1965, p. 34; Ruehl 2015).

A swastika was certainly used for the collection in which EKa published his book, edited by Georg Bondi in the cultural context of the *Blaetter fuer die Kunst* (Figure 17a). It is true that "Since this series of the Bondi publishing firm was devoted to the *George–Kreis* (Figure 17b), Kantorowicz was attached to someone who had a special place in early twentieth German culture" (Giesey 1965, pp. 5–6; Yarrow 1983), although George built up Ernst's confidence, excited his imagination and made him work."[34] With his first book, EKa had characterized the Staufen Emperor in terms of a heroic personality in history, in very Nietzschean terms. He was influenced by Nietzsche as one of the formative forces on *George–Kreis* thought (Raschel 1984; Landauer 1994, p. 4). In fact, the last chapter of *TKTB* invokes Nietzsche in its very first sentence, and once Nietzsche's name is invoked, the spirit of irony reigns. The sacred king has become Antichrist (Kantorowicz 1957, p. 292).

(**a**) (**b**)

Figure 17. (**a**) Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite*. Berlin: Georg Bondi, 1927. (**b**) George, Stefan, *Das neue Reich*. Berlin: Georg Bondi, 1928. Photo by the author.

But this influence was very different from the positivism that would impregnate Max Weber's structuralist notion of charisma. EKa worked in the tradition of *German Geistesgeschichte*, "spiritual" (cultural and intellectual) history, drawing upon the long tradition of Hegelian idealism in German humanistic circles. He foregrounded past ideas, theory, the literary and visual arts, making them spiritual and intellectual refinements, rather than the material and social forces that were Weber's central concern.

6. Conclusions

We have reached the end of a long, expressive, and difficult text. Throughout its chapters and sections, the reader may have had the sensation of being lost in a sea of themes, references, and comparisons. It is true that it does not have a linear structure from beginning to end. It rather resembles a labyrinth, in which there is from the beginning a fundamental intention that is difficult to realize, and, through an apparently tortuous path, the necessary lights appear that project solutions to the problems posed and new problems that will later be illuminated. From this point of view, a first conclusion refers to the method used. Rather than proposing an architectural construction of the text, I have tried to offer an organized magma with bright lights and dark shadows that should finally configure a general image understandable to all.

In the first part, the analysis of the concept of *synthronos* in Kantorowicz's work is something new. The fact that the gods share a throne with men is a difficult topic from the point of view of medieval political theology, with its ancient roots and modern consequences. The idea of sharing a throne with the gods complicates the two–body theory of the king because it increases the casuistry in the analysis of charisma understood as a unitary visual representation of how the physical body and the political body of the king are intertwined. In this sense, in addition to exposing the content of *Synthronos*, I have sought to offer a critical reading of this manuscript until very recently unknown to criticism. This analysis allows us to make the distinction that neither in the tradition of Israel nor in that of Hellenistic kingship has the element of time been effective in affirming throne–sharing with a god.

Jewish apocalyptic ideas of throne–sharing were primarily messianic and beyond time, whereas Hellenistic ideas were primarily individual and mythical, and timeless. However, the New Testament applications of Psalm 109 depart from both the Israelite and Hellenistic traditions insofar as the throne shared by the Messiah, Son of man, with God the Father is tied to a specific moment in the life of Jesus and in the history of the human race. The seating of the man Jesus at the right hand of God the Father appears as an ultimate goal, as the last consequence of a tragedy, the last scene of a terrifying drama that began on earth with the incarnation and ended with the crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension into heaven. The subsequent *synthronismos*, therefore, would appear as the last station of a long journey.

This first critical analysis of Kantorowicz's text allowed us to lay the methodological and historiographical foundations of the great confrontation that I have proposed in this text: the Pauline notion of charisma as a free gift of God that makes it possible to work wonders, versus the idea of charisma in Max Weber as leadership based on the dominion of the leader over the social structure, and charisma understood in Kantorowicz as a political force emanating from a powerful image of the leader.

Through the tripartite explanation of representation, it can be understood that the charisma born from the projection of the leader's image is not a marketing mechanism in the sense of inducing the customer to buy with a visual product, but a visual display that constitutes an ontological influence on the viewer. The basis of the effectiveness of this concept is to understand that the king's two–body theory needs to have an effective fiction, a compelling narrative—or, to use Aristotelian language, a transformative visual rhetoric.

At no point in his work does Ernst Kantorowicz make any special reference either to the word of charisma or to the work of Max Weber, whom he had met in Munich at the Faculty of Economics. He had the opportunity to attend Weber's 1919 lecture series,

when the famous economist and sociologist was dealing with the topic of charismatic power, which would subsequently feature in *Economy and society*, a work that came out posthumously. With his influential use of the word charisma, Max Weber had kidnapped the term from the year 1922. It had to be very difficult for Kantorowicz to use the term charisma in a different sense than Weber. His choice is to avoid the Weberian sociologist way of using it and to keep exploring his own concept with other words, such as numen (learned from Taeger as well lines 648, 650), or others, such as, *isotheos*, *synnaos*, *synthronos*, *consessor*, *theoprepes*, or *deuteroi*.

Thus, it is concluded that the notion of representation derived from the *Synthronos* manuscript, supported by *The King's Two Bodies*, *The Quinity of Winchester*, and other important EKa texts, has three dimensions: it refers to perspective (*perspectus*) as a two-dimensional fiction of a three-dimensional reality, to the body (*corpus*) as a tangible symbol of charisma, and to the person (*persona*) as a performative interface in which charisma expresses itself and modifies reality. These three dimensions of representation do not cease to be symbolic, theatrical, or tragic. However, there is such a unity between their signifier and signified that they inevitably refer to a dimension not only representative of the energy of charisma, but also ontological—that is, with the real power to change reality and restructure it theologically and politically.

Evidently, the notion of charisma based on representation does not imply a break or solution of continuity between St. Paul's theology of the gratuitous gift and Max Weber's sociology of disenchantment. It is a matter of establishing—and, in part, reconstructing—a methodological bridge between two options artificially opposed by the historiography on charisma. What has happened with the concept of charisma is what has happened, for example, with the historiography of architecture: just as the role of cathedrals in the universal history of architecture has been ignored, so has the notion of charisma supported by a medieval political theology.

The continuity between Greco–Roman architecture and Renaissance remains, and the importance of the symbolic–theological space of cathedrals is forgotten. In the same way, the Pauline notion of charism, based on a Stoic–Christian (and rhetorical–Roman) theology of the gift, and its continuity in the modern sociology of charism based on a structuralism with dialectical–Marxist roots, is admitted. But charisma understood as the irresistible force of the leader's image has remained on the margins of current historiography.

The primary sources are what they are: Kantorowicz's manuscript and its various sources, the New Testament and its contexts, the scientific fragility and the seductive word of Max Weber with its conditioning factors. Many images, some published in our text, endorse the symbolic and theological potential of the Middle Ages. But from the ontological point of view, the lesson of the medieval period is the same as always: let the representation speak so that the word is even more credible.

In fact, this work also leads to conclusions that, being the most relevant, may have been hidden in the thickness of a long text full of references and illustrations. But to the reader accustomed to the optical effects of research, they will not have gone unnoticed. First, Kantorowicz avoids the use of the word charisma in order to be safe from the sociological, rhetorical, and unscientific magnetism of Max Weber. At the same time, our text has tried to show that Eka is more interested in the concept of charisma as an embodied representation of his medieval theology than in the word charisma in its Pauline or Weberian literalism. In fact, not only *Synthronos*, but almost all of Eka's work develops the concept of charisma understood as the political magnetism that, whoever holds power, displays through its visual representation. Second, the notion of charisma, especially in the Middle Ages, belongs to the sphere of political theology, insofar as it is a hinge-concept that allows the mutual transfer between sacredness and secularity that occurs in the visible person of the leader. Third, it is possible to move beyond a hitherto forced Pauline–Weberian bipolarity in the established definitions of the concept of charisma.

What was missing, at least, was an inevitable and intrinsic third way to the "free gift" and the Weberian "simply sociological power". The explication of a non-linguistic or

visual rhetoric was necessary, so that charisma could be not just a phrase or a word, but an iconic silence that everyone understands and can consequently submit to so that, finally, the Middle Ages can be truly mystical and functionally political.

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Notes

1 In many cases I will use "EKa" (his own personal signature in more informal contexts) instead of "Ernst Kantorowicz". Concerning the Figures' quotation inside this text, whenever it is used (a), (b), etc., the proper reading will always be from left to right and from top to down.

2 Especially in: 1 Cor 12.1 and 1 Cor 14.1, but also in: I Thess 1.6 and I Thess 5.19–20.

3 I intentionally omit the debate on the eventual relationship between Ernst Kantorowicz and Carl Schmitt's work. On this, see (Herrero 2015).

4 "*Synthronos*: Throne Sharing with the Deity" (6 December 1945). Located by Stephanie Di Notto for Robert Lerner in the records of the Berkeley *Colloquium Orientologicum*, are in the Bancroft Library, University Archives, CU-64.1 (Lerner 2017, p. 272).

5 Abbreviated as *TKTB*.

6 Apart from *Synthronos*, other unpublished texts appear now for the first time: "Roman Coins and Christian Rites", "Coronation Scenarios Eastern and Western", "Charles the Bald and the Natales of the King", "Roma and the Coal", "Glosses on Late-Mediaeval State Imagery", and "The Dukes of Burgundy and the Italian Renaissance" (Lerner 2023).

7 Kantorowicz does not quote Max Weber as much as he does not quote Carl Schmitt: they are dangerous "magnetic" references and he prefers to keep away of their work. "Kantorowicz's book can be interpreted as a practice of—and also an enriching addition to—Schmitt's thesis on political theology, even if it does not mention Schmitt's name" (Herrero 2015, p. 1164).

8 Note 28, (Taeger 1957–1960, I, p. 175), interprets θεοπρεπές probably correctly as being of the same form and materials as the images of the gods.

9 (Kantorowicz 1951c, p. 7). In note 29 (fol. 9*) we read: "See, for this feature:" (Kantorowicz 1957, p. 501).

10 "By doubling their *numen*, the emperors increase the *maiestas regia*". *Durch die Verdoppelung ihres numen mehren die Kaiser die maiestas regia* (Taeger 1957–1960, p. 465).

11 The eminent legal historian Frederic Maitland first introduced the theory of the king's two bodies to modern audiences at the beginning of the last century. A little more than half a century later, Ernst Kantorowicz took another look at these cases from Plowden's Reports. Cf. (Rolls 2005).

12 On the modern duality between the Crown as a corporation sole and as a corporation aggregate see (Fortin 2021).

13 *Synthronos* in the Greek Fathers s. v. σύνθρονος: (Lampe and Hugo 1961, p. 1331). Quoted in: (Gruenwald 2014, p. 297).

14 "Phase one of Paul's Christian eschatology was probably not futurist at all, but realized. With I Thessalonians, Paul was in fact coming to the second phase of his Christian eschatology". (Mearns 1981, p. 142). The same author assumes that "realized eschatology and charismatic enthusiasm prevailed at Corinth (. . .)" (Mearns 1984).

15 Augustine's *Tractate* 120 on the Gospel of John, points out that, according to the Latin of the Fourth Gospel, the soldier "opened [*aperuit*] the side of Christ" not "struck or wounded [*percussit vel vulnerat*]" him. Erasing mutilation and violation, such a reading interprets the soldier's lance as salvific, opening the doorway to salvation. Cf. (Bynum 2010, p. 98). See also: (Aurelii Augustini 1954, p. 61).

16 When Stephen S. Jaeger wonders "What qualities constitute charisma in art?" he relates to similar questions as "posed by W. J. T. Mitchell, 'What Do Pictures Really Want?' and to the direction in aesthetic thinking marked out by David Freedberg in *The Power of Images*, and by Alfred Gell (1998) in proposing an 'agency' in art that aims at a variety of effects on the viewer". (Jaeger 2012, p. 5). These texts are important for understanding the notion of charisma as representation: (Freedberg 1990; Mitchell 1996).

17 Panofsky's essay was first published as "Die Perspective als 'symbolische Form' (Panofsky [1927] 1974). Quoted in (Mitchell 1994, p. 31). In order to explain charisma as representation in Kantorowicz it is not relevant whether the notion of perspective is

applied to the Renaissance, Antiquity or the Middle Ages. What is important is that Panofsky manages to explain the symbolic dimension of perspective linked to its physical dimension.

18 "Leone Battista Alberti—as a "kind of window" through which we look out into a section of space. Exact mathematical perspective as developed in the fifteenth century is nothing but a method of making this "view through a window" constructible, and it is well known that the Italians, significantly under the guidance of an architect, Filippo Brunelleschi, had achieved this end about 1420 by drawing the mathematical consequences from the window simile" (Panofsky 1966, 4).

19 This state of equilibrium marks the phase known as "The International Style of around 1400," when the influences flowed back and forth almost to the point of promiscuity. And it was from this fluid phase that, after a new parting of the ways, the Italy of Masaccio and Fra Angelico and the Flanders of the Master of Flemalle and Jan van Eyck emerged as the only Great Powers in European painting (Panofsky 1966, 20).

20 No doubt *The King's Two Bodies* (1957) belongs to the genre of oft-quoted and often altered titles though it has begotten many children: (Axton 1977; Boureau 1988; Gallo 1992; Teubner 1996; Fehrenbach 1996; Bertelli 2001; Jussen 2009, p. 104).

21 Of course, the famous "lesser body of the condemned man," was expressly phrased "in homage to Kantorowicz"(Foucault [1975] 1995, p. 27). "This homage is generally perceived as the main catalyst for the very belated spirited interest in *The King's Two Bodies*. Foucault's prominence and the general career of the body in humanities scholarship in recent decades have made this old, heavy, and learned macro-historical work of German *Geistesgeschichte* suddenly attractive" (Jussen 2009, p. 104).

22 "Michel Foucault gave a kind of canonical status to *The King's Two Bodies* when he presented it as a counterpart to his own *Discipline and Punish*: Foucault dealt with the body in pain where Kantorowicz had dealt with the body in ceremonial triumph" (Foucault [1975] 1995, pp. 33–34; Norbrook 1996, pp. 329–30) and note 2 in 351. See also: (Lerner 2017).

23 Cf. (Kantorowicz 1957, pp. 321; Legg 1901, X, p. 72): . . . *regalis [unctio] in anima quicquid non imprimit* . . . See also (Kern 1914, p. 114; Bloch 1924, pp. 238ff; Schramm 1937, pp. 131ff).

24 Council of Trent Can. 8. (Denzinger 1957, n. 851).

25 (Denzinger 1957, n. 424). Also see: (Denzinger 1957, n. 2299) from the Encyclical, *Mediator Dei*, 20 November 1947.

26 The French coronation *Ordo* of c. 1270 celebrated the kings of France *inter universos reges terre* in enjoying the singular honor of a miraculous oil. "With its new Yorkist abode in the Abbey, moreover, the English coronation oil became an even closer analogue to that used by French king". On the tradition of the oil of Saint Thomas Beckett, for the anointment both of English and French kings, see: (Ullmann 1957, pp. 103–4). Quoted in: (McKenna 1967, p. 102).

27 "The liturgically inferior rank of the ruler's anointment is obvious: it was restricted to a slightly sublimated exorcism and to a sealing against evil spirits. According to the hierocratic doctrine the royal unction no longer conferred the Holy Spirit, although the Coronation Orders still preserved that idea and canonists still pondered whether or not the emperor was a *persona* ecclesiastical. The difference of oils probably did not imply an intentional debasement in early times some rites may have followed more closely the baptismal procedure (blessed oil), others that of Confirmation (chrism)". (Kantorowicz 1957, p. 320).

28 See Matt 7.11 and Luke 11.13, heavenly "gifts", i.e., (Luke) *pneuma achion*. Similarly: Eph 4.8 quoting Ps 68.19, "Having ascended on high, he... gave gifts unto men". The connection with Acts 2 is important for the history of the tradition. For the plain meaning "gift" cf. *Charis* for the collection for Jerusalem in 1Cor 16.3, 2Cor 8.4, 19, etc.

29 Cf. Rom 12:3–8; Eph 4:11. Cf. also the very general meaning in 1Cor 1.7, 7.7.

30 As referred on how pietists considered the loyal workers as living according to the apostolic model, and thus endowed with the charisma, cf. (Weber [1930] 2001, p. 121).

31 *Ad hoc autem creatus est rex et electus, ut iustitiam faciat universis, et ut in eo Dominus sedeat et per ipsum sua iudicia discernat* (Schulz 1945, pp. A3–A4). Cf. (Kantorowicz 1957, p. 159).

32 In his posthumous *Selected studies*, "The Quinity" was republished (Kantorowicz 1965).

33 Following Ralph Giesey, "Kantorowicz 's reputation derives on one hand from his precision as an intellectual historian (. . .) and from the wide range of subjects he covered with a great variety of techniques. He moved easily from antiquity to early modern Europe, and was adroit in handling such auxiliaries and sister disciplines as art and liturgy, numismatics, ceremonial and legal fictions" (Giesey 1965, pp. 2–3). "Kantorowicz's book was a kind of 'prequel' to Jacob Burckhardt's *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, and engages in a comparable aestheticization of politics" (Norbrook 1996, p. 334).

34 (Bowra 1966, p. 289). On the relationship between George and EKa, other important references for Giesey are: (Russell Bentley 1957; Salin 1964, pp. 551–57; Malkie 1964; Gay 1968; Evans 1970, pp. 46–219; Helbing and Bock 1974, pp. 146–48). Quoted in (Giesey 1965, pp. 2–3). More recent references are (Grünewald 1982; Mali 1997; Norton 2002; Karlauf 2008).

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Article

The Politics of Relics: The Charisma of Rulers and Martyrs in the Middle Ages

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Abstract: Among the symbols used for representing power in the Middle Ages were the relics of saints and martyrs. When it came to political power, relics were one of the most cherished symbolic instruments to achieve legitimation of political power. However, no texts from the Middle Ages can be found that reflect the practice of associating relics with power. Rather, we have to assume or derive that reflection indirectly through narratives and stories around the relics present in the culture and religion of the time. This article reflects on the symbolic use of relics from a theological–political perspective: What kind of power acts through relics? What meaning of power is embodied in their political use of them? The thesis that the article will defend is that reflection on the politics of relics leads to a resignification of the idea of power in the Middle Ages, which is closely connected to the idea of charisma originating in the writings of the Apostle Paul.

Keywords: charisma; martyr; relic; political theology; political legitimacy

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1. Relics in Middle Ages: Methodology, Research Questions and Hypothesis

Relics are a particular case of representing the commerce between life and death. As Schmitt states: "The lasting solidarity of the living and the dead is not just an abstract structure of human societies: it is specifically confirmed in historical situations" (Schmitt 1999, p. 11).

Relics are sacred remains: they may be literal body parts or objects which the holy person used or touched. As Bozóky asserts, the word "relic" (Latin plural "reliquiae"; Greek "lipsana") appears in this usage of sacred remains at the end of the fourth century in Africa. It is used by St Augustine, by the Council of Carthage in 397, and later in an inscription in Setif in 452. The spread of confidence in the extraordinary power of relics attracted the faithful to the tombs of the martyrs, and the regions and cities without such saints wanted to have relics. This is the main reason for the inventions, translations and rise of the relics policy.[1]

Indeed, we find numerous primary sources on the invention of relics, their transfer and the use made of them, first and foremost by Christian communities, but also by monarchs and princes. However, there is no reflection in the literature on the reason for the political use of relics. Hence, the specific methodology of this article is not historical. That is to say, it does not start from primary sources in order to attest to these practices but is philosophical–hermeneutical. In particular, it attempts to ascertain the possible transfer of meaning from the theological to the political sphere. This radical conceptualisation has been called political theology (Herrero 2017)[2]. This is the specific methodology used in the following analyses. Given the fact that relics and politics are linked, the article addresses a theological–political question, namely, why it is possible to use relics to legitimise a certain way of exercising power. In other words, the research questions posed in this article include: What idea of power is behind the political use of relics? Why is it possible for their symbolic use to function as an element of legitimisation for kings and princes? We do not find any such reflection in medieval sources. We only find medieval praxis; the meaning is assumed.

It is this assumption that this article explores, launching a plausible hypothesis, which allows us to reflect on the conception of medieval power and its relation to charisma.

The hypothesis that the article will explore is that reflection on the politics of relics leads to a resignification of the idea of power in the Middle Ages, which is closely connected to the idea of charisma originating in the writings of the Apostle Paul.

2. The Power of Resurrected Bodies

How does the practice of separating certain parts of the body of saints or martyrs from the rest of the body, which is otherwise buried, begin? It seems that around the middle of the second century, particularly in the accounts of the martyrdom of Polycarp, we can find traces of this practice. The first use given to these remains is the commemoration of the death of those special people in the annual celebrations. The liturgy around the relics was probably intended to build up a nucleus of Christian brotherhood. The great family of Christ's disciples is associated with a supernatural bond that transcends spatial and temporal boundaries. Those who take part in the celebration of a saint or martyr generate an affective link to what his life was like and, in particular, to what it was like to follow Christ, their saviour. Now, we can say that this practice is still far from being a political practice as such.

How does it become possible to transfer this type of ceremony to a political practice? It is the certainty in the power of those objects that were part of the body of the saints or of those objects associated with them that seems to make relics attractive to kings and princes. Indeed, so far, we can say that the possibility that relics were associated with political power depends primarily on the supernatural nature of the object: its power to heal, to secure a favour of any kind. It is the miracles which first spoke of the power of these material objects. If there had been no miracles assigned to such material items, no other political significance could have been associated with them. But precisely because of this supernatural allure, according to Bozóky, political power also began to benefit from relics. Indeed, they were placed by the rulers as witnesses to pacts and oaths; as defendants of the territoriality of the community, for which they travelled itinerantly; they were held responsible for military victories; finally, they were undoubtedly a sign of healing and salvation. In any case, they were always associated with the community. The relic was not something to be kept in one's own house for personal profit, but something belonging to the people as a whole. The practice of associating relics with centres of power began in the east and spread. Its growth can be dated to the end of the Middle Ages. Indeed, relics begin to be associated with temporal power from the fourth century to the early modern period (Bozóky 2006).

However, political functions could not have been attributed to relics without there being a meaning added to them by multiple accounts of very different types and levels. In other words, the political use of these objects depends not only on the miracles that were performed through them but also on other meanings that were added over time, belonging to different temporal strata. Firstly, the stories about the resurrection of the dead, which had been handed down in different texts of the Church Fathers.[3] This belief means for the materiality of the corpse, its belonging to a living person beyond death. The body of the martyr or saint who is called to live again in a glorious way in an eschatological future is what has power; that is, what has power is a life that has somehow not ceased to be lived. Indeed, it is the victory over the death of a saint or martyr that is its greatest power.

Moreover, the possible political use of relics also depends on a second type of narrative, namely the narratives associated with the lives of saints and martyrs. The knowledge of the Gesta martyrum by the communities is a fundamental element for the relics to become politically active. Many stories of saints and martyrs have been handed down from generation to generation, usually linked to the specific history of the communities in which they were born, lived, or were in some way considered benefactors.[4]

But we can even speak of a third type of stories, which connect the martyr or saint to a city or royal lineage. The power of a relic within the community was easily transferable

to political legitimation through the credit given to God's possible favour on a particular people or community. Scripture confirms this idea with the election of Israel as the chosen people. The fact of a relic's arrival in a community also came to signify this election in some way. Brown shows how the cult of relics is modelled on the adventus of the emperor on the official arrival in a city (Brown 1981, pp. 69–86). The presence of relics was a way of generating unity. For example, Christian communities in the Mediterranean turned the celebration of the memory of martyrs into a reassuring scenario in which a good power, associated with God's forgiveness and the presence of the martyr, defeated an evil power. In particular, Brown mentions the example of Stephen's patronage of Minorca in 417, which was used by Bishop Severus to eradicate the Jews. The arrival on the island of Stephen's relics became an opportunity to transform the reality of a divided community into a Christian community established on new and pure foundations (Brown 1981, pp. 104–6; Brown 1971, pp. 80–101). What happened is that the "impure" power was converted to Christianity and found its place under Stephen's patronage. In other words, in addition to the stories that bring meaning and enhance the power of miracles, there is still the ritual aspect with which the kings endowed the relics: how they were accompanied at the moment of entry into a city, the magnificence with which they were displayed, and the cult they were given.

3. Which Meaning of Power Is Embedded in Relics? Martyrs and Saints

We have considered in what terms the efficacy of an object corresponding to the remains of people who had a special life and death can be thought of. However, let us now ask ourselves what public or political meanings can be attributed to the life and death of these exceptional people of which those remains were a part; in other words, not only how powerful relics are, but how powerful the lives and deaths of those to whom the relics belonged were.

The common aspect of these special lives is that they lived or died for confessing the true faith that designates Christ as the only saviour of the human race; this is the special character of saints and martyrs. However, in addition, from the earliest days of Christianity, these distinguished lives have had a public dimension.

In fact, it seems to be commonly assumed that the rituals of martyrdom were constructed by sacralising the pagan games in the circus in which someone had to die for the good of the people (Buc 1997). Those condemned became an occasion for dialogue between the people and their leaders. From an objective point of view, the martyr's death is not special; it is nothing more than another death within the death rituals of the pagan world. For some historians, the added significance to the martyrs' lives and deaths was the work of Christian propaganda insofar as, by publishing either the martyrs' acts or hagiographies, Christians sought to establish a sublimated interpretation of what actually happened: a mere death. The discourses that are constructed about these deaths elevate the event to the level of significance. Hence Buc argues: "The Christians wrote *Passiones* and *Acta* in an attempt to impose their partisan interpretation on a public event over which they had no control. Suggesting a transcendental meaning to which their blind opponents had no access was good and effective warfare. For the hagiographers (and perhaps for the martyrs themselves, insofar as imaginary transgressions provided a virtual repertoire for the actors of the real political game) death in the arena did not reinstate the *disciplina romana* and sacralise the civic community. It was much more an instrument willed by God in the making of their community".[5]

It is precisely this re-signification that interests us now to understand what meaning of power the rulers intended to associate themselves with when they used the relics as an instrument of enhancement of their power.

It seems clear that in the Christian historiographical, hagiographical, and theological tradition, there is a resignification of these special lives and deaths. A special testimony is to be found in the *Exhortatio ad martyres* that have been passed down to us, in particular, those of Tertullian, Origen and Cyprian. These testimonies reveal the unappealable public

character of martyrdom. In fact, martyrdom is not a requirement of faith as such, but the response of the saints to a historical circumstance that is a scandal for history itself, namely, the persecutions. Confession and witnessing are the only commands of the gospel.[6] The fundamental testimony to be given is the revelation of Jesus Christ, his perennial life, and his definitive triumph over death by his resurrection, which implied the confession of his divinity and, therefore, the authenticity of his life and his doctrine.[7] The blood together with the testimony appears for the first time in the gospel in Acts 22, 19-10 and in the *Book of the Revelation* of St. John Rv 1, 9 and Rv 2, 12–13: "the souls of those who have been slain for the word's sake".

As Boissier points out, the scandal of the persecutions was so great that there has been no lack of those who deny its reality (Boissier 1903, p. 353; Engberg 2007). It seems hardly credible that princes such as Trajan or Marcus Aurelius would have ordered the horrors that have been recounted and which seem more credible in the time of Nero or Domitian. However, the trials were legal, and who became martyrs were considered public enemies. Tertullian accounts that there was an "institutum Neronianum" that said: "non licet esse vos". In the 2nd century, all the jurisprudence concerning Christians was based on Trajan's rescript in response to a query by Pliny the Younger around 112, who was his legate in Bithynia: Christianity is a crime, but a crime sui generis. The authorities should not search for Christians ex officio, but if they are duly denounced, they must be punished (Lebreton 1946, p. 297; Barnes 1968). Anti-Christian propaganda led to the people themselves calling for the Christians to be tortured in the circus (Boissier 1903, p. 378). That is why there are processes and there are acts of the martyrs (although it is possible that, as mentioned above, many were destroyed). Allard points out that there were a large number of martyrs is the exact tradition of historical truth (Allard 1913). Ruinart, in his compilation, considered acts to be all the more or less extensive accounts containing authentic news of the martyrs (Ruinart 1732; Musurillo 1972). Harnack himself speaks of an unbroken series of testimonies.[8] A different account is that of Moss: "The paucity of evidence for the formal persecution of Christians during our period means that a historical narrative of legal persecution and prosecution cannot be recreated. Before the decree of Decius around 250 CE—which itself may have stemmed from a desire to unify the Roman empire rather than from a decision to root out Christians—the persecution of Christians was largely the product of the inclinations of individual Roman administrators. Roman governors could exercise magnanimity as well as cruelty. While the sporadic nature of persecution is frequently cited as evidence of the early Christians' tendency to exaggerate the dangers that they experienced, the unpredictability of persecution was itself destabilizing. Isolated experiences of exceptional cruelty no doubt reverberated in the Christian unconscious long after the events themselves. In fact, one of the functions of early Christian martyrdom literature was to perpetuate this process and amplify the echoes of earlier struggles" (Moss 2012, p. 12).

We can say that it is the very political action of persecution of those first centuries of Christianity and the discursive interpretation of that experience that constructs the figure of the martyr as a counter-sovereignty.[9] Hence the interest of the martyr over the mere saint for theological–political hermeneutics. Foucault draws a distinction between the martyr and other types of saints who founded their asceticism on a rule and, therefore, instead of seeking face-to-face surrender to God, subsumed themselves in obedience. In his opinion, Christianity is played between these two poles: the pole of mysticism and audacity and the pole of obedience and pastoral power (Foucault 2011, pp. 336–38).

Foucault signals this point by quoting Gregory of Nazianz (Oration 25 in Saint Gregory of Nazianzus, *Select Orations*, Catholic University of America Press, 2003), who praises Maximus for being "the best and most perfect philosopher, the martyr, the witness of the truth (. . .) in Gregory's mouth, it is not a question of just the verbal testimony of someone who speaks the truth. It involves someone who, in his very life, his dog's life, from the moment of embracing asceticism until the present, in his body, his life, his acts, his frugality, his renunciations, and his ascesis, has never ceased being the living witness of the truth.

He has suffered, endured, and deprived himself so that the truth takes shape in his own life, as it were, in his own existence, his own body" (Foucault 2011, p. 173). In his view, two types of veridiction, confession and parrhesia, come together in the martyr's sacrifice. A significant difference between martyrs and other kinds of Parrhesiastes is the appearance of the transcendent axis: "What distinguishes the courage of someone like Socrates, or Diogenes, for example, from the martyr's courage—I think it is Saint Jerome who says this—is precisely that the former is only the courage of man addressing other men, whereas the courage of the Christian martyrs rests on this other aspect, this other dimension of the same parrhesia, which is trust in God; confidence in salvation, in God's goodness, and also in His listening. And here a whole set of texts show that the theme of parrhesia joins up with the theme of faith and trust in God" (Foucault 2011, p. 332).

As a matter of fact, three aspects of the figure of the martyr are significant from a theological–political point of view. The first is the public character of the figure of the martyr over that of the saint; the second is the liminal place that the martyr occupies between life and death; and the third is the existential character of his heroism. Let us look at each of these aspects.

The martyr highlights the break with the political order by representing an exception to an entire order of domination—an exception that, in a way, however, is produced by the order itself. Their actions imply a pact of frankness. They become heroes of a freedom that is above and beyond all earthly power because it knows no definitive dominion over death. Indeed, it is precisely royal power that was understood as a power over life and death. Sending soldiers to their deaths is the power of the highest authority in the community. The tradition goes back to Antiquity. It derives from the ancient patria potestas which gave the father of the Roman family the right to "dispose" of the lives of his children and slaves. In any case, the right to life and death could not be exercised absolutely and unconditionally, but only in cases where the sovereign's very existence was at stake. If external enemies wanted to overthrow him or challenge his rights, he could then legitimately demand that his subjects take part in the war. In this case, without directly proposing their death, he was empowered to "expose" their lives. The ruler exercised indirect power over their lives and deaths.[10] The martyrs contravene this sovereign power insofar as they are the ones who translocate life and death, disregarding the life that renounces the confession of the true saviour according to the words of Matthew 10, 28: "do not fear those who can kill the body". The death that gives them political power does not have the power to make them renounce their confession. Truth and power meet face to face in the legal processes of martyrdom. The confession, which is the central part of the martyrium, is proved in martyrdom by existence, and it is just this proof of the truth by the shedding of blood that merits the "crown". The church fathers rightly use this expression: "the crown of martyrdom".[11]

In fact, as Hummel states, originally, "confessores et martyres" (Hummel 1946) (in Tertullian's language) were not two categories of persons, but one and the same, although it cannot be said that he does not distinguish the two aspects. When he refers to confessor, he is referring to the confession of faith before a pagan magistrate which will be confirmed by death; and when he refers to a martyr, he stresses the aspect of the torments and death suffered, the passio as a consequence of the confession of faith. However, Cyprian never uses the term "confessor" for one who has given his life for the faith; he uses "martyr".[12] Holiness is indeed a perennial testimony, but the testimony that is sealed by death is the testimony of blood, which is a supreme measure. This is how Clement of Alexandria understands it.[13] Augustine, who writes in a time when persecutions were not commonplace, although he died as a martyr, focuses the idea of martyrdom in times of peace in the Sermo 6 (Cailleau) on new persecution which is the persecution for defending the truth. This is the reason, Augustine argues, why we can call St. John the Baptist a martyr. He died for the truth rather than for the confession of his faith in the life and resurrection of Christ, since his death took place before that of Christ. Therefore, Augustin concludes, "all times are times of martyrdom". Furthermore, he urges us to fight for the

truth and to flee from the false witness, even unto death. He who overcomes will receive the "crown"—again, he uses the expression of kingship. That is to say, he has exercised the greatest power.

As Ingham has shown, the association between martyrs and kings is not embodied by the medieval ruler only by associating his kingdom to specific relics, but he notes that we can also speak of the "martyred ruler" as a general type in Middle Ages.[14] He discovers a list of medieval martyr-kings, coming from the east and moving to the west, beginning with Princess Ludmila (ca 921), Prince Wenceslas (d. 929), Boris and Gleb (1015). Wenceslas and Boris had consciously practiced non-resistance, preferring to follow Christ by submitting voluntarily to death rather than to shed the blood of their attackers. The miracles they acted were additional proof of their martyrdom. He affirms that these cases are not confined to the Slavs, the Czech, and Russian rulers but have numerous counterparts in Britain and Scandinavia, such as the cases of Northumbrian king Oswald, Ethelbert of Hereford, Edmunt King of East Anglia, Canute IV King, and Protomartyr of Denmark, Magnus of Orkney, Olaf Haraldsson, and Eric, all of them meting violent deaths and claimed to be martyrs by their peoples. As Ingham points out, the accounts of martyr sovereigns make frequent use of the imitative aspect of the saints' death. As the martyr re-enacted the passio he became identified and united with Christ, he fulfilled scriptural prophecies, and he revealed God's design. This has been also the case in the hagiographies of the martyr's rulers' passions. Indeed, the symbolism embodied by the martyrs has at least three aspects, in Lehmann words: "There are three scripts, a mimetic script (that is, the script of *imitatio Christi*), a juridical script, and finally an agonistic script" (Lehmann 2019, p. 224). The script of the *imitatio* of Christ puts the focus on the martyr as another Christ ("alter Christus"). By contrast, the juridical script focuses on the trial situation. It concerns the confrontation with mundane sovereignty. They describe how the Christian defendants are first arrested and then brought before the imperial court, where they are asked to sacrifice to the Roman suprema potestas, either the state gods or the divinized emperor. However, the defendants refuse, thereby speaking the confessional formula: "I am a Christian". Finally, there is the execution, where there is no drastic exhibition of suffering, but of triumph.

4. Special Deaths and Charismatic Power

Charisma is not a term that Paul initially associated with the idea of power. Rather this association is due to Weber, who makes the transfer from the biblical realm to the realm of sociology or political economy, characterising one of the types of political legitimacy as charismatic, distancing this term almost definitively from the Pauline meaning (Weber 1978).[15] However, if we reinscribe Weberian charismatic legitimacy in the original Pauline sense of the term charisma, we may well characterise the power aspired to by medieval kings who use relics as a symbol of their power as charismatic (Herrero 2023, pp. 153–203).

Paul elaborates his conception of "charisma" and "charismata" primarily in his *Epistle to the Romans* and 1 *Corinthians*. In those references, a broad meaning of gifts is described: the more general one of service; and others more specific like government, prophecy, preaching, miracle, healing, tongues, revelation, giving, mercy, and interpretation between others. In *Ephesians* 4, 1 he designs all of them as gifts or as presents.[16] There is not in Paul an interest in systematizing. To the Greek general meaning of charisma as a gift, Paul adds two more aspects: the given good is from God; the good is inscribed in the order of salvation. For him, as in the common use of the "koine", the good was "objective", that is something given to someone, like in the case of the gift of prophecy or the gift of tongues, and not "subjective", like a personal state or a virtue, or a power for doing something.

Peterson claims a charismatic status for the martyr in the Pauline sense, especially associated with the eschatological moment (Peterson 2011, p. 156). The martyr is a special witness to the truth associated with the suffering and death of Christ. It embodies the idea of power as a gift in the extreme form of the sacrifice of one's own life. That is why the martyrs are present in John's apocalyptic vision, participating in the reign of Christ in their white robes: those who washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb. The supreme

power over life and death belongs to God, but the sovereign also has this power to a certain extent. Hence, both powers can become associated in the figure of the martyr in a particular way. What the martyr indicates is that it is the proper life which must be put into question in the first place, and it is this existential disposition that legitimizes power in the most radical way.

Martyrdom appears for the king as a form of life, which puts self-sacrifice for the sake of the community at the centre of life. As Lehmann affirms: "Martyrdom, in general, refers to a self-sacrifice leading to death for the sake of a supra-individual concern that is placed above one's own interest in life".[17] Martyrdom does not conform to classical models of sacrifice. As Fordhal explaines: "If martyrdom emerges from the unstable activity of collective grieving, it is unlikely to conform to Mauss and Hubert's theory of sacrifice as the foundational activity in creating distinctions between the sacred and the profane. Across cases, the sacrifice of martyrs is juxtaposed not with the profane world, but with the desecrating violence that produces a corpse" (Fordhal 2018, p. 300).

By accepting to die for his confession, the martyr abolishes sovereignty's ultimate instrument of power, the threat of death. The martyr reveals as the authentic sovereign in the confrontation of two different sovereignties: the political and the divine one. The martyr's cause proves to be superior to the existing political sovereignty. It is this association with the most authentic and definitive sovereignty which guarantees life after death, that the political ruler can on exceptional occasions claim the life of his subjects—to make them die—and their unconditional obedience. From all that has been said, it does not seem difficult to conclude that the figure of the martyr appears in the Middle Ages as a certain sovereignty that can be transformed as a medium for speaking about the character of the ruler's political power.

As Cerella has pointed out, "there is a close, structural, relationship between martyrdom and political power, that is, between the act of self-sacrifice and the dominant political and metaphysical systems in which this act is inscribed" (Cerella 2020, p. 179). A martyr's power is of absolute renunciation. The moral example of the martyrs reshapes the vision of the individual and collective body. Cerella's reflection leads us to Kantorowicz's text *Pro patria mori:* "Once the *corpus mysticum* has been identified with the *corpus morale et politicum* of the people and has become synonymous with nation and 'fatherland', *pro patria mori*, in other words, for a mystical body corporate, regains its former nobility. Death for the fatherland now is viewed in a truly religious perspective; it appears as a sacrifice for the *corpus mysticum* of the state which is no less a reality than the corpus mysticum of the church. It all implies a recovery of certain ethical values and moral emotions which with regard to the secular state had been practically absent during the earlier Middle Ages, and yet so dominant in Greek and Roman antiquity. This, however, does not mean simply a paganization of the idea *pro patria mori*. Humanism had its effects, but the quasi-religious aspects of death for the fatherland clearly derived from the Christian faith, the forces of which were now activated for the service of the secular *corpus mysticum* of the state" (Kantorowicz 1951, pp. 487–88).

The same analogical exchange that takes place between the king and the martyr takes place between the *corpus mysticum* of the church, for whose faith the martyr dies, and the body of the community over which the king rules, for which the king himself is ready to give his life. The mimesis between the king and martyr dignifies the body politic. The king tries to put himself in the place of the most unprotected, the one who has suffered death at the hand of the ruling power, knowing that he too is subject to death at the hand of a superior ruler, which is namely God. "Bare life", to use the expression made popular by Agamben (Agamben 1998), is the condition of all life, and placing the reliquary at the centre of the public space ritually manifests this fact.

Therefore, by placing the testimony of martyrs and saints in the reliquary as the centre of political devotion, kings resignify power in several directions: the life of the saints acts as an alternative to the mirrors for Princes; they embrace the power over the life and death of God; and finally, and consequently, they associate themselves with the most dangerous

counter-sovereignty that could arise. Fordhal refers the case of Thomas Becket, the 12th century Archbishop of Canterbury: "The martyrdom of Becket also contained a critique of earthly sovereign violence not dissimilar from the early Christian martyrdom narratives; throughout the high Middle Ages, rebels would draw on the story of Becket in an attempt to legitimate revolt against the English crown" (Fordhal 2018, p. 306).

The symbolism of the relic held an idea of power as "charisma" in the Pauline sense of the expression; that is, as a gift for the community of the *corpus mysticum*. A power not based on dominion, but on the blood and water which flow from the side of Christ and which Christians, in particular martyrs, can appropriate by existentially participating in that same body of Christ. This is the root of power as a "charisma" that originates in the sacrificial figure.

Just as in Paul's writings, the goods that the relics are able to procure were communal. They are visible traces of saving power. It is also the idea of power that operates in the exaltation of relics if the politics of relics makes any sense at all. We can affirm that when relics are used to add meaning to royal power, the medieval sovereign is expressing his desire—true or fake—that his own life imitate that of saints and martyrs; thus, he tries to place his power beyond earthly power.

5. Conclusive Remarks

The question we asked ourselves at the beginning of this article was the following: given that there are no texts in the Middle Ages that reflect on the practice of associating relics with power, what can we assume about the significance of this practice for the legitimation of political power? That is, what meanings are embodied in the political use of relics that reinforce political power?

Having unravelled the meanings attached to these material objects and to the lives of those to whom they belong, we are in a position to understand the coherence between the political practice of the use of relics and the fundamental theological–political analogy between royal and ecclesiastical power present in the Middle Ages, to which Ullmann has repeatedly alluded (Ullmann 1964, pp. 72–89).

Indeed, as Ullmann has pointed out, theocratic-descendant forms of government are typical of the Middle Ages. The reason for this, in his opinion, has biblical origins and does not only depend on forms of territorial or aristocratical organisation. In particular, he assumes that the introduction of the term "superioritas" in Jerome's Vulgate had political consequences. However, medieval *superioritas* always operated with its counterpart, i.e., the *subditus* or *subjectus*. Ironically, this *superioritas* makes the ruler in a certain sense an ecclesiastical servant. Indeed, in the first place, in the medieval context making the king or the prince *superior* meant separating him from his people and promoting him to the clerical estate, which was contrary to the usage of traditional medieval societies, where the king or the prince always ruled with the estates. The people were not a mass of subjects deprived of their will, but a plural community that had political rights and acted with the king in judicial and military matters. All kinds of assemblies were held at that time. Secondly, making him superior presupposes that he receives from God the government of his people "rex Dei gratia", in competition with the ecclesiastical officials, i.e., the bishops. In particular, it was the political theology of the Carolingians, from the 9th century onwards, that shaped the aura of the king in the image of the kings of the Old Testament. This idea became embedded in the ceremonies of the Crown. In fact, the anointing of the king was intentionally similar to that of the bishops, even if it never had an indelible character as in the case of holy orders; the coronation, however, was a secular affair.[18] The position of the king as similar to the bishop in a certain sense placed the political community as similar to the ecclesiastical community. The charismatic configuration of the body of Christ which is the church also had its analogue in the political community—exactly as Kantorowicz pointed out in *Pro Patria mori*, as we have already mentioned. It is precisely this exchange of gifts between superiority and service that appears present through the symbolic use of relics.

By placing the liturgies around the relics at the centre of the symbolic representation of their power, the rulers also place the saint and the martyr—themselves exceptional builders of the ecclesiastical community and witnesses of the victory over the greatest enemy, death—at the centre of the meaning of their power. The figure of the ruler is thereby constructed as similar to the figure of the good shepherd who gives his life for his sheep, and who obtains gifts (charismata) for them in strict obedience to the faith that Paul preached about the church as the body of Christ. However, this figure is not just a symbol; in the lives of those who gave their lives for Christ, it was an existential reality. It is also this authenticity that is the great benefit of the political use of relics.

It is this central idea of early Christian reflection that medieval rulers seem to want to make their own in the repeated practice of the symbolic use of relics as a complement to their rituals of power.

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Notes

1 (Bozóky 2020, p. 363). See also Edina Bozóky, *La politique des reliques de Constantine à Saint Louis*. On the use of relics in the Middle Ages in addition to Bozóky, see also: (Geary 1986, 1990a, 1990b; Schramm 1955; Herrmann-Mascard 1975; Rollason 1989).

2 For a further development of what this methodology entails see (Herrero 2017).

3 I have analysed this type of genealogy in (Herrero 2022).

4 See (Castelli 2004), chapter 3. Based on a Foucaultian framework, she relies on a collective "will to memory" of martyrdom which, since the first centuries, has been generated as an impulse to write down and remember those events. "The stories of the saints and martyrs shaped the literary, liturgical, artistic and architectural programs of Christian communities", p. 69.

5 (Buc 1997, p. 77). The translation is mine. Perhaps the first thing to point out about this text is that at least the first version of the acts was not written by Christians, but by pagans. Another thesis on the public character of martyrdom can be found in (Bowersock 2010, pp. 41–57). See also (Engberg 2011).

6 1 Jn 1, 2; Lc 24, 44–49; Jn 15, 26–27; Hch 1, 7–8; Hch 1, 21–22; Hch 20, 18–24.

7 See (Baumeister 1991). From a non-theological point of view, but from an ideological perspective see (Moss 2012).

8 (von Harnack 1924). See also (Delehaye 2019; Vauchez 2015). For a different account see (Moss 2012, p. 12).

9 An expression used in (Weigel 2007). There is an enormous bibliography that speaks of this construction process, understood in a more or less programmatic or linear mood. See (Lane Fox 1988; Moss 2012). In these endeavours, martyrdom is considered in the words of Moss to be "a set of discursive practices that shaped early Christian identities, mediated ecclesiastical and dogmatic claims, and provided meaning to the experience described by early Christians as persecution, and in doing so produced a new economy of action" (Moss 2012, p. 17).

10 Foucault was the first in calling the modern intensification of the power of sovereigns over life and death "biopolitics". In fact, in its modern form, the right to life and death is dissymmetrical. The modern sovereign exercises his right to life by imposing death, or by refraining from killing. The early modern sovereign evidences his power over life only through the death he is able to require. The right that was formulated as the power over life and death was in reality the right to take life or to let live. (Foucault 1978, vol. 1, pp. 134–59). Speaking of Hobbes as a paradigmatic case for Modernity, Bradley speaks not of biopolitics, but of "nihilopower". He outlines how for the Hobbesian Modern State, the civil sovereign is who ultimately decides what counts as human life and what does not: "For Hobbes, the sovereign right to decide whether a human being ever lived in the first place thus takes precedence over the right to kill a human being whose natural existence is simply assumed to preexist the political decision" (Bradley 2019, p. 29). "In a Commonwealth ruled by a Christian sovereign, we can be certain that no subject will ever be compelled to renounce this fundamental belief—and so there are no legitimate grounds for becoming a martyr" (Bradley 2019, p. 97). Bradley's thesis is that the theory of political sovereignty gradually makes such a figure as the Christian martyr impossible, and yet, "the so-called liberal subject will themselves be transformed into a kind of martyr who authorizes, by the very act of becoming a citizen, her own potential future death at the hands of her sovereign" (Bradley 2019, p. 114).

11 San Cipriano, *Epistola* 39, 3. San Cipriano, *De lapsis*, 4. See (San Cipriano 1971).

12 Hummel, The Concept of Martyrdom according to St. Cyprian of Cartage, 5. See (San Cipriano 1984).

[13] Clemente of Alexandria, *Stromata*, II, 20. See (Havrda 2017).

[14] (Ingham 1973, p. 2; Benjamin 1998) returns to the figure of the Martyr Tyrant in a transvaluated form. See (Weigel 2004).

[15] See (Cignac 2009; Nardoni 1993; Aurell 2022). Actually, Weberian and Pauline charisma are the opposite. I have already discussed this topic in Herrero, *Thepolitical Figures*.

[16] (Cignac 2009, p. 145), sets out a table with the semantic extension of Paul's concept of charism in the different mentions, which includes a broad variety of gifts.

[17] (Lehmann 2019, p. 216). She uses the expression form of life in (Lehmann 2019, p. 223). Concerning definition see (Moss 2012, pp. 2–5).

[18] The book discussing the heterogeneous character of these coronations and self-coronations ceremonies is that of (Aurell 2020).

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The Charisma of Fruits: From Greek Mythology to Genesis

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Abstract: Concerned with the representations of fruits in Greco-Roman mythology and Genesis, this paper first explores the various meanings of *charis* and its conceptualization, and their embodiments. It then addresses object agency, before questioning the possible propriety of certain fruits in visual and textual narratives to emanate and/or appropriate charisma. To do so, the paper presents a discussion of the linguistic and conceptual mutability and malleability of the term 'charis' and its conceptualization into charisma, as well as its possible manifestations or translations in fruits, thus transforming the latter into (accidental) actors. Finally, this study provides an exploratory reflection on the ambiguity and metamorphic aspect of "charismatic" fruits in the context of myths and the Genesis narrative represented in the visual arts, and their translation into fairy tale narratives and modern advertising campaigns.

Keywords: charisma; fruits; Original Sin; Genesis; mythology; narrative; iconography; art history; Middle Ages; accidental actor; neo platonic; *charis*; Paul of Tarsus; Max Weber; fashion; Vogue; fairy tales

Objets inanimés, avez-vous donc une âme qui s'attache à notre âme et la force d'aimer?
Alphonse de Lamartine, *Milly ou la terre natale*, 1830.

1. Introduction

From the golden apple in the Judgment of Paris to the forbidden fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil and the poisonous apple featured in the Brothers Grimm's fairy tale *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1812), fruits have been the subject of fascination.[1] Consumed for their succulent taste, in some narratives, they emanate a powerful, seductive, magnetic, and irresistible role, that, through their agency, affects the protagonists and enables outcomes in various storylines. Concerned with the representations of fruits in Greco-Roman mythology and Genesis, this paper addresses the following question: "Can fruits be charismatic?" Focusing on the five distinct meanings of charisma and their embodiments, this paper first presents a discussion of the linguistic and conceptual mutability and malleability of the term by demystifying the meaning of the word *charis* (Χάρις) and its conceptualization, *charisma* (χάρισμα). This paper is not concerned with the genealogy of the word charisma; instead, it offers an etymological understanding of the term as a polysemic concept, applied in an art historical and literary context. Inspired by Stephen Jaeger's introduction for his book entitled *Enchantment*, this paper further contributes to a handful of (art) historical scholarship addressing charisma in an art historical and literary context (Jaeger 2012, p. 9; Bell 2020, p. 233).[2] The article examines the possible manifestations and/or translations of charisma in fruits featured in artworks and narratives, transforming them into (accidental) actors, from an Aristotelian perspective. Addressing object agency, this paper also tackles the possible propriety of certain fruits in visual and textual narratives to emanate and/or appropriate charisma. Finally, this study provides an exploratory reflection around the ambiguity and metamorphic aspect of charismatic fruits in the context of myths and biblical narratives represented in the visual arts, focusing more precisely on the Greco-Roman mythological accounts involving Persephone, Tantalus, the Judgment of Paris, and Atalanta and Hippomenes; it is also concerned with the biblical narrative of the Temptation and Fall of Adam and Eve and its iconographical embodiments.

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2. The Five Concepts of *charis* or the Five *charismata*

A polysemic word subjected to transformation and metamorphosis, charisma retains the glowing, magnetic elements of its Greek etymological origins—*charis*—while being also associated with the terms 'gift' and 'attractiveness.' I have identified five different meanings of *charis* and its conceptualization. The first is concerned with the Greek origins of the term *charis* (Charis A). With its focus on the aesthetic, the second belongs to the Roman and neo-Platonic perspective, where *charis* underwent a philosophical spiritualization (Charis B). The third meaning of the term was employed and popularized by the writings of Saint Paul of Tarsus (ca. 5–64 or 65) (Charis C). With Saint Paul's use of *charis*-ma (χάρισμα)—the conceptualized version of the term—we witnessed the theological spiritualization of *charis*. In the 20th century, Max Weber (1864–1920) and his followers de-spiritualized the term charisma and applied it as a social concept (Charis D). The final meaning of charis and its conceptualization is the one used today in mainstream media, which may or may not refer to the original conceptualization of the term (Charis E).

The first meaning of charis and its conceptualization—Charis A—belongs to the Greeks and their concept of *charis* (χάρις).[3] *Charis* means grace, but only if the latter is understood to incorporate, at the very least, one of the following attributes: kindness, gift, attractiveness, favour, gratitude, gratification, charm, goodwill, free benevolence, benefit, agreeable, pleasant, thankfulness, thanks, and goodwill (Liddell and Scott 1901, p. 1083). *Charis* is also a term found in Homer's *Odyssey* (8th century BCE). In this epic narrative, Athena is described as shedding *charis* on Odysseus's son, Telemachus (Odyssey 2, 12–14; 17, 63–64). The goddess of wisdom is mentioned twice as endowing him with such supernatural *charis* that all eyes were turned on him in admiration,

> Now when they were assembled and met together, Telemachus went his way to the place of assembly, holding in his hand a spear of bronze—not alone, for along with him two swift hounds followed; and wondrous was the χάρις (grace) that Athena shed upon him, and all the people marvelled at him as he came. But he sat down in his father's seat, and the elders gave place. (*Odyssey* 2, 12–14)

> But Telemachus thereafter went forth through the hall with his spear in his hand, and with him went two swift hounds. And wondrous was the χάρις (grace) that Athena shed upon him, and all the people marvelled at him as he came. Round about him the proud wooers thronged, speaking him fair, but pondering evil in the deep of their hearts. (*Odyssey* 17, 63–64)

The term is not only a noun, but also the name of a goddess. Mentioned in Homer and Hesiod's 8th-century BCE mythological accounts, Charis is the name of one of the Charities (Χάριτες), also known as the Graces.[4] In Homer's *Iliad* (8th-century BCE), Charis is described as the goddess of charm, beauty, nature, creativity, and fertility; she is also the wife of Hephaestus, the god of fire, volcanoes, blacksmiths, sculptors, carpenters, metallurgy, artisans, and craftsmen (*Iliad* 8, 333).[5] Homer portrays her as a lovely goddess wearing a shining veil as she outstands the realm of deities due to her beauty; she is shining among divinities (*Iliad* 18, 382–388).[6]

While the number of Charities is unspecified in Homer's oeuvre, Hesiod names three of them: Aglaea (shining/splendour), Euphrosyne (joy), and Thaleia (flourishing) (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 905–910).[7] All of these Charities share similar positive attributes that are proper to attractiveness. Charis and her fellow Charities possess accidental propriety, from an Aristotelian perspective.[8] They hold and/or are gifted with characteristics that are neither necessary nor conferred upon everyone. Thus, the Charities stand out of and/or outshine the lot. For the Greeks, the concept of *charis* as attractiveness can thus be defined as an outward grace, charm, or physical loveliness. This includes the appealingness of speech, physical beauty, and the notion that gods are responsible for assigning such outward grace. In this context, *charis* could also refer to a person's charm, an attractive inner quality—an accidental propriety from an Aristotelian perspective—that shines out from among them. Consequently, this quality allows for a sense of gratification, delight, and pleasure.

Charis B refers to the Roman and neo-Platonic understanding of the word *charis*, translated into *gratia* (grace). With the Romans, the concept of *charis* became synonymous with *venustas* (beauty), thus gaining a more obvious aesthetic property than its original Greek usage. Grace could be seen not so much as a quality of an object, but rather as an affect, a projection on the object of the emotions it arouses in the viewer.[9] It is also the invisible quality that is made visible through the ethics of gestures. In *De officiis* (On Duties or On Obligations) (44BCE), Cicero (106–43BCE) writes,

> But there is nothing so essentially proper as to maintain consistency in the performance of every act and in the conception of every plan. But the propriety to which I refer shows itself also in every deed, in every word, even in every movement and attitude of the body. And in outward, visible propriety there are three elements—beauty, tact, and taste … In these three elements is included also our concern for the good opinion of those with whom and amongst whom we live. (*De officiis*, 1.34–35)

This passage details the ethical and moral imperatives required in shaping representations of the human body, which ultimately either reveal *venustas* and attractiveness or highlight their absence. Beauty and attractiveness do not only apply to the body; indeed, in his *Moralia,* Plutarch (46 or 50-ca.120) describes " … salt as giving attractiveness *(charis)* to food" (*Moralia*, 685a). A condiment, salt has the power to season food with attractiveness, making food gustatorily more pleasurable. Furthermore, with Plotinus (204 or 205–270), the idea of grace becomes associated with beauty in general, leading to a philosophical spiritualization of the word, not so much in terms of bodily beauty, but rather regarding the outward reflection of the inward state of an individual, in a similar way to Cicero's ethics of gestures (*Enneads*, I.6).

Paul of Tarsus's (ca. 5–64 or 65) use of the word *charisma* constitutes what I define as Charis C. With Paul, the concept of *charis* undergoes a theological spiritualization—a syncretisation—to refer to the gift of redemption, prophecy, healing, speaking in tongues (*glossolalia*), miracles, etc., which are assigned to people to generally benefit the community (Aurell 2022, p. 610).[10] Paul most likely did not coin the word; instead, he probably borrowed it from colloquial language, where it must have been used with the meaning of gift or present. In the New Testament, the term occurs seventeen times, fourteen of which are found in Paul's letters.[11] Charisma is also connected to the *charismata* (χάρισματα)—the gifts of extraordinary power and graces—granted by the Holy Spirit.[12]

> For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; to another faith by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits, to another divers kind of tongues, to another the interpretation of tongues; but all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will. (Corinthians 12:8–11)[13]

During the twelfth century, gesture became a visual vocabulary carrying deeper meaning, where Paul's idea of charisma indirectly came to play. Gestures then were associated with ideals concerning morality and ethics, including some connected to the gifts of the Holy Spirit (Jansen and Rubin 2010, pp. 9–10). Indeed, Saint Paul, the Church Fathers, and medieval scholastic theologians inherited the Ciceronian understanding of the body and its gestures, which make visible what is invisible, where *charis* and its conceptualization play a key role. For instance, in a passage defining the beautiful in *Confessions,* Saint Augustine of Hippo addresses Charis A, B, and C,

> Do we love anything but the beautiful [Charis B]? What is that allures and unites us to the things we love; for unless there were a grace and beauty in them, they could by no means attract us to them [Charis A and B]? And I marked and perceived that in bodies themselves there was a beauty from their forming a kind

> of a whole, and another from mutual fitness, as one part of the body with its whole, or a shoe with a foot, and so on [Charis C]. (*Confessions*, I.20)

Also, in his *Sermon on the Song of Songs*, Saint Bernard refers to Charis B and C, as he writes,

> What then is beauty of the soul [Charis B]? Is it perhaps that quality we call ethical goodness [Charis C]? . . . But to understand this quality, we must observe a man's outward bearing, not because morality originates from conduct, but because conduct mediates morality . . . The beauty of actions is visible testimony to the state of conscience . . . But when the luminosity of this beauty fills the inner depths of the heart, it overflows and surges outward. Then the body, the very image of the mind, catches up this light flowing and bursting forth like the rays of the sun [Charis A]. All its senses and all its members are suffused with it, until its glow is seen in every act, in speech, in appearance, in the way of walking and laughing . . . When the motions, the gestures and the habits of the body and the senses show forth their gravity, purity, and modesty . . . then beauty of the soul becomes outwardly visible [Charis C]. (*Sermones super Cantica canticorum*, 85:10–11)

Discussing the visual culture of the Middle Ages, Jean-Claude Schmitt argues that the tradition of making sense of gestures is essentially ethical and connected to universal values, such as goodness and truth (Schmitt 1989, p. 129). Relying on Cicero's *De officiis*, Schmitt is interested in the way medieval people, specifically the Carolingian schools and monastic communities, represented themselves using specific gestures to convey political, religious, and secular ideas. These schools and their art and understanding of gesture used a visual vocabulary carrying deeper meaning and concepts. Schmitt also states that bodily animations are physical manifestations of the *intus* (the inner expression or the soul) perceived from the *foris* (exteriorly/from the outside) (Schmitt 1989, p. 130). Moreover, the author argues that from the twelfth century onwards, as a result of the intellectual revival and classical renaissance of the Romanesque, gestures were decoded in terms of morality and ethics (Schmitt 1989, p. 136).

Like Schmitt, Stephen Jaeger is interested in the connection between classical (Roman) and medieval (scholastic) ethical concepts and gestures in the visual culture of eleventh- and twelfth-century bodies. The author suggests that a classical ethical revival occurred in the eleventh century and not in the twelfth century as previously suggested by Schmitt. This revival was at first textual, before developing into the visual culture in the twelfth century (Jaeger 2000, pp. 180–81).[14] Building his argument around the eleventh-century cathedral school's conception of human excellence, Jaeger depicts the "well-tuned, well-composed man" in the Middle Ages (mainly in France and Germany) as a sophisticated courtly culture, occupied by bodies that are meant to be read (Jaeger 2000, p. 180). In his discussion of Cicero's *De officiis* and Saint Bernard of Clairvaux's *Sermons on the Song of Songs* (85:10–11), Jaeger argues that "the controlled body with all its attributes—grace, posture, charm, sensuality, beauty, authority,—is the work of art of the eleventh century" (Jaeger 2000, pp. 7–8). It is through their physicality and embrace of decorum that medieval bodies make visible the invisible and thus act as *cursus virtutum* (textbook of virtue).[15] Jaeger also addresses the Carolingian schools, where secular and religious texts were taught in the curriculum of the *civiles mores* (civil/courtly manners) (Jaeger 2000, p. 294). The programme included disciplines of correct behaviour, speech, and action, all of which were thought necessary to lead a good, charismatic life (Charis C).

Emerging from Ciceronian elegance, these courtly manners are embodied in Romanesque artworks, such as Henri de Blois's plaques (ca. 1150–1171).[16] One of these two semi-circular Mosan enamelled plaques depicts the semi-recumbent figure of Bishop Henri de Blois, a Cluniac monk, looking towards an inscription that states,

> Art comes before gold and gems, the author before everything. Henry, alive in bronze, gives gifts to God. Henry, whose fame commends him to men, whose

> character commends him to heavens, a man equal in mind to the Muses and in eloquence higher than Marcus [that is, Cicero]. (Zarnecki 1986, p. 160)[17]

Read alongside the inscription, Bishop Henri's body reveals his Ciceronian good character, clothing, beauty, elegance, and eloquence that allegedly surpassed that of Cicero himself (Charis B). Furthermore, in a study of Romanesque portraiture, Thomas Dale argues that portraits conveyed a palpable and engaging presence of the person, not through physical likeness, but rather through a series of conventions established in both secular and religious realms (Dale 2007, p. 102). Dale first defines the meaning of physiognomic canons in terms of likeness and then assesses how these standards relate to vision as a means of spiritual sight (Dale 2007, p. 102). He writes that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the body as a whole was considered an *imago*—a similitude of an ideal type (God) (Dale 2007, p. 103). For instance, the first man in Abrahamic religions, Adam, is the *imago* of God, and the first woman, Eve, an *imago* of the *imago* of God. Characterised by her virtues and vices, it is the essence of Eve's individual likeness that becomes central to her portrait, rather than the physical likeness of the model. The body of Eve and its characteristics are thus an imprint of her (lack of) inner virtue and beauty (Charis A, B, and C). Relying on Saint Bernard of Clairvaux's *Sermons on the Song of Songs*, Dale argues that the goal of portraiture was to harmonise the inner man with the outer man (Dale 2007, p. 106). A physically beautiful portrait is therefore a reflection of the *charis*/good character of the person being portrayed.

These courtly manners, Ciceronian elegance, and the meaning of portraits are necessary when recognising the presence of *charis* in portraits. Indeed, they are decipherable in the portrait of *King Richard II* from Westminster Abbey, London (mid-1390s), and the *Prince of the World* from Strasbourg Cathedral (ca. 1280–1300) (Figure 1). These two artworks embody physical manifestations providing the viewers with some clues regarding the ethical values and *charis* of the two ruling figures.[18] Seated elegantly on his throne, King Richard's appearance embraces order, symmetry, and harmony, as his body is surrounded by a golden background reflecting light. Shining outward like the goddess Charis and Odysseus's son Telemachus, Richard gazes forward, while holding the sceptre and orb, symbols of his kingdom and rulership. His facial expression is deprived of excess emotions, while his regal apparel and crown highlight his role as a ruler. His portrait is one of a good, charismatic king, benefiting his kingdom, as the expression of his form (soul)—his very essence—is perceived through the external features of his body (Charis A, B, and C). Similarly, the Prince of the World is sculpturally represented in regal attire and wearing a crown. He holds an orb, a symbol of his kingdom, close to his face, as he gazes upon it, expressively. The prince could be regarded as a good ruler; however, the more one gets to know him by looking at him, the more his true self is unveiled. Indeed, when one closely gazes at his back, one notices that the prince is being eaten alive by a series of snakes, toads, and vermin. Even if at first glance the ruler appears to exercise virtuous rulership, his true self is revealed with time and upon close observation, as one becomes more acquainted with him; he is thus lacking or pretending to have Charis A, B, and C.

Furthermore, various meanings of *charis* and its conceptualization are also present in Sedes Sapientiae (Throne of Wisdom) figures, such as the wooden example from Auvergne (France), dating from ca. 1175–1200, (now part of the Metropolitan Museum of Art collection, New York) (Figure 2). *Charis* is found in the portrait of the Virgin, and the fruit of her womb, Jesus. Both figures display the concept of *charis*, through their outward grace, charm, and physical loveliness (Charis A and B).[19] Their gestures reveal their inner beauty; their harmonious and symmetrical composition is deprived of excessive emotions, in a similar manner as in the portrait of *King Richard II*. The Virgin and Child's gracefulness, poised gestures, stability, and order, contribute to a sense of harmony, thus exemplifying a sense of a whole. The Virgin becomes the seat upon which her child is ruling, in a stable, constant, and graceful manner. The fruit of her womb is the embodiment of the concept of *charis*—charisma—(Charis C) as Saint Paul describes Jesus as personifying the gift of redemption, prophecy, healing, miracles, etc., (*Romans* 3:24).

Figure 1. *Prince of the World and the Foolish Virgins*, west façade, south portal, ca. 1280–1300, Notre-Dame-de-Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg, France. ©Author.

Figure 2. *Virgin and Child in Majesty*, ca. 1175–1200, Auvergne. 16.32.194a, b. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Notre-Dame de la Belle-Verrière, a stained-glass window from the south aisle of Chartres Cathedral, France (ca. 1140) is another example of a Sedes Sapientiae, that displays the three meanings of the concept of charis discussed so far (Figure 3). Albeit representing figures in two dimensions, the stained glass operates in the same manner as the wooden sculpture from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The Virgin and Child's outward physical elements display grace, charm, and physical loveliness; the figures allow light to shine through them into the interior of the church (Charis A). Their composition, interactions, harmony, symmetry, and order make them charismatic as they reveal a certain pleasant element in their gesture, which, ultimately, makes them graceful. The Virgin and Child's inner virtues are thus reflected outwards into their gesture, clothing, facial expression, and composition (Charis B). Depicted right above the head of the Virgin and represented through the symbol of a white dove, the Holy Spirit is responsible for the charismatic gifts of ethical goodness, modesty, purity, and morality shining outwards from the bodies of the Virgin and Child to benefit the community, the Church (Charis C) (Isaiah 11:2; Corinthians 12:8–11). It is through their physicality and embrace of decorum that medieval bodies, such as those of the Virgin and Child from the *Belle Verrière*, represent the invisible—the beauty/grace/*charis* of their soul—and thus become charismatic *cursus virtutum* (textbook of virtue).

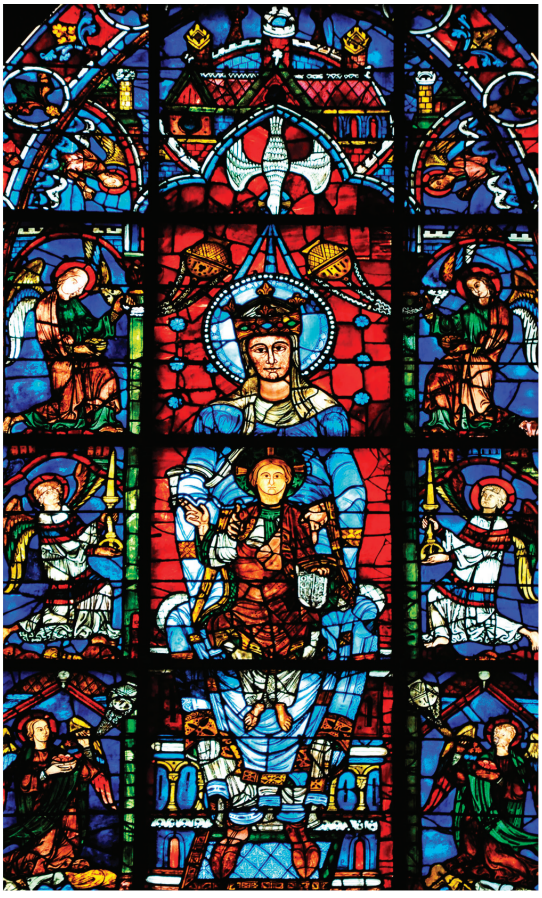

Figure 3. *Notre-Dame de la Belle-Verrière*, South aisle, c.1140, Notre-Dame-de-Chartres Cathedral, France. ©Author.

Furthermore, the word charisma experienced a resurgence between 1915 and 1922, mainly as a sociological concept defined by Max Weber (Charis D) (Potts 2009, p. 1). The USA embraced the term in the 1930s when Weber's work was translated from German into English. Weber writes,

> . . . a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader. (Weber 1968, p. 48)

For Weber, charisma (the concept of *charis*) highlights a form of authority, a (real or imaginary) extraordinary quality, thought to be supernatural or superhuman in nature, in which the charismatic person is treated as a leader, based on faith rather than reason. Weber has also argued that charisma (Charis D) is transferred through bloodline, roles, or attachment to an institution (Weber 1968, pp. 1136–37). Thus, according to Weber, charisma has a lineage. Adding to Weber's concept of *charis*, Edward Shils defines charisma as widely diffused in society in corporate bodies and the stratification system (Shils 1965, p. 209). The author also adds that an attitude of awe must be associated with charisma (i.e., the

charismatic leader has a shining face) (Shils 1965, p. 200). The following year, Robert Nisbet stated that charisma can define objects. He argued that charisma resides in " ... rocks, trees, deserts, rivers, and seas to which charisma has been attached by its place to some momentous event in the life of a divine or deeply revered leader" (Nisbet 1966, p. 252). For Martin Spencer, charisma is the power to control the perception of reality; sometimes this power is held by someone or an object that is perceived as divine or magical, and other times through a person with reflective insight through analysis or artistic expression (Spencer 1973, pp. 344, 345, 350). "The answer to the often-repeated question: "How shall we recognize when a leader is charismatic?", he writes, "is therefore simply: Find the leader towards whom these sentiments (awe and enthusiasm) are directed" (Spencer 1973, p. 352). More recently, John Potts stated that "the contemporary meaning of charisma is broadly understood as a special innate quality that sets certain individuals apart and draws others to them" (Potts 2009, p. 2). This "special innate quality" or the "x-factor" could be understood as accidental propriety, as coined by Aristotle: a quality that someone possesses, but that is not present in/acquired by all (Aristotle, *Categories* 2b: 5–6; *Metaphysics* 1028a).[20] These definitions of charisma derive largely from Weber, who understood the concept of charisma within a leadership context, mainly in religious and political leaders. To Weber and followers, civil and religious leaders, such as Saint Francis of Assis, Margaret Thatcher, Donald Trump, Mother Theresa, Joseph Stalin, and Pope Francis, all possess common accidental propriety: charisma (Charis D).

Weber's and Paul's conceptualization of *charis* (Charis C and D) are not interchangeable. They are two distinct concepts, applying the conceptualization of the same word, *charis*, to achieve a new meaning. On the one hand, Paul used linguistic syncretism to Christianize the Greco-Roman conception of the term *charis* (Charis A and B), from a neo-Platonic perspective, generally referring to a collective quality (Charis C). On the other hand, Weber and his followers re-conceptualized the concept of *charis* with little reference to Paul's syncretic Christian meaning, to apply it to the magnetic type of personality who exercises leadership (Charis D). Blooming from Weber and his followers' establishment of the 20th-century secular understanding of charisma (Charis D), today, the notion of the term is popularised as it takes part in the mainstream, popular culture. The word charisma is now used as a synonym for fame, stardom, attractiveness, and success in Hollywood and social media, in the context of television, movies, socialites, models, influencers, etc. Also, Jaeger explores it in the context of art, as a medium that tackles both the real and the imaginary (Charis E). Hence, stars and public figures, such as Taylor Swift, Sean Connery, Oprah, Kim Kardashian, and Hugh Jackman, are all considered charismatic, despite their lack of (direct) civic and/or religious leadership. Indeed, they inspire enchantment as "they have been efficiently marketed as commodities by disenchanted, rational publicity organizations, managers", and/or through their own disenchantment (Hurst 2016, p. 122). The same is applied to artworks that emanate a "force" that outpours on their viewers (Jaeger 2012, p. 35). Discussing charisma in the visual culture, more recently, Jaeger has argued that it is the "quality of works of art" that inspires, transforms, and elevates their audience (Jaeger 2012, p. 11). It does so by taking into account the audience's needs and desires; stimulating their imagination, charismatic works of art elevate the individuals or environments they represent to transport their viewers into a hyper/supernatural reality (Jaeger 2011, p. 18). This "dichotomy of real [the audience's needs and aspirations] and illusion [the audience's imagination], life and art, so fundamental to the cultic experience of art in the West", Jager writes, "are resolved in the medium of charisma" (Jaeger 2012, p. 24).

3. Object Agency

The five concepts of *charis* (Charis A, B, C, D, and E) discussed in this paper have been applied to human figures, some of whom are represented in works of art. Yet, I wish to argue that these embodiments of *charis* and their conceptualizations as *charismata* not only concern human beings, but also certain fruits, as objects or commodities, that

possess charisma(ta) as (an) accidental propriety(ies). While Weber states that objects cannot have personal charisma (Charis D), I conclude otherwise (Weber 1968, p. 1136). I do align my argument with Nisbet's, which revolves around the idea that objects could become charismatic through their association with a divine event or a leader; however, I do not necessarily argue that it is always the case for the source of an object's charisma (Nisbet 1966, p. 252). Indeed, in anthropological studies, objects can obtain/possess power through layers of histories attached to them. When studying prehistoric societies, material culture is the main contemporary source of information. The objectified type of charisma is therefore of special interest for archaeological studies (Vedeler 2018, p. 11). Also, according to Plutarch, through its very essence, salt has *charis* (Charis B). Object agency is central to this discussion; hitherto, objects, as charismatic actors, remain a complex matter and must rely on a narrative. Things that initiate events, things caused by acts of the mind or will or intention, rather than the mere concatenation of physical events, are objects that possess agency.[21] An agent causes events to happen in their vicinity (Gell 1998, p. 18).

A possible outcome of an object's agency—its index—could be the affect. From the Latin *affectus,* meaning passion or emotion, affect takes the form of a psychological shift that accompanies a judgement (Van Alphen 2008, pp. 23–24). The shift takes place when there is a positive or negative evaluative orientation toward an object or another person. The notion of affect as a psychological outcome also suggests that affects are different from feelings (Van Alphen 2008, p. 24). The latter include something more than a physiological shift or sensory stimulation; they suppose a unified interpretation of that shift or stimulation. Jacqueline E. Jung writes, " . . . for what else were sculptures . . . but lifeless matter? Yet they were lifeless matters that could—and did—come to life under the hopeless gazes of those who prayed before them" (Jung 2010, p. 232). It is within this context that, as an object agent, the *Röttgen Pietà* (ca. 1300–1325) becomes active when it triggers a psychological shift in the worshippers who gaze upon it (Figure 4). Mimicking the iconography of the Sedes Sapientiae, the wooden sculpture represents the Pietà, where the Virgin holds the lifeless body of her child, Jesus. Her face is ravished by pain and sorrow as she mourns her son, who, in a not-so-distant past, she used to cradle. Laying on her lap like a child, Jesus's emaciated body is portrayed as emptied of all its blood. Wearing the crown of thorns, his lifeless body is dramatically bent to highlight the violence of his death. This statue could be understood as a sculptural equivalent to Mel Gibson's (2004) *Passion of the Christ* movie, where the last hours of the Incarnation of Christ were portrayed in theatrical, dramatic proportions, with a distinguished excess of violence, blood, and suffering, to achieve a similar objective: to affect—to trigger the emotions of—the viewer. Both the *Röttgen Pietà* and Gibson's movie, as sculptural and cinematographic products, are agents, with indexes that were meant to generate a psychological shift. Tailored toward their assumed Christian audience, the sculpture as well as the movie trigger their viewers to reflect upon their sins, which are responsible for the redemptive sacrifice of Christ achieved through his suffering and, ultimately, his death. The violence, sorrow, and pain emanating from the *Röttgen Pietà* mirror the result of the worshipers' actions. As an active agent, the Pietà produces an index, that affects the viewers; yet, as agents, the viewers create an index through their sins, embodied in the death of Christ, who they believe has died to erase the Origin Sin of Adam and Eve, and reopen the doors of Paradise through his Resurrection, three days following his death.

It is within this framework that I propose that fruits need to be part of a narrative, and/or be represented in narratives and art, including medieval sculptures, to be considered charismatic; similarly to human beings, as objects with agency, fruits take part in an animated universe, a cosmos. Focusing mainly on the apple, pomegranate, and the forbidden fruit, I explore the hypothesis that certain fruits have charisma and that, in most cases, death is the index of the casual inference of the charismatic fruits' agency, while the charisma of some fruits is the bringer of life.[22] In all of the cases of charismatic fruits, the meaning of gift is implied.

Figure 4. *Röttgen Pietà*, painted limewood, ca. 1300–1325, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn, Germany. ©J. Vogel (LVR-LandesMuseum Bonn).

4. Charismatic Fruits, Narratives, and Iconography

The narrative context of the fruit plays an essential part in why, how, and whether it possesses a charismatic power. Narratives linked with elements, such as memory, experiences, legends, myths, and biblical stories become essential in highlighting the accidental propriety of the fruit, its charisma. Fruits, as objects, become subjects of myth formations obtaining a form of personal charisma. For instance, as briefly mentioned in Hesiod's *Theogony* and described in more detail in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, the pomegranate in the Greek myth of Persephone's abduction could be understood as a charismatic fruit (Hesiod *Theogony*, 914; Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, 4–20, 414–434). As Persephone, the goddess of Spring, grains, and nature, gathers flowers, she notices an exquisite narcissus blossom and cannot resist its beauty and tempting fragrances (Homer, *Hymn* 5–14; Suter 2002; Hitch 2017, pp. 22–44). The narcissus displays charisma through not only its attractiveness and charm (Charis A), but also its visual and olfactory aesthetic properties, arousing curiosity and delight in Persephone (Charis B). As she picks the flower, the earth opens beneath her feet; Hades seizes and drags her down to the underworld where he resides. By the time the messenger god, Hermes retrieves her, Persephone is starving. In some versions of the myth, Zeus instructs Persephone not to eat while she is in the underworld. Hades offers her a pomegranate to satisfy her hunger, of which she eats a few seeds, consequently tying herself to him forever.[23] Her mother, Demeter, the goddess of agriculture, lets the crops die as she mourns her daughter. By abandoning her duties, nothing grows on earth until her daughter is returned to her. To avoid a fatal disaster, Zeus intervenes with a compromise where Persephone must live in the underworld with Hades for one-third of the year while the other two-thirds are to be spent on earth with her mother, Demeter. Spring marks Persephone's return from the underworld, initiating the yearly seasonal cycle. In the narrative, the pomegranate was to be avoided; yet it brought satisfaction to Persephone, who ate some of its seeds. In works of art, such as Dante Gabriele Rossetti's

Proserpine (1874), Persephone is portrayed holding the pomegranate close to her chest; the fruit is luscious, with a section revealing its interior, characterized by a mandorla-like shape painted in rich and vibrant red hues.[24] The fruit scoring resembles a wound from which the viewer could perceive the appearance of blood. It is within this context that the pomegranate could also be understood as an index of death; its causal effect transforms Persephone into the queen of the underworld and the goddess of death as she spends one-third of her life in the underworld with her husband Hades. This cycle of death and rebirth makes Demeter and Persephone sympathetic to mortals. "In their grief and at the hour of death", writes Edith Hamilton in her 1942 Greek mythology anthology, "men could turn for compassion to the goddess who sorrowed [Demeter] and the goddess who died [Persephone]" (Hamilton 1942, p. 73).[25]

The story of Tantalus offers another, more obvious example of charismatic fruits. The first version of the myth portrays Tantalus, son of Zeus and Pluto, and ruler of the city of Tantalís or Sipylus, as gossiping with his fellow mortals about the gods' plan for humanity (Euripides, *Electra* 4ff; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* 4.74.2; Apollodorus, *Epitome* 2.1; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 82). The second version is found in one of Pindar's (ca. 518–ca. 438 BCE) odes and presents Tantalus as stealing the gods' food—the divine nectar and ambrosia—from Mount Olympus to serve to mortals (Pindar, *Olympian Ode* 1). As these two mischiefs threatened the balance of the order between the gods and mortals, as described by Hyginus (ca. 64BCE-17) and Servius (late 4th-early 5th c.), the third and most popular version of the myth presents an even more outrageous deed. Wishing to test the gods' almightiness, Tantalus wanted to know if they could guess what constituted their meal. To do so, he served the gods a stew made from pieces of his son Pelops, whom he previously killed, diced, and cooked (Hyginus, *Fabulae* 83; Servius, *Commentary on Vergil's Aeneid*, 6.603). Tantalus's plan failed when the Olympians grew suspicious of their dinner, except Demeter who was still upset with the loss of her daughter Persephone. Absent-minded, the goddess of agriculture consumed a portion of Pelops's shoulder. For the audacity of his evil plan, Zeus punished his son Tantalus by first cursing his kingdom and dynasty, before serving him a delectable penitential dish, which was offered to him in the underworld. Indeed, as portrayed in an anonymous 17th-century painting, entitled *Tatalus* from the Museo del Prado, the murderer was forced to remain in a pool of water, under a tree filled with delicious, tempting fruits.[26] Even though the pool and fruits could keep him hydrated and nourished, he could never drink from the water, nor be able to grab the succulent fruits that hung from the tree's branches. This delicious, yet frustrating punishment is described by Odysseus as he wanders in Hades' realm in Homer's *Odyssey*,

> I also saw the awful agonies that Tantalus has to bear. The old man was standing in a pool of water which nearly reached his chin, and his thirst drove him to unceasing efforts; but he could never reach the water to drink it. For whenever he stooped in his eagerness to drink, it disappeared. The pool was swallowed up, and all there was at his feet was the dark earth, which some mysterious power had drained dry. Trees spread their foliage high over the pool and dangled fruits above his head—pear-trees and pomegranates, apple-trees with their glossy burden, sweet figs and luxuriant olives. But whenever the old man made to grasp them in his hands, the wind would toss them up towards the shadowy clouds. (*Odyssey*, 11: 582–93)

The hero uses luscious language, highlighting the charismatic physical character of the fruits (Charis A), with words, such as "glossy burden", "sweet", and "luxuriant". The charisma of the pears, pomegranates, apples, figs, and olives that are tempting the unfortunate Tantalus revolves around the fruits' ability to provide the punished mortal gratification, delight, and pleasure, only if he can manage to obtain them. The index of the charismatic yet unreachable fruits highlighted in this myth is the state of death spent in perpetual punishment. Tempted by the fruits, yet never able to ever possess them, their charisma highlights the everlasting punishment—the hell—that Tantalus must endure in the underworld, the realm of the deceased.

Moreover, some fruits appearing in narratives could also possess different meanings of charisma simultaneously. This is the case of the myth of the golden apple, where a specific fruit precipitated a series of unfortunate events, that culminated in the Trojan War.[27] It all started when Eris, the goddess of disagreement, realized that she had not been invited to the marriage of King Peleus and Thetis, the sea nymph. Furious about her exclusion and filled with revenge, Eris presented herself at the wedding unannounced; there, she threw a golden apple onto the banquet table, meant for the *καλλίστη* (*kalliste*, the most beautiful).[28] Hera, the goddess of marriage; Athena, the goddess of wisdom; and Aphrodite, the goddess of beauty and love claimed the apple and, with it, their position as the fairest of them all.[29] Zeus was to decide which one of the three goddesses was blessed with the most beautiful attributes; unable to decide given his respective relationship with each one of them, the God of the Olympians handed this arduous task to the Trojan prince Paris, the most handsome young mortal. Both Hera and Athena bribed the mortal, with no success. Promising him the most beautiful woman in the world, Helen of Sparta, Aphrodite succeeded in persuading Paris to award her with the beautiful golden apple. With it, Aphrodite was declared the most beautiful goddess, while Paris and Helen married. This matrimonial union resulted in the Trojan War and its bloodshed, thus bringing chaos and, ultimately, death. The charisma of the apple here carries two meanings; it is both related to Charis A because it represents an (unwanted) gift, and Charis B because its *venustas* (beauty) acts as a projection of Helen's beauty, which becomes the apple for Paris. Both objects of desire—the apple for the goddess and the most beautiful woman for Paris—precipitate deadly events. This transfer of charisma is an example of what Weber described as "lineage charisma", where charisma—in this case the one emanating from the apple—is transferable through either bloodlines, institutions, or roles (Weber 1968, pp. 1135–1137). The charisma of the golden apple is transferred from the fruit to Helen, through their respective roles of objects of desire.

A golden apple also appears in the myth of Atalanta and Hippomenes, where its charismatic properties (Charis A and B) serve as a distractive device to secure Hippomenes' lead in the race, which ultimately brings a fatal end to Atalanta and Hippomenes' human embodiment.[30] Atalanta was gifted with speed, which enabled her to outrun everyone who raced against her (Charis A). An oracle once told her that, to maintain her talent, she must not marry. Yet, if she does choose matrimony, she must refuse her husband's advances to avoid being deprived of herself. Living alone, she issues a challenge that she will only marry the man who is faster than her. Seduced by Atalanta's speed and beauty (Charis A and B), the grandson of Poseidon, Hippomenes, accepts the challenge. Concerned with his inability to outpace his female rival, Hippomenes prays to Aphrodite for help. Answering his prayer, the goddess of love offers Hippomenes three golden apples from a tree in Cyprus (Charis A), which he must use to distract Atalanta during the race.

As they compete, Atalanta cannot help but slowdown from time to time to look over her shoulder, thus catching a glimpse of Hippomenes. As she flirts with the idea of losing the race, thinking about whether she might marry her rival, she swiftly reminds herself of the possibility of losing herself, which encourages her to run faster to maintain the lead. Wishing to surpass Atalanta, Hippomenes throws the first apple, which slows down his female rival as she stops to pick the golden fruit, attracted by its seductive shape, shininess, beauty, and lusciousness (Charis A and B). This allows Hippomenes to take the lead. Atalanta soon catches up with him and claims back the lead. Hippomenes repeats the same strategy with the second golden apple, but, again, Atalanta eventually surpasses him. On the last lap, Poseidon's grandson throws the remaining apple, with the help of Aphrodite who does not only make the apple fall further away, but she also makes it heavier to lift. Atalanta stops to pick the last irresistible golden apple, which ultimately allows Hippomenes to win the race and claim her as his prize.

Unfortunately for the pair, Hippomenes fails to thank Aphrodite for her intervention, which angers the goddess. As punishment, she fills Hippomenes with a carnal desire for Atalanta. The pair stops at the Temple of Cybele, where they make love in an old

shrine. As they defile the shrine, they are once more punished by being metamorphosed into lions to draw Cybele's chariot in perpetuity. Ultimately, Atalanta does lose herself by succumbing to Hippomenes' advances, as the oracle has predicted. Aphrodite gifts (Charis A) Hippomenes with the golden apples so he can use them to attract and charm Atalanta, through their materiality, rarity, and beauty (Charis A and B). The charismatic apple brings death to Atalanta and Hippomenes as, by the end of the narrative, they are no longer humans; instead, they are enslaved lions serving as transportation power for a goddess's chariot.

Charismatic fruits also found their way into biblical narratives.[31] Indeed, in the Temptation and Fall of Adam and Eve story in the Book of Genesis, the forbidden fruit—which is not specified, but which is often represented in art as an apple, pomegranate, fig, grape, or wheat—has charisma (Genesis 3:2; 3:6).[32] In Genesis, God first created Adam and then Eve from Adam's rib to serve as his female counterpart and companion. The first man and woman were destined to live eternally, deprived of shame in Eden, the garden of God. They were free to eat fruit from any tree, except from the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil; however, the symbol of chaos and the underworld, a serpent—the Devil disguised—seduced Eve and persuaded her to eat the forbidden fruit from the tree, which she also offered to Adam, bringing about the Original Sin.

> Now, the serpent was more crafty than any of the wild animals that the Lord God had made. "Did God really say, 'You must not eat fruit from any tree of the garden'?" The woman said to the serpent, "We may eat fruit from the trees in the garden; but God did say, 'You must not eat of the fruit of the tree that is in the middle of the garden, and you must not touch it, or you will die'". "You will not certainly die", the serpent said to the woman. "For God knows that when you eat from it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like God, knowing good and evil". When the woman saw that the fruit of the tree was good for food and pleasing to the eye, and also desirable for gaining wisdom, she took some and ate it. She also gave some to her husband, who was with her, and he ate it. Then the eyes of both of them were opened, and they realized they were naked; so they sewed fig leaves together and made coverings themselves. (Genesis 3:1–7)

Eve's curiosity and vanity spark the fall of humanity; her and Adam's disobedience to God results in their expulsion from Paradise, after which they and their descendants experience pain, evil, and, ultimately, death (Figure 5). The forbidden fruit is first and foremost a gift (Charis A) from God. Its accidental propriety is that, if it is eaten, it will bring knowledge and evil into the world. Therefore, similarly to the fruits from the myth of Tantalus, the forbidden fruit's propriety is that it cannot be eaten. It differs in the fact that its consumption is still possible, as, contrarily to Tantalus, Adam and Eve were able to reach it. The forbidden fruit is attractive and beautiful, in theory; it projects Eve's thirst for the material, knowledge, and power (Charis B). According to the Devil, eating it would bring knowledge of good and evil, which could be considered a gift benefiting the community (Charis C). Nevertheless, like the *Prince of the World* from Strasbourg Cathedral, the forbidden fruit gives the illusion of Charis B, as by consuming it, Eve falls from grace (Charis B) (Figure 1). Yet, when Adam tastes the forbidden fruit, his sin is remembered as a *felix culpa* (fortunate fault), bringing good out of evil, thereby permitting the Incarnation.[33] Pope Gregory I (590–604) wrote, "unless Adam committed sin, it would not have been possible for our Redeemer to take on our flesh . . . The evil that was born from man [Adam] would bring about a good [Christ] which would also defeat evil".[34] The paradox here is that while Eve bears the blame for the Fall, Adam is accorded the dignity of passing on the result of his sinful actions (vice, pain, and death) to his descendants, which, fortunately, justifies the Incarnation. In this context, the forbidden fruit becomes a gift of redemption that benefits the community (Charis C).

Figure 5. *Temptation and Fall of Adam and Eve*, nave capital (north), Sainte-Marie-Madeleine Abbey, Vézelay, ca. 1130, Burgundy France. ©Author.

The forbidden fruit does not need to bring good to be considered charismatic when we use the Weberian definition of charisma (Charis D). As Martin Spencer argues, "The answer to the often-repeated question: 'How shall we recognize when a leader is charismatic?', is therefore simply: Find the leader towards whom these sentiments (awe and enthusiasm) are directed" (Spencer 1973, p. 352). The charismatic Devil who morphed into a snake seduced Eve into sin by using his charismatic power to control her perception of reality/truth. He was the source of her enthusiasm and curiosity to gain power through knowledge. "Weberian charisma . . . is the Sublime of personality in which", writes Paul Binski, "for all we know, the Devil has all the best tunes" (Binski 2018, p. 129). Indeed, the Devil's charisma was transferred into the forbidden fruit, translating his role of bringing the illusion of power to it, ultimately causing pain, evil, and death, and (the illusion of) becoming like God. To the accidental propriety of the forbidden fruit is added an authority, a real (pain, evil, death) and imaginary quality (becoming like God), in which it is treated as an enabler, on the basis of faith rather than reason (Weber 1947, pp. 358–59). Once transferred to the forbidden fruit, the charismatic power of the Devil becomes depersonalized, thereby a controllable force (Weber 1968, pp. 1135–36). Eve believes the Devil's words and the forbidden fruit's power, which she eats trusting that she will become as mighty as God. She consumes the fruit against her reason, which is to obey God. After being consumed, the charismatic power of the fruit is transferred into the female body of Eve, which then acquires the accidental propriety of the fruit, made visible through Eve's tempting, seductive, charismatic force that encourages Adam to taste the forbidden fruit. Seductive through her beautiful forms, body, and words, Eve's beauty, like the charisma of the Devil and the forbidden fruit, becomes an illusion, a false truth. Eve and the forbidden fruit ultimately become influencers as they are used as poster girl/fruit of seductiveness and charisma (Charis E). They gain an "x-factor" or a *je-ne-sais-quoi*, which influenced subsequent iconographies and identities.

5. Conclusions

The charismatic fruits involved in classical and medieval religious narratives and iconography have translated into our modern world, especially when it comes to pop culture and the fashion industry. They take an active part in non-phonetic scripts and cultural practices that shape our consumerist world. For instance, in the Brothers Grimm's tale, *Snow White*, which Walt Disney adapted into a movie with the same title in 1937, the Evil Queen, disguised as a farmer's wife, offers her stepdaughter a poisoned apple; the

charisma of the poisoned apple seduces Snow White, through its beauty, attractiveness, and brilliance (Charis A and B) (Walt Disney 1937) (Figure 6). Yet, once eaten, Snow White falls into a coma, or deep sleep, which could be considered a temporary death and an index of the charismatic powers of the apple. In a similar manner to the Devil's charisma transferability into the forbidden fruit in the Temptation and Fall of Adam and Eve, the charisma of the poisoned apple originates from the Evil Queen who transfers or translates it into the fruit (Charis D) (Figures 5 and 6).

Figure 6. Walt Disney, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, still from the movie, 1937. ©Disney.

In more recent years, this fairy tale, its apple, and its archaic sources (myths, biblical narratives, and iconography) inspired the advertisement campaigns of fashion powerhouses, such as Louis Vuitton, Gucci, and Hermès, which, in turn, influence (Charis E) their potential consumers to follow suit and bite into the fruits they are offering: luxurious clothes and accessories (Figures 7–9).[35] For instance, Hermès advertises one of its famous luxurious goods, the Kelly bag, using mythical charismatic fruits, such as the pomegranate (Figure 9). The fruit's attractiveness seduced Persephone into eating a few of its seeds (Charis A and B), tying her to Hades and the underworld. The mythical charisma attached to the pomegranate is transferred to the Kelly bag, seducing its potential consumers through its luxurious material and design. The charismatic role of the pomegranate is thus transferred into a commodity, a bag, which, if bought, would tie its owner to luxury, and would transform him/her into an influencer (Charis E), who sets a trend.[36]

Figure 7. Mert Atlas et Marcus Piggott, Louis Vuitton s/s 2002: *Snow White.* ©Groupe LVMH.

Figure 8. Ignasi Monreal, *Utopian Fantasy Series*, detail, Gucci s/s 2018, digital painting. ©Gucci.

Figure 9. Kelly bag with pomegranates. ©Hermès.

Furthermore, adverts, such as the ones for Dolce & Gabbana and Chanel perfumes featuring Scarlett Johansson and Keira Knightley, often present a seductive woman who, with her body and gaze, tempts the audience with a charismatic forbidden fruit from the Genesis narrative, which takes the form of a perfume bottle (Figures 10 and 11). The iconography presented in these marketing campaigns mimic the one featuring Eve and the forbidden fruit in Romanesque sculptures (Figure 5). Also, Donna Karan used the apple as the bottle design and marketing strategy for DKNY's *Red Delicious*, *Be Delicious*, and *Be Tempted* campaigns, where a female model is pictured after biting (or about to bite) into an appealing apple (Figures 12 and 13). The inanimate object—the perfume—inherits the charismatic power of the forbidden fruit from Genesis. The perfume's charisma then translates into the seductive model, which influences the consumer to purchase the charismatic product, the perfume, so they too could be metamorphosed into the charisma that the ad is attempting to sell. Moreover, through its various products, the company Apple fully absorbs the iconographical and narrative embodiments of charismatic fruits—especially the charisma of the forbidden fruit, through its name and bitten apple logo. In this light, Apple—the company and its products—could be regarded as charismatic, as it seduces more than 200 million consumers every year.[37]

Figure 10. Rose the One, featuring Scarlett Johansson ©Dolce & Gabbana.

Figure 11. *Coco Mademoiselle*, featuring Keira Knightley, 2013. ©Chanel.

Figure 12. Donna Karan, *Be Tempted perfume* ad. ©DKNY.

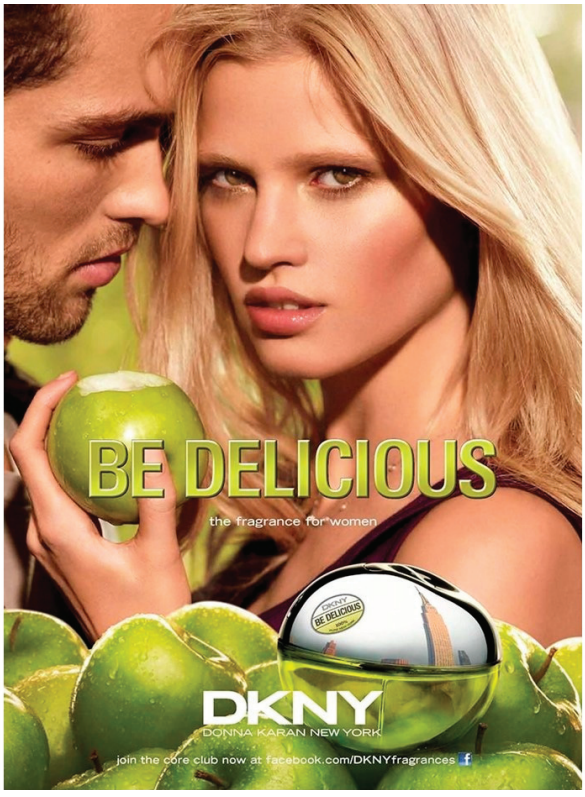

Figure 13. Donna Karan, *Be Delicious* ad. ©DKNY.

Finally, following a thorough exploration of the etymological source (*charis*) and polysemic conceptualization of the term charis, which I have categorized into five distinct meanings or charismata (Charis A, B, C, D, and E), I argued that fruits could be addressed as agents that possess and/or inherit charismatic properties, within a given literary and/or art historical context. At times ambiguous and/or metaphorical, charismatic fruits can be defined as accidental actors (agents), that enable an index (affect), within a given iconography and/or (mythological and/or biblical) narrative. Charismatic fruits have found their way (or translated themselves) into our contemporary visual and literary context as they continue to emanate their different charisma in our culture that is bombarded by advertising, images, and products. These fruits form part of this context to sell us a product, idea, trend, and/or dream.

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Notes

1 The reproduction of film stills and fashion campaigns in this paper is strictly limited to academic purposes, following the principles of fair use of copyrighted materials (Copyright Act, Section 107).

2 "The terms 'charisma,' 'aura,' and 'enchantment,' can be profitably rehabilitated as critical concepts to analyze art, literature, and films, their aesthetics, their impact on the audience, and the psychology of both star and fan". (Jaeger 2012, p. 9). "While social scientists have generated a massive literature on charisma, historians have made relatively little use of the concept" (Bell 2020, p. 233). See also (Zúquete 2012).

3 The word derives from the Proto-Indo-European term *gher-* (to like, want, desire, grace, favor, pleasure, delight). For the etymological survey of χάρις, see (MacLachlan 1993, p. 4). See also (Beekes 2010).

4 Χάριτες (charities) is the plural of Χάρις (charis).

5 In *Odyssey* 8, 270, Aphrodite is described as the wife of Hephaestus, inferring a close connexion and resemblance between the two divinities (Aphrodite and Charis), that entertained similar notions of beauty and grace. See (Smith 1873, p. 228).

6 "And Charis of the gleaming veil came forward and marked her—fair Charis, whom the famed god of the two strong arms had wedded . . . So saying the bright goddess led her on . . . "

7 "And Eurynome, the daughter of Ocean, beautiful in form, bore him [Zeus] three fair-cheeked Charites (Graces), Aglaea, and Euphrosyne, and lovely Thaleia, from whose eyes as they glanced flowed love that unnerves the limbs: and beautiful is their glance beneath their brows". See also, (Liddell and Scott 1901, p. 1084).

8 An accidental propriety is one that does not affect the essence of a thing or person; it is a characteristic that an object and/or a person could have, but that is neither necessary, nor shared by all.

9 Affect will be discussed in the "Object Agency" section of this article.

10 In "The Notion of Charisma: Historicizing the Gift of God on Medieval Europe", Jaume Aurell argues that some of the *charismata*, such as the gift of tongues, only benefit the person who receives them (Aurell 2022, p. 610).

11 Romans 1:11, 5:15, 16, 6:23, 11:29, 12:6; 1 Corinthians 1:7, 7:7, 12:4, 9, 28, 30, 31; 2 Corinthians 1:11; 1 Timothy 4:14; 2 Timothy 1:6; and 1 Peter 4:1.

12 These gifts are charity (love), joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, generosity, gentleness, faithfulness, modesty, self-control, and chastity. Aurell also mentions forgiveness (Aurell 2022, p. 619).

13 See also Romans 12.

14 Following Jaeger's thesis, I wish to argue that because the Church Fathers themselves were heavily influenced by classical thinkers, the apostles, and St Paul, a classical, ethical revival did not necessarily occur in the Middle Ages. Indeed, when it comes to characterizing the Roman*esque*, it may in fact be more accurate to refer to a survival and syncretisation of classical

thought, rather than a classical renaissance. The very designation of the Romanesque, or any post-antique movement, must have a *translatio* (translation) of some sort, where the past lived on into the future.

15 Decorum includes clothing, gestures, beauty, and elegance.

16 See figure: Mosan School, *Henri de Blois Plaques*, 1050–1171 (ca. before 1171), The British Museum, London, England. BM1852,0327.1 Available online: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/113691003 (accessed on 27 April 2023)

17 "ARS AVRO GEMMISQ [UE] PRIOR, PRIOR OMNIBVS AVTOR. DONA DAT HENRICVS VIVVS IN ERE DEO, MENTE PAREM MVSIS [ET] MARCO VOCE PRIOREM. FAME VIRIS, MORES CONCILIANT SUPERIS". Also inscribed within the scene: "HENRICUS EPISCOP".

18 See figure: Portrait of King Richard II, mid-1390s, Westminster Abbey, London, England. Available online: https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/royals/richard-ii-and-anne-of-bohemia#i17860 (accessed on 27 April 2023).

19 Alfons Puigarnau's article devoted to Ernst H. Kantorowicz's concept of synthronos involving charisma could apply to the study of the iconography of the Sedes Sapientiae. See Puigarnau's article featured in this special issue for more details.

20 In *Categories* 2, Aristotle discusses the difference between substantial and accidental predication, using prose, such as "Socrates is a man", and "Socrates is white". In *Metaphysics*, Aristotle is concerned with the ontological priority of the substance. He argues that it exists/is independently, while accidents do not exist/are independent of (their being in) a substance.

21 Objects could also be anthropomorphic when they are assigned human characteristics, or act as personifications when they are attributed human qualities, characteristics, and behaviours.

22 Some fruits are bringers of life, such as the fruit of the womb (Jesus), and the fruit of the vine. For examples of passages referring to the fruit of the womb, see Deuteronomy 7:13, 28:4; Ecclesiastes 11:5; Genesis 1:28; Isaiah 44:24; Jeremiah 1:4–5; John 3:16–17; Luke 1:42; 23:29; Psalms 127:1–5; 128:3. For examples of passages referring to the fruit of the vine, see John 15:1–27; 1 John 5:6–9; Luke 1:15; 22:18; Mark 14:23–25; Matthew 26:27–29; Song of Solomon 7.

23 Pomegranates are also symbols of marriage.

24 See figure: Dante Gabriele Rossetti, *Proserpine*, 1874, Tate Britain. N05064. Available online: https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/rossetti-proserpine-n05064 (accessed on 27 April 2023).

25 See also (Embler 1968, p. 393).

26 See figure: Anonymous (imitation of Ribera), *Tantalus*, 17th century, Museo del Prado. P003784. Available online: https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/tantalus/7c3996b9-5340-43d2-9a83-a924509b7918 (accessed on 27 April 2023).

27 See figure: Master of the Cité des Dames and workshop and to the Master of the Duke of Bedford, *The Judgment of Paris*, in Christine de Pizan, *Collected works ('The Book of the Queen')* MS Harley 4431 fol 128v, ca. 1410–1414, British Library. Available online: https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_4431 (accessed on 27 April 2023).

28 Eris is an archetype for Maleficent in the fairy tale *Sleeping Beauty.*

29 These three goddesses formed an archetype for the Evil Queen in the fairy tale *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*.

30 See figure: Master of the Cité des Dames and workshop and to the Master of the Duke of Bedford, *Atalanta and Hippomenes*, in Christine de Pizan, *Collected works ('The Book of the Queen')* MS Harley 4431 fol 128r, ca. 1410–1414, British Library. Available online: https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_4431 (accessed on 27 April 2023).

31 There are over 60 mentions of fruits in the Bible, such as, Proverbs 7:2, 25:11; 2 Samuel 6:19; Numbers 13:23; Genesis 40: 9–11; Matthew 3:10, 12:33; Deuteronomy 8:7–8; Haggai 2:19; and Joel 1:12, to name a few.

32 The forbidden fruit was and still is associated mainly with an apple because Saint Jerome used the Latin words "malum" and "malus" as puns meaning "apple" and "evil", when translating the Bible from Greek to the Vulgate.

33 *Exultet*, an Easter Vigil hymn most likely written by Saint Ambrose, remembers the fortunate fault (fortunate Original Sin) as committed by Adam. "O certe necessarium Adae peccatum, quod Christi morte deletum est! O felix culpa, quae talem ac tantum meruit habere Redemptorem!" (O truly needful/needed sin of Adam, blotted out by the death of Christ! O fortunate fault, that deserved to have so great Redeemer!) (*De Vigilia Paschali*, 776N). See also (Newman 2013, pp. 13–24).

34 "Et quidem, nisi Adam peccaret, Redempiorem nostrum carnem suscipere nostram non oporteret . . . homo nasciturus est, ex illo malo, bonum, quod malum, illud vinceret" (Saint Gregory the Great, PL 79:179B).

35 For a survey of contemporary marketing, influencer strategies, and the fashion industry, see (SanMiguel 2020).

36 A commodity is, in the first place, an object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another . . . From a cultural perspective, the production of commodities is also a cultural and cognitive process: commodities must be not only produced materially as things, but also culturally marked as being a certain kind of thing" (Appadurai 1988, pp. 7, 64). For more information on object agency, see (Gell 1998, pp. 5–11).

37 This article was written on a MacBook Air in hope of absorbing the charismatic powers of the latter.

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«Ipse Perspicis Scilicet»: The Relation between Army and Religion in Constantinian Propaganda

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Abstract: This study aims to explore the connection between religious and military spheres in Constantinian propaganda. The extensive use of propaganda and the notorious public discourse which involves the dynamics of power during Late Antiquity show how religion and the military played a key role. This principle reaches a singular meaning in the case of emperor Constantine I. To this extent, this paper considers several kinds of sources, which include legal, literary, and numismatic, among others. An analysis of the political uses of imperial constitutions by the emperor (especially *CTh* 7.20.2) can be of particular interest in order to address the ideas of self-representation and the politics of legitimation. Ultimately, the paper highlights the importance of imperial propaganda in Later Roman society, as well as the transformations in Constantine's public discourse, where the connection between army and religion shows an evolution from the previous ways of understanding imperial power and where the bond of the ruler with a supreme divinity is a central issue.

Keywords: Constantine I; Roman law; Late Antiquity; Roman army; providentia; political propaganda; charisma

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1. Introduction

Emperor Constantine I (*reg*. 306–337) and his political profile have been thoroughly addressed in specialized studies on diverse perspectives of his rule and his own personality. At the same time, the relevance of the Roman army during the Imperial period and, in particular, during Late Antiquity, cannot be understood without the authority figure of Constantine. Therefore, a large number of imperial constitutions related to the army and other interrelated elements (such as military veterans) were issued during the times of Constantine and can be found in the main compilations of Roman law. This circumstance highlights the interventionist approach of Constantine and his vigorous engagement in the legislative field, and, in consequence, it stresses the interest of imperial power in the army as an institution with a fundamental role in Later Roman society.

While there is extensive literature addressing the wide-ranging discussion about the use of religion as an element in the discourses of legitimacy during the age of Constantine and his personal relationship with Christian practice, a lack of studies that focus in detail on the connection between the military and religion from legal and historical perspectives can also be observed. In this regard, an imperial constitution enacted by Constantine and collected in the *Codex Theodosianus* (*CTh* 7.20.2) is a necessary reference to emphasize the public dimension of religion in Late Antiquity. The peculiar nature of the mentioned law illustrates the close bond between religion and military as two of the main pillars of political power, a reality which is seen even before Constantine's rise.

Several well-renowned specialists have discussed the "conversion" of Constantine to Christianity, his religious concerns, and the effect upon his political image with diverse methodologies and results. Among others, the historian Jacob Burckhardt approached Constantine's personality from a political point of view. To some scholars, Burckhardt was clearly influenced by the theses of Gibbon (Kudrycz 2011, p. 153), as well as by the context of the cultural and religious crisis of the period and by his own religious experience

(Sigurdson 2004, p. 34). Therefore, Burckhardt shows an evident ambivalence towards the emperor. The portrayal of Constantine as some sort of Machiavelli *avant la lettre* in his early work *Die Zeit Constantins des Großen* (1853) touches the borders of anachronism or, at least, leads us to question the impartiality of the author. Burckhardt argues that Constantine balances political realism with ambition and uses Christian religion as a mere instrument. As such, his conversion would only be a result of his political skills without a spiritual ground. Despite the worthiness of Burckhardt's contributions to historical theory, several voices have emphasized the possibility of genuine religiosity of Constantine, who has been considered «a sincere believer in the Christian Deity» (Odahl 2004, p. 108) by authors such as Odahl[1]. Even though the knowledge of Constantine regarding theological matters could have been limited, we can only challenge the simplified view of Constantine as «a politician interested only in the power that church could help him achieve» (Drake 2006, p. 112). In contrast to Burckhardt's disputed opinion, some moderate positions, as shown by the opinions of Alföldi (1976) or Barnes (1981), accept a genuine conversion to Christianity by Constantine, although with different nuances in each case.

However, Burckhardt's intuition about the political context is indeed appropriate when we take into account that certain actions and decisions made by Constantine did, in fact, have political consequences. This point does not necessarily mean that Constantine's motivations were strictly and solely political. Constantine was to a large extent a product of the Later Roman tetrarchic system and, as a result, the legal and administrative solutions charted during his rule could not be understood but as a gradual continuation from some of the developments that had occurred during the Age of Diocletian and the final decades of the third century.

As for the traditional narrative about Constantine's conversion and his rise to the throne, mainly built over the writings of Eusebius, and later crystallized around Zosimus', it could be a consequence of the alignment of interests between Roman political power and the Christian circles. Eusebius recounts how in a complex context of civil wars and instability, Constantine, seeking for divine help, experiences a waking vision and a subsequent image of «the Christ of God»[2] that led him to worship the Christian God before the decisive Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312. It is well known that sources argue that the victorious legions of Constantine fought under the labarum, a military standard with the Greek monogram *chi-rho* (*XP*), a reference to Christ[3]. Despite the clear hostility towards pagan gods in the narration[4], it is feasible to argue that at that time there was no clear awareness of Constantine's separation from pagan symbolism (Rodríguez Gervás 1990, p. 52), an aspect that will be verified in the present study from a corpus of diverse sources.

The Christian literature of the period, therefore, displays a providentialist view of the military victories of Constantine[5]. In that context, Eusebius asserts in his *Ecclesiastical History* and his *Life of Constantine* that the emperor was led by divine intervention[6]. According to the bishop of Caesarea, it was piety and faith in the true God that procured the victory in combat (*VC* II, 29) rather than military strength. In contrast to the failures of previous emperors (namely Diocletian) who did not gain God's favor, Eusebius explains how Christian faith granted Constantine those decisive victories. For Constantine, God was «both the God of creation and the God of Battles», as Potter (2013, p. 224) expresses.

That discourse must be placed in the mentioned context of mutual interests. Constantine would welcome a reinforcement of his political legitimacy, whereas Christian theologians longed for an approximation and a more favorable treatment from imperial power in their search for recognition. Accordingly, with the rapprochement to Constantine, the Christian intellectuals of the period could have pondered the necessity to achieve a model of ruler that could be emulated by the future emperors, especially in the defense and protection of Christian belief (Cortés 2018, p. 90).

That circumstance should not lead us to dismiss the presence of a calculated ambiguity in Constantine's public profile, particularly in the religious sphere, and its connection with the army as an argument for his legitimacy. For that reason, two main elements will be examined in this paper: on one hand, the imperial constitution contained in *CTh* 7.20.2, as

a sample of how legal provisions enacted by emperors in this period conveyed normative innovations but, at the same time, were also a powerful ideological resource. On the other hand, a cursory examination regarding several examples from the coinage of the times of Constantine will enable us to reflect on the close links between the army and religion in Constantinian propaganda and discourses of power.

2. The Connection between Army and Religion in Constantine's Ideological Profile with Special Reference to *CTh* 7.20.2

As mentioned in the introduction, we will start to delve into the connection between army and religion in Constantine's public profile from the legislative text collected in *CTh* 7.20.2. In order to elaborate our hypothesis, it is necessary to approximate the homage required in the emperor's presence[7] during Late Antiquity and the impossibility of ever distinguishing the political and religious spheres of power in this historical context. For that purpose, the Byzantine historian Joannes Zonaras presents some interesting assertions in his *Epitome Historiarum*. In particular, Zonaras (*Epit*. 12.31) reflects about how the emperor came to require elevated gestures of homage and even worship during the Tetrarchy and explicitly mentions the emperor Diocletian, with an obvious aversion:

> Καὶ ἄλλους δὲ πολλοὺς πολέμους κατώρθωσαν Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανός, τοὺς μὲν δι' ἑαυτῶν ἢ τῶν Καισάρων, τοὺς δὲ διὰ στρατηγῶν, καὶ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς βασιλείας ἐπλάτυναν. οἷς ἐπαρθεὶς ὁ Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ μέγα φρονήσας οὐκέτι προσαγορεύεσθαι παρὰ τῆς γερουσίας ὡς πρώην ἠνείχετο, ἀλλὰ προσκυνεῖσθαι ἐθέσπισε, καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα χρυσῷ καὶ λίθοις καὶ μαργάροις ἐκόσμησε, καὶ πλείονα πολυτέλειαν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς παρασήμοις ἐνέθετο. οἱ πρώην γὰρ βασιλεῖς κατὰ τοὺς ὑπάτους τετίμηντο, καὶ τῆς βασιλείας παράσημον μόνον εἶχον πορφυροῦν περιβόλαιον.

It is only logical to think that Zonaras could have been influenced by his Orthodox Christian faith in his animosity towards Diocletian, but his account seems historically plausible and shows how the public depiction of emperors would be transformed through time, with the obvious precedent of monarchies to Rome's East (Sassanids in particular)[8]. Therefore, the ceremonial revering of the emperor and the degree of divinization given to Later Roman emperors has been subject to many and diverse interpretations, but it can be concluded that, in a setting of cultural heterogeneity, the emperors and the worship which surrounded them acquired a sense of commonality and were «the main common reference for their inhabitants» (Olmo López 2018, p. 428).

Considering this general framework, we should refer directly to the constitution from which our exposition originates. The mentioned imperial constitution can be found in the chapter dedicated to military veterans in the *Codex Theodosianus* (*CTh* 7.20) and it is a valuable source to understand the behavior of imperial propaganda and the visibility of the imperial cult in that time, a territory where legislation plays a key function. In this sense, the innovations undergone in the legal field during the rule of Constantine cannot be explained only by the influx of Christianity nor be evaluated as a breakaway with the period of the Tetrarchy, for, as Dillon (2012, p. 88) notes, «the changes that legislative style underwent in the final years of the reign of Diocletian were inherited, not by Constantine alone, but by all members of the tetrarchic college».

For those who are used to the study of Roman legal sources, a *prima facie* examination clearly reveals the unusual nature of the fragment both in its style and content. Beyond the phenomenon of synthesis and abstraction of legal principles and solutions which can be typically perceived in the legal compilations, to which Prof. Archi (1970, p. 159) already referred a few decades ago as the «massimazione» of Roman legal sources, *CTh* 7.20.2 shows a longer and (quite possibly) complete text. This feature provides us with a very relevant context. Along with it, the regulation strikes by its accented literary nature, as it can be observed from the beginning of the excerpt:

> Cum introisset principia et salutatus esset a praefectis et tribunis et viris eminentissimis, adclamatum est: Auguste Constantine, dii te nobis servent: vestra salus nostra salus: vere dicimus, iurati dicimus.

This first fragment is a faithful reflection of the transformations experienced in the referred public image of emperors. It contains a remarkable reference to divinity, along with an unequivocal providentialist perspective in the figure of the «Augustus Constantine», as it establishes a connection between the fate of the troops, of Roman society, and the life of the emperor itself («vestra salus nostra salus»)[9]. In our opinion, the reference to the Gods (in plural; «dii te nobis servent») by the rank and file, which was promptly redacted by the Justinian compilers in their *Codex*[10], could be another point to sustain the evidence for the prevalence of pagan beliefs within the Roman Army in this period.

On this subject, Odahl notes that Constantine carried out «specific actions clearly indicating that he henceforth expected Christianity to be accepted as the official religion of the Roman Empire» (Odahl 2004, p. 185). In addition to that, the same author also affirms that «the imperial courts and the military camps of Constantine were thus becoming openly Christian and were setting examples for the remainder of the Roman Empire» (Odahl 2004, p. 173). Such a statement is at least questionable if we consider the writings of Late Antique authors, such as Libanius (*Orat*. 30.6) or Zosimus (II.29.5), where it can be perceived how the majority of the high established bureaucracy and the upper echelons of the army were still pagan. After an introduction in medias res where the acclamation of Constantine by his troops takes place, the constitution then establishes a dialogue between the emperor and a group of the veterans present in the barracks:

> Adunati veterani exclamaverunt: Constantine Aug, quo nos veteranos factos, si nullam indulgentiam habemus? Constantinus A. dixit: Magis magisque conveteranis meis beatitudinem augere debeo quam minuere.

The literary style and the dialogue are indeed unusual in the legal compilations, and they reveal a manifest idealization, with the aim, as Marcone (1987, p. 228) suggests, of «non privare il testo de la sua originale vivacità riducendolo al solo dispositivo». The rare literary style of the text, which is hardly recognizable when we consider the expectation of homage for the emperor during the period, emerges again with a new display of the abrupt and dramatic style that Pharr considers as characteristic from the legislation enacted by Constantine (Pharr 1952, p. 179).

> Victorinus veteranus dixit: muneribus et oneribus universis locis conveniri non sinamur. Constantinus A. dixit: Apertius indica; quae sunt maxime munera, quae vos contumaciter gravant? Universi veterani dixerunt: ipse perspicis scilicet. Constantinus A. dixit: iam nunc munificentia mea omnibus veteranis id esse concessum perspicuum sit, ne quis eorum nullo munere civili neque in operibus publicis conveniatur neque in nulla conlatione neque a magistratibus neque vectigalibus.

In this sense, it is evident that in a strictly legal context it would be irrelevant to specify the identity of the veteran («Victorinus») who addresses Constantine in the narrated scene. Nonetheless, it is a clever literary device intended to place the addressees of the regulation in place with a masterful liveliness and, as it has been previously noted, the passage «contribuye a eliminar la abstracción propia de los textos jurídicos y a aportar una mayor cercanía a los receptores de la constitución» (Corona Encinas 2021, p. 173). By reducing the typical abstraction of legal sources, Constantine places the soldiers as both the protagonists and the audience of the precept. This trait can also be found in other examples of propaganda issued by Constantine, as it will be later addressed.

The text continues in a more aseptic style with the development of a battery of privileges granted to the veterans, such as exemptions from public service («munere civili»), public works («in operibus publicis»), magistracies («magistratibus»), or taxes («vectigalibus»). However, it is interesting to highlight the generous attitude («munificentia mea»)

tied to Constantine in the law. Constantinian magnanimity and his repeated tendency to extend privileges to other strata and to «all the provinces» are praised by Eusebius (*VC*, II, 22) in a context of ample political and religious concessions. Moreover, we should add the projection of the emperor not just as a seasoned military commander but as a far-reaching and thoroughly engaged leader from the veterans' perspective («Universi veterani dixerunt: ipse perspicis scilicet»). The term «universi» also raises the possibility of a reference to all the army veterans (and not just those who served under Constantine) as the recipients of the precept.

One could wonder about the reasons that moved the compilers of the Theodosian Code to keep such an uncommon ordinance unaltered and why some centuries later it was also added to the *Codex Iustinianus* with some minor alterations. In this framework, it could be argued that the reason behind its preservation lay, firstly, in the inherent legal value of the content but, at the same time, in this value and uniqueness from a formal point of view as well. Hence, it could have been incorporated as an example of the imperial proceedings of audience (Connolly 2010, p. 93), despite the stylized and shortened nature displayed in the text. Notwithstanding the motivations of Constantine, studying some of the sources of the period allows us to determine that the emperor makes a frequent use of public speeches and discourses, a tendency that only shows his awareness towards propaganda and communication as resources of political usefulness[11].

For that reason, Constantine would use legal sources in order to portray a suitable picture of imperial power, and, to that effect, the mentioned imperial constitution, *CTh* 7.20.2, is a singular case. As it has been mentioned, the imperial chancery intended to carry out a highly stylized literary representation of an ordinary situation in the daily life of military camps, which generally would have no place in a legislative piece[12]. The goal is no other than to represent the emperor as a caring, generous, and open-to-dialogue leader. At the same time, the troops can be understood as both a featured player and an audience in this constitution. Thus, the excerpt is a new realization of the social and political relevance of the army and the veterans in this period and, ultimately, allows us to confirm the importance of imperial cult and religion in the Later Roman society (and, particularly, in Roman army) as key vectors in the discourses of power.

The complex periodization of the precept[13] complicates a possible estimation of dates, but as it has been duly observed, the munificent spirit that can be found in texts such as *CTh* 7.20.1 or 7.20.2 would be coherent with the fact that for Constantine, a stronger position could justify the limitation of the privileges granted to the soldiers that were initially more generous (Corona Encinas 2021, p. 177). The argument of the transition from an initial munificent policy by Constantine can be assessed from legal sources as *CTh* 7.20.3, more fitting to the typical features of Late Roman imperial legislation and more restrictive in the concessions granted. While it could be argued that the condition of the military had long been a concern for Roman emperors, the significance of Constantine's initiatives in this regard is shown by the large number of laws issued and their relevance. The title 7.20 of the *Codex Theodosianus*, devoted to the army veterans, contains 13 fragments from constitutions. Five of them have been attributed to Constantine. His relevance is even greater regarding the title 7.22 («Sons of military men, of apparitors, and of veterans») with 5 constitutions out of 12 ascribed to Constantine. This could stress the fact that the army played a fundamental role in Constantine's political agenda.

It is true, though, that legislation is far from being the most usual propaganda media for imperial power, as we have already noted. Therefore, the striking union among religion, imperial adoration, and the army in a legal source could be backed by suggestive sources of comparison in other kinds of primary sources. As an obvious example, we can refer to the central inscription in the notorious Arch of Constantine in Rome [*CIL* 6.1139 (=*ILS* 694)], which includes the expression «INSTINCTV DIVINITATIS». Those terms have been a matter of discussion and analysis for historians[14] and we could only argue that in his search for a legitimacy based on charisma, Constantine would mention an ambiguous

divinity that, as such, would be welcomed by the senatorial ranks and the nobility more attached to pagan beliefs.

Furthermore, certain scenes of military nature displayed in the reliefs of the Arch underpin some of the ideas suggested in the examination of *CTh* 7.20.2. Thus, in the reliefs located in the south side, Constantine is depicted as the charismatic declaimer who pronounces an *adlocutio* in front of his troops. At the same time, the emperor is also represented wearing a plain robe, surrounded by his soldiers in yet another costumbrist scene, which resembles the situation given in *CTh* 7.20.2. Once again, the aim is to show a leader close to his troops, open to dialogue but also pious and observant of traditional cults. Overall, religion emerges once again in the military sphere to be closely tied to the victories of Constantine. For that reason, it should not come as a surprise that one of the main objectives of the Arch was to strengthen «il concetto di immortalità e di eternità del potere imperiale e della dimensione cosmica della vittoria costantiniana» (Pensabene 1999, p. 13). The religious ambiguity in the public representations of Constantine is again at stake, for the pagan symbolism (Bleckmann 2015, p. 319) and, in particular, *Sol Invictus* are ubiquitous in the Arch. This circumstance led to the assertion that the solar divinity would have at least the same importance as Christ in that moment for Constantine (Wallraff 2001, p. 256).

Notwithstanding the evidence of this monument, it is true that the Christian authors of the period speak highly of Constantine as a leader who champions Christian faith since a relatively early moment, and, as a consequence, the emperor would firmly legislate against traditional cults, according to Eusebius' *De Vita Constantini* (*VC* II, 43–45). Several of those laws would affect the military, but if we consider the evidence, the authenticity of many of such alleged anti-pagan laws is questionable, since the only available source is Eusebius himself[15]. As an example, Eusebius mentions that Constantine decreed Sunday as a public feast day in 321 and, subsequently, every soldier should gather during that day for a common prayer (*VC* IV, 18). However, the so-called *Law of Dies Solis*, whose text has not been fully preserved, must be understood in a scenario of control of traditional of cults, as a reaction to the political measures carried out by Licinius, and, therefore, we should assume that the disposition was not intended to «Christianize» the official calendar, as Moreno Resano (2009, p. 189) points.

Eusebius' narration of Constantine as an anti-pagan legislator can be contrasted with the cautious and pragmatic attitude shown by the emperor in his actions, and, consequentially, it seems clear that the presence of an openly anti-pagan policy by the emperor in the *Life of Constantine* responds to partial (and quite possibly distorted) use of the context by Eusebius (Guillén Arró 2015, p. 296). As vehement as Eusebius was, legal evidence seems to be in accordance with the pragmatic tolerance displayed by Constantine also in the military sphere. At most, scholars such as Bradbury admit that even if certain anti-pagan laws were issued, the actual enforcement is questionable (Bradbury 1994, p. 139). With that in mind, the alleged initiatives opposing traditional religious cults would have had no direct effects over the army in that period, as it can be drawn from a brief analysis of *CTh* 7.20.2 and the rest of the sources presented. In this sense, Barbero (2016, p. 669) goes in the same direction when he tackles the attitude displayed by Constantine:

> [. . .] nel caso delle leggi a favore della Chiesa, significa piuttosto segnalare che anche quando innovava, l'imperatore lo fece sempre nei termini piú mascherati e meno traumatici, presentando i suoi provvedimienti in termini tali da suscitare il minimo possibili di opposizione e di scandalo. L'immagine che ne esce è quella di un sovrano estremamente coerente nei suoi procedimenti, sempre attento a non urtare nessun interesse costituito e con un'estrema sensibilità, anche verbale, alla costruzione del consenso.

As a result, Constantine's legislative measures that would favor Christian religion did not entail an anti-pagan stance. Additionally, the providentialist perspective of Constantine in the military field, which, to a certain extent, can be found in *CTh* 7.20.2, is not exclusive of Christian authors. In this regard, the panegyrics elaborate their own arguments and

exhibit a pronounced military triumphalism. Constantine's victories are considered within the special bond of the emperor with the divine sphere, similarly to the style posed in the mentioned inscription in the Arch of Constantine. For the authors of the panegyrics, the triumphs of Constantine also have a providentialist character, as the divine promise of victory («divinitus») in *Paneg*. IX (12).3.3 reveals. In a similar fashion, the discourse also alludes to the divine connections of Constantine:

> Habes profecto aliquod cum illa mente divina, Constantine, secretum, quae delegata nostri diis minoribus cura uni se tibi dignatur ostendere [*Paneg*. IX (12).2.5].

Here, the author of the panegyric refers to a special relationship between Constantine and a supreme divinity («mente divina») which has only been revealed to him. Because of this, it is noticeable that the visions do not only have a Christian shade in Constantinian propaganda since the pagan sources had equally referred to episodes with apparent similarities before. It is also worth mentioning that the expression «diis minoribus» could lead to a henotheistic interpretation before a gradual shift towards monotheism, which again supports the thesis of the transition and the uniqueness of Constantine's propaganda. As Lenski (2015, p. 53) notes, Constantine made «little effort to repress traditional victory imagery, not even when it verged into polytheism».

Another of the panegyrics expounds the vision experienced by Constantine in 310, before the famous event of Milvian Bridge, although in this case, the author expressly mentions the god Apollo. It is true that there is a common feature between them, stemming from the solar nature of both incidents and, therefore, one can understand that the undetermined divinity referenced would be *Sol Invictus*. This argument is closely related with the presence of *Sol Invictus* and Victory as the protective divinities of the army in a remarkable number of public representations from Constantinian Age (Bergmann 1997, p. 115), which will be briefly considered in the next section and in our opinion deserves more scholarly attention.

Similarly, Nazarius' panegyric on Constantine (321) broaches the idea of military success as a consequence of divine favor. Before praising Constantine's military skills and virtues as a leader, the orator refers to God («deus») in singular and without any specific name [*Paneg*. IV (10).7.3]. Immediately after, Nazarius transcends political and military arguments and justifies divine intervention as the main cause of Constantine's fortune:

> [. . .] illa pietatem tuam texit, illa nefariam illius tyranni fregit amentiam, illa inuictum exercitum tuum tot uictoriarum conscientia plenis pectoribus ardentem tantis insuper uiribus iuuit, quantas praestare aut deus potuit aut amor tuus debuit, ut horrendas acies, ut incognita ferri et corporum robora fulmineus miles euerteret, ut, quidquid instruxerat diuturni sceleris longa molitio, felici congressione consumeres [*Paneg*. IV (12).7.4].

Along with yet another example of the connection between military and religious sphere found in the discourse of the period, two minor points need to be highlighted. Firstly, the use of the term «invictum». The formula «Invictus», with obvious divine reverberations, was frequently used in Constantinian propaganda, although its use drastically decays after 324. Secondly, Nazarius refers to Constantine's rival as a «tyrant» («tyranni»). This mention to Maxentius is particularly interesting amidst of the complicated relations between Constantine and Licinius that led to the resumption of the civil war in 324 and, ultimately, to Constantine's victory. Nazarius' speech could pave the way for Constantine's final campaign and, as Omissi (2018, p. 152) believes, the text can be considered as a «subtle invective that must have been beginning to be levelled at Licinius during this period».

As a result of the evidence presented, it is only safe to assume the will of Constantine to be perceived as a leader with monotheistic beliefs, with a privileged connection with a sole supreme god whose identity is not openly developed at this stage and who had a direct effect over the results of the emperor in his military actions. It is safe to assume that these messages would have been especially intended for the troops. However, an approach

to this side of Constantinian propaganda would be fragmentary if the ample coinage of the period, a fundamental resource to enlighten the public visibility of imperial power, was not taken into account.

3. Some Cases of Interest Regarding Army, Religion and Reverence for the Emperors in the Coinage of Constantine

The coinage in the Age of Constantine indeed represents a broad and substantial corpus, covering a period of roughly three decades. To this we should add special interest in coins as a particularly suitable propaganda resource because of their simplicity in interpretation by any recipient, as currency «serviva anche a comunicare con le masse, a creare un universo simbolico condiviso e trasmettere l'ideologia del pottere» (Barbero 2016, p. 239). Consequently, it is hardly surprising that the public discourse based on the influence of religion on military aspects has a remarkable presence in Constantine's coinage. In order to ponder the argued relationship between army and religion in Constantine's propaganda, we should mainly refer to three cases of interest, which strengthen the links between religious and military spheres, both of them related to the idea of imperial cult.

In dealing with Constantine's coinage, firstly, we will mention the coins under the legend «BEATA TRANQVILLITAS». The series, circumscribed to the mints in Londinium, Lugdunum and Treveri, shares some elements which can be considered as unequivocally symbolic and spiritual. Such elements are, in most cases, an orb and an altar under three stars. Along with this, the inscription «VOT/IS/XX» is frequent and refers to the vows (*uota*) taken after the first 15 years of Constantine's rule in order to secure the divine favor. It is worth noting that some issuances of the *Beata tranqvillitas* series (*RIC* VII *Londinium* 208–215; 218, 229–235, among others) do not display Constantine but his son Crispus instead, emphasizing the dynastic vision of power by Constantine[16]. On these coins, the orb does not have a modern meaning, representing the Earth. In contrast, it can be understood as a Roman depiction of Cosmos under the shape of a celestial orb. Therefore, the sense is purely spiritual and not as pragmatic as the usual concept of the Roman «pax». Along with this, the concept of «tranquillitas» can later be found in pagan philosophers such as Seneca but also in the writings of Christian authors, such as St. Augustine. In sum, the symbolism of this series allows Constantine to present himself as a sovereign ruler and expands on his divine bonding.

Among the relevant motifs used, Constantine also makes extensive use of the *topos* of military victory in his coins. That is not an innovation developed by our ruler but a common place in the imperial public discourses since the Early Roman empire, for the idea of imperial victory was especially used in numismatic propaganda with the intention to glorify military triumphs (González-Conde Puente 1991, p. 19).

Secondly, it is necessary to touch on the coinage with the legend «PROVIDENTIA», which connects with the providentialist vision of military victories. Because of that, on the head of the mentioned example, Constantine is shown as an authority figure, wearing a crown and in military attire, whereas the reverse displays the cited legend. The idea of *providentia* in the coinage and the public discourse in Rome is neither an original construction elaborated by Constantine since it is relatively common since the times of Caesar (Stevenson et al., p. 659). Generally speaking, the term has an implicit religious sense, which alludes to the direct intervention of divine forces in the human sphere. Nevertheless, *providentia*, as Noreña (2011, p. 95) notes, can also be connected to the imperial will to grant political stability, peace, and prosperity to their subjects. The use of a plural form in these cases («PROVIDENTIAE CAESS», «PROVIDENTIAE AVGG») is meaningful, as perhaps it could again be linked to the dynastic project undertaken by Constantine.

In the particular case of Constantine's coinage, that legend is always paired with reverses where the entrance to a military fortress or barrack is shown, and it is concentrated in from 324 to 328–329. Hence, it has been postulated that the series could aim to praise the reinforcement of the Danubian «limes» undertaken by Constantine during that time lapse (Alföldi 2001, p. 207)[17]. Therefore, the associations between imperial providence and the

military are clear in this series. Imperial providence would watch over the security of the borders and the success of the troops led by Constantine. This idea can again be tied to the eloquent acclamation found in *CTh* 7.20.2, where the well-being of the emperor was paired with the wellness of his forces and where the constant worry of the emperor about his troops is lauded («vestra salus nostra salus»).

The third case refers to the series with direct mentions of *Sol Invictus*. This divinity can be found in Constantine's coinage from 310, approximately[18]. Even when Constantine included representations of other deities, such as the goddess Victory, popular among Roman troops (De Giovanni 1989, p. 121), *Sol Invictus* prevails and will be the most common divine image in Constantine's numismatics until 324, a date that matches his definitive victory over Licinius.

Most of the time, the legend can be found in series of military themes, and, for this reason, it is necessary to point out that solar cults, even if not alien to different strata of the Late Roman society, had been broadly popular among rank and file (Shean 2010, p. 66). This can be substantiated by the public image of emperors such as Gallienus[19] and, especially, Aurelian, a leader of military background who had favored the official worshipping of Deus Sol (Dmitriev 2004, p. 577). Therefore, it should be highlighted that in the times of Constantine, Mithraism, a solar cult, was still strongly present in military barracks, where Christian faith had a limited extent (Helgeland 1974, p. 163). As a result, the mentioned thesis by Odahl regarding the open expansion of Christianity in military circles during that period is, at least, questionable.

In this respect, solar divinity has a special significance in Constantinian propaganda. In some examples, the emperor is personally linked to the monotheistic solar deity as a trusted adviser («comes») under the legend «SOLI INVICTO COMITI»[20], claiming to act under his inspiration and protection, and, as it has been mentioned, it will disappear from the issued coins only after Constantine had consolidated his position as a unique ruler and started identifying as Christian openly.

These examples are just a selection of cases that show how the association between army and divinity can be found in Constantine's ideological discourse. The more obvious pagan symbols and some ambiguous representations from the religious perspective were replaced with distinct Christian imagery at a later stage, but the topic of *providentia* and military success would still be present in Constantine's coinage after that.

4. Conclusions

By studying the sources presented in our paper, it is evident that the social relevance of the army transcends the military context and should be considered from a broader perspective when we approach Constantinian propaganda. The role of the military in Roman society during the Age of Constantine is a logical evolution from the socio-political context preceding it. The proliferation of the so-called Barrack emperors amidst a panorama of convulsions, instability, and protracted civil wars during the third century is just one of the signs of transformation in the understanding of political power during Later Roman empire and illustrates how the military would be an essential support in the seek for legitimacy and consolidation of an absolute hegemony. That is also the reason why legal texts are an oft-neglected historical resource of importance in order to advance in the comprehension of such high-level political mechanisms and the emergence of personal homage for emperors during Late Antiquity, where military triumphalism and the providentialist perspective associated with Constantine are extensively used.

We have formulated that it might be complicated to admit the enactment (or, even so, the actual enforcement) of the alleged anti-pagan legislation by Constantine, at least within the military sphere, in the terms proposed by Eusebius in his *De Vita Constantini*. The legislative initiatives performed by Constantine in the religious field actually seem to be in accordance with a model of restitution and tolerance, as the (wrongly known as) Edict of Milan (313) exemplifies.

Likewise, it seems clear that from an early stage in his public life, Constantine intended to present the special bond with a supreme divinity from a monotheistic conception. In accordance with this, the emperor was not oblivious to the context of major political and religious changes and shaped his public profile in agreement with the events and with his own vital experience. Constantinian public discourse transitioned from direct references to *Sol Invictus* towards the ambiguous "divine Mind" referred in several sources in a context of henotheistic religiosity until reaching the Christian god. This does not necessarily imply an abandonment or a complete turnabout but more of a gradual adaptation and a selective use of the narrative to address different audiences.

Beyond the thesis that limits the conversion of Constantine to Christianity to reasons of strict political convenience, the religious evolution of the emperor is a long process where both personal motivations and cultural-political factors could have been determinant. It is through propaganda (Christian as well as pagan) that the connection between army and religion shows an evolution from the previous ways of understanding imperial power. In contrast with previous rulers, Constantine shows that the mystique of his victories and his political legitimacy were based not so much in his own divine nature but in the fact that he had been designated by a superior deity, which had only revealed itself to him. This point is essential as an intermediate step in the development of the dynamics of power legitimation between politics and religion in the centuries that followed, where the notion of charisma was fully developed and played a fundamental role. However, this way of understanding the roots of power by Constantine does not oppose his strong will to establish a dynastic conception of power so that both religious and dynastic foundations were crucial supports in the legitimation of Constantine's principate.

Opposing the conclusions of the classical narration of Christian imprint that Constantine himself could have possibly supported, we can observe how, until a relatively late period, *Sol Invictus* had a prominent role in the public projection. Thus, Constantine not only appeals to his personal relation with the Solar god, but in many cases, he identifies himself as a divinity, an element which was later abandoned. It is striking that Constantine maintained the references to military victories in his aggressive propaganda efforts but, at the same time, tried to find a delicate balance between the Christian views and the imperial cult, which was still an efficient resource of social cohesion around the emperor and his dynasty.

As a result, religion is not just a political resort aimed toward most of the society. The particular relevance of religion in the Later Roman army becomes ever more apparent when we confront the relevant sources of the period, and, thus, we can only highlight the need to not bypass the connection between both elements as anchors for the ideological bases of Constantine and the imperial power. The emperor makes use of religion and imperial adoration as devices to unify the support of the army. Constantine's self-representation as a divinity does not exclude his intention of being perceived, even in legal sources (as *CTh* 7.20.2 has proved), as a dedicated and generous leader with his troops and subjects. The evidence presented could lead us to connect Constantine with the theme of *imitatio Dei*. In Constantinian propaganda, the emperor watches over his subjects, just as God takes care of the universe, an idea that Christian authors such as Eusebius (e.g., *VC* IV, 29, 4) embrace. Nonetheless, his special relationship with a supreme deity would favor Constantine against other rivals who had embraced different beliefs and cults. Behind that discourse lies the connection between only one god and a sole emperor, which was intended to put an end to the troubled phase of the final stages of the tetrarchical regime so as to consolidate a firm autocratic power, which was the core upon which many of the distinctive features of power during Late Antiquity and, ultimately, Middle Ages were built.

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Notes

1 See also (Wallraff 2001, p. 267).

2 Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini* (=*VC*), I, 28. Epiphanies had been present in pagan propaganda associated with Constantine before, as *Paneg*. VI (7).21.3–6, dated in 310, shows. On this see (Escribano Paño 2002).

3 Eusebius, *VC*, I, 29–31. Although his description is less detailed, cf., Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, 44, 4–6.

4 Eusebius, *VC*, I, 27; I, 58; III, 2; III, 48; III, 54; III, 57.

5 See, for example, Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, 44, 8, with a reference to the hand of God («manus Dei») in the result of the Battle of Milvian Bridge.

6 As an example, see Eusebius, *VC*, I, 28.

7 Compare to the earlier cult of Roman emperors that had long provoked Christian imaginations, see (Brent 1999; Fishwick 1987–2005).

8 See (Drijvers 2009).

9 The reference to Constantine and the connection with the *salus* of his subjects is also expressed in *Paneg*. VI (7).21: «Quod ego nunc demum arbitror contigisse, cum tu sis, ut ille, iuuenis et laetus et salutifer et pulcherrimus, imperator».

10 The same divine acclamation was altered in Justinian's *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (*CJ* 12.46.1), where «dii te nobis servent» was altered for «deus te nobis servet». That expression seems to be more appropriate for the Christian orthodoxy of the period. About the "cristianization" of certain legal precepts with pagan reminiscences by Justinian's compilers, see (González Fernández 1997, p. 81).

11 On this issue, although particularly related to the theological sphere, see Eusebius, *VC*, IV, 29, 2–4.

12 Based mainly on two papyri from Egypt, Corcoran (2000, pp. 257–259) argues that the emperor could have prepared an answer to the veterans in advance.

13 We consider the year 320 AD as a plausible date of enactment. Among others, De Giovanni leans towards 320 AD (see De Giovanni 1989, p. 92). So does Corcoran (2000, p. 259). However, Barnes suggests 307 AD as the moment when the law was passed (Barnes 1982, p. 69) and Connolly supports that possibility (Connolly 2010, pp. 96–98). Additionally, Pharr defends the existence of a textual corruption, but mantains the years 320 and 326 as possible (Pharr 1952, p. 197).

14 See (Clauss 2013, pp. 294–96; Lenski 2008, pp. 204–57; Shean 2010, p. 276).

15 The most comprehensive study of the controversial ban of blood sacrifices by Constantine is still (Bradbury 1994). See also (Curran 1996).

16 On Constantine's dynasticism see (Barnes 2011, pp. 144–72; Lenski 2015, esp. pp. 60–65; Usherwood 2022).

17 Ramskold notices the subsequent minting with military themes (in particular, «GLORIA EXERCITUS»; ca. 330) in several mints after the production of the series under the legend «PROVIDENTIAE» had stopped. On this, cf. (Ramskold 2019, p. 207).

18 *RIC* VI *Londinium* 101, 102, 113, 114, 115; *RIC* VI *Lugdunum* 308–312, among others. More on this in (Chandler 2019, p. 61).

19 About this, see (Serrano Ordozgoiti 2022, pp. 7–24).

20 *RIC* VI *Aquileia* 142–144; *RIC* VI *Lugdunum* 312; *RIC* VI *Treveri* 886–895; *RIC* VII *Sirmium* 3, 21.

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The Miracle of the Bloody Foreskin at the Council of Charroux in 1082: Legatine Authority, Religious Spectacle, and Charismatic Strategies of Canonical Reform in the Era of Gregory VII

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Abstract: In 1082, at the council of Charroux convened by the papal legate Amatus of Oloron, astonished witnesses observed the Holy Prepuce, a rare body relic of Christ himself, to be miraculously spotted with fresh blood. This spectacular miracle holds implications for our understanding of charismatic strategies of religious reform in France in the era of Pope Gregory VII. Gregory's use of standing legates with regional mandates, such as Amatus, was a novelty in papal administration, but the legates, though empowered as proxies of the pope, were often weak lieutenants. When they could not induce or coerce cooperation, they frequently confronted the impotence of their legal–canonical mandates. The miracle at Charroux, I will show, exemplifies an alternative charismatic strategy, harnessing liturgical art and spectacle to magnify the legate's stature as an authority in the context of the Eucharistic controversy and religious reform.

Keywords: Gregorian reform; Gregory VII; charisma; papal legates; Amatus of Oloron; relics; miracles; canon law; Romanesque architecture

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The little treasury in the chapterhouse of the ruined abbey of Saint-Sauveur de Charroux in southern Poitou houses several remarkable liturgical artworks. The most famous of these is a small, golden capsule (Figures 1–3) decorated on the front and back with niello images of Christ, bearing on its circumference the awesome declaration, HIC CARO ET SANGUIS XPI CONTINETUR (Here is preserved the body and blood of Christ).[1] In 1082, at the council of Charroux convened by the papal legate Amatus of Oloron, this same vessel was discovered, hidden within the church. Amatus, the standing legate of Pope Gregory VII, is remembered as one of the great adversaries of the heretic, Berengar of Tours, whose arguments against the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharistic elements fueled the Eucharistic Controversy of the eleventh century. At Charroux, the legate and his companions opened the rediscovered reliquary to reveal a second reliquary medallion (Figures 4 and 5), which also survives in the treasury at Charroux. This vessel in turn contained the so-called sainte Vertu, the foreskin of Christ, which the astonished witnesses in 1082 observed to be miraculously spotted with fresh blood, a Eucharistic and distinctly anti-Berengarian miracle thus of the body and blood.[2]

This marvelous event holds unexplored implications for our understanding of charismatic strategies of religious reform in France in the era of Pope Gregory VII. Gregory's use of standing legates with regional mandates, such as Amatus and Hugh of Die, was a novelty in papal administration, though the legates were often surprisingly weak lieutenants.[3] They pursued a vigorous reform agenda, but lay and religious authorities, including nominal allies, routinely ignored their summons, questioned their jurisdiction, and openly resisted or even attacked them in council. When Gregory's legates could not induce or coerce cooperation, they frequently confronted the impotence of their legal–canonical mandates and tactics. The miracle at the council of Charroux, I will show, exemplifies an alternative

charismatic strategy for confronting this resistance, using liturgical art and spectacle as sources of charismatic authority to strengthen the legates' canonical powers in the context of the Eucharistic controversy and church reform.

Figure 1. Outer reliquary capsule associated with the sainte Vertu, silver gilt and niello, late eleventh century, treasury of the abbey Saint-Sauveur de Charroux (Photo by permission: Ferron © Ministère de la Culture, Médiathèque du patrimoine et de la photographie, diffusion. RMN-GP).

Figure 2. Outer reliquary capsule associated with the sainte Vertu, silver gilt and niello, late eleventh century, treasury of the abbey Saint-Sauveur de Charroux (Photo by permission: Ferron © Ministère de la Culture, Médiathèque du patrimoine et de la photographie, diffusion. RMN-GP).

Figure 3. Outer reliquary capsule associated with the sainte Vertu, silver gilt and niello, late eleventh century, treasury of the abbey Saint-Sauveur de Charroux (Photo by permission: Ferron © Ministère de la Culture, Médiathèque du patrimoine et de la photographie, diffusion. RMN-GP).

Figure 4. Outer and inner reliquary capsules associated with the sainte Vertu. Left: silver gilt and niello, late eleventh century. Right: silver gilt, niello and enamel, Byzantine, eleventh century or earlier, treasury of the abbey Saint-Sauveur de Charroux (Photo by permission: Ferron © Ministère de la Culture, Médiathèque du patrimoine et de la photographie, diffusion. RMN-GP).

Figure 5. Inner reliquary capsule associated with the sainte Vertu, silver gilt, niello and enamel, Byzantine, eleventh century or earlier, treasury of the abbey Saint-Sauveur de Charroux (Photo by permission: Ferron © Ministère de la Culture, Médiathèque du patrimoine et de la photographie, diffusion. RMN-GP).

1. Canonical Reform and Legatine Authority in the Era of Gregory VII

History records almost nothing about the council of Charroux beyond the miracle of the sainte Vertu, but the official business of legatine councils in the era of Gregory VII commonly involved more practical if contentious questions of law, religious discipline, and theology.[4] In Max Weber's influential tripartite classification of authority, the legates operated chiefly under a rational–legal authority of Church law (Weber 2019). Though legally empowered as proxies of the pope, they lacked both the traditional authority and the personal charisma of Gregory VII. For a variety of reasons related to the novel character of their regional legations, the legates found it difficult to enforce their legal mandates, and opponents often made an insulting and dramatic show of their defiance.

Before Gregory VII, the popes commonly assigned legates to manage specific affairs, giving them more concentrated power in the context of disputes and negotiations between parties who often had compelling interests in a mediated solution. In his earlier days as Cardinal Hildebrand, Gregory VII himself had been, for example, twice dispatched to France as a legate in 1054 and 1056, convening councils at Tours and at Chalon-sur-Saone, the first of which touched on the Eucharistic teachings of Berengar of Tours, the second of which principally addressed the problem of simony (Cowdrey 1998, p. 32). Such legations were narrower in purpose, limited in duration, and more strongly motivated by a desire for papal intervention on the part of the interested parties. In this mission-specific context, the legates themselves held considerable authority to conduct their business, even if they had

little if any power to set their own agendas. By contrast, Gregory's new standing legates, Amatus of Oloron and Hugh of Die, had open-ended, regional mandates, and even the regional limits of their legations were flexible. Nominally, at least, Amatus presided in Aquitaine, southern France, and Spain, while Hugh held a mandate for Francia, the north, and the east. However, both men also convened or co-presided at councils in each other's nominal territories, working collaboratively as often as they did independently. They undertook specific missions on behalf of the pope but also pursued their own initiatives and improvised agendas without his knowledge or direct authorization. Amatus and Hugh enjoyed a freedom that even permitted them to act contrary to Gregory's express instructions.[5] This freedom and the novelty and ambiguity of their standing, regional mandates came at a cost to their effective authority. Some clerical leaders saw the legates as meddling, especially in situations in which the legates appeared to be acting without explicit direction from the pope. It is equally apparent that some also resented and questioned the legates' new interventionist methods.

A year before the council of Charroux, for instance, the legate Amatus was embarrassed in Tours, where the canons of the abbey of Saint-Martin refused to receive him in solemn procession befitting his quasi-papal dignity.[6] Amatus repaid this insult by excommunicating the entire chapter of canons, who ignored this punishment and in turn pronounced their own sentences of excommunication against the legate's partners in Tours, including the archbishop, Ralph (Farmer 1991, pp. 44–46; Delisle 1840–1904, vol. 12, pp. 459–61). The secular canons of Saint-Martin were wealthy, powerful, and confident in the support of the King of France, Philippe, the lay abbot of Saint-Martin whose open opposition to the legates gave the canons a potent temporal ally. Amatus had little leverage to compel their obedience, and they continued to resist the legates' efforts in Tours in the years that followed. Indeed, in 1095, when Pope Urban II passed through Tours during his voyage through France in support of the First Crusade, the canons demanded and received the pope's apology for the earlier sentence of excommunication imposed on them by Amatus, no doubt a humiliation for the legate, who was traveling with Urban (Farmer 1991, pp. 44–46). Records of Urban's visit to Tours conspicuously note that Amatus was ill and unable to assist at the dedication of an altar at the abbey of Marmoutier (Delisle 1840–1904, vol. 14, p. 100). Was it embarrassment as much as illness that led Amatus to take a day off in Tours?

As the example of Amatus at Tours suggests, the legates sometimes confronted the real limits of their nominal authorities, yet they also plainly recognized the value of liturgy and spectacle as complementary sources of authority to strengthen their legal mandates. Amatus desired to be received in solemn procession by the canons of Saint-Martin not merely to extract a symbolic acknowledgement of his authority. He wanted no doubt to embody the pope, to share his charisma at least briefly in the context of a spectacle that bestowed majesty as a function of ceremony, a gravitas that clings to one's person rather than descending from a dry procedural writ.[7] Such spectacle should be regarded as a form of hyper-mimetic, charismatic representation of the pope.[8] The complaints of the canons of Saint-Martin seem to support this understanding of the hyper-mimetic function of the processional spectacle. The canons claimed to have resisted Amatus's demands for the processional reception on the grounds precisely that this ceremony was reserved exclusively for the person of the pope. If they were to receive Amatus as the pope's legate in this manner, they asked, how then could they distinguish the unique and superior person of the pope himself when he should come to visit?[9] Their argument presumes that the spectacle of the procession contains a real aspect of the pope and, furthermore, that the procession confers this aspect of the pope charismatically on its focus in a manner that would threaten the distinction between Amatus and Gregory VII by representing the legate as the pope himself.

Amatus's desire for a ceremonial reception speaks to a strategy of influence: the legates of Gregory VII used ceremony and liturgy as means of access to the charisma of the pope. They were for this reason extraordinarily eager to perform ceremonial and liturgical duties,

a fact that has passed without much scholarly comment in previous studies in the fields of both church history and monumental art. The legates' consecratory activities are commonly treated as incidental to their political and religious objectives in the communities that they visited, but consecration could be an end itself. The legates traversed the country in their legatine capacities seeking new places to consecrate altars and churches, to ordain and baptize, to bestow blessings and pronounce anathemas.[10] In 1077, for example, Amatus visited the abbey of Gellone at Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert to consecrate a new altar amid a long-running dispute over the independence of Saint-Guilhem from its parent abbey of Aniane (Richard-Ralite 2017). The monks at Gellone eagerly received Amatus as a papal authority, whose visit and consecration gave a papal seal to the abbey's claimed rights and privileges. Thus did Amatus also at times find allies willing and eager to facilitate liturgical ceremonies that conferred papal charisma on the legate and that, by means of the legate, bestowed papal imprimatur on his partners.

In other cases, the legates employed liturgy as a strategy for imposing papal authority, annexing contested territory by means of consecration. In 1077–1078, Amatus promptly improvised a new consecratory itinerary after the Archbishop Wifred of Narbonne attacked the council of Girona and forced the legate to flee. Under the protection of his ally, the Count of Besalú, Amatus and an entourage of other refugees from the council meandered across Catalunya from Girona to Banyoles to Besalù to Sant Pere de Talteüll to La Seu d'Urgel and Sant Serní de Tavèrnoles, consecrating altars, deposing abbots, reforming and donating abbeys and, no doubt, performing other liturgical and ceremonial rites now lost to memory.[11] In some ways, the voyage of Amatus through Catalunya in 1078 anticipated the famous voyage of Urban II through France in support of the First Crusade in 1095–1096 (Crozet 1937). At each stop, Urban found the opportunity to consecrate altars and churches, pursuing a politics of consecration that both amplified the majesty of the pope through the spectacle of the liturgy and cultivated the support of the local partners to these performances. Likewise, Amatus used liturgical performance as a source of power and authority to influence potential allies on his voyage through Catalunya. The strategy was successful. Months after he was driven out of Girona, Amatus returned to convene a second council which proved a key milestone in the Roman reform of the Iberian church (Fazy 1908, pp. 85–86; Degert 1908, pp. 49–53).[12]

Many other examples attest to the legates' recognition of the powerful "charisma of the liturgy", as Jaume Aurell has termed it (Aurell 2022a, 2022b). An eleventh-century chronicler, for example, was clearly struck by Amatus's dramatic disruption of a baptism at Albi, where he traveled to confront the schismatic Bishop of Albi, Frotard, who was excommunicated by Amatus and Hugh of Die at the council of Toulouse in 1079 (Delisle 1840–1904, vol. 14, p. 50). The chronicler reports that Amatus, when he was provided chrism for the ceremony that had been consecrated by Frotard, hurled it to the ground publicly, declaring it execrated rather consecrated, "fit for the unction of asses rather than Christians"[13] At his own cathedral of Oloron, a pagan idol buried in the portal as part of the rite of consecration of the church reveals the profound extent of Amatus's creative imagination for the spectacle of liturgical performance (Brown 2020).

In their roles as canonical proxies of the pope, the legates borrowed the charisma of the liturgy to promote the "majesty of the law", as we still say today. This expression acknowledges, among other things, the irrational dependence of the law on its own solemnizing formalities and ceremony. The judge enthroned in curia might be said to wear the charisma of the law,[14] and the legates of Gregory VII desperately needed access to such authority to reinforce their weak legal mandates. Opposition to their projects went well beyond insult and disobedience. The region's lay and religious powers often used force and threats of force to intimidate and attack the legates and their allies. The legate's religious adversaries brought their armed, lay supporters to church councils, where they frequently refused to recognize the canonical authority of the Roman legates. Violence was not uncommon. Isembert, Bishop of Poitiers, sent his knights to attack Amatus at the council of Saint-Maixent in 1074, rather than submit to papal authority (Brown 2020). Wifred, Archbishop of Narbonne,

did the same at the council of Girona (Degert 1908, pp. 49–52). Ralph, Archbishop of Tours, likewise menaced Hugh of Die at the council of Poitiers in 1078, before making peace with the legates (Rennie 2011).

2. The Limits of Legatine Authority: The Example of Tours

This last example offers especially pertinent insight into the weak authorities and political challenges that impeded the legates' efforts to win concessions from powerful religious and secular leaders. Ralph of Langeais was elected to the office of Archbishop of Tours in 1072 through the direct patronage of Philippe, King of France (Halphen 1906, p. 201). Gregory VII was elected pope in 1073, but neither he nor his legates showed special interest in Tours until 1075, at the earliest, when Berengar of Tours was assaulted at the council of Poitiers, convened by Amatus and Gerald of Ostia (Brown 2020). Tours was increasingly a focus of the legate's attention in the years thereafter. In 1076, Gregory recognized Dol as the metropolitan seat of an archdiocese, a status long claimed by the bishops of Dol and long disputed by the archbishops of Tours (Cowdrey 2008, pp. 214–15; Cowdrey 1998, pp. 353, 396). Gregory's approval of Dol was calculated to antagonize both Tours and King Philippe I: Dol belonged in 1076 to the geographic sphere of influence of William the Conqueror, the ascendant King of England and Duke of Normandy. William and his Norman lieutenants interfered in the region throughout the 1070s and early 1080s, with the intention of extending their influence in Brittany and the region of Maine and perhaps binding the Breton diocese to the Norman political world (Halphen 1906, pp. 180–86; Cowdrey 1998, pp. 344–45, 460–61). Against this political backdrop, in 1078, Hugh of Die convened a council at Poitiers, one of the chief purposes of which was to consider charges of simony against Ralph of Langeais, mooting his removal from office (Rennie 2011, pp. 2–3). Ralph initially refused to cooperate and menaced violence, but Poitiers had already been made safe through the earlier efforts of Amatus and Gerald of Ostia, and the council continued under the protection of William VIII, Count of Poitiers and Duke of Aquitaine.

The fact that the council was held in Poitiers and not in Tours is itself a sign of the limits on the legates' power and of their pragmatic and strategic adaptations. The council would no doubt have failed if convened in Tours, in enemy territory. In Poitiers, the legate was freer to act but his edicts had little immediate effect on Ralph, who misbehaved at the council and returned to Tours relatively unchastened and unreconciled, no doubt aware that the legates had little power to harm him in his seat in Tours. However, the council of Poitiers in 1078 was only the opening stratagem in the legates' plan to coerce Ralph's support for the pope. Amatus soon after excommunicated Ralph,[15] and in 1079, Amatus and Hugh went to Brittany on Gregory's orders to convene a council at Dol, where they considered a dispute between the abbey of Marmoutier and Ralph, placing further pressure on Ralph by threatening an unfavorable decision (Fazy 1908, p. 98; Degert 1908, pp. 63–64; Delisle 1840–1904, vol. 14, p. 96). Amatus then returned south by way of Tours, stopping at Saint-Épain between Chinon and Tours, where he ordered Ralph to call upon him (Delisle 1840–1904, vol. 14, pp. 669–70; Fazy 1908, pp. 111–12). It is not clear that Ralph complied. An exchange of letters between Amatus, Ralph, Bishop Arnald of Le Mans, and Gebuin, Archbishop of Lyon and Primate of Gaul, reveals Ralph openly questioning the legate's authority (Delisle 1840–1904, vol. 14, pp. 669–74). After first ordering Ralph to visit him in Touraine, Amatus then commanded his attendance at a council in Bordeaux to be convened in late 1080. Ralph was plainly reluctant to comply with any of the legate's requests, no doubt sensitive to his duty to and dependence on King Philippe, who had flatly refused to cooperate with the pope and his legates. Gebuin, alarmed by the legates' interference in his own clerical territory, questioned Amatus's authority and, for good measure, ordered Ralph to come to Lyon at the same time that the council of Bordeaux was scheduled to convene. Several months later, Ralph duly appeared . . . but at the council of Bordeaux, where Amatus heard the dispute between Ralph and the Bishop of Dol, ruling in Ralph's favor (Fazy 1908, pp. 88–89, 111).

Amatus leveraged Ralph, it seems likely, by promising to support the archbishop's claims over Dol. It appears that Gregory and his legates, having first empowered and then undermined Dol, offered Ralph a choice: support the legates, or Rome would support an archdiocese at Dol. Indeed, after Ralph began to cooperate with Amatus, Dol's fortunes waned, and Ralph's claims were confirmed by the pope and his allies (Cowdrey 1998, p. 353). Ralph nevertheless found himself in a difficult spot. His obedience to the papacy weakened his position politically in Tours. In the early 1080s, he faced conflicts with the monks of Marmoutiers, the canons of Saint-Martin, the Count of Angers, and King Philippe (Farmer 1991, pp. 43–44). The canons cited Ralph's obedience to the legate as a sign of disloyalty to the king and one of their principal grievances against him (Delisle 1840–1904, vol. 12, p. 579). The Count of Anjou and King Philippe chased Ralph from his seat, eliciting the pope's rebuke, but the king finally had little choice but to accept his archbishop's cooperation with Rome (Cowdrey 1998, p. 353). Philippe also was opposed to an empowered archdiocese at Dol, which might further extend the influence of William the Conqueror and weaken Tours, his own seat of influence. He had no choice, perhaps, but to accept a compromise that preserved the power of Tours. The king and his proxies, especially the canons, nonetheless drew the line at allowing the legates into Tours itself. Thus, Amatus was able to turn the archbishop Ralph into an ally even as he weakened that ally in his own seat and failed, consequently, to establish a meaningful foothold for the papacy in Tours. The canons and the king could not be leveraged, and they greeted the agents of Rome with insults and excommunications.

3. The Legatine Councils and Conciliar Speech

Despite such opposition and political obstacles, the legates of Gregory VII, especially Hugh of Die and Amatus of Oloron, successfully transformed the legal and religious landscape of France from Poitiers to the Pyrenees, which became one of the most productive and important regions for new canon law activity in the Latin church in the late eleventh century.[16] Legatine councils were essential to this success. Between 1073 and 1084, Amatus and Hugh of Die together convened more than twenty councils, including as many as five in Poitiers and ten in broader Aquitaine.[17] The councils addressed disputes and produced new consensus on matters of church law and theology. The councils of Girona and Poitiers in 1078, coordinated and convened almost simultaneously by Amatus and Hugh, both became landmarks of canonical reform in France and Spain, yielding thirteen new canons at Girona and ten closely similar ones at Poitiers, which rapidly found their way into new collections of canon law. Council participants included in aggregate most of the important clerical and monastic hierarchy of France, who came to the meetings equipped with their own records, witnesses, and textual authorities of law, making these assemblies, which occurred one after the other in a short space of time, a moveable colloquium of law. Poitiers and southwestern France emerged as an epicenter of new canonistic activity in the late eleventh century. The so-called "Poitevin" collections of canon law, produced in the region during this era, are crucial works of law and monuments to the reforms sought and largely achieved by Gregory VII, at least in southern France. The Poitevin collections include the *Liber Tarraconensis*, a manuscript likely produced in southwestern France and exported to Spain sometime after 1080, a precedent for the adoption of Roman canonical reform in northern Spain. They also include the *Collectio Burdegalensis*, a manuscript directly associated with the series of councils held in the region of Bordeaux by Amatus beginning in 1079 and with the abbey of La Sauve-Majeure, co-founded by Amatus in 1079.

It is apparent that councils were essential to the strategy and, ultimately, the success of the legates' agenda. Our direct knowledge of the councils is, however, profoundly circumscribed, limited chiefly to the dry, formulaic language of charters. We know little about how the legates in the face of stiff opposition accomplished such sweeping change. We know little about the forms and contents of conciliar speech, the styles of negotiation, and the strategies of persuasion practiced by the legates and their allies. Surviving council charters are rare and speak narrowly to at most a handful of the many matters addressed

at the councils. They document foundations, donations, and the resolution of disputes, discrete council outcomes that, decontextualized in monastic cartularies, are often difficult to interpret as evidence for the legates' reform agenda.

Some indirect records offer more vivid impressions of conciliar speech and negotiation. Letters and other missives written in anticipation or in the aftermath of councils often speak to the charged and even violent character of interactions at the councils. Bitter invective, hyperbole, falsehood, and threats are common in these epistles. The letters of Gregory VII after the council of Saint-Maixent condemn Isembert for his assault on Amatus in passionate terms, for instance (Cowdrey 2008, p. 93). In anticipation of the council of Saintes in 1092, the Count of Anjou slandered the legate Amatus, calling him "neither a monk nor a priest", and threatening violence should the legate decide against the count's allies at Vendôme in a dispute with the monks of Saint-Aubin.[18] Saint-Aubin in turn wrote a complaint after the council denouncing the legate for his decision against them, accusing the count and legate of corruption, bribery, violent intimidation, and other crimes (de Broussillon 1903, vol. 2, pp. 219–23). In 1095, the monks of Saint-Aubin were still so angry that they refused to receive the pope and Amatus and barred their entry to the abbey when Urban II visited the city of Angers (Gorjeltchan 2019, pp. 51–52). The canons of Saint-Martin in their letter to Urban II mocked Amatus as Ralph's lover, after Amatus excommunicated the chapter of canons at the council of Issoudun in 1082.[19] Such colorful if slanted and indirect or second-hand accounts of council business nonetheless reflect a social dimension intrinsic to the politics of reform but largely missing from the language of council charters and legal collections.

4. Spectacle as Conciliar Speech at the Council of Charroux

Our understanding of eleventh-century church reform is further complicated by the fact that many councils, including that of Charroux, produced few or no surviving charters or letters; they have thus been largely excluded from our histories. The council of Charroux remains shrouded in mystery, our knowledge of its business dependent chiefly on two considerably later sources. The earliest is a *Historia* recounting the miracle of the sainte Vertu, composed more than a decade after the council and preserved in the abbey's *Liber de constitutione* (de Monsabert 1910, pp. 39–41); the second is a brief notice in the twelfth-century *Chronique de Saint-Maixent*, which confirms the miracle and adds only that the council of Charroux was also the occasion of the consecration of a new altar in the abbey church (Verdon 1979). The invention of the sainte Vertu is recorded in the Charroux *Historia* by an author who represents himself as an eyewitness of the event. His detailed account says little explicitly about the council: the author names several bishops present for the miracle, led by Amatus, but mentions only in passing that these bishops constituted a "council", which according to the author used its authority to confirm and to sermonize on the miracle.[20] On first reading, the *Historia* appears to hold value chiefly for our knowledge of the abbey, and modern readers, primarily students of Charroux, have assumed that the author's motive and narrative were irrelevant to the affairs of the council. On the contrary, the *Historia* was most likely composed ca. 1095 in connection with the visit to the abbey by Pope Urban II, accompanied by Amatus of Oloron and other participants in the council in 1082 (McNeill 2015, pp. 205–23; Treffort 2007, pp. 277–96). Together, Urban and Amatus consecrated the church's high altar beneath the rotunda tower (Figures 6 and 7), modeled after the rotunda of the church of the Holy Sepulcher, above the new crypt, on which construction began immediately after the council (Gabriele 2011, pp. 47–50). The *Historia* thus addressed some of the very persons who had organized the council, who produced the miracle of the sainte Vertu, and who were returning in 1096 to celebrate the completion of the crypt built to the house the relic.

Although the *Historia* says little directly about the council, it does make clear that the discovery of the reliquary, if not the miracle, was planned, anticipated, and thus coordinated with the timing of the council. According to the author, the new Abbot of Charroux, Fulcrad, installed in 1077, hoped to recover the lost relic, which the narrator

asserts had been hidden by Charroux's *abbé-chevalier*, Count Audebert II de la Marche (Treffort 2007, pp. 290–91). The narrator reports that Fulcrad and unnamed others prayed to Audebert to reveal the location of the relic. The count at last agreed to cooperate, and Fulcrad and his allies "fixed a day on which the display of the sainte Vertu would be given to all those who came together at the place where it was held".[21] News of this impending event spread among the people of Aquitaine, the narrator continues, and on the appointed day, the bishops led by Amatus came together with an "innumerable" host of other lay and religious witnesses, including many knights and soldiers, all motivated by the desire to honor the sainte Vertu (de Monsabert 1910, pp. 39–40).

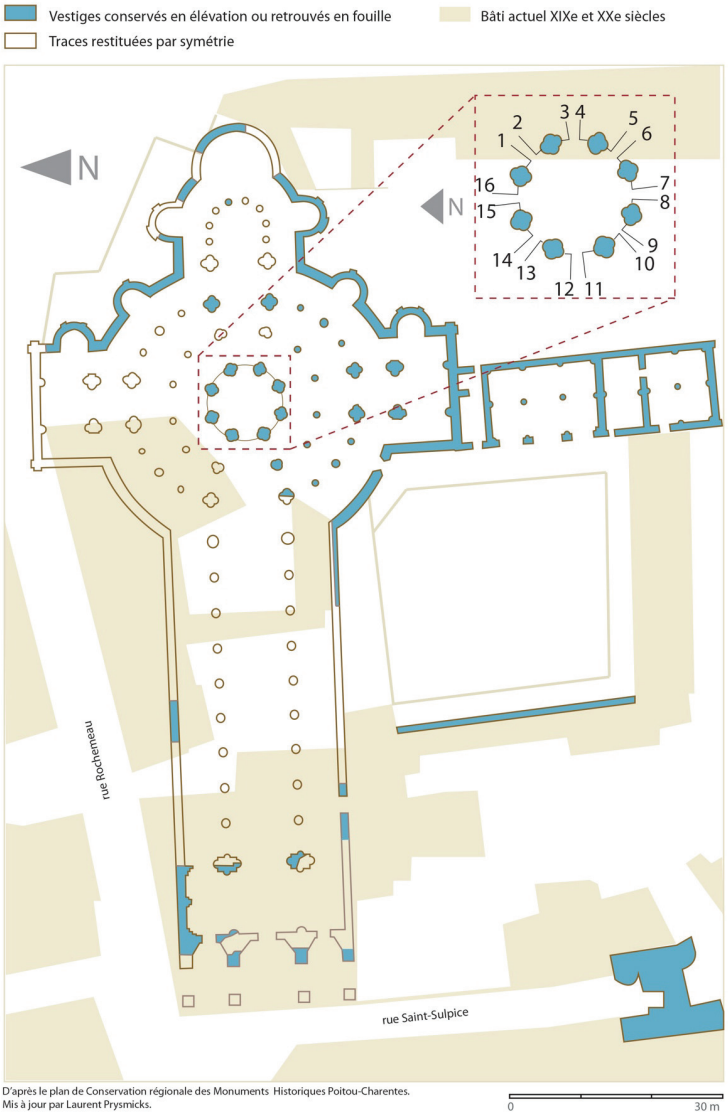

Figure 6. Abbey of Saint-Sauveur de Charroux, plan and reconstruction of the ruined abbey church constructed ca. 1050–ca. 1096; inset, upper right: detail of the organization of the columns of the rotunda tower (Photo by permission: © Région Nouvelle-Aquitaine, Inventaire général du patrimoine culturel. © Conservation régionale des monuments historiques, Poitiers. Jean Jay, 2011).

Figure 7. Abbey of Saint-Sauveur de Charroux, choir rotunda tower, completed ca. 1096 (Photo: author).

Let us now restore in our mind's eye the abbey church of Charroux as it appeared on this occasion (Figure 8). Construction on the church had been underway for some time since the abbey was heavily damaged by fire in 1048. The consecration of a new altar in 1082 represented the completion of the renovation or reconstruction of some part of the church, but we must envision a busy site of ongoing work: of cranes and stone and dust, of mortar and masons. In fact, the constructive installation of the new altar was planned to coincide with a demolition to begin the new building campaign that would complete the abbey's choir tower, crypt, and rotunda.[22]

Figure 8. Abbey of Saint-Sauveur de Charroux, tower and piers belonging to the former choir rotunda, completed ca. 1096 (Photo: author).

Here, I wish to observe that scaffolding and cranes are architectural signifiers more powerful in their own muscular, dynamic way than the pristine but inert walls and stones of a finished building, which look to the eye of the viewer as though they have always existed in their fixed and stable condition. The aesthetic of religious reform in the late eleventh century was defined by destructive and constructive activity: demolishing and erecting, smashing and building, clearing and planting (Brown 2020, p. 155). In the performance culture of the Middle Ages, the act of building itself signified with an urgency and reference to the intention of the builders that was not possible for a completed monument.[23] In much the same way, charters and epigraphic dedications are only poor relics of the vital performances of oath and sacrament that dignified the immediate purposes of their authors. The invention of the sainte Vertu occurred by design in the performative setting of such a public and significant work in progress. It was from this perspective a species of building miracle, tied directly to the constructive and, thus, the spiritual and sacramental renewal of the church.

As the *Historia* recounts, Fulcrad waited until the council itself to excavate the reliquary from its secret place: the narrator tells that the assembly gathered at the site, and Fulcrad and Amatus only then caused that part of the building to be demolished publicly, before the eyes of the watching crowd.[24] This scene suggests some of the drama of Indiana Jones, demolishing walls or digging up pavements to recover lost, ancient treasures, but the demolition was also a public groundbreaking. I have little doubt that the hiding place corresponded to the location of the future crypt and high altar, the last part of the abbey of Charroux to be rebuilt.

Having broken through the stones of the old church to uncover the lost reliquary, the holiest men at the assembly, Amatus at their head, proceeded to open the first capsule, discovered the second, and observed the prodigy of fresh blood, another hyper-mimetic spectacle: the invisible miracle of Eucharistic transubstantiation, the sacrament of body and blood made manifest in the bleeding flesh (*caro et sanguis*), as affirmed by the reliquary's inscription) of the body-part relic of Christ himself. The narrator describes all this, in addition to the ostension of the bloody relic, which overcame the doubts of the incredulous, and finally the sermon delivered by the council of bishops. I am particularly interested in the social implications of this elaborate performance—the rousing, exciting acts of procession, demolition, invention, opening, and ostension, followed by sermonizing, whose rhetorical purpose was likely to thrill as much as to instruct the crowd by representing the enormity of this miracle. The drama of the invention in all its dimensions made the sainte Vertu an accessory of the persons who orchestrated and delivered this performance. The miracle of the bloody foreskin, embodying the miracle and theology of the Eucharist, further endowed the consecration of the altar of Charroux with extraordinary significance. The consecratory mass, most likely conducted after the invention of the relic, shared the Eucharistic aura of the miraculous relic and gave the legate and council, as masters of this moment, further opportunity to borrow the aura of the relic and the charisma of the liturgy.[25]

The sainte Vertu itself appears to have been invented for this occasion. There is no record of the existence of the holy prepuce of Charroux prior to the council of 1082. As previous scholars have reconstructed, the legend of the prepuce reworked older legends associated with a relic of the cross (Cabanot 1981; Treffort 2007; Remensnyder 1995, pp. 166–82). The outer reliquary capsule preserved at Charroux is a work from late eleventh-century France, contemporaneous with the miracle (Frolow 1966, p. 40; Remensnyder 1995, p. 177). It was most likely produced or acquired for the invention of the sainte Vertu. Its unambiguous inscription asserting the presence of the body and blood both anticipates and verbally reproduces the elements of the miracle. The inner, Byzantine reliquary medallion is at least slightly older, and its internal, cross-shaped relic cavity suggests that this object corresponds to the older reliquary of the true cross, appropriated and reframed by the new reliquary capsule as the holy prepuce (Frolow 1966; McNeill 2015, pp. 220–21, n. 33; Remensnyder 1995, pp. 176–77). The dramatic invention of the relic of the foreskin placed the legate Amatus at the heart of a miracle that affirmed the nascent theology of Eucharistic transubstantiation against the heretical views of Berengar of Tours and his supporters.

5. Charismatic Spectacle and Legatine Authority

To what end did Fulcrad and Amatus arrange this elaborate performance, which with the dedication of a new altar seems to have constituted the most important business of the council of Charroux? It was not the first time that Amatus orchestrated such a spectacle. Other happenings organized by him offer insight into the legate's method and purpose. The very first and perhaps most important initiative of Amatus's career involved a comparable sacramental spectacle of creative destruction, involving the consecration of an altar at the recently founded abbey of Montierneuf in Poitiers (Brown 2021). In 1074, while under a sentence of interdiction and suspended from office, Isembert, Bishop of Poitiers, consecrated the first altar in the new monastery of Montierneuf. Isembert's defiance of the pope and his legates prompted his excommunication, and Amatus convened a council at Poitiers in early 1075 for the destruction of the execrated altar and the consecration of a replacement. The ritualized destruction of an altar as an act of punishment must have made for a remarkable spectacle, amplified by the council's consecration of two or perhaps three new altars in replacement. Though history preserves no description of these rites, there survives a suite of three poetic invectives addressing the legates and likely written for publication at the council of Poitiers, calling for the punishment of Isembert:

De quodam prelato cupido et avaro
I.
Errant qui credunt gentem periisse Ciclopum:
En, Poliphemus adest multiplicator opum,
Excedens alios uultuque minisque Ciclopes,
Tantalus alter, inops esurit inter opes.
Cum sit tam capitis quam mentis lumine cecus,
Dedecus omne docet, dedocet omne decus.
Rupe caua latitans cupiendo, timendo laborat;
Quosque tenere potest, ossa cutemque uorat.
Ecclesiam lacerat, deglutit publica fratrum,
Nec saciare potest mentis hians baratrum
Pontificum legate, decus, pater optime partum,
Ad solitum redeat, coge nefas, aratrum.
II.
Exilaras mestos, Hilaris pater, Hilarienses,
Cuius uirga regit, docet accio Burdegalenses:
Iura foues reprimisque dolos, sed digna repenses
Qui delere uolunt que tu, pater optime, censes.
Luce tua remoue tenebras animosque serena;
Dumque redis nobis redeant solacia plena
Afficiatque semel Polifemum debita pena.
Tam caput elatum confringe minasque refrena.
III.
Edibus in nostris ferus hospitibus Diomedes
Intulit insidias, fecit manus impia cedes;
Nunc moriens hostis nostras sibi uindicat edes
Ut suus in dotes proprias habeat Ganimedes.
Iusticie legate rigor, defensio ueri:
Arbitrio cuius pendet moderatio cleri:
Hoc tantum facinus prohibe dignum prohiberi;
Hostis frange minas et nos assuesce tueri.
(About a Certain Lustful and Greedy Prelate
I.
Those people are mistaken who believe that the Cyclopes' clan died off:
look, a Polyphemus is here who makes his wealth manifold.
Outdoing the other Cyclopes in both his demeanor and threats,
he is a second Tantalus, hungering needily amid abundance.
Since he is blind spiritually as well as physically,
he teaches every dishonor and unteaches every honor.

Lurking in a cliffside hollow, he toils in desire and fear;
and those of whom he can lay hold, he devours their bones and flesh.
He tears apart the Church, he gobbles the brothers' communal property,
but he cannot satisfy the yawning chasm of his mind.
Pontifical legate, glory, best father of fathers,
force this wicked person to return to the usual plow.
II.
You gladden glad father the sad followers of St. Hilary,
you whose rod rules the people of Bordeaux, whose conduct teaches them:
you cherish laws and restrain treachery, but may you make fitting returns
to those who wish to destroy what you recommend, best father.
Through your light remove darkness and brighten hearts;
and as you return, may complete solace return to us,
and may due punishment cause harm to Polyphemus once and for all.
shatter the head that has risen so high and restrain the threats.
III.
In our house a savage Diomedes
laid snares for guests, an impious hand caused bloodshed;
and the enemy now dying claims our house for himself
so that his Ganymede may have it as his dowry.
Legate, rigor of the justice, defense of truth,
upon whose judgment depends the governance of the clergy:
forbid this great crime, which deserves to be forbidden;
break the threats of the enemy and keep the habit of protecting us). (Ziolkowski and Balint 2007)

The poet mythologizes the conflict, describing Isembert as a monster and the legates as righteous heroes. Per the poet, Isembert is another Polyphemus, a cyclops devouring the common property of the Church; he is the wicked host Diomedes, luring his guests to their doom, an insatiable Tantalus, and a pederast amassing the wealth of the Church as a dowry for his Ganymede. The poet exhorts the legates to smash, shatter, and break this enemy, language that seems to allude to smashing the execrated altar and thus to shattering the bishop's legal–sacramental authority.[26] It appears that these poems, which petition the legates as epic heroes to combat these monsters, were composed to be published during the council at the trial of Isembert. It may seem strange to consider such witty, profane invectives as examples of conciliar speech, but as likely artifacts of the council, such poems remind us that mockery, insult, and provocation are also common modes of public and even official discourse.

As events showed, the hyperbole and violence of the poet's petition spoke authentically to the business of the council. The council's judges shattered Isembert's altar, and this ritual violence turned then to physical violence, as the assembly of distinguished clerics, canons, and monks devolved into a mob that attacked and nearly killed the controversial scholar and teacher, Berengar of Tours, who was in attendance. As I have written previously, it is possible, perhaps likely, that Amatus exploited the sacramental opportunity afforded by the destruction of the altar to rouse the mob against Berengar, whose heretical teachings fueled the eleventh-century Eucharistic controversy (Brown 2021, p. 223). In any case, the

scandal at the council of Poitiers reignited interest in Berengar's heresy. Threatened by the mob, Berengar was compelled to endorse a profession of belief in the Eucharist written for him by Amatus and the council, the text of which preserves perhaps the earliest verbal formulation of the concept of transubstantiation (Somerville 1972). The Church's renewed interest in Berengar led several years later to his trial and a new punishment at Rome, in 1079, though he renounced his confession soon after his return to France, leading to a final trial led by Amatus in 1080 at the council of Bordeaux.[27]

By this time, Amatus's conflicts with Berengar had escalated into a public feud with the entire chapter of canons at Saint-Martin, to which Berengar belonged. Amatus attempted to force the canons to receive him in ceremonial procession, while the canons refused his visit and insulted the legate and his ally Ralph, the Archbishop of Tours. The two sides retaliated against each other, trading excommunications in 1081.

It was at this juncture that planning for the council of Charroux began. The consecration of the altar and invention of the sainte Vertu appear in this context as urgently relevant both to the legate's loss of face through his humiliation at Tours and to the ongoing crisis over Berengar's heretical beliefs, in which the rebellious canons of Tours, supported by King Philippe, posed a substantial challenge to the pope and his legates. The drama of the relic's staged rediscovery and the subsequent prodigy of blood, along with the consecration of the altar, witnessed by a large and diverse assembly of lay and religious powers, dressed the legate in the charismatic authority of a sacramental miracle.

In closing, I observe that the selection of the abbey of Charroux to host the council was itself a strategic decision that exploited both the support of allies and the symbolic potential of the site to maximize the public impact of the invention of the sainte Vertu. Fulcrad, the Abbot of Charroux, was none other than the brother of Ralph, Archbishop of Tours, the ally of Amatus, whose mutual conflicts with the canons of Saint-Martin and the King of France directly preceded the council and miracle (de Monsabert 1910, p. XXXVIII). The abbey of Charroux, with legendary ties to Charlemagne and thus to the lineage of the kings of France, was famously the site of the council of Charroux in 989, which proclaimed the Paix de Dieu (Favreau 1989, pp. 213–19). Architecturally, through its relation to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, the abbey church offered a setting powerfully appropriate to a miracle involving the body of Christ (McNeill 2015, p. 215). With construction of the crypt to house the relic beginning after the council, it offered the legates the prospect of a building in progress, inviting donations and support to engage the public's active attention for years to come. With the completion of the crypt and rotunda, Charroux provided the legate Amatus and the pope the opportunity to preside in 1096 over the consecration of the new space, to reaffirm the miracle and its lessons. No doubt, all of this was equally if not more attractive to Fulcrad and the monks of Charroux, whose abbey stood to benefit enormously from the miraculous discovery of the most holy relic. The pilgrimage and religious devotion to the sainte Vertu at Charroux helped substantially to fund construction and to enrich the abbey in the decades that followed. The advantages to Charroux thus offered strong inducement to support the legates' goals. Yet this also served the legates' purposes, as an object lesson to other potential allies: obedient collaboration with Rome promised material benefits.

I have attempted in this essay to resituate the reliquary and miracle of the sainte Vertu in their proper context as matters of central importance to the council of Charroux. Likewise, I have attempted to establish the significance of this obscure council for our understanding of the reform agenda of Amatus of Oloron. My account clarifies some previously enigmatic aspects of French church history in the age of Gregory VII. However, my larger purpose is to draw attention to open questions about the nature and varieties of conciliar speech and legatine authority in the era of Gregorian Reform. The career of Amatus of Oloron included many dramatic, colorful, and even marvelous occurrences of sacramental violence, public spectacle, consecratory performance, and building miracles. These episodes have sometimes been treated as merely anecdotal evidence for the history of church reform. I have attempted to show that they are, on the contrary, vital and revealing evidence of the legates' persuasive strategies and the social contexts of their objectives.

Sacramental spectacle was essential to the legates' work, from the great miracle of the sainte Vertu to the dozens of more commonplace consecrations and other ceremonies that they orchestrated. Such spectacle I believe constitutes its own form of persuasive speech, aesthetic and charismatic in nature rather than rational and legal. Sacramental spectacles served both as means and ends of the legates' religious objectives. As a means, spectacle lent charismatic authority to reinforce the legates' weak legal mandates. As an end, sacramental spectacle embodied the liturgical and theological positions that the legates sought but often struggled to enforce on the strength of their canonical authority alone, as the miracle of the sainte Vertu so richly demonstrates.

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Notes

1 On the rediscovery of this reliquary at Charroux in 1856, see Brouillet (1856). On the history of the relic of the sainte Vertu associated with the reliquary, see Cabanot (1981).

2 The miracle account is published in de Monsabert (1910, pp. 39–41).

3 On Gregory's use of standing legates, see Cowdrey (1998).

4 On the legatine councils and church law in the era of Gregory VII, see especially Rennie (2010).

5 As when Amatus convened the council of Poitiers in 1075 for the punishment of Isembert II, Bishop of Poitiers, in spite of the pope's earlier order commanding Isembert to appear in Rome for discipline at the pope's Lenten synod. See Brown (2020, pp. 218–19).

6 The episode is known chiefly from the complaint that the canons of Saint-Martin addressed to Pope Urban II. See Delisle (1840–1904, vol. 12, pp. 459–61); see also Farmer (1991, pp. 44–46).

7 On the subject of charisma in its relation to concepts of art, representation, spectacle, and performance, see Jaeger (2012).

8 My thinking here is indebted to the ideas on representation, hyper-mimesis, and the charisma of art in Jaeger (2012, pp. 98–133).

9 "*Quem enim honorem mihi Ecclesia tantae Dignitatis Romano Pontifici ulterius reservaret, si Legato nostro processionis gloriam exhiberet?*" (Delisle 1840–1904, vol. 12, pp. 459–60). (For what honor would the Church of such a dignified Roman Pontiff further reserve for me, if it presented the glory of a procession to our legate?)

10 The career of Amatus of Oloron offers a well-documented case in point. See Fazy (1908, pp. 77–140); Degert (1908, pp. 33–84); Cursente (2013). Concerning his consecratory activities, see especially Richard-Ralite (2017); Brown (2017, 2018, 2021).

11 Amatus's expedition in Catalunya has drawn little attention. Documentation of his activity survives among the records of diverse churches and monasteries in the region. See *Catalunya Romànic*a (1984–1997) including volume 5, *El Gironès, la Selva, el Pla de l'Estany*, p. 402; volume 6, *Alt Urgell, Andorra*, pp. 67, 118, 121; volume 24, *El Segrià, Les Garrigues, el Pla d'Urgell, la Segarra, l'Urgell*, p. 420; volume 25, *El Vallespir, el Capcir, el Donasà, la Fenolleda, el Perapertsès*, p. 366. See also Diago (1603, pp. 136–37).

12 Fazy, "Notice sur Amat," pp. 85–86. Degert, "Amat d'Oloron," pp. 49–53.

13 " . . . *Dixit chrisma illud non consecratum, sed execrandum, asinorum magis unctioni convenire quam christianorum*" (Delisle 1840–1904, vol. 14, p. 50).

14 On the representation authority in images of enthroned judges, councils, and curia, see Voyer (2020).

15 According to an account from Marmoutier, Ralph had already been excomunicated by Amatus when he appeared before the legates at Dol. See Fazy (1908, p. 98); Delisle (1840–1904, vol. 14, p. 96).

16 On the influence of Poitiers and southwestern France on developments in eleventh-century canon law, see Blumenthal (2009, pp. 87–100); Rolker (2009, pp. 59–72); Rennie (2013); Goering (2009).

17 On the councils at Poitiers, see Brown (2020); Rennie (2011); Villard (1986). In addition to the councils at Poitiers in 1075, 1078, 1081, and 1082, evidence suggests a previously unrecognized council in 1079, the date normally assigned to a charter introducing reforms to the community of canons at Saint-Hilaire. The charter was signed by Amatus in his capacity as legate, in addition to the archbishop of Bordeaux, Bishop of Poitiers, trésorier of Saint-Martin de Tours, and the abbots of Saint-Martial de Limoges, Saint-Savin, Saint-Jean d'Angély, and Saint-Junien, among others, an assembly whose size and dignity is indicative of a council assembly convened under the authority of the legate Amatus. See Rédet (1848, pp. 97–99).

18 "*Nec suus episcopus, nec suus monachus*" (de Broussillon 1903, vol. 2, p. 220); see also Cursente (2013, p. 183).

19 "*Postquam vero expulsus est a sede Episcopatus sui, ille execrabilis homo, fax furoris, fomentum facinoris, adversarius justitiae, filiae superbiae, virus suae invidiae in nos effudit, per Amatum (suum dico, non nostrum) nos accusavit: quin etiam, ad nostrae summum dedecus Ecclesiae, ipse Deus invidiae, puteus perfidiae, Ecclesiae nostrae adversarium, veritatis inimicum, pecuniae servum, arrogantiae filium, Amatum, Turonum conduxit*" (Delisle 1840–1904, vol. 12, p. 459). (But after he had been expelled from the seat of his episcopate, that execrable man, the firebrand of fury, the kindling of crime, the enemy of justice, the daughter of pride, poured out upon us the venom of his envy, and accused us through his Beloved [Amatus] (I mean his, not ours): why even to the supreme disgrace of our Church, the man of Tours, the very God of envy, the pit of perfidy, bribed Amatus [his Beloved], the adversary of our Church, the enemy of the truth, the slave of money, the son of arrogance). The author develops a pun based on the name Amatus, meaning beloved, that may be read, in the context of the author's other hyperbolic calumnies and slanders, as implying that Amatus and Ralph are lovers.

20 The author specifies the presence of Amatus of Oloron; Guy, Bishop of Limoges; and Almarus, Bishop of Angoulême, subsequently referring to them as a "council of bishops" (*Episcoporum consilio*). See de Monsabert (1910, p. 40).

21 "*Adquiescit eius aliorumque piis precibus, statuunt diem quo tante virtutis omnibus venientibus simul et loci quo habebatur indicium daretur ostensio*" (de Monsabert 1910, p. 39).

22 The precise chronology of the reconstruction of the abbey church after the fire of 1048 is a matter of some debate and uncertainty. However, evidence strongly supports dating the crypt, the platform for the high altar, and the sculptures of the rotunda tower (and thus completion of the tower itself after 1082). The well-documented invention of the sainte Vertu in 1082 marks the beginning of work on a monumental crypt to house and expose this new relic. The consecration of the high altar above the completed crypt in 1096 marks the conclusion of this construction. The capitals of the lower elevation of the rotunda tower overlooking the altar are exemplars of the so-called "fat leaf" or "*feuille grasse*" style that proliferated in Poitou in the late eleventh century. As previous scholars have observed, these sculptures are intimately related to those of the chevet at Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand in Poitiers and in the nave of Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe. See discussion in Camus (1992). The "fat leaf" capitals, found in the first six bays of the nave at Saint-Savin, belong to the last phase of construction of the church, after ca. 1080. Those at Saint-Hilaire likewise can be dated to the final phase of construction associated with the vaulting of the church beginning after ca. 1074. Dedicatory inscriptions on two of the chevet capitals at Saint-Hilaire further point to a date in the late eleventh century, including one inscription recognizing the patronage of UGO MONEDARIUS (Hugh the Moneyer), a prominent layman associated with the mint at Melle and documented in numerous charters from the region between 1060 and 1097. See Favreau et al. (1974, pp. 66–67). The early date for the capitals at Charroux of ca. 1060, proposed by Camus and followed by McNeill (2015, pp. 210–11), must be rejected in favor of a date after ca. 1082. The historical, architectural, and artistic evidence suggest that the crypt, altar platform, and rotunda tower, which are after all architecturally integral to each other, were all completed during the same campaign, during the period ca. 1082–1096.

23 On the concept of performance culture, see Hibbitts (1992, pp. 873–960, 882–84) and passim. On art and performance culture in the Middle Ages, see Dierkens and Golsenne (2010).

24 "*Adest dies: pervenitur ad locum, comitante pariter gaudio cum tremore; ostenso loco, destruitur . . . "* (de Monsabert 1910, p. 40).

25 On the distinction between aura and charisma, see Jaeger (2012, pp. 98–133). Jaeger describes aura as a power proper to relics and charisma as quality characteristic of icons, drawing a distinction between the abstraction of the relic and representational presence of the icon. The liturgy as a representational medium may be compared in its iconicity and charismatic potential to that of representational art in Jaeger's argument.

26 See discussion in Brown (2021, pp. 220–21).

27 On Berengar's punishment at Rome in 1079, see Newton (2003).

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Article

Leadership on Crusade: Military Excellence, Physical Action and Gender in the Twelfth-Century Chronicles of the First Crusade and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem

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Abstract: It is hardly surprising that in the chronicles of the First Crusade (1096–1099) and in the Chronicon of William of Tyre, accounts propagating Christian warfare, impressiveness, authority and command stem from military actions blessed by God. In the depictions, the position of being a leader is constructed and maintained by a public display of martial ability, by deeds rather than by words. The sources certainly describe aristocratic warriors influencing their peers or larger mixed audiences by speech, but in these cases too, to be successful, the grasp on command normally requires that physical effort follows the communications. The narratives equate physical action with the motives, values and beliefs of the first crusaders. The initiative aimed at achieving leadership is often described approvingly, but the sources also criticize the leaders for manipulative behaviour and unwillingness to cooperate with each other. The judgement of the sources depends on authorial agenda and dynastic rivalries: the leaders of the First Crusade, here especially Bohemond of Taranto (c. 1054–1111), Tancred of Hauteville (c. 1078–1112) and the successors of Godfrey of Bouillon (c. 1060–1100), understood the relation between written history and the claim on power and actively contributed to the production of the heroic image of the first crusaders, that is, the highlighting of their own alleged excellence as leaders. For these three leaders, a cultural legacy, whether initiated during their lifetime or posthumously, was crucial to creating a lasting image of effective leadership. The case of Peter the Hermit, a preacher from Amiens with a supposedly low social background, is different. The fact that chroniclers and composers of chansons included a figure without military expertise and verifiable support from kin and allies among the leaders of the First Crusade, albeit in a controversial manner, bears evidence in itself of his recognition by medieval audiences. Leadership is a gendered talent in the twelfth-century chronicles. The close relation between command and military action on the one hand, and the categorical exclusion of women from the field of battle on the other, discouraged depictions of female leadership in the crusading context. As a result, women were excluded from the leadership of the First Crusade, and references to female authority did not appear in the sources until several decades later in an altered context, with Queen Melisende of Jerusalem (c. 1105–1161) being the clearest example. In her case, too, gender formed a barrier to action and leadership. William of Tyre's description of her reign is ambivalent, while her sister Alice's (c. 1110—after 1151) claim to the regency of Antioch is portrayed negatively. This article compares the models and qualities of the leaders of the First Crusade in medieval sources. The first section considers modern definitions of imposing (charismatic) authority and ties the discussion to the overarching theme of exploring medieval crusader leadership. The second part examines the examples of the leaders of Antioch and Jerusalem and their cultural legacy in the chronicles.

Keywords: leadership; gender; first crusade; Kingdom of Jerusalem; Bohemond of Taranto; Melisende of Jerusalem; Tancred; Godfrey of Bouillon; Alice of Antioch; Peter the Hermit

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1. Leadership, Charisma and Twelfth-Century Crusading: An Introduction

While modern theories of social impressiveness and charisma are useful for understanding leadership in the Middle Ages, not to mention how the person in charge implemented their authority, medieval terms often carry different connotations to similar words

used today (Kostick 2008).[1] In this case, the twelfth-century chronicles of the crusades[2] (Constable 2001) clearly include a concept of compelling and divinely inspired leadership resembling the modern ideas of charismatic authority, but they do not refer to the leaders of the expeditions as charismatic. In fact, the word "charisma" is rarely, if ever, used by the twelfth-century chroniclers or poets of the crusades.

Those of the crusaders who would have recognized the term "charisma" would probably have reflected on the biblical usage of the word in the New Testament, especially in Paul's letters stating that each member of the Church has his or her own gift of grace given by God.[3] In Paul's references, the term is not connected to authority or leadership in particular but indicates the gift of redemption and grace (χαρίσματος), including prophecy, miracle-working, the gift of tongues, healing and so on. In Greek, the word χάρις could mean grace, charm and physical beauty of people, gods and objects, a gift or favour given out of the kindness of the donor or in gratitude to the receiver, or even a sense of delight or pleasure. In the Christian context, however, the pagan Greek and Roman notion of physical beauty (masculine and feminine alike) was interpreted in terms of the soul regaining its beauty by divine grace (Rossi Monti 2017).

In the biblical context, a human being could be bestowed with such divinely intended gifts but could not be the source of them. The access to these gifts was based on a usufruct by divine will, independent from the personal traits of an individual. In perhaps the most influential definition of the term charisma in *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, Max Weber combined these two notions, claiming that "Charisma is a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These as such are not accessible to the ordinary person but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader." (Weber 1947, pp. 328, 358f; 2017, p. 177).

More recently, Stephen Jaeger has agreed with Weber. For Jaeger, charisma means a personal characteristic or ability, either inborn or consciously acquired by training or experience, an "extraordinary personal presence" that allures the audience, compels them to follow, overrides critical judgement, inspires imitation and stimulates imagination (Jaeger 2012, pp. 9–11, 20).

Of the five leaders discussed in this article, Jaeger's definition provides a suitable model for interpreting the depictions of Tancred's and Peter's leadership. In Tancred's case, the textual construction of leadership clearly relies on real or alleged personal abilities, both innate and acquired, while Peter's case fits better with the idea of a prophet miraculously endowed with the skill to move people to act in accordance with the divine will. The cases of Bohemond and Godfrey are more complex, and Melisende's presence has been deliberately obscured in the chronicle of William of Tyre, the main source of her life, in order to make her career more compatible with the ideals of medieval queenship.

Another contemporary, John Antonakis, underlines the powerful capacity of charismatic leaders to provoke emotional reactions. According to Antonakis, charisma is a symbolic influence rooted in values and emotions. Charisma endows the holder with the ability to lead by framing and delivering visions that strengthen the audience's confidence in their presumably common goals by drawing attention to shared metaphors and stories and expressing the feelings of the collective (Antonakis 2018). Antonakis' theory of charismatic leadership is closely related to the idea of transformational leadership of Bass et al., which emphasizes the role of an idealized leader able to inspire his followers to transcend their own interests for the greater good (Bass et al. 1987). In the modern sense, therefore, charisma, dominance, authoritative persuasion and leadership seem to go hand in hand. A charismatic person would be one who is accepted and supported by others to clarify the actual, moral and emotional objectives of the group and lead its members towards these goals. The ability to release emotional reactions is most clearly present in the depictions of Bohemond's speeches and Peter's compassion for high-standing ecclesiastic patrons, but also in three other cases.

Because of the incongruence of the medieval and modern definitions of the term charisma, the word charisma is best omitted to avoid a mistaken assumption of its modern meaning. Modern theory, however, provides a fresh perspective to interpreting the twelfth-century crusader chronicles' ideas of leadership, because the authors dedicate plenty of space to leaders whose behavioural traits and abilities to convince their followers and peers are often described in terms reminiscent of the modern notion of charismatic leadership.

The sources clearly include a concept of compelling leadership nuanced with notions of divine intervention and favour. For the theologians and first crusaders alike, victory was a gift of grace and a token of divine approval (Augustine 1955, XV.4, pp. 456–57; Bernard of Clairvaux 1957–1977a, I.2, p. 215; Gratian 1879, 23.4.49, p. 925; Raymond of Aguilers 1968, p. 128; Anon 1962, X.xxxviii, p. 92; de Chartres and Hagenmeyer 1913, I.xvii, p. 299). More precisely, chroniclers depicted God as bestowing military success on individuals who by their behaviour, their impact on others, and their prominence in the collective memory met the requirements of leadership that would have been defined as charismatic by Weber, Jaeger and Antonakis.

Leadership as a source of inspiration and initiative and object of awe is a central theme in the sources, reconciling the theological explanation of the crusade as a holy war devised and directed by God with the class-normative socio-cultural ideals of the military aristocracy who led the expeditions. These ideals included the notions of aristocratic honour, loyalty among kin and hierarchic social structure listed as typical for the heroism-seeking warrior societies Jaeger calls "charismatic cultures". In the latter context, heroism was defined by performative actions (Jaeger 2012, pp. 146–47) and was also strongly present in the crusader chroniclers' descriptions of Godfrey's, Tancred's and, to a lesser extent, also Bohemond's public display of military skills with class-related weapons in a lethal combat against formidable enemies (Robert the Monk 2013, IV, pp. 44–45, VII, p. 75; Albert of Aachen 2007, II.28, p. 109, III.65, p. 244, IV.32, p. 296; Ralph of Caen 2011, LIII, p. 646).

Heroic leadership was constructed in the chronicles by the depiction of extraordinary achievement, combining military ability with the tendency to take physical action. In the narrative context, princes were best able to provoke imitative following by engaging themselves personally in battle. This following was nevertheless not implicit: leadership could be sharply criticized if the authors did not agree with the underlying motives. These general findings were in line with Heinzer's, Leonhard's and von den Hoff's definition of a hero as a person related to extraordinary deeds or qualities provoking admiration, imitation and following but also criticism among other people (Heinzer et al. 2017, p. 9).

According to Heinzer et al., heroism is constituted through interaction with the audience. This conclusion applies also to the leaders of the First Crusade, whose heroic aura evolved as a literary construction over decades and centuries. For the memory of the crusades, it was the work of historians and narrators to develop, add and perhaps create notions of heroism, authority and leadership, and also to refute and deny the existence of these attributes, as perhaps in Melisende's and clearly in Alice's case. Bohemond of Taranto, Tancred and Godfrey of Bouillon have been chosen as examples here because they represent the most successful among the leaders of the First Crusade when it comes to maintaining and indeed boosting the historical image of their leadership. Peter the Hermit's role in the First Crusade, albeit notably different from that of the princes, became an established part of the historiography and story-telling tradition of the crusades.

The main reason for their success is based on the cultural legacy the three (and perhaps four, if we count Peter as well) crusaders left behind: all three were applauded by the chroniclers and storytellers from an early date. For Godfrey, the rise to fame was a more time-consuming process than in the case of Bohemond and Tancred, but then his star rose higher than theirs. Later construction of Godfrey's career as the champion of Latin Christendom, the founder of the royal house of Jerusalem and ultimately one of the Nine Worthies, was built on becoming more idealized than the conflicting images of Melisende, another ruler of the Latin East, and Bohemond, Tancred and Peter who were all praised and criticized for their actions.

The main sources used in this article include the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the chronicles of Fulcher of Chartres, Raymond of Aguilers, Ralph of Caen, Albert of Aachen, Baudri of Dol, Robert the Monk and Guibert of Nogent for the First Crusade and William of Tyre for the life of Melisende. Of the authors, Fulcher of Chartres (1059–1127) and Raymond of Aguilers (d. c. after 1105) were chaplains who participated in the First Crusade with Baldwin of Boulogne (future King Baldwin I of Jerusalem) and Raymond of Toulouse. The anonymous author of *Gesta Francorum* was another eyewitness, who was perhaps a knight or cleric from Southern Italy.[4] All three produced a chronicle of the crusade soon after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099.[5] Of Albert of Aachen not much else is known other than that he was a cleric and crusade enthusiast, writing his chronicle by 1119. His main informants were likely to have been German-speaking crusaders returning from the East (Grocock 1996).[6] Ralph of Caen (b. before 1097, d. after 1130) was a Norman cleric who served Tancred and possibly also Bohemond. He travelled to Antioch sometime prior to Bohemond's death in Apulia in 1111. After Tancred's death a year later, Ralph concluded his *Gesta Tancredi* by 1118, probably in Jerusalem.[7]

Baudri of Dol (1046–1130) was a Benedictine abbot of St. Pierre-de-Bourgueil and absentee bishop of Dol. Like Guibert, abbot of Nogent (c. 1053–1125) and Robert, who was probably a monk connected to the abbey of Saint-Remi in Rheims (Robert the Monk 2013, pp. xvii–xxxiv; Robert the Monk 2005, pp. 1–4), he used *Gesta Francorum* as his primary source. The three Benedictine chroniclers added a theological framework to the *Gesta*, placing the First Crusade in the context of divine history and emphasizing the role of the pope as the initiator and leader of the expedition (Biddlecombe 2014).

William, confidant of King Amalric I of Jerusalem, Archbishop of Tyre and royal chancellor (c. 1130–1185), is another ecclesiastical author who includes a depiction of the First Crusade in his chronicle. William, however, was writing more than eighty years after the crusade in a very different context.

When he stopped writing a few years before the defeat of Hattin in 1187, which led to the loss of Jerusalem, the situation was already serious. King Baldwin IV died of leprosy in 1185, leaving the kingdom to his young nephew Baldwin V. After the death of the child king a year later, a bitter crisis over succession arose between the supporters of Baldwin's two sisters, Sybil and Isabel. Even before his death, the infirmity of the king had rendered him incapable of leading the armies in a situation where Saladin's power was simultaneously accumulating (William of Tyre 1986, 4.23, 19.12, p. 266; Handyside 2015, pp. 2–6, 33). Unlike the contemporaries of the First Crusade, William's focus was not on the armed pilgrimage of the past but on the current political issues of the realm. Rather than a crusade chronicle, his *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* is a royal history written by an erudite theologian and experienced politician.

To summarize, the contemporary or near-contemporary sources of the First Crusade, with the exception of the anonymous, Raymond and Fulcher, were largely composed by authors who had not personally participated in the events they were depicting and who were writing after the results of the expedition were known. With a possible exception of the anonymous, the authors were clerics. In general, they wrote to disseminate the ideology of the Christian holy war and to propagate the glory of the military exploits of their patrons (Bull 2014; 2018, pp. 30–32, 57–58; Kempf 2014; Biddlecombe 2014; Naus 2014; Jaeger 2017, pp. 181–204, here 198; Lapina 2007). Keeping these two circumstances in mind, the historicity—or fictionality—of the information included in their texts was perhaps less significant for the authors than the effect the contents had on intended audiences.

Within such a narrative strategy, brave fighting was not the only necessary particle for cementing leadership that would be praised for centuries. Personal talents associated with the main characters are likely to have been exaggerated and in some cases invented. The awe-inspiring but complex qualities of Bohemond and Tancred were based on texts produced by their Norman collaborators, the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* and Ralph of Caen.[8] Robert the Monk, Baudri of Dol and Guibert of Nogent, using the *Gesta* as their primary source, were mostly reiterating the Norman bias conveyed by the

anonymous authors. Robert, whose chronicle became the most popular among the sources, was promoting a positive image of the Capetians.[9] Albert of Aachen favoured the German crusaders and chose the Lothringian Godfrey of Bouillon as the protagonist of his chronicle (Edgington 2008, pp. xxxi–xxxii; John 2018, pp. 9–10, 72, 223). For his contemporary Fulcher of Chartres and, half a century later, William of Tyre, Godfrey in his founding role of the royal house of Jerusalem was an important character, although not as prominent among the leaders of the First Crusade as in Albert's work and in the later tradition (John 2018, pp. 232–33).

In crusader chronicles, leadership was framed in masculine terms[10]. For the authors strong leadership relied on the physically enacted excellence in holy war and the remembrance of actual military actions. Women were automatically excluded from martial championship because of their gender.[11] They did not have an active military combat role except in rare emergencies,[12] and even if they could de facto act as effective military leaders during their lifetime, as in the case of Queen Melisende (and perhaps her sister Alice), chosen here as the example for being the first woman who received a remarkably long and detailed treatment in a crusader chronicle, being a woman unavoidably constituted an obstacle for becoming remembered as a crusader leader in the full sense of the word. The ideal of leadership through military action limited historical magnificence to adult aristocratic males.

The sources of the crusades contain a wide range of masculine terminology, indicating the existence of several types of masculinities in the texts (Hodgson et al. 2019, pp. 2–3). Although manly excellence was not excluded in the case of the clergy, the individual's position in the social hierarchy determines the vocabulary typically associated with the warrior ideal type. Even more than the lack of military training, his relatively low social status made it difficult for Peter the Hermit to join the ranks of crusading heroes.

2. Constructing Crusader Leadership in the Twelfth-Century Chronicles

2.1. Bohemond of Taranto

Among the crusader princes, Bohemond of Taranto, the oldest son of Robert Guiscard, was well-known among the chroniclers for his ability to persuade others with his military vision and stirring speeches[13]. Feats of valour were manifested in daring charges at the forefront, heavy blows and expert strikes, all of which Bohemond is depicted as capable of. The anonymous author describes him attacking the enemy:

> "So Bohemond, protected on all sides by the sign of the Cross, charged the Turkish forces, like a lion which has been starving for three or four days, which comes roaring out of its cave thirsting for the blood of cattle, and falls upon the flocks careless of its own safety, tearing the sheep as they flee hither and thither. His attack was so fierce that the points of his banner were flying over the head of the Turks."[14]

According to the *Gesta Francorum*, Bohemond was a great warrior inspired by the Holy Ghost (Anon 1962, I.iii, p. 7). At first glance, the depictions seem to correspond to Weber's dual requirements of divine endowment paired with exceptional performance by an individual (Weber 1947, pp. 328, 358f; 2017, p. 177). The idea of performative action as an indicator of heroism in the charismatic cultures defined by Jaeger (Jaeger 2012, pp. 146–47) is also strongly present in other descriptions of Bohemond. Robert the Monk mentions Bohemond throwing himself with his column into the Battle of Antioch and turning the course of the battle, which ended in a decisive victory for the crusaders. When the enemies saw him and his men roaring like lions, charging into their midst and slashing with their swords in all directions, they lost nerve and withdrew (Robert the Monk 2013, V, p. 42). Albert of Aachen tells the same story, although he adds his protagonist Godfrey of Bouillon first:

> "Duke Godfrey and Bohemond did not curb their horses but let them have their heads and flew through the midst of the enemy, piercing some with lances,

> unsaddling others, and all the while urging on their allies, encouraging them with manly exhortations to slaughter the enemy. There was no small clash of spears there, no small ringing of swords and helmets heard in this conflict of war, no small destruction of Turks"[15]

Among the chroniclers, Robert the Monk and Baudri of Dol include Bohemond's speeches inciting the army (Baudri of Dol 2014, I.xvi, p. 18, II.i, p. 31, II.xiv, p. 45, II.xix, pp. 53–54; Robert the Monk 2013, II.4, p. 15, II.16, p. 19, IV.10, p. 39). Since neither of these clerics participated in the crusade, these speeches must be considered works of fiction; Robert or Baudri would not have known Bohemond's words or been able to evaluate the exact context of the performance. However, as both men would have been able to meet Bohemond in 1105–1106 and had the opportunity to follow his presentations (Baudri of Dol 2020, pp. 18–19), it is not impossible that their descriptions convey a reliable impression of Bohemond's oral performance.

Biddlecombe, the most recent editor of Baudri's *Historia Ierosolimitana* believes that while the lead given to Bohemond in Baudri's work may be a genuine reflection of Bohemond's influence, it is just as likely that Baudri saw Bohemond as a useful literary figure. Pre-battle speeches are common in crusader chronicles and chansons, even if usually brief, not exceeding five lines or at most a paragraph. The case of Baudri is nevertheless different: Bohemond's speeches are long, eloquent and include theological reasoning (Baudri of Dol 2014, I, p. 18, II, pp. 30–32, 55). According to Biddlecombe, the orations were added to the text to explain Baudris thoughts on the purpose of the crusade and the events and the strategic thinking of its leaders.[16] *Gesta Francorum*, Baudri's source, refers to the speeches but does not include any content.

Baudri's examples of Bohemond's speeches splendidly follow the three-step charismatic tactic for winning over the audience, as described by John Antonakis. The speaker must first *arouse* the feelings of his or her listeners [1], and then connect those feelings to a common goal. The best way to do this is to focus their attention by using metaphors and stories [2]. Then, the performer should justify the objectives by *expressing* the feelings of the collective and giving them confidence that the shared goal is attainable [3]. It is important to deliver the message in an animated and passionate way using voice and gestures. Finally, the psychological gap between the leader and the followers is bridged by telling the story of *moral decision* [4], which is accepted and shared by the group (Antonakis 2018):

> "Bohemond, seeing the countless host of enemies threatening and jeering at his men with frenzied speech and barbarous sword, stood undaunted, and spoke to his comrades with due deliberation: 'Most steadfast soldiers of Christ, behold, it is time to fight. Cast aside all fear, which emasculates even men, and act in manly fashion for your own protection [1]. Endure the attackers' blows without wearying, and since we have complete faith in assistance from Jesus [3], stretch forth warlike hands, and show the strength of your ancestry [2], for behold it is time. I do not want the glory of the Franks to be defiled on account of our negligence, or for the holy name of Christians to become worthless because of our failure to act [1]. Our situation is critical, the war is going against us, many enemies are very near. But nothing has happened to you except by your hope and your will. Everything has happened to you as a result of prayer. You left your homelands for this; you came here for this; you have always longed for battle. Behold that which you have long desired and prayed for! Look how they have surrounded us on all sides! [3] But, you indomitable race, you undefeated people, do not be afraid! For in very truth God is with us. If anyone is fearful now that he is in a tight spot, then let him either borrow a bold spirit for himself, or at least for shame let him hide his fear. Now the need is for arms and courage; it's not the time for weakness or clumsiness. [4] But why am I wasting time with words? Already now one is speaking to oneself.' Then he ordered the tents to be sorted out quickly and he sent orders to his allies, who had withdrawn from him rather a long way, to make great haste to come to them. 'For inevitable danger

> of death is at hand for us,' he said, 'unless you come with speed. The rumour of battle is in no doubt, and we are seeing it with our own eyes, we are feeling it keenly striking our bodies. Come on now, Christians; charge and defend both yourselves and your common cause. It is a shared danger we are in; it is a shared crisis in which we are striving [4]."[17]

Bohemond's claim to leadership is undeniably present in the accounts throughout the twelfth century. In the two surviving letters from Antioch to the Pope, signed by the leaders of the First Crusade in 1098, Bohemond is mentioned first (Hagenmeyer 1901, XII, pp. 153–55, XVI, pp. 161–65). In addition to the *Gesta Francorum* and the historical tradition stemming from the text, Bohemond is also mentioned more often than any other leader in the earliest surviving crusader chanson, *La Chanson d'Antioche* (John 2014), surviving in the version compiled or perhaps commissioned by Graindor of Douai from c. 1180. William of Tyre, completing his chronicle by 1185, gives equal space to Bohemond and Godfrey of Bouillon and almost as much to Tancred. He makes fewer but nevertheless frequent remarks about Raymond of Toulouse and Baldwin of Boulogne, Godfrey's brother and successor as King of Jerusalem, and says far less about Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders and the papal legate Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy. Ambroise, an Anglo-Norman crusader writing c. 1194–99 in the aftermath of the Third Crusade, mentions that on the First Crusade God had given victory to Bohemond and Tancred, who were distinguished pilgrims, as well as to Godfrey of Bouillon and other princes of great renown (Ambroise 1897, 1, p. 172, 2, p. 174, vv. 10636–53). The *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, another chronicle of the Third Crusade written perhaps around the same time, states that in the year of Our Lord 1099 Bohemond, Raymond, Tancred, Duke Godfrey, Count Robert of Normandy and the Franks had captured Jerusalem and expelled the Saracens from the Holy City (Nicholson 2001, p. 39).

In Bohemond's case, however, his influence was also recorded to have sprung from other sources than leading by physical example. Anna Komnene, generally negative towards the Normans, whom she accused, rightly, of attempting to conquer Byzantine territories (Theotokis 2020; Rubenstein 2016),[18] wrote the following about Bohemond:

> "Such was his constitution, mental and physical, that in him both courage and love were armed, both ready for combat. His arrogance was everywhere manifest; he was cunning, too, taking refuge quickly in any opportunism. His words were carefully phrased and the replies he gave were regularly ambiguous. Only one man, the emperor [Anna's father Alexios I Komnenos] could defeat an adversary of such character, an adversary as great as Bohemond." (Komnene 1969)

Arrogant, cunning, opportunistic. Slander by a woman, whose imperial father fought a decade to gain upper hand over the Principality of Antioch from Bohemond? It is clear that Bohemond sought to augment his power by conquest during the First Crusade and afterwards, and that the limits of his authority remained contested. The conflict with the Byzantines was reignited in 1097, when Bohemond seized Antioch and the land around the city and refused to surrender it to the emperor; this lasted until 1108, when Bohemond was defeated and compelled to acknowledge Byzantine overlordship in Antioch at the Treaty of Devol.[19]

Given the paucity of documentation relating to the Council of Piacenza, Bohemond's initial involvement in the crusade remains obscure.[20] It is not clear whether the decision to join the crusade was carefully planned or simply an opportunity taken more spontaneously. *Gesta Francorum* claims that the call for the crusade did not reach Bohemond and his followers until as late as the summer of 1096. According to the anonymous author, Bohemond, moved by the Holy Spirit, ordered a precious cloth be cut in pieces and used for making cross badges. The majority of knights present eagerly took the cross on Bohemond's side. Count Roger of Sicily, the anonymous author adds, was left almost without knights. However, if Bohemond or his representatives had been present in Piacenza, Bohemond

would well have been aware of the forthcoming expedition while besieging Amalfi. Either the whole story is a fake or Bohemond had set the scene.

According to Bull, the anecdote was added to the text to "emphasize Bohemond's quick thinking, charisma and control of the situation", and not to indicate his ignorance of the papal plans. To support this interpretation, the anonymous author mentions earlier that when Peter the Hermit and his lot reached Constantinople in the early days of August 1096, they found crusaders from Southern Italy there. As Bull points out, a detailed and dramatic description of the starting point of Bohemond's journey east is in sharp contrast with the beginning of the *Gesta*, which refers obliquely to the stirring of the hearts and papal preaching in the northern side of the Alps (Anon 1962, pp. 2, 7; Bull 2018, pp. 118–19).

Geoffrey Malaterra, who is generally not very enthusiastic about Bohemond and does not include him among the main characters of his chronicle, states that Bohemond's leaving for the East during the siege of Amalfi harmed the interests of his half-brother and rival Roger Borsa. According to Malaterra, Bohemond was inspired by the opportunity to invade Byzantine land (Malaterra 1927–1928, pp. 73, 77, 81, 82, 87, 90, 91, 99).

Other open questions are the extent to which he acquired leadership during the expedition and his position when it began. In a recent article, Simon Parsons has challenged the traditional view of Bohemond as a hero or at the most flawed hero of the First Crusade. According to Parsons, the depiction of Bohemond is also complex in the *Gesta Francorum* and the chronicle of Robert the Monk. At Dorylaeum in July 1097, he postpones fighting until the other leaders arrive and even considers flight at one point (Robert the Monk 2005, p. 26; Parsons 2019). In the Lake Battle at Antioch in February 1098, he has his standard bearer Robert FitzGerard lead the charge in his place (Anon 1962, p. 36; Parsons 2019). During the conquest of Antioch in June 1098, he hesitates again (Anon 1962, p. 46; Robert the Monk 2005, p. 54).

After the conquest of the city, the control over Antioch drove Bohemond into a serious dispute with Raymond of Toulouse, who demanded that Bohemond abide by a treaty with the emperor.[21] A subsequent attempt to conquer Latakia from the Byzantines in 1099 was halted by the intervention of Raymond of Toulouse, Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders. According to Albert of Aachen, Bohemond was accused of violating his oath to the Emperor, lying to his allies and killing and blinding Latin Christians during the occupation of two citadels (Albert of Aachen 2007, vi, 55, pp. 476–78, VII.7, p. 496, VII.59–62, pp. 568–72, IX.16–17, pp. 656–58; Raymond of Aguilers 1968, p. 125; Asbridge 2000, p. 34; 2007, pp. 137–138). Bohemond was also a rival of Godfrey and his successor Baldwin I, whom Tancred and Patriarch Daibert tried to oust from the throne of Jerusalem after Godfrey's untimely death (Albert of Aachen 2007, vii.46, p. 554; Asbridge 2000, pp. 16–18). Albert of Aachen reproaches Raymond Toulouse for an insatiable lust for gold and silver, Bohemond of Taranto for greed and Baldwin of Boulogne for jealousy of another lords' gain (Albert of Aachen 2007, V.33, p. 380, VI.54–59, pp. 476–82).

Accusations of fraud and violence against Christians as well as deliberate delaying to join battle are obviously in conflict both with the ideal behaviour of a crusader knight and the aristocratic notions of honour and loyalty among allies associated with charismatic societies by Jaeger. However, Bohemond, together with Godfrey and Tancred, who were among the leaders of the First Crusade, left the most lasting memory in Western history-writing and literature.[22] This memory is likely to have originated largely in his own arrangements rather than his innate characteristics: during his military career, Bohemond gained more enemies than allies.

The Norman rule over Antioch opened an irreconcilable rift between Bohemond and the Byzantines. In 1105, Bohemond travelled to France to gain support for his claim to Antioch against the Greeks (Asbridge 2000, p. 64). The official reason was a pilgrimage to venerate St Leonard of Noblat after release from Turkish captivity, but the stay in France in 1105–1106 was dedicated to promoting a new crusade and enlisting military assistance against Alexios Komnenos. The journey was very successful, culminating in the marriage of Bohemond and Princess Constance, the eldest daughter of King Philip I of France, in

Chartres at Easter 1106 (Vitalis 1969–1980, I, pp. 47, 60, 98, 102 fn 4; Rubenstein 2016; Russo 2005). The marriage into the House of Capet was a great social leap upwards for Bohemond, who managed to convince his future father-in-law to abandon the traditional Capetian marriage policy and accept a Norman from Southern Italy as a son-in-law (Paul 2010).

Exactly to what extent Bohemond contributed to the construction of his public image as a heroic leader is not clear. Sweetenham has convincingly claimed that Bohemond and his successors sought to create a foundation narrative to support their claim on the Principality of Antioch and pointed out several elements within this narrative that glorify Bohemond's personal charisma and leadership, "whether dramatically giving his cloak to be cut into crosses at Amalfi or leaping on the altar at his wedding to tell people about his exploits". Such vivid stories would have had several functions, such as justifying the possession of Antioch by divine help and showing Bohemond as a leader chosen by the army and God much in the Weberian fashion to allure the audience to accept his claim of leadership (Anon 1962, p. 7; Vitalis 1969–1980, 6: XI.12, pp. 70–71; Sweetenham 2022).

Bohemond's campaigning in France and its possible relationship with the production of the sources of the First Crusade has been an object of lively debate for a long time. The notion that the surviving version of the *Gesta Francorum* was the work of a simple knight[23] has been challenged by Oehler, Morris and Flori, who suggested that the original text, possibly produced by a Norman crusader in Bohemond's army, would have been revised for further use in France during Bohemond's journey.[24] Since the *Gesta* is likely to have been circulating in France in early 1106 (Riley-Smith 1986, p. 137; Niskanen 2012; France 2022; Naus 2014), Niskanen, Krey, Poncelet and Oehler have suggested that the extant version, whether a revision of an older text or not, was produced in conjunction with Bohemond's vigorous promotion of the new crusade[25], whereas Biddlecombe has claimed that the *Gesta* had been circulating in France already before Bohemond's arrival (Baudri of Dol 2014, pp. lvii–viii). According to Nicholas Paul, textual evidence propagating Bohemond's heroic career was only written in the aftermath of his marriage to support the Capetians (Paul 2010). Bull thinks that it is possible that the author of the *Gesta Francorum* was a cleric attached to Bohemond of Taranto very much like the other eyewitness chroniclers of the First Crusade, Fulcher of Chartres and Raymond of Aguilers and Ralph of Caen, who was commissioned to write by Tancred, Bohemond's nephew (Bull 2018, pp. 55, 130).

Be that as it may, the anonymous author wrote both admiringly and critically of Bohemond, and the appearance of his chronicle in western Europe was related to the writing of several other chronicles, all of them frequently mentioning Bohemond's actions (France 2022). The production of Baudri of Dol's chronicle coincides with Bohemond's stay in France, whereas Kempf and Bull, the most recent editors of Robert the Monk's work, have contested the earlier dating of Robert's work to 1106 or 1107, suggesting instead that the text was completed c. 1110, with the main purpose of conveying a favourable image of the French royal family (by that time including Bohemond), and especially removing the disgraceful desertion of Hugh of Vermandois, the younger brother of Philip I, during the second siege of Antioch.[26] By that time Bohemond was a member of the Capetian family and Robert could have described him positively for that reason alone.

2.2. Tancred of Hauteville

To the East with Bohemond marched his nephew Tancred,[27] who was probably still in his late teens when he took up the cross. Tancred achieved an undying reputation through eyewitness chronicles and later tradition, outshining even his cunning uncle in his courage, impulsiveness, determination and gallantry. To quote the modern translators of William of Tyre, "William's critical faculties cease to function when he writes of Tancred" (William of Tyre 1943, p. 186, n. 24). In fiction, he was portrayed as the king's right hand, a general adored by his men and maidens. Still, in *Gerusalemme liberata* from 1581, Torquato Tasso represents him as the archetype of chivalrous virtues, a perfect crusader knight, for whom the warrior maiden Clorinda and the princess Erminia fall (Petrizzo 2019b).

This was no minor achievement, considering that Tancred remained Bohemond's second-in-command until his death and was the youngest and poorest of the leaders of the First Crusade. Albert of Aachen and Guibert of Nogent link his young age with financial dependency on others higher in the hierarchy—he volunteered to carry out dangerous tasks in return for compensation by the senior leaders.[28] When Bohemond stayed in Antioch, Tancred transferred his allegiance to Raymond of Toulouse and continued towards Jerusalem. After Godfrey of Bouillon's stature began to rise after the siege of Arqa, Tancred left the service of Raymond following a dispute and joined Godfrey's forces.[29]

Raymond was not the only person Tancred argued with. Petrizzo depicts Tancred as a "disturbingly young, terribly angry, and very violent crusader", whose impetuosity Ralph of Caen, his chronicler, tried to represent as praiseworthy bravery (Petrizzo 2019b): "It was only the glory of praise that moved the spirit of this young man. But in regularly pursuing glory [in military pursuits] he brought frequent suffering on himself, for he did not spare his own blood or that of [the army]."[30]

In Albert of Aachen's and Ralph of Caen's chronicles, Tancred's personal appeal and leadership derive from his personal physical abilities and leadership by example. The military action resulting from his example is not typically preceded by a speech like in Bohemond's case; Tancred acts and the army follows. Albert describes Tancred as a

> "Very fierce knight who could never have enough of Turkish bloodshed, but was always eager for their slaughter [. . .] put on his hauberk, took with him ten comrades who were very experienced with horse and lance, and [. . .] attacked them boldly and pierced and destroyed [. . .] Tancred returned in great triumph and happiness to his comrades in the city, taking back with him the Turks' heads as evidence of victory."[31]

Ralph of Caen relates to Tancred fighting the Greeks on the crossing of the River Vardar:

> "Half-dead bodies filled he banks on both the right and left with a middle channel of blood. There was no room to maneuver. Rather, [Tancred's men] could only follow along the path of the killer. Here was the killer himself although it seemed that he had poured out his own blood rather than that of his enemies. Covered in blood, his appearance denied that this was Tancred but his work spoke of him.[32] He was a panther among the sheep [. . .] Tancred soaked the green earth with their blood. Tancred filled ditches with heaps of the dying."[33]

These portrayals of violent and straight forward leadership in combat recall Jaeger's notion of extraordinary personal presence as an indicator of charismatic leadership. The depictions suggest that in the heat of battle all those present were able to distinguish Tancred because he fought more fiercely than anyone else. Dramatic tones are suitable to provoke emotional reactions in the audience.

The idea that personal prowess is manifested in physical excellence is particularly clear in Tancred's case. The chroniclers of the First Crusade state that he was always ready to fight (Ralph of Caen 2011, III) and that he often acted spontaneously, even recklessly. Tancred is described galloping towards the front line at full speed, flinging himself and his horse into a river in full armour to save his men (Robert the Monk 2013, II.xiv, pp. 17–18) and plundering the Temple treasury to pay his men, causing a dispute between him and the Patriarch after the conquest of Jerusalem. Tancred defended himself publicly, declaring that he had acted to provide for the needy, thus ensuring the public good and fighting the enemies of God. He was ordered to return over 700 marks of silver, which was apparently only a part of the booty he had taken.[34]

Looting in the churches of the Holy City was clearly an unworthy act for a crusader hero. Ambiguous anecdotes, including half-hidden criticisms of leadership, also seem to be present in the descriptions of Tancred. As far as is known, Albert of Aachen had no personal connection with Tancred and did not use Ralph of Caen's chronicle as his source. His choice to show Tancred in favourable light may thus have been deliberate. On the other

hand, Tancred was the main source of Ralph's work and is likely to have commissioned it. Since Ralph had not participated in the First Crusade, it is likely that he was expressing Tancred's own version of the events. But why would Tancred have liked to be portrayed as a looter? Perhaps the moral of the story is that he wanted to be remembered as a good lord who was willing to do *anything* for his men rather than see them in distress.

As for the scenes containing graphic violence, Ralph's style comes close to the *chansons* where great battlefields turn slippery with the gore. If the chronicle was intended for Tancred's family, associates and other audiences consisting of aristocratic warriors and their retinues, such incidents would have been understood as both conventional and diverting. Being depicted as a leading knight in a terrible yet magnificent combat contributed to the making of the legend of Tancred.

This was probably what he wanted: to be remembered for heroic fighting and generosity to his men, rather than as a young, landless knight who was notoriously short of money and perpetually subordinate to the great magnates; Prince of Antioch, rather than a knight who changed his allegiance from lord to another. Ralph of Caen's anecdote crystallizes the paramount importance of personal reputation for a crusader leader: "Tancred's prowess ate and drank praise. Desirous of nothing other than fame, like a pauper who spurns wealth, like a faster who spurns food, like a laborer who spurns rest, he found a path [. . .]".[35]

2.3. Godfrey of Bouillon

Matchlessness in battle was, unsurprisingly, a necessary prerequisite for the claim on leadership also in Godfrey of Bouillon's case. Albert refers to Godfrey piercing the enemy with a sword, lance and crossbow bolt, cutting off helmeted heads, striking through vitals and inflicting great slaughter among the Turks with a hand highly schooled in war, encouraging his men amidst the fighting and cutting a splendid figure in the army among the painted shields, shining iron mail coats and flying standards.[36] Albert of Aachen is the only one among the early twelfth-century chroniclers to give Godfrey precedence among the leaders, but many other authors add examples of Godfrey's military exploits and action on the First Crusade. In *Gesta Francorum* he is portrayed as a pagan-slayer,[37] and Ralph of Caen mentions that he was among the first to kill (Ralph of Caen 2011, XIV, p. 615), and Baudri of Dol points out that his election as ruler was supported by his hostility to the gentiles and his experience in warfare.[38]

A very famous quotation by Robert the Monk attributes to Godfrey a popular topos of the *chansons,* splitting the enemy in two with one violent strike of the sword:

> "What tongue could explain how much damage the Duke inflicted unaided on the bodies of the wicked pagans? They began to flee, throwing their arms to ground; they feared the Duke's sword like death but could not avoid it. He sliced through their necks with his arms bare and sword unsheathed; they unwillingly offered him their naked bodies,[39] hardly resisting. The site, the fury, his sword and his strong hand all fought them; all this fell upon the limbs of the wretches. One of them, bolder than the rest, unusually heavily built and of greater strength rather like another Goliath, saw the Duke savaging his men mercilessly; he urged his horse towards him with bloodstained spurs, and lifting his sword high he sliced through the whole shield of the Duke, which he held above his head.
>
> The Duke, ablaze with furious anger, prepared to return the blow and thus aimed for his neck. He raised the sword and plunged it into the left side of his shoulder-blades with such force that it split the chest down the middle, slashed through the spine and vital organs, and, slippery with blood, came out unbroken above the right leg. As a result the whole of the head and the right side slipped down into the water, whilst the part remaining on the horse was carried back into the city [. . .] How praiseworthy is the right arm of the unconquered Duke, and how strong his courageous heart!"[40]

Guibert of Nogent, Ralph of Caen and Albert of Aachen include the story in their chronicles, as do the *Chanson d'Antioche* and *Chanson de Jérusalem* (Guibert of Nogent 1996, VII.xii, pp. 285–86; Ralph of Caen 2011, LIII, p. 646; Albert of Aachen 2007, III.65, p. 244; La Chanson d'Antioche 1976–1978, CLXI.3661–70, pp. 200–1; La Chanson de Jérusalem 1992, 206.7415–19, 7432–33, p. 200, 207.7449–50, p. 201). It is notable that texts representing different genres, historical contexts and aims convey uniform ideas of military excellence and exemplary leadership on the First Crusade.

The interpretation of personal abilities differed slightly from hero to hero. Whereas in Bohemond's case references to rhetorical skills and perceptiveness complemented fighting skills accentuated in the descriptions of Tancred, chroniclers emphasized the sincerity of Godfrey's faith. Ralph of Caen states that Godfrey was totally devoted to war and to God and adds that he was living more like a monk than a lay person (Ralph of Caen 2011, XIV, p. 30). Robert the Monk claims that Godfrey was a true prince who did not amass worldly treasure and was not interested in the spoils of war.[41]

It is perhaps obvious that Godfrey Bouillon, chosen by the others as the advocate of the Holy Sepulchre, was depicted with more religious epithets than the others. Albert of Aachen recalls a dream of a local knight in the context of Godfrey's election as ruler of Jerusalem. The knight, miraculously transported to Mount Sinai, saw the duke ascending the mountain and meeting two bishops dressed in white. The bishops blessed Godfrey and prayed that he would be appointed the leader of the Christians, like another Moses (Albert of Aachen 2007, vi.35, p. 448).

Godfrey, a secular ruler of the Holy City, is associated with ideals of both secular and ecclesiastical masculinity. In addition to military prowess, he is depicted by Albert as a spiritual example to others, indeed a leader to whom God has miraculously bestowed command, a leader like the ancient prophets. In fact, Godfrey is better than Moses, who only caught a glimpse of the Holy Land without ever ruling it (Crouzet-Pavan 2013, p. 169).

As a leader chosen by God to rule in the earthly representation of the heavenly city, the depiction of Godfrey comes closest to the medieval idea of charisma as a gift of grace connected with prophecy and miracle-working. Heroism, defined by performative acts, is reinforced here by the special divine favour bestowed on Godfrey because of his great personal piety (Crouzet-Pavan 2013, pp. 167, 172, 211–12).

In Godfrey's case, however, prominence among the princes of the First Crusade grew slowly over a longer period after the crusade. According to Simon John, with the exception of Albert of Aachen, Godfrey was simply remembered as one of the leaders together with Bohemond, Raymond of Toulouse, Tancred, Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders at least until the mid-twelfth century and perhaps as late as the close of the twelfth century. Godfrey's appointment as the ruler of Jerusalem after the city had been captured on 15 July 1099 did not immediately upgrade his reputation.[42] In Brian Fitz Count's letter to Bishop Henry of Winchester in 1143, Godfrey is listed last among of the leaders of the First Crusade, although Brian mentions that he was elected King of Jerusalem (Davis 1910). John's findings are in line with the observations of Philip Handyside in his discussion of the anonymous Old French translation of William of Tyre's *Chronicon*, *L'Estoire de Eracles* from c. 1219–1223. According to Handyside, the translator did not have any particular interest in Godfrey of Bouillon beyond his presence with the First Crusade (Handyside 2015, pp. 58, 88, 93, 119, 224).

The same conclusions apply to vernacular poetry. In the works of the so-called First Cycle of the Crusades, especially in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, Bohemond figures more frequently than other leaders. It is only by the early thirteenth century, when the Second Cycle appears, in the *Chevalier au Cygne*, *Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne, Enfances Godefroi*, that the spotlight falls on Godfrey as the most important among the leaders of the First Crusade (John 2014). In Godfrey's case, it was not a dynastic or crusading history that was crucial to his late medieval reputation as the epitome of chivalry and Christian kingship, a distinction he shared with King Arthur and Charlemagne,[43] but his connection to the folk

tale of the Swan King, a mysterious knight that gradually replaced Godfrey's grandfather, Godfrey the Bearded, in the chansons of the crusades.[44]

Crouzet-Pavan has introduced an interesting theory. Accordingly, the clergy aspired to organize the rule of Jerusalem into a theocracy under the pope and even suggested that the patriarch would make his choice of ruler before the election by the barons. Had the barons been willing, the future ruler of the Latin Kingdom would have been understood to derive his power from the pope, thus becoming a vassal of the holy see (Crouzet-Pavan 2013, pp. 174–75).

This plan did not materialize, but the fact remains that Godfrey did not assume the title of king, as his brother Baldwin did in 1100. The sources refer to his title as the *advocatus* of the Holy Sepulchre,[45] duke or prince,[46] which raises questions about the extent of his power among historians. The lack of the title of king did not automatically indicate diminished authority. Murray has pointed out that, seen as a regent chosen by God and defender of the Church, Godfrey's position was actually quite strong (Murray 1990). At the same time, the opposition of Patriarch Daibert of Pisa undermined the actual power of the newly elected ruler (Murray 2007). The struggle for power remained unresolved at the time of Godfrey's death on 18 July 1100.

In Godfrey's case, the notion of charismatic leadership thus resulted from later authorial aims rather than his own interests or the ideas of his contemporaries. He was not known to have commissioned a chronicle, although he might have issued laws. To reiterate, among the contemporary chroniclers only Albert of Aachen places him as the protagonist of his account of the First Crusade. Albert completed his chronicle no earlier than 1119 and could have been writing as late as in the 1130s (Albert of Aachen 2007, p. xxv), that is, decades after the death of Godfrey. He did not participate in a crusade or travel to Jerusalem, and his text does not reveal any direct link to the houses of Boulogne or Bouillon-Ardennes.[47] In the absence of further evidence, it may be concluded that Albert's interest derived from Aachen being in Godfrey's native Lorraine and Albert's main informants being German speaking crusaders from the area. Albert refers to Godfrey's career as the duke of Lower Lorraine (1087–1100) only briefly, with the focus of the chronicle remaining on the First Crusade and its aftermath. However, writing in the imperial lands in the ancient Carolingian capital of Aachen, it is not impossible that Albert may have had an interest in depicting a model of elected kingship to support the emperor's claim against papacy.

Apart from fierce fighting and ardent piety, associated in the chronicles with all the leaders of the crusade, we may ask why exactly Godfrey was ultimately chosen as the ruler of Latin Jerusalem and secular leader of Christians if he was not seen to be prominent by his peers. The two most likely explanations are the close collaboration and unwavering support between Godfrey and his brothers Eustace and Baldwin. Even more importantly, Godfrey avoided major quarrels with other leaders at least until the summer of 1099,[48] and he maintained good relations with Byzantium even when they were deteriorating in the case of other princes.[49] Furthermore, after the conquest of Jerusalem, Godfrey had become more popular than his rival Raymond of Toulouse and had more loyal followers. Bohemond was not present, and Robert of Flanders and Robert of Normandy made clear that they were intending to return to Europe as soon as possible. In the given context, Godfrey, who was not yet universally seen as the epitome of chivalry and a strong leader, remained the most appropriate choice, on which the majority agreed (Raymond of Aguilers 1968, pp. 153, 157–62; Anon 1962, pp. 153, 157–58; John 2018, pp. 179–80).

2.4. Peter the Hermit

In the sources of the First Crusade, the typical hero is a nobleman of military virtues. In the case of clerics also, religious and moral supremacy was an insufficient prerequisite for leadership if not supplemented by military action. Crusader chronicles emphasize the submission of the military magnates to the lord pope, leader of the *militia Christi*, and habitually describe crusader bishops leading armies into battle and destroying enemies

through the power of prayer and relics (Albert of Aachen 2007, IV. 52–53, pp. 330–32, VII. 56, pp. 564–66, VII. 66–68, pp. 578–80; Robert the Monk 2013, VII, p. 77).

According to the chronicles, the papal legate, Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy, participated in the victorious battle of Antioch on 28 June 1098. Whereas *Gesta Francorum* states that Adhemar's force stayed behind to guard the citadel, clerical authors praise his military actions, whether co-operating with Raymond of Toulouse[50], overcoming the Turkish Atabeg Kerbogha by the power of the Holy Lance[51] or pursuing the enemy, with his face awash with tears of joy (Robert the Monk 2013, VII, p. 77; Albert of Aachen 2007, IV.52, p. 330, IV.53, pp. 332–34).

Bold bishops are prominent characters in the sources, whereas the initiative taken by lower clergy is a curiosity. Among the leaders, Peter the Hermit remains an isolated and contested figure in the historiography of the First Crusade. Peter was a charismatic preacher, a hermit from Amiens with a strong following. He seems to have been a crusading fanatic who held no position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy and had no extensive education, no influential family networks, no wealth and no military training or physical strength. Peter left no written record of himself, but among the chroniclers, Albert of Aachen and William of Tyre, although writing over sixty years apart and in a very different context, name him as the initiator of the First Crusade and state that both the Patriarch of Jerusalem and Pope Urban II received him kindly.

Peter is an interesting example because the sources base his influence on the masses purely on his verbal communication skills without any visible support from any named religious institution or patron among the crusaders. According to Albert of Aachen, "he was a preacher of the utmost persuasiveness and oratory. In response to his constant urging and calling firstly bishops, abbots, clerics, monks, then the most noble laymen, princes of different domains, and all the common people, as many sinful as pious men, adulterers, murderers, thieves, perjurers, robbers—that is to say every sort of people of Christian faith, indeed even the female sex, led by repentance—all flocked joyfully to join this journey".[52] Albert's description is consistent with the theory of Antonakis, explaining values and emotions as the source of charisma and charismatic leadership as an ability to set collective aims and express the feelings of the group (Antonakis 2018). The portrayal of Peter also seems to correspond to the idea of transformational leadership, which emphasizes the leader's ability to inspire his followers to dedicate themselves to the greater good (Bass et al. 1987). The ideals of group-related honour and loyalty are less present in the case of Peter, but since Peter was a low-standing cleric, the models of aristocratic masculinity did not apply to him. He was unfit to lead an army because he lacked appropriate status, resources and training.

In Peter's case, charisma is depicted to have resulted from traits of character rather than physical appearance. William of Tyre says of Peter that he "was small of stature and insignificant in person" but "in that small body, a greater valour reigned". "He was of vivacious disposition and keen and pleasing eye, and he was not lacking in spontaneous eloquence".[53] Albert and William agree that Peter had been drawn to Jerusalem by the fervour of spirit a couple of years before the First Crusade. He had been shocked to see the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the possession of non-Christians and had requested and been admitted to an audience with the Patriarch of Jerusalem. During the meeting, Peter obtained a letter of reference from the Patriarch of Jerusalem to the Pope, urging him to raise an army to reconquer the Holy Land: "Simeon, the patriarch, perceived from Peter's words that he was a discreet man of varied experience in many matters and of *convincing power both in word and deed*. He began to explain to him intimately the many woes which were so cruelly afflicting the people of God who dwelt at Jerusalem. Peter's brotherly sympathy was so deeply moved by this recital that he could not restrain his tears".[54] In William's account, Peter, who is not mentioned to have been literate himself, imitates the feelings of the patriarch so skillfully that he becomes compelled to follow suggestion to write to the pope (Jaeger 2012, pp. 9–11, 20).

Peter's emotional intelligence inspired imitation also in the pope.[55] Albert writes that as soon as the pope had heard these things from Peter with a *willing and attentive ear, he was stirred into action*. He crossed the Alps, decreed that there should be a meeting of all the west of the Frankish kingdom and set out for Clermont in the Auvergne (Albert of Aachen 2007, I.5–6, pp. 6–8). William claims that the pope promised by the word of God to assist Peter in his mission. Peter himself, after meeting the pope, crossed the Alps and preached to the princes of the West, "insisting, rebuking, and censuring", persuading them to go to the aid of their Eastern brethren without delay. Peter was not satisfied with the support among the princes alone, but he continued inspiring the common people and men of the lower classes by his exhortation to take up the cross. William concludes that "the Lord looked upon Peter's faithful service and granted him such favour that rarely did he call the people together without results. His preaching made him very necessary to the pope, who had decided to follow him beyond the mountains". Peter's role was to prepare the hearts of his audience to obey, "so that the pope, who wished to persuade them to the same course of action, had less difficulty in attaining his purpose and was able to influence them more readily".[56] The divine favour bestowed by God to Peter is reminiscent of the choice of Godfrey as a leader of the Latin Christians. In this case, however, the irresistible power of Peter's piety compelled people to bend to his will, whereas Godfrey's rulership was not depicted with the same vigour.

Despite his poverty and lack of military virtues, Peter was not insignificant. According to the chronicles, he continued to convince the crusaders of his ability to lead. He was mentioned as the leader of the group of poor crusaders who perished at Civetot at the hands of Suleyman of Nicea (Anon 1962, I.ii, p. 4; Albert of Aachen 2007, II.24, p. 102) and as an envoy chosen by the military leaders to negotiate peace terms with the chief enemy, Atabeg Kerbogha, in Antioch. Unlike the papal legate Adhemar of Le Puy, Peter survived the crusade and continued to lead his flock to Jerusalem. At the Battle of Ascalon, he was portrayed carrying the holiest of relics, the Lord's Cross, which protected the Christian troops (Albert of Aachen 2007, VI.41, p. 456, VI.43–44, pp. 458–60).

Despite his apparent inability to write or commission a chronicle, Peter's legacy as a leader of the First Crusade became established in medieval west. Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, writing in the 1240s in Champagne, adds that Peter founded the Augustinian priory of Neufmoustier together with the noble Conon and Lambert of Montaigu, and that he was buried there in 1115 (Alberic of Trois-Fontaines 1874, p. 815). His charismatic activities continued posthumously, as the monastery developed a tradition that Peter had been granted the privilege to allow those who could not fulfil their vow to go to Jerusalem for good reasons to gain similar benefits by visiting Neufmoustier (Riley-Smith 1997, p. 154)[57].

For Peter the Hermit, a non-privileged and probably half-literate or illiterate preacher, even if possibly the only truly charismatic leader among the First Crusaders in his impressive capacity to convince various audiences, the personal capacity to influence documentary evidence relating to his career and actions was seriously restricted. Criticism and wild rumours could be easily spread about him and go unanswered; he could be ridiculed in a manner noble crusaders were not exposed to. The chroniclers accuse Peter of desertion in Antioch,[58] and in vernacular poetry he is depicted giving poor crusaders instructions to roast Muslims on a spit (La Chanson d'Antioche 1976–1978, CLXXIV.4046–48, p. 218). His case relates especially well with Heinzer's, Leonhard's and von den Hoff's definition of a hero as a person whose qualities provokes imitation and following but also sharp criticism (Heinzer et al. 2017, p. 9).

2.5. Melisende of Jerusalem

The context of the leadership of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem is very different from the case of the first crusaders. Despite the apparent temporal and contextual gap between her and the leaders of the First Crusade, her actions are discussed here for the simple reason that she is the first surviving example of a woman who held significant power in the Latin East and whose career there has been documented in some detail. It might

have been relevant to add a crusader king here for comparison. Nonetheless, in a frontier society continuously facing military challenges and obstacles, military excellence and heroic leadership remained among the key virtues associated with kingship. In addition to protecting and providing for his realm, the virtuous crusader king was above all a victorious military leader in the battle against the Saracen enemy much as the leaders of the First Crusade have been depicted in the chronicles and *chansons*. The physical infirmity of Baldwin IV, which ultimately made him incapable of leading an army, was one of the major reasons explaining the collapse of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

In the chronicles, not a single woman stands out among the leaders of the First Crusade, suggesting that women contributed little to the victory in the East. Also after the conquest of Jerusalem, references to women exercising military power remain sporadic and brief.[59] The examples include auxiliary practices such as noble wives negotiating for the release of their husbands from captivity, organizing the defence of the family fiefs during the absence of a husband, or commoner women performing supportive tasks such as bringing food and water to fighting men, collecting or preparing munitions or herding livestock (Bennett 2001; Nicholson 2023, p. 2; Schein 2001, pp. 140–53). Perhaps the first major example of a woman with responsibility in a large crusader army is Eleanor of Aquitaine during the Second Crusade. In her case, her authority was diminished by the description of her as a foolish and possibly promiscuous woman risking the military campaign of her husband,[60] Louis VII of France, although she showed much better political and military insight than Louis by supporting the idea of an attack against Aleppo instead of Damascus.

Among the leaders of the Latin East, Queen Melisende of Jerusalem remains the most remarkable female figure of authority. William of Tyre, writing a royal history for King Amalric, Melisende's son, depicts her reign:

> "Transcending the strength of women, the lady queen, Melisende, a prudent woman, discreet above the female sex, had ruled the kingdom with fitting moderation for more than thirty years, during the lifetime of her husband, and the reign of her son."[61]

The depiction by William of Tyre summarizes the ambiguity concerning the rulership of the Kingdom of Jerusalem until the latter part of the reign of King Baldwin III. The status of Melisende as ruler of the Latin Kingdom was contested first by her husband and then by her son. Although Fulk was king, he did not entirely supplant Melisende, who retained power and influence despite their marriage. With Baldwin, she finally had to give up her claims, even if she continued as her son's close adviser, leaving him stricken by grief after her death.

Melisende's reign was perhaps the most successful in the history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and her leadership was presented as praiseworthy by William. At the same time, the wording differed significantly from the classic panegyrics of crusader princes. Instead of showing her brave, relentless, destructively violent and ardent in her desire to fight for God and the Christian cause, William of Tyre uses the adjectives prudent, experienced and careful while explaining how the queen was able to use her royal powers for forceful action, thus overcoming her female weakness. While the prince was underage, she ruled the kingdom with a diligence equal to that of her (male) ancestry (William of Tyre 1986, XVI.3, p. 717). In the surviving images of the queen, she is depicted either in the company of her husband or her son (Lambert 2013; Folda 1993). None of her speeches have survived; in all the images, her mouth remains closed so as to fit the model of an exemplary and pious woman. Even when she laments over Fulk's corpse, she covers her mouth with her hands (Folda 1993). The adjectives used were not chosen to provoke any great emotional reactions but to convince the audience of the coherence of Melisende's actions with the notions of ideal queen as a wife or mother supporting the monarch.

The connection between physical action and exemplary leadership is not present in Melisende's case. These portrayals hardly convey the image of a strong and inspiring leader, yet the records of her actions suggest otherwise. King Baldwin II could have chosen a male relative to be his heir instead of his eldest daughter. The fact that Melisende appears

in Baldwin II's records together with her father shows that he was training her to rule. As Alan Murray has pointed out, King Fulk had no claim to the throne of Jerusalem other than through his marriage to Melisende.[62] The marriage thereby augmented Fulk's authority, but seriously reduced her influence, because once married, the actions of husbands took precedence over those of wives (Hodgson 2007, p. 120). After the death of Baldwin II, Fulk sought to exclude Melisende from power and elevated his supporters and relatives from Anjou to important positions, causing discord at court between the newcomers and the older Frankish nobility of Outremer.

Unlike in the case of Bohemond and Peter renowned for their skills as great communicators, Melisende was not depicted building up charismatic leadership by giving public speeches. Instead, other people are described as speaking for her and taking initiative in her place. The struggle for power between Fulk and Melisende was exacerbated when Count Hugh of Jaffa, Melisende's cousin, publicly defied Fulk and refused to accept his orders. Hugh was accused of treason and banished from the court.[63] Hugh was alleged to have been romantically involved with the queen, but there is no evidence to prove the accusation. The count of Jaffa did indeed lead a revolt against King Fulk in 1132, but as both Mayer and Murray have shown, it was not caused by a liaison but a constitutional crisis. Fulk intended to set aside the succession plan made by Baldwin II in 1131, which obliged Fulk to rule with Melisende. Hugh was the closest male relative of Melisende present at court and protected both her and her son's rights, fearing that Fulk might try to replace the baby Baldwin as heir with a son from his previous marriage (William of Tyre 1986, XIV, 15–18, pp. 651–56; Murray 2015a; Mayer 1972).

Regardless of the actual political background, William insinuates that the cause of the dispute is an extramarital affair, perhaps between Melisende and her cousin (William of Tyre 1986, XIV, 15–18, pp. 651–56). In fact, the accusation is similar to the one William made about Eleanor of Aquitaine, who was rumoured to have had an incestuous affair with her uncle during the Second Crusade.[64] In both cases, a royal couple ends up in a political conflict with a lot at stake. While Melisende was fighting over the royal authority and rule of the kingdom with her husband, the reason for Louis's discontent with Eleanor was that she supported Raymond of Poitier's plan to attack Nur ad-Din in Aleppo instead of Damascus, which was Louis's choice (Bennett 2001; Aurell 2005).

Interestingly, Antonakis' theory of the importance of emotional arousal for the development of charismatic leadership helps to interpret William's text. In this case, the queen is the source of the harmful emotions that cause Hugh to revolt against his king. His alleged emotional reaction to the Queen's distress is reversed in order to discredit Melisende's claim to power. The focus on the emotions may have been intended to disguise the fact that Fulk was an unpopular king at the beginning of his reign.

The medieval concept of marital fidelity extended uxorial submission to all fields of official and private activity. In the chronicles, the political actions of the two queens were seen as subordinate to the conjugal requirement to submit to the will of the husband, the supreme partner. In this context, Eleanor's decision to disagree with the target of a major military operation and Melisende's refusal to step aside were indeed acts of infidelity. Although these acts were not carnal, they subjected the queens to slander, as if they had compromised their marital vows by an act that could be interpreted as disloyalty to their husbands. The bonds of loyalty and social structure between kin and peers characteristic of Jaeger's charismatic cultures are broken here when the crusading community is disrupted by the rivalry between the royal couple.

Heinzer's, Leonhard's and von den Hoff's definition of a hero as a person related to extraordinary deeds provoking admiration and criticism among other people (Heinzer et al. 2017, p. 9) cannot be applied to the case of Melisende and her family because many actions that would have been considered positive if performed by a royal husband or son would have been understood as inappropriate if performed by a woman. For most of the time, royal ladies were not criticised for their military failures but for compromising their duties as daughters, wives and widows.

The crisis of 1132 was not the only political disagreement detrimental for the public image of Melisende. When Bohemond II, Prince of Antioch, died in 1130, his heir Constance (d. 1163) was still an infant. His widow Alice, Melisende's younger sister, attempted to achieve regency but was compelled to withdraw her claim. William of Tyre mentions that, fearing an enemy invasion, the lords of Antioch appealed to Baldwin II, the father of Alice and Melisende, to take control of Antioch. When Baldwin II died a year later, Alice obtained possession of the principality with the support of Melisende, Pons of Tripoli and Joscelin II of Edessa. It seems that the new king, Fulk of Anjou, had to accept her regency for a time (William of Tyre 1986, XIV.4; Murray 2015b; Asbridge 2003).

According to William, Alice was an evil woman and unnatural mother who plotted to disinherit her daughter and marry again according to her own will. Her claim to rule during her daughter's minority was questioned by founding it on her negative feelings towards her child, father and Fulk, whereas the motives of Melisende, Pons and Joscelin for supporting Alice were not discussed. According to Hodgson, there was probably no legal restraint on women acting as regents at the time of the argument. William of Tyre writes approvingly about Melisende's regency during Baldwin III's minority. However, in 1131, Antioch was in a far more vulnerable position than Jerusalem would be in 1143. Baby Constance was only two years old, while his cousin Baldwin would be thirteen when Fulk would die in 1143. There was a high risk that Antioch would be attacked during Alice's regency.[65]

The defamation of Alice might conceal criticism of Melisende, who refused to step down when Baldwin III came of age (Murray 2015a). For William of Tyre, Melisende was a paragon of queenship (Park 2021) but not an ideal leader. William points out that her reign after the death of Fulk was temporary during the new king's minority, and that her kinsman Manasses of Hierges, the constable of the realm, led the army in her place. The basic problem of her leadership was that being a woman, she could not and would not actively engage in warfare and thereby not meet the criteria of a traditional crusader hero.[66] On the other hand, as the archbishop of Tyre and seasoned politician, William probably had ideas about how a realm should be ruled and by whom. After the death of Fulk, Bernard of Clairvaux, another highly distinguished churchman, wrote to Melisende, warning her that as a regent she would have to act as a man so that no one would judge her actions as those of a queen but of a king. In another letter Bernard reminded Melisende that her actions as a queen could not be disguised and that she could not be a good queen if she was not also a good widow (Bernard of Clairvaux 1957–1977b, 8.298, 8.206 (letters 354 and 289); Hodgson 2007, pp. 199–200). The advice seems contradictory: first Bernard orders Melisende to behave like she was a king, then he reminds her of the prerequisites of her feminine roles.

There is no textual evidence of personal military involvement in either Melisende's or Alice's case. However, Melisende was reported to have sent a military force to assist Edessa during the siege of Zengi in 1144. After the fall of the city, she sent a call for help to Pope Eugene III, who launched the Second Crusade (William of Tyre 1986, XVI.4, p. 720, XVII.1, p. 761). Upon the arrival of the crusaders, Baldwin III, Louis VII, King of France, and Conrad III, the Roman king, laid siege to Damascus, whereas Melisende and Manasses would have preferred to focus the attack on Aleppo as Raymond of Poitiers had suggested. The Second Crusade ended in disaster, and the weakened Damascus fell under the control of Nur ad-Din, a relentless enemy of the Franks, in 1154.

After the incident, the animosity between Melisende and Baldwin III grew gradually deeper. In 1152, the dispute over rulership was arbitrated by the leading vassals of the kingdom, who decided to divide the kingdom between Melisende and Baldwin so that the former held power in Nablus, Judea and Jerusalem, whereas Galilee, Acre and Tyre were to be ruled by Baldwin. Neither party was satisfied, and the conflict escalated into a civil war, during which the victorious Baldwin laid siege to the Tower of David in Jerusalem, where his mother and younger brother Amalric were residing. Melisende was compelled to retire to Nablus, but mother and son were soon able to settle their disagreement (William

of Tyre 1986, XVII, pp. 13–14). Thereafter Melisende acted as an adviser to her son and was entrusted with the regency during his military campaigns.

These examples show that Melisende acted as the head of state during several periods of her life and that she also held military power, even if she employed it through a subordinate military official. At the same time, her leadership was disputed several times by her husband and son, who replaced her in the end.

For the first and later crusaders, military victory was the most precious gift from God. From Godfrey of Bouillon onwards, crusader kings were expected to be war heroes. Their leadership, whether charismatic or not, was judged by their military expertise. William of Tyre does not comment on Melisende's role in this capacity, nor does he grant her the epithets of crusader leadership that he uses for male leaders throughout his chronicle. In William's account, the legacy of Melisende's rulership had to fit into a moderate and discreet narrative framework, organized by her gender rather than by active heroism and leading by example.

Melisende herself could have contributed more energetically to the textual making of her memory as a crusader queen. She was an important patron of art and architecture, but it was her son King Amalric who commissioned William to write the chronicle of the kingdom. As Melisende was already dead at the time, her image probably reflects the ideas of the king, and after him the ideas that the next king, Melisende's grandson, wished to convey to future generations about her.

3. Conclusions

Compelling and inspiring leadership occurs frequently in the chronicles of the First Crusade. These texts hold in common the notion of the crusade as a manifestation of the will of God, the universal supremacy of the Roman Church and its members and the military excellence of the warrior elites of the West. The sources include a remarkable number of individuals able to inspire awe, reverence and willingness to submit to others.

The crusader chronicles base leadership on military prowess and assess the motives behind military achievement according to the results of fighting. In the literary convention, the most important component constituting leadership was physical action, even if the sources also included clear examples in which leadership was acquired by other qualities than an active show of military excellence.

Unsurprisingly, of the leaders discussed, the portrayals of Bohemond of Taranto, Tancred of Hauteville and Godfrey of Bouillon corresponded to the model of physical courage and active military presence as definers of convincing leadership. Of these three, accounts of Bohemond contained slightly more negative epithets than the accounts of Tancred. Both were accused of greed and plundering Christians, whereas Bohemond was also reproached for dishonesty and violence against Christians. In comparison with the others, Godfrey's image changed remarkably over time. In his case, the concept of exemplary leadership was split into the conventional war hero and the prophet-styled leader of the Latin Christians.

The traditional view of charisma as a gift of God to an extraordinary human being was best suited to the case of Godfrey's and also Peter the Hermit. This proves Peter's character's strong influence on the historiography and *chansons* of the crusades, despite the fact that he was a poor cleric of presumably low social standing, not only unfit to lead military expeditions but also unable to control the textual tradition concerning himself unlike the other four leaders, who did not lack the resources to commission literary works.

The achievements of Queen Melisende were largely forgotten because, as a woman, her image could not be reconciled with the ideal concept of leading by action, which the chroniclers considered a necessary element of leadership. In her case, the gender barrier may not have been so much about physical participation in military tasks as about the fact that the virtuous queen remained a useful figure in the background, subordinate to the king and supporting *his* leadership through *her* actions. This is not to say that women did not lead in person or that they lacked followers, but rather that sources tend to be

reticent, overlook or criticize female initiative in the crusading context. On the other hand, unlike Bohemond and Tancred, Melisende does not seem to have been actively involved in developing the textual tradition concerning her reign, although she was a patron of major architectural projects and works of art.

Some modern models of charismatic leadership could be applied to the actions of the five leaders discussed in this article. Jaeger's theory of extraordinary presence as the definer of charismatic leadership provided a suitable model for interpreting the depictions of Tancred's and Peter's leadership. In Tancred's case, the textual construction of leadership relied on real or alleged personal abilities, both innate and acquired, while Peter's fits better with the idea of charisma as a gift of prophecy endowed by the divine will. Godfrey's charisma, which was only accumulating over time, also convened to the idea of power as bestowed by God for an exceptionally virtuous human being.

Heinzer's, Leonhard's and von den Hoff's definition of a hero as a person associated with exceptional acts or qualities that arouse admiration and following, but also criticism in others, fitted particularly well with the complex and contradictory picture of Bohemond's leadership (Heinzer et al. 2017, p. 9).

Antonakis's notions of the capacity of charismatic leaders to provoke emotional reactions could be applied to all five leaders. In Melisende's case, the model nevertheless functioned as a negation of the influence rooted in emotions. The emotions provoked by the queen turned into negative effects that caused the splitting of the crusader court in two rival factions.

The narratives equated physical action with the motives and beliefs of the first crusaders. Among the leaders, Godfrey, Tancred and Peter the Hermit benefited for the reason that they were participating in the crusader victory of the conquest of Jerusalem. In the case of Godfrey of Bouillon, notions of laudable leadership nonetheless accumulated over time. According to the early tradition, Godfrey is likely to have been chosen to be the ruler of Latin Jerusalem because he was willing to stay in the East and because he did not provoke major negative reactions among his peers until after his election.[67] His cultural legacy relied not only on his advocacy of the Holy Sepulchre, nor on the fact that the royal house of Frankish Jerusalem was eager to invest time and money in the establishment of a grand historical narrative to maintain its claim for power, but also on his posthumous association with the legend of the Swan King.

In the cases of Bohemond and Tancred, the creation of the extant tradition underlining the charismatic characteristics of both men were boosted by authorial quill. Of the leaders of the First Crusade, Bohemond is the only one who organized a successful fundraising and public relations tour in the West. Tancred clearly benefited from his uncle's agile networking policy, but his achievement in fame and glory was also deliberately self-promoted by commissioning a chronicle of his military career.

Chroniclers contributed to the invention of the historical—and mythical—image of the First Crusade, not excluding spectacular leadership from their interpretations. We acquire the image of leadership in the crusades through the work of historians and narrators. It is possible that this image was based on authentic information, but personal charisma might just as well have been invented by the authors or disappeared into the mists of time.

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Notes

1 E.g., the word *populus*, often translated as "the people", could be used in a narrower legalistic sense to refer to the participants of elections. Kostick (2008, p. 260). The term *violentia* in the sources of the early crusades indicates illegal violent attacks motivated by material gain rather than "violence" in the broad sense (Kangas forthcoming).

2 For the history of the long debate on the historical range of the crusading movement, see the classic article of Constable (2001). Historians generally concur on the crusade movement as beginning in 1096, but academic opinion on when it ended and the geographical and ideological impact of the movement varies.

3 Romans 12:6, 1 Cor 7:7, Ephesians 3:7, also 1 Peter 4:10.

4 The authorship of the work has remained debated, please see the section discussing Bohemond's career.

5 Fulcher edited and rewrote his work during the reign of Baldwin II (1118–1131), possibly under the patronage of the king. The second version thus represents a dynastic history of the nascent crusader state, representing the events of the First Crusade as a prelude to the rising regional claim for power by the Houses of Boulogne and Rethel.

6 Albert of Aachen (2007, p. xxv). Grocock has suggested a slightly later dating, see Chris Grocock (1996). L'aventure épique: le traitement poétique de la première Croisade par Gilon de Paris et son continuateur. In Grocock (1996).

7 Ralph of Caen (2011, pp. v–vi). Bernard and David Bachrach date *Gesta Tancredi* to 1113–18, while Thomas Asbridge suggests 1108–1118. Ralph of Caen (2005, pp. 1–3, 9, 12–13); Asbridge (2000, p. 7).

8 Flori lists no less than 27 laudatory mentions of Bohemond in *Gesta Francorum*; (Flori 2010, p. 43; Wolf 1991; Oehler 1970; Ralph of Caen 2005, pp. 2–3, 9, 12, 13). For a contrasting theory of the textual construction of Bohemond as a carnivalesque *vilain*, see Parsons (2019).

9 Robert omitted Hugh of Vermandois's desertion and rewrote his role as a leader, emphasizing the royal status of King Philip I's younger brother. A positive depiction of Bohemond was in line with Robert's general aim: in 1106 Bohemond had married princess Constance. (Robert the Monk 2013, VI.12, p. 62; Naus 2014).

10 Horsewell and Skottki (2019), introduction. Masculinity, medieval or modern, is a broad term, including a great variety of ideas of manhood. The basic understanding of the term here is the range of positive qualities and activities attached to the depictions of the secular male warriors comprising the leading elite of the crusader army. In the sources of the First Crusade, masculinity is as much a social construct as a gendered quality.

11 In addition to gender, various other variables such as social status, age and religion formed the identity of crusaders. The notion of *fragilitas sexus*, intellectual and physical weakness, was applied to women to justify their exclusion from military action. Women could also be claimed to be unfit to bear arms (Hodgson 2007, pp. 47–49; Evans 2001).

12 (Hodgson et al. 2019; Nicholson 2023, p. 2). On the other hand, most members of medieval society, including women, clerics, non-combatants and those who were too young or too old to fight, supported crusading not by fighting but by praying, participating in religious rituals and donating money. Maier (2004).

13 Anon (1962, VI.xvii, pp. 35–36). For Bohemond winning the other leaders over to hand him Antioch, see (Albert of Aachen 2007, IV.15, p. 270–72; Robert the Monk 2013, II, p. 748). Over seventy years after Bohemond's death, William of Tyre describes Bohemond as a subtle, clear-sighted and very good orator, who often managed to convince other lords (his nephew Tancred of Hauteville, Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders) to take his side. William of Tyre (1986, 4.23, p. 266).

14 Fuit itaque ille, undique signo crucis munitus, qualiter leo perpessus famem per tres aut quatuor dies, qui exiens a suis cauernis, rugiens ac sitiens sanguinem pecudum sicut improuide ruit inter agmina gregum, dilanians oues fugientes huc et illuc; ita agebat iste inter agmina Turcorum. Tam uehementer instabat illis, ut linguae uexilli uolitarent super Turcorum capita. Anon (1962, p. 37).

15 Dux Godefridus, Boemundus, non equo tardantes, laxis frenis per medios hostes aduolant, hoc lanceis perforantes, hos ab equi deicientes, socios sepe hortantes ad trucidandos hostes uirili ammonitione consolantur. Albert of Aachen (2007, ii.27, pp. 108–9).

16 Biddlecombe introduction to *The Historia Ierosolimitana of Baldric of Bourgueil*, p. xxxvii; Baudri of Dol (2020, pp. 18–19).

17 Boamundus uero uidens innumerabilem inimicorum multitudinem, suis et ore rabido et effero gladio minitantem et insultantem, stetit imperterritus, suisque satis consulte dixit comitibus: "Fortissimi Christi milites, ecce dimicandi tempus est. Metum omnem, qui etiam uiros effeminate, abiicite, et de uobis ipsis defensandis uiriliter procurate. Ictus impugnantium indefessi sustinete, et ex Iesu nostri confisi adiutorio, manus bellicosas exerite, uiresque quitas ecce, dum tempus est, ostentate. Ne queso, obturpetur propter nostrum negligenciam laus Francorum, non uilescat propter nostrum segnitiem sanctum nome Christianorum. Res in arto est, bellu ex aduerso est, hostis multus in proximo est. Nichil tamen preter spem seu uoluntatem uestram uobis contigit. Omnia uobis ex uoto prouenerunt. Ad hoc patriam uestra egressi estis, ad hoc uenistis; bellum semper desiderastis. Ecce quod diu optastis et orastis. Ecce nos undique uallauerunt. Sed, O genus infractum, O gens inuictissima, ne terreamini. Quoniam reuera nobiscum deus est. Si quis meticulosus est, seu audacem animum in angusto positu sibi mutuet, seu saltem prae pudore metum dissimulet. Nunc armis et animis opus est, non est tempus socordie, nec imperitie. Quid moror uerbis? Iam nunc sibi quisque loquatur." Iubet Denique celeriter aptari tentoria, mandatque sociis qui ab eo longiuscule recesserant, quatinus ad eos preproperent. "Instat enim nobis, ait, nisi acceleraueritis, ineuitabile mortis periculum. Non est ambigua de conflictatione fama, quam oculis nostris intuemur, quam iam icti corporibus persentimus. Age iam, Christiani; accurrite et uos et uestram

rempublicam defendite. Commune periculum est in quo sumus; commune discrimen in quo laboramus. (Baudri of Dol 2014, II, p. 31; 2020, II, pp. 71–72).

18 Theotokis, the most recent biographer of Bohemond, agrees with Anna. By the end of the eleventh century, the Hauteville clan controlled Southern Italy and Sicily. According to Theotokis, the Adriatic campaigns of 1081–1085 against Alexios I Komnenos and the First Crusade both form part of the greater project of Guiscard expansion aiming at the conquest of the Byzantine Empire. This process had begun already in 1071, when Robert Guiscard had captured Bari, the Byzantine capital in Southern Italy.

19 The treaty was not implemented in power at the time, because Bohemond never returned to Antioch. For Bohemond's relations with the Byzantine Empire, see Frankopan (2016).

20 Luigi Russo convincingly claims that Bohemond's title of prince of Taranto may not have been valid. If this was the case, the crusade opened new opportunities in a difficult situation. For the understudied Italian context, see Russo (2009).

21 Raymond of Toulouse would have returned the city to the emperor Alexios Komnenos as agreed between the leaders and the emperor in 1096. Anon (1962, X.xxxi–xxxiii, pp. 75, 80–81).

22 According to Flori, Bohemond and Baldwin of Boulogne managed to share the glory of the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 in later historiography, even though they were not present. Flori (2007, p. 210).

23 As assumed by Hagenmeyer, Bréhier and Hill, the editors of the *Gesta*.

24 According to Flori, his revision was the chronicle of Peter Tudebode. Moreover, Flori thought that there was also another revision of the original text, which would have been the source for the surviving versions of the *Gesta Francorum*. Flori (1999, pp. 486–90). For the theories of a clerical ghost writer, see Oehler (1970); Morris (1993); France (2022).

25 Vitalis (Vitalis 1969–1980, VI.xi.12, pp. 68–70). For the so-called and much debated Krey thesis, see Krey: "A neglected passage in the *Gesta* and its bearing on the literature of the First Crusade"; Niskanen (2012); Poncelet (1912); Oehler (1970). According to Bréhier, Bohemond even had new passages inserted in the *Gesta* and carried the interpolated text with him to Italy and France in 1105–1106 to support his claim to Antioch. *Histoire anonyme de la prèmiere croisade*, pp. v–viii. Albu has disputed Bréhier's theory. Albu (2001, p. 178).

26 Kempf and Bull, *Historia Iher osolimitana*, pp. xxxiv-xl. Robert mentions Count Hugh before Bohemond and Godfrey. Robert the Monk (2013, VI.12, p. 62). For the summary of the discussion concerning the dating of Robert's work, see also Robert the Monk (2005, pp. 7, 19–20, 44–45). The debate continues, see, e.g., Rubenstein (2016). Three rewritings of the *Gesta Francorum*. "Despite recent scepticism expressed by some historians, the best explanation for this coincidence is that all of them [Robert the Monk, Baudri of Dol, Guibert of Nogent] had been exposed directly or indirectly to the 1106 preaching campaign of Bohemond of Taranto, who was raising armies for a new crusade".

27 Tancred was the son of Bohemond's sister and Odo the Good Marquis, who held lands in Sicily. Petrizzo (2019a).

28 Albert of Aachen describes Tancred as a *tyro illustris*, which can be read either as an illustrious young knight, or as an illustrious household knight, a knight serving a lord without having his own fief. The term *tiro* referred to young age. In classical Latin, the term was used for a newly recruited soldier without sufficient training. By the time Albert was writing, the term could be used synonymously with *iuvenis* and was related to the noun *tirocinium* (a joust or tournament) and the verb *tirocinare* (to be in training as a knight). (Albert of Aachen 2007, II.22, p. 94; Guibert of Nogent 1996, p. 194; Kostick 2008, p. 202; Niermeyer Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus 2002, II, p. 1342).

29 Albert of Aachen mentions that Raymond and Tancred had a disagreement in Arqa concerning a payment Raymond owed Tancred for military service, whereas Raymond of Aguilers says that Tancred deserted Raymond wickedly. (Albert of Aachen 2007, V.35, 384, VI.41, pp. 454–56; Raymond of Aguilers 1968, p. 112; Petrizzo 2019b; John 2018, p. 157).

30 Sola erat laudis gloria, quae juvenis mentem agitaret, cujus quotidianos mercando militia, facilem crebri vulneris ducebat jacturam: eoque nec suo parcebat sanguini, nec militia. (Ralph of Caen 2011, I, p. 605; trans. Ralph of Caen 2005, p. 22).

31 Tancradus autem, miles acerrimus et numquam Turcorum sanguine saciatus sed semper eorum cedi inhians [. . .] lorica uestituit, assumptis decem consociis equo et lancea doctissimis, et [. . .] fortiter assilit, incautos perforat et attriuit. [. . .] Tancradus in gloria magna et leticia in urbem ad confratres regressus est, qui Turcorum capita secum in testimonium uictorie detulit. Albert of Aachen (2007, IV.32, p. 296).

32 Trunci semineces a dextra et laeva medio cruoris alveo supplebant ripas. Nec passim vagandi licentia: sed per effusoris semitam currere dabatur. Hinc effusor ipse, non qui effuderit; sed qui ediderit sanguinem, apparebat: adeo suffectus, adeo cruentatus Tancredum diffitebatur in colore, sed non diffitebatur in opere. (Ralph of Caen 2011, IV, p. 496; Ralph of Caen 2005, p. 26).

33 Pardus ut inter oves [. . .] Tancredus virides respergit sanguine glebas. Tancredus fossas morientum stipat acervis. (Ralph of Caen 2011, XC1, pp. 670–71; trans. Ralph of Caen 2005, p. 111).

34 Ralph of Caen (2011, CXXXVI, pp. 701–2). Albert of Aachen mentions that Tancred was looting the temple out of avarice. Albert of Aachen (2007, VI.25, pp. 434–36).

35 Ad proba Tancredus laudem esuriens sitiensque strenuitas, praeter laudem nullius avara. Pauper opes, jejuna cibum, in sudore quitem spernit, quaque iter est inter duo brachia fissi. In bivium Farfar, usquam locus aptior illi. (Ralph of Caen 2011, CXI, p. 670; trans. Ralph of Caen 2005, pp. 110–11).

36 Dux uero Godefridus, cuius mano bello doctissima erat, plurima capia licet galea texta ibidem amputasse refertur. Albert of Aachen (2007, III.65, pp. 244–45, I.6, pp. 254–56).

37 Dux itaque Godefridus audax et fortis [. . .] Octavo autem die quo ciuitas fuit capta, elegerunt ducem Godefridum principem ciuitatis, qui debellaret paganos et custodiret Christianos. Anon (1962, III.ix, p. 19, X.xxxix, pp. 92–93).

38 Baudri of Dol (2014, 4, p. 112). These talents are also mentioned by William of Tyre, although he was writing in a very different context than Baudri.

39 *Nudus corpus* means that the slayed Muslims were fighting unprotected by armour and/or shield.

40 Que lingua valet explicare quantas strages dux solus illic dederit super corporibus gentis inique? Illi fugere ceperant, armaque sua in terra proiecerant; gladium ducis ut mortem expavescebant, et tamen vitare non poterant. Ille exertis brachiis ense nudato eorum cervices ambutabat; illi, minime renitentes nuda corpora inviti offerebant. Ibi locus, ira, gladius, validaque manus pugnabat, et hoc totum in membris miserorum redundabat. Cumque unus ex eis audacior ceteris, et mole corporis paestantior, et viribus, ut alter Golias, robustior, videret ducem sic supra suos inmisericorditer sevientem, sanguineis calcaribus urget equum adversus illum, et mucrone in altum sublato, totum super verticem ducis transverberat scutum. Et nisi dux ictui umbonem expandisset, et se in partem inclinasset, mortis debitum persolvisset. Sed Deus militem suum custodivit, eumque scuto sue defensionis munivit. Dux, ira vehementi succensus, parat rependere vicem, eiusque tali modo appendit cervicem. Ensem elevat, eumque a sinistra parte scapularum tanta virtute intorsit, quod pectus medium disiunxit, spinam et vitalia interrupit, et sic lubricus ensis super crus dextrum integer exivit; sicque caput integrum cum dextra parte corporis immersit gurgiti, partemque que equo praesidebat remisit civitati. [. . .] O predicabilis dextera ducis invicti, et animosi pectoris robur excellens! (Robert the Monk 2013, IV, pp. 44–45; trans. Robert the Monk 2005, pp. 132–33).

41 *Dux vero Godefridus, non arcem, non aulam, non aurum, non argentum, non quelibet spolia ambiebat*. Robert the Monk (2013, IX, p. 99).

42 As already noted, *Gesta Francorum* and the Benedictine chroniclers, drawing material from the *Gesta,* largely focused on Bohemond, whereas Raymond of Aguilers preferred Raymond of Toulouse, Godfrey's competitor. (John 2014; 2018, pp. 8, 222).

43 The nine worthies (*Le Neuf Preux*) were first mentioned in 1312 by Jacques de Longyon in his *Voeux de Paon*. The nine finest examples of chivalry in the late Middle Ages included three pagans (Hector, Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar), three Jews (Joshua, David and Judas Maccabeus) and three Christians (King Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey de Bouillon).

44 According to the story, Godfrey's mother Ida was the daughter of the Swan Knight. The story was mentioned briefly already by William of Tyre and *Chanson d'Antioche*. Godfrey was not the only prince related to the story. Also other families claimed to originate from the Swan Knight (mentioned by Wolfram von Eschenbach and Conrad of Würzburg), and in some versions of the story there is no dynastic link to any known noble family (Vincent of Beauvais, Geoffrey of Auxerre). John (2014).

45 An advocatus was a member of the laity, usually a nobleman, who represented an ecclesiastical institution in its public functions, normally a vassal of the abbot or bishop holding fiefs from and owing homage to him. Murray (1990).

46 Princeps by Albert of Aachen and Fulcher of Chartres. The Laodicea letter mentioning the title advocate was written when Godefrey was not present; 181: he did not assume the title of king. In a charter of 1101, Tancred states that he had received Tiberias from *dux Godefridus*; in 1104, in another charter, his brother Baldwin states that he is the first *rex* of the kingdom, vol. 1, pp. 131–32, no. 27. RA calls him duke until the end of the chronicle, GF explains that he was elected *principem civitatis*, 92–93. Albert of Aachen (2007, VI.33, p. 446).

47 The text does not mention any patron at all.

48 He demanded the Tower of David from Raymond of Toulouse only after his appointment to rule Jerusalem. (Albert of Aachen 2007, VI.41–42, pp. 454–56; John 2018, p. 192). At the time of the Battle of Ascalon on August 1099, Raymond still held a grudge and was slow to cooperate. (John 2018, pp. 192–94; Albert of Aachen 2007, VI.50, p. 470). After the failed capture of Arsuf, Godfrey accused Raymond of having the responsibility for the defeat, but Robert of Flanders and other leaders prevented an open conflict between the men.

49 Albert of Aachen (2007, II.16, pp. 86–87): he became Alexios's vassal along with the nobles. John (2018, pp. 97–98, 102).

50 (Anon 1962, IX.xix, p. 68; Baudri of Dol 2014, 3, p. 79; Albert of Aachen 2007, III.39 and IV.47, pp. 200–2, 320). Gilo of Paris mentions that Adhemar had duties comparable to dukes, *ducis officium presul Podiensis habebat*. Gilo of Paris, *Historia vie Hierosolimitane*, p. 184. On Adhemar, see Brundage, "Adhemar of Puy: The Bishop and His Critics"; Mesley, "Episcopal Authority."

51 Nam illi episcopus Podiensis cum omni manu Prouincialium fortiter in faciem resistebat, et ei lanceam dominicam semper obponebat. Vnde colligendum est quoniam Deo et Domino Iesu operante uirtus illius timore diuinitius sibi incusso elanguit, et corda suorum tremuerunt, quia sic inmobilis permanebat in obstaculo et uisione celestis armature, acsi omnis pugne immemor cum infinito suo satellitio haberetur. Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, IV. 52–53, pp. 330–32.

52 Sacerdos quidam Petrus nomine, quondam heremita, ortus de ciuitate Amiens, que est in occidente de regno Francorum, omni instinctu quo potuit huius uie constantiam primum adhortatus est; in Beru regione prefati regni factus predicator in omni admonitione et sermone. Huius ergo admonitione assidua et inuocatione episcopi, abbates, clerici, monachi, deinde laici nobilissimi diuersorum regnorum principes, totumque uulgus, tam casti quam incesti, adulteri, homicide, fures, periuri, predones,

uniuersum scilicet genius Christiane professionis, quin sexus femineus penitentia ducti ad hanc letanter concurrerunt uiam. Albert of Aachen (2007, I.2, pp. 2–4).

53 Erat autem hic idem statura pusillus et quantum ad exteriorem hominem persona contemtibilis, sed maior in exiguo regnabat corpore virtus; vivacis enim ingenii erat et oculum habens perspicacem gratumque et sponte fluens ei non deerat eloquium. (William of Tyre 1986, I.11., p. 124; trans. William of Tyre 1943, p. 82).

54 Erat autem nomen patriarche Symeon. Qui ex verbo Petri colligens quod vir esset circumspectus et rerum multarum habens experientiam, potens quoque in opere et sermone, familiarius cepit exponere universa que populum dei in civitate commorantem acrius affligebant, dumque, Petrus, fraterno compatiens dolore, lacrimas cohibere non posset. (William of Tyre 1986, I.11, p. 125; trans. William of Tyre 1943, p. 83).

55 Ibid.

56 Peter autem, omnem transcurrens Italiam, zelo divino succensus Alpes transiens, Occidentales principes omnes singillatim circuit, instat sollicitus, increpat, arguit atqui divina gratia monendo quibusdam persuadet ut fratribus in tanta afflictione positis subvenire [. . .] Nec visum est ei sufficere quod hec apud principes disseminaret, nisi etiam et plebes et inferioris manus homines ad idipsum piis exhortationibus animaret [. . .] contulerat dominus, ut raro unquam sine fructu populous conveniret, fuitque domino pape, qui eum ultra monte sine dilatione sequi decreverat, in eodem verbo plurimum necessaries; nam precursoris functus officio auditorium mentes ad obediendum preparaverat, ut facilius idem persuadere volens obtinere propositum et universorum animos ad se compendiosius inclinaret. (William of Tyre 1986, 1.11–13, p. 129; trans. William of Tyre 1943, p. 87).

57 (Anon 1962, IX.xxi, p. 51; IX.xxviii, p. 67; Baudri of Dol 2014, 3, pp. 62–63; Fulcher of Chartres 1913, I.xxi, p. 248; Robert the Monk 2013, VII, p. 70; Ralph of Caen 2011, LXXXI, pp. 663–64; Albert of Aachen 2007, IV.44, p. 318). To compare, during the Third Crusade the Bishop of Salisbury acted as Richard I's envoy to Saladin. Nicholson (1997, 6.34, p. 437).

58 According to Flori, Guy the Red, an influential baron in the court of Philip I in 1101, was substituted by the non-noble Peter the Hermit in the episode in which Bohemond reprimands the deserters. This is not an impossible suggestion, given that Peter is portrayed in the company of noble deserters. Flori (1999, pp. 486–90).

59 Nicholson (2023, pp. 1, 55, 80). This does not mean that women would not have been there. In her study concerning involvement in crusading between 1096 and 1291, Geldsetzer identified fourteen women who had taken a formal crusade vow, ninety-one who participated in a crusade with or without a vow and fifty-nine more ambiguous cases. Geldsetzer (2003, pp. 181–213).

60 For the examples of the stereotype of the foolish woman manipulating her husband and spoiling campaigns, see Nicholson (2023, p. 13).

61 Domina Milissendis regina, mulier provida et supra sexum discreta femineum, que regnum tam vivente marito quam regnante filio congruo moderamine annis triginta et amplius, vires transcendens femineas, rexerat. William of Tyre (1986, XVIII.27, p. 850). Trans. Lambert (2013).

62 In 1131, Fulk and Melisende were crowned together in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Murray (2015a).

63 William of Tyre (1986, XIV, 15–18, pp. 651–56). After the argument, Fulk's charters often contain the queen's assent. (Huneycutt 1998; Bennett 2001).

64 According to John of Salisbury, the prince's friendship with the queen and their long conversations aroused the jealousy of the king. William of Salisbury mentions a similar jealousy on the part of Louis VII. (John of Salisbury 1965, XXIII, pp. 52–53; William of Newburgh 1884; Aurell 2005).

65 Hodgson (2007, p. 182). Fulk's position was precarious: he was not only a fresh king but also a newcomer to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and his queen and two leading noblemen of the realm questioned his kingship by taking the side of Alice. The king decided to settle the problem by marrying off the infant Constance to Raymond of Poitiers (c. 1099–1149) to strengthen his own position. After her replacement as ruler of Antioch, Alice is mentioned to have remained in her dowager lands. William of Tyre (1986, XIV.20).

66 The contemporary sources do not refer to noble women bearing arms on the battlefield, although they could be in command of military forces. (Nicholson 2023, p. 72; Bennett 2001).

67 Bohemond was a better strategist and Raymond of Toulouse possessed a great prestige. John (2018, pp. 220–21).

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Article

Charisma of Ascetic Saints in the Hagiography of the 12th Century

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Abstract: In the 11th–12th centuries, extreme ascetic practices reappeared in Western Europe, in particular, the wearing of hauberks and heavy iron chains, associated with penitence and eremitism. This article discusses the charisma of three ascetic saints of the 12th century: Bernard the Penitent (d. 1182), Wulfric of Haselbury (d. 1154/55), and Godric of Finchale (d. 1170). Their hagiographies were written shortly after their death. The authors emphasize that they were revered as holy men already in their lifetime. Their charismatic power was revealed by miracles of healing and prophecy, sometimes in visions. The manifestations of their charisma continued and even increased after their death and were transmitted and spread through their relics. Their mortifications and the signs of their holiness are comparable to those of the stylites and other hermits of Syria of late Antiquity.

Keywords: hermits; anchorites; mortifications; penance; miracles; healing; prophecy; visions; relics; stylites

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1. Introduction

In the history of sainthood, according to the Epistles of Saints Paul, the term *charisma* means "the gift of God's grace" for the benefit of the community, hence its use to designate the miraculous power of the saints (*virtus*) to perform healing, prophecy, and other beneficial actions such as charity and mercy. From a sociological point of view, charisma refers also to the power of attraction of some people, especially that of the saints.

All saints have charisma, and after their death, their charisma is transmitted through their relics. The charisma of the ascetic saints deserves special attention. The faithful considered that ascetic practices and mortifications erased the marks of sin and conferred on the ascetics a specific charisma. It was believed that their survival was only possible thanks to the direct intervention of God. Not only because of the manifestations of their thaumaturgical power, but also because of their force transcending the limits that ordinary men can bear, they drew the admiration and even fascination of the believers, already during their lifetime. In particular, the stylite saints of the fourth and fifth centuries in Syria, with their spirits freed from the prison of the flesh and their bodies subjected to extreme privations and mortifications, were considered particularly capable of communicating with heaven, and from their charisma, to benefit the faithful who requested them.

Evagrius Scolasticus says that Symeon Stylite the Elder (d. 459) "placed between earth and heaven, he holds communion with God, and unites with the angels in praising him; from earth, offering his intercessions on behalf of men, and from heaven, drawing down upon them the divine favour" (Evagrius 1846, pp. 24–25). According to his *Vita*, "His fame spread far and wide, and people flocked to him, not only from the neighbourhood, but even from a distance of several days' walk, and they all desired to touch him and receive some blessing from the touch of his skin garments""(Festugière 1959, p. 309). Theodoret of Cyrrhus explains that Symeon's extreme asceticism, which attracted many people, could produce the conversion of unbelievers (Theodoret of Cyrrhus 1985, VI, 3–4, p. 64). Similarly, in introducing another ascetic, Romanos (a hermit near Antioch, attested in around the time

of Valens, 364–378), he emphasises that "In addition to the greatness and the number of his labors the bloom of grace induced all to admire and honor him. From many he often drove out serious diseases, to many sterile women he gave the gift of children. But although he had received such power from the divine Spirit, he called himself a pauper and beggar. [. . .] On his departure from here and transference into the angelic choir, he left behind a memory not buried with the body, but flowering, flourishing, abiding inextinguishable forever, sufficing to profit those who wish" (Ibid., XI, 4–5, p. 95).

The stylites and other penitent hermits were considered as living saints. Even during their lifetime, their charismatic power was spread through their eulogies as well as through patches of their clothing. Hippolyte Delehaye has rightly formulated: "Who better than the stylite's conditions of life entirely concentrated on his own soul? Yet the attraction of these hermits is irresistible. Everyone comes to them" (Delehaye 1923, p. CXCIII).

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we can see a resurgence of eremitism in Europe. (*L'eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII* 1965; Sheils 1985; Vauchez 2003). There are there are several hypotheses to explain this phenomenon: the influence of the Gregorian Reformation, which advocated the ideal of the evangelical life; a change in religious sensibility, which emphasized the possibility of individual spiritual perfection outside of religious institutional frameworks; and the development of devotion to the humanity of Christ and in particular to his Passion. The mortifications and privations of ascetic hermits not only had to atone for their sins and those of others, but also to imitate the sufferings of Christ. The retirement into solitude of hermits, anchorites and other ascetics did not mean that they were cut off from the world: they gave advice and comfort to those who came to them (Vauchez 1994, pp. 82–86).

Some hermits and anchorites wore coats of mail (*lorica*) and iron chains, and engaged in penitential practices such as fasting and mortifications[1]. Peter Damian reports Dominic Loricatus' (d. 1060) self-flagellation and wearing of a coat of mail. In the 11th century, several ascetic saints had the same practice: Bertulf of Ghistelles (d. late 11th century), Simon of Crépy (d. 1082), Hugues of Semur (d. 1109), and Guillaume of Firmat (d. 1103).

In the 12th century, the series of ascetic saints continued: Girard of Saint-Aubin (d. 1123), Etienne of Muret (d. 1124), Godric of Throckenholt (d. between 1133 and 1145), Wulfric of Haselbury (d. 1154/55), Etienne of Aubazine (d. 1159), Godric of Finchale (d. 1170), Bernard the Penitent (d. 1182). And in the 13th century: Laurent Loricatus (d. 1243), and in the 14th: Martin of Genova (d. 1343).

In this paper, I examine the specific charisma of three saints loricati, first of all Bernard the Penitent, followed with the dossiers of two English saints, Godric of Finchale and Wulfric of Haselbury. This choice is made because of their contemporaneity, the richness of their hagiography and the specific use of their relics. After presenting their ascetic practices, I attempt to show by what phenomena their charisma was revealed during their lifetime and after their death, and finally, how their charisma was transmitted and spread through their relics.

The *Life and Miracles* of Bernard the Penitent or Bernard of Sithiu, a native of Maguelone in Languedoc, was written by John, a monk (and later abbot in 1187) of Sithiu, shortly after the saint's death in 1182, at the behest of the abbot of St Bertin, Simon, and at the request of the other monks (*Vita B. Bernardi poenitentis*, *Acta Sanctorum*, Apr. II, pp. 674–97). The *Life and Miracles of Godric of Finchale* is a contemporary account by Reginald of Durham (Reginald of Durham 2022); the *Life of Wulfric of Haselbury* was written by John of Forde around 1184, some thirty years later than the saint's death, but based on living oral testimonies (Abbot of Forde John 1933): "everything that John writes down, every scrap of information, comes to him by word of mouth (see Introduction (Abbot of Forde John 1933, p. 69))". The writing down of the deeds of recently dead men of God attests to the desire for the rapid recognition and diffusion of their sanctity.

2. Retreat to a Hermitage, Ascetic Practices

Originally from Maguelone, Bernard committed crimes that are not specified, and a severe penance was imposed on him in 1170 for seven years (fasting, barefoot travel). He made several pilgrimages, to Compostela, Rome, Jerusalem and even to the tomb of St Thomas in India, before arriving at Saint-Omer (in Artois, northern France). He settled in a small house near the abbey church of Saint-Bertin, where he could go at will. At the end of his life, he donned the monastic habit in the monastery Saint-Bertin. His hagiographer describes his mortifications. He filled the cracks in his feet with liquid wax; he slept in a bed made of pointed stones; he fasted and distributed to the poor and sick what he obtained by begging (I, 9–15)[2]. But his main mortification consisted of wearing iron instruments of penance around his neck and body, chains, cilice and hauberk, which he hid under tunics of skin and wool (I, 11). His penance was completed by frequenting recluses and monks, and he learned the Psalter.

Wulfric of Haselbury was ordained priest but spent most of his time hunting until he met a beggar who persuaded him to change his life. In 1125, he received permission from the Lord of Compton to become an anchorite in the village of Haselbury (South Somerset), in an uninhabited cell adjacent to the parish church.

He died in 1154 or 1155. Apart from his frugal diet of oats, Wulfric kept vigil at night in the church; his bed, where he rested so little, was made of tree branches. At first, he wore a horsehair shirt, and later he acquired a hauberk. One of his most famous miracles was the shortening of his hauberk. It was too long, but it could be cut with scissors as easily as if it were cloth[3].

A similar miracle of shortening the hauberk is told in the *Life* of another hermit, Godric of Throckenholt, who wore a hauberk for seven years (Licence 2006, pp. 15–43; Ridyard 2001, pp. 236–50).

Godric of Finchale was born around 1065 in Walpole, Norfolk, and became a long-distance merchant, travelling abroad. He acquired a fortune which he gave up after pilgrimages to Rome, the Holy Land and Compostela. He received permission from Ranulf, Bishop of Durham, to retire as a hermit at Finchale in Durham Forest where a holy man named Aelric became his spiritual master. After Aelric's death, Godric returned once more to the Holy Land where he visited the hermitages of Judea and then he settled at Finchale, three miles from the shrine of St Cuthbert. Reginald of Durham became his confessor. He died a centenarian in 1170. For 50 years he wore a very rough hair shirt and an iron hauberk on his naked body. He had worn out three hauberks (c. 28)[4]. His diet was most austere: he mixed flour from his crops with ashes to make bread (c. 29); he also cooked herbs without salt and fat and dried them (c. 30). He also starved his body by keeping vigils; he slept on the bare ground, placing a stone under his head (c. 32). On cold nights he went to the river, undressed, and entered the cold water: "he offered himself all night as a living sacrifice to the Lord (c. 33)." Once when his body was covered with sores, he ordered them to be covered with salt (c. 82).

3. Manifestations of the Charisma *in Vita*

André Vauchez noted that "Of all the saints we meet in medieval canonisation proceedings, hermits are the ones who perform the most miracles during their lifetime." (Vauchez 1988).

The charismatic power of the three *loricati* presented in this article was manifested by a particularly high number of miracles.

According to his hagiographer, the holiness of Bernard the Penitent was already revealed during his lifetime: he extinguished a fire with the sign of the cross (I, 16); and he blessed the sowing of wheat which then produced a particularly abundant harvest (I, 23) (Céline 1998). Three of his healings were preceded by his apparition in a vision. A nun named Gertrude, suffering from an intolerable pain in her leg, saw Bernard in a vision: he signed her and restored her to health (I, 17). A man named Elbode, with a contracted leg, saw the saint appear in a vision: he touched and signed his leg. He went to the saint who

took him to a secret place and marked his leg with the sign of the cross (I, 18). Similarly, a woman suffering from headaches was told in a vision that she should have her head signed by the saint (I, 19).

For two miracles, the hagiographer calls Bernard "the second Elisha". Bernard resuscitated a drowned girl: he took her in his arms, signed her three times by genuflecting three times (I, 21), just as Elisha had given life to a boy by laying on him (II Kings IV, 32–35). Similarly, he healed a leprous woman by signing her (I, 22), a miracle which the hagiographer parallels with Elisha's healing of Naaman (II Kings V, 1–14).

The death of Bernard was announced to a monk in a vision: he saw the saint enter the church of Saint Bertin dressed in priestly vestments; in the church, a multitude of people sang praises (24). The saint was anointed in the habit of a monk. Just before his death, he cured a boy suffering from worms by touching him (II, 27).

As for Wulfric of Haselbury, the historian Henry of Hungtingdon proclaimed him a living saint some twenty years before his death (c. 1135). He said that although in his time miracles were very rare, whenever they were performed, they were most glorious. And he wanted to make public the glorious record of a man whose living spirit still survived: this was Wulfric who always wore a hauberk; when the first one fell apart, he put on a new one which was too long, but which he was able to cut without difficulty. Many religious rejoiced to have rings of the holy hauberk, and the famous story has travelled everywhere through all parts of the kingdom (Henry of Hungtingdom 1996, pp. 694–97; Licence 2011, pp. 180–81).

The exceptional charisma of Wulfric of Haselbury is emphasised in several passages by John of Forde. In him, the natural gift he had was transformed into a gift of grace by the sanctification of the Holy Spirit:

> "And the Lord gave his saint the choice gift of faith to quench all the flaming darts of the evil one, because he was of a trusting spirit, looking to God in confidence and leaning on him in any and every need. [. . .] This purity of faith was refined, and one might say overlaid with gold, by a certain holy and sincere simplicity which had been his from his mother's womb, but by the sanctification of the Holy Spirit this gift of nature was made a gift of grace[5]."

John of Forde relates 17 healings, 45 prophetic miracles of Wulfric and 42 "manifestations of God's power or presence," among them several dreams and revelations (see Introduction (Abbot of Forde John 1933, pp. 54–55)).

Heavenly signs revealed his holiness. In a dream, Wulfric saw Jesus and the apostles. St. Peter called out: "Get up, hurry and follow us". In his haste, he dropped the container of oil in his hand, and the oil spilled onto his robe and the ground. Later he received the interpretation of his dream from Robert Pullus: "God has appointed this place to be glorified through you by the grace of healings and by the accomplishment of signs: it is the oil poured out of your hand in this place and on your clothes (1. 11)." One night when he prayed before the altar of St. Michael, an angel took his soul to heaven where he saw the glory of God and the hope of the saints (1. 18). In another vision, his heavenly visitor assured him that his home in heaven was already ready (1. 20). When he prayed, a light was seen in the church (2. 5, 6).

The hagiographer notes that Wulfric was "filled with the Holy Spirit like a vessel that poured out oil" on men, and women of every kind started to flow towards him for a variety of reasons: to be healed, but also to worship him, or for his gift of prophecy and the knowledge of secret things:

> "So it was that, just as his interpreter foretold, he was inwardly filled by the Holy Spirit like a vessel brimming and spilling over, so that his name might be, at God's call, an oil poured out. From then on men and women of every kind started to flow towards him by a variety of reasons ranging from a hoped-for grace of healing to a reverence for holiness. The fragrance of the prophetic gift drew some: these came to see, to speak with, and to hear the words of a man with

> the spirit of prophecy, through him to question the Lord directly, and to consult him about the dark uncertainties of things they had to bear.[6]"

He received visitors at the window of his cell. Kings Henry I and Stephen were among his visitors.

The fame of the ascetic Godric of Finchale also spread during his lifetime; many people came to visit him to be comforted by him. Godric also had the knowledge of distant and future things.

"Like Wulfric, he was treated as a living saint." (Licence 2011, pp. 186–87)

Reginald of Durham records a great number of miracles that Godric of Finchale performed during his lifetime. When the River Wear flooded, he ordered the water not to flood his gardens but to flow towards the rocks on the opposite side; on another occasion, the water threatened his buildings; he made a cross of branches to stop the water (c. 48).

On several occasions, he used his objects to respond to the requests of people in pain. He gave his belt to the husband of a woman who had given birth three times to stillborn boys. He told him that at the time of the next delivery, his wife should put the belt around her (c. 104). He also cured a woman suffering from constipation with his belt. The brother of the subprior of Durham asked him for a gift. Godric cut up a belt that an old monk had once sent to him. Shortly afterwards, the piece of belt stopped the nosebleed of a cleric (c. 142). The same object also saved a woman in childbirth. The bread blessed by Godric cured a man who had lost the power of speech (c. 154).

4. *Charisma* Post Mortem

Bernard the Penitent died on 19 April 1182 and his body was placed on a litter (funeral bier) outside the church. The crowd scenes that began then revealed how Bernard's charisma was perceived by the inhabitants. Countless people came to his body; many sick people lay under his litter and many were healed (I, 28). In order to obtain his relics, they tore his clothes. At the time of his funeral, they wanted to break his litter and obtain his laces and other pieces of his clothing (I, 29). After his burial, the crowds at the tomb continued. As there were no more relics to distribute, the monks secretly decided to open his tomb, from which they removed the hauberk, the cilice and the iron chains. They washed the body in water, which became a remedy. The body exhaled a sweet smell and shone with a white colour (I, 31).

The miracles after the burial continued daily; 125 are reported by the hagiographer (note that they were performed over a short time). He notes that those who invoked Bernard and could not go to his tomb could still be helped by him (II, 17). In connection with a miracle at the tomb where the empty vessel was filled with wine, the hagiographer again compares Bernard to Elisha who performed a miracle by filling a widow's vessels with oil in order to be able to pay off a debt owed to a creditor (II Kings IV, 1–7).

Among Bernard's miracles, a significant number were performed during a vision. A woman who slept by the tomb saw in a vision two men dressed in white carrying the body of the saint on his litter; she tried to grasp a piece of the cloth covering the litter, and with this effort she woke up and was cured (II, 3). A woman from Arques with contracted legs saw the saint by her bed who promised her health (II, 7). In another case, the saint appeared in a vision and healed by making the sign of the cross (II, 22). A monk of a Cluniac priory had two visions: he was in the part of the church of St. Bertin where the saint was buried and saw a very great light (II, 31). A monk who slept near the tomb had several visions (II, 36). A young adulterer, after a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, committed sin again. He came to the tomb of the saint where he felt his clothes burning. After having done penance again, he returned to the tomb where the saint spoke to him (II, 42–43). A woman whose body was swollen all over saw the saint appear to her and tell her to go to him. She had herself carried to his tomb (II, 48). A woman of Saint-Omer who had two contracted hands saw a venerable man appear one night, who advised her to go to the church of Saint-Bertin where Saint Bernard was. She put her head and arms inside Bernard's mausoleum (II, 53). A sick couple invoked the saint; a venerable man appeared to them and told them that if they

offered candles to the saint, they would recover their health (II, 60). The saint also appeared to a sick man suffering from fever (II, 71).

On the death of Godric of Finchale, miraculous phenomena were witnessed in nature: a delicious fragrance was felt in the air and in the woods, and for two months the trees, leaves and fruits exhaled a honey-tasting liquid:

> "At the same time, the heavenly citizens became happy at the passing of such a great man, and also the airs of the skies were found to be bursting with a wonderful outpouring of sweetness. Indeed, the airs of the skies in all the adjoining woods became sweet-smelling, because the trees and branches, the woods and the leaves and the fruits and the grasses appeared to be dripping, perspiring and running with sweet dew in a heavenly way. For two whole months they retained this taste and the appearance and the savour and the feel and the touch and the perfumed smell of honey (c. 314)."

He was buried by the monks of Durham in his own oratory, and before the end of the century they established a priory on the site of his hermitage.

Reginald of Durham reports 225 *post mortem* miracles of Godric. During the decade of the 1170s, pilgrims to Finchale presumably exceeded a thousand (Licence 2011, pp. 188–89).

On several occasions, Godric of Finchale appeared in visions to people he would heal. Shortly after his death, a Cistercian monk asked for some of the hairs from Godric's beard; a year later, he fell ill and put the hairs in water, then fell asleep. He then had a vision: he seemed to be sitting in a large vessel full of warm water; on its surface there seemed to have been some toxic mass, or a slimy concentration of fish or worms. Then the man of God Godric arrived and purged this pollution with his hand, and he walked around the vessel. When the monk woke up, he was cured (c. 350). An old man, having been Godric's servant, was suffering from pain in his left arm. On the night of the Assumption, he was transported in a dream to the communal house of Finchale and saw his master before him. The servant began to beg him if he would to take pity on him. Godric blew on his arm three times and told him to go to his tomb in Finchale and rest his sick arm upon it (c. 458). A woman with a contracted hand and a sick body was taken to Godric's tomb on the eve of the anniversary of his burial (*depositio*). At night she saw Godric enter the church and sing with the monks. She called on him for mercy. Then the tomb of Godric opened; he entered and closed it. She wanted to follow him, thrusting her hand towards him; she caught it against the sarcophagus. When she woke up, her hand was healed (c. 510). An old and sick carpenter had placed his faith in Saint Godric. He had a vision at night. He saw a person dressed in a white tunic enter his room and walk around the walls of the house for a long time, looking at him with kindly eyes; after that he went out. After a small interval, he came back with a companion, taller in stature than he, and also dressed in white clothes. He frequently blessed and signed the sick man. Then they went out, but returned bringing with them many others; two of these were dressed in white hooded garments; others wore grey clothes, and some others were adorned like bishops and priests. A splendid brightness emanated from each one of them. They turned together to the highest part of the house as if they were going to celebrate mass. Godric poured water over the hands of the celebrants. When the mass had ended, two of the men dressed in grey went out, four dressed in silk remained; all the others went out. As they walked, their feet did not touch the earth and a ray of light shone from beneath their feet. In the end, only Godric and his first companion remained. Godric walked around the house until midnight. When he left, the sick man was healed (c. 572–573).

5. Transmission of the Charisma through the Relics

Bernard's charisma continued to operate through the water that washed his dead body (in French, *vinage*) and through his vestments and instruments of mortification. In only one case did the bodily remains—the hair—of the saint act: a monk dipped the hair in water, opened the swollen mouth of the sick man with a knife and poured in the water (II, 50). The liquid was drunk in several cases (II, 3, 5, 24, 46), but it was also used by pouring it into

the ear of a woman who had a worm (II, 8); a mute man swallowed dust from the tomb and drank the liquid (II, 11); in the case of a deaf woman, dust from the tomb was applied to the ears and then washed with the liquid (II, 39). Touching the eyes of blind persons, Bernard's (unspecified) clothes (*exuvias*) healed them (II, 2). A matron who had given the saint shelter kept his cap, shoes and other objects as relics; a woman with a swollen and ulcerated leg went to her house and was healed by the affixing of one of the saint's shoes to her thigh (II, 16).

Bernard's instruments of suffering, representative objects of his specific charisma, became instruments of healing. When the abbot of St. John of Therouanne, suffering from a headache, came to the dedication of the church of St. Bertin, the abbot had his head touched with the saint's hauberk (II, 29). A merchant who lost his goods and his son in a storm at sea lost his mind. In the shrine of the saint, he kissed the tomb and was signed with the relics of Bernard (II, 46). A hydropic girl was signed with the chains of the saint (II, 54). A child who fell into the water was taken by his mother to the saint's tomb and was signed with the saint's relics (II, 69). Even the stones of Bernard's bed conveyed miracles: a Scotus took a stone that was part of the bed of the saint. He touched with it his sick part, and then fell asleep; he woke up healed (II, 29). A woman suffering from sarcoma placed such a stone under her head, fell asleep and was cured (II, 35). A monk of St. Bertin made the sign of the cross with a stone of the saint on the leg of a young English man who limped (II, 51).

Godric's bones have disappeared, but several medieval lists of relics attest that portions of his beard, some hairs and objects that belonged to him were kept in Finchale, including pieces of his tunic, coat of mail and other clothes, and his belt (see Introduction (Reginald of Durham 2022, pp. XCIII–XCIV)).

According to Reginald of Durham, after Godric's death many people wanted to have something of his as a memorial, because rumours of his sanctity was widespread (c. 23). The chaplain Godfrey of Keslo obtained some rings from his hauberk. Later, when he was distributing alms to the poor, he met a young girl with a swollen body; her mother asked him if he had any relics of Godric. The chaplain took some rings from the hauberk, washed them and offered the drink to the sick girl. Reginald of Durham notes that this was the beginning of the signs through which the Lord revealed the merits of Godric after his death (c. 350).

The body of Wulfric of Haselbury was disputed between the monks of Montacute, and the Haselbury priest Osbern, who lived near Wulfric and was the main informant for John of Forde. Osbern managed to bury Wulfric's body in a safe place in the church.

After the death of Wulfric of Haselbury, a revelation described by the hagiographer as angelic occurred. A chubby pilgrim appeared to the priest Osbern and asked him for something that had belonged to Wulfric as a token of his holiness. Osbern replied that he had nothing, apart from liturgical objects, but that it was not possible to give them. The pilgrim replied: "In your chest you have the dish and spoon he used to eat with. Give me these." After the pilgrim left, Osbern regretted giving them to a stranger; he ran after him, but could not find him. Osbern became persuaded that the visitor was more than a human being. Perhaps the visitor wanted to teach with what devotion Wulfric ought to be venerated, and that the objects that belonged to him and that we hold cheap are not to be disprized (3, 45). Wulfric twice appeared to the wife of a man suffering from stomach trouble, ordering her to go to Haselbury church and take dust from his tomb, and then, diluted with water, to give it to her husband to drink (3, 46, 47).

In John of Forde's time, the rings from the shortening of Wulfric's hauberk were still kept by pious people who regarded them as a gift, a testimony to holiness or a guarantee of health, in other words a sacred and safe deposit (1, 10). As for Wulfric of Haselbury's hauberk, a year before his death it fell off; with the help of a boy, he managed to put it back on his shoulders, but suddenly blisters appeared on his body. At the bishop's command, he had to remove the hauberk and never wear it again; it was kept wrapped in a cloth as a relic (3, 41).

Similarly, some time after the death of Godric of Throckenholt, travellers passing near his abandoned hermitage found the rings of his disintegrated hauberk and took them away. Other pieces of the hauberk were kept by a woman; people suffering from fevers were brought to her. She put the rings in water and gave it to the feverish persons to drink, and they were cured (§ 23) (Licence 2021, p. 715).

6. Conclusions

I began by referring to a remote similarity between the Syrian ascetics and the extreme asceticism of the early Middle Ages. To conclude this paper, I point out several similarities with Syrian stylites.

A similar comparison can also be made concerning the charisma of the twelfth-century hermit ascetics with their relics. Not only were the Syrian ascetics venerated as living saints, but their charisma was also spread through their 'relics', already during their lifetime. At the dwelling place of Symeon the Stylite the Elder in Tel-neshin, "he flow of visitors kept increasing. Everyone wanted to touch the saint and to take away as a relic some piece of his leather tunic" (Delehaye 1923, p. XXVII); after his death, "the iron collar, to which, as the companion of its endurance, the famous body has imparted a share of its own divinely-bestow honours; for not even in death has Simeon been deserted by the loving iron"(Evagrius 1846, I, XIII, p. 28). Theodoret of Cyrrhus testifies to the charismatic power of Peter the Galatian's (a hermit in Galatia and later at Antioch, d. c. 403) girdle: many people "constantly took the girdle to heal the sick; and everywhere gave proof of the power of his grace" (Theodoret of Cyrrhus 1985, IX, 15, p. 87). According to the ancient *Life of Symeon the Stylite the Younger* (d. 592), he gave a 'eulogy' made from the dust collected under his column, with the imprint of his image; he also distributed eulogies made from the dust of his column to the poor of Antioch; he gave blessed wands to his disciples, by means of which they worked cures in his name; a Georgian priest obtained some of his hair, which he set in a cross; this relic worked many miracles (Van der Ven 1962–1970, t. II, § 231, 163, 169). Similarly, Luke the Stylite (d. 979) performed miracles by means of "eulogies, blessed bread or holy water, a piece of cloth that he used, a piece of his belt, a cross that he made with his own hand. To keep the demon away, strips cut from his hand towel must be attached to the wall in the form of a cross" (Delehaye 1923, p. CIV).

7. Epilog

According to the hagiographers of the Middle Ages, "eremitical sanctity was probably the one that attracted the most spontaneous support from the faithful. The anchorite was crowned with the prestige of his ascetic exploits. His very survival, despite the privations and maceration he inflicted on himself, was a permanent miracle that could only be explained by divine intervention on his behalf. [. . .] His thaumaturgical gifts made him, even during his lifetime, an extraordinary figure whom people sought to meet and to whom they turned with veneration (Vauchez 1988, p. 384)."

In the 12th century, a particular charisma was attributed to several *loricati* saints, due to the sufferings they imposed on themselves. They were assimilated with the most powerful thaumaturgist saints by ascribing to them an impressive number of miracles they had already performed during their lifetime, and even more after their death. Being attentive to others and having the gift of prophecy, they attracted the faithful, who sought consolation and advice from them. They were endowed with the charisma of being able to operate from afar, in visions, and their instruments of mortification were transformed into objects of healing.

But while the lay faithful were attracted to the hermits' charisma, the Church was wary of excessive asceticism and its possible deviations. Since late Antiquity, excessive asceticism has been regarded by the Church as leading to the sin of pride. Similarly, solitary living outside institutional control was viewed with suspicion.

Therefore, it is not surprising that between 1198 and 1431, only one hermit was canonised, Peter of Morrone, Celestine V. "All the other causes remained in abeyance for

reasons we do not know. This exceptional proportion of failures contrasts with the enduring popularity of the holy hermits in the local cult (Vauchez 1988, p. 384)."

Our three *loricati* were not canonised, even though they enjoyed significant local cults.

Impressed by Bernard's miracles at his tomb, the abbot of Saint-Bertin built a new marble tomb for him, to which he transferred his body in 1182 (II, 4, 34). This act signified the recognition of his sanctity.

As for English candidates to canonisation, between 1161 and 1203, the four canonized saints (Thomas Becket, Dunstan, Edward the Confessor and Gilbert of Sempringham) "all had high-profile public roles". We know that the *Life* of Wulfric of Haselbury was addressed in 1185 to Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, former Abbot of Forde. "But is no indication that the *Life* went further up the ecclesiastical ladder than Canterbury (see John of Forde 2011, p. 65)." Nevertheless, the local cult continued at Haselbury; Roger of Wendover reported "innumerable miracles" operated here (Abbot of Forde John 1933, pp. LXIV–LXVII).

Godric's relics were conserved not only at Finchale, Durham, York and outside the immediate area of his cult, which "was not simply local and small (see Introduction (Reginald of Durham 2022, pp. XCIII–XCIV)." Godric's fame is also reflected by the existence of a French version of his Vie (Reginald of Durham 2019).

In his masterful summary, André Vauchez gave the conclusion: "In the last centuries of the Middle Ages, the Roman Church seems to have grown increasingly wary of sanctity of the hermits . . . Its preference was for religious experiences conducted in a communal setting (Vauchez 1988, p. 387)."

Research on the *loricati* saints is just beginning. In this article, I have presented the main aspect of their charisma, and the manifestations of their miraculous power arousing the admiration of many faithful. A forthcoming study will focus on their relationship with secular and ecclesiastical society.

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Notes

1 In his seminar at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Patrick Henriet studied the hagiography of theses saints called *loricati*: (Henriet 2019–2021). Cf. also (Allen Smith 2008, pp. 572–602).

2 I quote the passages according to Joannes, monk of Saint-Bertin (1865).

3 *The Life of Wulfric of Haselbury*, I, 9: "Of the cutting of the hauberk. This was the first of the signs blessed Wulfric worked: itself a potent commendation of the power of God and of his own faith realized through the medium of another men." Cf. (Henriet 2016, pp. 307–19).

4 I quote the passages according to Reginald of Durham, *The Life and Miracles of Saint Godric*, ed. and transl. by M. Coombe; Oxford, Clarendon, 2022.

5 *The Life of Wulfric of Haselbury*, 1, 2. "Of the grace of the inner man."

6 *The Life of Wulfric of Haselbury*, 1, 11. "Of a foreglimpse of signs in a dream."

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Article

The Odor of a Holy Fame: The Problematic Charisma of King Louis IX (1214–1270)

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Abstract: By attributing the term "charismatic" to Saint Louis, Jacques Le Goff identified two sources of charisma: sacred kingship and personal holiness. Without denying these aspects of the holy king's reputation, we should investigate the nature of the charismatic relationship that linked Louis IX to his contemporaries. The sacrality of Louis IX pre-existed him; his sanctity is a post-death construction. What are the attributes of the living character that would allow us to recognize a charismatic personality? This paper argues that the religious aura of the king, which best echoes the Paulinian version of charisma, was sometimes at odds with the political expectations levied on a medieval ruler, which a Weberian definition of charisma helps to define. In this light, the crusades provided a unique setting where the king's Christ-like qualities and his political leadership could be reconciled. To conduct this argument, this paper proposes to look for the symptoms of Louis IX's living charisma in the reactions of his contemporaries, based on the re-examination of classical sources on the life of the king, carefully contextualized.

Keywords: Saint Louis; Louis IX; crusades; Joinville; Le Goff; kingship; hagiography; sanctity; charisma

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1. Introduction

Was Louis IX charismatic? For the king's most famous biographer, Jacques Le Goff, the answer was uncontroversial: "Saint Louis is a charismatic character. This charisma, to the extent that we can define it, derives from the aura that surrounds him for those who are close to him, and from the extraordinary aspect of the image that those who have never met him are presented with. To qualify it, his contemporaries can but fall back on the word saint, but this is an exceptional saint. (…) This charisma is not only an irrational and instinctive quality. It entails specific features, both structural and dynastic, the features of an anointed king and a healer, as well as the individual merits of a holy life recognized by official canonization[1]".

Le Goff circumscribes the charisma of king Louis IX of France to his two-fold identity as an anointed king and as a canonized saint, even though the French historian stressed elsewhere that Louis' sanctity was not only the product of his royal function nor of his canonization (Le Goff 1991, p. 292). But his discussion of charisma remains focused on the implications of anointment and the type of sanctity that Louis embodied. These two aspects of Louis' royal persona, however, do not encompass the totality of Louis' charisma, particularly if one shifts the definition from the religious (Paulinian) frame, to the Weberian one[2].

In the definition supplied by Max Weber, charisma is the possession of some sort of extraordinary quality that sets a person apart from, and above, other human beings, and endows them with the capacity of exerting a sort of attraction or fascination on groups of followers (Weber 1947, pp. 358–59). While it could be deemed anachronistic to apply this late conceptual frame to the reign of a 13th-century king, the shift is, arguably, justified by the use that contemporary historians have made of the term charisma (starting with Jacques Le Goff) and by Louis' specific identity as a political leader, too often dwarfed

by his sanctity[3]. Indeed, the term has become a byword for the personal style of power that characterized the so-called pre-modern states[4]. In this light, the question of charisma applied to a medieval ruler ties in with very basic expectations levied on a king: his personal qualities, of course, but also his capacity at exerting an influence on his entourage, as a leader, and the reactions that his moral "extraordinari-ness" drew. Applied to the figure of Louis IX, a canonized king, these questions must be discussed alongside the king's celebrated religious aura.

The depth of Louis' religiosity is well-known: it is what allows his chief hagiographer William of Chartres to introduce his portrayal of the king's extraordinary religious virtues with "the odor of his most sacred fame[5]". The image is typical of saints' lives, harking at the special power of a saint's body to exhale the holy perfume of God's grace and salvation, sometimes quite literally, as an extension of Paul's calling to the Corinthians to be the "good odor of Christ" (2 Cor., 2:15) (Roch 2009, 2010, pp. 73–88). But this stereotyped definition of holy charisma needs to be re-questioned here, for two reasons. First, the "odor" is that of the king's fame, not of his body, and none of the contemporary narrative sources ever use the topos of Louis' body exuding a sweet fragrance after the king's death. Beaulieu is deliberately twisting a conventional phrase of hagiography, and the reason why he does so introduces the second component of the argument: Louis' fama was not just that of a holy man, but of a holy lay, married, king. Odor famae hints at the aura of something subtle and hidden, a quality that is easily retained by a holy man living in anonymous humility, but more challenging to uphold in the post-Gregorian world, for someone who was such a public figure as the king of France[6]. The objective here is to re-examine his extraordinary religious persona in the light of his kingship, using the prism of charisma to dive in the abundant source material documenting the reign. Moving beyond the subjective recognition of personal charisma, the focus will be on the perceptions of, and attitudes to, Louis IX in his own times, with an emphasis on the different circles of the king's entourage. Another way of framing this, is to ask how far the charisma of the holy man of God is compatible with the charisma of the ruler on earth. The argument is that Louis IX conflated the religious awe of the man of God, with the expectations levied on a ruler who was both knight and king, not without tensions.

Four points will be made. First, the sources that document Louis' charisma will be presented, since the material is key to the reconstitution of qualities and perceptions. Following this, a discussion of the many extraordinary qualities of the king will be presented, stressing those qualities which made him stand above his contemporaries. A third part will investigate contemporary responses to these qualities. The concluding section argues that the first crusade of the reign (1248–1254) was the unique moment when Louis' competing calls to holy humility and authoritarian kingship successfully coexisted, as the French king assumed a spectacular aura that connected charisma with the suffering of Christ as king.

2. The Many Filters on Louis IX's Personality and Kingship

The layers of writing that have celebrated Louis' persona and his sanctity are so many that the historical individual is deeply buried, an aspect of the king's posterity that prompted Le Goff's massive biography[7]. Without attempting to eschew this entirely, delineating the filters allows one to better read through the elements of charisma which they constructed or avoided.

Hagiographical sources form a great bulk of the documentation. Two Dominican productions stand out because they were composed in the two decades after the king's death, which saw mounting efforts to bring about the king's canonization: one Vita by Geoffrey of Beaulieu, the king's confessor during the first crusade, written around 1273–4 and the other, its continuation by William of Chartres, a friar also attached to the royal court[8]. A third text, the life by William of Saint-Pathus, who was confessor to Louis' wife Marguerite, was composed in 1303, from the materials of the canonization trial which Saint-Pathus had accessed. The text is an illustration of the king's holiness, built from first-hand accounts, but offers a slightly less personal rendering of the making of the

king's holiness[9]. All three texts are, unsurprisingly, dedicated to vindicating the king's holiness before and after his official canonization, and therefore conform to the codes of hagiographies, describing the king's piety, generosity and charity. In the life by Saint-Pathus, the political action of Louis is relegated at the beginning of the work, the bulk of which concerns the king's uncommon display of Christian virtues. Even Beaulieu and Chartres, who were trusted royal agents, have regrettably little to say about the stage of power where displays of charismatic objects and attitudes are expected: they have nothing to say on his coronation, the use of prestigious objects, kingly gifts, luxurious tapestries and so on. However, all three texts document contemporary reactions to Louis' sanctity—albeit sometimes, unwillingly. For this reason, they are a precious resource in assessing the charisma of the king.

Other narrative sources have their own agendas. The longest, and by far the most eloquent narratives available for the reign, are Joinville's *Vie de Saint Louis*, in France, and, for the view from England, Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*. Joinville's testimony, which Le Goff admired immensely, is essential: it is the "mémoires' of a layman, a middle-class nobleman from Champagne, who assisted the king during his greatest military and spiritual venture, the crusade[10]. However, one should bear in mind that when he wrote his *Vie de saint Louis*, Joinville was also an old man living under the not so chivalrous reign of Philip the Fair, with a deep nostalgia of the golden age of Saint Louis. Furthermore, when reporting events that he had not witnessed himself, the old seneschal would often choose, from existing material, small episodes or vignettes designed to showcase a moral quality of the king (Boutet 1998). The details are not invented, but rearranged to extol a particular virtue which sometimes speaks more of the tastes of an early 14th-century court society than of the generation of king Louis himself.

The English chronicler of Saint-Albans is another highly precious source, especially as he dies in 1259, well ahead of the canonization[11]. Although Le Goff called him—rather unfairly—a "gossip collector", he is generally very well-informed about what goes on at the French court (Le Goff 1996, p. 434). However, like most medieval monastic historians, he writes with an agenda, one that is anti-papal fiscality and anti-royal tyranny. His portrayal of Louis must therefore always be set against the backdrop of his contempt for Henry III, king of England, and of his dislike of the pope and his agents.

Another key narrative source is the life of Louis by William of Nangis, written in the early years of the reign of Philip III. William was a Benedictine monk from the abbey of Saint-Denis, a monastery in the north of Paris with close ties to the Capetian dynasty, and which was rapidly becoming the center of production for the royal historiography[12]. William's *Gesta Ludovici* were completed in the early 1280s, before the canonization, and later inserted in the series of the *Grandes chroniques de France*, which had been commenced at Saint-Denis just a decade before. It therefore became the official biography of the king, and a text which comes closer to the celebration of royal leadership than any other.

The Mirror of History (*Speculum historiale*), composed by Vincent of Beauvais before 1264, is much more disappointing[13]. A Dominican friar and preacher at the royal abbey of Royaumont, the tutor of the king's children, Vincent was well-equipped to become the closest source on the charismatic leadership of his king. His chronicle covers the reign of Louis up to the year 1250, including, parts of the years of crusade. Unfortunately, the text, while packed with useful historical information, is excessively dry when it comes to the personality of the king. Throughout the military campaigns of the early years of the reign, as well as the crusade, Vincent remains factual, writing down the itineraries of the armies and the outcomes of the battles, but never comments on Louis' attitude, persona or indeed, on the reactions to the king. For this reason, the text is used very little here.

The sources on the reign of Louis are obviously more abundant than this. Indeed, they include other narrative sources: produced in aristocratic circles, diplomatic acts—such as charters, seals and registers to be found in the French archives as well as in foreign archival funds—theoretical sources, such as mirrors of princes, letters and teachings attributed to the king or his close entourage, administrative documentation, such as the famous *enquêtes*,

and the dense documentation produced around the king's canonization[14]. The choice here is to proceed by source material, rather than by groups of persons. As narrow as the resulting outlook may feel from a historical perspective, the objective is to concentrate on the literary construction of the king's charisma, while keeping the study within reasonable bounds. Occasional forays into non-narrative accounts will be made, when they contribute to enlarging the discussion of the king's charisma in specific groups, such as his family or non-Christian "admirers". The aim remains to focus on those testimonies, which document not only the king's uncommon personality and deeds, but also contemporary and pre-canonization reactions to them, as one of the keys to our interpretation of his charisma.

3. The Many Qualities of King Louis IX

If charisma is, as Max Weber wrote, that which sets someone above others, the sources are rather straightforward in Louis' case: the king was above others in royal dignity, charity, religiosity and justice, and in these domains, he had the power to influence others.

As studies on charismatic medieval rulers showed, the control of a ruler's own image is a crucial feature of his ability to exert charisma. Although this area of Louis' personality is possibly the one that is the least explored in contemporary sources, we can gather a few elements that suggest, at the very least, that Louis held his royal office in the highest respect. Before the crusade, he never shunned the luxurious clothes of the French royalty, as the ceremonies around his wedding to Marguerite of Provence, in 1234, showed (Le Goff 1996, p. 137). In the diplomatic field, he offered a lavish welcome to king Henry III in Paris in 1254, ordering the streets to be cleaned and decorated, putting on a grand royal banquet and offering the English king prestigious, if cumbersome, gifts such as a real, live elephant from the Holy Land—which Matthew Paris drew twice—and a splendid, bird-shaped vase[15]. The gifts dwarfed the hundreds of rings, buckles and belts offered by the English king and queen to the French barons. The idea that by giving great gifts, one did not so much diminish his resources as enhance his prestige and his munificence seems to have been well understood by Louis.

Of course, the king's prominence mostly shines through his acts of charity and piety, which chroniclers and hagiographers alike reported at great length. Significant examples include the king stopping to collect the dead bodies of fallen soldiers in the Holy Land, when on a dangerous mission in 1251, finishing the meal of a poor man sick with ulcers, or again, delivering 1000 Parisian pounds for wine for poor people, exceeding 10 times the standard wine alms at the French court[16]. The king's charity does not rank, in numbers, with the practice of Henry III, who regularly fed an average of 500 paupers on a daily basis in England, and when in Paris, ostensibly invited the maximum number of paupers to be fed his halls, dwarfing the practices at the French court[17]. But Louis was outshining this grand gesture by the intensity of his own charitable practice, since he would frequently invite a small number of paupers to join him directly at the royal table[18]. These competing displays of charity highlight the peculiar nature of the French king's charity, which both stemmed from the ritual distribution of largesse as an essential function of kingship and went far beyond it. In the highly idealized narratives of the hagiographers, the king's piety is also duly noted and described in its most outlandish aspects. Beaulieu remembers how his penitent would hear two to four masses a day, a number confirmed and expanded by William of Saint-Pathus, who lists all the masses, high and low, that the king would hear each day of the year, on top of the regular hours that he had celebrated in his chapel[19]. Saint-Pathus provides scenes of high visual quality, showing the king traveling on horseback while a clerk would read him the hours when there was no other option, or rushing out of his chambers in the middle of the night to pray the early hours with the rest of his companions following, disheveled and half dressed[20]. On his return from the crusade in 1254, the king also takes up the fight against blasphemy, punishing blasphemers with hot iron on their lips, as part of his grand moral program for reforming the kingdom. Beaulieu, Joinville and Saint-Pathus all remembered similar arrestations and punishments of blasphemers, who were subjected to the infamous punishment of being exposed in public

with animal guts around their necks[21]. While none of this was a radically new practice, the difference is the new intensity to which the king took these Christian devotions and the precise fact that these intense pious practices were performed by a reigning king.

However, Louis' chief quality—and that which compounded his royal charisma—was his justice. The most visible testimony of this quality is the inquiries launched throughout the kingdom before the first crusade, and repeated after the king's return to France in 1254. The procedure did not put the king into direct contact with his subjects, since the enterprise was mostly delegated to appointed commissioners who toured the kingdom[22]. Another witness to Louis's justice is Jean de Joinville, who famously recorded how Louis would sit on the ground beneath an oak at Vincennes and hear the complaints of anyone of his subjects. The scene has become so representative of the king's reign that its historical value is hard to pinpoint[23]. And yet, what is striking is Joinville's insistence on the king's simplicity of manners, his repeated use of sitting on the floor of his chambers or the grounds of his garden and the closeness that this behavior generated. No indication survives as to its effect on the public, but there is no doubt that occurrences such as these directly exposed the king's body and speech to a wider community, creating an incarnate vision of royal justice.

A final element which compounded the charismatic nature of the king was his particular connection with relics. Here as well, Capetian veneration for those sacred objects predated Louis' reign, but, during the latter, the French kingdom undoubtedly acquired the most prestigious relics of Christendom: the Crown of Thorns and relics of the Holy Cross, bought in 1239 from the financially destitute emperor of Constantinople (Pisiak 2021, pp. 313–85). Such relics were bound to increase the "aura" of the French dynasty: they are the typical objects linking heaven and earth, strongly equating the Capetian dynasty with the body of Christ (Jaeger 2012, pp. 130–33). Accordingly, the majority of narratives on Louis mention them, starting with the hagiographers, who place the relics at the center of their portrayal of Louis' piety. Geoffrey of Beaulieu recounts "Louis' faithful devotion and expense" in obtaining the sacred relics, and how the king led the procession in Paris, barefoot, carrying the precious load on his shoulders for everyone to see, while William of Chartres depicts the sacred processions where "church prelates, members of the orders, the clergy, wearing silken capes, singing hoy praise in the highest, while our pious king would come behind, humbly following with his chief nobility and the whole of the people in devout adoration of these sacred relics[24]". Less openly hagiographical works tend to stress the increased political prestige of the sacred objects, although strangely enough, Joinville does not mention the relics at all. William of Nangis has a brief account of the translation of the relics in the early-1240s, ascribing Louis' effort at receiving the precious objects to his desire to prolong the peace that his kingdom had been enjoying for several years[25]. The Benedictine from Saint-Denis, who had recounted earlier how the loss of another invaluable relic in 1232 had been felt as a national calamity, is intent on showing that the relics, old and new, were a divine reward for the virtuous conduct of the king at the head of a sacred nation.

The most eloquent source on the ideological power of the relics in 13th-century Capetian France, however, is Matthew Paris, gifted with both temporal proximity to the events and geographical distance. The English Benedictine narrates in great detail the arrival of the Crown of Thorns in Paris in 1241, which he sees as one of the most conspicuous manifestations of the sacred connection between the French kingdom and "God, who loved, consoled and protected the kingdom of the Franks, with a special love, above all others". The ceremony he describes is truly extraordinary: the king climbs on a wooden structure built for the occasion, with his mother and brothers, and elevates the true cross, saying "this is the cross of the Lord", in front of a great crowd[26]. The moment captured Paris's imagination, who drew a small vignette of the episode in the margin, showing the king on the wooden structure, holding out the Crown. The climb was of course reminiscent of both the elevation of the Host during Mass and of the ceremony of the coronation, when the king was raised on a throne to be seen by all. This must have been an extraordinarily

charismatic moment, with the king physically raised above the multitudes, holding toward the heaven the greatest token on earth of God's humanity and redeeming salvation plan.

The extraordinary qualities of king Louis were many, and providing the full list of them would amount to little more than rehearsing the medieval hagiographies, leaving the question still pending of the charismatic value of these qualities. Charisma is more than the sum of the virtues of a great man. To get at the charismatic nature of the king's political and spiritual prominence, one must now turn to the responses that the king elicited.

4. Charisma in the Eye of the Beholder?

One such tool of analysis is the reaction triggered by the perceived extraordinary nature of the charismatic personality. Indeed, the relationship between the latter and his entourage is one of the crucial aspects that has been taken from Weber's thinking on charisma, as the editors of the recent volume *Faces of Charisma* pinpointed, to the extent that the "crucial power of determining its meaning [is located] in the eye of the beholder" (Bedos-Rezak and Rust 2018, p. 8). What remains to be investigated is the depth and width of the imprint left by Louis' uncommon spiritual kingship on his contemporaries. The sources show that the response was perhaps more contrasted than the traditional presentation of a holy reign conveys.

There is no doubt that Louis' faith had a direct influence on people who were in contact with him. All of Louis' biographers note that the king had a gift with speech, apparently linked to the king's own love for good sermons and preaching. He was "very gracious with his words" (*gratiosissimus in loquendo*) writes Nangis[27]. However, it should be noted that this disposition usually manifests itself in the sources when the king is with a small group of persons, if not face to face with one person only. In this reduced setting, Louis seemed to have had a remarkable capacity at setting people's hearts at ease. William of Chartres thus remembers how the king "aroused many hearts to dedicated worship", and how many a troubled soul was set at ease after a conversation with the king. Three decades later, Saint-Pathus expanded on this idea, claiming that the king had a unique way of appeasing people's hearts[28]. In Matthew Paris's *Chronica*, the hostility between Louis and Henry evaporates in 1254 after the two kings shared some private personal conversation in Paris, a conversation which Henry would remember for a long time[29]. One thing stands out clearly: Louis was not one for giving rousing speeches to large audiences. Accounts of public exhortations are extremely rare in the sources. Indeed, one of the only instances comes from the announcement of the secund crusade, in 1267, as narrated by Geoffrey of Beaulieu. Louis gives a very effective and glorious exhortation, after the legate. But, as Beaulieu goes on to show, those barons who eventually took up the cross where either those "with whom the king had secretly discussed the project in advance", or those "whose hearts God alone had touched[30]". In other words, Louis' public exhortation achieved little! In Joinville's account of the same event, a complex passage because Joinville himself refused to go on crusade and suffered its failure from a distance, the king does not speak publicly, but simply organizes a sort of Crown-showing ceremony in the Sainte-Chapelle, bringing out the Crown of Thorns from the upper stage[31]. The king loved sermons and never missed an opportunity of exposing his court to the best preaching of his day. However, the king's voice itself—the one that so fascinated Le Goff in Joinville's text—was best heard in private[32].

Direct hints at the influence of the king's personality on others are also found in the sources, beyond matters of faith. Both Chartres and Beaulieu note that the king commanded the respect and love of many, even though he did not give out great rewards and gifts[33]. Another hint at the influence that Louis could exert over others comes from the affirmation that the king was a good reader of characters. He is someone who "quite often knew the character of men and what they would do", according to William of Chartres[34]. Indeed, throughout Joinville's *Life*, Louis is an expert at creating interactions between people, never failing to control the situation altogether. The best-known example of this is the scene where he brings together Joinville, a proud nobleman from Champagne, with Robert de Sorbon,

a social climber from the intellectual elite, and allows both men to test their qualities and their weaknesses in each other's company[35]. As Joinville himself confessed, the king could avoid taking the advice of others because he was exceptionally good at knowing men's hearts and desires[36]. No doubt this faculty can be linked to the most celebrated quality of Louis, his capacity at brokering compromises and restoring peace between his unruly lords or foreign princes, as well as between himself and others. The king of France had unique mediation skills—an observation with implications which extend beyond the reach of this discussion—which allows us to ask the question: does having mediation skills necessarily entail charisma?

However, there is a more ambiguous aspect to the response that Louis' uncommon personality generated. Elements of unease, or frankly repelled reactions to the king's demonstrations of piety or charity, are scattered in the sources. Some of these criticisms and resistances have been listed by Le Goff, who highlighted the tension between Louis' faith and the royal dignitas, but insisted on Louis' reactions to his contradictors, concluding that the king generally managed to combine the two[37]. A thorough survey of the source material suggests that in contemporary eyes, uncommon religious dispositions did not always tally with the expectations levied on royal leadership.

The king's exceptional displays of charity and piety were not always well received. For example, when he eats the food of an ulcerous poor man, minds are disgusted around him; when he tends to the bodies of dead soldiers, in Palestine, his fellow soldiers are revolted; and Beaulieu recounts how people would "grumble" at the king hearing two to four masses a day[38]. In particular, the moral fight against blasphemy seems to have attracted mixed reactions. In his official *Gesta*, William of Nangis reports that when Louis ordered a blasphemer to be punished with hot iron on his lips, "many people cursed the king and whispered against him" (moult de gens si maudirent le roi et murmurerent moult contre lui)[39]. Decades later, a similar memory crops up in Saint-Pathus's *Vie*, which quotes another blasphemer submitted to the punishment of the animal bowels around his head. A wellknown and respected burgess of Paris, the criminal seems to have attracted the sympathies of the king's close entourage, which advised against the punishment, but in vain[40]. Perhaps the whispered rumors against the king also testify to the novelty of the legislation against blasphemy, which had begun in the 1230, and followed new pontifical texts; however, the fact remains that Louis was the one who initiated the legislative clamp-down on blasphemy (Leveleux-Teixeira 2011). Nor did the king's fervent prayer life always fit in with court usages. At night, Louis was accustomed to spending time alone in prayer after dismissing his chaplains, leaving those waiting outside of his chambers "increasingly bored", writes Saint-Pathus, who has the most toned-down narrative of all[41].

Beyond Louis' fervent prayer life, other aspects of his personality would strike his entourage as being at odds with the royal image. The king's physical appearance is the first of these. Most testimonies suggest that the king favored excessively plain clothing. The tendency is exaggerated after the crusade, when the king only wore plain clothes and adopted a severe regime of visual and culinary austerity, but it already crops up in Joinville's memories of a banquet in the early 1240s: "the king," he recounts, "was dressed in a tunic made of blue woollen cloth, a surcoat, a coat of red satin lined with fur, and he wore a cotton hat on the head, which looked horrible on him". The materials and the colors look royal enough, but the overall result is paler than the handsome king of Navarre, seated at the same table and wearing beautiful golden and satin tunics[42]. In this vein, it is probably significant that the only well-documented royal solemnity that we have is the English visit in Paris of 1254, when all the festivities were in honor of, and sometimes initiated by, the English royal court[43]. Indeed, much more typical of Louis seems to have been the indifference he showed to people joyfully greeting him on his way back from Provence after the crusade. Beaulieu even says that the king was "displeased" with all the joy and reverence and "the honours of immense and superfluous expenses which he

saw", and that he hastened to Vincennes, fleeing Paris, to extinguish all the fun prepared for the night[44].

These anecdotes echo the well-known claim that Louis was a king who liked to live as a monk (un "roi-moine", says Le Goff) to the point that his confessor could claim that Louis had thought of retiring from the world within a monastery, only to be dissuaded from this drastic course of action by his wife Marguerite[45]. The episode may be unlikely, but it certainly reflects the proximity that Louis had with the Cistercians and the Mendicants, who crowded the king's chapel and council[46]. The king himself often adopted the lifestyle and gestures of a religious life. Saint-Pathus, for instance, shows Louis prostrated on the frozen floor of the chapel of Royaumont on the eve of the Nativity, 1254, like any other monk[47]. At Saint-Mandé, he would pray Compline with the monks, at Compiègne, he sits on the floor to listen to the preaching of a Dominican friar[48]. These royal displays of monastic piety did not always generate admiration. In one anecdote among others compiled by Le Goff, an anonymous woman derides Louis as "the king of the friars"; and in a piece of student literature circulating in Paris in 1260, the king is mocked for favoring friars over knights, as if the former could do anything to defend his kingdom[49]. Preaching energetically and leading the vita apostolica, the new Mendicant friars were certainly fascinating and charismatic, but the king's monkish fascination for them was not, in itself, charismatic.

Louis' charisma was not unequivocal. The fascination that the king's qualities exerted could not entirely suppress the growing unease at his exacerbated religiosity, particularly when it conflated with the expectations levied on the royal function. This hybrid style of kingship is precisely what William of Chartres remembers, when he tries to capture the paradox of the reign: "Many a person marveled—and the wicked grumbled—that one man, so humble, mild, not strong of body or harsh in approach, was able to rule peaceably over such a realm, over such and so many princes and mighty lords especially since he was hardly affable and generous with rewards for some people". In other words, Louis was a great ruler—even though he was not very charismatic[50]!

There was, however, one moment when the tension between faith and politics was temporarily resolved: the seventh crusade (1248–1254), which proved to be a unique moment of charisma in the reign—although, yet again, not without its ambiguities.

5. The Crusade: The Redeeming Charisma of a Suffering King

The seventh crusade occupies a unique position in the life of Louis because it was a time and place when the king's two identities could be truly reconciled: his kingship and his call to be Christ-like.

The seventh crusade is often presented as the king's most glorious failure, in historiographical rhetoric which delights in the use of paradoxes. According to Jacques Le Goff, "the image of saint Louis is magnified by the catastrophe of the crusade. It is illuminated by the beauty of the dead man and goes through a process of death and transfiguration." Ultimately, the crusade proved an "opportunity of growth for Saint Louis, the royal function, his people and Christianity"(Le Goff 1996, pp. 207, 873–74). In turn, Cecilia Gaposchkin has showed how the suffering of the crusade became central to Louis' sanctity in 1270–1300, with the humiliation and the sacrifice of the king being the keys to the sanctification of what was, on the ground, a failed military venture (Gaposchkin 2016; Jordan 1979, p. 141). What remains to be seen is the nature of the contemporary response to the king on crusade, prior to its post-mortem celebration. Evidence suggests that the crusade offered a unique time window, where a temporal ruler could act as a lieutenant of Christ, briefly reconciling his royal and knightly calling, with his otherworldly vocation.

The view from England provides a good starting point. Writing, once again, without any prescience of the future canonization, Matthew Paris gives a vivid narrative of Louis' decision to take the cross in 1244, in which he sees a direct intervention of God. In that year, Louis fell gravely ill and was presumed dead. At the last moment, having taken a vow to take the cross if he were saved, he suddenly improves, "as if risen from the grave",

and recovers his health[51]. Paris is obsessed with this episode, which he mentions at least another five times in the space of seven years of chronicles: in 1245, a legate is dispatched "for the crusade that the lord called, with a spirit like one restored to life"; in 1246, Louis is the one whom "God truly resuscitated, or recalled miraculously from the doors of death"; and in 1247, the monk celebrates the king's project to go "adore the remains of the Crucified, who had resuscitated him". When several English nobles take the cross, Paris recalls again how "God had revived [the French king] so that he could take back his inheritance from the hands of his enemies". Finally, in the Holy Land, Louis is called by his barons "our most Christian king miraculously risen from the dead[52]". Louis' vow to take up the cross, if he was healed, is well-attested, but Paris's insistence on a divine election in the matter is unique. William of Nangis, for instance, briefly says that "Our Lord" was moved to pity by the prayers of the French kingdom and healed the king, but then goes on to attribute Louis' full recovery to Saint Denis, the patron-saint of his religious house[53]. That was the official version, as inscribed in the *Grandes chroniques de France*. Where and how Matthew Paris formed his own account of the event is unclear, but the resulting narrative is that Louis was literally chosen by God to go on crusade, a story that resonates with the attributes of the charismatic leader in Weber's definition.

On the ground charisma proved, again, ambiguous. In purely military terms, the king's ability to exert a form of commanding influence over others is problematic in the narrative sources. Joinville, unsurprisingly, remembers episodes where Louis did cut a striking military figure, when for instance he arrives after the disaster of the Mansura to rescue his men after the death of his brother Robert of Artois. "Never," writes Joinville, "have I seen such a handsome warrior, because he was standing clearly visible, from the shoulders up, above all of his men, with a golden helmet on his head and a German sword in his hand". Thereafter, the king forces the admiration of his men by breaking free of six Turks who had seized his horse[54].

These excerpts have to be read alongside the more critical reports of indiscipline and unruliness which plagued the campaign. Joinville and Matthew Paris concur in relating how Louis would often not listen to the advice of his council, preferring to rely on his hot-blooded brother, Robert, count of Artois[55]. He is often disobeyed, whether by one of his own men, Gautier de Chatillon, who meets a rash and untimely death, or by the Templars, who rush ahead to save one of their own, heedless of the king's orders[56]. He completely fails to maintain the peace between English and French soldiers, causing one of the leading English barons, William Longsword, to break off from the crusader contingent, after the king proved himself incapable of doing him justice. William's parting words precisely question Louis's royal leadership: "you are not king, when you cannot show justice to your own and punish the wrong-doers [. . .]. Such a king I will not serve again, such a lord, I will not follow[57]." Maintaining order amidst groups of hundreds of knights from all over Europe was certainly no small feat. Even the holiest of kings could not extinguish the individualistic pursuit of prowess and glory that characterized the world of knights. But the disillusion felt by the English baron and the uncoordinated movements of the crusading armies cannot simply be dismissed as the product of a turbulent chivalrous mindset. In the eyes of those that were under his command, Louis was not an especially charismatic war leader. Joinville himself does not shy away from criticizing the king on several occasions: in Damietta, where Louis changes the rules of booty-sharing, causing many to think themselves "ill-treated by the king who had broken the good old customs"; or, later on, when his attempt at blocking one arm of the Nile river backfires because the king had failed to survey the hydrographical configuration of the land[58].

A final word should also be said of the depressed atmosphere which settled after the failure of the crusade. Contrary to Joinville, who painted the sufferings and tribulations of the French armies "so that all those who hear may trust in God in their trials"—very much like most of the hagiographers—Matthew Paris has a view that predates the canonization and even the new austere kingship of the 1260s. While he remains favorably impressed by the efforts of Louis and the adventure of the crusade, he does not hide the feelings of

disillusion which engulfed the armies in the East and which reached the French kingdom. Just before the stormy exit of William Longsword, Paris recalls how some French barons grumbled and even started wavering in their faith. The captivity of the king, he says, brought shame and pain to all the Franks (Francorum) and to all the Christians at large, for "it is not said in other selection of histories that the king of France had been captured or defeated, before this one". Once released, Louis goes to Palestine "*tristis*, *et inglorius*[59]". The comments from Saint-Albans are not a personal attack on Louis: they certainly reflect the bitterness of many fervent Christians, who had barely finished celebrating the early successes at Damiette before fate intervened. But they also convey the disaffection which must have been rampant in the immediate aftermath of the defeat, and which is toned down in those later narratives that have had the time to re-inject meaning in chaos.

This disenchanted atmosphere resonates with the occasional signs of reluctance in Louis' closest entourage regarding the crusade. Blanche of Castile's, Louis' own mother, is said to have done everything in her power to discourage her son from his enterprise, including arranging an ecclesiastical ritual to absolve him from his vow. Coming from the person who nurtured the king's faith and moral persona, the decision testifies, not only to the inner devastation of a mother fearing for a son, but also to the queen's political judgment on the adventure[60]. Did the king's brothers, Charles and Alphonse, share the queen's misgivings? Alphonse was deeply devoted to the crusade, to the point of engaging all his resources into the second crusade of the reign after 1266 (Chenard 2017, pp. 109–10). And yet again, on Egyptian ground, elements suggest that he and Charles of Anjou did not always endorse royal crusading policy. In 1252, for instance, rumors reported that Louis was considering giving back parts of his continental lands to Henry III of England in return for his support to the crusade. According to Matthew Paris, the decision generated the "contempt and hatred" of the king's brothers, directly threatened in their landed possessions by the measure[61]. More generally, the fascination exerted by the royal posture of atonement does not seem to have been the common response within the royal family and closest entourage: as his wife, Queen Marguerite can only have been appalled at the king's wish to resign his crown and join a monastery on his return from the crusade, as Beaulieu, the king's confessor, reported[62]. A decade later, Joinville also passes a severe judgment on the king's decision to embark on his second crusade, blaming him for recklessly abandoning the kingdom that God intended him to govern[63]. The crusader king did not always manage to extend his charisma to his closest kin.

And yet, Louis' charisma is not purely a later construct. In the midst of defeat and chaos, the French king grew into his most charismatic persona.

One of the most visible aspects of the king's crusading charisma is reflected in Muslim eyes. For those who were, by definition, the ultimate others as well as the king's captors for a month in 1251, Louis' tranquil and confident bearing during his captivity spoke volumes. Geoffrey of Beaulieu, who was with the king during the crusade and wrote an early hagiography, recalls how the Sarrasins came to see their prisoner "as a most holy, truthful and wise man", a sentiment that the sultan shares almost literally in Matthew Paris's *Chronica*[64]. William of Chartres also claims that Louis's dignified captivity forced the admiration of his captors, to the extent that violent Sarasin soldiers, who were about to massacre their Christian prisoners, were suddenly tamed "at the sight of our glorious king, whom they greeted with hands in prayer[65]". Joinville, who was also present with the king during his captivity, goes even further in relating that the Turks who had just killed Sultan Al-Muazzam Turanshah (r. 1249–1250) of Egypt, thought of making Louis their sultan, but ultimately decided against their French candidate for fear that he would convert them all, so strong was his Christian faith … [66]. Of course, the emphasis on the king's dignified bearing throughout his humiliation may be a trait of the Christian sources, classically enlarging their hero through the eyes of his enemies. Indeed, as Yann Potin has shown, the Eastern narratives do not generally emphasize the same qualities in their royal prisoner[67]. And yet, the fact remains that some Sarrasins came to the king for conversion, a

phenomenon that has recently been confirmed beyond the hagiographical topos by W. C. Jordan's thorough study on the king's converts in France (Jordan 2019).

To European eyes, the charisma of the captive and suffering king was not lost either. Beaulieu claims that all those who were with the king witnessed "how evenly, how wisely, he behaved in his gestures and responses for as long as he was in the hands [of the Egyptians]", leaving Chartres to paraphrase this in saying that all Christian soldiers were amazed at how confident and unperturbed the king was during his captivity[68]. But perhaps the most stirring reaction to this charisma of defeat is that of Henry III of England, who met Louis in Paris just three months after his return from the East. The diplomatic situation was far from being benevolent, as Henry's vigorous taming of Gascony after six years of unruliness had created alarm on the borders of the neighboring French county of Toulouse and land of Agenais. With a French kingdom at a low point after the death of Queen Blanche in November 1252, the return of Louis had been partly prompted by the fear of a looming English threat. And yet, when Henry and Louis met, family connections were finally activated and strong ties of friendship were formed, largely, it seems, on the basis of the fascination exerted by the French king on his English cousin. In Matthew Paris's account of the royal visit, the two kings converse at length together, but one distressed exclamation by Louis seems to have made a strong impression on Henry: "My friend," says the French king, "it is not easy to express the depth and width of my suffering, in body and soul, for me, a pilgrim for the love of Christ. Everything has gone against me; but I give you thanks, Almighty. Being now back with myself and back within the depths of my heart, I rejoice more in the patience that God's grace gave me, than in what it would have brought me to dominate the world". The passage, in direct speech, reads like spiritual confidence and one can easily assume that those words are here because Henry III reported them back to Matthew Paris on one of his visits to St-Albans, so strong was the impression left on him by this new penitential aura that surrounded the French king[69].

The crusades were a unique moment in time, when the king's religiosity reenforced his military stature, and vice-versa. The English reaction to the newfound penitential aura of Louis, in 1254, shows that Louis had already transformed his military failure into an act of Christ-like sacrifice. The French king's charisma was a unique blend of royal authority and dignified suffering.

6. Conclusions

After his return from the Holy Land, the king would often recall the dark days of his captivity, "the shameful and outrageous things he had received overseas". His close entourage, however, felt the king "should not recall such things which took him back to his humiliation[70]". The anecdote encompasses the paradoxes of Louis IX's charisma: an anointed king who strove to achieve the greatest humility without compromising the royal dignity, the French king walked a perilously thin line between sacrality and sanctity. The fascination he exerted over his contemporaries was real, as narrative and hagiographical sources show. But the extremely ardent faith that he professed and practiced did not exclusively generate positive responses, particularly where it was felt to encroach on the duties of the royal function.

This paper has confronted the written narratives on Louis to the Weberian definition of charisma, accepting the limits of an anachronic conceptual frame because the frame was felt to produce new thinking on Louis—too rapidly labelled charismatic because he became famous as a holy king. The Paulinian charisma has not been tackled here, and further discussion on this older and more entrenched definition of charisma is in order.

For now, the charisma of Louis IX raises the question of the different temporalities of the reception and construction of charisma, a field of investigation which remains open with Saint Louis and necessitates further investigation in the sources specifically produced after the canonization, such as papal bulls, religious sermons and liturgical prayers. The crusades represented a unique opportunity for the king to unite under his banner his two callings: to be a knightly leader and commander of men, and to walk in the footsteps of Christ's

otherworldly kingship. Even then, the military disaster and the political catastrophe of the captivity of the king created cracks in the king's reputation, cracks that his closest entourage did not like to hear recalled time and again. It is only after the death of king Louis that his drastic suffering blended with his royal identity harmoniously, when the memories of Joinville and the rhetoric of the papal chancery could run free, unhindered by the political consequences of a physically diminished king. During the king's lifetime, one must be content with the assessment of William of Chartres, who pinpointed the unusual nature of the aura of a king who drew people to him even though he did not have the external attributes of a great leader. Perhaps the best word to associate to Louis, then, is not so much charisma, or aura, as his "odor"—something subtle and evanescent, which makes a gradual impression on the senses, as opposed to the imposition of a vibrant personality.

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Notes

1 Le Goff (1996, p. 826) (my translation). Aura and charisma are used here by Le Goff as near equivalents, although the two terms have different connotations. See Jaeger (2012).

2 The distinction is discussed in Aurell (2022, pp. 607–37).

3 The classical study on Louis' kingship, and for a long time the only one, is Jordan (1979). Recent studies focusing on the government of Louis IX are (Dejoux 2014; Chenard 2017).

4 See, among others: Hardy (2018).

5 Guillaume de Chartres, De vita et miraculis S. Ludovici. In *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 20, pp. 27–41, p. 27. The standard edition in English is Gaposchkin et al. henceforth *The Sanctity of Louis IX*, here at p. 131.

6 Le Goff has shown how Louis' model of royal sanctity differed from pre-Gregorian examples: Le Goff (1991, pp. 290–91). See also Folz (1984). On the shift of paradigm from high-born holy men to a generalized defiance towards the civil power, see Vauchez (1999, pp. 34, 67–70).

7 Le Goff (1996), see the introduction, the conclusion and the section devoted to the texts that have "constructed" Louis IX as Saint Louis, pp. 317–515.

8 For the Latin text of the *Vitae*, see: Geoffroi de Beaulieu, Vita et sancta conversation piae memoriae Ludovici, quondam regis Francorum. In *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 20, pp. 3–26; Guillaume de Chartres, De vita et miraculis S. Ludovici. In *ibid*., pp. 27–41.

9 Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, H.-F. Delaborde, Ed., Picard et fils: Paris, 1899; for an overall assessment of the work, Le Goff (1996, pp. 337–44).

10 The bibliography on Joinville is immense. The classical analysis of the work is the introduction by J. Monfrin in his edition of the Life: Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, J. Monfrin Ed., Garnier: Paris, 1995. For an appreciation of the work, Le Goff (1996, pp. 473–99). For studies on the making of the *Vie de Saint Louis* and Joinville's historical involvement in the reign, see: (Contamine 1997; Gaucher-Rémond 2014).

11 Matthieu Paris, *Chronica Majora*, H. R. Luard, Ed., 7 vol., London, Longman, 1872–1883. On Paris' s methods of writing, see (Vaughan 1958; Weiler 2009).

12 The standard Latin edition of the *Gesta* is that contained in the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 20, pp. 312–465 (with its early 14th-century French vernacular translation). See (Delisle 1873). On the chronicle tradition at Saint-Denis, see (Spiegel 1978; Guenée 2016; Autrand et al. 1999).

13 The text is edited in Vincent de Beauvais, *Bibliotheca mundi Vincentii Burgundi, ex ordine Praedicatorum venerabilis episcopi Bellovacensis, Speculum quadruplex, naturale, doctrinale, morale, historiale.* Ex officina typographica Baltazaris Belleri: Douai, 1624, vol. 4, see especially pp. 1278–323.

14 Seals, in particular, create an image of power, as Duncan Hardy has showed with Sigismund of Luxembourg (Hardy 2018, p. 302). The surviving seals of Louis IX having yet to be surveyed and analyzed, a similar approach has not been taken here. An edition of the official acts of the king has long been in preparation. It is currently being supervised by Jean-François Moufflet, whose thesis catalogued some 2382 acts (Moufflet 2007). For the canonization documentation, see (Carolus-Barré 1994). Because the contemporary chronicles of Philippe Mouskès and of the ménestrel de Reims cannot be directly connected to the court and entourage of Louis IX, they have not been included in the survey.

15 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 4, p. 476. The two drawings are London, BL, Cotton MS Nero D. I, f. 169v, and Cambridge, CCC MS 16I, f. ivr. A survey of the 1254 meeting in Paris can be found in Carpenter (2005).
16 *The Sanctity of Louis IX*, pp. 138, 145, 147 (Chartres).
17 Matthieu Paris, *Chronica Majora*, v. 5, p. 478. See also (Dixon-Smith 2002, pp. 78–79, 86; Aladjidi 2008).
18 (Le Goff 1996, pp. 628–34; Dixon-Smith 2002, p. 88).
19 *The Sanctity of Louis IX*, p. 95 (Beaulieu); Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, pp. 33–34.
20 *Ibid.*
21 *The Sanctity of Louis IX*, p. 111 (Beaulieu). Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, p. 27. Joinville, *Vie de saint Louis*, pp. 557–59.
22 As studied by Dejoux (2014), who notably showed that the documentation of the inquiries was never meant to reach the king himself or to be kept as administrative records, only to be used for financial and administrative settlements towards the plaintiffs, thus downplaying the charismatic impact of the procedure on the population of the kingdom.
23 Joinville, *Vie de saint Louis*, pp. 179–80. On Vincennes, see (Dejoux 2020).
24 *The Sanctity of Louis IX*, pp. 101 (Beaulieu) and 133 (Chartres).
25 Guillaume de Nangis. Gesta. In *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 20, pp. 326–327 and for comment, Pisiak (2021, pp. 315, 342).
26 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 4, p. 90–92; and for comment Pisiak (2021, p. 246).
27 Guillaume de Nangis, *Gesta*. In *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 20, p. 400.
28 *The Sanctity of Louis IX*, p. 132 (Chartres). Saint-Pathus, *Vie de saint Louis*, p. 19.
29 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 5, p. 482.
30 *The Sanctity of Louis IX*, p. 115 (Beaulieu).
31 Joinville, *Vie de saint Louis*, p. 585.
32 (Le Goff 1996, p. 479). For instances of Louis enjoying good preaching: Joinville, *Vie de saint Louis*, p. 537; Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, pp. 21, 37.
33 *The Sanctity of Louis IX*, pp. 94 (Beaulieu) and 144 (Chartres).
34 Ibid., p. 139 (Chartres).
35 Joinville, *Vie de saint Louis*, pp. 161–65.
36 Joinville, *Vie de saint Louis*, p. 547.
37 Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 814–25.
38 *The Sanctity of Louis IX*, p. 96.
39 Guillaume de Nangis. Gesta. In *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 20, p. 399.
40 Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, p. 27.
41 Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, p. 53.
42 Joinville, *Vie de saint Louis*, pp. 205, 545.
43 Matthieu Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 5, pp. 478–82.
44 *The Sanctity of Louis IX*, p. 108 (Beaulieu).
45 The episode has an echo in Saint-Pathus, who claims that Louis thought about becoming a priest should his wife die; *Vie de Saint Louis*, p. 50.
46 Le Goff (1996, pp. 331–32, 823). On Louis' connection with the Friars, see (Little 1964, pp. 125–48; Field 2012, pp. 208–23).
47 Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, pp. 40–41.
48 Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, pp. 51–52.
49 Le Goff (1996, p. 823). Quote (from Ruteboeuf) in Little (1964, p. 125).
50 *The Sanctity of Louis IX*, p. 144 (Chartres).
51 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 4, p. 397.
52 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 4, pp. 488, 561, 608; 5, pp. 1, 108.
53 Guillaume de Nangis, *Gesta*. In *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 20, p. 346.
54 Joinville, *Vie de saint Louis*, pp. 283, 287.
55 Joinville, *Vie de saint Louis*, pp. 275–77, Matthieu Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 5, p. 151.
56 Joinville, *Vie de saint Louis*, pp. 251, 257.
57 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 5, pp. 132–34.
58 Joinville, *Vie de saint Louis*, p. 263.
59 Matthieu Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 5, pp. 158, 175, 280.

60 (Grant 2016, pp. 129–33), and Joinville, *Vie de saint Louis*, pp. 54–55.
61 Matthieu Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 5, p. 281.
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Article

Charisma and Surgery in the Middles Ages: The Example of Henri de Mondeville, Surgeon of Philip IV the Fair

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Abstract: Based on Henri de Mondeville's treatise on surgery, this article focuses on his practice and explores the surgeon's awareness of the concept of charisma and its implications for his professional activities. It seeks to demonstrate the medieval textual continuity of the concept of charisma, its relevance to medieval medical vocation and training, and the fact that charisms remained central to the act of care for this surgeon, who acted for the common good and in fear of divine judgment. This essay looks at possible limiting factors in surgical practice, such as theological issues concerning the body and soul, or the consideration of the notion of moral responsibility. Do charisma, faith, and divine intervention absolve the surgeon from such responsibility? This article will examine whether de Mondeville's surgical practice was based on predefined principles and non-intervention in the natural order of things or if, on the contrary, the medieval surgeon was accountable for his actions and their consequences independently of divine grace, due to his making a reasoned choice in the context of an ethical approach. This analysis shows that the elements involved in medical decision-making rely on a moral basis, influenced by the Christian religion and normed by religious texts, but do not exclude recourse to an applied code of ethics for specific cases, reserving all freedom of action.

Keywords: charisma; Henri de Mondeville; moral responsibility; ethics; St Paul; medieval surgery

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1. Introduction

The notion of charisma was defined by St Paul, one of the most influential figures in early Christianity, as a divine gift of the Holy Spirit; it was then associated by thirteenth-century theologians with the notion of grace (Aurell 2022). The lexeme *charismata* appeared in the Latin translation of the First Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor 12:31, Vulgate) and was clearly defined by what preceded it in the epistle, in the form of the terms *spiritualibus* (1 Cor 12:1), *gratiarum* (1 Cor 12:4), and *datur manifestatio Spiritus* (1 Cor 12:7), its meaning as a divine gift thus being well established. *Charisma* originates from the classical Greek *χάρισμα*: grace, favor, and benefit, and from *χάρις:* benevolence and favor. The number of its occurrences is rather few in the Vulgate: 17 instances are in the Greek text of the New Testament, mainly in the Pauline writings or those of his disciples and in the First Epistle of Peter.[1] In the Latin text, when the word *charisma* is not used, the translators have preferred to use the terms *donum*, *donatio*, and *gratia*. In the Greek text, there seems to be a difference between *χαρισμα*, which is placed on the side of the receiver (a divine gift being received), and God's action of grace, *χαρις του θεου*, which is placed on the side of the giver (a divine gift granted).[2] It is quite natural that *χαρισμα* was translated by the Latin *donum* or *donatio*, while *χαρις* was more likely translated by *gratia* (action of grace).

Paul saw charisma as a manifestation of God's grace and believed that it was not acquired through personal effort but was instead freely given by God as a manifestation of His grace and for the benefit of the entire community, rather than for personal benefit. From the nineteenth century onward, a more modern approach has been developed in a sociological context, opening the way to further interpretation as the notion of leadership. However, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, debates about charisma remained

quite faithful to the Pauline definition. This topic of charisma has already been addressed by medievalist scholars. Many of the articles discussing the question in medieval culture have used Weberian definitions and concepts (Even-Ezra 2013). Some authors have been interested in the charismatic effect of historical figures such as Francis of Assisi, Hildegard of Bingen, and Bernard of Clairvaux, while others have focused on institutions and still others on governance, whether religious or political, including charismatic symbols of power (Finlay 2002; Andenna et al. 2005; Jansen and Rubin 2010; Felten et al. 2009; Jaeger 2018, pp. 181–204; Vedeler 2018, pp. 9–30). Some works have discussed a medieval approach to charisma with a return to its Pauline origins, most often in a religious context (Even-Ezra 2013; Gignac 2009; Gustafson 2018; Rossi Monti 2018), but never in a medical and professional context.

For this purpose, I focused on Henri de Mondeville (1260–1320), a French surgeon and physician, who was born in Normandy. Not much is known in terms of his biography. He studied in Montpellier and Paris, where he completed his training in surgery with Lanfranc of Milan (who was exiled from his city at that time).[3] De Mondeville wrote that he taught surgery in these two cities, as well as medicine in Montpellier (Pouchelle 1983, p. 15). He was a cleric and a fine scholar. Surgeon to King Philip IV the Fair from 1298 onward, he was renowned during his own lifetime. His obligations toward the king and the royal armies, his teaching duties, and the exercise of his profession left him little time to write his *Surgery*, which meant a great deal to him. He gave lectures from its pages for students wishing to "learn, quietly, free of charge, and as if by a gift of charity, all that we moderns and all our predecessors [...] have learned".[4] De Mondeville greatly contributed to the field of surgery by his method for treating wounds, which relied on cleanliness, and by performing brain surgery. He died around 1320, leaving an unfinished work that was translated into many vernacular languages, even during his lifetime, and copied until the fifteenth century, thus demonstrating its popularity. This text allows us to glimpse how the famous surgeon conceived of his profession.

This article is concerned with the notion of charisma as defined by St Paul, referring to a divine gift. In this context, I focus on de Mondeville's surgical practice and his treatise, exploring the surgeon's awareness of this concept and its implications for his professional activities. In the first part, I will introduce the historical context. I will then show the textual continuity of the concept of charisma throughout the Middle Ages, including the literary domain, which allowed scholars to integrate the concept into their daily practice. I will then discuss the appropriation of the concept by de Mondeville in his treatise on surgery, showing how the surgeon considered his practice to be charismatic. Among the various charisms, I will consider the charisms of healing, knowledge, faith (1 Cor 12:8–9), and charity and humility. Finally, I will show that this appropriation by the surgeon allowed him to define moral norms for a professional code of ethics, one in which making therapeutic choices and accepting moral responsibility are not antagonistic to the notion of grace.

2. Historical Context

The Middle Ages was a period of evolution for the medical profession. Monastic medicine played an important role in the development of medicine until the twelfth century. The emergence of universities from the thirteenth century onward gave laymen access to medical training. Scholastic medicine, heavily influenced by the teachings of ancient Greek and Roman physicians such as Galen and Hippocrates, used logical reasoning and empirical observation to develop an understanding of the human body. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, when de Mondeville was teaching in Paris and began to write his treatise on surgery, three universities had a near-monopoly on medical training: Bologna, Montpellier, and Paris (Jacquart 1995, p. 186). Surgery was regarded until the twelfth century as a branch of medicine forming part of therapeutic procedures. Surgery was considered to be a healing procedure. It was the surgeon's task to treat, with the help of instruments, those ailments that a doctor could not cure with herbs or diet. Surgery was

considered a manual operation. While doctors received theoretical training in medical school, those doctors involved in manual operations were trained via an apprenticeship. Surgery and medicine eventually separated and became two separate disciplines (Mc Vaugh 1995, p. 244). The creation of the brotherhood of St Cosmas and St Damian in the thirteenth century in Paris sealed the recognition of the profession of surgeon, while the ordinance of Philip the Fair in 1311, which obliged surgeons to pass an examination with a master before practicing, separated educated surgeons from barber surgeons (Pouchelle 1983, pp. 170–73). Indeed, alongside the few literate surgeons who had followed a medical course and knew Latin, there were all kinds of practitioners: not only non-literate surgeons and barbers, whose training was based on apprenticeship, but also a considerable number of tooth-pullers and quacks (Nutton 1995, pp. 164–65). In addition to shaving and undertaking cosmetic body care, barbers were allowed to perform procedures that surgeons disdained—bloodletting and the treatment of small wounds, boils, or bruises—while it fell to surgeons to treat "injuries such as broken limbs, sprains, dislocations, burns, scalds, cuts, bites and bruises" (Bullough 1959; Dumas 1995, p. 89; Siraisi 1990, p. 154). It was only at the end of the Middle Ages that barbers became more important, their activity then extending to the treatment of open wounds (Jacquart 1981, p. 35). This division between doctors, learned surgeons, and barbers was a source of constant conflict.

De Mondeville was one of the few educated surgeons in Paris at the beginning of the fourteenth century. He, therefore, carried out his activity at a time of transition when the health professions were being structured and university medical teaching, based on textual resources, was developing (Jacquart 1998). Medieval surgical literature constituted by repetitive compilations of previous texts until the twelfth century, was enriched with new texts during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Mc Vaugh 1995, pp. 244–49). These treatises became more original and more didactic when new Arabo-Latin translations were first assimilated and then commented upon in the light of personal experience. Although certain texts, such as Roger Frugardi's *Cyrurgia*, undeniably influenced medieval surgeons, it was not until the publication of William of Saliceto's *Cyrurgia* and Lanfranc's *Chirurgia Magna,* from which de Mondeville drew inspiration in his treatise, that rational texts based on argumentation became available, with the authors citing their sources and justifying their therapeutic choices (Ibid.). These works contrasted with earlier texts in terms of their conception: a chapter on anatomy was included, which is very detailed in de Mondeville's work; pathologies were discussed according to disease and not from head to toe; finally, for Lanfranc and de Mondeville, an *antidotarium,* a book of antidotes and recipes, was introduced at the end of the treatise. De Mondeville was in favor of the reunification of surgery and medicine: two inseparable disciplines with the same base of theoretical knowledge. This was the same attitude adopted by Guy de Chauliac in his *Cyrurgia*, a text that later surpassed de Mondeville's treatise in terms of fame (Tittel 2004). However, Mondeville's treatise on surgery remains an original and passionate text. He also added a very personal and interesting reflection on the practice of his calling, which allows us to explore his perception of his profession through the concept of charisma.

3. Charisma and Medieval Textual Continuity

Even if the concept of charisma had been "revitalized in the thirteenth century in the debates of nascent scholasticism around the theological concept of grace" (Aurell 2022, p. 613), its use showed a textual continuity. Although rare and specific, the term *charismata* was used by many early Christian authors. Tertullian (160–220), an important early Christian theologian, wrote theological texts in Latin in which the lexeme can be found (Cazenave 2010, p. 314; Dunn 2004, p. 83).[5] He described the Holy Spirit as the source of spiritual gifts and abilities.[6] His theological texts were widely spread across the West, not only in the Paleochristian period but also in the Middle Ages, when a manuscript tradition is attested as early as the eighth century (Meyers 2015). Laurence Mellerin (2015) has shown, for example, that Augustine borrowed the notion of unforgivable sins from Tertullian's exegesis of the gospels of St John and St Matthew.[7] About 800 occurrences of

the term *charismata* can be found in the Latin texts of early and medieval Christianity in the Latin West between the third and the fifteenth centuries, by 117 authors and in 203 texts.[8] Among the authors who have contributed to this textual continuity, we can mention St Jerome (347–420), Bede the Venerable (673–735), Alcuin (735–804), Raban Maur (780–856), Rupert of Deutz (1070–1129), Peter Lombard (1096–1160), Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), and more. The term was used in this theological context to indicate a gift of the Holy Spirit, in correlation to its Pauline origins, and was related to grace.[9] Among these debates, different aspects of the charisms were evoked, such as charity, love, prophecy, and the notion of non-gratifying grace (*non gratia gratis non gratum faciens*), which is given freely for the service of the community (Aurell 2022, pp. 613–15).

Apart from strictly theological texts, this term can also be found in poetry, as in the work of Prudentius, a poet of Iberian origin and contemporary of Saint Jerome, who composed theological poems with didactic value (Thomson 1949, p. 117).[10] Given the number of surviving manuscripts, Prudentius was also widely read in the Middle Ages. Finally, consultation of the *Acta Sanctorum* Database (1999–2017) allows us to validate the existence of the lexeme in literary texts.[11]

Indeed, the Latin word was used in the Middle Ages, but what about its use in vernacular languages? The dictionary of Middle French does not reveal any occurrence of the Latin term. The semantic field of the term being restricted to the theological domain, the use of Latin in theology for a very long time probably explains the absence of a need for a French word, especially since the terms *donum*, *donatio*, and *gratia*, which are used mainly in Latin translations, must have been sufficient to cover their linguistic needs. The earliest recorded use of *charisma* in French occurs only in 1879, in the *Histoire des origines du christianisme* (Renan 1879, p. 471), and, from 1960 onward, in dictionaries. The same is true in Italian and Russian (Cohen 2016). While the English term *charism* was thought to appear only in the seventeenth century, it in fact occurred much earlier. Indeed, the Middle English Dictionary (Middle English Dictionary MED 2000–2018) reveals the existence of *karism*, in the sense of divine grace or spiritual gift, in a manuscript dating from the end of the fifteenth century.[12]

The medieval textual continuity of *charisma* has been established in the theological and literary domains; its passage into the vernacular is attested in the English language before 1500. Medieval physicians were educated in the faculty of arts, including logic and natural philosophy (Jacquart 1995). De Mondeville was a cleric. He had a perfect command of Latin and a good knowledge of religious texts (some of these physicians had received minor orders). He had read the works of important theologians, such as Bede or Thomas Aquinas, and he knew the theological concept of *charisma* and the "*alii gratia sanitatum in uno Spiritu*", i.e., the gift of healing (1 Cor 12:9, Vulgate). De Mondeville devoted his whole life to the practice of surgery. Integrating this spiritual concept into the heart of his healing practice may have seemed quite natural to him.

4. Charisma at the Center of de Mondeville's Act of Care

4.1. A Charismatic Medieval Conception of the Profession

De Mondeville was, above all, a Christian. However, this assertion is not unchallenged. Pouchelle (1983, pp. 68–70) questioned the depth of de Mondeville's faith, suggesting that his reflections on religion were "too succinct to be able to pronounce definitively on his profound attitude", pointing out some of the surgeon's ironic remarks and the use of "obligatory style clauses". Although the surgeon's true intention cannot really be known, there is nothing to prevent us from believing the sincerity of de Mondeville's writings. Thus, another reading of the text remains possible. As the work had a medical and not a theological purpose, it seems quite natural that religious considerations are not in the foreground. However, because they do appear in his work, they allow us to approach the surgeon's charismatic values and beliefs. De Mondeville was not content with a single "dedication in due form" at the beginning of his treatise; instead, he regularly invoked the help of God throughout his work. He concluded his first two treatises "with God's

help only, from whose grace all knowledge and all other good flow".[13] With these words, de Mondeville linked his abilities to those of divine grace, as in the First Epistle to the Corinthians: "To one there is given through the Spirit a message of wisdom, to antoher a message of knowledge by means of the same Spirit".[14] In the writing of his work, he also invoked also the help of Christ, that "He may enlighten, perfect and correct my obscure, insufficient and ill-disposed mind, that it may support the burden and labour of such a task, so that in His light and power all the present work can be easily accomplished".[15] For him, God guided the hand of the hard-working surgeon in his inspiration and theoretical knowledge: "Without God no one can sufficiently write the history of remedies that is the subject of this doctrine".[16] To be educated, to become literate, to practice learned medicine and surgery, is to cultivate and honor this gift. Indeed, God had given him a gift, but it was necessary for him to make it flourish and turn it into a skill. De Mondeville had to learn this science that he "does not possess", he said.[17] Warning against the credulity of people or against ignorant surgeons, who claim "that they know surgery without art, and that they have infused science like an infused spring through the Creator" does not call into question the surgeon's faith; if these remarks sometimes take an ironic turn, the irony is directed rather against those who are lacking in discernment, or those who have not taken the trouble to choose the more arduous path of knowledge, than against religion itself.[18] For de Mondeville, God's help appears to be fundamental in practice, in the manual act of surgery, "and without whose help the surgeon who takes care of human bodies does not achieve his goal. [. . .] Let the surgeon in his acts of care have God before him, and God will manifest himself to him, and he would operate anywhere without trouble".[19]

Alongside the charism of knowledge and faith, and the charism of healing, humility appears to be a fundamental virtue for Paul, who exhorted Christians to: "Be completely humble and gentle; be patient, bearing with one another in love. Make every effort to keep the unity of the Spirit through the bond of peace" (Eph 4: 5–8, NIV). The charism of humility, which is inseparable from love and charity, is necessary to serve the interests of the community. The common good is an important concept expressed in the First Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor 12:7, Vulgate). It encourages believers to work together in love and compassion to meet the needs of their community. De Mondeville put himself at the service of his community by writing his treatise for "the common good" and "the common good of present and future generations", as he expressed it in his introductory sections.[20] Paul points out that if charity is lacking, even the highest level of charisma is of no use to him to whom it is given (cf. 1 Cor 13:1–3). It is also these virtues that de Mondeville placed at the heart of his profession. Exemplary conduct and moral rectitude are manifested in a constant desire for humility in de Mondeville, who sought the best of graces. The surgeon obeyed the precept, saying: "I served the Lord with great humility" (Acts 20:19, Vulgate), writing that "the proud doctors will be put to shame for eternity".[21] It is also out of charity and to meet the needs of all that he undertakes the writing of his work: "But the learned disciples of surgery [. . .] must rejoice, and all the people with them, if they take care, since they are put here in a position to learn quickly, quietly, for free, as if by a gift of charity, all that we [. . .] have learned".[22] De Mondeville also mentioned surgeons' fees. If it seems normal to charge the rich for their services, it is, nevertheless, necessary to treat the poor for free, out of charity, because "the reward is great in Heaven, as necessarily follows from the words of the Saviour, who says in the psalm, through the mouth of the prophet: 'blessed is the one who has pity on the needy and the poor, for on the evil day the Lord will deliver him'".[23] On the subject of preventive treatments, he added that these must be administered free of charge "to those who are truly poor, for God's sake" and that deceiving the poor would be dishonest.[24] Finally, de Mondeville also followed the precept: "A cheerful heart is good medicine, but a crushed spirit dries up the bones" (Pr. 17:22, NIV), by encouraging patients who "must be comforted". He encouraged friends and relatives to visit the sick, to bring them joy, distraction, and laughter (Nicaise 1893, p. 144). He advised the avoidance of anger, hatred, and sadness, which make the body lose weight (Nicaise 1893, p. 145).

The Holy Scriptures were a constant guide for the surgeon, as shown by the numerous explicit or, more often, implicit quotations from and references to biblical texts (including proverbs, psalms, and the epistles of Paul and Peter). He compared, for example, theory and practice to the two gates of the fold that the surgeon must open, so as not to approach the discipline in the manner of a scoundrel. "He who does not enter the fold by the door is a thief or a robber", he wrote, referring to John 10:12.[25] He also warned surgeons to fear God: "Since the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom and nothing is lacking in those who fear the Lord, [let the surgeon] trust in the largesse of mercy and the fullness of his power" in an analogy to the proverb that "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge, but fools despise wisdom and instruction" (Pr. 1:7, NIV).[26]

The charisms as virtues and the precepts of the Holy Scriptures allowed de Mondeville to define a moral framework with normative purposes for shaping the good practice of surgery.

4.2. Charisma and Surgical Practice: A Compatible Course

The idea that the soul resides in a specific part of the body seems to have had little impact on surgical practice in the Middle Ages. The question of the soul and its nature was primarily a matter for philosophers and theologians, in terms of its relationship to God. However, the issue of an anatomical substratum for the soul and charisma could have been both the object of anatomical research and also an obstacle to surgical acts. Reservations regarding touching the body, opening it up at the risk of injuring the soul or of annihilating a divine gift, could have restricted the freedom to operate. De Mondeville devoted little space to the soul in his text, while giving anatomy, which he described as "the foundation of surgery", an essential place in it (Nicaise 1893, p. 2). That is why the surgeon chose to make his anatomy treatise the preamble for his *Surgery*, rather than placing it "in a rather scattered manner", as he blamed Avicenna for doing.[27] "Anatomy is the exact division and knowledge of the human body and of each of its members and parts, of this body which is the object of all medical science and also of surgery. [. . .] For all these reasons, my intention is to treat anatomy at the beginning of this work", he added.[28] However, it was indeed the knowledge of the human body that interested him and not that of the "compound" of Saint Thomas, a being that is provided with its own soul: "Anatomy is [. . .] the knowledge of the human body and of each of its members and parts, and this body is the object of all medical deeds and also of surgery" (Lamour 2017)[29]. It is through the study of the various members of the body that knowledge of the body can be achieved. The mention of an anatomical relationship between body and soul comes very late in de Mondeville's treatise and is not in the part devoted to anatomy, which shows an absence of practical interest for the surgeon. The human body remains, however, an instrument at the service of the soul: this duality is ambiguous for the surgeon, for whom there is a very close interaction between the body and the soul. This link, therefore, has therapeutic implications: "The body and the soul are so closely linked to each other that as long as one is ill, whatever it may be, the other cannot act externally", added de Mondeville. Physiology focuses on how the human body works. To practitioners in the Middle Ages, the liver generates nutritive blood during the second digestion. This nutritive blood is made more subtle by virtue of the heart, the principal organ that distributes vital blood, heat, and spirit, which, now purified, enters the left ventricle, where it gives rise to the spirit.[30] The surgeon explained:

> This spirit is clearer, lighter, purer and more shining than any other corporeal thing formed of the four elements, and is consequently closer to the nature of supercelestial things; it forms between the body and the soul a friendly and appropriate link, and is the immediate instrument of the soul, which makes spirits the bearers of faculties.[31]

Spirits are, therefore, not the soul, according to de Mondeville, but the carriers of faculties. Hence, the union of body and soul is not fusional in de Mondeville's mind since it requires a third party to create the link. De Mondeville made a distinction between the

"cardiac spirit", which was born in the heart and was the instrument of all the faculties, and the "spirit of the soul", which was born from a new digestion in the ventricles of the brain.[32] In line with Avicenna, de Mondeville described the brain as being divided into three ventricles: the anterior ventricle, the seat of the imaginative faculty, which receives the appearances of sensible things transmitted by sensory organs; the middle ventricle, the seat of the faculty of appreciation, discernment, and judgment; and the third ventricle, seat of the faculty of memory, which stores thoughts and perceptions (Wiberg 1914; Van der Eijk 2008).[33] Since de Mondeville described the brain as being the seat of cognitive functions and thoughts, could he have considered this spirit of the soul carrying faculties as the "arm" of the charism? It is impossible to analyze this because, according to him, "spirits can neither be seen nor touched" (Nicaise 1893, p. 134). Indeed, one cannot describe using anatomy what is invisible and untouchable. The inability to define the anatomical seat of a divine gift does not seem to be an obstacle to the opening of bodies, not in the case of living ones via the surgical act, but even less so in the case of the dead. For de Mondeville, surgery is more necessary than medicine because surgeons open up corpses. For him, death is merely a corruption that turns living organisms from beings to non-beings (Nicaise 1893, p. 119). To him, it is indeed a body without a soul, a non-being, that the surgeon faces, an argument faithful to the works of Aristotle, for whom a carnal envelope without a soul is nothing more than a corpse (Aristotle 2018, pp. 21–45). Thus, operations performed on dead bodies were not uncommon. Post-mortem conservation care, for which a special privilege had to be requested from the Church, post-mortem caesareans, and medico-legal autopsies were within the scope of medieval surgeons. As M-C. Pouchelle points out, it is in the treatise on surgery by Guy de Chauliac (1300–1308) that the obligation to extract the fetus before the burial of pregnant women (who had died before giving birth) is mentioned (Pouchelle 1976, p. 264).[34] The fact that Guy de Chauliac was also the physician of the popes of Avignon was obviously not in contradiction with his surgical practices. In Islam, the preservation of bodies was also not problematic. Abū Bakr al-Rāzi (Rhazes 825–965) devoted a chapter to it in his work, *Al-Mansur* (Koetschet 2014). As for human dissections, the first of which we owe to Erasistratus (310–250 BCE) and Herophilus (330–260 BCE), these do not appear to have been forbidden either, even if they were only slowly resumed in the West from the fourteenth century onward (Von Staden 1975). Faith was no obstacle to the practice of dissection of a dead body for surgeons wishing to learn, either in the Catholic religion or in Islam, after the tenth century (Annajjar et al. 2022).

The daily practice of surgeons in the Middle Ages seems to have put the theological issues of the body and soul aside. Finding an anatomical place of divine grace was not a necessity for de Mondeville, who could neither see nor touch spirits, as he wrote, yet he accepted the brain as the seat of cognitive faculties, including thought, judgment, and discernment. For a man who always tried to reconcile theory and practice in a pragmatic vision of the profession, these questions were probably considered to belong to the philosophical or theological field and, thus, far removed from daily surgical concerns; indeed, he made no mention of them in his chapter on anatomy, which he said was fundamental and the basis of the practice. Just as for Ibn Rushd (Averroes 1126–1298), who stated that: "Anyone who practices anatomy will increase his faith in Allah", the knowledge of anatomy was also, for de Mondeville, a way to approach or understand the miracle and the perfection of the Creation; that the soul, spirits, and charisma are invisible and untouchable is part of its mystery (Annajjar et al. 2022).[35]

Alongside the charisms as virtues and the theory of medical science, de Mondeville's religious convictions and his desire for irreproachable conduct led the surgeon to constant reflections on his practice. Religion and medicine are two disciplines that address the questions of life: its origin, its meaning, and its end. Faith, in all periods of history, determines the ways in which health and illness are approached. As a believer, seeking to develop a professional attitude from the Scriptures, interpreting them, and adapting them to resolve potential value conflicts, is an essential step that defines an ethical approach.

5. From Charisma to the Ethics of Responsibility

The ethical approach concerns the way in which medical decisions are taken, in particular, therapeutic choices. Ethics differ from pure morality, which is exercised in a binary mode (it is permitted to/it is forbidden to) and reflects the values of a particular society at a given moment, and also from deontology, a code of good practice governing the patient–carer relationship. These issues are not new; they had already been raised in Greek and Roman antiquity (Gourévitch 1984; Flashar and Jouanna 1997). Some previous research has dealt with medical "ethics" in the Middle Ages, focusing on deontology in the patient–doctor relationship, the conduct of a consultation, or relations between colleagues (Nicoud 2004; Mc Vaugh 1997; Crisciani 2004). The issue of moral responsibility, as perceived by the medical community itself, has never been explored. This issue is fundamental because, since it relies on the carers themselves, it raises the question of the values that guide choices and the issue of free will. Ethics, says A. Guggenheim (Guggenheim 2019), "is the art of questioning one's responsibilities. Responsibilities for others, for humanity." The ethics of responsibility emphasize that individuals are responsible for their actions and any consequences and imply a certain freedom of choice. In the context of Christianity, religious beliefs and values play an important role in decision-making. The ethics of responsibility and faith, two different approaches to ethical decision-making, may seem incompatible. Believing in a healing charisma, believing that God is supremely responsible for every act, could have a great influence on the way that individuals assume or discharge their responsibilities. This view of ethics applies to the physician's responsibility in making therapeutic choices. It is applicable to decision-making in the Middle Ages and resonates with Thomas Aquinas, for whom "God is the first cause of every being and of each of its operations" (Blankenhorn 2014). From charisma and the notion of divine grace to the surgeon's responsibility, it was indeed the question of determinism and free will that came to the forefront and that de Mondeville discussed throughout his work. At first sight, it seems that de Mondeville considered the surgeon's acts as being determined by the action of an almighty God and the divine gift: "It is indeed God who created Nature, who governs all bodies and who, more powerful than it, governs it in turn." "Nature acts at all times, the physician is only its servant", he wrote, in accordance with Aquinas' statement, "God holds all things in being, gives them their capacity to act, and he acts with them in every operation as first cause, while the creature acts as secondary cause" (Blankenhorn 2014). Thus, the surgeon may appear as the "hands" of God. However, the question of the moral responsibility of actions and their judgment remained relevant for the medieval surgeon who also defended free will. Hoffmann and Michon (2017) have shown that these questions were central to medieval thinking. They argue that for Aquinas, free will requires the existence of alternative possibilities, and that it is only on this condition that the moral responsibility of the agent can be exercised as causality does not call into question the ultimate source. An action is, thus, considered free if it is not contingent, implying that the agent of the action has the power to either carry it out or not do so. Indeed, for Aquinas, "since God does not operate exactly as creatures do [. . .] he acts in and with creatures without violating the freedom of rational secondary causes" (Blankenhorn 2014). De Mondeville regarded charisms as forces that work in conjunction with human freedom, providing inspiration. Freedom of action, defined as the possibility of choosing one's own path with the support of divine help, is thus considered compatible with a belief in the hand of God. It is at this exact point of intersection that applied ethics is situated. The field of applied ethics is concerned with issues of practical concern in a professional field (Almond 1998). While this term is quite recent, applied ethics or applied philosophy was already recognized in antiquity and in the Middle Ages (Almond 1998).[36] Ethics as a concept can be described as an uninterrupted path from theory to practice, i.e., from metaethics to applied ethics. Ethical theory is concerned with the analysis of moral concepts such as "right", "good", and "virtue", and normative ethics, which occupies an intermediate position on our path, is concerned with the norms and rules that apply to moral concepts. Metaethics and normative ethics are, thus, based on the values and beliefs of an individual or a society.

For de Mondeville, his faith in God, charisma, and divine grace are the basis of his moral values; the Holy Scriptures he quotes throughout his book represent the normative ethics he wishes to apply in the practice of his profession. Thus, he is the hand of God because he obeys His precepts. What is remarkable about de Mondeville is the use of applied ethics in the context of his case reports. Applied ethics means applying normative rules to specific situations: "What should I do?" It requires decision-making, the possibility of alternative and rational choices, and free will. Therefore, applied ethics can be a source of dilemmas, for the choice between two courses of action may be extremely difficult, a matter of adjudication between two situations (Moros et al. 1987). The actor's choices will be made in relation to his moral values in the particular context, depending on the options available.

Charisma and divine grace do not exclude the free will of the actor, who remains, in the eyes of de Mondeville, responsible for his actions. He wanted the surgeon to be responsible for his actions but not for events that he did not cause. Thus, he warned against conditions external to the surgeon's action that could compromise the success of the operation. Relying on Galen's precepts, he stated that "since the cure of a disease depends on the surgeon, the patient, the assistants, and external accidents, the surgeon, who is only responsible for a quarter of the cure, should not guarantee it in advance." "It is important to take into account not only oneself but also the patient, the assistants, and the external circumstances", he commented in his introduction (Nicaise 1893, p. 6). "A contingency results from certain external accidents, such as sudden and accidental changes in the weather, sudden heat, cold, or wind", he wrote (Nicaise 1893, p. 6). De Mondeville argued that the surgeon's responsibility is conceivable and measurable, in the light of contingent factors that then appear to be excuses for the therapeutic escape for which he cannot be blamed. De Mondeville does not, however, absolve the surgeon of his obligations with regard to external circumstances: "Even things that come from outside [. . .] must be the object of the surgeon's attention" (Nicaise 1893, p. 6). Indeed, "sudden changes in the weather", he said, or "astronomical accidents" such as the disposition of celestial bodies must be taken into account, for, even if these events are independent of the practitioner, he may have alternatives in terms of operative procedures, i.e., he could act differently. Sometimes, however, the incurability of the disease and the inevitability of death will make non-intervention the only reasonable option: "I advise not to treat serious diseases for which we do not foresee a happy outcome and cure", refusing to be made responsible for the inevitable death of these patients for fear of being accused of accidental homicide (Nicaise 1893, pp. 5–6). It is here that the question of the judgment of the act is raised: "Do not take on the treatment of bad diseases, lest you be called bad doctors, and the envious or the vulgar find words of blame against you", he advised (Nicaise 1893, p. 6).

Philosophical theories about determinism and moral responsibility tell us that when an individual is responsible for an event by omission, he does not cause that event in the same way as if he had performed an action, but he is still responsible if he might have been able to prevent it (Michon 2018). Charisms, faith, and divine inspiration are not excuses for a surgeon's non-intervention. "He who sees his neighbor dying of hunger and does not feed him, although he can, is responsible for his death", said de Mondeville to justify the surgeon's obligation (Nicaise 1893, p. 493). In cases of omission, moral responsibility seems to be linked to the existence of an alternative possibility. This question is addressed by de Mondeville in the hemostatic treatment of wounds. He offers the example of a wound, made by a lance in the thorax and near to the heart, in which a large piece of iron remains stuck. The wound is bleeding and hemostatic treatment is necessary. If the piece of iron cannot be removed safely—without risk of injury to the heart—then "you must either leave or remove the iron. If you abandon it, the patient will die. It is impossible for a man to live long with a large object stuck in or near his major organs", wrote the surgeon, before quoting the therapeutic possibilities for its extraction. In this case, the surgeon is not responsible for the patient's wound, but to what extent, if he does not intervene, is he responsible for a death that could have been avoided if he had intervened? This question remains in the realm of the hypothetical, as there is no proof that intervening

would save the injured person. De Mondeville was, therefore, well aware of the alternative possibilities and left the decision up to the surgeon's *liberum arbitrium*. The whole of de Mondeville's work is marked by the idea of responsibility, making this surgeon a precursor of professional ethics. This responsibility is not in opposition to either his faith or his belief in divine grace, and he always relies on the Scriptures to justify his statements as moral rules.

6. Conclusions

The notion of charisma, since the term first appeared in the writings of St. Paul, continued to exist throughout the Middle Ages in the works of numerous authors, in a theological and literary context, associated with the notion of a divine gift. Henri de Mondeville wrote his treatise on surgery at a time when the health professions were being structured and when surgery, previously considered a therapeutic procedure that was dependent on medicine, was finding its autonomy. Opposed to this separation between the two disciplines for reasons of theoretical training, de Mondeville set his heart on writing a text that also established the rules of conduct that a good surgeon should follow. As a cleric, physician, and surgeon, he assimilated the concept of charisma in a professional context, placing divine grace, the gift of healing, the charisms of humility, and charity at the heart of his acts of care. He linked the surgeon's abilities to divine grace, without omitting the necessity to cultivate and honor this gift, i.e., to learn and study by taking a theoretical and practical approach. The charism of humility, inseparable from that of charity, appears, as in the writings of Paul, as a fundamental virtue in the service of the community. De Mondeville insisted on treating the poor freely, remaining humble, and working for the common good. These virtues should guide the surgeon toward exemplary conduct. These charisms are found in the notions of charity, assistance, and care, which were the values of the original hospitals and whose history overlaps with that of monasteries. A large number of hospitals were founded at the instigation of ecclesiastics (Durand et al. 2000). The ways in which monks and nuns looked after the sick, pilgrims, or the poor reflected these virtues, based on charisms. The Hospitallers, a female branch of the order of St John of Jerusalem, founded in the eleventh century, were dedicated to the service of the sick poor. It was these sisters who introduced the notion of service not only into medieval spirituality but also into nursing. It would be interesting to explore how these values may have changed over time, both in general practice and in hospitals, in relation to distancing nursing from religion.

In his treatise, de Mondeville was interested in general practice. The surgeon's real intention or his attitude toward religion can, of course, always be questioned. Some of his reflections have been seen as negative or as ironic attacks. They have been considered to represent the emergence of a form of medicine detached from religion in parallel with the beginning of scholasticism. However, the regular references to the Holy Scriptures leave no doubt about de Mondeville's belief in God.

It is obviously impossible to judge the surgeon's conduct with certainty from his work. Indeed, there is certainly a gap between the literary genre of the treatise and the surgeon's empirical practice, and we must remain humble in whatever interpretation can be made of it. The diversification of medical writings that accompanied the development of medicine in the Middle Ages resulted in the production of texts dedicated to teaching, rather than in the form of commentaries, and of practical and varied texts in the form of treatises, collections of *experimenta*, recipes, or antidotaries. However, de Mondeville's work is resolutely practical and is organized in the form of treatises, including personal experiences and a section devoted to an antidote. Moreover, the surgeon himself approached his text with a didactic aim, citing sources and approving the authors. The first Latin versions of his work (see Paris, B.N. lat. 7131) show a central text that is accessible to the simplest of surgeons, as he himself stated, along with a more elaborate, peripheral text dedicated to learned surgeons who wished to explore the theory further. The copyists of the successive versions did not consider it useful to reproduce these first formulations, incorporating the peripheral text into the main text to create a single reading level. Research on these

differential versions considering the placement of religious values might be interesting to conduct. Reading this difficult text has been made easier by these scribes, perhaps to the detriment of the author's original intention. If there is a gap between the writings and the practice, if de Mondeville undoubtedly used consecrated or expected literary forms, or if he sought to convince his reader, his text remains an original text that is dedicated to a practice enlightened by theory, based on his religious values.

De Mondeville did not restrict his surgical practice, the learning and teaching of anatomy, or interventions on living or dead bodies for theological reasons. Searching for an anatomical substratum for the soul was not his priority as a surgeon; the relationship between body and soul did not merit explanation in his chapter on anatomy, which he regarded as the foundation of medical and surgical science. While he located the spirit of the soul in the brain, de Mondeville still practiced skull and brain surgery, performing trepanation.

De Mondeville did not invoke charisma, faith, and divine intervention to excuse the surgeon from his moral responsibility, whether in the acts performed or those that are omitted. He regarded charisms as forces working in conjunction with human freedom, providing help and inspiration. Therefore, moral responsibility and faith become compatible in decision-making, subject to the existence of alternative possibilities. Christianity influenced medieval society as a whole by establishing a moral foundation that guided people's thinking and actions during this period. This influence also applied to the fields of medicine and decision-making. De Mondeville's faith and religious beliefs defined the moral concepts to which the surgeon adhered, while the Holy Scriptures fulfilled their normative role by establishing the rules and norms that applied to the moral concepts, and the patients represented specific situations for which de Mondeville resorted to an applied code of ethics.

In the work of Henri de Mondeville, one can see the dilemma between a practice based on predefined principles or duties, non-intervention in the natural order of things for incurable diseases, and an ethic of responsibility wherein the surgeon takes on his actions and their consequences independently of divine grace. The choices he makes are not automatic but are instead reasoned according to a consequentialist approach and adapted to the specific case. This practice of the medieval surgeon thus anticipates modern medical ethics in many ways.

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Notes

1 Rom 1:11, 5:15, 5:16, 6:23, 11:29, 12:6; 1 Cor 1:7, 7:7, 12:4, 12:9, 12:28, 12:30, 12:31; 2 Cor 1:11; 1 Tim 4:14; 2 Tim 1:6; 1 Pet 4:10 (Vulgate).

2 Rom 5:1; Rom 12:6; 1 Pet 4:10.

3 Sources have differed on de Mondeville's biography. See: Nicaise (1893, pp. XXIII–XXIX), Chéreau (1862, pp. 8–16), Grmek (1966, p. 37), Pouchelle (1983, pp. 14–15), and Jacquart (1979, p. 117; 1998, p. 80–81)

4 "[D]'*apprendre, tranquillement, gratis, et comme par un don de charité, tout ce que nous, modernes, et tous nos prédecesseurs* [. . .] *avons appris* " (Nicaise 1893, p. 4).

5 Tertullian, Jud. VIII-14:"*Baptizato enim Christo id est sanctificante aquas in suo baptismate omnis plenitudo spiritalium retro charismatum in Christo cesserunt signante visiones et prophetias omnes quas adventu suo adimplevit* (Tertullianus 1954a). "In fact, when Christ was baptized—that is, when he sanctified the waters in his own baptism—all the abundance of past spiritual gifts ended in the Christ who has sealed all visions and prophecies, which he has fulfilled through his coming" (traduction Dunn 2004, p. 83). See also *Adversus Marcionem, De anima, Adversus Praxean, De praecriptione hereticorum. . .*

6 "[H]e has given gifts to the children of men, that is, gifts that we call charisms (*data dedit filiis hominum, id est donatiua, quae charismata dicimus)*." *Adversus Marcionem* (Tertullianus 1954b).

7 1 John 5: 16; Mt 12: 31–32 (Vulgate).

8 In total, 370 occurrences of charismata are found in the *Patrologia Latina* database, the electronic version of the first edition of Jacques-Paul Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, published between 1844 and 1855, and the four volumes of indexes published between 1862 and 1865. *Patrologia Latina* comprises the works of the Church Fathers from Tertullian in 200 CE to the death of Pope Innocent III in 1216. Elsewhere, 800 occurrences are found in the *Library of Latin Texts*, an electronic database that contains Latin works from the beginning of Latin literature in the West, published by Brepols (in association with the "Centre Traditio Litterarum Occidentalium"). These 800 occurrences of charismata concern 117 authors from the third to the fifteenth centuries, without interruption.

9 The Library of Latin Texts database.

10 "*Spiritus ista Dei complete, Deus ipse fideles, In populos charisma suum diffundere promptus, Et Patris, et Christi virtutem in corpora transfert"* (This the Spirit of God accomplishes, who himself is God: ever ready to diffuse His gracious gift upon the faithful peoples, He transmits into their persons the power both of the Father and of the Christ).

11 The *Acta Sanctorum* is an electronic database containing a collection of volumes dedicated to the saints of the Catholic Church. Publisher: ProQuest—Chadwyck-Healey.

12 BL, Ms add. 34193. "*Wyth þi karism profownde us and enoynte*" (reach us and consecrate us with your charisma). The MED is a database of Middle English lexicon and usage for the period 1100–1500.

13 "[C]*um solius Dei auxilio, a cujus fonte gratiae omnis scientia el omne bonum aliud derivatur*" (Pagel 1892, p. 332)

14 1 Cor 12:8 (NIV).

15 "[Q]*ui intellectum meum obscurum insufficientem et indispositum ad onus et laborem tanti operis sustinendum illuminet, perficiat et disponat, ut in sui lumine et virtute totum opus praesens faciliter*" (Pagel 1892, p. 332).

16 "[A]*dsit Deus, sine quo medicamina ad istam doctrinam sufficientia tradere nemo potest*" (Pagel 1892, p. 505).

17 " [. . .] *ex quo ipsam non habeo*" (Pagel 1892, p. 332).

18 "[T]*ales sciunt cyrurgiam sine arte et quod ipsis est infusa ex mera gratia Creatoris*" (Pagel 1892, p. 66).

19 "[. . .] *et sine cujus subsidio cyrurgicus gerens curas corporum humanorum deficit ab intento.* [. . .] *Praeponat ergo Deum sibi cyrurgicus curas gerens et praeferet Deus ipsum et securus poterit ubilibet operari*" (Pagel 1892, p. 505) ([. . .] without his help, the surgeon who deals with the treatment of the man's body misses his goal [. . .] Let the surgeon, in his operations, have God before his eyes and God will enlighten him at the time of need. He will be able to operate without worry in any place) (Pagel 1892, p. 505).

20 "[. . .] *in super ad utilitatem communem*", "*modernorum et futurorum communis utilitas"* (Pagel 1892, pp. 10–11, 332).

21 "[. . .] *serviens Domino cum omni humilitate"* (Acts 20:19, Vulgate)*; "les médecins orgueilleux seront confondus pour l'éternité"* (Nicaise 1893, p. 739).

22 "Mais les disciples lettrés de la chirurgie [. . .] doivent se réjouir, et tout le peuple avec eux, s'il y prend garde, puisqu'on les met ici à même d'apprendre rapidement, tranquillement, gratis, comme par un don de charité, tout ce que nous [. . .] avons appris" (Nicaise 1893, p. 4)

23 "La récompense est grande dans les Cieux, ainsi qu'il suit nécessairement des paroles du Sauveur, qui dit dans le psaume, par la bouche du prophète: heureux celui qui a pitié du besogneux et du pauvre, car au jour mauvais, le Seigneur le délivrera" (Nicaise 1893, pp. 201–2).

24 "[. . .] à ceux qui sont vraiment pauvres, pour l'amour de Dieu" (Nicaise 1893, p. 110)

25 "Celui qui n'entre pas dans le bercail par la porte est un larron ou un voleur" (Nicaise 1893, p. 95)

26 "Puisque la crainte du Seigneur est le commencement de la sagesse et que rien ne manque à ceux qui craignent le Seigneur, [que le chirurgien] se confie à la largesse de la miséricorde et à la plénitude de sa puissance" (Nicaise 1893, p. 739)

27 De Mondeville refers here to Avicennam who is his reference for anatomy (Nicaise 1893, p. 13.) He also criticizes the other authors for having divided anatomy into small sections throughout their work.

28 "L'anatomie est l'exacte division et la connaissance du corps humain et de chacun de ses membres et de ses parties, de ce corps qui est l'objet de toute science médicale et aussi de la chirurgie. [. . .] Pour toutes ces raisons, mon intention est de traiter l'anatomie au commencement de cet ouvrage" (Nicaise 1893, pp. 13–14).

29 "Anothomie is [. . .] knowynge of a mannes bodye and al his members and parties, and þe same bodye of man ys subiet to all operacion of medycyne and cirurgerie" (Lamour 2017, Peterhouse MS 118, f. 2ra.)

30 For Aristotle, the heart is the seat of the life principle, the brain being a secondary organ (Derome 2020)

31 "The whiche spirit ys clerer and sottiller and clenner and more schynnynge þen eny oþer corporall þinge þat is generatt of þe .iiii. elementes. And þerfore, ytt ys nexte and yt ys ane conuenient and an amiabill ligament atwixte þe bodye and þe sowlele, and an immediate instrumente of þe sowlele, and þerfor þe spirites bene berers of vertue" (Lamour 2017, Peterhouse MS 118, f. 35rb).

32 Henri de Mondeville was on the side of Galen, who, following animal experimentations, defended the prevalence of the brain.

[33] Medieval anatomy was based on the works of Galen. A Latin translation, imperfect and abridged, circulated from the twelfth century in the West until the new Greco-Latin translations by Nicolas of Reggio (1280–1350), published under the title *De juvamentis membrorum* (French 1979). This text was quoted many times by de Mondeville in his treatise. We owe the description of the ventricles to Galen but it was Nemesius (350–420), bishop of Emesa, who was himself inspired by Galen, and who located the functions of the mind in his *On the nature of a man*, translated into Arabic in the ninth century and in Latin in the eleventh century (Van der Eijk 2008). Galen's works on anatomy and physiology were also conveyed through their assimilation by the physicians of the Islamic world and the Arab-Latin translations of their texts: Rhazes, Avicenna, etc. (Mazliak 2004, pp. 54–60). Avicenna described three cells corresponding to three ventricles but Averroes described the existence of the four ventricles (El Otmani and Moussaoui 1992).

[34] The Church's privilege was made necessary by Boniface VIII's 1299 ban on decarnating corpses on pain of excommunication. This was to prohibit the cutting up of bodies for burial in multiple locations. Moreover, there was never a Church ban on dissections, which resumed in Bologna from 1306 onward, although a law promulgated by Frederick II of Naples obliged doctors to perform anatomy on corpses from 1230 onward.

[35] Ibn Rushd, quoted by Annajjar et al. (2022)

[36] Almond placed the inception of applied philosophy with that of Western philosophy. Thales, Plato, Aristotle, and Aquinas, among others, applied ethical rules to particular cases.

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Article

Building Charisma: The *Post-Mortem* Sanctity Attributed to the Prince of Viana (d. 1461)

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Abstract: This article aims to address the issue of *post mortem* charisma from the case of Carlos de Viana, crown prince of the kingdom of Navarre (1421–1461). Although he did not have a reputation for sanctity in life, from the moment of his death, miracles attributed to his intercession transformed devotion to 'san' Carlos de Viana into a mass phenomenon. The alleged sanctity of the Prince of Viana was part of a complex political process in which agents of the different peninsular states were involved in the second half of the 15th century and which led to the opening of a canonization process that would never see the light of day. But, at the same time, it is a good example of the notion of the charismatic figure, the miracle being one of the clearest manifestations of charisma, and of how it is possible to 'build' a charism *post mortem*.

Keywords: Charles; prince of Viana; kingdom of Navarre; Évreux dynasty; charisma; holiness; 15th century

1. Introduction

Research on the sanctity as a historical phenomenon for the medieval period, beyond spiritual and theological questions, has been very successful since the 1970s, thanks to the work of historians such as André Vauchez[1]. Since then, the subject has been constantly explored, in particular the close relationship between sanctity and princes of royal blood in the Middle Ages, among which the work of Gábor Klaniczay stands out (See: Klaniczay 1989). The canonization processes, in this sense, acquire great relevance and there has been no shortage of studies on the subject[2]. Recently, the question of "martyrdom" has also been raised, in which the religious and the political intermingle considerably in the medieval centuries (Billoré and Lecuppre 2019). However, with regard to "charisma" as a fundamental characteristic of holiness at this time in the Middle Ages, no serious study has been undertaken in the way it has recently been thanks to the colloquium organized in October 2022 at the University of Poitiers[3].

2. Charles of Navarre, Prince of Viana

Charles of Navarre, Prince of Viana, born in 1421, was the only male son of the marriage between Blanche, Queen of Navarre, and the Castilian John of Trastamare, younger brother of the King of Aragon, Alfonso the Magnanimous[4]. From childhood, the prince was distinguished by his docile and affable character and his intellectual abilities. In 1439, the prince married the Burgundian Agnes of Cleves, a discreet marriage without descendants, which ended with the death of the princess in 1448 (Narbona Cárceles 2013).

In 1440 his mother, Queen Blanche, died, and a clause in her will left the kingdom of Navarre in a state of profound instability: the heir to the throne was still his son Charles, then aged 19, but he would not accede to the crown until his father deemed it appropriate (which never happened). From then on, although he was only the spouse of the deceased queen, King John II was to be the sole king of Navarre.

Very soon, John II's form of government, a precedent for the authoritarianism of the Trastamare, which would grow and spread until it reached its peak at the time of his son,

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Ferdinand the Catholic, began to cause unease among the Navarrese people, who missed the traditional form of government of the Évreux, based on pactism. Moreover, they did not understand why the young heir, who was approaching thirty, did not become their sovereign. Thus, in 1451, a faction opposed to John II succeeded in convincing Charles de Viana to take up arms against his father: this was the beginning of the civil war in Navarre. In 1453, during a battle, the prince was taken prisoner and, two years later, upon his release, and faced with the reality of his father's domination over most of the kingdom, he decided to go and seek the help of the King of France and the Pope, but his long journey was in vain: his father was already too powerful on the international scene.

In 1457, he took refuge in Naples, with his uncle Alfonso V, where he spent a long period enjoying the cultural atmosphere of the humanist court of the Magnanimous, which would mark his intellectual activity. A year later, after the death of the king, Charles returned to Catalonia, having exchanged letters and embassies with his father. There, a good part of the Catalans was dissatisfied with the new king. The abuses committed by John II had inflamed a large part of the population, who now saw the Prince of Viana as their heir and natural lord. Thus, on his arrival in Barcelona, Charles was welcomed by the crowd as the great hope of a whole people, which once again aroused the reservations of his father, who ordered the prince's arrest and imprisonment (Raufast Chico 2008; Miranda Menacho 2011). In prison, the prince fell ill, and when he was released in the spring of 1461, his weakness was already evident. Despite this, he managed to take the oath as the king's lieutenant in Catalonia, a role of such importance that the hopes of those who saw Charles as their future monarch seemed to be strengthened. However, the prince's health deteriorated and he died on 23 September (J. Font Rius 1934; J. M. Font Rius 1936).

The death of the prince marked the beginning of a new period, which coincided with the Catalan civil war that took place between 1462 and 1472. During this decade, the presence of the Prince of Viana, although deceased, continued to fuel the fervor of the Vianist faction, for which he was the source of inspiration. Very soon a new ingredient appeared on the scene: the reputation for sanctity that he acquired from the moment of his death. His remains began to be venerated while his canonization was promoted, as we shall see later (Narbona Cárceles 2019).

The civil war ended in 1472 with the victory of John of Navarre. In spite of everything, the Joanist faction in Catalonia even managed to rally the main leaders of the Vianist faction, the most loyal to the prince and linked to him by blood ties, Juan de Beaumont and Juan de Híjar, in 1464. That same year, the prince's body, still buried in Barcelona Cathedral, was transferred to the royal tomb in the Cistercian monastery of Poblet (Sans-i-Travé 2000). Perhaps in a maneuver by his father to eliminate the focus of popular devotion that the tomb of his son had become in the capital of the principality?

In those years, the hypothesis of the presumed murder of the prince by his wife, Queen Jeanne, who would have poisoned him so that her son Ferdinand could accede to the throne, gained strength. The responsibility of the Catholic king's father is less and less evident, as are the legitimate claims of the Évreux to the throne of Navarre and Aragon. Some witnesses claimed to have seen the ghost Charles de Viana appear in the streets of Barcelona, crying out for revenge (Mahiques Climent 2001, 2014b).

The last stage in the evolution of this *post mortem* charisma began in 1515. In that year, the Pope is said to have asked the bishop of Tarragona, Pere Folch de Cardona, to investigate the miracles of Charles of Navarre in preparation for his canonization process[5]. The prince's own bastard son, Juan of Aragon, bishop of Huesca, could have asked the pope to elevate their father to the altars, and he even instituted a solemn service in memory of his father every 23rd of September, the day of Saint Thecla (Del Arco Garay 1951; Elipe Soriano 2017). The matter was therefore dragging on while the Holy See decided whether or not the prince was a saint. This request came at a time when the Church was in the midst of reform, on the eve of Trent, and one of the main points to be reviewed was precisely the question of the consideration of sanctity. Finally, in 1542 an apostolic indult allowed the veneration of the body, and authorized monks to cut off an arm as a relic. From then on,

popular devotion to the Prince of Viana continued uninterrupted, as did miraculous cures at the relic of his arm. Biographies were written, such as that of fray Joan de Valldespinosa, in the 17th century, and that of the Dominican Francisco de Queralt, in 1706[6]. As for this relic, it disappeared in 1909 during the events of the Tragic Week in Barcelona. In fact, the relic had been the subject of mockery in the press[7].

As far as the personality of the prince is concerned, he seems to have been a calm, intelligent person, who became a good intellectual and rubbed shoulders with great humanists, his friends and interlocutors. He fell in love easily and in the last decade of his life he is known to have had three mistresses with whom he had three children whom he recognized. He had the reputation of a loyal person who won a good number of sincere friendships.

3. The Political Leader: Recognized Charisma and "Constructed" Charisma

Following the historiographical path of political charisma sketched by Jaume Aurell in a recent work (Aurell i Cardona 2022), the charismatic authority of the Prince of Viana is inscribed in several of the variants (acquired charisma, transmitted, etc.), and also adopts the sensorial dimension of ritualized charisma and charisma projected onto objects. Moreover, in the case of this character, we could speak of another perspective of charisma that I would describe as "constructed" or even, why not, "invented".

On the one hand, destined from birth to occupy the throne, the charisma acquired, inherited from his ancestors, is undeniable. Here, the ritualized charisma takes on its full meaning in the few ceremonies in which he was able to manifest what could have been his authority as king, mainly during his entry into Barcelona in March 1460, the taking of the oath as the king's lieutenant in Catalonia or even during his funeral. In these ceremonies, the sword played a special role, symbolizing the authority of the lieutenant, carried by the prince upstairs or placed on his funeral monument in Barcelona Cathedral[8]. In fact, his successor to the throne, Pedro of Portugal, kept the sword that had belonged to the prince as a talisman near him, which shows the charisma that rested on this object (Martínez Ferrando 1936).

However, a major part of the charisma of the Prince of Viana was the recognition of his friends and political supporters who not only recognized his inherited charisma, but also helped to build it, highlighting the qualities until he himself came to believe in its potential[9]: the rights he claimed were legitimate, his lineage was impeccable, his human virtues unquestionable and his Christian virtues sufficient, his physique was praised by all and his intellectual qualities caused admiration in the most demanding circles. He succeeded (probably unintentionally) in gathering around him a good number of supporters who saw in him a charismatic figure in every sense of the word. They encouraged him to rebel against his father in 1451, accompanied him on his campaigns, advised him and remained loyal to him, helped him in his captivity, offered him friendship and accompanied his misfortunes with their letters and poems, and exalted him even more at the time of his death. And many of them were imprisoned and even died for following him[10].

In the last years of his life, spurred on by experience and aware of his responsibility, the prince began a stage of political maturity that would never see the light of day, but which made him the promise of the sovereign that many had been waiting for. After translating Aristotle's *Ethics* into Castilian on the basis of Leonardo Bruni's version, which was to be his best-known work, he also tried to take the conflict to diplomatic channels by means of a letter to the main Spanish sovereigns, inspired by the civic humanism of Aretin[11]. Thus, following the example shown by Jaume Aurell in his article, the charismatic leader became a 'driver' rather than a 'magnet' (Aurell i Cardona 2022, p. 623).

In a way, as the liberator and hope of a people who felt oppressed and despised by the rulers, Charles de Viana came to have a messianic halo[12]: he was the righteous one, the one who holds the truth, the legitimate heir, an upright and virtuous man[13].

4. A Saint as a Leader in the Battle

Charles de Viana's charisma as a political leader does not seem to be very different from others, if we take the Weberian conception of the term. But, at a time when the religious fact permeated all areas of life, in the collective mentality his virtues were mixed with something similar to sanctity, returning to the Pauline idea of the term. In fact, the process of 'sanctification' that took place around the person of the prince from the moment of his death, also affects the dimension of the political leader and vice versa, as we will see later, although Charles' religiosity does not seem to have been particularly remarkable, apart from the devotion of the time.

Within days, Charles became a saint by popular acclaim. The appellations of 'St. Charles', 'Blessed Charles', '*Beatus Karolus*', 'Glorious', etc., were used by the ecclesiastics, the notaries of the city of Barcelona and the poets and intellectual friends of the prince, and by the people in general. And when the Catalan civil war broke out a few months later, the head of one of the two conflicting factions was no longer alive, but the strength and courage that 'St. Charles' gave to his followers was a very powerful weapon: «nous voyons les catalans courir au combat: '*ab lo crit de Mossenyor Sant Jordi e del benaventurat Karles*'» (Calmette 1903, p. 74, n. 2), and '*Oh Sant Carles ajudau!*'[14]. It is also worth noting that of the two galleys of the Vianist faction, one was named 'Saint Charles'[15] (while the other was called 'Saint Eulalia', who is no more and no less than the early Christian martyr and patron saint of Barcelona). And some saw the prince flying over the battlefield to encourage their armies. Thus, the leader of the Vianist faction continued to be the Prince of Viana himself, in the form of 'Saint Charles', in a process of constructing a *post mortem* charism with entirely medieval characteristics. In short, as Marc Bloch stated in *Les rois thaumaturges*, speaking of the case of the Prince of Viana his supporters 'qui avaient voulu faire de lui pendant sa vie le porte-drapeau del'indépendance catalane, cherchèrent, ne pouvant plus utiliser de lui que son souvenir, à en faire un saint' (Bloch 1961, pp. 153–54).

5. The Holiness of the Prince of Viana and the Pauline Perspective of Charisma

But the charismatic personality of the prince can also be seen in the Paulinian perspective where the charism comes from the Holy Spirit and which should ultimately lead to holiness.

> ' . . . per tant com lo glorios Carles de gloriosa recordacio, fill e primogenit del illustrissimo senyor rey are beneventuradament regnant, a XXIII de setembre prop passat paga lo deute de natura comanant la sua anima al sobira creador e redemptor nostre e per tot lo universal mont e signantment per lo principat de Catalunya, en la sua vida es stat molt comendat per les grans virtuts, per obra de Sperit Sant, en ell abundants e apres de la sua mort per innumerables miragles demostrats e tots jorns continuats'[16].

6. Traits of Sanctity

First of all, there is the political role of Charles de Viana, which, according to the mentality of the time, was not unrelated to the action of the Holy Spirit, since the holiness of the prince was therefore also based on the charismatic action of good government. In this sense, a few months after his death, the prince's former secretary, Fernando de Bolea, made public the letters that his master had sent to the main rulers of the Iberian crowns, containing the prince's political thought, which was contrary to tyranny[17].

But perhaps the most important manifestation of his holiness is the countless miraculous healings that took place from the moment of his death. On the day of his death and on the days that followed, his funeral chapel received crowds of people in a collective euphoria worthy of an anthropological study. The queue to enter the chapel had to be organized with one door in and one door out. And all kinds of healings took place. And one of the most frequent cures was for scrofula, which refers to his status as a thaumaturgist as a prince of royal blood, to his *inherited charisma*.

But, in addition to miracles, another charismatic trait to be highlighted in Charles of Evreux is the gift of forgiveness. Indeed, the ability to ask for forgiveness and to forgive is a gift of the Holy Spirit, and practically all the authors who wrote poems about the prince refer to this aspect: Joan Fogassot (n.d.), Guillem Gibert (n.d.), Joan Berenguer de Masdovelles (n.d.a, n.d.b), Pere Martines[18], all of them refer to the forgiveness he granted his father on his deathbed (who, in turn, was accused, if not of murder, at least of neglecting his son's health), or in a romance about Charles's flight into exile because of his father called '*Por los montesPerineos'* (Di Stefano 2020).

7. Saint by Popular Acclaim

However, despite all these elements in his favor, the first attempts at canonization were totally unsuccessful. As already mentioned, in the second half of the 15th century, the Holy See considerably reduced the number of canonizations by tightening the requirements for sainthood. And, in this case, it was a political cause, a character used by one of the factions that could not meet the need for universality of the saints.

But, on the other hand, of course there were detractors. The pontiff himself, Pius II, was a supporter of John II and went so far as to write down his personal opinion of the miracles of the Navarrese, in which he did not believe at all (Mahiques Climent 2014b, p. 28). One of the main leaders of the faction opposed to the king, Joan Agulló, was tortured and confessed, before dying, that the cures performed by the prince had been a montage with actors. And the Castilian chroniclers of the reign of John II and also of his son, Ferdinand the Catholic (Diego de Valera, Gonzalo de Santa María) insisted on this idea (J. M. Font Rius 1936, p. 222).

However, Saint Charles of Viana was a saint by popular acclaim. The Catalan people, although aware that it was a private and popular cult, venerated him in every possible way, encouraged by a good part of the ecclesiastics, who led this fervor for the prince.

8. Charisma Projected on Objects of Devotion to a Charismatic Character

On the material level, the cult of the saints brings us back to the question of the charisma of devotional objects. In this line, we should mention first of all, of course, the relics that were distributed after the prince's body was stripped of its clothes for burial. The prior of the Order of St. John, one of the closest to Charles de Viana, was the first to take a piece of petticoat to keep as a relic[19]. All the objects from the chamber in which the prince's burial chapel was located, including some bricks, were distributed as relics among the people. In the work of the monk of Poblet, Fr. Joan de Valldespinosa (1578–1640) recounted that in his time one of these relics could still be seen in the monastery of San Vicente Mártir in Valencia on which it was specified '*de culcitra beati Caroli principis*' ('from the bed of Blessed Prince Charles')[20].

But other types of devotional objects were also the repositories and transmitters of 'St. Charles' charisma. Only a month after the prince's death, a prayer began to be recited, called '*Oratio beatiKaroli*', which is said to have been the prince's, in which he prayed for his enemies[21]. The prayer already appeared on the portrait of the prince made for his funeral in Valencia Cathedral and was recited in the funeral sermon[22]. It also appears in a book of the cathedral of Vich, of which Cosme de Montserrat was bishop at the time. Prints were also made for the occasion, a remarkable case because it is the first xylographic print preserved in Spain. It showed the prince curing a young girl of scrofula, with the halo of holiness, the words '*Beatus Karolus*', and a phylactery with his motto '*Qui sehumiliat*'; on the back was the prayer (Carderera y Solano 1865; Pedraza Gracia 2012). Years later, the print was reworked by the artist Juan de Juanes.

But the representation of Saint Charles did not remain only in prints for private devotion. According to the sources, throughout Catalonia, the prince was venerated in a multitude of chapels and altarpieces. The first recorded devotional representation is the one painted in Valencia Cathedral just after the funeral[23].

There were also chapels with altarpieces dedicated to the new saint, such as the one in the church of Tarrega where in June 1462 the Vianist soldiers performed a miracle. According to the account: 'In the main church, in a chapel of Saint Charles, the men-at-arms went to pray. And they said "Charles, Charles" several times. At that moment, the image of St. Charles raised its painted sword, the whole altarpiece moved and a wooden image of an angel bowed before it, and the Virgin moved, and a [very heavy] candlestick all moved. The men fell to the ground and could not get up'[24].

The number of artistic representations in honor of Charles de Viana must have been quite large, according to the letter of 1466 in which King John II denounced to the Pope the existence of altarpieces and chapels in his honor without authorization: 'trying to canonize the memory of Prince Charles and that he be placed among the saints and adoring and venerating his tomb and images by having in their churches and houses altarpieces with false stories of miracles of the prince as if he were canonized'[25]. Others were more cautious, such as the Count of Cifuentes, who until 1462 and 1464 stipulated in his will that if the prince was finally canonized he should be made an altarpiece, but not before (Carreras y Candi 1907, p. 3). Unfortunately, as far as we know, none of these altarpieces dedicated to Saint Charles de Viana have been preserved, probably due to the action of the Council of Trent. Or perhaps many of them have been converted or reused. I think we could continue to include here the famous altarpiece of Saint George and the Princess', one of the masterpieces of Aragonese Gothic painting, which, according to the opinion of Émile Bertaux at the end of the 19th century, could be a portrait of the Prince of Viana himself. Now the question has not ceased to interest historians, which would confirm the fact that it could indeed be Charles de Viana.

9. Conclusions: The Hybrid and the Constructed Charisma

Twenty years after the death of the prince, his former secretary, Fernando de Bolea, published a book containing the letters sent by the prince to the Iberian sovereigns. On the first page of the volume appears the most famous image of the prince, in which all the dimensions of his charismatic personality are shown. The iconography is inspired by that of the print distributed at his death, but the young girl has disappeared, and Charles is represented, surrounded by his mottos, leaning on his sword, reflecting his natural political authority. The lamentation 'las!' (derived from the lace, the '*las*'), according to the evangelical lamentation (Narbona Cárceles 2011, pp. 366–67), can be considered as a lamentation for himself, but also for the Catalan people. At the same time as expressing this political charisma, the nimbus that surrounds it reflects that other charismatic dimension more closely linked to the Pauline tradition, which leads to holiness.

In short, a case of a late medieval ruler in which leadership and sanctity are mixed at the same time, the two manifestations of late medieval political charisma that, according to Jaume Aurell, offer a hybrid charisma that is neither purely Pauline nor absolutely Weberian. On the other hand, the figure of the Prince of Viana, before and after his death, offers us another vision that goes beyond the facets of political charisma established by Weber and that could be seen as *'constructed'* charisma.

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Notes

1 André Vauchez's numerous works include the following: (Vauchez 1977, 1988).

2 A. Vauchez was also a pioneer in research on the canonisation process as early as the 1970s. (see, for example: Vauchez 1999), has been continued and intensified in recent years. See, among others: (Griguer 2016; Sodano 2020, pp. 53–55).

3 Colloquium «Charisma in the Middle Ages», 21–22 October 2022, CESCM, Université de Poitiers. I would like to thank Professors Jaume Aurell, Martin Aurell and Montserrat Herrero for inviting me to participate in this scientific meeting.

4 Regarding the Prince of Viana, it is worth mentioning the works of: (Desdevises Du Dézert 1999; Miranda Menacho 2011, 2019; Martín Rodríguez 2000).

5 (Fleury 1728, pp. 544–45). «Jules II qui n'estoit pas scrupuleux à la verité, mais qui ne vouloit pas commettre la réputation du Saint Siège, fut surpris de la demande de l'envoïé d'Angleterre, parce qu'Henri dont la vie avoit été sans crimes et la mort injuste, n'avoit pas toutefois vécu dans cette sainteté héroïque à laquelle on accorde les honneurs de la canonisation, et que de son temps même, on attribuoit l'innocence de ses moeurs dont on faisoit parade, à la foiblesse de son esprit et à son imbecillité. Le pape demanda donc à l'envoié quels miracles avoit fait Henri VI et lui dit que la vie innocente de ce prince pouvoit suffir pour faire un saint aux yeux de Dieux : mais que l'église qui ne penettre pas les secrets des coeurs, exigeoit d'autres preuves moins équivoques, tels que sont les miracles après la mort».

6 *Historia del príncipe don Carlos*, Biblioteca del Seminari de Girona, Ms. 14 (MCEM: 755). (Queralt y Nuet 1887).

7 11 August 1909 the magazine *Papitu* mocked the destruction of the arm of the Prince of Viana.

8 Aurell refers to the use of ceremonial to encourage the charismatic dimension of the rulers (ritualized charisma) especially in investiture ceremonies and insists on the symbolic power of some royal insignia, particularly the sword and the crown, as well as the ostentation of other objects of special value to increase their charisma (Aurell i Cardona 2022, pp. 623–24). At the time of his oath as the first-born of Catalonia, the prince of Viana went as lieutenant general with the sword in front of him; in the same way, the sword was placed over the corpse in the chapel that was set up after the prince's death as explained in (Sans-i-Travé 2000, pp. 164–68).

9 For exemple, the notary Bernat Ça Coromines' account of the prince's imprisonment in Girona in 1460 uses terms that suggest that his qualities were already attributed to him during his lifetime (J. Font Rius 1934, p. 200).

10 One of the most notable cases was that of the Dominican friar Pero Martines, who was condemned to death and executed in 1463 for his support of the Prince of Viana.

11 Leonardo Bruni wrote for Florentine society on the model of Titus Livy, one of the favourite authors of the humanists of the period, who also formed part of the library of the Prince of Viana. In fact, following Bruni, *Don Carlos* mentions the thought of the Stoic Crates in his *"Epístola a los valientes letrados de España"*. All of this I discussed at length in my work: (Narbona Cárceles 2019).

12 At first, it was while the prince was still alive that his supporters and friends—writers and poets—began to praise the young heir, who had been deprived of his rights to the Navarrese crown by his father's greed. Thus, it is worth mentioning, in particular, the accounts of his literary friends, praising the imprisoned and outraged prince. In this regard, it is worth mentioning the poem dedicated to him by Joan Fogassot, during his imprisonment in 1461, in which allusions to the prince's currency are mixed with verses from the Bible, in a clear allusion to his messianic character: (Fogassot n.d.).

13 For example, the Gospel phrase "*Qui se humiliat exaltabitur*", chosen by the prince as a motto (probably from a text by Leonardo Bruni), was chosen as the main theme of the sermon at the funeral for Carlos de Viana in the cathedral of Valencia. Cf. (Rodrigo Lizondo 2011).

14 One poem directly criticised the well-known invocation: «No·t cal cridar per les places/"*Oh sent Carles, ajudau*!"/Car si es sant no li plau/Que a son pare tu·l rejaces» (ms. GKS 432, Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhague). (Mahiques Climent 2014a, p. 264).

15 (Martínez Ferrando 1936). "On 4 June, the monarch addressed the Council of the Hundred, speaking of the need to defend Tortosa on land and sea. He armed two galleys. Els consellers s'encarregarien de la galera "Santa Eulalia", el rei de la "Sant Carles", per bé que de diner es trobava com el corb abans de tenir negre el plumatge".

16 Letter from the councillors of Vich regarding the festivities in honour of the Prince (Carreras y Candi 1907, pp. 4–5). "Therefore, as the glorious Charles of glorious memory, son and first-born son of the illustrious king [...] on the 23rd of September last paid the debt of nature by commending his soul to our sovereign Creator and Redeemer and in his life he was adorned with great virtues, by the work of the Holy Spirit, in him in abundance, and after his death by innumerable miracles demonstrated and continued daily...".

17 The original manuscript is in the Biblioteca Nacional de España with the call number Vitr/17/3. On the epistle see: (Salinas Espinosa 1999).

18 (Martines n.d.). As mentioned above, in 1463 the Dominican friar Fray Pero Martines became a true "martyr" to the Vianista cause. This character's devotion and fidelity to the prince is striking, even when he was condemned The fact that he treats him as a "saint", having known him personally, does not seem to be merely propagandistic in his case.

19 (Sanabre n.d.). However, the fact that it was precisely Juan de Beaumont who was the first to keep the prince's robe as a "relic" makes us think that the crowd could be guided in its assessments by the closest supporters of the deceased prince.

20 *Historia del príncipe don Carlos*, Biblioteca del Seminari de Girona, Ms. 14 (MCEM: 755).

21 The *Oratio* is preserved in three documents and has been the subject of a recent study. Cf. (Mahiques Climent 2014a).

22 (Rodrigo Lizondo 2011, pp. 310–11). "*Dimecres a VII de octubre, en la Seu de Valencia, fonch fecha remembrança per lo senyor princep ab molta solempnitat, molt richs draps, gran lumenaria, molta gent de senyors e senyores, molt poble. La missa, bisbe Cascant; sermó, mestre Pineda (margen OP); la tema*, Qui se humiliat, exaltabitur. *Tanta fonch la gent, que la Seu no podien anar*" ("Wednesday VII October, in the cathedral of Valencia, the prince was remembered with great solemnity, with very rich fabrics, great luminary, many lords and ladies, many attendees. The mass, by Bishop Cascant; the sermon, by Maestro Pineda (OP); the theme, *Qui se humiliat, exaltabitur*. There were so many people that there was no room in the cathedral").

23 "E per la molta gran amor que les gents avien al dit denyor princep, en lo dit any de MCCCCLXI, diluns en la nit, a XVII^{o} de octubre, fonch messa la taula ab lo princep pintat en la Seu, en lo pilar del cancell defront la trona; e, aquí, devoció, presentales e altres coses, que era cosa de gran admiració" ("because of the great love that the people had for the said lord prince, in the said year of MCCCCLXI, on Monday night, the seventeenth of October, the altar was placed on the table with the prince depicted in the Seo, on the pillar of the gate in front of the throne and in that place there were many objects of devotion and offerings"). (Rodrigo Lizondo 2011).

24 (Carreras y Candi 1907, p. 23). "*vuy es entrat a les onze hores prop mig jorn lo Senyor Rey en la vila de Tarrega, ab certa gent darmes a cavall e de mula e a la una hora après mig jorn sich ha seguit un gran miracle en una capella que y ha del Sant Carles, la qual es en la sglesia major de aquesta vila, ço es que en presencia de ben dotze del exercit et altres de aquesta terra, haver feta oració al altar major, anaren fer oració a la dita capella de Sant Carles, e feta oració digueren altes veus 'Carles, Carles' e encontinent la image de Sant Carles alça la spasa la qual té pintada davant, moventse tot lo retaule a manera que se acostas a ells: e una image dangel que es de fust, li feu gran reverencia, e una altra image de la Verge Maria queus ha, a altra part del altar, visiblament veeren moure, e un canalobre gran de ferre que pesa mig quintar, per semblant ab una luminaria de grans brandons blanchs quey ha, tots se movien*".

25 (Zurita 2003, bk. XVIII). Cap. IX. "*Delitos de los catalanes rebeldes. Informábase al papa de parte del rey que no solamente habían aquéllos cometido este crimen de lesa majestad contra él, pero otro mayor, que fue procurando de canonizar la memoria del príncipe don Carlos y que fuese puesto en el número de los santos y adorando y haciendo reverenciar su sepultura y sus imágenes teniendo en sus iglesias y en sus casas retablos con fingidas historias de milagros del príncipe como si fuera canonizado*" ("Crimes of the Catalan rebels. The pope was informed on behalf of the king that not only had they committed this crime of *lèse majesté* against him, but also a greater one, which was to try to canonise the memory of Prince Charles and have him included in the number of saints and to worship and reverence his tomb and his images by having altarpieces in their churches and in their houses with feigned stories of the prince's miracles as if he were canonised").

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Article

They Are the Treasure of the Commonwealth: Franciscan Charisma and Merchant Culture in Medieval Barcelona

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Abstract: Since the beginning of the twentieth century, it has been a truism that the emergence of Protestantism was the main cause of the development of capitalism. However, a careful analysis of primary sources, especially in Latin countries, shows a quite different reality. Three centuries before the emergence of Protestantism, the Franciscans generated a discourse that made it possible to begin to legitimize the commercial practices that would later enable the emergence of capitalism. Based on these premises, this article aims to explore the discursive and juridical primary sources of medieval Barcelona—especially the testimonies of the Franciscan intellectual Francesc Eiximenis and merchant wills—to provide relevant new data and interpretations of how Franciscan charisma brought about a better understanding and legitimization of mercantile work. I intend to use the concept of charisma to better understand the great paradox of how those who aspired to a life of extreme poverty—the Franciscans—succeeded in legitimizing the work of those who aspired to a comfortable life, namely, the emerging merchant group. The merchants provided the Franciscans with the material capital necessary for their establishment in the city, while the Franciscans granted the merchants symbolic capital that was indispensable for the development of their mercantile work, social recognition, and religious legitimacy.

Keywords: charisma; Franciscans; merchants; Francesc Eiximenis; notarial wills; medieval economy

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From the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Franciscans generated a discourse that legitimized commercial practices that that had been prescribed, or at least restricted, for centuries. This article aims to explore the discursive and juridical primary sources of medieval Barcelona—especially the testimonies of the Franciscan intellectuals and merchant wills—to provide new data and interpretations of how Franciscan charisma brought about a better understanding and legitimization of mercantile work. I intend to use the concept of charisma, as articulated from Antiquity and received by medieval theologians (D'Avray 2010; Jaeger 2012; Aurell 2022), to better understand the great paradox of how a religious group whose main charisma consisted in the experience of evangelical poverty—the Franciscans—succeeded in legitimizing the work of the social and economic group whose main activity is to promote wealth through trade: the merchants.

In order to explore and develop these ideas, this article focuses on the case of late medieval Barcelona, within whose walls a substantial social, economic, cultural, and mental transformation took place. Between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, two factors converge in the story I propose to analyze: the extraordinary urban, economic, and territorial expansion of Barcelona (Bensch 1995; Ruiz-Domènec 1996; Aurell and Puigarnau 1998), and the emergence of a conventual order whose spiritual density and specific charisma contributed decisively to changing the economic dynamics of the city (Zaldivar 2012; Chubb and Kelley 2013).

The article is divided into three parts. In the first part, after some introductory remarks on the context of late medieval Barcelona, I analyze the writings of the Catalan Franciscan, Francesc Eiximenis, who in his work *Regiment de la Cosa Pública* (c. 1383) develops some of the moral, social, and economic virtues that a good merchant should possess. In the second,

I reproduce and interpret some of the documentary testimonies in the primary sources that shed more light on the change that Barcelona's transformation effected in the economic mentality of the merchants. In the third, I draw on the inductive part of the article to reflect on the active role that collective Franciscan charisma played in late medieval Barcelona's mercantile society. These reflections allow me to delve into the concept of charisma as taken up by scholastic theologians from the twelfth century onwards, and its specific influence on the group of medieval merchants. I argue that this concept is key to understanding the intellectual and spiritual dynamics that fueled the complicity between Franciscans and merchants in medieval Barcelona, and was largely responsible for its urban growth, economic consolidation, and both territorial and maritime expansion.

1. Merchants and Franciscans in Medieval Barcelona: A Fruitful Alliance

A series of interrelated factors underlie the emergence of the city of Barcelona as one of the most important commercial emporiums of the medieval Mediterranean. Firstly, Barcelona achieved a good balance between the traditional rural world and the new urban environment, which began to develop rapidly from the twelfth century onwards (Ruiz-Domènec 1996). Secondly, Barcelona benefited from the decision of the king of the Crown of Aragon to settle his court in Barcelona, a center he preferred to other flourishing cities in his territory such as Zaragoza, Valencia, or Mallorca (Bisson 1986). Thirdly, the wealth of the city was based on an effective pact between the merchants as the most dynamic actors in society—the patriciate as the city's ruling group—and the king himself. They opposed, both socially and economically, the more traditional and static groups represented by the old nobility (Bensch 1995).

More specifically, from very early on, a great complicity arose between the mercantile establishment, which was becoming more and more influential, and the king. The merchants provided the king with the economic means necessary for the incessant Mediterranean expansion of the kingdom, while the king rewarded the merchants in the form of fiscal and jurisdictional autonomy from the city, and even in the development of a specific mercantile law—the *Consolat de Mar* ('Consulate of the Sea') from 1258 (Valls i Taberner 1930).

Around the thirteenth century, contemporaneously with this profound urban transformation, large friaries of Franciscans and Dominicans were established in the city just a few decades after the respective founding of these two religious orders (Duran i Sanpere 1975; Sanahuja 1959; Pladevall 1989, pp. 93–96). These friaries were established within the city walls, unlike the former Catalan Benedictine monasteries such as the old Ripoll or the reformer Cistercian Poblet, strategically located away from the urban bustle, usually in places with extensive agricultural holdings around them. This gave the mendicants a direct presence among the citizens, with great pastoral effectiveness. It took the form of a series of mechanisms of apostolic influence, but also of the conception of commercial work. The mendicant friars represented a continuity of the ideal of detachment from the world (*contemptu mundi*) experienced for many centuries by the Benedictine monks. However, the social context in which they operated, and the needs of the societies to which their apostolates were directed, were so different that it led to radically different spiritual convictions, models of coexistence, and pastoral practices (Lawrence 1994; Rosenwein and Little 1974).

The mendicants soon realized that their main challenge would be to show how some commercial economic and financial practices—including credit, investment, and speculation—could become exempt from the charge of usury, and could be re-framed and redesigned as responsible ways of making profit within a proper Christian charitable context. This exchange between material and symbolic capital is the paradox that typified the great charismatic movements: the response to the new economic challenges did not come from those who promoted it, such as the merchants themselves, but from those who supposedly tried to avoid it, such as the Franciscans. The followers of Saint Francis, advocating a radical poverty, emerged as the main legitimizing allies of the new urban rich. The charisma of St. Francis of Assisi is well known, but the collective and

shared charisma of his spiritual children can also be apprehended through his writings and pastoral influence—and more specifically, through its influence on their contemporaries' conception of the economy.

Moreover, the presence and influence of the Franciscans did not cease to grow in Barcelona after 1330, the date of the first documentary mention we have (Webster 2000, p. 32). As evidenced by testaments from the mid-fourteenth century, a fruitful complicity was established between the merchants and the Franciscans, whose large friary was established near the city's most dynamic commercial centers (Duran i Sanpere 1975). As sociologists would describe it, the merchants provided the Franciscans with the material capital necessary for their establishment in the city, while the Franciscans granted the merchants the symbolic capital that was indispensable for the development of their mercantile work, social recognition, and religious legitimacy.

One explanation for the early complicity between Franciscans and merchants is the social origins of its first members, most of whom came from wealthy families. The first friars were not peasants or lower-class workers of any kind, but ministerials, knights, patricians, and merchants. These were usually families with high purchasing power and social prestige, as was particularly visible in medieval Germany and Barcelona (Freed 1977, p. 336), and Zaldivar (2012). The friars recruited from these elite circles, and they engaged in spiritual practices and forms of pastoral care that helped entrench the position of the new urban commercial elites. The impact of Franciscan spirituality among the Franciscans was based on the development of a deep spirituality expanded through effective pastoral care, spiritual direction, direct preaching, and the deployment of new intellectual ideas developed through the universities.

Another of the Fransicans' missions, as demonstrated by Eiximenis' testimony provided later in this article, aimed at attenuating the impression of greed on the part of the merchants. They promoted, for instance, charitable donations for the needy and the poor. Merchants were to be useful not only in distributing goods but in creating and re-distributing surplus wealth as well. In Barcelona, the powerful charity *Pia Almoina*, designed to provide the poor with the means necessary for their sustenance, ended up being an enormous credit enterprise that raised suspicions in its time (López Pizcueta 1998).

The third major front of mercantile legitimization by the Franciscans came from their defense of financial transactions. Usury seemed to be an insoluble problem (Bec 1967; Oberman 1978; Hernando 1982; Rhee 2012; Bazzichi 2003), and in fact, it remained forbidden. The Franciscans did not argue for the disappearance of usury. Rather, they encouraged the merchants to act responsibly as economic actors, so that the Franciscans may legitimate that they were using money according with the Christian tradition. The reluctance of the moralists for legitimizing usury was based on certain biblical quotations against this practice (Exod. 22–25; Lev. 25: 35–38; Deut. 23: 19–21). However, some Franciscan theorists wrote treatises advocating tolerance of some of the merchant's economic practices. They argued that these practices, responsibly applied, would benefit society as a whole when used in a measured way. Eiximenis himself wrote a long treatise on usury (Eiximenis 1984: *Tractat d'usura*, c. 1374), specifically dedicated to solving the problems generated by its practice among Catalan merchants. His work applied to the Catalan situation the ideas previously developed by the Domincan Giles of Lessines' *Tractatus de usuris* (c. 1280) and the Franciscan Alexander Lombart [Alexander of Alexandria]'s *Tractatus de usuris* (c. 1307) (Lombart 2021).

All of them adopted the strategy of not confronting the overall question of the morality of usury as a whole. Rather, they focused on justifying certain forms of payment with interest that would ultimately increase the material wealth of society. More specifically, Eiximenis focused on the subject of *census*, a system common in both private and public debt, which involved an obligation to pay an annual return on a property. A person in need of money sells *de census*. The purchaser is entitled to receive income from the seller's property. This transaction was subject to the provisions of the just price but not to the prohibition against usury. Notarial documentation from Barcelona confirms that the

practice of using the *censals* to invest in public revenue was widely used by merchants. The galloping increase in the city of Barcelona's public debt, brought about by these financial practices, has been well analyzed, and represents an interesting precedent and source of experience for the problematic debt practices of modern welfare states (Roustit 1954; Aurell 1996; Hernando 1982).

Eiximenis joined the task of some mid-thirteenth-century scholastics who had rationally confirmed that there were avenues open to legitimizing mercantile work and its specific monetary methods (Lambert 1998; Todeschini 2009, 2017; Brines i García 2004), enabling the development of a new sense of wealth that was less conditioned by a sense of guilt (Douglas 1992). This greater openness in the sense of wealth was not without great controversy, which even affected the division of the Franciscans (Dossat 1975; Mäkinen 2001). However, there is no doubt that it contributed decisively to changing mentalities regarding the use of money and financial investment and, in the case of Eiximenis, to the increasing wealth of medieval Barcelona.

2. Francesc Eiximenis' Praise for Merchants

Francesc Eiximenis was born in Girona c.1330, and died in Perpignan in 1409. He entered the Franciscan order at a very young age and became a prolific writer of spiritual and political works. His style is direct and clear, which contributed to the great relevance of his work in his time. He was highly regarded by the great Aragonese kings. Among his readers we can find important personalities of his time, such as the three last kings of the dynasty of the House of Barcelona in the Crown of Aragon: Peter the Ceremonious, John I the Hunter, and Martin I the Humane; as well as Martin's wife, Queen Maria de Luna, and the Avignon Pope, Benedict XIII. His training began in the schools of the Franciscan order in Catalonia. He then studied in the most important universities in Europe: Oxford and Paris. He was particularly influenced by Oxford, as the Franciscans had an important school there. We can thus consider various English scholars as the authors who most influenced Eiximenis: Robert Grosseteste, Richard Kilvington, Alexander of Hales, Richard de Mediavilla, Thomas Bradwardine, and William of Ockham, among others, including John of Wales and the Scot John Duns Scotus (Hauf i Valls 1990; Guixeras and Martí 2014).

Eiximenis was not strictly original in his task of transforming the moral paradigms of work in medieval Barcelona. The Franciscan Peter John Olivi's (1248–1298) examination of the concept of value and pricing, born in the context of the economic and commercial development of southern France (Mancinelli 2015, p. 120; Lenoble 2015) and England (Alcover 1989) at the end of the thirteenth century, was reworked by Eiximenis and adapted to his specific area. He was, however, an extraordinarily prolific author in a field that has been rightly defined by one critic as that of 'social preacher' (Barraqué 2008, p. 531). As Paolo Evangelisti has argued, "In Eiximenian texts, the communitarian dimension is defined as one that is of necessity based on contract. It is expounded in the long opening section of the *Dotzè del Crestià* [in which *Regiment de la Cosa Pública* is included] where Eiximenis outlines the political value of the *civitas*, as well as setting out the elements that constitute civic life" (Evangelisti 2009, pp. 406–7). Eiximenis' two key concepts are the profit of civic life and the conservation of the good state of civil life (Evangelisti 2003, pp. 87–91).

Eiximenis presents a model of the citizen that is set in the context of renewed reflection on some key concepts in political thought such as *res publica, bonum commune, civitas, iustitia,* and *lex*. He reflects the best of the Ciceronian, Augustinian, and Aristotelian tradition. The recovery of this tradition was particularly intense in the Crown of Aragon, with authors of the stature of Ramon Llull, Arnau de Vilanova, and Francesc Eiximenis himself. Eiximenis wrote several political treatises with a remarkable theoretical component. However, they were actually designed with practical applications in mind for the government and administration of the various political communities that made up the confederation of the Crown of Aragon: Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia, Mallorca, and Sicily (Evangelisti 2013, pp. 1–2; Riera i Sans and Torrent 2011).

In addition, Eiximenis was a recognized authority in the field of mercantile activity and morality. Both spheres—government and mercantile morality—entered fully into the transformations that were taking place in the economy in this period, and therefore, directly influenced the mercantile mentality. The main commercial cities of the Crown of Aragon—Barcelona, Valencia, Mallorca, and Palermo—acted as both receptors of these ideas and enactors of the new transformations of European cities in response to them (Bensch 1995; Ruiz-Domènec 1996; Aurell and Puigarnau 1998). More specifically, Eiximenis' ideas on money and usury (Hernando 1982; Eiximenis 1984; Evangelisti 2016) are particularly revealing of his influence, since we know that they were applied by the merchants of the Crown of Aragon.

We have a clear imprint of the direct influence of Eiximenis on the merchants through the exhaustive analyses that Jaume Aurell (1996, pp. 185–86) and Jocelyn Hillgarth (1991, p. 62) carried out for Barcelona and Sicily, respectively. These studies show that Eiximenis was the author most widely read by the merchants among the model intellectual authors, surpassing late-antique patristic authorities such as Jerome, Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, Gregory's *Moralia in Job*, Isidore's *Etymologies*, and other early medieval authors as popular as Boethius. The merchants had on their shelves his *Llibre dels àngels*, *Llibre de les dones*, and some sections of *Lo Crestiá*. This influence is obviously conditioned by the peculiar spirituality of the emerging mendicants, and more particularly by the tendency of the Franciscans to theorize on questions of moral economy. Chiara Mancinelli has argued that the Franciscan concept of voluntary poverty implied a detachment from the economy which, paradoxically, was beneficial in terms of advancing understanding of how the economy functioned and legitimizing its main actors (Mancinelli 2008). In addition, evidence of the reception of Eiximenis by mercantile groups in the Crown of Aragon's cities not only made itself felt through reading. There is also evidence of direct influence on rulers and administration, both in Barcelona (Webster 1969) and Palermo as well (Evangelisti 2003).

One of Eiximenis' main works is known as *Regiment de la Cosa Pública* (c. 1383). With a high political content, it is perhaps his most influential work, touching on a huge variety of topics, from the role of rulers to how women should be treated. It also develops a framework for how most of the professions carried out in a medieval city should be practiced. Two chapters are devoted to mercantile work, with Eiximenis describing merchants as "the life of the land where they are, and are the treasure of the commonwealth [*res publica*]" (Eiximenis 2021, pp. 290–91). Far from seeing them as a problem or an anomaly for society, he thought that they were particularly cared for by divine Providence, since "the merchants will be favored over all the secular people of the world since they are" (Eiximenis 2021, p. 290).

Eiximenis challenged the traditional idea that merchants were abusing society through the profits they made from their businesses. Rather, he emphasized that "they are the food of the poor, the arm of all good business, of all things perfection" (Eiximenis 2021, p. 291). Modern economists, from Adam Smith to Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson ask, time and again, "why nations fall", seeking the answers through intricate quantitative methods to which they apply the most sophisticated theories (Acemoglu and Robinson 2012). Eiximenis, for his part, reduced the explanation of the material prosperity of some societies to the existence and activity of merchants, assigning the opposite effect to their scarcity. Without them, societies not only fall into material poverty, but also into political tyranny and moral disease: "without merchants, communities fall, princes become tyrants (Eiximenis 2021, p. 291)". Eixmenis also assigns to mercantile work a capacity for regeneration of the youngest, since, without them, "the youths are lost, and the poor mourn (Eiximenis 2021, p. 291)".

The new merchants benefit society not only with economic and material, but also moral improvement. Their generosity is manifested both in the reinvestment of their profits and in their extraordinary ability to support the poor. They contrast with knights, who live on rents and leave these rents sterile: "for knights and citizens who live on rents do not worry about large alms; only the merchants are great alms-givers and great fathers and

friars of the public cause, especially when they are good men and with a good conscience" (Eiximenis 2021, p. 291).

This is largely due to the fact that the merchants have special divine assistance, since "God teaches in them great wonders, for as there is nothing that can harm them but God" (Eiximenis 2021, p. 291). This divine support is clearly above that given to other groups in the community, so that they "against all common opposition float high, by the special grace of God, above all the others of the community", and "Our Lord God shows them special mercy, in death and in life" (Eiximenis 2021, p. 291). For this reason, societies rely heavily on them, and even kings and nobles turn to them for solutions to their major problems: "when the world needs it, so do kings, princes, and great and few, as subjects, and generally everyone takes and steals from them, because they always have more than others and do more good than all others" (Eiximenis 2021, p. 291).

Eiximenis also emphasizes the fact that merchants have to go through many difficulties in order to carry out their activity, always for the good of society. Society owes them thanks for their continuous efforts, which go above and beyond the difficulties of all kinds encountered in the conduct of their business and in the course of their travels: "for the great profit they make to the public cause, and for the great labors they suffered at sea and on land, and for the great losses they often suffered, which pass better than other people because they are already used to it, and for the great longings in which they live all the time" (Eiximenis 2021, p. 291).

The Franciscan also uses an argument that is close to the most entrenched conventions of modern economics. The merchants also help to prevent the generation of a high public debt, which implies a dormancy of productive energies that is very harmful to society:

> It should be forbidden to buy rents, either *censals* or *violaris* [perpetual or life annuities respectively], from anyone who is in a position to trade. While these practices can be done fairly, they can be detrimental to commerce, which is undoubtedly an activity with far greater benefits for the community. For someone who has his money invested in rent, if he is forbidden to invest it in rent and invest it instead in trade, and work it for profit by sea and by land, then the community would become much richer (Eiximenis 2021, pp. 292–93).

Writing around 1380, the Franciscan regretfully considers the golden age of trade has passed, as the merchants are taxed beyond their means. If in the past the "princes and prelates" built ships to defend the merchants from the Muslims and other enemies, nowadays they burden them with taxes that not only harm the community's economy, but also the very souls of its rulers. These economic policies are generated by "thieving and dissipating" rulers, which today we would call "corrupt", thus discouraging young people from engaging in trade (Eiximenis 2021, p. 293).

Eiximenis' prescriptions in favor of merchants and against corrupt governments could not be more topical, reaffirming the remarkable role of Franciscan charisma in the consolidation of mercantile, and later capitalist, societies in Western Europe. Eiximenis concludes that, for all these reasons and arguments, merchants deserve special respect and appreciation, instead of the suspicion they had traditionally aroused in earlier societies, which should also include a solemn public acknowledgement: "every public thing should always make a special prayer for the merchants" (Eiximenis 2021, p. 291).

3. Merchants' Acknowledgement to Franciscans: The Testaments

The merchants not only benefited from the Franciscans' disruptive work to legitimize their activity, they also found ways to acknowledge and generously repay it—both symbolically (by seeking their spiritual guidance) and materially. Since wills are the best testimony of this material recognition, the last section of this article is devoted to their analysis.

The testaments are neither a very generous nor expressive source, due to the rigidity of their pre-fixed legal clauses, which often hinder the creativity or spontaneity of the testator. They do, however, have the advantage of having been considered at the time the 'passport' to eternal life, in the context of a revival of the belief in purgatory as an intermediate place

of remission of punishment before entering paradise (Le Goff 1981). This even led testators to project their quantitative mindset onto the way they designed their wills (Chiffoleau 2011). This was especially evident in the case of merchants, who would take a few centuries to overcome a certain remorse resulting from their commercial and financial practices. For them, the writing of a will was a privileged opportunity to account to God and to society for the stewardship of the material goods they had acquired during their lifetime. Their wills, therefore, showed some manifestations of their religious convictions.

Nevertheless, how the merchants expressed themselves in their wills was conditioned by three factors: the formal inertia of the fixed clauses and the notaries' manner of speaking; the change in religious customs, of which the emergence of the mendicant orders is an obvious manifestation; and the specific wishes of the testator. The first of these is felt in the rigidity of the clauses' structures—the different sections of wills—and some of the set phrases that appear systematically in the documents. The second, as I intend to demonstrate in this article, is capable of modifying some sections of the will, particularly the provisions for burial processions and the testator's donations. The third is demonstrated by the corporate identity of the merchants themselves, whose wills reflect some of their peculiar professional circumstances.

Even considering the difficulty that legal inertia implies for a renewal of forms, the testaments of the merchants of late medieval Barcelona show the profound shift in the city's work ethic that had taken place since the expansion of the mendicant orders, especially the Franciscans and Dominicans. These new friars created new forms of religious expression and practice, specifically addressed to the urban sector of society, its political rulers, and economic main agents. These forms provided not only an ethical justification for the activities developed in urban societies, as we have seen in the previous section of this article, but also included "new forms of worship, new devotional practices, new structures for lay participation in organized charity, and, above all, an enhanced sense of spiritual worth" (Little 1978, p. 173).

In this sense, the merchants' wills clearly show that the complicity between Franciscans and merchants was not restricted to an exchange between material and symbolic capital, but also had an effect on the spirituality of the merchants. In the introduction to their wills, the merchants use various formulas, some of them very beautiful, to emphasize the transience of life and the durability of eternal life. Lluís des Cortal uses the metaphor of smoke and steam to describe the expiration and vaporiness of life:

> In the name of our Lord God and of the humble virgin holy Mary, his glorious mother, of the glorious Lord Saint Michael the Archangel and of the whole heavenly court, I, Luis des Cortal, merchant citizen of Barcelona, considering that the present life passes as a shadow, and as long as you have seen it long, it is like vapor or smoke that does not last long . . . (S1).

This new spirituality is shown especially in the merchants' interest in emphasizing the duality of life, composed of the material and the spiritual. Both one and the other must be taken care of, otherwise the soul cannot be saved. Guillem de Pere, another merchant of Barcelona, begins his testament by highlighting this paradox of human existence, "since the body of man is composed of elements that always contradict each other and since the body of man has to dissolve by nature". This leads him to conclude, in a beautiful formula, that no one should be completely detached from his past, his present, or his future, which gives the testamentary endowment great meaning and significance: "each one must think to see the memory of the past, order in the present, and provide for the future".

Perhaps influenced by their own tendency to calculate time better and to follow the temporal rhythms of their credits, merchants are very fond of introducing into their wills some reflections on the contrast between present time and the eternal time that they will soon have to face. Valentí Sapera, for instance, exhorts us that,

> as everything that is composed in nature must be dissolved by nature, and as the body of man is composed of four elements that at the same time contradict each other, so by necessity it is convenient that the body of man be must dissolve by

> nature, and therefore each rational creature must think of three things, namely: to have memory of the past, order the present and provide for the future, as we all, according to the Apostle, will be before the divine judgment to receive according to what we have done, every faithful Christian must foresee the heavenly works and the health of his soul, since nothing is more certain than death and nothing more uncertain than the hour of that death (S2).

The consequence of all this is that everyone will have to submit to divine judgment, and must therefore be prepared, especially since no one knows when their time will come. The reality of judgement is ever-present in mercantile spirituality. As professionals accustomed to making detailed calculations of income and expenditure, they must be prepared for when the divine merchant makes the calculation of their assets and liabilities, in order to enter eternal life. They are aware that they "will all stand before the divine judgement to receive according to what we have done", so that "it is common to order the things necessary for the health of the soul, as if it were not a purely certain thing that death and nothing more uncertain than its hour" (S3).

As a consequence, the contrast between the opulence of life and the necessary detachment from everything mundane and material at the time of death is an idea very dear to merchants. Antoni Planes highlights the transience of life and the *business* of eternal life:

> I, Antoni Planes, merchant and citizen of Barcelona, attending and seeing how all worldly things are banal and decadent and do not have any firmness, therefore the human creature must put its faith and hope in our Lord God his creator, and which is the work of God, in his business proven by the future and mostly in the works touching the health of his soul, disposing of my goods, I make and order this my testament and last will (S4).

Merchants continually play with these paradoxes in their wills, emphasizing the contrasts between material and spiritual life, between mercantile and eternal benefits, between the fugacity of time on earth and the eternity of heaven. Luis de Parets presents these ideas in an almost poetic way:

> Attending and knowing by experience, as it is written, that all flesh is grass, and all its glory as the flowers of the field, and knowing that it is appointed for men to die once, blessed Jerome says: 'Nothing is more certain in death and nothing more uncertain in the hour of death,' therefore while I enjoy my health through God's mediation of mind and body I make and order my testament (S5).

Another aspect that emerges from the wills of the merchants of late medieval Barcelona is the visibility they want to give to their commitment to poverty. The most effective method is to detail the way in which the mortuary procession should proceed to carry the corpse to the grave. The merchant Francesc Cardona, for instance, asks "the friars to whom the habit was given and that my body must be worn by as many friars as there will be" and "those who will carry the candles are four who have sackcloth and hoods and the body cloth is brown" (S6).

The merchants do not follow the popular proverb "the habit does not make the monk", since they aspire to be buried in the Franciscan habit, thus visibly confirming the complicity between both groups. When the merchant wished to die and be buried in a Dominican habit, he was keeping with a long tradition. Kitsten Schut explains that there are some connections between clothing, gender, and spirituality in late medieval culture that are fundamental to this devotion, since "Imagining each of these scenarios highlights medieval religious clothing's deep capacity to communicate, to forge connections, and to transform the people it touched" (Schut 2019, p. 186). It seems that this practice started around the ninth century among the kings and high aristocracy (Gougaud 1927). Yet the emergence and consolidation of the new mendicant orders invigorated it, in conjunction with broader innovations in burial practice such as the promotion of church burials. This custom has multiple readings, most of which are beneficial for the soul of the merchants, since it has different effects:

> to emulate the founder of an order or their friars as closely as possible to take special part in all the good works performed by the whole Dominican order; [. . .] to make the friars pray more willingly and fervently on behalf of the lays buried with the habit and aid in their suffrages; [. . .] to serve as a kind of demon repellant, making the attackers hesitate in fear and reverence, and perhaps giving the deceased an opportunity to beat them off with his or her weapons, their virtues; [. . .] and to allow the wearer to embody mendicant ideals of poverty, humility, and physical chastisement, while also participating in a corporate identity (Schut 2019, pp. 189–90).

Barcelona merchants proved to be well aware of these benefits, since this practice is abundantly cited in their wills. For instance, Francesc Despuig, who bears the name of the founder of the Franciscans and also has a cousin, Miquel Sa Fabrega, who is a friar of the Franciscan friary, asks

> the honorable guards and friars of the said monastery [of the minor friars] that the habit of their order of Monsignor Saint Francis be granted to me, and that my body should be clothed, that my said heart may be buried with that dress; and I want the said habit to belong to the poorest friar who can be found in the said monastery on the day of my death, to which friar a good and sufficient new habit will be bought from my property, which costs one hundred solidos in one hundred and ten solidos; I want, however, that the said friar to whom the said habit will be given be presbyter and that for my soul the thirty-three masses of San Amador be sung within the space of thirty-three days counting from the day of my death (S7).

Francesc Balaró asks to be buried in the friary of the Franciscans of Barcelona, "assuming the habit of the blessed Francis the Confessor, asking and supplicating the religious guardian of the said monastery to grant and deliver that habit to me" (S8). Joan de Muntrós adds the nuance that "all the brothers of the said order [of the Franciscans] to grant me the habit of their order and that my body be buried with the said habit" (S9). Finally, Pere de Matarrodona specifies even more the way to proceed, since he not only asks to be buried with the habit of Saint Francis but also for his procession to emulate that of the Franciscan friars themselves:

> For I choose to bury my body in the cemetery of the Friars Minor in Barcelona, asking the venerable guardian and the other brothers of the said monastery to grant me the habit of their order at the end of my life, and with the same habit on, my body should be carried to burial and buried in the manner of the brothers of the said order, willing and ordering that four let the poor be led, each one of them, with their sackcloths and hoods of cloth, to carry the candles while my body is carried to the said burial (S10).

All these testimonies are expressions of the assimilation of Franciscan spirituality by the merchants, the wealthiest elements in Barcelona society. They reflect the interest that St. Francis had in the conversion of the laity from the beginning of his foundation (Vauchez 1987). However, the notion of a 'third order' devoted to the lay people is problematic. Recent research, especially into women, is revising this first impression. In particular, it casts doubt on recognizing St. Francis as the founder of the third order, arguing for a greater contextualization of the phenomenon of lay women with religious connections (More 2018). Some more detailed analyses of the relations between women and the Franciscans provide indications that "the boundaries between lay and religious identities were less clearly demarcated and more permeable than they might appear at first glance" (Schut 2019, p. 186). In the end, these new studies show that the incorporation of the laity into the third order was not so formal as we have tended to think, and they assumed other forms to join the spirituality of Dominicans and Franciscans.

In any case, the laity reciprocated Franciscan zeal not only with their financial donations, but also by seeking to participate in the religious life of the friars, and to benefit

from their preaching, be enriched by their confessions, join their lay confraternities, and be buried in their habit. All this also promoted some new manifestations of popular piety, especially processions. During the second half of the thirteenth century, the surroundings of the mendicant friaries, usually located in strategic places near the gates of the city walls, became hotbeds of popular piety.

Merchants would record these tendencies in their own wills, emphasizing the visibility of their interest in getting rid of everything material at the time of death. However, the wills also express the merchants' attachment to the very virtue of poverty, having perhaps not known how to live during their lives, but now anxious to assimilate to it, confronted with the proximity of death. For this reason, many of them specify to whom they want to donate their money, especially those who have not been graced by life, such as the lame, blind, and sick. The merchant Jaume Boteller, for instance: "I leave to Mathew Padrissa, who is blind, for the love of God, all my clothes which I will wear with care on the day of my death" (S11). Joan Agustí asks that sixteen poor people take his body to the cemetery, and that they be generously paid for this last service (S12).

A final manifestation of this is the merchants' desire to be buried in the Franciscan friaries, which they must have frequented during their lifetime. Miquel Flaquer wants to be buried "in the cemetery of the church of the Monastery of the Friars Minor of the city of Barcelona, in the tomb or sheepfold which I have there and in which the body of my mentioned mother was buried", (S13) while Gaufrid Sirvent wants to be buried in his father's niche:

> But the burial of my body, I will and order to be done in the cemetery of the Friars Minor in Barcelona, in the tomb which my said father had in the cloister of the said Monastery, which burial I command to be done well and honorably, asking the venerable guardian and the brothers of the said monastery to grant my body the habit of their religion (S14).

4. Conclusions: The Franciscans Economists—A Shared Charisma

Following contemporary cultural and religious paradigms, it is hard to explain how a small group of Franciscan intellectuals contributed decisively to promoting and legitimizing the work of the new social group of merchants during the fourteenth century. In the case of medieval Barcelona, it is possible to trace this influence through the writings of the Franciscan Francesc Eiximenis, and to verify its reception in the behavior of the merchants when writing their last wills.

Considering the disproportion between the material means of the Franciscans and their small numbers on the one hand, and the wealth of the merchants and their progressive numerical growth on the other, it is logical to resort to a concept such as charisma, which escapes the statistics used by social science as the main explanatory factor. That is why I argue that the concept of charisma—not the one created by modern social scientists such as Max Weber, but the one articulated from the emergence of Christianism and assumed by medieval theologians—becomes the best way of understanding the apparent paradox of the close complicity between the Franciscans and the merchants.

Enriched by the theoretical perspectives of scholastic theologians from the thirteenth century (Aurell 2022), the idea of charisma as a gift of God fits with the spirit and context of the preaching and writings of Franciscans such as Eiximenis. They justified the work of the merchants—symbolic capital—and, without theoretically expecting anything in return, ultimately received material capital from the merchants. They were aware that the collective feeling of a shared charisma weighed more heavily in their authorship than the authority that followed from a singular author. Of course, this approach to charisma, in which its center of gravity is placed in the good received rather than on the actor's personal virtues, contrasts with that provided by modern sociology, especially by Max Weber, who places the key to charisma in the personal gifts of the charismatic character and in the reception of the beneficiaries (Willner 1984, p. 15; Bedos-Rezak and Rust 2017, p. 9):

> The term charisma will be applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is considered extraordinary and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a 'leader.' (…) What is alone important is how the individual is actually regarded by those subjects to charismatic authority, by his "followers" or "disciples" (Weber 1978, pp. 241–42).

This explanation perhaps works for the mass societies of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and could be applied to the dynamics of modern state and business corporations. In modern charisma, the figure and work of business and political leaders are highlighted. However, the reality was very different in medieval Barcelona, where the charisma of the Franciscans was perceived by the merchant group as a spiritual quality shared by all members of the community rather than a subjective appreciation by those who benefited from that charisma. The assimilation of all the values that emerge from the annotated testaments, responding to a common Franciscan spirituality, cannot be explained in any other way: the awareness of the transience of life, the need to part with all one's possessions at the moment of death, the assumption of the Franciscan habit, the funeral processions led by the Franciscans, or the donations to the Franciscan community that allow the continuity of this shared charisma. The evident complicity between merchants and Franciscans, and their continuous exchange of material and symbolic goods, is the key to explaining the effectiveness of this agreement. This historical evidence has led to interesting debates about these ideas in the contemporary world for political purposes (Olives Puig 1996; Marcel Bukala 2007; Evangelisti 2007; Giner 2010), for the conditions of credit and money (Lenoble 2015; Lorenzo Braile 2015; Nicoletti and Evangelisti 2018), and for the configuration of the ideal city (Cervera Vera 1989; Molina Figueras 2008).

The concept of charisma has been commonly applied to individuals and, more recently, to objects (Bedos-Rezak and Rust 2017). Yet I argue that it can also be projected onto groups, especially those sharing a common spirituality, such as the Franciscans. This community of friars inherited from its founder a special charisma for issues connected with poverty, which, perhaps less paradoxically than it may seem at first sight, had a crucial impact on the development of a new urban society of merchants and artisans.

In this article, I have added new data coming from the testaments of the merchants of late medieval Barcelona. This documentation demonstrates the paradox of the complicity between the wealthy merchants and the poor Franciscans. In particular, the testaments and last wills of medieval Barcelona reflect the extent to which the charisma, spirituality, and customs of the Franciscans were effectively and profoundly incorporated into the commercial practices and convictions of the mercantile agents. This new charisma was essential to triggering a profound transformation in morality and work ethic in Barcelona from the thirteenth century onwards.

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