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SISMEL - EDIZIONI DEL GALLUZZO

ABSTRACTS

Summary

To achieve power by renouncing it, to obtain social acceptance by resigning honour, to obtain splendour and riches by making oneself small and poor – this sounds paradoxical – but it works. This volume brings together 21 contributions from an international research conference that explored the historical dimensions of the paradoxical processes of legitimization. Not only the infirmity of the papal body, the deposition of bishops, and the feasts of child bishops, but also the symbolic disempowerment of rulers and the paradoxical success stories of cities are analyzed here for the first time against a horizon of shared questions. The contributions also investigate systematically the paradoxical status of archives, exile, miracles, and culture as well as the paradoxes of identification, origins, the future, and juridical fictions. In this manner a panorama emerges of the paradoxical foundations of power and domination that continue to have an influence down to the present day.

Peter Strohschneider, *Internationality in the Humanities: Ten Occasional Annotations*

Since the volume assembles the results of a German-French-Italian research conference at the Villa Vigoni (Italy) the opening paper discusses the manifold implications of the concept of internationality in the humanities. How international are the humanities? Such a question already assumes quantitative measures and asks for «more or less». One might answer: «Very much, but not enough!» However, a more demanding answer would be a second question: In what way are the humanities international? The author unfolds a powerful tableau of arguments for an apt qualitative evaluation of international research in the humanities.

Alois Hahn, *Anagnorisis and Identification*

This paper treats socially recognized methods of identifying people. Due to a distinction between identity and identification an identifiable selfhood beneath all Identity-Changes is presumed. Supposing the necessity of identification as constant on the one hand and the forms of identification as

changeable under historic perspective on the other hand, this paper – with reference to the Aristotelian concept of anagnorisis – exemplifies some paradoxical patterns of identification and analyses the conditions of socially accepted identification. Examples from antiquity to the medieval period up to the present show that the human body plays an important role in how identification is negotiated. Scars for example play a great role as identificatory devices. But nowadays other «traces» have become even more important in this respect. Individuals are identifiable by the traces they leave e.g. on the internet or by using a mobile telephone. The text illustrates the social construction of identification as historically variable.

Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *The Pope's Body as Legitimation*

The medieval treatment of the pope's body offers a privileged object for the study of a paradoxical discourse on power in the Roman Curia. This paper observes an irritating preoccupation with the fragility of the papal body in the time of the so-called Investiture Contest, when extreme claims to supreme authority were raised by the Roman Popes in a previously unheard manner. It all began with Alexander II who in 1064 ordered Peter Damian to find out why his predecessors in office had such a short life expectancy. Peter did his best to prove that this was the price to be paid ever since the times of St. Peter for the honor of the highest office on earth. Using an array of evidence from the eleventh through the fifteenth centuries, this paper shows how an increasing awareness of papal weakness and mortality along with increasing claims to power was cultivated at the Roman Curia. The mortality of the papal body was celebrated both in curial rhetoric and ritual. This paper addresses this paradox by concentrating on the subtle interplay underlying the relationship between the person of the pope understood in his human dimension and the sacred office he held.

Annette Kehnel, «*Beatings for a start, Godlikeness in the end*»: *The Relation between Power and Weakness in Medieval Inauguration Rituals*

This paper concentrates on the paradoxical alliance between weakness and power in medieval inauguration ceremonies. It highlights elements of ritual suffering, humiliation and weakness as essential functional elements in the social construction of power. Starting from the well established rhythm of the *rites de passage*, the author revisits a number of medieval inaugurations sites and rituals: the inauguration of the kings of Tara and Connacht in Ireland, the coronation of the Roman Emperor from 10th century onwards, the French «sacre royal» of King Louis IX (13th century), the making of the medieval Dukes of Carinthia (14th century) and the «sword in the crown» – a royal ritual performed during the Council of Constance (1414–18) when King Sig-

mund enfeoffed his vassals. This paper aims to locate the ritually prescribed periods of humiliation, suffering and weakness in space and time and to describe their material and symbolic dimensions. Finally the functional necessity of weakness as embedded almost universally at the very centre of empowerment rituals is reconsidered and the suggestion is made that weakness, suffering, and humiliation are indispensable elements in the social fabrication of power.

Michail A. Bojcov, *Naked, Looted and Abandoned: the Prince's Body between jus spolii, Carnival and the «Doctrine of two Bodies»*

In recent decades several scholars have made attempts to describe and explain in rather different ways a strange medieval phenomenon: bodies of dead rulers (as well as their residences) were pillaged immediately after their deaths. In most cases the objects of such a specific treatment were corpses of the Roman popes. The very few known episodes when secular rulers were pillaged (like William I the Conqueror, 1087) have been interpreted so far as rare exceptions. In this study an attempt is made to demonstrate that such customs were in fact practiced much more intensively than previously believed. Indeed, it seems to be a strong tradition with the Norman dynasty of the English kings as well as with the Plantagenets. For other reasons ritual maltreatment of the royal corpse returns even much later. Thus the public exposure of the dead Edward IV in 1483 seems to be a sort of demonstration of pious humility appropriate to a Christian ruler, a gesture possibly borrowed from the funeral rites of the Roman curia.

Maria Magdalena Rückert, *De episcopatu iniuste deponitur: The Deposition of Bishops in the 12th Century*

Between 1122 and 1159 almost 20 bishops of the Roman-German Empire lost their sees by deposition or forced renunciation. In the first year of King Frederic's I reign - 1153 - four prelates were deposed, even more lost their sees during the rule of the emperor Lothar III. As the phenomenon did not occur at all in earlier centuries, this great number of processes against bishops is remarkable after the Concordat of Worms, which stood at the end of the long conflict between the emperor and the pope over the investiture of the German bishops. One consequence of the Concordat seemed to be the weakness of the emperors who lost their sanctity. Another result was the strengthening of the episcopal position. The bishops became prince bishops in the late Middle Ages. For these reasons it seems to be a paradoxical situation that so many prelates had to leave their bishoprics in this period. An analysis of the different conflicts which led to the depositions shows that there were no trials against bishops without the consent of *regnum et sacerdotium*. The

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emperors who had lost their right to install bishops, now used local conflicts and the agreement with the pope and his legates to get rid of bishops who did not fit into their political conception. What at first sight looked like a paradox, was nothing else than a clear political strategy of the sovereigns.

Jörg Sonntag, «*Knee-kiss versus Kitchen-Service*» *Humility as a Means to Stabilize Systems of Power: The Example of the Abbots of Fruttuaria*

Monastic institutional orders needed gestural demonstrations of both their hierarchical structure and its inversion in a proportional way; the visualised power of the abbot required his visualised powerlessness. The customs of Fruttuaria, dating to the high Middle Ages seem to be the most prominent example of this apparent paradox. In comparison to other sources from Benedictine and Cistercian communities, the Fruttuarian sources document a large range of symbolic actions demonstrating abbatial power such as e.g. hand kisses for the abbot. At the same time, the Fruttuarian customs heighten the techniques of abbatial humiliation to a new level, which is characterised by his involvement in kitchen duties or in the ceremonial foot washing on Maundy Thursday. Paradoxically, these symbols both affirmed the inner monastic balance of power and disarranged it in favour of the abbot.

Roberto Rusconi, *The Secluded Body and the Reinvented Stigmata: St Francis of Assisi's Sepulchre and the Nails in Fifteenth-Century Iconography*

According to Franciscan legends and chronicles, a widespread devotion to friar Francis of Assisi during his life persuaded the citizens of Assisi and the Friars Minor to remove his body from close-up veneration. In the centuries after his death, the tomb of St. Francis became more and more inaccessible according to the sources and late medieval iconography. In the fifteenth century the reform movement of the Observant friars took a different stance toward the earlier Franciscan hagiography so as to stress the saint's stigmatization as a seal of the true Order, and a new representation of his wounds, with nails in his hands and feet, were painted. In hagiography and iconography St. Francis became the second Christ (alter Christus) of a new apostolic Order.

Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Rhythms, Society, History*

Despite the fact that social rhythms were long ago investigated by the founders of sociology and anthropology, among them E. Durkheim, M. Mauss, G. Simmel, and K. Bücher, historians have not been sufficiently aware of the problems they raise. One would argue that all aspects of living in society are concerned with rhythms. While focusing here on Western Medieval society, we wish to study (1) the «fundamental rhythms» which command the

insertion of men into nature (alternation of daylight and night, of seasons, movements of stars and planets, tides, cockcrow) or animate the human body (the pulse of the heart, breathing, periods, voice and gestures); (2) the cultural and institutional forms of rhythms that used to frame medieval society, from the general rhythmic forms of symbolisation (Latin and vernacular versification, songs, music, ornamental motives of painting or carving), to the liturgical calendar (solar and lunar cycles, fixed and mobiles Church festivals, *computus*), up to the patterns of historical narratives, from the Augustinian idea of the «six ages» of universal history to the more individual schemes of autobiography; (3) the reality that rhythms were also changing throughout history, according to the development of new and competing «rhythmic agencies», such as towns, monetary exchanges, salary, the courtly, judiciary and fiscal state institutions, and the birth and growth of universities. Changing rhythms in the ways men master time and space help us to understand better the deepest features and structural transformations of society.

Hans Joachim Schmidt, *Legitimacy by Expectation and Planning of the Future*

Expectation and planning the future were required in order to obtain profits in the temporal as well as eternal life. Everyone who claimed to exercise power had to prove legitimacy by pretending to pursue projects whose fulfilment would be reached in future. But the efforts to obtain results in the future changed necessarily the whole scale of social, political, religious, and economical standards, so that the evolution of time undermined every planned action. Planning the future reached a crucial point at the moment of death and at the end of time, at Doomsday. Many efforts were made in order to get precise information about the exact date of those events. The efforts were useless, but nevertheless repeated over and again. Chiliastic expectations were based on calculations of the temporal evolution, without obtaining realistic results. But that did not prevent further attempts. The future produced legitimacy by justifying present actions. But on the other hand, the future delegitimized human actions because the prefigured future usually presented itself other than expected. Because the future was principally unknown, the attempt to influence it was paradoxical.

Sébastien Barret, *Medieval Archives, Time and Legitimation*

Archives are, among other things, a good instrument of control over time and temporality, and therefore a powerful tool in defending the legitimacy of an institution. It is certainly not by mere chance that «archive(s)» were used as a pivotal notion in works by Michel Foucault or Jacques Derrida. This instrument was not left unused in the Middle Ages. Archives played their role in maintaining the memory of acquired rights and titles, but also in constructing the history of the various institutions and providing them with a temporality

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of their own. They took an important, albeit discrete place in building the culture and identity of the social groups that produced them, for which they had to play a variety of essential, and sometimes contradictory, parts.

Barbara Bombi, *Legitimation and Time: The Archives of the Procurators of the Curia at the Beginning of the 14th cent*

The article deals with the construction of the *Eigengeschichte* within religious orders and engages with the creation of institutional memory within a religious institution through archival record-keeping. In particular, the article deals with the archives of proctors, who mediated and represented religious orders and individual petitioners before the papal curia. The article will look at two different representational bodies: the general proctors of religious orders, who were generally members of the order and were responsible for the archival organization of the institution; and the free-lance proctors, who were appointed to represent petitioners for a limited period. Two relevant case-studies will be taken: the archive of the general proctors of the Teutonic Order at the papal curia in the early fourteenth century and the archive of Andrea Sapiti, proctor of Edward II and Edward III, kings of England, between 1309 and 1338.

Christoph H. F. Meyer, *Masked Truth as a Strategy of Legitimation: The Role of Fiction in Law from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*

The purpose of this article is to take a brief look at a peculiar strategy of living with contradictions. Fictions can be a powerful means to reconcile theory and practice, norms and reality etc. While they can be helpful to solve contradictions, they themselves create paradoxes which in turn tell us a lot about the mental universe of the people who employed them. This paper focuses on some *fictiones* that played a role in different spheres of early medieval legal and constitutional life, e. g. the forerunners of the concept of civil death (*mors civilis*) and the question of old written and unwritten law. The analysis of these and related topics shows that fiction was an important technique to resolve legal as well as social conflicts. It was only in the aftermath of the «Renaissance of the twelfth century» that *fictiones* were reduced to the status of an auxiliary device that lawyers applied to tedious technical questions.

Tanja Skambraks, *Burlesque Topsy-turvy or Liturgical Ritual?: Towards a new Interpretation of the Medieval Child Bishops Feast*

This article deals with the perception and interpretation of the medieval boy bishops feast. Its classification as a burlesque topsy-turvy event with

pagan roots has been claimed by authors since the Age of Enlightenment and still seems to be widely received by scholars following Michael Bachtins approach to carnivalesque phenomena. One reason for this seems to lie in the reception of certain kinds of sources, i.e. texts that forbade and restricted these clerical festivals. By analyzing additional source material, like the *Libri Ordinarii* as well as accounts and inventories of English, French and German ecclesiastical institutions, the author focuses on a reinterpretation of the boy bishops feast. Thus the paper shows that the ceremony of the boy bishop was embedded in the liturgical context of the worship of the Holy Innocents and Saint Nicholas. Furthermore, the feast was well supported by clerical authorities and institutions throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. By bringing to mind essential Christian virtues like purity, humility and innocence, this liturgical ritual seems to have helped to strengthen the clerical community and to confirm the existing order. Finally this article asks for an alternative interpretation of the feast as a ritual of investiture with regard to theoretical approaches of Victor Turner and Pierre Bourdieu.

Ludger Lieb, *The Paradoxical Foundations of Culture: German Courtly Literature around 1200*

Culture lives by tensions, by questions that cannot be answered, by contradictions that can never be reconciled, by competing aims and irreconcilable human needs. The paper shows – with some striking and well known examples from Medieval German Literature (Walther von der Vogelweide, *Parzival*, *Willehalm* and the *Nibelungenlied*) – the way in which the Middle Ages reflected this awareness. The paradoxes at stake, such as the «familiar versus stranger» or «order and mess», are of some importance even today.

Patrick Henriët, *The Body of the Recluse and the «Despatialization of the Sacred»*

The Vita of Alpais of Cudot († 1211) was written at the end of the twelfth century. This rather unknown text presents us with a very paradoxical recluse. Alpais's body is alive, but people treat it like a relic. She cannot move, but she visits the world of the after-life and she has four «cosmic visions». She seems to be in a sort of institutional no man's land, but in her many visions she gives us an orthodox discourse about Church, sacraments and Christian life. The relation of Alpais with sacred space and sacred places is as fascinating as paradoxical: her hagiographer, an anonymous Cistercian monk who can be compared to others Cistercian hagiographers of this time, gives us the impression of what we may call a «despatialization of the Sacred».

Jacques Dalarun, *Space of the body, Space of the Order, Space of the Text: Stratigraphy and Geography of the Miracles of St. Francis of Assisi*

Francis lived in a series of spaces: the city of Assisi and surrounding territory, fluid places of the itinerancy, the Friars minor's *loca*, convents or hermitages, his body, social and ecclesial spaces. As for the preferred space of the Order of Lesser Brothers, it is the textual corpus which identifies them. The miracles expand the body and the virtues of François in space and time. They do not make holiness, but show it, especially after his death. We can thus study a series of six legends filled with miracles: The *First Life* by Thomas of Celano and the *Legend for Use in the Choir* attributed to him as well, his *Umbrian Legend*, the *Treatise on the Miracles* in his *Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul*, and the collection of miracles at the conclusion of Bonaventure's *Major Legend*. Each one of these collections marks a widening of the territory of Franciscan devotion, which is illustrated by a series of maps. A final table indicates the concordance of all the miraculous episodes of these six legends.

Timothy Johnson, *Wonders in Stone and Space: Theological Dimensions of the Miracle Accounts in Celano and Bonaventure*

Choir legends like Celano's *Legend for Use in the Choir* and Bonaventure's *Minor Life of Saint Francis* are privileged spatial-theological texts for the study of miracles and religious identity. The conscious efforts of hagiographers to craft specific «prayed» images of saints and their wonders within the paradoxical context of liturgical celebration link these texts to the sacred spaces of worship. How Celano and Bonaventure interpret these miracles in their choir legends discloses how they construct the religious identity of their confreres. Assisi, where the cryptal remains of the Poverello lie in the Basilica of Saint Francis, is the historical locus of Franciscan memory in Celano's choir *legenda* and a focal point for miraculous activities. However, when Bonaventure's confreres gather in choir, they contemplate the miracle, not the miracles, of the stigmatized saint. As a result, the brothers craft a peripatetic, performative identity mediated by the textual memory of the Seraphic Doctor, and not by a sepulcher church in Assisi sanctioned by papal power.

Martial Staub, *Exilic Unavailability and the Paradoxical Justifications of Dominium in the Middle Ages*

Exile – both physical and metaphorical – suggests unavailability for any form of dominium, and yet exile has played an essential role in legitimising dominium – almost to this day. This paradox was obvious to the people of the Middle Ages on whose experience this paper focuses. The paper's aim is, more precisely, to examine the multiple and successive ways in which the paradox-

ical relationship between exile and dominium was used in order to justify the latter. Dominium is understood both as domination and as mere power, according to Max Weber's famous dichotomy between *Herrschaft* and *Macht*, i.e. between the compliance with rules and the exercise of rules. After considering the close relationship between exile and conversion in Augustine's image of the *regio dissimilitudinis*, the paper turns to its implications for collective exile within the communities of exiles of Communal Italy as well as in humanist politics and national myths. The final part of the paper is devoted to William of Ockham's influential attempt to limit man's dominium over nature by recalling his exile.

Cristina Andenna, *Emperor Frederic II and the civitates novae: The Success of Pragmatic routine over Symbolic Celebration*

The article considers Frederick's II policy of town settlement as a significant aspect of the Staufen idea of lordship. On the one hand, through symbolic rituals and direct associations to the tradition the new urban centers played an important role in the context of strategies for the legitimation of power. Therefore, they placed themselves as visible manifestations of imperial power and success. On the other hand, those foundations, especially through mandatory settlements, accomplished the indispensable needs required for the construction of a centralized kingdom. Paradoxically, the pragmatic projects for settlements such as Augusta and Altamura achieved long lasting success, while the foundations, which were symbolically charged with highly celebrated claims such as Vittoria, were bound to the political and historical fate of Frederick II and vanished along with the Staufen emperor.

Luigi Canetti, *Church without Images: The Myth of the Imageless Origins of the Christian Church and its fate in the Middle Ages*

In Byzantium and in the Latin West the theological and political legacy of Constantine the Great was particularly strong from the very beginning in relation to the earlier religious images, and especially to the new iconic figural and non-figural symbols of Christian salvation. Between the fifth and the sixth centuries, the papal and orthodox use of Constantine's image was first expressed in the most ancient Latin version of pope Sylvester's legend (*Actus Silvestri*). Shortly afterwards the hagiographical nucleus of this legend became part of pope Sylvester's biography, the *Liber Pontificalis* of the Roman Church, which is indeed one of the principal sources for the spread of the legendary account of Constantine's baptism and the image of Constantine as generous benefactor of the papacy. These themes nourished the hagiographical and theological-political imagery of the Christian West for more than a millennium. Between the eighth and the ninth centuries and then from the eleventh

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century onwards, they gave rise to the Roman bishopric's various claims of a universal primacy confirmed by law, which was already expressed in the *Constitutum Constantini* and the pseudo-Isidorian *Decretales*. Scholarship has clarified the general features of this complex subject. Here we will present a mnemo-historical reading that will outline the subject's multifaceted and protean hermeneutic potential in relation to the connection between power and salvation and to the legitimization of Christian sovereignty through the iconic signs of the divine presence. This will involve a discussion of the mythical image of Constantine as patron of Christ's images in churches – in support of which there is no archaeological evidence – and of the Lateran basilica of the Saviour, which was the first church of Rome and, until the end of the thirteenth century, the most prestigious container of relics and memory of the Medieval West.

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