CHAPTER 9

THE LINKÖPING MITRE

ECCLESIASTICAL TEXTILES AND EPISCOPAL IDENTITY

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Questions of agency have been widely discussed in art history studies in recent decades, with scholars such as Alfred Gell and W. T. Mitchell arguing that works of art possess the qualities or powers of living beings. Recent scholarship has questioned whether Max Weber's notion of charisma as a personal quality can be extended to the realm of things such as charismatic objects or charismatic art. Textiles are particularly interesting in this regard, as clothing transforms and extends the corporal body acting as a 'social skin', this problematizes the human/object divide. As such, ecclesiastical dress could be considered part of the priest's social body, his identity. The mitre was especially symbolic and powerful as it distinguished the bishop from the lower ranks of the clergy. This article examines the richly decorated Linköping mitre, also known as Kettil Karlsson's mitre as it was most likely made for this young and ambitious bishop in the 1460s. I argue that the aesthetics and rhetoric of the

Linköping mitre created charismatic effects that could have contributed to the charisma of Kettil Karlsson as a religious and political leader. This argument, however, centers not so much on charismatic objects as on the relationship between personal charisma and cultural objects closely identified with charismatic authority.

The Swedish rhyme chronicle *Cronice Swecie* describes how bishop Kettil Karlsson in 1463 stripped himself of his episcopal vestments (biscopsskrud) in the cathedral of Linköping, only to dress for war with shield and spear (skiöll och spiwt) like any man who could fight well with a lance in combat:

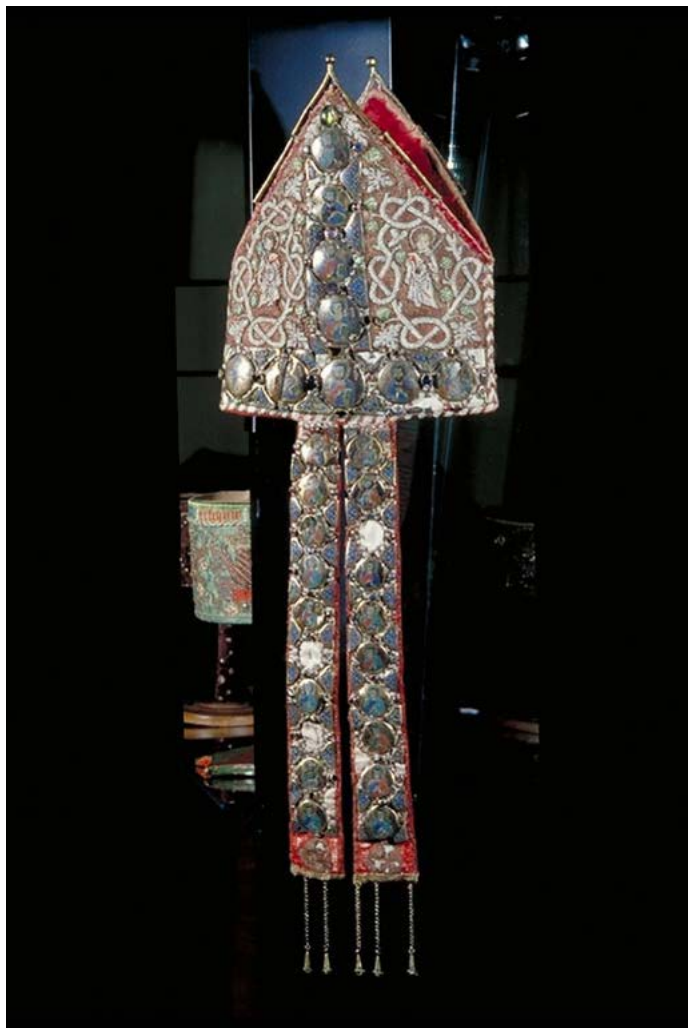
> ***I lynköping nedherlagde iag myn biscopsskrud och tog ighen både skiöll och spiwt / Och redde mig wth som en örligx man som glaffwen i striid well brytha kan.***[39]

> ***[In Linköping I laid down my episcopal vestments and took up both shield and spear / And equipped myself as a warrior who can break lances in combat.]***

This public and rhetorical event transformed the young bishop from a man of prayer into the leader of a major army. It is also testimony to the intimate relationship between clothing and identity. This article explores this relationship by looking at one of Kettil Karlsson's most precious vestments: the Linköping mitre (Figure 75). The mitre is a headdress reserved for bishops (and some abbots), in the shape of a tall triangular folding cap with two lappets hanging down from the back. Covered in silk, gold and pearl embroidery and decorated with cloisonné enamels, jewels and metal detailing,

39 G. E. Klemming, *Svenska Medeltidens Rim-Krönikor. Nya Krönikans Fortsättningar eller Sture-Krönikorna, vol. 3*, (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1867). 152. Takk til førsteamanuensis Ivar Berg (NTNU) for hjelp med oversettelsen.

Figure 75. The Linköping mitre on display, showing the back of the headdress; with St Peter and St Paul, and the lappets decorates with byzantine enamels. © Gabriel Hildebrand, Historiska Museet, Stockholm.



this luxurious vestment is one of the most fascinating objects displayed in the textile galleries at the History Museum in Stockholm (inv.no. 3920:1). Unlike many of its counterparts in the museum, we can say with a reasonable degree of certainty where this headdress was made, for whom it was made, and where it was in use. Previous research has, however, focused mainly on techniques of manufacture, dating and provenance (Branting & Lindblom 1928; Estham & Nisbeth 2001). This reflects a general trend within scholarly approaches to medieval textile art, where questions of visual context and meaning have been largely overlooked. In his biography of the Fermo Chasuble, Avinoam Shalem points out that 'Any scholar writing on, say, the use of light and shadow in the paintings of Rembrandt or the sculptures of Dan Flavin is not necessarily expected to provide us with a color analysis of the pigments used by Rembrandt or the electrical system of the fluorescents of Flavin.' (Shalem 2017:9). There is no doubt that scientific technical analyses have been, and will continue to be, important to the field of textile studies. In this article, however, I will focus on ecclesiastical textiles as embodied art; how they mediated both body and identity.

Faced with sumptuous art such as the Linköping mitre, the significance of luxury ecclesiastical vestments as symbols of social and political power and rank becomes apparent. These issues have been addressed in recent research, utilizing Barth's concept of a 'vestimentary code' drawing parallels between clothing and language (Dimitrova & Goehring 2014:7; Miller 2014:9). Miller, for example, has argued that the lavishly decorated vestments of the 13th century can be understood as a material and visual language employed as a political tool and an instrument of reform. Although the metaphor of clothing as language is helpful in emphasizing the symbolic qualities of clothing, this model assumes some essential, shared properties of language and objects, which are highly problematic. In his essay 'Clothing as Language', Grant McCracken argues that clothing is not usefully compared to language, but operates within a very different system of communication (Mc Cracken 1990:57). He suggests that the modus operandi of textiles is more understated and intangible than that of language, and therefore our interpretation of clothes and textiles is less conscious. Thus, he argues that this inconspicuousness is an advantage of clothing as a means of communication: 'It has to this extent great propagandistic value in the creation of meaning' (Mc Cracken 1990:68–69). In other words, we do not necessarily 'read' clothes, but we sense them and perceive them in a less conscious manner.

This sensory or somatic aspect of clothing and how it communicates meaning, is particularly relevant for ecclesiastical vestments. Research on copes, chasubles and mitres often ignores the fact that these objects of art were worn on human bodies. I would like to argue that clothing, more than being a marker of social and political status and hierarchy, extends and transforms the body as a 'social skin'. Anthropologist Terrence Turner developed this concept when studying the Amazonian Kayapo tribe, where bodypaint functioned as dress and hair, occupying significant social space beyond the body (Turner 1993:15–39). Reading clothes (broadly defined to include bodily adornments, jewelry and hair) as a second skin, a *social skin*, allows a more complex understanding, where clothes are performative and constitutive. Jane Burns has used this concept in her discussion of gendered clothing in medieval French lyrics and romances to show how clothes and fabrics can create

representations of both gender and status (Burns 2014). In this article, the concept of ecclesiastical clothing as a 'social skin' will be employed to underline the interrelated and complex relationship between the priestly body and the priestly garments. My argument is that this intimate and codependent relationship demonstrates how ecclesiastical vestments were important to episcopal identity, and, consequently, how they were used strategically in fashioning a bishop's public image.

AESTHETICS AND MATERIALITY OF A *MITRE PRETIOSA*

The mitre's linen ground is entirely covered with embroidery and applied ornament. Seed pearls are used extensively for lettering, figures and décor. The white, shimmering pearls form a striking contrast to the golden surface of the background, made of gold threads couched in red silk. This effect would have been more prominent some 500 years ago, when the gold threads shone more brilliantly. Another arresting feature of the Linköping mitre is the cloisonné enamels applied in the form of bands on the headpiece and down both lappets. Each enamel roundel is framed by ornamental enamel plaques and precious stones such as rock crystal, imitation jewels and turquoises, illuminating the preciousness of this garment. Small metal bells on fine chains are suspended from each lappet, and the top of the mitre is embellished with a silver gilt knob. All of this material splendour created a varied and luxurious surface.

This luxurious materiality is characteristic of the *mitre pretiosa* or the precious mitre. By the 15th century, a hierarchy of different mitres was established: 1) the *mitre simplex* was without ornament and made in plain white silk or linen, and worn at funerals, Good Friday, and for the blessing of candles on Candlemas, 2) the *mitre auriphrygiata* was decorated with rich embroidery of gold, silk and sometimes seed pearls, and worn during Lent, Advent and other fast days and for penitential processions, and 3) the *mitre pretiosa* was the most valuable, decorated with jewels, metal plates and pearls in addition to silk and gold embroidery. This luxurious headpiece was a display of episcopal splendour, worn only on the days of a *Te Deum* service (Braun 1913:404). Note that the 'Cæremoniale Romanum' does not give

any instructions as to the motifs or design of the mitres, the account of this order of mitres focuses solely on their materiality. The use of plain fabric, embroidery, jewels and metal plates establishes a material hierarchy carefully fashioned for different religious occasions. Furthermore, this same material hierarchy communicated the powers and splendor of a bishop and reflected his position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. For example, at provincial councils, only the archbishop was allowed to wear a *mitra pretiosa* while the other bishops wore the *mitre auriphrygiata* and any mitred abbots would wear a *mitre simplex* (Braun 1913). Parallels can be drawn to the secular aristocracy, where sumptuary laws were introduced in an attempt to regulate secular dress according to social position (Andersson 2014:16). Jewels, for example, were potent markers of social rank, and thus reserved for knights and clergy with a substantial income.

Materiality

Technical analysis is required in order to determine the exact materials used to make the gems. The distinction between precious stones and 'glass gems' seems, however, to be of less importance and the two are often used in parallel (Hahn 2012:92; Melin 2014:260). The medieval viewer was not as occupied with the realness of gems, as with their associated meanings – what Ittai Weinryb has described as *material signification* (Weinryb 2013). Medieval viewers had a nuanced and rich perception of luxury materials such as different kinds of fabrics or gems. In Norse literature and sources, we can identify more than ten different terms used to describe silk (Falk 1919:66–70). Cynthia Hahn identifies an equally diverse material knowledge in medieval encounters with jewelled reliquaries: 'Materials could be identified by source, and whether the designations were accurate or inaccurate, stories were associated with individual gems. Rather than just a confused and glittering surface, viewers saw individual elements given added prestige by their association with other elements – a myriad of points upon which to begin contemplation' (Hahn 2012:43). I have argued elsewhere that this range of associations – medical, magical, religious – was known in late medieval Scandinavia through lapidaries and religious texts (Nødseth 2017 see also Vedeler & Kutzke 2015). Hahn points out that these material associations and

Figure 76. Details from the front of the mitre, enamel showing an angel, surrounded by precious stones, pearls and goldwork. © Gabriel Hildebrand, Historiska Museet, Stockholm

significations could indeed be inaccurate, but they were nevertheless effective, coloring the viewer's perception of the object.

A comprehensive material analysis of the Linköping mitre is beyond the scope of this article, so one example is chosen to illustrate how gems could signify a wide array of material meaning. The four enamel medallions on the front of the mitre are all framed by additional enamels and blue and green gems – likely imitating sapphires and emeralds, see figure 76. Sapphires consist of the mineral corundum (translucent in its purest form), and the sought-after deep blue color actually results from impurities in the stone (iron and titanium). According to Peder Månsson, a Bridgettine monk, bishop and writer from the beginning of the 16th century, sapphires could strengthen virtues like kindness, piety and charity (Månsson 1913–1915:488). He described sapphires as expensive stones with a beautiful shine when you hold them up to the sunlight. Emeralds and sapphires evoked the Heavenly Jerusalem, where they adorned the foundations of the city walls together with other precious stones (Rev 21:20). This material metaphor is echoed in the pearl embroidery, reminding the viewer of the twelve pearl gates (Rev 21:21). Furthermore, both sapphires and emeralds once adorned Aron's breastplate – the archetype of a bishop's vestments – and were thus especially fitting for the decoration of a mitre (Exodus 28:19). Due to its associations with piety and celibacy, the stone was often used for episcopal rings and other jewelry worn by the clergy (Melin 2014:263).

Together with the seed pearl embroidery and the glimmering gems, the cloisonné enamels are the most striking feature of the Linköping mitre. Among the enamels are 38 figurative silver gilt roundels depicting apostles, Christ, a seraph, and a number of unidentified male figures without *tituli*. The cloisonné enamels definitely predate the embroidery, but there has been much discussion about their original context. A mixture of Latin and Greek lettering, and of different techniques, give them a hybrid character difficult to pinpoint. Origins in the Rhineland, Limoges, Venice and Palermo have been suggested. Venice has been the prevailing view, but more recently Paul Hetherington has challenged this interpretation proposing a workshop in Constantinople under Latin rule. This would explain the mix of Latin and Greek lettering, and the distinctive Byzantine character of the works (Hetherington 2008:13). After the Latin conquest in 1204, Pope Innocent III decided that Latin bishops should be appointed to dioceses with mixed populations (Tricht 2011:312). The presence of a Latin episcopacy after 1204 created a demand for new liturgical vestments, and it is not unlikely that skilled goldsmiths in Constantinople continued their work, after the occupation, for their new Latin patrons. After the fall of the Latin Empire in 1261, we can assume that these vestments became obsolete and found their way to central Europe. From this point on, however, their history is unknown until they appear in the Vadstena/Linköping context some 200 years later. It is worth noting, however, that Hetherington's careful examination revealed that the enamels most likely came from two or more different sets of vestments, and traces of reuse before their application to the Linköping mitre suggest that there was at least one other intermediate user (Hetherington 2008:14).

There are numerous examples of reuse in medieval ecclesiastical textiles: chasubles were often cut to new shapes, and embroidered orphreys were removed and reattached onto new vestments. As Shalem has pointed out, textiles lent themselves particularly well to reuse due to their soft materiality: they could easily be reshaped into new forms or attached to other materials. Regarding the practice of textile reuse, I am not primarily interested in how they were reused, but rather the reasons why: the cultural, material and social implications. Shalem's scholarship has shown how the reuse of

Islamic textiles in the Latin West was motivated by cultural exchange and reappropriation as the textiles took part in complex intercultural processes: 'The spoliated new object oftentimes consists of at least two different times: that of the former, reused object, which has its history embedded in the past; and the newly created object of the specific present in which it was made.' (Shalem 2017:9). The Linköping mitre reflects its contemporary milieu in iconography, the use of color and materials. In the case of the cloisonné enamels, they simultaneously echoed a distant past. Much of the original iconographical meaning was lost in the 15th century. It is unusual to find fourteen apostles present (their *tituli* in Greek were not readily readable in late medieval Sweden), only one seraph, and no roundels with images of the Virgin. This eclectic collection of iconography supports Hetherington's hypothesis of two original sets of enamels. Furthermore, it suggests that in the assembly and application of the enamels onto the Linköping mitre, the materiality was more important than the iconography. Cloisonné enamels were precious objects used and reused for liturgical and royal vestments, as diplomatic gifts, in secular attire, book covers and even architecture. In the Byzantine world, they became a symbol of luxury and sanctity, the combination of expensive materials and a labor intensive and highly specialized production made them especially desirable (Cutler 2002:575). In the Latin West as well, enamels were soughtafter because of their precious (although fragile) materiality.

Iconography

From a stylistic and technical point of view, this rich pearl embroidered piece could have been made at Vadstena Abbey in southern Sweden, the motherhouse of the Bridgettine Order. The abbey is situated in the diocese of Linköping, and the Linköping bishop had annual canonical visitations. The relationship between Vadstena Abbey and Linköping cathedral is also evident in the rich collection of embroidered vestments made by Bridgettine nuns in the Linköping cathedral (Estham & Nisbeth 2001:101–137). Bridgettine nuns led an ascetic life and were not allowed to touch money or to own valuables, but they made luxurious textiles in precious materials 'to adorn the churches and praise God' (Nødseth 2017:128). Vadstena embroideries are characterized by ornamental and floral motifs, often in relief and lavishly

Figure 77. The front of the mitre with the Annunciation scene (unfortunately, partly cropped out if this image). © Gabriel Hildebrand, Historiska Museet, Stockholm.

decorated with seed pearls, corals and tiny metal spangles. Although the reuse of cloisonné enamels makes the Linköping mitre a unique case, the Vadstena style of embroidery is quite distinct and can be recognized in the excessive use of seed pearls, relief embroidery and a characteristic color palette of red and green.

Moving on from the material significance to the iconography, the following will focus on the interpretation of images and symbols on the Linköping mitre. The front of the mitre shows the Annunciation: the Angel Gabriel with a scroll reading 'Ave gracia' on the left, facing the Virgin Mary with a scroll reading 'Ecce ancilla' on the right (figure 77). Both figures are surrounded by embroidered lilies covered in seed pearls. The latter inscription might allude to the Angelus prayer: a devotion commemorating the Incarnation. From the 14th century, this prayer became part of everyday life with the ringing of the Angelus bell at 6am, noon and 6pm. The Angelus opens with the words 'Angelus Domini nuntiavit Mariæ, et concepit de Spiritu Sancto.' 'The angel of the Lord declared unto Mary, and she conceived of the Holy Spirit.' This text reflects the iconography of the embroidery well and includes the words 'Ecce ancilla

Domini': 'Behold the handmaiden of the Lord'. Bridgettine nuns would have been accustomed to saying the Angelus three times a day.

The back of the mitre displays the figures of Saint Peter holding a key and a book on the left, and Saint Paul with his sword and a book on the right. Both saints are framed by intertwining vines creating a symmetrical pattern of knots, vine leaves and grapes. Both figures and frames are predominantly embroidered with seed pearls, with the exception of smaller details such as the saints' attributes, faces and the grape clusters. Saints Peter and Paul were patrons of Linköping cathedral, and thus a fitting motif for the bishop's headpiece. Furthermore, the eighth and final book of Birgitta's books – called *Liber caelestis* – opens with a chapter on Sts. Peter and Paul symbolizing the double power in the world, the secular and the ecclesiastical (Birgitta of Sweden, book 2 chapter 7, 2012). The importance of Peter and Paul to the Bridgettine Order is also evident by their presence on a 15th century alter frontal made for Vadstena Abbey church. Interestingly, this same altar frontal also displays the Annunciation with the kneeling Angel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary below a scroll reading 'Ave Maria gracie' (inv.no. 23022:7 History Museum, Stockholm). The iconographic and stylistic parallels between the Vadstena altar frontal and the Linköping mitre strengthen the hypothesis of the latter having been made in the abbey's workshop.

ECCLESIASTICAL VESTMENTS AS 'SOCIAL SKIN'

In the following I will contextualize the immediate context of any mitre, namely the bishop's head and his body. As stated in the introduction to this article, the fact that ecclesiastical vestments were worn on human bodies is often overlooked in textile research. These garments were always seen on the body of the priest as part of his religious persona. The mitre was a highly symbolic headpiece instrumental to episcopal self-representation with a powerful propagandist potential, as demonstrated by bishop Kettil Karlsson's public 'undressing' in Linköping cathedral.

In her discussion of sumptuous courtly dress in French medieval romances, Jane Burns argues that clothes and bodies are interrelated in a much closer and

more complex manner than the 'familiar paradigm of clothes covering a body beneath' (Burns 2014:12). Two examples from *Prose Lancelot* illustrate this. Burns points out that a knight stripped of his armor is a man 'stripped bare' even though he was fully clothed (Burns 2014:136). In contrast to this shameful 'nakedness' of knights, exposed skin is often described as part of the courtly lady's attractive appearance. The white skin of a lady's chest, neck and hands attracts much attention in courtly literature, and was part of her social identity: 'the skin itself constitutes the aristocratic woman's typical garment' (Burns 2014:137). Burns' concept of the relationship between body and clothing is in line with Turner's idea of a 'social skin'. I argue that ecclesiastical clothes can be understood within this same theoretical framework, enabling a new understanding of ecclesiastical vestments.

Just as armor was instrumental to the knight's social identity, liturgical vestments were instrumental to the identity of the priest. In fact, Guillaume Durand —liturgist, Papal administrator, and Bishop of Mende (1286–1296) — likens the priest to a fighter 'wearing sacred vestments as if he is armed with weapons'. This metaphor is continued for several paragraphs describing each vestment as a weapon: the amice is a helmet, his alba a breastplate, the stole is a lance, his chasuble a shield, and the Gospel book is the priest's sword (Durand, Book3:1:3, 2010: 134–136). Like a wounded knight who lost part of his armor in battle and faced a shameful defeat was 'stripped bare', disgraced priests were stripped of their vestments in church – a public ritual that was probably taken from military demotions (Elliott 2004:61). The grim practice of desacralizing clerical bodies in order to make them liable to secular penalties (including the death penalty) involved more than removing clothes in the broadest sense (including rings and pastoral staff). In order to remove the priest's sacrality, Durand recommends shaving off the clerical tonsure and scraping off the holy unction from hands and head with a piece of glass or a sharp knife (Elliott 2004: 67). I believe that this last point demonstrated the complexity of the bishop's social skin: hair, skin, clothing and jewelry work together in constructing, performing and displaying episcopal identity.

Headwear was the most important social distinction in the Middle Ages. Only unmarried girls in

puberty, and social outcasts like prostitutes, wore their hair loose and uncovered (but here, local customs also varied), while children and adults all wore variations of headgear from tightfitting coifs to veils and hats. Since both men and women wore sleeved tunics, headgear became an important indication of rank, social position and gender (Gilchrist 2012:79). Miller suggests that the practice of tonsuring young boys destined for an ecclesiastical career around the age of twelve developed out of the need to distinguish men of the clergy from secular society, since these lower ranks of clergy often wore regular clothes (Miller 2014:23). This was also the first step in a process of religious refinement through seven orders of the clerical hierarchy before the boy could be ordinated as a priest. Through the anointment with holy oil the priestly body became consecrated space. (Gilchrist 2012:180). From now on, the priest would prepare for mass in the sacristy in a ritual of vesting, saying vesting prayers focusing on the symbolic virtues of each garment as he dressed. Grooming his head was an important part of this ritual, washing away the 'sins', combing his hair straight to get rid of impure thoughts. Elaborately decorated liturgical combs are preserved in many medieval collections, a testimony to the importance of this part of clerical dressing.

Few men reached the next and highest level in the clerical hierarchy. The religious and social importance of medieval bishops was reflected in their headgear. At the end of the ordination ritual as it is described by Durand in his *Pontificale Guilelmi Durand* (PGD), the mitre was placed on the newly consecrated bishop's head accompanied by a mitre prayer describing the mitre as a fearsome and radiant helmet:

> ***Lord, we place on the head of this your bishop and champion the helmet of protection and salvation, so that with face adorned and head armed with the horns of both testaments, he may appear fearsome to the adversaries of truth and, by the bounty of your grace, may he be their mighty enemy. You who endowed the face of Moses your servant, adorned from the fellowship of your discourse, with the brightest horns of your splendor and truth, commanded a crown to be placed upon the head of your high priest Aron.***
>
> ***Durand PGD. I.XIV. see Mc Millan 2005:188***

With this blessing of the mitre, the vestment was given a prominent role in the ordination ritual (Figure 79). If the bishop celebrated mass, one of the deacons would take off his mitre before the sacrament of the Eucharist in respect for God and put it back on the bishop's head afterwards. As these examples show, the priest's head was important for his physical but also symbolic appearance, and his headwear (tonsure and for bishops: mitre) became an important social marker.

Because of the prominent place of the mitre, and its social and visual significance, it was an extremely useful tool for episcopal self-fashioning. Caroline Vogt has discussed a group of late 12th or early 13th century mitres with images of the martyrdom of St. Beckett as a medium of constructing episcopal identity and public persona (Vogt 2010). Their iconography emphasizes both the head of the martyred saint as well as the bishop's head, thus indicating the significance of the bishop's head as seen in the ritual of his consecration. As Beckett himself was a bishop, murdered and having the crown of his head cut off, it was highly symbolic that the same exact part of the head was covered by the mitre. In the case of the Linköping mitre, the form of episcopal self-fashioning is somewhat different. While the Beckett mitres had a very powerful iconography, it is through materiality that the Linköping mitre displays the power and significance of its wearer. By the mid 15th century, the idea of a trident hierarchy for mitres had gained influence and the Linköping mitre's status as a *mitre pretiosa* held great significance. As argued above, the luxurious materiality of metal plates, enamels, imitation jewels and gold was instrumental to the vestment's prestige. Although the iconography was fitting for a bishop's mitre, it was through the precious material's splendor that Kettil Karlsson constructed his episcopal identity.

EPISCOPAL IDENTITY & CHARISMATIC AUTHORITY

So far, we have considered many of the factors that make the Linköping mitre a fascinating and unique piece: its overt materiality with gold and imitation jewels, the rarity of its cloisonné enamels, the uniqueness of a well-preserved mitre from medieval Scandinavia (one of very few). Another interesting aspect of the Linköping

Figure 78. The lappets with Kettil Karlssons coat of arms on the left, and Linköping episcopal see on the right © Gabriel Hildebrand, Historiska Museet, Stockholm.

mitre, is that we know a great deal about who it was made for, namely one of the most famous political figures from 15th century Scandinavia. The mitre bears the personal coat of arms of Bishop Kettil Karlsson, indicating that this vestment was made for his episcopacy (figure 78). Even though he was bishop of Linköping for just six short years (1458–1464), he had a prominent role in the government of Sweden, both as the leader of military operations and as de facto regent of the realm. When the plague took his life at the age of thirty-two, he had become one of the most powerful men in Sweden.

Economic decline and political instability, with power struggles between powerful Swedish families and the king, but also peasant revolts, characterized Sweden in the mid 15th century. In this society, bishops had a strong social position as both ecclesiastical prelates and secular princes. The duality of episcopal office was widely accepted and even recognized in Canon Law. Late medieval bishops often participated in battles and could be skilled warriors and strategists. Moreover, these bishops often came from powerful and influential families and it was considered natural and justified that they engage in conflicts and confrontations

between dynastic families, or factions within families. When Christian of Oldenburg was elected king in 1457, this initially meant a stronger position for the church and Bishop Kettil Karlsson (Vasa) and his uncle, the powerful Archbishop Jöns Bengtsson (Oxenstierna). Soon enough, however, King Christian imposed additional taxes in order to fund his military campaigns in Holstein. This was not well received among either the peasants or the clerical and secular aristocracy. Power struggles between the Council of State led by Jöns Bengtsson and the king intensified, resulting in the king capturing the archbishop and holding him captive in Denmark in order to strengthen his position in Sweden. Bishop Kettil responded by taking the sword and swearing that he would liberate Archbishop Jöns. The event is recorded in *Cronica Swecie* (from the beginning of the 16th century) and quoted in the opening section of this article. He raised a large army of both noblemen and peasants, and won a decisive battle against King Christian at Haraker (1464). The Council elected Bishop Kettil as *rikshövitsman* (*de facto* regent of Sweden) from February to August 1464. After a short-lived return of King Karl Knutsson that autumn, Bishop Kettil was again elected regent from December 1464 to his death the following year.

This brief account of events serves as a background for our understanding of the complexity of episcopal identity and responsibilities in 15th century Scandinavia. As Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak has pointed out, the medieval concept of identity did not address personal identity as we see it today: 'Rather, identity in the 11th and 12th centuries centered on a logic of sameness and operated by assuming a model of similarity, referring to human beings as members of an identical species, or to the person as psychosomatic whole, a social agent identical to itself with respect to number, essence, or properties.' (Bedos-Rezak 2000:1492). It is this latter category that is of particular interest to this article; Bedos-Rezak's concept of a 'medieval identity' (addressing the 11th and 12th centuries) still holds relevance in the 15th century. Considering the mitre as a social skin, together with the rest of Kettil Karlsson's episcopal vestments, these objects are part of his identity defined by Bedos-Rezak as *the person as a psychosomatic whole, a social agent.* The ritual of publicly re-dressing in church, transforming himself from a man of prayer into a military leader,

Figure 79. *The consecration of Saint Augustin*, compartment of a larger retable painted by Jaume Huguet between 1462 and 1475 for the convent of Sant Agustí Vell in Barcelona. Now in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, MNAC Barcelona. Photo from the Google Art Project (no copyright).

was of great importance to 15th century episcopal identity. When Bishop Kettil lay down his episcopal vestments and dressed himself in armor, his social skin was transformed. In her discussion of 15th century Swedish 'warrior bishops' Anna Waśko argues that the duality of a bishop's position as both clergyman and knight, between religious and secular responsibilities, could be problematic. The symbolic act of removing his vestments and taking up a sword signified the separation of the two roles: 'He did not fight against the king as clergyman, he did so as a knight and a military and political leader who protected the liberties violated by the ruler. […] these functions must be separated once again for the duration of prayer (the episcopal vestments) and fighting (the sword and armor).' (Waśko 2018:447).

The events discussed here are recorded in *Sturekrönikan* (covering the period 1452–1478), written for Bishop Kettil's opponent Karl Knutsson's successor (Sten Sture). It was

written shortly after the fact, and as such, it is reliable in its account of events. On the other hand, it might be colored by the motivations of Karl Knuttson's milieu, meaning that its authors did not favor Bishop Kettil and his uncle Archbishop Jöns. Waśko has analyzed the chronicle carefully and points out that despite the hostile attitude towards both bishops, Kettil is actually described as an accomplished military leader who participated in battles, and he became a symbol of Swedish resistance against Danish kings (Waśko 2018:480). In contrast to his uncle, Kettil appears to be fair (urging King Christian to release his uncle, hoping to avoid military intervention) and much respected. Acquiring the position of bishop at an unusually young age (requiring a papal dispensation), leading the Council of State, raising a peasant army to revolt against King Christian, laying siege to Stockholm, negotiating his uncle's release and acting as regent – all of these accomplishments suggest that Kettil Karlsson was a charismatic leader with great authority.

The concept of charismatic authority was introduced by Max Weber to describe a type of leadership where authority is closely linked to the charisma of the leader. Weber (1968:49) juxtaposes this category with legal authority and traditional authority. Weber argued that charisma was a trait of personality:

> ***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 1968b:48*

As we have seen, late medieval bishops were most definitely 'set apart from ordinary men' and they were also believed to be more sacred and exhibit 'exceptional powers or qualities'. Furthermore, it is clear that these powers were inaccessible to ordinary men, prohibited to enter the choir, to touch sacred objects and matter, or to participate in the liturgy. Also, the power of a bishop was bestowed upon him by the pope as God's vicar on earth, and thus of divine origin. The late medieval bishop therefore fits in well with the Weberian definition of charismatic authority. Adding to this what we

know of Bishop Kettil's life and episcopacy from contemporary sources, it is likely that he was indeed regarded as a charismatic leader in a Weberian sense. How did these embodied qualities of charisma become apparent to others around him? Jaeger extends Weber's definition to encompass representations of personae, charismatic art from Byzantine icons to Dürer's self-portraits: 'Charisma in art develops through artifice and imitation, out of embodied and lived charisma. Charismatic art is a mimesis of charismatic presence; just as effects derive from living and from represented charisma.' (Jaeger 2012:11). Acknowledging the embodied quality of charisma, he argues it was presented through what he describes as a 'staged performance', a conscious self-representation (Jaeger 2012:26).

Celebrating mass is a kind of performance as described by Jaeger. The performativity of ecclesiastical textiles is often overlooked by art historians, but there are some notable exceptions in studies by Barbara Margrethe Eggert (2013), David Ganz (2014) and Christine Brandner (2015). The Linköping mitre, I would argue, was not only part of, but instrumental to, the self-representation of Bishop Kettil. It was the greatest symbol of his elevated position: his charismatic authority. We have discussed how the mitre took part in different rituals: the consecration of a bishop; how it was removed and then placed back on the bishop's head during mass; how the bishop's head was 'prepared' for this precious headwear during years of wearing his tonsure; through ritual washing and grooming; and the final anointment elevating his body to the status of bishop.

Recent work in charisma theory has made the leap from charismatic persons to charismatic objects, the topic of this collection of papers. One can argue, that charismatic forces can be transferred from a person to a highly symbolic and powerful object. Jaeger makes this leap maintaining that charismatic art operates through 'artifice and imitation': a substitute for charismatic presence. In the case of the Linköping mitre, I would, however, argue that the object is not charismatic art in the sense of a mimesis of charismatic presence, or a form of represented charisma. If we accept the idea of episcopal vestments as a 'social skin', garments such as the mitre can be perceived as part of the bishop's social and religious body and, therefore, part of his personal charisma. In other words, the charismatic effects of

this *mitre pretiosa* only came into play when worn by the bishop. In a forthcoming article on 'Charisma and Material Culture', Paul Binski argues that *faces* and the aesthetic experiences of light, shine and sparkle are central to the language of charismatic effect (Binski forthcoming). This idea of sparkle, shine and shifting light is also found in the rich surfaces of the Linköping mitre, framing the bishop's face. Returning to Durand's blessing of the mitre, he describes how the bishop emerges with 'face adorned' by the mitre. The materiality and aesthetics of this mitre, as discussed above, were important to the mitre's charismatic effects.

The event recorded by *Cronica Swecie* and quoted at the beginning of this article certainly testifies to the performative powers of a mitre and its importance to the charismatic authority of its owner. Here, the bishop stages himself in a precalculated performance transforming him from a man of prayer into a man of fighting. This public and rhetorical transformation was not only effective in winning over public opinion and raising an army to liberate his imprisoned uncle. It also made sure that the different roles of the bishop remained clear and separate. I have argued in this article that the richly decorated mitre took center stage during these events. The precious materials of the Linköping mitre communicated meaning on different levels: not only presenting the mitre as a highly symbolic *mitre pretiosa*, but also as 'charismatic language' adorning the face of Bishop Kettil, as described in the mitre prayer by Durand. Discussing the power of textiles beyond the language metaphor, this article has interpreted ecclesiastical vestments as a social skin, exposing the intimate relationship between priestly bodies and ecclesiastical clothing.